

2021 Senate Scores

The Lugar Center - McCourt School of Bipartisan Index

Senate Scores

117th Congress First Session (2021)

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- | Senator (by score) | | Senator (alphabetical) | | # |
|------------------------|-------|------------------------|----------|----|
| Name | State | Party | Score | # |
| 1 Maggie Hassan | NH | D | 2.84366 | 39 |
| Tammy Baldwin | WI | D | 0.10386 | 2 |
| Susan Collins | ME | R | 2.21384 | 82 |
| John Barrasso | WY | R | -1.00984 | 3 |
| Rob Portman | OH | R | 1.96908 | 29 |
| Michael Bennet | CO | D | 0.33242 | 4 |
| Kyrsten Sinema | AZ | D | 1.75905 | 75 |
| Marsha Blackburn | TN | R | -0.73432 | 5 |
| Gary Peters | MI | D | 1.59652 | 58 |
| Richard Blumenthal | CT | D | -0.32763 | 6 |
| Jon Tester | MT | D | 1.52518 | 25 |
| Roy Blunt | MO | R | 0.49486 | 7 |
| Joe Manchin | WV | D | 1.38236 | 70 |
| Cory Booker | NJ | D | -0.64397 | 8 |
| John Cornyn | TX | R | 1.35151 | 19 |
| John Boozman | AR | R | 0.74704 | 9 |
| Jacky Rosen | NV | D | 1.30088 | 73 |
| Mike Braun | IN | R | -0.71238 | 10 |
| Amy Klobuchar | MN | D | 1.14777 | 45 |
| Sherrod Brown | OH | D | -0.04087 | 11 |
| Shelley Capito | WV | R | 1.10388 | 30 |
| Richard Burr | NC | R | 0.30617 | 12 |
| Chuck Grassley | IA | R | 1.07545 | 36 |
| Maria Cantwell | WA | D | 0.18025 | 13 |
| Todd Young | IN | R | 0.96270 | 11 |
| Shelley Capito | WV | R | 1.10388 | 14 |
| Lisa Murkowski | AK | R | 0.90592 | 27 |
| Ben Cardin | MD | D | 0.44867 | 15 |
| Chris Coons | DE | D | 0.88338 | 33 |
| Tom Carper | DE | D | 0.25738 | 16 |
| Jeanne Shaheen | NH | D | 0.87739 | 41 |
| Bob Casey | PA | D | -0.00069 | 17 |
| Roger Wicker | MS | R | 0.86393 | 21 |
| Bill Cassidy | LA | R | 0.72090 | 18 |
| Raphael Warnock | GA | D | 0.75190 | 2 |
| Susan Collins | ME | R | 2.21384 | 19 |
| John Boozman | AR | R | 0.74704 | 15 |
| Chris Coons | DE | D | 0.88338 | 20 |
| Angus King | ME | D | 0.72708 | 8 |
| John Cornyn | TX | R | 1.35151 | 21 |
| Bill Cassidy | LA | R | 0.72090 | 34 |
| Catherine Cortez Masto | NV | D | 0.24229 | 22 |
| Mark Kelly | AZ | D | 0.62838 | 90 |
| Tom Cotton | AR | R | -1.49661 | 23 |
| Marco Rubio | FL | R | 0.56448 | 56 |
| Kevin Cramer | ND | R | -0.26292 | 24 |
| Debbie Stabenow | MI | D | 0.55138 | 60 |
| Mike Crapo | ID | R | -0.40757 | 25 |
| Roy Blunt | MO | R | 0.49486 | 91 |
| Ted Cruz | TX | R | -1.56430 | 26 |
| Jerry Moran | KS | R | 0.45727 | 42 |
| Steve Daines | MT | R | -0.01535 | 27 |
| Ben Cardin | MD | D | 0.44867 | 48 |
| Tammy Duckworth | IL | D | -0.16956 | 28 |
| Tina Smith | MN | D | 0.39295 | 47 |
| Dick Durbin | IL | D | -0.12681 | 29 |
| Michael Bennet | CO | D | 0.33242 | 40 |
| Joni Ernst | IA | R | 0.02598 | 30 |
| Richard Burr | NC | R | 0.30617 | 43 |
| Dianne Feinstein | CA | D | -0.03056 | 31 |
| Bob Menendez | NJ | D | 0.27432 | 32 |
| Deb Fischer | NE | R | 0.27395 | 32 |
| Deb Fischer | NE | R | 0.27395 | 55 |
| Kirsten Gillibrand | NY | D | -0.22384 | 33 |
| Tom Carper | DE | D | 0.25738 | 69 |
| Lindsey Graham | SC | R | -0.64234 | 34 |
| Catherine Cortez Masto | NV | D | 0.24229 | 12 |
| Chuck Grassley | IA | R | 1.07545 | 35 |
| Mark Warner | VA | D | 0.23337 | 96 |
| Bill Hagerty | TN | R | | |

-1.67231 36 Maria Cantwell WA D 0.18025 1 Maggie Hassan NH D 2.84366 37 John Thune SD R 0.17977 93 Josh Hawley MO R -1.59984 38 Mike Rounds SD R 0.10395 51 Martin Heinrich NM D -0.19058 39 Tammy Baldwin WI D 0.10386 62 John Hickenlooper CO D -0.47394 40 Joni Ernst IA R 0.02598 76 Mazie Hirono HI D -0.76662 41 Bob Casey PA D -0.00069 44 John Hoeven ND R -0.03243 42 Steve Daines MT R -0.01535 92 Cindy Hyde-Smith MS R -1.59008 43 Dianne Feinstein CA D -0.03056 79 Jim Inhofe OK R -0.85961 44 John Hoeven ND R -0.03243 94 Ron Johnson WI R -1.63095 45 Sherrod Brown OH D -0.04087 50 Tim Kaine VA D -0.19034 46 Brian Schatz HI D -0.09660 22 Mark Kelly AZ D 0.62838 47 Dick Durbin IL D -0.12681 86 John Kennedy LA R -1.22273 48 Tammy Duckworth IL D -0.16956 20 Angus King ME D 0.72708 49 Tim Scott SC R -0.17789 10 Amy Klobuchar MN D 1.14777 50 Tim Kaine VA D -0.19034 77 James Lankford OK R -0.78172 51 Martin Heinrich NM D -0.19058 63 Patrick Leahy VT D -0.51178 52 Chris Van Hollen MD D -0.20183 89 Mike Lee UT R -1.38362 53 Dan Sullivan AK R -0.20588 59 Ben Ray Lujan NM D -0.33648 54 Mitt Romney UT R -0.20735 85 Cynthia Lummis WY R -1.16036 55 Kirsten Gillibrand NY D -0.22384 7 Joe Manchin WV D 1.38236 56 Kevin Cramer ND R -0.26292 67 Edward Markey MA D -0.61705 57 Thom Tillis NC R -0.31921 80 Roger Marshall KS R -0.91259 58 Richard Blumenthal CT D -0.32763 31 Bob Menendez NJ D 0.27432 59 Ben Ray Lujan NM D -0.33648 84 Jeff Merkley OR D -1.07904 60 Mike Crapo ID R -0.40757 26 Jerry Moran KS R 0.45727 61 Chris Murphy CT D -0.47018 14 Lisa Murkowski AK R 0.90592 62 John Hickenlooper CO D -0.47394 61 Chris Murphy CT D -0.47018 63 Patrick Leahy VT D -0.51178 81 Patty Murray WA D -0.96785 64 Sheldon Whitehouse RI D -0.53651 72 Jon Ossoff GA D -0.68188 65 Pat Toomey PA R -0.57812 71 Alex Padilla CA D -0.64419 66 Jack Reed RI D -0.61649 83 Rand Paul KY R -1.07381 67 Edward Markey MA D -0.61705 5 Gary Peters MI D 1.59652 68 Ron Wyden OR D -0.63300 3 Rob Portman OH R 1.96908 69 Lindsey Graham SC R -0.64234 66 Jack Reed RI D -0.61649 70 Cory Booker NJ D -0.64397 74 Jim Risch ID R -0.73157 71 Alex Padilla CA D -0.64419 54 Mitt Romney UT R -0.20735 72 Jon Ossoff GA D -0.68188 9 Jacky Rosen NV D 1.30088 73 Mike Braun IN R -0.71238 38 Mike Rounds SD R 0.10395 74 Jim Risch ID R -0.73157 23 Marco Rubio FL R 0.56448 75 Marsha Blackburn TN R -0.73432 87 Bernie Sanders VT D -1.26392 76 Mazie Hirono HI D -0.76662 88 Ben Sasse NE R -1.32981 77 James Lankford OK R -0.78172 46 Brian Schatz HI D -0.09660 78 Elizabeth Warren MA D -0.79962 95 Rick Scott FL R -1.65241 79 Jim Inhofe OK R -0.85961 49 Tim Scott SC R -0.17789 80 Roger Marshall KS R -0.91259 16 Jeanne Shaheen NH D 0.87739 81 Patty Murray WA D -0.96785 98 Richard Shelby AL R -1.97223 82 John Barrasso WY R -1.00984 4 Kyrsten Sinema AZ D 1.75905 83 Rand Paul KY R -1.07381 28 Tina Smith MN D 0.39295 84 Jeff Merkley OR D -1.07904 24 Debbie Stabenow MI D 0.55138 85 Cynthia Lummis WY R -1.16036 53 Dan Sullivan AK R -0.20588 86 John Kennedy LA R -1.22273 6 Jon Tester MT D 1.52518 87 Bernie Sanders VT D -1.26392 37 John Thune SD R 0.17977 88 Ben Sasse NE R -1.32981 57 Thom Tillis NC R -0.31921 89 Mike Lee UT R -1.38362 65 Pat Toomey PA R -0.57812 90 Tom Cotton AR R -1.49661 97 Tommy Tuberville AL R -1.83109 91 Ted Cruz TX R -1.56430 52 Chris Van Hollen MD D -0.20183 92 Cindy Hyde-Smith MS R -1.59008 35 Mark Warner VA D 0.23337 93 Josh Hawley MO R -1.59984 18 Raphael Warnock GA D 0.75190 94

Ron Johnson WI R -1.63095 78 Elizabeth Warren MA D -0.79962 95 Rick Scott FL R -1.65241
64 Sheldon Whitehouse RI D -0.53651 96 Bill Hagerty TN R -1.67231 17 Roger Wicker MS R
0.86393 97 Tommy Tuberville AL R -1.83109 68 Ron Wyden OR D -0.63300 98 Richard Shelby
AL R -1.97223 13 Todd Young IN R 0.96270 GovTrack data was used in the

production of these scores Notes: Majority Leader Chuck
Schumer (D-NY) and Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) are excluded.
Senators who served fewer than 6 months are excluded: Kamala Harris (D-CA) and Kelly Loeffler (R-
GA). 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.