

PARTY UNITY

Standing Together Against Any Action

Democrats and Republicans both have their divisions, but blocking the other side's agenda still has priority

BY ELIZA NEWLIN CARNEY

ON PAPER, REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS in Congress look as polarized in their 2014 voting patterns as almost any point in recent history.

In the House, a majority of Democrats split with a majority of Republicans 72.6 percent of the time, the fourth-highest rate ever in the House.

In the Senate, party unity on roll call votes hit a near-record 66.7 percent, and Democrats stuck together 93 percent of the time, just a single percentage point off their all-time peak.

But this outward show of political polarization masks deeper divisions within both national parties on Capitol Hill, as recent turmoil within the House Republican Conference over funding the Homeland Security Department underscores.

In 2014, as throughout the 113th Congress, House and Senate leaders skirted divisive substantive issues, such as immigration and taxes, in favor of “messaging” votes designed to showcase party differences.

“I think it would be fair to say the level of unity we see in roll call votes exaggerates the extent to which the parties are really unified,” says Frances Lee, a professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland.

The wide splits between the parties on floor votes also reflect institutional changes in how Congress operates, Lee notes. These include the centralization of power into the hands of House and Senate leaders; the

tendency to package multiple bills into one massive legislative freight train; and the reliance on high-stakes deadlines to spur action, often in eleventh-hour deals struck under duress.

Party polarization is real, of course. The shrinking political center that has driven more Democrats and Republicans to the far left and far right of their respective caucuses is well-documented. House district lines drawn to create safe seats through gerrymandering are partly to blame.

So is the prolonged struggle between the narrowly divided Republican and Democratic parties for control of Congress and the White House. Not to mention the voters, who have aligned themselves more rigidly in opposing political camps over the past two decades. Electoral splits carry disproportionate political weight because the most ideologically motivated voters tend to be the ones who show up on Election Day, research by the Pew Research Center shows.

“The voters have sorted themselves much more distinctly between the two parties,” says Sean Theriault, a government professor at the University of Texas, Austin. “There is no such thing as a conservative Democrat, and there is no such thing as a liberal Republican anymore.”

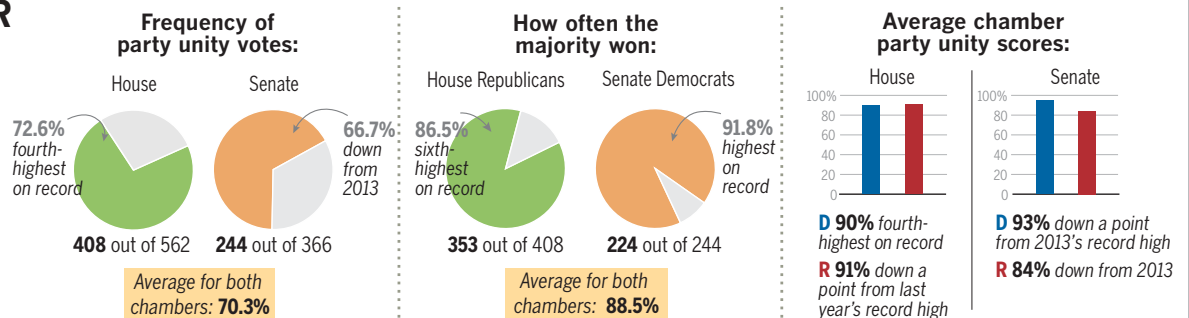
That helps explain why only eight House Democrats had party unity scores lower than 75 percent in 2014. All were members of the conservative Blue Dog Coalition, which last year totaled 19 members.

These included Collin C. Peterson of Minnesota, who voted with

UNITED AS EVER

Senate Democrats fell just a single point short of last year's record display of unity.

In the House, a majority of Republicans split with a majority of Democrats nearly three-quarters of the time.

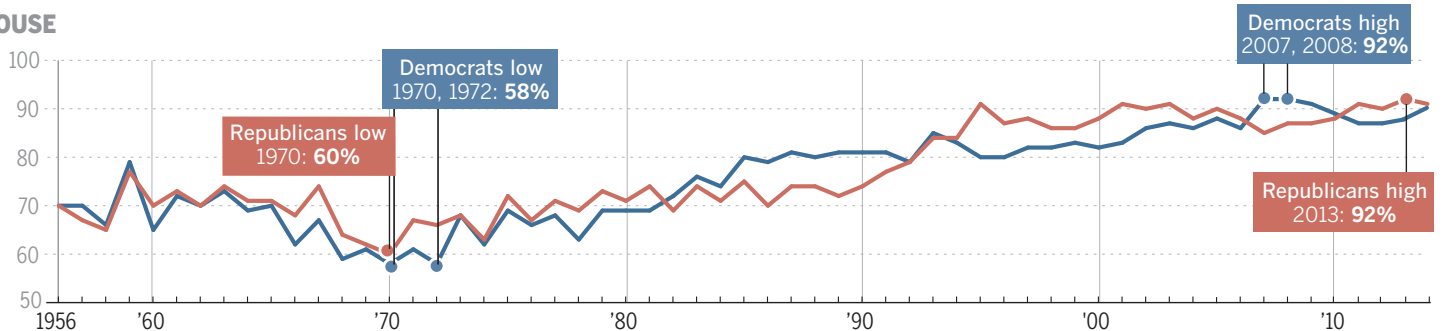


Both Parties Continue to Vote as Blocs

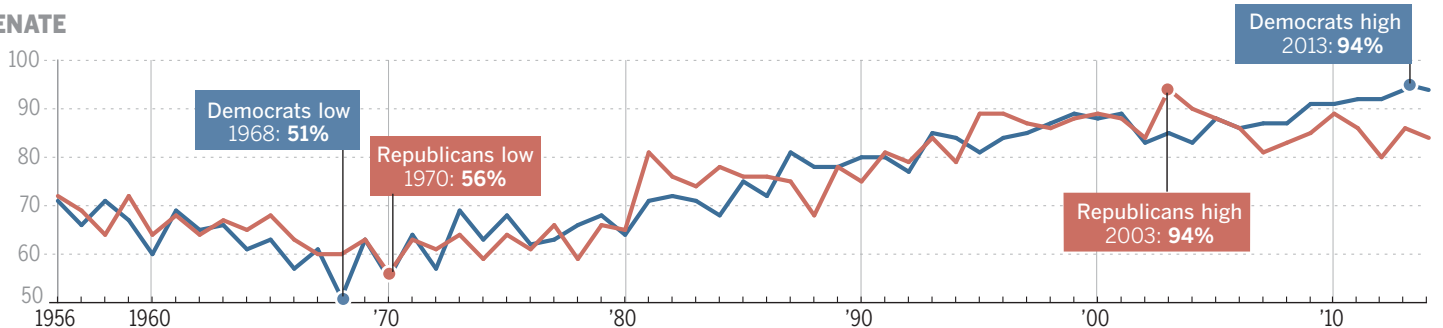
Members from both parties on average voted with their caucus majorities at near-record rates. House Republicans voted with their caucus 91 percent of the time, just a point off the record set in 2013. Similarly, Senate Democrats had an average unity score of 93%, slightly off their 2013 peak of 94 percent. Senate Republicans dropped a couple points from 2013, largely due to the high number of nomination votes.

Average party unity scores

HOUSE



SENATE



his Democratic colleagues just 48 percent of the time last year. Blue Dogs Mike McIntyre of North Carolina and John Barrow of Georgia voted with their fellow Democrats 55 percent and 56 percent of the time, respectively. McIntyre retired in 2014, and Barrow was defeated. This year the Blue Dog Caucus has shrunk to 14 members, down from a high of 54 in 2009.

SYMBOLISM TRUMPS SUBSTANCE

The chasm between the parties was thrown into relief last year by a series of highly scripted floor votes in both chambers.

On issues ranging from appropriations to border security and highway spending, Congress punted. Instead, House Republicans brought up bills designed to spotlight their differences with President Barack Obama, and Senate Democrats rubber-stamped bills aimed at labor union allies and women voters that had no chance of clearing the House.

In the Senate, Reid effectively papered over differences within his party by largely blocking GOP amendments and by showcasing Democrats' campaign themes.

Reid failed to muster the necessary 60 votes he would have needed to overcome GOP filibusters on bills to bar gender-based wage discrimination, raise the minimum wage, expand unemployment benefits and amend the Constitution to limit political spending.

Senate Democrats won on 224 votes, or 91.8 percent of the total — namely 244 votes. That beat Senate Democrats' 2013 win rate of 84.2 percent and sits just below the record 92.3 percent victory percentage they had in 2009.

Reid's most loyal foot soldiers, not surprisingly, included such

leadership team members as Patty Murray of Washington, Charles E. Schumer of New York and Debbie Stabenow of Michigan, all of whom voted with their party 100 percent of the time.

Reid's bid to downplay divisions within his party may in fact have contributed to Democrats' disastrous showing on Election Day, which knocked out several moderate Democrats and handed the majority to Republicans.

Forced into a string of confirmation and messaging votes, such Democrats as Louisiana's Mary L. Landrieu and North Carolina's Kay Hagan struggled to convince voters that they stood apart from Obama, whose popularity was at a low point. Landrieu voted with her party 93 percent of the time, and Hagan's party unity score was 98 percent. Both lost on Election Day.

"It's hard to go to your moderate constituents when all you've voted for are messaging bills on the Democratic side," says Josh Huder, a senior fellow at Georgetown University's Government Affairs Institute.

Then-Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell of Kentucky exacted slightly less unity from his ranks, with 84 percent of Republicans rallying together on roll call votes. That was 2 points lower on average than the level of Senate GOP unity in 2013 and down from a 2010 high of 89 percent.

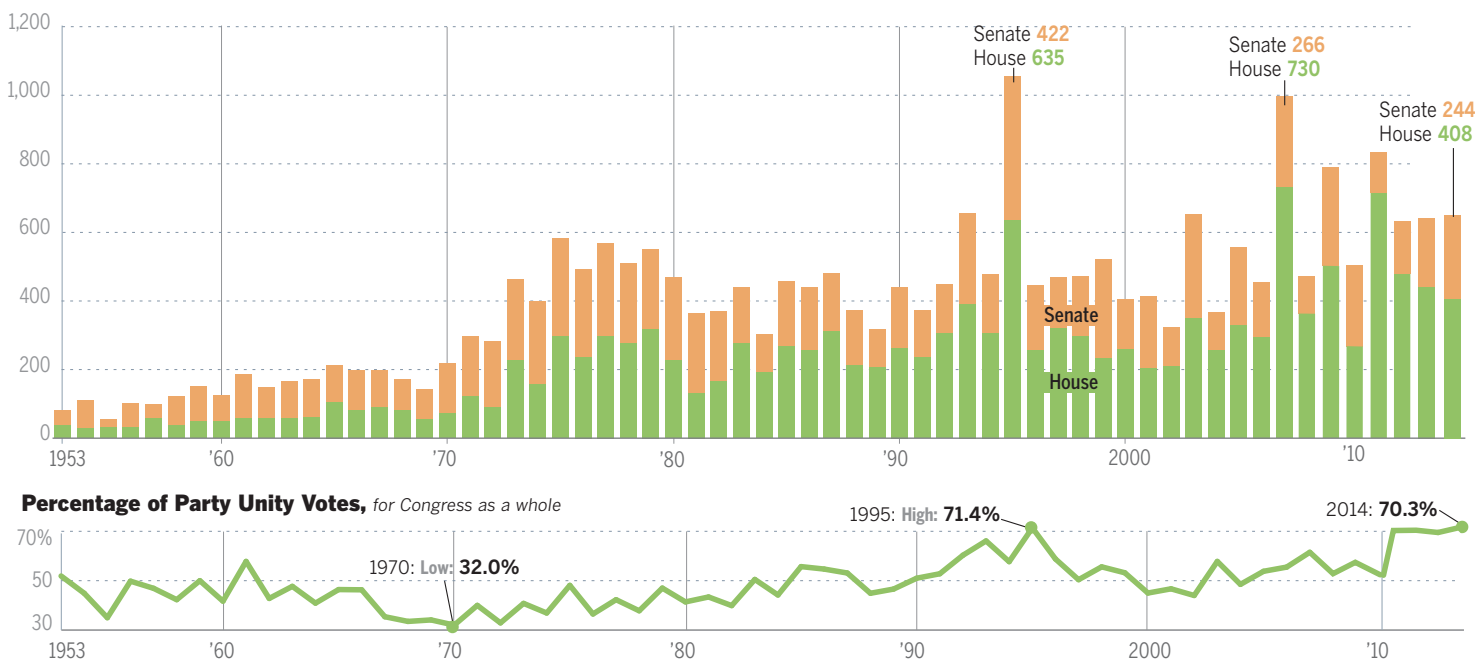
McConnell also presided over his party's second-lowest victory rate in the Senate, winning 20 votes, or 8.2 percent of the total.

In the House, Boehner did his best to downplay ideological splits within the GOP by invoking the so-called Hastert rule, initiated by former House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert of Illinois. The rule unofficially requires the speaker to bring to the floor only bills that a majority of his party supports.

Unity Vote Frequency Up in Senate and Down in House

The number of Senate roll call votes in which a majority of Democrats opposed a majority of Republicans rose a bit in 2014 — while the frequency fell more than 8 percentage points to 61.1 percent because a large number of nominations did not end up being contested. In the House, 2014 was second-most divisive year in six decades. For Congress as a whole, the average rose to 70.3 percent, slightly below the 1995 peak of 71.4 percent.

Party Unity Votes



That enabled Boehner to pull off a party unity rate of 91 percent, just 1 point down from the House GOP's 2013 all-time high of 92 percent. Chris Gibson, who narrowly won re-election in New York's Catskill Mountain region, split with his fellow Republicans 35 percent of the time.

Even Walter B. Jones, a North Carolina Republican who has questioned whether Boehner should be speaker, voted with his party only 71 percent of the time.

House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi of California presided over a more unified caucus than the previous year, with 90 percent party unity. That's up from 88 percent in 2013 and only slightly below the 91 percent recorded in Obama's first year.

Pelosi and her Democratic troops tallied 55 victories, or 13.5 percent of the total.

FROM INACTION TO GRIDLOCK?

The tight messaging that heightened party unity scores last year also translated into historically low levels of productivity.

The 113th Congress enacted only 286 laws, just three more than the record low set by the 112th Congress. Both sessions were far less productive than the preceding 20 Congresses, which on average produced 564 bills signed into law.

As with party unity scores, however, the way that Congress now conducts business exaggerated its actual inertia. The last-minute "cromnibus" bill passed in December, a trillion-dollar piece of legislation that funded the government through September of this year, included multiple tacked-on measures.

These included financial regulations that loosened the Dodd-Frank

Wall Street rules enacted in 2010; \$5 billion to fight Islamic terror; a 1 percent pay raise for federal workers; and a surprise increase in the limits on campaign contributions to the national political parties.

The cromnibus deal was the most heavily lobbied piece of legislation in 2014, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, which tracks political money. The bill triggered spending by 852 clients who paid lobbying firms to represent them, including health insurers, labor unions, banks and defense contractors.

Congress-watchers expect last year's high levels of party unity to drop in this Congress, particularly among Republicans in the House. While Boehner invoked the Hastert rule last year to avert civil war within his conference, the process was messy.

Boehner was repeatedly forced to pull bills from the floor at the last minute in 2014 amid objections from his party's conservative bloc. And several issues that he pushed to the back burner in the previous session will hit deadlines for action in the 114th Congress. These include transportation funding, the reauthorization of the Export-Import Bank and the inevitable looming showdown over raising the debt limit yet again.

"He dodged a lot of bullets," says Georgetown's Huder. "The problem is, he only did it for the short term."

The recent House-Senate showdown over Obama's executive action to spare millions of illegal immigrants from deportation, which held up funding for the Homeland Security Department, illustrates how hard it will be for Boehner to rally his troops. Boehner ultimately won the votes to fund a "clean" DHS bill, which contained no riders blocking Obama's immigration action, only by breaking the Hastert rule and relying on Democratic votes.

"Legislating is different than messaging," says Lee, of the University

Leading Scorers: Party Unity

Support indicates those who voted most often with a majority of their party against a majority of the other party in 2014. **Opposition** shows those who voted most often against their party. Lawmakers who left office or who missed half or more of the votes are not listed. Scores are reported only to one decimal point; members with identical scores are listed alphabetically. (Complete scores: Senate, p. 43, House pp. 44-45)

SENATE



CANTWELL



FISCHER



LANDRIEU



MURKOWSKI

SUPPORT

Democrats

Cantwell, Maria	100%
Cardin, Benjamin L.	100
Harkin, Tom	100
Merkley, Jeff	100
Mikulski, Barbara A.	100
Murray, Patty	100
Rockefeller, Jay	100
Schatz, Brian	100
Schumer, Charles E.	100
Stabenow, Debbie	100
Udall, Tom	100
8 Senators	99.5

Republicans

Fischer, Deb	98.7%
Lee, Mike	98.7
Risch, Jim	98.7
Cruz, Ted	98.1
Crapo, Michael D.	97.9
Thune, John	97.9
Scott, Tim	97.8
Roberts, Pat	97.6
Sessions, Jeff	97.4
Johnson, Ron	97.0
Grassley, Charles E.	96.7
Inhofe, James M.	96.7

OPPOSITION

Democrats

Manchin, Joe III	13.0%
Landrieu, Mary L.	7.0
Heitkamp, Heidi	6.3
Reid, Harry*	4.6
Tester, Jon	3.4
Pryor, Mark	3.2
Walsh, John	2.7
Warner, Mark	2.5
Carper, Thomas R.	2.1

Republicans

Collins, Susan	57.4%
Murkowski, Lisa	54.6
Ayotte, Kelly	26.8
Chambliss, Saxby	18.2
Flake, Jeff	18.1
Isakson, Johnny	17.3
Alexander, Lamar	16.8
Hatch, Orrin G.	16.4
Heller, Dean	15.6
Kirk, Mark S.	15.5

*Reid voted against his party's position seven times in 2014 to preserve his right to reconsider the vote.

HOUSE



VELAZQUEZ



SCALISE



MCINTYRE



JONES

SUPPORT

Democrats

Velazquez, Nydia M.	100%
Bass, Karen	99.7
Becerra, Xavier	99.7
Chu, Judy	99.7
Edwards, Donna	99.7
Jeffries, Hakeem	99.7
Lee, Barbara	99.7
McGovern, Jim	99.7
Nadler, Jerrold	99.7
Pocan, Mark	99.7
Schakowsky, Jan	99.7
Van Hollen, Chris	99.7
Waxman, Henry A.	99.7

Republicans

Scalise, Steve	99.5
Palazzo, Steven M.	99.4
Black, Diane	99.2
Huizenga, Bill	99.2
Sessions, Pete	99.2
Smith, Jason	99.2
Kingston, Jack	99.1
Pompeo, Mike	99.1
Blackburn, Marsha	99.0
Fleming, John	99.0
Latta, Bob	99.0
Bishop, Rob	98.9
LaMalfa, Doug	98.9
6 Representatives	98.7

OPPOSITION

Democrats

Peterson, Collin C.	52.0%
McIntyre, Mike	45.5
Matheson, Jim	44.7
Barrow, John	44.4
Rahall, Nick J. II	35.1
Costa, Jim	30.9
Barber, Ron	28.1
Cuellar, Henry	26.7
Sinema, Kyrsten	24.7
Owens, Bill	24.6
Gallego, Pete	22.3
Murphy, Patrick	20.4
Schrader, Kurt	19.0
Bishop, Sanford D. Jr.	17.6
Maffei, Dan	16.7

Republicans

Gibson, Chris	35.5%
Jones, Walter B.	29.2
Fitzpatrick, Michael G.	18.3
LoBiondo, Frank A.	17.7
Hanna, Richard	16.4
Jolly, David	15.6
Runyan, Jon	14.1
King, Peter T.	12.6
Reichert, Dave	12.6
Smith, Christopher H.	12.5
Grimm, Michael G.	12.4
Diaz-Balart, Mario	12.1

Party Unity Background

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

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

Average Party Unity Scores by Chamber

		SUPPORT		OPPOSITION	
		2014	2013	2014	2013
HOUSE	Democrats	90%	88%	5%	8%
	Republicans	91	92	5	5
SENATE	Democrats	93	94	1	4
	Republicans	84	86	10	11
CONGRESS	Democrats	91	89	5	8
	Republicans	90	91	6	6

Victories in Party Unity Votes

YEAR	HOUSE		SENATE		CONGRESS	
	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
2014	55	353	224	20	279	373
2013	50	389	171	32	221	421
2012	67	411	103	47	170	458
2011	82	634	87	33	169	667
2010	236	28	196	39	432	67
2009	473	29	264	22	737	51
2008	342	25	60	51	402	76
2007	658	72	179	87	837	159
2006	59	236	53	107	112	343
2005	50	278	47	182	97	460
2004	42	213	28	85	70	298
2003	39	310	56	250	95	560
2002	39	170	42	73	81	243
2001	27	177	95	115	122	292
2000	77	182	31	114	108	296
1999	58	177	77	211	135	388
1998	80	216	61	114	141	330
1997	58	261	46	104	104	365
1996	48	208	59	132	107	340

Unanimous Voting by Parties

YEAR	HOUSE		SENATE		CONGRESS	
	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
2014	92	159	180	76	272	235
2013	97	152	106	62	203	214
2012	40	99	60	19	100	118
2011	76	209	55	31	131	240
2010	10	91	67	106	77	197
2009	29	144	79	74	108	218
2008	66	96	30	19	96	115
2007	170	177	102	35	272	212
2006	70	62	34	30	104	92
2005	82	91	69	59	151	150
2004	70	77	3	31	73	108
2003	94	109	32	130	126	239
2002	37	54	12	23	49	77
2001	1	66	37	55	38	121
2000	1	67	52	19	53	86
1999	11	59	100	63	111	122
1998	8	42	46	33	54	75
1997	11	63	35	38	46	101
1996	10	32	35	47	45	79

Party Unity History

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

YEAR	Frequency of Unity Votes		House Average Scores		Senate Average Scores	
	HOUSE	SENATE	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
2014	72.6%	66.7%	90	91	93	84
2013	68.6%	69.8%	88	92	94	86
2012	72.8	59.8	87	90	92	80
2011	75.8	51.1	87	91	92	86
2010	40.0	78.6	89	88	91	89
2009	50.9	72.0	91	87	91	85
2008	53.3	51.6	92	87	87	83
2007	62.0	60.2	92	85	87	81
2006	54.5	57.3	86	88	86	86
2005	49.0	62.6	88	90	88	88
2004	47.0	52.3	86	88	83	90
2003	51.7	66.7	87	91	85	94
2002	43.3	45.5	86	90	83	84
2001	40.2	55.3	83	91	89	88
2000	43.2	48.7	82	88	88	89
1999	47.3	62.8	83	86	89	88
1998	55.5	55.7	82	86	87	86
1997	50.4	50.3	82	88	85	87
1996	56.4	62.4	80	87	84	89
1995	73.2	68.8	80	91	81	89
1994	61.8	51.7	83	84	84	79
1993	65.5	67.1	85	84	85	84
1992	64.5	53.0	79	79	77	79
1991	55.1	49.3	81	77	80	81
1990	49.1	54.3	81	74	80	75
1989	56.3	35.3	81	72	78	78
1988	47.0	42.5	80	74	78	68
1987	63.7	40.7	81	74	81	75
1986	56.5	52.3	79	70	72	76
1985	61.0	49.6	80	75	75	76
1984	47.1	40.0	74	71	68	78
1983	55.6	43.7	76	74	71	74
1982	36.4	43.4	72	69	72	76
1981	37.4	47.8	69	74	71	81
1980	37.6	45.8	69	71	64	65
1979	47.3	46.7	69	73	68	66
1978	33.2	45.2	63	69	66	59
1977	42.2	42.4	68	71	63	66
1976	35.9	37.2	66	67	62	61
1975	48.4	47.8	69	72	68	64
1974	29.4	44.3	62	63	63	59
1973	41.8	39.9	68	68	69	64
1972	27.1	36.5	58	66	57	61
1971	37.8	41.6	61	67	64	63
1970	27.1	35.2	58	60	55	56
1969	31.1	36.3	61	62	63	63
1968	35.2	32.0	59	64	51	60
1967	36.3	34.6	67	74	61	60
1966	41.5	50.2	62	68	57	63
1965	52.2	41.9	70	71	63	68
1964	54.9	35.7	69	71	61	65
1963	48.7	47.2	73	74	66	67
1962	46.0	41.1	70	70	65	64
1961	50.0	62.3	72	73	69	68
1960	52.7	36.7	65	70	60	64
1959	55.2	47.9	79	77	67	72
1958	39.8	43.5	66	65	71	64
1957	59.0	35.5	70	67	66	69
1956	43.8	53.1	70	70	71	72

Tallying Party Unity Votes

In the House in 2014, the two parties aligned against each other on 408 of 562 roll call votes, or 72.6 percent of the time — the second-highest frequency of unity votes ever for the chamber, up 4 percentage points from 2013. In the Senate, the parties opposed each other on 244 of 366 roll calls, or 66.7 percent of the time — down a bit from last year's 69.8 and far below the 78.6 percent peak in 2010. A list of roll call votes that pitted majorities of the two parties against each other is available upon request from CQ Roll Call.

Calculations of average scores by chamber and party are based on all eligible “yea” or “nay” votes, whether or not all members participated. Under this methodology, average support and opposition scores are reduced when members choose not to vote. Because individual member scores are based on the number of votes cast, party and chamber averages are not strictly comparable to individual member scores. (*Complete member scores, pp. 43-45*)

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

IN THE SENATE

1. Party Unity. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2014 on which a senator voted “yea” or “nay” in agreement with a majority of his or her party. (Party Unity votes are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans.) Percentages are based on votes cast; thus, failure to vote does not lower a member’s score.

2. Party Opposition. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2014 on which a senator voted “yea” or “nay” in disagreement with a majority of his or her party. Percentages are based on votes cast; thus, failure to vote does not lower a member’s score.

3. Participation in Party Unity Votes. Percentage of the Senate party unity votes in 2014 for which a senator was eligible and present and voted “yay” or “nay.” There were a total of 244 such recorded votes.

	1	2	3
ALABAMA			
Shelby	95	5	99
Sessions	97	3	96
ALASKA			
Murkowski	45	55	91
Begich	99	1	89
ARIZONA			
McCain	91	9	96
Flake	82	18	100
ARKANSAS			
Pryor	97	3	91
Boozman	97	3	82
CALIFORNIA			
Feinstein	99	1	89
Boxer	99	1	89
COLORADO			
Udall	99	1	91
Bennet	99	1	99
CONNECTICUT			
Blumenthal	99	1	100
Murphy	99	1	99
DELAWARE			
Carper	98	2	100
Coons	99	1	97
FLORIDA			
Nelson	98	2	97
Rubio	91	9	91
GEORGIA			
Chambliss	82	18	77
Isakson	83	17	97
HAWAII			
Schatz	100	0	88
Hirono	99	1	100
IDAHO			
Crapo	98	2	100
Risch	99	1	98
ILLINOIS			
Durbin	99	1	99
Kirk	85	15	95
INDIANA			
Coats	87	13	98
Donnelly	98	2	99
IOWA			
Grassley	97	3	100
Harkin	100	0	94
KANSAS			
Roberts	98	2	87
Moran	96	4	83
KENTUCKY			
McConnell	95	5	99
Paul	94	6	97
LOUISIANA			
Landrieu	93	7	82
Vitter	90	10	91
MAINE			
Collins	43	57	100
King	95	5	99
MARYLAND			
Mikulski	100	0	92
Cardin	100	0	99
MASSACHUSETTS			
Warren	99	1	99
Markey	99	1	96
MICHIGAN			
Stabenow	100	0	96
Levin	99	1	97
MINNESOTA			
Klobuchar	99	1	99
Franken	99	1	99
MISSISSIPPI			
Cochran	91	9	69
Wicker	91	9	99
MISSOURI			
McCaskill	98	2	93
Blunt	93	7	94
MONTANA			
Baucus ¹	100	0	100
Walsh ¹	97	3	99
Tester	97	3	98
NEBRASKA			
Johanns	94	6	91
Fischer	99	1	100
NEVADA			
Reid	95	5	100
Heller	84	16	97
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Shaheen	98	2	99
Ayotte	73	27	98
NEW JERSEY			
Menendez	99	1	99
Booker	99	1	97
NEW MEXICO			
Udall	100	0	99
Heinrich	99	1	100
NEW YORK			
Schumer	100	0	99
Gillibrand	99	1	98
NORTH CAROLINA			
Burr	94	6	95
Hagan	98	2	95
NORTH DAKOTA			
Hoeven	94	6	99
Heitkamp	94	6	98
OHIO			
Brown	99	1	97
Portman	89	11	94
OKLAHOMA			
Inhofe	97	3	87
Coburn	95	5	67
OREGON			
Wyden	99	1	100
Merkley	100	0	98
PENNSYLVANIA			
Casey	98	2	97
Toomey	91	9	94
RHODE ISLAND			
Reed	98	2	100
Whitehouse	99	1	99
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Graham	85	15	93
Scott	98	2	95
SOUTH DAKOTA			
Johnson	99	1	100
Thune	98	2	99
TENNESSEE			
Alexander	83	17	93
Corker	85	15	98
TEXAS			
Cornyn	92	8	95
Cruz	98	2	90
UTAH			
Hatch	84	16	95
Lee	99	1	95
VERMONT			
Leahy	99	1	99
Sanders	96	4	84
VIRGINIA			
Warner	98	2	98
Kaine	99	1	98
WASHINGTON			
Murray	100	0	100
Cantwell	100	0	100
WEST VIRGINIA			
Rockefeller	100	0	81
Manchin	87	13	98
WISCONSIN			
Johnson	97	3	97
Baldwin	99	1	99
WYOMING			
Enzi	97	3	99
Barrasso	97	3	98

¹Sen. John Walsh, D-Mont., was sworn in Feb. 11, 2014 to fill the seat vacated by Democrat Max Baucus, who resigned Feb. 6. Baucus was eligible for 19 party unity votes in 2014. Walsh was eligible for 225 party unity votes in 2014.

IN THE HOUSE

1. Party Unity. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2014 on which a member voted “yea” or “nay” in agreement with a majority of his or her party. (Party Unity votes are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans.) Percentages are based on votes cast; thus, failure to vote does not lower a member’s score.

2. Party Opposition. Percentage of recorded votes cast in 2014 on which a member voted “yea” or “nay” in disagreement with a majority of his or her party. Percentages are based on votes cast; thus, failure to vote does not lower a member’s score.

3. Participation in Party Unity Votes. Percentage of the House party unity votes in 2014 for which a member was eligible and present and voted “yea” or “nay.” There were a total of 408 such recorded votes.

	1	2	3
ALABAMA			
1 Byrne	99	1	94
2 Roby	91	9	100
3 Rogers	97	3	99
4 Aderholt	94	6	90
5 Brooks	95	5	99
6 Bachus	92	8	96
7 Sewell	92	8	98
ALASKA			
AL Young	89	11	98
ARIZONA			
1 Kirkpatrick	88	12	92
2 Barber	72	28	99
3 Grijalva	98	2	98
4 Gosar	95	5	76
5 Salmon	97	3	97
6 Schweikert	96	4	99
7 Pastor	99	1	86
8 Franks	99	1	97
9 Sinema	75	25	99
ARKANSAS			
1 Crawford	92	8	90
2 Griffin	94	6	96
3 Womack	93	7	100
4 Cotton	99	1	99
CALIFORNIA			
1 LaMalfa	99	1	96
2 Huffman	99	1	98
3 Garamendi	92	8	97
4 McClintock	95	5	98
5 Thompson	98	2	100
6 Matsui	99	1	97
7 Bera	88	12	99
8 Cook	98	2	99
9 McNeerney	95	5	99
10 Denham	91	9	99
11 Miller, George	99	1	95
12 Pelosi	99	1	89
13 Lee	99	1	97
14 Speier	98	2	96
15 Swalwell	97	3	99
16 Costa	69	31	97
17 Honda	99	1	96
18 Eshoo	99	1	98
19 Lofgren	98	2	99
20 Farr	97	3	99
21 Valadao	89	11	99
22 Nunes	95	5	99
23 McCarthy	97	3	99
24 Capps	97	3	100
25 McKeon	92	8	94
26 Brownley	90	10	99
27 Chu	99	1	98
28 Schiff	99	1	99
29 Cardenas	97	3	97
30 Sherman	96	4	99
31 Miller, Gary	95	5	51
32 Napolitano	99	1	95
33 Waxman	99	1	90
34 Becerra	99	1	95
35 Negrete McLeod	97	3	84
36 Ruiz	86	14	96
37 Bass	99	1	85
38 Sánchez, Linda	98	2	94
39 Royce	97	3	98
40 Roybal-Allard	99	1	99
41 Takano	99	1	100
42 Calvert	92	8	98
43 Waters	99	1	92
44 Hahn	98	2	100
45 Campbell	96	4	67
46 Sanchez, Loretta	94	6	97
47 Lowenthal	99	1	100
48 Rohrabacher	92	8	99
49 Issa	97	3	98
50 Hunter	96	4	99
51 Vargas	96	4	99
52 Peters	84	16	99
53 Davis	97	3	98
COLORADO			
1 DeGette	99	1	97

2 Polis	93	7	89
3 Tipton	96	4	97
4 Gardner	93	7	97
5 Lamborn	99	1	99
6 Coffman	93	7	99
7 Perlmutter	92	8	95
CONNECTICUT			
1 Larson	97	3	97
2 Courtney	96	4	96
3 DeLauro	98	2	97
4 Himes	94	6	99
5 Esty	95	5	98
DELAWARE			
AL Carney	96	4	89
FLORIDA			
1 Miller	98	2	95
2 Southerland	98	2	98
3 Yoho	97	3	99
4 Crenshaw	92	8	99
5 Brown	96	4	97
6 DeSantis	98	2	99
7 Mica	98	2	100
8 Posey	93	7	99
9 Grayson	97	3	98
10 Webster	94	6	98
11 Nugent	96	4	99
12 Bilirakis	97	3	98
13 Jolly	84	16	100
14 Castor	98	2	95
15 Ross	97	3	98
16 Buchanan	96	4	97
17 Rooney	94	6	98
18 Murphy	80	20	99
19 Radel ¹	100	0	100
19 Clawson ¹	97	3	99
20 Hastings	98	2	91
21 Deutch	99	1	98
22 Frankel	98	2	97
23 Wasserman Schultz	96	4	95
24 Wilson	99	1	98
25 Diaz-Balart	88	12	97
26 Garcia	89	11	93
27 Ros-Lehtinen	87	13	99
GEORGIA			
1 Kingston	99	1	82
2 Bishop	82	18	96
3 Westmoreland	97	3	96
4 Johnson	98	2	93
5 Lewis	99	1	85
6 Price	99	1	98
7 Woodall	97	3	98
8 Scott, A.	98	2	99
9 Collins	98	2	96
10 Broun	89	11	99
11 Gingrey	98	2	91
12 Barrow	56	44	100
13 Scott, D.	92	8	96
14 Graves	98	2	99
HAWAII			
1 Hanabusa	97	3	79
2 Gabbard	93	7	96
IDAHO			
1 Labrador	94	6	98
2 Simpson	92	8	99
ILLINOIS			
1 Rush	98	2	57
2 Kelly	99	1	99
3 Lipinski	85	15	99
4 Gutierrez	99	1	88
5 Quigley	98	2	98
6 Roskam	95	5	98
7 Davis, D.	99	1	92
8 Duckworth	92	8	91
9 Schakowsky	99	1	98
10 Schneider	88	12	95
11 Foster	93	7	99
12 Enyart	85	15	97
13 Davis, R.	91	9	97
14 Hultgren	98	2	100
15 Shimkus	92	8	100
16 Kinzinger	91	9	99

*The speaker votes at his discretion. Boehner voted on five party unity votes in this session.

¹Rep. Curt Clawson, R-Fla., was sworn in Jun. 25, 2014 to fill the seat vacated by Republican Trey Radel, who resigned Jan. 27. Radel was eligible for 11 party unity votes in 2014. Clawson was eligible for 143 party unity votes in 2014.

²Rep. Donald Norcross, D-N.J., was sworn in Nov. 12, 2014, to fill the seat vacated by Democrat Robert E. Andrews, who resigned Feb. 18. Andrews was eligible for 40 party unity votes in 2014. Norcross was eligible for 26 party unity votes in 2014.

³Rep. Dave Brat, R-Va., was sworn in Nov. 12, 2014, to fill the seat vacated by Republican Eric Cantor, who resigned Aug. 18. Cantor was eligible for 362 party unity votes in 2014. Brat was eligible for 26 party unity votes in 2014.

KEY	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
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17	Bustos	85	15	99
18	Schock	91	9	97
INDIANA				
1	Visclosky	96	4	99
2	Walorski	95	5	100
3	Stutzman	98	2	97
4	Rokita	98	2	99
5	Brooks	95	5	99
6	Messer	97	3	98
7	Carson	97	3	98
8	Bucshon	95	5	99
9	Young	94	6	99
IOWA				
1	Braley	93	7	99
2	Loeb sack	90	10	99
3	Latham	90	10	98
4	King	97	3	97
KANSAS				
1	Huelskamp	95	5	98
2	Jenkins	98	2	100
3	Yoder	97	3	99
4	Pompeo	99	1	86
KENTUCKY				
1	Whitfield	91	9	95
2	Guthrie	96	4	98
3	Yarmuth	98	2	99
4	Massie	89	11	100
5	Rogers	92	8	98
6	Barr	96	4	99
LOUISIANA				
1	Scalise	99	1	99
2	Richmond	97	3	81
3	Boustany	96	4	99
4	Fleming	99	1	100
5	McAllister	94	6	93
6	Cassidy	94	6	95
MAINE				
1	Pingree	98	2	98
2	Michaud	94	6	100
MARYLAND				
1	Harris	98	2	99
2	Ruppersberger	93	7	95
3	Sarbanes	99	1	99
4	Edwards	99	1	96
5	Hoyer	96	4	98
6	Delaney	92	8	97
7	Cummings	99	1	99
8	Van Hollen	99	1	99
MASSACHUSETTS				
1	Neal	98	2	97
2	McGovern	99	1	97
3	Tsongas	98	2	98
4	Kennedy	98	2	99
5	Clark	99	1	96
6	Tierney	97	3	98
7	Capuano	98	2	94
8	Lynch	96	4	97
9	Keating	96	4	98
MICHIGAN				
1	Benishek	93	7	94
2	Huizenga	99	1	99
3	Amash	89	11	99
4	Camp	95	5	97
5	Kildee	99	1	100
6	Upton	91	9	95
7	Walberg	99	1	99
8	Rogers	94	6	94
9	Levin	99	1	100
10	Miller	96	4	100
11	Bentivolio	96	4	99
12	Dingell	98	2	85
13	Conyers	99	1	97
14	Peters	89	11	97
MINNESOTA				
1	Walz	87	13	97
2	Kline	97	3	100
3	Paulsen	96	4	99
4	McCullum	98	2	95
5	Ellison	99	1	93
6	Bachmann	95	5	92
7	Peterson	48	52	100
8	Nolan	93	7	99

MISSISSIPPI				
1	Nunnelee	98	2	51
2	Thompson	97	3	95
3	Harper	96	4	98
4	Palazzo	99	1	92
MISSOURI				
1	Clay	98	2	91
2	Wagner	96	4	97
3	Luetkemeyer	96	4	100
4	Hartzler	98	2	90
5	Cleaver	98	2	88
6	Graves	97	3	96
7	Long	99	1	100
8	Smith	99	1	99
MONTANA				
AL	Daines	94	6	99
NEBRASKA				
1	Fortenberry	88	12	97
2	Terry	95	5	99
3	Smith	99	1	99
NEVADA				
1	Titus	97	3	99
2	Amodei	92	8	87
3	Heck	88	12	98
4	Horsford	96	4	98
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
1	Shea-Porter	93	7	99
2	Kuster	91	9	99
NEW JERSEY				
1	Andrews ²	100	0	95
1	Norcross ²	92	8	100
2	LoBiondo	82	18	100
3	Runyan	86	14	89
4	Smith	88	12	98
5	Garrett	96	4	99
6	Pallone	99	1	99
7	Lance	94	6	100
8	Sires	97	3	97
9	Pascrell	99	1	100
10	Payne	99	1	98
11	Frelinghuysen	91	9	98
12	Holt	99	1	97
NEW MEXICO				
1	Lujan Grisham	94	6	96
2	Pearce	95	5	99
3	Lujan	97	3	99
NEW YORK				
1	Bishop	94	6	100
2	King	87	13	99
3	Israel	95	5	99
4	McCarthy	93	7	59
5	Meeks	98	2	94
6	Meng	98	2	97
7	Velazquez	100	0	93
8	Jeffries	99	1	98
9	Clarke	99	1	95
10	Nadler	99	1	98
11	Grimm	88	12	95
12	Maloney, C.	97	3	97
13	Rangel	99	1	67
14	Crowley	99	1	95
15	Serrano	99	1	96
16	Engel	97	3	97
17	Lowey	98	2	99
18	Maloney, S.	88	12	99
19	Gibson	65	35	99
20	Tonko	98	2	100
21	Owens	75	25	99
22	Hanna	84	16	90
23	Reed	90	10	96
24	Maffei	83	17	100
25	Slaughter	98	2	90
26	Higgins	98	2	100
27	Collins	94	6	96
NORTH CAROLINA				
1	Butterfield	96	4	98
2	Ellmers	93	7	100
3	Jones	71	29	91
4	Price	97	3	100
5	Foxx	98	2	100
6	Coble	98	2	85
7	McIntyre	55	45	96

8	Hudson	99	1	99
9	Pittenger	99	1	99
10	McHenry	98	2	97
11	Meadows	97	3	99
12	Adams	100	0	100
13	Holding	99	1	99
NORTH DAKOTA				
AL	Cramer	95	5	94
OHIO				
1	Chabot	99	1	100
2	Wenstrup	97	3	99
3	Beatty	99	1	99
4	Jordan	97	3	100
5	Latta	99	1	100
6	Johnson	97	3	100
7	Gibbs	96	4	99
8	Boehner*	80	20	1
9	Kaptur	98	2	97
10	Turner	91	9	99
11	Fudge	98	2	96
12	Tiberi	94	6	99
13	Ryan	98	2	91
14	Joyce	90	10	98
15	Stivers	93	7	95
16	Renacci	92	8	100
OKLAHOMA				
1	Bridenstine	98	2	99
2	Mullin	98	2	95
3	Lucas	94	6	100
4	Cole	92	8	98
5	Lankford	98	2	81
OREGON				
1	Bonamici	99	1	100
2	Walden	92	8	97
3	Blumenauer	99	1	92
4	DeFazio	97	3	97
5	Schrader	81	19	99
PENNSYLVANIA				
1	Brady	99	1	99
2	Fattah	97	3	95
3	Kelly	94	6	99
4	Perry	96	4	99
5	Thompson	90	10	97
6	Gerlach	90	10	98
7	Meehan	91	9	99
8	Fitzpatrick	82	18	97
9	Shuster	94	6	94
10	Marino	94	6	99
11	Barletta	92	8	99
12	Rothfus	96	4	100
13	Schwartz	98	2	73
14	Doyle	98	2	96
15	Dent	89	11	99
16	Pitts	97	3	98
17	Cartwright	98	2	99
18	Murphy	93	7	99
RHODE ISLAND				
1	Cicilline	99	1	98
2	Langevin	98	2	99
SOUTH CAROLINA				
1	Sanford	90	10	99
2	Wilson	99	1	94
3	Duncan	97	2	99
4	Gowdy	98	2	98
5	Mulvaney	95	5	94
6	Clyburn	96	4	99
7	Rice	96	4	96
SOUTH DAKOTA				
AL	Noem	96	4	93
TENNESSEE				
1	Roe	97	3	99
2	Duncan	90	10	99
3	Fleischmann	97	3	99
4	DesJarlais	97	3	75
5	Cooper	88	12	99
6	Black	99	1	98
7	Blackburn	99	1	99
8	Fincher	98	2	97
9	Cohen	98	2	99
TEXAS				
1	Gohmert	96	4	95
2	Poe	96	4	95

3	Johnson, S.	98	2	92
4	Hall	95	5	87
5	Hensarling	98	2	99
6	Barton	97	3	91
7	Culberson	93	7	97
8	Brady	98	2	95
9	Green, A.	97	3	89
10	McCaul	98	2	99
11	Conaway	98	2	98
12	Granger	96	4	97
13	Thornberry	99	1	99
14	Weber	98	2	100
15	Hinojosa	94	6	81
16	O'Rourke	98	2	99
17	Flores	98	2	99
18	Jackson Lee	97	3	92
19	Neugebauer	99	1	100
20	Castro	98	2	98
21	Smith	99	1	98
22	Olson	98	2	97
23	Gallego	78	22	99
24	Marchant	98	2	97
25	Williams	99	1	94
26	Burgess	94	6	99
27	Farenthold	96	4	99
28	Cuellar	73	27	99
29	Green, G.	86	14	93
30	Johnson, E.	97	3	98
31	Carter	96	4	97
32	Sessions	99	1	100
33	Veasey	96	4	99
34	Vela	86	14	96
35	Doggett	99	1	99
36	Stockman	89	11	92
UTAH				
1	Bishop	99	1	94
2	Stewart	95	5	97
3	Chaffetz	97	3	86
4	Matheson	55	45	98
VERMONT				
AL	Welch	97	3	99
VIRGINIA				
1	Wittman	97	3	99
2	Rigell	94	6	99
3	Scott	97	3	99
4	Forbes	95	5	100
5	Hurt	98	2	96
6	Goodlatte	97	3	99
7	Cantor ³	94	6	87
7	Brat ³	92	8	100
8	Moran	96	4	95
9	Griffith	92	8	99
10	Wolf	89	11	98
11	Connolly	95	5	99
WASHINGTON				
1	DelBene	94	6	99
2	Larsen	95	5	99
3	Herrera Beutler	90	10	99
4	Hastings	91	9	97
5	McMorris Rodgers	98	2	99
6	Kilmer	94	6	97
7	McDermott	99	1	97
8	Reichert	87	13	99
9	Smith	97	3	85
10	Heck	97	3	97
WEST VIRGINIA				
1	McKinley	91	9	100
2	Capito	92	8	90
3	Rahall	65	35	100
WISCONSIN				
1	Ryan	98	2	99
2	Pocan	99	1	99
3	Kind	94	6	99
4	Moore	99	1	98
5	Sensenbrenner	95	5	100
6	Petri	93	7	99
7	Duffy	97	3	92
8	Ribble	96	4	99
WYOMING				
AL	Lummis	97	3	99