

Hard Lines Made That Much Harder In Increasingly Polarized Congress

AS ANOTHER YEAR PASSED, the evidence continued to amount that partisanship and polarization were the principal forces motivating congressional behavior, further contributing to the public perception of dysfunction on Capitol Hill. To those who studied this sort of thing, the trend toward increased partisan warfare in Congress seemed unlikely to reverse course, even if it was difficult to see how conflicts between the two parties might become any more stark.

The following pages detail CQ Roll Call's annual analysis of voting patterns, an exercise that showed 2013 to be perhaps the most partisan year in both the House and Senate in 60-plus years. As for President Barack Obama's relations with Capitol Hill, suffice it to say that Senate Democrats backed his legislative positions more than they ever have any president's — which is saying a great deal — and House Republicans turned their back on him at a record rate.

The brinkmanship that led to government shutdowns, nuclear options, alarms in financial markets and the inability to act on what once were routine legislative matters might have been more by design than by default. It did not even seem to be a consequence of ideology in all cases. It was really just about winning at every turn.

Both parties appeared to have concluded that they would be more successful at fundraising and at the polls if they took a hard line against any action that might be described as a retreat from principles. And when both the House and Senate were continually up for grabs — at least in the view of party tacticians — the surest course was to refuse to cooperate with the other side.

"It's very hard to cut deals under such circumstances, when each party thinks it should be driving the train," said Frances E. Lee, a professor of American government at the University of Maryland.

Bipartisan cooperation remained the elusive holy grail of governing for a not-insignificant part of Washington's resident class of advocates, analysts and observers. But 2013 provided little evidence that their message reached most members of Congress, or that finding a way to govern in an absence of crisis was anywhere close to the top of the congressional agenda.

The real reason for this breakdown in cooperation was a lack of trust, wrote former Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, a Democratic centrist who represented southern Indiana in the House for 34 years and was chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Hamilton retired in 1999 and in 2013 was director of the Center on Congress at Indiana University.

"A society-wide lack of trust imposes real costs," he wrote. "It makes the drafting of laws and their implementation extremely difficult."

While negotiation, compromise and collegiality were occasionally in evidence in 2013, absent a major shift in U.S. politics, such successes were likely to remain the exception. "To the extent that the parties have become more polarized ideologically, for us to see some kind of stepping back or defusing of the partisanship, we have to see a weakening of the differences between the parties," said Sarah Binder, a political science professor at The George Washington University and a senior fellow in governance studies at the Brookings Institution.

Even if the ideological divide might be bridged, the focus on winning prevailed, Binder said. "One team is for it, the other team is against it," she said. "It would really take some electoral movement in these districts so that they're not cleanly Republican and cleanly Democratic. But it's not clear that that's happening anytime soon."

What might be needed, said Lee, who made the study of congressional partisanship a focus of her career, would be "a really crushing electoral defeat for one party." ■

CQ Vote Study Guide

CQ Roll Call (previously Congressional Quarterly) has analyzed voting patterns of members of Congress since 1945. The three current studies — presidential support, party unity and voting participation — have been conducted in a consistent manner since 1953. This is how they are done: **Selecting votes** CQ Roll Call bases its vote studies on all floor votes for which senators and House members were asked to vote "yea" or "nay." In 2013, there were 640 such roll call votes in the House and 291 in the Senate. The House total excludes quorum calls (there was one in 2013) because they require only that members vote "present."

The House total does count all votes on procedural matters, including votes to approve the Journal (25 in 2013). The Senate total includes votes to instruct the sergeant at arms to request senators to come to the floor (there were three such votes in 2013).

The presidential support and party unity studies are based on a set of votes selected according to the criteria detailed on pages B-12 and B-21.

Individual scores Member scores are based only on the votes each member actually cast. This makes individual support and opposition scores add to 100 percent. The same method is used to identify the leading scorers on pages B-5 and B-20.

Overall scores To be consistent with previous years, calculations of average scores by chamber and party are based on all eligible votes, whether or not all members cast a "yea" or "nay." The lack of participation by lawmakers in a roll call vote reduces chamber and party average support and opposition scores. As a result, chamber and party averages are not strictly comparable with individual member scores, which are calculated differently. (*Methodology, 1987 Almanac, p. 22-C*)

Rounding Scores in the tables that follow for the House and Senate membership are rounded to the nearest percentage point. Rounding, however, does not raise any score to 100 percent, nor does it reduce any score to zero. Scores for the presidential and party support leaders are reported to one decimal point to rank them more precisely.

Less Was More for Obama Agenda

DEEP IN HIS RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN in the summer of 2012, President Barack Obama mused to some supporters that a victory at the polls might break the dogged partisanship in Washington so that “we can start getting some cooperation again” from Republicans. Obama’s reward for victory, instead, was a yearlong partisan winter that froze his legislative agenda.

The fact that Obama won on more than half of the recorded floor votes in 2013 on which he had a clear position was due almost entirely to the loyalty shown him by Democrats in the Senate and House. Senate Democrats voted Obama’s way 96 percent of the time in 2013 when he took a position, the highest level of support given to the commander in chief from either party in at least six decades.

On major issues, though, evidence suggested that Obama was more effective when he was less visibly involved in negotiating and lobbying for legislation. Most Republicans in Congress reflexively opposed whatever Obama proposed.

These were among the central findings of CQ Roll Call’s annual analysis of voting patterns in Congress. Congressional Quarterly began studying lawmaker floor votes in 1945 and inaugurated its analysis of congressional support for the president in 1953, the year Dwight D. Eisenhower was sworn in.

The findings on the presidency reflected general trends in congressional partisanship, which had been rising since the early 1970s. Political scientists said the deep gulf between the parties in Congress on most issues was due largely to the loss of moderates on both sides.

Republicans had few electoral incentives to side with Obama because there were basically no Republican House members representing Democratic-leaning districts, said Sarah Binder, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a political science professor at The George Washington University. Only about 10 Democrats represented districts that favored Republicans, she said.

In the 2013 study, House Republicans on average sided with Obama only 12 percent of the time on the 86 House votes on which he took a position. The only lower support score for any president was the 7 percent that House Democrats gave to Republican President George W. Bush in 2007. No other president included in the study had suffered anything close to those rates of rejection.

It was probably cold comfort to Obama that in November — in the wake of the 16-day government shutdown after the parties disagreed on a new budget plan — Congress’ standing in public opinion polls sank to just 9 percent.

‘PARTISAN PUBLIC RELATIONS’

Having failed to unseat Obama in 2012, Republicans still focused on running against his priorities, such as overhauling immigration law and raising the minimum wage — and Democrats were just as quick to align with him. Congressional leaders frequently brought to the floor bills designed to highlight distinctions between the parties rather than bills designed to pass in Congress and become law.

“It’s basically using the floor of the House — and the Senate, of course, engages in this as well — for partisan public relations,” said Frances E. Lee, a professor of American politics at University of Maryland. The tactic, she said, had “become a lot more prevalent in recent years than it used to be.”

Obama, freed from having to run again, drew his own deep partisan lines. In 2013, he took a position on floor votes far more frequently than he did in 2012, and well above the average for the previous decade, according to the CQ Roll Call analysis.

Some of that, Lee said, could be attributed to a second-term effect, in which the president did not have to be as strategic in what he chose to support after winning re-election. “He doesn’t have to calculate what a loss means for his political standing in the same way, now that he’s no longer eligible to run for re-election,” Lee said. “He can go out there and take a stand without being concerned about lowering the batting average.”

Binder pointed out that what Obama chose to take a stand on was determined partly by what House and Senate leaders chose to have members vote on. “Republicans are repeatedly putting things on the floor that he is opposed to,” Binder said. At the same time, “anything he touched, Republicans turned out to be against.”

The degree to which Democrats were willing to vote with Obama — and Republicans were determined to oppose him — translated into very different rates of success for the president in the two chambers.

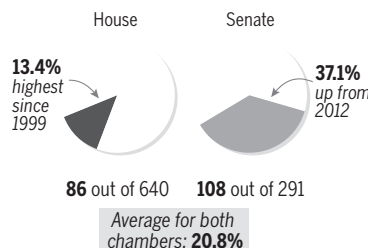
After prevailing on almost 97 percent of the votes in the two chambers on which he took a position in 2009 and almost 86 percent in 2010, when Democrats controlled both the House and Senate, Obama’s success rate fell sharply. He won barely more than half of the time during the previous three years. Not surprisingly, he remained highly successful in the Democratic Senate, while the Republican House granted him few victories.

Obama was victorious on 85 percent of the 108 Senate votes last year on which he took a position, the majority of which involved

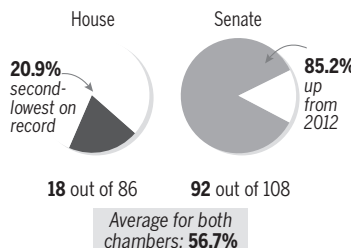
Split Decisions

Support for President Barack Obama’s positions among Senate Democrats set a record and fell to a new low among House Republicans. Across both chambers, the president got his way not quite three-fifths of the time.

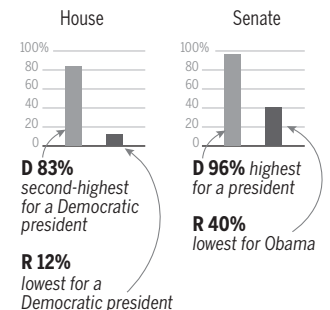
Share of votes on which the president took a clear position:



How often the president won:



Average chamber presidential support scores:



Leading Scorers: Presidential Support

Support indicates those who, in 2013, voted most often for President Barack 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 in this list only to one decimal point; members with identical scores are listed alphabetically. (Complete scores, pp. B-13, B-14)

SENATE

SUPPORT

Democrats		Republicans	
17 senators	100%	Collins, Maine	75.9%
<i>Cantwell, Wash.;</i>		Murkowski, Alaska	72.3
<i>Carper, Del.; Casey, Pa.;</i>		McCain, Ariz.	58.8
<i>Coons, Del.; Durbin, Ill.;</i>		Flake, Ariz.	56.0
<i>Feinstein, Calif.; Franken,</i>		Portman, Ohio	53.7
<i>Minn.; Harkin, Iowa;</i>		Isakson, Ga.	53.5
<i>Kaine, Va.; Klobuchar, Minn.;</i>		Hatch, Utah	53.0
<i>McCaskill, Mo.; Mikulski, Md.;</i>		Graham, S.C.	52.6
<i>Murray, Wash.; Nelson, Fla.;</i>		Corker, Tenn.	50.9
<i>Rockefeller, W.Va.;</i>		Kirk, Ill.	50.5
<i>Schatz, Hawaii;</i>		Ayotte, N.H.	49.5
<i>Schumer, N.Y.</i>		Cochran, Miss.	49.5
14 senators	99.1	Burr, N.C.	48.6

OPPOSITION

Democrats		Republicans	
Pryor, Ark.	10.3%	Risch, Idaho	73.3%
Reid, Nev. *	9.6	Scott, S.C.	71.0
Manchin, W.Va.	9.5	Crapo, Idaho	70.9
Baucus, Mont.	4.7	Cruz, Texas	69.9
Donnelly, Ind.	3.7	Enzi, Wyo.	69.8
Hagan, N.C.	3.7	Lee, Utah	69.8
Merkley, Ore.	3.7	Vitter, La.	69.1
Tester, Mont.	3.7	Inhofe, Okla.	69.0
Heitkamp, N.D.	3.0	Barrasso, Wyo.	68.9
Landrieu, La.	3.0	Coburn, Okla.	68.8
Begich, Alaska	2.9	Paul, Ky.	68.6
Warren, Mass.	2.9	McConnell, Ky.	66.7
Warner, Va.	2.9	2 senators	66.4

*Reid voted against the president's position 10 times in 2013 to preserve his right to reconsider the vote.

HOUSE

SUPPORT

Democrats		Republicans	
Pelosi, Calif.	97.5%	Jones, N.C.	30.8%
Eshoo, Calif.	96.5	Gibson, N.Y.	30.6
Kennedy, Mass.	96.5	Grimm, N.Y.	28.8
Levin, Mich.	96.5	LoBiondo, N.J.	27.9
Waxman, Calif.	96.4	Amash, Mich.	24.7
Miller, George, Calif.	96.3	Massie, Ky.	24.7
Bonamici, Ore.	95.3	Hanna, N.Y.	23.5
Capps, Calif.	95.3	Runyan, N.J.	23.3
Huffman, Calif.	95.3	King, P., N.Y.	22.6
Johnson, E., Texas	95.3	Young, D., Alaska	21.5
Lowenthal, Calif.	95.3	Dent, Pa.	20.9
Price, D., N.C.	95.3	Meehan, Pa.	20.9
Tonko, N.Y.	95.3	Cook, Calif.	19.8
Van Hollen, Md.	95.3	Heck, J., Nev.	19.8
6 members	95.2	Smith, C., N.J.	19.8
		Wolf, Va.	19.0
		5 members	18.6

OPPOSITION

Democrats		Republicans	
McIntyre, N.C.	72.1%	Lummis, Wyo.	93.8%
Matheson, Utah	68.6	Harris, Md.	93.0
Barrow, Ga.	65.1	Posey, Fla.	93.0
Barber, Ariz.	47.1	Weber, Texas	93.0
Sinema, Ariz.	47.1	Campbell, Calif.	92.9
Gallego, Texas	44.6	DesJarlais, Tenn.	92.9
Maloney, S., N.Y.	44.2	Hultgren, Ill.	92.9
Peterson, Minn.	44.0	Salmon, Ariz.	92.9
Murphy, P., Fla.	43.0	Kingston, Ga.	92.7
Garcia, Fla.	42.9	Burgess, Texas	91.9
Owens, N.Y.	41.9	Huizenga, Mich.	91.9
Rahall, W.Va.	41.9	Cassidy, La.	91.8
Ruiz, Calif.	41.2	Gowdy, S.C.	91.8
Lipinski, Ill.	39.3	Hall, Texas	91.8
Peters, S., Calif.	39.3	Jordan, Ohio	91.8
Cuellar, Texas	38.4	Southerland, Fla.	91.8
Bustos, Ill.	37.3	Marchant, Texas	91.6
Schneider, Ill.	37.2	Westmoreland, Ga.	91.6

nominations to executive branch posts and judgeships. That success rate was a bit higher than in the election year of 2012 but in line with the rates of the three preceding years.

In the House, however, he won just 21 percent of the time when he signaled his stance, roughly the same as in 2012 but down from his 32 percent success rate in 2011. President Bill Clinton had higher success scores during all six years in which he worked with a Republican-led House.

Predictable House losses for Obama included votes to repeal the health care law, to extend the Keystone XL pipeline from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and to limit abortions.

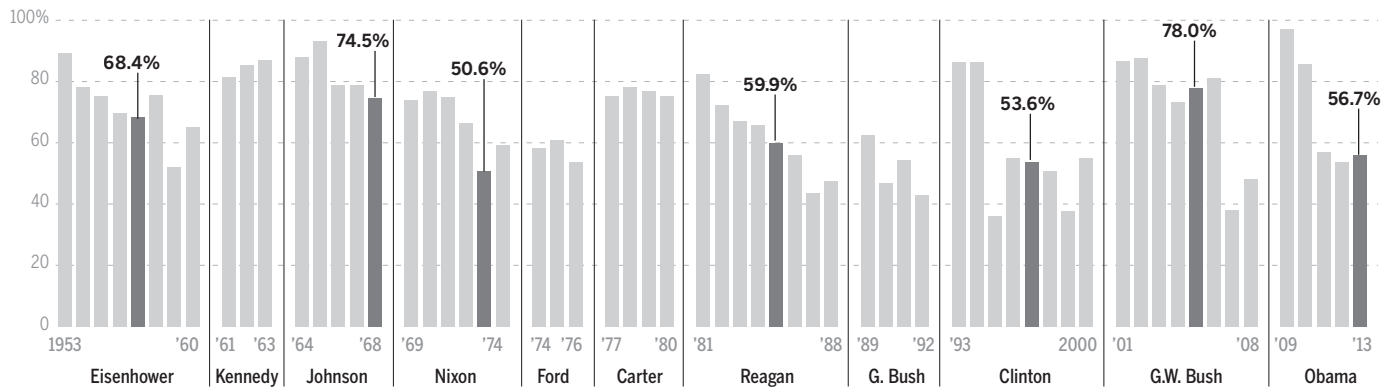
ELECTORAL CONCERNS

Different electoral considerations contributed to lawmakers being in an almost-constant election mode, said Larry J. Sabato, director of the University of Virginia Center for Politics. As a result, leaders in both chambers tried to establish favorable voting records for their rank-and-file members. "They want to create differences between themselves and their opponents," said Sabato. "They're trying to box in their opponents on the ballot so they'll suffer at the polls."

That was a major reason why, when Obama stated his position, Democrats rallied behind him while Republicans ran in the opposite direction. "No matter what he does, the president is the leader of

Obama's Success Rate Rebounds in 2013

President Barack Obama's success rate on votes on which he took a clear position rose in 2013, which has happened infrequently in the past in a president's fifth year. Obama won on just 20.9 percent of House votes — a small fraction higher than in 2012. Obama won on 85.2 percent of Senate votes, close to his success scores for 2010 and 2011. The data in the graphic combine House and Senate figures.



his party,” said Lee, “so his successes help to carry over and create a positive reputation, positive spillovers for the Democrats. Anything that helps the president harms Republicans politically — just sheer political calculation.”

During the government shutdown in October, House Republicans passed more than a dozen piecemeal bills designed to restart parts of the government, including national parks and museums, the Food and Drug Administration, and the Federal Aviation Administration. Obama opposed every one of them, objecting in one Statement of Administration Policy that enacting appropriations in such a piecemeal fashion was “not a serious or responsible way to run the United States government.”

Those votes contributed to the low average presidential support score for House Republicans and to Obama's low success rate in the chamber.

House Democrats, meanwhile, overwhelmingly supported the president on those and other votes. Their average support score for

Obama rose last year to 83 percent, a big increase over their 77 percent average in 2012. It was the third-highest average support score ever recorded by House Democrats for a president of either party.

Despite that support, Obama won on only 18 of the 86 House votes on which he took a position. And of those successes, he got the votes of a majority of House Republicans only eight times. For the others, Obama relied on persuading enough Republicans to leave their party's majority and join Democrats in voting his way.

One such occasion came early in the year, with the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act. After a yearlong effort to extend the law, the House endorsed a bipartisan bill that the Senate had passed, but only after rejecting an alternative from Republican leaders that fell flat with many in the Republican rank and file.

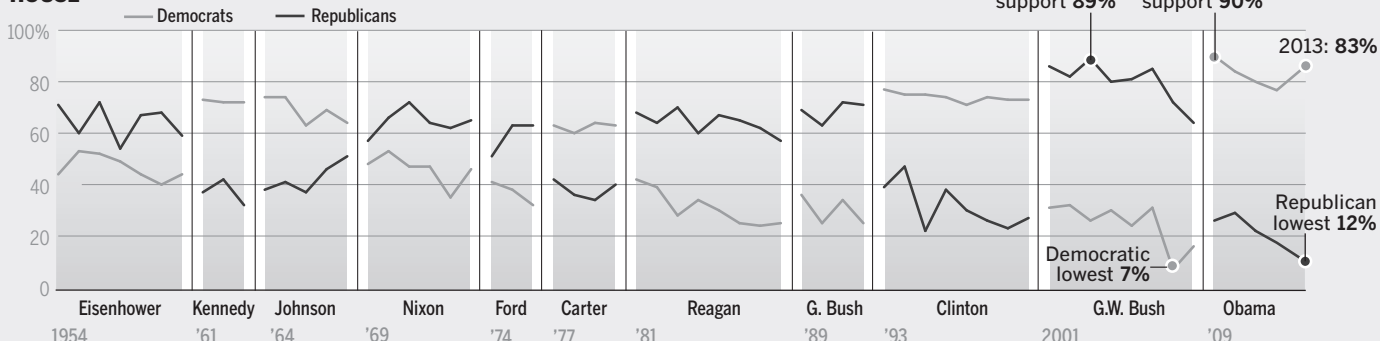
Obama supported the Senate bill. GOP leaders tried to write a narrower alternative without provisions that would give access to services for American Indians, illegal immigrants, and gay and lesbian victims of domestic violence, sexual abuse, and stalking.

New Highs and Lows In Presidential Support

Senate Democrats supported President Barack Obama 96 percent of the time on roll call votes on which he took a clear position in 2013, beating their previous record score of 94 percent average presidential

Average lawmaker support for the president's position, by chamber and party

HOUSE



In the end, there was more support from Democrats and moderate Republicans in the House for the Senate bill — 60 Republicans voted against the GOP alternative, joining all but two Democrats. To pass the Senate bill, 87 Republicans and all but seven Democrats voted yes.

When Obama pulled out all the stops on executive power and was able to divide the opposition, he could eke out victories, such as one last July, when he was able to persuade the House to defeat an amendment by Michigan Republican Justin Amash that was intended to deny money for the National Security Agency’s phone record collection program.

Adding to the unusual nature of this vote was the fact that a bare majority of House Democrats voted against Obama while a majority of Republicans voted with him.

The White House made a coordinated effort to defeat the amendment, including dispatching liaison staff members to directly persuade lawmakers, according to Capitol Hill aides. NSA Director Keith B. Alexander gave last-minute briefings, and a group of former attorneys general and executive branch officials wrote a letter opposing the amendment. Still, the vote’s outcome remained up in the air in the days leading up to it.

The night before the vote, the White House issued a rare Statement of Administration Policy specifically against the amendment, which it rarely did. That, along with efforts by some leaders in both parties, helped turn the tide in Obama’s favor.

The president had to rely on Republican and Democratic leaders, including the chairman and ranking member of the House Intelligence Committee, to help him overcome an unusual coalition of tea party Republicans and liberal Democrats who supported the amendment, which they said would protect personal privacy.

The House narrowly defeated the Amash amendment, 205-217, with 94 Republicans and 111 Democrats supporting it. The top two Republicans, Speaker John A. Boehner of Ohio and Majority Leader Eric Cantor of Virginia, voted Obama’s way, as did the top Democrats, Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi of California and Minority Whip Steny H. Hoyer of Maryland.

KEEPING A LOW PROFILE

Much of the time, however, Obama was more successful when he and the administration played a less visible role. Sometimes his

obvious participation in negotiations seemed to stymie the process, and things went more smoothly when Obama stepped back and let congressional leaders work out the deals.

At the beginning of the shutdown, for instance, Obama invited Boehner, Pelosi, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid of Nevada and Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell of Kentucky to the White House to talk over the situation, but the meeting was not fruitful and the Republican leaders left complaining about the lack of negotiations.

A few days later, a group of House GOP leaders, including Boehner and Cantor, returned to the White House, but Obama rejected their follow-up offers, which included extraneous policy riders such as provisions to dismantle the health care law. Efforts to bridge the gap had frozen.

With House Republicans left out, Senate Republicans held their own White House meeting, and Democratic leaders continued to meet with Obama. Soon Reid and McConnell sat down to work out a deal.

Tennessee Republican Sen. Lamar Alexander predicted that the two Senate leaders would find a solution. He added that Obama was not being useful. “The House,” Alexander said on Oct. 12, almost two weeks into the shutdown, “seems to be having a hard time, the president is not helping much, and I think Sen. Reid and Sen. McConnell are the adults in the room, and hopefully they will be able to make a recommendation that we can all support.”

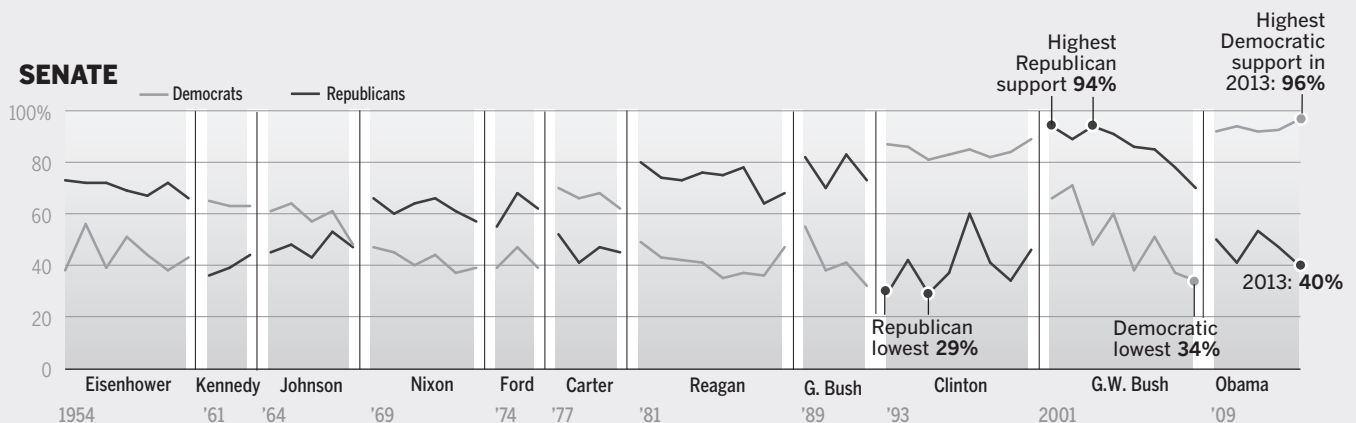
Two days later, a scheduled White House meeting with Obama, Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., Reid, McConnell, Boehner and Pelosi was postponed so the talks in the Senate could continue. Two days after that, Reid and McConnell announced their deal to finance the government through Jan. 15 and to extend the debt limit into February. Obama said he supported the compromise, and the Senate easily passed the measure, 81-18.

Boehner also supported the deal and urged House Republicans to vote for it. But even with his endorsement, Democrats had to provide the necessary votes for passage in the House. Only 87 Republicans joined all Democrats to support the bill on a 285-144 vote.

Lee, of the University of Maryland, said that reopening the government — and ending an obvious symbol of government dysfunction — ultimately counted as a win for Obama, even if his most visible

support. House Republicans supported Obama on 12 percent of the chamber’s presidential position votes, a new low average support score for the House GOP. Presidential support rose for House Democrats and fell for Senate Republicans.

Top line of each chart indicates support by the same party as the president then in power. Bottom line indicates support by the opposite party.

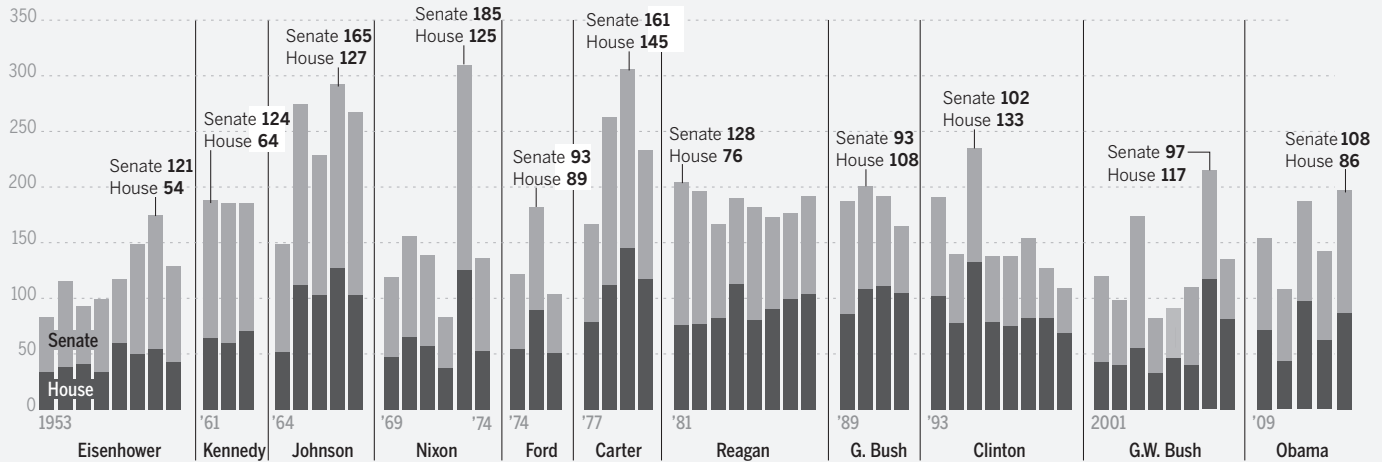


Presidential Position Votes Rise in 2013

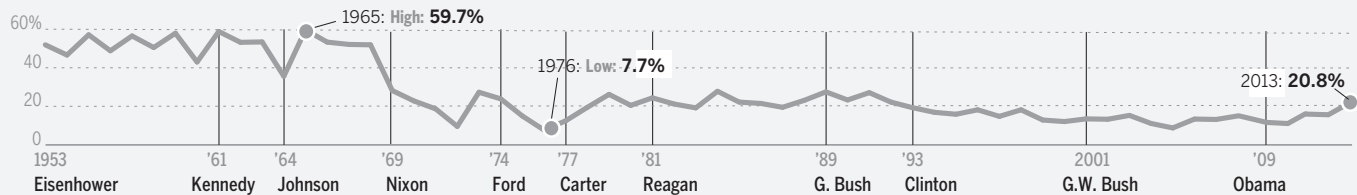
The share of roll call votes on which President Barack Obama took a clear position jumped in 2013 in both chambers, setting a 14-year high for the House and a two-decade high for Congress as a whole.

The president took a position on 13.4 percent of House roll call votes and on 37.1 percent of Senate roll calls (but just 16.8 percent when 71 votes on nominations are excluded).

Presidential Support Votes



Percentage of Presidential Support Votes, for Congress as a whole



negotiations did not produce results. “At a managerial level, it is a win. At a political level, it is a win relative to the status quo,” she said. “The legislative process involves taking half a loaf if you can get it.”

The deal also called for a House-Senate conference committee to come up with a budget agreement by Dec. 13. The White House kept a low profile on those negotiations, too, which were led by House Budget Chairman Paul D. Ryan of Wisconsin and Senate Budget Chairwoman Patty Murray of Washington.

Ryan and Murray’s solution set spending levels for two years and eliminated \$63 billion in sequester cuts without raising taxes. Obama blessed the compromise, while top Republicans and Democrats in the House lined up behind it. The House passed the measure first, 332-94, with 62 Republicans and 32 Democrats voting no. The Senate then cleared the measure, on a closer 64-36 vote, with just nine Republicans joining all Democrats in support.

The compromise was another victory for Obama, even though it was not what he had initially pushed for.

GROUNDSWELL OF SUPPORT

Senate Democratic support for Obama in 2013 was even more vigorous than House Republican opposition. Obama actually held the top four average support scores from Senate Democrats throughout the history of the study. Their 96 percent average support for Obama last year also surpassed the 94 percent support that Senate Republicans gave President George W. Bush in 2001 and 2003.

As majority leader, Reid was able to help Democrats find ways

to support the president and the party. He was able to keep bills off the floor — and prevent problematic amendments — to protect the members of his caucus who came from more-conservative states, such as Mark Pryor of Arkansas and Mary L. Landrieu of Louisiana. That way, they did not have to cast votes that might be difficult to explain to their constituents.

“My sense is that Reid gives space to the handful of members he knows he can’t put into electoral jeopardy by making them take hard votes,” said Binder, of The George Washington University.

Obama lost 16 votes in the Senate on which he took a position, but he lost only two of them by true majorities. The other 14 defeats occurred when Senate Democratic leaders failed to peel off enough Republican votes to get to a needed 60-vote threshold.

But even the president’s high level of support among Senate Democrats was not sufficient to give him a victory on one of the year’s most politically divisive issues: gun control. Both of his true majority losses in the Senate came on gun votes.

After the December 2012 shootings in Newtown, Conn., that killed 20 students and six educators, Obama called on Congress to pass a series of proposals, launching the most ambitious gun control effort in almost two decades. “My starting point is not to worry about the politics,” he said in January 2013. “My starting point is to focus on what makes sense, what works, what should we be doing to make sure that our children are safe and that we’re reducing the incidence of gun violence.”

Reid promised to allow votes on a package of gun measures. Sen-

ate leaders agreed to require 60 votes to adopt any amendments to the gun legislation — but attaining even a simple majority was too difficult for some of Obama’s priorities.

In one instance, the Senate rejected, by 40-60, an amendment that would have reinstated an expired ban on assault weapons. Republican Mark S. Kirk of Illinois and independent Bernard Sanders of Vermont joined 38 Democrats in supporting the amendment. Fifteen Democrats voted against it, in opposition to Obama’s position.

Obama also lost Democrats on an amendment he supported to ban the sale of high-capacity ammunition magazines. It was defeated 46-54. Again, Kirk was the only Republican who voted for the amendment; 10 Democrats voted against it.

Other Obama priorities, including a bipartisan amendment to extend the federal background check system to cover firearms purchased at gun shows and over the Internet, did not receive enough support to meet the 60-vote threshold.

After the Senate rejected several critical gun amendments, Reid shelved the underlying bill. Obama was limited to exercising his own authority on gun control, taking action through executive orders and leaving Congress out of the decision-making process.

A FLOOD OF NOMINATIONS

Senate Republicans had tended to support Obama more frequently than their House counterparts did, but the trend was declining. In 2013, Senate Republicans on average supported Obama on 40 percent of the votes on which he took a position, down from 47 percent in

2012 and 53 percent in 2011.

One reason that Senate Republicans tended to be more supportive was the nature of the chamber’s role in confirming executive branch and judicial nominees. Many were not particularly partisan selections, so most Republicans were not going to oppose them, and in spite of rising opposition to Obama’s nominees, the presumption remained that the president should be able to name administration officials.

Nonetheless, Republicans in 2013 blocked votes on several key nominees, giving Obama six of his Senate defeats on presidential position votes. Democrats accused GOP senators of renegeing on a closed-door deal reached during the summer to speed up consideration of nominees. In November, Reid succeeded in changing Senate precedent and lowering the requirement to cut off debate on most nominations, to a simple majority.

After the rules change, the Senate confirmed four nominees whose nominations had been blocked — and that had been counted as defeats for the president. Of Obama’s six nomination-related defeats last year, five nominees were eventually confirmed.

Little change from the patterns seen in 2013 was considered likely for the balance of Obama’s second term. “This is pretty much the pattern for the next three years,” said Sabato, of the Center for Politics. “It probably will stay the same or get worse.” And, he said outreach to lawmakers would not necessarily help Obama notch more victories. “He could run an open, free White House bar from early morning, starting with bloody marys to martinis late at night for all members of Congress, and it wouldn’t make any difference.” ■

2013 Presidential Position Votes

The following is a list of the 86 House and 108 Senate roll call votes in 2013 on which the president took a clear position, based on his statements or those of authorized spokespersons. A victory is a vote on which the president's position prevailed.

HOUSE

Defense and Foreign Policy

VOTE NUMBER DESCRIPTION

1 Victory

641 Defense policy

13 Defeats

117 Cybersecurity
 190 Detainee policy
 193 Defense spending
 233 Nuclear weapons
 236 Detainee policy
 237 Detainee policy
 244 Defense policy
 385 Detainee policy
 405 Detainee policy
 414 Defense spending
 427 Iran policy
 516 Defense spending
 542 Defense spending

Domestic Policy

VOTE NUMBER DESCRIPTION

11 Victories

23 Disaster assistance
 54 Legal affairs
 55 Legal affairs
 286 Agriculture policy
 412 Domestic surveillance
 485 Strategic reserves
 506 Domestic spending
 507 Domestic spending
 508 Domestic spending
 560 Water projects
 629 Legal affairs

42 Defeats

75 Job training
 101 Labor policy
 137 Labor policy
 154 Health care
 179 Energy policy
 195 Immigration policy
 197 Immigration policy
 208 Immigration policy
 211 Domestic spending
 251 Abortion policy
 256 Agriculture policy
 293 Energy policy
 304 Energy policy

325 Domestic spending
 329 Domestic spending
 345 Domestic spending
 353 Agriculture policy
 361 Health care
 363 Health care
 374 Education policy
 432 Regulatory policy
 445 Regulatory policy
 447 Health care
 458 Health care
 471 Strategic reserves
 476 Nutrition policy
 483 Public lands
 513 Domestic spending
 514 Domestic spending
 518 Domestic spending
 522 Domestic spending
 524 Domestic spending
 528 Domestic spending
 530 Domestic spending
 537 Domestic spending
 540 Domestic spending
 579 Legal affairs
 581 Legal affairs
 587 Health care
 600 Energy policy
 604 Energy policy
 611 Energy policy

House Success

Victories	18
Defeats	68
Total	86
Success rate	20.9%

Economic Affairs and Trade

VOTE NUMBER DESCRIPTION

6 Victories

14 Budget policy
 89 Omnibus spending
 426 Student loans
 525 Budget policy
 550 Omnibus spending
 640 Budget policy

13 Defeats

44 Budget policy
 142 Debt limit
 160 Financial regulation
 183 Student loans
 218 Financial regulation
 478 Omnibus spending
 498 Omnibus spending
 504 Omnibus spending
 534 Budget policy
 567 Financial regulation
 569 Financial regulation
 570 Debt limit
 622 Financial regulation

SENATE

Defense and Foreign Policy

VOTE NUMBER DESCRIPTION

3 Victories

195	Egypt aid
237	Detainee policy
284	Defense policy

1 Defeat

238	Detainee policy
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Domestic Policy

VOTE NUMBER DESCRIPTION

14 Victories

4	Disaster assistance
19	Legal affairs
132	Nutrition policy
145	Agriculture policy
148	Immigration policy
151	Immigration policy
152	Immigration policy
154	Immigration policy
159	Immigration policy
163	Immigration policy
168	Immigration policy
187	Domestic spending
203	Strategic reserves
232	Legal affairs

5 Defeats

97	Gun policy
99	Gun policy
101	Gun policy
103	Gun policy
199	Domestic spending (<i>cloture</i>)

Economic Affairs and Trade

VOTE NUMBER DESCRIPTION

10 Victories

26	Economic stimulus
44	Omnibus spending
113	Tax policy
185	Student loans
209	Omnibus spending
210	Omnibus spending
211	Omnibus spending
219	Omnibus spending
220	Debt limit
281	Budget policy

4 Defeats

27	Budget policy (<i>cloture</i>)
143	Student loans (<i>cloture</i>)
171	Student loans (<i>cloture</i>)
216	Debt limit (<i>cloture</i>)

Nominations

VOTE NUMBER DESCRIPTION

65 Victories

5	John Kerry
20	William J. Kayatta Jr.
22	Robert E. Bacharach
24	Chuck Hagel
25	Jacob J. Lew
28	Katherine Polk Failla
32	John O. Brennan
33	Richard G. Taranto
93	Patty Shwartz
94	Sally Jewell
96	Beverly Reid O'Connell
106	Derrick Kahala Watson
108	Jane Kelly
109	Sylvia Mathews Burwell
114	David Medine
118	Nelson Stephen Roman
125	William H. Orrick III
126	Marilyn Tavenner
127	Ernest J. Moniz
128	Sheri Polster Chappell
136	Srikanth Srinivasan
149	Jeffrey L. Schmehl
150	Kenneth John Gonzales
158	Michael Froman
161	Penny Pritzker
165	Anthony Foxx
169	Gregory Alan Phillips
170	Jennifer A. Dorsey
174	Richard Cordray
176	Fred P. Hochberg
178	Thomas E. Perez
180	Gina McCarthy
186	Derek Anthony West
188	James B. Comey Jr.
190	Kent Yoshiho Hirozawa
192	Nancy Jean Schiffer
194	Mark Gaston Pearce
197	B. Todd Jones
198	Raymond T. Chen
200	Samantha Power

Senate Success

Victories	92
Defeats	16
Total	108
Success rate	85.2%
Success rate without nominations	73.0%

201	Valerie E. Caproni
202	Elaine D. Kaplan
204	Todd M. Hughes
213	Colin Stirling Bruce
217	Madeline Hughes Haikala
222	Richard E. Griffin Jr.
223	Alan F. Estevez (<i>cloture</i>)
225	Katherine Archuleta
228	Debra M. Brown
247	Patricia Ann Millett
252	Melvin Watt
256	Cornelia "Nina" Pillard
258	Chai Rachel Feldblum
260	Elizabeth A. Wolford
262	Landya B. McCafferty
264	Patricia M. Wald
266	Brian Morris
268	Susan P. Watters
270	Deborah Lee James
272	Heather Anne Higginbottom
274	Anne W. Patterson
276	Jeh Johnson
286	Alejandro Mayorkas
288	John Koskinen
290	Brian J. Davis

6 Defeats

21	Chuck Hagel (<i>cloture</i>)
30	Caitlin J. Halligan (<i>cloture</i>)
226	Melvin Watt (<i>cloture</i>)
227	Patricia Ann Millett (<i>cloture</i>)
233	Cornelia "Nina" Pillard (<i>cloture</i>)
235	Robert L. Wilkins (<i>cloture</i>)

Presidential Support Background

CQ Roll Call editors select presidential support votes each year based on clear statements by the president or authorized spokespeople. **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

	Defense/Foreign Policy		Domestic		Economic Affairs		Overall	
	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012
House	7.1%	0%	20.8%	11.1%	31.6%	53.3%	20.9%	19.7%
Senate	75.0	25.0	73.7	68.2	71.4	61.5	85.2	79.7
Congress	22.2	7.1	34.7	32.8	48.5	57.1	56.7	53.6

Economic affairs includes votes on taxes, trade, 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.

Average Presidential Support Scores

	House		Senate			House		Senate	
	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans		Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans
Eisenhower					Reagan				
1954	44%	71%	38%	73%	1981	42%	68%	49%	80%
1955	53	60	56	72	1982	39	64	43	74
1956	52	72	39	72	1983	28	70	42	73
1957	49	54	51	69	1984	34	60	41	76
1958	44	67	44	67	1985	30	67	35	75
1959	40	68	38	72	1986	25	65	37	78
1960	44	59	43	66	1987	24	62	36	64
Kennedy					G. Bush				
1961	73	37	65	36	1989	36	69	55	82
1962	72	42	63	39	1990	25	63	38	70
1963	72	32	63	44	1991	34	72	41	83
Johnson					Clinton				
1964	74	38	61	45	1992	25	71	32	73
1965	74	41	64	48	1993	77	39	87	29
1966	63	37	57	43	1994	75	47	86	42
1967	69	46	61	53	1995	75	22	81	29
1968	64	51	48	47	1996	74	38	83	37
Nixon					G.W. Bush				
1969	48	57	47	66	1997	71	30	85	60
1970	53	66	45	60	1998	74	26	82	41
1971	47	72	40	64	1999	73	23	84	34
1972	47	64	44	66	2000	73	27	89	46
1973	35	62	37	61	Obama				
1974	46	65	39	57	2001	31	86	66	94
Ford					2002	32	82	71	89
1974	41	51	39	55	2003	26	89	48	94
1975	38	63	47	68	2004	30	80	60	91
1976	32	63	39	62	2005	24	81	38	86
Carter					2006	31	85	51	85
1977	63	42	70	52	2007	7	72	37	78
1978	60	36	66	41	2008	16	64	34	70
1979	64	34	68	47					
1980	63	40	62	45	2009	90	26	92	50
					2010	84	29	94	41
					2011	80	22	92	53
					2012	77	17	93	47
					2013	83	12	96	40

SENATE

1. Presidential Support. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2013 on which President Barack 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 2013 on which the president 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 2013 on which the president took a position and for which the senator was eligible and present and voted “yea” or “nay.” There were a total of 108 such recorded votes in the Senate.

	1	2	3		1	2	3	
ALABAMA Shelby Sessions	37 34	63 66	96 99		MONTANA Baucus Tester	95 96	5 4	99 100
ALASKA Murkowski Begich	72 97	28 3	93 94		NEBRASKA Johanns Fischer	45 40	55 60	95 100
ARIZONA McCain Flake	59 56	41 44	90 93		NEVADA Reid Heller	90 44	10 56	96 100
ARKANSAS Pryor Boozman	90 37	10 63	99 100		NEW HAMPSHIRE Shaheen Ayotte	99 50	1 50	99 99
CALIFORNIA Feinstein Boxer	100 99	0 1	99 94		NEW JERSEY Menendez Lautenberg ² Chiesa ² Booker ²	99 100 56 100	1 0 44 0	98 35 87 96
COLORADO Udall Bennet	99 99	1 1	94 100		NEW MEXICO Udall Heinrich	98 99	2 1	100 100
CONNECTICUT Blumenthal Murphy	99 99	1 1	100 100		NEW YORK Schumer Gillibrand	100 99	0 1	100 100
DELAWARE Carper Coons	100 100	0 0	99 99		NORTH CAROLINA Burr Hagan	49 96	51 4	97 100
FLORIDA Nelson Rubio	100 38	0 62	99 93		NORTH DAKOTA Hoeven Heitkamp	43 97	57 3	96 93
GEORGIA Chambliss Isakson	48 54	52 46	96 92		OHIO Brown Portman	99 54	1 46	99 100
HAWAII Schatz Hirono	100 99	0 1	98 99		OKLAHOMA Inhofe Coburn	31 31	69 69	78 89
IDAHO Crapo Risch	29 27	71 73	95 97		OREGON Wyden Merkley	97 96	3 4	99 99
ILLINOIS Durbin Kirk	100 51	0 49	100 88		PENNSYLVANIA Casey Toomey	100 42	0 58	96 97
INDIANA Coats Donnelly	45 96	55 4	95 100		RHODE ISLAND Reed Whitehouse	98 98	2 2	99 98
IOWA Grassley Harkin	39 100	61 0	100 94		SOUTH CAROLINA Graham Scott	52 29	48 71	90 99
KANSAS Roberts Moran	34 39	66 61	100 93		SOUTH DAKOTA Johnson Thune	99 44	1 56	98 100
KENTUCKY McConnell Paul	33 31	67 69	100 94		TENNESSEE Alexander Corker	47 51	53 49	93 98
LOUISIANA Landrieu Vitter	97 31	3 69	93 87		TEXAS Cornyn Cruz	34 30	66 70	99 95
MAINE Collins King	76 97	24 3	100 98		UTAH Hatch Lee	53 30	47 70	93 98
MARYLAND Mikulski Cardin	100 99	0 1	94 100		VERMONT Leahy Sanders	97 94	3 6	100 100
MASSACHUSETTS Warren Kerry ¹ Cowan ¹ Markey ¹	97 100 100 98	3 0 0	95 50 94 100		VIRGINIA Warner Kaine	97 100	3 0	97 99
MICHIGAN Levin Stabenow	99 99	1 1	100 100		WASHINGTON Murray Cantwell	100 100	0 0	97 99
MINNESOTA Klobuchar Franken	100 100	0 0	99 100		WEST VIRGINIA Rockefeller Manchin	100 90	0 10	93 97
MISSISSIPPI Cochran Wicker	50 48	50 52	95 94		WISCONSIN Johnson Baldwin	37 99	63 1	98 100
MISSOURI McCaskill Blunt	100 39	0 61	96 90		WYOMING Enzi Barrasso	30 31	70 69	98 98
KEY	Republicans	Democrats	Independents					

¹Sen. 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 two presidential support votes in 2013; Cowan was eligible for 49 presidential support votes; Markey was eligible for 57 presidential support votes.

²Sen. 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 34 presidential support votes in 2013; Chiesa was eligible for 47 presidential support votes; Booker was eligible for 26 presidential support votes.

HOUSE

1. Presidential Support. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2013 on which President Barack 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 2013 on which President Barack 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 2013 on which President Barack Obama took a position and for which the member was eligible and present, and voted “yea” or “nay.” There were a total of 86 such recorded votes in the House.

¹ Rep. Jo Bonner, R-Ala., resigned Aug. 2, 2013. Bonner was eligible for 47 presidential support votes in 2013.

² Rep. C.W. Bill Young, R-Fla., died Oct. 18, 2013. Young was eligible for 72 presidential support 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 79 presidential support 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 53 presidential support votes in 2013; McAllister was eligible for five presidential support 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 35 presidential support votes in 2013; Clark was eligible for two presidential support votes.

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 two presidential support votes in 2013, but did not participate in either; Smith was eligible for 67 presidential support 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 75 presidential support votes in 2013.

	1	2	3		1	2	3
ALABAMA				COLORADO			
1 Bonner ¹	11	89	94	1 DeGette	94	6	93
2 Roby	11	89	99	2 Polis	79	21	94
3 Rogers	12	88	94	3 Tipton	12	88	95
4 Aderhoit	12	88	97	4 Gardner	12	88	99
5 Brooks	10	90	100	5 Lamborn	13	87	100
6 Bachus	15	85	100	6 Coffman	15	85	99
7 Sewell	83	17	100	7 Perlmutter	83	17	95
ALASKA				CONNECTICUT			
AL Young	22	78	92	1 Larson	90	10	100
ARIZONA				2 Courtney	92	8	100
1 Kirkpatrick	77	23	95	3 DeLauro	91	9	99
2 Barber	53	47	99	4 Himes	87	13	99
3 Grijalva	92	8	97	5 Esty	87	13	99
4 Gosar	10	90	95	DELAWARE			
5 Salmon	7	93	98	AL Carney	83	17	99
6 Schweikert	12	88	98	FLORIDA			
7 Pastor	92	8	98	1 Miller	12	88	95
8 Franks	11	89	95	2 Southerland	8	92	99
9 Sinema	53	47	99	3 Yoho	11	89	99
ARKANSAS				4 Crenshaw	13	87	97
1 Crawford	11	89	99	5 Brown	92	8	97
2 Griffin	10	90	100	6 DeSantis	12	88	100
3 Womack	13	87	100	7 Mica	9	91	100
4 Cotton	12	88	99	8 Posey	7	93	100
CALIFORNIA				9 Grayson	93	7	95
1 LaMalfa	9	91	100	10 Webster	11	89	94
2 Huffman	95	5	100	11 Nugent	10	90	98
3 Garamendi	80	20	98	12 Bilirakis	12	88	98
4 McClintock	13	87	100	13 Young ²	15	85	72
5 Thompson	95	5	98	14 Castor	93	7	97
6 Matsui	94	6	100	15 Ross	9	91	100
7 Bera	65	35	100	16 Buchanan	13	87	98
8 Cook	20	80	100	17 Rooney	12	88	100
9 McNerney	85	15	100	18 Murphy	57	43	100
10 Denham	15	85	100	19 Radel	10	90	91
11 Miller, George	96	4	94	20 Hastings	93	7	97
12 Pelosi	97	3	92	21 Deutch	92	8	99
13 Lee	93	7	100	22 Frankel	93	7	98
14 Speier	94	6	94	23 Wasserman Schultz	94	6	93
15 Swalwell	91	9	100	24 Wilson	93	7	100
16 Costa	72	28	97	25 Diaz-Balart	18	82	95
17 Honda	93	7	95	26 Garcia	57	43	98
18 Eshoo	97	3	100	27 Ros-Lehtinen	18	82	95
19 Lofgren	92	8	99	GEORGIA			
20 Farr	93	7	97	1 Kingston	7	93	95
21 Valadao	19	81	100	2 Bishop	78	22	94
22 Nunes	14	86	97	3 Westmoreland	8	92	97
23 McCarthy	15	85	100	4 Johnson	94	6	97
24 Capps	95	5	99	5 Lewis	93	7	93
25 McKeon	17	83	98	6 Price	10	90	100
26 Brownley	84	16	100	7 Woodall	10	90	100
27 Chu	91	9	93	8 Scott, A.	12	88	100
28 Schiff	94	6	99	9 Collins	11	89	94
29 Cardenas	85	15	94	10 Broun	14	86	98
30 Sherman	87	13	100	11 Gingrey	10	90	95
31 Miller, Gary	13	87	84	12 Barrow	35	65	100
32 Napolitano	92	8	98	13 Scott, D.	91	9	100
33 Waxman	96	4	97	14 Graves	12	88	100
34 Becerra	93	7	97	HAWAII			
35 Negrete McLeod	91	9	88	1 Hanabusa	88	12	99
36 Ruiz	59	41	99	2 Gabbard	91	9	99
37 Bass	91	9	88	IDAHO			
38 Sanchez, Linda	92	8	99	1 Labrador	10	90	95
39 Royce	12	88	98	2 Simpson	14	86	99
40 Roybal-Allard	93	7	99	ILLINOIS			
41 Takano	93	7	100	1 Rush	89	11	51
42 Calvert	15	85	100	2 Kelly ³	91	9	100
43 Waters	93	7	98	3 Lipinski	61	39	98
44 Hahn	91	9	100	4 Gutierrez	93	7	88
45 Campbell	7	93	49	5 Quigley	89	11	97
46 Sanchez, Loretta	85	15	94	6 Roskam	13	87	100
47 Lowenthal	95	5	99	7 Davis, D.	93	7	93
48 Rohrabacher	11	89	99	8 Duckworth	86	14	98
49 Issa	14	86	99	9 Schakowsky	92	8	99
50 Hunter	13	87	94	10 Schneider	63	37	100
51 Vargas	88	12	95	11 Foster	68	32	98
52 Peters	61	39	98	12 Enyart	83	17	99
53 Davis	93	7	98	13 Davis, R.	16	84	100
				14 Hultgren	7	93	99
				15 Shimkus	15	85	93
KEY	Republicans	Democrats					

				1	2	3					1	2	3					1	2	3	
16	Kinzinger	14	86	100	5	Ellison	92	8	99	5	Foxx	10	90	100	TEXAS						
17	Bustos	63	37	97	6	Bachmann	13	87	93	6	Coble	12	88	89	1	Gohmert	12	88	100		
18	Schock	11	89	94	7	Peterson	56	44	98	7	McIntyre	28	72	100	2	Poe	15	85	94		
INDIANA				8	Nolan	90	10	97	8	Hudson	11	89	99	3	Johnson, S.	9	91	93			
1	Visclosky	91	9	93	MISSISSIPPI				9	Pittenger	13	87	91	4	Hall	8	92	99			
2	Walorski	13	87	100	1	Nunnelee	10	90	100	10	McHenry	13	87	99	5	Hensarling	12	88	100		
3	Stutzman	10	90	100	2	Thompson	90	10	97	11	Meadows	10	90	100	6	Barton	11	89	98		
4	Rokita	11	89	95	3	Harper	14	86	100	12	Watt	90	10	97	7	Culberson	15	85	95		
5	Brooks	13	87	100	4	Palazzo	12	88	99	13	Holding	9	91	99	8	Brady	12	88	100		
6	Messer	12	88	100	MISSOURI				NORTH DAKOTA				9	Green, A.	88	12	98				
7	Carson	88	12	99	1	Clay	90	10	97	AL	Cramer	12	88	100	10	McCaul	12	88	100		
8	Bucshon	12	88	100	2	Wagner	11	89	98	OHIO				11	Conaway	10	90	100			
9	Young	14	86	100	3	Luetkemeyer	11	89	99	1	Chabot	9	91	100	12	Granger	13	87	93		
IOWA				4	Hartzler	12	88	100	2	Wenstrup	11	89	99	13	Thornberry	10	90	100			
1	Bralley	69	31	100	5	Cleaver	90	10	92	3	Beatty	91	9	99	14	Weber	7	93	100		
2	Loebsock	71	29	100	6	Graves	11	89	97	4	Jordan	8	92	99	15	Hinojosa	90	10	89		
3	Latham	13	87	100	7	Long	10	90	100	5	Latta	10	90	100	16	O'Rourke	94	6	100		
4	King	11	89	97	8	Emerson⁶	--	--	0	6	Johnson	9	91	100	17	Flores	11	89	99		
KANSAS				8	Smith⁶	9	91	100	7	Gibbs	12	88	100	18	Jackson Lee	89	11	92			
1	Huelskamp	13	87	99	MONTANA				8	Boehner⁷	20	80	17	19	Neugebauer	9	91	100			
2	Jenkins	12	88	100	AL	Daines	13	87	99	9	Kaptur	20	10	97	20	Castro	93	7	95		
3	Yoder	11	89	99	NEBRASKA				10	Turner	14	86	99	21	Smith	9	91	100			
4	Pompeo	12	88	99	1	Fortenberry	14	86	100	11	Fudge	85	15	94	22	Olson	10	90	100		
KENTUCKY				2	Terry	14	86	100	12	Tiberi	13	87	98	23	Olson	10	90	100			
1	Whitfield	13	87	95	3	Smith	10	90	100	13	Ryan	92	8	100	24	Marchant	8	92	97		
2	Guthrie	13	87	100	NEVADA				14	Joyce	18	82	99	25	Williams	9	91	100			
3	Yarmuth	90	10	94	1	Titus	93	7	100	15	Stivers	13	87	99	26	Burgess	8	92	100		
4	Massie	25	75	99	2	Amodei	12	88	99	16	Renacci	12	88	99	27	Farenthold	10	90	100		
5	Rogers	14	86	98	3	Heck	20	80	100	OKLAHOMA				28	Cuellar	62	38	100			
6	Barr	12	88	100	4	Horsford	88	12	80	1	Bridenstine	14	86	100	29	Green, G.	80	20	95		
LOUISIANA				NEW HAMPSHIRE				2	Mullin	9	91	100	30	Johnson, E.	95	5	100				
1	Scalise	9	91	99	1	Shea-Porter	89	11	94	3	Lucas	13	87	97	31	Carter	11	89	98		
2	Richmond	81	19	93	2	Kuster	87	13	99	4	Cole	17	83	98	32	Sessions	11	89	99		
3	Boustany	14	86	100	NEW JERSEY				5	Lankford	10	90	100	33	Veasey	88	12	100			
4	Fleming	10	90	100	1	Andrews	92	8	100	OREGON				34	Vela	71	29	100			
5	Alexander⁴	13	87	100	2	LoBiondo	28	72	100	1	Bonamici	95	5	100	35	Doggett	93	7	99		
5	McAllister⁴	60	40	100	3	Runyan	23	77	100	2	Walden	12	88	100	36	Stockman	11	89	98		
6	Cassidy	8	92	99	4	Smith	20	80	100	3	Blumenauer	95	5	99	UTAH						
MAINE				5	Garrett	13	87	100	4	DeFazio	90	10	100	1	Bishop	12	88	99			
1	Pingree	91	9	100	6	Pallone	92	8	91	5	Schrader	70	30	100	2	Stewart	9	91	100		
2	Michaud	93	7	100	7	Lance	19	81	100	PENNSYLVANIA				3	Chaffetz	11	89	99			
MARYLAND				8	Sires	93	7	95	1	Brady	92	8	100	4	Matheson	31	69	100			
1	Harris	7	93	100	9	Pascrell	93	7	97	2	Fattah	94	6	98	VERMONT						
2	Ruppersberger	89	11	99	10	Payne	93	7	99	3	Kelly	13	87	100	AL	Welch	92	8	99		
3	Sarbanes	93	7	97	11	Frelinghuysen	19	81	100	4	Perry	10	90	100	VIRGINIA						
4	Edwards	94	6	94	12	Holt	92	8	83	5	Thompson	12	88	100	1	Wittman	14	86	100		
5	Hoyer	90	10	95	NEW MEXICO				6	Gerlach	15	85	100	2	Rigell	19	81	100			
6	Delaney	88	12	98	1	Lujan Grisham	91	9	100	7	Meehan	21	79	100	3	Scott	91	9	100		
7	Cummings	92	8	99	2	Pearce	11	89	98	8	Fitzpatrick	18	82	99	4	Forbes	13	87	99		
8	Van Hollen	95	5	100	3	Luján	89	11	99	9	Shuster	14	86	97	5	Hurt	12	88	100		
MASSACHUSETTS				NEW YORK				10	Marino	14	86	100	6	Goodlatte	12	88	99				
1	Neal	94	6	92	1	Bishop	87	13	100	11	Barletta	14	86	97	7	Cantor	12	88	98		
2	McGovern	94	6	99	2	King	23	77	98	12	Rothfus	9	91	100	8	Moran	92	8	100		
3	Tsongas	90	10	97	3	Israel	90	10	98	13	Schwartz	92	8	97	9	Griffith	14	86	100		
4	Kennedy	96	4	99	4	McCarthy	93	7	17	14	Doyle	93	7	97	10	Wolf	19	81	98		
5	Markey ⁵	88	12	46	5	Meeks	90	10	94	15	Dent	21	79	100	11	Connolly	85	15	100		
5	Clark ⁵	50	50	100	6	Meng	90	10	98	16	Pitts	12	88	100	WASHINGTON						
6	Tierney	83	17	95	7	Velázquez	93	7	98	17	Cartwright	93	7	100	1	DelBene	73	27	100		
7	Capuano	92	8	98	8	Jeffries	89	11	95	18	Murphy	12	88	98	2	Larsen	89	11	97		
8	Lynch	80	20	98	9	Clarke	88	12	100	RHODE ISLAND				3	Herrera Beutler	21	79	45			
9	Keating	85	15	95	10	Nadler	94	6	98	1	Cicilline	92	8	98	4	Hastings	13	87	100		
MICHIGAN				11	Grimm	29	71	93	2	Langevin	91	9	100	5	McMorris Rodgers	11	89	95			
1	Benishek	13	87	100	12	Maloney, C.	92	8	97	SOUTH CAROLINA				6	Kilmer	83	17	100			
2	Huizenga	8	92	100	13	Rangel	88	12	98	1	Sanford⁸	12	88	97	7	McDermott	93	7	99		
3	Amash	25	75	99	14	Crowley	93	7	100	2	Wilson	9	91	100	8	Reichert	16	84	100		
4	Camp	14	86	100	15	Serrano	94	6	98	3	Duncan	10	90	100	9	Smith	91	9	95		
5	Kildee	94	6	100	16	Engel	95	5	98	4	Gowdy	8	92	99	10	Heck	87	13	98		
6	Upton	13	87	100	17	Lowe	92	8	100	5	Mulvaney	9	91	99	WEST VIRGINIA						
7	Walberg	10	90	100	18	Maloney, S.	56	44	100	6	Clyburn	89	11	92	1	McKinley	19	81	100		
8	Rogers	13	87	95	19	Gibson	31	69	99	7	Rice	9	91	100	2	Capito	17	83	100		
9	Levin	97	3	100	20	Tonko	95	5	100	SOUTH DAKOTA				3	Rahall	58	42	100			
10	Miller	12	88	99	21	Owens	58	42	100	AL	Noem	13	87	99	WISCONSIN						
11	Bentivolio	10	90	100	22	Hanna	23	77	94	TENNESSEE				1	Ryan	12	88	99			
12	Dingell	91	9	99	23	Reed	15	85	95	1	Roe	9	91	100	2	Pocan	91	9	100		
13	Conyers	93	7	98	24	Maffei	71	29	100	2	Duncan	18	82	99	3	Kind	85	15	99		
14	Peters	63	37	99	25	Slaughter	92	8	99	3	Fleischmann	9	91	100	4	Moore	89	11	98		
MINNESOTA				26	Higgins	90	10	84	4	DesJarlais	7	93	98	5	Sensenbrenner	14	86	99			
1	Walz	88	12	99	27	Collins	14	86	99	5	Cooper	82	18	97	6	Petri	10	90	100		
2	Kline	14	86	100	NORTH CAROLINA				6	Black	9	91	99	7	Duffy	11	89	98			
3	Paulsen	13	87	100	1	Butterfield	91	9	99	7	Blackburn	10	90	98	8	Ribble	10	90	98		
4	McCollum	92	8	100	2	Ellmers	10	90	100	8	Fincher	10	90	97	WYOMING						
					3	Jones	31	69	91	9	Cohen	94	6	100	AL	Lummis	6				