

**Political Science 205**  
**Campaigns and Elections**  
Fall Semester 2020  
Clark University

Tuesday and Friday 1:25-2:40

Professor Robert Boatright

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Office Hours (**Online Only**): Wednesdays 10:30-12:00, or by appt.

*Description*

It certainly is an unusual time to be taking a class on campaigns and elections. In one sense, things have been very predictable for some time. Donald Trump has had the most stable level of support (or lack thereof) of any president in modern history – there has not been a day during his presidency when a majority of Americans have approved of his performance, but he has never been unpopular enough that it seemed impossible that he could pull off the sort of narrow victory that he won in 2016. However, this predictability can distract us from many very unusual events that will affect this year's elections. Trump, of course, defied conventional wisdom in winning the presidency in the first place, despite trailing in the polls for most of the year, despite being vastly outspent, and despite his lack of conventional qualifications for the presidency. Trump has governed without making a serious effort to expand his support or responding as a more conventional politician might to his impeachment trial or to the unrest that has followed the George Floyd murder. The 2018 elections also were a surprise – few would have predicted, based on what we know about elections, that Democratic candidates could regain the House of Representatives, or that voter turnout that year would have been the highest of any midterm election in a century. And as the 2020 election has unfolded, it has become apparent that the coronavirus will force candidates to develop new ways of campaigning.

One could respond to all of these events by saying that studying the ways campaigns and elections are usually conducted may not help us much this year. I don't think this is true, however, for three reasons. First, it's worth looking critically at what we thought we knew about elections. Much of this information probably still does apply, and we can perhaps use this election to determine whether there are reasons why so many people were so wrong about 2016. Second, most candidates are well-versed in theories about how to campaign. Whenever you see something that doesn't make sense in a presidential election, it is safe to assume that the candidate has better information than you do. This class will help you to understand what politicians know about campaigning. And third – and perhaps most importantly – this is not just a presidential election year. There are hundreds of other elections this year, for the Senate, for the House of Representatives, and for numerous state and local offices. To truly understand election politics in the United States, it is essential to think about how all of these different elections fit together, and how campaigning differs from one type of election to the next.

There are many actors in American elections, including voters, candidates, parties, political elites, and organized interests, and the media. In this class, we will consider topics such as political ambition (what kinds of people run for office), the role money plays in elections, the role parties and organized interests play in elections, the role advertising plays in elections, the degree to which election results are indicative of what the public wants, the ethics of campaigning, and the rationale for reforms in American elections.

The centerpiece of this course will be your analysis of the relationship between the presidential election and one or more “downballot” elections for the House or Senate. For the first two months of the course, we will all work together to develop an understanding of how the 2020 elections are developing, and we will seek to place these campaigns in the context of previous election cycles. This work will culminate in a dispassionate analysis, on your part, of what is going to happen. We will then turn to a more critical look at campaigns, and you will get a chance to think about whether the way in which American elections are conducted can be improved. The goal of the class is for you to gain the ability to analyze political campaigns and to think critically about how well elections reflect what we, the voters, want from government.

There are no prerequisites for this course, but it would be beneficial if you have had the introductory American politics course.

### *Readings*

The following books are required for the course and are available at the college bookstore:

Sides, John, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Sabato, Larry, and Kyle Kondik, eds. *The Blue Wave: The 2018 Elections and What they Mean for the 2020 Elections*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019.

Semiatin, Richard, ed. *Campaigns on the Cutting Edge*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 2020.

Lawless, Jennifer, and Richard Fox. *Running from Office: Why Young Americans are Turned off to Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

All other readings on the syllabus are available on line or will be provided on Moodle.

### *Academic Continuity*

It is my hope that we will be able to conduct this class in person. However, the course of the COVID-19 pandemic may make that complicated. I will make every effort to make video of class sessions available if you can't be present, and I will make short videos where I discuss key concepts available as events warrant. You should also be sure to get the required books for the class early, in case the semester is disrupted. Please note, in addition, that faculty are unable to have in-person office hours. I am happy to meet with you and should have plenty of time during the week to do so, but all meetings with me will need to be conducted via Zoom.

## Requirements and Grading

*Attendance and Participation:* The most important requirement for this class is your attendance and participation. In order to succeed in this course, you must attend class and you must come prepared to discuss the readings. Attendance and participation comprise 20% of your grade. Ten percent of this will be at my discretion, based on my observation of your engagement in the class and your command of the material. An additional ten percent will be measured through your ability to discuss the campaign you are following; if you are not in class to discuss your campaign and submit a written copy of your class exercise (see below) you will lose a percentage point for each absence.

*The Sandbox:* One component of your participation will be the use of what I'm calling the "sandbox." I fully expect that you will have strong feelings about this election – about what its consequences will mean for our country, about how the candidates' rhetoric affects your life and the lives of people you know. While the bulk of our written work will be dispassionate analysis of what takes place during the fall, I think it is important as well for you to have the opportunity to share your feelings with your fellow students. The class moodle page has a forum for you to do this – we will use this as a way for you to have *civil* discussions with your classmates about what you're observing. You will be required to post a comment of one paragraph or more at least once a week – either as a stand-alone comment or as a response to something another student has written. I reserve the right to draw upon these comments in our class discussions.

*Exercises:* Each of you will select, after conferring with me, a state which will have one or more competitive Senate or House campaigns in 2020; you will follow these campaigns through Election Day. During the first two months of the class, you will complete seven exercises discussing various aspects of the major party candidates' campaigns in these elections. These exercises will collectively comprise 40 percent of your grade; that works out to roughly 7 percent per exercise. The exercises should be approximately two pages, although longer papers are ok. They must be submitted on time; any late submissions will be penalized. You must include, with your submissions, any necessary references, either to news content, online content, or class readings. You are also required to post a brief (one paragraph) comment on your paper to the week's on line forum and to respond to at least one other student's comment.

*Short Essays:* During the final month of the course, you will submit two short (3 to 5 page) essays discussing your views on various problems in American campaigns and elections. Details for these essays are listed below. Each of these essays is worth 20 percent of your grade. These essays must also include proper citations to materials from class.

### *Summary:* Class Requirements and Percent Contribution to Final Grade:

Requirement	Percent Contribution to Grade	Objective
Class participation and attendance	20%	Understanding of material
Exercises #1-6	40% (about 7% each)	Ability to apply class material
Essays #1-2	40% (20% each)	Ability to think critically about material

Like most Clark courses, this class is worth four credit hours. That means that I expect you to commit approximately twelve hours of your time to the class each week, or 180 hours for the full semester. In addition to the three hours of class time per week, you should expect that the reading will take you four to five hours per week, the writing assignments or exam preparation will take an average of one hour per week, and the research projects will take an average of three hours per week. The amount of time you spend on each of these activities will, of course, vary from one week to the next.

### *A Note on Web Resources*

Throughout the course, you will need to consult various websites to learn about the campaigns you are following. Websites that include information about ongoing campaigns include:

[www.politics1.com](http://www.politics1.com): A compendium of candidate websites, with news articles discussing recent developments in these campaigns. This is a good portal to all congressional campaign web sites, and in addition to steering you toward the website of the campaign you are following, the main page will, from time to time, contain information on congressional races.

[www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org): The website of the Center for Responsive Politics, this site contains data on all contributions received by federal candidates. We will discuss how to use this site in class.

[www.cfinst.org](http://www.cfinst.org): The website of the Campaign Finance Institute, this site will provide occasional updates on trends in congressional campaign financing.

[www.vox.com](http://www.vox.com): One of the better online political news sources.

[www.thehill.com](http://www.thehill.com): There are two “insider” newspapers on Capitol Hill. This one is ungated, the other (Roll Call) is not. There are regular stories on congressional campaigns here, as well as other aspects of congressional politics.

[www.politico.com](http://www.politico.com): Probably the best on line newspaper covering insider politics.

Party Campaign Committee websites:

[www.dccc.org](http://www.dccc.org): The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee

[www.nrcc.org](http://www.nrcc.org): The National Republican Campaign Committee

[www.dscc.org](http://www.dscc.org): The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

[www.nrsc.org](http://www.nrsc.org): The National Republican Senatorial Committee

[www.dnc.org](http://www.dnc.org): The Democratic National Campaign Committee

[www.rnc.org](http://www.rnc.org): The Republican National Campaign Committee.

“Horse race” websites: These provide commentary on developments in congressional races. Many have some password-protected content, but all have some material that you will be able to gain access to:

[www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball](http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball): Run by the Center for Politics at the University of Virginia, this is the best site for those who are not campaign professionals.

[rothenbergpoliticalreport.blogspot.com](http://rothenbergpoliticalreport.blogspot.com): Campaign consultant Stuart Rothenberg's blog. This is updated regularly, with analysis of all competitive races.

[www.realclearpolitics.com](http://www.realclearpolitics.com): Probably the most read compendium of articles on the election, particularly on the presidential race. The site also features state-by-state polling results. Content tends to skew right-of-center.

<https://cookpolitical.com/>: The Cook Political Report, probably the most widely read handicapping site. A lot of the campaign-specific content is gated, but the more general analysis is publicly available. Let me know if you ever need any of the gated content for your assignments.

<https://fivethirtyeight.com/>: Best place to go for polling analysis.

Partisan websites: There are a lot of these; listed below are some of the better ones. Read all with a grain of salt.

<http://www.thedemocraticstrategist.org>: Includes postings by several left-leaning political scientists about Democratic prospects.

[www.dailykos.com](http://www.dailykos.com): The preeminent liberal blog, contains news on congressional races and other aspects of politics.

Talkingpointsmemo.com: Another of the main liberal blogs; more centralized than dailykos.

[www.powerlineblog.com](http://www.powerlineblog.com): A decent Republican blog, with some coverage of congressional politics but a little less than you'll find at compendium sites like Real Clear Politics.

[www.redstate.com](http://www.redstate.com): Another conservative blog.

Dailycaller.com: Sort of a conservative equivalent to Talking Points memo.

<https://thebulwark.com/>: Best news site for anti-Trump Republicans.

There are several blogs run by political scientists. Some of the better ones for election-related content are The Monkey Cage (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/>) and Mischiefs of Faction (<https://www.mischiefsoffaction.com/>). These often have links to other blogs of note. The Fulcrum (<https://thefulcrum.us/>) also links to a lot of current work on election reform.

A last set of websites you will want to acquaint yourself early are the sites of the candidates you are following (for incumbents, this means the campaign site, not the congressional site) and the newspapers that cover their districts. Depending on which race you do, you may also find blogs that deal with the politics of that region or state.

### *Academic Honesty*

Finally, as you should be aware by now, the work you do in this course must be entirely your own. To be sure we all have the same understanding of academic integrity as it pertains to this course, here is what the Academic Advising *Blue Book* (p. 22) has to say on the subject:

Academic integrity is highly valued at Clark. Research, scholarship and teaching are possible only in an environment characterized by honesty and mutual trust. Academic integrity

requires that your work be your own. Because of the damage that violations of academic integrity do to the intellectual climate of the University, they must be treated with the utmost seriousness and appropriate sanctions must be imposed. The maintenance of high standards of academic integrity is the concern of every member of the University community.

**Plagiarism** refers to the presentation of someone else's work as one's own, without proper citation of references and sources, whether or not the work has been previously published. Submitting work obtained from a professional term paper writer or company is plagiarism. Claims of ignorance about the rules of attribution, or of unintentional error are not a defense against a finding of plagiarism.

Suspected plagiarism cases will be referred to the Dean's office. If you are in doubt about whether you have provided adequate citation or used others' work properly, please talk with me before handing your paper in!

## CLASSROOM POLICIES

### Political Science 205 – Campaigns and Elections

You have already received several communications from the university about how in-person classes this semester will be conducted. This class will be conducted in compliance with the Healthy Clark COVID guidelines, available at <https://www.clarku.edu/healthy-clark-covid-plan/>. I encourage you to familiarize yourself with these guidelines.

As pertains to this class, here are a few ground rules:

- 1) **If you have not kept up on your COVID-19 testing requirements, do not come to class. If you have any symptoms, or feel ill in any manner, do not come to class. I have organized the Moodle site for this semester with the expectation that students will need to skip some classes. There will be resources there that will allow you to catch up on whatever you have missed.**
- 2) **Wear a mask and wear it properly. I will ask you to leave the room, or adjust your mask, if necessary.**
- 3) Please arrive at the classroom (Jefferson 320) as close as possible to the start time for class such that we minimize any congregating outside the doors. There is no currently scheduled class before ours, so if you are early, please go on in; don't congregate in the hallway.
- 4) When you enter, sanitize your hands at the hand sanitizer station, then go to the chair/table across the room where you will find disinfectant spray bottles and wipes that you should use to clean the desk and armrests on the seat you will be sitting in for that day. Return the spray bottle to the table when you are finished with it. Cleaning will take a few minutes but it is essential for maintaining as sanitary an environment as is possible.
- 5) You will have an assigned seat for the duration of the semester – whatever seat you choose on the first day will be your seat for all subsequent classes. There are a total of 35 available seats for students in the classroom. It is important that you stay in the same seat – this will enable me to get to know who is who (it's hard to identify people when they have masks on) and it will be important for contact tracing should that become necessary.
- 6) Food is not allowed at any time in the classroom. You may drink liquids but please do so with quick sips to minimize the length of time that your mask is down.
- 7) Please refrain from bathroom breaks during class, but if you need to leave the room you will need to re-sanitize your hands when you return.
- 8) When class is over, please maintain social distancing and exit single file through the exit only door near the front of the classroom. And please exit as efficiently as possible so that the class that follows ours has sufficient time to settle in. There currently are no classes scheduled after ours, so if you have brief questions for me I am happy to talk after class.

I currently am not anticipating building in a hybrid component or using a live Zoom feed. This may change, depending on students' health (and mine) and any emergency steps the university might have to take. If you become unable to attend class, I am happy to work with you to make sure you keep up with the class. And if we do need to build a Zoom component for the class, I will announce any policies on this at that time.

## *Schedule*

Tuesday, August 25: Introduction to the Course

Elizabeth Drew, "Let's Scrap the Presidential Debates," *New York Times*, August 3, 2020. On line, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/03/opinion/trump-biden-presidential-debates-2020.html?referringSource=articleShare>.

Jean Parvin Bordewich, "We Need a new Kind of Inauguration Next Year," *The Hill*, July 7, 2020. On line, <https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/politics/506310-we-need-a-new-kind-of-inauguration-next-year>.

Adam Nagourney and Mat Flegenheimer, "Both Parties Wonder: How Much do Conventions Even Matter Anymore?" *New York Times*, May 4, 2020. On line, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/04/us/politics/democratic-republican-convention.html>.

Friday August 28: How we got here (or why take a political science class on the election when political scientists got everything wrong last time?)

Marty Cohen, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller, *The Party Decides* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), ch. 1-2 (pp. 1-45).

Marc J. Hetherington and Jonathan D. Weiler, *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), ch. 1 (pp. 1-14).

Tuesday September 1: Five things that Matter this Year, Part I: The Economy, the Pandemic, and the Trump Presidency

John Aldrich, Jamie Carson, Brad Gomez, and David Rohde, *Change and Continuity in the 2016 Election* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage / Congressional Quarterly, 2019), ch. 7.

Gary Jacobson and Jamie Carson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), ch. 5.

Friday September 4: Five things that Matter this Year, Part II: Race and Gender

John Aldrich, Jamie Carson, Brad Gomez, and David Rohde, *Change and Continuity in the 2016 Election* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage / Congressional Quarterly, 2019), ch. 8.

Sabato and Kondik, ch. 9-11

Semiatin, ch. 12, 13

### **I. The Shadow of the 2016 Election**

Tuesday September 8 and Friday September 11: Normal and abnormal Presidential campaign strategy

Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck, ch. 1-7

*Assignment: Choose 3 campaigns you're interested in following (see pp. 12-13)*



Tuesday September 15: What Happened in 2016, and why it Matters Now  
Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck, ch. 8-9

Friday September 18: The 2018 Backlash election  
Sabato and Kondik, ch. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6

## **PAPER 1 DUE SEPTEMBER 18**

### **II. Political Ambition: Why are these people, and how did they get here?**

Tuesday September 22: Who Runs for Office?  
*Film: Knock Down the House*

Friday September 25: Political Ambition  
Nicholas Carnes, *The Cash Ceiling: Why Only the Rich Run for Office, and What we can Do About it* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), ch. 3 (pp. 72-119).  
Robert Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power* (New York, Vintage, 1981), ch. 11 (pp. 174-201).  
Richard Fox and Jennifer Lawless, *It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 3 (pp. 44-60).  
Danielle Thomsen, *Opting Out of Congress: Partisan Polarization and the Decline of Moderate Candidates* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), ch. 4 (pp. 81-97).

Tuesday September 29 and Friday October 2: Primary Elections  
Barbara Norrander, *The Imperfect Primary* (New York: Routledge, 2019), ch. 1.  
Robert Boatright, *Congressional Primary Elections* (New York: Routledge, 2014), ch. 3.  
Sabato and Kondik, ch. 3, 13  
*Exercise #1 due October 2: Who are your candidates? What are their backgrounds and why are they running? How did your candidates receive the nomination?*

### **III. The Elements of a Campaign**

Tuesday October 6 and Friday October 9: Political Parties and Interest Groups  
Semiatin, Ch. 7, 8 (Renner and Kasniunas/Rozell Chapters)  
*Exercise #2 due October 9: What sort of party and interest group support have your candidates received? Do they seem like typical recipients of these groups' support?*

Tuesday October 13 and Friday October 16: Raising and Spending Money  
Semiatin, Ch. 2, 10 (Boatright and Francia Chapters)  
Sabato and Kondik, ch. 8  
*Exercise #3 due October 16: How have your candidates fared in fundraising? What does their fundraising tell you about how serious they are?*

Tuesday October 20 and Friday October 23: Campaign advertising

Semiatin, Ch. 3 and 4 (Devine and Turk Chapters)

*Exercise #4 due October 23: What sort of advertising has been going on in your races? What are the candidates' advertising strategies? What are the strategies of parties or groups?*

Tuesday October 27 and Friday October 30: Public Opinion and Mobilization

Semiatin, Ch. 5, 6 (Nelson and Semiatin chapters)

*Exercise #5 due October 30: What issues matter in your candidates' campaigns? Why?*

### **Tuesday November 3: Election Day**

Readings TBA

### **Friday November 6: What Happened**

(Assuming we know the results!)

*Exercise #6 due: What happened in the races you've been covering, and why?*

## **IV. Evaluating Elections**

Tuesday November 10 and Friday November 13: Fixing Our Political Institutions

Robert Mutch, *Campaign Finance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), ch. 10.

FairVote, *Monopoly Politics 2018*, <https://fairvote.app.box.com/v/MonopolyPolitics2018>.

Walter Shapiro, "Rage Against the Electoral College," Brennan Center, Columbia University, April 17, 2019. On line, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/rage-against-electoral-college>.

Wilfred Codrington, "So Goes the Nation," *Columbia Law Review Forum* 120: 43-66 (2020). On line, [https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2020-04/Codrington-So\\_Goes\\_the\\_Nation.pdf](https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2020-04/Codrington-So_Goes_the_Nation.pdf).

Robert Boatright, *Congressional Primary Elections* (New York: Routledge, 2014), ch. 8.

Ezra Klein, *Why We're Polarized*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2020), ch. 10.

Semiatin, ch. 11 (Crouch chapter on voting access)

Tuesday November 17 and Friday November 20: Fixing Our Political Culture

Eitan Hersh, "The Problem with Participatory Democracy is the Participants," *New York Times*, June 29, 2017. On line,

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/29/opinion/sunday/the-problem-with-participatory-democracy-is-the-participants.html>.

Robert Talisse, "Democracy is Like Fun: You Can't Set your Mind to having it." *Aeon*, October 6, 2017. On line, <https://aeon.co/ideas/democracy-is-like-fun-you-cant-set-your-mind-to-having-it>.

Ross Douhat, "The Age of Decadence," *New York Times*, February 7, 2020. On line, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/07/opinion/sunday/western-society-decadence.html>.

Russell Muirhead and Nancy Rosenblum, "The New Conspiracists," *Dissent*, Winter 2018. On line, <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/conspiracy-theories-politics-infowars-threat-democracy>.

Yuval Levin, *A Time to Build* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), ch. 3.

Chris Parker, "Do Trump's Racist Appeals have a Silver Lining?," *The American Prospect*, May 19, 2016. On line, <https://prospect.org/power/trump-s-racist-appeals-silver-lining/>.

**At home/ on line week** (December 1 and 4)

Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox, *Running from Office*

## **PAPER 2 AND DISCUSSION**

**Assignment for September 11:**

Submit in class a list (in ranked order) of your top three choices of elections to follow through Election Day. Choose three in total, not three from each category. I reserve the right to alter your assignment during the semester if things change and the elections you're following get dull. If you feel particularly strongly about following a campaign that is not listed here, you may submit a request to do that, with an explanation of why you want to do it. Otherwise, here are your choices:

Election	State / District	Party Holding Seat	Republican Candidate	Democratic Candidate	Status
Presidential	Southeast (GA, FL, NC)	R	Trump	Biden	
	Midwest (OH, MI, PA, WI)	R	Trump	Biden	
	Southwest (NV, AZ, TX)	R	Trump	Biden	
	Other	R	Trump	Biden	
Senate	Alabama	D		Jones	Lean R
	Arizona	R	McSally	Kelly	Toss-up
	Colorado	R	Gardner	Hickenlooper	Toss-up
	Georgia (2)	R	Loeffler* Perdue	Warnock Ossoff	Lean R
	Iowa	R	Ernst	Greenfield	Lean R
	Kansas	R (open)	Marshall	Bollier	Lean R
	Maine	R	Collins	Gideon	Toss-up
	Michigan	D	James	Peters	Lean D
	Montana	R	Daines	Bullock	Toss-up
	North Carolina	R	Tillis	Cunningham	Toss-up
	Other (TX, KY, SC, AK...)				
House	Arizona 1	D	O'Halleran		Lean D
	Arizona 6	R		Schweikert	Toss-up
	California 21	D	Garcia	Cox	Toss-up
	California 25	R			Toss-up
	California 48	D		Rouda	Lean D
	Georgia 6	D		McBath	Lean D
	Georgia 7	R (open)			Toss-up
	Iowa 1	D		Finkenauer	Toss-up
	Iowa 2	D (open)			Toss-up
	Iowa 3	D		Axne	Toss-up
	Illinois 13	R	Davis		Toss-up
	Illinois 14	D		Underwood	Lean D
	Maine 2	D		Golden	Toss-up
New Hampshire 1	D		Pappas	Lean D	
Michigan 6	R	Upton		Lean R	
Michigan 8	D		Slotkin	Lean D	
Michigan 11	D		Stevens	Lean D	

	Minnesota 1 Minnesota 2 Minnesota 7	R D D	Hagedorn	Craig Peterson	Lean R Lean D Toss-up
	Missouri 1 Ohio 1	R R	Wagner Chabot		Toss-up Toss-up
	Montana AL Nebraska 2	R (open) R	Bacon		Lean R Lean R
	New Jersey 2 New Jersey 3 New Jersey 7	R D D	Van Drew	Kim Malinoswki	Lean R Toss-up Lean D
	New Mexico 2 Florida 26	D D		Torres Small Mucarsel-	Toss-up Toss-up
	New York 11 New York 19 New York 22	D D D		Rose Delgado Brindisi	Toss-up Lean D Toss-up
	Oklahoma 5 South Carolina 1 Utah 4	D D D		Horn Cunningham McAdams	Toss-up Toss-up Lean D
	Pennsylvania 7 Pennsylvania 8	D D		Wold Cartwright	Lean D Lean D
	Pennsylvania 1 Pennsylvania 10	R R	Fitzpatrick Perry		Lean R Toss-up
	Texas 7 Texas 32	D D		Fletcher Allred	Lean D Lean D
	Texas 22 Texas 24	R (open) R (open)			Toss-up Toss-up
	Texas 21 Texas 23	R R (open)	Roy		Lean R Lean D
	Virginia 2 Virginia 7	D D		Luria Spanberger	Toss-up Toss-up

\* Primaries for some of these races have not happened; probable winner listed.

Competitiveness ratings are taken from the *Cook Political Report*, as of August 10, 2020. I have included all toss-up House races and all toss-up and leaning Senate races. I have excluded some House races rated as leaning to one party or the other; you may make a case for doing these if you want. These include races in Alaska, Florida, Indiana, Michigan, Nevada, New York, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Washington.