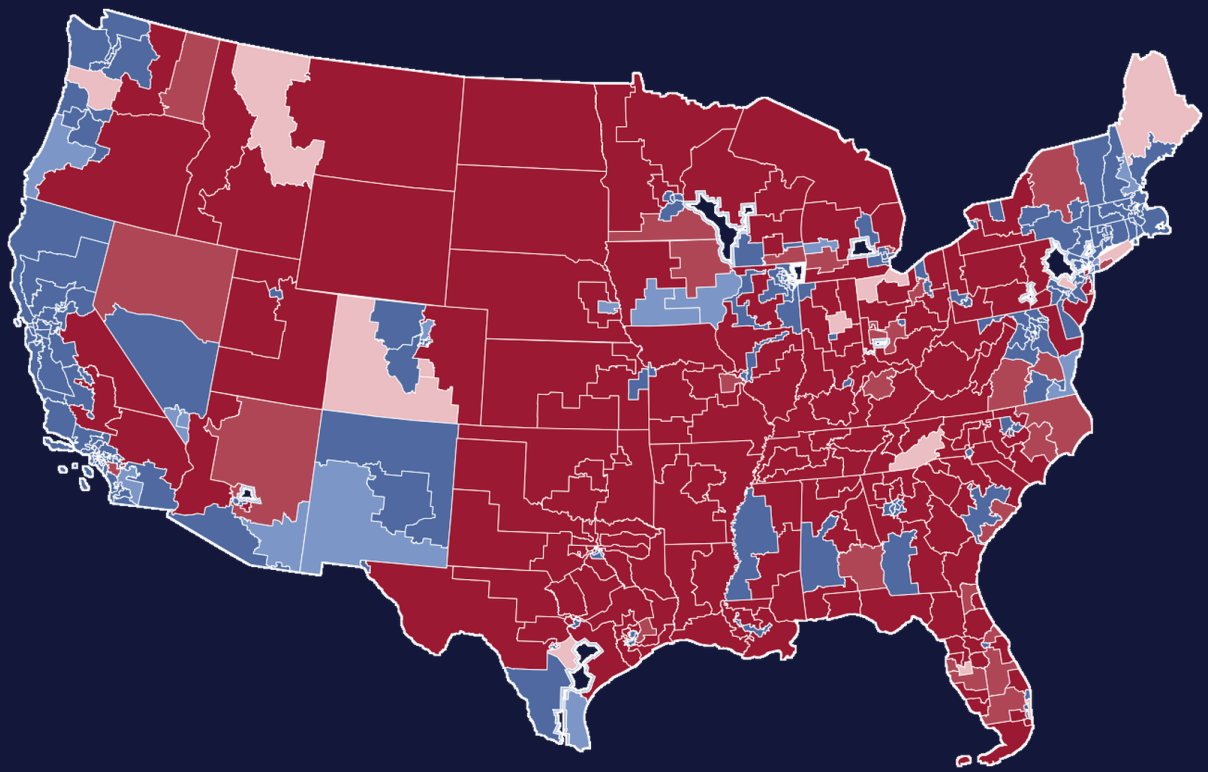
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GOVERNORS 2026: STATE BY STATE

Le Millénaire's in-depth note on the gubernatorial elections of November 3, 2026

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November 1, 2026



> *This document is a translation of the original French text. It may contain errors; the French version is the reference text.*

Unless otherwise footnoted, the figures in this note come from the November 1, 2026 update of the Le Millénaire forecast (governors model, simulator and “Polling errors” tool). For counties, we recalculated the official results compiled by T. McGovern. Margins are given in percentage points, Democrat minus Republican unless otherwise stated.

CONTENTS

Key Takeaways ***5***

The Current Balance 6

What Governors Change 8

The Trend Since August 10

The Settled Races ***13***

The Republican Incumbents of the Plains and the Rockies 14

The Open Seats of the South 14

The Democratic Strongholds 15

The Competitive Races ***16***

Wisconsin: David Crowley vs. Tom Tiffany 18

Oregon: Tina Kotek vs. Christine Drazan 23

Iowa: Rob Sand vs. Zach Lahn 27

Ohio: Amy Acton vs. Vivek Ramaswamy 33

Georgia: Keisha Lance Bottoms vs. Rick Jackson 39

Michigan: Jocelyn Benson vs. John James 44

Colorado: Phil Weiser vs. Victor Marx 49

Vermont: Amanda Janoo vs. Phil Scott 52

Minnesota: Amy Klobuchar vs. Lisa Demuth 57

Nevada: Aaron Ford vs. Joe Lombardo 62

Arizona: Katie Hobbs vs. Andy Biggs 67

Kansas: Cindy Holscher vs. Ty Masterson 71

Texas: Gina Hinojosa vs. Greg Abbott 76

New Mexico: Deb Haaland vs. Gregg Hull 82

Florida: David Jolly vs. Byron Donalds 85

Nebraska: Lynne Walz vs. Jim Pillen 90

Maine: Hannah Pingree vs. Bobby Charles 94

Alaska: Jonathan Kreiss-Tomkins vs. Bernadette Wilson 98

New Hampshire: Cinde Warmington vs. Kelly Ayotte 101

New York and Pennsylvania 105

What the governors say about 2028 110

The swing states after November 3 110

The election rules at stake 111

What the results will say about the coalitions 111

KEY TAKEAWAYS

In Georgia, Democrat Jon Ossoff has a 95% chance of keeping his Senate seat. Yet Keisha Lance Bottoms, of the same party, has only 33.5% in the governor's race, with the same polls on both sides. Facing her, Republican candidate Rick Jackson has put at least $108 million of his personal fortune into the campaign for governor of Georgia. Thirty-six governorships are up this year, nineteen of them without an incumbent.

So which governorships could change hands on November 3? And why do Georgia, New Hampshire and Iowa split their vote between Senate and governor? The note starts from the current balance, then turns to the method and to the powers of governors. Next come the seventeen settled races and the nineteen competitive ones, county by county. It closes on the 2028 presidential election.

THE GOVERNORS IN EIGHT POINTS

- Thirty-six seats are at stake on November 3, eighteen on each side. Today, 26 states have a Republican governor and 24 a Democratic one.
- Nineteen races are being played without an incumbent. Fifteen governors cannot run again, three have stepped aside (Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota) and Rhode Island's lost his primary.
- Our model expects 22.7 Democratic governors out of the 48 seats it computes (34 races and 14 seats not up), between 20 and 25 in 90% of simulations. Alaska and Maine are left aside.
- The most likely outcome is a swap: Iowa to the Democrats with Rob Sand (66.6%), Kansas to the Republicans with Ty Masterson (80.0%). Wisconsin, for its part, is the closest race in the country (David Crowley, 59.4%).
- Ohio is a matter of debate. Amy Acton leads in 11 of the 14 polls recorded since September 1, Cook and Sabato rate it “Lean Democratic,” and yet our model gives Vivek Ramaswamy a 68.5% chance.
- Three Republicans are holding on by name recognition in Democratic or swing states: Phil Scott in Vermont (81.1%), Joe Lombardo in Nevada (61.8%), Kelly Ayotte in New Hampshire (97.9%).
- In Texas, it is closer than people say. Greg Abbott leads by only 3.7 points in our polling average, but has an 85.7% chance, because he is the incumbent in a state Donald Trump won by 13.7 points.
- Voters do not vote the same way from one race to the next. In Georgia, Jon Ossoff has a 95% chance in the Senate race, Keisha Lance Bottoms only 33.5% for governor; in New Hampshire, the gap between the two races exceeds 16 points.

THE CURRENT BALANCE

Fourteen states, from North Carolina to Utah, elected their governor in 2023, 2024 or 2025. They therefore do not vote this year. Of the 36 seats up on November 3, each party is defending 18. Republicans currently run 26 states, Democrats 24[1].

In Rhode Island, the incumbent Democratic governor was defeated in the primary by Helena Foulkes, according to the forecast's candidate data. Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota: Tony Evers, Kim Reynolds and Tim Walz have

[1] Ballotpedia, “Gubernatorial elections, 2026,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://ballotpedia.org/Gubernatorial_elections,_2026.

chosen not to run again. Fifteen governors are also term-limited, six Democrats and nine Republicans[2]. That brings us to 19 races without an incumbent.

Table 1. The 50 governorships: what is at stake and what our model counts

Category	Democrats	Republicans	Total
Seats held today	24	26	50
Seats up on November 3	18	18	36
of which incumbent term-limited	6	9	15
of which voluntary departure or incumbent defeated in primary	3	1	4
of which incumbent running	9	8	17
Seats not up in 2026	6	8	14
Races probabilized by the model	17	17	34
Races not probabilized (Alaska, Maine)	1	1	2
Expected governors out of 48 seats (model)	22.7	25.3	48

Source: Ballotpedia (term-limited incumbents); Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026. "Probabilized": races to which the model assigns chances of winning.

The model counts 48 seats: the 34 races it probabilizes and the 14 seats not up, taken as they stand. Alaska, which uses ranked-choice voting with four candidates, is kept separate. So is Maine, where an independent is running, which is also left aside. Within this scope, Democrats hold 23 seats. After the election, they would have 22.7, for a median of 23. They hold between 22 and 24 in half of the simulations, between 20 and 25 in 90% of them. They reach 23 or more in 55.3% of cases.

Of their 17 probabilized seats, Democrats would lose 2.5 on average, first in Kansas, Wisconsin, Oregon, Colorado and Michigan. They would gain 2.2 of the 17 Republican seats, mainly in Iowa, Nevada and Georgia. Alaska and Maine change the count little. With a Democrat elected in both, as the polls and the Cook and Sabato ratings suggest, the expected total would rise to 24.7 Democratic governors out of 50. That remains roughly the current balance.

[2] Ballotpedia, "Gubernatorial elections, 2026," accessed October 27, 2026, https://ballotpedia.org/Gubernatorial_elections,_2026.

Table 2. Number of Democratic governors out of the 48 seats computed

Democratic governors	Probability	Cumulative probability (at least)
19 or fewer	2.2%	100%
20	6.1%	97.8%
21	14.1%	91.7%
22	22.3%	77.6%
23 (current level)	24.1%	55.3%
24	17.9%	31.2%
25 or more	13.3%	13.3%

Source: Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026. Exact distribution of the 34 probabilized races, 14 seats not up counted as they stand (6 Democratic, 8 Republican).

In Colorado, Hawaii and Wyoming, no poll has been published, and the standard deviation of the projection there reaches 13.2 points, against 5.3 in the other states. In the general case, the polling average carries 88% of the weight: only the latest wave from each pollster published in the last 45 days counts, adjusted for house effects and for polls commissioned by one side, then reduced by 2.3 points for the Democrats. The remaining 12% comes from a structure based on the 2024 presidential election, the generic ballot (Democrats +7.2 points as of November 1) and an incumbency bonus of 8.7 points.

WHAT GOVERNORS CHANGE

The 2026 campaigns have brought certain gubernatorial powers into play, from redistricting to immigration.

Redistricting. The maps of Texas, Florida, Tennessee and Louisiana, signed by their governors, are in force, as are those of California and Utah, which favor Democrats; in Missouri, Indiana and Virginia, the plans have been blocked or rejected[3]. The governor's veto also matters. In Kansas, Republican supermajorities in both chambers already constrain that of a Democratic

[3] Ballotpedia, "Redistricting ahead of the 2026 elections," accessed October 27, 2026, https://ballotpedia.org/Redistricting_ahead_of_the_2026_elections.

governor[4], Joe Lombardo has issued 162 in Nevada[5], and Kelly Ayotte used 32 against her own Republican majority in New Hampshire in 2026[6].

Election rules. More than three minutes: that is the time Tom Tiffany devoted, in Wisconsin's only debate, to his vote against certifying the 2020 election[7]. In Michigan, John James falsely claimed that Donald Trump had won in 2020[8]. Omaha delivers a Democratic vote in the presidential election thanks to the split allocation of electoral votes, which Jim Pillen wants to abolish[9]. In Alaska, Ballot Measure 2 would repeal ranked-choice voting and the open primary, already saved by 737 votes in 2024[10]. In Oregon, Tina Kotek attacks Christine Drazan on vote by mail[11].

Abortion. Six weeks: that is the ban Keisha Lance Bottoms is fighting in Georgia[12]. In Wisconsin, Tom Tiffany supports a twenty-week limit[13]. In Minnesota, Amy Klobuchar attacks Lisa Demuth's restrictive bill[14].

Immigration. In Maine, a law limits cooperation with ICE, and Hannah Pingree and Rick Bennett both defend it[15]. In New Hampshire, Cinde Warmington also wants to stop cooperating[16]. In New York, Bruce Blakeman targets Kathy

[4] MultiState, “Kansas 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/kansas-2026.
[5] MultiState, “Nevada 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/nevada-2026.
[6] MultiState, “New Hampshire 2026 governor race,” October 19, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/new-hampshire-2026.
[7] Wisconsin Watch, October 23, 2026, https://wisconsinwatch.org/2026/10/by-the-numbers-how-crowley-and-tiffany-used-their-debate-time/.
[8] MultiState, “Michigan 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/michigan-2026.
[9] MultiState, “Nebraska 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/nebraska-2026.
[10] MultiState, “Alaska 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/alaska-2026.
[11] MultiState, “Oregon 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/oregon-2026.
[12] MultiState, “Georgia 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/georgia-2026.
[13] MultiState, “Wisconsin 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/wisconsin-2026.
[14] KAXE, October 20, 2026, https://www.kaxe.org/elections/2026-10-20/here-are-4-takeaways-from-the-first-demuth-klobuchar-debate.
[15] Bangor Daily News, October 9, 2026, https://www.bangordailynews.com/2026/10/09/politics/maine-gubernatorial-debate-takeaways/.
[16] MultiState, “New Hampshire 2026 governor race,” October 19, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/new-hampshire-2026.

Hochul over “sanctuaries”[17]. In Oregon, Tina Kotek denounces the federal troops in Portland[18].

The governor can act as a guarantor of state power in an America beset by tensions between federal and state authority. As “state managers,” governors have the role of defending the integrity of their state. Illinois Governor Jay Robert Pritzker, for example, stood up to Donald Trump in October 2025 when Illinois went to federal court to block the deployment of the National Guard to Chicago ordered by the 47th president of the United States.

The new issues. Two subjects come up in nearly every competitive race. First, *data centers*, whose electricity and water consumption is a source of concern. Moratoriums or pauses have been proposed in Oregon, Georgia, Florida, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania. In Wisconsin and Michigan, accusations fly in both directions. Second, state and local taxation. Zach Lahn in Iowa and Andy Biggs in Arizona promise to eliminate the income tax. In Kansas, Texas and Florida, there is talk of capping property taxes.

THE TREND SINCE AUGUST

The climate improved for Democrats over the fall. Recalculated day by day with the polls available on each date, the expected number of Democratic governors went from 20.7 on August 1 to 21.3 on September 1 and 21.9 on September 15, slipped slightly to 21.7 on October 1, then rose again to 22.0 on October 15, 22.1 on October 26 and 22.7 on November 1, while the Democratic lead on the generic ballot followed a comparable path (6.1 points on August 1, 5.5 on September 1, 7.0 on September 15, 7.1 on October 26 and 7.2 on November 1).

[17] MultiState, “New York 2026 governor race,” October 19, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/new-york-2026.
[18] MultiState, “Oregon 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/oregon-2026.

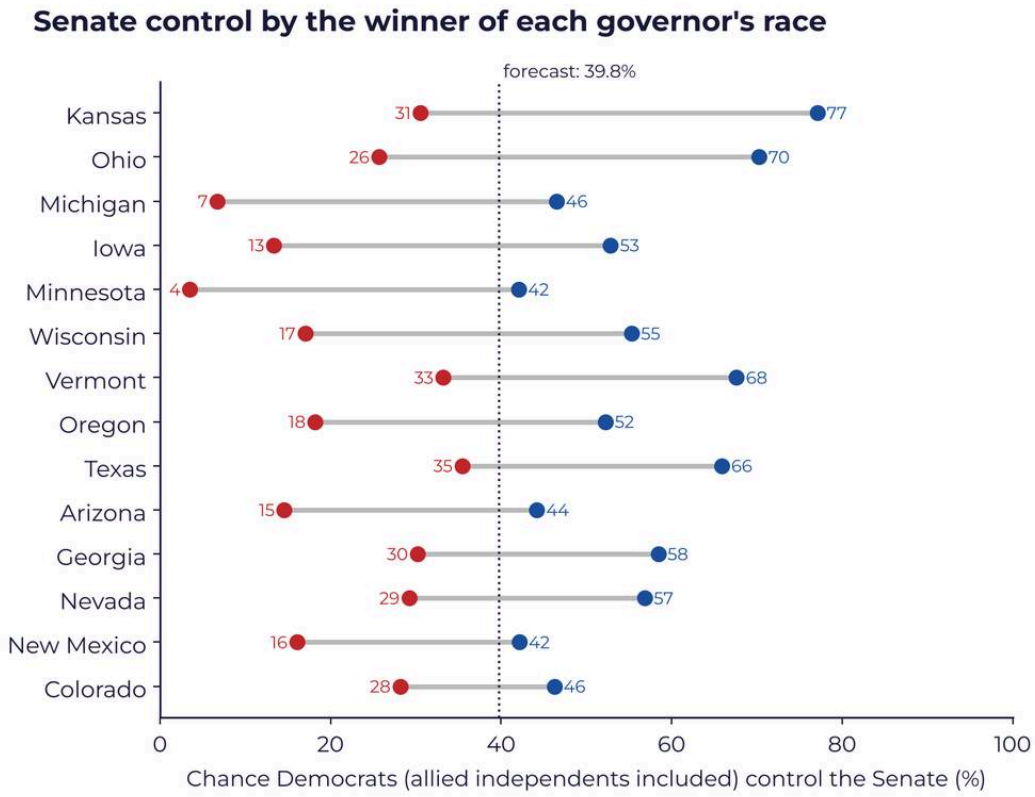
In Iowa, Rob Sand's chances have risen from 40.9% to 66.6% since August 1, with the September and October polls putting him ahead. Democratic chances also increased in Arizona (from 59.8% to 84.7%), Michigan (from 55.7% to 82.9%) and Minnesota (from 46.1% to 93.9%), and they fell in Florida (from 22.6% to 7.4%), New Hampshire (from 21.2% to 2.1%) and Georgia (from 43.1% to 33.5%). The model's uncertainty narrows as Election Day approaches, and chances then move away from 50% even when the projected margin changes little. In Texas, the projected margin has narrowed from 9.9 to 5.6 points since August 1, and yet the chances of Democratic candidate Gina Hinojosa have fallen from 22.2% to 14.3%.

Table 3. Expected Democratic governors by polling error

Polling error scenario	Expected Democratic governors (out of 48)
No error	22.7
As in 2012 (1.6 points in favor of Democrats)	25.0
As in 2018 (no net error)	22.7
As in 2010 (0.1 points in favor of Republicans)	22.6
As in 2022 (1.5 points in favor of Republicans)	21.4
As in 2016 (4.0 points in favor of Republicans)	21.0
As in 2024 (3.1 points in favor of Republicans)	20.6
As in 2020 (4.7 points in favor of Republicans)	19.7
As in 2014 (3.8 points in favor of Republicans)	19.6
As in 2006 (5.9 points in favor of Republicans)	18.1
Democrats underestimated by 3 points	25.2
Republicans underestimated by 3 points	20.2

Source: Le Millénaire "Polling errors" tool, https://forecast.lemillenaire.org/etats-unis/midterms/2026/erreurs-sondages/, 12,000 simulations per scenario. The error reproduces, in points, the gap between results and polls observed in the election indicated, in favor of the party indicated. The "no error" scenario gives 22.7 because it removes the national error.

The result remains highly sensitive to polling error, since an error comparable to that of 2020 would bring Democrats back below 20 governors out of 48, and a 3-point error in their favor would lift them above 25. Governors are also linked to both chambers of Congress. Indeed, in the simulations where Democrats win the House of Representatives, the expected number of Democratic governors rises to 23.7, and it falls to 19.3 in those where they lose it, with the same turnout and the same polling error running through all three contests.



Source: Le Millénaire simulator (forecast.lemillenaire.org), 40,000 simulations per scenario, data as of 1 November 2026; narrow and wide wins weighted by their frequency (Le Millénaire calculation). Blue dot: the Democrat (or the independent) wins; red dot: the Republican wins.

Figure 1. *Senate control by the winner of each gubernatorial election: Democratic chances (allied independents included) when the Democrat (blue) or the Republican (red) wins the race indicated, all margins combined. Source: Le Millénaire simulator, 40,000 simulations per scenario.*

A win by Cindy Holscher in Kansas would raise Democratic chances in the Senate from 39.8% to 77.4%. One by Amy Acton in Ohio would raise them to 70.6%, one by Gina Hinojosa in Texas to 65.4% and one by Aaron Ford in Nevada to 57.0%. A Democratic defeat in Michigan or Minnesota would, on the contrary, drop them below 7%. In Kansas, Texas or Nevada, where the model has the Democrat losing, a win would point to a polling error against that party across the whole country.

THE SETTLED RACES

According to our model, seventeen of the 36 races, not counting Nebraska and New Hampshire, which we address later, are settled, with one of the two candidates above a 95% chance; nine lean toward the Democrats and eight toward the Republicans. The table gives for each the candidates, the Democrat's chances, the projected margin and the result of the previous election for the same office (two-party share), with New York and Pennsylvania, which fall into this category, covered in short profiles at the end of the next section.

Table 4. The 17 settled races (one candidate above a 95% chance)

State	Democrat	Republican	D chances	Projected margin	Last election (D / R)	2024 presidential
Wyoming	Kenneth Casner	Eric Barlow	0.3%	Barlow +36.4	2022: 20.9 / 79.1	Trump +45.8
South Dakota	Dan Ahlers	Larry Rhoden (i)	less than 0.1%	Rhoden +26.3	2022: 36.6 / 63.4	Trump +29.2
Idaho	Terri Pickens	Brad Little (i)	less than 0.1%	Little +25.3	2022: 29.9 / 70.1	Trump +36.5
Arkansas	Fred Love	Sarah Huckabee Sanders (i)	less than 0.1%	Sanders +24.7	2022: 36.1 / 63.9	Trump +30.6
Tennessee	Jerri Green	Marsha Blackburn	0.1%	Blackburn +15.9	2022: 34.0 / 66.0	Trump +29.7
Oklahoma	Cyndi Munson	Mike Mazzei	0.1%	Mazzei +15.8	2022: 43.2 / 56.8	Trump +34.3
Alabama	Doug Jones	Tommy Tuberville	0.4%	Tuberville +14.0	2022: 31.1 / 68.9	Trump +30.5
South Carolina	Jermaine Johnson	Alan Wilson	2.0%	Wilson +10.9	2022: 41.3 / 58.7	Trump +17.9
Hawaii	Josh Green (i)	Gary Cordery	96.0%	Green +23.2	2022: 63.2 / 36.8	Harris +23.1
New York	Kathy Hochul (i)	Bruce Blakeman	99.4%	Hochul +13.3	2022: 53.2 / 46.8	Harris +12.6
Illinois	JB Pritzker (i)	Darren Bailey	99.9%	Pritzker +16.8	2022: 56.3 / 43.7	Harris +10.9
Connecticut	Ned Lamont (i)	Ryan Fazio	99.9%	Lamont +16.9	2022: 56.5 / 43.5	Harris +14.5
Pennsylvania	Josh Shapiro (i)	Stacy Garrity	more than 99.9%	Shapiro +20.0	2022: 57.4 / 42.6	Trump +1.7
California	Xavier Becerra	Steve Hilton	more than 99.9%	Becerra +22.2	2022: 59.2 / 40.8	Harris +20.1
Rhode Island	Helena Foulkes	Aaron Guckian	more than 99.9%	Foulkes +23.4	2022: 59.5 / 40.5	Harris +13.8
Massachusetts	Maura Healey (i)	Michael Minogue	more than 99.9%	Healey +24.2	2022: 64.6 / 35.4	Harris +25.2

State	Democrat	Republican	D chances	Projected margin	Last election (D / R)	2024 presidential
Maryland	Wes Moore (i)	Dan Cox	more than 99.9%	Moore +25.9	2022: 66.2 / 33.8	Harris +28.5

Source: Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026. Last election: Democratic and Republican shares of the two-party vote. 2024 presidential: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump. (i): incumbent.

THE REPUBLICAN INCUMBENTS OF THE PLAINS AND THE ROCKIES

Larry Rhoden in South Dakota, Sarah Huckabee Sanders (daughter of Mike Huckabee, U.S. Ambassador to Israel) in Arkansas and Brad Little in Idaho are defending their seats in states Donald Trump won by 29 to 37 points. The average of three pollsters gives Rhoden a 25.4-point lead, a single pollster puts Little 23.7 points ahead, and Arkansas's only poll gives Sanders a 23.7-point lead. In 2022, Little had won by 40 points. On top of the partisan lean of these three states comes the incumbency bonus, which the model measures at 8.7 points on average across the 2010, 2014, 2018 and 2022 elections.

THE OPEN SEATS OF THE SOUTH

Five term-limited Republican governors are leaving their seats open in deeply Republican states (Alabama, Tennessee, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Wyoming), and two U.S. senators are running to succeed them, Marsha Blackburn in Tennessee and Tommy Tuberville in Alabama. In Alabama, the average of four pollsters gives Tuberville only a 12.5-point lead over Democrat Doug Jones, against 25.1 points for the structure alone, but Jones has only a 0.4% chance.

In Oklahoma, Mike Mazzei leads by 14.6 points in the only published poll; in 2022, the Republican there had won 56.8% of the two-party vote against 43.2%, the closest result in this group. Alan Wilson has a 98.0% chance in South Carolina, for a projected lead of 10.9 points, the smallest among the settled races on the Republican side. The model's six polls give him leads ranging from 7 points (New York Times and Siena, 51% to 44%) to 16 points (Trafalgar Group,

53% to 37%[19]). No poll has been published in Wyoming, where the structure gives Eric Barlow a 36.4-point lead, and Kenneth Casner's 0.3% chance measures the uncertainty of a projection without polls.

THE DEMOCRATIC STRONGHOLDS

Wes Moore in Maryland, Maura Healey in Massachusetts, Ned Lamont in Connecticut, JB Pritzker in Illinois and Josh Green in Hawaii are reelected in advance according to the model, and those who have been polled lead by 16 to 26 points. In Illinois, the two polls retained give Pritzker a 17.5-point lead on average, more than Kamala Harris's 10.9 points in the state. Another anomaly: Hawaii has no polls at all, so its 96.0% comes from the structure alone and remains below the chances of Lamont or Pritzker, in states that are nonetheless less Democratic.

In California, where incumbent Governor Gavin Newsom is term-limited (two four-year terms), Xavier Becerra leads Steve Hilton by 24.2 points in the average of ten pollsters. In Rhode Island, Helena Foulkes, who defeated the incumbent in the Democratic primary, leads by 25.7 points in the average of four pollsters. The structure alone gave them only 7.7- and 6.4-point leads, and it is the polls, at 88% of the projection, that bring the projected margins to 22.2 and 23.4 points.

[19] Wikipedia, “2026 South Carolina gubernatorial election,” polling table, accessed November 1, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_South_Carolina_gubernatorial_election.

THE COMPETITIVE RACES

Nineteen races remain open. Our model probabilizes fifteen of them with less than a 95% chance for the favorite, to which we add Nebraska and New Hampshire, which we follow despite a very clear favorite because of the Senate race in each of these states, as well as Alaska and Maine, which the model does not compute. The profiles follow the order of the projected margin as of the October 26 update, from closest to widest, with Alaska and Maine placed before New Hampshire.

Table 5. The 19 competitive races: projection, polls, structure and ratings

State	Matchup	D chances	Projected margin	Polls only	Structure only	Cook / Sabato
Wisconsin	Crowley vs. Tiffany	59.4%	Crowley +1.3	Crowley +1.9	Tiffany +3.2	Toss-up / Lean D
Oregon	Kotek (i) vs. Drazan	63.1%	Kotek +1.8	Kotek +0.2	Kotek +13.8	Lean D / Lean D
Iowa	Sand vs. Lahn	66.6%	Sand +2.3	Sand +4.0	Lahn +10.5	Lean D / Lean D
Ohio	Acton vs. Ramaswamy	31.5%	Ramaswamy +2.6	Ramaswamy +1.3	Ramaswamy +11.5	Lean D / Lean D
Georgia	Bottoms vs. Jackson	33.5%	Jackson +2.2	Jackson +1.3	Jackson +9.4	Toss-up / Toss-up
Michigan	Benson vs. James	82.9%	Benson +5.0	Benson +6.0	James +2.0	Lean D / Lean D
Colorado	Weiser vs. Marx	64.3%	Weiser +4.9	no polls	Weiser +4.9	Safe D / Safe D
Vermont	Janoo vs. Scott (i)	18.9%	Scott +4.7	Scott +5.2	Scott +1.0	Likely R / Likely R
Minnesota	Klobuchar vs. Demuth	93.9%	Klobuchar +8.2	Klobuchar +9.3	Demuth +0.5	Safe D / Safe D
Nevada	Ford vs. Lombardo (i)	38.2%	Lombardo +1.6	Ford +0.2	Lombardo +14.7	Toss-up / Toss-up
Arizona	Hobbs (i) vs. Biggs	84.7%	Hobbs +5.4	Hobbs +6.0	Hobbs +0.9	Lean D / Lean D
Kansas	Holscher vs. Masterson	20.0%	Masterson +4.4	Masterson +3.8	Masterson +9.5	Lean R / Lean R
Texas	Hinojosa vs. Abbott (i)	14.3%	Abbott +5.6	Abbott +3.7	Abbott +20.4	Lean R / Lean R
New Mexico	Haaland vs. Hull	90.5%	Haaland +6.9	Haaland +7.5	Haaland +2.3	Safe D / Safe D
Florida	Jolly vs. Donalds	7.4%	Donalds +7.7	Donalds +7.2	Donalds +11.0	Lean R / Lean R
Nebraska	L. Walz vs. Pillen (i)	2.1%	Pillen +10.8	Pillen +8.8	Pillen +25.8	Likely R / Likely R
Maine	Pingree vs. Charles	not computed	not computed	not computed	Pingree +1.2	Safe D / Likely D

State	Matchup	D chances	Projected margin	Polls only	Structure only	Cook / Sabato
Alaska	Kreiss-Tomkins vs. Wilson	not computed	not computed	not computed	Taylor +10.6 (see the profile)	Lean D / Lean D
New Hampshire	Warmington vs. Ayotte (i)	2.1%	Ayotte +10.8	Ayotte +10.4	Ayotte +13.7	Likely R / Likely R

Source: Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026; Cook Political Report and Sabato's Crystal Ball, latest ratings known as of October 27, 2026 (see the profiles). "Polls only": adjusted average retained by the model; "structure only": 2024 presidential vote, national environment, incumbency bonus and state-specific effects. (i): incumbent.

Thirteen of the competitive states also vote for a competitive Senate seat. South Carolina is added to them in the table. The two projections follow the same method. Their gap therefore measures ticket splitting.

Table 6. Governor and senator in the same state

State	Governor (D chances, projected margin)	Senate (D or I chances, projected margin)	Difference
New Hampshire	Warmington 2.1%; Ayotte +10.8	Pappas 77.8%; Pappas +5.6	16.4 points in favor of the Senate race
Georgia	Bottoms 33.5%; Jackson +2.2	Ossoff 94.7%; Ossoff +11.7	13.9 points in favor of the Senate race
New Mexico	Haaland 90.5%; Haaland +6.9	Luján 99.7%; Luján +19.9	13.0 points in favor of the Senate race
Texas	Hinojosa 14.3%; Abbott +5.6	Talarico 51.3%; Paxton +0.2	5.8 points in favor of the Senate race
South Carolina	Johnson 2.0%; Wilson +10.9	Andrews 17.0%; D. Graham +7.0	3.9 points in favor of the Senate race
Nebraska	Walz 2.1%; Pillen +10.8	Osborn 24.5%; Ricketts +8.3	2.5 points in favor of the Senate race
Minnesota	Klobuchar 93.9%; Klobuchar +8.2	Flanagan 80.2%; Flanagan +6.2	2.0 points in favor of the governor's race
Kansas	Holscher 20.0%; Masterson +4.4	Hamilton 21.1%; Marshall +5.8	1.4 points in favor of the governor's race
Michigan	Benson 82.9%; Benson +5.0	El-Sayed 65.7%; El-Sayed +2.9	2.1 points in favor of the governor's race
Ohio	Acton 31.5%; Ramaswamy +2.6	Brown 20.5%; Husted +6.0	3.4 points in favor of the governor's race
Florida	Jolly 7.4%; Donalds +7.7	Nixon 5.7%; Moody +11.5	3.8 points in favor of the governor's race
Iowa	Sand 66.6%; Sand +2.3	Turek 29.7%; Hinson +3.9	6.2 points in favor of the governor's race
Maine	Pingree: not computed	Jackson 46.1%; Collins +0.7	not computable
Alaska	Kreiss-Tomkins: not computed	Peltola 18.8%; Sullivan +6.4	not computable

Source: Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026. Difference: gap between the two projections, in favor of the candidate in the race indicated. In Nebraska, the opposition candidate for the Senate is independent Dan Osborn; in Ohio and Florida, the Senate election is a special election.

In New Hampshire and Texas, where Kelly Ayotte and Greg Abbott are defending their seats, the Democratic Senate candidate runs 16.4 and 5.8 points ahead of the one seeking the governorship. In Iowa and Michigan, the

gap runs the other way, by 6.2 and 2.1 points, in favor of Sand and Benson. In Georgia, incumbent Senator Jon Ossoff runs 13.9 points ahead of Keisha Lance Bottoms, his party's candidate for governor, who faces Rick Jackson, a billionaire who has invested at least $108 million of his personal fortune in the campaign.

WISCONSIN: DAVID CROWLEY VS. TOM TIFFANY

The closest governor's race in the country is in Wisconsin, where David Crowley has a 59.4% chance for a projected lead of 1.3 points. The polls put him ahead, but our model reduces that lead, which the state's structure cuts into.

Where the Race Will Be Decided

Wisconsin is the quintessential swing state: five of the last seven presidential elections there were decided by less than one point[20]. It is also, according to Brookings, the swing state that moved least toward Trump between 2020 and 2024[21].

[20] City & State Pennsylvania, “PA-10 debate night: Scott Perry and Janelle Stelson spar over economy, Iran war and elections,” October 2026, https://www.cityandstatepa.com/politics/2026/10/pa-10-debate-night-scott-perry-and-janelle-stelson-spar-over-economy-iran-war-and-elections/416604/.
[21] Brookings, E.J. Dionne and Max Keeney, “What the nation told us in 2024, state by state,” January 2, 2025, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/what-the-nation-told-us-in-2024-state-by-state/.

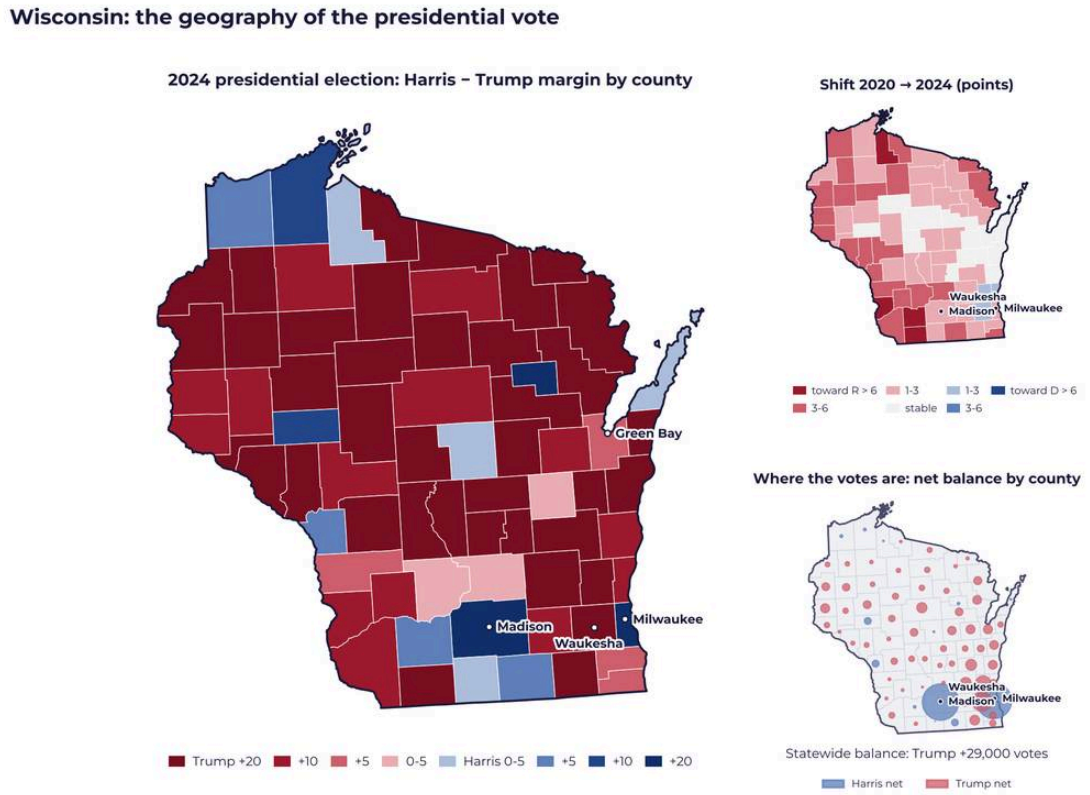


Figure 2. *Wisconsin: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

Wisconsin by the numbers

Benchmark	Value
2020 presidential	Biden wins by 0.63 points
2024 presidential	Trump wins by 0.86 points; Harris wins only 13 of 72 counties
2022 governor	Tony Evers wins by 3.4 points; he is not running again
Key Democratic counties	Milwaukee: Harris +38.5 (Biden +39.9), 13.6% of the vote, net margin of 178,270 votes, down 4,643; Dane (Madison): Harris +51.7, 10.7% of the vote, net margin up 7,156 votes
Milwaukee suburbs	Waukesha, Ozaukee and Washington: 1.0 to 1.8 points toward the Democrats; Waukesha remains Trump +19.8
Swing counties	Kenosha and Racine: Trump +6.2; shift toward Trump of 3.9 points in Rock, 5.9 in Grant; Fox Valley stable
Primaries (August 11)	Crowley 39.81%, Francesca Hong 39.35%, 3,673-vote margin; Tiffany 95.32%, endorsed by Trump[22]

[22] Wikipedia, "2026 Wisconsin gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Wisconsin_gubernatorial_election.

Benchmark	Value
Money	Hendricks and Uihlein: $27.6 million to the state Republican Party, which gave more than $24 million to Tiffany from July 1 to September 23; cash on hand: Tiffany $12 million, Crowley $2.8 million[23]
Advertising (AdImpact)	Tiffany and his allies $53 million, Crowley and his allies about $35 million[24]
Polls	Marquette (September 16-23): Crowley 49% to 46% among likely voters, 46% to 45% among registered voters; Z to A Research for Rust Belt Rising (late September): 49% to 44%; YouGov for City Forward Collective: 46% to 42% among adults[25]
Averages	RealClearPolitics: 47.5% to 44.0%; model (four pollsters, adjusted): Crowley +1.9
Breakdown	structure (12%): Tiffany +3.2; polls (88%): Crowley +1.9
Projection	Crowley +1.3; 90% interval from Tiffany +7.4 to Crowley +9.9
Crowley's chances	59.4% on November 1; 46.2% on August 1, 48.4% on September 1, 50.6% on September 15, 45.4% on October 1, 44.8% on October 15, 51.6% on October 26
Ratings	Cook and Inside Elections: Toss-up; Sabato: Lean Democratic
Cross effects	Democratic Senate: 39.8% on average, 55.3% if Crowley wins, 16.9% if Tiffany wins, 72.9% if Crowley wins by more than 5 points (24% of simulations); House: 90.5% or 59.8%

Sources: Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results, polls and financial data cited in the profile.

Both Democratic strongholds held in 2024. Milwaukee, which Crowley leads, nonetheless gave up a little ground, and Dane is the only one to have gained. The Republican suburbs are drifting slowly to the left, the working-class counties of the southeast and the rural west toward Trump. Crowley will need to turn out Milwaukee, and Tom Tiffany, who represents a mostly rural district in the north of the state[26], the north and the west.

The Candidates and the Campaign

The current governor, Democrat Tony Evers, is not running again. The Democratic candidate, David Crowley, beat the Democratic Socialists of America candidate, Francesca Hong, by a hair in the primary, with a margin of 3,673 votes. Milwaukee County Executive since 2020, David Crowley would be

[23] Wisconsin Examiner, October 1, 2026, https://wisconsinexaminer.com/2026/10/01/democratic-candidate-david-crowley-up-in-polls-down-in-fundraising/.
[24] AP, via La Nación, October 15, 2026, https://www.lanacion.com.ar/usa/wisconsins-republican-candidate-for-governor-keeps-his-distance-from-trump-in-nail-biter-campaign-nid15102026/.
[25] Wikipedia, "2026 Wisconsin gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Wisconsin_gubernatorial_election; Political Wire, October 16, 2026, https://politicalwire.com/2026/10/16/crowley-leads-tiffany-in-wisconsin-governors-race-2/.
[26] AP, republished by La Nación, October 15, 2026, https://www.lanacion.com.ar/usa/wisconsins-republican-candidate-for-governor-keeps-his-distance-from-trump-in-nail-biter-campaign-nid15102026/.

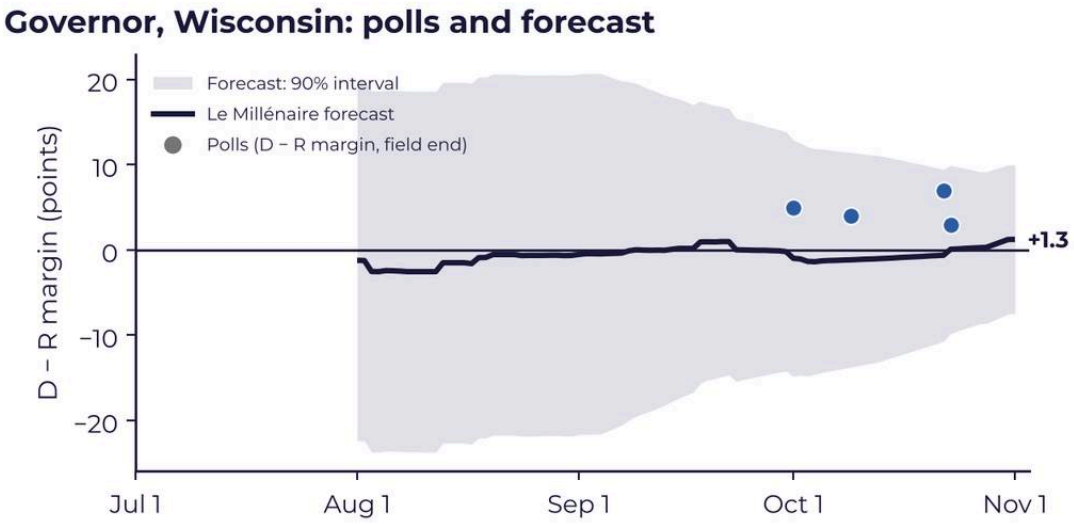
the state's first Black governor[27]. Facing him, Republican Tom Tiffany benefits from the Republican Party's big donors. He is estimated to have received more than 90% of his campaign contributions from three billionaires, Diane Hendricks, Richard Uihlein and Elizabeth Uihlein[28].

According to Marquette, Crowley's net favorability has gone from +4 to −13 points. Republicans nickname him “Data Center David” and attack him over tablets for county inmates. Tiffany sidesteps the question of his support for Trump, at 38% approval in the state, and breaks with him on data centers[29]. Tiffany has also declared himself opposed to the war in Iran. At the only debate, on October 21, he spent 3 minutes and 37 seconds explaining his vote against certifying the 2020 election[30].

The Polls

Few polls since September. All of them put Crowley ahead, including the October Marquette survey[31].

[27] AP, republished by La Nación, October 15, 2026, https://www.lanacion.com.ar/usa/wisconsins-republican-candidate-for-governor-keeps-his-distance-from-trump-in-nail-biter-campaign-nid15102026/.
[28] Wen, A. (2026). Did Tom Tiffany receive more than 90% of his campaign donations from 3 billionaires since July 2026?. Wisconsin Watch. https://wisconsinwatch.org/2026/10/wisconsin-tom-tiffany-campaign-donations-billionaires-hendricks-uihlein-governor-election-republican-party/
[29] Wisconsin Examiner, October 1, 2026, https://wisconsinexaminer.com/2026/10/01/democratic-candidate-david-crowley-up-in-polls-down-in-fundraising/.
[30] Wisconsin Watch, October 23, 2026, https://wisconsinwatch.org/2026/10/by-the-numbers-how-crowley-and-tiffany-used-their-debate-time/.
[31] Wikipedia, “2026 Wisconsin gubernatorial election,” polling table, accessed November 1, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Wisconsin_gubernatorial_election.

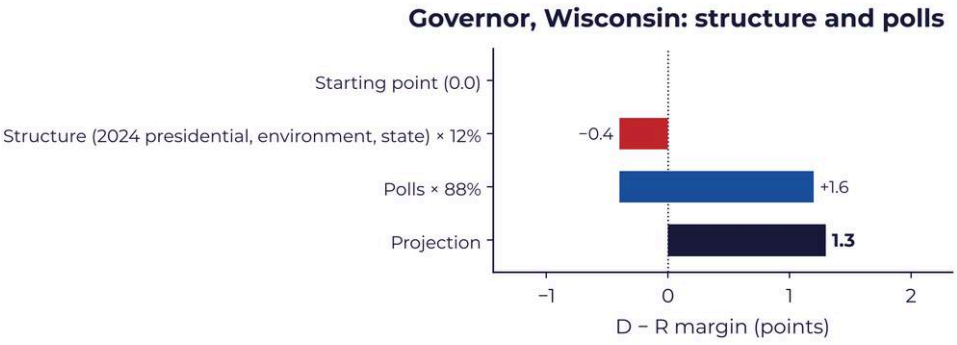


Source: Le Millénaire forecast, updated November 1, 2026. Polls: polls used, as published on the forecast website, one dot per poll at its field end date. Forecast: recomputed day by day with the polls completed by each date.

Figure 3. *Wisconsin: polls (margin between Crowley and Tiffany, end of fieldwork) and Le Millénaire projection with its 90% interval.*

The model keeps only four pollsters. Among recent surveys, its files identify only Marquette, Z to A Research and Wick.

The Model



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026. D – R margin in points. Structure alone: −3.2; polls alone: 1.9.

Figure 4. *Wisconsin: breakdown of the projection into structure (12%) and polls (88%).*

The structure pulls toward Tiffany, the adjusted polls toward Crowley. The result is a narrow Crowley lead, within a very wide interval.

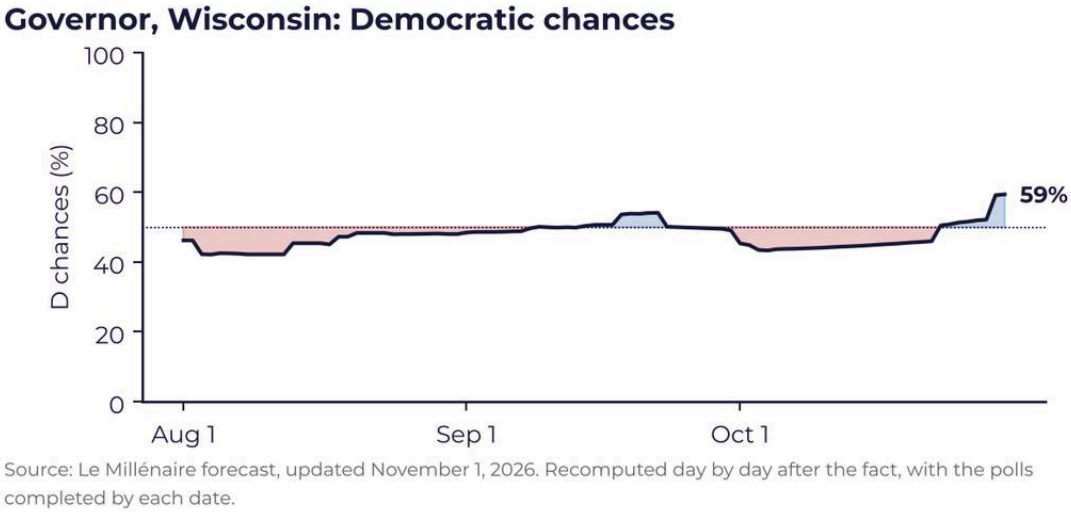


Figure 5. *Wisconsin: Crowley's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Crowley's chances rose until mid-September, fell back in October, then picked up again at the end of the month. The ratings are hesitating too.

Cross Effects

Wisconsin is not electing a senator this year. Its governor's race nonetheless weighs on the Senate and the House in the simulations.

Our Analysis

Crowley leads in the polls, with a Democratic generic ballot advantage of 7.2 points. Yet the model gives him only a 59.4% chance. Tiffany is lining up $53 million in advertising against $35 million, in a state Trump won by 0.86 points in 2024. On November 3, watch turnout in Milwaukee first, then Waukesha and Ozaukee. In our reading, Crowley must narrow the gap in Kenosha, Racine and Brown to win.

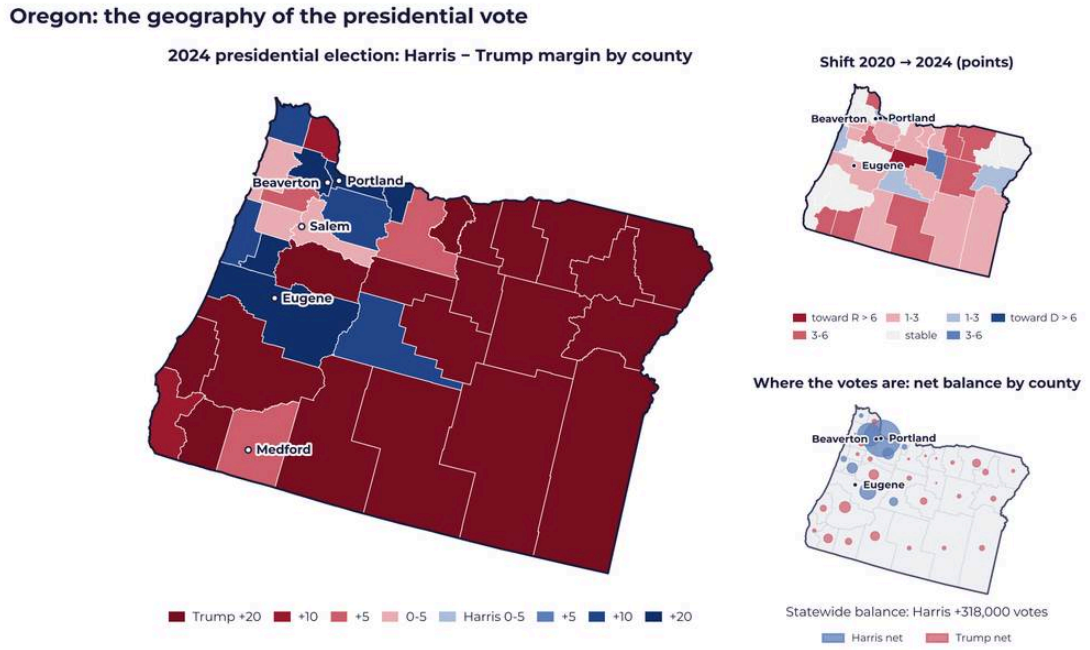
OREGON: TINA KOTEK VS. CHRISTINE DRAZAN

Oregon, won by Harris by 14.3 points in 2024, is a solidly Democratic state. Yet the polls there put Democrat Tina Kotek level with Republican Christine Drazan. This is notable given that Oregon has not elected a Republican governor since 1982. Incumbent Tina Kotek is unpopular; she is criticized for increasing state spending without improving the situation on homelessness,

housing and education. She nonetheless has a 63.1% chance and a projected lead of 1.8 points. It is the state's structure that works to the Democrat's advantage.

Where the Race Will Be Decided

Oregon changed little between 2020 and 2024. Portland and its surroundings supply the bulk of the Democratic vote. Salem swung toward Trump, Bend went the opposite way.



Source: official county results compiled by T. McGovern (github.com/tonmcg), 2020 and 2024 presidential elections; calculations and mapping by Le Millénaire. Circles proportional to the vote margin between Harris and Trump. Gray: unmatched county.

Figure 6. *Oregon: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

Oregon by the numbers

Benchmark	Value
2020 presidential	Biden +16.1
2024 presidential	Harris +14.3; 9 of 36 counties
Key Democratic counties	Multnomah (Portland, 18.5% of the vote): Harris +62.1; Washington: +34.0; Lane (Eugene): +23.1
Swing counties	Marion (Salem): from Democratic +1.1 to Trump +2.0; Deschutes (Bend): 1.9 points toward the Democrats

Benchmark	Value
2022 governor	Kotek 47.0%, Drazan 43.6%, Betsy Johnson (independent) 8.6%[32]
Primaries	Kotek 83.6%; Drazan 40.5%, Ed Diehl 33.0%, Chris Dudley 16.9%[33]
Money raised	Kotek more than $10.1 million[34]
Cash on hand at end of September	Kotek $8.3 million, Drazan $965,000; neither Trump nor the RGA is backing Drazan, unlike in 2022[35]
Image (DHM for OPB)	favorable opinions: Kotek 38%, Drazan 45%[36]; 60% unfavorable opinions for Kotek[37]
DHM Research polls	Grow Oregon (mid-September): Drazan 45%, Kotek 43%; OPB (September 17-27): Drazan 46%, Kotek 44%; The Oregonian (September 24-October 1): Kotek 46%, Drazan 44%
Kotek internal poll (GBAO, October)	Kotek 46%, Drazan 42%, Smith 6%; no public poll after October 4[38]
Breakdown	structure: Kotek +13.8; adjusted polls (88%): Kotek +0.2
Projection	Kotek +1.8; 90% interval from Drazan +6.9 to Kotek +10.5
Kotek's chances	63.1%; 83.1% on September 1, 54.7% on September 15, then between 62.5% and 66.6%
Ratings and markets	Cook and Sabato: Lean Democratic; prediction markets: about 80 to 83% for Kotek according to MultiState
Cross effects	Kotek wins: Democratic Senate 52.3%, House 89.9%; Drazan wins: 18.1% and 57.5%; Drazan prevails in 37% of simulations, narrowly in 27%

Sources: Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results, polls and financial data cited in the profile.

Kotek had already beaten Drazan in 2022, in a three-way race. She was trailing in the polls in October at the time[39].

The Candidates and the Campaign

Drazan won a contested primary. The Pacific Green Party candidate, Brett Smith, may take votes to Kotek's left. On money, the gap is overwhelmingly in the incumbent's favor.

Kotek is unpopular because her opponent is talking about the cost of living, homelessness and schools. Kotek responds by tying Drazan to Donald Trump,

[32] Wikipedia, “2022 United States gubernatorial elections,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_United_States_gubernatorial_elections.
[33] Wikipedia, “2026 Oregon gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Oregon_gubernatorial_election.
[34] Oregon Capital Chronicle, October 2026, https://oregoncapitalchronicle.com/?p=22980.
[35] MultiState, “Oregon 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/oregon-2026.
[36] MultiState, “Oregon 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/oregon-2026.
[37] OPB, September 30, 2026, https://opb.org/pressroom/oregon-governors-race-remains-tight-with-share-of-undecideds-shrinking-according-to-new-opb-commissioned-poll.
[38] OPB, October 8, 2026, https://www.opb.org/article/2026/10/08/new-polls-kotek-may-lead/; Newsweek, October 9, 2026, https://www.newsweek.com/oregon-governor-race-poll-kotek-drazan-12548869.
[39] OPB, October 8, 2026, https://www.opb.org/article/2026/10/08/new-polls-kotek-may-lead/.

from tariffs to the deployment of troops in Portland. In Medford, on October 7, both candidates rejected the idea of imposing a *sales tax*.

The Polls

Four polls since September, from two pollsters. DHM went from a narrow Drazan lead to a narrow Kotek lead, and the only October survey comes from the Kotek campaign.

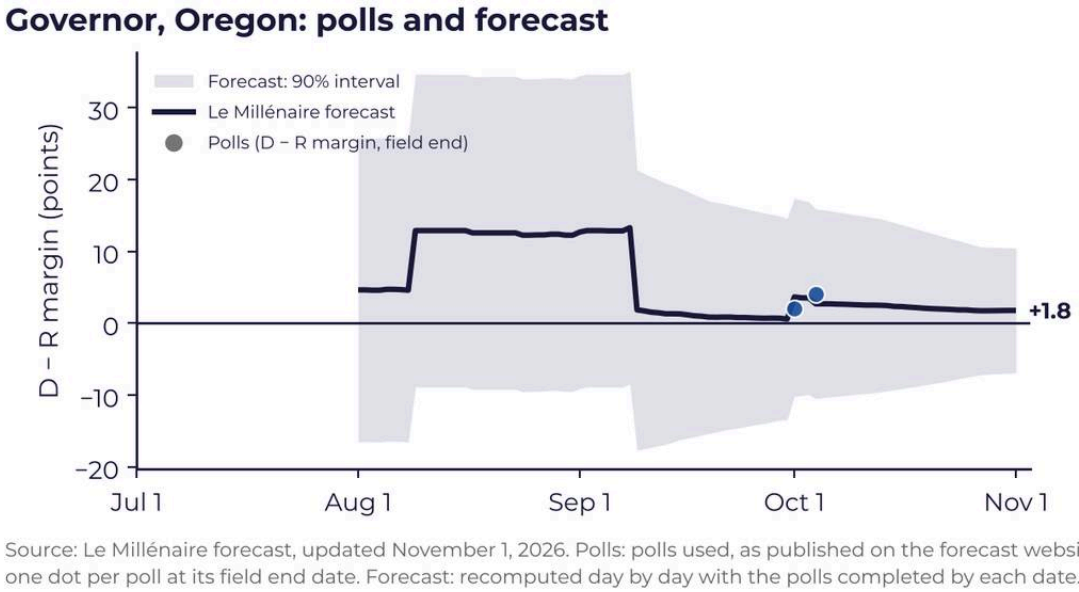


Figure 7. *Oregon: polls (margin between Kotek and Drazan) and Le Millénaire projection.*

The Model

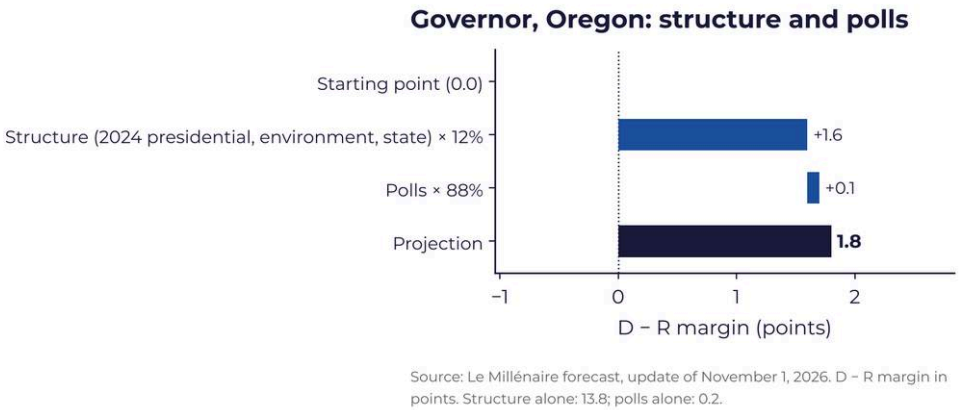


Figure 8. *Oregon: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

Structure and polls diverge here more than almost anywhere else. Once the internal poll is brought down to its proper weight, the polls no longer separate

the two candidates. The structure, for its part, puts Kotek far ahead. Since the polls carry the most weight, the projection leaves her only a narrow lead. Her chances, very high before the first DHM poll, dropped all at once, then stabilized.

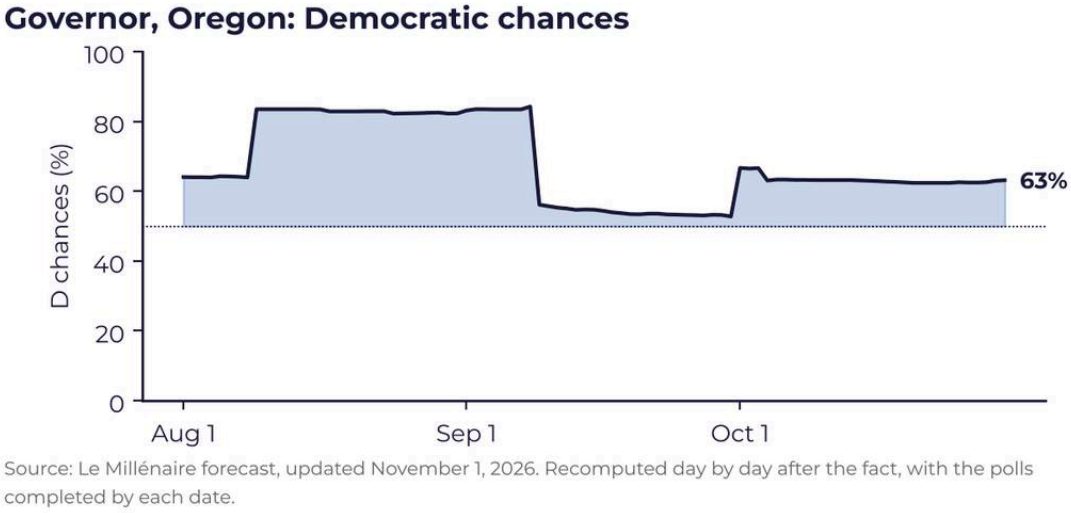


Figure 9. *Oregon: Kotek's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Cross Effects

A Drazan win would be among the strongest signals of a Republican night. When she wins in the simulations, it is most often narrowly.

Our Analysis

Kotek starts as the favorite, with $8.3 million in cash on hand against $965,000 for Drazan. Neither Donald Trump nor the RGA is backing her rival. Yet no public poll shows her well ahead. She needs to win back Marion, hold Clackamas and Deschutes, and keep the Green candidate Brett Smith under 5%.

IOWA: ROB SAND VS. ZACH LAHN

Iowa, won by Donald Trump by 13.2 points in 2024. With Republican Governor Kim Reynolds retiring, the race is open. Rob Sand, the state auditor, nonetheless leads in every poll published since September. He faces Zach

Lahn, the surprise winner of the Republican primary. The Le Millénaire projection gives Sand a 66.6% chance and a 2.3-point lead.

Where the Race Will Be Decided

Iowa shifted markedly toward Trump between 2020 and 2024, first of all in the east, along the Mississippi. Davenport flipped, Waterloo is nearly lost. Des Moines and the college towns remain Democratic, though they too are receding.

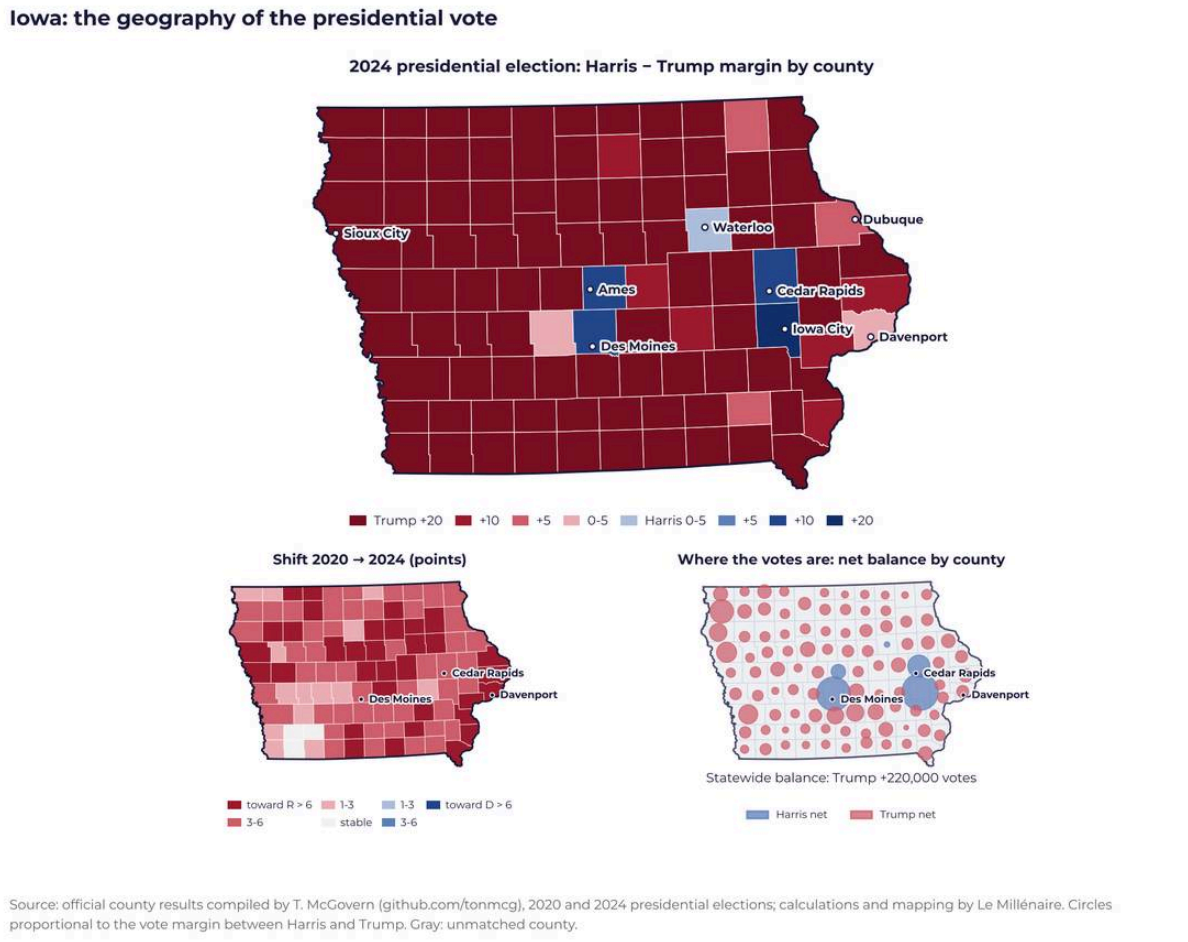


Figure 10. *Iowa: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

Iowa by the numbers

Benchmark	Value
2020 presidential	Trump +8.2
2024 presidential	Trump +13.2; Harris wins only 5 of 99 counties
Key Democratic counties	Polk (Des Moines, 15.4% of the vote) +10.9; Linn (Cedar Rapids) +9.9; Johnson (Iowa City) +38.1; Story (Ames) +10.4

Benchmark	Value
Swing counties	Scott (Davenport): from Biden +3.5 to Trump +3.9; Black Hawk (Waterloo): 7.9 points lost, Democratic +1.2; shifts of 8.5 points in Clinton and Lee, 7.9 in Muscatine, 5.7 in Dubuque
2022 governor	Reynolds 58.0% to 39.5%
Republican primary (June 2)	Lahn 37.7%, Randy Feenstra (endorsed by Trump) 36.9%; Sand the only Democrat[40]
Spending	about $81 million, a state record: about $54 million for Sand, $27 million for Lahn
Fundraising from July 15 to October 14	Lahn $16.9 million, Sand $16.3 million; RGA: $11.8 million over the period, $16.8 million in total (69% of Lahn's contributions excluding loans); DGA: $5.5 million over the period, $8 million in 2026; MAHA Action: $1 million; Lahn's loan to his campaign: $2.5 million[41]
Polls since September 1	fourteen, all favorable to Sand, by 4 to 12 points; RealClearPolitics: 50.7% to 44.0%
Nonpartisan pollsters	YouGov 51-41 (early September) then 50-44 (mid-October); New York Times and Siena 52-41; CNN and SSRS 51-42; Marist 52-45 (October 8-11)
Republican pollsters	co/efficient 49-45 (October 15-19); Cygnal: Sand +4[42]
Breakdown	adjusted average of eleven pollsters: Sand +4.0; structure alone: Lahn +10.5
Projection	Sand +2.3; 90% interval from Lahn +6.4 to Sand +11.0
Sand's chances	66.6% on November 1; 40.9% on August 1 (Lahn +3.0), 38.8% on September 1, 48.1% on September 15, 54.5% on October 1, 56.5% on October 15, 65.8% on October 26
Ratings	Cook and Sabato: Lean Democratic; Inside Elections: Tilt Democratic
Senate	Ashley Hinson 70.3% chance, +3.9 over Josh Turek, a 6.2-point gap with Sand's projection
Early voting (October 23)	207,858 absentee ballots received; registered Democrats +18.9 (against 23.8 in 2022); Le Millénaire estimate: Democrats +15.3, after an 8.1-point miss in 2024[43]
Cross effects	Democratic Senate: 53.0% if Sand wins, 13.3% if Lahn wins; 4.7% for Turek if Lahn wins by 5 points or less

Sources: Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results, polls and financial data cited in the profile.

Sand needs to win back part of the east and limit his losses in small towns.

The Candidates and the Campaign

Zach Lahn, the Republican candidate and a farmer backed by the MAHA (*Make America Healthy Again*) movement, narrowly defeated Randy Feenstra, who nonetheless had Donald Trump's endorsement. Lahn wants to eliminate the income tax. His proposals include safety testing of agricultural products,

[40] Wikipedia, "2026 Iowa gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Iowa_gubernatorial_election.
[41] Newsweek, October 21, 2026, https://www.newsweek.com/iowa-governors-race-is-most-expensive-in-state-history-whos-funding-it-12599752.
[42] Wikipedia, "2026 Iowa gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Iowa_gubernatorial_election; 270toWin, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/iowa.
[43] State election offices, Le Millénaire tallies as of October 23, 2026, https://election.lemillenaire.org/etats-unis/vote-anticipe/2026/.

cancer research, improving water quality and measures to fight agricultural monopolies through antitrust enforcement. It is for these reasons that his message appeals to voters receptive to the MAHA movement. For his part, Democrat Rob Sand proposes a “top four” primary, universal pre-K and the legalization of cannabis[44]. His strategy is to reach voters beyond the Democratic Party, emphasizing government accountability, the diversification of farm income, a higher minimum wage and regional tax credits for farmland conservation practices. According to PolitiFact, the $7,500 in savings per family announced by Lahn is “false”: the estimate is closer to $3,500[45].

No race has cost as much in the state's history. Lahn depends heavily on the Republican Governors Association (RGA). Sand, for his part, can count on his family, which has given $13.1 million to his campaigns since 2018 according to KCRG[46].

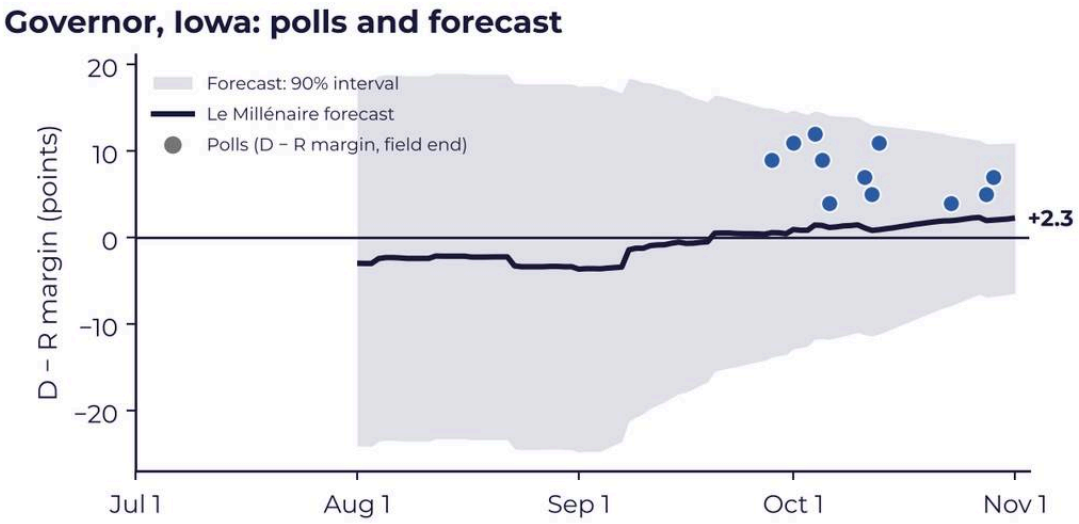
Two debates have taken place, on October 6 in Davenport and on October 14 on KTIV. The Iowa PBS debate, on October 21, was canceled: Sand had withdrawn after the death of his brother-in-law. A final debate (KCRG and The Gazette) took place on October 27[47], with the funding of private and public schools remaining a point of contention between the two candidates[48].

The Polls

The nonpartisan pollsters converge, and even the Republican ones put Sand ahead. One point remains to be checked. Newsweek presents Marist's October poll as conducted among 1,100 registered voters, whereas Marist refers to likely voters.

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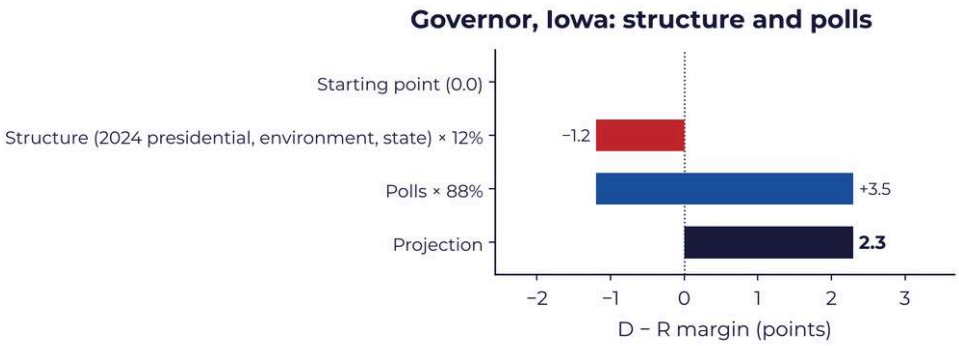
[44] MultiState, “Iowa 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/iowa-2026.
[45] MultiState, “Iowa 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/iowa-2026.
[46] MultiState, “Iowa 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/iowa-2026.
[47] Wikipedia, “2026 Iowa gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Iowa_gubernatorial_election; MultiState, “Iowa 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/iowa-2026; KTTC, October 6, 2026, https://www.kttc.com/2026/10/06/here-are-takeaways-iowas-governor-debate/.
[48] Barton, T. (2026). 5 takeaways from final Iowa governor debate between Rob Sand and Zach Lahn. IPR. https://www.iowapublicradio.org/state-government-news/2026-10-28/five-takeaways-final-iowa-governor-debate-rob-sand-and-zach-lahn-midterms-elections-healthcare-cancer-water-quality



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, updated November 1, 2026. Polls: polls used, as published on the forecast website, one dot per poll at its field end date. Forecast: recomputed day by day with the polls completed by each date.

Figure 11. *Iowa: polls (margin between Sand and Lahn) and Le Millénaire projection.*

The Model



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026. D − R margin in points. Structure alone: −10.5; polls alone: 4.0.

Figure 12. *Iowa: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

The adjustments take nearly four points off the raw average. The structure pulls hard toward Lahn. Sand is left with a modest lead.

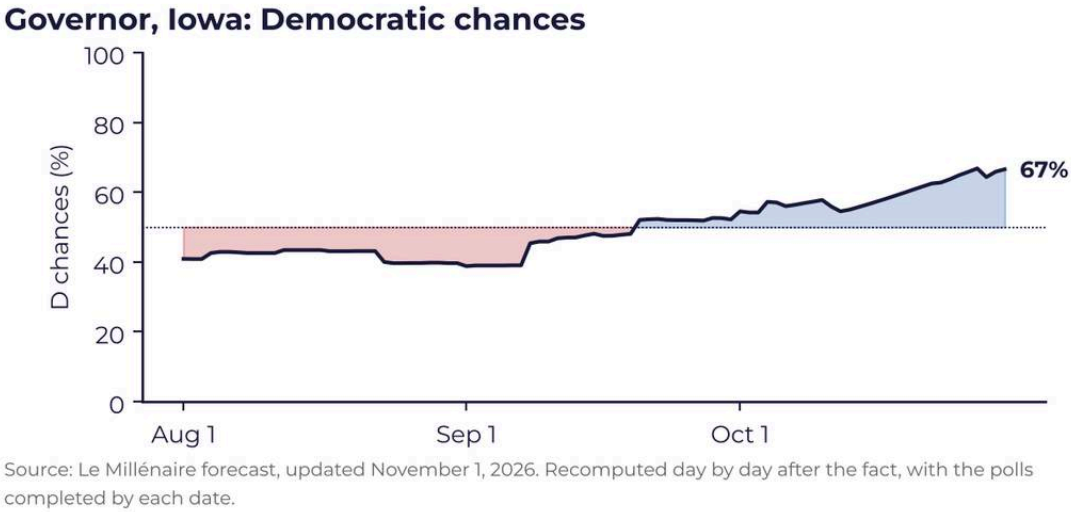


Figure 13. *Iowa: Sand's chances since August 1, 2026.*

In August, Sand was projected to lose. The September and October polls, all favorable, moved him ahead, then widened the gap.

Governor and Senate

The Senate contest leans the other way, toward Republican Ashley Hinson. In Marist's October poll, Sand had 52% to 45% and Turek 48% to 45%[49]. For Sand to win when Hinson prevails, some Hinson voters will have to vote for Sand.

Early Voting and Cross Effects

Democrats lead in absentee ballots, by less than in 2022. The estimate Le Millénaire derives from them is favorable to Democrats, but it was clearly off in 2024. A Lahn win, even a narrow one, would leave Turek very little chance.

Our Analysis

Scott, Dubuque and Black Hawk will tell on election night whether Sand is running ahead of Turek. Trump had won Scott by 3.9 points. Turek, for his part, trails by 3.9 points in our Senate projection. Sand leads in all fourteen polls published since September 1. His projected margin of 2.3 points nonetheless remains below the national polling errors of 2016, 2020 and 2024 (Table 3).

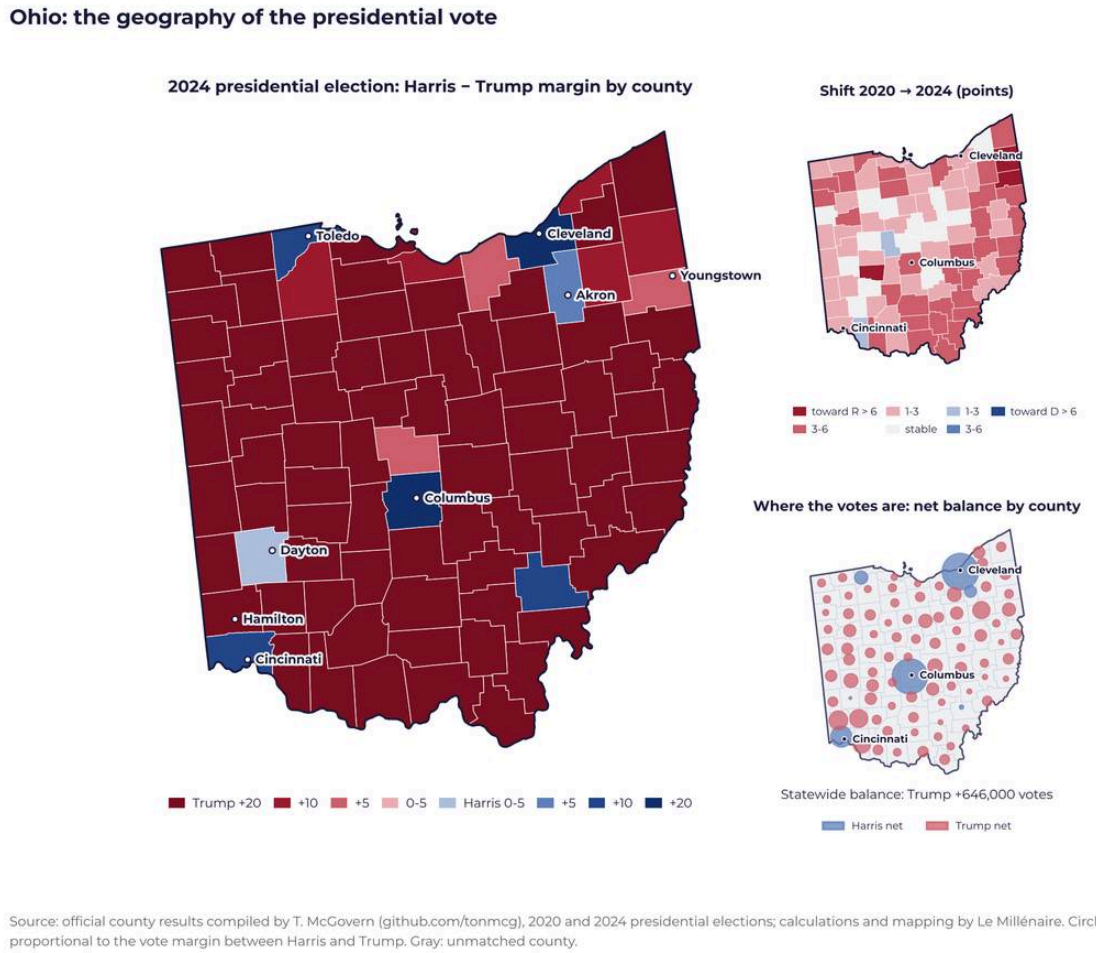
[49] Marist Poll, October 15, 2026, https://maristpoll.marist.edu/polls/2026-midterm-elections-in-iowa-october-2026/.

OHIO: AMY ACTON VS. VIVEK RAMASWAMY

In Ohio, Democrat Amy Acton leads in most polls published since September 1, and Cook and Sabato both rate the race “Lean Democratic.” Yet our projection gives Republican Vivek Ramaswamy a 68.5% chance, with a 2.6-point lead. Nowhere is the gap between the model and the two analysts sharper.

Where the Race Will Be Decided

Ohio shifted toward Trump between 2020 and 2024. The state has not elected a Democratic governor since 2006[50]. The Democratic vote rests mainly on the big-city counties, and the two largest have receded.



Source: official county results compiled by T. McGovern (github.com/tonmcg), 2020 and 2024 presidential elections; calculations and mapping by Le Millénaire. Circles proportional to the vote margin between Harris and Trump. Gray: unmatched county.

Figure 14. *Ohio: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

[50] Onmanorama, October 20, 2026, https://www.onmanorama.com/news/world/2026/10/20/what-are-vivek-ramaswamy-s-chances-of-winning-ohio-s-governor-contest.html.

Ohio by the numbers

Benchmark	Value
2020 presidential	Trump +8.0
2024 presidential	Trump +11.2, a 3.2-point shift; Harris wins only 7 of 88 counties
Key Democratic counties	Franklin (Columbus, 10.4% of the vote) +28.4; Cuyahoga (Cleveland, 10.0%) +31.5; Hamilton (Cincinnati, 7.1%) +14.9
Democratic decline 2020-2024	Franklin and Cuyahoga: about 3 points, more than 28,000 votes of net margin each
Industrial northeast	Mahoning (Youngstown): 7.5-point shift, Trump +9.4; Trumbull: 6.2-point shift
2022 governor	Mike DeWine 62.4% to 37.4%, a 25-point margin
Primaries (May 5)	Ramaswamy 82.4% against Casey Putsch; Acton unopposed, 767,360 votes[51]
Contributions (July, August, September)	Acton: $5.8 million, $4 million, a little over $6 million; Ramaswamy: about $4 million, a little under $2.6 million, a little over $3 million, plus personal loans of more than $5 million in August and September, for a total of more than $36 million in personal funds[52]
Ad about Acton's mother	bought for $4 million by Ramaswamy
Polls (Table 7)	Acton ahead in 11 of 14; raw average: Acton +3.6
Breakdown	adjusted average of fourteen pollsters: Ramaswamy +1.3 (including a historical correction of 2.3 points); structure (12%): Ramaswamy +11.5
Projection	Ramaswamy +2.6; 90% interval from Ramaswamy +11.2 to Acton +6.1
Acton's chances	31.5%; 25.5% on September 1, peaking at 36.0% on October 15
Ratings	Sabato (October 22) then Cook (October 23): from Toss-up to Lean Democratic; Decision Desk HQ: 60% for Acton
Senate	Sherrod Brown +0.5 in the polling average; projection: Jon Husted +6.0, Brown 20.5% chance; Cook poll: Brown 49% to 43%, Acton 49% to 44%[53]
Cross effects	Acton wins: Democratic Senate from 39.8% to 70.6%, House 95.8%, 25.3 Democratic governors expected; Ramaswamy wins: Senate 25.7%; Brown wins in 40.2% of Acton's narrow victories, Acton in 69.1% of Brown's narrow victories

Sources: Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results, polls and financial data cited in the profile.

The Republican shift was strongest in the old industrial valley of the northeast and in the Appalachian counties of the southeast, Scioto, Jefferson or Perry. The affluent suburbs of Columbus and Cincinnati, Delaware, Union and Clermont, moved slightly toward the Democrats instead. They remain Republican.

[51] Wikipedia, "2026 Ohio gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Ohio_gubernatorial_election.
[52] Ohio Capital Journal, via News From The States, October 13, 2026, https://www.newsfromthestates.com/node/432381.
[53] Political.org, October 23, 2026, https://political.org/2026/10/23/cook-political-report-shifts-ohio-governors-race-to-lean-democrat-after-ramaswamy-attack-ad-featuring-amy-actons-mother/.

The Candidates and the Campaign

Term-limited, Mike DeWine is backing Ramaswamy. No debate has taken place. Ramaswamy had accepted those of CNN and WLWT on September 2; Acton declined them, citing misleading ads. Both camps are raising comparable sums, but Ramaswamy is also drawing on his personal funds. Ramaswamy is campaigning on a promise to eliminate the state income tax, and wants to pass a 90-day suspension of the state gas tax. Ramaswamy and his allies had spent $101 million on ads against Acton.

The end of the campaign was dominated by a Ramaswamy ad in which Donna Arthur, Acton's biological mother, accuses her daughter of lying about her childhood. Acton has said she was abused by her stepfather and removed from her mother at age 12. Mike DeWine called the ad “deeply troubling” and asked that it be taken down. Jon Husted and Frank LaRose said they probably would not have aired it. Vice President JD Vance defended the right to air it[54]. It was following this ad that Sabato and then Cook shifted the race toward the Democrats[55].

The Polls

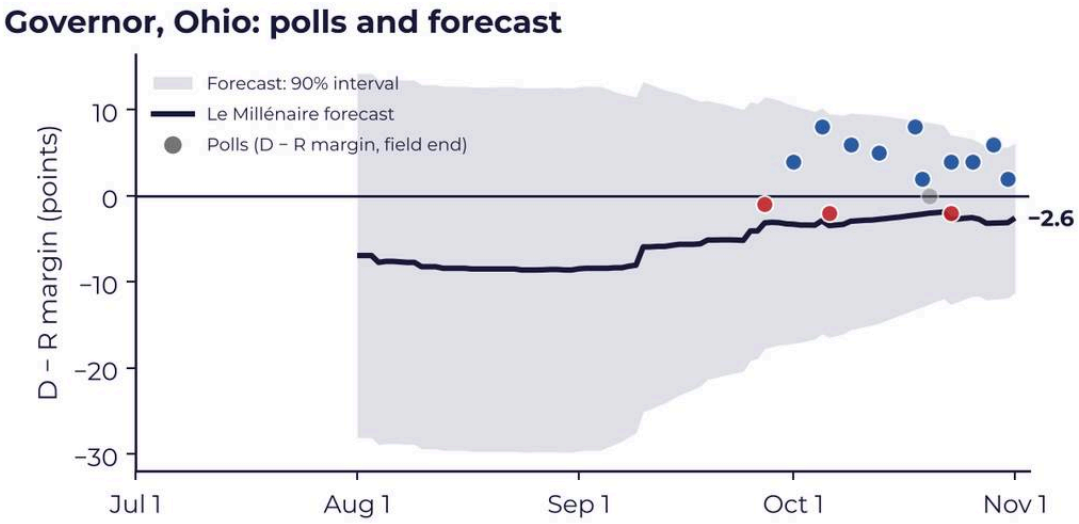
[54] Newsweek, around October 22, 2026, https://www.newsweek.com/ohio-governor-race-shifts-amy-acton-attack-ad-12605473.
[55] Political.org, October 23, 2026, https://political.org/2026/10/23/cook-political-report-shifts-ohio-governors-race-to-lean-democrat-after-ramaswamy-attack-ad-featuring-amy-actons-mother/.

Table 7. Ohio: polls published since September 1

Pollster (sponsor)	End of fieldwork	Sample	Acton	Ramaswamy	Lead
Bowling Green State University / YouGov	September 10	1,000 LV	48	45	Acton +3
YouGov	September 30	3,780 LV	48	44	Acton +4
Suffolk University	September 27	500 LV	50	41	Acton +9
Marist	September 27	1,298 RV	50	44	Acton +6
Big Data Poll (R)	September 27	680 LV	47	48	Ramaswamy +1
New York Times / Siena	October 1	616 LV	49	45	Acton +4
SSRS (CNN)	October 5	760 LV	50	42	Acton +8
co/efficient (R)	October 6	925 LV	43	45	Ramaswamy +2
Bowling Green State University / YouGov	October 9	1,000 LV	50	44	Acton +6
Marist	October 18	1,176 LV	50	43	Acton +7
ActiVote	October 19	400 LV	49	51	Ramaswamy +2
Fox News	October 21	1,592 LV	50	48	Acton +2
New River Strategies / GS Strategy Group (Cook)	October 21	959 LV	49	44	Acton +5
Verasight	October 22	531 LV	46	45	Acton +1

Source: Wikipedia, "2026 Ohio gubernatorial election"; 270toWin; Newsweek; Political.org (accessed October 27, 2026). LV: likely voters; RV: registered voters. (R): Republican pollster.

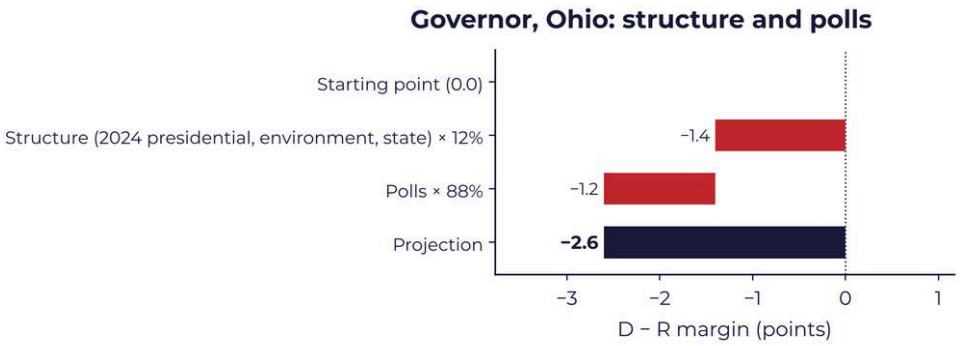
In the final week, Acton's lead is narrowing: 7 points with Marist, 5 in the bipartisan poll commissioned by Cook, 2 with Fox News, just one with Verasight. Her best numbers dated from late September and early October, with Suffolk and SSRS.



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, updated November 1, 2026. Polls: polls used, as published on the forecast website, one dot per poll at its field end date. Forecast: recomputed day by day with the polls completed by each date.

Figure 15. *Ohio: polls (margin between Acton and Ramaswamy) and Le Millénaire projection.*

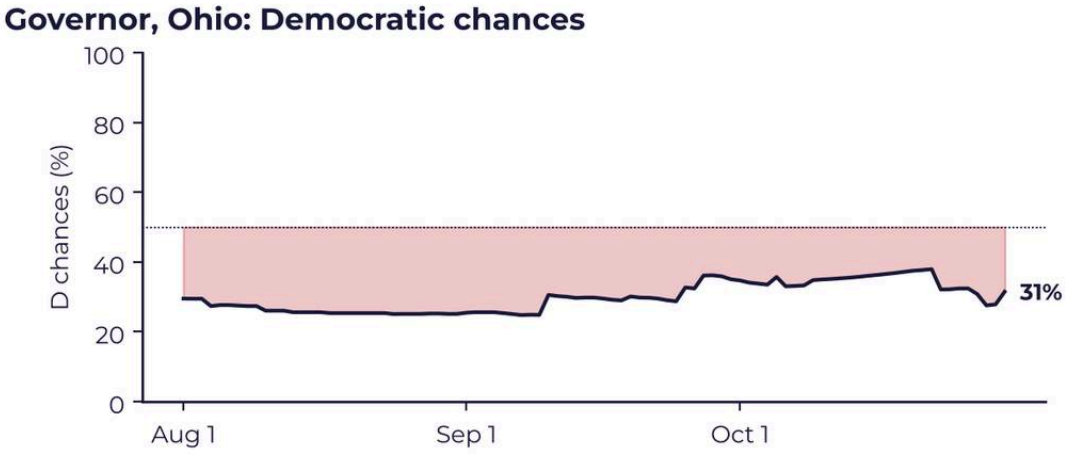
The Model



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026. D − R margin in points. Structure alone: −11.5; polls alone: −1.3.

Figure 16. *Ohio: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

Where does the gap of nearly five points between the raw average and the adjusted average come from? First, we keep only one wave per pollster, and the most recent ones carry more weight. This gives weight to the close polls of the final week. Next comes the adjustment for each pollster's house effects, then the adjustment for historical polling error, applied to the Democrat in every state. The structure does the rest.



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, updated November 1, 2026. Recomputed day by day after the fact, with the polls completed by each date.

Figure 17. *Ohio: Acton's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Acton's chances fell back after mid-October, with tighter polls. The effect of the ad about her mother cannot yet be measured.

Why Our Reading Differs from Cook's and Sabato's

Cook and Sabato read the raw polls, favorable to Acton almost everywhere, and a campaign in which Mike DeWine disavowed Ramaswamy's ad. The model, by contrast, starts from Ohio's track record. In 2018, Republicans there had been underestimated by about 6 points according to the Crystal Ball[56]. Yet the average adjustment is only 2.3 points. An error of comparable size would therefore hand the win to Ramaswamy.

In the Senate race, the same mismatch appears: Brown leads in the polls, Husted in the projection. The 3.4-point gap between the projections of the two Democrats comes down to the two models.

Cross Effects

In the simulations, Acton's result weighs on the whole night, and Ohio's two contests often go together.

[56] Newsweek, around October 22, 2026, https://www.newsweek.com/ohio-governor-race-shifts-amy-acton-attack-ad-12605473.

Our Analysis

Ohio. Acton has a 3.6-point lead in the raw polls, Ramaswamy 2.6 in the projection. To win, the Democrat must do better than Harris in Franklin (+28.4 in 2024) and Cuyahoga (+31.5). Each lost more than 28,000 votes of Democratic net margin between 2020 and 2024. She also needs to gain ground in Delaware County, an affluent suburb of Columbus.

GEORGIA: KEISHA LANCE BOTTOMS VS. RICK JACKSON

In Georgia, Democrat Jon Ossoff is a strong favorite for the Senate. In the governor's race, however, our model puts Republican Rick Jackson ahead. Polls almost always show him leading or tied, often narrowly, and the state's structure reinforces his advantage.

Where the race will be decided

Harris won only a small minority of counties. Yet Atlanta's four large counties account for one third of the statewide vote, and the northern part of the metro area did not move.

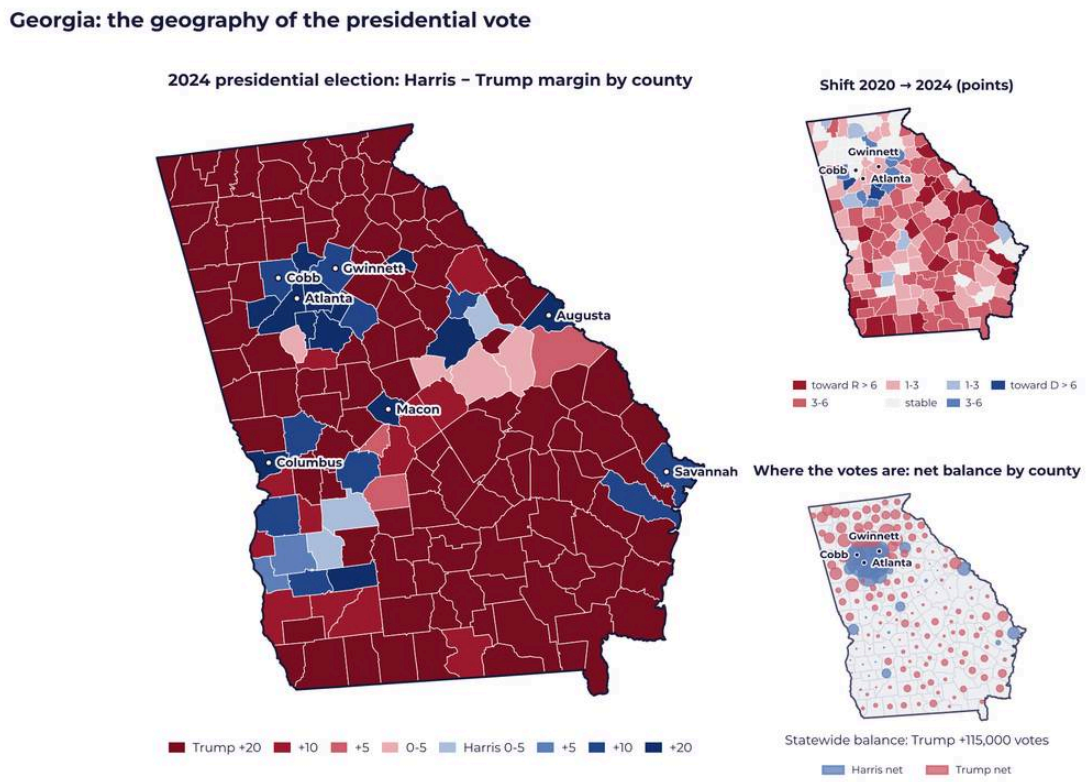


Figure 18. *Georgia: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote balance by county (proportional circles).*

Georgia by the numbers

Indicator	Value
2020 presidential	Biden +0.2
2024 presidential	Trump +2.2; Harris wins 27 of 159 counties
2022 governor	Kemp beats Abrams by 7.5 points
Republican primary	First round: Jones 38.4%, Jackson 32.5%; June 16 runoff: Jackson 52.6%, Jones 47.4%[57]
Democratic primary	Bottoms 56.2% on May 19
Key Democratic counties	DeKalb Harris +64.8, Fulton +44.9, Gwinnett +16.5, Cobb +14.9
Republican strongholds	Hall Trump +43.8, Cherokee Trump +39.0
Counties on the move (2020 to 2024)	Henry 9.2 points toward the Democrats (Harris +29.7, net gain of 13,087 votes), Rockdale 6.7, Douglas 6.3, Paulding 4.9, Newton 4.2, Cobb 0.6; toward Trump: Liberty −6.6, Lowndes −6.0, Bulloch −5.3

[57] Wikipedia, "2026 Georgia gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Georgia_gubernatorial_election.

Indicator	Value
Money	Jackson: at least $108 million of his own money through June[58]; $118.9 million raised as of July 31, $5.8 million for Bottoms
Ad reservations	About $76 million for Jackson, about $8 million for Bottoms[59]
Approval	Kemp near 70%, Trump 41% in Georgia
Enthusiasm	68% of Democrats “very enthusiastic,” 48% of Republicans[60]
Voter groups (University of Georgia)	Bottoms 88% of Black voters and +5 among independents; Jackson 66% of white voters[61]
Suburbs (Quantus)	Jackson +3, Ossoff +13[62]
Early voting	Record first day, more than 190,000 ballots[63]
Polls (Jackson vs. Bottoms)	Quantus 49.0% to 47.5% (October 15 to 17); InsiderAdvantage 49% to 47% (October 12 and 13); University of Georgia for the AJC 46% to 45% (October 7 to 15); YouGov 46% to 44% (mid-September)[64]
Averages	RealClearPolitics 47.8% to 46.6%; adjusted average of 8 pollsters: Jackson +1.3; 8 polls since September 1, four of them from Republican pollsters
Projection	Structure Jackson +9.4; projection Jackson +2.2; 90% interval from Jackson +10.9 to Bottoms +6.4
Chances	Jackson 66.5%
Bottoms's chances since August	43.1% (August 1), 38.4% (September 1), 33.9% (September 15), 27.4% (October 1), then 26.1%, 25.2% (October 26) and 33.5% (November 1)
Ratings	Cook, Sabato, Inside Elections: Toss-up
Markets	About 62 to 63% for the Democrats (MultiState)
Senate	Ossoff 94.7%, projected lead of 11.7 points over Mike Collins, 13.9 more than Bottoms
Cross-race effects	Bottoms win: Senate 58.8%, House 93.8%; Jackson win: Senate 30.1%; Ossoff 98.8% when Jackson wins narrowly

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

Only one region shifted clearly toward the Democrats: Atlanta's outer southern and eastern suburbs, led by Henry. The rural south went the other way.

The candidates and the campaign

Republican Rick Jackson beat Burt Jones in the primary runoff, even though Donald Trump backed his opponent. Brian Kemp had endorsed him at the last

[58] Atlanta Journal-Constitution, October 20, 2026, https://www.ajc.com/politics/2026/10/rick-jackson-has-outspent-keisha-lance-bottoms-but-democratic-enthusiasm-has-the-race-knotted/.
[59] MultiState, “Georgia 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/georgia-2026.
[60] Atlanta Journal-Constitution, October 20, 2026, https://www.ajc.com/politics/2026/10/rick-jackson-has-outspent-keisha-lance-bottoms-but-democratic-enthusiasm-has-the-race-knotted/.
[61] Atlanta Journal-Constitution, October 20, 2026, https://www.ajc.com/politics/2026/10/rick-jackson-has-outspent-keisha-lance-bottoms-but-democratic-enthusiasm-has-the-race-knotted/.
[62] Atlanta News First, October 19, 2026, https://www.atlantanewsfirst.com/2026/10/19/new-georgia-poll-ossoff-leads-by-nearly-7-jackson-dolezal-cling-narrow-edges/.
[63] MultiState, “Georgia 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/georgia-2026.
[64] Wikipedia, “2026 Georgia gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Georgia_gubernatorial_election; Atlanta News First, October 14, 2026, https://www.atlantanewsfirst.com/2026/10/14/new-poll-shows-jackson-leading-bottoms-despite-skipping-gpb-governors-debate/.

minute[65]. Keisha Lance Bottoms, a former mayor of Atlanta, had won the Democratic primary outright in the first round.

Jackson is a health care billionaire who is self-funding most of his campaign. Trump has endorsed him since July, and Obama has backed Bottoms since October 8. Even so, the Republican prefers to appear alongside Kemp, who is far more popular than the president in Georgia. He skipped a Trump rally in Macon and declined the October 12 debate. He promises to cut the income tax in half. Bottoms wants to expand Medicaid and lift the six-week abortion ban.

The polls

Until late October, no poll released since September 1 put Bottoms ahead. Half of them, however, came from pollsters rated as Republican. The last two polls used by the model, from Echelon Insights and State Navigate, have her ahead by one and three points[66].

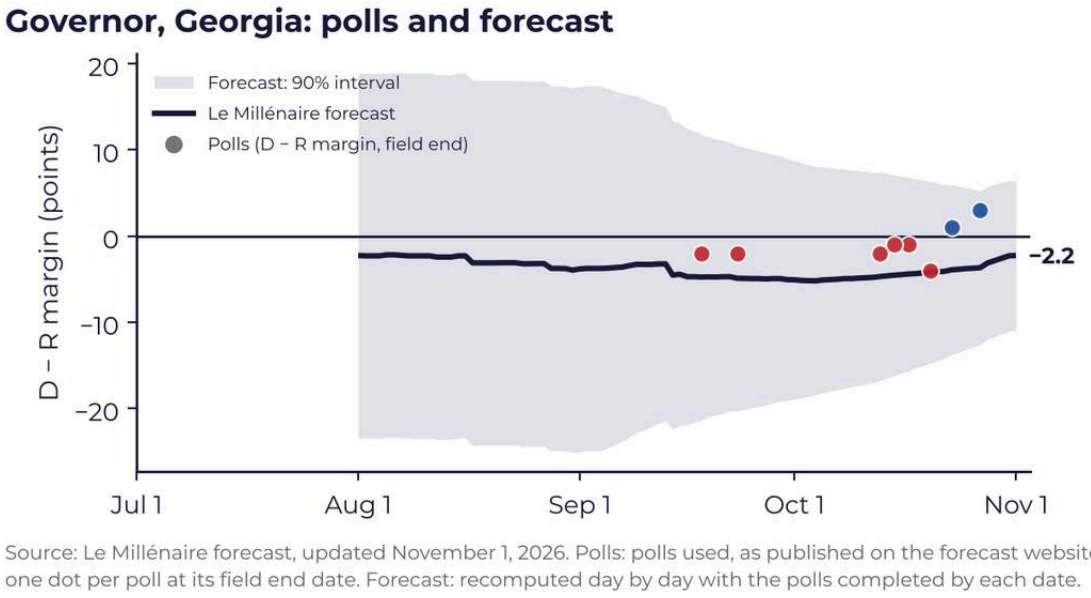


Figure 19. *Georgia: polls (margin between Bottoms and Jackson) and Le Millénaire's projection.*

[65] Axios Atlanta, June 17, 2026, https://www.axios.com/local/atlanta/2026/06/17/georgia-governor-republican-primary-runoff-results.
[66] Wikipedia, "2026 Georgia gubernatorial election," polling table, accessed November 1, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Georgia_gubernatorial_election.

The model

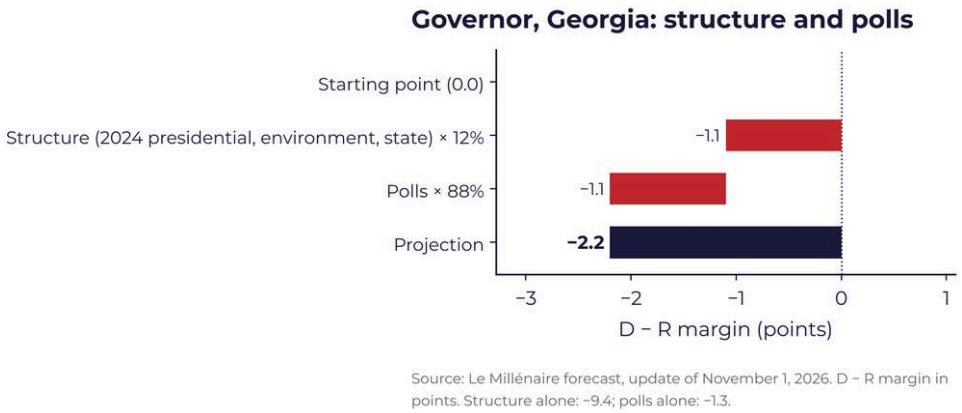


Figure 20. *Georgia: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

The polls give Jackson a narrow lead. The structure gives him a much wider one. The projection falls between the two, closer to the polls, and Bottoms's chances, which declined with every update since August, rose again at the end of the campaign.

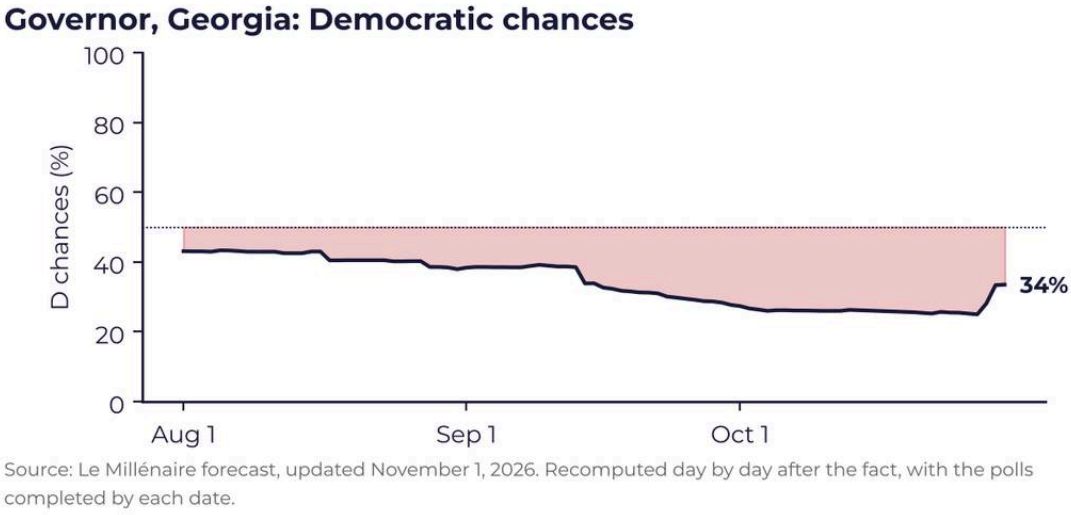


Figure 21. *Georgia: Bottoms's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Our reading is therefore more favorable to Jackson than that of the prediction markets and the three race ratings, which consider the race a toss-up. Our hypothesis: they factor in Democratic enthusiasm and the record early vote, which the model does not measure directly.

Governor and Senate

Nowhere else in a swing state are the projections for two candidates of the same party so far apart. Ossoff is the incumbent senator. Bottoms is under attack over her record as mayor, and she faces a billionaire backed by Kemp.

Our analysis

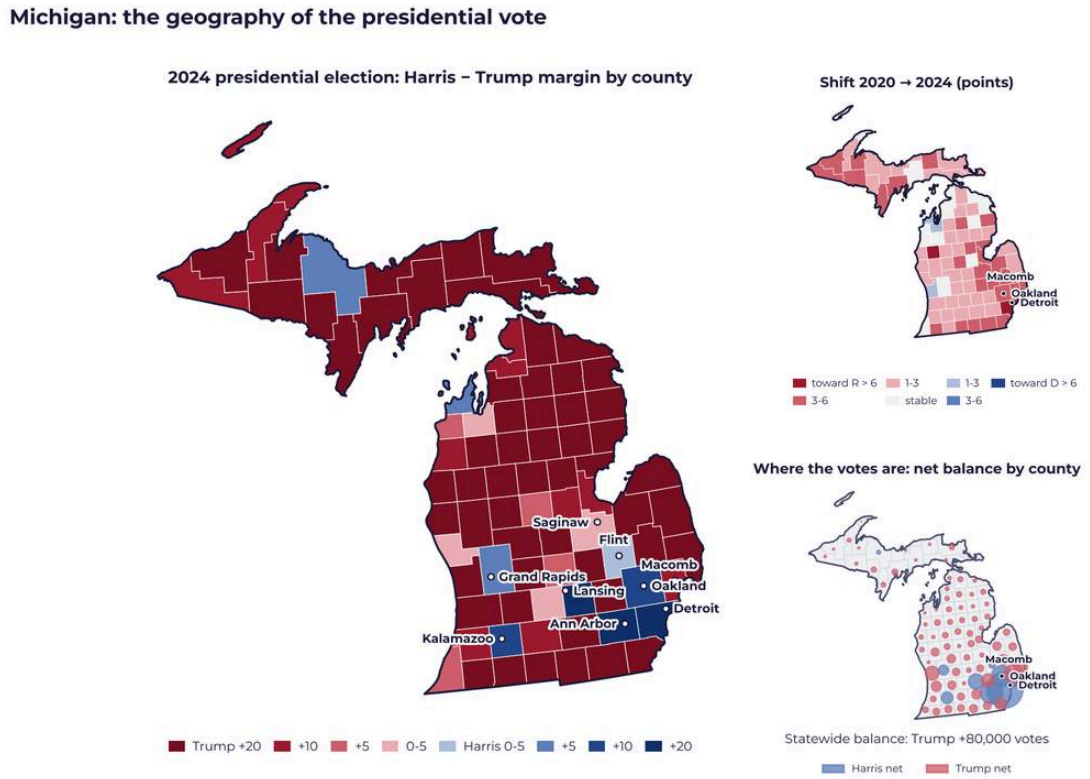
Cobb (+14.9 for Harris) and Gwinnett (+16.5) set the threshold Bottoms will need to reach on election night. She still has a chance, carried by her side's enthusiasm and a record early vote. Jackson has nearly all the polls since September on his side and an advertising budget on a different scale.

MICHIGAN: JOCELYN BENSON VS. JOHN JAMES

Jocelyn Benson has led in every poll released since September, in a state that Donald Trump nevertheless won in 2024. The Le Millénaire projection puts her clearly ahead.

Where the race will be decided

Michigan shifted toward Trump over four years, and Wayne is the main reason: that county alone lost more Democratic votes than the final statewide margin. Macomb, a working-class suburb, followed. So did Oakland, without changing sides.



Source: official county results compiled by T. McGovern (github.com/tonmcg), 2020 and 2024 presidential elections; calculations and mapping by Le Millénaire. Circles proportional to the vote margin between Harris and Trump. Gray: unmatched county.

Figure 22. *Michigan: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote balance by county (proportional circles).*

Michigan by the numbers

Indicator	Value
2020 and 2024 presidential	Shift of 4.2 points toward Trump, who wins by 1.4 points in 2024; Harris wins 9 of 83 counties
2022 governor	Whitmer reelected by 10.6 points
Wayne	15.1% of the vote; Harris +29.0; 84,445 votes of Democratic net margin lost
Other key counties	Macomb Trump +13.7 (shift of 5.6 points); Oakland Harris +10.6 (3.5); Kent Harris +5.4 (0.8); Ottawa one point to the left
August 4 primaries	Benson 83.2%; James 50.1% against Perry Johnson[67]
Withdrawal of Mike Duggan (independent)	May 21[68]
Money (July)	Benson $6.4 million, James $1.4 million
Outside spending	Dan and Pamella DeVos: $6 million to the Mission Michigan super PAC; the RGA-backed group has stopped funding television[69]
Polls (Benson vs. James)	Marist 51% to 45% (October 21); Z to A Research (Democratic) 50% to 40%; Guidant 50% to 45%; YouGov 48% to 45%; Mitchell 46% to 39%; co/efficient (Republican) 47% to 44%; Cygnal (Republican) 45% to 38%[70]
Averages	RealClearPolitics 48.8% to 42.0%; 16 polls since September 1, Benson ahead by 3 to 17 points; adjusted average of 17 pollsters: Benson +6.0
Projection	Structure James +2.0; projection Benson +5.0; 90% interval from James +3.7 to Benson +13.7
Benson's chances	55.7% on August 1, 77.3% on October 26, 82.9% on November 1
Senate	El-Sayed 65.7% against Mike Rogers, projected lead of 2.9 points
Cross-race effects	James wins narrowly: El-Sayed 20.1%; El-Sayed wins narrowly: Benson 90.9%; Benson defeat: Senate 6.9%, House 44.2%; Benson win: 46.4% and 84.9%

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

The west held up better. Kent barely moved, and Ottawa even leaned slightly left. According to MultiState, Republicans have not won a statewide race in more than ten years.

The candidates and the campaign

Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson won her primary easily. The same day, Representative John James narrowly beat Perry Johnson. The matchup had been settled since the spring, when independent Mike Duggan withdrew.

[67] Hoodline, October 7, 2026, https://hoodline.com/2026/10/benson-opens-7-point-lead-over-james-in-michigan-governor-poll/.
[68] Michigan Advance, May 21, 2026, https://www.michiganadvance.com/2026/05/21/duggan-drops-independent-bid-for-governor-remapping-2026-michigan-gubernatorial-landscape/.
[69] MultiState, “Michigan 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/michigan-2026.
[70] 270toWin, Michigan polls, accessed October 27, 2026, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/michigan.

After a first debate on WOOD TV8, the two candidates met again on October 15 on WDIV. There, Benson called the tariffs targeting Canada a “John James tax.” She also tied rising gas prices to the war in Iran, which James says he does not support[71]. The money favors her. The DeVos family did fund a super PAC, but the Republican side has abandoned television.

The polls

Benson is ahead in every poll released since September 1. She also leads among Republican pollsters.

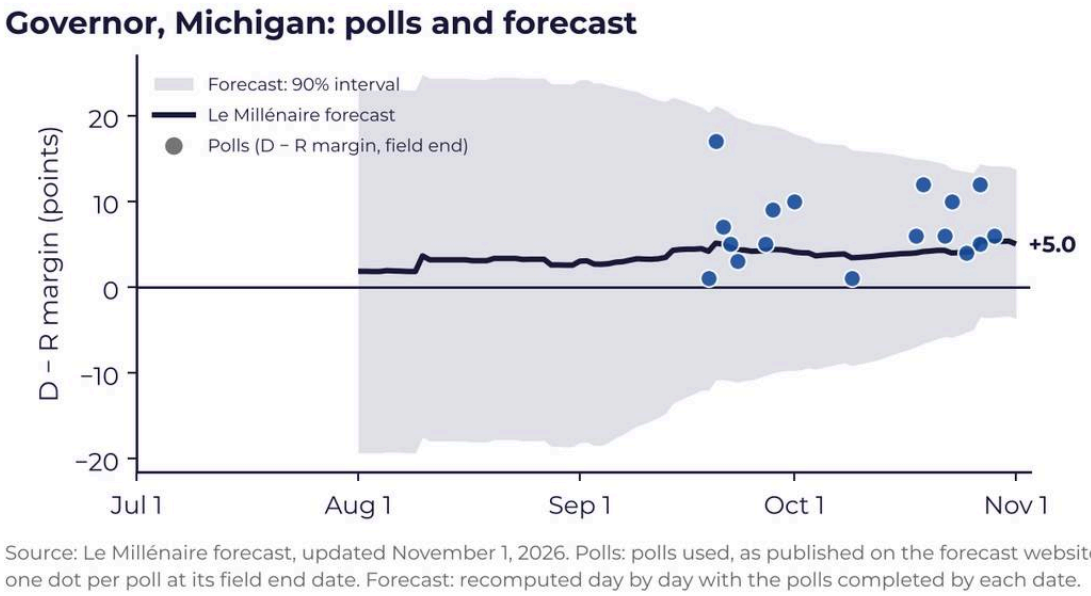


Figure 23. *Michigan: polls (margin between Benson and James) and Le Millénaire's projection.*

[71] ClickOnDetroit, October 15, 2026, https://www.clickondetroit.com/news/local/2026/10/12/live-updates-john-james-jocelyn-benson-face-off-in-gubernatorial-debate-hosted-by-wdiv/.

The model

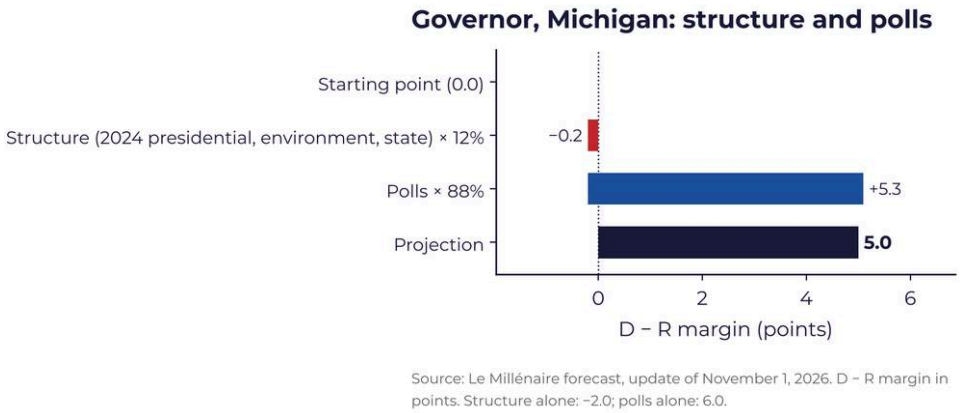


Figure 24. *Michigan: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

Polls and structure pull in opposite directions here. The structure favors James, the polls favor Benson, and the polls prevail in the projection. Her chances have risen steadily since August.

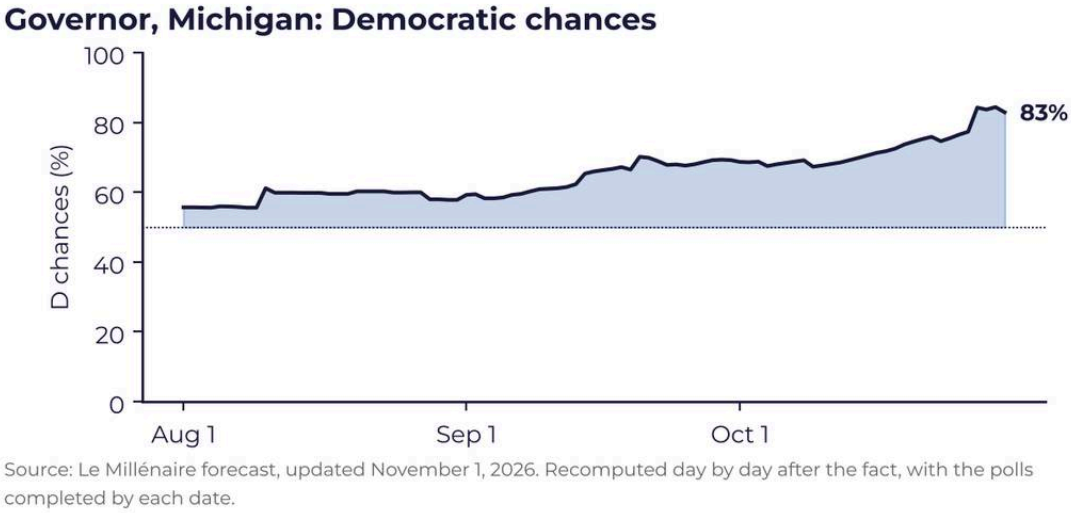


Figure 25. *Michigan: Benson's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Governor and Senate

El-Sayed starts in a weaker position than Benson against Mike Rogers. A James victory would put him in serious trouble, and a Benson defeat would all but wreck Democratic hopes in the Senate.

Our analysis

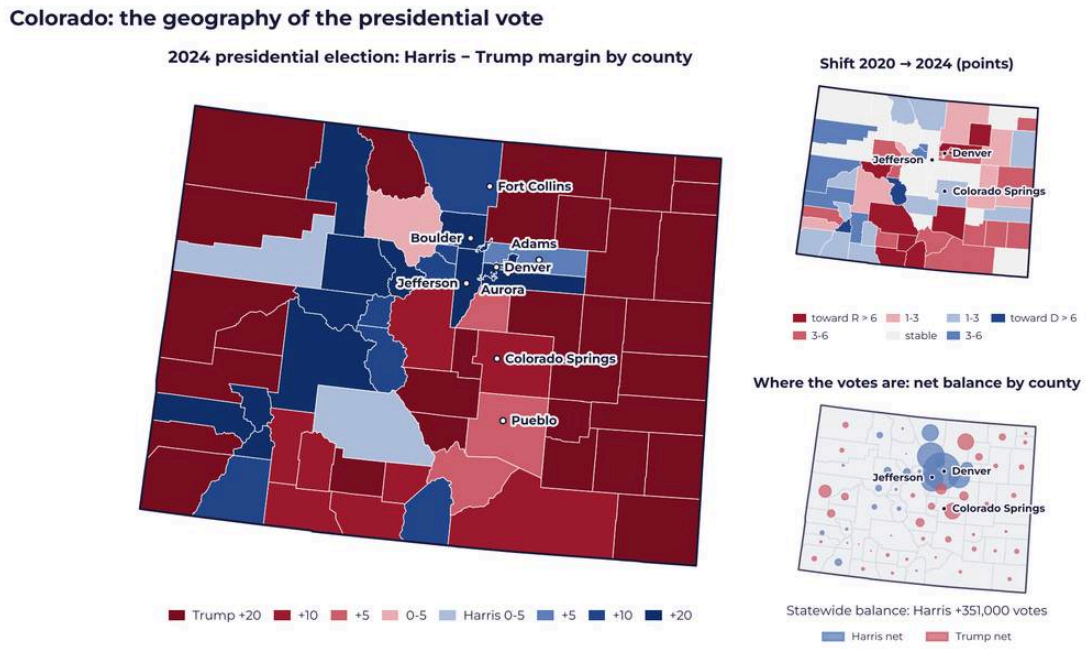
All sixteen polls put Benson ahead. On election night, the first thing to watch will be the margin in Wayne compared with Harris's 29.0 points, to see whether the 2024 loss repeats itself. Macomb, Oakland and Kent will come next.

COLORADO: PHIL WEISER VS. VICTOR MARX

Democrat Phil Weiser is the favorite, which is not surprising in a historically Democratic state. The race is not close. With no poll since September, however, the model relies on its structure alone, which is highly uncertain.

Where the race will be decided

Colorado remains clearly Democratic, but it fractured in 2024. Affluent, college-educated suburbs moved toward the Democrats, as did two Republican strongholds: El Paso, around Colorado Springs, and Mesa. Working-class counties went the other way. Pueblo even flipped from Biden to Trump.



Source: official county results compiled by T. McGovern (github.com/tonmcg), 2020 and 2024 presidential elections; calculations and mapping by Le Millénaire. Circles proportional to the vote margin between Harris and Trump. Gray: unmatched county.

Figure 26. *Colorado: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote balance by county (proportional circles).*

Colorado by the numbers

Indicator	Value
2020 presidential	Biden +13.5
2024 presidential	Harris +11.0; 23 of 64 counties
2022 governor	Polis 58.5% to 39.2%, a 19.3-point lead
Last Republican governor elected	1998[72]
Republican primary	Marx 39.9%, Kirkmeyer 39.4%, Bottoms 20.8%; about 2,500 votes separating the top two[73]
Democratic primary (June 30)	Weiser 56.9%, Bennet 43.1%
Counties trending Democratic	Jefferson +0.9 (Harris +19.5), Larimer +2.2, El Paso +1.0, Mesa +3.7
Counties trending away from Democrats	Adams −7.3 (Harris +9.0), Pueblo −6.8 (flipped to Trump), Denver −5.2 (Harris +56.2), Arapahoe −4.5
Polls	Magellan Strategies, early August: Weiser +12; none since
Projection	Weiser +4.9, structure only; 90% interval from Marx +16.9 to Weiser +26.6
Weiser's chances	64.3%; between 61% and 64% since August
Ratings and markets	Cook, Sabato, Inside Elections: “Solid” Democratic; Polymarket about 97% for Weiser[74]
Early voting (October 22)	730,614 ballots returned (442,889 in 2022); Democratic registration edge of 8.2 points (3.2 in 2022)[75]
Cross-race effects	Democratic Senate chances: 27.2% if Marx wins, 46.7% if Weiser wins

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

The candidates and the campaign

Victor Marx won the Republican primary by a hair over Barbara Kirkmeyer, with Scott Bottoms far behind. On the Democratic side, Phil Weiser beat Senator Michael Bennet. Endorsed by Lauren Boebert, Marx has come under scrutiny for his life story[76]. A newcomer to politics, a former Marine and a martial arts practitioner, he runs “All Things Possible Ministries,” a nonprofit that works in conflict zones. He has acknowledged killing a man at the age of 7 and believes he can cast out demons. Greg Lopez, a former Republican representative, is running as an independent.

[72] KUNC, July 9, 2026, https://www.kunc.org/politics/2026-07-09/victor-marx-wins-gop-nod-for-governor-will-face-democrat-phil-weiser-in-november.
[73] Wikipedia, “2026 Colorado gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Colorado_gubernatorial_election.
[74] MultiState, October 19, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/colorado-2026.
[75] State election offices, Le Millénaire tallies as of October 22, 2026, https://election.lemillenaire.org/etats-unis/vote-anticipe/2026/.
[76] KUNC, July 9, 2026, https://www.kunc.org/politics/2026-07-09/victor-marx-wins-gop-nod-for-governor-will-face-democrat-phil-weiser-in-november.

Weiser promises 40,000 starter homes and a reform of TABOR, the mechanism that caps state revenue. Weiser has made his opposition to President Trump a central element of his campaign. His office has filed or joined nearly 88 lawsuits against the Trump administration[77]. Marx rejects any new tax and is betting on natural gas and small nuclear reactors. He skipped the first debate, in Colorado Springs.[78]

The polls and the model

The only poll of the summer gave Weiser a wide lead. Since then, nothing. Markets and race ratings consider him out of reach.

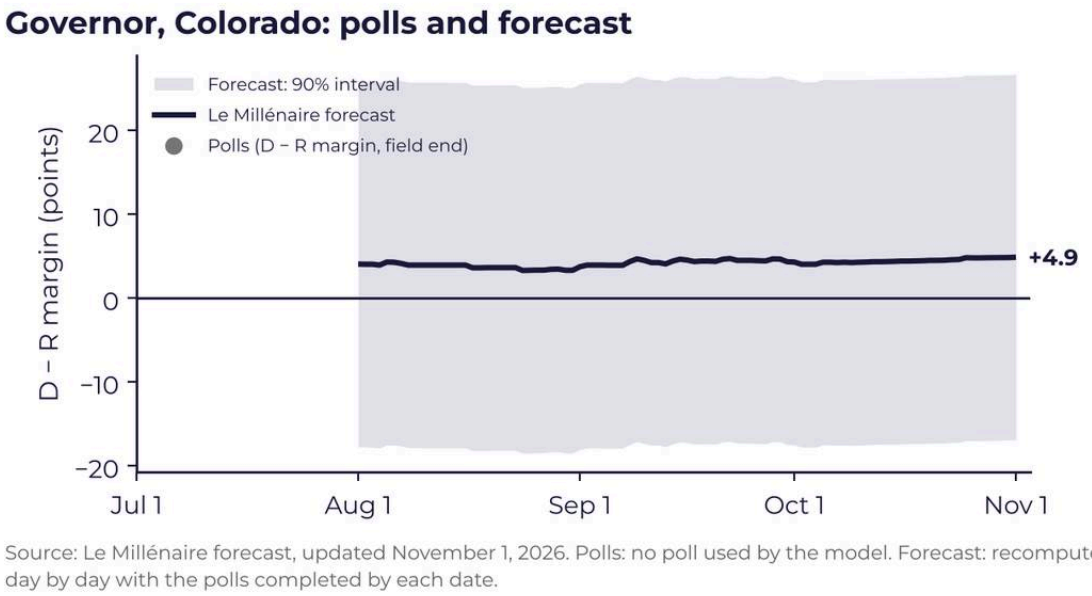


Figure 27. *Colorado: Le Millénaire's projection and 90% interval (no poll used).*

Without polls, the projection is the same as the structure, and the uncertainty interval becomes enormous. Weiser's chances have barely moved since August. They remain well below the ratings.

[77] Coag.gov. (2026). Defending Colorado: Attorney General Phil Weiser's Federal Lawsuit Tracker. https://coag.gov/defending-colorado/

[78] Montrose Press, date not specified, https://www.montrosepress.com/news/weiser-debates-independent-lopez-in-first-colorado-governor-debate-with-marx-absent-democrat-favored-to/article_31220c30-d882-45c9-a952-3d4590bb57ec.html; MultiState, October 19, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/colorado-2026.

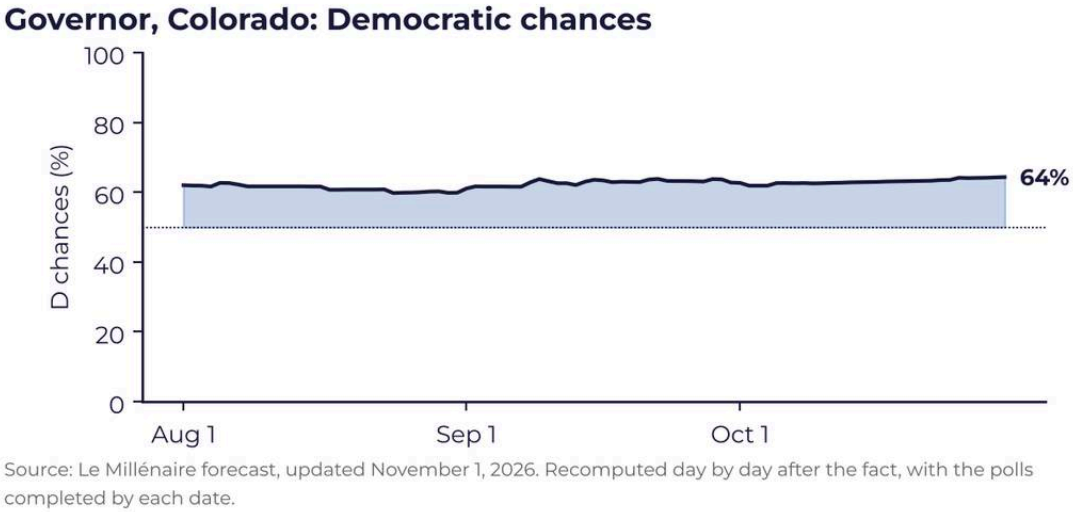


Figure 28. *Colorado: Weiser's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Early voting and cross-race effects

Early voting points in the same direction as the ratings. In the simulator, Colorado's effect on the Senate is smaller than elsewhere, and once again the lack of polling explains it.

Our analysis

Weiser should be elected. Colorado's figure in our table stems from the lack of polling. Everything else puts him well ahead. On election night, the first thing to watch will be the share for Greg Lopez, an independent who came from the Republican camp, then Weiser's results in Adams and Pueblo, two counties where Trump gained ground in 2024.

VERMONT: AMANDA JANOO VS. PHIL SCOTT

Phil Scott is the Republican governor of the most Democratic state on this list. He has always outperformed his polls. This year's polls are nonetheless the closest he has ever faced, and the model keeps him as the favorite.

Where the race will be decided

Chittenden, around Burlington, carries the Democratic vote. The 2024 shift toward Trump mainly affected the rural north and center. According to

VTDigger, older voters lean clearly toward Scott[79].

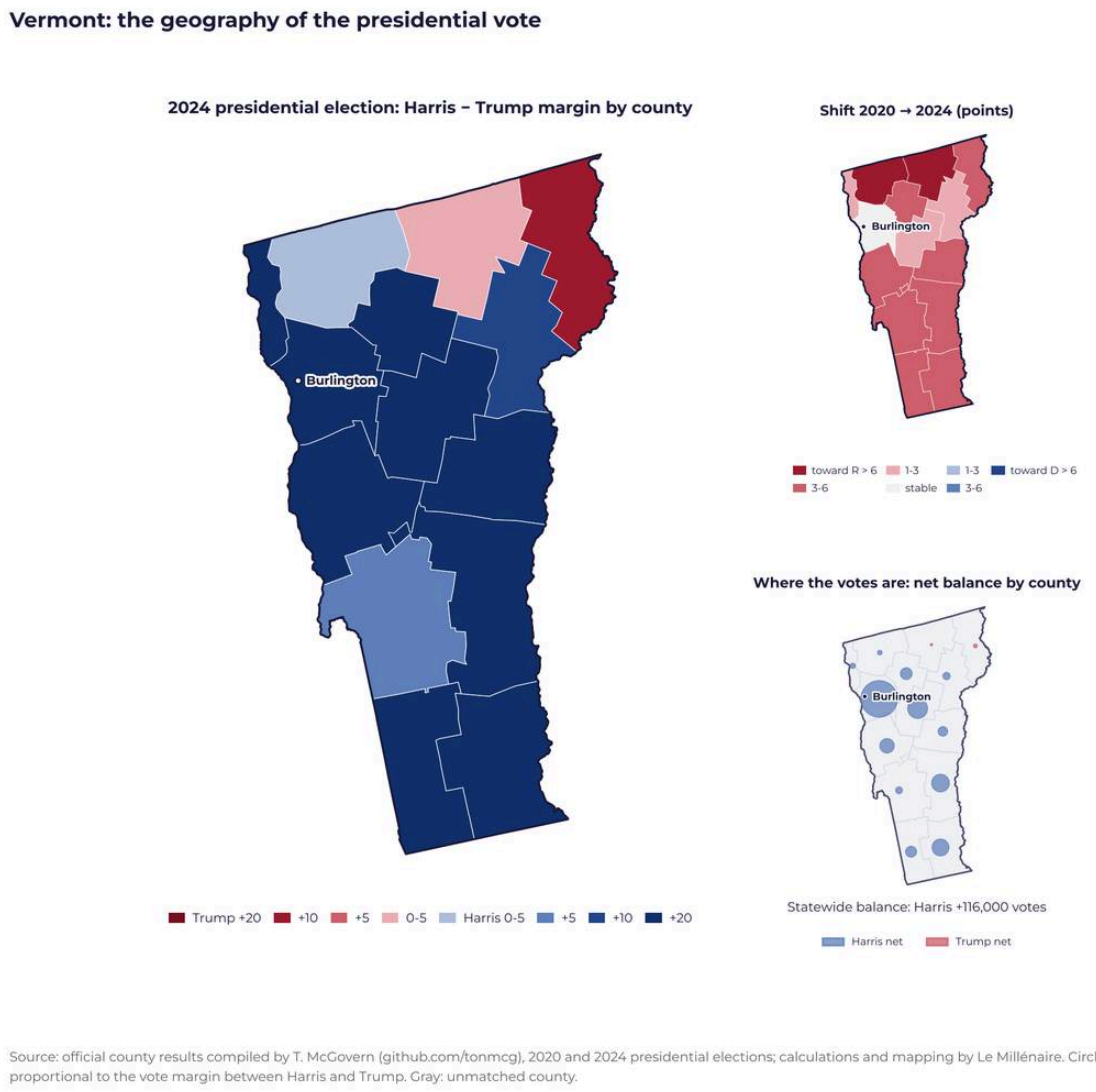


Figure 29. *Vermont: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote balance by county (proportional circles).*

Vermont by the numbers

[79] Valley News, republished from VTDigger, October 12, 2026, https://vnews.com/2026/10/12/vermont-gubernatorial-poll-scott-janoo/.

Indicator	Value
2020 and 2024 presidential	Harris +31.5 in 2024, after a 3.9-point shift toward Trump; 12 of 14 counties
Key counties	Chittenden (Burlington, 26.3% of the vote) Harris +53.6; Franklin −6.1 (Harris +3.0); Orleans −6.1 (flipped to Trump); Rutland −5.2 (Harris +5.3)
Scott, previous elections	Elected in 2016; 2022: 70.9% to 23.9%; 2024: lead of nearly 52 points
Primaries	Scott 98.5%; Janoo 49.1%, Aly Richards 46.6%
Money (September)	Raised: Janoo $291,048, Scott $223,238; cash on hand: $280,075 and $295,845; the DGA gives $40,000 to the Our Vermont PAC[80]
Popularity	Morning Consult, second quarter of 2026: Scott the most popular governor in the country[81]
Published polls	University of New Hampshire, late September: Janoo 49%, Scott 43%; Vermont Public and Braun Research: Scott 43%, Janoo 34%, about 20% undecided; State Navigate, early October: Scott 46%, Janoo 43%[82]
Figures used by the model	Vermont Public 42% to 32% (registered voters); State Navigate 48% to 46%
Scott vs. his polls (VTDigger)	14 points better on average; 2016: shown ahead by one point, wins by nearly 9; 2022: shown at +17, wins by 47; 2024: shown at +39, wins by nearly 52[83]
Projection	Adjusted average of the three pollsters: Scott +5.2; structure Scott +1.0; projection Scott +4.7; 90% interval from Scott +13.4 to Janoo +4.0
Chances	Scott 81.1%; Janoo at 46.3% on September 15, then 19.2% on October 26 and 18.9% on November 1
Cross-race effects	Janoo win: Senate 68.9%, House 96.2%, 25.7 Democratic governors expected; Maine: Troy Jackson at 68.5% against Susan Collins when Janoo wins narrowly, 46.0% across the whole simulator

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

Scott was elected in 2016 and has been reelected every two years since, with overwhelming margins in 2022 and 2024.

The candidates and the campaign

Amanda Janoo is an economist and a first-time candidate. She narrowly won the Democratic primary over Aly Richards. She is endorsed by David Zuckerman, the Vermont AFL-CIO labor federation, the state employees' union and the Sierra Club[84]. Scott himself acknowledges that Democratic enthusiasm

[80] WCAX, October 2, 2026, https://www.wcax.com/2026/10/02/fundraising-totals-mirror-tight-polls-vermont-governors-race/.
[81] Valley News, republished from VTDigger, October 12, 2026, https://vnews.com/2026/10/12/vermont-gubernatorial-poll-scott-janoo/.
[82] 270toWin, Vermont polls, accessed October 27, 2026, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/vermont; Valley News, October 12, 2026, https://vnews.com/2026/10/12/vermont-gubernatorial-poll-scott-janoo/.
[83] Valley News, republished from VTDigger, October 12, 2026, https://vnews.com/2026/10/12/vermont-gubernatorial-poll-scott-janoo/.
[84] Wikipedia, “2026 Vermont gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Vermont_gubernatorial_election.

makes this his toughest campaign since 2016[85].

The sums at stake remain modest, and Janoo outraised the incumbent in September. Scott retains a major asset: his popularity, the highest of any governor in the country.

The polls

The three surveys contradict one another. The University of New Hampshire had Janoo ahead. The other two put Scott in the lead, with many undecided voters. For two of them, the model's files use figures slightly different from those published.

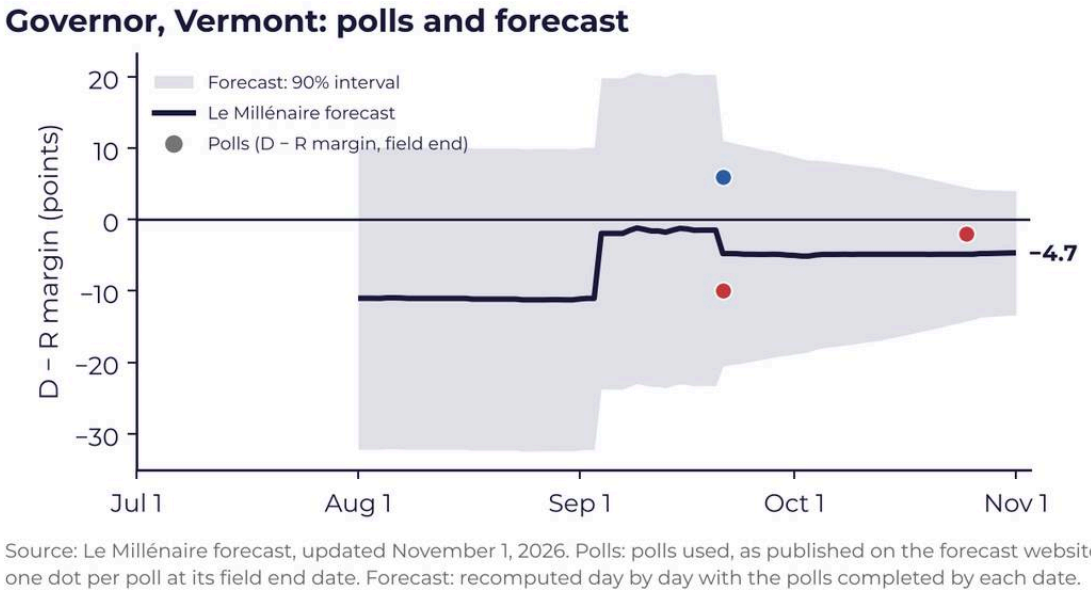


Figure 30. *Vermont: polls (margin between Janoo and Scott) and Le Millénaire's projection.*

Then there is Scott's track record. According to VTDigger, he has outperformed his polls in every one of his campaigns, often by a very wide margin.

[85] WCAX, September 30, 2026, https://www.wcax.com/2026/09/30/facing-tight-polls-gov-scott-admits-democratic-enthusiasm-creating-headwinds/.

The model

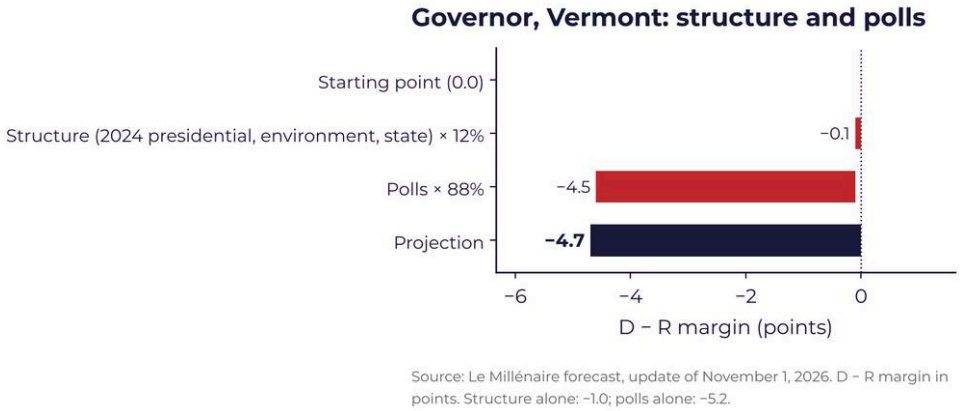


Figure 31. *Vermont: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

The polls account for most of Scott's lead; the structure barely helps him. The University of New Hampshire poll had sent Janoo's chances soaring in mid-September, before they fell back. The model does not account for Scott's own underestimation. It only applies the general polling error correction, which is smaller and works in the Republicans' favor.

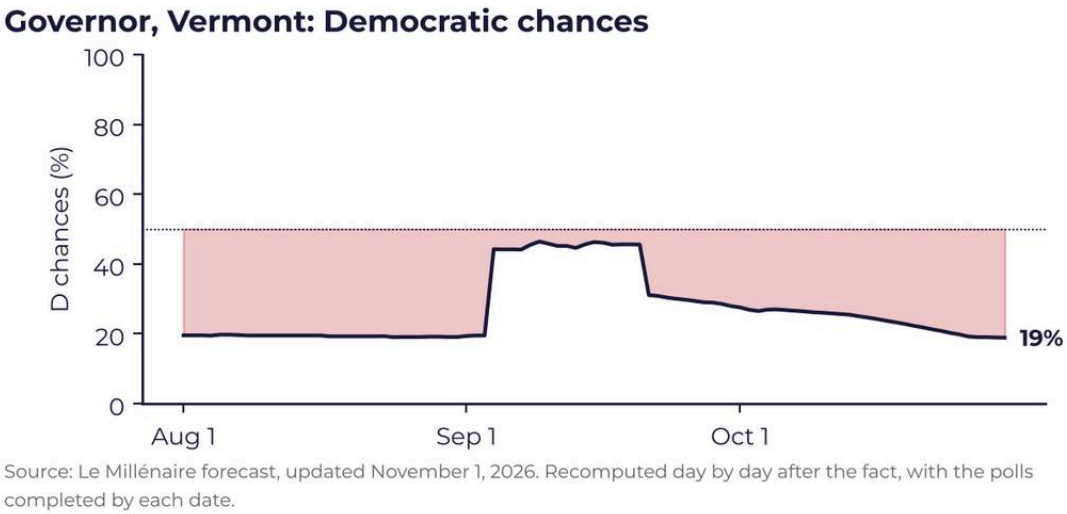


Figure 32. *Vermont: Janoo's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Cross-race effects

In the simulator, a Janoo victory would go hand in hand with a very good night for Democrats, in both the Senate and the House. It would also resonate in neighboring Maine, where Troy Jackson is running against Susan Collins.

Our analysis

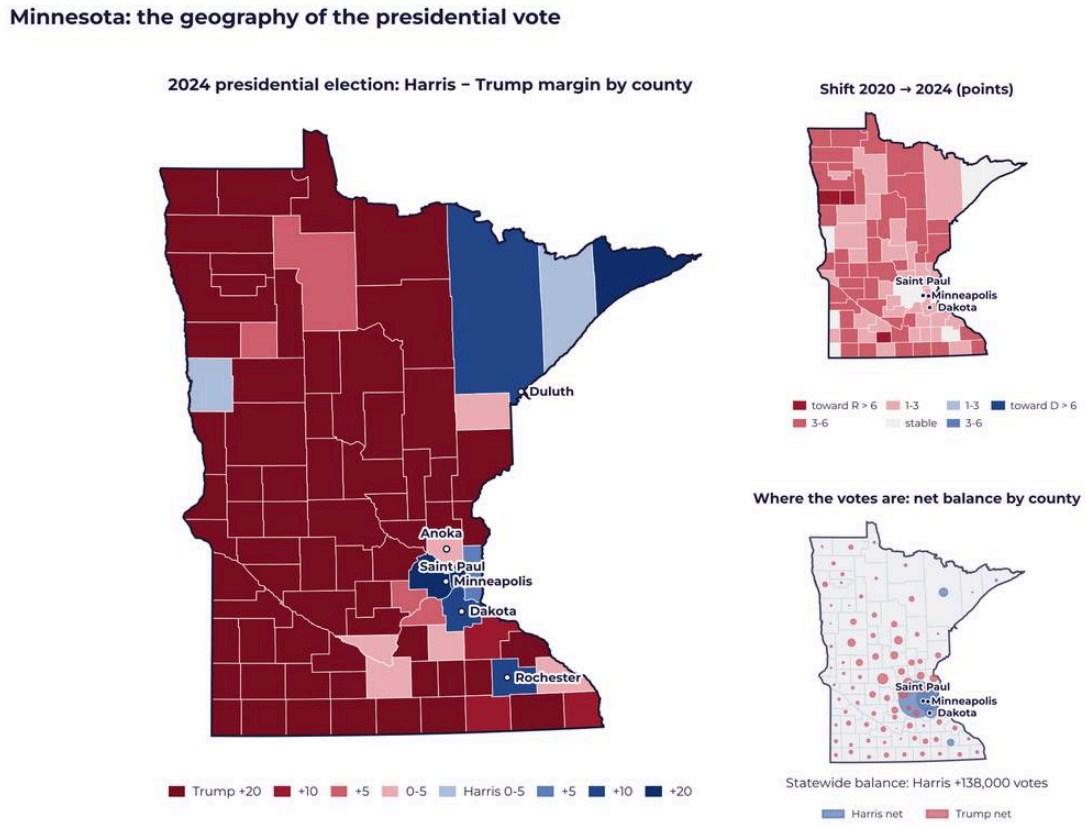
Scott remains the favorite for a sixth two-year term, and his polls have underestimated him in every one of his campaigns since 2016. Janoo's problem is the rural north: Franklin and Orleans shifted 6.1 points toward Trump in 2024. She will need very strong results in Chittenden and in the southern part of the state, Windham and Windsor.

MINNESOTA: AMY KLOBUCHAR VS. LISA DEMUTH

Senator Amy Klobuchar is running to succeed Tim Walz and leads in every poll. Yet the state remains, according to Brookings, “more competitive than its Democratic reputation.”

Where the race will be decided

The two urban counties, Minneapolis and Saint Paul, supply nearly a third of the vote. The suburbs are split, and the 2024 Democratic decline is clearly visible to the south and north of the metro area. The Iron Range, around Duluth, remains Democratic but is drifting away. The western ring and the center, Wright, Sherburne and Stearns, vote heavily Republican.



Source: official county results compiled by T. McGovern (github.com/tonmcg), 2020 and 2024 presidential elections; calculations and mapping by Le Millénaire. Circles proportional to the vote margin between Harris and Trump. Gray: unmatched county.

Figure 33. *Minnesota: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote balance by county (proportional circles).*

Minnesota by the numbers

Indicator	Value
2020 presidential	Biden +7.1
2024 presidential	Harris +4.2, 9 of 87 counties won
2022 governor	Walz +7.7 (52.3% to 44.6%); open seat in 2026
Key Democratic counties	Hennepin (22.1% of the vote) Harris +42.6; Ramsey (8.5%) +43.3; St. Louis +13.7, down 1.9
Swing counties	Dakota +12.9, Washington +8.9; Anoka −4.4, Scott −8.5 (down 1.9 to 2.5); Stearns down 4.3
Primaries (August 11)	Klobuchar 89.7%; Demuth 43.4%, Lindell 32.5%, Qualls 21.4%[86]
Money raised as of May 31	Klobuchar $7.0 million, Demuth $0.36 million; fall figures unknown
SurveyUSA polls (KSTP)	Klobuchar 47% to 40%, then 48% to 41% (October 8 to 12)
Mason-Dixon poll (Star Tribune, KARE 11)	Klobuchar 50%, Demuth 41%; Morning Consult (Dem.), registered voters: +9
co/efficient poll (Rep.), mid-September	Klobuchar 47%, Demuth 45%[87]
Adjusted average and structure	Klobuchar +9.3; structure Demuth +0.5
Projection	Klobuchar +8.2 (90% interval: Demuth +0.5 to Klobuchar +16.9)
Klobuchar's chances	93.9%; 46.1% on August 1, 73.9% on September 1
Senate	Flanagan (Dem.) 80.2% chance, +6.2; Klobuchar wins in 95.9% of cases where Flanagan wins narrowly, 85.0% if Tafoya wins narrowly
Cross-race effects	Demuth win: Senate 3.5%, House 31.0%; Klobuchar win: Senate 42.0%

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

The candidates and the campaign

Lisa Demuth, Speaker of the state House, defeated Mike Lindell, Donald Trump's candidate, in the primary. Two debates took place, on October 19 in Brainerd and then on October 21 on FOX 9. Demuth tied Klobuchar to Walz and to fraud in social programs, citing a $9 billion figure that has not been established. Klobuchar answered with Trump: the war in Iran, tariffs, and the loss of health coverage caused by the “One Big Beautiful Bill.” She also targeted Demuth's abortion bill and her billionaire backers from Wisconsin. Demuth said she had disagreed with Trump on Iran and on some tariffs[88].

The polls

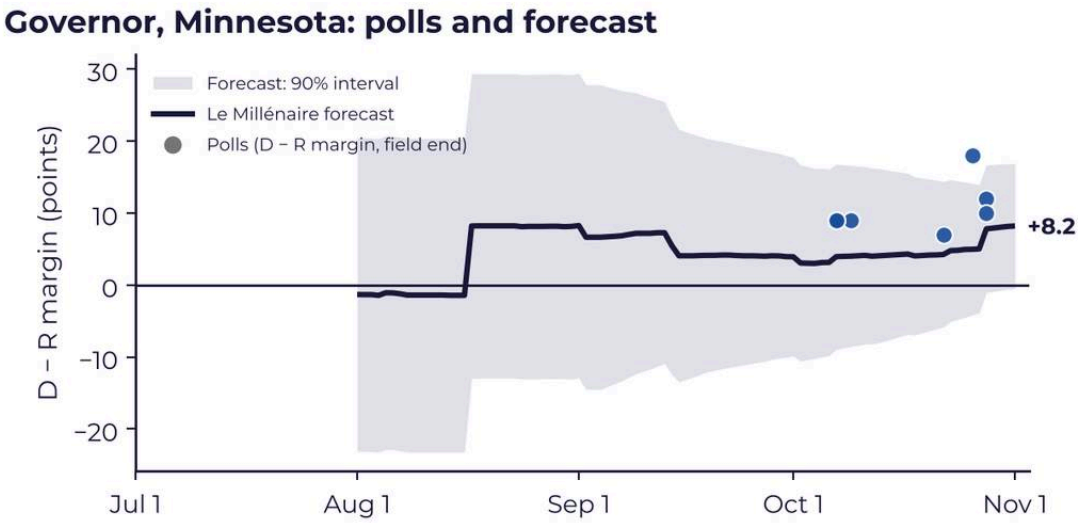
Five surveys since September, five times Klobuchar in the lead. Only the Republican pollster sees her within reach.

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[86] Wikipedia, “2026 Minnesota gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Minnesota_gubernatorial_election; WYPR / NPR, August 11, 2026, https://www.wypr.org/2026-08-11/trump-backed-mike-lindell-loses-primary-for-minnesota-governor-to-lisa-demuth.

[87] Wikipedia, “2026 Minnesota gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Minnesota_gubernatorial_election.

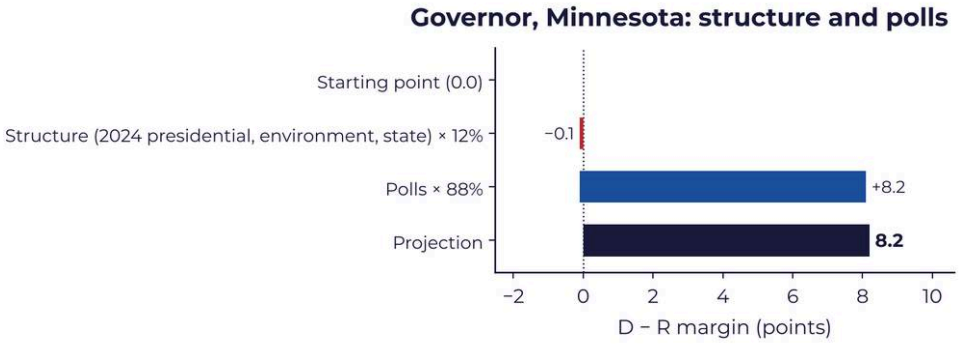
[88] KAXE, October 20 and 22, 2026, https://www.kaxe.org/local-news/2026-10-22/takeaways-from-the-final-gubernatorial-debate-between-demuth-klobuchar.



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, updated November 1, 2026. Polls: polls used, as published on the forecast website, one dot per poll at its field end date. Forecast: recomputed day by day with the polls completed by each date.

Figure 34. *Minnesota: polls (margin between Klobuchar and Demuth) and Le Millénaire's projection.*

The model



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026. D − R margin in points. Structure alone: −0.5; polls alone: 9.3.

Figure 35. *Minnesota: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

The polls pull the projection toward Klobuchar, and the state's structure brings it back toward balance. In early August, lacking a recent survey, the model still had her losing. The late-August polls changed everything.

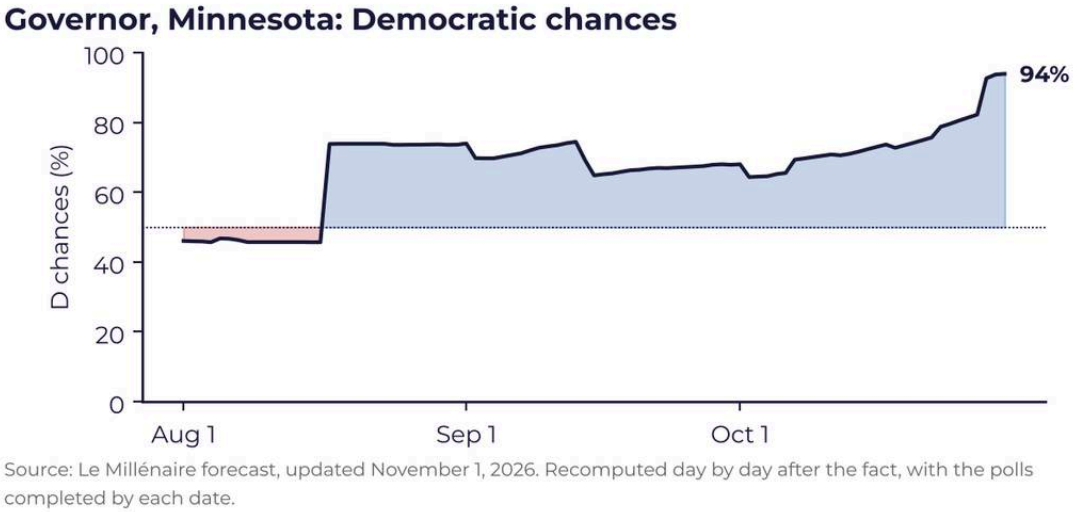


Figure 36. *Minnesota: Klobuchar's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Governor and Senate

Against Michele Tafoya, Peggy Flanagan is in a slightly weaker position than Klobuchar. The two outcomes go hand in hand in the simulator.

Cross-race effects

A Klobuchar defeat would be a very bad sign for the Senate. Among the governor's races, only Michigan weighs nearly as heavily against the Democrats.

Our analysis

Klobuchar is the clear favorite. A well-known senator, she has led in five polls out of five since September. In our reading, a close result would extend the 2024 Democratic decline in Anoka, in Scott and around Stearns, in the center of the state. Dakota and Anoka, the two large suburban counties that decide the state, will be worth watching. So will St. Louis, where the working-class vote of the Iron Range is drifting away from the Democrats.

NEVADA: AARON FORD VS. JOE LOMBARDO

Joe Lombardo is the only incumbent Republican governor in a swing state. The model has him as the favorite thanks to the state's structure, while the adjusted average of his few polls now puts Ford very slightly ahead.

Where the race will be decided

Brookings links Nevada's swing to Trump's gains among Latino voters. Everything is decided in Las Vegas, in Clark County, where the Democratic net margin lost in 2024 alone exceeds the final statewide margin. Reno, in Washoe County, barely leans anymore. Rural Nevada votes overwhelmingly Republican, but it carries little weight and barely moves.

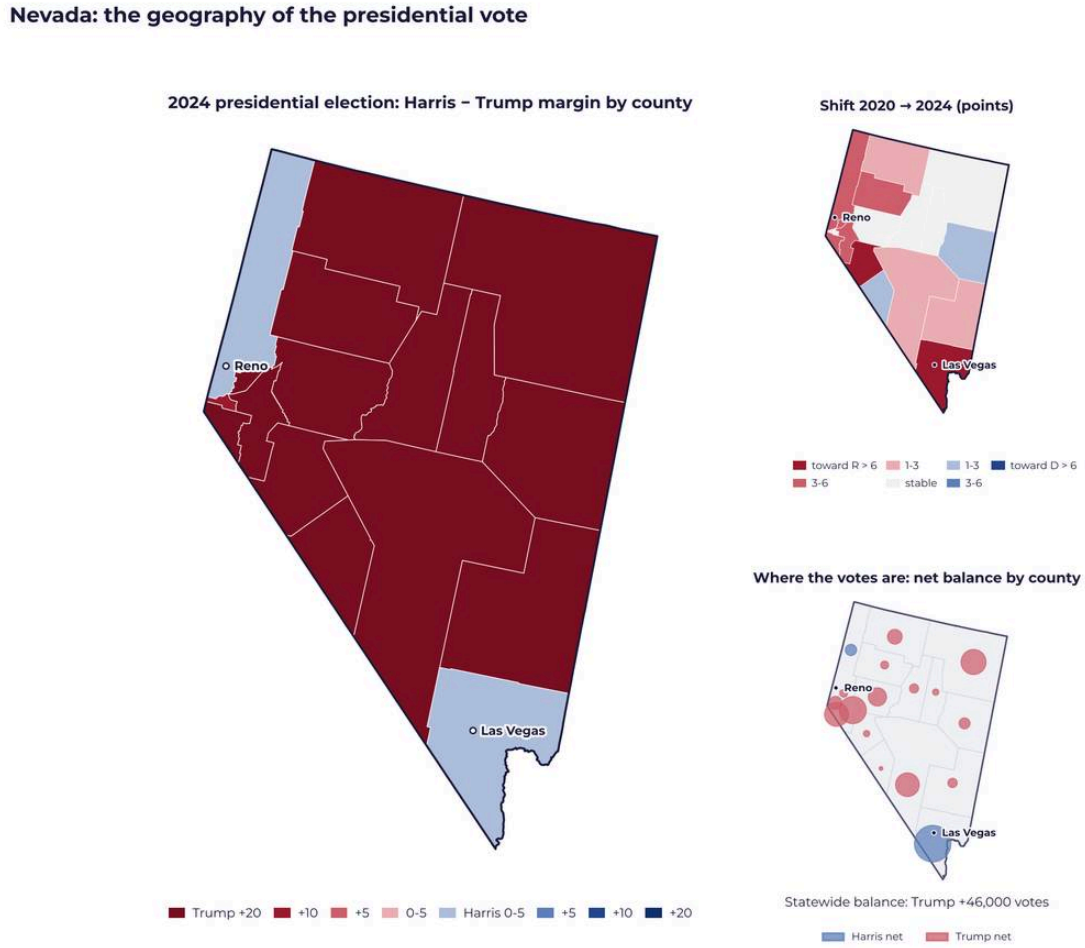


Figure 37. *Nevada: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote balance by county (proportional circles).*

Nevada by the numbers

Indicator	Value
2020 presidential	Biden +2.4
2024 presidential	Trump +3.1 (shift of 5.5 points), Harris wins 2 of 17 counties
Key counties	Clark (69.5% of the vote) Harris +2.6, versus Biden +9.3, Democratic net margin down 63,787 votes; Washoe (17.8%) +1, down 3.5
Rural counties	Trump +42 to +57 in Elko, Lyon or Nye
2022 governor	Lombardo beats Sisolak (Dem., incumbent), 48.8% to 47.3%
Primaries	Lombardo 90.8%; Ford 63.3%, Hill 23.9%; Danielle Ford (same last name) polling at 2 to 7%[89]
Cash on hand as of October 15	Lombardo $2.8 million, Ford more than $1.3 million
Outside spending	Better Nevada PAC (pro-Lombardo) more than $29.3 million, A More Affordable Nevada PAC (pro-Ford) more than $14.1 million; RGA $9.5 million, Bigelow $6 million, DGA $7 million[90]
Opinion	Economy under Lombardo: 45% approve, 47% disapprove; Trump 38% to 61%[91]
Polls	Emerson, September 5 to 8: Ford 44%, Lombardo 42%; Noble Predictive Insights, September 22 to 26: Lombardo 42%, Ford 40%, Danielle Ford 7%; Emerson, undated: 41% each
Adjusted average and structure	Ford +0.2; structure Lombardo +14.7
Projection	Lombardo +1.6 (90% interval: Lombardo +10.3 to Ford +7.1)
Chances	Lombardo 61.8%; Ford 41.1% on September 15, 30.2% on October 15, 17.1% on October 26, then 38.2%
Ratings and markets	Cook and Sabato “Toss-up,” Inside Elections “Tilt Republican”; markets about 69% for the Democrats
Cross-race effects	Ford win: Senate 57.0%, House 94.2%, 24.9 Democratic governors expected; Lombardo win: Senate 29.0%; Ford wins narrowly in 28% of simulations, comfortably in 11%

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

The candidates and the campaign

On the Democratic side, Aaron Ford dominated Alexis Hill. Ten other candidates, independents or from minor parties, are on the ballot. Among them is Danielle Ford, a member of the state Board of Education who shares the Democratic candidate's last name.

Lombardo has more cash on hand, but Ford outraised him in direct contributions for the first time. In any case, most of the money flows through outside groups, where Lombardo has the advantage.

[89] Wikipedia, “2026 Nevada gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Nevada_gubernatorial_election.
[90] The Nevada Independent, October 17, 2026, https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/our-top-takeaways-from-nevadas-new-campaign-finance-reports/.
[91] MultiState, “Nevada 2026 governor race,” October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/nevada-2026.

There will probably be no debate. Lombardo skipped the KUNR debate, and Ford accepted the Nevada Independent's invitation only after initially turning it down[92]. Lombardo presents himself as a counterweight to a Democratic legislature, with 162 vetoes to his name. Ford talks about the cost of living and wants to repeal the “right-to-work” law. MultiState reports an unresolved ethics complaint about his travel, and a pro-Lombardo ad about a pardon request that was judged misleading.

The polls

Nevada is one of the least-polled swing states. Two surveys date from September, each giving the edge to a different side. The model’s files add three late-October polls: two put Ford ahead, and the last one, from Noble Predictive Insights, shows a tie[93].

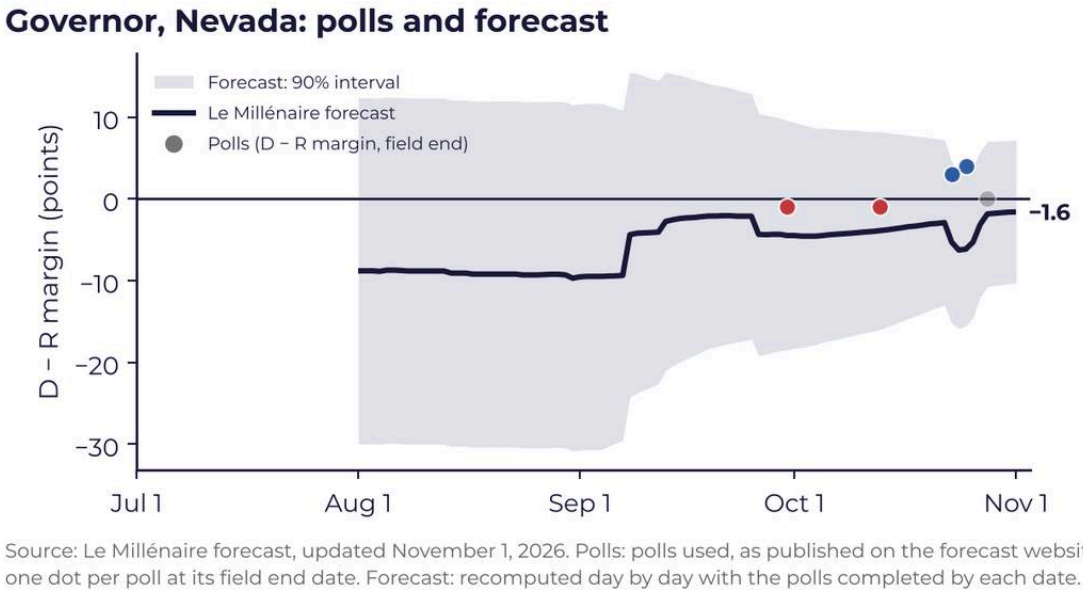


Figure 38. *Nevada: polls (margin between Ford and Lombardo) and Le Millénaire's projection.*

[92] The Nevada Independent, October 13, 2026, https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/lombardo-and-ford-are-unlikely-to-debate-what-you-need-to-know-about-the-standoff.
[93] Wikipedia, “2026 Nevada gubernatorial election,” polling table, accessed November 1, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Nevada_gubernatorial_election.

The model

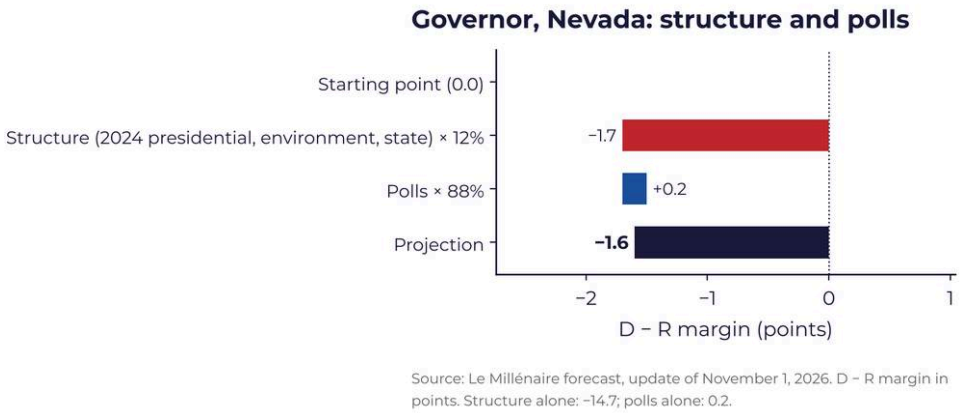


Figure 39. *Nevada: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

The polls now put Ford very slightly ahead, and it is the state's structure that gives Lombardo the advantage.

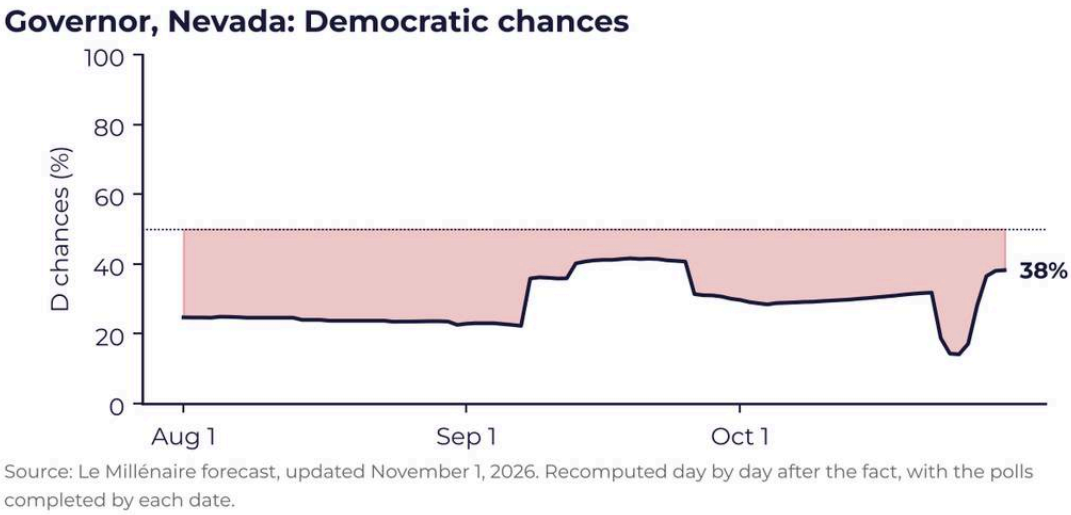


Figure 40. *Nevada: Ford's chances since August 1, 2026.*

The Emerson poll lifted Ford in mid-September. His chances then declined until October 26, with no new poll, as the September surveys lost weight in the average. Our data do not allow us to say more about the mechanism. The late-October polls brought them back up to 38.2%. Prediction markets see Ford much higher than we do.

Cross-race effects

Nevada has no Senate race this year. Yet a Ford victory would be one of the most favorable signals for Democrats in the Senate and the House.

Our analysis

Lombardo, the incumbent, is the favorite. Nevada shifted 5.5 points toward Trump in 2024. But the projection rests on a handful of polls and this is the race where the direction of the error is most uncertain. Ford needs to clearly exceed Harris's 2.6-point lead in Clark and gain ground in Washoe. Danielle Ford's share will also weigh on his own.

ARIZONA: KATIE HOBBS VS. ANDY BIGGS

Donald Trump won Arizona in 2024, but incumbent Democratic governor Katie Hobbs starts as the favorite. Her opponent divides his own camp, and she is far outspending him.

Where the race will be decided

The shift toward Trump is among the largest of the swing states, and Brookings links it to Trump's gains among Latino voters. Maricopa, Phoenix's county, decides the election and has changed sides. Tucson, in Pima County, remains Democratic despite a decline. The steepest drops are found along the border and in the northeast.

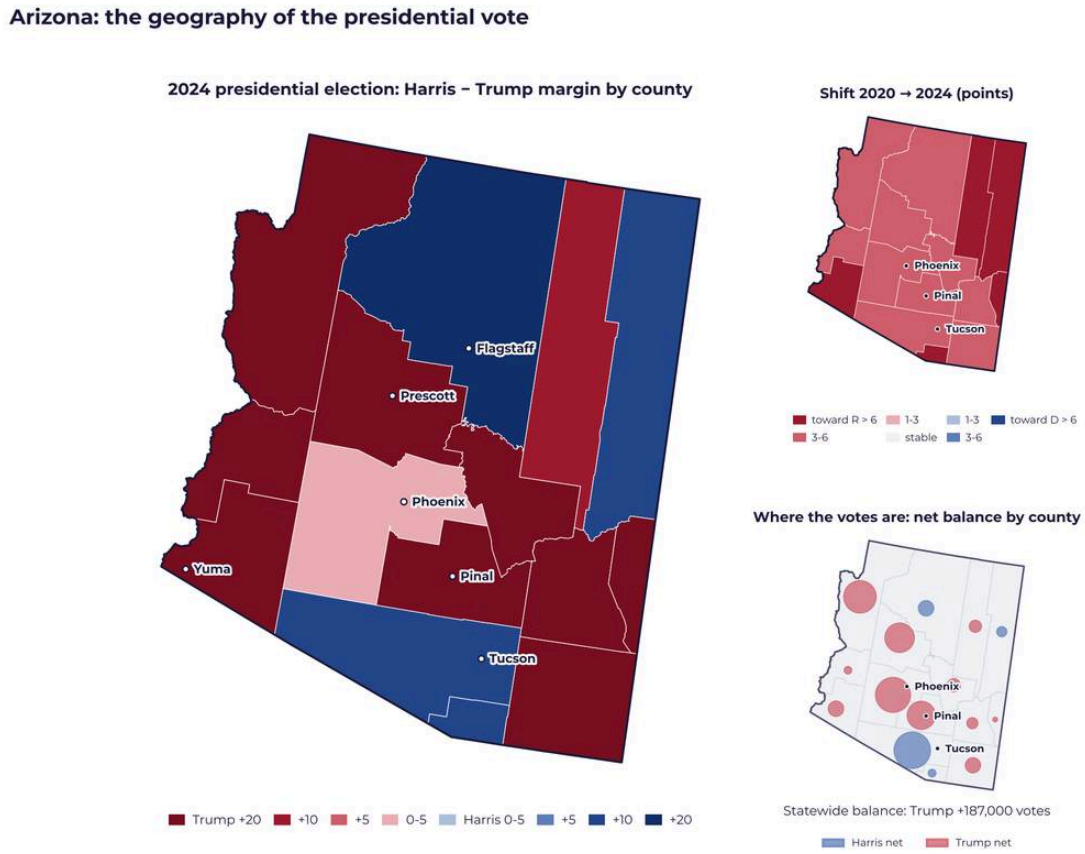


Figure 41. *Arizona: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote balance by county (proportional circles).*

Arizona by the numbers

Indicator	Value
2020 and 2024 presidential	Trump +5.5 in 2024, shift of 5.8 points; Harris wins 4 of 15 counties
Key counties	Maricopa (60.6% of the vote) from Biden +2.2 to Trump +3.5, Democratic net margin down 116,624 votes; Pima (15.1%) +15.2, down 3.5
Swing counties	Santa Cruz −16.8, Yuma −14.2, Apache −14.7, Navajo −9.0
2022 governor	Hobbs beats Kari Lake, 50.3% to 49.7%
Primaries (July 21)	Hobbs unopposed, 512,550 votes; Biggs 74.0%, Schweikert 14.4%[94]
Candidate spending	Hobbs more than $17 million, Biggs just over $5 million
Outside spending	Pro-Hobbs more than $33 million, including $14 million from the DGA; pro-Biggs or anti-Hobbs more than $21 million, led by Turning Point USA; RGA: nothing[95]
Polls	Wick 49% to 43%; Grayhouse 50% to 44%; Red Box Research (Dem.) 47% to 42% as of October 26; HighGround 51% to 34%; BSP Research, registered voters, 47% to 34%[96]
RealClearPolitics average	Hobbs 49.4%, Biggs 38.0% (+11.4)
Adjusted average and structure	Hobbs +6.0 (seven pollsters); structure Hobbs +0.9
Projection	Hobbs +5.4 (90% interval: Biggs +3.3 to Hobbs +14.1)
Hobbs's chances	84.7%; 67.8% on October 1, 85.6% on October 15, 85.3% on October 26
Ratings and markets	Cook and Sabato “Lean Democratic”; markets 91 to 93% for Hobbs
Cross-race effects	Biggs win: Senate 13.6%, House 42.0%, 19.3 Democratic governors expected; Hobbs win: Senate 44.4%

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

The candidates and the campaign

Hobbs had no primary opponent. Andy Biggs comfortably beat David Schweikert. The money tilts heavily toward the incumbent, among both the candidates and the outside groups. The RGA, for its part, has put in nothing.

Hobbs skipped the Clean Elections Commission debate on October 6. Her ads call Biggs a “predator protector” and attack him on Medicaid, the 2011 abolition proposal and the 2025 federal budget vote. Biggs promises to eliminate the income tax and talks about the border and water. According to HighGround, 25 to 30% of Republicans do not support him, a claim his campaign disputes[97].

[94] Wikipedia, “2026 Arizona gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Arizona_gubernatorial_election.
[95] AZFamily, October 19, 2026, https://www.azfamily.com/2026/10/20/hobbs-outspends-biggs-by-millions-arizona-governors-race/?outputType=amp.
[96] 270toWin, Arizona polls, accessed October 27, 2026, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/arizona; Political Wire, October 26, 2026, https://politicalwire.com/2026/10/26/katie-hobbs-leads-for-arizona-governor/.
[97] MultiState, “Arizona 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/arizona-2026.

The polls

Hobbs leads in every poll, by 5 to 17 points.

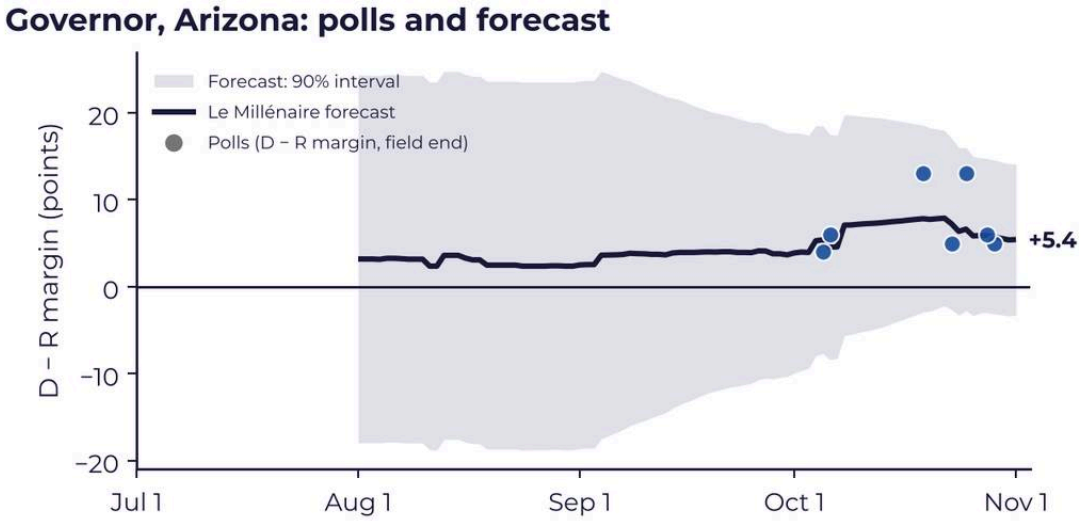


Figure 42. *Arizona: polls (margin between Hobbs and Biggs) and Le Millénaire's projection.*

The model

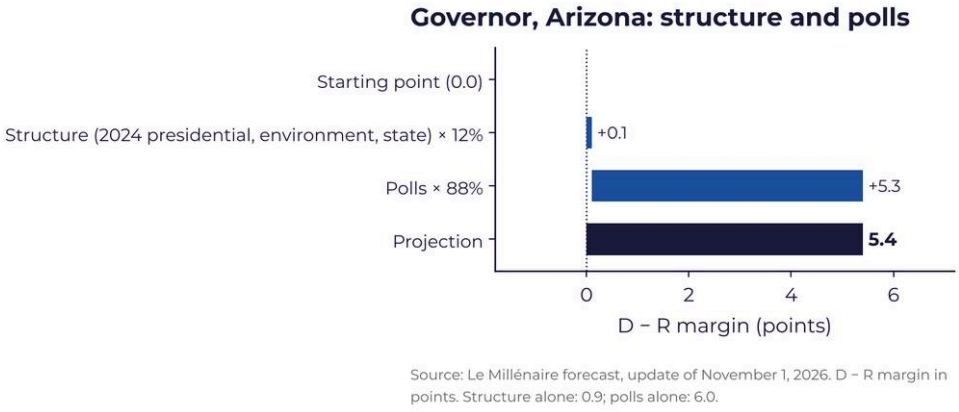


Figure 43. *Arizona: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

The polls drive Hobbs's lead. The structure, on its own, would leave the race nearly even. Her chances jumped with the series of mid-October polls, then leveled off.

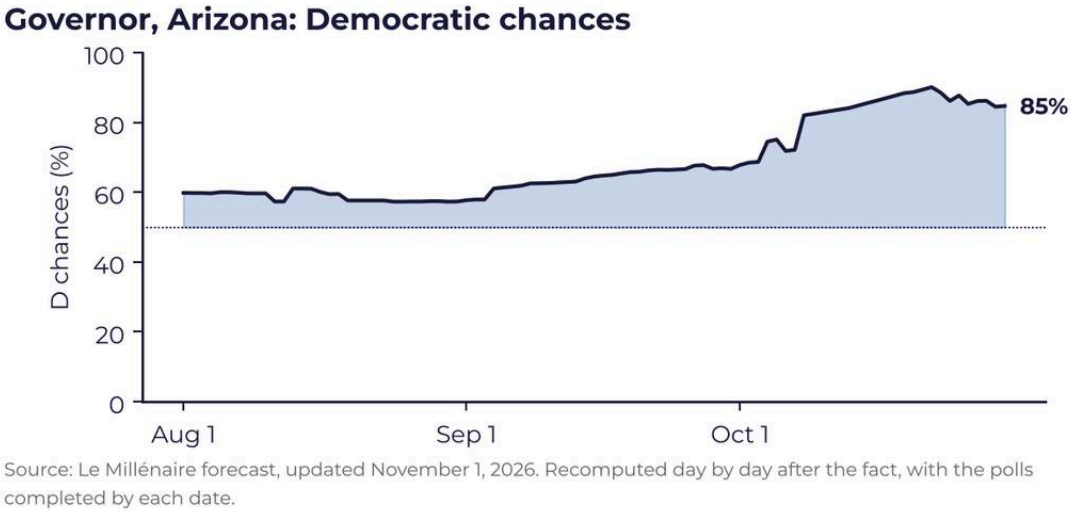


Figure 44. *Arizona: Hobbs's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Our projection is more cautious than RealClearPolitics. It uses only the latest wave from each pollster, dampens extreme margins and corrects for the historical polling error.

Cross-race effects

Arizona has no Senate race this year. Yet a Biggs victory there would be a heavy blow for Democrats in the Senate.

Our analysis

Hobbs is the favorite. According to HighGround, 25 to 30% of Republican voters do not support Biggs. She has also spent $17 million to his $5 million, about $50 million to $26 million including outside groups. Trump had won Maricopa by 3.5 points in 2024. She needs to retake the lead there. Biggs's share in the county's Republican suburbs will measure the defection of moderates.

KANSAS: CINDY HOLSCHER VS. TY MASTERSON

Current Democratic governor Laura Kelly won twice in a deeply Republican state, and she cannot run again. Democrat Cindy Holscher is running to take over. Republican Ty Masterson is well placed to win back the office. This is the only Democratic-held governorship where Republicans are clear favorites.

Where the race will be decided

Johnson County, the Kansas-side suburbs of Kansas City, is the stronghold of Cindy Holscher, a state senator from Overland Park[98]. Sedgwick, around Wichita, is the other hub. Masterson lives in its suburbs, in Andover, and Trump came to hold a rally in Park City, north of the city. Lawrence, Kansas City and Topeka complete the Democratic map.

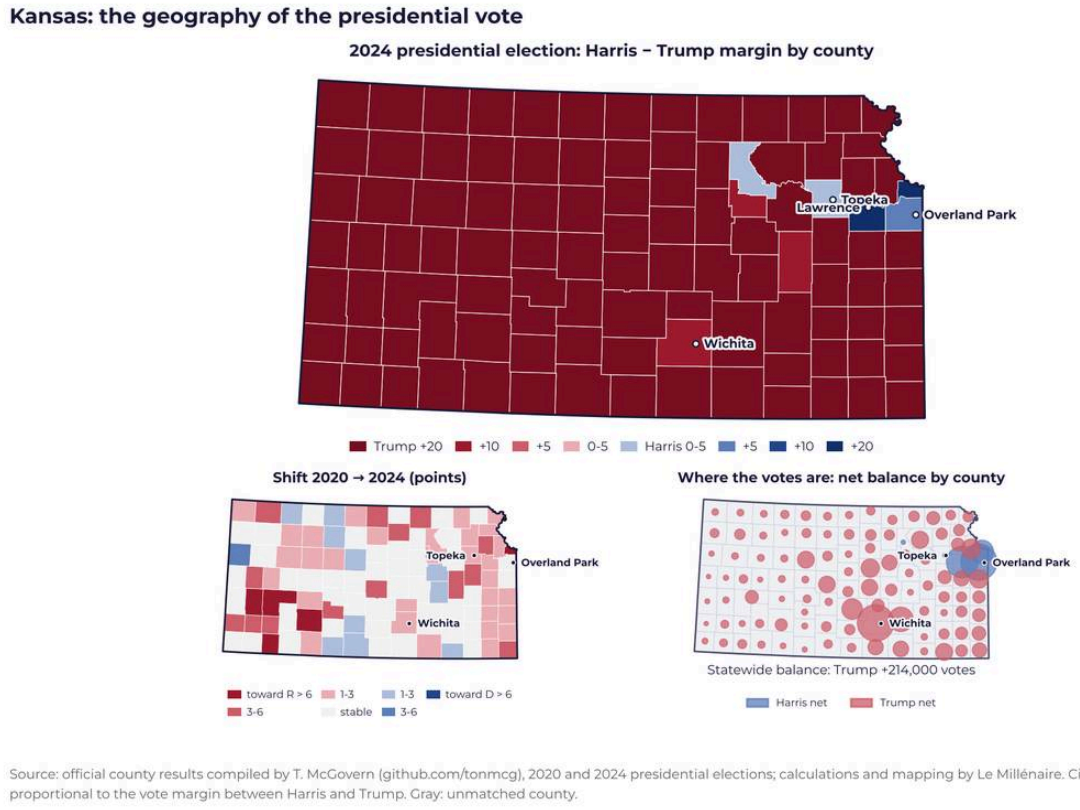


Figure 45. *Kansas: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote balance by county (proportional circles).*

Kansas by the numbers

[98] HPPR and Kansas Reflector, October 21, 2026, https://www.hppr.org/hppr-news/2026-10-21/trump-affirms-endorsement-of-ty-masterson-in-kansas-governors-race-belittles-cindy-holscher.

Indicator	Value
2024 presidential	Trump +16.1, small shift since 2020; Harris wins 5 of 105 counties
Key counties	Johnson (25.9% of the vote) Harris +8.5; Sedgwick (16.1%) Trump +13.8
Democratic counties	Douglas +38.0; Wyandotte +23.9, down 7.1; Shawnee evenly split
2022 governor	Kelly reelected, 49.5% to 47.3%, Pyle (ind.) 2.0%; parties have alternated for 60 years[99]
Primaries	Masterson 43% (seven candidates); Holscher 48.6% (three candidates)
Money	Masterson about $360,000 more in cash on hand; RGA super PAC on the air
Independent polls	co/efficient (Rep.) 51% to 43%; Emerson (Nexstar) 51% to 44%; Siena 49% to 44%; YouGov early October 47% to 44%, all for Masterson
Democratic polls	Global Strategy Group, August and September: Holscher ahead by one to three points[100]
RealClearPolitics average	Masterson 49.5%, Holscher 43.8%
Adjusted average and structure	Masterson +3.8; structure Masterson +9.5
Projection	Masterson +4.4 (90% interval: Masterson +13.1 to Holscher +4.2)
Chances	Masterson 80.0%; Holscher 34.1% on September 1, 13.9% on October 26, then 20.0%
Senate	Marshall (Rep.) 78.9% against Hamilton, +5.8; Holscher 1.4 points above Hamilton
Cross-race effects	Holscher win: Senate from 39.8% to 77.4%, House 97.2%, 26.0 Democratic governors expected; Hamilton 55.5% if Holscher wins narrowly

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

The candidates and the campaign

Masterson is president of the state Senate. Holscher beat Ethan Corson, Kelly's candidate, and the governor eventually rallied behind her[101]. Only one debate took place, at the State Fair on September 12. Masterson declined two televised debates.

Property taxes dominate the campaign. Holscher wants to lower the residential assessment rate by 2.5% through a constitutional amendment. Masterson prefers to cap the annual increase in property values at 3%, also in the Constitution. He promises a school reading reform inspired by Mississippi and tax credits for scholarships. Holscher points back to Sam Brownback's 2012

[99] MultiState, "Kansas 2026 governor race," October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/kansas-2026.
[100] Politico, DAGA memo, October 1, 2026, https://static.politico.com/0f/52/d84e43ae45cf803b787113de4d91/daga-ks-interested-parties-memo-10-01-26.pdf; 270toWin, Kansas polls, accessed October 27, 2026, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/kansas.
[101] HPPR and Kansas Reflector, October 21, 2026, https://www.hppr.org/hppr-news/2026-10-21/trump-affirms-endorsement-of-ty-masterson-in-kansas-governors-race-belittles-cindy-holscher.

tax cuts, and she supports Medicaid expansion and cannabis[102]. On October 19, Donald Trump came to back Masterson and mocked “Crazy Cindy Holscher.” Ads from the RGA's super PAC accuse Holscher of wanting to “turn Kansas into California.”

The polls

Independent pollsters have nearly all shown Masterson ahead since September. Only the Washington Post puts Holscher in the lead, in late October[103]. Before it, only the Democratic polls from the summer put her ahead.

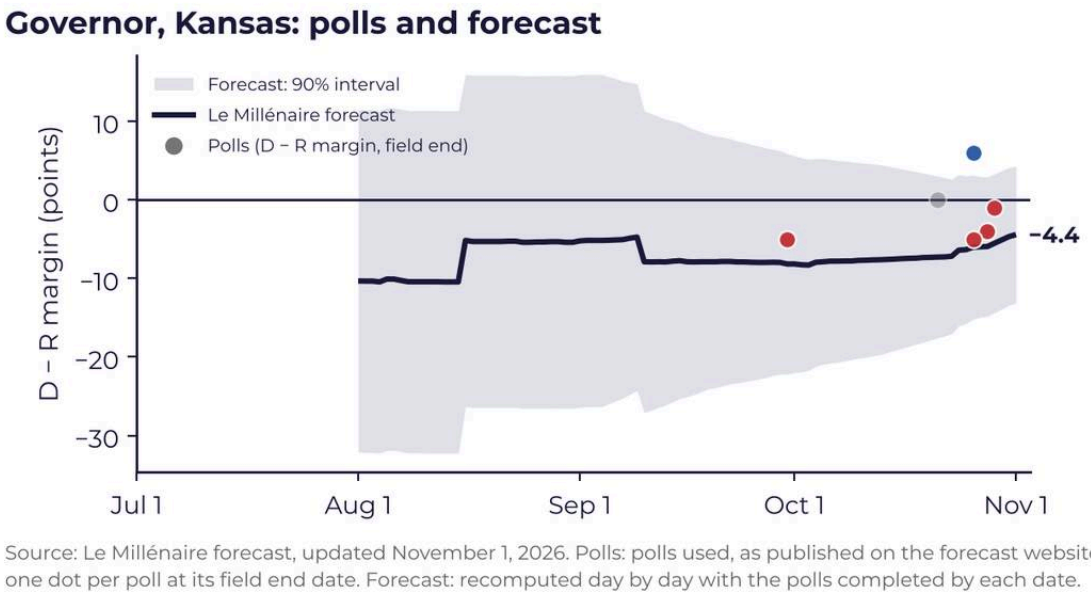
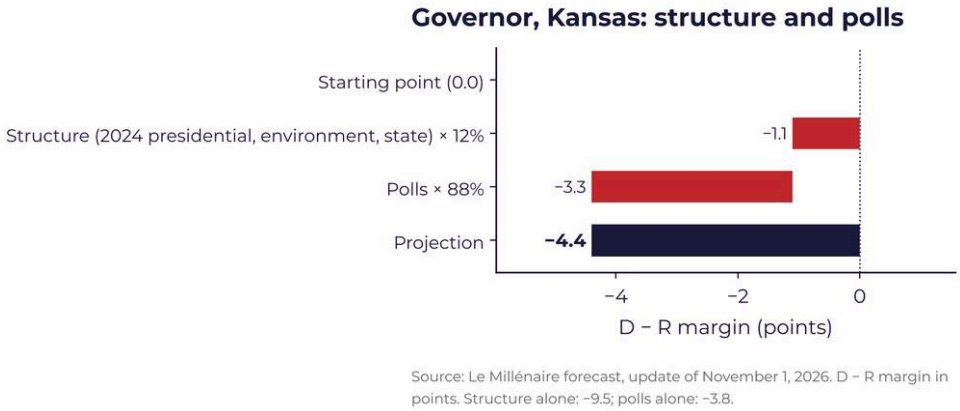


Figure 46. *Kansas: polls (margin between Holscher and Masterson) and Le Millénaire's projection.*

[102] HPPR, October 13, 2026, https://www.hppr.org/2026-10-13/in-race-for-kansas-governor-masterson-and-holscher-focus-on-taxes-and-education-funding.
[103] Wikipedia, “2026 Kansas gubernatorial election,” polling table, accessed November 1, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Kansas_gubernatorial_election.

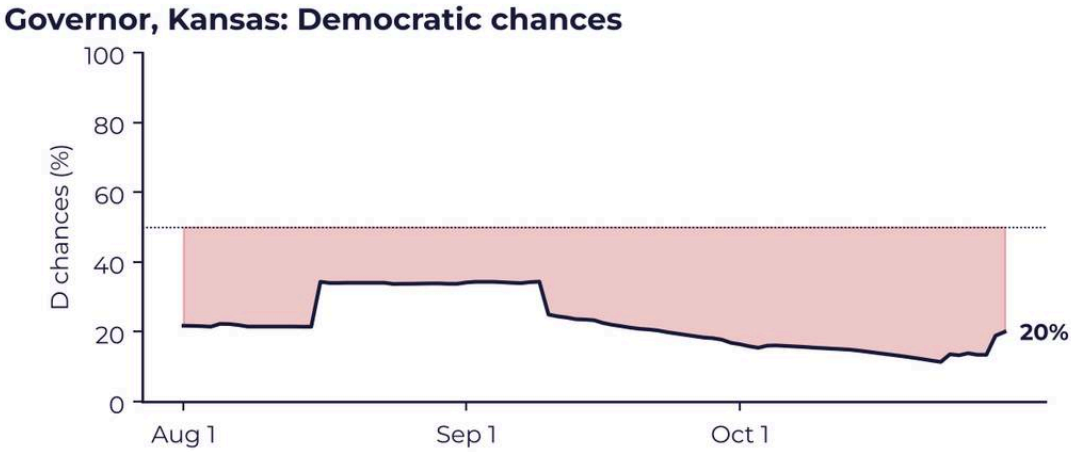
The model



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026. D − R margin in points. Structure alone: −9.5; polls alone: −3.8.

Figure 47. *Kansas: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

Polls and structure point in the same direction. Holscher's chances peaked in early September, buoyed by the Democratic surveys, then melted away as the independent polls came out.



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, updated November 1, 2026. Recomputed day by day after the fact, with the polls completed by each date.

Figure 48. *Kansas: Holscher's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Cross-race effects

A Holscher victory would imply a national polling error in favor of the Democrats. In the simulator, it has the strongest effect of all the governor's races. In the Senate, in the simulations where she wins narrowly, Adam Hamilton gains a slight edge over Roger Marshall.

Our analysis

Masterson remains the favorite, with Trump having won Kansas by 16.1 points and nearly all independent polls putting him ahead. Holscher needs to do much better than Harris's 8.5-point lead in Johnson County and narrow the 13.8-point deficit in Sedgwick. On election night, Johnson and Sedgwick will give an indication of the polling error nationwide.

TEXAS: GINA HINOJOSA VS. GREG ABBOTT

Republican Greg Abbott, the current governor of Texas, retains an 85.7% chance. Democrat Gina Hinojosa has nevertheless led in some polls, and the model's adjusted average gives the incumbent governor only a 3.7-point lead. The structure adds roughly 2.0 more. Texas has not elected a Democratic governor in more than 35 years.

Where the race will be decided

Texas's shift toward Trump is among the largest in the country, and Brookings links it to the Latino vote. It shows first along the border, where Hidalgo (McAllen) flipped to Trump. The big cities remain Democratic, but are slipping. Harris County means Houston and 13.7% of the vote: it cost Democrats 131,487 votes in net margin. Tarrant, Fort Worth's county, has swung back to Trump. North of Dallas, Collin and Denton shifted by 5 to 7 points.

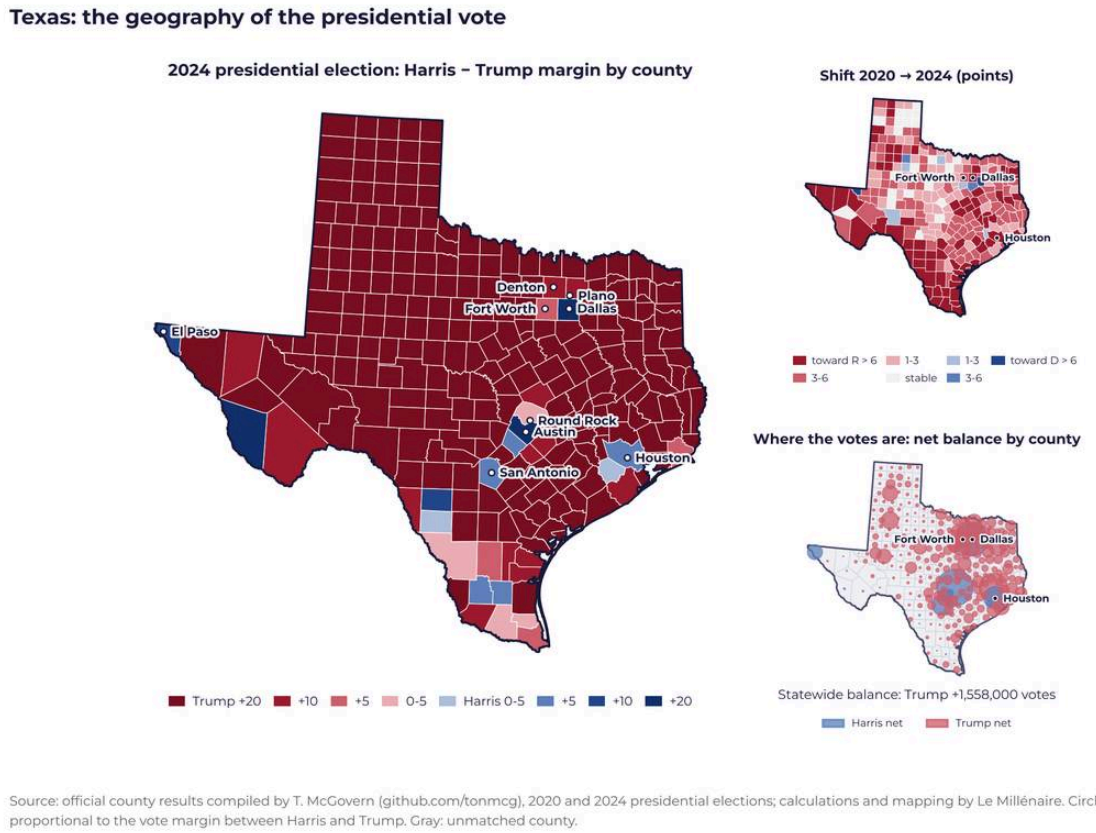


Figure 49. *Texas: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote balance by county (proportional circles).*

Texas by the numbers

Indicator	Value
2020 and 2024 presidential	Shift of 8.1 points toward Trump; Harris wins 12 of 254 counties
Border counties (2020-2024)	Maverick −28.0; Webb (Laredo) −25.5; Starr −21.0; El Paso −20.0; Hidalgo −19.9; Cameron (Brownsville) −19.0
Big cities (2024)	Harris County D+5.5 (Biden +13.3); Dallas D+22.2 (−9.4); Bexar (San Antonio) D+9.7 (−8.4)
2022 governor	Abbott 54.8%, Beto O'Rourke 43.9% (+10.9)
March 3 primaries	Abbott 81.8%; Hinojosa 58.5%, Chris Bell 9.8%[104]
Abbott, July 1 to September 24	More than $20 million raised, $74.1 million spent ($141.3 million since January), $18.2 million cash on hand
Hinojosa, same period	More than $13 million raised (248,000 contributions, $53.37 on average), $4 million cash on hand[105]
Polls since September 1	Twenty-six: Hinojosa leads five, Univision shows a tie, Abbott leads the others by 1 to 7 points[106]
October averages	Raw (seventeen polls): Abbott +2.4; RealClearPolitics: Abbott +3.3 (49.8% to 46.5%)

[104] Wikipedia, "2026 Texas gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Texas_gubernatorial_election.
[105] Texas Tribune, via KSAT, October 6, 2026, https://www.ksat.com/news/texas/2026/10/06/greg-abbott-outraised-gina-hinojosa-but-burned-through-much-of-his-campaign-cash-in-texas-governors-race/.
[106] 270toWin, Texas polls, accessed October 27, 2026, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/texas.

Indicator	Value
Adjusted average and structure	Average of twenty-six pollsters: Abbott +3.7; structure: Abbott +20.4, weighted at 12%
Projection	Abbott +5.6; 90% interval from Abbott +14.3 to Hinojosa +3.1
Change since August 1	Margin from 9.9 to 5.6 points; Hinojosa's chances from 22.2% to 14.3%
Ratings	Cook and Sabato: “Lean Republican”; Inside Elections: “Likely Republican”
Markets	About 68% for Abbott
Early voting as of October 23	3,688,224 voters, 47% more than in 2022; estimate: Republicans +7.8[107]
Simulator cross-race effects	Hinojosa win: Senate 65.4% and House 97.3% for the Democrats; Abbott win: Senate 35.5%

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

Texas has not had a Democratic governor since Ann Richards (1991-1995)[108]. To win, Hinojosa must win back part of the border. She also needs to regain ground in the suburbs of Dallas and Houston.

The candidates and the campaign

Gina Hinojosa has represented Austin in the state House since 2017. Abbott has raised more, but he has spent far more than he took in. Jeff Yass, Joe Gebbia, Kenneth Fisher and Jack Dwyer each gave him $1 million. Hinojosa relies on numerous small donations.

Abbott debated in each of his three previous campaigns. This time, he is refusing. Hinojosa therefore staged a mock debate outside the Governor's Mansion on October 15. The incumbent is promoting an “Abbott Affordability Agenda” focused on property taxes, and he has put $12 million into a campaign against his opponent's tax votes. But Greg Abbott is facing sharp criticism over the construction of data centers across Texas. Rural counties fear losing their rural identity, as well as the day-to-day concerns over construction sites, pollution, and water and power shortages that stem from building the data

[107] State election offices, Le Millénaire tallies as of October 23, 2026, https://election.lemillenaire.org/etats-unis/vote-anticipe/2026/.
[108] MultiState, “Texas 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/texas-2026.

centers[109]. Around September 20, a Siena poll gave Hinojosa a 4-point lead, and RealClearPolitics immediately rated the race a “toss-up”[110].

The polls

Hinojosa led in Siena's polls of September 11 and October 4, in Marist's of September 23, and in YouGov's of October 6 and 14. Since then, the tide has turned. After an evenly balanced first half of October, nearly every poll released since October 15 has put Abbott ahead, by 1 to 5 points.

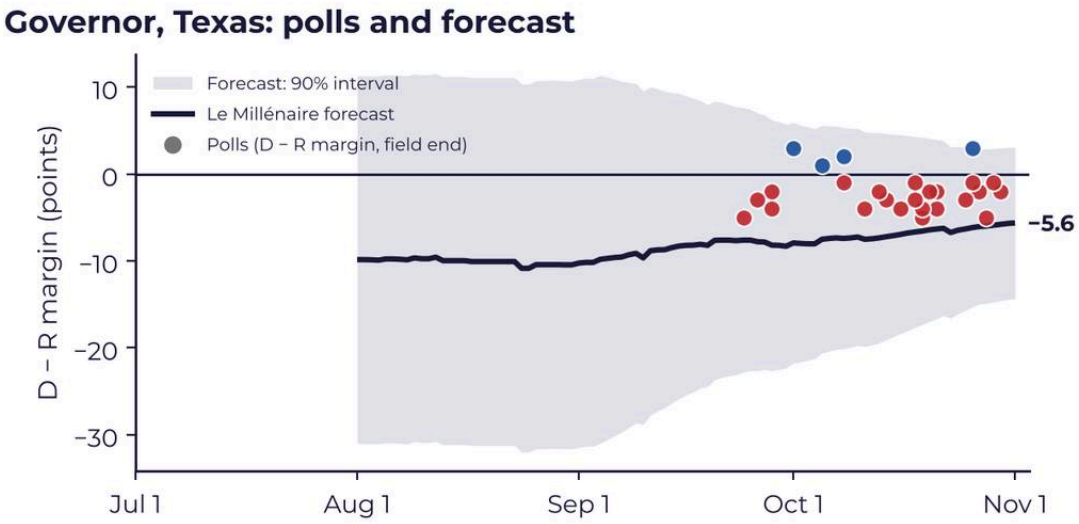
Table 8. Texas: the October polls

Pollster (sponsor)	Date	Sample	Hinojosa	Abbott	Lead
Fox News	October 1	881 LV	47	52	Abbott +5
Siena	October 4	615 LV	49	46	Hinojosa +3
YouGov	October 6	3,622 LV	48	47	Hinojosa +1
Guidant Polling	October 7	800 LV	44	46	Abbott +2
UMass Lowell	October 8	850 LV	44	48	Abbott +4
Siena	October 13	617 LV	47	48	Abbott +1
Marist	October 14	1,196 LV	45	49	Abbott +4
YouGov	October 14	861 LV	49	48	Hinojosa +1
ActiVote	October 15	400 LV	49	51	Abbott +2
YouGov	October 18	1,460 LV	48	52	Abbott +4
University of Houston Hobby School	October 19	2,000 LV	46	49	Abbott +3
Fox News	October 21	1,398 LV	47	52	Abbott +5
ActiVote	October 21	400 LV	48	53	Abbott +5
New River Strategies / GS Strategy Group (Cook)	October 21	934 LV	46	48	Abbott +2
Emerson College	October 22	1,000 LV	47	51	Abbott +4
Texas Public Opinion Research	October 23	969 LV	48	51	Abbott +3
Verasight	October 23	601 LV	46	48	Abbott +2

Source: 270toWin, Texas polls, accessed October 27, 2026 (publication date or end of fieldwork). LV: likely voters.

[109] Webb, S. (2026). 'We are not a bunch of woke Marxist liberals here': Rural voters scramble Texas election. Politico. https://www.politico.com/news/2026/08/19/how-data-centers-and-power-lines-could-turn-texas-governors-race-blue-01041065

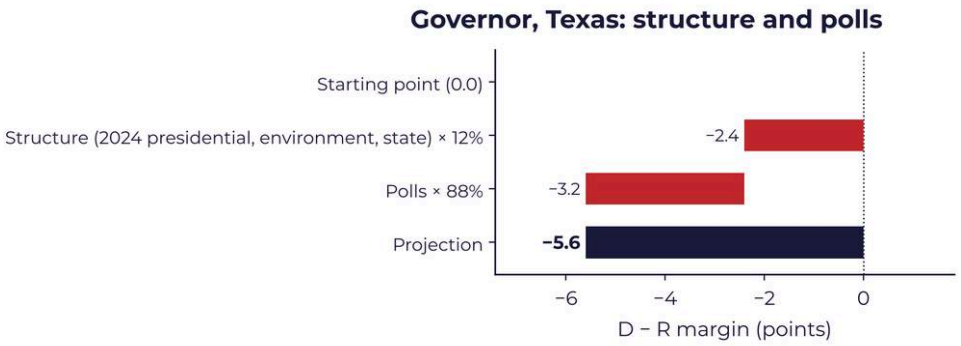
[110] San Antonio Current, September 21, 2026, https://www.sacurrent.com/news/realclearpolitics-moves-texas-governors-race-to-a-tossup-six-weeks-out-from-election-day/.



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, updated November 1, 2026. Polls: polls used, as published on the forecast website, one dot per poll at its field end date. Forecast: recomputed day by day with the polls completed by each date.

Figure 50. *Texas: polls (margin between Hinojosa and Abbott) and Le Millénaire's projection.*

The model



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026. D − R margin in points. Structure alone: −20.4; polls alone: −3.7.

Figure 51. *Texas: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

The model puts Abbott slightly higher than the polls. The state's structure strongly favors him: even with a low weight, it adds about two points to his lead.

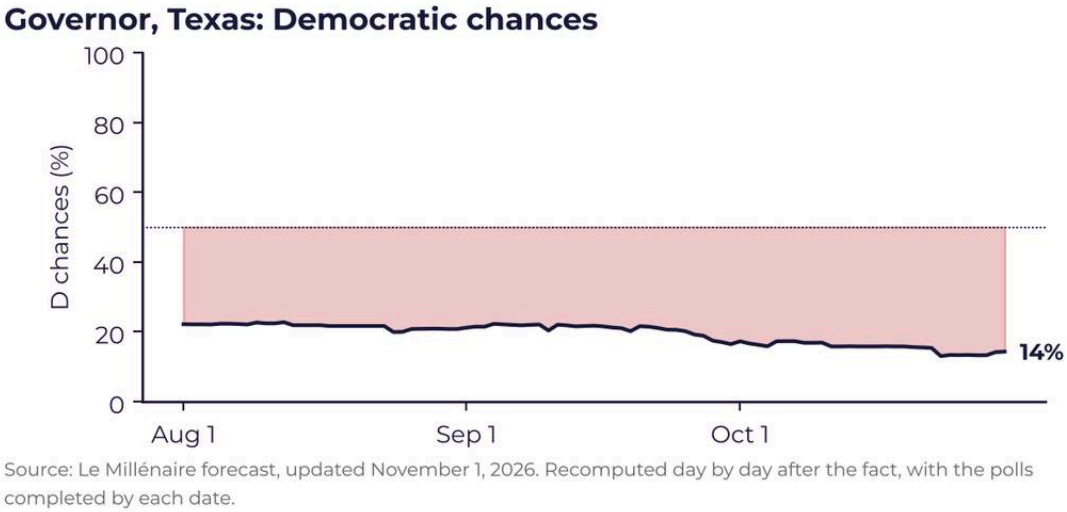


Figure 52. *Texas: Hinojosa's chances since August 1, 2026.*

The projected margin has narrowed since August. Hinojosa's chances have nonetheless declined. The explanation lies in the model's uncertainty, which tightens faster than the margin as the election approaches.

Governor and Senate

In the Senate race, James Talarico leads Ken Paxton by 4.0 points in our polling average. The projection nonetheless gives him only a 0.2-point lead and a 51.3% chance, and Abbott runs 5.8 points better than Paxton. Talarico wins in 94.4% of the simulations in which Hinojosa wins narrowly. He still has a 73.5% chance in those where Abbott wins narrowly. An Abbott reelection by fewer than 5 points thus remains compatible with a Democratic win in the Senate race.

Early voting and cross-race effects

Early turnout is well above 2022 levels, and our estimate gives this electorate a markedly Republican tilt. In the simulator, the outcome in Texas significantly shifts Democratic chances in the Senate.

Our analysis

Abbott is the favorite. Nearly every poll released since October 15 shows him ahead, by 1 to 5 points. They bolster the projection, without making his reelection a foregone conclusion. The first numbers to watch on election

night: the border, Hidalgo, Webb and Cameron. They will show whether the 2024 Latino realignment holds. Next comes Harris County, then the suburbs of Collin and Denton. An Abbott victory by fewer than 5 points there would signal a very tight Senate race.

NEW MEXICO: DEB HAALAND VS. GREGG HULL

The state swung nearly 5 points toward Trump in 2024. Yet Deb Haaland leads in every poll, and she has nearly eight times as much money as her opponent. She has an 90.5% chance of winning.

Where the race will be decided

Brookings sees Harris's decline as a warning sign for Democrats. Their sharpest losses came in the north, the northwest and Las Cruces. The oil-producing east, with Lea, Eddy and Chaves, remains overwhelmingly Republican.

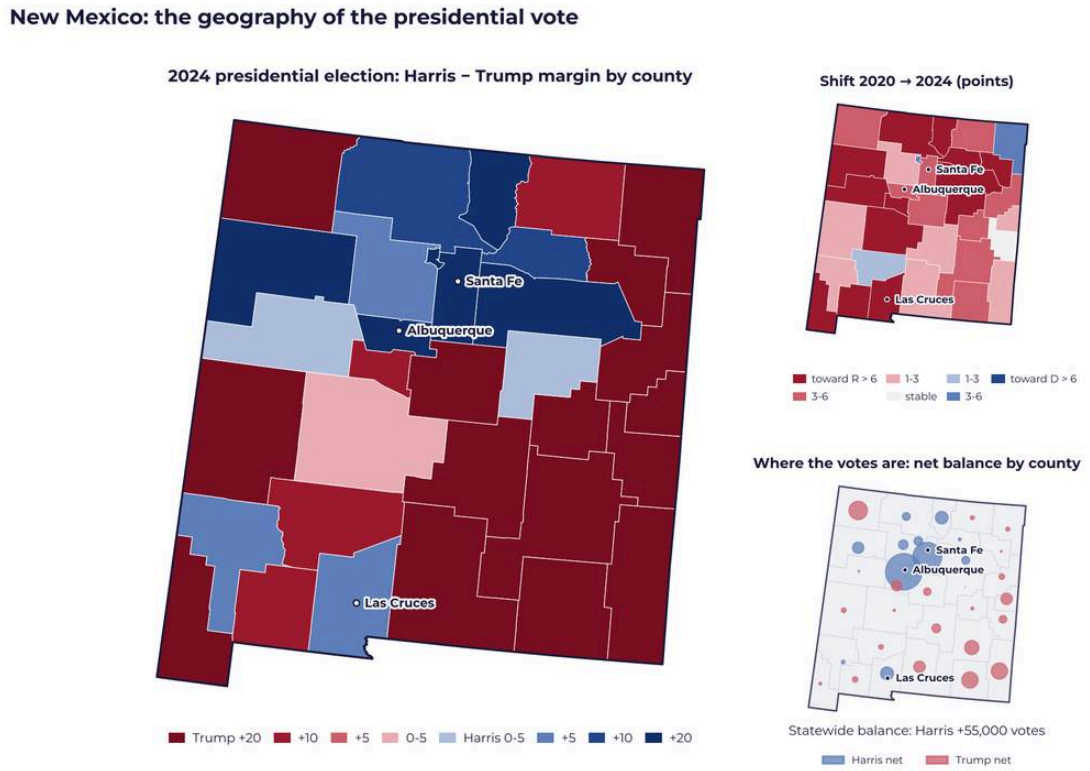


Figure 53. *New Mexico: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

New Mexico in numbers

Indicator	Value
2020 and 2024 presidential elections	Biden +10.8; Harris +6.0, with 13 of the 33 counties
Bernalillo (Albuquerque)	One third of the vote; Harris +21.0
Democratic losses 2020-2024	Rio Arriba −14.2; McKinley (Gallup) −14.1; Doña Ana (Las Cruces) −8.6; Taos −7.3
2022 governor	Michelle Lujan Grisham 52.0%, vs. 45.6% (+6.4)
June 2 primaries	Haaland 72.3% against Sam Bregman; Hull 47.0%[111]
Money raised	Haaland $19.2 million (a record); Hull about $2.5 million
October polls	SurveyUSA (KOB): 47% to 41%; Research & Polling (Albuquerque Journal), October 1 to 9, 1,125 likely voters: 49% to 42%
Adjusted average	Haaland +7.5
Structure	Haaland +2.3
Projection	Haaland +6.9; 90% range from Hull +1.8 to Haaland +15.6
Chances	Haaland 90.5% (65.6% on August 1)
Senate	Ben Ray Luján 99.7%, projected lead of 19.9 points, 13.0 more than Haaland
Crossover effects of a Hull win	Democrats at 16.5% for the Senate and 40.1% for the House; 19.2 Democratic governors expected

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

The Albuquerque Journal poll maps out the geography of the race. Haaland leads in the north-central region, around Santa Fe, and in the Albuquerque metro area, Rio Rancho included. Hull holds the conservative east and the northwest. Among Hispanic and nonwhite voters, Native Americans included, Haaland gets 64% to Hull's 26%[112].

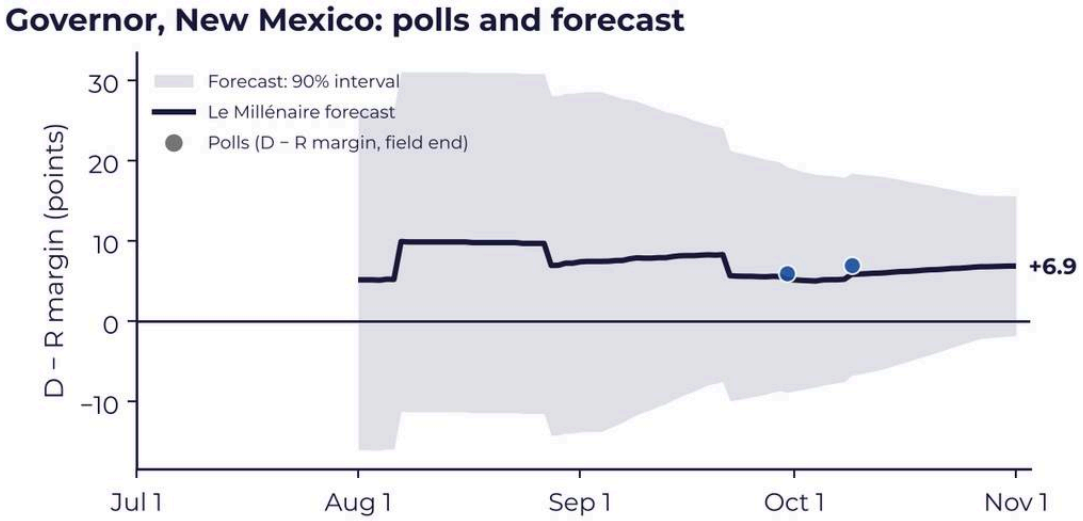
The candidates and the campaign

Gregg Hull was mayor of Rio Rancho from 2014 to 2026. He won the Republican primary with the backing of former Governor Gary Johnson. The money tilts very clearly toward Haaland. Donald Trump has not endorsed Hull, and no major conservative group has entered the race on his behalf. On the contrary, a DGA-linked committee is running ads tying him to Trump[113].

[111] Wikipedia, "2026 New Mexico gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_New_Mexico_gubernatorial_election.
[112] Albuquerque Journal, October 11, 2026, https://abqjournal.com/news/journal-poll-haaland-maintains-lead-over-hull-as-new-mexicos-race-for-governor-nears-homestretch/3139307.
[113] MultiState, "New Mexico 2026 governor race," October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/new-mexico-2026.

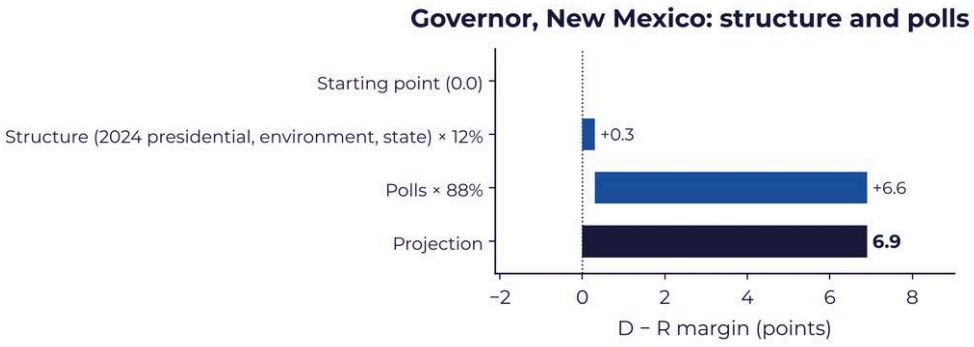
Haaland nevertheless skipped the KOB-TV debate, leaving Hull on stage alone. Pollster Brian Sanderoff said he was surprised she had not widened the gap, given the national climate.

The polls and the model



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, updated November 1, 2026. Polls: polls used, as published on the forecast website, one dot per poll at its field end date. Forecast: recomputed day by day with the polls completed by each date.

Figure 54. *New Mexico: polls (margin between Haaland and Hull) and Le Millénaire projection.*



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026. D − R margin in points. Structure alone: 2.3; polls alone: 7.5.

Figure 55. *New Mexico: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

Here the model follows the polls. The structure, much less favorable to Haaland, takes only a little off her lead. Her chances have risen markedly since the summer.

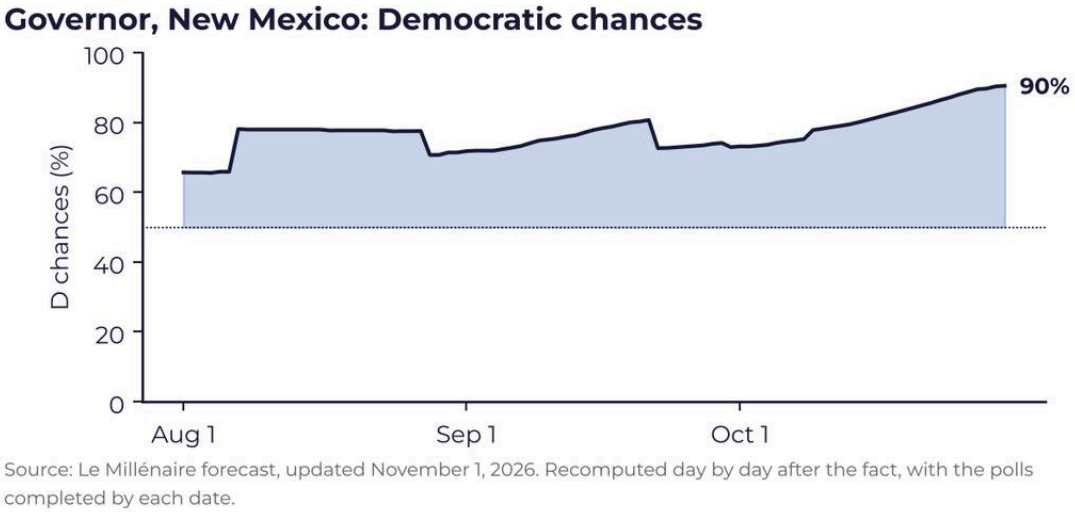


Figure 56. *New Mexico: Haaland's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Governor, Senate and crossover effects

The Democratic senator runs far ahead of Haaland. In the simulator, a Hull win would sink Democratic chances in the Senate.

Our analysis

Haaland leads. But the 90% range extends down to a 1.8-point lead for Hull. On election night, watch Rio Arriba and McKinley, where Harris lost 14.2 and 14.1 points, then Doña Ana (Las Cruces). Also watch Sandoval, the county of Rio Rancho, where Hull was mayor from 2014 to 2026.

FLORIDA: DAVID JOLLY VS. BYRON DONALDS

The ratings had moved Florida closer to competitive territory in September. But the October polls put Byron Donalds back to a comfortable lead. He now has a 92.6% chance of winning.

Where the race will be decided

Florida's swing is one of the strongest in the country, and its heart lies in the Hispanic southeast. Miami-Dade and Osceola, south of Orlando, flipped. Broward and Palm Beach remain Democratic, the latter narrowly. Hillsborough, Tampa's county, and Duval, Jacksonville's, went to Trump.

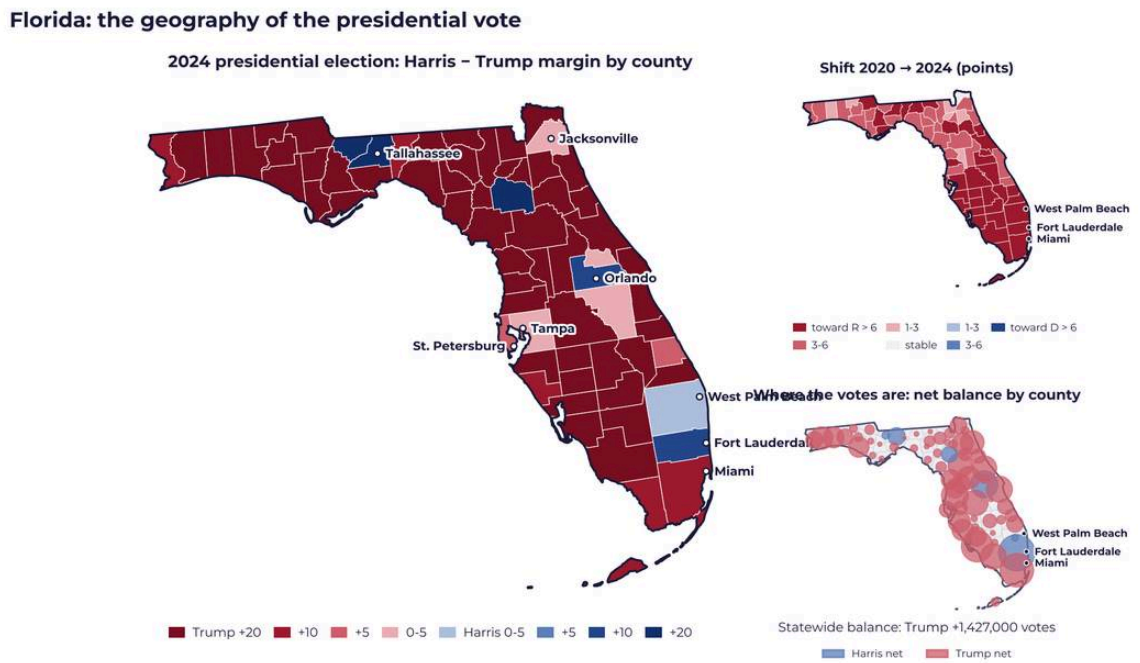


Figure 57. *Florida: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

Florida in numbers

Indicator	Value
2020 and 2024 presidential elections	Trump +3.4, then +13.1; Harris wins 6 of the 67 counties
Miami-Dade	10.0% of the vote; from Biden +7.4 to Trump +11.4, a swing of 18.8 points and 210,266 votes of Democratic net margin lost
Other southeastern counties (2020-2024)	Osceola −15.3; Broward −12.8; Palm Beach −12.0 (Harris +0.8)
2022 governor	Ron DeSantis 59.4%, vs. 40.0% (+19.4)
August 18 primaries	Donalds 47.8%; Jolly 61.0%[114]
Money	Donalds more than $140 million raised, Jolly about $20 million; for the final three weeks, $30 to $35 million vs. $15 million
Polls since September 1	Sixteen: Jolly leads in two (Change Research, 47% to 44%, then 48% to 46%); ties from St. Pete Polls and Change Research; Stetson in September: Donalds 51% to 39%
Closing stretch	co/efficient 49% to 40%; YouGov (registered voters) 50% to 42%; University of North Florida 49% to 47%[115]
Averages	RealClearPolitics: 48.6% to 43.0%; adjusted average of nineteen pollsters: Donalds +7.2
Structure	Donalds +11.0
Projection	Donalds +7.7; 90% range from Donalds +16.4 to Jolly +1.0
Trend in Jolly's chances	Peak of 31.3% on September 15, 7.4% today
Senate (special election)	Ashley Moody 94.3% against Angie Nixon, projected lead of 11.5 points, 3.8 more than Donalds
Early vote as of October 23	Estimate: Republicans +1.9[116]

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

Ron DeSantis was reelected by a landslide in 2022. Yet Jolly leads by 19 points among independents, 47% to 28%, in the Mason-Dixon poll[117].

The candidates and the campaign

Byron Donalds, a congressman endorsed by Donald Trump, defeated Jay Collins, James Fishback and Paul Renner. David Jolly chose Gwen Graham as his running mate. He comes from the other side: a Republican congressman from 2014 to 2017, he has since switched to the Democrats. He has also turned down every debate, citing his opponent's bad faith.

The money tilts toward Donalds, by about seven to one. The campaign revolves around three issues. The first is homeowners insurance, with the public

[114] Wikipedia, "2026 Florida gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Florida_gubernatorial_election.
[115] 270toWin, Florida polls, accessed October 27, 2026, https://270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/florida.
[116] State election offices, Le Millénaire tallies as of October 23, 2026, https://election.lemillenaire.org/etats-unis/vote-anticipe/2026/.
[117] MultiState, "Florida 2026 governor race," October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/florida-2026.

catastrophe fund Jolly proposes. The second is Amendment 3 on the property tax exemption, which Donalds supports and Jolly opposes. The last is the one-year moratorium on data centers championed by Jolly. Ron DeSantis remains absent[118].

The polls and the model

Apart from a late-October Workbench Strategy poll[119], the only polls favorable to Jolly come from Change Research, a Democratic firm. The closing stretch of the campaign is turning in Donalds's favor.

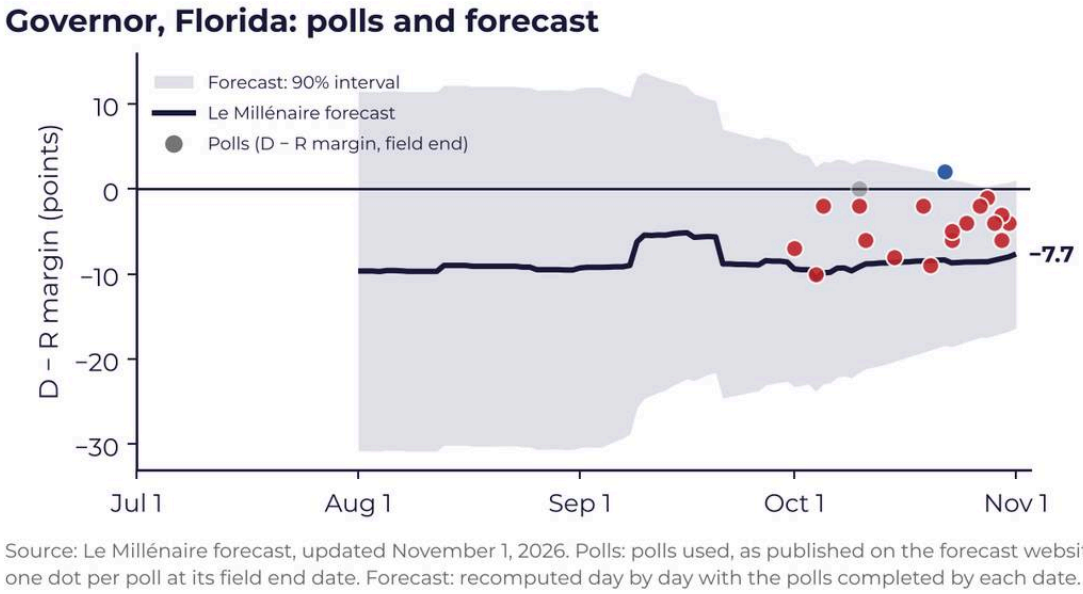


Figure 58. *Florida: polls (margin between Jolly and Donalds) and Le Millénaire projection.*

[118] MultiState, "Florida 2026 governor race," October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/florida-2026.
[119] Wikipedia, "2026 Florida gubernatorial election," polling table, accessed November 1, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Florida_gubernatorial_election.

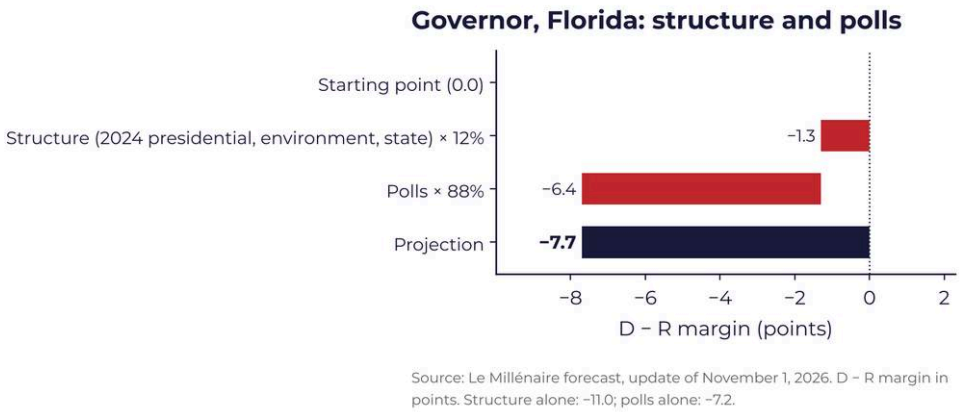


Figure 59. *Florida: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

The adjusted average gives Donalds markedly more than the raw average. The difference comes from the correction applied to the three Change Research polls, commissioned by the Democratic side, and from the historical polling error. Jolly's chances peaked in mid-September before falling back.

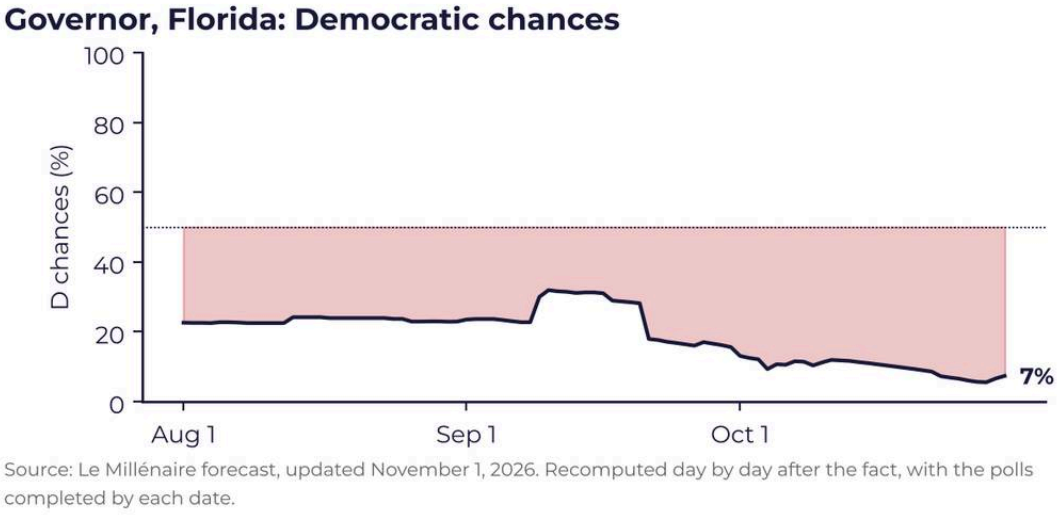


Figure 60. *Florida: Jolly's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Governor, Senate and early voting

The special Senate election is held the same day, and Ashley Moody runs even further ahead than Donalds. Our early vote estimate has not been tested against official Florida results.

Our analysis

Donalds is the strong favorite. Jolly may lead by 19 points among independents according to Mason-Dixon, but Trump won the state by 13.1 points in 2024. Donalds has also raised more than $140 million, Jolly about $20 million. Any tightening would show first in Miami-Dade, which went from Biden (+7.4) to Trump (+11.4), and in Osceola, which swung by 15.3 points.

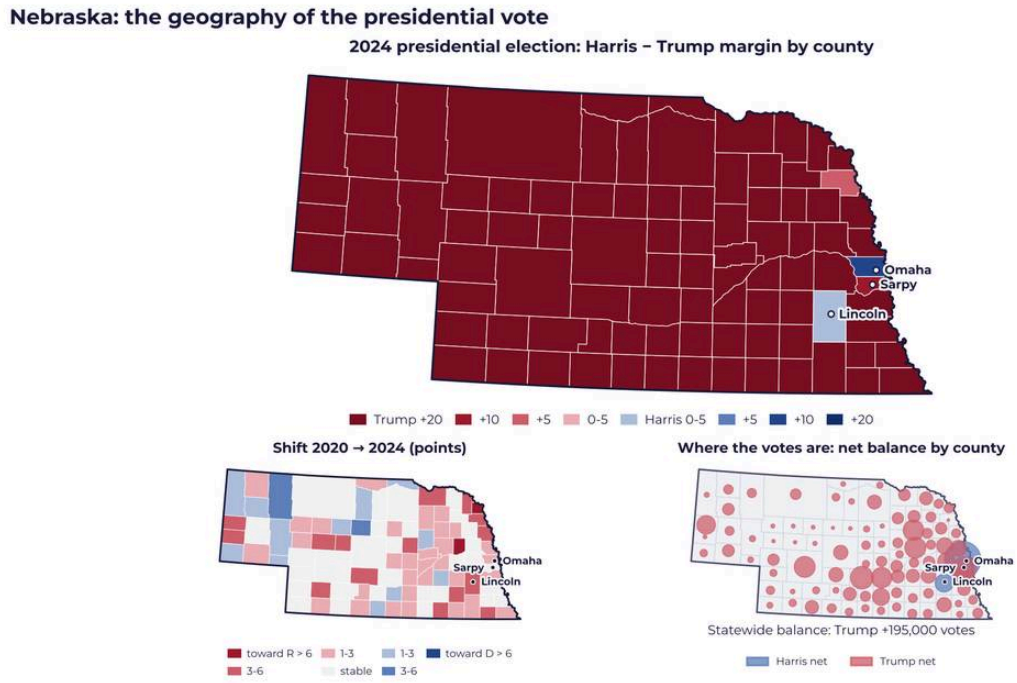
NEBRASKA: LYNNE WALZ VS. JIM PILLEN

Jim Pillen is the incumbent governor of a state Donald Trump won by 20.5 points. He leads in almost every poll and has a 97.9% chance of winning.

Where the race will be decided

Outside its two cities, Nebraska is very Republican. Omaha and Lincoln lean Democratic. Omaha's southern suburbs and the rest of the state vote for Trump. Yet Harris, like Biden, carried the Omaha district, which awards one electoral vote[120].

[120] Brookings, January 2, 2025, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/what-the-nation-told-us-in-2024-state-by-state/.



Source: official county results compiled by T. McGovern (github.com/tonmcg), 2020 and 2024 presidential elections; calculations and mapping by Le Millénaire. Circles proportional to the vote margin between Harris and Trump. Gray: unmatched county.

Figure 61. *Nebraska: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

Nebraska in numbers

Indicator	Value
2024 presidential election	Trump +20.5; Harris wins 2 of the 93 counties
Key Democratic counties	Douglas (Omaha): 28.9% of the vote, Harris +10.2; Lancaster (Lincoln): 16.6%, Harris +4.3
Republican counties	Sarpy: Trump +11.7; Platte and Madison: Trump by more than 55 points
2022 governor	Pillen 59.7%, vs. 36.3% (+23.4)
Primaries	Pillen 75.4%; Walz 91.5%
Third candidate	Brett Lindstrom, America First Party[121]: about $28,000 raised, 9% of registered Republicans (National Public Affairs)
Cash on hand as of September 29	Pillen $7.5 million, Walz $860,000[122]
Polls	Pillen ahead by 1 to 8 points, except Concord (Education Reform Now Advocacy): Walz 43% to 40%
Narrow and wide margins	YouGov 44% to 43%; Public Policy Polling (Democratic) 44% to 43%; SurveyUSA 43% to 35%; co/efficient 43% to 38%[123]
Latest National Public Affairs poll	47% to 41% according to MultiState, 44% to 40% according to 270toWin
Adjusted average and structure	Average of eight pollsters: Pillen +8.8; structure: Pillen +25.8
Projection	Pillen +10.8; 90% range from Pillen +19.5 to Pillen +2.1
Trend in Walz's chances	2.2% before the polls, 8.8% on September 15, around 5% until October 26, then 2.1%
Ratings	Cook (October 13) and Sabato (September 29): from "Safe" to "Likely" Republican
Senate	Dan Osborn 24.5% against Pete Ricketts (+8.3), 2.5 points better than Walz

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

The candidates and the campaign

Lynne Walz served in the state Senate from 2017 to 2025. She had already run for lieutenant governor in 2018. A former Republican state senator, Brett Lindstrom is running under a different label. With very little money, he is drawing a share of Republicans.

Pillen refuses to debate. There is also a scandal. According to MultiState, the Lincoln police are reportedly investigating a $2.5 million no-bid contract, and the state auditor has raised the possibility of favoritism. Pillen disputes this and denies any involvement by his office. He has the most unfavorable image of all the candidates tested by National Public Affairs.

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[121] Wikipedia, "2026 Nebraska gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Nebraska_gubernatorial_election.
[122] MultiState, "Nebraska 2026 governor race," October 26, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/nebraska-2026.
[123] 270toWin, Nebraska polls, accessed October 27, 2026, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/nebraska; Political Wire, October 16, 2026, https://politicalwire.com/2026/10/16/jim-pillen-barely-leads-in-nebraska-governors-race/.

Walz is campaigning on public finances: under Pillen, a $1.2 billion surplus turned into a $750 million deficit. She also supports medical cannabis and an independent audit. Pillen highlights schools, taxes, agriculture and values, school vouchers and an end to splitting electoral votes.

The polls and the model

Only one poll puts Walz ahead. On the latest National Public Affairs poll, sources differ.

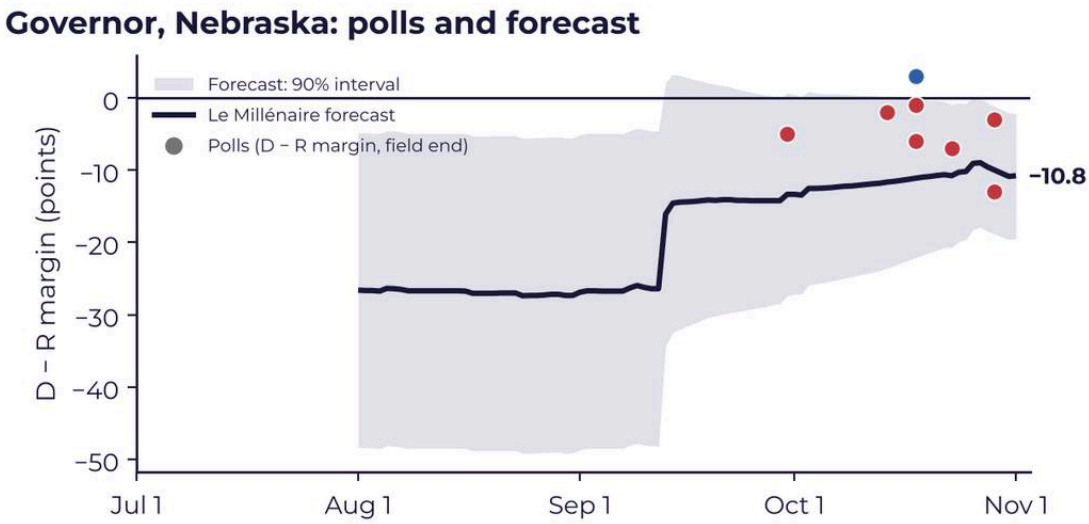


Figure 62. *Nebraska: polls (margin between Walz and Pillen) and Le Millénaire projection.*

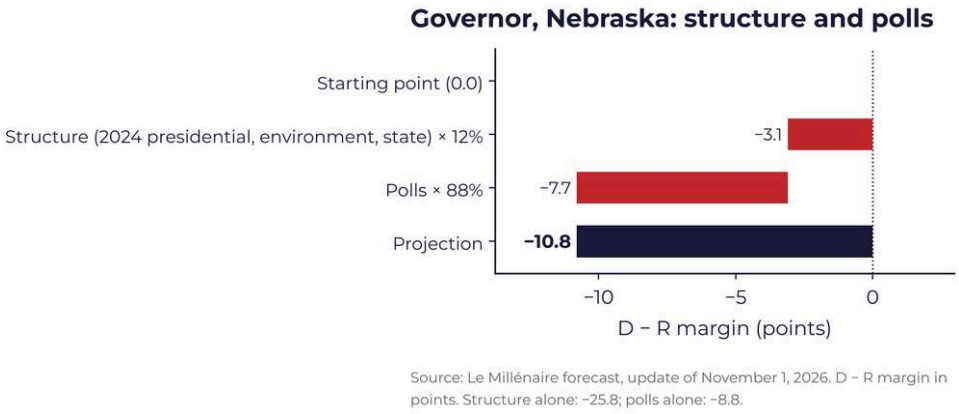


Figure 63. *Nebraska: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

Along with Rhode Island, Nebraska is the state where the polls diverge most from the structure. The model stays close to the polls. Walz's chances took off

with the first polls, then leveled off.

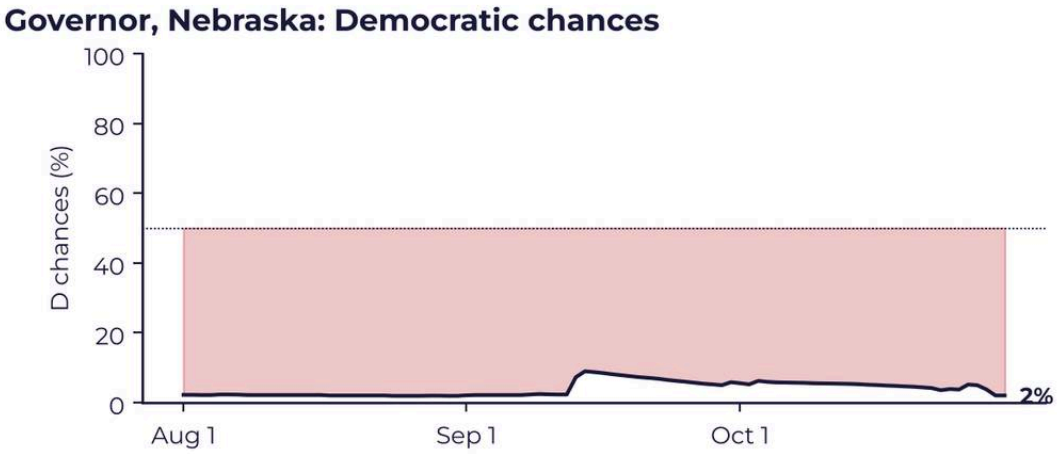


Figure 64. *Nebraska: Walz's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Governor and Senate

In the Senate race, independent Dan Osborn does slightly better than Walz against Republican Senator Pete Ricketts. In the governor's race, Cook and Sabato have moved their ratings closer to competitive territory.

Our analysis

Pillen remains the favorite, despite the scandals reported by MultiState and his refusal to debate. Walz must first clearly exceed Harris's 10.2-point lead in Douglas County (Omaha) and her 4.3 points in Lancaster County (Lincoln). She also needs to narrow the gap in Sarpy, which Trump won by 11.7 points. Finally, she must count on Brett Lindstrom, who draws 9% of registered Republicans according to National Public Affairs.

MAINE: HANNAH PINGREE VS. BOBBY CHARLES

In Maine, Hannah Pingree leads Bobby Charles and independent Rick Bennett by 8 to 14 points in every published poll. The model, however, does not compute chances for this state.

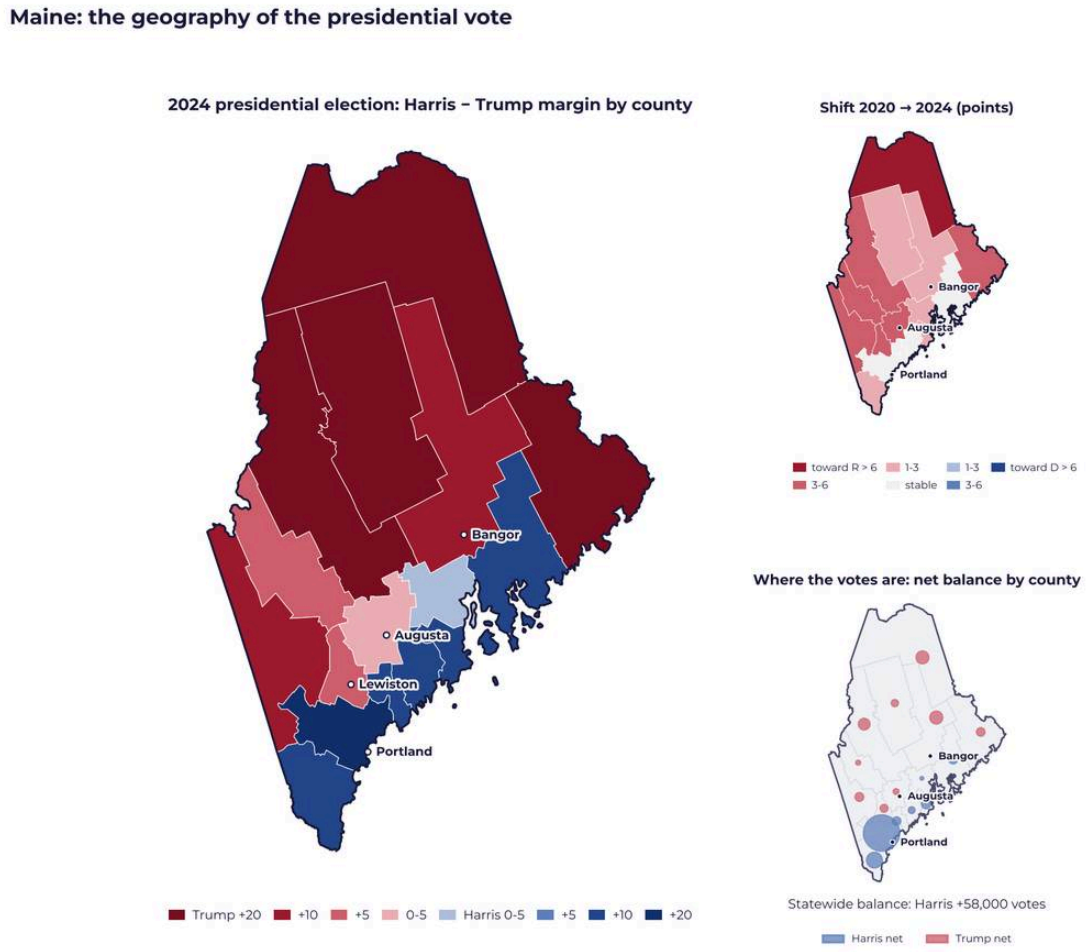
Why the model does not compute this race

The model only handles two-way races. It therefore leaves Maine aside, like Alaska. Our previous note wrongly stated that the general election for governor would be held by ranked-choice voting. Two advisory opinions of the Maine Supreme Judicial Court rule it out for this election, and the candidate who finishes first wins, even without an absolute majority[124]. The primaries therefore remain under ranked-choice voting.

Where the race will be decided

The southern coast carries the Democrats, led by Cumberland around Portland. The north and the interior, which make up most of the 2nd District, swung toward Trump, and Kennebec, around Augusta, flipped.

[124] MultiState, “Maine 2026 governor race,” October 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/maine-2026; Wikipedia, “2026 Maine gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Maine_gubernatorial_election.



Source: official county results compiled by T. McGovern (github.com/tonmcg), 2020 and 2024 presidential elections; calculations and mapping by Le Millénaire. Circles proportional to the vote margin between Harris and Trump. Gray: unmatched county.

Figure 65. *Maine: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

Maine in numbers

Indicator	Value
2024 presidential election	Harris +6.9 points, 7 of 16 counties
2020 presidential election	Biden +8.7 to +9.1 points depending on the source
2022 governor	Janet Mills reelected, 55.7% to 42.4% (+13.3)
Key Democratic counties	Cumberland (24.0% of the vote) Harris +36.3, up 0.6; York +10.5
Shift toward Trump, 2020 to 2024	Aroostook 6.3; Oxford 4.1; Somerset 3.7; Androscoggin 3.3; Kennebec flipped to Trump
Democratic primary (June 9)	Pingree 23.3% in the first round, behind Shah (26.8%); 56.2% to 43.8% in the final tally
Republican primary (June 9)	Charles 60.3%, Midgley 39.8% in the final tally
Money raised	Pingree more than $4.2 million, Charles $1.8 million, Bennett $923,000
Outside spending	DGA-linked group: more than $8 million reserved as of mid-September; PAC of Republican donors for Bennett: $70,000

Indicator	Value
Published polls	twelve, all for Pingree: +8 to +14 in a three-way race, +11 to +13 head-to-head
Latest polls	Fox News (October 22) 49% to 39%; Suffolk 49% to 38%; Washington Post 49% to 36%; Marist 52% to 40% (registered voters); co/efficient Pingree +9
RealClearPolitics average	Pingree 48.9%, Charles 37.6%, Bennett 6.5%
Model structure	Pingree +1.2 points
Chances	not computed (three-way race)
Senate	Collins 53.9% chance against Jackson, +0.7 point projected
Simulator crossover effect	Jackson win: 61.6% Democratic chance of controlling the Senate

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

The candidates and the campaign

Both June 9 primaries were decided by ranked-choice voting. A former speaker of the Maine House and the daughter of Representative Chellie Pingree, Hannah Pingree overtook Nirav Shah over the successive tallies. Bobby Charles, a lawyer, former assistant secretary of state and head of a lobbying firm, defeated Ben Midgley. Rick Bennett, a state senator and former chair of the Maine Republican Party, left his party in 2025[125].

Four debates were held. In Bangor, on October 8, Charles distanced himself from Donald Trump on the tariffs against Canada and on emissions. Pingree made opposition to Trump her central theme. Bennett criticized both parties equally, while siding with Pingree on the law limiting cooperation with ICE[126]. At the last debate, on October 14, Charles accused Pingree of corruption, over a MaineHousing loan to a nonprofit run by her husband and a grant to the Island Institute. The Bangor Daily News judges the accusation unsupported. The Island Institute calls it false[127].

[125] Wikipedia, "2026 Maine gubernatorial election," accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Maine_gubernatorial_election.
[126] Bangor Daily News, October 9, 2026, https://www.bangordailynews.com/2026/10/09/politics/maine-gubernatorial-debate-takeaways/.
[127] Bangor Daily News, October 15, 2026, https://www.bangordailynews.com/2026/10/14/politics/bobby-charles-corruption-claims-hannah-pingree-debate/.

The polls

None of the published polls puts Charles ahead. Even co/efficient, a Republican firm, gives Pingree the edge[128].

As in Colorado, however, the model's structure would give her only a slim lead.

Governor and Senate

In the Senate race, Susan Collins keeps a slight edge over Democrat Troy Jackson, while Pingree leads comfortably. A Jackson win would sharply raise Democratic chances of controlling the Senate in the simulator.

Our analysis

Pingree is the clear favorite. Bennett threatens her only if he takes more Democratic voters than expected, in an election where a plurality is enough. On election night, compare Charles's showing in the 2nd District, with Penobscot, Aroostook and Androscoggin, with Pingree's in Cumberland and York.

ALASKA: JONATHAN KREISS-TOMKINS VS. BERNADETTE WILSON

In Alaska, the election is held by ranked-choice voting among four candidates, so the model does not compute chances. Yet the polls put Democrat Jonathan Kreiss-Tomkins first on first choices and the winner in the final tally, against three divided Republicans.

Alaska in numbers

Indicator	Value
2024 presidential election	Trump +13.1 points
2020 presidential election	Trump +10.1 points
2022 governor	Dunleavy reelected with 50.3% of first choices; Gara (D) 24.2%; Walker (ind.) 20.7%

[128] 270toWin, Maine polls, accessed October 27, 2026, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/maine.

Indicator	Value
Electorate	about 57% of registered voters independent or with no declared party
Trump approval	net rating of about −21 points (Ivan Moore)[129]
Open primary (August 18)	Kreiss-Tomkins 22.5%; Begich 20.8%; Wilson 10.0%; Bronson 8.1%; Taylor 7.3%; Bishop 7.0%
Qualified	Kreiss-Tomkins (D); Wilson, Bronson and Taylor (R), the latter after Begich withdrew
Money	Kreiss-Tomkins: $2.17 million raised as of August 8, mostly from outside Alaska; Taylor: about $600,000 contributed to himself[130]
Polls, first choice	six polls: Kreiss-Tomkins 40 to 50%, Wilson 20 to 30%, Taylor 6 to 11%
Polls, final tally	55% to 45% (Fabrizio Ward and Impact Research for AARP, September); 54% to 46% (Alaska Survey Research, October)[131]
Alaska Survey Research, first choice	Kreiss-Tomkins 48%, then 50%
Undecided	approve of Trump by a net 30 points[132]
Chances	not computed (four-way ranked-choice vote)
Ratings	Cook (October 13) and Sabato (October 6): Lean D; Inside Elections: Toss-up
Senate	Peltola 18.8% chance against Sullivan, +6.4 points projected for him
Same day	Measure 2, which would repeal ranked-choice voting and the open primary

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

A correction

Our results page and the model data wrongly present Treg Taylor as the Republican candidate. The “top four” open primary qualified four candidates: Kreiss-Tomkins for the Democrats, and Bernadette Wilson, Dave Bronson and Treg Taylor for the Republicans. Kreiss-Tomkins’s main opponent is Wilson, endorsed by Donald Trump since October 13. Taylor comes in only fourth[133].

The terrain

Alaska votes Republican in presidential elections, but most registered voters belong to no party and Trump is unpopular there, notably because of the rise

[129] Alaska Public Media, October 19, 2026, https://alaskapublic.org/news/politics/elections/2026-10-19/conservatives-worry-trumps-alaska-visit-may-have-done-more-harm-than-good.
[130] Wikipedia, “2026 Alaska gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Alaska_gubernatorial_election.
[131] Political Wire, October 6, 2026, https://politicalwire.com/2026/10/06/kreiss-tomkins-leads-in-alaska-governors-race/.
[132] Alaska Public Media, September 22, 2026, https://alaskapublic.org/news/politics/elections/2026-09-22/poll-shows-democrat-with-lead-in-alaska-governors-race-but-large-swaths-remain-undecided.
[133] Wikipedia, “2026 Alaska gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Alaska_gubernatorial_election; 270toWin, Alaska polls, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/alaska.

in fuel prices, which have reached $26 a gallon in rural areas[134]. Lacking comparable counties, we do not publish a map.

The candidates and the campaign

Kreiss-Tomkins finished first in the primary, just ahead of another Democrat, Tom Begich. Begich then withdrew to back him, which brought back Taylor, who had finished fifth. A former state attorney general, Taylor was initially not certified on August 31, over a noncompliant financial disclosure, and then was certified on September 4. Kreiss-Tomkins, a former member of the state House, is campaigning with an independent running mate, Zac Johnson[135].

On October 13, Trump endorsed Wilson and declined to endorse Bronson. He held a rally in Wasilla and called ranked-choice voting a “rigged” system. Bronson and Taylor refuse to withdraw[136]. Some conservatives fear the visit did more harm than good. The outgoing governor, Mike Dunleavy, is endorsing no one and is urging voters to rank all three Republicans. Bronson and Taylor are jointly funding an ad on this theme (“Rank 1, 2, 3, not JKT”)[137]. Wilson is among the backers of Measure 2.

The polls

Kreiss-Tomkins leads in every poll, on first choices as in the final tally. The caveat lies with the undecided voters, who are very favorable to Trump.

Governor and Senate

In the Senate race, Mary Peltola starts far behind Dan Sullivan. She faces only one Republican. Kreiss-Tomkins faces three, in a ranked-choice election.

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[134] Brooks, J. (2026). Gasoline hits $26 per gallon in the northwest Alaska village of Shungnak. Alaska Beacon. https://alaskabeacon.com/2026/08/24/gasoline-hits-26-per-gallon-in-the-northwest-alaska-village-of-shungnak/

[135] Wikipedia, “2026 Alaska gubernatorial election,” accessed October 27, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2026_Alaska_gubernatorial_election.

[136] Alaska's News Source, October 13, 2026, https://www.alaskasnewssource.com/2026/10/13/trump-endorses-wilson-alaska-governor/.

[137] Alaska's News Source, October 21, 2026, https://www.alaskasnewssource.com/2026/10/22/dunleavy-refuses-back-candidate-succeed-him-encourages-ranking-all-three-republicans/?outputType=amp.

Our analysis

Kreiss-Tomkins is the favorite in the polls. With more than 50% of first choices, he would be elected without any further tally. Below that, everything would depend on Bronson and Taylor voters, who would have to rank Wilson second, as Mike Dunleavy and the "Rank 1, 2, 3, not JKT" ad urge them to.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: CINDE WARMINGTON VS. KELLY AYOTTE

In a state Kamala Harris won by 2.8 points, and where the Democratic Senate candidate is the favorite, the Republican governor elected in 2024, Kelly Ayotte, has a 97.9% chance of winning and a projected lead of 10.8 points.

Where the race will be decided

The shift toward Trump was fairly uniform. Hillsborough, with Manchester and Nashua, remains barely Democratic, and Rockingham, between the coast and the Boston suburbs, flipped. Democrats hold Strafford, Grafton, around Hanover, and Merrimack, around Concord.

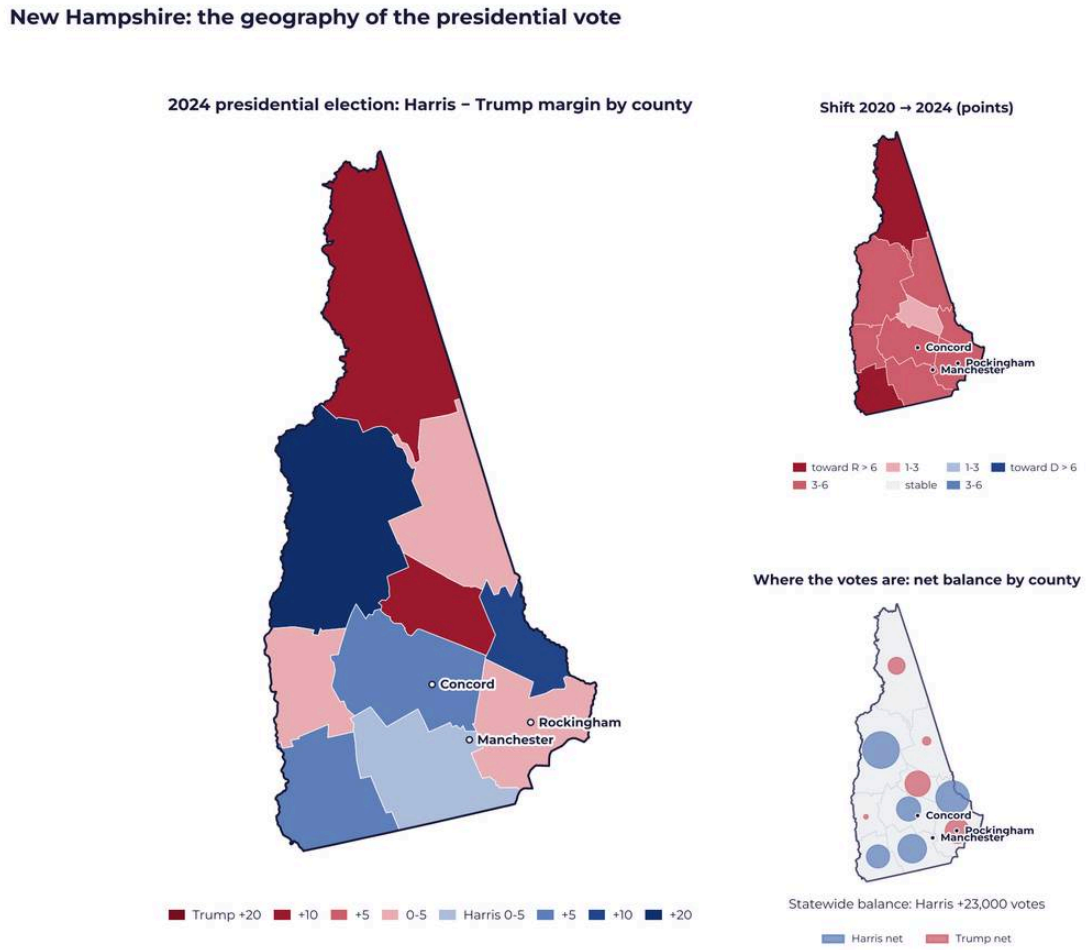


Figure 66. *New Hampshire: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

New Hampshire in numbers

Indicator	Value
2024 presidential election	Harris +2.8 points, 5 of 10 counties
Shift since 2020	4.6 points toward Trump
Swing counties	Hillsborough (28.4% of the vote) Democratic by 2.9 points (−4.8); Rockingham flipped to Trump (−4.6)
Largest Democratic losses	Coos −7.9; Cheshire −7.4
2024 governor	Ayotte elected by 9.3 points
2022 governor	Chris Sununu reelected by 15.5 points
Primaries (September 8)	Ayotte 91.9%, Warmington 96.4%
Ayotte's vetoes in 2026	32 against bills from her own majority, seven of them overridden in August
Published polls	seven, all for Ayotte, by 4 to 21 points

Indicator	Value
Latest polls	Saint Anselm (October 22) 50% to 42%; National Public Affairs 54% to 38%; YouGov 49% to 40%; University of New Hampshire (late September) 47% to 43%[138]
Adjusted poll average	Ayotte +10.4
Structure	Ayotte +13.7
Projection	Ayotte +10.8; 90% range from +2.1 to +19.5
Chances	Ayotte 97.9%; Warmington 2.1%, vs. 21.2% on August 1
Senate	Pappas 77.8% chance against John E. Sununu, +5.6 points projected
Simulator crossover effect	16.4-point gap between the two races; Democratic control of the Senate at 48.3% if Pappas wins, 9.9% if he loses

Sources: the Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026 update; results and FEC data cited in the profile.

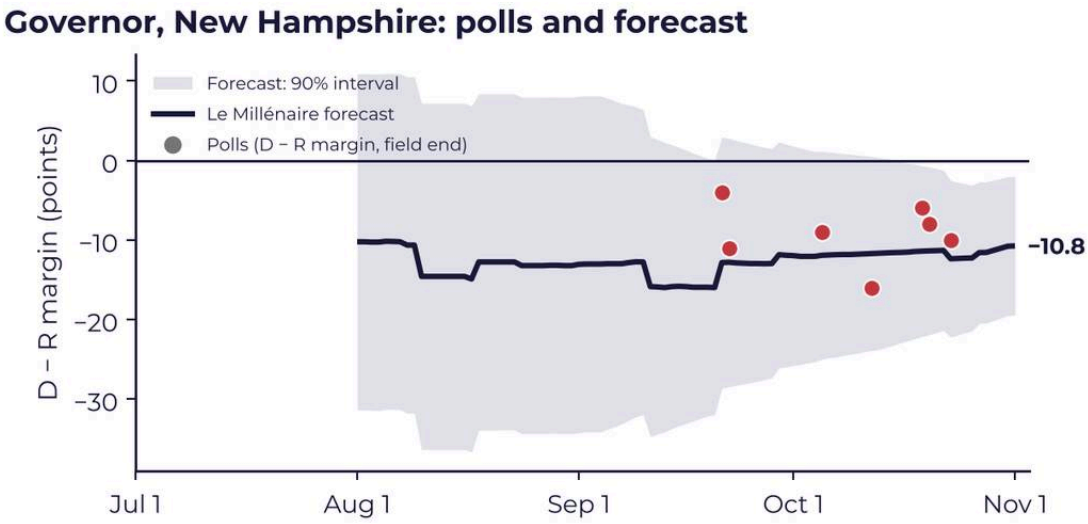
The candidates and the campaign

Neither primary was contested. In 2026, Ayotte often clashed with her own Republican majority, which overrode some of her vetoes in August, notably on housing. She attacks Warmington's past as a lobbyist for Purdue Pharma. Warmington proposes a gas tax holiday, refunding tariffs to consumers, ending the Medicaid premiums introduced by Ayotte and ending cooperation with ICE. Both camps support a moratorium on data centers[139]. In August, half of voters approved of Ayotte's performance, according to Saint Anselm[140].

The polls and the model

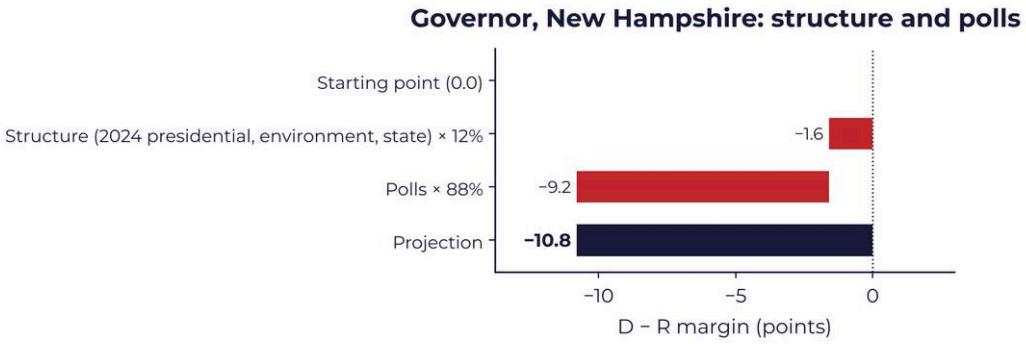
Ayotte leads in every published poll.

[138] 270toWin, New Hampshire polls, accessed October 27, 2026, https://www.270towin.com/2026-governor-polls/new-hampshire.
[139] MultiState, "New Hampshire 2026 governor race," October 19, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/new-hampshire-2026.
[140] Saint Anselm College, August 2026, https://www.anselm.edu/node/35395.



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, updated November 1, 2026. Polls: polls used, as published on the forecast website, one dot per poll at its field end date. Forecast: recomputed day by day with the polls completed by each date.

Figure 67. *New Hampshire: polls (margin between Warmington and Ayotte) and Le Millénaire projection.*



Source: Le Millénaire forecast, update of November 1, 2026. D − R margin in points. Structure alone: −13.7; polls alone: −10.4.

Figure 68. *New Hampshire: breakdown of the projection into structure and polls.*

Polls and structure agree, and even the low end of the range leaves Ayotte ahead. Warmington's chances have collapsed since August.

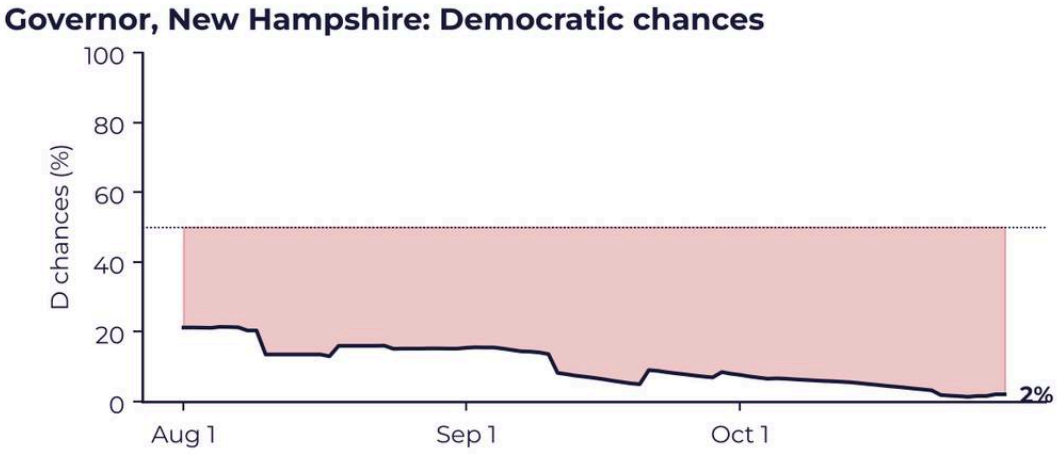


Figure 69. *New Hampshire: Warmington's chances since August 1, 2026.*

Governor and Senate

In the Senate race, Democrat Chris Pappas is the favorite. This is the clearest case of ticket splitting in the country: by this calculation, about one voter in twelve would vote for both Ayotte and Pappas. In the simulator, Pappas's fate weighs heavily on control of the Senate.

Our analysis

Ayotte will be reelected. Pappas, for his part, leads in the Senate race. On election night, compare Ayotte's showing with Sununu's county by county, starting with Hillsborough, with Manchester and Nashua, and Rockingham.

NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA

In New York and Pennsylvania, the model rates two Democratic incumbents, Kathy Hochul and Josh Shapiro, as near-certain winners. It is above all their margin that will serve as a national indicator.

New York: Kathy Hochul vs. Bruce Blakeman

New York swung more than any other state on this list between 2020 and 2024: the Democratic lead fell from 23.1 to 12.6 points. Yet Kathy Hochul has a 99.4% chance of winning and a projected lead of 13.3 points. The city slipped first. The

Bronx lost 22.1 points and Queens 20.6, even though Harris still led there by 45.4 and 24.6 points. The swing then reached Staten Island (14.8) and Nassau (13.7), a county that went to Trump. According to Brookings, Harris lost 625,691 votes in the state compared with Biden, and Trump gained 326,902.

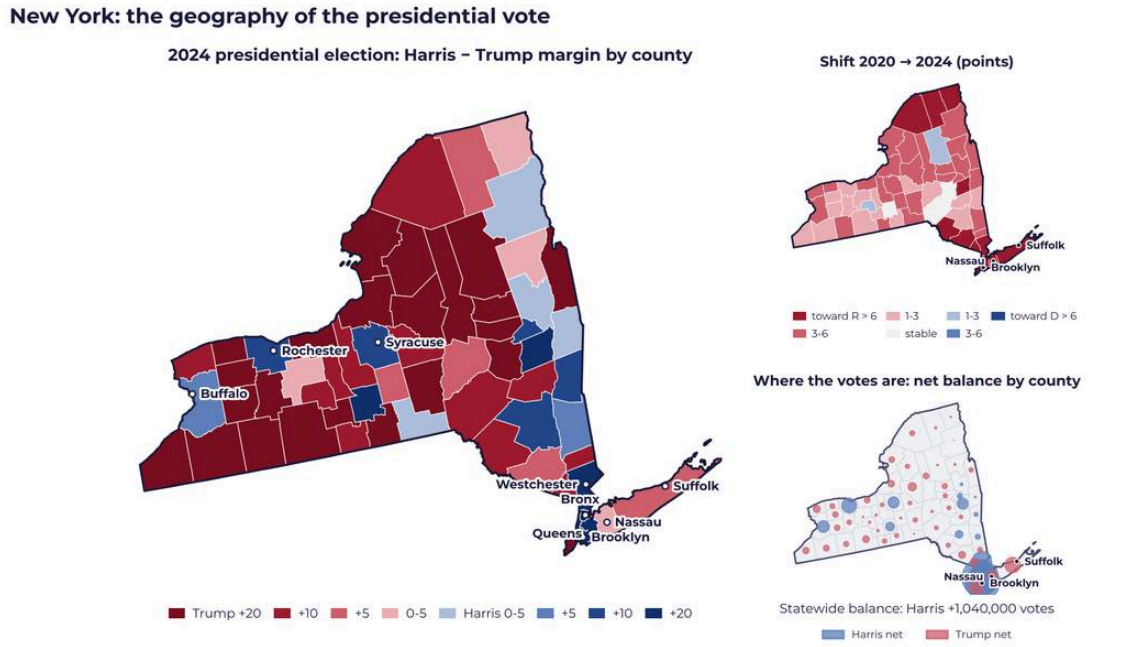


Figure 70. *New York: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

Bruce Blakeman is the county executive of Nassau County. Trump endorsed him after Elise Stefanik withdrew in December 2025, and the Conservative Party nominated him[141]. There was only one debate, on NY1, devoted to the cost of living. Blakeman went on the attack over electricity rates, bail reform and "sanctuary" policies. Hochul responded on Trump's tariffs and on Medicaid. Siena has her ahead by 34 points in New York City, 61% to 27%. The suburbs are close to even, and Blakeman leads by 3 points upstate. Moreover, 51% of voters consider Trump's endorsement harmful to Blakeman[142].

[141] NBC News, https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2026-election/trump-endorses-bruce-blakeman-new-york-governor-race-elise-stefanik-dr-rcna250275; NY1, February 15, 2026, https://ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2026/02/15/bruce-blakeman-accepts-conservative-party-s-nomination-for-n-y--governor-.
[142] MultiState, "New York 2026 governor race," October 19, 2026, https://www.multistate.us/elections/governor-race/new-york-2026.

Since September, all nine polls have shown Hochul ahead, by 4 to 22 points. Quinnipiac has her at 55% to 41% from October 15 to 19, Marist at 53% to 42%, Siena at 50% to 41%. The closest comes from OnMessage, a Republican firm, at 50% to 46%. Our adjusted average of nine pollsters gives her a 13.5-point lead, the structure 11.7. The 90% range runs from a 4.6-point to a 22.0-point lead for her. That is more than in 2022, when she beat Lee Zeldin by only 6.4 points.

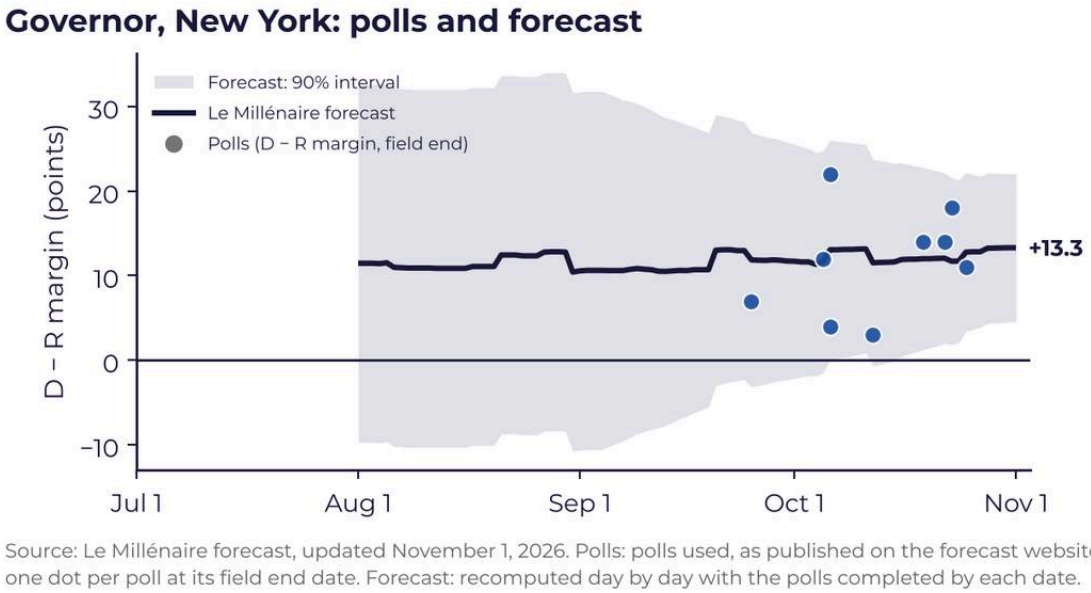
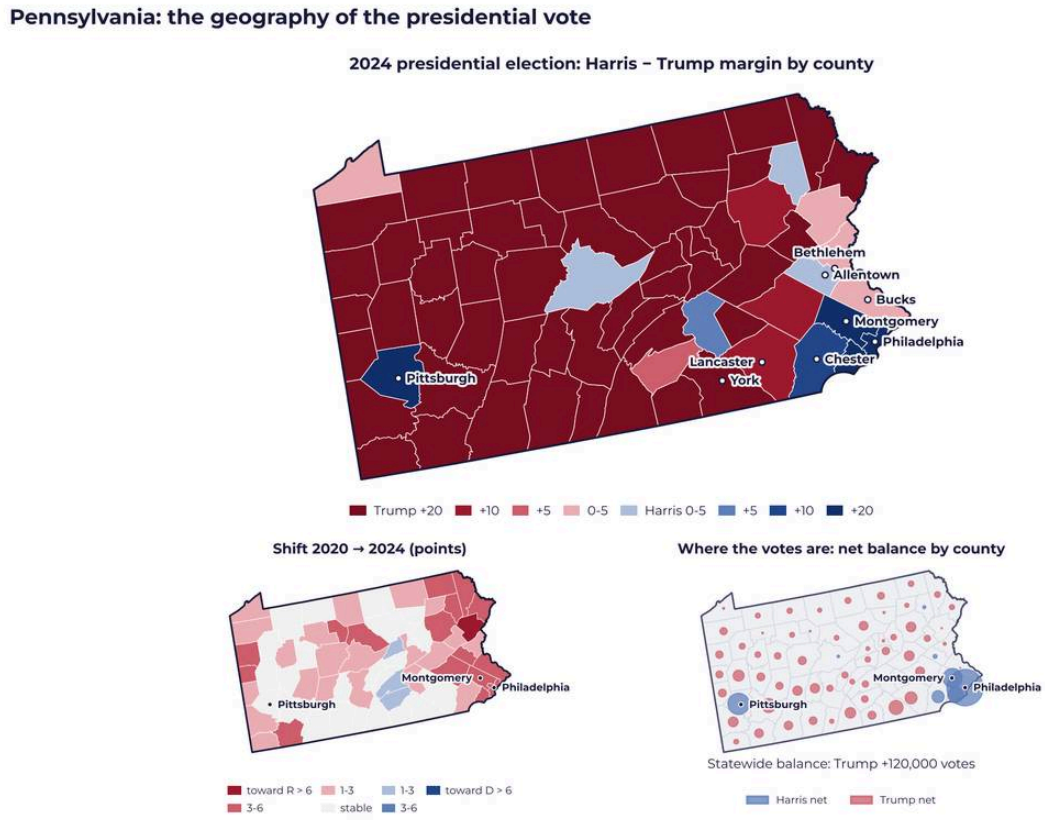


Figure 71. *New York: polls (margin between Hochul and Blakeman) and Le Millénaire projection.*

Hochul is not under threat. Above all, watch Nassau, Blakeman's county, which went to Trump in 2024 after a 13.7-point swing. Also watch the Bronx and Queens, where Harris lost 22.1 and 20.6 points. Will Hochul win back some of the lost ground there?

Pennsylvania: Josh Shapiro vs. Stacy Garrity

Pennsylvania: Trump won it by 1.7 points, and yet Josh Shapiro has a better than 99.9% chance of winning there, with a projected lead of 20.0 points. That is 21.7 points better than Harris. No Democratic candidate does better in relative terms among the 36 races.



Source: official county results compiled by T. McGovern (github.com/tonmcg), 2020 and 2024 presidential elections; calculations and mapping by Le Millénaire. Circles proportional to the vote margin between Harris and Trump. Gray: unmatched county.

Figure 72. *Pennsylvania: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump by county in 2024 (large map), shift between 2020 and 2024, and net vote margin by county (proportional circles).*

Philadelphia and its suburbs against a very Republican interior: that was the 2024 presidential map. Harris led by 58.8 points in Philadelphia, down 4.7. Next came Montgomery (22.8), Delaware (23.7) and Chester (14.5). Bucks was evenly split. Allegheny, Pittsburgh's county, held steady at 20.3. In 2022, Shapiro beat Doug Mastriano by 14.8 points. Stacy Garrity, the only candidate in the Republican primary, received 641,534 votes, against 7,980 write-in votes for Mastriano. The only debate was held on October 7 in Harrisburg. It covered data centers, where Garrity wants a pause, the gas tax and Donald Trump. Quinnipiac gives Shapiro 17% of Republicans and 62% of independents, and 63% of voters approve of his performance[143].

[143] NBC Philadelphia, October 7, 2026, https://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local/gov-shapiro-to-meet-gop-challenger-garrity-in-only-debate-before-election-day/4475606/; City & State PA, October 7, 2026, https://www.cityandstatepa.com/politics/2026/10/quinnipiac-poll-shapiro-garrity-race-looks-rout/416473/.

All eight polls show Shapiro ahead by 19 to 30 points. Quinnipiac has him at 59% to 34%, Franklin & Marshall at 59% to 36% on October 22, Siena at 58% to 38%. Our adjusted average puts him 21.5 points ahead. As of October 21, 724,599 mail ballots had been returned, compared with 730,100 at the same point in 2022. The lead of registered Democrats among them was down to 42.9 points, compared with 53.1 in 2022[144].

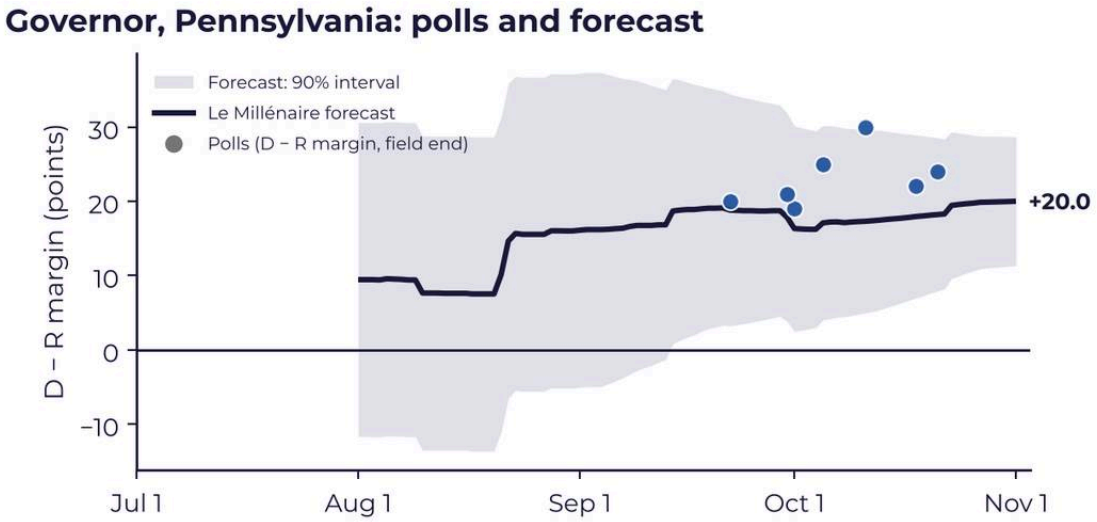


Figure 73. *Pennsylvania: polls (margin between Shapiro and Garrity) and Le Millénaire projection.*

Shapiro will be reelected. His showing in the interior counties Trump won in 2024 will be the first number watched with an eye to 2028.

[144] State election offices, Le Millénaire tallies as of October 21, 2026, https://election.lemillenaire.org/etats-unis/vote-anticipe/2026/.

WHAT THE GOVERNORS SAY ABOUT 2028

The governors elected on November 3 will be in office during the 2028 presidential election. There are two exceptions, Vermont and New Hampshire, where the office is up every two years and will therefore be on the ballot again on presidential Election Day. First, we look at who will hold Pennsylvania, Arizona, Michigan, Wisconsin, Georgia and Nevada. Second come the election rules that are changing in Nebraska and Alaska. Third, we look at what Miami-Dade, Hidalgo or Waukesha will say about the coalitions.

THE SWING STATES AFTER NOVEMBER 3

The seven states whose votes decided the 2020 and 2024 presidential elections (Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin) currently have five Democratic governors and two Republicans. North Carolina is not voting this year, so its Democratic governor, elected in 2024, will stay in place.

Table 9. The seven presidential swing states: current governor and projection

State	Current governor	2024 presidential	Model favorite for 2026 (chances)	Likely party in 2028
Pennsylvania	Democratic	Trump +1.7	Shapiro, incumbent (more than 99.9%)	Democratic
Arizona	Democratic	Trump +5.5	Hobbs, incumbent (84.7%)	Democratic
Michigan	Democratic	Trump +1.4	Benson, open seat (82.9%)	Democratic
North Carolina	Democratic	Trump +3.2	No election in 2026	Democratic
Wisconsin	Democratic	Trump +0.9	Crowley, open seat (59.4%)	Uncertain
Georgia	Republican	Trump +2.2	Jackson, open seat (66.5%)	Republican
Nevada	Republican	Trump +3.1	Lombardo, incumbent (61.8%)	Republican

Source: the Le Millénaire forecast, November 1, 2026. 2024 presidential election: margin between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump.

Combining the chances of each race as in the national count, which treats them as independent, Democrats would hold at least five of the seven swing states (their current level) in 69.6% of cases, at least four in 93.9% of cases and all seven in 5.3% of cases, with Wisconsin separating the status quo from a loss.

The simulator, which links the races through the common polling error, raises Benson's chances in Michigan to 88.6% in the simulations where Crowley narrowly wins Wisconsin.

In Wisconsin, Tom Tiffany has had to defend on the campaign trail his vote against certifying the 2020 results. The same goes for Michigan, where John James has claimed that Trump won the state in 2020. In Georgia and Nevada, it is the opposite: the two Republican favorites have kept their distance from Donald Trump. In Georgia, Rick Jackson skipped his rally in Macon. In Nevada, Joe Lombardo is running as a counterweight to a Democratic legislature, not as an ally of the president.

THE ELECTION RULES AT STAKE

In Nebraska, a reelected Jim Pillen would revive for 2028 his plan to end the splitting of electoral votes. It is this split that allows the Omaha district, carried by Harris as by Biden, to award one electoral vote to the Democratic candidate. In Alaska, Measure 2 will decide the fate of ranked-choice voting and the open primary. In Texas, Florida, Tennessee and Louisiana, the House redistricting launched since 2025 by Republican governors will remain in force for 2028, unless the courts or legislatures decide otherwise. That has already happened in California with Proposition 50 and in Utah through the courts, to the benefit of Democrats[145]. Still open are Missouri, where a referendum is blocking the map, and Virginia, where the courts have blocked the Democratic amendment.

WHAT THE RESULTS WILL SAY ABOUT THE COALITIONS

In Hidalgo, Webb and Starr, on the Texas border, the Hispanic vote swung 20 to 26 points toward Trump in 2024. The swing reached 18.8 points in Miami-Dade. Next come northern New Mexico and southern Arizona. These are the first counties to watch. If Gina Hinojosa, David Jolly, Deb Haaland and Katie Hobbs win back ground there, Democrats will be able to treat 2024 as a protest vote. If

[145] Ballotpedia, "Redistricting ahead of the 2026 elections," accessed October 27, 2026, https://ballotpedia.org/Redistricting_ahead_of_the_2026_elections.

not, the realignment is taking hold. Next come the affluent suburbs. Waukesha, Delaware in Ohio, Cobb in Georgia and Jefferson in Colorado moved very slightly toward the Democrats in 2024. The showings of Amy Acton and David Crowley there will measure what comes next.

In Iowa, Ohio, Kansas and Texas, Rob Sand, Amy Acton, Cindy Holscher and Gina Hinojosa are Democrats running in states won by Trump. The model gives them chances of 14 to 67%. In Vermont, New Hampshire and Nevada, Phil Scott, Kelly Ayotte and Joe Lombardo are in the opposite situation. Republican incumbents, they govern at a distance from their party in Democratic or swing states. They have chances of 62 to 98%. In our reading, the incumbency advantage remains their best protection against a national wave. We measured it at 8.7 points over four cycles: 2010, 2014, 2018 and 2022. The Democrats of 2026, for their part, have only the climate and their candidates.

The governors elected in 2026 make up the first presidential talent pool. A landslide reelection for Josh Shapiro in Pennsylvania would carry weight in the 2028 primaries. A Democratic win in Iowa or Ohio would also carry weight, as would a Democratic defeat in Michigan or Wisconsin. The national count will move little: 22 or 23 Democratic governors out of 48 in 46% of simulations, 22 to 24 in half of them. Brazil was a reminder this month that the support of governors is not enough to win a presidential election. As of October 16, Flávio Bolsonaro had the backing of 12 governors-elect, including those of São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro. Lula beat him in the runoff, reelected with 51.79% of the valid votes, as we showed in our note “Comment Lula a transformé l’impossible en réalité ?”[146]. In the United States, those elected on November 3 will weigh on 2028 differently: through their states’ election rules, in Nebraska as in Alaska, and through their own candidacies, more than through endorsements.

Note written by:

[146] Le Millénaire, “Comment Lula a transformé l’impossible en réalité ?”, note on the 2026 Brazilian presidential election, https://lemillenaire.org/comment-lula-a-transforme-limpossible-en-realite.

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- Midterms 2026: The Keys to the Vote
- Senate 2026: Race by Race
- **Governors 2026: State by State** *(this note)*
- House of Representatives 2026: District by District

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