

2018 midterm elections overview

A look ahead to the 2018 congressional and gubernatorial elections

November 2017

Producer

Presentation Center Staff

Director

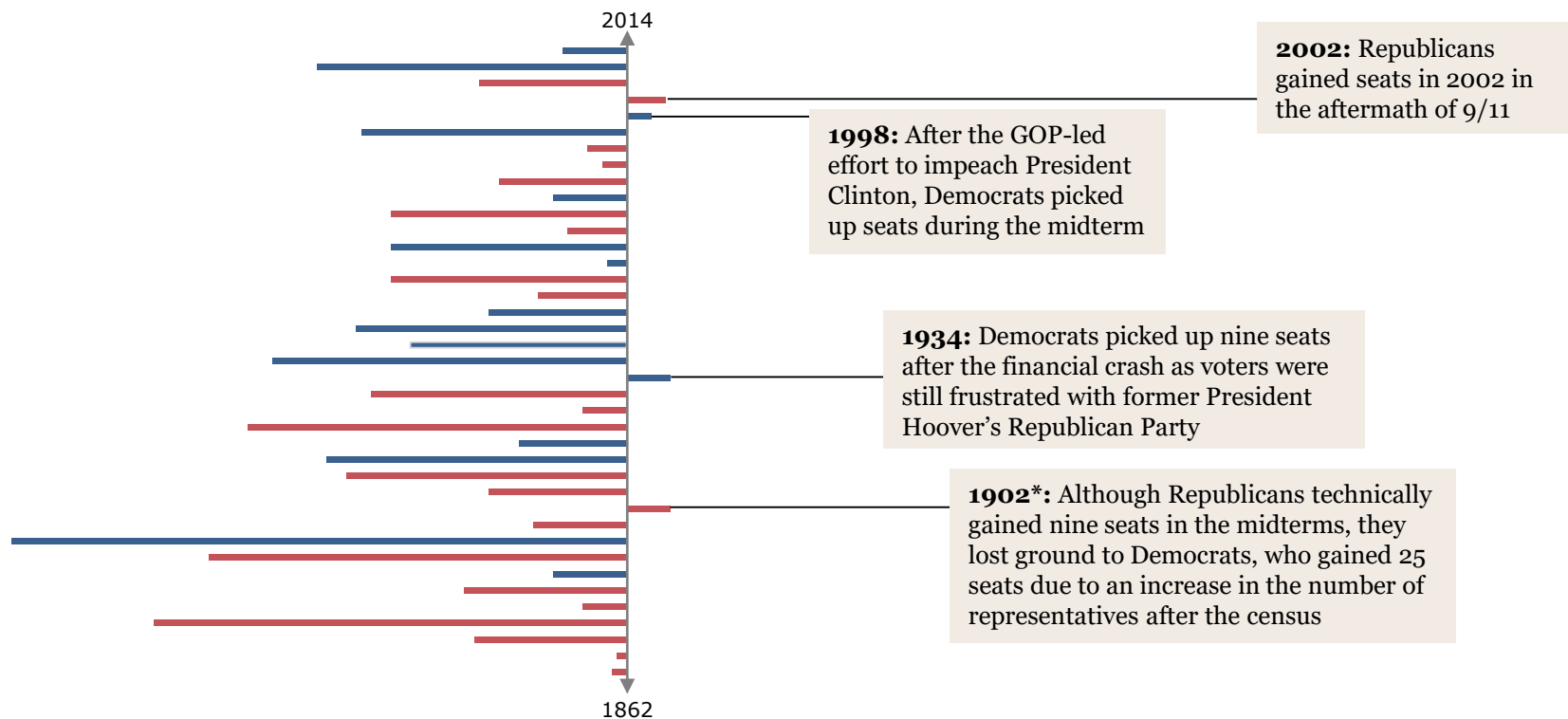
Alistair Taylor

Since 1862, the president's party has lost ground in the House in 92 percent of midterm elections

President's party gain/loss of seats in House

VITAL STATISTICS ON CONGRESS

■ Democratic president ■ Republican president



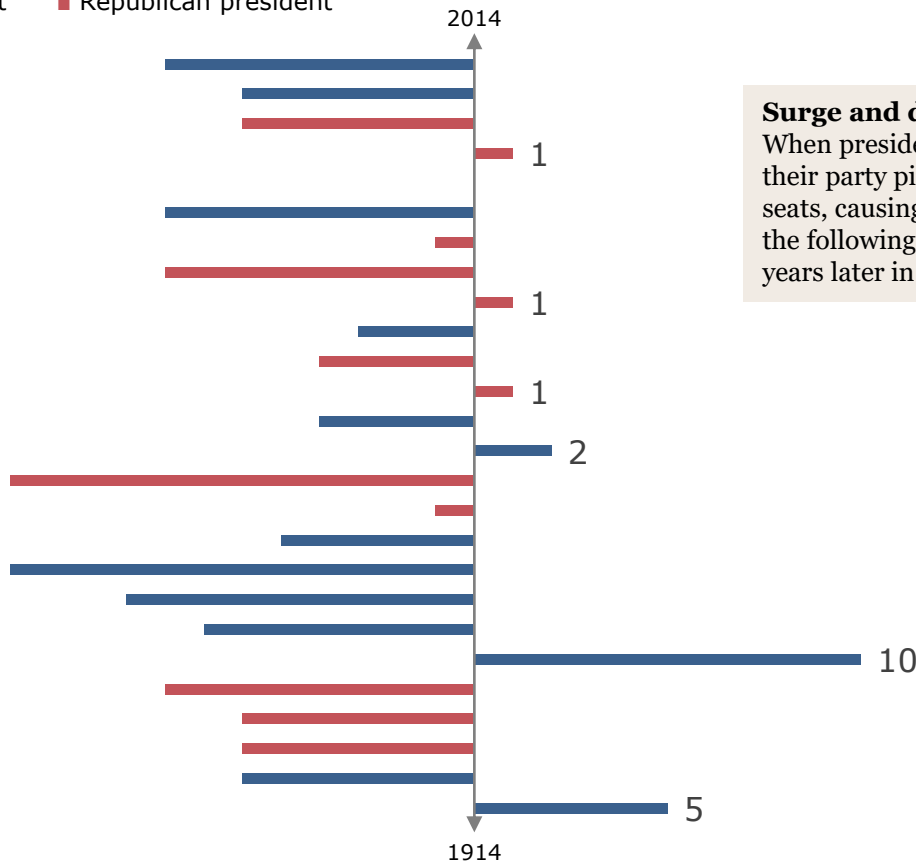
Sources: Charlie Cook, "Will History Hold in 2018 Midterms?" The Cook Political Report, January 9, 2017.

The president's party has lost Senate seats in 19 of 26 midterms

President's party gain/loss of seats in Senate

VITAL STATISTICS ON CONGRESS

■ Democratic president ■ Republican president



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

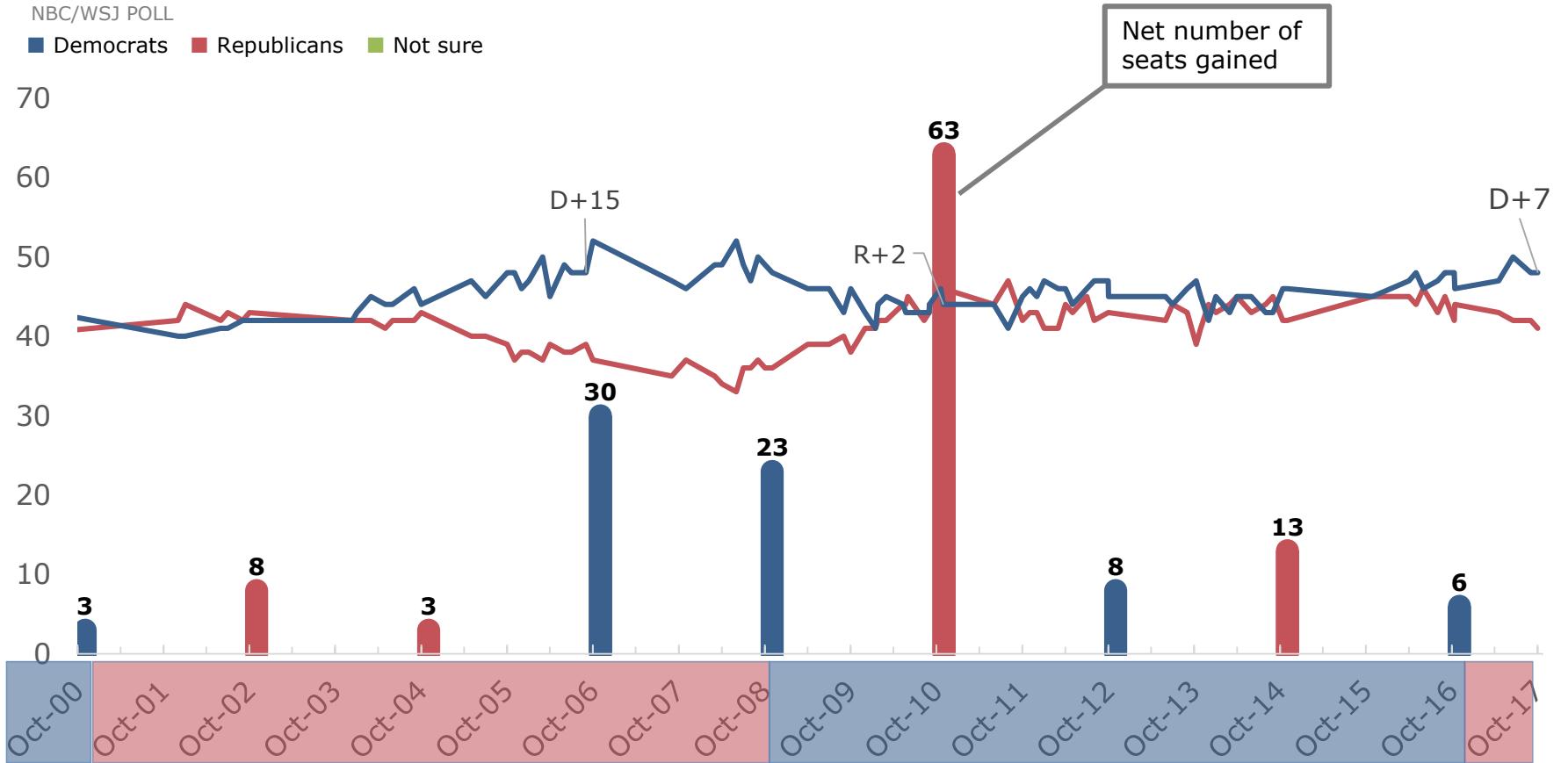
Sources: Charlie Cook, "Will History Hold in 2018 Midterms?" The Cook Political Report, January 9, 2017.

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

Comparison between generic ballot polling and outcomes

NBC/WSJ POLL

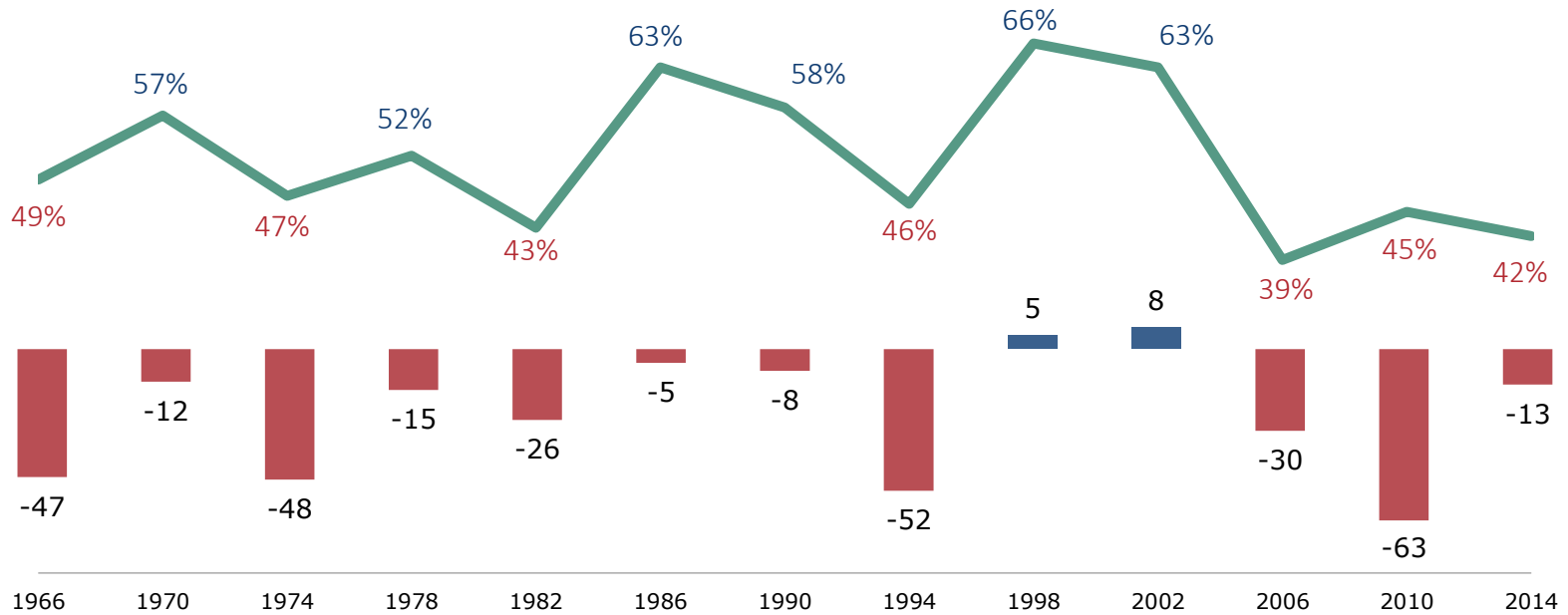
■ Democrats ■ Republicans ■ Not sure



Sources: Federal Election Commission, 2017.

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
38.3%
 RCP Average: November 9, 2017

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

Sources: Gallup, The Cook Political Report, National Journal

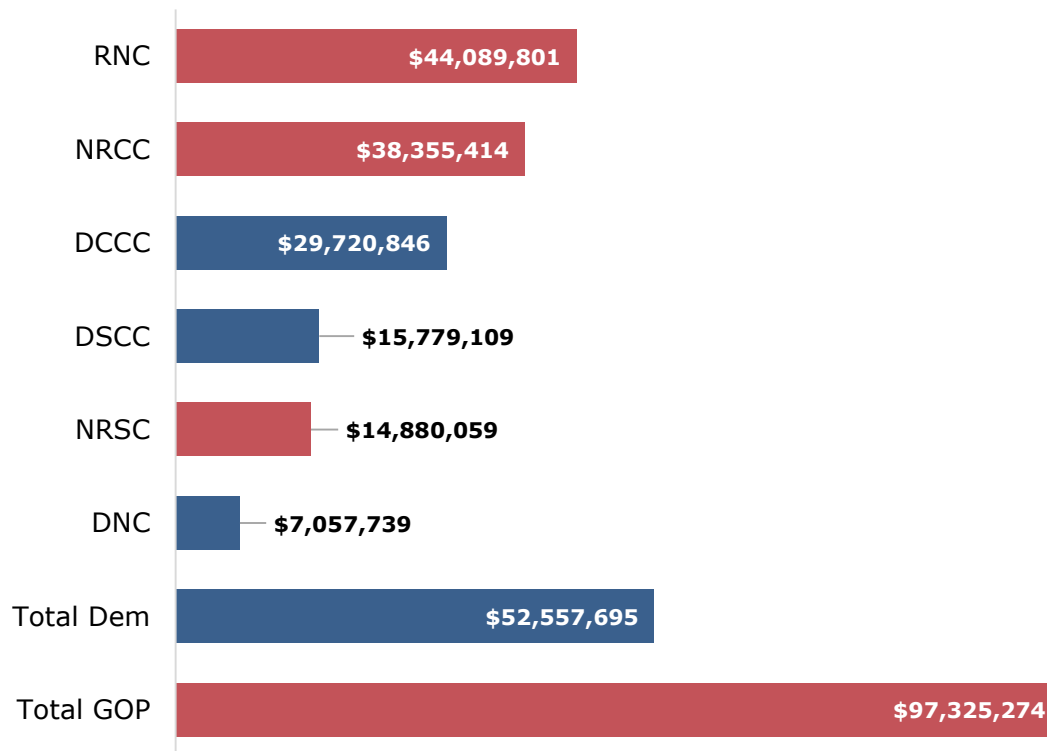
The national Republican Party PACs ended Q3 with the most cash on hand

Total cash on hand by national party PACs

AS OF SEPTEMBER 30

■ Democrat

■ Republican

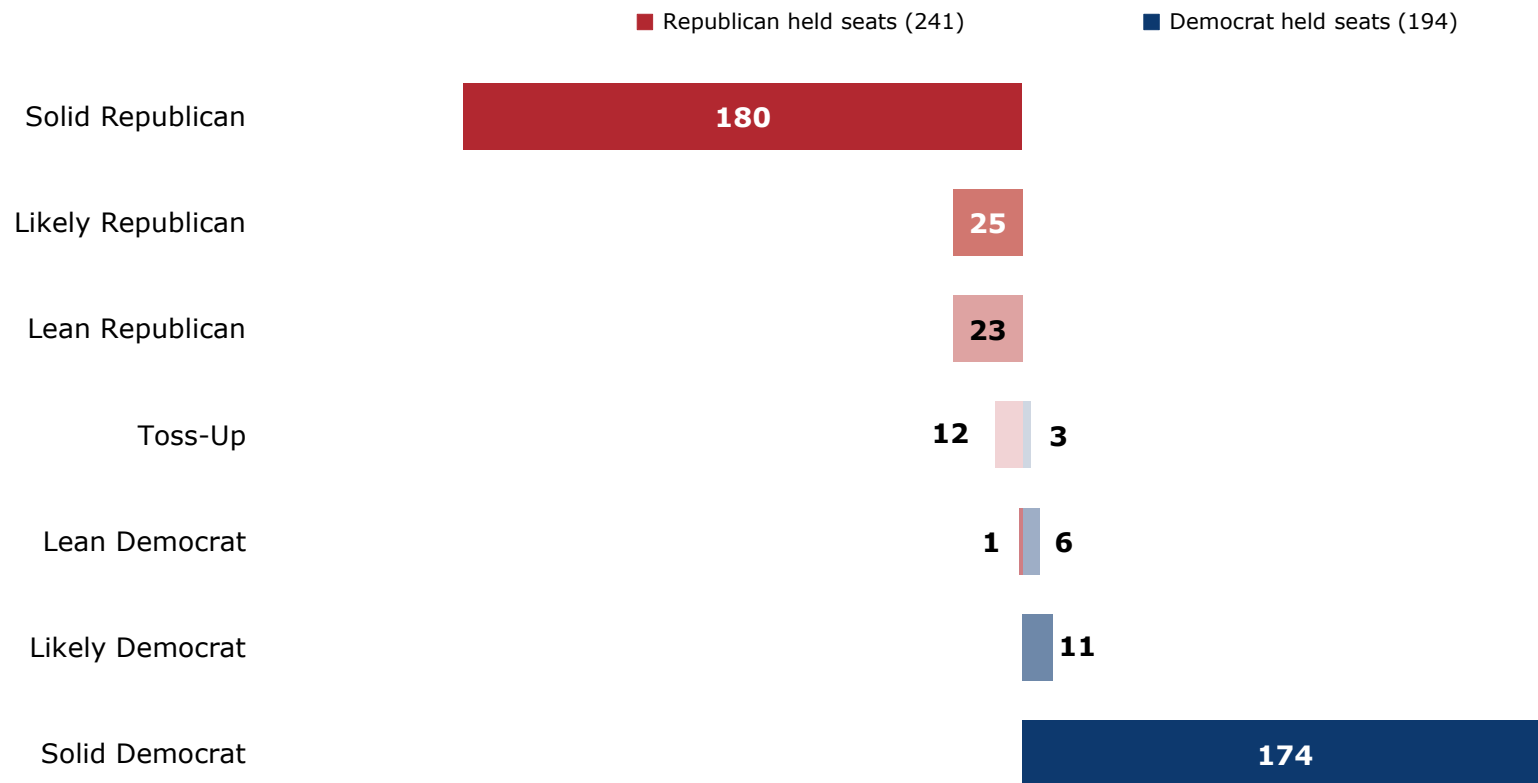


Sources: Federal Election Commission, 2017.

Democrats need to pick up over 20 seats to take back the House in 2018

Cook Political Report ratings

2018 HOUSE RACES

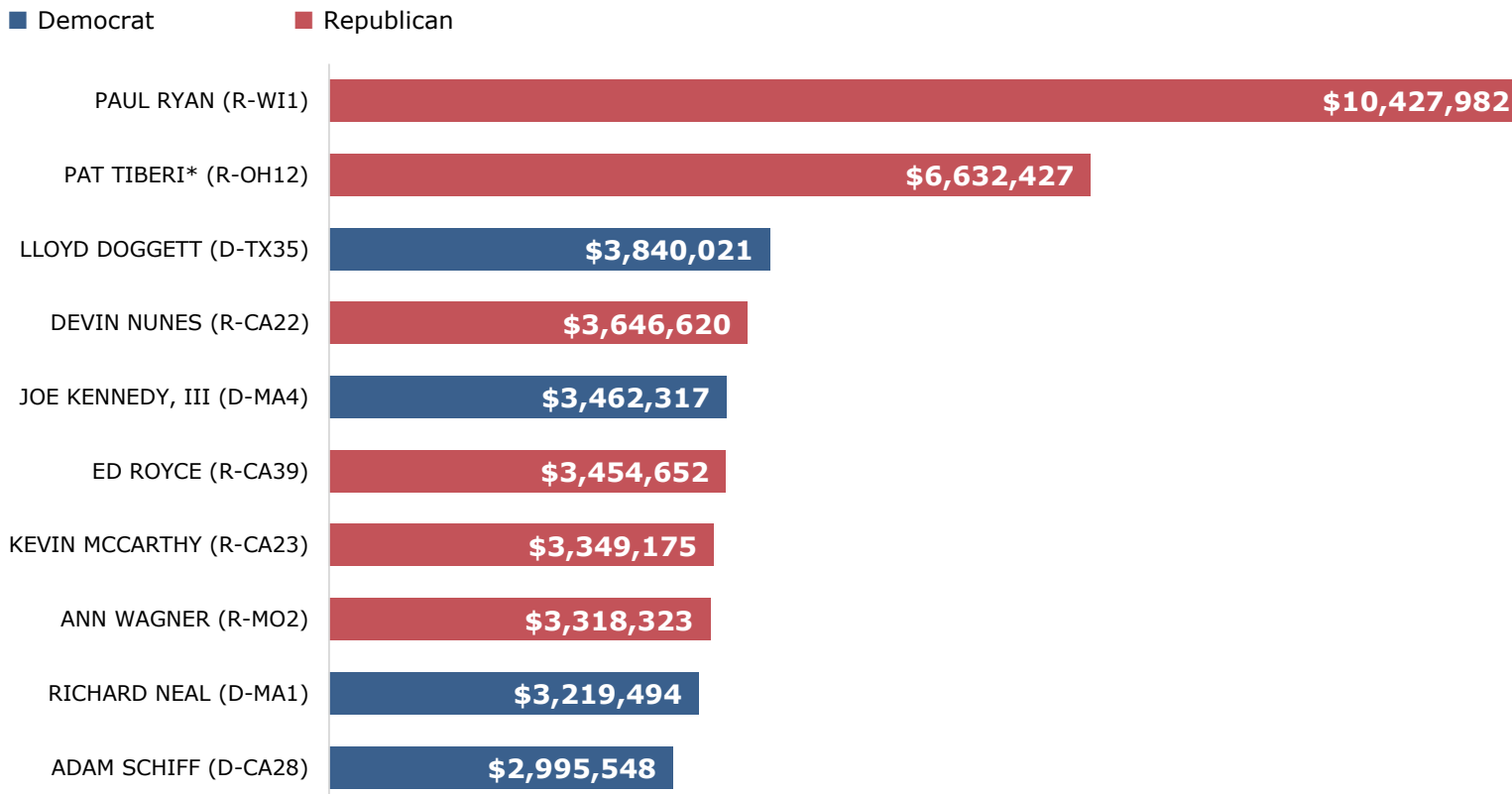


Source: Cook Political Report.

House members with the largest war chests for the 2018 midterm elections

Top 10 House members with the most cash on hand

AS OF SEPTEMBER 30



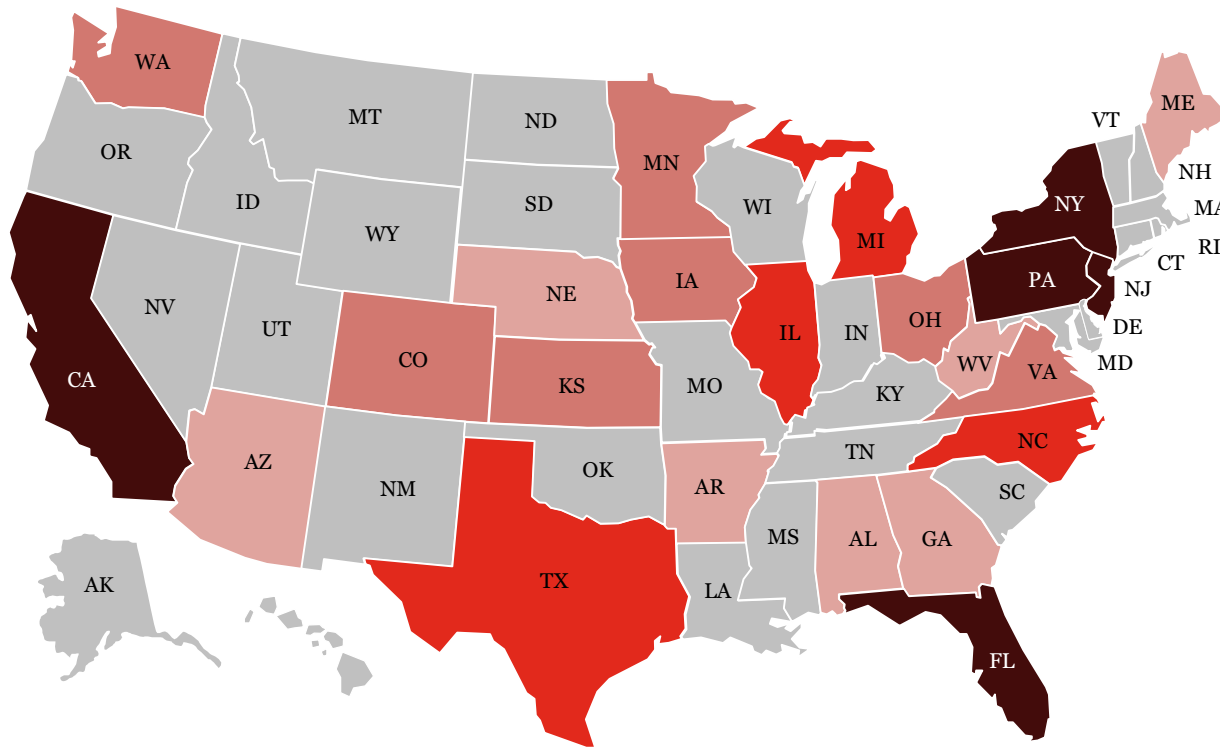
*Rep. Tiberi announced he will not seek re-election and will resign by 2018

Sources: Federal Election Commission, 2017.

In January, the DCCC released the list of Republican-held House seats it will be targeting in 2018

DCCC target district overview

7-4 seats targeted
 3 seats targeted
 2 seats targeted
 1 seat targeted
 Not listed



Analysis

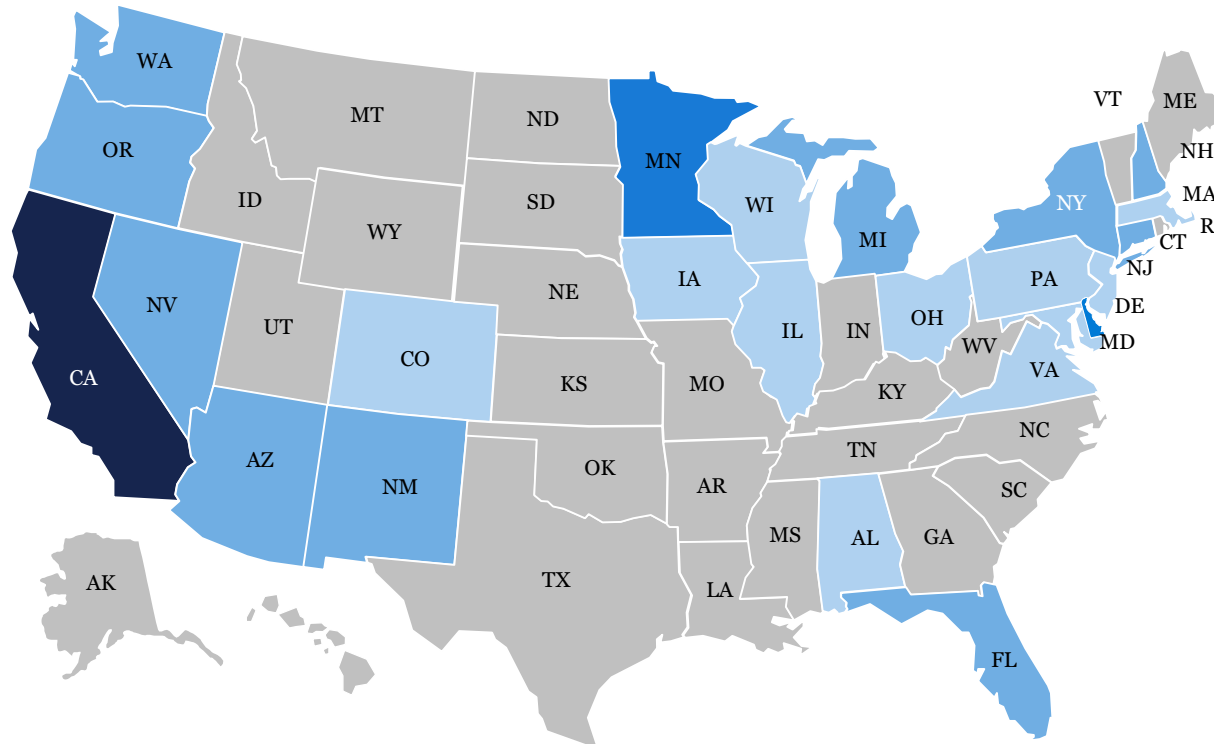
- 23 districts were won by Clinton over Trump in 2016
- Democrats hope that Trump will motivate their voters to turn out
- California is the biggest target with 7 districts targeted

Sources: Kyle Cheney, "Amid Democratic doldrums, DCCC identifies 2018 targets," POLITICO, January 30, 2017; David Nir, "Daily Kos Elections presidential results by congressional districts for the 2016 and 2017 elections," Daily Kos, January 30, 2017.

In February, the NRCC released a list of 36 Democrat-held House seats they will target in 2018

NRCC target district overview

Four seats targeted
 Three seats targeted
 Two seats targeted
 One seat targeted
 Not listed



Analysis

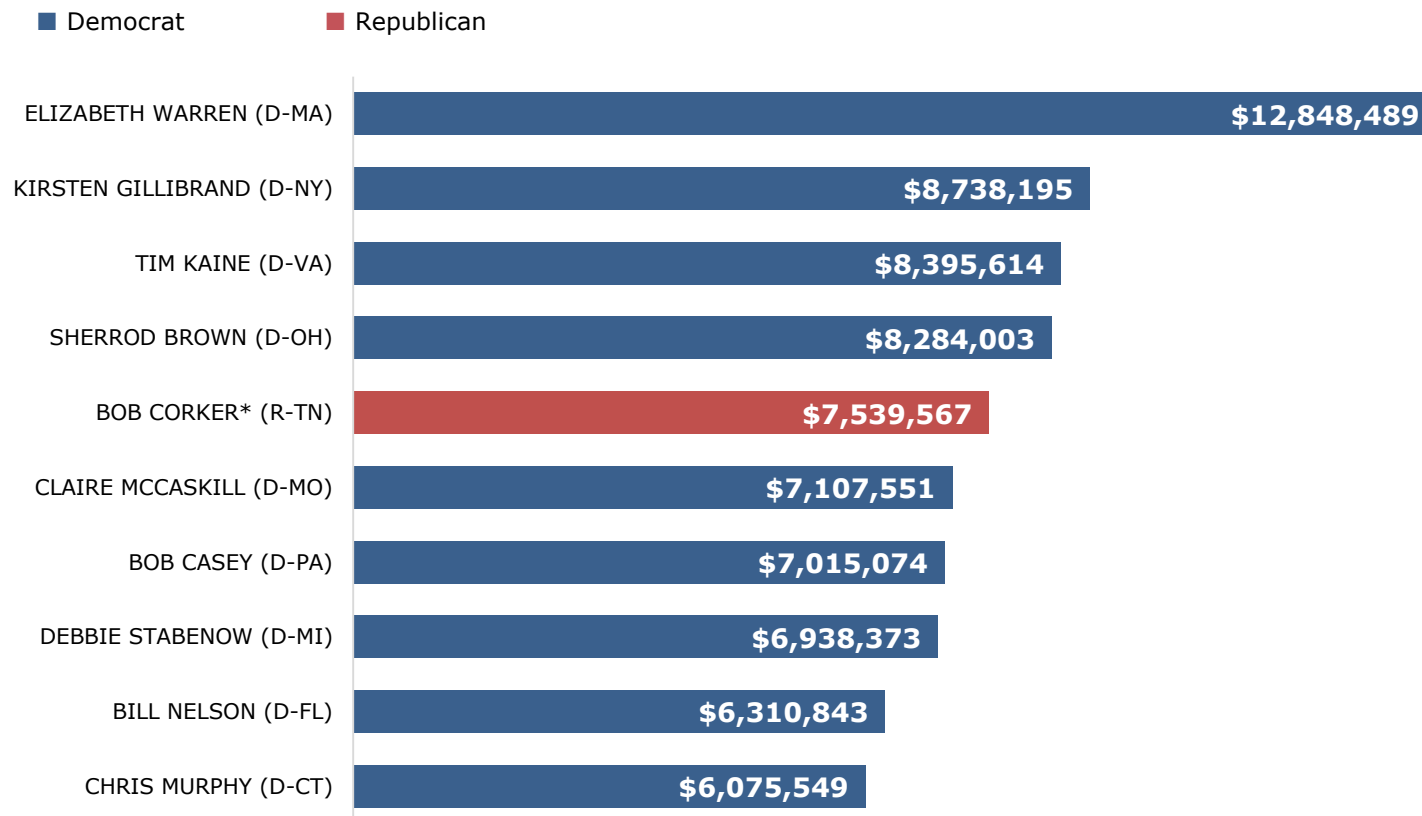
- 12 districts were won by Trump over Clinton in 2016
- Most of the 12 are blue-collar Midwest districts
- While midterms are usually more difficult for the majority party, Democrats have struggled to motivate voters in midterm elections

Sources: Alex Isenstadt, "House Republicans name Democratic targets for 2018," POLITICO, February 8, 2017; David Nir, "Daily Kos Elections presidential results by congressional districts for the 2016 and 2017 elections," Daily Kos, January 30, 2017.

Senate members with the largest war chests for the 2018 midterm elections

Top 10 Senate members with the most cash on hand

AS OF SEPTEMBER 30



*Sen. Corker has announced he is not seeking re-election.

Sources: Federal Election Commission, 2017.

Only one retiring Republican has a Dem-leaning PVI

Representatives not seeking re-election in D-leaning districts

ASTERISK-MARKED REPRESENTATIVES ARE SEEKING ANOTHER OFFICE

>D+10



Colleen Hanabusa (+17)
(D-HI01)*



Beto O'Rourke (+17)
(D-TX16)*

D+10 — D+6



John Delaney (+6)*
(D-MD06)



Jared Polis (+9)
(D-CO02)*



Michelle Lujan Grisham (+7)
(D-NM01)*



Niki Tsongas (+9)
(D-MA)

D+5 — Even



Dave Reichert (even)
(R-WA)



Kyrsten Sinema (+4)
(D-AZ09)*



Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (+5)
(R-FL)

Sources: "2018 House summary" The Cook political report, October 20, 2017.

Most of the 22 House Republicans who have announced their retirement are from solid-R districts

Representatives not seeking re-election in R-leaning districts

ASTERISK-MARKED REPRESENTATIVES ARE SEEKING ANOTHER OFFICE

Even — R+5

R+6 — R+10

>R+10



Frank LoBiondo (+1)
(R-NJ02)



Jacky Rosen (+2)
(D-NV03)*



Steve Pearce (+6)
(R-NM02)*



Pat Tiberi (+7)
(R-OH12)



Carol Shea-Porter (+2)
(D-NH01)



David Trott (+4)
(R-MI)



Jim Renacci (+8)
(R-OH16)



Lynn Jenkins (+10)
(R-KS02)



Charlie Dent (+4)
(R-PA15)



Tim Walz (+5)
(D-MN01)*



Lou Barletta (+10)
(R-PA11)*



Lamar Smith (+10)
(R-TX10)

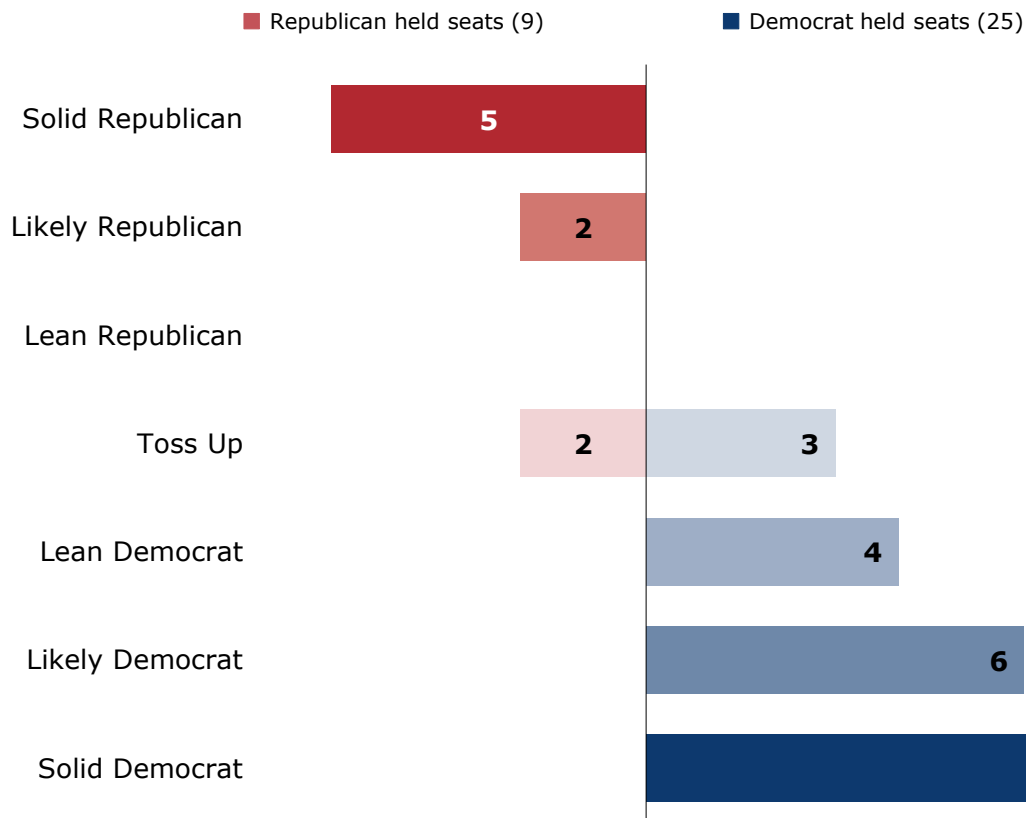
- +11 Tim Murphy (R-PA18)
Ted Poe (R-TX02)
- +13 Sam Johnson (R-TX03)
Bob Goodlatte (R-VA06)
- +14 Kristi Noem (R-SD-AL)*
- +16 Jeb Hensarling (R-TX05)
- +17 Todd Rokita (R-IN04)*
- +18 Luke Messer (R-IN06)*
- +20 Jimmy Duncan (R-TN02)
Marsha Blackburn (R-TN07)*
- +21 Raul Labrador (R-ID01)*
- +23 Evan Jenkins (R-WV03)*
- +24 Diane Black (R-TN06)*

Sources: "2018 House summary" The Cook political report, October 20, 2017.

Democrats are defending 25 seats in 2018

Cook Political Report ratings

2018 SENATE RACES



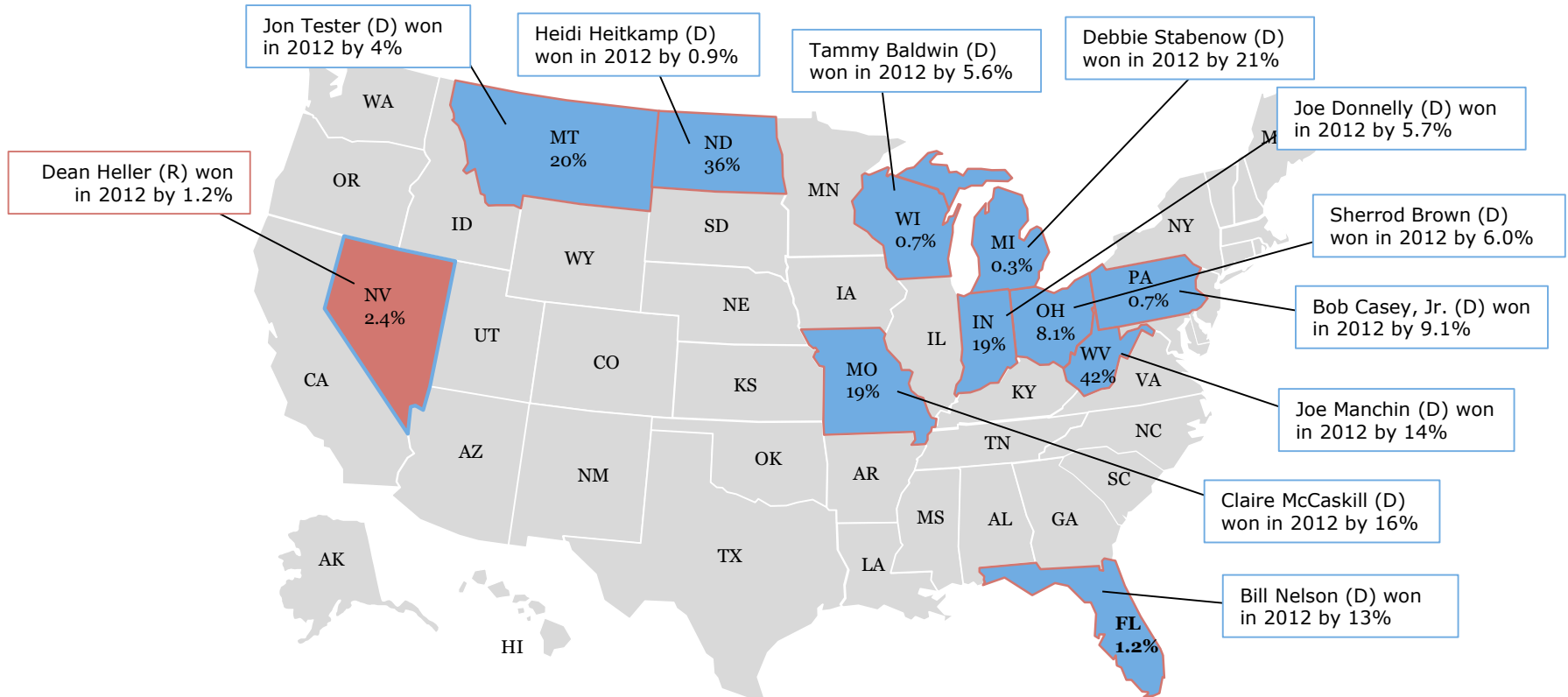
Sources: Cook Political Report, 2017.

Of the 23 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

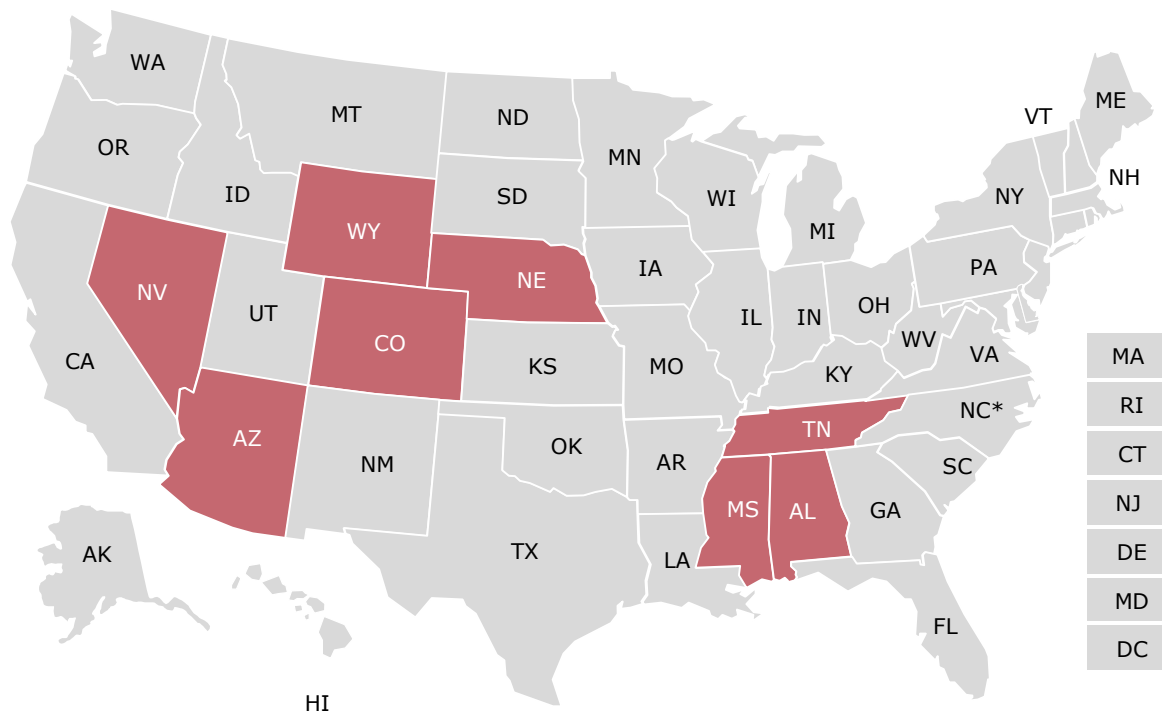
■ Clinton victory
 ■ Trump victory
 ■ Democratic senator up for re-election
 ■ Republican senator up for re-election



Sources: National Journal Research, 2017.

Bannon plans 2018 primary challenges against incumbent Republican senators to fight the GOP establishment

Map of GOP incumbents on Bannon's radar



Analysis

- Bannon has returned to Breitbart News as executive chairman
- He met with Rep. Dean Heller's (R-NV) rival Danny Tarkanian and vowed to fully endorse him
- David Bossie, Trump's former deputy campaign manager, is helping scout out possible primary challenger recruits to take on Rep. Jeff Flake (R-AZ)
- Roy Moore, Bannon's pick for the Alabama Republican primary, won over incumbent Luther Strange, for whom Trump and Pence both campaigned

Sources: Olivia Beavers, "Bannon pushing for primary challenges against GOP incumbents: report," The Hill, September 10, 2017; Alex Isenstadt, "Bannon plotting primaries against slate of GOP incumbents," Politico, September 10, 2017.

Sens. Bob Corker and Jeff Flake announced their retirement

Senators retiring and not seeking reelection in 2018



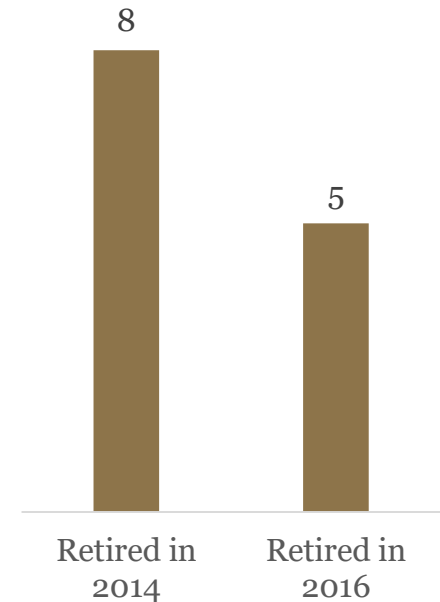
Bob Corker
(R-TN)

"I also believe the most important public service I have to offer our country could well occur over the next 15 months, and I want to be able to do that as thoughtfully and independently as I did the first 10 years and nine months of my Senate career."
— Sen. Corker, announcing his retirement



Jeff Flake
(R-AZ)

"Despotism loves a vacuum. And our allies are now looking elsewhere for leadership. Why are they doing this? None of this is normal. And what do we as United States senators have to say about it?"
— Sen. Flake, announcing his retirement

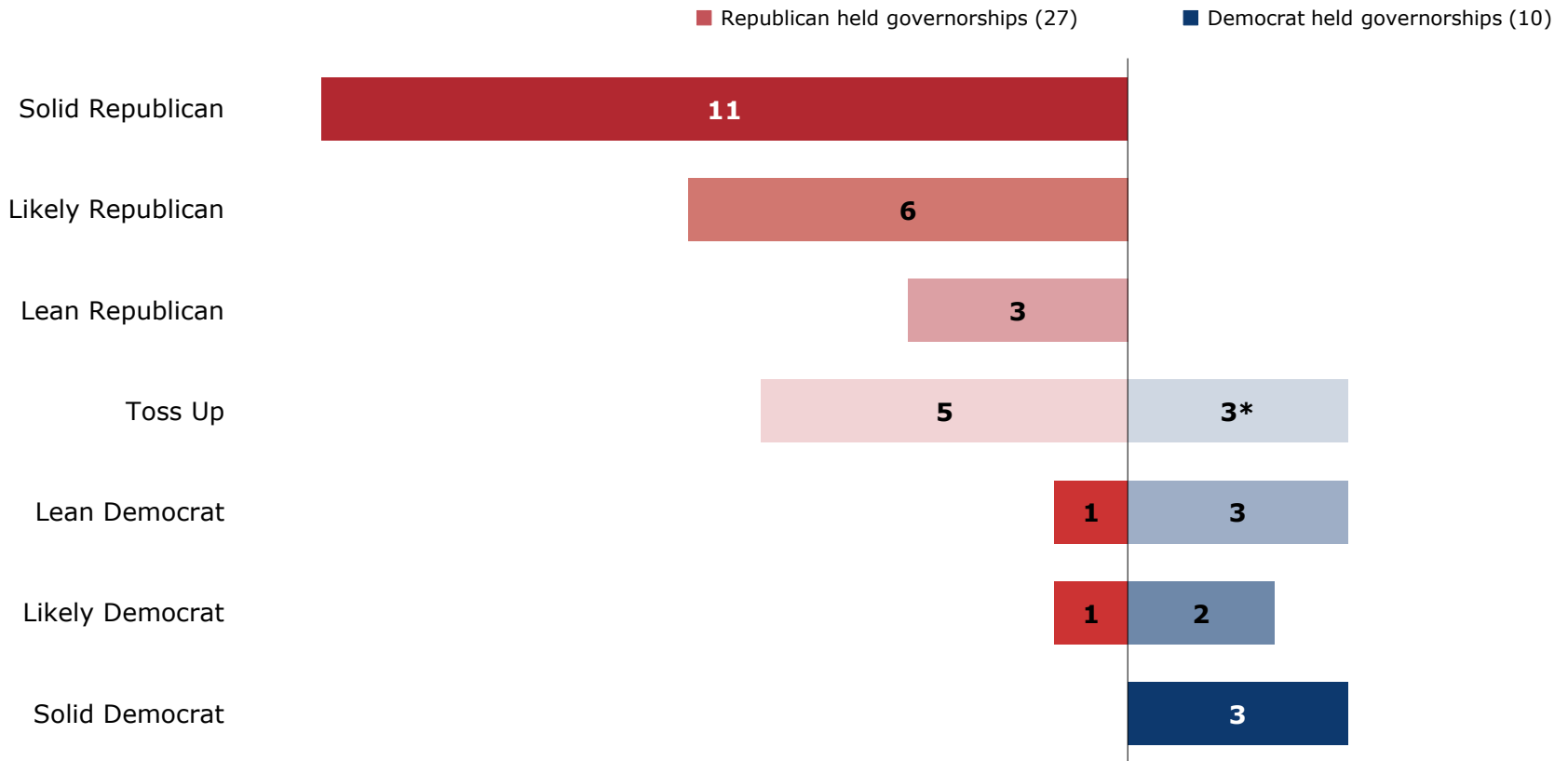


Sources: "Departing members: 115th Congress (2017-2018)," Roll Call, October 25, 2017.

At least one Republican-held governorship is likely to flip, while six others are a toss-up or leaning Democrat

Cook Political Report ratings

2017 & 2018 GUBERNATORIAL RACES



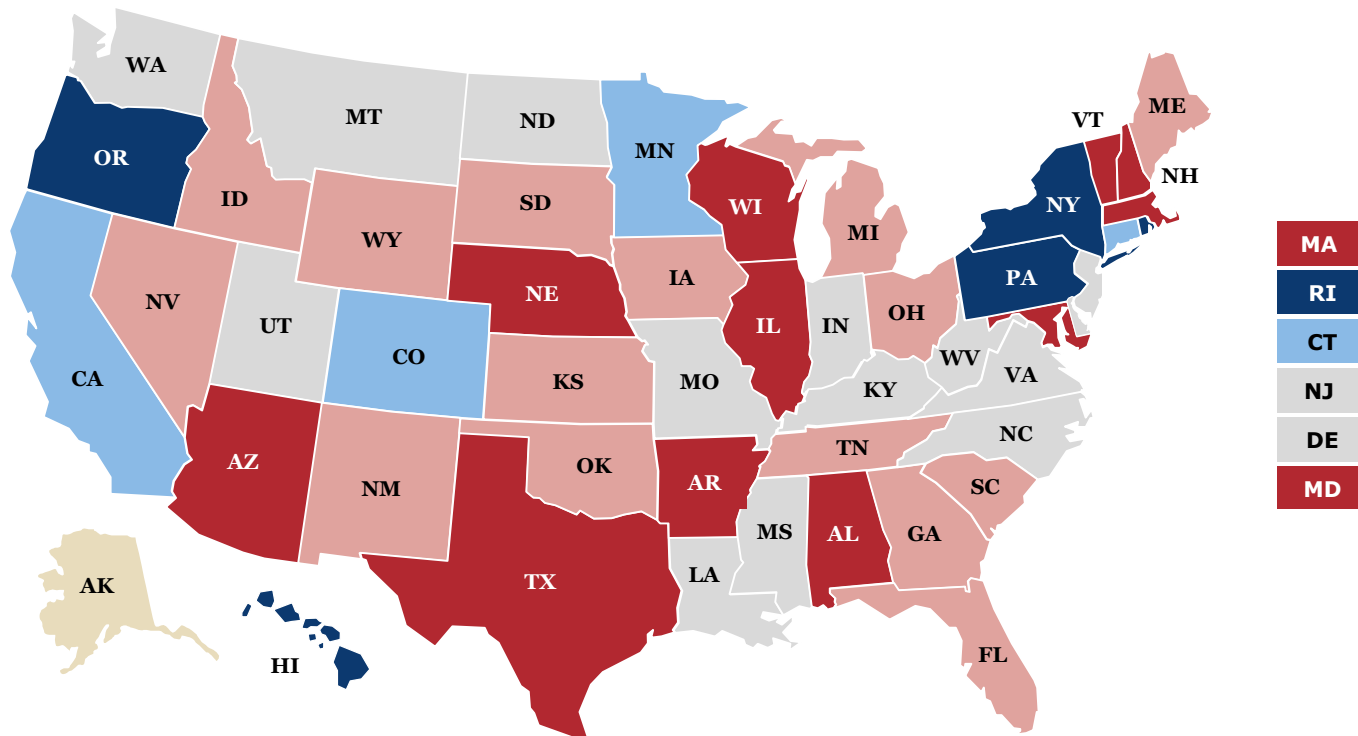
*One toss-up seat is held by Alaskan governor Bill Walker, an independent

Sources: Cook Political Report, 2017.

In 2018, Republicans must defend 15 governorships without an incumbent running, as opposed to only 4 for Dems

2018 gubernatorial races by incumbent and status

- Dem. incumbent (5)
- Dem. open* (4)
- Ind. incumbent (1)
- GOP incumbent (11)
- GOP open* (15)
- No election (12)



**“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.

Republicans and Democrats face unique challenges in their strategy for the midterms

Republican strategy



Localize

- Localize the race without needlessly antagonizing Trump or his supporters
- A Republican running in 2018 should try to avoid making his or her election a referendum on Washington or Congress
- A nationalized race is the last thing Republicans want



Specify

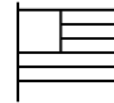
- Make the choice about the best candidate to represent the interests, values and needs of your constituents
- Say you'll support Trump when his positions help your district, and oppose him when they don't
- Make the race about two candidates squared off each other, not a referendum on how the country is doing



Beware of Twitter

- Avoid getting drawn into reacting to every Trump tweet or new position
- If candidates comment on every controversial statement Trump makes, they'll never have time to explain their own positions
- Simply say, "my name is on the ballot in this district/state, not President Trump's. I am running my race; he can speak for himself."

Democratic strategy



Nationalize

- Democrats can nationalize their races and make them a referendum on Trump and Republicans in Congress
- They can stay away from local issues and run as "send-them-a-message" candidates
- Republicans successfully used this tactic in 2010 and 2014



It's a referendum

- It's fashionable right now to say that Democrats have to stand for something
- "I have never seen a party win a midterm election on the issues; midterms are always a referendum on the party in power." – Charlie Cook
- Make the race a referendum on how the country is doing

Sources: Charlie Cook, "Midterms are about the party in power not issues," National Journal, July 31, 2017; Amy Walter, "Keeping Democrats 'better deal' in perspective," The Cook Political Report, July 26, 2017.

Most states have primary filing deadlines in March or April

2018 congressional filing deadlines by state

■ Filing deadline for primary candidates

January

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February

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August

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Jan 30: KS and KY

Feb 9: AL and IN

Mar 1: AR and MS

Mar 15: Utah

Apr 5: TN

Feb 27: MD

Mar 6: OR

Mar 16: IA and NV

Apr 9: ND

Feb 28: NC

Mar 9: CA, GA, and ID

Mar 20: CO

Apr 13: OK

Mar 12: MT

Mar 27: MO and SD

Apr 23: VT

Mar 13: NM

Mar 30: SC

Apr 24: MI

May 4: FL

Jun 1: AK and WY

Jul 20: LA

No data as of October 6, 2017 for the following states: AR, CT, DE, ME, MA, NE, NH, NJ, NY, PA, VA, WV, WI

Jun 5: MN

Jun 25: RI

Sources: Ballotpedia, 2017

Most states will hold their primaries in June or August of 2018

2018 congressional primary calendar

■ Primary election

March

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November

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Mar 6: TX
Mar 20: IL

May 8: IN, NC, OH
May 15: ID, NE, OR, PA
May 22: AR, GA, KY

Jun 5: AL, CA, IA, MS, MT, NJ, NM, SD
Jun 12: ME, NV, ND, SC, VA
Jun 26: CO, MD, NY, OK, UT

Aug 2: TN
Aug 7: KS, MI, MO, WA
Aug 11: HI
Aug 14: CT, MN, VT, WI

Sept 11: DE, NH, RI
Sept 18: MA

Nov 6: LA

***No primary elections in April, July or October**

Source: Ballotpedia, 2017.