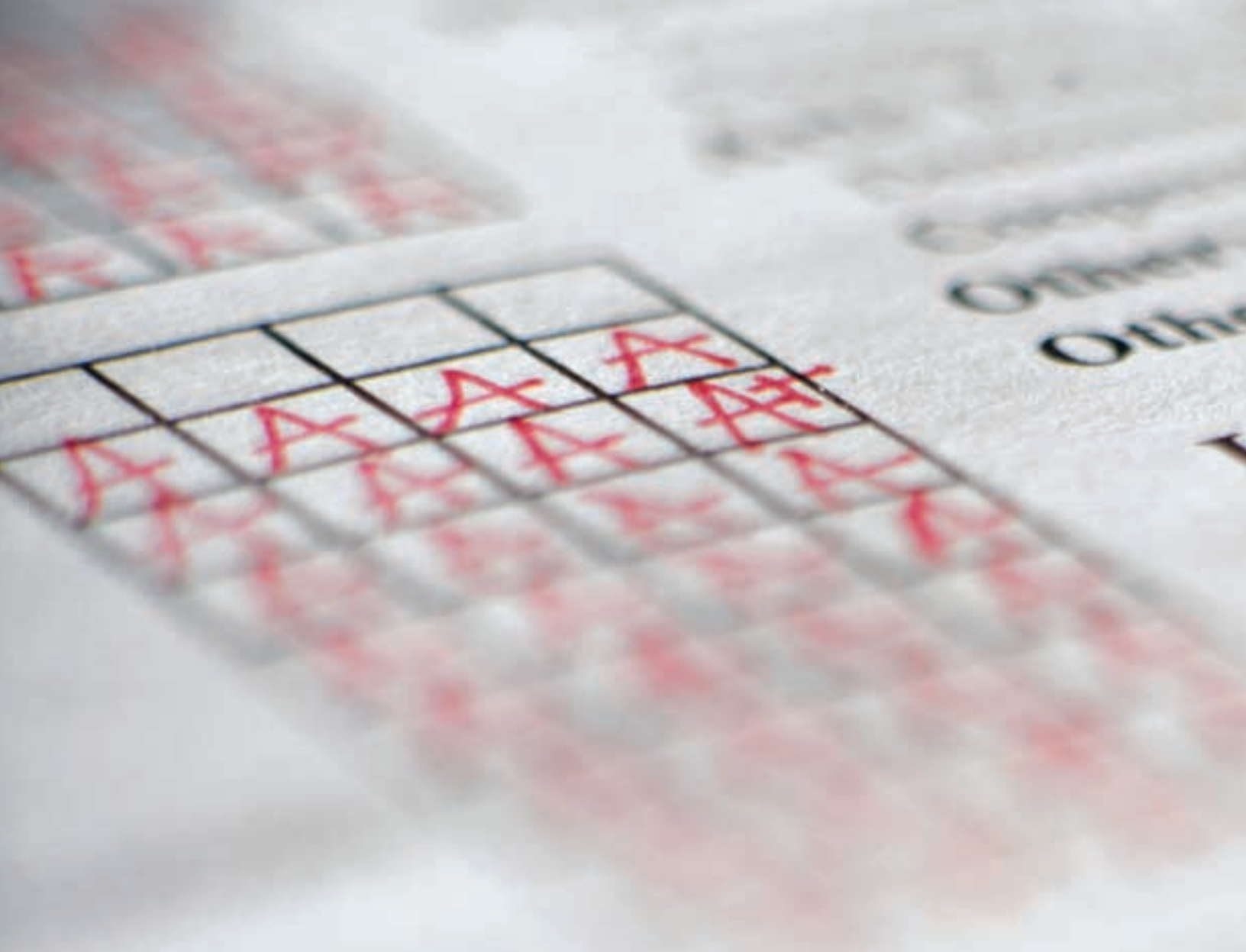




MIDDLE CLASS 2003: HOW CONGRESS VOTED

Did your representative make the middle-class grade?

DRUM
MAJOR
INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC
POLICY

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
INTRODUCTION	3
2003 LEGISLATION IN FOCUS	
Jobs and Growth Tax Act of 2003 (HR 2)	5
Death Tax Repeal Act of 2003 (HR 8)	6
American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003 (S 811)	7
Overtime Compensation Amendment (S. Amdt. 1580)	8
Unemployment Compensation Amendment of 2003 (HR 2185)	9
Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2003 (HR 975)	10
Pharmaceutical Market Access Act of 2003 (HR 2427)	11
Dodd Amendment to the Jumpstart our Business Strength (JOBS) Act (S. Amdt. 2660)	12
Amendment to provide additional funding for child care (S. Amdt. 2937)	13
THE 2003 CONGRESSIONAL REPORT CARD	
Understanding the report card	14
Overview of results	14
How did the Senate vote?	15
How did the House of Representatives vote?	18
LOOKING TO 2004: PENDING LEGISLATION	31
ALSO FROM THE DRUM MAJOR INSTITUTE	33

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Drum Major Institute for Public Policy would like to acknowledge the generosity of the following individuals for lending their expertise and insight to this project:

Dr. Elizabeth Warren, author of *The Two-Income Trap: Why Middle Class Mothers and Fathers are Going Broke*; Tamara Draut, Director of the Economic Opportunity Program at Demos; Beth Douthirt Cohen, Program Director of the Sadie Nash Leadership Project; Sandra Cuneo, Member of the Drum Major Institute Board of Directors; Jonathan Rosen, Senior Fellow of the Drum Major Institute and founding director of the New York Unemployment Project; and, Annette Bernhardt, Senior Policy Analyst at the Brennan Center for Justice.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2003, the 108th Congress considered several pieces of legislation that would significantly impact America's middle class. The Drum Major Institute for Public Policy discusses this legislation in detail in *Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted*, issuing members of Congress a grade based on their support of the middle-class position.

While the U.S. Census Bureau has no official definition of the "middle class," conventionally it has come to represent a large swath of the American populace with incomes between approximately 200 percent of the federal poverty threshold and those of the nation's top 5 percent income earners—roughly \$25,000 to \$100,000 a year.

Today's middle-class families are deeply concerned about making ends meet, affording everyday essentials, saving for the future, obtaining affordable health insurance for themselves and their families, and avoiding the bankruptcy that has become nearly epidemic—all in the face of rising unemployment and health care costs.

For example, in 2003:

- More than 92 percent of the 1.6 million Americans who filed for bankruptcy were middle class
- The cost of childcare swelled to as much as 40 percent of middle-class families' income
- More than 40 percent of the 2.4 million newly uninsured Americans are middle class
- Average annual earnings for all Americans were down \$1,400 compared to 2000
- Property taxes rose by an average of 2.8 percent in 2003, according to a survey of 108 major U.S. cities
- And, according to a national survey conducted by the Consumer Federation of America in July 2003, half of those surveyed with incomes between \$25,000 and \$75,000—the very definition of middle class—were "worried about their financial condition."

The findings of this report demonstrate the need for greater urgency on the part of both political parties to halt the growing financial insecurity of middle-class families and to preserve economic mobility. It is time for concern for middle-class families to transcend rhetoric, and to deal effectively with workplace rights, economic stimulus, health care affordability, and tax relief.

MAIN FINDINGS:

- The Senate, overall, earned a B for its support of the financial stability of the American middle class. However, this average grade masks great disparities. Votes broke down, for the most part, along party lines.
- While almost all—96 percent—of Democratic Senators received an A, fully one quarter of Republican Senators received an F for their failure to support the middle class.
- Senators Kyl (R-AZ), Allard (R-CO), Chambliss (R-GA), Craig (R-ID), Crapo (R-ID), Lott (R-MS), Burns (R-MT), Gregg (R-NH), Sununu (R-NH), Nickles (R-OK), Cornyn (R-TX), Enzi (R-WY), and Thomas (R-WY) all scored lowest in their class with grades of F.
- The House of Representatives, overall, did a poor job of voting with the middle class, receiving a less than acceptable grade of C. As with the Senate, however, there were great disparities: 36 percent of the House received a failing grade, while 21 percent earned an A.
- Party divisions were especially evident in the House. Overall, only Democrats voted consistently for the middle class.
- 66 percent of Republican members of Congress received an F, compared to 1 percent of their Democratic peers.
- Two pieces of legislation garnered strong support from both parties: the Unemployment Compensation Amendment Act of 2003 (HR 2185) and the American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003 (S 811).

WHO MADE THE GRADE?	FAILED	PASSED	RECEIVED AN "A"
House	36%	64%	21%
House Democrats	1%	99%	45%
House Republicans	66%	33%	0%
Senate	13%	86%	48%
Senate Democrats	0%	100%	96%
Senate Republicans	25%	75%	4%

WHO MADE THE GRADE? SENATE AND HOUSE RESULTS BY LEGISLATION

SENATE	The Jobs and Growth Tax Act of 2003 (HR 2)		The Unemployment Compensation Amendment of 2003 (HR 2185)		American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003 (S 811)		Amendment to provide additional funding for child care (S. Amdt. 2937)		The Overtime Compensation Amendment (S. Amdt. 1580)		Amendment to protect U.S. workers (S. Amdt. 2660)	
Senate voting with the middle class	50%	D	100%	A	100%	A	79%	B-	54%	D	70%	B-
Senate Democrats voting with the middle class	94%	A-	100%	A	100%	A	96%	A-	98%	A	92%	A-
Senate Republicans voting with the middle class	6%	F	100%	A	100%	A	63%	C	12%	F	49%	F

HOUSE	The Jobs and Growth Tax Act of 2003 (HR 2)		The Unemployment Compensation Amendment of 2003 (HR 2185)		American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003 (S 811)		The Death Tax Repeal Act of 2003 (HR 8)		The Pharmaceutical Market Access Act of 2003 (HR 2427)		The Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2003 (HR 975)	
House voting with the middle class	46%	F	94%	A-	100%	A	37%	F	56%	D	26%	F
House Democrats voting with the middle class	97%	A-	100%	A	100%	A	78%	B-	76%	B-	55%	D
House Republicans voting with the middle class	0%	F	89%	B	100%	A	2%	F	38%	F	0%	F

LOOKING TO 2004

2004 is a critical year for the middle class, with several additional relevant pieces of legislation up for consideration:

- **The College Affordability and Accountability Act of 2003 (HR 3519)**, awaiting a vote in the House, will help American families afford the high cost of tuition at a four-year college.
- **Employee Free Choice Act (S 1225)**, awaiting a vote in the Senate, will help American workers form, join, and assist labor unions.
- **Payday Borrower Protection Act of 2003 (HR 2407)**, awaiting a vote in the House, will protect millions of Americans from the practices of unfair and unethical payday lenders.
- **The Defending American Jobs Act of 2004 (HR 3888)**, awaiting a vote in the House, will require that American employers report on their workforce and compensation rates in the United States as well as abroad.
- **Responsible Lending Act (HR 833)**, awaiting a vote in the House, will significantly weaken regulations governing the lending industry to the detriment of financially strapped Americans.
- **The Dream Act (S 1545)**, awaiting a vote in the Senate, will relax some of the prohibitions preventing undocumented residents in good standing from attending a public university.

IN CONCLUSION

In politics, there is no greater force than incumbency. During the 2002 midterm election, nearly all incumbents seeking an additional term in office secured it, due in large part to the lack of comprehensive information available to American voters.

We hope that *Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted* will serve as a yardstick by which Americans can measure how effectively Congress is acting in their interests. We believe that better social and economic policy can be created when middle-class Americans know how their legislators vote on the issues that matter most to them — and as importantly, when legislators know that their middle-class constituents are watching.

INTRODUCTION

Today's middle-class families are deeply concerned about making ends meet, affording everyday essentials, saving for the future, obtaining affordable health insurance for themselves and their families, and avoiding the bankruptcy that has become nearly epidemic—all in the face of rising unemployment and health care costs.

While the U.S. Census Bureau has no official definition of the "middle class," conventionally it has come to represent a large swath of the American populace with incomes between approximately two hundred percent of the federal poverty threshold and those of the nation's top five percent income earners—roughly \$25,000 to \$100,000 a year.

While working Americans' financial health has deteriorated over the last thirty years, the other expectations of them, such as a college education, holding a good job, owning a home, have remained the same. As a result, too many middle-class families find themselves making choices between the gas bill and mortgage payments.

This contradiction—between the 'middle class state of mind' and the financial realities defining a middle-class life—illustrates a failure of the American dream. And when the dream doesn't work for the middle class, it also denies poor and low-income Americans access to the ladder of economic mobility so essential to the social stability of our nation.

This dangerous trend requires increased awareness by citizens and increased political urgency by lawmakers. That's why we've decided to issue *Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted*, an unprecedented effort to evaluate Congressional votes through the lens of their impact on middle-class Americans.

Far too often, the records of elected officials in meeting the actual needs of Americans become lost in position papers and speeches using inaccessible categorizations reflecting the divisions of academics and activists, not people. Middle-class Americans don't want to undertake exhaustive research on "workforce development" and "health care affordability" and so on and so on — they want to know how well their elected representatives understand their plight and how their actions reflect this knowledge.

Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted issues each member of Congress, as well as the House and Senate as a whole, a letter grade based on their 2003 votes on selected pieces of legislation. We chose bills that, if passed, would not only have an impact on the financial stability of millions of middle-class families struggling with the burdens of unemployment, underemployment, homeownership, childcare, healthcare, and debt, but on the aspirations of low-income Americans who want to work their way into the middle class. The following legislation was considered:

SUPPORTIVE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS:

- **The Pharmaceutical Market Access Act of 2003 (HR 2427)**, passed only in the House, would lower the cost of prescription drugs by allowing Americans to purchase their lifesaving pharmaceuticals from foreign vendors.
- **American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003 (S 811)**, passed in both the Senate and House and signed into law, directed \$200 million in federal aid to 40,000 American families attempting to buy a home.

VOTED ON IN THE HOUSE

THE MIDDLE CLASS
SUPPORTS A VOTE OF:

Death Tax Repeal Act (HR 8)	N
Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention Act (HR 975)	N
The Pharmaceutical Market Access Act of 2003 (HR 2427)	Y
Jobs and Growth Tax Act of 2003 (HR 2)	N
Unemployment Compensation Amendment (HR 2185)	Y
American Dream Downpayment Act (S 811)	Y

VOTED ON IN THE SENATE

THE MIDDLE CLASS
SUPPORTS A VOTE OF:

Jobs and Growth Tax Act (HR 2)	N
Unemployment Compensation Amendment (HR 2185)	Y
American Dream Downpayment Act (S 811)	Y
Overtime Amdt. (S. Amdt. 1580)	Y
Protect U.S. Workers Amdt. (S. Amdt. 2660)	Y
Childcare Funding Amdt. (S. Amdt. 2937)	Y

- **The Overtime Compensation Amendment (S. Amdt. 1580)**, passed only in the Senate, would protect the ability of eight million "white-collar" American workers to receive overtime compensation by blocking changes proposed by the Department of Labor in March of 2003.
- **Amendment to protect U.S. workers (S. Amdt. 2660)**, passed only in the Senate, would help stem the flow of U.S. jobs out of the country through outsourcing.
- **The Unemployment Compensation Amendment of 2003 (HR 2185)**, passed in both the House and Senate and signed into law, extended unemployment insurance in May 2003 by an additional 13 weeks for those who had exhausted their federal benefits.
- **Amendment to provide additional funding for child care (S. Amdt. 2937)**, passed only in the Senate, would direct an additional \$6 billion to states for childcare services to help low-income workers to enter and stay in the workforce.

HARMFUL TO THE MIDDLE CLASS:

- **Jobs and Growth Tax Act of 2003 (HR 2)**, passed in both the Senate and House and signed into law, lavished the wealthiest one percent of Americans with forty percent of the total tax cut, and left the average middle-class family with an \$800 check.
- **Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2003 (HR 975)**, passed in the House only, would limit Americans' ability to receive federal bankruptcy protection.
- **Death Tax Repeal Act of 2003 (HR 8)**, passed in the House only, would pull billions of dollars in revenue out of state budgets by eliminating the tax on the inherited estates and gifts of the richest two percent of American taxpayers.

THE YEAR 2004 WILL BE CRITICAL TO MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES, WITH A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT PIECES OF LEGISLATION ON THE TABLE FOR CONSIDERATION, INCLUDING:

- **College Affordability and Accountability Act of 2003 (HR 3519)** would help working-class and middle-class American families afford the high cost of tuition at a four-year college.
- **Employee Free Choice Act (S 1225)** would help working Americans form, join, and assist labor unions.
- **Payday Borrower Protection Act of 2003 (HR 2407)** would protect millions of Americans from the practices of unfair and unethical payday lenders.
- **Defending American Jobs Act of 2004 (HR 3888)** would require American employers to report on their workforce and compensation rates in the United States as well as abroad.
- **Responsible Lending Act (HR 833)** would significantly weaken regulations governing the lending industry to the detriment of financially strapped Americans.
- **The Dream Act (S 1545)** would relax some of the prohibitions preventing undocumented residents in good standing from attending a public university.

We hope that *Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted* will serve as a yardstick by which to measure both the House and the Senate, as well as a compass to point those concerned about the future of the American middle-class in the right direction on key pieces of legislation. We believe that better social and economic policy can be created when middle-class Americans know how their legislators vote on the issues that matter most to them — and as importantly, when legislators know that their middle-class constituents are watching.

JOBS AND GROWTH TAX RELIEF RECONCILIATION ACT OF 2003

[HR 2]

INTRODUCED: 02.27.03 [House of Representatives]; **SPONSOR:** Rep. William M. Thomas (R-CA)

SIGNED INTO LAW: 05.28.03 [Senate: Yea-51, Nay-50; House: Yea-231, Nay-200]

THE LEGISLATION:

The **Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003** was the second substantial tax cut proposed by President Bush, who said it would stimulate the economy and spur domestic job growth by putting more money into the pockets of American consumers to spend in local economies. Among its many features, this tax cut would lower the overall tax burden on Americans by: 1) eliminating the "marriage penalty" for joint filers; 2) increasing the standard tax deduction for small businesses, and; 3) reducing the capital gains tax on dividends.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS POSITION:

X The Middle Class Opposes: The Jobs and Growth Tax Act of 2003, enacted in May 2003, was initially portrayed as a tax cut for struggling working-class Americans, but has translated into a law favoring the rich at the expense of everyone else. While middle-class Americans with incomes of \$35,000 enjoyed a tax savings of roughly \$800 as a result of this law, according to the Economic Policy Institute, those with incomes above \$1.4 million received a tax cut of \$81,000—more than 100 times as much. In fact, over the next four years, the top one percent of income earners will receive almost 40 percent of the total tax relief from this legislation, while the bottom 60 percent of taxpayers will receive just nine percent. This law provides neither the economic support required by middle-class American families struggling with soaring fixed costs, debt, and unemployment, nor the surge in consumer spending required to stimulate the sagging economy because less than 10 percent of its benefits go to those most likely to spend it.

FROM THE EXPERTS:

"When you listen to tax-cut rhetoric, remember that giving one class of taxpayer a 'break' requires — now or down the line — that an equivalent burden be imposed on other parties. In other words, if I get a break, someone else pays. Government can't deliver a free lunch to the country as a whole. It can, however, determine who pays for lunch. [In this piece of legislation] the Senate handed the bill to the wrong party." — Warren Buffett, "Dividend Voodoo." *Common Dreams* (May 20, 2003)

"I would not have done it." — Paul O'Neill, Former U.S. Treasury Secretary (January, 2004)

NEXT STEPS FOR 2004:

In his last State of the Union address, the President asked Congress to make the tax cuts included in the Jobs and Grow Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003 permanent. Legislators committed to the economic stability of the middle class should oppose any attempt to make these cuts permanent, and instead draft legislation to roll back the inequitable portions of this law while directing more tax relief to struggling middle-class and working-class families.

D The Senate receives a grade of D for its support of the middle class. 50 Senators and the Vice President voted for this bill; 50 Senators voted against.

F The House receives a grade of F for its support of the middle class. 231 members of Congress voted for this bill; 200 voted against.

FROM THE DMI INJUSTICE INDEX

Percentage of the President's 2003 tax cuts that went to the top 1% income earners: **40 percent**

Average tax cut received by Americans with incomes of \$1.4 million and up: **\$81,000**

Average tax cut received by middle-class Americans with incomes of \$35,000: **\$800**

DEATH TAX REPEAL PERMANENCY ACT OF 2003

[HR 8]

INTRODUCED: 06.12.03 (House of Representatives); **SPONSOR:** Rep. Jennifer Dunn (R-WA)

PASSED BY THE HOUSE: 06.18.03 (Yea-264, Nay-163); awaiting a Senate vote

THE LEGISLATION:

The Death Tax Repeal Permanency Act of 2003 permanently repeals the tax on "estates, gifts, and generation-skipping transfer tax provisions" over \$1.5 million. Currently, the Estate Tax (also referred to as the "Death Tax") imposes an incremental tax on the inherited assets of the wealthiest two percent of Americans, taxpayers with assets valued at over \$1.5 million.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS POSITION:

X The Middle Class Opposes: Less than two percent of the U.S. population pays any estate taxes, and nearly half of all estate taxes collected by the government are paid by the most affluent 0.1% of Americans. In 2003, estate taxes collected on the inherited assets of the wealthiest citizens—over \$1.5 million—provided the federal government with \$20 billion in revenue to fulfill its commitments to American families. This loss of revenue would inevitably force reductions in the public institutions that are funded by taxpayers to provide services critical to their children and communities.

FROM THE EXPERTS:

"The estate tax is the least damaging of all our taxation because it does not interfere with wealth creation. It increases social equality. It is so obvious estate taxation is a valuable taxation and we should keep it." – **George Soros (October, 2003)**

"Only the richest 2 percent of our nation's families currently pay any estate tax at all. Repealing the estate tax would enrich the heirs of America's millionaires and billionaires while hurting families who struggle to make ends meet... the billions of dollars in state and federal revenues lost will inevitably be made up either by increasing taxes on those less able to pay or by cutting Social Security, Medicare, environmental protection, and many other government programs so important to our nation's continued well-being." – **Responsible Wealth, a national non-profit devoted to putting a spotlight on the dangers of excessive inequality of income and wealth in the United States (2003)**

NEXT STEPS FOR 2004:

As the permanent repeal of the estate tax awaits a vote in the Senate, legislators should not only oppose this legislation but reclaim the debate about the "death tax" from conservatives bent on its elimination. While the vast majority of Americans—98 percent—will never pay any estate tax, according to a national poll, fully 58 percent would vote for a candidate who would repeal it. As an issue of sound fiscal policy, legislators concerned with the economic stability of the middle class should vote down any proposed repeal of the estate tax, as well as educate the public about its role in our economy.

F **The House receives a grade of F for its support of the middle class.**
264 members of Congress voted for this bill; 163 voted against.

FROM THE DMI INJUSTICE INDEX

Number of Americans that would support a candidate who would eliminate the estate tax:
6 in 10

Number of American tax payers who actually pay the estate tax:
1 in 50

Percentage of United States Senators potentially subject to the estate tax: **40**

Percentage of United States families potentially subject to the estate tax: **4**

THE AMERICAN DREAM DOWNPAYMENT ACT OF 2003

[S 811]

INTRODUCED: 04.08.03 (Senate); SPONSOR: Sen. Wayne A. Allard (R-CO)

SIGNED INTO LAW: 12.16.03 (Senate: unanimous consent; House: unanimous consent)

THE LEGISLATION:

The American Dream Downpayment Act amends the Cranston-Gonzalez National Affordable Housing Act to authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make grants to participating jurisdictions for downpayment assistance to low-income, first-time home buyers, and revises the definition of "severely distressed public housing" to include areas lacking sufficient affordable housing, transportation, supportive services, economic opportunity, schools, civic and religious institutions, and public services.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS POSITION:

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** Homeownership is one of the leading indicators of economic stability. However, for millions of American families, the high cost of buying a home is still out of reach for many. While homeownership was at a 30-year high in 2003, for many working Americans, particularly in communities of color, homeownership trailed the national average. This legislation will help millions of Americans clear the first hurdle to homeownership by directing \$200 million per year to at least 40,000 low-income families in predominantly minority communities to help them afford a down payment or closing costs associated with buying a home, and launch them on a path to entering the middle class.

FROM THE EXPERTS:

"Through their investment in the home — and therefore in the local neighborhood — homeowners appear to be overall more involved in their communities. This involvement by homeowners generates benefits for their communities in addition to the benefits for their families. These spillover benefits suggest that the neighborhood homeownership rate itself may produce positive social consequences for communities." — Robert Dietz, The Homeownership Alliance (June 18, 2003)

NEXT STEPS FOR 2004:

Affording a down payment is only one hurdle faced by Americans attempting to purchase a home. In 2003, nearly 640,000 families were in the process of home foreclosure. Legislators concerned with middle-class Americans' ability to buy and keep their homes should oppose the Responsible Lending Act of 2003 (HR 833) currently awaiting a vote in the House and Senate, which would amend federal regulations pertaining to the credit industry, making American borrowers more susceptible to unmanageable debt and home foreclosure.

A The Senate
receives a grade
of A for its support
of the middle class.
This bill was passed by
unanimous consent
in the Senate.

A The House
receives a grade of A
for its support of the
middle class.
This bill was passed by
unanimous consent
in the the House.

FROM THE DMI INJUSTICE INDEX

Number of renters who
considered "coming up with
enough money to make a down
payment the biggest hurdle to
becoming a homeowner,"
according to a 2003 Mortgage
Insurance Companies of
America (MICA) survey: **1 in 2**

Number of "low income"
American families that own
their own home: **1 in 2**

Number of "low income"
American families that could
receive down payment assistance
this year as a result of the
American Dream Downpayment
Act of 2003: **40,000**

Number of American families
in the process of home
foreclosure in 2003: **640,000**

OVERTIME COMPENSATION AMENDMENT

[S.AMDT.1580
TO HR 2660]

INTRODUCED: 09.05.03 (Senate); SPONSOR: Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA)

SIGNED INTO LAW AS PART OF HR 2660: 9.10.03 (Yea-54, Nay-45)

THE LEGISLATION:

The Overtime Compensation Amendment to a 2004 appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor (DOL), Health and Human Services, and Education blocks proposed changes to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (FLSA) that would limit American workers' ability to receive overtime compensation. In March 2003, the DOL proposed regulations that would raise the salary level under which all employees are entitled to overtime up from \$155 to \$425 a week, while denying overtime pay to "white-collar" employees earning \$65,000 or more. While the DOL concluded that the eligibility modifications would affect only 1.3 million workers currently receiving time-and-a-half, according to an independent study, eight million American workers would be either fully or partially affected by the changes.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS POSITION:

✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** As an essential portion of many "blue-collar" and "white-collar" workers' annual salary—as much as a quarter of weekly take home pay—overtime compensation is vital to the economic stability of millions of middle-class American families. The proposed changes to overtime, blocked by this Overtime Compensation Amendment, would compromise hard working Americans' ability to support themselves and their families and further weaken the American middle class. Support of this amendment, blocking the proposed changes, helps strengthen working families.

FROM THE EXPERTS:

"America's workers depend on overtime pay to support their families, especially in these tough economic times of widespread joblessness, stagnant or declining wages, skyrocketing health care and prescription drug costs and rising child care costs... These changes would be a major step backward for working families who struggled so hard to win the 40-hour workweek, the weekend and other job protections." - Linda Chavez-Thompson, Executive Vice President, AFL-CIO (June 20, 2003)

NEXT STEPS FOR 2004:

In April 2004, the DOL proposed new changes to the rules governing overtime compensation that, it claimed, would bring transparency and fairness to the system by making an additional 1.3 million lower-wage, white-collar workers eligible to receive overtime while blocking eligibility of more than 107,000 white-collar workers earning \$100,000 or more. Supporters of workers' rights in the House and the Senate are skeptical about the unintended impacts of the DOL's proposed changes on American workers. As incomes decline, and the number of hours American workers put in on the job continue to rise, legislators committed to protecting the economic stability of the middle class should work against changes that expand some American workers' ability to receive overtime compensation at the expense of others.

D **The Senate receives a grade of D for its support of the middle class.** 54 Senators voted for this amendment; 45 Senators voted against.

FROM THE DMI INJUSTICE INDEX

Average length of the modern work week: **40 hours**

Percentage of Americans in an ABC News poll who feel that "working long hours is worth it because it produces prosperity": **46**

Number of American workers who work more than 50 hours a week: **one in five**

Number of American workers who would lose their overtime compensation as a result of the proposed changes by the Department of Labor in March 2003: **8 million**

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION AMENDMENT OF 2003

[HR 2185]

INTRODUCED: 05.21.03 (House of Representatives); SPONSOR: Rep. Jennifer Dunn (R-WA)

SIGNED INTO LAW: 05.28.03 (Senate: unanimous consent; House: Yea-409, Nay-19)

THE LEGISLATION:

The Unemployment Compensation Amendment of 2003 amends the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 2002 (TEUCA) to allow those whose unemployment insurance expired prior to December 31, 2003 to receive an additional 13 weeks of federal benefits. In 2003, there were almost 2.5 million beneficiaries of federal unemployment insurance who exhausted their benefits by the end of the year. This bill granted an additional 13 weeks of benefits to jobless Americans who exhausted both their 26 weeks of state aid and 13 weeks of federal aid in 2003.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS POSITION:

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** Unemployment insurance provides a vital safety net to out-of-work Americans, particularly those in two-income families who depend on the earnings of both adult members to meet basic fixed costs. This bill provided support to the millions of Americans enduring an average of 20 weeks of sustained joblessness by extending federal unemployment benefits to out-of-work Americans by an additional 13 weeks in a time of the most profound job loss since the Great Depression.

FROM THE EXPERTS:

"Fighting to extend benefits is winning politics for progressive elected officials and their allies looking for a way back to majority status. Extending unemployment insurance is an issue with great appeal to middle class, unaffiliated voters as well as blue collar workers upstate, it is also a great point of entry to start redefining the terms of the debate about tax fairness in New York... It's also the only thing standing between tens of thousands of working families and poverty..."

— Jonathan Rosen, Founding Director, New York Unemployment Project (December, 2002)

NEXT STEPS FOR 2004:

In March 2004, as the Department of Labor reported its greatest quarter of sustained job growth in nearly two years with 308,000 new jobs, roughly the same number of jobless Americans exhausted their unemployment benefits with no planned extension in sight. Legislators concerned with the economic security of out-of-work middle-class Americans should not only support a recently introduced plan to extend unemployment benefits—the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Amendment of 2004—but they should work to create well-paying jobs for the more than 8 million unemployed Americans who want to work.

A **The Senate receives a grade of A for its support of the middle class.**

This bill was agreed to by unanimous consent in the Senate.

A- **The House receives a grade of A- for its support of the middle class.**

409 members of Congress voted for this bill; 19 voted against.

FROM THE DMI INJUSTICE INDEX

Number of new U.S. jobs created in March 2004: **308,000**

Number of out-of-work Americans who exhausted their unemployment insurance in January 2004, the month in which House Majority Leader Tom Delay (R-TX) said "there's no reason" to extend benefits yet again: **350,000**

Average number of months jobless Americans were unemployed throughout 2003: **5**

Number of Americans, according to a May 2003 Gallop poll, who said they would endure "significant economic hardship" if they were unemployed for one month: **4 in 10**

BANKRUPTCY ABUSE PREVENTION AND CONSUMER PROTECTION ACT OF 2003

[HR 975]

INTRODUCED: 02.27.03 (House of Representatives); **SPONSOR:** Rep. James F. Sensenbrenner Jr. (R-WI)

PASSED BY THE HOUSE: 03.19.03 (Yea-315, Nay-113); awaiting a Senate vote

THE LEGISLATION:

The Bankruptcy Abuse and Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2003 amends federal bankruptcy law to: 1) replace the presumption in favor of granting the relief sought by debtors with a presumption of fraud on the part of many debtors; 2) restrict the grounds upon which individuals may file, thereby excluding financially troubled families from bankruptcy protection; 3) require an individual debtor, regardless of the reason for filing, to be counseled by an approved nonprofit budget and credit counseling service; and 4) permit credit card companies to modify or terminate debtor agreements approved by the court as part of the debtor's bankruptcy plan.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS POSITION:

X The Middle Class Opposes: In 2003, 1.3 million middle-class American families buckled under the crushing weight of increased healthcare, childcare, and other fixed costs, and filed for bankruptcy. Today, bankruptcy filings are more prevalent than filings for divorce, and more numerous than deaths from heart attacks. This bill creates a windfall for unregulated credit counseling agencies, many of which are under civil and criminal investigation. It also empowers the credit card industry to saddle middle-class families with unreasonable interest rates and payment agreements by expanding their ability to re-evaluate and terminate debtor agreements without the consent of a court. And, it would limit Americans' ability to receive federal bankruptcy protection when they lose their jobs, incur uninsured medical bills or when a wage-earning spouse leaves.

FROM THE EXPERTS:

"Once you've got accumulated debt, the debt takes on a life of its own. It demands to be fed, and it takes that first bite out of the paycheck. It means the opportunity to accumulate a little, to get a little ahead, maybe to put together a down payment is just never there. I am staggered that this issue is not a part of our national debate right now." – **Dr. Elizabeth Warren, author of *The Two-Income Trap: Why Middle-Class Mothers and Fathers are Going Broke* (March 16, 2004)**

"Now is a particularly bad time to pass one-sided bankruptcy legislation. Many Americans are coping with the after-effects of a tough economic recession and are financially vulnerable. HR 975 would harm moderate-income families that have been hit by a financial emergency and benefit the credit card industry, whose aggressive lending practices contribute to bankruptcy." – **The Consumer Federation of America, Consumers Union, and the U.S. Public Interest Research Group (January 28, 2004)**

NEXT STEPS FOR 2004:

As the cost of healthcare, childcare, housing, education, and various other necessary expenses continues to rise, legislators sympathetic to the plight of middle-class families should oppose this legislation in the Senate, as well as the Responsible Lending Act (HR 833), currently awaiting a vote in the House and Senate, which would empower the credit industry to impose unduly high interest rates and unreasonable payment schedules on already burdened debtors.

F The House receives a grade of F for its support of the middle class.
315 members of Congress voted for this bill; 113 voted against.

FROM THE DMI INJUSTICE INDEX

Number of American households deemed "credit worthy" by the leading industry: **8 in 10**

Number of middle-class American families that filed for bankruptcy in 2003: **1.3 million**

Number of Americans that "always or sometimes worry about money": **4 in 10**

Average amount of debt held by American credit card holders: **\$2,294**

PHARMACEUTICAL MARKET ACCESS ACT OF 2003

[HR 2427]

INTRODUCED: 06.11.03 (House of Representatives); **SPONSOR:** Rep. Gil Gutknecht (R-MN)

PASSED BY THE HOUSE: 07.24.03 (Yea-243, Nay-186); awaiting a Senate vote

THE LEGISLATION:

The Pharmaceutical Market Access Act of 2003 amends the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act to direct the Secretary of Health and Human Services to circulate regulations allowing qualifying individuals, pharmacists, and wholesalers, to import certain covered prescription drugs to the United States from outside of the country. It also amends provisions regarding the testing of imported covered products, declaring that specified tests, including ones involving authenticity and degradation of products, shall not be required unless the importer is a wholesaler.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS POSITION:

✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** America is the only industrialized country in the world without universal health care. In 2003, American consumers spent more than \$193 billion on prescription drugs, many of which could have been purchased for as much as half the cost in Canada. While the elderly comprise a large share of the domestic market for prescription drugs, concern over the rising cost of prescription drugs is not limited to low-income seniors; increasingly, many middle-age, moderate and high-income Americans without health insurance—about 18 million—are finding themselves forced to shoulder the full price of prescription drugs. This bill would give U.S. consumers the option of purchasing domestically manufactured FDA approved drugs from foreign vendors at a substantially lower cost.

FROM THE EXPERTS:

"As part of the effort to reclaim Medicare and to move this nation into an affordable, dependable, reliable prescription drug program for seniors, I think importation from Canada is justified."

– Mayor Michael Albano, first U.S. mayor to begin a municipal prescription drug re-importation program in Springfield, Massachusetts (December 9, 2003)

"Re-importation is not a panacea for the problem of soaring drug costs, but it does hold the potential to place some downward pressure on the double-digit increases in costs that Americans face each year." – William Novelli, President, American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) (August 7, 2003)

NEXT STEPS FOR 2004:

As local support for the re-importation of prescription drugs grows, legislators concerned about the financial stability of the middle class should push for the passage of this bill in the Senate. Among the major points of contention preventing its final passage is the growing concern over the safety and effectiveness of drugs purchased from vendors outside of the United States that are not subject to the Food and Drug Administration's (FDA) standards. This concern is understandable, but not insurmountable. Legislators must find creative ways of ensuring that middle-class Americans have access to safe and affordable health care; passing this bill is an important step.

D **The House receives a grade of D for its support of the middle class.**

243 members of Congress voted for this bill; 186 voted against.

FROM THE DMI INJUSTICE INDEX

Amount spent by American consumers on prescription drugs in 2003: **\$193 billion**

Ratio of the cost of some of the most common American-made prescription drugs in the U.S. to Canada: **2:1**

Percentage of the 2.4 million newly uninsured American who are middle class: **40%**

AMENDMENT TO PROTECT UNITED STATES WORKERS FROM COMPETITION OF FOREIGN WORKFORCES FOR PERFORMANCE OF FEDERAL AND STATE CONTRACTS

[S.AMDT.2660
TO S 1637]

INTRODUCED: 03.03.04 [Senate]; SPONSOR: Sen. Christopher J. Dodd [D-CT]

PASSED AND AMENDED TO S.1637: 03.04.04 [Yea-70, Nay-26]; S 1637 awaiting a Senate vote

THE LEGISLATION:

The Dodd Amendment to the Jumpstart Our Business Strength (JOBS) Act discourages U.S. firms contracting with the U.S. government from "outsourcing" a portion of their workload to low-cost centers abroad by imposing stiff fines on those that do. The Jumpstart Our Business Strength (JOBS) Act is intended to increase capital investment, productivity, and employment by U.S. firms.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS POSITION:

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** An estimated 1 in 100 U.S. jobs lost in the past three years was a result of "outsourcing"—the practice of contracting out work formerly done by American workers to low-cost centers abroad. By 2015, according to the most recent Forrester Research estimate, some 3.3 million American service jobs will be lost due to outsourcing. Critical to the long-term economic stability of the American middle class is access to well-paying, high-skilled jobs. This bill helps to set the U.S. economy on a job growth rebound by limiting the gradual progression of these highly desirable U.S. jobs out of the country.

FROM THE EXPERTS:

"It's outrageous that despite one of the worst job creation records in history, and despite the 9.9 million Americans still out of work in our jobless 'recovery,' the Bush administration has blessed sending more jobs overseas in its annual economic report to Congress... [it also] insensitive to the pain that millions of unemployed workers and their families are suffering, [and] just plain dangerous for our nation's future." – John Sweeney, President, AFL-CIO (February 10, 2004)

"In my view, it is an insult to the middle class of this country, that American taxpayer dollars are being used to provide loans, loan guarantees, grants, tax breaks and subsidies to huge and profitable corporations who then say to the American people: 'Thanks for the welfare chumps. But we're closing your plant and taking your job to China,'" – Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) (March 05, 2004)

NEXT STEPS FOR 2004:

By 2015, some 3.3 million U.S. service jobs once held by skilled middle-class Americans will be relocated to low cost centers abroad. Legislators sensitive to the crisis of middle-class under- and un-employment, due in part to outsourcing, should also push for the enactment of the Jumpstart Our Business Strength (JOBS) Act (S 1637) and the Defending American Jobs Act of 2004 (S 1125). Congress should also focus on making the most of the jobs that remain in this country by increasing the federal minimum wage from \$5.15 an hour to \$6.65 with an annual index to inflation, helping the eleven million Americans earning the minimum begin their ascent into the middle class.

B- **The Senate receives a grade of B- for its support of the middle class.** 70 Senators voted for this amendment; 26 voted against.

FROM THE DMI INJUSTICE INDEX

Number of associate's degrees awarded to American college students every year: **600,000**

Number of U.S. information technology (IT), back office, customer service and sales jobs expected to move "offshore" by 2005: **600,000**

AMENDMENT TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR CHILD CARE

[S.AMDT.2937
TO HR 4]

INTRODUCED: 03.29.04 (Senate); SPONSOR: Sen. Olympia J. Snowe (R-ME)

PASSED AND AMENDED TO HR 4: 3.30.04 (Yea-78, Nay-20); HR 4 awaiting a Senate vote

THE LEGISLATION:

The Amendment to provide additional funding for child care in the Personal Responsibility and Individual Development for Everyone (PRIDE) Act addresses a significant flaw of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) reauthorization bill by increasing the amount of federal funding directed to states over the next 5 years by \$6 billion for childcare services for children under the age of 13.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS POSITION:

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** For struggling Americans, TANF provides a vital support system allowing those on a fixed income to balance the responsibilities of work, education, and caring for small children. In 2003, low-income single working mothers spent as much as half of their cash income on childcare. By increasing the amount of federal aid to states to provide working mothers with additional child care resources, this amendment addresses one of the most formidable and expensive obstacles faced by low-income parents in climbing their way into the middle class.

FROM THE EXPERTS:

"While it takes good, reliable and affordable child care to make going to work possible, it takes decent pay and health care benefits to make it worth it to shoulder the additional pressures and stresses over the longer haul... The long-term success of welfare reform hinges on whether or not women can pull themselves and their families out of poverty through employment. But this goal will remain elusive if the request for individual responsibility is not matched with access to affordable child care and good quality jobs." – Heather Boushey, *Economist*, Economic Policy Institute (July 19, 2002)

"The Bush administration excuses the increase in poverty rates over the past two years as a side effect of a nation emerging from a recession, but we know that the increase is due to a deliberate government policy to encourage and reward states who kick poor women off welfare regardless of whether they have stable employment, safe and decent childcare and living conditions or are paid enough to support their families." – Kim Gandy, President, National Organization of Women (September 30, 2003)

NEXT STEPS FOR 2004:

Most Americans acknowledge the importance of work. With few marketable skills and the responsibility of caring for children while on a fixed income, many low-income single parents have trouble holding well-paying jobs. That's why this amendment to the PRIDE Act should be supported. But, the PRIDE Act itself remains problematic: it limits recipients' ability to substitute hours enrolled in college-level classes for the work hours required by TANF, depriving low-income Americans of their best chance for economic mobility and a middle-class life. Until those shortcomings are rectified, the PRIDE Act should be opposed.

B- **The Senate receives a grade of B- for its support of the middle class.** 78 Senators voted for this amendment; 20 voted against.

FROM THE DMI INJUSTICE INDEX

Number of single working American mothers that spent half of their cash income on childcare in 2002: **4 in 10**

Number of Americans born in the bottom quintile of the income distribution between 1942 and 1972 that stayed poor: **4 in 10**

Number of Americans born in the top quintile of the income distribution between 1942 and 1972 that stayed rich: **4 in 10**

OVERVIEW OF RESULTS

SENATE	The Jobs and Growth Tax Act of 2003 (HR 2)		The Unemployment Compensation Amendment of 2003 (HR 2185)		American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003 (S 811)		Amendment to provide additional funding for child care (S. Amdt. 2937)		The Overtime Compensation Amendment (S. Amdt. 1580)		Amendment to protect U.S. workers (S. Amdt. 2660)	
Senate voting with the middle class	50%	D	100%	A	100%	A	79%	B-	54%	D	70%	B-
Senate Democrats voting with the middle class	94%	A-	100%	A	100%	A	96%	A-	98%	A	92%	A-
Senate Republicans voting with the middle class	6%	F	100%	A	100%	A	63%	C	12%	F	49%	F

HOUSE	The Jobs and Growth Tax Act of 2003 (HR 2)		The Unemployment Compensation Amendment of 2003 (HR 2185)		American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003 (S 811)		The Death Tax Repeal Act of 2003 (HR 8)		The Pharmaceutical Market Access Act of 2003 (HR 2427)		The Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2003 (HR 975)	
House voting with the middle class	46%	F	94%	A-	100%	A	37%	F	56%	D	26%	F
House Democrats voting with the middle class	97%	A-	100%	A	100%	A	78%	B-	76%	B-	55%	D
House Republicans voting with the middle class	0%	F	89%	B	100%	A	2%	F	38%	F	0%	F

above:
SENATE AND HOUSE
RESULTS BY LEGISLATION

right:
OVERALL RESULTS

WHO MADE THE GRADE?	FAILED	PASSED	RECEIVED AN "A"
House	36%	64%	21%
House Democrats	1%	99%	45%
House Republicans	66%	33%	0%
Senate	13%	86%	48%
Senate Democrats	0%	100%	96%
Senate Republicans	25%	75%	4%

HOW THIS WORKS

GRADE	SCORE
A	100
A-	90
B	80
B-	70
C	60
D	50
F	40-0

A letter grade of 'A' was awarded for a score of 90 and above. A letter grade of 'B' was awarded for a grade of 70 and above; a 'C' was awarded for a score above 60; a 'D' for a score above 50, and an 'F' for all scores below 50.

Scores for the general body of both the House and Senate on a particular piece of legislation were determined by an average

of the number of votes cast with or against the middle class.

Scores for the general body of the House and Senate themselves were determined as an average of the scores each received on legislation held to a vote.

Scores for individual representatives were determined by whether they voted with or against the middle class. Representatives that missed three or more votes were not awarded a letter grade and instead received a grade of Incomplete (INC). A ✓ indicates that a representative voted WITH the middle-class position (not necessarily for the legislation); an ✗ indicates that the representative voted AGAINST the middle-class position. A — indicates a no vote.

REPORT CARD: SENATE

[AK-KY]

		Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	Provide Additional Funding for Child Care [S. Amdt. 2937]	Overtime Compensation [S. Amdt. 1580]	Amendment to protect U.S. workers [S. Amdt. 2660]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
Murkowski (R)	AK	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Stevens (R)	AK	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	67	C
Sessions (R)	AL	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	50	D
Shelby (R)	AL	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	67	C
Lincoln (D)	AR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Pryor (D)	AR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Kyl (R)	AZ	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	33	F
McCain (R)	AZ	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	67	C
Boxer (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Feinstein (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Allard (R)	CO	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	33	F
Campbell (R)	CO	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	67	C
Dodd (D)	CT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Lieberman (D)	CT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Biden (D)	DE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Carper (D)	DE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Graham (D)	FL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Nelson (D)	FL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Chambliss (R)	GA	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	33	F
Miller (D)	GA	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	50	D
Akaka (D)	HI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Inouye (D)	HI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Grassley (R)	IA	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	67	C
Harkin (D)	IA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Craig (R)	ID	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	33	F
Crapo (R)	ID	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	33	F
Durbin (D)	IL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Fitzgerald (R)	IL	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	50	D
Bayh (D)	IN	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Lugar (R)	IN	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	50	D
Brownback (R)	KS	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	50	D
Roberts (R)	KS	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	50	D
Bunning (R)	KY	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	67	C
McConnell (R)	KY	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	50	D

REPORT CARD: SENATE

[LA-NY]

		Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	Provide Additional Funding for Child Care [S. Amdt. 2937]	Overtime Compensation [S. Amdt. 1580]	Amendment to protect U.S. workers [S. Amdt. 2660]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
Breaux (D)	LA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	100	A
Landrieu (D)	LA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Kennedy (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Kerry (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	—	100	A
Mikulski (D)	MD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Sarbanes (D)	MD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Collins (R)	ME	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	67	C
Snowe (R)	ME	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Levin (D)	MI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Stabenow (D)	MI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Coleman (R)	MN	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	67	C
Dayton (D)	MN	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Bond (R)	MO	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	67	C
Talent (R)	MO	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	67	C
Cochran (R)	MS	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	50	D
Lott (R)	MS	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	33	F
Baucus (D)	MT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Burns (R)	MT	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	33	F
Dole (R)	NC	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	67	C
Edwards (D)	NC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	100	A
Conrad (D)	ND	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Dorgan (D)	ND	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Hagel (R)	NE	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	50	D
Nelson (D)	NE	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Gregg (R)	NH	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	33	F
Sununu (R)	NH	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	33	F
Corzine (D)	NJ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Lautenberg (D)	NJ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Bingaman (D)	NM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Domenici (R)	NM	✗	✓	✓	—	✗	✓	60	C
Ensign (R)	NV	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	67	C
Reid (D)	NV	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Clinton (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Schumer (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A

REPORT CARD: SENATE

[OH-WY]

		Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	Provide Additional Funding for Child Care [S. Amdt. 2937]	Overtime Compensation [S. Amdt. 1580]	Amendment to protect U.S. workers [S. Amdt. 2660]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
DeWine (R)	OH	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	67	C
Voinovich (R)	OH	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	67	C
Inhofe (R)	OK	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	50	D
Nickles (R)	OK	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	33	F
Smith (R)	OR	X	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	80	B
Wyden (D)	OR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Santorum (R)	PA	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	67	C
Specter (R)	PA	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Chafee (R)	RI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Reed (D)	RI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Graham (R)	SC	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	67	C
Hollings (D)	SC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Daschle (D)	SD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Johnson (D)	SD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	100	A
Alexander (R)	TN	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	50	D
Frist (R)	TN	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	67	C
Cornyn (R)	TX	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	33	F
Hutchison (R)	TX	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	67	C
Bennett (R)	UT	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	50	D
Hatch (R)	UT	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	50	D
Allen (R)	VA	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	50	D
Warner (R)	VA	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	50	D
Jeffords (I)	VT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Leahy (D)	VT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Cantwell (D)	WA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Murray (D)	WA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Feingold (D)	WI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Kohl (D)	WI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Byrd (D)	WV	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Rockefeller (D)	WV	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Enzi (R)	WY	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	33	F
Thomas (R)	WY	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	33	F

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[AK-CA]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Young (R)	AK	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Aderholt (R)	AL	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Bachus (R)	AL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Bonner (R)	AL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Cramer (D)	AL	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Davis (D)	AL	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Everett (R)	AL	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Rogers (R)	AL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Berry (D)	AR	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Boozman (R)	AR	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Ross (D)	AR	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Snyder (D)	AR	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Flake (R)	AZ	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Franks (R)	AZ	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Grijalva (D)	AZ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Hayworth (R)	AZ	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Kolbe (R)	AZ	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Pastor (D)	AZ	✓	X	—	✓	✓	✓	80	B
Renzi (R)	AZ	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Shadegg (R)	AZ	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Baca (D)	CA	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Becerra (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Berman (D)	CA	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Bono (R)	CA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Calvert (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Capps (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Cardoza (D)	CA	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Cox (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Cunningham (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Davis (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Dooley (D)	CA	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓	50	D
Doolittle (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	X	✓	17	F
Dreier (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Eshoo (D)	CA	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[CA]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Farr (D)	CA	X	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Filner (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Galleghy (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Harman (D)	CA	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Herger (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Honda (D)	CA	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Hunter (R)	CA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Issa (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Lantos (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Lee (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Lewis (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	—	✓	20	F
Lofgren (D)	CA	—	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	80	B
Matsui (D)	CA	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
McKeon (R)	CA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Millender-McDonald (D)	CA	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Miller, Gary (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Miller, George (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Napolitano (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Nunes (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Ose (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Pelosi (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Pombo (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Radanovich (R)	CA	—	X	X	X	✓	✓	40	F
Rohrabacher (R)	CA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Roybal-Allard (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Royce (R)	CA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Sanchez, Linda T. (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Sanchez, Loretta (D)	CA	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Schiff (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Sherman (D)	CA	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Solis (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Stark (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Tauscher (D)	CA	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Thomas (R)	CA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[CA-FL]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Thompson (D)	CA	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓	50	D
Waters (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Watson (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Waxman (D)	CA	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Woolsey (D)	CA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Beauprez (R)	CO	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
DeGette (D)	CO	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Hefley (R)	CO	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
McInnis (R)	CO	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Musgrave (R)	CO	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Tancredo (R)	CO	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Udall (D)	CO	✓	—	X	✓	✓	✓	80	B
DeLauro (D)	CT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Johnson (R)	CT	✓	X	✓	X	✓	✓	67	C
Larson (D)	CT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Shays (R)	CT	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Simmons (R)	CT	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Castle (R)	DE	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Bilirakis (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Boyd (D)	FL	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Brown (D)	FL	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Brown-Waite (R)	FL	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Crenshaw (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Davis (D)	FL	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Deutsch (D)	FL	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Diaz-Balart, L. (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Diaz-Balart, M. (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Feeney (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	X	✓	17	F
Foley (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Goss (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Harris (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Hastings (D)	FL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Keller (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Meek (D)	FL	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[FL-IL]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Mica (R)	FL	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Miller (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	X	✓	17	F
Putnam (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Ros-Lehtinen (R)	FL	X	—	X	X	✓	✓	40	F
Shaw (R)	FL	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Stearns (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Weldon (R)	FL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Wexler (D)	FL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Young (R)	FL	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Bishop (D)	GA	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Burns (R)	GA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Collins (R)	GA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Deal (R)	GA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Gingrey (R)	GA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Isakson (R)	GA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Kingston (R)	GA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Lewis (D)	GA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Linder (R)	GA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Majette (D)	GA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Marshall (D)	GA	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	83	B
Norwood (R)	GA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Scott (D)	GA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Abercrombie (D)	HI	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Case (D)	HI	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Boswell (D)	IA	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
King (R)	IA	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Latham (R)	IA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Leach (R)	IA	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Nussle (R)	IA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Otter (R)	ID	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Simpson (R)	ID	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Biggert (R)	IL	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Costello (D)	IL	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Crane (R)	IL	X	X	X	X	X	✓	17	F

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[IL-KY]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Davis (D)	IL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Emanuel (D)	IL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Evans (D)	IL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Gutierrez (D)	IL	✓	✓	—	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Hastert (R)	IL	✗	—	✗	✗	—	✓	25	F
Hyde (R)	IL	✗	—	✓	✗	✓	✓	60	C
Jackson (D)	IL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Johnson (R)	IL	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Kirk (R)	IL	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
LaHood (R)	IL	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Lipinski (D)	IL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Manzullo (R)	IL	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Rush (D)	IL	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Schakowsky (D)	IL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Shimkus (R)	IL	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Weller (R)	IL	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Burton (R)	IN	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Buyer (R)	IN	✗	—	✗	✗	✓	✓	40	F
Carson (D)	IN	—	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Chocola (R)	IN	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Hill (D)	IN	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Hostettler (R)	IN	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	17	F
Pence (R)	IN	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Souder (R)	IN	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Visclosky (D)	IN	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Moore (D)	KS	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Moran (R)	KS	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Ryun (R)	KS	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Tiahrt (R)	KS	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Fletcher (R)	KY	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Lewis (R)	KY	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Lucas (D)	KY	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Northup (R)	KY	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Rogers (R)	KY	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[KY-MI]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Whitfield (R)	KY	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Alexander (D)	LA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Baker (R)	LA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Jefferson (D)	LA	✓	X	—	✓	✓	✓	80	B
John (D)	LA	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓	50	D
McCrery (R)	LA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Tauzin (R)	LA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Vitter (R)	LA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Capuano (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Delahunt (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Frank (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Lynch (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Markey (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
McGovern (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Meehan (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Neal (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Olver (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Tierney (D)	MA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Bartlett (R)	MD	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Cardin (D)	MD	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Cummings (D)	MD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Gilchrest (R)	MD	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Hoyer (D)	MD	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Ruppersberger (D)	MD	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Van Hollen (D)	MD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Wynn (D)	MD	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Allen (D)	ME	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Michaud (D)	ME	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Camp (R)	MI	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Conyers (D)	MI	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Dingell (D)	MI	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Ehlers (R)	MI	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Hoekstra (R)	MI	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Kildee (D)	MI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[MI-NC]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Kilpatrick (D)	MI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Knollenberg (R)	MI	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Levin (D)	MI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
McCotter (R)	MI	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Miller (R)	MI	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Rogers (R)	MI	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Smith (R)	MI	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✓	33	F
Stupak (D)	MI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Upton (R)	MI	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Gutknecht (R)	MN	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Kennedy (R)	MN	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Kline (R)	MN	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
McCollum (D)	MN	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Oberstar (D)	MN	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Peterson (D)	MN	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Ramstad (R)	MN	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Sabo (D)	MN	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Akin (R)	MO	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Blunt (R)	MO	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Clay (D)	MO	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Emerson (R)	MO	✗	✗	✓	—	—	✓	50	D
Gephardt (D)	MO	—	✓	—	✓	—	✓	INC	INC
Graves (R)	MO	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Hulshof (R)	MO	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
McCarthy (D)	MO	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Skelton (D)	MO	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Pickering (R)	MS	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Taylor (D)	MS	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Thompson (D)	MS	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Wicker (R)	MS	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Rehberg (R)	MT	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	50	D
Ballance (D)	NC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Ballenger (R)	NC	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F
Burr (R)	NC	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	33	F

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[NC–NV]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Coble (R)	NC	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Etheridge (D)	NC	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Hayes (R)	NC	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Jones (R)	NC	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
McIntyre (D)	NC	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓	50	D
Miller (D)	NC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Myrick (R)	NC	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Price (D)	NC	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Taylor (R)	NC	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Watt (D)	NC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Pomeroy (D)	ND	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Bereuter (R)	NE	✓	X	✓	X	✓	✓	67	C
Osborne (R)	NE	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Terry (R)	NE	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Bass (R)	NH	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Bradley (R)	NH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Andrews (D)	NJ	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Ferguson (R)	NJ	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Frelinghuysen (R)	NJ	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Garrett (R)	NJ	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Holt (D)	NJ	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
LoBiondo (R)	NJ	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Menendez (D)	NJ	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Pallone (D)	NJ	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Pascrell (D)	NJ	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Payne (D)	NJ	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Rothman (D)	NJ	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Saxton (R)	NJ	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Smith (R)	NJ	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Pearce (R)	NM	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Udall (D)	NM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Wilson (R)	NM	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Berkley (D)	NV	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Gibbons (R)	NV	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[NV-OH]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Porter (R)	NV	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Ackerman (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Bishop (D)	NY	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Boehlert (R)	NY	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Crowley (D)	NY	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Engel (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Fossella (R)	NY	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Hinchey (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Houghton (R)	NY	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓	50	D
Israel (D)	NY	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Kelly (R)	NY	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
King (R)	NY	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Lowey (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Maloney (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
McCarthy (D)	NY	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
McHugh (R)	NY	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
McNulty (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Meeks (D)	NY	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Nadler (D)	NY	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Owens (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Quinn (R)	NY	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Rangel (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Reynolds (R)	NY	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Serrano (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Slaughter (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Sweeney (R)	NY	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Towns (D)	NY	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Velazquez (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Walsh (R)	NY	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Weiner (D)	NY	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Boehner (R)	OH	X	X	X	—	✓	✓	40	F
Brown (D)	OH	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Chabot (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Gillmor (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[OH-PA]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Hobson (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Jones (D)	OH	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Kaptur (D)	OH	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Kucinich (D)	OH	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
LaTourette (R)	OH	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Ney (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Oxley (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Portman (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Pryce (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Regula (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Ryan (D)	OH	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Strickland (D)	OH	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Tiberi (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Turner (R)	OH	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Carson (D)	OK	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓	50	D
Cole (R)	OK	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Istook (R)	OK	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Lucas (R)	OK	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Sullivan (R)	OK	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Blumenauer (D)	OR	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
DeFazio (D)	OR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Hooley (D)	OR	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Walden (R)	OR	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Wu (D)	OR	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Brady (D)	PA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Doyle (D)	PA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
English (R)	PA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Fattah (D)	PA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Gerlach (R)	PA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Greenwood (R)	PA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Hart (R)	PA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Hoeffel (D)	PA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Holden (D)	PA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Kanjorski (D)	PA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[PA-TX]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Murphy (R)	PA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Murtha (D)	PA	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Peterson (R)	PA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Pitts (R)	PA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Platts (R)	PA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Sherwood (R)	PA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Shuster (R)	PA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Toomey (R)	PA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Weldon (R)	PA	X	X	—	X	✓	✓	40	F
Kennedy (D)	RI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Langevin (D)	RI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Barrett (R)	SC	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Brown (R)	SC	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Clyburn (D)	SC	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
DeMint (R)	SC	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Spratt (D)	SC	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Wilson (R)	SC	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Janklow (R)	SD	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Blackburn (R)	TN	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Cooper (D)	TN	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Davis (D)	TN	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Duncan (R)	TN	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Ford (D)	TN	X	X	—	✓	✓	✓	60	C
Gordon (D)	TN	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Jenkins (R)	TN	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Tanner (D)	TN	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓	50	D
Wamp (R)	TN	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Barton (R)	TX	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Bell (D)	TX	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Bonilla (R)	TX	X	X	X	—	—	✓	25	F
Brady (R)	TX	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Burgess (R)	TX	X	X	X	X	X	✓	17	F
Carter (R)	TX	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Combest (R)	TX	—	X	—	—	—	✓	INC	INC

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[TX-VA]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Culberson (R)	TX	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
DeLay (R)	TX	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Doggett (D)	TX	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Edwards (D)	TX	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Frost (D)	TX	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Gonzalez (D)	TX	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Granger (R)	TX	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Green (D)	TX	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Hall (R)	TX	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Hensarling (R)	TX	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Hinojosa (D)	TX	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Jackson-Lee (D)	TX	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Johnson, E. B. (D)	TX	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Johnson, Sam (R)	TX	X	X	X	X	X	✓	17	F
Lampson (D)	TX	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Neugebauer (R)	TX	X	—	✓	—	—	✓	INC	INC
Ortiz (D)	TX	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Paul (R)	TX	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	33	F
Reyes (D)	TX	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Rodriguez (D)	TX	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Sandlin (D)	TX	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Sessions (R)	TX	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Smith (R)	TX	—	X	X	X	✓	✓	40	F
Stenholm (D)	TX	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Thornberry (R)	TX	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Turner (D)	TX	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Bishop (R)	UT	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Cannon (R)	UT	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Matheson (D)	UT	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Boucher (D)	VA	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Cantor (R)	VA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Davis, Jo Ann (R)	VA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Davis, Tom (R)	VA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Forbes (R)	VA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D

REPORT CARD: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[VA–WY]

		Estate Tax Repeal [HR 8]	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention [HR 975]	Pharmaceutical Market Access [HR 2427]	Jobs and Growth Tax Relief [HR 2]	Unemployment Compensation [HR 2185]	American Dream Downpayment [S 811]	SCORE	GRADE
MIDDLE CLASS POSITION:		NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		
Goode (R)	VA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Goodlatte (R)	VA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Moran (D)	VA	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Schrock (R)	VA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Scott (D)	VA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Wolf (R)	VA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Sanders (I)	VT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Baird (D)	WA	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Dicks (D)	WA	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Dunn (R)	WA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Hastings (R)	WA	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Inslee (D)	WA	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Larsen (D)	WA	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
McDermott (D)	WA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Nethercutt (R)	WA	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Smith (D)	WA	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓	50	D
Baldwin (D)	WI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Green (R)	WI	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	33	F
Kind (D)	WI	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Kleczka (D)	WI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Obey (D)	WI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	A
Petri (R)	WI	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Ryan (R)	WI	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Sensenbrenner (R)	WI	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Capito (R)	WV	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	50	D
Mollohan (D)	WV	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	83	B
Rahall (D)	WV	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	67	C
Cubin (R)	WY	X	X	X	X	X	✓	17	F

PENDING LEGISLATION

HIGHER EDUCATION

COLLEGE AFFORDABILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY ACT OF 2003 (HR 3519) Introduced: 11.19.03 (House of Representatives); Sponsor: Rep. John F. Tierney (D-MA) **Referred to the Subcommittee on 21st Century Competitiveness (01.30.04)**

The College Affordability and Accountability Act of 2003 provides states that hold down annual increases in tuition and protect funding levels of public universities from year-to-year budget cuts with additional federal funding in the form of Pell Grants. It also establishes a national online college price calculator to help American families choose the best and most affordable school for their child.

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** For most Americans, a college education is the best means to achieving social and economic mobility. Yet, nearly half of all young Americans who enroll in a four-year institution eventually drop-out citing cost as the primary reason for non-completion. This bill helps young Americans enter the middle class by holding down the cost of public college tuition while increasing financial aid.

WORKPLACE RIGHTS

EMPLOYEE FREE CHOICE ACT (S 1925) Introduced: 11.21.03 (Senate); Sponsor: Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) **Referred to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions (11.21.03)**

The Employee Free Choice Act amends the National Labor Relations Act to establish an efficient system to enable employees to form, join, or assist labor organizations. In addition, it provides for mandatory injunctions for unfair labor practices during organizing efforts.

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** In 2003, the Departments of Labor and of Justice supported proposals that would have radically limited unionized American workers' ability to engage in collective bargaining and receive federal overtime compensation. On average, unionized American workers earn more than their non-union counterparts, due in large part to their ability to collectively bargain for more equitable contracts. Strong unions are beneficial to the middle class.

PREDATORY LENDING

PAYDAY BORROWER PROTECTION ACT OF 2003 (HR 2407) Introduced: 06.10.03 (House of Representatives); Sponsor: Rep. Bobby L. Rush (D-IL) **Referred to the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit (06.17.03)**

The Payday Borrower Protection Act of 2003 amends the Consumer Credit Protection Act and other banking laws to protect consumers who avail themselves of payday loans from usurious interest rates and exorbitant fees, and perpetual debt. In addition, it encourages states to license and closely regulate payday lenders that use criminal actions and other unfair practices to collect debts.

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** In 2002, the average American family earned roughly \$42,409 a year—\$815 a week—and held more than \$2,294 in credit card debt. For those two-income American families who suffered the loss of one income earner due to unemployment in 2003, the weight of recurring fixed costs and mounting consumer debt drove many in search of the services of a payday lender. This bill would protect Americans in economic desperation from exploitative collection practices of payday lenders.

OUTSOURCING

THE DEFENDING AMERICAN JOBS ACT OF 2004 (HR 3888) Introduced: 03.03.04 (House of Representatives); Sponsor: Rep. Bernard Sanders (I-VT) **Referred to the House Committee on Government Reform. (03.03.04)**

The Defending American Jobs Act of 2004 prohibits business enterprises that lay-off a greater percentage of their United States workforce than workers in other countries from receiving any federal assistance in the form of grants, loans, or loan guarantees. In addition, it requires that, as a condition of such assistance, those businesses report the number of workers they employ in the United States and overseas, and wages paid to U.S. employees versus their offshore workforce.

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** In 2003, U.S. technology employment fell four percent—to the lowest level since 1999—according to the American Electronics Association. In the same year, Motorola, and General Electric (GE) invested sizable sums (\$190 million and \$2.5 billion, respectively) towards increasing their bases of operation in China while firing thousands of U.S. workers. This bill helps address concerns about America's fading middle-class by preserving some of the nation's most desirable white-collar jobs.

CREDIT INDUSTRY

RESPONSIBLE LENDING ACT (HR 833) Introduced: 02.13.03 (House of Representatives); Sponsor: Rep. Robert W. Ney (R-OH)
Referred to the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Opportunity (03.10.03)

The Responsible Lending Act amends the Truth in Lending Act to combat unfair and deceptive practices in the high-cost mortgage market by establishing a consumer mortgage protection board to set licensing and minimum standards for mortgage brokers providing grants to prospective borrowers for housing counseling services.

- ✗ **The Middle Class Opposes:** In 2003, more than 640,000 homes were in the process of foreclosure and more than 1.3 million middle-class American households filed for bankruptcy. While a source of tremendous personal security, homeownership can also be a source of great financial instability. In attempting to protect American borrowers from sometimes deceptive and unfair practices by the lending industry, this bill fails to set realistic limitations on lending practices and shifts the cost of these new regulatory reforms onto the backs of struggling middle-class families in the form of hidden processing fees.

HIGHER EDUCATION

DEVELOPMENT, RELIEF, AND EDUCATION FOR ALIEN MINORS (DREAM) ACT OF 2003 (S 1545) Introduced: 07.31.03 (Senate); Sponsor: Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-UT) **Report filed from Committee on the Judiciary (02.09.04)**

The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act of 2003 amends the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 to permit states to determine their own residency requirements for undocumented residents seeking to enroll in a public university. In addition, it authorizes the Secretary of Homeland Security to cancel the removal of, or adjust to conditional permanent resident status, an alien who entered the United States as a minor, has been a person of good moral character, and has earned a U.S. high school or equivalent diploma.

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** On average, college degree recipients earn \$650,000 more in a lifetime than those with a high school level education and suffer lower rates of unemployment in times of economic recession. This bill eases the transition of non-naturalized children of new immigrants into the American middle class by removing an obstacle barring them from attaining a college degree.

MINIMUM WAGE

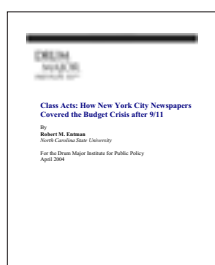
AMENDMENT TO PROVIDE FOR AN INCREASE OF THE FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE (S AMDT.2945 TO HR 4)

Introduced: 03.30.04 (Senate); Sponsors: Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-CA) and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) **Considered by the Senate (04.01.04); awaiting a vote in the Senate as part of H.R. 4**

The amendment to provide for an increase of the Federal minimum wage of the Personal Responsibility and Individual Development for Everyone (PRIDE) Act would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to raise the current federal minimum wage of \$5.15 to \$6.65 by 2005. The amendment, which has yet to come to a vote, would increase the current minimum wage by \$.75 upon signing of the PRIDE ACT, and another \$.75 in 2005. As part of the federal increase, all states with a minimum wage set lower than the revised \$6.65 hourly rate would have to comply with the new federal level.

- ✓ **The Middle Class Supports:** At just \$5.15 an hour, the current minimum wage leaves more than eleven million Americans with less than \$200 a week in take home pay. An increase of the current federal minimum wage is the only way to ensure that low wage U.S. jobs provide Americans with an opportunity for entrance into the middle class.

ALSO FROM DMI



CLASS ACTS: HOW NEW YORK CITY NEWSPAPERS COVERED THE BUDGET CRISIS AFTER 9/11

April 2004 / In the spring of 2003, as New York City was enmeshed in the debate about how to resolve its significant budget crisis, the Drum Major Institute for Public Policy faced two questions it felt compelled to explore: Were New York City's daily newspapers doing a good job of helping the general public to understand the budget debate and the proposals being discussed by their elected representatives? And, would they help New Yorkers of all income levels to understand how these policy proposals would specifically affect them? In this report, leading media scholar Robert M. Entman of North Carolina State University, provides his response in an analysis of New York City daily newspaper coverage of the budget debate following 9/11.



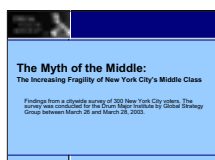
THE MYTH OF THE MIDDLE? CAMPAIGN 2004 ON AMERICA'S MIDDLE CLASS

January 2004 / This survey of the candidates for the 2004 Democratic nomination for President looks at their positions on issues important to the middle class, including raising the minimum wage, expanding access to health care, making college education more affordable, and restructuring the tax code to benefit middle-class families. Candidates also identified the major challenges facing the middle class, and what they would do as president to restore economic mobility to poor and working-class Americans.



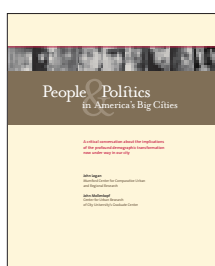
THE 2003 DMI YEAR IN REVIEW

December 2003 / What a difference a year makes. The DMI Year in Review provides a critical context in which to evaluate the direction of policy in America today. From Medicare reform to the Bush tax cuts to the squeezing of state budgets, the DMI Year in Review offers a scathing indictment of the national administration while highlighting the positive developments of 2003, from the recognition of the ongoing need for affirmative action in our universities to the preservation of the Child Tax Credit for working families with school-aged children. The DMI Year in Review features "The Best and Worst of Public Policy," "The State of the States," and "Best of the ProgBlog," as well as important statistics in the "Injustice Index," and commentary from prominent Americans on the 2004 progressive agenda.



THE MYTH OF THE MIDDLE: THE INCREASING FRAGILITY OF NEW YORK CITY'S MIDDLE CLASS

September 2003 / In September 2003, the Drum Major Institute for Public Policy released "The Myth of the Middle," a survey of 300 New York City likely voters about their economic security and concerns. The survey reveals that: 1) Being middle class in New York City isn't what it used to be; 2) Many New York City voters will identify as middle class and say they feel secure, but are rarely able to save for the future and find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet; and 3) New Yorkers are worried about education, health care, and affordable housing, and want critical services protected.



PEOPLE AND POLITICS IN AMERICA'S BIG CITIES

May 2003 / The changing face of America is creating new challenges and opportunities for America's urban centers. The emergence of new immigrant minority groups has transformed the competition for political power in large cities from one that pits native minorities against whites to one that pits new immigrants not only against whites, but also against native minority groups. This report, commissioned by the Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, The Century Foundation, and Metropolitan College of New York, and written by leading demographers John Mollenkopf and John Logan, analyzes the 2001 mayoral and city council elections in New York and Los Angeles to determine the impact of these demographic changes on urban democracy.



FROM GOVERNANCE TO ACCOUNTABILITY: BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS THAT MAKE SCHOOLS WORK

January 2003 / This report, by Kavitha Mediratta and Norman Fruchter of the New York University Institute for Education and Social Policy, comes at a significant moment for New York City's public schools. For the third time in the last 50 years—and the second time in a decade—the New York State legislature has passed a law that significantly altered the structure of the public school system. This report offers a new perspective on the debate between governance and accountability, ultimately concluding that "developing a new community accountability system that anchors the essential relationships between schools and communities in ongoing efforts to improve schools is one of the most critical tasks before us."

WHO IS THE DRUM MAJOR INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY?

The Drum Major Institute for Public Policy is a non-partisan, non-profit organization dedicated to challenging the tired orthodoxies of both the right and the left. The goal: progressive public policy for social and economic fairness. DMI's approach is unwavering: We do not issue reports to see our name in print or hold forums for the sake of mere talk. We seek to change policy by conducting research into overlooked, but important social and economic issues, by leveraging our strategic relationships to engage policymakers and opinion leaders in our work, and by offering platforms to amplify the ideas of those who are working for social and economic fairness.

Originally called the Drum Major Foundation, DMI was founded by Harry Wachtel, lawyer and advisor to Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. during the turbulent years of the civil rights movement. DMI was relaunched in 1999 by New York attorney William Wachtel, Harry's son, Martin Luther King III, and Ambassador Andrew Young. Today, energized by the nationally recognized leadership of Fernando Ferrer, DMI is committed to adding a rigorous progressive voice to compete in the marketplace of ideas.

From releasing nationally recognized studies into our increasingly fragile middle class, the relationship between schools and communities and the impact of changing demographics on politics, to launching an exciting and frequently visited web site that serves as a source of ideas and argument, DMI has demonstrated the strength of its mission and strategy.

Please visit www.drummajorinstitute.org for more information.



110 East 59th Street, 28th Floor
New York NY 10022
T 212.909.9663 F 212.909.9493
drummajorinstitute.org

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Ambassador Andrew Young
Chairman
Good Works International, LLC

William B. Wachtel
Co-Founder
Wachtel & Masys, LLP

Martin Luther King, III
Co-Founder
The King Center

John Catsimatidis
Red Apple Group

Cecilia Clarke
Sadie Nash Leadership Project

Sandra Cuneo
Trial Lawyers Care

Rosanna M. Durruthy
Aequus Group

Matthew Goldstein
City University of New York

Robert F. Kennedy, Jr.
Waterkeeper Alliance

John McConnell
Wachtel & Masys, LLP

Chris McNickle
Greenwich Associates

Bernard Nussbaum
Wachtel, Lipton, Rosen, and Katz

Charles Phillips
Oracle Corporation

Dennis Rivera
1199 SEIU New York

Tom Watson
Changing Our World, Inc.

Jennefer Witter
The Boreland Group Inc.

Andrew Young, III
Young Solutions

Fernando Ferrer
President

STAFF

Andrea Batista Schlesinger
Executive Director

Malik Lewis
Policy & Communications Associate

Ean Fullerton
Intern

Tess Knoebel
Intern