

# **Political Warriors: The Ugly Side of Party Polarization in Congress**

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**THE  
GINGRICH  
SENATORS**

**The Roots of Partisan Warfare in Congress**



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**Party  
Polarizers**

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**and**

**Partisan  
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The Roots of Partisan Warfare in Congress



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**Party  
Polarizers**

**and**

**Partisan  
Warriors**



*--Senator Evan Bayh (D-IN)  
February 2010*



“For some time, I’ve had a growing conviction that Congress is not operating as it should. There is much **too much partisanship** and **not enough progress**; **too much narrow ideology** and **not enough practical problem-solving**. Even at a time of enormous national challenge, the people's business is not getting done.”



*--Senator Evan Bayh (D-IN)  
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**Does too much partisanship**



**Does too much partisanship =  
not enough progress?**

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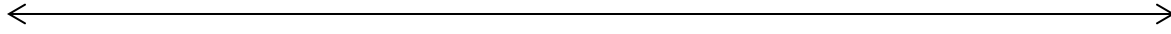




**or**



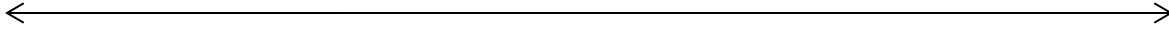
Party  
Polarizers



Political  
Warriors

**Or**

Party  
Polarizers



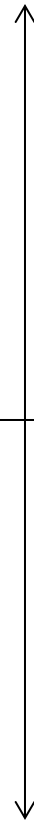
Political  
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**Or**

Political  
Warriors



Party  
Polarizers





Political

Warriors

LIVE

3:27 pm ET

**U.S. SENATE FEDERAL SPENDING & HEALTH CARE LAW**

Sen. Cruz (R-TX) took the floor at 2:40pm ET and said he intends to speak "until I am no longer able to stand."

**C-SPAN2**  
c-span.org

#cspanchat

Share Your Comments

LIVE

8:05 pm ET

**U.S. SENATE DEFUNDING HEALTH CARE LAW**

Sen. Cruz may temporarily yield to other senators for questions but must remain on his feet & in the Senate Chamber to continue to control the floor.

#cspanchat Share Your Comments

**C-SPAN2**  
c-span.org

**HD**

LIVE

8:05 pm ET



LIVE

5:21 am ET



U.S. SENATE DEFUNDING HEALTH CARE LAW

SEN. TED CRUZ

R-Texas

C-SPAN2  
c-span.org

HD

#cspanchat Share Your Comments



LIVE

8:05 pm ET

LIVE

5:21 am ET

LIVE

12:00 pm ET

U.S. SENATE DEFUNDING HEALTH CARE LAW

SEN. TED CRUZ  
R-Texas

C-SPAN2  
c-span.org

HD

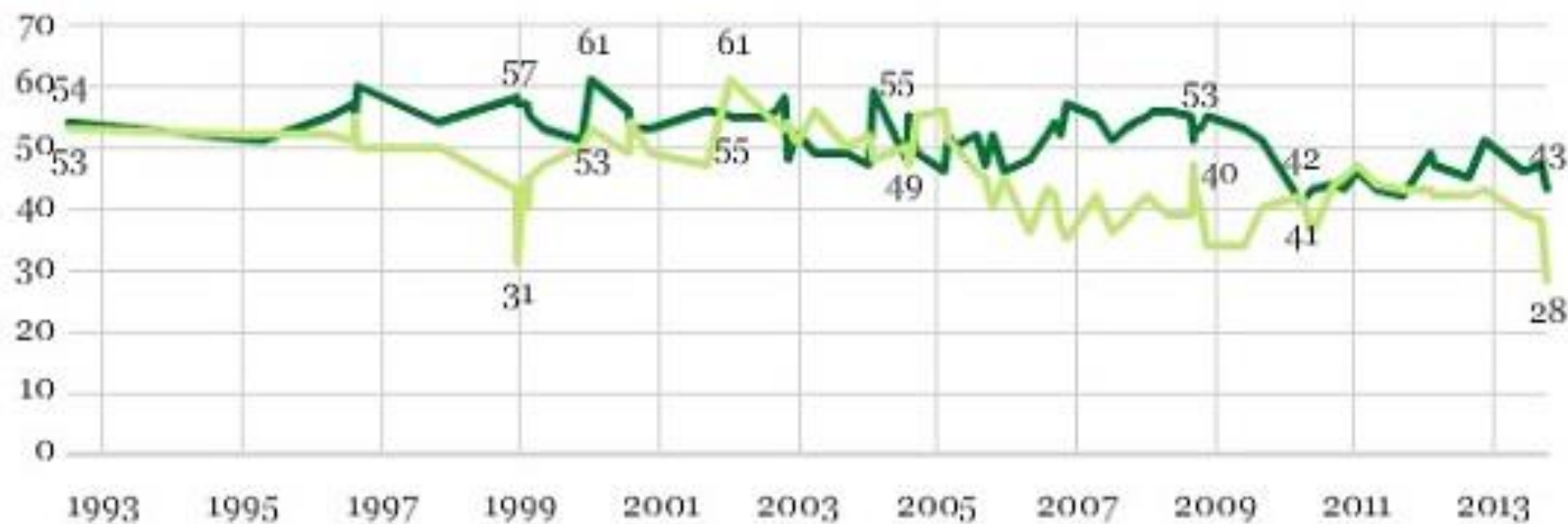
#cspanchat Share Your Comments

## Republican and Democratic Party Favorables, 1992-2013

Next, we'd like to get your overall opinion of some people in the news. ... Please say if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of \_\_\_\_\_.

■ The Democratic Party -- % Favorable

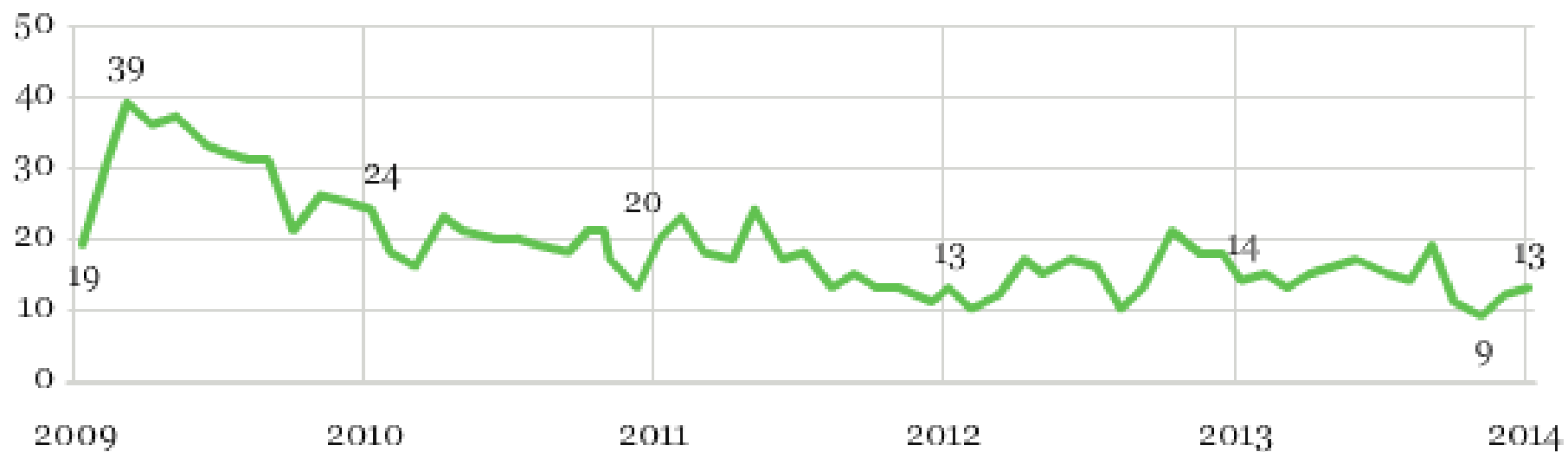
■ The Republican Party -- % Favorable



## Congressional Job Approval

Recent trend

■ % Approve



GALLUP®



# **The Bipartisan Budget Commission**

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34 Cosponsors – **13 Democrats** and **21 Republicans**

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On Jan. 21, Crapo and Brownback withdrew

On Jan. 22, Hutchison and Ensign withdrew

On Jan. 26, the amendment is defeated, 53-46







# Secret Santa



# Secret Santa

**Went    Didn't**

---

**Republicans**

**22**

**25**

# Secret Santa

**Went    Didn't**

---

**Republicans**

**22**

**25**

**Democrats**

**40**

**13**

---

# Secret Santa

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22

25

Democrats

40

13

COLLINS  
SNOWE  
BROWN  
MURKOWSKI  
LUGAR  
KIRK  
ALEXANDER  
HOEVEN  
COCHRAN  
HATCH  
BLUNT  
HUTCHISON  
CORKER  
PORTMAN  
JOHANNES  
MCCAIN  
WICKER  
MORAN  
ROBERTS  
COATS  
BOOZMAN  
GRASSLEY  
GRAHAM  
SHELBY  
ISAKSON  
AYOTTE  
THUNE  
MCCONNELL  
CHAMBLISS  
KYL  
BURR  
SESSIONS  
CORNBYN  
ENZI  
BARASSO  
CRAPO  
RUBIO  
RISCH  
VITTER  
TOOMEY  
INHOFE  
ENSIGN  
JOHNSON  
COBURN  
DEMINT  
LEE  
PAUL

# Secret Santa

	Went	Didn't
<b>Republicans</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Democrats</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>13</b>
BROWN MURKOWSKI LUGAR		
HOEVEN COCHRAN		
HUTCHISON CORKER PORTMAN JOHANNES		
WICKER		
BOOZMAN GRASSLEY		
SHELBY		
SESSIONS CORNBYN ENZI BARASSO CRAPO RUBIO		
VITTER		
LEE		
COLLINS SNOWE		
KIRK ALEXANDER		
HATCH BLUNT		
MCCAIN		
MORAN ROBERTS COATS		
GRAHAM		
ISAKSON AYOTTE THUNE		
MCCONNELL CHAMBLISS KYL BURR		
RISCH		
TOOMEY INHOFE ENSIGN JOHNSON COBURN DEMINT PAUL		

# Secret Santa

	Went	Didn't
<b>Republicans</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Democrats</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Republicans</b>	<b>0.46</b>	<b>0.50</b>
<b>Democrats</b>	<b>-0.35</b>	<b>-0.37</b>





*Amendment by  
Senator Tom Coburn (R-OK)  
March 2010*

“Reducing health care costs by eliminating payments for fraudulent claims and prohibiting coverage for abortion drugs and erectile dysfunction drugs for rapists and child molester.”



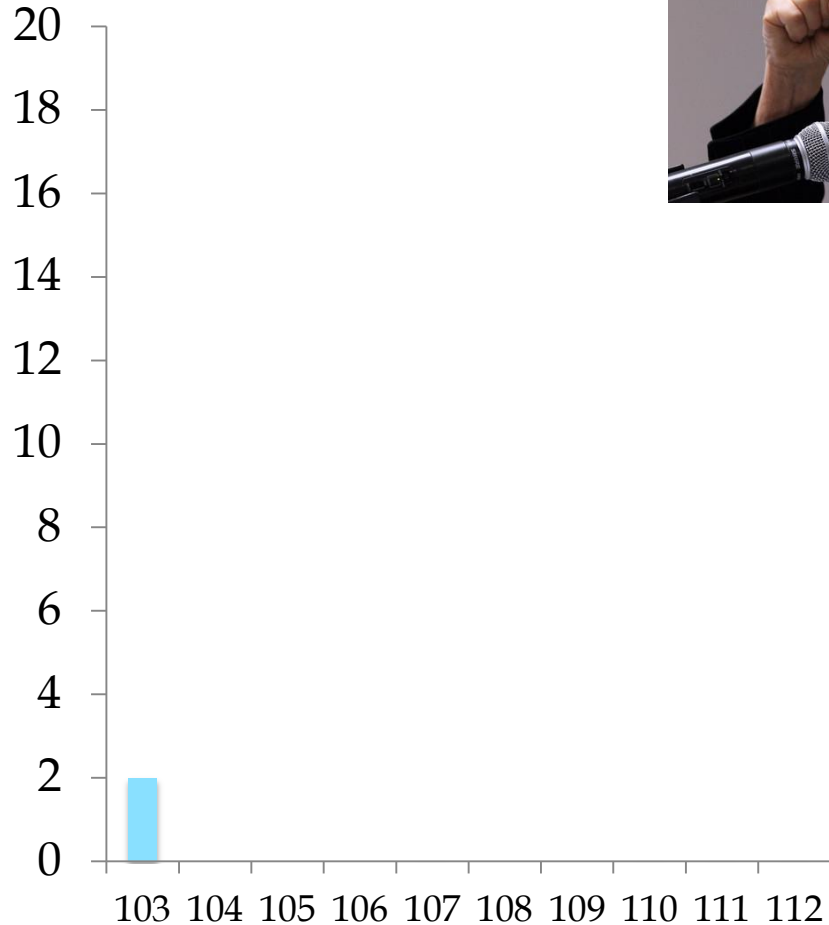
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# Roll Calls on Amendments

Rank	Congress	Senator	Roll Call Votes
1.	111th	Tom Coburn (R-OK)	49
2. (Tie)	110th	Tom Coburn (R-OK)	34
2. (Tie)	110th	Jim DeMint (R-SC)	34
4.	103rd	Jesse Helms (R-NC)	33
5.	104th	Paul Wellstone (D-MN)	29
6. (Tie)	108th	Robert Byrd (D-WV)	28
6. (Tie)	104th	Tom Harkin (D-IA)	28
6. (Tie)	103rd	John McCain (R-AZ)	28
9.	111th	John McCain (R-AZ)	27
10. (Tie)	112th	Tom Coburn (R-OK)	25
10. (Tie)	104th	Byron Dorgan (D-ND)	25
10. (Tie)	106th	Paul Wellstone (D-MN)	25

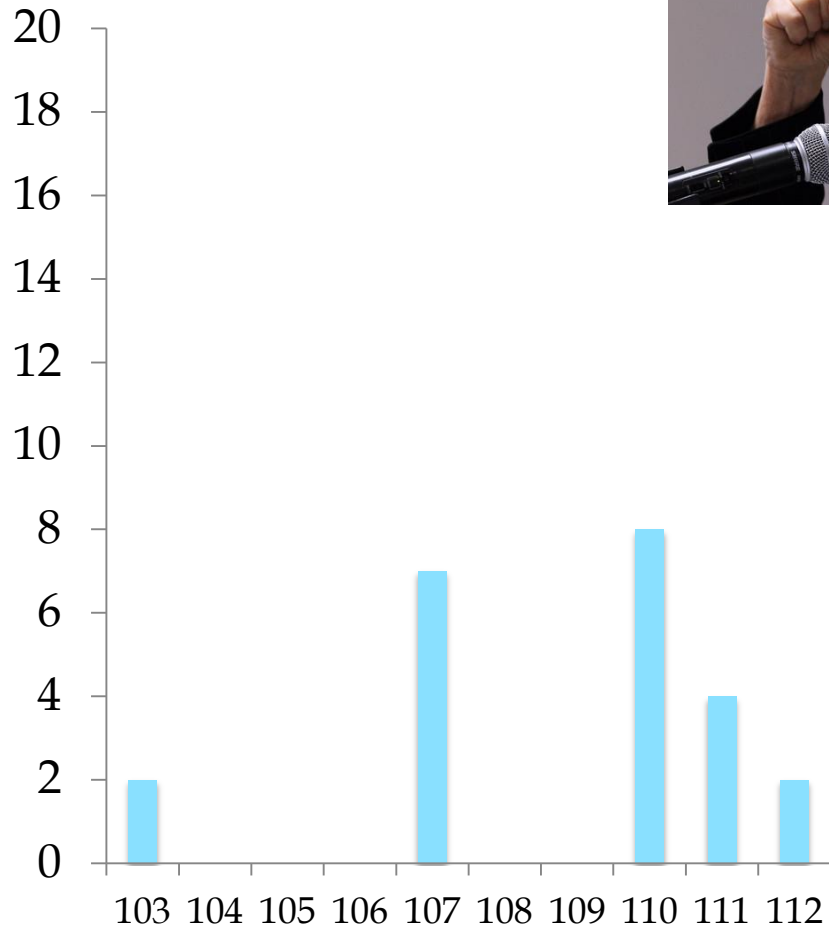
# A Couple of Cases...

**Boxer (D-CA)**



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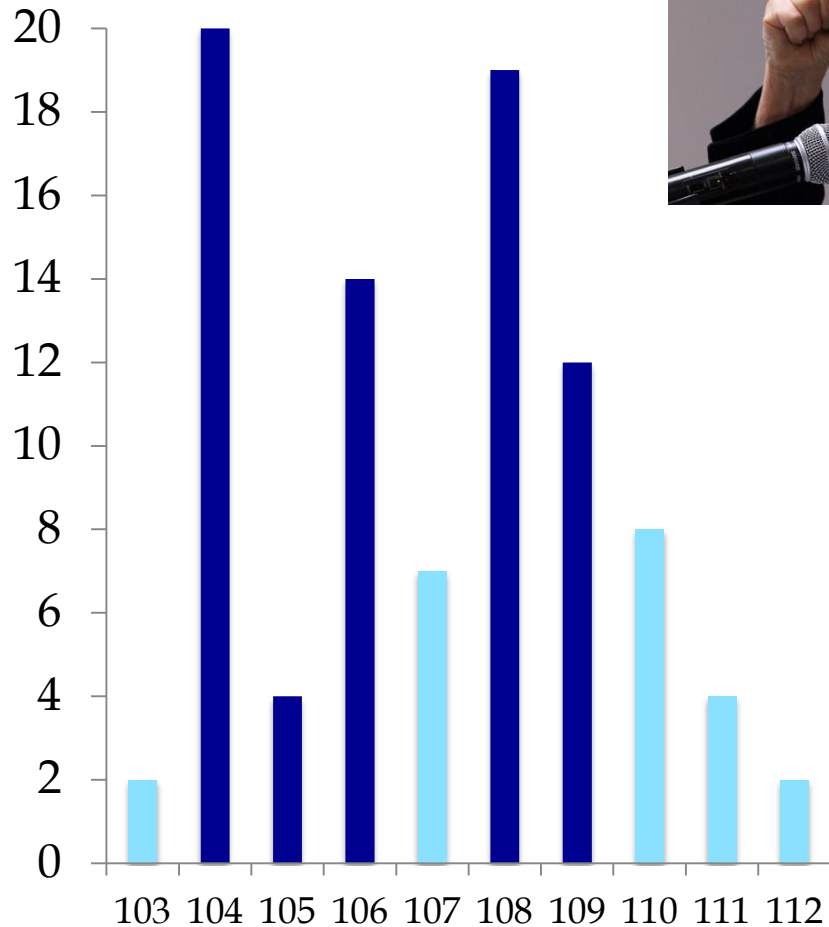
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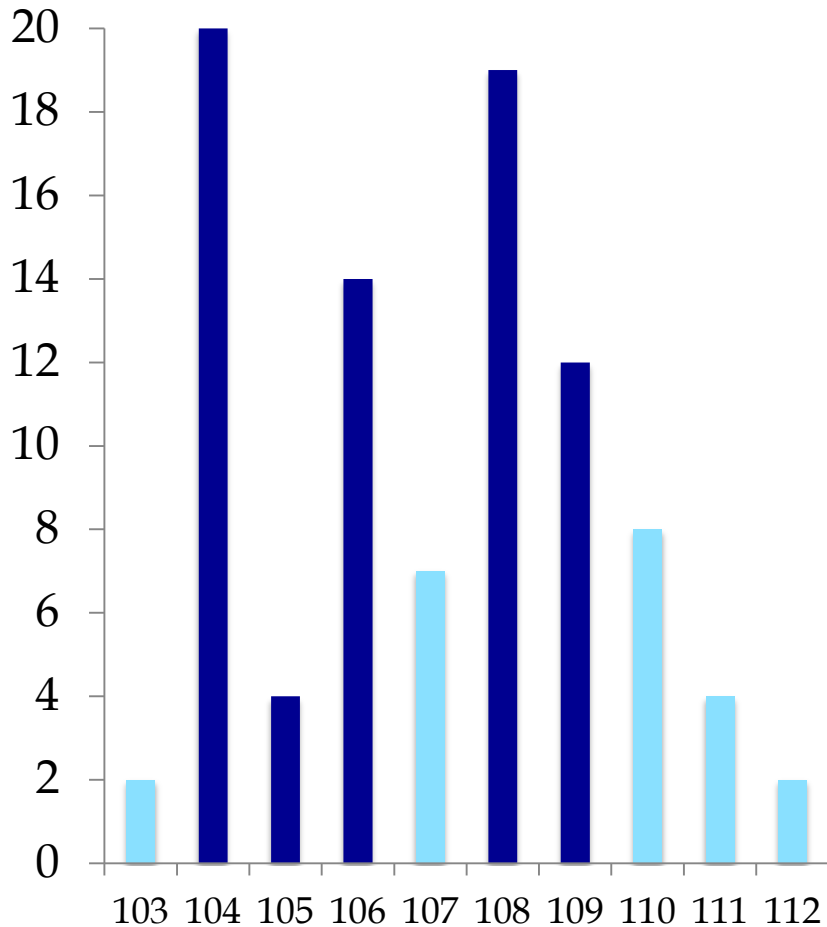


**Boxer (D-CA)**

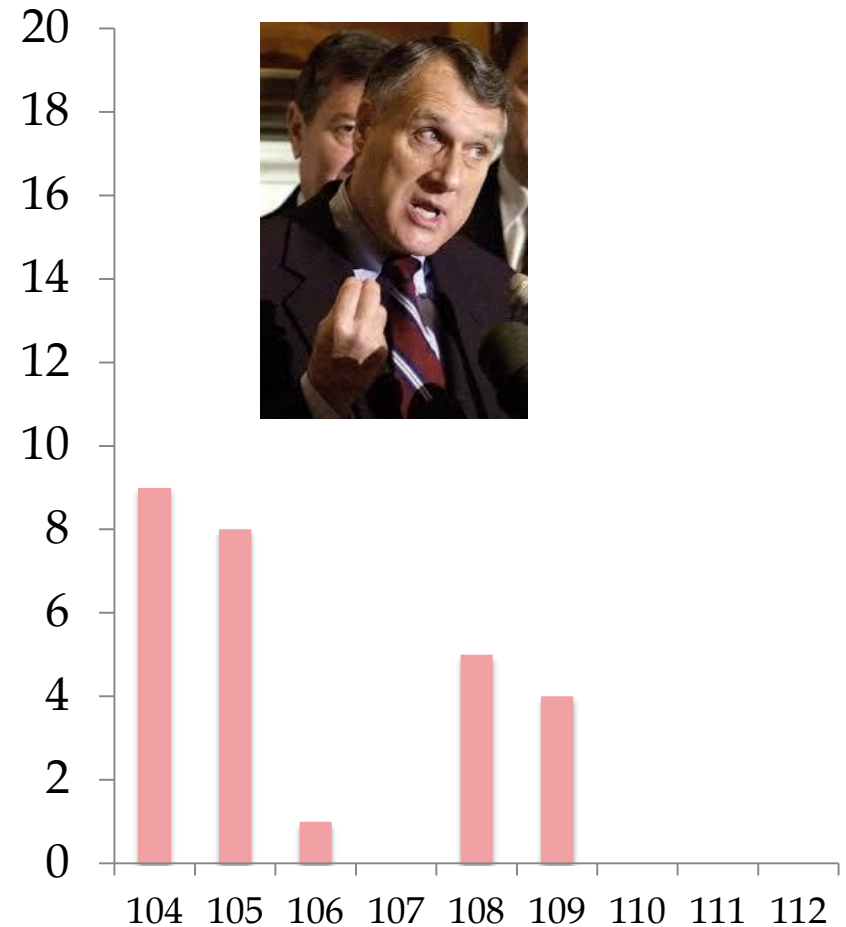


# A Couple of Cases...

## Boxer (D-CA)

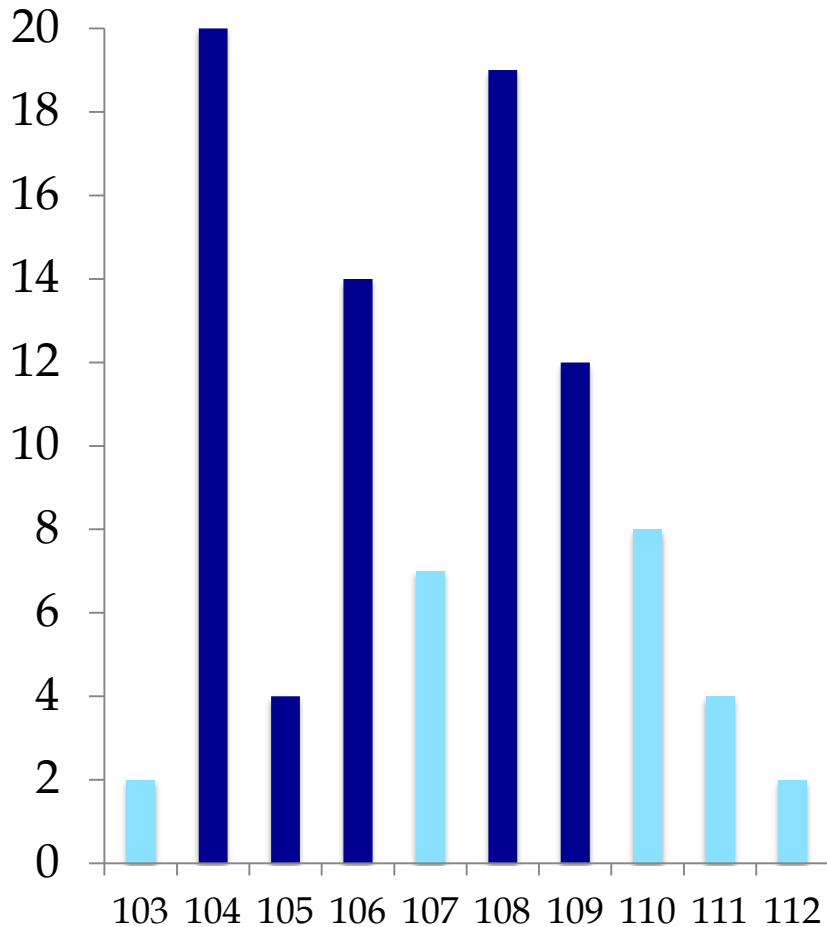


## Kyl (R-AZ)

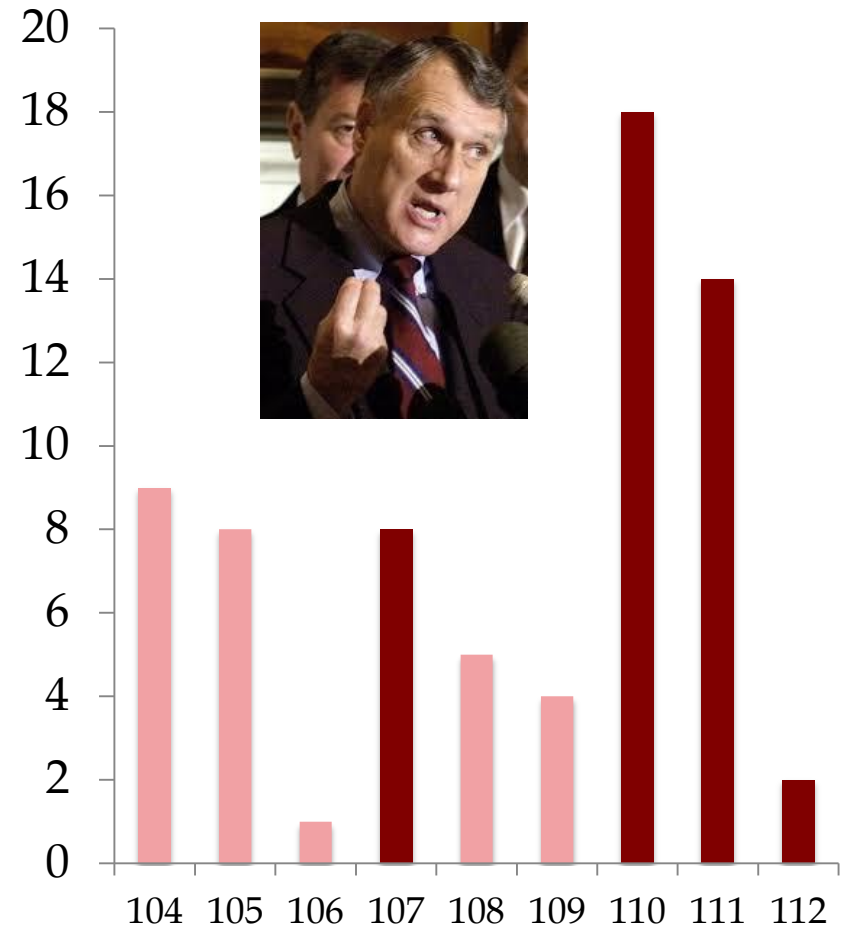


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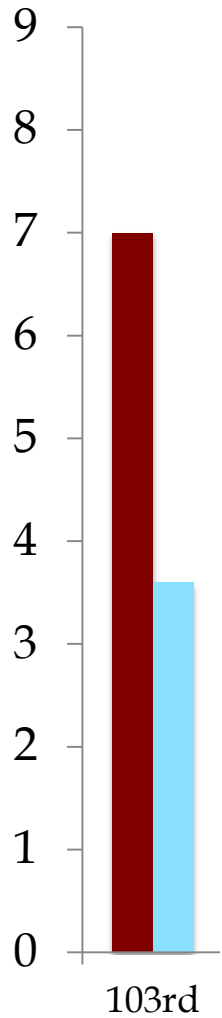


## Kyl (R-AZ)

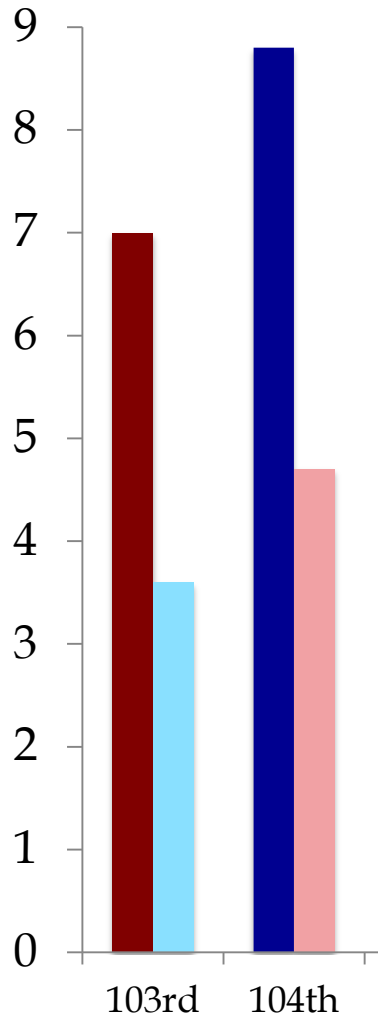




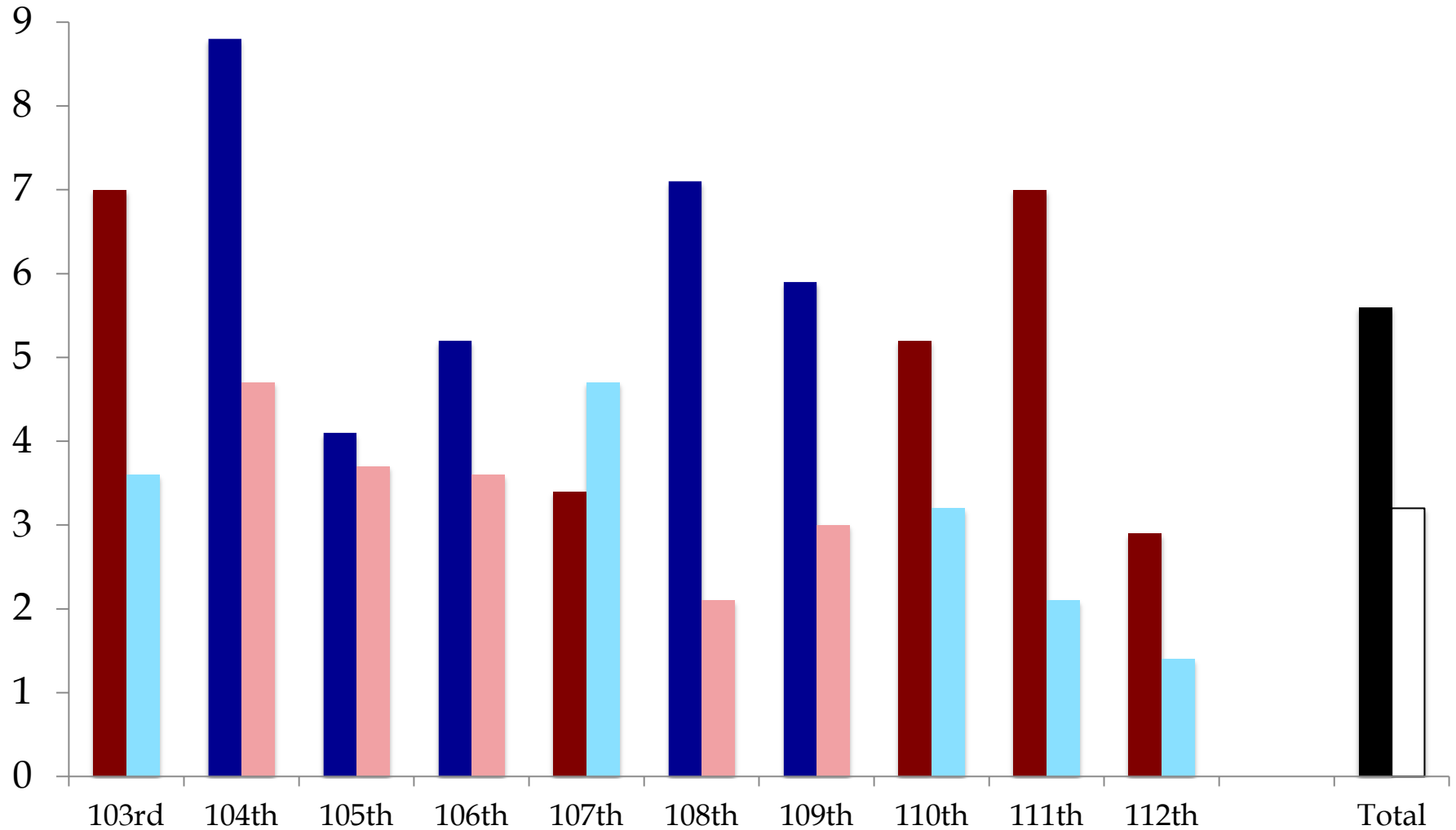
# Roll Calls on Amendments



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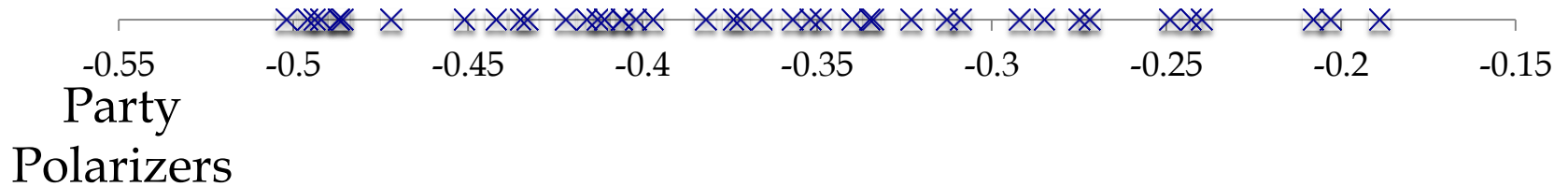


# Roll Calls on Amendments



# Putting it All Together...

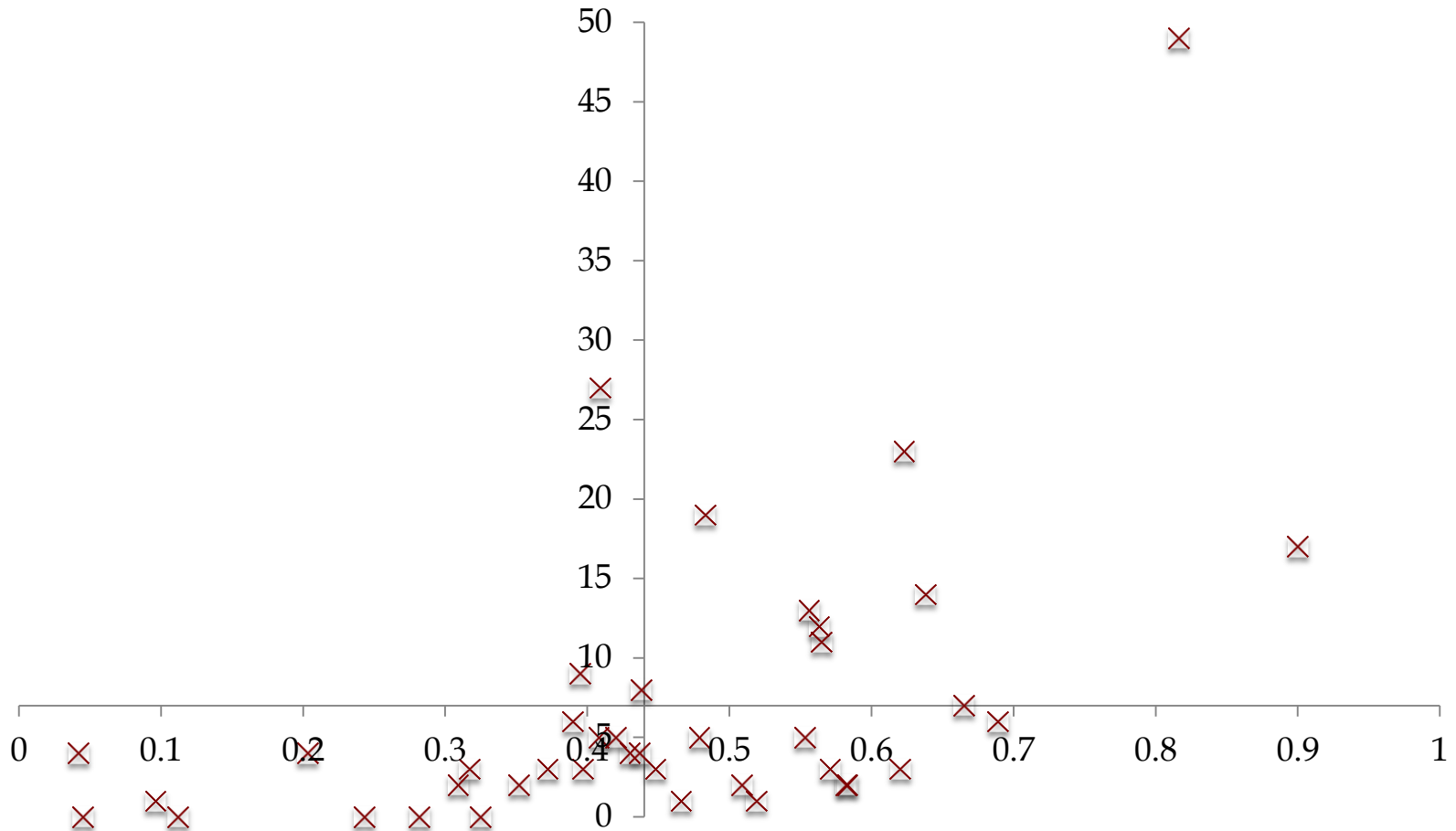
Democrats in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress





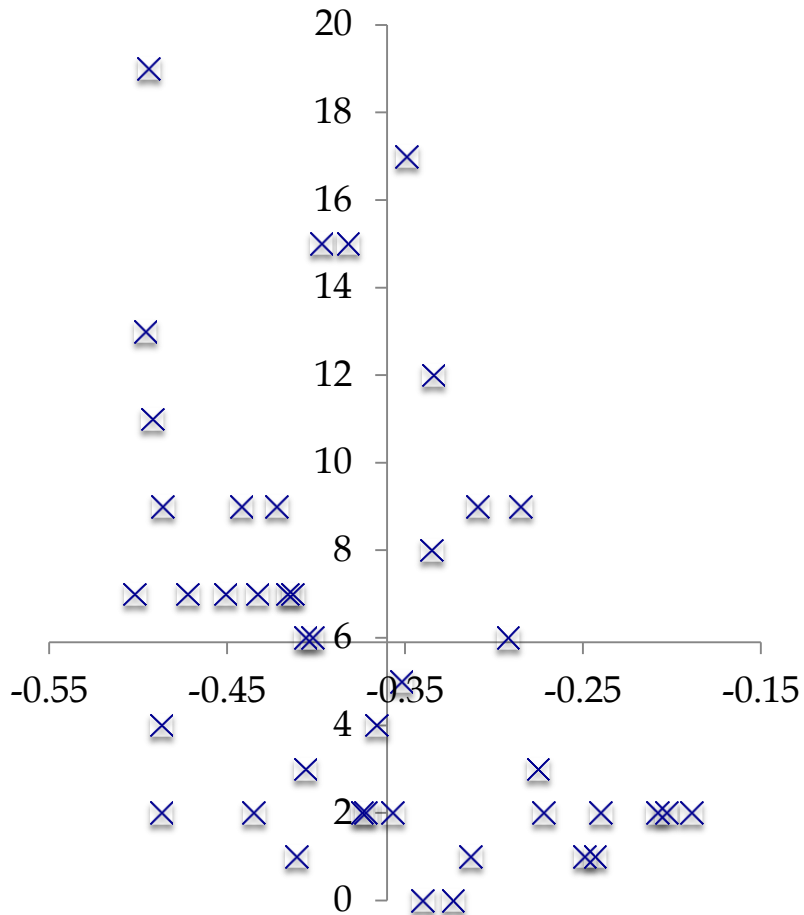
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Republicans in the 111<sup>th</sup> Congress

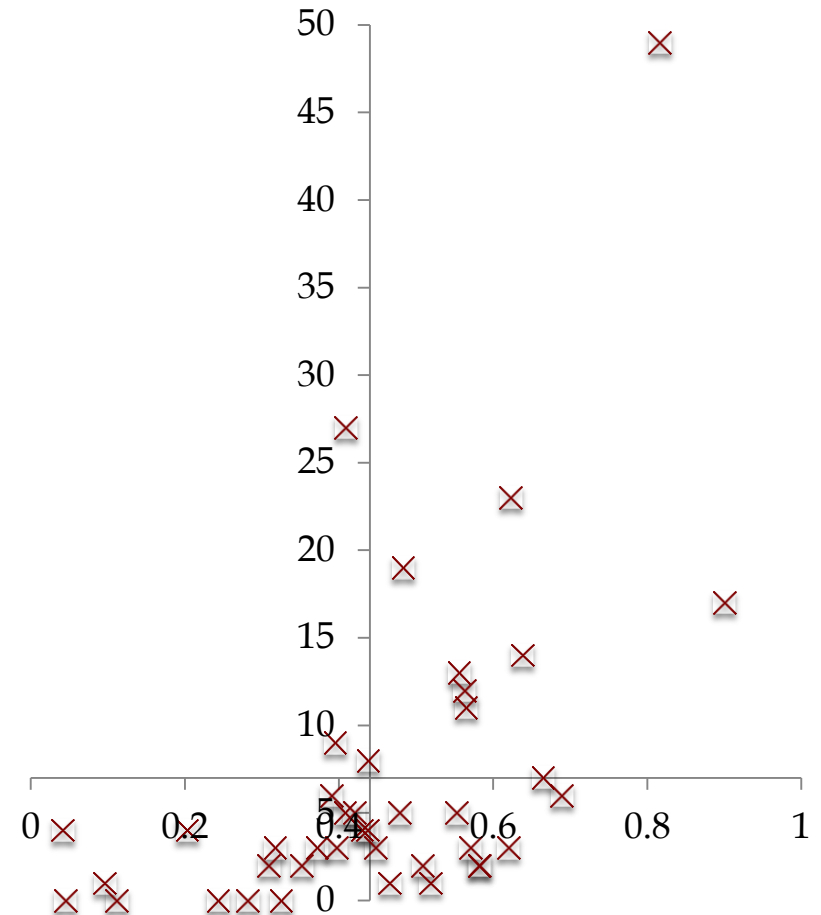


# Putting it All Together...

Democrats in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress



Republicans in the 111<sup>th</sup> Congress



# Preliminary Findings



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- Warfare is carried about by relatively few warriors

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- Warfare is carried about by relatively few warriors
- A good proxy...
- but probably not the best

# Political Warfare Behavior

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- Amendment Support

# Political Warfare Behavior

- Amendment Support
- Cosponsorship

# Political Warfare Behavior

- Amendment Support
- Cosponsorship
- Donating Against Incumbents

**Questions?**