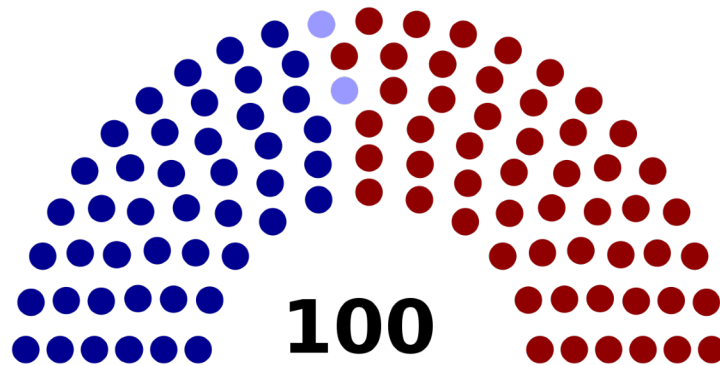


# Down Ballot 2020:

## Competitive Senate Races



*Because the Senate will be key to enabling or checking  
what the President can and cannot do  
regardless of who wins the White House*

06 September 2020

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## Introduction

The purpose of this report is to provide readers with sufficient information to make informed decisions about which Democratic Senate candidates to support, either financially or otherwise.

Pages 4 – 8 are for ***casual readers***. They provide relevant information quickly and in its most abbreviated form.

Pages 8 – 36 are for ***political junkies***. They provide detailed, integrated descriptions of individual competitive – and potentially competitive – state races.

Pages 37 – 46 are for true ***data geeks***.

This report is produced and distributed free of charge. Please feel free to forward it far and wide.

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## Executive Summary

- *There is reason to be ~~mildly~~ optimistic that Democrats can win the Senate this year.*
- Democrats have 12 seats to hold, and only one is in real danger: Doug Jones (D-AL).
- In the worst case – both Joe Biden and Doug Jones lose – Democrats need a net gain of five seats to win the Senate.
- In the best case – both Joe Biden and Doug Jones win – Democrats need a net gain of three seats to win the Senate.
- In the middle case – ***the most likely case based on current polls*** – Joe Biden wins the White House and Doug Jones loses Alabama, ***Democrats need a net gain four seats*** to win the Senate.
- Republicans have 23 seats to hold, and at this point six are competitive to varying degrees, with an additional five that bear watching.
- Of the ***six competitive Republican seats***:
  - Arizona and Colorado are very competitive at this point
  - Maine and North Carolina are moderately competitive
  - Iowa and Montana are borderline competitive
- The five states that bear watching are Alaska, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, and South Carolina. These states may come into play and are currently on the Watch List.
- Again, there is reason to be optimistic, but it's not a given.

***There is much to be done between now and November.***

## Recommendations for Donations and Support

Four of the six competitive candidates are doing relatively well. The following two candidates are the Toss Up candidates in most need of support. There are several ways you can support them:

- Donate (even \$5) via their campaign websites
- Volunteer to do phone banking
- Volunteer to do post carding
- Use social media to advertise their campaign websites
- Forward this report to like-minded people you know

### Iowa

Theresa Greenfield (D), in Iowa, is polling competitively with Joni Ernst (R), but is lagging financially. See page 15 for more details.

<https://greenfieldforiowa.com/>



### Montana

Gov. Steve Bullock (D) is tied with Steve Daines (R) in fundraising, and he's marginally competitive in polling. See page 22 for more details.

<https://stevebullock.com/>



## Noteworthy Items Since Last Report

### General

### Individual Competitive Races

State	Page	Item
<b>AZ</b>	9	Several new polls show Mark Kelly (D) well ahead of Sen. Martha McSally (R).  McSally (R) told her supporters to “fast a meal” and donate the savings to her reelection effort during a recent campaign event.
<b>CO</b>	12	New poll shows John Hickenlooper (D) well ahead of Sen. Cory Gardner (R).
<b>IA</b>	15	Cook changed Iowa from Lean Red to Toss Up.
<b>ME</b>	19	Nothing significant to report (NSTR)
<b>MT</b>	22	Supreme Court ruled against putting Green Party of ballots, giving Democrats a boost
<b>NC</b>	26	Several new polls show Cal Cunningham (D) ahead of Sen. Thom Tillis (R)

## Watch States

These states are not considered competitive at this point, but bear watching.

State	Page	Item
<b>AK</b>	30	Al Gross (I) polls even with long-time incumbent Dan Sullivan (R)
<b>GA</b>	31	Jon Ossoff (D) reports huge fundraising hauls
<b>KA</b>	32	NSTR
<b>KY</b>	34	NSTR
<b>SC</b>	36	Cook changed South Carolina from Likely Red to Leans Red Jaime Harrison (D) reports huge fundraising hauls

## Competitive States

These are subjective ratings based on a fusion of information from all sources: fundraising, polling data, pundit forecasts, news report, and political forecasting sites.

State	DownBallot Rating	Page
Arizona	Very Competitive	9
Colorado	Very Competitive	12
Iowa	Toss Up	15
Maine	Moderately Competitive	19
Montana	Toss Up	22
North Carolina	Moderately Competitive	26

Interpretation of DownBallot Ratings: If the election were held today...

### Rating

### Interpretation

Highly Competitive

> 90% probability of a Dem win

Very Competitive

75% - 90% probability of a Dem win

Moderately Competitive

60% - 75% probability of a Dem win

Slightly Competitive

50% - 60% probability of a Dem win

Toss Up

≈ 50% probability of a Dem win



## Arizona

### Candidates

#### **Dem:** Mark Kelly

Former Naval aviator, with combat experience in the first Gulf War. Retired as a Captain (O-6). Former astronaut. Married to former-U.S. Representative Gabby Giffords. No political experience.

Website: <https://markkelly.com/>  
Wikipedia Page: [Mark Kelly](#)

#### **GOP:** Martha McSally – Incumbent

Former U.S. Air Force officer. Flew combat missions and commanded a fighter squadron. Retired as a Colonel (O-6). Served as U.S. representative from 2015 – 2019. Ran for Senate and lost. Was appointed to this seat when John McCain died.

### **Commentary:**

Although Arizona appears red from the outside, it actually has quite a bit of blue on the inside:

- Five of its nine federal House members are Democrats;
- 29 of its 60 state Legislators are Democrats;
- 13 of its 30 state Senate members are Democrats; and
- The currently *elected* Senator, Kyrsten Sinema, is a Democrat.

In the most recent Presidential poll Joe Biden is leading Donald Trump in Arizona by nine points (49% to 40%), even though Trump beat Clinton by five points, and Romney beat Obama by 10 points

Within that context, Martha McSally (R) ran for the Arizona Senate seat vacated by Jeff Flake (R), and she was defeated by an openly bisexual woman with no military experience, Kirsten Synema (D).

### News Items:

- [Sen. Marth McSally told supporters they should “fast a meal” and donate the savings to her campaign.](#)
- The Daily Kos has an interesting article about how Arizona seems to be turning Blue: [Together we can destroy Republican trifectas in these two battleground states.](#)

**Fundraising:** According to FEC filings:

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
M. Kelly	\$45,735,788	\$24,516,845	\$21,218,943	07/15
M. McSally	\$30,018,096	\$19,947,472	\$10,994,417	07/15

**Outside Financing** According to FEC filings, outside groups have spent:

- \$2,513,959 supporting Kelly
- \$5,774,001 opposing Kelly<sup>1</sup>
- \$245,564 supporting McSally
- \$5,532,619 opposing McSally<sup>2</sup>

**Polls** (See page 41 and Appendix A for more details and an explanation of 538 ratings):

The most recent Arizona Senate poll of likely voters (Fox News, 01 Sep) shows:

- Kelly: 56%
- McSally: 39%

The weighted averages over the last 14 Arizona Senate polls (based on 538 rankings) are:

- Kelly: 50.9%
- McSally: 41.5%

### **Presidential Coattails:**

The most recent Arizona Presidential poll of likely voters (Fox News, 01 Sep) shows:

- Biden: 49%
- Trump: 40%

The weighted averages over the last 10 Arizona Presidential polls (based on 538 rankings) are:

- Biden: 49.0%
- Trump: 45.4%

**Pundit Forecasts for the Arizona Senate** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Cook</b>	<b>Sabato</b>	<b>Gonzales</b>	
04 Sep	Leans	Leans	Tilts	
17 Aug	Leans	Leans	Tilts	
05 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Tilts	

### **Footnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> Major spending against Kelly included \$2,005,142 from DefendArizona, \$3,763,319 from the National Republican Senatorial Committee,

<sup>2</sup> Major spending against McSally included \$1,822,308 from Change Now PAC, \$1,503,541 from the LCV Victory Fund, and \$1,176,429 from the VoteVets.org Action Fund

## Colorado

### Candidates:

**Dem:** John Hickenlooper

Former Colorado Governor (2011 – 2019), geologist, and business owner. Entered 2020 Democratic Presidential primaries, but dropped out.

Website: <https://hickenlooper.com/>

Wikipedia Page: [John Hickenlooper](#)

**GOP:** Cory Gardner – Incumbent

First-term Senator. Member of Colorado House of Representatives (2005 – 2011) and then U.S. Representative (2011 – 2015).

### Commentary:

Colorado is pretty blue at this point:

- Five of the last six Governors have been Democrats
- 41 of 65 State Representatives are Democrats
- 19 of 35 State Senators are Democrats
- Four of seven federal Representatives are Democrats
- One federal Senator is a Democrat
- Hilary Clinton beat Donald Trump by two points, 47% to 45%, in 2016

Within that context, Cory Gardner is solidly in the Democrats' crosshairs. Although John Hickenlooper has some ethical issues plaguing him that might come up during the election season, and although he lags Gardener right now in fundraising, the polls and his history as a popular Governor are generally considered strengths.

*Of particular note, the major GOP Senate Super PAC does not appear have money earmarked to support Gardner at this point.*

**Fundraising:** According to FEC filings:

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
J. Hickenlooper	\$14,204,259	\$9,635,056	\$4,569,203 <sup>1</sup>	6/30
C. Gardner	\$16,938,657	\$6,527,362	\$10,688,348	7/24

**Outside Financing:** According to FEC filings, outside groups have spent:

- \$3,283,241 supporting Hickenlooper<sup>2</sup>
- \$7,275,191 opposing Hickenlooper<sup>3</sup>
- \$517,009 supporting Gardner
- \$3,553,251 opposing Gardner<sup>4</sup>

**Polls** (See page 41 and Appendix A for more details and an explanation of 538 ratings)

The latest Colorado Senate poll of likely voters (Morning Consult, 30 Aug) shows:

- Hickenlooper: 48
- Gardner: 39

The weighted averages of the last five Colorado Senate polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Hickenlooper: 50.4
- Gardner: 39.9

**Presidential Coattails:**

The latest Colorado Presidential poll of likely voters (Morning Consult, 30 Aug) shows:

- Biden: 51
- Trump: 41

The weighted averages of the last five Colorado Presidential polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Biden: 53.4
- Trump: 40.0

**Pundit Forecasts for Colorado Senate** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Leans	Tilts	
17 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Tilts	
05 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Tilts	

**Footnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> Hickenlooper's fundraising numbers are obviously well-behind Gardner's in terms of reporting dates.

<sup>2</sup> Major outside spending supporting Hickenlooper included \$1,464,227 from Let's Turn Colorado Blue (this was actually directed against Hickenlooper's primary opponent, Andrew Romanoff).

<sup>3</sup> Major outside spending opposing Hickenlooper includes \$7,203,029 from the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

<sup>4</sup> Major outside spending against Gardner included \$1,345,000 from Gifford's PAC, \$1,973,738 from the Senate Majority PAC

## Iowa

### Candidates:

**Dem:** Teresa Greenfield

President of a Des Moines-based commercial real-estate firm. Ran for Iowa 3<sup>rd</sup> Congressional district in 2018, but was disqualified before the primary.

Website: <https://greenfieldforiowa.com/>

Wikipedia Page: None

**GOP:** Joni Ernst – Incumbent

First-term Senator. Served in Iowa National Guard (1993 – 2015), and retired at a Lieutenant Colonel (O-5). Served in Iowa State Senate from 2011 – 2014.

### Commentary:

By all rights, this race should not be this tight. Joni Ernst has relatively solid credentials, and Theresa Greenfield is basically coming out of nowhere.

But Iowa is a funny state. Although it can appear to many as being a Red state – Trump won by 10 points in 2016 – that has not been the historic case, nor is it necessarily the case when you look deeper today:

- Three of its four House representatives are Democrats
- 47 of 100 state legislators are Democrats
- 40% of the state Senate is Democrats

Prior to the Republican wave of 2010, Iowa was fairly evenly split politically, and in recent years state- and local-level seats have been slowly turning Blue.

Although Trump thumped Clinton in 2016, his trade policies have hurt farmers in Iowa, and he is only leading Biden by a very slim margin – one point – in the most recent poll.

Joni Ernst has not done anything spectacular in six years, and Teresa Greenfield has a don't-give-up story that Iowans tend to like.

### Recent News:

- Joni Ernst is taking extreme positions on COVID: [Ernst suggests Iowa doctors are falsifying COVID cases for money](#)
- There was a good article about this race in the July issue of The Atlantic Monthly: [Why the Iowa Senate Race Is Suddenly Competitive](#)

**Fundraising:** According to FEC filings:

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
T. Greenfield	\$11,608,199	\$5,956,918	\$5,651,281	6/30
J. Ernst	\$14,595,516	\$5,714,754	\$9,106,970	6/30

**Outside Financing** According to FEC filings, outside groups spent:

- \$7,094,739 supporting Greenfield<sup>1</sup>
- \$12,219,612 opposing Greenfield<sup>2</sup>
- \$1,642,196 supporting Ernst<sup>3</sup>
- \$14,144,612 opposing Ernst<sup>4</sup>

**Polls:** (See page 41 and Appendix A for more details and an explanation of 538 ratings)

The most recent Iowa Senate poll of general voters (PPP, 14 Aug) shows:

- Greenfield: 48%
- Ernst: 45%



The weighted averages over the last seven Iowa Senate polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Greenfield: 46.0%
- Ernst: 43.8%

### **Presidential Coattails:**

The most recent Iowa Presidential poll of likely voters (Data for Progress, 02 Aug) shows:

- Biden: 45%
- Trump: 46%

The weighted averages of the last six Iowa Presidential polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Biden: 46.1%
- Trump: 45.7%

**Pundit Forecasts for Iowa Senate** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Cook</b>	<b>Sabato</b>	<b>Gonzales</b>	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
17 Aug	Leans	Toss Up	Toss Up	
05 Aug	Leans	Leans	Toss Up	

### **Footnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> Major outside spending supporting Greenfield includes \$6,996,328 from the Senate Majority PAC.

<sup>2</sup> Major outside spending opposing Greenfield includes \$7,466,120 from the National Republican Senatorial Committee, and \$4,523,516 from the Senate Leadership Fund.

<sup>3</sup> Major outside spending supporting Ernst includes \$1,326,512 from Americas PAC.

<sup>4</sup> Major outside spending opposing Ernst includes \$1,254,253 from the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, \$2,465,974 from End Citizens United, \$2,204,145 from the Everytown for Gun Safety Victory Fund, \$4,783,462 from the Senate Majority PAC, and \$2,508,517 from the Women Vote Super PAC.

## Maine

### Candidates

**Dem:** Sara Gideon

State of Maine Speaker of the House. First elected in 2012 to represent Maine's District 48. Elected Speaker of the House in 2018.

Website: <https://saragideon.com/>

Wikipedia Page: [Sarah Gideon](#)

**GOP:** Susan Collins – Incumbent

Four-term incumbent. First elected to Senate in 1996.

### Commentary:

Maine is essentially a blue state, despite the recent Governorship of Paul LePage:

- The current Governor is a Democrat.
- Since 1967 all but two of eight Governors have been Democrats or Independents.
- 89 of its 154 state Legislators are Democrats (along with six Independents).
- 21 of its 35 state Senators are Democrats.
- The other U.S. Senator, Angus King, is Independent, but he caucuses with the Democrats.
- In 2016, Clinton beat Trump by three points, 48% to 45%.

Within that context, Susan Collins is the last of the basically extinct breed of moderate New England Republican. Although she has been popular in the past, she currently has several strikes against her: (1) her Kavanaugh vote, and (2) her vote against impeachment. Supposedly there was also

some recent hooplah about her voting against pandemic support earlier in her career (although it's not clear how much that's hurt her).

**Fundraising:** According to FEC filings:

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
S. Gideon	\$24,231,062	\$18,826,749	\$5,404,314	6/30
S. Collins	\$16,886,779	\$12,233,383	\$5,582,160	6/30

Note: Sarah Gideon also inherited a \$4+ million “Defeat Collins” fund after winning the primary.

**Outside Financing:** According to FEC filings, outside groups have spent:

- \$961,791 supporting Gideon<sup>1</sup>
- \$10,210,086 opposing Gideon<sup>2</sup>
- \$3,707,303 supporting Collins<sup>3</sup>
- \$13,081,353 opposing Collins<sup>4</sup>

**Polls** (See page 41 and Appendix A for more details and an explanation of 538 ratings)

The most recent Maine Senate poll (PPP, 14 Aug) shows:

- Gideon: 49%
- Collins: 44%

The weighted averages over the last nine Maine Senate polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Gideon: 47.1%
- Collins: 42.5%

**Presidential Coattails:**

The most recent Maine Presidential poll (Critical Insights, 09 Aug) shows:

- Biden: 45%
- Trump: 38%

The weighted averages over the last seven Maine Presidential polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Biden: 51.6%
- Trump: 40.3%

**Pundit Forecasts for the Maine Senate Race** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
17 Aug	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
05 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Leans	

#### Footnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Gideon also inherited a crowdsourced fund currently estimated to be \$4,124,984.

<sup>2</sup> Major outside financing opposing Gideon includes \$6,553,459 from the National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$1,577,933 from the Senate Leadership Fund, and \$2,078,694 from the 1820 PAC.

<sup>3</sup> Major outside financing supporting Collins includes \$2,705,689 from the 1820 PAC.

<sup>4</sup> Major outside financing opposing Collins includes \$2,054,620 from End Citizens United, \$7,008,886 from the Senate Majorit PAC, \$1,397,568 from The Lincoln Project, and \$1,244,398 from Vote Vets.

## Montana

### Candidates

**Dem:** Steve Bullock

Currently serving second term as Governor, but is term-limited. Former state Attorney General. Chaired the National Governor's Association.

Website: <https://stevebullock.com/>

Wikipedia Page: [Steve Bullock](#)

**GOP:** Steve Daines – Incumbent

First-term Senator. U.S. Representative for one term.

### Commentary:

At the Presidential level, Montana is a very red state: Republicans have won the Presidency there in the past six elections. In 1992, Bill Clinton was the last Democrat to win in Montana, and he only won by three points. Furthermore:

- The Montana House of Representatives has 58 Republicans and 42 Democrats
- The Montana Senate has 30 Republicans and 20 Democrats

But it is not rabidly red:

- In the 24 Senate races since WWII, it has elected 20 Democratic Senators
- Montana's other Senator, Jon Tester, is a third-term Democrat
- Five of the last eight Governors have been Democrats
- Five of the last eight Attorneys General have been Democrats
- In the most recent Presidential polls, Donald Trump is only leading Joe Biden by 12 points, 54% to 42%, despite having beaten Hillary Clinton in Montana by 24 points, 58% to 34%.

## Recent News:

- On 31 August, Bloomberg ran an article on this race: [Could Montana Flip the Senate?](#)
- On 25 August [the Supreme Court denied a petition that would have allowed Green Party candidate on Montana ballots](#). This is seen as a victory for Democrats, as the Green Party would have siphoned Democratic voters.
- On 09 August The Washington Post ran an article on this election: [Montana's Ticket Splitters Could Decide a Race That's Put the Senate Within Democrats' Reach](#)

**Fundraising:** According to FEC filings:

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
S. Bullock	\$11,161,377	\$3,572,704	\$7,588,673	6/30
S. Daines	\$13,000,052	\$6,720,259	\$7,142,690	6/30

**Outside Financing:** According to FEC filings, outside groups spent:

- \$1,541,606 supporting Bullock<sup>1</sup>
- \$11,981,167 opposing Bullock<sup>2</sup>
- \$1,847,508 supporting Daines<sup>3</sup>
- \$8,385,144 opposing Daines<sup>4</sup>

**Polls** (Polling in Montana has been sparse. See page 41 and Appendix A for more details and an explanation of 538 ratings)

The most recent nonpartisan Montana Senate poll of likely voters (Emerson College, 02 Aug) shows:

- Bullock: 44%
- Daines: 50%

The weighted averages over the last four Montana Senate polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Bullock: 45.1%
- Daines: 47.6%

### **Presidential Coattails:**

The most recent nonpartisan Montana Presidential poll of likely voters (Emerson College, 02 Aug) shows:

- Biden: 46%
- Trump: 54%

The weighted averages over the last five Montana Presidential polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Biden: 44.6%
- Trump: 51.4%

**Pundit Forecasts for the Montana Senate Race** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Cook</b>	<b>Sabato</b>	<b>Gonzales</b>	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Leans	Toss Up	
17 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Toss Up	
05 Aug	Leans	Leans	Leans	

### **Footnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> Major outside spending supporting Bullock includes \$1,417,655 from The Lincoln Project.

<sup>2</sup> Major outside spending opposing Bullock includes \$1,014,820 from the National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$6,977,880 from the Senate Leadership Fund.



<sup>3</sup> Major outside spending supporting Daines includes \$1,429,634 from Americans for Prosperity Action.

<sup>4</sup> Major outside spending opposing Daines includes \$2,619,888 Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, \$1,014,820 from the LCV Victory Fund, \$4,687,740 from the Senate Majority PAC.

## North Carolina

### Candidates

**Dem:** Cal Cunningham

Army Reserve JAG officer (Bronze Star recipient). North Carolina State Senator from the 23rd district from 2001 to 2003. Ran for U.S. Senate seat in 2010 but was defeated in a runoff.

Website: <https://www.calfornnc.com/>

Wikipedia Page: [Cal Cunningham](#)

**GOP:** Thom Tillis – Incumbent

First-term Senator. Served in the North Carolina House of Representatives from 2006 – 2014. Was elected Speaker in 2011.

### Commentary:

North Carolina has been trending purple as more out-of-state people move to the Research Triangle area:

- The current Governor is a Democrat (and polling very well).
- The current Attorney General is a Democrat.
- In 2008, Obama beat McCain by one point, 50% to 49%.

That said:

- In 2012, Romney beat Obama by three points, 51% to 48%
- In 2016, Trump beat Clinton by three points, 50% to 47%.
- Republicans hold strong majorities in the state Senate, 29 to 21, and House, 65 to 55, but they have not been able to override Democratic Governor Cooper's vetoes on most recent legislation.

In the most recent Presidential polls, Joe Biden pulled ahead to lead Donald Trump by four points, 50% to 46%. In 2016, Trump beat Clinton by three points, 50% to 47%.

On 27 August, the Center for Politics had an informative article about the inner workings of North Carolina politics: [North Carolina: States of Play](#)

**Fundraising:** According to FEC filings:

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
C. Cunningham	\$15,119,927	\$8,502,744	\$6,617,183	6/30
T. Tillis	\$14,334,771	\$7,938,781	\$6,882,404	6/30

**Outside Financing:** According to FEC filings, outside groups have spent:

- \$11,345,270 supporting Cunningham<sup>1</sup>
- \$11,897,543 opposing Cunningham<sup>2 3</sup>
- \$2,469,609 supporting Tillis<sup>4</sup>
- \$10,250,247 opposing Tillis<sup>5</sup>

**Polls** (See page 41 and Appendix A for more details of the individual polls and an explanation of 538 ratings.)

The most recent North Carolina Senate poll of likely voters (Fox News, 01 Sep) shows:

- Cunningham: 48%
- Tillis: 42%

The weighted averages over the last 17 North Carolina Senate polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Cunningham: 47.2%
- Tillis: 40.8%

## Presidential Coattails

The most recent North Carolina Presidential poll likely voters (Fox News, 01 Sep) shows:

- Biden: 50%
- Trump: 46%

The weighted averages over the last 13 North Carolina Presidential polls (based on 538 ratings) are:

- Biden: 47.8%
- Trump: 46.5%

**Pundit Forecasts for the North Carolina Senate race** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
17 Aug	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
05 Aug	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	

## Footnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Major outside spending supporting Cunningham included \$4,537,270 from Carolina Blue, \$1,161,000 from the Truth and Justice Fund, and \$4,285,646 from Vote Vets.

<sup>2</sup> Major outside spending opposing Cunningham included \$9,661,763 from the National Republican Senatorial Committee, and \$1,978,941 from the Senate Leadership Fund.

<sup>3</sup> Of note, not included in these figures, the conservative Faith & Power PAC spent \$2,678,276 in support of Cunningham's very progressive opponent in the primaries. This PAC is supposedly tied to Mitch McConnell.

<sup>4</sup> Major outside spending supporting Tillis included \$2,273,150 from Americans for Prosperity.

<sup>5</sup> Major outside spending opposing Tillis included \$3,216,871 from Everytown for Gun Safety Victory Fund, \$1,207,391 from Priorities USA Action, and \$5,164,316 from the Senate Majority PAC.

## Watch List States

These states all have the potential to become competitive. If any of them do, they will be transferred to the competitive states portion of the report.

### Alaska

Dem: Al Gros (Independent)

GOP: Dan Sullivan - Incumbent

### Fundraising

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
A. Gross (Ind)	\$5,223,962	\$2,279,865	\$2,944,097	07/29
D. Sullivan	\$7,851,403	\$2,787,086	\$5,322,698	07/29

### Most Recent Polls (See Appendix A for an explanation of 538 ratings)

Date	Organization	538 Rating	Gross	Sullivan
28 Aug	PPP	B	43	43
08 Jul	PPP	B	34	39

### Pundit Forecasts (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Likely	Likely	Likely	

## Georgia

Dem: Jon Ossoff

GOP: Dave Perdue - Incumbent

**Fundraising:** According to FEC reports

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
J. Ossoff	\$7,062,622	\$4,535,501	\$2,527,121	06/30/2020
D. Perdue	\$14,513,069	\$3,869,472	\$10,689,882	06/30/2020

Note: The Ossoff campaign has informally reported extremely high fundraising figures for July and August.

**Most Recent Polls** (See Appendix A for an explanation of 538 ratings)

Date	Organization	538 Rating	Ossoff	Perdue
14 Aug	PPP	B	44	44
13 Aug	Garin-Hart-Yang	B/C	48	46
06 Aug	Survey USA	A	41	44
31 Jul	YouGov	B	43	45
23 Jul	Fox News	A-	42	45

**Pundit Forecasts** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Leans	Tilts	

## **Kansas**

### **Candidates:**

**Dem:** Barbara Bollier

Surgeon. Former Republican member of Kansas House of Representatives (2010 - 2017). Former Republican State Senator; changed to Democrat in 2018.

**GOP:** Roger Marshal

Obstetrician. U.S. Representative for Kansas's 1st Congressional District.

### **Commentary:**

Kansas has not elected a Democratic Senator since 1932. Roger Marshall (R) won the 04 August GOP Senate primary, in which 328,000 Republican voters turned out, and only 177,000 Democratic voters turned out. On the surface, this should be Marshall's election.

That said, on the Democratic side Barbara Bollier is a former Republican state Senator and a physician. She is a staunch education advocate who left the Republican party because of the party's continual cuts in education (among other things). In Q2, she raised more money than any candidate for any federal, state, or local office has ever raised in any quarter in the entire history of Kansas. And in the first poll since the primary, she is tied with Marshall.

In the most recent Presidential polls Donald Trump is leading Joe Biden by 12 points, 52% to 40%. In 2016, Trump beat Clinton by 22 points, 58% to 36%.

This race definitely bears watching. If a few more polls show Bollier doing well in fundraising and polling, it could move back to the "Competitive" category.



**Fundraising:** According to FEC reports

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Raised</b>	<b>Spent</b>	<b>On Hand</b>	<b>Date</b>
B. Bollier	\$7,784,826	\$3,620,931	\$4,163,895	07/15
R. Marshall	\$2,707,517	\$2,303,267	\$1,012,537	07/15

**Most Recent Polls** (See Appendix A for an explanation of 538 ratings)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>538 Rating</b>	<b>Bollier</b>	<b>Marshall</b>
09 Aug	Survey USA	A	44	46
06 Aug	PPP	B	42	43

**Pundit Forecasts** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

	<b>Cook</b>	<b>Sabato</b>	<b>Gonzales</b>	
04 Sep	Leans	Likely	Leans	

## **Kentucky**

### **Candidates:**

**Dem:** Amy McGrath

Retired USMC Lieutenant Colonel; former fighter pilot with combat experience.

**GOP:** Mitch McConnell

Current U.S. Senate Majority Leader.

### **Commentary:**

In theory this race should be nowhere near competitive. After all, Mitch McConnell is the Senate Majority Leader.

But Mitch McConnell has had the highest disapproval rating with his constituents among all Senators, and Kentucky's very strong Tea Party thinks he is too soft with Democrats.

Meanwhile, Amy McGrath looks great on paper, and she has been great at fundraising.

Although Kentucky has had a shortage of Senate polls, most polls have had McGrath within touching distance of McConnell, and one poll had her slightly ahead.

A recent poll has her lagging by five points, and on 13 August she announced she is replacing her campaign manager, Mark Nickolas, with Dan Kanninen. Here is a link to the Politico article:

[Trailing McConnell, Amy McGrath Shakes Up Her Campaign](#)

**Fundraising:** According to FEC reports

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Raised</b>	<b>Spent</b>	<b>On Hand</b>	<b>Date</b>
A. McGrath	\$46,921,518	\$30,692,159	\$16,229,441	06/30/2020
M. McConnell	\$36,679,956	\$20,273,529	\$16,654,667	06/30/2020

**Most Recent Polls** (See Appendix A for an explanation of 538 ratings)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>538 Rating</b>	<b>McGrath</b>	<b>McConnell</b>
06 Aug	Quinnipiac Univ.	B+	44	49
02 Aug	Morning Consult	B/C	36	53
12 Jul	Garin-Hart-Yang	B/C	41	45

**Pundit Forecasts** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

	<b>Cook</b>	<b>Sabato</b>	<b>Gonzales</b>	
23 Jul	Likely	Likely	Solid	

## South Carolina

Dem: Jaime Harrison

GOP: Lindsey Graham – Incumbent

As unlikely as it sounds, Jaime Harrison (D) is competitive with Lindsey Graham (R) in both fundraising and polling.

Among other things, Lindsey Graham's biggest financial supporter has given up on him for failing to stick to his principles, and has taken out ads in South Carolina slamming Graham.

[Harrison informally reported that his campaign raised more cash in August than Graham did in the entire three preceeding months.](#)

If the polling stays relatively stable, this race might move to the "Competitive" category.

**Fundraising:** According to FEC reports

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
J. Harrison	\$15,119,927	\$8,502,744	\$6,617,183	6/30
L. Graham	\$14,334,771	\$7,938,781	\$6,882,404	6/30

**Most Recent Polls** (See Appendix A for an explanation of 538 ratings)

Date	Organization	538 Rating	Harrison	Graham
31 Jul	PPP	B	44	47
06 Aug	Quinnipiac Univ	B+	44	44
02 Aug	Morning Consult	B/C	43	44
20 Jul	ALG Research	B/C	45	49

**Pundit Forecasts** (See Appendix B for a description of pundits)

	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
23 Jul	Leans	Likely	Likely	

## **Aggregate Data**

- Individual Candidate Fundraising
- PAC and Organizational Fundraising
  - Democrats
  - Republicans
- Polls
- Pundit Forecasts

## Individual Candidate Fundraising

As of 06 Sep, these figures are all taken either directly from the Federal Election Commission (FEC) website or from the Open Secrets website. In general, FEC data is reported quarterly. As other sources of fundraising become available, they will be mentioned separate from the FEC figures.

Individual Democrats raised \$102 million in total during the second quarter (April – June) compared to \$70 million for Republican candidates.

### Arizona

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
M. Kelly	\$45,735,788	\$24,516,845	\$21,218,943	07/15
M. McSally	\$30,018,096	\$19,947,472	\$10,994,417	07/15

### Colorado

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
J. Hickenlooper	\$14,204,259	\$9,635,056	\$4,569,203	6/30
C. Gardner	\$16,938,657	\$6,527,362	\$10,688,348	07/24

### Iowa

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
T. Greenfield	\$11,608,199	\$5,956,918	\$5,651,281	6/30
J. Ernst	\$14,595,516	\$5,714,754	\$9,106,970	6/30

### Maine

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
S. Gideon	\$24,231,062	\$18,826,749	\$5,404,314	6/30
S. Collins	\$16,886,779	\$12,233,383	\$5,582,160	6/30

### Montana

Candidate	Raised	Spent	On Hand	Date
S. Bullock	\$11,161,377	\$3,572,704	\$7,588,673	6/30
S. Daines	\$13,000,052	\$6,720,259	\$7,142,690	6/30

**North Carolina**

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Raised</b>	<b>Spent</b>	<b>On Hand</b>	<b>Date</b>
C. Cunningham	\$15,119,927	\$8,502,744	\$6,617,183	6/30
T. Tillis	\$14,334,771	\$7,938,781	\$6,882,404	6/30

## **Organizational and Super PAC Fundraising**

As of August 06, 2020, 1,959 groups organized as super PACs. This report includes the most prominent that relate to the Senate races.

### **Democratic PAC and Organizational Fundraising**

#### **Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC)**

The DSCC raised \$34 million in the second quarter, including \$13.6 million in June. It has \$37.7 million in cash on hand.

#### **Senate Majority PAC**

The principal Democratic Senate PAC. The figures below reflect the two year period from 01/01/2019 – 06/30/2020.

<b>Raised</b>	<b>Total Spent</b>	<b>On Hand</b>	<b>Date</b>
\$148,420,899	\$62,028,628	\$86,795,442	30 Jun

### **Republican PAC and Organizational Fundraising**

#### **National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC)**

The NRSC raised \$35.6 million in the second quarter, including \$14 million in June. It has \$30.5 million in cash on hand.

#### **Senate Leadership Fund**

The principal GOP Senate PAC. The figures below reflect the two year period from 01/01/2019 – 06/30/2020

<b>Raised</b>	<b>Total Spent</b>	<b>On Hand</b>	<b>Date</b>
\$102,150,623	\$11,018,211	\$97,300,689	30 Jun



## Polls

These tables reflect the most recent polls for each race, going back to the beginning of July. As the election season progresses, and more polls are taken, we will try to standardize the number of polls taken into account.

Appendix A contains the Nate Silver 538 rating of each of these polls and well as the weighing factor used for computing weighted averages.

### Summarized Weighted Averages

	Dem	GOP	Average Difference
Arizona	50.9	41.5	9.3
Colorado	50.4	39.9	10.6
Iowa	46.0	43.8	2.1
Maine	47.1	42.5	4.6
Montana	45.1	47.6	-2.5
North Carolina	47.1	41.1	6.0

### Arizona

	538 Ratings and Weights		Kelly		McSally	
Fox News	A-	3.75	56	210.00	39	146.25
Red & Wilt	NA	0.00	53	0.00	34	0.00
On Message	B/C	2.50	48	120.00	48	120.00
Change	C-	1.75	49	85.75	43	75.25
Emerson	A-	3.75	52	195.00	41	153.75
OH Predictive	B/C	2.50	48	120.00	43	107.50
Data for Prog	B-	2.75	50	137.50	40	110.00
Red & Wilt	NA	0.00	53	0.00	35	0.00
Change Rsch	C-	1.75	47	82.25	45	78.75
Morn Consult	B/C	2.50	52	130.00	36	90.00

CNN/SRSS	B/C	2.50	50	125.00	43	107.50
Marist	A+	4.25	53	225.25	41	174.25
PPP	B	3.00	51	153.00	42	126.00
Spry	B/C	2.50	48	120.00	41	102.50
		33.50		1703.75		1391.75
Weighted Averages				50.9		41.5

## Colorado

538 Ratings and Weights			Hinkenlooper		Gardner	
Morning Cons.	B/C	2.50	48	120.00	39	97.50
PPP	B	3.00	51	153.00	42	126.00
Morning Cons.	B/C	2.50	48	120.00	42	105.00
PPP	B	3.00	51	153.00	40	120.00
Keating Rsch	B/C	2.50	54	135.00	36	90.00
		13.5		681.00		538.50
Weighted Averages				50.4		39.9

## Iowa

538 Rating and Weight			Greenfield		Ernst	
PPP	B	3.00	48	144.00	45	135.00
Data for Prgss	B-	2.75	45	123.75	43	118.25
Monmouth	A+	4.25	47	199.75	48	204.00
RMG	B/C	2.50	40	100.00	36	90.00
Spry	B/C	2.50	45	112.50	43	107.50
GQR	B	3.00	49	147.00	46	138.00
Selzer	A+	4.25	46	195.50	43	182.75
		22.25		1022.50		975.50

Weighted Averages

46.0

43.8

## Maine

538 Ratings and Weights			Gideon		Collins	
PPP	B	3.00	49	147.00	44	132.00
Critical Ins.	C/D	1.50	43	64.50	38	57.00
Quinnipiac	B+	3.75	47	176.25	43	161.25
RMG	B/C	2.50	48	120.00	41	102.50
Data for Prgs	B-	2.75	48	132.00	45	123.75
Colby College	NA	0.00	44	0.00	39	0.00
PPP	B	3.00	47	141.00	42	126.00
PPP	B	3.00	46	138.00	42	126.00
Victory Geek	NA	0.00	51	0.00	42	0.00
		19.5	423	918.75	376	828.5
Weighted Averages				47.1		42.5

## Montana

538 Ratings and Weights			Bullock		Daines	
Emerson College	A-	3.75	44	165.00	50	187.50
Spry Stretegies	B/C	2.50	44	110.00	47	117.50
Civiqs	B/C	2.50	47	117.50	49	122.50
PPP	B	3.00	46	138.00	44	132.00
		11.75		530.50		559.50
Weighted Averages				45.15		47.62

## North Carolina

	538 Ratings and Weights		Cunningham		Tillis	
Monmouth U.	A+	4.25	47	199.75	45	191.25
Fox News	A-	3.75	48	180.00	42	157.50
East Carolina U.	B/C	2.50	44	110.00	44	110.00
Change Rsch	C-	1.75	52	91.00	42	73.50
Morning Cons.	B/C	2.50	47	117.50	39	97.50
Redfield/Wilton	NA	0.00	47	0.00	38	0.00
East Carolina	B/C	2.50	44	110.00	40	100.00
Harper Polling	B/C	2.50	41	102.50	38	95.00
Change Rsch	C-	1.75	48	84.00	43	75.25
Emerson	A-	3.75	44	165.00	41	153.75
PPP	B	3.00	48	144.00	44	132.00
Data for Prgss	B-	2.75	49	134.75	41	112.75
HIT	NA	0.00	48	0.00	42	0.00
YouGov	B	3.00	48	144.00	39	117.00
Change Rsch	C-	1.75	52	91.00	40	70.00
Morning Cons	B/C	2.50	46	115.00	37	92.50
Marist College	A+	4.25	50	212.50	41	174.25
PPP	B	3.00	48	144.00	40	120.00
		45.50		2145.00		1872.25
Weighted Averages				47.1		41.1

## Pundit Forecasts

Appendix B has a brief background and description of the pundit organizations, along with a breakdown of how their forecasts can be interpreted.

### Arizona

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Leans	Leans	Tilts	
17 Aug	Leans	Leans	Tilts	
05 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Tilts	

### Colorado

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Leans	Tilts	
17 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Tilts	
05 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Tilts	

### Iowa

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
17 Aug	Leans	Toss Up	Toss Up	
05 Aug	Leans	Leans	Toss Up	

### Maine

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
17 Aug	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
05 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Leans	

## Montana

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Leans	Toss Up	
17 Aug	Toss Up	Leans	Toss Up	
05 Aug	Leans	Leans	Leans	

## North Carolina

Date	Cook	Sabato	Gonzales	
04 Sep	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
17 Aug	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	
05 Aug	Toss Up	Toss Up	Toss Up	

## Appendix A: 538 Ratings of Polling Organizations

These are the polls that are currently being used in this report. As more polls become available, they will be added.

The “538 Grade” is taken from the following 538 web page.

<https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/pollster-ratings/>

538 assigns these these grades based on the historical accuracy and methodology of each firm’s polls.

The “Weight” is the number used in calculating weighted averages. Polls that are not covered by 538 have a grade of “NA” and a weight of 0.00.

Poll	538 Grade	Weight
Cardinal Point Analytics	NA	0.00
Change Research	C-	1.75
Civiqs	B/C	2.50
Colby College	NA	0.00
Critical Insights	C/D	1.50
Data for Progress	B-	2.75
East Carolina University	B/C	2.50
Emerson College	A-	3.75
Fox News	A-	3.75
GQR	B	3.00

Harper Polling	B/C	2.50
HIT	NA	0.00
Keating Research	B/C	2.50
Marist College	A+	4.25
Monmouth	A+	4.25
Montana State University	B/C	2.50
Morning Consult	B/C	2.50
Ohio Predictive Insights	B/C	2.50
On Message	B/C	2.50
PPP	B	3.00
Quinnipiac Univ.	B+	3.25
Redfield & Wilton	NA	0.00
RMG Research	B/C	2.5
Selzer	A+	4.25
Spry	B/C	2.5
SRSS	B/C	2.5
University of Montana	NA	0.00
Victory Geek	NA	0.00
YouGov	B	3.00



## **Appendix B: Pundit Backgrounds and Descriptions**

This information was mainly pulled from the organizations' web sites and Wikipedia.

### **Cook Political Report**

The Cook Political Report is a Washington DC-based political newsletter founded by Charlie Cook in 1984. The publication is billed as "an independent, nonpartisan newsletter that analyzes elections and campaigns for the US House of Representatives, US Senate, Governors and President as well as American political trends."

According to *The Cook Political Report's* website, subscribers include "lobbyists, trade associations, corporations, labor unions, Members of Congress, political action committees and interest groups across the political spectrum." The newsletter also provides a limited amount of free information on its website for non-subscribers.

All Senate contests are rated, regardless of competitiveness on a seven-point scale; Solid Democrat, Likely Democrat, Lean Democrat, Toss-Up, Lean Republican, Likely Republican, and Solid Republican.

### **Larry Sabato's Crystal Ball**

Sabato's Crystal Ball is a Charlottesville-based political newsletter run by the University of Virginia Center for Politics. The publication describes itself as "a comprehensive, nonpartisan political analysis and handicapping newsletter" that reports on presidential elections and every congressional and gubernatorial election. The *Crystal Ball's* race ratings are based on electoral history, polling, candidate quality, modeling, and reporting.

Sabato's Crystal Ball was established in 2002. Larry J. Sabato is the founder and director of the University of Virginia Center for Politics. He has been a guest on TV programs on Fox, CNN, and MSNBC, among others. He is the author and editor of over 24 books on U.S. politics.

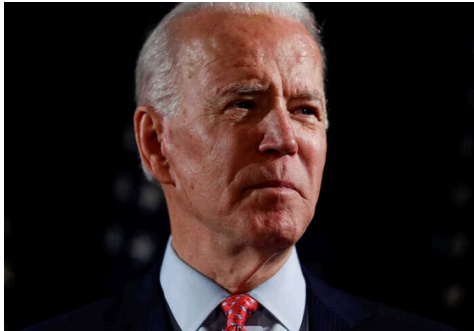
## **Nathan Gonzales – Inside Elections**

Inside Elections is a Washington DC-based political newsletter. The publication describes itself as providing "nonpartisan analysis of campaigns for Senate, House, governor and president" using quantitative and qualitative data and without endorsing candidates.

Nathan Gonzales is Editor & Publisher of Inside Elections, which provides nonpartisan analysis of campaigns for Senate, House, governor and president. He was an editor, analyst, and writer for The Rothenberg Political Report for more than 13 years before taking over the company in 2015.

## Closing Thoughts

The country is breaking,  
and I – alone – can't fix it...



Theresa Greenfield  
Iowa



Gov. Steve Bullock  
Montana

...I need a Democratic  
Senate to help me.

Please support a swing  
state Senate candidate.

This graphic was not approved by Joe Biden or the Biden campaign