# **2018 Political Briefing**

Landscape Analysis



# **MEMORANDUM FOR OUR CLIENTS**

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TiberCom

**DATE:** November 7, 2018

**SUBJECT:** Post-Election Summary and Analysis

This memorandum summarizes yesterday's election results, identifies expected changes in committee leadership for the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress, and outlines potential governing scenarios *as of this date*. We will provide additional updates on the handful of undecided races as they become available. Importantly, committee ratios also may change in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress, and we will update you as details emerge.

All of our Democratic and Republican professionals at the Tiber Creek Group stand ready to assist you with additional discussion and analysis about the election results throughout the Lame Duck and into the  $116^{\rm th}$  Congress.

# I. OVERVIEW

- A Tale of Two Elections: GOP netted two seats in Senate (as of this writing) by capturing seats in states Trump won by double digits in 2016, but lost 27 House seats (as of this writing) mostly in suburban districts.
- In the House, Nancy Pelosi is poised to take the Speaker's gavel in a caucus that has elected more moderates, more women, and more people of color than ever before.
- While the retirement of Speaker Paul Ryan assured the GOP they would have some movement in their leadership ranks, yesterday's results immediately sparked a challenge to GOP Leader Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) by Freedom Caucus co-founder Jim Jordan (R-OH), setting up a heated confrontation over the direction of the Conference.

#### II. DIVERSITY WAVE

# i. The Race for the House of Representatives

Currently, the make-up of the House in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress is as follows, with 19 races still undecided:

Party	115 <sup>th</sup>	116 <sup>th</sup>	Gain/Loss*
Republican	236	196	-27
Democrat	193	220	+27
(including independents)			
Vacancies	6	-	-

<sup>\*</sup>All race outcomes are based on New York Times reporting as of this writing, unless otherwise noted.

Democrat	Republican  Coffman (R-CO-06)*  Curbelo (R-FL-26)*	Too Close to Call  AZ-1: O'Halleran (D) vs. Rogers (R)  CA-10: Denham (R) vs. Harder (D)  CA-25: Katie Hill (D) vs. Steve Knight (R)
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	CA-10: Denham (R) vs. Harder (D) CA-25: Katie Hill (D) vs. Steve Knight (R)
N/A	Roskam (R-IL-06) * Yoder (R-KS-03)* Paulsen (R-MN-03)* Donovan (R-NY-11) Rothfus (R-PA-17) Taylor (R-VA-02) Comstock (R-VA-10)* Faso (R-NY-19) Brat (R-VA-07) Hultgren (R-IL-14) Culberson (R-TX-07)* Blum (R-IA-01) Bishop (R-MI-08) Young (R-IA-03) Lewis (R-MN-02) Lance (R-NJ-07) Russell (R-OK-05)	CA-39: Young Kim (R) vs. Gil Cisneros (D) CA-45: Mimi Walters (R) vs. Katie Porter (D) CA-49: Mike Levin (D) vs. Diane Harkey (R) GA-6: Lucy McBath (D) vs. Karen Handel (R) GA-7: Rob Woodall (R) vs. Carolyn Bourdeaux (D) ME-2: Bruce Poliquin (R) vs. Jared Golden (D) MN-1: Jim Hagedorn (R) vs. Dan Feehan (D) MT-AL: Greg Gianforte (R) vs. Kathleen Williams (D) NC-9: Mark Harris (R) vs. Dan McReady (D) NJ-3: Tom MacArthur (R) vs. Andy Kim (D) NM-2: Yvette Herrell (R) vs. Xochitl Torres Small (D) NY-22: Claudia Tenney (R) vs. Anthony Brindisi TX-23: Will Hurd (R) vs. Gina Ortiz Jones (D) UT-4: Ben McAdams (D) vs. Mia Love (R)
	Sessions (R-TX-32)*	WA-3: Jaime Herrera Beutler (R) vs. Carolyn Long (D) WA-8: Kim Schrier (D) vs. Dino Rossi (R)

<sup>\*</sup> denotes district Hillary Clinton won in 2016

Since World War II, the President's party has lost an average of 26 seats in the House of Representatives per midterm, and as of this writing, Democrats are on track to pick up 32 to 35 seats in the House of Representatives. To date, Democrats have picked up 27 seats in the House, providing a 220 to 196 majority (though we expect additional races to be called for Democrats in the coming days and weeks).

The split decision of a House pickup and multiple Senate Republican gains was not the overwhelming rebuke of the President many in the Democratic Party projected. Indeed, the Republican Party performed well in <a href="typical strongholds">typical strongholds</a> – rural and exurban areas. The path to the majority for Democrats was routed through districts Hillary Clinton won in 2016. Moreover, an ABC News <a href="exit poll">exit poll</a> found Independents broke for Democrats by 14 points: 55 to 41 percent.

Demographic	Democrat %	Republican %
Women	60	39

Suburban women	54	44
College-educated white women	61	38
Non-college-educated white men	34	65
Independents	55	41
Young voters (18-29)	68	31
Non-white voters	77	22
Evangelical White Christians	22	75

Source: ABC News, November 7, 2018

The House of Representatives will become more diverse in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress. The election resulted in an historic night for female representation, as a record number of women were elected to Congress. As of this writing, at least 98 women are <u>projected</u> to win seats in the House of Representatives (33 new members and 65 incumbents), relative to 85 women in the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress. A significant number of <u>minorities</u> also were elected, including the first Native Americans to be elected to the House, the youngest woman elected to Congress, the first Muslim women elected to Congress, and Massachusetts's first black congresswoman.

Importantly, the Democratic Caucus will be comprised of a significant number of new moderate members. As of this writing, 25 New Dems and Blue Dogs were elected last night, which likely will have implications for the legislative agenda in the House.

# ii. House Leadership

House Democrats will hold leadership elections on November 28, 2018. At this time, Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) is the only person running for Speaker. Leader Pelosi is likely to garner the votes required to receive the Democratic nomination for Speaker (half plus one of the Caucus members present and voting on November 28), after which her nomination will be considered by the Whole of the House on January 3. It remains possible, but unlikely, Leader Pelosi could fail to garner a majority of Members voting, in which case the race would open up to other candidates – presumably Democratic Whip Steny Hoyer (D-MD), Assistant Democratic Leader Jim Clyburn (D-SC), or one of several aspirants running for "open" leadership positions. The following Members are in the running for open leadership positions, which leaves them well-positioned if there is a "scramble" for the post of Speaker on January 3:

- Assistant Majority Leader Reps. Cheri Bustos (D-IL), David Cicilline (D-RI), and Ben Ray Lujan (D-NM) have announced. As a Hispanic and the DCCC Chair Rep. Lujan is viewed as the favorite and Mr. Cicillini will likely not challenge him. He and Ms. Bustos may end up seeking other leadership posts;
- Caucus Chair Rep. Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY) is expected to join current Vice Chair Linda Sanchez (D-CA) and Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA) in running for Caucus Chair. If the three remain in the race, a second-round vote would be required if no one receives a majority of the vote. This will be the first leadership election held as the winner will be required to preside over the other elections.

- Caucus Vice Chair Reps. Katherine Clark (D-MA) and Pete Aguilar (D-CA) have declared their candidacies.
- Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) Chair Reps. Denny Heck (D-WA) and Suzan DelBene (D-WA) are running for the position, and Rep. Sean Patrick Maloney (D-NY) may put himself in the running.

It is important to note Rep. Cedric Richmond (D-LA), Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), has circulated a Dear Colleague letter calling for African-American representation in at least one of the top two positions of elected House Democratic Caucus leadership (i.e., Speaker or Majority Leader) if Leader Pelosi or Democratic Whip Hoyer are no longer running for one of those positions. In the event Leader Pelosi fails to garner the votes for Speaker, Assistant Democratic Leader Clyburn – the highest-ranking African-American in the House – has offered to serve as a so-called "bridge" Speaker for one to two terms to facilitate the transition of power to the "next generation" of leadership. Mr. Hoyer is expected to make a similar run, in the event it is necessary. Of note, Rep. Diana DeGette also has announced her intention to run for Whip as she has done in previous years, though we expect Rep. Clyburn will secure the position.

Republicans will hold a candidate forum on November 13, followed by the 116<sup>th</sup> Organizing Conference and leadership elections on November 14. Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) has emerged as the leading candidate to serve as Minority Leader and has received outgoing Speaker Paul Ryan's (R-WI) endorsement. However, Majority Whip Steve Scalise (R-LA) and Freedom Caucus co-founder Jim Jordan (R-OH) are often discussed as potential alternatives should Leader McCarthy fail to garner the necessary votes (half of the Conference plus one).

#### iii. Committee Leadership

While the final margin of control will determine committee ratios in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress, Democratic control of the House sets the stage for the following committee line-up:

Committee	Likely Chair	Likely Ranking Member	
Administration	Selected by Speaker, Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	Rodney Davis (R-IL)	
Agriculture	Collin Peterson (D-MN)	Mike Conaway (R-TX)	
Appropriations	Nita Lowey (D-NY)	Kay Granger (R-TX) or Tom Graves (R-GA), Robert Aderholt (R- AL), Tom Cole (R-OK), Mike Simpson (R-ID)	
Armed Services	Adam Smith (D-WA)	Mac Thornberry (R-TX)	
Budget	John Yarmuth (D-KY)	Steve Womack (R-AR)	
Education and Workforce	Bobby Scott (D-VA)	Virginia Foxx (R-NC)	
Energy and Commerce	Frank Pallone (D-NJ)	Greg Walden (R-OR)	
Ethics	Ted Deutch (D-FL)	Susan Brooks (R-IN)	
Financial Services	Maxine Waters (D-CA)	Patrick McHenry (R-NC) or Blaine Luetkemeyer (R-MO)	
Foreign Affairs	Eliot Engel (D-NY) Mike McCaul (R-TX)		
Homeland Security	Bennie Thompson (D-MS)	Mike Rogers (R-AL)	

Intelligence	Adam Schiff (D-CA) (with waiver) OR Jim Himes (D-CT)	Devin Nunes (R-CA)	
Judiciary	Jerrold Nadler (D-NY)	Doug Collins (R-GA), Jim Jordan (R-OH)	
Natural Resources	Raul Grijalva (D-AZ)	Rob Bishop (R-UT)	
Oversight and Government Reform	Elijah Cummings (D-MD)	Jim Jordan (R-OH), Mark Meadows (R-NC)	
Rules	Selected by Speaker, but likely Jim McGovern (D-MA)	Likely Doug Collins (R-GA)	
Science, Space, and Technology	Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX)	Frank Lucas (R-OK) or Randy Weber (R-TX)	
Small Business	Nydia Velazquez (D-NY)	Blaine Luetkemeyer (R-MO)	
Transportation and Infrastructure	Peter DeFazio (D-OR)	Sam Graves (R-MO) or Jeff Denham (R-CA)	
Veterans' Affairs	Mark Takano (D-CA)	Phil Roe (R-TN)	
Ways and Means	Richard Neal (D-MA)	Kevin Brady (R-TX)	

# iv. Governing Dynamics and Agenda

In the House, Speaker Pelosi will be challenged to keep her caucus united on a pragmatic agenda moving forward. Democratic leadership is likely to face difficulty in reconciling competing factions of the Caucus in the  $116^{th}$  Congress. The Democratic Caucus in the House will be comprised of a significant number of new moderate New Democrats and Blue Dogs who will represent the ideological center-left of the party, the "majority makers," as well as the nearly 80 existing members of the Progressive Caucus. Presuming Leader Pelosi reclaims the gavel, she will be tasked with shepherding an agenda that reconciles the priorities of both ends of the Caucus in a more polarized country during a presidential election cycle. With the pent-up frustration on the left, and Democratic presidential candidates jockeying for the support of early-state activists, protecting the "majority makers" will be necessary, but no easy task.

While Democratic leadership plans to take a very measured approach to oversight and investigations of the Trump administration, they are determined to focus on Affordable Care Act stabilization and other ways to expand healthcare coverage and find alternatives to "Medicare for All." Nevertheless, leadership's challenge is to find opportunities for the progressives to flex their muscles in ways that do not jeopardize the majority. There will be pressure from the base to move forward on liberal causes such as Medicare for All, impeachment hearings, etc. However, Pelosi historically has demonstrated all possible legislative deals will come through her and not through pressure by House moderates triangulating with the White House. While the Democratic caucus is more diverse than before, the base will expect opposition to the Administration and exceptions to that will require the "cover" of Pelosi to make a deal. This will have implications for the legislative agenda, on issues like the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), infrastructure, or government spending. Like the first two years of the last Democratic majority during the final Bush years, Speaker Pelosi (or another Democratic Speaker) will have to use their energy to hold the more liberal part of the caucus in check, protecting the new majority-maker districts and preparing for the 2020 election.

Nevertheless, we expect the following priorities to top the Democratic agenda in the House:

Committee	Potential Issues
Judiciary	Ethics/Lobbying/Campaign Finance reform; Russia Investigation; Kavanaugh Investigation; Criminal Justice Reform; Arbitration Reform; CDA 230 (opioids, guns, hate speech); Voting Rights Act; Guns (background checks); Immigration; Antitrust oversight; Equality issues
Energy and Commerce	ACA stabilization; Healthcare reform; Prescription Drug Prices; CDA 230; Energy; Net Neutrality; Privacy; Climate Change
Homeland Security	Election security; Cybersecurity; Immigration (family separations and security at the border)
Intelligence	Russian investigation; Intel Authorization
Oversight and Government Relations	Administration investigations
Ways and Means	Oversight of Republican Tax bill; Middle Class Tax Cuts/Reinstall SALT Deduction; Infrastructure; Trade/Tariffs oversight (USMCA); Social Security/Pensions/Retirement Security; Oversight of Trump Taxes; Climate; Healthcare Reform; Prescription Drug Prices
Financial Services	Reinstating Dodd-Frank Rules; CFPB and Other Regulatory Oversight; Affordable Housing; TRIA Reauthorization; Flood Insurance; Oversight on Administration
Foreign Affairs	Russian Interference; Impact of Trade War on US/China Relations
Transportation and Infrastructure	Infrastructure

While Republicans will occupy the minority in the House, ideological divisions within the Conference also may have implications for governing dynamics. The House Republican Conference will be smaller in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress, and the loss of a significant number of moderates last night suggests moderate groups within the Conference – the Tuesday Group and Main Street Caucus – may have less of a footprint next year. The House Freedom Caucus (HFC) and its 35 to 40 members will comprise a larger percentage of the Republican Conference in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress relative to the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress, and its growth suggests the HFC may have leverage to push hardline conservative priorities. Though the HFC continues to represent a minority wing of the GOP, the votes they control could influence the Conference's position on a host of matters, including leadership posts. While Rep. Jim Jordan – a founding member of the HFC – is unlikely to have the votes to become Minority Leader, he could split votes to prevent Leader McCarthy from securing the position. It remains plausible the HFC faction could negotiate some sort of a formal leadership position within the GOP Conference, which could have implications for the Republican agenda and the ability to negotiate with Democrats. Importantly, such a move could impact the floor tactics of Republicans, who will seek to craft creative Motions to Recommit - sending legislation back to committees - by highlighting issues of importance to moderate Democrats. The GOP successfully used the procedure on multiple occasions when they last were in the minority.

Importantly, while Democrats will have the votes to pass partisan bills out of the House, such bills will be viewed as "dead-on-arrival" in the Senate, where Republicans expanded upon their majority.

#### III. DEMOCRATIC HEARTBREAK IN THE HEARTLAND

#### i. The Race for the Senate

Currently, the make-up of the Senate in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress is as follows, with two races still undecided, and one race heading to a run-off:

Party	115 <sup>th</sup>	116 <sup>th</sup>	Net Gain/Loss
Republican	51	51	+ 2 (3 undecided races)
Democrat	49	46	- 2 (3 undecided races)

# Republicans picked up the following seats:

- Indiana: In a state President Trump won by 20 points in 2016, Republican businessman Mike Braun unseated incumbent Democrat Joe Donnelly by nearly 10 points.
- **Missouri:** In Missouri, state Attorney General Josh Hawley (R) defeated incumbent Claire McCaskill (D) by six points.
- **North Dakota:** President Trump carried North Dakota by 35.8 points in 2016, and Rep. Kevin Cramer (R) defeated incumbent Heidi Heitkamp (D) by nearly 11 points last night.

# Democrats picked up the following seat:

• **Nevada:** As of this writing, Rep. Jacky Rosen's (D) victory against incumbent Dean Heller (R) by more than five points is the only pickup for Democrats in the Senate, though an undecided race in Arizona could yield an additional pickup; Democrats could also maintain the seat in Florida.

#### Undecided races:

- **Arizona:** The race between Rep. Kyrsten Sinema (D) and Rep. Martha McSally (R) is too-close-to-call at this time, with 99 percent of precincts reporting. McSally has the edge.
- **Florida:** While some analysts called the race in Florida for Republican Governor Rick Scott last night, the race is now too close to call. As of this writing, Governor Scott leads Senator Nelson by 0.4 percentage points with 100 percent of precincts reporting. Under Florida law, a difference of less than 0.5 percent triggers a recount.
- **Mississippi:** The Mississippi Senate race between Republican incumbent Cindy Hyde-Smith and Democrat Mike Espy will head into a runoff, as neither candidate has secured an outright majority. The runoff election will be held on November 27 and Senator Hyde-Smith is favored to win.

#### McCain seat:

 Of note, Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) agreed to serve through the end of 2018. At that point, Governor Ducey will select a senator to serve out the remainder of Senator McCain's term through 2020. The lead candidate is the Governor's Chief of Staff, Kirk Adams, though other names have been discussed.

Democratic gains in the House did not translate to the Senate, where a clear picture of "two Americas" was on display: the chasm between urban and rural America that fueled President Trump's 2016 win. While victories in suburban and metropolitan areas propelled Democrats to the majority in the House, competitive Senate races played out in the heartland, where Republicans made significant gains in the rural, older, predominately white states President Trump carried in 2016.

Midterm elections are a referendum on the President, and yesterday's Senate results reflect strong support for President Trump among rural constituencies. In addition to pickups in Indiana (where the President's <u>approval</u> is 55 percent), Missouri (53 percent presidential approval), and North Dakota (62 percent presidential approval), Republicans retained seats in Texas and Tennessee (50 and 59 percent approvals, respectively) – states once thought to be pickup opportunities for Democrats.

Importantly, Democrats retained Senate seats in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin – states that delivered Trump the presidency in 2016, and could prove critical in 2020. The landscape is less clear in Ohio – another key swing state – which voted decisively to reelect Senator Sherrod Brown (D), but elected Republican Mike DeWine as Governor by a 5-point margin. Democrats also retained the Montana Senate seat, after a close race between incumbent Democrat Jon Tester (D-MT) and Republican challenger Matt Rosendale was decided this afternoon.

Despite losses in the House, President Trump has touted Republican gains in the Senate as a significant – and personal – victory. This morning, the President tweeted, "Those that worked with me in this incredible Midterm Election [sic], embracing certain policies and principles, did very well. Those that did not, say goodbye!" The election results and divided control of Congress are likely to embolden, rather than moderate, President Trump and proponents of so-called "Trumpism," as the sweeping rebuke once forecasted did not come to fruition.

To be sure, divided control of Congress will serve as a "check" on the President and his policy priorities, and the election results will have implications for the agenda in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress.

# ii. Senate Leadership

Senate Republicans will hold leadership elections on November 14. Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) will continue in his role as Majority Leader, and is the only member of Senate Republican leadership not term-limited in his role. As such, there will be changes among the rest of the GOP leadership, though most positions are set:

 Senator John Thune (R-SD) is expected to replace Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) as Majority Whip;

- Senator John Barrasso (R-WY) is expected to replace Senator Thune as Conference Chair;
- Senator Roy Blunt (R-MO) is expected to replace Senator Barrasso as Policy Chair;
- Senator Deb Fischer (R-NE) or Senator Joni Ernst (R-IA) will replace Senator Blunt as Conference Vice Chair; and
- Senator Todd Young (R-IN) is expected to replace Senator Cory Gardner (R-CO) as Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC). Mitt Romney also is in the mix for a co-chair or other new NRSC position.

Senate Democrats have yet to schedule their leadership elections, though we do not expect any changes in leadership at this time. Notwithstanding unforeseen circumstances, Senator Chuck Schumer (D-NY) is expected to remain Minority Leader, Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL) is likely to remain Minority Whip, Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) is expected to remain Assistant Democratic Leader, and Senator Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) likely will remain Chairwoman of Policy and Communications. At this time, Senator Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV) is the only Member rumored to be interested in chairing the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

#### iii. Committee Leadership

Though the Senate did not flip, a number of changes in committee leadership are expected. While the final margin of control will dictate committee ratios next year, the committee chair and ranking member line-up in the Senate is likely to look as follows (as of this writing). Should Senator Chuck Grassley (R-IA) decide to remain at the Senate Judiciary, there will be a ripple effect on several committees:

Committee	Likely Chair	Likely Ranking Member
Aging	Susan Collins (R-ME)	Bob Casey (R-PA)
Agriculture	Pat Roberts (R-KS)	Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)
Appropriations	Richard Shelby (R-AL)	Patrick Leahy (D-VT)
Armed Services	James Inhofe (R-OK)	Jack Reed (D-RI)
Banking	Mike Crapo (R-ID)	Sherrod Brown (D-OH)
Budget	Mike Enzi (R-WY)	Bernie Sanders (I-VT)
Commerce	Roger Wicker (R-MS)	Maria Cantwell (D-WA)
Energy and Natural Resources	Lisa Murkowski (R-AK)	Maria Cantwell (D-WA) or Bernie Sanders (I-VT)
<b>Environment and Public Works</b>	John Barrasso (R-WY)	Tom Carper (D-DE)
Ethics	Johnny Isakson (R-GA)	Chris Coons (D-DE)
Finance	Chuck Grassley (R-IA)	Ron Wyden (D-OR)
Foreign Relations	James Risch (R-ID)	Bob Menendez (D-NJ)
HELP	Lamar Alexander (R-TN)	Patty Murray (D-WA)
Homeland Security	Ron Johnson (R-WI)	Gary Peters (D-MI), other
Indian Affairs	John Hoeven (R-ND)	Tom Udall (D-NM)
Intelligence	Richard Burr (R-NC)	Mark Warner (D-VA)
Judiciary	Lindsey Graham (R-SC)	Dianne Feinstein (D-CA)
Rules	Roy Blunt (R-MO)	Amy Klobuchar (D-MN)
Small Business	Marco Rubio (R-FL)	Ben Cardin (D-MD)

Veterans' Affairs	Johnny Isakson (R-GA)	Jon Tester (D-MT)
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#### iv. Governing Dynamics and Agenda

While the working relationship between presumed Speaker Pelosi and Leader McConnell remains to be seen, Senate Republicans are unlikely to take up any partisan big-ticket items sent from the House.

We expect the Senate agenda in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress to be characterized by consideration of "must-pass" items, as well as nominations – both judicial and Cabinet-level (e.g., a nominee to replace Nikki Haley as Ambassador to the United Nations, other expected Cabinet departures as early as today). Confirming judges remains Leader McConnell's top priority. As mentioned above, any partisan bills passed by the House will not be taken up in the Senate, and we expect Senate Republicans – to the extent possible – to paint Democrats as obstructionists, particularly as the Senate map looks less favorable for the GOP heading into 2020 (20 Republicans up for reelection, 12 Democrats, as well as one seat to be decided in the Mississippi runoff later this month).

Such efforts could be bolstered by internal dynamics within the Democratic Caucus. Democratic leadership in the Senate will face similar challenges as their House counterparts in reconciling competing factions within the Caucus. Minority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) will be tasked the reconciling the priorities of an increasingly vocal cohort of members running for President in 2020, who wish to serve as a "check" on the Administration, with those of more moderate members. Importantly, the number of moderates in the Democratic Caucus has diminished with the loss of Senators Donnelly, McCaskill, and Heitkamp last night.

To be sure, divided control of Congress provides fertile ground for bipartisan compromise, and all efforts to implement President Trump's agenda or pass hallmark pieces of legislation will require bipartisan support. In his press conference this morning, Leader McConnell specifically referenced infrastructure as an issue on which Republicans could work with Leader Pelosi. Still, notwithstanding Lame Duck consideration, we expect little action on many of the President's signature policy proposals.

# IV. ALL POLITICS IS LOCAL: GUBERNATORIAL AND STATE LEGISLATURE OUTCOMES

Heading into Election Day, Republicans controlled 31 legislatures (both chambers) and 33 governorships relative to the 14 legislatures and 16 governorships controlled by Democrats (and 4 divided legislatures). However, things will look very different for the GOP heading into 2020. Last night, 36 gubernatorial seats were on the ballot: 26 Republican-held and 9 Democrat-held. Coming out of Election Day, Republicans will hold 25 gubernatorial seats versus Democrats' 22 seats (with three races still to be decided).

Gubernatorial Results in Key Battlegrounds					
State	Democrat	Republican	Spread	Result	
Alaska	37.5	45	R + 7.5	R PICKUP	
Colorado	51.6	45.0	D + 6.6	D HOLD	
Connecticut	48.4	47.1	D + 1.3	D HOLD	
Florida	49.0	49.7	R +0.7	R HOLD	
Georgia	48.6	50.5	R + 1.9	TOO CLOSE TO CALL	
Illinois	54.0	39.3	D + 14.7	D PICKUP	
lowa	47.4	50.4	R +3	R HOLD	
Kansas	47.8	43.3	D + 4.5	D PICKUP	
Maine	51.2	43.0	D + 8.2	D PICKUP	
Michigan	52.9	44.3	D + 10.6	D PICKUP	
New Mexico	56.9	43.1	D + 13.7	D PICKUP	
Nevada	49.4	45.3	D + 4.1	D PICKUP	
Ohio	46.4	50.7	R + 4.3	R HOLD	
Oregon	49.4	44.5	D + 4.9	D HOLD	
South Dakota	47.6	51.0	R + 3.4	R HOLD	
Wisconsin	49.6	48.4	D +1.2	D PICKUP	

Moreover, 87 of 99 <u>state legislative chambers</u> across the country held elections this cycle, and twenty-two chambers were considered competitive – 10 Democrat-controlled and 12 Republican-controlled. Republicans <u>ultimately will control</u> 61 chambers, while Democrats will hold 37 chambers. Perhaps a sign of the times, just one state – Minnesota – will have a divided legislature, which has not occurred since 1914.

# V. CONCLUSION

In the coming weeks, we will provide meaningful insight into the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress as too-close-to-call races are decided, committee assignments are announced, leadership elections take place, and the dynamics between Leader McConnell and presumed Speaker Pelosi begin to play out.

We will continue to provide updates as they become available as well as a more comprehensive outlook of the Lame Duck session next week.