

2016: Year of the Show Vote

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With the budget on automatic pilot from a deal negotiated the prior year by Speaker Paul Ryan and President Barack Obama, and with anything of consequence the majority might pass sure to be vetoed, it is no wonder that almost every Republican came out looking good in the 2016 Liberty Index from a Republican point of view; and, almost every Democrat came out looking good from a Democratic point of view. As for the several Republicans who tried to save their seats by voting like Democrats, no, they didn't.

As per usual, the 2016 edition of the Liberty Index of Congress is based on two sets of 20 roll call votes, one concerning economic liberties and the other personal liberties, for each chamber of the U.S. Congress. A total of four lists and 80 roll call votes.

Ideally, each list of 20 contains votes that span the range of issues encompassed by its dimension of liberty, and also has some tough and some easy votes, so the resulting index is both fair and capable of discriminating between good and very good scores, and bad and very bad scores. Even without votes on a budget resolution, this wasn't a problem in constructing the list of economic liberties votes. It hardly ever is. Nor was there much of a problem, on the House side, in constructing the list of personal liberties votes. But, there were some problems constructing the list of personal liberties votes for the Senate. All I can say is that I do the best I can with the roll call votes that I have.

In the list of economic liberties votes, I have votes on spending, taxes, trade, energy, labor, health care and the environment. These include a vote to override a Presidential veto to repeal Obamacare, drilling off the coast of Alaska and off the East Coast, and protecting the Preble's Meadow Jumping Mouse. In the list of personal liberties votes, I have votes on warrantless surveillance of Americans, school vouchers, medical marijuana, ending draft registration and repeal of the 2001 use of force resolution. The four lists are included in an appendix.

As with prior editions of the Liberty Index, I have shared draft lists of votes with trusted Liberty Republicans familiar with this exercise, for review and comment, although I retain sole responsibility for the final lists.

House of Representatives

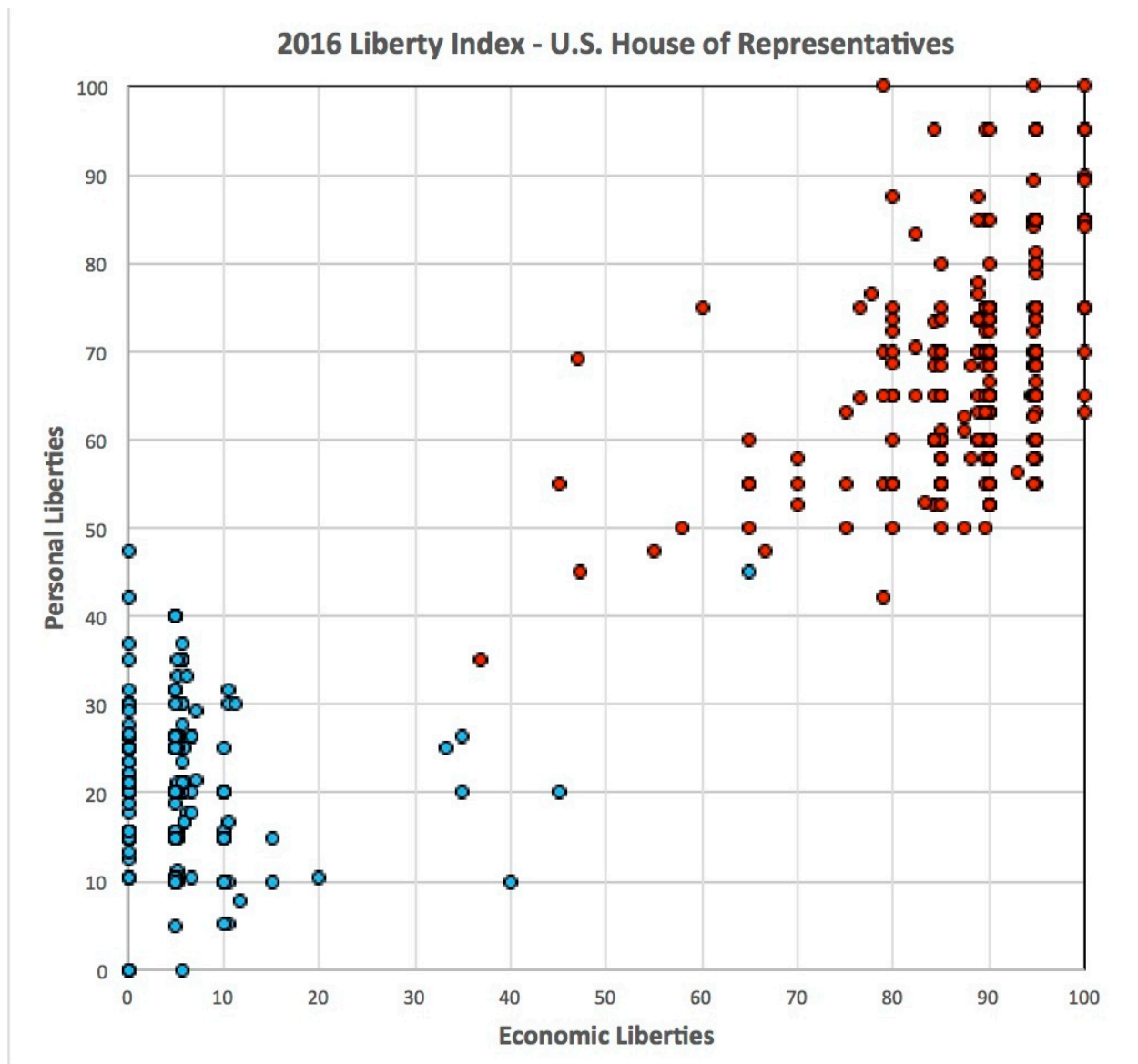
Turning to the U.S. House of Representatives, #1 with a perfect score of 100-100 was Raul Labrador (ID). Tied for #2 with either 100-95 or 95-100 were Justin Amash (MI) (last year's top scorer), Thomas Massie (KY) and Mark Mulvaney (SC). All scores are given in a table in the appendix.

	State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	2016 Liberty Index
Labrador, Raul	ID	1	R	100	100	100
Amash, Justin	MI	3	R	100	95	98
Massie, Thomas	KY	4	R	100	95	98
Mulvaney, Mick	SC	5	R	95	100	97
Davidson, Warren	IL	8	R	100	90	95
Duncan, John	TN	2	R	95	95	95
Schweikert, David	AZ	6	R	95	95	95
Gohmert, Louie	TX	1	R	100	89	95
Buck, Ken	CO	4	R	100	85	93
Burgess, Michael C.	TX	26	R	100	85	93
Gosar, Paul	AZ	4	R	100	85	93
McClintock, Tom	CA	4	R	100	85	93
Perry, Scott	PA	4	R	90	95	93
Garrett, Scott	NJ	5	R	89	95	92
Rohrabacher, Dana	CA	48	R	95	89	92
Stutzman, Marlin	IN	3	R	100	84	92

Number 1 from the standpoint of progressive socialists, with a perfect 0-0 score, was Chaka Fattah (PA) on the tie-breaking consideration of the *most* roll call votes missed (for Republicans, the tie-breaker would be the *least* roll call votes missed). Coming in #2 from the standpoint of progressive socialists was Mark Takai (HI).

Takai missed an impressive 50 percent of the roll call votes, but Fattah missed 75 percent. Being absent 75 percent of the time might even get a tenured professor in trouble! If we had to go to a second tie-breaker, Fattah would still have won having been convicted on 23 counts of racketeering, fraud, and other corruption charges. After serving almost 20 years in the U.S. House, Fattah is now serving 10 years in the Big House.

As you can see in the chart below, the political spectrum has shifted almost to an up-down orientation, instead of a (traditional) left-right orientation. Also, there is almost complete polarization. Many others who track Congressional voting have noticed the polarization. I don't know of anybody else who has systematically tracked the up-down versus left-right orientation of the political spectrum.



Former Congressman Robert Dold (IL) stands out among Republicans for being in no man's land. Dold succeeded former Senator Mark Kirk as the Representative of a Democratic suburban district, north of Chicago. But, while Kirk had been able to navigate this blue minefield, Dold wasn't quite able in last year's election.

Close to Dold in no man's land is former Congressman Richard Hanna (NY). Along with my Representative, Barbara Comstock, Hanna declined to support our party's Presidential nominee last year. I call them the Hanna-Barbara Republicans. Yabadadoo! Hey, guys, what's fair is fair. We support the nominees of the Republican Party and so should you.

From the other side of the aisle, Congressman Collin Peterson (MN) stands out as a blue dot in a sea of red. His district, in the rural western portion of the state, has been drifting Republican, as has the entire upper Mississippi Valley (Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota). So, Peterson has been tacking to the right to stave off GOP challengers. Or, maybe he simply hasn't let himself be pulled as far left as the Democrats have become in recent years.

Looking at the average score by party in the House, we see a very pronounced difference in economic liberties and a smaller but still substantial difference in personal liberties. In terms of classifying members, almost all are either progressive socialists or libertarians. A few are classified as moderates. And, only a handful as conservatives. Indeed, of the five who are classified as conservatives, four are borderline, being 50-50 on personal liberties, and only one clearly fits the classification.

	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	2016 Liberty Index	Progressives	Liberals	Moderates	Conservatives	Libertarians
Democrats	5	21	13	187	0	1	0	0
Republicans	88	67	78	1	0	13	5	227

The Senate

Moving on to the Senate, we see that Mike Lee (UT) is #1, replacing last year's top scorer Rand Paul (KY). Jeff Flake (AZ) registered the only 100 in the Senate, in economic liberties.

			Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	2016 Liberty Index
Lee, Mike	UT	R	95	93	94
Lankford, James	OK	R	90	80	85
Crapo, Mike	ID	R	95	72	84
Corker, Bob	TN	R	90	75	83
Daines, Steve	MT	R	90	75	83
Heller, Dean	NV	R	70	95	83
Risch, Jim	ID	R	95	70	83
Sasse, Ben	NE	R	95	70	83
Scott, Tim	SC	R	84	80	82
Flake, Jeff	AZ	R	100	63	82

There was a four-way tie for last, from our point of view, Harry Reid (NV), Ben Cardin (MD), Barbara Mikulski (MD) and Debbie Stabenow (MI). After 30 years in the Senate, Harry the Liar is now retired, not that we'll miss him. It's one thing to differ politically, but it's another thing to tell despicable lies about your opponents.

In the Senate, there was almost a complete separation between the Republicans and those in the Democratic caucus. Every Republican, except one, achieved a combined score of at least 49. That exception - Susan Collins (ME) - scored 38. Every Senator, except two, who caucuses with the Democrats, scored 28 or lower. Those two - Joe Mancin (WV) and Bernie Sanders (VT) - scored 38 (and, Sanders' number may have been affected by his many absences while running for the Democratic Presidential nomination).

Mark Kirk (IL) and Kelly Ayotte (NH) distanced themselves from Donald Trump in their re-election efforts, in addition to voting like Moderates. In Kirk's case, whatever he did was probably of no consequence. Trump lost Illinois 39 to 56; and, Kirk lost his bid for re-election 40 to 55.

In Ayotte's case, it was a murder-suicide. Trump lost New Hampshire by 0.3 percent of the vote, with the Libertarian pulling 4.1 percent; and, Ayotte lost her bid for re-election by 0.2 percent of the vote, with a rogue Republican running as an independent pulling 2.4 percent, and the Libertarian 1.7 percent. At the same time, Republican Chris Sununu was elected Governor 48.8 to 46.6 percent, with the Libertarian pulling 4.3 percent. The votes were there for us to win the Presidential and the Senate races in New Hampshire, but Ayotte's undermining Trump on the ticket not only cost Trump some of her support, it cost her some of his support.

In terms of average scores and classifications, the profile of the Senate is essentially the same as that of the House.

	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	2016 Liberty Index	Progressives	Liberals	Moderates	Conservatives	Libertarians
Democrats (incl. 2 Ind.)	8	15	12	44	0	2	0	0
Republicans	75	64	69	0	0	13	1	40

Comment

How much these findings mean isn't clear. Independent of the problem of assembling good lists of roll call votes in a year without votes on a budget resolution, there is the unreality of many of the roll call votes that were taken. The Republicans caved on the budget, the year prior, agreeing to a two-year continuing resolution for spending and to waive the debt ceiling. Progress that had been achieved in closing the deficit since the elections of 2010 was surrendered. The hope was for Republicans to do well in the elections of 2016. During 2016, Republicans cast votes as though they really meant what they say when they're running for office. But, were these merely show votes? Now that the Republicans have consolidated their control of the federal government, we will see.

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Table 1. 2016 House Economic Liberties Roll Call Votes

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
53	Health Care Law Reconciliation - veto override	Phase out penalties for noncompliance, scrap Medicaid expansion, end tax on 'Cadillac plans,' and more	241	186	Y
109	EPA Emissions Rule for Bricks	Delay compliance with EPA rule for brick manufacture	238	163	Y
137	FTC Antitrust Standards	Require FTC adopt DOJ standards regarding antitrust	235	171	Y
139	Global Food Security	Require president to develop and coordinate a global food security program	370	33	N
152	Broadband Rate Regulation	Prohibit FCC from regulating broadband charges	241	173	Y
209	Defense Authorization - Environment Executive Orders	Bar use of funds requiring DOD to comply with alternative fuel executive orders when more expensive than conventional	227	198	Y
224	Military Construction/VA Appropriations - Union Membership	Bar use of funds to promote union membership at VA facilities	200	225	Y
246	Energy-Water Appropriations - Fossil Fuel Research	Reduce by \$285 million	144	275	Y
282	Ozone Standards	Delay implementation from 2017 to 2025	234	177	Y
287	Puerto Rico Debt Reorganization - Minimum Wage	Remove language authorizing a lower minimum wage for some young workers	196	225	N
296	Oil Tax	Express sense of Congress opposing president's proposed \$10 per barrel tax on oil	253	144	Y
334	Cellphone Subsidies	End subsidies under FCC lifeline program	207	143	Y
338	Fiduciary Rule	Disapprove Dept of Labor fiduciary rule concerning retirement advice	239	180	Y
351	Health Savings Accounts	Expand	243	164	Y
369	Financial Services Appropriations - Payday Loans	Strike provision barring use of funds to restrict payday loans, car title loans, etc.	182	240	N
376	Federal Employment Practices	Expand agencies' ability to suspend, fire or demote employees based on performance or misconduct	241	181	Y
386	Financial Services Appropriations - Foreign Language Services	Bar federal agencies from providing foreign language services to those seeking to engage federal, state and local governments	192	232	Y
450	Interior-Environment Appropriations - Preble's Meadow Jumping Mouse	Bar use of funds to list as a threatened species	228	199	Y
461	Interior-Environment Appropriations - Alaska Drilling	Bar funds to remove three sites in Alaska from potential lease sales	242	185	Y
465	Interior-Environment Appropriations - Atlantic Drilling	Prohibit development of energy resources in certain areas of Atlantic Ocean	192	236	N

Table 2. House Personal Liberties Roll Call Votes

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
25	Class-action lawsuit restriction - gun malfunction	Exempt claims arising from defective design or manufacture of guns from restrictions in the bill	163	232	Y
101	Hunting and Fishing on Federal Lands	Allow such activities if not closed	242	161	N
129	US v Texas Amicus Brief	Authorize Speaker to file amicus brief in US v Texas regarding executive actions deferring deportation of illegal aliens	234	186	N
179	DC School Voucher Reauthorization	Provide \$60 million for DC School Vouchers	224	181	N
210	Defense Authorization - Use of Force	Repeal 2001 authorization of the use of force	138	285	Y
213	Defense Authorization - Overseas Contingency Operations	Shift \$9.4 billion from procurement to overseas contingency operations	132	289	N
221	Military Construction/VA Authorizations - Medical Marijuana	Bar use of funds to implement a directive prohibiting providers from participating in state marijuana programs	233	189	N
229	Call Location	Require service providers to provide call location to law enforcement under certain conditions	229	158	Y
255	Energy-Water Appropriations - NC Transgender Law	Bar use of funds to revoke funds awarded North Carolina	227	192	Y
259	Energy-Water Appropriations - Religious institutions	Bar use of funds to revoke funds in a way that substantially burdens religious institutions	233	186	Y
303	Tax Exempt Organization Donors	Prohibit Treasury Dept from requiring identifying information on donors	240	182	Y
312	Defense Appropriations - Aid to Pakistan	Reduce from \$900 to \$700 million	191	230	Y
320	Defense Appropriations - Counter-drug operations in Afghanistan	Bar use of force for	48	372	Y
321	Defense Appropriations - Surveillance	Bar use of funds to conduct warrantless surveillance of Americans	198	222	Y
325	Defense Appropriations - Aid to Pakistan	Eliminate	84	336	Y
363	Financial Services Appropriations - Selective Service System	Decrease funding by \$23 million	128	294	Y
366	Financial Services Appropriations - Net Neutrality	Strike provision barring use of funds from implementing	182	238	Y
385	Financial Services Appropriations - Pay Ratio disclosures	Bar use of funds to implement SEC rule for pay ratio disclosures	236	185	Y
443	Abortion	Prohibit federal government from discriminating against health care providers who do not perform abortions	245	182	Y
455	Interior-Environment Appropriations - Drones	Bar use of funds to use drones to Dept of Interior or EPA for collecting information	161	262	Y

Table 3. Senate Economic Liberties Roll Call Votes

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
2	Audit the Fed	Remove limitations on GAO's ability to audit the Federal Reserve system	53	44	Y
5	Waters of the United States	Nullify EPA and Army Corps of Engineers 'waters of the United States' rule	52	40	Y
8	Energy Overhaul - Report on Oil Exports	Require GAO to report on impact on consumers of oil exports	62	29	N
14	Energy Overhaul - Fossil Fuel Tax Preferences	Eliminate Fossil Fuel Tax Preferences such as drilling costs, depletion for shale oil and capital gains treatment of royalties on coal	45	50	N
37	GMO Labelling	Allow development of voluntary disclosure standard while reserving mandatory standard if less than 70% compliance	48	49	Y
43	FAA Reauthorization - Seat Size	Establish minimum seat size	42	54	N
55	Energy-Water Appropriations - Advanced Research Vehicles	Increase funding by \$32 million	70	26	N
56	Energy-Water Appropriations - Regional Commissions	Eliminate funds to Appalachian, Delta, Delali and Northern Border regional commissions	25	71	Y
57	Energy-Water Appropriations - Waters of the United States	Bar use of funds to enforce the EPA and Army Corps of Engineer Waters of the United States rule	56	42	Y
60	Energy-Water Appropriations - Domestic Content	Require Army Corps of Engineers to acquire mooring chains meeting domestic content requirement	55	38	N
61	Energy-Water Appropriations - Wind Energy	Increase funding for wind energy from \$80 to \$95 million	54	42	N
69	Energy-Water Appropriations - Fish and Wildlife Impact	Bar funds for projects until US Fish and Wildlife Service studies impact	39	60	N
74	Transp., HUD, Military Construction, VA Appropriations - Zika virus	Provide \$1.1 billion to combat Zika virus and rescind the same amount from Public Health Fund	52	45	Y
76	Transp., HUD, Military Construction, VA Appropriations - Zika virus	Provide \$1.1 billion to combat Zika virus	70	28	N
82	Transp., HUD, Military Construction, VA Appropriations	Provide \$56.5 billion to Transportation and HUD and \$83 billion to Military Construction and VA	89	8	N
84	Fiduciary Rule	Disapprove fiduciary rule of Dept of Labor regarding retirement advice	56	41	Y
86	USDA Catfish Rule	Dissapprove of rule providing for mandatory inspection	55	43	Y
91	Defense Authorization - Commissary System	Strike pilot program to privatize	70	24	N
93	Transp., HUD, Military Construction, VA Appropriations - Ebola	Instruct conferees to oppose rescission of unexpended Ebola funds	46	49	N
139	Water Infrastructure Projects	Authorize 30 Army Corps of Engineer projects	85	12	N

Table 4. Senate Personal Liberties Roll Call Votes

#	Title	Description	Y	N	LI
4	Iraqi and Syrian Refugees / Cloture	Requiring background checks	55	43	Y
15	Energy Overhaul - Fossil Fuel Campaign Contributions	Require candidates receiving donations from fossil fuel interests to file a statement with FEC	43	52	N
35	Disapprove Arms Sale to Pakistan / Table	Table ('kill') motion to discharge from Foreign Relations Cmte a resolution to disapprove of arms sale to Pakistan	71	24	N
36	King nomination	Confirm John B. King of New York to be Secretary of Education	49	40	N
80	Transp., HUD, Military Construction, VA Appropriations - Affirmative Action	Bar funds from implementing HUD actions to change zoning laws to promote affirmative action	87	9	Y
81	Transp., HUD, Military Construction, VA Appropriations - Affirmative Action / Table	Table ('kill') substitute amendment to bar funds from implementing HUD actions to change zoning laws to promote affirmative action	60	37	N
95	Defense Authorization - Overseas Contingency Operations / Cloture	Additional money for fighting opioids in Afghanistan, ISIS and Zika virus	43	55	N
96	Defense Authorization - Overseas Contingency Operations / Cloture	Additional money for military procurement	56	42	N
101	Opioid Abuse / Motion to Instruct	Instruct conferees to include funding for prevention, treatment and recovery	66	29	N
102	Opioid Abuse / Motion to Instruct	Instruct conferees to oppose replacing grant-making with block grants	70	24	N
103	Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - firearms / Cloture	Recommit bill with instructions as to reauthorize the National Instant Background Check system	53	47	Y
106	Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - firearms / Cloture	Allow Attorney General to prevent firearms transfer to fight terrorism	47	53	N
108	Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - Electronic Communication Records Cloture	Allow FBI to obtain certain electronic communication records to fight terrorism	58	38	N
109	Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - no fly list / Table	Table ('kill') amendment to authorize attorney general to restrict gun purchases by those on 'no fly list'	46	52	Y
110	Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations - no fly list / Table	Table ('kill') amendment to authorize attorney general to restrict gun purchases by those on 'no fly list'	67	31	Y
119	Grants for Sanctuary Cities / Cloture	Make states and cities that do not cooperate with DHS ineligible for certain grants	53	44	Y
120	Undocumented Immigrant Re-entry / Cloture	Increase penalties	55	42	Y
129	Opioid Abuse - Conference Rpt	Authorize \$103 million annually through 2021 for DOJ grants	92	2	N
131	Defense Authorization - Afghan Refugees / Motion to Instruct	Instruct conferees to insist on allowing	84	12	N
132	Defense Authorization - troops in Afghanistan / Motion to Instruct	Instruct conferees to insist on funding 8400 troops in Afghanistan in 2017	85	12	N

Table 5. House Scores (1st of 5)

	State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index		State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index
Abraham, Ralph	LA	5	R	90	70	80	Carson, Andre	IN	7	D	0	21	11
Adams, Alma	NC	12	D	5	20	13	Carter, Earl L. 'Buddy'	GA	1	R	95	60	78
Aderholt, Robert	AL	4	R	90	60	75	Carter, John	TX	31	R	89	60	75
Aguilar, Pete	CA	31	D	10	10	10	Cartwright, Matt	PA	17	D	0	25	13
Allen, Rick	GA	12	R	95	63	79	Castor, Kathy	FL	14	D	0	15	8
Amash, Justin	MI	3	R	100	95	98	Castro, Joaquin	TX	20	D	0	24	12
Amodei, Mark	NV	2	R	84	53	68	Chabot, Steve	OH	1	R	95	70	82
Ashford, Brad	NE	2	D	35	20	28	Chaffetz, Jason	UT	3	R	95	72	83
Babin, Brian	TX	36	R	89	75	82	Chu, Judy	CA	27	D	5	26	16
Barletta, Lou	PA	11	R	89	63	76	Cicilline, David	RI	1	D	5	16	10
Barr, Andy	KY	6	R	89	60	75	Clark, Katherine	MA	5	D	5	32	18
Barton, Joe	TX	6	R	84	68	76	Clarke, Yvette	NY	9	D	5	25	15
Bass, Karen	CA	37	D	0	15	8	Clawson, Curt	FL	19	R	76	75	76
Beatty, Joyce	OH	3	D	0	11	5	Clay, Lacy	MO	1	D	0	15	8
Becerra, Xavier	CA	34	D	5	26	16	Cleaver, Emmanuel	MO	5	D	0	21	11
Benishek, Dan	MI	1	R	89	75	82	Clyburn, James E.	SC	6	D	0	21	11
Bera, Ami	CA	7	D	15	10	13	Coffman, Mike	CO	6	R	85	70	78
Beyer, Don	VA	8	D	6	25	15	Cohen, Steve	TN	9	D	6	35	20
Bilirakis, Gus	FL	12	R	85	65	75	Cole, Tim	OK	4	R	85	58	71
Bishop, Mike	MI	8	R	90	65	78	Collins, Chris	NY	27	R	89	74	82
Bishop, Rob	UT	1	R	89	63	76	Collins, Doug	GA	9	R	95	74	84
Bishop, Sanford	GA	2	D	35	26	31	Comstock, Barbara	VA	10	R	85	53	69
Black, Diane	TN	6	R	88	68	78	Conaway, Mike	TX	11	R	90	65	78
Blackburn, Marsha	TN	7	R	95	75	85	Connolly, Gerry	VA	11	D	6	20	13
Blum, Rod	IA	1	R	85	80	83	Conyers, John	MI	13	D	0	20	10
Blumenauer, Earl	OR	3	D	6	35	20	Cook, Paul	CA	8	R	85	58	71
Bonamici, Suzanne	OR	1	D	5	25	15	Cooper, Jim	TN	5	D	10	16	13
Bost, Mike	IL	12	R	76	65	71	Costa, Jim	CA	16	D	33	25	29
Boustany, Charles	LA	3	R	90	60	75	Costello, Ryan	PA	6	R	65	55	60
Boyle, Brendan F.	PA	13	D	0	20	10	Courtney, Joe	CT	2	D	0	30	15
Brady, Kevin	TX	8	R	90	58	74	Cramer, Kevin	ND	AL	R	89	60	74
Brady, Robert	PA	1	D	0	30	15	Crawford, Rick	AR	1	R	89	63	76
Brat, Dave	VA	7	R	95	81	88	Crenshaw, Ander	FL	4	R	85	55	70
Bridenstine, Jim	OK	1	R	95	68	82	Crowley, Joseoh	NY	14	D	6	28	17
Brooks, Mo	AI	5	R	95	85	90	Cuellar, Henry	TX	28	D	45	20	33
Brooks, Susan W.	IN	5	R	90	55	73	Culberson, John	TX	7	R	100	65	83
Brown, Corrine	FL	5	D	12	8	10	Cummings, Elijah	MD	7	D	5	20	13
Brownley, Julia	CA	26	D	11	10	10	Curbelo, Carlos	FL	26	R	58	50	54
Buchanan, Vern	FL	16	R	78	76	77	Davidson, Warren	IL	8	R	100	90	95
Buck, Ken	CO	4	R	100	85	93	Davis, Danny K.	IL	7	D	0	26	13
Bucshon, Larry	IN	8	R	84	60	72	Davis, Rodney	IL	13	R	85	70	78
Burgess, Michael C.	TX	26	R	100	85	93	Davis, Susan	CA	53	D	0	16	8
Bustos, Cheri	IL	17	D	0	15	8	DeFazio, Peter	OR	4	D	0	42	21
Butterfield, G.K.	NC	1	D	0	21	11	DeGette, Diana	CO	1	D	0	20	10
Byrne, Bradley	AL	1	R	90	60	75	Delaney, John	MD	6	D	6	18	12
Calvert, Ken	CA	42	R	90	53	71	DeLauro, Rosa	CT	3	D	0	32	16
Capps, Lois	CA	24	D	5	25	15	DelBene, Suzan	WA	1	D	0	20	10
Capuano, Michael E.	MA	7	D	0	26	13	Denham, Jeff	CA	10	R	79	70	74
Cardenas, Tony	CA	29	D	0	18	9	Dent, Charlie	PA	15	R	80	50	65
Carney, John	DE	1	D	5	20	13	DeSantis, Ron	FL	6	R	94	65	80

Table 5. House Scores (2nd of 5)

	State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index		State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index
DeSaulnier, Mark	CA	11	D	0	21	11	Graves, Tom	GA	14	R	95	60	77
Desjarlais, Scott	TN	4	R	95	85	90	Grayson, Alan	FL	9	D	6	37	21
Deutch, Ted	FL	21	D	5	20	13	Green, Al	TX	9	D	5	16	11
Diaz-Balart, Mario	FL	25	R	79	42	61	Green, Gene	TX	29	D	11	32	21
Dingell, Debbie	MI	12	D	0	16	8	Griffith, Morgan	VA	9	R	95	75	85
Doggett, Lloyd	TX	35	D	0	37	18	Grijalva, Raul	AZ	3	D	6	17	11
Dold, Robert	IL	10	R	37	35	36	Grothman, Glenn	WI	6	R	95	68	82
Donovan, Dan	NY	11	R	75	50	63	Guinta, Frank	NH	1	R	90	75	83
Doyle, Mike	PA	14	D	0	24	12	Guthrie, Brett	KY	2	R	90	70	80
Duckworth, Tammy	IL	8	D	5	11	8	Gutierrez, Luis	IL	4	D	6	24	15
Duffy, Sean	WI	7	R	82	71	76	Hahn, Janice	CA	44	D	6	20	13
Duncan, Jeff	SC	3	R	89	85	87	Hanna, Richard	NY	22	R	47	69	58
Duncan, John	TN	2	R	95	95	95	Hardy, Crescent	NV	4	R	82	65	74
Edwards, Donna	MD	4	D	0	28	14	Harper, Gregg	MS	3	R	89	63	76
Ellison, Keith	MN	5	D	5	21	13	Harris, Andy	MD	1	R	89	75	82
Ellmers, Renee	NC	2	R	80	72	76	Hartzler, Vicky	MO	4	R	89	60	75
Emmer, Tom	MN	6	R	80	70	75	Hastings, Alcee	FL	20	D	7	21	14
Engel, Eliot	NY	16	D	6	17	11	Heck, Dennis	WA	10	D	0	20	10
Eshoo, Anna	CA	18	D	5	32	18	Heck, Joe	NV	3	R	80	69	74
Esty, Elizabeth	CT	5	D	0	16	8	Hensarling, Jeb	TX	5	R	95	70	82
Farenthold, Blake	TX	27	R	95	85	90	Herrera Beutler, Jaime	WA	3	R	80	88	84
Farr, Sam	CA	20	D	7	26	16	Hice, Jody	GA	10	R	100	75	88
Fattah, Chaka	PA	2	D	0	0	0	Higgins, Brian	NY	26	D	5	15	10
Fincher, Stephen	TN	8	R	100	70	85	Hill, Frank	AR	2	R	84	60	72
Fitzpatrick, Mike	PA	8	R	70	53	61	Himes, Jim	CT	4	D	0	20	10
Fleischmann, Chuck	TN	3	R	90	60	75	Hinojosa, Ruben	TX	15	D	7	20	13
Fleming, John	LA	4	R	95	75	85	Holding, George	NC	13	R	95	65	80
Flores, Bill	TX	17	R	90	60	75	Honda, Mike	CA	17	D	5	25	15
Forbes, Randy	FL	VA	R	84	73	79	Hoyer, Steny	MD	5	D	0	16	8
Fortenberry, Jeff	NE	1	R	85	55	70	Hudson, Richard	NC	8	R	90	70	80
Foster, Bill	IL	11	D	0	25	13	Huelskamp, Tim	KS	1	R	95	84	89
Foxx, Virginia	NC	5	R	95	70	83	Huffman, Jared	CA	2	D	5	25	15
Frankel, Lois	FL	22	D	5	11	8	Huizenga, Bill	MI	2	R	90	74	82
Franks, Trent	AZ	8	R	89	65	77	Hultgren, Randy	IL	14	R	89	70	79
Frelinghuysen, Rodney	NJ	11	R	85	55	70	Hunter, Duncan D.	CA	50	R	90	63	77
Fudge, Marcia	OH	11	D	0	20	10	Hurd, Will	TX	23	R	85	65	75
Gabbard, Tulsi	HI	2	D	5	40	23	Hurt, Robert	VA	5	R	89	74	81
Gallego, Ruben	AZ	7	D	5	15	10	Israel, Steve	NY	3	D	5	10	8
Garamendi, John	CA	3	D	10	15	13	Issa, Darrell	CA	49	R	89	72	81
Garrett, Scott	NJ	5	R	89	95	92	Jackson Lee, Sheila	TX	18	D	0	15	8
Gibbs, Bob	OH	7	R	90	75	83	Jeffries, Hakeem	NY	8	D	6	20	13
Gibson, Chris	NY	19	R	60	75	68	Jenkins, Evan	WV	3	R	85	65	75
Gohmert, Louie	TX	1	R	100	89	95	Jenkins, Lynn	KS	2	R	90	72	81
Goodlatte, Robert	CA	6	R	90	67	78	Johnson, Bill	OH	6	R	90	65	78
Gosar, Paul	AZ	4	R	100	85	93	Johnson, Eddie Bernice	TX	30	D	0	13	6
Gowdy, Trey	SC	4	R	90	65	78	Johnson, Hank	GA	4	D	5	25	15
Graham, Gwen	FL	2	D	10	15	13	Johnson, Sam	TX	3	R	89	76	83
Granger, Kay	TX	12	R	95	63	79	Jolly, David	FL	13	R	65	50	58
Graves, Garret	LA	6	R	84	70	77	Jones, Walter	NC	3	R	84	95	90
Graves, Sam	MO	6	R	85	61	73	Jordan, Jim	OH	4	R	95	79	87

Table 5. House Scores (3rd of 5)

	State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index		State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index
Joyce, David	OH	14	R	80	60	70	Marchant, Kenny	TX	24	R	89	74	81
Kaptur, Marcy	OH	9	D	10	25	18	Marino, Tom	PA	10	R	88	58	73
Katko, John	NY	24	R	67	47	57	Massie, Thomas	KY	4	R	100	95	98
Keating, Bill	MA	9	D	5	11	8	Matsui, Doris	CA	6	D	5	20	13
Kelly, Mike	PA	3	R	90	60	75	McCarthy, Kevin	CA	23	R	90	53	71
Kelly, Robin	IL	2	D	5	26	16	McCaul, Michael	TX	10	R	89	55	72
Kelly, Trent	MS	1	R	90	68	79	McClintock, Tom	CA	4	R	100	85	93
Kennedy, Joseph P.	MA	4	D	5	11	8	McCollum, Betty	MN	4	D	0	25	13
Kildee, Dan	MI	5	D	5	25	15	McDermott, Jim	WA	7	D	6	30	18
Kilmer, Derek	WA	6	D	0	25	13	McGovern, Jim	MA	2	D	5	40	23
Kind, Ron	WI	3	D	5	26	16	McHenry, Patrick	NC	10	R	85	60	73
King, Peter	NY	2	R	85	50	68	McKinley, David	WV	1	R	90	65	78
King, Steve	IA	4	R	90	58	74	McMorris Rodgers, Ca	WA	5	R	90	70	80
Kinzinger, Adam	IL	16	R	75	63	69	McNerney, Jerry	CA	9	D	0	25	13
Kirkpatrick, Ann	AZ	1	D	11	17	14	McSally, Martha	AZ	2	R	80	65	73
Kline, John	MN	2	R	90	60	75	Meadows, Mark	NC	11	R	90	75	83
Knight, Steve	CA	25	R	95	70	83	Meehan, Patrick	PA	7	R	65	55	60
Kuster, Ann McLane	NH	2	D	10	20	15	Meeks, Gregory	NY	5	D	0	22	11
Labrador, Raul	ID	1	R	100	100	100	Meng, Grace	NY	6	D	6	20	13
LaHood, Darin	IL	18	R	90	65	78	Messer, Luke	IN	6	R	85	60	73
LaMalfa, Doug	CA	1	R	89	75	82	Mica, John L.	FL	7	R	89	68	79
Lamborn, Doug	CO	5	R	95	67	81	Miller, Candice	MI	10	R	89	78	83
Lance, Leonard	NJ	7	R	80	65	73	Miller, Jeff	FL	1	R	90	60	75
Langevin, Jim	RI	2	D	5	10	8	Moolenaar, John	MI	4	R	90	60	75
Larsen, Rick	WA	2	D	0	26	13	Mooney, Alex	WV	2	R	90	85	88
Larson, John B.	CT	1	D	0	30	15	Moore, Gwen	WI	4	D	6	21	13
Latta, Bob	OH	5	R	90	75	83	Moulton, Seth	MA	6	D	5	20	13
Lawrence, Brenda	MI	14	D	5	20	13	Mullin, Markwayne	OK	2	R	95	65	80
Lee, Barbara	CA	13	D	6	30	18	Mulvaney, Mick	SC	5	R	95	100	97
Levin, Sandy	MI	9	D	0	15	8	Murphy, Patrick	FL	18	D	11	5	8
Lewis, John	GA	5	D	5	26	16	Murphy, Tim	PA	18	R	84	65	75
Lieu, Ted	CA	33	D	7	26	16	Nadler, Jerrold	NY	10	D	7	29	18
Lipinski, Dan	IL	3	D	11	30	20	Napolitano, Grace	CA	32	D	6	21	13
LoBiondo, Frank	NJ	2	R	45	55	50	Neal, Richard	MA	1	D	5	20	13
Loebsack, Dave	IA	2	D	5	25	15	Neugebauer, Randy	TX	19	R	90	65	78
Lofgren, Zoe	CA	19	D	5	40	23	Newhouse, Dan	WA	4	R	85	68	77
Long, Billy	MO	7	R	90	60	75	Noem, Kristi	SD	AL	R	89	60	74
Loudermilk, Barry	GA	11	R	95	74	84	Nolan, Rick	MN	8	D	0	47	24
Love, Mia	UT	4	R	89	65	77	Norcross, Donald	NJ	1	D	0	20	10
Lowenthal, Alan	CA	47	D	5	30	18	Nugent, Richard	FL	11	R	88	63	75
Lowey, Nita	NY	17	D	0	15	8	Nunes, Devin	CA	22	R	85	55	70
Lucas, Frabk	OK	3	R	90	65	78	O'Rourke, Beto	TX	16	D	0	29	15
Luetkemeyer, Blaine	MO	3	R	89	70	79	Olson, Pete	TX	22	R	90	65	78
Lujan Grisham, Miche	NM	1	D	10	15	13	Palazzo, Steven	MS	4	R	90	65	78
Lujan, Ben Ray	NM	3	D	5	15	10	Pallone, Frank	NJ	6	D	5	25	15
Lummis, Cynthia	WY	AL	R	95	85	90	Palmer, Gary	AL	6	R	100	75	88
Lynch, Stephen F.	MA	8	D	5	20	13	Pascrell, Bill	NJ	9	D	0	25	13
MacArthur, Tom	NJ	3	R	70	58	64	Paulsen, Erik	MN	3	R	79	55	67
Maloney, Carolyn	NY	12	D	5	11	8	Payne, Jr., Donald	NJ	10	D	0	26	13
Maloney, Sean Patrick	NY	18	D	10	10	10	Pearce, Steve	NM	2	R	88	61	74

Table 5. House Scores (4th of 5)

	State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index		State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index
Pelosi, Nancy	CA	12	D	0	15	8	Sarbanes, John	MD	3	D	5	25	15
Perlmutter, Ed	CO	7	D	0	25	13	Scalise, Steve	LA	1	R	95	58	76
Perry, Scott	PA	4	R	90	95	93	Schakowsky, Jan	IL	9	D	5	19	12
Peters, Scott	CA	52	D	20	11	15	Schiff, Adam	CA	28	D	5	10	8
Peterson, Collin	MN	7	D	65	45	55	Schrader, Kurt	OR	5	D	0	35	18
Pingree, Chellie	ME	1	D	6	35	20	Schweikert, David	AZ	6	R	95	95	95
Pittenger, Robert	NC	9	R	90	65	78	Scott, Austin	GA	8	R	95	65	80
Pitts, Joe	PA	16	R	95	55	75	Scott, David	GA	13	D	0	13	7
Pocan, Mark	WI	2	D	5	26	16	Scott, Robert	VA	3	D	0	25	13
Poe, Ted	TX	2	R	82	83	83	Sensenbrenner, Jim	WI	5	R	95	80	88
Poliquin, Bruce	ME	2	R	75	55	65	Serrano, Jose E.	NY	15	D	5	20	13
Polis, Jared	CO	2	D	6	35	20	Sessions, Pete	TX	32	R	90	63	77
Pompeo, Mike	KS	4	R	95	58	76	Sewell, Terri	AL	7	D	10	5	8
Posey, Bill	FL	8	R	90	80	85	Sherman, Brad	CA	30	D	5	15	10
Price, David	NC	4	D	0	15	8	Shimkus, John	IL	15	R	90	60	75
Price, Tom	GA	6	R	100	63	82	Shuster, Bill	PA	9	R	85	60	73
Quigley, Mike	IL	5	D	5	5	5	Simpson, Mike	ID	2	R	89	50	70
Rangel, Charles	NY	13	D	0	21	11	Sinema, Kyrsten	AZ	9	D	40	10	25
Ratcliffe, John	TX	4	R	95	70	83	Sires, Albio	NJ	8	D	6	33	20
Reed, Tom	NY	23	R	79	65	72	Slaughter, Louise	NY	25	D	5	15	10
Reichert, Dave	WA	8	R	47	45	46	Smith, Adam	WA	9	D	7	18	12
Renacci, Jim	OH	16	R	85	75	80	Smith, Adrian	NE	3	R	85	65	75
Ribble, Reid	WI	8	R	90	75	83	Smith, Chris	NJ	4	R	65	60	63
Rice, Kathleen	NY	4	D	0	22	11	Smith, Jason T.	MO	8	R	90	70	80
Rice, Tom	SC	7	R	95	85	90	Smith, Lamar	TX	21	R	90	63	77
Richmond, Cedric	LA	2	D	5	25	15	Speier, Jackie	CA	14	D	7	11	9
Rigell, Scott	VA	2	R	90	74	82	Stefanik, Elise	NY	21	R	70	55	63
Roby, Martha	AL	2	R	90	58	74	Stewart, Chris	UT	2	R	90	60	75
Roe, Phil	TN	1	R	90	70	80	Stivers, Steve	OH	15	R	89	58	74
Rogers, Hal	KY	5	R	90	55	73	Stutzman, Marlin	IN	3	R	100	84	92
Rogers, Mike D.	AL	3	R	90	68	79	Swalwell, Eric	CA	15	D	6	0	3
Rohrabacher, Dana	CA	48	R	95	89	92	Takai, Mark	HI	1	D	0	0	0
Rokita, Todd	IN	4	R	95	80	88	Takano, Mark	CA	41	D	5	20	13
Rooney, Thomas J.	FL	17	R	89	63	76	Thompson, Bennie G.	MS	2	D	5	26	16
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	FL	27	R	55	47	51	Thompson, Glenn	PA	5	R	89	70	80
Roskam, Peter	IL	6	R	95	55	75	Thompson, Mike	CA	5	D	0	20	10
Ross, Dennis	FL	15	R	90	65	78	Thornberry, Mac	TX	13	R	90	60	75
Rothfus, Keith	PA	12	R	90	70	80	Tiberi, Pat	OH	12	R	95	68	82
Rouzer, David	NC	7	R	95	70	83	Tipton, Scott	CO	3	R	85	70	78
Roybal-Allard, Lucille	CA	40	D	0	15	8	Titus, Dina	NV	1	D	5	26	16
Royce, Ed	CA	39	R	90	60	75	Tonko, Paul D.	NY	20	D	5	30	18
Ruiz, Raul	CA	36	D	10	20	15	Torres, Norma	CA	35	D	0	16	8
Ruppersberger, Dutch	MD	2	D	5	16	10	Trott, Dave	MI	11	R	89	70	80
Rush, Bobby	IL	1	D	5	33	19	Tsongas, Niki	MA	3	D	0	21	11
Russell, Steve	OK	5	R	90	53	71	Turner, Mike	OH	10	R	83	53	68
Ryan, Tim	OH	13	D	0	20	10	Upton, Fred	MI	6	R	80	75	78
Salmon, Matt	AZ	5	R	89	88	88	Valadao, David	CA	21	R	80	55	68
Sanchez, Linda	CA	38	D	6	25	15	Van Hollen, Chris	MD	8	D	5	20	13
Sanchez, Loretta	CA	46	D	0	19	9	Vargas, Juan	CA	51	D	0	26	13
Sanford, Mark	SC	1	R	79	100	89	Veasey, Marc	TX	33	D	15	15	15

Table 5. House Scores (5th of 5)

	State	District	Party	Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index
Vela, Filamon	TX	34	D	10	20	15
Velazquez, Nydia	NY	7	D	5	25	15
Visclosky, Pete	IN	1	D	0	11	5
Wagner, Ann	MO	2	R	89	63	76
Walberg, Tim	MI	7	R	90	70	80
Walden, Greg	OR	2	R	90	70	80
Walker, Mark	NC	6	R	95	68	82
Walorski, Jackie	IN	2	R	90	60	75
Walters, Mimi	CA	45	R	84	60	72
Walz, Tim	MN	1	D	11	30	21
Wasserman Schultz, E	FL	23	D	5	15	10
Waters, Maxine	CA	43	D	0	21	11
Watson Coleman, Bob	NJ	12	D	5	25	15
Weber, Randy	TX	14	R	95	75	85
Webster, Daniel	FL	10	R	90	58	74
Welch, Peter	VT	AL	D	5	35	20
Wenstrup, Brad	OH	2	R	90	55	73
Westerman, Bruce	AR	4	R	90	70	80
Westmoreland, Lynn	GA	3	R	93	56	75
Whitfield, Ed	KY	1	R	88	50	69
Williams, Roger	TX	25	R	90	75	83
Wilson, Frederica	FL	24	D	0	27	13
Wilson, Joe	SC	2	R	90	65	78
Wittman, Rob	VA	1	R	90	65	78
Womack, Steve	AR	3	R	95	60	78
Woodall, Rob	GA	7	R	95	65	80
Yarmuth, John	KY	3	D	0	35	18
Yoder, Kevin	KY	3	R	90	75	83
Yoho, Ted	FL	3	R	89	85	87
Young, David	IA	3	R	80	55	68
Young, Donald	AK	AL	R	80	74	77
Young, Todd	IN	9	R	90	60	75
Zeldin, Lee	NY	1	R	85	74	79
Zinke, Ryan	MT	AL	R	84	60	72

Table 6. Senate Scores

			Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index				Economic Liberties	Personal Liberties	Index
Alexander, Lamar	TN	R	53	50	51	King, Angus	ME	I	20	5	13
Ayotte, Kelly	NH	R	58	40	49	Kirk, Mark	IL	R	68	37	53
Baldwin, Tammy	WI	D	5	10	8	Klobuchar, Amy	MN	D	5	6	5
Barrasso, Joe	WY	R	85	65	75	Lankford, James	OK	R	90	80	85
Bennet, Michael	CO	D	5	10	8	Leahy, Patrick	VT	D	0	22	11
Blumenthal, Richard	CT	D	5	10	8	Lee, Mike	UT	R	95	93	94
Blunt, Roy	MO	R	58	60	59	Manchin, Joe	WV	D	30	45	38
Booker, Corey	NJ	D	5	15	10	Markey, Ed	MA	D	5	20	13
Boozman, John	AR	R	70	60	65	McCain, John	AZ	R	85	53	69
Boxer, Barbara	CA	D	0	25	13	McCaskill, Claire	MO	D	25	5	15
Brown, Sherrod	OH	D	0	18	9	McConnell, Mitch	KY	R	70	65	68
Burr, Richard	NC	R	65	55	60	Menendez, Bob	NJ	D	5	5	5
Cantwell, Maria	WA	D	5	15	10	Merkley, Jeff	OR	D	0	15	8
Capito, Shelley Moore	WV	R	60	65	63	Mikulski, Barbara	MD	D	0	10	5
Cardin, Ben	MD	D	0	10	5	Moran, Jerry	KS	R	75	60	68
Carper, Tom	DE	D	22	20	21	Murkowski, Lisa	AK	R	50	60	55
Casey, Bob	PA	D	5	5	5	Murphy, Chris	CT	D	0	20	10
Cassidy, Bill	LA	R	65	55	60	Murray, Patti	WA	D	5	15	10
Coats, Dan	IN	R	89	55	72	Nelson, Bill	FL	D	5	11	8
Cochran, Thad	MS	R	60	63	62	Paul, Rand	KY	R	79	80	79
Collins, Susan	ME	R	30	45	38	Perdue, David	GA	R	85	70	78
Coons, Chris	DE	D	5	15	10	Peters, Gary	MI	D	5	10	8
Corker, Bob	TN	R	90	75	83	Portman, Rob	OH	R	50	47	49
Cornyn, John	TX	R	79	65	72	Reed, Jack	RI	D	10	10	10
Cotton, Tom	AR	R	80	65	73	Reid, Harry	NV	D	5	5	5
Crapo, Mike	ID	R	95	72	84	Risch, Jim	ID	R	95	70	83
Cruz, Ted	TX	R	75	53	64	Roberts, Pat	KS	R	70	63	67
Daines, Steve	MT	R	90	75	83	Rounds, Mike	SD	R	60	63	62
Donnelly, Joe	IN	D	25	21	23	Rubio, Marco	FL	R	69	73	71
Durbin, Dick	IL	D	0	15	8	Sanders, Bernie	VT	I	50	25	38
Enzi, Mike	WY	R	89	70	80	Sasse, Ben	NE	R	95	70	83
Ernst, Joni	IA	R	80	70	75	Schatz, Brian	HI	D	0	20	10
Feinstein, Diane	CA	D	15	12	13	Schumer, Carl	NY	D	5	15	10
Fischer, Deb	NE	R	85	60	73	Scott, Tim	SC	R	84	80	82
Flake, Jeff	AZ	R	100	63	82	Sessions, Jeff	AL	R	85	72	79
Franken, Al	MN	D	5	17	11	Shaheen, Jeanne	NH	D	5	15	10
Gardner, Cory	CO	R	74	65	69	Shelby, Richard	AL	R	74	68	71
Gillibrand, Kirsten	NY	D	0	30	15	Stabenow, Debbie	MI	D	0	10	5
Graham, Lindsey	SC	R	61	38	49	Sullivan, Dan	AK	R	70	60	65
Grassley, Charles	IA	R	70	75	73	Tester, Jon	MT	D	15	25	20
Hatch, Orrin	UT	R	70	55	63	Thune, John	SD	R	80	55	68
Heinrich, Martin	NM	D	5	11	8	Tillis, Thom	NC	R	80	60	70
Heitkamp, Heidi	ND	D	30	25	28	Toomey, Pat	PA	R	88	58	73
Heller, Dean	NV	R	70	95	83	Udall, Tom	NM	D	5	20	13
Hirono, Mazie	HI	D	0	15	8	Vitter, David	LA	R	63	75	69
Hoeven, John	ND	R	75	55	65	Warner, Mark	VA	D	6	12	9
Inhofe, John	OK	R	79	78	78	Warren, Elizabeth	MA	D	5	20	13
Isakson, Johnny	GA	R	80	55	68	Whitehouse, Sheldon	RI	D	5	10	8
Johnson, Ron	WI	R	85	65	75	Wicker, Roger	MS	R	60	68	64
Kaine, Tim	VA	D	5	10	8	Wyden, Ron	OR	D	5	20	13