



*Congressional
Hispanic
Staff
Association*

Unrepresented: A Blueprint for Solving the Diversity Crisis on Capitol Hill

Prepared by the
Congressional Hispanic Staff Association

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Also available online at:

www.CHSADC.org

Executive Summary

There is a crisis afflicting Capitol Hill. While policy decisions affecting all of America are debated in the halls of Congress, Latinos are almost completely absent in top-level staff positions. Thus, on issues like education, the economy, health care, and decisions of war and peace, Members of Congress are largely without the perspective of a community that encompasses about one in six Americans.

This crisis is self-evident in any statistical analysis. Last Congress, the *National Journal* did a feature on key Congressional staff. Excluding the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC) executive director, there were only two Latinos identified among the 338 key staff listed. Recently, not a single Latino was listed in a *Roll Call* list of 50 most important staff. In the Senate, there is currently only one Latino chief of staff, though if taken as a proportion of the U.S. Latino population there would be fifteen. In addition, there is not a single Latino legislative director in the Senate, and only one staff director out of the forty top committee positions. The House of Representatives faces similar challenges; the 2009 House Employment Survey of personal offices found Latinos made up only 2.7 percent of chiefs of staff and 2.1 percent of legislative directors. The Latino community is not only being denied a seat at the table, Latinos are not even in the same room where important policy decisions are made.

This shortage of representation is not simply a “Latino issue,” but is part of the larger issue of ensuring institutions that run and oversee our government reflect America’s population. While the current situation is concerning, we are optimistic that this crisis can be addressed over the next decade. This report outlines a strategy to achieve equitable levels, which are modestly defined as having at least 75 percent of the Latino population percentage of both total staff and executive-level staff by 2020. Although this poses a significant challenge, the Congressional Hispanic Staff Association (CHSA) will continue to shed light on this matter and is encouraged by the work of other staff organizations and the interest of Congressional leaders. CHSA hopes that bringing attention to this diversity crisis will lead to further efforts to ensure Capitol Hill reflects all of America.

Over the past year, CHSA has enacted many of the internal recommendations outlined in its “Bringing America to the Hill” initiative, including the creation of a resume bank of qualified Latino candidates so that Members have access to these jobseekers. CHSA has held briefings about working on the Hill, mentored potential staff candidates, circulated job lists and openings, reviewed resumes, and utilized its resources to connect qualified Latinos with hiring offices. Unfortunately, these efforts have not been enough. CHSA implemented these strategies with new Members hiring for every position. Despite efforts to ensure Members had access to quality Latino candidates from their states, an analysis of these offices shows not a single Latino was hired to an executive-level position, and were 10 percent of overall hires while representing a 23 percent Latino constituency.

To address this shortfall, CHSA is expanding our partnerships with other staff associations to strengthen our resume banks and outreach. These partnerships will ensure accountability by holding an annual State of Diversity on the Hill Address at the beginning of every year to identify opportunities and take stock of progress until the crisis is over. Further, partnerships with external organizations will increase our pool of qualified candidates for staff positions, strengthen our membership outreach efforts, and ensure accountability for results. While these partnerships can strengthen our capability, the unfortunate fact remains that however well intentioned, CHSA remains a volunteer organization lacking the resources and authority to singlehandedly resolve the congressional diversity crisis.

Ending this crisis will require a steady commitment from Congressional leaders. Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid is a leader who has recognized the diversity crisis and has taken decisive action. After taking note of a lack of staff diversity in 2006, he created a Senate Diversity Office and then made sure Democratic Caucus members knew that ending this crisis was a priority. Majority Leader Reid should be commended for his strong leadership in this area, but unfortunately his actions alone are not enough. The leadership of both parties and chambers should consider creating full-time offices to help direct qualified minority candidates to Member offices. Democratic House leaders are in discussions about taking such a step. Additionally, Congressional leaders can ensure the data analyzed in this report continues to be collected in future Congressional surveys.

Finally, Capitol Hill can learn from the experiences of other corporations, agencies and organizations that have faced similar challenges. One such example is the National Football League (NFL), which is composed of 32 independent teams. While each individual team's hiring decisions were justifiable, the league realized eight years ago that it had a diversity crisis among its coaching ranks. However, the NFL took decisive action and instituted what is known as the Rooney Rule. This rule has led to a rapid rise in the number of minority coaches and without any negative stigma attached to them. As to their success, NFL scoreboards and standings do not lie. Once given the opportunity, minority coaches were just as successful as their white counterparts at making the playoffs and winning Super Bowls. We believe the same level of success is possible on Capitol Hill.

With 535 members of the House and Senate independently making staff decisions, it is not CHSA's intent to question any specific hiring decision. And though this report focuses on the hiring of Latino staff, it is not CHSA's intent to overlook the necessity to be inclusive of all underrepresented groups when hiring. It is long past due to recognize a serious diversity crisis exists in Congress and requires immediate action.

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Foreword

The Congressional Hispanic Staff Association (CHSA) was first officially recognized by Congress in 2001, with one of its primary goals being to improve Hispanic representation on Capitol Hill. CHSA currently has over 150 members composing of staff, fellows and interns from the U.S. Senate, House of Representatives and the Library of Congress.

This report was prepared by the CHSA Placement Committee, a committee formed at the end of 2008 to focus on improving Latino representation among Congressional staff. We have focused on the professional development of our membership and have a resume bank of Latinos with the experience and expertise required for Capitol Hill jobs. We are happy to work with any Member or office to provide resumes of talented and qualified Latinos. This help can be accessed by emailing chsa.jobs@gmail.com, or by visiting our website at www.chsadc.org.

This report will be released at the first State of Diversity on Capitol Hill address CHSA is hosting with the Congressional Black Associates, Congressional Asian Pacific American Staff Association, and the Congressional Muslim Staffers Association. CHSA will continue to work with our partners to make annual updates on the progress of ending the diversity crisis on Capitol Hill until such a time when Latinos are properly represented. While this is a difficult challenge, we believe that we can continue to make progress and solve the diversity crisis by 2020.

We would like to thank the numerous people who took time to consult and assist us with this report. These people are listed in the acknowledgement section and we are grateful for their contributions.

Our hope is that this report will assist Congressional leaders, their staffs, and the general public to better understand the diversity crisis and establish a plan to ensure Capitol Hill better reflects American demographics.

With warm regards,

2009 -10 Congressional Hispanic Staff Association Executive Board

Introduction

Congressional staffers advise our elected officials on issues affecting all Americans. From negotiating with constituencies, to drafting legislative language, staff play a vital role in the operations, oversight, appropriations, and policy decisions of the legislative branch. Because the duties of the legislative branch are so important to our nation, it is crucial that a properly functioning democracy have all of its communities represented so that they each have a voice in the process. Unfortunately, the Latino community is not currently represented in a meaningful way among Congressional staff. Latinos are almost completely left out of key staff positions and are drastically underrepresented at all staff levels.

This is a crisis that can be addressed. Staff turnover on Capitol Hill tends to be high and opportunities exist to solve the diversity crisis reasonably quickly, if our leaders recognize this problem and take action. We find it reasonable to set a goal that by 2020, Latino Capitol Hill staff representation reaches 75 percent of the Latino proportion of the country as a whole. Currently, Latinos make up 15.4 percent of the population, so our goal would be to have at least 11.5 percent of staff be of Latino descent by 2020. However, it should be noted that this is a moving target. Latinos are expected to make up an increasingly large percentage of our country, so our goal numbers will likely have increased by 2020, when Latinos are expected to be 17.8 percent of the U.S. population.

Our 2020 goal also specifically focuses on senior-level positions. It is important that Latinos are not limited to junior, support, Hispanic outreach, or Spanish-language positions. Therefore, our goal is also to achieve 75 percent of equitable levels solely for executive-level positions, which are senior positions with large influence on policy and budget decisions. Many senior-level staff began in entry- and junior-level positions. Thus, more Latinos in entry- and junior-level positions today, if offered opportunities to prove themselves and advance, could result in more Latinos in senior-level positions in the future.

Historically, Latinos have been better represented among Members' in-district staff. While district staff plays an important role in helping constituents and navigating local politics, policy decisions are usually the domain of Washington D.C. staff. Therefore, faced with limited time and resources, this report solely focuses on Washington D.C. staff. As a special note, the terms Latino and Hispanic are used interchangeably throughout this report.

State of Diversity in Congress

There is a lack of comprehensive data to assess diversity on the Hill. While Congress requires this data from federal agencies and government contractors, Congressional offices are not required to collect such data. However, there is still a wide variety of data available to provide an understanding of the current diversity crisis. For example, last Congress the *National Journal* conducted a demographic analysis of key aides of Members, committees, caucuses, leadership, and other coalitions. **Table 1** tracks the Latino representation of these key staff listed in 2003 and 2007. This data clearly shows Latinos are not at the table when key decisions are being made. In 2007, there were only three Latinos listed among key staff, and one of those was the executive director of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus—a position one would reasonably expect a Latino to hold. Furthermore, there was absolutely no gain in the representation by Latinos over the four-year period, rather Latinos actually lost ground.

Table 1. National Journals Key Congressional Staff

	2003	2007
Total key staff listed by ethnicity	94	184
Latino staff if proportionately represented ^a	13	28
Actual number of Latino staff	2	3
Percentage of key staff of Latino descent	2.1%	1.6%

Source: National Journal

- a. The number of Latino staff if proportionately represented is based on the percentage Latinos make of the total population based on U.S. Census estimates for July 1 of the appropriate year.

Roll Call also highlights leading Democratic and Republican staff. Their list, *The Roll Call Fabulous 50*, select staff based on four criteria: (1) Mastery, for policy and procedural experts; (2) Influence, for individuals who drive the agenda, cut the deals, craft legislation, and sway Members; (3) Spin, for the best communicators who help set the tone and frame the debate; and (4) Access, for those in the room when decisions are made. Few Latinos have ever been given the opportunity to be featured on this list. The latest *Roll Call Fabulous 50* was released on January 25, 2010, and had not one Latino. One has to go back to 2008 before finding a Latino listed.

Table 2. Roll Calls Fabulous 50 Staff

	Sept. 2008	Jan. 2009	Sept. 2009	Jan. 2010
Total key staff listed	50	50	50	50
Latino staff if proportionately represented	8	8	8	8
Actual number of Latino staff	1	0	0	0

Source: Roll Call, with Latino staff calculations by CHSA

State of Diversity in the Senate

According to a 2006 *DiversityInc* investigation, only about 6 percent of the 4,100 U.S. Senate Employees were people of color, which includes African-American, Asian, and Latino staff. These communities combined represent more than 30 percent of all Americans. This disparity was even more dramatic among senior-level staff, only 1.9 percent of the approximately 1,000 senior-level staff positions in the Senate were held by Latinos. This suggests an approximately 900 percent increase in Latino senior Senate staff is needed to get to 100 percent equitable levels by 2020.

CHSA's investigation has found similar results to *DiversityInc*. Out of the 100 Senate offices, we have found only a single Latino chief of staff. Chiefs of staff are typically the highest staff position in a Senate office. We were unable to identify a single Latino deputy chief of staff or legislative director, which typically would be the second or third highest staff position, depending on the office structure.

Similarly, there was only one Latino committee staff director to be found in any of the 40 such positions leading Senate committees. **Table 3** highlights the dismal state of senior-level diversity in the Senate.

Table 3. Top Senate Staff Positions

	Estimated Total Positions	Latino staff if proportionately represented	Actual number of Latino Staff	Percent Latino
Chiefs of Staff	100	15	1	1.0%
Deputy Chief of Staff	40	6	0	0.0%
Legislative Director	100	15	0	0.0%
Committee Staff Director	40	6	1	2.5%
Total	280	43	2	0.7%

Source: CHSA findings and calculations, confirmed by the Ibarra Strategy Group’s Latino Leadership Directory. All numbers of total positions are estimates based on the most recent Senate compensation survey and do not account for any current vacancies.

State of Diversity in the House of Representatives

Table 4 utilizes the recently released data of the 2009 House Employment Survey to show the current state of diversity in the House of Representatives. The only position where Latino representation is half of what it should be is for the scheduler position. While scheduler positions are integrally important to a functioning office, these positions are generally not considered to be instrumental to policy formulation, nor are they generally considered by conventional wisdom to be positions from which to advance to more senior-level positions. The second highest concentration of Latinos was in the staff assistant position. While staff assistants also do important work and are necessary to an office, this is an entry-level position and is the lowest paid, according to the survey data.

The data suggests that the few Latinos on the Hill are disproportionately in junior-level positions and are not making it to higher-level positions with significant policy input. However, the higher concentration of Latinos in staff assistant positions can also give hope for the future. While entry-level, these positions are generally the first step for staff to advance up the career ladder to more senior-level positions. In fact, the high staff turnover and potential for relatively quick advancement on the Hill is one of the reasons why our 2020 goal for 75 percent of staff equality for executive-level positions is achievable. The 2009 House Employment Survey reports that less than 6 percent of staff assistants have been in their position for over three years. The next House Employment Survey should provide us with a better glimpse of the advancement opportunities for Latinos. With more than 83 percent of chiefs of staff expected to be new hires by 2020, there is a distinct opportunity for Latinos to achieve equality by 2020 if efforts are made to facilitate equal opportunity for hiring and advancement.

Table 4. State of Staff Diversity in the House of Representative
(2009)

	Estimated total number of positions	Latino staff if proportionately represented	Actual number of Latino staff	Percent Latino	New Latino hires needed for 100% equality
Chief of Staff	440	67	12	2.7%	55
Legislative Director	440	67	9	2.1%	58
Press Secretary	440	67	31	7.1%	36
Priority Legislative Assistant	440	67	29	6.7%	38
General Legislative Assistant	440	67	30	6.8%	37
Scheduler	440	67	39	9.0%	28
Office Manager/Executive Assistant	440	67	19	4.3%	48
Legislative Correspondent	440	67	16	3.7%	51
Staff Assistant	440	67	33	7.6%	34
Total	3960	603	218	5.6%	385

Source: 2009 House Employment Survey data, with data extrapolations and calculations by CHSA.

Note: The Ibarra Strategy Group Latino Leadership Directory has identified 17 Latino chiefs of staff, 11 Latino legislative directors, and 14 communication directors/press secretaries.

Is Diversity in the House Improving?

There have been attempts to downplay the crisis and the need for action by claiming diversity is improving and that more Latinos are working in the House of Representatives now than ever before. Analysis of the House Employment Survey data in **Table 5** shows any such improvement to be at a glacial pace. For example, if the current pace of growth in Latino chiefs of staff continues, it will take more than 212 years to reach 100 percent equity. And that assumes the Latino population remains at 15.4 percent, clearly a tenuous assumption for our lifetimes (though this report makes no predictions on U.S. demographics for the year 2222).

Furthermore, considering the percentage of the Latino population rose by 1.1 percent from 2004, when Latinos only made up 14.3 percent of the American population, Latinos actually lost ground proportionately in the top-level positions of chief of staff and legislative director. The recent headline of a *Roll Call* article, *House Diversity Changes Little in Six Years*, is in fact accurate by all reasonable standards. The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that Latinos will grow to 17.8 percent of the American population by 2020. The facts clearly demonstrate that the crisis will not be solved on its own.

Table 5. House Diversity Changes 2004-2009 and Future Implications

	2004	2009	Change	Years required to achieve 100% equality at current pace ^a
Chief of Staff	2.4%	2.7%	0.3%	212
Legislative Director	1.5%	2.1%	0.6%	111
Press Secretary	5.2%	7.1%	1.9%	22
Priority Legislative Assistant	3.8%	6.7%	2.9%	15
General Legislative Assistant	5.2%	6.8%	1.6%	27
Scheduler	3.2%	9.0%	5.8%	6
Office Manager/Executive Assistant	4.6%	4.3%	-0.3%	N.A.
Legislative Correspondent	8.5%	3.7%	-4.8%	N.A.
Staff Assistant	4.8%	7.6%	2.8%	14
Average	4.4%	5.6%	1.2%	41

Source: 2004 and 2009 House Employment Surveys.

a. Assumes Latinos remain at 15.4% of the total U.S. population.

Table 6. U.S. Latino Population

Year	Percent of U.S. Population Latino
2004	14.3%
2009	15.4%
2020 (expected)	17.8%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Note: The percentage of change between 2004 and 2009 is 1.1%.

CHSA's *Bringing America to the Hill* Initiative

In response to the lack of diversity on Capitol Hill, CHSA launched *Bringing America to the Hill: A Diversity Initiative and Action Plan to Encourage the Hiring of Latino Staff in Congress* in March 2008. This action plan focused on several internal action steps for CHSA to take, as well as a recommendation for House leaders to create a House Diversity Office. Some of the results of this initiative include:

- An online communications strategy, which includes outreach to Latinos not on the Hill, an email bulletin of available Hill jobs, and an online resume bank. Additionally, lists of job email bulletins and articles about getting jobs were compiled and sent to Latinos aspiring to work on the Hill.
- A call for House leadership to follow Senate Majority Leader Reid's lead in hiring a Human Resources Diversity Advisor. Unfortunately, while conversations are currently underway, no formal action has been taken yet. CHSA continues to advance this recommendation.

- A CHSA Placement Committee to help potential Latino staffers to navigate the hiring process. This committee was officially formed in January 2009 and has since helped dozens of aspiring Hill staffers by providing resume and cover letter advice, introducing them to key hiring staff, and by getting their resume into the hands of the hiring personnel. On May 28, 2009, this committee held an event entitled *Advancing on the Hill: Getting in the Door and Landing that Job*, in which three chiefs of staff with over 25 years of combined experience shared their insight on the hiring processes, followed by a chance for aspiring Hill staffers to get their resumes reviewed one on one by senior Hill staff. The Placement Committee has also assembled a robust resume bank of qualified Latinos available for Members’ use when hiring.

New Member Hiring Practices

New Members of Congress were identified as primary targets for our efforts to increase diversity, as new Members must hire their entire office staff from the most junior to the most senior positions. The CHSA Placement Committee was not yet in place as the freshmen class was sworn into office in January 2009, however, the committee was able to target each of the incoming House Members who won their seats in special elections in the 111th Congress. Working with Speaker Pelosi’s staff, CHSA ensured that numerous resumes of qualified Latino candidates from the appropriate state were available. Because they had qualified Latino candidates, and because of their unique situation in hiring for every position in the office, we believe these offices make good indicators of progress.

The data in **Table 7** was not included to suggest that any single individual office needs to hire the exact number of staff representative of Latinos in their district. On the contrary, CHSA believes that qualified Latinos should be considered by Members even if their district contains very few Latinos or even if their office already has other Latino staff. We would hope that offices hiring Latino staff above their district demographics will balance out those hiring less. This table is intended to demonstrate that, in the aggregate, Latinos are not being hired in the numbers they should be, no matter the composition of any particular district.

Table 7. New Members Hiring

	Latino Percentage of District	DC Latino hires there should be based on district percentages	Latinos hired for DC office	Executive-level positions available	Latinos hired for executive-level positions
Member 1	2.7%	0	0	3	0
Member 2	27.6%	2	1	3	0
Member 3	63.7%	5	2	3	0
Member 4	19.6%	2	1	3	0
Member 5	2.3%	0	0	3	0
Total	23.2%	9	4	15	0

Source: Latino district percentage is from the National Journal’s Political Almanac. Latino hires were based on a CHSA investigation and were confirmed by January phone calls from the Ibarra Strategy Group Latino Leadership Directory. Executive-level positions are defined by the Congressional Management Foundation. An eight-person Washington D.C. office is assumed for calculations on how many DC Latino hires there should be based on district percentages.

CHSA applauds Speaker Pelosi's efforts to ensure that the resumes referred by the CHSA Placement Committee are passed on to incoming Member offices, and the CHSA Placement Committee will continue to provide these incoming offices with resumes of qualified Latino applicants from the appropriate state. However, the hiring results strongly suggest that additional efforts are needed. While the 10 percent Latino hiring rate is much higher than for Congress as a whole, there was still less than half the number of Latinos hired as merited by their district composition, and not a single Latino hired for an executive-level position.

With special elections soon occurring in Florida's 19th district (17.1 percent Latino) and Hawaii's 1st district (5.6 percent Latino), CHSA continues to collect quality resumes of Latinos from these states and will target these new incoming members in an effort to increase Capitol Hill diversity. Additionally, the state of Massachusetts (8 percent Latino) has a new Senator from a January special election that is currently in the process of fully hiring its staff. Because it is such a new office just getting established, its hiring is not analyzed as part of this report.

Congressional Efforts to Increase Diversity

The Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC) officially endorsed CHSA's internally focused *Bringing America to the Hill* plan in 2008. The CHC has long sought to make Capitol Hill more equitable. In December 2006, the CHC sent a letter to the Speaker-Elect and Committee Chair-Elects asking for diversity in hiring with a particular focus on getting Latinos into committee-level positions at the start of the new Congress, which was followed by Speaker-Elect Pelosi sending a similar letter to all the Committee Chairs. Committee staffing is of particular importance because of their key role in the legislative process. Unfortunately, we are unaware of any follow up actions in regards to the results of these efforts, and we lack the resources to collect the data and fully analyze committee diversity at this time. A further examination on committee diversity is likely to be a focus for the 2011 State of Diversity on the Hill Address.

The efforts of the Tri-Caucus, which is composed of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, Congressional Black Caucus, and Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, were instrumental in getting questions about diversity added to the 2009 House Compensation Survey. Congress has also taken a look at legislative branch agencies, such as the Library of Congress, the Congressional Budget Office, the Capitol Police and the Architect of the Capitol's office. The Capitol Police recently hired its first ever diversity officer.

The Tri-Caucus has also made an important effort to ensure there is a pipeline of minority candidates with Hill experience by working with non-profit institutes. Most Latino Members of Congress support the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute (CHCI) to develop a pool of young Latinos from both parties with the experience for Congressional jobs. CHCI has an internship and fellowship program that selects promising young Latinos and exposes them to Capitol Hill. Additionally, in 2003, several Republican House Latinos formed and continue to support the Congressional Hispanic Leadership Institute (CHLI), which also offers Latinos internship and fellowship opportunities.

Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid has taken decisive steps to address this crisis. First, he publicly recognized the lack of diversity outlined statistically in this report. It was the Supreme Court nomination hearings of Justice Alito in 2006, of which the Judiciary Committee staff was completely lacking the

diversity that makes America great, that grabbed Senator Reid's attention. After recognizing the crisis, Senator Reid created the Senate Democratic Diversity Office to help recruit and provide qualified minority candidates for positions and took steps to make sure this office was effective, hiring qualified and experienced individuals to run the office and by promoting it. In June 2007, Reid hosted a Democratic Caucus policy lunch specifically to emphasize that racial diversity in staffing should become a priority and to ensure that Senators and their offices knew they could use the Senate Democratic Diversity Initiative to obtain resumes of talented minority candidates. Based on numerous conversations with various Senate staff, the Senate Democratic Diversity Office is steadily building on its successes and becoming more utilized by more offices and for more senior-level positions. The Senate has a longer turnover time for its senior positions than the House, meaning more Latinos at entry-level positions will take longer to obtain the experience and qualifications to move into more senior positions. Majority Leader Reid also started an internship program specifically designed to get more minorities into Senate jobs.

The House of Representatives has held discussions about creating a similar diversity office to help their Members. CHSA was invited to participate in one such discussion at the beginning of 2010. However, at the time of this report there is no confirmed public information to report on the creation of such an office other than some initial conversations are underway. Hopefully, these discussions will continue and result in actions similar to the efforts by Senate Democrats.

Recommendations

While we applaud the aforementioned efforts, the current absence of diversity among key Congressional staff calls for continued efforts to address this crisis. CHSA has the following recommendations for Congressional leaders.

Create a House and a Senate Republican Office for Diversity

Senate Democrats, under Harry Reid, have already taken this step. In 2008, the *Bringing America to the Hill* plan urged the Speaker of the House to do likewise. Unfortunately, no such action has yet resulted from this recommendation, despite pressure from several outside advocacy organizations, lobbyists and members of Congress. It is our understanding that discussions on this continue, and it is our hope that this report and inaugural State of Diversity on the Hill Address will help spur the House to action. Additionally, we believe equality and fairness should be a bipartisan affair and encourage Senate and House Republicans to also adopt such efforts.

Include Data on Ethnicity in all Future Senate and House Employment Surveys

The Office of the Secretary of the Senate should include ethnic data during their next Employment and Compensation Survey. The last Senate Compensation Survey released in 2006 did not include data by ethnicity. Having this data available by position for the Senate side would be useful in highlighting the progress made in increasing diversity. The survey could include committees and leadership offices.

The House Employment Survey has included this data in most of their surveys in the 1990s and early 2000s, including the 2004 House Employment Survey, but stopped in 2006. It was only through pressure by the Tri-Caucus that this data was included in the 2009 survey. CHSA believes that such efforts should not be necessary, and that the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) should automatically include such important questions in all future surveys. The House should also consider expanding their future surveys to include committees and leadership offices. Congress requires this data for nearly all of the agencies and federal contracting it oversees.

Many organizations outside of Congress have an interest in staff diversity. Hill publications like *National Journal* include demographic info in their profile of top staffers. The Ibarra Strategy Group, a firm headed by the former Director of Intergovernmental Affairs under President Bill Clinton, Mickey Ibarra, has a Latino Leadership Directory and routinely calls offices and utilizes their networks to identify Latinos working on the hill. A list of their Latino Honor Roll, highlighting the 156 personal offices, 7 Leadership and 27 Committee offices that employ at least one Latino staff member, can be found in the Appendix of this report. Researchers at the University of Texas at San Antonio, led by Walter Wilson, are working on their own analysis of staff diversity in Congress. Their results will be presented in late April at a meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago.

Consider the “Rooney Rule” for Top Level Job Vacancies

Like Capitol Hill today, in 2002 the National Football League (NFL) had a diversity crisis in their coaching positions. Similar to Capitol Hill, hiring in the NFL is controlled by the 32 teams individually, each with fierce competitive interests. In Congress, hiring decisions are made individually by nearly 600 different Members, committees and leadership offices. In both the NFL of 2002 and in Congress, an individual team or Member should not be questioned or criticized for any individual hire, but a clear crisis exists when looking at the league or Congress as a whole.

However, unlike on Capitol Hill, the NFL took decisive action to address their diversity crisis, instituting what is known as the Rooney Rule. The Rooney Rule simply made it mandatory for teams to interview at a least one minority among their numerous candidates for head coaching opportunities. Even though no team has ever publicly stated that Rooney Rule contributed to the hiring of a minority, the rule had an immediate positive impact in increasing the number of minority coaches.

In June 2009, the NFL expanded the rule to include all general manager jobs and equivalent front-office positions. In a released statement about the expansion of the rule, the NFL said it “recognizes that this process has worked well in the context of head coaches, and that clubs have deservedly received considerable positive recognition for their efforts in this respect.”

Finally, it should be noted that minority coaches hired in the past decade have been remarkably successful. Scoreboards and league standings offer clear measures of performance and there has been no drop off in performance with teams hiring minority coaches. In fact, a minority coach just took his team to the Super Bowl in his first year of coaching. CHSA believes that qualified Latino candidates will be similarly successful on Capitol Hill, if provided the opportunity.

Conclusion

The lack of diversity on Capitol Hill is a crisis that demands immediate action. Latinos make up more than one in every six Americans, yet are largely absent in senior-level positions on Capitol Hill. This is an injustice that should cause concern for people of all colors and creeds. However, it is a situation that can be addressed and solved over the coming decade by following the steps outlined in this report. It will not be easy, but by following this blueprint, Capitol Hill can reflect America by 2020.

To achieve this goal, CHSA will strengthen and expand its internal efforts, in part by forming partnerships with other staff associations and relevant organizations. But this will not be enough. Congressional leaders must recognize the crisis and take steps, as Majority Leader Reid has done, to address the crisis. First, other Congressional leaders should emulate Majority Leader Reid in creating a diversity office to help Congressional offices access a pool of qualified candidates – and they must also give this office their full support to make it work effectively. Second, Congressional leaders need to make sure that ethnic data is included on all future Congressional Employment Surveys. Finally, Congressional leaders should look at the NFL as a potential model and consider implementing a variation of the Rooney Rule for executive-level positions.

LATINO LEADERS NETWORK

MICKEY IBARRA, FOUNDER & CHAIRMAN

Honor Roll

Congratulations to the 156 Members of Congress, 7 Leadership and 27 Committee offices that employ at least one Latino staff member on the Hill. Visit the *Latino Leaders Network Online Directory* at www.LatinoLeadersNetwork.org.

Updated February 3, 2010

Senate (39)

Sen. Evan Bayh (D-IN)
Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)
Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-CA)
Sen. Richard Burr (R-NC)
Sen. Roland W. Burris (D-IL)
Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)
Sen. Benjamin L. Cardin (D-MD)
Sen. Robert P. Casey, Jr. (D-PA)
Sen. Thad Cochran (R-MS)
Sen. Susan M. Collins (R-ME)
Sen. Mike Crapo (R-ID)
Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D-CT)
Sen. Richard J. Durbin (D-IL)
Sen. Michael B. Enzi (R-WY)
Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA)
Sen. Kirsten E. Gillibrand (D-NY)
Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC)
Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA)
Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-UT)
Sen. Johnny Isakson (R-GA)
Sen. John Kerry (D-MA)
Sen. Jon Kyl (R-AZ)
Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg (D-NJ)
Sen. George LeMieux (R-FL)
Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-VT)
Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-IN)
Sen. Robert Menendez (D-NJ)
Sen. Jeff Merkley (D-OR)
Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK)
Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV)
Sen. John D. Rockefeller, IV (D-WV)
Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-NY)
Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)
Sen. John Thune (R-SD)
Sen. Mark Udall (D-CO)
Sen. Tom Udall (D-NM)
Sen. Mark R. Warner (D-VA)
Sen. Jim Webb (D-VA)
Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI)

House of Representatives (117)

Rep. Neil Abercrombie (D-HI 1st)
Rep. Michael Arcuri (D-NY 24th)
Rep. Joe Baca (D-CA 43rd)
Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-CA 31st)
Rep. Howard Berman (D-CA 28th)
Rep. Marion Berry (D-AK 1st)
Rep. Brian Bilbray (R-CA 50th)
Rep. Sanford D. Bishop, Jr. (D-GA 2nd)
Rep. John A. Boccieri (D-OH 16th)
Rep. Mary Bono (R-CA 45th)
Rep. Allen Boyd (D-FL 2nd)

Rep. Bruce Braley (D-IA 1st)
Rep. Bobby Bright (D-AL 2nd)
Rep. Corrine Brown (D-FL 3rd)
Rep. G.K. Butterfield (D-NC 1st)
Rep. Steve Buyer (R-IN 4th)
Rep. Ken Calvert (R-CA 44th)
Rep. Joseph Cao (R-LA 2nd)
Rep. Dennis Cardoza (D-CA 18th)
Rep. Travis Childers (D-MS 1st)
Rep. Donna M. Christian-Christensen (D-USVI)
Rep. Judy Chu (D-CA 32nd)
Rep. William Clay, Jr. (D-MO 1st)
Rep. James E. Clyburn (D-SC 6th)
Rep. John Conyers, Jr. (D-MI 14th)
Rep. Jim Costa (D-CA 20th)
Rep. Jerry Costello (D-IL 12th)
Rep. Joseph Crowley (D-NY 7th)
Rep. Henry Cuellar (D-TX 28th)
Rep. Rosa L. DeLauro (D-CT 3rd)
Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-FL 21st)
Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart (R-FL 325th)
Rep. Lloyd Doggett (D-TX 25th)
Rep. Chet Edwards (D-TX 17th)
Rep. Donna M. Edwards (D-MD 4th)
Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA 4th)
Rep. Trent Franks (R-AZ 2nd)
Rep. John Garamendi (D-CA 10th)
Rep. Louie Gohmert (R-TX 1st)
Rep. Charlie Gonzalez (D-TX 20th)
Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R-VA 6th)
Rep. Kay Granger (R-TX 12th)
Rep. Alan Green (D-TX 9th)
Rep. Gene Green (D-TX 29th)
Rep. Raul Grijalva (D-AZ 7th)
Rep. Luis Gutiérrez (D-IL 4th)
Rep. Ralph Hall (R-TX 4th)
Rep. Deborah Halvorson (D-IL 4th)
Rep. Phil Hare (D-IL 11th)
Rep. Jane Harman (D-CA 36th)
Rep. Alcee L. Hastings (D-FL 23rd)
Rep. Martin Heinrich (D-NM 1st)
Rep. Rubén Hinojosa (D-TX 15th)
Rep. Peter Hoekstra (R-MI 2nd)
Rep. Mike Honda (D-CA 15th)
Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD 5th)
Rep. Duncan D. Hunter (R-CA 52nd)
Rep. Darrell Issa (R-CA 49th)
Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX 18th)
Rep. Lynn Jenkins (R-KS 2nd)
Rep. Henry C. Johnson (D-GA 4th)
Rep. Dale Kildee (D-MI 5th)
Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick (D-AZ 1st)
Rep. Doug Lamborn (R-CO 5th)
Rep. John B. Larson (D-CT 1st)

Honor Roll Continued

Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA 9th)
Rep. Sander Levin (D-MI 12th)
Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-CA 41st)
Rep. John Lewis (D-GA 5th)
Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY 13th)
Rep. Ben Luján (D-NM 3rd)
Rep. Stephen Lynch (D-MA 9th)
Rep. Connie Mack (R-FL 14th)
Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-NY-4th)
Rep. Jerry McNerney (D-CA 11th)
Rep. Gregory W. Meeks (D-NY 6th)
Rep. Charlie Melancon (D-LA 3rd)
Rep. John Mica (R-FL 7th)
Rep. Harry E. Mitchell (D-AZ 5th)
Rep. Grace Napolitano (D-CA 38th)
Rep. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC)
Rep. Solomon P. Ortiz (D-TX 27th)
Rep. Bill Pascrell, Jr. (D-NJ 8th)
Rep. Ed Pastor (D-AZ 4th)
Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA 8th)
Rep. Mike Pence (R-IN 6th)
Rep. Ed Perlmutter (D-CO 7th)
Rep. Pedro Pierluisi (D-PR)
Rep. Jared Polis (D-CO 2nd)
Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY 15th)
Rep. Sylvestre Reyes (D-TX 16th)
Rep. Laura Richardson (D-CA 7th)
Rep. Ciro Rodriguez (D-TX 23rd)
Rep. Mike Rogers (R-MI 8th)
Rep. Tom Rooney (R-FL 16th)
Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (D-FL 18th)
Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA 34th)
Rep. Bobby L. Rush (D-IL 1st)
Rep. Gregorio Sablan (D-NMI)
Rep. John T. Salazar (D-CO 3rd)
Rep. Linda Sanchez (D-CA 39th)
Rep. Loretta Sanchez (D-CA 47th)
Rep. Aaron Schock (R-IL 18th)
Rep. José E. Serrano (D-NY 16th)
Rep. Brad Sherman (D-CA 27th)
Rep. Albio Sires (D-NJ 13th)
Rep. Lamar Smith (R-TX 21st)
Rep. Vic Snyder (D-AR 2nd)
Rep. Bart Stupak (D-MI 1st)
Rep. Harry Teague (D-NM 2nd)
Rep. Pat Tiberi (R-OH 12th)
Rep. Chris Van Hollen (D-MD 8th)
Rep. Nydia M. Velázquez (D-NY 12th)
Rep. Peter Visclosky (D-IN 1st)
Rep. Maxine Waters (D-CA 35th)
Rep. Robert Wexler (D-FL 19th)
Rep. Lynn Woolsey (D-CA 6th)

Leadership (7)

Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WV) – Senate President Pro Tempore
Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) – Senate Majority Leader
Senator Richard J. Durbin (D-IL) – Assistant Majority Leader
(Democratic Whip)
Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) – Assistant Minority Leader (Republican Whip)
Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA 8th) – Speaker of the House
Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD 5th) – House Majority Leader
Rep. James Clyburn (D-SC 6th) – House Majority Whip

Committees (27)

Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
Senate Committee on Appropriations
Senate Committee on Budget
Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation
Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works
Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions
Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs
Senate Committee on the Judiciary
Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship
Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs
Senate Democratic Steering and Outreach Committee
Senate Select Committee on Ethics
Senate Special Committee on Aging
House Committee on Appropriations
House Committee on the Budget
House Committee on Education and Labor
House Committee on Financial Services
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
House Committee on Homeland Security
House Committee on House Administration
House Committee on the Judiciary
House Committee on Natural Resources
House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform
House Committee on Small Business
House Committee on Veterans' Affairs
House Committee on Ways and Means

Methodology:

The Latino Leaders Network made every effort to identify all Latino staff serving the Congress and American people for this directory. To collect the data, the Latino Leaders Network visited all Congressional offices and the U.S. House and Senate Committee and Leadership offices and conducted a phone survey with every Congressional office in the U.S. House and Senate. The information was collected with the full participation of these offices and was provided voluntarily. Despite our many attempts, we recognize that some staff may have been omitted. For errors or omissions, please visit our website at www.LatinoLeadersNetwork.org.