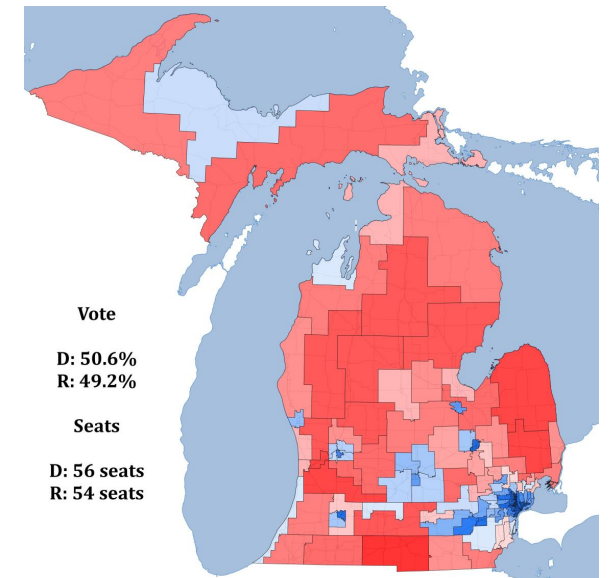
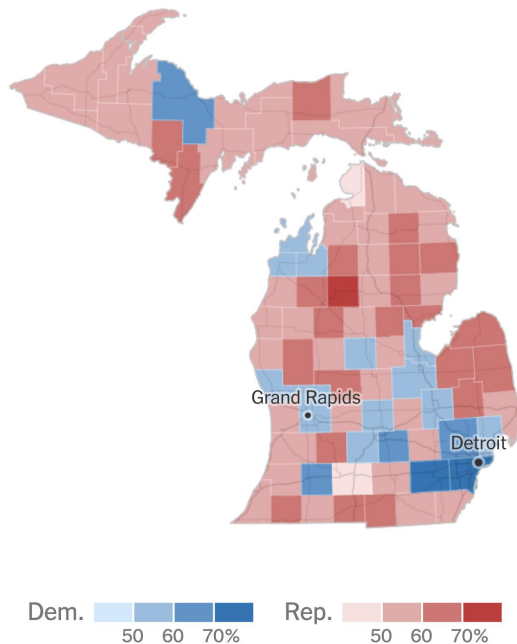


National Context & 2022 Michigan Elections

Matt Grossmann

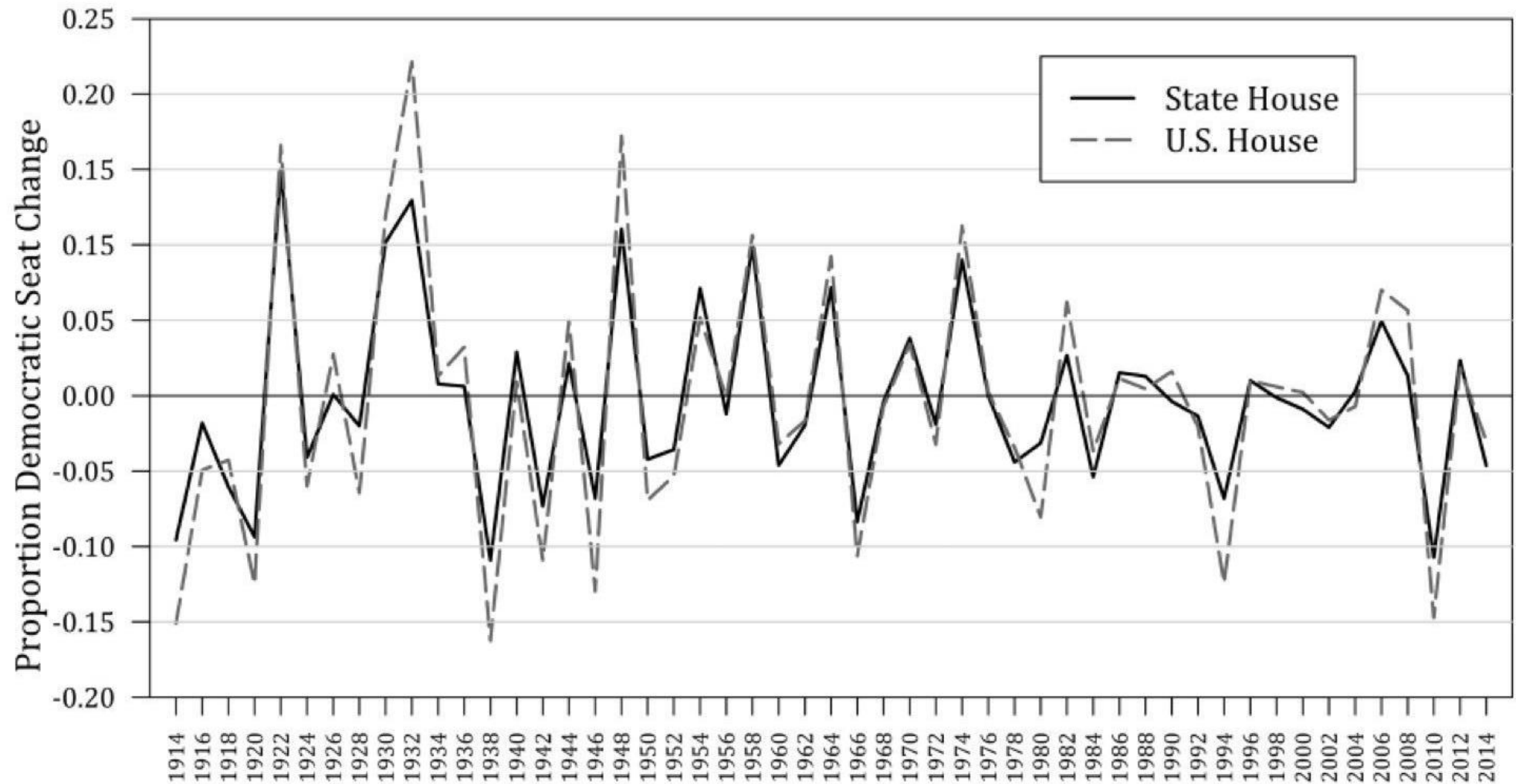


MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

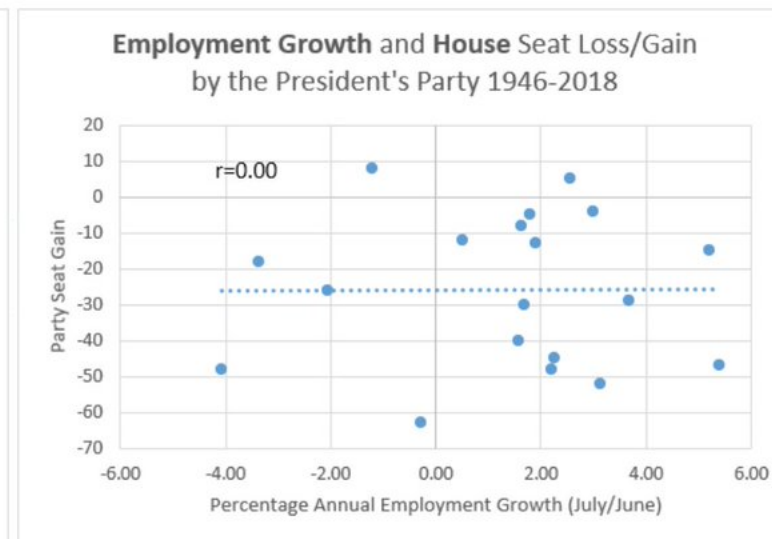
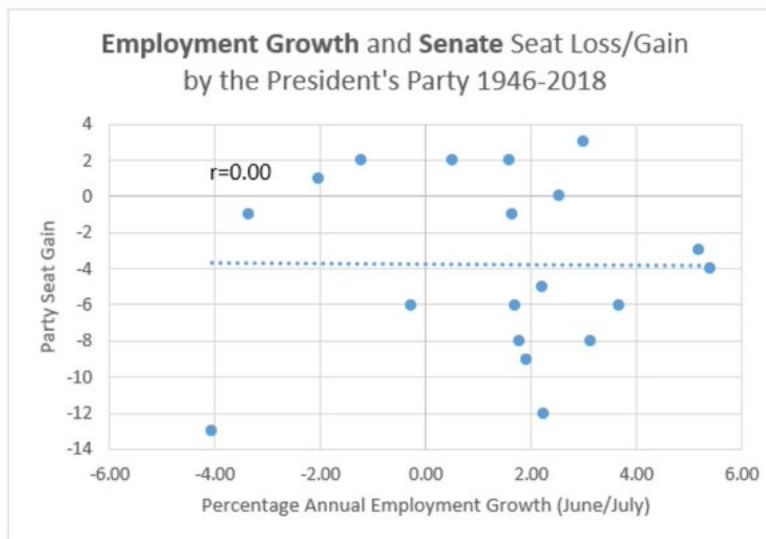
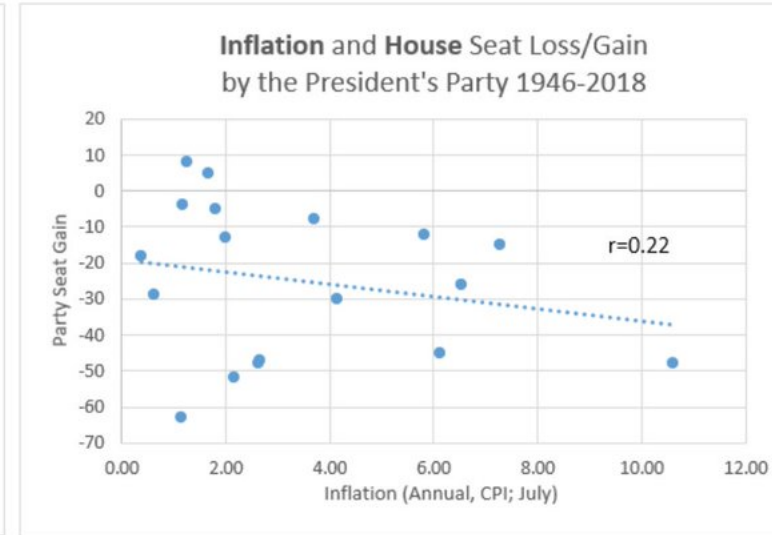
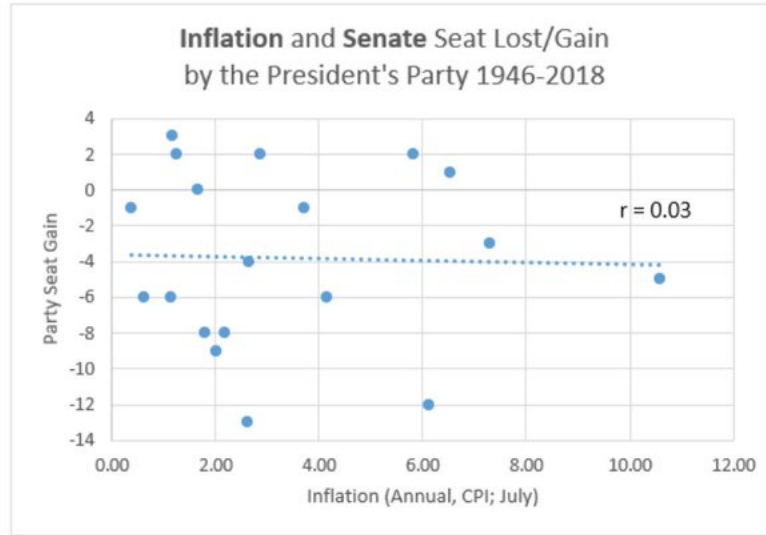
Institute for Public Policy
and Social Research
Michigan Political Leadership Program

Partisan Elections and Partisan Change

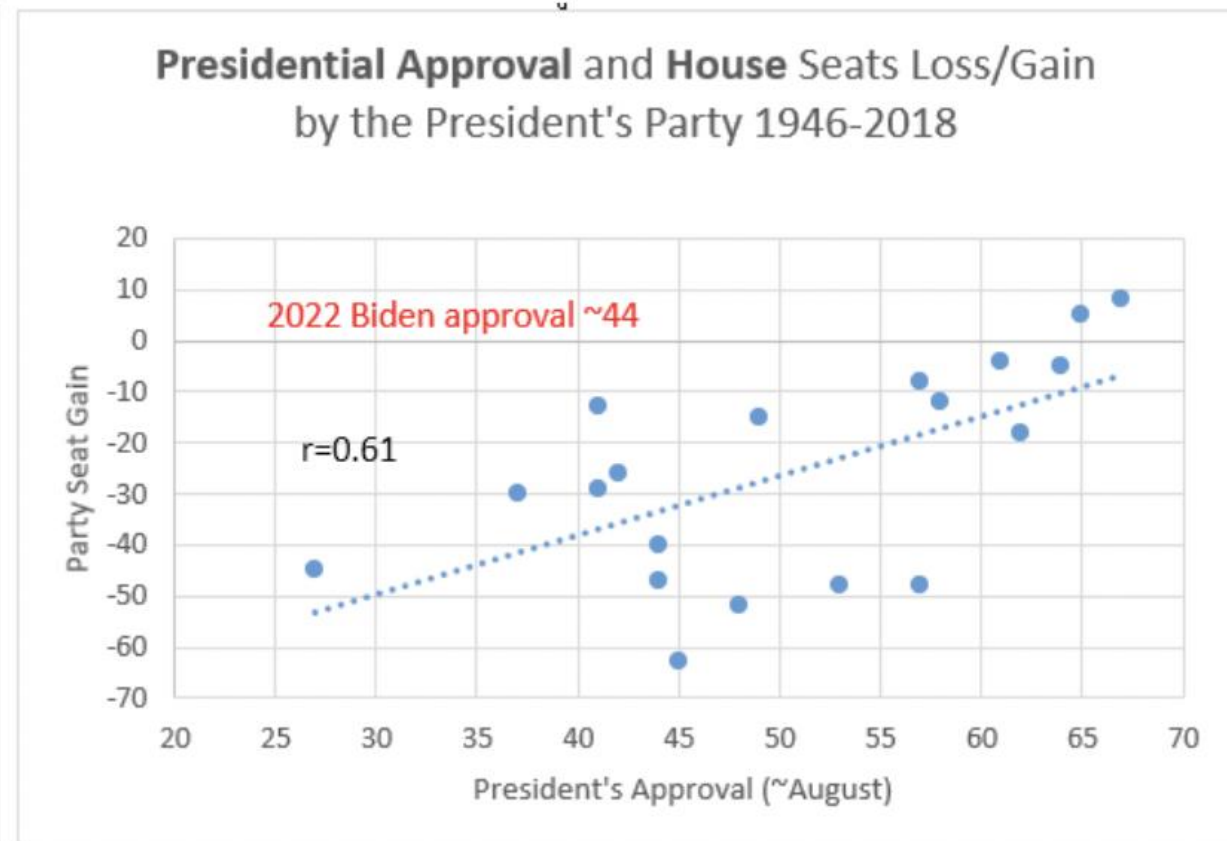
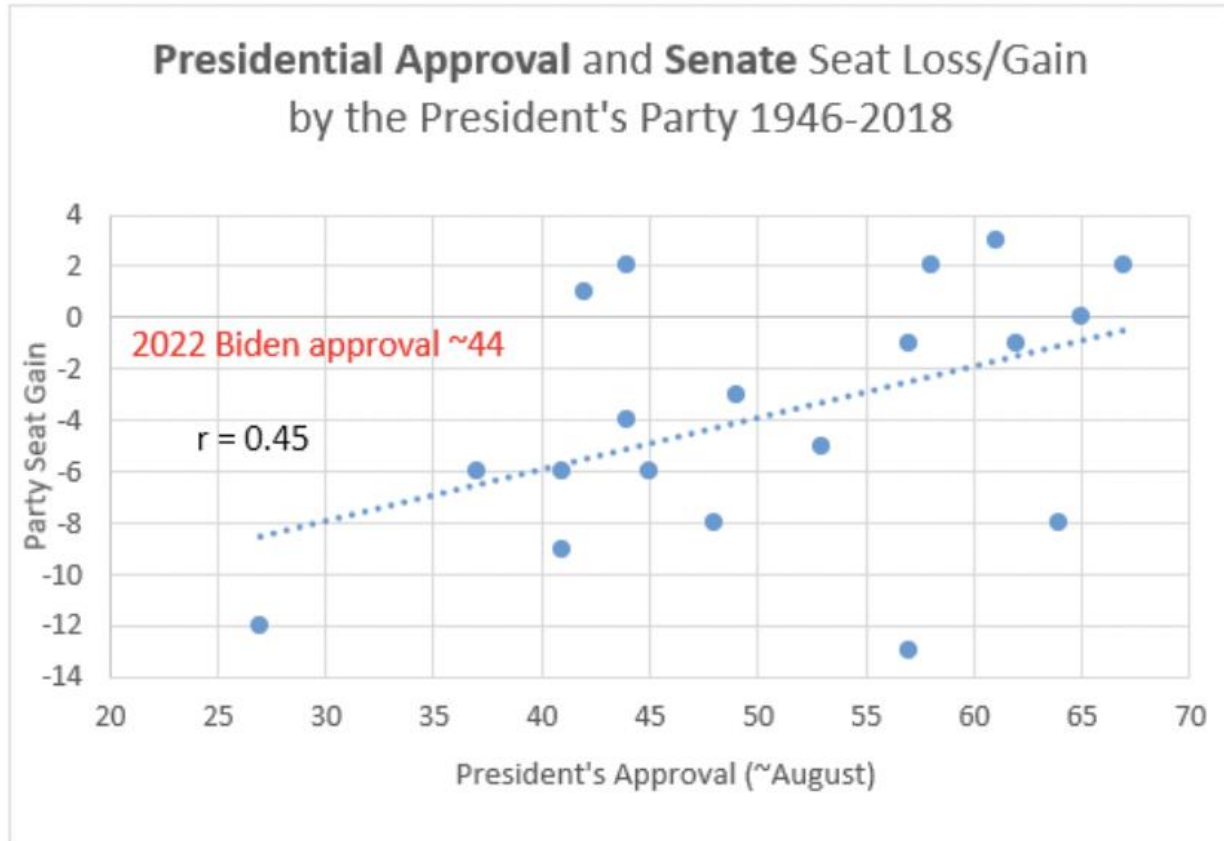
Democratic Seat Change in State House and U.S. House Elections



Economic Effects are Muted in Midterms



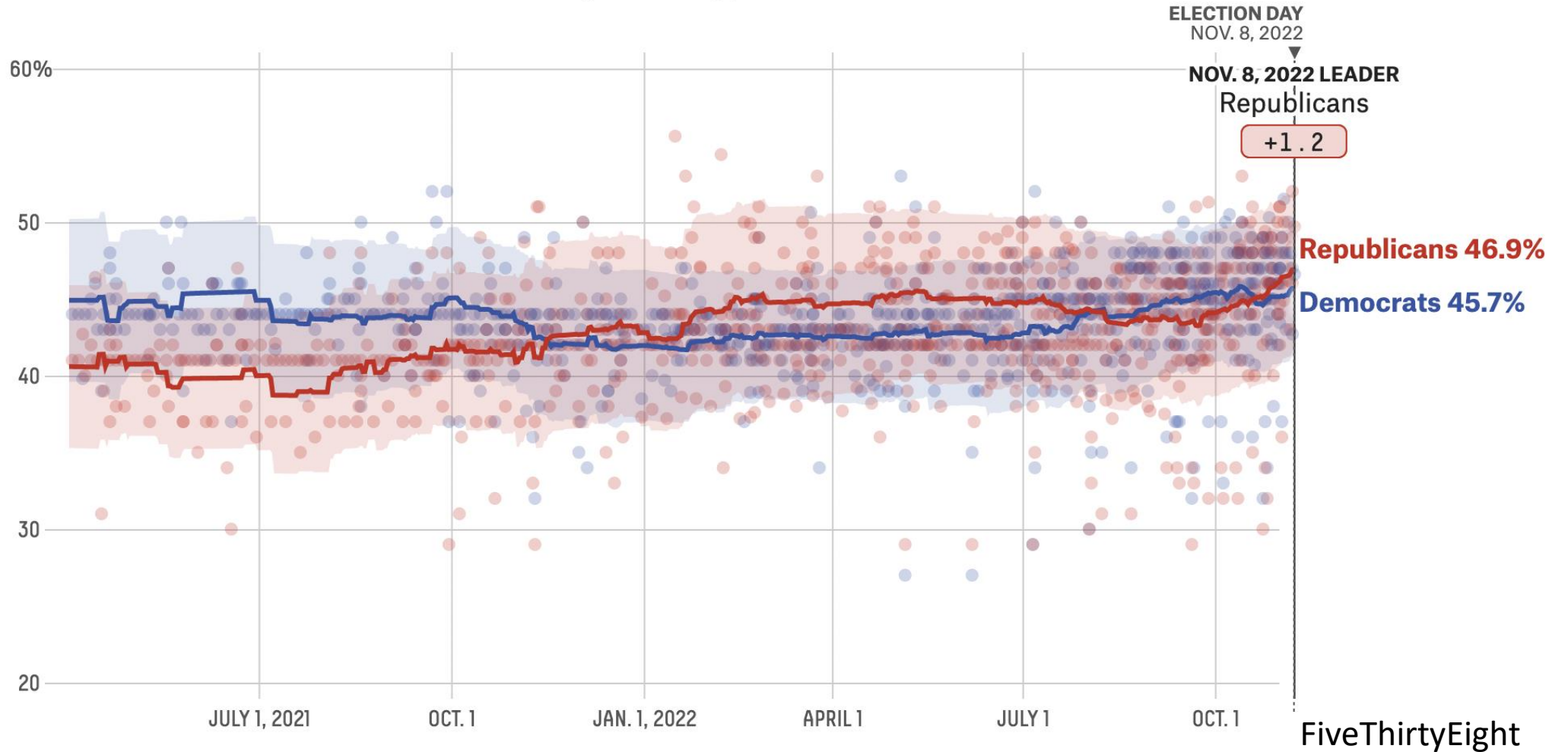
Presidential Approval Effects are Strong



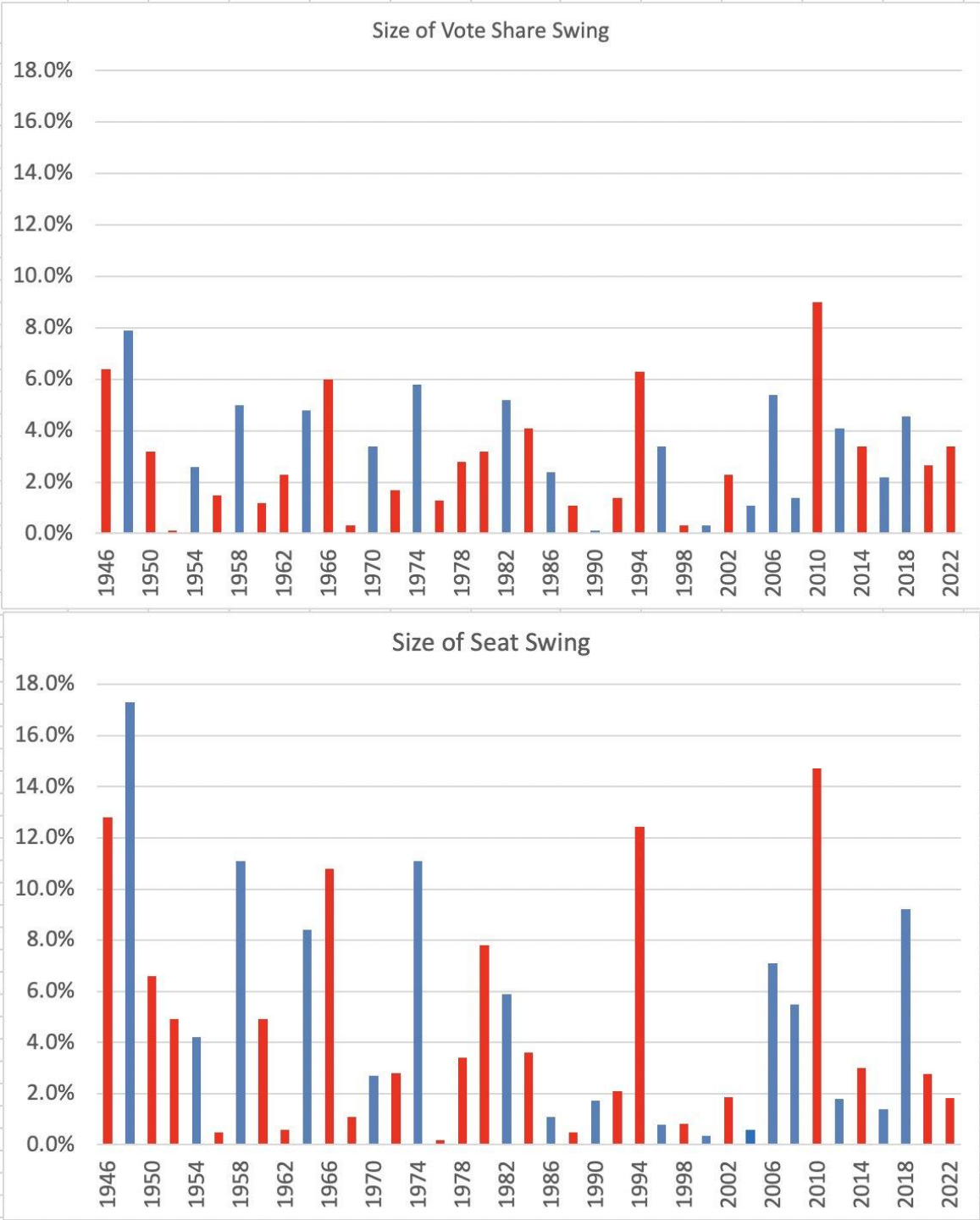
2022 Dynamics

Do voters want Republicans or Democrats in Congress?

An updating estimate of the generic congressional ballot, based on polls that ask people which party they would support in an election.

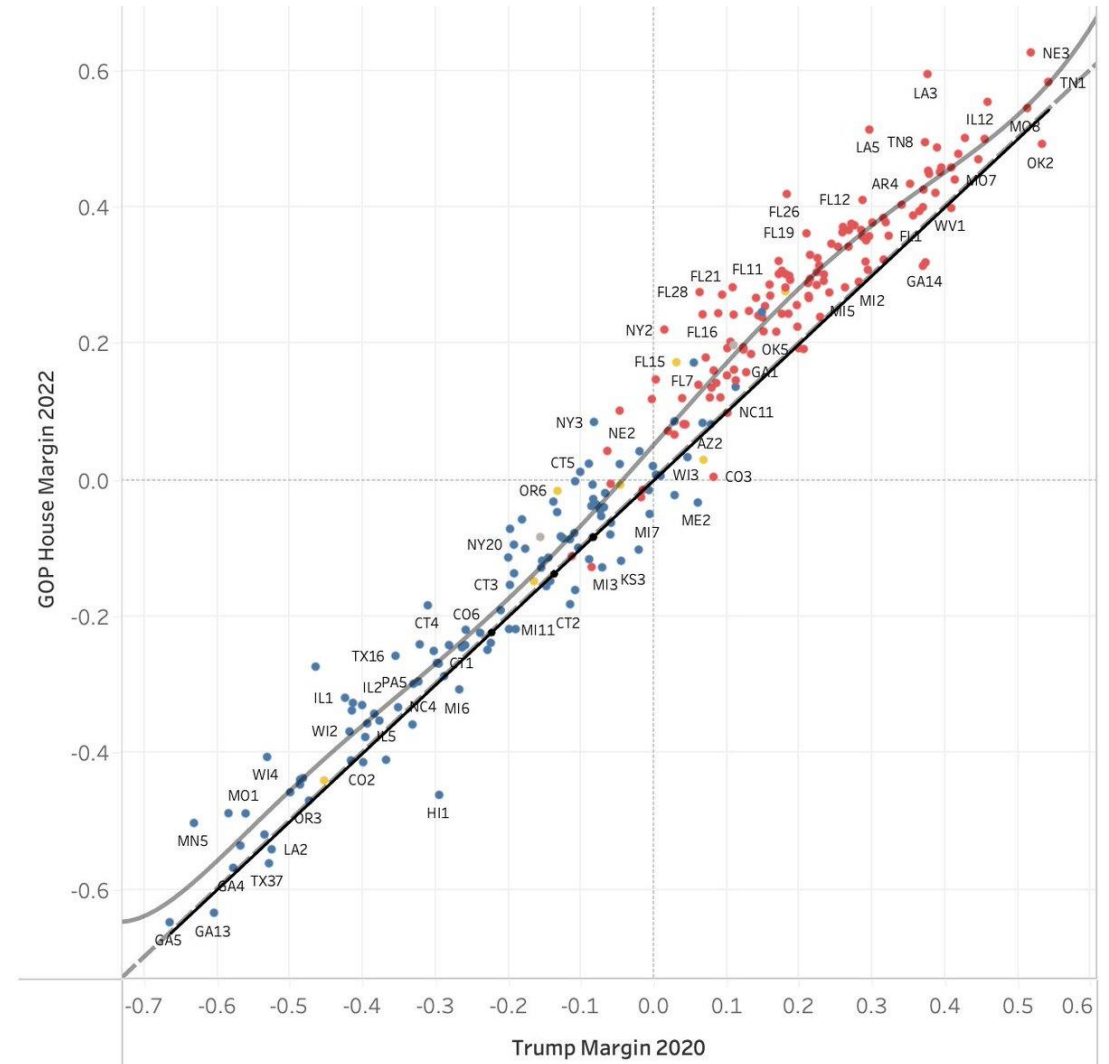
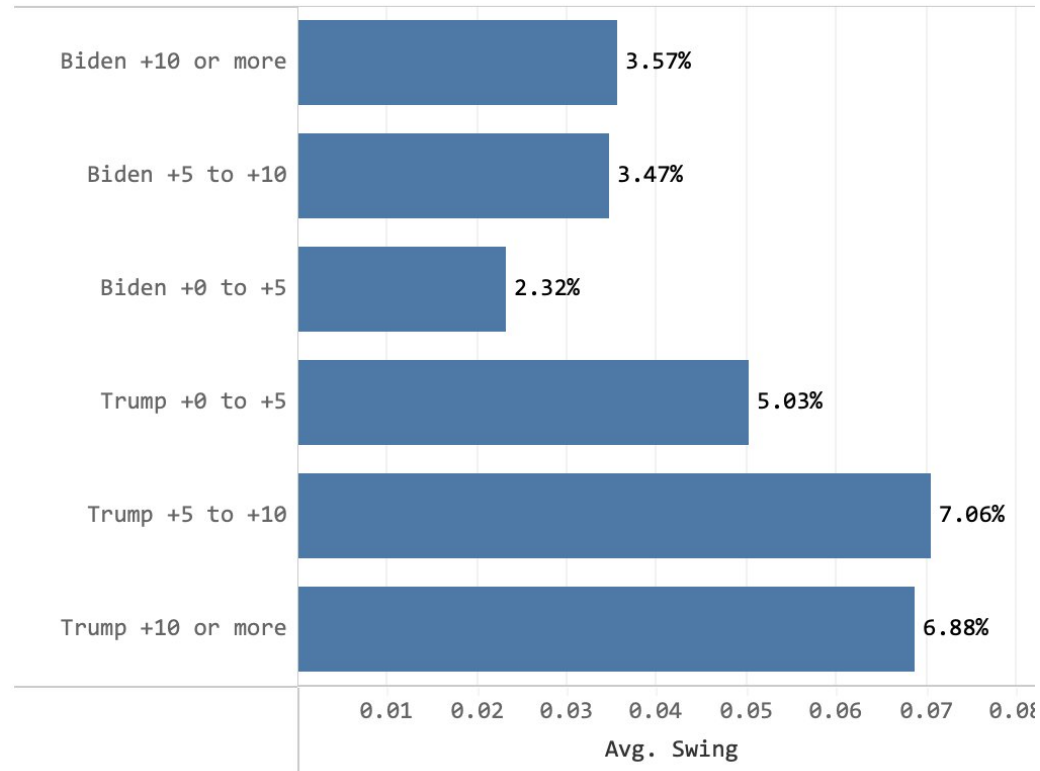


2022: Low to Moderate Vote Swing, Very Low Seat Swing



Poorly Targeted Republican Gains

Avg. 2020-22 Swing by 2020 Margin



Patrick Ruffini, Districts 95%+


Return of Split Tickets, Candidate Effects

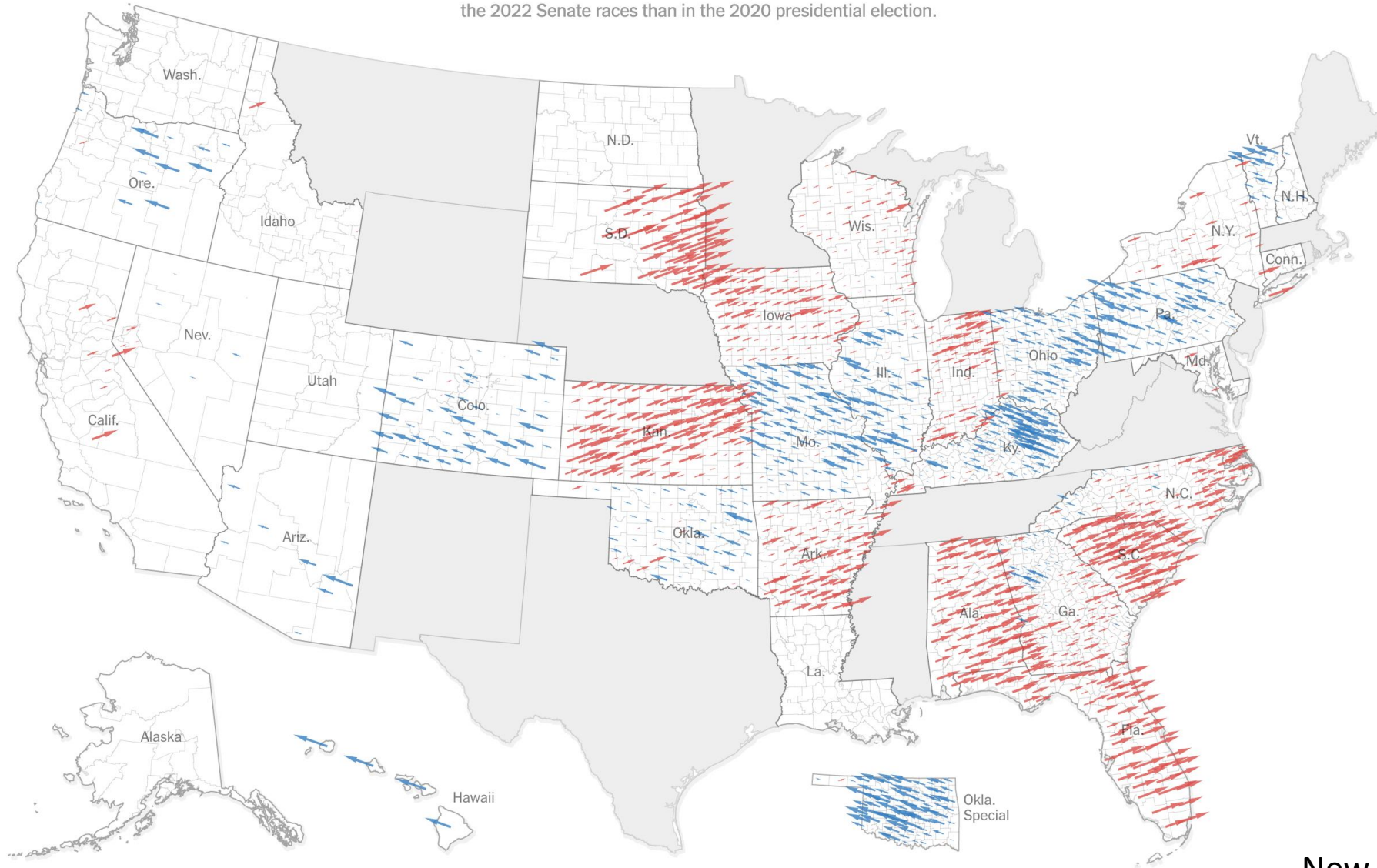
State	Senate	Gov.	Lt. Gov.	Sec. State
Ohio ›	R+6.6 Vance	R+25.6 DeWine	—	R+20.1 LaRose
New Hampshire ›	D+9.2 Hassan	R+15.5 Sununu	—	—
Georgia ›	D+0.9 Warnock	R+7.6 Kemp	R+5.0 Jones	R+9.3 Raffensperger
Nevada ›	D+0.7 Cortez Masto	R+2.3 Lombardo	R+4.5 Anthony	D+1.5 Aguilar
Arizona ›	D+5.7 Kelly	— Not yet called	—	D+5.8 Fontes
Wisconsin ›	R+1.0 Johnson	D+3.4 Evers	—	— Not yet called
Pennsylvania ›	D+4.4 Fetterman	D+14.3 Shapiro	—	—

Competitive Senate races with winning margins of 10 points or less are shown. North Carolina is not included because it did not have elections for the other top statewide offices. Margins may change as the rest of the vote is counted in each state.

Nate Cohn, New York Times

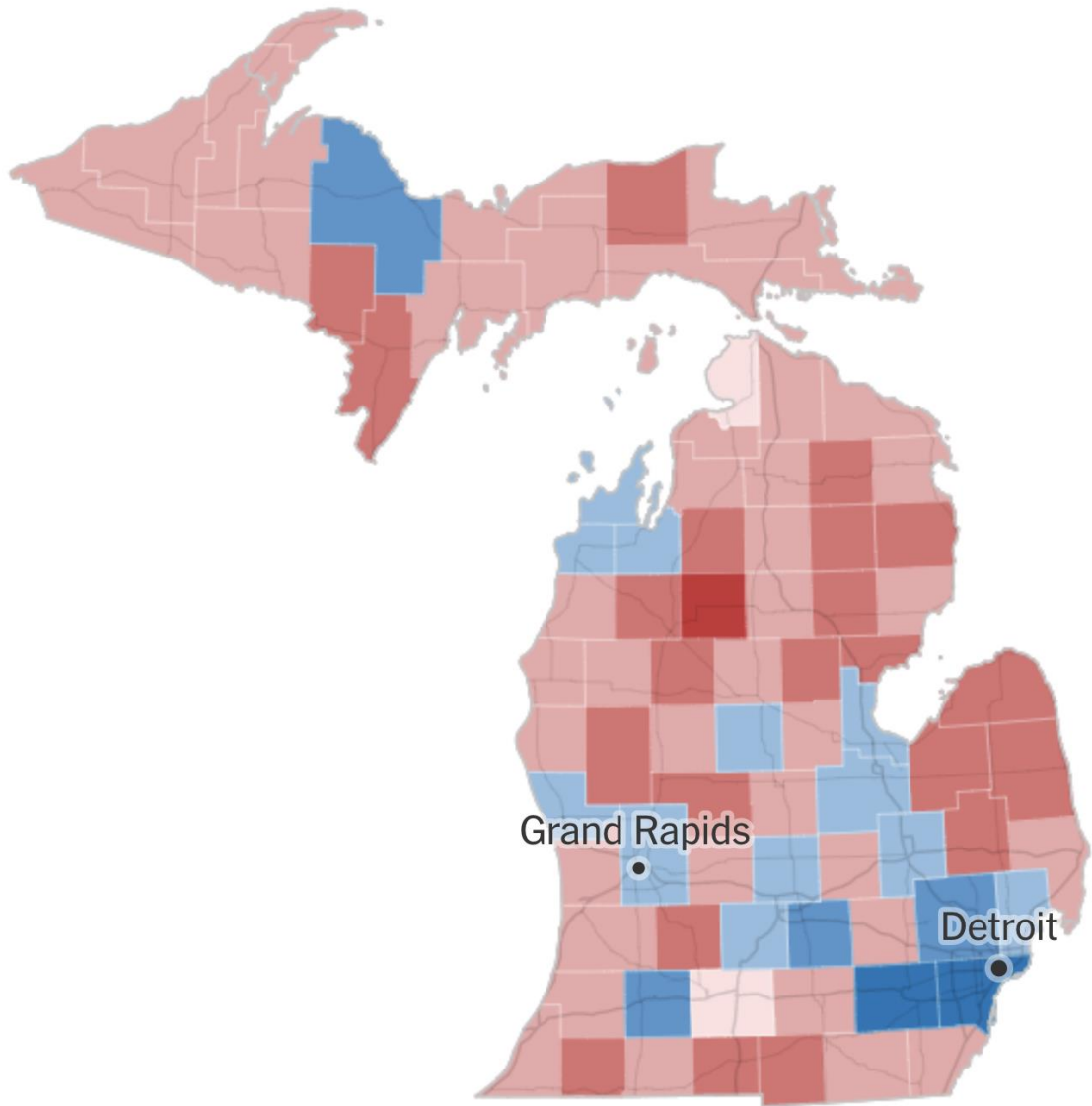
Return of State-Specific Trends

Arrows show how much counties voted more Republican  or Democratic  in the 2022 Senate races than in the 2020 presidential election.

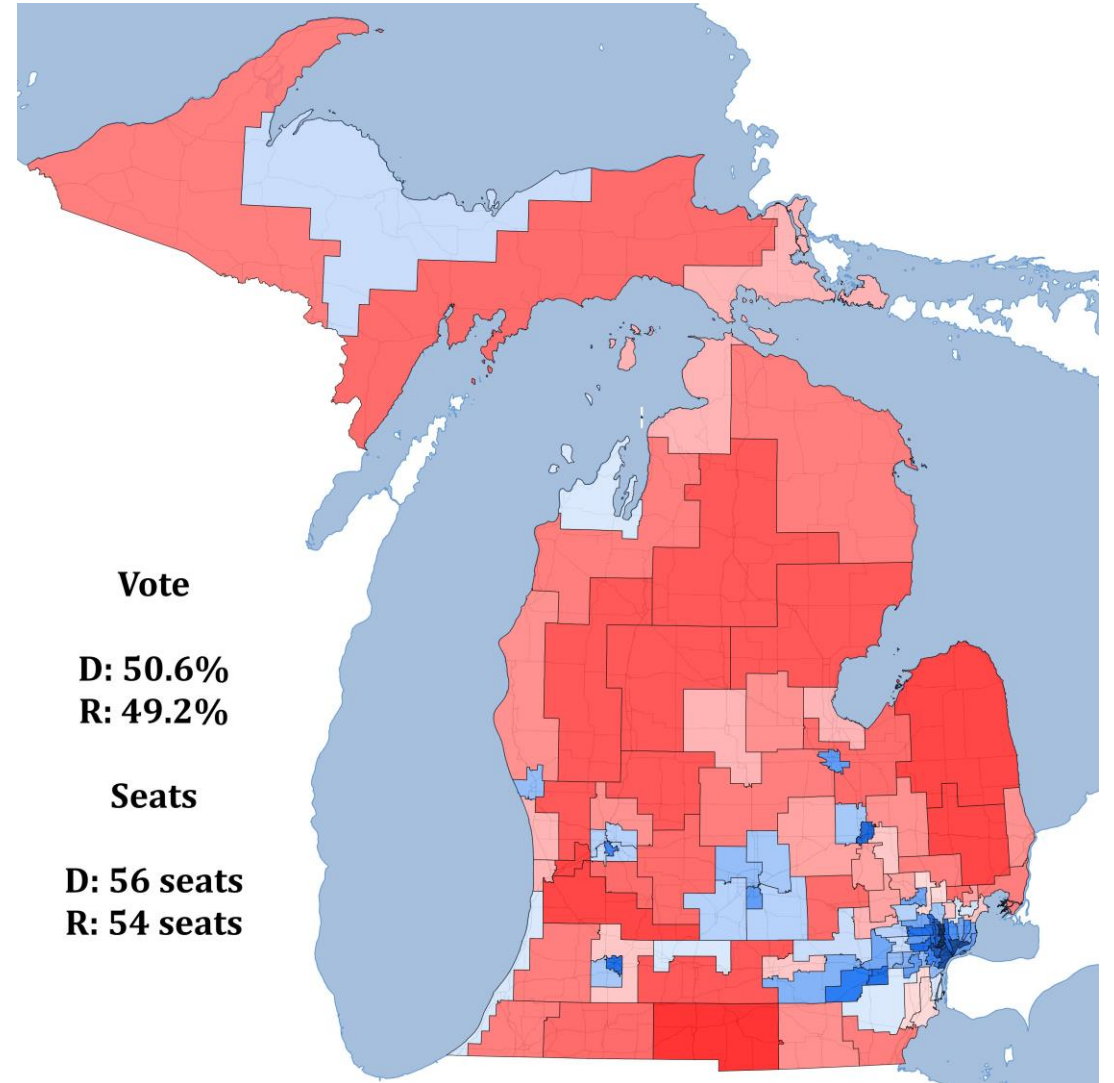
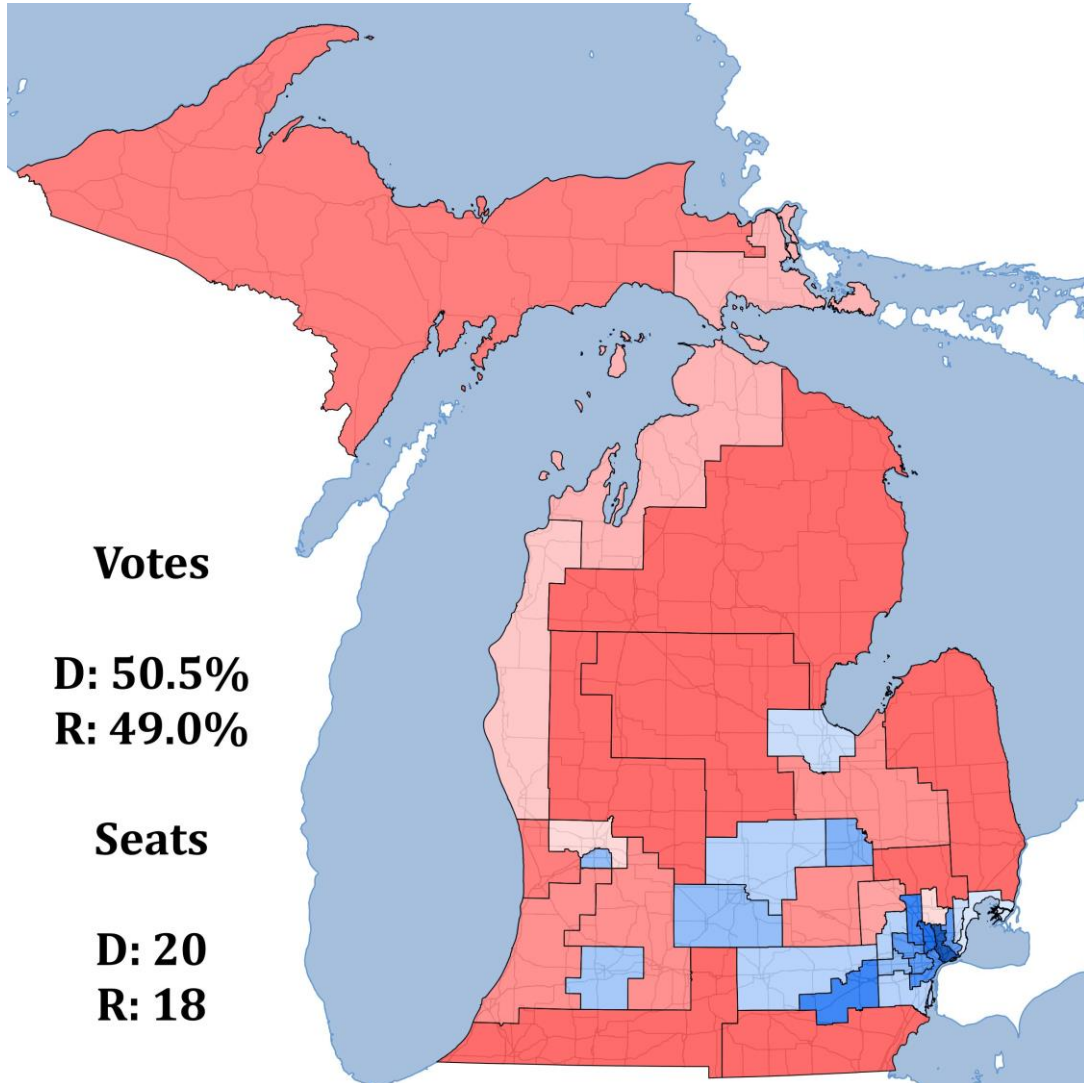




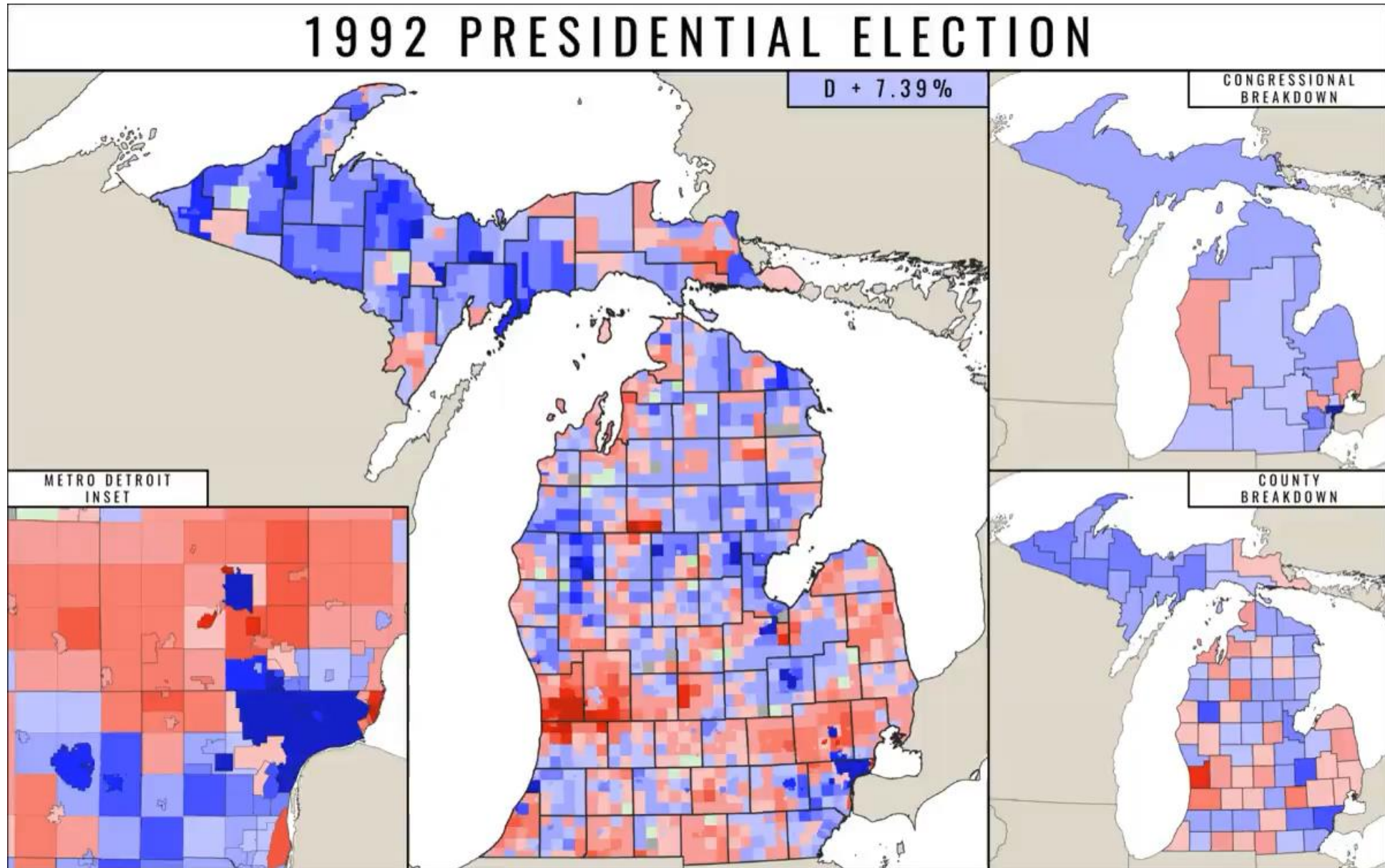
Whitmer Results



State House & Senate Results

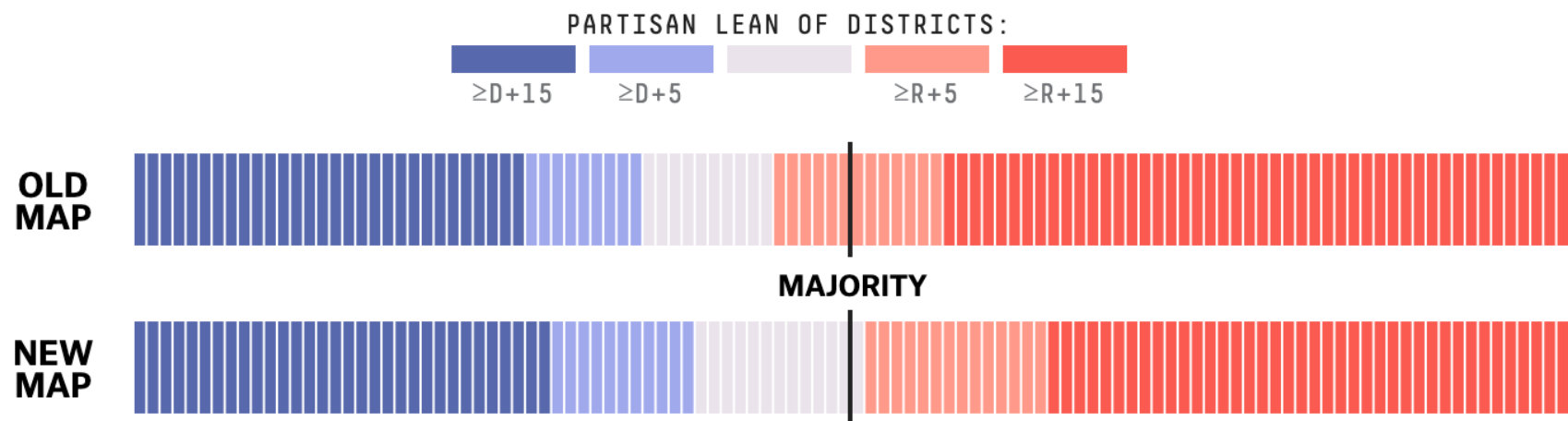


Geographic Change in Michigan

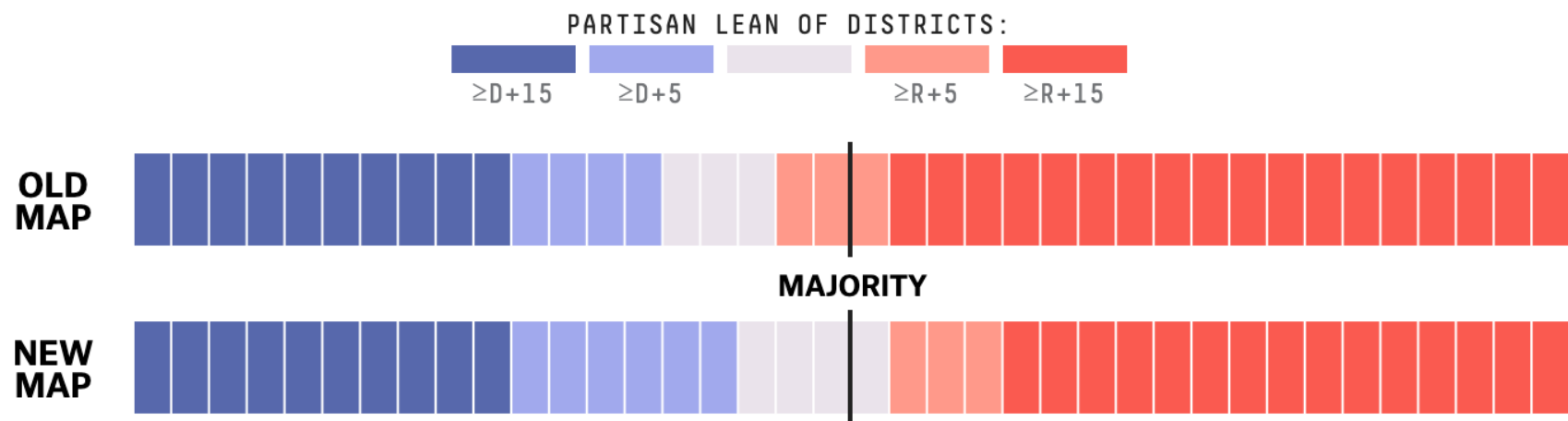


Michigan Redistricting

The partisan breakdown of Michigan's new state House map



The partisan breakdown of Michigan's new state Senate map



Partisan Fairness in Michigan

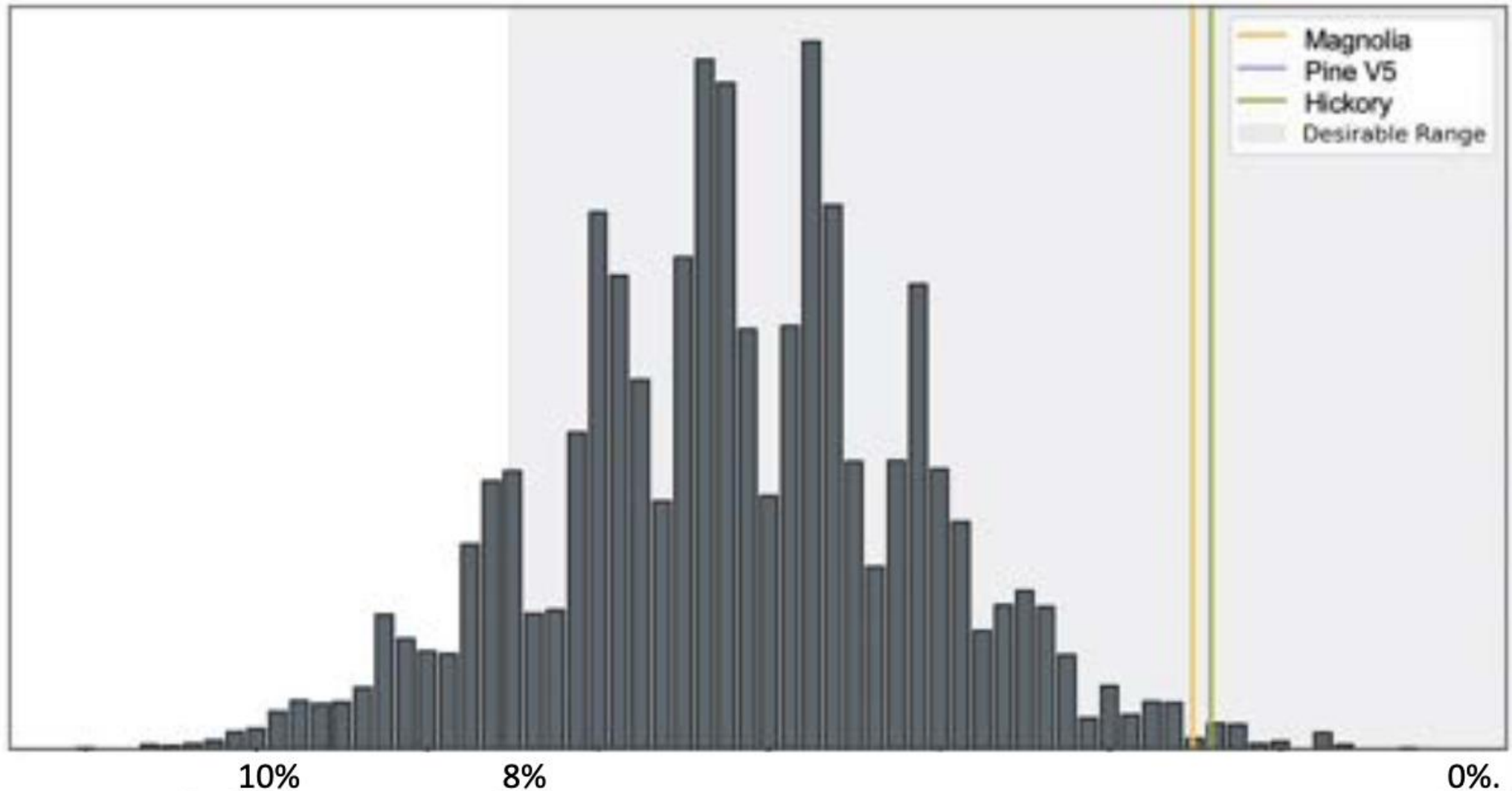


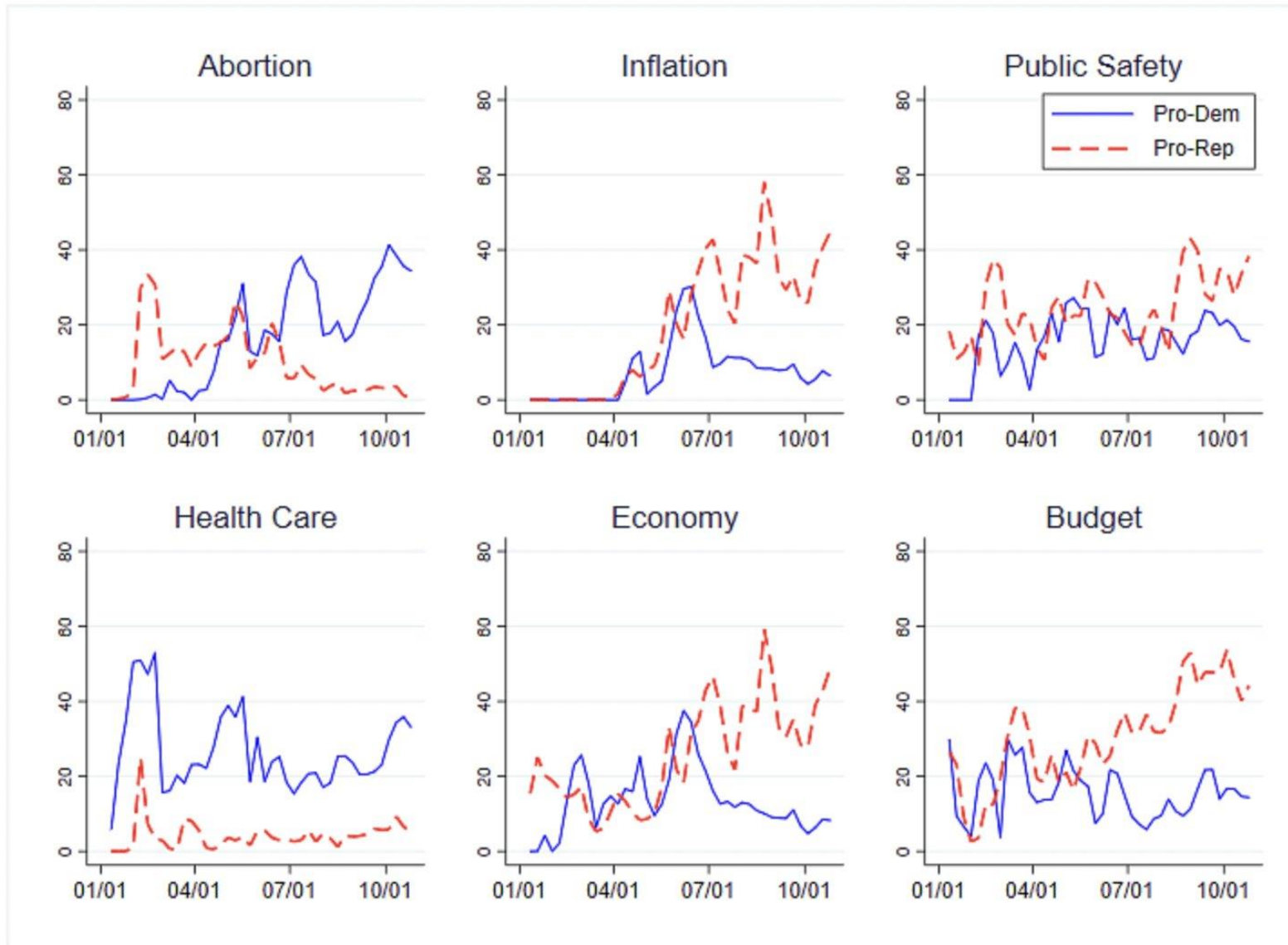
Figure 41. Efficiency Gap given 2018 US Senate Election Results

Whitmer Coattails / Dixon Headwinds

2020 Results	Total Votes	Percent Vote	Net Percent	Over Top of Ticket
Dixon	1,954,311	43.94%	-10.53%	n/a
Whitmer	2,422,624	54.47%	10.53%	n/a
House GOP	2,115,886	49.24%	-1.32%	9.21%
House Dems	2,172,458	50.56%	1.32%	-9.21%
Senate GOP	2,104,411	48.75%	-1.67%	8.86%
Senate Dems	2,176,469	50.42%	1.67%	-8.86%

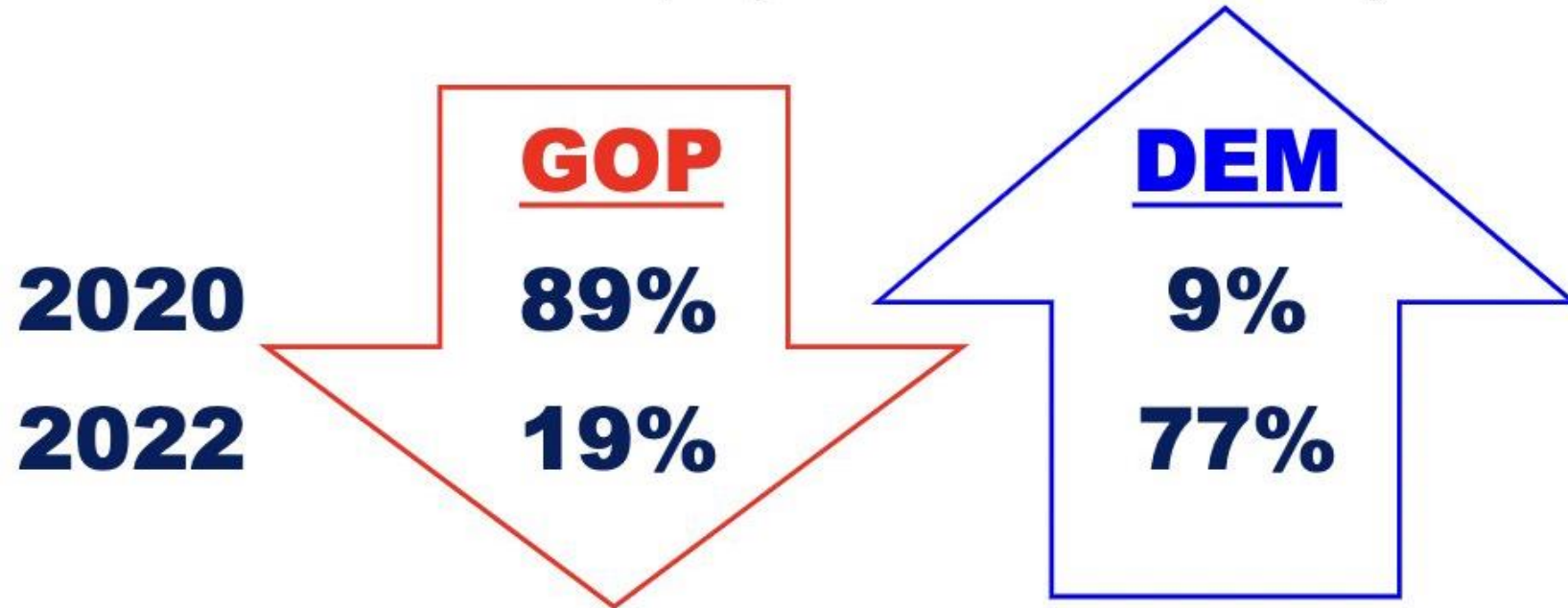
Issues in Ads

Figure 3: Discussion of Issues in Federal Races by Party over Time



Abortion

% voters who said abortion played a role in how they voted



National Explanations: Rep Swing, Dem Wins

- 1) Trump influence produces less electable candidates
- 2) Democrats had more \$, spent more efficiently
- 3) Republican candidates/strategists are in conservative media bubble, pursuing base strategy
- 4) Democratic campaign operations are now better, targeting for turnout and persuasion
- 5) Democrats got lucky with where abortion was influential
- 6) Democrats' changing coalition is now better distributed

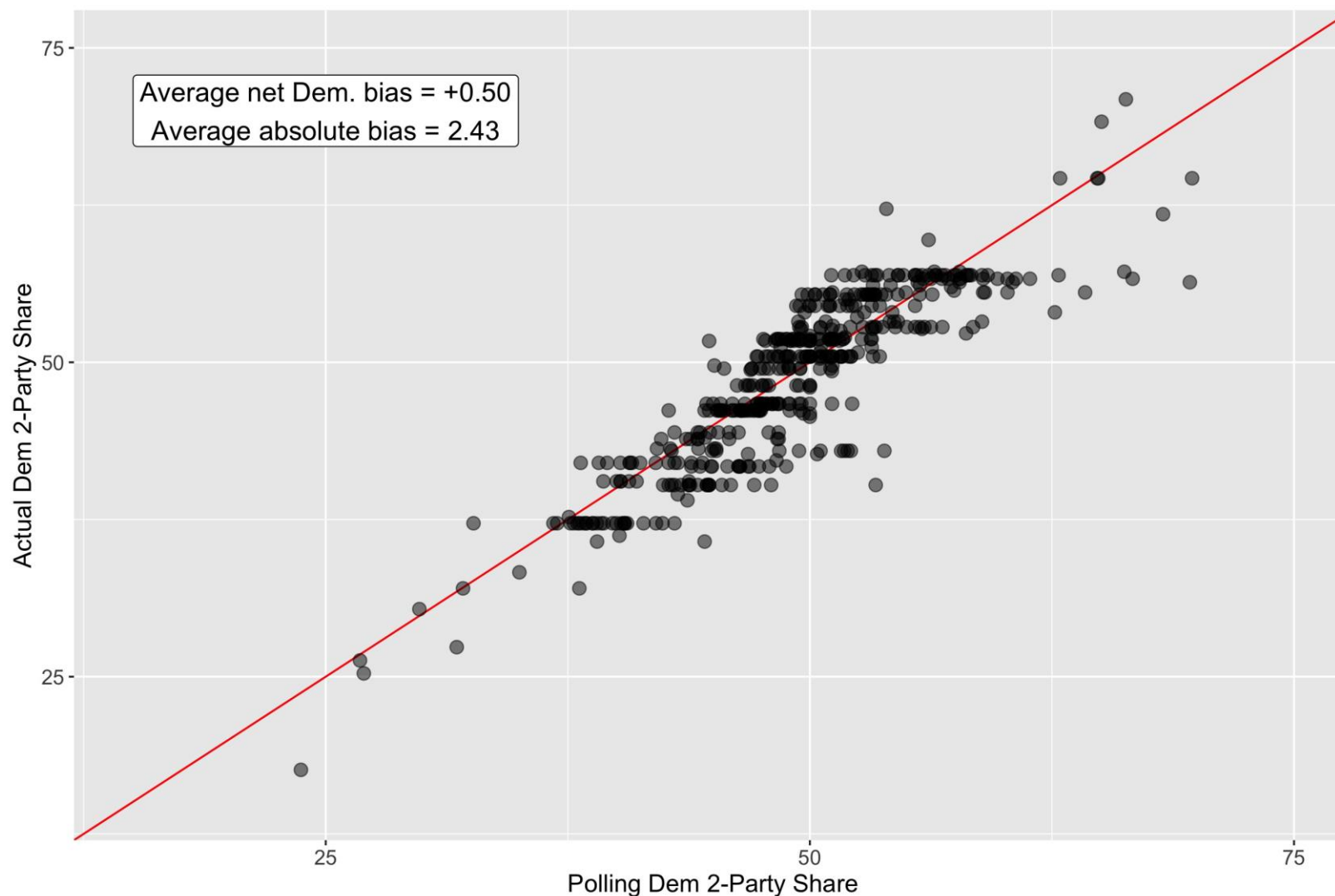
Michigan Explanations: Statewide

- 1) Trump influence produces less electable candidates
- 2) Prop 3: abortion mattered more here
- 3) Redistricting changed vote distribution
- 4) Incumbency and coattails, \$

Polls Were Great

Individual Polls vs. Actual Results (All 2022 Senate, Governor, and House Elections)

For races with 90%+ of votes in



Alexander Agadjanian

Alexander Agadjanian | Data sources = AP, FiveThirtyEight. As of 2022-11-09 18:40:19.
Notes: Using polls since start of October. Results are similar for polls within 2 weeks of election.

Midterm results don't predict the next presidential election

MIDTERM YEAR	MIDTERM RESULTS: SHIFT IN HOUSE SEATS	PRESIDENTIAL POPULAR VOTE, TWO YEARS LATER
1950	R+28	R+11
1954	D+19	R+15
1958	D+49	D+0.2
1962	R+4	D+23
1966	R+48	R+1
1970	D+12	R+23
1974	D+48	D+2
1978	R+15	R+10
1982	D+26	R+18
1986	D+5	R+8
1990	D+8	D+6
1994	R+54	D+9
1998	D+5	D+1
2002	R+8	R+3
2006	D+30	D+7
2010	R+63	D+4
2014	R+13	D+2
2018	D+41	D+5
2022	TBD	TBD

Source: [The Brookings Institution](#), David Leip

DAVID BYLER / THE WASHINGTON POST

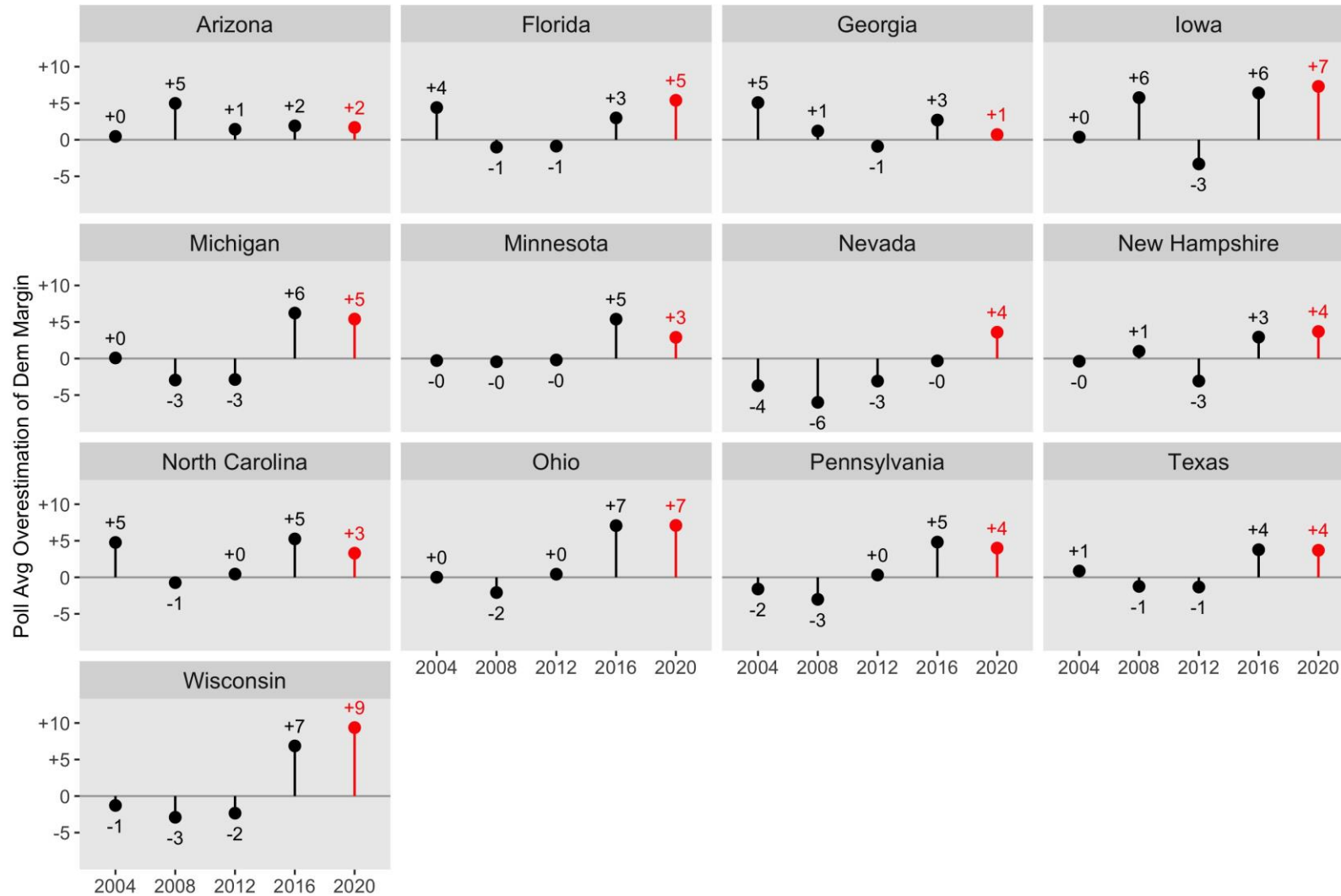
We Don't
Know What's
Next

David Byler

Polling Error

2020 State Polling Error in (Recent) Historical Context

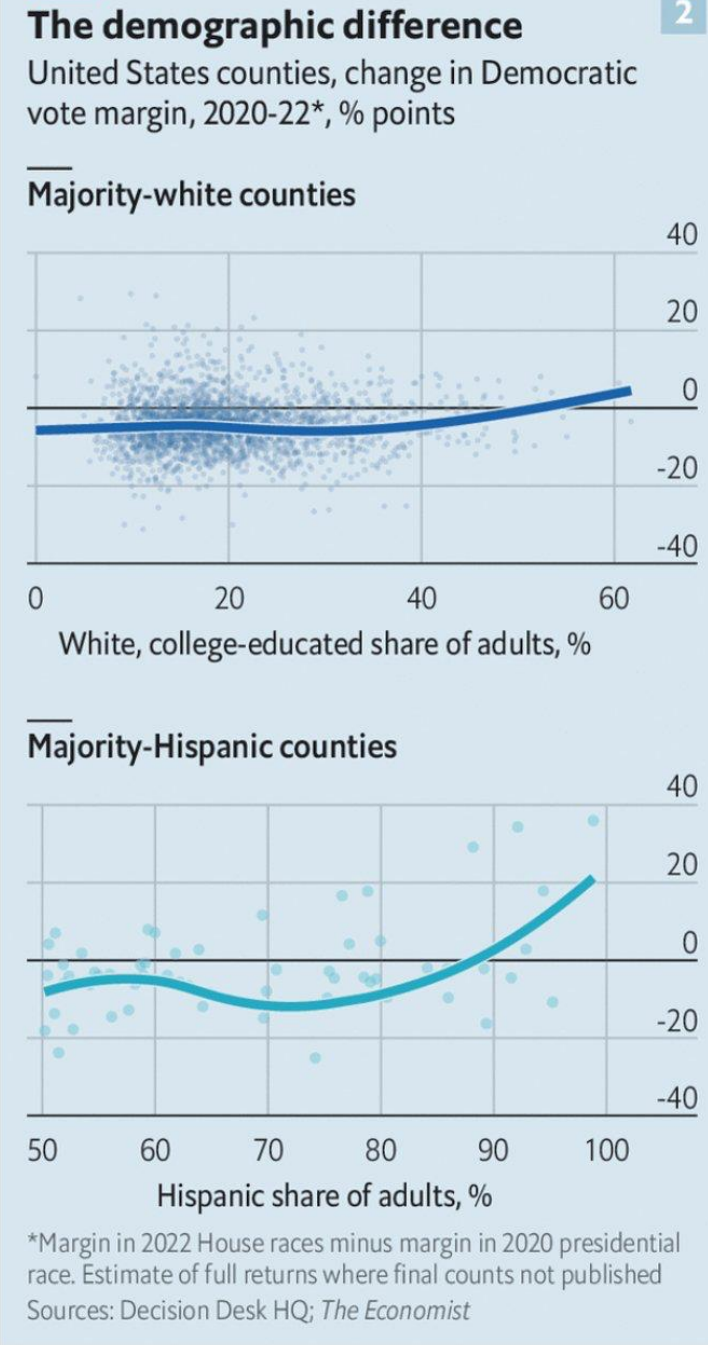
Overestimation of Democratic Vote % Margin in 2004-2020 Presidential Elections across Key States



Alexander Agadjanian | Data sources: actual results from NYT and Leip Election Atlas, poll averages from various aggregators.
Note: overestimation = $(D\%_{poll} - R\%_{poll}) - (D\%_{actual} - R\%_{actual})$. Poll averages from Upshot (2020), HuffPost (2012-16), and RCP (2004-08).

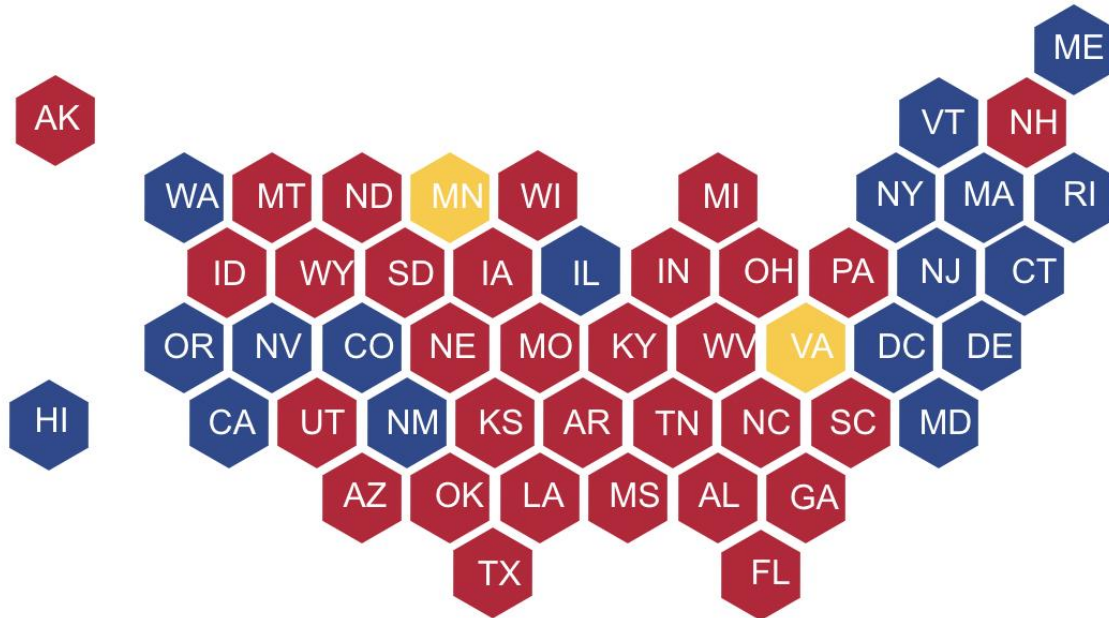
Alexander Agadjanian
@A_agadjanian

Mixed Demographic Trends

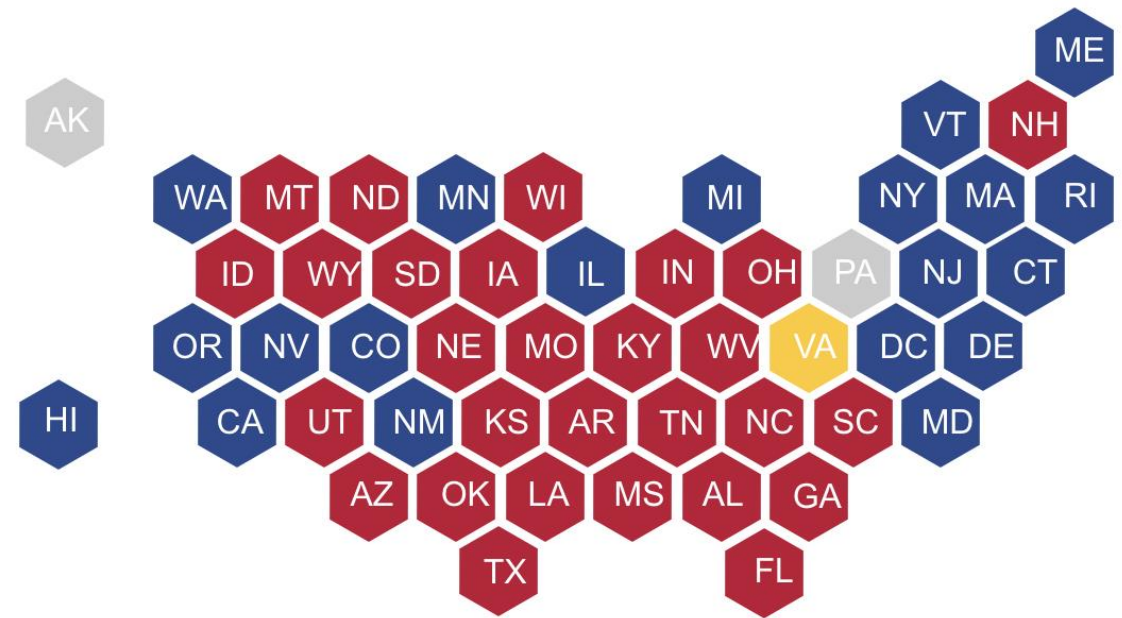


Partisan State Control Change

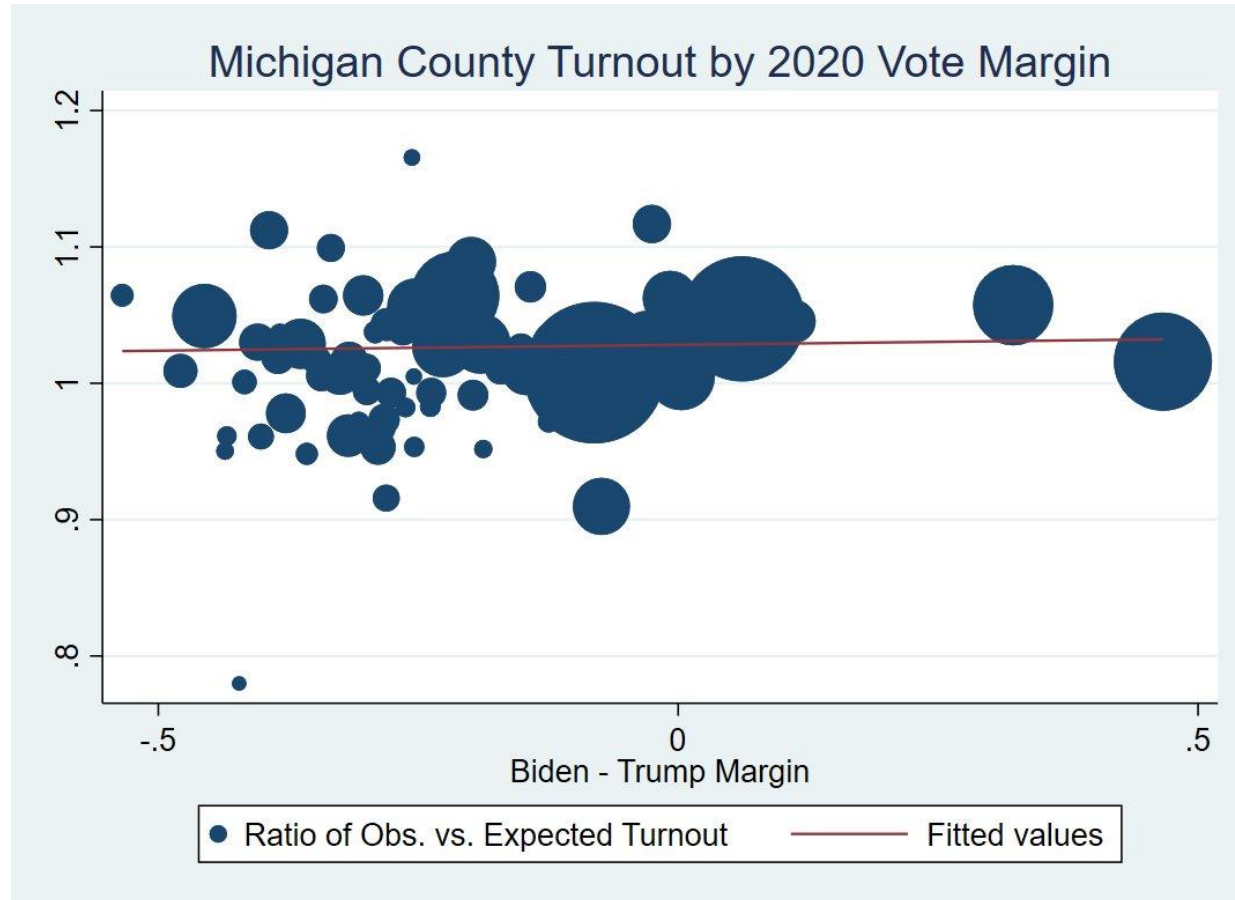
Preelection Legislative Control



Postelection Partisan Legislative Control



High Turnout, Not Necessarily Democratic



Cory Smidt

Michigan midterm turnout: 1982-2022

A look at the number of votes in each Michigan gubernatorial election since 1982.

Red = Republican governor. Blue = Democratic governor

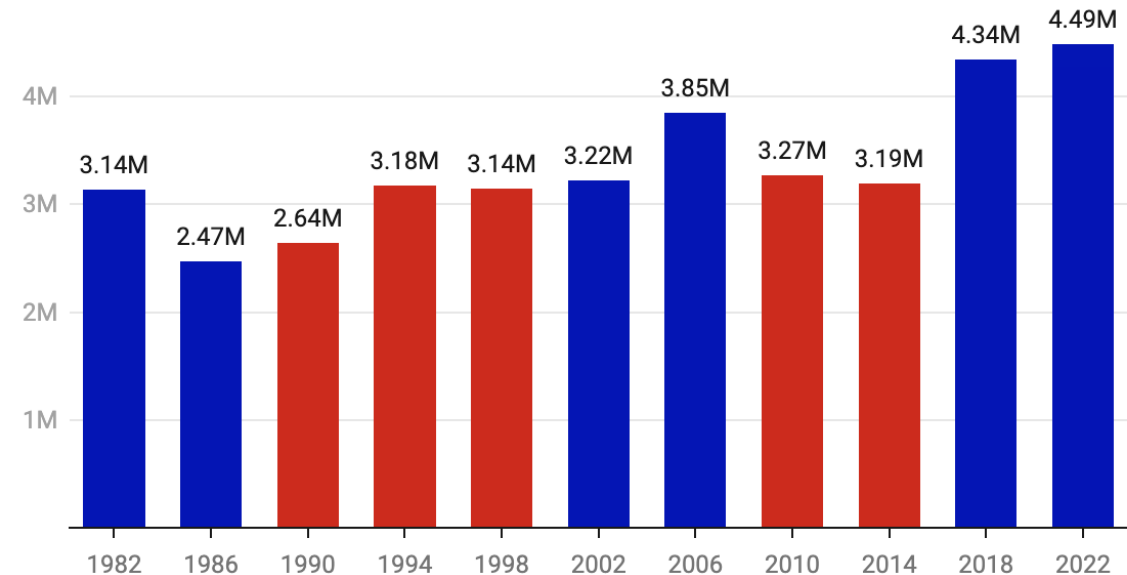
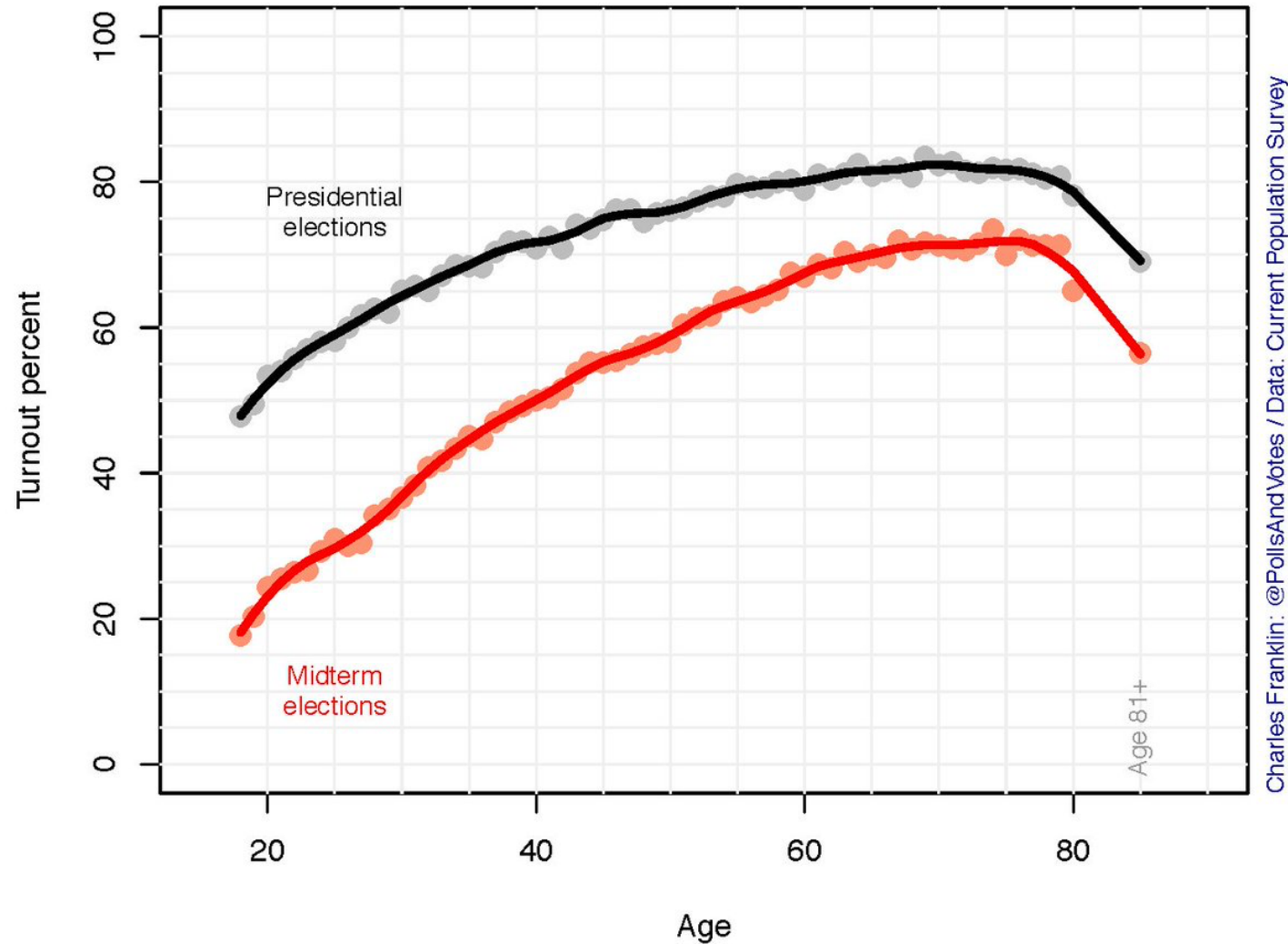


Chart: Taylor DesOrmeau • Source: [Michigan Department of State](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

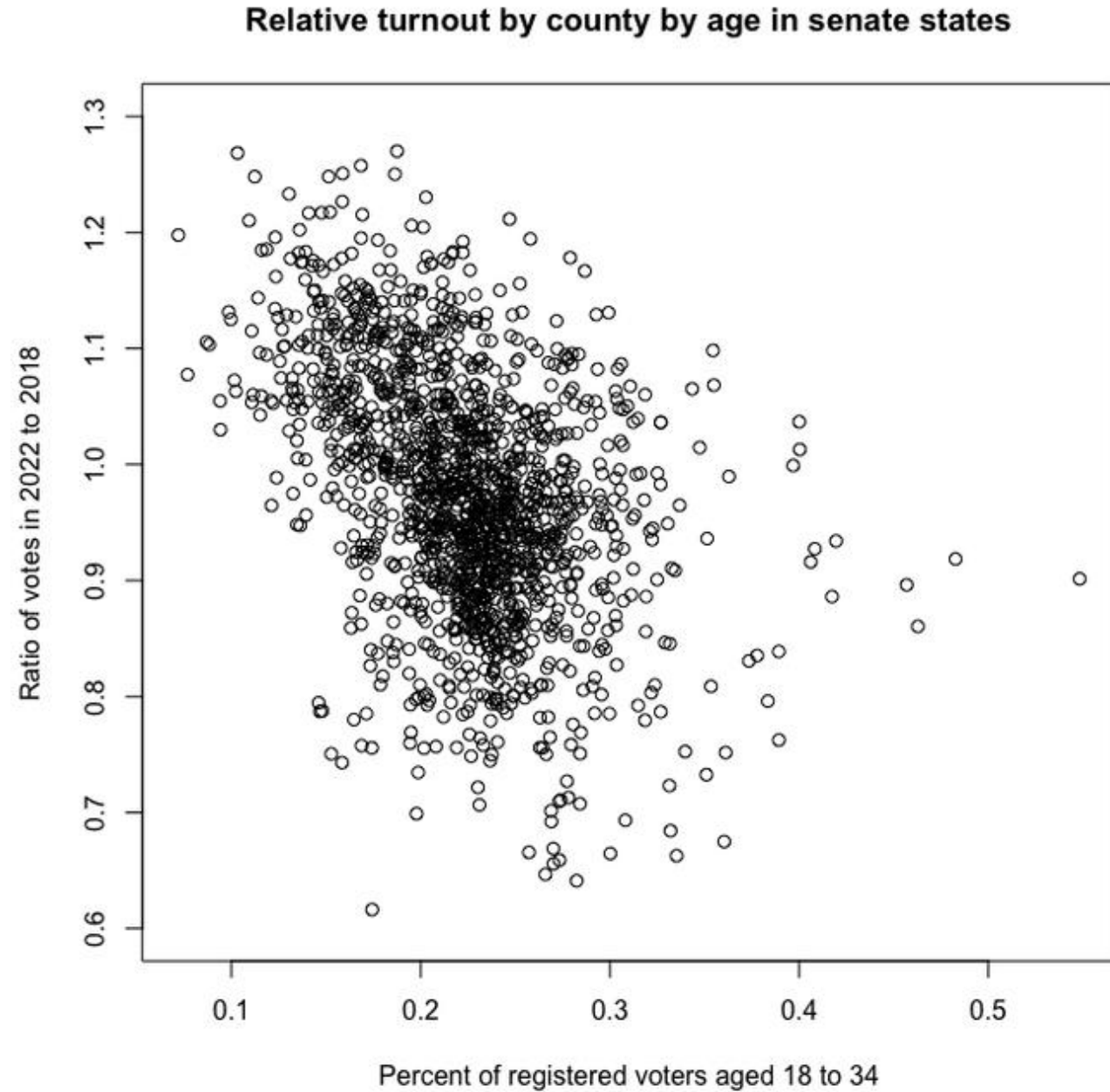
Taylor DesOrmeau, MLive

Turnout by Age

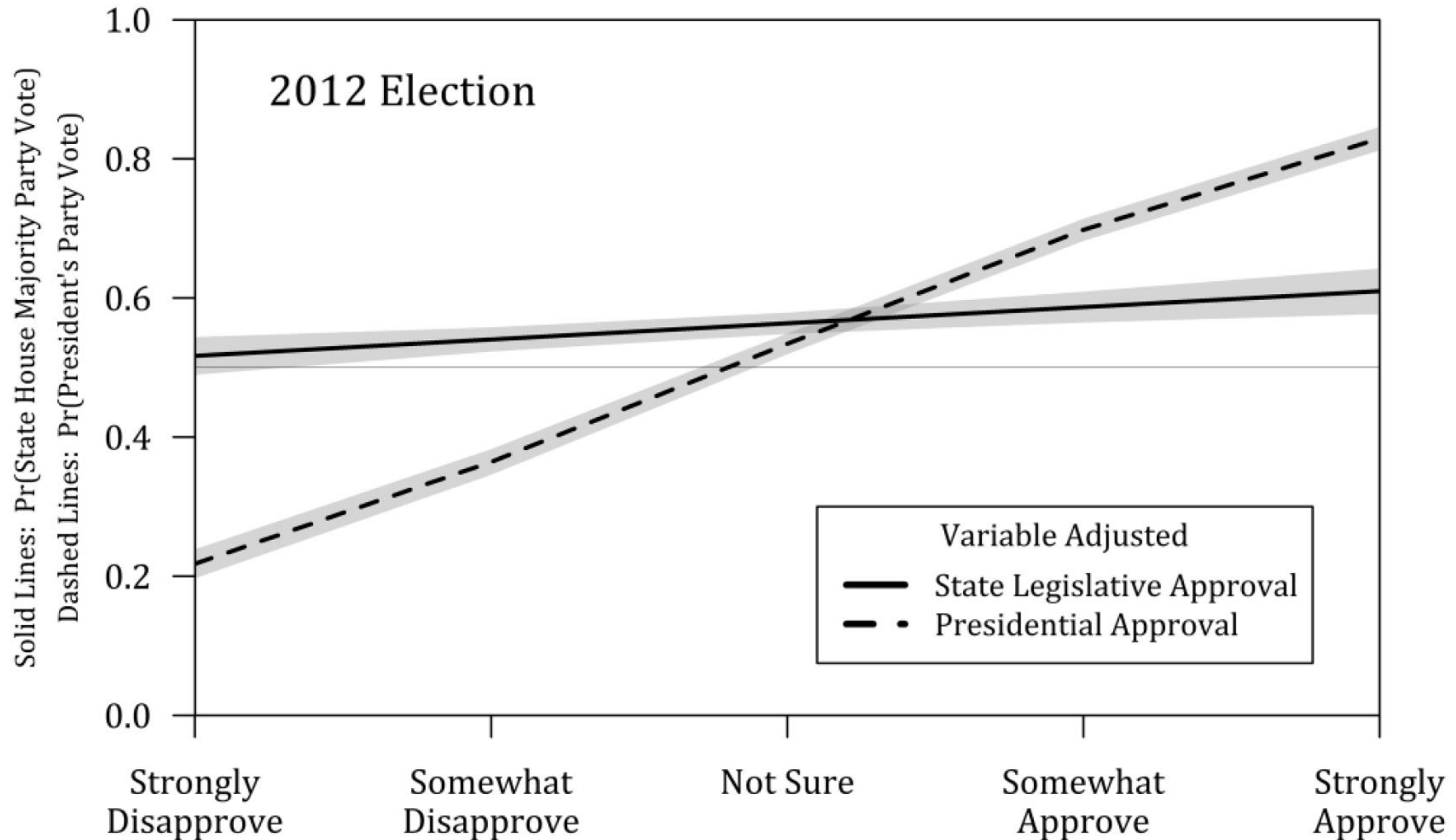
Turnout by age, 2002–2016



Unlikely a Youth Surge



State Legislative Votes & Presidential Approval



Party Out of Presidency Does Better in Michigan

Party Performance in Michigan Midterm Elections

		Gubernatorial Elections		Legislative Gains	
	President	Winner	Margin	Senate	House
2014	Obama	Snyder	4.1%	R+1	R+4
2010	Obama	Snyder	18.2%	R+5	R+20
2006	W. Bush	Granholm	14.0%	D+1	D+6
2002	W. Bush	Granholm	4.0%	D+1	R+5
1998	Clinton	Engler	24.4%	R+1	R+6
1994	Clinton	Engler	23.0%	R+2	R+1
1990	H. W. Bush	Engler	0.7%	0	0
1986	Reagan	Blanchard	36.7%	R+2	D+7
1982	Reagan	Blanchard	6.3%	R+4	R+1
1978	Carter	Milliken	13.6%	0	D+2
1974	Ford	Milliken	4.3%	D+5	D+6
1970	Nixon	Milliken	1.7%	D+1	D+1
1966	Johnson	Romney	21.4%	R+5	R+17
1962	Kennedy	Romney	2.9%	R+1	R+2
1958	Eisenhower	Williams	6.4%	D+1	D+6
1954	Eisenhower	Williams	11.5%	D+3	D+17
1950	Truman	Williams	0.1%	R+2	R+5
1946	Truman	Sigler	21.6%	R+4	R+29
1942	Roosevelt	Kelly	5.9%	R+3	R+6
1938	Roosevelt	Fitzgerald	5.8%	R+8	R+33
1934	Roosevelt	Fitzgerald	6.6%	R+6	R+6