Bipartisan Governance

The performance of the United States Government and the security and economic well-being of the American people have suffered because of the intensifying partisanship that has afflicted political processes and societal debates in recent years. This partisanship frequently has had the effect of subordinating good governance to political combat and locking leaders into inflexible positions. We have seen innumerable examples of both parties failing the most basic tests of governance, including the 2013 government shutdown, the inability to enact a long-term deficit reduction program, reliance on the fiscal cliff sequester, the near abandonment of a bill-by-bill appropriations process, and repeated failures to pass an annual budget resolution.

Faced with reflexive partisan roadblocks, Congress also has frequently retreated from legislating on foreign policy, with negative consequences for national security. Treaty ratification during the Obama Administration has come to a near standstill. For many years, comprehensive Foreign Affairs Authorization bills have received low priority for floor time and leadership attention. Congress is largely failing to pursue systematic and timely reviews of the most strategically important questions in foreign policy. In the process, it is weakening its capacity to function as either a partner or as a constructive critic of the Executive Branch in foreign affairs.

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This partisanship in Washington and its amplification in media outlets competing for the attention of partisan-based audiences are exacerbating divisions within American society, as a whole. Attempts to vilify political opponents as disloyal and redefine policy disagreements as failures of character or even scandals have become increasingly common. This has contributed to the uncivil and destructive tone that has claimed a greater share of
American political dialogue. Political incivility, in turn, undercuts the ability of parties to work together, makes the achievement of unity in times of crisis more difficult, and increases the chances of politically motivated violence.

Across a wide range of domestic and foreign issues, there is a perception that Americans are inextricably divided in ways that we were not several decades ago. This dysfunction within our government and political system requires not just awareness and patience, but solutions.

The Lugar Center is dedicated to incentivizing public officials to put governance first, fostering more meaningful policy debates, encouraging civility in political speech, and promoting structural reforms that can reduce partisanship.

We acknowledge that adversarial political parties, contentious elections, and policy disagreements are unavoidable elements of the American political system. Indeed, the Founders were realists who understood the power of factionalism, parochialism, and personal ambition. They understood that an effective government could not be based on good intentions. 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.

The Lugar Center’s efforts to advance bipartisan governance are grounded on the belief that leaders and citizens can act in a bipartisan manner irrespective of their party loyalties, their ideology, or their individual interests. Bipartisanship is sometimes inaccurately defined as the pursuit of centrist outcomes. But there is no contradiction between holding strong ideological views and embracing bipartisan principles. Bipartisanship is a way of approaching leadership that prioritizes governance, fairly evaluates ideas outside one’s own ideology, tempers one’s political rhetoric, and seeks opportunities to work with the other party and build greater consensus.

Embracing bipartisanship does not require leaders to alter their political principles or support policy proposals that they fundamentally oppose. But it does require them to ensure that their responsibility to govern is not paralyzed by their ideology or undercut by their pursuit of partisan political advantage. It requires them to be open to the possibility of compromise and to recognize that building consensus on policy issues has inherent value to national security and prosperity.

Through research and commentary, The Lugar Center seeks to encourage bipartisanship among elected and appointed officials and inform the public on the negative impact of partisanship in our government. We develop and promote proposals designed to increase national unity and mitigate the effects of partisanship. And we work with like-minded organizations to create opportunities for bipartisan dialogue, with special emphasis on foreign affairs.
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
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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.
Speeches

Read Senator Lugar's speeches on bipartisan governance:

- Denison University Lugar Symposium Keynote Address (April 13, 2016)
- Cleveland Council on World Affairs Global Impact Award Speech: "The Water's Edge: Has American Foreign Policy Lost its Capacity for Bipartisan Unity?" (October 6, 2015)
- University of Illinois Institute of Government and Public Affairs Edgar Fellows Address: "Bipartisanship in an Era of Polarization: What Does It Mean and How Do We Achieve It?" (August 4, 2015)
- Georgetown Public Policy Institute Whittington Lecture: "Securing Our Country in an Era of Partisanship" (April 9, 2013)
- Address at the Duke University Sanford School of Public Policy: "Embracing Governance over Partisanship" (February 12, 2013)
- Senator Lugar's Final Senate Floor Speech (December 12, 2012)
- 2008 Paul H. Douglas Education Lecture: "Rejuvenating Bipartisanship in a Partisan Era" (November 11, 2008)

Media Coverage

What do new Bipartisan Index rankings say about the Ohio delegation? Senior Fellow at The Lugar Center discusses.

*IdeaStream, WCPN*, May 8, 2018

Senator Lugar talks about the 2017 Bipartisan Index

*POTUS Sirius XM Radio*, May 3, 2018

Indiana's U.S. senators earn high marks for bipartisanship in Lugar Center analysis

*Kokomo Perspective*, May 1, 2018

Editorial: A lot more cooperation is needed in Congress

*Wisconsin State Journal*, April 29, 2018

A choice between GOP prosperity and Democratic obstruction

*Concord Monitor*, April 29, 2018

Delaware Valley-area GOP reps rate high in bipartisanship survey

*WHYY*, April 26, 2018

Who's the most bipartisan Ohioan in Congress? See how your member scored

*Cleveland.com*, April 25, 2018
Which Colorado members of Congress display the most bipartisanship?  
*The Gazette*, April 25, 2018

Curbelo, Ros-Lehtinen rank among the most bipartisan members of Congress  
*Miami Herald*, April 25, 2018

Collins ranked most bipartisan U.S. senator  
*WAGM/ CBS 8*, April 24, 2018

Hell freezing over? Even in Trump age, some N.J. politicians are nice to the other party.  
*NJ.com*, April 24, 2018

Massachusetts Weak In Congress Bipartisan Rankings (Watch 2:12)  
*WBZ CBS Boston*, May 16, 2017

Partisan politics in the age of Trump? These N.J. Republicans work with Democrats  
*NJ.com*, May 13, 2017

Red-State Dems May Reach Across Aisle Ahead of 2018  
*Real Clear Politics*, May 11, 2017

The Lugar Center’s Director of Policy discusses the Bipartisan Index  
*The Texas Standard*, May 8, 2017

Senator Lugar discusses the Bipartisan Index on Sirius XM’s POTUS “Midday Briefing” program  
*Sirius XM*, April 27, 2017

Senate Republicans Became More Bipartisan in the Last Congress — Democrats, Not So Much  
*Roll Call*, April 26, 2017

Isolationism and its Consequences for Conflict Prevention  
*Foreign Policy Association*, April 24, 2017

Does bipartisanship even work in today’s polarized Congress? Yes.  

Bipartisan group wants civility, respect and compromise from Trump and new Congress  

Meet the 5 most bipartisan politicians in Congress  
*The Christian Science Monitor*, November 1, 2016

We need men like Richard Lugar  
*Evansville Courier & Press*, October 21, 2016

Richard Lugar, as usual, talking sense  
*NUVO*, October 21, 2016
US Senator advocates for agreement and cooperation
*The Denisonian*, October 18, 2016

When even failure on gun control feels like a small victory

Moderates are squeezed out or pulled apart
*Fort Wayne News-Sentinel*, April 29, 2016

All Eyes on Indiana

Lugar calls for return of 'establishment values' to save America
*Northwest Indiana Times*, April 17, 2016

Lugar principles for political candidates
*Northwest Indiana Times*, April 17, 2016

Terrorism a bipartisan concern
*Leader-Telegram*, March 27, 2016

Politicians stress importance of ‘good citizens’
*The Shield (University of Southern Indiana)*, March 24, 2016

Lugar-Hamilton discussion at USI is worth your time

Lugar and Hamilton: Good candidates, informed voters can make politics more civil

Low scores for cooperation to Wisconsin’s congressional delegation

Lugar, Hamilton will discuss civility in American politics at USI
*Evansville Courier & Press*, March 18, 2016

Bridging the Gap

*The Youngstown Vindicator*, March 11, 2016

Fighting for the lost art of bipartisanship
*The Indianapolis Star*, March 10, 2016

Senator Lugar discusses the Bipartisan Index on Sirius XM’s POTUS Politics
*Sirius XM’s POTUS Politics*, March 8, 2016
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Do Partisan Senators Make Better Presidential Candidates?
The Atlantic, March 8, 2016

Study Finds Sanders, Cruz to Be the Senate’s Most Partisan Members
The Fiscal Times, March 8, 2016

And the most partisan senator of 2015 is...

Bipartisanship in Congress: Some progress, still a long way to go
The Hill, March 7, 2016

Two Presidential Hopefuls Rank as Least Bipartisan Senators
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Supreme Court Fight Is New Front in Partisan Warfare

Commentary: An end to a real-life Hunger Games
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Politico, January 12, 2016

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The Indianapolis Star, January 6, 2016

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January 4, 2016

Senator Lugar discusses the Bipartisan Index on Sirius XM’s POTUS Politics
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How Do We Know How Congress is Doing?

Real conservatives and real progressives can get things done
The Hill, December 15, 2015

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Senator Lugar discusses the Iran nuclear deal and the Bipartisan Index with rtv6 in Indianapolis
rtv6 The INDY Channel, September 19, 2015
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Sen. Lugar comments on political civility in presidential race

See which N.J. Republican congressmen cross party lines the most
*NJ.com*, July 27, 2015

Lugar, Hamilton Talk Political Civility at Lieutenant Governor’s Conference
*The Statehouse File.com*, July 9, 2015

Veteran lawmakers tout need for civility in government
*The Times of Northwest Indiana*, July 8, 2015

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Sen. Lugar is out of office, but full of ideas
*The Indianapolis Star*, June 25, 2015

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*The Northwest Indiana Times*, June 6, 2015

'Bipartisan' shouldn't be a dirty word for members of Congress

Why Can't Congress Just Get Along?
*On Point with Tom Ashbrook*, June 1, 2015

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How Bipartisan Are Our Politicians?
*WBOC 16*, May 29, 2015

The Detroit News covers the Bipartisan Index
*The Detroit News*, May 27, 2015

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*The Chicago Sun-Times*, May 21, 2015

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*Bloomberg Politics*, May 20, 2015

Congress growing more partisan, index shows
*The Indianapolis Star*, May 19, 2015
Congressional Partisanship, Polarization Is Increasing, Report Says  
Newsmax, May 19, 2015

Lugar Center study reveals a very partisan Indiana delegation  
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Reviving the Lost Art of Bipartisanship  
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Corporation for Public Broadcasting, February 23, 2015

Lugar Calls on Obama to Revive Civility in Political Discourse  
Duke University Sanford School of Public Policy, February 13, 2013

Events & Speeches

Former Senator Richard G. Lugar to speak at Franklin College  
Franklin College, October 13, 2016

Is National Unity Possible? Achieving Political Cohesion in an Era of Group Demands, Media Fragmentation, and Individual Expression  
Franklin College, October 13, 2016

Dialogue on Civility and Public Service Features Lugar, Hamilton  
Taylor University, October 12, 2016

WATCH: Sen. Lugar and Rep. Lee Hamilton discuss civility and public service at Taylor University  
Taylor University, October 12, 2016

Denison University Lugar Symposium Keynote Address  
Denison University, April 13, 2016
WATCH: Denison University Lugar Symposium Keynote Address
April 13, 2016

The Water’s Edge: Has American Foreign Policy Lost its Capacity for Bipartisan Unity?
Cleveland Council on World Affairs, October 6, 2015

Senator Lugar joins President Obama, Mayor Greg Ballard at Ivy Tech Community College in Indianapolis
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Georgetown Public Policy Institute Whittington Lecture: “Securing Our Country in an Era of Partisanship”
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TLC Experts

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