Cook's Look Ahead: 2014 Midterm Elections and Beyond

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Roadmap for the Presentation

The President's Second-Term Jinx

Senate Elections: 2014 and Beyond

2014 House Elections

2014 Gubernatorial Elections

The Second-Term Jinx

Presidents tend to run into trouble during their second terms

Second-term pitfalls among presidents

President	Pitfall	
G.W. Bush	Iraq War	
Clinton	Lewinsky Scandal	
Reagan	Iran Contra Scandal	
Nixon/Ford	Watergate Scandal/Impeachment/Pardon	
Kennedy/Johnson	Vietnam War	
Eisenhower	Recessions in 1958 and 1960	

Analysis

- •The novelty is wearing off, energy is waning, administration is running out of fresh ideas, and the A-team from the first term has largely moved on
- •In the past, recessions, scandals, and wars have plagued second-term Presidents—this second term appears to be no exception
- •In years 5 through 8, voters often become increasingly open to the idea of change

The Six-Year Itch

The president's party fares poorly in second-term midterm elections

Change in congressional party makeup after midterm elections during president's second term

Year	President	Party	Pres. Party Seat Change: House	Pres. Party Seat Change: Senate
2006	G.W. Bush	Republican	-30	-6
1998	Clinton	Democrat	+5	0
1986	Reagan	Republican	-5	-8
1974	Nixon/Ford	Republican	-48	-4
1966	Kennedy/Johnson	Democrat	-48	-4
1958	Eisenhower	Republican	-48	-12
Average			-29	-6

Analysis

The President's party has been hammered in the House and/or Senate in five of the last six "six-year itch" elections since World War II

Since WWII, President's Party Has Lost Five of Six Attempts for Third Term

President's party election results after two-term presidency

Year	President	Party	President's Party Election Result
2008	G.W. Bush	Republican	Lost White House
2000	Clinton	Democrat	Lost White House*
1988	Reagan	Republican	Won White House
1976	Nixon/Ford	Republican	Lost White House
1968	Kennedy/Johnson	Democrat	Lost White House
1960	Eisenhower	Republican	Lost White House

Analysis

The President's party has lost five of the last six post-World War II presidential elections which have followed two-term presidencies

^{*} Lost electoral vote, won popular vote

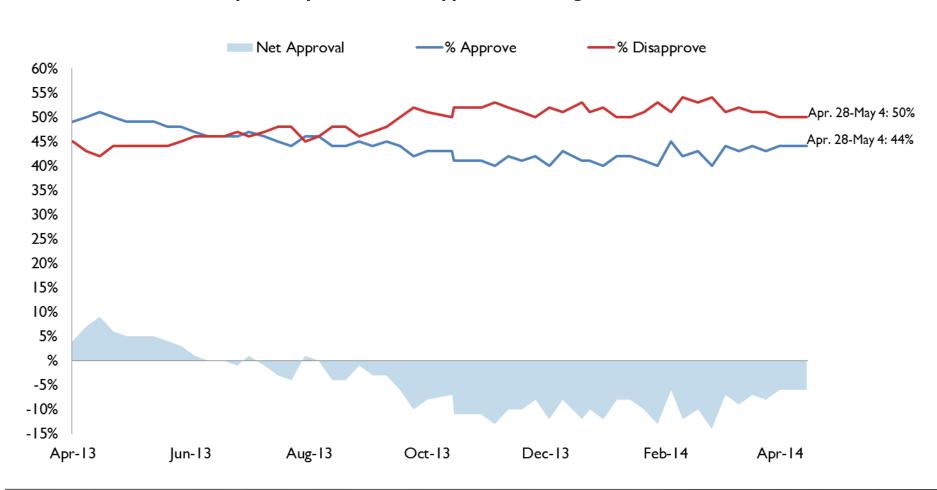
Obama's Approval Ratings Slightly Below Average of Predecessors

Second-term presidential approval ratings

President	Approval Rating	Date
Reagan	68%	May. 1986
Clinton	64%	May. 1998
Eisenhower	53%	May. 1958
Johnson	46%	Apr. 1966
Obama	44%	May 4, 2014
G.W. Bush	33%	May. 2006
Nixon	25%	May. 1974

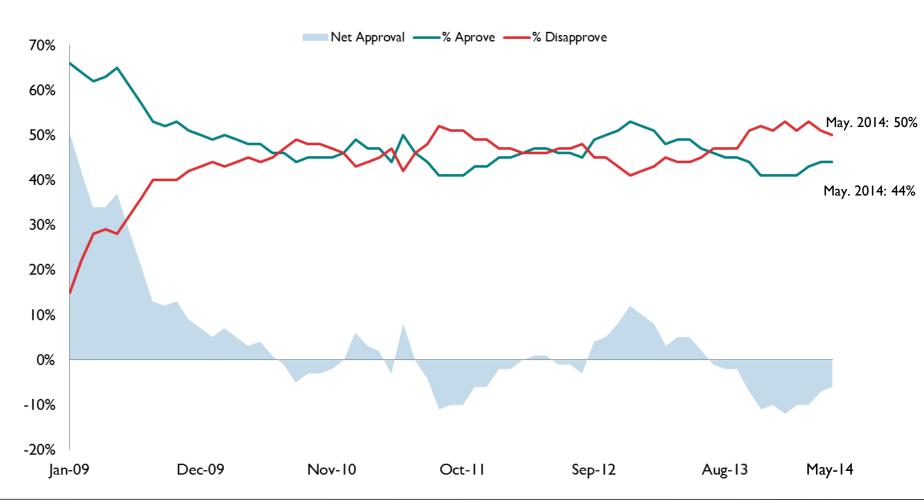
Obama's Approval Ratings in Very Gradual Decline in Second Term

Gallup Weekly Presidential Approval Tracking: 2013 Year to Date



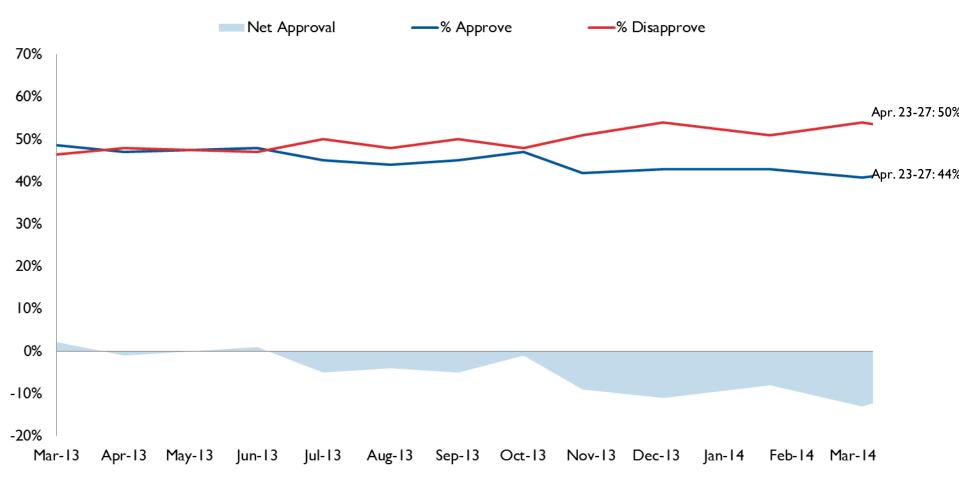
Obama's Ratings Consistent Throughout Presidency

Gallup Monthly Presidential Approval Tracking: January 2009 to Present



Obama's Approval Hits Equilibrium Point

NBC/WSJ Presidential Approval: 2013 Year to Date



Roadmap for the Presentation

The President's Second-Term Jinx

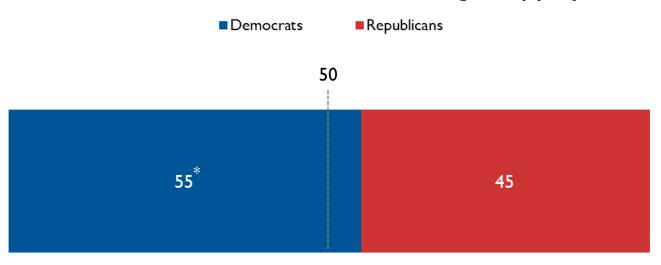
Senate Elections: 2014 and Beyond

2014 House Elections

2014 Gubernatorial Elections

Current Senate Breakdown

Number of Senate seats in the 113th Congress, by party



Analysis

In 2014, Democrats will be playing defense to protect their hold on the Senate

^{*} Includes two Independents, Angus King (I-Maine) and Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), who caucus with the Dems

20% of All Senate Democrats are in Republican-Leaning States; Another 36% in Swing Territory

Current senators by Cook Political Report Partisan Voter Index (all classes)

		DEMOCRATS (55)		
D+10 or Greater (10)	D+5 to D+9.9 (14)	D+4.9 to R+4.9 (20)	R+5 to R+9.9 (5)	R+10 or Greater (6)
Hirono (HI) D+19.5 Schatz (HI) D+19.5 Sanders (VT)(I) D+15.7 Leahy (VT) D+15.7 Reed (RI) D+11.3 Whitehouse (RI) D+11.3 Gillibrand (NY) D+11.1 Schumer (NY) D+11.1 Cardin (MD) D+10.3 Mikulski (MD) D+10.3	Warren (MA) D+9.6 Markey (MA) D+9.6 Boxer (CA) D+9.2 Feinstein (CA) D+9.2 Carper (DE) D+8.2 Coons (DE) D+8.2 Durbin (IL) D+7.8 Blumenthal (CT) D+7.3 Murphy (CT) D+7.3 Menendez (NJ) D+5.6 King (ME)(I) D+5.5 Cantwell (WA) D+5.4 Murray (WA) D+5.4 Booker (NJ) D+5.6	Merkley (OR) D+4.5 Wyden (OR) D+4.5 Levin* (MI) D+3.8 Stabenow (MI) D+3.8 Heinrich (NM) D+3.7 Udall (NM) D+3.7 Baldwin (WI) D+2.5 Reid (NV) D+2.1 Franken (MN) D+1.8 Klobuchar (MN) D+1.8 Casey (PA) D+1.2 Harkin* (IA) D+1.1 Shaheen (NH) D+1 Bennet (CO) D+0.8 Udall (CO) D+0.8 Kaine (VA) R+0.2 Warner (VA) R+0.2 Brown (OH) R+0.9 Nelson (FL) R+1.9 Hagan (NC) R+3.3	Donnelly (IN) R+5.2 McCaskill (MO) R+5.2 Walsh (MT) R+7 Tester (MT) R+7 Johnson* (SD) R+9.6	Heitkamp (ND) R+10.1 Landrieu (LA) R+11.9 Begich (AK) R+12 Manchin (WV) R+13 Rockefeller* (WV) R+13 Pryor (AR) R+14

^{*} Senate seat is open

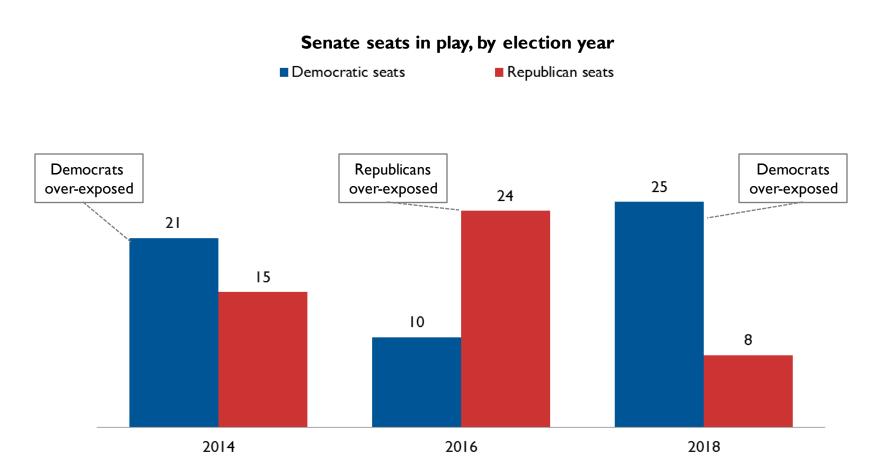
Note: Senators Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) and Angus King (I-Maine) are Independents who caucus with the Democrats, thus giving Democrats an effective 55-45 Senate majority

77% of All Senate Republicans are in Republican States

Current senators by Cook Political Report Partisan Voter Index (all classes)

REPUBLICANS (45)					
D+10 or Greater (0)	D+5 to D+9.9 (2)	D+4.9 to R+4.9 (8)	R+5 to R+9.9 (13)	R+10 or Greater (22)	
	Kirk (IL) D+7.8 Collins (ME) D+5.5	Johnson (WI) D+2.5 Heller (NV) D+2.1 Toomey (PA) D+1.2 Grassley (IA) D+1.1 Ayotte (NH) D+1 Portman (OH) R+0.9 Rubio (FL) R+1.9 Burr (NC) R+3.3	Coats (IN) R+5.2 Blunt (MO) R+5.2 Chambliss (GA) R+6.1 Isakson (GA) R+6.1 Flake (AZ) R+7.3 McCain (AZ) R+7.3 Graham (SC) R+7.8 Scott (SC) R+7.8 Cochran (MS) R+9 Wicker (MS) R+9 Thune (SD) R+9.6 Cornyn (TX) R+9.8 Cruz (TX) R+9.8	Hoeven (ND) R+10.1 Alexander (TN) R+11.8 Corker (TN) R+11.8 Vitter (LA) R+11.9 Murkowski (AK) R+12 Roberts (KS) R+12.2 Moran (KS) R+12.2 Fischer (NE) R+12.2 Johanns (NE) R+12.2 McConnell (KY) R+12.7 Paul (KY) R+12.7 Sessions (AL) R+13.9 Shelby (AL) R+13.9 Shelby (AL) R+13.9 Boozman (AR) R+14 Crapo (ID) R+17.5 Risch (ID) R+17.5 Coburn (OK) R+19 Inhofe (OK) R+19 Barrasso (WY) R+21.7 Enzi (WY) R+21.7 Hatch (UT) R+22.4 Lee (UT) R+22.4	

Dems, Republicans Will Take Turns Playing Defense in Midterms Ahead



2014 Senate Races by 2012 Presidential Performance

Senators running in 2014 by 2012 presidential performance (Obama vs. Romney)

Obama + 15 or Greater	Obama +5 to +14.9	Obama +4.9 to Romney +4.9	Romney +5 to +14.9	Romney +15 or Greater
		DEMOCRATS (21)		
Coons (DE) +19 Schatz (HI) +43 Durbin (IL) +17 Markey (MA) +23 Reed (RI) +27 Booker (NJ) +17	M. Udall (CO) +5 Harkin* (IA) +6 Levin (MI) +10 Franken (MN) +8 Shaheen (NH) +6 T. Udall (NM) +10 Merkley (OR) +12	Hagan (NC) R+2 Warner (VA) D+4	Begich (AK) +14 Walsh (MT) +14	Pryor (AR) +24 Landrieu (LA) +17 Johnson* (SD) +18 Rockefeller* (WV) +27
		REPUBLICANS (15)		
Collins (ME) +15			Chambliss* (GA) +8 Cochran (MS) +12 Graham (SC) +10 Scott (SC) +10	Sessions (AL) +22 Risch (ID) +32 Roberts (KS) +22 McConnell (KY) +23 Johanns* (NE) +22 Coburn (OK) +34 Inhofe (OK) +34 Alexander (TN) +20 Cornyn (TX) +16 Enzi (WY) +41

Senate seat is open

2014 Senate Races by Incumbent's Past Performance

Senators running in 2014 by incumbent's last win percentage

60% or greater	55% to 59.9%	54.9% or less					
	DEMOCRATS (21)						
Pryor (AR) 79.5% Durbin (IL) 67.8% Harkin* (IA) 62.7% Levin* (MI) 62.7% T. Udall (NM) 61.3% Reed (RI) 73.4% Johnson* (SD) 62.5% Warner (VA) 65.0% Rockefeller* (WV) 63.7%	Coons (DE) 56.6%	Begich (AK) 47.8% M. Udall (CO) 52.8% Landrieu (LA) 52.1% Markey (MA) 54.8% Franken (MN) 42.0% Shaheen (NH) 51.7% Hagan (NC) 52.7% Merkley (OR) 48.9%					
	REPUBLICANS (15)						
Sessions (AL) 63.4% Roberts (KS) 60.0% Collins (ME) 61.3% Cochran (MS) 61.4% Coburn (OK) 70.6% Alexander (TN) 65.1% Enzi (WY) 75.6%	Risch (ID) 57.7% Johanns* (NE) 57.5% Inhofe (OK) 56.7% Graham (SC) 57.5%	Chambliss* (GA) 49.8% McConnell (KY) 53.0% Cornyn (TX) 54.8%					

^{*} Senator seat is open

Note: Senators Scott (R-SC), Schatz (D-HI), and Walsh (D-MT) were appointed to fill vacancies and have not yet ran in or won election to their respective seats. Thus, their names do not appear here.

2014 Senate Races by Cook Political Report State Partisan Voter Index

Senators running in 2014 by Cook Political Report State Partisan Voter Index

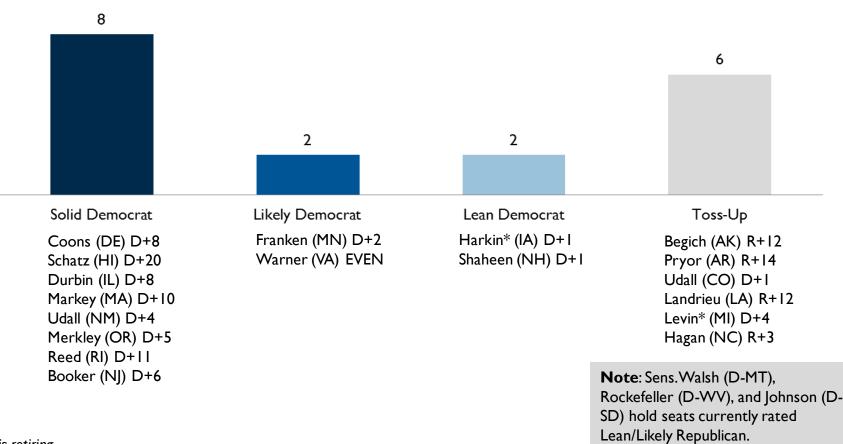
D+10 or Greater	D+5 to D+9.9	D+4.9 to R+4.9	R+5 to R+9.9	R+I0 or Greater
		DEMOCRATS (21)		
Schatz (HI) D+19.5 Reed (RI) D+11.3	Markey (MA) D+9.6 Coons (DE) D+8.2 Durbin (IL) D+7.8 Booker (NJ) D+6	MI (Levin) D+3.8 Franken (MN) D+1.8 Merkley (OR) D+4.5 Udall (CO) D+0.8 Harkin (IA) D+1.1 Udall (NM) D+3.7 Shaheen (NH) D+1 Hagan (NC) R+3.3 Warner (VA) EVEN	Walsh (MT) R+7	Begich (AK) R+12 Pryor (AR) R+14 Johnson (SD) R+9.6 Rockefeller (WV) R+13 Landrieu (LA) R+11.9
		REPUBLICANS (15)		
	Collins (ME) D+5.5		Chambliss (GA) R+6.1 Cochran (MS) R+9 Scott (SC) R+7.8 Graham (SC) R+7.8	Sessions (AL) R+13.9 Risch (ID) R+17.5 Roberts (KS) R+12.2 McConnell (KY) R+12.7 Johanns* (NE) R+12.2 Coburn (OK) R+19 Inhofe (OK) R+19 Alexander (TN) R+11.8 Cornyn (TX) R+9.8 Enzi (WY) R+21.7
enator seat is open			Granain (SC) IV17.0	Johanns* (NE) R+12.2 Coburn (OK) R+19 Inhofe (OK) R+19 Alexander (TN) R+11 Cornyn (TX) R+9.8

^{*} Senator seat is open

Dem Seats On the Ballot in a Range of Left-Leaning Districts

Breakdown of Democratic-held seats by Cook Political Report Rating

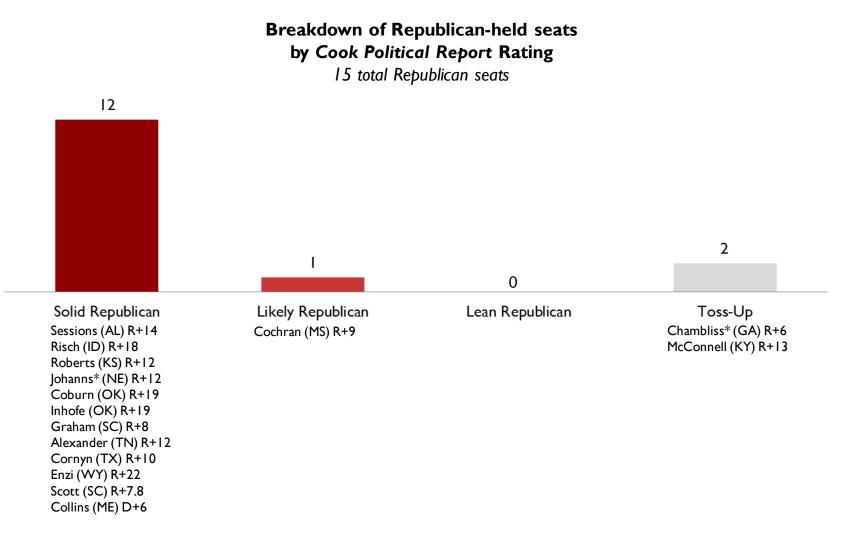
21 total Democratic seats



^{*} Senator is retiring

Note: A Cook Political Report rating of Lean D/R or Toss Up denotes races that are currently considered to be competitive

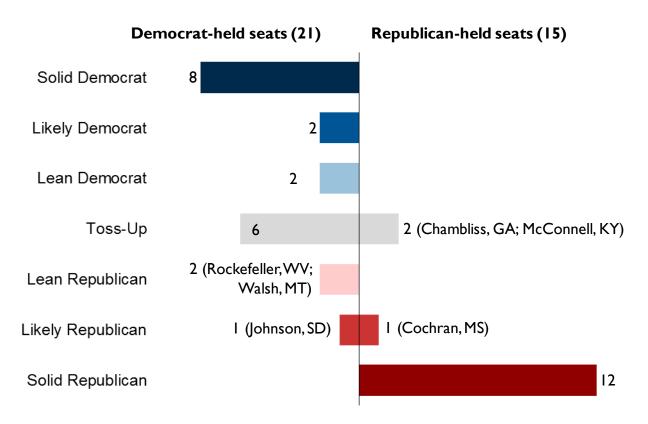
Most GOP Seats On the Ballot in GOP Strongholds



^{*} Senator is retiring ** Potential retirement
Note: A Cook Political Report rating of **Lean D/R** or **Toss Up** denotes races that are currently considered to be competitive

2014 Senate Race Vulnerabilities

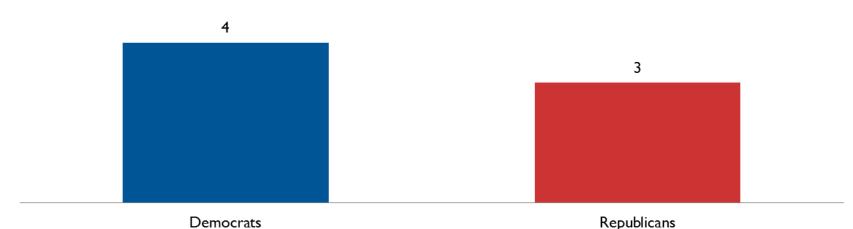
Breakdown of all Senate seats by Cook Political Report Rating 36 total seats



Note: A Cook Political Report rating of Lean D/R or Toss Up denotes races that are currently considered to be competitive

Democrats Have More Open Seats at Risk in 2014 than Republicans

Open Senate seats by party



Harkin (IA) D+I Levin (MI) D+4 Johnson (SD) R+I0 Rockefeller (WV) R+I3 Chambliss (GA) R+6 Johanns (NE) R+12 Coburn (OK) R+19

2016 Senate Races by 2012 Presidential Performance

Senators running in 2016 by 2012 presidential performance (Obama vs. Romney)

Obama + 15 or Greater	Obama +5 to +14.9	Obama +4.9 to Romney +4.9	Romney +5 to +14.9	Romney +15 or Greater
		DEMOCRATS (10)		
Boxer (CA) +23 Blumenthal (CT) +17 Schatz (HI), +43 Mikulski (MD) +26 Schumer (NY) +28 Leahy (VT) +36 Murray (WA) +15	Wyden (OR) +5 Bennet (CO) + 5 Reid (NV) +7			
		REPUBLICANS (24)		
Kirk (IL) +17	Grassley (IA) +6 Ayotte (NH) +6 Toomey (PA) +5 Johnson (WI) +7	Rubio (FL) D+I Burr (NC) R+2 Portman (OH) D+3	Murkowski (AK) +9 McCain (AZ) +9 Isakson (GA) +8 Coats (IN) +10 Blunt (MO) +9 Scott (SC) +10	Shelby (AL) +22 Boozman (AR) +24 Crapo (ID) +32 Moran (KS) +22 Paul (KY) +23 Vitter (LA) +17 Hoeven (ND) +20 Coburn (OK) +34 Thune (SD) +18 Lee (UT) +48

23

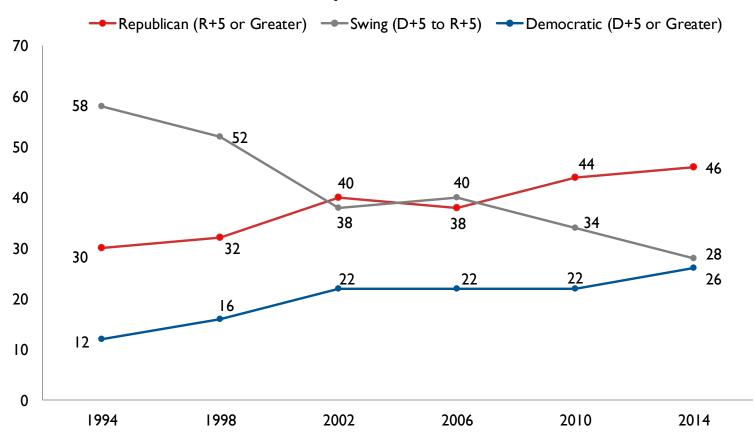
2018 Senate Races by 2012 Presidential Performance

Senators running in 2018 by 2012 presidential performance (Obama vs. Romney)

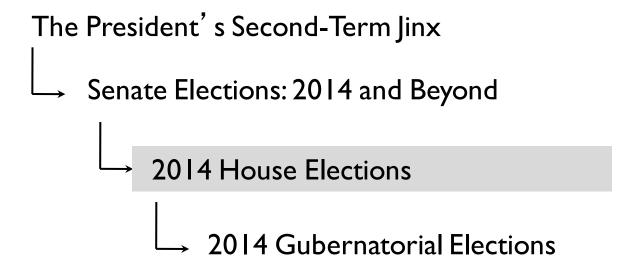
Obama + 15 or Greater	Obama +5 to +14.9	Obama +4.9 to Romney +4.9	Romney +5 to +14.9	Romney +15 or Greater
		DEMOCRATS (25)		
Feinstein (CA) +23 Murphy (CT) +17 Carper (DE) +19 Hirono (HI) +43 King (ME)(I) +15 Cardin (MD) +26 Warren (MA) +23 Menendez (NJ) +18 Gillibrand (NY) +28 Whitehouse (RI) +27 Sanders (VT)(I) +36 Cantwell (WA) +15	Stabenow (MI) +10 Klobuchar (MN) +8 Heinrich (NM) +10 Casey (PA) +5 Baldwin (WI) +7	Nelson (FL) D+1 Brown (OH) D+3 Kaine (VA) D+4	Donnelly (IN) +10 McCaskill (MO) +9 Tester (MT) +14	Heitkamp (ND) +20 Manchin (WV) +27
		REPUBLICANS (8)		
	Heller (NV) +7		Flake (AZ) +9 Wicker (MS) +12	Fischer (NE) +22 Corker (TN) +20 Cruz (TX) +16 Hatch (UT) +48 Barrasso (WY) +41

The Senate's Incredible Shrinking Swing Seat

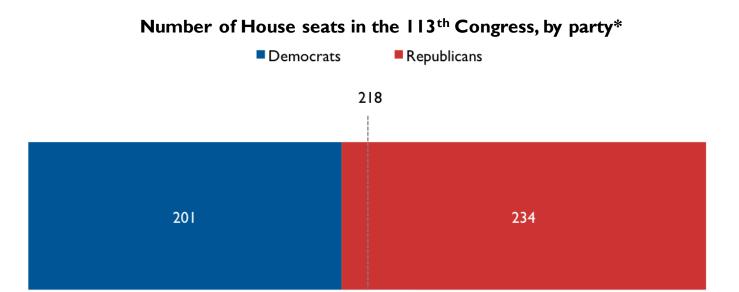
Number of Senate seats by State Partisan Voter Index, 1994-2014



Roadmap for the Presentation



Current House Breakdown



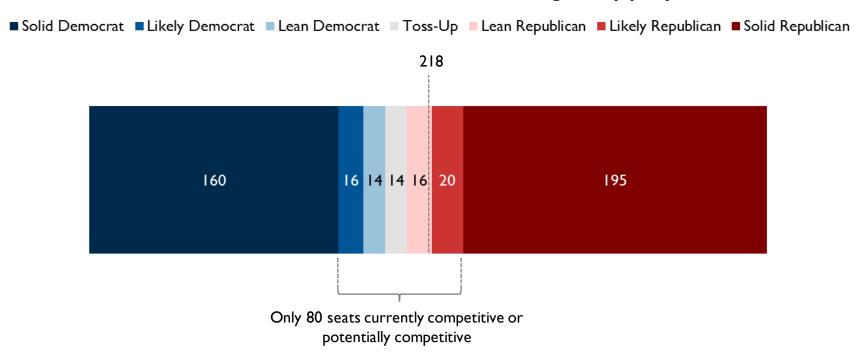
Analysis

Democrats need a 17-seat gain to win control of the House in 2014

^{*} Includes two currently vacant Republican seats and two currently vacant Democratic seats

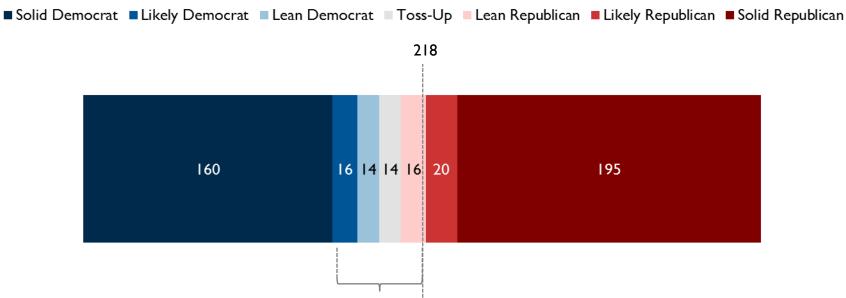
Only 80 Competitive or Potentially Competitive Seats in the House in 2014

Number of House seats in the 113th Congress, by party



Democrats Must Run the Table to Win Back House in 2014

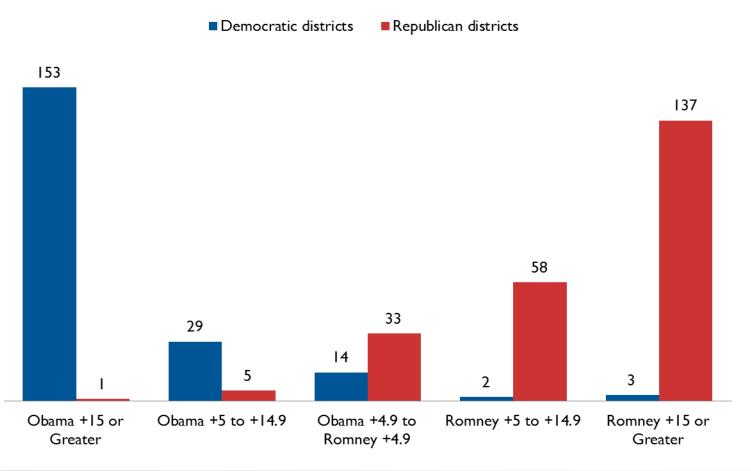
Number of House seats in the 113th Congress, by party



Democrats must win every Solid Democrat, Likely Democrat, Lean Democrat, Toss-Up, and 14 out of 16 Lean Republican districts to take back the House

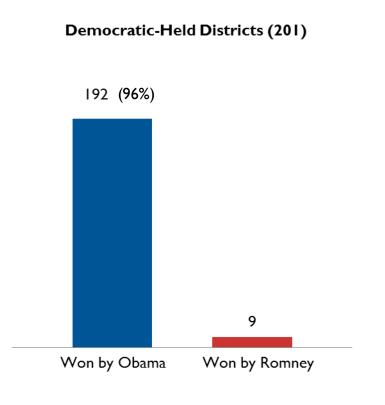
Most House Midterms in Friendly Territory

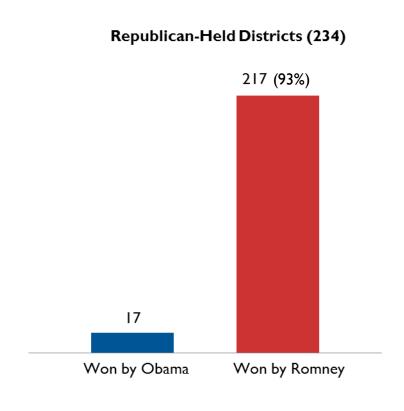




Long-Run Effects of Redistricting Means House is Fairly Inelastic in 2014

2014 House races by 2012 presidential performance (Obama vs. Romney)





Open House Seats a Source of Minimal

Evacuus fau Bath Dautias







Democrats

Pastor (AZ-07) D+16 Miller (CA-11) D+17 Waxman (CA-33) D+11 McLeod (CA-35) D+15 Hanabusa (HI-01) D+18 Braley (IA-01) D+5 Michaud (ME-02) D+2 Dingell (MI-12) D+15 Peters (MI-14) D+29 McIntyre (NC-07) R+12 Holt (NJ-12) D+14 McCarthy (NY-04) D+3 Owens (NY-21) EVEN Schwartz (PA-13) D+13 Matheson (UT-04) R+16

Moran (VA-08) D+16

Republicans

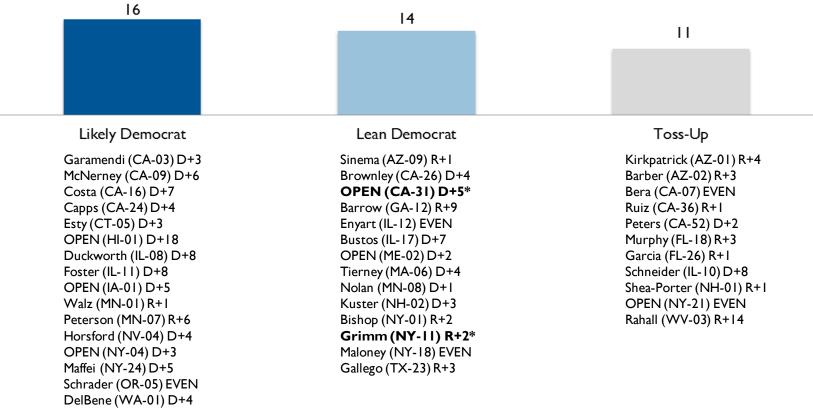
Bachus (AL-06) R+28 Griffin (AR-02) R+8 Cotton (AR-04) R+15 McKeon (CA-25) R+3 Miller (CA-31) D+5 Campbell (CA-45) R+7 Gardner (CO-04) R+11 Kingston (GA-01) R+9 Broun (GA-10) R+14 Gingrey (GA-II) R+I9 Latham (IA-03) EVEN McAllister (LA-05) R+15 Cassidy (LA-06) R+21 Camp (MI-04) R+5 Rogers (MI-08) R+2 Bachmann (MN-06) R+10 Daines (MT-AL) R+7 Coble (NC-06) R+10 Runyan (NJ-03) R+1 Lankford (OK-05) R+12 Gerlach (PA-06) R+2 Moore Capito (WV-02) R+11 Stockman (TX-36) R+25 Wolf (VA-10) R+2 Hastings (WA-04) R+13 Petri (WI-06) R+5

Capito (WV-02) R+11

25 of 201 Democratic Seats in Serious Danger, 16 More Potentially Competitive

Breakdown of competitive Democratic-held districts by Cook Political Report Rating

41 total competitive or potentially competitive Democratic districts



Note: Matheson (UT-04) and McIntyre (NC-07)'s open seats are rated Likely Republican

*Bolded name denotes opposing party 's seat

21 of 234 Republican Seats in Danger, 18 More Potentially Competitive

Breakdown of competitive Republican-held districts by Cook Political Report Rating

39 total competitive or potentially competitive Republican districts

16

Likely Republican OPEN (AR-04) R+15 Denham (CA-10) R+1 OPEN (CA-25) R+3 King (IA-04) R+5 Barr (KY-06) R+9 Amash (MI-03) R+4 Bentivolio (MI-II) R+4 Kline (MN-02) R+2 OPEN (MT-AL) R+7 Ellmers (NC-02) R+10 **OPEN (NC-07) R+12** Terry (NE-02) R+4 LoBiondo (NJ-02) D+I Pearce (NM-02) R+5 Johnson (OH-06) R+8 Joyce (OH-14) R+4 **OPEN (UT-04) R+16** Rigell (VA-02) R+2

> OPEN (WI-06) R+5 Duffy (WI-07) R+2

20

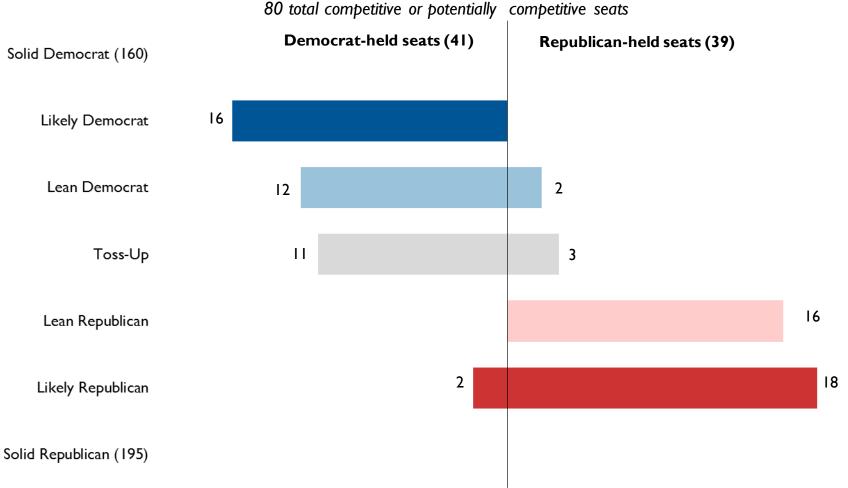
Lean Republican OPEN (AR-02) R+8 Valadao (CA-21) D+2 Southerland (FL-02) R+6 Jolly (FL-13) R+6 Davis (IL-13) EVEN Walorski (IN-02) R+6 Benishek (MI-01) R+5 Walberg (MI-07) R+3 OPEN (MI-08) R+2 Heck (NV-03) EVEN Gibson (NY-19) D+1 Reed (NY-23) R+3 OPEN (PA-06) R+2) Fitzpatrick (PA-08) R+I OPEN (VA-10) R+2 OPEN (WV-02) R+11

Toss-Up Coffman (CO-06) D+1 OPEN (IA-03) EVEN OPEN (NJ-03) R+1

3

2014 House Race Vulnerabilities

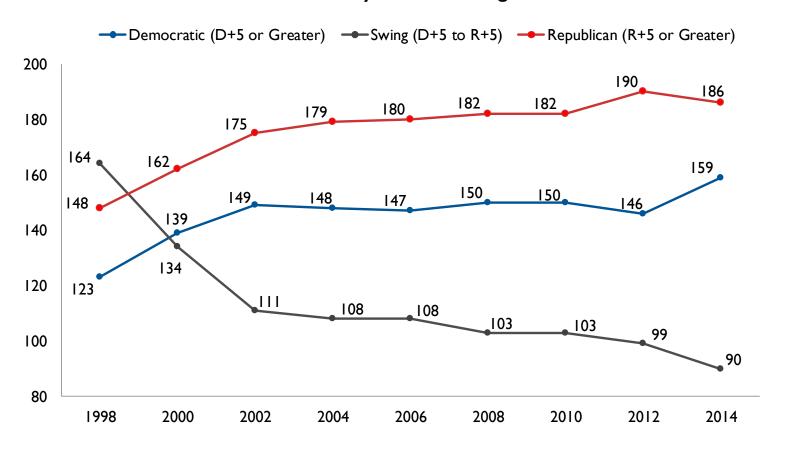
Breakdown of competitive* House seats by Cook Political Report Rating



^{*}A Cook Political Report rating of **Lean D/R** or **Toss Up** denotes races that are currently considered to be competitive; the 195 Republican seats and 160 Democratic seats which do not appear on these charts are rated **Solid Republican** and **Solid Democratic**, respectively, and are not considered to be competitive by the Cook Political Report at this time.

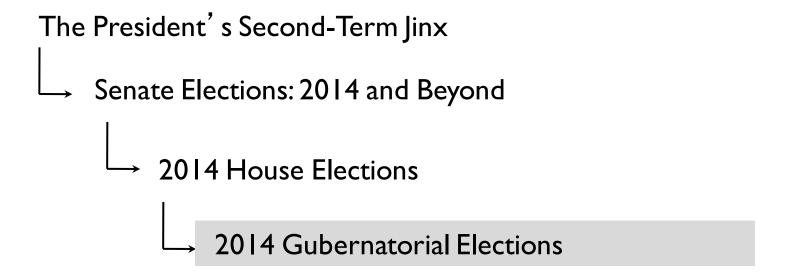
The House's Incredible Shrinking Swing Seat

Number of House seats by Partisan Voting Index of district

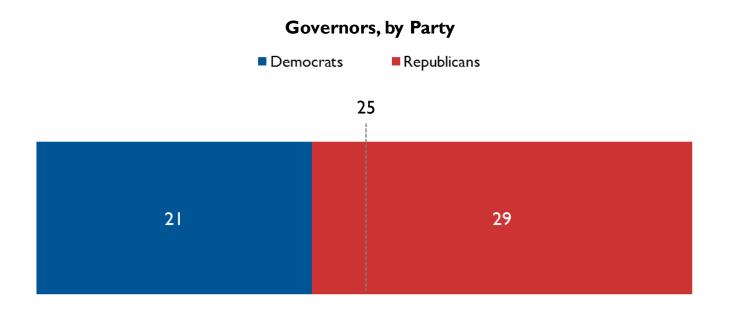


Note: "Swing" districts are defined as having an average presidential vote margin over the last two elections within five points of the national average

Roadmap for the Presentation



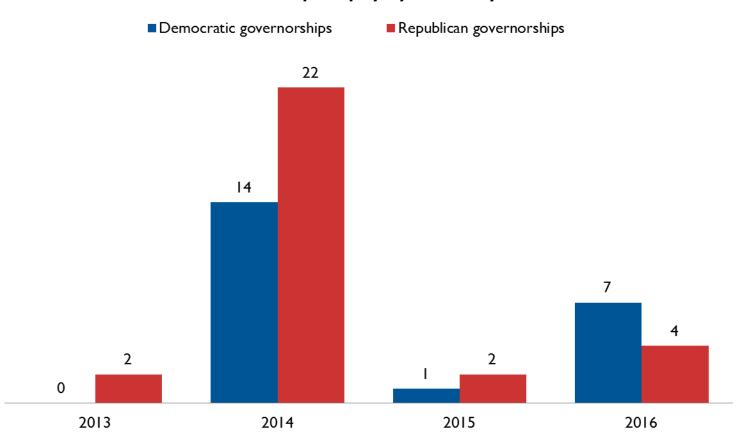
Current Governors Breakdown



Analysis 22 of 29 Republican governorships are up in the 2014 cycle

GOP Govs Face Most Exposure in Upcoming Elections

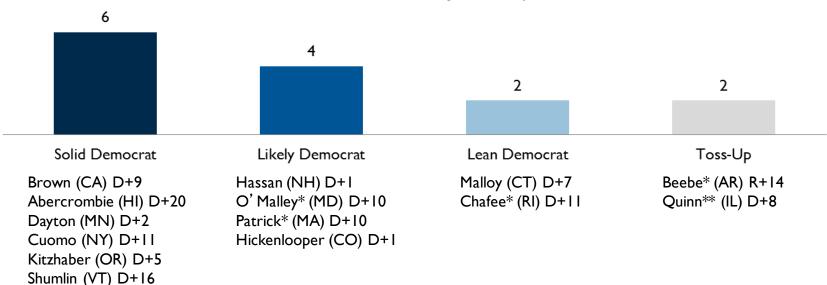




4 of 14 Democratic Governorships in Danger This Cycle

Breakdown of 2013/2014 governors races by Cook Political Report Rating

14 total Democratic-held governorships

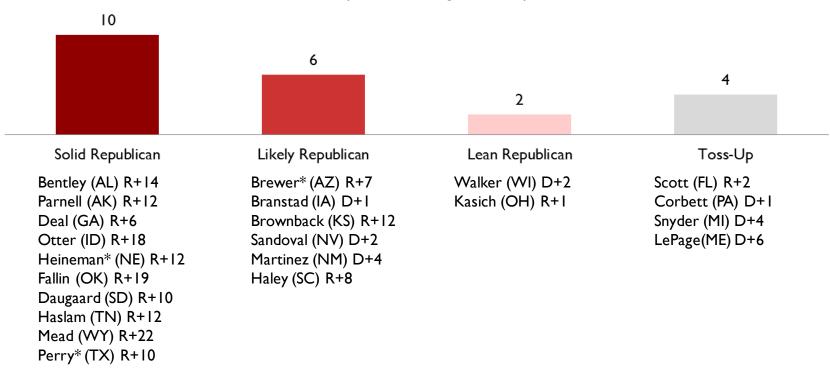


^{*} Open seat **Potential retirement

6 of 22 Republican Governorships in Danger This Cycle

Breakdown of 2014 governors races by Cook Political Report Rating

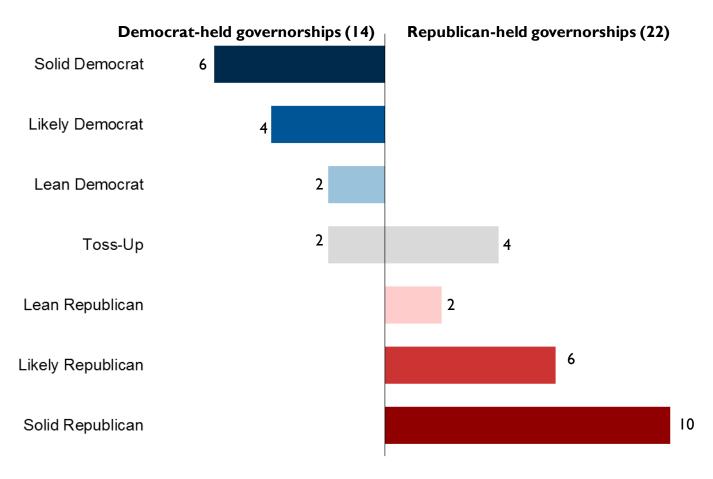
22 total Republican-held governorships



^{*} Open seat

2014 Governors Races Vulnerabilities

Breakdown of all 2014 governors races by Cook Political Report Rating 36 total races



2014 Vulnerable Dem Governors

Democratic governors who won with less than 55% of the vote in last gubernatorial election

55.0% to 52.0% (2)	51.9% to 50.0% (1)	49.9% or Less (6)					
	DEMOCRATS (9)						
Brown (CA) 53.4% Hassan (NH) 54.6%	Hickenlooper (CO) 51.0%	Malloy (CT) 49.5% Quinn (IL) 46.8% Patrick* (MA) 47.9% Dayton (MN) 43.4% Kitzhaber (OR) 49.3% Chafee* (I) (RI) 36.1%					

^{*} Open seat

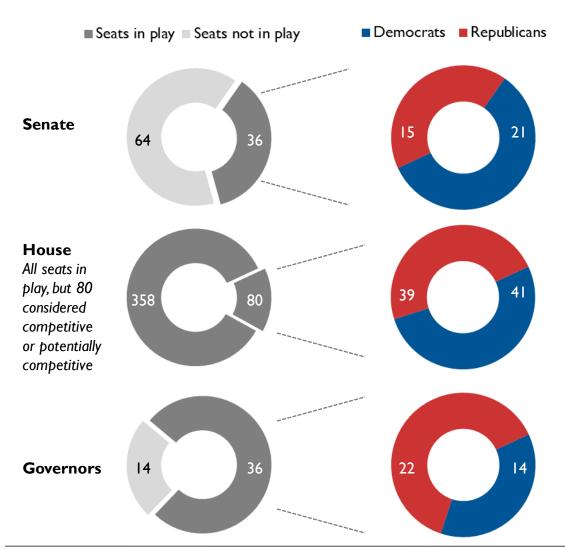
2014 Vulnerable GOP Governors

Republican governors who won with less than 55% of the vote in last gubernatorial election

55.0% to 52.0% (8)	51.9% to 50.0% (1)	49.9% or Less (3)
REPUBLICANS (12)		
Brewer* (AZ) 54.3% Deal (GA) 53.0% Branstad (IA) 52.2% Sandoval (NV) 53.4% Martinez (NM) 53.3% Corbett (PA) 54.5% Perry (TX) 55.0% Walker (WI) 52.3%	Haley (SC) 51.4%	Scott (FL) 48.9% LePage (ME) 37.6% Kasich (OH) 49.0%

^{*} Open seat

2014 Midterm Elections: All Seats in Play, by Party



Current outlook: To win the majority, Republicans would have to score a net gain of six seats. They are on track to pick up between four and six seats; it is more likely than not that the number will be at the higher end of – and may exceed – that range.

Current outlook: Democrats need a net gain of 17 seats to reach a majority in 2014. Because the House is well sorted-out, large shifts or a change in partisan control of the House are unlikely. In large part because of President Obama's standing and the GOP's midterm turnout advantages, we would estimate a Republican gain of between two and 12 House seats if the election were held today.

Current outlook: While a favorable political landscape should help Republicans, they remain on track to lose between two and four seats.