

# Inside Elections

with  
**Nathan L. Gonzales**  
Nonpartisan Analysis

JANUARY 8, 2021

VOLUME 5, NO. 1

## Wrestling With the Mob

By Nathan L. Gonzales & Jacob Rubashkin

The invasion of the U.S. Capitol will live forever in America's history. One of the core problems is that the country is so divided that people do not agree on the size of the stain.

The violent attempt to prevent Congress from ratifying Joe Biden's presidential victory might not have been a surprise to President Donald Trump's critics, but few people thought it would play out on such a grand scale.

The worst time to evaluate the political fallout of an event is in the middle of it. Sadly, it's unclear whether this is the beginning, middle, or end of this level of derision and division.

While some Republican elected officials might try to back away from Trump after years of supporting or justifying him, the president and his party have cultivated a group of voters who are not so easily persuaded.

Rank-and-file GOP voters like Trump more than they do any Republican on Capitol Hill. And some of the protestors believe GOP politicians are just as complicit in the government's corruption as Democratic leadership. That means Republican elected officials have little to no influence on changing the minds of their base. And with more than half of the Republicans in the House voting with the president and to reject certified votes from Arizona and Pennsylvania, there's not a uniform desire on the GOP side to even turn the page from Trump.

No one can fully comprehend the long-term repercussions of Wednesday's events on the future of the parties, elections, the country, and the security of the U.S. Capitol. In the short term, the crisis at the capitol will live on in the imagery captured by the media and pictures posted on social media by the participants themselves as trophies of success. The event will stay in the public eye with ongoing news of investigations and subsequent arrests of perpetrators.

A majority of Americans don't support the tactics of the mob that threatened lawmakers and the democratic process. Millions of Americans, however, agree with the sentiment of the mob and share in their frustration, or explain away this week's violence by pointing to protests by Democratic-aligned groups earlier in the year.

It's difficult to measure the future electoral impact of a slice of Trump's coalition that despises politicians in both parties. The president's

This issue brought to you by



## 2022 Senate Ratings

### BATTLEGROUND

#### Democratic-Held (4)

Cortez Masto (D-Nev.)  
Hassan (D-N.H.)  
Kelly (D-Ariz.)  
Warnock (D-Ga.)

#### Republican-Held (4)

NC Open (Burr, R)  
PA Open (Toomey, R)  
Johnson (R-Wisc.)  
Rubio (R-Fl.)

#### Solid Democratic (10)

Bennet (D-Colo.)  
Blumenthal (D-Conn.)  
Duckworth (D-Ill.)  
Padilla (D-Calif.)\*  
Leahy (D-Vt.)  
Murray (D-Wash.)  
Schatz (D-Hawaii)  
Schumer (D-N.Y.)  
Van Hollen (D-Md.)  
Wyden (D-Ore.)

#### Solid Republican (16)

Blunt (R-Mo.)  
Boozman (R-Ark.)  
Crapo (R-Idaho)  
Grassley (R-Iowa)  
Hoeven (R-N.D.)  
Kennedy (R-La.)  
Lankford (R-Ok.)  
Lee (R-Utah)  
Moran (R-Kan.)  
Murkowski (R-Alaska)  
Paul (R-Ky.)  
Portman (R-Ohio)  
Scott (R-S.C.)  
Shelby (R-Ala.)  
Thune (R-S.D.)  
Young (R-Ind.)

*\*Designated to be appointed when Kamala Harris formally resigns her Senate seat.*

threats of supporting primary challengers to "weak" Republicans and his ability to turn out voters for Republicans he likes depends on his power and relevance in two and four years. It's easy to forget how difficult it will be to maintain relevance without an office and platform.

Moreover, because of Wednesday's chaos, the results of Tuesday's Georgia Senate runoffs have not received the attention they deserve. As Trump struggles to maintain control of the GOP in his final two weeks, his failure to deliver either Georgia seat further complicates his relationship to the rest of the Republican establishment.

Democrats will control the Senate for the first time since 2014, and control the Senate, House, and White House together for the first time in a decade. This has massive implications for Biden's presidential appointments, policy areas where the Senate can act using reconciliation and prevents GOP-led committees from launching investigations.

It's impossible to predict what news will happen in the final days of the Trump presidency and how it will impact his legacy. We do know the Senate and House majorities will be on the line in the 2022 midterm elections and the division in this country will not melt away with the inauguration of a new president.

[InsideElections.com](https://www.insideelections.com)

# 2022 Senate Overview: Control is On the Line, Again

By Nathan L. Gonzales & Jacob Rubashkin

Even before voters in Georgia cast their ballots, it was clear that the fight for the Senate would continue on to the 2022 cycle. No matter who won the runoff races, one party was going to control the chamber by a slim majority. But the Democrats' victories on Tuesday brought a fresh element to what was already shaping up to be a consequential cycle.

Democrats gained control of the Senate for the next two years, but by the slimmest of margins. That means Republicans need to gain just a single seat from an initial battlefield of eight states. Those vulnerable seats are split evenly between states currently held by Republicans (Florida, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin) and those held by Democrats (Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, and New Hampshire). Two of those Democrats (Mark Kelly and Raphael Warnock) just won special elections and will be fighting for full terms in 2022.

One of the key lessons from the 2020 elections is the power of partisanship. While candidate profiles, resumes, attack ads, and fundraising generate headlines, it's often the fundamentals of a state, including the top of the ballot, that drive results. There's just less and less ticket splitting.

In 79 Senate races over the last two presidential cycles, just one state voted for a different party for president than it did for the U.S. Senate. That makes GOP Sen. Susan Collins' victory in Maine last November even more impressive.

In 2022, just two Republican seats are in states Joe Biden carried (Wisconsin and Pennsylvania) and no Democratic seats are up in states won by President Donald Trump. Of course this will be a midterm without a presidential race at the top of the ballot, but the partisan alignment shouldn't be ignored.

History is encouraging for Republicans. The president's party has lost Senate seats in 14 of the last 20 midterm elections going back 80 years. But those results can be a function of the class of Senate seats up that cycle. For example, Republicans lost 40 House seats in Trump's first midterm, but gained two Senate seats because the class was heavy with GOP-leaning states.

Republicans would likely benefit from a midterm cycle focused on Democratic control of Washington, but Trump's shadow looms over the races. He's threatened to support primary challenges against GOP senators who didn't sufficiently support him and his consistent public presence could keep Democrats energized by reminding them about his actions in office, particularly what happened in his final days. We'll see if the Georgia results shake Republicans' confidence in their ability to turn

out Trump's coalition when he's not on the ballot.

At this early stage in the cycle, we've decided to use broader rating categories, simply describing races as either Battleground or Solid. As the cycle and races develop, we'll shift to more specific ratings.

The bottom line is that all eyes will be on the Senate for two years. Every vote counts in the chamber and every vote will count in the battleground races as just one state could change the balance of power.

**ALABAMA.** Richard Shelby (R) elected 1986 (50%), 1992 (65%), 1998 (63%), 2004 (68%), 2010 (65%), 2016 (64%). The only real question is



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

Richard Shelby

whether the 86-year-old senator runs for a seventh term. Shelby was first elected as a Democrat in President Ronald Reagan's second midterm election and later switched parties the day after the 1994 Republican wave.

Don't be surprised if the senator's campaign warchest (\$9.8 million on Sept. 30) is used for a politics center at the Univ. of Alabama someday. If Shelby does not seek re-election, there will be a crowded and competitive primary that will be more important than the general election. After 2020 when President Trump won Alabama by 25 points and former Auburn head football coach Tommy Tuberville defeated Democratic Sen. Doug Jones by 20 points, there's no initial reason to believe Democrats will have a chance here in two years.

**ALASKA.** Lisa Murkowski (R) appointed 2002, elected 2004 (49%), 2010 (39% as a write-in), 2016 (44%). The senator is used to winning complicated races, and 2022 looks to be headed in the same direction. In 2010, Murkowski lost the GOP primary to Joe Miller and won the general election as a write-in candidate. Six years later, Murkowski was the GOP nominee, but Miller ran as a Libertarian and earned nearly 30 percent. Democrats couldn't get their act together and split their votes between nominee Ray Metcalfe and former Republican/attorney Margaret Stock,

*Continued on page 3*

Inside  
Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis



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



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

Ryan Matsumoto  
Contributing Analyst  
ryan@insideelections.com

Bradley Wascher  
Contributing Analyst  
bradley@insideelections.com

Robert Yoon  
Contributing Reporter & Analyst  
robert@insideelections.com

@InsideElections  
facebook.com/InsideElections

Will Taylor  
Production Artist  
will@insideelections.com

Stuart Rothenberg  
Senior Editor  
stu@insideelections.com

810 7th Street NE • Washington, DC 20002 • 202-546-2822

Copyright 2021, Inside Elections LLC. All rights reserved.

Continued from page 2

who ran as an independent, allowing Murkowski to win with less than 50 percent of the vote.

This cycle, President Trump has vowed to campaign against Murkowski, which could make her race more difficult. But Alaska voters just approved a new voting system in which the top four vote-getters in an all-party primary progress to the general election, which is then conducted using a ranked-choice progress. So the senator doesn't have to win a Republican



Lisa Murkowski

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

primary or cater only to Trump supporters to win. A fractured Republican Party would typically be the recipe for Democratic success. But GOP Sen. Dan Sullivan's 13-point win over Al Gross, the Democrat-supported Independent candidate, in November proved yet again that winning in Alaska is very difficult for Democrats. Murkowski had a modest \$948,000 in the bank on Sept. 30, but Alaska is a cheap state to advertise.

#### **ARIZONA. Mark Kelly (D) elected 2020 special election (51%).**

There's no time to rest for Kelly. After winning one of the most competitive and expensive Senate races of 2020 in a presidential battleground, he's back on the ballot in 2022 for a full term. In November, Kelly defeated appointed GOP Sen. Martha McSally, 51-49 percent, to fill the remainder of the late Sen. John McCain's term.

After two consecutive losses by McSally, Republicans will likely be fine trying another nominee, but it's unclear who will actually make it out of a primary. Term-limited Gov. Doug Ducey looks like a top choice for the GOP, but Republicans in Arizona have been on the frontlines of delegitimizing Biden's victory and President Trump has been publicly agitated that Ducey hasn't done enough to hand Trump a second term. In a state that Biden won narrowly and against Kelly, who has proven to be a prolific fundraiser, any Republican is going to have a challenge. Just looking at the closeness of the 2020 contests, the 2022 Senate race should be regarded as competitive. But Republicans will probably need a combination of a top recruit and midterm sentiment developing against Biden's party to pull this off.

#### **ARKANSAS. John Boozman (R) elected 2010 (58%), 2016 (60%).**

Last cycle, the Democratic candidate dropped out after the filing deadline so the party couldn't replace him and GOP Sen. Tom Cotton won re-election with 67 percent. And President Trump defeated Biden by 27 points, so there's little reason to believe Democrats will put up much of a fight in 2022. Unlike some of his colleagues, Boozman doesn't make national headlines. That means he hasn't drawn criticism from Trump, so he shouldn't be initially vulnerable in a primary. And he's not known as a Trump apologist. Even if he was, the Natural State is firmly Republican. Six years ago, Boozman faced former U.S. Attorney Conner Eldridge, who sounded like a young version of the type of Democrat who got elected in the South for generations. Boozman beat him by more than 20 points. The senator had \$745,000 in his campaign account on Sept. 30.

#### **CALIFORNIA. Alex Padilla (D) appointed Jan. 2021 (expected).**

Kamala Harris was scheduled to be up for re-election in 2022 before she was elected vice president on the ticket with Biden. Democratic Gov. Gavin Newsom has already announced Alex Padilla, California's current secretary of state, will be appointed as the replacement. And he'll need to win in two years for a full term. Padilla is a former president of Los Angeles City Council who was twice elected to the state Senate before winning statewide elections for secretary of state in 2014 and 2018.

While Padilla's stiffest challenge next year will likely come from fellow Democrats, California's top-two primary system means Padilla's vulnerability is not a typical party primary. While California's Hispanic population is growing, and Padilla would be the state's first Latino senator, Newsom's selection angered some people in the Black community and there are other ambitious politicians in California including Rep. Katie Porter. The shape and partisanship of the next set of congressional district lines will help determine which members of the delegation might try to make the statewide jump.

Even though Republicans picked off three Democratic House seats in the 2020 elections, the GOP's prospects statewide are much more dire, considering Biden won by nearly 30 points. Republicans haven't won a Senate race in California since Pete Wilson was re-elected in 1988. Next year, Republicans would need to have two GOP candidates to finish ahead of a crowded and divided Democratic field. That's much closer to fiction than reality at the early stages of a race.

#### **COLORADO. Michael Bennet (D) appointed 2009, elected 2010 (48%), 2016 (50%).**

After Cory Gardner knocked off Democratic



Michael Bennet

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

two years later, Republicans believed they had a fighting chance. Subsequent races have not been as kind. Democrats swept the statewide offices in 2018 and both Gardner (9 points) and Trump (13 points) were defeated easily in 2020. Bennet

posted an impressive 6-point victory against GOP El Paso County Commissioner Darryl Glenn six years ago, but the state appears to have moved significantly left since then. The senator had a modest \$222,000 in his campaign account on Sept. 30. But it's unclear who Republicans will put up to mount a serious challenge. According to a *New York Times* report on Tuesday, NRSC Chairman Rick Scott had a conversation with Rep. Ken Buck, who lost the 2010 Senate race to Bennet in spectacular fashion. Republicans will surely explore multiple options. Bennet could be vulnerable if a significant backlash against Democrats develops.

**CONNECTICUT. Richard Blumenthal (D) elected 2010 (55%), 2016 (63%).** Blumenthal's initial Senate race in 2010 was tougher-than-expected against former wrestling executive Linda McMahon (who would go on to run the Small Business Administration for Trump) but he hasn't had to sweat much since. Biden just won Connecticut by 20 points

Continued on page 4



Continued from page 3

in November, so it's unlikely Republicans put up much of a fight this cycle.

## FLORIDA. Marco Rubio (R) elected 2010 (49%), 2016 (52%).

It's been quite a ride for Rubio. Five years ago, he decided against running for re-election in order to run for president. A crowded field of Republicans jumped into the race to succeed him including then-Rep./now-Gov. Ron DeSantis. Rubio was a serious contender in the anti-Trump lane until a disastrous debate performance before the New Hampshire primary. The senator subsequently dropped out of the presidential race and eventually decided to run for re-election after all. In the end, Rubio defeated Democratic Rep. Patrick Murphy 52-44 percent while Trump won the state by about a point.

After a wider Trump victory in the 2020 presidential race (he won by about 3 points) and other statewide GOP victories in 2018, Florida can be considered a battleground state rather than a swing state. The race this cycle will likely be competitive and expensive, but not in the initial top tier of Democratic opportunities. The latest string of losses won't keep Democrats from contesting, but the recent streak has to give them pause before investing tens of millions of dollars in outside money.

## GEORGIA. Raphael Warnock (D) elected 2020/Jan. 5, 2021 runoff (51%).

In a historic victory, Warnock defeated appointed Sen. Kelly Loeffler in a key race that helped Democrats regain control of the Senate. Because it was technically a special election to fill the remainder of GOP Sen. Johnny Isakson's term, Warnock must run again in 2022 to get elected to a full term.



Raphael Warnock

Courtesy Warnock for Senate

While Democrats are ecstatic about victories by Biden, Warnock, and Jon Ossoff this cycle, Georgia remains very competitive and Democrats have very little room for error. Any slight movement against Democrats in the national environment or a top-tier GOP challenger could push the seat back to Republicans. Even though the precise matchup for November of 2022 is unknown, we know from the Nov. 3 and Jan. 5 results that this seat is likely to be a battleground all next cycle.

## HAWAII. Brian Schatz (D) appointed Dec. 2012, elected 2014 (70%), 2016 (74%).

Biden won the state by nearly 30 points in November and the senator won re-election by more than 50 points in 2016. This is obviously not a Republican target. Most of the political conversation in the state will likely surround the gubernatorial race, because Democrat David Ige is term limited and can't seek re-election.

## IDAHO. Mike Crapo (R) elected 1998 (70%), 2004 (99%), 2010 (71%), 2016 (66%).

If Crapo seeks re-election it's hard to come up with a reason why he doesn't win a fifth term. Last time, he won by just 38 points in the closest Senate race of his career. Trump just won by 31 points in November and GOP Sen. Jim Risch was re-elected by a similar

margin. Crapo had \$3.8 million in his campaign account on Sept. 30 and Republicans shouldn't have any trouble holding the seat.

## ILLINOIS. Tammy Duckworth (D) elected 2016 (55%).

Six years ago, Duckworth defeated GOP Sen. Mark Kirk by 15 points in a race in which the outcome was never really in doubt. In 2010, Kirk was elected against a flawed Democratic nominee in a great Republican year. So Duckworth's victory was more of a correction than a surprise. Since then, Duckworth has been discussed as a potential vice presidential pick or cabinet nominee



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Tammy Duckworth

for Biden, but for now, it looks like the senator will be running for re-election. Considering Biden's 17-point victory and Democratic Sen. Dick Durbin's effortless 16-point re-election, Illinois is not likely to start on the GOP's 2022 target list. Duckworth had \$2.4 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and has the partisan trend of the state in her favor.

## INDIANA. Todd Young (R) elected 2016 (52%).

Young's tenure as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee is ending on a sour note as Republicans let both Georgia seats, and the Senate majority, slip away from them. But Young still deserves some credit for overperforming expectations in November in the face of a challenging map. Even though the Senate is still evenly divided, Young shouldn't have to worry about his own re-election this cycle. President Trump won Indiana by 16 points in November and it's unclear who Democrats would nominate that could put a serious scare into Young. The senator had \$1.9 million in his campaign account on Sept. 30 as well as a longer list of fundraising contacts after being chairman of the NRSC. In his initial election in 2016, Young disposed of former senator/former governor Evan Bayh by 10 points in a race that was considered competitive.

## IOWA. Chuck Grassley (R) elected 1980 (54%), 1986 (66%), 1992 (70%), 1998 (68%), 2004 (70%), 2010 (64%), 2016 (60%).

For months, Republican and Democratic strategists declared the 2020 Senate race between Joni Ernst and Theresa Greenfield as a genuine toss-up. The GOP senator won re-election by a comfortable 6.5 points while Trump defeated Biden by 8 points. Those results cast considerable doubt on Democrats' ability to put a scare into Grassley in 2022. If the 87-year-old senator (who has already survived a bout with Covid-19) does seek an eighth term, he's likely to win. If he retires, Republicans will start as the heavy favorites to hold the seat, but it could be on the edge of the battlefield. Grassley was first elected to the Iowa state House in 1958 when Dwight D. Eisenhower was president.

## KANSAS. Jerry Moran (R) elected 2010 (70%), 2016 (62%).

In November, GOP Rep. Roger Marshall won a race that both parties considered competitive by 11 points. President Trump defeated Biden by 14 points. None of this sounds like a state on the edge of throwing out its

Continued on page 5

*Continued from page 4*

Republican senator in a midterm election with a Democratic president. In addition, Moran is considered to be a hard-working incumbent, who also had \$2.4 million in the bank at the end of September. Democrats thought Laura Kelly gave them a blueprint that could be repeated from her 2018 gubernatorial win, but the 2020 results paint a much different picture.

**KENTUCKY. Rand Paul (R) elected 2010 (56%), 2016 (57%).**

Minority Leader Mitch McConnell was thought to be the more vulnerable of Kentucky's two Republican senators because of his high-profile, partisan position and longevity in office. In November, McConnell won by nearly 20 points while Trump won Kentucky by 26 over Biden. In 2016, Paul defeated Lexington Mayor Jim Gray by 14 points. It's up to Democrats to prove they have a viable path to victory in Kentucky.

**LOUISIANA. John Kennedy (R) elected 2016 (60%).** Four years ago, Kennedy finished ahead of an initial field of Republicans that included Reps.

Charles Boustany and John Fleming in the jungle primary and defeated Democratic Public Service Commissioner Foster Campbell easily in the final election.

More recently in 2020, Trump defeated Biden by nearly 20 points and GOP Sen. Bill Cassidy avoided a runoff by earning 59 percent of the November vote. The only Democrat in the House delegation, Cedric Richmond, is headed for the Biden administration. And it's not clear why someone such as former New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu would look at the recent federal results and believe he has a chance of winning. Democrat John Bel Edwards' 51 percent victory for governor in 2019 should be viewed as a significant outlier to the overall partisan trend of the state. And Kennedy had nearly \$5 million in his campaign account at the end of September. This race is not going to decide control of the Senate.



John Kennedy

Caroline Brehman/CQ Roll Call

**MARYLAND. Chris Van Hollen (D) elected 2016 (61%).** The only way this race becomes interesting is if term-limited GOP Gov. Larry Hogan decides to run. But if he runs for anything, it's likely president in 2024. And even if he did challenge Van Hollen, the popular governor would likely struggle in a federal race. Just ask former Hawaii Gov. Linda Lingle, former Ohio Gov. Ted Strickland, or former Tennessee Gov. Phil Bredesen. In 2016, Van Hollen easily defeated state House Minority Whip Kathy Szeliga to replace retiring Democratic Sen. Barbara Mikulski. In 2020, Biden defeated Trump by 34 points. The senator had \$1.2 million in his campaign account on Sept. 30 and can likely have a second term if he wants it. Hogan would make Democrats work for it.

**MISSOURI. Roy Blunt (R) elected 2010 (54%), 2016 (49%).** While Missouri's other senator, Republican Josh Hawley, made the news by challenging Biden's Electoral College victory, Blunt is up for re-election this cycle. In 2016, Blunt turned back a strong challenge from Democratic

Secretary of State Jason Kander by 3 points. The race gained national attention when Kander aired one of the most memorable campaign ads in recent history by putting together an assault-style rifle while blindfolded. That same cycle, Trump won the Show Me State by 18 points. In November, the president won Missouri again, by a similar 16 points. Democrats are going to need to catch a few breaks in order to make this race competitive next year.

**NEVADA. Catherine Cortez Masto (D) elected 2016 (47%).**

The outgoing chairwoman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee ended her tenure having delivered control of the Senate back to Democrats, and now has her own re-election to worry about. Nevada is consistently close and competitive, although Democrats have won the recent elections that count (including Biden's 2-point win in November). In 2016, Cortez Masto defeated GOP Rep. Joe Heck by 2 points while Hillary Clinton won by about the same margin. This is the seat formerly held by Majority Leader Harry Reid. The state continues to be competitive, Trump's gains with Hispanic voters could boost the GOP nominee if the president's coalition is transferable, and an angry midterm electorate focused on a Democratic president would boost Republican chances. But the senator, and her \$2.4 million in campaign funds at the end of September, will start with an advantage.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE. Maggie Hassan (D) elected 2016 (48%).** The senator won her initial race by less than two-tenths of 1 percent in what has been a battleground state, and GOP Gov. Chris Sununu was just re-



Maggie Hassan

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

elected by 32 points in November. But other results paint a more difficult picture for Republicans. Biden turned a very narrow Hillary Clinton win in 2016 into a 7-point win in 2020 and Democratic Sen. Jeanne Shaheen won re-election by 15

points. Unlike other states where potential GOP challengers are less clear, Republicans will first look to Sununu and former Sen. Kelly Ayotte (who lost narrowly to Hassan). The past decade is littered with governors who tried and failed to make the jump to Washington, underscoring the challenges even the popular Sununu would face. And Ayotte's 2016 loss proves she's not a guarantee. But the Granite State tends to swing with the national environment, so if the cycle deteriorates for Biden's party, it's not hard to see this becoming a serious race. Hassan had \$1.5 million in her campaign account on Sept. 30.

**NEW YORK. Chuck Schumer (D) elected 1998 (55%), 2004 (71%), 2010 (66%), 2016 (70%).** The biggest question about Schumer heading into the cycle is whether he would be minority or majority leader of the Senate. Now that that is decided, the question is whether Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez challenges him in the Democratic primary. While it would be fascinating if she did, and she told the new Punchbowl News that she hasn't decided, there's no evidence she's moving in that direction and it's not clear why she would risk her platform. Ocasio-Cortez is already

*Continued on page 6*



*Continued from page 5*

one of the most influential members of Congress and risking her solid Democratic seat for an unnecessary run for the Senate doesn't fit with her generally good political instincts. Schumer had \$10.2 million in his campaign account on Sept. 30, but wouldn't have problems raising more money if he needed it. Biden won New York by 23 points and Republicans haven't won a Senate race in the Empire State since 1992.

## **NORTH CAROLINA. Open; Richard Burr, R, not seeking re-election.**

In 2016, Burr said he wouldn't seek re-election in 2022, but the senior senator has

been mum on his plans since. (It doesn't help that Burr is reportedly still under FBI investigation for stock trades he made at the outset of the pandemic in February.) Other North Carolina Republicans are taking him at his word and

planning for an open-seat contest. Former GOP Rep. Mark Walker, who was redistricted out of his seat and didn't seek re-election, has already announced a run, while President Trump's daughter-in-law, North Carolina native Lara Lea Trump, is reportedly feeling out a run herself. On the Democratic side, state Sen. Erica Smith, who lost the 2020 Democratic primary to former state Sen. Cal Cunningham, is running. But other candidates will certainly take a look at the race, including 2016 Senate nominee and newly elected Rep. Deborah Ross. In November, President Trump won the state by 1.4 percent (as well as by 3.5 points in 2016) and GOP Sen. Thom Tillis by nearly 2 points, putting the initial burden of proof on Democrats on how they'll win in 2022.



Mark Walker

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

**NORTH DAKOTA. John Hoeven (R) elected 2010 (76%), 2016 (78%).** Democrat Heidi Heitkamp's 2012 victory feels like an eternity ago based on more recent election results. Republican Kevin Cramer defeated Heitkamp by double-digits in 2018 and President Trump just won the state 34 points in November. Hoeven had \$1.9 million in his campaign account on Sept. 30. This is not going to be a battleground this cycle.

**OHIO. Rob Portman (R) elected 2010 (57%), 2016 (58%).** Portman easily dispatched former Democratic Gov. Ted Strickland last time around when Trump won Ohio by 8 points. The president won the Buckeye State by 8 points again in 2020, even though there was some evidence Biden was creeping into contention. With that margin (and a \$4.7 million early fundraising edge), it's hard to see how Portman loses a bid for a third term. Sen. Sherrod Brown has demonstrated that Democrats can still win in Ohio, but it's not clear who else on the Democratic side can replicate his victories. It doesn't help that former rising star P.G. Sittenfeld, the Cincinnati City councilman who placed second in the 2016 primary against Strickland, was recently arrested on federal corruption charges.

**OKLAHOMA. James Lankford (R) elected 2014 (68%), 2016 (68%).** The senator didn't even break a sweat last time around and now he gets to run in the wake of Trump's 33-point victory over Biden

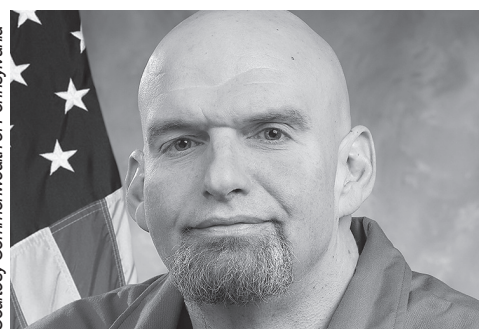
and GOP Sen. Jim Inhofe's 63-33 percent re-election win. Lankford shouldn't have trouble this time around, but his actions over the last couple months are notable. He made news in mid-November when he said Biden needed to receive intelligence briefings even before the election was certified. Lankford quickly walked back that comment and became a public face for contesting Biden's certified Electoral College victory. On Wednesday, he was speaking in favor of objecting to Arizona's Electoral College votes from the Senate floor when it was evacuated because of the approaching mob. It's hard to see how Lankford (who had \$789,000 in his campaign account on Sept. 30) loses, as long as he stays in the president's good graces, since the senator's only vulnerability would be in a primary.

**OREGON. Ron Wyden (D) elected Jan. 1996 (48%), 1998 (61%), 2004 (63%), 2010 (57%), 2016 (56%).** In the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections, Oregon was one of the closest states in the country. That is a distant memory. Biden just won the Beaver State by 16 points over President Trump and Democratic Sen. Jeff Merkley won re-election by 18-points against a Q-Anon follower. Republicans haven't won a Senate race in Oregon in nearly two decades (Sen. Gordon's Smith's 2002 re-election was the last time) and haven't won a gubernatorial race since President Ronald Reagan's first midterm in 1982. That means Wyden's 2022 vulnerability, if any, would be a primary. But the new chairman of the Senate Finance Committee had \$2 million in his campaign account on Sept. 30 and no clear enemies that might challenge him.

## **PENNSYLVANIA. Open; Pat Toomey (R) not seeking re-election.**

Two-term Toomey confirmed he would not seek re-election, creating an open seat in one of the country's most competitive states, one Joe Biden carried by less than a point and a half. The Democratic bench in the state is deep, with six recently elected and ambitious representatives: Reps. Conor Lamb, Brendan Boyle, Madeleine Dean, Mary Gay Scanlon, Chrissy Houlahan, and Susan Wild. Joe Torsella, the outgoing state treasurer, could also be a candidate, though he just lost re-election even as Biden carried the state at the top of the ticket. And state Attorney General Josh Shapiro made headlines early in his tenure for taking on the Catholic Church over allegations of sex abuse, and just won re-election by 4 points, the best performance of any statewide Democratic candidate last year.

But all eyes will be on Lt. Gov. John Fetterman. In 2016, the six foot-nine former Braddock, Pa. mayor placed third in the Democratic Senate



John Fetterman

Courtesy Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

primary, finishing with an unexpectedly strong 20 percent. Since becoming Gov. Tom Wolf's second-hand man in 2018, he has amassed a national following, in part because of his unabashedly liberal policies but also because he looks more

like a bouncer than a politician. Fetterman recently began fundraising for a potential Senate run.

On the Republican side, the field is similarly wide open. Donald Trump, Jr., the outgoing president's eldest son who declared that the

*Continued on page 7*

*Continued from page 6*

GOP was his father's GOP, has been mentioned as a potential candidate — he attended college in the state. Reps. Mike Kelly and Scott Perry, the latter of whom just won a hotly-contested House race, could run, and former Reps. Ryan Costello and Charlie Dent could be moderate alternatives.

With Wolf term-limited, the governor's mansion will also be up for grabs in 2022. That means the Senate field could narrow substantially as potential candidates decide between higher offices. While there's a lot of unknowns among the candidates, this seat and race will be firmly at the center of the Senate battlefield in 2022.

**SOUTH CAROLINA.** **Tim Scott (R) appointed 2013, elected 2014 (61%), 2016 (61%).** South Carolina's other senator, Lindsey Graham, turned back an expensive challenge from Democrat Jaime Harrison by 10 points in November. At the top of the ballot, Trump defeated Biden by nearly a dozen points. That's good news for Scott in 2022, as well as the fact that he doesn't invoke nearly the same vitriol as Graham, who has been one of President Trump's public allies since Brett Kavanaugh's confirmation to the Supreme Court. Scott, the only Black Republican senator, also had a considerable \$6.6 million in his campaign account on Sept. 30, which should give any potential primary or general election challengers pause.

**SOUTH DAKOTA.** **John Thune (R) elected 2004 (51%), 2010 (unopposed), 2016 (72%).** Thune hasn't had a race of note since he knocked off Minority Leader Tom Daschle in 2004, but things could get interesting for the senator. After Thune made remarks disparaging attempts by a handful of Republican legislators to overturn the results of the presidential election, President Trump tweeted "He will be primaried in 2022, political career over!!!" about the Senate Majority Whip. Trump then called directly on Gov. Kristi Noem, one of his most fervent supporters, to challenge Thune. Noem, however, quickly ruled out the possibility, stating that she would be running for re-election as governor. Defeating Thune won't be easy for any GOP challenger considering he's been elected statewide six times and had \$13.1 million in the bank at the end of September. Democrats will be hard pressed to win a general election in a state Trump just won by 25 points.

**UTAH.** **Mike Lee (R) elected 2010 (62%), 2016 (68%).** Utah was supposed to be a potential trouble spot for Trump because Mormons were uncomfortable with the president's brand of politics. Trump defeated Biden by 20 points and Republicans held the governorship by 34 points. That's good news for any Republican running statewide, including Lee. Last time around, the senator defeated Misty Snow, the first transgender woman in the country to be a major party Senate nominee, by 41 points. Lee's hypothetical vulnerability would be in a primary, but it's unclear how a challenger gets to his right and he hasn't yet been dubbed an enemy of Trump (though the president did call him out by name several times at a recent rally in Georgia). The senator had a modest \$450,000 in his campaign account on Sept. 30, but doesn't have significant weaknesses.

**VERMONT.** **Pat Leahy (D) elected 1974 (50%), 1980 (50%), 1986 (63%), 1992 (54%), 1998 (72%), 2004 (71%), 2010 (64%), 2016 (61%).** If the 80-year-old senator, and new chairman of the Appropriations Committee, seeks re-election to a ninth term, it's likely his. Leahy hasn't received less

than 60 percent of the vote in nearly 30 years and Biden just won Vermont by 35 points over President Trump in 2020. Republican Gov. Phil Scott won re-election in 2020, 69-28 percent, but he's probably smart enough to know that his fate against Leahy would be different in a federal race. An open seat on the other hand, might be intriguing with the governor in it. Until that happens, there's no reason to see this as a battleground.

**WASHINGTON.** **Patty Murray (D) elected 1992 (54%), 1998 (58%), 2004 (55%), 2010 (52%), 2016 (59%).** Similar to its neighbor to



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

Patty Murray

the south, Oregon, Republicans' legitimate paths to victory in a federal race have become all but a fantasy. Democratic Sen. Maria Cantwell was re-elected by 18 points in 2018 and Biden just won the state by nearly 20

points over President Trump in 2020. Republicans haven't won a Senate race in Washington since Slade Gorton's re-election in 1994 and haven't defeated a Democratic incumbent since Gorton's win in 1980 with Ronald Reagan.

In 2016, Murray defeated former state Rep. Chris Vance by 18 points. This time, Republicans would need a serious challenger and some significant wind at their back to win. The two highest-profile Republicans in the state, Reps. Cathy McMorris Rodgers and Jaime Herrera Beutler, don't appear eager to give up their House seats for a long-shot Senate bid. Murray had \$3.2 million in her campaign account on Sept. 30.

**WISCONSIN.** **Ron Johnson (R) elected 2010 (52%), 2016 (50%).** In 2016, Johnson ran for re-election with Trump winning the presidential race at the top of the ticket. This time around, Johnson has the distinction of being the only GOP senator running for re-election in a state that Biden carried in 2020. Pat Toomey would have been the second, but the Pennsylvania senator is not seeking re-election. Despite the shift in Wisconsin's politics in recent years, the state remains one of the most competitive in the country and Johnson shouldn't be counted out. Last time, the senator looked like the underdog against former Democratic Sen. Russ Feingold, and Johnson prevailed.

The opportunity will draw considerable interest from Democratic foes emboldened by Biden's win. While Rep. Mark Pocan announced he isn't going to run, Outagamie County Executive Tom Nelson announced his bid back in October. Nelson is a former state Assemblyman who lost a 2016 race for Congress against Republican Mike Gallagher. But other Democrats will take a look as well. Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes, who is viewed as a rising star in the party, will get mentioned until he makes a public decision.

In Oct. 2016, Johnson said his next term (which is his current term), would be his last. In 2019, the senator said his wife preferred that he not run for a third term, but that he hadn't decided what he'd do, including potentially run for governor. An open seat would make the race even more competitive. This race is obviously just getting started, but it will likely be on the Senate battleground for the entire cycle.



# Georgia Senate Runoffs: How Democrats Won

By Ryan Matsumoto

On Tuesday, the 2020 election cycle finally came to an end with two Democratic victories in Georgia's Senate runoffs. This gives Democrats their 49th and 50th Senate seats, giving them a trifecta with control of the House, Senate, and presidency.

Let's take a look at some of the keys to victory for Democrats Jon Ossoff and Raphael Warnock.

## Strong Black Turnout

In the first round of the regular Senate election, incumbent Republican David Perdue finished ahead of Ossoff by 1.78 points. And in the first round of the special Senate election, which included appointed GOP Sen. Kelly Loeffler, Republican candidates combined for a 0.97-point lead over Democratic candidates.

As such, Democrats needed to make gains either via turnout or persuasion.

In the past, Democrats struggled in Georgia runoff elections because their voters were less likely than Republican voters to turn out a second time. In 2018, for example, the Black share of the electorate declined from 28.95 percent in the general election to 27.34 percent in the runoff election. Combined with relatively weak turnout among Hispanic and Asian voters, this led to Republicans gaining several points of vote share in the Secretary of State election two years ago.

But this year, Democrats flipped the script, with very strong turnout from Black voters pushing them over the top.

Looking at 153 counties in Georgia with greater than 98 percent of the expected vote reporting, there was a clear relationship ( $r^2 = 0.286$ ) between the share of each county that is Black and runoff turnout relative to the general election.

The average county that is less than 10 percent Black cast about 88 percent of the total votes it cast in the general election. On the flipside, the average majority Black county cast about 92 percent of the total votes it cast in the general election. Put another way, the turnout dropoff in heavily white counties was about one-and-a-half times bigger than it was in majority Black counties.

## Continued Suburban Strength

In addition to strong Black turnout, Democrats benefitted from continued strength in the Atlanta suburbs. Democrats have made big gains here in the Trump era due to growing support among college-educated white voters, explosive population growth, and increasing racial diversity.

In 2014, Perdue won

Gwinnett County by 10 points and Cobb County by 13 points. But in this year's runoff election, Ossoff won Gwinnett County by 20 points and Cobb County by 12 points. These double-digit swings were especially important for Democrats because Gwinnett and Cobb are Georgia's second and third largest counties by population.

Beyond Cobb and Gwinnett counties, another important part of Georgia's transformation from a red state has been Democratic gains in the large, heavily Republican exurban counties north of Atlanta. Perdue won Cherokee County by 55 points in 2014, but won it by 41 points in this year's runoff election. The swing was even more dramatic in neighboring Forsyth County, where Perdue's margin decreased from 61 points in 2014 to 36 points in 2021. These counties are particularly important because they gave Trump his biggest raw vote margins in the presidential election.

Looking to the future, Democratic gains in the Atlanta metropolitan area could become a big problem for Republicans. If current trends continue, these suburban counties could play the same role that the northern Virginia suburbs have played in putting that state increasingly out of reach for Republican candidates.

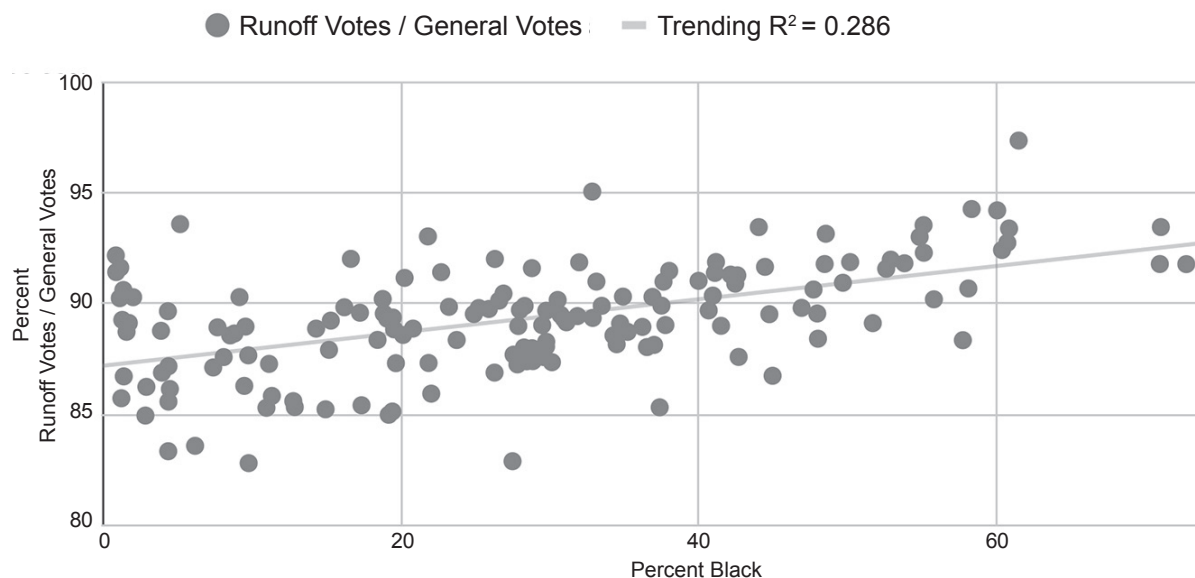
## The Bottom Line

In the end, it all came down to turnout.

Once all the votes are counted, turnout will be about 4.5 to 4.6 million votes, not just a record for a runoff but higher than the 2016 presidential election. Republicans had hoped for strong turnout among their voters, and they got it, but Democrats were able to retain an even greater share of their voters, delivering them two important victories that will dramatically change the course of the Biden presidency.

IE

## Georgia Senate: Runoff Votes / General Votes vs. Percent Black





# Vote Above Replacement: 2020 Presidential Election

By Bradley Wascher

Relative to polls and media narratives, President Donald Trump no doubt exceeded expectations on November 3rd. But there's another way to gauge his, as well as Joe Biden's, electoral performance.

Vote Above Replacement (VAR) measures the strength of a political candidate relative to a typical candidate from their party within the same state. That initial benchmark is derived using *Inside Elections* Baseline, which 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 average.

In the context of 2020, VAR offers a unique look at which states were the best and worst for Biden and Trump.

## Joe Biden

On his way to winning 306 electoral votes, President-elect Biden also finished with a positive VAR in 34 states, which means he did better than a replacement-level Democrat in those places. But his overperformance wasn't overwhelming — on average, he earned only 1.2 points more compared to a typical Democrat across all 50 states.

The small improvement did make a difference in key battlegrounds, however. In Arizona, where Biden's margin of victory was 0.3 points, he finished with a VAR of 1.8: whereas a typical Democrat would be expected to earn 47.6 percent of the vote, Biden got 49.4 percent. The same goes for Georgia. Biden's narrow 0.3-point win wouldn't have been possible if he hadn't outperformed his party's statewide Baseline by 3.5 points. In total, across 12 major battlegrounds, the president-elect finished with a positive VAR in ten of those states.

Biden's highest VAR (6.9) came in Vermont. This makes sense, considering Vermont is an especially elastic state; Barack Obama carried it twice with two-thirds of the vote, yet Hillary Clinton took just 56 percent four years later. Biden's own showing in November (66 percent) landed closer to Obama's performances, helping to explain why the president-elect ran well ahead of the Democratic statewide Baseline of 59.2 percent. It also probably didn't hurt that Phil Scott, Vermont's popular Republican governor, cast his ballot for Biden rather than Trump. (On a side note, Scott's VAR was an astonishing 32.9, which quantifies just how valuable, and rare, he is to the GOP.)

By contrast, Biden's lowest VAR (-8.3) came in West Virginia. Here, he failed to even receive a third of the vote, finishing with 30 percent, compared to the Democratic statewide Baseline of 38 percent. But again, this kind of underperformance shouldn't come as a surprise. West Virginia has moved sharply toward Republicans in recent elections, and Biden's defeat was just the latest in a string of Democratic clobberings statewide.

This pattern — in which rapidly shifting states produce dramatically high or low VAR scores — was also evident in Texas. A typical Democrat would be expected to earn 41.5 percent of the vote, but Biden got 46.5 percent, amounting to his fourth-highest VAR in total.

## Donald Trump

Like Biden, Trump scored similar to a typical member of his party across the board, albeit slightly worse in many states. With an overall average VAR of -0.3, Trump ran ahead of the Republican Baseline in just 19 states, which means he did worse than a typical GOP candidate in 31 states. And across 12 major battlegrounds in particular, he finished with a

positive VAR in just four of those states.

Naturally, of course, there's a trade-off: generally speaking, Trump overperformed in the states where Biden underperformed, and Biden overperformed in the states where Trump underperformed. But the relationship isn't completely zero-sum, and some of the president's best and worst performances go a long way in telling their own story about 2020.

For example, while Iowa was thought to be a potential battleground in the lead-up to November, Trump's eventual 8.2-percentage point win pushed it farther away from swing-state status or tipping-point territory. In the end, the president's 1.7 VAR only padded the victory further — he earned 53.1 percent of the vote, compared to the statewide Republican Baseline of 51.4 percent. Put another way, in order for Trump to have lost Iowa in the first place, he would have needed to suffer from an above-average underperformance.

There are also lessons to be learned from the states where the president did fall short of his party's benchmark, such as Utah. Although Trump was able to improve upon his 2016 performance by nearly 13 percentage points (thanks to no serious third-party opposition in the state), he was still unpopular relative to the typical Republican. In fact, Trump's VAR of -4.2 was his weakest showing in any state he carried, and his sixth-weakest overall.

Ohio is another state where the president notably trailed the Republican Baseline: Trump's VAR was -1.4, while Biden's was 2.1. As was the case for Iowa, the outcome of this once-likely GOP state was thrown into question near the end of the campaign, with the reasoning being that Biden would manage to court Ohio's white working-class voters. Given Trump's comfortable 8-point margin of victory, it's clear that this purported persuasion wasn't nearly effective enough. But still, the candidates' respective VAR scores suggest their individual personal qualities did have a unique influence on the final outcome.

## Closing Thoughts

By and large, the 2020 presidential election produced results that were in line with historical precedent — while there were enough changes relative to 2016 to crown a different winner, Biden and Trump both performed about as anticipated in most states. The campaign wasn't

*Continued on page 10*

## Baseline & Vote Above Replacement in 2020 Presidential Battlegrounds

STATE	BASELINE		VAR	
	Democratic	Republican	Biden	Trump
Arizona	47.6%	51.1%	1.8%	-2.0%
Florida	46.4%	51.9%	1.5%	-0.7%
Georgia	46.0%	53.1%	3.5%	-3.8%
Iowa	45.7%	51.4%	-0.8%	1.7%
Michigan	49.3%	47.5%	1.3%	0.3%
Minnesota	51.1%	43.7%	1.3%	1.6%
Nevada	46.0%	48.5%	4.1%	-0.8%
North Carolina	48.3%	50.6%	0.3%	-0.7%
Ohio	43.2%	54.7%	2.1%	-1.4%
Pennsylvania	50.5%	46.8%	-0.5%	2.0%
Texas	41.5%	55.3%	4.9%	-3.2%
Wisconsin	48.5%	49.0%	0.9%	-0.1%

Continued from page 9

boring by any stretch, but its themes are all too familiar.

Indeed, in the 2016 election, Clinton overperformed a typical Democrat in 19 states, while Trump overperformed a typical Republican in 15 states. What’s more, in both 2016 and 2020, Trump finished with a negative VAR in crucial battlegrounds such as Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Wisconsin.

The main factor distinguishing the two elections, unsurprisingly, was the Democratic nominee. By running ahead of a typical Democrat in nearly twice as many states as Clinton, Biden built a buffer that exposed critical flaws in the GOP standard-bearer’s strategy: Trump could eke out a win after underperforming in Georgia and Wisconsin once, but not twice.

These slight differences notwithstanding, maybe the most important takeaway from the new VAR scores after 2020 is that politics is becoming increasingly polarized. Out of the 16 states where Biden finished with a negative VAR, 11 voted against him. He didn’t only lose; he lost by more than expected. And the same is true for Trump in states won by Biden. To be sure, there are still approximately a dozen different battlegrounds in any given presidential election, but states at the extremes are becoming more entrenched in their partisan preferences with each passing cycle.

For what it’s worth, the 2020 VAR scores vary a bit more in down-ballot races, such as those for Senate or governor. Even then though, based on these numbers, the difference between a party’s particular nominee and a generic, typical candidate might be smaller than some would like to admit.



## Control of the Senate

116th Congress	117th Congress
53 Republicans, 47 Democrats	50 Republicans, 50 Democrats
2020 Elections	
Seat Change	
D +3	
States that Flipped	New Senators
<b>Democrat to Republican</b>	Tommy Tuberville, R, Alabama
Alabama (Doug Jones)	Mark Kelly, D, Arizona
	John Hickenlooper, D, Colorado
<b>Republican to Democrat</b>	Jon Ossoff, D, Georgia
Arizona (Martha McSally)	Raphael Warnock, D, Georgia
Colorado (Cory Gardner)	Roger Marshall, R, Kansas
Georgia (Kelly Loeffler)	Ben Ray Lujan, D, New Mexico
Georgia (David Perdue)	Bill Hagerty, R, Tennessee
	Cynthia Lummis, R, Wyoming

## CALENDAR

<b>Jan. 20</b>	Inauguration Day
<b>March 20</b>	Louisiana’s 2nd & 5th Districts Special Elections
<b>June 8</b>	New Jersey Gubernatorial Primary
<b>June 8</b>	Virginia Democratic Gubernatorial Primary
<b>Summer TBD</b>	Virginia Republican Gubernatorial Convention
<b>Nov. 2</b>	New Jersey & Virginia Gubernatorial Elections

## 2020 Statewide Baselines

State	Democrat	Republican	Margin
Alabama	38.5%	61.2%	R +22.6%
Alaska	41.6%	51.5%	R +9.9%
Arizona	47.6%	51.1%	R +3.5%
Arkansas	36.5%	59.5%	R +23.0%
California	60.4%	39.2%	D +21.2%
Colorado	49.9%	45.8%	D +4.1%
Connecticut	55.2%	41.6%	D +13.6%
Delaware	57.1%	40.9%	D +16.2%
Florida	46.4%	51.9%	R +5.6%
Georgia	46.0%	53.1%	R +7.1%
Hawaii	67.9%	29.2%	D +38.8%
Idaho	35.9%	61.5%	R +25.6%
Illinois	55.3%	41.0%	D +14.3%
Indiana	40.5%	56.4%	R +15.9%
Iowa	45.7%	51.4%	R +5.7%
Kansas	39.7%	58.1%	R +18.3%
Kentucky	41.5%	57.1%	R +15.6%
Louisiana	40.4%	58.6%	R +18.1%
Maine	49.5%	45.2%	D +4.3%
Maryland	60.8%	36.7%	D +24.2%
Massachusetts	61.7%	35.1%	D +26.6%
Michigan	49.3%	47.5%	D +1.8%
Minnesota	51.1%	43.7%	D +7.4%
Mississippi	39.1%	58.7%	R +19.6%
Missouri	40.6%	56.1%	R +15.5%
Montana	42.9%	54.6%	R +11.7%
Nebraska	36.3%	60.7%	R +24.4%
New Hampshire	49.9%	47.1%	D +2.8%
New Jersey	55.7%	42.1%	D +13.6%
New Mexico	54.3%	44.1%	D +10.2%
Nevada	46.0%	48.5%	R +2.5%
New York	61.5%	35.8%	D +25.6%
North Carolina	48.3%	50.6%	R +2.3%
North Dakota	31.8%	65.0%	R +33.1%
Ohio	43.2%	54.7%	R +11.5%
Oklahoma	34.2%	62.9%	R +28.7%
Oregon	52.8%	41.2%	D +11.7%
Pennsylvania	50.5%	46.8%	D +3.7%
Rhode Island	60.5%	35.6%	D +24.9%
South Carolina	40.9%	56.9%	R +16.0%
South Dakota	33.6%	63.3%	R +29.7%
Tennessee	35.9%	61.0%	R +25.1%
Texas	41.5%	55.3%	R +13.7%
Utah	31.0%	62.3%	R +31.3%
Vermont	59.2%	35.6%	D +23.6%
Virginia	53.3%	45.2%	D +8.1%
Washington	55.8%	43.2%	D +12.7%
West Virginia	38.0%	58.8%	R +20.8%
Wisconsin	48.5%	49.0%	R +0.4%
Wyoming	26.8%	67.9%	R +41.0%

Note: margin discrepancies due to rounding