# Appendix C

## Congressional Votes Coded for Polarization Analysis

### Abortion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amendment</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amendment to Family Planning bill to require federally funded Title X clinics to notify parents before performing abortion on a minor (H 3/25/93)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Modification of Hyde Amendment to allow Medicaid funding of abortion in cases of rape and incest (H 6/30/93 and S 9/28/93)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amendment to Fiscal 1994 Treasury-Postal Appropriations Bill to prohibit federal employee health plan from funding abortions (S 8/3/93, H 9/29/93)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conference report on Fiscal 1994 D.C. Appropriations Bill, rejected because it lacked restrictions on taxpayer funding of abortion (H 10/20/93)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Freedom of Access to Abortion Clinics Bill (S 11/16/93 and H 11/18/93)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act (H 5/5/94 and S 5/12/94)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schroeder amendment to anti-crime bill (HR 728) to allow block grant funds to be used to protect abortion clinics (H 2/14/95)</td>
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<td>Amendment to Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (HR 1868) to reinstate “Mexico City policy” (H 6/28/95, S 9/21/95)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amendment to Treasury-Postal Appropriations Bill (HR 2020) to allow abortion coverage in federal employee benefits plans (H 7/19/95, S 8/5/95)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norton amendment to Commerce, Justice, and State Appropriations Bill to allow funding of abortions for women in prison (H 7/26/95)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hyde Amendment, attached to Labor-HHS Appropriations Bill (HR 2127) (H 8/3/95, S 10/27/95)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ganske amendment to Labor-HHS Appropriations Bill (HR 2127) to allow funding of medical schools that do not offer training in abortion procedures (H 8/3/95)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amendment to Fiscal 1996 Defense Appropriations Bill (HR 2126) to allow funding of abortions at overseas military facilities (H 9/7/95)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partial Birth Ban (HR 1833) (H 11/1/95, S 12/7/95)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lowey Amendment to Omnibus Appropriations Bill (HR 3019) to require Medicaid funding of abortion in cases of rape or incest (H 3/7/96)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amendment to D.C. Appropriations Bill (HR 3845) to allow city to spend local money for abortions (S 3/19/96, H 7/22/96)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coats Amendment to Fiscal 96 Omnibus Appropriations Bill (HR 3019) to allow federal funding of hospitals that refuse to provide abortion training (S 3/19/96)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amendment to Defense Authorization Bill (HR 3230) to allow overseas military hospitals to perform privately funded abortions (H 5/14/96, S 6/19/96)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amendment to Treasury-Postal Appropriations Bill (HR 3756) to allow abortion coverage in federal employee benefits plans (H 7/17/96, S 9/11/96)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partial Birth Ban (HR 1833) (H 9/19/96, S 9/26/96)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partial Birth Ban (HR 1122) (H 5/20/97, S 10/8/97)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amendment to Defense Authorization Bill (HR 1119, S 936) to repeal ban on abortions in overseas military hospitals (H 6/19/97, S 7/10/97)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hyde Amendment to Labor-HHS Appropriations Bill (HR 2264) (S 6/25/97, H 9/11/97)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DeWine Amendment to Treasury-Postal Service Appropriations Bill (HR 2378, S 1023) to ban abortion coverage in federal employee benefits plans (S 7/22/97)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Smith Amendment to Fiscal 1998 Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (HR 2159) to reinstate Mexico City policy (H 9/4/97)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norton Amendment to Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Bill (HR 2267) to authorize funding of abortions for federal prisoners (H 9/25/97)</td>
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Amendment to State Department Authorization Bill (HR 1757) to reinstate Mexico City policy (H 3/26/98, S 4/28/98)

Amendment to Fiscal 1999 Defense Authorization Bill (HR 3616) to allow abortion at overseas military hospitals (H 5/20/98, S 6/25/98)

Coburn Amendment to Agriculture Appropriations Bill (HR 4101) to prohibit FDA from approving RU-486 (H 6/24/98)

Prohibit transportation of minors across state lines to procure abortion (HR 3682, S 1645) (H 7/15/98, S 9/22/98)

DeLauro Amendment to Fiscal 1999 Treasury-Postal Service Appropriations Bill (HR 4104) to remove ban on abortion coverage in federal employee benefits plans (H 7/16/98)

Smith Amendment to Fiscal 1999 Treasury-Postal Service Appropriations Bill (HR 4104) to ban coverage of abortion-inducing drugs in federal employee benefits plans (H 7/16/98)

Partial Birth Ban (H 7/23/98, S 9/18/98)

Norton Amendment to Fiscal 1999 D.C. Appropriations Bill (HR 4380) to allow local funding of abortion (H 8/6/98)

Amendment to Defense Authorization Bill (S 1059) to allow privately funded abortions in overseas military bases (S 5/26/99, H 6/9/99)

Amendment to Fiscal 2000 Agriculture Appropriations Bill (HR 1906) to prohibit FDA from testing or approving RU-486 (H 6/8/99)

Prohibit transportation of minor across state lines to circumvent a state’s parental involvement law (HR 1218, S 661) (H 6/30/99)

Amendment to Treasury-Postal Service Appropriations Bill to ban abortion coverage in federal employee benefits plans (S 7/1/99, H 7/15/99)

Amendment to State Department Reauthorization Bill (HR 2415) to authorize $25 million in funding to UNFPA, provided that no funds are spent in China (H 7/20/99)

Amendment to Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (HR 2606) to reinstate “Mexico City policy” (H 7/29/99)

Amendment to Fiscal 2000 Congress, Justice, State Appropriations Bill (HR 2670) to allow federal funding of abortion for women in federal prison (H 8/4/99)

Fetal Protection Bill (HR 2436) (H 9/30/99)

Partial birth ban (S 10/20/99)

Schumer Amendment to Bankruptcy Overhaul (S 625) to prohibit discharge of debts resulting from anti-clinic violence (S 2/2/00)

Partial birth ban (HR 3660) (H 4/5/00)

Amendment to Defense Authorization Bill (HR 4205, S 2549) to allow privately funded abortions on overseas military bases (H 5/18/00, S 6/20/00)

DeGette Amendment to Commerce, Justice, and State Appropriations Bill (HR 4690) to remove ban on federal funding of abortions for prisoners (H 6/22/00)

Coburn Amendment to Physician Collective Bargaining Bill (HR 1304) to exempt discussions regarding abortion coverage (H 6/30/00)

Amendment to Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations Bill (HR 4577) to prohibit use of federal funds to distribute “morning after pill” to minors (S 6/30/00, H 9/19/00)

Coburn Amendment to Agriculture Appropriations Bill (HR 4461) to prohibit FDA from testing, developing, or approving abortion inducing drugs (H 7/10/00)

Amendment to Fiscal 2001 Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (HR 4811) to reinstate Mexico City policy (H 7/13/00)

DeLauro Amendment to Fiscal 2001 Treasury Appropriations Bill (HR 4871) to allow abortion coverage in federal employee health plans (H 7/20/00)

Bill to define as legal person any fetus that has been completely expelled or extracted from woman’s body (HR 4292) (H 9/26/00)

Unborn Victims of Violence Act (HR 503) (H 4/26/01)

Hyde Amendment to State Department Authorization Bill (HR 1646) to reinstate Mexico City policy (H 5/16/01)

Santorum Amendment to Patients’ Rights Bill (S 1052) to specify that “person” includes infants born alive at any stage of development (S 6/29/01)

DeGette Amendment to Fiscal 2002 Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Bill (HR 2500) to allow funding for abortion for women in federal prison (H 7/17/01)
Sanchez Amendment to Defense Authorization Bill (HR 2586) to allow privately funded abortions on overseas military bases (H 9/25/01)

Prohibit transportation of minors across state lines to circumvent state parental involvement laws (HR 476) (H 4/17/02)

Amendment to Defense Authorization Bill (HR 4546) to allow privately funded abortions on overseas military bases (H 5/10/02, S 6/21/02)

Partial Birth Ban (HR 4965) (H 7/24/02)

Abortion Service Refusal (HR 4691) (H 9/25/02)

Amendment to Defense Authorization Bill (HR 1588, S 1050) to allow privately funded abortions in overseas military bases (H 5/22/03, S 5/22/03)

Boxer Amendment to State Department Authorization Bill (HR 1950, S 925) to repeal Mexico City policy (S 7/9/03)

Smith Amendment to State Department Authorization Bill (HR 1950) to block U.S. contributions to UNFPA (H 7/15/03)

Partial Birth Abortion Ban (S 3) (H 10/2/03, S 10/21/03)

Unborn Victims of Violence Act (HR 1997) (H 2/26/04, S 3/25/04)

Amendment to Fiscal 2005 Defense Authorization Bill (HR 4200) to allow privately funded abortions in overseas military bases (H 5/19/04)

Schumer Amendment to bankruptcy bill (S 256) to prohibit violent protesters, including anti-abortion protesters, from discharging court-ordered fines (S 3/8/05)

Clinton Amendment to Fiscal 2006 Budget Resolution (S Con Res 18) to express sense of the Senate that $1 billion of federal funds should go to family planning programs (S 3/17/05)

Boxer Amendment to State Department Authorization Bill (S 600) to repeal Mexico City policy (S 4/5/05)

Child Interstate Abortion Notification Act (HR 748) (H 4/27/05)

Amendment to Defense Authorization Bill (HR 1815) to allow privately funded abortions at overseas military bases (H 5/25/05)

Maloney Amendment to Fiscal 2006 Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Bill (HR 2862) to authorize contributions to UNFPA (H 6/16/05)

Andrews Amendment to Fiscal 2007 Defense Authorization Bill (HR 5122) to allow privately funded abortions at overseas military bases (H 5/10/06)

Child Custody Protection Act (S 403) (H 9/26/06, S 9/29/06)

Boxer Amendment to Fiscal 2008 State-Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (HR 2764) to repeal Mexico City policy (H 6/21/07, S 9/6/07)

Amendment to Fiscal 2008 Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations Bill (HR 3043) to bar funding to Planned Parenthood (H 7/19/07, S 10/18/07)

Martinez Amendment to Children’s Health Insurance Bill (HR 2) to reinstate Mexico City policy (S 1/28/09)

Wicker Amendment to Fiscal 2009 Omnibus Appropriations Bill (HR 1105) to bar funding to UNFPA (S 3/5/09)

Pence Amendment to Fiscal 2010 Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations Bill (HR 3293) to bar funding to Planned Parenthood (H 7/24/09)

Amendment to Health Care Overhaul (HR 3962) to bar funding for abortion (H 11/7/09, S 12/8/09)

Motion to Recommit Health Care Overhaul to House Budget Committee with instructions to bar use of federal funds to pay for abortions or health plans that include abortion coverage (H 3/21/10)

Adoption of resolution (H Con Res 36) to direct House clerk to make a correction in the enrollment of a bill (HR 1473: Department of Defense and Full-Year Continuing Appropriations Act, 2011) to bar use of funds for Planned Parenthood Federation of America Inc. or its affiliates (H 4/14/11; S 4/14/11)

Federal funding and tax status of Abortion/Passage (HR 3) to prohibit federal funding for abortion services, except in cases of rape, incest or when woman’s life is endangered; modify tax breaks for health insurance to exclude coverage for abortion; prohibit federal medical facilities from providing abortion services; and establish “conscience protections” for health care providers who object to providing abortion services (H 5/4/11)

Foxx amendment to Residency Training Funding bill (HR 1216) to bar use of funds for graduate medical education to provide abortion or training in abortion procedures (H 5/25/11)
Affirmative Action

Elimination of Tax Break for Companies Selling Television and Cable Stations to Minority Owned Businesses (HR 831) (H 2/21/95, S 4/3/95)

Gramm amendment to Fiscal 1995 legislative branch spending bill (HR 1854) to bar spending to award contracts on basis of race (S 7/20/95)

Amendment to Surface Transportation Reauthorization Bill (HR 2400) to eliminate DBE program (S 3/6/98, H 4/1/98)

Gay Rights

Nickles amendment to NIH Reauthorization Bill (S 1, HR 4), barring entry into U.S. of HIV-positive immigrants (S 2/18/93 and H 3/11/93)

Istook amendment to D.C. Appropriations Bill (HR 2492) to prevent implementation of domestic partnership ordinance (H 6/30/93 and S 7/27/93)

Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell (S 9/9/93, H 9/28/93)

Barton amendment to D.C. Appropriations Bill (HR 4649) to block implementation of domestic partnership ordinance (H 7/13/94)

Helms amendment to Ryan White Care Act (S 641) to prohibit funds from being used to promote homosexuality (S 7/27/95)

Hostetler amendment to DC Appropriations Bill (HR2546) to revoke DP ordinance (H 11/1/95)

Employment Non-Discrimination Act (S 2056) (S 9/10/96)

Defense of Marriage Act (HR 3396) (H 7/12/96, S 9/10/96)

Riggs Amendment to Higher Education Act (HR 6) to bar federal support for public colleges and universities that grant admissions preferences based on race (H 5/6/98)

Campbell Amendment to Higher Education Act (HR 6) to provide that no person shall be excluded from minority science and engineering improvement program on basis of race (H 5/6/98)

Amendment to Fiscal 1999 VA-HUD Appropriations Bill (HR 4194) to bar use of federal funds to enforce San Francisco’s domestic partnership ordinance (H 7/29/98)

Amendment to Fiscal 2000 D.C. Appropriations Bill (HR 2587) to ban joint adoptions by unmarried couples (H 7/29/99)

Amendment to Fiscal 2001 Defense Authorization Bill (HR 4205, S 2549) to extend hate crimes laws to cover sexual orientation (S 6/20/00, H 9/13/00)

Hostetler Amendment to D.C. Appropriations Bill (HR 2944) to ban use of funds to carry out D.C. Commission on Human Rights order that Boy Scouts of America reinstate and compensate two gay Scout leaders (H 9/25/01)

Amendment to D.C. Appropriations Bill (HR 2944) to prohibit use of local as well as federal funds to implement domestic partnership ordinance (H 9/25/01)

Anti-SSM Constitutional Amendment (S 7/14/04, H 9/30/04)

Court Review of DOMA Bill (H 7/22/04)
Davis Amendment to Fiscal 2006 Defense Appropriations Bill (HR 1815) to require DoD to maintain existing support for Boy Scouts of America (H 5/25/05)

Stearns Amendment to Fiscal 2006 Defense Authorization to express sense of Congress that any college or university that denies equal access to ROTC or military recruiters should be denied federal funds (H 5/25/05)

SSM Ban Constitutional Amendment (HJ Res 88) (S 6/7/06, H 7/18/06)

**Gun Rights**

Brady Bill (H 11/10/93 and S 11/20/93)

Feinstein amendment to Omnibus Crime Bill (S 1607) to ban manufacture and sale of assault weapons (11/17/93)

Assault weapons ban (H 5/5/94 and S 8/25/94)

Volkmer amendment to anti-crime bill (HR 666) to exempt ATF from provisions purporting to relax Fourth Amendment exclusionary rule (H 2/8/95)

Repeal of assault weapons ban (HR 125) (H 3/22/96)

Biden amendment to Anti-Terrorism Bill (S 735) to increase statute of limitations for violations of National Firearms Act (S 4/17/96)

Durbin amendment to Housing Overhaul Bill (HR 2406) to increase penalties for gun possession in public housing (H 5/9/96)

Lowey amendment to Labor-HHS Appropriations Bill (HR 3755) to fund CDC research on firearms (H 7/11/96)

Lautenberg amendment to Treasury-Postal Service Appropriations Bill (HR 3756) to ban gun possession by persons convicted of domestic violence (S 9/12/96)

Kohl amendment to Treasury-Postal Service Appropriations Bill (HR 3756) to reenact Gun Free School Zones Act (S 9/12/96)

Amendment to Fiscal 1999 Commerce, Justice State Appropriations Bill (S 2260) to impose liability on parents for shootings committed by juveniles with parents’ guns (S 7/22/98)

Amendment to Fiscal 1999 Treasury-Postal Service Appropriations Bill (S 2312) to ban importation of large capacity clips (S 7/28/98)

Amendment to Juvenile Crime Bill (S 254) to provide civil liability immunity for certain firearms violations (S 5/12/99)

Amendment to Juvenile Crime Bill (S 254) to prohibit possession of assault weapons by juveniles (S 5/13/99, H 6/18/99)

Amendment to Juvenile Crime Bill (S 254) to prohibit importation of large capacity clips (S 5/13/99)

Amendment to Juvenile Crime Bill (S 254) to increase penalties for illegal transfer or use of firearms (S 5/14/99)

Amendment to Juvenile Crime Bill (S 254) to limit on-line sales of firearms (S 5/14/99)

Amendment to Juvenile Crime Bill (S 254) to require safety locks with all handgun sales (S 5/18/99, H 6/18/99)

Amendment to Juvenile Crime Bill (S 254) to require background checks on firearms purchases at pawnshops (S 5/20/99, H 6/18/99)

Bill to close Brady Act’s “gun show loophole” by requiring background checks on firearms purchases at gun shows (S 5/20/99, H 6/17/99)

Amendment to bill to close Brady Act’s gun show loophole (HR 2122) to repeal D.C.’s ban on handgun possession (H 6/18/99)
Amendment to Class Action Lawsuit Bill (HR 1875) to exempt firearms suits (H 9/23/99)

Levin Amendment to Bankruptcy Overhaul Bill (S 625) to bar gun manufacturers from discharging debts resulting from product liability suits (S 2/2/00)

Boxer Amendment to Education Savings Accounts Bill (S 1134) to encourage Congress to implement policies to reduce gun violence in schools (S 3/2/00)

Durbin Amendment to Education Savings Accounts Bill (S 1134) to authorize $7 million for schools to reduce gun violence (S 3/2/00)

Craig Amendment to Fiscal 2001 Budget Reconciliation Bill (S Con Res 101) to encourage enforcement of existing gun laws (S 4/7/00)

Project Exile Bill (HR 4051) to impose tougher sentences for possession of a firearm during commission of a crime (H 4/11/00)

Conyers Motion to instruct conferees on Juvenile Justice Bill (HR 1501) to include provisions enhancing gun safety (H 4/11/00)

Lott Amendment to Fiscal 2001 Military Construction Appropriations Bill (S 2521) to support right to bear arms (S 5/17/00)

Daschle Amendment to Fiscal 2001 Military Construction Appropriations Bill (S 2521) to commend organizers of Million Mom March (S 5/17/00)

Hostettler Amendment to Fiscal 2001 VA-HUD Appropriations Bill (HR 4635) to prohibit use of federal funds to administer HUD’s Communities for Safer Guns Coalition (H 6/21/00)

Hostettler Amendment to Fiscal 2001 Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Bill (HR 4690) to block funding to implement DOJ settlement with Smith & Wesson (6/26/00)

Moran Amendment to Fiscal 2002 Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Bill (HR 2500) to require Brady records to be kept for 90 days (H 7/18/01)

Schumer Amendment to Fiscal 2002 VA-HUD Appropriations Bill (HR 2620) to fund HUD’s gun buyback program (S 8/2/01)

Pickering Amendment to Campaign Finance Overhaul Bill (HR 2356) to exempt communications about gun rights from advertising requirements (H 2/13/02)

Gun Liability Bill (HR 1036) (H 4/9/03)

Gun Liability Bill (S 1805) (S 2/25/04)

Boxer Amendment to Gun Liability Bill (S 1805) to require gun safety devices to be included with all handgun sales (S 2/26/04)

Feinstein Amendment to Gun Liability Bill (S 1805) to provide 10-year reauthorization of ban on assault weapons (S 3/2/04)

McCain Amendment to Gun Liability Bill (S 1805) to close gun show loophole (S 3/2/04)

Campbell Amendment to Gun Liability Bill (S 1805) to exempt retired and off-duty law enforcement officers from state laws prohibiting concealed weapons (S 3/2/04)

D.C. Gun Laws Bill (HR 3193) (H 9/29/04)

Amendment to Fiscal 2006 Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Bill (HR 2862) to bar use of funds to license export of semi-automatic weapons (H 6/16/05)

Souder Amendment to Fiscal 2006 Transportation, Treasury, Housing Appropriations Bill (HR 3058) to bar use of federal funds to enforce D.C.’s ban on handgun possession (H 6/30/05)

Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act (S 7/29/05, H 10/20/05)

Musgrave Amendment to Fiscal 2007 Commerce-Justice-State Appropriations Bill (HR 5672) to bar use of funds to enforce law requiring handguns to be sold with trigger locks (H 6/28/06)

Vitter Amendment to Fiscal 2007 Homeland Security Appropriations Bill (HR 5441) to bar use of funds to confiscate lawfully owned guns during an emergency (S 7/13/06)

Gun License Penalties Bill (HR 5092) (H 9/26/06)

Vitter Amendment to Fiscal 2008 State-Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (HR 2764) to bar funding of any organization that requires registration of guns owned by U.S. citizens (S 9/6/07)

D.C. Second Amendment Enforcement Act (H.R. 6842) (H 9/17/08)

Ensign Amendment to D.C. Voting Rights Bill (S 160) to repeal D.C.’s gun laws (S 2/26/09)
Wicker Amendment to Fiscal 2010 Budget Resolution (S Con Res 13) to allow firearms in checked baggage on Amtrak (S 4/2/09)

Coburn Amendment to Credit Car Company Regulations Bill (HR 627) to allow gun possession in national parks (S 5/12/09, H 5/20/09)

Thune Amendment to Fiscal 2010 Defense Authorization Bill (S 1390) to allow individuals to carry concealed weapons across state lines, irrespective of state laws (S 7/22/09)

Amendment to Fiscal 2010 Transportation-HUD Appropriations Bill (HR 3288) to bar use of funds to restrict lawful firearms possession in federally assisted housing (H 7/24/09)

Coburn Amendment to Health Care Reconciliation Bill (HR 4872) to require that mentally incompetent Veterans Affairs beneficiaries not be prohibited from buying or transporting firearms without a judicial order that the person is a danger to himself or others (S 3/25/10)

Hastings motion to recommit Puerto Rico Political Status bill (HR 2499) with instructions to redefine Puerto Rican statehood option to specify that residents would be committed to carry firearms (and that English would be official language) (H 4/29/10)

Boren amendment to Fiscal 2011 Continuing Appropriations (HR 1) to bar use of funds to require a person licensed to import, manufacture or deal in firearms or ammunition to report information to DOJ regarding sale of multiple rifles or shotguns to same person (H 2/18/11)

Reid motion to table Paul amendment to Reid substitute amendment on Patriot Act Extensions (S 990); the Paul amendment would block government investigators from using Patriot Act’s “business record” provision to obtain background forms from firearms purchases (S 5/26/11)

Cicilline motion to recommit Concealed-Carry Reciprocity bill (HR 822) with instructions to amend it so as to exclude individuals convicted of sex offenses against minors or subject to domestic violence restraining orders (H 11/16/11)