A Split Decision in a Divided Nation

What the 2018 Midterms Mean for Succeeding in Washington
I. SUMMARY: Results, Turnout *(Slides 3-7)*

II. HOW THE DEMS WON THE HOUSE *(Slides 8-13)*

III. HOW THE GOP GREW ITS SENATE MAJORITY *(Slides 14-19)*

IV. OUTCOMES *(Slides 20-27)*

V. NAVIGATING CHANGE IN 2019 WASHINGTON:  
   7 Recommendations for Business Leaders *(Slides 28-35)*

VI. THE REMAINDER OF 2018 *(Slides 36-38)*
### Senate GOP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>U.S. House</th>
<th>U.S. Senate</th>
<th>GOVs</th>
<th>State Legislative Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>-40</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>-313*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-311+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>-63</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>-31</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>-52</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-514</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Unofficial: a few close races not called  
+ Previous wave left far fewer seats to lose
IT WAS ALL ABOUT TRUMP

Record 2/3rds Voters Sending a Message about the President

Support  Oppose

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Public Opinion Strategies Post-Election Surveys
8 of Last 10 Elections Changed Control of WH, House and/or Senate


NOT A SURPRISE: CHANGE IS THE NEW NORMAL
HIGHEST MIDTERM VOTER PARTICIPATION IN 104 YEARS

U.S. Voter Turnout as % of Eligible Voters

Source: US Election Project, as of 12/1 8am
How U.S. Voter Turnout Measures Up
Share of voting age population that voted in the most recent national election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Turnout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>2014*</td>
<td>87.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>82.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>77.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>76.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>75.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>69.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>63.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>62.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>61.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>50.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>2015*</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* National law makes voting compulsory, though not necessarily enforced. In addition, one Swiss canton has compulsory voting.

Source: Pew Research Center
HOW DEMOCRATS WON THE HOUSE

5 Reasons
#1. THE MAN: LOW PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL

![Bar chart showing presidential approval ratings from 1982 to 2018.](chart_image)

- 2006: 39%, 2018: 40%
- 2014: 42%, 1982: 43%
- 2010: 45%, 1994: 46%
- 1978: 52%, 1990: 58%
- 1986: 63%, 2002: 63%
- 1998: 66%

Source: Gallup
Democrats Dominated Urban & Suburban Districts

Democrats’ Winning Percentage by House District Type

- **URBAN**: 98.8%
- **SUBURBAN**: 70.4%
- **RURAL**: 19.0%

DEMS WON 22/25 DISTRICTS THAT VOTED FOR CLINTON IN 2016

- AZ-2
- CA-10
- CA-21
- CA-25
- CA-39
- CA-45
- CA-48
- CA-49
- CO-6
- FL-26
- FL-27
- IL-6
- KS-3
- MN-3
- NJ-7
- NY-24
- PA-1
- PA-5
- PA-6
- PA-7
- TX-7
- TX-23
- TX-32
- VA-10
- WA-8

Source: David Montgomery, City Lab, races called as of 11/11 11pm
Democratic Ads Focused on Health Care, Tax Fairness & Jobs

Health care dominated the airwaves for Democratic candidates during this year’s primaries. Republicans chose to air ads emphasizing GOP tax cuts and aligning with President Trump.

Advertising mentions, 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Total*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>325,434</td>
<td>108,239</td>
<td>435,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>83,087</td>
<td>156,056</td>
<td>239,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs/Unemployment</td>
<td>88,829</td>
<td>85,757</td>
<td>175,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget/Gov’t Spending</td>
<td>72,977</td>
<td>90,565</td>
<td>163,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>31,561</td>
<td>119,747</td>
<td>151,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Issues</td>
<td>71,220</td>
<td>75,135</td>
<td>146,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-Trump†</td>
<td>14,342</td>
<td>127,653</td>
<td>141,995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>73,875</td>
<td>62,331</td>
<td>137,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care: Medicare</td>
<td>80,274</td>
<td>30,205</td>
<td>110,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy/Environment</td>
<td>62,209</td>
<td>30,934</td>
<td>93,143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Totals include ad mentions for other parties such as the Green Party, Libertarian Party, etc
†Includes ads pledging to work with Trump

Note: through Sept. 30

Source: Kantar Media/CMAG
DESPITE EXTRAORDINARY ECONOMIC DATA

- Lowest Unemployment Rate in 49 Years (3.7%)
- Fastest Wage Growth in 10 years (all incomes, 3.1%)
- Highest Consumer Confidence in 18 Years
- Fastest GDP Growth in 4 Years
- More “Very Satisfied With the Economy” in Nov. 2018 (28%) than in 1998 (27%) or any prior midterm polled

### Most important issue facing the country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health care 41%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration 23%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy 22%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun policy 10%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18778 Respondents
#5. MEGATRENDS: GREAT AWAKENINGS

## WOMEN
Women Running for House & Senate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>DEM</th>
<th>GOP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>671</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Rutgers CWAP

## LATINOS
Hispanic Share of Midterm Voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: US Elections Project / 2018 CNN Exit poll

## DONORS: Small Dollar Democrats & Liberal Billionaires

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Candidates Raised</th>
<th>Parties Raised</th>
<th>Outside Groups Spent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>$923.38</td>
<td>$250.34</td>
<td>$573.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOP</td>
<td>$612.41</td>
<td>$174.07</td>
<td>$235.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Open Secrets (money), as of 11/8
HOW THE GOP GREW ITS SENATE MAJORITY

5 Reasons
57% of GOP Voters Say Their Congressional Vote Was to Support Trump

Presidential Job Approval by Own Party on Eve of 1st Midterm Election (Gallup)

- TRUMP 2018: 89%
- OBAMA (2010): 83%
- BUSH43 (2002): 91%
- CLINTON (1994): 75%
- GHWBUSH (1990): 81%
- REAGAN (1982): 82%
- CARTER (1978): 62%
- NIXON (1970): 82%
- LBJ (1966): 61%
- JFK (1962): 78%

Sources: Exit Poll (vote to support Trump); Own Party (Gallup)
#2. THE MAP: SENATE BATTLES IN TRUMP COUNTRY

Of the 12 Top Senate Battlegrounds:

- Dems were defending 8/12 (color of state below)
- Trump had won 10/12 in 2016 (all but NJ, NV)
- Trump net job approval positive in 9/12 (## shown below)

Source: Morning Consult
#3. THE MESSAGE (1): KAVANAUGH FIGHT ENERGIZED GOP

Betting Markets Saw Hearing on Blasey-Ford Allegations As Inflection

Importance of Brett Kavanaugh confirmation (to your vote)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Very / Somewhat</th>
<th>Not Very / Not at All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vote outlet</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: PredictIt; AP VoteCast conducted by NORC for AP & Fox News
Trump Closing Argument Railed Against the “Caravan”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Too tough</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not tough enough</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About right</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18778 Respondents

Source: 2018 Exit Poll
#5. MEGATRENDS: GEOGRAPHY IS DESTINY

Geography & Education = Fastest Growing Demographic Divides

- **GEOGRAPHY GAP**
  - Rural vs. Urban

- **AGE GAP**
  - 18-29 vs. 65+

- **GENDER GAP**
  - Men vs. Women

- **EDUCATION GAP**
  - College vs. No College

- **RACE GAP**
  - White vs. Nonwhite

Generic Ballot Avg. Gap in House Nat’l Polling (Final Month)

Source: Adrian Gray Consulting tracking generic ballot by demographics over time
OUTCOMES

6 Impacts of the Election
DEMOCRATS NOW DOMINATE THE COASTS

157 of Democrats’ 235 Members Will Come from East or West Coast

More Dems from CA alone (46) in the 116th Congress than 35 other states combined (AK + AR + ID + MT + NE + NE + ND + SD + WV + WY + KS + OK + UT + AL + DE + DC + KY + LA + ME + MS + VT + HI + IN + MO + NH + NM + RI + TN + IA + SC + NV + NC + WI)
THE INDUSTRIAL MIDWEST IS UP FOR GRABS

As Goes the Rust Belt? The Road to 2020 Runs Through…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IA</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>MI</th>
<th>OH</th>
<th>PA</th>
<th>WI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOTH PARTIES LIKELY TO PUSH POLICIES POPULAR IN THESE STATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GOV. 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOV. 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENATE 2019-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH 2016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THERE ARE FEWER & FEWER “PURPLE” STATES

Split Senate Delegations (1 R, 1D) to Modern Low

Source: Drew DeSilva, Pew
FEWEST STATES WITH SPLIT LEGISLATURES SINCE 1914

Control of state legislatures after the 2018 elections

Source: Nat’l Journal
Democrats won 90% of the Congressional districts with the most college-educated women (40%+ of female residents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District 1</th>
<th>District 2</th>
<th>District 3</th>
<th>District 4</th>
<th>District 5</th>
<th>District 6</th>
<th>District 7</th>
<th>District 8</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CA-2</td>
<td>CA-11</td>
<td>CA-12</td>
<td>CA-13</td>
<td>CA-14</td>
<td>CA-15</td>
<td>CA-17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA-18</td>
<td>CA-28</td>
<td>CA-30</td>
<td>CA-33</td>
<td>CA-52</td>
<td>CO-1</td>
<td>CO-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT-4</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>GA-5</td>
<td>IL-10</td>
<td>IL-5</td>
<td>IL-9</td>
<td>MA-4</td>
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<td>MA-7</td>
<td>MA-8</td>
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<td>MD-6</td>
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<td>NC-4</td>
<td>NJ-5</td>
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<td>GA-6</td>
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<td>KS-3</td>
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<td>MN-3</td>
<td>NJ-7</td>
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<td>PA-6</td>
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<td>TX-32</td>
<td>VA-10</td>
<td>CA-45</td>
<td>AZ-6</td>
<td>IN-5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MO-2</td>
<td>TX-21</td>
<td>TX-22</td>
<td>TX-24</td>
<td>TX-26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Represented by Dem before & after election
- Captured by Dem in 2018
- Represented by GOP before & after election

Sources: Census Bureau; Analysis by Madeline Sweeney, MCR&T
EMPOWERED CITIZENS ARE DRIVING CHANGE

Not Waiting on Politicians… New Risks & Opportunities

**FLORIDA CAMPAIGN FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM**

FL measure to restore voting rights for non-violent felons got more votes in midterm than Trump got in 2016 general… odds of federal criminal justice reform went up

**TOTAL VOTES IN FLORIDA**

- Amendment 4 (2018): 4,687,379
- Trump-Pence (2016): 4,617,886

**CO, MI, MO & UT voted to reform redistricting process, making 12 of 50 states who have reformed… watch for many similar efforts in 2020 ahead of next redistricting**

**ID, NE & UT voters opted to expand Medicaid in their states, while KS, ME, WI elected pro-ACA governors… combined with Ds’ effective campaigning on protecting pre-existing conditions, makes future ACA repeal even less likely.**

Sources: FL4; Trump;
THE 2020 CAMPAIGN HAS STARTED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARISMATIC PROGRESSIVE ROCK STARS</th>
<th>PRAGMATIC MIDWESTERN MODERATES</th>
<th>“REASONABLE” REPUBLICAN MODERATES</th>
<th>TRUMP-EMBRACING POPULISTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gillum (FL)</td>
<td>Donnelly (IN)</td>
<td>Curbelo (FL)</td>
<td>Kobach (KS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Rourke (TX)</td>
<td>Bredesen (TN)</td>
<td>Comstock (VA)</td>
<td>Heller (NV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abrams (GA)</td>
<td>McCaskill (MO)</td>
<td>Lance (NJ)</td>
<td>Arrington (SC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McGrath (KY)</td>
<td>Coffman (CO)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Parties Saw Failures Going Left or Right

Dems’ 2020 Strategy Unclear… GOP’s Unquestioned

TRUMP PENCE 2020
Keeping America America Great!
NAVIGATING CHANGE IN 2019 WASHINGTON

7 Lessons for Business Leaders
21% OF HOUSE WILL BE NEW: Get to Know Them Before You Need Them

Freshmen Classes 1967-2019

Size of Freshman Classes in the House of Representatives, 1967-2019

Source: CRS (thru 2008) & research by A. Yukawa, MCR&T;
President Obama’s “Phone & Pen” Remain in the Oval Office

Trade Friction with China Likely to Accelerate

Immigration Showdown Expected
DEM-LED HOUSE WILL BE AGGRESSIVE: Engage Leaders Early & Often

What We Expect from Dem-Led House in 2019-20

Rally the Base
- Immigration/Dreamers
- Ethics Reform
- Gun control
- Pay Equality
- Voting Rights
- Medicare for All

Stop Trump
- Endless Oversight
- Block Deregulation
- Protect / Save ACA
- Undo Tax Cuts

Potential Deals
- Infrastructure
- Rx Prices
- Trade
- Tax Reform-Reform
- Data Privacy, Antitrust
- Criminal Justice Reform
Overseight is coming: Early Preparation & Outreach Are Key

Congressional Oversight Can Be High Risk, High Impact

High Impact Oversight

- BIG TOBACCO 1994 → $206B settlement agreement
- MICROSOFT 1997 → DOJ antitrust lawsuit
- MORTGAGE-BACKED SECURITIES 2010 → Dodd-Frank
- BANK SECRECY 2009 → Global prosecutions
- RUSSIAN ELECTION INTERFERENCE 2017 → Techlash

Potential Hearings On...

- 2017 TAX REFORM IMPACT
  -- CapX vs share buybacks
  -- Wage growth vs CEO pay
  -- Repatriation

- HEALTH CARE
  -- Rising costs
  -- Prescription Drug prices

- CLIMATE / ENERGY
  -- GHG emissions

- WALL STREET
  -- High frequency trading
  -- Too big to fail

- BIG DATA, BIG TECH
  -- Privacy
  -- Antitrust

- WORKFORCE
  -- Diversity, #MeToo
  -- Automation, Retraining
Real Majorities on Real Bills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Bipartisan Deals in 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music Modernization Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Growth, Regulatory Relief, and Consumer Protection Act (Dodd-Frank fix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAA Reauthorization Act of 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opioids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop Enabling Sex Trafficking Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY19 Appropriations*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia Sanctions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Grain Glitch” / WOTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHIP (10 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Resources Development Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Tariffs Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portman-Cardin IRS Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save Our Seas Act of 2018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WASHINGTON VACUUM BEING FILLED: Broaden Stakeholder Engagement

STATES

Energy-related legislation enacted by state

OTHER NATIONS

ACTIVISTS

#MeToo
survivors' march

NGOs

BILL & MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION

KOC Foundation

CHAN ZUCKERBERG INITIATIVE
PRESSURE ON BUSINESS WILL GROW: Prepare for Rising Activism

Social Issues Increasingly Inescapable for Companies

New Accountability

We’re Sorry
We know we can do better. Starbucks® values all people of color and we are working on employee sensitivity training.
The best dialogue starts over a cup of coffee and we’d like to buy you one.

New Opportunities

FREE RIDES TO VOTE

New Audiences

Believe in something. Even if it means sacrificing everything.

Just do it.

New Risks

Sources: AP (licensed), Nike, Starbucks, Lyft
As for the Rest of 2018…

Our October predictions for the Lame Duck stand…
WHAT REMAINS FOR THE 115TH CONGRESS?

**Battles Over Wall-Funding & Nominees Likely**

1. **Funding Government Past 12/7**
   - Continuing resolution expires
   - Pres. Trump may veto spending bill that fails to significantly fund border wall.

2. **132 Nominees awaiting Senate Confirmation** (on Executive Calendar)

3. **Farm Bill / Food Assistance (SNAP)**

4. **Intelligence Reauthorization**

5. **Nat’l Flood Insurance Program**

6. **Higher Education Act**

7. **Tax Extenders & Technical corrections**

8. **IRS Reforms**

9. **Election Security**

10. **Violence Against Women Act**

Source: Senate Executive Calendar, pending civilian nominations
Mehlman Castagnetti
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