

2018 midterm elections overview

A look ahead to the 2018 congressional and gubernatorial elections

July 2018

Producer

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Roadmap



Historic midterm trends

2018 midterms

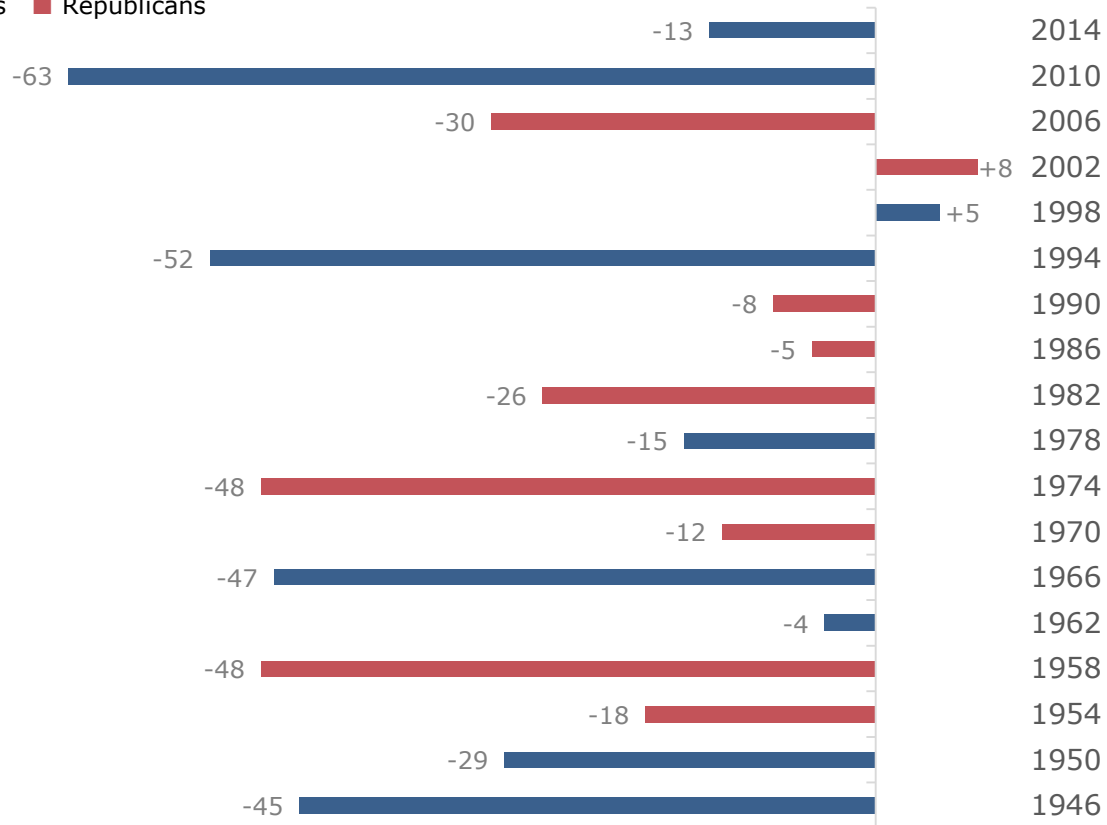
- Overall
- House
- Senate
- Governors

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

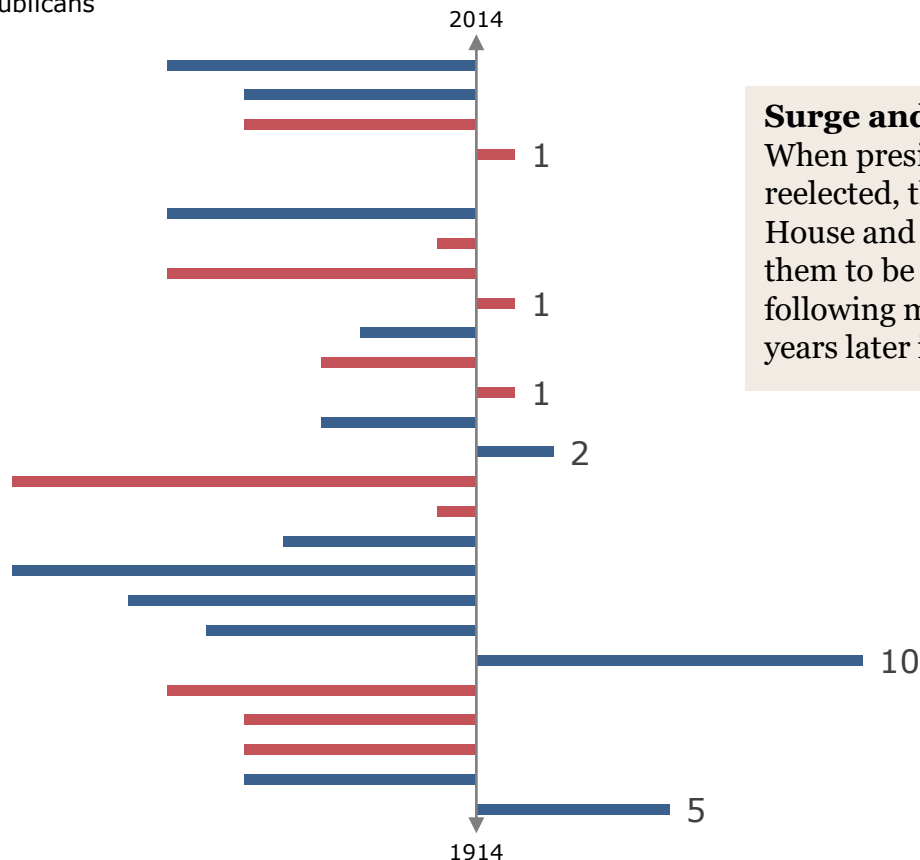
1994: Democrats lose their House majority due to health reform plans and Gingrich's "Contract with America"

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.

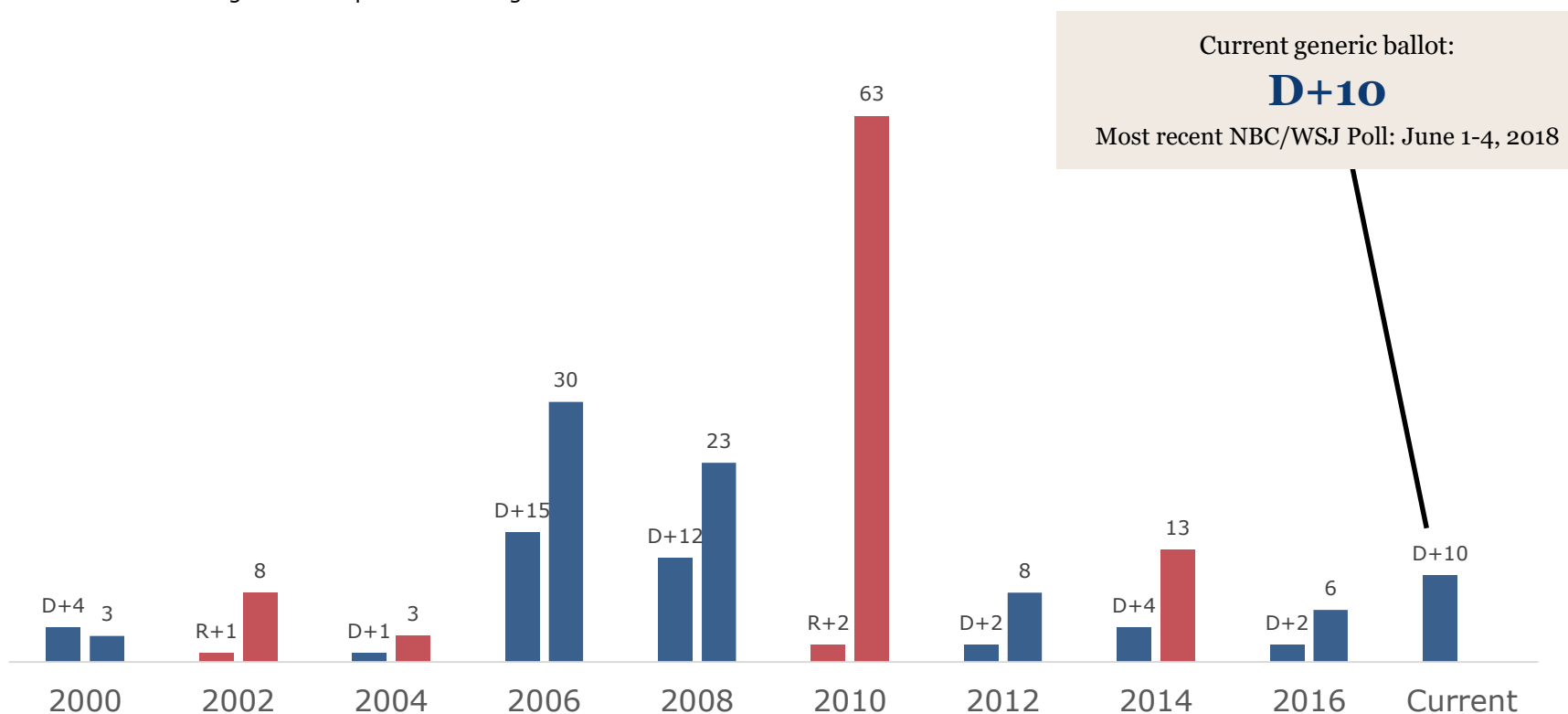
Daniel Stublen | Slide last updated on: July 17, 2018

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

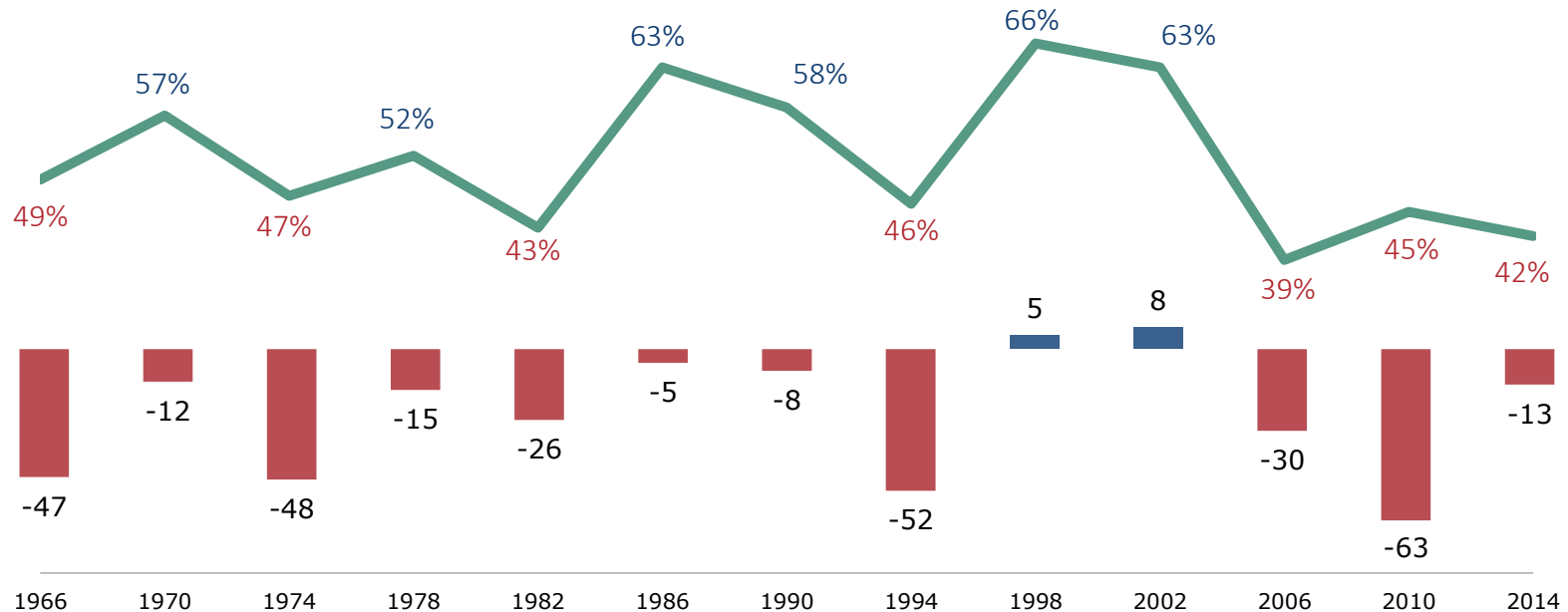
■ Democratic seat gain ■ Republican seat gain



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
43.0%
 RCP Average: July 17, 2018

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

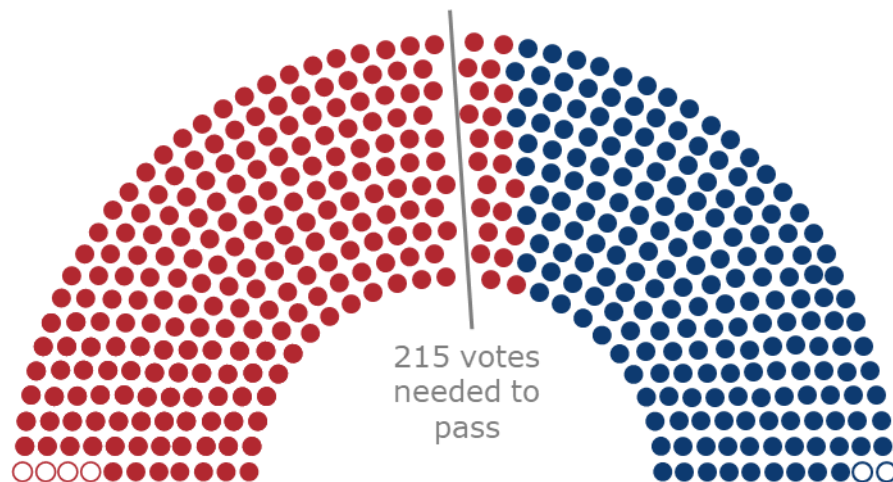
Roadmap

- Historic midterm trends
- 2018 midterms

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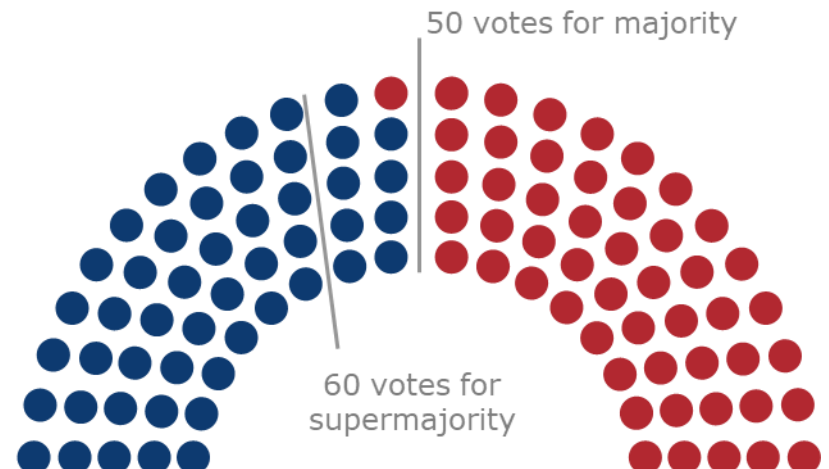
Current partisan breakdown of the 115th Congress

House of Representatives



Total Republicans	236
Total Democrats	193
Vacancies	6

Senate



Total Republicans	51
Total Democrats/Independents	49

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

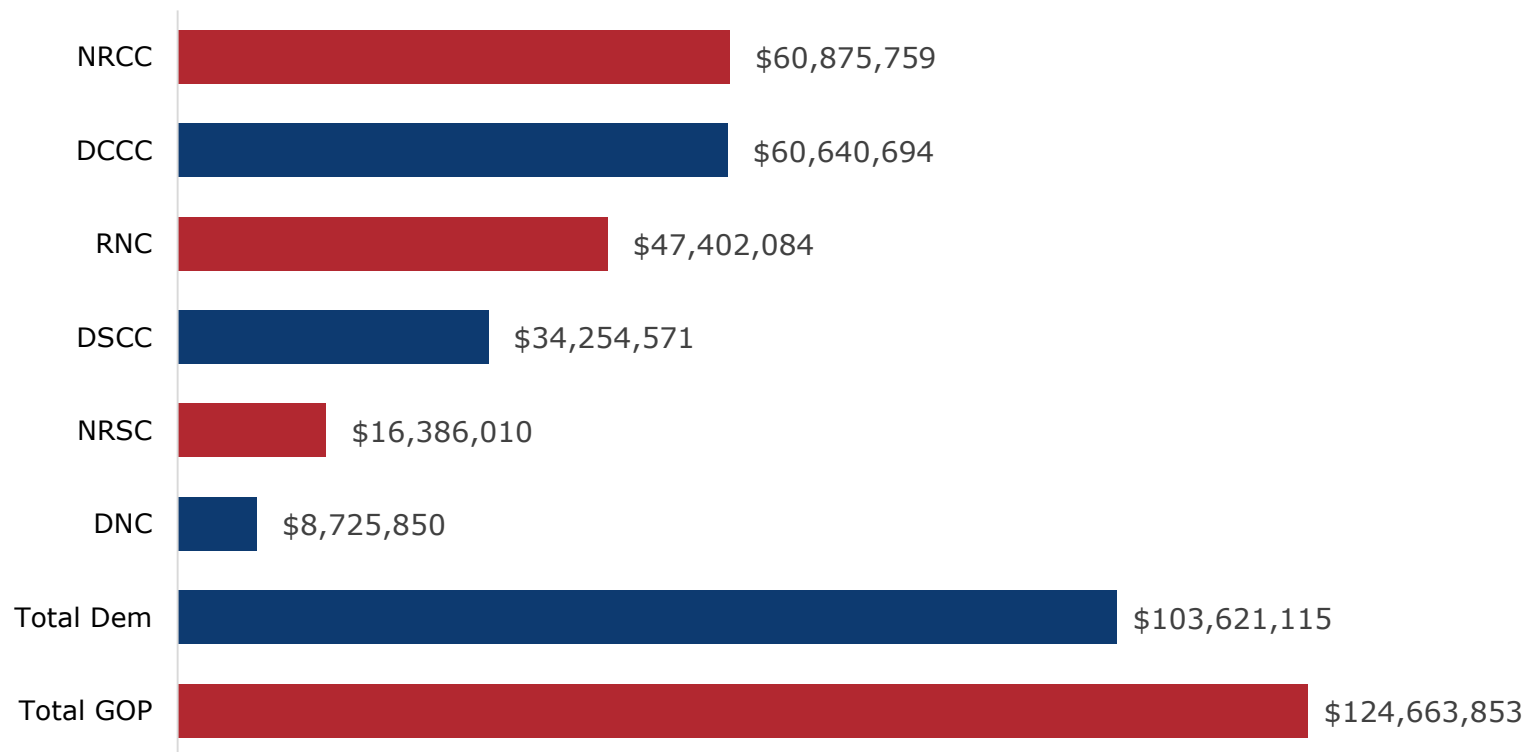
6 seats in the Senate

The national GOP committees ended Q2 with over \$20 million more cash on hand than their Democratic counterparts

Total cash on hand by national party PACs

AS OF JUNE 30, 2018

■ Democrat ■ Republican



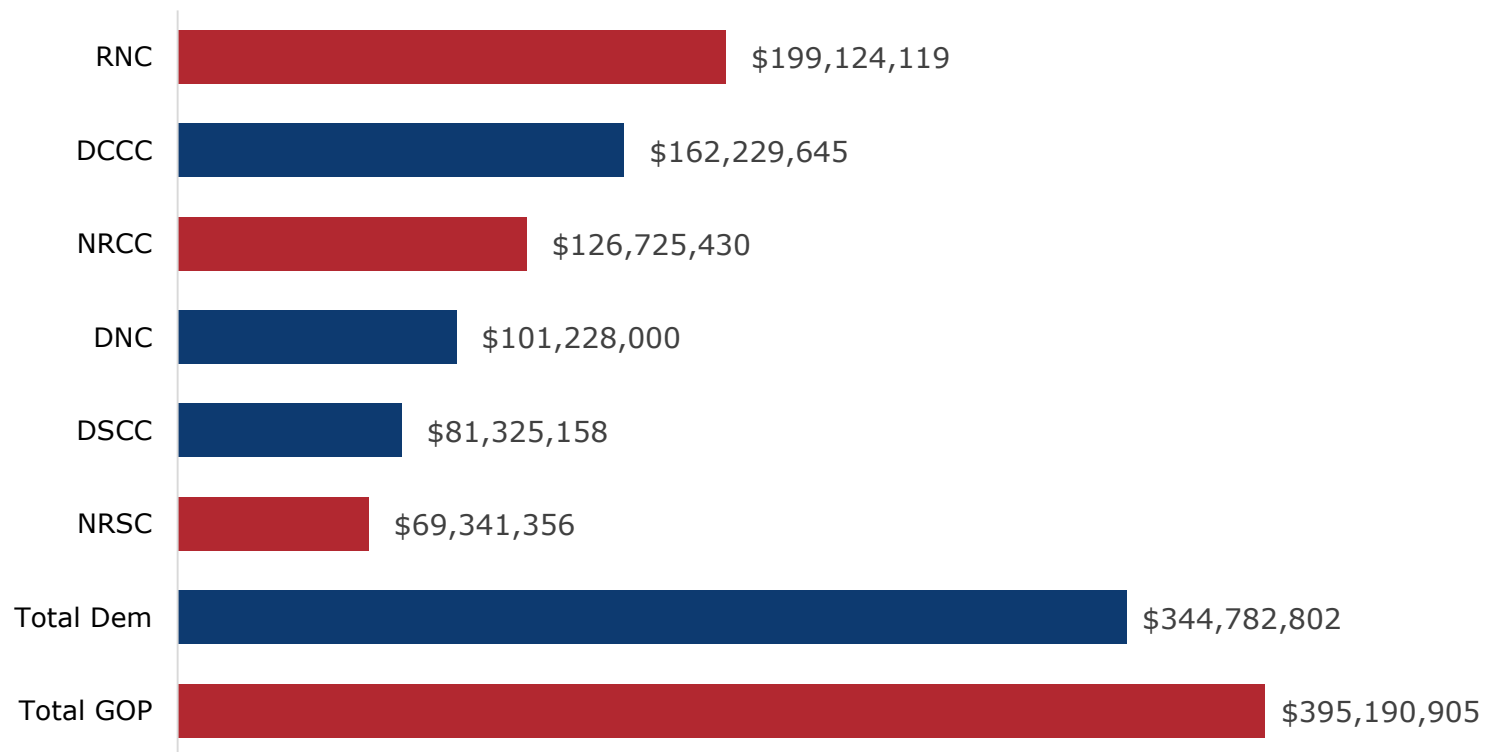
Sources: Federal Election Commission, 2017.

The national GOP committees have raised about \$50 million more than their Democratic counterparts so far

Total receipts by national party PACs

AS OF JUNE 30, 2018

■ Democrat ■ Republican



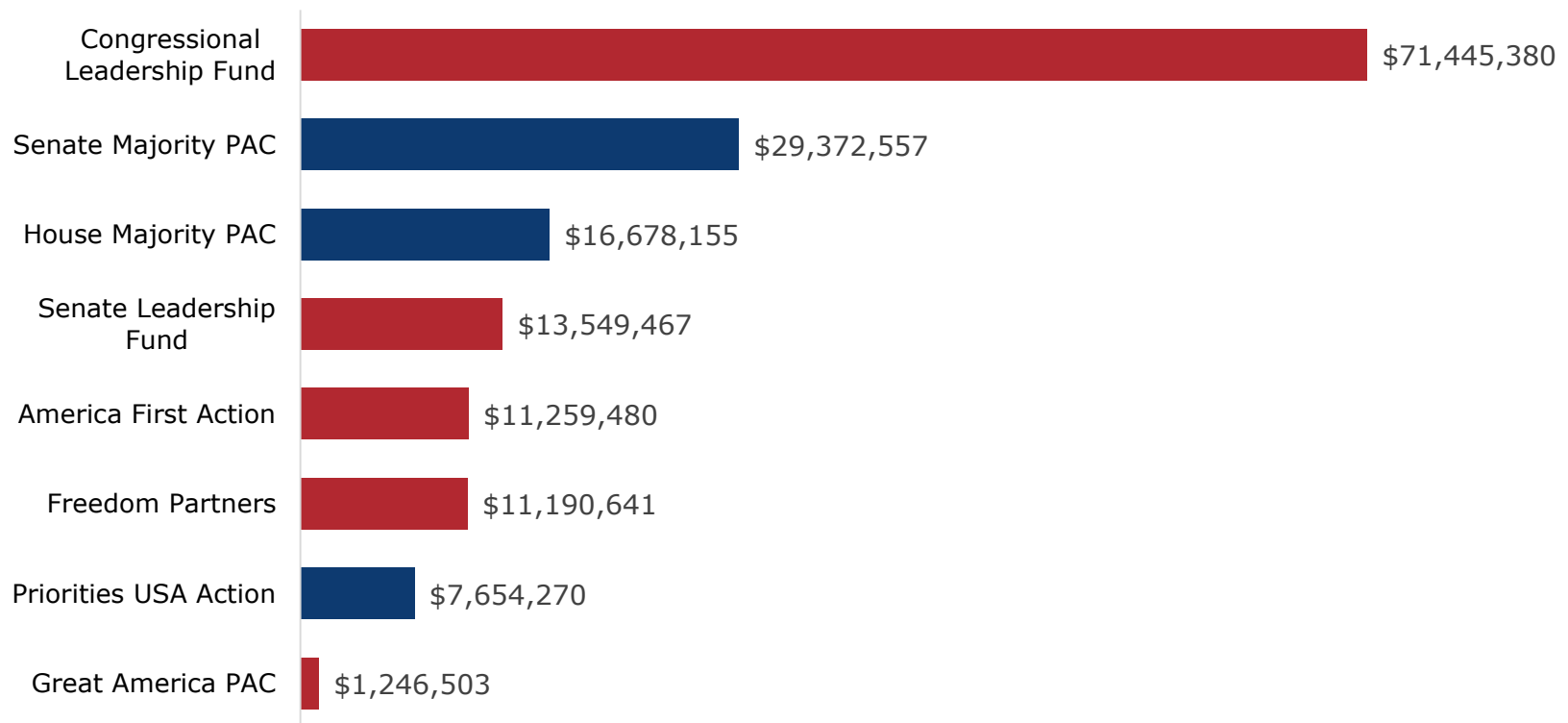
Sources: Federal Election Commission, 2017.

Major super PACs are poised to spend over \$150 million on independent expenditures

Total cash on hand by major super PACs

AS OF JUNE 30, 2018

■ Democrat ■ Republican



Sources: Federal Election Commission, 2018.

Roadmap

- Historic midterm trends
- 2018 midterms

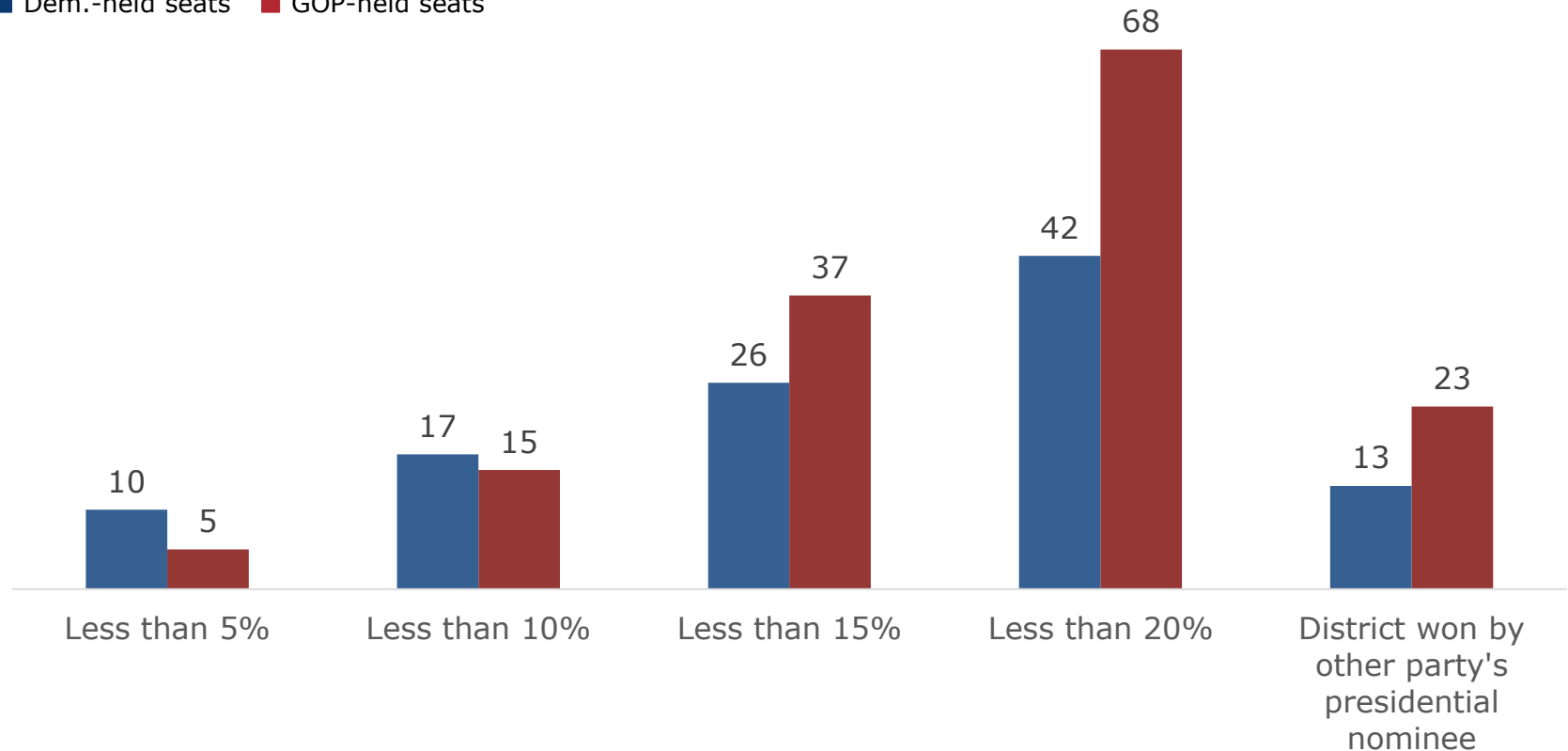
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Based on 2016 results, Democrats need a 5%-7.5% swing to recapture the House

Vulnerable seats based on 2016 House results

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

■ Dem.-held seats ■ GOP-held seats



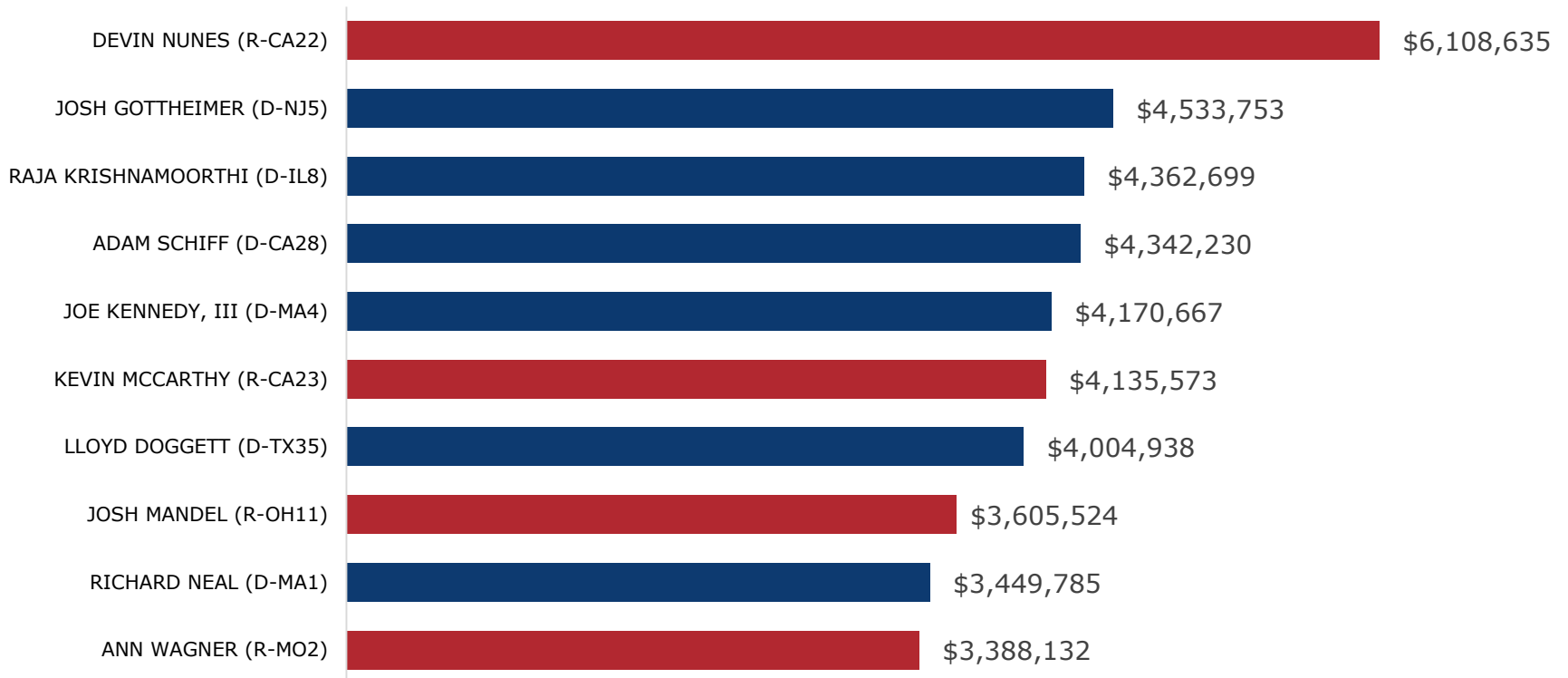
Sources: National Journal Research, 2018.

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

Top 10 House candidates with the most cash on hand

AS OF JUNE 30, 2018

■ Democrat ■ Republican



Sources: Federal Election Commission, 2017.

In all but one of the 2017-18 special elections, vote percentages swung towards Democrats

Previously held by	Special election winner	Change in % Republican	Change in % Democrat
Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL)	Doug Jones (D)	-14%	+16%
Rep. Mike Pompeo (R-KS04)	Ron Estes (R)	-8%	+16%
Rep. Tom Price (R-GA06)	Karen Handel (R)	-10%	+10%
Rep. Mick Mulvaney (R-SC05)	Ralph Norman (R)	-8%	+9%
Rep. Ryan Zinke (R-MT-At Large)	Greg Gianforte (R)	-9%	+1%
Rep. Jason Chaffetz (R-UT03)	John Curtis (R)	-15%	-1%
Rep. Tim Murphy (R-PA18)	Conor Lamb (D)	-8.5%*	+11.3*
Rep. Trent Franks (R-AZ08)	Debbie Lasko (R)	-5.5%*	+10.4
Average:		-9.8%	+9.1%

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

2018 primary turnout in Toss Up districts compared to 2014

District	Incumbent	GOP turnout		Dem turnout	
CA-10	Denham	-20.7%	-9,137	+88%	+27,003
CA-25	Knight	+9.8%	+4,121	+100%	+20,528
CA-39	Royce*	+8.9%	+4,369	+112%	+22,971
CA-48	Rohrabacher	+6.1%	+3,905	+94%	+28,215
IA-1	Blum	Unopposed		+59%	+16,343
IL-6	Roskam	Unopposed		+631%	+54,375
IL-12	Bost	+14.2%	+4,703	+59%	+18,367
KY-6	Barr	Unopposed in 2014		+31%	+23,656
NJ-7	Lance	+13.6%	+3,967	+345%	+30,274
OH-12	VACANT (Tiberi)	+45.4%	+20,947	+140%	+25,626
TX-7	Culberson	+22.4%	+6,967	+404%	+26,587
TX-32	Sessions	-9.2%	-4,196	+275%	+29,403
Average:		+10.1%	+3,961	+195%	+26,946

*Retiring

Source: Ballotpedia, 2017. District ratings from Cook Political Report

Three open Republican seats are rated “Likely Democratic,” and four open Republican seats are rated “Lean Democratic”

Representatives not seeking re-election in D-leaning districts

NAME OF RETIRING INCUMBENT (“PARTISAN VOTER INDEX”), (PARTY-STATE-DISTRICT)

Solid Democratic

D+33 Luis Gutierrez (D-IL04)
 D+32 John Conyers (D-MI13)[†]
 D+31 Robert Brady (D-PA04)
 D+19 Gene Green (D-TX29)
 D+17 Colleen Hanabusa (D-HI01)*
 Beto O’Rourke (D-TX16)*
 D+9 Jared Polis (D-CO02)
 Niki Tsongas (D-MA03)
 D+7 Michelle Lujan Grisham (D-NM01)
 D+6 John Delaney (D-MD06)
 D+4 Sandy Levin (D-MI09)

Likely Democratic


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


 Elizabeth Esty (D+2)
 (D-CT05)*


 Ruben Kihuen (D+3)
 (D-NV04)


 Ryan Costello (R+2)
 (R-PA06)


 Frank LoBiondo (R+1)
 (R-NJ02)


 Patrick Meehan (R+1)
 (R-PA05) [†]

Lean Democratic


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


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


 Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (D+5)
 (R-FL27)


 Darrell Issa (R+1)
 (R-CA49)


 Martha McSally (R+1)
 (R-AZ02)*


 Rodney Frelinghuysen (R+3)
 (R-NJ11)

*Seeking another office

[†]Resigning before end of term

Sources: “2018 House summary” The Cook Political Report.

Four open Republican seats and two open Democratic seats are rated “Toss Ups”

Representatives not seeking re-election

NAME OF RETIRING INCUMBENT (“PARTISAN VOTER INDEX”), (PARTY-STATE-DISTRICT)

Republican Toss-Ups



Dave Reichert (even)
(R-WA08)



Ed Royce (even)
(R-CA39)



David Trott (R+4)
(R-MI11)



Pat Tiberi (R+7)
(R-OH12) †

Democratic Toss-Ups



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



Rick Nolan (R+4)
(D-MN08)*

Lean Republican



Lynn Jenkins (R+10)
(R-KS02)



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



Evan Jenkins (R+23)*
(R-WV03)



Paul Ryan (R+5)
(R-WI01)



Tom Garrett (R+6)
(R-VA05)

Likely Republican



Dennis Ross (R+6)
(R-FL15)



Jim Renacci (R+8)
(R-OH16)



Lamar Smith (R+10)
(R-Tx21)

Solid Republican

- R+9 Joe Barton (R-TX06)
- R+11 Tim Murphy (R-PA18) †
Ted Poe (R-TX02)
- R+13 Trent Franks (R-AZ08) †
Tom Rooney (R-FL17)
Gregg Harper (R-MS03)
Sam Johnson (R-TX03)
Blake Farenthold (R-TX27) †
Bob Goodlatte (R-VA06)
- R+14 Kristi Noem (R-SD-AL)*
Lou Barletta (R-PA09)*
- R+15 Trey Gowdy (R-SC04)
- R+16 Kevin Cramer (R-ND At large)*
Jeb Hensarling (R-TX05)
- R+17 Todd Rokita (R-IN04)*
Jim Bridenstine (R-OK01) †
- R+18 Luke Messer (R-IN06)*
- R+20 Marsha Blackburn (R-TN07)*
Jimmy Duncan (R-TN02)
- R+21 Raul Labrador (R-ID01)*
- R+22 Bill Shuster (R-PA13)
- R+24 Diane Black (R-TN06)*

*Seeking another office

†Resigning before end of term

Sources: “2018 House summary” The Cook Political Report.

Brain drain? Many Republican committee chairs will not seek reelection in 2018, as well as Speaker Ryan

Republican committee and subcommittee chairs retiring after 2018

REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE RULES LIMIT CHAIRMANSHIPS TO 6 YEARS

Term-limited and retiring



Space, Science & Technology
Lamar Smith (R-TX21)



Transportation & Infrastructure
Bill Shuster (R-PA9)

Retiring but not term-limited



Budget
Diane Black (R-TN6)



Oversight
Trey Gowdy (R-SC4)

Term-limited but still running



Homeland Security
Michael McCaul (R-TX10)



Judiciary
Bob Goodlatte (R-VA6)



Foreign Affairs
Ed Royce (R-CA39)



Financial Services
Jeb Hensarling (R-TX5)



Administration
Gregg Harper (R-MS3)



VA Appropriations Sub.*
Charlie Dent (R-PA15)



Aviation Sub.
Frank LoBiondo (R-NJ2)



Appropriations
Rodney Frelinghuysen (R-NJ11)



Speaker of the House
Paul Ryan (R-WI1)

*Dent is also the chair of the House Ethics Committee but is not term-limited from that position
Sources: National Journal Research, 2017.

The 2018 election will determine who will replace Paul Ryan as speaker in the 116th Congress

Frontrunners in the race for speaker of the House



Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)

- Minority Leader – No. 1 House Democrat
- Previous experience as speaker
- Largest Dem. fundraiser
- Has led House Dems since 2003



Kevin McCarthy (R-CA)

- Majority Leader – No. 2 House Republican
- Has ties to President Trump
- Major fundraiser for House Republicans
- Lacked support in 2015 from Freedom Caucus



Steny Hoyer (D-MD)

- Minority Whip – No. 2 House Democrat
- Has been deputy to Pelosi for 15 years



Steve Scalise (R-LA)

- Majority Whip – No. 3 House Republican
- Former Republican Study Committee chair
- First elected in 2008
- Has some support from conservatives



Tim Ryan (D-OH)

- Long shot because he is not in leadership
- Ranking member of the Appropriations Subcommittee for the Legislative Branch
- Unsuccessfully challenged Pelosi in 2016



Mark Meadows (R-NC)

- Chair of the House Freedom Caucus
- First elected in 2012
- Campaigned with Pres. Trump in NC

Roadmap

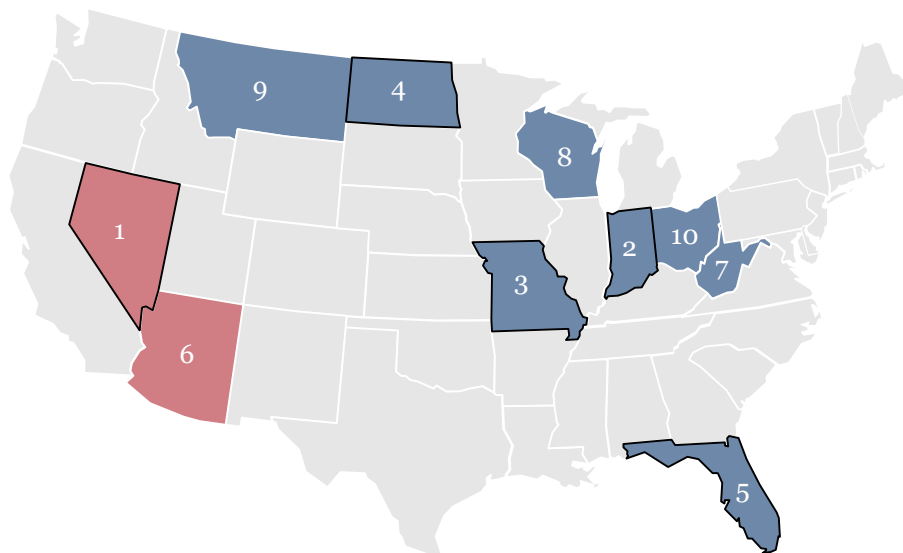
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Democrats hold 8 of the 10 most vulnerable Senate seats in the 2018 election cycle

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 Morrissey (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

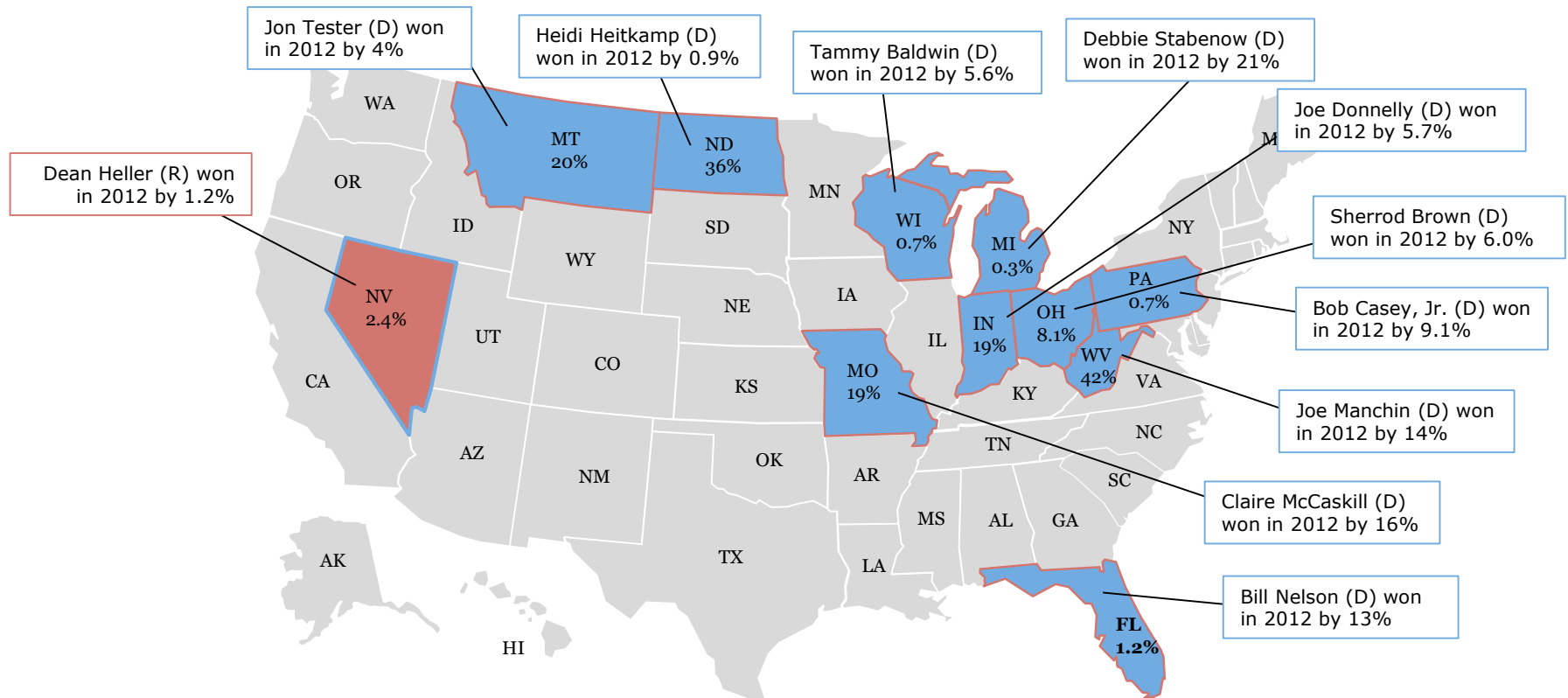
Sources: Kimerly Railey and Kyle Trygstad, "Hotline's Senate Power Rankings," National Journal, April 2018.

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.

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

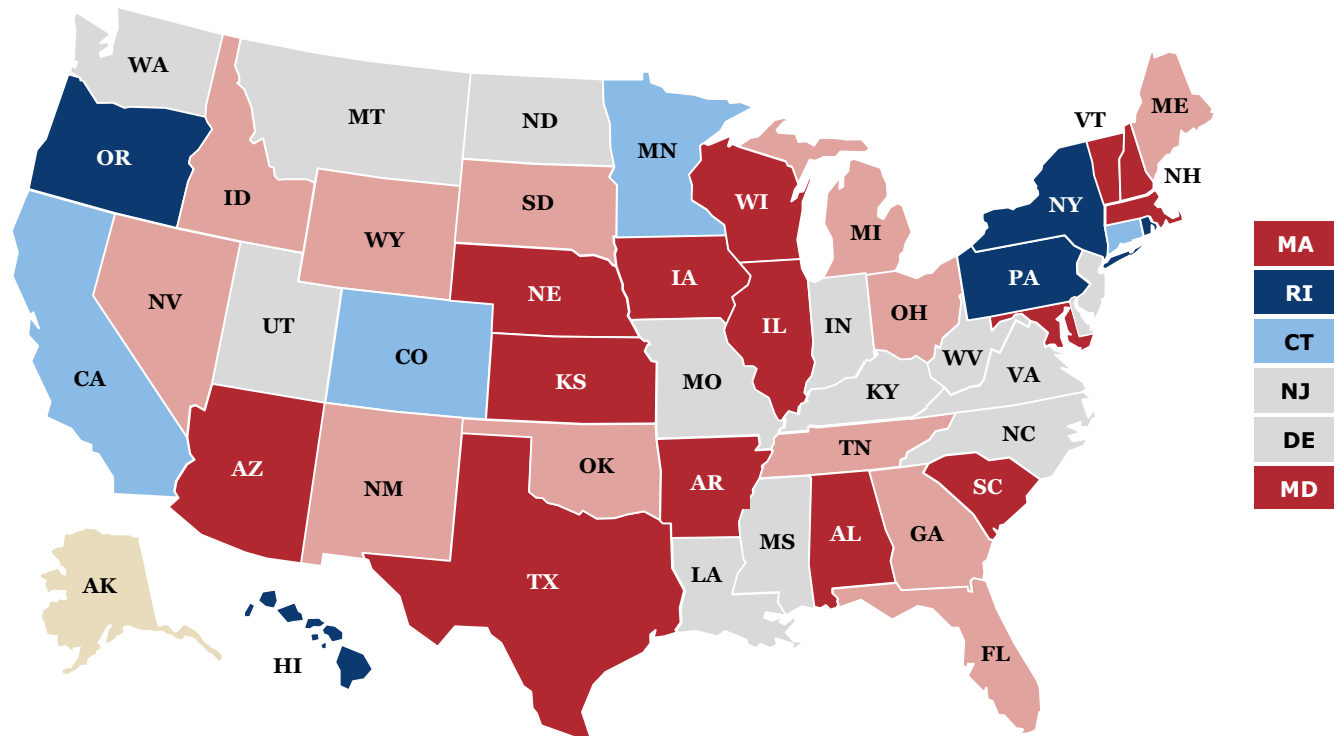
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In 2018, Republicans must defend 12 governorships without an incumbent running, as opposed to only four for Democrats

2018 gubernatorial races by incumbent and status

■ Dem. incumbent (5) ■ Dem. open* (4) ■ Ind. incumbent (1)
■ GOP incumbent (14) ■ GOP open* (12) ■ No election (14)



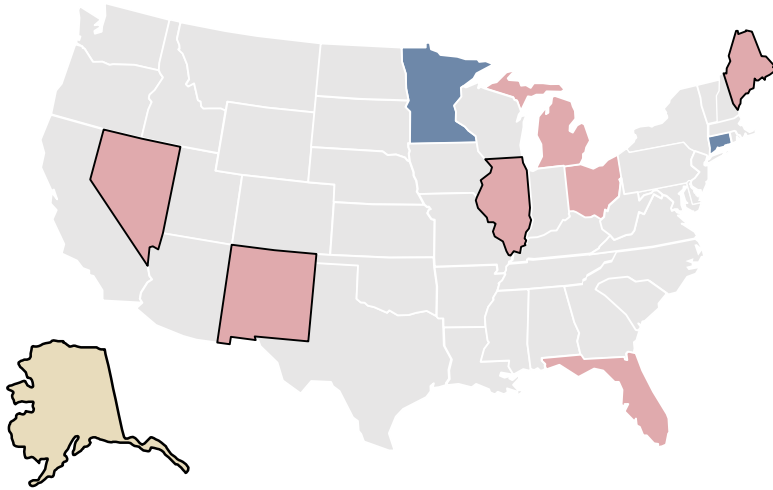
*"Open seats" are governorships where incumbent governors are term-limited or they have announced that they are not running for re-election

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)**
 - Potential challengers: **Janet Mills (D)**, **Shawn Moody (R)**
4. Alaska: **Bill Walker (I)**
 - Challengers: **Mike Dunleavy (R)**, **Mike Chenault (R)**,
Scott Hawkins (R)
5. Nevada: **Brian Sandoval (R) (retiring)**
 - Challengers: **Steve Sisolak (D)**, **Adam Laxalt (R)**

Most states will hold their primaries in June or August

2018 congressional primary calendar

■ Completed primary election ■ Primary election to come

March

				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

May

		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

June

					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

August

			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

September

						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

November

				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

March 6: TX
March 20: IL

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

June 5: AL, CA, IA, MS, MT,
NJ, NM, SD
June 12: ME, NV, ND, SC, VA

June 19: DC
June 26: CO, MD, NY, OK, UT

Aug. 2: TN
Aug. 7: KS, MI, MO, WA
Aug. 11: HI

Aug. 14: CT, MN, VT, WI
Aug. 21: AK, WY
Aug. 28: AZ, FL

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

Nov. 6: LA

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

Source: National Journal Research, 2018.