

Era of Polarization Was Unyielding

THE MIDDLE GROUND in Congress seemed all but gone in 2013. Democrats and Republicans showed by their votes that they were more deeply and emotionally divided than at any time since World War II, a gulf that had been steadily widening for the previous four decades. This divisive partisanship showed no sign of easing and brought Congress to the verge of immobility.

CQ Roll Call's annual analysis of congressional voting patterns found that nearly seven out of every 10 of the 640 votes taken in the House in 2013 had a majority of Republicans on one side and a majority of Democrats on the other. That's the fourth-highest rate in the House since Congressional Quarterly first began measuring partisanship in Congress, in 1953.

In the Senate, just as in the House, almost 70 percent of the votes in 2013 had most Democrats differing with most Republicans. The 2013 rate was the third-highest calculated and a marked increase from 2011 (51 percent) and 2012 (60 percent).

Although the frequency of these party unity votes in the House fell slightly in 2013 from the two previous years, it was only the second time in the history of the study that both chambers experienced such a high degree of partisan voting — typically the frequency of party unity votes would rise in one chamber and fall in the other. Partisanship had been generally increasing since the early 1970s, when the major parties were more ideologically diverse — northern and southern Democrats, for instance, didn't always see eye to eye on issues, and neither did conservative and moderate Republicans.

In the decades since, conservatives had left the Democratic Party in droves, particularly in the South, and many moderates had forsaken the GOP. What they left behind were more-monolithic parties with a deep gulf between them. That, in turn, led to victories on floor votes for Republicans who controlled the House and for Democrats who ran the Senate, though it seldom led to enactment of new laws or changes in old laws.

In the House, Republicans recovered from the party's thrashing in the 2012 election and persistently brought up proposals to unify their conference, including bills attacking President Barack Obama's health care law. The Senate's year was characterized by incessant fighting over the filibuster. On procedural fights, partisans almost entirely stuck by their leaders.

The number of instances where Senate Democrats and House Republicans voted unanimously also reached record levels in 2013.

The causes of such polarization were debated by political scientists

and political pundits, but they likely stemmed from trends decades in the making, including a greater ideological consistency in the parties — moderates who might vote across the aisle had become rare — and increased competitiveness for the reins of power.

Meanwhile, increasing partisanship led to few bipartisan bill signings in the White House Rose Garden and almost relentless gridlock, with little prospect that it would change anytime soon. "It's at an all-time high," said Keith T. Poole, a University of Georgia political scientist who studied party polarization. "It doesn't look like it's slowing down." Poole dismissed what he called "partisan cant" from those in Washington who bemoaned the consequences of polarization. "This has been going on a long time," he said.

HASTERT'S HOUSE

House Speaker John A. Boehner of Ohio was frequently the object of ridicule or pity for his struggles to manage the multifarious Republican conference, but in 2013, Boehner secured a record level of party unity. House Republicans voted with their party's majority an average of 92 percent of the time — an all-time high, and up from 90 percent in 2012. The previous all-time high average for House Republicans was 91 percent, reached in 1995, 2001, 2003 and 2011.

While there often were disagreements over strategy within the party, GOP leaders were largely able to settle those differences, if not completely behind the scenes, then before bills ever reached the floor. House Republicans seemed intent on regaining stability after Obama was re-elected and the GOP fractured during negotiations that avoided a "fiscal cliff" of tax increases and spending cuts.

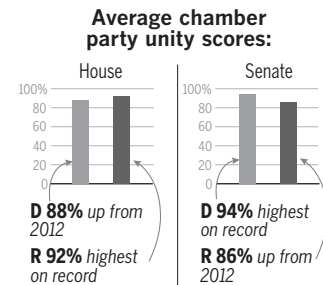
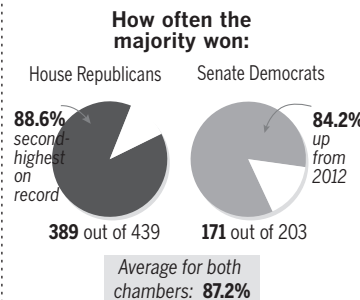
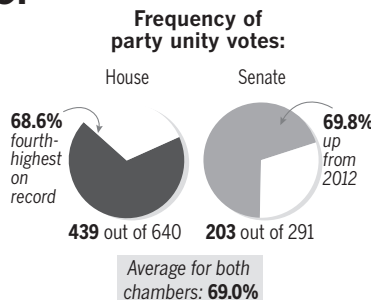
"I think leadership is more unified, and that's resulted in a more unified caucus," said Rep. Mike Simpson, a veteran Republican from Idaho and a Boehner ally. "Obviously, you've got to have a majority of your members, and hopefully all of your members, on any policy."

Boehner largely abided by the "Hastert rule," named for Republican Speaker J. Dennis Hastert of Illinois, who, when he led the House from 1999 through 2006, sought to only bring bills to the floor that had the support of a majority of Republicans.

Democrats also largely stuck together in 2013. The average Democratic Party unity score in the House was 88 percent, up from 87 percent in both 2012 and 2011. The Democrats who broke with their party most frequently were, not surprisingly, the most politically vulnerable members who represented mostly Republican districts. Topping the list were Jim Matheson of Utah, who split with his party

More Than Ever

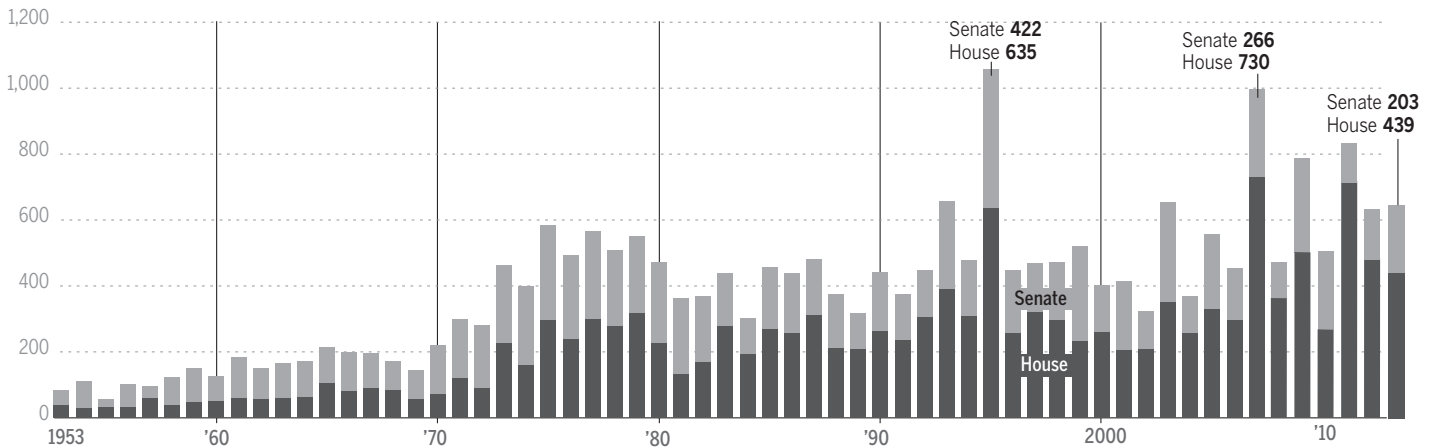
The parties showed higher levels of party unity in both chambers. In the Senate, Democrats set a record for voting together, as did Republicans in the House. As a result, the majorities in both chambers also raised their frequency of victory on party unity votes.



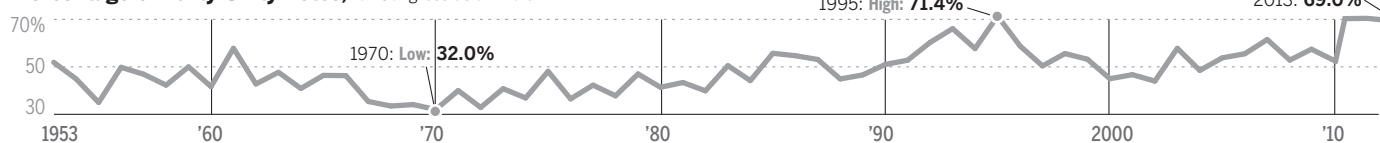
Unity Vote Frequency Up in Senate and Down in House

The number and frequency of Senate roll call votes in which a majority of Democrats opposed a majority of Republicans rose a bit in 2013 — and the frequency of these party unity votes, 69.8 percent, was the third-highest recorded since 1953. Although the frequency of unity votes fell in the House to 68.6 percent, 2011 through 2013 saw the highest degree of persistent partisanship for Congress as a whole since World War II.

Party Unity Votes



Percentage of Party Unity Votes, for Congress as a whole



just over 52 percent of the time, and Mike McIntyre of North Carolina, who broke with Democrats on almost 43 percent of floor votes. Both had decided to retire at the end of their terms.

Republican leaders largely shunned measures that would have divided their party, such as the immigration bill that the Senate passed, and instead brought legislation to the floor that unified Republicans and Democrats.

The House passed bills to restrict abortion rights and permit construction of the Keystone XL oil pipeline from Canada. A series of bills were passed to roll back the Dodd-Frank financial regulatory overhaul. And Republicans continued their assault on Obama's health care overhaul, passing a slew of bills to delay pieces of the law or repeal it outright. In all these instances and more, Republicans used their majority to triumph over the objections of Democrats.

Of floor votes in which a majority of one party voted against a majority of the other, Republicans won almost 89 percent — up from 86 percent in 2012 and the second-highest House Republican victory percentage since CQ began measuring this statistic in 1960.

Most of the bills passed by the House went nowhere in the Senate, where they ran into sharp Democratic opposition. Divided government yielded 72 bills signed into law in the first session of the 113th Congress, the fewest ever in the postwar era. Boehner dismissed complaints about Congress' low productivity, saying, "We should not be judged on how many new laws we create. We should be judged on how many laws we repeal."

Democrats bemoaned the GOP's domination in the House, which left them almost completely sidelined. Rep. Henry A. Waxman, a liberal Democrat from California, said Republicans were "very disciplined," but he complained about "their unwillingness to talk compromise or to work with Democrats." "I think it's not the place

where we ought to be going," Waxman said. "I think we ought to be talking about how can we work together to do things in the interests of the country."

House Democrats won a paltry 11 percent of contested floor votes, the party's second-lowest victory percentage in six decades. The legislative battles they did win were notable, however. In January 2013, just 49 Republicans, along with almost every Democrat, passed a \$50 billion supplemental appropriations bill to provide relief to victims of Superstorm Sandy. The following month, a minority of House Republicans joined all Democrats in clearing a Senate bill to renew and expand the Violence Against Women Act, called VAWA.

And in one of the defining fights of the year, House Republicans were unsuccessful in trying to undermine the health care law during wrangling over financing the government and raising the debt limit in October, which caused the government to shut down for 16 days.

Ultimately, a minority of House Republicans voted with every Democrat to reopen the government and increase the debt limit before a global financial crisis could unfold. Though that was one of the few instances when the majority of the House majority lost a floor vote, the episode was also notable for how united the conference remained before and during the crisis, as GOP leaders went along with their tea-party-backed brethren.

"Leadership didn't want to shut the government down, but I think the feeling was we had to give these guys the shot," Simpson said. Moderate Republicans and those representing swing districts had opposed allowing the government to shut down.

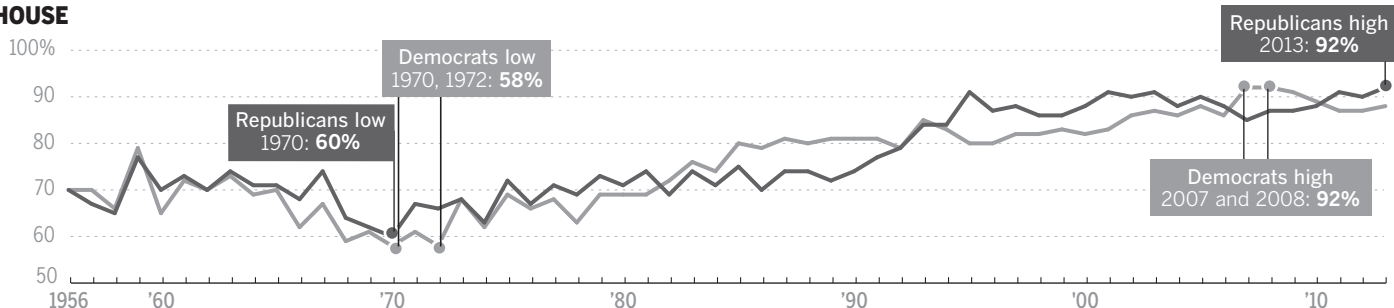
Still, for much of the year, conservatives more than centrists dictated the GOP's path. Of the 10 House Republicans who broke most with their party in 2013, eight were from New Jersey, New York or Pennsylvania.

Both Parties Raise Their Support Scores

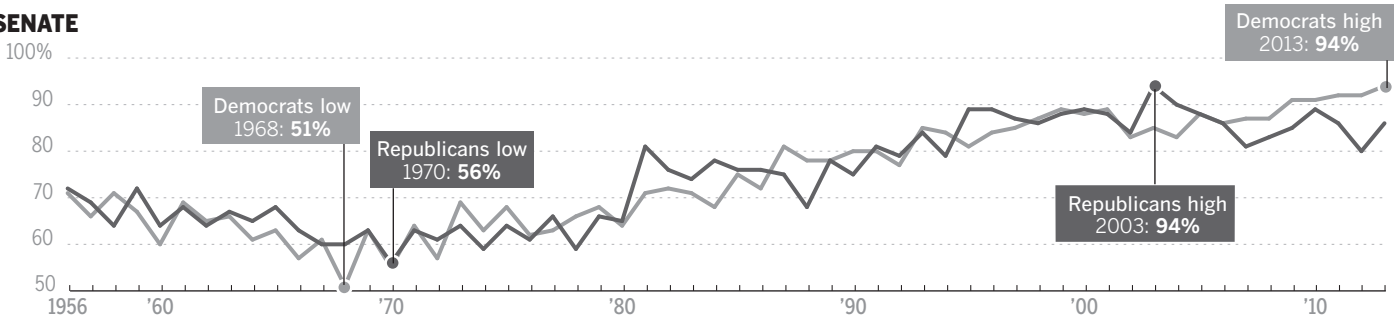
House and Senate lawmakers from both parties on average voted more often with their caucus majorities in 2013 than they did in 2012. House Republicans set a record for party support, voting on average with their caucus 92 percent of the time, up from 90 percent. Likewise, Senate Democrats set a record, raising their average party unity score to 94 percent from the previous record of 92 percent.

Average party unity scores

HOUSE



SENATE



'NUCLEAR WINTER'

The once-genteel Senate, meanwhile, was the site of the fiercest partisan clashes in 2013, with Democrats and Republicans engaged in constant combat over procedural matters.

In an effort to cool tensions at the outset of the 113th Congress, Democratic Majority Leader Harry Reid of Nevada and GOP Minority Leader Mitch McConnell of Kentucky agreed to a limited set of changes to Senate rules, intended to reduce the use of the 60-vote-threshold filibuster and speed up Senate action.

Over the following months, however, Republicans continued to block important nominations, leading many Democrats to decide that the agreement didn't go far enough. A GOP blockade stopped, at least temporarily, Obama's top appointments at the Pentagon, Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, National Labor Relations Board, Federal Housing Finance Agency and U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit.

In November, Democrats unilaterally changed the rules so that filibusters of most nominations, but not of bills, could be ended with a simple majority vote.

The move further soured relations in the Senate, with talk of a "nuclear winter" of retribution in which almost nothing would get done, though it's unclear how the partisan divide could have gotten much worse.

Reid portrayed the move as necessary to fix a broken Senate. "To remain relevant and effective as an institution, the Senate must evolve to meet the challenges of a modern era," he said.

Republicans accused Reid of being a dictator and Democrats of blindly following him. "Whenever Harry Reid cracks the whip, it seems every Senate Democrat falls in line and votes with their party and against the American people," said Sen. Ted Cruz, a Texas Republican.

Both Senate leaders skillfully kept their caucuses together, but Reid's results were better than McConnell's.

On votes splitting the parties, Democrats voted with their party's majority 94 percent of the time on average. That was the highest ever for Senate Democrats, beating their 2012 and 2011 averages of 92 percent and the 2010 and 2009 averages of 91 percent.

The average Republican Party unity score was 86 percent, up from 80 percent in 2012 and matching the 2011 average.

Susan Collins of Maine and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska were the two main reasons the GOP's score was lower; Collins opposed her party's majority almost 56 percent of the time, and Murkowski broke with most in her party on almost 51 percent of unity votes.

UNIFYING FORCES

Senate Democratic defections were less frequent. West Virginia's Joe Manchin III split with his party just under 26 percent of the time, the most in his caucus; Arkansas' Mark Pryor, who faced a tough re-election contest the following year, had an almost 20 percent rate of opposition.

With the parties sharply divided, Democrats won an impressive 84 percent of party unity votes in the Senate, up from almost 69 percent in 2012 and almost 73 percent in 2011.

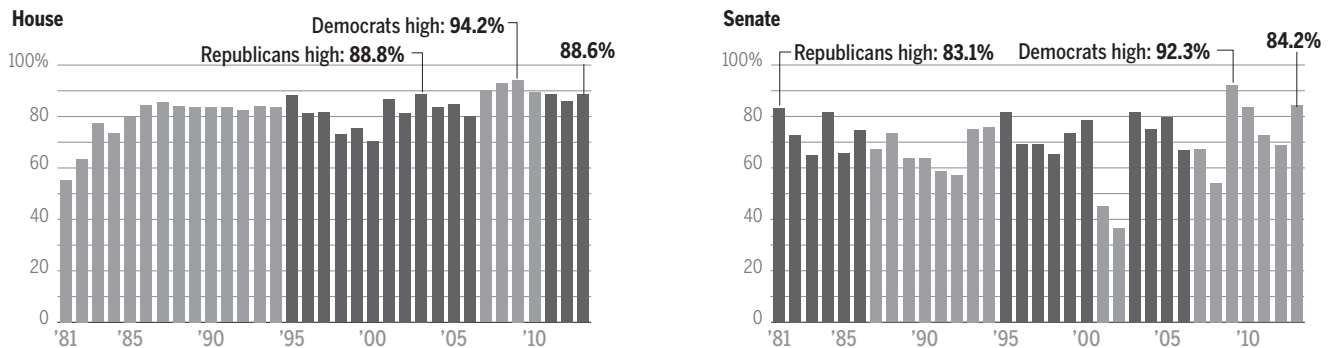
In addition to eventually confirming most of Obama's nominees, Democrats used their majority to pass several pieces of major legislation after capturing a handful of Republican votes here and there.

A comprehensive overhaul of the nation's immigration laws was passed in June with the support of every Democrat and 14 of 46 Republicans. The same month, the Senate passed a broad rewrite of

Majority Parties Victorious More Often in Both Chambers

The majority party's success rate on votes that split the two parties rose in both chambers in 2013. House Republicans got their way on 88.6 percent of party unity votes, up from 86.0 percent in 2012 and close to a record. Senate Democrats won 84.2 percent of the time, up from 68.7 percent in 2012 though still well below their record of 92.3 percent in 2009, when the caucus held a 60-vote majority.

Majority party victory percentages on party unity votes



farm policy with 18 Republicans on board.

And in November, with the help of 10 Republicans, the Senate passed legislation to prohibit employers from discriminating against gays and lesbians.

A new farm bill would soon become law, but the Senate's immigration overhaul and anti-discrimination bill went nowhere in the House.

Even in the minority, Senate Republicans were able to notch some victories. Notably, they defeated gun control legislation strongly sought by Obama and most Democrats, including a proposal to expand background checks on prospective gun buyers.

Still, the GOP's success rate was just under 16 percent in the Senate, a drop from roughly 31 percent in 2012 and just over 27 percent in 2011. Senate Republicans' winning percentage was the second-lowest in the Senate since 1967 for a minority party.

A final indicator of polarization was the growing number of unanimous party unity votes in both chambers. In the House, Democrats

voted unanimously on 22 percent of the votes that split the parties in 2013. That was up from 8 percent in 2012 and 11 percent in 2011 for the party.

House Republicans voted unanimously on 35 percent of party unity votes — an all-time high for them and up from 21 percent in 2012.

Similarly in the Senate, Republicans were unanimous on 31 percent of roll call votes that divided the parties, significantly higher than the 13 percent they recorded in 2012 and the 26 percent rate they had in 2011.

Senate Democrats voted unanimously on 52 percent of the 2013 party unity votes. That was the highest ever for either party in either chamber, and a rise from 40 percent in 2012 for the caucus.

With occasional fits and starts, the rate of unanimous party voting steadily increased as time went on.

LONGER-TERM TRENDS

Exactly why this happened was often debated, though it likely stemmed from social, political and economic trends long in the making.

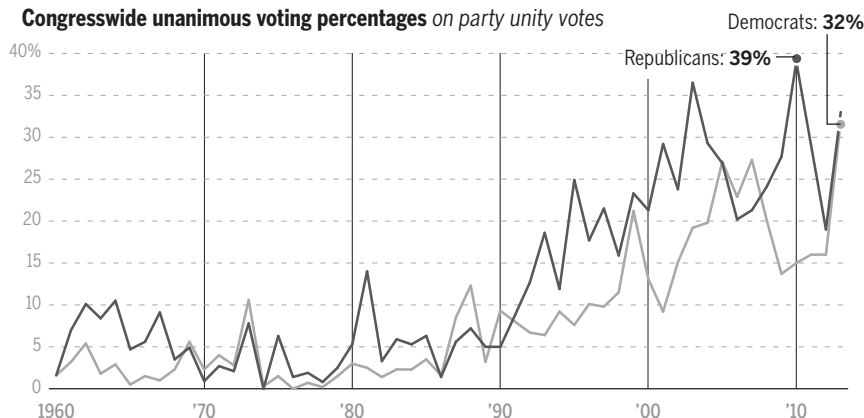
"I think the strongest theories are ones that have to do with bigger, broader changes in American society," said Nolan McCarty, a Princeton University political scientist. "If you look at the data on polarization, it's really composed of very long-term trends." McCarty said partisanship was very high during the late 1900s, then declined in the 1920s and was low for 40 years. But then, starting in the 1970s, partisanship started rising and never stopped.

One reason for the growing partisan divide that most political scientists agreed on was that voters had sorted themselves into more ideologically consistent parties. In the mid-20th century, bipartisan coalitions were built out of liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats. The political plates shifted in the wake of the civil rights era, and the realignment that moved Southern conservatives out of the Democratic Party and

Party Unanimity on the Rise Again

Republicans and Democrats both voted as unanimous blocs far more frequently in 2013 on roll call votes that divided the two parties. That reversed a two-year decline in unanimous voting by the GOP, though the party fell short of setting a record. Congresswide, Democrats were unanimous more often than in any year since 1960.

Congresswide unanimous voting percentages on party unity votes



Leading Scorers: Party Unity

Support indicates those who voted most often with a majority of their party against a majority of the other party in 2013. **Opposition** shows those who voted most often against their party. Lawmakers who left

office or who missed half or more of the votes are not listed. Scores are reported only in this list to one decimal point; members with identical scores are listed alphabetically. (Complete scores, pp. B-23, B-24)

SENATE

SUPPORT

Democrats		Republicans	
Cantwell, Wash.	100.0%	Scott, S.C.	99.5%
Cardin, Md.	100.0	Risch, Idaho	98.5
Mikulski, Md.	100.0	Roberts, Kan.	98.5
Schatz, Hawaii	100.0	Cruz, Texas	98.4
Blumenthal, Conn.	99.5	Barrasso, Wyo.	98.0
Boxer, Calif.	99.5	Enzi, Wyo.	98.0
Franken, Minn.	99.5	Johnson, R., Wis.	98.0
Gillibrand, N.Y.	99.5	Inhofe, Okla.	97.8
Hirono, Hawaii	99.5	Crapo, Idaho	97.5
Menendez, N.J.	99.5	Coburn, Okla.	96.8
Murray, Wash.	99.5	Grassley, Iowa	96.6
Schumer, N.Y.	99.5	Lee, Utah	96.5
Stabenow, Mich.	99.5	Cornyn, Texas	96.0

OPPOSITION

Democrats		Republicans	
Manchin, W.Va.	25.8%	Collins, Maine	55.7%
Pryor, Ark.	19.7	Murkowski, Alaska	50.8
Donnelly, Ind.	14.8	Kirk, Ill.	28.1
Hagan, N.C.	13.8	McCain, Ariz.	27.3
Baucus, Mont.	11.4	Graham, S.C.	23.4
McCaskill, Mo.	11.2	Flake, Ariz.	20.5
Tester, Mont.	9.9	Hatch, Utah	20.1
Heitkamp, N.D.	9.6	Ayotte, N.H.	17.9
Begich, Alaska	9.2	Alexander, Tenn.	17.7
Landrieu, La.	8.6	Corker, Tenn.	16.9
Warner, Va.	7.6	Isakson, Ga.	15.3
Reid, Nev. *	6.6*	Cochran, Miss.	15.2
Kaine, Va.	5.5	Wicker, Miss.	14.6

* Reid voted against his party's position seven times in 2013 to preserve his right to reconsider the vote.

HOUSE

SUPPORT

Democrats		Republicans	
Pocan, Wis.	98.9%	Latta, Ohio	99.3%
Becerra, Calif.	98.6	Bucshon, Ind.	98.6
Chu, Calif.	98.6	Campbell, Calif.	98.6
McGovern, Mass.	98.6	Neugebauer, Texas	98.6
Hastings, A., Fla.	98.2	Williams, Texas	98.6
Holt, N.J.	98.2	Smith, J., Mo.	98.5
Sánchez, Linda, Calif.	98.2	Hensarling, Texas	98.4
Schakowsky, Ill.	98.2	Holding, N.C.	98.4
Nadler, N.Y.	98.1	Long, Mo.	98.4
Wilson, F., Fla.	98.1	Olson, Texas	98.4
Bass, Calif.	98.0	Wagner, Mo.	98.4
Lewis, Ga.	98.0	McCaul, Texas	98.2
Ellison, Minn.	97.9	Messer, Ind.	98.2
Kennedy, Mass.	97.9	Weber, Texas	98.2
Lowenthal, Calif.	97.9	Flores, Texas	98.1
Pallone, N.J.	97.9	Johnson, S., Texas	98.1
Pingree, Maine	97.9	Pompeo, Kan.	98.1
Roybal-Allard, Calif.	97.9	Rokita, Ind.	98.0

OPPOSITION

Democrats		Republicans	
Matheson, Utah	52.4%	Gibson, N.Y.	27.8%
McIntyre, N.C.	42.8	Jones, N.C.	27.7
Barrow, Ga.	42.1	Fitzpatrick, Pa.	16.2
Barber, Ariz.	35.4	Grimm, N.Y.	15.7
Peterson, Minn.	35.1	LoBiondo, N.J.	15.5
Owens, N.Y.	34.4	King, P., N.Y.	14.8
Cuellar, Texas	31.0	Amash, Mich.	14.2
Costa, Calif.	29.9	Runyan, N.J.	14.0
Gallego, Texas	28.0	Hanna, N.Y.	13.3
Sinema, Ariz.	27.0	Smith, C., N.J.	13.3
Maffei, N.Y.	26.0	Herrera Beutler, Wash.	12.7
Maloney, S., N.Y.	25.2	Duncan, Tenn.	11.9
Rahall, W.Va.	25.2	Massie, Ky.	11.7
Murphy, P. Fla.	23.2	Lance, N.J.	11.6
Ruiz, Calif.	22.6	Young, D., Alaska	10.8
Garcia, Fla.	21.6	Dent, Pa.	10.3
Peters, S., Calif.	20.9	Frelinghuysen, N.J.	10.3
Vela, Texas	20.6	Broun, Ga.	10.1

ushered liberals out of the GOP was by then virtually complete.

With each party pushing a more coherent ideological agenda, lawmakers were far less likely to cross the aisle on a piece of legislation than they were a generation before.

Scholars also increasingly weighed the relationship between partisanship and the country's increasing economic inequality. "We find that these trends move in tandem," said Poole, who co-wrote a much-praised 2006 book, "Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches," with McCarty and New York University political scientist Howard Rosenthal.

While some political observers pointed to the rise of the tea party or polarizing presidents like Obama and George W. Bush as reasons for high partisanship, evidence was strong that partisanship had been trending higher for decades. "The big picture is still this long-term change rather than ephemeral political moments," said Frances E. Lee, a political scientist at the University of Maryland. But another piece of the story, Lee said, was the heightened competition for control of Congress in recent years: "Every election seems to hold out the prospect of a significant shift in power. This fuels a more confrontational political style." ■

Party Unity Background

Roll call votes used for the party unity study were all those on which a majority of Democrats opposed a majority of Republicans. **Support** indicates the percentage of the time that members voted in agreement with the majority of their party on such party unity votes. **Opposition** indicates the percentage of the time that members voted against the

majority of their party. In calculations of average scores by party and chamber, a member's failure to vote lowers the score for the group. The tables below also show the number of party unity votes on which each party was victorious and the number of instances in which either party voted unanimously.

Average Party Unity Scores by Chamber

		SUPPORT		OPPOSITION	
		2013	2012	2013	2012
HOUSE	Democrats	88%	87%	8%	8%
	Republicans	92	90	5	7
SENATE	Democrats	94	92	4	7
	Republicans	86	80	11	16
CONGRESS	Democrats	89	87	8	8
	Republicans	91	89	6	7

Victories in Party Unity Votes

YEAR	HOUSE		SENATE		CONGRESS	
	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
2013	50	389	171	32	221	421
2012	67	411	103	47	170	458
2011	82	634	87	33	169	667
2010	236	28	196	39	432	67
2009	473	29	264	22	737	51
2008	342	25	60	51	402	76
2007	658	72	179	87	837	159
2006	59	236	53	107	112	343
2005	50	278	47	182	97	460
2004	42	213	28	85	70	298
2003	39	310	56	250	95	560
2002	39	170	42	73	81	243
2001	27	177	95	115	122	292
2000	77	182	31	114	108	296
1999	58	177	77	211	135	388
1998	80	216	61	114	141	330
1997	58	261	46	104	104	365
1996	48	208	59	132	107	340

Unanimous Voting by Parties

YEAR	HOUSE		SENATE		CONGRESS	
	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
2013	97	152	106	62	203	214
2012	40	99	60	19	100	118
2011	76	209	55	31	131	240
2010	10	91	67	106	77	197
2009	29	144	79	74	108	218
2008	66	96	30	19	96	115
2007	170	177	102	35	272	212
2006	70	62	34	30	104	92
2005	82	91	69	59	151	150
2004	70	77	3	31	73	108
2003	94	109	32	130	126	239
2002	37	54	12	23	49	77
2001	1	66	37	55	38	121
2000	1	67	52	19	53	86
1999	11	59	100	63	111	122
1998	8	42	46	33	54	75
1997	11	63	35	38	46	101
1996	10	32	35	47	45	79

Party Unity History

The table below on the left shows how frequently during roll call votes a majority of Democrats aligned against a majority of Republicans. The tables in the center and at right show the average party unity support score for each party in each chamber.

YEAR	Frequency of Unity Votes		House Average Scores		Senate Average Scores	
	HOUSE	SENATE	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
2013	68.6%	69.8%	88	92	94	86
2012	72.8	59.8	87	90	92	80
2011	75.8	51.1	87	91	92	86
2010	40.0	78.6	89	88	91	89
2009	50.9	72.0	91	87	91	85
2008	53.3	51.6	92	87	87	83
2007	62.0	60.2	92	85	87	81
2006	54.5	57.3	86	88	86	86
2005	49.0	62.6	88	90	88	88
2004	47.0	52.3	86	88	83	90
2003	51.7	66.7	87	91	85	94
2002	43.3	45.5	86	90	83	84
2001	40.2	55.3	83	91	89	88
2000	43.2	48.7	82	88	88	89
1999	47.3	62.8	83	86	89	88
1998	55.5	55.7	82	86	87	86
1997	50.4	50.3	82	88	85	87
1996	56.4	62.4	80	87	84	89
1995	73.2	68.8	80	91	81	89
1994	61.8	51.7	83	84	84	79
1993	65.5	67.1	85	84	85	84
1992	64.5	53.0	79	79	77	79
1991	55.1	49.3	81	77	80	81
1990	49.1	54.3	81	74	80	75
1989	56.3	35.3	81	72	78	78
1988	47.0	42.5	80	74	78	68
1987	63.7	40.7	81	74	81	75
1986	56.5	52.3	79	70	72	76
1985	61.0	49.6	80	75	75	76
1984	47.1	40.0	74	71	68	78
1983	55.6	43.7	76	74	71	74
1982	36.4	43.4	72	69	72	76
1981	37.4	47.8	69	74	71	81
1980	37.6	45.8	69	71	64	65
1979	47.3	46.7	69	73	68	66
1978	33.2	45.2	63	69	66	59
1977	42.2	42.4	68	71	63	66
1976	35.9	37.2	66	67	62	61
1975	48.4	47.8	69	72	68	64
1974	29.4	44.3	62	63	63	59
1973	41.8	39.9	68	68	69	64
1972	27.1	36.5	58	66	57	61
1971	37.8	41.6	61	67	64	63
1970	27.1	35.2	58	60	55	56
1969	31.1	36.3	61	62	63	63
1968	35.2	32.0	59	64	51	60
1967	36.3	34.6	67	74	61	60
1966	41.5	50.2	62	68	57	63
1965	52.2	41.9	70	71	63	68
1964	54.9	35.7	69	71	61	65
1963	48.7	47.2	73	74	66	67
1962	46.0	41.1	70	70	65	64
1961	50.0	62.3	72	73	69	68
1960	52.7	36.7	65	70	60	64
1959	55.2	47.9	79	77	67	72
1958	39.8	43.5	66	65	71	64
1957	59.0	35.5	70	67	66	69
1956	43.8	53.1	70	70	71	72
1955	40.8	29.9				
1954	38.2	48.0				

Tallying Party Unity Votes

In the House in 2013, the two parties aligned against each other on 439 of 640 roll call votes, or 68.6 percent of the time — the fourth-highest frequency of unity votes ever for the chamber, down somewhat from 2012. In the Senate, the parties opposed each other on 203 of 291 roll calls, or 69.8 percent of the time — an increase from 2012 and the third-highest frequency for the chamber. A list of roll call votes that pitted majorities of the two parties against each other is available upon request from CQ Roll Call.

Calculations of average scores by chamber and party are based on all eligible “yea” or “nay” votes, whether or not all members participated. Under this methodology, average support and opposition scores are reduced when members choose not to vote. Because individual member scores are based on the number of votes cast, party and chamber averages are not strictly comparable to individual member scores. (Complete member scores, pp. B-23, B-24)

Also, in the member score tables, Sens. Angus King, I-Maine, and Bernard Sanders, I-Vt., were treated as if they were Democrats when calculating their support and opposition scores. Their votes were not used to determine which roll calls were party unity votes, however, and they are not included in the Democratic Party averages for the Senate.

SENATE

1. Party Unity. Percentage of recorded party unity votes in 2013 on which a senator voted “yea” or “nay” in agreement with a majority of his or her party. (Party unity votes are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans.) Percentages are based on votes cast; thus, failure to vote does not lower a member’s score.

2. Party Opposition. Percentage of recorded party unity votes in 2013 on which a senator voted “yea” or “nay” in disagreement with a majority of his or her party. Percentages are based on votes cast; thus, failure to vote does not lower a member’s score.

3. Participation in Party Unity Votes. Percentage of the Senate party unity votes in 2013 for which a senator was eligible and present and voted “yea” or “nay.” There were a total of 203 such recorded votes.

	1	2	3		1	2	3
ALABAMA				MONTANA			
Shelby	91	9	97	Baucus	89	11	99
Sessions	95	5	99	Tester	90	10	99
ALASKA				NEBRASKA			
Murkowski	49	51	96	Johanns	88	12	96
Begich	91	9	97	Fischer	94	6	100
ARIZONA				NEVADA			
McCaIn	73	27	95	Reid	93	7	97
Flake	79	21	93	Heller	90	10	99
ARKANSAS				NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Pryor	80	20	100	Shaheen	96	4	99
Boozman	93	7	100	Ayotte	82	18	99
CALIFORNIA				NEW JERSEY			
Feinstein	99	1	99	Menendez	99	1	99
Boxer	99	1	97	Lautenberg ²	100	0	23
COLORADO				Chiesa ²	71	29	82
Udall	96	4	97	Booker ²	100	0	100
Bennet	96	4	100	NEW MEXICO			
CONNECTICUT				Udall	98	2	100
Blumenthal	99	1	99	Heinrich	97	3	99
Murphy	99	1	100	NEW YORK			
DELAWARE				Schumer	99	1	100
Carper	96	4	99	Gillibrand	99	1	100
Coons	96	4	98	NORTH CAROLINA			
FLORIDA				Burr	91	9	99
Nelson	98	2	98	Hagan	86	14	100
Rubio	91	9	99	NORTH DAKOTA			
GEORGIA				Hoeven	87	13	100
Chambliss	86	14	95	Heitkamp	90	10	97
Isakson	85	15	93	OHIO			
HAWAII				Brown	99	1	99
Schatz	100	0	99	Portman	86	14	99
Hirono	99	1	99	OKLAHOMA			
IDAHO				Inhofe	98	2	91
Crapo	98	2	99	Coburn	97	3	93
Risch	98	2	97	OREGON			
ILLINOIS				Wyden	97	3	100
Durbin	99	1	100	Merkley	96	4	99
Kirk	72	28	88	PENNSYLVANIA			
INDIANA				Casey	95	5	98
Coats	94	6	99	Toomey	94	6	100
Donnelly	85	15	100	RHODE ISLAND			
IOWA				Reed	99	1	100
Grassley	97	3	100	Whitehouse	98	2	99
Harkin	98	2	99	SOUTH CAROLINA			
KANSAS				Graham	77	23	95
Roberts	99	1	99	Scott	99	1	99
Moran	95	5	97	SOUTH DAKOTA			
KENTUCKY				Johnson	98	2	99
McConnell	95	5	100	Thune	94	6	100
Paul	95	5	97	TENNESSEE			
LOUISIANA				Alexander	82	18	95
Landrieu	91	9	97	Corker	83	17	99
Vitter	95	5	95	TEXAS			
MAINE				Cornyn	96	4	98
Collins	44	56	100	Cruz	98	2	93
King	92	8	99	UTAH			
MARYLAND				Hatch	80	20	93
Mikulski	100	0	97	Lee	96	4	98
Cardin	100	0	100	VERMONT			
MASSACHUSETTS				Leahy	99	1	100
Warren	99	1	99	Sanders	98	2	99
Kerry ¹	100	0	29	VIRGINIA			
Cowan ¹	97	3	99	Warner	92	8	97
Markey ¹	100	0	99	Kaine	95	5	99
MICHIGAN				WASHINGTON			
Levin	98	2	99	Murray	99	1	93
Stabenow	99	1	100	Cantwell	100	0	100
MINNESOTA				WEST VIRGINIA			
Klobuchar	97	3	99	Rockefeller	98	2	97
Franken	99	1	100	Manchin	74	26	97
MISSISSIPPI				WISCONSIN			
Cochran	85	15	97	Johnson	98	2	97
Wicker	85	15	97	Baldwin	99	1	100
MISSOURI				WYOMING			
McCaskill	89	11	97	Enzi	98	2	99
Blunt	86	14	94	Barrasso	98	2	99
KEY	Republicans	Democrats	Independents				

¹ Sen. Edward J. Markey, D-Mass., was sworn in July 16, 2013, to fill the seat vacated by the Feb. 1 resignation of Democrat John Kerry. The seat was filled in the interim by Democrat William “Mo” Cowan, who was sworn in Feb. 7 and resigned July 16. Kerry was eligible for seven party unity votes in 2013; Cowan was eligible for 109 party unity votes; Markey was eligible for 87 party unity votes.

² Sen. Cory Booker, D-N.J., was sworn in Oct. 31, 2013, to fill the seat vacated by the June 3 death of Democrat Frank R. Lautenberg. The seat was filled in the interim by Republican Jeff Chiesa, who was sworn in June 10 and resigned Oct. 31. Lautenberg was eligible for 95 party unity votes in 2013; Chiesa was eligible for 51 party unity votes; Booker was eligible for 55 party unity votes.

HOUSE

1. Party Unity. Percentage of recorded party unity votes in 2013 on which a member voted “yea” or “nay” in agreement with a majority of his or her party. (Party unity votes are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans.) Percentages are based on votes cast; thus, failure to vote does not lower a member’s score.

2. Party Opposition. Percentage of recorded party unity votes in 2013 on which a member voted “yea” or “nay” in disagreement with a majority of his or her party. Percentages are based on votes cast; thus, failure to vote does not lower a member’s score.

3. Participation in Party Unity Votes. Percentage of the House party unity votes in 2013 for which a member was eligible and present, and voted “yea” or “nay.” There were a total of 439 such recorded votes.

¹ Rep. Jo Bonner, R-Ala., resigned Aug. 2, 2013. Bonner was eligible for 302 party unity votes in 2013.

² Rep. C.W. Bill Young, R-Fla., died Oct. 18, 2013. Young was eligible for 378 party unity votes in 2013.

³ Rep. Robin Kelly, D-Ill., was sworn in April 11, 2013, to fill the seat vacated by the Nov. 21, 2012, resignation of Democrat Jesse L. Jackson Jr. Kelly was eligible for 383 party unity votes in 2013.

⁴ Rep. Vance McAllister, R-La., was sworn in Nov. 21, 2013, to fill the seat vacated by Republican Rodney Alexander, who resigned Sept. 27. Alexander was eligible for 328 party unity votes in 2013; McAllister was eligible for 13 party unity votes.

⁵ Rep. Katherine M. Clark, D-Mass., was sworn in Dec. 12, 2013, to fill the seat vacated by Democrat Edward J. Markey, who resigned July 15. Markey was eligible for 228 party unity votes in 2013; Clark was eligible for one party unity vote.

⁶ Rep. Jason Smith, R-Mo., was sworn in June 5, 2013, to fill the seat vacated by the Jan. 22 resignation of Republican Jo Ann Emerson. Emerson was eligible for 15 party unity votes in 2013; Smith was eligible for 326 party unity votes.

⁷ The speaker votes only at his discretion.

⁸ Rep. Mark Sanford, R-S.C., was sworn in May 15, 2013, to fill the seat vacated by the resignation of Republican Tim Scott before the start of the 113th Congress. Sanford was eligible for 364 party unity votes in 2013.

	1	2	3		1	2	3	
ALABAMA					COLORADO			
1 Bonner ¹	91	9	93		1 DeGette	97	3	92
2 Roby	95	5	99		2 Polis	87	13	92
3 Rogers	94	6	97		3 Tipton	94	6	97
4 Aderholt	95	5	96		4 Gardner	97	3	99
5 Brooks	94	6	99		5 Lamborn	96	4	99
6 Bachus	93	7	99		6 Coffman	94	6	99
7 Sewell	89	11	98		7 Perlmutter	87	13	96
ALASKA					CONNECTICUT			
AL Young	89	11	89		1 Larson	97	3	99
ARIZONA					2 Courtney	94	6	99
1 Kirkpatrick	84	16	92		3 DeLauro	97	3	97
2 Barber	65	35	96		4 Himes	90	10	98
3 Grijalva	98	2	94		5 Esty	92	8	99
4 Gosar	95	5	93		DELAWARE			
5 Salmon	94	6	96		AL Carney	91	9	99
6 Schweikert	96	4	94		FLORIDA			
7 Pastor	92	8	95		1 Miller	95	5	96
8 Franks	98	2	94		2 Southerland	97	3	100
9 Sinema	73	27	95		3 Yoho	94	6	99
ARKANSAS					4 Crenshaw	93	7	96
1 Crawford	96	4	97		5 Brown	94	6	96
2 Griffin	97	3	100		6 DeSantis	96	4	100
3 Womack	97	3	100		7 Mica	95	5	100
4 Cotton	97	3	99		8 Posey	93	7	99
CALIFORNIA					9 Grayson	96	4	96
1 LaMalfa	97	3	100		10 Webster	96	4	95
2 Huffman	96	4	98		11 Nugent	95	5	97
3 Garamendi	90	10	99		12 Bilirakis	96	4	99
4 McClintock	94	6	100		13 Young ²	91	9	67
5 Thompson	95	5	98		14 Castor	95	5	96
6 Matsui	96	4	99		15 Ross	97	3	99
7 Bera	84	16	99		16 Buchanan	93	7	98
8 Cook	93	7	99		17 Rooney	93	7	99
9 McNerney	90	10	99		18 Murphy	77	23	99
10 Denham	92	8	99		19 Radel	95	5	91
11 Miller, George	95	5	90		20 Hastings	98	2	90
12 Pelosi	96	4	91		21 Deutch	96	4	99
13 Lee	97	3	99		22 Frankel	96	4	99
14 Speier	96	4	92		23 Wasserman Schultz	92	8	93
15 Swalwell	92	8	100		24 Wilson	98	2	98
16 Costa	70	30	96		25 Diaz-Balart	91	9	91
17 Honda	98	2	91		26 Garcia	78	22	94
18 Eshoo	97	3	99		27 Ros-Lehtinen	91	9	93
19 Lofgren	92	8	98		GEORGIA			
20 Farr	97	3	95		1 Kingston	97	3	96
21 Valadao	91	9	99		2 Bishop	81	19	97
22 Nunes	94	6	95		3 Westmoreland	96	4	93
23 McCarthy	95	5	100		4 Johnson	94	6	96
24 Capps	96	4	99		5 Lewis	98	2	89
25 McKeon	93	7	99		6 Price	97	3	99
26 Brownley	90	10	99		7 Woodall	96	4	99
27 Chu	99	1	95		8 Scott, A.	97	3	99
28 Schiff	96	4	99		9 Collins	97	3	95
29 Cardenas	93	7	95		10 Broun	90	10	97
30 Sherman	92	8	99		11 Gingrey	95	5	95
31 Miller, Gary	95	5	81		12 Barrow	58	42	100
32 Napolitano	96	4	96		13 Scott, D.	92	8	97
33 Waxman	95	5	96		14 Graves	97	3	99
34 Becerra	99	1	96		HAWAII			
35 Negrete McLeod	95	5	84		1 Hanabusa	95	5	96
36 Ruiz	77	23	98		2 Gabbard	89	11	97
37 Bass	98	2	90		IDAHO			
38 Sanchez, Linda	98	2	99		1 Labrador	94	6	95
39 Royce	97	3	99		2 Simpson	92	8	99
40 Roybal-Allard	98	2	97		ILLINOIS			
41 Takano	96	4	99		1 Rush	95	5	66
42 Calvert	94	6	100		2 Kelly ³	96	4	99
43 Waters	96	4	97		3 Lipinski	80	20	98
44 Hahn	97	3	99		4 Gutierrez	97	3	87
45 Campbell	99	1	48		5 Quigley	96	4	97
46 Sanchez, Loretta	94	6	94		6 Roskam	97	3	99
47 Lowenthal	98	2	98		7 Davis, D.	96	4	97
48 Rohrabacher	92	8	98		8 Duckworth	87	13	98
49 Issa	95	5	99		9 Schakowsky	98	2	99
50 Hunter	96	4	90		10 Schneider	84	16	99
51 Vargas	92	8	97		11 Foster	83	17	99
52 Peters	79	21	99		12 Enyart	87	13	99
53 Davis	96	4	98		13 Davis, R.	91	9	99
					14 Hultgren	97	3	99
					15 Shimkus	92	8	90
KEY	Republicans				Democrats			

