



OAKMONT SUNDAY SYMPOSIUM

6637 Oakmont Drive, Suite A; Santa Rosa, CA 95409

A Forecast of the 2022 Midterm Election: The Unparalleled Midterm Elections of 2022 From DC to CA

09 October 2022

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REVIEW - Where We Sit: 29 Days Out <700 Hours OUT!!

- **“The BIG Picture:” How Midterms “Work” in the midst of dramatic Economic, Social, & Political Changes Amidst a “Culture War” and Changing Demographics**
- Gallup “Generic Ballot Test” / “Enthusiasm” Poll / & Presidential Approval Numbers;
- Macroeconomic Indicators & Conditions – Is it “still the economy, stupid?”
- Polling bias; measurement issues; and “horse race” coverage;
- Dominant media “narrative” of anti-incumbency & underperformance by one or both major parties;
- #MeToo & ‘anti -X’ movements (like in 2018-2019, the Parkland Teens Movement) are not in the model. What else is “*missing?*”

Some Numbers to Consider

- The “Generic Ballot Test:”
 - Democrats have edge, historically not so for the “in-party” during a Midterm.
- The “Evolving Role of Latinos” in politics – class over religion?:
 - [41% of non-Catholic Latinos say they left the church, a recent survey finds](#)
- GOP Governors’ races “media buys” are weak, until this past week:
 - PA; NH; and AZ GOP Gov. Candidates did their first media buys + ads THIS WEEK...
- Control of Congress:
 - The Number for TODAY is: **47%!!**

That is the share of Americans in [a new Monmouth poll](#) who prefer that Republicans control Congress, while 44% prefer Democrats.

If It's Sunday... It Must be...the Oakmont Symposium!

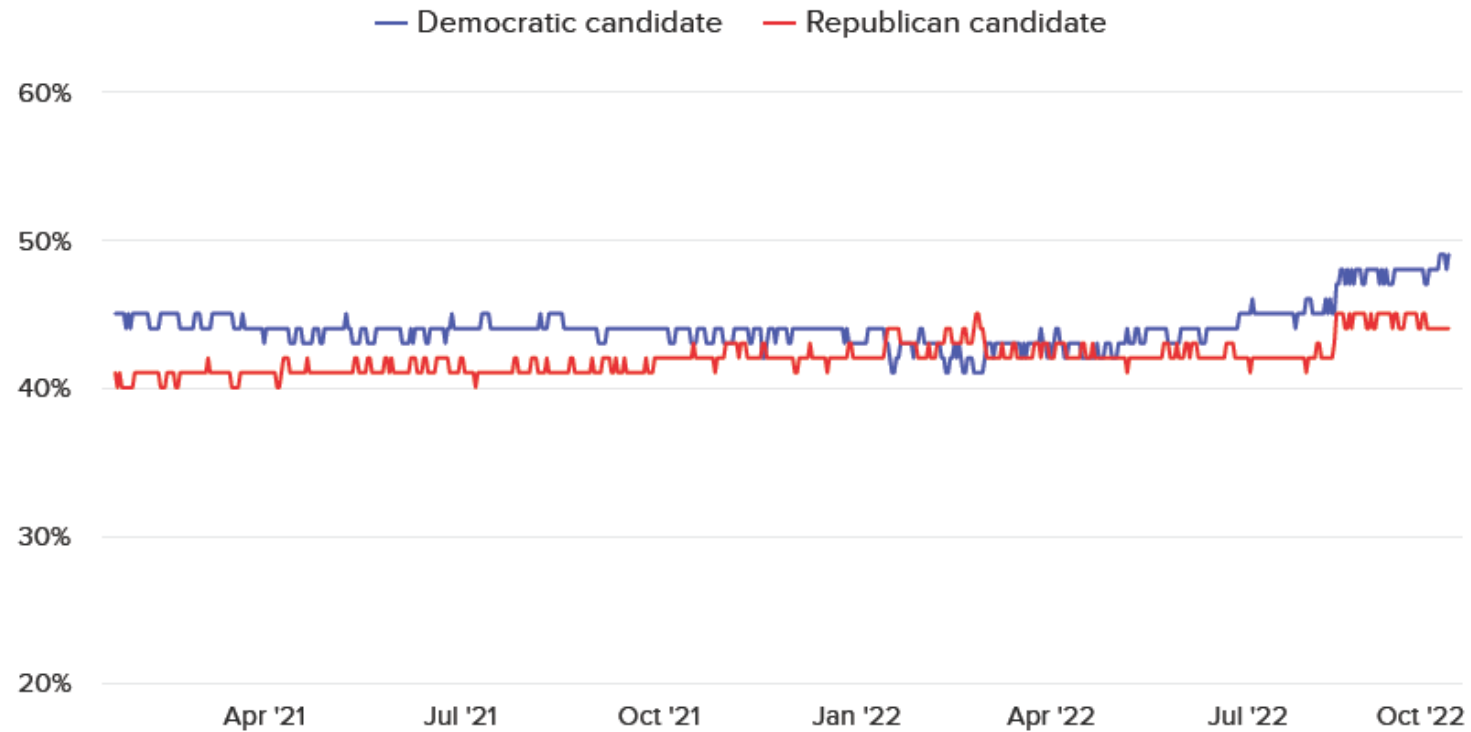
- Tuesday marks four weeks until the Midterm Elections (29 days from today, folks)!
- Let's start there with: Which of the following groups are least likely to say they're certain to vote in the midterms?
-
- **A:** White voters
- **B:** Black voters
- **C:** Hispanic voters

Where This Election Stands TODAY...TIGHTENING...YET...

- **Democrats Increase Generic Ballot Lead:** Congressional Democrats lead their Republican counterparts by 5 percentage points on the generic ballot (49% to 44%), with another 7% of likely voters undecided five weeks from Election Day. The past week has brought Democrats their widest lead on this metric since tracking of likely voters began in August.
- **Biden's Approval Rating Has Improved Since August:** Biden's job approval rating ticked upward in recent days, with 46% of likely voters giving positive marks and 53% disapproving, though he's still shy of a 2022 high set last month. The intensity remains higher among Biden's detractors, who are twice as likely to "strongly" disapprove of his job performance as his supporters are to "strongly" approve of it, 42% to 21%.
- **Democrats Maintain Enthusiasm Advantage:** For the third week in a row, Democratic voters are more likely than Republican voters, 63% to 59%, to express a high level of enthusiasm about voting in the midterm elections.
- **Pandemic Fading as Election Issue:** The share of voters who see the COVID-19 pandemic as a top issue when considering their votes in the midterm election has dropped to 31%, its lowest point since tracking began in January.

The “Generic Ballot Test” History

2022 Midterm Elections: Democrats Hold Edge on the Generic Ballot



Voters were asked whom they are more likely to vote for if the election for their congressional district were held today. Responses shown after Aug. 10, 2022, are among likely voters, not all voters.

Data points reflect 3-day moving averages of representative samples of at least 7,947 registered U.S. voters, with unweighted margins of error of +/-1 percentage point.

MORE Numbers to Consider

- Money, Money, Mo-ney....\$\$\$
 - We've seen over \$1B spent in 2022 Senate general elections around the country. More than half of that total was spent in 4 elections: [GA Sen](#), [NV Sen](#), [PA Sen](#), and [WI Sen](#).
 - Most Party spending so far (through 30 Sept.):
 - **GOP Spending** - Candidate: \$33M Group: \$133M Coordinated: \$12M **(TOTAL: \$178m)**
 - **DEMO Spending** - Candidate: \$91M Group: \$66M Coordinated: \$7M **(TOTAL: \$164m)**
 - Top Advertisers in Senate, during September?:
 - **GOP Spending** - Senate Leadership Fund: \$82M NRSC: \$12M One Nation: \$9M
 - **DEMO Spending** - Senate Majority PAC: \$27M Raphael Warnock: \$14M Mark Kelly: \$13M Georgia Honor: \$10M John Fetterman:
- The BIG MONEY of Ballot Measures in CA: **So far? MORE than Nov. 2020, on the road to almost a BILLION DOLLARS....**
- The NUMBER of FEMALE Candidates this cycle:
 - 2022 **will be** the “New Year of the Woman;”
 - <https://cawp.rutgers.edu/facts/current-numbers>

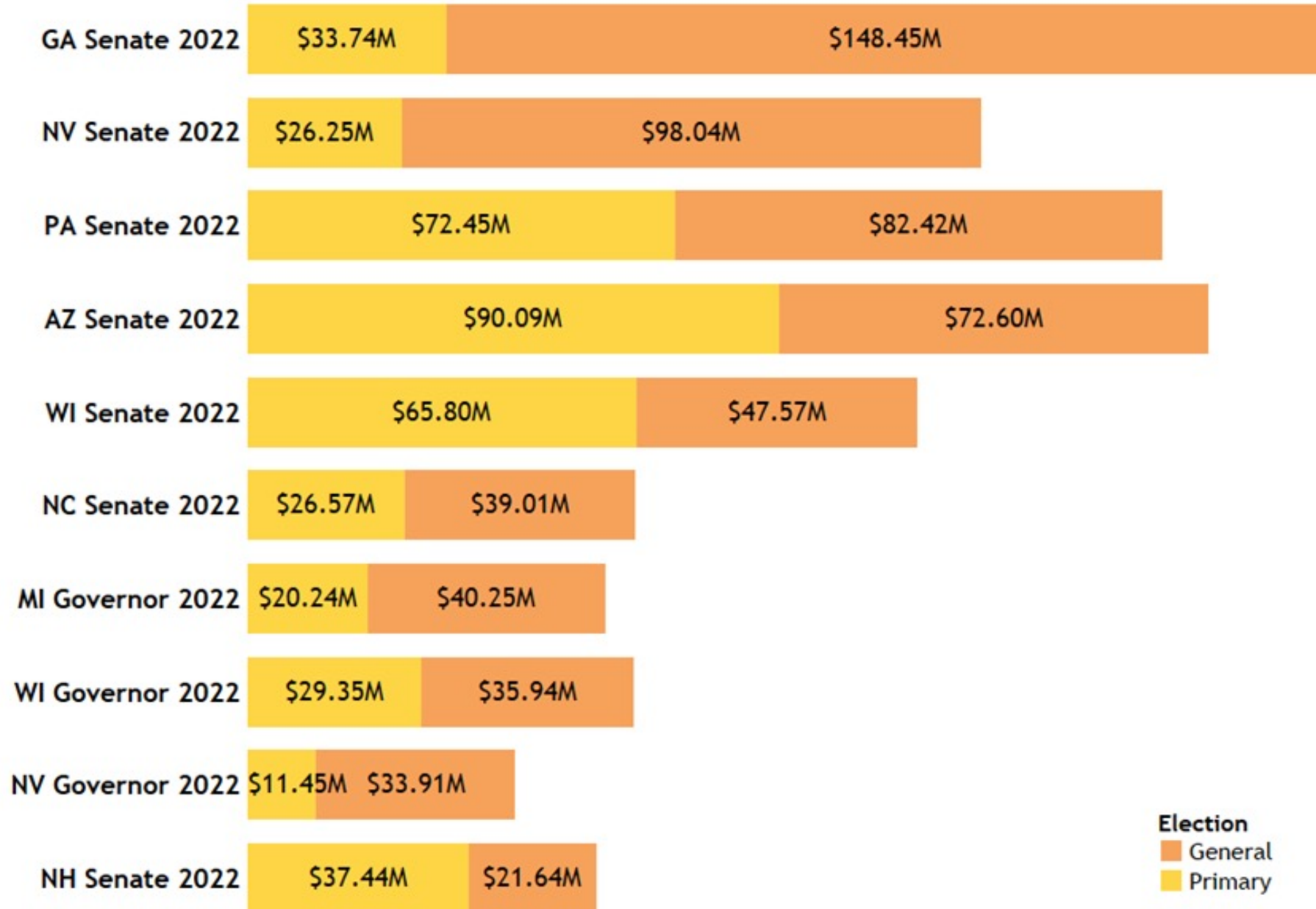
What We See on Ads & Advertising

Most expensive Senate Election spending so far (through 30 Sept.):

- [GA Sen](#): \$51M [WI Sen](#): \$48M [PA Sen](#): \$43M

- Wisconsin US Senate race has the most ads aired of any other race in the country;
- Georgia has the most DOLLARS spent of any other race in the country;

Highest Spending Generals with Primary Spends



Election
General
Primary

Issues to Note in the Races This November - Onto 2024?

- Abortion & aftermath of Dobbs?;
- Crime & the de-fund, fund the police movements, cannabis legalization;
- CRT (Critical Race Theory), think Glenn Youngkin in VA;
- Gender Identity controversies as a proxy for the “culture wars;”

How Do We Explain Nat'l Midterm Election Outcomes?

- Referendum on the president
- Reversion to Party ID (PID) and/or ideology
- Response to economy & job approval
- Response to other issues (war/peace, etc.)
- Action of strategic politicians (such as “strategic retirements”)
- The money & turnout races

- Reliable pattern of the 20th century save 3 elections (1934; 1998; 2002)

- What is “average” midterm presidential seat loss? <50% Pres. Approval?
- What “variables” determine the depth of seat loss? **At least TWO**

What Will be This Cycle’s “October Surprise?”

What of 2022? Because Performance of Pres.' Party in Midterm Elections, House Seats (NOTE the BIG "Change" Midterms)

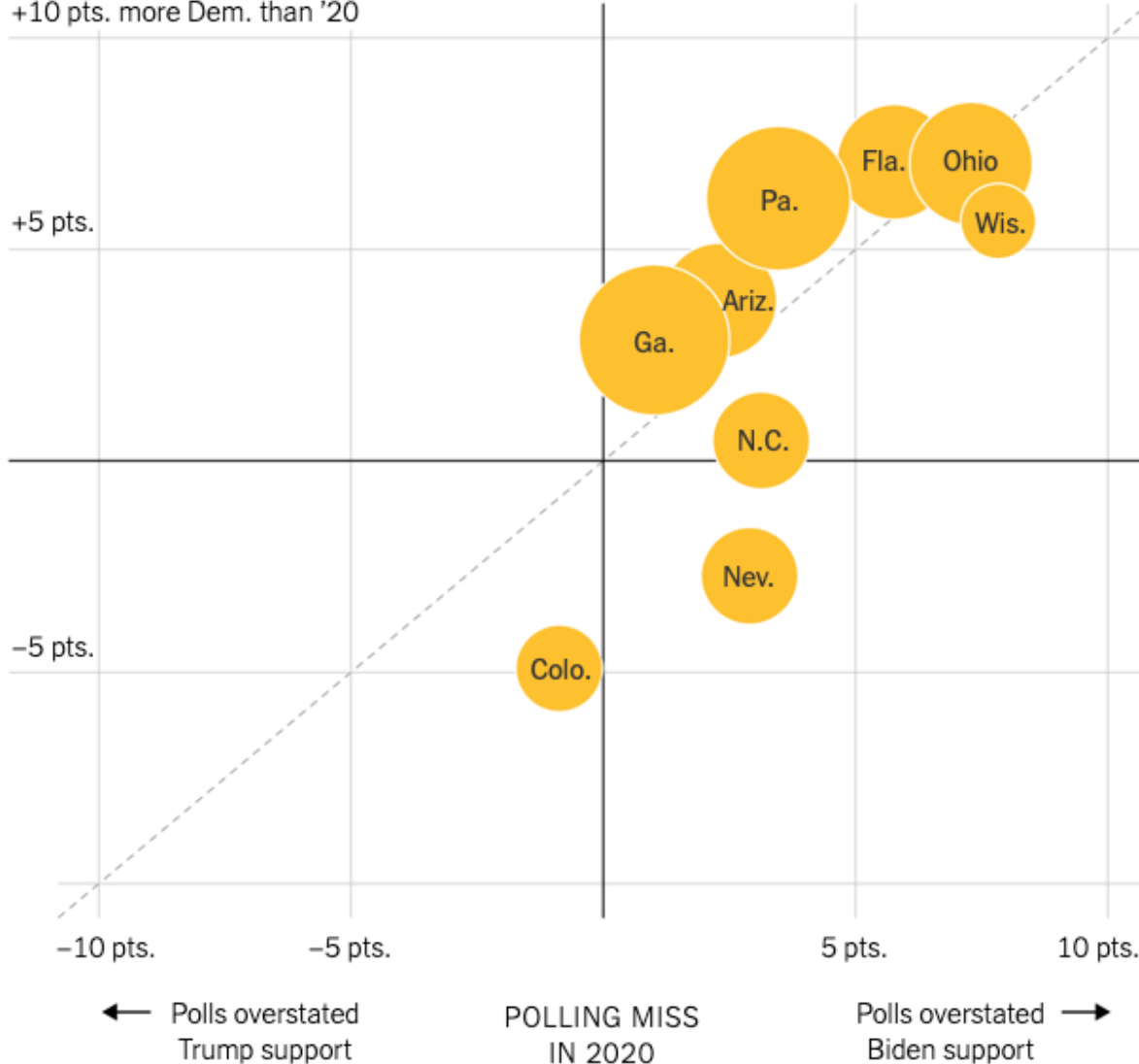
Year	President's Party	Seats for President's Party			Pres. Margin	Job Growth	Other
		Before	Change	After			
1946	D	242	-54	188	7.5%	2.8%	
1950	D	263	-28	235	4.5%	4.6%	
1954	R	221	-18	203	10.9%	-2.4%	
1958	R	201	-48	153	15.4%	-2.7%	
1962	D	262	-4	258	0.2%	4.4%	
1966	D	295	-48	248	22.6%	8.8%	
1970	R	192	-12	180	0.7%	1.6%	
1974	R	192	-48	144	23.2%	4.0%	Watergate
1978	D	292	-15	277	2.1%	9.0%	
1982	R	192	-26	166	9.7%	-2.3%	
1986	R	182	-5	177	18.2%	3.9%	
1990	R	175	-8	167	7.7%	2.0%	
1994	D	258	-54	204	5.6%	5.1%	
1998	D	206	+5	211	8.5%	4.5%	
2002	R	221	+8	229	-0.5%	-1.6%	9/11
2006	R	232	-30	202	2.4%	3.1%	
2010	D	256	-63	193	7.3%	-2.6%	

2022 Senate Polls and 2020 Polling Misses

Democratic Senate candidates are outrunning expectations in the same places where the polls overestimated Mr. Biden.

↑ 2022 POLL AVERAGE RELATIVE TO EXPECTATIONS

+10 pts. more Dem. than '20



Larger circles represent states with more polls.

The Polling Issue This Season:

Overestimating Senate Dems Polling Avg. Relative to Biden State-Level Support

The gap between Georgia's marquee races is wide

The margin in Georgia's Senate and governor races in polls that measured both, including the gap between the two contests, since the May 24 primary

POLL	DATE	MARGIN		
		SENATE	GOVERNOR	GAP
Emerson College	Aug. 28-29	R+2	R+5	3
Trafalgar Group (R)	Aug. 24-27	R+1	R+6	6
Phillips Academy/Abbot Academy Fund	Aug. 3-7	R+2	R+8	6
Research Affiliates/Charlie L. Bailey (D)	July 26-Aug. 1	D+3	TIE	3
InsiderAdvantage/WAGA-TV	July 26-27	D+3	R+5	8
Beacon Research/Shaw & Co. Research/Fox News	July 22-26	D+4	R+3	7
SurveyUSA/WXIA-TV	July 21-24	D+9	R+1	10
Univ. of Georgia/Atlanta Journal-Constitution	July 14-22	D+4	R+5	9
Fabrizio, Lee & Associates/Impact Research/AARP	July 5-11	D+3	R+7	10
Beacon Research/Environmental Voter Project	July 5-20	D+5	R+8	13
Data for Progress	July 1-6	R+2	R+9	7
Change Research/Future Majority (D)	June 24-27	D+4	R+2	6
Quinnipiac Univ.	June 23-27	D+10	TIE	10
Moore Information/Herschel Walker (R)	June 11-16	TIE	R+7	7
East Carolina Univ.	June 6-9	D+1	R+6	6
Average		D+3	R+5	7

The data is shown as rounded but was calculated based on the fully-reported info in cases where pollsters provided decimal points. A "(D)" or "(R)" beside a pollster's name indicates their or their sponsor's partisan affiliation.

SOURCE: POLLS

2022 Congressional Districts Held by the Party Opposite of the 2020 Presidential Winner

District	Democratic Incumbent	2020 President			District	Republican Incumbent	2020 President		
		Biden	Trump	Margin			Biden	Trump	Margin
Georgia's 6th	OPEN	41.8	56.7	14.9	Texas' 34th	Mayra Flores*	57.3	41.8	15.5
Tennessee's 5th	OPEN	43.2	54.5	11.3	California's 22nd	David Valadao	55.3	42.3	12.9
Florida's 2nd	Al Lawson*	44.0	55.0	11.0	California's 27th	Mike Garcia	55.1	42.7	12.4
Alaska's At-Large	Mary Peltola	43.0	53.1	10.1	Illinois' 13th	OPEN	54.4	43.2	11.2
Arizona's 2nd	Tom O'Halleran	45.3	53.2	7.9	Michigan's 3rd	OPEN	53.3	44.8	8.5
Florida's 13th	OPEN	46.1	52.9	6.8	Ohio's 1st	Steve Chabot	53.5	45.0	8.5
Maine's 2nd	Jared Golden	45.5	51.6	6.1	New York's 22nd	OPEN	52.6	45.2	7.5
Florida's 7th	OPEN	46.7	52.2	5.5	Nebraska's 2nd	Don Bacon	52.2	45.8	6.3
Wisconsin's 3rd	OPEN	46.8	51.5	4.7	California's 45th	Michelle Steel	52.1	46.0	6.2
Ohio's 9th	Marcy Kaptur	47.7	50.6	2.9	New Mexico's 2nd	Yvette Herrell	51.9	46.1	5.9
Pennsylvania's 8th	Matt Cartwright	48.0	50.9	2.9	Pennsylvania's 1st	Brian Fitzpatrick	51.8	47.2	4.6
Texas' 15th	OPEN	48.1	51.0	2.9	California's 40th	Young Kim	49.9	48.0	1.9
Michigan's 10th	OPEN	48.8	49.8	1.0	North Carolina's 13th	OPEN	50.1	48.4	1.7
Iowa's 3rd	Cindy Axne	48.9	49.3	0.3	Arizona's 1st	David Schweikert	50.1	48.6	1.5
					New York's 1st	OPEN	49.5	49.3	0.2

*Florida's 2nd and Texas' 34th both have one incumbent from each party running.

House Rating Changes

DIST	INCUMBENT	RATING CHANGE
CA-09	Josh Harder (D)	Lean D to Likely D ←
FL-07	OPEN (Murphy) (D)	Likely R to Solid R →
FL-27	Maria Elvira Salazar (R)	Likely R to Lean R ←
IL-06	Sean Casten (D)	Lean D to Likely D ←
IA-01	Mariannette Miller-Meeks (R)	Likely R to Lean R ←
MI-08	Dan Kildee (D)	Toss Up to Lean D ←
NV-04	Steven Horsford (D)	Toss Up to Lean D ←
PA-07	Susan Wild (D)	Lean R to Toss Up ←
TX-15	OPEN (Gonzalez) (D)	Lean R to Likely R →
TX-34	Flores (R) vs. Gonzalez (D)	Lean D to Toss Up →

Changes this week!

10 Rating Changes –

07 in direction to **DEMS**;

03 in direction to **GOP**.



Congressional Job Approval, 1990-2022

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

— % Approve



The Slide That Matters Most for 2022!

*Congressional Approval Ratings and President's Party Seat Changes,
Recent Midterm Elections*

Year	President's party	Majority party in House	% Approve of Congress ^	Seat gain/loss in U.S. House for president's party
2010	Democrat	Democrat	21	-63
2006	Republican	Republican	26	-30
2002	Republican	Republican	50	+6
1998	Democrat	Republican	44	+5
1994	Democrat	Democrat	23	-53
1990	Republican	Democrat	26	-8
1986	Republican	Democrat	42	-5
1982	Republican	Democrat	29	-28
1978	Democrat	Democrat	29	-11
1974	Republican*	Democrat	35	-43

^ In last pre-election poll

* The president (Ford) took office less than three months before the midterm elections

FEMALE CANDIDATES TODAY COMPARED TO REPRESENTATIVES TODAY:

	CANDIDATES	CURRENT MEMBERS
HOUSE	239 (187 D, 52 R)	84 (61 D, 23 R)
SENATE	23 (15 D, 8 R)	23 (17 D, 6 R)
GOVERNORS	16 (12 D, 4 R)	6

**SOURCE: CENTER FOR AMERICA WOMEN IN POLITICS AT RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

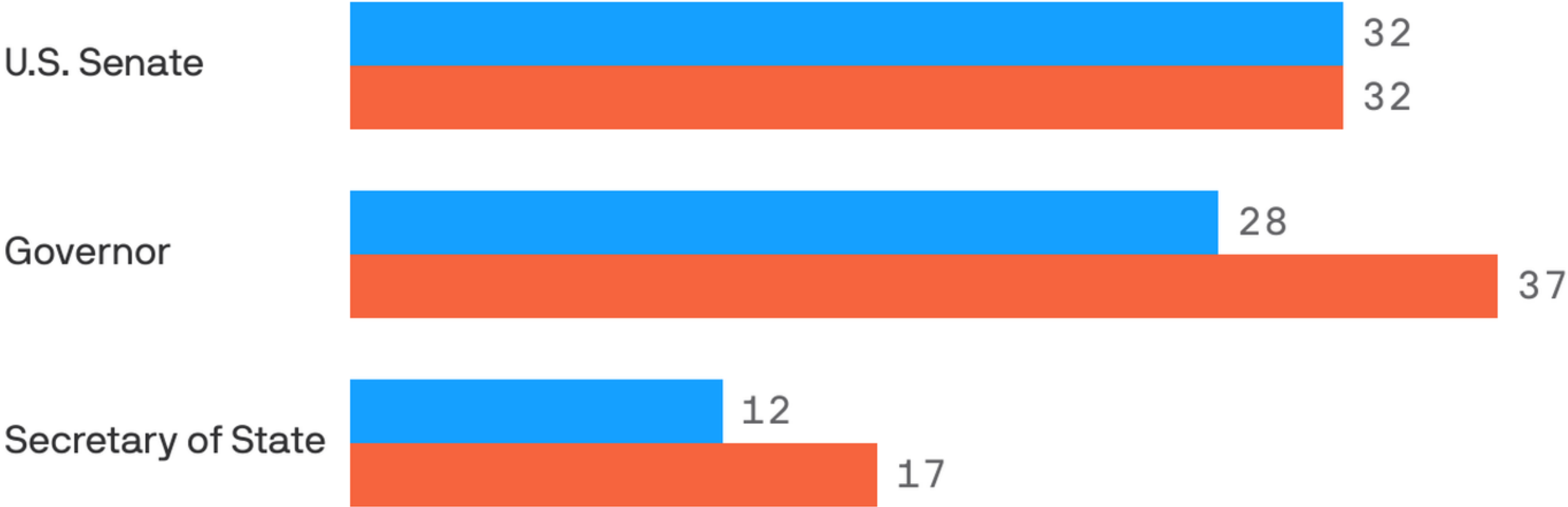


<https://cawp.rutgers.edu/blog/data-2022-women-candidates-race-and-ethnicity>

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/record-number-of-women-are-running-for-governor-and-winning-their-primaries/>

Number of women registered to run for statewide elections in 2022

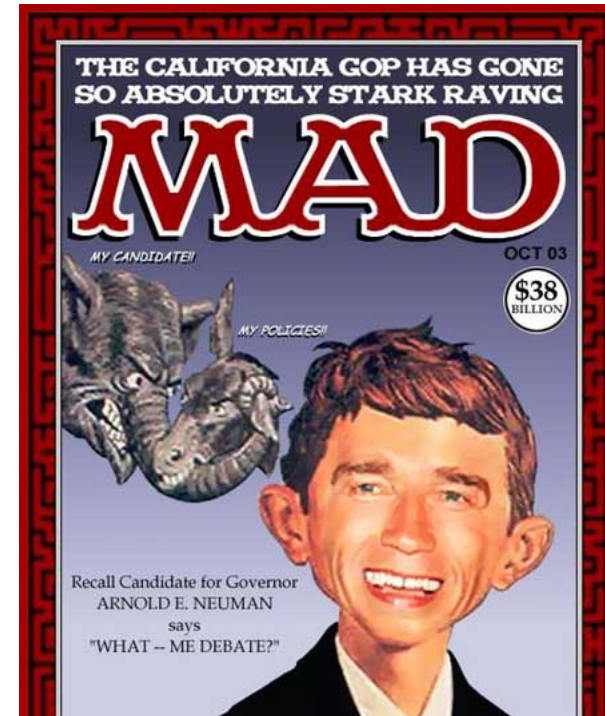
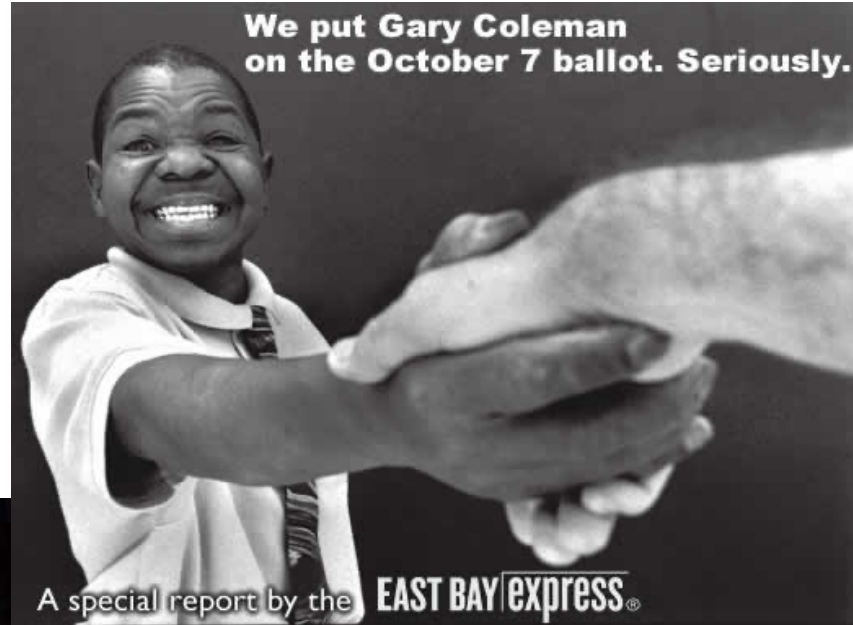
Democrats Republicans



Part II:
What of CA & the Midterms:
The Changing Politics of the Golden State

Terminators, Meatheads, and Pop Stars:
The Politics of Direct Democracy in California

The Good News? CA Politics is Fun!



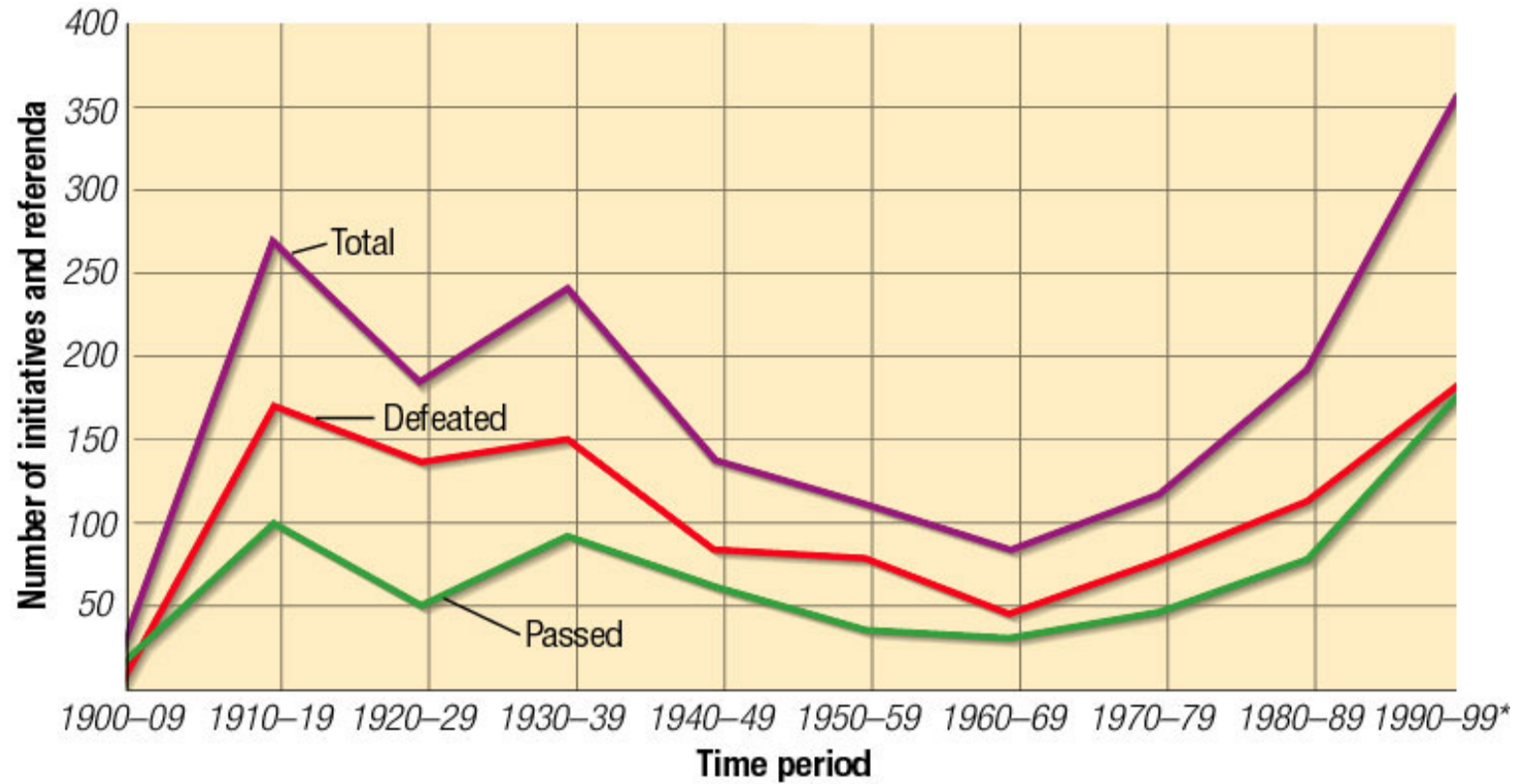
CA's Political Context Today: The Rise of “Initiative Politics”

- Demographic change / explosion + a much more “**Democratic**” state
- Fiscal governance challenges
- Structural governance challenges
- Economic, industrial challenges
- The threat (or is it liberator?) that is the “parallel legislature”
- Continuous elections & implications for the future

How Have Californians Answered These Conditions, Context? By Heading to the Ballot Box!



What Evidence do Nattering Naybob of Negativism (Scholars!) Point to?



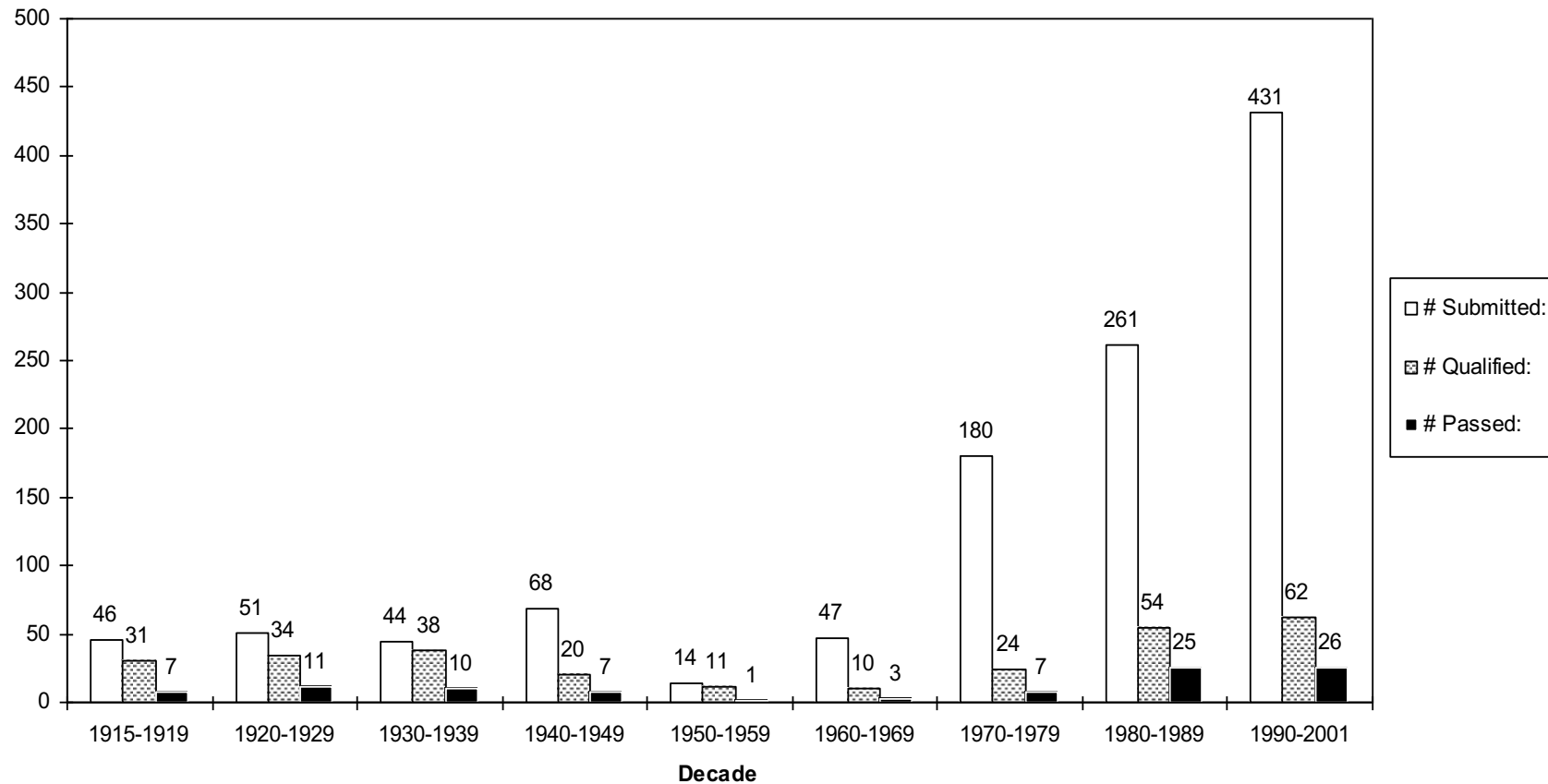
*Projected

More Nuance Needed Here: The Process of Direct Democracy as a 5-Stage Game

- Stage #1: Drafting Stage (“Title and Summary”)
 - Stage #2: Signature Qualification Stage
 - Stage #3: Campaign Stage
 - Stage #4: Adjudication Stage
 - Stage #5: Implementation Stage
-
- What does this look like in reality?

A Three-Stage Game with Mixed Results?

Initiative Activity in California



Direct Democracy in the USA

- Approximately 70% of Americans live in states with the initiative process.
- But around 60% of initiatives fail nationwide
- In CA, about 2 out of 3 measures that appear on the ballot fail (last ten years or so, this has changed, however).
- Why?
 - Most literature has focused on campaign effects & the role of campaign spending / Campaign Finance (CF).
 - There are many inter-disciplinary research reasons for this rate of failure.

YES vs. NO Arguments on Ballot Measures

- Ballot initiatives are easier to defeat than to pass
 - Over 60% of ballot initiatives fail
 - Why?
- It is possible that it is easier to argue against a proposal rather than in support of one
- Thus, the “easy money” is on opposing ballot measures, not supporting them;
- Or, by moving “second” and not “first”

Top eight most expensive ballot measures in California

Between 1999 and 2020

	Measure	Year	Total	Support	Opposition	Outcome
1	Proposition 22	2020	\$224,253,017.57	\$205,369,249.18	\$18,883,768.39	Approved
2	Propositions 94, 95, 96, and 97	2008	\$154,554,073	\$115,063,876	\$39,490,197	Approved
3	Proposition 87	2006	\$150,770,683	\$58,130,783	\$92,639,900	Defeated
4	Proposition 15	2020	\$144,006,081.62	\$69,208,909.46	\$74,735,622.16	Defeated
5	Proposition 8	2018	\$130,426,208	\$18,943,228	\$111,482,980	Defeated
6	Proposition 61	2016	\$128,276,770	\$19,170,610	\$109,106,160	Defeated
7	Proposition 21	2020	\$124,424,013.58	\$40,852,356.62	\$83,571,656.96	Defeated
8	Proposition 79	2005	\$121,826,243	\$40,516,352	\$81,309,891	Defeated

Latest on Props. 26 & 27, Early Oct 2022

OCTOBER 8, 2022							
\$128,506,339	YES ON 26, NO ON 27						
	Coalition for Safe, Responsible Gaming, Sponsored by California Indian Tribes						
	Committee: 1424396						
\$116,225,873	NO ON 27						
	Californians for Tribal Sovereignty and Safe Gaming, Sponsored by Tribal Organizations						
	Committee: 1443032						
\$169,350,040	YES ON 27						
	Californians For Solutions To Homelessness And Mental Health Support						
	A Coalition Of Housing And Mental Health Experts, Concerned Taxpayers And						
	Digital Sports Entertainment And Gaming						
	Committee: 1440682						
\$42,069,001	NO ON 26						
	Taxpayers Against Special Interest Monopolies, Sponsored by Licensed Card Clubs						
	Committee: 1439178						
\$456,151,253							

WHAT DD looked like in November 2020?

+\$755 MILLION JUST IN THE CAMPAIGN PERIOD ALONE...

Prop 14 – Stem Cell Research

Prop 15 – Commercial/Industrial Property Tax

Prop 16 – Diversity in Public Employment

Prop 17 – Voting Rights for Parolees

Prop 18 – Voting Rights for 17-Year-Olds

Prop 19 – Residential Property Tax

Prop 20 – Restricts Parole for Non-Violent Offenses

Prop 21 – Rent Control

Prop 22 – Classification of App-Based Drivers

Prop 23 – Kidney Dialysis Clinics

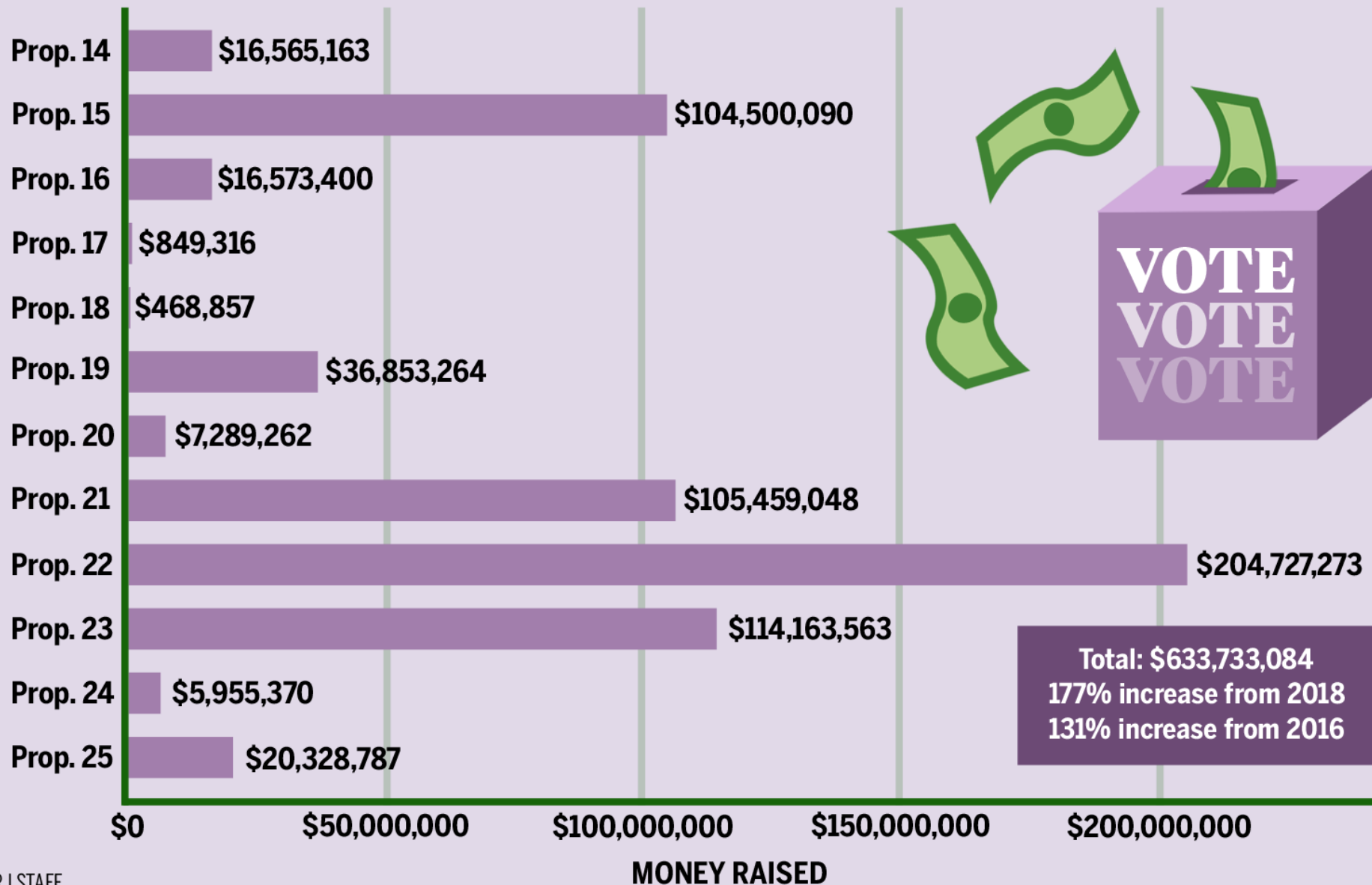
Prop 24 – Consumer Privacy Laws

Prop 25 – Zero Bail

Ballot Measures & Direct Democracy in CA:

The SECOND MOST EXPENSIVE POLITICAL
EXERCISE in the Free World!

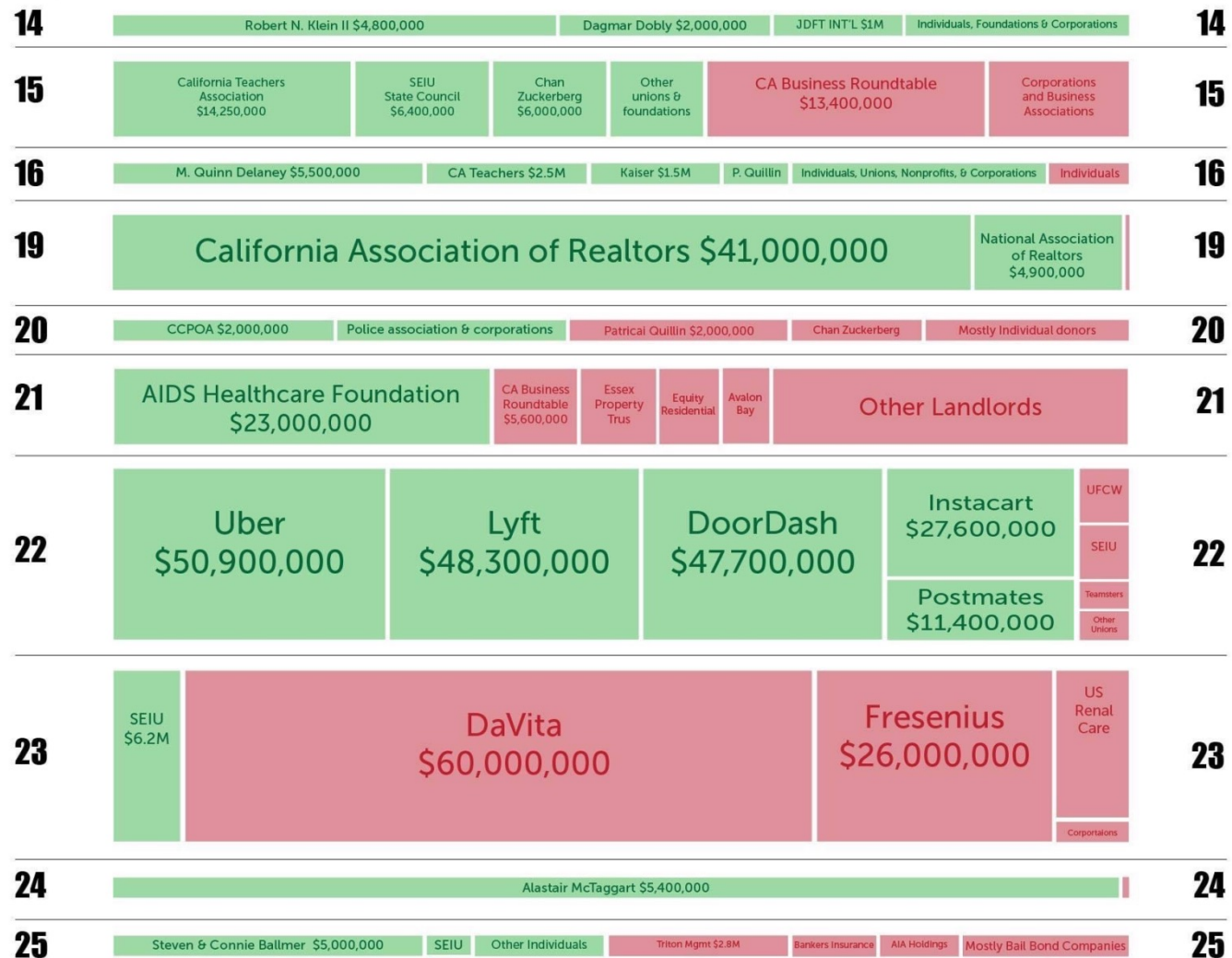
Fundraising for 2020 CA propositions



CA 2020 PROPS

YES

NO



No significant spending on **17 & 18**

Numbers are rounded

Data from <http://fppc.ca.gov/transparency/top-contributors/nov-20-gen.html>

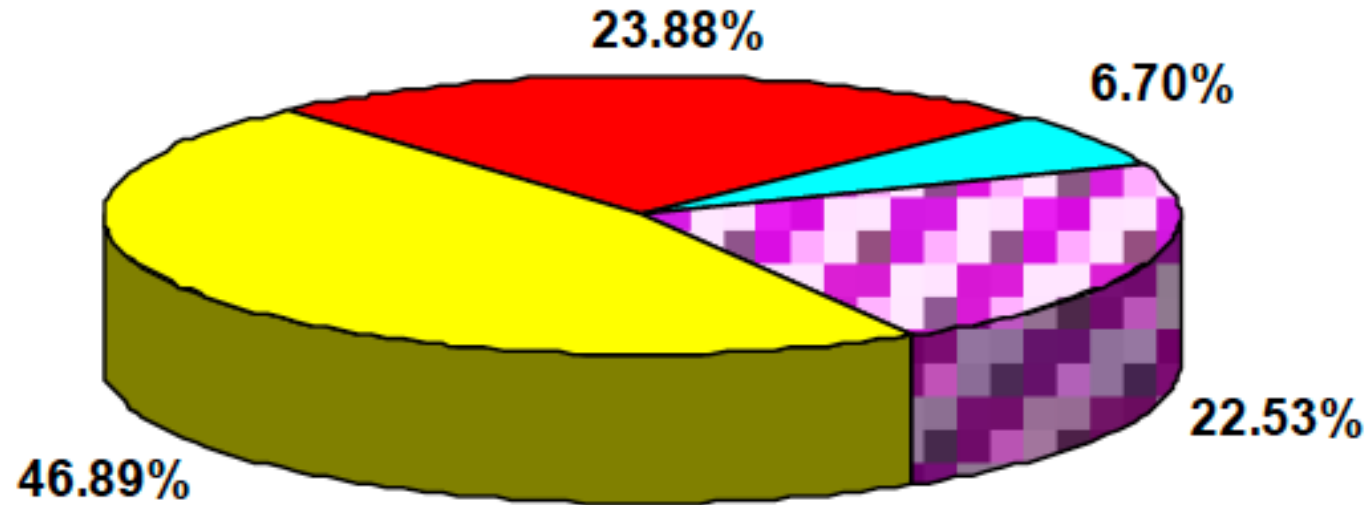
Data collected and compiled by @alfred_twu

Graphic recreated by @iviedm

REGISTRATION BY POLITICAL PARTY

<u>Report Date</u>	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>No Party Preference</u>	<u>Other</u>
September 9, 2022	10,261,998 46.89%	5,225,578 23.88%	4,930,549 22.53%	1,467,420 6.70%
September 7, 2018	8,349,565 43.75%	4,878,277 24.50%	5,185,351 26.75%	955,426 5.00%
September 5, 2014	7,658,175 43.43%	4,977,723 28.23%	4,070,440 23.08%	928,538 5.26%
September 3, 2010	7,531,986 44.32%	5,257,669 30.94%	3,427,395 20.17%	776,025 4.57%
September 8, 2006	6,661,349 42.66%	5,358,160 34.31%	2,900,269 18.57%	694,791 4.45%
September 6, 2002	6,728,110 44.73%	5,305,038 35.27%	2,253,141 14.98%	754,914 5.02%

60-Day Registration by Political Party



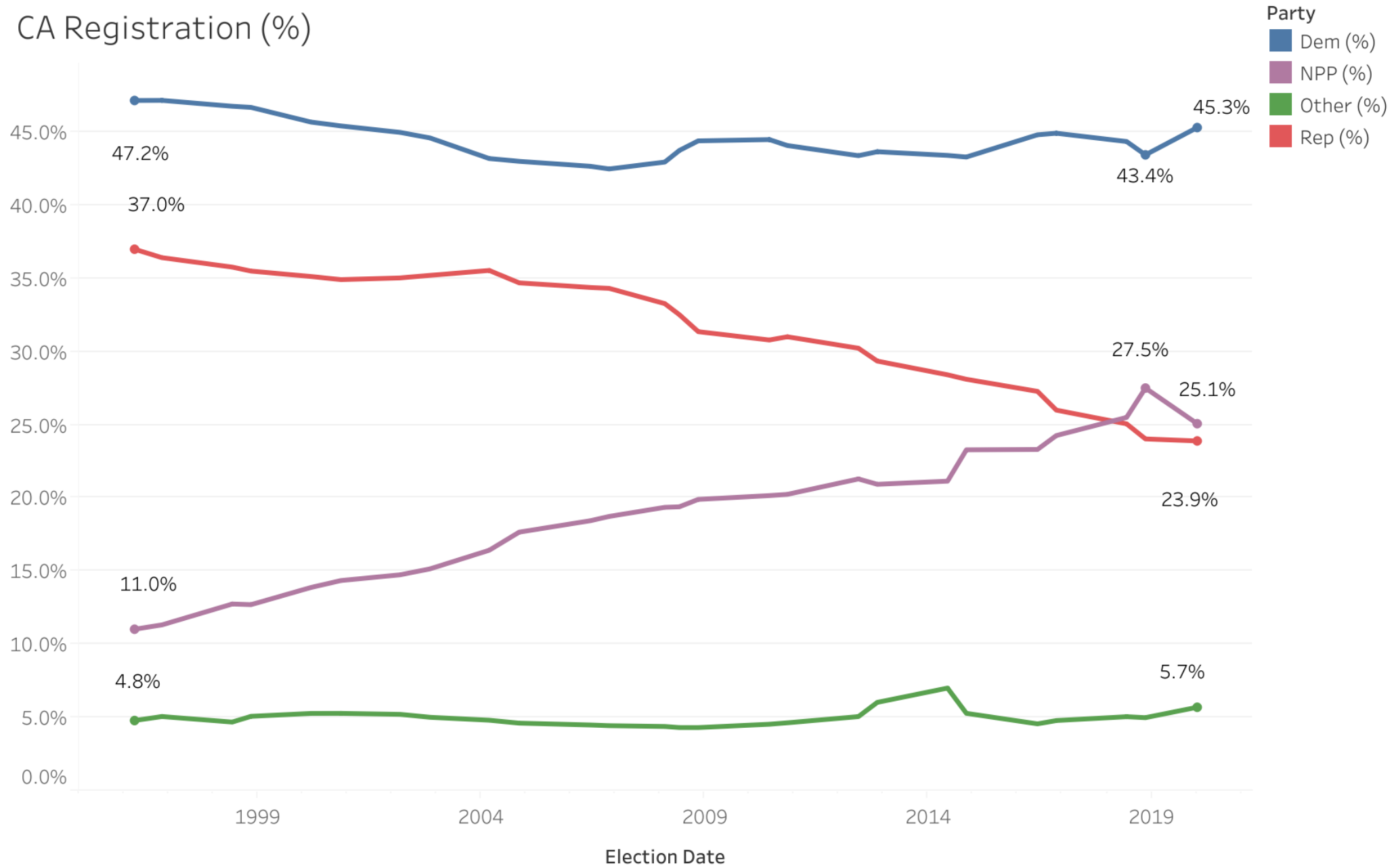
■ Democratic 46.89%

■ Republican 23.88%

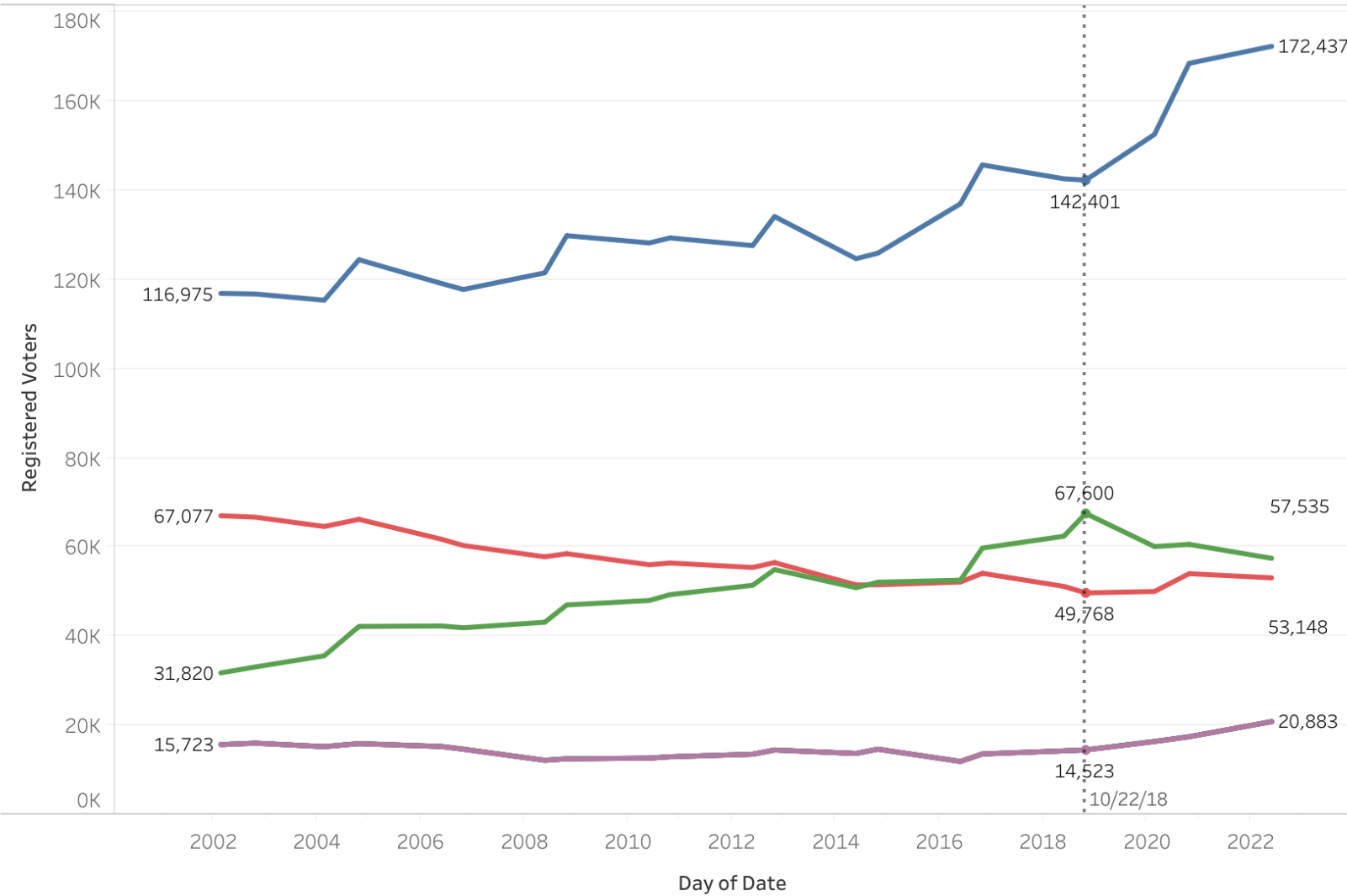
■ Other 6.70%

■ No Party Preference 22.53%

CA Registration (%)



County: Sonoma, Jurisdiction: All
 15 Day Registration for Primaries and Generals (#)



- Jurisdiction Type**
- Cities
 - County Supervisorial
 - State Assembly
 - State Board of Equali..
 - State Senate
 - US Congress

- County**
- Alameda
 - Alpine
 - Amador
 - Butte
 - Calaveras
 - Colusa

Inc / Uninc
All

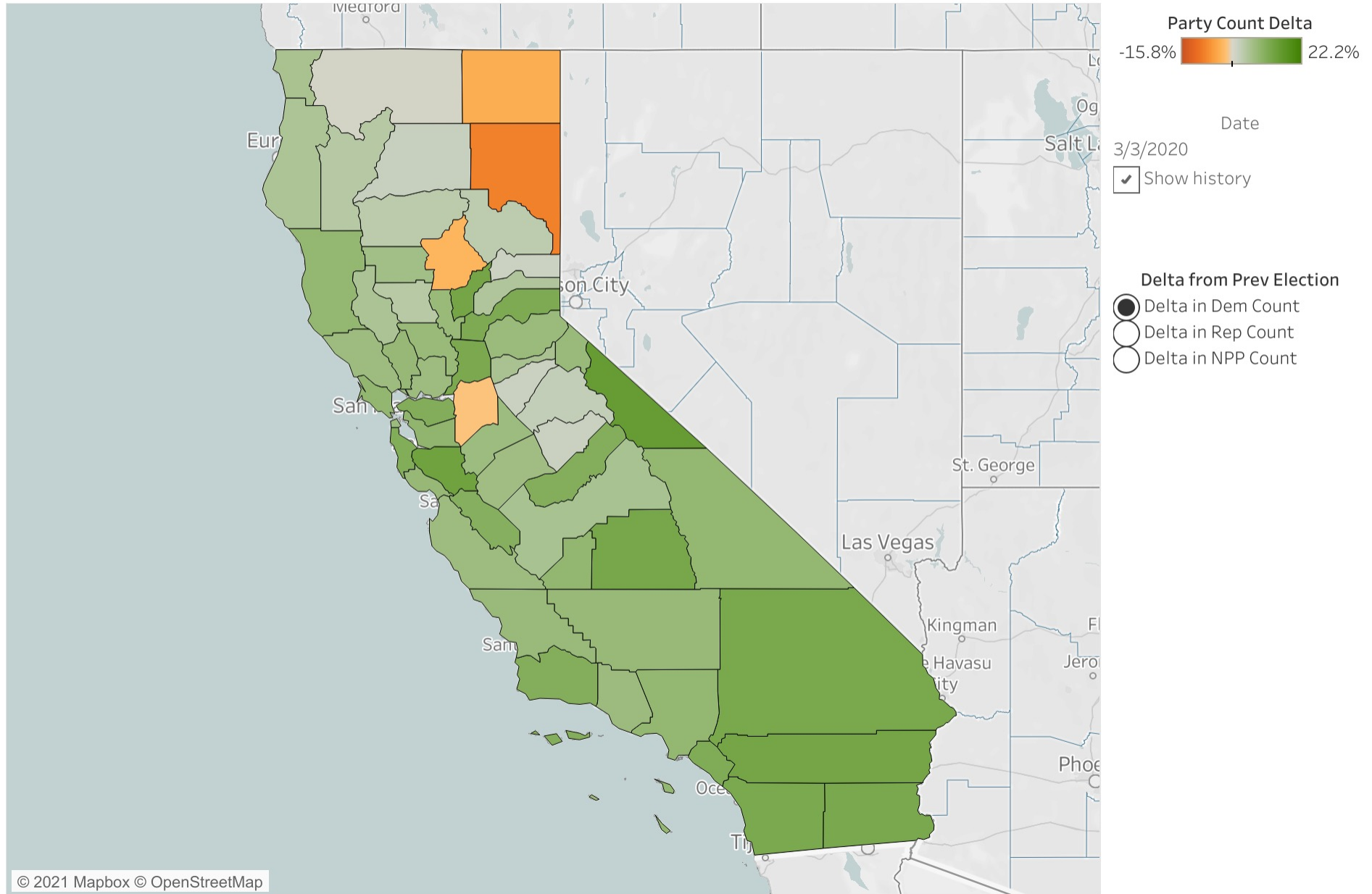
Jurisdiction
All

- Measure Names**
- Democratic
 - No Political Party
 - Republican
 - Other

Other: American Elect, American Independent, Green, Libertarian, Miscellaneous, Natural Law, Peace and Freedom, Reform, Unknown

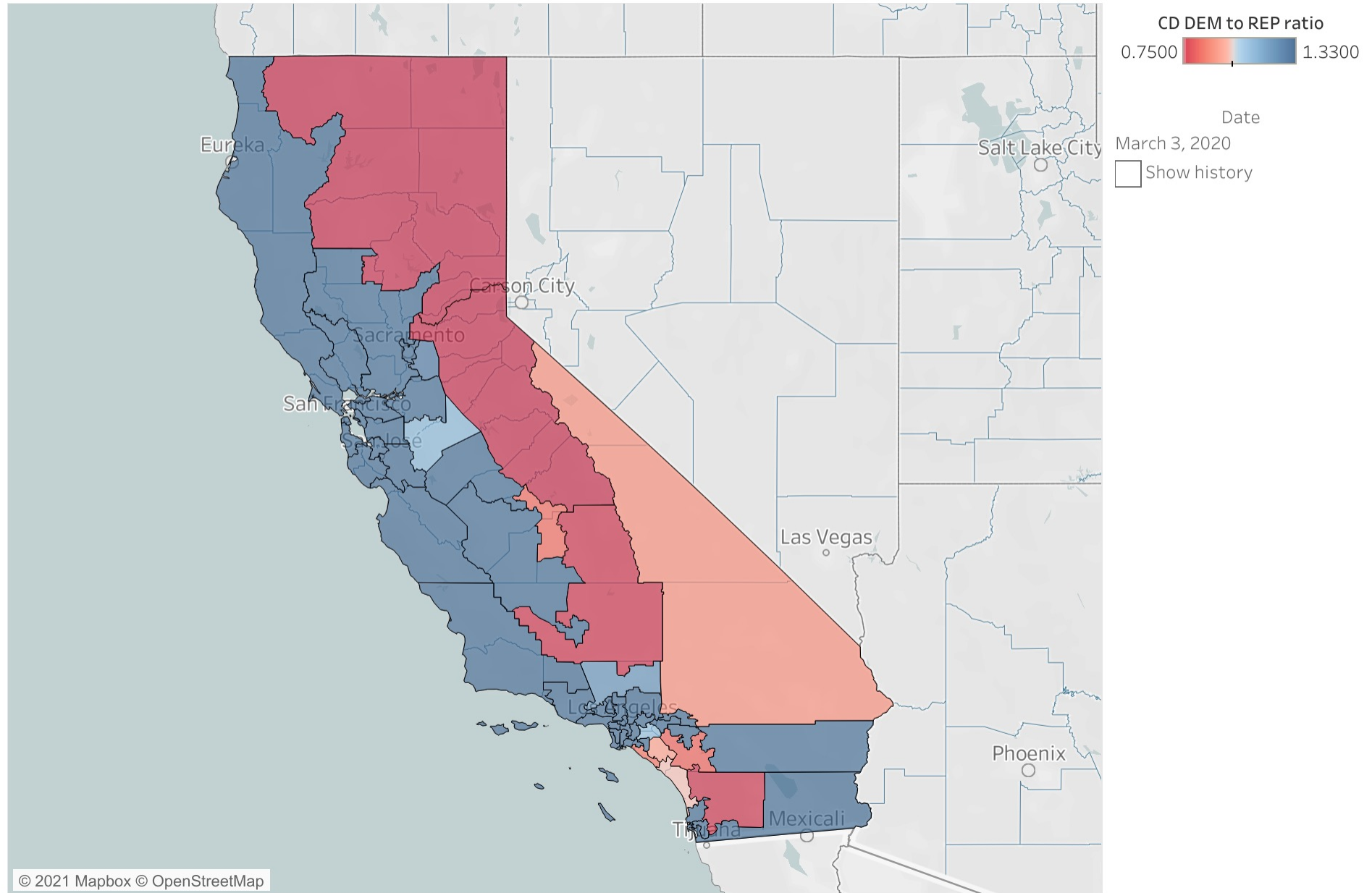
Counties: Party Count Delta

(Party registration (#) - Previous registration (#)) / Previous registration (#)

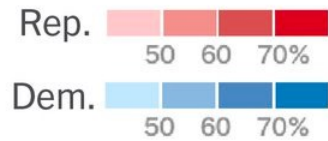
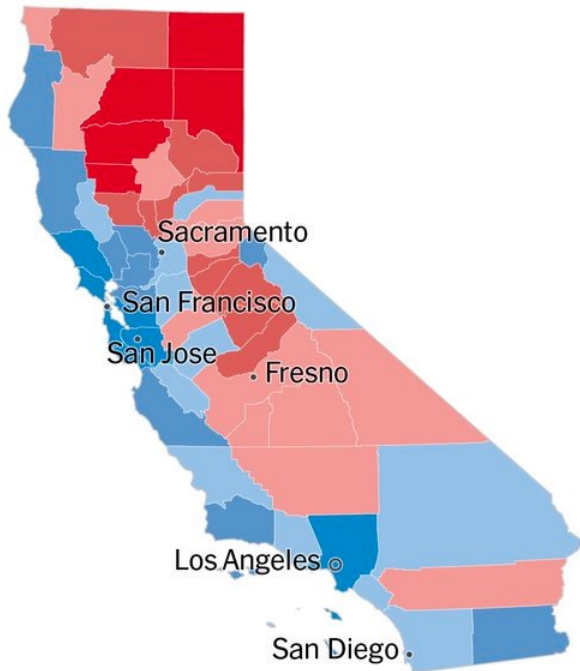


Congressional Districts: Dem to Rep Ratio

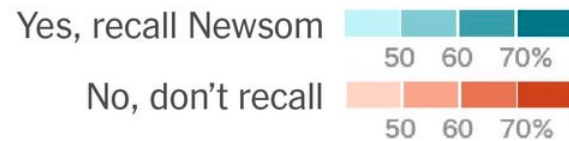
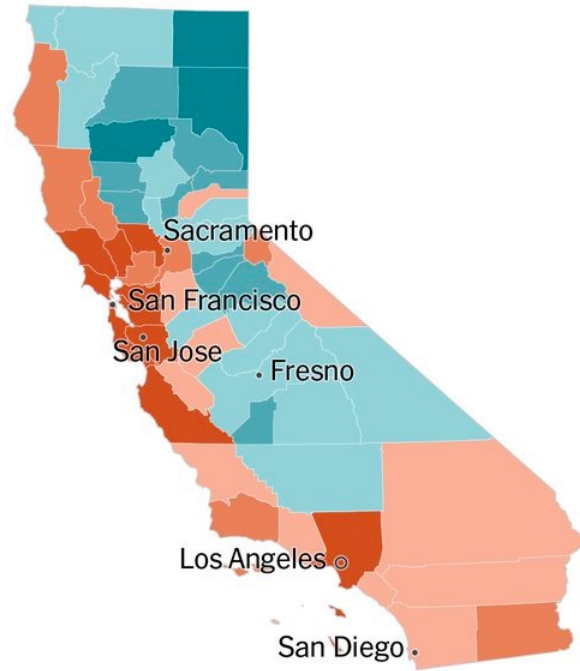
DEM Registration (#) / REP Registration (#)



2018
California Governor
Election Results



2021
California Recall
Election Results



**Bifurcation &
Concentration of the
Recall Vote**

Source: The Associated Press



Part III: The Changes, Effects on the Ground in CA and National Dynamics Affecting 2022 Forward...

What to Watch For in November 2022

What to Watch For Onto 08 November 2022?

- The Targeted CA House seats:
 - CD-22; -27; -45; -40; plus...CD-42
 - Watch TX-34 as a bellwether (does Vicente over- / or under-perform Biden in 2020, 57.2 for Biden; 41.7% for Trump)
- Why Shifts in Polls?
 - Over-estimate of Demo. Party Base Vote;
 - LVs vs RVs vs Turnout “Projections;”
 - Sampling Error vs. Margin of Error (MoE)
- Shifts in the next 4-6 Weeks in Politics?

What Our Model Predicts...

Generic Ballot (D% - R%)	Predicted change in Democratic:	
	House Seats	Senate Seats
10	2	3
5	-7	2
0	-15	1
-5	-24	0
-10	-32	-1

Republicans' top Senate targets

Democrats' most endangered incumbents are in Georgia, Arizona, Nevada, and New Hampshire. Republicans hope to contest Colorado as well.

State	Incumbent	State's 2020 presidential margin	State's margin relative to national popular vote
Georgia	Raphael Warnock (D)	D +0.2 ppt	R +4.2 ppt
Arizona	Mark Kelly (D)	D +0.3 ppt	R +4.1 ppt
Nevada	Catherine Cortez Masto (D)	D +2.4 ppt	R +2 ppt
New Hampshire	Maggie Hassan (D)	D +7.4 ppt	D +3 ppt
Colorado	Michael Bennet (D)	D +13.5 ppt	D +9.1 ppt

(ppt = percentage point)

Source: 2020 certified election results from the states.

Competitive Senate Seats in 2022

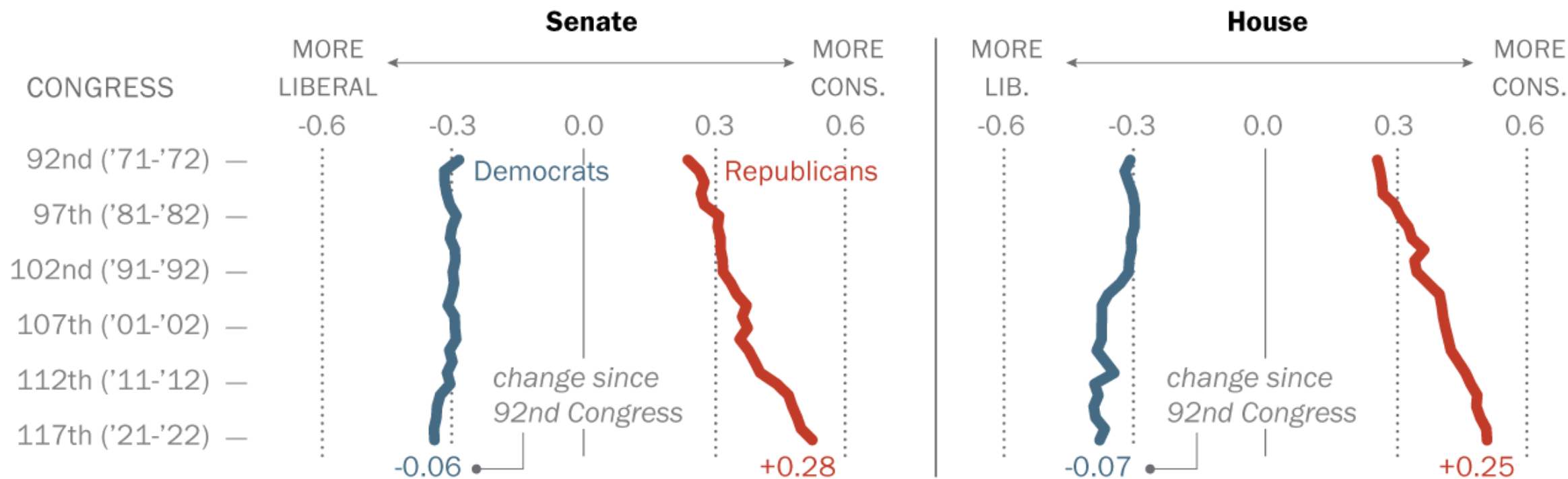
State	Incumbent	Inc. Party	Median Rating	Partisan Lean
OR	Ron Wyden	D	Safe D	D +10.6
CO	Michael Bennet	D	Safe D	D +6.4
NH	Maggie Hassan	D	Lean D	D +0.3
NV	Catherine Cortez Masto	D	? Toss-up	R +2.5
PA	OPEN	R	? Toss-up	R +2.9
WI	Ron Johnson	R	Lean R	R +4.1
NC	OPEN	R	Lean \$	R +4.8
GA	Raphael Warnock	D	? Toss-up	R +7.4
AZ	Mark Kelly	D	? Toss-up	R +7.6
FL	Marco Rubio	R	Likely R	R +7.6

Source: FiveThirtyEight, Sabato's Crystal Ball, The Cook Political Report, 2022

Format: Crossley Center 2022

Republicans have moved further right than Democrats have to the left

Average ideology of members, by Congress



Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Voteview DW-NOMINATE data accessed on Feb. 18, 2022.

Majority rules, albeit narrowly

With a tenuous grip on the majorities in both chambers of Congress, Democrats stuck together to pass legislation along party lines in 2021. Both chambers' Democratic majorities voted together at record levels last year, underlining the partisan makeup of the legislative branch.

Average chamber party unity:

HOUSE



R 93% Ties 2016 high



D 98% Highest on record

SENATE



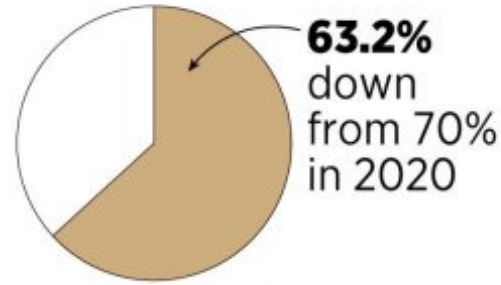
R 84% Lowest since 2016



D 97% Highest in history

Frequency of party unity votes:

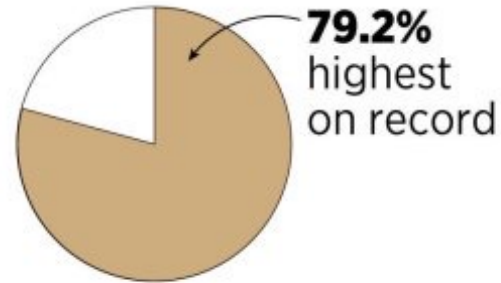
HOUSE



63.2%
down
from 70%
in 2020

283 out of 448

SENATE



79.2%
highest
on record

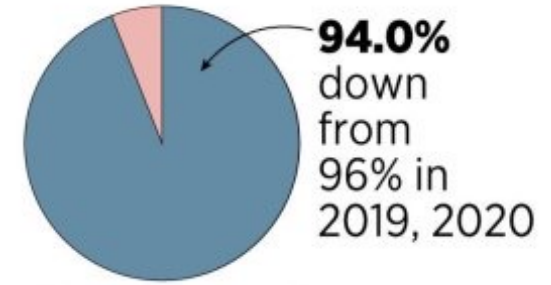
418 out of 528

AVERAGE FOR BOTH
CHAMBERS:

71.8%

How often the majority won:

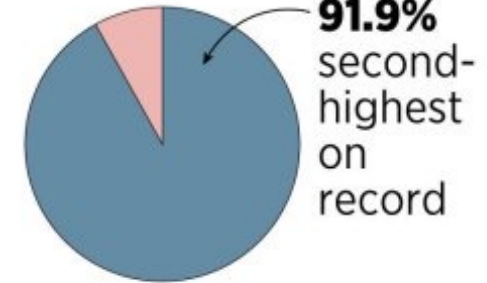
HOUSE



94.0%
down
from
96% in
2019, 2020

266 out of 283

SENATE



91.9%
second-
highest
on
record

384 out of 418

AVERAGE FOR BOTH
CHAMBERS:

92.7%

Components of the Midterms “Boosting” Each Party

- The Dems:
- Dobbs decision;
- Inflation Reduction Act;
- “Enthusiasm” & the “Generic Ballot” tests;
- The GOP:
- The “economy, stupid;”
 - Gas prices;
 - Inflation
- Their “Magic Number”
 - 218 → with a drive to 230
 - Model predicts about +/- 16 to 19 seat advantage (95% CI); or 14 to 19 at 99% CI.
 - MoE here is 7 seats;

Recent History: DEMS, 2018: won 235 seats; GOP, 2014: won 247

LIKELY DEMOCRAT 15 Dem • 0 Rep 0 Ind	LEAN DEMOCRAT 15 Dem • 2 Rep 0 Ind	DEMOCRAT TOSS UP 20 Dem • 0 Rep 0 Ind	REPUBLICAN TOSS UP 0 Dem • 10 Rep 0 Ind	LEAN REPUBLICAN 5 Dem • 6 Rep 0 Ind	LIKELY REPUBLICAN 3 Dem • 8 Rep 0 Ind
AZ-04 Stanton	CA-47 Porter	<i>AK-AL Peltola</i>	AZ-01 Schweikert	AZ-02 O'Halleran	CA-03 Open
CA-09 Harder	CA-49 Levin	CA-13 Open	CA-22 Valadao	AZ-06 Open	<i>CA-40 Kim</i>
CO-07 Open	CT-05 Hayes	IL-17 Open	<i>CA-27 Garcia</i>	CA-41 Calvert	FL-13 Vacant
CT-02 Courtney	<i>IL-13 Open</i>	<i>IN-01 Mrvan</i>	CO-08 New Seat	<i>CA-45 Steel</i>	FL-15 New Seat
GA-02 Bishop	<i>MI-03 Open</i>	KS-03 Davids	NC-13 Open	<i>FL-27 Salazar</i>	<i>IA-02 Hinson</i>
IL-06 Casten	MI-08 Kildee	ME-02 Golden	NE-02 Bacon	<i>IA-01 Miller-Meeks</i>	MI-10 Open
IL-11 Foster	NC-01 Open	MI-07 Slotkin	<i>NM-02 Herrell</i>	IA-03 Axne	<i>MN-01 Finstad</i>
IL-14 Underwood	NH-02 Kuster	MN-02 Craig	NY-22 Open	NJ-07 Malinowski	MT-01 New Seat
MD-06 Trone	NV-04 Horsford	NH-01 Pappas	OH-01 Chabot	NY-01 Open	<i>NY-02 Garbarino</i>
<i>NC-06 Manning</i>	NY-03 Open	NV-01 Titus	TX-34 Merged Seat	WA-03 Open	<i>NY-11 Malliotakis</i>
NJ-03 Kim	NY-17 Maloney	NV-03 Lee		WI-03 Open	TX-15 Open
NJ-05 Gottheimer	<i>NY-18 Ryan</i>	<i>NY-19 Open</i>			
<i>NM-03 Leger Fernandez</i>	OH-09 Kaptur	OH-13 Open			
NY-04 Open	OR-04 Open	OR-05 Open			
PA-12 Open	OR-06 New Seat	PA-07 Wild			
	TX-28 Cuellar	PA-08 Cartwright			
	VA-07 Spanberger	PA-17 Open			
		RI-02 Open			
		VA-02 Luria			
		WA-08 Schrier			

FUNDAMENTALS are Against Dems This Cycle

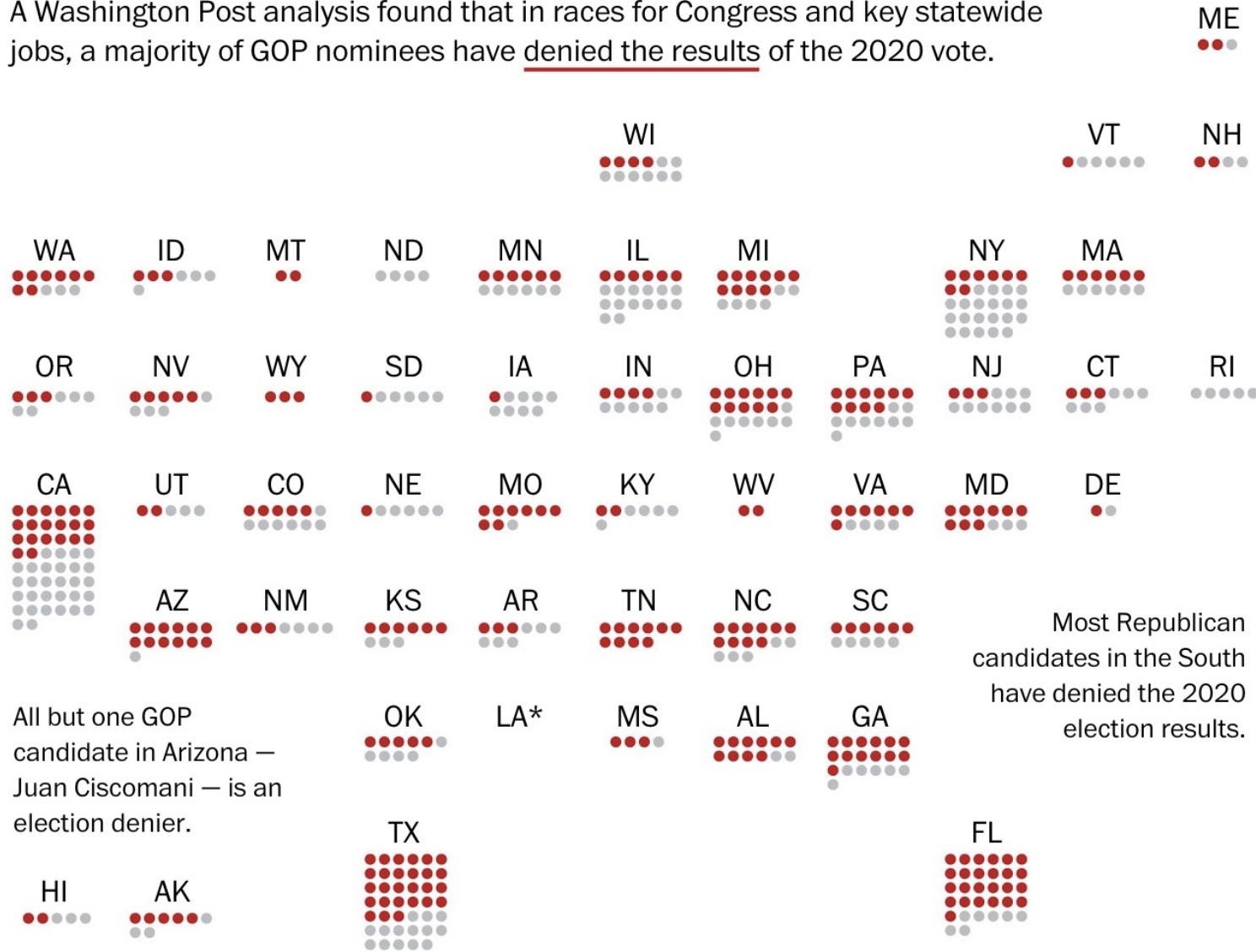
**Dems would
need to win
24/30
“TARGETED,
TOSS-UP” seats –**

or

**80% of the TOSS-
Ups to hold**

Republican election deniers on the ballot in nearly every state

A Washington Post analysis found that in races for Congress and key statewide jobs, a majority of GOP nominees have denied the results of the 2020 vote.



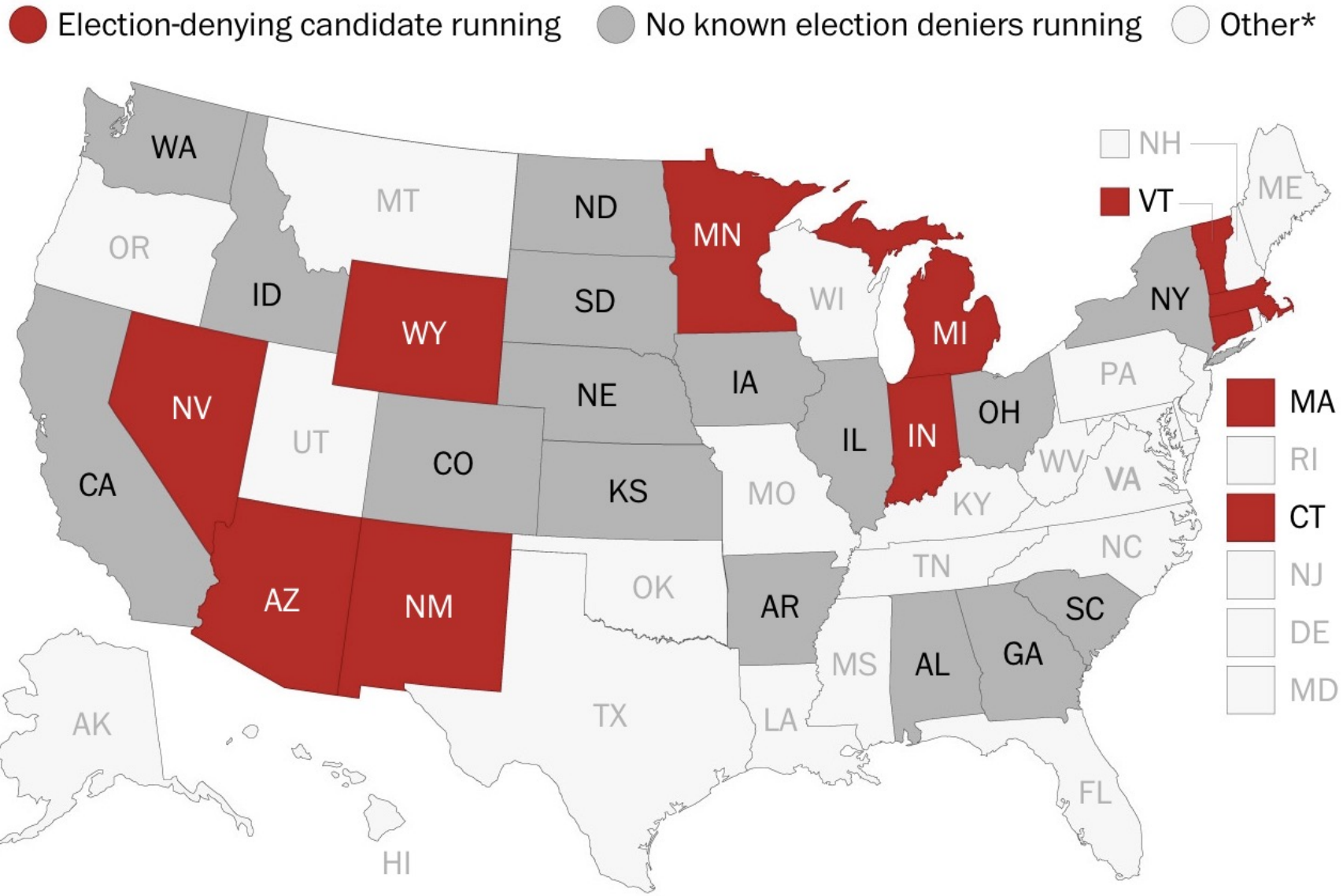
All but one GOP candidate in Arizona — Juan Ciscomani — is an election denier.

Most Republican candidates in the South have denied the 2020 election results.

What to Make of GOP Candidates in the Midterms?

*Louisiana holds an open primary on Nov. 8.

Where election deniers could run elections



*Includes states with no secretary of state, states where that role does not run elections, states where that role is appointed and states with no secretary of state race this year.

Source: Washington Post reporting

NICK MOURTOUPALAS/THE WASHINGTON POST

What to Watch For Onto 08 November 2022?

The BIG 25!!

- **Nine Senate races**: Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin
- **Eight gubernatorial races**: Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin
- **Eight House races**: The GOP pick-up opportunities in CO-8 (new seat), MN-2 (Craig), NV-3 (Lee), PA-8 (Cartwright) and VA-2 (Luria), and the Dem pick-up opportunities in CA-22 (Valadao), NC-13 (open) and NE-2 (Bacon)

What to Watch For on Election Night / Week? Our Models...

- **1. Go state-by-state to understand this election;**
- **2. Look at the “early vote;”**
- **3. Think “snapshots,” not forecasts on races;**
- **4. Electoral scenarios *matter* – especially ‘down ballot;’**
- **5. Solid track record of Our Model;**
- **6. How the Senate is different...caveat...**

Where to get Information on politics...

**Resources on The Politics Climate - Looking to
2022, 2024: All Politics is *GLOCAL***

Your Questions, Comments, & Concerns?

Anything further, please Contact me at:

david.mccuan@sonoma.edu

Where to Find Info.: The Politics of the 20s

- www.thegreenpapers.com
- <https://www.electproject.org/>
- <https://www.electproject.org/election-data/voter-turnout-data>
- www.votesmart.org
- <http://election.princeton.edu>
- www.opensecrets.org (The Ctr for Responsive Politics, \$\$)
- <http://funderscommittee.org/> (Dem. \$\$)
- www.politico.com
- www.centerforpolitics.org (UVA)
- www.electoralmaps.org
- www.uselectionatlas.org

- How to Read Polls, in general, some guidelines:

- <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-election/here-are-five-questions-ask-when-analyzing-political-polls-n1053401>

Places for Still More Political Info.:

www.smartvoter.org

www.factcheck.org

www.vote.caltech.edu

Websites for Polling...Data...and DD:

<http://www.ppic.org/survey/>

<https://igs.berkeley.edu/research/berkeley-igs-poll>

<https://igs.berkeley.edu/library/california-ballot-measure-guides>

<http://www.iandrinstitute.org/>

<http://www.iandrinstitute.org/data.cfm>

More Websites for Politics & Elections Info.

- elections.gmu.edu
- www.pollster.com
- www.gallup.com
- www.pollsandvotes.com
- www.cqpolitics.com
- www.rollcall.com ; www.thehill.com
- www.fivethirtyeight.com
- www.pewresearch.org
- <http://blog.lib.umn.edu/cspg/smartpolitics/>

Just on money / \$\$\$ below:

- www.opensecrets.org
- www.maplight.org
- www.followthemoney.org
- www.campaignfinance.org

Where to Get More Info. Beyond the Great Paul Mitchell...

On All Things Redistricting:

Moritz Law School, The Ohio State:

<http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/election-law/information-analysis/>

Loyola School of Law:

<http://redistricting.lls.edu/>

The Brennan Center, NYU School of Law:

<http://www.brennancenter.org/>

Top CA Elections Resources

- CVF Online Guide:

www.calvoter.org

<https://calvoter.org/covg>

- **Voter's Edge**: KEY, HELPFUL RESOURCE FOR ALL OF US!

<http://votersedge.org/>

<https://votersedge.org/ca/>

- Official CA Voter's Guide:

<http://www.voterguide.sos.ca.gov/>

- California Choices Guide:

<http://www.californiachoices.org>

- CA Dept. of Finance, Demographic Research Unit:

<http://www.dof.ca.gov/Forecasting/Demographics/>