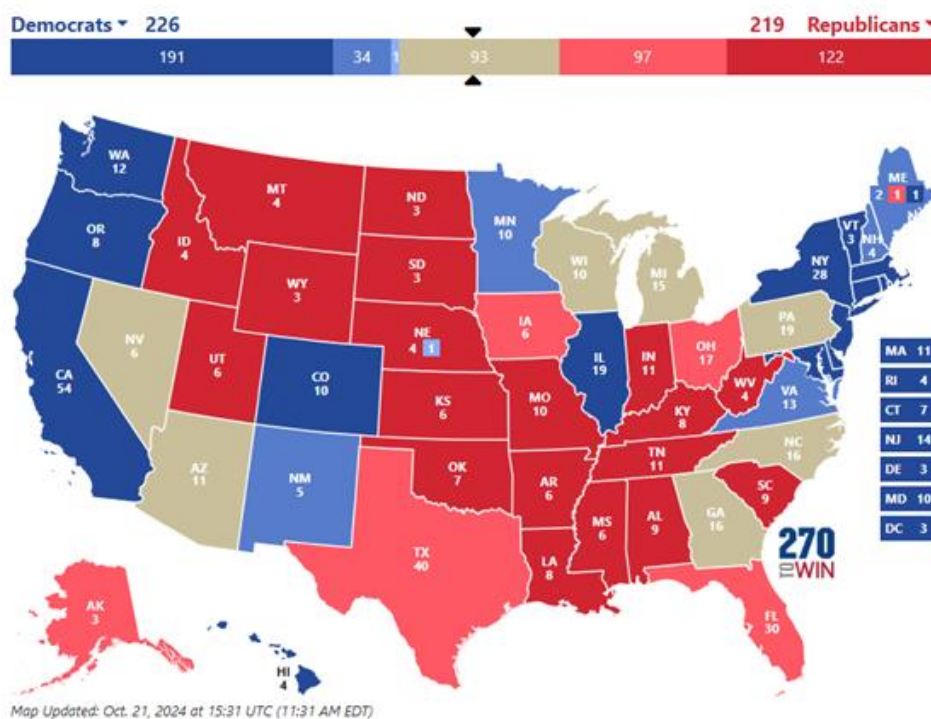


# 2024 Election Outlook

October 25, 2024

Troutman Pepper Strategies is tracking the 2024 election closely, monitoring the outcome of key House districts and Senate seats, as well as their ramifications for control of each chamber. Below is a glimpse into the dynamics at play for Vice President Harris and former President Trump, as well as down-ballot races. We will keep you apprised of relevant developments and results as ballots are tabulated but should a specific race interest you or a colleague and you would like more information to pass along, do not hesitate to reach out. In the days following the election we will report on possible administration picks, as well as provide a more holistic outlook once results are final.

As November 5 approaches and early voting is already underway in most states, the outcome of Election Day remains as uncertain as ever. As of October 24, [538's national polling average](#) shows Harris up 1.7 points over Trump. Trump, however, has seen recent upticks in the polls in battleground states across the U.S., leading many to think he could be on the path to a win. Voter turnout for either presidential candidate could sway the down-ticket voting and results for several pivotal U.S. Senate and House races — many of which could determine the majority for either chamber. As many as eight states (when including NE-2) are in play and have been listed as toss-ups for Harris and Trump — all showing polls within the margin of error for each candidate.



\*The map above tracks the consensus forecast for the 2024 presidential election. It is a composite of ratings by [several forecasters](#).

On Election Day, Harris can expect 226 electoral college votes safely in hand. Her entrance into the race has reshaped the map, putting Georgia and North Carolina in play for Democrats, states where President Joe Biden was seeing much weaker support this election cycle. Harris, however, has proven to be a bit weaker in the upper Midwest, seeing less support in polls in Wisconsin,

Michigan, and Pennsylvania than Biden has traditionally seen. Harris' summer surge has seemed to flatline, while Trump has ticked up recently in some states but may also be coming up to a ceiling. With margins like this, the ground game and voter motivation will be the biggest determinant, save for a late surprise.

Meanwhile, the contests for majority control of the House and Senate remain as tight as the race for the White House. In the Senate, Republicans need a net gain of only two seats to win the majority outright, or only one seat if Trump wins the election and Vice President J.D. Vance can break a 50-50 vote. In the House, Democrats only need a net gain of four seats to retake the majority and seem poised to pick up at least a couple seats in California and New York, while Republicans have good opportunities for pick-ups in North Carolina due to redistricting.

Discussed below are just some of the factors at play for turnout across the U.S. and the outlook for the election. Given the outcome uncertainty, Troutman Pepper Strategies will wait until after the election, when most races are decided, to analyze the results for policy directions in the House and the Senate for each party and preview a new administration's interaction with Congress in balance with their indicated policy goals.

## Race for the White House

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The Trump and Harris campaigns have ramped up their ground games and are knocking on as many doors as possible to persuade and turn out potential voters. Additionally, between July 21 and October 21, Harris and aligned groups spent \$1.1 billion on ads across several media outlets compared to just \$640.6 million spent by Trump and his allies. The Harris team is also projected to outspend the Trump team by nearly \$50 million through Election Day on ad space. Both campaigns are receiving support from outside groups and super PACs, but Trump's campaign has leaned on groups such as Americans for Prosperity to run much of its ground game. This circumstance follows the Federal Election Commission decision earlier this year to allow such groups to coordinate with campaigns on voter turnout strategy. Both candidates are organizing exciting campaign events in the waning weeks before Election Day, with Trump bringing Elon Musk and Tucker Carlson to campaign rallies and Harris deploying Bruce Springsteen, Eminem, and other artists to headline events in battleground states.

## Key Factors for the Presidential Election

1. **Voter Turnout** - The record voter turnout seen in the 2020 presidential election may carry over into a higher-than-average turnout for the 2024 presidential election. More than 122 million people voted in 2018 midterm elections, and more than 159 million people voted in the 2020 presidential election. Higher voter turnout has historically favored Democrats, although there is evidence of that trend reversing since Trump won the 2016 election. Another demographic, young voters ages 18-29, will have a significant impact on this election. Young voters favor Harris by 50% compared to roughly only a third for Trump. Harris campaign Senior Advisor David Plouffe recently stated that knocking on doors, individual outreach, and asking for votes could be the difference in motivating turnout. While much is being made of early vote numbers, it is hard to compare current numbers to 2020 during the pandemic, when early and mail-in voting reached its highest ever.

2. **Current Administration** – Critics of Harris often use her activities in the Biden administration as campaign messaging. As the sitting VP, these issues are highly visible to voters. The biggest concerns for Americans this election season are the economy, illegal immigration, and the high cost of housing and living expenses. These are all areas that Harris has been involved in to some extent over the last four years.
3. **Inflation** – A major issue for voters, inflation has been a political weakness for the Biden administration since its sharp rise following the pandemic. In September, Harris proposed an 82-page economic plan to bolster Americans' confidence in her ability to redirect the pace of inflation, along with other economic issues. Her leaning into issues on housing affordability, though, has not shaken the feeling of rising costs for many voters.
4. **Conflicts in Israel and Ukraine** – International events can sway any election, but these issues are especially prominent during presidential elections as the country determines its next commander in chief. Fifty-four percent of Harris voters and 70% of Trump voters say foreign policy issues are very important to their vote in the upcoming general election. Harris perhaps has the more difficult line to walk here, remaining supportive of Israel while recognizing human rights conditions in Gaza. Many progressives and Muslim activists have threatened to withhold their vote due to her failure to be stronger against Israeli actions.
5. **Gender Gap** – Polling has shown women to be overwhelmingly likely to favor Harris, while men are favoring Trump. The most recent national poll by *The New York Times* and Siena College taken in October showed Harris with the support of 56% of women, while Trump had the support of 40% of women. Much of this can likely be attributed to the reproductive rights discussion. Winning over Republican and Independent women may be key to Harris' path to victory.
6. **Reproductive Rights and Access** – Abortion, IVF, and related reproductive issues have been a driving factor for Democratic turnout in recent elections. Recent restrictions to reproductive health care across several states may boost Democratic turnout across the U.S. Voters in 10 states will have abortion-related measures on the ballot, including the key swing states of Arizona and Nevada. Arizona's Proposition 139 would enshrine access to abortion in the state's constitution and extend protections from 15 weeks to 24 weeks.

## How The Candidates Can Win

1. **Independent Voters** – For both candidates, the key to winning the election is the independent voter. According to [Gallup polling data](#), roughly 43% of Americans identify as independent, with only 27% of voters identifying as Democrat (a record-low) and 27% as Republican. Independent voters also tend to be less informed and less interested in campaigns, making them harder to reach by campaigns. Trump's ability to tap into the independent base in the 2016 election led to his victory, but he failed to do the same four years later, leading to Biden's win. To win this election, Trump and Harris need to appeal to a majority of independent voters in the key swing states.
2. **Electoral College and Swing States** – In 2020, Biden performed well in several key swing states, ultimately winning Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin to propel him to an electoral college victory. Now, during their campaigns, Trump and Harris are frequently making campaign stops and taking up ad space in the seven (not including Maine and Nebraska) battleground states that will once again determine the 2024 presidential election.

### **Arizona – 11 Electoral College (EC) Votes**

- Prior to the 2020 presidential election, a Democratic presidential candidate had not won the state since 1996. Biden won the state by a 0.3% margin in 2020 and the vote will likely remain extremely close in the 2024 election.

### **Georgia – 16 EC Votes**

- A historically red state, Georgia unexpectedly turned blue in the 2020 election, with a 0.23% marginal difference. Prior to 2020, Georgia had not voted for a Democratic presidential candidate since 1992.

### **Michigan – 15 EC Votes**

- Michigan tends to lean Democrat in presidential elections, except in 2016 when Trump beat Hilary Clinton by 0.02% percentage points. Biden reclaimed the state in 2020 with a 2.8% margin.

### **Maine – 4 EC Votes**

- Maine is one of two states that allow for split state electoral college voting, meaning electoral college votes can be dealt out to multiple candidates. One vote is given to each of the state's two congressional districts (both typically lean in separate directions), but the state's popular vote determines the other two votes. District 1 currently favors Harris, while District 2 currently favors Trump.

### **Nebraska (2<sup>nd</sup> District) – 5 EC votes**

- Like Maine, Nebraska is a split electoral college vote state. Two votes are determined by the popular vote, and three votes are divided among three voting districts. Districts 1 and 3 are safe Republican, and District 2 tends to lean Democrat.

### **Nevada - 6 EC Votes**

- Nevada has voted blue in the past four presidential elections, winning by more than 2% in the last two. Despite this trend, current polls show that the race remains extraordinarily close.

### **North Carolina – 16 EC Votes**

- North Carolina has voted red in the past three elections. Trump won the state in 2016 by more than 3%, but his lead was cut to just 1.3% in 2020, giving Democrats hope that they can win the state in 2024. Harris' entrance into the race has given this idea new possibility. The last time the state turned blue was in the 2008 election, when Obama won by just .3%, breaking a decades-long red trend.

### **Pennsylvania – 19 EC Votes**

- Pennsylvania is perhaps the most critical state for either candidate to win the 2024 election. In 2016, Trump narrowly won the state by 0.7%, but lost in 2020 to Biden, who led by 1.2%. Prior to 2016, Pennsylvania hadn't voted for a Republican presidential candidate since 1988.

### **Wisconsin – 10 EC Votes**

- A historically blue swinging state, Wisconsin narrowly voted for Trump in 2016 by 0.7%. Prior to 2016, Wisconsin hadn't voted for a Republican presidential candidate since 1984. In 2020, Biden won the state by 0.7%.

## **House Race Updates**

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All 435 seats in the House of Representatives are up for election. Republicans currently control the majority in the House with 220 seats, while Democrats hold 212 seats. There are currently three vacant seats, two of which were formerly held by Democrats and one by a Republican. Therefore, Democrats need a net gain of four seats to win back the majority. There are currently just 22 districts that voted for one party for president in 2020 and the opposing party for Congress.

Republicans are hoping to expand their slim majority and strengthen their ability to legislate if Republicans gain unified control of government. In the meantime, Democrats are trying to win back control of the House, which they lost to Republicans after the 2022 midterm elections. Regardless of which party ultimately holds the majority in the House, the margins are likely to remain very slim.

Additionally, revised congressional district maps have created opportunities for both parties. Since the 2022 midterm elections, several states legislatures have adopted new maps that have shifted the districts' partisan lean. These states include Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, and North Carolina. Additionally, Ohio and Utah have maps that are subject to active litigation and may change. All states redrew their districts as required after the 2020 census. For example, U.S. Supreme Court-mandated redistricting will help Democrats possibly gain seats in Alabama and Louisiana. Similarly, congressional maps that were recently redrawn by state legislatures in New York will help Democrats compete in a handful of Republican-held districts while redistricting in North Carolina will give Republicans the opportunity to pick up a few seats and may negate Democratic gains elsewhere.

### **How Republicans Can Maintain Control**

During the 2022 midterm elections, Republicans took back several seats that were lost to Democrats in 2020, but their majority was expected to be larger with more wins. This year, the party hopes to retain those seats and expand into several redrawn districts, such as in North Carolina. However, 17 sitting Republicans must defend seats in districts that Biden won in the 2020 election, as well as several highly competitive seats in California and New York.

### **How Democrats Can Win**

Congressional races during presidential elections typically favor Democrats due to higher voter turnout, as opposed to lower turnout by Democrats during midterm elections. Democrats flipped seats in 2018 and 2020 running against Trump. Midterm elections are typically an indication of an administration's performance, and the party lost their majority in the 2022 midterms. Democrats will need to win the seats in swing districts they lost in recent elections, but also defend nearly a dozen competitive seats they currently hold. An advantage that Democrats have over Republicans is that they are only defending five seats that Trump won in the 2020 election.

### **Key Races to Watch**

According to the House race ratings by the [Cook Political Report](#) as of October 24, 26 House seats are deemed toss-ups. Republicans slightly outnumber Democrats in those seats, with Republicans holding 15 and Democrats holding 11.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT 16 Dem • 1 Rep 0 Ind	LEAN DEMOCRAT 11 Dem • 1 Rep 0 Ind	DEMOCRAT TOSS UP 11 Dem • 0 Rep 0 Ind	REPUBLICAN TOSS UP 0 Dem • 15 Rep 0 Ind	LEAN REPUBLICAN 0 Dem • 5 Rep 0 Ind	LIKELY REPUBLICAN 0 Dem • 10 Rep 0 Ind
AL-02 NEW SEAT	CA-47 OPEN (Porter)	AK-AL Peltola	AZ-01 Schweikert	MI-10 James	AZ-02 Crane
CA-09 Harder	CA-49 Levin	CO-08 Caraveo	AZ-06 Ciscomani	MT-01 Zinke	CA-03 Kiley
FL-09 Soto	CT-05 Hayes	ME-02 Golden	CA-13 Duarte	NJ-07 Kean Jr.	CA-40 Kim
IL-17 Sorensen	MN-02 Craig	MI-07 OPEN (Slotkin)	CA-22 Valadao	VA-02 Kiggans	CA-03 OPEN (Boebert)
IN-01 Mrvan	NV-03 Lee	MI-08 OPEN (Kildee)	CA-27 Garcia	WI-03 Van Orden	FL-13 Luna
KS-03 Davids	NY-18 Ryan	NC-01 Davis	CA-41 Calvert		FL-27 Salazar
MD-06 OPEN (Trone)	NY-22 Williams	NM-02 Vasquez	CA-45 Steel		NY-01 LaLota
MI-03 Scholten	OH-09 Kaptur	PA-07 Wild	IA-01 Miller-Meeks		PA-01 Fitzpatrick
NH-01 Pappas	OH-13 Sykes	PA-08 Cartwright	IA-03 Nunn		TX-15 De La Cruz
NH-02 OPEN (Kuster)	OR-06 Salinas	VA-07 OPEN (Spanberger)	NE-02 Bacon		WI-01 Steil
NV-01 Titus	PA-17 Deluzio	WA-03 Perez	NY-04 D'Esposito		
NV-04 Horsford	TX-34 Gonzalez		NY-17 Lawler		
NY-03 Suozzi			NY-19 Molinaro		
OH-01 Landsman			OR-05 Chavez-DeRemer		
OR-04 Hoyle			PA-10 Perry		
TX-28 Cuellar					
WA-08 Schrier					

\*The table above depicts House race ratings analyzed by the Cook Political Report as of October 24, 2024.

## Toss-up House Races to Watch

### Alabama's 2<sup>nd</sup> Congressional District (Open Seat)

- Democratic candidate Shomari Figures faces off against Republican Caroleene Dobson in this open seat, redrawn in 2023 by order of the U.S. Supreme Court to increase the Black population in its boundaries in accordance with the Voting Rights Act. Dobson is a Montgomery attorney and Harvard graduate, currently serving on the Alabama Forestry Commission. Figures is the son of two elected officials with deep roots in Mobile, an Alabama grad, and most recently served as deputy chief of staff to Merrick Garland at the Department of Justice. The Alabama seat is listed as likely Democrat by Cook, but Harris' entrance into the race is expected to help Figures' turnout as well among the black community.

### Alaska's At-Large District

- Incumbent Democrat Mary Peltola has been Alaska's at-large representative since September 2022, when she won a special election to replace the late Congressman Don Young, a Republican who had been Alaska's representative since 1973. Young was the longest-serving Republican in House history. Despite this, Peltola won the 2022 general election by 10% over former Alaska Governor Sarah Palin. However, Peltola faces an extremely challenging reelection in a state Trump won by 10.1% in 2020. Peltola currently serves as co-chair of the Blue Dog Coalition, group of moderate, fiscally minded Democrats.

### Arizona's 1<sup>st</sup> Congressional District

- Republican incumbent Congressman David Schweikert narrowly kept his seat in the 2022 election, winning by only 3,500 votes. Biden also won the district by 1.4% in 2020. Amish Shaw, a state representative and physician from the Democratic Party, is trying to unseat Schweikert, who's been in office since 2011.

### **California's 13<sup>th</sup> Congressional District**

- The race for California's 13<sup>th</sup> district has the potential to be one of the closest of the 2024 election. In 2022, incumbent Republican Congressman John Duarte won the district by only 564 votes (0.42%), and it was one of the last races to be called. Biden won the district in 2020 by 29.2% over Trump. This year, Duarte is opposed by 10-year Democratic CA state Assembly Representative Adam Gray.

### **California's 22<sup>nd</sup> Congressional District**

- Republican incumbent Congressman David Valadao is seeking his sixth term in office. He was initially elected in 2012 in California's 21<sup>st</sup> district and then lost reelection in 2018. In 2020, Valadao was reelected to serve in California's 22<sup>nd</sup> district, which Biden won by 12.9%. Valadao is also a cardinal (chairs a subcommittee) on the House Appropriations Committee, a significant loss for Republicans should he lose reelection.

### **Maine's 2<sup>nd</sup> Congressional District**

- Three-term Democratic incumbent Congressman Jared Golden is up against Maine state lawmaker and former NASCAR Driver Austin Theriault. Trump has won the district in the past two elections, with a 6.1% margin in 2020. This race will also have implications for the electoral college.

### **New York's 4<sup>th</sup> Congressional District**

- Freshman Republican and former NYPD detective Congressman Anthony D'Esposito is being challenged by Democrat Laura Gillen. D'Esposito was first elected in 2022 but in a district that Biden carried by 14.5% in 2020. In late September, D'Esposito was accused of ethics violations for hiring his fiancée's daughter and an alleged mistress onto his staff payroll.

### **North Carolina's 1<sup>st</sup> Congressional District**

- First-term Democrat incumbent Congressman Don Davis is defending his seat in a redrawn district against Republican Laurie Buckhout, a 26-year Army veteran and businesswoman. Davis' district, the only swing district in the state, will likely be one of the most competitive districts in the South and his reelection will be key to Democrats mitigating any losses in North Carolina. Davis is hoping that his voting record, which sometimes breaks with the national party, can help him win over independents and moderate Republicans in a race that could reflect that national outcome of the election. With Trump and Harris in a dead heat across the state, Davis will also be looking to win over a small margin of ticket-splitting voters to help him retain his seat.

### **Pennsylvania's 8<sup>th</sup> Congressional District**

- Incumbent Democrat Congressman Matt Cartwright, who has served since 2013, is opposed by Republican Rob Bresnahan. Bresnahan is the CEO of his family's electrical company. In 2020, Trump won the district by 2.9%. Cartwright is a member of the powerful House Appropriations Committee and would be a significant loss to Democrats.

### **Pennsylvania's 10<sup>th</sup> Congressional District**

- Former Freedom Caucus Chairman and Republican incumbent Congressman Scott Perry is facing a tough fight for his seventh term in Congress against Democrat Janelle Stelson. Despite a nearly 8% margin of victory in the 2022 midterms, Perry's race is rated as a toss-up by multiple polling sources. If Perry fails to win reelection, the far-right Freedom Caucus will lose a significant member and leader, and the group's ability to challenge House Republican leadership will be further diminished.

### **Washington's 3<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District**

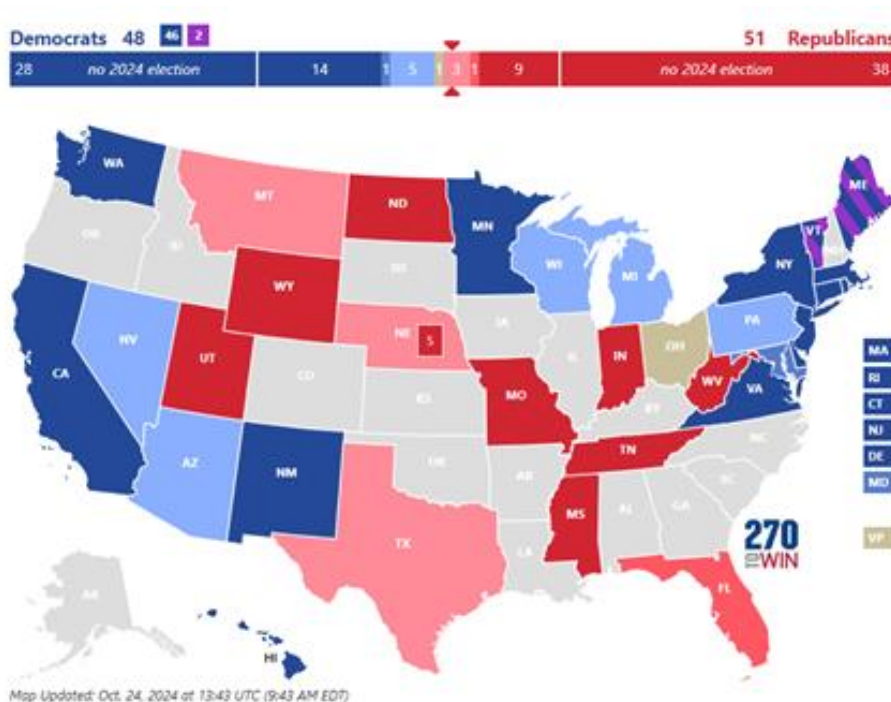
- Trump-endorsed Joe Kent takes on Democratic incumbent Congresswoman Marie Gluesenkamp Perez for rematch election from two years ago. In 2022, Gluesenkamp Perez won by less than 1% and is likely one of the most at-risk Democrats this election. Trump won the same district by more than 4% in 2020.



## Senate Race Updates

There are a total of 33 regularly scheduled Senate elections in 2024, in addition to a special election in Nebraska to fill the last two years of former Senator Ben Sasse’s term. Democrats currently control 51 seats in the Senate, including four Independents who caucus with the Democrats, compared to 49 seats controlled by Republicans. Therefore, Republicans need a net gain of only two seats to win the majority outright, or only one seat if Trump wins the election and Vance can break a 50-50 vote in the Senate.

Democrats, however, are facing an extraordinarily difficult election map and are defending seats in all the most closely contested states, except for Nebraska. Republicans are also nearly guaranteed to pick up the seat of retiring Senator Joe Manchin in West Virginia, meaning Republicans only need a net gain of one additional seat to win the majority outright. With Montana leaning Republican and toss-up races in Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, it’s possible that with a red wave in the Senate this election, Republicans could gain a net of six seats for a 55-45 majority come 2025.



*\*The map above is a composite of ratings by several forecasters. Only seats rated safe by all are shown as 'safe' for the incumbent party.*

### How the Democrats Can Stay in the Majority

The prospects for Democrats to retain their majority in the Senate are dire. The best chance for Democrats to keep the majority is to limit Republicans to a net gain of one seat, with the Harris - Walz ticket winning the White House. That would allow Vice President Tim Walz to break a 50-50 tie vote in the Senate.

Although several Democratic candidates are holding their own in the key battleground states, Republicans are all but guaranteed a net gain of at least one seat in West Virginia, with a high probability for additional gains. Although Democrats are launching long-shot bids to unseat Republicans in Texas and Florida, their best chance to mitigate losses is to defend their seats in the battleground states of Arizona, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Additionally, Democrats are hoping for a victory by Independent Dan Osborn in Nebraska to unseat incumbent Senator Deb Fischer. A victory by Osborn, who has said he would not caucus with either party, could take away a Republican vote in the Senate and help mitigate any Democrat losses.

## How Republicans Can Win

Republicans need a net gain of only two seats to win the majority outright. To do that, Republicans need to defend their most vulnerable seats in Florida, Nebraska, and Texas while also going on the offensive and winning seats in the competitive states currently controlled by Democrats. In addition to the all-but-guaranteed pickup in West Virginia, Republicans' best chances to gain seats will likely come from Montana and Ohio. Both states were won by Trump in 2020 by 16.4% and 8%, respectively.

## Toss-up Senate Races to Watch

### **Arizona– Representative Ruben Gallego (D-AZ) vs. Kari Lake (R)**

- With Independent incumbent Senator Kyrsten Sinema not seeking reelection, the seat is up for contest between Democratic candidate Congressman Ruben Gallego and Republican candidate Kari Lake. Gallego declared his candidacy prior to Sinema's exit and has focused his campaign since his announcement on winning over moderates she appealed to during her tenure. His campaign has also sought to recapture some of the Hispanic vote that Democrats have seen slip away in other states. Any mainstream Republican candidate would likely have the lead here, but Lake's positions and politics have seen her routinely behind in the polls. Gallego's internals have seen him up routinely by 4-6%, despite Trump's narrow lead in the state. Split-ticket elections at the top of the ballot are exceedingly rare, but it could happen in Arizona and other states this year.

### **Florida – Senator Rick Scott (R) vs. former Representative Debbie Mucarsel-Powell (D-FL)**

- Republican incumbent Senator Rick Scott is defending his seat from former one-term Representative Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, who left office after losing in the general election for the House seat in 2020. Although Scott only won his Senate election in 2018 by 0.02% (just over 10,000 votes), Florida voted strongly for Republicans in the 2022 midterms and the seat remains a long shot for Democrats to flip.

### **Maryland – Angela Alsobrooks (D) vs. former Governor Larry Hogan (R-MD)**

- Democratic incumbent Senator Ben Cardin isn't seeking reelection this cycle, resulting in a race between Democratic candidate Angela Alsobrooks and former Republican Governor Larry Hogan. Hogan's popularity in a traditionally blue state that led him to two terms as governor is forcing Democrats to inject money, time, and attention into this race that would have proven valuable elsewhere. While Hogan remains popular, winning a Senate seat that would aid Trump in Supreme Court picks and confirmations is a challenge for any Republican. Alsobrooks hails from Prince George's County, a suburban District of Columbia county, which has become the Democratic base for

Maryland over the past few election cycles. Alsobrooks has pulled away in the polls in recent weeks, polling 9% ahead of Hogan.

**Michigan – Representative Elissa Slotkin (MI-7) vs. former Representative Mike Rogers (R)**

- Democrat Senator Debbie Stabenow chose not to seek reelection for another term, opening a new battleground Senate seat sought by Representative Elissa Slotkin (MI-7) and former Republican Representative Mike Rogers, and five other candidates. Slotkin is a former CIA analyst and Defense Department official while Rogers is the former chair of the House Intelligence Committee and served from 2001-2013. Although Slotkin has run consistently ahead in the polls, this remains an important seat for Democrats to hold.

**Montana – Senator Jon Tester (D-MT) vs. Tim Sheehy (R)**

- Democratic incumbent and chairman of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee Senator Jon Tester aims to defend his seat from Tim Sheehy, a former Navy SEAL who is the Trump-endorsed Republican candidate. Tester must defend his seat in a state that voted strongly Republican in both the last presidential and Senate election in 2020. Tester has been lagging in the polls and Republicans are counting on a pickup in Montana to pad their Senate majority in 2025.

**Nebraska – Senator Deb Fischer (R-NE) vs. Dan Osborn (I)**

- Independent and Navy veteran Dan Osborn is challenging two-term Republican incumbent Senator Deb Fisher. Although traditionally a strong Republican state, Osborn has closed the polling gap significantly in the final weeks before the election. The last several independent run polls have shown him with a one-to-two-point lead. In an election cycle that strongly favors Republican challengers over Democratic incumbents, an upset by Osborn has the potential to help Democrats mitigate their losses on election day.

**Nevada – Senator Jacky Rosen (D-NV) vs. Sam Brown**

- Democrat incumbent Senator Jacky Rosen is seeking a second term and defending her seat from Republican candidate Sam Brown. In 2022, Nevada had the closest Senate race, with Senator Catherine Cortez Masto winning by only 0.8% of the vote. Rosen has consistently led in the polls since early this year, but Democrats fear the higher percentage of early vote ballots casted by Republicans.

**New Jersey – Representative Andy Kim (D) vs. Curtis Bashaw (R)**

- After a tumultuous year, Democratic Bob Menendez Sr. resigned on August 20, following his indictment on federal corruption charges. George Helmy (D) is currently serving as interim senator until the election results are certified. Democratic Congressman Andy Kim is taking on Republican candidate Curtis Bashaw, and four other candidates. Kim is expected to coast to a relatively easy victory, despite the scandal. New Jersey hasn't elected a Republican senator since 1972, although other Republican senators have served due to appointments from the governor.

**Ohio – Senator Sherrod Brown (D-OH) vs. Bernie Moreno (R)**

- Democrat incumbent Senator Sherrod Brown is in his fourth term and is running against Republican candidate Bernie Moreno. Brown has been serving as an Ohio senator since 2006 and was one of the 37 members of the U.S. Congress to publicly call on Biden to suspend his reelection campaign. With Trump's endorsement of Moreno, this race is expected to be a toss-up. The race has tightened significantly with the polling average only giving Brown a 1.5% lead, and the National Republican Senate Committee citing a 1-2% lead for Moreno. Former Republican Governor Bob Taft recently endorsed Brown. With Trump expected to win Ohio by up to 10 points, a Brown victory would be a remarkable example of split-ticket voting.

***Pennsylvania – Senator Bob Casey (D-PA) vs. David McCormick (R)***

- Democrat incumbent Senator Bob Casey Jr. faces Republican candidate David McCormick, the previous Republican gubernatorial candidate who lost to Governor Josh Shapiro (D-PA). Like Brown in Ohio, Casey was first elected in 2006, and has garnered strong support from constituents since. Many reporters are expecting this race to lean Democratic, however, polls are showing a much closer race between the two main candidates. Recently Casey aired ads “hugging” Trump’s tariffs and trade policy, putting him at odds with the Harris campaign’s position.

***Texas – Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX) vs. Representative Colin Allred (D-TX)***

- Senator Ted Cruz seeks to secure his reelection against Democratic candidate Colin Allred. In 2018, Cruz defeated Democratic challenger Beto O’Rourke in a 50.9% to 48.3% race, resulting in a continuation of Democrats not winning a statewide election in Texas since 1994. This past week Emerson issues a poll showing Allred within one point. While this race is competitive, the state still leans Republican and remains a long-shot bid by Democrats to flip a Republican-held seat.

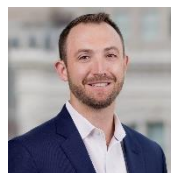
***Wisconsin – Senator Tammy Baldwin (D-WI) vs. Eric Hovde (R)***

- Incumbent Democrat Senator Tammy Baldwin is seeking her third term and running against Republican candidate Eric Hovde. Hovde previously ran for the Wisconsin Senate seat in 2012 but did not win the Republican primary. Although Baldwin has consistently led in the polls, her margin has narrowed as Election Day nears and the race is likely a toss-up.



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Tom serves as a director in the Washington, D.C. office and has nearly two decades of policy and legislative experience through his work on and off Capitol Hill. In his current role, Tom leads in the development of strategy, outreach, and advocacy of client initiatives before Congress and federal agencies. He has worked on a wide array of complex issues in support of public and private corporations, higher education institutions, national trade associations, among others.



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Ryan has a decade of experience working in Washington, D.C. on the budget and appropriations process. During his eight years in Congress, Ryan worked for Representatives Tom Graves (R-GA), former chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Financial Services and General Government and current Appropriations Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee Chairman Robert Aderholt (R-AL).

Ryan managed the return of Community Project Funding for Aderholt's personal office in the annual appropriations process, developing internal procedures for evaluating the strength of applications and prioritization. Ryan has brought his experience working on Community Project Funding to Troutman Pepper Strategies and its clients.