



State of the States

By Aaron Kleinman

**Director of Research, Future Now
and Future Now Fund**

@FutureNowUSA

July 30, 2020

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

Welcome to State of the States, Future Now Fund's review of current trends in American politics through the lens of states and state legislatures. There's plenty of analysis out there, but our focus on state legislatures provides a unique vantage from which to delve into 2020 electoral and policy trends.

Notably, even if Trump loses the Electoral College, Republican gerrymanders in states like Pennsylvania and Florida may prevent those legislatures from flipping and the consequences will be huge. Regardless of how Joe Biden does, state governments will set the rules under which 2022 and 2024 elections will take place and, maybe more importantly, determine the material conditions under which the elections will be conducted. They will have a key role to play in fixing politics, saving democracy, and improving lives. It's possible that between now and Election Day Democrats can ride what looks like a favorable environment to significant gains.¹

Looking at everything that has happened since the start of 2020, let alone when Donald Trump started running for president, predicting the political future is a fraught exercise. And we don't pretend to have all the answers. Rather, this is an opportunity to lay out what we do know, and the likely conclusions we can draw from that knowledge.

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

Electoral Trends: 2020	5
Who's Voting and What's Changed Since 2016	6
Whose Votes are Changing?	9
COVID-19: What We Know	15
The George Floyd Protests	19
Third Party Vote	21
The Disco Stu Fallacy	24

State-by-State Analysis	28
Alaska	29
Arizona	35
Florida	42
Iowa	49
Kansas	58
Maine	65

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

State-by-State Analysis (continued)

Michigan	70
Minnesota	78
Montana	85
New Hampshire	92
North Carolina	98
Pennsylvania	104
Texas	113
Bonus: Maps for the Two FNF 2019 States	121
Bonus: States of Note	124

Conclusion 127

What Happens over the Next 3 Months?	128
Final Thoughts	130
Endnotes	131

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

Electoral Trends: 2020

The 2020 election does not suffer from a lack of predictions or punditry. But starting with state legislatures and building from there to the electorate as a whole provides a perspective different from most horse race punditry. With such perspective in mind I wanted to first lay out for you the facts that we know about the overall election and where it stands today, then engage with a few hypotheticals about how the election could develop.

First we will take a look at the electorate starting with some of the factors that are most likely to determine the razor-thin margins that can change the outcome in state legislative chambers: deaths and newly eligible voters. Then we'll analyze how the electorate has changed since 2016. This will of course affect everyone on the ballot, from state representative to president—and could be dispositive in any elections that are close (for electors, members of Congress, or state legislature).

We'll then apply our best thinking on how the marginal shift in the electorate will manifest itself, in likely presidential outcomes, statewide and congressional races, and, our primary focus, state legislative races. Notably, no matter whether Joe Biden wins more than 400 electoral votes or Donald Trump is re-elected, there will certainly be statewide and Congressional races, and state legislative chambers, where control comes down to a few hundred votes. It could be a chamber that looks safe today like the Maine Senate, or a longer shot like the Florida House, but there will be a very close call somewhere.

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Who's Voting and What's Changed Since 2016

2016 voters who died

Based on Center for Disease Control and Pew Research estimates (and assuming higher mortality for nonvoters because they tend to be poorer and have worse health outcomes, along with increased death rates in 2020 because of COVID) approximately **7 million 2016 voters have died.**²

Accounting for increased death rates among older voters, approximately **800,000 more 2016 Republican voters died than 2016 Democratic voters** (this assumes equivalent morbidity across both groups).

We expect this to have a minimal electoral impact because whatever gains Democrats got would be spread so thinly—800,000 votes spread over more than 7,000 state legislative races would be a mean shift in legislative elections of around 100 votes—fewer in smaller districts. This would impact some individual races but would be unlikely to make the difference in the partisan composition of any chamber. It would also flip Michigan in the Electoral College but every other state would have the same outcome.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Who's Voting and What's Changed Since 2016

Voters who have turned 18 since 2016

~15-16m

Americans have turned 18 since the 2016 election and are eligible to vote³

Assuming same registration/turnout rates (approximately 40% of eligible 18-21 year olds voted) and voter preference as 2016 this would lead to a 1.6 million vote increase for a Democratic candidate, of an overall net 2.4 million vote increase nationwide. This would have a larger impact than deaths on state legislative elections and in the Electoral College, potentially even changing chamber outcomes in states like Arizona, Iowa and Michigan.

~2.3m

Americans have become naturalized citizens since the 2016 election (assuming a lower rate in 2019 and 2020)⁴

Such voters are likely to be heavily Latinx and Asian,⁵ and their turnout rate is increasing, potentially adding another 100,000-200,000 net votes for a Democratic candidate depending on the exact demographic mix. However, these voters are not spread evenly across the country, and Florida and Texas in particular could see a disproportionate impact of these new voters entering the electorate, enough to tip the balance in close races in immigrant-heavy areas around Miami and Houston, races that Future Now Fund ("FNF") is involved in.

Skip to next section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Who's Voting and What's Changed Since 2016

A “redo” election of 2016 would likely result in:

- A Democratic win in the Electoral College: flipping Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania
- Potentially changing partisan control in state legislative chambers in Arizona, Iowa and Michigan.

However, those gains on their own aren't enough for Democrats to make meaningful progress in other races, especially those needed for state legislative majorities.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Whose Votes are Changing?

People who didn't vote in 2016 but could in 2020

The *New York Times* did a thorough analysis in 2019 of what nonvoters look like.⁶



Registered nonvoters:
similar to the electorate with
a possible pro-GOP bias



Unregistered nonvoters:
similar to Democrats

This is a group that has often been specifically targeted to suppress their votes; the intersection of poverty and race is a potent weapon in the war on voters. Systematic and sophisticated voter suppression tactics that create enormous barriers to voting in many states make this a difficult group to mobilize, and research suggests that efforts to reach this group yield fewer votes per dollar than other tactics. But these voices are critical to our democracy.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Whose Votes are Changing?

People whose votes could switch

Vote switching was the key to the Blue Wave of 2018—**89% of the Democratic margin** came from people who switched from voting GOP/third party in prior elections to voting Democratic.⁷

However, there's no guarantee that those 2018 votes will stay switched, as that wasn't the case after 2010 or (to a lesser extent) 2014.

Though, notably, generic ballot polls have remained constant since the 2018 election,⁸ indicating that the gains Democrats made then are somewhat durable, and could be indicative of what 2020 will look like.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Whose Votes are Changing?

Partisan Bystanders

In an era with high political polarization (which is really the norm in American history), 87% of voters have a negative view of only one of the parties. These voters are very difficult to switch. The remaining 13% are targets for persuasion, a cohort that AFL-CIO Political Director Michael Podhorzer dubbed “Partisan Bystanders.”⁹ These Partisan Bystanders are a significant portion of swing voters. They’re also likely to be the voters who split tickets at the greatest rates and as such, should be the focus of persuasion campaigns up and down the ballot. **Any Democrat at the state level who runs ahead of Biden in their district will do so because their message resonated with Partisan Bystanders.**



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Whose Votes are Changing?

“Passive Bystanders,” as Podhorzer has dubbed them, **are 10% of the electorate**, and don’t have a negative view of either party

Voted for Clinton but barely, moved toward Democrats in 2018, and a majority (62%) say they won’t vote for Trump. Because these voters have such fluid views it will be critical for Democrats to message them effectively in state legislative races to ensure that any Biden coattails manifest themselves in state legislatures. FNF endorsee Jon Morgan won a district where Trump got more than 50% of the vote in 2018 and his campaign has good examples of the type of positive advertising that can appeal to Passive Bystanders.¹⁰

“Hostile Bystanders,” as Podhorzer has dubbed them, **are 3% of the electorate**, and have a negative view of both parties

Broke strongly toward Trump, still seem to favor him but less so. Again, this is a group that state legislative candidates should target. Emphasizing shared values that transcend partisan boundaries (i.e. the public health response to COVID-19) could help them flip districts that Trump carries in 2020.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Whose Votes are Changing?

So far mostly good news for Democrats here, so where is the good news for Republicans?

Gains may not be spread evenly across all the states—if Trump holds onto his 2016 states other than Michigan and Pennsylvania he still wins. And Wisconsin, Arizona, Florida, and North Carolina polling and elections have been close between the parties from 2016 through start of 2020. Moreover, with legislative maps still tilted toward Republicans nationwide **Democrats need either a blowout or a marked increase in resources** to make significant gains beyond the Oval Office.

A poor performance by Biden would sink down-ballot Democratic candidates. In the Iowa Senate, for example, in 2016 six incumbent Democrats lost re-election, four of them by double digits. These were largely competent candidates running well-funded campaigns but it didn't matter because of Republicans' rural surge in 2016.

Most polls have shown Republicans gaining among voters of color from 2016, particularly male voters of color.

Skip to next
section ►►

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Whose Votes are Changing?

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

The coronavirus epidemic has further altered the political landscape...

**Skip to next
section ►►**



State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

COVID-19: What We Know

Best practices to mitigate the virus, and the public's tolerance of them, are constantly evolving but voters as a whole seem to strongly favor aggressive public health measures.¹¹

Traditionally presidential re-election rates correspond to the health of the economy,¹² which is likely to be terrible.¹³

While it appears that Republicans are counting on a good stock market to boost confidence in their economic policies, political science professors tend to use broader measures of economic health like Gross National Product and the Index of Leading Economic Indicators to measure the public's perception of the economy. And ending the \$600 weekly payments sustaining unemployed Americans would only make Republicans' predicament worse.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

COVID-19: What We Know

So how could Republicans exploit COVID to win in spite of the foregoing?

Lower voter turnout: COVID-19 will likely be an excuse for voter disenfranchisement, harassment, and intimidation under the guise of social distancing regulations.

- However, as the April Wisconsin judicial election showed, if Republicans disenfranchise people in a too-heavy handed manner during the outbreak it could lead to a backlash.¹⁴
- Already voter registration has plummeted in most states since the start of the pandemic, blunting Democrats' advantage among newly eligible voters.¹⁵

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

COVID-19: What We Know

- The USPS slowdown directed by a Trump appointee could prevent mail-in ballots from being received in a timely manner. Moreover, ballot rejection rates in states like New York and Kentucky that recently switched to heavy absentee balloting were high, sometimes as high as 20%. And polling and special elections indicate that Democrats are more likely to vote absentee in 2020. In a recent special election in New York, 60% of Democratic votes came in absentee while only 30% of Republican votes were cast absentee. A ballot rejection rate of just 7% would turn a 1% Democratic win into a narrow loss if voters cast absentee ballots at a similar rate in November.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

COVID-19: What We Know

If there's an overall decline in turnout, Republicans could benefit if they have an enthusiasm advantage over Democrats, but it's unclear if that will exist in November.¹⁶

Prior to COVID-19, interest levels in the election were historically high (more than 70% very/somewhat enthusiastic to vote, more than any other recent election at a comparable point) but during the first two months of the COVID-19 pandemic it's dropped to more regular levels (though still higher than 2016).

Unclear the impact of mass unemployment on voting—being unemployed tends to decrease likelihood of voting but that hasn't been tested in an era of mass unemployment and removes a logistical hurdle for otherwise engaged persons.¹⁷ Possibly more concerning is an uptick in evictions/foreclosures if moratoria on them expire: with voting tied to residence that could result in significant disenfranchisement.

The COVID-19 pandemic highlights the rickety nature of America's electoral systems, but it is still possible to build up infrastructure to get people to vote (and track those votes) in possibly nontraditional ways (early/vote by mail) now.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

The George Floyd Protests

Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin's murder of George Floyd on May 27 sparked nationwide protests, initially aimed at curbing police power and growing into a movement to dismantle structural racism in the United States. Numerous commentators tried to draw parallels to 1968, when Richard Nixon won on a law & order campaign platform and a subsequent study showed that riots might have cost Humphrey the election.¹⁸

But Trump is not Nixon and this is a flawed reading of the parallel. Foremost among the flaws is that Nixon was running against an incumbent party that was presiding over civil unrest. Trump is the incumbent in this case.

Moreover, the study showed that in 1968, unrest moved people to favor police more. The 2020 protests had the *opposite* impact and made people sympathize more with protesters and the Black Lives Matter movement.¹⁹

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

The George Floyd Protests

But take a step back and note how in the midst of a pandemic, when people had largely stayed at home to the extent possible, Derek Chauvin's murder of George Floyd sparked nationwide mass movements on the streets.

As we also saw with the Wisconsin election results, a perceived injustice will galvanize people to take action in spite of the pandemic.

Democrats are developing a police reform agenda that, while it may not address all of the Black Lives Matter movement's concerns, does draw a contrast with Republicans. Such an agenda may be necessary to galvanize voters to turn out in the midst of a pandemic.



via Insider.com

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Third Party Vote

Democrats have received bumps in public and private polling since the protests started, indicating that if the election were held today they'd be poised for huge gains. Republican poll numbers dropped overall and it appears that Democrats managed to close the enthusiasm gap.²⁰ It appears that Democrats who may not have been enthused about the top of the ticket (especially young voters)²¹ have been galvanized, especially after Trump teargassed protesters for a photo op.²²

This is all just a snapshot in time—late-July—so it's hard to predict just how the next three months will play out. Democrats, as they are wont to do, are agonizing over how the election could turn against them. The most obvious way that it could do so is also the most unlikely: Trump starts doing a good job. You can win elections by improving people's lives. If Republican governance can contain COVID-19, turn around the economy, and stop police abuses over the next 3 months, that would increase their chances of winning in November. Absent that, they need to pursue the opposite strategy: sow chaos and confusion in the leadup to the election in an attempt to divorce the electorate from the material reality of their lives. And similar heavy-handed tactics in Portland have not helped Trump move his numbers. America may be at risk for supporting an authoritarian, but not an incompetent one.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Third Party Vote

Third party voting has decreased since the election of Trump (2018 saw third party House candidates get their lowest vote total since 1988).²³ Moreover, here's the Libertarian and Green Party status in the six most likely tipping point states:

- **Neither on ballot in:** WI, PA
- **Only Libertarian on ballot:** AZ
- **Both on ballot:** FL, MI, NC

Notably both parties were on the ballot in all of the six states except for North Carolina (which only had the Libertarian on the ballot) in 2016.

* Pending litigation could put the parties on the ballot on all of the states noted above though. Libertarians have a chance at making the ballot in every state while Greens are only definitely not on the ballot in 8 states, Georgia and Nevada being the only ones where they could make a difference.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

Third Party Vote

If Biden makes gains among former third party voters, the Democrats on the ballot should be poised to capitalize on it. Many of the 2018 Democratic gains up and down the ballot came from former third party voters. When it comes to state legislative and Congressional targeting decisions in 2020, the Clinton-Trump head to head matters, but whether Trump got less than 50% in a district may matter more.

Moreover, 2016 should not overdetermine 2020. It's a new election with a different electorate and different dynamics (as noted above). While some of the trends that 2016 highlighted (college educated voters shifting away from Republicans, Democrats not being unable to maintain their Obama-era margins among voters of color) should persist, others may not. Some of the biggest bounceback Democrats have seen since 2016 has come among non-college educated whites. The GOP margin among them in 2016 could be the peak, not the upslope.

And perhaps most notably, despite facing double-digit unemployment in the midst of a pandemic and civil unrest, private polling in 2020 has shown the election to be far more stable than 2016, and that's good news for Democrats.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

The Disco Stu Fallacy



[via Frinkiac.com](https://www.frinkiac.com)

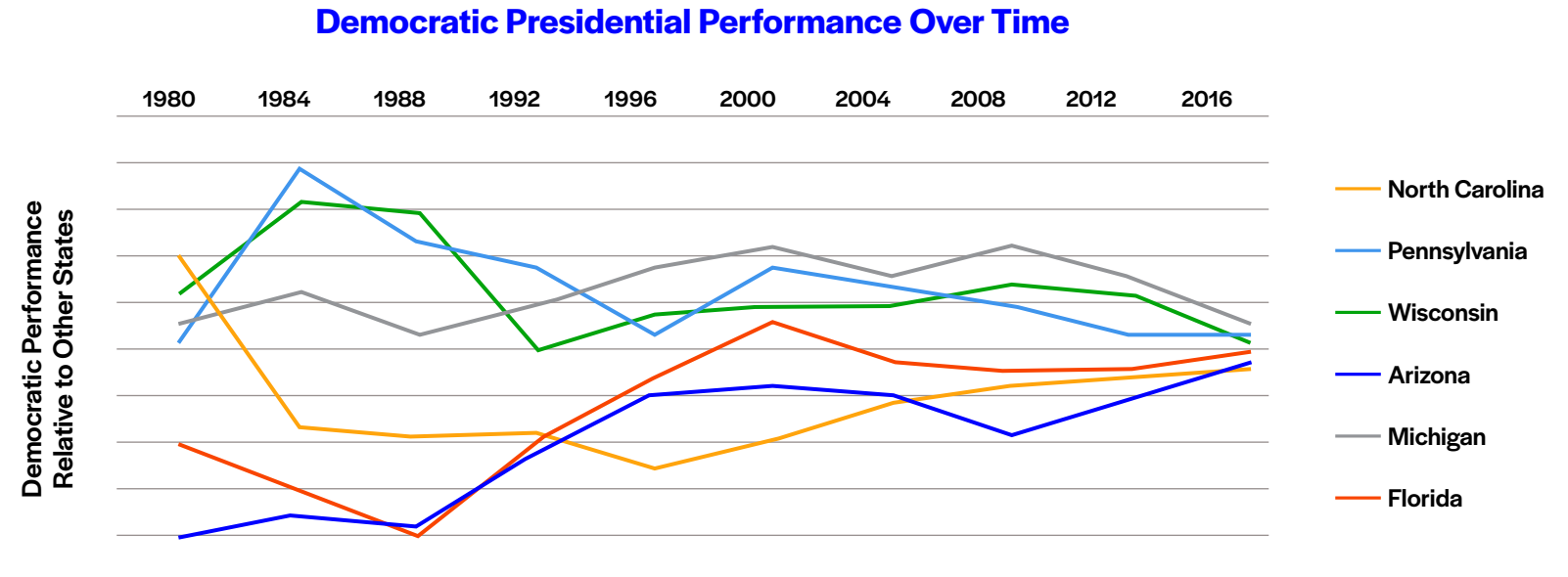
Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

The Disco Stu Fallacy

Be wary of any analysis that automatically assumes past trends will hold. For an example of how conventional political wisdom can change, let's look at how states have voted relative to each other in the presidential election over time. The six states expected to be the core battleground in 2020 were the 22nd-27th most Democratic states in the last election. But they weren't always where elections were decided. Look at how they voted relative to the rest of the country since 1980:



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

The Disco Stu Fallacy

Or, put another way, here’s what those six “middle states” would have looked like in every election since 1980:

1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
MI	GA	CO	IA	NH	FL	NM	NH	NH	MI
MO	NM	MI	TN	PA	NH	OH	IA	PA	PA
PA	KY	LA	LA	OR	MO	NV	CO	CO	WI
IL	NJ	OH	WI	NM	OH	CO	VA	VA	FL
CT	CT	ME	CO	OH	NV	FL	OH	OH	AZ
OR	ME	KY	KY	MO	TN	MO	FL	FL	NC
	1	2	2	0	3	4	3	5	2



The number at the bottom is the number of “carryover” states So it does appear that the list of median states has been getting more stable, though 2016 was a departure from that trend. But we have yet to see a same exact list of carryover states the way that analysts are predicting 2016-2020 to be. Perhaps that bias toward a similar set of swing states is due in part to the 2008-2012 stability, and how the Obama era shaped much of how practitioners manage and media cover elections.

Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ELECTORAL TRENDS: 2020

The Disco Stu Fallacy

I'm old enough to remember when Missouri, a seat that Trump would still likely carry even if Biden's winning by double digits, was the nation's foremost bellwether. And while growing up in Connecticut in the '90s we were told that our state was similarly swingy, even though it's one of only five states where a Republican hasn't won statewide since 2006.

Which is a long way of saying be mindful of the Disco Stu Fallacy. We can't let the past overdetermine the future. So at Future Now Fund we picked a wide range of states to participate in electorally in 2020, because we knew a wide range of outcomes were possible. So let's take a look at them.

**Skip to next
section ▶▶**

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

State-by-State Analysis

For our state previews we've built an election model we call Visualizing Approximate Returns Using Numbers (VARUN), developed with data scientist Varun Rajan, to show what the national picture would have to look like overall for a candidate to win a state and how that might manifest itself at the county level. The results we show from VARUN are not supposed to be exact predictions but illustrative of potential scenarios.²⁴

Finally, while we want to caution that there is no strong evidence that improved state legislative campaigns helps the top of the ticket in the concurrent election, and be wary of anyone telling you otherwise, this is a good time for a periodic reminder that electing state legislators is an investment in fixing politics, saving our democracy and improving millions of lives. Also, if we take enough states, they'll make the 2024 election less terrifying.

So be mindful of the Disco Stu Fallacy. These trends will not always continue. That's why Future Now Fund picked a wide range of states to participate in electorally in 2020, because we knew a wide range of outcomes were possible. So let's take a look at them.

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Alaska

President: Likely Republican

Alaska is not rated as competitive by UVA's Crystal Ball. However, according to VARUN in the event of a landslide, it could be the first Safe Republican state to flip to Biden, though it would depend upon him hitting historic numbers in Indigenous American communities that face unique burdens in voting during the COVID-19 pandemic. One poll showed Trump ahead 48-45, but Biden's unfavorables were high enough that it seems like 45% is close to his ceiling.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Alaska

US Senate: Likely Republican

If Non-Affiliated Democrat Al Gross wins it's going to be a rotten night for Republicans, as it probably means they've lost at least 7 other seats in the Senate.

US House: Likely Republican

Don Young is the longest-serving member of the House, the first time a Republican has been Dean of the House since Gilbert Haugen in 1933. Haugen was also the last Dean of the House to lose a general election. (Just saying...)

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

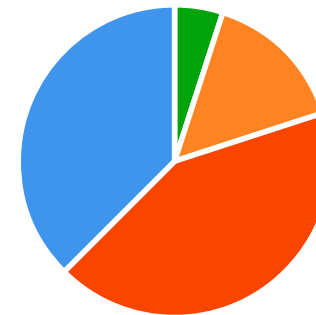
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Alaska

State House: Defend a Bipartisan House Coalition

In 2020, the entire House and half the Senate are up for election. Democrats hold a minority in the State House but share control of the chamber thanks to some moderate Republicans and Independents who are working with Democrats to form a governing majority focused on the people.

Flipping Republican-held State House seats would strengthen the bulwark against radical right-wing GOP Gov. Mike Dunleavy.



House

15 Democrats

23 Republicans

6 in Governing Coalition

2 Independents

Governing Coalition has 23-17 majority

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Alaska

In 2018:

- Democratic U.S. House nominee **Alyse Galvin won a majority of state legislative seats** in the state even though she lost statewide.
- Four Republicans are in districts carried by Galvin—but only one has joined Democrats in the governing majority.
- Alaska featured the closest state legislative race of 2018 when Republican Bart LeBon won a seat in Fairbanks by one vote.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Alaska

Competitive Seat Assessment²⁵

We rate state legislative races on Lean-Tilt-Tossup scale rather than the standard Likely-Lean-Tossup scale a) to illustrate just how susceptible they are to small shifts in the electorate and b) because polling and intel are far more sparse and as such we can be less sure of the outcomes than with federal and statewide races.

House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	22, 31	15, 25, 27	36	5, 23	35

Table will be adjusted again after Republican primaries determine which Republican coalition members are renominated.

US House Redistricting Context

Alaska will only have one, at-large congressional seat after the next Census.

Skip to next section ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Alaska

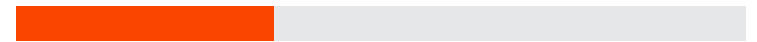
34

Policy Context

The Future Now Action America's Goals Report Card shows Alaska making the most progress toward Empowering People Over Special Interests among the seven shared goals it measures. This aligns with the state's reputation as one of the most stringent for campaign finance, and with the fact that state legislative district lines are set by an independent commission and federal lines are not necessary with the state having only one at-large Congressional seat. The Report Card shows room for progress in completion of quality K-12 education and, unsurprisingly for a state with significant oil reserves, very low scores on renewable energy consumption and production.

36
SCORE

#36
RANK



- 34 ■ Good Jobs
- 28 ■ Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 17 ■ Investing in Children
- 57 ■ Empowering People over Special Interests
- 14 ■ Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 44 ■ Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 52 ■ Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

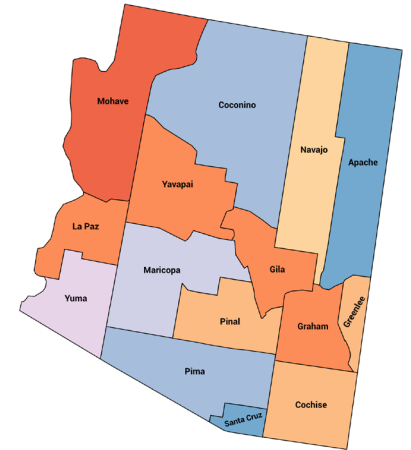
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Arizona

President: Tossup

Arizona and Wisconsin seem the most likely tipping point states in the presidential election.

- Phoenix's Maricopa County contains more than 60% of the state's population so it'll be a bellwether for the contest.
- It is not as disproportionately Democratic relative to the state as other urban counties as it contains heavily Republican suburbs, rural Arizona has a large Indigenous American population and Democratic Tucson's Pima County contains another 15% of the population.



Results

Biden 60-70	Trump <50
Biden 50-60	Trump 50-60
Biden <50	Trump 60-70
Tie	Trump 70-80

This map is what VARUN projects Arizona will look like in the event of a bare Biden victory (around 0.6%), flipping Maricopa and tying in Yuma. **This reflects what national polls have seemed to indicate: Biden improving among white voters but slightly offset by losses among Latinx voters.**

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Arizona

US Senate: Lean Democrat

Martha McSally, coming off a bruising 2018 Senate loss, starts as an underdog as the appointed incumbent here, going up against well-funded astronaut Mark Kelly. McSally has trailed Kelly in every reputable poll taken in 2020.

US House: 2 Notable Races

Tom O'Halleran is one of 30 Democrats in the country representing a district that Trump carried in 2016, but he will likely face a weak opponent and Trump's win was narrow enough there that Biden could carry it, raising O'Halleran's baseline. Meanwhile Democrats will try to pick up Rep. Dave Schweikert's suburban Phoenix district. It supported Trump by a 10-point margin in 2016 but Schweikert's in the midst of a campaign finance scandal and likely Democratic nominee Hiral Tipirneni has a history of running ahead of partisan baselines.

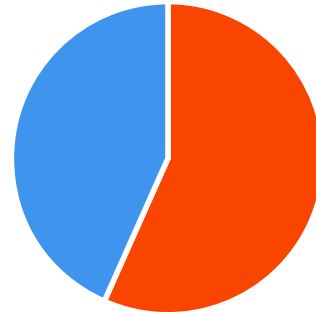
**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

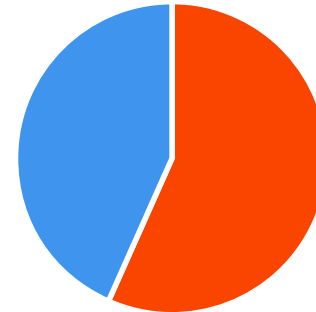
Arizona

State Legislature: Flip Both Chambers



Senate

13 Democrats
17 Republicans



House

29 Democrats
31 Republicans

In 2020, the entire House and Senate are up for election and just two seats in the Senate and one seat in the House will break the current majority.

If Democrats win two House seats they will control the chamber outright for the first time in five decades.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Arizona

In 2018:

- **Fewer than 1,300 votes** decided control of both state chambers.
- Future Now Fund **endorsed all four candidates** who flipped Republican-held House seats.
- Kyrsten Sinema **won a majority of legislative districts** (in Arizona the House and Senate are elected from identical districts that elect one senator and two representatives), providing a clear path to the majority in both chambers.
- Republicans were helped by Gov. Doug Ducey's blowout re-election victory, which they **won't be able to replicate** with contested presidential and Senate races atop the ticket in 2020.



via PBS.org

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Arizona

Competitive Seat Assessments as of July 2019

Senate	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	21, 8, 23	17, 20	28, 6		10, 18

House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	21A, 8A, 15A, 23A, 6B		6A, 20A	28B, 17A	28A, 10B, 18B, 10A



House—each district elects the two top finishers:

A = the seat where the Democrat did better in 2018

B = seat where GOP did better in 2018

Some seats do not have a B line because there is no Democrat running for it in 2020, a strategy designed to increase their chances of finishing in the top two

Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Arizona

US House Redistricting Context

Arizona has an independent redistricting commission that drew the current map and the state is poised to gain a tenth congressional district in 2020. Fast-growing Pinal County to the southeast of Phoenix seems the likeliest place to base a new district, which would elect a Republican. However, the creation of such a district might have a knock-on effect of making the marginal 1st and 6th more Democratic.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

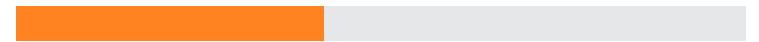
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Arizona

41

42
SCORE

#20
RANK



- 30 ■ Good Jobs
- 31 ■ Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 22 ■ Investing in Children
- 64 ■ Empowering People over Special Interests
- 40 ■ Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 52 ■ Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 56 ■ Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Policy Context

Owing to its independent redistricting commission and relatively stringent campaign finance laws, Arizona scores well on Empowering People over Special Interests. But as its Red for Ed movement has shown, the state has a lot of work to do on Investing in Children.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

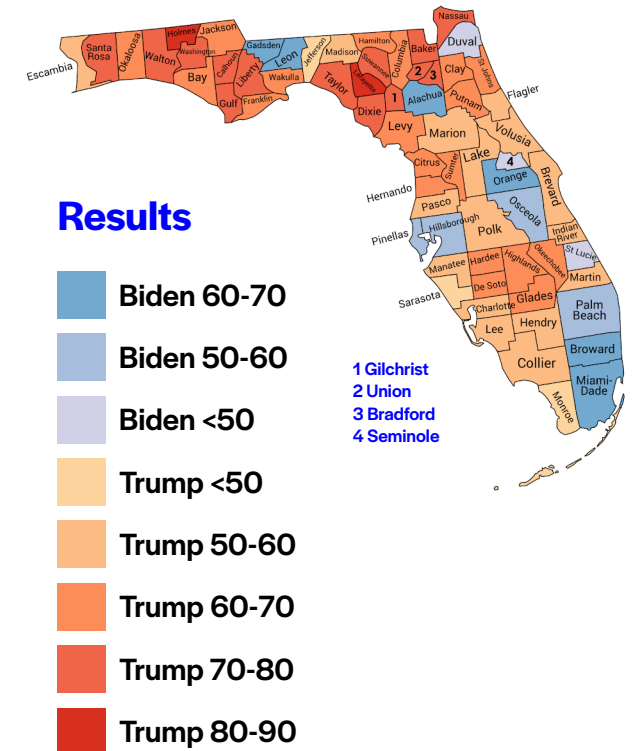
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Florida

President: Tossup

It's hard to think of a scenario where Trump can win the presidency without Florida. And with Biden currently doing better among 65+ voters than Clinton, he can afford to lose Latinx voters to Trump and still win the state, a result which would look as follows.

Biden would carry the state by 2.5% under this scenario, flipping four counties (Pinellas, St. Lucie, Seminole and Duval). Notably Seminole, is a consistent bellwether for the state, with it reflecting the statewide margin in most of the scenarios we run.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Florida

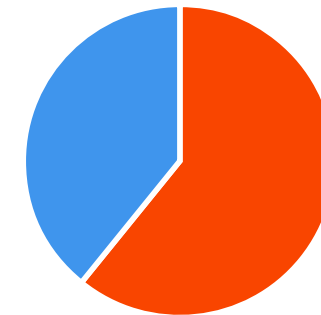
US House: 3 Notable Races

Democrats have good candidates, both of whom flipped State House seats in 2018, in the 15th and 16th. But both have uphill climbs as Trump won both by 10 points, while Dems need to hold onto the 26th, which backed Clinton by 16 but tends to be more competitive down ballot.

State House: Flip the House

In 2020, the entire Florida House is up for election, and Democrats need to flip 13 of 73 Republican-held seats to tie the chamber.

There are 23 Republican-held seats that are competitive for Democrats, including 15 that voted for either Hillary Clinton or Bill Nelson even though neither carried the state.



House
47 Democrats
73 Republicans

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Florida

In 2018:

- Andrew Gillum underperformed Bill Nelson, and neither was able to hit the benchmarks Obama set six years earlier.
- Republicans won four state legislative seats by less than 1% and won eight of the nine closest races. A focused, well-funded effort will be game changing in flipping seats lost by only a few hundred votes.

Competitive Seat Assessment

House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	64, 27, 36, 85	15, 28, 29, 60, 67, 119, 83, 42, 111, 116, 93, 72	89, 26, 105, 115, 118, 110, 84, 21, 120, 59	69	

Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Florida

US House Redistricting Context

In 2010 Florida voters passed Fair Districts Amendments, constraining the legislature's ability to gerrymander. However, they did not follow the law in 2012 and it took 4 years of litigation to finally implement fair districts for their U.S. House map. Moreover, the state supreme court has shifted right since 2016, being stacked with Federalist Society acolytes. Accordingly, if Republicans retain power in both houses of the legislature (and the State Senate contains only two vulnerable Republicans up this cycle, though a seat that Trump carried by 8% suddenly opened up and could be Democrats' path to a deadlock in that chamber) then Republicans will likely have a free hand to gerrymander.

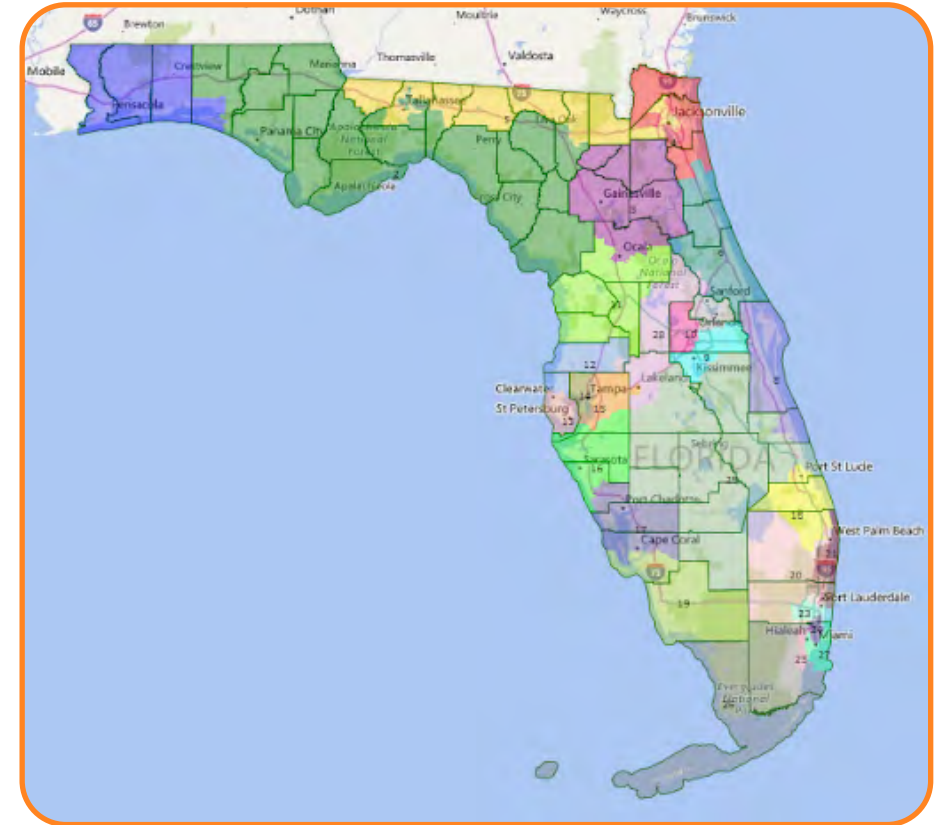
**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Florida

However, if Democrats can deadlock the legislature it could lead to fair maps, per the map on the right.²⁶ These are “least change” maps based on the idea that the extant map should be changed as little as possible because it’s already fair, and that two districts created in non-coastal Florida would represent the least change because they could take territory from the greatest number of extant seats (thus minimizing border shifts between districts in place today). Also it’s based on the assumption that a neutral drawer would rather have the 25th stay within South Florida instead of uniting disparate Collier and Miami-Dade Counties via the Everglades.



Skip to next
section ►►

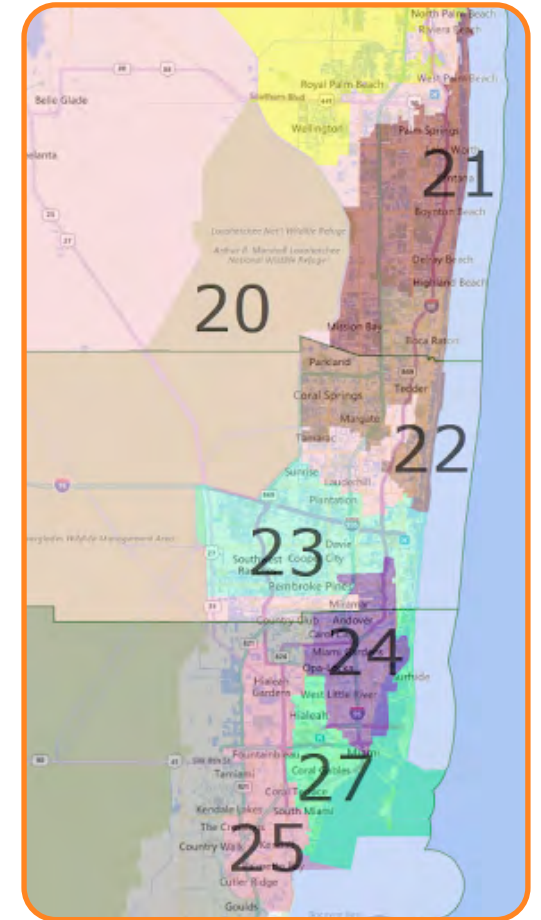
State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Florida

This neutral map shores up the 26th, makes the 25th a prime flip target and the 15th an evenly divided seat (Trump would've won this version of it by 1% in 2016). But it would also give Republicans two new open seats that would favor them away from the coasts and leave the 16th a Republican-leaning seat. A Republican gerrymander, on the other hand, would likely shore up the 15th and 25th for them, add two new Republican open seats and make the 7th likely to flip to them by pairing Seminole County with Lake County instead of Orange. So flipping the Florida House could be worth five US House seats for a decade.

And if Democrats want to propose the map on the right, Republican representatives Brett Hage, Ralph Massullo, Blaise Ingoglia, Stan McClain, Josie Tomkow, Stan Killebrew and Melony Bell plus Senators Ben Albritton and Dennis Baxley would all live in open, safely Republican seats. So it could have bipartisan appeal.



Skip to next
section ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Florida

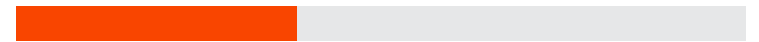
48

Policy Context

Florida has made strides in making its infrastructure resilient; a necessity in a state put in great risk by climate change. But it's done little to address the underlying causes of climate change by getting only 7.2% of its energy from renewable sources and having some of the highest greenhouse gas emissions per capita. And the jobs situation is putrid with only 6.7% of workers covered by collective bargaining agreements and no state sick or family medical leave laws.

38
SCORE

#30
RANK



- 14 ■ Good Jobs
- 28 ■ Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 38 ■ Investing in Children
- 39 ■ Empowering People over Special Interests
- 37 ■ Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 59 ■ Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 49 ■ Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ►►

lowa

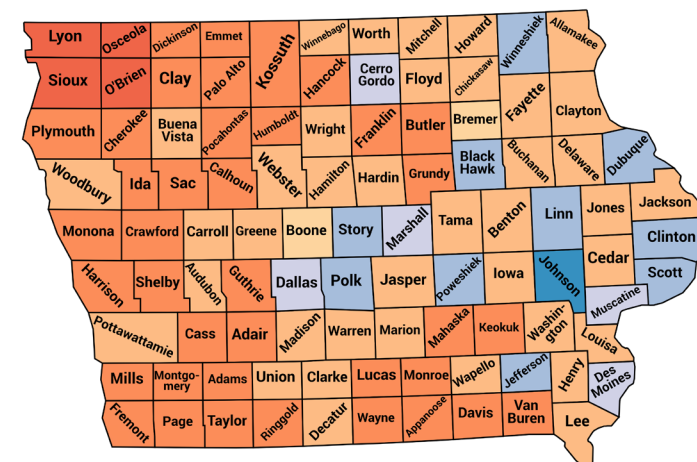
7.30.20

President: Lean Republican

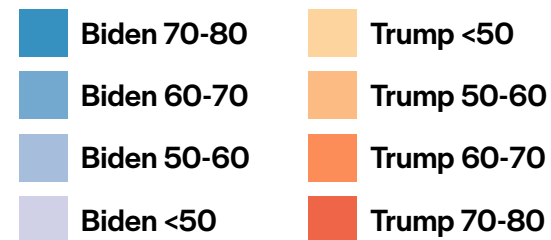
Iowa, which supported Al Gore and Mike Dukakis for president, has remained a bit of an uphill climb for Democrats during the Trump era.

It is not a core swing state now, but does have a competitive state legislature. If Biden has large gains among white voters, offset by losses among voters of color as most public and private polling suggest, then Iowa could vault ahead of Georgia, North Carolina or even Arizona as a target depending on how many gains he can make among non-college educated white voters.

Under the win scenario outlined here, Iowa would narrowly flip based on Biden getting an increased vote share among 65+ and white voters but he still would have easily gotten 270 electoral votes without it.



Results



Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Iowa

The two biggest bellwethers appear to be Marshall and Dallas Counties in Central Iowa. Marshall is a historic presidential bellwether, voting for the winner of every election except two since 1960. Dallas, however, hasn't voted for a Democratic presidential candidate this century but as a fast-growing, well-educated suburb of Des Moines it's typical of the areas trending Democratic nationwide.

And most notably, both have critical State House races this fall, as do other flipped counties above like Muscatine, Winneshiek and Jefferson, so it's difficult to imagine a scenario in which Biden flips the state without the legislature flipping.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Iowa

US Senate: Tossup

Joni Ernst first won election in the worst year for Democrats this century. Iowa still leans Republican but polling shows she has yet to earn cross-party support that'd insulate her from a worsening environment (or a better opponent than she had in 2014, which Theresa Greenfield appears to be).

US House: 3 Notable Races

If you live in Iowa, you have a noteworthy congressional race unless you live in the 4th District, where the loss of Steve King to a mainstream Republican puts his seat out of reach for Democrats.

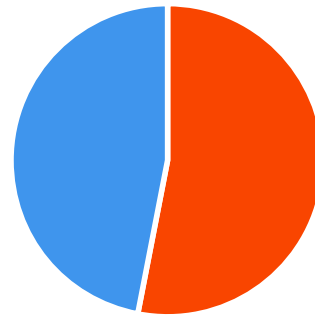
**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

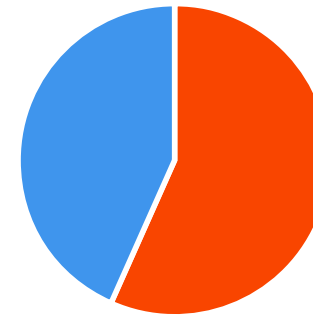
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Iowa

Legislature: Flip the House

**House**

47 Democrats
53 Republicans

**Senate**

18 Democrats
32 Republicans

(6 Democrats, 19 Republicans
up for election in 2020)

Prior to the 2006 election, Iowa had one of the most evenly divided state legislatures in the country. Today, Iowa is a Republican trifecta. But in 2018 Democrats nearly took back the House.

In 2020, the entire State House and half of the State Senate are up for election. Democrats need to flip three of 53 Republican seats in the House or seven of the 19 Republican seats up for election in the Senate to break GOP control of the state.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Iowa

In 2018:

- Democrats came close to winning back the State House; 300 votes switched across four seats would have broken the Republican majority (and a subsequent party switch would have then delivered them an outright majority in the chamber).
- Democrats won a number of statewide races, including Treasurer Michael Fitzgerald, who carried 24 Republican-held State House seats and 13 State Senate seats that will be up in 2020.
- Democrats held their ground in the State Senate—the cohort of seats up in 2018 had fewer opportunities for growth than the cycle coming up. Also, these state senators have not had to face a post-Trump electorate so there is plenty of meat on the bone here.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Iowa

Competitive Seat Assessments

House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	30, 19, 51, 57, 76, 12, 20, 48, 49, 56, 63, 72, 88, 96, 97	9, 16, 37, 92, 94, 47, 73, 82, 95	55, 58, 91, 64	67, 39, 15, 26, 38, 52, 60, 81	13, 29, 44, 83
Senate	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	24, 28, 32, 38, 48, 10	8, 18, 44, 36, 42, 46	20	22	

Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

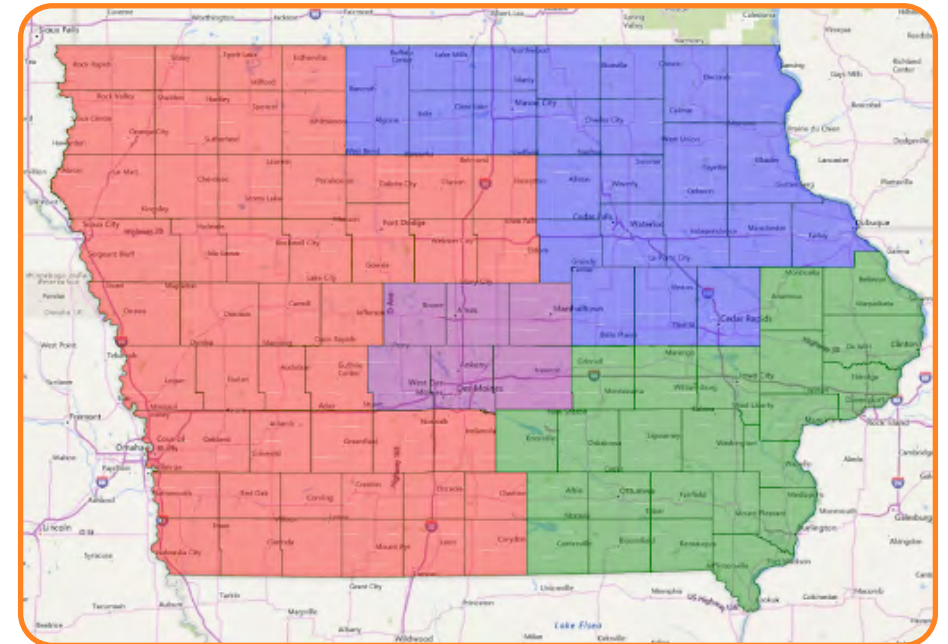
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Iowa

US House Redistricting Context

Iowa has historically had district lines drawn by a nonpartisan state bureau. However, if Republicans retain their statehouse trifecta then there would be nothing stopping the party from drawing districts on its own.

The Des Moines area has gained population while much of the rest of the state has lost it or held steady. It will be harder to draw a compact district containing Des Moines (and fast growing Dallas County to its west) that stretches to the Missouri River. Thus, the next congressional map could look like this if Republicans don't take the pen.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Iowa

- The 1st District gets slightly more Republican (Trump would've won by 5.5% instead of 3.5%)
- The 2nd gets slightly more Democratic (Trump would've won by 3.0% instead of 4.1%)
- The 3rd becomes vastly more Democratic (Clinton would've won it by 5.8% instead of losing it by 3.5%)
- The 4th would be impossible to win for Democrats even if they managed to get Nile Kinnick to run there

If Republicans manage to retain their majorities and gerrymander the state they could try to create four equally Republican-leaning districts. The problem with that is that the state already has 3 Republican-leaning districts and Democrats hold all of them. More likely, they'll try to do a Cedar Rapids-Des Moines vote sink and have 3 districts that Republicans would carry most years.

**Skip to next
section ▶▶**

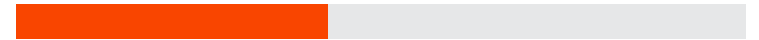
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Iowa

57

44
SCORE

#18
RANK



Policy Context

Iowa's a leader in clean energy, with 93.5% of the power it produces coming from renewable sources. And its K-12 schools do a relatively great job of graduating students and getting them jobs. But the state's infrastructure desperately needs upgrading as it has some of the worst dam and bridge safety rates in the country.

- 30 Good Jobs
- 51 Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 47 Investing in Children
- 47 Empowering People over Special Interests
- 36 Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 30 Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 63 Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Kansas

President: Safe Republican

As with Alaska, it's tough to come up with a realistic scenario where Kansas plays a significant role in determining who wins the presidential election. However, it seems more likely than not that suburban Johnson County (the most populous in the state) will vote for a Democratic presidential candidate for the first time in more than a century.

A June internal poll actually had Trump trailing in the state, but an anecdotal midsummer poll isn't enough to think the state is really in play for Biden, but at the statehouse level, there is a meaningful opportunity.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Kansas

US Senate: Likely Republican

It all comes down to whether the GOP nominates Kris Kobach. State Senator Barbara Bollier is a great statewide candidate for Democrats but it's hard to see her winning a Senate race against a normal Republican, despite some recent polls. Kris Kobach is not a normal Republican.

US House: 2 Notable Races

As with the Senate race, Democrats' chances in the 2nd District likely hinge upon whether Republicans nominate a toxic candidate. And Sharice Davids will try to hang onto the seat she flipped in 2018 but the Kansas City suburbs are trending enough toward that Democrats that she's in better shape than most of the other 43 Democrats who flipped seats two years ago.

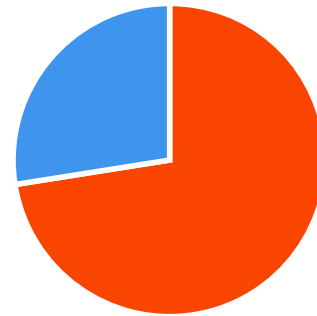
**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

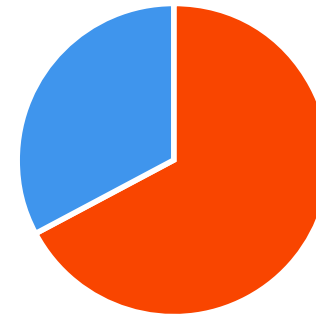
Kansas

Legislature: Break One of Two Supermajorities



Senate

11 Democrats
29 Republicans



House

41 Democrats
84 Republicans

In 2020, the entire House and Senate are up for election and Democrats need to win three seats in the Senate or one in the House to break Republican supermajorities that can now override Democratic Governor Laura Kelly's vetoes.

For decades, the most consequential political battles in Kansas were internal fights between the Republican Party's moderate and conservative wings. But as the party has gotten more extreme, moderate Republicans are changing parties. In 2018 alone, four Republican state lawmakers became Democrats, and a fifth became an independent.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Kansas

In 2018:

- Gov. Kelly won a majority of legislative districts in both chambers in her gubernatorial victory. The Republican-held districts that she won are clustered in the state's major population centers and seem to represent a potential majority coalition moving forward.
- Republicans won eight House seats with less than 52% of the vote.
- The State Senate was not up for election, which means Republicans in the chamber have not yet faced a post-Trump electorate.

**Skip to next
section ▶▶**

State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Kansas

Competitive Seat Assessments

Senate	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	23, 17	9, 11, 20, 28, 30, 18	5, 10	3, 19, 25, 8	
House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	8, 78, 85, 47, 54, 69, 71, 105, 123	39, 52, 60, 121, 96, 49, 87, 40, 50, 28	14, 15, 20, 72, 102, 41, 67, 48	17, 3	18, 95

Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

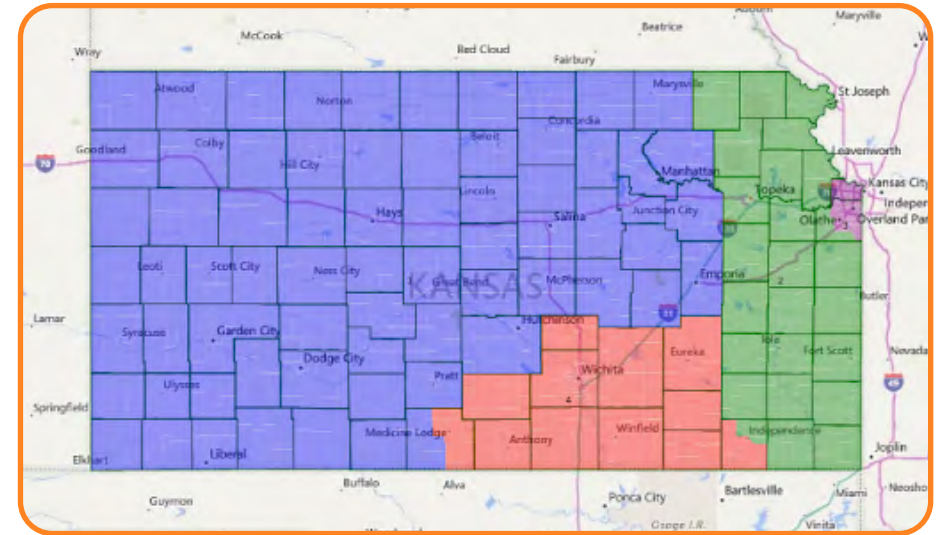
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Kansas

US House Redistricting Context

Redistricting power rests with the legislature in Kansas, subject to gubernatorial veto. So absent Democratic gains, Republicans could force a gerrymander that could divide the Democratic vote in Kansas 4 ways, creating 4 safe seats.

However, if the case gets thrown to the courts they'll likely base a map on the current one, which was drawn by the courts as well. A least change map would look something like this.



As is befitting a least change map, it doesn't change the underlying dynamics of the districts much. The 2nd and 3rd get more Democratic but not overwhelmingly so.

Skip to next
section ►►

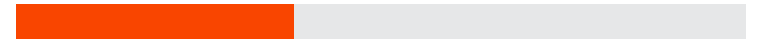
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Kansas

64

39
SCORE

#26
RANK



- 29 Good Jobs
- 34 Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 51 Investing in Children
- 42 Empowering People over Special Interests
- 15 Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 39 Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 59 Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Policy Context

Kansas performs worst in providing Equal Opportunity for All, with a high incarceration rate, little transparency for police and a large race and gender wage gap. And while the state is part of the country's breadbasket it also has an inordinately high food insecurity rate.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Maine

President: Likely Democratic/Tossup in 2nd District

If you believe the punditry reducing the electorate to a few simple caricatures, look at Maine. If white working class voters there voted like they do in Kansas then Trump would be favored here. As it stands he's maybe a slight favorite to win the Maine 2nd District electoral vote again (Maine and Nebraska being the 2 states that split electoral votes by congressional district). Trump won the district 51-41 in 2016, but with Maine adopting ranked choice voting since then he'll need to win an actual majority of votes again to keep it in his column—and as noted above 2016 third party voters have been gravitating toward Democrats.²⁷

Senate: Tossup

Politicians can only defy electoral gravity for so long. That includes Susan Collins.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Maine

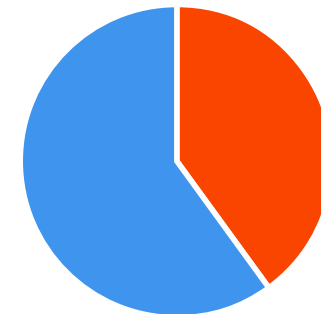
House: 1 Notable Race

Jared Golden barely won his 2018 race against Bruce Poliquin thanks to ranked choice voting. He's probably one of the ten most endangered Democratic incumbents but his Republican opponent seems weaker than Poliquin was.

State Legislature: Protect the Senate Majority

In 2018, Future Now Fund helped make Maine a Democratic trifecta. But in 2020, the entire State Senate is up for election, including five Democrats in seats that Trump won in 2016.

Democrats will spend millions up-ballot on the presidential and Senate races, so it's critical to ensure adequate attention on state legislative races as well.



Senate
21 Democrats
14 Republicans

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Maine

In 2018:

- Democrats flipped control of the State Senate by winning four Republican-held seats, three of which were Future Now Fund endorsements.
- Gov. Janet Mills became the first nonpresidential Democrat to win a majority of votes in Maine since 1988, carrying four Republican-held State Senate districts in the process.

Competitive Seat Assessment as of September 2019

Senate	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	6, 18, 19, 3, 22, 33	15, 17, 2	20, 13, 16, 34, 26	1	7, 11, 14, 30

Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

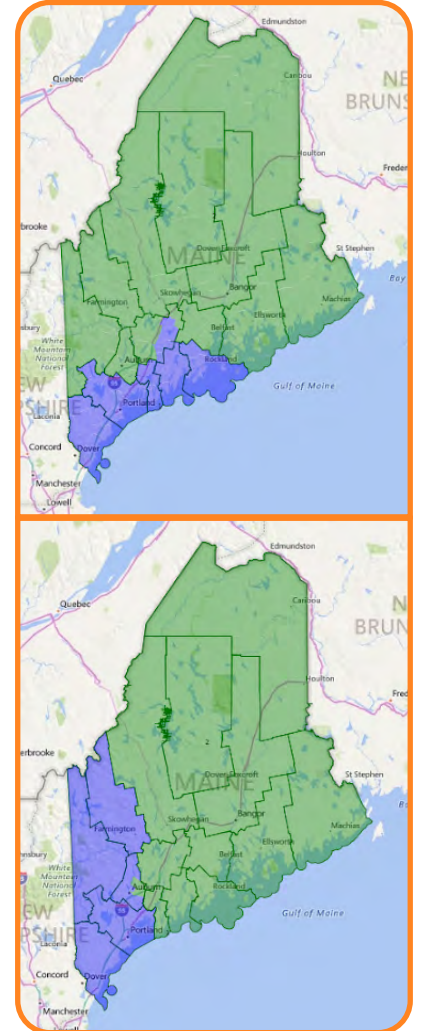
Maine

US House Redistricting Context

Maine requires a $\frac{2}{3}$ vote to pass a redistricting plan so the only way Democrats could draw districts to make the 2nd reflect the state as a whole would be to net 3 State Senate seats and 13 State House seats. Neither is unthinkable but a least change map is most likely. This would make the 2nd a little more Democratic by adding in parts of Augusta.

If Democrats had free reign in Maine, they could clean up those craggy lines and make a pair of cleaner districts that likely reflect the state's preferences better than the current districts.

The new 2nd would've voted for Trump by just 5%, not 10%. Accordingly, getting supermajorities in the Maine legislature may be the easiest way to win an electoral vote in 2024.



Skip to next
section ►►

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Maine

69

Policy Context

Maine's state legislature has been hard at work to improve the state's Affordable Quality Healthcare rating, passing bills with a comprehensive plan to lower prescription drug costs, protecting Mainers with preexisting conditions and expanding Medicaid. Unfortunately, the fact that Paul LePage took so long to expand Medicaid means Maine lags behind other states in our ratings, though with the new raft of legislation they should start rising.

50
SCORE

#9
RANK



- 50** Good Jobs
- 32** Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 54** Investing in Children
- 61** Empowering People over Special Interests
- 36** Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 49** Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 64** Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Michigan

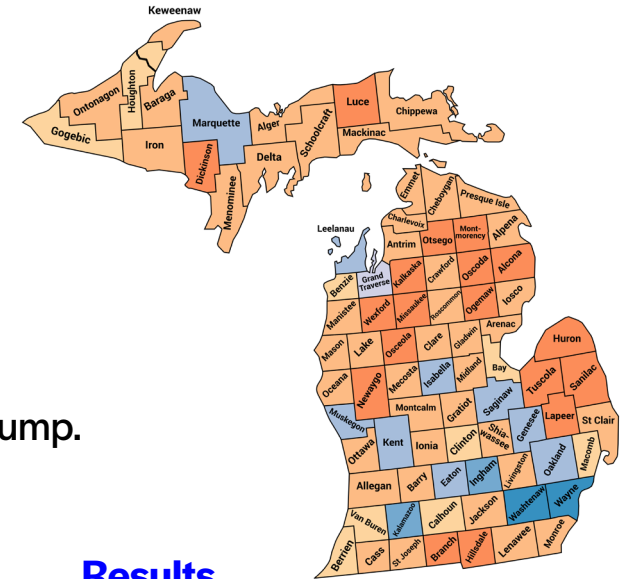
President: Lean Democratic

Michigan has shown consistent polling leads for Biden over Trump and Democrats seem unlikely to soft pedal it again in 2020, so it starts out as the likeliest state to flip away from Trump.

In fact, Joe Biden can win the state without flipping a single county based solely on likely gains in the Detroit suburbs.

So instead we'll show a map that indicates what would occur in a national blowout. In this Blue Wave scenario, Biden wins the two party vote in Michigan by 11%, comparable to President Obama's performance in 2012.

But unlike Obama in 2012, Biden would also win Arizona, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas and Nebraska's 2nd Congressional District. And he'd also lose Macomb County, long held up as the ultimate swing county but no longer necessary to win statewide. But Grand Traverse and Berrien Counties would be close (and Future Now Fund has endorsed State House challengers running in both).



Results

Biden 70-80	Trump <50
Biden 60-70	Trump 50-60
Biden 50-60	Trump 60-70
Biden <50	

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Michigan

Senate: Lean Democratic

Gary Peters has had an impressive political career but he's also had the luck of facing some truly terrible opposition when he ran in Republican wave cycles (Rocky Raczkowski and Terri Lynn Land). John James is better than either of them, but it's still unclear if he can be the first Republican to win a Senate race in Michigan since 1994. Notably since 1996 only three incumbent senators have lost elections while their party carried the state in the presidential race: Larry Pressler, John Ashcroft and Ted Stevens. All of those races featured challengers with a higher profile (and an incumbent with more issues) than this one.

House: 4 Notable Races

On the fundamentals, Elissa Slotkin and Haley Stevens should be Republicans' top targets but neither appears to have drawn a top tier challenger. Meanwhile Democrats are poised to make a run in the 3rd and 6th Districts, both of which contain traditionally Democratic cities and college-educated Republicans to pick off.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

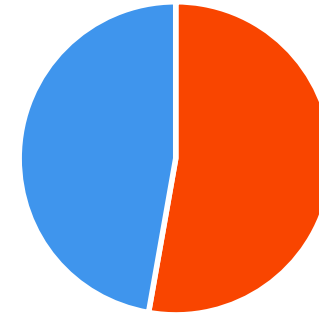
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Michigan

State Legislature: Flip the House

After netting five seats in 2018, in 2020, the entire House is up for election and Democrats only need to net three out of 58 Republican seats to break the Republican majority.

Significant focus expected from the Biden campaign paired with a big effort down-ballot could pay major dividends in the House.



House

52 Democrats
58 Republicans

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Michigan

In 2018:

- With an additional 1,200 votes across three districts, Democrats would have broken the Republican majority and created a tie.
- Future Now Fund endorsed all six Democrats who flipped Republican-held House seats in addition to the next three closest finishers.
- Even though the Michigan House is ruthlessly gerrymandered by Republicans, Governor Gretchen Whitmer won four Republican-held districts, providing a clear path to break the current majority in the House.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Michigan

Competitive Seat Assessments

House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	93, 79, 17, 24, 91, 99, 30, 98, 66, 101, 85, 43, 44, 72, 64, 110	39, 104, 45	38, 19	61, 20, 41, 62, 71, 23, 25	109, 40, 31, 48, 50, 96

Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

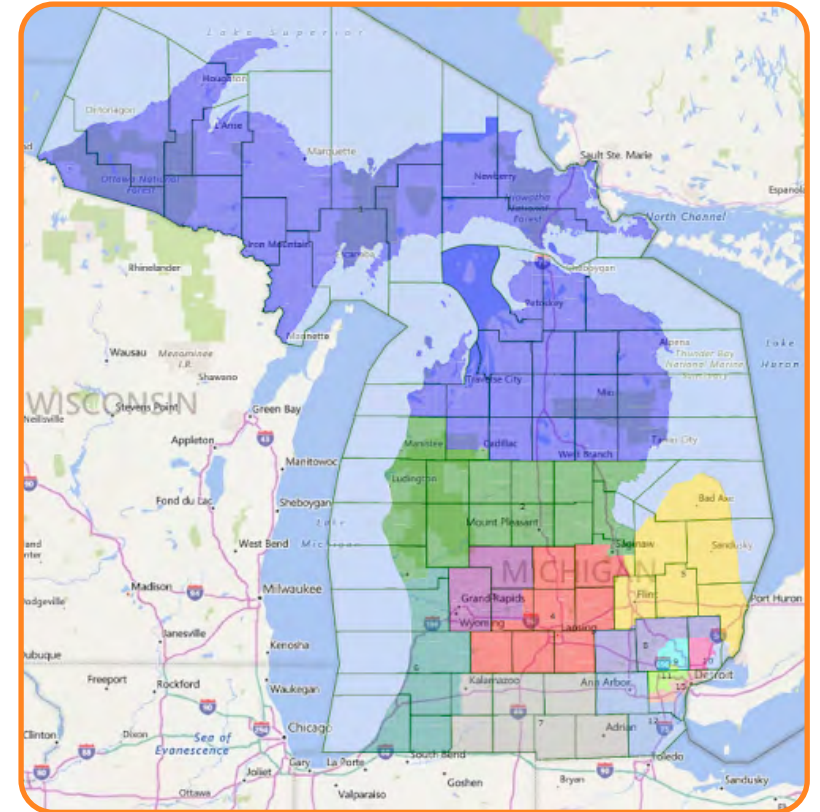
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Michigan

US House Redistricting Impact

Michigan voters passed a ballot initiative forming an independent redistricting commission. Based on the commission's mandate and population growth trends in the state the map could look similar to this.

As incumbency and partisan preference get thrown out the window, this map would create chaos.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Michigan

In the 9th, Haley Stevens²⁸ and Andy Levin both live but the more centrist Stevens would be an underdog in a primary to the more liberal Levin so she could run in the 10th, which supported Trump 52-44 but also voted for Gov. Whitmer and is similar politically to her current district. The only problem is that she's never represented any portion of it. And she could face whoever wins the 10th District Republican nomination in 2020 though that person is more likely to run in the 8th, which loses its Democratic core and would be unwinnable by Rep. Slotkin.

Slotkin could run in the new 4th, which she doesn't live in but represents part of and which Clinton only lost 47-46. It'd be far more Democratic than the 5th, which unites Flint with the Thumb like Michigan's congressional map in the '90s. But unlike in the '90s, Democrats would probably lose this 54-41 Trump seat that also voted 49-47 for Republican Bill Schuette in the 2018 gubernatorial race even as he was losing by 10 points statewide. The 3rd was narrowly carried by Whitmer and would probably be a better target for Dems, but a fair map could still lock in a Republican map advantage so Democrats should be prepared to argue that this would provide a disproportionate advantage to Republicans (and that Flint should be kept with Saginaw and Bay City).

Skip to next
section ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Michigan

77

47
SCORE

#15
RANK



Policy Context:

The independent redistricting commission is great for Michiganders. But that was implemented by voters directly and they haven't been able to circumvent the Republican legislature for issues its early childhood education resources, jail admission rate and renewable energy rates. Also, Flint still needs clean water.

- 43 Good Jobs
- 36 Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 33 Investing in Children
- 69 Empowering People over Special Interests
- 43 Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 56 Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 48 Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

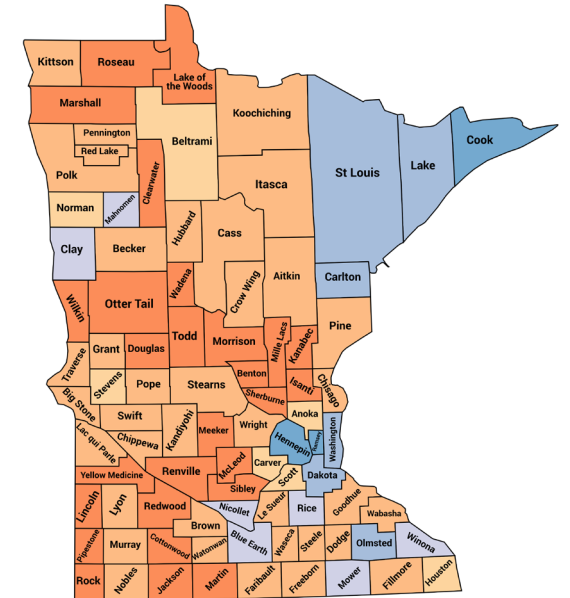
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Minnesota

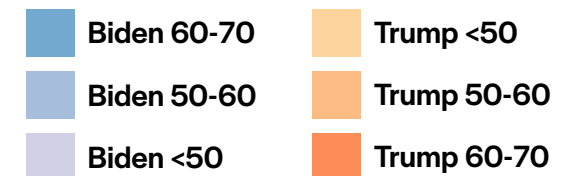
President: Likely Democratic

Trump came close here in 2016 but if Minnesota is willing to vote for Keith Ellison statewide, I presume it'll support Joe Biden as well. Moreover, it's exceedingly unlikely that Minnesota becomes more conservative than Pennsylvania and Michigan to become the tipping point state because of its high level of college educated voters. If Trump wins it'll be because of another white working class turnout surge. Absent that, this is what the state should look like if Biden sweeps the core six swing states.

Notably, medium sized counties outside of the Twin Cities like Rochester and Mankato are more likely to flip than suburban counties. And that's reflected in the State Senate battlefield, which is rich with opportunities for Democrats outside of the biggest metro area in the state.



Results



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Minnesota

Senate: Likely Democratic

I was dubious of Tina Smith's political skills at first, but there's nothing like success to prove me wrong—and we can all agree she has a knack for attracting subpar opponents.

House: 5 Notable Races

Outside of the solidly Democratic Twin Cities districts and the heavily GOP exurban 6th there could be heavily contested races across the state again in 2020.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

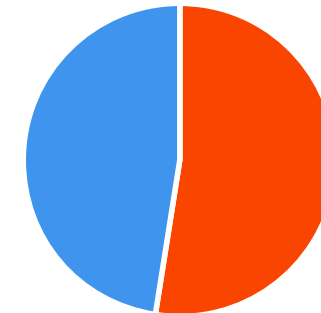
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Minnesota

State Legislature: Flip the Senate

Minnesota's House flipped in 2018 but its Senate is only up in presidential years so voters have yet to weigh in on its composition during the Trump era.

In 2020 the entire State Senate is up for election and Democrats only need to net two seats to win the chamber. Amy Klobuchar carried 19 Republican state senate seats in her statewide rout and while some of them are rural seats that no other Democrat has carried, there are plenty of targets in the greater Twin Cities as well as smaller cities elsewhere in the state like Rochester and St. Cloud.



Senate
32 Democrats
35 Republicans

Skip to next
section ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Minnesota

Competitive Seat Assessment

Senate	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	33, 35, 47, 17, 20, 21, 24, 55	11, 28, 34, 38, 39, 58, 5	14, 25, 26, 56	44, 4, 27, 37	6, 54

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

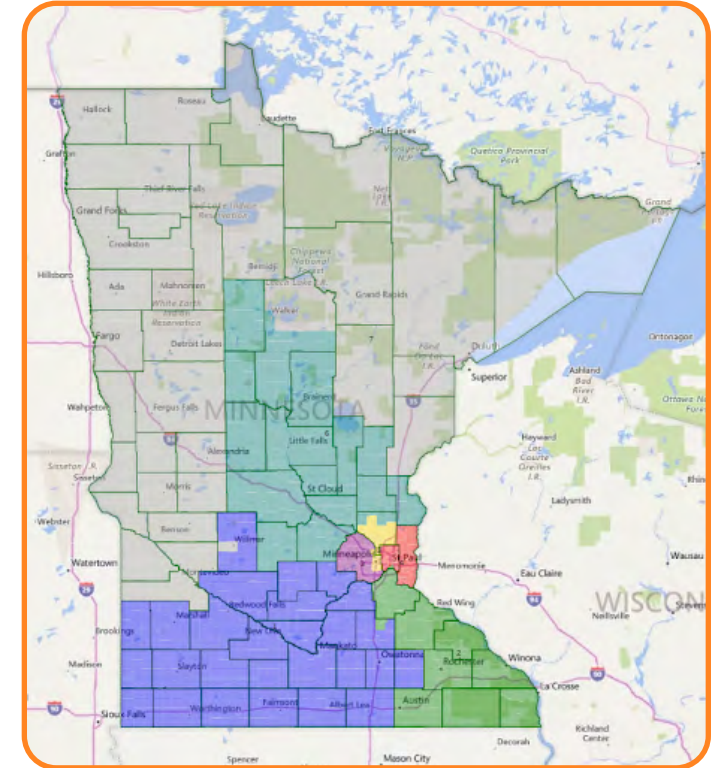
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Minnesota

US House Redistricting Context

No party has had a trifecta in Minnesota during a redistricting cycle since the US House moved to having only single member districts in 1970. That means the state is used to court-drawn maps.

Democrats could take a crack at drawing lines in the upcoming cycle, especially with the state slated to lose a seat in reapportionment, imperiling their incumbents in the 2nd, 3rd and 7th Districts as all of those districts are surrounded by Republican turf.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Minnesota

If Democrats have a free hand at drawing lines they'll probably try to firm up their control of their 4 Twin Cities districts and give themselves a chance to win at least one outstate seat, per the map Dean Phillips, Ilhan Omar, and Betsy McCollum would have no trouble winning re-election in those seats though Omar may have trouble in a primary that includes so many suburban/exurban voters.

Angie Craig would still be in a marginal district but it'd go from supporting Trump by 1.2% to backing Clinton by 0.6%. That leaves the sprawling 7th District outstate, which takes in the most Democratic portions of the existing 7th and 8th Districts. That district still voted for Trump in 2016 by a 12.7% margin but Tim Walz would have won it by 0.4% in his gubernatorial race. That's about the best Democrats can do in Northern Minnesota without a baroque gerrymander. And if they manage to flip MN-01, they may give up on Western Minnesota and run a Twin Cities Democrat's district up to Duluth to take in the Democratic voters there instead.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Minnesota

84

49
SCORE

#11
RANK



Policy Context

In what should surprise nobody, the carceral state is alive and well in Minnesota and it means the state lags in providing Equal Opportunity for All.

- 42 Good Jobs
- 52 Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 45 Investing in Children
- 51 Empowering People over Special Interests
- 34 Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 52 Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 64 Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

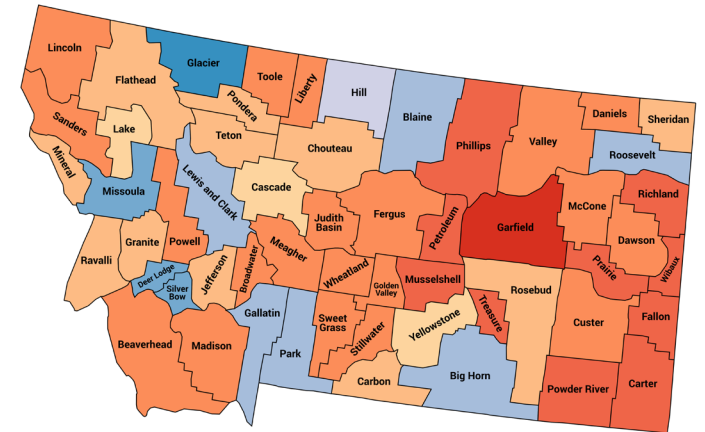
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Montana

President: Likely Republican

Yes, Trump won it by 20 points, but its gubernatorial, House and Senate races have all been far closer, with Democrats capable of winning statewide. Montana is also a small state that's attracting relatively large numbers of Millennials and Zoomers. Obama came within 12,000 votes of winning the state in 2008; in a similar political environment Biden can get over the top.

Though if Montana pulls it off, it'd likely be on the back of a massive movement of college educated voters to Democrats and an Indigenous American surge. Also Montana has a strong tradition of third party voting and if Trump really starts tanking conservative voters could flee for the Libertarian candidate, resulting in this map.



Results

Biden 70-80	Trump <50
Biden 60-70	Trump 50-60
Biden 50-60	Trump 60-70
Biden <50	Trump 70-80
	Trump 80-90

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Montana

Senate: Tossup

Steve Bullock is an ace recruit and a few polls have shown the race neck and neck. But as noted above, incumbents have a decided advantage when their party's presidential nominee is carrying the state. But Bullock has more similarities to the challengers who won those races than any other candidate running this cycles.

US House: 1 Notable Race

The statewide House seat is up for grabs with Greg Gianforte vacating his seat, and whoever loses the race could end up in Washington regardless in 2022.

Governor: Lean Republican

Greg Gianforte probably has a slight edge because Lt. Gov hasn't won statewide in his own right since the 90s and will have less money on hand than the plutocrat House member. But Gianforte's notorious unpleasantness in a small state could hand the race to Democrats.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

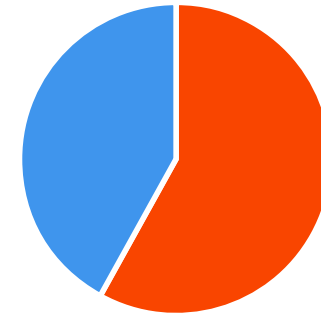
State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Montana

Legislature: Flip the House

Montana politics have a decidedly independent streak. The legislature has been controlled by Republicans for nearly three decades and Donald Trump is popular, but there's a Democratic governor and U.S. senator.



House

42 Democrats
58 Republicans

In 2020, the entire House is up for election. Democrats need to win eight of the 58 Republican-held seats in the House to break the majority (nine if Gianforte wins owing to tie-breaking rules). Only half the Senate is up but Democrats could make gains there and set themselves up to flip the chamber in 2022.

Montana is seeing an influx of young professionals congregating in its metropolitan areas—where people are voting more Democratic in statewide elections but are often still represented by Republicans.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Montana

In 2018:

Jon Tester won a majority of State House districts, all of which are located in areas that could be part of an enduring Democratic coalition (i.e. metro areas or locations with significant Indigenous American populations).

Competitive Seat Assessment as of September 2019

House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	44, 12, 7, 46	92, 64, 21, 67, 93, 97, 3	22, 51, 26, 96, 52, 28	78, 25, 50, 24	48, 60, 77, 23, 84

Skip to next section ▶▶

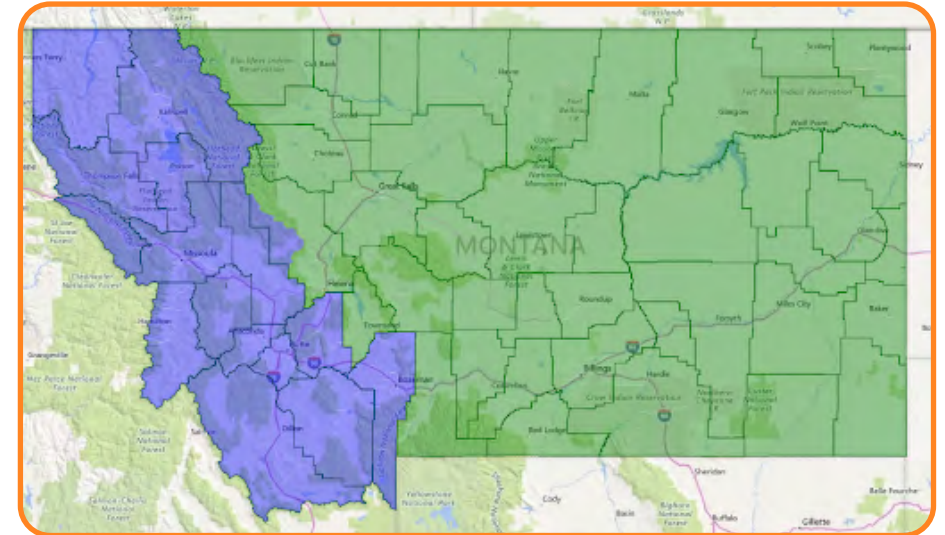
State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Montana

US House Redistricting Context

Montana has a bipartisan redistricting commission with a tie-breaking voter appointed by the State Supreme Court if the parties can't agree on one. Democratic appointees control the court 5-2 though two of their justices can swing to vote with conservatives in some cases, and there's a chance Republicans lose one seat in the 2020 elections. So while we can't rule out Republican chicanery leading to a partisan map, it seems likely the new districts will be nonpartisan.



Montana had two congressional seats until the 1990 Census, so past maps give a clue of what a nonpartisan commission would draw. Typically the Continental Divide serves as a boundary marker and the decision will likely come down to whether Helena or Bozeman is put with the western half of the state. This is what would happen if they opt for Bozeman.

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Montana

Hillary Clinton would've lost the First District by 13 points but Tester carried it by 9 in 2018 and there's a decent chance Biden carries it in 2020. The Second District would be unwinnable by a Democrat. Swapping in Helena for Bozeman would make the First slightly more Republican but still a top Democratic target.

This year's US House race will pit a Democrat from Bozeman against a Republican from Eastern Montana. So it stands to reason that whoever loses the general election will be the top candidate for the district they reside in come 2022.



Skip to next
section ►►

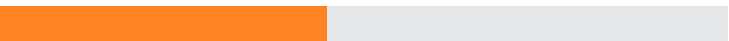
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Montana

91

45
SCORE

#17
RANK



Policy Context

Montana likes its Big Sky and tries to keep it clean, with some of the cleanest air results of any state. But residents are put on their back foot by a relative lack of infrastructure resilience and innovation. With the state likely subject to droughts in the future it should invest more in natural disaster preparedness.

- 33 Good Jobs
- 31 Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 37 Investing in Children
- 57 Empowering People over Special Interests
- 55 Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 30 Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 70 Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
 section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

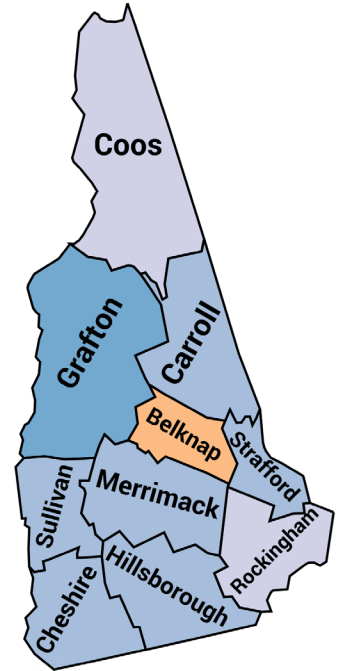
New Hampshire

President: Lean Democratic

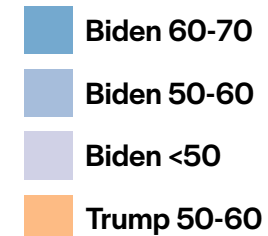
Trump came close in the Granite State in 2016 and seems obsessed with flipping at least one state but there's been little indication voters have warmed to him.

As with Michigan, the state could flip without the winner of any county changing (Trump would just need to run up bigger margins in the anti-tax suburbs of Hillsborough County).

Instead, Biden could flip the core six swing states (MI, PA, WI, AZ, FL, NC) but fall short in his reach states. There are big opportunities for Democrats in New Hampshire even if Biden doesn't win in a landslide which is why FNF is excited for its 2020 slate of state legislative endorsees there.



Results



Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

New Hampshire

Senate: Likely Democratic

Jeanne Shaheen's been in statewide office for 3 decades and her Republican opponents seem to be most comfortable on the Trumpist fringe.

Governor: Lean Republican

Chris Sununu starts out 2020 as the slight favorite but he could be in trouble if it's a bad year for Republicans.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

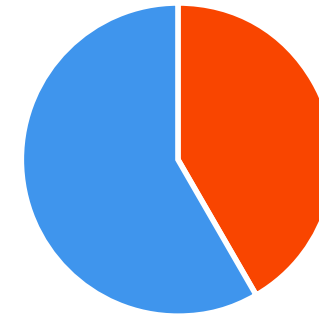
New Hampshire

House: 1 Notable Race

Chris Pappas is one of the 30 Democrats in Trump seats in the country and should be one of Republicans' top targets. His likely opponent, Matt Mowers, appears to be banking on Trump being able to carry this seat again and Mowers into office with him.

Legislature: Maintain Senate Majority

In 2018, Future Now Fund helped flip the New Hampshire Senate. But in 2020, the entire chamber is up for election, including four Democrats in seats that Trump won in 2016.



Senate

14 Democrats
10 Republicans

The Trump campaign has signaled it will attempt to flip the state in 2020 after it narrowly voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016, and both gubernatorial and U.S. Senate races could prove to be competitive.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

New Hampshire

In 2018:

- Democrats won control of the State Senate by flipping four Republican-held seats, all of which were targeted by Future Now Fund.
- Democrats also flipped control of the State House, which tends to move in the same direction as the State Senate (they have been controlled by the same party all but four years since 1992).

Competitive Seat Assessment

Senate	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	3, 6, 7, 17	8, 1, 2	11, 12, 23, 9	24, 16, 18	

Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

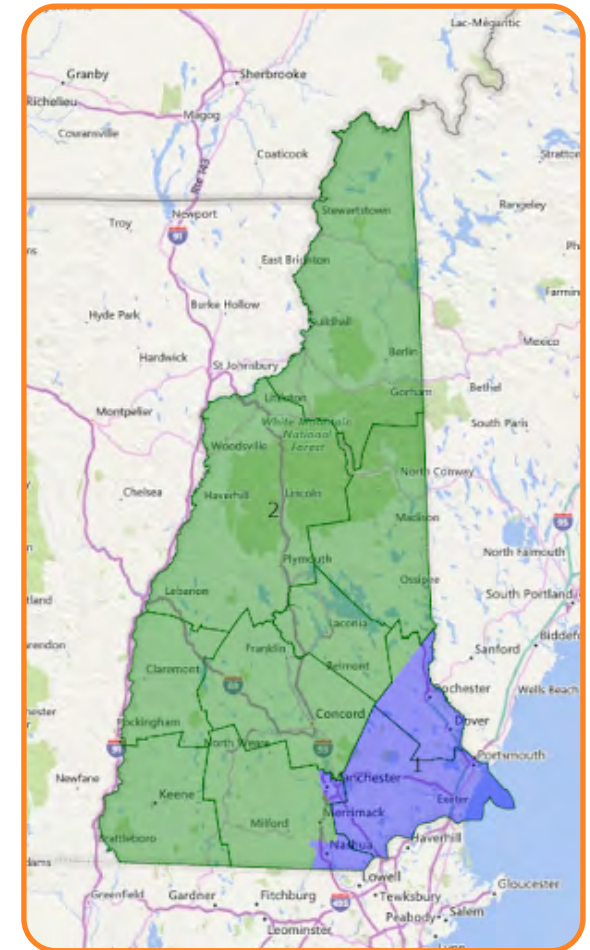
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

New Hampshire

US House Redistricting Context

With only two districts that are close in population a least change map would result in a largely status quo map (the status quo being some pretty ugly district lines). But if Democrats can hold the legislature and flip the governorship then they can pass a fair map with clean lines that'd also make the districts more evenly matched.

The 1st would go from backing Trump by 1.6% to backing Clinton by 0.2%. However, the 2nd would go from being a seat Clinton carried by 2.4% by one she only won by 0.5%. I think cleaner lines are worth it, but those in-state may beg to differ.



Skip to next
section ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

New Hampshire

97

47
SCORE

#16
RANK



Policy Context

New Hampshire legislators have been assiduous in addressing PFAS, passing paid family leave and expanding the franchise. Unfortunately, the governor has vetoed the latter two imperatives to the detriment of everyone who lives in the Granite State.

- 35 Good Jobs
- 45 Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 45 Investing in Children
- 32 Empowering People over Special Interests
- 50 Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 57 Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 62 Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

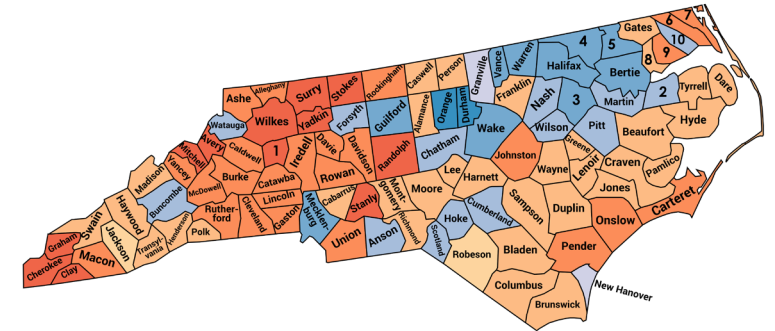
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

North Carolina

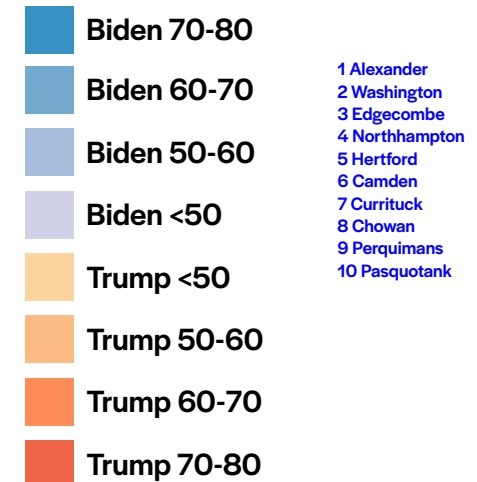
President: Tossup

North Carolina is missing from the discussion on potential tipping point states, but that's likely because it didn't have any prominent statewide races in 2018. But polling data, 2018 state legislative results and demographic trends show it's a great Democratic target in 2020. A narrow win would look as follows:

This map reflects minimal changes from 2016—Biden would only win by 0.5% under this scenario. It appears New Hanover County would be the state's bellwether; as goes Wilmington so goes the state.



Results



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

North Carolina

Governor: Likely Democratic

The Republican Governors Association has so much faith in GOP nominee Dan Forest that, 4 months before the election, their North Carolina website still featured 2016 nominee Pat McGrory.

Senate: Tossup

Cal Cunningham wasn't Democrats' first choice as a recruit but he's done well in polls against incumbent Sen. Thom Tillis, who barely won this seat in a Republican landslide year and hasn't done much to endear himself to voters since then.

US House: One Notable Race

A new, fair, congressional map will lead to two easy pickups in Raleigh and the Piedmont Triad for Democrats. And while Republicans are still favored in the 8th Congressional District, Democrats have a top notch recruit and there's significant overlap with contested State House districts.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

North Carolina

State Legislative: Flip the House

In 2018 North Carolinians came out in record numbers to break Republican supermajorities. And 2 years later a state court has imposed new, fairer districts in many areas across the state. In the House, there are 5 Republican-held seats that have been carried by statewide Democrats this decade and six more where they came close, many in areas that are trending Democratic.



House
55 Democrats
65 Republicans

Competitive Seat Assessment

House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	82, 1, 12, 20, 46, 51, 55, 83	45, 74, 59, 66	9, 63, 98, 119, 43, 47	93	8, 25, 35, 36, 37, 57, 103, 104, 105

Skip to next section ▶▶

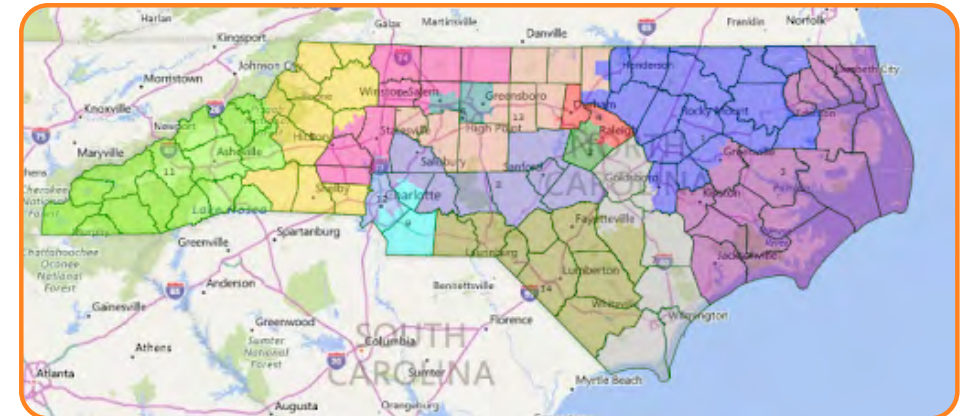
State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

North Carolina

US House Redistricting Context

- North Carolina's governor does not have a veto over redistricting plans (a relic of when Democrats controlled the legislature but there was a Republican governor....oops)
- North Carolina's Senate has been unreliable in stopping Republican gerrymanders, so the North Carolina House presents Democrats with their best chance to stop a Republican map. However, the State Supreme Court is Democratic (and unlikely to flip to Republican outside an unlikely set of circumstances) so that should be a check on Republicans' worst instincts.
- Nevertheless, it helps to avoid letting Republicans get first crack at drawing a map as the court can't second-guess every decision that could help them.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

North Carolina

- North Carolina will gain a seat after reapportionment and this map projects what would happen if the new 14th is created to add a plurality-minority seat to the southeastern part of the state while minimizing changes across the rest of the map.
- This map would create 7 safe Republican seats and 7 (mostly) safe Democratic seats.
- The new 14th only backed Hillary Clinton by 5% but historically votes far more Democratic and would be less than 50% white.
- The only Republican seat here worth a run would be the 9th, and that's only if the Charlotte suburbs get vastly more Democratic in the near future.
- If Democrats manage to flip the House and Senate, they could easily make the 8th or 13th winnable by making it wrap around Raleigh instead of reaching out west to take in the homes of a pair of Republican incumbents.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

North Carolina

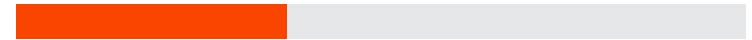
103

Policy Context

Art Pope really did a number on the Tar Heel state. A paltry 4% of workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements, it has one of the highest rates of adults not seeing a doctor due to cost and after decades of having some of the most affordable postsecondary education in the country a whopping 56% of college graduates carry student debt. But North Carolina had good government for decades before conservatives took it over a decade ago and there's no reason they can't reverse those metrics.

37
SCORE

#32
RANK



- 11** ■ Good Jobs
- 27** ■ Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 36** ■ Investing in Children
- 50** ■ Empowering People over Special Interests
- 40** ■ Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 43** ■ Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 51** ■ Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

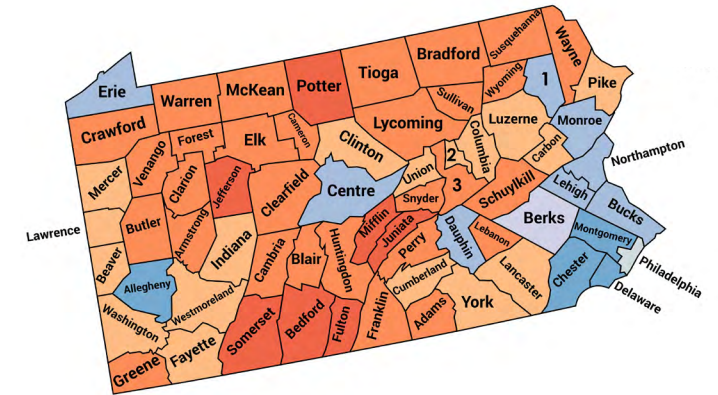
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Pennsylvania

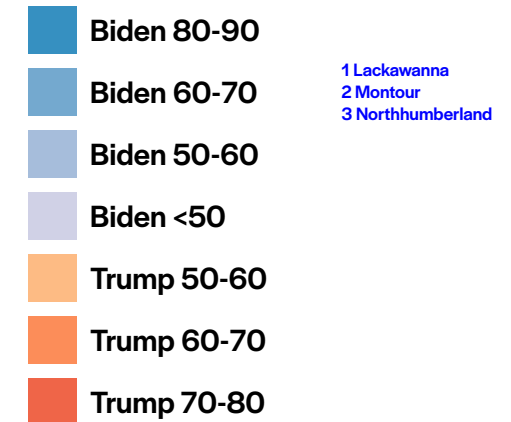
President: Tossup

It was technically the tipping point state in 2016 and while it seems to be more likely to flip to Biden than WI/AZ/NC/FL, the possibility that it would be the tipping point again can't be underestimated—our model frequently shows that's the case.

- Notably Biden could win the state without flipping a single county from 2016 if his gains among college educated voters are large enough.
- There are only three counties in Pennsylvania that seem primed to flip, even in a national blowout: Erie, Northampton and Berks. And if Biden is winning Berks County he's probably winning the national vote by 10%.



Results



Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Pennsylvania

US House: 5 Notable Races

2018 majority makers Conor Lamb and Susan Wild hold down marginal seats while longer-time incumbent Matt Cartwright could face a serious challenge in a district that's trending Republican. But Republican Scott Perry will face a serious challenger for his conservative-leaning seat and his colleague Brian Fitzpatrick has underfunded competition but his district is Democratic enough that it'd be hard to survive a wave regardless.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

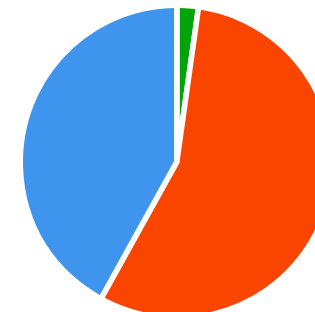
Pennsylvania

State Legislature: Flip the House and Senate

Democrats have mounting political momentum in Pennsylvania: Since January 2019, they've won two critical special elections (though they lost two others in the early confusion of the COVID-19 pandemic).

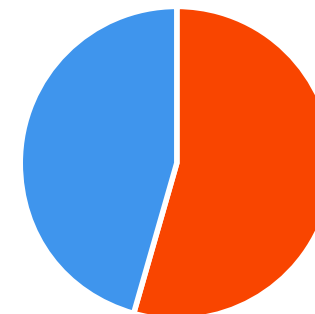
In 2020, the entire Pennsylvania House is up for election, and Democrats need to net nine of 110 Republican-held seats to flip the chamber. Democrats only need to win Republican-held seats won by either Clinton or Obama to flip the chamber.

Also half of the Senate will be up for re-election and Democrats will need to sweep the most competitive seats to tie the chamber (the Democratic lieutenant governor breaks ties).



Senate

21 Democrats
28 Republicans
1 Independent
caucusing with
Republicans



House

93 Democrats
110 Republicans

Skip to next
section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Pennsylvania

In 2018:

- Democrats netted 11 seats, the first step in a two-cycle lift to win the chamber.
- Democratic Governor Tom Wolf won 41 Republican-held districts, many by double digits.
- In a March 2019 special election, Democrats won a Pennsylvania House special election by 25% in a seat that Trump won by 8%—a 33-point swing.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Pennsylvania

Competitive Seat Assessments

House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	106, 120, 13, 26, 104, 176, 123, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 48, 87, 88, 97, 129, 134, 137, 138, 145, 147, 171, 183, 187, 49, 189	28, 44, 144, 170, 29, 30, 105, 142, 178, 131	151, 72, 119, 38, 55	18, 160, 168, 152, 9, 143, 33, 50, 118	16, 114, 121, 3
Senate	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	47, 31	13	49, 15, 37	9	45

Skip to next section ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Pennsylvania

US House Redistricting Context

Republicans seem highly unlikely to be able to gerrymander Pennsylvania again. The only way they could pull this off is as follows:

1. They retain their state legislative majorities.
2. They pass a constitutional amendment that gerrymanders the State Supreme Court (Democratic Governor Tom Wolf cannot veto).
3. Voters approve the constitutional amendment in a statewide referendum before district lines are drawn.
4. They manage to get Republican apparatchiks installed on the court in time to draw district lines after they deadlock with Wolf on maps.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

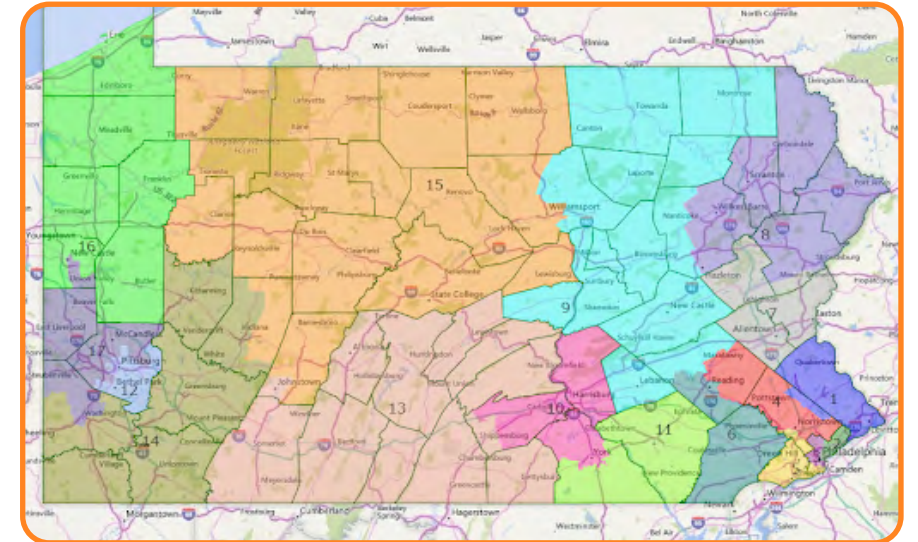
State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Pennsylvania

Notably Republicans could still gerrymander the State Supreme Court in time to impact 2030-cycle redistricting, so that's another reason that flipping at least one chamber is critical.

The most likely scenario is that the State Supreme Court draws districts again. As it will still be Democratic in 2021-2022 it will likely default to a least-change version of the plan it approved in 2018. As the court does try to be nonpartisan I suspect it'll try to draw a Republican and Democrat into the same district because the state is losing one. This map would put Dan Meuser in Matt Cartwright's old seat and Fred Keller in Meuser's old seat to accomplish such.



Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Pennsylvania

So while this plan would eliminate a Republican seat it isn't all good news for Democrats:

- The 7th would go from a district that Clinton won by 1.1% to one that Trump won by 2.7%
- The 8th would get slightly more Democratic, Trump only would've won it by 8.5% instead of 9.5% but Matt Cartwright would face off against fellow incumbent Dan Meuser in the general election.
- The 10th would get marginally more Republican, going from a seat Trump won by 9.0% to one he won by 9.8%
- The 17th would go from supporting Trump by 2.6% to backing him by 4.7%

It's possible that Biden could carry each of those districts. Nevertheless, it's probably better for Democrats if they can flip the State House and Senate.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Pennsylvania

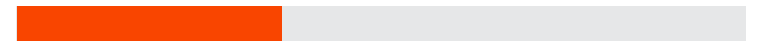
112

Policy Context

Home to much of the fracking boom, Pennsylvania suffers from some of the worst water pollution and lowest renewable energy consumption of any state. It's also a state where police reform could go far, as its incarceration rates and racial disparities in police fatalities are some of the most egregious in the country. But that will not be possible with the current Republican majorities in place.

37
SCORE

#33
RANK



- 29 Good Jobs
- 37 Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 49 Investing in Children
- 42 Empowering People over Special Interests
- 22 Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 49 Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 24 Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ►►

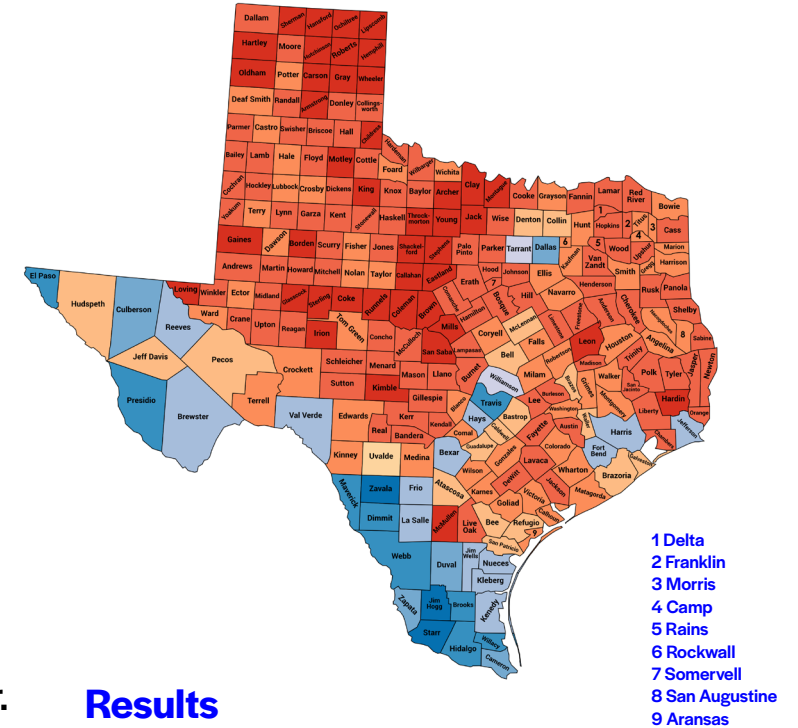
State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Texas

President: Lean Republican

- Yes, polls show that Texas is close: national polling showing Biden up 10 means the state is in play.
- But with the state so far away from the tipping point it seems unlikely the Biden campaign will expend the resources necessary to be on air in the state consistently. Of course, if the COVID pandemic worsens and oil prices tank, the electorate may be especially unruly come November.
- Which could lead to this map: To flip Texas, you must flip Tarrant County, which is also the home to a number of competitive State House races where Future Now Fund has endorsed challengers. Fort Worth is the center of the Texas political universe.



Results

Biden 80-90	Trump <50
Biden 70-80	Trump 50-60
Biden 60-70	Trump 60-70
Biden 50-60	Trump 70-80
Biden <50	Trump 80-90

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Texas

US Senate: Lean Republican

John Cornyn isn't as odious as Ted Cruz but neither does he inspire the same passion among the base. Meanwhile, Democratic nominee MJ Hegar polls well against him. The DNC may not want to spend money on the presidential race here, but the DSCC may well book air time in the state.

US House: Many Notable Races

It's unclear just how wide the US House map will be in Texas. With Biden poised to put up Beto-like numbers in the state it could put seats that were previously thought safe like the 2nd, 3rd and 6th into play. And we already know that the 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th are prime flip opportunities for Democrats. Notably most of these seats have significant overlap with competitive State House races.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

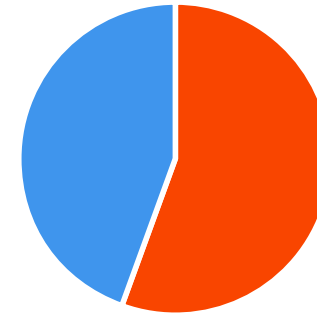
State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Texas

Legislature: Flip the House

In 2018, Democrats picked up 12 seats in the Texas House, two seats in the Texas Senate and two seats in the U.S. House. And Beto O'Rourke won 76 of the 150 Texas State House districts, giving Democrats a roadmap to a new majority. This is the most crucial chamber up in 2020 for Congressional redistricting—and will also have the ability to improve tens of millions of lives.



House
67 Democrats
83 Republicans

In 2020, the entire Texas House is up for election, and Democrats need to net nine of 83 Republican-held seats to flip the chamber.

Skip to next
section ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Texas

In 2018:

- Beto O'Rourke won a majority of State House districts (76), and came within 4 points of winning an additional nine districts.
- Democrats improved on their 2016 state legislative performance in all 18 of the Republican-held seats that O'Rourke won or came within four points of winning.
- Democrats had to contend with Republican Gov. Greg Abbott's well-funded re-election campaign atop the ticket.
- In 2020, both the presidential and U.S. Senate races will be closer than the gubernatorial race, denying a similar coat-tail effect to down-ballot Republicans.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Texas

Competitive Seat Assessment

House	Lean R	Tilt R	Tossup	Tilt D	Lean D
District	54, 121, 28, 94, 126, 14	67, 26, 92, 96, 64, 93, 97	138, 66, 112, 134, 132	108, 45, 135, 65	47, 52

Skip to next section ▶▶

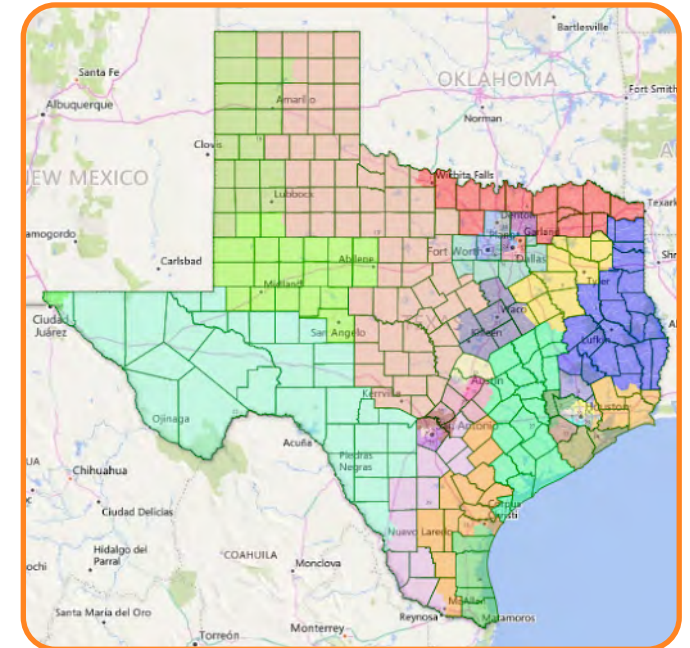
State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Texas

US House Redistricting Context

If Democrats can block a Republican gerrymander then a congressional map would likely be drawn by the courts. And considering Texas congressional districts have been subject to the federal court jurisdiction of a 3-judge panel that includes 2 Democratic appointees, that's good news for Democrats. A fair map based on communities of interest would look similar to this.



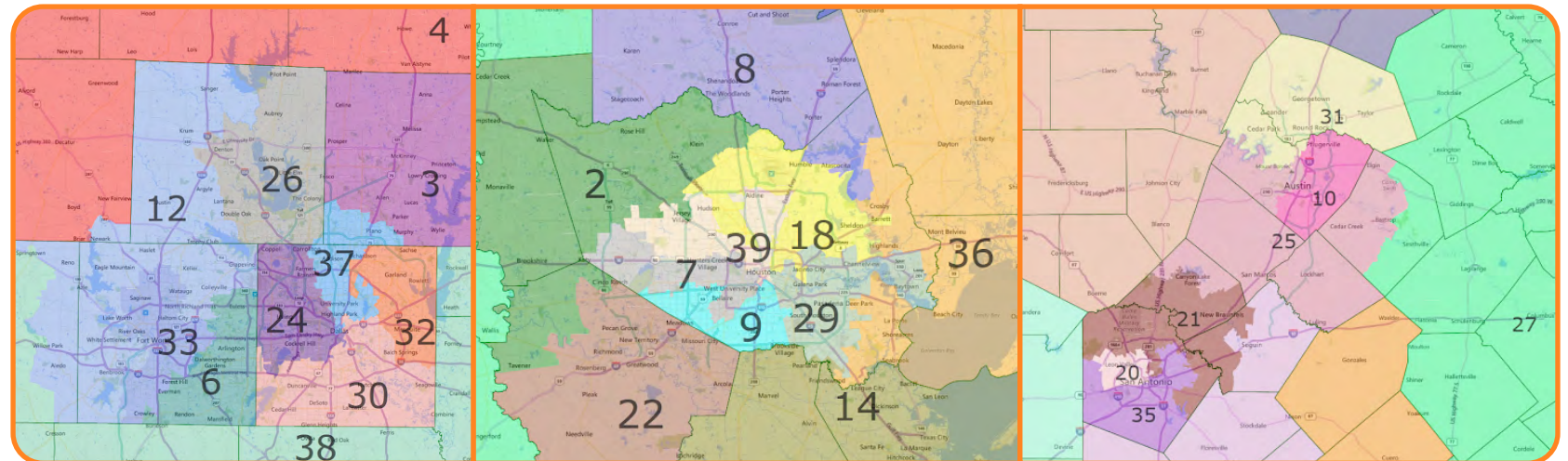
Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Texas

This map would result in significant disruptions to the current delegation. We think the net benefit to Democrats would be 5-7 districts over the course of the decade (and have a detailed breakdown for anyone who'd be interested). In other words, whatever it costs to flip 5-7 US House seats for 5 different election cycles could be spent on flipping the Texas House instead.



Skip to next
section ►►

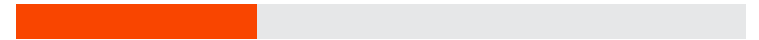
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Texas

120

33
SCORE

#40
RANK



Policy Context

Texas is famously a low tax, low service state. Though really it's a regressive tax, low service state because its tax burden disproportionately falls on its poorest residents. So it lags in all of these indicators, but with a new House majority it could start making up ground.

- 15 ■ Good Jobs
- 21 ■ Affordable Quality Healthcare
- 35 ■ Investing in Children
- 37 ■ Empowering People over Special Interests
- 36 ■ Equal Opportunity for Everyone
- 51 ■ Sustainable Infrastructure, Resilience, and Innovation
- 35 ■ Clean Air, Water, and Energy

Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

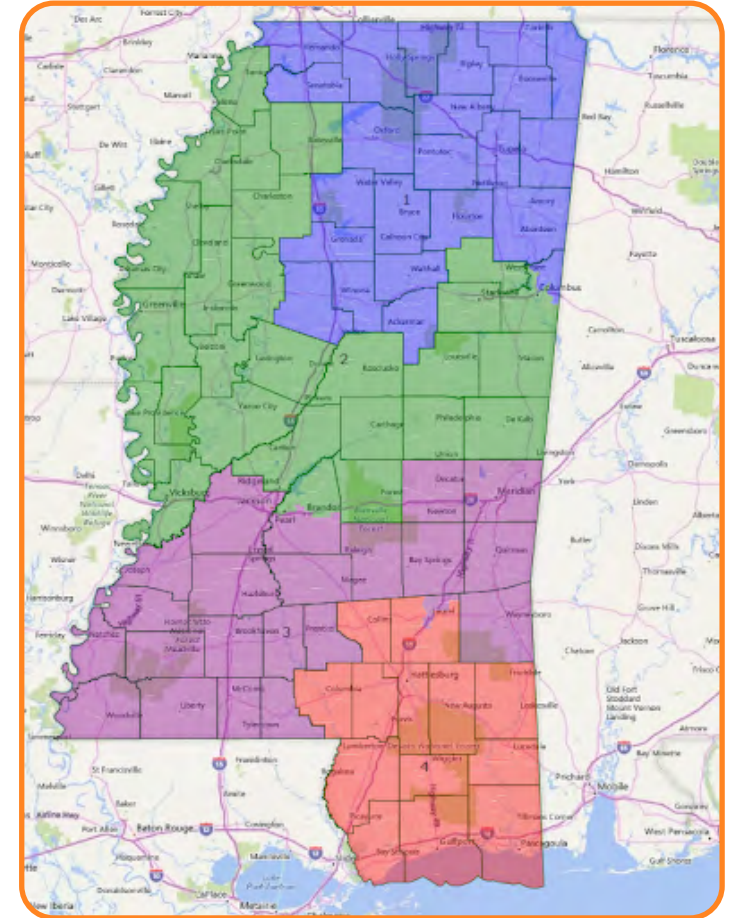
STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Bonus: Maps for the two FNF 2019 states

FNF helped flip the Virginia House of Delegates and make some historic gains in the Mississippi Legislature.

Neither has regularly scheduled state legislative elections in 2020 nor appear to have competitive Senate races but it makes sense to look at how congressional redistricting will play out in both.

Mississippi is a Republican trifecta so one can assume that they'll pass another Republican gerrymander, combining as much of the state's Black population as possible into one seat. But it's possible to draw two districts where Black Americans would be a plurality of residents without breaking the minimum of county boundaries. A DOJ that had its druthers could enforce this map.



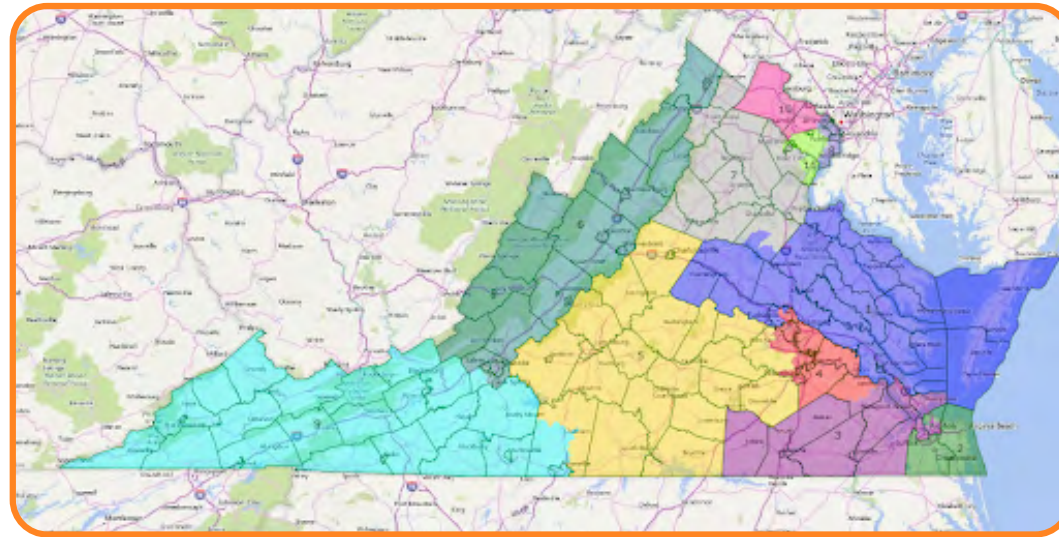
Skip to next
section ►►

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Bonus: Maps for the Two FNF 2019 States

As for Virginia, I'd expect the map to look along the lines of the following:



- Most notable is the impact it has on each of the three Democrats who flipped House seats in the state in 2018.
- Jennifer Wexton would be safe in a seat that would never elect a Republican, based entirely in the DC suburbs.

Skip to next
section ►►

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Bonus: Maps for the Two FNF 2019 States

- Elaine Luria would see her district improve, but only slightly. The new 2nd would have backed Trump by around 1.7%, down from its current 3.4% but still a Republican-leaning seat.
- Abigail Spanberger's district would become likely unwinnable. She narrowly carried the seat that backed Trump by 6.5% in 2018 and even if she wins re-election to it she'd have to subsequently win in a seat that backed Trump by 10.7%.
- One would expect a state like Virginia that hasn't voted for a Republican statewide since 2009 to have a median seat that would have supported Clinton by around 5% (her margin in the state) but under this map it would instead have supported Trump.
- The state's delegation would likely be 6-5 in either direction most years, even though Democrats should have a shot at a 7-4 lead in a state that has shifted so decisively against Republicans. But the state's conservative Supreme Court seems unlikely to draw a map favorable to Democrats.

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Bonus: States of Note

And while FNF is not involved in every state electorally we do want to provide some important context on other states that you might be interested in.

- The most important race in Colorado is its US Senate race, where Cory Gardner's 2014 looks increasingly like a fluke and if he manages to hang on to his Senate seat it probably means Trump's winning nationwide. But even then, Democrats should retain their control of the state legislature.
- Democrats can make gains in the Georgia state legislature, but flipping it looks highly unlikely. Ironically, if they lose seats the GOP could be forced to extend itself too thin in the next round of district maps. That's because the GOP will only be checked by the Department of Justice and a stacked federal judiciary. If they have to protect an inordinate number of incumbents (say 120 out of the 180 members of the chamber) they'll spread their own voters in this purple state too thin and leave many of their incumbents in difficult-to-hold seats. But if they only need to protect 95 incumbents, they can much more easily wall off Democratic voters in 85 districts without the political cost of drawing bad districts for incumbents.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Bonus: States of Note

- Trump claims that he might try to flip New Mexico but his close call in 2016 seems to reflect more Gary Johnson's ability to win over erstwhile Democratic voters in his home state than any long term trends. And with a number of conservative state legislative Democrats losing primaries in 2020, the state's politics will be interesting to watch in the next legislative session.
- Nevada looks like it may be a blue state now but a combination of Trump's inroads among voters of color and the state's relatively low number of college educated white voters means Democrats still have to break a sweat here to avoid losing statewide.
- Ohio could vote for the loser of the presidential race for the first time since 1960; it's more Republican than the core six swing states. However, if Democrats continue to improve inordinately among white voters Ohio could remain our national bellwether for another cycle. Notably, Sherrod Brown carried a bare majority of State House districts in 2018, so if Biden puts up similar numbers he could help Ohio Democrats make huge gains.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS

Bonus: States of Note

- Lindsey Graham's challenger has been galvanizing, but in South Carolina the most likely outcome is that Jamie Harrison's bid ends up being a valiant and well-funded effort to get 47% of the vote. If you want to send some smart money to the state, Future Now Fellow State Rep. J.A. Moore has been a leader in fighting for COVID relief but represents a Republican-leaning seat.
- Keep your eye out in West Virginia to see if Democrats can make some gains in the state legislature, where they consistently punch above their weight. And with the state slated to lose a congressional seat expect the legislature to obliterate the seat of whichever GOP member of Congress they hate the most (all current incumbents are at least somewhat unpleasant so it's unclear who'll be targeted).
- According to VARUN, Kenosha, Sauk and Columbia Counties are the best bellwethers for the state if you need a place to fixate on while following returns in November. And the state legislature will remain in Republican hands until there's a new map. The biggest question about Wisconsin's political future is whether a neutral federal court or partisan state court will end up drawing lines for the next ten years.

**Skip to next
section** ▶▶

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

Conclusion

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

CONCLUSION

What Happens over the Next 3 Months?

To predict the future, it makes sense to look to the past.

In the past six months the Republican message has been socialists are trying ruin this beautiful economy (February), COVID-19 is under control/a hoax (March), we need to reopen the country (April), law and order (May), the stock market is getting better (June) and we must protect our statues from cancel culture (July).

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

CONCLUSION

What Happens over the Next 3 Months?

Messaging: It's still unclear what message Democrats will be running against in the fall. And with the status of the economy in constant flux, it's further unclear what the material conditions in which the election takes place will be.

Tactics: The COVID-19 pandemic has made some of our favorites, such as door-to-door canvassing, no longer feasible while previously overlooked ones like ballot chasing (with detailed instructions to voters on how to cast absentee ballots to avoid them going uncounted) have become more critical.

As we see more of the innovative tactics and messaging being deployed by thousands of state legislative candidates, as well as notable congressional and statewide candidates, we hope to share them with you and our in-state partners as the election draws closer.

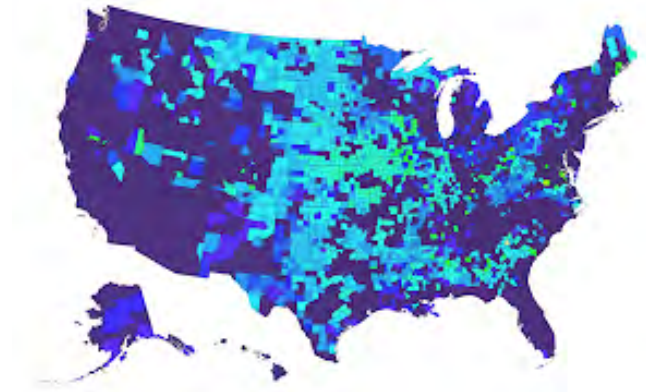
State of the States
 Aaron Kleinman
 7.30.20

CONCLUSION

Here’s a map of when in history each county in the United States hit its top population, according to the US Census. While many areas along the coasts and in the south are still at their top population, much of the rest of the country has fewer people living in it now than it did 10, 100 or even 200 years ago.

Think about all the colonists, speculators, pioneers, homesteaders, railmen, gold rushers, miners, industrialists, developers, and mortgage brokers who thought they had predicted the future of the country, that the good times would keep going, that they were on the upslope instead of at the peak. There’s less of a difference between us and them than we think. 100 years from now our descendants will laugh at some of our stupid ideas, our daily practices, and our beliefs about the future.

So as we go forward into the 2020 election and beyond, let’s proceed with a bit of humility. We know a lot (especially after reading this report!) but we don’t have anywhere near all the answers. But humility is not weakness, humility is strength. Especially in the midst of a pandemic, where arrogance and hubris can literally get you killed. Dangerous politicians in power are riven through with these twin maladies. But we can make them history in November.



Census

2010	1930	1860
2000	1920	1850
1990	1910	1840
1980	1900	1830
1970	1890	1820
1960	1880	1810
1950	1870	1800
1940		

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ENDNOTES

- 1 Or, in the event of an unexpected reversal for Trump and Republicans, protect 2018's hard-won gains as a bulwark against authoritarianism.
- 2 JQ Xu, et al. "Mortality in the United States," NCHS Data Brief, no. 355 (Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics, 2018), <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db355-h.pdf>. "An examination of the 2016 electorate, based on validated voters," *Pew Research Center*, August 9, 2018, <https://www.people-press.org/2018/08/09/an-examination-of-the-2016-electorate-based-on-validated-voters/>.
- 3 *United States Census Bureau*, <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/popest/2010s-national-detail.html>. "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016," *United States Census Bureau*, May 2017, <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-580.html>.
- 4 "USCIS Statistical Annual Report," *United States Citizenship and Immigration Services*, https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/USCIS/statistics/2018_USCIS_Statistical_Annual_Report_Final_-_OPQ_5.28.19_EXA.pdf.
- 5 Abby Budiman, Luis Noe-Bustamante, and Mark Hugo Lopez, "Naturalized Citizens Make Up Record One-in-Ten U.S. Eligible Voters in 2020," *Pew Research Center*, February 26, 2020, <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2020/02/26/naturalized-citizens-make-up-record-one-in-ten-u-s-eligible-voters-in-2020/>.
- 6 Nate Cohn, "Huge Turnout Is Expected in 2020. So Which Party Would Benefit?" *The New York Times*, July 15, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/15/upshot/2020-election-turnout-analysis.html>.
- 7 Yair Ghitza, "Revisiting What Happened in the 2018 Election," *Medium*, May 21, 2019, https://medium.com/@yghitza_48326/revisiting-what-happened-in-the-2018-election-c532feb51c0.
- 8 "2020 Generic Congressional Vote," *RealClearPolitics*, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/2020_generic_congressional_vote-6722.html#polls.

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ENDNOTES

- 9 Thomas B. Edsall, “There Are Really Two Distinct White Working Classes,” *The New York Times*, June 26, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/26/opinion/pelosi-white-working-class.html>.
- 10 “Jon Morgan N. H. Senate,” *Friends of Jon Morgan*, <https://www.jonmorgan.org/>.
- 11 Brian Schaffner, “DFP CORONAVIRUS RESPONSE TRACKING POLL WEEK 11,” *Data for Progress*, June 26, 2020, <https://www.dataforprogress.org/blog/2020/6/26/week-11-coronavirus-tracking-poll> and Megan Brennan, “More Mask Use, Worry About Lack of Social Distancing in U.S.,” *Gallup*, July 6, 2020, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/313463/mask-worry-lack-social-distancing.aspx>.
- 12 Dylan Matthews, Coronavirus and the 2020 election: A collapsing economy is a disaster for the incumbent,” *Vox*, March 17, 2020, <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/3/17/21175200/trump-economy-reelection-2020-presidential-election-coronavirus>.
- 13 Hard to have a hard citation here but if I could predict the economy I wouldn’t be doing this job.
- 14 Aaron Kleinman, “Impact of COVID-19 on Wisconsin Supreme Court election” *Future Now Fund*, April 23, 2020, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ByoXbz7PTJPFCvXNsBw-Cp8Lx7SJP2wM/view>.
- 15 Kaleigh Rogers and Nathaniel Rakich, “Voter Registrations Are Way, Way Down During The Pandemic,” *FiveThirtyEight*, June 26, 2020, <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/voter-registrations-are-way-way-down-during-the-pandemic>.
- 16 Scott Clement and Dan Balz, “Post-ABC poll shows Trump and Biden in a competitive race for the White House,” *The Washington Post*, March 29, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/poll-shows-trump-and-biden-in-a-competitive-race-for-the-white-house/2020/03/28/515cb8ba-7037-11ea-b148-e4ce3fbd85b5_story.html.

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ENDNOTES

- 17 Thomas B. Edsall, “Trump Has a Gut Feeling About What Covid-19 Means for 2020,” *The New York Times*, April 15, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/15/opinion/coronavirus-trump-election.html>.
- 18 Omar Wasow. “Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting.” *American Political Science Review*, 2020, 1–22. doi:10.1017/S000305542000009X.
- 19 “National: Protestors’ Anger Justified Even if Actions May Not Be,” *Monmouth University Polling*, June 2, 2020, https://www.monmouth.edu/polling-institute/documents/monmouthpoll_us_060220.pdf/.
- 20 SSRS. CNN/SSRS Poll. Glenn Mills: SSRS, 2020. Accessed July 8, 2020. <https://cdn.cnn.com/cnn/2020/images/06/08/rel6a.-.race.and.2020.pdf>.
- 21 Eliza Collins, Emily Glazer and Tarini Parti, “Joe Biden Gains Support With Young Voters Amid Protests,” *The Wall Street Journal*, July 1, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/joe-biden-gains-support-with-young-voters-amid-protests-11593608400>.
- 22 Malachi Barrett, “Michigan pollster: Trump’s Bible photo op caused immediate drop in support,” *MLive*, June 16, 2020, <https://www.mlive.com/public-interest/2020/06/michigan-pollster-trumps-bible-photo-op-caused-immediate-drop-in-support.html>.
- 23 Kyle Kondik and J. Miles Coleman, “Why 2020’s Third Party Share Should Be Lower Than 2016,” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball*, May 14, 2020, <http://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/why-2020s-third-party-share-should-be-lower-than-2016/>.

State of the States
Aaron Kleinman
7.30.20

ENDNOTES

- 24** The results we show from VARUN are not supposed to be exact predictions but illustrative of potential scenarios. Because it's based on shifts from 2016 it can reflect the Disco Stu Fallacy but to the extent actual results vary from its predictions it should be instructive as to why similar areas shifted in different ways.
- 25** Red numbers: Republican-held seats. Blue numbers: Democratic-held seats. Green numbers: Independent-held seats. Vacant seats are counted as belonging to the party holding them prior to such vacancy. Race ratings based on projecting a close 2020 election continuing the Trump era's electoral trends. FNF generally assumes that incumbents in seats that have not been won by a candidate of the other party in any election (legislative, statewide, or national) since 2012 are safe.
- 26** These maps, which I include for states where I think they're noteworthy, are based on county-level population changes from 2010-2018, extrapolated out for 2020. In most states the sub-county population estimates are noisy so I avoided using them. As these estimates will no doubt be altered by a Census being conducted under suboptimal conditions these maps are probably best thought of as impressionist works that try to capture the overall population trends in the state.
- 27** It is difficult for our model to capture the impact of RCV so we are not providing a win scenario here.
- 28** Full disclosure: I've known Haley for more than 15 years and donated to her 2018 congressional campaign.