



# Summary List of Election Deniers and Skeptics Elected to Office During the 2022 U.S. Midterms



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# Our Objective

The 2020 Presidential election was dogged with allegations of voter fraud and a stolen election, [all of which has been disproven](#). Many 2020 election deniers and skeptics ran for office in the 2022 midterm elections, with 229 candidates winning their elections. A total of forty states elected a 2020 election denier or skeptic to various positions, from Governor to Secretary of State to Attorney General to Congress. Those who continue to deny the legitimacy of the 2020 election threaten our democracy by sowing doubt about the democratic process in the minds of voters.

Election skeptic, as defined by [The New York Times](#), refers to candidates who criticized the election casting doubt on the outcome, but did not wholly express claims of a stolen or rigged 2020 election. *The New York Times* described an election denier as a candidate who alleged fraud in the 2020 election or stated outright the election was stolen.

This document is a comprehensive list of the election deniers or skeptics who won their 2022 races using data aggregated from various online sources.<sup>1</sup> We hope this will be a useful research tool for those wanting to understand how far conspiracy theories have infiltrated our elected offices.

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(1) Special acknowledgement to Nicole Britton of UC Santa Cruz (Linguistics and Legal Studies, '23), for taking the primary lead in creating this summary list of election deniers and skeptics who won their seats.

(2) By November 10, 2022, *The New York Times* was projecting that 220 election deniers and skeptics would win their races. Our research ultimately concluded that, once all races had concluded, this number was slightly higher. For further explanation of our methodology, please see link to Appendix at the end of this report.

(3) In cases in which *The New York Times* and *Business Insider* were at odds as to whether to label a candidate an election denier or election skeptic, we defaulted to election skeptic.

*The New York Times* compiled a list of election deniers and skeptics, tracking results until November 10, 2022.<sup>2</sup> On [November 16, 2022, Business Insider published its final list](#) of 176 election deniers who had won their races, sourcing its data [from The Washington Post](#). Our list aggregates the data from *The New York Times* and *Business Insider*, and supplements it with data from [USA Today](#), and [The Washington Post election results sourced from the Associated Press](#), which we gathered through December 2, 2022. See the appendix for further details on the process for compiling this comprehensive list.

The list below is in alphabetical order by state and indicates the candidate, office title, and whether the person was an election denier or election skeptic.<sup>3</sup> Candidates are listed in rank order of elected position level. The only states excluded from this list are those that did not elect any election deniers or skeptics. These include the following states: Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Maine, Massachusetts, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

Number of states  
with an elected  
denier or skeptic:

40

## **Alabama**

1. Kay Ivey - Governor - 2020 election denier
2. Steve Marshall - Attorney General - 2020 election skeptic
3. Wes Allen - Secretary of State - 2020 election skeptic
4. Katie Britt - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
5. Jerry Carl - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
6. Barry Moore - House District 2 - 2020 election denier
7. Mike Rogers - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
8. Robert Aderholt - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic
9. Dale Strong - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic
10. Gary Palmer - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Alaska**

11. Mike Dunleavy - Governor - 2020 election denier
12. Edie Grunwald - Lieutenant Governor - 2020 election denier

## **Arizona**

13. David Schweikert - House District 1 - 2020 election denier
14. Eli Crane - House District 2 - 2020 election denier
15. Andy Biggs - House District 5 - 2020 election denier
16. Debbie Lesko - House District 8 - 2020 election skeptic
17. Paul Gosar - House District 9 - 2020 election denier

## **Arkansas**

18. Sarah Huckabee Sanders - Governor - 2020 election skeptic
19. Leslie Rutledge - Lieutenant Governor - 2020 election denier
20. John Boozeman - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
21. Rick Crawford - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
22. Bruce Westerman - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic

## **California**

23. Doug LaMalfa - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
24. Tom McClintock - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic
25. Kevin McCarthy - House District 20 - 2020 election skeptic
26. Jay Obernole - House District 23 - 2020 election skeptic
27. Mark Garcia - House District 28 - 2020 election denier
28. Ken Calvert - House District 41 - 2020 election denier
29. Darrell Issa - House District 48 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Colorado**

30. Lauren Boebert - House District 3 - 2020 election denier
31. Ken Buck - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic
32. Doug Lamborn - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Florida**

33. Ron DeSantis - Governor - 2020 election skeptic
34. Ashly Moody - Attorney General - 2020 election skeptic
35. Marco Rubio - Senate - 2020 election denier
36. Matt Gaetz - House District 1 - 2020 election denier
37. Neal Dunn - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic
38. Kat Cammack - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
39. John Rutherford - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Florida (continued)**

40. Michael Waltz - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic
41. Cory Mills - House District 7 - 2020 election skeptic
42. Bill Posey - House District 8 - 2020 election skeptic
43. Daniel Webster - House District 11 - 2020 election skeptic
44. Gus Bilirakis - House District 12 - 2020 election skeptic
45. Anna Paulina Luna - House District 13 - 2020 election denier
46. Greg Steube - House District 17 - 2020 election skeptic
47. Scott Franklin - House District 18 - 2020 election skeptic
48. Byron Donalds - House District 19 - 2020 election skeptic
49. Brian Mast - House District 21 - 2020 election skeptic
50. Mario Diaz-Balart - House District 26 - 2020 election skeptic
51. Maria Elvira Salazar - House District 27 - 2020 election skeptic
52. Carlos Gimenez - House District 28 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Georgia**

53. Brian Kemp - Governor - 2020 election skeptic
54. Burt Jones - Lieutenant Governor - 2020 election denier
55. Buddy Carter - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
56. Drew Furgeson - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
57. Rich McCormick - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic
58. Austin Scott - House District 8 - 2020 election skeptic
59. Andrew Clyde - House District 9 - 2020 election skeptic
60. Mike Collins - House District 10 - 2020 election denier
61. Barry Loudermilk - House District 11 - 2020 election skeptic
62. Rick Allen - House District 12 - 2020 election denier
63. Marjorie Taylor Greene - House District 14 - 2020 election denier

## **Idaho**

64. Brad Little - Governor - 2020 election skeptic
65. Russ Fulcher - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
66. Mike Simpson - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Illinois**

67. Mike Bose - House District 12 - 2020 election skeptic
68. Mary Miller - House District 15 - 2020 election denier
69. Darin LaHood - House District 16 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Indiana**

70. Diego Morales - Secretary of State - 2020 election skeptic
71. Jim Banks - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
72. Jim Baird - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic
73. Victoria Spartz - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic
74. Greg Pence - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic
75. Erin Houchin - House District 9 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Iowa**

76. Kim Reynolds - Governor - 2020 election skeptic
77. Mike Crapo - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
78. Marianne Miller-meeks - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
79. Ashley Hinson - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic
80. Randy Feenstra - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Kansas**

- 81. Kris Kobach - Attorney General - 2020 election skeptic
- 82. Tracey Mann - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
- 83. Jake LaTurner - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic
- 84. Ron Estes - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Kentucky**

- 85. Rand Paul - Senate - 2020 election denier
- 86. Thomas Massie - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic
- 87. Harold Rogers - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic
- 88. Andy Barr - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Louisiana**

- 89. John Kennedy - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
- 90. Steve Scalise - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
- 91. Clay Higgins - House District 3 - 2020 election denier
- 92. Mike Johnson - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic
- 93. Garret Graves - House District 6 - 2020 Election skeptic

## **Maryland**

- 94. Andy Harris - House District 1 - 2020 election denier

## **Michigan**

- 95. Jack Berman - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
- 96. John Moolenaar - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic
- 97. Bill Huizenga - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic
- 98. Tim Walberg - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic
- 99. Lisa McClain - House District 9 - 2020 election denier
- 100. John James - House District 10 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Minnesota**

- 101. Tom Emmer - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic
- 102. Michelle Fischbach - House District 7 - 2020 election skeptic
- 103. Peter Stauber - House District 8 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Mississippi**

- 104. Trent Kelly - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
- 105. Michael Guest - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
- 106. Mike Ezell - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Missouri**

- 107. Eric Schmitt - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
- 108. Ann Wagner - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic
- 109. Blaine Luetkemeyer - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
- 110. Mark Alford - House District 4 - 2020 election denier
- 111. Sam Graves - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic
- 112. Eric Burlison - House District 7 - 2020 election denier
- 113. Jason Smith - House District 8 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Montana**

- 114. Ryan Zinke - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
- 115. Matt Rosendale - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Nebraska**

- 116. Mike Flood - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
- 117. Adrian Smith - House District 2 - 2020 election denier

## **New Jersey**

- 118. Jeff Van Drew - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic

## **New York**

- 119. Nicholas LaLota - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
- 120. Andrew Garbarino - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic
- 121. George Santos - House District 3 - 2020 election denier
- 122. Nicole Malliotakis - House District 11 - 2020 election skeptic
- 123. Elise Stefanik - House District 21 - 2020 election skeptic
- 124. Nick Langworthy - House District 23 - 2020 election denier
- 125. Claudia Tenneu - House District 24 - 2020 election skeptic

## **North Carolina**

- 126. Ted Budd - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
- 127. Gregory Murphy - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
- 128. Virginia Foxx - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic
- 129. David Rouzer - House District 7 - 2020 election skeptic
- 130. Dan Bishop - House District 8 - 2020 election denier
- 131. Richard Hudson - House District 9 - 2020 election skeptic
- 132. Patrick Henry - House District 10 - 2020 election skeptic
- 133. Chuck Edwards - House District 11 - 2020 election skeptic

## **North Dakota**

- 134. John Hoeven - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
- 135. Drew Wrigley - Attorney General - 2020 election skeptic
- 136. Michal Howe - Secretary of State - 2020 election skeptic
- 137. Kelly Armstrong - House - 2020 election skeptic

## **Ohio**

- 138. JD Vance - Senate - 2020 election denier
- 139. Dave Yost - Attorney General - 2020 election skeptic
- 140. Frank LaRose - Secretary of State - 2020 election skeptic
- 141. Brad Wenstrop - House District 2 - 2020 election denier
- 142. Jim Jordan - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic
- 143. Bob Latta - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic
- 144. Bill Johnson - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic
- 145. Max Miller - House District 7 - 2020 election skeptic
- 146. Warren Davidson - House District 8 - 2020 election skeptic
- 147. Troy Balderson - House District 12 - 2020 election skeptic
- 148. David Joyce - House District 14 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Oklahoma**

- 149. James Lankford - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
- 150. Markwayne Mullin - Senate - 2020 election denier
- 151. Kevin Hern - House District 1 - 2020 election denier
- 152. Frank Lucas - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
- 153. Tom Cole - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic
- 154. Stephanie Bice - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Oregon**

155. Cliff Bentz - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Pennsylvania**

156. Dan Meuser - House District 9 - 2020 election skeptic

157. Scott Perry - House District 10 - 2020 election denier

158. Lloyd Smucker - House District 11 - 2020 election skeptic

159. Guy Reschenthaler - House District 14 - 2020 election skeptic

160. Glenn Thompson - House District 15 - 2020 election skeptic

161. Mike Kelly - House District 19 - 2020 election denier

## **South Carolina**

162. Henry McMaster - Governor - 2020 election skeptic

163. Alan Wilson - Attorney General - 2020 election skeptic

164. Tim Scott - Senate - 2020 election skeptic

165. Nancy Mace - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic

166. Joe Wilson - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptic

167. Jeff Duncan - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic

168. William Timmons - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic

169. Ralph Norman - House District 5 - 2020 election skeptic

170. Russell Fry - House District 7 - 2020 election denier

## **South Dakota**

171. Kristi Noem - Governor - 2020 election skeptic

172. Monae Johnson - Secretary of State - 2020 election skeptic

173. John Tune - Senate - 2020 election skeptic

174. Dusty Johnson - House - 2020 election skeptic

## **Tennessee**

175. Bill Lee - Governor - 2020 election skeptic

176. Diana Harshbarger - House District 1 - 2020 election denier

177. Tim Burchett - House District 2 - 2020 election denier

178. Chuck Fleischman - House District 3 - 2020 election denier

179. Scott DesJarlais - House District 4 - 2020 election denier

180. Andy Ogles - House District 5 - 2020 election denier

181. John Rose - House District 6 - 2020 election denier

182. Mark Green - House District 7 - 2020 election denier

183. David Kustoff - House District 8 - 2020 election denier

## **Texas**

184. Greg Abbott - Governor - 2020 election denier

185. Dan Patrick - Lieutenant Governor - 2020 election denier

186. Ken Paxton - Attorney General - 2020 election denier

187. Daniel Crenshaw - House District 2 - 2020 election denier

188. Keith Self - House District 3 - 2020 election denier

189. Pat Fallon - House District 4 - 2020 election denier

190. Lance Gooden - House District 5 - 2020 election denier

191. Jake Ellzey - House District 6 - 2020 election denier

192. Morgan Luttrell - House District 8 - 2020 election denier

193. August Pfluger - House District 11 - 2020 election denier

194. Ronny Jackson - House District 13 - 2020 election denier

195. Randy Weber - House District 14 - 2020 election denier

196. Monica De La Cruz - House District 15 - 2020 election denier

197. Pete Sessions - House District 17 - 2020 election denier

## **Texas (continued)**

- 198. Jodey Arrington - House District 19 - 2020 election denier
- 199. Chip Roy - House District 21 - 2020 election skeptic
- 200. Troy Nehls - House District 22 - 2020 election denier
- 201. Tony Gonzalez - House District 23 - 2020 election skeptic
- 202. Beth Van Duyne - House District 24 - 2020 election denier
- 203. Roger Williams - House District 25 - 2020 election denier
- 204. Michael Burgess - House District 26 - 2020 election skeptic
- 205. Michael Cloud - House District 27 - 2020 election denier
- 206. John Carter - House District 31 - 2020 election denier
- 207. Brian Babib - House District 36 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Utah**

- 208. Mike Lee - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
- 209. Blake Moore - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
- 210. Chris Stewart - House District 2 - 2020 election denier
- 211. Burgess Owens - House District 4 - 2020 election denier

## **Virginia**

- 212. Rob Wittman - House District 1 - 2020 election denier
- 213. Jen Kiggans - House District 2 - 2020 election denier
- 214. Robert Good - House District 5 - 2020 election denier
- 215. Ben Cline - House District 6 - 2020 election denier
- 216. Morgan Griffith - House District 9 - 2020 election denier

## **Washington**

- 217. Dan Newhouse - House District 4 - 2020 election denier
- 218. Cathy McMorris Rodgers - House District 5 - 2020 election denier

## **West Virginia**

- 219. Carol Miller - House District 1 - 2020 election denier
- 220. Alexander Mooney - House District 2 - 2020 election denier

## **Wisconsin**

- 221. Ron Johnson - Senate - 2020 election skeptic
- 222. Bryan Steil - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptic
- 223. Derrick Van Orden - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
- 224. Scott Fitzgerald - House District 5 - 2020 election denier
- 225. Glenn Grothman - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic
- 226. Tom Tiffany - House District 7 - 2020 election skeptic
- 227. Mike Gallagher - House District 8 - 2020 election skeptic

## **Wyoming**

- 228. Chuck Gray - Secretary of State - 2020 election denier
- 229. Harriet Hageman - House - 2020 election denier

[Click here to access the Appendix describing the process for compiling this list.](#)



# About the Network

This research report is published by the Dolores Huerta Research Center for the Americas at UC Santa Cruz and the Promise Institute for Human Rights UCLA School of Law. They each house Human Rights Digital Investigations Labs, which are part of the UC Network for Human Rights and Digital Fact-Finding. The Human Rights Center at UC Berkeley is also part of this network.

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