

## **2017: Year of the Party-line Vote**

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With knife-edge majorities in the House of Representatives and the Senate, the ability of the Republicans to accomplish anything meaningful was in doubt. Would the Democrats work to gain the support of wavering Republicans on particular issues to modify or even reverse the course of legislation? Or, would Washington, D.C., remain so polarized that the Republicans would be able to navigate budget bills, nominations and selective changes in law through the maze that is Congress?

The Democrats answered this question by declaring 2017 to be a year of "resistance," and by their increasingly dubious claim of Russia collusion. As a result, Republicans were able to make major changes in tax law, support President Trump on regulatory reform, and confirm his nominees for executive offices, commissions and the courts. To be sure, it was a mixed bag. The individual mandate is gone, but Obamacare otherwise remains in place. After reaching a low of 2.5 percent of GDP in 2015, the deficit has been ticking back up. And, lack of comprehensive immigration reform leaves our broken system in place and leaves millions of persons in the United States at the risk of deportation.

The 2017 Liberty Index of Congress, like its predecessors, uses four lists of twenty roll call votes to measure the voting inclinations of members of Congress, one pair of lists for the House and another for the Senate. Twenty of these roll call votes are focused on economic freedom, to include taxes, spending and regulations. Twenty are focused on personal freedom and encompass a diverse set of concerns such as freedom of speech and of religion, the right to keep and bear arms, the rights to privacy and to due process, the rights of the accused, equal rights, our system of checks and balances, our division of power between state and federal government, and foreign interventionism.

The roll call votes are selected without regard to how particular members of Congress vote. Because of disagreements among well-respected libertarian Republicans on particular votes, the result should only be considered a voting tendency and the process does not define "the" libertarian position on particular vote. As in the past, I have shared tentative lists of votes with a small number of trusted advisors prior to publication, for comment and discussion, although I remain the final arbiter.

### **House Roll Call Votes - Economic Freedom**

As usual, I have a nice set of votes from which to construct a scale capable of identifying the entire range of voting orientation in the House, from pro-economic freedom to pro-government control. Three budget resolution votes (#553, #555 and #556) outline the overall picture regarding spending. Votes on several appropriation bills examine spending in particular areas (#447, #449, #452 and #566). The tax reform vote (#699) is huge.

I have one overall vote on regulatory policy (#114), six dealing with the regulation of land and natural resources (#78, #83, #429, #477, #483 and #643), two dealing with financial regulation (#95 and #523), and three dealing with labor regulation (#97, #370 and #433).

## **House Roll Call Votes - Personal Freedom**

The votes I have cover a broad range of concerns. I have a gun rights vote (#77) and a related hunting/animal rights vote (#98). I have two education freedom votes (#84 and #85). In health freedom, I have four votes (#183, #185, #186 and #337). I have three votes on drugs (#446, #467 and #494). I have one vote on foreign interventionism (#623) and another on criminal sentencing (#283). I have two votes on privacy (#292 and #294), two votes on illegal immigration (#344 and #517), and another three votes concerning the integrity of elections (#575, #580 and #658).

One of these roll call votes deserves particular comment. In 2018, the Democrats made a big to-do about defending members of MS-13 from being characterized as "animals" by President Trump. Nancy Pelosi said members of MS-13 have "the spark of divinity" in them. This kind of utopianism increasingly characterizes Democratic thinking. Progressives are Marxist-Lennonists. Marxists on economics and Lennonists on social policy. They deny man's sinful nature and delude themselves with wishful thinking. (Old-fashioned communism, by the way, was Marxist-Leninist, not Marxist-Lennonist.)

This 2018 position of the Democrats was foreshadowed by vote #517 in 2017. In that vote, Congress considered whether members of foreign criminal gangs should be barred from entry into this country. Of course members of foreign criminal gangs should be let in, said the Democrats. They have the touch of divinity in them. Indeed, in vote #516 not included in the index, the Democrats said that members of foreign criminal gangs who commit crimes for good reasons should be allowed an exception. Perhaps they were thinking of Che Guevara.

Among the votes I have are some in which the libertarian position roughly coincides with the conservative position, and some in which the libertarian position roughly coincides with the liberal position. I do not impose a constraint that these exactly balance. The purpose of the index isn't to define libertarianism as a mix of liberal and conservative positions; but to identify the more libertarian members of Congress from the merely conservative; and the more progressive members from the merely liberal.

## **Senate Roll Call Votes - Economic Freedom**

The big votes of 2017 in the Senate involved repealing Obamacare and overhauling the tax system. We succeeded big time on one and made only scant progress on the other. These votes involved an intricate path in the Senate because of our narrow majority, working within the 60-vote point of order of the Budget Act, and the filibuster rule governing Senate debate.

While there were many important party-line votes, a part of my exercise in constructing the Liberty Index is identifying the better people on our side and the worse on their side. Therefore, the set of votes includes some lop-sided ones (#3, #121, #191, #236 and #238).

Because of the aggressive use of the regulatory process by the prior administration, I included five nullification votes (#82, #87, #99, #125 and #249) and four votes on nominations to regulatory agencies (#118, #184, #203 and #276).

In addition to votes on the overall level of spending, tax reform, and repeal of Obamacare, I include three votes on the regulation of land and natural resources (#82, #125 and #243), two votes on financial regulation (#99 and #249) (in addition to two confirmations to commissions that regulate finance), and one vote on labor regulation (#87) (in addition to two confirmations to a commission that regulates labor).

## Senate Roll Call Votes - Personal Freedom

I, of course, include the nomination of Neil M. Gorsuch to the U.S. Supreme Court; also - somewhat out of necessity for lack of more diverse votes - seven nominations to the U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeal. Among the nominations to the Circuit Court level, I picked those named as possible future Supreme Court nominees by Trump when he was a candidate, those associated with the Federalist Society, and those whose nominations were opposed by the other side to some degree because of identity (gender, race or religion).

I have a freedom of speech vote (#208) (involving the nomination of a person to the FCC). I have two medical freedom votes, one involving access to drugs from Canada (#20) and the other choice in veterans health care (#14). I have one gun vote (#66) and one hunting/animal rights vote (#92).

I have four education freedom votes (#54, #83, #84 and #298) (one of these is the nomination of a person to be Secretary of Education). And, I have three foreign intervention votes (#140, #143 and #195).

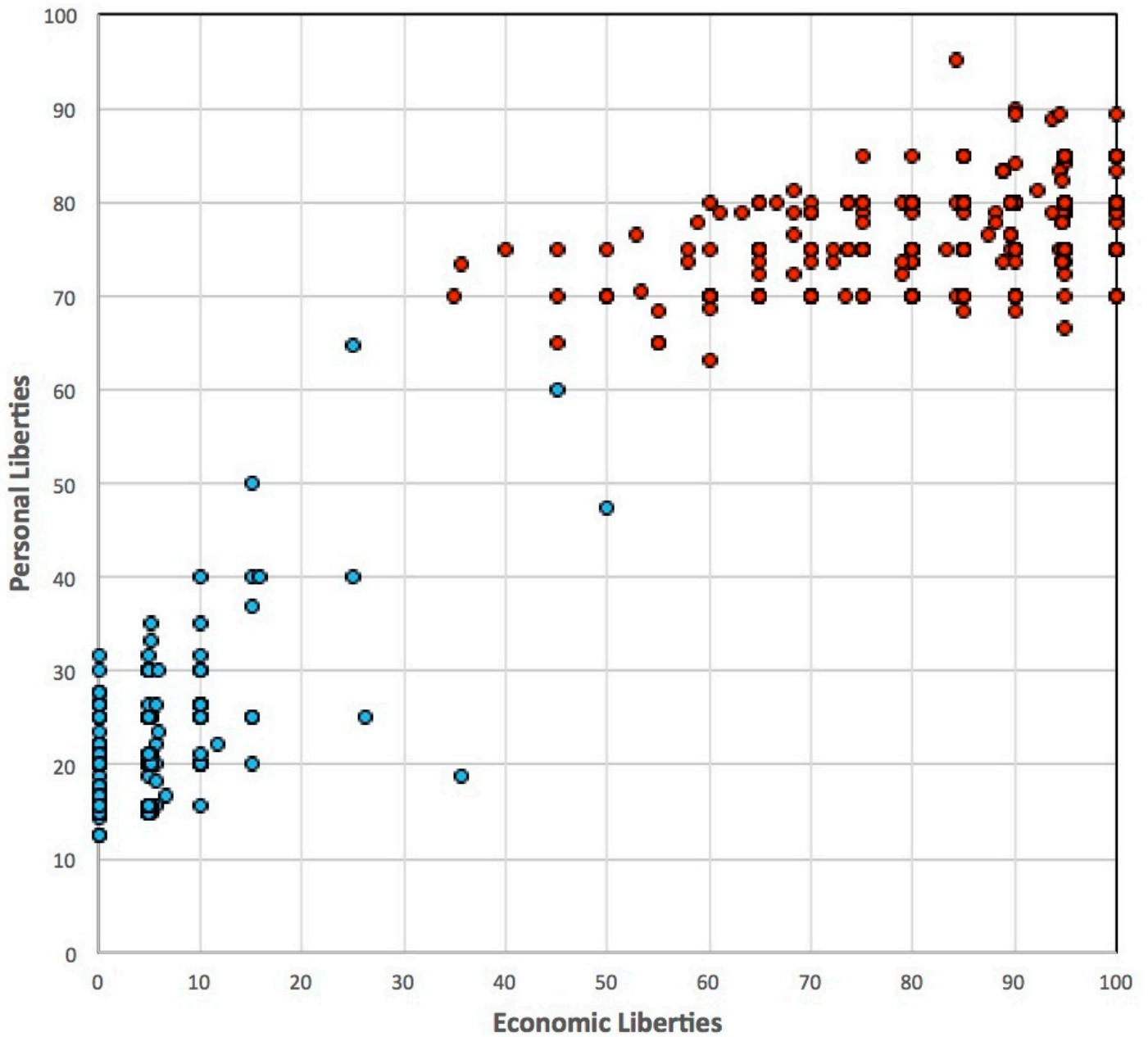
## House of Representatives - Scores

The average scores for Republican and Democratic members of the House of Representatives are similar to those of the prior year. During 2017, Republicans averaged 82 in economic liberties, and Democrats 4. In comparison, during 2016, the comparable numbers were 88 and 5. During 2017, Republicans averaged 76 in personal liberties, and Democrats 22. During 2016, it was 67 and 21. As the table below shows, almost all Democrats were categorized as progressives (low on both economic and personal liberties) and almost all Republicans as libertarians (high on both economic and personal liberties).

	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	2017 Liberty Index	Progressives	Liberals	Moderates	Conser-vatives	Libertarians
Democrats	4	22	13	190	2	2	0	0
Republicans	82	76	79	0	4	10	0	225

In terms of the distribution of scores, the next chart shows a complete dichotomy between the members of the two parties. Republicans are concentrated in the northeast quadrant of the two-dimensional political axis, and Democrats in the southwest quadrant. The orientation isn't exactly from progressive to libertarian, but from a mostly progressive / somewhat liberal nexus to a mostly libertarian / somewhat conservative nexus.

## 2017 Liberty Index - U.S. House of Representatives



All of the top scores are Republicans, starting with this year's #1 in the House of Representatives: Warren Davidson of Ohio. Davidson is a U.S. Army veteran, enlisting, and serving in the 75th Ranger Battalion, the 101st Airborne Division and the Old Guard. Recognizing his leadership potential, the Army sent him to West Point, where he got his bachelors degree with a major in mechanical engineering. After military service, he took a position in his family's business, which he grew from 20 employees to 200. His fellow businessmen elected him chairman of the local chamber of commerce. He got his Master of Business Administration degree from Notre Dame University. He and his wife Lisa have two children.

Following the resignation of former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives John Boehner, the movement conservatives of the area turned to Davidson to represent them in the primary to select the Republican nominee for a special election. In a crowded field, Davidson won the primary, with 32 percent

of the vote. He subsequently won the special election with 77 percent, and later that same year was elected to a full term, with 69 percent. Davidson's score of 95 for 2017 follows a similar score of 95 for the part of the year that he served during 2016.



Other top scorers in the House of Representatives were Jody Hice, GA; Jim Jordan, OH; Gary Palmer, AL; Scott Perry, PA; and, David Scheikart, AZ (tied for #2 with 93); Raul Labrador, ID; and, Trent Franks, AZ (tied for #7 with 92); Ron DeDantis, FL (#9 with 91); and, 19 others including Amash, Brat, McClintock, Rohrabacher and Sanford (tied for #10 with 90).

The worst Republicans were Dan Donovan, NY (5th worst with 60); Elise Stefanik, NY (4th worst with 58); Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, FL; and, Chris Smith, NJ (tied for 2nd worst with 55); and, Brian Fitzpatrick, PA (worst with 53).

The best Democrats were Jack Gottleimer, NJ (5th best with 28); Sam Cooper, TN (4th best with 33); Kyrsten Sinema, AZ (3rd best with 45); Collin Petersen, MN (2nd best with 49); and, Henry Cuellar, TX (best with 53).

As for the worst Democrats, there are too many to be named here. See Table 5 in the Appendix.

### Senate - Scores

Over in the Senate, scores were even more lop-sided than in the House. On economic liberties, Republicans averaged 81 and Democrats only 1. (*not a misprint*) In 2016, it was 75 and 8. On personal liberties, Republicans averaged 81 and Democrats 17. In 2016, it was 69 and 12. Every Republican Senator was classified as a libertarian and every Democratic Senator as progressive. The polarization of the Senate turned out to be a blessing, with one big exception. On one after another crucial vote, our side

stuck together; for example, to end the filibuster of nominations to the Supreme Court. The exception came on July 28th, when Senator John McCain joined with the two weak sisters of our caucus to vote against repeal of Obamacare.

	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	2017 Liberty Index	Progressives	Liberals	Moderates	Conservatives	Libertarians
Democrats	1	17	9	48	0	0	0	0
Republicans	83	81	82	0	0	0	0	52

Two Senators tied for the best score: Mike Lee of Utah and Rand Paul of Kentucky (98). Jeff Flake of Arizona came in third (93). And Ted Cruz of Texas and Steve Daines of Montana tied for fourth (90). The lowest scoring Republicans were Lisa Murkowski of Alaska (73) and Susan Collins of Maine (68). The highest scoring Democrats were Joe Manchin of West Virginia (30) and Heidi Heitkamp of North Dakota (25).

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## APPENDIX

Table 1. House Economic Liberties Roll Call Votes .....	8
Table 2. House Personal Liberties Roll Call Votes .....	9
Table 3. Senate Economic Liberties Roll Call Votes .....	10
Table 4. Senate Personal Liberties Roll Call Votes .....	11
Table 5. House Scores .....	12
Table 6. Senate Scores .....	17



**Table 1. 2017 House Roll Call Votes - Economic Freedom**

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
78	Methane Release Limitation Disapproval	nullify Bureau of Land Management rule concerning release of waste natural gas	221	191	Y
83	Land Management Plans Disapproval	nullify Bureau of Land Management rule for development of public lands	234	186	Y
95	Local Government Retirement Plans Disapproval	nullify Dept of Labor rule regulating retirement plans of local governments	234	191	Y
97	Unemployment Drug Testing Disapproval	nullify Dept of Labor rule limiting drug testing of those receiving unemployment benefits	236	189	Y
114	Regulatory Review Commission	establish a nine-member commission to recommend repealing regulations	240	185	Y
370	Fiscal 2018 Defense Authorization / Prevailing Wage Determination	use surveys (as opposed to union wages)	183	242	Y
429	Fiscal 2018 Minibus Appropriations / Energy Conservation Rule	bar funds from implementing Dept of Energy rule on energy conservation	177	248	Y
433	Minibus / Contracting Out	prohibit conversion from federal employees to contractors	253	172	N
447	2018 Fiscal Omnibus Appropriations / Essential Air Service	decrease funding by \$150 million	140	280	Y
449	Omnibus / Amtrak Funding	eliminate \$1.1 billion for National Railroad Passenger Corporation	128	293	Y
452	Omnibus / Rental Assistance	reduce by \$266 million	139	282	Y
477	Omnibus / Marine Policy	not bar funds to implement coastal and marine spatial planning and management	189	220	N
483	Omnibus / Hydraulic Fracturing Permits	bar funds to issue permits for hydraulic fracturing	177	230	N
523	Omnibus / Small Loans	not remove power of Consumer Financial Protection Bureau to regulate	186	221	N
553	Fiscal 2018 Budget Resolution / Progressive Caucus Substitute	add \$3.5 trillion in spending and \$8.2 trillion in taxes	108	314	N
555	Budget Resolution / Republican Study Cmte Substitute	reduce spending by \$10.1 trillion	139	281	Y
556	Budget Resolution / Democratic Substitute	add \$3.4 trillion in spending	156	268	N
566	Emergency Hurricane and Wildfire Appropriations	provide \$36.5 billion for relief	353	69	N
643	National Forest Mining	prohibit designation of national monuments in Minnesota without Congress	216	204	Y
699	Tax Overhaul / Motion to Concur	lower rates, limit deductions, and replace system of taxing foreign subsidiaries	224	201	Y



**Table 2. 2017 House Roll Call Votes - Personal Freedom**

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
77	Firearms Purchase Prohibition Disapproval	nullify Social Security Admin rule preventing persons receiving disability from buying firearms	235	180	Y
84	School Assessment Regulation Disapproval	nullify Dept of Education rule for assessment of schools and intervention in low-performing schools	234	190	Y
85	Teaching Education Regulation Disapproval	nullify Dept of Education rule regulating teacher education programs	240	181	Y
98	Alaska Predator Hunting Dissapproval	nullify Dept of Interior rule restricting hunting of predator animals in Alaska	225	193	Y
183	Health Insurance Antitrust Regulation / Recommit with Instructions	prohibit charging those over 55 more than 3 times what is charged those under 21	189	233	N
185	Association Health Care Plans / Recommit with instructions	require coverage of substance abuse disorders	179	235	N
186	Association Health Care Plans	allow trade and business associations to buy health insurance	236	175	Y
202	Broadband Privacy Disapproval	nullify FCC rule requiring service providers obtain permission from customers to use or share their sensitive information	215	205	N
283	Child Exploitation Act / Limit sentence to one year	if persons under 20 exploit persons not more than 4 years younger	180	238	Y
294	Civilian Border Patrol / Polygraph Waiver	if previously passed or passes stringent background check	282	137	Y
337	Medical Malpractice Lawsuit Limitation	limit non-economic damages to \$250,000	218	210	Y
344	Criminal Alien Sentencing Guidelines	set sentencing guidelines for criminal aliens who return to U.S. after deported	257	167	Y
446	Fiscal 2018 Omnibus Appropriations / Drug Regulation	prohibit funds to implement FDA rule for distribution of compounded human drugs	141	279	Y
467	Fiscal 2018 Omnibus Appropriations / Narcotics Control	increase funding for International Narcotics Control by \$30 million	163	248	N
494	Fiscal 2018 Omnibus Appropriations / ATF	reduce funding of Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms by \$65 million	98	313	Y
517	Criminal Gang Members	prohibit from entering the U.S.	233	175	Y
575	Third Party Settlements / Discrimination	exempt settlements involving race, religion, national origin or other protected category from prohibition	187	233	N
580	Third Party Settlements	prohibit settlements involving the U.S. government requiring payments to any party other than the U.S. government	238	183	Y
623	Yemen	condemn Iranian activities in Yemen and support the Saudi-led Arab Coalition	366	30	N
658	Articles of Impeachment	table ("kill") a resolution to impeach the President for high misdemeanors	364	58	Y

**Table 3. 2017 Senate Roll Call Votes - Economic Freedom**

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
3	Budget Resolution / Rand Paul Substitute	reduce the authorized level of the budget deficit until a surplus is required in 2024	14	83	Y
26	Budget Resolution	set spending and revenue targets over next 10 years, and adopt rules to repeal Obamacare	51	48	Y
82	Land Management Plans Disapproval	nullify Bureau of Land Management rule for development of public lands	51	48	Y
87	Unemployment Drug Testing Disapproval	nullify Dept of Labor rule limiting drug testing of those receiving unemployment benefits	51	48	Y
99	Local Government Retirement Plans Disapproval	nullify Dept of Labor rule regulating retirement plans of smaller local governments	50	49	Y
118	Confirmation	Jay Clayton to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission	60	36	Y
121	Fiscal 2017 Omnibus Appropriations / Motion to Concur	with House amendment to Senate amendments to a bill providing \$1.16 trillion in discretionary spending thru Sept	79	18	N
125	Natural Gas Production Disapproval	nullify rule of Dept of Interior regulating production of natural gas	49	51	Y
167	Health Care Marketplace Overhaul / Motion to Proceed	proceed to bill to overhaul Obamacare	50	50	Y
184	Confirmation	Marvin Kaplan to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board	50	48	Y
191	Fiscal 2017 Disaster Supplemental Appropriations / Cloture	provide \$15.25 billion for Hurricane Harvey relief	79	18	N
203	Confirmation	William J. Emmanuel to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board	49	47	Y
219	Fiscal 2018 Budget Resolution / Motion to Proceed	provide \$3.2 trillion in new budget authority	50	47	Y
221	Tax cuts for the rich	restore \$1 trillion to Medicare and Medicaid by reducing tax cuts for the rich	47	51	N
236	Discretionary Spending	reduce discretionary spending by \$43 billion	5	95	Y
238	Repeal of Obamacare	create a deficit-neutral fund to repeal Obamacare	33	66	Y
243	Arctic National Wildlife Refuge	prevent oil and gas development	48	52	N
249	Arbitration Agreement Disapproval	nullify rule of Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection regulating arbitration agreements	50	50	Y
276	Confirmation / Cloture	Joseph Otting to be Comptroller of the Currency	54	44	Y
323	Tax Overhaul / Conference Rpt / Motion to Recede and Concur	lower rates, limit deductions, and replace system of taxing foreign subsidiaries	51	48	Y

**Table 4. 2017 Senate Roll Call Votes - Personal Freedom**

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
14	Tester Motion to Waive	create a point of order against privatizing veterans health care	48	50	N
20	Klobuchar Amendment	allow drug importation from Canada	46	52	Y
54	Confirmation	Elisabeth P DeVos to be Sec of Education	50	50	Y
66	Firearms Purchase Prohibition Disapproval	nullify Social Security Admin rule preventing persons receiving disability from buying firearms	57	43	Y
83	Teaching Education Regulation Disapproval	nullify Dept of Education rule regulating teacher education programs	59	40	Y
84	School Assessment Regulation Disapproval	nullify Dept of Education rule for assessment of schools and intervention in low-performing schools	50	49	Y
92	Alaska Predator Hunting Disapproval	nullify Dept of Interior rule restricting hunting of predator animals in Alaska	52	47	Y
105	Confirmation / Cloture	Neil M Gorsuch to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court	55	45	Y
137	Confirmation	Amul R Thapar to be a Circuit Court Judge	52	44	Y
140	Iran Sanctions / Cloture	Impose sanctions on companies that do business with Iran	91	8	N
143	Saudi Arabia Arms Sale / Motion to Discharge	Discharge Senate Foreign Relations Cmte of a bill prohibiting certain arms sales to Saudi Arabia	47	53	Y
163	Confirmation / Cloture	John Kenneth Bush to be a Circuit Court Judge	51	49	Y
195	Fiscal 2018 Defense Authorizations / Paul Amendment / Table	Table ('kill') amendment to repeal authorization to use force in Afghanistan and Iraq	61	36	N
208	Confirmation / Cloture	Ajit Varadaraj Pai to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission	55	41	Y
255	Confirmation	Amy Coney Barrett to be a Circuit Court Judge	55	43	Y
257	Confirmation	Joan Louise Larsen to be a Circuit Court Judge	60	38	Y
258	Confirmation / Cloture	Allison H Eid to be a Circuit Court Judge	56	42	Y
260	Confirmation / Cloture	Stephanos Bibas to be a Circuit Court Judge	54	43	Y
298	Education Savings Accounts	allow education saving accounts to be used for elementary and secondary education and homeschooling	50	50	Y
316	Confirmation / Cloture	James C Ho to be a Circuit Court Judge	53	44	Y

**Table 5. 2017 House of Representatives - Scores (1 of 5)**

	State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Pers.	Index		State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Pers.	Index
Abraham, Ralph	LA	5	R	75	80	78	Capuano, M.E.	MA	7	D	0	15	8
Adams, Alma	NC	12	D	0	15	8	Carbajal, Salud	CA	24	D	5	25	15
Aderholt, Robert	AL	4	R	80	74	77	Cardenas, Tony	CA	29	D	0	20	10
Aguilar, Pete	CA	31	D	5	20	13	Carson, Andre	IN	7	D	0	22	11
Allen, Rick	GA	12	R	95	80	88	Carter, Earl L.	GA	1	R	88	79	84
Amash, Justin	MI	3	R	95	85	90	Carter, John	TX	31	R	90	80	85
Amodei, Mark	NV	2	R	80	79	79	Cartwright, Matt	PA	17	D	5	30	18
Arrington, Jodey	TX	19	R	95	75	85	Castor, Kathy	FL	14	D	5	25	15
Babin, Brian	TX	36	R	95	79	87	Castro, Joaquin	TX	20	D	5	16	10
Bacon, Don	NE	2	R	80	80	80	Chabot, Steve	OH	1	R	100	80	90
Banks, Jim	IN	3	R	100	80	90	Cheney, Liz	WY	AL	R	85	85	85
Barletta, Lou	PA	11	R	65	72	69	Chu, Judy	CA	27	D	0	20	10
Barr, Andy	KY	6	R	95	75	85	Cicilline, David	RI	1	D	5	20	13
Barragan, N.	CA	44	D	0	17	8	Clark, Katherine	MA	5	D	0	16	8
Barton, Joe	TX	6	R	100	79	89	Clarke, Yvette	NY	9	D	0	20	10
Bass, Karen	CA	37	D	0	27	13	Clay, Lacy	MO	1	D	0	15	8
Beatty, Joyce	OH	3	D	0	20	10	Cleaver, E,	MO	5	D	0	26	13
Bera, Ami	CA	7	D	10	20	15	Clyburn, James E.	SC	6	D	0	20	10
Bergman, Jack	MI	1	R	90	75	83	Coffman, Mike	CO	6	R	90	90	90
Beyer, Don	VA	8	D	0	20	10	Cohen, Steve	TN	9	D	0	15	8
Biggs, Andy	AZ	5	R	95	85	90	Cole, Tim	OK	4	R	70	80	75
Bilirakis, Gus	FL	12	R	89	74	81	Collins, Chris	NY	27	R	70	70	70
Bishop, Mike	MI	8	R	90	75	83	Collins, Doug	GA	9	R	89	75	82
Bishop, Rob	UT	1	R	85	80	83	Comer, James	KY	1	R	95	80	88
Bishop, Sanford	GA	2	D	10	32	21	Comstock, Barbara	VA	10	R	65	80	73
Black, Diane	TN	6	R	100	80	90	Conaway, Mike	TX	11	R	95	75	85
Blackburn, M.	TN	7	R	95	84	90	Connolly, Gerry	VA	11	D	5	20	13
Blum, Rod	IA	1	R	85	79	82	Conyers, John	MI	13	D	0	16	8
Blumenauer, Earl	OR	3	D	0	20	10	Cook, Paul	CA	8	R	60	75	68
Blunt Rochester, L	DE	AL	D	0	25	13	Cooper, Jim	TN	5	D	25	40	33
Bonamici, S.	OR	1	D	5	20	13	Correa, Lou	CA	46	D	5	25	15
Bost, Mike	IL	12	R	60	70	65	Costa, Jim	CA	16	D	36	19	27
Boyle, Brendan F.	PA	13	D	0	20	10	Costello, Ryan	PA	6	R	45	70	58
Brady, Kevin	TX	8	R	89	80	85	Courtney, Joe	CT	2	D	5	30	18
Brady, Robert	PA	1	D	5	15	10	Cramer, Kevin	ND	AL	R	75	70	73
Brat, Dave	VA	7	R	100	80	90	Crawford, Rick	AR	1	R	85	75	80
Bridenstine, Jim	OK	1	R	89	83	86	Crist, Charles	FL	13	D	12	22	17
Brooks, Mo	AI	5	R	95	79	87	Crowley, Joseph	NY	14	D	0	20	10
Brooks, Susan W.	IN	5	R	84	70	77	Cuellar, Henry	TX	28	D	45	60	53
Brown, A.G.	MD	4	D	0	22	11	Culberson, John	TX	7	R	90	80	85
Brownley, Julia	CA	26	D	10	16	13	Cummings, Elijah	MD	7	D	0	14	7
Buchanan, Vern	FL	16	R	72	74	73	Curbelo, Carlos	FL	26	R	53	71	62
Buck, Ken	CO	4	R	100	75	88	Davidson, Warren	OH	8	R	100	89	95
Bucshon, Larry	IN	8	R	80	70	75	Davis, Danny K.	IL	7	D	0	16	8
Budd, Ted	NC	13	R	100	75	88	Davis, Rodney	IL	13	R	63	79	71
Burgess, M.C.	TX	26	R	95	72	84	Davis, Susan	CA	53	D	5	20	13
Bustos, Cheri	IL	17	D	10	25	18	DeFazio, Peter	OR	4	D	0	26	13
Butterfield, G.K.	NC	1	D	0	21	11	DeGette, Diana	CO	1	D	7	17	12
Byrne, Bradley	AL	1	R	95	75	85	Delaney, John	MD	6	D	10	26	18
Calvert, Ken	CA	42	R	85	80	83	DeLauro, Rosa	CT	3	D	6	22	14

**Table 5. 2017 House of Representatives - Scores (2 of 5)**

	State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Perfs,	Index		State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Perfs,	Index
DelBene, Suzan	WA	1	D	5	20	13	Gosar, Paul	AZ	4	R	94	83	89
Demings, Val	FL	10	D	0	30	15	Gottheimer, Josh	NJ	5	D	15	40	28
Denham, Jeff	CA	10	R	65	75	70	Gowdy, Trey	SC	4	R	95	75	85
Dent, Charlie	PA	15	R	70	79	74	Granger, Kay	TX	12	R	85	75	80
DeSantis, Ron	FL	6	R	94	89	91	Graves, Garret	LA	6	R	95	80	88
DeSaulnier, Mark	CA	11	D	0	15	8	Graves, Sam	MO	6	R	89	76	83
DesJarlais, Scott	TN	4	R	100	75	88	Graves, Tom	GA	14	R	95	79	87
Deutch, Ted	FL	21	D	6	16	11	Green, Al	TX	9	D	5	15	10
Diaz-Balart, Mario	FL	25	R	53	76	65	Green, Gene	TX	29	D	15	25	20
Dingell, Debbie	MI	12	D	0	20	10	Griffith, Morgan	VA	9	R	85	80	83
Doggett, Lloyd	TX	35	D	0	20	10	Grijalva, Raul	AZ	3	D	0	15	8
Donovan, Dan	NY	11	R	55	65	60	Grothman, Glenn	WI	6	R	90	80	85
Doyle, Mike	PA	14	D	0	20	10	Guthrie, Brett	KY	2	R	85	75	80
Duffy, Sean	WI	7	R	80	74	77	Gutierrez, Luis	IL	4	D	0	18	9
Duncan, Jeff	SC	3	R	95	80	88	Hanabusa, Colleen	HI	1	D	5	20	13
Duncan, John	TN	2	R	90	80	85	Handel, Karen	GA	6	R	73	70	72
Dunn, Neal	FL	2	R	79	80	79	Harper, Gregg	MS	3	R	74	75	74
Ellison, Keith	MN	5	D	0	20	10	Harris, Andy	MD	1	R	100	80	90
Emmer, Tom	MN	6	R	90	70	80	Hartzler, Vicky	MO	4	R	85	70	78
Engel, Eliot	NY	16	D	0	16	8	Hastings, Alcee	FL	20	D	5	16	11
Eshoo, Anna	CA	18	D	5	20	13	Heck, Dennis	WA	10	D	5	25	15
Espallat, Adriano	NY	13	D	0	15	8	Hensarling, Jeb	TX	5	R	95	75	85
Estes, Ron	KS	4	R	80	75	78	Herrera Beutler, Jaime	WA	3	R	75	85	80
Esty, Elizabeth	CT	5	D	5	25	15	Hice, Jody	GA	10	R	100	85	93
Evans, Dwight	PA	2	D	0	15	8	Higgins, Brian	NY	26	D	0	26	13
Farenthold, Blake	TX	27	R	95	80	88	Higgins, Clay	LA	3	R	95	75	85
Faso, John	NY	19	R	50	75	63	Hill, French	AR	2	R	90	84	87
Ferguson, Drew	GA	3	R	95	75	85	Himes, Jim	CT	4	D	15	20	18
Fitzpatrick, Brian	PA	8	R	35	70	53	Holding, George	NC	2	R	100	75	88
Fleischmann, Chuck	TN	3	R	80	70	75	Hollingsworth, Trey	IN	9	R	94	75	85
Flores, Bill	TX	17	R	90	75	83	Hoyer, Steny	MD	5	D	5	20	13
Fortenberry, Jeff	NE	1	R	58	74	66	Hudson, Richard	NC	8	R	95	79	87
Foster, Bill	IL	11	D	10	20	15	Huffman, Jared	CA	2	D	0	17	8
Foxx, Virginia	NC	5	R	95	75	85	Huizenga, Bill	MI	2	R	95	67	81
Frankel, Lois	FL	22	D	0	18	9	Hultgren, Randy	IL	14	R	85	80	83
Franks, Trent	AZ	8	R	100	83	92	Hunter, Duncan D.	CA	50	R	85	85	85
Frelinghuysen, Rodney	NJ	11	R	74	80	77	Hurd, Will	TX	23	R	75	75	75
Fudge, Marcia	OH	11	D	5	20	13	Issa, Darrell	CA	49	R	80	75	78
Gabbard, Tulsi	HI	2	D	0	25	13	Jackson Lee, Sheila	TX	18	D	5	15	10
Gaetz, Matt	FL	1	R	85	75	80	Jayapal, Pramila	WA	7	D	0	20	10
Gallagher, Mike	WI	8	R	90	80	85	Jeffries, Hakeem	NY	8	D	0	20	10
Gallego, Ruben	AZ	7	D	0	20	10	Jenkins, Evan	WV	3	R	75	75	75
Garamendi, John	CA	3	D	5	20	13	Jenkins, Lynn	KS	2	R	85	80	83
Garrett, Tom	VA	5	R	100	75	88	Johnson, Bill	OH	6	R	65	70	68
Gianforte, Greg	MT	AL	R	67	80	73	Johnson, Eddie Bernice	TX	30	D	0	21	11
Gibbs, Bob	OH	7	R	95	70	83	Johnson, Hank	GA	4	D	0	17	8
Gohmert, Louie	TX	1	R	90	74	82	Johnson, Mike	LA	4	R	100	75	88
Gomez, Jimmy	CA	34	D	0	13	6	Johnson, Sam	TX	3	R	95	82	89
Gonzalez, Vicente	TX	15	D	10	35	23	Jones, Walter	NC	3	R	61	79	70
Goodlatte, Robert	VA	6	R	95	79	87	Jordan, Jim	OH	4	R	100	85	93

**Table 5. 2017 House of Representatives - Scores (3 of 5)**

	State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Pers,	Index		State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Pers,	Index
Joyce, David	OH	14	R	70	74	72	MacArthur, Tom	NJ	3	R	60	70	65
Kaptur, Marcy	OH	9	D	0	20	10	Maloney, Carolyn	NY	12	D	0	17	8
Katko, John	NY	24	R	50	70	60	Maloney, Sean Patrick	NY	18	D	10	26	18
Keating, Bill	MA	9	D	5	30	18	Marchant, Kenny	TX	24	R	100	75	88
Kelly, Mike	PA	3	R	70	70	70	Marino, Tom	PA	10	R	68	81	75
Kelly, Robin	IL	2	D	0	15	8	Marshall, Roger	KS	1	R	85	80	83
Kelly, Trent	MS	1	R	95	85	90	Massie, Thomas	KY	4	R	95	85	90
Kennedy, Joseph P.	MA	4	D	0	16	8	Mast, Brian	FL	18	R	60	80	70
Khanna, Ro	CA	17	D	0	20	10	Matsui, Doris	CA	6	D	5	20	13
Kihuen, Ruben	NV	4	D	0	21	11	McCarthy, Kevin	CA	23	R	80	75	78
Kildee, Dan	MI	5	D	0	20	10	McCaul, Michael	TX	10	R	85	75	80
Kilmer, Derek	WA	6	D	5	20	13	McClintock, Tom	CA	4	R	95	85	90
Kind, Ron	WI	3	D	10	40	25	McCollum, Betty	MN	4	D	0	15	8
King, Peter	NY	2	R	60	63	62	McEachin, Donald	VA	4	D	0	28	14
King, Steve	IA	4	R	84	80	82	McGovern, Jim	MA	2	D	0	15	8
Kinzinger, Adam	IL	16	R	65	75	70	McHenry, Patrick	NC	10	R	95	75	85
Knight, Steve	CA	25	R	70	75	73	McKinley, David	WV	1	R	60	70	65
Krishnamoorthi, Raja	IL	8	D	10	20	15	McMorris Rodgers, Cathy	WA	5	R	80	80	80
Kuster, Ann McLane	NH	2	D	10	30	20	McNerney, Jerry	CA	9	D	5	15	10
Kustoff, David	TN	8	R	90	68	79	McSally, Martha	AZ	2	R	85	68	77
Labrador, Raul	ID	1	R	94	89	92	Meadows, Mark	NC	11	R	100	80	90
LaHood, Darin	IL	18	R	80	85	83	Meehan, Patrick	PA	7	R	55	65	60
LaMalfa, Doug	CA	1	R	75	79	77	Meeks, Gregory	NY	5	D	0	22	11
Lamborn, Doug	CO	5	R	100	75	88	Meng, Grace	NY	6	D	0	21	11
Lance, Leonard	NJ	7	R	50	70	60	Messer, Luke	IN	6	R	100	75	88
Langevin, Jim	RI	2	D	5	30	18	Mitchell, Paul	MI	10	R	80	70	75
Larsen, Rick	WA	2	D	5	20	13	Moolenaar, John	MI	4	R	75	75	75
Larson, John B.	CT	1	D	5	33	19	Mooney, Alex	WV	2	R	90	80	85
Latta, Bob	OH	5	R	90	75	83	Moore, Gwen	WI	4	D	0	17	8
Lawrence, Brenda	MI	14	D	0	17	8	Moulton, Seth	MA	6	D	5	15	10
Lawson, Al	FL	5	D	6	24	15	Mullin, Markwayne	OK	2	R	90	75	83
Lee, Barbara	CA	13	D	0	20	10	Murphy, Stephanie	FL	7	D	16	40	28
Levin, Sandy	MI	9	D	5	20	13	Murphy, Tim	PA	18	R	60	69	64
Lewis, Jason	MN	2	R	90	80	85	Nadler, Jerrold	NY	10	D	0	20	10
Lewis, John	GA	5	D	0	15	8	Napolitano, Grace	CA	32	D	0	18	9
Lieu, Ted	CA	33	D	0	19	9	Neal, Richard	MA	1	D	5	20	13
Lipinski, Dan	IL	3	D	15	37	26	Newhouse, Dan	WA	4	R	75	78	76
LoBiondo, Frank	NJ	2	R	45	75	60	Noem, Kristi	SD	AL	R	85	75	80
Loeb sack, Dave	IA	2	D	10	26	18	Nolan, Rick	MN	8	D	5	21	13
Lofgren, Zoe	CA	19	D	0	20	10	Norcross, Donald	NJ	1	D	5	15	10
Long, Billy	MO	7	R	83	75	79	Norman, Ralph	SC	5	R	100	80	90
Loudermilk, Barry	GA	11	R	100	78	89	Nunes, Devin	CA	22	R	79	72	76
Love, Mia	UT	4	R	80	80	80	O'Halleran, Tom	AZ	1	D	15	50	33
Lowenthal, Alan	CA	47	D	0	22	11	O'Rourke, Beto	TX	16	D	5	26	16
Lowey, Nita	NY	17	D	5	20	13	Olson, Pete	TX	22	R	95	74	84
Lucas, Frank	OK	3	R	70	75	73	Palazzo, Steven	MS	4	R	72	75	74
Luetkemeyer, Blaine	MO	3	R	80	70	75	Pallone, Frank	NJ	6	D	0	15	8
Lujan Grisham, Michelle	NM	1	D	5	20	13	Palmer, Gary	AL	6	R	100	85	93
Lujan, Ben Ray	NM	3	D	0	20	10	Panetta, Jimmy	CA	20	D	0	15	8
Lynch, Stephen F.	MA	8	D	0	32	16	Pascrell, Bill	NJ	9	D	5	15	10

**Table 5. 2017 House of Representatives - Scores (4 of 5)**

	State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Pers,	Index		State	Dist.	Party	Econ.	Pers,	Index
Paulsen, Erik	MN	3	R	65	75	70	Scalise, Steve	LA	1	R	90	75	83
Payne, Jr., Donald	NJ	10	D	5	19	12	Schakowsky, Jan	IL	9	D	0	15	8
Pearce, Steve	NM	2	R	80	80	80	Schiff, Adam	CA	28	D	5	20	13
Pelosi, Nancy	CA	12	D	0	21	11	Schneider, Brad	IL	10	D	10	20	15
Perlmutter, Ed	CO	7	D	5	25	15	Schrader, Kurt	OR	5	D	26	25	26
Perry, Scott	PA	4	R	100	85	93	Schweikert, David	AZ	6	R	100	85	93
Peters, Scott	CA	52	D	10	30	20	Scott, Austin	GA	8	R	85	80	83
Peterson, Collin	MN	7	D	50	47	49	Scott, David	GA	13	D	0	21	11
Pingree, Chellie	ME	1	D	0	21	11	Scott, Robert	VA	3	D	0	20	10
Pittenger, Robert	NC	9	R	100	79	89	Sensenbrenner, Jim	WI	5	R	100	80	90
Pocan, Mark	WI	2	D	0	22	11	Serrano, Jose E.	NY	15	D	0	20	10
Poe, Ted	TX	2	R	89	76	83	Sessions, Pete	TX	32	R	95	75	85
Poliquin, Bruce	ME	2	R	65	75	70	Sewell, Terri	AL	7	D	5	16	10
Polis, Jared	CO	2	D	10	26	18	Shea-Porter, Carol	NH	1	D	5	16	10
Posey, Bill	FL	8	R	88	76	82	Sherman, Brad	CA	30	D	0	15	8
Price, David	NC	4	D	0	20	10	Shimkus, John	IL	15	R	75	75	75
Quigley, Mike	IL	5	D	5	16	10	Shuster, Bill	PA	9	R	65	74	69
Raskin, Jamie	MD	8	D	0	20	10	Simpson, Mike	ID	2	R	70	79	74
Ratcliffe, John	TX	4	R	95	75	85	Sinema, Kyrsten	AZ	9	D	25	65	45
Reed, Tom	NY	23	R	58	75	66	Sires, Albio	NJ	8	D	0	24	12
Reichert, Dave	WA	8	R	55	68	62	Slaughter, Louise	NY	25	D	0	13	6
Renacci, Jim	OH	16	R	88	78	83	Smith, Adam	WA	9	D	0	28	14
Rice, Kathleen	NY	4	D	10	25	18	Smith, Adrian	NE	3	R	90	75	83
Rice, Tom	SC	7	R	90	75	83	Smith, Chris	NJ	4	R	45	65	55
Richmond, Cedric	LA	2	D	5	25	15	Smith, Jason T.	MO	8	R	95	75	85
Roby, Martha	AL	2	R	85	80	83	Smith, Lamar	TX	21	R	95	74	84
Roe, Phil	TN	1	R	85	80	83	Smucker, Lloyd	PA	16	R	75	70	73
Rogers, Hal	KY	5	R	74	80	77	Soto, Darren	FL	9	D	0	20	10
Rogers, Mike D.	AL	3	R	75	75	75	Speier, Jackie	CA	14	D	5	25	15
Rohrabacher, Dana	CA	48	R	90	89	90	Stefanik, Elise	NY	21	R	40	75	58
Rokita, Todd	IN	4	R	100	80	90	Stewart, Chris	UT	2	R	95	78	86
Rooney, Francis	FL	19	R	89	83	86	Stivers, Steve	OH	15	R	68	72	70
Rooney, Thomas J.	FL	17	R	79	74	76	Suozzi, Thomas	NY	3	D	15	25	20
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	FL	27	R	36	73	55	Swalwell, Eric	CA	15	D	5	32	18
Rosen, Jacky	NV	3	D	6	30	18	Takano, Mark	CA	41	D	0	22	11
Roskam, Peter	IL	6	R	74	75	74	Taylor, Scott	VA	2	R	89	80	85
Ross, Dennis	FL	15	R	92	81	87	Tenney, Claudia	NY	22	R	65	70	68
Rothfus, Keith	PA	12	R	80	75	78	Thompson, Bennie G.	MS	2	D	6	20	13
Rouzer, David	NC	7	R	100	70	85	Thompson, Glenn	PA	5	R	65	80	73
Roybal-Allard, Lucille	CA	40	D	0	20	10	Thompson, Mike	CA	5	D	5	20	13
Royce, Ed	CA	39	R	90	70	80	Thornberry, Mac	TX	13	R	80	75	78
Ruiz, Raul	CA	36	D	10	25	18	Tiberi, Pat	OH	12	R	68	76	72
Ruppersberger, Dutch	MD	2	D	5	35	20	Tipton, Scott	CO	3	R	85	75	80
Rush, Bobby	IL	1	D	6	18	12	Titus, Dina	NV	1	D	0	20	10
Russell, Steve	OK	5	R	85	75	80	Tonko, Paul D.	NY	20	D	0	16	8
Rutherford, John	FL	4	R	59	78	68	Torres, Norma	CA	35	D	5	21	13
Ryan, Tim	OH	13	D	0	20	10	Trott, Dave	MI	11	R	85	75	80
Sanchez, Linda	CA	38	D	0	20	10	Tsongas, Niki	MA	3	D	5	20	13
Sanford, Mark	SC	1	R	84	95	90	Turner, Mike	OH	10	R	70	70	70
Sarbanes, John	MD	3	D	0	20	10	Upton, Fred	MI	6	R	60	70	65





**Table 8. 2017 Senate - Scores**

			Econ.	Pers.	Index				Econ.	Pers.	Index
Alexander, Lamar	TN	R	75	80	78	Kaine, Tim	VA	D	0	20	10
Baldwin, Tammy	WI	D	0	15	8	Kennedy, John Neely	LA	R	90	85	88
Barrasso, Joe	WY	R	80	80	80	King, Angus	ME	I	5	30	18
Bennet, Michael	CO	D	5	15	10	Klobuchar, Amy	MN	D	0	15	8
Blumenthal, Richard	CT	D	0	15	8	Lankford, James	OK	R	95	80	88
Blunt, Roy	MO	R	78	80	79	Leahy, Patrick	VT	D	0	15	8
Booker, Corey	NJ	D	0	10	5	Lee, Mike	UT	R	100	95	98
Boozman, John	AR	R	80	85	83	Manchin, Joe	WV	D	15	45	30
Brown, Sherrrod	OH	D	0	15	8	Markey, Ed	MA	D	0	15	8
Burr, Richard	NC	R	79	80	79	McCain, John	AZ	R	72	83	78
Cantwell, Maria	WA	D	0	11	5	McCaskill, Claire	MO	D	5	25	15
Capito, Shelley Moore	WV	R	80	80	80	McConnell, Mitch	KY	R	75	80	78
Cardin, Ben	MD	D	0	15	8	Menendez, Bob	NJ	D	0	7	4
Carper, Tom	DE	D	5	20	13	Merkley, Jeff	OR	D	0	20	10
Casey, Bob	PA	D	0	5	3	Moran, Jerry	KS	R	85	80	83
Cassidy, Bill	LA	R	75	80	78	Murkowski, Lisa	AK	R	70	75	73
Cochran, Thad	MS	R	76	78	77	Murphy, Chris	CT	D	0	15	8
Collins, Susan	ME	R	60	75	68	Murray, Patti	WA	D	0	11	5
Coons, Chris	DE	D	0	15	8	Nelson, Bill	FL	D	5	16	10
Corker, Bob	TN	R	80	80	80	Paul, Rand	KY	R	95	100	98
Cornyn, John	TX	R	75	80	78	Perdue, David	GA	R	75	80	78
Cortez Mastro, Catherine	NV	D	0	15	8	Peters, Gary	MI	D	0	25	13
Cotton, Tom	AR	R	85	80	83	Portman, Rob	OH	R	80	75	78
Crapo, Mike	ID	R	90	80	85	Reed, Jack	RI	D	0	10	5
Cruz, Ted	TX	R	90	89	90	Risch, Jim	ID	R	95	80	88
Daines, Steve	MT	R	100	80	90	Roberts, Pat	KS	R	75	80	78
Donnelly, Joe	IN	D	0	40	20	Rounds, Mike	SD	R	80	80	80
Duckworth, Tammy	IL	D	0	15	8	Rubio, Marco	FL	R	89	84	87
Durbin, Dick	IL	D	0	20	10	Sanders, Bernie	VT	I	0	20	10
Enzi, Mike	WY	R	80	80	80	Sasse, Ben	NE	R	95	80	87
Ernst, Joni	IA	R	90	80	85	Schatz, Brian	HI	D	0	11	5
Feinstein, Diane	CA	D	0	21	11	Schumer, Carl	NY	D	0	15	8
Fischer, Deb	NE	R	90	80	85	Scott, Tim	SC	R	90	80	85
Flake, Jeff	AZ	R	100	85	93	Shaheen, Jeanne	NH	D	5	10	8
Franken, Al	MN	D	0	15	8	Shelby, Richard	AL	R	74	80	77
Gardner, Cory	CO	R	80	80	80	Stabenow, Debbie	MI	D	0	15	8
Gillibrand, Kirsten	NY	D	0	20	10	Strange, Luther	AL	R	84	78	81
Graham, Lindsey	SC	R	74	80	77	Sullivan, Dan	AK	R	84	80	82
Grassley, Charles	IA	R	85	85	85	Tester, Jon	MT	D	5	25	15
Harris, Kamala	CA	D	0	15	8	Thune, John	SD	R	80	85	83
Hassan, Maggie	NH	D	0	10	5	Tillis, Thom	NC	R	84	79	82
Hatch, Orrin	UT	R	80	80	80	Toomey, Pat	PA	R	90	80	85
Heinrich, Martin	NM	D	0	10	5	Udall, Tom	NM	D	0	21	11
Heitkamp, Heidi	ND	D	10	40	25	Van Hollen, Chris	MD	D	0	15	8
Heller, Dean	NV	R	85	90	88	Warner, Mark	VA	D	5	5	5
Hirono, Mazie	HI	D	0	16	8	Warren, Elizabeth	MA	D	0	15	8
Hoeven, John	ND	R	80	80	80	Whitehouse, Sheldon	RI	D	0	10	5
Inhofe, John	OK	R	85	80	83	Wicker, Roger	MS	R	80	80	80
Isakson, Johnny	GA	R	73	76	75	Wyden, Ron	OR	D	0	15	8
Johnson, Ron	WI	R	85	80	83	Young, Todd	IN	R	80	85	83