# Vロロ R REFORM  <br> <br> Breaking the partisan gridlock 

 <br> <br> Breaking the partisan gridlock}

The 2022 Election
What The Results Tell About the Crisis in
Our Political System

## 2022 Election Results

You may think you know the results of the 2022 election, but you may be surprised.

We will focus on the difference between high profile state races, where some voters seemed willing to focus on the qualities of the candidate, versus lower-level races, including Congress, where voters tended to stick to one party or the other.

Using this methodology, we are going to look at how both parties fared and then demonstrate that the 2022 election represented a strong negative for both parties as well as for American Democracy.

Let's start and see how much you know about the 2022 elections.

## Arizona Quiz

Democrats defeated Election Deniers in races for Governor, U.S. Senate, and Secretary of State.
In the 2018 Congressional Elections, Democrats won by 1.8\% (50.9\% to 49.1\%). How did Democrats do in 2022?
A. $+13 \%$
B+8\%
C. $+3 \%$
D. $-3 \%$
E. -8\%
F. -13\%

Breaking the partisan gridlock

## Arizona Answers

## - Answer F

- In Congressional elections, Democrats won 43\% of the vote, compared to 56\% for Republicans.
- From 2018, the Democratic percentage of the vote declined from 51\% to 43\%.
- Republican votes increased 16.3\%, while Democratic votes decreased 15.1\%.
- Republicans flipped 2 seats and gained a 6-3 majority in the state.

How did Democrats do so badly in Congressional elections and still win the major statewide races?

- Republicans nominated Election Deniers who lost.
- Kari Lake, (Governor) ran 7.1\% behind, Brett Masters, (Senate) ran 10.3\% behind, and Marc Finchem, (Secretary of State) ran 9.2\% behind the average Republican Congressional candidate.

In Arizona, Election Deniers lost. Democrats lost. Republicans won.

## PennsyIvania Quiz

In Pennsylvania, Democrats won the elections for Governor and Senator.

- In the Governor's race, Shapiro beat Mastriano 56.3\% to 41.9\%.

What was the percentage margin in the Congressional races?
A. D+10
B. $D+3$
C. Even
D. $R+6$

## Pennsylvania Answers

Answer: D
D-47\% R-53\%

- Between 2018 and 2022, Democrat's share of vote dropped from $55.0 \%$ to $47.1 \%$
- Republican votes increased 22.3\%. Democratic votes decreased 11.4\%

In Pennsylvania, Election Deniers Mastriano and Oz lost. Democrats lost, and Republicans won.

Imagine how Republicans would have done if they didn't have Mastriano and Oz at the top of the ticket!

Breaking the partisan gridlock

## Georgia- Republicans Win-MAGAs Lose

Republicans won over 53\% of the votes for Governor and Secretary of State and 52.4\% of the votes for Congress, but Election Denier, Hershel Walker won only $48.5 \%$ of the votes for Senate.

| Governor | Brian Kemp | $53.4 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Secretary of State | Brad Raffensperger | $53.2 \%$ |
| Congress | Republicans | $52.4 \%$ |
| Senate | Hershel Walker | $48.5 \%$ |

The difference between $53 \%$ for Governor and Secretary of State and $48.5 \%$ for Walker reflects the Election Denier penalty.

## Wisconsin Quiz

## Wisconsin

- Biden carried Wisconsin in 2020.
- The Democratic Governor won reelection 51.2\% to 47.8\% against an Election Denier.
- The incumbent MAGA Republican Senator snuck in with $50.4 \%$ of the vote against a minority candidate.
- In 2020, Democrats won $53.1 \%$ of the Congressional vote. How did they do in 2022?
A. 55\%
B. $52 \%$
C. $48 \%$
D. $45 \%$


## Wisconsin Answers

Answer D: 45.2\%

- The Election Denier ran 6\% behind other Republicans, yet
- Republicans gained 1 seat for a 5-3 majority.
- In the State Senate, Republicans have 21 seats compared to 11 for the Democrats.
- In the State Assembly, Republicans won 64 seats compared to 35 for Democrats.
- If Republicans have $64 \%$ of the seats in the State Legislature and in Congress, Wisconsin is not turning Blue.


## Florida-DeSantis 2024 Quiz

In 2020, Biden lost Florida 51.2\% to 47.8\%

- Democrats had high hopes for 2022 with former Republican Governor Charlie Crist as their gubernatorial candidate and Representative Val Demings as their Senate candidate.
- Yet Ron DeSantis won in a landslide over Crist by more than 1.5 million votes and a margin of 59.4\% to 40.0\%.
- With this victory, DeSantis is being hailed as a potential Presidential candidate in 2024.

How did DeSantis do relative to Republican Congressional candidates?
A. $+9 \%$
B. $+5 \%$
C. $+1 \%$
D. Behind

## Florida- Answers

Answer D. Behind.
DeSantis ran .1\% behind the average Republican Congressional candidate and only $1.7 \%$ ahead of Rubio.

- Democrats have portrayed themselves as a party friendly to Hispanics and seniors. Yet in a state with large populations from both, Democrats have been rapidly losing ground.
- Between 2018 \& 2022, Democrat's share of the Congressional vote dropped from 47.4\% to 38.8\%
- Republicans gained 774,289 votes, while Democrats lost 407,154 votes.
- In 2018, Congressional representation was R-14- D-12. Now it is R-20-D-8- and none of this is because of Gerrymandering.
- In Florida, it is not that Ron DeSantis is popular, it is that Democrats are increasingly unpopular.
- Florida is not a swing state. It is now a very Red state.


## Texas is Also Not Turning Blue

Democrats keep talking about how Texas is turning blue and complain about Gerrymandering, but the numbers tell a different story.

- In the 2022 Gubernatorial election, Greg Abbott defeated Beto O'Rourke 54.8\% to 42.9\%.
- In elections for Congress, Republicans polled ahead of Abbott. (56.5\% to 42.5\%), the third consecutive election in which the Democratic share of the vote has dropped.
- Republicans won 23 seats. Democrats won 13.
- The only Blues in Texas are the songs Democrats are singing.


## Guess The Next Red State

- In 2016, the incumbent Democratic Senator received $70.6 \%$ or the vote. In 2022, this Democrat received only 56.8\%.
- Democratic percentages in Congressional elections dropped precipitously from 68.2\% to 55.7\%.
- 2018
- 2020
- 2022
68.2\%
63.7\%
55.7\%

Between 2018 and 2022, in elections for Congress, Republican votes increased 26.7\%, while Democratic votes declined 24.9\%.

- What is this state?
A. New York
B. New Jersey
C. Illinois
D. Oregon


## Red State Answers

Answer: A. New York

- Chuck Schumer, the majority leader of the Senate, went from $70.6 \%$ to $56.8 \%$ of the vote.
- Extra credit if you can name his opponent. The fact that you never heard of Joe Pinion, who ran closer to Schumer than Demings did to Rubio, should frighten Democrats.
- Hochul won the Gubernatorial election with only $52.8 \%$ of the vote.
- Since 2018, Republicans gained 678,261 votes, while Democrats lost 794,810.
- Democrats in N.Y. have lost 6 seats in Congress while Republicans have gained 5.

Dem.
Rep. N.Y.

- 2018

21
6

- 2020

19
8

- 2022

15
11

- At the current rate of decline, N.Y. should turn Red by 2024 or 2026.


## Congressional Elections

In 2018, Democrats won 235 Congressional seats. In 2022, they won 213 , not a huge difference.

- In 2018- Democrats won $53.4 \%$ of the popular vote. In 2022, they won $47.8 \%$
- 2022 was only the first election in the past 12 years in which Gerrymandering appeared to benefit Democrats.
- In the 6 previous elections, the Democrats won more votes per seat than the Republicans. In 2022, Republicans won more votes per seat than the Democrats. In other words, Gerrymandering may have helped Democrats in 2022.
- Question- Between 2018 and 2022, the percentage of votes by party was largely unchanged in 6 of the 50 states. In how many of the remaining 44 states did the Republicans gain share?
A. 8
B. 16
C. 24
D. 32
E. 40


## Gains in Congressional Vote- 2018 to 2022

Republican + 40
Alabama
Arizona
Carolina
Florida
Georgia
Hawaii
Idaho
Illinois
Indiana
lowa
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maryland
Massachusetts
Minnesota
Mississippi
Missouri
Montana
Nevada
New Jersey

New Mexico
New York
Colorado
North Dakota
Ohio
Oklahoma
Oregon
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Utah
Vermont
Virginia
Washington
West Virginia
Wisconsin
Wyoming

Democratic+ 4
Alaska
California
Kansas
Maine

## Can it get worse for Democrats?

Even +6
Connecticut
Delaware North
Maryland
Michigan
Nebraska
New Hampshire

## Landslide States

In 2022, there were 22 states in which the losing party received less than $3 / 8$ of the vote? 16 were Republican and 6 were Democratic.

- Among these states, there were 5 in which Democrats did not even reach $25 \%$.
- Everything else being equal, these states should give Republicans 96 electoral votes compared to 35 for Democrats and a 20-vote edge for the Senate.
- In the southern states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, West Virginia, Kentucky, and South Carolina, Democratic votes for Congress have dropped from 39\% to 30\% in the last two off-year elections.

REFORM
NOW

## South Carolina- First Democratic Primary

- Democrats only received $32 \%$ of the vote in South Carolina.
- From 2018 to 2022, their share of the Congressional vote dropped from $44.4 \%$ to $32.0 \%$
- In 2 of the 7 House districts, Democrats did not even field candidates.
- So why have Democrats selected South Carolina for the first primary?
- The answer is political payback for Biden- but payback is not necessarily good for the country and it is certainly not good if the Democrats want to win elections.


## 3 Outlier States

In most states, the splits between the parties were relatively constant. Even with Election Deniers, the split between the best candidate for one party and the best for the other was usually about 5-10\%. There were, however, three outlier states which had a huge level of ticket splitting that allowed candidates of both parties to win.

## Vermont

- Democrats won the Senate and the House with with $68.5 \%$ and $62.8 \%$ of the vote respectively, yet Republicans won the Governorship with $71 \%$ of the vote.


## New Hampshire

- Democrats won the Senate with $54 \%$ of the vote and the House with $55 \%$, but Republicans won the Governorship with $57 \%$ of the vote.


## Alaska

- Democrats received only $10.4 \%$ and $22.4 \%$ of the vote for Senate and Governor but won the Congressional election with $51.5 \%$ in the final round.
- Why did these states demonstrate so much nonpartisanship, while others did not?


## In 2022-People Voted Against- Not In Favor

In 2022, most people voted against- not in favor of candidates.

- Democrats voted against Trump, Election Deniers, and abortion rulings.
- Republicans voted against Democrats, stolen elections, crime, inflation, and immigration.
- Independents voted against whomever they disliked the most.

If people are voting against, instead of in favor, something is wrong. In fact, there seems to be only one thing on which Democrats and Republicans agree-----

- The United States is Moving in the Wrong Direction

Breaking the partisan gridlock

## Americans Are Increasingly Pessimistic

When we look at the election results and the post-election polls, it appears Americans believe:

- Our Democracy is threatened,
- Our country is moving in the wrong direction.
- The economy is bad.
- Congress is terrible.
- Neither party governs in an ethical way nor respects our democratic institutions.

In other words, something is seriously wrong with our democracy.

Let's take a look at some of the numbers.

## American's Are Dissatisfied

73\% of Americans are dissatisfied or angry with the direction of the country. While Republicans are more dissatisfied than Democrats, a majority of both parties are dissatisfied or angry. *

How do you feel about the way things are going in the country today?
Enthusiastic or satisfied (25\%)
85\%
13\%
Dissatisfied or angry (73\%)
36\%
63\%

## Democracy Is Threatened

68\% of Americans and a majority of both parties think Democracy is threated.*

Do you think democracy in the U.S. today is:
Secure (30\%)

```
46%
52%
Threatened (68%)
```

50\%
48\%

## The Economy is not good or poor

76\% think the nation's economy is not good or poor. *

Do you think the condition of the nation's economy is:
Excellent or good (23\%)

Breaking the partisan gridlock

## The Country is Moving in the Wrong Direction

63.3\% of Americans think the country is moving in the wrong direction. *

This is not about Biden, Trump, COVID, Inflation, or Abortion.

For more than a decade, through both Democratic and Republican administrations, a large majority of Americans of both parties have thought the country is moving in the wrong direction.


Breaking the partisan gridlock

## More Americans are Dissatisfied

Under Reagan, H.W. Bush. Clinton, and G.W. Bush, there were periods when 70\% of Americans thought the country was moving in the right direction. For the past 18 years, this number only once exceeded $40 \%$ and last year was as low as 11\%.*

Americans" Satisfaction With the Direction of the U.S.


Breaking the partisan gridlock

## Americans Don't Approve of Congress

- Americans have an equally negative view of Congress.
- It doesn’t matter which party controls the House, the Senate, or the Presidency, or whether we have a united or divided government. Americans think Congress is doing a lousy job.


REALCLEARPOLITICS

Breaking the partisan gridlock

## Congressional Approval Rating Keeps Declining

The declining popularity of The Congress is part of a long-term trend. After reaching levels of $40 \%$ in the 1980 s, and $72 \%$ in 2001, approval ratings has dropped as low as $11 \%$ and have only once reached $30 \%$.

## Yearly Congressional Approval Rating 1974-2021



Data pulled from Gallup polls on congressional job approval

## Americans Have an Unfavorable View of Both Parties*

Is your opinion of the Democratic Party:
According to a CNN poll in 2022**

- 75\% disapprove of Republican leaders in Congress.
- $62 \%$ disapprove of Democratic leaders in Congress
- 77\% said they're not wellrepresented in government.
- $72 \%$ say things are going badly in the U.S.

Favorable (44\%)
94\%
4\%
Unfavorable (53\%)
89\%

Is your opinion of the Republican Party:
Favorable (44\%)
93\%
Unfavorable (52\%)
84\%
14\%

Breaking the partisan gridlock

## Neither Party Governs Honestly or Ethically

A majority of Americans think neither party governs in an honest and ethical way.

Almost half think neither party respects this country's democratic institutions and traditions.


Note: No answer responses not shown
Source: Survey of U.S.adults conducted Jan. 10-17. 2022
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Breaking the partisan gridlock

## Voters Views of Republicans \& Democrats

Who do you trust more to handle the issue of foreign policy?
The Democratic Party $(45 \%)$
$95 \%$
$4 \%$
The Republican Party $(51 \%)$
$6 \%$
$92 \%$
Who do you trust more to handle the issue of crime?
The Democratic Party ( $43 \%$ )
$96 \%$
$3 \%$
The Republican Party $(52 \%)$
$8 \%$
$91 \%$
Who do you trust more to handle the issue of inflation?
The Democratic Party ( $42 \%$ )
$96 \%$
$2 \%$
The Republican Party ( $54 \%$ )
$9 \%$
$89 \%$

Breaking the partisan gridlock

## Voters Views of Republicans \& Democrats

Republicans also lead on immigration, while Democrats lead on abortion.

Because Republicans are trusted by Americans on more issues, their path is somewhat easier.

Who do you trust more to handle the issue of immigration?
The Democratic Party (45\%)
94\%
4\%
The Republican Party (51\%)
7\%

Who do you trust more to handle the issue of abortion?

```
The Democratic Party (53%)
85%
13%
The Republican Party (42%)
3%
95%
```


## What Should Both Parties and Citizens Do？

As the election results and charts demonstrate，Americans have lost faith in the two parties（under both Republican and Democratic Administrations）and their ability to govern this country．
－Americans are rejecting election deniers，a positive sign for Democracy，but are losing faith in those they elected and in our election system．
－The only way to fix these problems is for both parties to wise up and change directions，and perhaps more importantly，for citizens to rise up demand changes in our political system．

Let＇s look at what each has to do．

## What Republicans Should Do

The path for Republicans is relatively easy.

- Stop Denying the 2020 election.
- Trump lost. Too bad. You did great in 2022. Forget 2020.
- Stop focusing on Election Fraud.
- The arguments of dead people voting or machines transferring hundreds of thousands of votes don't work.
- Stop supporting Donald Trump.
- Our country has enough problems without living through four more years of The Donald.
- To paraphrase Oscar Brown Jr., "You knew I was a snake before you brought me in."
- Stop nominating candidates like Hershel Walker and Memet Oz.
- Senators should actually know something about government- and probably should at least have visited the states they are running to represent.


## What Republican's Should Do-2

- Stop giving power to members of the far-right wing in Congress. Kevin McCarthy may have said about Majorie Taylor Greene, ""I will never leave that woman. I will always take care of her." But he already has a wife as well as a lot of Representatives who are relying on him.
- Focus on the issues in which you lead, like the economy, immigration, crime, inflation, and foreign policy.
- You are winning on every key issue-except abortion. People trust you over the Democrats.
- If you dump Trump, stop denying elections, muffle your right wing, and focus on all your policies that voters like, you will win consistently


## What Democrats Should Do

The path for Democrats is more complicated.

- Democrats have to stop congratulating yourselves for how well you did in 2022.
- Send Trump a Thank You Card for pushing Oz, Mastriano, Lake, Masters, Walker, and others, but recognize that without election deniers, you would have been trounced.
- Stop focusing on Trump and Jan. 6.
- You are not going to change any more minds. Leave this in the hands of the Attorney General and the Courts.
- Stop focusing on documents from Mar-a-Lago
- As we are finding out, everyone has documents hidden in their garages.
- Stop dissing "Deplorables."
- Surprise: these "Deplorables" were once mostly Democrats and they still have the right to vote. Walking away from so many voters is not good for your hopes in elections.


## What Democrats Should Do-2

- Focus on the issues that are of concern to Americans- inflation, the economy, crime, immigration, and foreign policy.
- You are passing bills you think every day Americans will like, yet somehow you are losing the debate to Republicans. Perhaps you should learn how to communicate to others instead of just to your own Caucus.
- Stop passing Omnibus bills no one understands.
- Try passing concrete legislation that can shows your party can deliver real things to real people.
- Stop catering exclusively to your progressive wing, unless you want to be a permanent majority party.
- Is AOC really closer to the center than Matt Gaetz?
- Stop celebrating Kevin McCarthy's issues. A dysfunctional Republican Congress will not benefit you during a Democratic administration.


## What Citizens Can Do

Hopefully the two parties will eventually wake up and take the steps to improve our government, but while we are waiting, things are getting worse. If we truly want to see the U.S. turn around, this is the time when all citizens must rise up and take action to fix our election system.

You know something is wrong when:

- $68 \%$ of Americans think our Democracy is threatened,
- $73 \%$ of Americans are Dissatisfied or Angry about the direction of the country,
- 76\% of Americans feel the economy is not good or poor,
- Congress's disapproval rate is more than twice its approval rate,
- A majority of people disapprove of both parties, think neither governs in an honest and ethical way or respects our democratic institutions and traditions.
- Something is wrong with our political system- How do we fix it?


## Incumbents Almost Never Lose

An election system when incumbents almost never lose is a broken system.

- In the last two Congressional elections, only about $6 \%$ of incumbents were defeated. *
- In State legislature elections, only 3.8\% of incumbents lost.

When you have a system where incumbents rarely lose, you also have a system where money can easily target the likely winners.

When you have competitive elections, money has to work harder to back a winning candidate. When there is more turnover, money's impact is minimized.

## We Need Competitive Elections

The solution to this problem is to have competitive elections in which incumbents can lose and in which more moderate candidates can get elected.

How do we get competitive Elections?

- Take drawing districts out of the hands of politicians and have independent commissions.
- These Commissions actually work- as the Democrats in New York learned when it tried to overreach. Unfortunately, we will not redistrict for another decade.
- Open Primaries: States with closed primaries eliminate independents, often the largest voting group, from the political process. Opening primaries lets everyone vote.
- Try new voting systems, like Ranked Choice Voting and Top 2 primaries that foster the election of more moderate candidates, and experiment with new voting systems.


## New Voting Systems

There are many interesting and potentially productive ideas for voting systems.

- California, Washington, Nebraska, and Louisiana have successfully used top 2 nonpartisan primaries.
- Maine has adopted Ranked Choice Voting
- Alaska has adopted Top 4 Ranked Choice Voting.
- Other states are considering Top 5 RCV.
- Some states have multi-member districts that often elect representatives of both parties.

To date, these systems do appear to be working to create more bipartisanship and more moderate candidates.

## New Voting Systems-2

There are other examples of new election systems that might be even more effective.

- Approval Voting is a system in which people can vote for any candidate they like. The winner is the candidate who has the broadest approval from the largest number of voters.
- Condorcet Voting: In which voters rank every candidate. Then, each candidate has a head-tohead contest against all other candidates electronically. The candidate that wins the most head-to-head contests is elected.
- Pro \& Con Voting: Every voter has two votes- one pro and one con. The winner is the one with the highest pro-con margin. Such a system would likely produce more moderates.

There are many other potential alternatives that could lead to similar results.

We are not suggesting that one is better than the other. We are suggesting that we have to look at new systems to help save our Republic.

Breaking the partisan gridlock

## Good News-We Are a Republic

None of these may be the "right" answer. They are alternatives that may- or may not- open the election system to more moderates and competitive elections.

The good news is that we are a Republic- not a Democracy- and that we have 50 independent laboratories in which we can experiment with systems that might produce better results. (If we include cities, we have thousands of independent laboratories.)

- We do not know if Top 2 Primaries, RCV, RCV Top 4 or 5, Approval Voting, Condorcet Voting, Pro-Con Voting or any other system will work. What we do know is that the system we have has been taken over by a duopoly of the two parties and is not working.
- If different states try different systems, we might find some that will actually work, and we may even find that some states, because of their geography or population, fare better with slightly different systems.

Instead of fighting or 21st Century Civil War over and over, we might be able to create systems that work.

## Looking to the Future

This may seem very complicated and somewhat conceptual, but, in reality, it is anything but that.

- In state after state, there are specific initiatives focusing on new voting systems.
- Constitutional scholars and other leading experts are now focusing on new voting systems that can work in the $21^{\text {st }}$ Century.

In fact, our next two presentations will pick up exactly where this one has ended.

- We, along with some of the country's top Constitutional scholars, will analyze each of the newly proposed voting systems, focusing on their strengths and weaknesses.
- We will also focus on specific initiatives in states such as Nevada, Minnesota, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Missouri, and others that are gaining traction and could provide models for states in the future.

If we are to save our country before it implodes, we need to change the way we elect our representatives to give the moderates, instead of the two bases, a vote.

Please stay tuned. This is about the future of our country.

