

With Divided Congress, Obama Shifts to a Confrontational Stance

AFTER BARACK OBAMA and his party suffered a big setback in the 2010 elections, with Republicans taking the House and gaining seven seats in the Senate, the inevitable speculation began: Clinton or Truman?

Would this Democratic president try to appeal to the independent voters he lost in the midterms by moving to the center in the manner of Bill Clinton in 1996, or would he strongly clarify his positions by using Republicans as a foil, as Harry S. Truman did in 1947?

The answer, it turned out, was both — first one, then the other.

For most of the year, it seemed Obama had picked the first option. The president set about mirroring the GOP in some important ways. Just as Republicans talked about shrinking the size of government, Obama said he was interested in deficit reduction. In a series of confrontations over fiscal policy, Obama did not so much repudiate conservatives as try to funnel their energy into what he thought was a mutually agreeable direction. More than once, he tried and failed to reach a “grand bargain” with House Speaker John A. Boehner, R-Ohio, to both raise taxes and cut entitlement spending in an effort to set Washington on a more sustainable fiscal path.

Ultimately, Obama concluded that he was getting nowhere with House Republicans and that he would need to adopt a new, more confrontational strategy if he was to save his presidency. That shift was most evident in the year-end fight over extending a payroll tax cut for workers.

Obama’s attempt to govern as a centrist was evident throughout Congressional Quarterly’s annual study of House and Senate voting patterns and what they showed about the range of support for the president from individual lawmakers and his varied success with the two chambers.

Inching to the right, Obama found more in common with conservative Senate Republicans than in past years and started to distance himself from some liberal Democrats. Even as House Republicans took a hard line against Obama’s positions in 2011, Senate Republicans supported Obama 53 percent of the time on roll call votes where he took a clear position, up from 41 percent in 2010. At the same time, support for the president’s position among House Democrats dropped to 80 percent from 84 percent in 2010 and a record 90 percent in 2009 — two years when the Democrats held the House gavel and the agenda was theirs to control.

Overall, Obama won on 57.1 percent of the votes last year on which he took a position. That success rate showed a steep decline from the record 96.7 percent success of his first year in office, but was roughly in line with the success rates of earlier presidents who operated under similar partisan circumstances. With a divided Congress in 1985 and 1986, Ronald Reagan was successful on 58 percent of the House and Senate votes on which he took a clear position.

COURSE CORRECTION

Although Obama’s effort to claim the ideological middle ground was a conscious political strategy, it was also influenced by practical challenges. By striking deals with Republican leaders at key moments,

the president angered members of his party’s liberal base, but he also managed to avoid disaster: The government neither shut down nor defaulted on its debt — although at times both outcomes seemed possible as a consequence of gridlock.

Still, the endless budgetary negotiations of 2011 were unquestionably damaging for him. In the end, Obama found little common ground with Republicans and was held at least partly responsible for

CQ Vote Study Guide

Congressional Quarterly has conducted studies analyzing the voting behavior of members of Congress since 1945.

The three principal vote studies currently produced by CQ — presidential support, party unity and voting participation — have been conducted in a consistent manner since 1953. This is how the studies are carried out:

Selecting votes CQ bases its vote studies on all floor votes on which members were asked to vote “yea” or “nay.” In 2011, there were 945 such roll call votes in the House and 235 in the Senate. The House total excludes quorum calls (there were three in 2011) because they require only that members vote “present.” (The House total for 2011 also excludes one vote that was vitiated after it occurred.)

The House total does include votes on procedural matters, including votes to approve the Journal (18 in 2011). The Senate total includes votes to instruct the sergeant at arms to request members’ presence in the chamber (four in 2011).

The presidential support and party unity studies are based on votes selected from the total according to the criteria described on pages B-10 and B-19.

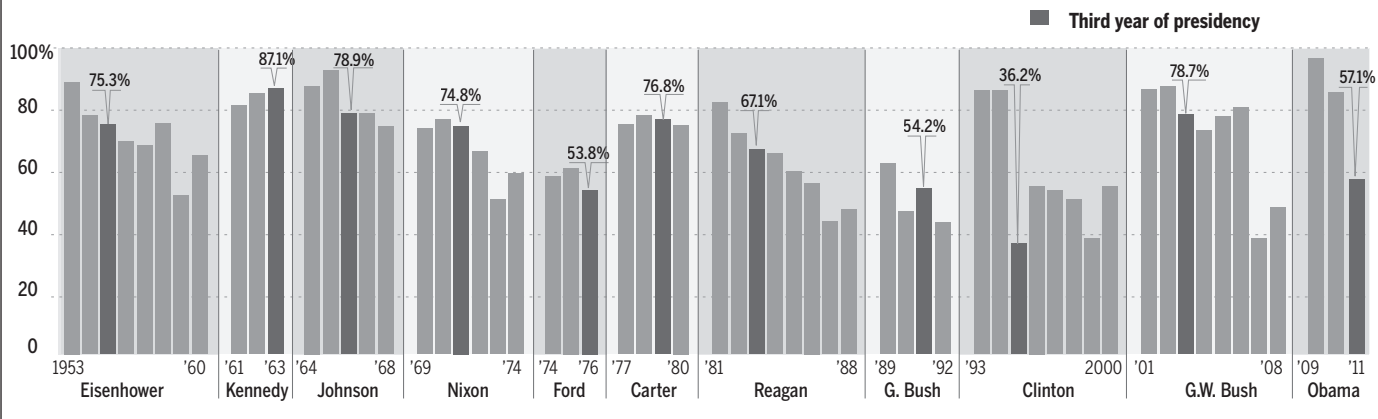
Individual scores Members’ scores in the accompanying charts are based only on the votes each member actually cast. This makes individual support and opposition scores add up to 100 percent. The same method is used to identify the leading scorers on pages B-5 and B-18.

Overall scores For consistency with previous years, calculations of average scores by chamber, party and region are based on all eligible “yea” or “nay” votes, whether or not all members participated. As a result, the failure of one or more lawmakers to participate in a roll call vote reduces average support and opposition scores. Therefore, chamber and party averages are not strictly comparable with individual member scores. (*Methodology, 1987 Almanac, p. 22-C*)

Rounding Scores in the tables for the full House and Senate membership are rounded to the nearest percentage point, although rounding is not used to increase any score to 100 percent or to reduce any score to zero. Scores for party and chamber support and opposition leaders are reported to one decimal point to rank them more precisely.

Obama's Success Rate Falls in Third Year

After two strong years on votes on which he took a clear position, President Obama's success rate plummeted to 57.1 percent in 2011. Obama won on only 31.6 percent of the year's votes in the House — the third-lowest for any president — although he held his own in the Senate, where he won 84.3 percent. The data in the graphic combine House and Senate figures.



a government that looked dysfunctional. His approval ratings were never worse than in the months after he reached a last-second agreement to raise the debt ceiling in August. His poll numbers improved when he began dealing with Republicans more aggressively.

Obama's course correction was first noticeable in the fall when he went to Capitol Hill to urge action to boost the economy. He asked for more than he could get from Congress, and in fact got very little. But he was able to portray Republicans as obstructionists and thereby regain some momentum.

"The context here is that his whole approach has been centrist," said Thomas E. Mann, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "Republicans have moved far to the right and they're in complete opposition mode, so the notion that he could entice Republicans by moving even further toward them was ludicrous."

To get through the 2011 legislative session, Obama relied upon strong support from Democrats and what might be viewed as a surprising amount of help from Republican senators.

In the Senate, Democrats voted with Obama 92 percent of the time. That represented a slight drop from their record level of presidential support in 2010 but still matched 2009 for the second-highest tally since 1954, when CQ began analyzing the rates at which individual lawmakers voted with the president.

Members of the more liberal House Democratic Caucus voted with Obama less often. But even their 80 percent average support

score, a three-year low, was higher than House Democrats provided to any president as far back as Dwight D. Eisenhower.

On average, Democrats in both chambers who leaned toward the center voted with Obama more often than did those of a more liberal bent. For example, Democrat Mark Warner of Virginia — one of the "Gang of Six" senators who tried to pull together a bipartisan deficit reduction package — voted with Obama 99 percent of the time in 2011. By contrast, Sen. Sherrod Brown of Ohio, who was far less eager to reach across the aisle on fiscal matters, tallied a 92 percent support score.

Obama lost liberals on several of the major budget votes of the year. Unhappy that an agreement to raise the debt ceiling included spending cuts of about \$2 trillion over 10 years but no tax increases, 95 House Democrats voted against the bill, while 95 voted with Obama to avoid a government default.

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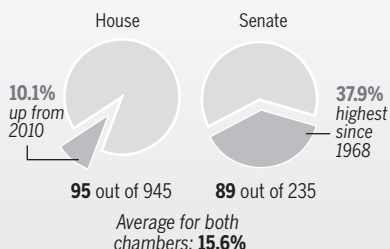
TRADE AND SECURITY DEFECTIONS

Fiscal policy was not the only subject on which Democrats split. Obama also positioned himself to the right of many in his own party in the areas of national security and trade policy. That was evident when 117 House Democrats voted in February against Obama's recommendation to extend portions of the anti-terrorism law known as the Patriot

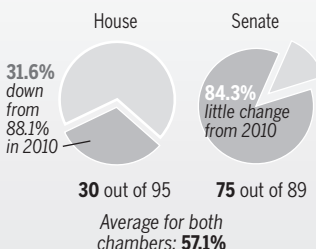
Obama's Year

With Republicans running the House and a larger GOP Senate minority in 2011, the president's historic string of successes was broken. Even so, his support among Democrats in both chambers remained high.

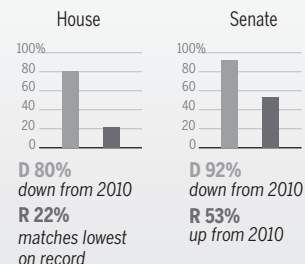
Share of votes on which the president took a clear position:



How often the president won:



Average chamber presidential support scores:



Leading Scorers: Presidential Support

Support indicates those who voted in 2011 most often for President Obama's position, when it was clearly known. **Opposition** shows those who voted most often against his position. Lawmakers who left office

or who missed half or more of the votes are not listed. Scores are reported here to one decimal point only; members with identical scores are listed alphabetically. (Complete scores, pp. B-11, B-12)

SENATE

SUPPORT

Democrats		Republicans	
Feinstein, Calif.	98.8%	Collins, Maine	71.9%
Johnson, S.D.	98.8	Brown, Mass.	69.6
Warner, Va.	98.8	Snowe, Maine	66.6
Kerry, Mass.	98.7	Murkowski, Alaska	64.6
Bingaman, N.M.	97.7	Alexander, Tenn.	63.2
Carper, Del.	97.7	Graham, S.C.	62.9
Schumer, N.Y.	97.7	Kirk, Ill.	62.6
Shaheen, N.H.	97.7	Lugar, Ind.	61.6
Conrad, N.D.	97.6	Corker, Tenn.	61.3
Webb, Va.	97.6	Johanns, Neb.	60.6
Wyden, Ore.	97.6	Kyl, Ariz.	60.6
Inouye, Hawaii	97.5	Cornyn, Texas	59.7
2 senators	96.6	Portman, Ohio	59.5

OPPOSITION

Democrats		Republicans	
Nelson, Neb.	17.3%	Paul, Ky.	59.1%
Manchin, W.Va.	16.3	DeMint, S.C.	58.6
Tester, Mont.	10.3	Vitter, La.	57.4
Hagan, N.C.	9.7	Heller, Nev.	54.9
Harkin, Iowa	8.5	Rubio, Fla.	53.8
Merkley, Ore.	8.3	Risch, Idaho	53.7
McCaskill, Mo.	8.1	Inhofe, Okla.	52.4
Brown, Ohio	8.0	Crapo, Idaho	51.2
Begich, Alaska	6.9	Johnson, Wis.	49.5
Casey, Pa.	6.9	McConnell, Ky.	49.5
Reid, Nev.	6.8	Lee, Utah	48.9
Kohl, Wis.	6.1	Burr, N.C.	48.8
Udall, N.M.	6.1	Wicker, Miss.	48.8

HOUSE

SUPPORT

Democrats		Republicans	
Hoyer, Md.	96.7%	Dold, Ill.	36.5%
Davis, Calif.	95.7	Reichert, Wash.	35.1
Van Hollen, Md.	95.7	Lance, N.J.	33.6
Castor, Fla.	95.5	Biggert, Ill.	32.6
McCarthy, N.Y.	95.1	Hayworth, N.Y.	32.6
Levin, Mich.	94.7	LaTourette, Ohio	32.6
Lowey, N.Y.	94.7	Diaz-Balart, Fla.	31.8
Ackerman, N.Y.	94.6	Dent, Pa.	31.5
Berman, Calif.	94.6	Dreier, Calif.	31.5
Schwartz, Pa.	94.6	Meehan, Pa.	31.5
Dicks, Wash.	93.6	Schock, Ill.	31.5
Langevin, R.I.	93.6	King, N.Y.	30.8
Pascrell, N.J.	93.6	Lungren, Calif.	30.8
Smith, Wash.	93.4	Ros-Lehtinen, Fla.	30.8
Israel, N.Y.	92.6	Frelinghuysen, N.J.	30.5
Schiff, Calif.	92.5	Runyan, N.J.	30.5
Deutch, Fla.	92.4	Grimm, N.Y.	30.1
Wasserman Schultz, Fla.	92.2	2 members	29.7

OPPOSITION

Democrats		Republicans	
Boren, Okla.	57.5%	Bishop, Utah	90.3%
McIntyre, N.C.	50.0	Rohrabacher, Calif.	88.5
Ross, Ark.	49.5	Duncan, Tenn.	88.3
Altmire, Pa.	43.2	Labrador, Idaho	87.0
Peterson, Minn.	43.1	Graves, Ga.	86.4
Matheson, Utah	41.5	Akin, Mo.	86.1
Barrow, Ga.	40.5	Chaffetz, Utah	85.3
Costello, Ill.	40.5	Foxx, N.C.	85.3
Shuler, N.C.	39.2	Broun, Ga.	85.2
Holden, Pa.	37.4	Mack, Fla.	85.2
Rahall, W.Va.	35.2	Ross, Fla.	85.2
Chandler, Ky.	34.5	Schweikert, Ariz.	85.2
DeFazio, Ore.	33.0	Schmidt, Ohio	84.8
Critz, Pa.	32.7	Burton, Ind.	84.5
Donnelly, Ind.	32.7	Campbell, Calif.	84.5
Costa, Calif.	31.6	Duncan, S.C.	84.3
Cuellar, Texas	31.6	Hultgren, Ill.	84.3
2 members	29.1	Roe, Tenn.	84.3

Act and on several occasions when House Democrats expressed their desire to remove troops from Afghanistan. A large majority of House Democrats, 84 percent, opposed the Colombia free-trade agreement endorsed by Obama, as did 59 percent of Senate Democrats.

And while Democrats in both chambers generally stood by the president, Senate Republicans often contradicted their partisan rhetoric by voting with Obama as well. As measured by their voting patterns, the only time Senate Republicans had been more supportive of a Democratic president in the previous 57 years was in 1997, the year after Clinton easily won re-election.

Republican senators would have had more opportunities to draw

contrasts with Obama had they controlled the flow of legislation in their chamber. Nevertheless, their affirmative votes were key to passing such measures as the free-trade agreements and the year-end payroll tax cut extension.

CONFRONTING THE REBELS

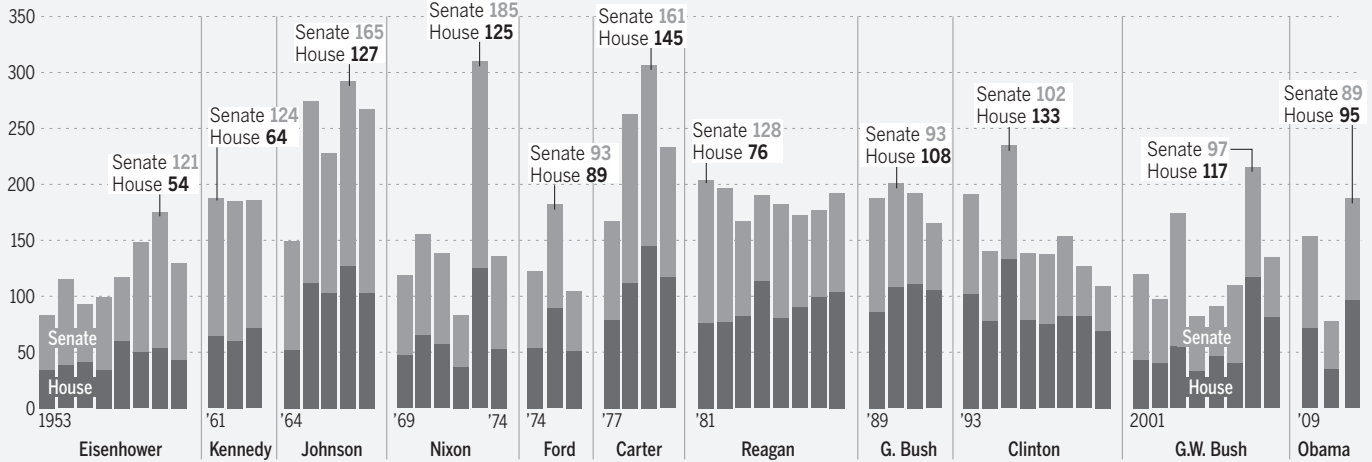
It was, of course, a different story in the House, where the "Gingrich revolution" of 1995 was in a way relived in 2011. Just as Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., promised in 1995 to reshape American politics, members of the House GOP majority in 2011 came to Washington with the same intention, and they opposed the Democratic occupant

Share of Presidential Position Votes Rises in 2011

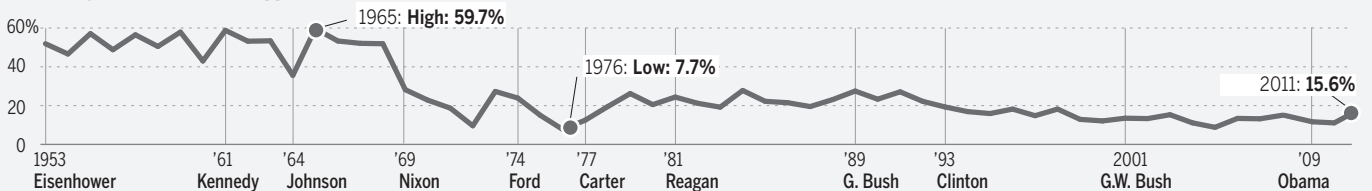
In recent decades, the share of votes supporting the president's position has declined, but it rose in the first session of the 112th, with Senate presidential support votes surging to 37.9 percent, the

highest since 1968. Not counting nominations, the Senate figure was 16.2 percent, the second-highest since 1998. In the House, the share was 10.1 percent, the second-highest since 2000.

Presidential Support Votes



Percentage of Presidential Support Votes For Congress as a whole



of the White House 76 percent of the time on votes on which he took a position.

Republicans tended to dictate the flow of legislative events in the House for much of the year — even if they did not always control the results. In particular, their drive to cut spending was manifest in debates over financing the government for the balance of fiscal 2011 and over raising the debt ceiling.

Encouraged by a large crop of freshman conservatives with ties to the tea party, House GOP leaders talked openly about their plans to use the threat of a government shutdown and a default as leverage to achieve their policy goals.

As a result, the fraught atmospherics of the legislative session came to nearly overwhelm any policy outcomes. By the fall, public approval of Congress had dropped to historic lows. People “were really sort of frustrated that the political leaders would take the country through such an exhausting and flatly dangerous exercise,” said Michael Dimock, associate director at the Pew Research Center. “It really got under people’s skin.”

Obama’s handling of House Republicans divided political observers between those who said he allowed events to get out of his control and others who contended that he did the best he could in challenging circumstances.

“I would give him a gentleman’s C,” said Charles Stewart III, a political science professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. “I don’t give him failing marks for accomplishing almost nothing, because he’s been dealt a difficult hand. But I don’t give him good

marks, because he appears to have been late in recognizing or acting on the situation he’s in.”

Obama’s task “was to keep the government functioning with responsible reductions in spending, and to get the debt ceiling extended without any fundamental compromise on Medicare and taxes but with responsible spending restraint,” said Rep. Robert E. Andrews, a New Jersey Democrat who voted with Obama 88 percent of the time in 2011. “I think he did a responsible job in getting that stuff done.”

One argument made by Andrews and others was that the president got more out of the August debt limit deal than he was given credit for. Because the debt limit increase was large and was accompanied by 10-year spending caps, it effectively removed from the table the threat of a government shutdown or a default, and thus ensured that Obama might better control his message to voters as he campaigned for re-election.

In addition, Congress made no fundamental changes to long-term tax policy — in spite of Obama’s attempts to do so. As a result, the tax cuts first enacted under President George W. Bush were set to expire at the end of 2012, providing Democrats with a rare moment of leverage. They could push for their own fiscal policy objectives during the inevitable debate over preserving the tax cuts.

AN UNCERTAIN PLACE IN HISTORY

In fact, it looked at times as if Obama’s campaign platform would consist of little else but tax policy — specifically his plan to raise taxes on those with higher incomes while ensuring that taxes

were reduced or kept level for everyone else.

In the view of administration officials, they successfully — and accurately — portrayed Republicans as defenders of the rich at the expense of the middle class during the fight over extending the payroll tax cut at the end of December. Other developments that spoke to Obama's developing re-election strategy included his controversial recess appointment of Richard Cordray to be director of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau and the departure of his pro-business chief of staff, William M. Daley. Both moves appealed to Obama's liberal base and signaled a waning interest in bipartisanship.

But not all experts agreed that Obama was serving himself well with these decisions. William Galston, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who was an adviser in Clinton's White House, wrote that Obama might alienate independent voters by focusing more on income inequality than on economic growth.

Tactically, Obama's more confrontational approach had a chance of working for a variety of reasons, according to political scientists. For one thing, it removed the risk of unmet expectations that came with trying to make peace with conservatives. Nobody thought that Republicans would embrace tax increases over the next 10 months, and therefore no one was likely to blame Obama when that did not happen.

Moreover, Obama chose his issues carefully. "The key for Obama is to seize on ideas" — such as tax increases on higher incomes — "where the base of his party or the broad electorate and the moderate voters in the country actually basically agree or are closer to one another," said Eric Schickler, a political science professor at the University of California, Berkeley.

Measured by voting patterns, Obama enjoyed a remarkable level of congressional support in his first two years in office. If trends held, he was likely to finish his first term with a higher overall suc-

cess score than Clinton, who won 63.5 percent of all votes in his first term when he took a position. And although Obama was unlikely to equal George W. Bush's first-term success score of 81.5 percent, he did have a chance of matching Reagan, whose first-term success rate was 72.3 percent.

However, Obama also suffered significant defeats. His attempts to put a price on fossil fuels and to foster a "green energy" economy were largely blocked by Congress. More broadly, the political landscape had not shifted as it did under Franklin D. Roosevelt and Reagan. Four years after Democrats came to power in 2006, Republicans rode another electoral wave to take control of the House. The country, many scholars said, was still in a center-right position, or it was in a confused spot where it could go either way.

For Obama, this could be a case of unfortunate timing. Had he entered the White House a few years later, he might have avoided the worst of the recession and gained more credit for the economy's recovery. "It's one thing to come in where unemployment has already hit 10 percent, and then you repudiate Bush," Schickler said. "It's another thing to come out with the economy in free-fall, but still falling pretty badly for another year or so, and to justify the kind of big changes that maybe Obama wanted to create."

Obama may also have been hindered by his personality, or his tendency, in the words of Joseph McCartin, an associate professor of history at Georgetown University, to "intellectualize problems" in a way that recalled Jimmy Carter.

More so than Clinton, Obama tried to bring an end to the Reagan era by making a case for a strong government in selected speeches. Still, his "governing style was not one where he's pursued policy objectives as though he were still campaigning and trying to build a new framework," McCartin said. "And I think in that way he's somewhat different in his approach to both Reagan and Roosevelt, who understood that advancing policy was very much itself a campaign." ■

2011 Presidential Position Votes

The following is a list of the roll call votes in 2011 on which the president took a clear position, based on his statements or those of authorized spokesmen. A victory is a vote on which the president's position prevailed.

HOUSE

Defense and Foreign Policy

VOTE DESCRIPTION
NUMBER

13 Victories

46	Weapons acquisitions
91	War policy
193	War policy
364	War policy
367	Defense spending
373	War policy
412	Libya policy
494	Libya policy
502	War policy
514	Libya policy
515	Libya policy
520	Libya policy
530	Libya policy

7 Defeats

352	Defense policy
356	Detainee policy
357	Detainee policy
361	War policy
368	Weapons acquisition
375	Defense policy
513	Libya policy

Domestic Policy

VOTE DESCRIPTION
NUMBER

10 Victories

36	Terrorism policy
66	Terrorism policy
103	Domestic spending
376	Terrorism policy
491	Patent overhaul
579	Energy policy
587	Energy policy
591	Energy policy
594	Domestic spending
668	Environmental regulation

51 Defeats

14	Health care
25	Campaign finance
26	Terrorism policy
81	Campaign finance
87	Executive powers
96	Environmental regulation
97	Health care
98	Health care
99	Health care
100	Health care
110	Health care
121	Health care
141	Health care
147	Domestic spending
171	Housing policy
174	Housing policy
188	Housing policy

192	Public broadcasting
198	Housing policy
217	Labor policy
220	Labor policy
247	Domestic spending
249	Environmental regulation
252	Internet regulation
264	Health care
270	Health care
271	Health care
285	Health care
292	Abortion
298	Energy policy
309	Energy policy
320	Energy policy
340	Health care
347	Campaign finance
478	Environmental regulation
522	Campaign finance
573	Environmental regulation
583	Campaign finance
650	Energy policy
659	Environmental regulation
698	Intelligence policy
741	Environmental regulation
764	Environmental regulation
789	Abortion
791	Environmental regulation
800	Environmental regulation
873	Campaign finance
880	Small-business regulation
888	Regulatory policy
901	Regulatory policy

House Success Score

Victories	30
Defeats	65
Total	95
Success rate	31.6%

912 Environmental regulation

Economic Affairs and Trade

VOTE DESCRIPTION
NUMBER

7 Victories

690	Debt limit
781	Trade agreement
782	Trade agreement
783	Trade agreement
784	Trade-based assistance
853	Tax withholding
858	Balanced-budget amendment

7 Defeats

606	Debt limit
621	Consumer protection
677	Debt limit
682	Debt limit
706	Debt limit
923	Tax extensions
946	Tax extensions

SENATE

Defense and Foreign Policy

VOTE DESCRIPTION
NUMBER

1 Defeat

210 Detainee policy

Domestic Policy

VOTE DESCRIPTION
NUMBER

12 Victories

9 Health care
19 Terrorism policy
35 Patent overhaul
36 Domestic spending
54 Environmental regulation
59 Health care
60 Health care
84 Terrorism policy
129 Patent overhaul
194 Domestic spending
200 Internet regulation
201 Environmental regulation

2 Defeats

31 Patent overhaul
37 Domestic spending

Economic Affairs and Trade

VOTE DESCRIPTION
NUMBER

17 Victories

116 Debt limit

120 Debt limit
123 Debt limit
130 Debt limit
150 Trade-based assistance
161 Trade agreement
162 Trade agreement
163 Trade agreement
178 Tax withholding
196 Economic stimulus
202 Tax withholding
204 Tax withholding
220 Tax extensions
225 Tax extensions
228 Balanced-budget amendment
229 Balanced-budget amendment
232 Tax extensions

6 Defeats

72 Oil taxes
160 Economic stimulus
177 Economic stimulus
195 Economic stimulus
219 Tax extensions
224 Tax extensions

Nominations

VOTE DESCRIPTION
NUMBER

46 Victories

12 Diana Saldana
13 Paul Kinloch Holmes III
15 Edward J. Davila

26 Steve C. Jones
32 James E. Shadid
33 Anthony J. Battaglia
38 Max Oliver Cogburn
39 James Emanuel Boasberg
45 Amy Berman Jackson
46 Mae A. D'Agostino
47 Jimmie V. Reyna
58 John A. Kronstadt
62 Kevin Hunter Sharp
66 John J. McConnell Jr.
68 Edward Milton Chen
69 Arenda L. Wright Allen
70 Michael Francis Urbanski
71 Susan L. Carney
85 Donald B. Verrilli Jr.
88 Claire C. Cecchi
92 Michael H. Simon
93 Leon E. Panetta
97 James Michael Cole
104 David H. Petraeus
112 J. Paul Oetken
117 Paul A. Engelmayer
118 Robert S. Mueller III
124 Bernice Bouie Donald
140 Timothy M. Cain
154 Henry F. Floyd
158 Jane Margaret Triche-Milazzo
164 Alison J. Nathan
165 Susan Owens Hickey
166 Cathy Bissoon
169 Robert David Mariani
171 Heather A. Higginbottom

Senate Success Score

Victories	75
Defeats	14
Total	89

Success rate	84.3%
Success rate, minus nominations	76.3%

176 John Edgar Bryson
188 Stephen A. Higginson
197 Scott Wesley Skavdahl
199 Evan Jonathan Wallach
206 Sharon L. Gleason
207 Yvonne Gonzalez Rogers
209 Christopher Droney
221 Edgardo Ramos
226 Norman L. Eisen (*cloture*)
231 Morgan Christen

5 Defeats

67 James Michael Cole (*cloture*)
74 Goodwin Liu (*cloture*)
222 Caitlin J. Halligan (*cloture*)
223 Richard Cordray (*cloture*)
227 Mari Carmen Aponte (*cloture*)

Presidential Support Background

Congressional Quarterly's editors select presidential support votes each year based on clear statements by the president or authorized spokesmen. **Success** scores show the percentage of the selected votes

on which the president prevailed. **Support** shows the percentage of roll call votes on which members of Congress voted in agreement with the president's position.

Presidential Success by Issues

Economic affairs includes votes on taxes; trade; and omnibus and some supplemental spending bills, which may fund both domestic and defense and foreign policy programs. **Confirmation** votes in the Senate are included only in the chamber's overall scores.

	Defense/Foreign Policy		Domestic		Economic Affairs		Overall	
	2011	2010	2011	2010	2011	2010	2011	2010
House	65.0%	75.0%	16.4%	100.0%	50.0%	86.7%	31.6%	88.1%
Senate	0	100.0	85.7	55.6	73.9	73.7	84.3	84.4
Congress	61.9	80.0	29.3	83.3	64.9	79.4	57.1	85.8

House Average Presidential Support Scores

DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS			DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS			DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS			DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS			DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS		
Eisenhower, R			Johnson, D			Ford, R			1986			1999		
1954	44%	71%	1964	74%	38%	1974	41%	51%	25%	65%	1999	73%	23%	
1955	53	60	1965	74	41	1975	38	63	1987	24	62	2000	73	27
1956	52	72	1966	63	37	1976	32	63	1988	25	57	G.W. Bush, R		
1957	49	54	1967	69	46	Carter, D			G. Bush, R			2001	31	86
1958	44	67	1968	64	51	1977	63	42	1989	36	69	2002	32	82
1959	40	68	Nixon, R			1978	60	36	1990	25	63	2003	26	89
1960	44	59	1969	48	57	1979	64	34	1991	34	72	2004	30	80
Kennedy, D			1970	53	66	1980	63	40	1992	25	71	2005	24	81
1961	73	37	1971	47	72	Reagan, R			Clinton, D			2006	31	85
1962	72	42	1972	47	64	1981	42	68	1993	77	39	2007	7	72
1963	72	32	1973	35	62	1982	39	64	1994	75	47	2008	16	64
			1974	46	65	1983	28	70	1995	75	22	Obama, D		
						1984	34	60	1996	74	38	2009	90	26
						1985	30	67	1997	71	30	2010	84	29
									1998	74	26	2011	80	22

Senate Average Presidential Support Scores

DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS			DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS			DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS			DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS			DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS		
Eisenhower, R			Johnson, D			Ford, R			1986			1999		
1954	38%	73%	1964	61%	45%	1974	39%	55%	37%	78%	1999	84%	34%	
1955	56	72	1965	64	48	1975	47	68	1987	36	64	2000	89	46
1956	39	72	1966	57	43	1976	39	62	1988	47	68	G.W. Bush, R		
1957	51	69	1967	61	53	Carter, D			G. Bush, R			2001	66	94
1958	44	67	1968	48	47	1977	70	52	1989	55	82	2002	71	89
1959	38	72	Nixon, R			1978	66	41	1990	38	70	2003	48	94
1960	43	66	1969	47	66	1979	68	47	1991	41	83	2004	60	91
Kennedy, D			1970	45	60	1980	62	45	1992	32	73	2005	38	86
1961	65	36	1971	40	64	Reagan, R			Clinton, D			2006	51	85
1962	63	39	1972	44	66	1981	49	80	1993	87	29	2007	37	78
1963	63	44	1973	37	61	1982	43	74	1994	86	42	2008	34	70
			1974	39	57	1983	42	73	1995	81	29	Obama, D		
						1984	41	76	1996	83	37	2009	92	50
						1985	35	75	1997	85	60	2010	94	41
									1998	82	41	2011	92	53

IN THE SENATE

1. Presidential Support. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2011 on which President Obama took a position and on which the senator voted “yea” or “nay” in agreement with the president’s position. Failure to vote does not lower an individual’s score.

2. Presidential Opposition. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2011 on which President Obama took a position and on which the senator voted “yea” or “nay” in disagreement with the president’s position. Failure to vote does not lower an individual’s score.

3. Participation in Presidential Support Votes. Percentage of recorded votes in 2011 on which President Obama took a position and for which the senator was eligible and present and voted “yea” or “nay.” There were a total of 89 such recorded votes.

	1	2	3		1	2	3	
ALABAMA								
Shelby	52	48	100		MONTANA			
Sessions	54	46	95		Baucus	95	5	97
					Tester	90	10	99
ALASKA					NEBRASKA			
Murkowski	65	35	92		Nelson	83	17	98
Begich	93	7	98		Johanns	61	39	100
ARIZONA					NEVADA			
McCain	59	41	89		Reid	93	7	100
Kyl	61	39	100		Ensign *	61	39	82
					Heller *	45	55	94
ARKANSAS					NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Pryor	95	5	98		Shaheen	98	2	99
Boozman	55	45	99		Ayotte	57	43	97
CALIFORNIA					NEW JERSEY			
Feinstein	99	1	100		Lautenberg	94	6	98
Boxer	95	5	92		Menendez	95	5	93
COLORADO					NEW MEXICO			
Udall	95	5	99		Bingaman	98	2	99
Bennet	95	5	100		Udall	94	6	93
CONNECTICUT					NEW YORK			
Lieberman	95	5	92		Schumer	98	2	99
Blumenthal	94	6	99		Gillibrand	94	6	98
DELAWARE					NORTH CAROLINA			
Carper	98	2	100		Burr	51	49	92
Coons	97	3	100		Hagan	90	10	93
FLORIDA					NORTH DAKOTA			
Nelson	97	3	99		Conrad	98	2	97
Rubio	46	54	90		Hoeven	55	45	95
GEORGIA					OHIO			
Chambliss	56	44	99		Brown	92	8	99
Isakson	55	45	93		Portman	59	41	100
HAWAII					OKLAHOMA			
Inouye	97	3	91		Inhofe	48	52	94
Akaka	95	5	98		Coburn	52	48	87
IDAHO					OREGON			
Crapo	49	51	99		Wyden	98	2	97
Risch	46	54	92		Merkley	92	8	95
ILLINOIS					PENNSYLVANIA			
Durbin	97	3	97		Casey	93	7	99
Kirk	63	37	93		Toomey	58	42	94
INDIANA					RHODE ISLAND			
Lugar	62	38	97		Reed	94	6	99
Coats	57	43	98		Whitehouse	94	6	100
IOWA					SOUTH CAROLINA			
Grassley	53	47	100		Graham	63	37	91
Harkin	91	9	93		DeMint	41	59	92
KANSAS					SOUTH DAKOTA			
Roberts	53	47	97		Johnson	99	1	100
Moran	57	43	92		Thune	59	41	98
KENTUCKY					TENNESSEE			
McConnell	51	49	100		Alexander	63	37	98
Paul	41	59	93		Corker	61	39	99
LOUISIANA					TEXAS			
Landrieu	95	5	95		Hutchison	54	46	92
Vitter	43	57	84		Cornyn	60	40	98
MAINE					UTAH			
Snowe	67	33	98		Hatch	57	43	91
Collins	72	28	100		Lee	51	49	94
MARYLAND					VERMONT			
Mikulski	97	3	97		Leahy	95	5	97
Cardin	97	3	100		Sanders	88	12	93
MASSACHUSETTS					VIRGINIA			
Kerry	99	1	88		Webb	98	2	97
Brown	70	30	100		Warner	99	1	95
MICHIGAN					WASHINGTON			
Levin	95	5	100		Murray	97	3	99
Stabenow	94	6	97		Cantwell	97	3	99
MINNESOTA					WEST VIRGINIA			
Klobuchar	95	5	98		Rockefeller	96	4	90
Franken	94	6	100		Manchin	84	16	97
MISSISSIPPI					WISCONSIN			
Cochran	57	43	97		Kohl	94	6	92
Wicker	51	49	92		Johnson	51	49	100
MISSOURI					WYOMING			
McCaskill	92	8	98		Enzi	53	47	98
Blunt	54	46	92		Barrasso	54	46	98
KEY	Republicans	Democrats	Independents					

*Sen. Dean Heller, R-Nev., was sworn in May 9, 2011, to fill the vacancy created by the May 3 resignation of fellow Republican John Ensign. The first vote for which Heller was eligible was vote 67; the last vote for which Ensign was eligible was vote 63.

IN THE HOUSE

1. Presidential Support. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2011 on which President Obama took a position and on which the member voted “yea” or “nay” in agreement with the president’s position. Failure to vote does not lower an individual’s score.

2. Presidential Opposition. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2011 on which President Obama took a position and on which the member voted “yea” or “nay” in disagreement with the president’s position. Failure to vote does not lower an individual’s score.

3. Participation in Presidential Support Votes. Percentage of recorded votes in 2011 on which President Obama took a position and for which the member was eligible and present and voted “yea” or “nay.” There were a total of 95 such recorded votes.

	1	2	3		1	2	3
ALABAMA					COLORADO		
1 Bonner	26	74	100		1 DeGette	86	14 100
2 Roby	26	74	100		2 Polis	89	11 91
3 Rogers	27	73	100		3 Tipton	21	79 99
4 Aderholt	23	77	100		4 Gardner	21	79 99
5 Brooks	19	81	99		5 Lamborn	20	80 99
6 Bachus	27	73	98		6 Coffman	23	77 99
7 Sewell	85	15	98		7 Perlmutter	84	16 100
ALASKA					CONNECTICUT		
AL Young	18	82	88		1 Larson	82	18 99
ARIZONA					2 Courtney	91	9 100
1 Gosar	22	78	100		3 DeLauro	86	14 99
2 Franks	22	78	97		4 Himes	85	15 99
3 Quayle	29	71	88		5 Murphy	89	11 99
4 Pastor	73	27	100		DELAWARE		
5 Schweikert	15	85	99		AL Carney	91	9 100
6 Flake	19	81	91		FLORIDA		
7 Grijalva	78	22	100		1 Miller	16	84 99
8 Giffords	100	0	1		2 Southerland	19	81 100
ARKANSAS					3 Brown	90	10 98
1 Crawford	26	74	99		4 Crenshaw	26	74 100
2 Griffin	22	78	100		5 Nugent	20	80 100
3 Womack	26	74	100		6 Stearns	17	83 100
4 Ross	51	49	100		7 Mica	25	75 100
CALIFORNIA					8 Webster	20	80 100
1 Thompson	87	13	99		9 Billirakis	21	79 98
2 Herger	23	77	99		10 Young	29	71 91
3 Lungren	31	69	99		11 Castor	95	5 94
4 McClintock	18	82	100		12 Ross	15	85 99
5 Matsui	86	14	100		13 Buchanan	21	79 98
6 Woolsey	78	22	98		14 Mack	15	85 99
7 Miller, George	84	16	94		15 Posey	16	84 98
8 Pelosi	90	10	93		16 Rooney	23	77 100
9 Lee	78	22	100		17 Wilson	89	11 89
10 Garamendi	85	15	96		18 Ros-Lehtinen	31	69 99
11 McNerney	87	13	99		19 Deutch	92	8 98
12 Speier	83	17	93		20 Wasserman Schultz	92	8 95
13 Stark	79	21	98		21 Diaz-Balart	32	68 93
14 Eshoo	85	15	100		22 West	20	80 100
15 Honda	79	21	97		23 Hastings	84	16 99
16 Lofgren	82	18	98		24 Adams	22	78 100
17 Farr	83	17	99		25 Rivera	29	71 100
18 Cardoza	73	27	98		GEORGIA		
19 Denham	21	79	100		1 Kingston	17	83 100
20 Costa	68	32	97		2 Bishop	73	27 96
21 Nunes	26	74	98		3 Westmoreland	19	81 98
22 McCarthy	26	74	99		4 Johnson	89	11 99
23 Capps	90	10	99		5 Lewis	81	19 97
24 Gallegly	26	74	96		6 Price	18	82 100
25 McKeon	26	74	99		7 Woodall	18	82 99
26 Dreier	31	69	100		8 Scott, A.	16	84 99
27 Sherman	83	17	100		9 Graves	14	86 100
28 Berman	95	5	99		10 Broun	15	85 99
29 Schiff	93	7	100		11 Gingrey	22	78 97
30 Waxman	84	16	97		12 Barrow	59	41 99
31 Becerra	88	12	98		13 Scott, D.	88	12 99
32 Chu	84	16	99		HAWAII		
33 Bass	87	13	97		1 Hanabusa	83	17 100
34 Roybal-Allard	85	15	100		2 Hirono	86	14 99
35 Waters	77	23	96		IDAHO		
36 Harman ¹	100	0	74		1 Labrador	13	87 97
37 Richardson	82	18	100		2 Simpson	24	76 100
38 Napolitano	78	22	96		ILLINOIS		
39 Sánchez, Linda	83	17	99		1 Rush	83	17 97
40 Royce	19	81	100		2 Jackson	78	22 86
41 Lewis	28	72	99		3 Lipinski	80	20 100
42 Miller, Gary	23	77	97		4 Gutierrez	81	19 97
43 Baca	83	17	93		5 Quigley	87	13 100
44 Calvert	27	73	100		6 Roskam	25	75 99
45 Bono Mack	25	75	99		7 Davis	82	18 99
46 Rohrabacher	11	89	100		8 Walsh	17	83 98
47 Sanchez, Loretta	76	24	93		9 Schakowsky	86	14 100
48 Campbell	15	85	95		10 Dold	37	63 98
49 Issa	23	77	100		11 Kinzinger	27	73 100
50 Bilbray	27	73	95		12 Costello	59	41 99
51 Filner	86	14	82		13 Biggart	33	67 100
52 Hunter	20	80	100		14 Hultgren	16	84 100
53 Davis	96	4	100		15 Johnson	22	78 100
KEY	Republicans			Democrats			

* The Speaker votes only at his discretion.

¹Rep. Janice Hahn, D-Calif., was sworn in July 19, 2011, to fill the vacancy created by the Feb. 28 resignation of fellow Democrat Jane Harman. The first vote for which Hahn was eligible was vote 604; the last vote for which Harman was eligible was vote 147.

²Rep. Mark Amodei, R-Nev., was sworn in Sept. 15, 2011, to fill the vacancy created by fellow Republican Dean Heller, who resigned May 9 to become a senator. The first vote for which Amodei was eligible was vote 708; the last vote for which Heller was eligible was vote 298.

³Rep. Bob Turner, R-N.Y., was sworn in Sept. 15, 2011, to fill the vacancy created by the June 22 resignation of Democrat Anthony Weiner. The first vote for which Turner was eligible was vote 708; the last vote for which Weiner was eligible was vote 462.

⁴Rep. Kathy Hochul, D-N.Y., was sworn in June 1, 2011, to fill the vacancy created by the Feb. 16 resignation of Republican Christopher Lee. The first vote for which Hochul was eligible was vote 382; the last vote for which Lee was eligible was vote 28.

⁵Rep. David Wu, D-Ore., resigned Aug. 3. The last vote for which he was eligible was vote 691.

