

The Cook Political Report's
Road Map to the 2018 Midterms



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Council on Government Relations

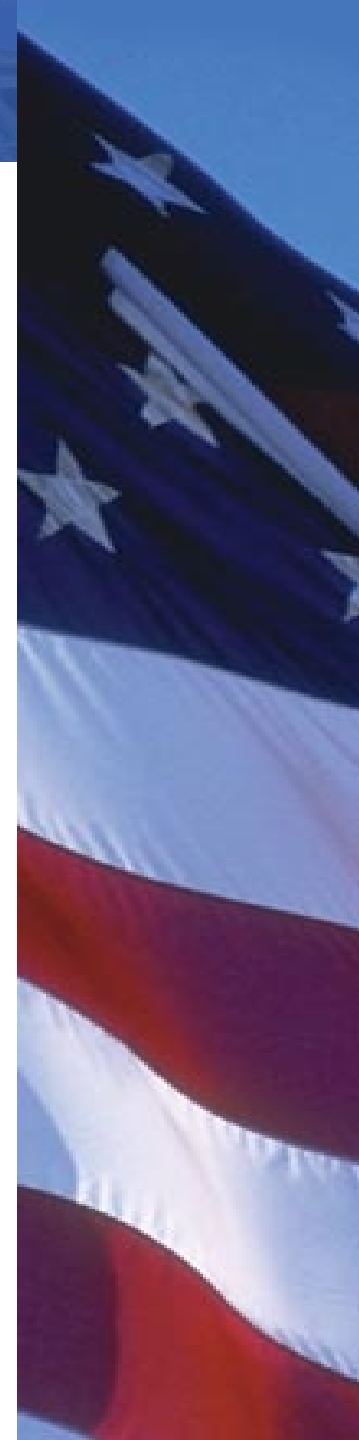
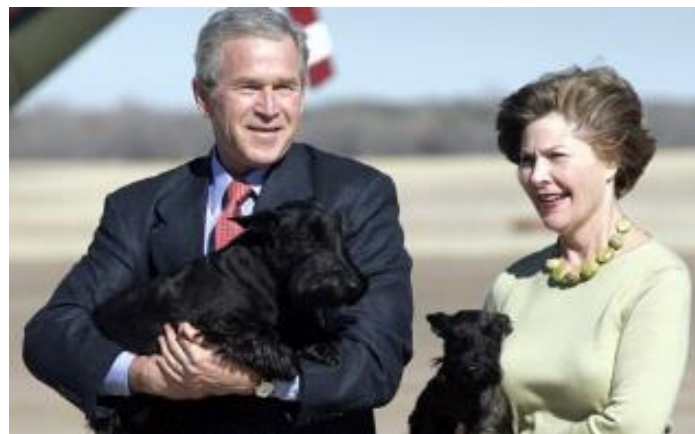
October 25, 2018

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The opinions presented are those of the presenter only.

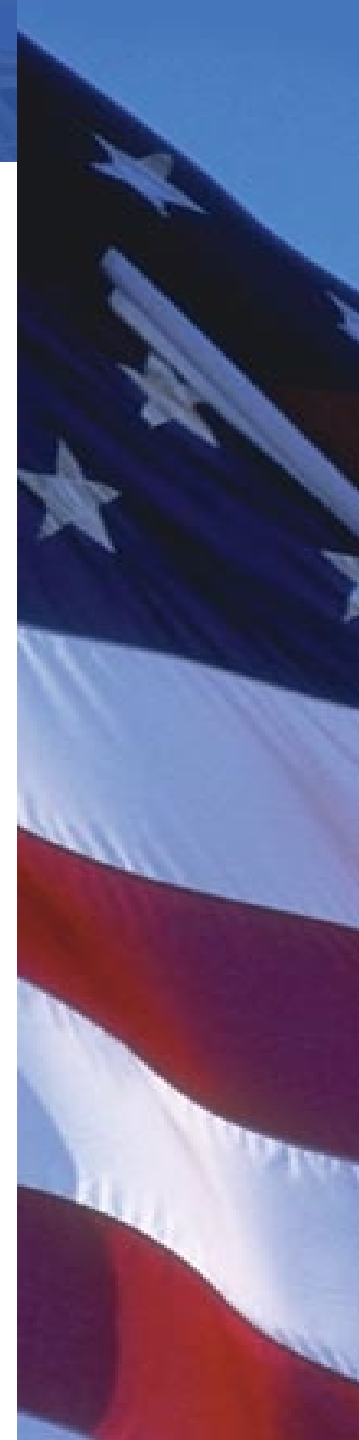
Disclaimer: A Failed 2016 Prediction...



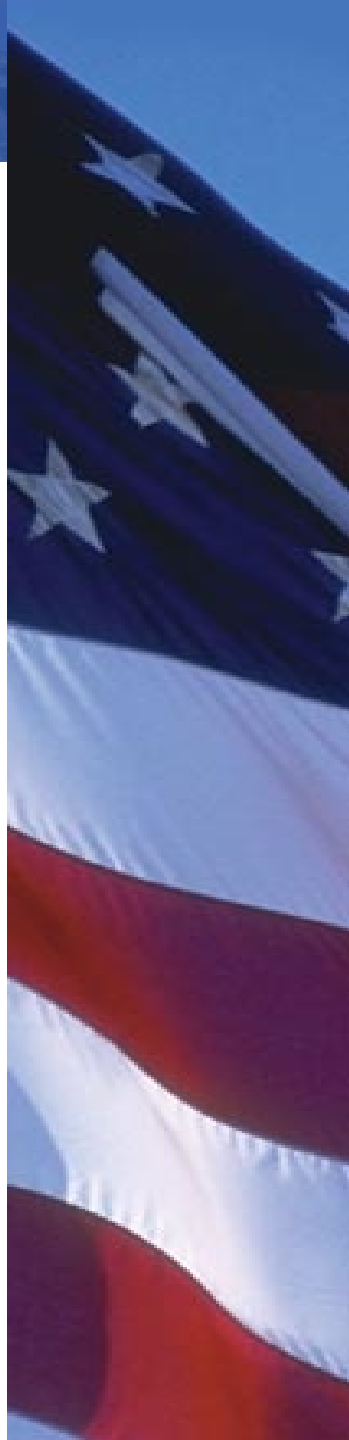


THE INSIDER'S CHOICE FOR ELECTION ANALYSIS

THE Cook Political REPORT



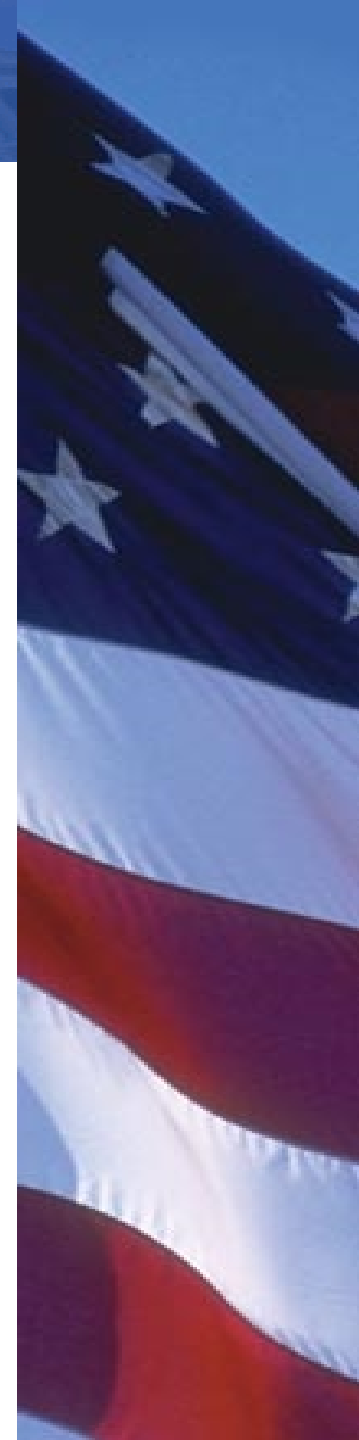
The Distracted Boyfriend



The Party-less President?



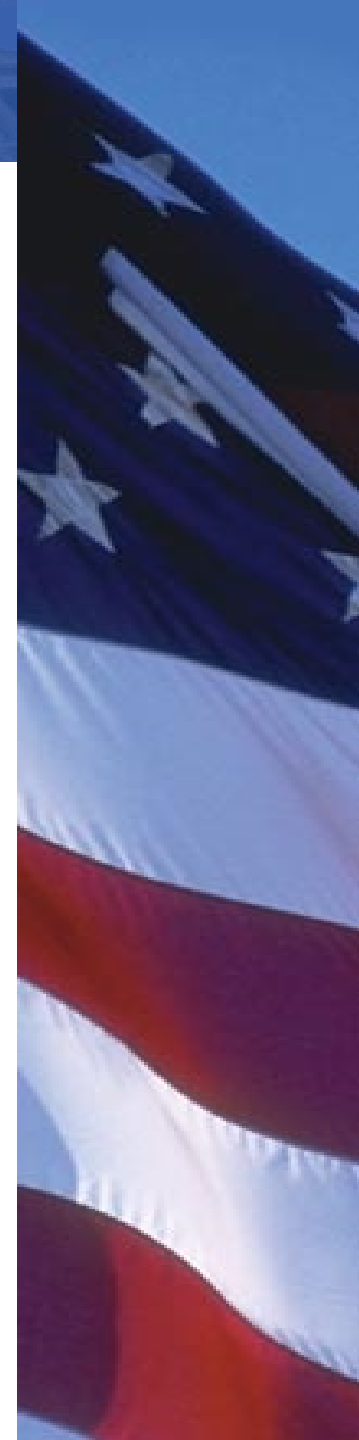
- ❖ **Missed Opportunities:** Trump could have led with infrastructure & forged a deal on immigration. Instead, mostly catering to 46% who elected him.



2018: The Split-Screen Midterm



I. How Did We Get Here?



Lifestyle Realignment of the Electorate

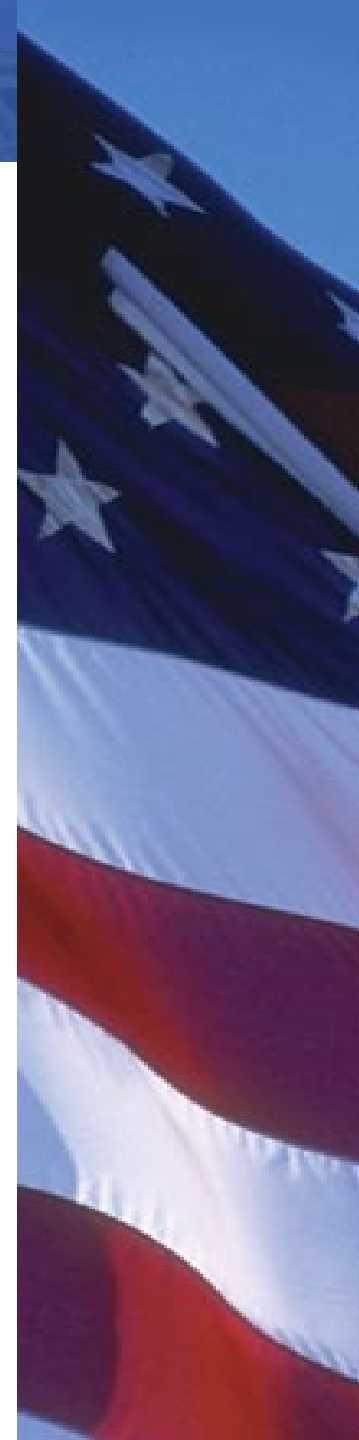


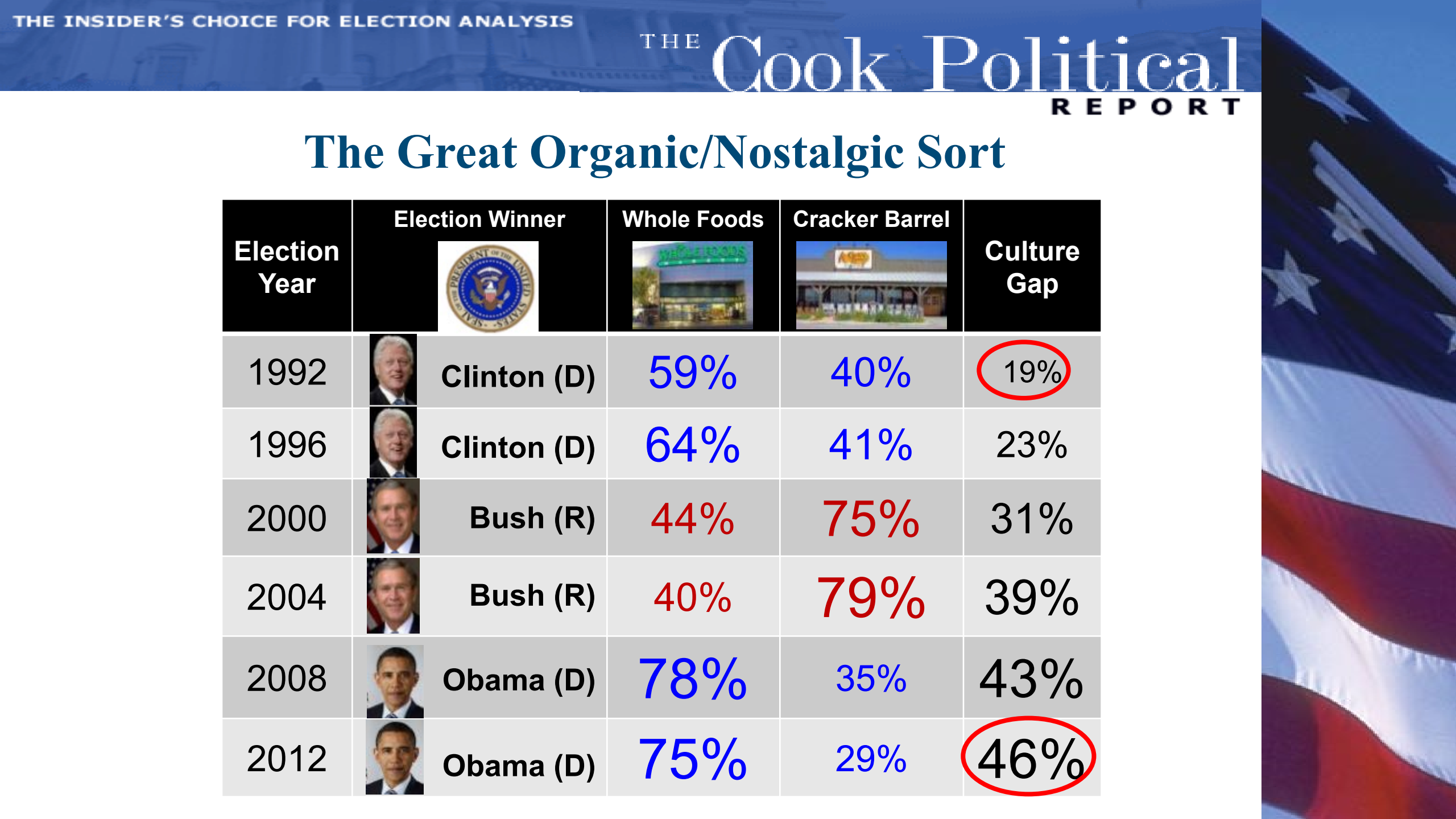
← *Austin, TX*

Lebanon, TN →





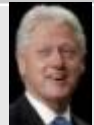






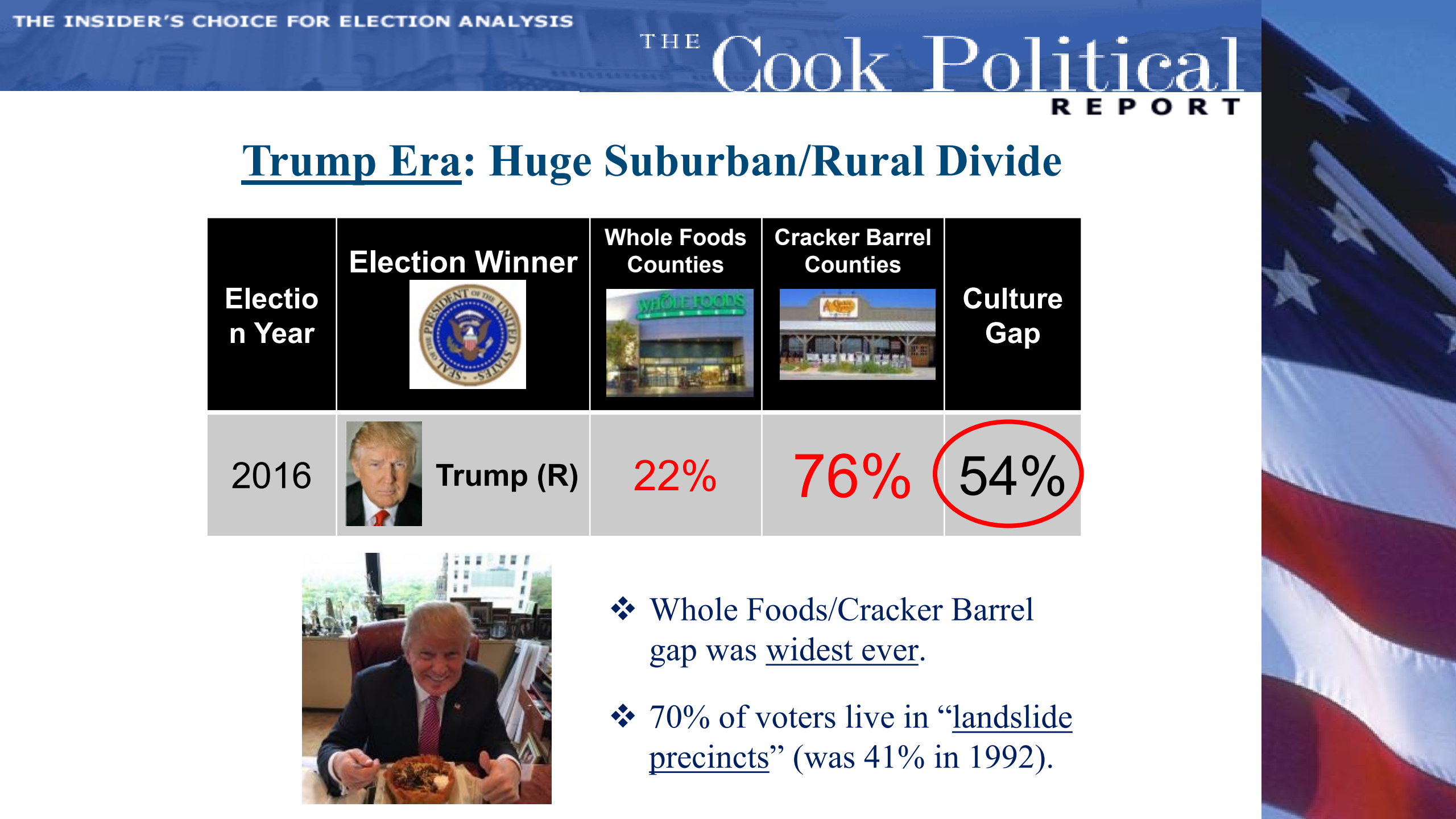
- ❖ In 1992, Bill Clinton won 59% of counties that now have a Whole Foods & 40% of counties that now have a Cracker Barrel.






The Great Organic/Nostalgic Sort

Election Year	Election Winner 		Whole Foods 	Cracker Barrel 	Culture Gap
1992		Clinton (D)	59%	40%	19%
1996		Clinton (D)	64%	41%	23%
2000		Bush (R)	44%	75%	31%
2004		Bush (R)	40%	79%	39%
2008		Obama (D)	78%	35%	43%
2012		Obama (D)	75%	29%	46%



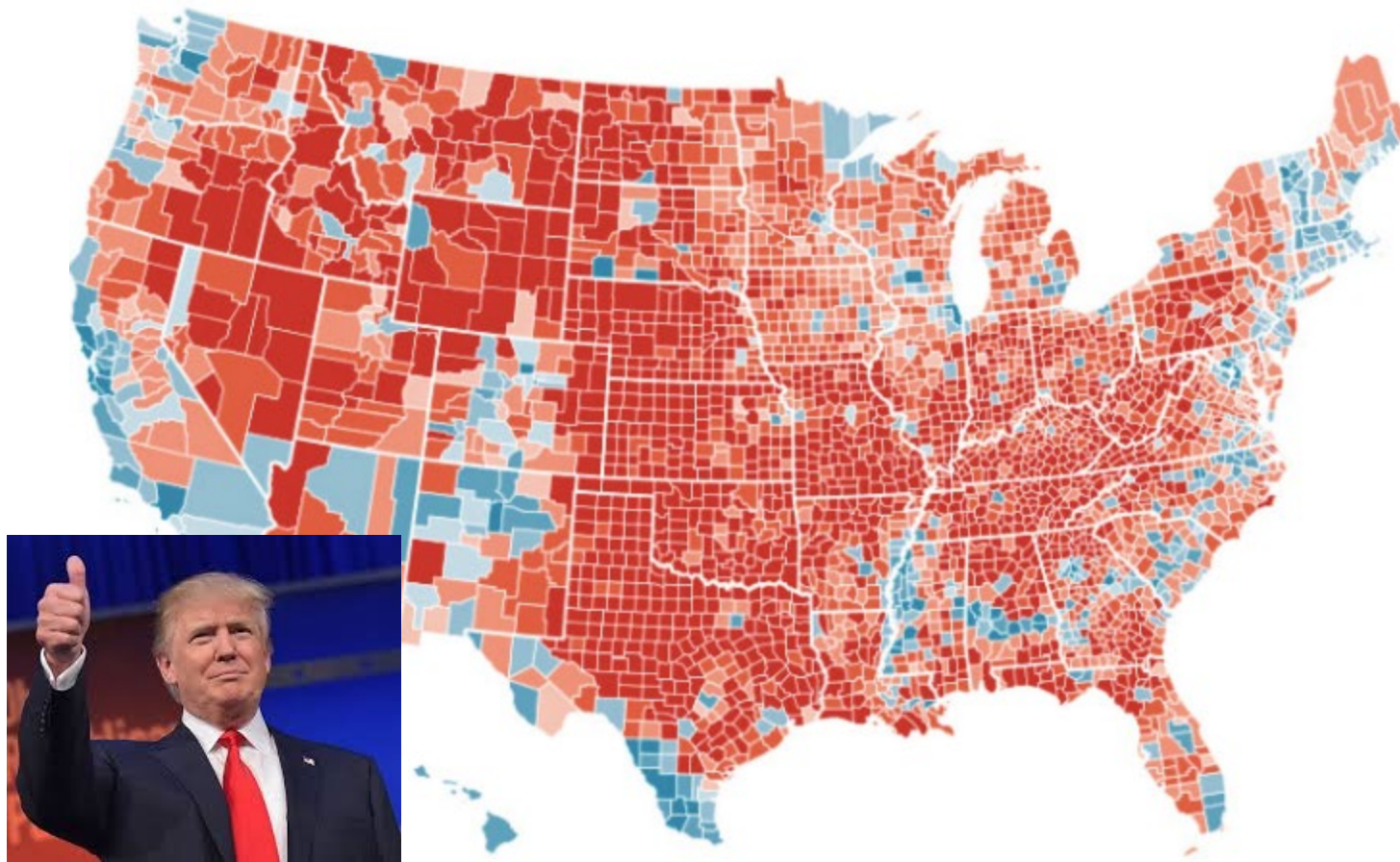
Trump Era: Huge Suburban/Rural Divide

Election Year	Election Winner	Whole Foods Counties	Cracker Barrel Counties	Culture Gap
2016	 Trump (R)	22%	76%	54%

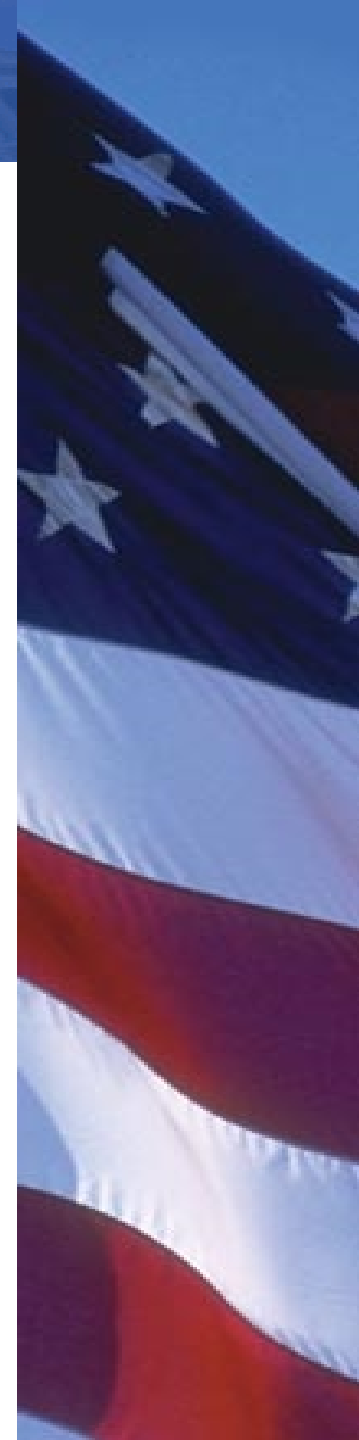


- ❖ Whole Foods/Cracker Barrel gap was widest ever.
- ❖ 70% of voters live in “landslide precincts” (was 41% in 1992).

2016: 3 of 3,141 Counties Elected Trump



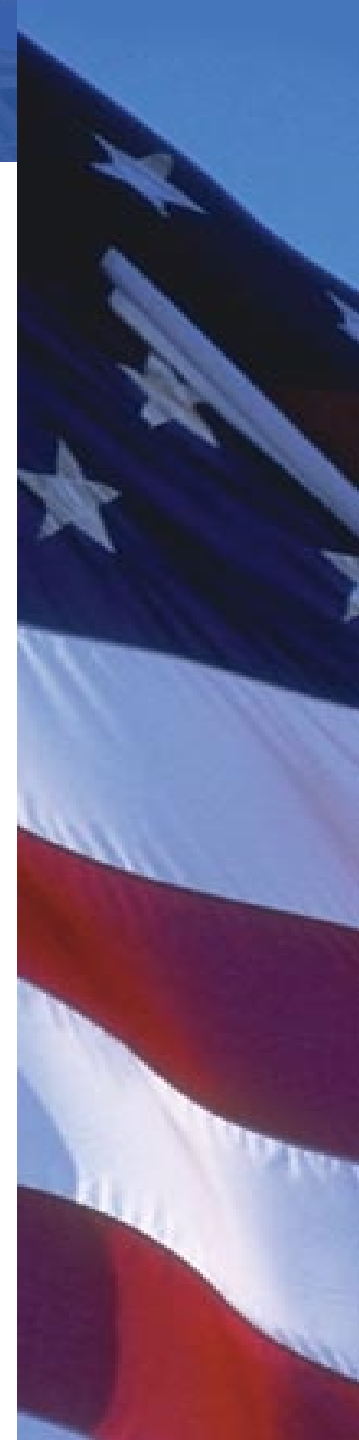
- ❖ Trump lost the popular vote by 2.9 million votes, but won the Electoral College thanks to Macomb, MI; Westmoreland, PA & Waukesha, WI.



II. Where Are We Going?



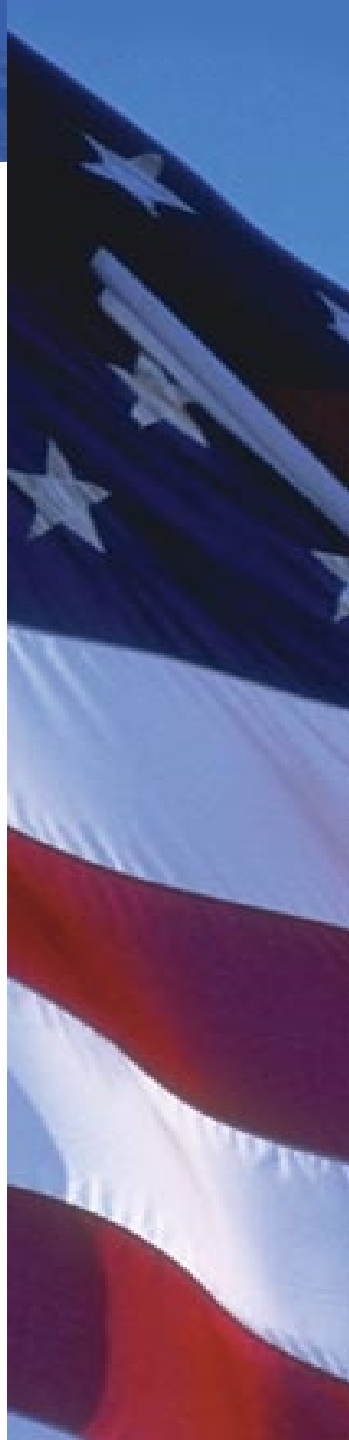
***Note:** Intended as a funny road sign, not a commentary on the fate of any current or past political figures.*



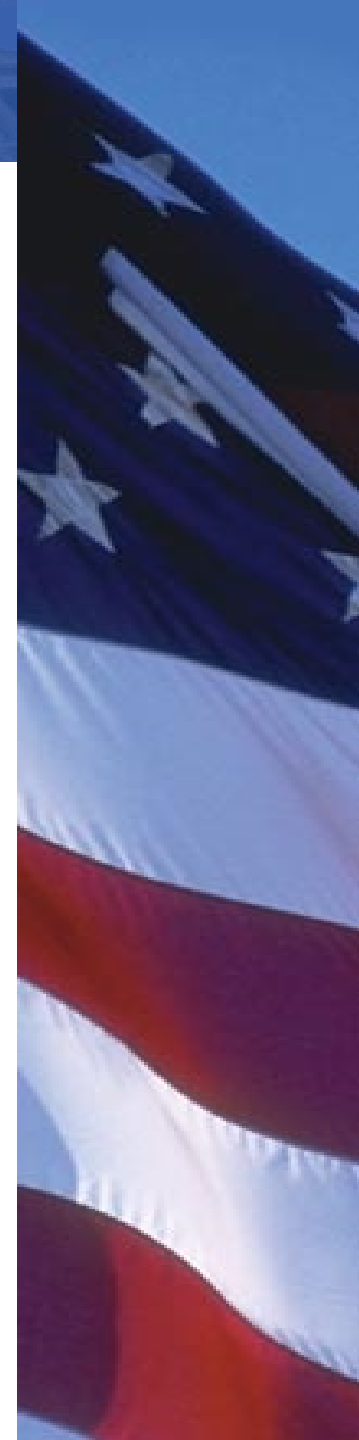
2018: Tale of Two Battlegrounds



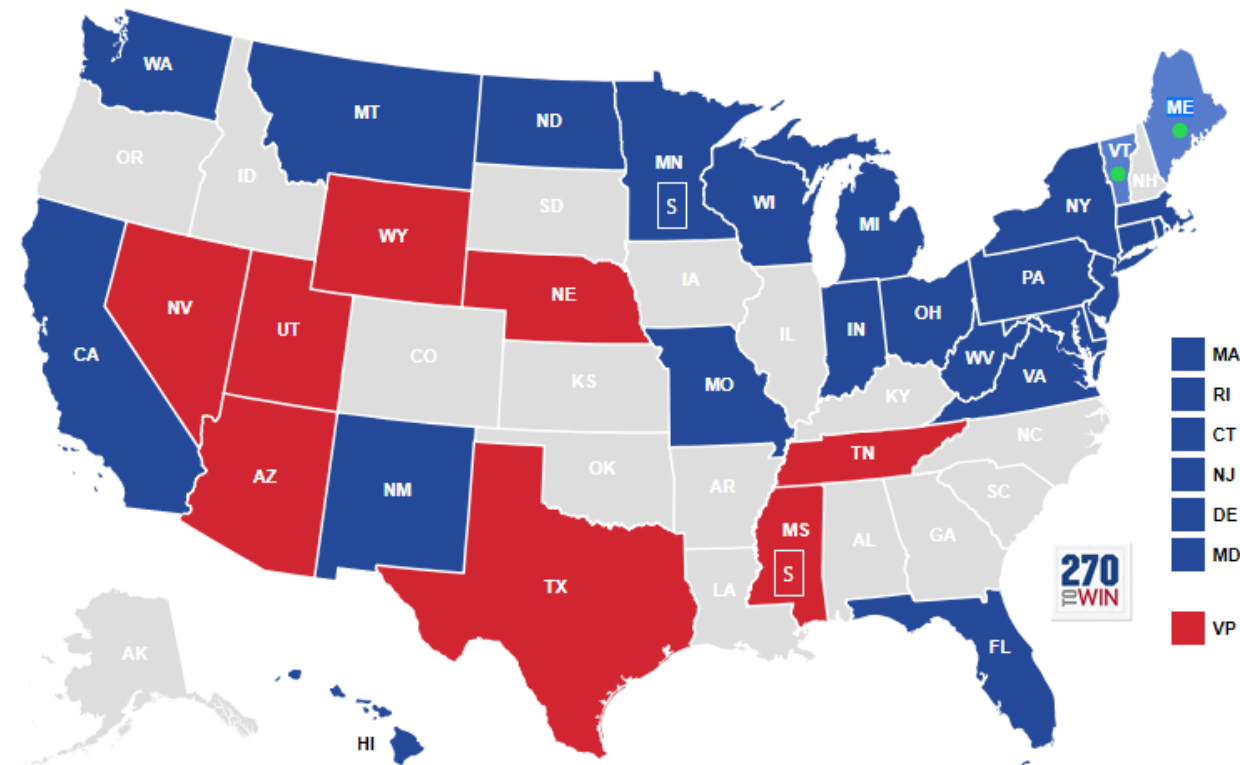
Rural vs. Suburban



First, Two Reasons **Republicans** Might Not Fall Off a Cliff in November

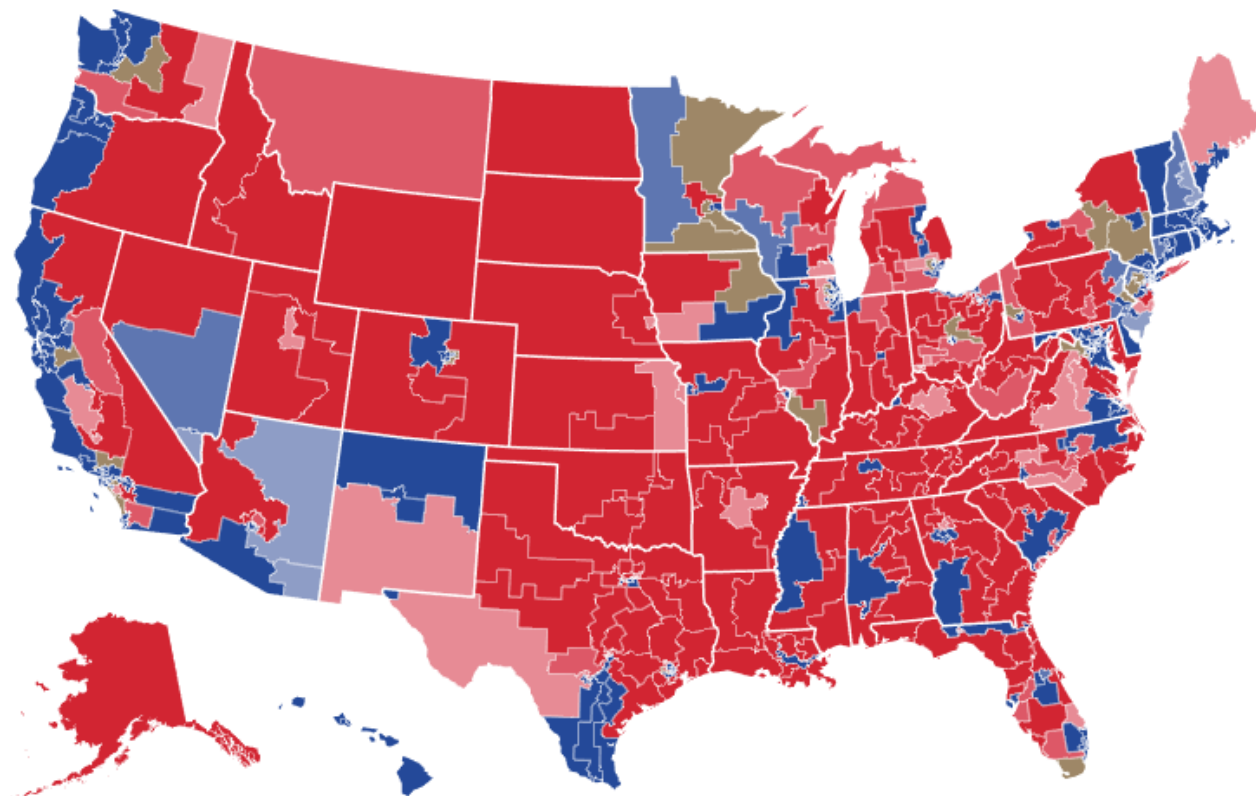


1. 2018 Political Geography Favors **GOP**

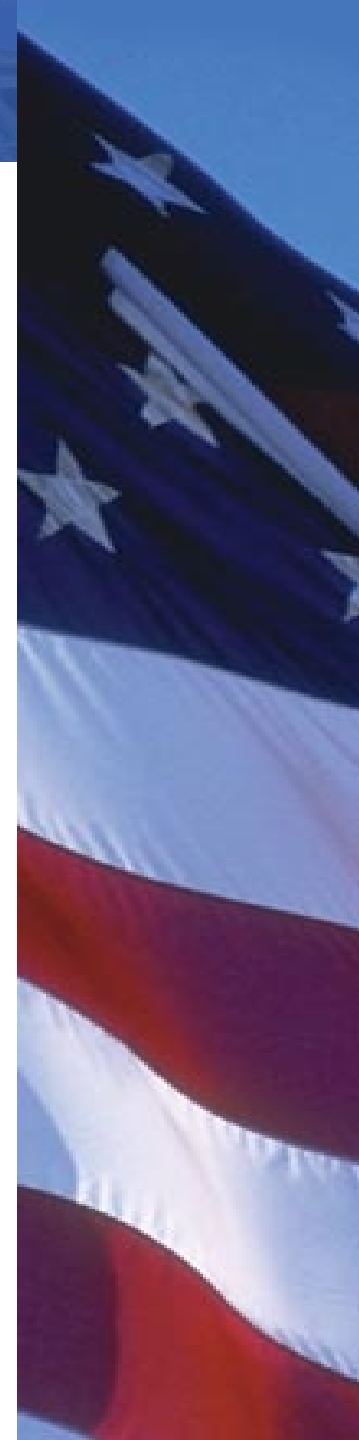


- ❖ Senate: Democrats would need to carry every Clinton state & 11 Trump-won states to win narrowest possible majority in 2018

House Geography Also Favors **GOP**

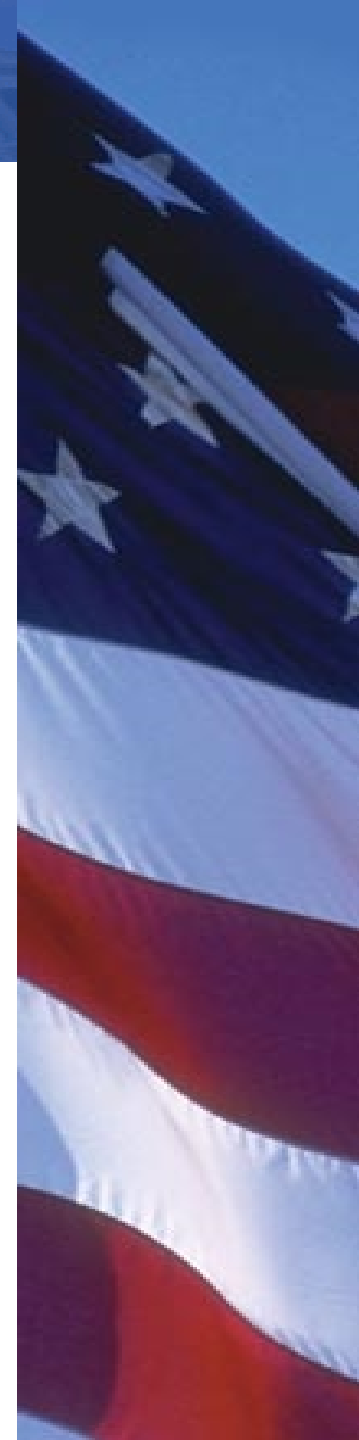
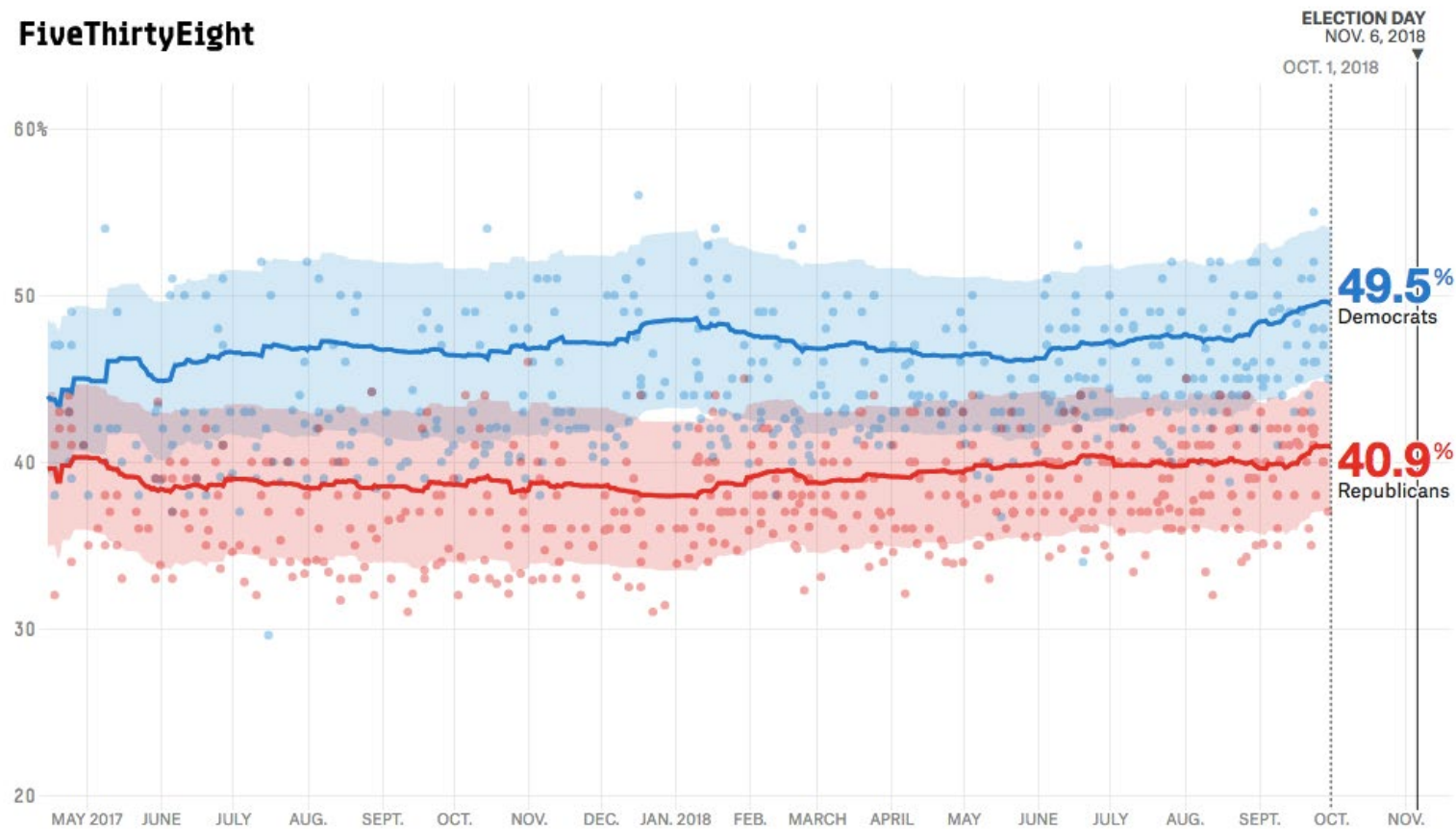


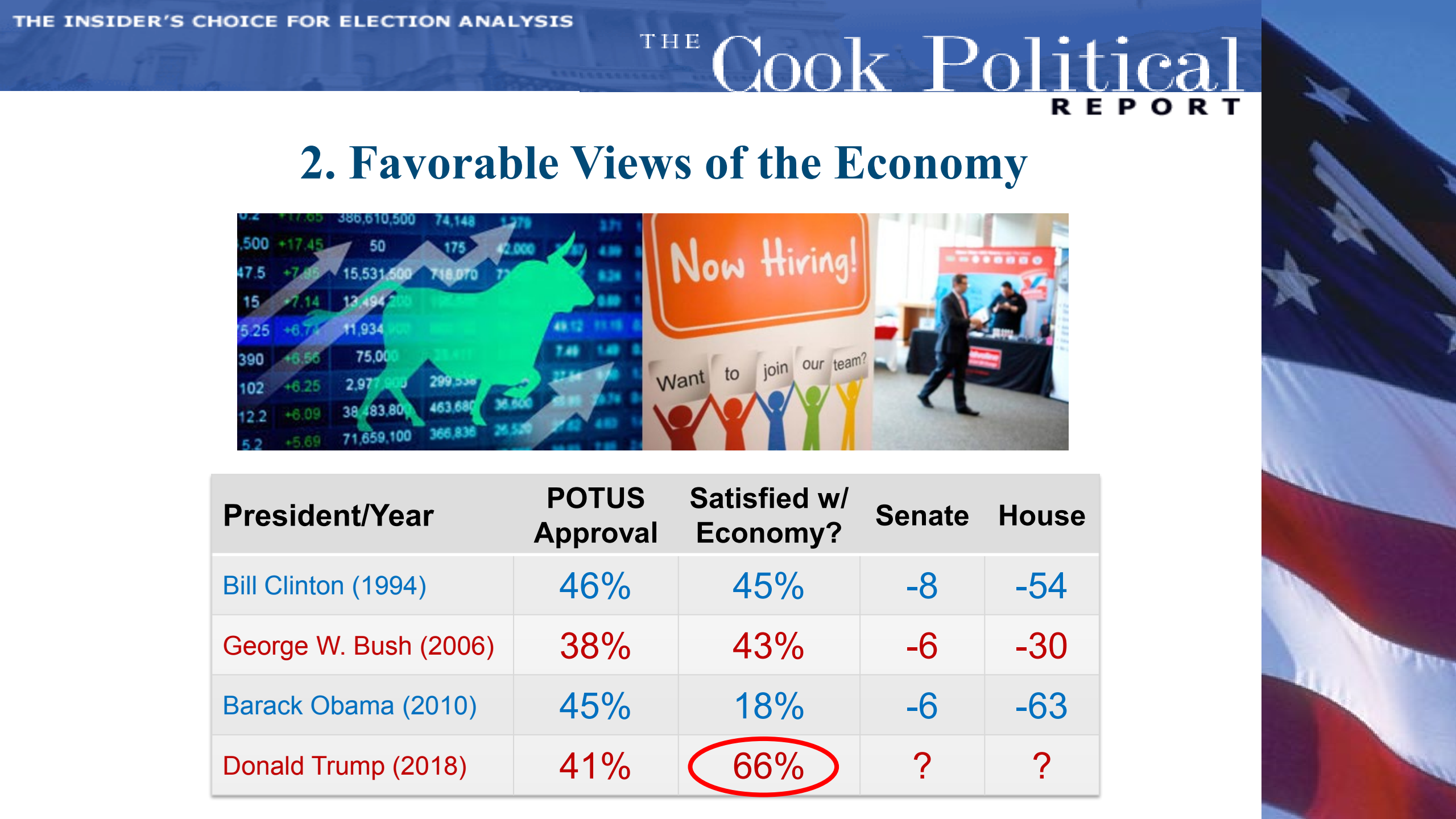
- ❖ House: Democrats need 7-8% more votes than GOP to win narrowest possible majority, thanks to gerrymandering & residential patterns



House: Dems Need 8% More Votes Than GOP for Majority. Today, They're Just a Bit Above.

FiveThirtyEight

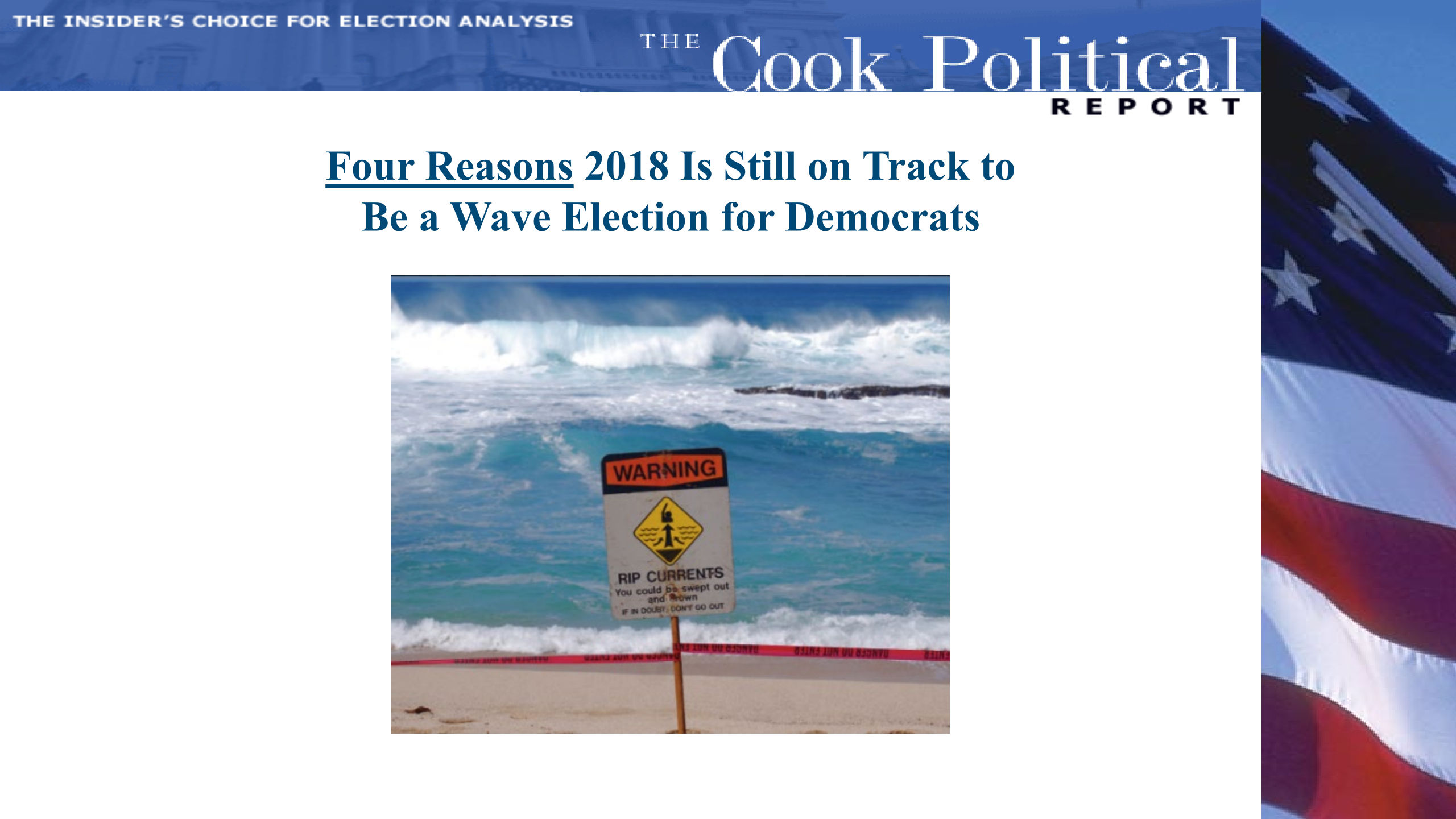




2. Favorable Views of the Economy



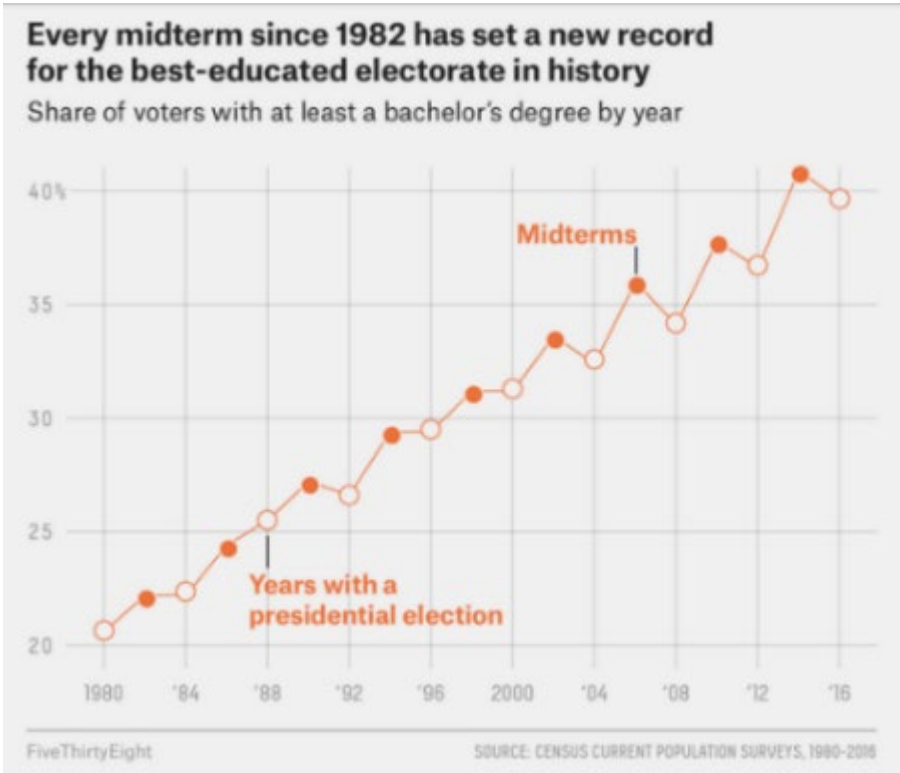
President/Year	POTUS Approval	Satisfied w/ Economy?	Senate	House
Bill Clinton (1994)	46%	45%	-8	-54
George W. Bush (2006)	38%	43%	-6	-30
Barack Obama (2010)	45%	18%	-6	-63
Donald Trump (2018)	41%	66%	?	?



Four Reasons 2018 Is Still on Track to Be a Wave Election for Democrats

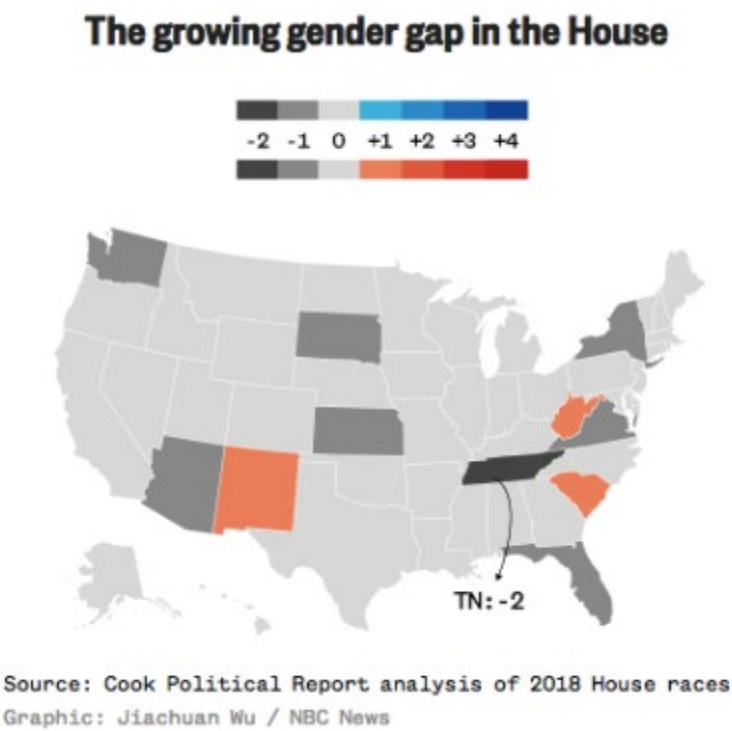


1. Women: 2018 as the “Year of the Fired Up Female College Graduate”



❖ Gender Canyon: 27% of women with a college degree approve of Trump, 70% disapprove. Among men without degrees, 64%/34% (NBC/WSJ).

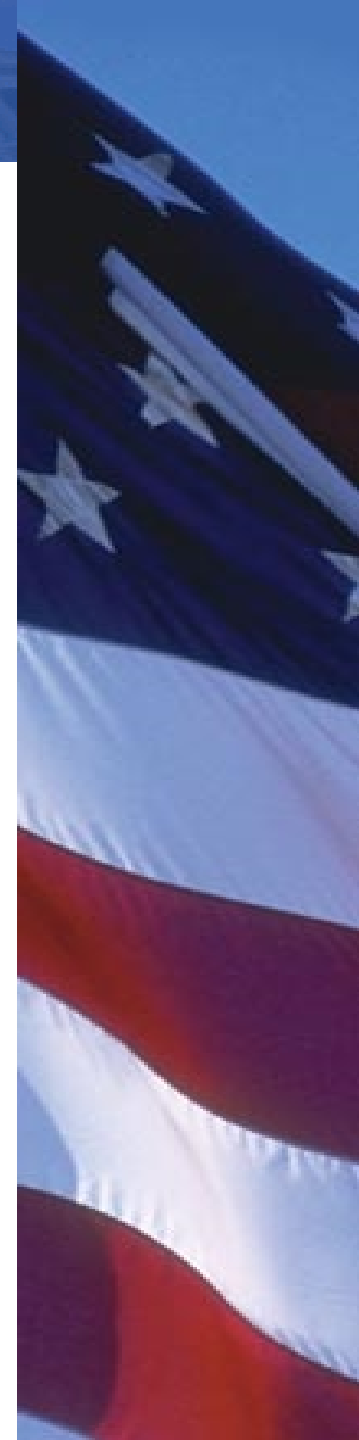
Record-Shattering: 100 Women May Be Elected to the House in November

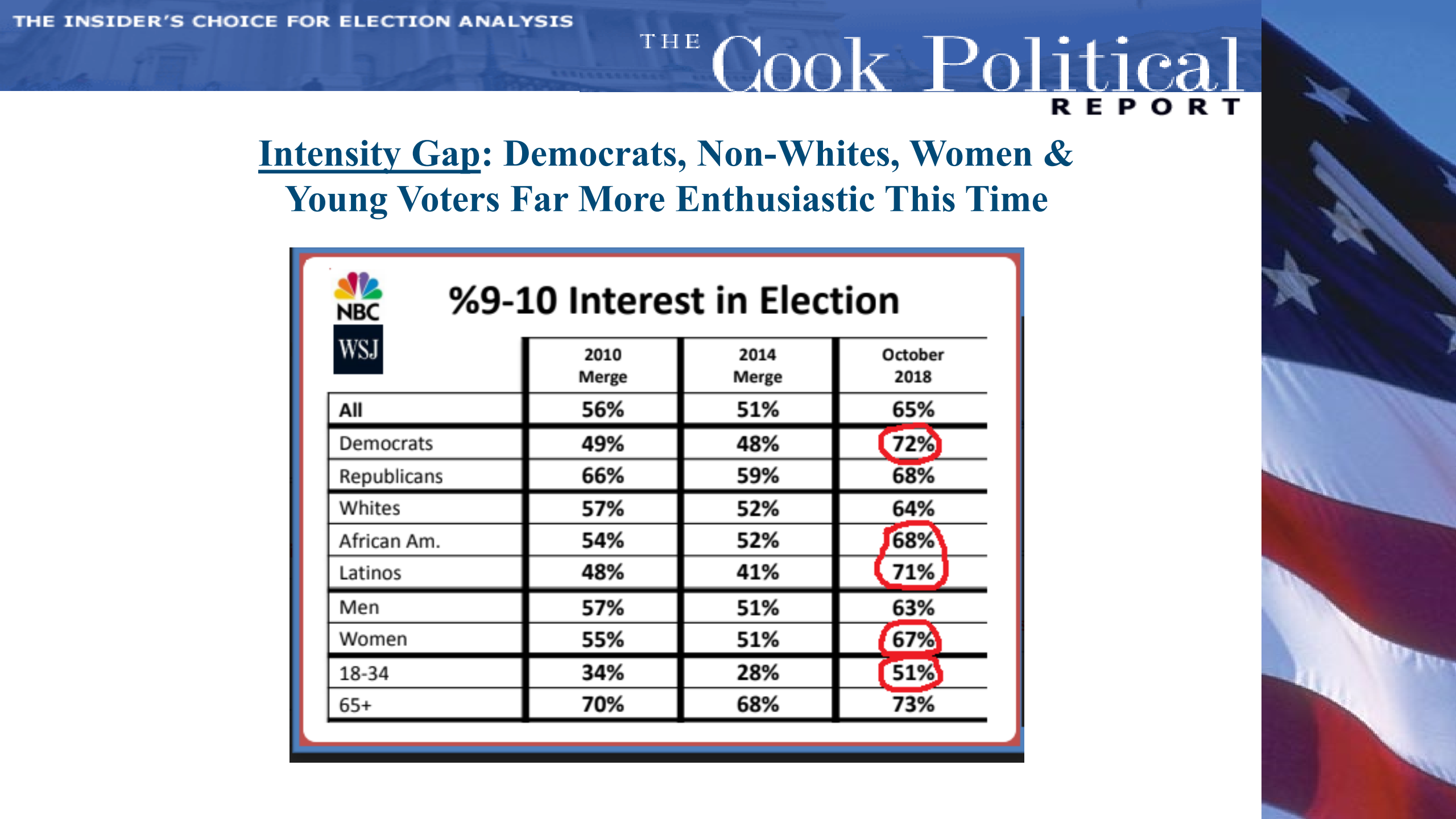


- ❖ Demographic Divide: After November, 87% of House Republicans are likely to be white men, compared to just 37% of House Democrats




2. Republicans Can't Count on Trump's Base to Show Up to Vote in 2018





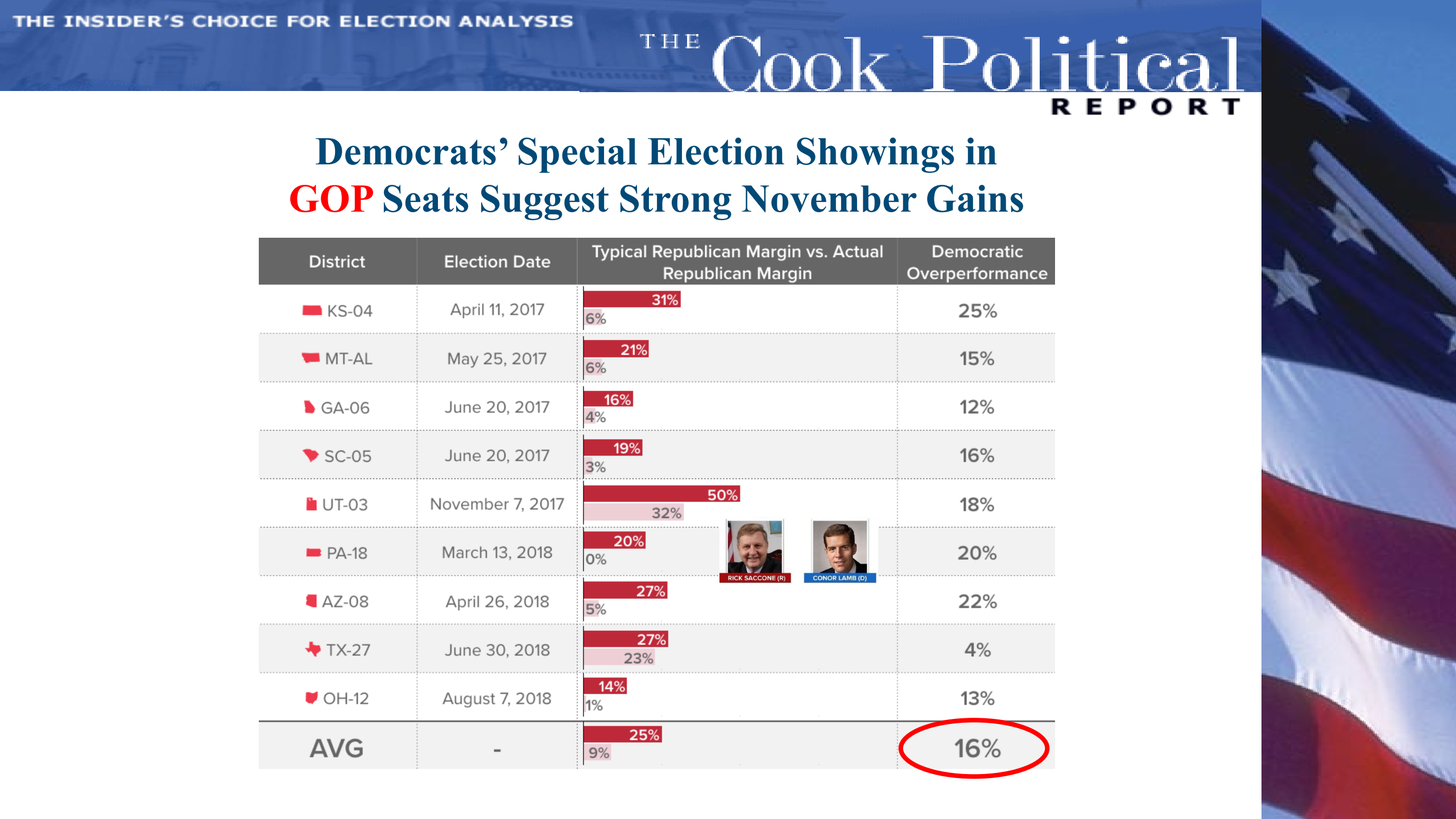
Intensity Gap: Democrats, Non-Whites, Women & Young Voters Far More Enthusiastic This Time

 %9-10 Interest in Election			
	2010 Merge	2014 Merge	October 2018
All	56%	51%	65%
Democrats	49%	48%	72%
Republicans	66%	59%	68%
Whites	57%	52%	64%
African Am.	54%	52%	68%
Latinos	48%	41%	71%
Men	57%	51%	63%
Women	55%	51%	67%
18-34	34%	28%	51%
65+	70%	68%	73%












3. Check and Balance Voters: Red in 2016, Blue in 2018?

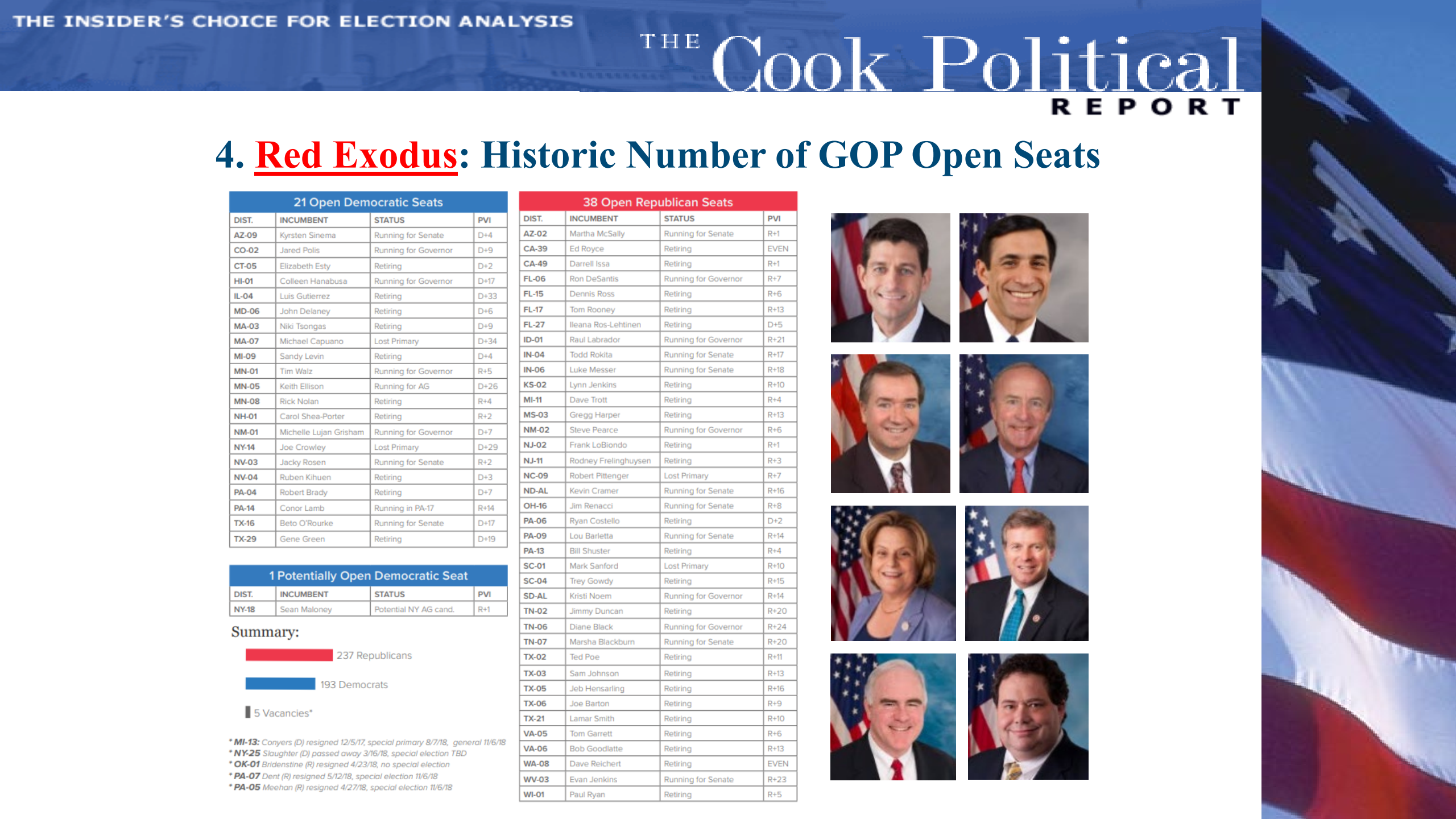
opinion of clinton and trump		
	democrat	republican
both favorable 2%	n/a	n/a
only clinton favorable 41%	93%	6%
only trump favorable 36%	5%	94%
both unfavorable 19%	33%	63%





Democrats' Special Election Showings in **GOP** Seats Suggest Strong November Gains

District	Election Date	Typical Republican Margin vs. Actual Republican Margin	Democratic Overperformance
 KS-04	April 11, 2017	<div><div>31%</div><div>6%</div></div>	25%
 MT-AL	May 25, 2017	<div><div>21%</div><div>6%</div></div>	15%
 GA-06	June 20, 2017	<div><div>16%</div><div>4%</div></div>	12%
 SC-05	June 20, 2017	<div><div>19%</div><div>3%</div></div>	16%
 UT-03	November 7, 2017	<div><div>50%</div><div>32%</div></div>	18%
 PA-18	March 13, 2018	<div><div>20%</div><div>0%</div></div> <div> RICK SACCONNE (R)</div>	<div> CONOR LAMB (D)</div>
 AZ-08	April 26, 2018	<div><div>27%</div><div>5%</div></div>	22%
 TX-27	June 30, 2018	<div><div>27%</div><div>23%</div></div>	4%
 OH-12	August 7, 2018	<div><div>14%</div><div>1%</div></div>	13%
AVG	-	<div><div>25%</div><div>9%</div></div>	16%

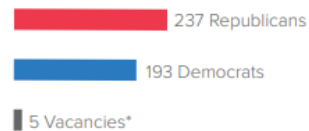


4. Red Exodus: Historic Number of GOP Open Seats

21 Open Democratic Seats			
DIST.	INCUMBENT	STATUS	PVI
AZ-09	Kyrsten Sinema	Running for Senate	D+4
CO-02	Jared Polis	Running for Governor	D+9
CT-05	Elizabeth Esty	Retiring	D+2
HI-01	Colleen Hanabusa	Running for Governor	D+17
IL-04	Luis Gutierrez	Retiring	D+33
MD-06	John Delaney	Retiring	D+6
MA-03	Niki Tsongas	Retiring	D+9
MA-07	Michael Capuano	Lost Primary	D+34
MI-09	Sandy Levin	Retiring	D+4
MN-01	Tim Walz	Running for Governor	R+5
MN-05	Keith Ellison	Running for AG	D+26
MN-08	Rick Nolan	Retiring	R+4
NH-01	Carol Shea-Porter	Retiring	R+2
NM-01	Michelle Lujan Grisham	Running for Governor	D+7
NY-14	Joe Crowley	Lost Primary	D+29
NV-03	Jacky Rosen	Running for Senate	R+2
NV-04	Ruben Kihuen	Retiring	D+3
PA-04	Robert Brady	Retiring	D+7
PA-14	Conor Lamb	Running in PA-17	R+14
TX-16	Beto O'Rourke	Running for Senate	D+17
TX-29	Gene Green	Retiring	D+19

1 Potentially Open Democratic Seat			
DIST.	INCUMBENT	STATUS	PVI
NY-18	Sean Maloney	Potential NY AG cand.	R+1

Summary:



* **MI-13:** Conyers (D) resigned 12/5/17, special primary 8/7/18, general 11/6/18

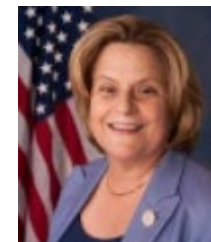
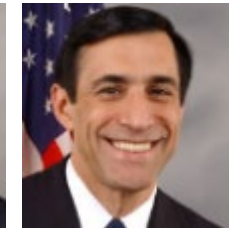
* **NY-25** Slaughter (D) passed away 3/16/18, special election TBD

* **OK-01** Bridenstine (R) resigned 4/23/18, no special election

* **PA-07** Dent (R) resigned 5/12/18, special election 11/6/18

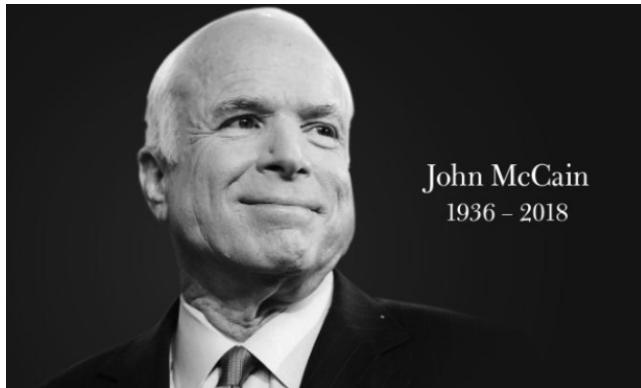
* **PA-05** Meehan (R) resigned 4/27/18, special election 11/6/18

38 Open Republican Seats			
DIST.	INCUMBENT	STATUS	PVI
AZ-02	Martha McSally	Running for Senate	R+1
CA-39	Ed Royce	Retiring	EVEN
CA-49	Darrell Issa	Retiring	R+1
FL-06	Ron DeSantis	Running for Governor	R+7
FL-15	Dennis Ross	Retiring	R+6
FL-17	Tom Rooney	Retiring	R+13
FL-27	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	Retiring	D+5
ID-01	Raul Labrador	Running for Governor	R+21
IN-04	Todd Rokita	Running for Senate	R+17
IN-06	Luke Messer	Running for Senate	R+18
KS-02	Lynn Jenkins	Retiring	R+10
MI-11	Dave Trott	Retiring	R+4
MS-03	Gregg Harper	Retiring	R+13
NM-02	Steve Pearce	Running for Governor	R+6
NJ-02	Frank LoBiondo	Retiring	R+1
NJ-11	Rodney Frelinghuysen	Retiring	R+3
NC-09	Robert Pittenger	Lost Primary	R+7
ND-AL	Kevin Cramer	Running for Senate	R+16
OH-16	Jim Renacci	Running for Senate	R+8
PA-06	Ryan Costello	Retiring	D+2
PA-09	Lou Barletta	Running for Senate	R+14
PA-13	Bill Shuster	Retiring	R+4
SC-01	Mark Sanford	Lost Primary	R+10
SC-04	Trey Gowdy	Retiring	R+15
SD-AL	Kristi Noem	Running for Governor	R+14
TN-02	Jimmy Duncan	Retiring	R+20
TN-06	Diane Black	Running for Governor	R+24
TN-07	Marsha Blackburn	Running for Senate	R+20
TX-02	Ted Poe	Retiring	R+11
TX-03	Sam Johnson	Retiring	R+13
TX-05	Jeb Hensarling	Retiring	R+16
TX-06	Joe Barton	Retiring	R+9
TX-21	Lamar Smith	Retiring	R+10
VA-05	Tom Garrett	Retiring	R+6
VA-06	Bob Goodlatte	Retiring	R+13
WA-08	Dave Reichert	Retiring	EVEN
WV-03	Evan Jenkins	Running for Senate	R+23
WI-01	Paul Ryan	Retiring	R+5

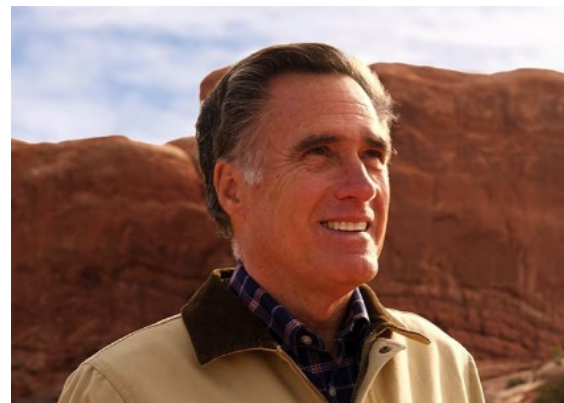




Red Exodus: Out with Trump Skeptics...



And in with Trump Loyalists (Mostly)...



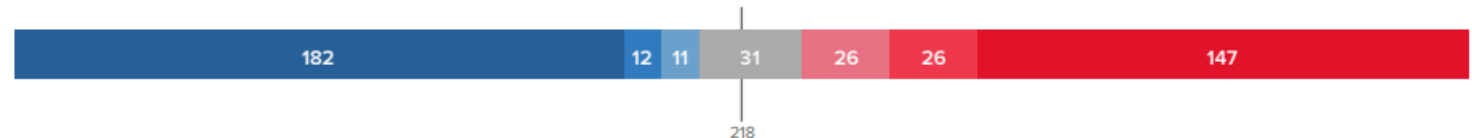


House: Dems Still the Favorites to Win Majority



House: Race Ratings

September 27, 2018



LIKELY DEMOCRATIC	LEAN DEMOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC TOSS UP	REPUBLICAN TOSS UP	LEAN REPUBLICAN	LIKELY REPUBLICAN
AZ-01 O'Halleran CA-07 Bera CA-16 Costa FL-07 Murphy MN-07 Peterson NH-01 OPEN (Shea-Porter) NJ-02 OPEN (LoBiondo) NJ-05 Gottheimer NV-04 OPEN (Kihuen) PA-05 VACANT (Meehan) PA-06 OPEN (Costello) PA-08 Cartwright	AZ-02 OPEN (McSally) CA-49 OPEN (Issa) CO-06 Coffman IA-01 Blum MN-02 Lewis MN-03 Paulsen NJ-11 OPEN (Frelinghuysen) NV-03 OPEN (Rosen) PA-07 VACANT (Dent) PA-17 Rothfus VA-10 Comstock	MN-01 (OPEN) Walz MN-08 (OPEN) Nolan	CA-10 Denham CA-25 Knight CA-39 OPEN (Royce) CA-45 Walters CA-48 Rohrabacher FL-27 OPEN (Ros-Lehtinen) IA-03 Young IL-06 Roskam IL-12 Bost KS-02 OPEN (Jenkins) KS-03 Yoder KY-06 Barr ME-02 Poliquin MI-08 Bishop MI-11 OPEN (Trott) NC-09 OPEN (Pittenger) NC-13 Budd NM-02 OPEN (Pearce) NJ-03 MacArthur NJ-07 Lance NY-19 Faso NY-22 Tenney OH-01 Chabot PA-01 Fitzpatrick TX-07 Culberson TX-32 Sessions VA-02 Taylor VA-07 Brat WA-08 OPEN (Reichert)	AR-02 Hill CA-50 Hunter FL-15 OPEN (Ross) FL-16 Buchanan FL-26 Curbelo GA-06 Handel GA-07 Woodall IL-13 Davis IL-14 Hultgren MO-02 Wagner MT-AL Gianforte NC-02 Holding NE-02 Bacon NY-27 Collins OH-12 Balderson PA-10 Perry PA-16 Kelly SC-01 OPEN (Sanford) TX-23 Hurd TX-31 Carter UT-04 Love VA-05 OPEN (Garrett) WA-03 Herrera Beutler WA-05 McMorris Rodgers WI-01 OPEN (Ryan) WV-03 OPEN (Jenkins)	AK-AL Young AZ-06 Schweikert CA-04 McClintock CA-21 Valadao CO-03 Tipton FL-06 OPEN (DeSantis) FL-18 Mast FL-25 Diaz-Balart IA-04 King IN-02 Walorski MI-01 Bergman MI-06 Upton MI-07 Walberg NC-08 Hudson NY-01 Zeldin NY-02 King NY-11 Donovan NY-24 Katko OH-10 Turner OH-14 Joyce PA-14 OPEN (Lamb) TX-02 OPEN (Poe) TX-21 OPEN (Smith) TX-22 Olson TX-24 Marchant WI-06 Grothman





House: Ryan Lacked the Desire to Stay. But Will Pelosi Have the Votes?



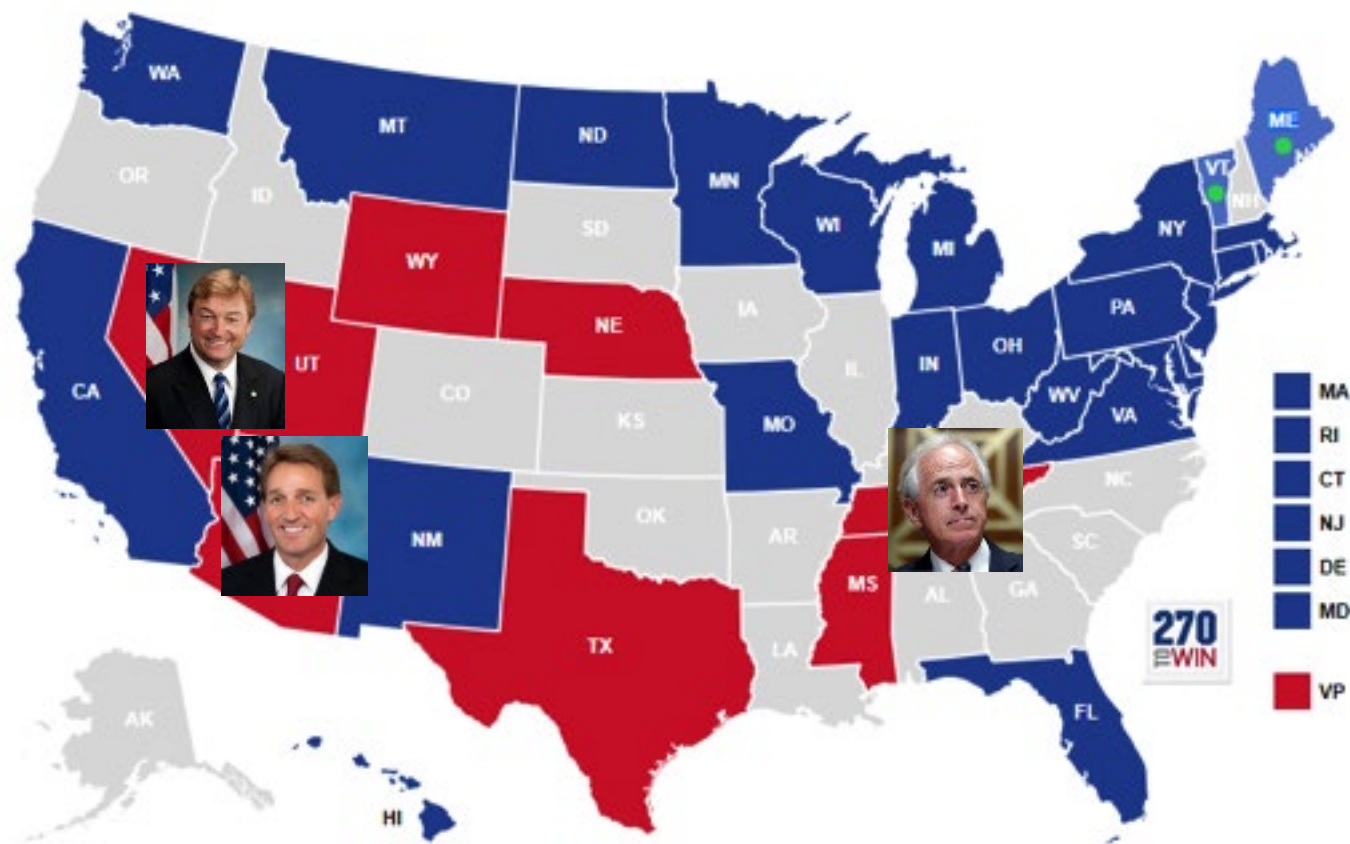
- ❖ Democratic candidates:
Heavy on women, military veterans & Obama officials - not political officeholders.

Senate: Heavily Rural, Lopsided
Battleground = **Dems** on Defense



- ❖ Lopsided: 26 Democratic seats up in 2018, but just 9 for **Republicans**

Senate: Only 2 **GOP** Seats at Serious Risk, But 2 Potential Upsets



- ❖ Lopsided: 26 Democratic seats up in 2018, but just 9 for **Republicans**



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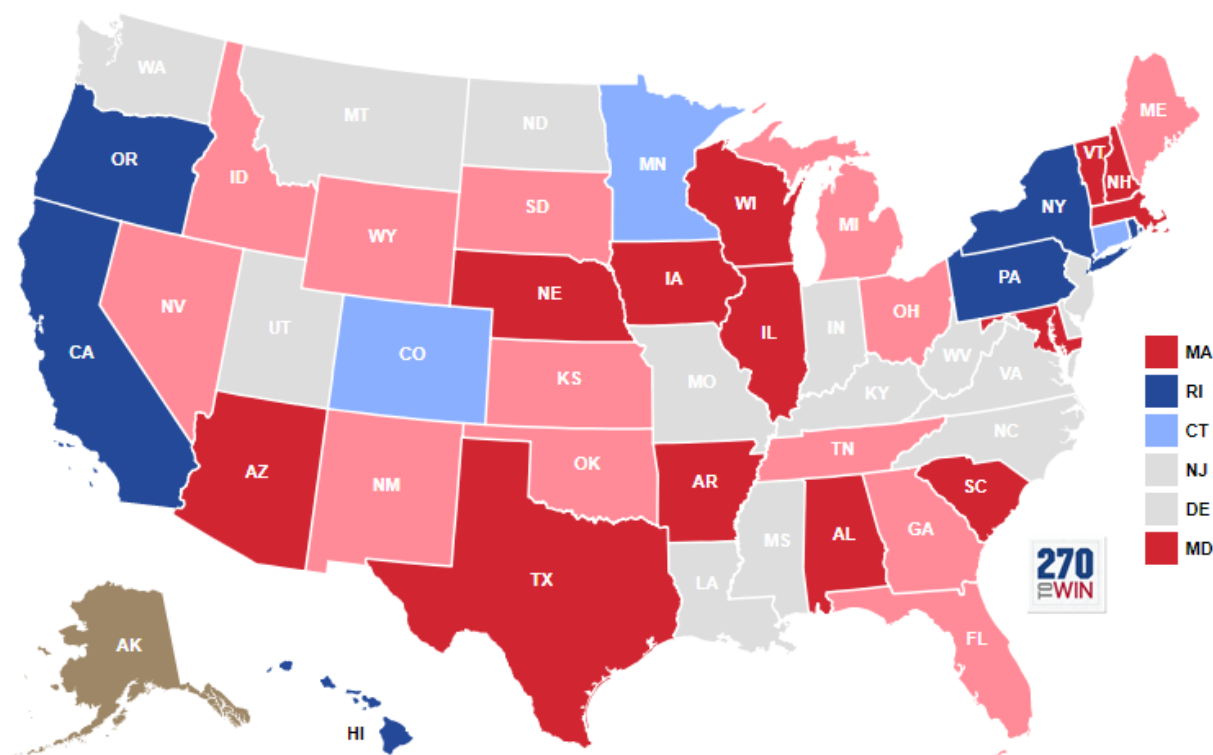
THE Cook Political REPORT

**BETO
VS.
CRUZ**

THE FIGHT FOR 2018

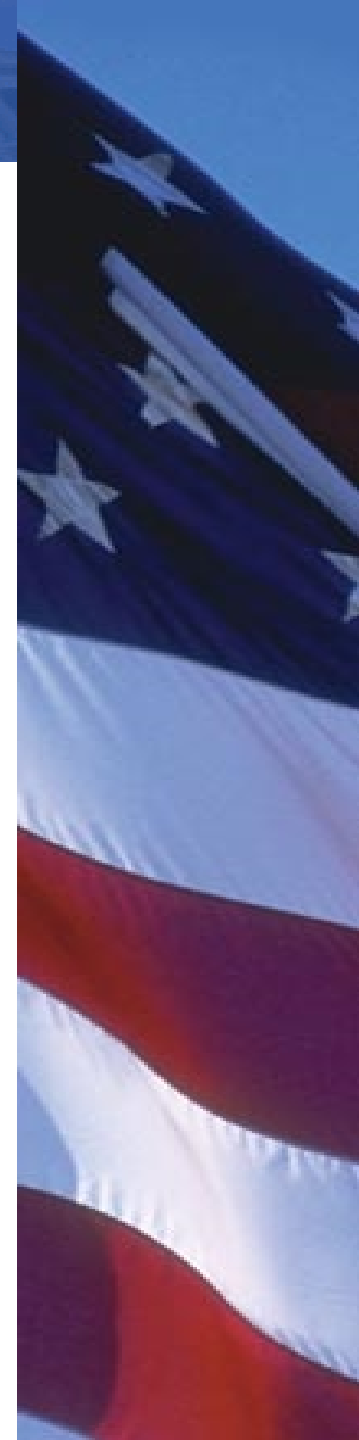
*A documentary in two parts.
Now in production.*

Governors: **Dems** Poised to Gain 6-8 Seats, Critical to 2020 Redistricting



- ❖ **Lopsided Map Points to Dem Gains:** 9 Democratic seats up (4 Open), 26 Republicans (15 Open), 1 Independent (Alaska)

Democrats/2020: Expect the Unexpected



Questions...

