

# Study of First Step Act of 2018 Roll Call Vote

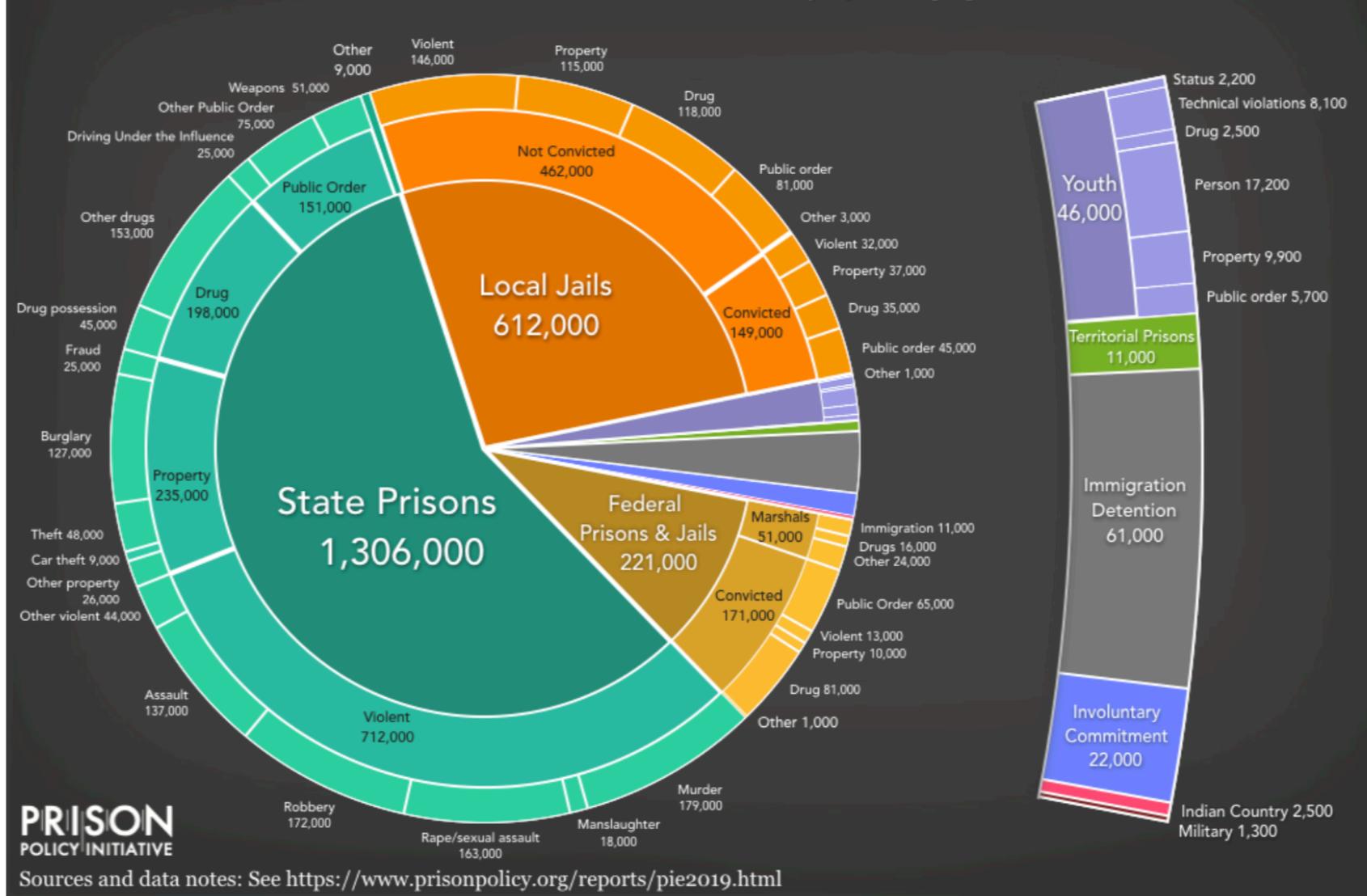


FIRST STEP ACT ORG.

# How many people are locked up in the United States?

The U.S. locks up more people per capita than any other nation, at the staggering rate of 698 per 100,000 residents.

But to end mass incarceration, we must first consider *where* and *why* 2.3 million people are confined nationwide.



## Some Provisions of First Step Act:

- Retroactively applies the Fair Sentencing Act
- Allows for employees to store their firearms securely at federal prisons
- Restricts the use of restraints on pregnant women
- Expands compassionate release for terminally ill patients
- Places prisoners closer to family in some cases
- Mandates de-escalation training for correctional officers and employees
- Improves feminine hygiene in prison

## Voting Synopsis:

- initial version of the bill passed the House (360-59) on May 22, 2018
- revised bill passed the U.S. Senate (87-12) on December 18, 2018
- House approved the bill with Senate revisions (358-36) on December 20, 2018
- the act was signed by President Donald Trump on December 21, 2018

# What we set out to answer...

The difference in how legislators voted is significantly affected by whether they took PAC donations from the private prison PAC.

The difference in how legislators voted is significantly affected by whether there are more private prisons in their state.

The difference in how legislators voted is significantly affected by whether the crime rates are high or low in their home state.

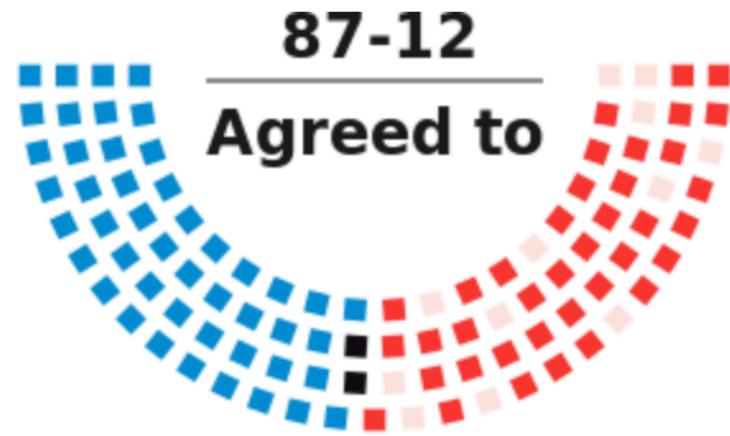
The First Step Act is significantly different bill from the norm for the 115th congress in terms of receiving more votes than the mean

# Data Sources

- Senate roll call data for the 2nd Session of the 115th Congress  
source: ProPublica API
- House roll call data for the 2nd Session of the 115th Congress  
source: ProPublica API
- PAC donations to Senators from Core Civic (private prison)  
source: opensecrets.org
- PAC donations to Representatives from Core Civic (private prison)  
source: opensecrets.org
- PAC donations to Senators from GEO Group (private prison)  
source: opensecrets.org
- PAC donations to Representatives from GEO Group (private prison)  
source: opensecrets.org
- U.S. Federal Prisons  
source: Bureau of Prisons API
- U.S. Crime Rates  
source: FBI  
Bureau of Crime Statistics

# Senate Roll Call

Ideology Vote Chart



Key: R Yea D Yea R Nay

Seat position based on our [ideology score](#).

**Voted No To Bill**

| member_id | name              | party | state | vote_position |
|-----------|-------------------|-------|-------|---------------|
| B001261   | John Barrasso     | R     | WY    | No            |
| C001095   | Tom Cotton        | R     | AR    | No            |
| E000285   | Michael B. Enzi   | R     | WY    | No            |
| K000393   | John Kennedy      | R     | LA    | No            |
| K000352   | Jon Kyl           | R     | AZ    | No            |
| M001153   | Lisa Murkowski    | R     | AK    | No            |
| R000584   | Jim Risch         | R     | ID    | No            |
| R000605   | Mike Rounds       | R     | SD    | No            |
| R000595   | Marco Rubio       | R     | FL    | No            |
| S001197   | Ben Sasse         | R     | NE    | No            |
| S000320   | Richard C. Shelby | R     | AL    | No            |
| S001198   | Dan Sullivan      | R     | AK    | No            |

# PAC Donations to Senators From GEO Group and/or Core Civic



| member_id | name            | party | state | vote_position | 2016_GEO_Donation | 2016_CC_Donation |
|-----------|-----------------|-------|-------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|
| B000575   | Roy Blunt       | R     | MO    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$2,500.00       |
| B001236   | John Boozman    | R     | AR    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$3,000.00       |
| B001135   | Richard M. Burr | R     | NC    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$2,500.00       |
| C001056   | John Cornyn     | R     | TX    | Yes           | (\$2,000)         | \$0.0            |
| H000338   | Orrin G. Hatch  | R     | UT    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$2,500.00       |
| H001061   | John Hoeven     | R     | ND    | Yes           | \$2,500           | \$6,000.00       |
| I000055   | Johnny Isakson  | R     | GA    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$2,500.00       |
| J000293   | Ron Johnson     | R     | WI    | Yes           | \$7,500           | \$0.0            |
| L000577   | Mike Lee        | R     | UT    | Yes           | \$10,000          | \$0.0            |
| M000934   | Jerry Moran     | R     | KS    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$2,500.00       |
| M001111   | Patty Murray    | D     | WA    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            |
| P000449   | Rob Portman     | R     | OH    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$5,500.00       |

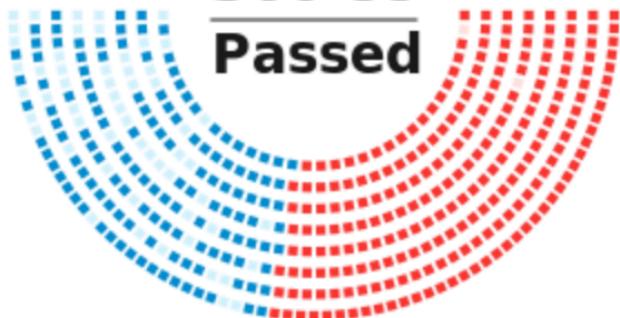
# House Roll Call

Voted No To Bill

Ideology Vote Chart

**360-59**

**Passed**



Key: R Yea D Yea R Nay D Nay

Seat position based on our [ideology score](#).

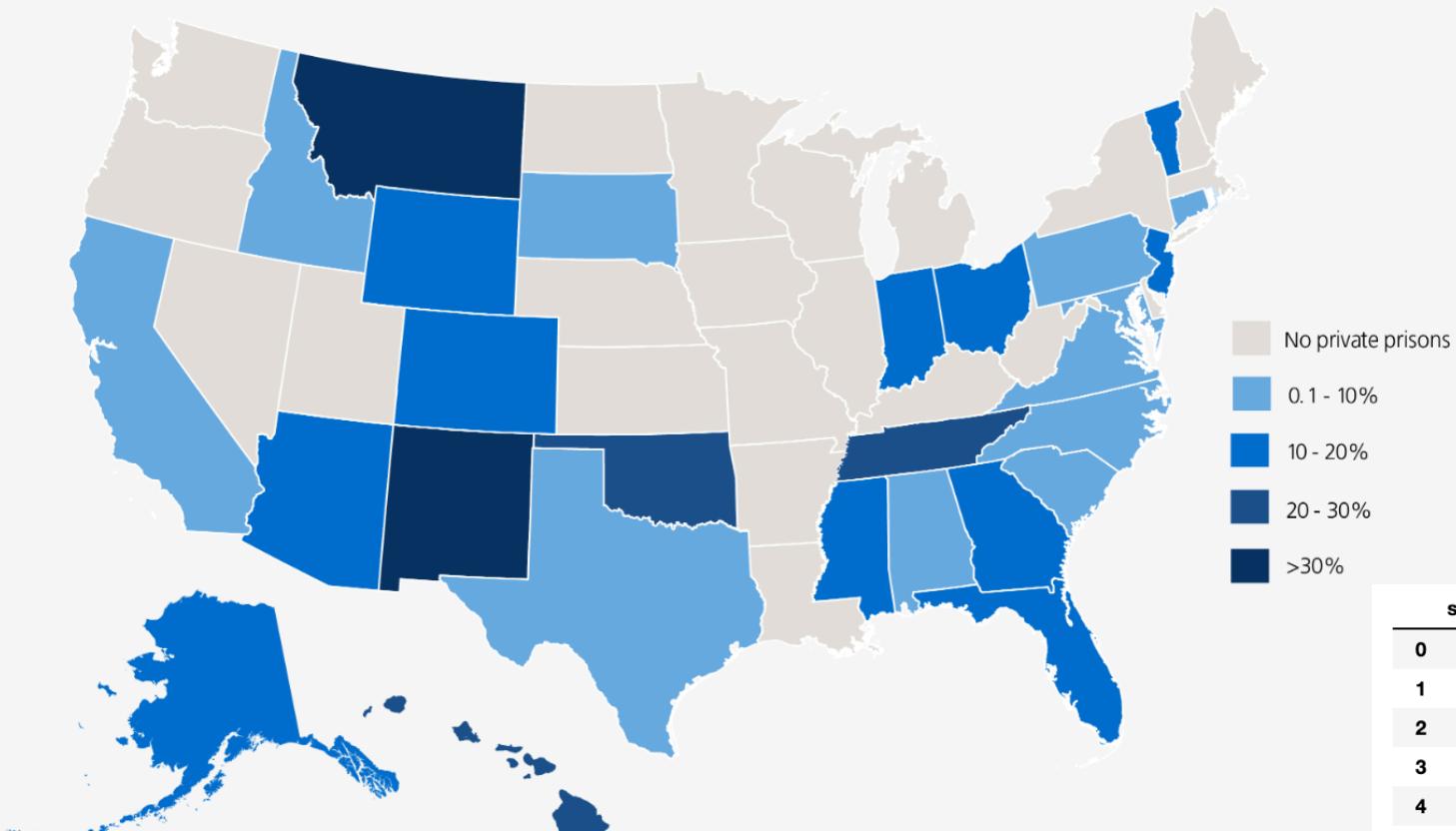
| member_id | name                  | party | state | vote_position | member_id | name                  | party | state | vote_position |
|-----------|-----------------------|-------|-------|---------------|-----------|-----------------------|-------|-------|---------------|
| G000551   | Raúl M. Grijalva      | D     | AZ    | No            | N000015   | Richard E. Neal       | D     | MA    | No            |
| T000472   | Mark Takano           | D     | CA    | No            | K000379   | Joseph P. Kennedy III | D     | MA    | No            |
| G000585   | Jimmy Gomez           | D     | CA    | No            | C001037   | Michael E. Capuano    | D     | MA    | No            |
| N000179   | Grace F. Napolitano   | D     | CA    | No            | M000312   | Jim McGovern          | D     | MA    | No            |
| L000579   | Alan Lowenthal        | D     | CA    | No            | B001304   | Anthony Brown         | D     | MD    | No            |
| C001110   | J. Luis Correa        | D     | CA    | No            | R000606   | Jamie Raskin          | D     | MD    | No            |
| C001080   | Judy Chu              | D     | CA    | No            | C000984   | Elijah E. Cummings    | D     | MD    | No            |
| D000623   | Mark DeSaulnier       | D     | CA    | No            | S001168   | John Sarbanes         | D     | MD    | No            |
| K000389   | Ro Khanna             | D     | CA    | No            | H001058   | Bill Huizenga         | R     | MI    | No            |
| R000486   | Lucille Roybal-Allard | D     | CA    | No            | L000263   | Sander M. Levin       | D     | MI    | No            |
| T000474   | Norma Torres          | D     | CA    | No            | N000188   | Donald W. Norcross    | D     | NJ    | No            |
| V000130   | Juan Vargas           | D     | CA    | No            | P000034   | Frank Pallone         | D     | NJ    | No            |
| W000187   | Maxine Waters         | D     | CA    | No            | P000604   | Donald M. Payne Jr.   | D     | NJ    | No            |
| L000551   | Barbara Lee           | D     | CA    | No            | S001165   | Albio Sires           | D     | NJ    | No            |
| D000197   | Diana DeGette         | D     | CO    | No            | W000822   | Bonnie Watson Coleman | D     | NJ    | No            |
| P000598   | Jared Polis           | D     | CO    | No            | T000468   | Dina Titus            | D     | NV    | No            |
| D000216   | Rosa DeLauro          | D     | CT    | No            | K000390   | Ruben Kihuen          | D     | NV    | No            |
| D000610   | Ted Deutch            | D     | FL    | No            | M000087   | Carolyn B. Maloney    | D     | NY    | No            |
| S001157   | David Scott           | D     | GA    | No            | N000002   | Jerrold Nadler        | D     | NY    | No            |
| L000287   | John Lewis            | D     | GA    | No            | B000574   | Earl Blumenauer       | D     | OR    | No            |
| J000288   | Hank Johnson          | D     | GA    | No            | B001278   | Suzanne Bonamici      | D     | OR    | No            |
| K000362   | Steve King            | R     | IA    | No            | B001227   | Robert A. Brady       | D     | PA    | No            |
| D000096   | Danny K. Davis        | D     | IL    | No            | B001296   | Brendan Boyle         | D     | PA    | No            |
| S001145   | Jan Schakowsky        | D     | IL    | No            | J000032   | Sheila Jackson Lee    | D     | TX    | No            |
| R000515   | Bobby L. Rush         | D     | IL    | No            | G000410   | Gene Green            | D     | TX    | No            |
| Q000023   | Mike Quigley          | D     | IL    | No            | G000553   | Al Green              | D     | TX    | No            |
| B001286   | Cheri Bustos          | D     | IL    | No            | D000399   | Lloyd Doggett         | D     | TX    | No            |
| K000391   | Raja Krishnamoorthi   | D     | IL    | No            | S000510   | Adam Smith            | D     | WA    | No            |
| Y000062   | John Yarmuth          | D     | KY    | No            | J000298   | Pramila Jayapal       | D     | WA    | No            |
|           |                       |       |       |               | L000560   | Rick Larsen           | D     | WA    | No            |

# PAC Donations to Representatives From GEO Group and/or Core Civic

| member_id | name                  | party | state | vote_position | 2016_GEO_Donation | 2016_CC_Donation | no_donation |
|-----------|-----------------------|-------|-------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| A000055   | Robert B. Aderholt    | R     | AL    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$2,500.00       | False       |
| R000591   | Martha Roby           | R     | AL    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$2,500.00       | False       |
| V000129   | David Valadao         | R     | CA    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$1,000.00       | False       |
| R000486   | Lucille Roybal-Allard | D     | CA    | No            | \$1,250           | \$0.0            | False       |
| M001165   | Kevin McCarthy        | R     | CA    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$2,500.00       | False       |
| K000387   | Steve Knight          | R     | CA    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| D000612   | Jeffrey Denham        | R     | CA    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| I000056   | Darrell Issa          | R     | CA    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| T000470   | Scott Tipton          | R     | CO    | Yes           | \$7,500           | \$0.0            | False       |
| R000609   | John Rutherford       | R     | FL    | Yes           | \$2,500           | \$0.0            | False       |
| C001107   | Carlos Curbelo        | R     | FL    | Yes           | \$10,000          | \$0.0            | False       |
| B000490   | Sanford D. Bishop Jr. | D     | GA    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$2,500.00       | False       |
| G000560   | Tom Graves            | R     | GA    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$1,500.00       | False       |
| B001294   | Rod Blum              | R     | IA    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| Y000063   | Kevin Yoder           | R     | KS    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| B001301   | Jack Bergman          | R     | MI    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| W000798   | Tim Walberg           | R     | MI    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| B001293   | Mike Bishop           | R     | MI    | Yes           | \$6,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| H001045   | Gregg Harper          | R     | MS    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$4,000.00       | False       |
| T000193   | Bennie Thompson       | D     | MS    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| H001067   | Richard Hudson        | R     | NC    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$1,000.00       | False       |
| S001172   | Adrian Smith          | R     | NE    | Yes           | \$2,500           | \$0.0            | False       |
| B001298   | Don Bacon             | R     | NE    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| T000478   | Claudia Tenney        | R     | NY    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |

| member_id | name                | party | state | vote_position | 2016_GEO_Donation | 2016_CC_Donation | no_donation |
|-----------|---------------------|-------|-------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| K000386   | John Katko          | R     | NY    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| R000577   | Tim Ryan            | D     | OH    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$4,500.00       | False       |
| J000295   | Dave Joyce          | R     | OH    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$2,000.00       | False       |
| R000604   | Steve Russell       | R     | OK    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| K000376   | Mike Kelly          | R     | PA    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$2,000.00       | False       |
| G000566   | Trey Gowdy          | R     | SC    | Yes           | \$1,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| B001243   | Marsha Blackburn    | R     | TN    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$4,500.00       | False       |
| K000392   | David Kustoff       | R     | TN    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$1,000.00       | False       |
| F000459   | Chuck Fleischmann   | R     | TN    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$9,200.00       | False       |
| C001051   | John Carter         | R     | TX    | Yes           | \$2,500           | \$5,000.00       | False       |
| S000583   | Lamar Smith         | R     | TX    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$1,500.00       | False       |
| M001157   | Michael McCaul      | R     | TX    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$3,000.00       | False       |
| B000213   | Joe L. Barton       | R     | TX    | Yes           | \$2,500           | \$0.0            | False       |
| C001062   | K. Michael Conaway  | R     | TX    | Yes           | \$0.0             | \$2,500.00       | False       |
| C001063   | Henry Cuellar       | D     | TX    | Yes           | \$9,690           | \$4,000.00       | False       |
| H001073   | Will Hurd           | R     | TX    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$7,500.00       | False       |
| C001048   | John Culberson      | R     | TX    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$11,500.00      | False       |
| B000755   | Kevin Brady         | R     | TX    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| G000289   | Robert W. Goodlatte | R     | VA    | Yes           | \$2,500           | \$1,000.00       | False       |
| C001105   | Barbara Comstock    | R     | VA    | Yes           | \$5,000           | \$0.0            | False       |
| R000578   | Dave Reichert       | R     | WA    | Yes           | \$2,500           | \$0.0            | False       |

## Proportion of incarcerated population in private prisons, 2015



No private prisons  
0.1 - 10%  
10 - 20%  
20 - 30%  
>30%

|    | state | prison_freq |    | state | prison_freq |
|----|-------|-------------|----|-------|-------------|
| 0  | TX    | 22          | 19 | MD    | 3           |
| 1  | CA    | 18          | 20 | KS    | 3           |
| 2  | PA    | 14          | 21 | IN    | 3           |
| 3  | FL    | 12          | 22 | AR    | 3           |
| 4  | WV    | 8           | 23 | WA    | 2           |
| 5  | NC    | 7           | 24 | TN    | 2           |
| 6  | GA    | 7           | 25 | OH    | 2           |
| 7  | LA    | 6           | 26 | NJ    | 2           |
| 8  | IL    | 6           | 27 | MO    | 2           |
| 9  | CO    | 6           | 28 | MI    | 2           |
| 10 | AZ    | 6           | 29 | WI    | 1           |
| 11 | NY    | 5           | 30 | SD    | 1           |
| 12 | MS    | 5           | 31 | PR    | 1           |
| 13 | MN    | 5           | 32 | OR    | 1           |
| 14 | KY    | 5           | 33 | NH    | 1           |
| 15 | VA    | 4           | 34 | MA    | 1           |
| 16 | SC    | 4           | 35 | HI    | 1           |
| 17 | AL    | 4           | 36 | DC    | 1           |
| 18 | OK    | 3           | 37 | CT    | 1           |

## **Future Goals:**

- steer away from specific industries and focus more on Congress as an institution
- take into consideration characteristics of specific members:
  - seniority
  - political party
  - demographics