

# Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

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## Balance of Power

	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	UNCALLED
Senate	<b>50</b>	49	1
House	213	<b>220</b>	2
Governors	24	26	0

Majority Party in bold

## Defeated House Incumbents

### DEFEATED IN PRIMARY

Rep. Carolyn Bourdeaux (D-GA)  
 Rep. Marie Newman (D-IL)  
 Rep. Rodney Davis (R-IL)  
 Rep. Peter Meijer (R-MI)  
 Rep. Andy Levin (D-MI)  
 Rep. Steven Palazzo (R-MS)  
 Rep. Madison Cawthorn (R-NC)  
 Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-NY)  
 Rep. Mondaire Jones (D-NY)  
 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)

### DEFEATED IN GENERAL

Rep. Tom O'Halleran (D-AZ)  
 Rep. Al Lawson (D-FL)  
 Rep. Cindy Axne (D-IA)  
 Rep. Tom Malinowski (D-NJ)  
 Rep. Yvette Herrell (R-NM)  
 Rep. Sean Patrick Maloney (D-NY)  
 Rep. Steve Chabot (R-OH)  
 Rep. Mayra Flores (R-TX)  
 Rep. Elaine Luria (D-VA)

## CALENDAR

<b>Dec. 6</b>	Georgia Senate Runoff
<b>Jan. 6</b>	Kentucky Governor filing deadline
<b>Jan. 9</b>	College Football National Championship
<b>Feb. 12</b>	Super Bowl LVII
<b>March 30</b>	MLB Opening Day
<b>May 16</b>	Kentucky Governor primary

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## House Results: A Good Cycle for Incumbents

By Erin Covey

Democratic Members of Congress were bracing themselves for disaster. Running in a year marked by economic uncertainty — and widespread frustration with the direction that the country was heading in — incumbents in the party that controlled the federal government expected significant losses.

But catastrophic losses failed to materialize. House Democrats only lost six of their members in the general election, and were largely successful in the tightest races. On the Republican side, three members of Congress lost re-election.

The total number of House incumbents who lost in the general election falls below the average number of losses over the past century. It also fits into a larger national trend which saw incumbents succeeding up and down the ballot. Just one incumbent governor lost re-election (Democrat Steve Sisolak in Nevada) and no senator has lost in the primary or general elections up to this point. If Democratic Sen. Raphael Warnock survives the runoff in Georgia, it will be the first time in more than a century that at least one senator wasn't defeated.

Since 1916, an average of 29 House incumbents have lost their general election races each cycle. In 2020, 13 members of Congress, all Democrats, lost re-election in November. The last year general election losses remained in the single digits was 2016, when eight members lost their seats.

For several of these members, redistricting outcomes in their seats made it nearly impossible to win re-election. Some states, such as Texas, drew maps that largely protected incumbents who would have been more vulnerable in their old districts. Previous redistricting cycles have had mixed results for incumbents in the general election — in 2012, 27 members lost re-election, while eight lost re-election in 2002.

Another factor contributing to the minimal number of losses was Democratic retirements. Republicans won several seats that had been vacated by Democratic members who decided to retire rather than face a competitive race. Incumbents have a natural advantage with fundraising and name ID, and they're also more likely to receive key financial support from campaign committees, political action committees and super PACs. Left open, these districts were much more likely to flip.

Democrats who spoke with *Inside Elections* believe that these Democratic incumbents could have made difference in a few tight races.

One notable example is in Michigan's 10th, a newly-drawn swing seat left open after Democratic Rep. Andy Levin decided to challenge fellow Democratic Rep. Haley Stevens in the 11th. (While Levin's hometown was in the 11th, the majority of his current district is part of the 10th

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# Baseline Update: Which States Shifted the Most After 2022

By Bradley Wascher

With the 2022 midterm elections (almost) in the books, we can begin putting the results into the broader context of past results to see how much states and districts shifted. One of the best ways to identify shifts in partisanship is through our Baseline metric.

Baseline captures a state or congressional district’s political performance by combining all federal and state election results over the past four election cycles into a single score. It seeks to approximate what the “typical” Democrat or Republican might receive in any given state, showing major trends that have emerged over the past few election cycles.

Compared to the post-2020 Baseline (using results from 2014 to 2020), states’ post-2022 Baseline margins (using results from 2016 to 2022) moved toward either party by 2.1 points on average. Nineteen states’ Baseline margins shifted by less than 1 point between 2020 and 2022. This swing largely falls in line with previous year-to-year differences in the statewide Baseline, but is most similar to the swings from 2014 to 2016 and from 2018 to 2020.

Two states, Nevada and Wisconsin, saw Democrats surpass Republicans in the post-2022 Baseline margin — “flipping” those states in Democrats’ favor for the first time in our calculations, which reach back to the 2014 cycle.

In Nevada, the typical Democrat is now expected to earn 48.6 percent, while the typical Republican is expected to earn 46.8 percent. In Wisconsin, the Democratic Baseline is 49.6 percent and the Republican Baseline is 48.6 percent.



Ron DeSantis

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

Notably, both states split their votes at the top of the ticket in 2022, with Nevada electing a Republican governor and re-electing a Democratic senator while Wisconsin re-elected its Democratic governor and Republican senator. These razor-thin Baseline margins also fit in line with the results of the 2020 presidential election, suggesting that both states could go either way in future contests.

## Statewide Baseline Changes in Battlegrounds

State	2018	2022	Difference
Arizona	R+ 4.9%	R+ 1.8%	D+ 3.1%
Georgia	R+ 8.5%	R+ 4.5%	D+ 4.0%
Michigan	D+ 3.7%	D+ 5.0%	D+ 1.3%
New Hampshire	D+ 3.3%	D+ 2.1%	R+ 1.2%
Nevada	R+ 2.4%	D+ 1.7%	D+ 4.1%
North Carolina	R+ 1.2%	R+ 2.9%	R+ 1.7%
Pennsylvania	D+ 6.6%	D+ 4.1%	R+ 2.5%
Virginia	D+ 5.1%	D+ 5.6%	D+ 0.5%
Wisconsin	R+ 0.1%	D+ 1.0%	D+ 1.1%

Note: margin discrepancies due to rounding

Another way to look at the evolving slate of battleground states is to compare post-2022 Baseline numbers to those from the previous midterm cycle, 2018.

Starting in Florida, a typical Republican would be expected to perform 8.8 points better than a typical Democrat, according to the post-2022 Baseline. This is a much more favorable margin for Republicans than after 2018, when the GOP’s expected advantage in Florida was only 4.5 points.

But zooming out, the 2022 numbers aren’t all too different from Florida’s Baseline margins after 2016 (R+8.9) and 2014 (R+8.6). In essence, Democratic overperformance (but nonetheless losses) in 2018 temporarily moved Florida’s Baseline a few points in the party’s favor, but strong GOP showings in 2022, particularly from Republican Gov. Ron DeSantis, pulled the average closer to where it had been before.

Most political observers would say that Florida isn’t completely out of reach for Democrats, but Baseline suggests that a Democrat winning in the Sunshine State is about as likely as a Republican winning in Colorado.

Two states where Democrats’ fortunes certainly are dimmer, though, are Missouri and North Dakota. Apart from West Virginia (previously highlighted in the 2020 Baseline update), these two states saw the biggest movement in Baseline between 2018 and 2022. Missouri shifted nearly 9 points toward Republicans, with a post-2022 statewide Baseline margin

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Nathan L. Gonzales

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609 H St NE 4th Floor, Washington, 20002  
202-546-2822



Nathan L. Gonzales  
Editor & Publisher  
nathan@insideelections.com  
@nathanlgonzales



Jacob Rubashkin  
Reporter & Analyst  
jacob@insideelections.com  
@jacobrubashkin



Erin Covey  
Reporter & Analyst  
erin@insideelections.com  
@ercovey

Ryan Matsumoto  
Contributing Analyst  
ryan@insideelections.com

Bradley Wascher  
Contributing Analyst  
bradley@insideelections.com

Will Taylor  
Production Artist  
will@insideelections.com

Stuart Rothenberg  
Senior Editor  
stu@insideelections.com

@InsideElections facebook.com/InsideElections

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of R+15.7. North Dakota's post-2022 margin, R+36.7, is almost 8 points more favorable for the GOP compared to 2018.

Georgia, by contrast, has moved toward Democrats in recent elections. Its Baseline margin was R+8.5 after 2018, R+7 after 2020, and R+4.5 after 2022. But this movement wasn't seen across the board: across Georgia's eight statewide races that consistently featured one Democrat against one Republican (Attorney General, Commissioner of Agriculture, Commissioner of Insurance, Commissioner of Labor, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and State School Superintendent), Republicans won by an average of 7 points in 2022, 4 points in 2018, and 13 points in 2014.


In this case, Democratic victories in recent presidential and Senate contests, paired with strong performances from many of the party's candidates in down-ballot races in 2018, have made the state's Baseline peachier for Democrats over time. It also puts Georgia's post-2022 Baseline (+4.5 points for Republicans) close to Michigan (Democrats +5 points) and Pennsylvania (Democrats +4.1 points) in the swing state category.

Arizona is another state where Democrats' fortunes have improved in recent years. As *Inside Elections*'s Jacob Rubashkin has noted, the last time Arizona had a Democratic governor and two Democratic senators was 1950. But Democrats are doing better in Arizona beyond the top of the ticket, as evidenced by the party's all-but-official victories in the 2022 statewide elections for attorney general and secretary of state. The one exception seems to be the state treasurer's race, where Republican Kimberly Yee dispatched her Democratic opponents by 9 points in 2018 and 11 points in 2022. Still, Arizona's Baseline margin after 2022 was R+1.8, compared to R+3.5 after 2020 and R+4.9 after 2018 — confirming that it's a key battleground.

Arkansas saw the most movement of any state between 2020 and 2022. In the post-2022 Baseline calculations, Republicans now run ahead of Democrats by an average of 30.6 points. (A typical Republican would be expected to earn 64.1 percent, compared to 33.5 percent for a typical Democrat.) Post-2020, the margin was R+23 (59.5 percent for Republicans and 36.5 percent for Democrats). This 7-point shift is the latest in Arkansas's record as a land of increasing opportunity for the GOP, following the state's Baseline margins of R+14.8 after 2014, R+15.8 after 2016, and R+22.7 after 2018.

Likewise, a similar pattern appears in Democratic-favored places such as Massachusetts and Maryland; red states are getting redder, and blue states are getting bluer.

Another interesting finding is that Louisiana moved 4 points toward Republicans between 2020 and 2022, despite not holding any statewide elections this year apart from the Senate race. This might be because of the math behind Baseline: the post-2020 Baseline calculation includes Republican Bill Cassidy's 11-point win over Democratic Sen. Mary Landrieu in 2014, which was a GOP underperformance relative to the statewide benchmark, but that cycle is now excluded from the post-2022 calculation.

Together, these post-2022 Baseline updates reflect broader national trends. While the post-2018 Baseline margins were 93 percent correlated with the state-by-state results of the 2016 presidential election, the correlation between the post-2022 Baseline margins and the 2020 presidential result was 97 percent. That potentially points to more predictive power for the partisan performance metric going forward — and illustrates an enduring increase in political polarization. 

## 2022 Statewide Baselines

State	Democrat	Republican	Margin
Alabama	37.3%	62.1%	R+24.8
Alaska	38.6%	51.9%	R+13.2
Arizona	48.6%	50.4%	R+1.8
Arkansas	33.5%	64.1%	R+30.6
California	61.4%	38.2%	D+23.1
Colorado	52.9%	43.6%	D+9.3
Connecticut	56.0%	41.2%	D+14.8
Delaware	57.5%	41.1%	D+16.4
Florida	45.1%	53.9%	R+8.8
Georgia	47.2%	51.8%	R+4.5
Hawaii	68.5%	28.7%	D+39.8
Idaho	32.0%	64.2%	R+32.1
Illinois	56.0%	40.8%	D+15.2
Indiana	40.6%	56.6%	R+16
Iowa	45.4%	52.8%	R+7.4
Kansas	41.4%	56.2%	R+14.8
Kentucky	39.3%	59.2%	R+19.8
Louisiana	38.0%	60.1%	R+22.1
Maine	52.9%	44.2%	D+8.7
Maryland	63.8%	34.2%	D+29.6
Massachusetts	63.7%	33.1%	D+30.6
Michigan	51.1%	46.1%	D+5
Minnesota	51.2%	44.8%	D+6.3
Mississippi	40.6%	57.1%	R+16.6
Missouri	40.6%	56.3%	R+15.7
Montana	42.5%	54.2%	R+11.7
Nebraska	37.3%	60.2%	R+22.8
Nevada	48.6%	46.8%	D+1.7
New Hampshire	49.5%	47.3%	D+2.1
New Jersey	55.5%	42.4%	D+13.2
New Mexico	54.9%	43.3%	D+11.7
New York	60.4%	38.0%	D+22.4
North Carolina	48.1%	51.1%	R+2.9
North Dakota	29.8%	66.4%	R+36.7
Ohio	43.7%	54.9%	R+11.2
Oklahoma	33.8%	62.7%	R+29
Oregon	52.6%	41.6%	D+11
Pennsylvania	50.7%	46.6%	D+4.1
Rhode Island	59.8%	37.5%	D+22.4
South Carolina	41.3%	56.8%	R+15.5
South Dakota	34.0%	64.4%	R+30.4
Tennessee	36.2%	61.3%	R+25.1
Texas	43.4%	54.2%	R+10.8
Utah	31.3%	62.3%	R+31
Vermont	59.1%	35.6%	D+23.5
Virginia	52.2%	46.7%	D+5.6
Washington	55.5%	43.6%	D+11.8
West Virginia	37.6%	59.2%	R+21.5
Wisconsin	49.6%	48.6%	D+1
Wyoming	26.4%	69.8%	R+43.4

Note: margin discrepancies due to rounding

# Georgia Senate Runoff: Will Warnock Repeat?

By Jacob Rubashkin

It may sound familiar: a runoff in Georgia will help determine the balance of power in the United States Senate.

Because neither Democratic Sen. Raphael Warnock nor Republican football legend Herschel Walker won a majority of the vote on Nov. 8, Georgia law requires the two to run in a second election on Dec. 6. Warnock came close to avoiding a runoff, receiving 49.4 percent of the vote compared to Walker's 48.5 percent and Libertarian Chase Oliver's 2.1 percent.

It's a similar situation to two years ago, when both Georgia Senate races were unsettled on Election Day and headed to overtime on Jan. 5, 2021.

Unlike last cycle, the outcome of this contest will not determine which party controls the Senate. Democrats have already secured the 50 seats they need to hold the upper chamber, aided by the tie-breaking vote of Vice President Kamala Harris.

But having 51 senators, rather than 50, is still important for Democrats. It would allow the party to scrap the power-sharing arrangement in place for the past two years, and would greatly speed up the pace at which the chamber can confirm judges — likely its primary role in a divided Congress.

And with an eye toward a brutal 2024 Senate map, every additional seat better positions Democrats to maintain their majority in two years.

*Inside Elections* has rated this race a Toss-up for the entirety of the cycle. It was close on Nov. 8 and the finale is likely to be close as well. But it's hard to see how Warnock and Walker each have the same chance of winning. Not only did the senator outpace Walker narrowly a month ago (and win two years ago), but Democrats are outspending Republicans down the stretch, Warnock's image is better than Walker's, Democrats have been hitting their early turnout goals, and Republicans lost the potency of a core message when control of the Senate was decided by other races. We're changing our rating to Tilt Democratic.

A rating change toward Warnock should not be equated to a guaranteed win for the Democrat, nor does it indicate Walker cannot win. There's just more evidence pointing to a Warnock victory, even amidst the uncertainty of turnout in an oddly-timed election. Continuing with a Toss-up rating would be the easiest handicapping decision, but it also wouldn't accurately reflect the dynamic of the race.

## The Lay of the Land

While Georgia has been increasingly competitive for Democrats in recent years, the state's 2022 elections showed that it is still a GOP-leaning state. Even as Democrats outperformed expectations in other parts of the country, the GOP romped to a near-clean sweep of statewide offices in the Peach State.

Though he fell short of 50 percent, Warnock was the only Democratic candidate to outpace their GOP opponent on Nov. 8; he received 3 to 5 points more support than the rest of his ticketmates. Gov. Brian Kemp defeated Stacey Abrams, 53-46 percent, Republican lieutenant governor nominee Burt Jones defeated Charlie Bailey, 51-46 percent, Attorney General Chris Carr defeated Jen Jordan, 52-47 percent, and Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger defeated Bee Nguyen, 53-44 percent. Races for commissioner of labor, insurance, and agriculture ended in similar fashion.

In 2020, Biden carried the state narrowly, 49.47 percent to Trump's

## 2022 Competitive Senate Results

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

*Winners in bold*

49.24 percent. That made him the first Democratic presidential nominee to win the state since 1992, and the first Democrat to win any statewide election there since 2006.

In the subsequent January 2021 Senate runoffs, which featured Warnock running against incumbent Republican Kelly Loeffler, and documentary filmmaker Jon Ossoff running against incumbent Republican David Perdue, both Democrats emerged victorious. Warnock bested Loeffler, 51-49 percent, while Ossoff defeated Perdue, 50.6-49.4 percent.

## Where Warnock Excelled

Though Warnock received a nearly identical share of the vote to Biden in the 2020 election — 49.44 percent to Biden's 49.47 percent — their coalitions appear slightly different.

Geographically, Warnock performed better than Biden in the Atlanta metro area, particularly the suburban counties south of the capital city. While Warnock won Fulton County (Atlanta) by a margin 3 points greater than Biden had, he improved more significantly on Biden's margins in Paulding (by 4.6 percent), Douglas (6.3 percent), Henry (8.9 percent), Rockdale (7.4 percent), Clayton (5.3 percent) and Newton (4.9 percent) counties.

Walker, conversely, mildly improved on Trump's margins in many of the state's more rural counties, especially in the southwest corner of the state. That may be because Black turnout in many of those counties lagged expectations, not because Walker was winning over rural Black voters.

In the state's 11 largest counties, which together account for roughly half of Georgia's votes, Warnock won by a 25.9 percent margin, improving on Biden's 24.3 percent margin. But in the other 148 counties, Warnock lost by 24.1 points, worse than Biden's 23.4 percent loss in 2020.

Warnock also did significantly better than Abrams, who received

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just 45.9 percent of the vote in the race for governor and lost by 7.5 points. While Warnock outperformed Abrams in every single county, he did comparatively better in the most populated parts of the state. In the 11 largest counties, Abrams won by just 16 percent, a margin 10 points narrower than Warnock's. Abrams lost the other 148 counties by a combined 31 percent, 7 points worse than Warnock.

According to exit polling conducted by Edison Research for CNN, Warnock ran ahead of Abrams among men, white voters and college-educated voters. He did 8 points better among men but just 5 points better among women, and 8 points better among white voters than Abrams; the two performed about the same among Black voters. Warnock also won college-educated voters by 8 points while Abrams lost them by 1 point. There was no significant difference between the two among voters who never attended college.

Crucially, Warnock won over groups at the center of the electorate, carrying independents by 11 points (Abrams lost them by 1 point) and self-identified "moderates" by 34 points (Abrams won those voters by 24 points). Warnock also won voters who "somewhat disapproved" of Biden's job performance, carrying those voters by 6 points even as Abrams was losing them by 16 points.

One reason why Democrats overperformed expectations this year is because voters who somewhat disapproved of Biden's job as president still voted for Democrats 50-46 percent, while in prior years voters who somewhat disapproved of the president broke heavily for the other party. That meant voters did not necessarily hold an unpopular Biden against other Democrats, and helped neutralize some of the backlash against the president's party typically seen in midterms.

## The Polls

Between the 2020 general election and the Jan. 5, 2021 runoffs, there were no fewer than 26 public polls of Georgia released by media organizations and interested parties. In 2022, just three organizations have published a poll of the runoff race.

The first was an AARP survey conducted Nov. 11-17 by the bipartisan pollster duo of Impact Research (D) and Fabrizio Ward (R). That poll found Warnock ahead of Walker by 4 points, 51-47 percent, including a 15-point lead among independents.

A Frederick Polls survey for Democratic groups Compete Digital and AMM Political, conducted Nov. 23-26, found a dead heat between the two nominees at 50 percent each. But that poll, conducted entirely online, likely underestimated the percentage of Black voters in the runoff.

The survey showed Warnock winning Black voters by 80 points, 90-10 percent, but they comprised just 20 percent of the electorate. Yet in every general election in Georgia over the past decade, as well as in the two runoffs in 2018 and 2021, Black voters have accounted for between 28 and 30 percent of the overall electorate, including in contests with low turnout, such as the 2018 secretary of state runoff election.

And an Emerson College poll conducted for The Hill from Nov. 28-30 found Warnock ahead, 51-49 percent.

## The Enthusiasm Gap

Strategists from both parties agree that the runoff is a turnout election, not a persuasion election, and that to the extent that any voters are undecided, they're undecided about whether to vote at all, not who to vote for. Very few, if any, Warnock voters will switch their votes to Walker or vice versa, party operatives say.

## 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

Historically, Georgia runoffs see a steep drop in turnout from the general election. In 2008, just over half as many voters showed up for the Senate runoff as had for the general election just a month earlier. And in 2018, turnout for the secretary of state runoff was just over a third of what it had been in the general election.

The 2021 runoff bucked this trend, with turnout falling just a few points — from 65 to 60 percent of registered voters — between the general election and Jan. 5. But that was because Senate control was on the line, the country was rapt in following Trump's attempts to overturn his loss, and the parties funneled hundreds of millions of dollars into their efforts in Georgia.

None of that holds true now.

First of all, turnout is always lower in midterm elections. It was 52.6 percent in Georgia on Nov. 8, according to preliminary estimates by the U.S. Elections Project. It will likely be lower for the runoff, but it's unclear how much lower.

Strong early vote numbers are a sign that this runoff is closer in character to the 2021 cycle than 2018, but changes in Georgia law that condensed the early voting period from previous years make an apples-to-apples comparison of the early vote difficult — and also have Democrats worried about their ability to show up like they did that cycle.

However, Republicans may have committed a tactical error in trying to block counties from allowing early voting the Saturday after Thanksgiving. The Georgia state Supreme Court ultimately allowed counties to offer voting that day, but most of the locales that chose to do so were heavily Democratic, while many GOP-leaning counties did not offer the option. And Democratic strategists believe the resulting press coverage was helpful to their cause overall by giving them another piece of evidence to argue that Republicans wanted to suppress the vote.

Another challenge for Walker is motivating his supporters to show up even though control of the Senate is no longer at stake.

Throughout the general election, Walker's most compelling message was tying Warnock to Biden and congressional Democrats, specifically highlighting *FiveThirtyEight's* assessment that Warnock voted 96 percent in line with Biden. For Republicans, a vote for Walker in the general could be seen as a vote for a GOP majority and a check on Biden.

Now, not only is the majority settled, but Republicans have also won back the House of Representatives, so the check on Biden many voters desired is settled as well. That will make it more difficult for Walker to nationalize the race, and easier for Warnock to reframe the contest as a choice between two candidates, rather than a referendum on Biden or the Democrats.

A candidate vs. candidate contest benefits Warnock because he is more popular in the state, and his supporters back him more enthusiastically. Because runoffs are largely questions of turnout rather than persuasion, a candidate with more passionate and positive

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supporters can have an advantage.

The Fabrizio Ward / Impact Research poll found Democrats were more likely to be “extremely motivated” to vote in the runoff (90 percent) than Republicans (85 percent) or independents (77 percent). And a Civiqs (D) online tracking poll from Nov. 29 also found Warnock to be more popular among Democrats — 93 percent favorable/4 percent unfavorable — than Walker was among Republicans — 73 percent favorable/12 percent unfavorable.

An Oct. 26-30 Fox News poll found that while 63 percent of Warnock’s supporters backed him “enthusiastically,” just 49 percent of Walker’s said the same.

Other high-quality polling from before the general election indicated that Warnock is stronger among Democrats than Walker is among Republicans.

An Oct. 30-Nov. 1 poll from Marist College found Warnock’s overall favorability rating among registered voters to be 48 percent favorable/45 percent unfavorable, and among Democrats to be 93 percent/2 percent. Walker’s overall image was 42 percent/49 percent, and among Republicans was 79 percent/13 percent, indicating comparatively softer support from his own base.

An Oct. 24-27 poll from the *New York Times*/Siena College pegged Warnock’s overall image at 49 percent favorable/45 percent unfavorable, and at 89 percent/9 percent among Democrats, while Walker’s overall image clocked in at 39 percent favorable/54 percent unfavorable, and Republicans viewed him favorably by a relatively weak 72/21 percent split.

In an indication of the denationalization of the race in the closing weeks, the Walker campaign and its allies have pivoted from tying Warnock to Biden’s record to trying to bring down the Democrat’s image rating by highlighting negative stories about his divorce, and tying him to evictions at a residential building owned by Ebenezer Baptist Church, where Warnock is the senior pastor.

GOP sources acknowledge that, especially with the Senate majority already decided, policy attacks on Warnock have likely run their course. The shift in strategy is an acknowledgment that the race is now being fought over character issues. The hits are intended to muddy the waters after Warnock made character issues central to his campaign, and to potentially depress Democratic turnout.

One GOP source also emphasized the importance of reaching GOP voters who voted for Kemp but then left the Senate race blank or voted for the Libertarian. Overall, 17,484 more people voted in the gubernatorial race than in the Senate race. And Oliver, the Libertarian Senate nominee, received 53,202 more votes than the Libertarian in the gubernatorial race.

Georgians who left the race blank or voted for Oliver will be less likely to vote at all in the runoff, said the GOP strategist, but in a turnout election winning over that population should be a higher priority than trying to flip Warnock voters.

## The Money

Though much else is still uncertain, Democrats have a clear financial advantage in the runoff.

According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission, Warnock raised \$52 million and spent \$33 million from Oct. 20 to Nov. 16, and finished that period with \$29 million in the bank. Walker reported raising \$21 million, spending \$16 million, and \$9.8 million in the

bank on the same date.

Warnock’s prodigious fundraising has allowed him to spend on creative ways to reach lower propensity voters, such as billboards, planes, and hundreds of paid organizers focused on college campuses.

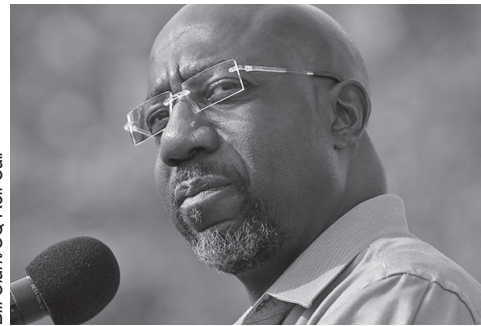
Both parties are seriously contesting the runoff. But outside spending in this race pales in comparison to the vast sums spent in the 2021 runoff elections.

Thus far, the two candidates and their allies have aired or reserved \$67 million in TV and radio ads for the runoff through Nov. 30, per data from Kantar/CMAG, though that number may increase. Just \$28 million of that is candidate spending, with the balance coming from outside groups.

By contrast, TV spending ahead of the 2021 runoffs exceeded \$525 million.

Such a stark divergence is to be expected, for a number of reasons. Unlike in 2021, the Senate majority is not on the line. There is only one seat up for grabs, rather than the two in 2021. And the runoff period itself is half as long, leaving less time to air advertisements.

The more notable difference may be that in 2022, Republicans do not have the massive spending advantage they had in 2020. At the moment, Democrats are actually set to outspend Republicans on both



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

Raphael Warnock

the candidate side and the independent expenditure side. (In 2021, the GOP had a massive outside spending lead but trailed in candidate spending.)

Overall, Republican outside groups spent \$183 million on TV and radio in the 2021 runoffs, and currently have just \$14 million booked for this year, per Kantar/CMAG. Democratic outside groups spent \$70 million on TV in the 2021 runoffs and have just \$24.8 million booked for this year’s contest.

Senate Leadership Fund, the Mitch McConnell-aligned super PAC that carried most of the advertising weight for GOP Senate candidates this cycle, is the primary GOP outside group, with \$14 million committed in TV ads. The NRA Victory Fund is chipping in \$1.8 million, and the NRSC independent expenditure wing spent \$600,000 early in the race.

On the Democratic side, Senate Majority PAC, the super PAC aligned with Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer, is spending \$18.7 million through its Georgia Honor affiliate, while American Bridge, another Democratic super PAC, is chipping in \$3.5 million. A smattering of other groups, such as VoteVets and Black PAC, combine for the final \$2 million.

At the candidate level, Warnock is currently outspending Walker by more than 2:1 on TV, with \$19.2 million in reservations to Walker’s \$8.7 million, according to Kantar/CMAG.

Because candidates have access to lower advertising rates than outside groups, voters are seeing twice as many Democratic ads as they are GOP ads. Last cycle voters were exposed to about the same number of ads from each party.

Democrats are also massively outspending Republicans on digital advertising, accounting for 77 percent of the \$4.3 million spent on Google

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ads in Georgia during the runoff. And in November, Warnock spent \$2.8 million on Facebook ads compared to just \$293,000 for Walker.

Democratic independent expenditure groups also have an edge on non-TV spending. According to documents filed with the FEC through Nov. 30, Democratic outside groups have reported spending \$22 million on non-TV or radio expenditures, compared to \$13 million reported by GOP outside groups.

Both candidates' allies are directing their non-TV spending toward canvassing, digital advertising, and direct mail. Democratic groups are outspending their GOP counterparts \$10.8 million to \$4.6 million on canvassing and \$6.7 million to \$3.6 million on digital ads, while GOP groups are outspending Democratic groups on direct mail, \$3.6 million to \$2.4 million.

## The Ads

The TV spending disparity between the two candidates is clear in the number of individual ads each campaign has run during the runoff: 22 for Warnock and just 6 for Walker.

Two of Walker's ads are positive spots focusing on the Republican's character — one features now-deceased legendary Georgia coach Vince Dooley. A third ad features NCAA swimmer Riley Gaines and Walker discussing how Gaines lost a race to a transgender swimmer. Two other spots are negative: highlighting reports of unsanitary conditions and evictions at an apartment building owned by Ebenezer Baptist Church and an accusation of domestic abuse lodged by his ex-wife.

While many of Walker's ads prior to the general election focused on economic issues and national Democrats such as Biden, his runoff ads are largely character-focused, both trying to burnish his own image and sully Warnock's.

Warnock has been running a character-focused campaign since well before the runoff, hammering a message that Walker is personally unqualified to be a senator and would be an embarrassment for Georgia. One notable new ad features Georgians reacting to a rambling speech Walker gave about vampires and werewolves. Many Warnock ads feature Georgia voters speaking directly to camera about their distrust of Walker.

Only one Warnock ad touches on a policy issue, insulin pricing, but within the larger context of a competency argument against Walker. To the extent that there has been any policy discussion it has come from outside groups, and sparingly.

Senate Majority PAC aired an ad focused primarily on abortion. An ad from the NRSC that aired early in the runoff hit Warnock on voting with Biden 96 percent of the time on "spending, taxes, energy." And one ad from the National Rifle Association makes a nod to gun rights but is primarily concerned with alerting voters that there is an election happening.

That "alert" element is a common thread in many of the TV ads, indicating that the campaigns and their allies are mainly concerned with getting their own supporters to show up rather than changing peoples' minds.

Both parties are also making appeals to Kemp supporters. The governor himself has cut two ads supporting Walker, one for SLF and one directly for the Walker campaign. The Warnock campaign is airing an ad featuring a middle-aged white woman who says she's a lifelong Republican and Kemp supporter, but she's voting for Warnock because of Walker's character flaws.

Notably, while Warnock's campaign ran several ads during the

general election focusing on the accusations of domestic violence against Walker from his ex-wife, former girlfriend, and son, the Democrat has largely let Senate Majority PAC take the lead on those attacks in the runoff. Warnock is airing one English-language ad featuring the accusations in the closing week of the race, but most mentions are in Spanish-language ads that also tie Walker to Trump. (Warnock has run two Spanish-language ads while Walker has run none.)

## The Trump Effect?

Trump himself has been less of a factor than last cycle. When he was still president, he campaigned in person in Georgia, strong-arming both Perdue and Loeffler into backing his efforts to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election. And he made himself the center of attention by attempting to cajole Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger into "finding" extra Trump votes so he could win the state.

This runoff, Trump appears to be staying away from the state. That has pleased Republican strategists, who are down on the former president following the party's underperformance in the midterms, and who are looking askance at Trump's dinner with white nationalists and anti-Semites earlier this month.

GOP voters in Georgia have also shown less allegiance to the former president than voters elsewhere. In the state's primary elections earlier this year, most of Trump's chosen candidates lost their races. Walker was one of just two statewide Trump picks to emerge victorious. But despite facing only token opposition, Walker did not win as much of the GOP primary vote as Kemp, who was facing a well-funded, Trump-backed challenge from Perdue.

Democrats are making some effort to introduce Trump as an issue. The Warnock campaign ran an ad that was just a clip of Trump's 2024 presidential announcement praising Walker; the spot ended on the slogan: "Stop Donald Trump. Stop Herschel Walker." And some of Warnock's digital advertising features Trump. But overall, the primary focus on both sides of the aisle has been the two candidates themselves.

Biden has not played a large role in the runoff either. Other than an early NRSC ad, the president has gone largely unremarked upon by either party — a stark contrast to the general election, when Biden was at the fore of GOP attacks, and the 2021 runoff, when Biden was a headline campaigner for Warnock and Ossoff following his victory in the presidential election. This year, Warnock's choice of closer is former President Barack Obama, who cut a 60-second ad for the senator and is campaigning for him in the final week.

## The Bottom Line

A December Senate runoff following a midterm has little historical precedent. It may well be the platonic ideal of that old saw: "it's all going to come down to turnout."

But heading into the final weekend, Warnock has accrued enough advantages that he appears slightly favored. He outran Walker in the general election, polling suggests he is more popular than Walker, and he and his allies are outspending Republicans on TV, digital platforms, and on canvassing efforts. Democrats' biggest liabilities — Biden's unpopularity, high inflation, and crime — failed to push Walker and many other Republicans to victory in November, and Republicans have largely abandoned those lines of attack in favor of litigating personal character, which hasn't been enough to topple Warnock in the last two races.

Walker can still win this race. But at this point he is not an even money bet. Move from Toss-up to Tilt Democratic.



# Senate Results: How Much Did GOP Candidates Underperform?

By Ryan Matsumoto

One of the prevailing narratives of the 2022 midterms is that Democrats exceeded expectations because of underwhelming Republican candidates.

In late October, a *New York Times*/Siena College poll found that even though voters in the key battleground states of Arizona, Georgia, and Pennsylvania preferred Republicans to control the Senate overall, they still intended to vote for the specific Democrat running in their state's race.

But is that really what happened? Now that the midterm elections have concluded, we can answer the question: how much did Republican Senate candidates underperform?

## GOP Senate Candidates vs. GOP House Candidates

One way to measure how well Republican Senate candidates did is to compare their performances to Republican House candidates.

We calculate the statewide House vote by subtracting the total number of votes for Democrats from the total number of votes for Republicans in all of the state's House races, and dividing this by the total number of votes cast in the state's House races. Some House races lacked a Democratic or Republican nominee, but we can make a rough estimate of how those districts would have voted if both sides had a nominee. For example, we estimated that Wisconsin's 8th district would have shifted 6 points to the right compared to how it voted in the 2020 presidential election, since that is the approximate shift that occurred in other Wisconsin districts where Republican incumbents ran for re-election.

Let's take a look at the eight battleground states where the Senate race was within 10 points: Nevada, Arizona, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Georgia, North Carolina, Wisconsin, and Ohio.

On average, Republican candidates for Senate underperformed Republican candidates for House by 4 points. In seven of the eight battleground states (New Hampshire being the exception), Republicans did better in House races than Senate races.

Some of the largest Republican Senate underperformances, anywhere from 4 to 7 points, were in the most important races that helped Democrats maintain their majority. In Nevada, Arizona, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, Republicans lost the Senate race despite winning the statewide U.S. House vote (adjusted for uncontested seats). If these GOP Senate candidates had done as well as their House counterparts, Republicans would have won a 53-47 seat majority.

## Georgia Statewide Republican Results

Statewide Races	GOP Margin
U.S. Senate	-0.96%
U.S. House	4.61%
Governor	7.54%
Lt. Governor	4.96%
Secretary of State	9.24%
Attorney General	5.26%
Commissioner of Agriculture	8.13%
Commissioner of Insurance	8.20%
State School Superintendent	8.38%
Commissioner of Labor	6.75%
Average	5.87%

## 2022 Republican Senate Candidates vs. House Candidates

State	Senate Margin	House Margin	Senate - House
Nevada	-0.78%	3.34%	-4.12%
Arizona	-4.89%	2.20%	-7.09%
New Hampshire	-9.06%	-9.91%	0.85%
Pennsylvania	-4.92%	1.31%	-6.23%
Georgia	-0.96%	4.61%	-5.57%
North Carolina	3.23%	4.30%	-1.07%
Wisconsin	1.01%	2.49%	-1.48%
Ohio	6.56%	13.30%	-6.74%
<b>Average</b>	<b>-1.23%</b>	<b>2.71%</b>	<b>-3.93%</b>

Many of the Republican Senate candidates that underperformed were endorsed by former President Donald Trump in their primaries. In the three competitive states with the largest GOP underperformances at the Senate level (Arizona, Pennsylvania, and Ohio), Trump's endorsement in competitive multi-candidate primary fields was likely determinative.

One important caveat to this House versus Senate analysis is that Democrats benefited from incumbency in Nevada, Arizona, New Hampshire, and Georgia. While incumbency advantage has declined in recent years, it can still make a big difference in close races. Without incumbent Democratic Sens. Catherine Cortez Masto, Mark Kelly, Maggie Hassan, and Raphael Warnock, Republicans very well may have won the majority.

Still, Republican underperformances in key Senate races were significant.

In Pennsylvania, Republican Mehmet Oz lost by 5 points, a 6 point underperformance compared to Republican House candidates' 1 point popular vote victory statewide (adjusting for uncontested seats). This was despite the fact that Democrat John Fetterman was not an incumbent himself.

Another lost opportunity for Republicans was Nevada — if Republican Adam Laxalt had underperformed his GOP House counterparts by 3 points instead of 4 points, he would have flipped the seat.

Georgia is another state that was clearly a lost opportunity for Republicans — especially when you look at other statewide races.

In all eight constitutional office elections in Georgia, Republicans won by anywhere from 5 to 9 points. The GOP also won the U.S. House vote in Georgia by 5 points statewide. In the Senate race on the other hand, Republican Herschel Walker trailed Democrat Raphael Warnock by 1 point in the first round.

## The Bottom Line

Comparing Republican performances in Senate versus House races in key battleground states, Republicans clearly underperformed in the Senate. If the GOP had nominated stronger Senate candidates with less political and personal baggage, these states' House performances suggest that voters would have been open to and maybe even preferred electing Republicans to the upper chamber. Moving forward, this election raises questions about the influence of Trump and how the GOP can nominate stronger candidates in the future.





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now.) Top Republican recruit John James, who ran for Senate twice in Michigan, won the 10th by less than a point against a Democratic candidate with serious baggage.

Other open seats that Republicans flipped included Arizona’s 6th District, New York’s 3rd, 4th, and 19th districts, Texas’ 15th District, and Wisconsin’s 3rd District. California’s 13th District, which has yet to be called but looks like a likely win for Republicans, is another potential victim of Democratic retirements — after Democratic Rep. Jerry McNerney announced his retirement, Democratic Rep. Josh Harder decided to run for re-election in the 9th, leaving the 13th open.

Another seat Republicans flipped, Oregon’s 5th District, was open after moderate Democratic Rep. Kurt Schrader lost the Democratic primary to Jamie McLeod-Skinner.

The GOP’s success two years ago — they unseated 13 Democratic members in November of 2020 — had also lowered the ceiling on potential Republican gains.

Bucking historic trends, most voters didn’t hold Democratic members of Congress responsible for the country’s economic woes, and the reversal of *Roe v. Wade* forced Republicans to defend their largely unpopular positions on abortion.

## The Longshots

Two Democratic members who lost re-election — Rep. Tom O’Halloran in Arizona and Rep. Al Lawson in Florida — faced uniquely steep odds thanks to redistricting. In the minds of Republicans and some Democrats, these races were over once the new lines were drawn.

O’Halloran’s Tucson-based district, which Joe Biden narrowly won under the old congressional lines, became a district that President Donald Trump would have won by 8 points in 2020. For the most of the cycle, the Democrat ran on his own, without much support from the party apparatus. In mid-October, the DCCC spent about \$700,000 on TV ads supporting O’Halloran — after the congressman and his allies expressed frustration with the lack of investment from his party.

The congressman ultimately lost by 8 points, 54-46 percent, to Republican Eli Crane, a retired Navy SEAL.

Florida’s new congressional map effectively demolished Lawson’s North Florida district. Instead of retiring, Lawson decided to run against Republican Rep. Neal Dunn in the 2nd District, a solid Republican seat that Trump would have won by 11 points in 2022.

Lawson received minimal outside support from the national party, despite Lawson and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus criticizing the DCCC for not spending. Dunn defeated Lawson by 20 points.

## The Top GOP Targets

Three Democratic incumbents — Reps. Tom Malinowski, Cindy Axne, and Elaine Luria — lost close races that were heavily contested by both parties. Republicans had these three members at the top of their target list throughout the cycle.

After New Jersey’s bipartisan redistricting commission released the new congressional map, some were quick to write off Malinowski’s odds of winning the newly drawn 7th District. In order to shore up other New Jersey Democrats, the commission’s Democratic members redrew Malinowski’s seat to be several points more favorable toward Republicans — under the new lines, Biden would have won his seat by only 4 points instead of 10.

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

*Winners in bold*

Malinowski himself spent twice as much as his Republican opponent, state Sen. Tom Kean Jr., but Kean was significantly boosted by the Congressional Leadership Fund, a Republican super PAC aligned with Kevin McCarthy. In total, Republicans spent \$7 million on TV and radio ads to unseat the Democrat. Kean defeated Malinowski, 51.4-48.6 percent.

Axne performed relatively better in her Des Moines-based seat, but still lost to Republican state Sen. Zach Nunn by less than a point. Running in a district that Trump narrowly won in 2020, the congresswoman went on offensive immediately after the primary, airing an ad highlighting Nunn’s position on abortion and a separate ad connecting him to the death of a child at a local amusement park.

She had a significant fundraising advantage over Nunn, and spent \$4 million on TV and radio ads while Nunn spent \$700,000. Boosted by Gov. Kim Reynolds and Sen. Chuck Grassley at the top of the Republican ticket, Nunn won, 50.3 percent-49.7 percent.

In Virginia’s 2nd District, Luria lost by three points to Republican state Sen. Jen Kiggans, considered a top recruit by Republican strategists. Kiggans struggled with fundraising throughout the cycle but benefited from a \$4 million investment from the Congressional Leadership Fund. Altogether, Democrats outspent Republicans on TV and radio by about \$1.5 million.

## The Anomaly

New York Democrats across the board struggled as they faced attacks over crime from Republicans led by the GOP’s gubernatorial nominee, Rep. Lee Zeldin. But Rep. Sean Patrick Maloney, the chairman of House

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Democrats' campaign arm, was the only incumbent that came up short in the Empire State (the party also lost three open seats).

The overturning of Democrats' initial congressional map and the subsequent map drawn by the nonpartisan special master threw the party into upheaval. After deciding to run in the 17th District, held by Democratic Rep. Mondaire Jones, Maloney faced the ire of his own party. Jones decided to run in a newly drawn, open New York City-based seat, but progressive state Sen. Alessandra Biaggi challenged Maloney in the primary.

After a decisive primary win, Maloney faced a deluge of TV ads from Republicans, who singled out Maloney as a top target as the state looked increasingly competitive. The Congressional Leadership Fund alone spent \$6.7 million. State Assemblyman Mike Lawler ultimately won by less than a point, 50.4-49.6 percent.

## Ousted Republicans

Unlike in 2020, Republicans suffered a few of their own losses this cycle, largely thanks to redrawn congressional maps.

In New Mexico's 2nd District, Republican Rep. Yvette Herrell lost by less than a point to former Las Cruces City Councilmember Gabe Vasquez. The Democrat had a built-in advantage thanks to a favorable redistricting outcome that turned the 2nd into a Democratic-leaning seat that Biden would have won by 6 points. Under the old lines, Trump won the 2nd by double digits.

A member of the House Freedom Caucus, Herrell had a more conservative profile than many of her Republican colleagues in competitive districts. Democrats, who spent \$6.8 million on TV and radio ads, hammered Herrell with ads tying her to Rep. Marjorie Taylor-Greene. And Republican attacks against Vasquez over his support for defunding the police ultimately fell short. GOP TV and radio spending totaled \$7.7 million.

In Ohio's 1st District, Republican Rep. Steve Chabot lost by 5 points to Cincinnati City Councilman Greg Landsman. The Cincinnati-based district has been trending more Democratic, and a new congressional map that changed it from a Trump+3 to a Biden +9 seat left Chabot in jeopardy.

Despite his incumbency advantage, Chabot was outtrailed by Landsman, bringing in \$1.9 million to the Democrat's \$2.4 million. Both parties spent about \$5 million on TV and radio ads in this race.

After winning a special election for Texas' 34th District over the summer, Republican Rep. Mayra Flores fell short in her quest for a full term, losing to Democratic Rep. Vicente Gonzalez. The Democratic congressman had opted to run in the 34th after the Republican-held Texas state legislature made his current district, the 15th, more Republican-leaning.

Flores had won the June special election by 8 points — but under the old congressional lines, Biden only carried this district by 4 points. Biden won the new version of the seat by 16 points, and Flores' re-election remained an uphill battle for the congresswoman.

But Republicans' dramatic gains in South Texas in 2020, and Flores' special election victory, made the GOP particularly bullish on their odds in the 34th.

Gonzalez won the seat by 8 points, 53-43 percent — a sign that while Democrats haven't erased Republicans' 2020 gains in South Texas, they were able to stop the bleeding.

Congress' persistently low job approval rating often leads to a belief

## 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

that voters are poised to "throw the bums out." But this cycle, even more than previous ones, is a sign that voters' perceptions of gridlock and dysfunction in Washington don't necessarily mean they'll vote out their own representatives.

