



Federal Lands Impacted Schools Association

Education For Children, Fairness for Taxpayers

FLISA Talking Points for September 25, 2018 Hill Visits

1. On behalf of the nearly 900,000 children enrolled in federally impacted schools in our community and across the country, I would like to thank you for your support of Impact Aid and the increase in funding for all impact aid schools under FY 18 and FY 19 Senate budget agreement.
 - We are hopeful that we can again raise the Sequestration caps and with your assistance see an increase of \$2M for 7002 Schools in the FY 20 budget.
2. The Federal Government has seized highly valued land in our school districts for a variety of reasons, making that land exempt from the property taxes that support schools.
 - The Federal Government acknowledged its responsibility and initiated the Impact Aid program in 1950.
 - Today, the Federal Government provides impacted schools only about 11% of the lost tax revenue.
 - In school districts where there is a federal land, local property taxpayers are penalized by having to pay more in taxes, or school districts are forced to reduce programs.
 - Impact Aid funds are efficient and flexible: they go directly to schools to support our students.
3. New lands added by the Federal Government in recent years mean that more schools share the same amount of funds—each getting a smaller piece of the pie. At the very least, Congress should provide additional funding to account for newly acquired lands so that schools don't have to share the same amount of funding.
4. Be sure to give a specific example of how losing 7002 funds will impact your district.

Funding History							FLISA REQUEST
FY 12	SEQUESTER FY 13	FY 14/15	FY 16	FY 17	FY 18	FY 19**	FY 20
\$66,947,000	\$63,445,000	66,813,000	66,813,000	68,813,000	73,313,000	74,313,000	ADDITIONAL + \$2M

****According to Conference Report September 17-18, 2018

* Be sure to say thanks for FY 18-FY 19 Increase...this is a great area for discussion

4. If they have not already, please ask them to join the Impact Aid Coalition (If interested please notify NAFIS, at jocelyn@nafisdc.org, to follow-up). Ask the staffer to let you know when the Member has signed and/or joined so you can include this information in your next school newsletter and community meeting. (Offer an invitation to visit your schools).
5. REMEMBER THE NAFIS TALKING PTS:

↑\$ Impact Aid **FUNDING**,
↑\$ SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION (↑ 7002 Eligible)
NO VOUCHERS (See NAFIS handout)
6. Thank staffer for meeting with you & remind them of the date of the Spring NAFIS conference on March 19, 2019. Offer to be a resource of additional information and direct the staff member to our website: www.FLISA.org



NAFIS News

The pulse of the National Association of Federally Impacted Schools

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Congress Moves Closer to Finalizing FY 2019 Spending: Impact Aid Poised for Increase

Congressional leaders announced this week that they're drafting a continuing resolution (CR) through December 7. The stop-gap measure will apply to any funding bills for which final appropriations have not been adopted by the start of the Federal Government's Fiscal Year on October 1. It is possible that education funding could be adopted this month - before the start of the fiscal year - for the first time in more than two decades, and thus not subject to the CR.

A conference committee announced late this week it had completed reconciling the differences between the House and Senate funding levels on a legislative package, referred to as a "minibus," that covers FY 2019 funding for the departments of Defense, Labor, Health and Human Services and Education. Bipartisan, bicameral negotiations have been eased due to the two-year budget deal, passed earlier this year, which raised the sequestration caps on discretionary funding for FY 2018 and FY 2019.

The legislation released Thursday evening for FY 2019 included strong numbers for the US Department of Education overall, including a **\$32 million increase for Impact Aid** (\$1 million for Federal Properties; \$31 million for Basic Support).

As NAFIS reminded Appropriators in a [September 4 letter](#):

Impact Aid is not supplemental. These funds supplant the loss of local revenues that cannot otherwise be generated due to the presence of nontaxable Federal property. Additional investments in Impact Aid are critical to help school districts close achievement gaps, update technology, expand access to early childhood and afterschool programs, integrate culturally-relevant curriculum, replace failing infrastructure, offer competitive salaries to recruit and retain school leaders and more. We thank you for your continued efforts to prioritize Impact Aid and request that you continue to view the program as a critical Federal investment in our schools and a tax replacement program for federally impacted communities.

The Senate is expected to take up the legislation next week, but it is unclear whether the bill will get to the president's desk before the start of the fiscal year. It is important that Impact Aid advocates continue to weigh in with their federal representatives.

"If enacted, this would be the fourth year in a row with significant increases for Impact Aid, a testament to the strength of the NAFIS Family. We are grateful that the leaders of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees have continued to prioritize Impact Aid funding," said NAFIS Executive Director Hilary Goldmann. "Because Impact Aid is current-year funded, if this bill is enacted by the beginning of the fiscal year, it will avoid the budget shortfalls and uncertainty that has become the norm for federally impacted school districts. These districts will see payments increase this fall, allowing them to provide additional opportunities and resources that will help the students they serve succeed. These children deserve the best, and we urge Congress to move forward with approving this bill quickly."

Winners and Losers From Capitol Hill's School Spending Agreement

By Andrew Ujifusa on September 16, 2018 9:11 AM



We finally have an idea of **how much Congress wants to spend on education**.

After months of wrangling, top lawmakers for the education budget struck a deal to fund the U.S. Department of Education for the upcoming fiscal year. It's not a done deal, because it still needs to pass the House and Senate, and President Donald Trump then has to sign it. But through this agreement, members of Congress who oversee spending are sending the Trump administration a pretty clear signal about what they want to pay for and how much they want to pay.

But is there any general theme for how various programs and their constituencies made out in the deal? We've identified a few of them below.

Spending Deal Winners

- **Programs Trump and Education Secretary Betsy DeVos Want to Cut:** In their fiscal 2019 blueprint, the Trump team wanted to shrink or eliminate several programs. Big-ticket items the administration wanted to eliminate include the Title IV Part A block grant, Title II aid for educator preparation, and 21st Century Community Learning Centers (a program that supports after-school programs). They also wanted to shrink the budget for Impact Aid.

All of those programs are not only preserved in the spending deal—they get raises. The spending increases they would get aren't huge by percentage. But Congress is sending a clear message that it sees value in those programs. Several other programs the White House wants to slash also survive unscathed in the deal.

- **Career and Technical Education:** We're listing CTE here not just because it got a \$70 million bump in grants, or nearly 6 percent of its current funding. It's also here because the funding increase goes towards a newly authorized Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act. Trump signed a Perkins reauthorization into law earlier this year after the legislation got overwhelming bipartisan support in Congress. Not everyone is totally enamored with the new Perkins law. But the spending increase Congress wants make it clear that CTE is a priority in education policy.

Spending Deal Losers

- **Trump and DeVos (Mostly):** It's not fair to say that Trump and DeVos have whiffed completely on their priorities. A \$40 million increase for charter school grants fits with DeVos' general push to direct more money to school choice programs. However, that increase is \$60 million less than what the president wanted for charters. He and DeVos had a lot less luck on other fronts. Lawmakers completely ignored the administration's signature school choice proposal for next year, a \$1 billion "opportunity grants" program to promote choice. And more broadly, Capitol Hill is so far refusing to cut spending like the Trump team wants.

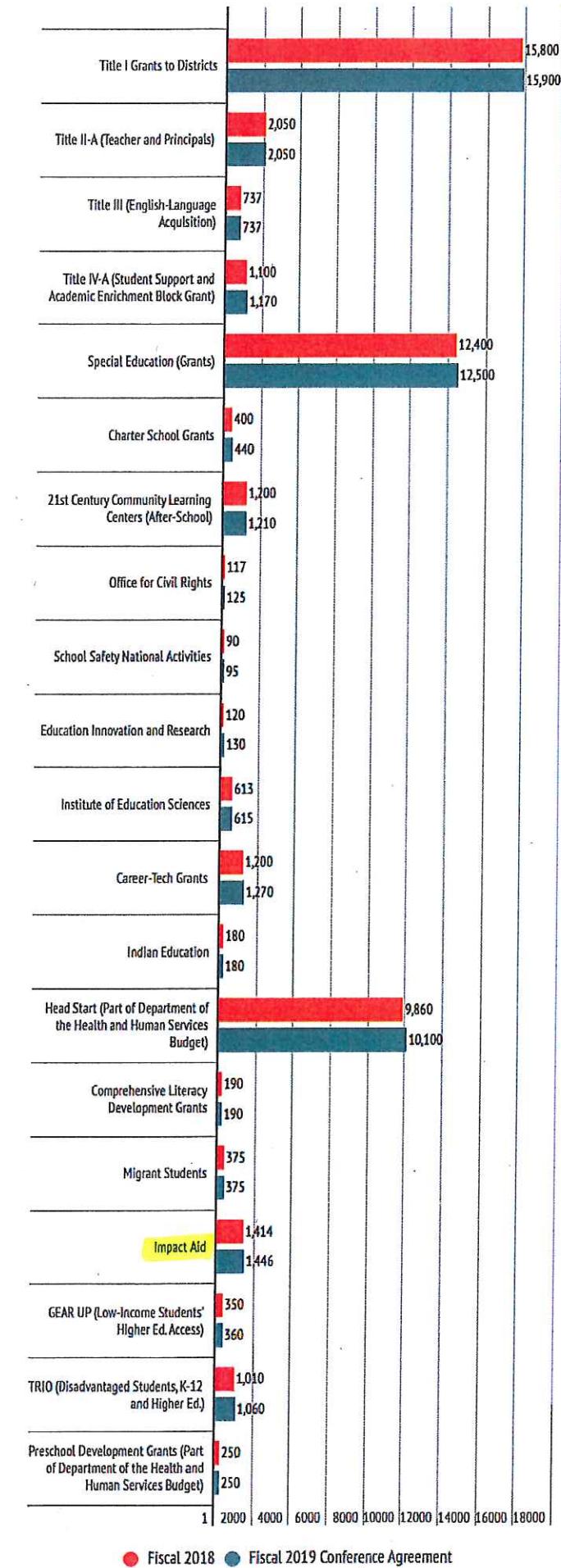
- **Pell Grant Reserve:** The deal does rescind \$600 million that Congress previously appropriated for Pell but which hasn't been spent yet. People can reasonably disagree as to whether this constitutes a "spending cut" in the way people traditionally understand it. And the deal includes a \$100 increase to the maximum Pell award. But advocates for Pell's long-term future might have reason to be concerned.

Need some color to go with your budget info? Check out the chart with proposed education spending levels for fiscal 2019 below:

How Capitol Hill's Deal on Education Spending Impacts Different Programs

Leaders on Capitol Hill agreed to funding levels for the U.S. Department of Education on Sept. 13. The deal must still be passed by the House and Senate and signed into law by President Donald Trump. But the agreement provides details on how much Congress wants to spend on different programs for fiscal 2019, which starts Oct. 1. Fiscal 2018 is represented by the orange bars, while Congress' agreement for fiscal 2019 is represented by the blue bars. Hover over the bars to see their value, in tens of thousands of dollars. (So "\$15,800" for Title I represents fiscal 2018 spending of \$15.8 billion.)

Figures are rounded.



● Fiscal 2018 ● Fiscal 2019 Conference Agreement

From: Tom Schneider tschneider@ccsd180.org
Subject: GOP Congress Gives Trump Its Middle Finger – @thebudgetguy
Date: September 16, 2018 at 7:42 AM
To: Tom Schneider tschneider@ccsd180.org



GOP Congress Gives Trump Its Middle Finger

9 hours ago

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No, it's not oversight hearings into...well...anything.

And it's certainly not a subpoena, legislation to protect the Mueller investigation or the rejection of his Supreme Court nominee.

But the GOP congressional leadership's decision last week not to give Donald Trump the \$5 billion he wants for a wall between the United States and Mexico before the election and then to make it much harder for him to veto the legislation that codifies that decision was the closest House and Senate Republicans have come since Trump was elected to publicly giving him their collective middle finger.

First, Congress decided to combine several of the fiscal 2019 appropriations together both to deal with the very limited amount of time left before the government shuts down on October 1 and to make it more likely that the wide swath of programs funded in these small omnibus appropriations (hence the name "minibus") would attract enough votes to pass the House and Senate.

This was an act of desperation and defiance by the Republican leadership.

Second, the GOP leadership then decided to attach the continuing resolution — the bill that will be needed to keep open the agencies and departments not included in either of the two minibuses — to the combined Defense-Health and Human Services appropriation. Given that the White House staff (but not Trump himself) has indicated that the president will sign that bill, the thinking was that this will reduce or even eliminate the chances of government shutdown before the election.

This was an act of desperation and defiance by the Republican congressional leadership. Knowing that they weren't going to approve the billions of dollars Trump has been insisting on for his wall and that they would face his wrath when they didn't, the GOP Congress made it significantly more painful for the president to react negatively when he didn't get what he was demanding.

This has been coming for months given that the congressional Republicans' political needs differ so sharply from Trump's heading into the mid-term elections.

With [polls showing](#) the Republican control of the House and Senate increasingly at risk, a government shutdown is the last thing the GOP leadership wants five weeks before Election Day and just as early voting gets underway in many states.

Trump, on the other hand, may see a shutdown over his wall as the best way to raise the reddest of red meat issues — immigration — with his base.

And Trump's need to energize his base took on increased importance last week with Paul Manafort's plea deal, the release of Bob Woodward's book and the continuing aftermath of the *New York Times* anonymous op-ed.

So far, Trump has been anything but consistent about a shutdown.

Trump may see a government shutdown as the most dramatic thing available to him right now to divert attention. Other very dramatic diversions, such as firing Attorney General Jeff Sessions, all seem unlikely before the election.

He may also see it as part of his continuing anti-impeachment strategy to energize the voters he will need to keep Congress from moving forward.

What's most interesting and potentially most politically significant about this are that the Republicans in Congress (1) decided to devise an appropriations strategy that unambiguously helps themselves rather than Trump, (2) didn't accommodate the White House in even some small way and (3) challenged Trump so openly.

In addition, the congressional leadership did this not knowing whether it would work. As I noted in [this post](#), So far, Trump has been anything but consistent about a shutdown and there's no way to guarantee he will be more rational between now and October 1 than he has been so far.

Indeed, given Manafort et al., it may be safer to assume that he won't be.

In other words, Trump could easily decide to reply to the congressional GOP's middle finger by giving it right back to them.

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 Jonathan Swan 18 hours ago

SAVE 

SEPT. 16, 2018

Between the lines: Trump's shutdown decision



Photo: Calla Kessler/The Washington Post via Getty Images

On Saturday morning, a senior administration official told me President Trump has "come to realize that there's not a path to 60 votes" to pay for his border wall before the November elections. "The president, I think, is not really in veto mode right now," the official said.

Between the lines: Trump has privately assured Republican leaders Paul Ryan and Mitch McConnell that he accepts his border wall won't be funded before the midterms. He's promised them he won't shut down the federal government at the end of September in a fight over the wall.

- On Saturday evening, [Trump tweeted](#): "When will Republican leadership learn that they are being played like a fiddle by the Democrats on Border Security and Building the Wall? Without Borders, we don't have a country. With Open Borders, which the Democrats want, we have nothing but crime! Finish the Wall!"
- But Trump is still deeply frustrated. And the senior official I cite above acknowledged there's "always a chance" Trump dramatically changes his mind and refuses to sign a spending bill without wall money.

What's next? President Trump expects to sign his first package of spending bills late this week. That "minibus" will fund the Energy and Water, Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, and Legislative Branch Appropriations bills for 2019.

- But the really important package is the Defense, Labor and Health and Human Services minibus that could pass the Senate as soon as this week.
- It's the largest spending bill and the first time the Defense Department has been funded properly, and on time, since 2008. Once the DoD package is signed into law, this year will have the most spending bills enacted on time since 1996.
- This bill also matters because attached to it will be a continuing resolution (CR) to fund all the agencies not covered by regular spending bills, keeping the government open until Dec. 7.

Bottom line: That CR will reveal that Trump won't get his wall money. He'll get the \$1.6 billion he requested in his first budget, but nowhere near the \$25 billion he once hoped for, or the \$5 billion he asked for.

- Republicans agree almost unanimously that a shutdown would shatter their fragile holds on each chamber. For now, they have to pray the president sticks with the plan.

How would you grade the schools?

The 2018 PDK poll repeated its long-standing practice of asking Americans to assign A-Fail grades to the public schools. As in past years, parents rate their own children's schools quite highly — 70% give them an A or B grade. The public overall gives lower ratings to their local schools, 43% A's or B's, and the nation's schools as a whole receive much lower ratings still, 19% A's or B's.

Even though ratings for one's child's school are high, there are large gaps among groups. Those living in higher-income areas, college graduates, and parents with higher incomes themselves are more likely than those living in lower-income areas, adults without a college degree, and those earning less than \$100,000 to award A or B grades to their child's school, by 27-, 20-, and 12-point margins.

Slightly fewer blacks (60%) than whites (73%) give an A or B to their oldest child's school.

Local schools are graded well by more than half of parents and those living in high- or upper-middle-income areas. By contrast, only about one-third of blacks, conservatives, and those making less than \$50,000 say the same. Evaluations among parents are more positive, with the exception of black parents, but follow similar patterns.

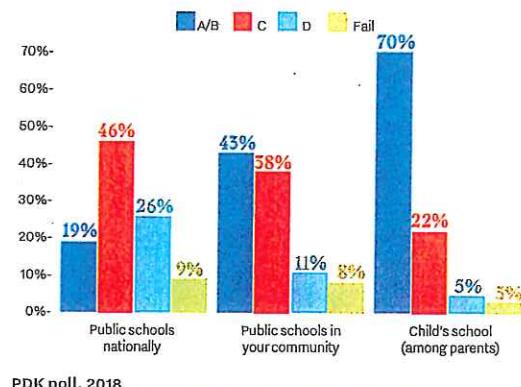
While the nation's public schools overall receive middling grades, Hispanics (36%) and blacks (25%) are significantly more likely than whites (14%) to give them an A or B. The same goes for urbanites (22%) and suburbanites (20%) vs. rural residents (11%). More parents of school-age children (27%) say schools nationally

deserve higher grades than do other adults (17%).

This year's ratings for schools in the community and nationally may be influenced by a survey mode effect; the new study was conducted using a random-sample online panel rather than random-sample telephone calls, and research indicates that questions like these can produce more negative results when self-administered rather than when talking to a live

Grading the schools

National totals, 2018



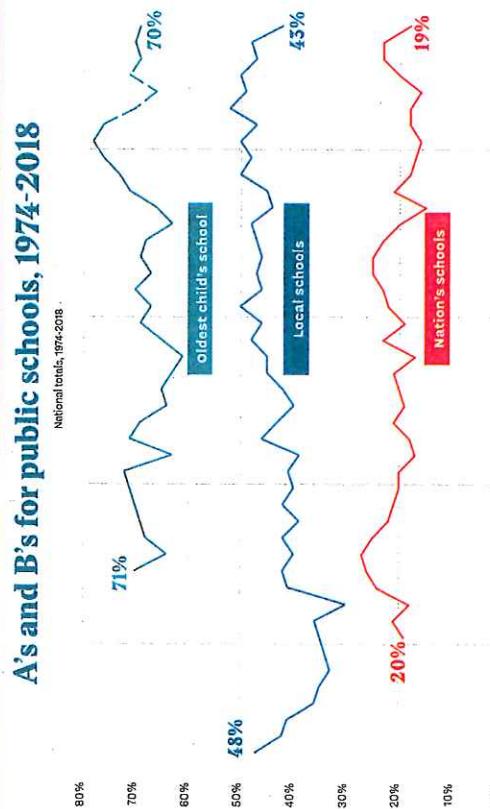
PDK poll, 2018

V100 N1 PDK Poll K21

Results embargoed until 7:00 pm ET, Monday, Aug. 27, 2018

A's and B's for public schools, 1974-2018

National totals, 1974-2018

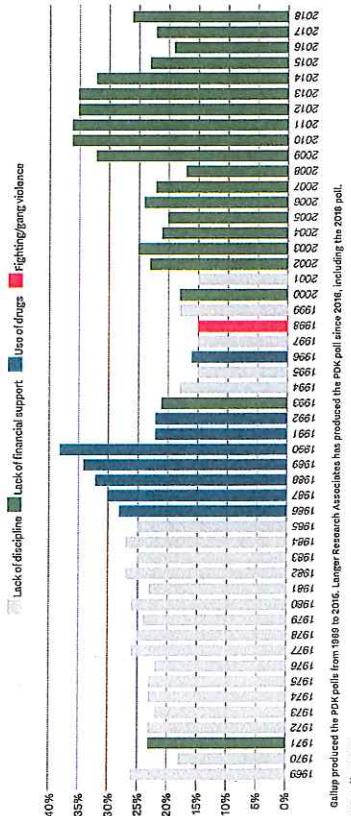


Biggest problem facing local schools, 1969-2018

National totals, 1969-2018

Gallup produced the PDK polls from 1969 to 2015. Longer Research Associates has produced the PDK poll since 2016, including the 2018 poll.

PDK poll, 2018



K22 PDK poll September 2018



Poll and Questions		Participants		Responses	
NORC/AP Survey					
Home	Edifier	About Q		Representative of American households	Excellent/Good: 26% Fair: 43% Poor/very poor: 22%
		How would you rate the quality of education in public schools in the U.S. generally?		Representative of American households	Excellent/Good: 45% Fair: 31% Poor/very poor: 22%
		How would you rate the quality of education in your local public schools?		Representative of American households	Poor/very good: 67% Fair: 27% Poor/very poor: 5%
Education Next					
What grade would you give the public schools in your community?		Random sample of U.S. household, with oversampling of parents and teachers.	All participants: - A and B : 54% - C and lower: 45%		
			Parents: - A and B: 62% - C and lower: 38%		
			Teachers: - A and B: 66% - C and lower: 33%		
What grade would you give public schools in the nation as a whole?		Random sample of U.S. household, with oversampling of parents and teachers.	All participants: - A and B: 23% - C and lower: 7%		
			Parents: - A and B: 27% - C and lower: 74%		
			Teachers: - A and B: 32% - C and lower: 68%		

Home Edifier About Q

SURVEY SAYS: HOW AMERICANS FEEL ABOUT PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL CHOICE
[Home](#) / [Charter Schools](#) • [CPE](#) • [School Choice](#) / Survey says: How Americans fee ...

SURVEY SAYS: HOW AMERICANS FEEL ABOUT PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL CHOICE

OCT 12, 2017 / ANNIE HEMPHILL / CHARTER SCHOOLS, CPE, SCHOOL CHOICE

/ AFT, EDUCATION NEXT, NORC/AP SURVEY, PDK POLL 2017

Between May and September, four organizations released the results from their surveys asking Americans about K-12 education policies. The four surveys by NORC/AP, Education Next, PDK and the American Teachers Federation (AFT), polled different participants but all asked questions about people's opinion of public education, charter schools and vouchers. The NORC/AP and PDK poll gathered their data from a random sample of American households. The AFT and Education Next surveys both gathered data from parents and the Education Next also included teachers. The data from the surveys agreed on certain issues, like the quality of public schools, but the questions about vouchers and charter schools showed peoples difference of opinion and lack of information about these issues. This is an attempt to point out areas where these surveys agreed and disagreed to shed light on the public's broader opinion about public schools and education policies. However, one overarching theme emerges—Americans, overall, like the idea of choice but still look to their local neighborhood schools as their first choice.

Grading Public Schools

All four polls indicate that Americans have conflicting opinions about public schools. They report having a low opinion of public schools when asked about their overall quality from a national level, but then highly rate their local public schools. These results have been consistent since the 1970s in the PDK poll.

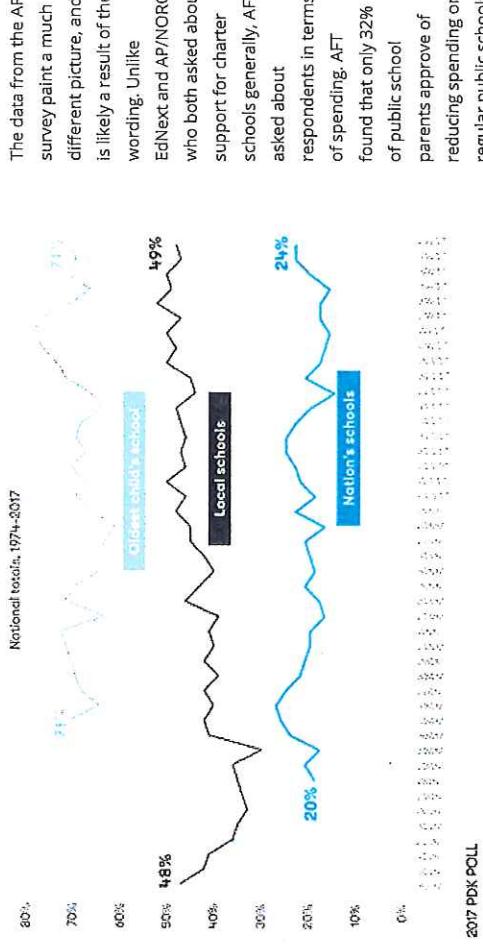
Another consistent finding is the particularly high rating public school parents give for the public school where their child

attends,

In 2017, 15% of public school parents gave their local public school an 'A' in the PDK poll, which is the highest	

Public opinion about charter schools is less definitive between the three different polls, PDK, NORC/AP and AFT, but basically shows how support shifts when questions are asked differently. According to the NORC/AP survey, more participants support opening more charter schools compared to those who are opposed. The Education Next and AFT polls show a different side of the argument. The Education Next poll doesn't show a big difference between the number of people that are for and against setting up more charter schools. But the gap between support and opposition widens slightly when parents and teachers are polled. Forty percent of teachers support opening more charter schools, but 51% oppose the idea. Teachers represent the biggest gap on this question and the only group that reported more opposing than supporting

A and B grades for public schools



charter schools.

Poll and Questions

Poll and Questions	Participants	Responses
Education Next	Random sample of U.S. household, with oversampling of parents and teachers.	All Participants: - Strongly/somewhat support: 39% - Strongly/Somewhat oppose: 36% - Neither support nor oppose: 25%
	Parents: - Strongly/Somewhat support: 40% - Strongly/ Somewhat oppose: 36% - Neither support nor oppose: 23%	
	Teachers: - Strongly/Somewhat support: 40% - Strongly/Somewhat oppose: 51% - Neither support nor oppose: 9%	
NORC/AP	Representative of American households	Strongly/somewhat favor: 47% Strongly/somewhat oppose: 23% Neither favor nor oppose: 30%
AFT	Do you favor, oppose or neither favor nor oppose opening more public charter schools; that is, public schools that function independently of local school district control as long as they maintain certain standards set by the state government?	Approve: 32% Disapprove: 68% - African Americans: 64% - Hispanics: 63% - Low income: 66%
Vouchers	Public School Parents	Approve: 32% Disapprove: 68% - African Americans: 64% - Hispanics: 63% - Low income: 66%

Increase spending on charter schools.

The questions in the Education Next and NORC/AP poll also include a brief definition of a charter school, whereas the AFT question does not. Education Next and NORC/AP indicate that many people still do not have a strong opinion one way or the other on charter schools, with over a quarter of respondents neither supporting nor opposing the formation of charter schools. This suggests that policymakers need to do a better job of educating the public about charter schools and their policy implications.

NORC/AP

AFT

Vouchers

The data from the AFT survey paint a much different picture, and is likely a result of the wording. Unlike EdNext and AFT/NORC who both asked about support for charter schools generally, AFT asked about respondents in terms of spending. AFT found that only 32% of public school parents approve of reducing spending on regular public schools and using the funds to increase spending on charter schools?

In the surveys that had more support for vouchers, all of the questions mentioned the word "choice", which suggests that people support the idea of choice for choice sake. However, the questions in the polls that had a majority opposed clearly indicated the separation between spending money on public schools or vouchers.

It is clear that people like their public schools. This is not new. The majority of people have ranked their public schools highly for more than three decades. The results around different types of school choice are less one-sided, but even those numbers may be misleading by the public's lack of awareness about the implications of policies concerning choice. For example, the NORC/AP survey data continued to show more people supporting charter schools and voucher programs, but that may not be the case. The researchers report that the majority of parents want to keep their children in school in their

Polls and Questions	Participants	Responses	
Education Next A proposal has been made that would give all families with children in public schools a wider choice, by allowing them to enroll their children in private schools instead, with government helping to pay the tuition. Would you support or oppose this proposal?	Random sample of U.S. household, with oversampling of parents and teachers.	All Participants: - Strongly/somewhat support: 45% - Strongly/Somewhat oppose: 37% - Neither support nor oppose: 18% Parents: - Strongly/somewhat support: 52% - Strongly/somewhat oppose: 31% - Neither support nor oppose: 18% Teachers: - Strongly/somewhat support: 40% - Strongly/oppose: 59% - Neither support nor oppose: 0%	NORC/AP How do you feel about tax-funded vouchers to be used to help pay for tuition for children to attend private or religious schools of their choice instead of public schools? All Participants: - Strongly/somewhat favor: 43% - African Americans: 55% - Hispanics: 56% - Whites: 38% - Strongly/somewhat oppose: 35% - African Americans: 22% - Hispanics: 24% - Whites: 40% - Neither favored nor oppose: 21% - African Americans: 18% - Hispanics: 15% - Whites: 22%
AFT A proposal has been made that would give low-income families with children in public schools a wider choice, by allowing them to enroll their children in private schools instead, with government helping to pay the tuition. Would you support or oppose this proposal?	Random sample of U.S. household, with oversampling of parents and teachers.	All Participants: - Strongly/somewhat support: 42% - Strongly/somewhat oppose: 41% - Neither support nor oppose: 17% Parents: - Strongly/somewhat support: 51% - Strongly/somewhat oppose: 31% - Neither support nor oppose: 15% Teachers: - Strongly/somewhat support: 26% - Strongly/somewhat oppose: 63% - Neither support nor oppose: 10%	AFT Do you agree that making investments to improve the quality of education in neighborhood public schools should be a higher priority than helping parents pay the cost of sending their children to private or religious schools at the tax payer's expense? Public School Parents Agree: 86% Disagree: 14% neighborhood public schools and want them to be of high quality.

neighborhood with 67% of Americans saying "preference should be given to children living in a school's catchment, with children living outside that area given a lower chance of admission." This shows that most people still rely on their

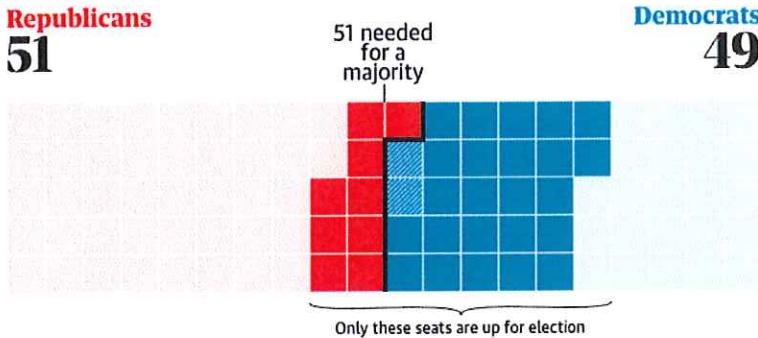
Everything you need to know about the Midterms

Seán Clarke, Niko Kommenda,
Ben Jacobs and Sam Morris

The votes on 6 November will give US voters their first chance to pass judgment on Donald Trump since he took the White House. Here's what you need to know about what's at stake

The key question in these elections is: will Republicans will be able to keep control of both chambers of Congress? Just 35 of the 100 seats in the **Senate**, and all of the 435 seats in the lower **House of Representatives** are up for grabs. To take control of the legislative agenda and block Trump's ability to implement his programs, the Democratic party needs to control both houses. With a Senate majority, the Democrats would be able to block cabinet and supreme court appointments. But while they may be able to take the House, clinching the Senate will be much harder. **Impeachment**, by the way, requires a two-thirds majority in the Senate, so would require Republican votes even if the Democrats won every available seat in November.

Can the Republicans keep control of the Senate?



Here comes the math: the Grand Old Party (GOP) does have a big advantage over the Democrats in this showdown, because the Democratic party is defending 26 seats (including two independents, who usually vote with them) while the Republicans only have to defend nine.

... but both states are represented by two senators.

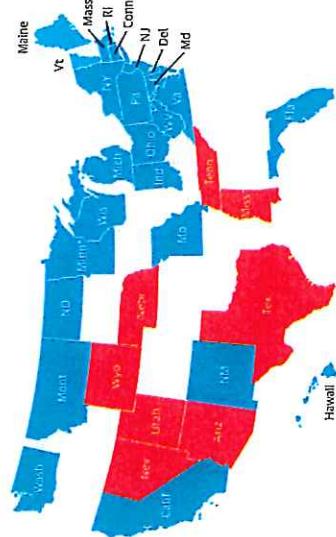
California has approximately 68 times the population of Wyoming ...



The Senate electoral system is also weighted against the Democrats. Each state gets two senators, irrespective of population, so Wyoming, as many as California, despite the latter having more than 60 times the population. The smaller states also tend to be the more rural, and run areas traditionally favor the Republicans. One hoped note for the Democrats is that Nevada and Arizona are both open states - in which incumbent senator is not running - and both were only narrowly won the Republicans in 2012.

Current control of Senate seats up in 2018

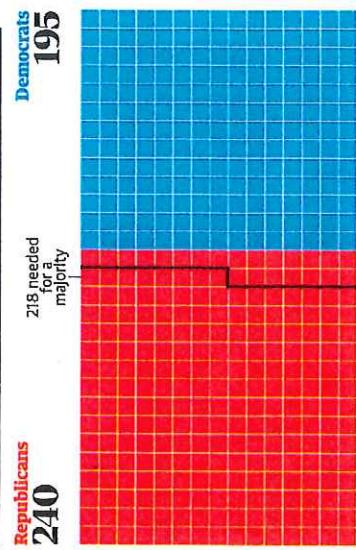
• Democrat • Republican • Independent • Not electing this year



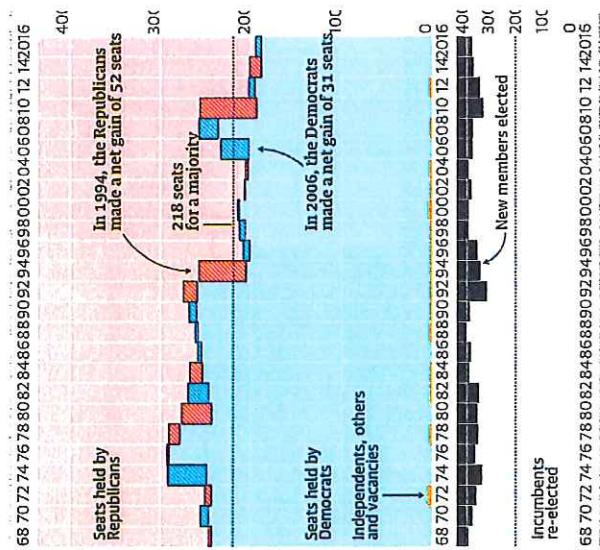
* Minnesota and Mississippi also hold special elections on 6 November. In these states, two seats are in play.

Key race - Arizona
The Senate race held by Barry Goldwater and John McCain could be picked up by Democrats in 2018. After a tough primary, Republican Martha McSally has been pushed to the right and faces a tough race against Democrat Kyrsten Sinema in a state with a growing Latino population and with deep tensions between traditional business oriented Republicans like McCain and hard right Trumpists.

Can the Democrats win control of the House?



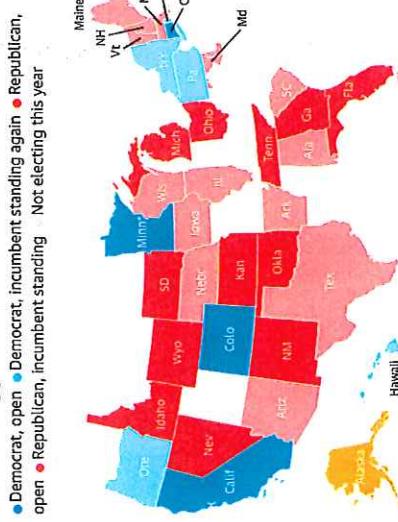
The Democrats have a much better chance of winning here. Representation in the House is (relatively) proportional to population, and the whole chamber is re-elected every two years. They need a net gain of 24 seats to win a majority. But in the last 50 years they've scored a net gain of that size only twice, in 1974 and in 2006. In the same period the Republicans have made a 24+ net gain only three times, but the most recent was in 2010. In the midterm elections of Barack Obama's first term.



What about governors' races?

Each US state has a governor, who is like a local president. Their interactions with the federal government can be significant; they may have a large amount of sway, for instance, over local gun laws or the implementation of health insurance policies. But this year, Democrats think their salience is national because many of them have a veto over redistricting. Remapping of electoral districts happens in the US after every census. The next round will happen in 2022 when the 2020 census results are in. Governors elected this year who serve four-year terms will still be in office then. Democrats are hoping to win office in several swing states that have open races, such as Ohio, Nevada, Michigan and Florida, and thereby prevent gerrymandering that would affect congressional races as far away as to 2032.

States electing governors in 2018



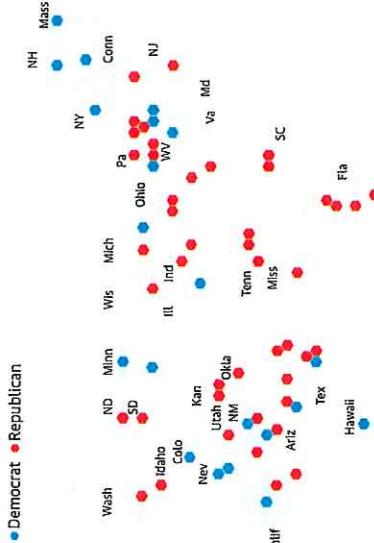
Key race - Florida
 African American Democrat Andrew Gillum won an upset victory in the primary, bolstered by heavy financial support from Tom Steyer, a billionaire hedge-fund manager. The unabashed progressive will face off against Republican Ron DeSantis, an ardent Trump supporter, in what will be one of the marquee races of the midterms.

Sources

US Senate, US House of Representatives, MIT, Brookings Institute, National Conference of State Legislatures, Federal Electoral Commission, National Governors Association

American voters are usually reluctant to eject a sitting representative. So for Democrats, some of their best hopes are in seats where the incumbent is not standing again. The good news for Dems is that a record 39 Republicans - many of whom were anti-Trump - have chosen to bow out instead of contest their seats in November, and some of those are in key swing states such as Florida and Pennsylvania.

Seats not contested by the incumbent (66)



Key race - Pennsylvania's 17th district
 Democrat Conor Lamb won a shock special election win in March. Now, after court ordered redistricting, he'll face off against Republican incumbent Keith Rothfus in a far more friendly district. However, it's still a district Trump narrowly won.



The key races to watch at the midterms



Ben Jacobs and Sam Morris



The 2018 midterms will feature over 500 races for federal office and governor's mansions, let alone thousands of others for state and local office. Democrats are in a strong position to take back the House and still have hopes of regaining their majority in the United States Senate and winning a number of governorships. But there are still over 50 days before election day and recent years are filled with countless examples of political upsets in American elections.

These key races represent a slice of some of the most competitive and compelling contests in November. Although by no means an exhaustive list of the races that will determine the political complexion of the next few years, this gives a sampling of those for the House, for the Senate and for governorships that observers will be paying to on election day

Senate

The Republican majority of two more seats sounds tight but with the Democrats defending 26 of the 34 seats a lot of races need to go blue for the Senate to flip. These are a few of the ones they'll be targeting

Arizona

Kyrsten Sinema **Martha McSally**
Incumbent



The Senate seat held by Barry Goldwater and John McCain could be picked up by Democrats in 2018. After a tough primary, Republican Martha McSally has been pushed to the right and faces a tough race against Democrat Kyrsten Sinema in a state with a growing Latino population and with deep tensions between traditional business oriented Republicans like McCain and hard right Trumpists.

Montana

Jon Tester
Incumbent



Two-term Democrat Jon Tester has built his own brand as a seven fingered rancher with a buzzcut in a quirky, albeit Republican leaning, state. However, his ardent opposition to Trump's failed nomination of Ronny Jackson put him on the White House's radar and his re-election will mark a key test of Trump's clout in a state that he won by 20 points.

Nevada

Jacky Rosen **Dean Heller**
Incumbent



Dean Heller is the most vulnerable Republican incumbent in 2018. He has had to strike a delicate balance between staying on Trump's good side and appealing to voters in a state that Hillary Clinton won and with a growing Hispanic population. His opponent Jacky Rosen is a first term congresswoman whose previous political experience was serving as president of her synagogue.

Tennessee

Phil Bredesen **Marsha Blackburn**
Incumbent



Although Tennessee has been safely Republican in recent years, the comeback bid of former Democratic governor Phil Bredesen gives them hope especially when faced with the GOP nominee, arch conservative Marsha Blackburn. Bredesen represents the last of a generation of moderate Democrats who forged winning statewide coalitions in the South and essential for Democrats' long shot hopes of gaining a majority in the Senate.

West Virginia

Joe Manchin **Patrick Morrisey**
Incumbent



Although Trump won West Virginia by 40 points, incumbent Democrat Joe Manchin is very popular in the state. A win by the blue dog Democrat would provide a crucial firewall in a state that, until recent decades, was loath to elect Democrats. If Patrick Morrisey prevails, it will likely doom any hopes for Democrats to regain the Senate.

Texas

Beto O'Rourke **Ted Cruz**
Incumbent



Three-term congressman Beto O'Rourke has captured national attention with his challenge to incumbent Ted Cruz. The Texas Democrat still faces an uphill battle in a Republican state where incumbent governor Greg Abbott has an overflowing war chest and no real competition. However, even a close loss would mark O'Rourke as a national figure.

House

The Democrats need a net gain of 24 seats in order to win a majority, something they have only achieved twice in the last fifty years. Here are just nine of the races to watch.

California 48th

Harley Rouda



Dana Rohrabacher
Incumbent



If the Russia investigation determines the outcome in any congressional district in the country, it will be in this traditionally conservative suburban Orange county district. Longtime incumbent Dana Rohrabacher has faced major questions about his ties to Russia and will face Democrat Harley Rouda in November.

California 25th

Katie Hill



Steve Knight
Incumbent



Los Angeles's exurbs are the scene of a neck and neck race between two term incumbent Republican and former Los Angeles policeman Steve Knight and political newcomer Katie Hill. Hill won the Democratic primary as a relative moderate boosted by strong support from national abortion rights groups. Hillary Clinton won it by almost 7% in 2016.

Kentucky 6th

Amy McGrath



Andy Barr
Incumbent



Democrat Amy McGrath came to national attention when she announced her campaign with a viral video about her service as a Marine fighter pilot. She faces off against three-term incumbent Andy Barr in a Republican leaning central Kentucky district in a race that is considered a tossup by national groups.

Illinois 14th

Lauren Underwood



Randy Hultgren
Incumbent



Republican Randy Hultgren has been a steadfast ally of Speaker Paul Ryan in a district that includes Chicago's sprawling outer suburbs. His challenger Lauren Underwood is a much-touted Democratic recruit who is hoping to pull off an upset against the incumbent in a Republican leaning district that Trump won by 4%.

Iowa 1st

Abby Finkenauer



Rod Blum
Incumbent



This northeastern Iowa district has been held by Republican Rod Blum since 2014 despite its traditional Democratic lean. Blum, a cantankerous conservative businessman is facing a challenge from 29-year-old Democrat Abby Finkenauer in what will be key test of whether ancestral Democrats return to the fold in the industrial midwestern areas where Trump made significant gains in 2016.

New Jersey 3rd

Andrew Kim



Tom MacArthur

Incumbent



This suburban swing district is represented by Republican Tom MacArthur who has unapologetically embraced Trump. It is a key indicator whether suburban voters will embrace a Republican so closely tied to the president. His opponent Andy Kim is a top Democratic recruit who was a former Rhodes Scholar and counterterrorism expert. The district was narrowly won by Trump in 2016 after Obama won it twice.

New York 19th

Antonio Delgado



John Faso

Incumbent



John Faso is a moderate in a swing district in the Hudson Valley that has been a target for Democrats for several cycles. The first term Republican is facing Antonio Delgado, a former Rhodes Scholar and corporate lawyer. The race has drawn attention as outside groups have run racially charged ads targeting the Afro-Hispanic Delgado's brief career as a rapper.

Texas 32nd

Colin Allred



Pete Sessions

Incumbent



Longtime incumbent Pete Sessions did not face a Democratic opponent in 2016. However, his well-to-do suburban Dallas district was won by Hillary Clinton after Mitt Romney won it by 15 points. He now faces former NFL player Colin Allred in a key test of whether Democratic gains in prosperous suburbs signify a political realignment.

Washington 5th

Lisa Brown



Cathy McMorris Rodgers
Incumbent



Cathy McMorris-Rodgers is the highest ranking Republican on Capitol Hill but faces a stiff challenge in her eastern Washington district. This is the best chance Democrats have to claim a scalp from House leadership in 2018 and in a district that then Democratic Speaker Tom Foley lost in the Republican revolution of 1994.

The Firsts

Aside from the closely-run races are those that look set to name a notable US political firsts

The first Native American governor

Idaho
Paulette Jordan **Brad Little**
Incumbent



Horse riding, gun owning Democrat, could become the first Native American Governor - but only if she breaks the GOP stranglehold on Idaho. Jordan would have to come from a long way back, although local polls have closed a little over the course of the last month. Still, Republicans are feeling confident that this will not tip Democrat.

The first Somali-American in Congress

Minnesota 5th
Illhan Omar
Incumbent

Running in Minnesota's 5th congressional district Omar - born in Mogadishu and came to the US aged 14 in 1995 as a refugee - stands to become the first Somalia-American in Congress. Should she win - and she is expected to - she will become one of two Muslim women entering Congress in November (Rashida Tlaib is running in an uncontested election in Michigan's 13th congressional district).

The first Native American woman in Congress

New Mexico 1st
Deb Haaland
Janice Arnold Jones
Incumbent

Deb Haaland looks set to become the first Native American woman to take a seat in Congress; hitting hard on climate change, renewable energy and drought in her state. Janice Arnold Jones has sparked fury with comments on her opponent's race.

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The youngest woman elected to Congress

New York 14th
Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
Incumbent

Ocasio-Cortez is a virtual certainty to be elected to the House in this safe Democratic district (New York's 14th has six times more registered Democrats than Republicans). The Republican candidate is 72-year old Professor Anthony Pappas. Ocasio-Cortez stunned the Democratic establishment when she beat 10-term veteran Joe Crowley in the Democratic primary and instantly becoming a leading figure in the grassroots insurgency coursing through the party.

The first transgender governor

Vermont
Christine Hallquist
Incumbent

Hallquist won the Democratic primary but still faces an uphill battle to become the country's first transgender woman running a US state. Incumbent Phil Scott is in pole position in a seat that the non-partisan Cook Political Report says is "solidly Republican".

The first openly gay and Latina governor

Texas
Lupe Valdez
Incumbent

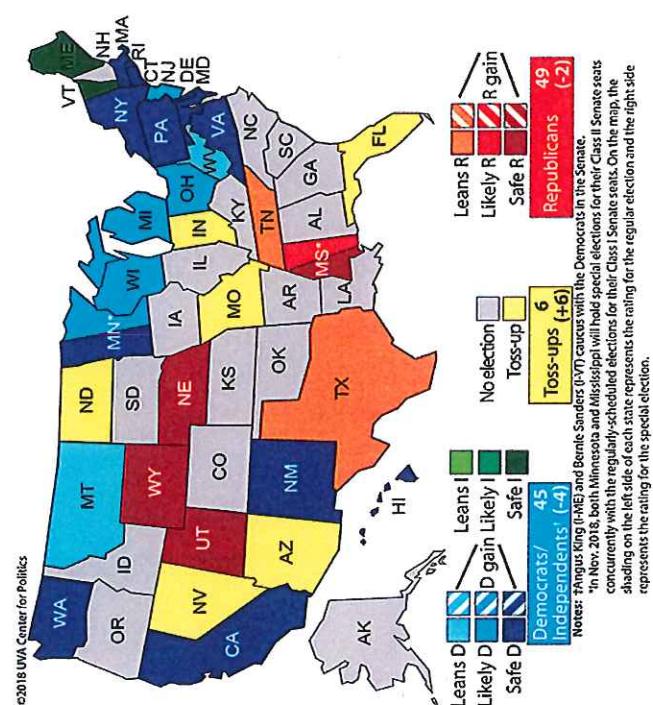
Greg Abbott is the incumbent Republican and it would be a major upset if Valdez became the first Democrat in the governor's house since Ann Richards was elected in 1990. Former sheriff Valdez says she relished the challenge: "Everybody tells me it's an uphill battle. But my response to them has always been: when hasn't it been?" she said. "Was it easy when I was working two or three jobs to get through college? Was it a cake walk when I was in the military in a tank battalion? I'm getting darn good at uphill battles. And I'm not done yet."

2018 Senate

To read recent stories on the race for the Senate, click [here](#)¹.

2018 Crystal Ball Senate race ratings map

Updated: Sept. 6, 2018



2018 Crystal Ball race ratings (as of Sept. 5, 2018) : Senate

State	Incumbent	Inc. party	Inc. running?	Inc. won renom.	Inc. Rating	Num. rating
Arizona	Jeff Flake	R	No	NA	Toss-up	4
California	Dianne Feinstein	D	Yes	Yes	Safe D	1
Connecticut	Chris Murphy	D	Yes	Yes	Safe D	1
Delaware	Tom Carper	D	Yes	TBD	Safe D	1
Florida	Bill Nelson	D	Yes	Yes	Toss-up	4
Hawaii	Mazie Hirono	D	Yes	Yes	Safe D	1
Indiana	Joe Donnelly	D	Yes	Yes	Toss-up	4
Maine	Angus King	ID	Yes	NA	Safe DI	1
Maryland	Ben Cardin	D	Yes	Yes	Safe D	1
Massachusetts	Elizabeth Warren	D	Yes	Yes	Safe D	1
Michigan	Debbie Stabenow	D	Yes	Yes	Likely D	2
Minnesota	Amy Klobuchar	D	Yes	Yes	Safe D	1
Minnesota (S)	Tina Smith*	D	Yes	Yes	Likely D	2
Mississippi	Roger Wicker	R	Yes	Yes	Safe R	7
Mississippi (S)	Cindy Hyde-Smith*	R	Yes	NA	Likely R	6
Missouri	Claire McCaskill	D	Yes	Yes	Toss-up	4
Montana	Jon Tester	D	Yes	Yes	Leans D	3
Nebraska	Deb Fischer	R	Yes	Yes	Safe R	7
Nevada	Dean Heller	R	Yes	Yes	Toss-up	4
New Jersey	Bob Menendez	D	Yes	Yes	Likely D	2
New Mexico	Martin Heinrich	D	Yes	NA	Safe D	1
New York	Kirsten Gillibrand	D	Yes	Yes	Safe D	1
North Dakota	Heidi Heitkamp	D	Yes	Yes	Toss-up	4
... Senate

Links:

1. <http://crystalball.CenterforPolitics.org/crystalball/II/articles/category/2018-senate/>

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2018 Senate races shaded by current party control

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Florida

Republican Gov. Rick Scott, who is prevented from seeking a third term due to term limits, is challenging Democratic Sen. Bill Nelson in one of the country's most contentious races. State and national Democrats are concerned about the prospects of victory for Nelson, who has been in office since 2001.



Scott raised \$22 million in his first quarter as a candidate for Senate, with \$8 million of those funds coming from individual contributors, while Nelson raised \$4.4 million in the second quarter. Scott is also extremely wealthy, and could potentially pour millions of his own funds into his campaign in the final stretch of the race.

Polling has shown the race to be close, with Scott leading Nelson by 3 percentage points in a CBS News poll from July. Florida is one of the states where a loss would be devastating for Democrats, as it would widen the narrow gap between the current majority and minority in the Senate.

Indiana

Sen. Joe Donnelly is perhaps the most vulnerable Democrat in the Senate this election season. Donnelly is running for re-election in a state Mr. Trump won by nearly 20 percentage points. The Democrat has been nervously hewing to the center in recent months, denouncing recent progressive battle cries like implementing Medicare for All and abolishing U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

Donnelly is facing a challenge from Mike Braun, a Republican business executive who sailed to his primary victory as an outsider candidate and spent \$4.5 million in the final weeks of the race.

Mr. Trump campaigned against Donnelly during a May rally in Elkhart, Indiana, calling the incumbent "Sleepin' Joe." Meanwhile, Donnelly continues to steadfastly project an image as a moderate, and even Trump-friendly. In July, Donnelly **released an ad** that quotes Mr. Trump's praise of the senator at a bill signing later in May.

In an age of hyper-partisanship, it's unclear whether Donnelly's tactics will be successful, or whether ruby-red Indiana will elect a Republican senator in November.

Missouri

Sen. Claire McCaskill is yet another endangered Democrat seeking re-election in a state Mr. Trump won by an overwhelming margin. McCaskill has lucked out in her Republican opponents in previous years; in 2012, the candidacy of Republican Todd Akin was tanked by his comment that "legitimate rape" could not result in pregnancy.

McCaskill received another political godsend in 2018 thanks to the meltdown of the state Republican Party. GOP Gov. Eric Greitens, a conservative rising star, resigned earlier this year amid after being accused of blackmailing and assaulting a woman with whom he had had an affair.

McCaskill's Republican opponent, state Attorney General Josh Hawley, has been criticized by some in his own party for being too distant, and not campaigning with sufficient vigor. McCaskill has also outraised Hawley, raking in over \$44 million in donations during the second quarter, compared to Hawley's \$1 million.

Early polling has generally shown McCaskill ahead, although a poll from the Republican firm Remington Research in July showed **Hawley edging out McCaskill** by two percentage points. McCaskill has also recently been knocked by Hawley for using a private plane during a campaign tour.

The November election will test McCaskill's luck, and her campaigning skills.

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By GRACE SEGERS / CBS NEWS / August 14, 2018, 5:56 a.m.

Here are the 9 big Senate races to watch

Even as **primary season continues**, several Senate races are taking shape, with some incumbent Republicans and several incumbent Democrats in danger of losing their seats. The "blue wave" may be coming for the House of Representatives, but it is less likely to crash over the Senate, where Democrats are likely to lose seats and widen the gap between the majority and the minority. Here is an **updated look** at Senate races to watch as November approaches.

Arizona

The race to replace departing Sen. Jeff Flake will put the theory that demographic changes are turning Arizona blue to the test.

Three Republicans are vying to become the Republican candidate for Senate: Rep. Martha McSally, the choice of the party establishment, conservative firebrand Dr. Kelli Ward, and former Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio. Arpaio, who recently received a presidential pardon, will likely leach votes away from Ward, a former state senator who ran in the Republican primary against Sen. John McCain in 2016.

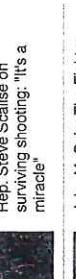
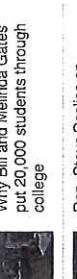
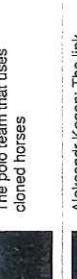
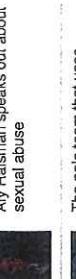
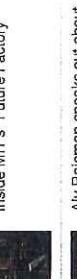
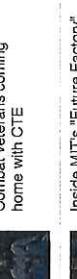
Sinema would likely prefer to face a more extreme figure like Ward or Arpaio. However, McSally is the front-runner to win the nomination, making it less likely that moderates will flock to Sinema.

Arizona's primary election is on August 28.

Tweets by @CBSNews

Florida

CBS News @CBSNews
Lawmakers push for hearing on Kavanaugh allegations as accuser calls for investigation. Follow hero for live updates: cbsn.ws/2GntSpU



Florida

Nevada

Sen. Dean Heller is widely considered the most vulnerable senator in the majority and is the only Republican senator seeking re-election in a state that Hillary Clinton won in 2016. Although he avoided a potentially tricky primary with Mr. Trump's help, his close ties with the president and his agenda could be fatal to his campaign. In 2017, Heller co-sponsored a bill to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act, which **would have reportedly cost Nevada \$250 million** in federal health care funding. Heller said in August that Republicans made a "big mistake" by tackling Obamacare as their first major legislative move with Trump in office.

The incumbent is facing Democratic Rep. Jacky Rosen, who was first elected in 2016 in a district that Mr. Trump won. However, Rosen lacks name recognition across the state. **Early polling** shows a tight race, with different polls showing either candidate ahead by one percentage point or less.

North Dakota

Democratic Sen. Heidi Heitkamp is a major target for national Republicans, although she has a relatively close relationship with Mr. Trump for a Democrat. Heitkamp was considered for a cabinet position, and has sat next to the president at bill-signings and ridden on Air Force One. Mr. Trump once called her a "good woman." Heitkamp released an ad touting her bipartisanship, noting that she voted over half the time in line with Mr. Trump's policies.

Mr. Trump's chumminess with Heitkamp has evoked the annoyance of her Republican opponent, Rep. Kevin Cramer, who has suggested that Mr. Trump was not targeting Heitkamp forcefully **because of her gender**. However, in a June rally, Mr. Trump went after Heitkamp, saying that she was liberal who voted in line with Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer and House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi.

Even with Trump's hot-and-cold behavior, Heitkamp is seriously vulnerable.

Tennessee

Republican Sen. Bob Corker's departure has left Tennessee open to Democratic takeover. Rep. Marsha Blackburn, the Republican candidate, is facing a challenge from former Gov. Phil Bredesen, a popular moderate Democrat. Bredesen is ahead of Blackburn in **early polling**.

Blackburn is focusing her campaign on her support for Trump, who endorsed her in May. At a rally in Nashville in May, Mr. Trump portrayed Bredesen as a tool of "Chuck and Nancy." Blackburn has promised to wholeheartedly support Mr. Trump's agenda if elected. Blackburn used clips from that rally in a **recent campaign ad** touting Trump's endorsement.

Despite Blackburn's Trumpworld cred, the race remains competitive. Bredesen's campaign **recently released an ad** highlighting praise that he received from Republicans when he was governor. Blackburn is trying to make the election a referendum on Trump, a strategy which may not work in her favor.

Texas

Smart money in Texas is not betting that Rep. Beto O'Rourke, the telegenic Democratic congressman from El Paso, will defeat Sen. Ted Cruz. However, despite Mr. Trump's nearly 10-point margin of victory in 2016 and Cruz winning by 16 percentage points in 2012, the buzz around O'Rourke is loud enough to suggest that the conservative incumbent may be in trouble.

→ Can Beto O'Rourke beat Ted Cruz in Texas?

O'Rourke's tour of the state has garnered large crowds nearly everywhere he goes. He has also raised \$10 million in the second quarter, compared to Cruz's \$4 million. **The Cook Political Report** has even rated the Texas Senate race as "lean Republican," which means they don't believe it's a lock for Cruz.

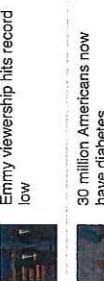
John F.ugher. The Righter

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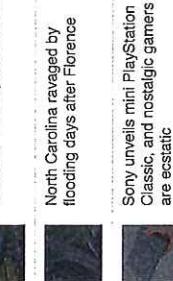
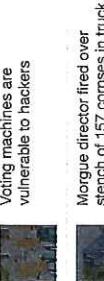


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→ Could Mississippi elect a Democratic senator?

If no candidate gets a majority of votes, there will be a runoff election between the top two candidates. Espy's path to victory is surprisingly plausible: if Espy and McDaniels are the top two candidates, Mississippians may choose the moderate Democrat over the conservative provocateur.

California's Senate seat will definitely remain in Democratic hands. Incumbent Sen. Dianne Feinstein overwhelmingly won her primary against state Sen. Kevin De Leon, who challenged Feinstein from the left. However, Feinstein and De Leon are both on the November ballot, due to California's practice of advancing the top two vote-getters in a primary, regardless of party.

Despite decisively losing the primary, De Leon was endorsed by state Democratic Party, and some progressives in the state hope that he can ride an insurgent campaign to victory over the 85-year-old incumbent.

HOUSE

2018 House Race Ratings

Sep 12, 2018

RATINGS SUMMARY

SOLID SEATS

D - 182	R - 148
---------	---------

LIKELY/LEAN SEATS

D - 10	R - 53
--------	--------

TOSS-UP OR WORSE

D - 3	R - 39
-------	--------

Likely : These seats are not considered competitive at this point, but have the potential to become engaged.

Lean : These are considered competitive races, but one party has an advantage.

Toss-Up : These are the most competitive; either party has a good chance of winning.

COMPETITIVE RACES

*Italicized name denotes Freshman member

LIKELY DEMOCRATIC 9 Dem • 3 Rep	LEAN DEMOCRATIC 1 Dem • 8 Rep	DEMOCRATIC TOSS UP 2 Dem • 0 Rep	REPUBLICAN TOSS UP 0 Dem • 28 Rep	LEAN REPUBLICAN 0 Dem • 27 Rep	LIKELY REPUBLICAN 1 Dem • 26 Rep
AZ-01 O'Halleran	AZ-02 Open	MN-01 Open	CA-10 Denham	AR-02 Hill	AK-AL Young
CA-07 Bera	CA-49 Open	MN-08 Open	CA-25 Knight	CA-50 Hunter	AZ-06 Schweikert
CA-16 Costa	FL-27 Open		CA-39 Open	FL-15 Open	CA-04 McClintonck
FL-07 Murphy	IA-01 Blum		CA-45 Walters	FL-16 Buchanan	CA-21 Valadao
MN-07 Peterson	NJ-11 Open		CA-48 Rohrabacher	FL-18 Mast	CO-03 Tipton
NH-01 Open	NV-03 Open		CO-06 Coffman	FL-26 Curbelo	FL-06 Open
NJ-02 Open	PA-07 Vacant		IA-03 Young	GA-06 Handel	FL-25 Diaz-Balart
NJ-05 Gottheimer	PA-17 Rothfus		IL-06 Roskam	IL-13 Davis	GA-07 Woodall
NV-04 Open	VA-10 Comstock		IL-12 Bost	IL-14 Hultgren	IA-04 King
PA-05 Vacant			KS-02 Open	MO-02 Wagner	IN-02 Walorski
PA-06 Open			KS-03 Yoder	MT-AL Gianforte	MI-01 Bergman
PA-08 Cartwright			KY-06 Barr	NC-02 Holding	MI-06 Upton
			ME-02 Poliquin	NC-13 Budd	MI-07 Walberg
			MI-08 Bishop	NE-02 Bacon	NC-08 Hudson
			MI-11 Open	NM-02 Open	NY-01 Zeldin
			MN-02 Lewis	OH-12 Balderson	NY-11 Donovan
			MN-03 Paulsen	PA-01 Fitzpatrick	NY-24 Katko
			NC-09 Open	PA-10 Perry	NY-27 Collins
			NJ-03 MacArthur	PA-16 Kelly	OH-10 Turner
			NJ-07 Lance	SC-01 Open	OH-14 Joyce
			NY-19 Faso	TX-23 Hurd	PA-14 Open
			NY-22 Tenney	UT-04 Love	TX-02 Open
			OH-01 Chabot	VA-05 Open	TX-21 Open
			TX-07 Culberson	WA-03 Herrera	TX-22 Olson
			TX-32 Sessions	Beutler	TX-24 Marchant
			VA-02 Taylor	WA-05 McMorris	TX-31 Carter
			VA-07 Brat	Rodgers	WI-06 Grothman
			WA-08 Open	WI-01 Open	
				WV-03 Open	



Arizona's 1st Congressional District election, 2018

Arizona 2018 elections



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[Democratic primaries](#) • [Republican primaries](#)

Incumbent [Tom O'Halleran](#) (D) and [Wendy Rogers](#) (R) are running in the general election for U.S. House Arizona District 1 on November 6, 2018.

The 1st District is one of [13 districts](#) that voted for both President Donald Trump (R) and a Democratic representative ([Tom O'Halleran](#)) in the 2016 election. O'Halleran won the district by 7 points in 2016, and Trump won by 1 point. The [National Republican Congressional Committee](#) placed the district on its 2018 target list.^{[1][2]}

The [1st District](#) stretches along the eastern and northeastern portions of the [state](#) and includes Apache, Coconino, Graham, Greenlee, and Navajo counties. Portions of Gila, Maricopa, Mohave, Pima, Pinal, and Yavapai counties are also included in the district.^[3]

- For more information about the Democratic primary, [click here](#).
- For more information about the Republican primary, [click here](#).

← 2016

Arizona's 1st Congressional District



[Democratic primary](#)

[Republican primary](#)

[General election](#)

Election details

Filing deadline: May 30, 2018

Primary: August 28, 2018

General: November 6, 2018

Pre-election incumbent:

[Tom O'Halleran](#) (Democrat)

How to vote

Poll times: 6 a.m. to 7 p.m.

[Voting in Arizona](#)

Race ratings

[Cook Partisan Voter Index \(2018\): R+2](#)

[Cook Political Report: Likely Democratic](#)

[Sabato's Crystal Ball: Likely Democratic](#)

[Inside Elections: Lean Democratic](#)

5 states that will decide the House majority

By Nathan L. Gonzales
CQ-Roll Call

SEPTEMBER 6, 2018, 10:15 AM

WASHINGTON With a growing number of vulnerable House districts, there might be too much to watch for on election night. But by focusing on just a handful of states, you can get a pretty good idea of whether Democrats are having a good enough night to gain the 23 seats necessary to win back the majority.

Minnesota

Competitive races: 5

Target Democratic gain for a majority: 1

The Land of 10,000 Lakes is home to five competitive House races, which is remarkable considering there are only eight congressional districts total in Minnesota.

Netting one seat might not sound like a steep climb for Democrats (who are technically part of the state's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party), but it would be a significant feat considering they are defending three districts that President Donald Trump carried in 2016.

DFL Rep. Collin C. Peterson is likely to win re-election in the 7th District (rated Likely Democratic), but holding the open 1st and 8th districts left behind by gubernatorial nominee Rep. Tim Walz and retiring Rep. Rick Nolan, respectively) will be more difficult. Both are rated Toss-ups at this stage, but Democrats might be fortunate to lose just one.

On their offensive map, Democrats are probably struggling to reach a majority if they can't defeat Republican Rep. Jason Lewis in the 2nd District (Toss-up). But if they can knock off Lewis and GOP Rep. Erik Paulsen in the 3rd District (Tilts Republican), they'll probably be able to gain a seat out of the state. Minnesota bottom line : Democrats probably need to gain at least a seat, while breaking even would be a disappointment.

California

Competitive races: 9

Target Democratic gain for a majority: 5

Unlike Minnesota, it's virtually all upside for Democrats in the Golden State. There are at least nine legitimately vulnerable GOP districts, while the Republican takeover opportunities have either faded or have yet to develop.

The most likely to flip right now is the 49th District (Tilts Democratic), which opened after GOP Rep. Darrell Issa decided against seeking re-election. Democrats are also optimistic about winning Rep. Ed Royce's open seat in the 39th District (Toss-up), although Republicans, who are confident about their nominee, have a very different view of the race. Democrats also believe they're likely to defeat GOP Dana Rohrabacher in the 48th (Toss-up). Losing any of those seats especially the open seats in districts that Hillary Clinton carried in 2016 would be a punch in the gut for Democrats.

But the party also has good takeover opportunities against Reps. Jeff Denham (10th District), Steve Knight (25th District), and Mimi Walters (45th District). The three races are currently rated Tilts Republican, but winning at least one of them is reasonable for Democrats under reasonably good electoral conditions.

Reps. Tom McClintock (4th District), David Valadao (21st District), and Duncan Hunter (50th District) are all vulnerable, albeit for different reasons. Their races are rated Likely Republican. Valadao has been a particularly elusive target for Democrats, and defeating him would be as symbolic of the cycle as it would be important for the majority.

California bottom line : Democrats need to gain five seats here, but could theoretically get close to half of the overall gains they need for a majority if they sweep the California races.

New York

Competitive races: 5

Target Democratic gain for a majority: 2

When it comes to New York, Democrats need a takeover state of mind, but none of the vulnerable Republican seats are easy or guaranteed. If Democrats fail to oust Reps. Claudia Tenney (22nd District) and John J. Faso (19th District), it's going to be a long night for the party. Both seats are currently Toss-ups, but both incumbents are polling in the low- to mid-40s in most surveys.

GOP Rep. John Katko consistently turns potentially competitive races into laughers, but Democrats haven't given up hope in the 24th District this year. Even though former Rep. Michael G. Grimm didn't win the Republican primary in the 11th District, Democrats still have a credible challenger to Rep. Dan Donovan. And Rep. Chris Collins' indictment for insider trading opens the door for Democrats in the open 27th

District. All are rated as Likely Republican, and wins here would be indicators of a good night for Democrats.

New York bottom line : Democrats have a handful of opportunities and probably need to gain at least two for a majority. If they win more, and races such as the 1st District against Rep. Lee Zeldin truly come into play, Democrats are having a great night.

Pennsylvania

Competitive races: 9

Target Democratic gain for a majority: 4

Democrats had a handful of targets in the Keystone State before the new congressional map was put in place. Now, with a combination of new district lines and open seats, Democrats have at least seven takeover opportunities.

The 5th and 6th districts (Likely Democratic), left open by GOP Reps. Patrick Meehan and Ryan A. Costello, are ripe for the picking for Democrats. Former GOP Rep. Charlie Dent left behind a seat (now the new 7th District), which is vulnerable (Tilts Democratic), probably more so now that the GOP candidate had to spend time fending off a misconduct allegation. And new Democratic Rep. Conor Lamb has an excellent chance of knocking off GOP Rep. Keith Rothfus in the 17th District (Leans Democratic).

Democrats are also excited about their chances in the 1st District (Tilts Republican) against GOP Rep. Brian Fitzpatrick and have longer-shot chances against Scott Perry (10th District) and Mike Kelly (16th District), with both races rated Likely Republican.

Democrats are likely to lose the 14th District, which constitutes a majority of the territory where Lamb won his special election. But Lamb lives and is running in the newly drawn 17th. So Democrats will have to subtract at least one from any gains elsewhere. Republicans also have a credible challenger against Democratic Rep. Matt Cartwright in the 8th District (Leans Democratic), but it's still too early to know if the congressman is in real trouble.

Pennsylvania bottom line : Democrats have a plethora of opportunities but will take at least one hit to their gains. They probably need to net at least four seats here.

Illinois

Competitive races: 3

Target Democratic gain for a majority: 2

There aren't a ton of competitive races in Illinois, but they could be symptomatic of races around the country.

GOP Rep. Peter Roskam hasn't had a competitive race in years, but he's vulnerable in his 6th District (Toss-up), in part because of Trump's unpopularity in the Chicago suburbs. Downstate, Trump carried the 12th District (Tilts Republican) handily by 15 points, but GOP Rep. Mike Bost is vulnerable, in part because Democrats recruited a strong challenger.

GOP Rep. Rodney Davis is also vulnerable in the 13th District (Leans Republican) and could suffer from increased college student turnout against the president. But the congressman isn't in as bad of a shape right now as Roskam and Bost. If Rep. Randy Hultgren ends up in a neck-and-neck race in the 14th District, Democrats are having a solid night. His race is rated Solid Republican for now. Trump carried the 14th District drawn to elect a Republican after the last census by nearly 4 points, but the congressman hasn't had a real race in years.

Illinois bottom line : Democrats need to gain two seats here for numerical and symbolic reasons. The party needs the numbers to get back to the majority, but winning in the suburbs is key (6th District), and seeing their top recruits succeed (12th District) would be good for morale as well.

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LAME DUCK SESSION | AUG. 31, 2018

If Democrats Win Midterms, Trump Could Be Planning a November Surprise

By Ed Kilgore



A cornered Donald Trump after a midterm defeat could do some very dangerous things, fast. Photo: Jabin Botsford/The Washington Post/Getty Images

For months we have been hearing about a lot of controversial things Donald Trump might like to do right now, but is probably postponing until after the midterm elections so as to avoid discomfiting his party's candidates or interfering with GOP messaging. These include shutting down the federal government over his demands for a border wall; moving controversial legislation that divides Republicans; and firing the attorney general or the deputy attorney general. Beyond that, Trump will probably be reasonably careful not to create a hot national-security crisis before November 6, or take actions in his trade war that tank markets, or make any truly overt threats against civil liberties.

If Republicans do well in the midterms and retain control of Congress, Trump will return to business as usual and we'll find out whether he's going to do crazy things even if they undermine his chances of a second term. But if Democrats win control of one or both houses of Congress, then what? It's theoretically possible that Trump will decide he has to change his ways and work with Democrats, and maybe move infrastructure investments from the bottom to the top of his priority list. But more likely, he'll behave like a cornered, er, president and do as much as quickly as possible to achieve his ends or enhance his power. As Brian Beutler compellingly argues, that probably means a "lame-duck session" of Congress — held by the existing, GOP-controlled bodies — between November and January that could be frightening in the speed with which Trump takes steps to protect himself:

[T]hose steps will include, at a minimum, pardoning Manafort and firing Sessions. We can see his intentions both in overt and behind-the-scenes steps he's taken against McGahn and Sessions in recent days, and in reports that he has consulted with his personal, criminal lawyers about both pardoning Manafort, firing Sessions, and impeachment.

Depending upon how willingly Republicans in the Senate will go along with Trump's designs, Trump may also seek to rush a new, unrecused attorney general through the confirmation process, or abuse the vacancies act to install an acting attorney general who might corruptly interfere with the Mueller investigation.

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Beutler believes the haste with which Republicans are lashing the Kavanaugh nomination through the Senate has less to do with fears of midterm losses than with the need to clear the decks for more controversial measures. Consummating what would in effect be Trump's version of Nixon's Saturday Night Massacre would take some time and attention.

And that's just on the Mueller front. Trump might lose all sorts of inhibitions over executive actions or nominations if he knew he had just weeks to get things done before facing two years of Democratic investigations, legislative maneuvers, and general "resistance."

It's still possible, of course, that Trump is planning some sort of October Surprise to increase his party's chances in the midterms. It's even more likely, however, that he has in mind a November Surprise if things go wrong.

TAGS: POLITICS DONALD TRUMP 2018 ELECTIONS LAME DUCK SESSION
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SATIRE FROM THE BOROWITZ REPORT

MERRICK GARLAND SAYS HE'S STILL AVAILABLE



By Andy Borowitz September 17, 2018



Photograph by Pablo Martinez Monsivais / AP

BETHESDA, MARYLAND (The Borowitz Report)—Saying that he would like to help the Senate Judiciary Committee “in any way I can,” Judge Merrick Garland announced on Monday that he is “still available” to be confirmed as a United States Supreme Court Justice.

“I haven’t heard from anyone on the Judiciary Committee,” Garland said. “But I just want to let them know that I’ve let bygones be bygones if they’d like to confirm me now.”

The judge said that he was “not surprised” that no one from the White House has called about his availability for the Supreme Court job. “I’ve been reading that Woodward book,” he said. “It sounds like things can get pretty hectic over there.”

Garland noted that, when he was first nominated to the Supreme Court, no Republican senator agreed to meet with him, but added, “Maybe they can find some time in their schedules now.”

“After what they’ve been going through for the past couple of days, the Republicans might want to give old Merrick another look,” he said. “I’m clean as a whistle.”



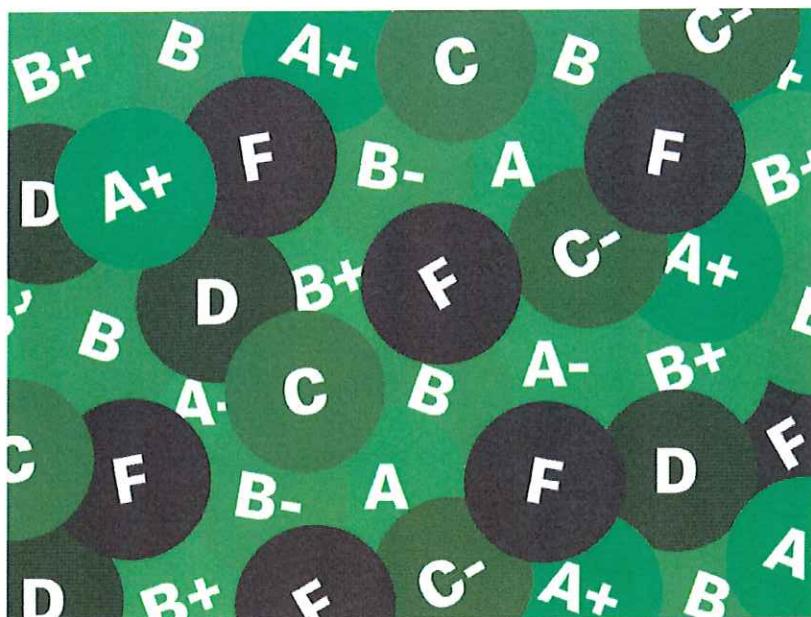
Andy Borowitz is the New York Times best-selling author of The 50 Funniest American Writers, and a comedian who has written for The New Yorker since 1998. He writes the Borowitz Report, a satirical column on the news, for newyorker.com. [Read more »](#)

MAY 31, 2018, AT 7:00 AM

Which Pollsters To Trust In 2018

By [Nate Silver](#)

Filed under [2018 Election](#)



As FiveThirtyEight has evolved over the past 10 years, we've taken an increasingly "macro" view of polling. By that, I mean: We're more interested in how the polls are doing *overall* — and in broad trends within the polling industry — and less in how individual polls or pollsters are performing. As we [described in an article earlier this week](#), overall the polls are doing ... all right. Contrary to [the narrative about the polls](#), polling accuracy has been fairly constant over the past couple of decades in the U.S. and other democratic countries.

Still, in election coverage, the "micro" matters too, and our newly updated [pollster ratings](#) — in which we evaluate the performance of individual polling firms based on their methodology and past accuracy — are still a foundational part of FiveThirtyEight. They figure into the algorithms that we design to measure [President Trump's approval ratings](#) and to forecast elections (higher-rated pollsters get more weight in the projections). And sometimes those pollster ratings can reveal broad trends too: For example, after a reasonably strong 2012, online polls were fairly inaccurate in 2016.

The ratings also allow us to measure pollster performance over a large sample of elections — rather than placing a disproportionate amount of emphasis on one or two high-profile races. For instance, Rasmussen Reports deserves a lot of credit for its [final, national poll of the 2016 presidential election](#), which had Hillary Clinton ahead by 2 percentage points, almost her exact margin of victory in the [popular vote](#). But Rasmussen Reports polls are conducted by a Rasmussen spinoff called [Pulse Opinion Research LLC](#), and [state polls](#) conducted by Rasmussen and Pulse Opinion Research over the past year or two have generally been [mediocre](#).

So which pollsters have been most accurate in recent elections? Because some races are easier to poll than others, we created a statistic called Advanced Plus-Minus to evaluate pollster performance. It compares a poll's accuracy to other polls of the same races and the same types of election. Advanced Plus-Minus also adjusts for a poll's sample size and when the poll was conducted. (For a complete description, see [here](#); we haven't made any changes to our methodology this year.) Negative plus-minus scores are good and indicate that the pollster has had less error than other pollsters in similar types of races.

The table below contains Advanced Plus-Minus scores for the most prolific pollsters — those for whom we have at least 10 polls in our database for elections from Nov. 8, 2016 onward. These polls cover the 2016 general election along with any polling in special elections or gubernatorial elections since 2016.

How prolific pollsters have fared in recent elections

Advanced Plus-Minus scores for pollsters' surveys conducted for elections on Nov. 8, 2016, and later

POLLSTER	METHODOLOGY	NO. OF POLLS	AVG. ERROR	ADVANCED PLUS-MINUS	BIAS
Monmouth University	Live	24	4.8	-1.5	D+3.9
Emerson College	IVR	51	4.1	-1.0	D+1.2
Siena College	Live	18	4.0	-0.9	D+1.5
Landmark Communications	IVR/online	14	4.4	-0.6	D+4.3
Marist College	Live	17	3.7	-0.6	D+1.5
Lucid	Online	14	2.6	-0.4	D+2.4
SurveyUSA	IVR/online/live	18	4.5	-0.2	D+1.0
Trafalgar Group	IVR/online/live	15	4.0	-0.1	R+0.8
YouGov	Online	33	4.3	+0.0	D+2.8
Opinion Savvy	IVR/online	11	4.3	+0.1	D+2.8
Quinnipiac University	Live	26	4.4	+0.1	D+4.2
Rasmussen Reports/Pulse Opinion Research	IVR/online	55	5.1	+0.4	D+3.6
CNN/Opinion Research Corp.	Live	10	4.3	+0.6	D+1.4
Gravis Marketing	IVR/online	53	4.6	+0.7	D+2.5
Remington Research Group	IVR/live	32	4.9	+0.8	D+2.1
Public Policy Polling	IVR/online	28	5.2	+1.0	D+5.2
SurveyMonkey	Online	195	7.3	+2.3	D+5.6
University of New Hampshire	Live	19	8.9	+3.4	D+8.9
Google Surveys	Online	12	8.4	+5.0	D+1.8

Negative plus-minus scores are good and indicate that the pollster has had less error than other pollsters in similar types of races.

The "average error" is the difference between the polled result and the actual result for the margin separating the top two finishers in the race.

"Bias" is a pollster's average statistical bias toward Democratic or Republican candidates.

The best of these pollsters over this period has been [Monmouth University](#), which has an Advanced Plus-Minus score of -1.5. That's not a huge surprise — Monmouth was already one of our highest-rated pollsters. After that, the list is somewhat eclectic, including traditional, live-caller pollsters such as Siena College and Marist College, as well as automated pollsters such as Emerson College and Landmark Communications. Polling institutes run by colleges and universities are somewhat overrepresented among the high performers on the list and have generally become a crucial source of polling as other high-quality pollsters have fallen by the wayside.

The lowest-performing pollsters in this group are the University of New Hampshire's Survey Center, Google Surveys and SurveyMonkey. UNH uses traditional telephone interviewing, but its polls were simply way off the mark in 2016, overestimating Democrats' performance by an average of almost 9 percentage points in the polls it conducted of New Hampshire and Maine.

Google Surveys and SurveyMonkey are newer and more experimental online-based pollsters. Google Surveys has an [unusual methodology](#) in which it shows people a poll in lieu of an advertisement and then infers respondents' demographics based on their web browsing habits. While national polls that used the Google Surveys platform got fairly good results both in 2012 and 2016, state polls that used this technology have generally been highly inaccurate. Some Google Surveys polls also have a [highly do-it-yourself feel to them](#), in that members of the public can use the Google Surveys platform to create and run their own surveys. We at FiveThirtyEight are going to have to do some thinking about whether to include these types of do-it-yourself polls in our averages and forecasts.

SurveyMonkey, which sometimes partners with FiveThirtyEight on [non-election-related polling projects](#), conducted [polling in all 50 states in 2016](#), asking about both the presidential election and races for governor and the U.S. Senate. Unlike some other attempts to poll all 50 states,¹ SurveyMonkey took steps to ensure that each state was weighed individually and that respondents to the poll were located within the correct state. Thus, FiveThirtyEight [treated these polls as we did any other state poll](#). Unfortunately, the results just weren't good, with an average error² of 7.3 percentage points and an Advanced Plus-Minus score of +2.3.

It wasn't just Google Consumer Surveys or SurveyMonkey, however — overall, online polls (with some exceptions such as YouGov and Lucid) have been fairly unreliable in recent elections. So have the increasing number of polls that use hybrid or mixed methodologies, such as those that mostly poll using automated calls (also sometimes called IVR or interactive voice response) but supplement these results using an online panel.

In the chart below, I've calculated Advanced Plus-Minus scores and other statistics based on the technologies the polls used. An increasing number of polling firms no longer fall cleanly into one category and instead routinely use more than one mode of data collection within the same survey or switch back and forth from one methodology to the next from poll to poll. Therefore, I've distinguished polls that use one methodology exclusively from those that employ mixed methods.

Online polls have been less accurate in recent elections
 Advanced Plus-Minus scores for pollsters' surveys conducted for elections on Nov. 8, 2016, and later

POLL TYPE	NO. OF POLLS	AVERAGE ERROR	ADV. PLUS-MINUS	BIAS
Live caller	77	4.9	+0.1	D+2.2
Live caller only	62	4.8	-0.1	D+2.5
Live caller hybrid	15	5.2	+0.7	D+1.2
IVR	35	4.6	-0.0	D+2.0
IVR only	13	4.5	-0.7	D+0.8
IVR hybrid	17	4.7	+0.4	D+2.6
Online	32	5.3	+1.1	D+3.0
Online only	15	5.4	+1.6	D+3.3
Online hybrid	17	5.1	+0.7	D+2.8
All pollsters	119	4.9	+0.3	D+2.4

Negative plus-minus scores are good and indicate that the pollster has had less error than other pollsters in similar types of races. Averages are weighted based on the number of polls that each firm conducted. Pollsters that are banned by FiveThirtyEight because we know or suspect that they faked their data are not included in the averages.

The clearest trends are that telephone polls — including both live caller and IVR polls — have outperformed online polls in recent elections and that polls using mixed or hybrid methods haven't performed that well.

The relatively strong performance of IVR polls is surprising, considering that automated polls are not supposed to call cellphones and that more than half of U.S. households are now cellphone-only. It ought to be difficult to conduct a representative survey given that constraint.

We've sometimes seen the claim that IVR polls are more accurate because people are more honest about expressing support for "politically incorrect" candidates such as Trump when there isn't another human being on the other end of the phone. This feeling of greater anonymity would presumably also apply to online polls, however, and online polls have not been very accurate lately (and they tended to underestimate Trump in 2016).

Related: POLITICS PODCAST

 Politics Podcast: A Conversation About Our Pollster Ratings

Another answer may be that the IVR polls were more lucky than good in 2016. In general, online polls tend to show more Democratic-leaning results, IVR polls tend to show more Republican-leaning results, and live-caller polls are somewhere in between. Thus, in years such as 2012 when Democratic candidates beat the polling averages, online polls tend to look good, and in years when Republicans outperform their polls, IVR polls look good. If undecided voters largely broke to Trump in 2016, polls that initially had too many Republicans in their samples would wind up performing well.

Over the long run, the highest-performing pollsters have been those that:

1. Exclusively use live-caller interviews, including calls placed to cellphones, and
2. Participate in professional initiatives that encourage transparency and disclosure.³

FiveThirtyEight's pollster ratings will continue to award a modest bonus to pollsters that meet one or both of these standards and apply a modest penalty to those that don't. Thus, the letter grades you see associated with polling firms are based on a combination of their historical accuracy and their methodological standards. Polling firms with non-standard methodologies can sometimes have individual races or even entire election cycles in which they perform quite well. But they don't always sustain their performance over the long run.

As for online polls, we don't want to discourage experimentation or to draw too many conclusions from just one cycle's worth of polling. But we at FiveThirtyEight are becoming skeptical of what you might call bulk or "big data" approaches to polling using online platforms. The polling firms that get the best results tend to be those that poll no more than about six to eight states and put a lot of thought and effort into every poll. Online firms may want to do less national polling and fewer 50-state experiments and concentrate more on polling in electorally important states and congressional districts. Results in these contests will go a long way toward determining whether online polling is an adequate substitute for telephone polling.

America Is Guilty of Neglecting Kids: Our Own



By Nicholas Kristof
Opinion Columnist

June 27, 2018

It's not just the kids at the border.

America systematically shortchanges tens of millions of children, including homegrown kids. The upshot is that American kids are more likely to be poor, to drop out of high school and even to die young than in other advanced countries.

We tear apart homegrown families, too, through mass incarceration, excessive juvenile detention and overuse of foster care. One black child in 10 spends time in foster care — and 61,000 foster kids have simply gone missing since 2000.

Like immigration, the mistreatment of children is an old problem that President Trump is exacerbating. Here's a rule of thumb in America for any shortage of resources or conflict over priorities: Kids get screwed.

"A shockingly high number of children in the U.S. live in poverty," the United Nations special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Philip Alston, declared in a scathing report. Almost one-fifth of American children live in poverty, he noted, and they account for more than one-fifth of homeless people.

Alston told me that "there's a very direct link" between the mistreatment of immigrant children at the border and the indifference toward low-income children all across the country. The core reason, he suggested, is a lack of compassion.

Nikki Haley, the American ambassador to the United Nations, protested the U.N. report, saying, "It is patently ridiculous for the United Nations to examine poverty in America."

Really, Ambassador Haley?

Yes, it's weird that a U.N. official tasked with poverty investigates the most powerful country in the world — and finds that kids here have worms. I'm glad that the U.N. speaks up not only for impoverished children in Congo, but also for those in, say, South Carolina (where a newborn black child has a shorter life expectancy than a child born in China).

Two researchers, Kathryn Edin and Luke Shaefer, have found that some three million American children live in "extreme poverty," with a cash income of less than \$2 per person per day, the global metric for extreme poverty.

That's not to say that poverty in America is comparable to that in poor countries. American kids may go to bed hungry, but very few are stunted from malnutrition, compared with 38 percent of children in India.

The paradox is that the United States historically was a safe and nurturing place for children. America helped lead the world in mass education, and in 1960 children here died at lower rates than in most other advanced countries.

Since about 1970, however, as other countries provided universal health care and built up social safety nets, American kids have been dying at higher rates. A child is 57 percent more likely to die by the age of 19 in the U.S. than in our peer countries, according to a study published this year in Health Affairs.

Half a million American kids still suffer from lead poisoning each year. And Dr. Peter Hotez, a tropical disease specialist at Baylor's College of Medicine, warns that here in the United States, "Millions of children living in poverty may be affected by toxocariasis, a parasitic roundworm infection."

Why do we stiff kids? Why do we provide universal health care for senior citizens (which is expensive) but not for children (which would be cheap)? The simple answer: Kids don't vote. They depend on us, and we fail them.

If we can broaden the current outrage to the plight of all children in America, we could transform lives.

In Arkansas, I once dropped in on the home of a struggling 13-year-old boy. It was a filthy flophouse for drug users in a gang-ridden area. There were no books in the house, and no food; the only reason the power wasn't cut off for nonpayment was the pit bull kept to scare off the utility crew.

These are difficult problems but not hopeless ones, and we know what works. Early childhood programs in particular make a huge difference: parent coaching, high-quality prekindergarten, lead poisoning interventions, social worker visits, and mentoring.

World Bank President Jim Yong Kim cites a study indicating that if the U.S. invested in effective early childhood programs, the lifelong benefits would be so transformative that American inequality could be reduced to Canadian levels.

We already have a model: When Tony Blair was the British prime minister he undertook a major campaign against child poverty and cut it nearly in half.

Unfortunately, Trump is moving in the opposite direction, cutting benefit programs in ways that will hurt poor kids. Trump's tax cuts add to the deficit — meaning that we are partying and sticking children with the bill.

A national, bipartisan outcry forced Trump to back down from tearing immigrant children from their parents' arms at the border; that was a shared outpouring of compassion that represented our country's best. Now we need a similar outcry on behalf of all of America's children.

Gail Collins is on book leave.

I invite you to sign up for my free, twice-weekly email newsletter. Please also join me on Facebook and Google+, watch my YouTube videos and follow me on Twitter (@NickKristof).

[New post] The corporate tax cut will never trickle down

The Weekly Sift <comment-reply@wordpress.com>

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New post on The Weekly Sift

The corporate tax cut will never trickle down

by [weeklysift](#)

The immediate benefits of the corporate tax cut have gone to stockholders and executives rather than workers. The long-term benefits will too.

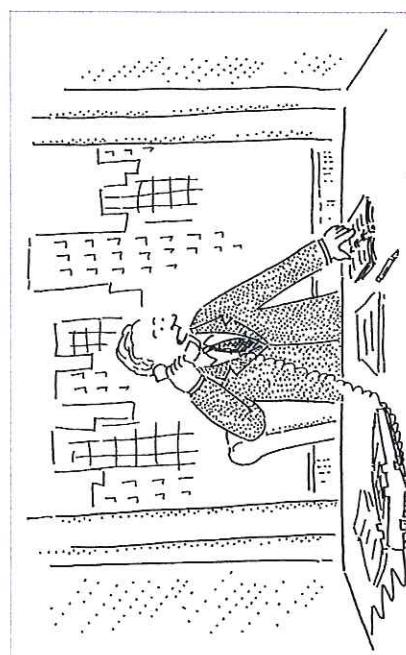
Dropping the corporate tax rate from 35% to 21% was the centerpiece of the tax reform package Republicans passed (with [no Democratic votes](#)) and Trump signed late last year. They sold that cut with the argument that lower corporate taxes would stimulate investment; rather than build that new factory in Indonesia or Vietnam, a corporation might site it in Iowa instead, creating new jobs and raising wages. So while it might look like the benefits would go entirely to wealthy shareholders, in the long run that money would flow to American workers. American households, Trump economic advisers claimed, would see their incomes go up by [\\$4000 a year](#) over the next 3-5 years.

For a few weeks, it looked like the trickle-down was happening: A number of companies responded to the tax cut by giving their workers a [one-time \\$1000 bonus](#) — small potatoes compared to what the companies themselves were set to take in, but not bad if it represented a down payment on future wage increases.

But how long would it take those increases to show up? Well, not immediately, in spite of the well-publicized bonuses. And not in one quarter: CBS reported in April that the corporate windfall (financed by [increasing the federal budget deficit](#)) was mostly going into stock manipulations.

In the first quarter, corporate America committed \$305 billion to cash takeovers and stock buybacks, more than double the \$131 billion in pre-tax wage growth for both new and existing workers subject to income tax withholding, TrimTabs calculates.

Worse, the Bureau of Labor Statistics is reporting bad news for "production and nonsupervisory employees".



"No, Thursday's out. How about never—is never good for you?"

In his Friday column, [Paul Krugman](#) explains why the tax-motivated new factories and jobs and higher wages aren't coming, not immediately and probably not ever. He labels his argument as "wonkish", meaning that ordinary people who aren't economists may find it hard to follow. So let me interpret a little.

The vision of low corporate taxes creating new jobs with higher wages comes from the Industrial Era, the age of coal-powered textile mills and Henry Ford's assembly lines. Business investment in those days was mostly big, heavy equipment that cost a lot of money and was meant to last for decades or even longer. (I live in an apartment in a converted textile mill. The mill was built in the 1820s.) Businesses were national (or more likely, local) in those days, so a company located in Akron or Dearborn paid taxes in Akron or Dearborn.

That's not what the economy looks like any more.

Tax havens. The biggest corporations are multi-national, and they book their profits in [whatever countries their accountants choose](#). One trick is to transfer a company's intellectual property to a foreign subsidiary, and then pay massive royalties and licensing fees to that subsidiary.

[The rights to Nike's Swoosh trademark, Uber's taxi-hailing app, Allergan's Botox patents and Facebook's social media technology have all resided in shell companies that listed as their headquarters Appleby offices in Bermuda and Grand Cayman, the records show.](#)

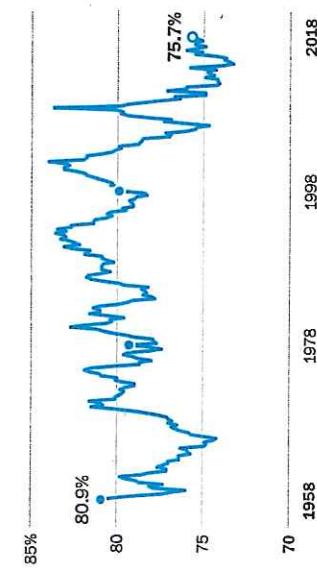
When pieces of your product -- an iPhone, say -- are made all over the world, who's to say what country the profit is made in? Your accountants say. And they all say the same things: You made your profits in a tax haven.

Indeed, a tiny handful of jurisdictions — mostly Bermuda, Ireland, Luxembourg

From May 2017 to May 2018, real average hourly earnings decreased 0.1 percent

The [Washington Post](#) elaborates, saying that this category "accounts for about four-fifths of the privately employed workers in America". It also provides this graph.

Workers' share of corporate income



Source: Economic Policy Institute

THE WASHINGTON POST

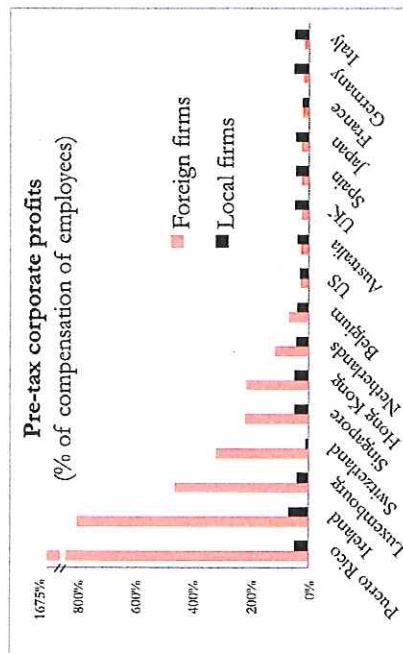
How long? But if terms of the tax cut, it's still early days. Of course the process of building new factories and hiring new workers would take longer than just a few months. So when should we expect the corporate tax cut to trickle down? Two years? Five years? Ten?

What about never?

and the Netherlands — now account for 63 percent of all profits that American multinational companies claim to earn overseas, according to an analysis by Gabriel Zucman, an assistant professor of economics at the University of California, Berkeley.

Think about it: When was the last time you bought something marked "Made in Luxembourg"? Multinationals don't build factories and employ workers in low-tax countries; they just route their profits there.

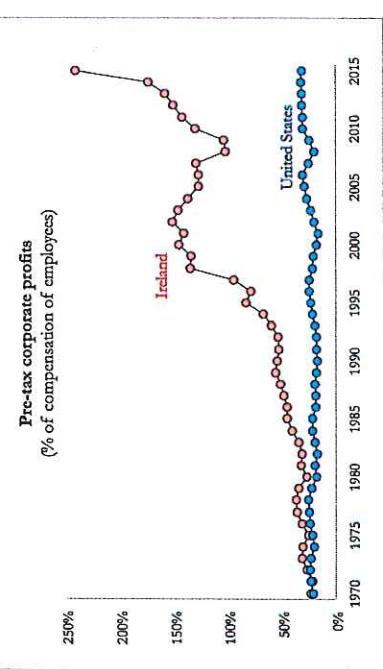
Krugman looks at the profit-to-wage ratio of foreign firms and local firms in a variety of countries.



If places like Puerto Rico and Ireland were just massively more productive than the US or Germany -- producing enormous profits with relatively low labor costs -- that would apply to their local firms too. But it doesn't. For local firms, the ratio of profits to wages stays pretty constant across the board. It's only foreign firms that have managed to unlock the Irish productivity miracle -- not with actual production that employs workers, but via accounting tricks that claim profits produced by workers in other countries.

In short, multinational corporations have benefited enormously from Ireland's generous tax laws, Irish workers, not so much. And with time, the corporations get better and better at gaming the tax system.

Figure 6: The Rise of Profit Shifting



So lower US corporate taxes may induce corporations to book more of their profits here, for what that's worth. But that's an accounting gimmick, not an actual change in economic activity.

But even with that illusion making the effect look bigger than it is, won't lower taxes still motivate investment and create jobs? Why doesn't that work? This is where Krugman gets wonkish.

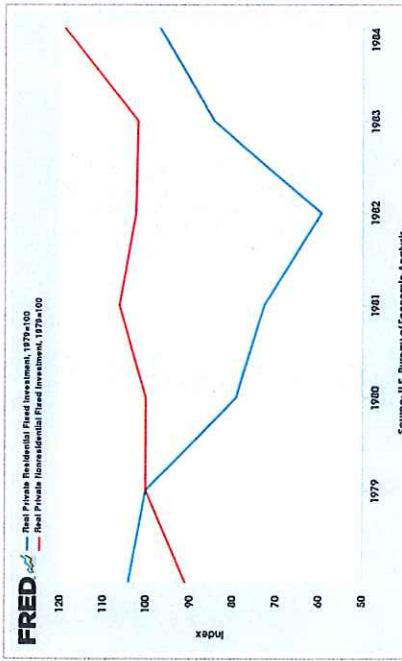
What investment means now. In the Industrial Era, nothing was more solid than a factory. Henry Ford started building his massive **River Rouge complex** in Dearborn during World War I, and it's still there. Once it made Model T's; now it makes F-150 trucks. The **U.S. Steel complex in Gary** is even older, going back to 1908. Firestone in Akron, Caterpillar in Peoria -- the big Industrial Era companies were virtually synonymous with the towns where their factories were.

In the Industrial Era, corporate investment was long-haul investment. You bought land and erected massive buildings to house huge machines. You dug canals and built railroad spurs that came right up to the beginnings and ends of your production lines. The industrialists who made those investments were looking half a century into the future, or even longer.

But most corporate investment these days is far more ephemeral. Take Google, the **second-most-valuable company in the world**. What does it make exactly? Where is its River Rouge or Gary Works? If it wants to create a new product, it may have to hire some extra designers and programmers. But what does it invest in? An office, some computers. The office could be rented, the computers will be obsolete in a few years. Ditto for Facebook. Amazon also needs some warehouses, and maybe some robots to move boxes around. In a few years the warehouses could be somewhere else and the robots will be replaced by better robots. It's all short-term stuff.

Whenever a company makes an investment, it's weighing its expected profits against two things: the cost of capital (for example, the interest rate it has to pay on the money it borrows) and the depreciation rate (how fast the investment becomes obsolete). In the Industrial Era, when a factory complex or a railroad might be around for half a century, depreciation was low. So the cost of capital really mattered. If interest rates dropped from 6% to 4%, all your calculations changed. Investments you'd been putting off suddenly made sense again.

But when the equipment you're buying is going to be scrap in 3-5 years, the cost of capital doesn't matter nearly so much. Cutting interest rates still motivates people to buy houses, because those are long-term investments. But it doesn't motivate business investment much any more. Krugman looks at the huge interest rate spike of 1979-1982, when the Fed pushed rates up over 20%. Housing investment crashed. Business investment not so much.



If that was divergence was happening already in the early 80s, it's even moreso now.

What's that have to do with tax rates? Now comes the wonky part:

What does this have to do with taxes? One way to think about corporate taxes in a global economy is that they raise the effective cost of capital. Suppose global investors demand an after-tax rate of return r' . Then the pre-tax rate of return they'll demand in your country — your cost of capital — is $r'(1-t)$, where t is the marginal tax rate on profits. So cutting the corporate tax rate reduces the effective cost of capital, which should encourage more investment.

Let's work an example of that. Suppose global investors are looking for a 5% return on their investment after taxes. (That's Krugman's r') If the corporate tax rate is 35%, they'll need to make a pre-tax return of 7.7%. (That's $5\%/(1 - .35)$) So for every \$1,000 you invest, you make \$77, you pay 35% of your profit in taxes (\$27), and you wind up with \$50, or a 5% profit.

Now cut the tax rate to 21%. Now you only need to make 6.3% before taxes to wind up with 5% after taxes. For every \$1,000 invested, you make \$63, pay 21% in taxes (\$13) and wind up with \$50.

So in this example, the tax cut effectively reduces the cost of capital from 7.7% to 6.3%. That would have been a big deal to Henry Ford or Andrew Carnegie. Jeff Bezos or Mark Zuckerberg prefer the lower rate, of course, but it doesn't drive their decisions in the same way.

Hence Krugman's conclusion: it's not that cutting corporate taxes will have no effect on jobs or wages, but it's going to work out to a huge loss of government revenue in exchange for a small number of jobs.

But the vision of a global market in which real capital moves a lot in response to tax rates is all wrong; most of what we see in response to tax rate differences is profit-shifting, not real investment. And there is no reason to believe that the kind of tax cut America just enacted will achieve much besides starving the government of revenue.

The end result: Krugman's argument needs one more step, because he leaves one question unanswered: Why should you care if the government collects less tax revenue? OK, maybe the lost revenue flows mainly to rich shareholders and billionaire CEOs and only a few jobs are created. Maybe the overall effect doesn't amount to much. But if it's something, isn't that good? The taxman may bag a little less -- or even a lot less -- but why should American workers cry about that?

Over the last few decades, conservatives have done a good job of convincing many Americans that taxes just go down a rat hole and aren't connected to the valued services government provides. (In states like Kansas and Louisiana, though, people are starting to see the relationship.) And for the moment, Republicans have stopped worrying about the budget deficits that they were so focused on during the Obama administration. Less revenue means bigger deficits, but, again, why should you care?

Because deficit phobia will be back someday. We are already looking at trillion-dollar deficits beginning in 2020, and that's under the assumption that we aren't in recession by then. (This economic cycle is already getting a little old; that's why unemployment numbers are so low.) In any serious recession -- and one always comes eventually -- the deficit will top \$2 trillion, which is much higher than the record Bush/Obama deficit of FY 2009.

There is only one pile of money big enough cover a shortfall like that: entitlements like Social Security and Medicare. (We could zero out the defense budget and still have a deficit.) When Republicans remember that they care about deficits, that's where they're going to look.

So American workers who cheer for the corporate tax cut are like Jacob for his porridge: In the long run, the tax cut they let the rich monopolize will cost them their birthright of Social Security and Medicare.



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