
2018 midterm elections overview

CIRT Advocacy Center Report on the 2018 congressional and gubernatorial elections

August 2018

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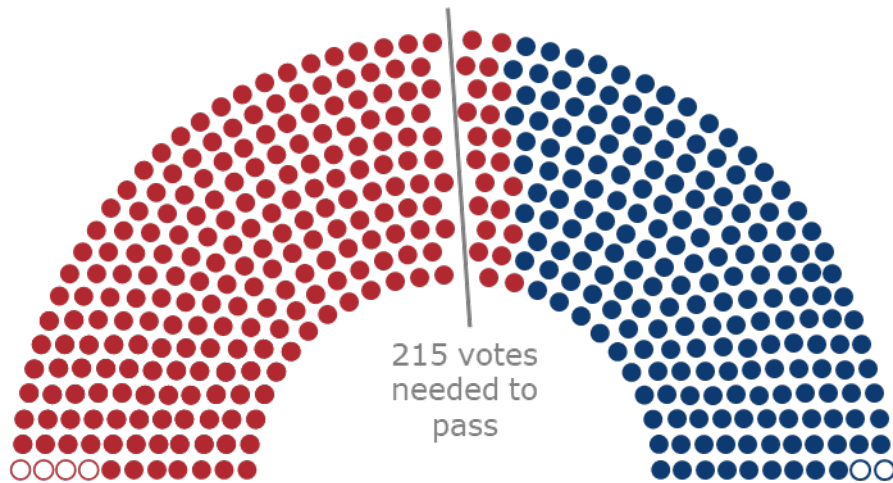
Roadmap

- Historic midterm trends
- 2018 midterms

- **Overall**
- House
- Senate
- Governors

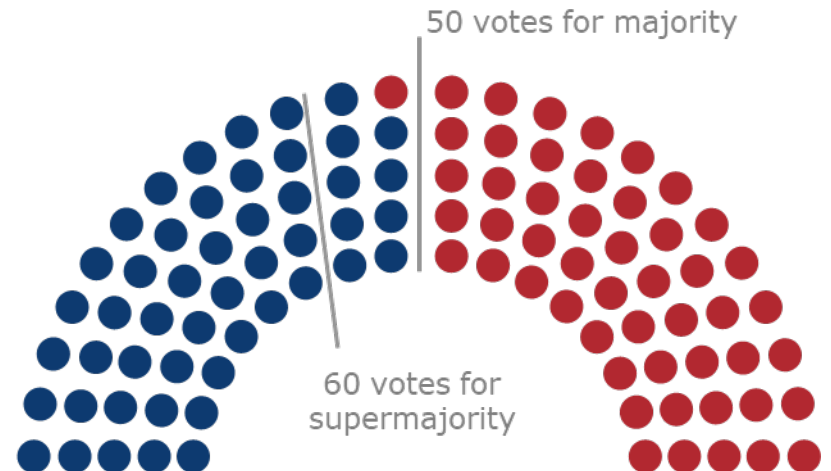
Current partisan breakdown of the 115th Congress

House of Representatives



Total Republicans	236
Total Democrats	193
Vacancies	6

Senate



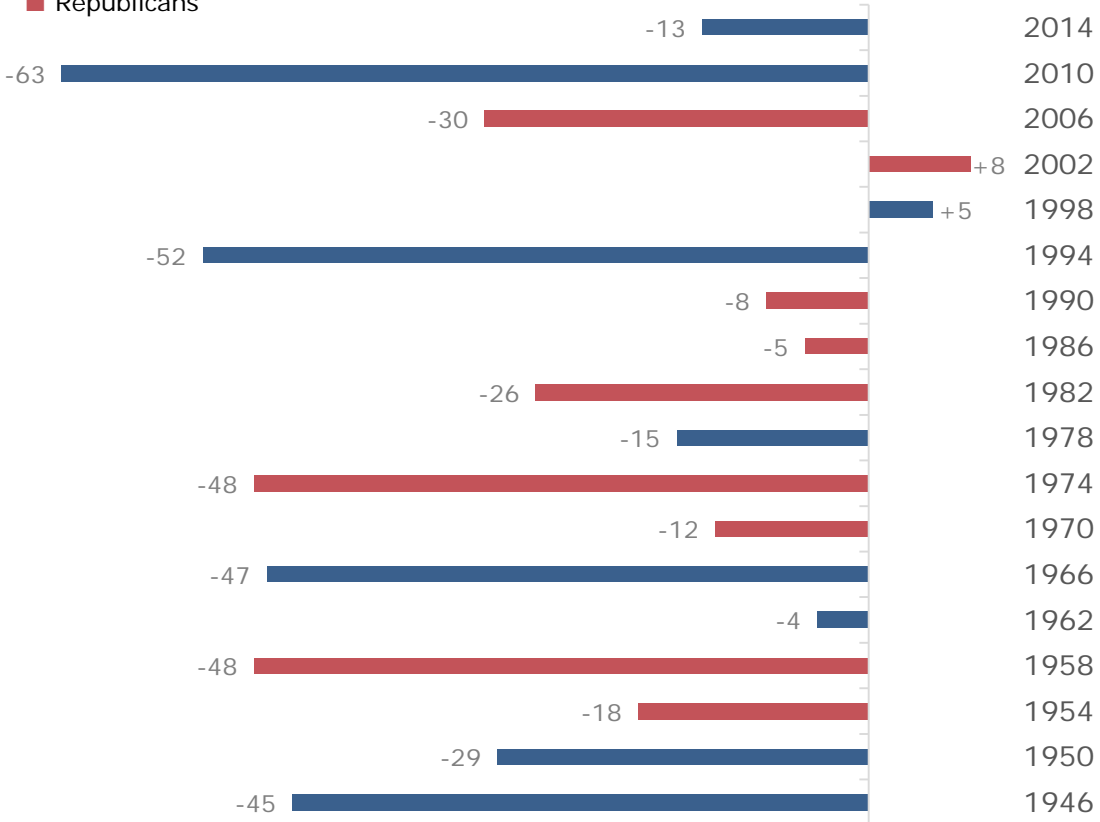
Total Republicans	51
Total Democrats/Independents	49

The president's party has lost an average of 25 seats in midterm elections since World War II

President's party gain/loss of seats in House

VITAL STATISTICS ON CONGRESS

■ Democrats ■ Republicans



2010: Democrats lose control of the House after passing the ACA

1994: Democrats lose their House majority due to health reform plans and Gingrich's "Contract with America"

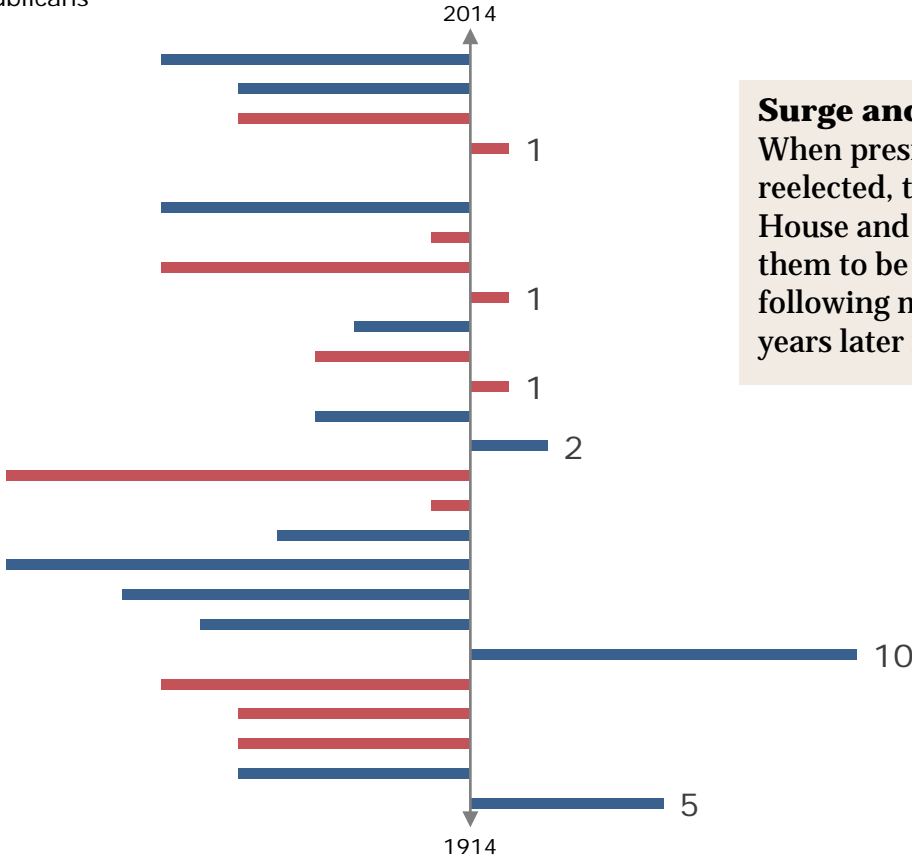
Sources: UC Santa Barbara, "The American Presidency Project"

The president's party has lost Senate seats in 19 of the last 26 midterm elections

President's party gain/loss of seats in Senate

VITAL STATISTICS ON CONGRESS

■ Democrats ■ Republicans



Surge and decline theory
 When presidents are elected or reelected, their party picks up House and Senate seats, causing them to be overexposed in the following midterm election, or six years later in the Senate

Sources: Charlie Cook, "Will History Hold in 2018 Midterms?" The Cook Political Report, January 9, 2017.

Recent midterm wave elections



1994 elections

President: Bill Clinton (D)

Republican gains:

54 seats in the House

8 seats in the Senate



2006 elections

President: George W. Bush (R)

Democratic gains:

31 seats in the House

6 seats in the Senate



2010 elections

President: Barack Obama (D)

Republican gains:

63 seats in the House

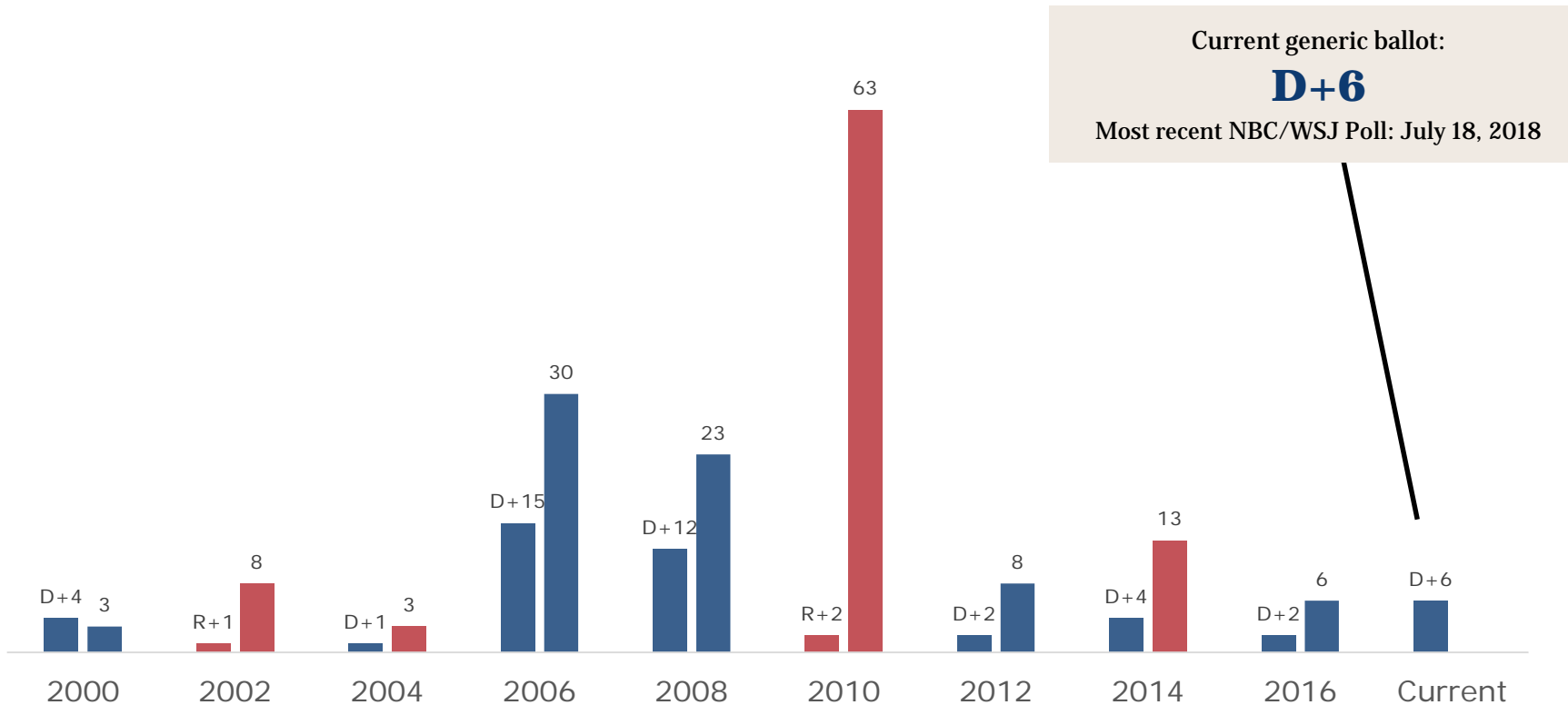
6 seats in the Senate

Historic polling of generic ballots suggests Democrats will gain seats in 2018, but will it be enough to flip the House?

Comparison between generic ballot polling and House outcomes

NBC/WSJ POLL

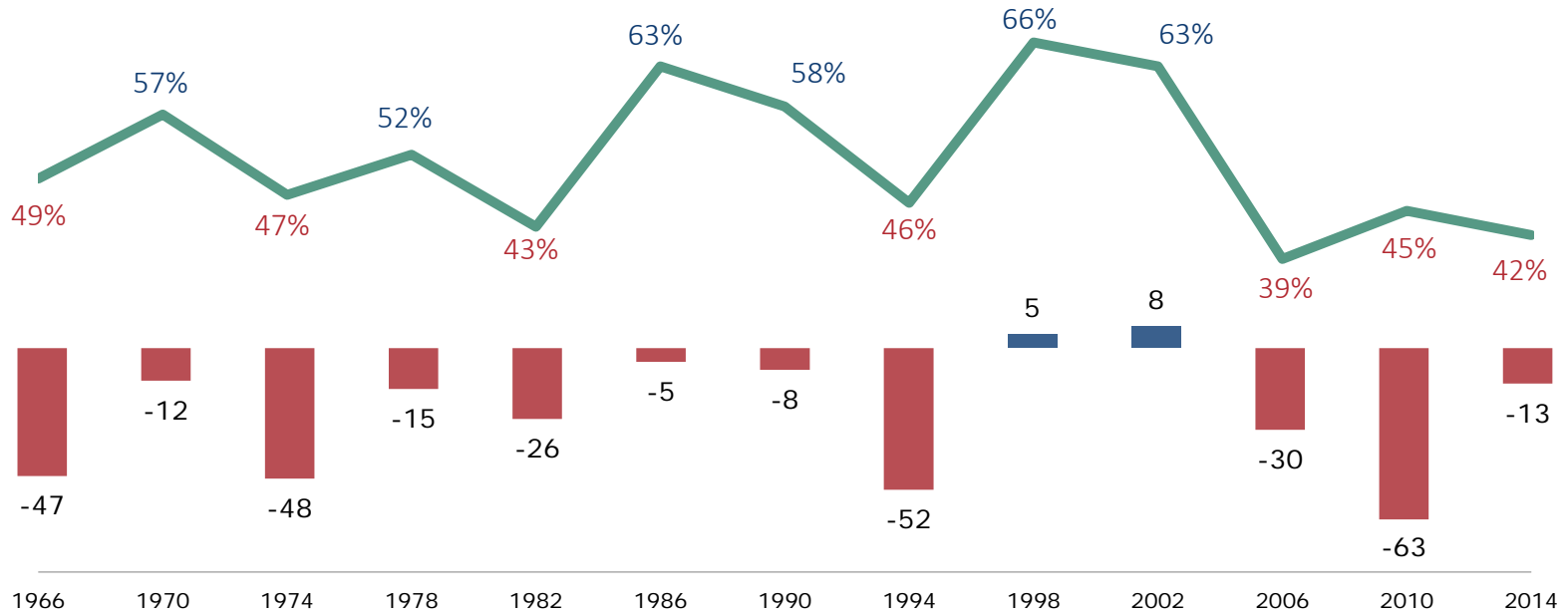
■ Democratic seat gain ■ Republican seat gain



Sources: NBC/WSJ

Presidents with a sub-50% approval rating lose an average of 40 seats in the midterms

Presidential job approval vs. midterm results since 1966




Trump Job Approval
43.5%
 RCP Average: August 23, 2018

Job Approval	Average Change
Over 60%	+3 Seats
50%-60%	-12 Seats
Under 50%	-40 Seats

Sources: Gallup, The Cook Political Report, National Journal

Roadmap

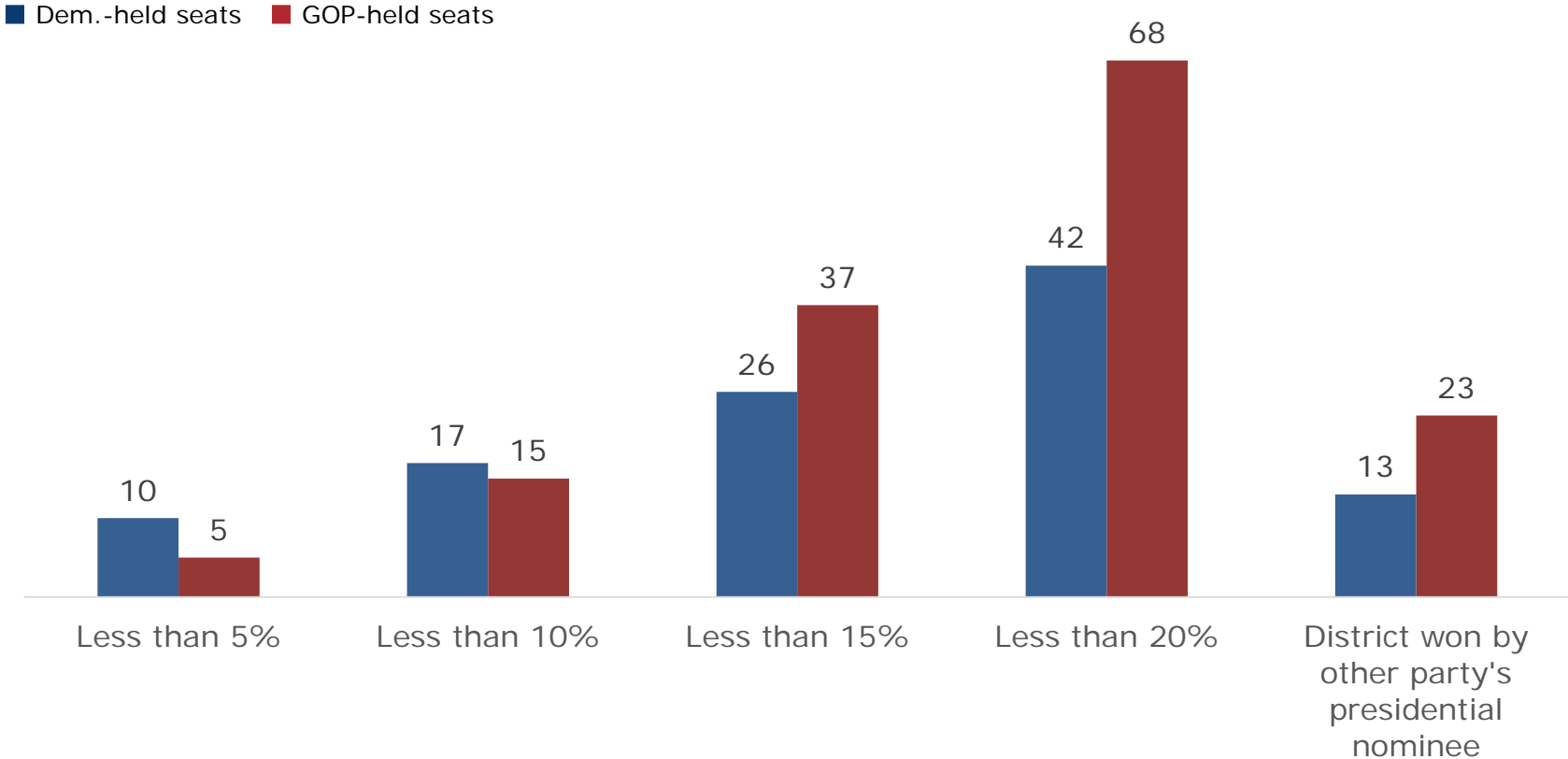
 Historic midterm trends
2018 midterms

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Based on 2016 results, Democrats need a 5%-7.5% swing to recapture the House

Vulnerable seats based on 2016 House results

MARGIN OF VICTORY CALCULATED BY SUBTRACTING WINNER % FROM 2ND HIGHEST OPPONENT



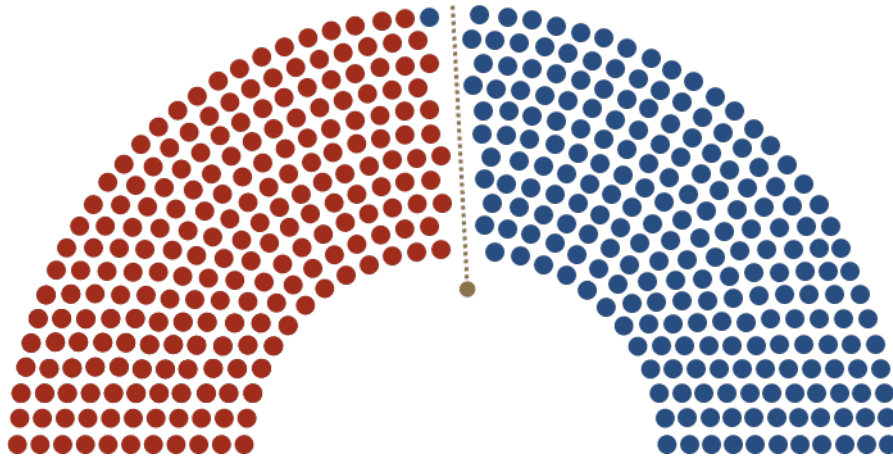
Sources: National Journal Research, 2018.

Republican groups have had to spend much more money on special elections, and still have lost two seats

Seat previously held by	Outside spending (R)	Outside spending (D)	Special election winner	Change in % Republican	Change in % Democrat
Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL)	\$13.7 million	\$6.24 million	Doug Jones (D)	-14%	+16%
Rep. Mike Pompeo (R-KS04)	\$290 thousand	\$1 thousand	Ron Estes (R)	-8%	+16%
Rep. Tom Price (R-GA06)	\$19.8 million	\$8.96 million	Karen Handel (R)	-10%	+10%
Rep. Mick Mulvaney (R-SC05)	\$2.16 million	\$27 thousand	Ralph Norman (R)	-8%	+9%
Rep. Ryan Zinke (R-MT-AL)	\$6.18 million	\$1.44 million	Greg Gianforte (R)	-9%	+1%
Rep. Jason Chaffetz (R-UT03)	\$923 thousand	\$881	John Curtis (R)	-15%	-1%
Rep. Tim Murphy (R-PA18)	\$10.7 million	\$1.8 million	Conor Lamb (D)	-8.5%*	+11.3%*
Rep. Trent Franks (R-AZ08)	\$1.89 million	\$274 thousand	Debbie Lasko (R)	-5.5%*	+10.4%
Rep. Blake Farenthold (R-TX27)	\$859,519	\$861	Michael Cloud (R)	-1%	+2%
Rep. Pat Tiberi (R-OH12)	\$6,782,911	\$1,118,253	Troy Balderson (R)	-16.4%	+19.5%
Total:	\$55,643,208	\$18,742,940	Average:	-8.64%	+8.2%

*Reps. Murphy and Franks both ran unopposed in 2016; these numbers are compared to the 2016 presidential results
Source: Ballotpedia, 2017.

Pelosi faces increasing opposition, with over 40 House candidates saying they would not back her for Speaker




- *If Democrats win the majority by just 1 vote (218-217), Pelosi would need 109 votes to win her party's nomination*
- *In 2016, she won the minority leader position against Rep. Tim Ryan (D-OH) on a vote of 134-63*

Potential problems for Pelosi:

- Unlike party positions such as minority and majority leader, the whole House formally votes for the speaker
- Parties usually vote by secret ballot beforehand to choose their nominee, and then they vote en bloc that candidate
- However, over 40 Democratic House candidates have said they will not support Pelosi for Speaker of the House, which could pose problems if they only win a small majority

Roadmap

 Historic midterm trends
2018 midterms

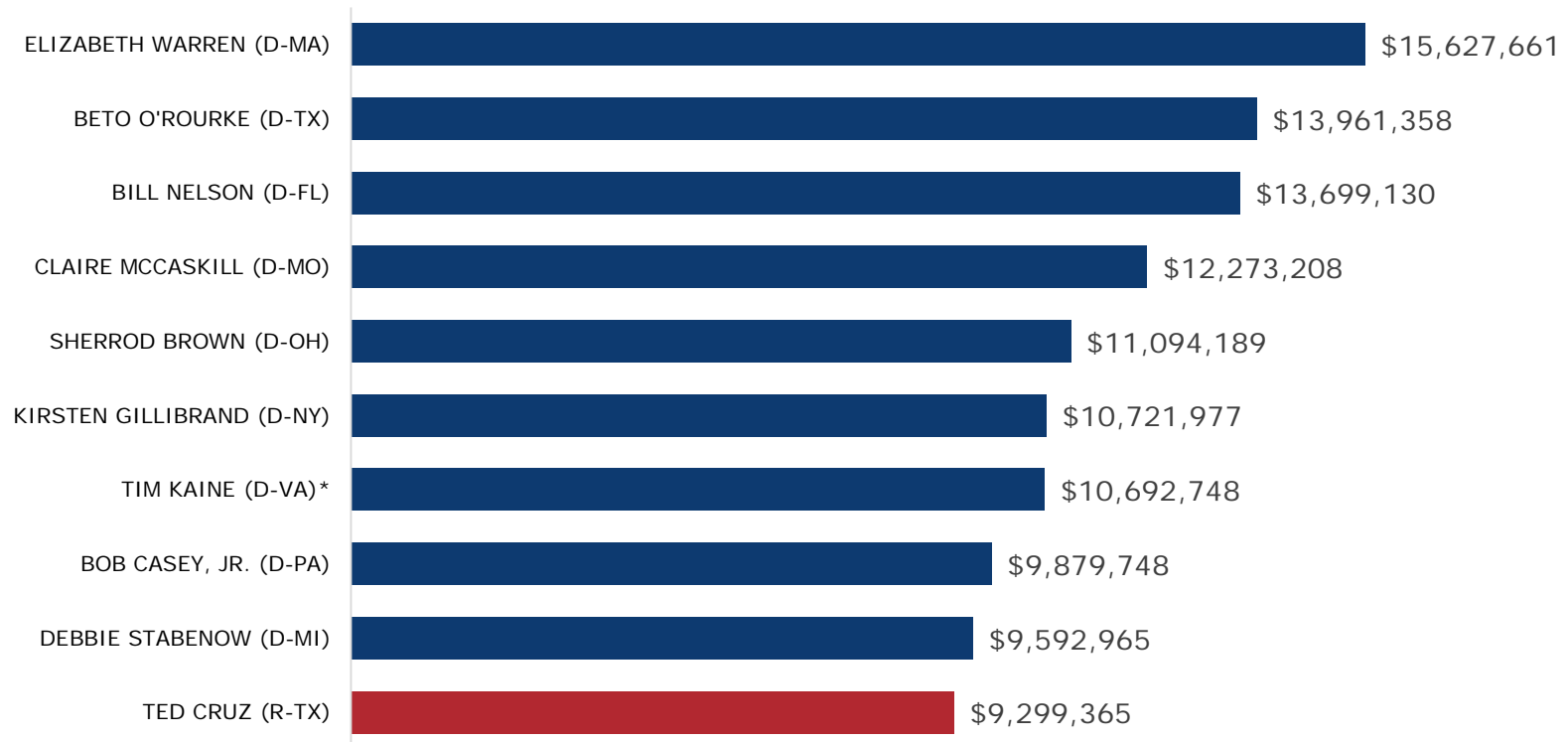
- Overall
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2018 Senate candidates with the largest war chests for the midterm elections

Top 10 Senate candidates with the most cash on hand

AS OF JUNE 30, 2018

■ Democrat ■ Republican

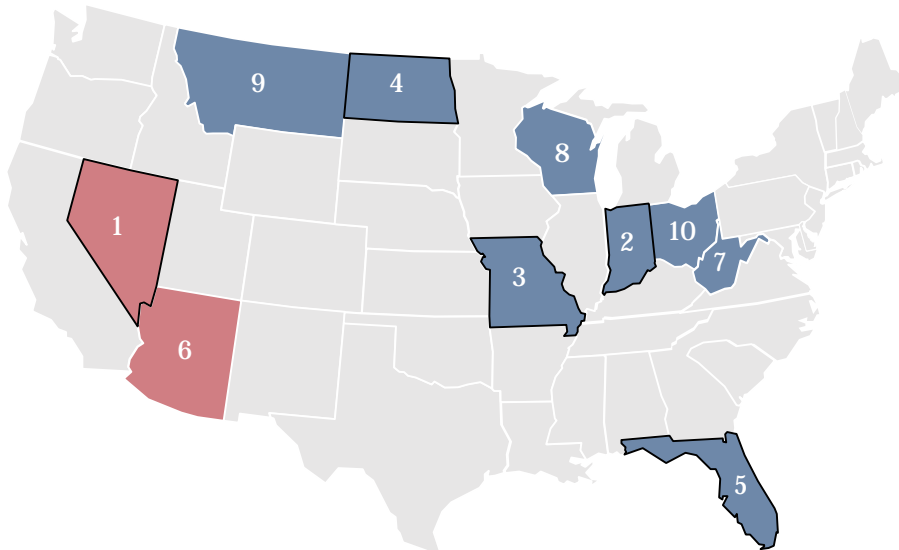


*Sen. Kaine's fundraising is as of 5/23/18
Sources: Federal Election Commission, 2018.

Democrats hold 8 of the 10 most vulnerable Senate seats in the 2018 election cycle

NJ Hotline's 2018 Senate power rankings

- Seat held by Republican
- Seat held by Democrat
- Top five states most likely to flip



Seats most vulnerable to change parties

1. Nevada: **Dean Heller (R)**
Challenger: **US Rep. Jacky Rosen (D)**
2. Indiana: **Joe Donnelly (D)**
Challengers: **Mike Braun (R)**
3. Missouri*: **Claire McCaskill (D)**
Challenger: **MO Attorney General Josh Hawley (R)**
4. North Dakota: **Heidi Heitkamp (D)**
Potential challenger: **Rep. Kevin Cramer (R)**
5. Florida: **Bill Nelson (D)**
Challengers: **FL Gov. Rick Scott (R)**
6. Arizona*: **(Jeff Flake – Retiring) Martha McSally & Kelli Ward (R)**
Challenger: **US Rep. Kristen Sinema (D – frontrunner)**
7. West Virginia: **Joe Manchin (D)**
Challenger: **WV Attorney General Patrick Morrisey (R)**
8. Wisconsin*: **Tammy Baldwin (D)**
Challengers: **Kevin Nicholson & Leah Vukmir (R)**
9. Montana: **Jon Tester (D)**
Challenger: **MT state auditor Matt Rosendale (R)**
10. Ohio: **Sherrod Brown (D)**
Challenger: **US Rep Jim Renacci (R)**

*These states have not yet had 2018 primary elections

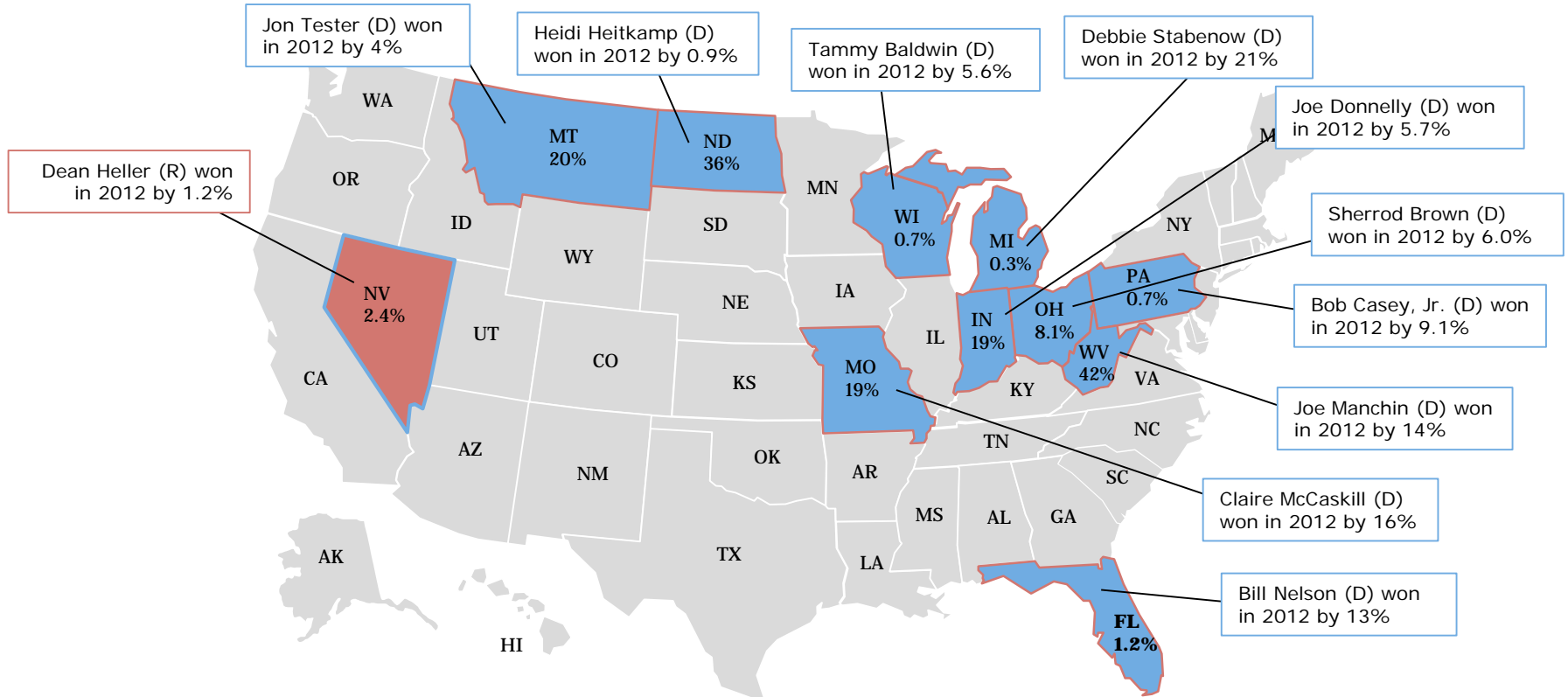
Sources: Kimerly Railey and Kyle Trygstad, "Hotline's Senate Power Rankings," National Journal, April 2018.

Of the 26 Democratic senators up for re-election, Trump won 10 of their states – and five by double digits

Senators up for re-election in states won by the opposing party's 2016 presidential candidate

PERCENTS INSIDE THE STATE REPRESENT BY HOW MUCH THE OTHER PARTY'S PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WON IN 2016

 Clinton victory
 Trump victory
 Democratic senator up for re-election
 Republican senator up for re-election

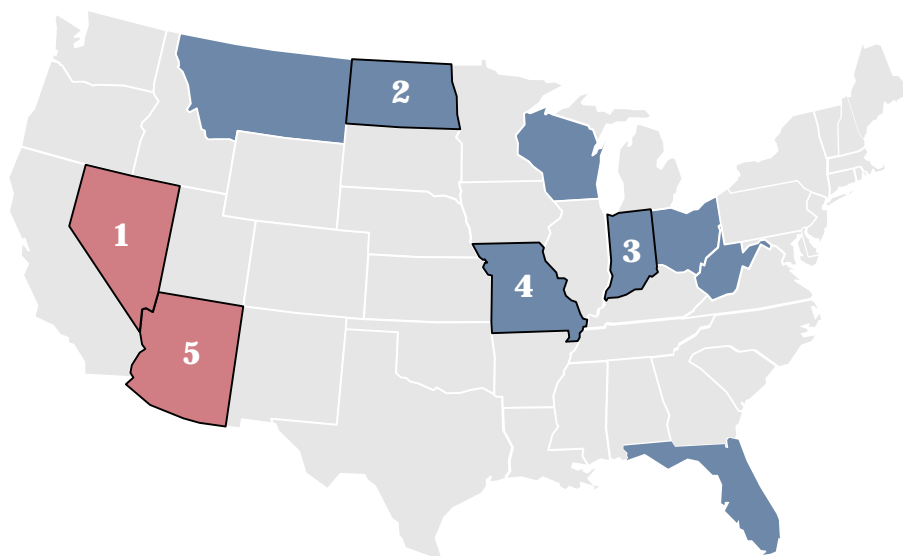


Sources: National Journal Research, 2017.

Three Republican Senate seats are now considered among the 10 most likely to flip in November

Hotline's 2018 Senate power rankings

- Seat held by Republican ■ Seat held by Democrat
□ Top five states most likely to flip



6. Florida — Bill Nelson (D)
7. West Virginia — Joe Manchin (D)
8. Montana — Jon Tester (D)
9. Tennessee — Bob Corker (R), retiring
10. Wisconsin — Tammy Baldwin (D)

1. Nevada:

Incumbent: Dean Heller (R)

Challenger: Rep. Jacky Rosen (D)

2. North Dakota :

Incumbent: Heidi Heitkamp (D)

Challenger: Rep. Kevin Cramer (R)

3. Indiana:

Incumbent: Joe Donnelly (D)

Challengers: Mike Braun (R)

4. Missouri:

Incumbent: Claire McCaskill (D)

Challenger: AG Josh Hawley (R)

5. Arizona:

Current: Jeff Flake (R), retiring

Potential challengers: Rep. Martha McSally (R)

Rep. Krysten Sinema (D)

Retirements from the Senate open seats to costly primaries and potentially contentious general elections

Senators retiring and not seeking reelection in 2018



Bob Corker
(R-TN)

- Corker has been an outspoken critic of Trump
- Rep. Marsha Blackburn (R-TN) is the Republican frontrunner
- Former Democratic TN governor Phil Bredesen (2003-2011) also announced his candidacy



Jeff Flake
(R-AZ)

- Flake decided not to run in light of low polling numbers and a strong challenge by Kelli Ward
- Competitive Republican primary between Rep. Martha McSally (R-AZ02), State Rep. Kelli Ward and former sheriff Joe Arpaio
- Rep. Kyrsten Sinema (D-AZ09) is considered the Democratic frontrunner



Orrin Hatch
(R-UT)

- Hatch announced his retirement after initially deciding to run
- Former MA governor and presidential candidate Mitt Romney announced he was running for the open seat in mid-February and is expected to win the seat



Thad Cochran
(R-MS)

- Cochran announced his resignation due to health concerns
- Gov. Phil Bryant (R) appointed Ag Commissioner Cindy Hyde-Smith, a former Democrat, to fill the seat until a Nov. 2018 special election
- She will be challenged by hard-right state senator Chris McDaniel (R)
- Mike Espy (D), a former US secretary of agriculture, intends to run
- Sen. Roger Wicker (R) is also up for re-election in 2018




Al Franken
(D-MN)

- Franken resigned on January 2nd amid a sexual harassment scandal
- He was replaced by Tina Smith (D) to fill his seat until a special election in November 2018
- Both Minnesota Senate seats will be on the ballot in November

Sources: National Journal Research 2017. *Includes Sen. Al Franken (D-MN) who resigned in January and was replaced by the Tina Smith (D)

Roadmap

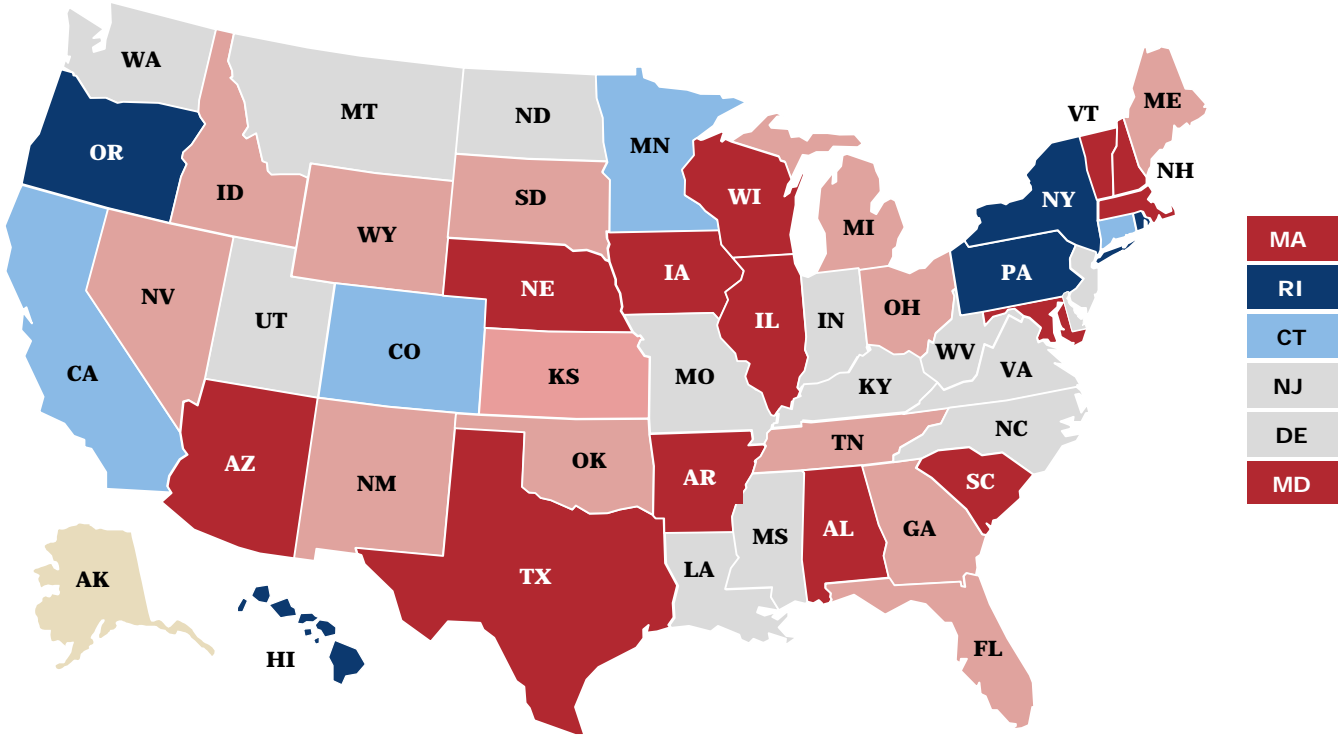
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In 2018, Republicans must defend 12 governorships without an incumbent running, as opposed to only four for Democrats

2018 gubernatorial races by incumbent and status

- Dem. incumbent (5)
- Dem. open* (4)
- Ind. incumbent (1)
- GOP incumbent (13)
- GOP open* (13)
- No election (14)

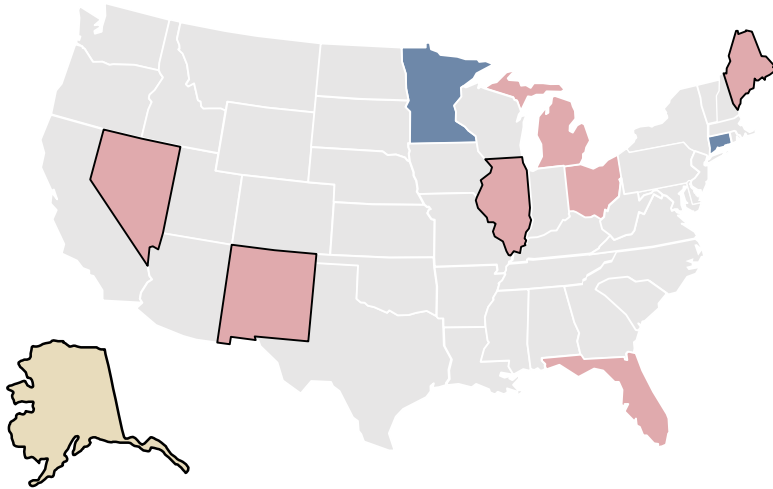


*"Open seats" are governorships where incumbent governors are term-limited or they have announced that they are not running for re-election
 Sources: Cook Political Report, 2017.

Democrats have a shot at picking up several governorships

Hotline's power rankings for gubernatorial elections

■ Democrat incumbent ■ Republican incumbent



6. Michigan: *Rick Snyder (R) (retiring)*
7. Connecticut: *Dan Malloy (D) (retiring)*
8. Florida: *Rick Scott (R) (retiring)*
9. Minnesota: *Mark Dayton (D) (retiring)*
10. Ohio: *John Kasich (R) (retiring)*

Seats most vulnerable to change parties

1. Illinois: **Bruce Rauner (R)**
 - Challenger: **JB Pritzker (D)**
2. New Mexico: **Susana Martinez (R) (retiring)**
 - Challengers: **Rep. Steve Pearce (R)**
Michelle Lujan Grisham (D)
3. Maine: **Paul LePage (R) (retiring)**
 - Challengers: **Janet Mills (D)**
Shawn Moody (R)
4. Alaska: **Bill Walker (I)**
 - Challengers: **Mike Dunleavy (R)**
Mark Begich (D)
5. Nevada: **Brian Sandoval (R) (retiring)**
 - Challengers: **Steve Sisolak (D)**
Adam Laxalt (R)