

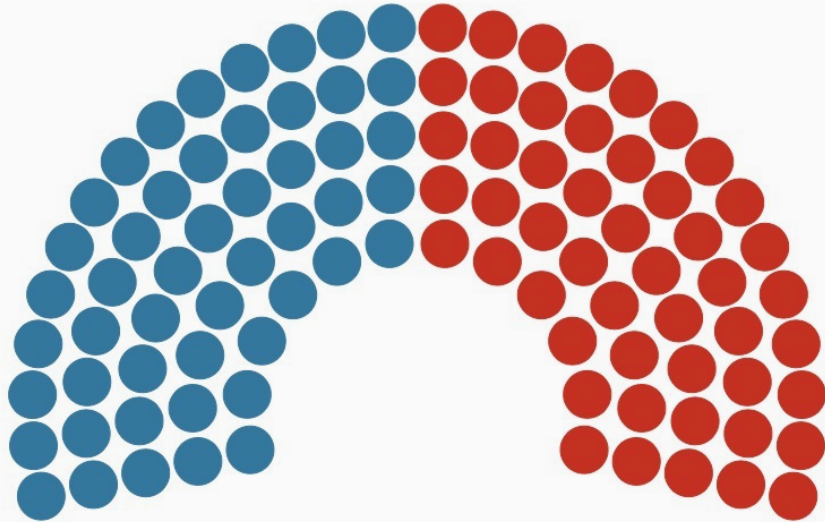


# 2022 Midterm Outlook

**August 30, 2022**  
– 70 Days Until Election Day –



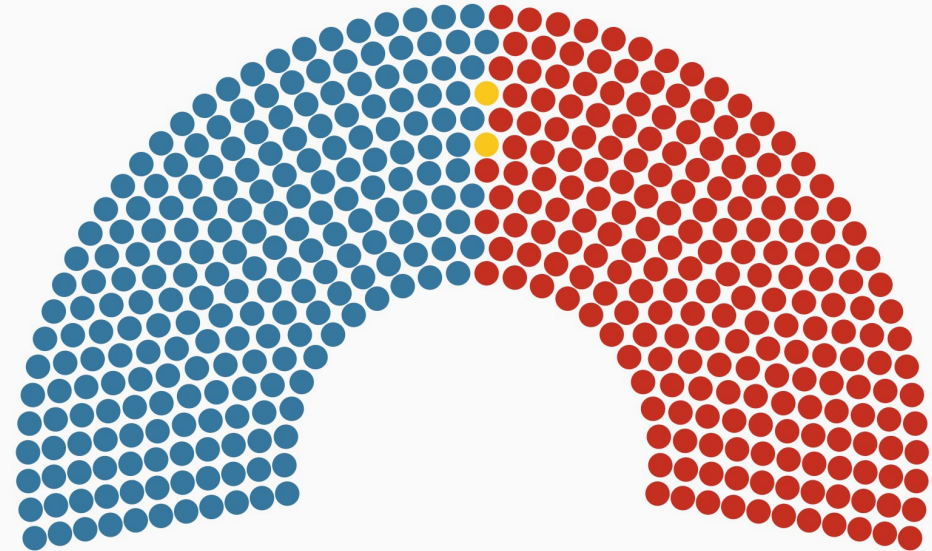
# What's at Stake: Current Balance of Power



**U.S. Senate**  
**50 Ds – 50 Rs**

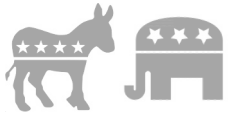
(Includes 2 independents who participate in the Democratic caucus; VP Harris serves as tiebreaking 51<sup>st</sup> vote)

Key races to watch: Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin



**House of Representatives**  
**221 Ds – 212 Rs**

(2 vacancies: AK-At Large, IN-2)



## What's at Stake: Overview

- All House seats contested; Republicans must flip **4** seats currently held by Democrats to gain a majority \*
- **35** Senate seats contested: **14** Democratic-controlled, **21** Republican-controlled \*\*
- Many Members not seeking re-election
  - House: **38** Democrats, **27** Republicans
  - Senate: **1** Democratic member, **6** Republicans

*\* Assumes party advantages for vacant seats/special elections*

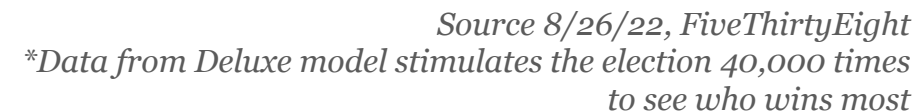
*\*\* Includes special election to finish Sen. Inhofe's (R-OK) term*

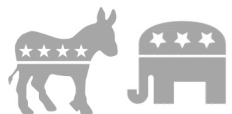




**Senate:** Democrats *slightly* favored to win

*Republicans' best chances of gaining a seat are in Georgia and Nevada; Democrats' best chance is in Pennsylvania*



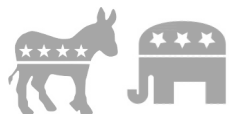


## What's at Stake: Overview

- Since 1942, midterm elections have resulted in an average loss of **27** seats in the House and **4** seats in the Senate by the party occupying the White House
- 1998 and 2002 are outliers:
  - In 1998, Democrats gained **5** seats in the House and lost **0** seats in the Senate despite occupying the White House
  - In 2002, Republicans gained **8** seats in the House and gained **1** seat in the Senate

Year	Party holding presidency	President's party gain/loss of seats in House	President's party gain/loss of seats in Senate
1942	D	-44	-9
1946	D	-55	-12
1950	D	-28	-5
1954	R	-18	-1
1958	R	-48	-12
1962	D	-4	2
1966	D	-48	-4
1970	R	-12	1
1974	R	-48	-4
1978	D	-15	-3
1982	R	-26	1
1986	R	-5	-8
1990	R	-8	-1
1994	D	-54	-8
<b>1998</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>2002</b>	<b>R</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>
2006	R	-30	-6
2010	D	-63	-6
2014	D	-13	-9
2018	R	-41	2

Source: Brookings Institution



## Outlook: What Are They Saying?

“I think there’s probably a greater likelihood the House flips than the Senate. Senate races are just different — they’re statewide, candidate quality has a lot to do with the outcome,” – ***Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, August 2022***



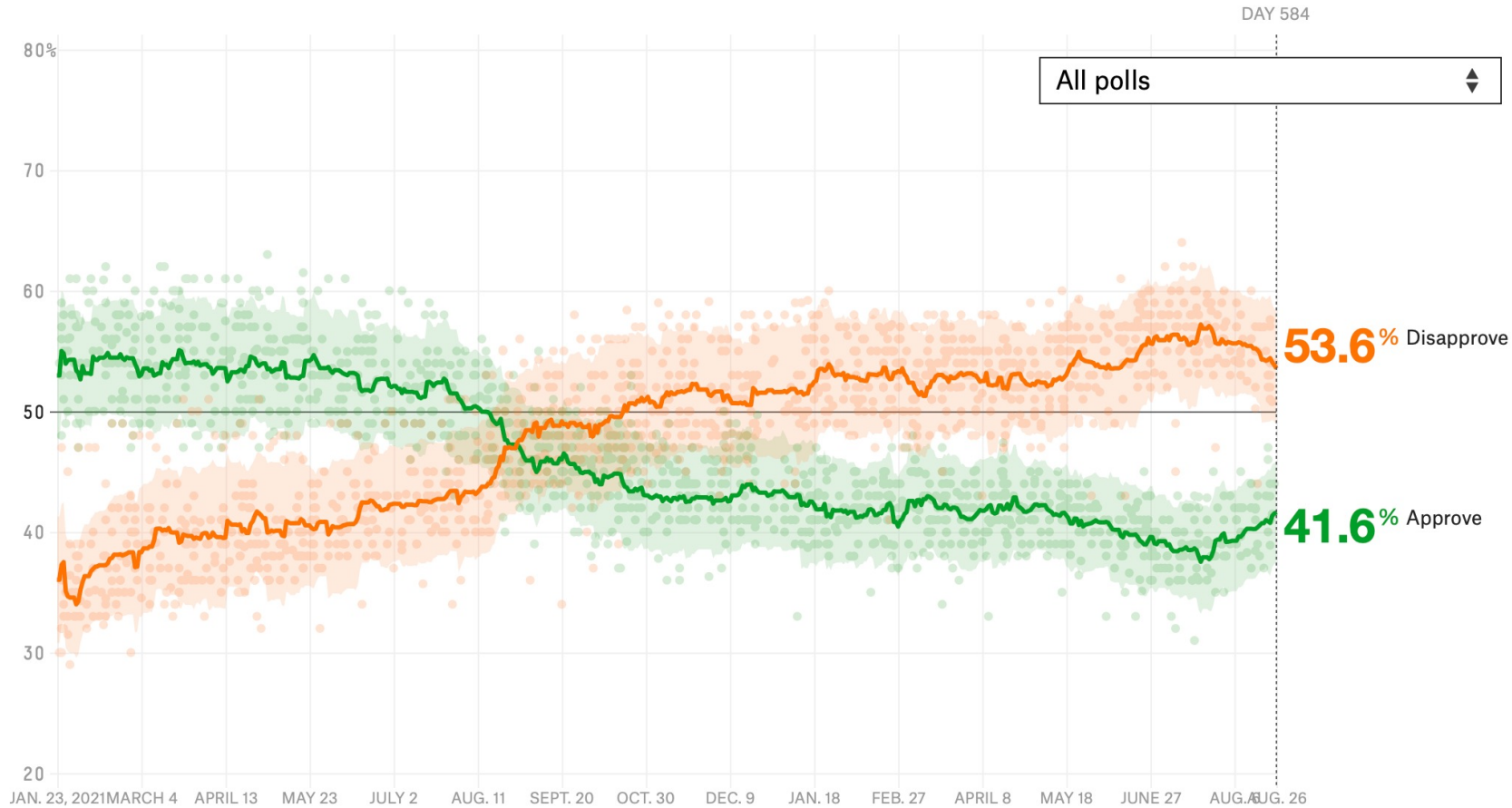
“We didn't gain seats when President Biden won. We worked together to win the Senate, win the House and win the White House. The members who won in Trump districts are in strong shape. I have absolutely no intention of us losing the election and we will win it one election at a time on the ground through mobilization, strong progressive messages, and funding. Our Democracy is on the ballot and these ‘kitchen issues’ such as inflation are being addressed by the Administration.” – ***House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, June 2022***

“I believe in this next election, this is a 50-year election. Never before are we going to feel this type of opportunity in a year of redistricting. We can lock in a conservative majority for the decade. But remember this: only four times in the last 100 years has the House ever flipped from Democrat to Republican.”  
– ***House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, July 2022***





# Public Sentiment: Biden Approval Rating



President Biden's Approval Rating  
7/22/2022 (FiveThirtyEight)

## How Do Other Presidents' Approval Ratings Compare?\*



41% 6/21/2018



43% 6/21/2010



65% 6/21/2002



39% 6/25/1994

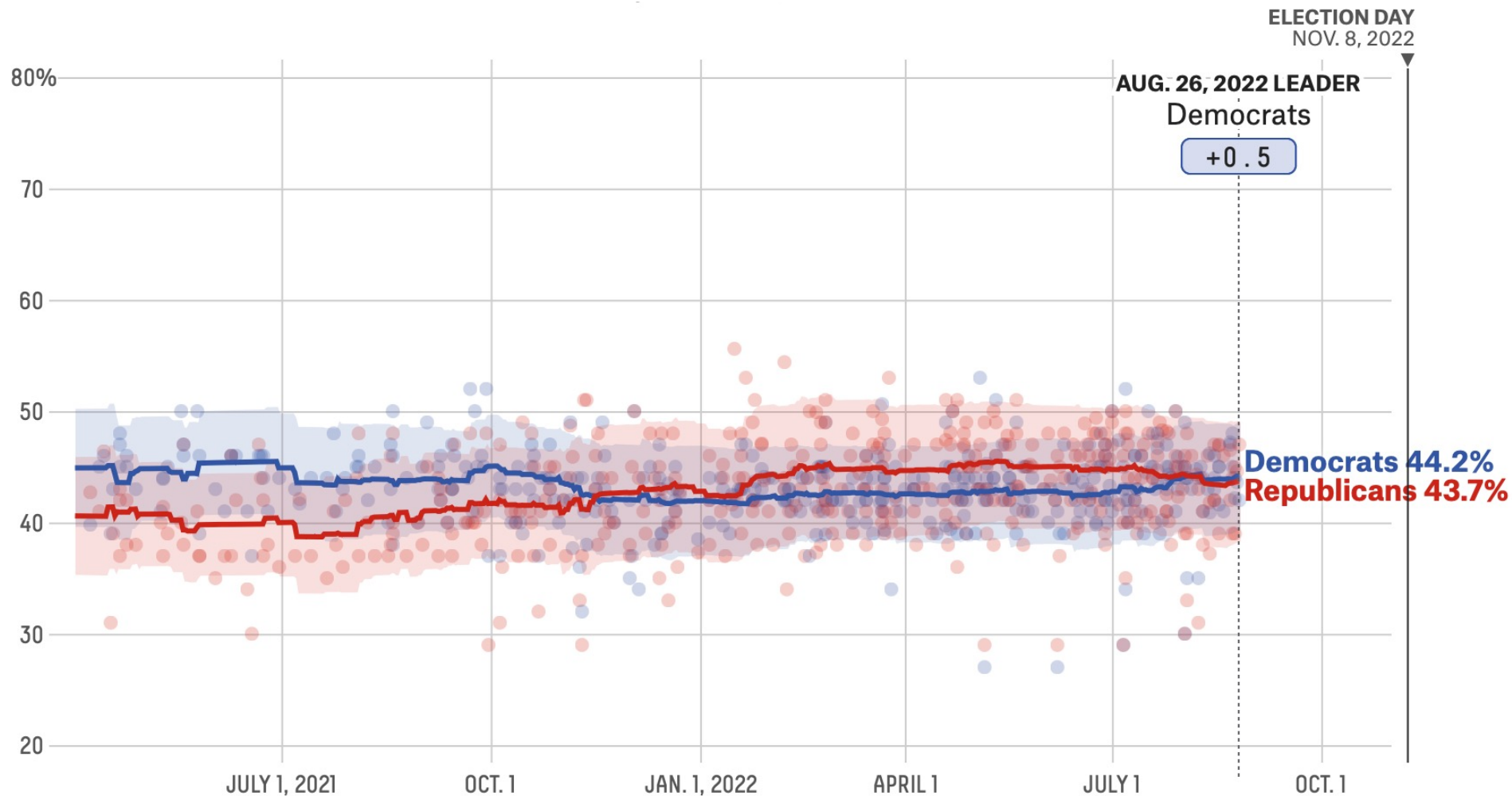
\*Represents approval polling on Gallup  
Presidential Job Approval Center





# Public Sentiment: Generic Ballot

*Estimate based on polls that inquire which party voters would support in an election*

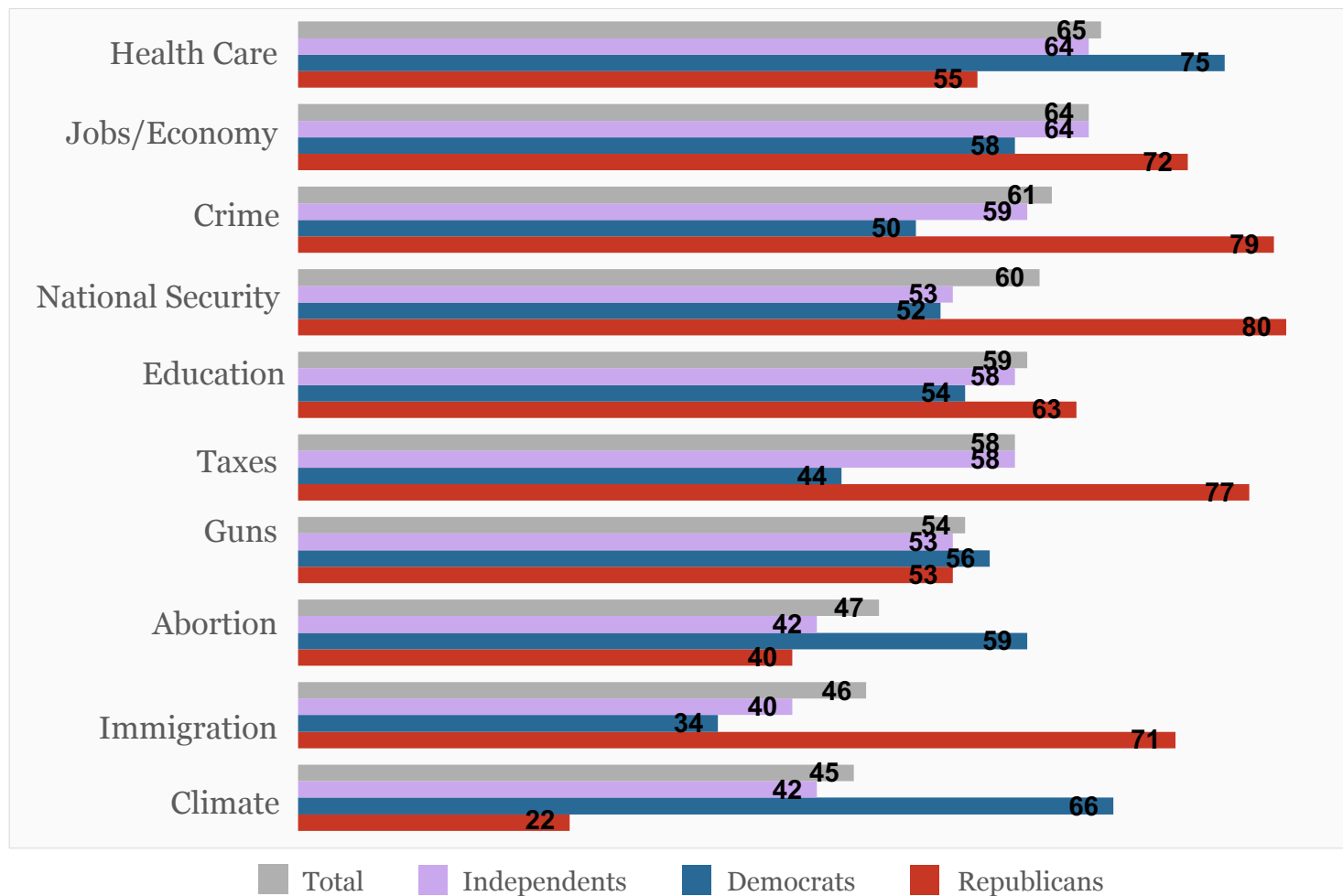






# Public Sentiment: Key Issues for Voters

*Based on a survey that required voters to identify which issues are “very important”*



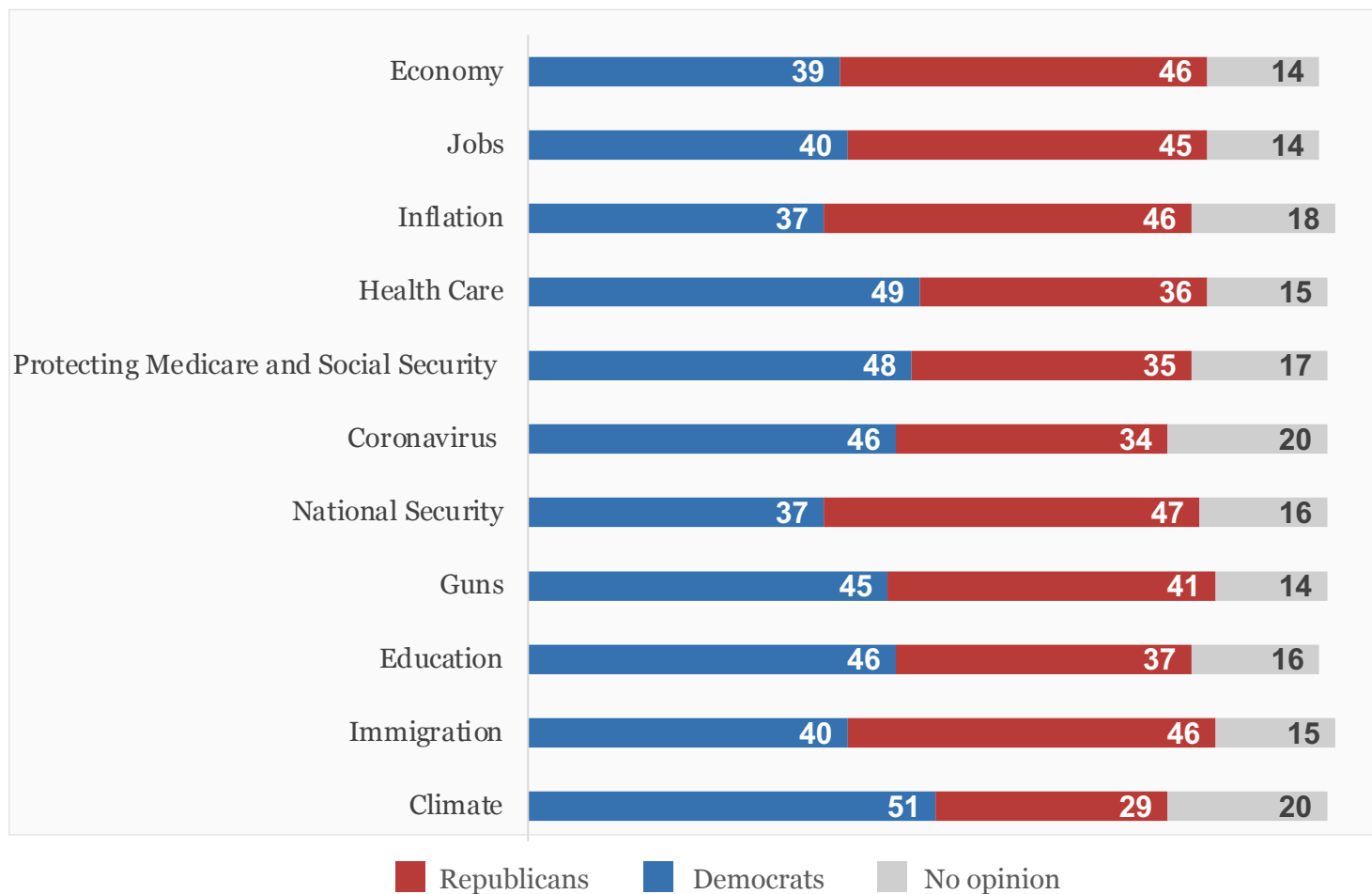
- Health Care is the public’s top concern, followed by jobs/economy and crime.
- Notably, following the climate surrounding abortion after the *Dobbs* decision, the issue increased importance among Democrats by 12 points since the June *Dobbs* decision.
- Wide partisan gaps remain on a number of issues, but a majority in both parties are concerned with jobs and the economy, national security, and gun policy

*Source: Economist/YouGov survey of U.S. adults conducted 8/22/2022*



## Public Sentiment: Party Advantage on Key Issues

*Based on a poll that inquires which party would do a better job addressing each issue*



- Republicans hold an advantage with voters concerned about the economy, jobs, inflation, immigration, and national security
- Democrats hold an advantage with voters concerned about health care, protecting Medicare and Social Security, Coronavirus, gun policy, education, and climate

*Source: Morning Consult-Politico poll of U.S. adults  
conducted 8/12 – 8/14/22*

# Midterm Indicator: Will Kansas Voter Turnout Set the Tone?

Kansas Voters Decide 'No' on Abortion Amendment During Primaries

**June 24, 2022:** *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* decision by Supreme Court; effectively overturning *Roe v. Wade*



**June 24-July 7, 2022:** Largest % of voter registration nationwide, up 332%



**June 24-July 7, 2022:** Kansas Vote.Org site experienced 1,000% increase in registered voters



**June 24-July 7, 2022:** 500% or more increase in voter registrations since *Roe* decision in states including: Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Texas, and Tennessee

*\* Of those people, visiting Vote.Org website to register or verify their registration, 65% were women and almost half, 47%, were under the age of 35.*

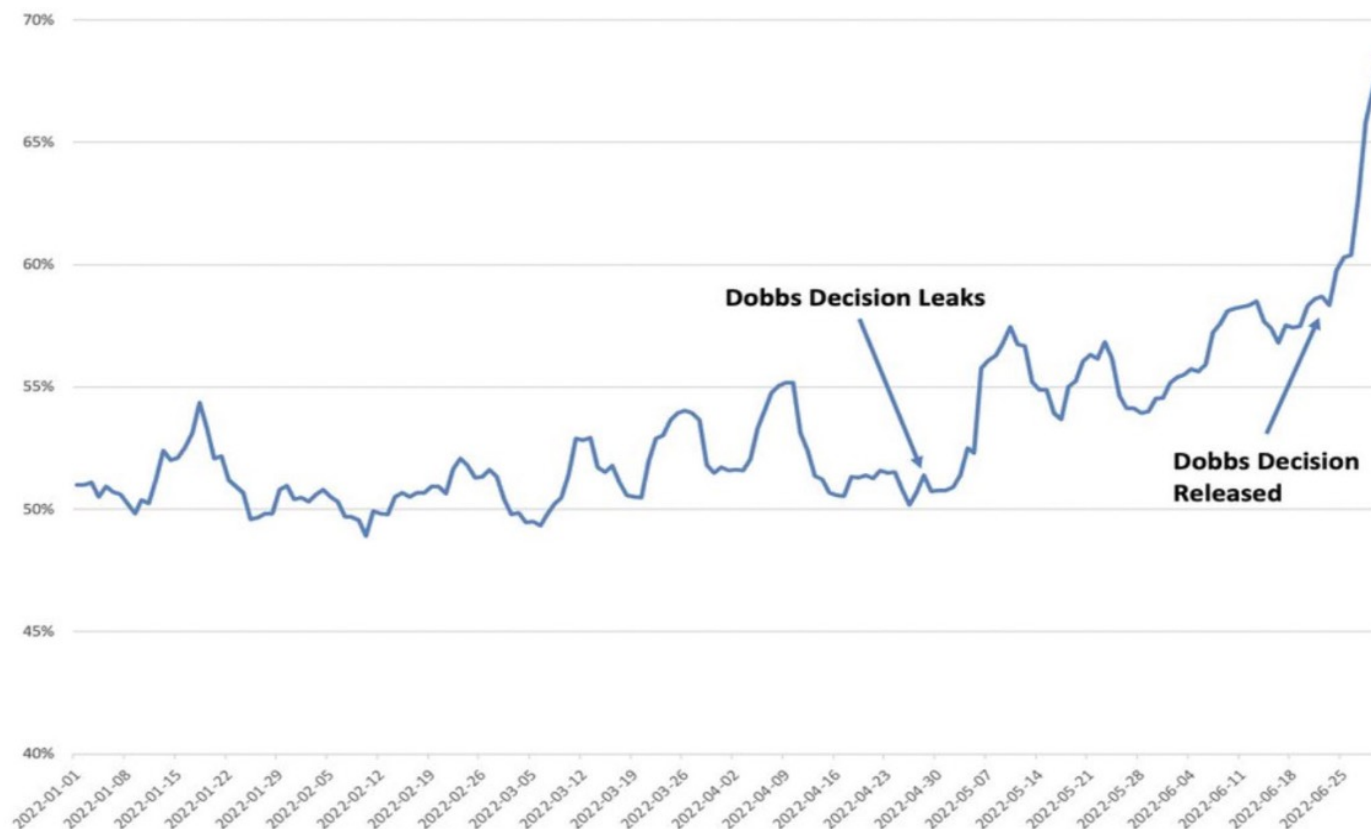
Source: 8/4, Vote.Org and MSNBC  
Report





# Midterm Indicator: How Abortion Changed the Kansas Electorate

Percent of new female registrants in Kansas (7 day average)

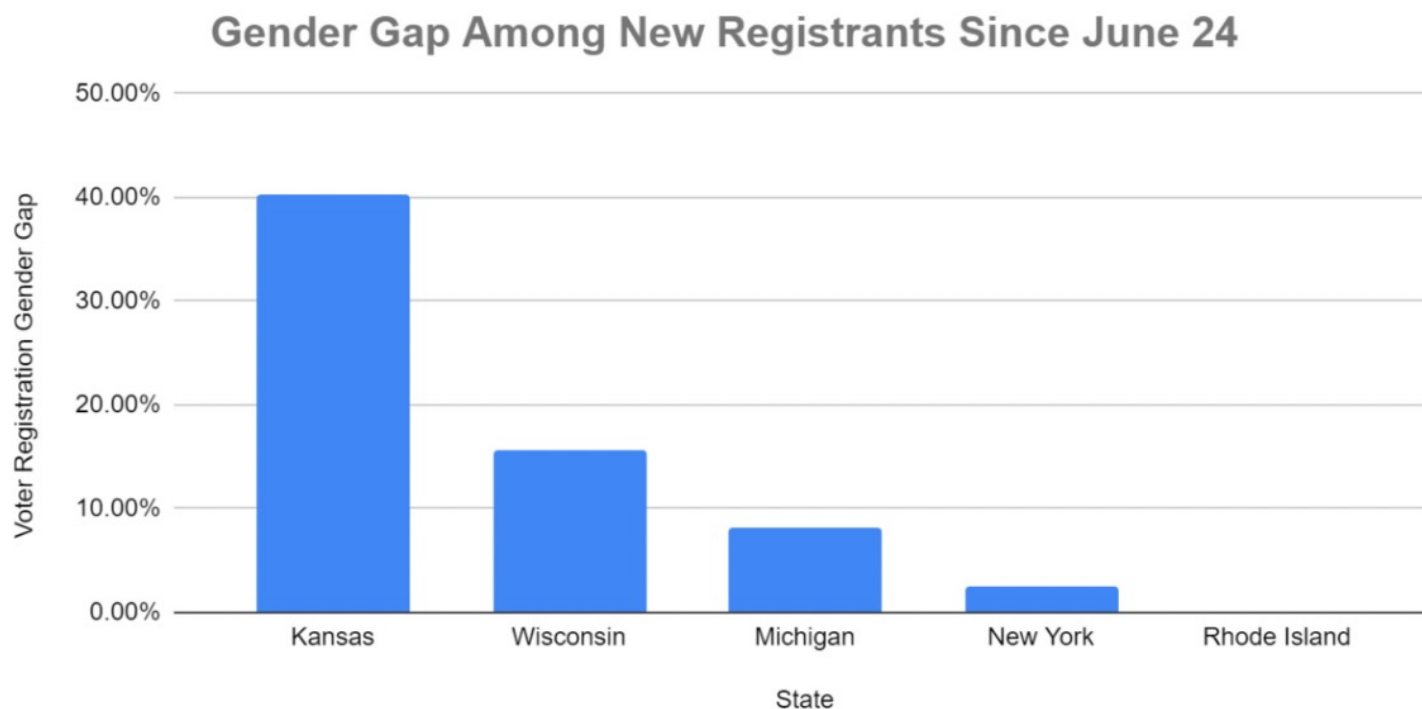


- Kansas voters turned out in a red state where Trump beat Biden 56.2% to 41.6% in 2020 and Republicans outnumber Democrats by almost 400,000 registered voters
- Among Kansans who registered to vote on or after June 24, the days following *Dobbs* decision, Democrats have had an 8-point advantage
- 70% of Kansans who registered to vote after *Dobbs* were women

Source: 8/3, Target Smart



## Midterm Indicator: Not Just Kansas; Women Motivated To Vote Post *Dobbs* Decision



- In Wisconsin, abortion care has stopped post *Dobbs*. Among new registrants since June 24, women have out-registered men by 15.6% and Democrats make up 52.36% of all newly registered voters compared with 16.59% of Republicans.
- In Michigan, the *Dobbs* decision revived a state abortion ban making it a felony. Notably, among the 12,879 new voters, women are out-registering men by 8.1% and Democrats out-registering Republicans by 18 percentage points.

Source: 8/3, Target Smart



# Public Engagement: Primary Turnout by Party

*Turnout comparison of 2018 vs 2022 in most states that have held primaries in 2022*

+ 5%

Turnout increase overall

- 7%

Turnout increase among Democrats

+ 19%

Turnout increase among Republicans

+ 7 pt

Increase in Republican % of electorate

MI, CO, IA, KY, NC, NV, PA,  
WV

Flipped electorates

*Source: 8/5, JMC Analytics & Polling  
Subject to change as more data comes in*

*\* KY: 2014 figures used; PA: 2010*

*\*\* CA projected*

*\*\*\*Flipped electorates: Republican share of electorate changed from less than 50% to more than 50%*





# Recent Primaries: The Trump Effect

*Is the endorsement of the former president helping or hurting primary candidates?*

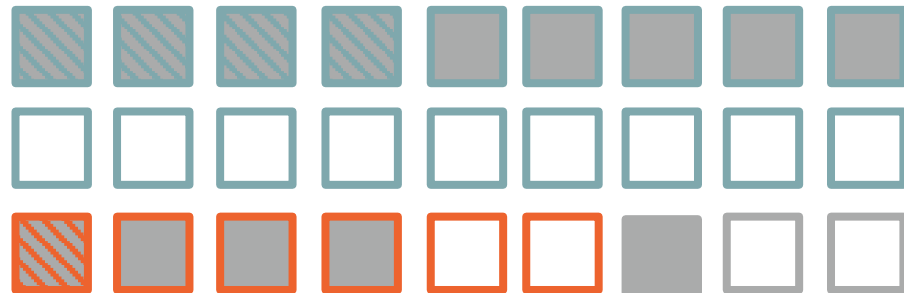
## Senate

8 won and 0 lost out of 9 endorsements



## House

18 won and 6 lost out of 27 endorsements



- 26** ➤ Trump-endorsed candidates who won in races considered competitive
- 5** ➤ Winning candidates who were challengers to incumbents
- 6** ➤ Trump-endorsed candidates who lost in races considered competitive
- 3** ➤ Losing candidates who were challengers to incumbents
- 12** ➤ Remaining races featuring Trump-endorsed candidates



Source: 8/2/22, *Axios*  
Note: Data only includes races in which at least two candidates have a reasonable chance of winning



## Public Sentiment: Recent Special Elections

*Results in 2021 and 2022 special elections have been inconsistent, with Republicans performing well in some states (e.g. TX-6 and CA-22) and Democrats overperforming in others (e.g. LA-2 and NM-1)*

Date	Seat	Partisan Lean	Vote Margin	Margin Swing
March 20, 2021	<b>Louisiana 2nd*</b>	<b>D +51</b>	<b>D +66</b>	<b>D +15</b>
March 20, 2021	Louisiana 5th*	<b>R +31</b>	<b>R +45</b>	<b>R +13</b>
May 1, 2021	<b>Texas 6th*</b>	<b>R +11</b>	<b>R +25</b>	<b>R +14</b>
June 1, 2021	<b>New Mexico 1st</b>	<b>D +18</b>	<b>D +25</b>	<b>D +7</b>
Nov. 2, 2021	Ohio 11th	<b>D +57</b>	<b>D +58</b>	<b>EVEN</b>
Nov. 2, 2021	Ohio 15th	<b>R +19</b>	<b>R +17</b>	<b>D +2</b>
Jan. 11, 2022	Florida 20th	<b>D +53</b>	<b>D +60</b>	<b>D +7</b>
April 5, 2022	<b>California 22nd*</b>	<b>R +11</b>	<b>R +32</b>	<b>R +22</b>
	Average	<b>D +13</b>	<b>D +11</b>	<b>R +2</b>

\* Top-two primaries; vote margin represents total share for Democratic candidates minus total share for Republican candidates



## Senate



- **35** contested Senate seats:
  - **14** Democratic-controlled seats
  - **21** Republican-controlled seats
- Most competitive: \*
  - **3 D:** AZ (**Kelly**); GA (**Warnock**); NV (**Cortez Masto**)
  - **1 R:** WI (**Johnson**)
  - *Senate battleground states mirror battleground states of 2020 Presidential Election*
- Competitive: \*\*
  - **3 Lean D:** NH (**Hassan**); CO (**Bennet**); PA (**Open**)
  - **3 Lean R:** FL (**Rubio**); NC (**Open**); OH (**Open**)

\* Ranked "toss-up"

\*\* Ranked "Lean R/Lean D"

Cook Political Report as of 8/16/22





## 2010 Senate Elections: Missed Opportunities?

**2010:** *Republicans defended 18 seats and Democrats defended 19 seats. Republicans needed 10 to gain majority in Senate*

*Democrats defended several vulnerable seats including: ND, DE, AR, NV, IN, PA, CO, of those Republicans won ND, AR, IN, PA, but did not win DE, NV*

### 2010



#### Nevada:

Harry Reid vs. Sue Lowden



#### Delaware

Chris Coons vs. Christine O'Donnell

### 2022

#### Pennsylvania

John Fetterman's vs. Dr. Mehmet Oz

#### Arizona

Mark Kelly (Incumbent) vs. Blake Masters

#### Nevada

Catherine Cortez Masto (Incumbent) vs. Adam Laxalt

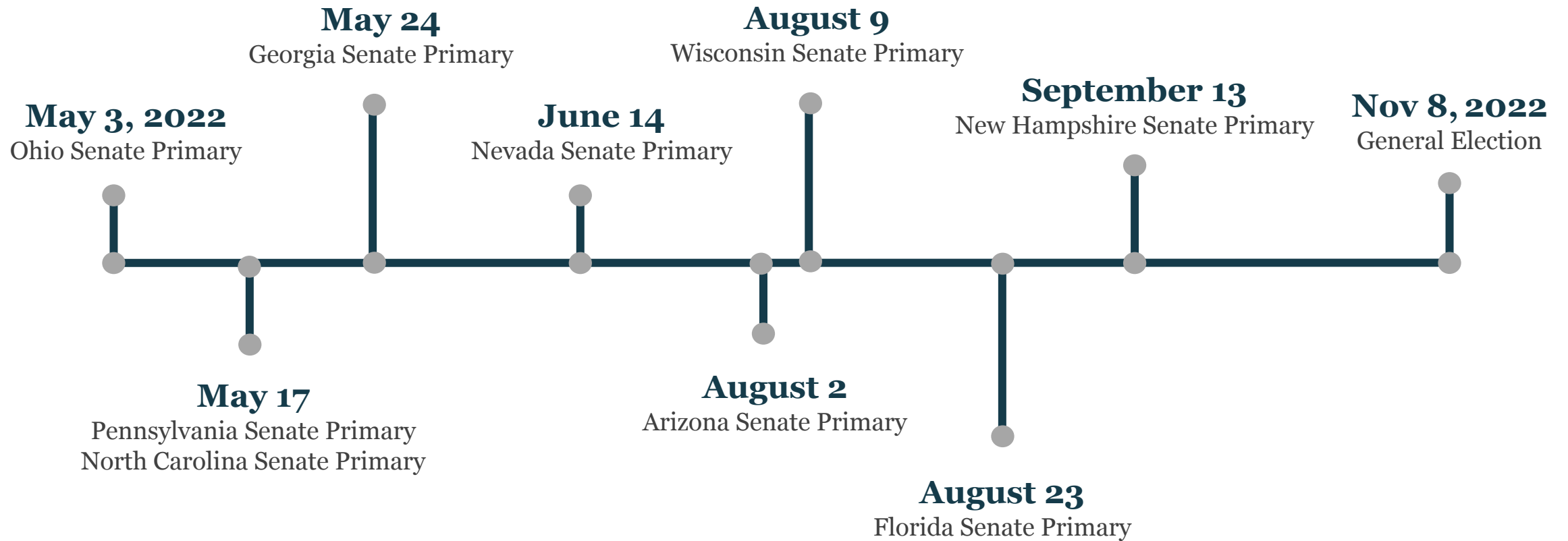
#### Georgia

Raphael Warnock (Incumbent) vs. Herschel Walker

Source: Politico, 10/9/2009



## Primary Timeline: Most Competitive Senate Seats





## Latest Polls: Most Competitive Senate Seats



**Arizona**

**Mark Kelly**

Kelly + 8 (vs Masters)



**Georgia**

**Raphael Warnock**

Warnock +3 (vs Walker)



**Nevada**

**Catherine Cortez Masto**

Cortez Masto -2 (vs Laxalt)

Cortez Masto +6 (Laxalt)



**New Hampshire**

**Maggie Hassan**

Hassan +9 (vs Bolduc)



**Wisconsin**

**Ron Johnson**

Johnson -4 (vs Barnes)



**Pennsylvania**

**Open**

Fetterman +5 (vs Oz)

Fetterman +13 (vs Oz)



**Ohio**

**Tim Ryan**

Ryan -5 (vs. Vance)

Ryan -3 (vs. Vance)

Ryan +11 (vs Vance)

Note: Not all candidates represented in state-wide polling at this point in time

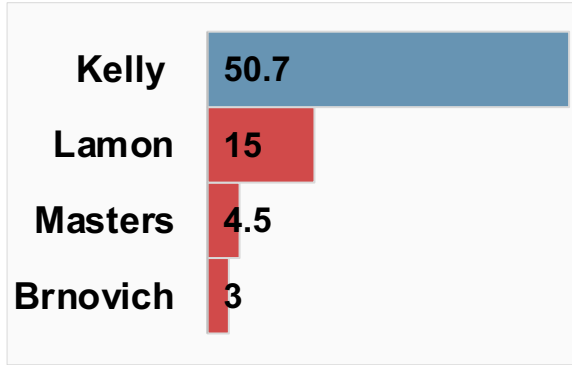
*Based on most recent,  
highest rated, state-  
wide 538 polls*



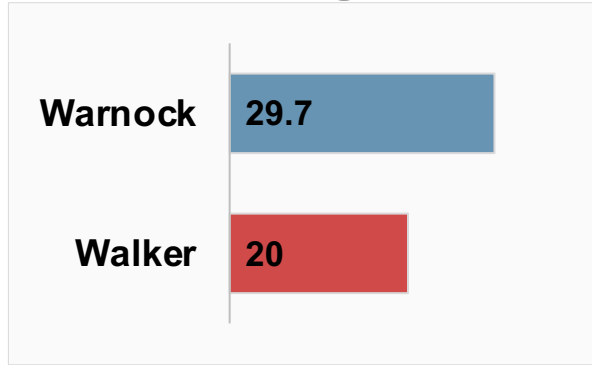


## Latest Fundraising: Most Competitive Senate Seats

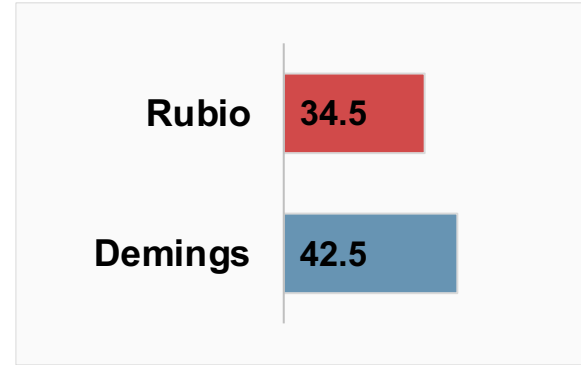
### Arizona



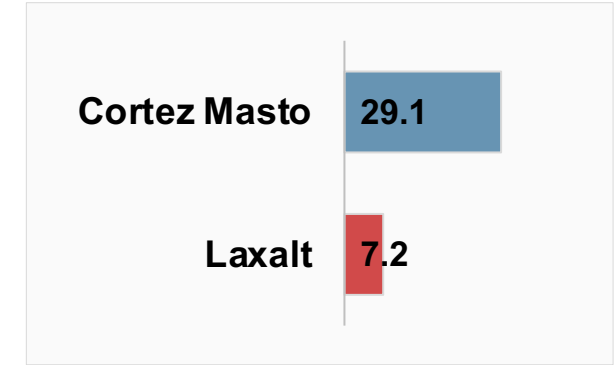
### Georgia



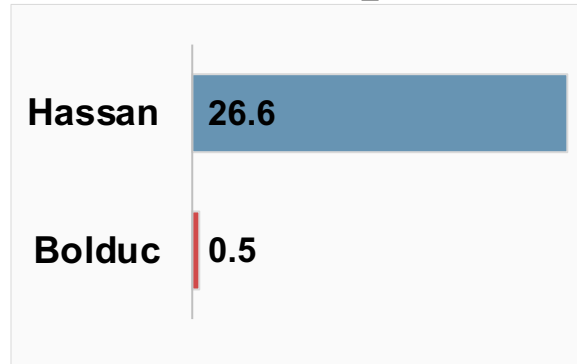
### Florida



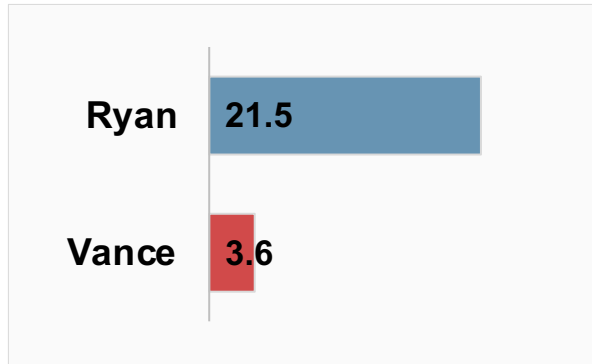
### Nevada



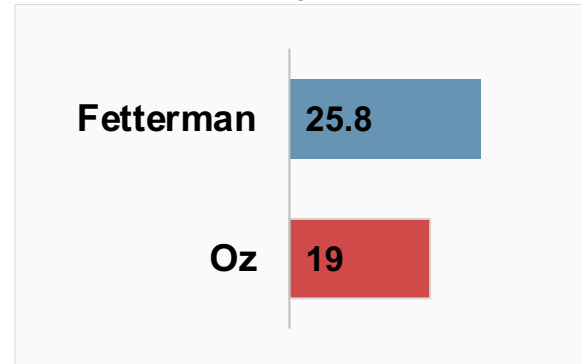
### New Hampshire



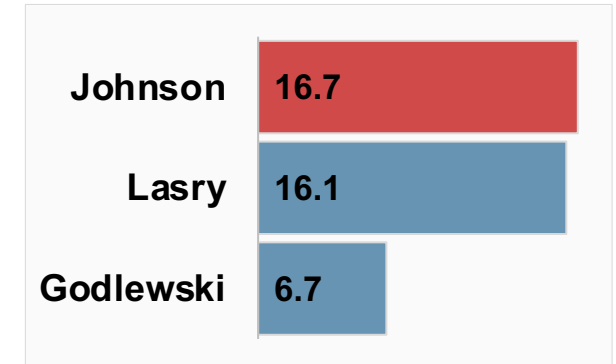
### Ohio



### Pennsylvania



### Wisconsin



Total funding raised (in millions), as of 7/22  
Source: OpenSecrets



# House

162

11 14

34

11 15

188

*All seats contested; outlook likely to change due to ongoing redistricting litigation*

## Most Competitive

### 25 D Toss-Ups

(Open) CA -13  
(Open) IL-17  
(Mrvan) IN-1  
(Davids) KS-03  
(Golden) ME-2  
(Slotkin) MI-7  
(Kildee) MI-8  
(Craig) MN-2  
(Pappas) NH-1  
(Kuster) NH-2  
(Titus) NV-1  
(Lee) NV-3  
(Horsford) NV-4

NY-3 (Open)  
NY-19 (Vacant)  
OH-9 (Kaptur)  
OH-13 (Open)  
OR-5 (Open)  
PA-8 (Cartwright)  
PA-17 (Open)  
RI-02 (Open)  
TX-28 (Cuellar)  
VA-2 (Luria)  
VA-7 (Spanberger)  
WA-8 (Schrier)

### 8 R Toss-Ups

CA-22 (Valadao)  
CA-27 (Garcia)  
CO-8 (New)  
MI-3 (Meijer)  
NC-13 (Open)  
NM-2 (Herrell)  
NY-22 (Open)  
OH-1 (Chabot)

## Competitive

### 15 Lean D

AZ-04 (Stanton)  
CA-09 (Harder)  
CA-47 (Porter)  
CA-49 (Levin)  
CT-05 (Hayes)  
IL-6 (Casten)  
IL-13 (Open)  
MI-03 (Open)  
MD-6 (Trone)  
NC-1 (Open)  
NY-17 (Maloney)  
NY-18 (Ryan)  
TX-34 (Merged)  
OR-04 (Open)  
OR-06 (New Seat)

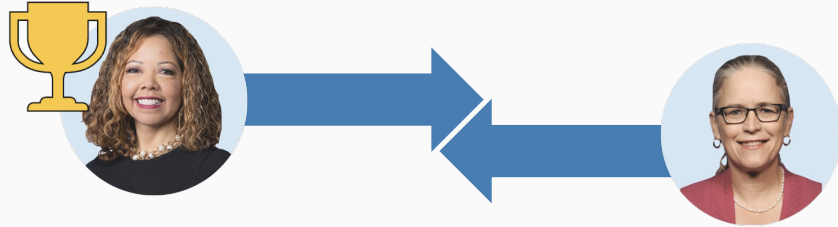
### 11 Lean R

AZ-1 (Schweikert)  
AZ-6 (Open)  
CA-41 (Calvert)  
CA-45 (Steel)  
IA-03 (Axne)  
NJ-7 (Malinowski)  
NY-1 (Open)  
PA-07 (Wild)  
TX-15 (Open)  
WI-3 (Open)  
WA-03 (Open)

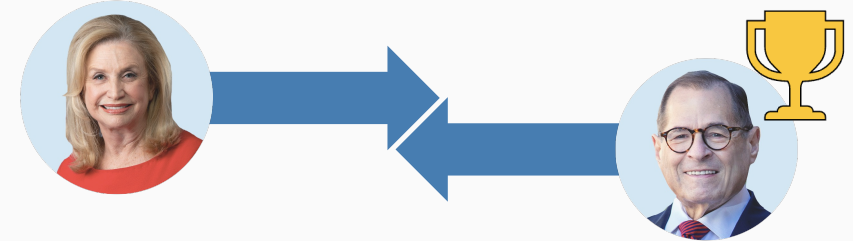


## Notable Primaries: Member vs. Member

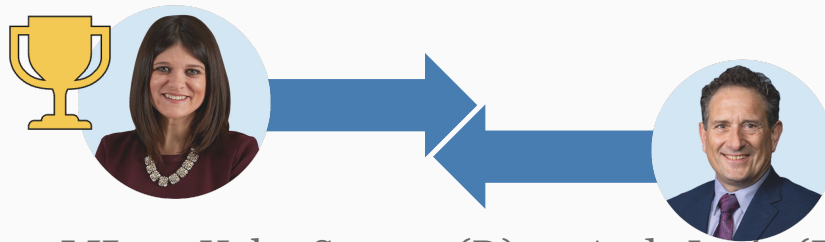
Past:



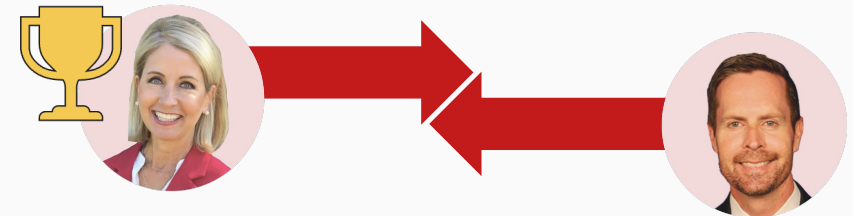
**GA-07:** Lucy McBath (D) vs. Carolyn Bourdeaux (D)



**NY-12:** Carolyn Maloney (D) vs. Jerry Nadler (D)  
*August 23, 2022*



**MI-11:** Haley Stevens (D) vs. Andy Levin (D)  
*August 2, 2022*



**IL-15:** Mary Miller (R) vs. Rodney Davis (R)



# Redistricting: Overview

## Net Change From Old Maps

**+ 6**

Democratic-leaning seats

**0**

Republican-leaning seats

**– 6**

Highly competitive seats

## States Remaining

Louisiana

## States with Litigation Still Pending

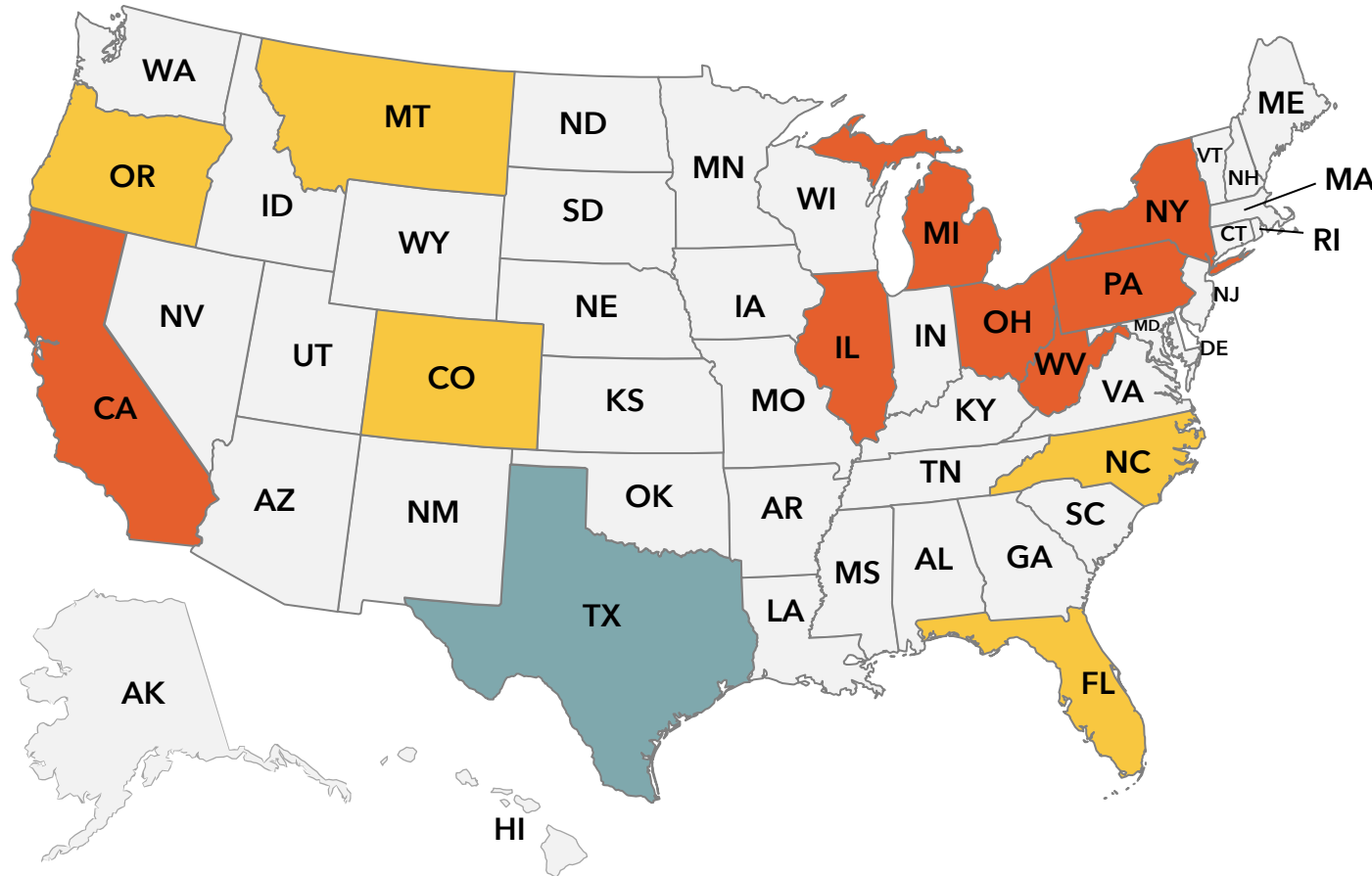
- Alabama
- Arkansas
- Florida
- Georgia
- Kentucky
- Michigan
- Nevada
- New Mexico
- North Carolina
- Ohio
- Pennsylvania
- South Carolina
- Texas
- Utah

Source: 7/19/22, FiveThirtyEight





# Redistricting: Outcomes



■ +2 seats ■ +1 ■ 0 ■ -1

- Texas gained the most House seats (2) due to redistricting
- For the first time, California lost one seat
- The industrial North/Midwest was the region with the most seats lost

Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Bloomberg Government



## Retirements and term-limits in Committee Leadership : Senate

Senate Committee	Democratic Chair (117 <sup>th</sup> )	GOP Ranking Member (117 <sup>th</sup> )
Aging	Bob Casey (PA)	<b>Tim Scott (SC)</b>
Agriculture	Debbie Stabenow (MI)	<b>John Boozman (AR)</b>
Appropriations	<del>Patrick Leahy (VT)</del>	<del>Richard Shelby (AL)</del>
Armed Services	Jack Reed (RI)	<del>Jim Inhofe (OK)</del>
Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs	Sherrod Brown (OH)	<del>Pat Toomey (PA)</del>
Budget	Bernie Sanders (VT)	Lindsey Graham (SC)
Commerce, Science & Transportation	Maria Cantwell (WA)	Roger Wicker (MS)
Energy & Natural Resources	Joe Manchin (WV)	John Barrasso (WY)
Environment & Public Works	Tom Carper (DE)	Shelley Moore Capito (WV)
Finance	Ron Wyden (OR)	<b>Mike Crapo (ID)</b>
Foreign Relations	Bob Menendez (NJ)	Jim Risch (ID)
Health, Education, Labor & Pensions	<b>Patty Murray (WA)</b>	<del>Richard Burr (NC)</del>
Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs	Gary Peters (MI)	<del>Rob Portman (OH)</del>
Indian Affairs	<b>Brian Schatz (HI)</b>	<b>Lisa Murkowski (AK)</b>
Intelligence	Mark Warner (VA)	<b>Marco Rubio (FL)</b>
Judiciary	Dick Durbin (IL)	<b>Chuck Grassley (IA)</b>
Rules & Administration	Amy Klobuchar (MN)	<del>Roy Blunt (MO)</del>
Small Business & Entrepreneurship	Ben Cardin (MD)	<b>Rand Paul (KY)</b>
Veterans' Affairs	Jon Tester (MT)	<b>Jerry Moran (KS)</b>

**Strikethrough:** Retiring members    **Bold:** Members up for election in 2022    **Underline:** term-limited

Source: Bloomberg Government



# Retirements and term-limits in Committee Leadership : House

House Committee	Democratic Chair (117 <sup>th</sup> )	GOP Ranking Member (117 <sup>th</sup> )
Agriculture	David Scott (GA)	Glenn Thompson (PA)
Appropriations	Rosa DeLauro (CT)	Kay Granger (TX)
Armed Services	Adam Smith (WA)	Mike Rogers (AL)
Budget	<del>John Yarmuth (KY)</del>	Jason Smith (MO)
Education & Labor	Bobby Scott (VA)	<u>Virginia Foxx (NC)</u>
Energy & Commerce	Frank Pallone (NJ)	Cathy McMorris Rodgers (WA)
Financial Services	Maxine Waters (CA)	Patrick McHenry (NC)
Foreign Affairs	Gregory Meeks (NY)	Michael McCaul (TX)
Homeland Security	Bennie Thompson (MS)	<del>John Katko (NY)</del>
House Administration	Zoe Lofgren (CA)	Rodney Davis (IL)
Intelligence	Adam Schiff (CA)	Mike Turner (OH)
Judiciary	Jerry Nadler (NY)	Jim Jordan (OH)
Natural Resources	Raúl Grijalva (AZ)	Bruce Westerman (AR)
Oversight & Government Reform	<b>Carolyn Maloney (NY)</b>	James Comer (KY)
Rules	Jim McGovern (MA)	Tom Cole (OK)
Science, Space & Technology	<del>Eddie Bernice Johnson (TX)</del>	Frank Lucas (OK)
Small Business	Nydia Velázquez (NY)	Blaine Luetkemeyer (MO)
Transportation & Infrastructure	<del>Peter DeFazio (OR)</del>	Sam Graves (MO)
Veterans' Affairs	Mark Takano (CA)	Mike Bost (IL)
Ways & Means	Richard Neal (MA)	<del>Kevin Brady (TX)</del>

**Strikethrough:** Retiring members   **Bold:** Member lost election in 2022   **Underline:** term-limited

Source: Bloomberg Government



# Gubernatorial Elections

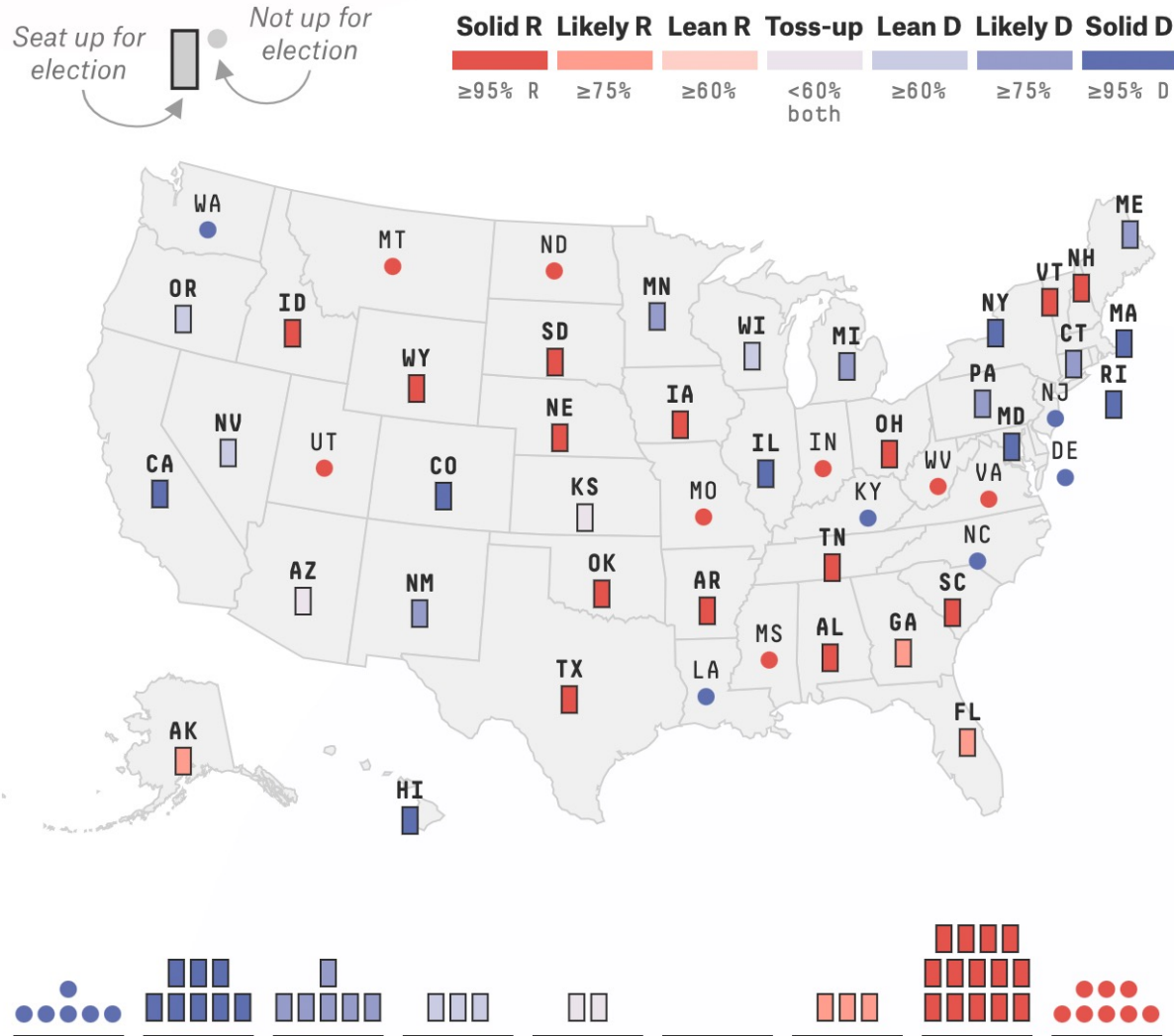
- **Current Landscape:** There are **23** Democratic governors and **27** Republican governors
- **2022:** Gubernatorial elections will be held in **36** states
  - Democrats are defending **16** seats (includes **3** open seats)
  - Republicans are defending **20** seats (includes **5** open seats)
- There are **5** states with races considered to be “toss-ups”\*
  - Arizona (**Open**) **Katie Hobbs** vs. **Kari Lake**
  - Kansas (**Kelly**) vs. **Schmidt**
  - Nevada (**Sisolak**) vs. **Lombardo**
  - Wisconsin (**Evers**) vs. **Tim Michels**

Sources: FiveThirtyEight, Cook Political Report

\*Opponents for toss-ups will be added after primaries in August



# 2022 Races: Forecasting Governorships



- Data outlines each party's chances of winning 36 governorships up for reelection
- Estimates 83% chance that Republicans end up with a majority of governorships, compared with a 7% chance for Democrats.
- Notably, 73% chance that the majority of the U.S. population will reside in states run by Democratic governors.

Source: 7/22/22, FiveThirtyEight