

Nationalization and the 2022 Election

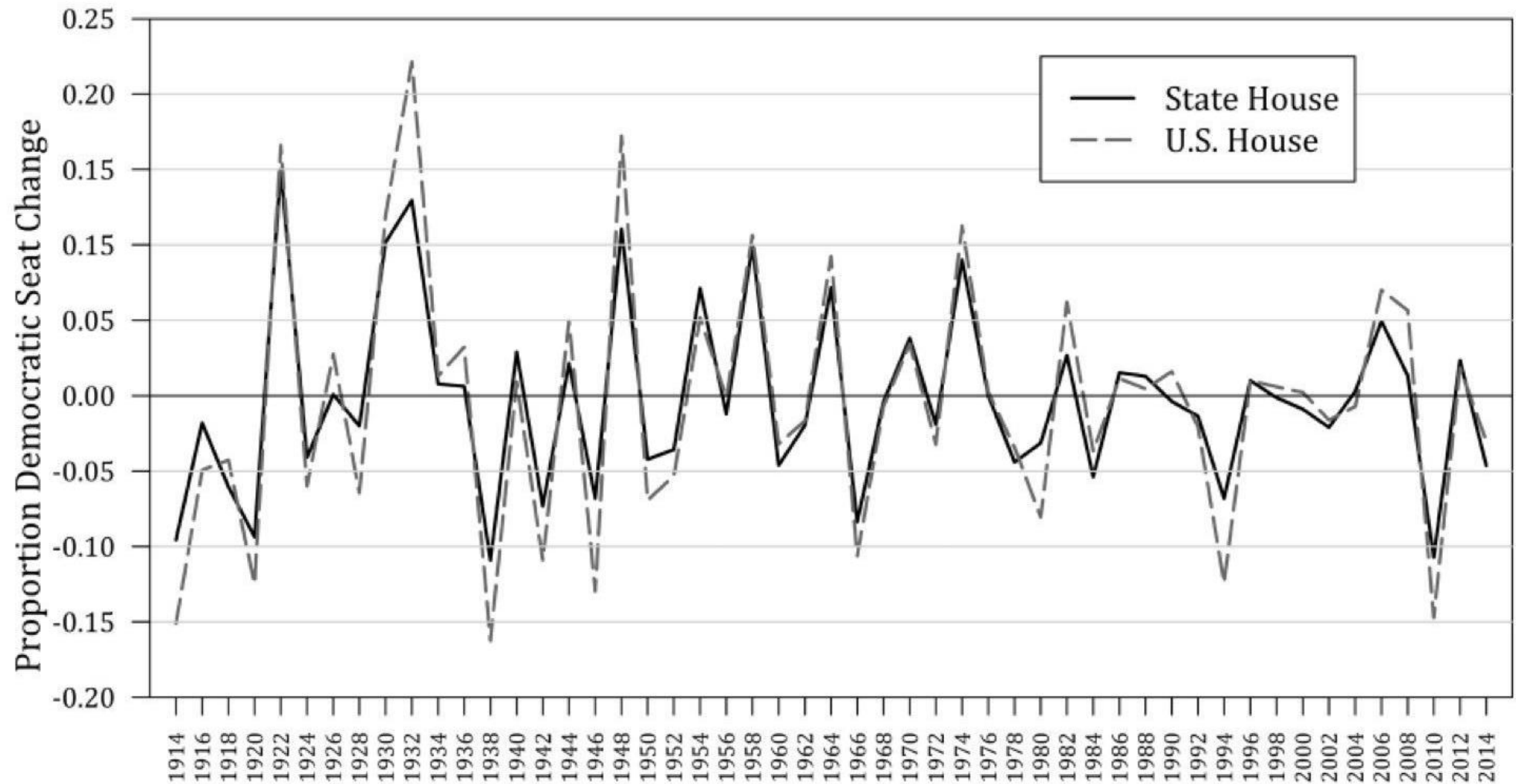
Matt Grossmann

MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

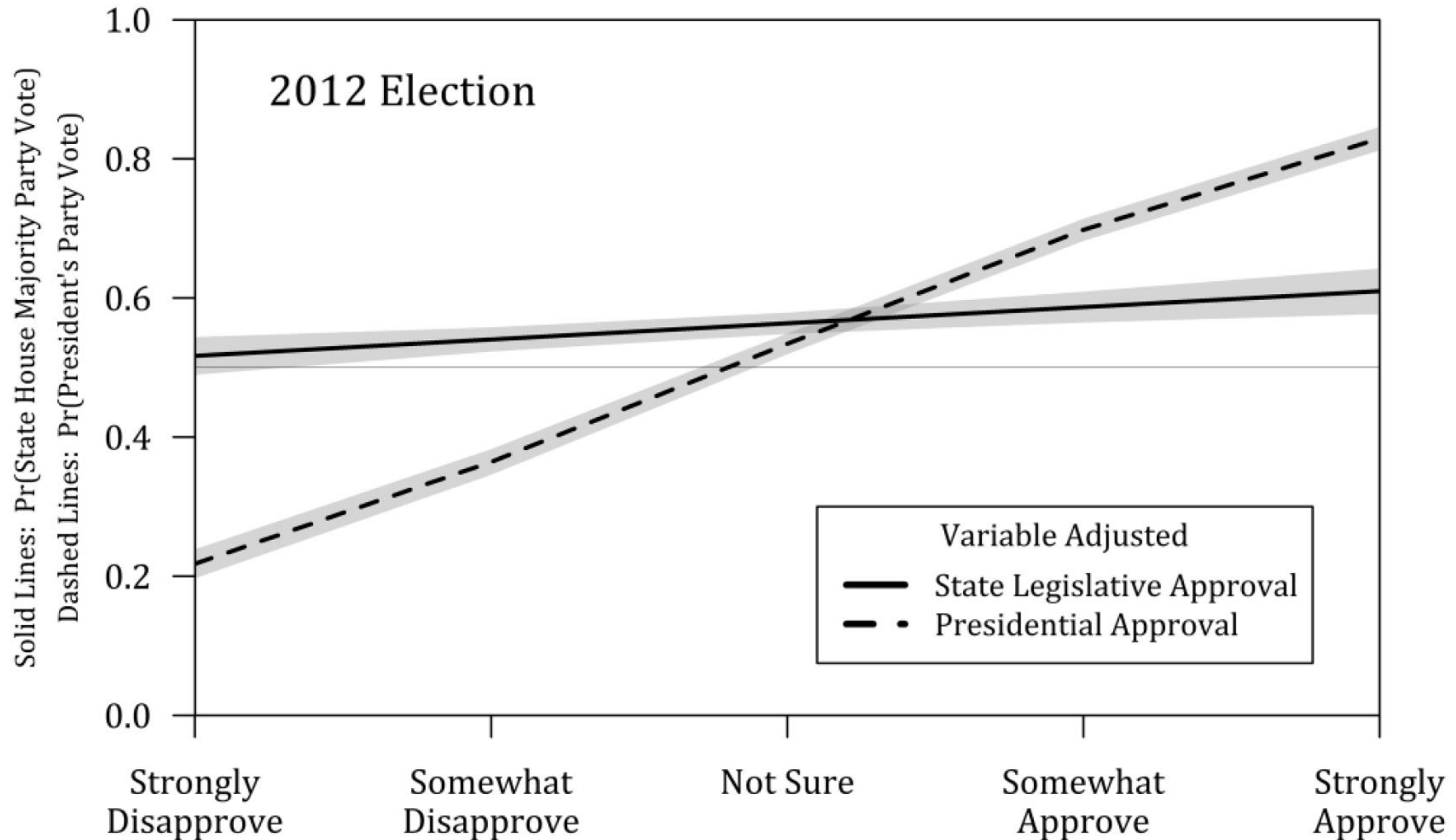
Institute for Public Policy
and Social Research
Michigan Political Leadership Program

Partisan Elections and Partisan Change

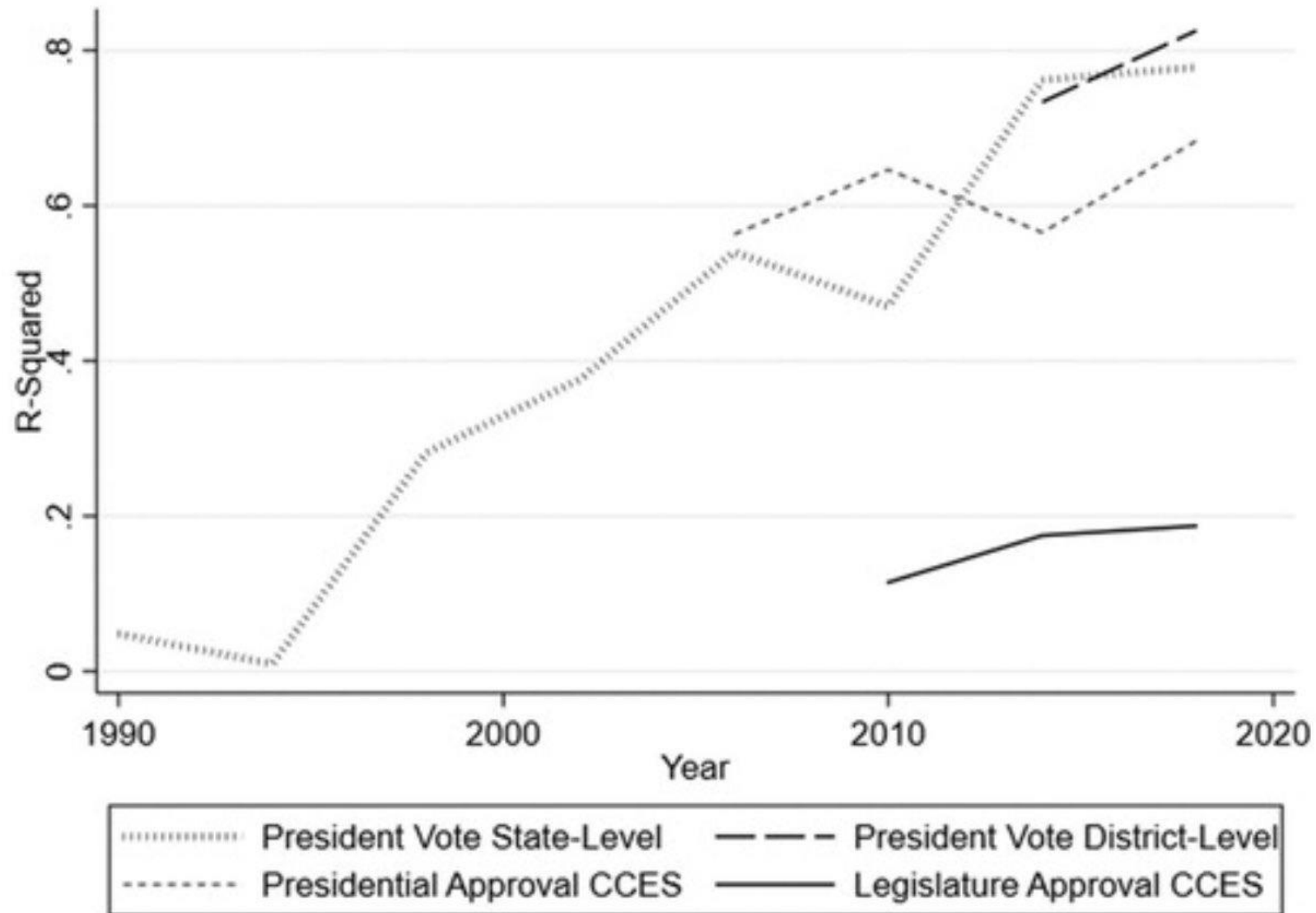
Democratic Seat Change in State House and U.S. House Elections



State Legislative Votes & Presidential Approval



Nationalization in State Legislatures



Nationalization of Governor Elections

(c) Gubernatorial Level

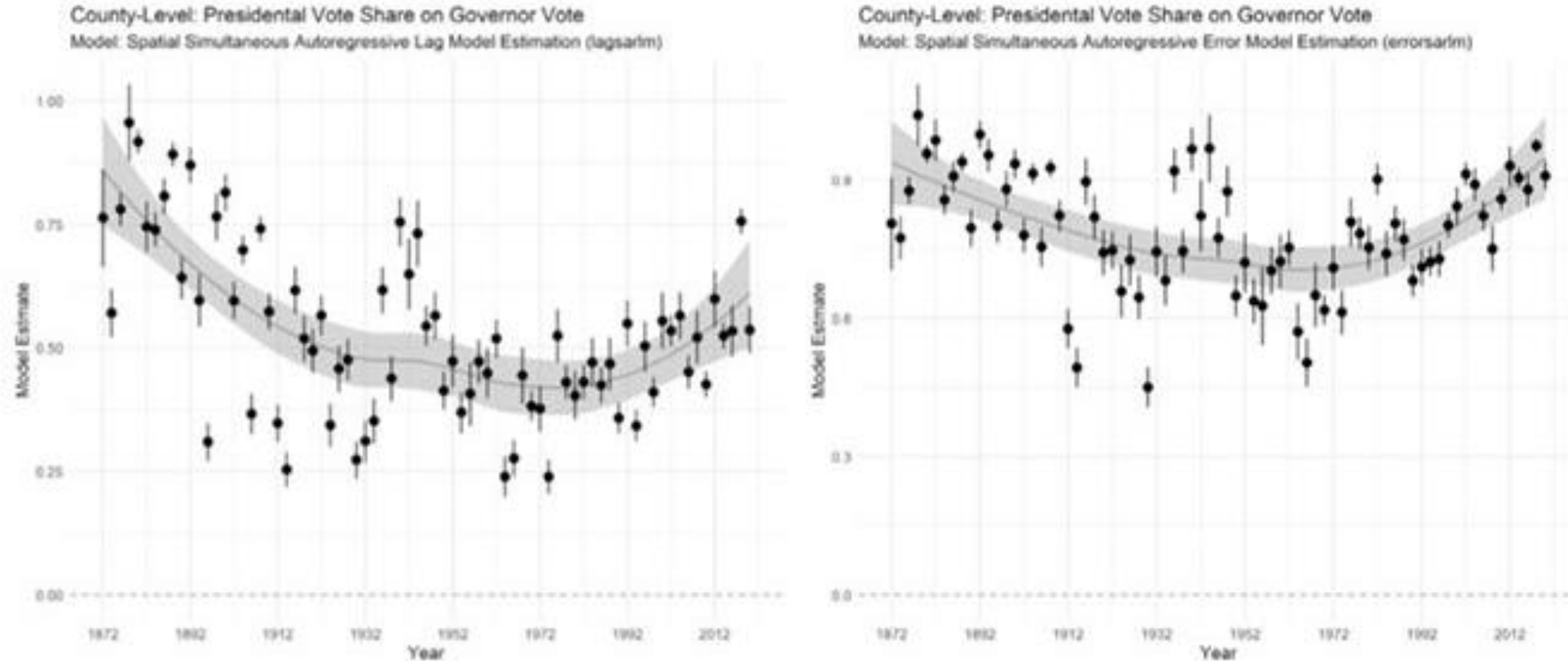


Fig. 3. Spatial models of Nationalization in Presidential, Senatorial & Gubernatorial Elections, 1872–2020.

Party Out of Presidency Does Better

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

2022 Michigan Among Most Competitive

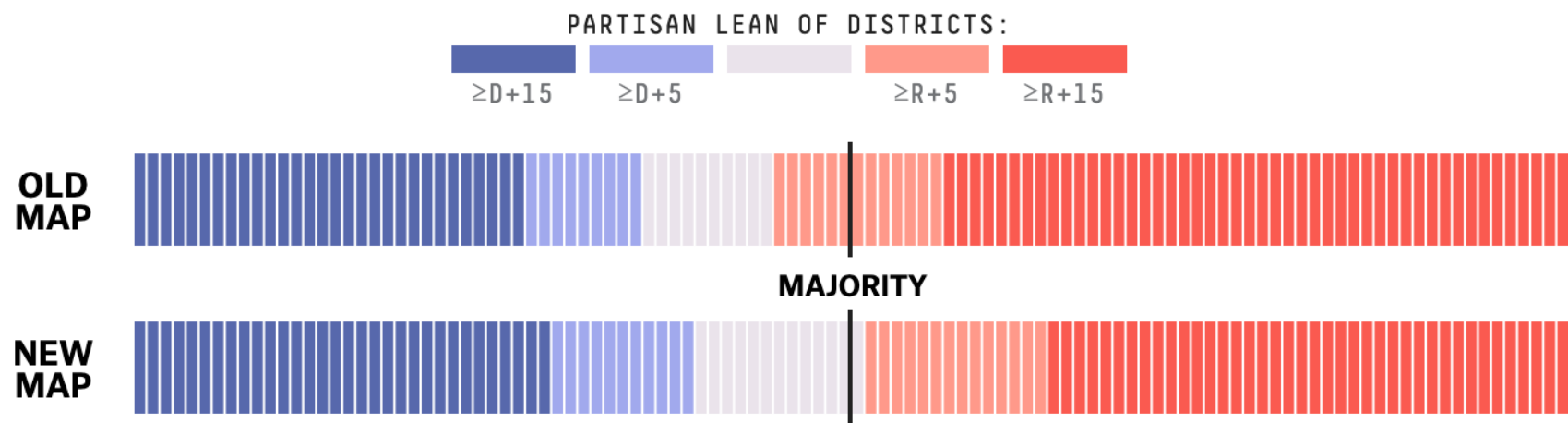
Rating	R-held	D-held	Total
Leans R	2 (MI-HOUSE, MN-SEN)	1 (AK-HOUSE)	3
Toss-up	1 (MI-SEN)	3 (ME-HOUSE, ME-SEN, MN-HOUSE)	4
Leans D	0	3 (CO-SEN, NV-SEN, OR-SEN)	3
Total	3	7	10

LEAN D	TOSS UP
ME-Mills NM-Lujan Grisham PA-Open	KS-Kelly MI-Whitmer NV-Sisolak WI-Evers

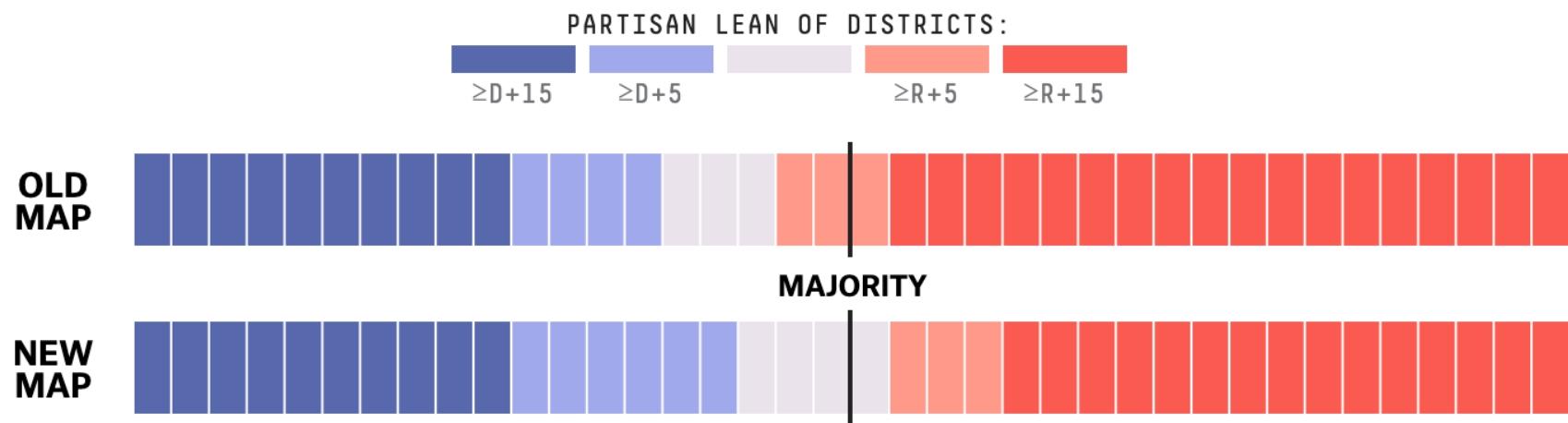
LEAN D	TOSS UP
MD-Open	AZ-Open GA-Kemp

Michigan Redistricting

The partisan breakdown of Michigan's new state House map



The partisan breakdown of Michigan's new state Senate map



Partisan Fairness

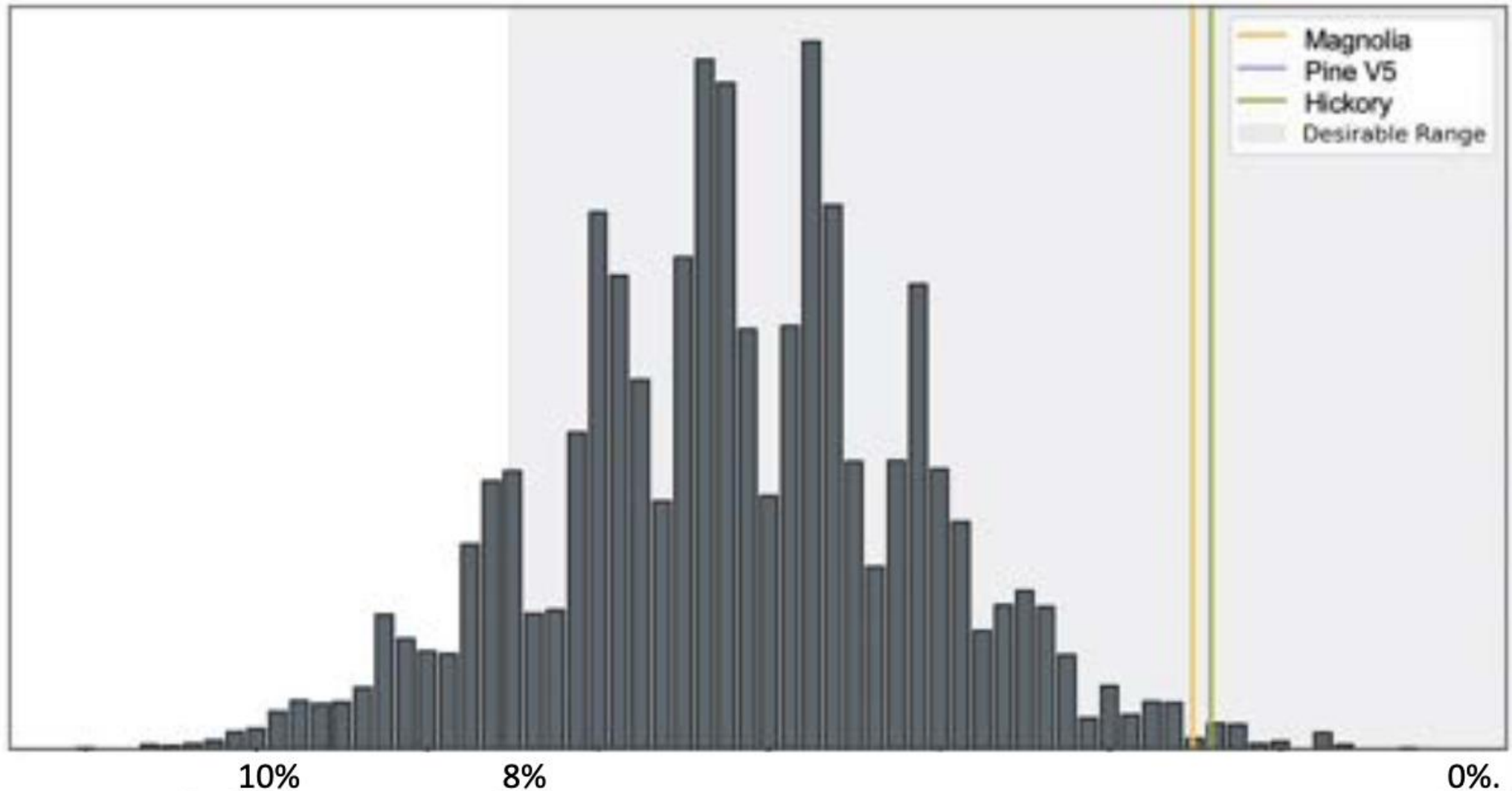
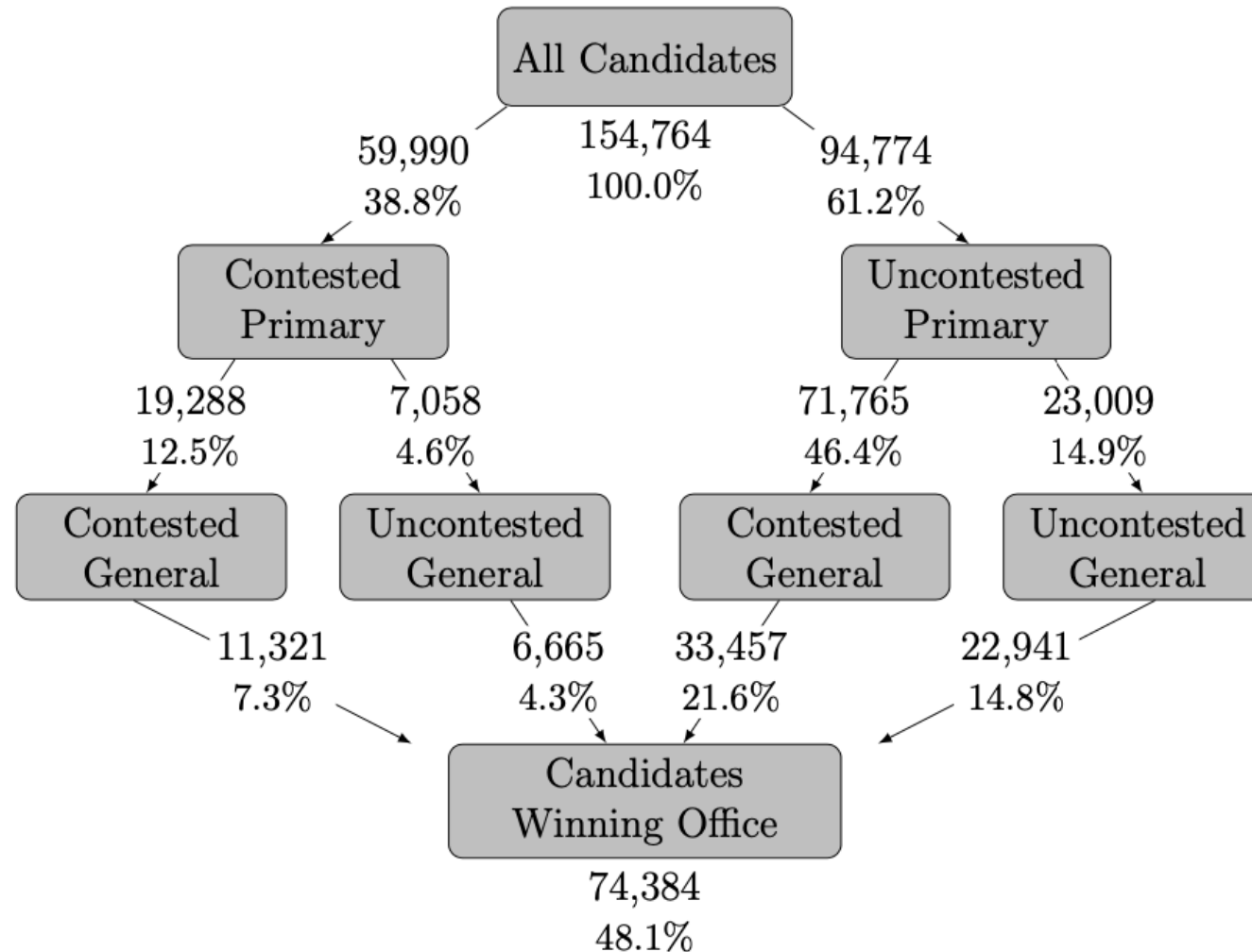


Figure 41. Efficiency Gap given 2018 US Senate Election Results

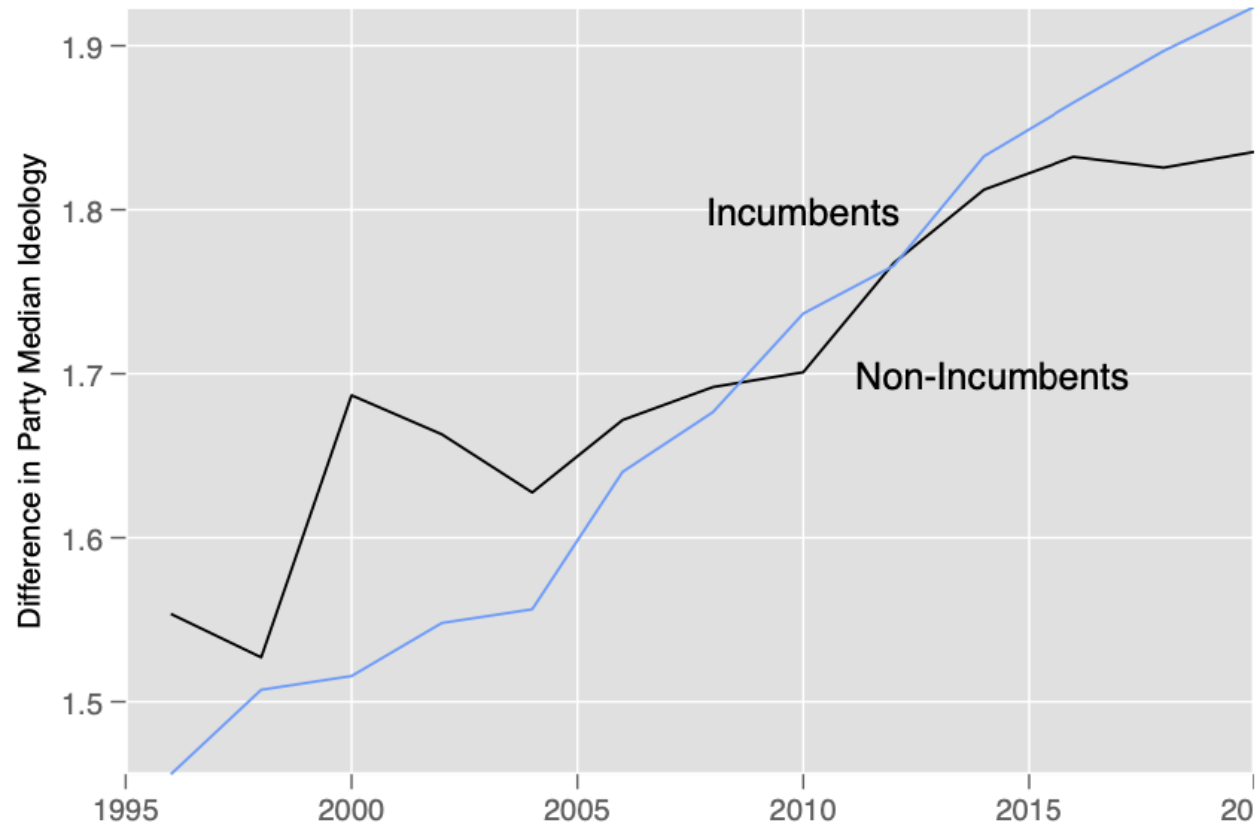
State Legislative Candidates

Figure 2 – The Candidate Funnel in State Legislatures

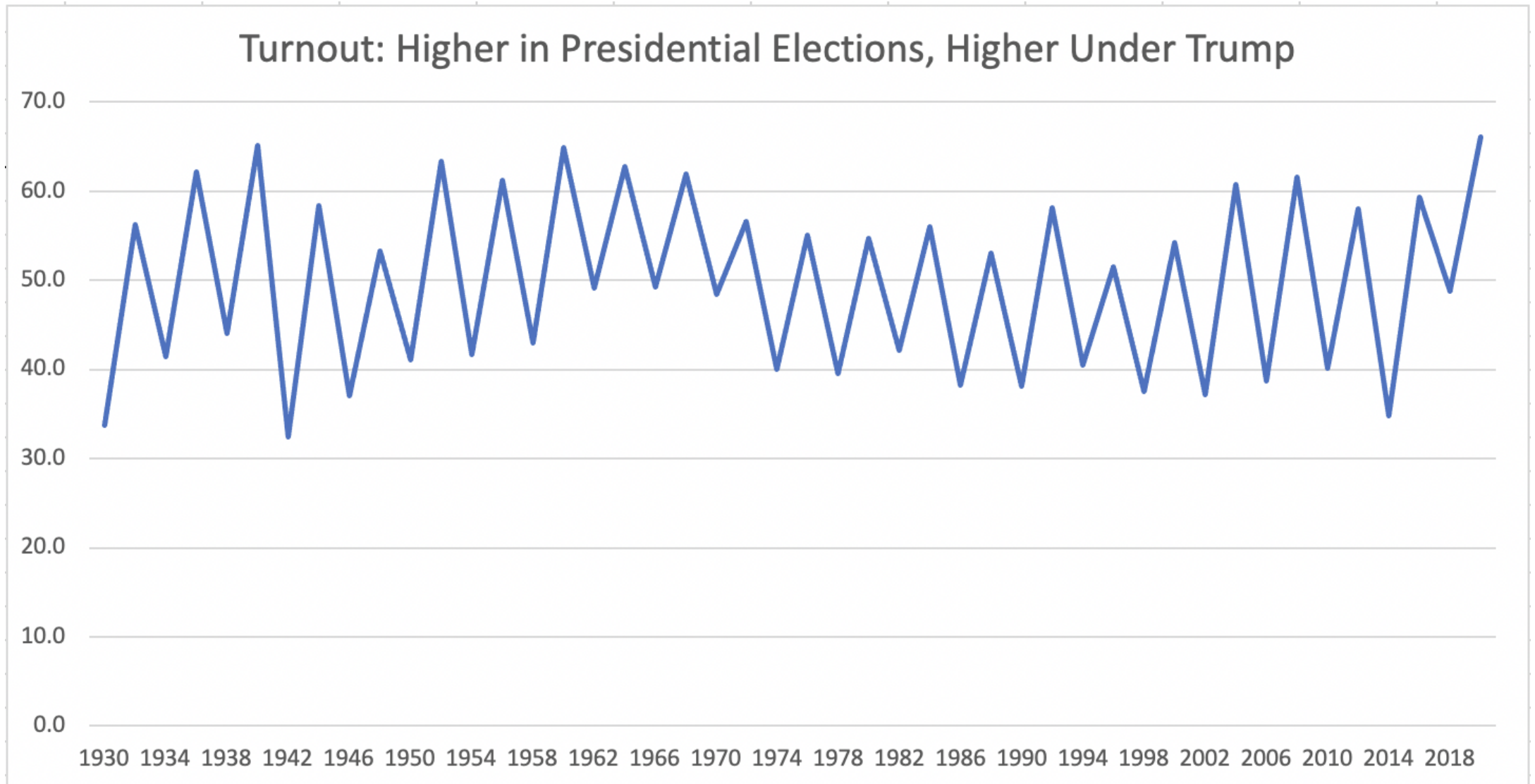


Polarization

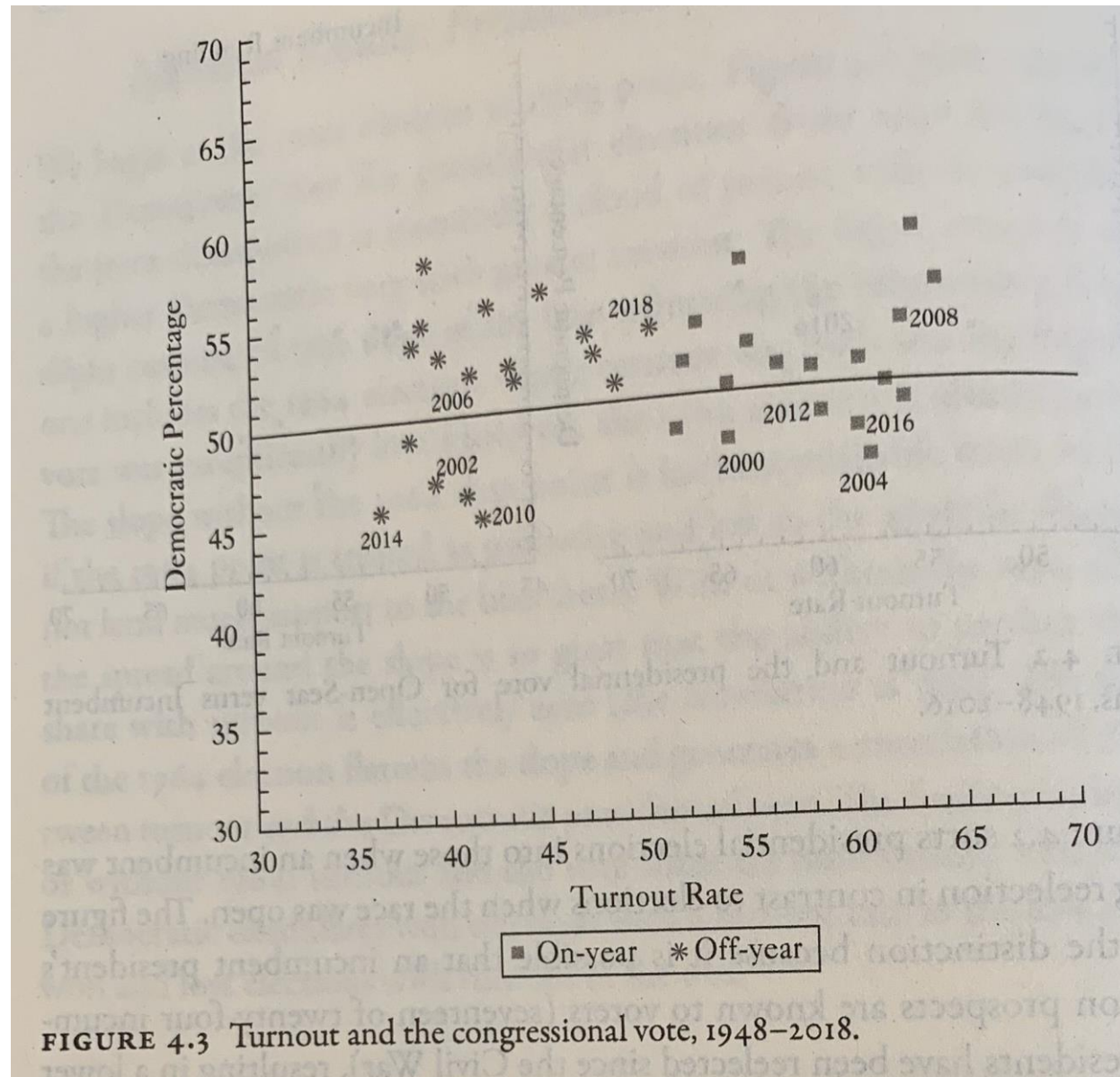
Figure 4 – Polarization of the Candidate Pool in State Legislatures Over Time, 1996-2020. Plots the absolute difference between each party's median incumbent legislator (blue line) and between each party's median non-incumbent candidate (black line), across all states, by year. Non-incumbent includes both challengers and open-seat candidates.



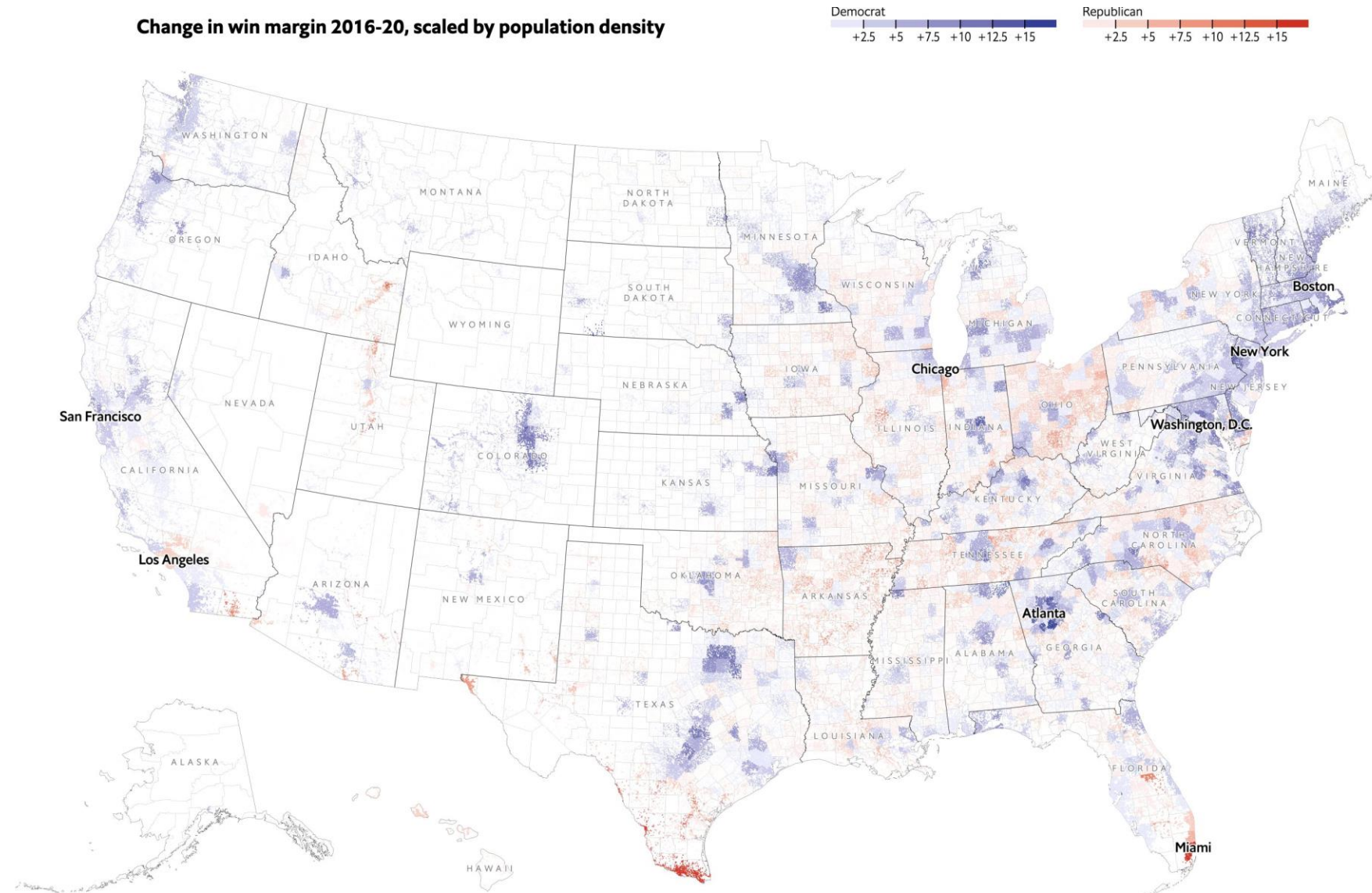
2018 & 2020: High Turnout



But Turnout Doesn't Change Partisanship



Presidential Shift 2016 to 2020 (but $r = .99$)



Estimated margin for counties with less than 95% of votes reported

Elliott Morris,
The Economist

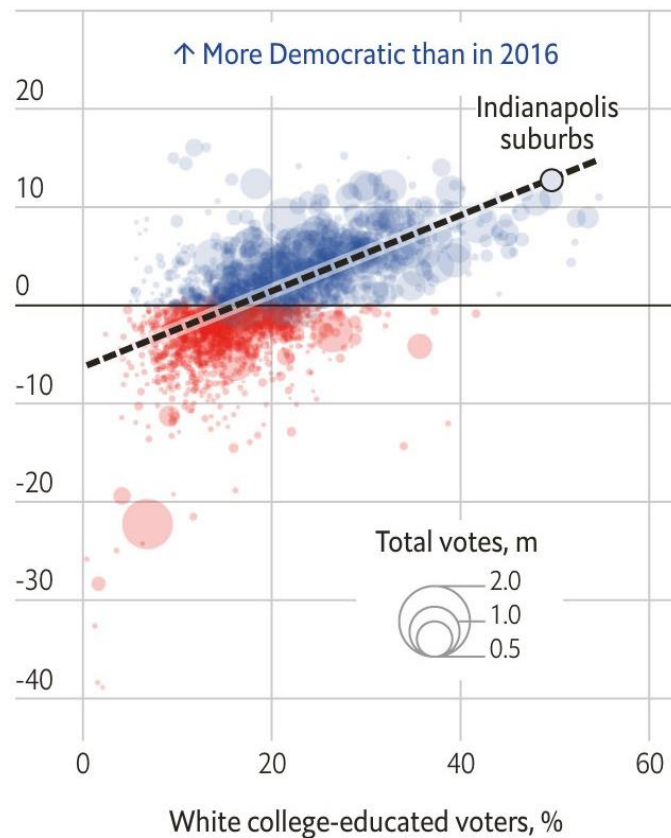
Hispanics & White Educated Voters Moved

White college-educated voters

Predicted change in margin of victory

2016 +17 Dem +4 Dem → 2020 +21 Dem

Actual change in margin of victory

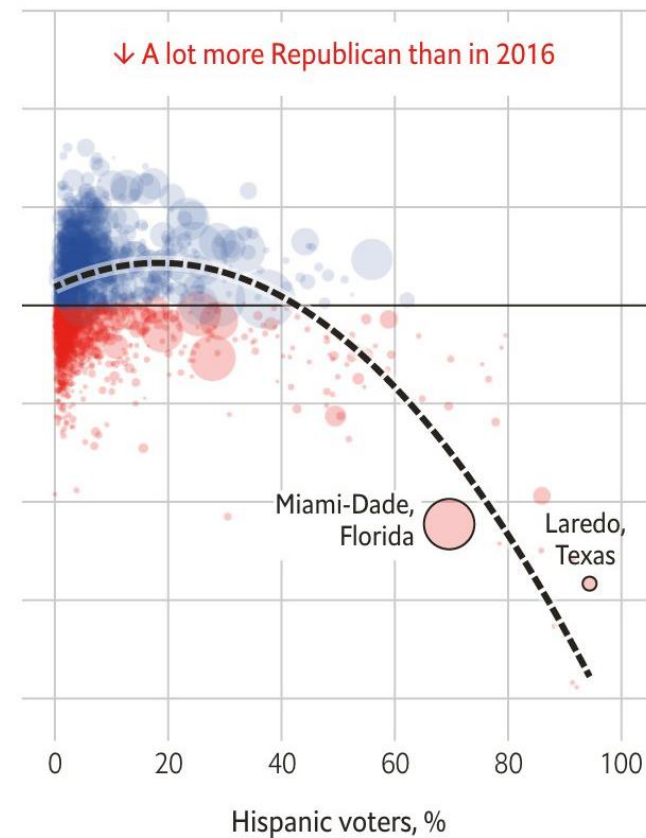


Hispanic voters

Predicted change in margin of victory

2016 +38 Dem +4 Rep → 2020 +34 Dem

Actual change in margin of victory

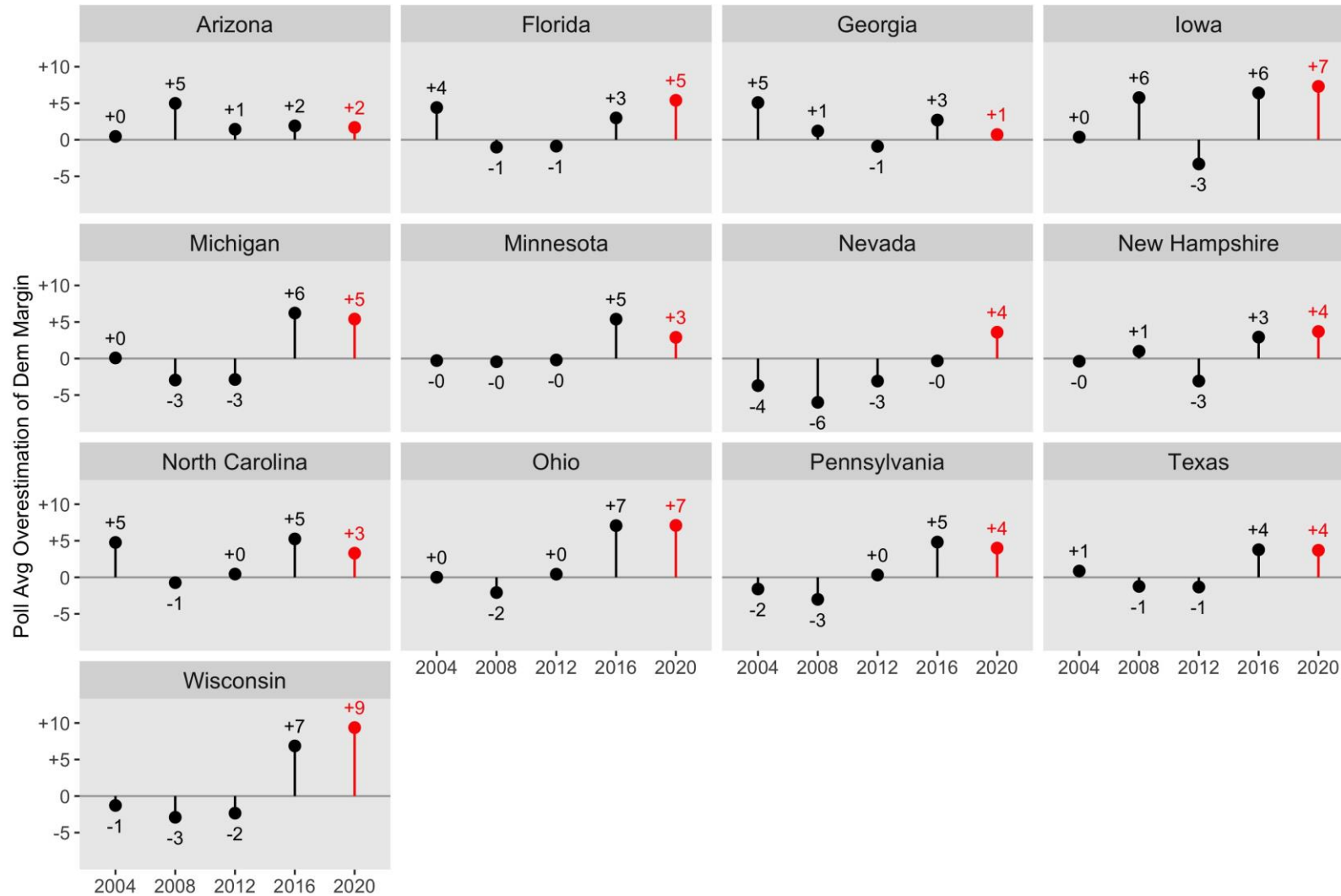


Elliott Morris,
The Economist

Polling Error

2020 State Polling Error in (Recent) Historical Context

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



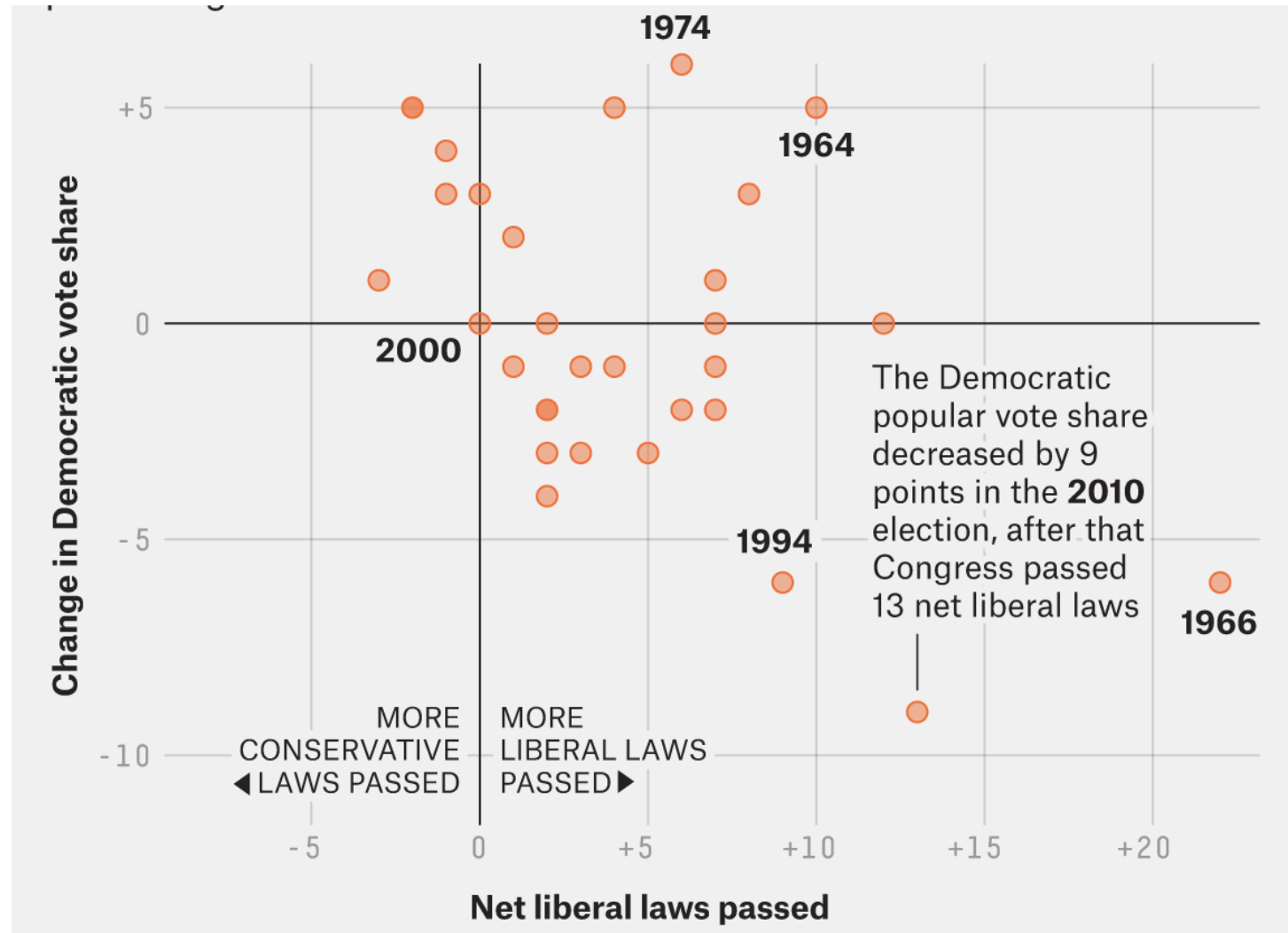
Alexander Agadjanian | Data sources: actual results from NYT and Leip Election Atlas, poll averages from various aggregators.
Note: overestimation = $(D\%_{poll} - R\%_{poll}) - (D\%_{actual} - R\%_{actual})$. Poll averages from Upshot (2020), HuffPost (2012-16), and RCP (2004-08).

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More Liberal Laws -> Conservative Backlash

Democrats Gain

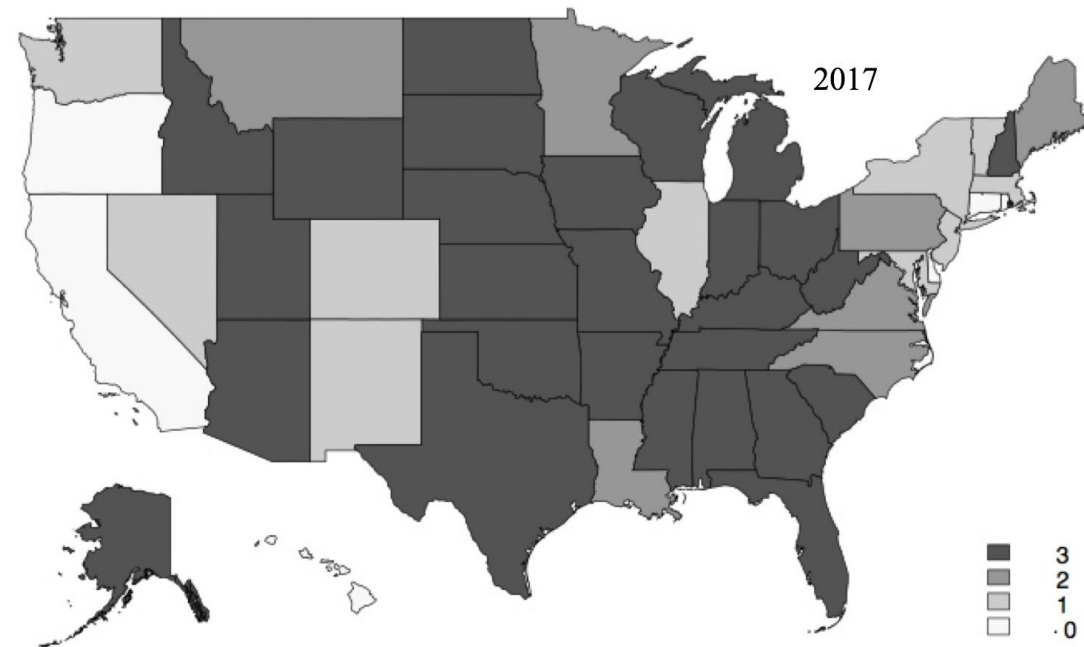
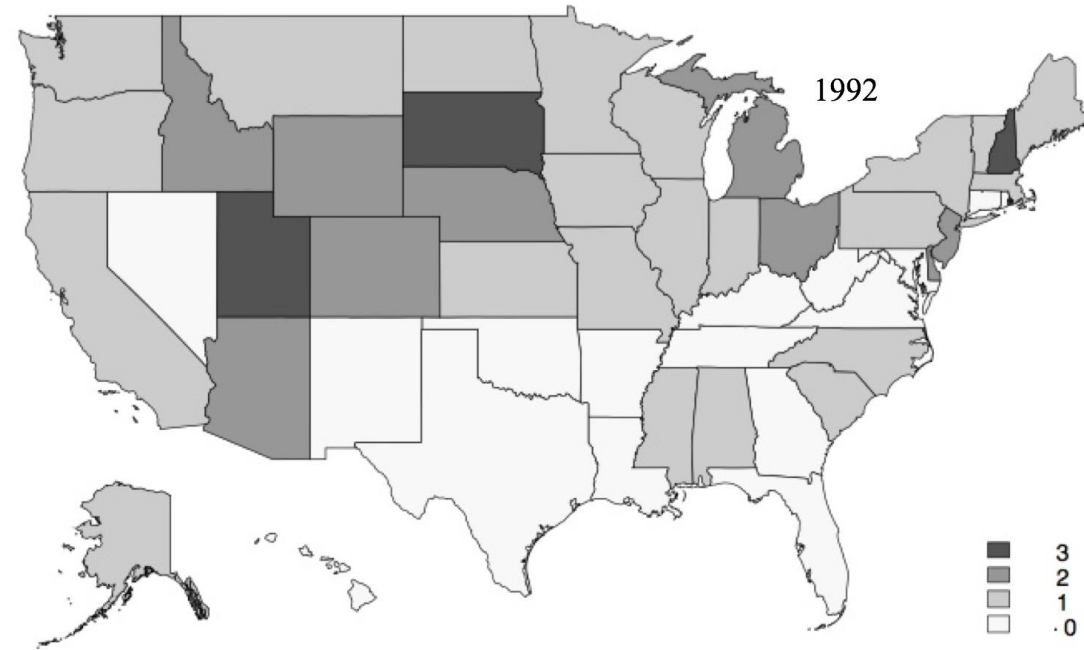
Republicans Gain



More conservative laws

More liberal laws

State Politics: America Turned Red, 1992-2017



Democrats Not Regaining Ground in States

