

2023 Senate Scores

Our Team

Jay Branegan

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The Lugar Center - McCourt School of Bipartisan Index

Senate Scores

118th Congress First Session (2023)

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- | Senator (by score) | Senator (alphabetical) | # | Name | State | Party | Score | # |
|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------|----------|---------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1 | Susan Collins | ME | R | 2.41047 | 31 | | |
| | Tammy Baldwin | WI | D | 0.28627 | 2 | Gary Peters | MI D 2.21262 64 |
| | John Barrasso | WY | R | -0.52828 | 3 | Maggie Hassan | NH D 2.03057 |
| 32 | Michael Bennet | CO | D | 0.24740 | 4 | Joe Manchin | WV D 1.92481 |
| 47 | Marsha Blackburn | TN | R | -0.07916 | 5 | John Cornyn | TX R |
| 1.71401 | 63 | Richard Blumenthal | CT | D | -0.50813 | 6 | Jacky Rosen |
| | NV | D | 1.62065 | 66 | Cory Booker | NJ | D -0.61682 |
| | 7 | Lisa | | | | | |
| | Murkowski | AK | R | 1.53979 | 21 | John Boozman | AR R 0.67637 8 |
| | Jerry Moran | KS | R | 1.38410 | 19 | Mike Braun | IN R 0.70486 9 |
| | Todd Young | IN | R | 1.37383 | 98 | Katie Britt | AL R -1.66551 10 |
| | Jon Tester | MT | D | 1.33708 | 39 | Sherrod Brown | OH D 0.12565 11 |
| | Chuck Grassley | IA | R | 1.28735 | 79 | Ted Budd | NC R -0.84996 12 |
| | Kyrsten Sinema | AZ | D | 1.15383 | 35 | Maria Cantwell | WA D 0.21166 |
| 13 | Shelley Capito | WV | R | 1.12052 | 13 | Shelley Capito | WV R |
| 1.12052 | 14 | Raphael Warnock | GA | D | 1.00101 | 55 | Ben Cardin |
| | MD | D | -0.24163 | 15 | Amy Klobuchar | MN | D 0.98294 38 |
| | Tom Carper | DE | D | 0.14359 | 16 | Chris Coons | DE D 0.94683 53 |
| | Bob Casey | PA | D | -0.22735 | 17 | Angus King | ME D 0.93671 18 |
| | Bill Cassidy | LA | R | 0.85801 | 18 | Bill Cassidy | LA R 0.85801 1 |
| | Susan Collins | ME | R | 2.41047 | 19 | Mike Braun | IN R 0.70486 16 |
| | Chris Coons | DE | D | 0.94683 | 20 | Mike Rounds | SD R 0.70126 5 |
| | John Cornyn | TX | R | 1.71401 | 21 | John Boozman | AR R 0.67637 34 |

Catherine Cortez Masto NV D 0.22385 22 Roger Wicker MS R
0.65419 94 Tom Cotton AR R -1.28330 23 Mark Warner VA D
0.55539 44 Kevin Cramer ND R 0.00771 24 Mark Kelly AZ D
0.49057 49 Mike Crapo ID R -0.10228 25 Deb Fischer NE R
0.48528 89 Ted Cruz TX R -1.18228 26 Jeanne Shaheen NH D
0.43549 60 Steve Daines MT R -0.42507 27 John
Hickenlooper CO D 0.41157 73 Tammy Duckworth IL D
-0.70770 28 Mitt Romney UT R 0.39857 46 Dick Durbin IL D
-0.01211 29 Lindsey Graham SC R 0.38026 52 Joni Ernst IA R
-0.15943 30 Bob Menendez NJ D 0.34204 74 Dianne Feinstein
CA D -0.71180 31 Tammy Baldwin WI D 0.28627 88 John
Fetterman PA D -1.02480 32 Michael Bennet CO D 0.24740 25
Deb Fischer NE R 0.48528 33 Jon Ossoff GA D 0.22705 61
Kirsten Gillibrand NY D -0.49530 34 Catherine Cortez Masto NV
D 0.22385 29 Lindsey Graham SC R 0.38026 35 Maria
Cantwell WA D 0.21166 11 Chuck Grassley IA R 1.28735 36
Ben Ray Luján NM D 0.20157 87 Bill Hagerty TN R -1.01023
37 Thom Tillis NC R 0.20150 3 Maggie Hassan NH D 2.03057
38 Tom Carper DE D 0.14359 90 Josh Hawley MO R -1.20746
39 Sherrod Brown OH D 0.12565 56 Martin Heinrich NM D
-0.30269 40 Marco Rubio FL R 0.07608 27 John Hickenlooper
CO D 0.41157 41 Debbie Stabenow MI D 0.06572 86 Mazie
Hirono HI D -0.99231 42 John Thune SD R 0.05614 48 John
Hoeven ND R -0.08820 43 Tim Kaine VA D 0.05060 83 Cindy
Hyde-Smith MS R -0.92129 44 Kevin Cramer ND R 0.00771
95 Ron Johnson WI R -1.36213 45 James Lankford OK R
-0.00574 43 Tim Kaine VA D 0.05060 46 Dick Durbin IL D
-0.01211 24 Mark Kelly AZ D 0.49057 47 Marsha Blackburn
TN R -0.07916 76 John Kennedy LA R -0.77146 48 John
Hoeven ND R -0.08820 17 Angus King ME D 0.93671 49 Mike
Crapo ID R -0.10228 15 Amy Klobuchar MN D 0.98294 50
Tina Smith MN D -0.14199 45 James Lankford OK R -0.00574
51 Dan Sullivan AK R -0.14432 92 Mike Lee UT R -1.25630 52
Joni Ernst IA R -0.15943 36 Ben Ray Luján NM D 0.20157 53
Bob Casey PA D -0.22735 70 Cynthia Lummis WY R -0.64662
54 Jim Risch ID R -0.23152 4 Joe Manchin WV D 1.92481 55
Ben Cardin MD D -0.24163 82 Edward Markey MA D -0.89611
56 Martin Heinrich NM D -0.30269 57 Roger Marshall KS R
-0.33861 57 Roger Marshall KS R -0.33861 30 Bob Menendez
NJ D 0.34204 58 Sheldon Whitehouse RI D -0.39095 68 Jeff

Merkley OR D -0.63218 59 Brian Schatz HI D -0.40117 8 Jerry
Moran KS R 1.38410 60 Steve Daines MT R -0.42507 72
Markwayne Mullin OK R -0.66602 61 Kirsten Gillibrand NY D
-0.49530 7 Lisa Murkowski AK R 1.53979 62 Alex Padilla CA
D -0.50354 81 Chris Murphy CT D -0.86152 63 Richard
Blumenthal CT D -0.50813 96 Patty Murray WA D -1.44533 64
John Barrasso WY R -0.52828 33 Jon Ossoff GA D 0.22705
65 Tim Scott SC R -0.56797 62 Alex Padilla CA D -0.50354 66
Cory Booker NJ D -0.61682 69 Rand Paul KY R -0.63351 67
Chris Van Hollen MD D -0.62695 2 Gary Peters MI D 2.21262
68 Jeff Merkley OR D -0.63218 78 Jack Reed RI D -0.80941
69 Rand Paul KY R -0.63351 85 Pete Ricketts NE R -0.95609
70 Cynthia Lummis WY R -0.64662 54 Jim Risch ID R -0.23152
71 Elizabeth Warren MA D -0.65799 28 Mitt Romney UT R
0.39857 72 Markwayne Mullin OK R -0.66602 6 Jacky Rosen
NV D 1.62065 73 Tammy Duckworth IL D -0.70770 20 Mike
Rounds SD R 0.70126 74 Dianne Feinstein CA D -0.71180 40
Marco Rubio FL R 0.07608 75 Peter Welch VT D -0.71319 91
Bernie Sanders VT D -1.22635 76 John Kennedy LA R -0.77146
59 Brian Schatz HI D -0.40117 77 J.D. Vance OH R -0.79354
97 Eric Schmitt MO R -1.45836 78 Jack Reed RI D -0.80941
65 Tim Scott SC R -0.56797 79 Ted Budd NC R -0.84996 84
Rick Scott FL R -0.94738 80 Ron Wyden OR D -0.85867 26
Jeanne Shaheen NH D 0.43549 81 Chris Murphy CT D
-0.86152 12 Kyrsten Sinema AZ D 1.15383 82 Edward Markey
MA D -0.89611 50 Tina Smith MN D -0.14199 83 Cindy Hyde-
Smith MS R -0.92129 41 Debbie Stabenow MI D 0.06572 84
Rick Scott FL R -0.94738 51 Dan Sullivan AK R -0.14432 85
Pete Ricketts NE R -0.95609 10 Jon Tester MT D 1.33708 86
Mazie Hirono HI D -0.99231 42 John Thune SD R 0.05614 87
Bill Hagerty TN R -1.01023 37 Thom Tillis NC R 0.20150 88
John Fetterman PA D -1.02480 93 Tommy Tuberville AL R
-1.25831 89 Ted Cruz TX R -1.18228 67 Chris Van Hollen MD
D -0.62695 90 Josh Hawley MO R -1.20746 77 J.D. Vance OH
R -0.79354 91 Bernie Sanders VT D -1.22635 23 Mark Warner
VA D 0.55539 92 Mike Lee UT R -1.25630 14 Raphael
Warnock GA D 1.00101 93 Tommy Tuberville AL R -1.25831
71 Elizabeth Warren MA D -0.65799 94 Tom Cotton AR R
-1.28330 75 Peter Welch VT D -0.71319 95 Ron Johnson WI R
-1.36213 58 Sheldon Whitehouse RI D -0.39095 96 Patty

Murray WA D -1.44533 22 Roger Wicker MS R 0.65419 97 Eric
Schmitt MO R -1.45836 80 Ron Wyden OR D -0.85867 98
Katie Britt AL R -1.66551 9 Todd Young IN R 1.37383

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.

Laphonza Butler (D-CA) and Ben Sasse (R-NE) are excluded because they served less than 6 months during 2023.

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.