

DEMOCRATIC TIDE

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Democratic Tide

The 2018 midterm elections will be remembered for a number of things. They produced a Democratic takeover of the House of Representatives, the first time the party has won House control in a decade. There were also a slew of Democratic pick ups in governorships and state legislative seats, as Democrats begin to fight back toward parity in the states. Republicans did manage to hold onto the Senate – all of this constituting the first voter feedback to the tempestuous personality and controversial presidency of Donald Trump.

On Election Night, many political commentators referred to the result as a “split decision,” largely equating the Democrats’ House breakthrough with the GOP’s expansion of their Senate majority to 53 seats (from 51). It was a result that was widely expected, given the Republicans’ numerous targets of opportunity on a Senate map where Democrats were playing defense.

But as the days went by and more congressional races fell to the Democrats, the consensus viewpoint shifted to describing the 2018 midterms as a Democratic victory. The party picked up a net of 40 House seats, their most in a midterm since the Watergate election of 1974. Democrats also netted seven governorships and hundreds of state legislative seats, important gains as the states gear up for the next round of congressional and state legislative redistricting after the 2020 census.

But was this really the “blue wave” that was a major topic of speculation throughout the year? Along with the Senate, Republicans still hold a majority of governorships (27 to the Democrats’ 23), and control 60% of state legislatures. Taking the results in their entirety, it would seem more appropriate to call the 2018 election a “Democratic tide” rather than a “Democratic wave.”

Record Midterm Turnout

The legacy of 2018 also includes the phenomenally large turnout that featured a record number of ballots cast in a midterm election. As of Dec. 26, a running tally of the nationwide House vote by David Wasserman of The Cook Political Report showed that nearly 113.7 million ballots had been cast in nationwide House elections. (The House vote is used in determining midterm turnout because it is the only office that is contested in midterm years in all 50 states.)

That figure dwarfs the previous turnout record for a midterm congressional election of 86.5 million votes set in 2010, not to mention the nearly 78 million that turned out for House elections in 2014.

2018 Midterms at a Glance

Democrats gained a number of high-profile victories in the 2018 midterm elections, flipping the House of Representatives in their favor and making inroads in the governorships and state legislatures. But Republicans could take consolation with their expanded Senate majority and continued control of most of the nation’s governorships and state legislatures.

	Before Election	After Election	Net Change in Seats
SENATE			
Democrats	47	45	Republicans Gain 2
Republicans	51	53	
Independents	2	2	
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES			
Democrats	195	235	Democrats Gain 40
Republicans	240	199	
GOVERNORS			
Democrats	16	23	Democrats Gain 7
Republicans	33	27	
Independents	1	-	
STATE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS (number of states with one-party control of both chambers)			
Democrats	14	18	Democrats Gain 4
Republicans	31	30	
Split	4	1	
Other*	1	1	

Note: The post-election House total adds to 434, because the results from a North Carolina district were uncertified as of Dec. 26. Also, the pre-election House totals include five formerly Republican and two previously Democratic seats that were vacant as of Election Day but are credited to the parties that formerly held them. An asterisk (*) indicates that Nebraska has a unicameral legislature that is officially nonpartisan

Source: The National Conference of State Legislatures for information on partisan control of state legislative chambers, before and after the 2018 election.

There is no denying that in 2018, it was a pro-Democratic turnout. Four years ago, the nationwide House vote was 40.0 million for Republican candidates, 35.6 million for their Democratic counterparts, with 2.2 million votes cast for an array of independent and third party candidates as well as a sprinkling of write-ins. The results translated into a convincing 247-to-188 GOP majority in House seats heading into 2015.

This year, Wasserman's count shows a midterm electorate much larger and decidedly more Democratic. As of Dec. 26, there were 60.7 million votes tallied for Democratic candidates to just short of 51.0 million for Republicans, producing a 235-to-199 Democratic House majority, with a seat in North Carolina still uncertified.

Put another way, in 2014 there were 4.4 million more congressional votes cast for Republican than Democratic candidates. This time, the total for Democratic House candidates exceeded those for Republicans by almost 10 million votes, with the Democrats adding fully 25 million votes from 2014 compared to the Republicans additional 11 million.

In essence, it was very close to a presidential level turnout for the Democrats, with the nationwide total of Democratic House votes reaching 92% of the 65.9 million ballots cast for Hillary Clinton in the 2016 presidential election. In contrast, the Republican ardor for voting in this latest midterm was conspicuously less, as the GOP House vote represented 81% of the 63 million votes cast for Trump two years ago.

Trump as Lightning Rod

It has been shown over the years that people vote when they feel that they have something to vote for. In that regard, the huge 2018 turnout was a testament to the varying voter responses to President Trump and the sharply conflicting emotions that he generates. Trump has been a source of partisan controversy like no other president in memory. His sharp edges and "stroke the base" positions have made him a hero to many Republicans. But he is the devil incarnate to many Democrats and independents, who view his tit for tat style of dealing with critics and his unpredictability in governing a threat to basic democratic institutions.

It has been the norm for presidents to limit their campaigning during midterm elections, preferring to focus on governing rather than barnstorming for their party's candidates. But Trump took the opposite approach, spending much of the fall crisscrossing the "red" part of the map to stump at large rallies for GOP candidates and to sing the praises of his presidency. Trump was not shy about positioning himself front and center as the focal point of the election and encouraged Republicans to vote as if he were on the ballot.

Yet it turned out to be a questionable strategy. Trump had a favorable economy on which to campaign in 2018, with the lowest midterm-eve unemployment rate since 1966 – 3.7%. But he chose instead to accent more peripheral (albeit visceral) issues, such as guarding the nation's southern border from a slow-moving "caravan" of would-be Latin migrants. He clearly felt the issue was more likely than the economy to arouse his base, yet polls often showed anti-Trump voters far more intense in their opposition to the president than pro-Trump voters were in their support.

A Different Midterm Electorate

It has been a rule of thumb that midterm turnouts are smaller, whiter, and older than those in presidential years. Yet in its size, the 2018 turnout was much closer in size to the last presidential election (136.7 million votes were cast in the Trump–Hillary Clinton contest in 2016) than the previous midterm election.

And in its composition, the 2018 vote was racially more diverse than the last midterm. According to exit polls from both years, the white share of the vote stayed predominately Republican but dropped

(Continued on Page 8)

Trump and Midterm Comparisons with Other Recent Presidents

National elections are often a referendum on the president, but probably no more clearly than this year when President Trump willingly made himself the centerpiece of the campaign. He criss-crossed the country during the fall to rally Republican voters and denounce the Democrats. In his quiver, he had favorable economic news in the form of an unemployment rate (3.7%) that tied for the lowest for October of a midterm election year since 1966. Yet that was trumped by the president's consistently low job approval ratings, which on the eve of the 2018 midterm election stood in the long-running Gallup Poll at just 40%. Historically, the farther the president's approval rating falls below 50%, the more difficult it is for his party's more endangered candidates to survive. As it was, the net Democratic gain of 40 House seats in 2018 was the largest for the party since the Watergate election of 1974. The chart below lists midterm-eve presidential approval scores, unemployment rates, and election results themselves since 1962, John F. Kennedy's first and only midterm election.

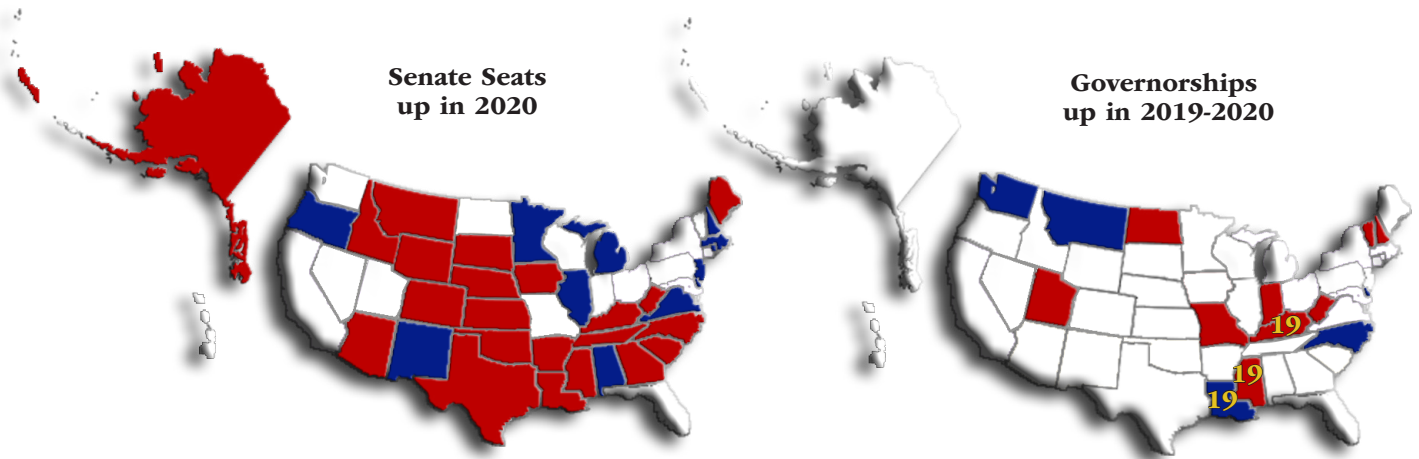
President	Election	President's Midterm-eve Approval Rating (Gallup Poll)	Midterm-eve Unemployment Rate	President's Party in Midterms (net seats won or lost in election cycle)		President's Party in Next Presidential Election
				House	Senate	
Presidents with High Approval Ratings (at least 60%)						
Bill Clinton (D)	1998	66%	4.5%	+ 4	0	Lost#
Ronald Reagan (R)	1986	63%	7.0%	- 5	- 8	WON
George W. Bush (R)	2002	63%	5.7%	+ 8	+ 1	WON
John F. Kennedy (D)	1962	61%	5.4%	- 5	+ 3	WON
Presidents with Moderate Approval Ratings (50% to 59%)						
Richard Nixon (R)	1970	58%	5.5%	- 12	+ 3	WON
George Bush (R)	1990	58%	5.9%	- 7	- 1	Lost
Presidents with Low Approval Ratings (less than 50%)						
Jimmy Carter (D)	1978	49%	5.8%	- 15	- 3	Lost
Bill Clinton (D)	1994	46%	5.8%	- 54	- 10	WON
Barack Obama (D)	2010	45%	9.4%	- 63	- 4	WON
Lyndon B. Johnson (D)	1966	44%	3.7%	- 47	- 4	Lost
Ronald Reagan (R)	1982	42%	10.4%	- 26	+ 1	WON
Barack Obama (D)	2014	42%	5.7%	- 12	- 9	Lost#
Donald Trump (R)	2018	40%	3.7%	- 40	+ 2	-
George W. Bush (R)	2006	38%	4.4%	- 30	- 6	Lost
Richard Nixon (R)/ Gerald Ford (R)	1974	24%/ 54%*	6.0%	- 48	- 5	Lost

Note: Presidential approval ratings are based on the last Gallup Poll taken immediately before the midterm election. The nationwide unemployment rate reflects the seasonally adjusted figure for the October before the November midterm election. Midterm House and Senate losses by the president's party are from *Vital Statistics on American Politics 2015-2016* (CQ Press, an imprint of SAGE Publications). An asterisk (*) indicates that Richard Nixon resigned the presidency in August 1974 with a final approval rating in the Gallup Poll of 24%. The last approval rating for his successor, Gerald Ford, before the 1974 midterm election was 54%. A pound sign (#) denotes that the Democratic candidate won the popular vote in the 2000 and 2016 presidential elections, but the Republican candidate carried the all-important electoral vote.

Sources: The Gallup Poll for presidential job approval ratings, with the election-eve rating for Donald Trump from a weekly poll as of Nov. 4; the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the national unemployment rate; *Vital Statistics on American Politics 2015-2016* (CQ Press, an imprint of SAGE) for midterm congressional seat changes.

What's Up in 2020

Republican
 Democrat
 19 States with Gubernatorial elections in 2019



This year's midterm election was for high stakes, but even more will be at stake if President Trump mounts what is expected to be a high-pitched and expensive reelection campaign. The Senate will also be in play two years hence, as well as the House of Representatives, nearly a dozen governorships (three others will be up in 2019), and a slew of state legislative seats. Democrats should have a better chance of winning the Senate in 2020 than this year. In 2018, the vast majority of seats in play were Democratic. In 2020, 22 of the 34 Senate seats on the ballot will be Republican. Democrats will need four seats to win the Senate in 2020, or three seats if they also win the White House. Yet it will still be a challenge for Democrats to flip the Senate in 2020, as just two of the Republican seats are in states won by Hillary Clinton in 2016 - Colorado (Cory Gardner) and Maine (Susan Collins).

	'16 Presidential Vote	House Seats		Seats Up in 2020	
		Dem.	Rep.	Senators	Governors
National	Clinton by 2%	235	199	34 (22 Reps., 12 Dems.)	14 (9 Reps., 5 Dems.)*
NORTHEAST					
Connecticut	Clinton by 14%	5			
Delaware	Clinton by 11%	1		Chris Coons (D)	John Carney (D)
District of Columbia	Clinton by 87%				
Maine	Clinton by 3%	2		Susan Collins (R)	
Maryland	Clinton by 26%	7	1		
Massachusetts	Clinton by 27%	9		Ed Markey (D)	
New Hampshire	Clinton by 0.3%	2		Jeanne Shaheen (D)	Chris Sununu (R)
New Jersey	Clinton by 14%	11	1	Cory Booker (D)	
New York	Clinton by 22%	21	6		
Pennsylvania	Trump by 0.7%	9	9		
Rhode Island	Clinton by 16%	2		Jack Reed (D)	
Vermont	Clinton by 26%	1			Phil Scott (R)
West Virginia	Trump by 42%		3	Shelley Moore Capito (R)	Jim Justice (R)

	'16 Presidential Vote	House Seats		Seats Up in 2020	
		Dem.	Rep.	Senators	Governors
National	Clinton by 2%	235	199	34 (22 Reps., 12 Dems.)	14 (9 Reps., 5 Dems.)*
MIDWEST					
Illinois	Clinton by 17%	13	5	Dick Durbin (D)	
Indiana	Trump by 19%	2	7		Eric Holcomb (R)
Iowa	Trump by 9%	3	1	Joni Ernst (R)	
Kansas	Trump by 21%	1	3	Pat Roberts (R)	
Michigan	Trump by 0.2%	7	7	Gary Peters (D)	
Minnesota	Clinton by 2%	5	3	Tina Smith (D)	
Missouri	Trump by 19%	2	6		Michael Parson (R)@
Nebraska	Trump by 25%		3	Ben Sasse (R)	
North Dakota	Trump by 36%		1		Doug Burgum (R)
Ohio	Trump by 8%	4	12		
South Dakota	Trump by 30%		1	Mike Rounds (R)	
Wisconsin	Trump by 0.7%	3	5		
SOUTH					
Alabama	Trump by 28%	1	6	Doug Jones (D)	
Arkansas	Trump by 27%		4	Tom Cotton (R)	
Florida	Trump by 1%	13	14		
Georgia	Trump by 5%	5	9	David Perdue (R)	
Kentucky	Trump by 30%	1	5	Mitch McConnell (R)	Matt Bevin (R) - 2019
Louisiana	Trump by 20%	1	5	Bill Cassidy (R)	John Bel Edwards (D) - 2019
Mississippi	Trump by 18%	1	3	Cindy Hyde-Smith (R)	Phil Bryant (R) - 2019 - OPEN
North Carolina	Trump by 4%	3	9	Thom Tillis (R)	Roy Cooper (D)
Oklahoma	Trump by 36%	1	4	James Inhofe (R)	
South Carolina	Trump by 14%	2	5	Lindsey Graham (R)	
Tennessee	Trump by 26%	2	7	Lamar Alexander (R) - OPEN	
Texas	Trump by 9%	13	23	John Cornyn (R)	
Virginia	Clinton by 5%	7	4	Mark Warner (D)	
WEST					
Alaska	Trump by 15%		1	Dan Sullivan (R)	
Arizona	Trump by 4%	5	4	Martha McSally (R)@	
California	Clinton by 30%	46	7		
Colorado	Clinton by 5%	4	3	Cory Gardner (R)	
Hawaii	Clinton by 32%	2			
Idaho	Trump by 32%		2	Jim Risch (R)	
Montana	Trump by 20%		1	Steve Daines (R)	Steve Bullock (D) - OPEN
Nevada	Clinton by 2%	3	1		
New Mexico	Clinton by 8%	3		Tom Udall (D)	
Oregon	Clinton by 11%	4	1	Jeff Merkley (D)	
Utah	Trump by 18%	1	3		Gary Herbert (R) - OPEN
Washington	Clinton by 16%	7	3		Jay Inslee (D)
Wyoming	Trump by 46%		1	Mike Enzi (R)	

Note: Three governorships in the 2019-20 election cycle will be decided in 2019 and are indicated as such. The icon "@" indicates that the current incumbent was not elected and assumed their present office since the last election. The 2020 Senate race in Arizona is a special election for the last two years of the term of the late John McCain (R). Martha McSally (R) was appointed in late December to fill the seat after interim Sen. Jon Kyl (R) announced his resignation. House elections in 2018 accounted for 434 seats, with the result from the North Carolina 9th District still uncertified because of allegations of voter fraud.

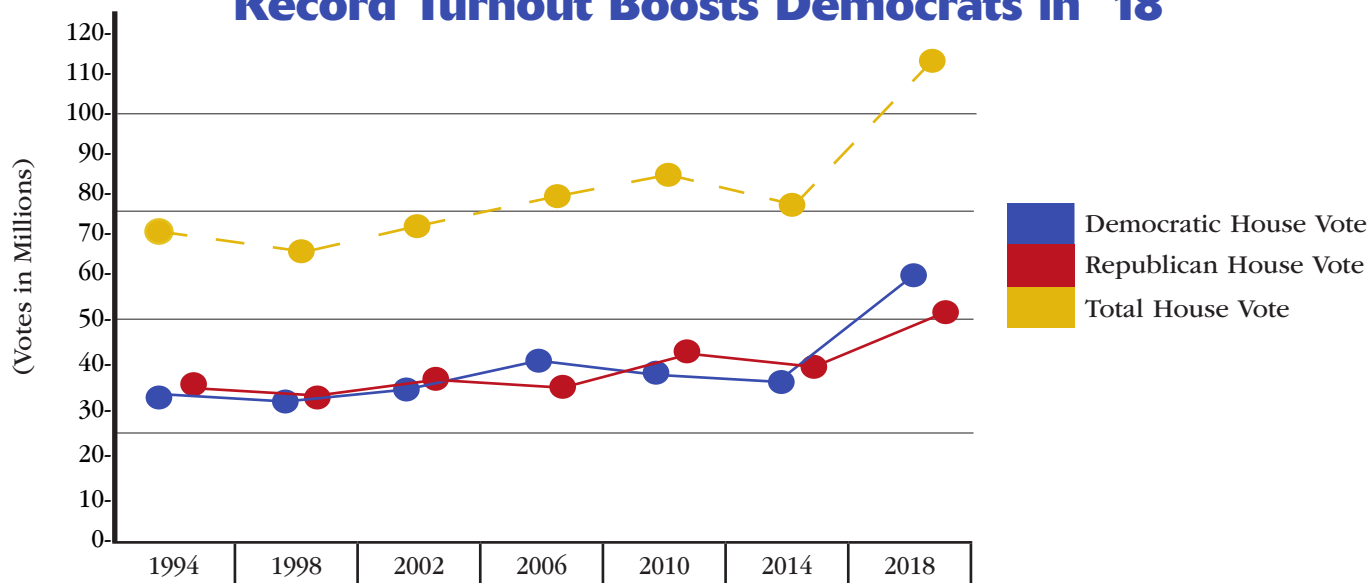
Source: Open Senate and gubernatorial seats thus far for 2020 are from *The Cook Political Report*.

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from 75% of the 2014 vote to 72% this year. Meanwhile, the minority share of the vote rose to 28%, with African Americans voting 90% Democratic, Asians 77% Democratic, and Hispanics 69% Democratic.

Altogether, more self-described Democrats than Republicans voted in this year's elections (37% to 33%), after adherents of the two parties cast equal proportions of the vote in the GOP-dominated midterms of 2010 and 2014. Self-described independents, which comprised 30% of the 2018 vote, favored Democrats this time after breaking for Republican congressional candidates in 2010 and 2014.

NATIONWIDE MIDTERM HOUSE VOTE SINCE 1994: Record Turnout Boosts Democrats in '18



Over the last quarter century, the House of Representatives has been the Republicans' oyster. Until this year, they had won a majority of House seats in every midterm and presidential election since 1994 except two - 2006 and 2008. Yet Democrats easily wrested control from the GOP last month by taking 53.4% of the nationwide congressional vote, the highest share for either party in a midterm election in more than three decades. Democrats picked up a net of 40 House seats this year, the party's largest gain in a midterm election since the Watergate contest of 1974. This year's gains were achieved against the backdrop of a record high turnout for a midterm House election. More than 113 million votes were cast in the 2018 House voting, fully 27 million more than marked the previous high in 2010. An asterisk (*) indicates years in which control of the House switched party hands.

Election	Total House Vote	Dems.	Reps.	Others	Plurality	% of Total House Vote			Seats Won		
						Dems.	Reps.	Others	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.
1994*	70,607,242	32,072,375	36,995,166	1,539,701	R 4,922,791	45.4%	52.4%	2.2%	204	230	1
1998	65,896,772	31,482,036	32,254,557	2,160,179	R 772,521	47.8%	48.9%	3.3%	211	223	1
2002	73,449,133	33,758,288	37,360,424	2,330,421	R 3,602,136	46.0%	50.9%	3.2%	205	229	1
2006*	80,136,543	42,347,880	35,943,108	1,845,555	D 6,404,772	52.8%	44.9%	2.3%	233	202	-
2010*	86,546,310	38,983,649	44,839,611	2,723,050	R 5,855,962	45.0%	51.8%	3.1%	193	242	-
2014	77,889,271	35,628,989	40,029,863	2,230,419	R 4,400,874	45.7%	51.4%	2.9%	188	247	-
2018*	113,678,654	60,727,598	50,983,895	1,967,161	D 9,743,703	53.4%	44.8%	1.7%	235	199	-

Note: Percentages do not always add to 100 due to rounding. The number of House seats won in 2018 is not complete since as of Dec. 26, the results remain uncertified in the North Carolina 9th District.

Sources: *America Votes* (CQ Press, an imprint of SAGE) for the midterm House election vote in 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014. Similar data for the 2018 midterm election has been compiled by David Wasserman of *The Cook Political Report*, and is based on results tabulated as of Dec. 26, 2018.

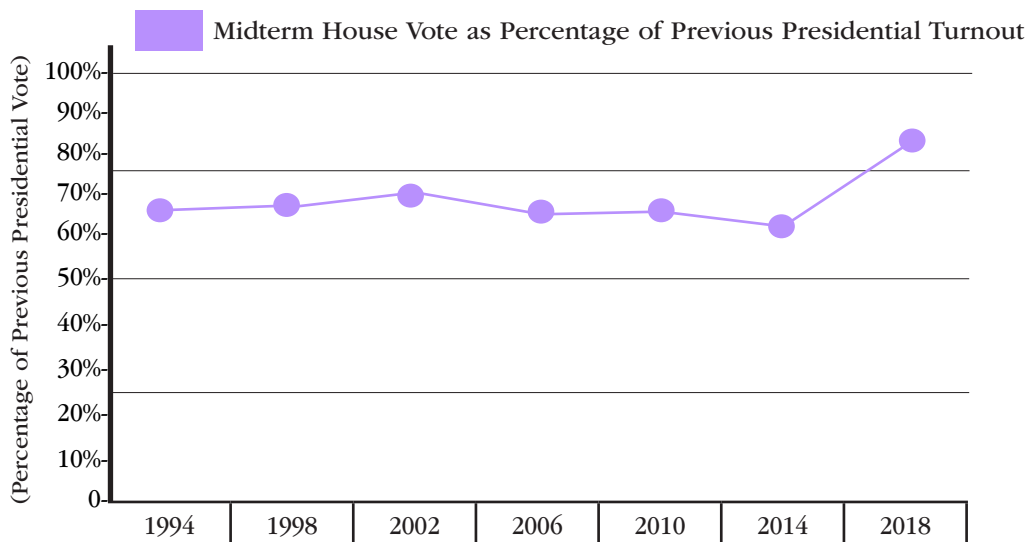
Women and Diversity

In many ways, 2018 was “the year of the woman,” or maybe more accurately, “the year of the woman, part two.” The first such year to draw that title accompanied Bill Clinton’s initial presidential election in 1992, and featured Democratic Senate victories by Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein in California, Carol Moseley Braun in Illinois, and Patty Murray in Washington.

But the showing by women candidates in 1992 looked like a modest preamble compared to 2018. According to *The Economist*, less than 1,000 women in 2015 and 2016 contacted Emily’s List (an organization which promotes women candidates) about running for office. This election cycle, there were more than 25,000. Many of them were first-time Democratic candidates.

Much of the huge increase in interest was attributed to the shock of Trump’s election, the rise of the “MeToo” movement aimed at exposing male sexual harassment, and the general feeling that in a male-dominated culture, women candidates offer the best chance for political change.

2018 IN A CLASS OF ITS OWN: Comparing Size of Recent Midterm Turnouts to the Previous Presidential Vote



A political rule of thumb of late is that turnouts for midterm elections are smaller, whiter, and older than for presidential elections, with an emphasis on smaller. Over the last quarter century, midterm congressional turnouts were about two-thirds as large as for the previous presidential election. That was not the case, though, in 2018, when the size of the midterm vote approached 85% of the 2016 presidential vote.

Midterm Election	President at time of Midterm	Midterm House Vote	Previous Pres. Election	Previous Pres. Vote	Midterm House Vote as % of Previous Pres. Vote
1994	Bill Clinton (D)	70,607,242	1992	104,425,014	67.6%
1998	Bill Clinton (D)	65,896,772	1996	96,277,872	68.4%
2002	George W. Bush (R)	73,449,133	2000	105,396,627	69.7%
2006	George W. Bush (R)	80,136,543	2004	122,295,345	65.5%
2010	Barack Obama (D)	86,546,310	2008	131,313,820	65.9%
2014	Barack Obama (D)	77,889,271	2012	129,085,474	60.3%
2018	Donald Trump (R)	113,678,654	2016	136,667,388	83.2%

Sources: The 2018 midterm House vote is based on a compilation by David Wasserman of *The Cook Political Report* that reflects U.S. House returns as of Dec. 26, 2018. Other midterm House and presidential vote totals since 1994 are from various editions of *America Votes* (CQ Press, an imprint of SAGE).

In Senate races alone this fall, major parties in six states both nominated women - Arizona, Minnesota, Nebraska, New York, Washington, and Wisconsin. In Michigan, Democratic women won every major statewide contest – senator, governor, state attorney general, and secretary of state. In Virginia, a trio of female Democratic House candidates ousted three Republican incumbents, flipping the Old Dominion’s House delegation from 7-to-4 Republican to 7-to-4 Democratic.

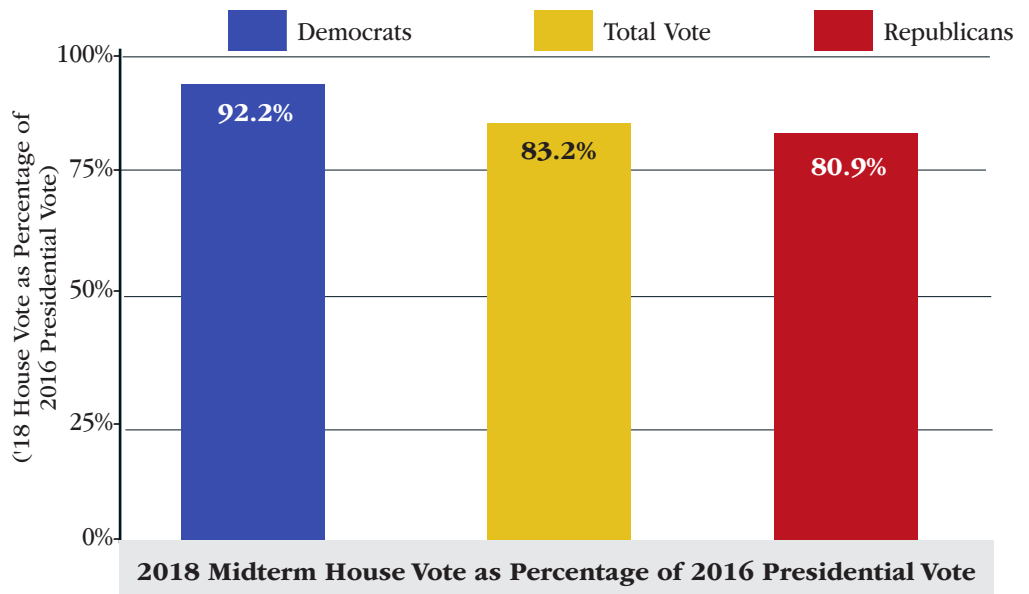
This was also a “year of diversity,” again apparent primarily on the Democratic side. In two major Southern states, Florida and Georgia, Democratic primary voters selected African Americans to run for governor. In the latter state, Stacey Abrams was bidding to become the nation’s first African-American woman governor. In Idaho, Democrats nominated Paulette Jordan, who was vying to become the nation’s first Native American governor.

And in the Detroit-area district formerly represented by Democrat John Conyers, a long-time African-American voice in Congress who was forced out of office in late 2017 over charges of sexual harassment, Democratic voters nominated a Muslim woman (Rashida Tlaib) to run for Conyers’ seat in the 116th Congress.

Stars are Born ... and Some are Beaten

Altogether, four House members and one sitting governor were beaten in primaries in 2018, about the average number of incumbent defeats for both sets of offices in recent election cycles. Two veteran male Democratic representatives lost to women of color, Boston City Council member Ayanna Pressley (who is African American) and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York City, a twenty-something of Puerto Rican descent who began her campaign as a political unknown. But Ocasio-Cortez skillfully combined social media with endorsements from

Democratic House Vote in 2018 Close to '16 Presidential Level, Republicans Less So



It was a “boffo” turnout for the 2018 midterm House elections, particularly for the Democrats. The aggregate nationwide vote for Democratic congressional candidates this year surpassed 90% of the number that cast ballots for Hillary Clinton in 2016, while the aggregate Republican House vote in 2018 barely reached 80% of the number that voted for Donald Trump in 2016. The “Others” category included votes for independent and third party congressional candidates in 2018 as well as write-in votes, while Libertarian Gary Johnson, Green entry Jill Stein, and independent Evan McMullin were among those who constituted the far larger vote for “Other” presidential candidates in 2016. Johnson alone received nearly 4.5 million votes.

	'18 Midterm House Vote	'16 Presidential Vote	'18 Midterm House Vote as % of '16 Presidential Vote
TOTAL VOTE	113,678,654	136,667,388	83.2%
Democratic	60,727,598	65,853,510	92.2%
Republican	50,983,895	62,984,824	80.9%
Others	1,967,161	7,829,054	25.1%

Sources: The 2018 midterm House vote is based on a compilation by David Wasserman of *The Cook Political Report* that reflects U.S. House returns as of Dec. 26, 2018. The 2016 presidential vote is from the 2016 edition of *America Votes* (CQ Press, an imprint of SAGE).

progressive groups, and emerged from her June primary not only victorious but as a new star of the Democratic left.

Pressley and Ocasio-Cortez won their primaries in strongly Democratic urban districts, guaranteeing themselves seats in the next Congress long before November.

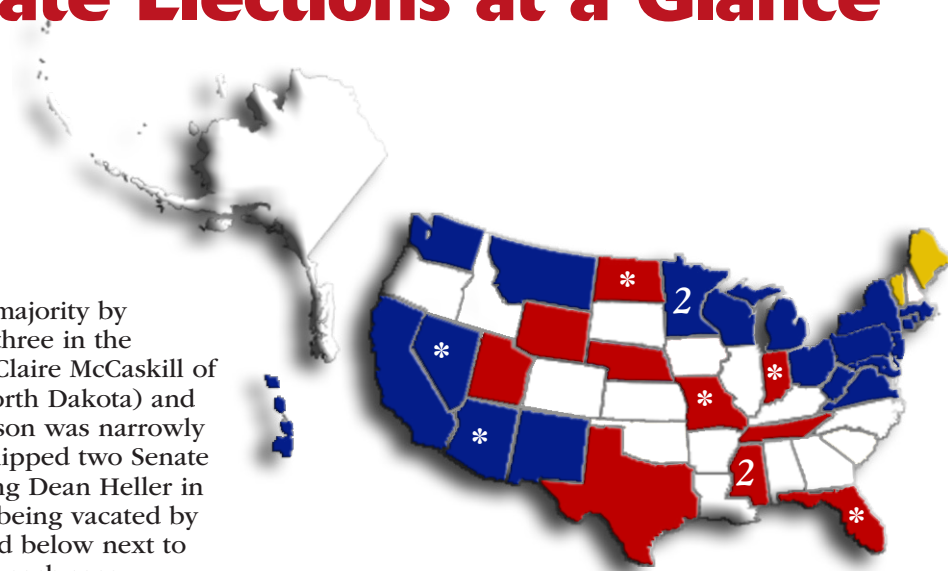
Other Democratic stars emerged in the general election campaign. Gubernatorial candidates Abrams in Georgia and Andrew Gillum in Florida, as well as Senate entry Beto O'Rourke in Texas, were young aspirational candidates in their 30s and 40s, who were able to draw national attention to their campaigns. All three lost close races, but each drew at least 48% of the vote in states where Democrats of late have often found it difficult to compete statewide, let alone win.

In a party that is looking for younger leaders, the three should have a future in national politics. Already, O'Rourke is winning mention as a potential Democratic presidential candidate in 2020. He caught the interest of Texas voters with an energetic candidacy that reached all of the state's 254 counties, and he showed himself to be a consummate fund raiser with his \$70 million challenge to Republican incumbent Ted Cruz. Yet no matter what happens in terms of presidential politics, O'Rourke, Abrams, and Gillum are in the vanguard of a political world that is evolving slowly, but steadily, to reflect the nation's increasing diversity.

Note: Portions of this piece appeared in blogs for the Voting and Elections Collection of SAGE Publications.

2018 Senate Elections at a Glance

- Democratic Win
- Republican Win
- Independent Win
- * Seats that Switched Party
- 2 States with 2 Senate races



Republicans extended their Senate majority by ousting four Democratic senators - three in the Midwest (Joe Donnelly of Indiana, Claire McCaskill of Missouri, and Heidi Heitkamp of North Dakota) and the other in Florida (where Bill Nelson was narrowly beaten). For their part, Democrats flipped two Senate seats in the Mountain West (defeating Dean Heller in Nevada and winning the open seat being vacated by Republican Jeff Flake). "(W)" is listed below next to the name of the candidate that won each race.

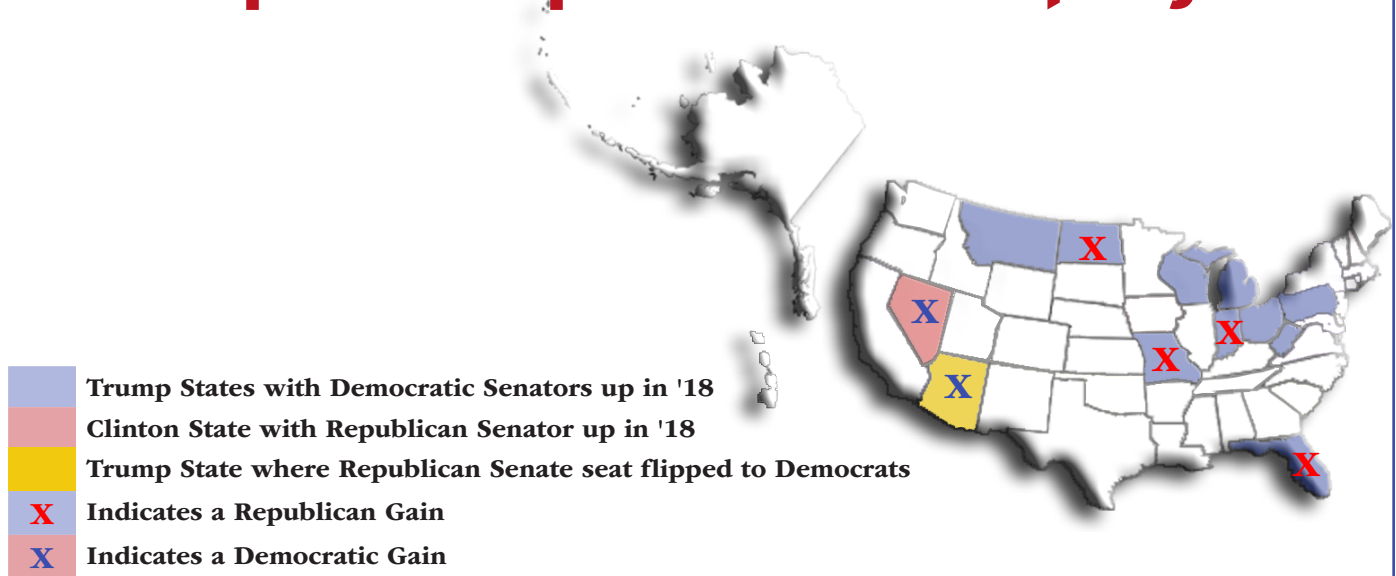
NORTHEAST						
State	'18 Election Outcome	Democratic candidate	Dem. %	Republican candidate	Rep. %	Other %
Connecticut	D	Chris Murphy* (W)	59%	Matthew Corey	40%	1%
Delaware	D	Tom Carper* (W)	60%	Robert Arlett	38%	2%
Maine	I	Zak Ringelstein	10%	Eric Brakey	35%	55%#
Maryland	D	Ben Cardin* (W)	64%	Tony Campbell	31%	5%
Massachusetts	D	Elizabeth Warren* (W)	60%	Geoff Diehl	36%	3%
New Jersey	D	Bob Menendez* (W)	53%	Bob Hugin	44%	4%
New York	D	Kirsten Gillibrand* (W)	67%	CheleChiovacci Farley	33%	-
Pennsylvania	D	Bob Casey* (W)	56%	Lou Barletta	43%	2%
Rhode Island	D	Sheldon Whitehouse* (W)	61%	Robert Flanders	39%	-
Vermont	I	(No candidate)	-	Lawrence Zupan	27%	73%#
West Virginia	D	Joe Manchin* (W)	50%	Patrick Morrissey	46%	4%

MIDWEST						
State	'18 Election Outcome	Democratic candidate	Dem. %	Republican candidate	Rep. %	Other %
Indiana	R GAIN	Joe Donnelly*	44%	Mike Braun (W)	52%	4%
Michigan	D	Debbie Stabenow* (W)	52%	John James	46%	2%
Minnesota (2)	D	Amy Klobuchar* (W)	60%	Jim Newberger	36%	4%
	D	Tina Smith* (W)	53%	Karin Housley	42%	5%
Missouri	R GAIN	Claire McCaskill*	45%	Josh Hawley (W)	51%	3%
Nebraska	R	Jane Raybould	38%	Deb Fischer* (W)	38%	4%
North Dakota	R GAIN	Heidi Heitkamp*	45%	Kevin Cramer (W)	55%	-
Ohio	D	Sherrod Brown* (W)	53%	Jim Renacci	47%	-
Wisconsin	D	Tammy Baldwin* (W)	55%	Leah Vukmir	45%	-
SOUTH						
State	'18 Election Outcome	Democratic candidate	Dem. %	Republican candidate	Rep. %	Other %
Florida	R GAIN	Bill Nelson*	49.9%	Rick Scott (W)	50.1%	-
Mississippi (2)	R	David Baria	39%	Roger Wicker* (W)	59%	2%
	R@	Mike Espy	46%	Cindy Hyde-Smith* (W)	54%	-
Tennessee	R	Phil Bredesen	44%	Marsha Blackburn (W)	55%	1%
Texas	R	Beto O'Rourke	48%	Ted Cruz* (W)	51%	1%
Virginia	D	Tim Kaine* (W)	57%	Corey Stewart	41%	2%
WEST						
State	'18 Election Outcome	Democratic candidate	Dem. %	Republican candidate	Rep. %	Other %
Arizona	D GAIN	Kyrsten Sinema (W)	50%	Martha McSally	48%	2%
California	D	Dianne Feinstein* (W) Kevin de Leon	54% 46%	(CA's "top two" primary produced a fall Senate election with two Democrats, no Republicans.)		
Hawaii	D	Mazie Hirono* (W)	71%	Ron Curtis	29%	-
Montana	D	Jon Tester* (W)	50%	Matt Rosendale	48%	2%
Nevada	D GAIN	Jacky Rosen (W)	50%	Dean Heller*	45%	5%
New Mexico	D	Martin Heinrich* (W)	54%	Mark Rich	31%	15%
Utah	R	Jenny Wilson	32%	Mitt Romney (W)	62%	6%
Washington	D	Maria Cantwell* (W)	59%	Susan Hutchison	41%	-
Wyoming	R	Gary Trauner	30%	John Barrasso* (W)	67%	3%

Note: A dash (-) in the "Other" column indicates that the combined vote for independent and third party candidates, as well as write-in votes, was less than half of a percentage point (0.5%) and rounded to a percentage of zero. Candidate vote percentages do not always add to 100 due to rounding. An asterisk (*) denotes an incumbent. Races where no candidates have an asterisk were for an open seat, with the exceptions of Maine and Vermont, where independent senators Angus King and Bernie Sanders, respectively, were reelected. In both states, the "Other %" column includes a pound sign (#) to indicate their victories. King won with 54% of the total vote; Sanders with 66%. Both caucus with the Democrats in the Senate. The icon "@" denotes that the Mississippi results are from a Nov. 27 runoff. Sen. Cindy Hyde-Smith (R) had led the first round of voting on Nov. 6 with 42% of the vote, followed by Mike Espy (D) with 41%, and Chris McDaniel (R) with 16%.

Source: Senate election results were compiled by the Associated Press and published in *The Washington Post* issue of Nov. 8, 2018. The returns are nearly complete but unofficial.

Wins on Friendly Terrain in 2018 Help GOP Expand Senate Majority



Democrats needed to gain only two seats in 2018 to win control of the Senate. Yet that deficit might as well have been 20 seats, given how difficult a goal it was for the Democrats to accomplish. Not only were they defending 24 of the 35 seats up this year (as well as two seats held by independents who caucus with the Democrats), but 10 were in states carried by Donald Trump in 2016. On the other hand, only one Republican Senate seat was at stake in a state (Nevada) won by Hillary Clinton in 2016. Democrats won that seat, as well as an open Senate seat in Arizona, which had been carried by Trump. But the GOP unseated four Trump-state Democratic senators, producing a Republican net gain of two seats. That swelled the GOP Senate majority to 53 seats from the 51 they held going into the November 2018 election.

TRUMP-STATE DEMOCRATIC SENATORS UP IN 2018

State	'16 Presidential Winner (and Margin)	'18 Senate Outcome	Dem. Senator up in '18	Dem. Incumbent's Margin of Victory or Defeat
West Virginia	Trump by 42%	D	Joe Manchin	Won by 4%
North Dakota	Trump by 36%	R GAIN	Heidi Heitkamp	Lost to Kevin Cramer (R) by 10%
Montana	Trump by 20%	D	Jon Tester	Won by 2%
Indiana	Trump by 19%	R GAIN	Joe Donnelly	Lost to Mike Braun (R) by 8%
Missouri	Trump by 19%	R GAIN	Claire McKaskill	Lost to Josh Hawley (R) by 6%
Ohio	Trump by 8%	D	Sherrod Brown	Won by 6%
Florida	Trump by 1%	R GAIN	Bill Nelson	Lost to Rick Scott (R) by 0.2%
Pennsylvania	Trump by 0.7%	D	Bob Casey	Won by 13%
Wisconsin	Trump by 0.7%	D	Tammy Baldwin	Won by 10%
Michigan	Trump by 0.2%	D	Debbie Stabenow	Won by 6%

CLINTON-STATE REPUBLICAN SENATOR UP IN 2018

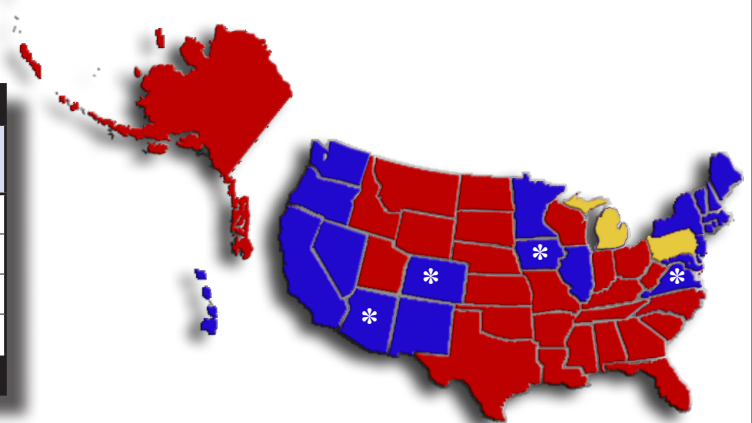
State	'16 Presidential Margin	'18 Senate Outcome	Rep. Senator up in '18	Rep. Incumbent's Margin of Victory or Defeat
Nevada	Clinton by 2%	D GAIN	Dean Heller	Lost to Jacky Rosen (D) by 5%

Source: Senate election results were compiled by the Associated Press and published in *The Washington Post* issue of Nov. 8, 2018. The returns are nearly complete but unofficial.

Democrats' Cross-Country Success in 2018 Brings House Majority

Where Each Party Holds a Majority of Seats

Post-election House Seats by Region				
Region (seats)	Dems.	Reps.	Net Dem. Gain	Dem. % of Seats
Northeast (90)	70	20	+ 11	78%
Midwest (94)	40	54	+ 7	43%
South (149)*	50	98	+ 10	34%
West (102)	75	27	+ 12	74%
TOTAL (435)	235	199	+ 40	54%



- States with Democratic House Majority
- States with Republican House Majority
- States with Equal Number of House Democrats and Republicans
- * States that Switched in 2018 from Republican to Democratic House Majority

The cornerstone of the new Democratic majority in the House of Representatives is on the two coasts, as the party emerged from the 2018 midterms holding roughly three-quarters of House seats in both the Northeast (78%) and West (74%). But it was significant Democratic inroads in the more Republican South and Midwest that has given them a comfortable House majority in the 116th Congress. In short, the Democrats' congressional victory was nationwide in scope, as they scored a net gain of seven House seats in the Midwest, 10 in the South, 11 in the Northeast, and 12 in the West. In California alone, Democrats gained seven House seats, pushing their advantage over the Republicans in the nation's most populous state to 46 to 7. In New Jersey, Democrats picked up four congressional seats to bring them possession of a nearly unanimous 11 of 12 in the Garden State. In addition, Democrats in 2018 gained seats in unlikely states, including Kansas, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Utah. States where Democrats showed a net gain in House seats are indicated in blue.

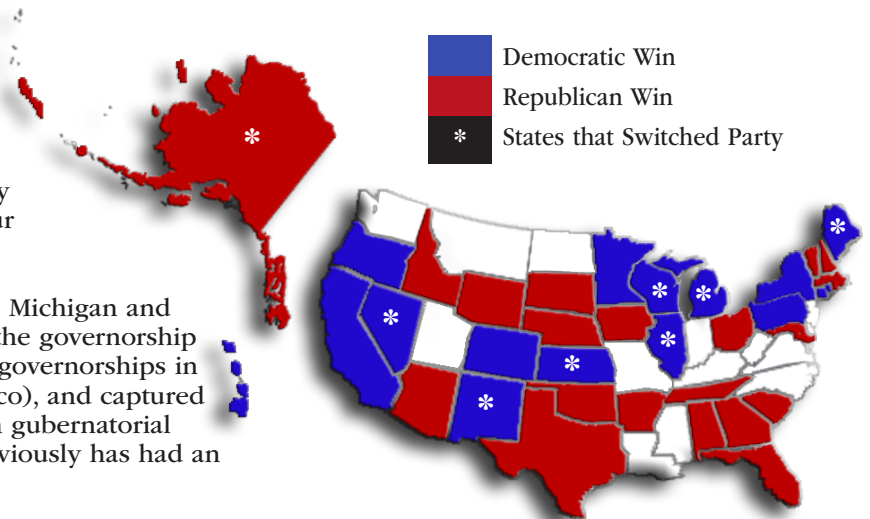
NORTH				MIDWEST			
	Dems.	Reps.	Net Dem. Gain		Dems.	Reps.	Net Dem. Gain
Connecticut	5			Illinois	13	5	+ 2
Delaware	1			Indiana	2	7	
Maine	2		+ 1	Iowa	3	1	+ 2
Maryland	7	1		Kansas	1	3	+ 1
Massachusetts	9			Michigan	7	7	+ 2
New Hampshire	2			Minnesota	5	3	
New Jersey	11	1	+ 4	Missouri	2	6	
New York	21	6	+ 3	Nebraska		3	
Pennsylvania	9	9	+ 3	North Dakota		1	
Rhode Island	2			Ohio	4	12	
Vermont	1			South Dakota		1	
West Virginia		3		Wisconsin	3	5	

SOUTH				WEST			
	Dems.	Reps.	Net Dem. Gain		Dems.	Reps.	Net Dem. Gain
Alabama	1	6		Alaska		1	
Arkansas		4		Arizona	5	4	+ 1
Florida	13	14	+ 2	California	46	7	+ 7
Georgia	5	9	+ 1	Colorado	4	3	+ 1
Kentucky	1	5		Hawaii	2		
Louisiana	1	5		Idaho		2	
Mississippi	1	3		Montana		1	
North Carolina*	3	9		Nevada	3	1	
Oklahoma	1	4	+ 1	New Mexico	3		+ 1
South Carolina	2	5	+ 1	Oregon	4	1	
Tennessee	2	7		Utah	1	3	+ 1
Texas	13	23	+ 2	Washington	7	3	+ 1
Virginia	7	4	+ 3	Wyoming		1	

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates that in North Carolina, a winner has not been certified in the 9th District. Republican Mark Harris received the most votes in the initial returns, but his campaign has been accused of voter fraud and a new election might be required.

2018 Gubernatorial Elections at a Glance

In the states, Democrats have spent most of the last decade wandering in the political wilderness. But this year they made dramatic gains, particularly in governorships. The party scored a net gain of seven, increasing their total from a paltry 16 to 23, nearly half the national total. Four of the Democratic gubernatorial pick ups were in the Midwest, including two states critical to Donald Trump's election in 2016, Michigan and Wisconsin. The Democrats also picked up the governorship in normally bright red Kansas, gained two governorships in the Mountain West (Nevada and New Mexico), and captured the top spot in Maine. The lone Republican gubernatorial pick up in 2018 came in Alaska, which previously has had an independent governor.



■ Democratic Win
■ Republican Win
* States that Switched Party

NORTHEAST

State	'18 Election Outcome	Democratic candidate	Dem. %	Republican candidate	Rep. %	Other %
Connecticut	D	Ned Lamont (W)	49%	Bob Stefanowski	47%	4%
Maine	D GAIN	Janet Mills (W)	51%	Shawn Moody	43%	6%
Maryland	R	Ben Jealous	43%	Larry Hogan* (W)	56%	1%
Massachusetts	R	Jay Gonzalez	33%	Charlie Baker* (W)	67%	-
New Hampshire	R	Molly Kelly	46%	Chris Sununu* (W)	53%	1%
New York	D	Andrew Cuomo* (W)	59%	Marc Molinaro	37%	5%
Pennsylvania	D	Tom Wolf* (W)	58%	Scott Wagner	41%	2%
Rhode Island	D	Gina Raimondo* (W)	53%	Allan Fung	37%	10%
Vermont	R	Christine Hallquist	40%	Phil Scott* (W)	55%	5%

MIDWEST

State	'18 Election Outcome	Democratic candidate	Dem. %	Republican candidate	Rep. %	Other %
Illinois	D GAIN	JB Pritzker (W)	54%	Bruce Rauner*	39%	6%
Iowa	R	Fred Hubbell	47%	Kim Reynolds*@ (W)	50%	3%
Kansas	D GAIN	Laura Kelly (W)	48%	Kris Kobach	43%	9%
Michigan	D GAIN	Gretchen Whitmer (W)	53%	Bill Schuette	44%	3%
Minnesota	D	Tim Walz (W)	54%	Jeff Johnson	42%	4%
Nebraska	R	Bob Krist	41%	Pete Ricketts* (W)	59%	-
Ohio	R	Richard Cordray	46%	Mike DeWine (W)	51%	3%
South Dakota	R	Billie Sutton	48%	Kristi Noem (W)	51%	1%
Wisconsin	D GAIN	Tony Evers (W)	50%	Scott Walker*	48%	2%

SOUTH

State	'18 Election Outcome	Democratic candidate	Dem. %	Republican candidate	Rep. %	Other %
Alabama	R	Walt Maddox	40%	Kay Ivey*@ (W)	60%	-
Arkansas	R	Jared Henderson	32%	Asa Hutchinson* (W)	65%	3%
Florida	R	Andrew Gillum	49.2%	Ron DeSantis (W)	49.6%	1%
Georgia	R	Stacey Abrams	49%	Brian Kemp (W)	50%	1%
Oklahoma	R	Drew Edmondson	42%	Kevin Stitt (W)	54%	3%
South Carolina	R	James Smith	46%	Henry McMaster*@ (W)	54%	-
Tennessee	R	Karl Dean	39%	Bill Lee (W)	59%	2%
Texas	R	Lupe Valdez	42%	Greg Abbott* (W)	54%	2%

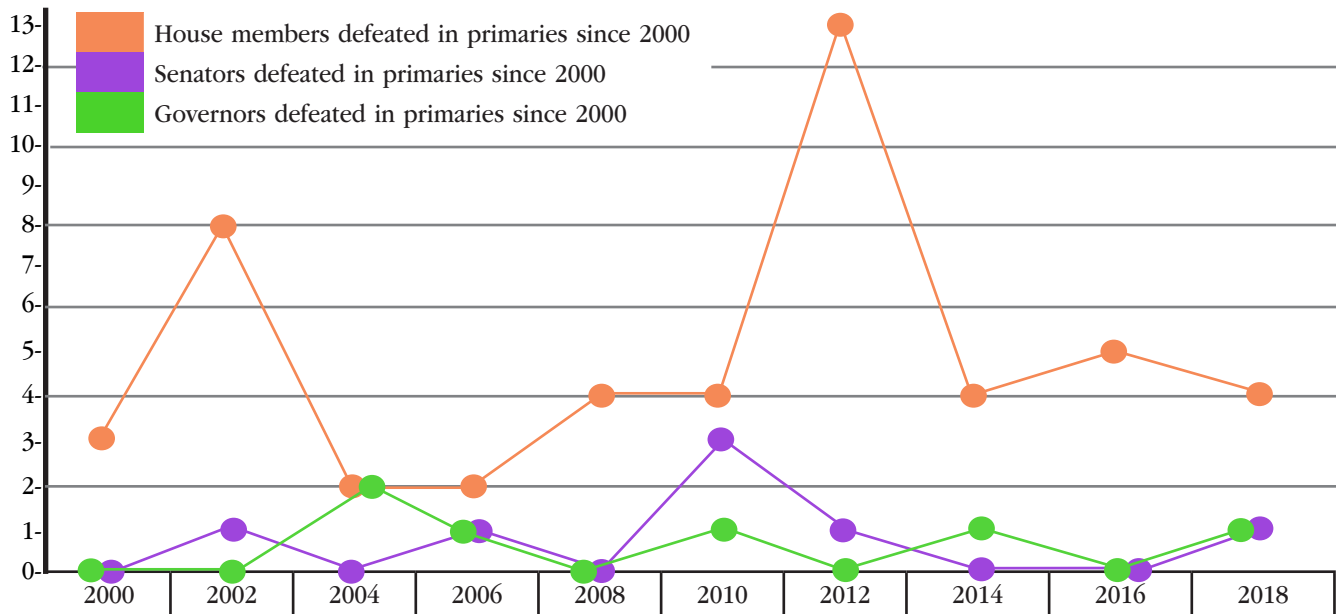
WEST

State	'18 Election Outcome	Democratic candidate	Dem. %	Republican candidate	Rep. %	Other %
Alaska	R GAIN	Mark Begich	44%	Mike Dunleavy (W)	53%	4%
Arizona	R	David Garcia	40%	Doug Ducey* (W)	58%	2%
California	D	Gavin Newsom (W)	62%	John Cox	38%	-
Colorado	D	Jared Polis (W)	52%	Walker Stapleton	45%	4%
Hawaii	D	David Ige* (W)	63%	Andria Tupola	34%	4%
Idaho	R	Paulette Jordan	38%	Brad Little (W)	60%	2%
Nevada	D GAIN	Steve Sisolak (W)	49%	Adam Laxalt	45%	5%
New Mexico	D GAIN	Michelle Lujan Grisham (W)	57%	Steve Pearce	43%	-
Oregon	D	Kate Brown* (W)	49%	Knute Buehler	45%	6%
Wyoming	R	Mary Throne	28%	Mark Gordon (W)	67%	5%

Note: An asterisk (*) denotes an incumbent. Races where no candidates have an asterisk were for an open seat. The icon "@" means that the incumbent assumed office after the state's last gubernatorial election. A dash (-) in the "Other" column indicates that the combined vote for independent and third party candidates, as well as write-in votes, was less than half of a percentage point (0.5%) and rounded to a percentage of zero. Candidate vote percentages do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Gubernatorial election results were compiled by the Associated Press and published in *The Washington Post* edition of Nov. 8, 2018. The returns are nearly complete but unofficial.

Incumbent Senate, House, Gubernatorial Primary Losers Since 2000



In terms of the number of incumbents defeated, this election cycle's Senate, House, and gubernatorial primaries were quiet ones. The incumbent casualty list totaled just four House members, one senator and one governor, with the latter two - Republican Sen. Luther Strange of Alabama and Republican Gov. Jeff Colyer of Kansas - unelected, having assumed office after the 2016 election. The House casualties were Republicans Robert Pittenger of North Carolina and Mark Sanford of South Carolina, and Democrats Michael Capuano of Massachusetts and Joe Crowley of New York. The latter was the most highly positioned of the four, serving as chair of the Democratic Caucus in the House at the time of his primary defeat. Alabama's Strange, the lone senator to lose an intraparty contest this election cycle, was appointed to his seat in early 2017 upon the resignation of Sen. Jeff Sessions to become attorney general in the Trump administration. Strange lost his bid to hold the seat later in the year by losing a Republican runoff to Roy Moore.

Election	Incumbents Denied Nomination (by number)			Incumbents Denied Nomination (by name)			
	House	Senate	Governors	Senators	Terms	Governors	Terms
2000	3	0	0	-		-	
2002	8	1	0	Bob Smith (R-N.H.) (lost to John E. Sununu)	2	-	
2004	2	0	2	-		Bob Holden (D-Mo.) (lost to Claire McCaskill) Olene Walker (R-Utah)# (lost to Jon Huntsman)	1 @
2006	2	1	1	Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.)* (lost to Ned Lamont)	3	Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska) (lost to Sarah Palin)	1
2008	4	0	0	-		-	
2010	4	3	1	Robert Bennett (R-Utah)# (lost to Mike Lee) Lisa Murkowski (R-Alaska)* (lost to Joe Miller) Arlen Specter (D-Pa.) (lost to Joe Sestak)	3 1 5	Jim Gibbons (R-Nev.) (lost to Brian Sandoval)	1

Election	Incumbents Denied Nomination (by number)			Incumbents Denied Nomination (by name)			
	House	Senate	Governors	Senators	Terms	Governors	Terms
2012	13	1	0	Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) (lost to Richard Mourdock)	6	-	
2014	4	0	1	-		Neil Abercrombie (D-Hawaii) (lost to David Ige)	1
2016	5	0	0	-		-	
2018	4	1 (S)	1	Luther Strange (R-Ala.) (lost to Roy Moore)	@	Jeff Colyer (R-Kan.) (lost to Kris Kobach)	@

Note: "(S)" indicates a special election that was held in 2017. An asterisk (*) denotes that the incumbent was reelected on a third party ballot line or as a write-in candidate. A pound sign (#) indicates that the incumbent was denied renomination at the Republican state convention. The icon "@" denotes that the incumbent was unelected and was engaged in their first election to hold the Senate seat or governorship when they were defeated.

Source: Editions of *America Votes* (CQ Press, an imprint of SAGE) for incumbent congressional and gubernatorial primary or convention losers from 2000 through 2016.

2018 Primaries: Incumbent Losers and Close Calls

The number of congressional and gubernatorial incumbents that were denied renomination in 2018 could be counted on one hand. But there were three senators, eight governors, and roughly two dozen House members who had to break a sweat to win renomination and surmount notable challenges - defined here as a winning percentage of two thirds or less of their party's primary vote. Most of this action was on the Republican side, but the Democrats had sharper fault lines in their primaries. There, progressives in the tradition of Bernie Sanders faced off with more establishment types in a number of contests, with the former scoring some high-profile victories in the congressional primaries. Two women - one a twenty-something political unknown from the Bronx, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez; the other a Boston City Councilwoman of African-American descent, Ayanna Pressley - took down veteran white male Democratic House members. Running in urban Democratic districts, both women were elected easily to the 116th Congress in November. Among Republicans, the basic fissure - if you can call it that - was between candidates who tried to outdo themselves in proclaiming their support for President Trump.

Nominated with less than two-thirds of the primary vote (66.7%)

GOVERNORS

Incumbent	Current Term	% of Primary (Runoff) Vote	Victory Margin	'16 Pres. Vote in State
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DEFEATED (1)

Jeff Colyer (R-Kan.)	@	40.5%	Lost to Kris Kobach by 0.1%	Trump by 21%
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NOTABLE CHALLENGES

Henry McMaster (R-S.C.)	@	42.3% (53.6%)	Beat John Warren in runoff by 7%	Trump by 14%
David Ige (D-Hawaii)	1	51.4%	Beat Colleen Hanbusa by 7%	Clinton by 32%
Bruce Rauner (R-Ill.)	1	51.5%	Beat Jeanne Ives by 3%	Clinton by 17%
Kay Ivey (R-Ala.)	@	56.1%	Beat Tommy Battle by 31%	Trump by 28%
Gina Raimondo (D-R.I.)	1	57.2%	Beat Matt Brown by 24%	Clinton by 16%
Charlie Baker (R-Mass.)	1	63.8%	Beat Scott Lively by 28%	Clinton by 27%
Andrew Cuomo (D-N.Y.)	2	65.5%	Beat Cynthia Nixon by 31%	Clinton by 22%
Phil Scott (R-Vt.)	1	66.7%	Beat Keith Stern by 34%	Clinton by 26%

SENATORS

Incumbent	Current Term	% of Primary (Runoff) Vote	Victory Margin	'16 Pres. Vote in State
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DEFEATED (1)

Luther Strange (R-Ala.)	@	32.8% (45.4%)	Lost to Roy Moore in runoff by 9%	Trump by 28%
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SENATORS (continued)				
Incumbent	Current Term	% of Primary (Runoff) Vote	Victory Margin	'16 Pres. Vote in State
NOTABLE CHALLENGES				
Bob Menendez (D-N.J.)	2	62.3%	Beat Lisa McCormick by 25%	Clinton by 14%
Tom Carper (D-Del.)	3	64.6%	Beat Kerri Harris by 29%	Clinton by 11%
John Barrasso (R-Wyo.)	2	64.8%	Beat Dave Dodson by 36%	Trump by 46%
REPRESENTATIVES				
Incumbent	Current Term	% of Primary (Runoff) Vote	Victory Margin	'16 Pres. Vote in District
DEFEATED (4)				
Michael Capuano (D-Mass. 7)	10	41.3%	Lost to Ayanna Pressley by 17%	Clinton by 72%
Joseph Crowley (D-N.Y. 14)	10	43.3%	Lost to Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez by 13%	Clinton by 58%
Robert Pittenger (R-N.C. 9)	3	46.2%	Lost to Mark Harris by 2%	Trump by 12%
Mark Sanford (R-S.C. 1)	5	46.5%	Lost to Katie Arrington by 4%	Trump by 13%
NOTABLE CHALLENGES				
Martha Roby (R-Ala. 2)	4	39.0% (68.0%)	Beat Bobby Bright in runoff by 36%	Trump by 32%
Walter B. Jones (R-N.C. 3)	12	43.0%	Beat Phil Law by 14%	Trump by 24%
Dan Lipinski (D-Ill. 3)	7	51.1%	Beat Marie Newman by 2%	Clinton by 15%
Doug Lamborn (R-Colo. 5)	6	52.2%	Beat Darryl Glenn by 32%	Trump by 24%
Yvette Clarke (D-N.Y. 9)	6	53.0%	Beat Adem Bunkeddeko by 6%	Clinton by 69%
Markwayne Mullin (R-Okla. 2)	3	54.1%	Beat Jarrin Jackson by 29%	Trump by 50%
David Kustoff (R-Tenn. 8)	1	56.0%	Beat George Flinn by 16%	Trump by 36%
Lacy Smith (D-Mo. 1)	9	56.7%	Beat Cori Bush by 20%	Clinton by 58%
Lloyd Smucker (R-Pa. 11)*	1	58.5%	Beat Chester Beiler by 17%	Trump by 7%*
Carolyn Maloney (D-N.Y. 12)	13	59.6%	Beat Suraj Patel by 19%	Clinton by 70%
Al Lawson (D-Fla. 5)	1	60.3%	Beat Alvin Brown by 21%	Clinton by 25%
Barbara Comstock (R-Va. 10)	2	60.7%	Beat Shak Hill by 21%	Clinton by 10%
Mo Brooks (R-Ala. 5)	4	61.3%	Beat Clayton Hinchman by 23%	Trump by 33%
Mike Quigley (D-Ill. 5)	4	62.5%	Beat Sameena Mustafa by 38%	Clinton by 47%
Dan Donovan (R-N.Y. 11)	1	62.9%	Beat Michael Grimm by 26%	Trump by 10%
Larry Buchson (R-Ind. 8)	4	63.0%	Beat Richard Moss by 38%	Trump by 34%
Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-Texas 30)	13	63.6%	Beat Barbara Caraway by 41%	Clinton by 61%
Brendan Boyle (D-Pa. 2)*	2	64.6%	Beat Michele Lawrence by 29%	Clinton by 34%*
Tom Cole (R-Okla. 4)	8	64.7%	Beat James Taylor by 29%	Trump by 37%
Matt Gaetz (R-Fla. 1)	1	64.8%	Beat Cris Dosev by 35%	Trump by 39%
Billy Long (R-Mo. 7)	4	65.1%	Beat Jim Evans by 48%	Trump by 46%
John Carter (R-Texas 31)	8	65.5%	Beat Mike Sweeney by 31%	Trump by 13%
Adrian Smith (R-Neb. 3)	6	65.7%	Beat Kirk Penner by 40%	Trump by 55%
Darren Soto (D-Fla. 9)	1	66.4%	Beat Alan Grayson by 33%	Clinton by 13%

Note: The icon "@" denotes an unelected incumbent. An asterisk (*) indicates that the congressional district lines were changed in Pennsylvania for the 2018 election. The presidential vote results listed here reflect the 2016 district lines; the district numbers are for those in effect in 2018.

Sources: The 2018 primary vote percentages are based on official returns posted on state election web sites, with the exception of the vote for Luther Strange in the Alabama special Republican Senate primary in August 2017, where the results are nearly complete but unofficial. Strange lost the GOP runoff to Roy Moore in September 2017. The results are included since they were part of the 2017-18 election cycle. The current term of each incumbent reflects congressional service as of the 115th Congress and is from *The Almanac of American Politics 2018* (National Journal/Columbia Books & Information Services). The 2016 presidential vote by congressional district is from Daily Kos.

Democrats Finish 2017-18 Special Elections with a Flurry of Wins

The Democrats concluded the 2017-18 special election season on a high note, by sweeping all four contests held in conjunction with the Nov. 6 general election. The four were scattered across the industrial Frost Belt, with three of the four special elections in districts won in 2016 by Hillary Clinton. The exception was a Pennsylvania district in the Lehigh Valley formerly represented by moderate Republican Charlie Dent, which had been carried by Donald Trump two years ago. Altogether in the 2017-18 special elections, Democrats picked up one Senate seat from the Republicans (that of Doug Jones in Alabama) and three House seats, all in Pennsylvania. Politics in the Keystone State were roiled in 2018 by court-ordered redistricting, with the new lines used to fill seats in the 116th Congress. Democrats, though, scored their special election gains under the old lines considered more favorable to the Republicans. Democrat Conor Lamb narrowly captured a formerly Republican Pittsburgh-area seat in a March 2018 special election, as did Mary Scanlon and Susan Wild in November special elections in eastern Pennsylvania.

The Nov. 6 special elections were only for the final few weeks of the 115th Congress, but they did give the winners a jump start in House seniority. That is, with the exception of former state Rep. Rashida Tlaib of Michigan, who in August won the Democratic nomination to fill veteran Democrat John Conyers' seat in the 116th Congress. But at the same time, Detroit City Council President Brenda Jones took the Democratic nomination for the Nov. 6 special election to fill the final few weeks of Conyers' term. Meanwhile, Republican Kevin Hern won a regularly scheduled election Nov. 6 in the open Oklahoma 1st District, with the results used both to fill the seat for the remaining weeks of the 115th Congress as well as all of the 116th.

SPECIAL SENATE ELECTION									
State	Outgoing Incumbent	'17 Election Date	Candidates		Special Election Result				'16 Presidential Result in State
			Democrat	Republican	Turnout	Dem.	Rep.	Other	
Alabama	Luther Strange (R)*	Dec. 12	Doug Jones (W)	Roy Moore	1,348,720	50%	48%	2%	Trump by 28%
SPECIAL HOUSE ELECTIONS									
Free-standing Special Elections									
District	Outgoing Incumbent	'17-18 Election Dates	Candidates		Special Election Results				'16 Presidential Result in District
			Democrat	Republican	Turnout	Dem.	Rep.	Other	
Kansas 4th	Mike Pompeo (R)	April 11, 2017	James Thompson	Ron Estes (W)	122,594	46%	52%	2%	Trump by 27%
Montana At-Large	Ryan Zinke (R)	May 25, 2017	Rob Quist	Greg Gianforte (W)	381,425	44%	50%	6%	Trump by 20%
California 34th	Xavier Becerra (D)	June 6, 2017	Jimmy Gomez (W)	- #	43,179	59%	-	-	Clinton by 73%
Georgia 6th	Tom Price (R)	June 20, 2017	Jon Ossoff	Karen Handel (W)	260,316	48%	52%	-	Trump by 1%
South Carolina 5th	Mick Mulvaney (R)	June 20, 2017	Archie Parnell	Ralph Norman (W)	88,316	48%	51%	1%	Trump by 18%
Utah 3rd	Jason Chaffetz (R)	Nov. 7, 2017	Kathie Allen	John Curtis (W)	147,796	26%	58%	16%	Trump by 23%@
Pennsylvania 18th	Tim Murphy (R)	March 13, 2018	Conor Lamb (W)	Rick Saccone	228,830	49.9%	49.5%	1%	Trump by 20%

SPECIAL HOUSE ELECTIONS

Free-standing Special Elections (continued)

District	Outgoing Incumbent	'17-18 Election Dates	Candidates		Special Election Results				'16 Presidential Result in District
			Democrat	Republican	Turnout	Dem.	Rep.	Other	
Arizona 8th	Trent Franks (R)	April 24, 2018	Hiral Tipirneni	Debbie Lesko (W)	183,343	48%	52%	-	Trump by 21%
Texas 27th	Blake Farenthold (R)	June 30, 2018	Eric Holguin	Michael Cloud (W)	36,291	32%	55%	13% ^	Trump by 24%
Ohio 12th	Pat Tiberi (R)	August 7, 2018	Danny O'Connor	Troy Balderson (W)	208,141	49%	50%	1%	Trump by 11%

Special Elections held in conjunction with Nov. 2018 General Election

District	Outgoing Incumbent	'17-18 Election Dates	Candidates		Special Election Results				'16 Presidential Result in District
			Democrat	Republican	Turnout	Dem.	Rep.	Other	
Michigan 13th	John Conyers (D)	November 6, 2018	Brenda Jones (W)	-	194,993	87%	-	13%	Clinton by 61%
New York 25th	Louise Slaughter (D)	November 6, 2018	Joseph Morelle (W)	Jim Maxwell	243,513	58%	42%	-	Clinton by 16%
Pennsylvania 7th	Pat Meehan (R)	November 6, 2018	Mary Scanlon (W)	Pearl Kim	331,459	52%	46%	2%	Clinton by 2%
Pennsylvania 15th	Charlie Dent (R)	November 6, 2018	Susan Wild (W)	Marty Nothstein	268,526	48.5%	48.3%	3%	Trump by 8%

Note: In the chart below, "(W)" indicates the winner of the special election. An asterisk (*) denotes that Luther Strange was initially appointed to the Senate seat in Alabama held by Republican Jeff Sessions, who resigned in early 2017 to become U.S. attorney general. Strange, however, lost the Republican Senate nomination to former Alabama Chief Justice Roy Moore, who then lost to Democrat Doug Jones. A pound sign (#) indicates that the special election in the heavily Democratic California 34th District pitted two Democrats against each other, with Jimmy Gomez defeating Robert Anh, 59% to 41% in the decisive round of voting. In the Texas 27th, candidates from all parties ran together on a single ballot, with Republican Michael Cloud winning the special election in the first round of voting. In that race, the Democratic and Republican vote percentages reflect those of the front-runner in each party. The icon "^" indicates that the "Other" vote percentage in the Texas 27th represents the total for the other Democratic and Republican candidates, as well as those that ran as independents or third party entries. Third party candidates were not a significant factor in any of the 2017-18 special elections, although in the Utah 3rd District, Jim Bennett - the son of former Republican Sen. Robert Bennett - ran on the ballot line of the United Utah Party and received 9% of the vote. The 2016 presidential election margin in Alabama and all congressional districts with special elections in 2017-18 measures the difference in vote percentage between the two major party candidates, with the exception of the Utah 3rd District. There, the runner-up was independent Evan McMullin. The presidential victory margin there is denoted by the icon "@."

Sources: Returns for the 2017-18 special House and Senate elections are from the election web sites of states involved. All results are official. The 2016 presidential election margins by congressional district are from a compilation by Daily Kos.

The Changing Composition of the 115th Congress

Democrats finished the 2017-18 special election season on a high note by winning the four special House contests held in conjunction with last month's general election. The specials filled a slew of House vacancies for the last few weeks of the 115th Congress, and gave the Democrats a net gain of three House seats from the beginning of the 115th Congress (to 197 from 194) and Republicans a net loss of five seats (to 236 from 241). Two House seats remained vacant until the end of the 115th Congress, a pair formerly held by Republicans in Florida and West Virginia. They came open in September, apparently too late to schedule special elections in either state.

Date and Event	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES			SENATE			
	Dems.	Reps.	Vac.	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.	Vac.
2016 ELECTION (Nov. 4)	194	241		46	52	2	
Jan. 23, 2017 - Rep. Mike Pompeo (R-Kan. 4) resigns to become director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).	194	240	1				
Jan. 24, 2017 - Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-Calif. 34) resigns to become California Attorney General.	193	240	2				
Feb. 8, 2017 - Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.) resigns to become Attorney General in the Trump administration. The following day, AL Attorney General Luther Strange (R) is sworn in as his successor.				46	52	2	
Feb. 10, 2017 - Rep. Tom Price (R-Ga. 6) resigns to become secretary of health and human services.	193	239	3				
Feb. 16, 2017 - Rep. Mick Mulvaney (R-S.C. 5) resigns to become director of the Office of Management and Budget (O.M.B.).	193	238	4				
March 1, 2017 - Rep. Ryan Zinke (R-Mont. AL) resigns to become secretary of the interior.	193	237	5				
April 11, 2017 - Ron Estes (R) wins special election in Kansas 4th District.	193	238	4				
May 25, 2017 - Greg Gianforte (R) wins special election in Montana At-Large District.	193	239	3				
June 6, 2017 - Jimmy Gomez (D) wins special election in California 34th District.	194	239	2				
June 20, 2017 - Karen Handel (R) wins special election in Georgia 6th District; Ralph Norman (R) wins special election in South Carolina 5th District.	194	241					
June 30, 2017 - Rep. Jason Chaffetz (R-Utah 3) resigns and becomes a contributor on Fox News.	194	240	1				
Oct. 21, 2017 - Rep. Tim Murphy (R-Pa. 18) resigns after it was disclosed that the anti-abortion congressman told a mistress to terminate a possible pregnancy.	194	239	2				
Nov. 7, 2017 - John Curtis (R) wins special election in Utah 3rd District.	194	240	1				
Dec. 5, 2017 - Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich. 13) resigns after multiple women who served on his staff accuse him of sexual harassment.	193	240	2				
Dec. 8, 2017 - Rep. Trent Franks (R-Ariz. 8) resigns after it was disclosed that he talked to multiple young women on his staff about surrogacy.	193	239	3				
Dec. 12, 2017 - Doug Jones (D) wins Alabama special Senate election.				47	51	2	
Jan. 2, 2018 - Sen. Al Franken (D-Minn.) resigns after a number of women accuse him of inappropriately touching them. The following day, Lt. Gov. Tina Smith (D-Minn.) is sworn in as his successor.				47	51	2	
Jan. 15, 2018 - Rep. Pat Tiberi (R-Ohio 12) resigns to become president of the Ohio Business Roundtable.	193	238	4				
March 13, 2018 - Conor Lamb (D) wins special election in Pennsylvania 18th District.	194	238	3				

Date and Event	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES			SENATE			
	Dems.	Reps.	Vac.	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.	Vac.
2016 ELECTION (Nov. 4)	194	241		46	52	2	
March 16, 2018 - Rep. Louise Slaughter (D-N.Y. 25) dies at age 88 after suffering complications from a fall.	193	238	4				
April 1, 2018 - Sen. Thad Cochran (R-Miss.) resigns at age 80 due to failing health.				47	50	2	1
April 6, 2018 - Rep. Blake Farenthold (R-Texas 27) resigns as House Ethics Committee has him in their sights for sexual harassment and improper use of federal funds to pay a female staffer he allegedly harassed.	193	237	5				
April 9, 2018 - Cindy Hyde-Smith (R-Miss.) sworn in to fill vacancy created by Sen. Thad Cochran's resignation.				47	51	2	
April 23, 2018 - Rep. Jim Bridenstine (R-Okla. 1) resigns to become administrator of the National Aeronautic and Space Administration (NASA).	193	236	6				
April 24, 2018 - Debbie Lesko (R) wins special election in Arizona 8th District.	193	237	5				
April 27, 2018 - Rep. Pat Meehan (R-Pa. 7) resigns after reports that he had paid a secret settlement to a member of his staff who had accused him of harassment, drawing a House Ethics Committee probe.	193	236	6				
May 12, 2018 - Rep. Charlie Dent (R-Pa. 12) resigns in frustration with the declining influence in Congress of centrists like himself.	193	235	7				
June 30, 2018 - Michael Cloud (R) wins special election in Texas 27th District.	193	236	6				
Aug. 7, 2018 - Troy Balderson (R) wins special election in Ohio 12th District.	193	237	5				
Sept. 10, 2018 - Rep. Ron DeSantis (R-Fla. 6) resigns to focus on his campaign for governor of Florida.	193	236	6				
Sept. 30, 2018 - Rep. Evan Jenkins (R-W.Va. 3) resigns after appointment to seat on West Virginia Supreme Court.	193	235	7				
Nov. 6, 2018 - Brenda Jones (D) wins special election in Michigan 13th District, as does Joseph Morelle (D) in New York 25th District, Mary Scanlon (D) in Pennsylvania 7th District, and Susan Wild (D) in Pennsylvania 15th District.	197	235	3				
Nov. 13, 2018 - Kevin Hern (R) sworn in to fill vacancy in Oklahoma 1st District.	197	236	2				

..... AND THE GOVERNORSHIPS

	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.
2016 GENERAL ELECTION (Nov. 8)	16	33	1
Jan. 24, 2017 - Gov. Nikki Haley (R) resigns to become ambassador to the United Nations. She is succeeded by Lt. Gov. Henry McMaster (R).	16	33	1
April 10, 2017 - Gov. Robert Bentley (R-Ala.) resigns under threat of impeachment for using public funds to hide an affair with a former top aide. He is succeeded by Lt. Gov. Kay Ivey (R).	16	33	1
May 24, 2017 - Gov. Terry Branstad (R-Iowa) resigns to become ambassador to China. He is succeeded by Lt. Gov. Kim Reynolds (R).	16	33	1
Aug. 3, 2017 - Gov. Jim Justice switches his party affiliation from Democratic to Republican.	15	34	1
Nov. 7, 2017 - Phil Murphy (D) wins governorship in New Jersey, while Lt. Gov. Ralph Northam (D) wins in Virginia. (Results produce a Democratic pick up of one governorship, in New Jersey.)	16	33	1
Jan. 31, 2018 - Gov. Sam Brownback (R-Kan.) resigns to become ambassador at-large for international religious freedom. He is succeeded by Lt. Gov. Jeff Colyer (R).	16	33	1
June 1, 2018 - Gov. Eric Greitens (R-Mo.) resigns under threat of impeachment, while charges swirl that he sought to blackmail a mistress and improperly used a veterans charity donor list to raise campaign funds. He is succeeded by Lt. Gov. Michael Parson (R).	16	33	1

Note: "Vac." stands for Vacancy.