The 2018 Elections

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2018 Midterm Elections

- All 435 U.S. House seats were up
- 35 of 100 U.S. Senate seats were up

Midterm Election Effects:
- President’s party is disadvantaged
- Presidential approval and the economy matter
- Lower turnout than in presidential elections
23 GOP Districts Voted for Clinton

House Republicans Who Hold Seats that Voted for Hillary Clinton
12 Democratic Districts Voted for Trump
Midterm elections are nationalized and a referendum on the President.

Figure 11 Is Your Vote For Congress a Vote For or Against the President?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Against the President</th>
<th>For the President</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carter 1978 (1)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan 1982 (1)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan 1986 (2)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHW Bush 1990 (2)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton 1994 (3)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton 1998 (7)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GW Bush 2002 (4)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GW Bush 2006 (10)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama 2010 (13)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama 2014 (16)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump 2018 (4)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent

Note: the number of surveys averaged is in parentheses.

Sizing Up the 2018 Blue Wave

By DEREK WATKINS, K.K. REBECCA LAI, LARRY BUCHANAN and KAREN YOURISH Nov. 7, 2018
Red Shift from 2012 to 2016

Mr. Trump made large gains across rural America, helping to defeat Hillary Clinton and her urban supporters.
Democrats Gained Seats in the Suburbs

Source: New York Times
Democrats Gained Seats in Wealthier Districts
Minnesota House Races: Half of delegation switches parties

- 1st District Flips – Jim Hagedorn (R) + 0.4
- 2nd District Flips – Angie Craig (D) + 5.6
- 3rd District Flips – Dean Phillips (D) + 11.4
- 8th District Flips – Pete Stauber (R) + 5.5
Minnesota Independent Expenditures (with one week to go)
Turnout

United States VEP Turnout Rates 1789-2018

- Presidential Elections
- Midterm Elections

Year
1750 1800 1850 1900 1950 2000 2050

VEP Turnout Rate
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
U.S. House vote in CCES Data, 2008-2018

Source: Cooperative Congressional Election Study. 2008-2016 is based on validated voters. 2018 is based on likely voters defined by probabilistic model developed by Anthony Rentsch.
## Vote Choice - Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18,778 Respondents
Gender Divide – 1982 to 2018

The so-called Republican Revolution of 1994, led by Newt Gingrich, was the first time the party had control of the House in 40 years.

In 2010, Republicans won female voters for the first time, helping the party recapture the majority in the House.
Gender Gap: Men Have Left the Democratic Party

Party identification in presidential election years since 1952.

Women are not a monolithic group

White women swung left, but House Democrats failed to win the group outright.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and older</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18778 Respondents
Age and U.S. House vote, 2008-2018

Source: Cooperative Congressional Election Study. 2008-2016 is based on validated voters. 2018 is based on likely voters defined by probabilistic model developed by Anthony Rentsch.
18-29 and 60 plus, 1982 to 2018

Barack Obama’s appeal increased the divide between young and old voters in 2008.
## Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other race</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18778 Respondents
Race and U.S. House vote, 2008-2018

Source: Cooperative Congressional Election Study. 2008-2016 is based on validated voters. 2018 is based on likely voters defined by probabilistic model developed by Anthony Rentsch.
Race, 1982-2018

House Republicans opposed President Bush’s efforts to overhaul immigration law in 2006, provoking a backlash from Latino voters, who overwhelmingly supported the Democrats in the midterms that year.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18778 Respondents
U.S. House vote by Education among Whites, 2008-2018

Source: Cooperative Congressional Election Study. 2008-2016 is based on validated voters. 2018 is based on likely voters defined by probabilistic model developed by Anthony Rentsch.
House vote among white voters, 2008-2018

Data: Cooperative Congressional Election Studies.
2008-2016 based on validated voters.
2018 based on likely voter model developed by Anthony Rentsch.
U.S. House vote by region, 2008-2018

Source: Cooperative Congressional Election Study. 2008-2016 is based on validated voters. 2018 is based on likely voters defined by probabilistic model developed by Anthony Rentsch.
Midterm Voters Vote Their Party

Figure 1: Party Loyalty in Midterm Generic House Election Polls, 1946-2018
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support Trump</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose Trump</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump not a factor</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18778 Respondents
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun policy</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18778 Respondents
Immigration and Vote Choice, 2018

By The New York Times | Source: analysis of the Views of the Electorate Research Survey by John Sides, Michael Tesler and Lynn Vavreck
Why So Few Women in Congress?

Scholarly research shows that when women run for Congress and the state legislature, women win *at the same rate* as men.
Women set records in 2018

• 476 U.S. House primary candidates
• 53 U.S. Senate primary candidates
• Won primaries at higher rates than men
• Partisan gap
  – Women were 43% of Democrats’ nominees for U.S. House and Senate
  – Women were 22% of Republicans’ nominees for the U.S. Senate and 13% for the House
Record number of women were on the ballot in 2018

Source: The New York Times
Number of women in the U.S. House, 1961-2021

As of 11/13/18

Data: cawp.rutgers.edu

Graph: @C_Wolbrecht
Non-incumbent Dem. women won at a *higher* rate than men.
The most diverse Congress in U.S. history

116th Congress

- White Democrats
- Asian/other Democrats
- Hispanic Democrats
- Black Democrats
- White Republicans
- Hispanic Republicans
- Black Republicans
- Asian/other Republicans
- Vacant/undecided

SOURCE: Flourish data visualization

ELECTIONS
USA TODAY
First Term Democrats

First Term Republicans
Minnesota

- Senator Amy Klobuchar won with 60%
- Senator Tina Smith won with 53%
- Governor-elect Tim Walz won with 54%
- AG-elect Keith Ellison won with 49%

- 18 statehouse seats flipped for DFL control of the Minnesota House
  - Minnesota suburbs are key
2018 General Election for Governor
DFL-Republican Margin by County
Unofficial Results

DFL-Republican margin
- Over 15%
- 5 - 15%
- Up to 5%
- Tie
- Up to 5%
- 5 - 15%
- Over 15%

Unofficial results as of November 8, 2018.

The DFL-Republican margin is the difference between the percent of total votes cast for the DFL candidate and the percent of total votes cast for the Republican candidate in each county.

For example, Walz received 53.94% and Johnson received 42.47% of the total electorate vote, so that margin is 11.47%.

Minnesota Secretary of State
Elections Division
November 8, 2018
The urban-suburban-rural divide extends to politics and perspectives

% of registered voters who identify as ...

- Democrat/Lean Democratic
- Republican/Lean Republican

% of residents saying most people who live in different types of communities don’t understand the problems they face

Urban
- Democrat/Lean Democratic: 62%
- Republican/Lean Republican: 31%

Suburban
- Democrat/Lean Democratic: 47%
- Republican/Lean Republican: 45%

Rural
- Democrat/Lean Democratic: 38%
- Republican/Lean Republican: 54%

Source: Pew Research Center 2018
Implications for Governing

• Divided Government in Washington
  – Competing policy and political agendas
    • Gridlock
    • Minimal bipartisan cooperation
  – Oversight and investigation of the Executive Branch

• Narrowly Divided Government in Minnesota
  – Incentives for cooperation and conflict

• Both parties positioning for 2020 elections