

Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

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2022 Election Results: Split Decision

By Nathan L. Gonzales, Erin Covey, and Jacob Rubashkin

Elections are humbling, and this time it's Republicans' turn for some soul searching.

Republicans were handed a tremendous opportunity in 2022. Midterm elections are typically a referendum on the party in power, and the party in power was coming up short. Just 17 percent of Americans said they were satisfied with the way things were going in the country, 68 percent of voters said the condition of the nation's economy was either "not so good" or "poor," and a majority of Americans disapproved of President Joe Biden's job performance.

The GOP needed a net gain of a single seat for a Senate majority and a net gain of just five seats in the House. History was on their side; the president's party has lost an average of 30 House seats in midterm elections going back a century.

And yet Republicans could barely get the ball over the goal line.

Voters were primed for change but chose the status quo instead. They didn't punish Democrats for Biden's job performance and were uncomfortable putting the GOP in control. Overall Democratic performance in the face of Biden's standing and midterm history is remarkable.

While the fight for the House was closer than expected, the 2022 Senate results were not a surprise.

The final *Inside Elections* projection in the Senate was anything from a Democratic gain of one seat to a Republican gain of two seats. The final outcome — either no net change or a Democratic gain of a seat — will be within that range, pending the outcome of the Dec. 6 runoff election in Georgia. And the final Senate result will be within a seat or two of our earliest Senate projection.

The Senate map was relatively favorable for Democrats, considering Biden won six of the eight initial battleground states. But Democrats remained in a precarious position as the president's approval ratings in these states remained underwater throughout most of the cycle. In the end, the 2020 Biden coalition not only held in enough key places, but

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Balance of Power

	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	UNCALLED
Senate	50	49*	1
House	212	219	4
Governors	24	25	1

* Alaska Senate race counted in Republican column
Majority Party in bold

2022 Toss-up House Race Results

DISTRICT	DEMOCRAT	DEM %	GOP	GOP %
CA-13	Adam Gray	49.6	John Duarte	50.4
CA-22	Rudy Salas	47.2	David Valadao	52.8
CT-05	Jahana Hayes	50.4	George Logan	49.6
IL-17	Eric Sorensen	51.7	Esther Joy King	48.3
MN-02	Angie Craig	51	Tyler Kistner	47.5
NC-13	Wiley Nickel	51.3	Bo Hines	48.7
NE-02	Tony Vargas	48.5	Don Bacon	51.5
NM-02	Gabe Vasquez	50.3	Yvette Herrell	49.7
NY-17	Sean Patrick Maloney	49.6	Mike Lawler	50.4
NY-19	Josh Riley	48.9	Marc Molinaro	51.1
NY-22	Francis Conole	49.2	Brandon Williams	50.8
OH-01	Greg Landsman	52.5	Steve Chabot	47.5
OH-13	Emilia Sykes	52.6	Madison Gesiotto Gilbert	47.4
OR-06	Andrea Salinas	50.1	Mike Erickson	47.7
PA-07	Susan Wild	50.8	Lisa Scheller	49.2
PA-08	Matt Cartwright	51.2	Jim Bognet	48.8
PA-17	Chris Deluzio	53.2	Jeremy Shaffer	46.8
RI-02	Seth Magaziner	50.5	Allan Fung	46.8
TX-34	Vicente Gonzalez	52.7	Mayra Flores	44.3
WA-08	Kim Schrier	53.3	Matt Larkin	46.7

Winners in bold

CALENDAR

Nov. 20	World Cup begins
Dec. 6	Georgia Senate Runoff
Jan. 6	Kentucky Governor filing deadline
Jan. 9	College Football National Championship
Feb. 12	Super Bowl LVII
March 30	MLB Opening Day

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some Democrats, including John Fetterman in Pennsylvania and Sen. Mark Kelly in Arizona, overperformed Biden.

In the House, Democrats won a surprising number of tight races. The final *Inside Elections* projection in the House was a Republican gain of between 13 and 30 seats. That assumed that the toss-up races would break evenly or that GOP candidates would win them disproportionately as independent voters soured on Biden, prioritized economic concerns and wanted change. Instead, Democrats won a majority of the toss-up races.

While our range underestimated Democrats' strength in the toss-up races, the results in individual districts fell in line with expectations. Race ratings informed by polling (public and private, partisan and nonpartisan) were accurate and helpful. With a handful of races left to call, it looks like just four races out of 435 broke against the ratings.

In the end, this looks and feels like the inverse of 2020, as pointed out by *Inside Elections* alumna Leah Askarinam. Two years ago, Democrats lost the expectations game, but won the House. In 2022, Democrats lost the House, but won the expectations game.

There will be lessons learned for weeks and months to come, but there are some initial takeaways, even before all of the votes have been counted.

Independents broke against the grain. Unsurprisingly, self-identifying Democratic voters supported Democratic candidates 96-3 percent, according to the exit poll for the media consortium, and Republican voters supported Republican candidates 96-3 percent. The surprise was independent voters.

In President Donald Trump's midterm in 2018, independent voters rejected the party in power and supported Democratic candidates by 12 points. This cycle, independent voters supported Democratic candidates narrowly, 49-47 percent. Those voters were unhappy with Biden's performance as president, skeptical about the direction of the country, and concerned about the economy, and yet they didn't vote against Democrats (or for Republicans) en masse. Those voters played



John Fetterman

Courtesy Fetterman Campaign

2022 Competitive Senate Results

STATE	DEMOCRAT	DEM %	GOP	GOP %
Arizona	Mark Kelly	52	Blake Masters	46
Colorado	Michael Bennet	56	Joe O'Dea	42
Florida	Val Demings	41	Marco Rubio	58
Georgia	Raphael Warnock	49.4	Herschel Walker	48.5
Iowa	Mike Franken	44	Chuck Grassley	56
Nevada	Catherine Cortez Masto	48.8	Adam Laxalt	48.1
New Hampshire	Maggie Hassan	54	Don Bolduc	44
North Carolina	Cheri Beasley	47	Ted Budd	51
Ohio	Tim Ryan	53	J.D. Vance	47
Pennsylvania	John Fetterman	51	Mehmet Oz	47
Utah	Evan McMullin (I)	42	Mike Lee	55
Washington	Patty Murray	57	Tiffany Smiley	43
Wisconsin	Mandela Barnes	49.5	Ron Johnson	50.5

Winners in bold

a significant role in the 2022 elections not fitting neatly into midterm historical trends.

Polling ain't dead yet. Looking at the four most recent election cycles, it's more clear that polling is less accurate in election cycles when Donald Trump is on the ballot (2016 and 2020) compared to those when he's not (2018 and 2022). Individual race ratings informed by polling data were as accurate as ever. Just four out of the 478 races (House, Senate, and governor) rated as something other than Toss-up were won by the party that wasn't favored. That means 99.17 percent of races went as expected.

The calm is welcome. After the insurrection at the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021 and the subsequent drumbeat to question the 2020 results and undermine the electoral process, it's surprising that the 2022 elections went off without incident. There was no violence at precincts or reported efforts to tamper with the vote-casting process. There were no mass protests outside offices while votes were being counted. And almost all losing candidates have chosen to concede and live to fight in the next election.

Until a couple years ago, this would not have been a surprise. But while the country was on a path to conflict in multiple facets of the electoral process, this looks like it's been a smooth election. It also shows what happens when there's not a centralized effort to sow seeds of doubt about the process and results.

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2022 Results: What Happened in the House?

By Erin Covey

Republicans won the House majority, but by a narrower margin than expected. With votes still being counted in a few close races, Republicans are poised to gain between six and nine seats. They needed a net gain of five for the majority.

Democrats were victorious in the most competitive races. Among the 20 races *Inside Elections* rated as a Toss-up, Democrats won 14 and Republicans won four (and two California races remain too close to call).

Only five Democratic incumbents in competitive races lost races, and the party was even able to unseat three Republican incumbents: Reps. Steve Chabot of Ohio, Yvette Herrell of New Mexico, and Mayra Flores of Texas. One Republican incumbent, Rep. David Valadao, is locked in a close race with Democrat Rudy Salas in California's 22nd District. In 2020, House Republicans didn't lose a single incumbent, while 13 House Democrats lost their re-election bids.

The top of the ticket mattered. Gretchen Whitmer's campaign — along with a ballot amendment guaranteeing the right to abortion in Michigan — spurred Democratic turnout in the Great Lakes State, helping Democrats to flip the 3rd District and hold the 7th and 8th, two districts that Biden barely won in 2020. Rep. Dan Kildee won the 8th by double digits, and Rep. Elissa Slotkin held the 7th District despite Republicans spending \$13 million on the airwaves against her.



Emilia Sykes

Courtesy Ohio State House

Thanks to Doug Mastriano, and to a lesser extent, Dr. Mehmet Oz hampering down ballot Republicans in Pennsylvania, Democrats swept Pennsylvania's most competitive House districts. Democratic Reps. Susan Wild and Matt Cartwright, both heavily targeted by Republicans this cycle, won re-election, and Democrats held the Pittsburgh-based 17th District, left open when Rep. Conor Lamb ran for Senate.

While Democratic Rep. Tim Ryan wasn't able to pull out a victory in the Buckeye State's Senate race, his campaign boosted Emilia Sykes in the Akron-area 13th and Greg Landsman in Cincinnati's 1st. Both candidates defeated their Republican opponents by 5 points.

Democrats still underperformed Biden in blue states. As Democrats in swing states exceeded expectations, many running in bluer territory struggled. In Connecticut's 5th District, Rep. Jahana Hayes eked out a 0.8-point win against her Republican opponent, George Logan, despite running in a district Biden won by double digits in 2020.

Democrats floundered in New York, failing to pick-up retiring GOP Rep. John Katko's Syracuse-based swing seat and losing two seats in the Hudson Valley. Republicans won all four competitive districts on Long Island, building upon GOP success last year in the region.

On the West Coast, Democrats barely won Oregon's new 6th District, and

New Members of Congress

DISTRICT	DEMOCRATS	DISTRICT	REPUBLICANS
CA-15	Kevin Mullin	AL-05	Dale Strong
CA-37	Sydney Kamlager	AZ-02	Eli Crane
CA-42	Robert Garcia	AZ-06	Juan Ciscomani
CO-07	Brittany Pettersen	CA-03	Kevin Kiley
CO-08	Yadira Caraveo	FL-04	Aaron Bean
FL-10	Maxwell Frost	FL-07	Cory Mills
HI-02	Jill Tokuda	FL-13	Anna Paulina Luna
IL-01	Jonathan Jackson	FL-15	Laurel Lee
IL-03	Delia Ramirez	GA-06	Rich McCormick
IL-13	Nikki Budzinski	GA-10	Mike Collins
IL-17	Eric Sorensen	IA-03	Zach Nunn
KY-03	Morgan McGarvey	IN-02	Rudy Yakym
MD-04	Glenn Ivey	IN-09	Erin Houchin
MI-03	Hillary Scholten	MI-10	John James
MI-13	Shri Thanedar	MO-04	Mark Alford
NC-01	Don Davis	MO-07	Eric Burlison
NC-04	Valerie Foushee	MS-04	Mike Ezell
NC-13	Wiley Nickel	MT-01	Ryan Zinke
NC-14	Jeff Jackson	NC-11	Chuck Edwards
NJ-08	Robert Menendez Jr.	NJ-07	Tom Kean Jr.
NM-02	Gabe Vasquez	NY-01	Nick LaLota
NY-10	Dan Goldman	NY-03	George Santos
OH-01	Greg Landsman	NY-04	Anthony D'Esposito
OH-13	Emilia Sykes	NY-17	Mike Lawler
OR-04	Val Hoyle	NY-19	Marc Molinaro
OR-06	Andrea Salinas	NY-22	Brandon Williams
PA-12	Summer Lee	NY-23	Nick Langworthy
PA-17	Chris Deluzio	OH-07	Max Miller
RI-02	Seth Magaziner	OK-02	Josh Brecheen
TX-30	Jasmine Crockett	OR-05	Lori Chavez-DeRemer
TX-35	Greg Casar	SC-07	Russell Fry
VT-AL	Becca Balint	TN-05	Andy Ogles
WA-03	Marie Gluesenkamp Perez	TX-01	Nathaniel Moran
		TX-03	Keith Self
		TX-08	Morgan Luttrell
		TX-15	Monica De La Cruz
		TX-38	Wesley Hunt
		VA-02	Jen Kiggans
		WI-03	Derrick Van Orden
		WY-AL	Harriet Hageman

they lost the 5th, two districts Biden would have won by 13 and 9 points, respectively. GOP Rep. Mike Garcia sailed to victory in a district Biden won by 12 points, defeating his Democratic opponent, Christy Smith, by 8 points.

Trump's most loyal acolytes struggled. Across the country, Republicans who embraced the former president had mixed success, and Democrats' attempts to tie Republicans to an "ultra MAGA" platform

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wasn't always successful. But the candidates aligned with the fringe elements of Trump's base — and those with an outsized-reputation — had rough election nights.

John Gibbs in Michigan's 3rd District and Joe Kent in Washington's 3rd District successfully primaryed Republican members who voted to impeach Trump after Jan. 6, but both lost their general election bids. Hillary Scholten's defeat of Gibbs was not a surprise in a district Biden won by several points, but her 13-point margin of victory was larger than expected. And despite his defense of Jan. 6 rioters and ties to white nationalists, Kent was expected to prevail in Washington's 3rd District, which Trump won by 4 points in 2020. Marie Gluesenkamp Perez's victory showed that voting for Kent was a bridge too far for some Washington Republicans. And Republican nominee J.R. Majewski, who was at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, hindered GOP efforts to win Ohio's 9th District, which was drawn by Republicans to elect a Republican.

In Colorado's 3rd District, Rep. Lauren Boebert currently leads her Democratic opponent, Adam Frisch, by a little over 500 votes — a much more competitive race than either party was anticipating. The race remains too close to call.

Republicans made limited gains with Latino voters. Hopeful that 2020 trends would prevail, Republicans invested heavily in majority-Latino districts in South Texas and South Florida. While Latino voters didn't move toward Republicans at the pace some in the party had hoped, Democrats weren't able to reverse the trend.

Republican nominee Monica De La Cruz flipped Texas' 15th District, a historic win in a region that has elected Democrats to Congress for generations. While Democratic Rep.



Monica De La Cruz

Courtesy De La Cruz Campaign

Vicente Gonzalez was able to take back the 34th District, which GOP Rep. Mayra Flores flipped in the special election this summer, he fell short of Biden's margin in 2020. After barely surviving a primary challenge to his left, Rep. Henry Cuellar was the most successful Democrat in South Texas, defeating his GOP opponent by double-digits.

In Florida's 27th District, Rep. Maria Elvira Salazar handily defeated Democratic nominee Annette Taddeo, 57-43 percent. Latino voters in South Florida tend to be more conservative-leaning than Latinos in the rest of the country but have moved further to the right in recent years — at the top of the ticket, Gov. Ron DeSantis carried Miami-Dade County after losing it by 20 points in 2018.

One bright spot for Democrats came in New Mexico's 2nd District, a majority-Latino district that GOP Rep. Yvette Herrell flipped in 2020. Even though redistricting made the 2nd significantly more Democratic, Gabe Vasquez still had to defeat an incumbent and had to overcome a batch of negative headlines. He won by a point.

A different redistricting outcome in even one state could have made a dramatic difference in control of the House. Florida's new congressional map gave Republicans the ability to pick up four seats right off the bat. The Republican gerrymander, pushed through by DeSantis, still faces legal challenges but was left in place for the 2022

Defeated House Incumbents

DEFEATED IN PRIMARY	DEFEATED IN GENERAL
Rep. Carolyn Bourdeaux (D-GA)	Rep. Tom O'Halleran (D-AZ)
Rep. Marie Newman (D-IL)	Rep. Al Lawson (D-FL)
Rep. Rodney Davis (R-IL)	Rep. Cindy Axne (D-IA)
Rep. Peter Meijer (R-MI)	Rep. Tom Malinowski (D-NJ)
Rep. Andy Levin (D-MI)	Rep. Yvette Herrell (R-NM)
Rep. Steven Palazzo (R-MS)	Rep. Sean Patrick Maloney (D-NY)
Rep. Madison Cawthorn (R-NC)	Rep. Steve Chabot (R-OH)
Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-NY)	Rep. Mayra Flores (R-TX)
Rep. Mondaire Jones (D-NY)	Rep. Elaine Luria (D-VA)
Rep. Kurt Schrader (D-OR)	
Rep. Tom Rice (R-SC)	
Rep. Jaime Herrera Beutler (R-WA)	
Rep. David McKinley (R-WV)	
Rep. Liz Cheney (R-WY)	

cycle thanks to the state Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, Democratic gerrymanders in New York and Maryland were thrown out by state courts. Preliminary data suggests that Democrats could have held more Hudson Valley seats under the congressional map passed by the state Legislature, though they would have still likely lost the Long Island seats. And Maryland Democrats' original congressional map would have left GOP Rep. Andy Harris in a much more vulnerable position.

Republican-drawn maps in Louisiana and Alabama facing legal challenges were left in place for 2022 after the Supreme Court put the cases on hold. Both states were accused of violating the Voting Rights Act by not creating enough majority-Black congressional districts.

Democrats' retirements could have jeopardized their ability to hold at least a few seats. Anticipating an impending red wave, several House Democrats decided not to seek reelection in their competitive districts. Without an incumbent on the ballot, these districts were ripe for Republicans to pick-up. But the races in some of these open seats ended up much closer than both parties expected.

Juan Ciscomani, seen as a top GOP recruit, barely won Arizona's open 6th District. If Democratic Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick had decided to run for reelection, the advantage of incumbency — and greater investments from outside groups — might have been enough for Democrats to hold this seat.

If Democratic Rep. Andy Levin had decided to run in Michigan's competitive 10th District instead of running against Democratic Rep. Haley Stevens in the 11th, Democrats might have had a shot at holding a district Republicans believed would be an easy pick-up. Republican nominee John James ultimately won the 10th by less than a point. And Wisconsin's 3rd District, represented by Democratic Rep. Ron Kind for 25 years, fell to a well-funded Republican candidate who had lost to Kind two years before.

National Democrats saw both Michigan's 10th and Wisconsin's 3rd as foregone conclusions, opting to focus their resources on protecting their most vulnerable incumbents. Without so many open seats to compete in, Republicans' meager gains may have been even more limited.

Even in New York, Democrats would have likely had a better shot at holding the 3rd and 4th Districts if Reps. Tom Suozzi and Kathleen Rice had chosen to run for reelection.

Jacob Rubashkin and Nathan L. Gonzales contributed to this report.



2022 Results: What Happened in the Senate?

By Jacob Rubashkin

Despite President Joe Biden's poor job approval rating looming over the midterm elections, Democrats maintained control of the Senate, and might even expand their majority.

At a minimum, Democrats will have 50-50 control of the Senate and Vice President Kamala Harris can break tie votes. If Sen. Raphael Warnock is re-elected in Georgia's runoff on Dec. 6, Democrats will have a 51-49 majority.

There were at least a half-dozen competitive races, but just one has switched hands thus far: Pennsylvania. Democratic Lt. Gov. John Fetterman won GOP Sen. Pat Toomey's open seat in one of the most-watched Senate contests in the country. If Herschel Walker wins in Georgia, it will be just the second Senate seat to flip this cycle.

Democrats threaded the needle. They needed to hold three seats that Biden had carried by less than 2 points in the 2020 election, and they've already locked down two of them (Georgia remains unsettled). They also picked up a seat, which made the GOP path to the majority even more difficult.



Ted Budd

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

Candidate quality and experience matters. In all four of Republicans' pickup opportunities, voters nominated candidates with at least some significant baggage, and three of whom had never run in a general election before. None won. Three of four underperformed Trump's vote share from 2020. Two of them, Arizona's Blake Masters and Georgia's Herschel Walker, underperformed every other GOP candidate on the ticket this year.

The only candidate who outperformed Trump was Nevada's Adam Laxalt, not coincidentally the only candidate to have run in, let alone won, a statewide general election prior to running for Senate. And Rep. Ted Budd, the other new GOP nominee with electoral experience, secured a crucial seat in North Carolina after running a low key campaign that stayed out of the spotlight.

Colorado is not a battleground state anymore. Republicans thought they had a stellar nominee with Joe O'Dea, a construction company CEO who publicly broke with Trump and tried to cultivate a moderate image. It didn't make a difference. Rather than GOP Sen. Cory Gardner's 9-point loss in 2020 being the state's baseline, as some Republicans hoped, it looks like that might be Republicans' ceiling. Democratic Sen. Michael Bennet won by a nearly identical margin (13 points) to Biden in 2020, and Democratic Gov. Jared Polis won re-election this year by 19 points.

And Florida might not be a battleground either. GOP Sen. Marco Rubio's dominant win over Democratic Rep. Val Demings showed just how difficult the Sunshine State is for Democrats. Rubio won his two previous elections with 49 and 52 percent of the vote. This year he won 58 percent, the largest vote share for a Republican Senate nominee since 1994 — to say nothing of GOP Gov. Ron DeSantis' 19-point smackdown in his re-election.

New Senators

STATE	DEMOCRATS	STATE	REPUBLICANS
Pennsylvania	John Fetterman	Alabama	Katie Boyd Britt
Vermont	Peter Welch	Missouri	Eric Schmitt
		North Carolina	Ted Budd
		Ohio	J.D. Vance
		Oklahoma	Markwayne Mullin

Partisanship is still king. At various points in the cycle, Republicans had high hopes of flipping Washington and Colorado, and Democrats eyed Florida, Ohio, and North Carolina — all seats won by the opposing party's presidential nominee last election. But ultimately, the only senator to win a state carried by the opposing party's presidential nominee was Republican Ron Johnson in Wisconsin.

It's hard to beat an incumbent. Depending on the outcomes in Alaska (which still has to process ranked-choice votes) and Georgia's runoff, this could be the first year ever in which every senator running for re-election won both their primary and general elections. In 1914, the first year where voters elected senators directly, every incumbent won their general election, but several others had lost primaries. This remarkable show of resilience among incumbents comes even as Congress' approval rating overall remains abysmal.

The parties generally understood the battlefield. The independent expenditure wings of the two major party committees, and their primary allied super PACs, spent a combined \$456 million on TV ads over the course of the election. The five most expensive races — Georgia, Pennsylvania, Nevada, Wisconsin, and North Carolina — were also the closest, according to the final results. The party committees spent



Peter Welch

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

comparatively minuscule amounts in states that were more difficult to win including Colorado, Washington, Iowa, Utah, and Florida.

Rigorous, high quality polling still holds up. The final weeks of the election were dominated by

a crush of lower-quality, less transparent polls, often from GOP-aligned firms, that showed Senate races tightening across the board. Meanwhile, surveys from the *New York Times*, Siena College, Marist College, Ann Selzer, and Marquette Law School taken in the final weeks of the campaign appear to have been nearly dead-on in a half-dozen states.

So does high quality prognostication. There were no upsets on the Senate map, with every seat going in the direction forecasted by *Inside Elections* and Democrats winning two of three toss-up races, with the race in Georgia moving on to the Dec. 6 runoff. Either a breakeven result or a Democratic gain of one seat is within our final projection of D+1 to R+2.

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Suburban and college-educated voters stuck with Democrats. And rural voters can still vote for Democrats too. In states such as Arizona, Ohio, Colorado, and Pennsylvania, Democratic Senate candidates hewed close to Biden’s margins in the urban and suburban areas but overperformed in the more rural parts of the state.

Persuasion still works. The corollary to relative Democratic strength in rural areas and among white voters is that with the right message — and against the right opponents — those voters aren’t entirely out of reach for Democrats. In Georgia, white voters turned out at higher rates than they did in 2018, and Black and Latino voters at significantly lower

rates, but Raphael Warnock was still able to outpace Herschel Walker even as all other Democrats on the ticket struggled.

Georgia still matters. Even though control of the Senate does not hinge on Georgia, it’s still a consequential race. Democrats’ Senate majority would be much more nimble with 51 seats than 50, as it would eliminate the need for the cumbersome power-sharing arrangement that has been in place the past two years. And as Democrats face down a brutal Senate map in 2024, they need all the seats they can get now.

But won’t be the extravaganza of 2021. That year, Georgia had two Senate runoffs, over two months, the outcomes of which would determine Senate control. This year, there’s one runoff, over one month, that won’t determine control. In 2021, TV spending in the runoffs easily surpassed half a billion dollars. So far, just \$32 million has been booked on TV for the runoff. That’s probably not good news for Walker, who has less money than Warnock and who has worked hard to nationalize the race by tying Warnock to Biden and national Democrats. Now that the question of Senate control is settled, it will be easier for Warnock to reframe the race as a choice between two individuals. Walker, meanwhile, will have to work to get his less enthusiastic supporters back to the polls for round two, without help from the turnout machine that powered Gov. Brian Kemp to a solid victory last week. **IE**

Erin Covey and Nathan L. Gonzales contributed to this report.

Uncalled Races

Georgia Senate	(Raphael Warnock, D)
Alaska Senate	(Lisa Murkowski, R)
Alaska Governor	(Mike Dunleavy, R)
Alaska At-Large District	(Mary Peltola, D)
California’s 13th District	(Open; Josh Harder, D)
California’s 22nd District	(David Valadao, R)
Colorado’s 3rd District	(Lauren Boebert, R)

2022 Results: What Happened in Gubernatorial Races?

By Jacob Rubashkin

The least surprising results of the cycle might have been in gubernatorial races, with each party winning all the races they were favored to win. But similar to the House and the Senate, Democrats won a disproportionate number of toss-up races, including Kansas, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Arizona, while Republicans won Nevada, where Democrat Steve Sisolak was the only governor to lose re-election.

Democrats flipped three seats. Massachusetts and Maryland were foregone conclusions when popular Republican governors didn’t run for re-election. Arizona was a high-profile contest with Secretary of State Katie Hobbs defeating Republican Kari Lake, who had become a darling of the MAGA wing of the GOP. Republicans flipped one seat in Nevada but fell short elsewhere. Incumbents in both parties put up significant margins, including Colorado Gov. Jared Polis and Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis winning by 19 points, and Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer winning by 10 points.

While voters clearly think of gubernatorial races as distinct from federal contests, a strong gubernatorial performance can still have ramifications in the fight for the House. Nowhere was this clearer than in New York, where GOP Rep. Lee Zeldin fell 6 points short of toppling Gov. Kathy Hochul. That strong performance helped propel Republicans to victory in seven battleground House districts — likely more than the GOP’s overall majority in the House next year. And in Colorado, blowouts by Polis and Sen. Michael Bennet helped Democrats clinch the new 8th District, and compete for the Solid Republican 3rd District, represented by GOP Rep. Lauren Boebert.

Several candidates made history with their elections. Wes Moore will be the first Black governor of Maryland, and only the third Black governor elected in American history. Oregon’s Tina Kotek and Massachusetts’

2022 Competitive Governor Results

STATE	DEMOCRAT	DEM %	GOP	GOP %
Arizona	Katie Hobbs	50.5	Kari Lake	49.5
Kansas	Laura Kelly	49.5	Derek Schmidt	47.4
Oregon	Tina Kotek	47	Christine Drazan	43.6
Wisconsin	Tony Evers	51.2	Tim Michels	47.8
Nevada	Steve Sisolak	47.3	Joe Lombardo	48.9
New Mexico	Michelle Lujan Grisham	51.9	Mark Ronchetti	45.6
Michigan	Gretchen Whitmer	54.5	Tudor Dixon	43.9
Maine	Janet Mills	55.4	Paul LePage	42.5
Pennsylvania	Josh Shapiro	56.3	Doug Mastriano	41.9
Minnesota	Tim Walz	52.3	Scott Jensen	44.6
Georgia	Stacey Abrams	45.8	Brian Kemp	53.4
Massachusetts	Maura Healey	63.5	Geoff Diehl	34.9
Maryland	Wes Moore	63.3	Dan Cox	36.7
New York	Kathy Hochul	52.9	Lee Zeldin	47.1
Alaska	Les Gara	23	Mike Dunleavy	52.1
Florida	Charlie Crist	40	Ron DeSantis	59.4
Oklahoma	Joy Hofmeister	41.8	Kevin Stitt	55.5

Winners in bold

Maura Healey will be the first two openly lesbian governors. And Katie Hobbs will become the fifth woman to serve as governor of Arizona — no other state has had more than three. **IE**

Erin Covey and Nathan L. Gonzales contributed to this report.