The Data-Center Penalty
Republicans Lost Ground in Their Own Base
Where the AI Build-Out Landed

TO: Interested Parties **FROM:** Humans First **DATE:** November 6, 2026

THE DATA. We used counties in **16 states** that President Trump won in 2024 that had statewide elections in 2026: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and West Virginia. We used county-level data available from state government sources on November 4, 2026, leading to the inclusion of **1,540 counties**, **257** of them hosting a large data-center project. Of these, there were **1,250** deep-red counties (Trump +20 or more), with **160** of them a host to a large data-center project. Each county's 2026 Governor and U.S. Senate result (27 races) is compared with its 2024 presidential result. These returns are unofficial. **Swings are in percentage points of the Democratic-minus-Republican margin**, each county measured against its own state's overall swing. Methodology and state-by-state counts: Appendix.

The Bottom Line Up Front

Across these 16 states, those counties that hosted a large data-center project swung an extra **2.2 points** further toward Democrats relative to counties without large data-center projects in the same state. In 14 out of 16 states, data-center host counties swung more towards Democrats than counties without large data-center projects in the same state.

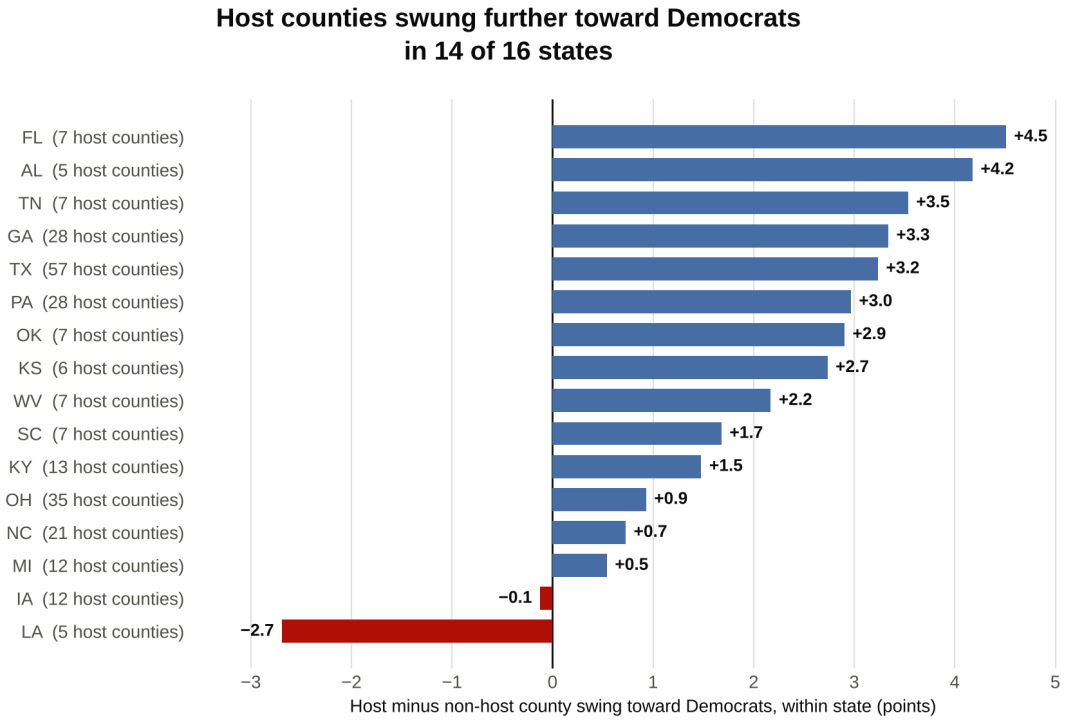
Skeptics may try to point the finger at other factors that could be correlated with data center counties (underlying politics, racial makeup, size, rural/urban), and so we ran tests adjusting for these in the way a maximal skeptic may require. Across all 257 host counties, those adjustments explain away only some of the raw gap. **In two key types of counties for Republicans they do not explain away much of the gap: the Republican base, and counties where a project is still being fought over.** There the additional data-center penalty survives every adjustment, it came from a fall in Republican votes, and it was absent in all three previous elections.

+2.2 pts	**+1.5 pts**	**−1.1%**	**46 of 47**
raw: extra swing toward Democrats in the 257 counties hosting a large data-center project	matched on past vote, rural/urban and size: deep-red host counties, governor vs governor race; significant	with every control: extra drop in Republican votes in deep-red host counties; Democratic vote flat	local data-center ballot votes won by the side favoring limits

Key Findings

1. **The raw numbers tell the story.** Counties that hosted a large data center swung an additional 2.2 points further toward Democrats than counties without large data-center projects in the same state. This data-center penalty existed in 14 of 16 states. In deep-red host counties where the 2024 vote was Trump +20 or more, they swung an additional 2.1 points further towards the Democrats than deep-red counties without large data-center projects in the same state. This was even more pronounced when large gigawatt-scale data centers were concerned, where counties that hosted them swung an additional **3.1 points towards the Democrats**.
2. **In the GOP base, it survives the skeptic's test.** Midterm to midterm, deep-red host counties moved **1.5 points** further, even after matching on past vote, rural or urban character and size (**0.9** after matching on racial makeup). Deep-red gigawatt-scale counties, comparing 2024 to 2026, swung an extra **1.4 points** with every control in place. All of these results are statistically significant, and the 2024–2026 deep-red result holds whichever state is removed from the analysis.
3. **Republican votes fell in data center counties.** Republican votes fell **an extra 1.1%** in data center host counties that were deep-red, compared with comparable deep-red counties without large data-center projects in the same state. Democratic turnout in those counties was unaffected. These counties showed no such swing in previous elections.
4. **The data-center penalty is where projects are still on the table.** With every control in place, a proposed project meant a **1.1-point data-center penalty** in deep-red counties, a **0.6-point data-center penalty** across all counties, **1.1** in Trump +40 counties and **2.0** in the most rural counties. These proposed projects are likely those with the biggest ongoing fights.
5. **Where the fight was loudest, it was biggest.** In the nine deep-red counties in these states where the Humans First AI Data Center Revolt tour stopped, the vote swung **2.2 extra points towards the Democrats**, even with every control. This was about three times the deep-red average.

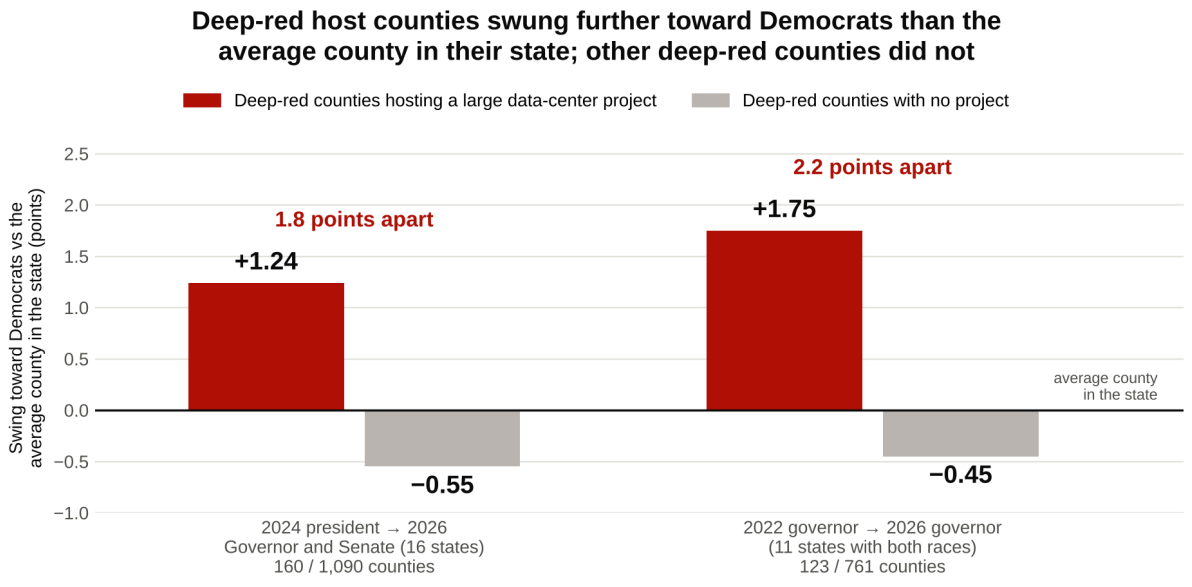
The Raw Numbers: Counties That Hosted Data Centers Swung Further Almost Everywhere



Host counties compared with other counties in the same state, before any adjustment. 257 host counties, 1,283 others. Unofficial 2026 county results, 4 Nov 2026.

- **Counties that hosted a large data center swung +2.2 points** further toward Democrats relative to counties without large data-center projects in the same state.
- In **14 of 16 states** and **25 of 27** governor and Senate races analyzed, data-center host counties swung towards the Democrats. The largest unadjusted gaps were in Florida (+4.5), Alabama (+4.2), Tennessee (+3.5) and Georgia (+3.3).
- **Both offices:** +2.3 in both governor and Senate races.
- **Rural host counties** swung +1.8 further than other rural counties in the same state.
- **Deep-red counties swung:** in counties Trump won by 20+ points, host counties swung **+2.1** further towards the Democrats than deep-red counties without large data-center projects in the same state. This was seen in **15 of 16 states**. Those with a gigawatt-scale project swung **+3.1** further towards the Democrats.
- **Governor race to governor race** (2022 to 2026), data-center host counties swung **+2.7** further towards the Democrats than counties without large data-center projects in the same state.

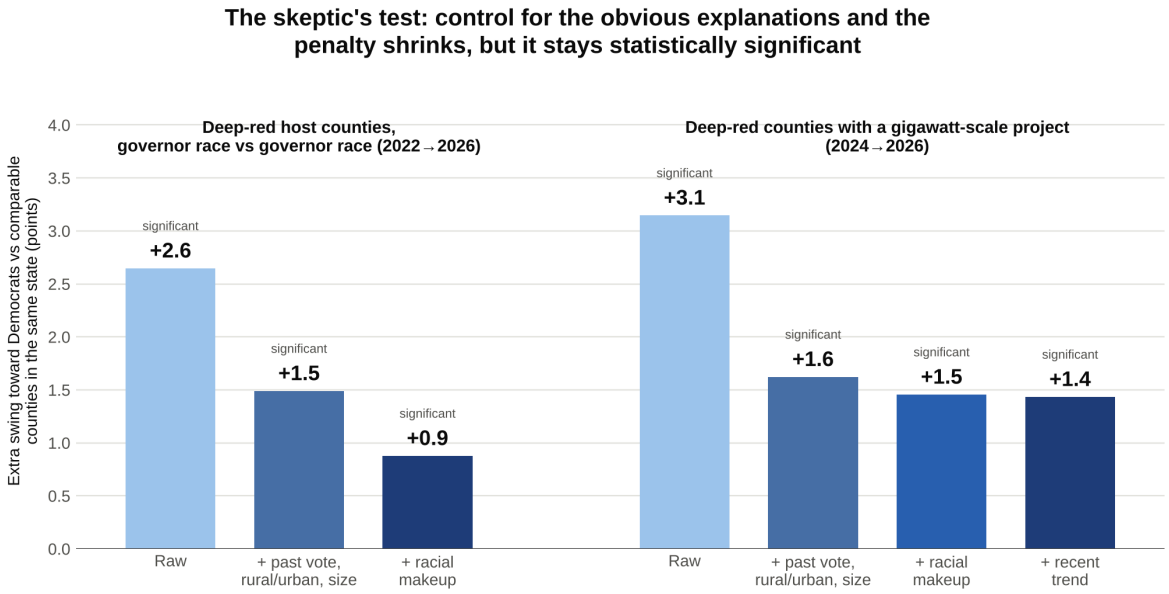
Deep Red, Before and After: Host Counties Beat Their State's Average County



Deep red = Trump +20 or more in 2024. Each county's swing (change in the Democratic-minus-Republican margin) minus the average swing of all counties in its state, in the same race; 2026 Governor and Senate averaged. Simple averages across counties.
Raw figures. Unofficial 2026 county results; 2022 governor returns from MIT Election Data and Science Lab.

- **2024 to 2026:** deep-red counties hosting a large project swung **1.24 points** further toward Democrats than the average county in their state. Deep-red counties with no project swung **0.55 points** less than the average county. That puts them **1.8 points** apart.
- **Governor race to governor race, 2022 to 2026: +1.75** for deep-red host counties against **−0.45** for deep-red counties with no project, **2.2 points** apart, in the 11 states that held both races.

The Skeptic’s Test: In the Base, the Penalty Holds



Each bar adds one more set of controls, left to right: the raw same-state gap; then matching on prior margin, rural/urban classification and population; then racial and ethnic makeup; then (right panel) each county's 2020–24 trend. Deep red = Trump +20 or more in 2024. Significant = 95% confidence, allowing counties in the same state to move together.

These numbers are already striking, and Republicans cannot and should not ignore them. However, skeptics might claim that there is some feature in data-center counties that meant they swung more this election unrelated to data centers: racial makeup, underlying politics, size or rurality. It should be noted that some of these are correlated with features that might make a data center more impactful, so using controls on these does not necessarily make our analysis more informative.

Nonetheless, we compared each host county with similar counties in the same state, adding controls one at a time: past vote, rural or urban character, county size, racial and ethnic makeup, and each county’s recent trend.

- **Deep-red host counties, governor race vs governor race:** +2.6 raw, **+1.5** after matching on past vote, rural/urban and size, and **+0.9** after racial makeup. Significant at every step.
- **Deep-red counties with a gigawatt-scale project:** +3.1 raw, then +1.6 and +1.5 as controls are added, and **+1.4** after every control. Significant at every step.
- **All 160 deep-red host counties**, 2024 to 2026, with every control: **+0.75**, significant.
- **No single state drives it.** Leave out any one of the 16 states and the deep-red result still holds with every control (**+0.7 to +1.0**), statistically significant every time.
- **It is not a fluke of placement.** Shuffle which deep-red counties host a project within each state, and a gap this large turns up less than 2% of the time.
- **Both offices.** With every control, deep-red host counties moved further in governor races (**+1.0**) and in Senate races (**+0.5**), each significant on its own.

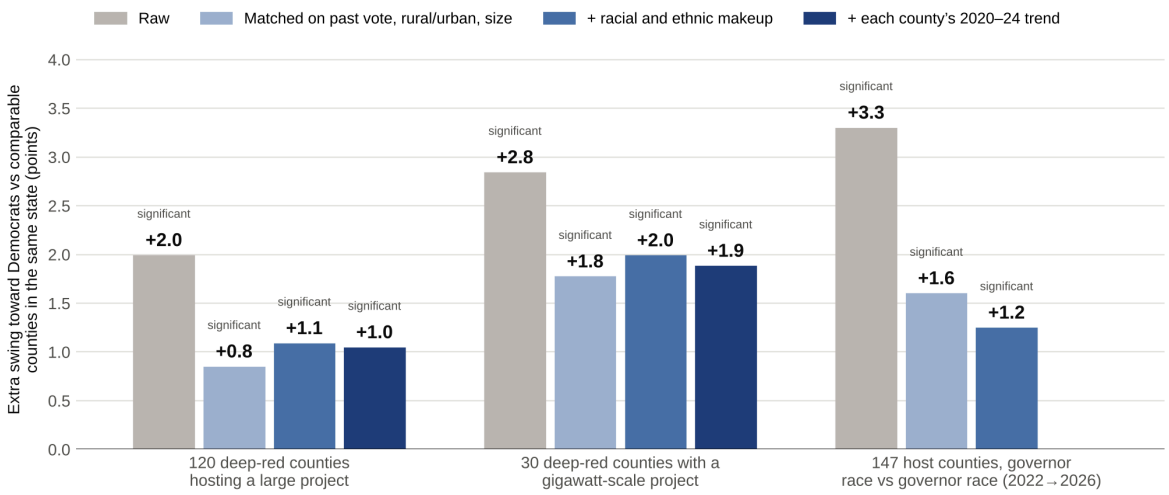
Across all 257 host counties, a skeptic may think that most of the raw gap is explained by the kind of county that attracts data centers, and our data neither entirely supports this, nor can refute the skeptic’s claim.

However, what remains is a penalty concentrated in the Republican base and in counties where a project is still being fought over, which should be even more concerning to Republicans who are looking towards 2028.

The Texas Exception: The Comparison Counties Had Their Own Earthquake

Texas is the odd one out, and because it supplies 253 of the 1,540 counties, it pulls hard on the all-county numbers. Without Texas, the penalty survives every control we add in the groups that matter most: deep-red counties, gigawatt-scale projects, governor races and counties where a project is still proposed.

Without Texas, the penalty survives every control we add

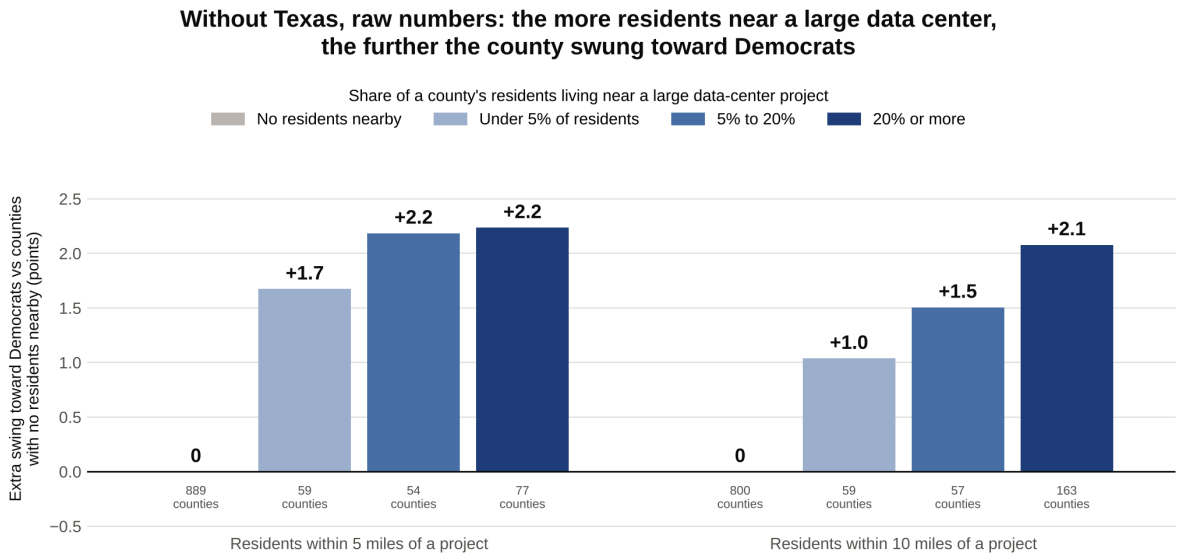


15 states without Texas (governor comparison: 10 states with governor races in 2022 and 2026). Deep red = Trump +20 or more in 2024; 2024 president to 2026 Governor/Senate unless stated.
Gigawatt-scale = 1,000 MW, 1,000 acres or 4 million sq ft or more.
Significant = 95% confidence on a wild cluster bootstrap by state.

- **The problem is who they get compared with.** In Texas, in raw terms, it looks like it matches the pattern. However, once past vote is matched, Texas host counties are compared to heavily Hispanic South Texas and border counties with similar past margins, which swung towards the Democrat party by extraordinary margins. The 12 Hispanic-majority counties Trump won by 0–20 points swung about 40 points toward Democrats, roughly 17 points more than Texas as a whole, and border counties swung a further 6 points beyond what their demographics predict. As such, the countywide data-center penalty in Texas in particular doesn't survive the controls.
- **But if you set Texas aside, the penalty survives every control we add where it matters most.** Deep-red host counties: **+2.0** raw, **+1.0** with every control. Deep-red counties with a gigawatt-scale project: **+2.8** raw, **+1.9** with every control. Governor race to governor race, host counties in the other states: **+3.3** raw, **+1.2** even after matching on racial makeup. Every one is statistically significant.

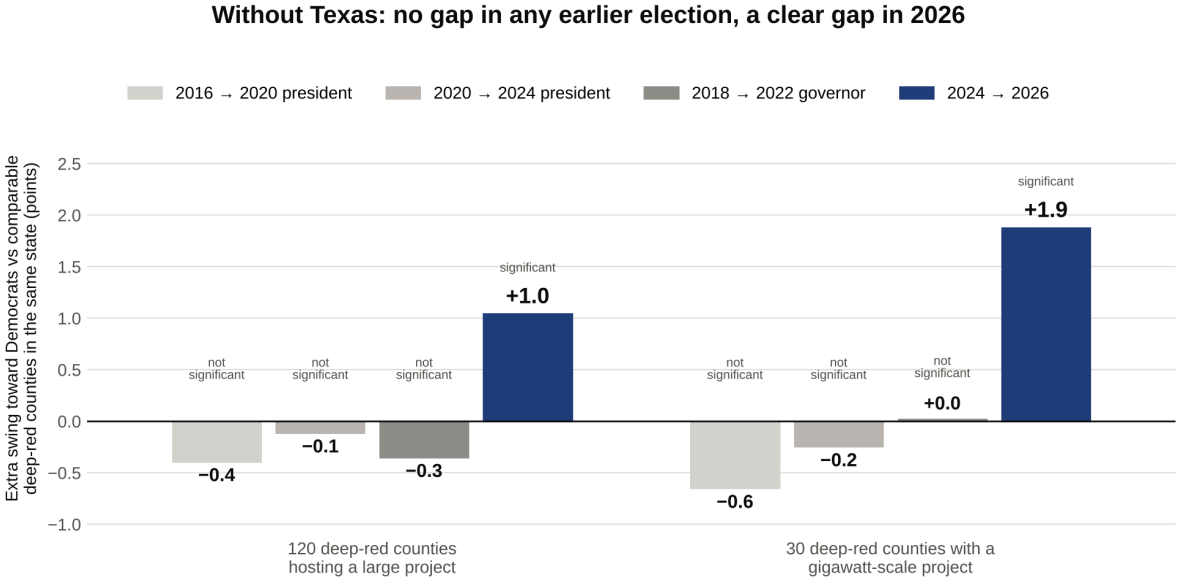
Implication: The headline findings keep Texas in; none depends on leaving it out. But outside Texas, the penalty survives every control not just in deep-red counties but in governor races across all host counties and wherever a project is still proposed.

Without Texas: The Closer the Neighbors, the Bigger the Swing, and It's New



12 states with mapped sites, Texas left out. Share of each county's 2020 population within 5 or 10 miles of a location-verified large data-center project. Raw comparison: each county's swing vs its state's, no other adjustment.
Within state, the 20%-or-more group vs the no-one-nearby group is statistically significant at both distances (+2.4 at 5 miles, +2.2 at 10 miles; 95% confidence).

Leave Texas out and you can see clear population patterns: the more people a data-center county had near a data center, the more it swung towards the Democrats. When comparing what percentage of a county lives within 10 miles of a project, the additional swing climbs at every step: **+1.0**, **+1.5**, then **+2.1 points** in counties where more than 20% of residents live near a large project. The gap between that top group and counties with no one nearby is statistically significant at both 5 and 10 miles.



15 states without Texas (2018→2022 governor: 9 states). Each bar compares the same host counties with similar deep-red counties in their state, adjusted for past vote, rural/urban character, size and racial makeup (2026 bar also adjusts for each county's 2020–24 trend).
Significant = 95% confidence on a wild cluster bootstrap by state. Sources: county results 2016–2024; MIT Election Data and Science Lab governor results; unofficial 2026 county results.

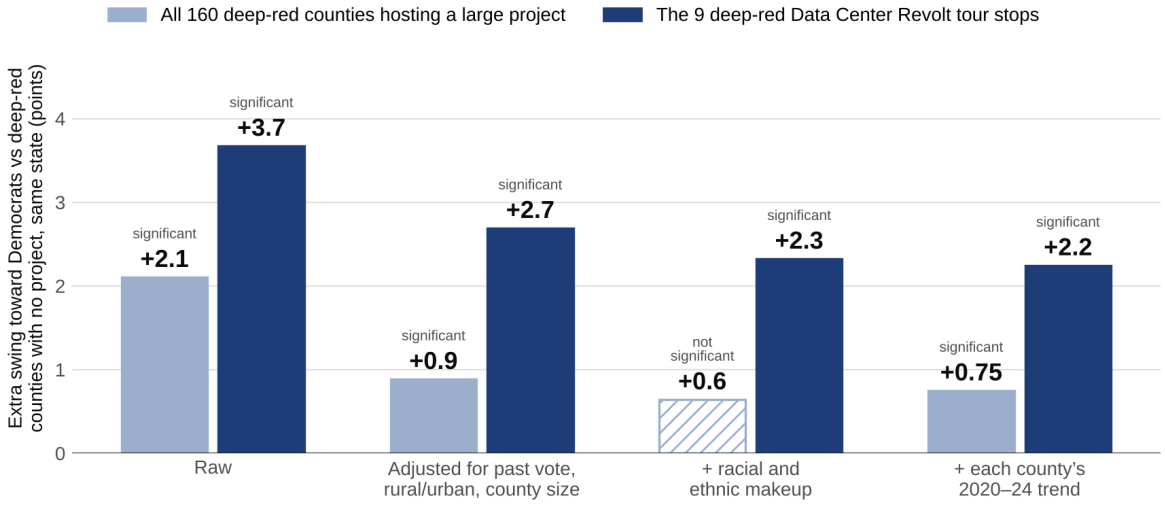
- **None of the six earlier comparisons** (2016, 2020, 2022) shows a statistically significant gap for these counties. In 2026, both groups do.

- **The base revolts again:** without Texas, Republican votes in deep-red host counties fell **0.9% to 1.1% more** than in comparable deep-red counties, which is significant. The Democratic vote showed no significant change.

On the Road: Where the Fight Was Loudest, the Penalty Was Biggest

In September the Humans First “Data Center Revolt” bus tour made 35 stops in 27 states, in communities already fighting data-center projects. Fourteen of those stops were in the 16 states covered here, and nine were in deep-red counties that Trump carried by 20 points or more in 2024. All nine host a large project.

Where the Fight Was Loudest, the Penalty Was About Three Times the Deep-Red Average

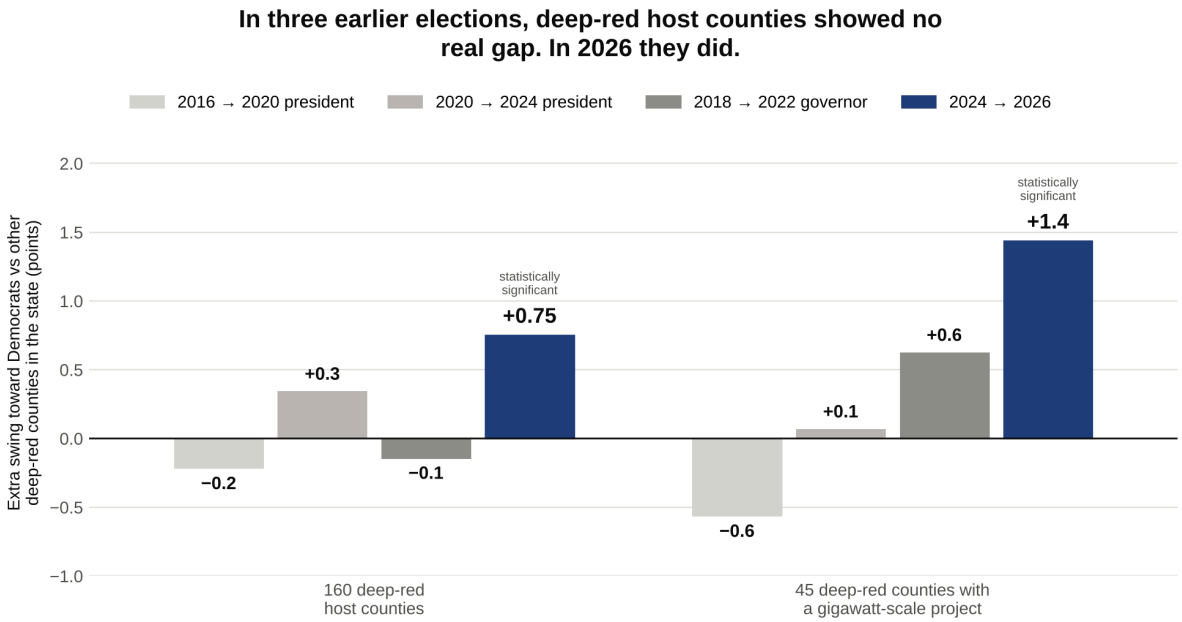


Deep red = Trump +20 or more in 2024. All nine tour stops host a large project. Swing = 2024 presidential to 2026 Governor/Senate margin, relative to the state. Each county is compared with deep-red counties in its own state that have no large project.
Significant = 95% confidence on a wild cluster bootstrap by state.

- **A penalty about three times the deep-red average.** After matching on past vote, rural or urban character and county size, the nine deep-red tour stops moved **2.7 points** further toward Democrats than deep-red counties with no project. The average deep-red host county moved **0.9**. With every control, the figures are **2.2 points towards Democrats** against **0.75 points**. Even if you compare our results to the other deep-red counties hosting data centers in their states, the tour stops still moved about **2.4 to 2.7 points** further towards the Democrats. The same nine counties showed no gap at all from 2020 to 2024.
- **13 of all 14** stop counties in these states beat their state’s typical county, and as a group they swung **3.1 points** further toward Democrats than the rest of their states.

The tour went where fights were already under way, so this shows where the backlash was strongest. Stops in the states outside this study are not included.

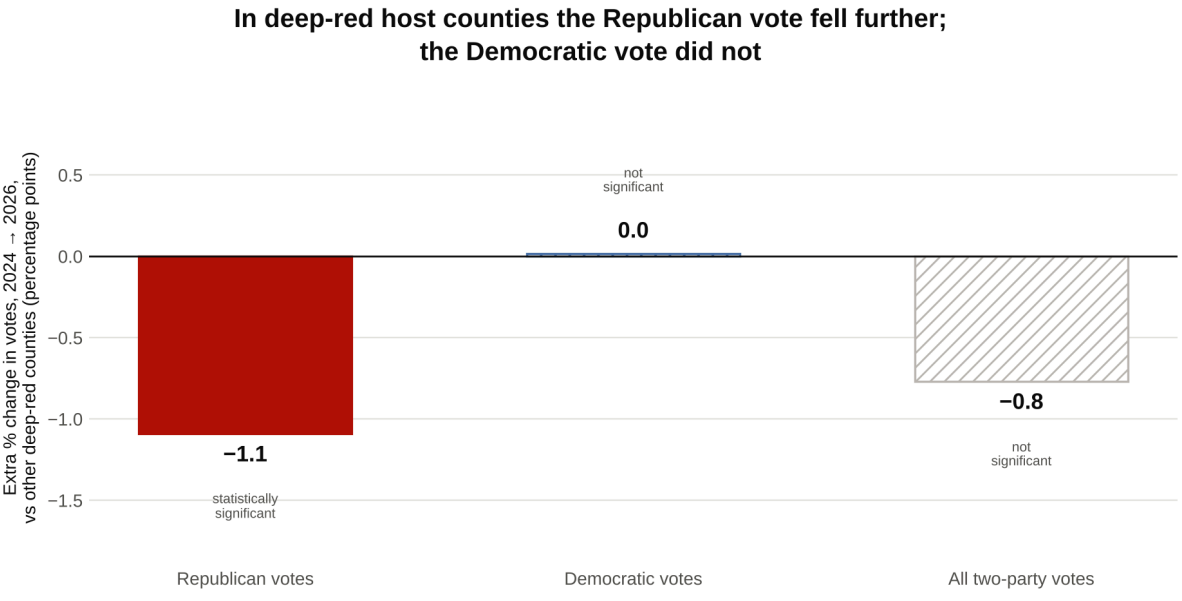
The Pattern: Not There Before, Unmistakable Now



Same comparison with similar counties in the same state, run on three earlier elections. None of the grey bars is statistically significant (95% confidence). Deep red = Trump +20 or more in 2024.
Sources: county results 2016–2024; MIT Election Data and Science Lab governor results (2018, 2022); unofficial 2026 county results.

Run the same comparison on the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections and the 2022 governor races, and none of the six comparisons shows a significant gap. In 2026 both groups of deep-red host counties do. These counties were not already drifting away.

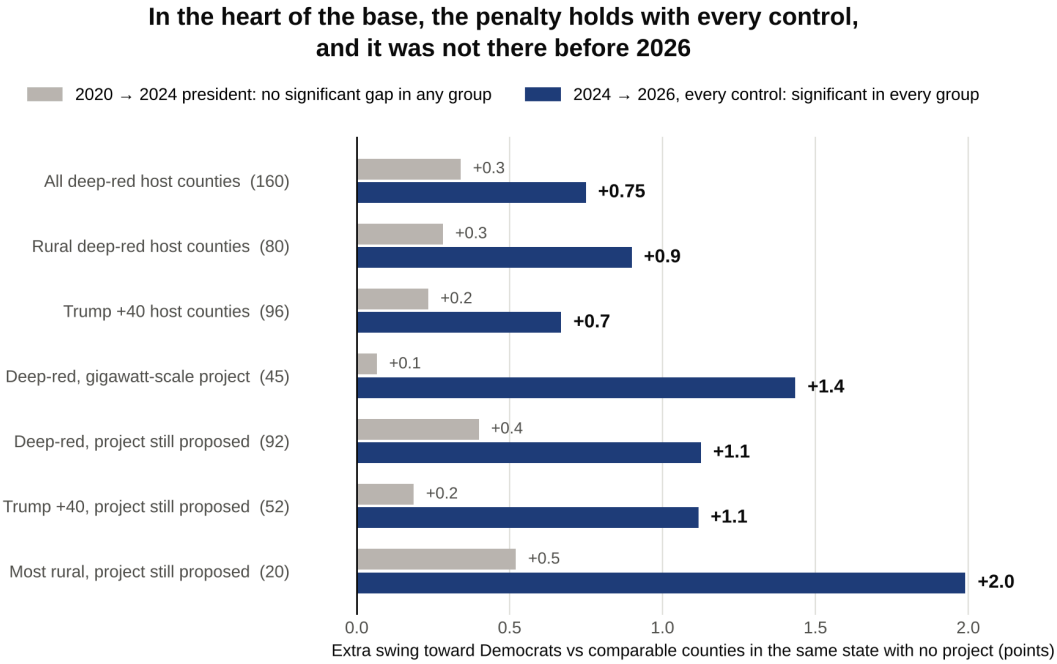
The Base: Republican Votes Fell, Democratic Votes Did Not



160 deep-red host counties compared with 1,090 similar deep-red counties in the same states. Hatched bars are not statistically significant (95% confidence).
Every county's vote fell, as in any midterm; the bars show only the extra change.

Part of the drop seems to be explained by turnout. In deep-red host counties, Republican votes fell **1.1% more** than in comparable deep-red counties while the Democratic vote held level. That is about **1 of every 100 Republican votes** in a typical deep-red host county, and about **2 of every 100** where the project is gigawatt-scale.

The Heart of the Base: Every Group, Every Control, Only in 2026

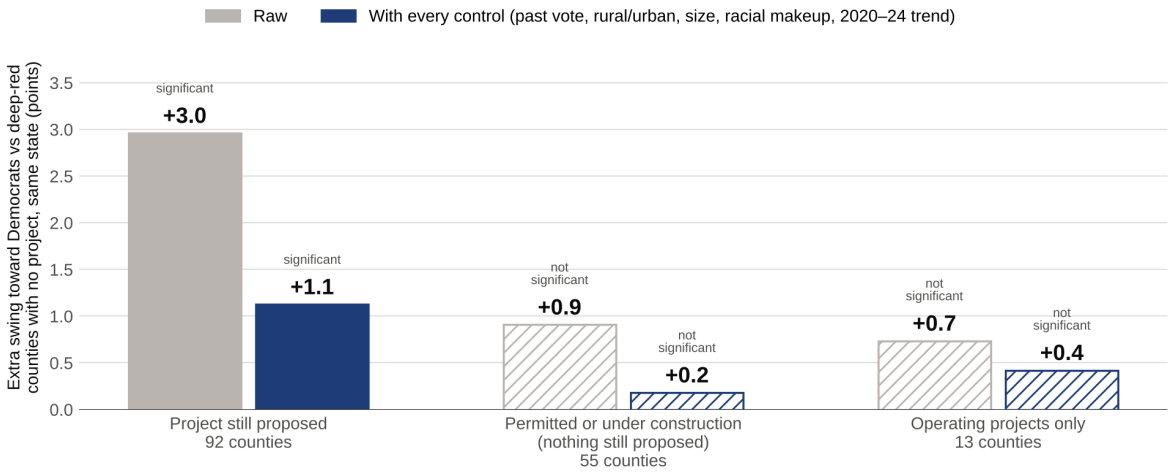


Every control = 2024 margin, rural/urban category, population, racial and ethnic makeup and 2020–24 trend (2020–24 bars: all but the trend). Number of counties in brackets.
Deep red = Trump +20 or more in 2024. Most rural = NCHS noncore. Significant = 95% confidence, wild cluster bootstrap by state.

- **Rural Republican country.** Rural deep-red host counties swung **2.2 points** further towards the Democrats and **0.9** with every control put in place. If you exclude Texas, this swing was a **1.3-point** data-center penalty.
- **The reddest counties swung hard.** In counties Trump won by 40 points or more, host counties swung **1.9 points** further towards the Democrats and **0.7** with every control put in place. The result holds at Trump +20, Trump +30 and Trump +40 buckets.
- **The biggest projects made the biggest swings.** Deep-red counties with a gigawatt-scale project moved **1.4 points** further towards the Democrats relative to other counties in the state with every control in place. From 2020 to 2024, the same comparison showed **+0.1**. The pattern is new, and not explainable by other trends.

The Fight Ahead: The Penalty Is Where Projects Are Still Being Decided

In deep-red counties, the penalty is where projects are still proposed

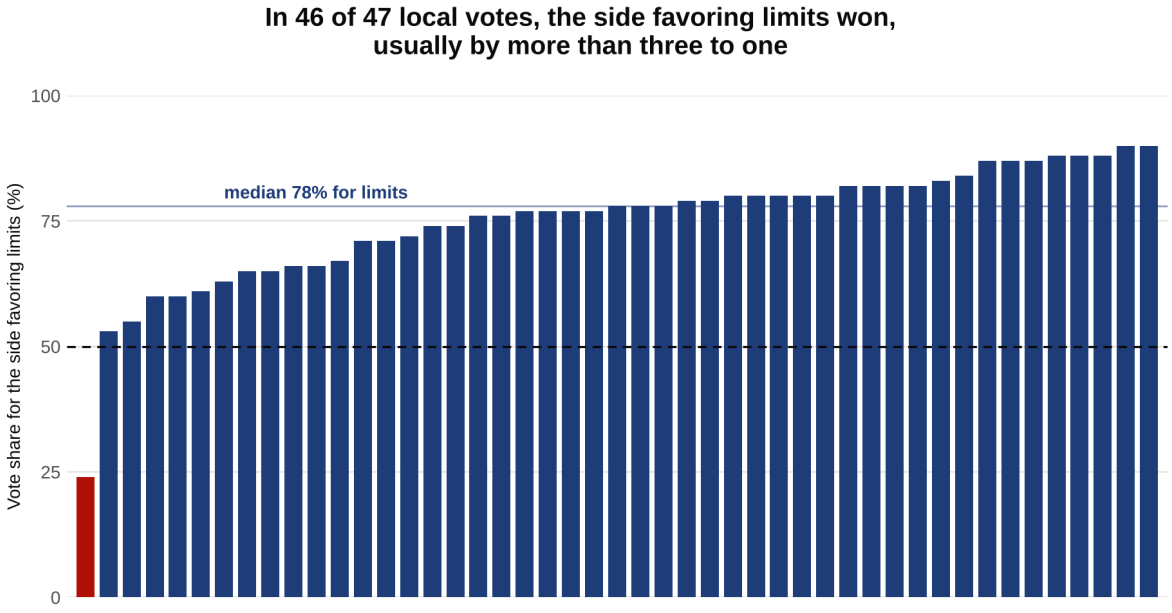


Deep red = Trump +20 or more in 2024. Each county is grouped by its least-advanced project: any proposed project; otherwise permitted or under construction; otherwise operating only.
Hatched = not statistically significant (95% confidence, wild cluster bootstrap by state). Proposed-project counties showed no gap from 2020 to 2024 (+0.4, not significant).

- **Proposed projects carry the strongest penalty.** In 92 deep-red counties with a project still proposed, the vote moved an additional **3.0 points** further toward Democrats than in deep-red counties with no data center project. After matching on past vote, rural or urban character and size, the gap is **1.5 points**; with every control in place, the penalty was **1.1 points**. If you exclude Texas, this proposed data center project penalty is **1.3 points**. All of these are statistically significant. These same counties showed no statistically significant gap from 2020 to 2024.
- **It holds across all counties, too.** Across every county in the 16 states, not just deep-red ones, counties with a proposed project moved **2.9 points** further and **0.6** with every control; without Texas, **0.8**. All are statistically significant, and none of these groups showed a gap from 2020 to 2024. It is the broadest result in this memo that survives every test.
- **The pipeline is large.** In these 16 states, **209** large projects are still proposed, **114** of them in deep-red counties. Another **162** are permitted or under construction. The proposed projects in deep-red counties that report a power figure (56 of the 114) add up to about **46 gigawatts**.

Implication: Voters moved where the outcome was still open and there was still a fight going on. Much of the reaction is not necessarily to the impact of having a local data center; it's the impact of not having a say.

The Voters Said So: Republicans Want Protections, Not a Blank Check



Each bar is one decided 2026 data-center ballot measure, sorted. 'Side favoring limits' = yes on a restrictive measure or no on a pro-development one. Red: Harwood, ND, the one loss.
Source: Ballotpedia, Data center-related ballot measures, 2026, accessed 4 Nov 2026.

- **46 of 47** local data-center ballot votes in 2026 went the limits way, by a median of 78%. All 26 held in Ohio, Kansas, Florida and Michigan favored limits. Ottawa, KS and four Ohio communities banned data centers over 25 MW. Perry, OH voted **87%** to require hyperscale developers to post financial guarantees before getting tax breaks.
- **75% of Texas voters**, including **Republicans 64% to 27%**, want to slow down until protections are in place (Cygnal, Aug. 2026). **69%** are very concerned about data centers' effect on power prices and water (University of Houston, Oct. 2026).
- In all eight states polled by Beacon Research in September, more voters opposed than supported local data-center construction.
- So this doesn't just look like the data-center penalty is a quirk of the data; many independent sources seem to show similar patterns.

How Big Is the Data-Center Penalty?

Cost of living, among other factors, drove the national environment. The average deep-red county swung about 16 points toward Democrats from 2024. AI and data centers were, away from the county-level penalty, a clear part of the national story, with the Democrat party running ads effectively against the Republican party in key swing states on the issue. This generalized contribution is only going to rise towards 2028.

Away from this, the data-center penalty is a distinct, measurable, local layer on top of that, falling on the base the hardest: Republican vote totals fell by an additional 1% to 2% in deep-red counties hosting large data-center projects, relative to comparable counties.

In campaign terms: a sitting House member gains about **2.6 points** of margin just from being the incumbent (see Sources in Appendix A). Even in an anti-incumbency age, this is often seen as a significant advantage.

- **Deep-red host counties** (0.75 to 1.5 points): the data-center penalty equaled **nearly a third to more than half** of the incumbency advantage.
- **Deep-red gigawatt-scale counties outside Texas** (1.9 points): about **three-quarters** of it.
- **The most rural counties with a proposed project** (2.0 points): about **three-quarters**.
- **Where the fight was loudest**, the deep-red Data Center Revolt tour stops (2.2 to 2.7 points): roughly **the entire incumbency advantage**.

This is, therefore, not a penalty that can be waved away. If Republicans are going to have a hope of rebuilding towards 2028, addressing the data-center penalty must be part of the story.

What It Means

Washington assumed that rural and small-town Republicans would absorb the AI build-out without political cost. They assumed they could ignore the base and listen to Big Tech donors. The raw returns say they did not, and the adjusted numbers confirm it where it matters most: in the base. In these 16 states, 209 large projects are still only proposed, 114 of them in deep-red counties, and another 162 are permitted or under construction. Without enforceable protection, 2026 is a preview.

It looks even worse when you zoom out to the AI issue at large. In the NBC News exit poll, 56% of voters said AI and data centers were a “crucial” or “major” factor in their decision of who to vote for. That is a huge rise for an issue no one was talking about in 2024. The salience of AI is going to rise. If Republicans continue to listen to Big Tech, and not their base, November 3rd may only be a preview of what will come in 2028.

What Republicans Should Do

Humans First has released two policy platforms presenting a way forward: our Data Center Policy Platform and our Framework for an America First AI Policy. Republicans would do well to follow these, and work to implement these policies. These include:

OUR DATA CENTER POLICY

1. **Local Control.** Communities decide, through their own zoning and land-use processes, whether to accept or reject a data center.
2. **Communities Should Benefit.** Host communities should see real jobs and tax revenue.
3. **Protect Ratepayers.** Data centers pay their own power and infrastructure costs, so families and small businesses don't subsidize them.
4. **Protect Water.** Communities know how much water a data center uses, and residents, farms and existing towns come first when water is scarce.
5. **Protect Farmland.** Prime agricultural land should not be needlessly turned into industrial campuses.
6. **No Eminent Domain.** No one's private property should be seized mainly to make way for data center development.
7. **No Corporate Welfare.** No open-ended tax breaks for tech companies; any incentive must be transparent and enforceable.
8. **Full Transparency.** Communities get the key project details before approval, and officials don't use NDAs to hide them.
9. **Protect Grid Reliability.** Large new power users pay for the generation and infrastructure they need, so existing customers keep reliable power.
10. **Protect Our Way of Life.** Projects must deal with the noise and air pollution that affect nearby residents.
11. **No Mass Surveillance.** Data centers must not be used for unconstitutional surveillance of Americans.
12. **No Foreign Adversaries.** Foreign adversaries must not control or exploit critical U.S. data center infrastructure.
13. **Americans Come First.** When resources are scarce, American families, farms, hospitals and communities get priority, and construction should not rely on foreign labor.

OUR FRAMEWORK FOR AN AMERICA FIRST AI POLICY: THREE CORE PRINCIPLES

Protect American liberty and national security from AI threats

Require transparency and accountability from Big Tech

Protect our children, our jobs, and our way of life

Bottom Line

The raw returns show host counties swinging 2.2 points further toward Democrats, in 14 of 16 states. Hold everything else equal and the effect shrinks but does not disappear. Deep-red host counties still moved 0.75 to 1.5 points further toward Democrats relative to similar counties, driven by fewer Republican votes, in a pattern absent from three prior elections. Where a project is still proposed, the penalty holds across all counties. Republicans who want their base back, and want a chance of recovery by 2028, have to stand with the base on this issue. Republicans should be leading the nation on AI and data centers, but right now, are failing us.

Appendix A: Methodology

Elections. Unofficial 2026 county returns for Governor and U.S. Senate from official state results sites, read November 4, 2026, in the 16 states listed in Appendix B (27 races). Of 1,546 counties, six still counting were left out, leaving 1,540. Earlier elections: 2020 and 2024 presidential and 2018 and 2022 governor county returns (MIT Election Data and Science Lab); 2016 presidential county returns (tonmcg/US_County_Level_Election_Results).

Projects. Large data-center projects come from Compute Atlas and Epoch AI, checked site by site against public records and news. A project counts if it reaches 50 MW, 250,000 sq ft or 100 acres, and was operating, under construction, permitted or publicly proposed by November 3, 2026. Each is matched to its county; 257 counties host one. Gigawatt-scale means 1,000 MW, 1,000 acres or 4 million sq ft or more. A county's stage is its least-advanced project.

The swing. For each county and race: the 2026 Democratic-minus-Republican share of the two-party vote, minus the 2024 presidential margin, minus the state's own swing in that race. Governor and Senate are averaged, so each county counts once. Positive means the county moved further toward Democrats than its state.

Raw and adjusted figures. Raw figures compare host counties with other counties in the same state. Adjusted figures do the same while holding constant 2024 margin, urban–rural category (CDC/NCHS), population and racial and ethnic makeup; "every control" adds each county's 2020–24 swing. Deep red means Trump +20 or more in 2024; "most rural" means NCHS noncore counties. Residents-nearby figures use 2020 census blocks within 5 or 10 miles of a mapped project (13 states).

Checks. The same comparisons were run governor race to governor race (2022 to 2026, 11 states) and on 2016 to 2020, 2020 to 2024 and 2018 to 2022, to test whether gaps existed before. Party vote figures are each party's percentage change in county votes, 2024 to 2026.

Significance. 95% confidence, using a wild cluster bootstrap by state that allows counties in the same state to move together. The deep-red result was also re-run leaving out each state in turn, and against random reassignment of host status within each state.

Limits. These are associations, not proof of cause: developers choose counties for land, power, water and incentives. Counts are unofficial, and a midterm is compared with a presidential year. Vote totals cannot tell Republicans who stayed home from those who switched.

Sources. Incumbency: Princeton Journal of Public and International Affairs (2024 House). Polls: Cygnal (Aug. 2026), University of Houston (Oct. 2026), Beacon Research (Sept. 2026); exit poll: NBC News (Nov. 2026). Tour stops: Humans First's published schedule. The full technical appendix is available on request.

Appendix B: Coverage by State

State	2026 races compared	Counties	Host counties	Deep-red counties	Deep-red hosts
Alabama	Governor & Senate	67	5	49	3
Florida	Governor & Senate	67	7	50	3
Georgia	Governor & Senate	159	28	113	15
Iowa	Governor & Senate	99	12	83	5
Kansas	Governor & Senate	105	6	97	3
Kentucky	Senate	120	13	116	11
Louisiana	Senate	64	5	49	4
Michigan	Governor & Senate	82	12	55	3
North Carolina	Senate	100	21	61	13
Ohio	Governor & Senate	88	35	73	24
Oklahoma	Governor & Senate	77	7	74	6
Pennsylvania	Governor	63	28	50	18
South Carolina	Governor & Senate	46	7	19	3
Tennessee	Governor & Senate	95	7	88	3
Texas	Governor & Senate	253	57	221	40
West Virginia	Senate	55	7	52	6
Total (16 states)	**27 races**	**1,540**	**257**	**1,250**	**160**

Counties: included in the analysis. Host: has a large data-center project. Deep red: Trump +20 or more in 2024. Six counties still counting on election night are not included: one in Michigan (83 counties in all), four in Pennsylvania (67) and one in Texas (254).