

# HISTORY. MADE.

Stories of Impact

2022 EDITION

THE STATES  
PROJECT

# Table *of* Contents

A Message from our Regional Political Directors	<u>5</u>
Highlights from TSP in the News	<u>6</u>
Changing Who is at the Table	<u>10</u>
2022 Core States	
Arizona	<u>12</u>
Maine	<u>18</u>
Michigan	<u>24</u>
Minnesota	<u>32</u>
Nebraska	<u>38</u>
Nevada	<u>44</u>
North Carolina	<u>50</u>
Pennsylvania	<u>56</u>
Targeted States: Alaska, Colorado, New Hampshire, Wisconsin	<u>65</u>
States on the Frontlines: Protecting Abortion Access	<u>74</u>
States on the Frontlines: Defending Democracy	<u>78</u>
The Tightest Margins	<u>80</u>
To Our Giving Circles	<u>82</u>
Turning to 2023 and Beyond	<u>84</u>

# A Message from our Regional Political Directors

To Our States Project Community,

We all know that state legislative races are severely underfunded and overlooked — by political observers and professionals alike. We cannot overstate how essential you have been to our success this cycle. Without you, our work to build power in the most critical chambers across the country would be impossible.

Because you were there, building your own communities and supporting The States Project's work, we could leverage our combined decades of experience running state legislative campaigns to research and implement evidence-based electoral programs alongside our partners in the states. By seeding our earliest investments and providing the most valuable types of dollars in key states, **you were the engine that helped create new governing power** in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Minnesota; **and the buffer that helped us hold ground** in Arizona, Maine, Nevada, Nebraska, North Carolina, and New Hampshire.

When you powered evidence-based tactics like doorknocking, innovations like testing to run the most potent TV ads, and local media support for candidates who otherwise wouldn't have had it — you powered opportunities for our candidates to make meaningful connections with their voters. And to *win*.

**We were successful this year because you were with us, early and for cycles before this one**, building your own communities, filling late gaps and helping us treat states like the most important parts of our democracy — because they are. Your organizing, dollars, time, and communities made us uniquely ready to have an unparalleled impact in the most critical state elections in generations.

We wouldn't be here without you, and we're so grateful for all you do.

Sincerely,

Emily Waggoner, Justin Perez, Maryli Secrest  
Regional Political Directors, The States Project

# Highlights from TSP in the News

2022 was an unprecedented year for getting our message about why states matter out to the public. Here's a snapshot of that message in the media.

*The New York Times*

## Democratic-Allied Group Pours \$60 Million Into State Legislative Races

"The alarm bells are ringing in our state legislatures. With the rise of the Tea Party and the balance of power dramatically shifting toward the right, the rest of us have been asleep at the wheel for too long at the state level. And now, this threat is truly off the charts."

—ADAM PRITZKER  
Founding Partner

[READ THE ARTICLE](#)

*The Washington Post*

## Democrats surged to flip state legislatures, defying past GOP gains

"A couple of legislative races won by a few votes means the difference between some of the most draconian abortion laws passing, restrictions on elections, stopping a gutting of a state's ability to protect people from polluters."

—DANIEL SQUADRON  
Founding Partner

[READ THE ARTICLE](#)



## Want to Win? Start With the States

"The States Project Giving Circles bring everyday people together to focus on state legislatures. They gather their friends, family, neighbors, and colleagues, choose a target state to support, and work together to raise a meaningful total that can help shift or defend the balance of power in their selected state."

—MELISSA WALKER  
Head of Giving Circles

[LISTEN TO THE EPISODE](#)

## BLAITY

### To Build Power Where It Matters Most, We Must Go To The Source: Political Dollars

“Money means access to the rooms and to the people who shape the nation’s laws. It’s not enough to just know about the room or the people; we have to show up. And it’s not just enough to have one seat. We have to bring our own table — one that we build and carry together. If we unite in our communities and pool our dollars, we will have more representation in those rooms, and have a much bigger say than any one of us could alone.”

—TIA HOWARD  
Senior Manager of Recruitment, Giving Circles

READ THE ARTICLE

## The Washington Post

### Abortion rights advocates score major midterm victories across U.S.

“For too long state legislatures have seemed like the minor leagues. We are in a moment when state legislatures couldn’t be more important. Because of the Democratic victories in state legislatures, abortion access was expanded in a lifesaving way last night.”

—SIMONE LEIRO  
Chief Communications Officer

READ THE ARTICLE

## THE AMERICAN PROSPECT

### Democrats Are Getting Their Act Together at the State Level

“I think the grassroots really understood the threat posed by far-right state legislatures and was ready to be mobilized by someone.”

—AARON KLEINMAN  
Director of Research

READ THE ARTICLE

## The Guardian

### Why the Democrats’ biggest wins of the midterms weren’t in Washington DC

“Democrats can, in fact, win at the state legislative level. When we invest our dollars appropriately. When we utilize evidence-based tactics, and when we have candidates who can meet voters where they are, we proved that this year. State legislative politics is not the minor leagues.”

—ADAM PRITZKER  
Founding Partner

READ THE ARTICLE

# Changing Who is at the Table


When we work to shift power in a state chamber, we're not just shifting the party majority — **we're changing who is at the decision table**. State lawmakers who are more representative of the diversity of their state gaining governing power to set the agenda? That's **real** change.

Here's a look at how **power has shifted in the four chambers where we helped to build majorities** in the 2022 Midterms.

Across all of The States Project's states, there are now **7 women** on track to be leaders in their legislative chambers:



Minority Leader  
Raquel Teran  
Arizona Senate



Speaker Rachel  
Talbot Ross  
Maine House



Majority Leader  
Winnie Brinks  
Michigan Senate



Speaker Melissa  
Hortman  
Minnesota House



Majority Leader  
Nicole Cannizzaro  
Nevada Senate




Minority Leader  
Greta Neubauer  
Wisconsin Assembly



Majority Leader  
Kari Dziedzic  
Minnesota Senate

Also historic? **Two Black state lawmakers** are on track to lead chambers where we helped build or hold power:



**Rachel Talbot Ross** is  
Maine's first Black woman  
Speaker of the House of  
Representatives.



**Joe Tate**, who will serve  
as Michigan's first Black  
Speaker of the House of  
Representatives.

## PENNSYLVANIA HOUSE MAJORITY:



was **25%** women



and is now **36%**  
women



was **0%** BIPOC



and is now **35%**  
BIPOC  
27% Black, 5% Latino, 3% Asian



was **0%** LGBTQ+



and is now **5%**  
LGBTQ+

## MICHIGAN SENATE MAJORITY:



was **14%** women



and is now **55%**  
women



was **0%** BIPOC



and is now **35%**  
BIPOC  
15% Black, 10% Asian, 10% Latino



was **0%** LGBTQ+



and is now **5%**  
LGBTQ+

## MINNESOTA SENATE MAJORITY:



was **19%** women



and is now **56%**  
women



was **0%** BIPOC



and is now **26%**  
BIPOC  
15% Black, 9% Asian, 3% Native



was **0%** LGBTQ+



and is now **9%**  
LGBTQ+

## MICHIGAN HOUSE MAJORITY:



was **25%** women



and is now **59%**  
women



was **0%** BIPOC



and is now **32%**  
BIPOC  
25% Black, 5% Asian, 2% Latino



was **0%** LGBTQ+



and is now **11%**  
LGBTQ+

# Our Impact in Arizona

## ARIZONA GIVING CIRCLES

A & L's States Project Giving Circle • A Matter of States Giving Circle • Act Now...Our Democracy Depends on it  
Action Beats Inaction • Altered States Giving Circle • American Tribe's Flip the AZ State House Campaign  
Arizona Pathfinders • AZ Blue Team • AZ LD-2 Leftists • Big Red's Blue Angels • Blair Holt's Giving Circle • Blue  
Arizona • Blue Rising • Bluebirds • Bluegrass Blue Wave • Bright Future • Burnt Toast Giving Circle • Busy's Giving  
Circle • Casey's Giving Circle for Arizona • Chop Wood, Carry Arizona! • Coast to Coast Giving Circle • Delta  
50 Democracy Groupies • Democracy? — TBD • Desert Blooms • Determined Desert Dwellers • Emily's Giving  
Circle FAB — Flip Arizona Blue! • Fight for Democracy • Flip 'em Blue Giving Circle • GingerKids • In Pursuit of  
Clean Countertops Giving Circle • Katy's Giving Circle • Kelly + Jodi's Giving Circle • Kitchen Table Democracy  
Local Level Donors • Los Angeles Giving Circle • Markers For Democracy • Northridge Indivisible • Path to Save  
Democracy • Puppies for Democracy AZ • Raising Arizona (Mara) • Raising Arizona (Alicia) • ReSisters Giving  
Circle • SLWV Arizona Strong • Sonoran Desert • State Legislatures Matter • States Focus Giving Circle • Swing  
These States • Tamar's Giving Circle • The Real Patriots • The Riveters • Tikun Olam Giving Circle • Tri-Cities  
ChangeMakers • Turn Arizona Blue • Turn States Blue: Join Dedicated Women! • We Can Do Something!  
We Dissent

## KEY PARTNERSHIPS

National Democratic Redistricting Committee • Vote Save America

“

“The fall of Roe lit a spark in me that refused to subside. And when I heard about The States Project on actress [Busy Philipps’ podcast](#), I knew that I’d found the perfect way to turn my passion into action in time for the 2022 midterm elections.”

—CASEY

Giving Circle Leader, Casey's Giving Circle for Arizona



# The Story in Arizona

We've given democracy a fighting chance in Arizona. The one-seat margins we helped to hold in each chamber are the narrowest majorities the rightwing has held in decades in the state legislature.

Keeping it close matters because it sets us up for the next cycle — **wins are built on held ground.**

While the majorities elected this past November will be in office when presidential electors are sent to D.C. in 2024, there are likely pro-democracy candidates on both sides of the aisle in the House and the Senate. **Because we kept the margins close, it will be possible to build a majority of lawmakers who have not previously supported efforts to use the legislature to thwart rightful, valid election results in both chambers.**



"The Legislature cannot decide the will of the people. Elections are decided by voters, not lawmakers."

—EVA BURCH, ELECTED TO SERVE SENATE DISTRICT 9

## The Game Plan

Giving Circles helped fuel The States Project's full toolkit of evidence-based tactics across the most competitive Arizona districts. That meant layered voter contact including local media support, TV and digital advertising with fully tested messages, and mail.

**Tested Messaging on Broadcast TV:** With our support ensuring that every TV ad was tested before it aired in Arizona — a best practice never employed before this year in state legislative races — we helped get the most effective messages out to voters. In the past, our in-state partners ran ads on cable instead of broadcast TV, limiting the opportunities for the ads to be seen by a broad audience.

**Local Media Support:** Ten candidates received TSP-fueled support with local press outreach to get their stories out to voters. Eight of these candidates won their elections.

One story that resonated in the state — where 1 in 3 classrooms do not have a full-time teacher — was that several incredible educators stepped up to run for state legislative seats. This article tells the story of what it means to be a teacher running for the legislature to create a bright future for Arizona students:

- *Phoenix New Times:* Educators Quitting Classrooms and Running for Arizona Legislature in Record Numbers [READ MORE](#)



"Given where our state finds itself — with a series of incredibly draconian abortion bans and restrictions all enshrined into law — my top priority is to protect access to women's healthcare choices. We must repeal our territorial-era near-total abortion ban, add rape and incest exceptions to our current 15-week ban and give trusted doctors the latitude they need when short- and long-term prognoses make pregnancy dangerous for women."

—SENATOR CHRISTINE MARSH, RE-ELECTED TO SERVE SENATE DISTRICT 4



Lorena Austin, elected to serve House District 9, speaking to Giving Circle Leaders during TSP's Summer of States program.

**District-Level Staffing:** In Arizona, where legislative districts are nested, each district holds two House seats and one Senate seat. That makes staff who can oversee races at the district level both hugely valuable and extra efficient. Through key partnerships, we brought in folks with that expertise.

Blue Leadership Collaborative helped make it possible for our in-state partners to hire qualified, diverse district managers. Arena also helped to secure district-level organizers who could run field programs across all the races in their districts.

## The Path to Power

In Arizona, where nearly 90 percent of rightwing state legislative candidates were election deniers, we were the top contributor — spending almost 30 times more than the next largest giver. Every penny of that support made the difference in keeping the power margins close enough to give democracy a fighting chance, although few groups thought investing in Arizona was worth the focus.

In the House, Keith Seaman was elected to serve LD-16; Lorena Austin and Seth Blattman both now serve LD-9. The rightwing had previously held these two districts. These gains were offset, however, by two losses. **Just 941 votes changing would have shifted control of the chamber.**

There were three wins in critical toss-up seats in the Senate: Dr. Eva Diaz in LD-22, Eva Burch in LD-9, and incumbent Senator Christine Marsh, who had been redistricted into LD-4. The margin in the chamber remained unchanged as the rightwing also picked up seats. **Just 1,480 votes changing would have shifted control of the chamber.**

## A Pivotal Moment in Our Arizona Campaign

In August, Representative Diego Espinoza was running uncontested in LD-22 for the Senate, having secured the Democratic nomination to serve a district he'd represented since 2014. By September, he had abandoned the race to take on a lobbying job.

Because of the timing and state election laws, his name was still on the ballot, but votes cast for him would not be counted.

Both Republicans and Democrats would need to run write-in campaigns for this seat.

The States Project mobilized Giving Circles and our Give Smart program around Dr. Eva Diaz, an educator, and first-time candidate.

Dr. Diaz needed to ensure that voters understood that she would not be on the ballot and that if they wished to vote for

her, they had to write in her name. She ran against an election-denying opponent who sought to confuse voters by not publicly stating his party affiliation.

Our Give Smart Program — where members of The States Project community give directly to candidates — was the top funder for Dr. Diaz in a seat that the rightwing could have easily have stolen without our support.

“

**"I am honored and humbled to have been chosen by the voters of Arizona Legislative District 22 to represent you as your next State Senator.**

"Due to the nature of the write-in process in conjunction with a campaign that started seven weeks before the election, and most importantly, the threat of losing our Blue seat, it was a hard-fought race.

"We couldn't have done it without the donors, small and large. You made it possible for our team to use every tool possible to help make this campaign a success."



—DR. EVA DIAZ, ELECTED TO SERVE SENATE DISTRICT 22

“

"By funding full campaigns in key races, we forced the rightwing to compete with us down-ballot and made them play defense in districts that were critical for them to maintain their majorities. Every dollar spent on television, for instance, forced them to invest more heavily in those races too."

—JUSTIN PEREZ, REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTOR THE STATES PROJECT

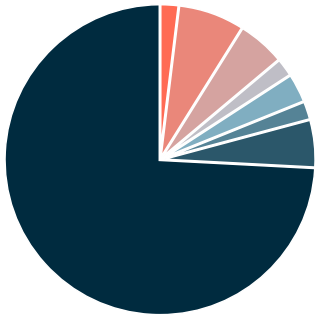
# By the Numbers

## Our Work in Arizona

- 2018**  
TSP-supported candidates won 4 new seats in the House to create the closest balance of power in Phoenix since 1966.
- 2020**  
TSP candidates netted 1 additional seat in the Senate, but the balance of power in both chambers remained the same.
- 2022**  
**We held our ground.** Maintaining the 1-seat margin in each chamber means that a coalition to protect the will of the voters is within reach — democracy has a fighting chance.

## What Our Dollars Fueled

- Candidate Contributions 2%
- Digital 7%
- Field Organizing 5%
- Local Media Support 2%
- Mail 3%
- Other Caucus Programming 2%
- Staffing Program 5%
- Television 74%



**Candidate Contributions:** Contributions directly to candidates’ campaigns

**Digital:** Primarily non-skippable pre-roll advertising

**Field Organizing:** Field staff and operations

**Local Media Support:** Media specialists who work directly with in-state partners on placing stories — op-eds, interviews, news articles — in local press

**Mail:** Mail pieces in districts with gaps in the final weeks of their mail program to ensure late-deciding voters in key races were seeing critical final messages in their mailboxes

**Other Caucus Programming:** In-state partner support

**Staffing Program:** Skilled campaign staff to work across key districts

**Television:** Audience-tested ads on broadcast TV

**CHAMBER**  
The State House

**GOAL**  
Hold Ground

**STRATEGY**  
Hold Every Seat

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS LOST**  
0

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY**  
941 voters across 1 district

**RACES WON OR LOST WITHIN 5%**  
9

**OUTCOME**  
Ground Held!

**CHAMBER**  
The State Senate

**GOAL**  
Give Democracy a Fighting Shot

**STRATEGY**  
Gain One Seat

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS WON**  
0

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS LOST**  
0

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY**  
1,480 voters across 1 district

**RACES WON OR LOST WITHIN 5%**  
5

**OUTCOME**  
Ground Held!

# Giving Circle Spotlight

“

“I’ve honestly never been a political person but the stakes have changed too much to continue to stand on the sidelines, especially with everything on the line here in AZ. I reached out via email and Instagram to my friends and family about my desire to get in the fight. A few women in my network immediately jumped on board to offer additional leadership support.

“It felt amazing to know we were all doing what we could with our energy and our dollars to be the change we wanted to see where we live. It’s more important than ever to be an active agent of change in a state that matters so very much to the national political landscape right now. The States Project is helping us make that change happen.”

—DANI  
Giving Circle Leader, Desert Blooms

# Our Impact in Maine

## MAINE GIVING CIRCLES

Brunswick High School Alums • Civics Night at the Soda Fountain • The Mainiacs

## KEY PARTNERSHIP

Vote Save America

“

“As a lifelong advocate for human rights, civil liberties, personal freedoms, and justice for all, success means that I will continue uniting people to create equitable and just public policy that recognizes the dignity and worth of every human and moves us to a place where all Maine people have the social and economic opportunity to be free.

“Free from hunger and poverty. Free from violence and addiction and abuse. Free from oppression and discrimination and institutional bias. Free from financial ruin on account of debt, a serious accident, or a chronic illness. Free from tyranny and deception and greed. Free from state interference in personal matters and private decisions.”

—MAINE STATE SENATOR CRAIG HICKMAN  
Re-elected to Serve Senate District 14



# The Story in Maine

“You know the Maine Senate has flipped four times since 2010 and if we don’t do everything in our power to protect and expand our majority, it could easily flip again.”

—SENATE PRESIDENT TROY JACKSON, RE-ELECTED TO SERVE SENATE DISTRICT 1

With Paul LePage, a gubernatorial candidate who boasted that he was “Trump before Trump” on the ballot, it was clear that Maine was a major target for the rightwing in 2022. This is why, for the first time since we started working in the state in 2018, The States Project worked to protect majorities in both state chambers.

In the State Senate, our goal was to defend the majority and we won each of the four seats we needed. We helped hold SD-1, Troy Jackson; SD-14, Craig Hickman, and SD-26, Tim Nangle while helping David LaFountain win SD-16. A narrow loss in SD-20 was offset with an additional seat won in SD-8 by Mike Tipping. Margins in this chamber held steady.

But, if just 1,709 votes had changed across these five districts, the radical right would now control Maine’s Senate.

In the State House, the rightwing needed to win nine seats to shift the balance of power. They won eight new seats but the majority won seven — we helped hold ground with just one loss in the chamber.

Candidates we supported in Maine won nine seats by fewer than 200 votes — razor thin margins. **In fact, if just 843 voters across those nine seats had changed their votes, the chamber would have been lost.**

In the end, voters re-elected candidates who protected safe drinking water, expanded school breakfast programs, implemented paid family leave, installed an insulin price cap and passed salary fairness. We helped to defend the majorities that are working hard to improve Mainers’ lives with common sense policy solutions in both chambers.

## Majority Holders



**President Troy Jackson**  
Senate District 1



**Craig Hickman**  
Senate District 14



**Tim Nangle**  
Senate District 26



**David LaFountain**  
Senate District 16

## The Game Plan

TV was key, particularly for Senate President Troy Jackson and Senator Craig Hickman. Our contributions supported compelling messages based on their legislative records and made sure their constituents understood what was at stake in these elections.

And layering tactics was critical. We helped ensure that there were resources for high-quality mailers and digital ads, especially in the right quantity and combination to engage voters across different platforms. TV was essential to President Jackson’s ability to hold his seat, but without a mail program the results might have been different. Mail amplified the messages on TV and ensured that folks in his district who weren’t seeing TV ads were still hearing about him.

In the House we helped bring all of our in-state partners together to align on strategy and tactics, which gave us a chance to expand the field. With 50 competitive seats in a chamber of 151 districts, our partners worked across the state to ensure that every critical seat was covered with the tactics and strategy needed to win.

## The Path to Power

Senate President Troy Jackson, a fifth-generation logger who was born and raised in his district, represents SD-1, a large rural area in Northern Maine that went for Trump by 8 percent in 2016 and by 12 percent 2020. But, it is also a district that President Jackson has won since 2018, and four years ago, he became the first Senate President from his district in more than sixty years.

Banking on the idea that they could win this district, the rightwing attacked President Jackson. To protect this strong, critical leader in Maine, our support enabled a combination of TV and digital ad programs aimed at reminding voters of his accomplishments as a lawmaker.

In a much tighter margin than in years past, President Jackson held SD-1 by just over 600 votes.

## The Future

Maine elected its most diverse majorities ever in 2022, with more representation of immigrant and Black state lawmakers than in years past. In fact, the majority that TSP helped defend has elected the first Black Speaker of the House to ever serve in Maine: [Rachel Talbot Ross](#).



“I want the people of Maine to know that they’re in good hands. That they voted the right way, that Democrats intend to lead, and we intend to use all of our tools including working with our friends across the aisle. The best House for the people of the State of Maine is one that’s united, and I intend to do all that I can to make sure that’s a reality.”

—HOUSE SPEAKER RACHEL TALBOT ROSS, RE-ELECTED TO SERVE HOUSE DISTRICT 118



“Friends: We did it!

“I am so grateful for all of the support I have received throughout this campaign. The people who opened their homes, the volunteers who gave of their time and effort, the voters who waited in lines today — thank you!

“I promise that I will work hard every day on behalf of our communities. Thank you for this trust you have placed in me. I won’t let you down.”

—SALLY CLUCHEY, WHO WON HOUSE DISTRICT 52 BY LESS THAN 100 VOTES

“

“It’s been great to work with The States Project since 2018. They were there with us, had our backs, in a year where probably no one thought we could flip the Senate. And then in 2020, a year where a lot of people thought maybe we couldn’t hold it. And again in the year 2022, it’s going to be a battle to keep the Senate, but like so many of you know, the Senate in Maine, and state legislatures across the country, really hold the line, as we’ve seen what’s happening on the federal level, with things like abortion access.

“We’re fighting hard every day, like I know all of you are, in your communities, supporting us, so more than anything I just wanna say thank you for having our backs. And for thinking about a little state like us as we fight to hold the line here.”

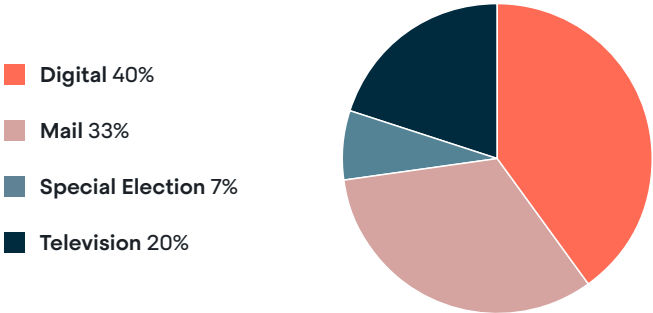
—LILY HERRMANN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE MAINE SENATE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

# By the Numbers

## Our Work in Maine

- 2018**  
Shifted the balance of power in the Senate to create a new Maine trifecta.
- 2020**  
Expanded the Senate majority to Maine’s largest in over 30 years.
- 2021**  
The #1 contributor in Senator Craig Hickman’s special election. He made history as Maine’s first Black, openly LGBTQ+ State Senator.
- 2022**  
Protected both State Legislative majorities to preserve a critical pro-democracy trifecta.

## What Our Dollars Fueled



**Digital:** Primarily non-skippable pre-roll advertising

**Mail:** TSP’s contributions help ensure that the optimal number of mail pieces are sent to individual voters, preventing significantly diminishing returns and saving dollars

**Special Election:** Off-cycle contribution to support a special election

**Television:** Ads on cable or broadcast TV

**CHAMBER**  
The State House

**GOAL**  
Defend power

**STRATEGY**  
Prevent 10 Losses

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS LOST**  
1

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY**  
616 voters across 9 districts

**RACES WON OR LOST WITHIN 5%**  
14

**OUTCOME**  
Majority Protected!

**CHAMBER**  
The State Senate

**GOAL**  
Defend power

**STRATEGY**  
Prevent 5 Losses

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS LOST**  
0

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY**  
1,709 voters across 5 districts

**RACES WON OR LOST WITHIN 5%**  
5

**OUTCOME**  
Majority Protected!

# Giving Circle Spotlight

“

“I was raised for a period of time in the backwoods of Maine where I continue to spend a great deal of time because my 85-year-old mother still lives in a rustic farmhouse here.

“As we were going through the process of finding her in-home care, I asked the Maine healthcare worker who interviewed us — I said, ‘I did a lot of work to raise funds for Maine in the 2018 elections. Have you seen a change in this type of care since then?’ And she said to me, ‘Absolutely.’

“So right now I’m sitting in that farmhouse. And it’s in Maine with an elderly senior, who is benefiting from some of the things that we fought to have passed — and her healthcare has improved dramatically.”

—GIA  
Giving Circle Leader, Civics Night at the Soda Fountain

# Our Impact in Michigan

## MICHIGAN GIVING CIRCLES

All Hands on Deck • Awareness Into Action • Blue Water Blue State • Change for MI Legislature • Dem Flippers • dEMOCRACY Is Local • Dollars for Democracy (Dana) • Downtown Nasty Women Social Group • EffThisShiznit • Ever true • Evil Witches • Fight for Democracy • Fire Rabbit's Revenge Giving Circle • Flipping Seats and Taking Names • From Seattle with Love Giving Circle • Help Us Turn Michigan's Legislature Blue 2022! • Jill's Giving Circle • Laura and Matt's Giving Circle • Let's Go Blue, Michigan! • Los Angeles Giving Circle • M Go-Blue from MA! • Michigan Strong • Midwest Friends • Nevertheless, She Persisted • One State at a Time • OY VEY THINGS ARE NOT OK! • Oy vey, it's not okay • Path to Save Democracy • PENT UP • Potlucks and Politics • Raising the States Giving Circle • Resilience Initiative • ReSisters Giving Circle • Save Our States • States Focus Giving Circle • Swing These States • The Golden Girls Giving Circle • The Wednesday Group • Together For Choice • Uphold Democracy

## KEY PARTNERSHIPS

National Democratic Redistricting Committee • Vote Save America

“

“Nobody’s going to care or remember who Veronica Klinefelt is 20 years from now. But what they will remember is what happened during this time. And so if I fail, and because of that, we don’t have protection in the Legislature, that’s something that I’ll carry with me for the rest of my life.”

—VERONICA KLINEFELT  
Elected by Michigan Senate District 11  
to [The New York Times](#)



# The Story in Michigan

Michigan was one of the states where rightwing state lawmakers who held the majority were flown to the Oval Office to be persuaded to overturn the 2020 election for Donald Trump. We knew the state would continue to be a critical part of the rightwing’s plans in 2024 and that our democracy could come down to who holds power in the Michigan state chambers.

Our early investment in both chambers — in 2021, a year ahead of the election — gave our partners confidence in the strength of our commitment. They were able to plan ahead for 2022, mapping out bold commitments to evidence-backed tactics.

In May 2022, The States Project helped Carol Glanville win State House District 74 in a Michigan House Special Election — we believed that protecting HD-74 in a special election would be easier than trying to take it from the rightwing in a general election. That reduced the number of seats needed to tie the chamber from three to two.

We contributed eight times more than the next largest funder in Michigan and helped our in-state partners stay in the

fight for chamber control in both chambers, even when it felt impossible.

In the House, we helped gain three new seats to create a new majority. In the State Senate, our work helped gain four new seats to build a new majority.

### The Game Plan

**Tested Messaging on Broadcast TV:** Advertising on TV is not commonplace at the state legislative level, and Michigan was one of the states where it was critical for our candidates. Michigan is home to several huge media markets, which makes advertising more expensive.

By supporting ad testing, another tactic that has never been used at the state legislative level, **we helped ensure that TV messages were effective before they went on the air.** This investment maximized the impact of spending on TV and had the multiplier effect of improving digital messages as well — allowing for layered messages that met voters across multiple platforms.

**Local Media Support:** Michigan was also one of the states where local press was critical. Consultants to support local media coverage — which is groundbreak-

ing at the state legislative level — were made possible by The States Project.

- *Traverse City Record Eagle:* Report: Eroding pay and benefits further teacher shortage [READ MORE](#)
- *The Gander:* Meet MI Leader: Rosemary Bayer Eyes Progress on Education and Reproductive Freedom [READ MORE](#)
- *The State News:* Meet the candidates: Sam Singh on public service and MSU’s relationship to its community [READ MORE](#)

**Candidate Door Knocking Was Critical In Michigan:** TSP’s investment meant that Michigan candidates could get out and meet their voters, many knocking on thousands of doors.

Darrin Camilleri, elected to serve Senate District 4, was one such tenacious door-knocker, personally knocking almost 7,500 doors by Election Day.

### The Path to Power

In an election where 4.5 million Michiganders voted, the highest-ever turnout in the midterms, **just 202 votes changing in one critical district would have prevented the new Senate majority.**

Kevin Hertel won SD-12, a tough seat, by just 404 votes against an election-denying candidate.

Veronica Klinefelt won tossup SD-11 by a margin of about 5 percent against an election-denying incumbent.

**Jaime Churches, elected to serve House District 27, defied all expectations to win her tipping point seat by just 330 votes.** Jamie, a 5th-grade teacher, was excited about TSP’s support because it meant she could spend more of her time talking to voters rather than dialing for dollars.

### A Pivotal Moment in Our Michigan Campaign

As the races got more challenging down the stretch, budgets got tighter, and in a tough national atmosphere, our in-state partners felt the pressure from other national groups to stop working towards a majority, especially in the House.

Our Regional Political Director Emily Waggoner held steadfast that a win was still possible in each chamber. With governing control as our goal, she helped ensure that tough races weren’t cut off from critical funding. And those tough races? They shifted the balance of power in both chambers.

**The result: not one, but two outright majorities.** Without the strategy and tactics geared toward these new majorities, it would have been impossible to achieve even one.

### The Future

Michigan’s new majorities can use their governing power to enact protections and policies that improve Michiganders’ lives, policies that were introduced but couldn’t move forward under rightwing control of the legislature:

- Protecting reproductive healthcare.
- Commonsense gun safety protections, requiring owners to store and secure firearms out of the reach of kids.
- Increasing teacher pay, and expanding early childhood education.
- Investing in resilient infrastructure to support clean water and renewable energy sources and making big polluters pay.



**Jaime Churches** [@Jaime4StateRep](#)

A young girl named Rose looking at my lit said,

“It is your name on the signs?”

Her parents invited me to the porch to join family dinner. At that table, we discussed why my name is on signs, equal rights, education, and making laws. It was my favorite door today.

“ I think given everything we’re seeing across the state, it’s hard not to feel great. **But I also realize that this was a very close election and the fact that people in this district are looking for somebody who will sit down and work with anybody to get things done.** That’s what I’ve always done in my time in elected office. And that’s what I’ll continue to do. ”

—KEVIN HERTEL, ELECTED TO SERVE  
SENATE DISTRICT 12



**Darrin Camilleri** [@darrincamilleri](#)

Tonight, I finished up my last door knocking shift of the campaign right where it all began in Brownstown.

I’m so excited and honored to be on tomorrow’s ballot to serve my hometown and neighbors across Downriver and Western Wayne County.

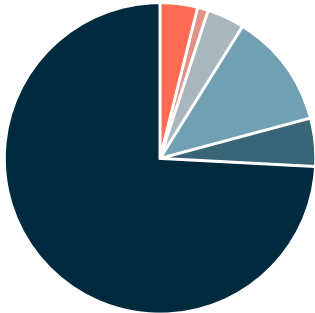
# By the Numbers

## Our Work in Michigan

- 2018**  
6 TSP-supported candidates won new districts in the Michigan House.
- 2020**  
8 TSP-supported candidates won House seats: 6 incumbents and 2 new seats. 2 incumbent losses meant no change in the balance of power.
- 2022**  
TSP-supported candidates won both the House and the Senate for the first Democratic trifecta in Michigan since 1983!

## What Our Dollars Fueled

- Candidate Contributions 4%
- Candidate Recruitment 1%
- Caucus and Leadership Committee Contributions 4%
- Digital 12%
- Local Media Support 5%
- Television 74%



**Candidate Contributions:** Contributions directly to candidates’ campaigns

**Candidate Recruitment:** Supporting local organizations to identify and recruit strong candidates

**Caucus and Leadership Committee Contributions:** Contributions to in-state partners and leadership committees

**Digital:** Primarily non-skippable pre-roll advertising

**Local Media Support:** Media specialists who work directly with in-state partners on placing stories — op-eds, interviews, news articles — in local press

**Television:** Audience-tested ads on broadcast TV

**CHAMBER**  
The State House

**GOAL**  
Shift Power

**STRATEGY**  
Gain 2 Seats

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS GAINED**  
+3

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY**  
330 voters across 1 district

**RACES WON OR LOST WITHIN 5%**  
11

**OUTCOME**  
A New Majority!

**CHAMBER**  
The State Senate

**GOAL**  
Shift Power

**STRATEGY**  
Gain 3 Seats

**NUMBER OF SEATS GAINED**  
+4

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY**  
202 voters across 1 district

**OUTCOME**  
A New Majority!



“After 4 decades of GOP control of the MI Senate, we have the opportunity to deliver meaningful change for our residents on climate, education, an economy that works for all, housing justice, gun violence, health care & a fair justice system. January 2023, we’re so ready for you!”

—SENATOR STEPHANIE CHANG, RE-ELECTED TO SERVE  
SENATE DISTRICT 3

# Giving Circle Spotlight

We've been in Michigan since 2018, and we've had Giving Circles devoted to Michigan since then. In that first year, we flipped six seats, and in 2020 we held ground. For Giving Circles that year, holding ground could have felt like a loss.

But our Michigan-focused Giving Circles don't just raise for Michigan in election years — they raise every year. That's why since 2018, TSP has been able to give the maximum annual state contributions to our partners in Michigan. Giving Circles have worked hard, year over year, helping to keep the margins close and governing control within striking distance.

**The unwavering commitment of our Giving Circles to Michigan made this new trifecta possible.**



“

“When we started this work we quickly realized that it wasn't about one election. It was about investing in and rebuilding our political system. Once you start thinking of it that way, there are no longer on and 'off' years. And when you are at the same time building a community of people who share common goals and hopes for our country, the work becomes a joy and an antidote to despair. Even in years when the results were not what we hoped, we had a continued sense of purpose in doing this together.”

—AMY

Giving Circle Leader, One State at a Time

# Our Impact in Minnesota

## MINNESOTA GIVING CIRCLES

Amanda's Giving Circle • CA for MN • Carly's Giving Circle • Democracy4Ever • Dollars For Democracy (Alison) • George & Sally's Giving Circle • "Hold On" Minnesota • Housequake Keep Minnesota Blue • Mom's Body for Change • Moving The Branch • Project Waterloo ProL\*\*\* my a\*\* • Robyn's Giving Circle • SEEDMN • Small But Mighty • The State of Giving

## KEY PARTNERSHIP

Vote Save America

“

“First of all I want to say thank you. We are in this new position — a trifecta! — because of you. And I am not saying that lightly. I would be remiss if I didn't say that a lot of this effort has been in large part because of our partnership with The States Project at an early stage of the campaign.”

—OUTGOING SENATE LEADER  
MELISA LÓPEZ FRANZEN



# The Story in Minnesota

We were the largest state legislative funder in Minnesota, and refused to leave any opportunity on the table. We believed winning the State Senate majority was possible, and helped make sure the focus was not just on defending the State House.

This was our first election cycle in Minnesota, and though we were on the ground early, it was still an uphill battle.

While we saw the opportunity for a new trifecta by ending rightwing control of the Senate, the House was in the crosshairs of the rightwing, who wanted unified control of the legislature.

We held ground to defend the Minnesota House — the rightwing gained six seats, but that was offset by six wins of our own that enabled us to hold the chamber. In the Senate, we needed to gain three seats for a new majority, and we won the seats we needed. The result? A new trifecta in Minnesota.

## The Game Plan

Our earliest investments supported staffing which was crucial to achieving our goals in Minnesota. We helped our in-state partners create an innovative staffing infrastructure to stretch budgets and set early foundations for effective campaigns.

Giving Circles leaders who live in Minnesota told us about how different the races felt from prior cycles because they could see and hear state legislative messaging in their communities for the first time.

We supported historic investments in television ads that were unique to each district and tested before they aired in critical markets for Senate races. State legislative candidates had never before been on broadcast television in Minnesota!

We were also able to support polling and research that helped guide decision-making down the stretch.

Local broadcast journalists make effective state legislative candidates — they build careers sharing news stories, so they understand local issues and are well-known to voters. Rob Kupec served Senate District 4 as a weatherman on broadcast television for more than 20 years, so we worked with our in-state partners to fuel investment in his race. He held a seat that had been redistricted for the rightwing by just over 1,700 votes!

“My sense of gratitude is only matched by my sense of determination. I promise from my first day in the State Senate, I won’t stop working to make Western Minnesota a better, safer, more prosperous place to live, work, and raise a family.”

—ROB KUPEC, ELECTED TO SERVE SENATE DISTRICT 4

## The Path to Power

In the Minnesota Senate, Judy Seeberger, a teacher, paramedic advocate, mom and military wife won District 41, the tie-breaking seat in the Senate, by 321 votes. Just 161 voters changing could have prevented the new majority in the Minnesota Senate.



“I am not afraid to stand up for what is right — even if it comes at personal cost. I believe politicians should seek to improve the lives of their constituents and their state, and I pledge to do exactly that. After all, helping people is what I do.”

—JUDY SEEBERGER, ELECTED TO SERVE SENATE DISTRICT 41

In the House, three candidates won seats needed to hold the majority — Jeff Brand, who was redistricted to a new seat, won HD-18A; Matt Norris won Twin Cities’ HD-32B; and Jerry Newton won open seat HD-35B.

If 737 votes had gone the other way, the chamber would be under rightwing control.



“I am excited to represent the people of District 18A and the people across Minnesota. Let’s make the next two years about something good we can do together, and not more fear, division and tearing down each other. Simply put — our kids are watching.”

—JEFF BRAND, ELECTED TO SERVE HOUSE DISTRICT 18A

## A Pivotal Moment in Our Minnesota Campaign

Giving Circles raised the first Minnesota investment, long before most people were thinking about giving political dollars. Thanks to those funds, our in-state partners were able to hire skilled staff months earlier than they had ever had in previous cycles. This kind of early investment was unprecedented in Minnesota, and the outcome was phenomenal — a new trifecta, governing control in both chambers and the gubernatorial seat. Giving Circles seeded this success!



“

“The value of our partnership with The States Project can’t be overstated. They helped us modernize our campaign’s structure and operations to help us make smarter decisions.

“From the first staffers we hired back in 2021, The States Project helped us hit the ground running, building momentum much earlier than we were ever able to before.

“We knew early in the election cycle that this was going to be an uphill battle. The strategic efforts from this partnership ensured our races were competitive and helped power the new trifecta.”

—SENATOR KARI DZEIDZIC, NEW MINNESOTA SENATE MAJORITY LEADER, RE-ELECTED TO SERVE SENATE DISTRICT 60

## The Future

What will Minnesota’s new trifecta be able to do with governing control of the legislature? Here are policies that have been introduced in the past but couldn’t pass without governing power.

- Protect reproductive healthcare for millions as the state is now a destination for patients from surrounding states — Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota — seeking access to safe, legal medical care.
- Support working families with paid family leave.
- Invest in clean energy to spur innovation and revenue, build resilient infrastructure and lower costs for all Minnesotans.

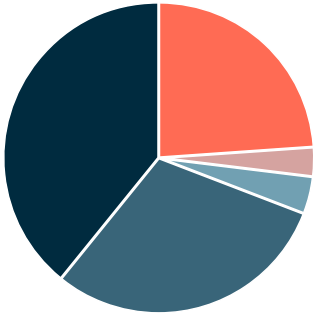
# By the Numbers

## Our Work in Minnesota

- **2022**  
In our first cycle in Minnesota, we won the Senate and held the House to create a new trifecta!

## What Our Dollars Fueled

- Digital 24%
- Mail 3%
- Research 4%
- Staffing Program 30%
- Television 39%



**Digital:** Primarily non-skippable pre-roll advertising

**Mail:** Mail pieces in districts with gaps in the final weeks of their mail program to ensure late-deciding voters in key races were seeing critical final messages in their mailboxes.

**Research:** Funding high-quality data — polling and district modeling — to help drive decision-making

**Staffing Program:** Skilled campaign staff to work across key districts

**Television:** Audience-tested ads on cable or broadcast TV

**CHAMBER**  
The State House

**GOAL**  
Defend Governing Control

**STRATEGY**  
Prevent 3 Losses

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS LOST\***  
0

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY\***  
529 voters across 3 districts

**RACES WON OR LOST WITHIN 5%\***  
15

**OUTCOME**  
Majority Protected!

**CHAMBER**  
The State Senate

**GOAL**  
Shift Power

**STRATEGY**  
Gain 3 Seats

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS GAINED\***  
+3

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY\***  
161 voters across 1 district

**RACES WON OR LOST WITHIN 5%\***  
4

**OUTCOME**  
A New Majority!

\*Based on certified results, but there are two House races where Republicans lead by 35 votes or less that will be recounted.

# Giving Circle Spotlight

From that first, pivotal contribution to actually volunteering to knock doors, to the final investment needed to keep Minnesota House digital ads online in the weekend before the election, Minnesota Giving Circles were completely invested in achieving our goals in the state.



“

“It’s been about creating community, and also, hope.

“We’ve created community with The States Project’s staff, other Giving Circle Leaders, and especially of course our 114 Giving Circle members. We have monthly online education and fundraising events. We have a Facebook Group and a newsletter to share updates and volunteer opportunities, and we have monthly potluck dinners. We really hope and plan to keep our Circle going beyond this one election.

“We’re surrounded on several sides by very red states. We’re a sanctuary state for women seeking reproductive healthcare — a lot of states surrounding us are banning abortion, so we are sort of an island of hope.”

—PAULA  
Co-leader, SEEDMN Giving Circle

Pictured: A ‘Seed Pod’ potluck dinner at the house of SeedMN and SeedPod Leaders Roger Hurd and Tamara Nelson. This is a group of about 10-12 folks who regularly gather to socialize, discuss the Circle’s progress and needs, and also to plan and debrief on volunteer activities for candidates.

# Our Impact in Nebraska

## NEBRASKA GIVING CIRCLES

Nebraskans For Democracy

## KEY PARTNERSHIP

Vote Save America

“

“For about 30 years I’ve been active in Nebraska Democratic politics, and I can tell you this is the most excitement we’ve had on the ground in probably 20 years. The most possibility of success and growth going forward. And part of that — a huge part of that — is the interest of The States Project.”

—SENATOR JOHN CAVANAUGH  
Re-elected to Serve Senate District 9





# The Story in Nebraska

Our goal going into Nebraska was to prevent a supermajority by protecting every seat in Nebraska’s 17-member minority in this unicameral legislature.

What kinds of policies has this minority blocked?

An extreme abortion ban, tax breaks for contributions to private schools, the carrying of concealed weapons without a state license or required training.

The 17-seat minority was right at the threshold to block policies that would infringe on the rights and freedoms of Nebraskans. We could not afford to lose a single seat.

And at stake in the 2024 presidential election — the ability to prevent any laws seeking to overturn the will of the voters by reassigning how electoral votes are allotted *after* an election has taken place.

The strategy in the state was to protect vulnerable incumbents while evaluating other districts to determine where a seat could be gained after the state’s redistricting process.

Due to the tight nature of the races and their outcomes, it’s clear that district selection was a critical element of success. While candidates we supported did not win every race, **they won the ones that mattered most to prevent a supermajority.**

### The Path to Power

With half of the legislature up for election, the minority’s current 17 seats were right at the threshold — one-third of the lawmakers in the legislature — to block the most extreme policies from being enacted.

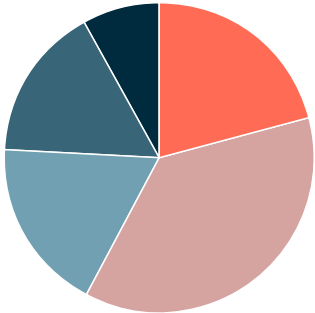
When the rightwing won SD-12 by ~500 votes, preventing the supermajority came down to one of the tightest races we worked on in 2022. **John Frederickson, a mental health professional, won SD-20 to hold the necessary 17th seat by 69 votes.**

On the eve of the election, Frederickson posted [this thread](#).

# By the Numbers

## What Our Dollars Fueled

- Digital 21%
- Door Knocking Challenge 37%
- Get Out The Vote 18%
- Mail 16%
- Partner Staffing 8%



**Digital:** Primarily non-skippable pre-roll advertising

**Door Knocking Challenge:** Instead of dialing for dollars, candidates participating in this signature program earn campaign contributions while meeting their voters face-to-face

**Get Out The Vote:** Investments in social pressure mail, the highest impact get-out-the-vote tactic, to increase turnout amongst key groups of voters

**Mail:** Mail pieces in districts with gaps in the final weeks of their mail program to ensure late-deciding voters in key races were seeing critical final messages in their mailboxes.

**Partner Staffing:** Resourcing an in-state partner with skilled campaign staff



John Frederickson @JohnforNE

On the eve of the Election, I want to take a quick moment of gratitude to reflect on the last 13 months of campaigning.

There have been so many incredible moments on this ride, and I want to highlight a few below: 📖

## Our Work in Nebraska

- 2022 In our first year in Nebraska, we prevented a rightwing supermajority.

CHAMBER  
NE Legislature

GOAL  
Hold Ground

STRATEGY  
Prevent 1 Loss

NET NUMBER OF SEATS LOST  
0

CHAMBER DECIDED BY  
41 voters across 1 district

RACES WON OR LOST  
WITHIN 5%  
5

OUTCOME  
Supermajority Prevented!

John Frederickson @JohnforNE  
Getting out on the doors & connecting with voters.

Hands down, this has been the best part of campaigning - engaging in thoughtful conversations relevant to the lives of all of our families. We knocked 32,823 doors + I couldn't be prouder of our team. LD20 is a special place!

John Frederickson @JohnforNE  
Connecting with incredible campaign volunteers, who have knocked countless doors, made many many phone calls, and written more postcards than I ever thought possible. I'm so grateful for your work and belief in a Nebraska where the Good Life is an opportunity for everyone!



**Quote from Senator Wendy DeBoer, who was re-elected to serve SD-10 by ~900 votes, on the importance of upholding our democracy.**

“This morning Lou Ann Goding graciously called to congratulate me on winning re-election. I want to thank her for a hard fought race and for her dedication to our state.

**“Democracy is fragile, but I am constantly hopeful when good folks like Mrs. Goding show up, do the work, and participate in our electoral system.**

“I also want to express my deep honor and gratitude that the people of District 10 have again put their trust in me. I will continue to give my entire heart and everything I have to be the best Senator I can possibly be for everyone in our district and throughout Nebraska.”

# Giving Circle Spotlight

**Interview with Andrew, co-leader  
Nebraskans for Democracy Giving  
Circle**

**Why did you choose Nebraska?**

*I grew up in Omaha and still have deep ties there with family and friends. I continue to care about its future and when I saw TSP chose NE as a state to target, I wanted to engage my network.*

**What did you enjoy most about leading a Giving Circle?**

*Rallying the troops and trying to get as many like-minded people to join the crusade and spread the word. I needed to educate on the ever-growing importance of state legislatures and get folks to wrap their heads around the dangers of a supermajority that was on the line.*

**Will you come back to work with TSP in future elections?**

*Of course. I’ve learned so much about the amazing work being done across the country by TSP and I’m inspired by the results from the midterms. But I know there is still much work to be done.*

# Our Impact in Nevada

## NEVADA GIVING CIRCLES

Downtown Nasty Women Social Group • Jane's Giving Circle

## KEY PARTNERSHIP

Vote Save America

“

“The value that you all have brought to the effort this year is huge, and it’s really helping us build one of the biggest programs we’ve ever done. We need to hold our legislatures where we can and grow our majorities in other places. The policy outcomes that come from that end up being some of the most impactful policy work that’s happening around the country, and it’s only possible if we hold onto our gains and build on them.”

—PETER KOLTAK

Senate Director, NV Legislative Victory



# The Story in Nevada

There can be no greater validation of the impact of The States Project's intervention to hold state legislative majorities in Nevada than this: while the rightwing won the governor's race and came within 1 percent of taking Nevada's U.S. Senate seat, **we helped *expand* both majorities in the state legislature — which in 2018 became the country's first woman-majority legislature.**

In the State Senate, Senators Marilyn Dondero Loop (SD-8) and Melanie Scheible (SD-9) defended their seats. Julie Pazina was elected to serve SD-12. But a new majority would control the chamber if just 3,129 voters had gone the other way across these three districts.

**With these wins, TSP-supported candidates netted two new seats in the Senate and are just one seat away from a veto-proof supermajority in the legislature.**

In the State Assembly, we went into the election needing to avoid four losses. **Our candidates held every vulnerable seat, picked up two new seats, and gained a supermajority.**

## The Game Plan

Much of our work in Nevada was about protecting incumbents, but it was also critical to identify any seats that we could potentially pick up. Thanks to Giving Circles, which powered our investment in the state, we were able to fuel campaigns

in the most crucial districts to help maintain both majorities.

**All of the candidates we supported across both chambers won their elections with margins within 8 percent of the vote.**

## The Path to Power

In these 2022 elections, six of the candidates we supported faced opponents who denied that President Biden is the rightful president. All six won their elections against these extremists, including Julie Pazina, who was elected to serve Senate District 12.



"It is truly the honor of my life-time to represent my neighbors in SD-12. I will work my hardest to create good paying jobs, a world class education for our students, a healthier climate future and to support working families. The work begins!"

—JULIE PAZINA, ELECTED TO SERVE  
SENATE DISTRICT 12



"Assembly District 5 is important to me, not for political gain, but because this has been my home for years. Here are the businesses that I am a patron of, here are the students I have taught, here are the friends that I've made. I care deeply about the education, economy, safety, and overall welfare of our Assembly District 5."

—ASSEMBLYWOMAN BRITTNEY  
MILLER, RE-ELECTED TO SERVE  
ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 5



"We're the last line here. **We've got to hold this line because we're that close to just turning into a state that doesn't value people, education, or freedom.** I am so thankful that The States Project has decided to invest in Nevada, we frankly just could not do this without the financial support that comes from The States Project and its Giving Circles.

"And I'll tell you, for our members, it has been highly encouraging for me to be able to say, 'Look it's not just us here; we have a whole nation of people who are supportive of the policies we're bringing, of the work that we're doing.' It really does have a motivating factor."

—REPRESENTATIVE STEVE YEAGER,  
NEVADA CAUCUS LEADER, RE-ELECTED  
TO ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 9

## Personal is Political: Tragedy to Policy that Protects Nevadans

Shortly after **Assemblywoman Sandra Jauregui** was first elected to serve Assembly District 41, in 2017, she attended the Route 91 Harvest festival in Las Vegas, where a gunman opened fire, killing nearly 60 people and wounding more than 400.

In 2019, she was able to pass commonsense background checks on gun sales. Her leadership has saved lives.

Assemblywoman Jauregui was re-elected to continue serving her district in 2022.



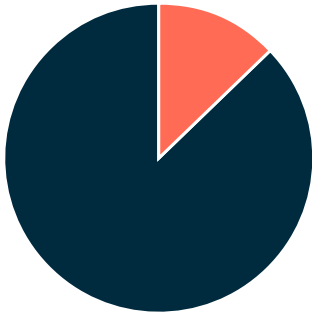
# By the Numbers

## What Our Dollars Fueled

- Candidate Contributions 13%
- Digital 87%

Candidate Contributions: Contributions to candidates' campaigns

Digital: Primarily non-skippable pre-roll advertising



## Giving Circle Spotlight

“Our mission has always been to support women’s rights and marginalized communities. That’s why we chose to work in Nevada, to help protect its strong voter rights and abortion access laws. Nevada is surrounded by red states that are dismantling abortion rights, so it has become a sanctuary state for women needing abortions and other reproductive healthcare.

“We are committed to working with TSP in future elections. We initially partnered with TSP for many reasons, but the most important was that our core values were aligned, and that remains true today.”

— KIM

Giving Circle Leader, Downtown Nasty Women Social Group

## Our Work in Nevada

● 2022

In our first election cycle in Nevada, we helped defend both chambers.

CHAMBER  
The State Assembly

GOAL  
Defend Power

STRATEGY  
Prevent 4 Losses

NET NUMBER OF SEATS GAINED  
+2

CHAMBER DECIDED BY  
3,536 voters across 7 districts

OUTCOME  
Majority Protected!

CHAMBER  
The State Senate

GOAL  
Defend Power

STRATEGY  
Prevent 2 Losses

NET NUMBER OF SEATS GAINED  
+1

CHAMBER DECIDED BY  
3,129 voters across 3 districts

OUTCOME  
Majority Protected!

# Our Impact in North Carolina

## NORTH CAROLINA GIVING CIRCLES

A & L's States Project Giving Circle • Action > Despair • Allie's Giving Circle • Blue Devils for NC • Bluebirds • Cardinal Points: North Carolina • Democracy Sprint NC States Project Earth and Education For All • Fighting for Justice in the States • Grace's Birthday Giving Circle • JaneDAO: A Movement to Protect Reproductive Rights • Los Angeles Giving Circle Lynne's Giving & Engagement Circle — Finer in Carolina • Mad Moms • Maggie and Nicole's Giving Circle • NC — Fighting for our Future • NC Canaries • North Carolina — for the People, by the People • Politica NC 2022 • San Francisco Black and Jewish Unity Coalition • Save NC • Save Our States • Seniors Taking Action • Take Back Our States To What End (the Patriarchy) • Treat People with Kindness • We Want Our State Back Woodmont Permaculture Giving Circle

## KEY PARTNERSHIP

Vote Save America

“

“We’re not going for a majority in North Carolina, and on the surface that can seem boring. But there is so much at stake if the governor loses his veto power. There are basic things — reproductive rights, voting rights, public education funding — on the chopping block all of the time in the state.”

—MARYLI SECREST

Regional Political Director, The States Project



# The Story in North Carolina

After the State Supreme Court prevented an extreme Republican gerrymander earlier this year, new maps were enacted. In what we fully expected to be a tough year, we anticipated tight races in North Carolina. After the State Supreme Court prevented an extreme Republican gerrymander earlier this year, we believed that there were paths for the rightwing to regain supermajorities in both chambers.

We needed to block a supermajority in one chamber to protect Governor Cooper’s veto power against a radical agenda that includes abortion bans and anti-voter policies. We saw a clearer path to our goal in the State House where we needed to prevent losing three seats.

Unfortunately, because there wasn’t a majority to defend or challenge in North Carolina, this wasn’t a chamber that attracted investment from other national groups until later in the race. Our earliest investments seeded programs that helped

make these races more competitive, which then attracted other donors to invest.

In key races, we made sure that our in-state partners were as close to parity as possible with Republicans in terms of spending on TV. The fact that our support allowed candidates’ messages to get out on TV in some crucial districts was critical to blocking the rightwing supermajority in the House.

With a net of -2, we were able to hold off a supermajority in North Carolina. **We preserved enough power to stave off what would have been a devastating rightwing victory.**

**The Game Plan**

Every one of the districts targeted in North Carolina was a tight race. Our in-state partners needed the widest path possible to prevent losing three seats — no close races could be left on the table.

**Layering television with digital ads** in North Carolina was essential to meeting voters with candidates’ messages. Our investment got candidates in critical districts up on TV. Our resources and expertise allowed in-state partners to add digital ads to ensure as many campaign touches as possible, and to help reach the younger populations in key districts.

**The Path to Power**

**Diamond Staton-Williams**, in HD-73, won her race — the district that prevented a rightwing supermajority — by 629 votes. In addition to our candidate contribution fueled by Giving Circles, she received donations from Give Smart — where members of The States Project community give directly to candidates — which bolstered investment in her race so she could invest in TV ads at parity with her competitor.

# By the Numbers

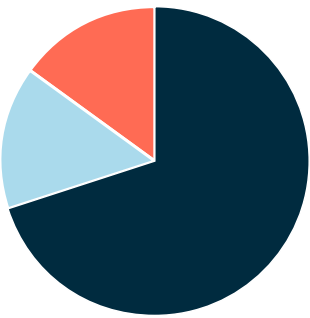
## What Our Dollars Fueled

- Candidate Contributions 15%
- Digital 15%
- Television 70%

**Candidate Contributions:** Contributions directly to candidates’ campaigns

**Digital:** Primarily non-skippable pre-roll advertising

**Television:** Ads on cable or broadcast TV



“Our campaign wasn’t just a campaign. It was a movement. Communities with little in common but a desire for something better for the next generation came together.”

—DIAMOND STATON-WILLIAMS, ELECTED TO SERVE HOUSE DISTRICT 73

## Our Work in North Carolina

- 2018**  
Ended rightwing supermajorities
- 2020**  
Prevented supermajorities
- 2022**  
Prevented a supermajority in the House to protect Governor Cooper’s vetoes!

**CHAMBER**  
The State House

**GOAL**  
Prevent a Supermajority

**STRATEGY**  
Prevent 3 Losses

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS LOST**  
-2

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY**  
315 voters across 1 district

**RACES WON OR LOST WITHIN 5%**  
9

**OUTCOME**  
Supermajority Prevented!

# New Faces in the North Carolina House



Longtime county commissioner, farmer, and community advocate **Ray Jeffers** was elected to serve House District 2, the district in which he was born and raised.



“I am honored to have won an election to the North Carolina House. My heartfelt thanks to volunteers and voters who invested time in our democracy and have faith in positive change. To everyone in Person and Durham counties, I look forward to representing and supporting you!”



“I promise to roll-up my sleeves and get to work on the issues that matter to South Charlotte, Matthews, and all corners of District 103. Working families need someone who will fight for our schools, our local economy, and our community. I will be a strong voice in Raleigh to represent the unique needs of our district and make sure our state government is working for you!”



**Laura Budd** was elected to serve House District 103 by less than 5 percent of the vote.

# Giving Circle Spotlight

THE STATES PROJECT IN THE MEDIA

## VOICES: Elders organize to defend democracy in the states

A FACING SOUTH OP-ED WRITTEN BY A NORTH CAROLINA  
GIVING CIRCLE LEADER

“For the dozens of members in my Giving Circle, protecting democracy is a daily effort through writing postcards, making phone calls, and otherwise investing our time, money, and lived experiences as part of a unified front.”



North Carolinian Ilene is a mother of two and grandmother to six, working to engage other seniors in activism at the state level. She co-leads the Seniors Taking Action Giving Circle to help support state legislative candidates committed to improving lives.

READ THE OP-ED

# Our Impact in Pennsylvania

## PENNSYLVANIA GIVING CIRCLES

Across State Lines • Act Now...Our Democracy Depends on it • Adopt Pennsylvania • All Friends United • Amanda and Michelle's Giving Circle • Andrea's Pennsylvania Giving Circle • Andrew's Giving Circle • Anger into Action Caroline, Nicki & Melissa's Channel Your Rage Giving Circle • Creatives for Democracy • Doing Yinz Best in the 'Burgh • Dollars for Democracy (Dana) • Fiona's birthday Giving Circle to make PA a better state • Fired Up for Democracy • Flipping Seats for PA • Forever35 Podcast Giving Circle • From the PNW, with love • Go Blue PA GoodTrouble • Help Save Democracy • Impact Intent • Impact The States • IndivisibleWeStand • JAC's Giving Circle • Justice for All • Kelly's Giving Circle • Local Level Donors • Markers For Democracy • nolite te bastardec carborundorum • Nothing Compares 2 Flipping PA Blue • Ordinary Folks Fight for Democracy! • Our Strategic Giving Circle: Leveraging Power in State Legislatures • PA Say Gay • Paint a State Blue! • Pennsylvania Power People for Pennsylvania • Pitch in for Pennsylvania • Purple to Blue • Sarah's Giving Circle • Save Democracy Now SaveYourState22 • Saving Democracy in Pennsylvania • Solidarity Across the States 2022 • State by State State Democracy Matters! • State Fair • Steffanie's Giving Circle • Stop the Spiral • Summit Marches On Giving Circle The Blue Wave • The Fight of Our Lives • The Shirtwaists • The Wednesday Group • Tracy Place Giving Circle Voters for Harlow • Wake Up PA! • WNY supporting the State of PA

## KEY PARTNERSHIPS

National Democratic Redistricting Committee • Vote Save America

“

“There aren't many national groups that focus on state legislatures, yet when we talk about the greatest threats to democracy, they come from state capitols. The partnership with The States Project was critical to our entire operation. From ensuring best practices to their financial support to their true partnership to work with us, it's all a huge value add to our efforts.”

—TREVOR SOUTHERLAND

Executive Director, Pennsylvania House Democratic Campaign Committee





# The Story in Pennsylvania

There was no doubt that Pennsylvania would be key to any plans to steal the presidency in 2024. The rightwing’s gubernatorial candidate, a former state lawmaker, was subpoenaed by the January 6th committee for his actions at the Capitol.

We knew that to have any chance to protect our democracy, we needed to end rightwing control of at least one chamber in the Pennsylvania legislature by 2024. But, as national funders largely ignored Pennsylvania state legislative races in these elections, it was clear that not everyone believed winning a majority in the State House was possible. With the fairest maps in decades, we knew that investment in 2022 races was critical if we wanted to keep the chamber within striking distance in the next election.

**Our candidates gained the 12 seats needed for governing control.**

Our investment, and the momentum we built in the state, paid off with new governing power in the House for the first time since 2010. With the House majority and a Democratic governor, more policies that protect freedoms in the state — like choice and democracy — are possible.

**Holding this majority will not be easy.** Next year, there will be three special elections for districts that the majority won that are now vacant. Our continued work in the state will be critical to keeping governing control of the chamber.

## The Game Plan

We worked with our in-state partners to support a full program in Pennsylvania, layering effective messages through tactics that reinforced each other as they met voters across a variety of platforms:

**Building Infrastructure Through Smart Staffing:** A partnership with Blue Leadership Collaborative (BLC) helped our in-state partners recruit and retain skilled campaign managers in key races. BLC identifies and trains leaders from all backgrounds, equipping them with education and mentorship to run winning campaigns.

**Door Knocking — The Most Important Tactic In Pennsylvania This Cycle:** There is tremendous value in a candidate meeting voters at the doors and listening to their concerns. Studies show that candidates are the best members of their campaigns to change a voter’s decision at the ballot box; they are the persuasion knock.

We implemented our signature Door Knocking Challenge between July and October, allowing candidates to raise dollars for their campaigns by meeting monthly door-knocking targets instead of dialing for dollars. In the first month alone, participants more than quadrupled their goals. **By November, our candidates had knocked on more than 151,000 doors.**

**Tested Messaging on Broadcast TV:** In Pennsylvania, home to several major media markets, we knew TV could be a

game changer. For the first time ever at the state legislative level, TSP made ad testing possible. Every TV ad that we fueled was tested before it was broadcasted, to ensure campaigns were running the most effective messages that would net the most votes.

**Local Media Support:** The States Project fueled media specialists in Pennsylvania to support local news outreach for 12 candidates running in vulnerable seats. Eight of the candidates who participated in the program won their elections, including Lisa Borowski, who won HD-168.

THE 19th\*

This article in *the 19th* highlights how abortion and reproductive health played a key role in Pennsylvania elections this year, and in Borowski’s race.

READ THE ARTICLE

## The Path to Power

In Pennsylvania, The States Project was the top funder in state legislative races, spending 80 times what the next largest group invested in the state. In a midterm where every seat in the House was up for election, we believed that we could help make enough progress toward winning the 12 seats needed for an outright majority by 2024.

Within a week of the election, TSP-supported candidates won 11 seats. We anxiously waited for results in two key races: Mark Moffa in HD-142 and Missy Cerrato in HD-151.

- After every ballot was counted, Moffa conceded as it appeared that he was down by 59 votes.
- Cerrato, however, won her seat — the tipping point 12th seat that shifted the chamber majority — by 63 votes.



“I have spent months reminding voters of the importance of their votes and assuring them that every vote matters. Now that every eligible vote has been counted, it is my great honor to accept the results of this election and step forward as the next state representative of Pennsylvania’s 151st House District.”

—MISSY CERRATO, ELECTED TO SERVE HOUSE DISTRICT 151

## A Pivotal Moment in Our Pennsylvania Campaign

Long before Pennsylvania’s redistricting was completed, before candidates even filed to run, Giving Circles powered The States Project’s earliest work in the state. A year and a half ahead of the election, Giving Circles fueled a historic deep-canvassing program geared towards understanding the most critical issues for voters in key districts in the state.

This program was an innovation at the state legislative level. Before maps were finalized, we worked with our in-state partners to focus strategically on areas we predicted would become the most competitive state legislative districts. Our in-state partners on this project helped ensure that any insights generated directly shaped the persuasive messaging used by candidates and campaigns in these key districts.

And there was another critical benefit. In Pennsylvania, staff from the deep-canvassing program were able to transition into campaigns — folks who had already been working to engage voters in key districts since 2021 brought that on-the-ground knowledge and experience from day one.

## The Future

In 2020, when we helped to hold ground in the Pennsylvania House, minority lawmakers elected Pennsylvania’s first-ever Black woman Minority Leader, Joanna McClinton, a critical voice in the state who became the highest-ranking woman to serve in the General Assembly’s 244 years.

She could be the first Black woman to serve as Pennsylvania’s Speaker of the House.



“I am so completely grateful for our partnership with The States Project. You have been with us now; this is the second cycle — we are only in the position we’re in because of your support. You made not the difference — **you made the day.** We would have been completely dark for months going into November if it wasn’t for your investment.”

—HOUSE DEMOCRATIC LEADER JOANNA MCCLINTON, RE-ELECTED TO SERVE HOUSE DISTRICT 191



“I’m happy to share that I am the first Democratic Woman, first Latina to serve as PA State Representative for the 129th District! Thank you to everyone who voted for me, volunteered and believed in me! We did it, we made HERstory!”

—JOHANNY CEPEDA-FREYTIZ, ELECTED TO SERVE HOUSE DISTRICT 129

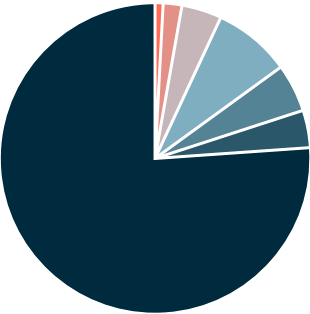
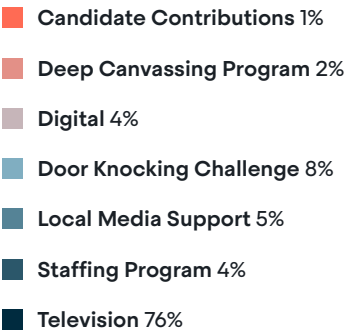


“All I can say is thank you. I am humbled to be elected to represent the people of HD-168 in the State House. I promise to show up and stand up for you every day.”

—LISA BOROWSKI, ELECTED TO SERVE HOUSE DISTRICT 168

# By the Numbers

## What Our Dollars Fueled



**Candidate Contributions:** Contributions directly to candidates' campaigns

**Deep Canvassing Program:** Long-form conversations with voters to ensure candidates are using the most effective messages.

**Digital:** Primarily non-skippable pre-roll advertising

**Door Knocking Challenge:** Instead of dialing for dollars, candidates participating in this signature program earn

campaign contributions while meeting their voters face-to-face

**Local Media Support:** Media specialists who work directly with in-state partners on placing stories — op-eds, interviews, news articles — in local press

**Staffing Program:** Skilled campaign staff to work across key districts

**Television:** Audience-tested ads on cable or broadcast TV

## An Update From the New Pennsylvania Majority!



## Our Work in Pennsylvania

- 2020**  
Helped hold ground gained since 2016. Won 2 House seats, 1 district never won by a Democrat, and an open seat President Biden carried by less than 1%.
- 2022**  
Invested more than 80 times what the next group contributed; **won a new majority in the House.**

**CHAMBER**  
The State House

**GOAL**  
Gain Ground

**STRATEGY**  
Win 12 New Seats by 2024

**NET NUMBER OF SEATS GAINED**  
+12

**CHAMBER DECIDED BY**  
32 voters across 1 district

**RACES WON OR LOST WITHIN 5%**  
8

**OUTCOME**  
A New House Majority!

\*Based on results as of December 1, 2022.

# The Power of Door Knocking

On Election Day, some of the earliest tossup races called in Pennsylvania were for candidates who were among the highest performers in our Door Knocking Challenge.

On his way to winning House District 30, emergency room physician **Dr. Arvind Venkat** knocked on nearly 25,000 doors as part of our Door Knocking Challenge. Having treated a patient in his ER who had a back-alley abortion, he decided to run as an advocate for access to safe, legal abortions in Pennsylvania.

*"I got into this race because I saw over the last few years how we needed new leadership who was going to bring to our community an emphasis on lifting up the least among us. When we do that, we do the best for all of us."*

**—DR. ARVIND VENKAT, ELECTED TO SERVE HOUSE DISTRICT 30**

**Arvind Venkat** @VenkatforPA  
Wore out my shoes knocking on thousands of doors & speaking with thousands of voters in #PAHD30. Look forward to wearing out my new pair from now to Election Day! Grassroots outreach matters! Please join our canvassing efforts - [mobilize.us/venkatforpa/ev...](https://mobilize.us/venkatforpa/ev...) & [mobilize.us/venkatforpa/ev...](https://mobilize.us/venkatforpa/ev...)



**Paul Takac** @PaulTakac\_PA  
Gorgeous afternoon to be outside for a walk. Door to door that is - meeting neighbors and finding out what they want from their representative in Harrisburg.

#TeamTakac #HD82 #Canvassing #Springhassprung



**Paul Takac**, who beat an election-denying opponent to win House District 82, said that he learned a lot from the voters he met while knocking on almost 10,000 doors in his campaign:

*"We need to better support working families and local communities. We need to invest in education, full and fair funding at all levels of education. We need to address climate change and environmental justice, and we need to protect individual rights."*

**—PAUL TAKAC, ELECTED TO SERVE HOUSE DISTRICT 82**

TSP's Door Knocking Challenge participants accounted for **94%** of the total doors knocked in nearly every competitive PA House race!

# Giving Circle Spotlight

**Giving Circles' early, sustained investment in Pennsylvania was key to winning the House.**

In 2020, Giving Circles helped us hold ground in the Pennsylvania legislature — not an exciting result, but a critical one that made victory in 2022 possible.

In 2021, understanding how crucial the state would be for protecting our democracy, Pennsylvania Giving Circles went to work, investing in that first deep canvassing program that was pivotal to so much of our work in 2022. **This investment was about more than supporting individual candidates; it built power for the ideas that would resonate with voters in a tough election year.**



“

“There are examples all over the world of people fighting for their basic human rights. Here in America, we have the privilege to have a delicate democracy, but a democracy, in place. And we have the infrastructure to create change. So who are we not to get involved?”

“That’s why the Giving Circles, and this work with The States Project, is so incredibly important.”

— RENEÉ

Giving Circle Leader, Pitch for Pennsylvania

Pictured: Reneé, leader of Pitch for Pennsylvania, participating in a fundraising walkathon.

# Targeted Spend Chambers:

Alaska, Colorado,  
New Hampshire,  
and Wisconsin

This year The States Project made narrow, targeted investments in chambers where, by collaborating with in-state leadership or partner organizations to fill a specific gap, our support could make a difference.

# Alaska:

## Secure a Bipartisan Coalition

In Alaska, it was critical to help voters understand the new ranked-choice system of voting, which removed some ability by the radical right to primary candidates who showed interest in joining the bipartisan coalition that stands against the rightwing governor.

So far, **in the Alaska State Senate, all nine Democrats and eight of 11 Republicans have formed a bipartisan coalition, leaving three rightwing state senators in the minority.** While this coalition will only be finalized when members formally convene at the start of the next session, leadership roles and a committee structure have been negotiated by the new coalition.

Although potential members of an Alaska State House coalition have already met, we will not know whether the coalition will be rebuilt until lawmaker negotiations are completed, and that could happen at any moment. Given the way things stand, rebuilding the coalition in the Alaska House is possible but unlikely.



**Matt Claman** was elected to serve Senate District 00H, a seat that was not projected to go for a coalition candidate, by 612 votes. He is expected to lead the Judiciary Committee when the Senate finalizes the coalition in January.

“Moving forward, we must pivot away from hyper-partisanship to build Alaska’s future. I welcome the responsibility of working respectfully and diligently with all members of the Legislature who are focused on uniting our great state.”



“Thank you for your support of our electoral work. We’re grateful for your confidence in our ranked-choice voting strategy, and for all your work toward building a coalition in our state legislature.”

—CHANTAL DE ALCUAZ, CO-EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE ALASKA CENTER

# Colorado:

## Protect a Trifecta

### KEY PARTNERSHIP

National Democratic Redistricting Committee

The rightwing saw an opportunity to shift power in Colorado and targeted the State Senate. In that chamber, they were just three seats away from breaking a pro-democracy trifecta, which would make it difficult for the majority to enact critical policies to improve lives in Colorado.

**We partnered with the National Democratic Redistricting Committee to protect the Colorado Senate. And on Election Day, voters expanded the Senate majority by two seats.** They gave more governing power to state lawmakers who had enacted policies to protect water quality in schools and daycares, invested in programs to improve public education, and protected election workers from threats and intimidation.



“We should build on our accomplishments over the last four years. We should be aggressive about our agenda to improve people’s lives and to improve our state. And, most importantly, we should govern as the leaders that Colorado expects and deserves.”

—COLORADO SENATE PRESIDENT STEVE FENBERG,  
SENATE DISTRICT 18

# New Hampshire:

## Governing Control of the House by 2024

### NEW HAMPSHIRE GIVING CIRCLES

Doing our Best New England • Give a Rouse! • Granite State Giving Circle

### KEY PARTNERSHIP

National Democratic Redistricting Committee

New Hampshire has a 400-member House of Representatives (the largest chamber in the country!) and tiny districts with about 3,000 voters that make it a particularly unique body. After redistricting, the clearest path to a new New Hampshire majority was in the State House, so we helped to design a program that could set us on a path to shifting the balance of power in the chamber.

In the critical two weeks leading up to Election Day, Giving Circles fueled our signature Door Knocking Challenge, which incentivizes candidates to spend the majority of their time meeting voters on the doors. Many of the candidates who participated in our Door Knocking Challenge won their seats by narrow margins — that face-to-face contact was game-changing.

- **Zoe Manos (HD-RO 12) knocked 1,545 doors and won by 325 votes**
- **Eric Turer knocked ( HD-RO 6) 484 doors and won by 15 votes**
- **Ben Ming (HD-HI 35) knocked 370 doors and won by 129 votes**
- **Heather Baldwin (HD-GR 4) knocked 465 doors and won by 137 votes**

The New Hampshire House has 400 House Representatives who each earn a \$200 stipend for their 2-year terms — there are often sessions where a number of members are not physically present during voting. With a slim minority in the House, lawmakers can have a significant impact on policy and some ability to protect the most extreme attacks on individual freedoms, like voting and abortion, for all New Hampshire residents.



“We’re really grateful to the States Project for their partnership this cycle. It has really solidified door-knocking as a key strategy, which was already a big part of campaign culture here in New Hampshire. The States Project has pushed us to take our targeted mail program to the next level, too. This transformative program really got voters thinking about our incredible down-ballot candidates and the values they share — and it clearly made a positive impact on Election Day.”

—NEW HAMPSHIRE HOUSE MINORITY LEADER STATE REPRESENTATIVE MATT WILHELM,  
HILLSBOROUGH 40

# Wisconsin:

## Prevent a Supermajority

### KEY PARTNERSHIP

Vote Save America

Wisconsin's maps have been so heavily gerrymandered that while President Biden won the state overall in 2020, he only carried 37 of the 99 districts in the State Assembly.

In 2022, on gerrymandered maps, a supermajority that would cost Governor Tony Evers his veto power was just one seat away in the State Senate and five in the Assembly.

At stake in Wisconsin? A 173-year-old abortion ban becoming law in the aftermath of the fall of *Roe v. Wade*. Public school budgets cut to finance private school vouchers. Overturning common sense gun safety restrictions.

**This is why The States Project teamed up with our partners at Vote Save America: to prevent a supermajority in the Wisconsin Assembly.**

While the rightwing gained the seat they needed in the State Senate, in the Assembly, they could only win three of the five seats they needed — **we helped to stop them from getting to the supermajority threshold and protect Governor Evers' veto power.**



“When 50% of the population loses a concrete right, it motivates them to show up to the polls and make their voices heard. It’s really clear from the elections last night that Wisconsinites are not happy with the direction Republicans have been trying to take this state.”

— ASSEMBLY MINORITY LEADER GRETA NEUBAUER,  
RE-ELECTED TO SERVE ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 66

# A Galvanizing Moment for Giving Circles

At The States Project, we worked tirelessly to educate the public about why the fight to protect our fundamental personal freedoms will be won or lost based on who holds the majorities in state legislatures. And more than 100 Giving Circles formed in response to the fall of Roe.

Overwhelmingly, these Circles were led by women who chose action over despair in a moment that set women's rights back by nearly five decades.

STATES ON THE FRONTLINES

## Protecting Abortion Access

*"The Constitution does not confer a right to abortion; Roe and Casey are overruled; and the authority to regulate abortion is returned to the people and their elected representatives."*

—SUPREME COURT JUSTICE SAMUEL ALITO,  
WRITING FOR THE COURT'S RIGHTWING MAJORITY

When the United States Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade in June of 2022, it dealt a devastating blow to Americans' reproductive freedoms. An abortion ban proposed by rightwing state lawmakers in Mississippi led to this Supreme Court decision that eliminated constitutionally protected abortion access. **State lawmakers now determine reproductive healthcare.**

"Even before Dobbs, we were becoming increasingly aware of the fact that in many states, the far right has been chipping away at a whole slew of rights. I think I looked at The States Project and saw that this is Ground Zero — this is where we have to place our focus."

—BARBARA  
Giving Circle Leader

"As a labor and delivery nurse, I knew just voting wasn't enough anymore. Starting a Giving Circle gave me a way to support candidates who would uphold the will of the people they represent — because most people believe patients should be able to make their own healthcare decisions."

—MARISA  
Giving Circle Leader

"When Roe v Wade was overturned I had just had my second child, so understanding what it was like to have an uncomplicated, planned pregnancy was at the top of my mind. It worried me that for some, routine healthcare could now be decided by strangers at their state capitol."

—NATSUMI  
Giving Circle Leader

## STATE-BY-STATE:

# Building Power for Lawmakers to Protect Choice

In many states, our electoral work powered results that will make it possible for lawmakers to protect the freedom to choose for millions of Americans.

After The States Project helped gain governing power in the **Maine** State Senate in 2018, lawmakers in Augusta expanded access to safe abortions and paid sick leave. This year, we helped to defend the majorities in both chambers — which were top rightwing targets — protecting reproductive healthcare for all Mainers.

Our work to win control of both the State House and State Senate in **Michigan** cleared the path for lawmakers to overturn an archaic 1931 law on the books that criminalizes abortion in the state.

With Roe v. Wade under threat, people from nearby states like North Dakota and South Dakota may be forced to travel to **Minnesota** to access a safe abortion. By helping to win a trifecta in the state, we've helped protect reproductive healthcare for millions in that area of the country.

During the last legislative session, rightwing lawmakers in **Nebraska** tried to pass a trigger ban that would have effectively ended abortion protections in the state when Roe v. Wade was overturned. The bill was prevented by a slim margin of state lawmakers. Our work to prevent a supermajority in the state will protect against the most extreme attacks on Nebraskans' freedom.

Post-Roe in **North Carolina**, the stakes are high as it is one of the last states in the South to have legal abortion access. Our work to prevent a rightwing supermajority protects Gov. Roy Cooper's veto power to block the most restrictive bans.

Before the election, rightwing majorities in **Pennsylvania** were working on advancing an anti-abortion constitutional amendment to attack reproductive healthcare in the state without invoking Governor Wolf's veto power. Our work to help win the State House gives the new majority power to protect abortion for Pennsylvanians and residents of bordering states like West Virginia and Ohio.



## STATES ON THE FRONTLINES

Defending  
Democracy

Defending American democracy drove The States Project's work in 2022. Why? Because since the summer of 2020, our team recognized that the rightwing was laying the groundwork to leverage their state legislative majorities to steal the presidency. The mobs that ravaged the United States Capitol on January 6th, 2021, were calling on Mike Pence to send rightful election results back to the states so that rightwing state majorities could ignore their own voters and select presidential electors for Donald Trump.

When the Supreme Court took up **Moore v. Harper** in 2022, it was clear that the

risks to our democracy were even higher. The case could give state legislatures complete control over federal elections by removing state courts or governors as key checks to state legislative power. In its most extreme form, the court's decision could validate the radical idea that in the midst of fabricated chaos and delays, state lawmakers could ignore the will of their voters and award presidential electors to the candidate of their choice, regardless of who their voters choose.

From anti-voter policies that determine everything from who votes, how we vote, and even how and when votes

are counted, state lawmakers are on the frontlines of defending — or dismantling — democracy as we know it.

**We knew The States Project was uniquely qualified to mount a defense across the most critical state legislatures.** With analyses of every state legislature, expertise in evidenced-based campaign tactics in state legislature races, and crucial relationships that could help protect the future of free and fair elections in this country.

## Our State-by-State Strategy

**Arizona**

In Arizona, where we spent almost 30 times the next largest giver, we focused on holding ground in this critical battleground state. By keeping both chambers within a one seat margin, pro-democracy state lawmakers are in a strong position to work across the aisle to stand against extremist rightwing attempts to overturn rightful, valid election results in 2024. Ultimately this would protect Arizona's 11 electoral votes from being stolen.

**Michigan**

While other groups focused on holding ground in the State House, we saw a path to winning the majority in both chambers, and contributed 8 times the next largest group to caucuses and candidates to help achieve it. We successfully shifted the balance of power in the State House and the State Senate, and, with the reelection of Governor Whitmer, have helped build a new trifecta in Lansing for the first time in nearly 40 years. This new governing power ensures the state's 15 electoral votes will go to the presidential candidate that voters select in 2024.

**Nebraska**

In Nebraska, electoral votes are allocated to the presidential candidate who wins each congressional district. One-third of the legislature can block emergency policies — like reallocating the way electoral votes are assigned after an election has taken place — from being enacted in Nebraska. That's why we focused on defending the 17 seats that pro-democracy lawmakers held going into Election Day. Our work to prevent a supermajority means those lawmakers can protect a single electoral vote in a purple district from being stolen in a narrow presidential race.

**New Hampshire**

In the Granite State, where lawmakers will take office before the presidential safe-harbor deadline, we knew we had two chances to win power ahead of the next presidential election, in 2022 and 2024. We believed that we could shift power in the chamber, and with recounts in several extremely tight races underway, it appears that we're just short of our goal. The good news? Winning out-

right control of this chamber — and protecting four electoral votes — will be just a few seats away in 2024.

**Pennsylvania**

Similarly, in Pennsylvania, we knew that we needed to make progress this November toward winning the State House by 2024. After all the votes were counted, we won the chamber a cycle early, contributing 80 times what the next group contributed. Today, that critical governing power can protect Pennsylvania's 19 electoral votes and make sure they go to the presidential candidate that voters choose in 2024.

**With these results, we are in a better position to defend our democracy than most thought possible on Election Day.** This does not mean that the rightwing's path to stealing the 2024 presidency is closed. But it does mean we've made significant progress toward shoring up our democracy at its foundations: in state legislatures.

# The Tightest Margins

Nearly 60 races across all the closest states were won or lost with margins of less than 5%. And 49 of them? Decided by fewer than 1000 votes. Some of those 49 were losses — **most were wins**. All were incredibly close. **Working in the tightest races is the most critical thing we do to hold or build power.** That’s why your work here matters.

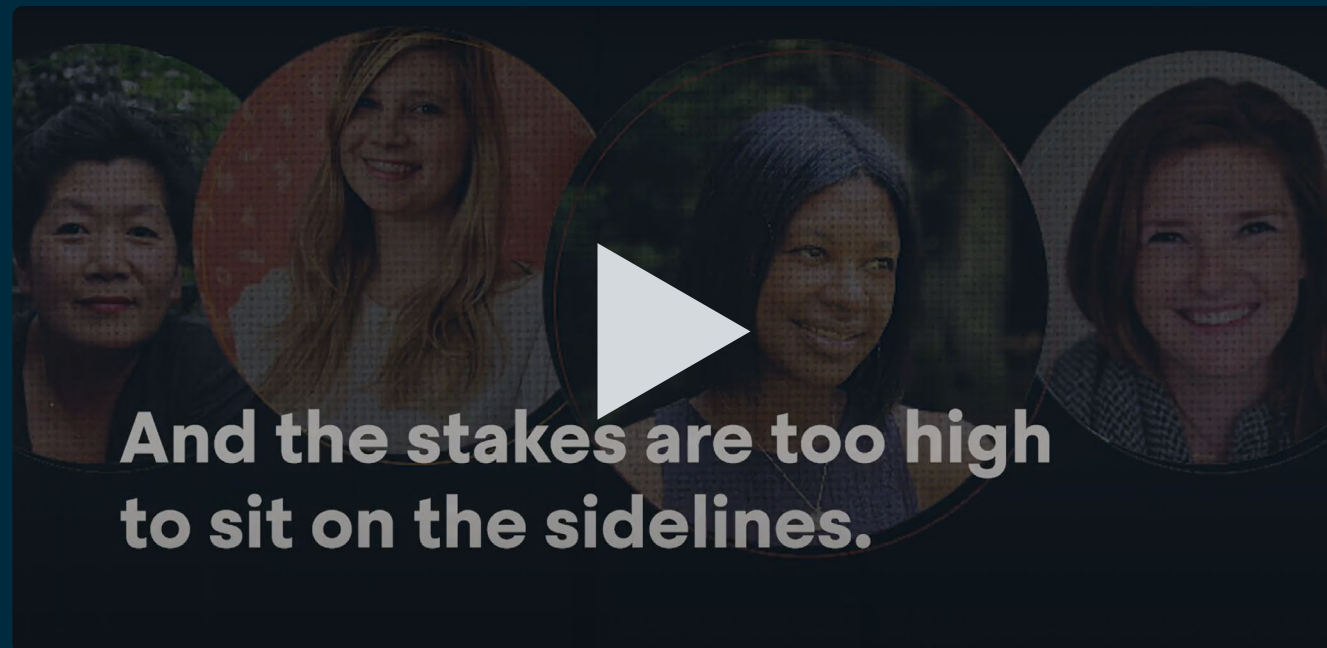
CHAMBER	DISTRICT	CANDIDATE	VOTES THAT DECIDED THE RACE	WIN/LOSS MARGIN
ME Senate	14	Sen. Craig Hickman**	974	4.70%
MI House	58	Rep. Nate Shannon**	939	2.70%
MN House	35A	Rep. Zack Stephenson	856	5.00%
NV Assembly	37	Shea Backus**	806	2.60%
MI House	103	Betsy Coffia**	765	1.40%
AZ House	9	Seth Blattman**	760	1.30%
NV Senate	8	Sen. Marilyn Dondero Loop**	754	1.40%
MN Senate	3	Grant Hauschild	703	1.60%
MI House	27*	Jaime Churches**	660	1.60%
AZ House	16	Keith Seaman**	644	1.00%
NC House	73*	Diamond Staton Williams**	629	2.30%
ME Senate	1	President Troy Jackson	608	3.50%
MN House	14B	Dan Wolgamott	540	3.7%
PA House	144	Brian Munroe	515	1.60%
MN House	32B	Matt Norris	413	2.30%
NV Assembly	35	Asm. Michelle Gorelow**	382	1.60%
ME Senate	26	Timothy Nangle	338	1.80%

CHAMBER	DISTRICT	CANDIDATE	VOTES THAT DECIDED THE RACE	WIN/LOSS MARGIN
MN Senate	41	Judy Seeberger	321	0.80%
MI Senate	12*	Rep. Kevin Hertel**	313	0.3%
ME Senate	16	David LaFountain	306	1.90%
NE Senate	26	George Dungan	179	1.60%
ME House	17	Ronald B. Russell	148	3.20%
NE Senate	20	John Fredrickson	69	0.40%
PA House	151*	Melissa Cerrato	63	0.20%
PA House	142	Mark Moffa	-88	-0.30%
ME House	3	Rep. David McCrea	-110	-2.90%
MN House	41A	Patricia Driscoll	-128	-0.05%
ME Senate	20	Fmr. Rep. Bettyann Sheats	-184	-1.00%
MN Senate	35	Kari Rehrauer	-186	-0.50%
NC House	9	Rep. Brian Farkas	-354	-1.20%
MI Senate	30	Rep. David LaGrand**	-405	-0.30%
NE Senate	12	Robin Richards	-538	-4.90%
NC House	63	Rep. Ricky Hurtado**	-588	-2.20%
MN House	36A	Susie Strom	-642	-2.80%
NC House	98	Former Rep. Christy Clark	-660	-1.90%
PA House	137	Anna Thomas	-703	-2.30%
MI House	28	Rob Kull**	-735	-2.00%
NE Senate	31	Tim Royers	-758	-5.0%
MI Senate	9	Rep. Padma Kuppa**	-795	-0.70%
NE Senate	4	Cindy Maxwell-Ostdiek	-827	-5.00%

\*Seat that decided chamber control.  
\*\*Benefited from TSP’s Give Smart program, which drives online donors’ direct support to candidates in the closest races.

The closest loss and closest win decided the Pennsylvania House!

# To Our Giving Circles



Thank you to all of the Giving Circles who raised dollars for all of our states, to fill gaps where the funds were needed most!

\$350 by 35 • A Brighter Future for Peashoot! • Above the City Circle • Amber Bowles's Giving Circle • Americans Defending Our Democracy • Ann's Giving Circle • Anne's Giving Circle • Ava's Giving Circle • Bebe's Family Better Future For Our Kids Giving Circle • BH bans off our bodies • BigBlueHouse • Blue Hearts for Michigan Blue Revolution Flips A State Legislature Blue • Blue Saguario • Blue Women, Red State • Blues for Democracy and Choice • Bradley, Liles & Friends Giving Circle • Building Power From the Ground Up • Care for Carolina Carla's Giving Circle • Charise's Giving Circle • Christine S's Giving Circle • Code Blue Montana • Comrade Besties • Cyd's Giving Circle • Dan's Giving Circle • DC Blue Wave • Defense Against the 19th Century Fund Doctors for Democracy USA • Drive Across America to Save America • Every Effort Counts • Fallopian's 6:24 • Feliz for Democracy • Fighting Irish • FLIPPING(State)HOUSES! • For Ruth • Fred's Giving Circle • Galvanized Givers Girl and the Gov's Giving Circle • Green Lake Giving Circle • Hi-Dez Mommas • In response to Roe/Down with Dobbs • Indivisible Euclid Giving Circle • Jane's Giving Circle • Jennifer's Giving Circle • JKLM Giving Circle Jonathan's Giving Circle • Josh's Giving Circle • Kaity's Giving Circle • Karen's Giving Circle • Kirstin's Circle Lady Gang • Laura N's Giving Circle • Legislate Local • Let the Sun Shine In! • Lish's Giving Circle • Mama Bears Maria & Ellen's Giving Circle • Marisa's Giving Circle • Marissa's Giving Circle • MaryAnne's Giving Circle Melissa's Giving Circle • Moms on Overtime for Change • Morgan & Barry's Giving Circle • Natasha's Giving Circle Not Impressed • Not Too Late for States • Ohio Women for Blue States • Orange is the New Blue • Orit's Giving Circle • Our Children Deserve Better • Positive Changemakers • Practical Change • Propeller • Rachel's Giving Circle • Raise Your Voice • REAL Change Starts With YOU • Rebecca C's Giving Circle • Rebecca L's Giving Circle Reclaim Democracy Giving Circle • Reproductive Rights PDX • Rick's Giving Circle • RKB's Circle • Roe on TV Ron's Giving Circle • Ruth's Giving Circle • San Diegans for Change • Sara's Giving Circle • Sarah C's Giving Circle Scheme Against the Patriarchy • Sharon's Giving Circle • Show Me Democracy • Sister Take My Hand: From Outrage To Action • Sisters Doin It For Themselves • Spring into Action: Reproductive Justice • States Project Giving Circle • States Squad • Strength In Numbers • Sue's Giving Circle • Support the States '22 Supporting Women - ALL Women • Suzanne's Giving Circle • Taking Back the Power • Tending To Democracy THE ANTI-GERRYMANDERING CULT • The Dissenters • The Fighting Quakers • The Human Union • The States Project - Malibu • The States Project: Turn Up the Volume • The We Love Maine Giving Circle • Therapists In Action Giving Circle • Time to fight back • Together We Succeed The States Project Missouri • Trying a Thing — Making a Difference • United Flippin States • We are Sick of this Sh!% • We Are The Change • We the People of Team USA Democracy • We Won't Go Back • Whitney's Giving Circle • Wholehearted Leaders for Flipping State Legislatures from Red to Blue

# Turning to 2023 and Beyond

Dear Giving Circles,

This cycle, more than 300 Giving Circles powered our work.

Teachers joined us after watching rightwing state lawmakers fail to fund public schools. Parents with hearts shattered after Uvalde committed to supporting state lawmakers who will protect our kids from gun violence. Healthcare workers, when Roe v. Wade fell, who knew that state lawmakers would now decide if they could provide their patients with life-saving care.

You all raised your hands, organized your friends and families, pooled your resources, and drove unprecedented change. **And with the governing power you helped build, the state lawmakers we worked to elect will improve lives.**

I hope you can see that in every state where we worked in this cycle, we had a meaningful impact. **Impact that would have been impossible without you.** Thank you for proving that collectively, *this* is the impact we can achieve together. Thank you for being partners in the fight for our freedoms and our democracy.

Our success in this cycle — the wins we built on ground held from past cycles — has laid the foundation for critical races in 2024.

And I know two things.

First, the challenges our nation faces will not disappear. The work we're doing together, this tending to democracy, requires us to show up again and again, cycle after cycle, in 2024 and beyond.

Second, this community — this powerful, resilient, and persistent group of Giving Circles — is up for the challenge.

**I could not be more grateful for all you do.** I look forward to fighting alongside you tomorrow, next year, and beyond.

Onward.

Melissa Walker  
Head of Giving Circles

# Onward.

The States Project, [www.statesproject.org](http://www.statesproject.org). Paid for by The PAC for America's Future, 611 Pennsylvania Ave SE, #143, Washington, DC 20003. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.