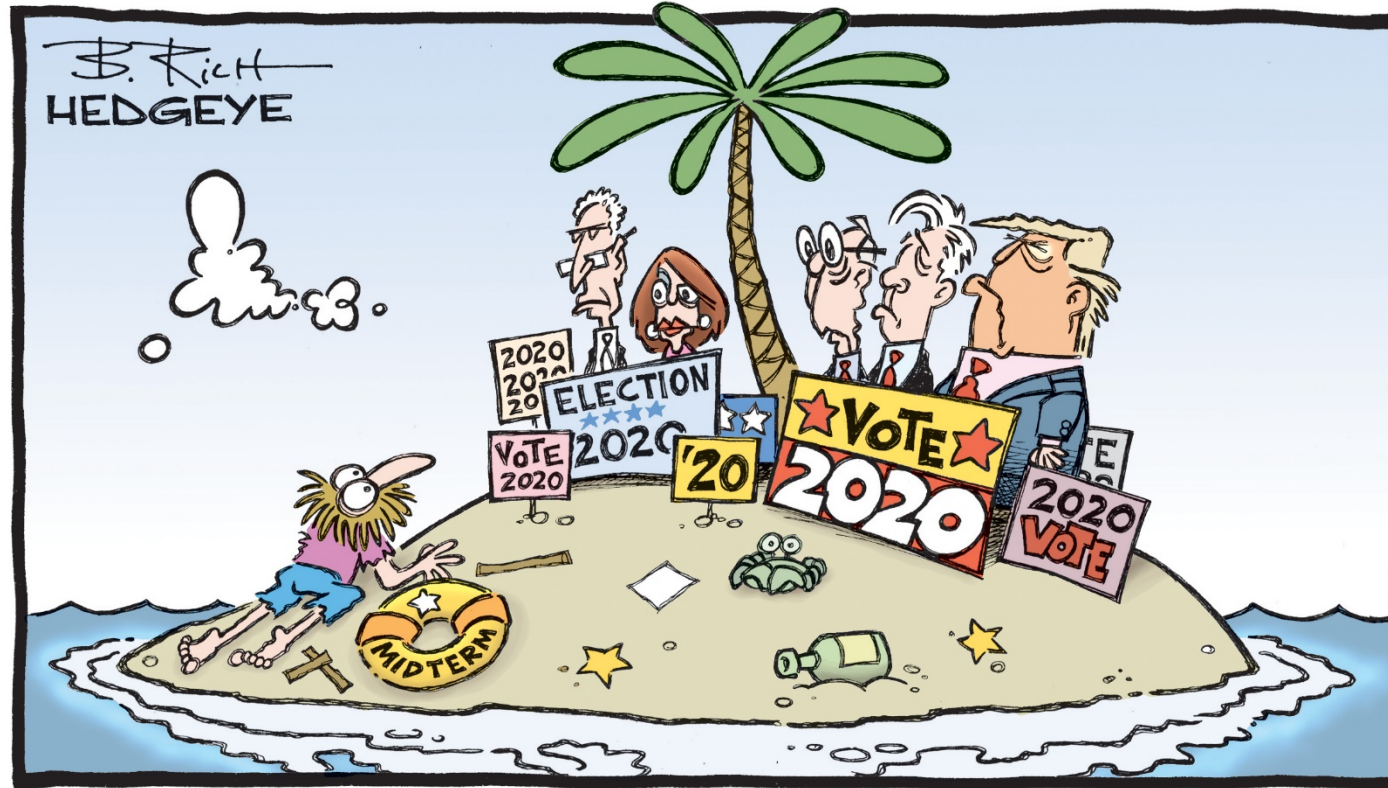


The Cook Political Report's  
**Road Map to the 2018 Midterms**



David Wasserman, U.S. House Editor, The Cook Political Report

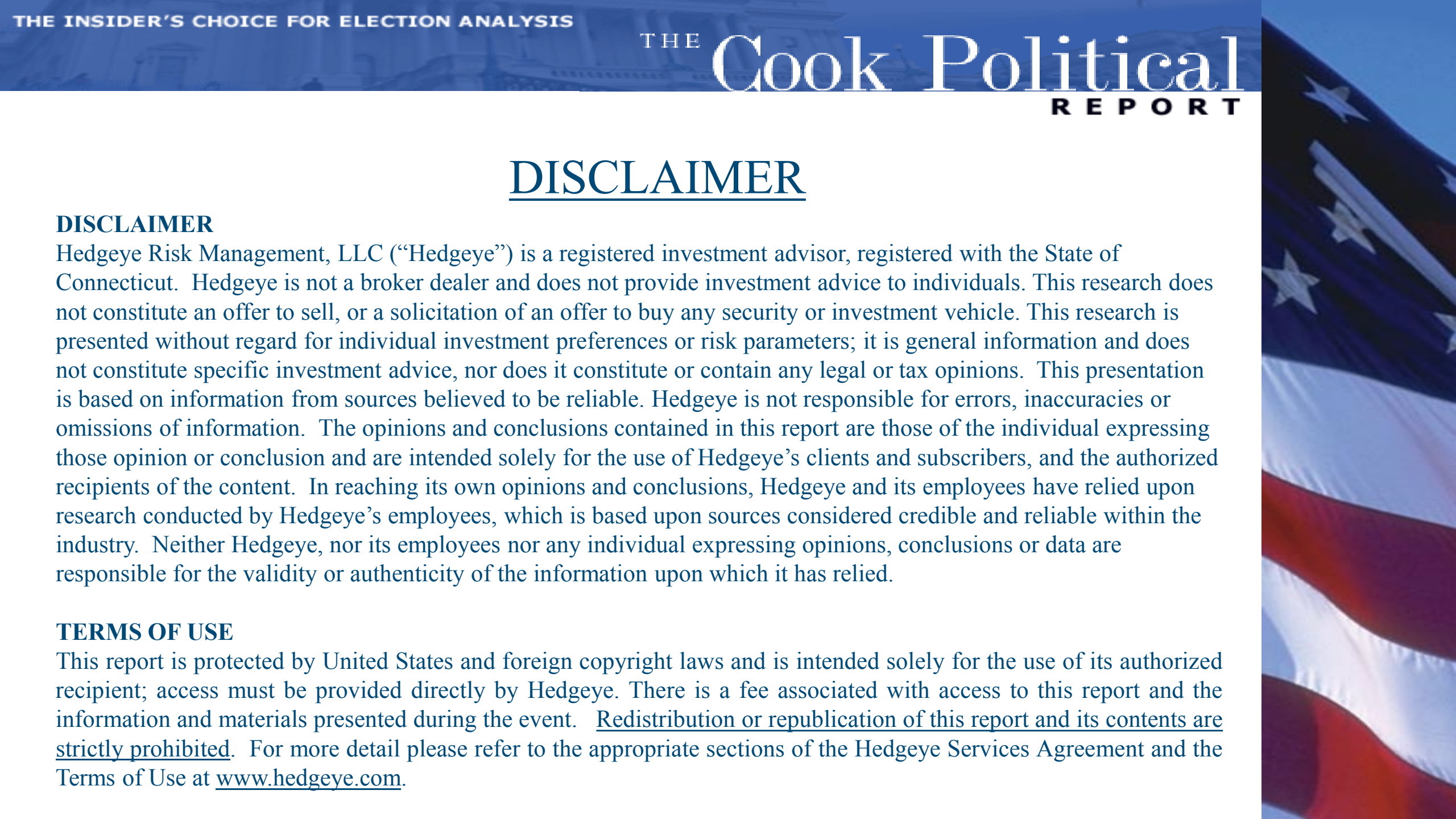
Hedgeye Potomac Research

October 30, 2018

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

*The opinions presented are those of the presenter only.*



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## 2018: The Split-Screen Midterm

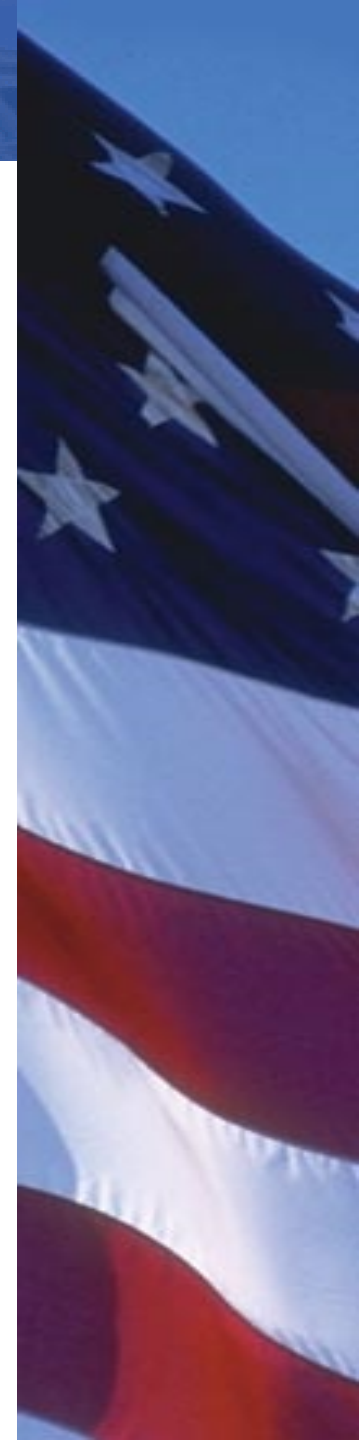


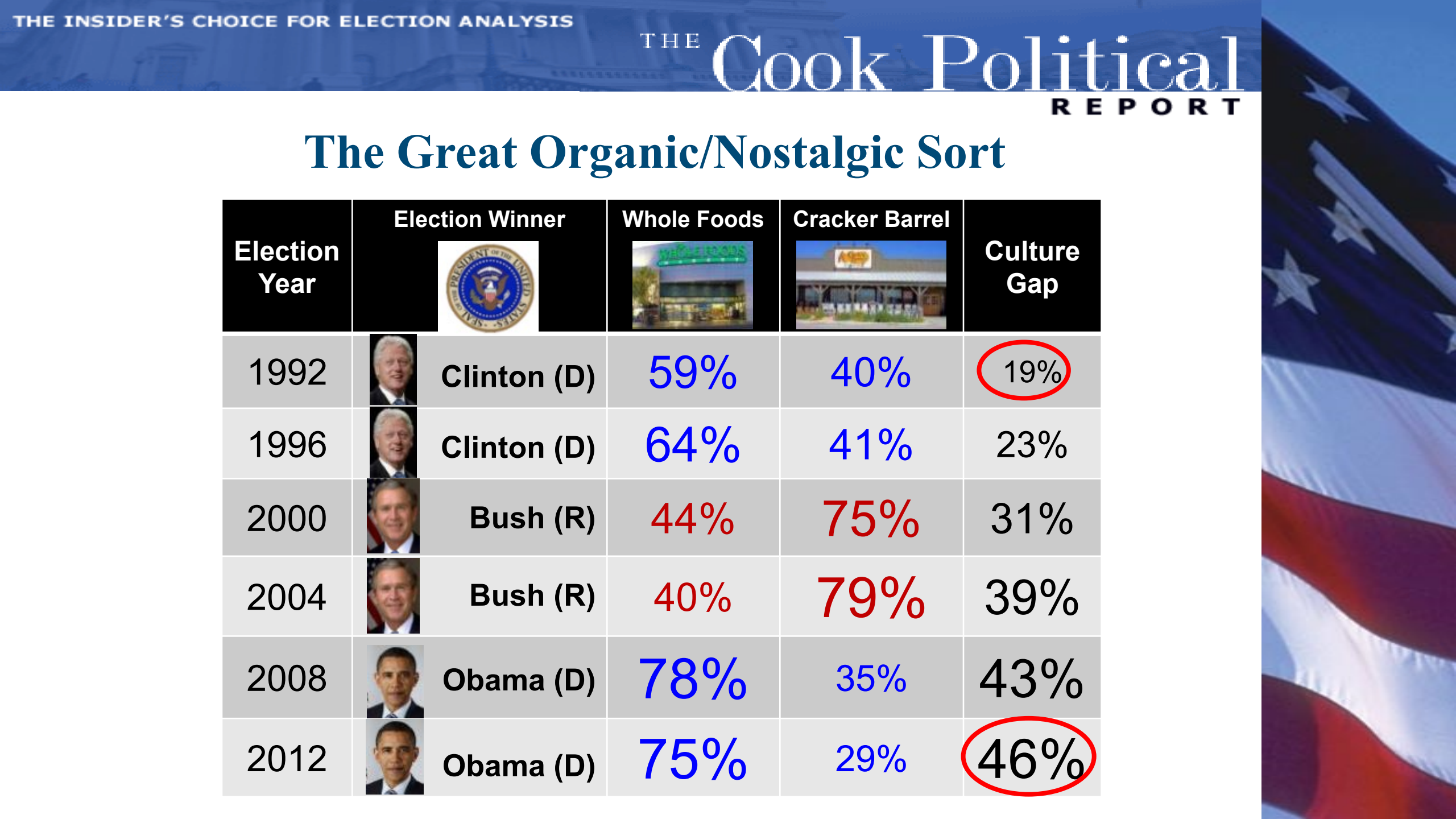
## Lifestyle Realignment of the Electorate







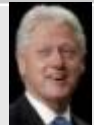




← *Austin, TX*

*Lebanon, TN* →

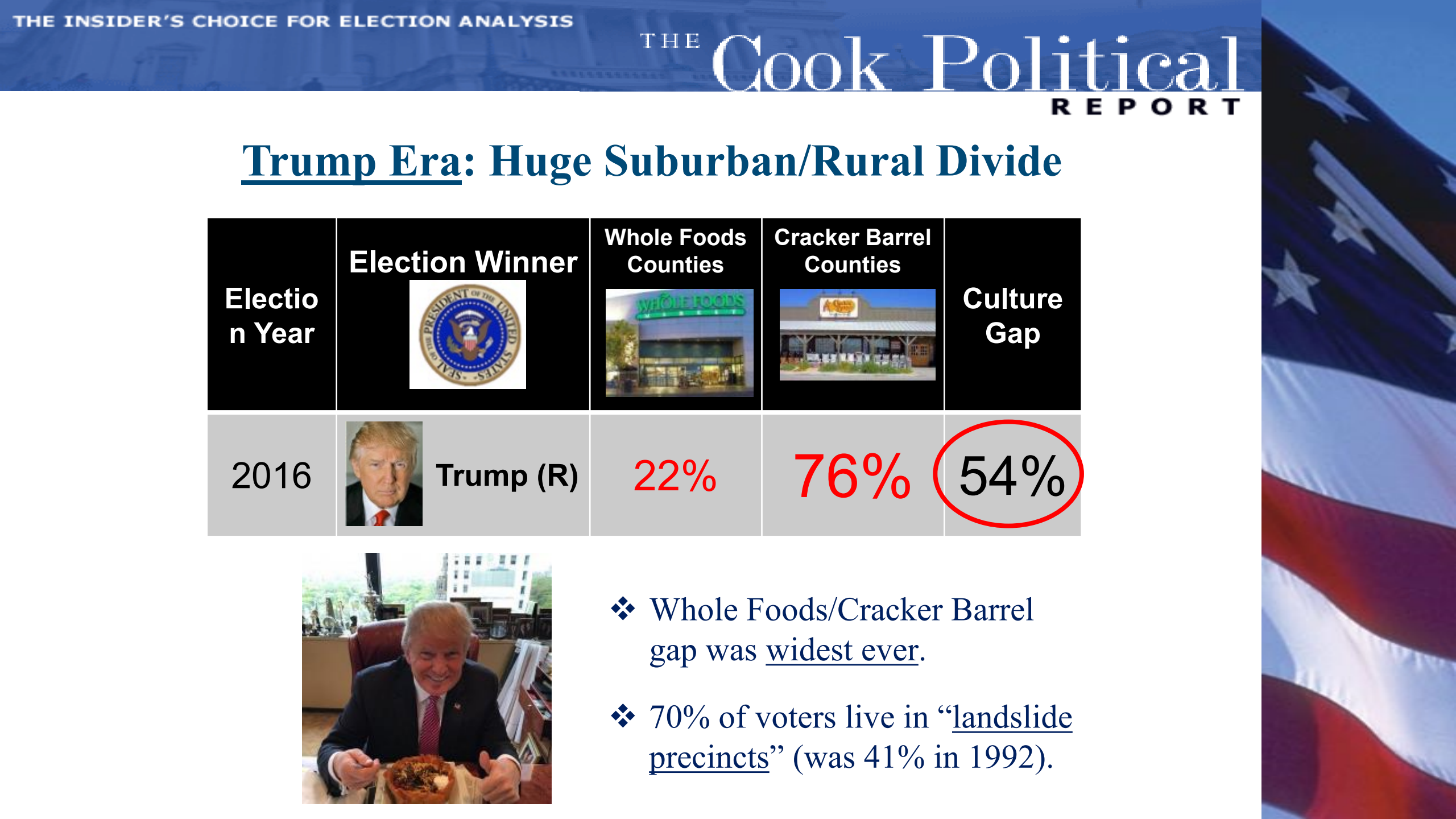





## The Great Organic/Nostalgic Sort

| Election Year | Election Winner<br> |             | Whole Foods<br> | Cracker Barrel<br> | 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).

## 2018: Tale of Two Battlegrounds

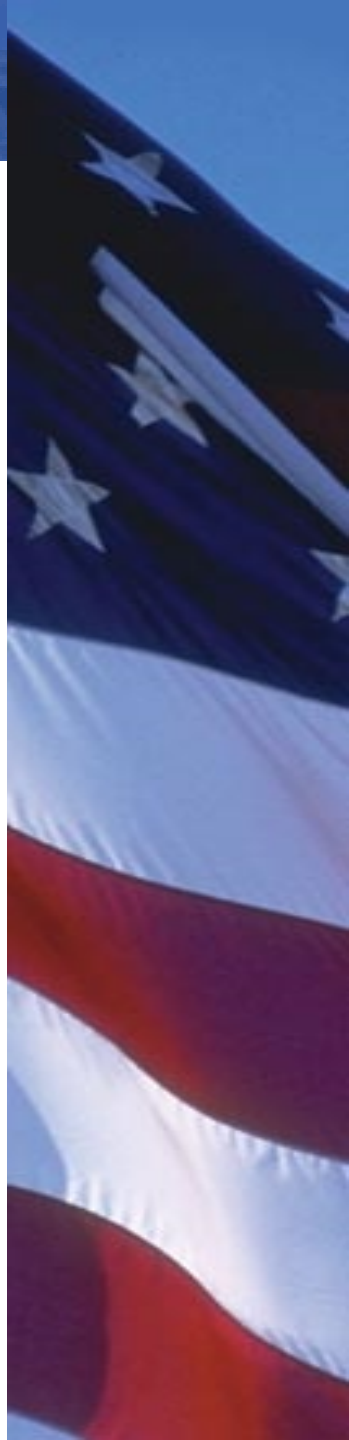


***Rural vs. Suburban***



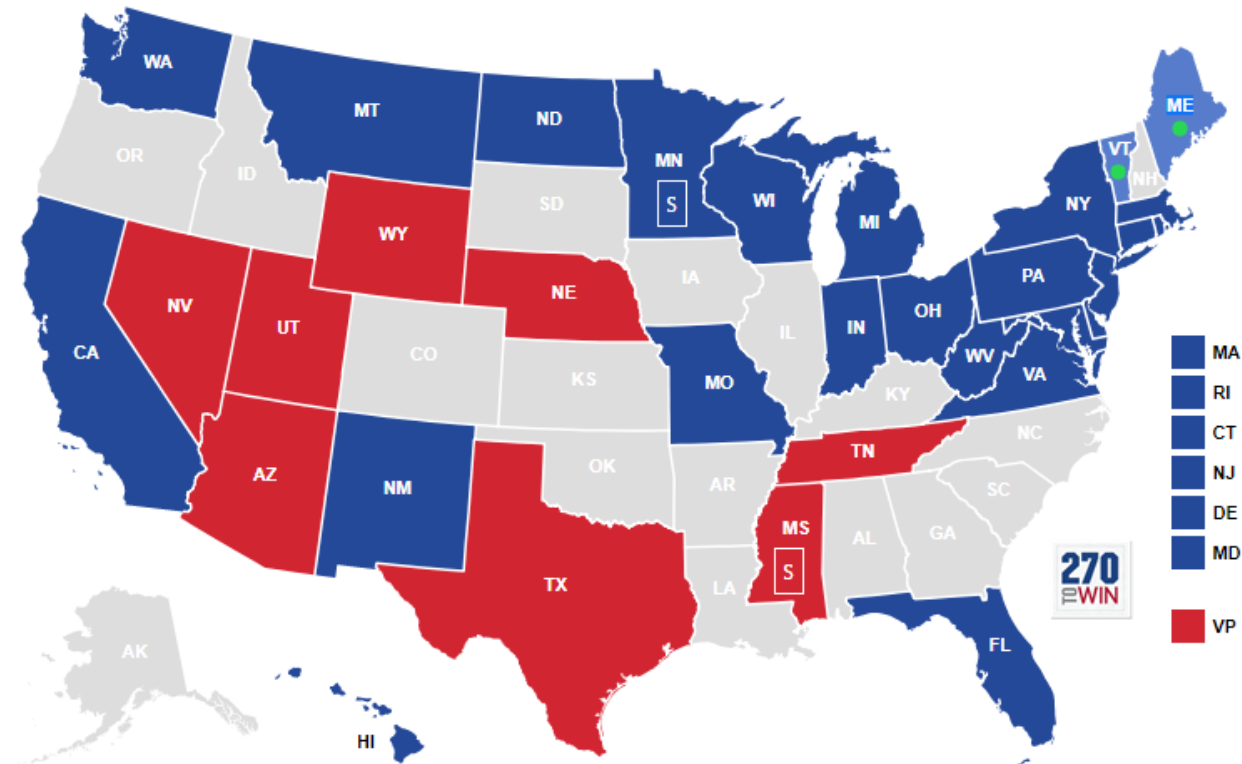


## First, Two Reasons **Republicans** Might Not Fall Off a Cliff



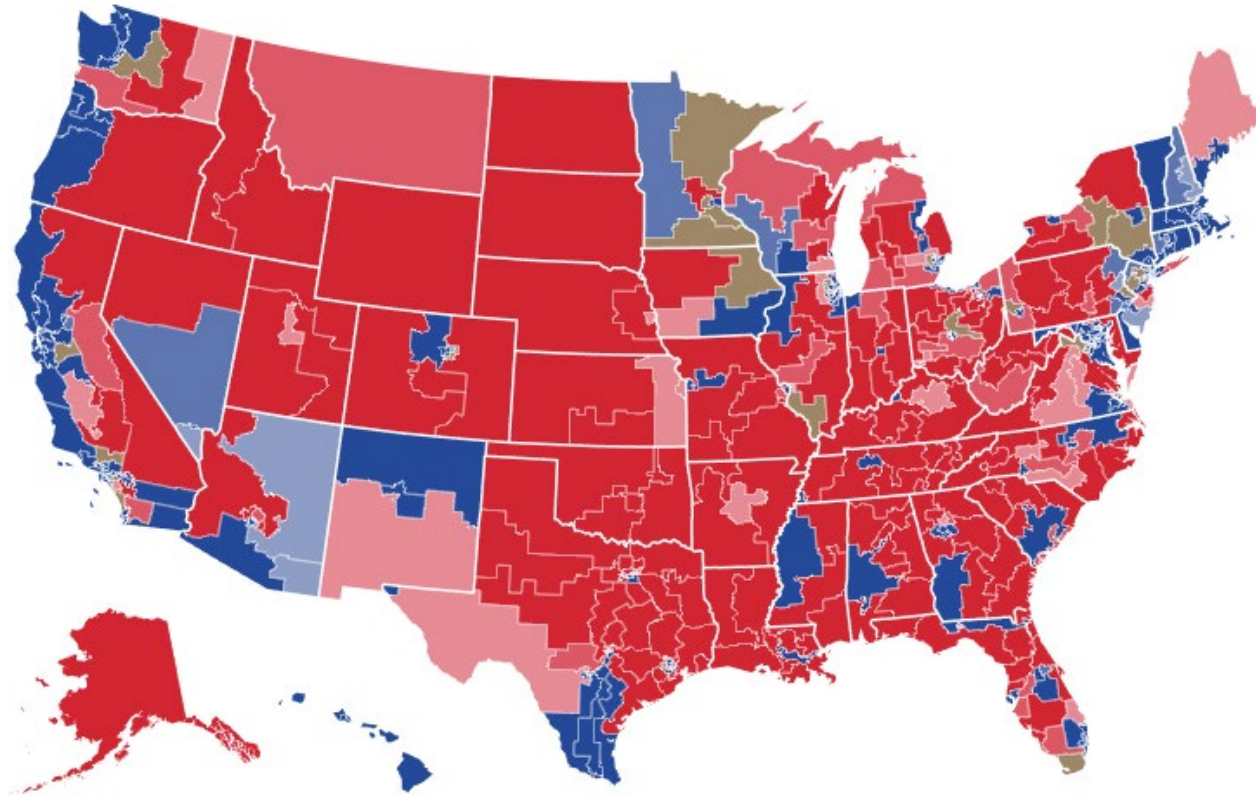


# 1. 2018 Political Geography Favors **GOP**



- ❖ 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**

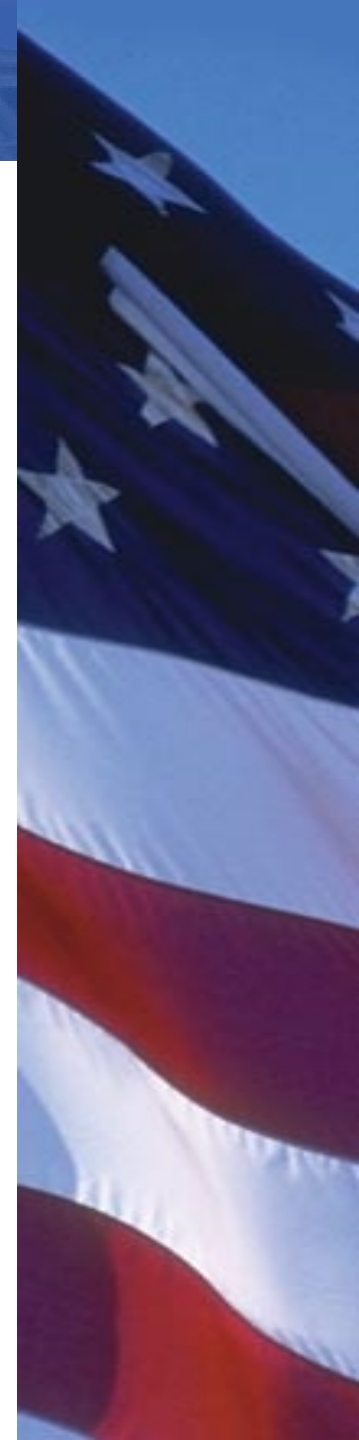
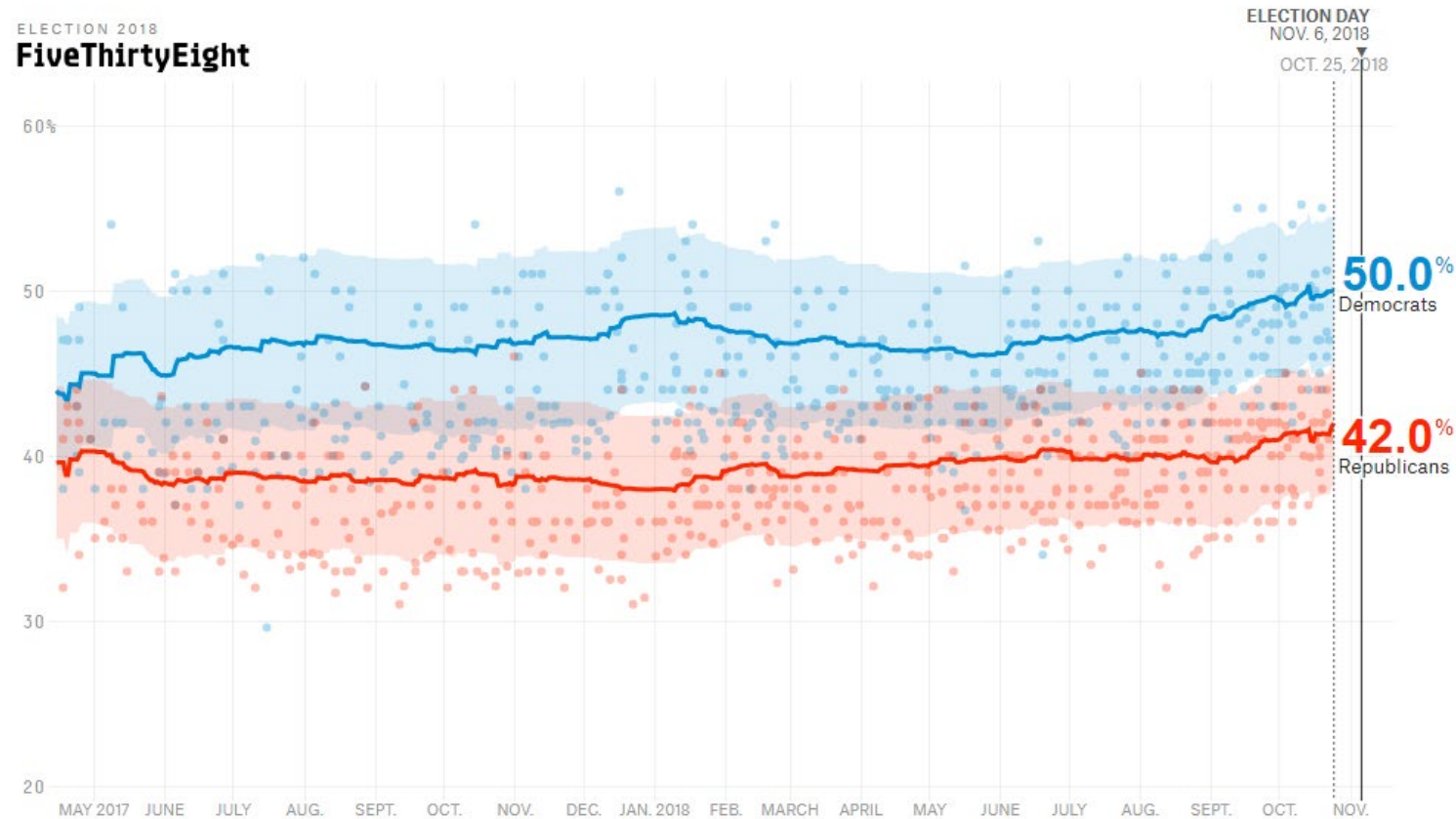


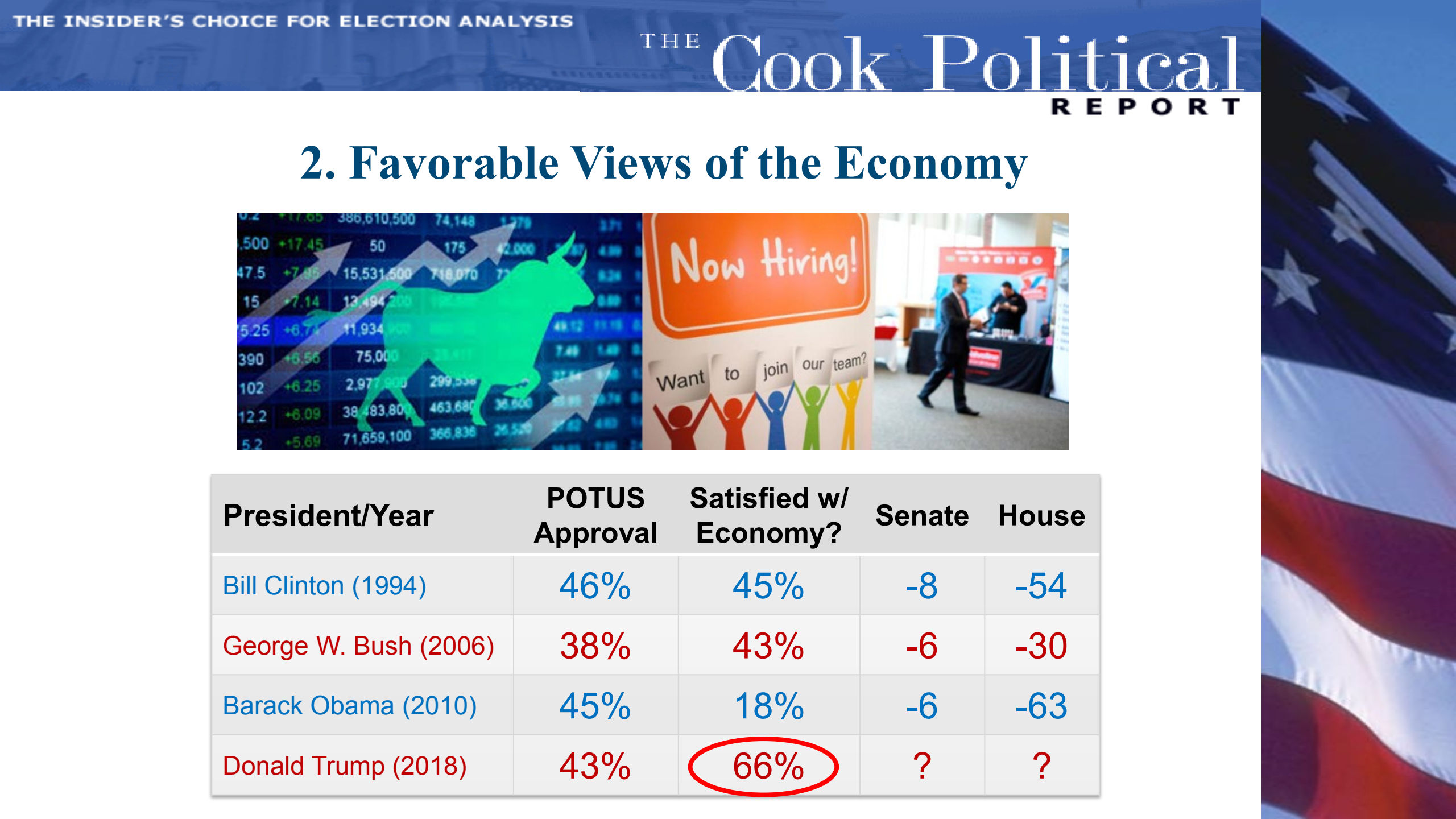
- ❖ House: Democrats need 7-8% more votes than GOP to win narrowest possible majority, thanks to gerrymandering & residential patterns





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



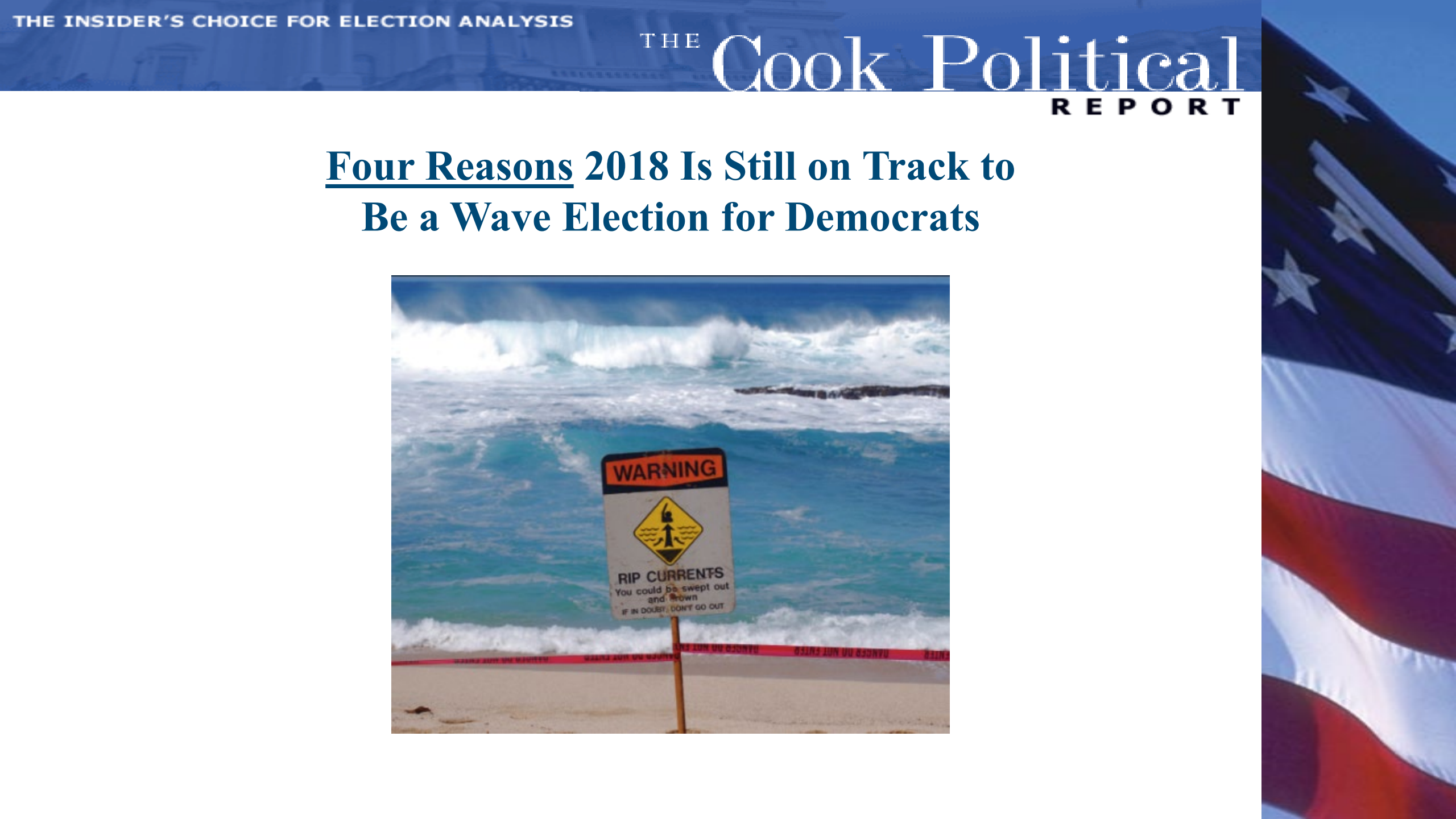


## 2. Favorable Views of the Economy



| 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)   | 43%            | 66%                   | ?      | ?     |

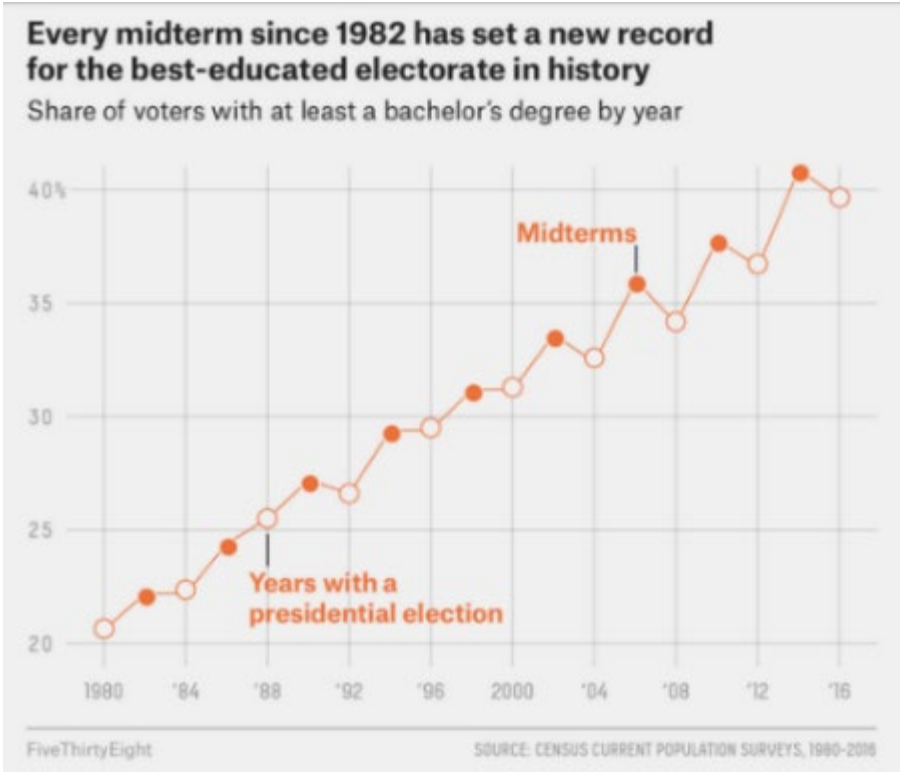




## **Four Reasons 2018 Is Still on Track to Be a Wave Election for Democrats**

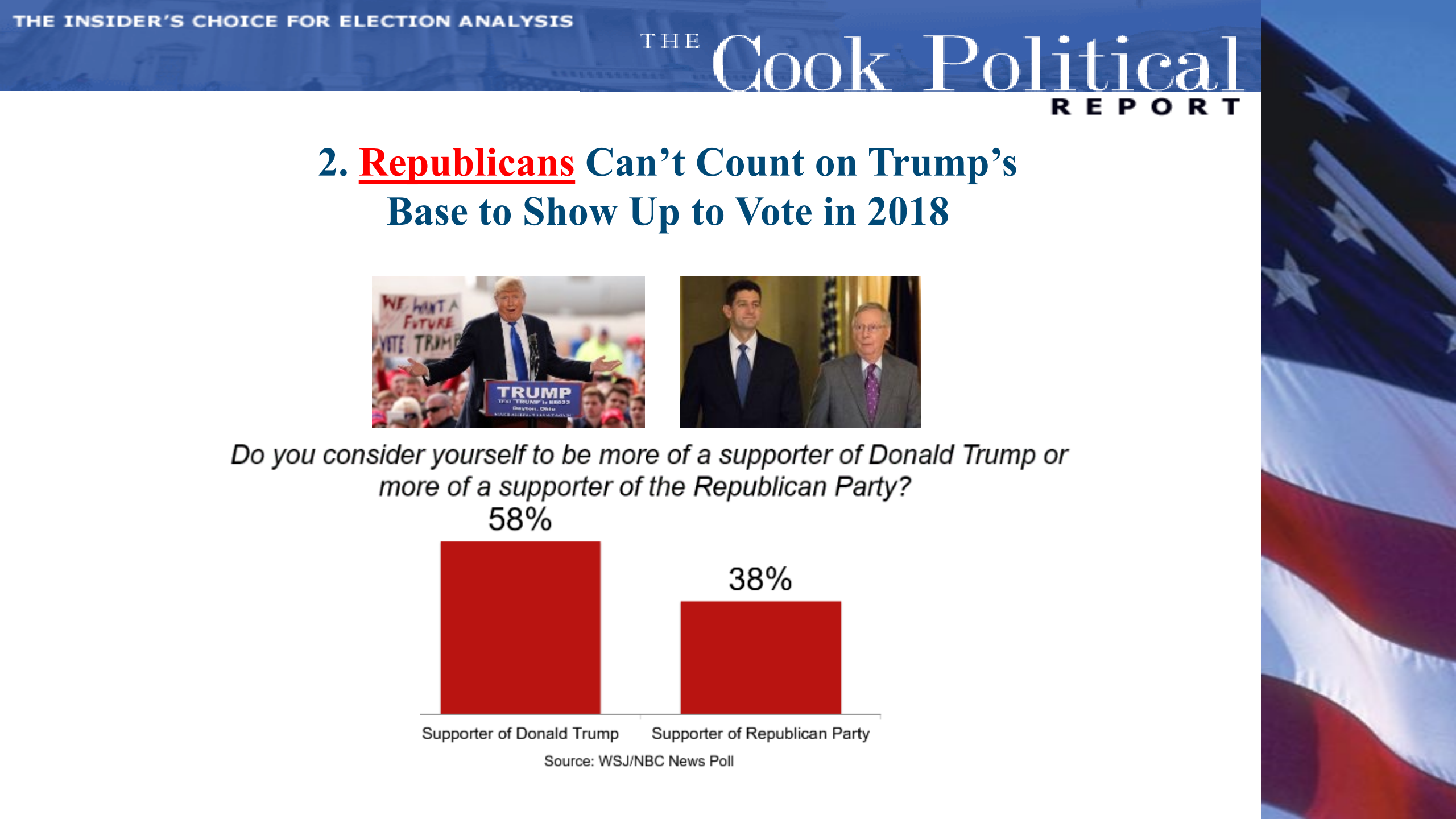


# 1. Women: 2018 as the “Year of the Fired Up Female College Graduate”



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

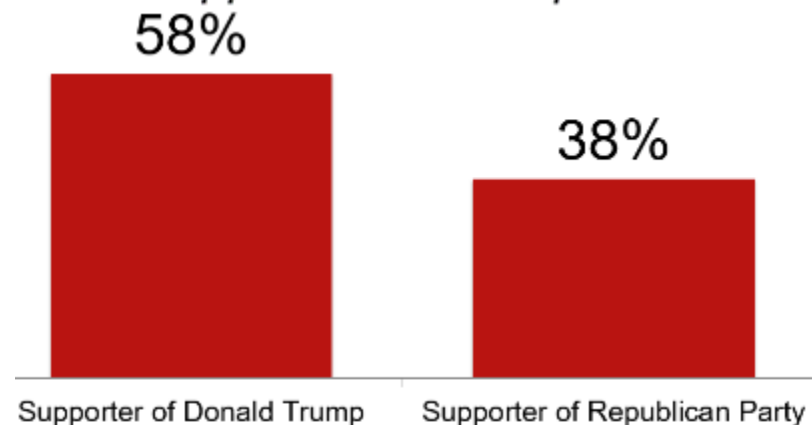




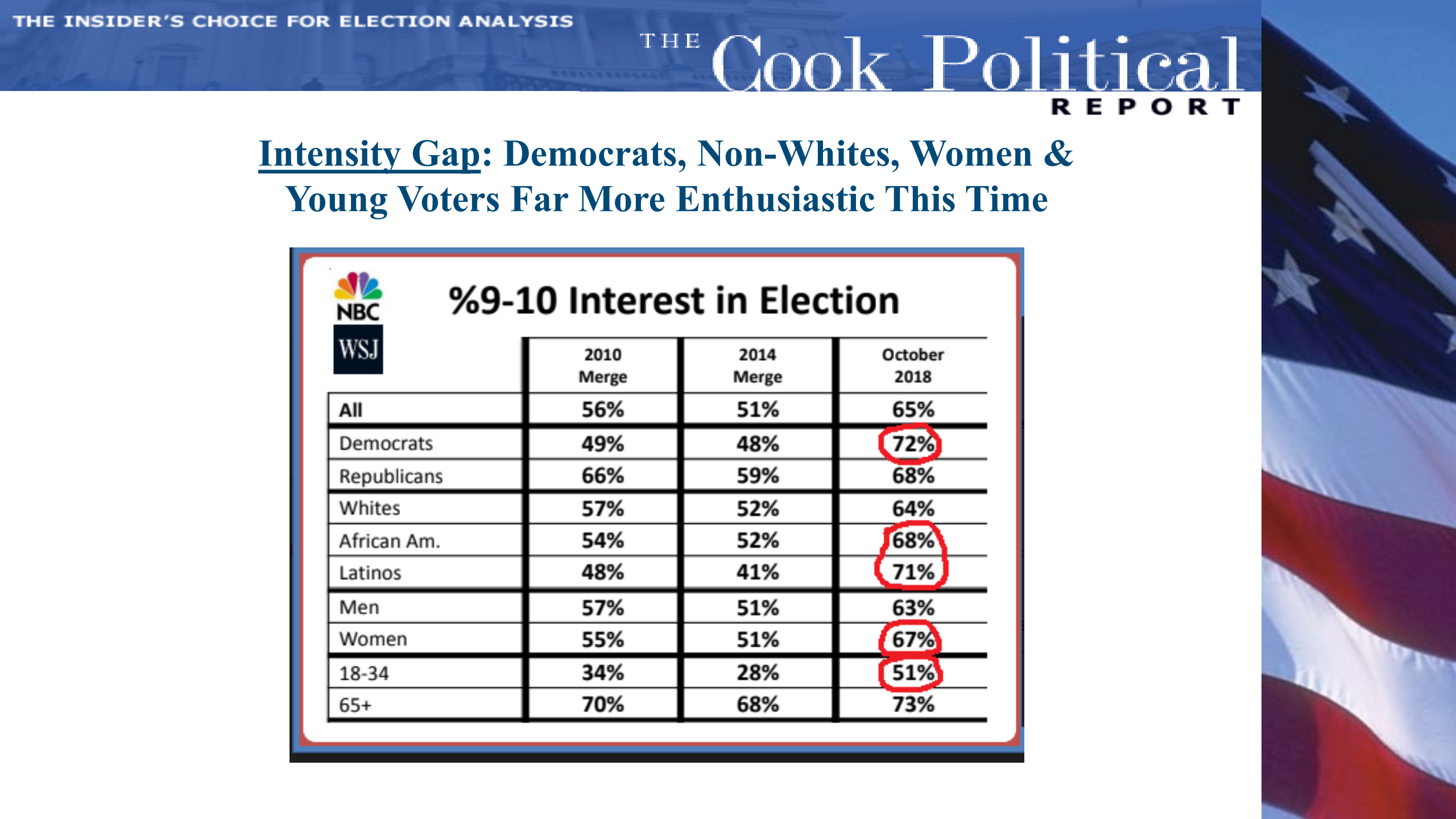
## 2. Republicans Can't Count on Trump's Base to Show Up to Vote in 2018





*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



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



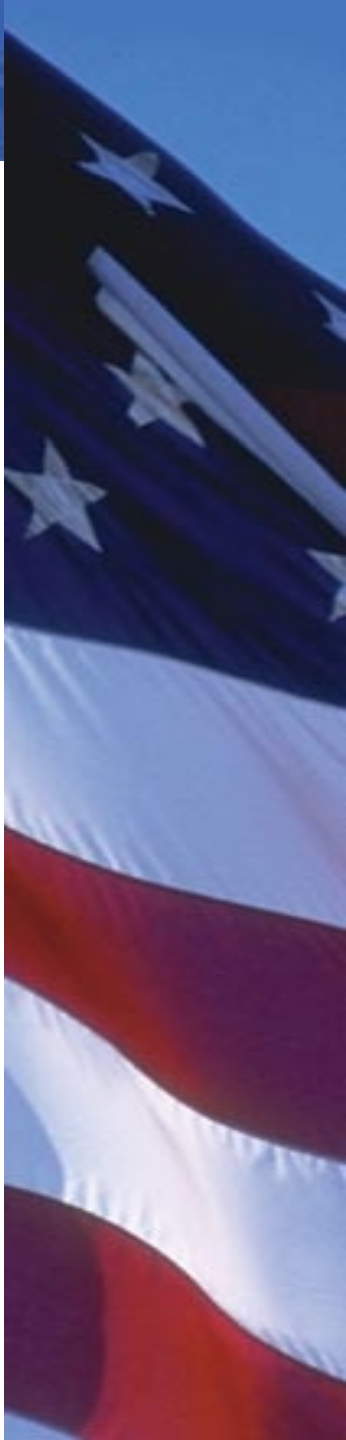
|             | 2010 Merge | 2014 Merge | October 2018 |
|-------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| All         | 56%        | 51%        | 65%          |
| Democrats   | 49%        | 48%        | 72%          |
| Republicans | 66%        | 59%        | 68%          |
| Whites      | 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%          |

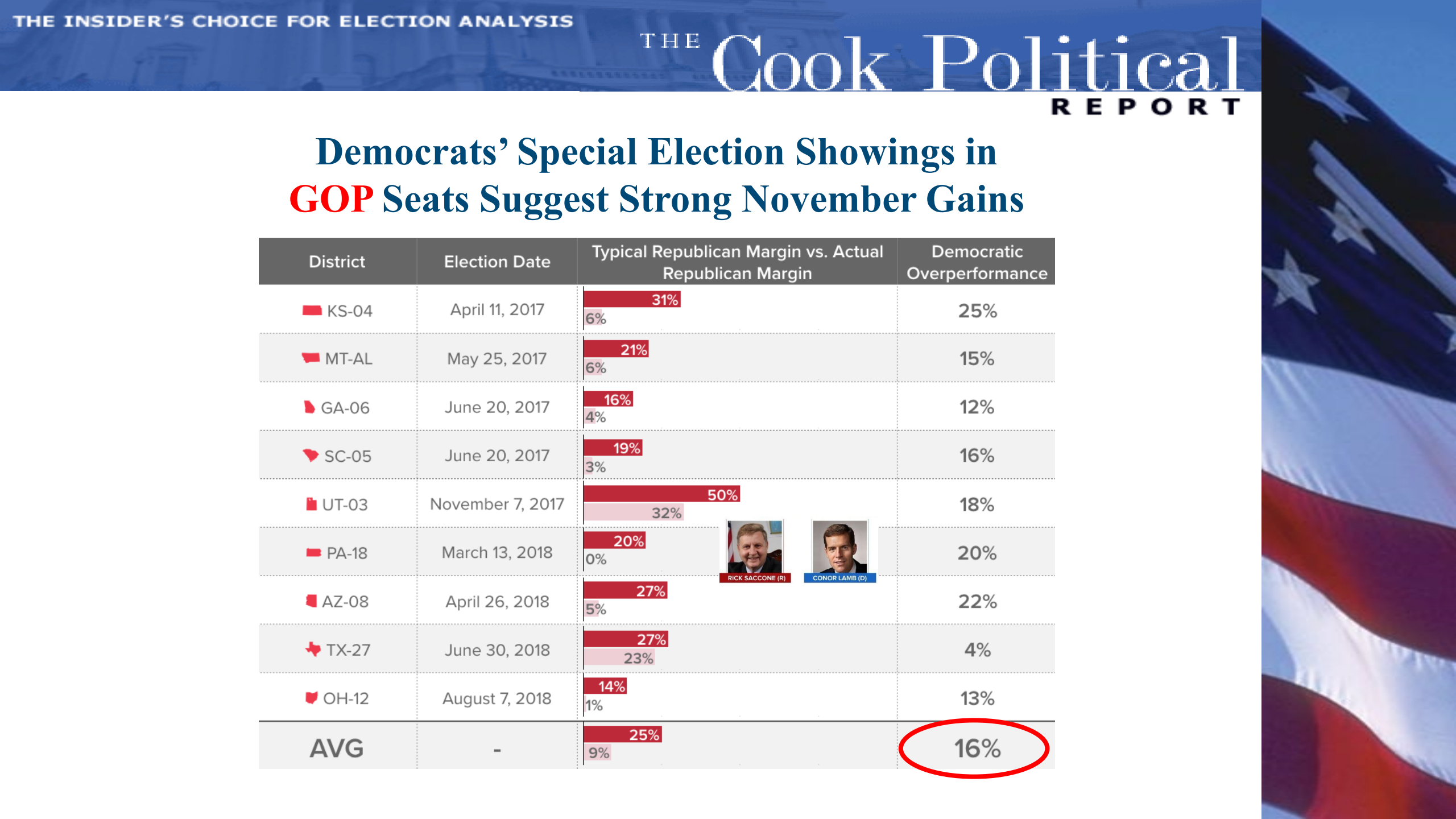















### 3. Check and Balance Voters: Red in 2016, Blue in 2018?

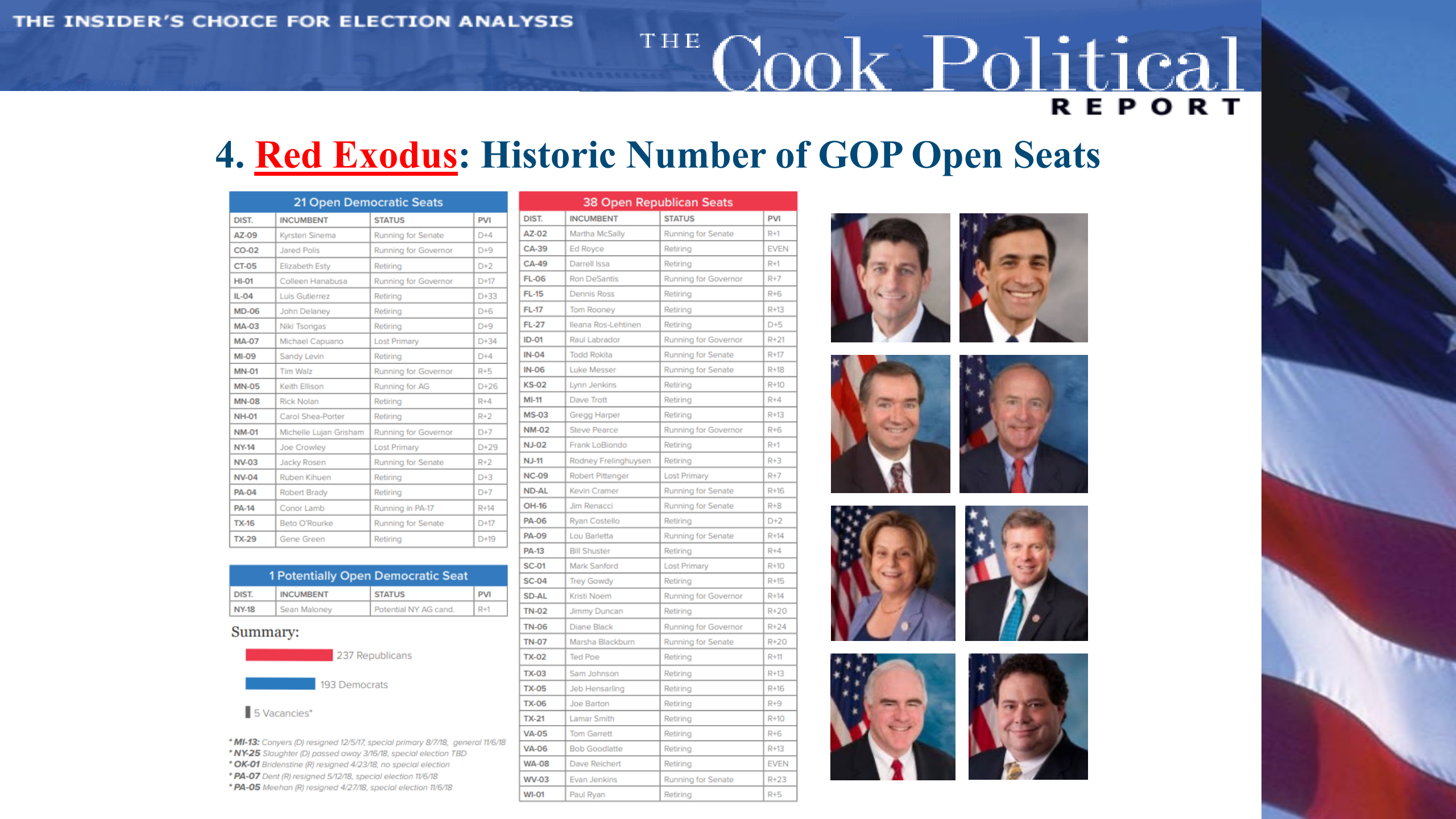
| opinion of clinton and trump  |          |            |
|-------------------------------|----------|------------|
|                               | democrat | republican |
| both favorable<br>2%          | n/a      | n/a        |
| only clinton favorable<br>41% | 93%      | 6%         |
| only trump favorable<br>36%   | 5%       | 94%        |
| both unfavorable<br>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><br/>RICK SACCONE (R)</div> <div><br/>CONOR LAMB (D)</div> | 20%                        |
|  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%                        |

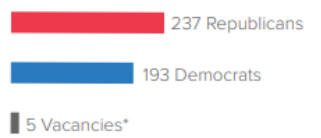


## 4. Red Exodus: Historic Number of GOP Open Seats

| 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  |





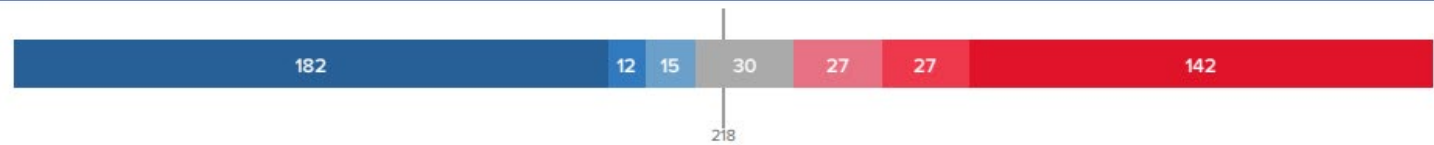


## House: Dems Still the Favorites to Win Majority



### House: Race Ratings

October 23, 2018



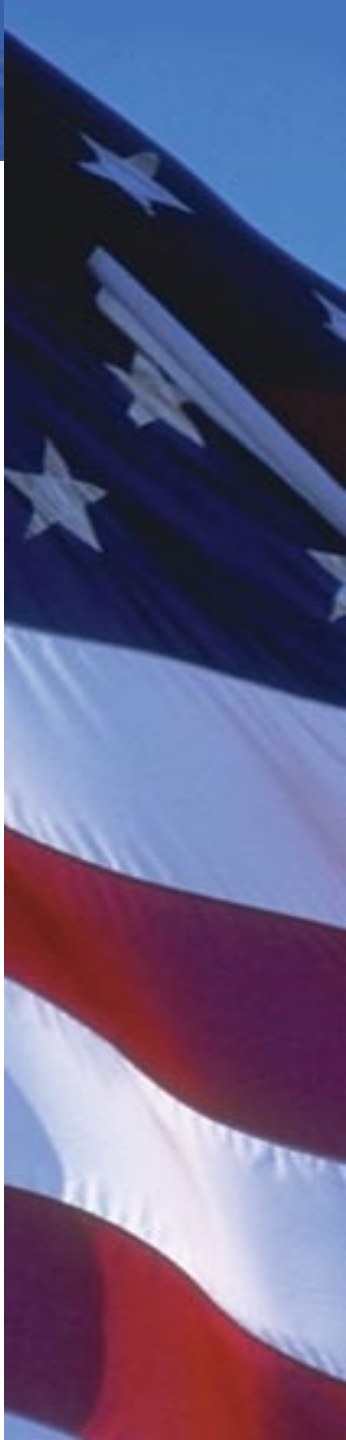
| LIKELY DEMOCRATIC   | LEAN DEMOCRATIC  | DEMOCRATIC TOSS UP | REPUBLICAN TOSS UP   | LEAN REPUBLICAN   | LIKELY REPUBLICAN  |
|---|--|--------------------|--|---|--|
| AZ-01 O'Halleran<br>CA-07 Bera<br>CA-16 Costa<br>FL-07 Murphy<br>MN-07 Peterson<br>NH-01 OPEN (Shea-Porter)<br>NJ-02 OPEN (LoBiondo)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



## House: Will Pelosi Have the Votes? Depends on the Final Margin in the House



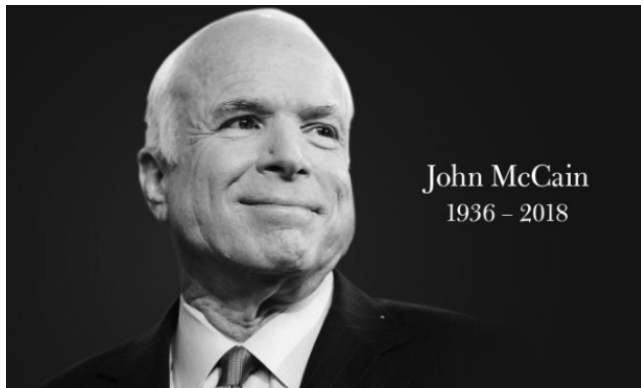
- ❖ Democratic candidates:  
Heavy on women, military veterans & Obama officials - not political officeholders.



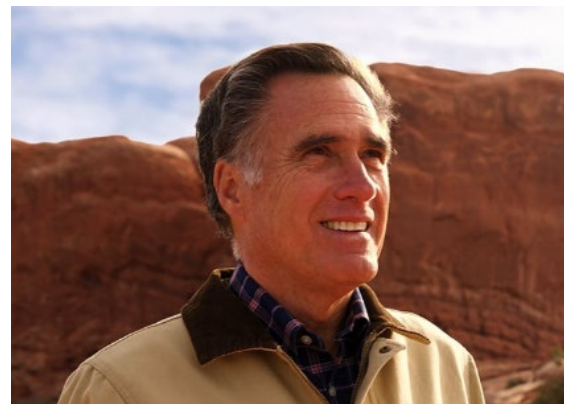




## Red Exodus: Out with Trump Skeptics...

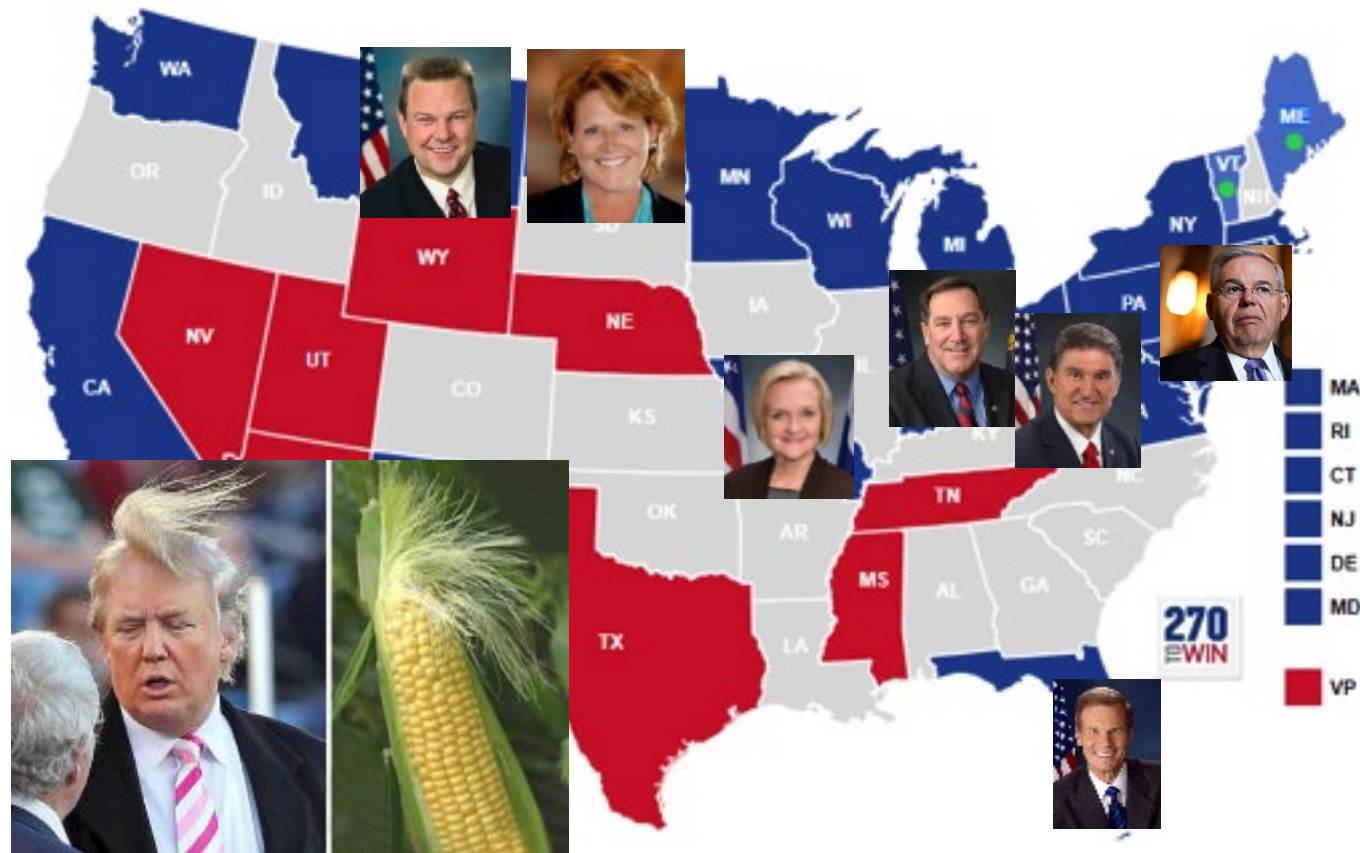


## And in with Trump Loyalists (Mostly)...



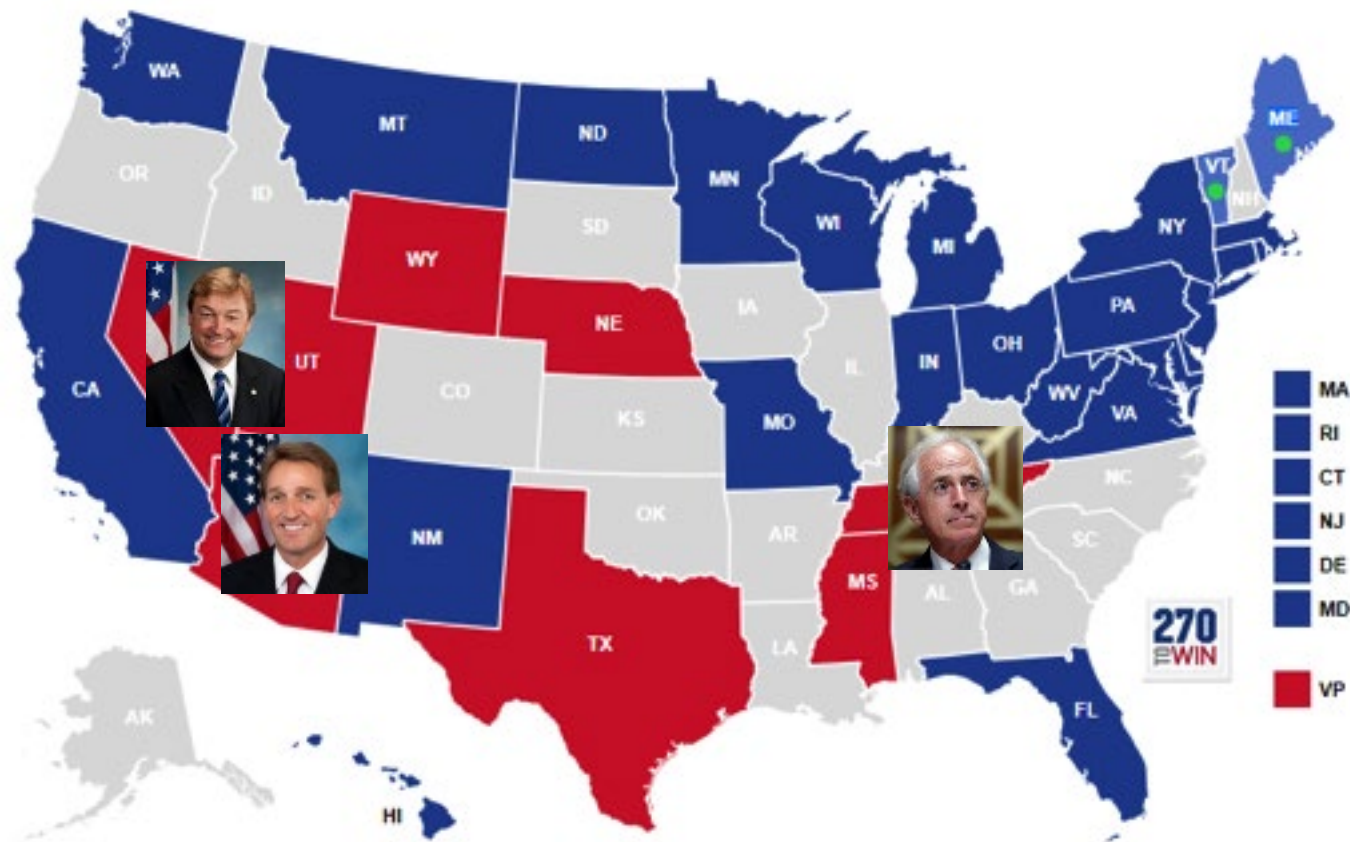


## Senate: Heavily Rural, Lopsided Battleground = **Dems** on Defense



- ❖ 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**





THE INSIDER'S CHOICE FOR ELECTION ANALYSIS

# THE Cook Political REPORT

**BETO  
VS.  
CRUZ**

**THE FIGHT FOR 2018**

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



## A close-up, vertical view of the American flag waving. The image captures the texture of the fabric and the movement of the stars and stripes. The top portion shows the blue field with white stars, while the bottom portion shows the red and white stripes. The flag is set against a clear blue sky.



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