



# *Overview of EMILY's List*

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## Who We Are: EMILY's List- Where History Is Made

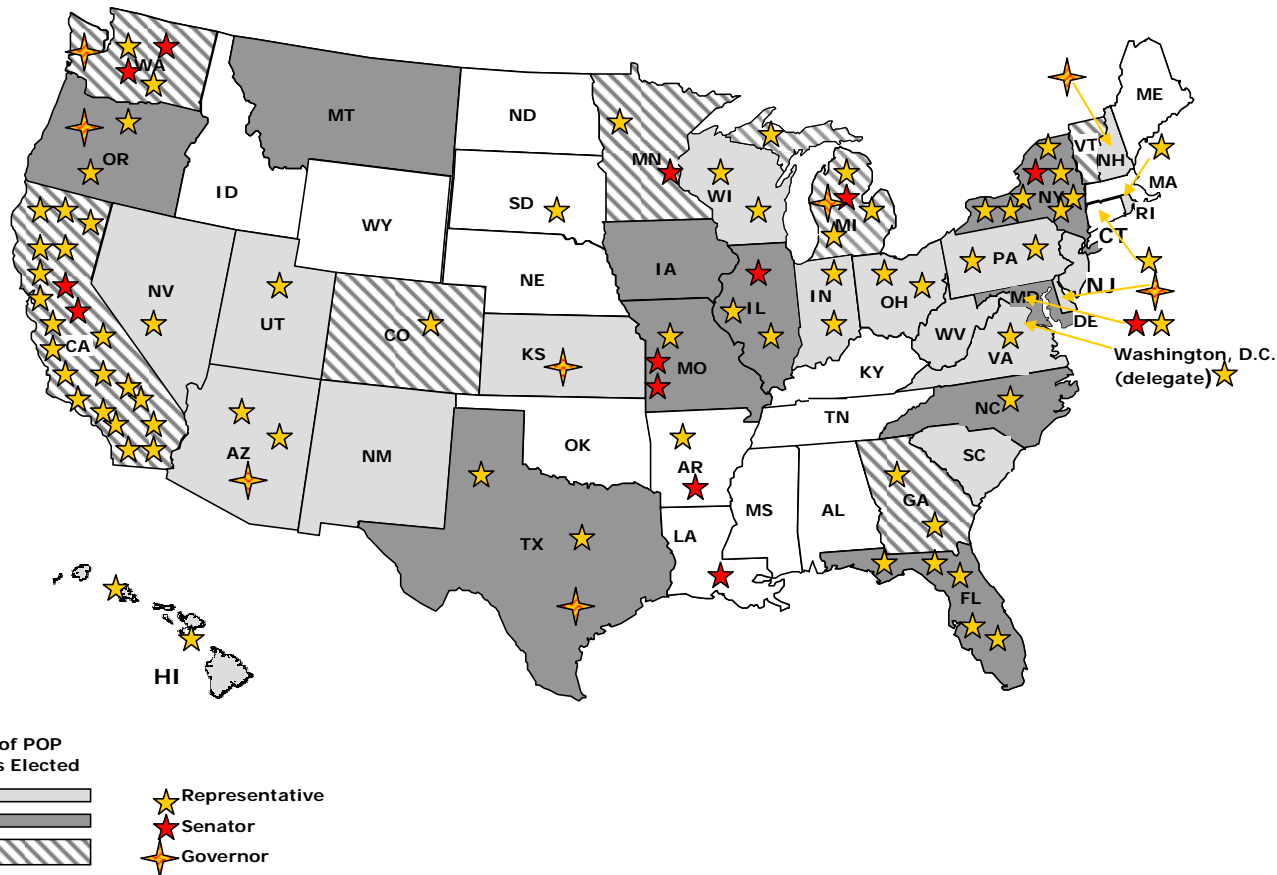
EMILY's List, an acronym for "Early Money Is Like Yeast" (it makes the dough rise), is a political action committee that helps elect pro-choice Democratic women candidates to office. EMILY's List is a full-service political network providing financial assistance to pro-choice Democratic women candidates up and down the ballot, helping them build strong campaigns, and mobilizing women voters through EMILY's List WOMEN VOTE!, to help Democrats up and down the ticket.

**Since its founding in 1985, EMILY's List has helped elect 71 pro-choice Democratic women to the U.S. House, 13 to the U.S. Senate, and eight governors.** In only twelve election cycles, through our Political Opportunity program EMILY's List has helped 364 pro-choice Democratic women to state legislatures and other key state and local offices.

Over its 23-year history, EMILY's List has expanded its scope to anticipate shifts in the way campaigns are run and to meet the needs of a changing political landscape — developing new programs to help women win.



### Women We Helped Elect 1985-2008



## Women We Helped Elect

EMILY's List wins elections. Since our founding, we have helped elect 71 pro-choice Democratic women members of Congress, 13 senators, 8 governors, and 364 women to state and local office.

### United States House of Representatives (71)

#### Arizona

Karan English\*\*  
Gabrielle Giffords

#### Arkansas

Blanche Lambert Lincoln\*

#### California

Lois Capps  
Susan Davis  
Anna Eshoo  
Jane Harman  
Barbara Lee  
Zoe Lofgren  
Doris Matsui  
Juanita Millender-McDonald\*\*\*  
Grace Napolitano  
Laura Richardson  
Lucille Roybal-Allard  
Linda Sanchez  
Loretta Sanchez  
Lynn Schenk\*\*  
Jackie Speier  
Hilda Solis  
Ellen Tauscher  
Maxine Waters  
Diane Watson  
Lynn Woolsey

#### Colorado

Diana DeGette

#### Connecticut

Rosa DeLauro

#### Florida

Corrine Brown  
Kathy Castor  
Carrie Meek\*\*  
Karen Thurman\*\*  
Debbie Wasserman Schultz

#### Georgia

Denise Majette\*\*  
Cynthia McKinney

#### Hawaii

Mazie Hirono  
Patsy Mink\*\*\*

#### Illinois

Melissa Bean  
Jan Schakowsky

#### Indiana

Julia Carson  
Jill Long Thompson\*\*

#### Maryland

Donna Edwards

#### Massachusetts

Niki Tsongas

#### Michigan

Barbara-Rose Collins\*\*  
Carolyn Cheeks  
Kilpatrick  
Lynn Rivers\*\*  
Debbie Stabenow\*

#### Minnesota

Betty McCollum

#### Missouri

Karen McCarthy\*\*

#### Nevada

Shelley Berkley

#### New York

Yvette Clarke  
Kirsten Gillibrand  
Nita Lowey  
Carolyn Maloney  
Carolyn McCarthy  
Louise Slaughter  
Nydia Velazquez

#### North Carolina

Eva Clayton\*\*

#### Ohio

Betty Sutton  
Stephanie Tubbs Jones

#### Oregon

Elizabeth Furse\*\*  
Darlene Hooley

#### Pennsylvania

Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky\*\*  
Allyson Schwartz

#### South Dakota

Stephanie Herseth Sandlin

#### Texas

Eddie Bernice Johnson  
Sheila Jackson Lee

#### Utah

Karen Shepherd\*\*

#### Virginia

Leslie Byrne\*\*

#### Washington

Maria Cantwell\*  
Jolene Unsoeld\*\*

#### Washington, DC

Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton

#### Wisconsin

Tammy Baldwin  
Gwen Moore

## **United States Senate (13)**

### **Arkansas**

Blanche Lambert Lincoln

### **California**

Barbara Boxer

Dianne Feinstein

### **Illinois**

Carol Moseley Braun\*\*

### **Louisiana**

Mary Landrieu

### **Maryland**

Barbara Mikulski

## **Governors (8)**

### **Arizona**

Janet Napolitano

### **Delaware**

Ruth Ann Minner

### **Kansas**

Kathleen Sebelius

### **Michigan**

Jennifer Granholm

### **Michigan**

Debbie Stabenow

### **Minnesota**

Amy Klobuchar

### **Missouri**

Jean Carnahan\*\*

Claire McCaskill

### **New York**

Hillary Clinton

### **Washington**

Maria Cantwell

Patty Murray

### **New Hampshire**

Jeanne Shaheen\*\*

### **Oregon**

Barbara Roberts\*\*

### **Texas**

Ann Richards\*\*\*

### **Washington**

Christine Gregoire

\*currently serving in the Senate

\*\*no longer in office

\*\*\*deceased

## EMILY's List President and Founder Ellen R. Malcolm



As president and founder of EMILY's List, Ellen R. Malcolm has helped level the political playing field for women candidates; given women donors unprecedented influence in electoral politics; brought millions of women voters to the polls; and created a powerful movement dedicated to restoring progressive values to American government.

An acronym for "Early Money Is Like Yeast" (because it "makes the dough rise") EMILY's List is a political network for pro-choice Democratic women candidates that raises money to make women credible contenders, helps women build strong campaigns, and mobilizes women voters to go to the polls.

Since its founding in 1985, EMILY's List has helped elect 13 pro-choice Democratic women U.S. senators, 70 U.S. representatives, and eight state governors. Now the largest political action committee in the country, EMILY's List has over 100,000 members and raised over \$46 million for candidates or political programs during the 2006 election cycle.

In addition to being the public face and primary fundraiser for EMILY's List, Malcolm in 2003 helped create America Coming Together (ACT), a massive nationwide organization dedicated to empowering and mobilizing voters. Malcolm served as ACT's president in 2003 and 2004, helping to raise over \$145 million for a sophisticated and personal voter contact effort in key states. Malcolm was also instrumental in the creation of America Votes, a coalition of progressive groups (including ACT and EMILY's List) that work together to register, educate, and mobilize voters.

In a 2004 profile of Malcolm, the *New York Times* described her leadership of EMILY's List and ACT as "a double threat to Republicans." The *Times* quoted Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton referring to Malcolm as "probably the most influential fundraiser and adviser we've seen."

Malcolm has been active in public service in Washington, D.C., for over 30 years. She was an organizer at Common Cause in the early 1970s and later served as press secretary for the National Women's Political Caucus. Malcolm joined the White House staff in 1980 as press secretary for Esther Peterson, President Carter's special assistant for consumer affairs. After completing her masters in business administration at George Washington University, Malcolm founded EMILY's List in 1985.

Malcolm is frequently sought out for comment on campaigns, fundraising, and political strategy. She has been featured on "60 Minutes," NBC's "Today" and "CBS This Morning," and in *People* and *Fortune* magazines. Her opinions have been published as guest columns in the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Roll Call*, and other newspapers.

The recipient of numerous awards and honors, Malcolm was named one of America's most influential women in 1998 by *Vanity Fair* magazine and, in 1999, one of the 100 Most Important Women in America by *Ladies' Home Journal*. In 1992, Malcolm was among *Glamour* magazine's Women of the Year, and was also named Most Valuable Player by the American Association of Political Consultants.

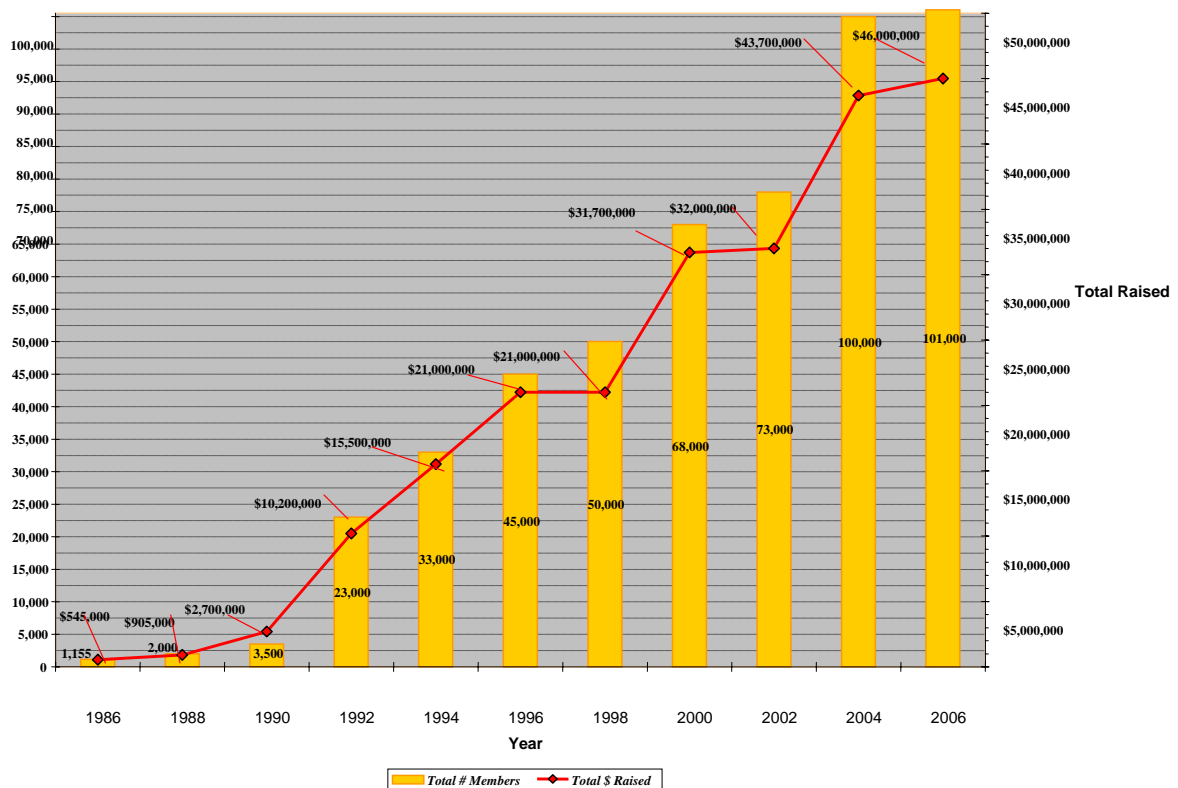
## How We Raise Money: Building a Base of Financial Support for Women Candidates

One of the largest PACs in the country, EMILY's List's first goal was to create a base of donors who would support pro-choice Democratic women running for federal office. EMILY's List is different than the usual PAC: we encourage individual member fundraising and an entrepreneurial electoral focus. When EMILY's List was started, male candidates often had exclusive access to traditional donor networks, while many women running for office faced doubts from the political establishment about whether they could raise the money needed to conduct a competitive campaign. EMILY's List was developed to not only provide this early money to pro-choice Democratic women's campaigns, but to also offer the strategy and support necessary to help get these women elected.

People join EMILY's List with a membership contribution and agree to consider contributing \$100 or more to at least two recommended candidates during the election cycle. EMILY's List provides its more than 100,000 members with information about viable pro-choice Democratic women running for House, Senate, or governor. Members use this information to decide who they want to support and how much they want to contribute and then write a check directly to the chosen campaign. The average member contribution to individual candidates during the 2006 election cycle was \$98.

EMILY's List donors have shown that small contributions add up and draw the attention of opinion leaders, who consequently take women candidates seriously. **In the 2006 cycle, EMILY's List members contributed nearly \$11 million to recommended candidates and over \$35 million to support the EMILY's List programs.** Since its inception in 1985, EMILY's List members have contributed over \$200 million dollars to EMILY's List endorsed candidates and other EMILY's List programs.

**EMILY's List Fundraising & Membership 1986-2006**



## **How We Create Victories: Helping Women Build Strong Campaigns**

When EMILY's List was founded in 1985, no Democratic woman had been elected to the Senate in her own right, no woman had been elected governor of a large state, and the number of Democratic women in the U.S. House had declined to 12. Over two decades later, EMILY's List has dramatically expanded the field of strong pro-choice Democratic women running for office and has helped to triple the number of Democratic women in the United States House and add 11 women to the Senate.

Earning an EMILY's List endorsement is not easy. Those seeking EMILY's List support must demonstrate that they have a realistic strategy for victory and EMILY's List helps them to become viable candidates.

In 1994, to help women candidates tackle the barriers to getting elected, EMILY's List began to build a professional political staff to identify opportunities and recruit pro-choice Democratic women candidates to run for office and help those candidates build strong campaigns.

EMILY's List political staff seeks to level the playing field. Women running for office often lack the political network and institutional support that many male candidates have come to expect. EMILY's List has an extensive political staff that works with candidates to assess their campaigns and to offer strategic and technical guidance. We train candidates to improve their campaign skills and maintain a training program and job bank for top campaign operatives to staff our women's campaigns.

That comprehensive approach to supporting our recommended campaigns paid off in **the 2006 mid-term elections, where EMILY's List endorsed candidates** won critical House and Senate races that helped return control of Congress to Democrats and increased the number of women in Congress to record-breaking levels. EMILY's List is the only major organization outside of the campaign committees that works to recruit, train, and fund candidates in order to change control of Congress.

- In the U.S. House, **victories by 50 Democratic women helped put Democrats in control** and elevated **Rep. Nancy Pelosi to her historic role as the first woman Speaker of the House.**
  
- The **eight new Democratic women elected to the U.S. House** was the second largest increase in history.
  
- In the U.S. Senate, Democratic control was put solidly in the Democrat's grasp with the **hard fought win of Claire McCaskill in Missouri.** In the Minnesota Senate primary, we were the first national organization to get behind **Amy Klobuchar**, securing that Democratic seat. And we worked hard to protect our incumbents – **Senators Maria Cantwell of Washington, Dianne Feinstein of California, Hillary Clinton of New York and Debbie Stabenow of Michigan.**
  
- The re-election of all women Senate incumbents and the addition of McCaskill and Klobuchar brings **the number of women in the Senate to a new high of 16.**
  
- Three female Democratic incumbent governors were up for re-election, and all three won. **Governor Kathleen Sebelius of Kansas and Governor Janet Napolitano of Arizona are Democratic women leading historically red states**, setting an example for our entire country. **Governor Jennifer Granholm** battled against the wealth and incessant attacks of her opponent and won on the strength of her leadership and dedication to the people of Michigan.

Already in the 2007-2008 cycle, EMILY's List has helped elect four new women to Congress: Laura Richardson (CA), Niki Tsongas (MA), Jackie Speier (CA), and Donna Edwards (MD).

## How We Increase the Number of Women in Office: Developing a Pipeline of Women Candidates

As we approached the millennium, EMILY's List realized that despite more and more women winning targeted, competitive campaigns, the number of women deciding to run for office was not increasing at the same pace. While the number of women in Congress had tripled since the 1980s, the number of women in state legislatures had declined for the first time in thirty years.

**EMILY's List launched the Political Opportunity Program (POP) in 2001** in order to counteract this trend and bring more women into the political pipeline by recruiting and training pro-choice Democratic women to run for key state legislative, executive and local offices. All of these women would then hold critical seats that allow them to shape public progressive policy for millions of Americans and develop the skills they need to move into leadership positions and seek higher office.

The EMILY's List Political Opportunity Program **recruits, encourages, supports and trains women** who are thinking of running for office for the first time as well as incumbent officeholders facing tough challenges. The Political Opportunity Program provides a broad range of support for its endorsed candidates, including financial contributions, staffing assistance, and a variety of technical support from experienced political strategists. POP also helps elected women chart careers that will put them on the path to leadership, either at the state level or in Congress.

Last election cycle, the Political Opportunity Program invested nearly \$2.5 million dollars to **help expand the number of women running for state and local office to record levels**, putting women into critical leadership positions in state legislatures across the country and retaking control of critical statewide executive offices. These rising stars are the bench from which Democrats will draw the next generation of leaders in Congress.

**EMILY's List helped to elect women to 20 key statewide seats**, winning ten times more races than the previous cycle and helping to ensure **the largest increase in a single election for Democratic women in statewide office** in history. These races included critical positions such as secretaries of state in Ohio (Jennifer Brunner), California (Debra Bowen), and New Mexico (Mary Herrera) as well as three statewide wins for pro-choice Democratic women in Nevada with treasurer (Kate Marshall), attorney general (Catherine Cortez Masto), and controller (Kim Wallin).

On top of these victories, the 2006 cycle brought us **176 wins** for EMILY's List endorsed women in 31 states for offices such as county legislator, state House, and state Senate.

Another component of POP is the work to **help maintain Democratic majorities in legislatures across the country**. EMILY's List helped fight off tough challenges and maintain Democratic control in the following legislative bodies: Colorado House, Colorado Senate, North Carolina House, Washington House and Washington Senate. **Even more impressive was the role women played in helping flip state legislatures** as seven bodies changed control where EMILY's List played a role: Iowa House, Iowa Senate, Michigan House, Minnesota House, New Hampshire Senate, Pennsylvania House and Oregon House.

In addition to building a pipeline of pro-choice Democratic women candidates to eventually run for higher office, the POP program looks ahead to ensure future Democratic victories after the 2010 census. EMILY's List is in its sixth year of a ten year plan to prepare for redistricting. The POP program is working to increase the number of women in state legislative bodies and help pro-choice Democratic women achieve positions of influence in the redistricting process.

### POP and Women in Leadership

In addition to recruiting new women candidates, EMILY's List has continued its relationship with incumbent women to help them develop their careers and promote their elevation to leadership positions within state legislatures. The following are examples of some of the women who have risen to leadership with support from EMILY's List.

Speaker Barbara Buckley, NV Speaker of the Assembly  
Speaker Gaye Symington, VT Speaker of the House  
Assemblywoman Karen Bass, CA Assembly Speaker  
Assemblywoman Sally Lieber, CA Assembly Assistant Speaker pro Tempore  
Rep. Alice Madden, CO House Majority Leader  
Rep. Margaret Anderson Kelliher, MN Speaker of the House  
Sen. Lisa Brown, WA Senate Majority Leader

## How We Help All Democrats Win: Mobilizing Women Voters

Recognizing how important women voters are to electing women candidates and Democrats across the board, EMILY's List established the national **WOMEN VOTE! program in 1995**, coining the slogan "When Women Vote, Women Win!"

WOMEN VOTE! works to expand the Democratic electorate and motivate millions of women to vote. Using sophisticated market research and a groundbreaking modeling system, EMILY's List WOMEN VOTE! identifies key groups of women to target, determines their issue priorities, and reaches out to them with tailored messages delivered through personal contact, telephone, direct mail, television, radio, and the Internet.

An excellent example of this program in action is the EMILY's List Michigan WOMEN VOTE! 2006 project, where we pioneered and utilized sophisticated micro-targeting to identify and persuade key women voters. **WOMEN VOTE! made over 4 million contacts to Democratic and Independent women through direct mail and phones**, knocked on doors of drop-off Democratic women in targeted areas throughout the state, and ran an aggressive program to identify pro-choice voters, contacting over 100,000 of them—resulting in the re-election of EMILY's List candidates Governor Jennifer Granholm and Senator Debbie Stabenow.

### What is the Gender Gap?

The gender gap is a measure of the difference in the voting behavior of men and women. Women both register to vote and actually get out to the polls at higher rates than men, which makes the gender gap even more significant.

### How does the Gender Gap favor Democrats in an Election year?

Election after election shows that among female voters, the gender gap leans overwhelmingly in the Democrats' favor. In 2006, women voted for the Democratic federal candidates with a 9-point gender gap, enabling a Democratic wave to take back Congress. In presidential elections the gender gap is even larger: 17% in 2004, 22% in 2000 and 17% in 1996.

### Sample Gender Gap:

Gender Gap			
	female vote	male vote	gender gap
A	60%	40%	40%
B	40%	60%	

### The Women's Monitor 2008

The latest EMILY's List Women's Monitor study, entitled "From 18 to 80: Women on Politics and Society," talked to **more than 1,400 women voters in four distinct generational groups: Gen Y, Gen X, Boomers, and Seniors**. A fascinating look at the gaps and bridges between generations and what they mean for the next president of the United States, the study banishes myths about women voters and reveals key opportunities and challenges for the candidates in the presidential race.

Highlights of the study's findings include:

- Currently, Sen. Obama has a significant base among Gen Y women and Senior women.
- The women's electorate divides exactly evenly among those who are looking for hope and optimism (38 percent) and safety and security (38 percent).
- A majority of all generations of women say the outcome of the presidential race will make a lot of difference in their own lives (61 percent of all women).
- Seventy-seven (77) percent of Gen Y agrees that sexism is still a serious problem for women today, including 36 percent who agree strongly. Seventy-eight (78) percent of Gen Y agrees that there is still a need for a women's movement that has a strong political voice, including 34 percent who agree strongly.
- Eighty-three (83) percent of Gen Y thinks it would be better if more women were elected to office, including 48 percent who agree strongly.

Conducted by a variety of respected Democratic pollsters, the EMILY's List Women's Monitor program has built a comprehensive data file on the political views and voting behaviors of American women. Past topics include party image among women voters, voter age difference and its affect on issue priorities, and the gender gap, among others.

In the 2006 cycle, EMILY's List WOMEN VOTE! invested more than **\$8.5 million into understanding, engaging, persuading and mobilizing women voters** in more than 21 battleground races across the country.

In 2008, EMILY's List WOMEN VOTE! has already **helped score key victories for EMILY's List endorsed candidates in Massachusetts and Maryland**. EMILY's List also launched a major effort to mobilize women voters in the Democratic Presidential primary. In every state where we ran these programs and across the country, women dramatically increased their share of the electorate. **As of July 2008, WOMEN VOTE! has sent more than 2.5 million pieces of mail, made nearly one million phone calls, and more than 2,400 radio ads to turn out women voters**. Looking ahead, WOMEN VOTE! is targeting specific groups of women who are key to Democratic victory in 2008 -- particularly women without college degrees. WOMEN VOTE! 2008 slated to be the most ambitious effort in the program's 13-year history.

Additionally, the WOMEN VOTE! program produces the EMILY's List Women's Monitor — an ongoing program of quantitative and qualitative research — is a critical tool in the WOMEN VOTE! arsenal. Ever since the first Women's Monitor national survey was fielded in 1996, EMILY's List has been conducting groundbreaking research to enhance Democratic understanding of women voters, identify their priorities and motivations, and develop the most effective ways to communicate with them and get them to the polls.

## **How We Ensure Success on the Ground: Training the Next Generation of Campaign Professionals**

By 1995, campaigns had become highly professionalized, and any candidate with a real chance of success needed skilled staff. EMILY's List established a training program for potential campaign staff that is today considered one of the most effective in the nation. In addition to training staff, EMILY's List provides candidates with advanced trainings to help them be more effective strategists, public speakers, and fundraisers.

**The EMILY's List training program** provides campaign managers, fundraisers, and other campaign professionals with hands-on experience at intensive workshops taught by leading Democratic political operatives. Participants are given nightly projects to simulate challenges that they might encounter during a campaign.

The training department also manages a job bank for campaign professionals, matching qualified applicants with campaigns wishing to hire experienced staff.

In 2003, **Campaign Corps** became a project of EMILY's List. Campaign Corps is dedicated to bringing more young people into the political process by offering recent college graduates intensive training in basic professional campaign skills, then placing them to work on targeted progressive campaigns throughout the nation for the final three months before an election. Campaign Corps staff stay in close contact with trainees to ensure they get the most from their campaign experience.

Individuals who are interested in Campaign Corps can learn more and apply online at [www.campaigncorps.com](http://www.campaigncorps.com).

After election day, Campaign Corps participants return to Washington, D.C., to debrief and begin looking for their next job in progressive politics, with help from EMILY's List staff. Many Campaign Corps participants continue to work in progressive politics after their Campaign Corps experience.

In the 2006 election cycle, more than 2,200 candidates and campaign staff participated in the EMILY's List and Campaign Corps training programs.

## Women in Congress: Then and Now

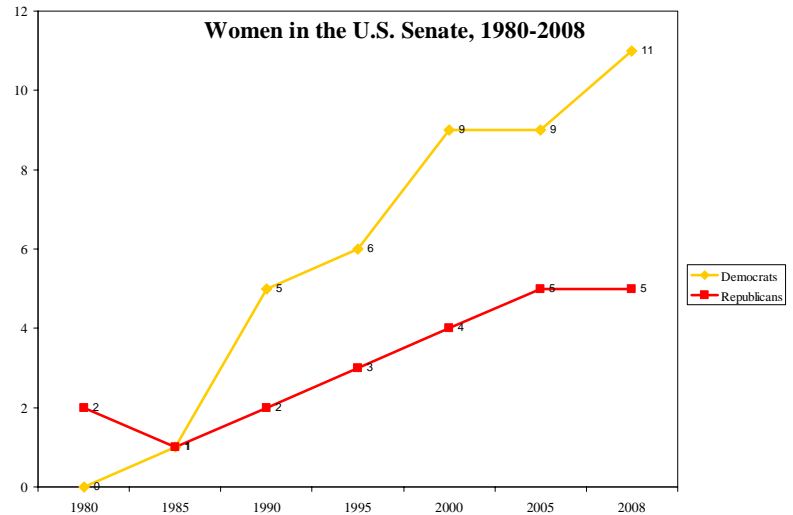
Since EMILY's List was created in 1985, the number of women in Congress has more than tripled and the number of women holding important leadership positions has significantly increased. In 1985, there were two women serving in the U.S. Senate and twenty-three in the U.S. House. No woman served as a congressional committee chair and only one woman served in congressional leadership: Geraldine Ferraro (D-NY), then secretary of the House Democratic Caucus. Today, twenty-three years later, sixteen women serve in the Senate and seventy-two in the House. Not only are six congressional committees now chaired by women and 13 women serve in congressional leadership, but the most powerful position in Congress—Speaker of the House—is held by a woman: Nancy Pelosi. Here is a brief summary of the progress that women in Congress have made since 1985.

(Source: Center for American Women in Politics)

### Women in the U.S. Senate

1985 Two Republican women served in the U.S. Senate, including the first woman elected to the Senate in her own right, Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas. No Democratic woman had yet been elected to the Senate in her own right.

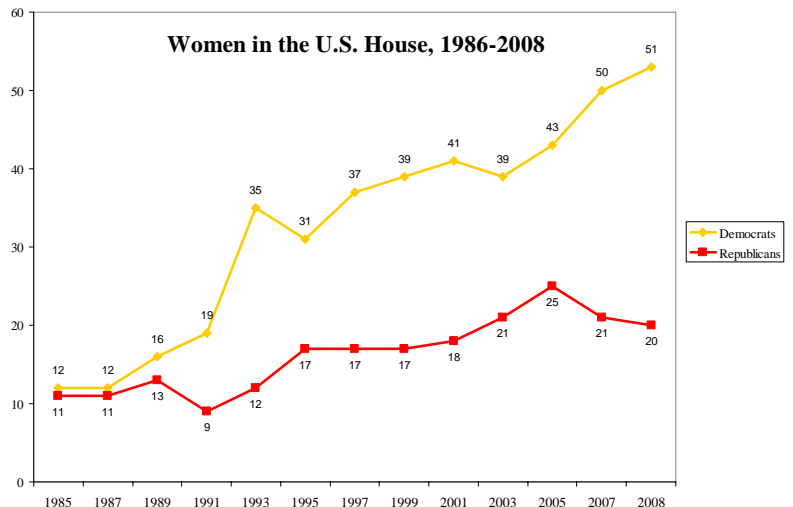
2008 Sixteen women serve in the U.S. Senate (11 Democrats and five Republicans).



### Women in the U.S. House of Representatives

1985 Twenty-three women (12 Democrats and 11 Republicans) served in the U.S. House.

2008 Seventy-two women (52 Democrats and 20 Republicans) serve as congresswomen in the U.S. House. There are also three Democratic women delegates.



### Women of color in the U.S. House of Representatives

1985 One woman of color served in the U.S. House.

2008 Twenty-one women of color (20 Democrats and 1 Republican) serve in the U.S. House. In addition, two delegates in the U.S. House are women of color.

### Women chairing Senate committees

1985 No woman had chaired a Senate committee since 1945, and no women were ranking minority members on committees.

2008 Two Democratic women chair Senate committees: California Senators Barbara Boxer, Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works; and Dianne Feinstein, Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. Sen. Boxer also serves as the temporary chair of the Committee on Ethics.

### Women chairing House committees

1985 No woman had chaired a House committee since 1977, and no women served as ranking minority members on committees.

2008 Three Democratic women chair a House committee: Rep. Nydia Velázquez (NY), Small Business Committee; Rep. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (OH), Standards of Official Conduct Committee; and Rep. Louise Slaughter (NY), Rules Committee.

### Women party leaders in the U.S. Senate

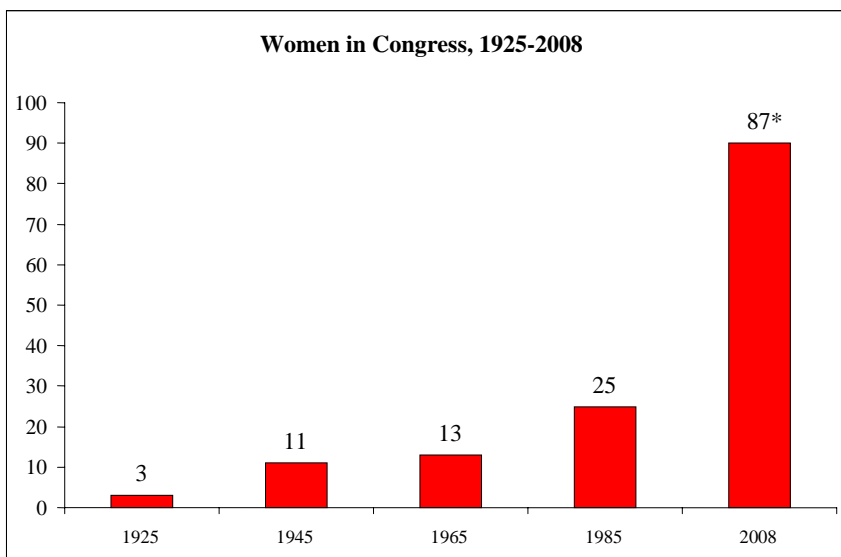
1985 No women held party leadership positions in the Senate.

2008 Six women (five Democrats and one Republican) hold party leadership positions in the Senate: Sen. Boxer (CA), Democratic Chief Deputy Whip; Sen. Clinton (NY), Vice Chair - Committee Outreach; Sen. Hutchison (TX), Chair - Republican Policy committee; Sen. Lincoln (AR), Chair - Democratic Rural Outreach; Sen. Murray (WA), Democratic Conference Secretary; Sen. Stabenow (MI), Chair - Democratic Steering Committee.

### Women party leaders in the U.S. House

1985 Two women (one Democrat and one Republican) held party leadership positions in the U.S. House.

2008 Seven women (Six Democrats and one Republican) hold party leadership positions in the U.S. House of Representatives. Rep. Nancy Pelosi (CA) serves as the first woman Speaker of the House. Representatives Maxine Waters (CA), Jan Schakowsky (IL), Diana DeGette (CO), and Debbie Wasserman-Schultz (FL) serve as Democratic chief deputy whips. Additionally, Rep. Rosa DeLauro (CT) serves as the chair of the Democratic Steering Committee and Rep. Kay Granger serves as vice chair of the Republican Conference.



(\* does not include congressional delegates)