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.¹ We hope this will be a useful research tool for those wanting to understand how far conspiracy theories have infiltrated our elected offices.

The New York Times compiled a list of election deniers and skeptics, tracking results until November 10, 2022.² 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.³ 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.

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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.
Alabama
1. Kay Ivey - Governor - 2020 election denier
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
7. Mike Rogers - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptic
8. Robert Aderholt - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptic
10. Gary Palmer - House District 6 - 2020 election skeptic

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

Arizona
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 skeptical
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
27. Mark Garcia - House District 28 - 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 skeptical
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 Giminez - 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
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. Marianette 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
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 skeptical
105. Michael Guest - House District 3 - 2020 election skeptical
106. Mike Ezell - House District 4 - 2020 election skeptical

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

Montana
114. Ryan Zinke - House District 1 - 2020 election skeptical
115. Matt Rosendale - House District 2 - 2020 election skeptical
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
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. Lake 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
196. Monica De La Cruz - House District 15 - 2020 election denier
197. Pete Sessions - House District 17 - 2020 election denier
Texas (continued)
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
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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