

116th Congress Senate Scores

Our Team

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The Lugar Center - McCourt School of Bipartisan Index

Senate Scores

116th Congress (2019-2020)

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- | Senator (by score) | Senator (alphabetical) | # | Name | State | Party | Score | # |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------------|------|----------|---------|-------|---|
| 1 | Susan Collins | ME | R | 4.58409 | 52 | | |
| | Lamar Alexander | TN | R | 0.32740 | 2 | | |
| | Lisa Murkowski | AK | R | 3.17341 | | | |
| 41 | Tammy Baldwin | WI | D | 0.50641 | 3 | | |
| | Rob Portman | OH | R | 2.81887 | | | |
| 47 | John Barrasso | WY | R | 0.42064 | 4 | | |
| | Cory Gardner | CO | R | 2.65591 | | | |
| 44 | Michael Bennet | CO | D | 0.47966 | 5 | | |
| | Kyrsten Sinema | AZ | D | | | | |
| 2.42747 | 57 | Marsha Blackburn | TN | R | 0.24786 | 6 | |
| | Shelley Moore Capito | WV | R | 2.23815 | 76 | | |
| | Richard Blumenthal | CT | D | -0.19497 | 7 | | |
| | Maggie Hassan | NH | D | 1.94482 | 27 | | |
| | Roy Blunt | MO | R | 1.07934 | 8 | | |
| | Todd Young | IN | R | 1.92724 | 90 | | |
| | Cory Booker | NJ | D | -0.61229 | 9 | | |
| | Martha McSally | AZ | R | 1.83145 | 20 | | |
| | John Boozman | AR | R | 1.51178 | | | |
| 10 | Bill Cassidy | LA | R | 1.82578 | 59 | | |
| | Mike Braun | IN | R | 0.18492 | 11 | | |
| | Jerry Moran | KS | R | 1.78611 | 54 | | |
| | Sherrod Brown | OH | D | 0.27911 | | | |
| 12 | John Cornyn | TX | R | 1.75472 | 29 | | |
| | Richard Burr | NC | R | 0.99633 | | | |
| 13 | Marco Rubio | FL | R | 1.74223 | 63 | | |
| | Maria Cantwell | WA | D | 0.00993 | | | |
| 14 | Roger Wicker | MS | R | 1.71340 | 49 | | |
| | Ben Cardin | MD | D | 0.40041 | | | |
| 15 | Gary Peters | MI | D | 1.62309 | 62 | | |
| | Tom Carper | DE | D | 0.06458 | 16 | | |
| | Dan Sullivan | AK | R | 1.62283 | 51 | | |
| | Bob Casey | PA | D | 0.35950 | 17 | | |
| | Jon Tester | MT | D | 1.58348 | 10 | | |
| | Bill Cassidy | LA | R | 1.82578 | 18 | | |
| | Chris Coons | DE | D | 1.57316 | 1 | | |
| | Susan Collins | ME | R | 4.58409 | 19 | | |
| | Chuck Grassley | IA | R | 1.52958 | 18 | | |
| | Chris Coons | DE | D | 1.57316 | | | |

20 John Boozman AR R 1.51178 12 John Cornyn TX R 1.75472
 21 Kevin Cramer ND R 1.40017 50 Catherine Cortez Masto NV
 D 0.39273 22 Steve Daines MT R 1.35493 79 Tom Cotton AR
 R -0.24526 23 Amy Klobuchar MN D 1.20981 21 Kevin Cramer
 ND R 1.40017 24 Doug Jones AL D 1.15808 34 Mike Crapo ID
 R 0.84921 25 Jacky Rosen NV D 1.14432 89 Ted Cruz TX R
 -0.53971 26 Joe Manchin WV D 1.12798 22 Steve Daines MT
 R 1.35493 27 Roy Blunt MO R 1.07934 74 Tammy Duckworth
 IL D -0.16112 28 Tim Scott SC R 1.04325 80 Dick Durbin IL D
 -0.27855 29 Richard Burr NC R 0.99633 85 Mike Enzi WY R
 -0.44405 30 John Hoeven ND R 0.95947 33 Joni Ernst IA R
 0.87397 31 Thom Tillis NC R 0.95733 67 Dianne Feinstein CA
 D -0.06100 32 Jeanne Shaheen NH D 0.93783 55 Deb Fischer
 NE R 0.27574 33 Joni Ernst IA R 0.87397 4 Cory Gardner CO
 R 2.65591 34 Mike Crapo ID R 0.84921 69 Kirsten Gillibrand
 NY D -0.10141 35 Lindsey Graham SC R 0.76101 35 Lindsey
 Graham SC R 0.76101 36 Johnny Isakson GA R 0.68683 19
 Chuck Grassley IA R 1.52958 37 Angus King ME D 0.67431 94
 Kamala Harris CA D -0.92915 38 Mark Warner VA D 0.61617 7
 Maggie Hassan NH D 1.94482 39 Charles Roberts KS R
 0.59892 82 Josh Hawley MO R -0.29032 40 Mike Rounds SD
 R 0.58314 72 Martin Heinrich NM D -0.13568 41 Tammy
 Baldwin WI D 0.50641 95 Mazie Hirono HI D -0.95739 42 Tina
 Smith MN D 0.50318 30 John Hoeven ND R 0.95947 43 Pat
 Toomey PA R 0.48029 65 Cindy Hyde-Smith MS R -0.02560
 44 Michael Bennet CO D 0.47966 64 Jim Inhofe OK R -0.02392
 45 Bob Menendez NJ D 0.46323 36 Johnny Isakson GA R
 0.68683 46 John Thune SD R 0.42951 60 Ron Johnson WI R
 0.16688 47 John Barrasso WY R 0.42064 24 Doug Jones AL D
 1.15808 48 James Lankford OK R 0.40495 84 Tim Kaine VA D
 -0.36628 49 Ben Cardin MD D 0.40041 53 John Neely
 Kennedy LA R 0.27984 50 Catherine Cortez Masto NV D
 0.39273 37 Angus King ME D 0.67431 51 Bob Casey PA D
 0.35950 23 Amy Klobuchar MN D 1.20981 52 Lamar
 Alexander TN R 0.32740 48 James Lankford OK R 0.40495 53
 John Neely Kennedy LA R 0.27984 77 Patrick Leahy VT D
 -0.20541 54 Sherrod Brown OH D 0.27911 83 Mike Lee UT R
 -0.34082 55 Deb Fischer NE R 0.27574 97 Kelly Loeffler GA R
 -1.09946 56 Jim Risch ID R 0.26547 26 Joe Manchin WV D
 1.12798 57 Marsha Blackburn TN R 0.24786 73 Ed Markey

MA D -0.14534 58 Debbie Stabenow MI D 0.19326 9 Martha
McSally AZ R 1.83145 59 Mike Braun IN R 0.18492 45 Bob
Menendez NJ D 0.46323 60 Ron Johnson WI R 0.16688 87
Jeff Merkley OR D -0.47978 61 Mitt Romney UT R 0.14243 6
Shelley Moore Capito WV R 2.23815 62 Tom Carper DE D
0.06458 11 Jerry Moran KS R 1.78611 63 Maria Cantwell WA
D 0.00993 2 Lisa Murkowski AK R 3.17341 64 Jim Inhofe OK
R -0.02392 92 Chris Murphy CT D -0.74095 65 Cindy Hyde-
Smith MS R -0.02560 96 Patty Murray WA D -1.00766 66
David Perdue GA R -0.04180 81 Rand Paul KY R -0.28881 67
Dianne Feinstein CA D -0.06100 66 David Perdue GA R
-0.04180 68 Chris Van Hollen MD D -0.07502 15 Gary Peters
MI D 1.62309 69 Kirsten Gillibrand NY D -0.10141 3 Rob
Portman OH R 2.81887 70 Brian Schatz HI D -0.11555 88
Jack Reed RI D -0.51223 71 Elizabeth Warren MA D -0.13038
56 Jim Risch ID R 0.26547 72 Martin Heinrich NM D -0.13568
39 Charles Roberts KS R 0.59892 73 Ed Markey MA D
-0.14534 61 Mitt Romney UT R 0.14243 74 Tammy Duckworth
IL D -0.16112 25 Jacky Rosen NV D 1.14432 75 Ron Wyden
OR D -0.17821 40 Mike Rounds SD R 0.58314 76 Richard
Blumenthal CT D -0.19497 13 Marco Rubio FL R 1.74223 77
Patrick Leahy VT D -0.20541 99 Bernie Sanders VT D -1.66974
78 Sheldon Whitehouse RI D -0.21238 93 Ben Sasse NE R
-0.80295 79 Tom Cotton AR R -0.24526 70 Brian Schatz HI D
-0.11555 80 Dick Durbin IL D -0.27855 28 Tim Scott SC R
1.04325 81 Rand Paul KY R -0.28881 86 Rick Scott FL R
-0.44777 82 Josh Hawley MO R -0.29032 32 Jeanne Shaheen
NH D 0.93783 83 Mike Lee UT R -0.34082 98 Richard Shelby
AL R -1.19357 84 Tim Kaine VA D -0.36628 5 Kyrsten Sinema
AZ D 2.42747 85 Mike Enzi WY R -0.44405 42 Tina Smith MN
D 0.50318 86 Rick Scott FL R -0.44777 58 Debbie Stabenow
MI D 0.19326 87 Jeff Merkley OR D -0.47978 16 Dan Sullivan
AK R 1.62283 88 Jack Reed RI D -0.51223 17 Jon Tester MT
D 1.58348 89 Ted Cruz TX R -0.53971 46 John Thune SD R
0.42951 90 Cory Booker NJ D -0.61229 31 Thom Tillis NC R
0.95733 91 Tom Udall NM D -0.65696 43 Pat Toomey PA R
0.48029 92 Chris Murphy CT D -0.74095 91 Tom Udall NM D
-0.65696 93 Ben Sasse NE R -0.80295 68 Chris Van Hollen
MD D -0.07502 94 Kamala Harris CA D -0.92915 38 Mark
Warner VA D 0.61617 95 Mazie Hirono HI D -0.95739 71

Elizabeth Warren MA D -0.13038 96 Patty Murray WA D
-1.00766 78 Sheldon Whitehouse RI D -0.21238 97 Kelly
Loeffler GA R -1.09946 14 Roger Wicker MS R 1.71340 98
Richard Shelby AL R -1.19357 75 Ron Wyden OR D -0.17821
99 Bernie Sanders VT D -1.66974 8 Todd Young IN R 1.92724

GovTrack data was used in the production of these scores

Notes: Senators who served fewer than 10
months are excluded (Mark Kelly D-AZ).

Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) and Minority Leader
Chuck Schumer (D-NY) are excluded.

Senators who are independent but caucus with a party for
purposes of determining which party is in the majority are
counted as a member of that party.

Bipartisan Index

The Lugar Center and Georgetown University's McCourt School of Public Policy have produced a non-partisan ranking of how often each Member of Congress works across party lines.

Read about the Bipartisan Index in the *Roll Call* op-ed "Reviving the Lost Art of Bipartisanship" and *The Hill* op-eds "Real conservatives and real progressives can get things done" and "Bipartisanship in Congress: Some progress, still a long way to go" by former Senator Richard Lugar and Georgetown University's McCourt School of Public Policy Dean Edward Montgomery.

Senator Lugar's Introduction to the Bipartisan Index

The Bipartisan Index is intended to fill a hole in the information available to the public about the performance of Members of Congress. There are innumerable studies, rankings, and indexes that grade members according to a partisan, parochial, or special-interest standard.

We sought to develop an objective measure of how well members of opposite parties work with one another using bill sponsorship and co-sponsorship data. We gravitated toward bill sponsorships and co-sponsorships for two reasons. First, they allowed us to construct a highly objective measure of partisan and bipartisan behavior. Second, sponsorship and co-sponsorship behavior is

especially revealing of partisan tendencies. Members' voting decisions are often contextual and can be influenced by parliamentary circumstances. Sponsorships and co-sponsorships, in contrast, exist as very carefully considered declarations of where a legislator stands on an issue.

The Bipartisan Index measures the frequency with which a Member co-sponsors a bill introduced by the opposite party and the frequency with which a Member's own bills attract co-sponsors from the opposite party.

It is essential to understand that one cannot get a clear and fair picture simply by tallying up bipartisan sponsorships and co-sponsorships in a single Congress. The main problem is that behavior related to sponsoring and co-sponsoring bills differs greatly depending on whether a member is in the majority or minority. To overcome this problem and give our index greater historical value, we constructed a 20-year baseline of data to which majority and minority members could be compared. One also must make decisions about how to compare members who co-sponsor a lot of bills with those who co-sponsor only a few; whether and how to give credit for an increasing number of bipartisan co-sponsors on a bill; whether to include commemorative legislation and resolutions; and how to handle members who introduce a very small number of bills or none at all. We tested solutions to each of these questions and others before settling on what we believe is an effective formula for measuring bipartisanship.

I would emphasize that we do not believe that it is wrong for members to have partisan bills in their portfolio of co-sponsorships. Every member of Congress has such bills. Nor do we believe that all bipartisan bills are wisely written and considered. However, a consistently low score on this index will be a very strong indication that a legislator is viewing his or her duties through a partisan lens. Conversely, a consistently high score is a strong indication that a legislator is prioritizing problem solving and open to working with the other party when possible.

What we are measuring in this Index is not so much the quality of legislation but rather the efforts of legislators to broaden the appeal of their sponsored legislation, to entertain a wider range of ideas, and to prioritize governance over posturing.

With this in mind, we regard any score above zero as a good score. We designate Members who score above zero as “Bipartisan Legislators” because they are above average compared to the 20-year baseline scores for their respective group. But we also offer special commendation to those members who score in the very top ranks. For the 113th Congress, the top two Senate scores belong to Susan Collins of Maine and Joe Manchin of West Virginia. In the House, the two top scores were achieved by Christopher Gibson and Peter King, both of New York.

If a member is disappointed in his or her score, there is a straightforward way to improve it in future congresses: Put more effort into recruiting bipartisan co-sponsors for your bills and consider co-sponsoring bills introduced by the opposite party. We hope members will do that and we regard the Bipartisan Index as a way of providing encouragement.

Our focus with the Bipartisan Index is not just on individual members. We also are looking at how Congress as a whole is performing. We hear often from commentators who claim that we are experiencing an extraordinarily partisan era. Regrettably, our analysis bears this out to a large extent. You can see by the charts that the last three Congresses have yielded very low scores on the Bipartisan Index. The 112th and 113th Congresses had the two lowest scores among the eleven Congresses that we have analyzed so far.

What this means is that at the beginning of the legislative process, when effective governance would argue for broadening a new bill’s appeal, too often the opposite is happening. Bills are being written not to maximize their chances of passage, but to serve as legislative talking points. Taking a position is not the same thing as governing. For Congress to be successful, the parties must work together at the beginning of the legislative process.

The Founders of our Republic were realists who understood the power of factionalism, parochialism, and personal ambition. They understood that good intentions would not always prevail. Accordingly, they designed a system to check abuse and prevent power from accumulating in a few hands. But they knew that the efficient operation of such a Republic would require a great deal of cooperation. They knew that it would require most elected officials to have a dedication to governance, and they trusted that leaders would arise in every era to make their vision work.

In this spirit, we encourage members of Congress to more frequently open themselves to the possibility that colleagues from the opposite party may have good ideas that are deserving of consideration.

Media Coverage

The Lugar Center and Georgetown University's McCourt School
Unveil Final Bipartisan Index Rankings for the 116th Congress
(2019-2020).
May 3, 2021