

OFF THE BEATEN VOTING PATH

FINDING THE MAVERICKS OF THE 112TH CONGRESS

Alex B. Mitchell[†]

In the late afternoon on May 25, 2011, the United States House of Representatives had been debating its fiscal year 2012 defense spending bill when, at approximately 4:28PM, it set aside 10 minutes to consider a potential amendment to that bill – House Amendment 309. The amendment was mixed in among a long line of 30 others to consider, and its sponsor, Representative Chris Murphy (D-CT), stood to make the case for its adoption.¹

Representative Murphy explained that by permitting contractors to include a “jobs impact statement” along with their bid, this amendment would allow the United States Government to consider, as one of many factors in its decision-making process, the impact that awarding a contract would have on domestic employment. This “statement” would allow the bidder to report the number of U.S. jobs a particular contract would create in their company, or the number of existing U.S. jobs that would otherwise be lost if their company was not awarded the contract. Representative Murphy continued, stating that this would be sound policy to allow the Government to see how the acquisition process can support the U.S. economy, or conversely, how contracts being awarded to those using foreign services or foreign labor exacerbate domestic unemployment.²

[†] Alex B. Mitchell graduated from George Mason University School of Law in 2011 and is co-Editor in chief of the *Journal of Legal Metrics*. Copyright © Alex B. Mitchell.

¹ For a full outline of the House events concerning the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012, see Bill Summary & Status, 112th Congress (2011-2012) H.R. 1540, available at thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d112:H.R.1540:#.

² 157 CONG. REC. H3,616-17 (daily ed. May 25, 2011) (statement of Rep. Chris-

Representative Mike Conaway (R-TX) quickly rose in opposition. He argued that the amendment would create bad policy because it contained a debarment penalty used to disqualify contractors from future bidding if they mistakenly – or intentionally – report false employment statistics in the jobs “statement.” He also argued that the “statement” itself would add another layer to an already complicated contracts system. The two Members exchanged rebuttals for the remainder of the allotted 10 minutes.³ Debate ended and a little over two hours later, at approximately 6:41PM, two minutes were allotted to permit Roll Call Vote #346 to determine the amendment’s fate. The amendment failed.⁴

This scene plays out infinitely in the course of one Congress – hundreds of amendments among hundreds of bills – the votes tallied and debate recorded. What made this amendment unique was not the substance, length of its consideration, or its outcome, but instead, the way in which the House reached that outcome. The vote was extremely close – the amendment failed by a mere four votes, a tally of 212-208. Notably, House Democrats enjoyed the company of 25 Republicans in their losing effort. More importantly, four Democrats joined House Republicans, effectively ensuring the amendment’s defeat.⁵ By the slimmest of margins, Amendment 309 was defeated and the House defense spending bill continued on toward eventual passage without it.

THE STUDY

A maverick is “an unorthodox or independent-minded person.”⁶ The word is conveniently and often applied to politicians. While a single vote, a brazen public statement, or a general stance against party policy on an issue can lead to politicians being branded with the maverick label, my study sought to discern those Members of Congress who are mavericks through their everyday task of vot-

topher S. Murphy).

³ *Id.* at H3,617.

⁴ *Id.* at H3,632-33.

⁵ For the full Roll Call Vote, see clerk.house.gov/evs/2011/roll346.xml.

⁶ *New Oxford American Dictionary* 1081 (3rd ed. 2010).

ing – like those 4 Democrats and 25 Republicans who crossed party lines in Roll Call Vote #346.

For FantasyLaw, I tracked “Maverick Voting” by U.S. Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, singling out those who cast votes with a majority of the opposing party, and at the same time, voted against 90% or more of his/her own party.⁷ I analyzed voting in both the Senate and House Chambers from the beginning of the 112th Congress on January 5, 2011, through the beginning of the respective chambers’ summer recesses in August.⁸

The Maverick Voting formula is based on the numbers of Democrats, Republicans, and Independents in the House and Senate. There were multiple resignations and replacements during my study’s seven-month period,⁹ but because these changes were only a minor percentage of the entire Congress, the mathematics of the Maverick Voting formula was not affected.

The Maverick Voting formula has two parts: 1) A Representative or Senator must vote with a majority of the *opposing* party, and 2) vote against 90% or more of his/her *own* party.¹⁰

Each time a Representative or Senator satisfied these requirements, they were considered a Maverick, and were awarded one point. In this way, my study sought to find patterns in who cast the most Maverick Votes, in order to score the most Maverick points on a FantasyLaw team.

⁷ It is one of 14 categories of data relating to the activities of federal legislators that FantasyLaw editors gather and analyze every week for our legislation-themed fantasy league. For a full explanation of FantasyLaw, see fantasylaw.org/forms/draftkit_mar13.pdf.

⁸ The last House vote before the August recess was Roll Call Vote 691 on August 1, 2011, and in the Senate, it was Roll Call Vote 123 on August 2, 2011.

⁹ There were five resignations in the House and former Representative David Wu’s (D-OR) seat remains vacant as of the date of this article. There was one resignation in the Senate and that seat was filled. Coincidentally, former Representative Dean Heller (R-NV) resigned from the House to assume the vacant Senate seat in Nevada.

¹⁰ The two Independents in the U.S. Senate cannot score points in FantasyLaw for Maverick Voting. The five House Delegates and lone Resident Commissioner are also excluded from FantasyLaw Maverick Voting.

House Maverick Formula

Party¹¹	Majority of the Party	90% of the Party	10% of the Party
Republicans (242)	122	218	25
Democrats (192)	97	173	19

Senate Maverick Formula

Party	Majority of the Party	90% of the Party	10% of the Party
Democrats (51)	26	46	5
Republicans (47)	24	42	5

Given the party breakdowns, whenever 25 or fewer House Republicans (10% or less) voted the same way as 97 or more House Democrats (a majority of the House Democrats), those Republicans were counted as Mavericks, and so on. Or in the Senate, for example, five or fewer Senate Democrats voted the same way as 24 or more Republican Senators, they were counted as Mavericks. To see an actual Maverick Vote, consider Senate Roll Call Vote 95, where two Democrats, Senators Benjamin Nelson (D-NE) and Joe Manchin (D-WV) voted *Aye* along with 45 Republican Senators and against the entire Democratic Party.¹² The Amendment at issue — one that would require all Presidential Czars to be subject to Senate confirmation, as well as ending all salaries for such Czars — ultimately failed, but the clear party-line voting highlighted the two Democrats' straying from their own party. Members from both parties often received Maverick voting points in the same vote.

WHO WERE THE MAVERICKS?

The Senate experienced Maverick Votes during 27 of the 123 Roll Call Votes, or about 22% of the time. In the House, Maverick Votes were cast during 419 Roll Call Votes out of 686, or

¹¹ See clerk.house.gov/member_info/cong.aspx (vis. Jan. 2, 2012).

¹² For the full Roll Call Vote, see www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=112&session=1&vote=00095 (vis. Jan. 2, 2012).

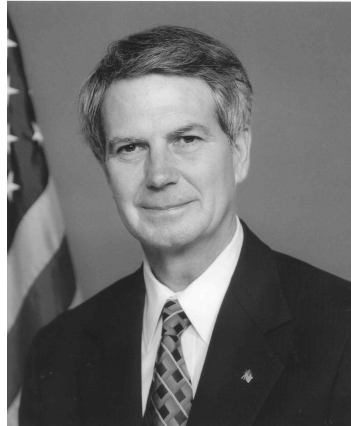
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61% of the time. Overall, 378 representatives, or about 87% of the House, cast at least one Maverick Vote, while only 34 Senators accounted for that chamber's Maverick Votes.

The Top Mavericks in the Senate and House



*Above: Senators Scott Brown (left) and Ben Nelson.
Below: Representatives Dan Boren (left) and Walter Jones.*



Images courtesy of each Member's Capitol Hill Office. Printed with permission.

*Maverick Senators*¹³

Senator	No. of Maverick Votes
Brown (R-MA)	9
Collins (R-ME)	9
Nelson (D-NE)	8
Snowe (R-ME)	7
Murkowski (R-AK)	6
Kirk (R-IL)	4
Manchin (D-WV)	4
Cochran (R-MS)	3
Lugar (R-IN)	3
Pryor (D-AR)	3
Reid (D-NV)	3
Alexander (R-TN)	2
DeMint (R-SC)	2
Kyl (R-AZ)	2
Landrieu (D-LA)	2
Lee (R-UT)	2
McCaskill (D-MO)	2
Paul (R-KY)	2
Shelby (R-AL)	2
15 Senators	1
Total Senate Maverick Votes	90

Maverick Representatives

Representative	No. of Maverick Votes
Boren (D-OK)	201
Altmire (D-PA)	160
Peterson (D-MN)	147
Ross (D-AR)	146
Jones (R-NC)	130
Matheson (D-UT)	130
Shuler (D-NC)	106
Costa (D-CA)	105
McIntyre (D-NC)	81
Holden (D-PA)	77

¹³ For the entire list of Mavericks in the Senate and House, see Appendix I at the conclusion of the article.

Representative	No. of Maverick Votes
Cardoza (D-CA)	72
Chandler (D-KY)	72
Donnelly (D-IN)	71
Owens (D-NY)	69
Barrow (D-GA)	65
Cuellar (D-TX)	65
Reichert (R-WA)	58
Gibson (R-NY)	57
Critz (D-PA)	55
Cooper (D-TN)	54
Green, Gene (D-TX)	54
Kissell (D-NC)	54
Rahall (D-WV)	54
Fitzpatrick (R-PA)	53
Paul (R-TX)	53
22 Representatives	25-50
140 Representatives	5-25
191 Representatives	1-5

IN WHICH PARTY WERE THE MAVERICKS?

While the effect of party control in each chamber on Maverick Voting is notable, a focus on political sects within the Democratic and Republican parties further elucidates Maverick Voters. While Tea Party Republicans make up about 12% of Congress as well as accounting for about 12% of Maverick Votes, it is the smaller House Democratic Blue Dog Coalition that accounted for a large percentage of Maverick Votes. Comprising only about 6% of the House, Blue Dog Democrats cast over 35% of all House Maverick Votes. On average, Blue Dog Democrats cast Maverick Votes six times more often than other representatives.

Putting these smaller political party sects aside, in total, Republicans who make up about 54% of Congress only accounted for 45% of Maverick Votes while Democrats make up 45% of Congress yet cast 55% of the Maverick Votes. Thus, Democrats crossed party lines more often to cast Maverick Votes than their Republican counterparts, and Blue Dog Democrats did so at a much higher rate than

the rest of the Democratic Party.¹⁴

Maverick Voting by Party – Senate

Party	In Senate	Maverick Votes
Democrats	51% (51)	37.8% (34)
Republicans	43% (43)	55.6% (50)
Tea Party Republicans ¹⁵	4% (4)	6.6% (6)

Maverick Voting by Party – House

Party	In House	Maverick Votes
Republicans	41.9% (182)	38.8% (1834)
Democrats	38.5% (167)	20.3% (958)
Tea Party Republicans ¹⁶	13.8% (60)	5.6% (265)
Blue Dog Democrats ¹⁷	5.8% (25)	35.4% (1673)

Maverick Voting by Party – All of Congress

Party	In Congress	Maverick Votes
Republicans	54.1% (289)	44.7% (2155)
Democrats	45.5% (243)	55.3% (2665)

SENIORITY

The longer a Representative or Senator is in office, the more Maverick Votes he or she will cast. This trend is true in both the House and Senate.

¹⁴ For a more robust analysis of voting bloc trends among Tea Party Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats, see the article directly preceding this one, Ian Gallagher & Brian Rock, *Reading the Tea Leaves: An Analysis of Tea Party Behavior Inside and Outside of the House*, 2 J.L. (1 J. LEGAL METRICS) 87 (2012).

¹⁵ I attributed Tea Party membership to Senators Jim DeMint (R-SC), Mike Lee (R-UT), Jerry Moran (R-KS), and Rand Paul (R-KY), all identified as members of the Senate Tea Party Caucus. See www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/27/AR2011012706966.html (vis. Jan. 2, 2012).

¹⁶ I attributed Tea Party membership to those representatives in the House Tea Party Caucus. See bachmann.house.gov/News/DocumentSingle.aspx?DocumentID=226594 (vis. Jan. 2, 2012).

¹⁷ I attributed Blue Dog Coalition membership to those representatives listed on Blue Dog Co-Chair Representative Mike Ross's (D-AR) webpage. See ross.house.gov/BlueDog/Members/ (vis. Jan. 2, 2012) [hereinafter *Blue Dog Membership*].

Maverick Votes by Years in Office

Senate			House		
In Office	Representation in Senate	Maverick Votes	In Office	Representation in House	Maverick Votes
0-6 Years	43% (43)	33.3% (30)	0-6 Years	40.6% (176)	33.8% (1600)
6+ Years	57% (57)	66.6% (60)	6+ Years	59.4% (258)	66.2% (3130)

ON WHAT DID MAVERICKS VOTE?

During my study period, the House registered 691 Roll Call Votes, while the Senate cast 123 Roll Call Votes. I tracked every vote in both chambers through The Library of Congress Thomas webpage.¹⁸ I deleted five House votes from the study, but included all Senate votes.¹⁹ The vote types in each chamber were as follows:

Senate

Type	Number of Roll Call Votes
Motions (For Bills/Resolutions)	48 (39.0%)
Amendments (For Bills/Resolutions)	28 (22.8%)
Nominations (Judges/Executive Officers)	27 (22.0%)
Agreeing to Resolutions	12 (9.8%)
Passage of Bills	8 (6.5%)
Total	123

House

Type	Number of Roll Call Votes
Amendments (For Bills/Resolutions)	427 (62.2%)
Motions (For Bills/Resolutions)	96 (14.0%)
Agreeing to Resolutions	62 (9.0%)

¹⁸ See Roll Call Votes, thomas.loc.gov/home/rollcallvotes.html# (vis. Jan. 2, 2012).

¹⁹ I ignored three votes for Calls of the House for Quorum (Roll Call Votes 1, 7, and 689), one vote that was vacated by unanimous consent (Roll Call 484), and the initial vote for the Election of the Speaker of the House (Roll Call 2) because they did not provide Members with the normal opportunity to vote Yea, Nay, or Present.

Type	Number of Roll Call Votes
Other Miscellaneous Matters ²⁰	53 (7.7%)
Passage of Bills	48 (7.0%)
Total	686

Maverick Voting in both chambers occurred at roughly equivalent rates as regular voting on all matters. For example, Senate motion votes were the most common type of Roll Call Vote as well as most likely to experience Maverick Voting. Thus, those casting Maverick Votes had no particular affinity for any one particular type of vote (such as votes concerning the passage of bills.)

When Maverick Votes Were Cast

SENATE		HOUSE	
Type of Vote	Frequency	Type of Vote	Frequency
Motions	55.6% (15)	Amendments	63.2% (265)
Amendments	25.9% (7)	Resolutions	12.2% (51)
Nominations	7.4% (2)	Motions	10.0% (42)
Resolutions	7.4% (2)	Passage of Bills	7.9% (33)
Passage of Bills	3.7% (1)	Procedural	6.7% (28)
Total	27 Votes	Total	419 Votes

DID THE MAVERICKS MATTER?

In the end, House Maverick Voters had a real impact, altering the outcome on 11 different Roll Call Votes (including the Murphy Amendment, discussed earlier) – and all of those votes resulted in approving or rejecting amendments within prospective bills. Most telling is that all the Maverick Votes altered the outcome so a Republican representative’s amendment was approved or a Democratic representative’s amendment failed.

The most surprising find in my study was that small groups of Democrats, voting against their party in all 11 of these Roll Call

²⁰ The House initiated 53 Roll Call Votes for various matters, including 15 votes on approving the House Journal and 30 votes on ordering the previous question on bills and resolutions, as well as providing appropriations for governmental purposes.

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Votes, to either deliver the final Yea votes to propel a Republican-based amendment to approval, or deliver the final No votes needed to defeat a Democratic-based amendment. In this way, the Republican Party benefitted 100% of the time on Maverick-altering votes. Those votes' summaries follow:

The Ten House Votes Where Mavericks Mattered

Roll Call Vote	Amendment Offered By	Description	Outcome	Mavericks Affecting Outcome
68	Representative Walberg (R-MI)	Reduces funding for the National Endowment for the Arts by \$20.594 million	Approved 217 Ayes to 209 Noes	3 Democrats voted Aye; 22 Republicans voted No
111	Representative McClintock (R-CA)	Prohibiting use of funds for the Klamath Dam Removal and Sedimentation Study	Approved 215 Ayes to 210 Noes	5 Democrats voted Aye
218	Representative Shuster (R-PA)	Places new requirements on the FAA rulemaking process	Approved 215 Ayes to 209 Noes	6 Democrats voted Aye; 25 Republicans voted No
287	Representative Jackson Lee (D-TX)	Requires notice of rescinded Health Care Bill funds for school health center construction	Failed 207 Ayes to 218 Noes	9 Democrats voted No
288	Representative Pallone (D-NJ)	Requires a GAO study to determine neediest school districts for school-based health centers	Failed 205 Ayes to 210 Noes	8 Democrats voted No
306	Representative Deutch (D-FL)	Prohibits an exclusive venue in the Fifth Circuit for civil actions relating to the leasing of Federal lands in the Gulf of Mexico for energy development, production and exploration.	Failed 205 Ayes to 222 Noes	24 Republicans voted Aye; 10 Democrats voted No
373	Representative McGovern (D-MA)	Requires plan and timeframe on accelerated transition of military operations to Afghan authorities	Failed 204 Ayes to 215 Noes	8 Democrats voted No

Roll Call Vote	Amendment Offered By	Description	Outcome	Mavericks Affecting Outcome
428	Representative Richardson (D-CA)	Reduce Farm Service Agency funds by \$10 million increases funds for the Commodity Assistance Program	Failed 200 Ayes to 224 Noes	19 Democrats voted No
550	Representative Wu (D-OR)	Transfers \$60.5 million in funds from DOE Administration to Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy Department	Failed 196 Ayes to 228 Noes	18 Democrats voted No
657	Representative Scalise (R-LA)	Decreases the Office of the Secretary in the Department of the Interior by \$420,000	Approved 215 Ayes to 213 Noes	3 Democrats voted Aye; 25 Republicans voted No

CONCLUSION

Tracking the Maverick Vote through the first seven months of the 112th Congress revealed that the party in control in one chamber will enjoy Maverick Votes from minority party Members most often, and in the House, these votes turned into real results, directly propelling four Republican amendments to success and defeating seven Democratic amendments.

A Maverick Voting forecast would certainly aid the party in control in determining whether they have adequate support to pass legislation. Often these votes come from the minority party and Members with greater seniority. Maverick voting is especially notable when the Maverick Voters form a loose voting bloc of their own. For example, Blue Dog Democrats accounted for a disproportionately high rate of Maverick Votes, voting with the Republican Party six times more often than other Members in the House. In this way, my study lends tangible voting record-support for Blue Dog Democrats' claim of "promoting positions which bridge the gap between ideological extremes."²¹

But a lot of Members cast Maverick Votes who were neither

²¹ *Blue Dog Membership*, *supra* note 17.

Blue Dog Democrats nor senior legislators. These votes may be the genuine product of one Member from a unique district, representing his/her own constituency with its own set of interests. I set out, in the Appendix, all of the Maverick Votes during the study period, with the hope that future research and study will reveal other patterns and predictions about Maverick Votes.

President John F. Kennedy observed that “the legislator has some responsibility to conciliate those opposing forces within his state and party and to represent them in the larger clash of interests on the national level; and he alone knows that there are few if any issues where all the truth and all the right and all the angels are on one side.”²² In that spirit, maybe Maverick Voting proves that party lines are just one factor among many considered as a Member prepares to enter the Senate or House chamber to join colleagues and cast a vote.

APPENDIX I

Senate Maverick Voting

Senator	Maverick Votes
Brown (R-MA)	9
Collins (R-ME)	9
Nelson (D-NE)	8
Snowe (R-ME)	7
Murkowski (R-AK)	6
Kirk (R-IL)	4
Manchin (D-WV)	4
Cochran (R-MS)	3
Lugar (R-IN)	3
Pryor (D-AR)	3
Reid (D-NV)	3
Alexander (R-TN)	2
DeMint (R-SC)	2
Kyl (R-AZ)	2
Landrieu (D-LA)	2
Lee (R-UT)	2
McCaskill (D-MO)	2
Paul (R-KY)	2
Shelby (R-AL)	2

²² JOHN F. KENNEDY, PROFILES IN COURAGE 5 (1955).

Senator	Maverick Votes
Baucus (D-MT)	1
Begich (D-AK)	1
Blumenthal (D-CT)	1
Blunt (R-MO)	1
Cantwell (D-WA)	1
Johanns (R-NE)	1
Johnson (D-SD)	1
Klobuchar (D-MN)	1
Levin (D-MI)	1
Rockefeller (D-WV)	1
Tester (D-MT)	1
Udall (D-CO)	1
Vitter (R-LA)	1
Warner (D-VA)	1
Webb (D-VA)	1

House Maverick Voting
(*no longer in Congress)

Representative	Maverick Votes
Boren (D-OK)	201
Altmire (D-PA)	160
Peterson (D-MN)	147
Ross (D-AR)	146
Jones (R-NC)	130
Matheson (D-UT)	130
Shuler (D-NC)	106
Costa (D-CA)	105
McIntyre (D-NC)	81
Holden (D-PA)	77
Cardoza (D-CA)	72
Chandler (D-KY)	72
Donnelly (D-IN)	71
Owens (D-NY)	69
Barrow (D-GA)	65
Cuellar (D-TX)	65
Reichert (R-WA)	58
Gibson (R-NY)	57
Critz (D-PA)	55
Cooper (D-TN)	54
Green, Gene (D-TX)	54
Kissell (D-NC)	54
Rahall (D-WV)	54
Fitzpatrick (R-PA)	53
Paul (R-TX)	53

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Representative	Maverick Votes
LoBiondo (R-NJ)	48
Smith (R-NJ)	48
Costello (D-IL)	46
Hanna (R-NY)	46
Schrader (D-OR)	46
Johnson (R-IL)	43
Bass (R-NH)	42
LaTourette (R-OH)	36
Dold (R-IL)	33
Gerlach (R-PA)	32
Harris (R-MD)	32
Meehan (R-PA)	32
Platts (R-PA)	32
Amash (R-MI)	31
Fortenberry (R-NE)	31
Boswell (D-IA)	29
Dent (R-PA)	29
Lipinski (D-IL)	29
Hayworth (R-MD)	26
Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)	26
Wolf (R-VA)	25
Young (R-FL)	25
Bartlett (R-MD)	22
Duncan (R-TN)	22
Peters (D-MI)	22
Lance (R-NJ)	21
Biggert (R-IL)	20
Petri (R-WI)	20
Bilbray (R-CA)	19
Bishop (D-GA)	19
Campbell (R-CA)	19
Carney (D-DE)	19
McClintock (R-CA)	19
Griffith (R-VA)	18
Grimm (R-NY)	17
Hinojosa (D-TX)	17
Smith (D-WA)	17
Burgess (R-TX)	16
DeFazio (D-OR)	16
Heinrich (D-NM)	16
Buchanan (R-FL)	15
King (R-NY)	15
Rohrabacher (R-CA)	15
Barletta (R-PA)	14
Richardson (D-CA)	14

Representative	Maverick Votes
Ruppersburger (D-MD)	14
Emerson (R-MO)	13
Green, Al (D-TX)	13
Sensenbrenner (R-WI)	13
Turner (R-OH)	13
Wittman (R-VA)	13
Bono Mack (R-CA)	12
Coble (R-NC)	12
Diaz-Balart (R-FL)	12
Gonzalez (D-TX)	12
Heck (R-NV)	12
Paulsen (R-MN)	12
Perlmutter (D-CO)	12
Rigell (R-VA)	12
Simpson (R-ID)	12
Bachmann (R-MN)	11
Connolly (D-VA)	11
Frelinghuysen (R-NJ)	11
Posey (R-FL)	11
Richmond (D-LA)	11
Visclosky (D-IN)	11
Cassidy (R-LA)	10
Chaffetz (R-UT)	10
Cole (R-OK)	10
Gohmert (R-TX)	10
Goodlatte (R-VA)	10
Herrera Beutler (R-WA)	10
Jackson Lee (D-TX)	10
Michaud (D-ME)	10
Murphy (R-PA)	10
Polis (D-CO)	10
Quigley (D-IL)	10
Reyes (D-TX)	10
Runyan (R-NJ)	10
Shimkus (R-IL)	10
Berkley (D-NV)	9
Bilirakis (R-FL)	9
Broun (R-GA)	9
Capito (R-WV)	9
Flake (R-AZ)	9
Kind (D-WI)	9
Lewis (R-CA)	9
Lummis (R-WY)	9
McCotter (R-MI)	9
Miller (R-MI)	9

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Representative	Maverick Votes
Reed (R-NY)	9
Renacci (R-OH)	9
Stivers (R-OH)	9
Upton (R-MI)	9
Walden (R-OR)	9
Blumenauer (D-OR)	8
Coffman (R-CO)	8
Forbes (R-VA)	8
Himes (D-CT)	8
Huelskamp (R-KS)	8
Inslee (D-WA)	8
King (R-IA)	8
Kinzinger (R-IL)	8
Mack (R-FL)	8
McKinley (R-WV)	8
Mulvaney (R-SC)	8
Murphy (D-CT)	8
Terry (R-NE)	8
Thompson (R-PA)	8
Walsh (R-IL)	8
Benishek (R-MI)	7
Bishop (R-UT)	7
Dicks (D-WA)	7
Franks (R-AZ)	7
Hochul (D-NY)	7
Kaptur (D-OH)	7
Labrador (R-ID)	7
Pastor (D-AZ)	7
Rogers (R-AL)	7
Scott, David (D-GA)	7
Stearns (R-FL)	7
Webster (R-FL)	7
Young (R-AK)	7
Barton (R-TX)	6
Cleaver (D-MO)	6
Davis (R-KY)	6
Eshoo (D-CA)	6
Kucinich (D-OH)	6
Larsen (D-WA)	6
Loeb sack (D-IA)	6
Lofgren, Zoe (D-CA)	6
Poe (R-TX)	6
Ribble (R-WI)	6
Schilling (R-IL)	6
Schweikert (R-AZ)	6

Representative	Maverick Votes
Sewell (D-AL)	6
Speier (D-CA)	6
Tiberi (R-OH)	6
Whitfield (R-KY)	6
Wu (D-OR)*	6
Camp (R-MI)	5
Carson (D-IN)	5
Cohen (D-TN)	5
Crenshaw (R-FL)	5
Duffy (R-WI)	5
Frank (D-MA)	5
Granger (R-TX)	5
Graves (R-MO)	5
Hurt (R-VA)	5
Johnson (D-TX)	5
Keating (D-MA)	5
Kingston (R-GA)	5
Latham (R-IA)	5
McCarthy (D-NY)	5
Meeks (D-NY)	5
Pearce (R-NM)	5
Pitts (R-PA)	5
Rivera (R-FL)	5
Schmidt (R-OH)	5
Scott, Austin (R-GA)	5
Walz (D-MN)	5
West (R-FL)	5
Baca (D-CA)	4
Boustany (R-LA)	4
Brooks (R-AL)	4
Brown (D-FL)	4
Clay (D-MO)	4
Clyburn (D-SC)	4
Cravaack (D-MN)	4
Dreier (R-CA)	4
Farenthold (R-TX)	4
Garrett (R-NJ)	4
Gingrey (R-GA)	4
Gutierrez (D-IL)	4
Hoyer (D-MD)	4
Johnson (R-OH)	4
Kelly (R-PA)	4
Landry (R-LA)	4
Lucas (R-OK)	4
Luján (D-NM)	4

OFF THE BEATEN VOTING PATH

Representative	Maverick Votes
Lungren (R-CA)	4
Manzullo (R-IL)	4
McCaul (R-TX)	4
McKeon (R-CA)	4
Miller (R-FL)	4
Moran (D-VA)	4
Myrick (R-NC)	4
Noem (R-SD)	4
Rehberg (R-MT)	4
Rogers (R-KY)	4
Ryan (R-WI)	4
Scalise (R-LA)	4
Schock (R-IL)	4
Schwartz (D-PA)	4
Shuster (R-PA)	4
Sires (D-NJ)	4
Thompson (D-MS)	4
Aderholt (R-AL)	3
Bachus (R-AL)	3
Berg (R-ND)	3
Bonner (R-AL)	3
Brady (R-TX)	3
Canseco (R-TX)	3
Carnahan (D-MO)	3
Chu (D-CA)	3
Conyers (D-MI)	3
Engel (D-NY)	3
Fattah (D-PA)	3
Foxx (R-NC)	3
Gallegly (R-CA)	3
Grijalva (D-AZ)	3
Holt (D-NJ)	3
Honda (D-CA)	3
Huizenga (R-MI)	3
Kildee (D-MI)	3
Marino (R-PA)	3
Pingree (D-ME)	3
Rogers (R-MI)	3
Royce (R-CA)	3
Schiff (D-CA)	3
Scott (D-VA)	3
Stark (D-CA)	3
Thompson (D-CA)	3
Thornberry (R-TX)	3
Waters (D-CA)	3

Representative	Maverick Votes
Welch (D-VT)	3
Woodall (R-GA)	3
Ackerman (D-NY)	2
Andrews (D-NJ)	2
Berman (D-CA)	2
Bishop (D-NY)	2
Braley (D-IA)	2
Burton (R-IN)	2
Calvert (R-CA)	2
Chabot (R-OH)	2
Conaway (R-TX)	2
Culberson (R-TX)	2
Davis (D-IL)	2
Denham (R-CA)	2
DesJarlais (R-TN)	2
Dingell (D-MI)	2
Edwards (D-MD)	2
Farr (D-CA)	2
Garamendi (D-CA)	2
Gosar (R-AZ)	2
Graves (R-GA)	2
Guthrie (R-KY)	2
Hall (R-TX)	2
Hastings (D-FL)	2
Issa (R-CA)	2
Jordan (R-OH)	2
Long (R-MO)	2
Lynch (D-MA)	2
Marchant (R-TX)	2
Matsui (D-CA)	2
McCollum (D-MN)	2
McDermott (D-WA)	2
McMorris Rodgers (R-WA)	2
McNerney (D-CA)	2
Miller (D-CA)	2
Moore (D-WI)	2
Olver (D-MA)	2
Payne (R-NJ)	2
Price (R-GA)	2
Roby (R-AL)	2
Roe (R-TN)	2
Rokita (R-IN)	2
Rooney (R-FL)	2
Roskam (R-IL)	2
Rothman (D-NJ)	2

OFF THE BEATEN VOTING PATH

Representative	Maverick Votes
Ryan (D-OH)	2
Sanchez, Loretta (D-CA)	2
Sherman (D-CA)	2
Smith (R-TX)	2
Southerland (R-FL)	2
Sullivan (R-OK)	2
Tipton (R-CO)	2
Tonko (D-NY)	2
Watt (D-NC)	2
Waxman (D-CA)	2
Woolsey (D-CA)	2
Young (R-IN)	2
Alexander (R-LA)	1
Austria (R-OH)	1
Buerkle (R-NY)	1
Butterfield (D-NC)	1
Cantor (R-VA)	1
Capuano (D-MA)	1
Carter (R-TX)	1
Castor (D-FL)	1
Clarke (D-NY)	1
Crowley (D-NY)	1
DeGette (D-CO)	1
Deutch (D-FL)	1
Doggett (D-TX)	1
Duncan (R-SC)	1
Ellison (D-MN)	1
Fincher (R-TN)	1
Fleischmann (R-TN)	1
Fleming (R-LA)	1
Flores (R-TX)	1
Fudge (D-OH)	1
Gowdy (R-SC)	1
Guinta (R-NH)	1
Hanabusa (D-HI)	1
Harman (D-CA)*	1
Heller (R-NV)	1
Hensarling (R-TX)	1
Herger (R-CA)	1
Higgins (D-NY)	1
Hinchey (D-NY)	1
Hirono (D-HI)	1
Hultgren (R-IL)	1
Hunter (R-CA)	1
Israel (D-NY)	1

Representative	Maverick Votes
Jenkins (R-KS)	1
Johnson (D-GA)	1
Johnson, Sam (R-TX)	1
Lamborn (R-CO)	1
Langevin (D-RI)	1
Lankford (R-OK)	1
Lee (D-CA)	1
Lewis (D-GA)	1
Lowey (D-NY)	1
Maloney (D-NY)	1
McCarthy (R-CA)	1
McGovern (D-MA)	1
Miller (D-NC)	1
Miller (R-CA)	1
Napolitano (D-CA)	1
Nunes (R-CA)	1
Pascrell (D-NJ)	1
Rangel (D-NY)	1
Rush (D-IL)	1
Sánchez, Linda T. (D-CA)	1
Schakowsky (D-IL)	1
Scott (R-SC)	1
Serrano (D-NY)	1
Slaughter (D-NY)	1
Smith (R-NE)	1
Stutzman (R-IN)	1
Sutton (D-OH)	1
Tierney (D-MA)	1
Towns (D-NY)	1
Tsongas (D-MA)	1
Van Hollen (D-MD)	1
Velázquez (D-NY)	1
Walberg (R-MI)	1
Wasserman Schultz (D-FL)	1
Weiner (D-NY)*	1
Westmoreland (R-GA)	1
Wilson (R-SC)	1
Yoder (R-KS)	1

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