

THE INSIDER'S CHOICE FOR ELECTION ANALYSIS

THE Cook Political REPORT

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

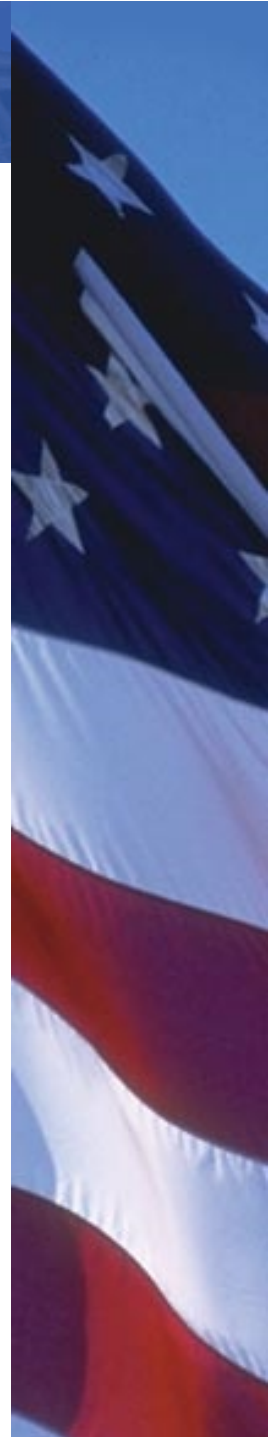


David Wasserman, U.S. House Editor, The Cook Political Report
Association of Metropolitan Water Agencies
March 19, 2018

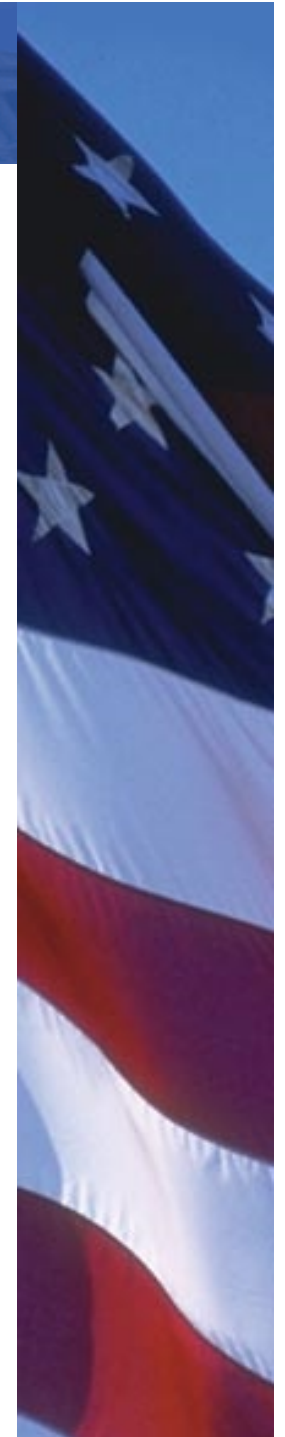
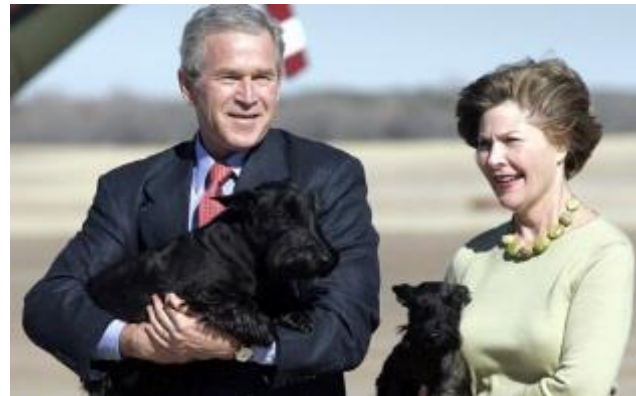
Email: dwasserman@cookpolitical.com

Web: <http://www.cookpolitical.com> Twitter: @Redistrict

The opinions presented are those of the presenter only.



A Brief History of Presidential Pets

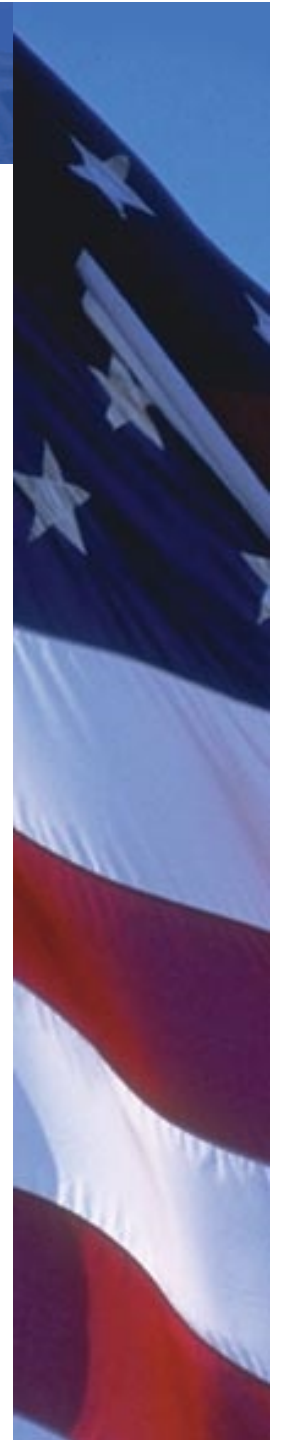
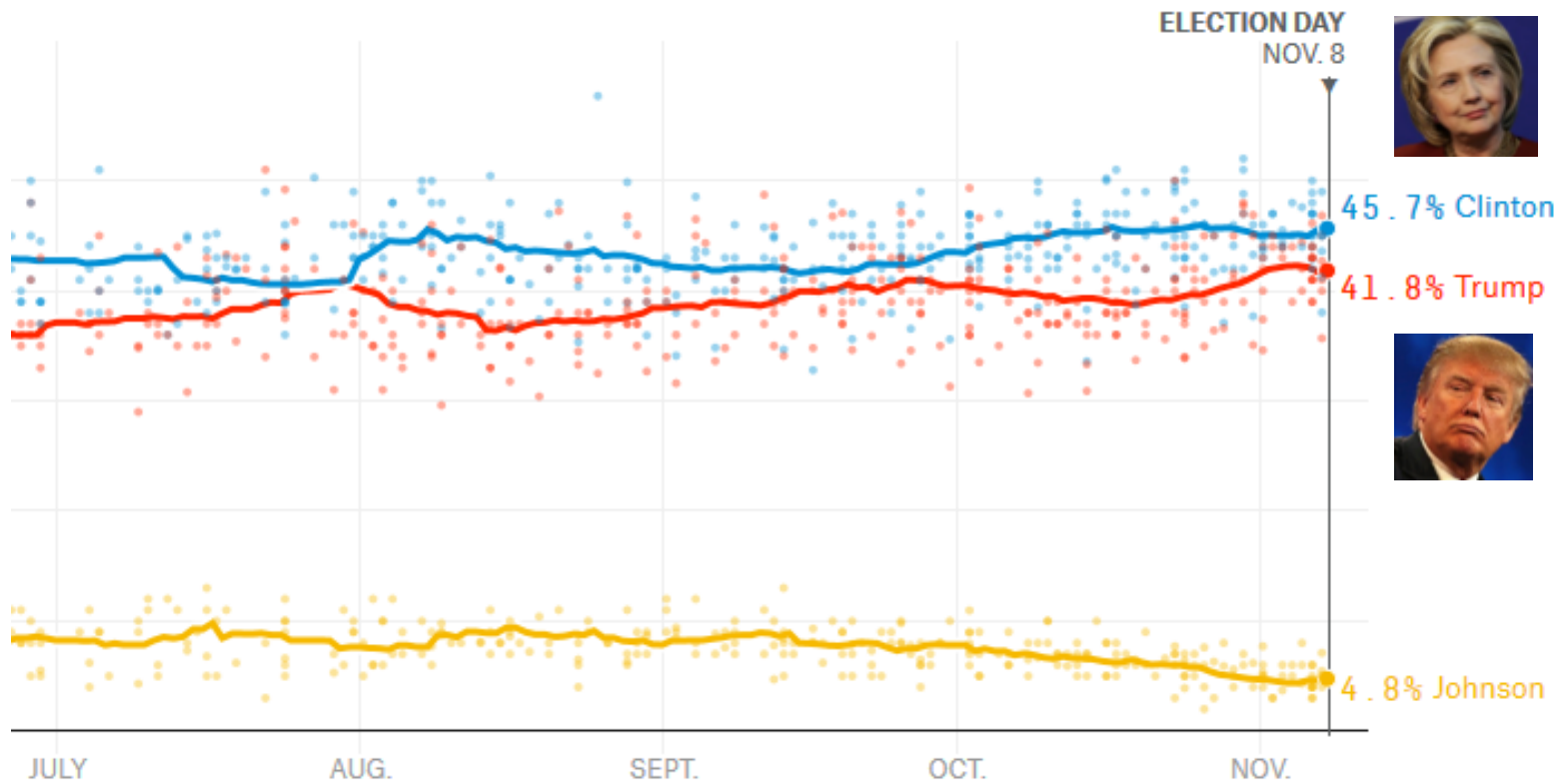


THE INSIDER'S CHOICE FOR ELECTION ANALYSIS

THE Cook Political REPORT



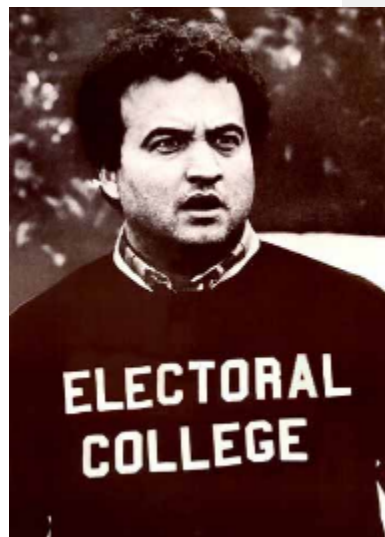
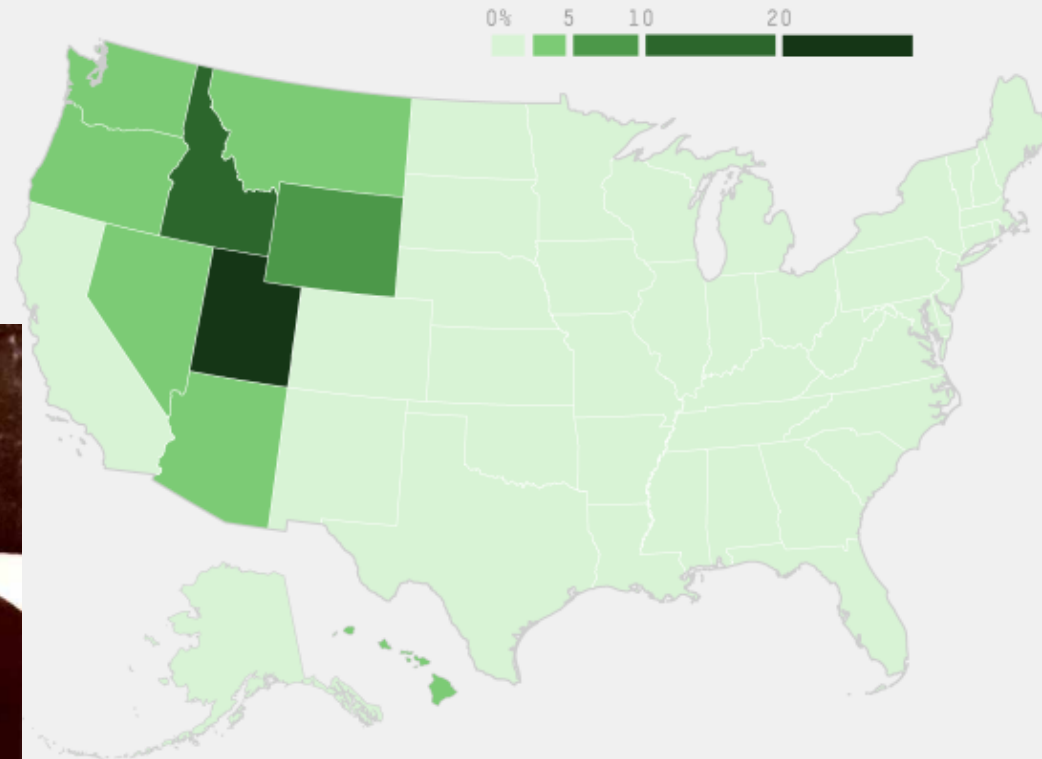
How Did the Polls Get It So Wrong?



Democrats' Enormous Geography Problem

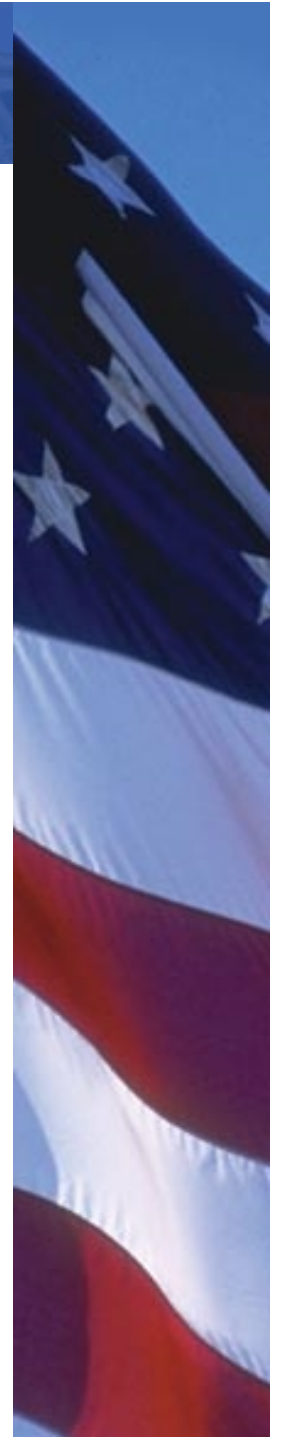
Mormon exodus from GOP may not shift states

Share of adults identifying as Mormon by state, 2014

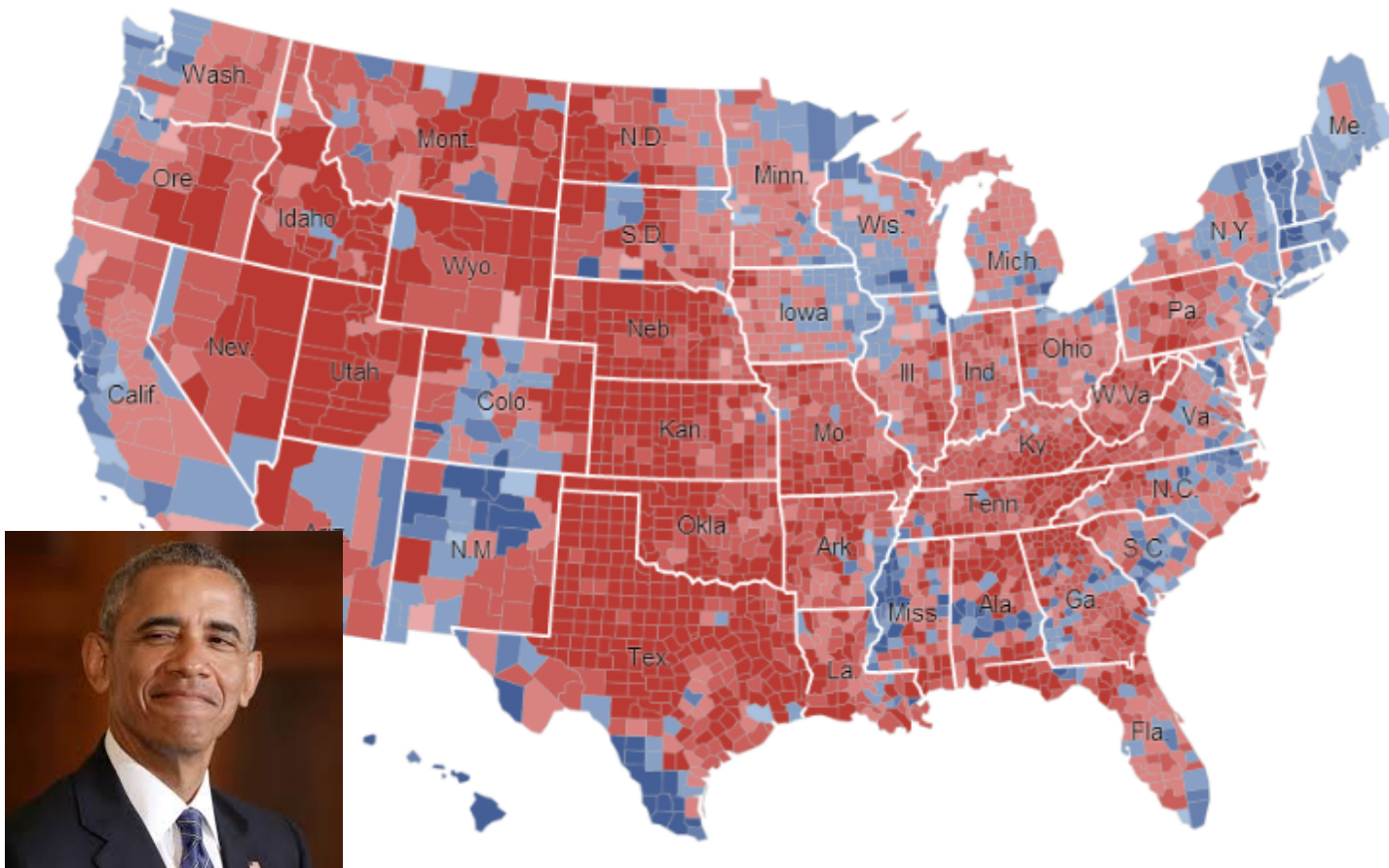


FIVETHIRTYEIGHT

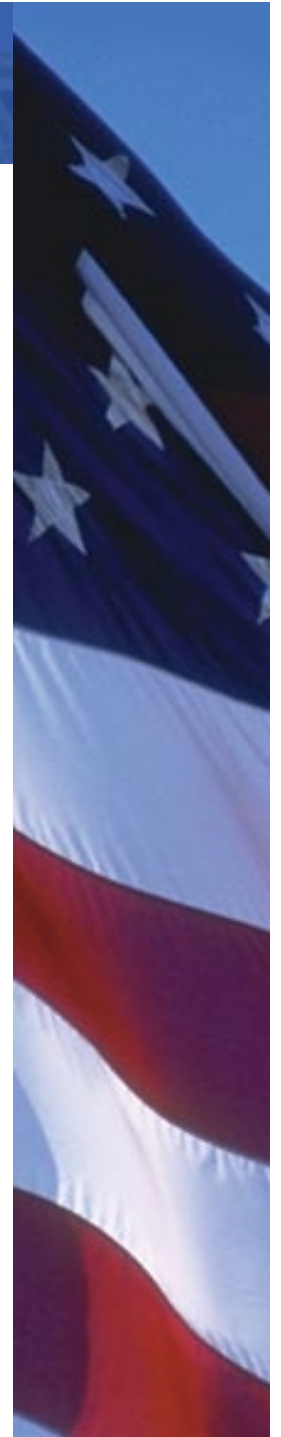
SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER



2012: 3 of 3,141 Counties Reelected Obama



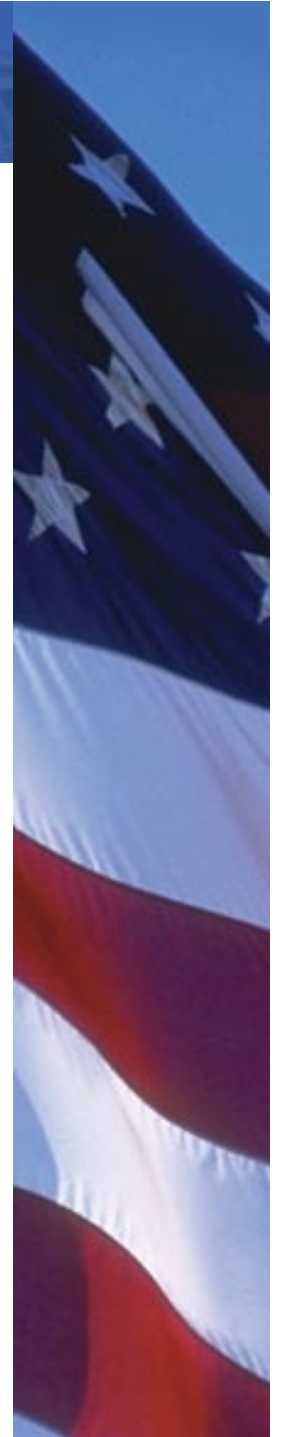
- ❖ Obama lost 78% of America's 3,143 counties, but won reelection thanks to Miami-Dade, FL; Cuyahoga, OH & Philadelphia, PA.



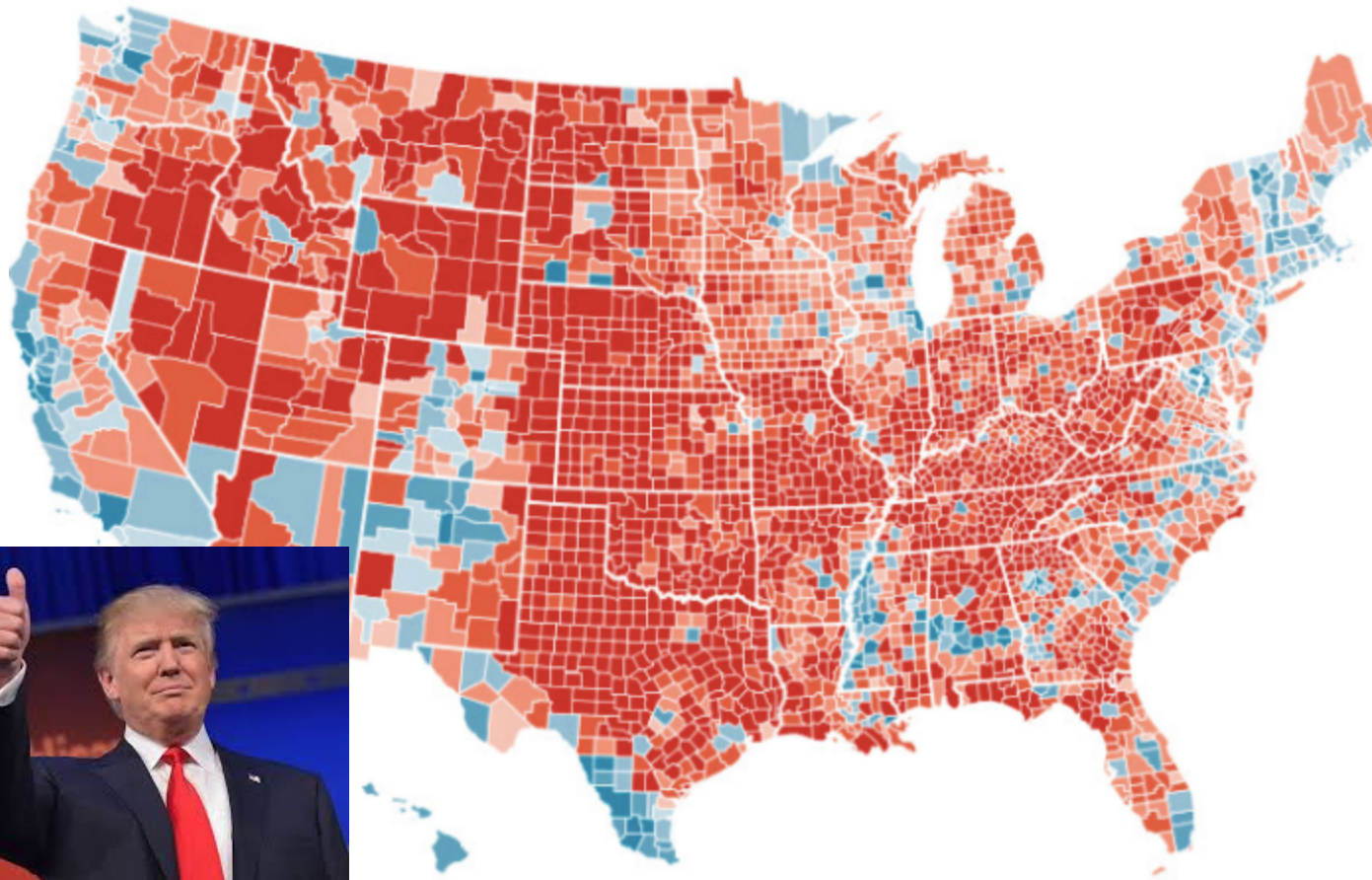
So in 2016... **Democrats Ceded Rural America**



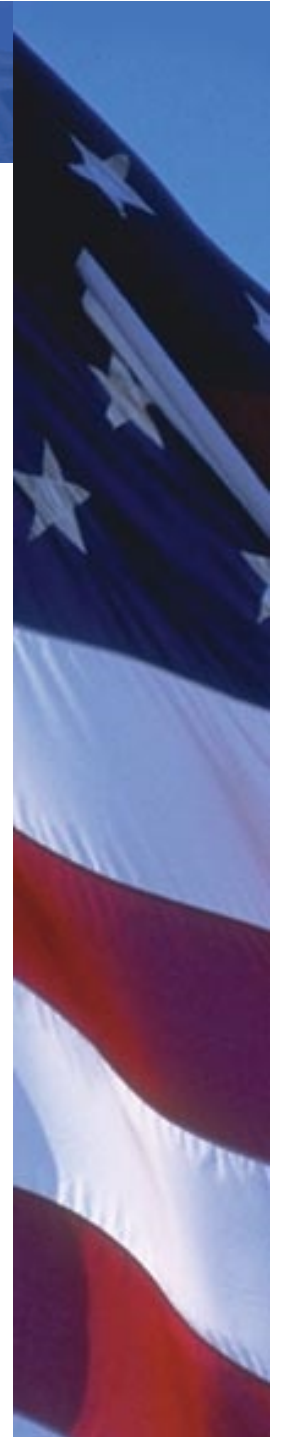
- ❖ The Clinton campaign spent \$3 million more on ads in Phoenix & Atlanta than it spent in Michigan & Wisconsin combined.



2016: 3 of 3,141 Counties Elected Trump



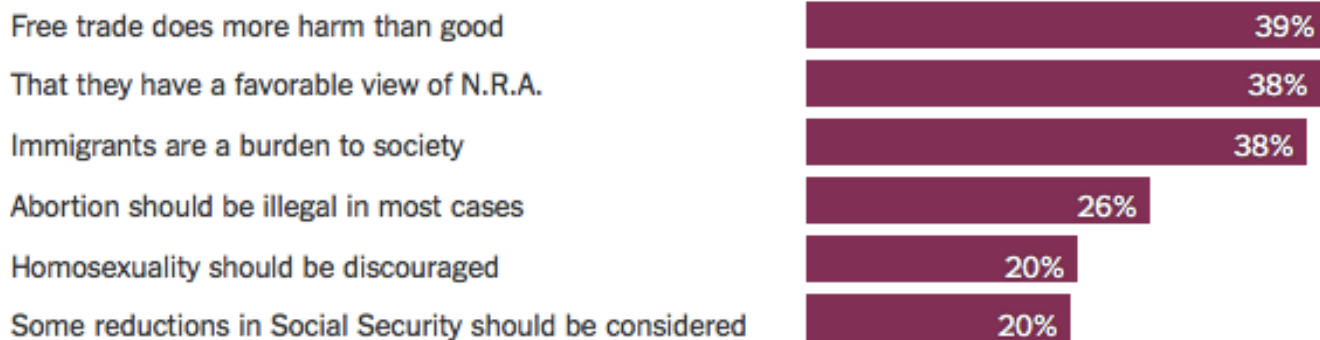
- ❖ Trump lost the popular vote by 2.9 million votes, but won the Electoral College thanks to Macomb, MI; Westmoreland, PA & Waukesha, WI.



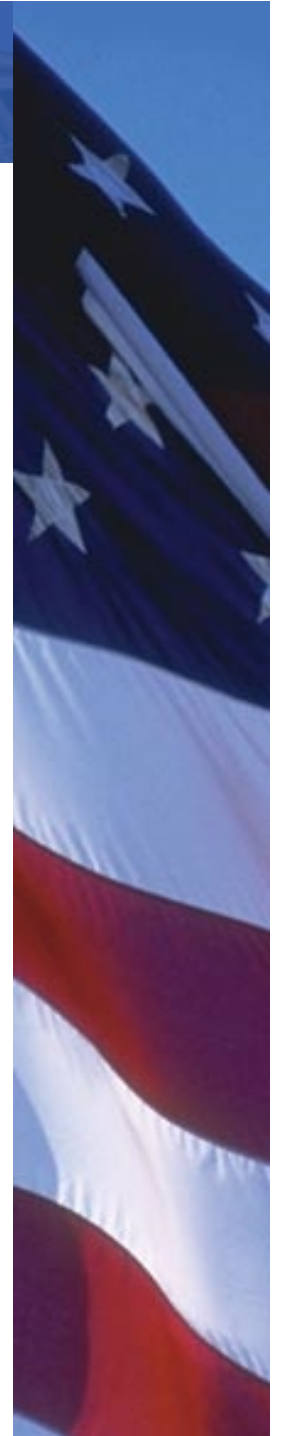
How Trump Cracked the Code with Working-Class Democrats



Percentage of white Democrats without a college degree who say ...



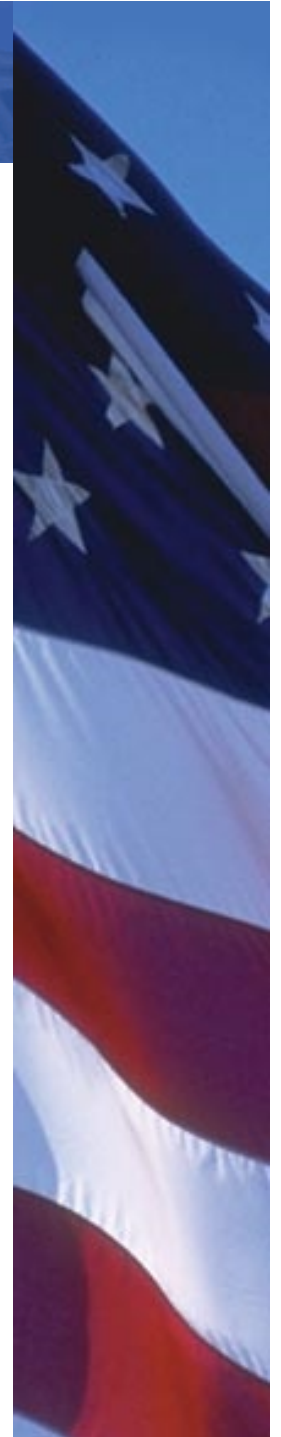
Source: Upshot analysis of Pew Research 2014 polarization dataset.



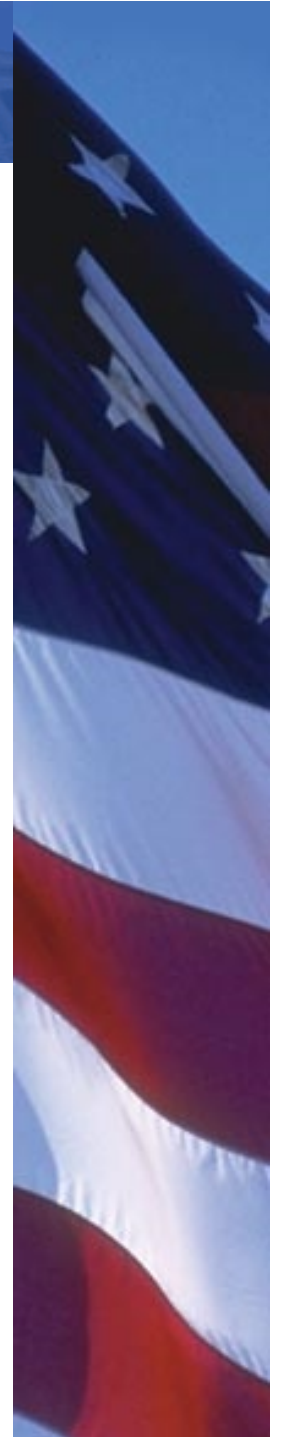
This Iowa County Swung 41% from Obama to Trump



- ❖ **Howard County, IA**: Only place in America to vote by 20% for both Obama & Trump. 13% hold college degrees, median income \$49,568.



I. Long Term Trends



Lifestyle Realignment of the Electorate

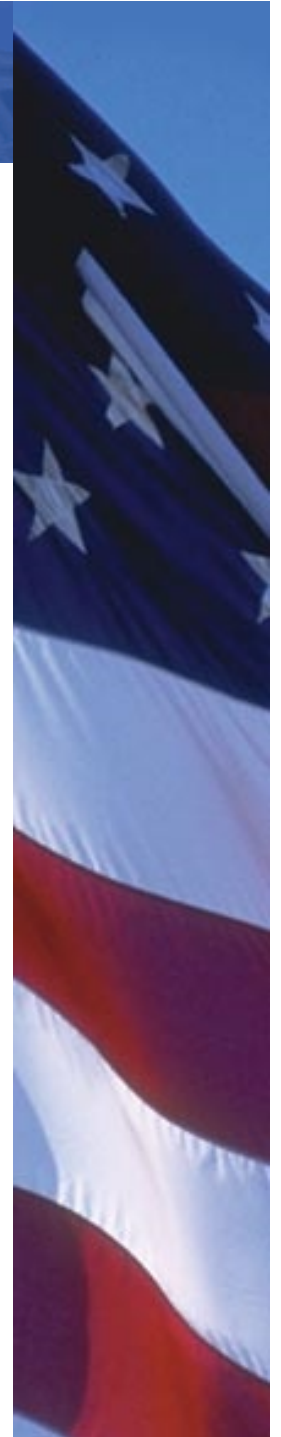


Lebanon, TN →









← *Austin, TX*

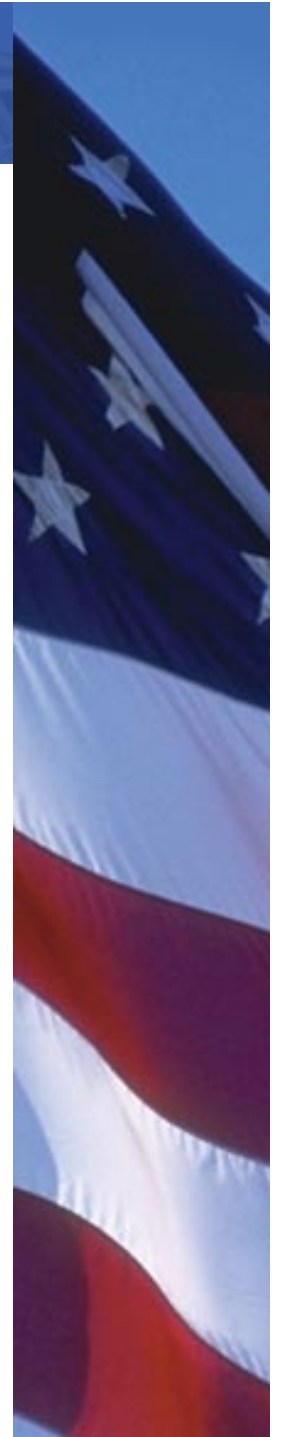


- ❖ In 2012, Obama won 75% of counties with a Whole Foods, and just 29% of counties with a Cracker Barrel




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%

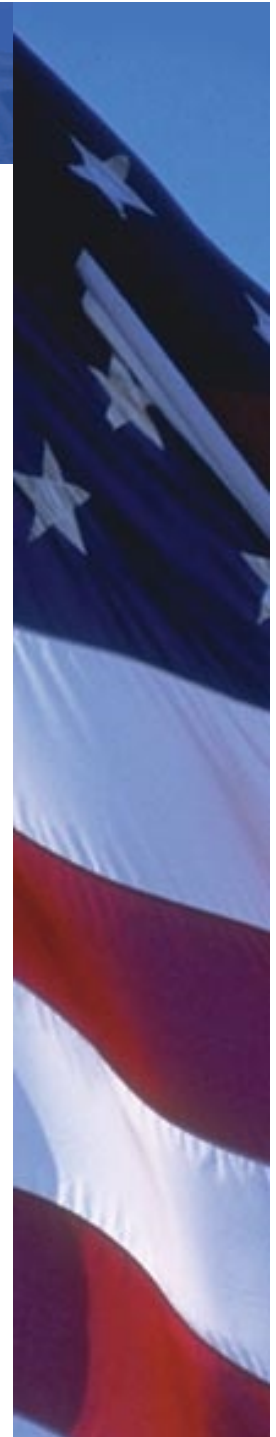


Election 2016? Dangerously Polarized

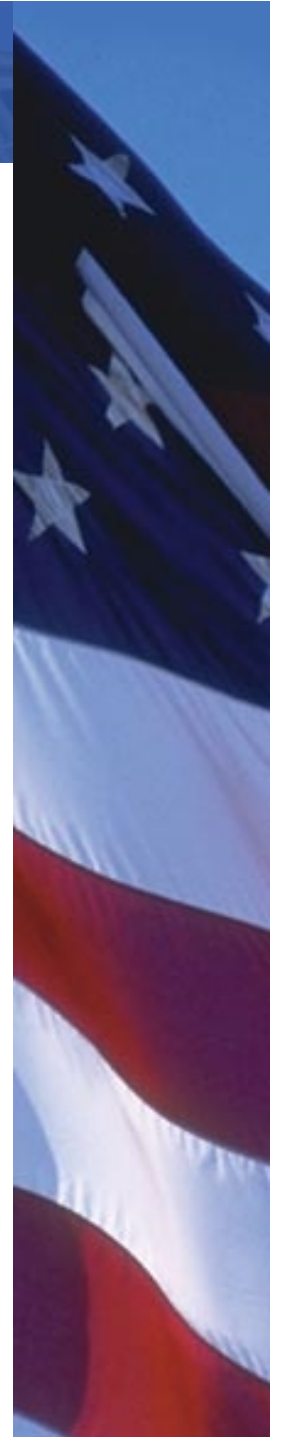
Election Year	Election Winner	Whole Foods Counties	Cracker Barrel Counties	Culture Gap
2016	 Trump (R)	22%	76%	54%



- ❖ Whole Foods/Cracker Barrel gap was widest ever.
- ❖ Two Americas on brink of being culturally irreconcilable.



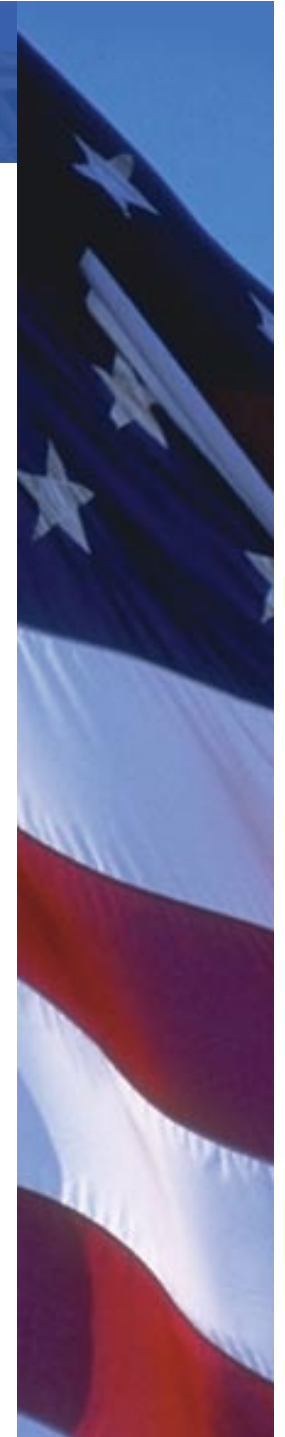
II. Where Are We Going?



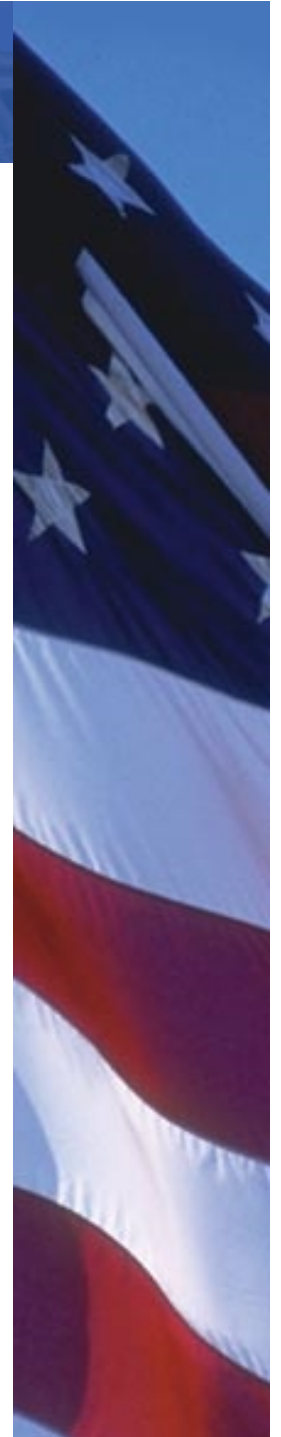
THE INSIDER'S CHOICE FOR ELECTION ANALYSIS

THE Cook Political REPORT

The Distracted Boyfriend

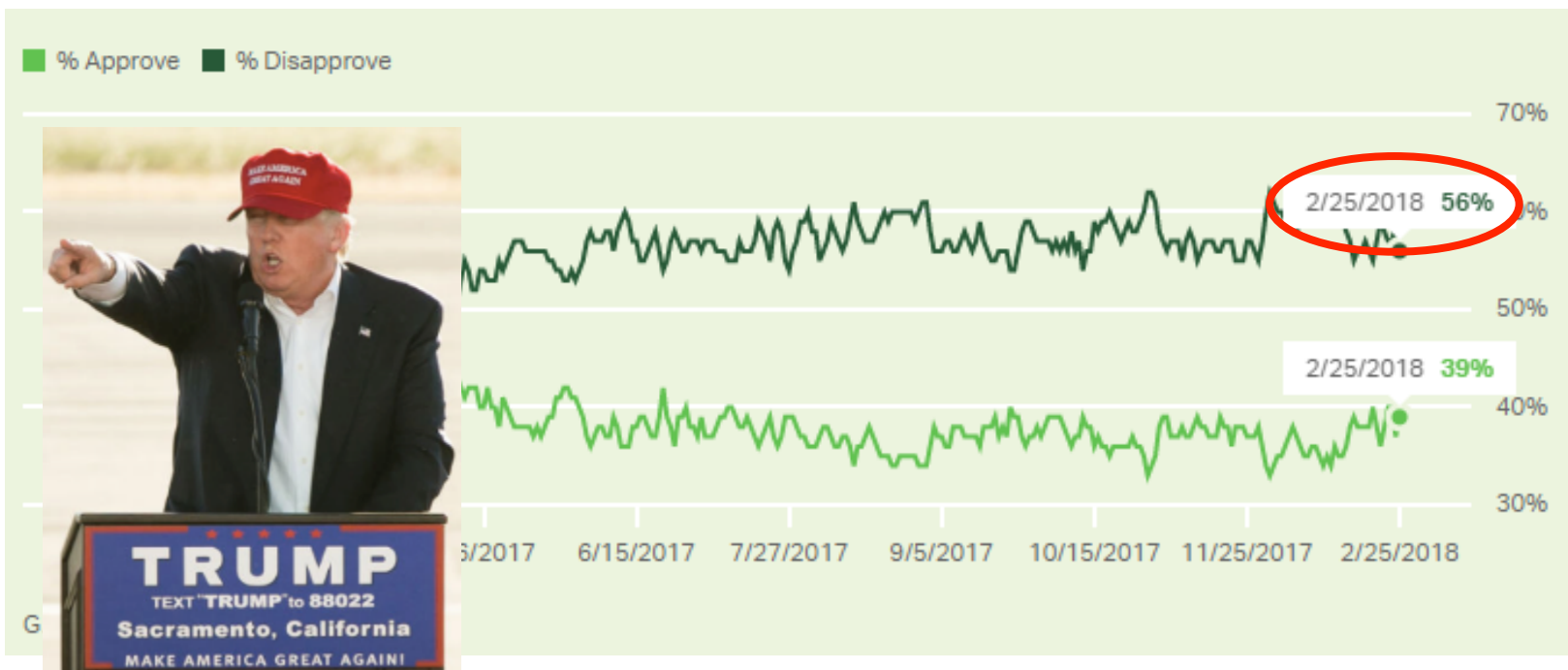


The Party-less President?



- ❖ **September:** Trump snubbed GOP leaders, sided with Schumer/Pelosi on debt limit/Harvey aid. But otherwise, catering to the 46% who elected him.

One Year In, He's Failed to Expand His Appeal Beyond His Own Base



❖ **Exit Polls:** 61% of voters said he wasn't qualified & 63% said he lacked temperament to be POTUS. **Jan. 2018:** 57% still said he was unfit (Quinnipiac).

Playing Without a Full Team on the Field



PARTNERSHIP FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

Of 633 key positions requiring Senate confirmation ...

241

Confirmed

143

Formally nominated

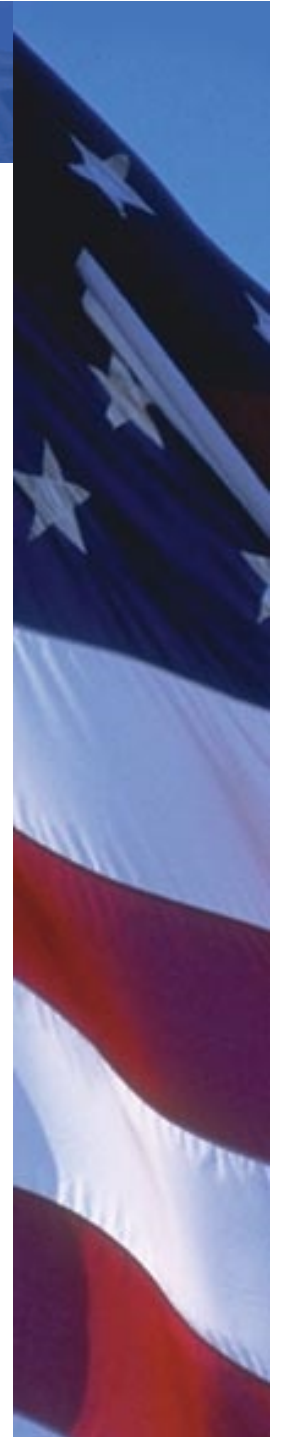
5

Awaiting nomination

244

No nominee

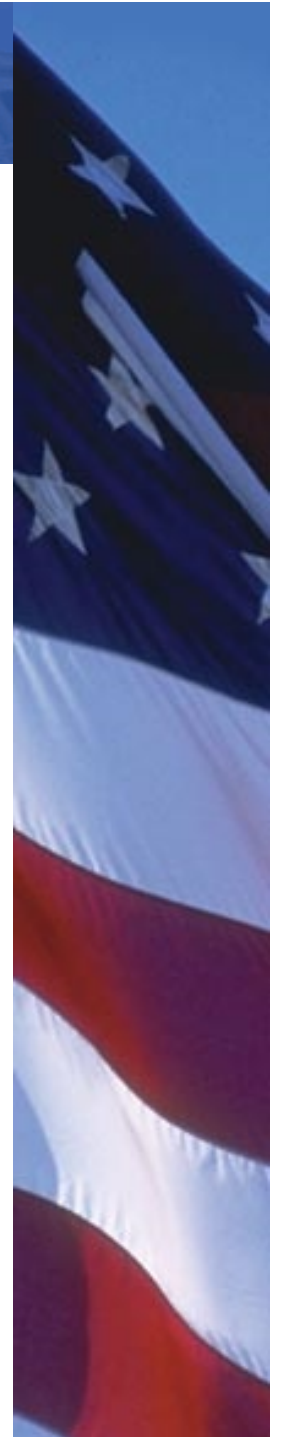
Five Reasons 2018 is Shaping Up to Be a Great Democratic Year



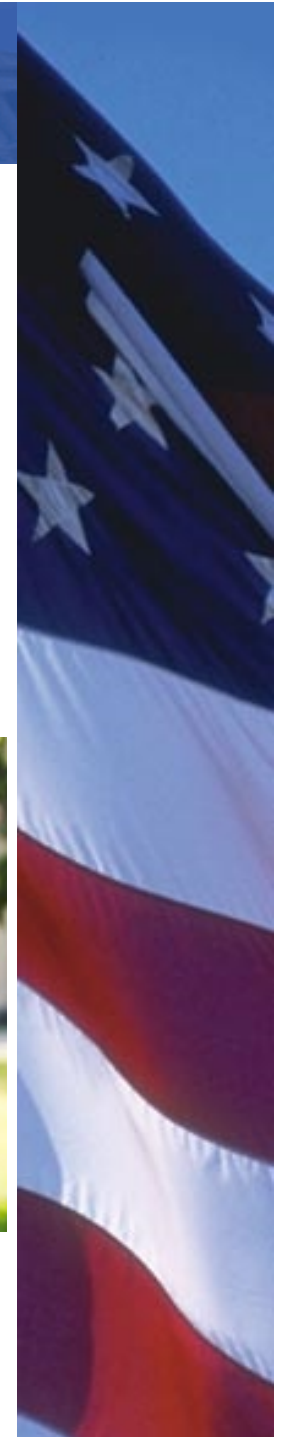
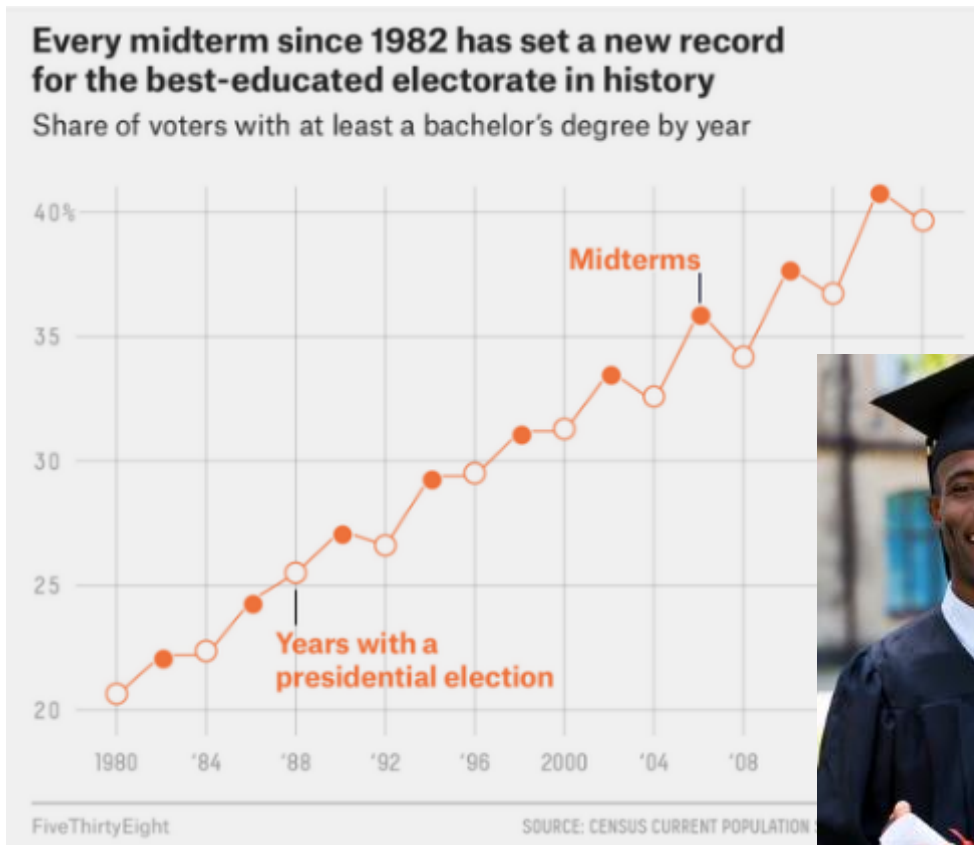
1. History: First Terms = Bad Midterms



President/Year	Gallup Approval	Senate	House
Bill Clinton (1994)	46%	-8	-54
George W. Bush (2002)	63%	+1	+8
Barack Obama (2010)	45%	-6	-63
Donald Trump (2018)	39%	??	??

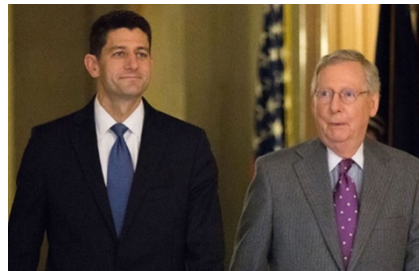


2. Demographics: Diplomas Favor Dems

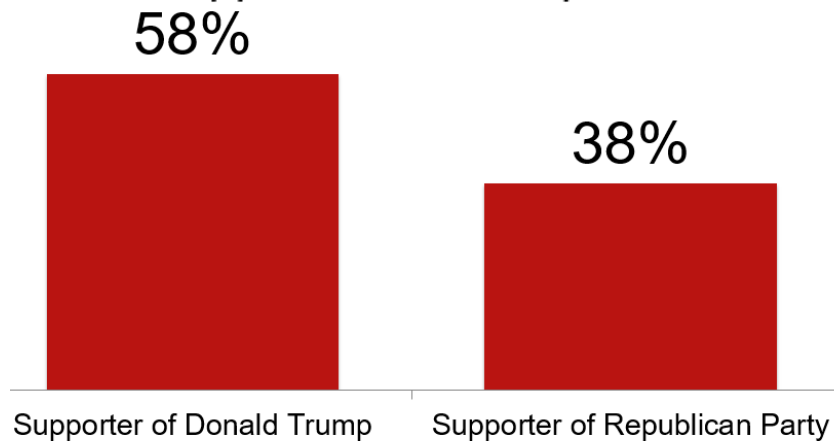


- ❖ NBC/WSJ Poll: 52% of white college graduates disapprove of Trump strongly, vs. 27% of whites without college degrees.

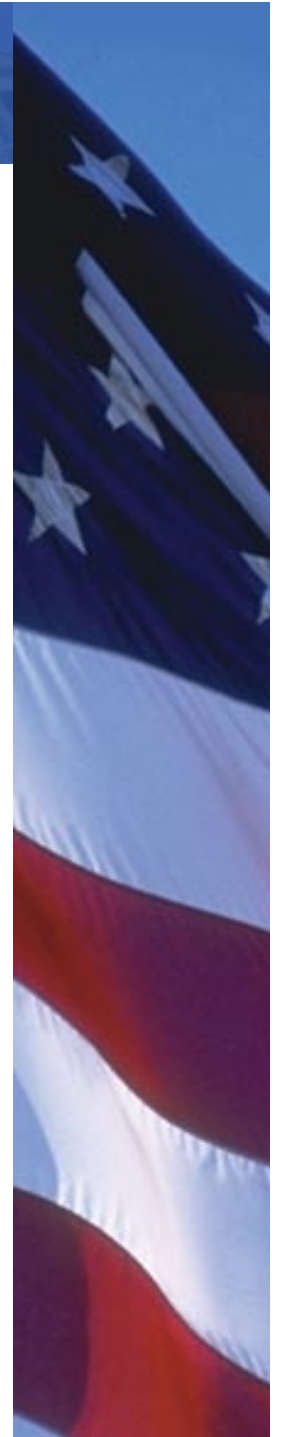
Why **Republicans** Can't Count on Trump's Base to Show Up to Vote in 2018



Do you consider yourself to be more of a supporter of Donald Trump or more of a supporter of the Republican Party?



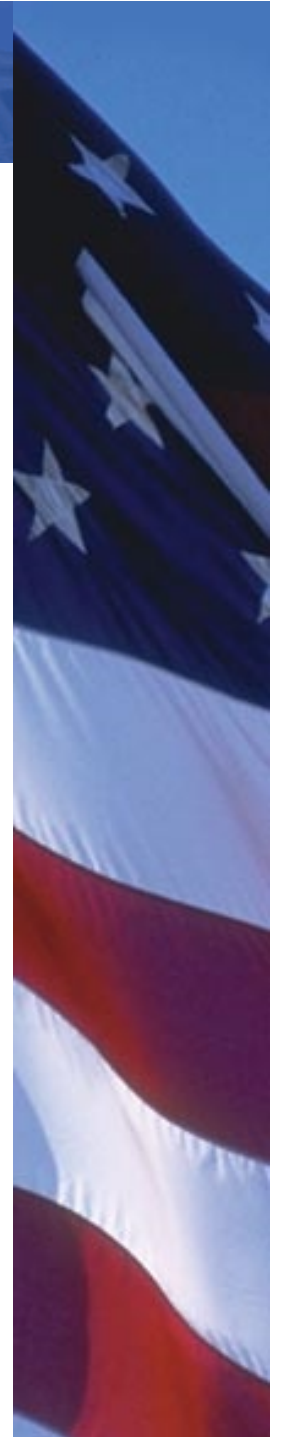
Source: WSJ/NBC News Poll



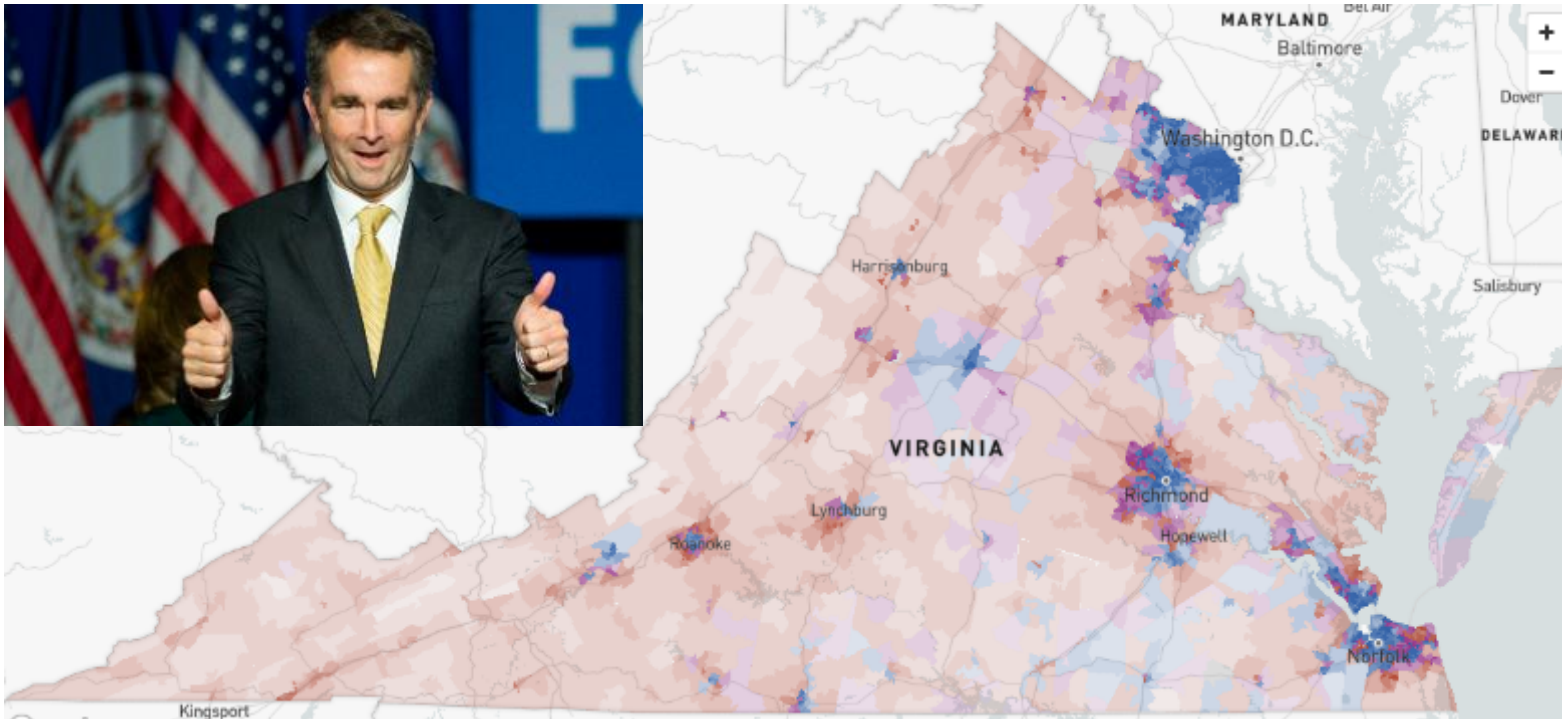
THE INSIDER'S CHOICE FOR ELECTION ANALYSIS

THE Cook Political REPORT

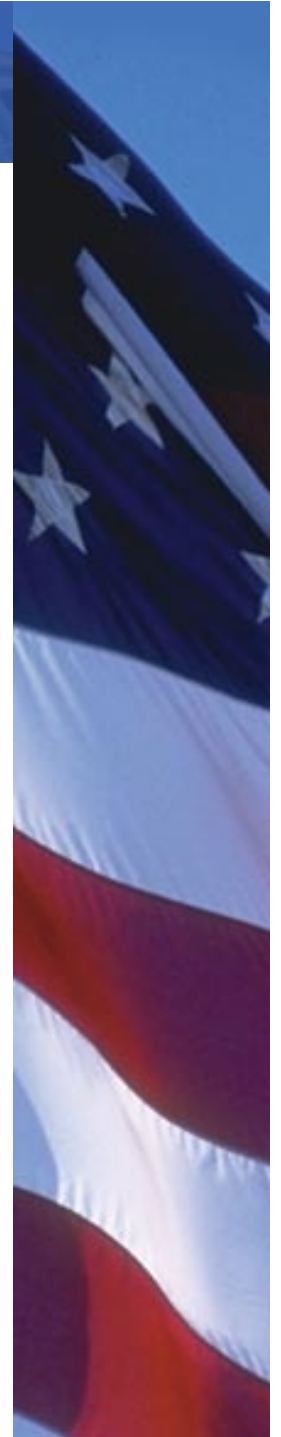
And, She's Not on the Ballot



3. Enthusiasm Gap: Democrats Angry & Motivated, GOP Voters Not So Much

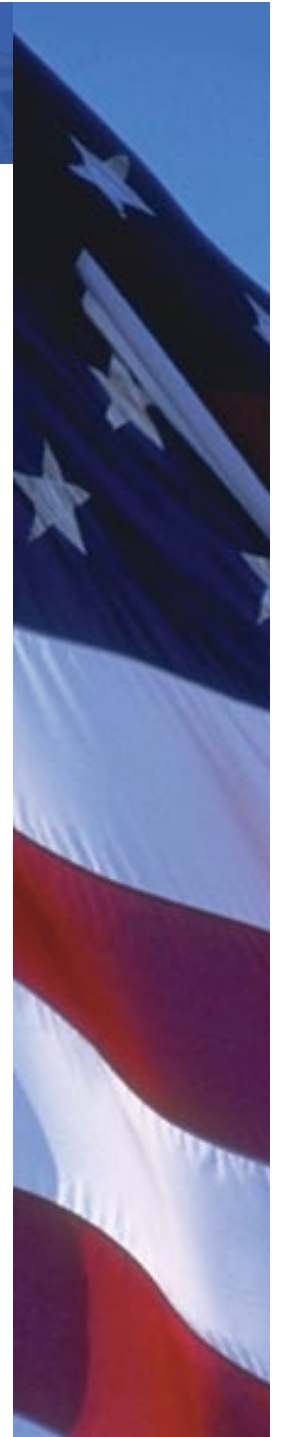


- ❖ **Virginia, Nov. 2017:** Turnout was up 20% vs. 2013 in Dem counties, 7% in GOP counties. Democrats nearly won control of the House of Delegates.



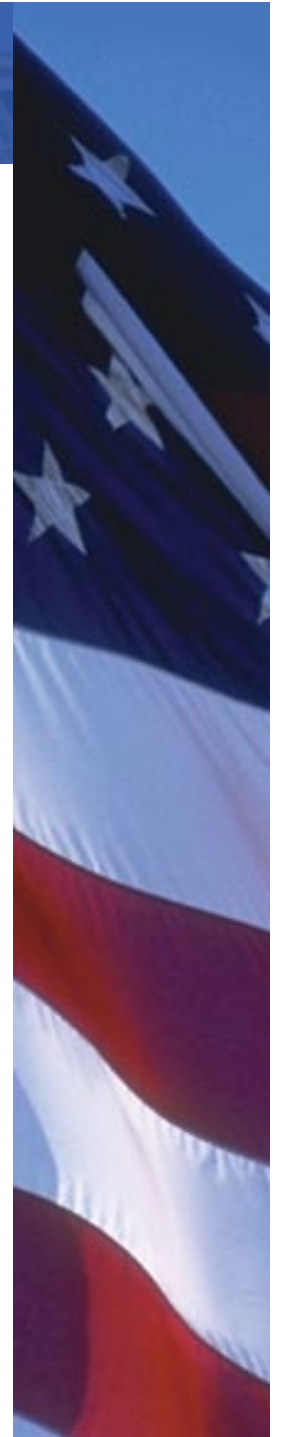
Democrats' Special Election Showings in **GOP** Seats Suggest Big November Gains

District	Election Date	PVI Suggested Democratic Share vs. Actual Democratic Share	Democratic Overperformance
KS-04	April 11, 2017		12%
MT-AL	May 25, 2017		8%
GA-06	June 20, 2017		6%
SC-05	June 20, 2017		7%
UT-03	November 7, 2017		6%
AL-SEN	December 12, 2017		15%
PA-18	March 13, 2018		11%
AVG	-		9%



4. 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%



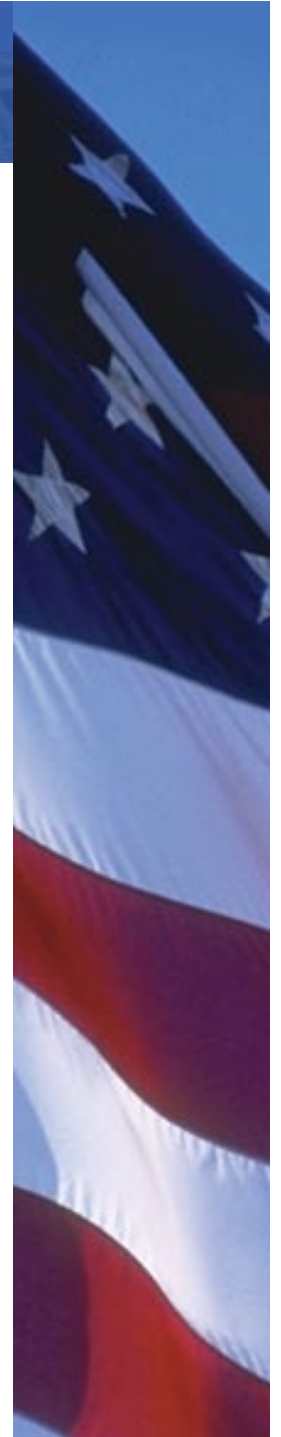
5. No Leader? No Message? No Problem.



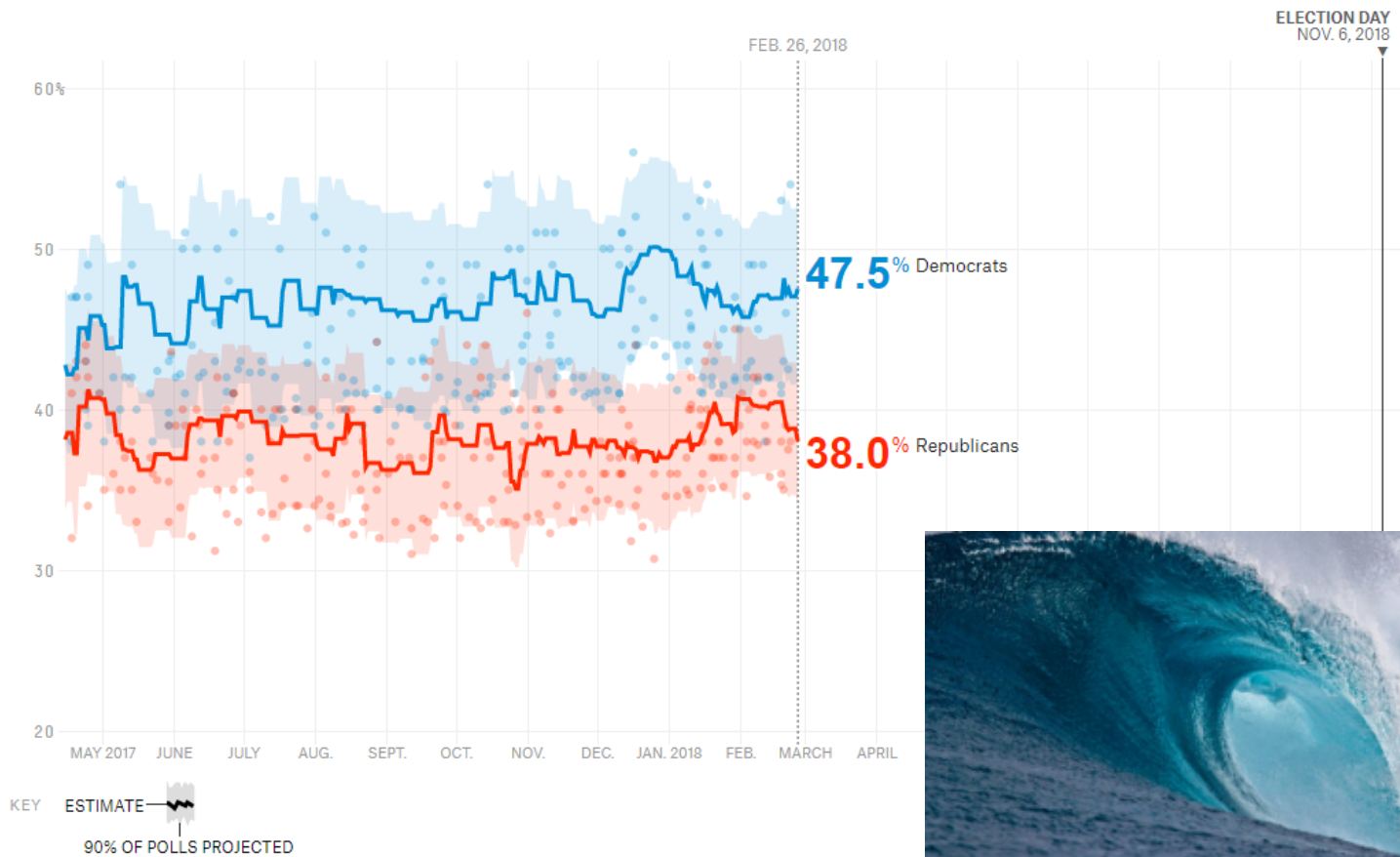
2018: Tale of Two Battlegrounds



Rural vs. Suburban

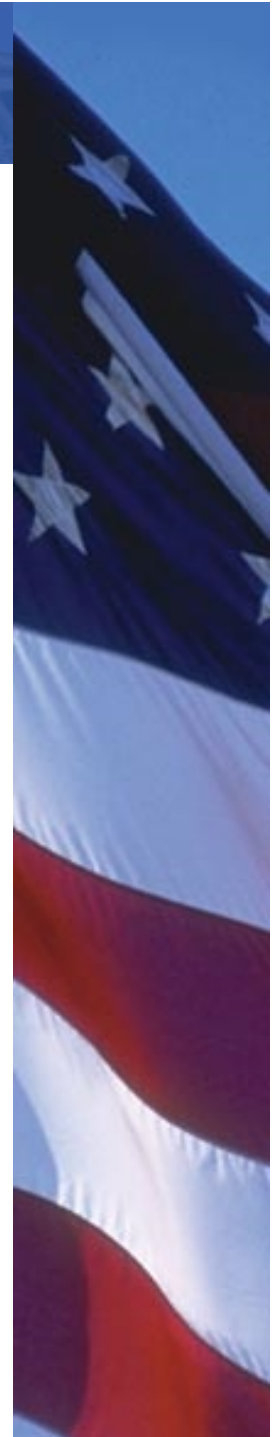
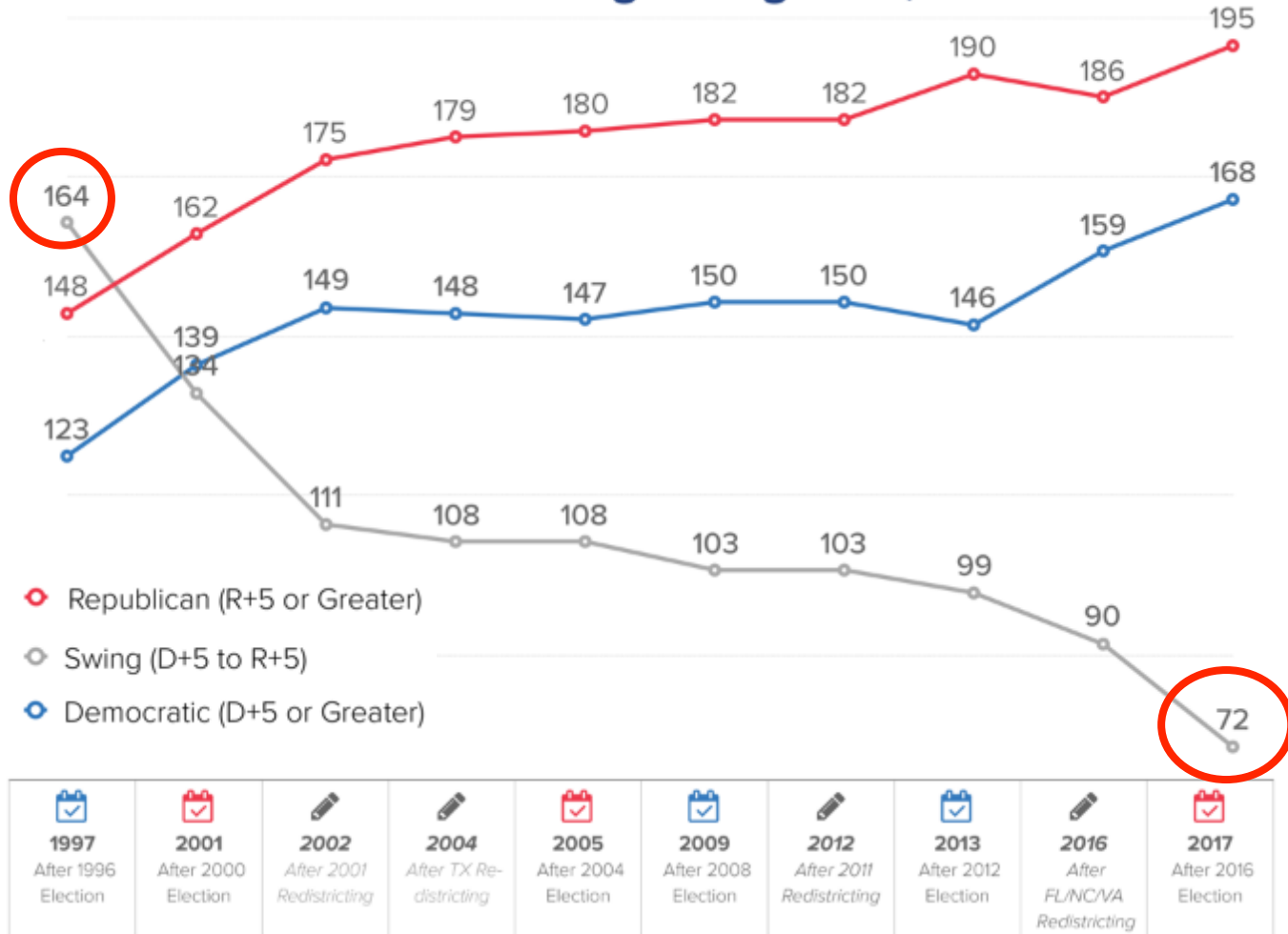


Dems Probably Need to Be Ahead by 7% to Win the House. Today, They're Just Above.



Far Fewer Competitive Districts Than Before

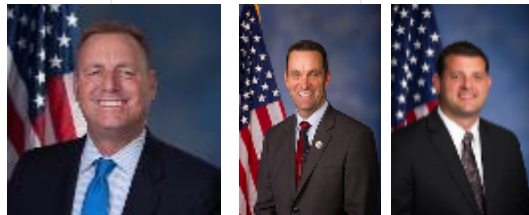
The Incredible Shrinking Swing Seat, 1997 - 2017



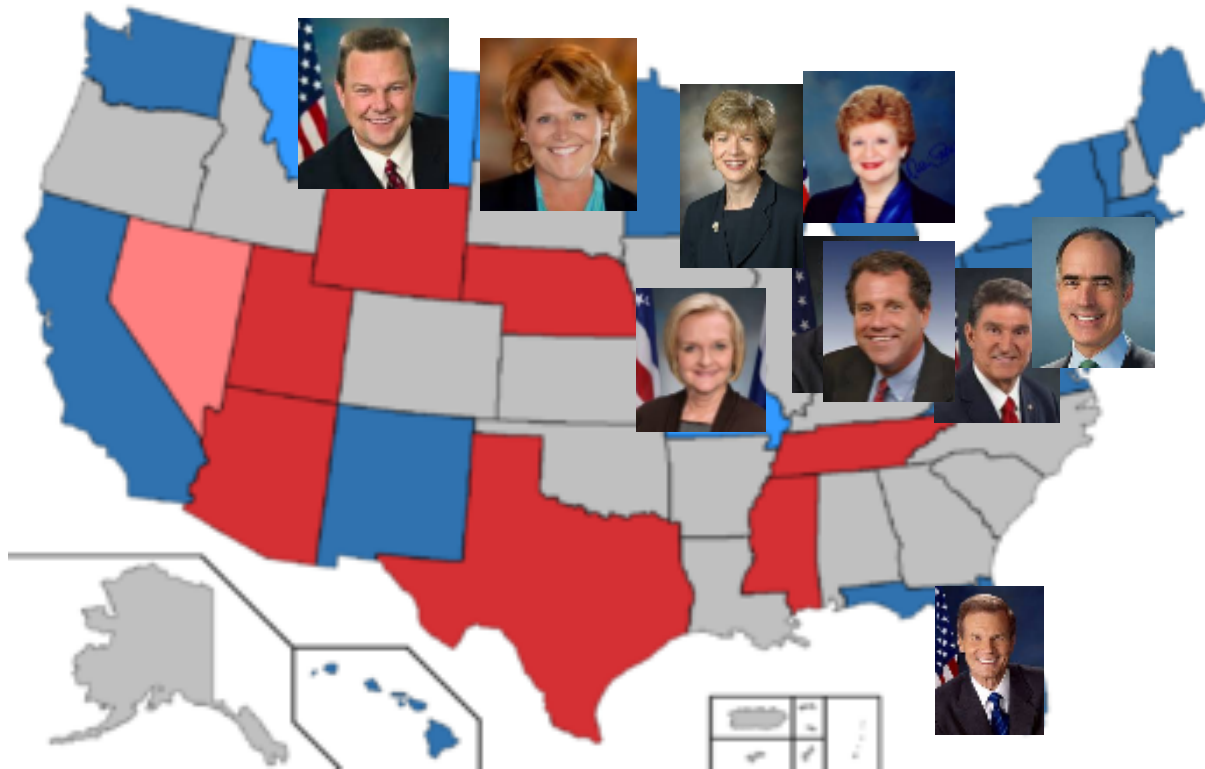
House: **GOP** Retirements + Trump = Dem Edge



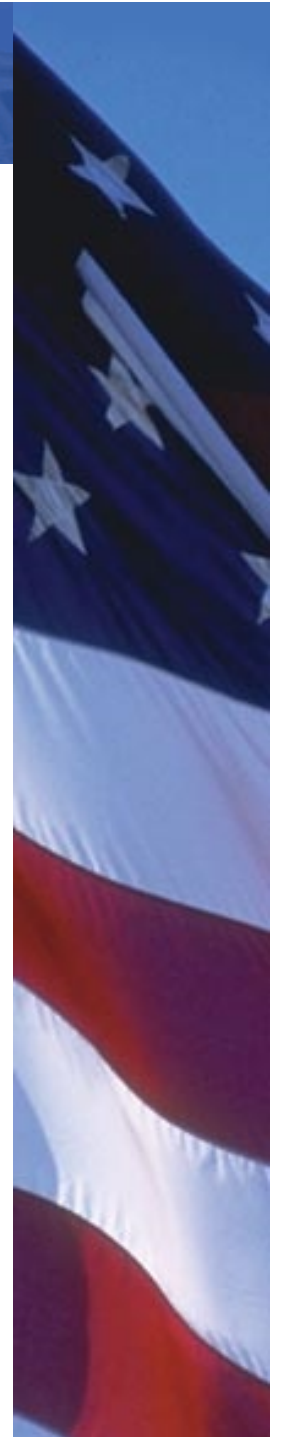
LIKELY DEMOCRATIC 11 Dem • 1 Rep	LEAN DEMOCRATIC 5 Dem • 6 Rep	DEMOCRATIC TOSS UP 3 Dem • 0 Rep	REPUBLICAN TOSS UP 0 Dem • 19 Rep	LEAN REPUBLICAN 0 Dem • 20 Rep	LIKELY REPUBLICAN 0 Dem • 29 Rep
AZ - 9 Open	AZ - 1 O'Halleran	MN - 1 Open	CA - 10 Denham	CA - 45 Walters	AR - 2 Hill
CA - 24 Carbajal	AZ - 2 Open	MN - 8 Open	CA - 25 Knight	FL - 18 Mast	CA - 4 McClintock
FL - 7 Murphy	CA - 7 Bera	NV - 3 Open	CA - 48 Rohrabacher	GA - 6 Handel	CA - 21 Valadao
FL - 13 Crist	CA - 39 Open		CO - 6 Coffman	IA - 3 Young	CA - 50 Hunter
IA - 2 Loeb sack	CA - 49 Open		FL - 26 Curbelo	KS - 2 Open	FL - 16 Buchanan
MN - 7 Peterson	FL - 27 Open		IA - 1 Blum	KS - 3 Yoder	GA - 7 Woodall
NH - 2 Kuster	NH - 1 Open		IL - 6 Roskam	KY - 6 Barr	IL - 13 Davis
NY - 3 Suozzi	NJ - 2 Open		IL - 12 Bost	ME - 2 Poliquin	IL - 14 Hultgren
NY - 18 Maloney	NJ - 5 Gotthelmer		MI - 11 Open	MI - 8 Bishop	IN - 2 Walorski
PA - 7 Open	NV - 4 Open		MN - 2 Lewis	NC - 13 Budd	MI - 6 Upton
PA - 17 Cartwright	PA - 15 Open		MN - 3 Paulsen	NJ - 7 Lance	MI - 7 Walberg
WI - 3 Kind			NE - 2 Bacon	NY - 11 Donovan	MO - 2 Wagner
			NJ - 11 Open	PA - 8 Fitzpatrick	MT - 0 Gianforte
			NY - 19 Faso	PA - 12 Rothfus	NC - 2 Holding
			NY - 22 Tenney	PA - 18 Vacant	NC - 9 Pittenger
			PA - 6 Costello	TX - 23 Hurd	NJ - 3 MacArthur
			TX - 7 Culberson	TX - 32 Sessions	NM - 2 Open
			VA - 10 Comstock	UT - 4 Love	NY - 1 Zeldin
			WA - 8 Open	VA - 2 Taylor	NY - 24 Katko
				VA - 7 Brat	OH - 1 Chabot
					OH - 12 Vacant
					OH - 15 Stivers
					OH - 16 Open



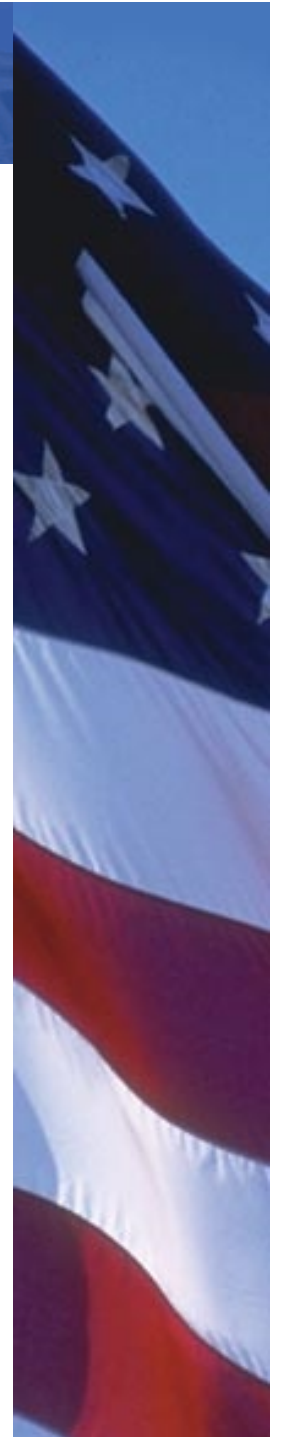
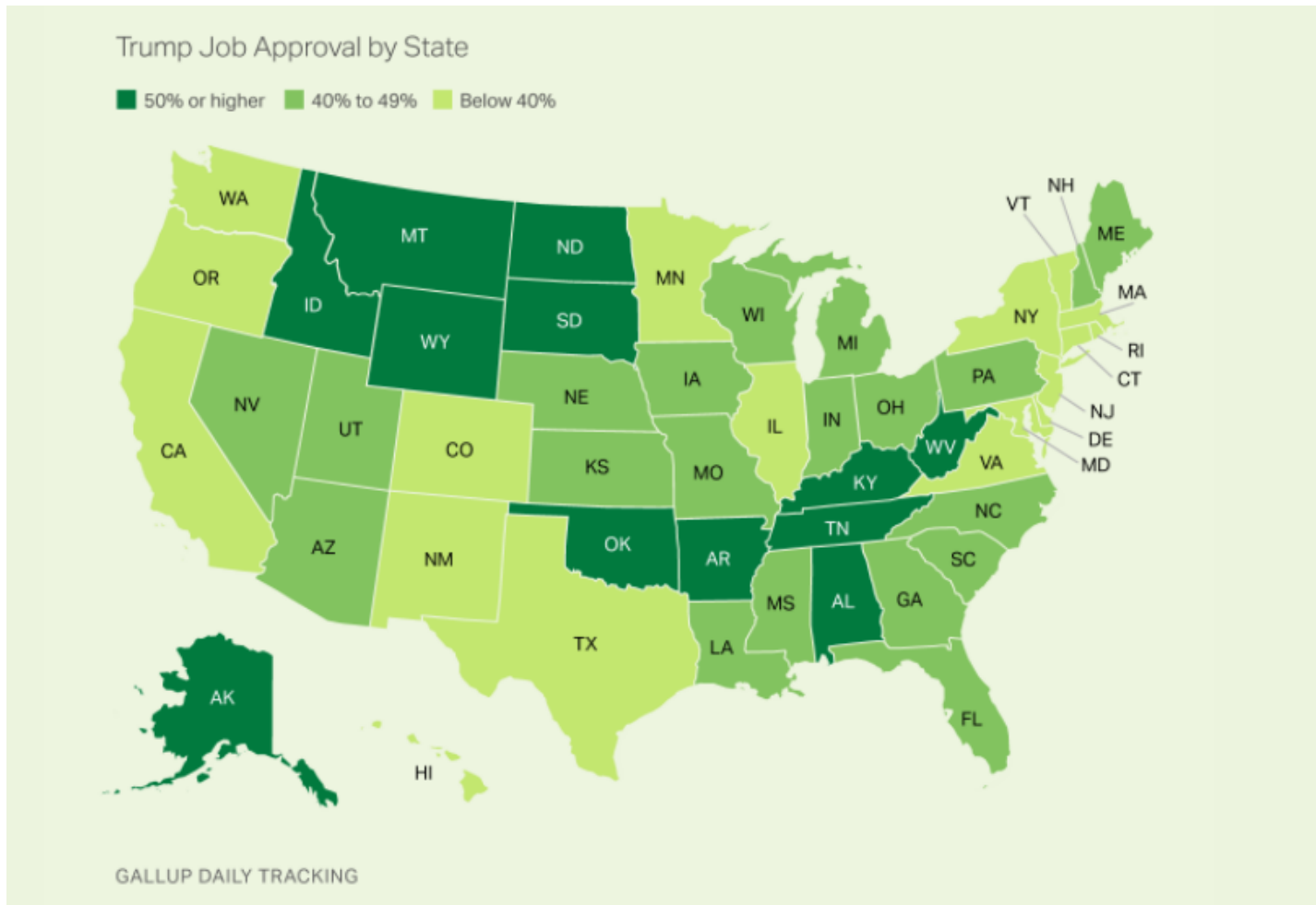
Senate: Heavily Rural, Lopsided Battleground = Slight **GOP** Edge



- ❖ Lopsided: 26 Democratic seats up in 2018, but just 8 for **Republicans**



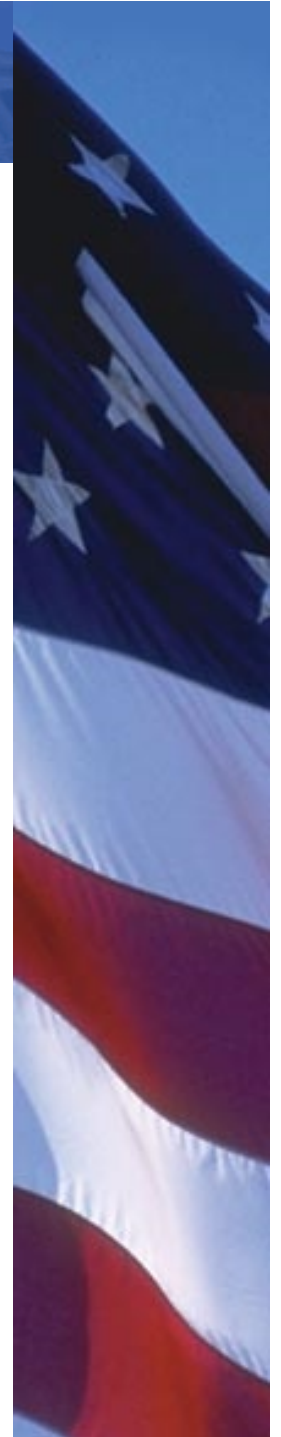
Looking for Surprises: Which State Stands Out?



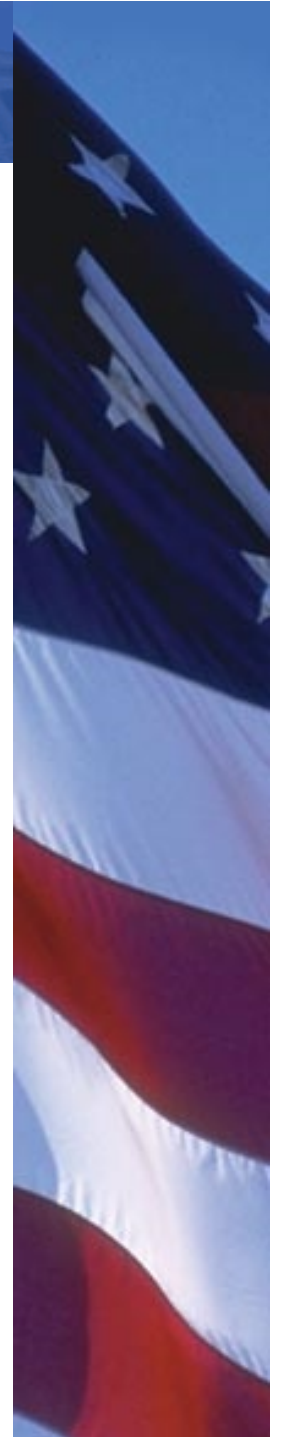
After 2018, There Will Be Fewer **GOP** Critics of Trump in Congress



- ❖ Mass exodus: 51 members not seeking reelection (38 **GOP**, 13 **Dem**)

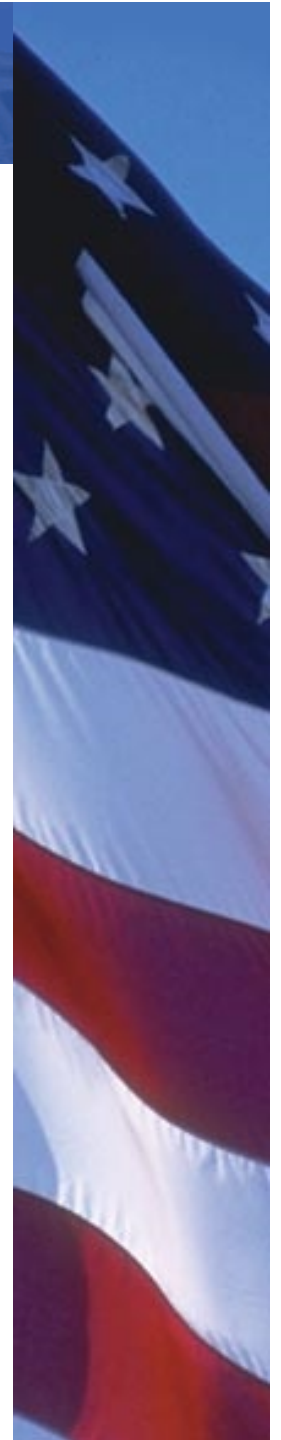


Yes, President Trump Could Absolutely Win Reelection in 2020



- ❖ **Democrats' Primary Rules:** Delegates are allocated proportionally, so a large field & long campaign virtually guarantee a contested convention.

Democrats: Expect the Unexpected



THE INSIDER'S CHOICE FOR ELECTION ANALYSIS

THE Cook Political REPORT

Questions...

