

Partisanship in Congress:

**Impact of Gender and Political Party in the United States House of
Representatives**

Teah Ardoin

San Francisco State University

**Conference paper for the 2023 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association
held in San Francisco, California, from April 6th through 8th.**

Abstract

In this paper, I examine partisanship behavior in the United States House of Representatives, seeking to understand congressional gridlock by analyzing the political dynamics of gender and political parties. There is a lot of unpredictability in the governance of our legislature. The current government is politically divided; the Congressional makeup of the House of Representatives is almost evenly split with no substantial majority, causing contention between the Democrats and Republicans. The literature analyzing Congress's relationship with the presidency is often viewed as partisanship centered; however, the literature is not extensive and could use more examination. In my literature review, I combine political ideology, partisanship in Congress, and gender. Moreover, I use an empirical approach, using quantitative data focusing on congressional roll calls during periods of unified governments with either the Republican or Democratic Party in the majority. I investigate bipartisanship voting of the minority party in the House of Representatives based on gender and party affiliation. I plan to expand on the research started here to find more linkages among partisanship, the role of government, political party, and gender. My findings are significant because more research on legislative gridlock in the House of Representatives is necessary; my preliminary investigation shows a connection between gender and political parties impacting partisanship.

Keywords: partisanship behavior; bipartisanship; political parties; congressional gridlock; gender; political ideology

Introduction

The paper begins with an introduction to the literature, focusing on the different political ideologies of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Democrats focus on ideologies geared toward social reforms whereas Republicans' ideologies are directed toward less government interference (Dolan 2005, 36; Brownstein 2022). I discuss the epidemic of partisanship in Congress and the epic tug-of-war between the Democratic and Republican Parties (Solander 2023). I focus primarily on the United States House of Representatives, which some have described as a fractured legislative body (Siegel 2015). This study addresses gender and political party partisanship in the House of Representatives.

Moreover, the research design includes data from congressional roll calls in the House of Representatives, categorized by gender and party affiliation. I formulated my hypotheses to understand factors contributing to partisanship in the House of Representatives. I collected my data from recorded votes on the House of Representatives floor. The parameters for this data collection were to select votes with the narrowest margins. This is a preliminary study, and I will expand on the dataset in the future.

1. Literature and Theoretical Background

1.1 Political Party Ideologies

The United States Congress comprises the Democratic and Republican Parties, which have different political ideologies, causing partisanship. The Democratic Party's ideologies focus on issues that primarily deal with social reform, such as education, healthcare, public assistance programs, employment, and environmental issues (Dolan 2005, 36). The Republican Party's

ideologies focus on having a government with minimal interference in citizens' daily lives; many argue that the Republican Party is the party of freedom (Brownstein 2022). Moreover, Republican politicians focus on issues involving lower taxes, no gun control, and more money allocated to the military (Dolan 2005, 36; Pew Research Center 2020). However, on issues involving reproductive rights, the Republican Party believes in limiting citizens' freedom by opposing abortion and access to contraception. In contrast, on the issue of reproductive rights, the Democratic Party opposes the interference of government and believes in a woman's right to choose what is best for her body (Pew Research Center 2020).

Ideology is a great dividing line for the Democratic and Republican Party members, giving political identities to the individuals affiliated with the two parties (Frisch and Kelly 2013, 24). Therefore, most Democrats and Republicans are aligned with their parties' political stances, creating close ties between members, especially in political bodies (Frisch and Kelly 2013, 24). Political party members who approve of their party's direction regarding policy issues, ideologies, and ideas tend to have an overwhelming sense of loyalty to their party and critical opinions and views of the opposition party (Lupton et al. 2017, 242). Moreover, Democrats and Republicans do not exactly view their parties as ideological. Instead, political party members tend to view the opposing party as too rigid and unrealistic while believing their party's views are correct and in the country's best interest (Lupton et al. 2017, 243). Nonetheless, most would view Democrats as liberal and Republicans as conservative, implying that the parties are somewhat ideology based (Pew Research Center 2020).

Clearly, there is a correlation between ideological thought and partisanship in the United States, which stems from the emergence of political elitism in the Democratic and Republican

Parties. Political elites set the tone for political parties' ideologies and alter the perceptions of their political parties in the public purview (Lupton et al. 2017, 241–42). Consequently, a significant amount of research attributes the increase in political elites to a rise in partisanship identification of political party members. However, much theoretical debate exists concerning the linkage between ideology and partisanship with one's political values (Lupton et al. 2017, 242–43). Robert Lupton et al. (2017) explains, "Political values influence both ideology and partisanship, and recent evidence suggests that self-identified liberals and conservatives hold distinct value orientations that contribute to broader divisions in American politics" (242).

This sets the stage for ever-increasing political polarization in the United States, which has reached a debilitating zenith in the past two decades (Lupton et al. 2017, 242). Arguably, which political party is at fault for the extreme polarization and divergence in political ideologies is questionable. However, Lupton et al. (2017) states, "Those holding conservative values are driving this polarization" (242). Additionally, Campbell (2018) argues, "The Republican Party has become more ideologically extreme than the Democratic Party" (174). Campbell concludes, "Republicans are seen as having moved further to the right than the Democrats moved to the left" (174). Moreover, the most significant debate in the analysis of the Democratic and Republican Parties is the majority of which party's members have remained in the center (Campbell 2018, 174–75). Subsequently, when one political party's majority veers too far to one side of the political spectrum, extreme ideologies increase, there is competition with the opposition party, and partisanship ensues (Campbell 2018, 174).

1.2 Partisanship in the United States Congress

Many academic scholars in recent years have noted the rise of congressional partisanship and the lack of legislative productivity. As a result, some deem Congress ineffective (Connelly et al. 2017, 1). However, other academic scholars cite the rise in congressional partisanship as helpful in fostering oversight initiatives, conducting thorough discourse of legislation, and stopping unnecessary bills (Connelly et al. 2017, 2). However, it is hard to ignore that there appears to be a constant battle for control on Capitol Hill between the Democrats and Republicans. Many scholars question whether Congress is incurably dysfunctional (Connelly et al. 2017, 2). In the last few decades in Congress, there has been a surge in extensive polarization and a decline in the implementation of congressional abilities, leading some to worry about the health of the United States' democracy (Connelly et al. 2017, 12).

One of the most problematic issues between the Democratic and Republican Parties is that usually, the opposing party never sees any value in the other's ideas, making compromise difficult (Pew Research Center 2020). However, at the core of unyieldingness in Congress among the Democrats and Republicans is a cutthroat mentality. Consequently, "when it comes to how Democrats and Republicans should address the most important issues facing the country, their party should get more out of the deal" (Pew Research Center 2020). Some could argue that Congress has become petty with the constant back and forth between the Democrats and Republicans; moreover, sessions of the Senate and the United States House of Representatives have developed into an epic tug-of-war battle (Solender 2023). Unfortunately, nobody wins when there are congressional roll calls on crucial governmental issues in which only the majority of the party in control decides the fate of a nation (Connelly et al. 2017, 65).

Congressional partisanship steps away from the true intent of Congress as established by the framers of the United States Constitution. Connelly et al. (2017) explains, “Ideally, Congress would be a chosen body of virtuous citizens who possessed the knowledge, experience, and time to make reasonable decisions that reflected the public interest” (57). Moreover, the framers of the Constitution desired members of Congress to have a sincere interest in public service and not be driven by fame and power (Connelly et al. 2017, 57). However, many politicians entering Congress today aim to achieve notoriety and act in their self-interest to gain public acknowledgment, even if this means forcing extremity, which creates a distinct form of partisanship in Congress (Cowen and Sutter 1997, 19–20). Furthermore, the Republican party has a significant number of fringe politicians in Congress who set the tone for legislative gridlock and partisanship principles; also, the far-right Republicans in Congress seek to upend government while vying for fame (Cillizza 2022).

1.3 United States House of Representatives

In the last few years, the United States House of Representatives has introduced politicians who grab headlines for their infamous exploits and others for their brazen defiance. On the Republican side of the aisle are representatives such as Marjorie Taylor Greene and Matt Gaetz, who often engage in extreme far-right Republican rhetoric (Ball 2022). On the other end of the Republican spectrum, House members such as Elizabeth Cheney and Paul Ryan, who opted for bipartisanship and centrism politics, have been forced out of the House of Representatives (Brufke 2021). When Paul Ryan began his speakership in the House of Representatives, he stated, “The house is broken” (Siegel 2015). When he ended his speakership in the House of Representatives, he noted the cause, “broken politics” (CBS News 2018). During his term, from

2015 to 2019, as speaker of the House of Representatives, Paul Ryan wanted every member, regardless of political affiliation, to contribute to the drafting and passage of legislation (Connelly et al. 2017, 100). On the other side of the political aisle, some Democrats in the House of Representatives have consistently forged centrist paths, too, such as Kathleen Rice and Stephanie Murphy. However, Stephanie Murphy left the House of Representatives due to her centrist Democratic views, which met opposition from fellow Democrats, similar to Elizabeth Cheney's opposition from fellow Republicans (Ferris 2022).

Consequently, the dynamic that has been established in the United States House of Representatives for decades is a fear of the founders of this country. The House of Representatives is divided not only by party lines but also within parties due to extremist and cliquish factions (Connelly et al. 2017, 101). Moreover, this new breed of fringe politicians in the House of Representatives cares more about campaign contributions than passing legislation, thereby creating gridlock (Connelly et al. 2017, 100–101). Former Congressman Keith Rothfus noted that the posturing taking place in the House of Representatives is dangerous to our government and undermines the system (Rothfus et al., 2023). In addition, former Congressman Lee Hamilton (2023) explained, “Today, an occasional display of bipartisanship can seem almost poignant.”

Bipartisanship representation has profound effects when appropriately implemented, especially in a period of escalating political polarization (Moreno et al. 2021, 171). Members of the House of Representatives who are willing to work with members of the opposition party and members of their political party who do not share their party's political ideology benefit the citizenry. Moreover, for bipartisanship to succeed, congressmen and congresswomen must listen

to competing viewpoints from both parties (Moreno et al. 2021, 172). In the House of Representatives, more than one caucus group promotes bipartisanship and centrist political perspectives (Clarke 2020, 456). The Republican Governance Group is a centrist Republican group that advocates for cooperation between party members and the Democrats (Brooks 2022). Additionally, the Blue Dog Coalition and the New Democrat Coalition are centrist groups in the Democratic Party and promote collaboration between House of Representatives members (Clarke 2020, 456). Therefore, centrists on both sides of the political aisles of the House of Representatives help decrease political extremism and try to keep members from moving politically too far to the right or left (Clarke 2020, 455–56).

1.4 Gender and Politics

Scholars have recognized for years that behaviors in politics between men and women are significantly different (Kittilson 2016, 1). Many describe this difference in political behavior as a “gender gap,” indicating that the genders’ political views diverge, particularly in political participation, voting patterns, political ideologies, and participating in partisanship behaviors (Kittilson 2016, 2). Of course, other factors intersect besides gender, such as race, education level, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation, but regardless of other complexities, gender is the most salient. Moreover, it is important to note that women are typically more politically conservative due to strongly held religious beliefs, even more so than men (Kittilson 2016, 2–3). Additionally, women have lower voter turnout rates than men and do not pursue elective office at the same rate as men (Kittilson 2016, 5–7). Regarding political knowledge, women do not usually have the same awareness levels as men. However, women participate in political protests at the same rate as men and at higher rates for women’s issues (Kittilson 2016, 9–10).

In spite of the “gender gap,” women have made progress in political engagement. However, some argue women have not made enough progress in government roles. The number of women in the United States House of Representatives has increased over the last few years (Nikos-Rose 2021). However, there are still fewer women in the House of Representatives than men, and Democratic women outnumber Republican women. According to studies on women’s political behavior, women trend Democratic, except for married women, who trend Republican (Nikos-Rose 2021). In the House of Representatives, Democratic women outnumber Republican women, which impacts partisanship behavior because Republican women will generally not divert from party ideology (Nikos-Rose 2021). Consequently, Wineinger (2022) states, “Republican women in Congress are more conservative, more ideologically aligned with the men in their party, and further apart ideologically from their Democratic women colleagues” (3). Therefore, Republican women in Congress associate with a partisanship identity and choose to work only within their conservative faction. In the House of Representatives, Republican women work closely together, offering assistance, mentorship, and legislative support. Republican women in the House of Representatives are less inclined to work in cooperation with members of the Democratic party (Wineinger 2022, 3).

For the most part, women in the United States House of Representatives display partisan patterns in their voting behaviors formed by their ideological beliefs. Therefore, Democratic women in the House of Representatives follow their parties’ ideological beliefs and vote Democratic, and Republican women follow their parties’ ideological beliefs and vote Republican (Evans 2005, 3). Also, Republican women face more electoral constraints, which affect their voting behavior once they take office in the House of Representatives. Republican women additionally

need to exhibit homogeneity and allegiance to the Republican party at a higher degree than Republican men to advance in their party (Evans 2005, 3). Evans (2005) explains, “In order to understand the implications of women’s behavior within our Congress, we must account for the parameters created by partisanship and electoral circumstance” (3). Consequently, Democratic and Republican women engage in the legislature according to the directive of their political party and constituents.

2. Research Design

2.1 Preliminary Development of Research

The development of this study began with a focus on understanding partisanship behavior in the United States House of Representatives. After a review of the literature, questions are left unanswered regarding why there is such a strong division between Democrats and Republicans and a division among members of the same political party. I am developing research from a small sample of a more extensive dataset, which can later be added to the study for a more accurate interpretation of the results. The purpose of this study is to examine the impact gender and political party has on partisanship behavior in the House of Representatives. For this study, I analyze the Democratic and Republican Parties in the House of Representatives divided by gender.

2.2 Development of Hypotheses

The hypotheses for this study originate from the United States House of Representative roll call voting record during the most recent sessions, which had unified party governments, Democrat and Republican. The first hypothesis concerns whether Democratic women are more likely to cross party lines to pass Republican legislation when Republicans are the majority

compared to Republican women when Democrats are the majority. The second hypothesis concerns whether Republican men are more likely to cross party lines to pass Democratic legislation when Democrats are the majority compared to Republican women. The third hypothesis concerns whether Democratic men are more likely to cross party lines to pass Republican legislation when Republicans are the majority compared to Democratic women. The final hypothesis concerns whether Democratic men are more likely to cross party lines to pass Republican legislation when Republicans are the majority compared to Republican men when Democrats are the majority.

2.3 Hypotheses

Democratic women are less partisan than Republican women. Republican women have stricter obligations to their party and constituency; therefore, they are less inclined to cross party lines to pass bipartisan legislation (Evans 2005, 2–3). Republican men do not have to show party unity to the same degree as Republican women. Therefore, Republican men are more willing to pass bipartisan legislation than Republican women (Evans 2005, 3). It should be noted that men outnumber women in the United States House of Representatives (Nikos-Rose 2021). However, even when I adjust for the difference between the number of men and women in the House of Representatives, Democratic men are more willing to pass bipartisan legislation than Democratic women. The basis for this hypothesis is Democratic men, like Republican men, do not have to display as much party unity (Evans 2005, 3). In general, Democratic men and women tend to lean bipartisan; therefore, Democratic men are more willing to pass bipartisan than Republican men (Nadeem, 2022).

2.4 Data Collection

The United States House of Representatives conducts thousands of votes during their sessions. Votes that are not opposed are not recorded (GovTrack 2022). I collected my dataset from recorded votes on the House floor from 2017, 2018, 2021, and 2022. The 115th congressional period ran from 2017 to 2018; the Republican Party controlled Congress and the presidency. I collected a sample of 45 votes per year from 2017 and 2018 (Tables 1 and 2). The parameters for this data collection were to select votes with the narrowest margins and votes in which members of the minority party, Democrats, voted with the majority party, Republicans. I repeated the data collection for the 117th congressional period from 2021 to 2022; the Democratic Party controlled Congress and the presidency. I collected a sample of 45 votes per year from 2021 and 2022 (Tables 1 & 2). The parameters for this data collection were to select votes with the narrowest margins and votes in which members of the minority party, Republicans, voted with the majority party, Democrats. Furthermore, I divided the data by gender to examine partisanship's connection with political parties.

2.5 United States of House of Representatives Demographics

115th Congress Men & Women	Democratic Men	Democratic Women	Democratic Men & Women	Republican Men	Republican Women	Republican Men & Women
439	134	67	201	213	25	238
117th Congress Men & Women	Democratic Men	Democratic Women	Democratic Men & Women	Republican Men	Republican Women	Republican Men & Women
437	130	92	222	181	34	215

Table 1 Source: (CRS 2018; CRS 2022)

2.6 Bipartisan Voting Record

115th Congress Republican Majority	Democratic Men & Women	Democratic Men	Democratic Women
2017	476	397	79
2018	498	404	94
Totals	974	801	173
117th Congress Democratic Majority	Republican Men & Women	Republican Men	Republican Women
2021	507	420	87
2022	386	316	70
Totals	893	736	157

Table 2 Source: (GovTrack 2017; 2018; 2021; 2022)

3. Research Methods

3.1 The Independent & Dependent Variables

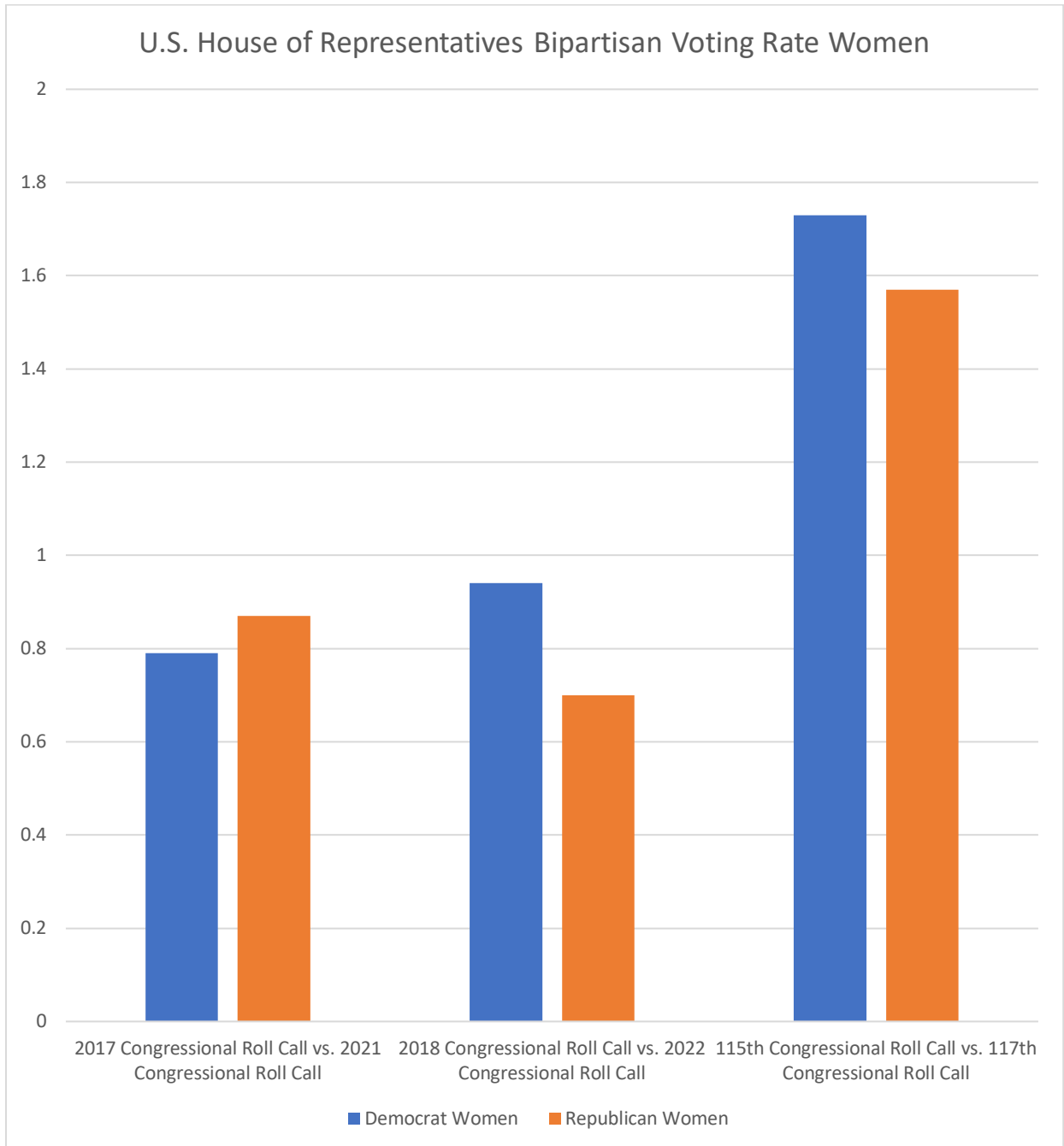
The independent variables are Democratic women and men and Republican women and men. With the first hypothesis, I examine the independent variables of Democratic and Republican women; the dependent variables are the bipartisan voting rate among Democratic and Republican women during the 115th and 117th congressional terms of the United States House of Representatives. Democratic women were part of the minority party in the 115th House of Representatives session; Republican women were part of the minority party in the 117th House of Representatives session (Figure 1; Table 2). With the second hypothesis, I examine the independent variables of Republican women and men during the 115th and 117th congressional terms of the House of Representatives. Republican women and men were part of the minority party in the 117th House of Representatives session (Figures 1 and 2; Table 2).

With the third hypothesis, I examine the independent variables of Democratic women and men during the 115th and 117th congressional terms of the House of Representatives. Democratic women and men were part of the minority party in the 115th House of Representatives session (Figures 1 and 2; Table 2). Accordingly, the final hypothesis examines the independent variables of Democratic and Republican men during the 115th and 117th congressional terms of the House of Representatives. Democratic men were part of the minority party in the 115th House of Representatives session, and Republican men were part of the minority party in the 117th House of Representatives session (Figure 3; Table 2). Subsequently,

the independent variables of political parties and gender cause the dependent variables of bipartisan voting rates.

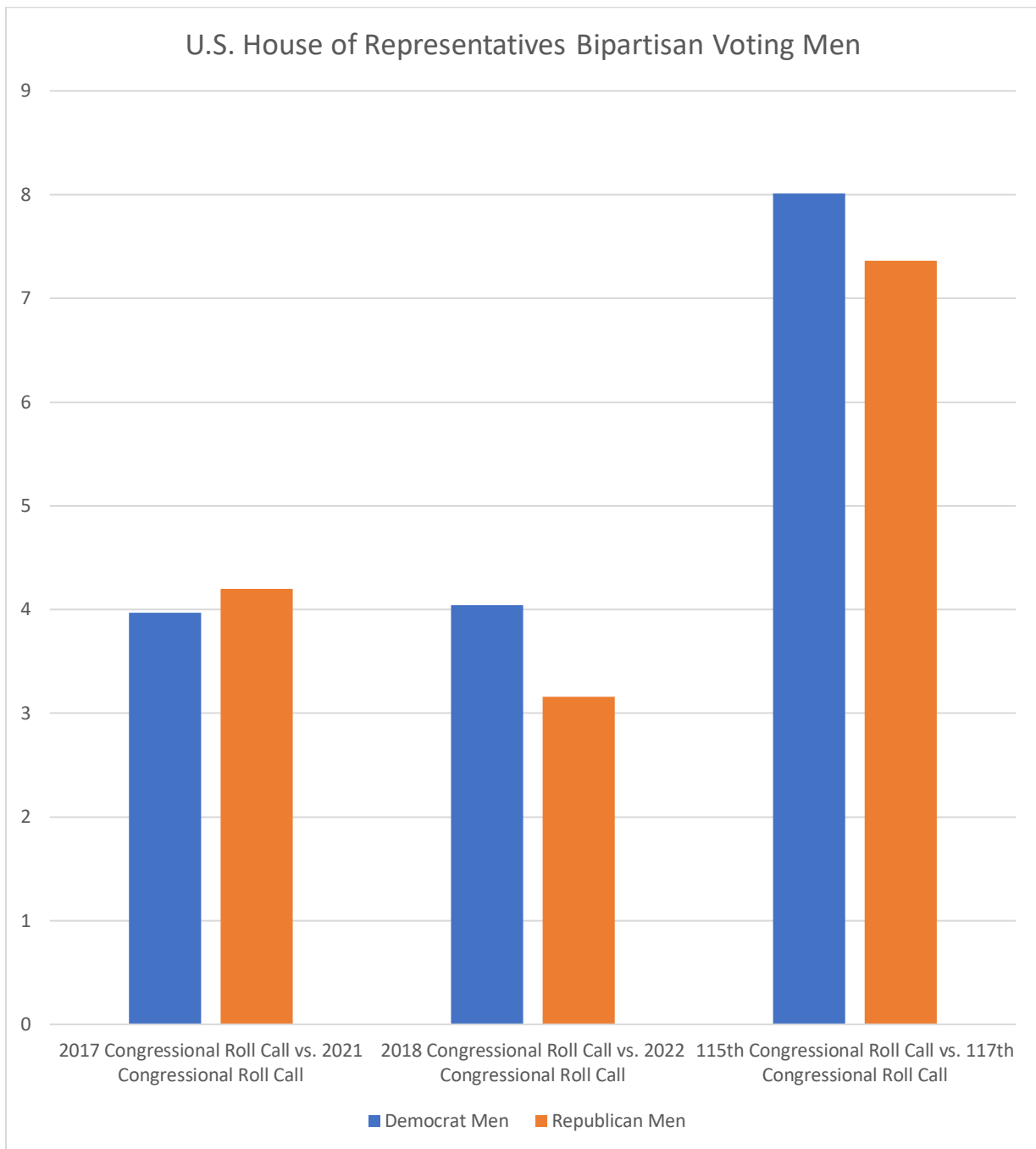
3.2 Bipartisan Voting Rate-Women

Figure 1



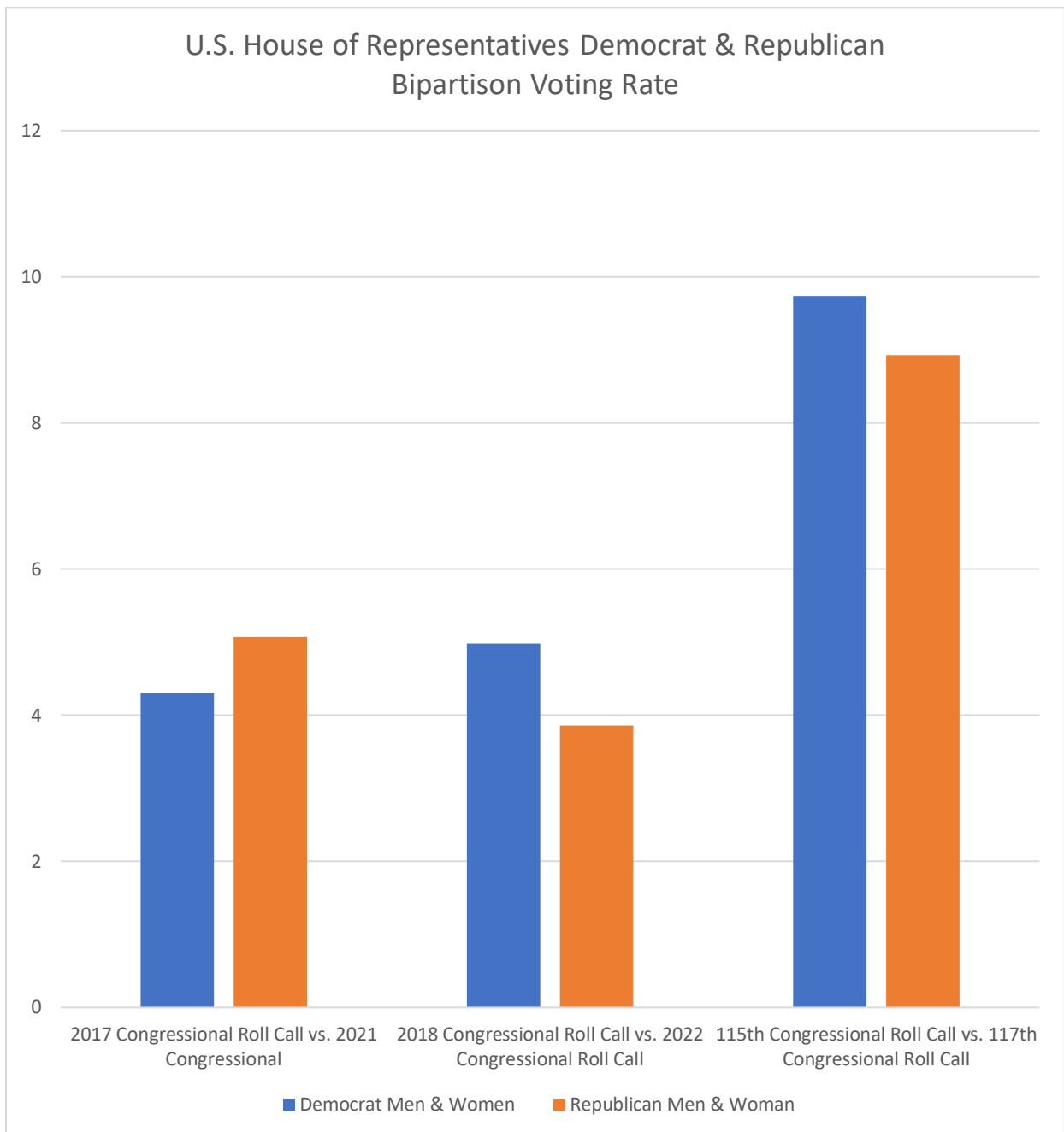
3.3 Bipartisan Voting Rate-Men

Figure 2



3.4 Democratic and Republican Bipartisan Voting Rate

Figure 3



4. Data Analysis

4.1 Results

This study's results are close to what I hypothesized. The first hypothesis focuses on whether Democratic women are more likely to vote for bipartisan legislation than Republican women, particularly when Republicans are the majority, compared to Republican women when Democrats are the majority. The data show Democratic women are more likely to vote for bipartisan legislation, even when Republicans are the majority, compared to Republican women when Democrats are the majority. The second hypothesis concerns whether Republican men are more likely to vote for Democratic legislation when Democrats are the majority than Republican women. The data shows Republican men are more likely to vote to pass Democratic legislation when Democrats are the majority than Republican women.

The third hypothesis concerns whether Democratic men are more likely to vote for Republican legislation when Republicans are the majority than Democratic women. I found that Democratic men are more likely to vote for Republican legislation when Republicans are the majority than Democratic women. The final hypothesis concerns whether Democratic men are more likely to vote for Republican legislation when Republicans are the majority compared to Republican men when Democrats are the majority. The data is close to the hypothesis; however, the data shows Democratic men are more likely to vote for Republican legislation when Republicans are the majority than Republican men when Democrats are in the majority government.

5. Inferences

1.1 Discussion and Conclusion

In recent years, the U.S. government has become more partisanship, and academic scholars have examined why this phenomenon has occurred. The research I conducted in this study is a strong foundation for a larger study on bipartisan congressional voting, specifically during unified periods of government when either the Democrats or Republicans are the minority in the United States House of Representatives. Examining the voting behavior of minority party members who pass majority party legislation in narrow-margin votes can enhance our understanding of the factors contributing to bipartisan behavior. In turn, understanding the factors contributing to bipartisanship behavior can help us understand partisanship behavior. Therefore, I will eventually expand this study, using more unified congressional terms from the last 50 years to find patterns in partisanship and bipartisan voting and incorporating the impact of gender and political party.

References

- Ball, Molly. 2022. "How the Maga Squad Is Building Power to Control GOP Congress." Time, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://time.com/6186037/matt-gaetz-marjorie-taylor-greene-maga-house-republicans/>.
- Brooks, Emily. 2022. "House GOP Centrists: 'Put Posturing aside' and Back McCarthy Speakership." The Hill, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://thehill.com/homenews/house/3759808-house-gop-centrists-put-posturing-aside-and-back-mccarthy-speakership/>.
- Brownstein, Ronald. 2022. "The Glaring Contradiction of Republicans' Rhetoric of Freedom." The Atlantic, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2022/07/democrats-republicans-rhetoric-freedom-rollback/661519/>.
- Brufke, Juliegrace. 2021. "Paul Ryan to Host Fundraiser for Cheney Amid GOP Tensions." The Hill, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://thehill.com/homenews/house/541874-paul-ryan-to-host-fundraiser-for-cheney-amid-gop-tensions/>.
- Campbell, James E., and James E. Campbell. 2018. *Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- CBS News. 2018. "Paul Ryan Bemoans 'Broken Politics' in Farewell Address." CBS News, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/paul-ryan-speaker-of-house-farewell-address-speech-leaves-congress-today-12-19-2018-live-stream/>.
- Cillizza, Chris. 2022. "Yes, It's Republicans' Fault Congress Is so Polarized." CNN, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.cnn.com/2022/03/15/politics/congress-asymmetric-polarization-pew-research-center/index.html>.
- Clarke, Andrew J. 2020. "Party Sub-Brands and American Party Factions." *American Journal of Political Science* 64 (3): 452–70. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12504.
- Congressional Research Service. 2018. "Membership of the 115th Congress: A Profile." Accessed April 1, 2023. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R44762/24>.
- Congressional Research Service. 2022. "Membership of the 117th Congress: A Profile." Accessed April 1, 2023. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46705/2>.
- Connelly, William F., John J. Pitney, and Gary James Schmitt. 2017. *Is Congress Broken?: The Virtues and Defects of Partisanship and Gridlock*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

- Cowen, Tyler, and Daniel Sutter. 1997. "Politics and the Pursuit of Fame." *Public Choice* 93 (1/2): 19–35. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30024279>.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2005. "Do Women Candidates Play to Gender Stereotypes? Do Men Candidates Play to Women? Candidate Sex and Issues Priorities on Campaign Websites." *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (1): 31. doi: 10.2307/3595593.
- Evans, J. 2005. *Women, Partisanship, and the Congress*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ferris, Sarah. 2022. "Diamond-Studded Thorns: 2 House Dem Centrists Speak up on Their Way Out." POLITICO, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.politico.com/news/2022/12/26/stephanie-murphy-kathleen-rice-centrists-00075509>.
- Frisch, S., and S. Kelly. 2013. *Politics to the Extreme: American Political Institutions in the Twenty-First Century*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan US.
- GovTrack. 2017. "Voting Records." GovTrack.us, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes#session/2017>.
- GovTrack. 2018. "Voting Records." GovTrack.us, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes#session/2018>.
- GovTrack. 2021. "Voting Records." GovTrack.us, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes#session/2021>.
- GovTrack. 2022. "Voting Records." GovTrack.us, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes#session/2022>.
- Hamilton, Lee. 2023. "House of Representatives Dysfunction Is Cause for Alarm." The Timberjay, accessed April 1, 2023. <http://www.timberjay.com/stories/house-of-representatives-dysfunction-is-cause-for-alarm.19873>.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2016. "Gender and Political Behavior." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. doi: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.71.
- Lupton, Robert N., Steven M. Smallpage, and Adam M. Enders. 2017. "Values and Political Predispositions in the Age of Polarization: Examining the Relationship between Partisanship and Ideology in the United States, 1988–2012." *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (1): 241–60. doi: 10.1017/s0007123417000370.
- Moreno, Dario, Eduardo Gamarra, Patrick Murphy, and David Jolly, eds. 2021. *A Divided Union: Structural Challenges to Bipartisanship in America*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Nadeem, Reem. 2022. "As Partisan Hostility Grows, Signs of Frustration with the Two-Party System." Pew Research Center, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/08/09/as-partisan-hostility-grows-signs-of-frustration-with-the-two-party-system/>.
- Nikos-Rose, Karen. 2021. "Is There (Still) a Gender Gap in Politics?" University of California, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/there-still-gender-gap-politics>.
- Pew Research Center. "5. Views of Parties' Positions on Issues, Ideologies." 2020. U.S. Politics & Policy, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2016/06/22/5-views-of-parties-positions-on-issues-ideologies/>.
- Rothfus, Keith, Mike Watson, and Mark Strand. 2023. "How to Fix the House of Representatives." National Affairs, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/how-to-fix-the-house-of-representatives>.
- Wineinger, Catherine. 2022. "More Republican Women Have Been Elected to Congress. But They Can Do Better." Gender Policy Report, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://genderpolicyreport.umn.edu/more-republican-women-have-been-elected-to-congress-but-they-can-do-better/>.
- Siegel, Benjamin. 2015. "New House Speaker Paul Ryan Pledges to Fix 'Broken' House." ABC News, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/house-speaker-paul-ryan-pledges-fix-broken-house/story?id=34826494>.
- Solender, Andrew. 2023. "How Partisan Warfare Is Consuming the New Congress." Axios, accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.axios.com/2023/02/12/partisan-stunts-congress-biden-republicans>.