

Trump Fenced In

Democrats' return to the majority brought partisan opposition to the president to an all-time high

Donald Trump was never very good at moving his legislative agenda through Congress but last year he hit a brick wall with Democrats back in control of the House.

In CQ Roll Call's vote studies analysis for 2019, Trump set a record for futility: Among votes the president took a position on, he prevailed on only five. That mark, 8 percent of 62 votes, falls below the previous low of 13 percent set in 2016, the last year of Barack Obama's presidency.

What happened in 2019 is a mirror image of 2011, when President Barack Obama faced a Republican-led House, says Frances Lee, a congressional scholar at Princeton University. "Once Obama lost control of the House of Representatives, his success with Congress became rather similar" to Trump's, she says. Trump's overall success rate plummeted 20 percentage points; Obama's 28 points.

The president's most high-profile accomplishment last year, approval of the U.S.-Mexico-Canada trade pact (PL 116-113), came in December. The others were on the two big spending bills (PL 116-94; PL 116-93) and the annual defense policy bill (PL 116-92), all of which passed as part of a year-end rush. As an example of how thin Trump's success rate was, a failed veto override of his declaration of a national emergency along the southern border (H J Res 46) was scored a "win" only because the House needed a two-thirds majority

vote, which it failed to achieve.

Overall, House Democrats opposed Trump on 93 percent of votes, another all-time record.

The relationship between the House and the president doesn't promise to improve this year either, following an impeachment process that left everyone embittered, a president hell-bent on revenge, an unsettled presidential election and increasing polarization.

"As long as we've got these rigid red-state versus blue-state voting patterns where there's not split-ticket voting, that puts presidents at a disadvantage in winning cross-party support in Congress," says Lee.

Even when Trump and Democrats came together, it wasn't for long. In January, when Trump held a signing ceremony at the White House for the USMCA, not a single Democrat attended. Speaker Nancy Pelosi said no Democrats were invited, but a White House spokesman denied that, saying some were but chose not to attend. At the ceremony, Trump took complete credit for the deal, despite overwhelming Democratic margins in the House and Senate that were needed to get it across the finish line.

The ceremony did nothing to ease the bitterness. Rep. Stephanie Murphy, a Florida Democrat, says "it was not ideal to exclude just one party from the signing ceremony." Rep. Jimmy Gomez of California, a Democrat who was deeply involved in the trade negotiations, told Politico: "It says a lot that this event is

Guide to the Vote Studies

CQ Roll Call has analyzed voting patterns of members of Congress since 1945. It has conducted the three current studies — presidential support, party unity and voting participation — in a consistent manner since the 1950s.

Selecting votes CQ Roll Call bases its vote studies on all floor votes for which senators and representatives had the opportunity to vote "yea" or "nay." In 2019, there were 700 such roll-call votes in the House and 428 in the Senate. The House total excludes one quorum call in 2019.

The House total counts all votes on procedural matters, including votes to approve the journal.

The presidential support and party unity studies are based on a set of votes selected according to the criteria detailed on pages 30 and 43.

Individual scores Member scores are based only on the votes each actually cast. This makes individual support and opposition scores total 100 percent. The same method is used to identify the leading scorers on pages 27 and 38.

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.

Rounding Scores In the tables that follow, scores are rounded to the nearest percentage point. Scores for the presidential and party support leaders are reported to one decimal point in order to rank them more precisely.

without Democrats because he always wanted it for political purposes. I personally don't think he ever cared about the policy."

Trump has repeatedly railed against the party as the "Do Nothing Democrats," but he has largely ceded the agenda to Republicans in Congress by neglecting to offer even an outline of goals.

That failure is borne out in the data. Trump's ability to persuade Democrats, including those in competitive districts, to vote his way was minimal. In all, the 31 Democrats — including New Jersey's Jeff Van Drew, who became a Republican in January — representing districts Trump won in 2016 voted with Trump just 7 percent of the time last year compared to the 5 percent by House Democrats as a whole, according to an analysis by CQ Roll Call.

But this cuts both ways. Moderate Democrats love to say they're willing to work with the president on issues, but on many votes where the president has taken a position, Democrats in those groups barely outpaced the caucus as a whole. House members of the moderate Blue Dog Coalition supported the president on 10 percent of votes in 2019; Democratic members of the bipartisan Problem Solvers Caucus went with

What happened in 2019 is a mirror image of 2011, when Obama faced a Republican-led House.

Trump on only 5 percent of House votes.

Granted, in the current environment the opposing party has little incentive to work with the White House, says Lee, but "that was true under Obama as well."

Consider Tom O'Halleran, a two-term Democrat from Arizona, and a member of the Blue Dogs. He's been a target for Republicans since he flipped the district in 2016. Like other moderate Democrats, he stresses his desire to work with Republicans on big issues, pointing to bipartisan accomplishments like the USMCA. He also sits on the Energy and Commerce Committee and is quick to note that dozens of bills have been passed out of that committee with bipartisan support.

"This idea that we aren't working together is more of a creation of people saying we're not working versus the

reality of the fact that bills are heading over [to the Senate]," he says.

And yet O'Halleran last year sided with the president on only three votes. Murphy, who is a co-chair of the Blue Dogs and represents a swing district, likewise only voted with the president three times. She argued in an interview that there simply weren't as many opportunities to work with Trump as in the past.

"The president hasn't held consistent stances on policy issues," she says.

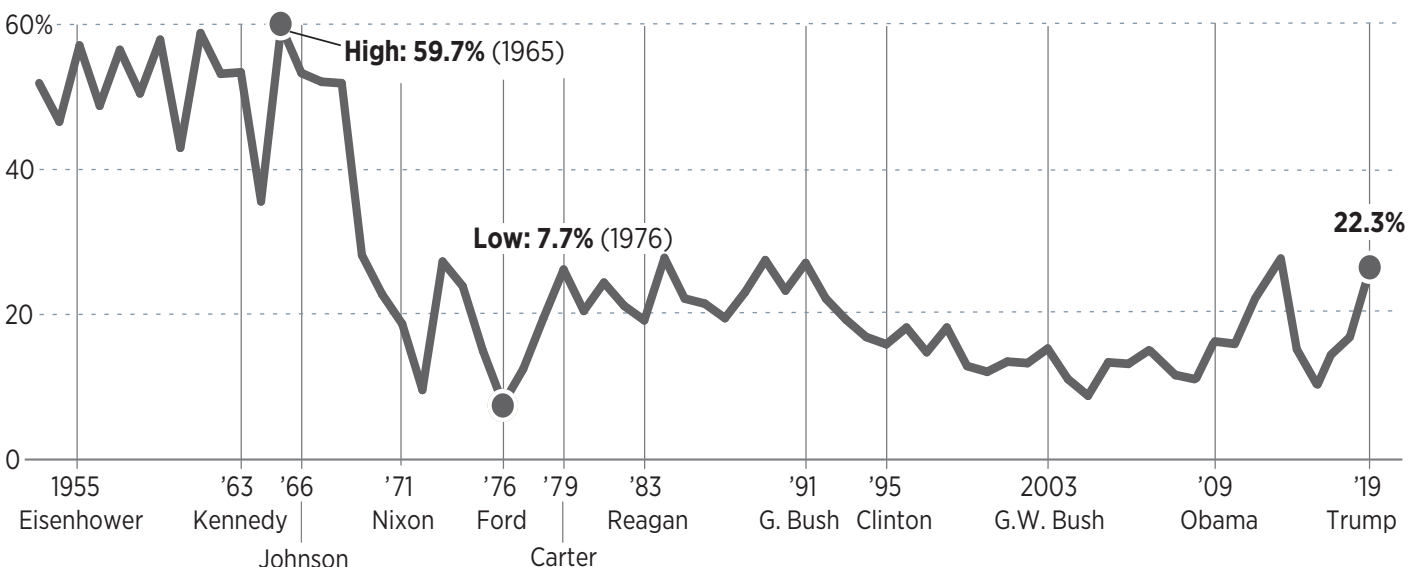
She has a point. One of the biggest issues facing Congress today, and one it can't agree on, is guns. Time and again, following mass shootings, Trump talks about doing something about it, but eventually backs down.

Murphy, who decided to run for Congress in 2016 following the nightclub shooting in Orlando that left 49 dead, co-sponsored and voted for multiple gun-control bills in 2019, including one that would close the so-called gun show loophole (HR 8) and extend wait times for those buying guns (HR 1112). Trump opposed both, arguing that they would "impose burdensome requirements" and delays. She also co-sponsored a bill (HR 1236) that would take guns from those deemed a threat risk and another (HR 1296) that would reinstitute the ban

Trump eschews positions on policy votes

President Donald Trump took a position on 22 percent of the votes recorded in Congress last year, and many of those were confirmation votes on his nominees. On other Senate votes, Trump took a position 10.9 percent of the time. Of those 29 votes, he won 18 and lost 11. Trump took positions on only 62 of 700 House votes, and got his way five times.

Percentage of Presidential Support Votes, for Congress as a whole



on assault weapons. Democrats eventually shelved the latter bill over concerns from moderates.

It's unlikely any of those measures will become law in the near-term; Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell has said he wouldn't consider any gun bill unless he was assured of Trump's support.

While there wasn't a significant difference between vulnerable Democrats and the party overall when it came to voting with Trump, the vote studies data show that those in Trump districts, in general, supported the president more than the rest of the party. Of the top 14 Democrats who backed the president's positions in 2019, six are in Trump districts.

Surprisingly, one of the most liberal members of the House, freshman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, agreed with the president on nine votes, or 14.5 percent of the time, ranking her second overall, tied with Utah's Ben McAdams. Eight of those votes were on bills Trump opposed, including the reauthorization of the Export-Import Bank (HR 4863), various spending bills, and a measure that would raise the cap for the state and local tax deduction (HR 5377).

Ocasio-Cortez' office did not respond to requests for comment. Another member of the self-described "Squad" of liberal women of color, Rashida Tlaib of Michigan, agreed with the president 8.1 percent of the time.

Overall, Democrats opposed Trump on 93 percent of votes, another all-time record.

Collin C. Peterson of Minnesota, who represents a district Trump won by 31 points, was the runaway winner among Democrats who backed the president. He joined with Trump on more than a quarter of votes.

Van Drew, by contrast, backed Trump on just 13 percent of votes.

House Republicans

A large swath of members who had a history of crossing the president, like Mark Sanford of South Carolina and Raul R. Labrador of Idaho, left Congress after 2018. As a result, House Republicans wound up backing the president in 2019 by a wider margin than they had the year before, when they controlled the chamber. In all, Republicans voted with Trump 91 percent of the time, up 2 points from 2018. They opposed him just 6 percent of the time.

That figure comes despite only seven Republican lawmakers posting a perfect record of joining Trump on votes, down from a whopping 72 who did so in 2018.

And yet there were still Republicans who went their own way on high-profile votes.

One of those is Elise Stefanik. Ever

since winning her upstate New York seat in 2014, the 35-year-old has cut a moderate path, one she is proud to tout, and 2019 was no different. On votes that directly confronted Trump, the Republican sided with Democrats, including terminating Trump's declaration of a national emergency on the southern border (S J Res 54) and reinstating sanctions on Russian companies that the administration had lifted (H J Res 30). In an interview, she said neither of these was a tough vote ("I have one of the most hawkish records when it comes to combating Russian aggression," she says). She wasn't at all concerned about backlash from the president.

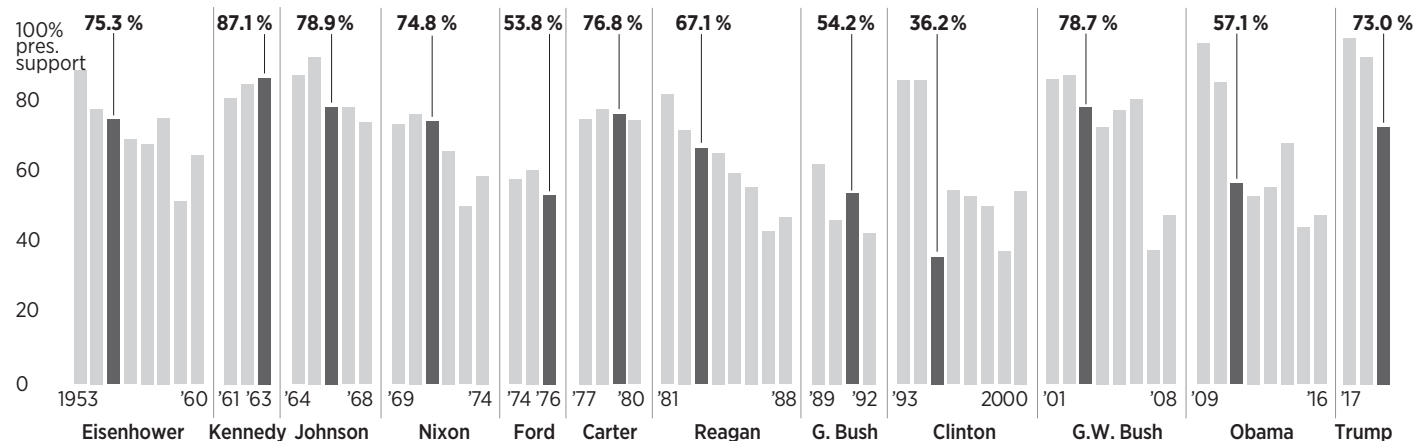
In all, she opposed Trump on 39 percent of votes on which he took a position in 2019. That ranks her behind only Brian Fitzpatrick of Pennsylvania, Christopher H. Smith of New Jersey and John Katko of New York. Since Trump became president, Stefanik has opposed him 24 percent of the time.

And yet, despite that maverick streak, Stefanik has become a darling of the right. During the impeachment inquiry in the House, she offered her full-throated defense of Trump, arguing during investigative hearings that Ukraine eventually got its aid and no investigation was announced into Joe Biden. She continues to say that Trump did nothing wrong in the Ukraine matter. "A new Republican star is born," Trump tweeted in November while sharing a post that included a video of Stefanik questioning former ambassador Marie

Support for Trump trends down

Democratic control of the House dragged down Trump's level of support from representatives and senators in 2019, but his overall support score remained high because he mostly took positions on nominees, and the Senate confirmed all 161 of them.

The year highlighted is president's third year in office



Leading Scorers: Presidential Support

Support shows those who, in 2019, voted most often for President Donald Trump’s position when it was clearly known. **Opposition** shows those who voted most often against his position. Absences do not count. Members with identical scores are listed alphabetically.

SENATE

SUPPORT

<i>Democrats/Independents</i>		<i>Republicans</i>	
Manchin, Joe III	71.1%	Perdue, David	99.4%
Sinema, Kyrsten	68.5	McConnell, Mitch	98.9
Jones, Doug	66.5	Hyde-Smith, Cindy	98.9
Murphy, Christopher S.	54.5	Roberts, Pat	98.8
King, Angus	51.6	Burr, Richard M.	98.8
Coons, Chris	50.6	Isakson, Johnny	98.4
Shaheen, Jeanne	50.3	Cornyn, John	98.4
Carper, Thomas R.	48.7	Hoeven, John	97.9
Hassan, Maggie	48.1	Thune, John	97.9
Warner, Mark	47.0	Cramer, Kevin	97.9
Tester, Jon	46.6	McSally, Martha	97.9
Kaine, Tim	46.3	Scott, Rick	97.9
Feinstein, Dianne	45.5	Crapo, Michael D.	97.9
Cardin, Benjamin L.	45.2	Capito, Shelley Moore	97.8
Leahy, Patrick J.	44.7	Tillis, Thom	97.8

OPPOSITION

<i>Democrats/Independents</i>		<i>Republicans</i>	
Sanders, Bernie	94.1%	Collins, Susan	14.7%
Warren, Elizabeth	93.4	Paul, Rand	13.5
Booker, Cory	89.8	Lee, Mike	12.8
Klobuchar, Amy	89.7	Moran, Jerry	7.1
Gillibrand, Kirsten	89.4	Braun, Mike	6.8
Harris, Kamala	89.1	Hawley, Josh	6.3
Markey, Edward J.	88.7	Murkowski, Lisa	6.2
Merkley, Jeff	76.7	Cruz, Ted	5.9
Hirono, Mazie K.	74.7	Rubio, Marco	5.9
Schumer, Charles E.	73.0	Young, Todd	5.9
Blumenthal, Richard	72.3	Toomey, Patrick J.	5.8
Wyden, Ron	71.3	Sasse, Ben	5.8
Schatz, Brian	70.9	Daines, Steve	5.4
Murray, Patty	69.8	Blackburn, Marsha	5.2
Stabenow, Debbie	69.7	Romney, Mitt	5.2

SUPPORT

<i>Democrats</i>		<i>Republicans</i>	
Peterson, Collin C.	26.7%	Babin, Brian	100.0%
McAdams, Ben	14.5	Bishop, Dan	100.0
Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria	14.5	Collins, Chris	100.0
Van Drew, Jeff*	13.1	Fleischmann, Chuck	100.0
Cuellar, Henry	11.3	Miller, Carol	100.0
Golden, Jared	11.3	Murphy, Greg	100.0
Fletcher, Lizzie	9.7	Pence, Greg	100.0
Horn, Kendra	9.7	Comer, James R.	98.4
Vela, Filemon	9.7	Duncan, Jeff	98.4
Gonzalez, Vicente	8.3	Graves, Tom	98.4
Brindisi, Anthony	8.1	Kelly, Trent	98.4
Garcia, Sylvia R.	8.1	Palazzo, Steven M.	98.4
Tlaib, Rashida	8.1	Smith, Jason	98.4
Torres Small, Xochitl	8.1	Woodall, Rob	98.4
Castro, Joaquin	6.7	Estes, Ron	98.4
		Harris, Andy	98.4
		Joyce, John	98.4

OPPOSITION

<i>Democrats</i>		<i>Republicans</i>	
Barragan, Nanette	98.4%	Fitzpatrick, Brian	61.3%
Clarke, Yvette D.	98.4	Smith, Christopher H.	43.5
DeFazio, Peter A.	98.4	Katko, John	40.7
DeSaulnier, Mark	98.4	Stefanik, Elise	38.7
Engel, Eliot L.	98.4	Hurd, Will	36.7
Garcia, Jesus “Chuy”	98.4	Herrera Beutler, Jaime	34.5
Jayapal, Pramila	98.4	Upton, Fred	33.9
Kennedy, Joseph P. III	98.4	Walden, Greg	22.6
Levin, Andy	98.4	Rooney, Francis	22.2
Lowenthal, Alan	98.4	Massie, Thomas	18.6
McGovern, Jim	98.4	King, Peter T.	18.0
Meng, Grace	98.4	Zeldin, Lee	16.2
Raskin, Jamie	98.4	Kinzinger, Adam	15.3
Tonko, Paul	98.4	Gallagher, Mike	15.0
Watson Coleman, Bonnie	98.4	Hollingsworth, Trey	12.9

*Van Drew switched parties in December, becoming a Republican.

Yovanovitch. She was one of eight House Republicans named to Trump’s defense team. In a post-acquittal event at the White House earlier this month Trump singled Stefanik out for praise.

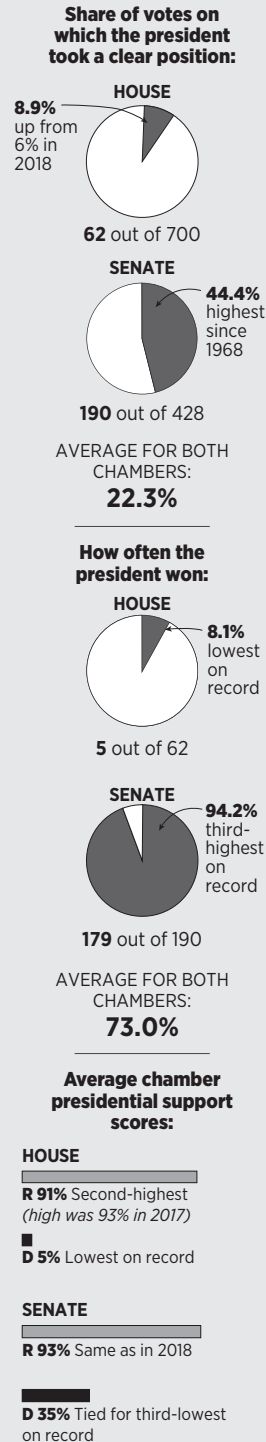
Stefanik says she doesn’t see any contradiction, explaining that her first consideration is “always to put the district first,” whether that means defending Trump on impeachment or voting against him on the 2017 tax-cut bill (PL 115-97). When asked if the newfound attention from Trump and conservatives will change how she votes in the future, she answers simply, “No.”

One member whose opposition to Trump shot up in 2019 was Smith, the dean of the New Jersey delegation who after the 2018 election became the last Republican standing in that state. In 2018, he opposed Trump on 13 percent of votes, four in all, but in 2019 that number soared to 44 percent. He joined with Democrats on raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour (HR 582), gun control bills (HR 8; HR 1112) and repealing the cap on the state and local tax deduction (HR 5377).

There were seven Republicans whose fealty to the president was 100 percent: Brian Babin of Texas, Dan Bishop of North Carolina, Chris Collins of New York (who resigned Oct. 1), Chuck Fleischmann of Tennessee, Carol Miller of West Virginia, Greg Murphy of North Carolina and Greg Pence of Indiana. ■

Nominees make for wins

Trump focused on judicial and executive branch nominees in 2019 and that’s where most of his wins were.



Blue State, Purple Districts, Blue Votes

Southern California produced a remarkable wave in 2018 as seven Democrats there flipped Republican-held districts.

And yet those freshman Democrats, most of whom remain in competitive races in 2020, voted last year as if they have nothing to fear from their constituents. As a group, these freshmen opposed the president 95.7 percent of the time on votes in which he took a position. All of them voted for both articles of impeachment.

They include TJ Cox, Josh Harder, Harley Rouda, Gil Cisneros, Mike Levin and Katie Porter. The seventh, Katie Hill, resigned in November following a scandal in which nude photos of her appeared on the internet; she was also accused of having an affair with a staffer, a charge she denies.

Levin’s race is not considered competitive by CQ Roll Call’s elections analyst, Nathan L. Gonzales, but other forecasters have rated it as somewhat competitive.

Porter is an interesting case study. She’s a protégé of Democratic Sen. Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, and has raised her profile in hearings questioning Trump administration officials and Wall Street titans like JPMorgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon. All that attention landed her a spot on “Late Night with Seth Meyers” in October.

“Not everybody is as excited about financial services as I am,” she told Meyers while explaining why she uses props like whiteboards and bingo cards in hearings.

In her 2018 primary she ran as a liberal in favor of “Medicare for All.” She beat a more centrist candidate there, striking fears among Democratic operatives about her chances in the fall. And yet she won that race against Republican incumbent Mimi Walters by more than 12,000 votes, a fairly comfortable margin. Gonzales now considers the race “likely Democratic.”

On only three votes in 2019 did she join with Trump — the defense policy bill (PL 116-92), a deal raising budget caps (PL 116-37), and the United States-Mexico-Canada trade agreement (PL 116-113). The question is whether that will be enough for voters in her Orange County district. Porter’s office declined to make her available for comment.

It’s true that Orange County and other parts of Southern California have changed in recent years. All seven who won their races in 2018 were in districts in which Hillary Clinton bested Trump in 2016. An influx of Asian and Latino immigrants has changed what had historically been Republican bastions. The question for these Democrats is whether the districts have changed as much as they think.

Solace in the Senate

With 100 percent support for his nominees, Trump won big in the other chamber

President Donald Trump's dismal performance in the House looks a lot better when you factor in the Senate. There, he won 94 percent of all votes, pushing his overall win percentage to 73 percent. That win rate was bolstered in large part by a perfect success rate getting his nominations confirmed in the Senate — there were only 29 legislative votes in the Senate on which he took a position.

Republicans seemed most comfortable offering rebukes to Trump on national security matters, especially those dealing with Saudi Arabia, a longtime U.S. ally. Congress has soured on the Saudi kingdom in the last few years following the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi. For his part, Trump has offered absolute support for Saudi Arabia and its crown prince Mohammed bin Salman, a stance that has puzzled and frustrated many Republicans.

"The pattern was set really early with the Russia sanctions in 2017," says Frances Lee, a congressional scholar at Princeton, referring to veto-proof votes that punished Russia for meddling in the 2016 election. "So it's safer for Republicans to oppose the president on foreign policy."

Of the 14 votes categorized as defense or foreign policy votes, Trump won only 57 percent of the time in 2019 (eight successes; six defeats).

Indiana's Todd Young is among Senate Republicans who have voted with Trump on nominations and most other legislation while going his own way on national security issues. But Young hasn't earned the wrath of Trump, at least not yet.

Young voted against Trump 11 times

in 2019. Eight of those were on votes that would halt arms sales and exports to Saudi Arabia (S J Res 36, S J Res 37, S J Res 38), a veto override attempt on each, ending U.S. involvement in the war in Yemen (S J Res 7), and the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and Syria (S 1).

This month, he was at it again, joining with Democrats to curb Trump's ability to wage war on Iran (S J Res 68). Trump tweeted his opposition to the measure. In January, Rep. Matt Gaetz of Florida voted in favor of a similar measure dealing with Iran (H Con Res 83) and urged other Republicans to do the same, reportedly drawing the ire of the president. In Young's case, he took care to praise the president for the killing of Iranian Gen. Qassem Soleimani, but argued that "Congress has been AWOL on certain matters of national security" and needed to reassert its authority on war.

Young, who is chairman of a Foreign Relations subcommittee and also chairs the Senate Republican campaign arm, hasn't been very outspoken on these votes compared with his Senate colleagues. His office declined to make him available for an interview but said he has been "a leading advocate in the Senate to address the humanitarian crisis in Yemen and end the civil war." Amy Grappone, a spokeswoman, declined to say whether Young feared backlash from the president, saying only: "His votes reflect his commitment to ensuring Congress fulfills its constitutionally mandated oversight role in foreign conflicts."

Young isn't the only Indiana senator to oppose Trump more often than most. Mike

Braun, who beat incumbent Democrat Joe Donnelly in 2018, was the fifth-likeliest senator to break with Trump on presidential support votes, though he did so only 7 percent of the time.

Susan Collins, the moderate from Maine who faces a potentially tough reelection campaign this year, was the Republican who opposed the president most. She voted against his position 15 percent of the time. That was a departure from the two years previous, when she opposed Trump 6 percent of the time.

Of those who supported the president most often, a few names stand out: Republican Martha McSally of Arizona, who was appointed to her seat in 2018, voted with the president 98 percent of the time. Her race in 2020 to fill the last two years of John McCain's term is considered a toss-up by CQ Roll Call elections analyst Nathan L. Gonzales, but she doesn't seem to be making many moves to the center. McSally cultivated a reputation as a centrist when she was a member of the House, though in 2018 she supported Trump 100 percent of the time there.

Thom Tillis, a Republican from North Carolina who flip-flopped on Trump's declaration of a national emergency on the southern border last year — opposing it, then supporting it — is also in a toss-up race this year. He ranked at 98 percent in fealty to Trump, which is in line with his historical voting pattern.

"What you see here is the party in lockstep mostly," says Lee. "All the Republicans on one side, all the Democrats on the other, and then even the

Background: Presidential Support

CQ Roll Call editors select presidential support votes each year based on clear statements by the president or authorized spokespersons. Success scores show how often the president prevailed. Average scores for each chamber are lowered by absences.

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESS BY ISSUE

	Defense/Foreign Policy		Domestic		Economic Affairs		Overall	
	2019	2018	2019	2018	2019	2018	2019	2018
House	11.1%	100.0%	6.1%	91.3%	25.0%	100.0%	8.1%	93.3%
Senate	57.1	0.0	66.7	61.5	--	100.0	94.2	93.5
Congress	39.1	60.0	20.3	80.6	25	100.0	73.0	93.4

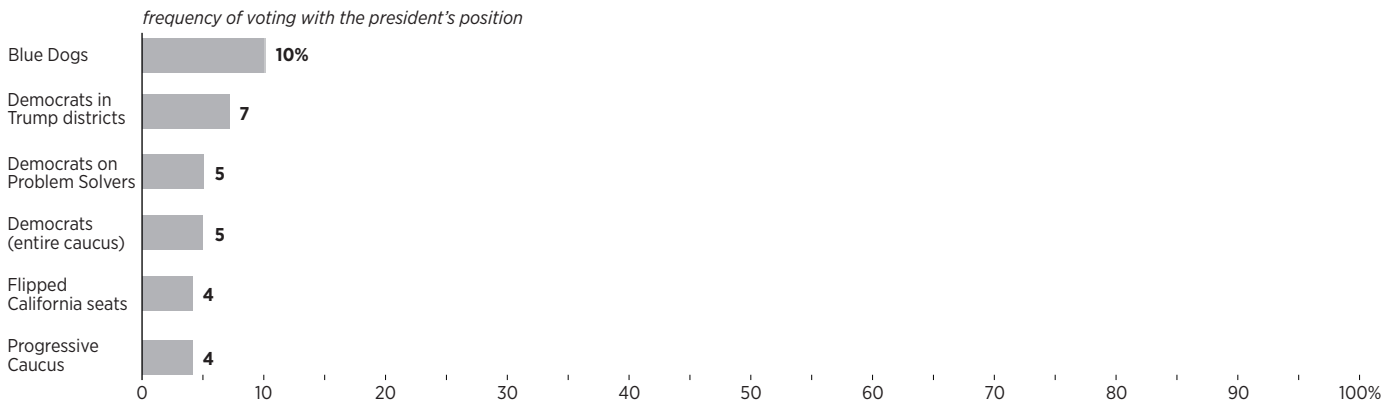
Economic affairs includes votes on taxes, trade, omnibus and some supplemental spending bills that cover both domestic and foreign policy programs. Confirmation votes in the Senate are included only in the chamber's overall scores.

AVERAGE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESS SCORES

	House		Senate			House		Senate	
	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans		Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans
Eisenhower					1985	30%	67%	35%	75%
1954	44%	71%	38%	73%	1986	25	65	37	78
1955	53	60	56	72	1987	24	62	36	64
1956	52	72	39	72	1988	25	57	47	68
1957	49	54	51	69	G. Bush				
1958	44	67	44	67	1989	36	69	55	82
1959	40	68	38	72	1990	25	63	38	70
1960	44	59	43	66	1991	34	72	41	83
Kennedy					1992	25	71	32	73
1961	73	37	65	36	Clinton				
1962	72	42	63	39	1993	77	39	87	29
1963	72	32	63	44	1994	75	47	86	42
Johnson					1995	75	22	81	29
1964	74	38	61	45	1996	74	38	83	37
1965	74	41	64	48	1997	71	30	85	60
1966	63	37	57	43	1998	74	26	82	41
1967	69	46	61	53	1999	73	23	84	34
1968	64	51	48	47	2000	73	27	89	46
Nixon					G.W. Bush				
1969	48	57	47	66	2001	31	86	66	94
1970	53	66	45	60	2002	32	82	71	89
1971	47	72	40	64	2003	26	89	48	94
1972	47	64	44	66	2004	30	80	60	91
1973	35	62	37	61	2005	24	81	38	86
1974	46	65	39	57	2006	31	85	51	85
Ford					2007	7	72	37	78
1974	41	51	39	55	2008	16	64	34	70
1975	38	63	47	68	Obama				
1976	32	63	39	62	2009	90	26	92	50
Carter					2010	84	29	94	41
1977	63	42	70	52	2011	80	22	92	53
1978	60	36	66	41	2012	77	17	93	47
1979	64	34	68	47	2013	83	12	96	40
1980	63	40	62	45	2014	81	12	95	55
Reagan					2015	86	11	87	53
1981	42	68	49	80	2016	88	8	86	49
1982	39	64	43	74	Trump				
1983	28	70	42	73	2017	16	93	37	96
1984	34	60	41	76	2018	31	89	37	93
					2019	5	91	35	93

Democrats in array

It doesn't matter what group you look at — House Democrats sided with Trump no more than 10 percent of the time in 2019.



members who get flagged as being somewhat out of step with their party are not very out of step with their party.”

Loyal Opposition

The high rate of opposition to Trump in the House extended to Senate Democrats.

In 2019, Senate Democrats supported Trump just 35 percent of the time, down 2 points from their 2018 figure. The six who opposed Trump at the highest rate were all contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination: Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent (94 percent), Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts (93), Cory Booker of New Jersey (90), Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota (90), Kirsten Gillibrand of New York (89) and Kamala Harris of California (89).

Klobuchar's case may be the most interesting. She has made her moderate,

sensible, Midwestern reputation a centerpiece of her presidential campaign. She has argued that her opponents' proposals, like “Medicare for All,” go too far leftward.

“The way I look at it, if you want to cross a river over some troubled waters, you build a bridge,” she said in a December debate while discussing the Affordable Care Act. “You don't blow one up.”

But her record in 2019 belies that message. On only 10 percent of votes in the Senate last year, 11 out of 190, did she vote with Trump's position. It's a significant shift from the first two years of Trump's presidency, when she voted with him 42 and 43 percent of the time and reflects more opposition on her part to Trump nominees to executive branch jobs and federal judgeships. Klobuchar's office did not respond to a request for comment on her votes.

On the flip side, the three Democrats

who stuck with the president the most are those in states won by Trump in 2016 — Joe Manchin III in West Virginia, Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona and Doug Jones of Alabama. Jones faces a tough reelection in 2020 in a state Trump won by nearly 28 points.

The next name on the list, Christopher S. Murphy of Connecticut, may come as a surprise. He supported Trump's position 55 percent of the time, up from the low 40s the previous two years. The bulk of his votes siding with Trump have come on nominations. A liberal from a blue state, his office has argued that presidents should have wide latitude when it comes to their nominations unless that person is “clearly unqualified or their views are outside of the conservative mainstream.” ■