

117th Congress Senate Scores

The Lugar Center - McCourt School of Bipartisan Index

Senate Scores

117th Congress (2021-2022)

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- | Senator (by score) | | Senator (alphabetical) | | # |
|------------------------|-------|------------------------|----------|----|
| Name | State | Party | Score | # |
| 1 Maggie Hassan | NH | D | 3.16973 | 35 |
| Tammy Baldwin | WI | D | 0.49694 | 2 |
| Susan Collins | ME | R | 2.96023 | 75 |
| John Barrasso | WY | R | -0.58791 | 3 |
| Gary Peters | MI | D | 2.88836 | 40 |
| Michael Bennet | CO | D | 0.27227 | 4 |
| Rob Portman | OH | R | 2.56072 | 67 |
| Marsha Blackburn | TN | R | -0.40275 | 5 |
| John Cornyn | TX | R | 2.43445 | 46 |
| Richard Blumenthal | CT | D | 0.10460 | 6 |
| Kyrsten Sinema | AZ | D | 2.16754 | 27 |
| Roy Blunt | MO | R | 0.70235 | 7 |
| Jacky Rosen | NV | D | 2.04792 | 65 |
| Cory Booker | NJ | D | -0.30557 | 8 |
| Jon Tester | MT | D | 1.84334 | 26 |
| John Boozman | AR | R | 0.72233 | 9 |
| Amy Klobuchar | MN | D | 1.66576 | 74 |
| Mike Braun | IN | R | -0.55256 | 10 |
| Chuck Grassley | IA | R | 1.57325 | 30 |
| Sherrod Brown | OH | D | 0.55913 | 11 |
| Joe Manchin | WV | D | 1.57219 | 28 |
| Richard Burr | NC | R | 0.67467 | 12 |
| Chris Coons | DE | D | 1.50743 | 39 |
| Maria Cantwell | WA | D | 0.27393 | 13 |
| Todd Young | IN | R | 1.31943 | 14 |
| Shelley Capito | WV | R | 1.29336 | 14 |
| Shelley Capito | WV | R | 1.29336 | 34 |
| Ben Cardin | MD | D | 0.51298 | 15 |
| Lisa Murkowski | AK | R | 1.25605 | 31 |
| Tom Carper | DE | D | 0.55204 | 16 |
| Roger Wicker | MS | R | 1.24556 | 37 |
| Bob Casey | PA | D | 0.44706 | 17 |
| Angus King | ME | D | 1.20209 | 19 |
| Bill Cassidy | LA | R | 1.10473 | 18 |
| Jeanne Shaheen | NH | D | 1.12608 | 2 |
| Susan Collins | ME | R | 2.96023 | 19 |
| Bill Cassidy | LA | R | 1.10473 | 12 |
| Chris Coons | DE | D | 1.50743 | 20 |
| Mark Kelly | AZ | D | 0.87462 | 5 |
| John Cornyn | TX | R | 2.43445 | 21 |
| Marco Rubio | FL | R | 0.85011 | 32 |
| Catherine Cortez Masto | NV | D | 0.54944 | 22 |
| Debbie Stabenow | MI | D | 0.84419 | 92 |
| Tom Cotton | AR | R | -1.35874 | 23 |
| Bob Menendez | NJ | D | 0.82110 | 60 |
| Kevin Cramer | ND | R | -0.11920 | 24 |
| Raphael Warnock | GA | D | 0.80823 | 66 |
| Mike Crapo | ID | R | -0.33191 | 25 |
| Jerry Moran | KS | R | 0.75214 | 95 |
| Ted Cruz | TX | R | -1.46538 | 26 |
| John Boozman | AR | R | 0.72233 | 43 |
| Steve Daines | MT | R | 0.24033 | 27 |
| Roy Blunt | MO | R | 0.70235 | 49 |
| Tammy Duckworth | IL | D | 0.06069 | 28 |
| Richard Burr | NC | R | 0.67467 | 41 |
| Dick Durbin | IL | D | 0.26893 | 29 |
| Mark Warner | VA | D | 0.60290 | 44 |
| Joni Ernst | IA | R | 0.21098 | 30 |
| Sherrod Brown | OH | D | 0.55913 | 38 |
| Dianne Feinstein | CA | D | 0.36030 | 31 |
| Tom Carper | DE | D | 0.55204 | 33 |
| Deb Fischer | NE | R | 0.54890 | 32 |
| Catherine Cortez Masto | NV | D | 0.54944 | 50 |
| Kirsten Gillibrand | NY | D | 0.05453 | 33 |
| Deb Fischer | NE | R | 0.54890 | 54 |
| Lindsey Graham | SC | R | -0.03088 | 34 |
| Ben Cardin | MD | D | 0.51298 | 10 |
| Chuck Grassley | IA | R | 1.57325 | 35 |
| Tammy Baldwin | WI | D | 0.49694 | 87 |
| Bill Hagerty | TN | R | | |

-1.19270 36 Tina Smith MN D 0.46248 1 Maggie Hassan NH D 3.16973 37 Bob Casey PA D 0.44706 96 Josh Hawley MO R -1.54181 38 Dianne Feinstein CA D 0.36030 59 Martin Heinrich NM D -0.11472 39 Maria Cantwell WA D 0.27393 45 John Hickenlooper CO D 0.18173 40 Michael Bennet CO D 0.27227 85 Mazie Hirono HI D -0.85665 41 Dick Durbin IL D 0.26893 58 John Hoeven ND R -0.11009 42 John Thune SD R 0.25698 94 Cindy Hyde-Smith MS R -1.44906 43 Steve Daines MT R 0.24033 83 Jim Inhofe OK R -0.81526 44 Joni Ernst IA R 0.21098 97 Ron Johnson WI R -1.57636 45 John Hickenlooper CO D 0.18173 55 Tim Kaine VA D -0.03850 46 Richard Blumenthal CT D 0.10460 20 Mark Kelly AZ D 0.87462 47 Tim Scott SC R 0.08058 86 John Kennedy LA R -0.87518 48 Mike Rounds SD R 0.07022 17 Angus King ME D 1.20209 49 Tammy Duckworth IL D 0.06069 9 Amy Klobuchar MN D 1.66576 50 Kirsten Gillibrand NY D 0.05453 78 James Lankford OK R -0.74502 51 Jon Ossoff GA D 0.01166 63 Patrick Leahy VT D -0.22072 52 Thom Tillis NC R 0.00621 89 Mike Lee UT R -1.26848 53 Ben Ray Lujan NM D -0.00557 53 Ben Ray Lujan NM D -0.00557 54 Lindsey Graham SC R -0.03088 81 Cynthia Lummis WY R -0.78566 55 Tim Kaine VA D -0.03850 11 Joe Manchin WV D 1.57219 56 Chris Van Hollen MD D -0.08754 73 Edward Markey MA D -0.53295 57 Dan Sullivan AK R -0.09039 80 Roger Marshall KS R -0.77014 58 John Hoeven ND R -0.11009 23 Bob Menendez NJ D 0.82110 59 Martin Heinrich NM D -0.11472 79 Jeff Merkley OR D -0.75533 60 Kevin Cramer ND R -0.11920 25 Jerry Moran KS R 0.75214 61 Brian Schatz HI D -0.17132 15 Lisa Murkowski AK R 1.25605 62 Sheldon Whitehouse RI D -0.18675 68 Chris Murphy CT D -0.40868 63 Patrick Leahy VT D -0.22072 82 Patty Murray WA D -0.78879 64 Mitt Romney UT R -0.25929 51 Jon Ossoff GA D 0.01166 65 Cory Booker NJ D -0.30557 70 Alex Padilla CA D -0.45579 66 Mike Crapo ID R -0.33191 84 Rand Paul KY R -0.85657 67 Marsha Blackburn TN R -0.40275 3 Gary Peters MI D 2.88836 68 Chris Murphy CT D -0.40868 4 Rob Portman OH R 2.56072 69 Jack Reed RI D -0.44888 69 Jack Reed RI D -0.44888 70 Alex Padilla CA D -0.45579 76 Jim Risch ID R -0.67587 71 Ron Wyden OR D -0.47485 64 Mitt Romney UT R -0.25929 72 Pat Toomey PA R -0.52605 7 Jacky Rosen NV D 2.04792 73 Edward Markey MA D -0.53295 48 Mike Rounds SD R 0.07022 74 Mike Braun IN R -0.55256 21 Marco Rubio FL R 0.85011 75 John Barrasso WY R -0.58791 88 Bernie Sanders VT D -1.20514 76 Jim Risch ID R -0.67587 90 Ben Sasse NE R -1.31104 77 Elizabeth Warren MA D -0.68342 61 Brian Schatz HI D -0.17132 78 James Lankford OK R -0.74502 47 Tim Scott SC R 0.08058 79 Jeff Merkley OR D -0.75533 91 Rick Scott FL R -1.33925 80 Roger Marshall KS R -0.77014 18 Jeanne Shaheen NH D 1.12608 81 Cynthia Lummis WY R -0.78566 98 Richard Shelby AL R -1.92278 82 Patty Murray WA D -0.78879 6 Kyrsten Sinema AZ D 2.16754 83 Jim Inhofe OK R -0.81526 36 Tina Smith MN D 0.46248 84 Rand Paul KY R -0.85657 22 Debbie Stabenow MI D 0.84419 85 Mazie Hirono HI D -0.85665 57 Dan Sullivan AK R -0.09039 86 John Kennedy LA R -0.87518 8 Jon Tester MT D 1.84334 87 Bill Hagerty TN R -1.19270 42 John Thune SD R 0.25698 88 Bernie Sanders VT D -1.20514 52 Thom Tillis NC R 0.00621 89 Mike Lee UT R -1.26848 72 Pat Toomey PA R -0.52605 90 Ben Sasse NE R -1.31104 93 Tommy Tuberville AL R -1.42686 91 Rick Scott FL R -1.33925 56 Chris Van Hollen MD D -0.08754 92 Tom Cotton AR R -1.35874 29 Mark Warner VA D 0.60290 93 Tommy Tuberville AL R -1.42686 24 Raphael Warnock GA D 0.80823 94 Cindy Hyde-Smith MS R

-1.44906 77 Elizabeth Warren MA D -0.68342 95 Ted Cruz TX R -1.46538 62 Sheldon Whitehouse RI D -0.18675 96 Josh Hawley MO R -1.54181 16 Roger Wicker MS R 1.24556 97 Ron Johnson WI R -1.57636 71 Ron Wyden OR D -0.47485 98 Richard Shelby AL R -1.92278 13 Todd Young IN R 1.31943

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. Kamala Harris (D-CA) and Kelly Loeffler (R-GA) 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.