

THE  
CONGRESSIONAL  
PARTY

The

Rhodes

Cook

Letter

February 2013

# The Rhodes Cook Letter

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# The Congressional Party

Those of us of a certain age can remember a distinct era in American politics in which the Republicans were the “the presidential party” and the Democrats were “the congressional party.” This era essentially ran from 1952 to 1992, and saw the Republicans hold the White House for 28 of the 40 years. Yet at the same time, the Democrats controlled the Senate for 32 years and the House of Representatives for 38.

Since 1992, the monikers have switched. Democrats have had the upper hand in presidential contests, winning four of the last six (and the popular vote in a fifth). Meanwhile Republicans have found a new home on Capitol Hill, especially in the House. Over the last two decades, the GOP has controlled the Senate for 10 and one-half years, the House for 14 years.

There is no sign that this new era will end anytime soon. Democrats have the inside track in presidential balloting. Republicans have shown a similar advantage in voting for the nation’s lower chamber. For now, the GOP is “the congressional party,” or at the very least, “the House party.”

In an era where there is still reference to a “50-50” nation, neither party can consider their present beachhead impregnable, as Democrats once viewed their “permanent majority” in Congress or Republicans regarded their “lock” on the White House.

Beginning with Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 through George Bush in 1988, the GOP won seven of 10 presidential elections, six with at least 400 electoral votes. The lone exception was Richard Nixon’s victory in 1968, which was accomplished with 301 electoral votes. Even then, Nixon registered a higher electoral vote total than any victorious Republican presidential candidate has since 1988.

As for the Democrats, the “magic” 400 electoral vote level has not been reached by any of the party’s presidential candidates since Lyndon B. Johnson trounced Barry Goldwater in 1964. It proved to be a thorough but aberrational victory.

On the other hand, Democrats did not just run Capitol Hill during much of the late 1900s, they dominated  
*(Continued on Page 5)*

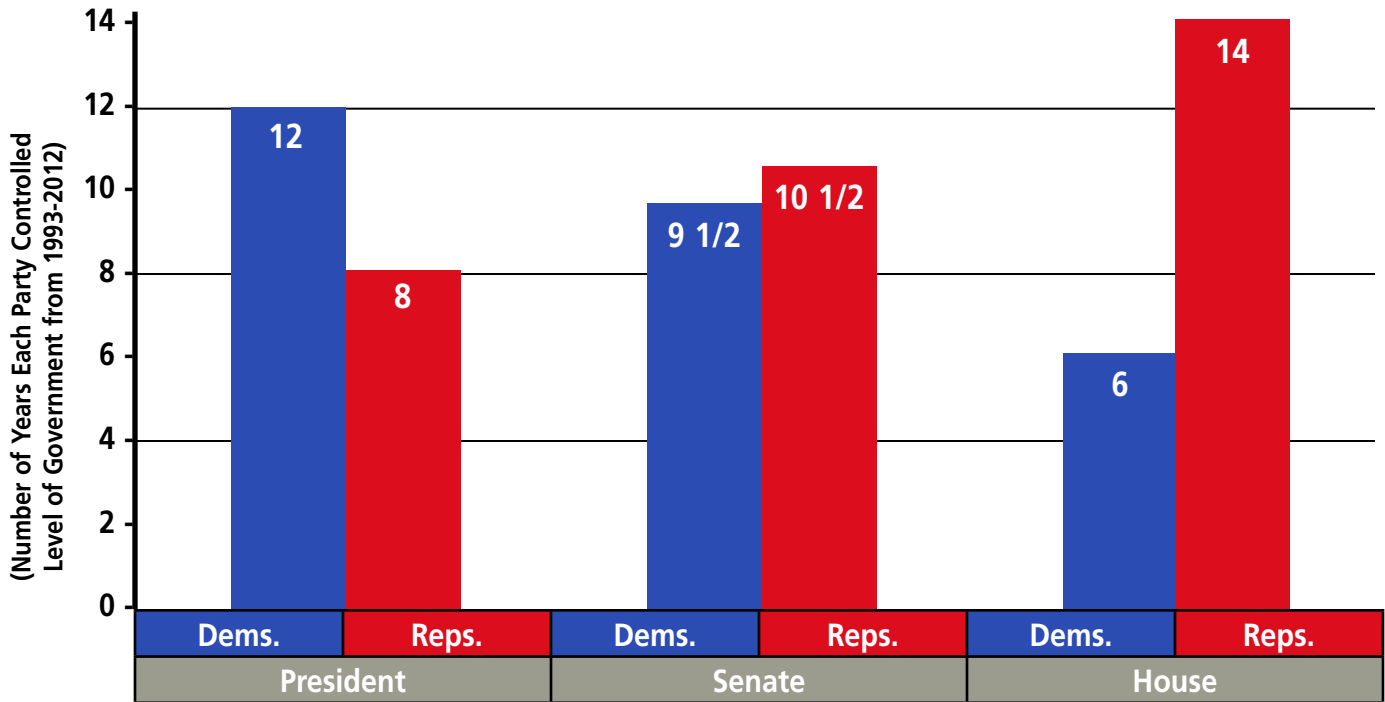
## REVERSING FORTUNES ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE: TWO DISTINCT ERAS SINCE 1952

Over the last six decades, divided government has been a staple of Washington politics. Each party has had the opportunity to dominate one end of Pennsylvania Avenue and then the other. In the last 20 years, the Democrats could be considered “the presidential party”; the Republicans, “the congressional party.” However, the Democrats have not been quite as regular in recording White House victories since 1992 as the Republicans were in the 40 years before that. Nor have Republicans come close to achieving the long-running virtual monopoly of Congress as the Democrats did in the previous era.

Era	Party with upper hand in each era (% of era that one party controlled)		
	President	Senate	House
1953-92 (40 years)	Republicans - 28 years (70%)	Democrats - 32 years (80%)	Democrats - 38 years (95%)
1993-2012 (20 years)	Democrats - 12 years (60%)	Republicans - 10.5 years (52%)	Republicans - 14 years (70%)

Source: *Vital Statistics on American Politics 2011-2012* (CQ Press).

# PRESIDENCY MORE DEMOCRATIC, CONGRESS MORE REPUBLICAN SINCE 1992



After a 40-year period in which Republicans dominated the White House and Democrats the Congress, the two parties essentially switched roles in the early 1990s. Democrats have won four of the last six presidential elections (plus the popular vote in a fifth), while Republicans have had the upper hand in Congress (especially the House of Representatives) for most of the time since their takeover of both chambers in 1994.

Election	Presidential Winner (popular vote margin)	Electoral Vote				SENATE				HOUSE			
		Dem.	Rep.	Other		Dem.	Rep.	Inds.		Dem.	Rep.	Inds.	
1992	CLINTON (D) by 6%	370	168	-	D	57	43	-	D	258	176	1	D
1994						47	53	-	R	204	230	1	R
1996	CLINTON (D) by 9%	379	159	-	D	45	55	-	R	207	227	1	R
1998						45	55	-	R	211	223	1	R
2000	G.W. BUSH (R) by -0.5%*	266	271	1	R	50	50	-	R/D	212	221	2	R
2002						48	51	1	R	205	229	1	R
2004	G.W. BUSH (R) by 2%	286	251	1	R	44	55	1	R	202	232	1	R
2006						49	49	2	D	233	202	-	D
2008	OBAMA (D) by 7%	365	173	-	D	57	41	2	D	257	178	-	D
2010						51	47	2	D	193	242	-	R
2012	OBAMA (D) by 4%	332	206	-	D	53	45	2	D	201	234	-	R

**Note:** An asterisk (\*) indicates that Democrat Al Gore won the popular vote for president in 2000 but Republican George W. Bush won the all-important electoral vote. In addition, the Congress following the 2000 election began with Republicans in charge of the Senate. But control shifted to the Democrats in June 2001 when Sen. James Jeffords of Vermont switched his affiliation from Republican to independent.

**Source:** *America Votes 29* (CQ Press).

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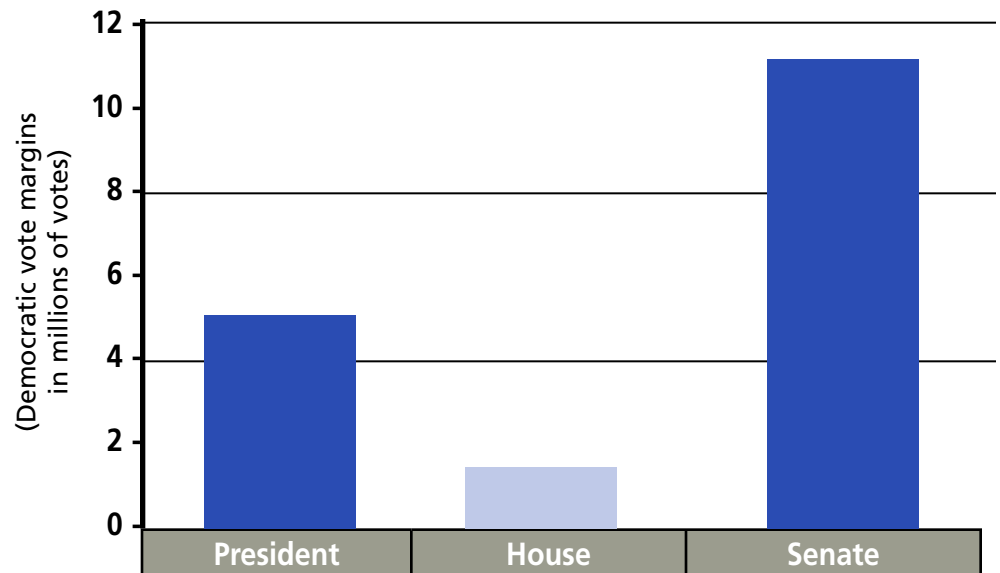
it. Except for the first two years of the Eisenhower administration and the first six years of Reagan's presidency, Democrats controlled the Senate full time until the GOP's historic breakthrough in 1994. For more than a dozen years during this period, Democrats held "supermajorities" of at least 60 members. Fifty-five – the party's current total when including independents who caucus with the Democrats – was a total that they usually exceeded when they controlled the Senate in the latter half of the 20th century.

On the House side, the Democrats enjoyed a four-decade monopoly, from the middle of Eisenhower's first term (the beginning of 1955) to the middle of Bill Clinton's first term (the end of 1994). The 234 House seats that the Republicans won in 2012 was a number surpassed by the Democrats in every election from 1958 through 1992. The majority of the time during their long reign, Democrats held more than 250 seats.

Landslides of such proportion rarely occur at the presidential or congressional levels nowadays because the parties are fairly evenly matched. The Democrats have a strong base on the two coasts, the Northeast and Pacific West, while Republicans dominate the nation's largest region, the South.

That leaves the battleground states of the industrial Frost Belt to often decide both presidential and congressional elections. The swath of states from Pennsylvania west to the electoral powerhouses of the Midwest – especially Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin - have assumed special importance.

### A COMPARISON OF THE OFFICIAL 2012 VOTES FOR PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS



Democrats thrived in voting for president, the House and the Senate in 2012. They rolled up pluralities in aggregate nationwide balloting for all three levels. That included the House of Representatives, where Republicans still were able to win a clear majority of House seats. Presidential results are from the 50 states and the District of Columbia; House results from all 50 states; and the Senate numbers from the 33 states where contests for the nation's upper chamber were held. The nearly 11-million vote Democratic edge in the Senate races was built in no small part on pluralities of more than 3 million votes each by Democratic incumbents Dianne Feinstein of California and Kirsten Gillibrand of New York.

	PRESIDENT		HOUSE		SENATE	
	Vote	%	Vote	%	Vote	%
Democrats	65,899,660	51.1%	59,645,531	49.2%	50,412,936	54.2%
Republicans	60,929,152	47.2%	58,283,314	48.0%	39,415,640	42.4%
Others	2,224,175	1.7%	3,412,529	2.8%	3,206,383	3.4%
<b>TOTAL VOTE</b>	<b>129,052,987</b>		<b>121,341,374</b>		<b>93,034,959</b>	
Dem. Plurality	4,970,508		1,362,217		10,997,296	

Source: The totals are based on results from the web sites of state election authorities (plus the District of Columbia for the presidential vote). Results are official but in some states are subject to small changes.

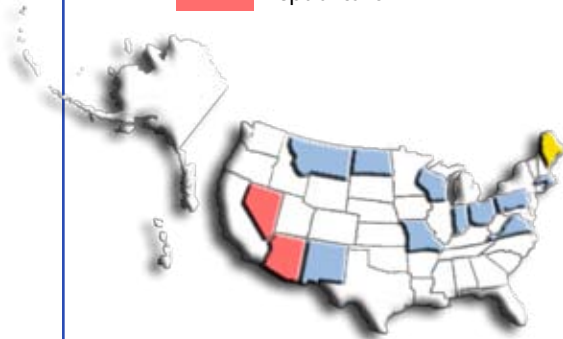
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# 2012 SENATE ELECTIONS: DEMOCRATS MOUNT STRONG DEFENSE

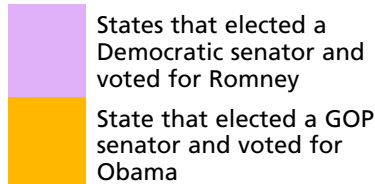
Democrats held the Senate last November in part because they were able to win close races on hostile terrain. Ten of the 23 Democratic Senate winners prevailed by margins of less than 55% of the total vote, and five were elected in states that voted Republican for president. On the other hand, just two of the eight successful Republican Senate candidates in 2012 won with less than 55% of the vote, and only one - Dean Heller of Nevada - won in a state that was carried by President Barack Obama. Senate winners are listed below according to their vote share, from the lowest to the highest percentage within each category (Democratic, Independent, Republican).

## Marginal Senate Winners

Those elected with less than 55% of the total vote in 2012



## Against the Grain



## DEMOCRATIC SENATE WINNERS IN '12 (23)

	Candidate's Status	% of Vote	'12 Winners	
			Sen.	Pres.
Jon Tester (Mont.)	Incumbent	48.6%	D	R
Joe Donnelly (Ind.)	Open Seat	50.0%	D	R
Heidi Heitkamp (N.D.)	Open Seat	50.2%	D	R
Sherrod Brown (Ohio)	Incumbent	50.7%	D	D
Martin Heinrich (N.M.)	Open Seat	51.0%	D	D
Tammy Baldwin (Wis.)	Open Seat	51.4%	D	D
Tim Kaine (Va.)	Open Seat	52.9%	D	D
Bob Casey Jr. (Pa.)	Incumbent	53.7%	D	D
Elizabeth Warren (Mass.)	Challenger	53.7%	D	D
Claire McKaskill (Mo.)	Incumbent	54.8%	D	R
Chris Murphy (Conn.)	Open Seat	55.1%	D	D
Bill Nelson (Fla.)	Incumbent	55.2%	D	D
Ben Cardin (Md.)	Incumbent	56.0%	D	D
Debbie Stabenow (Mich.)	Incumbent	58.8%	D	D
Robert Menendez (N.J.)	Incumbent	58.9%	D	D
Maria Cantwell (Wash.)	Incumbent	60.5%	D	D
Joe Manchin (W.Va.)	Incumbent	60.6%	D	R
Dianne Feinstein (Calif.)	Incumbent	62.5%	D	D
Mazie Hirono (Hawaii)	Open Seat	62.6%	D	D
Sheldon Whitehouse (R.I.)	Incumbent	64.8%	D	D
Amy Klobuchar (Minn.)	Incumbent	65.2%	D	D
Tom Carper (Del.)	Incumbent	66.4%	D	D
Kirsten Gillibrand (N.Y.)	Incumbent	72.2%	D	D

## INDEPENDENT SENATE WINNERS IN '12 (2)

	Candidate's Status	% of Vote	'12 Winners	
			Sen.	Pres.
Angus King (Maine)	Open Seat	52.9%	I	D
Bernard Sanders (Vt.)	Incumbent	71.0%	I	D

## REPUBLICAN SENATE WINNERS IN '12 (8)

	Candidate's Status	% of Vote	'12 Winners	
			Sen.	Pres.
Dean Heller (Nev.)	Incumbent	45.9%	R	D
Jeff Flake (Ariz.)	Open Seat	49.2%	R	R
Ted Cruz (Texas)	Open Seat	56.5%	R	R
Roger Wicker (Miss.)	Incumbent	57.2%	R	R
Deb Fischer (Neb.)	Open Seat	57.8%	R	R
Bob Corker (Tenn.)	Incumbent	64.9%	R	R
Orrin Hatch (Utah)	Incumbent	65.3%	R	R
John Barrasso (Wyo.)	Incumbent	75.7%	R	R

**Note:** Vote percentages for victorious Senate candidates in 2012 are based on the total vote. Both independent senators caucus with the Democrats.

**Source:** Vote percentages are based on official returns as posted on the web sites of state election authorities.

(Continued from Page 5)

President Barack Obama carried all four states in his march to reelection last fall by margins ranging from 3 percentage points in Ohio to 9 points in Michigan. In addition, Democratic congressional candidates drew more aggregate votes than their Republican counterparts in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, and ran close to even with the GOP in House voting in Ohio.

But Republicans controlled the post-2010 redistricting process in the four states, and drew new lines that helped the GOP win the bulk of the House delegation in each. Republicans captured 13 of 18 seats in Pennsylvania, 12 of 16 in Ohio, nine of 14 in Michigan, and five of eight in Wisconsin. Added together, that was 39 seats for the Republicans and 17 seats for the Democrats in the four pro-Obama states.

The key to GOP congressional success was to cluster the Democratic vote into a handful of districts, while spreading out the Republican vote elsewhere. In Pennsylvania, for example, Republicans won nine of their 13 House seats with less than 60% of the vote, while Democrats carried three of their five with more than 75%.

One of the latter was the Philadelphia-based 2nd District, where 356,386 votes for Congress were tallied. Not only was it the highest number of ballots cast in any district in the state, but Democratic Rep. Chaka Fattah won 318,176 of the votes. It was the largest number received by any House candidate in the country in 2012, Democrat or Republican. If some of these Democratic votes had been “unclustered” and distributed to other districts nearby, the party might have won a couple more seats in the Philadelphia area alone.

As it was, Democrats scored a moral victory of sorts by winning the aggregate nationwide House vote by nearly 1.4 million. Normally, it is a number that does not have much currency,

## SOUTH THE CORNERSTONE OF GOP HOUSE MAJORITY

Democrats these days hold the upper hand on the presidential election map, Republicans on the congressional map. The latter is due in no small part to the GOP’s dominance of House races in the nation’s largest region, the South. There, Republicans emerged from the 2012 election with a massive 67-seat edge, double their majority nationwide. Outside the South, Democrats have the most seats in two of the three basic regions, the Northeast and the West. But they must do better in the industrial states of the Frost Belt (from Pennsylvania to Wisconsin) if they are to realize a House majority anytime soon.

Region	House Seats		Plurality in seats	% of House Vote		Plurality in votes
	Reps.	Dems.		Reps.	Dems.	
South	108	41	R 67	56%	41%	R 6,153,045
Midwest	59	35	R 24	49%	48%	R 405,623
West	39	63	D 24	44%	53%	D 2,581,996
Northeast	28	62	D 34	38%	60%	D 5,338,889
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>R 33</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>D 1,362,217</b>

**Note:** In this newsletter, the following states comprise the nation’s four basic regions:

South - Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

Midwest - Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin.

West - Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

Northeast - Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia.

**Source:** Based on official returns posted on the web sites of state election authorities. They are subject, in a few states, to amendment. The vote percentages are based on total votes cast.

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# CONGRESSIONAL "MISFIRE": CARTOGRAPHY HELPS BAIL OUT GOP



2012 HOUSE RESULTS BY METHOD OF REDISTRICTING

Method (Number of States)	Total Seats	Elected in '12		Plurality (in seats)	
		Dem.	Reps.		
Republican control (18)	202	58	144	R	86
Commission (7)	92	59	33	D	26
Divided control (12)	87	48	39	D	9
Democratic control (6)	47	34	13	D	21
At-large (7)	7	2	5	R	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>435</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>R</b>	<b>33</b>

## Most House seats won in 2012



Although Democrats outpolled Republicans by nearly 1.4-million votes last fall in aggregate nationwide balloting for the House of Representatives, the GOP won a comfortable majority of congressional seats. Republicans rolled up a huge edge (86 seats) in states where they dominated the latest round of congressional redistricting - a group that included Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. All four were states where the Democrats won the most House votes but Republicans captured a clear majority of the House seats. Altogether, nearly half the districts nationwide (202 out of 435) were in states where Republicans had the "power of the pen" to draw new district boundaries. Democrats won the most congressional seats in states where they controlled the line drawing, neither party had total control of the process, or redistricting was done by a commission. But Democratic strength in these states was not nearly enough to offset the success that Republicans enjoyed in states where they controlled the process. According to a 2011 redistricting study by David Wasserman of The Cook Political Report, Republicans did the post-2010 remapping in 18 states with 202 congressional districts, while Democrats ran the process in just six states with 47 districts. Control was divided between the parties in 12 states with 87 districts; commissions drew the lines in seven states with 92 districts. The remaining seven districts were in single-seat, at-large states where no redistricting was required.

REPUBLICAN-CONTROLLED REDISTRICTING						DEMOCRATIC-CONTROLLED REDISTRICTING					
	Dem. % in '12 of:		Dems.	Reps.	Seat Changes		Dem. % in '12 of:		Dems.	Reps.	Seat Changes
	House Vote	House Seats					House Vote	House Seats			
Alabama	36%	14%	1	6	-	Arkansas	29%	0%	0	4	D - 1/R + 1
Florida	45%	37%	10	17	D + 4/ R - 2	Connecticut	65%	100%	5	0	-
Georgia	41%	36%	5	9	R + 1	Illinois	54%	67%	12	6	D + 4/R - 5
Indiana	45%	22%	2	7	D - 1/R + 1	Maryland	63%	88%	7	1	D + 1/R - 1
Kansas	18%	0%	0	4	-	Massachusetts	72%	100%	9	0	D - 1
Louisiana	21%	17%	1	5	R - 1	West Virginia	40%	33%	1	2	-
Maine	62%	100%	2	0	-				34	13	D +3/R -5
Michigan	51%	36%	5	9	D - 1	<b>REDISTRICTING BY COMMISSION</b>					
Nebraska	36%	0%	0	3							
North Carolina	51%	31%	4	9	D - 3/R + 3						
Ohio	47%	25%	4	12	D - 1/R - 1						
Oklahoma	31%	0%	0	5	D - 1/R + 1	Arizona	44%	56%	5	4	D + 2/R - 1
Pennsylvania	50%	28%	5	13	D - 2/R + 1	California	61%	72%	38	15	D + 4/R - 4
South Carolina	41%	14%	1	6	R + 1	Hawaii	67%	100%	2	0	-
Tennessee	35%	22%	2	7	-	Idaho	33%	0%	0	2	-
Texas	38%	33%	12	24	D + 3/R + 1	Iowa	50%	50%	2	2	D - 1
Utah	32%	25%	1	3	R + 1	New Jersey	55%	50%	6	6	D - 1
Wisconsin	50%	38%	3	5	-	Washington	54%	60%	6	4	D + 1
			58	144	D - 2/R + 6				59	33	D + 5/R - 5

DIVIDED-CONTROL REDISTRICTING						AT-LARGE SEATS					
	Dem. % in '12 of:		Dems.	Reps.	Seat Changes		Dem. % in '12 of:		Dems.	Reps.	Seat Changes
	House Vote	House Seats					House Vote	House Seats			
Colorado	44%	43%	3	4	-	Alaska	29%	0%	0	1	-
Kentucky	39%	17%	1	5	D -1/R + 1	Delaware	64%	100%	1	0	-
Minnesota	55%	63%	5	3	D +1/R - 1	Montana	43%	0%	0	1	-
Mississippi	34%	25%	1	3	-	North Dakota	42%	0%	0	1	-
Missouri	42%	25%	2	6	D - 1	South Dakota	43%	0%	0	1	-
Nevada	47%	50%	2	2	D + 1	Vermont	72%	100%	1	0	-
New Hampshire	50%	100%	2	0	D + 2/R -2	Wyoming	24%	0%	0	1	-
New Mexico	55%	67%	2	1	-				2	5	-
New York	64%	78%	21	6	R -2						
Oregon	56%	80%	4	1	-	<b>NATIONAL TOTAL</b>	49%	46%	201	234	D +8/R - 8
Rhode Island	54%	100%	2	0	-						
Virginia	48%	27%	3	8	-						
			48	39	D + 2/R -4						

**Note:** Seat changes reflect the difference in the partisan breakdown of each state's U.S. House delegation from immediately before to immediately after the 2012 general election. Democratic vote percentages are based on the total vote.

**Sources:** Democratic vote percentages are based on the 2012 congressional results posted on the web sites of state election authorities. The returns are official but subject to small amendments. Information on the post-2010 congressional redistricting process is from The Cook Political Report's *Better Know a District: 2012 State by State Redistricting Outlook*, written by David Wasserman and published in April 2011.

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a matter of interest only to academics and political mavens. But in 2012, the Democrats' "popular vote" victory in the House balloting helped to undermine the contention of congressional Republicans their majority was as much a mandate as President Obama's 5-million vote, 26-state, 332-electoral vote reelection victory.

The challenge now for House Democrats is to turn moral victories into actual triumphs. It will not be easy. The Republicans head toward 2014 offering little in the way of "low hanging fruit." Only 15 House Republicans are in hostile terrain, representing districts that also voted for Obama last fall. And few GOP representatives give the appearance of electoral weakness, as just a dozen were elected in 2012 by a margin of less than 5 percentage points.

The list includes erstwhile Republican presidential candidate, Michele Bachmann, who won reelection in her Minnesota district last fall by a margin of barely 1 percentage point. It was her narrowest congressional victory since she first won the seat in 2006.

But few other Republican winners in 2012 were so hard pressed as Bachmann. Democrats would need a strong wind at their back to score a breakthrough in the House anytime soon, an unlikely occurrence for the party of the president in a midterm election. More likely, little will happen in 2014 to disturb the Republicans' title as "the congressional party."

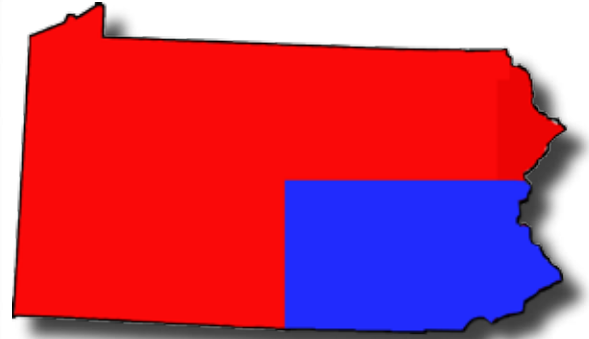
## PENNSYLVANIA: DEMOCRATS DRAW MORE HOUSE VOTES IN 2012, BUT GOP WINS BULK OF SEATS

Pennsylvania was typical of those states where Republicans benefited in 2012 from the decennial redrawing of congressional district lines. Democratic candidates drew more than half of the total votes cast statewide for the U.S. House last fall, but Republicans won nearly three-quarters (13 of 18) of Pennsylvania's congressional seats. The GOP-controlled state government approved a map that packed Democratic votes into the five districts that they carried, where the party's candidates posted winning percentages ranging from 60% to 89% of the total vote. Meanwhile, the Republican vote was spread more broadly, with nine of the GOP winners drawing less than 60% of the vote in their districts

	Republicans	Democrats
Aggregate House Vote	2,710,070 (49%)	2,793,538 (50%)
House Seats Won	13 (72%)	5 (28%)
<b>Candidate Winning Percentages:</b>		
Less than 55%	3	0
55 to 59.9%	6	0
60 to 69.9%	4	2
70 to 79.9%	0	1
More than 80%	0	2

**Note:** Vote percentages are based on total votes cast.

**Source:** Official results from the web site of the Pennsylvania Department of State.



## THE CLOSEST HOUSE RACES OF 2012

If Democrats in 2014 could just win the dozen House seats that they lost last fall by a margin of less than 5 percentage points, they would be on the verge of a House majority. On the other hand, the GOP has plenty of targets of their own, with Democrats holding 18 House seats that they carried in 2012 by less than 5 points.

NARROW DEMOCRATIC WINNERS				NARROW REPUBLICAN WINNERS			
Winner	Winner's Status in '12	% of Vote	Victory Margin (in % points)	Winner	Winner's Status in '12	% of Vote	Victory Margin (in % points)
Mike McIntyre (D-N.C. 7)	Incumbent	50.1%	0.2%	Rodney Davis (R-Ill. 13)	Open Seat	46.5%	0.3%
Jim Matheson (D-Utah 4)	Incumbent	48.8%	0.3%	Dan Benishek (R-Mich. 1)	Incumbent	48.1%	0.5%
Patrick Murphy (D-Fla. 18)	Challenger	50.3%	0.6%	Michele Bachmann (R-Minn. 6)	Incumbent	50.5%	1.2%
Ron Barber (D-Ariz. 2)	Incumbent	50.4%	0.8%	Jackie Walorski (R-Ind. 2)	Open Seat	49.0%	1.4%
Brad Schneider (D-Ill. 10)	Challenger	50.6%	1.2%	Lee Terry (R-Neb. 2)	Incumbent	50.8%	1.6%
John Tierney (D-Mass. 6)	Incumbent	48.3%	1.2%	Chris Collins (R-N.Y. 27)	Challenger	50.8%	1.6%
Bill Owens (D-N.Y. 21)	Incumbent	50.1%	1.9%	Mike Coffman (R-Colo. 6)	Incumbent	47.8%	2.0%
Scott Peters (D-Calif. 52)	Challenger	51.2%	2.4%	Daniel Webster (R-Fla. 10)	Incumbent	51.7%	3.4%
Elizabeth Esty (D-Conn. 5)	Open Seat	51.3%	2.6%	Keith Rothfus (R-Pa. 12)	Challenger	51.7%	3.4%
Ami Bera (D-Calif. 7)	Challenger	51.7%	3.4%	Thomas Reed (R-N.Y. 23)	Incumbent	51.9%	3.8%
Ann Kirkpatrick (D-Ariz. 1)	Open Seat	48.8%	3.7%	Andy Barr (R-Ky. 6)	Challenger	50.6%	3.9%
Carol Shea-Porter (D-N.H. 1)	Challenger	49.8%	3.8%	Jim Renacci (R-Ohio 16)	Incumbent	52.0%	4.0%
Sean Maloney (D-N.Y. 18)	Challenger	51.9%	3.9%				
Kyrsten Sinema (D-Ariz. 9)	Open Seat	48.7%	4.1%				
Eric Swalwell (D-Calif. 15)#	Challenger	52.1%	4.2%				
Pete Gallego (D-Texas 23)	Challenger	50.3%	4.7%				
Ann Kuster (D-N.H. 2)	Challenger	50.2%	4.9%				
Tim Bishop (D-N.Y. 1)	Incumbent	52.4%	4.9%				

**Note:** A pound sign (#) indicates that Eric Swalwell (D-Calif. 15) defeated a Democratic incumbent, Pete Stark.

**Source:** Based on official results posted on the web sites of state election authorities.

## DEFEATED MEMBERS: STRAINS OF ANTI-INCUMBENCY IN THE HOUSE

Over the course of the last two elections, nearly 100 House members have lost their bids for another term. A total of 58 were defeated in 2010 - four in the primaries and 54 in the general election. Last year, another 40 representatives were defeated - 13 in the primaries and 27 in the general election. To be sure, the count of defeated House members in 2012 was boosted by redistricting, as more than a dozen members were paired against an incumbent from the same party. Still, the total of 98 defeated House members in the last two election cycles is the most for back-to-back cycles since 1964-66, when 102 representatives were beaten in primaries and general elections.

The congressional casualties in 2010 were almost unanimously Democrats. In 2012, they were a bipartisan group, with several more GOP House members ousted than Democrats. The role of redistricting last year was probably no more evident than in California. There, the pro-incumbent lines favored in the last decade were redrawn by a commission that did incumbents of both parties no favors. Altogether, seven were defeated in the general election, including two who found themselves paired against congressional colleagues.

SENATOR (1 - 1 Republican)				
Incumbent	Terms in Office	Previous Election %	'12 Election %	Defeated by:
Scott Brown (R-Mass.)	@	51.9%	46.2%	Elizabeth Warren (D)
REPRESENTATIVES (27 - 17 Republicans, 10 Democrats)				
Incumbent	Terms Served	Previous Election %	'12 Election %	Defeated by:
Dan Lungren (R-Calif. 7)	9	50.1%	48.3%	Ami Bera (D)
Pete Stark (D-Calif. 15)	20	72.0%	47.9%	Eric Swalwell (D)
Howard Berman (D-Calif. 30)	15	69.5%	39.7%	Brad Sherman (D)* (P)
Joe Baca (D-Calif. 35)	6	65.5%	44.1%	Gloria McLeod (D)
Mary Bono Mack (R-Calif. 36)	7	51.5%	47.1%	Raul Ruiz (D)
Laura Richardson (D-Calif. 44)	2	68.4%	39.8%	Janice Hahn (D)* (P)
Brian Bilbray (R-Calif. 52)	6	56.7%	48.8%	Scott Peters (D)
Allen West (R-Fla. 18)	1	54.4%	49.7%	Patrick Murphy (D)
David Rivera (R-Fla. 26)	1	52.1%	43.0%	Joe Garcia (D)
Joe Walsh (R-Ill. 8)	1	48.5%	45.3%	Tammy Duckworth (D)
Robert Dold (R-Ill. 10)	1	51.1%	49.4%	Brad Schneider (D)
Judy Biggert (R-Ill. 11)	7	63.8%	41.4%	Bill Foster (D)#
Bobby Schilling (R-Ill. 17)	1	52.6%	46.7%	Cheri Bustos (D)
Leonard Boswell (D-Iowa 3)	8	50.7%	43.6%	Tom Latham (R)* (P)
Ben Chandler (D-Ky. 6)	4	50.1%	46.7%	Andy Barr (R)
Jeff Landry (R-La. 3)	1	63.8%	39.1% (RO)	Charles Boustany (R)* (P)
Roscoe Bartlett (R-Md. 6)	10	61.4%	37.9%	John Delaney (D)
Chip Cravaack (R-Minn. 8)	1	48.2%	45.4%	Rick Nolan (D)#
Frank Guinta (R-N.H. 1)	1	54.0%	46.0%	Carol Shea-Porter (D)#
Charles Bass (R-N.H. 2)	7	48.3%	45.3%	Ann Kuster (D)
Nan Hayworth (R-N.Y. 18)	1	52.6%	48.0%	Sean Maloney (D)
Ann Marie Buerkle (R-N.Y. 24)	1	50.1%	43.4%	Daniel Maffei (D)#
Kathy Hochul (D-N.Y. 27)	@	-	49.2%	Chris Collins (R)
Larry Kissell (D-N.C. 8)	2	53.0%	45.4%	Richard Hudson (R)
Betty Sutton (D-Ohio 16)	3	55.7%	48.0%	Jim Renacci (R)* (P)
Mark Critz (D-Pa. 12)	1	50.8%	48.3%	Keith Rothfus (R)
Francisco Canseco (R-Texas 23)	1	49.4%	45.6%	Pete Gallego (D)

**Note:** The number of House terms served is based on full terms in office. The vote percentages are based on each member's share of the total vote. The icon "@" indicates that the member was elected in a special election held after the previous general election for the office (2006 for the Senate, 2010 for the House). An asterisk (\*) in the "Defeated by" column denotes an incumbent. A pound sign (#) in the "Defeated by" column represents a former incumbent. "(P)" indicates that two incumbents were paired against each other in the 2012 general election. "(RO)" denotes that the result listed is based on a December 2012 runoff election.

**Sources:** *The Almanac of American Politics* (National Journal) for the number of terms served in Congress; *America Votes 29* (CQ Press) for 2010 vote percentages. The web sites of state election authorities were consulted for official 2012 returns.

# OBAMA'S FORMAL ELECTION

In a lightly attended joint session of Congress on Jan. 4, Barack Obama was officially reelected president of the United States for another four-year term. The reading of the certified electoral vote as cast in mid-December in the 50 states and the District of Columbia revealed the tally unchanged from Election Night, with 332 votes for Democrat Obama (and Vice President Joe Biden) and 206 for Republican Mitt Romney (and his running mate, Paul Ryan). For the second straight election, there were no “faithless electors” breaking ranks to cast their ballot for a person other than their party’s presidential candidate.

The quadrennial count of the electoral vote followed the posting earlier in the week of the certified popular vote from New York. It was the lone state that had not totally completed its official vote count by mid-December. Numbers posted then by Empire State election authorities were official as far as they went. But the New York totals released New Year’s eve included about 400,000 additional ballots, better than 300,000 of which were cast for Obama.

They, in turn, boosted Obama’s nationwide vote to 65.90 million, Romney’s to 60.93 million, and expanded the president’s margin of victory to 4.97 million votes. Translated into percentage points, Obama’s share of the popular vote ticked up to 51.1% with Romney’s slipping slightly to 47.2% - a margin of 3.9 points that should be the final spread. If history is a guide, several states may amend their vote in the weeks ahead, but further changes at this point in the overall tally are likely to be very incremental.

## A Little Pomp and Ceremony

The announcement of the electoral votes did not make for “must see” TV, or even attract much of a crowd. The House visitors’ gallery was only about half full for the proceedings, while members of Congress were scattered around the floor in various states of attentiveness. Among the recognizable senators in attendance were Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid and the newly elected independent senator from Maine, Angus King.

Among the more prominent representatives present were House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi and Debbie Wasserman Schultz, the chair of the Democratic National Committee. Television coverage also caught a shot of Rep. Ryan, back on Capitol Hill after several months on the campaign trail on behalf of the Romney-Ryan ticket.

Yet while it was hardly riveting, this necessary formality that concludes the quadrennial presidential election process is an event that might make the “bucket list” of anyone with a long interest in U.S. elections.

The session was gavelled to order at 1 p.m. by House Speaker John Boehner, who followed by announcing the arrival of Vice President Biden and members of the Senate. The small group entered through the center door at the back of the chamber, following staff members carrying two brown leather chests and three brass buckets containing several dozen long blue boxes. The former held manila envelopes with the certified electoral vote from each state and the District of Columbia, while the latter contained letter openers that were used to open the envelopes.

The vice president presided over the tally, which unfolded state by state in alphabetical order. He received the sheet with each state’s electoral vote and passed it to the senator or representative who actually read the vote. There were four members who alternated doing so – Sens. Charles

Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.), and Reps. Candice Miller (R-Mich.) and Robert Brady (D-Pa.). The four were the chairs and ranking members, respectively, of the committees in each chamber with jurisdiction over federal elections (Senate Rules and House Administration, respectively).

Each member followed a script that went basically as follows: “The certificate for the electoral vote from Alabama appears to be regular in form and authentic. It appears therefrom that nine votes are cast for Mitt Romney of Massachusetts for president and nine votes for Paul Ryan of Wisconsin for vice president.”

At the end of the tally, Biden announced the final vote that reelected both himself and President Obama. The joint session concluded with brief applause. It had lasted less than 30 minutes.

*(This first appeared in January as a blog on the web site, [www.Rhodescook.com](http://www.Rhodescook.com).)*

## **‘FAITHLESS’ ELECTORS SINCE 1960**

About the only drama in the reading of the 2012 electoral vote was whether there would be a “faithless” elector. They have popped up every few elections, sometimes casting their vote for the vice presidential candidate rather than their party’s standard-bearer, or a third party candidate, or in the case of a Democratic elector from the District of Columbia in 2000, leaving their electoral vote blank. The District elector did so to protest the capital city’s “colonial status.” Following is a list of “faithless” electors since 1960.

1960 – Republican elector from Oklahoma (Harry Byrd, backed by “Unpledged electors,” rather than Richard Nixon)

1968 – Republican elector from North Carolina (George Wallace, American Independent, rather than Richard Nixon)

1972 – Republican elector from Virginia (John Hospers, Libertarian, rather than Richard Nixon)

1976 – Republican elector from Washington (Ronald Reagan rather than Gerald Ford)

1988 – Democratic elector from West Virginia (Lloyd Bentsen rather than Michael Dukakis)

2000 – Democratic elector from the District of Columbia (“Blank” rather than Al Gore)

2004 – Democratic elector from Minnesota (John Edwards rather than John Kerry)

# OFFICIAL 2012 HOUSE VOTE

State	Dems.	Reps.	Total Vote	Dems.	Reps.	Others	Plurality	Dems.	Reps.	Others
Alabama	1	6	1,933,630	693,498	1,233,624	6,508	R 540,126	35.9%	63.8%	0.3%
Alaska	0	1	289,804	82,927	185,296	21,581	R 102,369	28.6%	63.9%	7.4%
Arizona	5	4	2,173,317	946,994	1,131,663	94,660	R 184,669	43.6%	52.1%	4.4%
Arkansas	0	4	1,038,054	304,770	637,591	95,693	R 332,821	29.4%	61.4%	9.2%
California	38	15	12,204,357	7,392,703	4,530,012	281,642	D 2,862,691	60.6%	37.1%	2.3%
Colorado	3	4	2,450,537	1,080,153	1,143,796	226,588	R 63,643	44.1%	46.7%	9.2%
Connecticut	5	0	1,466,511	951,281	500,290	14,940	D 450,991	64.9%	34.1%	1.0%
Delaware	1	0	388,059	249,933	129,757	8,369	D 120,176	64.4%	33.4%	2.2%
Florida	10	17	7,513,534	3,392,402	3,826,522	294,610	R 434,120	45.2%	50.9%	3.9%
Georgia	5	9	3,553,587	1,448,869	2,104,098	620	R 655,229	40.8%	59.2%	0.0%
Hawaii	2	0	422,539	285,008	137,531	-	D 147,477	67.5%	32.5%	-
Idaho	0	2	635,218	208,297	406,814	20,107	R 198,517	32.8%	64.0%	3.2%
Illinois	12	6	5,058,133	2,743,702	2,207,818	106,613	D 535,884	54.2%	43.6%	2.1%
Indiana	2	7	2,553,746	1,142,554	1,351,760	59,432	R 209,206	44.7%	52.9%	2.3%
Iowa	2	2	1,536,849	772,387	726,505	37,957	D 45,882	50.3%	47.3%	2.5%
Kansas	0	4	1,057,739	195,505	740,981	121,253	R 545,476	18.5%	70.1%	11.5%
Kentucky	1	5	1,745,377	684,744	1,027,582	33,051	R 342,838	39.2%	58.9%	1.9%
Louisiana	1	5	1,705,617	359,190	1,143,027	203,400	R 783,837	21.1%	67.0%	11.9%
Maine	2	0	693,801	427,819	265,982	-	D 161,837	61.7%	38.3%	-
Maryland	7	1	2,585,514	1,626,872	858,406	100,236	D 768,466	62.9%	33.2%	3.9%
Massachusetts	9	0	2,891,434	2,080,594	697,637	113,203	D 1,382,957	72.0%	24.1%	3.9%
Michigan	5	9	4,574,632	2,327,985	2,086,804	159,843	D 241,181	50.9%	45.6%	3.5%
Minnesota	5	3	2,813,383	1,560,984	1,210,409	41,990	D 350,575	55.5%	43.0%	1.5%
Mississippi	1	3	1,208,175	411,398	703,635	93,142	R 292,237	34.1%	58.2%	7.7%
Missouri	2	6	2,675,900	1,119,554	1,463,586	92,760	R 344,032	41.8%	54.7%	3.5%
Montana	0	1	479,740	204,939	255,468	19,333	R 50,529	42.7%	53.3%	4.0%
Nebraska	0	3	772,515	276,239	496,276	-	R 220,037	35.8%	64.2%	-
Nevada	2	2	973,742	453,310	457,239	63,193	R 3,929	46.6%	47.0%	6.5%
New Hampshire	2	0	682,416	340,925	311,636	29,855	D 29,289	50.0%	45.7%	4.4%
New Jersey	6	6	3,280,032	1,794,301	1,430,325	55,406	D 363,976	54.7%	43.6%	1.7%
New Mexico	2	1	766,090	422,189	343,269	632	D 78,920	55.1%	44.8%	0.1%
New York	21	6	6,460,331	4,136,336	2,243,265	80,730	D 1,893,071	64.0%	34.7%	1.2%
North Carolina	4	9	4,384,112	2,218,357	2,137,167	28,588	D 81,190	50.6%	48.7%	0.7%
North Dakota	0	1	316,224	131,870	173,585	10,769	R 41,715	41.7%	54.9%	3.4%
Ohio	4	12	5,142,126	2,412,385	2,620,233	109,508	R 207,848	46.9%	51.0%	2.1%
Oklahoma	0	5	1,325,935	410,324	856,872	58,739	R 446,548	30.9%	64.6%	4.4%
Oregon	4	1	1,708,168	949,660	687,839	70,669	D 261,821	55.6%	40.3%	4.1%
Pennsylvania	5	13	5,556,330	2,793,538	2,710,070	52,722	D 83,468	50.3%	48.8%	0.9%
Rhode Island	2	0	427,775	232,679	161,926	33,170	D 70,753	54.4%	37.9%	7.8%
South Carolina	1	6	1,802,453	742,805	1,026,129	33,519	R 283,324	41.2%	56.9%	1.9%
South Dakota	0	1	361,429	153,789	207,640	-	R 53,851	42.6%	57.4%	-
Tennessee	2	7	2,283,727	796,513	1,369,562	117,652	R 573,049	34.9%	60.0%	5.2%
Texas	12	24	7,664,208	2,949,900	4,429,270	285,038	R 1,479,370	38.5%	57.8%	3.7%
Utah	1	3	998,897	324,309	647,873	26,715	R 323,564	32.5%	64.9%	2.7%
Vermont	1	0	289,931	208,600	67,543	13,788	D 141,057	71.9%	23.3%	4.8%
Virginia	3	8	3,740,455	1,806,025	1,876,761	57,669	R 70,736	48.3%	50.2%	1.5%
Washington	6	4	3,006,266	1,636,726	1,369,540	-	D 267,186	54.4%	45.6%	-
West Virginia	1	2	641,354	257,101	384,253	-	R 127,152	40.1%	59.9%	-
Wisconsin	3	5	2,866,050	1,445,015	1,401,995	19,040	D 43,020	50.4%	48.9%	0.7%
Wyoming	0	1	241,621	57,573	166,452	17,596	R 108,879	23.8%	68.9%	7.3%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>121,341,374</b>	<b>59,645,531</b>	<b>58,283,314</b>	<b>3,412,529</b>	<b>D 1,362,217</b>	<b>49.2%</b>	<b>48.0%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>

# OFFICIAL 2012 SENATE VOTE

	Winner	Total Vote	Percentage of Total Vote			Plurality	Percentage of Total Vote		
			Dems.	Reps.	Others		Dems.	Reps.	Others
Arizona	Jeff Flake (R)	2,243,422	1,036,542	1,104,457	102,423	R 67,915	46.2%	49.2%	4.6%
California	Dianne Feinstein (D)*	12,578,511	7,864,624	4,713,887	0	D 3,150,737	62.5%	37.5%	0.0%
Connecticut	Chris Murphy (D)	1,504,895	828,761	651,089	25,045	D 177,672	55.1%	43.3%	1.7%
Delaware	Tom Carper (D)*	399,606	265,415	115,700	18,491	D 149,715	66.4%	29.0%	4.6%
Florida	Bill Nelson (D)*	8,189,946	4,523,451	3,458,267	208,228	D 1,065,184	55.2%	42.2%	2.5%
Hawaii	Mazie Hirono (D)	430,483	269,489	160,994		D 108,495	62.6%	37.4%	-
Indiana	Joe Donnelly (D)	2,560,102	1,281,181	1,133,621	145,300	D 147,560	50.0%	44.3%	5.7%
Maine#	Angus King (Ind.)	700,599	92,900	215,399	392,300	I 155,181	13.3%	30.7%	56.0%
Maryland	Ben Cardin (D)*	2,633,234	1,474,028	693,291	465,915	D 780,737	56.0%	26.3%	17.7%
Massachusetts	Elizabeth Warren (D)	3,156,553	1,696,346	1,458,048	2,159	D 238,298	53.7%	46.2%	0.1%
Michigan	Debbie Stabenow (D)*	4,652,918	2,735,826	1,767,386	149,706	D 968,440	58.8%	38.0%	3.2%
Minnesota	Amy Klobuchar (D)*	2,843,207	1,854,595	867,974	120,638	D 986,621	65.2%	30.5%	4.2%
Mississippi	Roger Wicker (R)*	1,241,568	503,467	709,626	28,475	R 206,159	40.6%	57.2%	2.3%
Missouri	Claire McKaskill (D)*	2,725,793	1,494,125	1,066,159	165,509	D 427,966	54.8%	39.1%	6.1%
Montana	Jon Tester (D)*	486,066	236,123	218,051	31,892	D 18,072	48.6%	44.9%	6.6%
Nebraska	Deb Fischer (R)	788,572	332,979	455,593	0	R 122,614	42.2%	57.8%	-
Nevada	Dean Heller (R)*	997,805	446,080	457,656	94,069	R 11,576	44.7%	45.9%	9.4%
New Jersey	Robert Menendez (D)*	3,376,649	1,987,680	1,329,534	59,435	D 658,146	58.9%	39.4%	1.8%
New Mexico	Martin Heinrich (D)	775,793	395,717	351,260	28,816	D 44,457	51.0%	45.3%	3.7%
New York	Kirsten Gillibrand (D)*	6,662,661	4,808,878	1,755,466	98,317	D 3,053,412	72.2%	26.3%	1.5%
North Dakota	Heidi Heitkamp (D)	321,144	161,337	158,401	1,406	D 2,936	50.2%	49.3%	0.4%
Ohio	Sherrod Brown (D)*	5,449,018	2,762,690	2,435,712	250,616	D 326,978	50.7%	44.7%	4.6%
Pennsylvania	Bob Casey Jr. (D)*	5,627,422	3,021,364	2,509,132	96,926	D 512,232	53.7%	44.6%	1.7%
Rhode Island	Sheldon Whitehouse (D)*	418,189	271,034	146,222	933	D 124,812	64.8%	35.0%	0.2%
Tennessee	Bob Corker (R)*	2,320,189	705,882	1,506,443	107,864	R 800,561	30.4%	64.9%	4.6%
Texas	Ted Cruz (R)	7,864,822	3,194,927	4,440,137	229,758	R 1,245,210	40.6%	56.5%	2.9%
Utah	Orrin Hatch (R)*	1,006,901	301,873	657,608	47,420	R 355,735	30.0%	65.3%	4.7%
Vermont#	Bernie Sanders (Ind.)*	292,762	-	72,898	219,864	I 134,950	-	24.9%	75.1%
Virginia	Tim Kaine (D)	3,802,196	2,010,067	1,785,542	6,587	D 224,525	52.9%	47.0%	0.2%
Washington	Maria Cantwell (D)*	3,069,417	1,855,493	1,213,924	0	D 641,569	60.5%	39.5%	-
West Virginia	Joe Manchin (D)*	660,243	399,939	240,787	19,517	D 159,152	60.6%	36.5%	3.0%
Wisconsin	Tammy Baldwin (D)	3,009,411	1,547,104	1,380,126	82,181	D 166,978	51.4%	45.9%	2.7%
Wyoming	John Barrasso (R)*	244,862	53,019	185,250	6,593	R 132,231	21.7%	75.7%	2.7%
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>93,034,959</b>	<b>50,412,936</b>	<b>39,415,640</b>	<b>3,206,383</b>	<b>D 10,997,296</b>	<b>54.2%</b>	<b>42.4%</b>	<b>3.4%</b>

**Note:** An asterisk (\*) indicates an incumbent. A pound sign (#) denotes that Independent Angus King won the Maine Senate election with 370,580 votes (52.9% of the total vote) and that Independent Bernie Sanders won the Vermont Senate race with 207,848 votes (71.0% of the total vote). In Maine and Vermont, the plurality represents the difference in the vote between the Independent winner and the runner-up. In other races, the plurality is the difference between the vote for each major party candidate.

**Source:** The official vote totals are from the web sites of state election authorities. In several states, the results are subject to slight amendment.

# OFFICIAL 2012 GUBERNATORIAL VOTE

State	Winner	Turnout	Dems.	Reps.	Others	Plurality	Dems.	Reps.	Others
Delaware	Jack Markell (D)*	398,029	275,993	113,793	8,243	D 162,200	69.3%	28.6%	2.1%
Indiana	Mike Pence (R)	2,577,329	1,200,016	1,275,424	101,889	R 75,408	46.6%	49.5%	4.0%
Missouri	Jay Nixon (D)*	2,727,883	1,494,056	1,160,265	73,562	D 333,791	54.8%	42.5%	2.7%
Montana	Steve Bullock (D)	483,489	236,450	228,879	18,160	D 7,571	48.9%	47.3%	3.8%
New Hampshire	Maggie Hassan (D)	693,877	378,934	295,026	19,917	D 83,908	54.6%	42.5%	2.9%
North Carolina	Pat McCrory (R)	4,468,295	1,931,580	2,440,707	96,008	R 509,127	43.2%	54.6%	2.1%
North Dakota	Jack Dalrymple (R)*	317,814	109,048	200,525	8,241	R 91,477	34.3%	63.1%	2.6%
Utah	Gary Herbert (R)*	1,006,524	277,622	688,592	40,310	R 410,970	27.6%	68.4%	4.0%
Vermont	Peter Shumlin (D)*	295,412	170,749	110,940	13,723	D 59,809	57.8%	37.6%	4.6%
Washington	Jay Inslee (D)	3,071,047	1,582,802	1,488,245	-	D 94,557	51.5%	48.5%	-
West Virginia	Earl Ray Tomblin (D)*	664,455	335,468	303,291	25,696	D 32,177	50.5%	45.6%	3.9%
Wisconsin @	Scott Walker (R)*	2,516,065	1,164,480	1,335,585	16,000	R 171,105	46.3%	53.1%	0.6%
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>19,220,219</b>	<b>9,157,198</b>	<b>9,641,272</b>	<b>421,749</b>	<b>R 484,074</b>	<b>47.6%</b>	<b>50.2%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>

**Note:** An asterisk (\*) denotes an incumbent. The icon "@" indicates that a special gubernatorial recall election was held in Wisconsin on June 5, 2012.

**Source:** The results are from state election web sites and are official but subject to small amendments.

## The Changing Composition of the 113th Congress

The composition of the newly minted 113th Congress has already begun to change. Three Senate seats have switched hands since last November's election and three House resignations will necessitate special elections in the weeks and months ahead. Two of the new senators have ties to the governors who appointed them. Democrat Brian Schatz of Hawaii, who replaced the late Daniel Inouye, was the state's lieutenant governor under Gov. Neil Abercrombie. Democrat William "Mo" Cowan, who took the seat of John Kerry in Massachusetts, was Gov. Deval Patrick's chief of staff. Republican Tim Scott, who succeeded Jim DeMint in South Carolina, was a House member before being appointed by Gov. Nikki Haley to fill the vacant Senate seat. Both Scott and Cowan (as well as Patrick) are African American. The new senators also add a touch of youth to the Senate. Scott is 47 years old; Cowan is 43; Schatz is 40. However, Cowan's Senate tenure will only be a matter of months. He is not a candidate in the special Senate election in Massachusetts this June.

Date and Event	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES			SENATE			
	Dems.	Reps.	Vac.	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.	Vac.
<b>2012 ELECTION (Nov. 6)</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>234</b>		<b>53</b>	45	2	
Nov. 21, 2012 - Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-Ill. 2) resigns, citing the need to focus on his health.	200	234	1				
Dec. 17, 2012 - Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) dies at age 88.				52	45	2	1
Dec. 27, 2012 - Brian Schatz (D-Hawaii) sworn in to fill the Senate vacancy created by Inouye's death.				53	45	2	
Jan. 1, 2013 - Sen. Jim DeMint (R-S.C.) resigns to become president of the Heritage Foundation.				53	44	2	1
Jan. 2, 2013 - Rep. Tim Scott (R-S.C. 1) resigns after his appointment to the Senate; sworn in Jan. 3 to fill the Senate vacancy created by DeMint's resignation.	200	233	2	53	45	2	
Jan. 22, 2013 - Rep. Jo Ann Emerson (R-Mo. 8) resigns to become president and chief executive officer of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.	200	232	3				
Feb. 1, 2013 - Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.) resigns to become secretary of state.				52	45	2	1
Feb. 7, 2013 - William "Mo" Cowan sworn in to fill the Senate vacancy created by Kerry's resignation.				53	45	2	

### ... AND THE GOVERNORSHIPS

	Dems.	Reps.	Ind.	Vac.
<b>2012 GENERAL ELECTION (Nov. 6)</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>1</b>	

# 2013 SPECIAL ELECTION CALENDAR

Four special congressional elections are already on the calendar for the first half of 2013 – one for the Senate and three to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives. The former will be for the Massachusetts seat that John Kerry recently left to become secretary of state. Reps. Ed Markey and Stephen Lynch headline the Democratic primary field. But the race will not include Republican Scott Brown, who to the relief of Bay State Democrats decided not to try for a quick return to the Senate.

Brown shocked the political world with an upset victory in a January 2010 special Senate election for the seat of the late Edward Kennedy, but lost a bid for a full term in 2012 to Democrat Elizabeth Warren. Yet even in defeat, no other potential Republican candidate in Massachusetts has Brown's political stature.

The three special House elections scheduled in the months ahead are in Illinois, Missouri and South Carolina for the seats of Democrat Jesse Jackson Jr., Republican Jo Ann Emerson, and Republican Tim Scott, respectively. The latter was appointed to fill the Senate vacancy in South Carolina created by the resignation of Republican Jim DeMint. The special election for Scott's House seat includes former Republican Gov. Mark Sanford. He will seek to re-launch his tainted political career in the Charleston-based South Carolina 1st District that he represented for three terms beginning in 1994.

Other candidates for the South Carolina seat include Teddy Turner, the son of media magnate Ted Turner, and Elizabeth Colbert Busch, a sister of comedian Stephen Colbert. Turner, like Sanford, will be running as a Republican. Colbert Busch is a Democrat.

Feb. 26 – Illinois 2<sup>nd</sup> District Primary

March 19 – South Carolina 1<sup>st</sup> District Primary

April 2 – South Carolina 1<sup>st</sup> District Runoff (if necessary)

April 9 – ILLINOIS 2<sup>nd</sup> DISTRICT SPECIAL ELECTION

April 30 – Massachusetts Senate Primary

May 7 – SOUTH CAROLINA 1<sup>st</sup> DISTRICT SPECIAL ELECTION

June 4 – MISSOURI 8<sup>th</sup> DISTRICT SPECIAL ELECTION

June 25 – MASSACHUSETTS SPECIAL SENATE ELECTION

Sources: The web sites of state election authorities in Illinois, Massachusetts, Missouri and South Carolina.

## CORRECTIONS (December 2012 Issue)

Pages 12-13. Official 2012 Presidential Vote chart. Since the publication of the December 2012 issue, small changes in the presidential vote have been noted in several states, plus a major change in New York, where several hundred thousand ballots were certified and added to the previous count. Following is the revised presidential vote for New York as well as the updated nationwide presidential tally.

	New York		National	
Barack Obama (D)	4,471,871	63.3%	65,899,660	51.1%
Mitt Romney (R)	2,485,432	35.2%	60,929,152	47.2%
Others	104,622	1.5%	2,224,175	1.7%
TOTAL VOTE	7,061,925		129,052,987	
Obama Plurality	1,986,439		4,970,508	

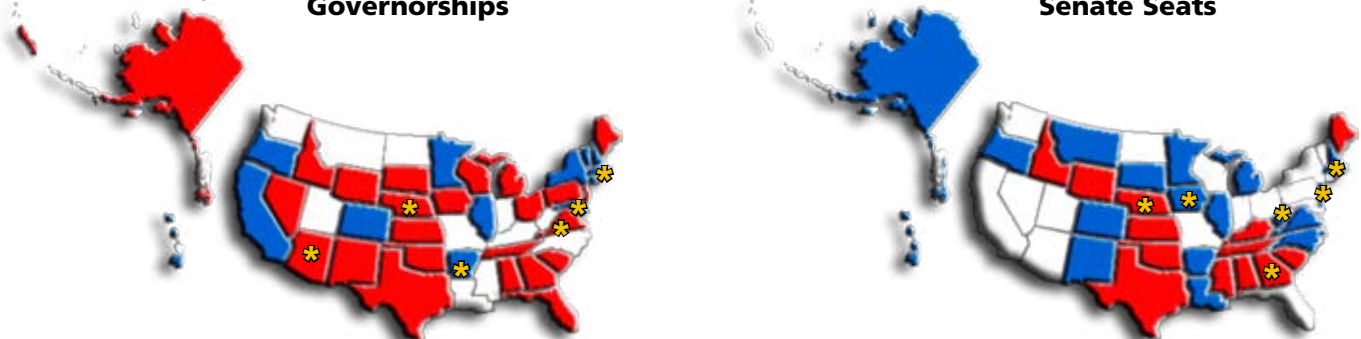
Page 14. 2012 Senate Election Results chart. Note section. Independent Angus King of Maine was elected to the Senate with 53% of the total vote (rather than 51%).

# WHAT'S UP IN 2013-14

There is plenty left to analyze regarding the 2012 election, but attention has already begun to switch to the certain to be eventful midterm elections of 2014. In addition to all the House seats, more than two-thirds of the states will be holding gubernatorial and/or Senate elections next year. Contests for governor this fall in New Jersey and Virginia might offer a preview of sorts, as could a special Senate election in Massachusetts this June for the seat recently vacated by Secretary of State John Kerry.

## Governorships

## Senate Seats



■ Republican  
 ■ Democrat  
 ■ Independent  
 \* States with an open Senate or Gubernatorial race

At Stake in 2013-14	'12 Presidential Vote	House Seats		Seats Up	
		Dem.	Rep.	Governors	Senators
		Obama by 4%		200	232
<b>NORTHEAST</b>					
Connecticut	Obama by 17%	5		Dan Malloy (D)	
Delaware	Obama by 19%	1			Chris Coons (D)
Maine	Obama by 15%	2		Paul LePage (R)	Susan Collins (R)
Maryland	Obama by 26%	7	1	Martin O'Malley (D) - OPEN	
Massachusetts	Obama by 23%	9		Deval Patrick (D) - OPEN	William "Mo" Cowan (D)@ - OPEN - 2013
New Hampshire	Obama by 6%	2		Maggie Hassan (D)	Jeanne Shaheen (D)
New Jersey	Obama by 18%	6	6	Chris Christie (R) - 2013	Frank Lautenberg (D) - OPEN
New York	Obama by 28%	21	6	Andrew Cuomo (D)	
Pennsylvania	Obama by 5%	5	13	Tom Corbett (R)	
Rhode Island	Obama by 27%	2		Lincoln Chafee (Ind.)	Jack Reed (D)
Vermont	Obama by 36%	1		Peter Shumlin (D)	
West Virginia	Romney by 27%	1	2		Jay Rockefeller (D) - OPEN
		62	28		
<b>MIDWEST</b>					
Illinois	Obama by 17%	11	6	Pat Quinn (D)	Richard Durbin (D)
Indiana	Romney by 10%	2	7		
Iowa	Obama by 6%	2	2	Terry Branstad (R)	Tom Harkin (D) - OPEN
Kansas	Romney by 22%		4	Sam Brownback (R)	Pat Roberts (R)
Michigan	Obama by 9%	5	9	Rick Snyder (R)	Carl Levin (D)
Minnesota	Obama by 8%	5	3	Mark Dayton (D)	Al Franken (D)
Missouri	Romney by 9%	2	5		
Nebraska	Romney by 22%		3	Dave Heineman (R) - OPEN	Mike Johanns (R) - OPEN
North Dakota	Romney by 20%		1		
Ohio	Obama by 3%	4	12	John Kasich (R)	
South Dakota	Romney by 18%		1	Dennis Daugaard (R)	Tim Johnson (D)
Wisconsin	Obama by 7%	3	5	Scott Walker (R)	
		34	58		

At Stake in 2013-14	'12 Presidential Vote	House Seats		Seats Up	
		Dem.	Rep.	Governors	Senators
		Obama by 4%	200	232	38 (24 R, 13 D, 1 Ind.)
<b>SOUTH</b>					
Alabama	Romney by 22%	1	6	Robert Bentley (R)	Jeff Sessions (R)
Arkansas	Romney by 24%		4	Mike Beebe (D) - OPEN	Mark Pryor (D)
Florida	Obama by 0.9%	10	17	Rick Scott (R)	
Georgia	Romney by 8%	5	9	Nathan Deal (R)	Saxby Chambliss (R) - OPEN
Kentucky	Romney by 23%	1	5		Mitch McConnell (R)
Louisiana	Romney by 17%	1	5		Mary Landrieu (D)
Mississippi	Romney by 11%	1	3		Thad Cochran (R)
North Carolina	Romney by 2%	4	9		Kay Hagan (D)
Oklahoma	Romney by 34%		5	Mary Fallin (R)	Jim Inhofe (R)
South Carolina	Romney by 10%	1	5	Nikki Haley (R)	Lindsey Graham (R)/Tim Scott (R)@
Tennessee	Romney by 20%	2	7	Bill Haslam (R)	Lamar Alexander (R)
Texas	Romney by 16%	12	24	Rick Perry (R)	John Cornyn (R)
Virginia	Obama by 4%	3	8	Bob McDonnell (R) - OPEN - 2013	Mark Warner (D)
		41	107		
<b>WEST</b>					
Alaska	Romney by 14%		1	Sean Parnell (R)	Mark Begich (D)
Arizona	Romney by 9%	5	4	Jan Brewer (R) - OPEN	
California	Obama by 23%	38	15	Jerry Brown (D)	
Colorado	Obama by 5%	3	4	John Hickenlooper (D)	Mark Udall (D)
Hawaii	Obama by 43%	2		Neil Abercrombie (D)	Brian Schatz (D)@
Idaho	Romney by 32%		2	C.L. "Butch" Otter (R)	Jim Risch (R)
Montana	Romney by 14%		1		Max Baucus (D)
Nevada	Obama by 7%	2	2	Brian Sandoval (R)	
New Mexico	Obama by 10%	2	1	Susanna Martinez (R)	Tom Udall (D)
Oregon	Obama by 12%	4	1	John Kitzhaber (D)	Jeff Merkley (D)
Utah	Romney by 48%	1	3		
Washington	Obama by 15%	6	4		
Wyoming	Romney by 41%		1	Matt Mead (R)	Michael Enzi (R)
		63	39		

**Note:** Gubernatorial and Senate incumbents who were not elected and assumed their position since the 2012 election are indicated by the icon "@." The partisan House totals are as of Feb. 20, 2013. They reflect a trio of House vacancies - two Republicans ones in Missouri and South Carolina and a Democratic vacancy in Illinois.

**Sources:** *America Votes 28 and 29* (CQ Press) for the list of governorships and Senate seats up in 2013-14. The Cook Political report for the open governorships thus far in 2013-14.

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