



What to Expect in the 2020 Elections



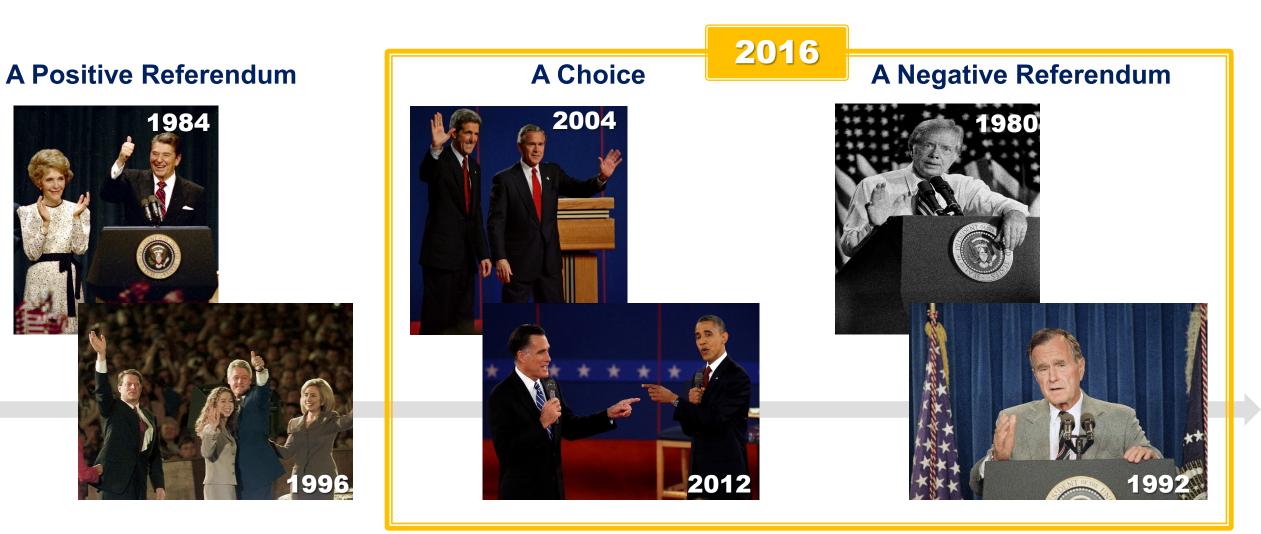
8 days to the First Debate... 43 days to Election Day

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THE BIG PICTURE 13 Slide Summary

3 Modern Presidential Re-Election Paradigms

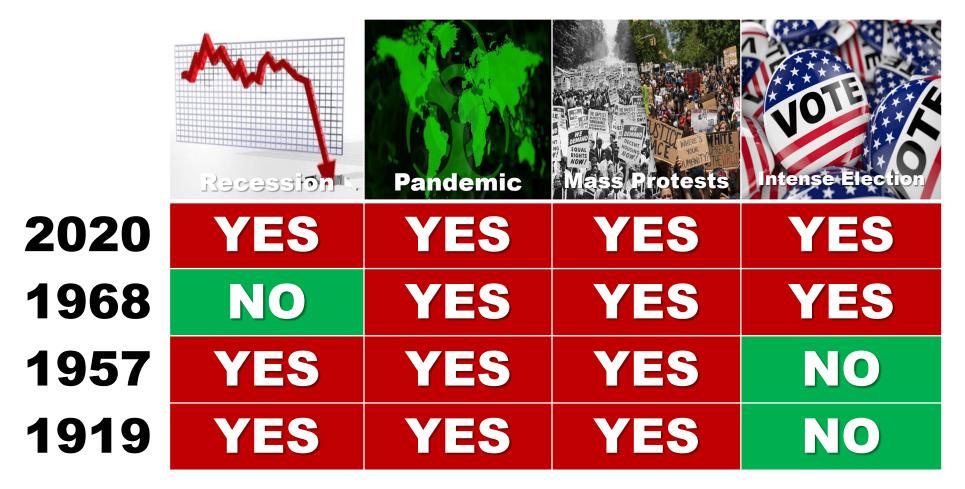


MEHLMAN CASTAGNETTI

HISTORICALLY-DISRUPTIVE CONTEXT FOR AN ELECTION

Four Concurrent "Super-Disruptors"

(Since 1900 only 3 other years had 3)



DISRUPTED VOTERS FREQUENTLY SEEK CHANGE

The Nation Is in a "Flippin' Mood"

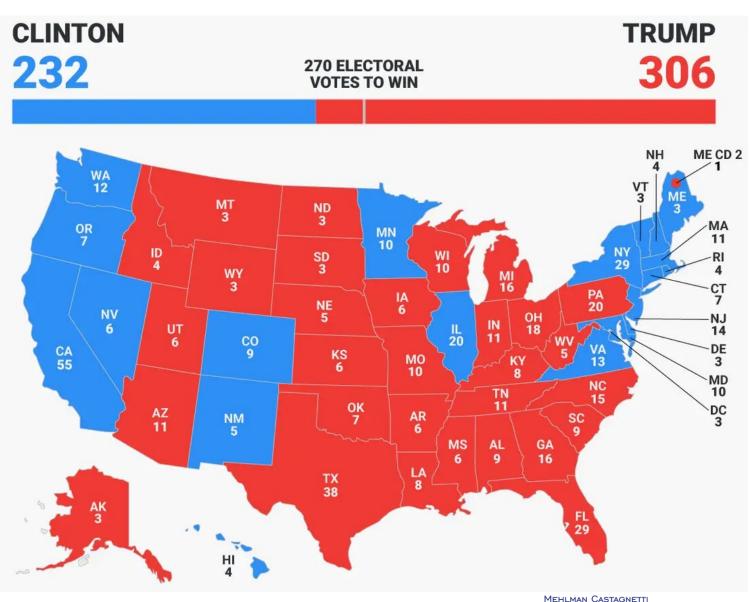
	YEAR	RIGHT DIRECTION	WRONG TRACK	NET	CONTROL OF WHITE HOUSE
	2008	11%	76%	-65%	FLIPPED
	1992	17%	75%	-58%	FLIPPED
	1980	20%	79%	-59%	FLIPPED
You are here	2020	27%	66%	-39%	???
	2016	31%	62%	-31%	FLIPPED
	2000	39%	57%	-18%	FLIPPED
	1988	41%	54%	-13%	HELD
	2012	42 %	53%	-11%	HELD
	2004	41%	47%	-6%	HELD
	1996	39%	44%	-5%	HELD
	1984	47%	48 %	-1%	HELD

	President (Year)	Early September Election Year Approval	Final Pre-election Poll Approval
	Bill Clinton (1996)	60	54
	Ronald Reagan (1984)	57	58
	George W. Bush (2004)	52	48
	Barack Obama (2012)	49	52
You are here	Donald Trump (2020)	42	???
	George HW Bush (1992)	39	34
	Jimmy Carter (1980)	37	37

KEY BATTLEGROUNDS OF 2016 = THE SWING STATES OF 2020

270 To Win: Trump Can Lose 36 EVs & Still Win

#5



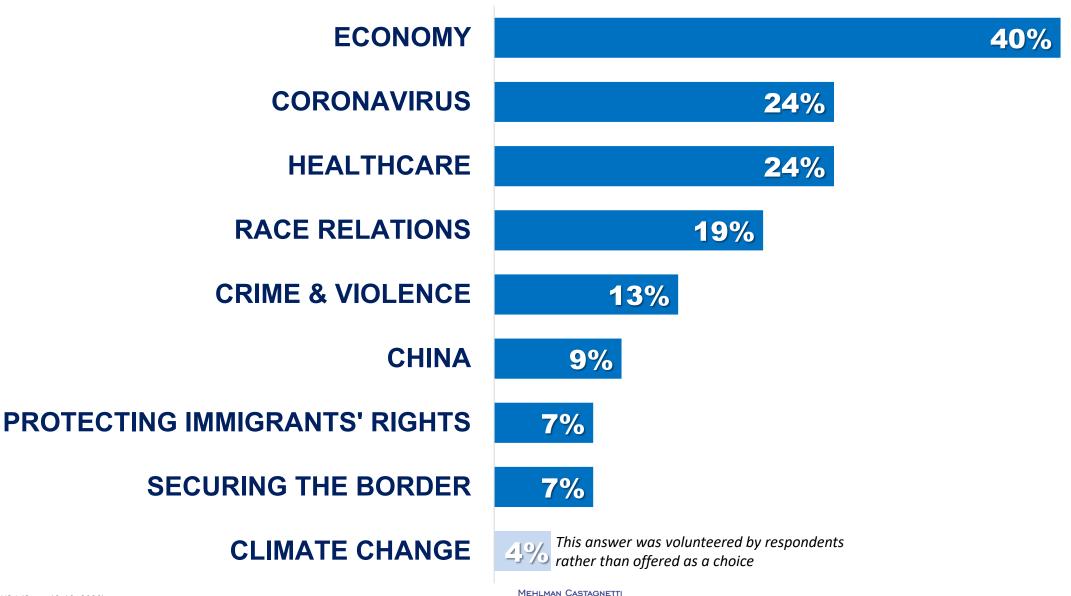
Closest States in 2016

(margins within 4%)

STATE	Trump Margin	EVs
ME	-2.96%	3
NV	-2.42%	6
MN	-1.52%	10
NH	-0.37%	4
MI	0.23%	16
PA	0.72%	20
WI	0.77%	10
FL	1.20%	29
NE-2	2.24%	1
AZ	3.55%	11
NC	3.66%	15

TOP ISSUES

What's the Most Important Issue in Deciding How to Vote (pre-RBG)



- ROSEN & THOMAS -

IMPACT OF THE SUPREME COURT VACANCY



HOW IT HELPS TRUMP / GOP

- 1. Changes the Subject (from COVID 200k)
- **2. Reiterates It's a CHOICE** (adding a 3rd name to the mix, e.g. Trump-Pence-Lagoa)
- **3. Energizes Catholic & Evangelical Voters** (whose support has lagged in 2016)
- 4. Provokes Progressive Over-Reactions (making election about DC statehood, Courtpacking, Amendments & "radical changes")
- 5. Fires Up the Confrontation-Loving Base ("Fill That Seat!" is 2020's "Lock Her Up!")
- 6. Helps Key Senate Races (GA, MT, SC, KS)

HOW IT HELPS BIDEN / DEMS

- Fires Up the Base (Dems raised > \$100M via ActBlue in first 36 hours)
- 2. Prioritizes Issues of Abortion Rights & ACA (helping with suburban women whose support was at risk over safety concerns)
- 3. Opens Attack on GOP Incumbent Senators as "Swampy Hypocrites" (flip-flopping on 2016 sanctimony)
- 4. Adds New Potential Vulnerabilities (as Dem oppo research seeks nominee's flaws)
- 5. Helps Key Senate Races (CO, ME)

Trump Wins a "Choice" About the Economy, Loses a Pandemic Referendum

If it's a	ECONOMY	PANDEMIC	RACE / CRIME
REFERENDUM (Trump Approval avg)	+3.6	-14.4	Crime: -6 Race: -25
CHOICE (Average of September Head-to-Head polls)	Trump +5.25	Biden +13.1	Crime: B+2.6 Race: B+18.3

#8

CLOSING ARGUMENTS

It's a Referendum



- Made the pandemic worse, **costing lives**
- Made the recovery worse, **costing jobs**
- Made racial division worse, inciting violence
- Made the environment worse, deepening crisis
- Made partisanship worse, dividing America
- Made justice worse, restricting freedom

It's a Choice



- Economy ("capitalism vs socialism")
- Coronavirus ("open up vs lockdown")
- **Public safety** ("law & order vs urban riots")
- Leadership ("strong vs weak")
- China ("winning vs losing")
- **SCOTUS** ("interpret law vs legislate from bench")





 Clear DEBATE wins VACCINE announced Great ECONOMIC data Leadership MOMENT SCOTUS vacancy 	OPPORTUNITIES	 Strong DEBATES reassure Further \$\$\$ advantage (+Bloomberg) Leadership MOMENT SCOTUS vacancy
 DEBATE disaster New big COVID wave MARKETS collapse Terrible JOBS data Fire FAUCI UNSCRIPTED Moments 	RISKS	 DEBATE disaster Too MODERATE for Progressives Too PROGRESSIVE for Moderates PUBLIC SAFETY perceptions Seen as PRO-LOCKDOWN UNSCRIPTED Moments

FINAL TWO MONTHS = WHERE THE WILD THINGS ARE

The Supreme Court Vacancy is the First, But Likely Not Last, Surprise









9/11/16 Pneumonia overheating





10/7/16 Wikileaks



10/28/16 Comey reopens



11/6/16 Comey recloses

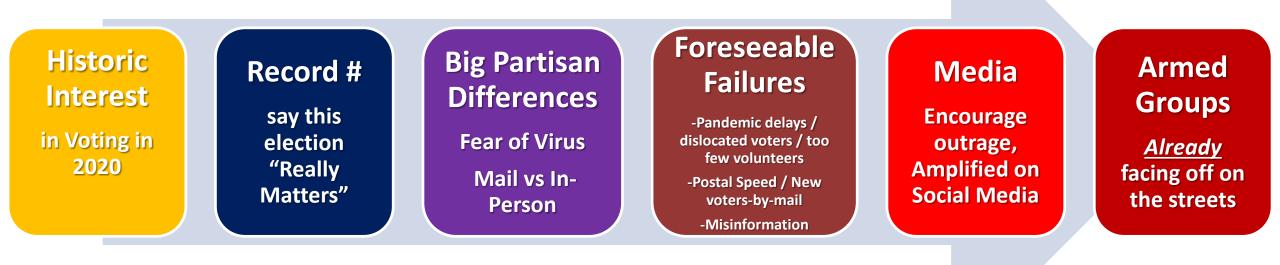


9/18/20 RIP RBG











RECOMMENDATIONS AROUND THE ELECTION



CEOs & Business Leaders

1. Help Employees Engage

- > Offer time off to vote or volunteer
- Give accurate registration & voting information

2. Support Stakeholders

- Help local governments (whose budgets are crushed), e.g. by sharing facilities for safe voting
- How are you helping deal with COVID & the recession?

3. Lead by Example

At a time of hyper-partisanship & zero-sum politics, stakeholders value leaders who demonstrate purpose & inclusion



Investors & GR Teams

- 1. Expect Delays
 - Election results may not be known for days or weeks
 - > Counting is not a crisis

2. Prepare Now for a Busy 2021

- From tax to energy, health care & tech, big differences between candidates create unique risks & require different strategies
- COVID & the recession guarantee major legislation in the lame duck & 2021

3. Stay Focused on Big Trends

- Accelerating tech innovation + Techlash
- Deglobalization + China decoupling
- Institutional mistrust + stakeholder capitalism



Students & Citizens

1. Register, Vote, Engage

- > Your vote matters... may be close
- Put up a yard sign, volunteer, drive neighbors to the polls

2. Seek Objective News

- Facebook & some on TV affirm, rather than inform, even repeating false news created by foreign adversaries
- Do your own research & follow some who challenge your own beliefs

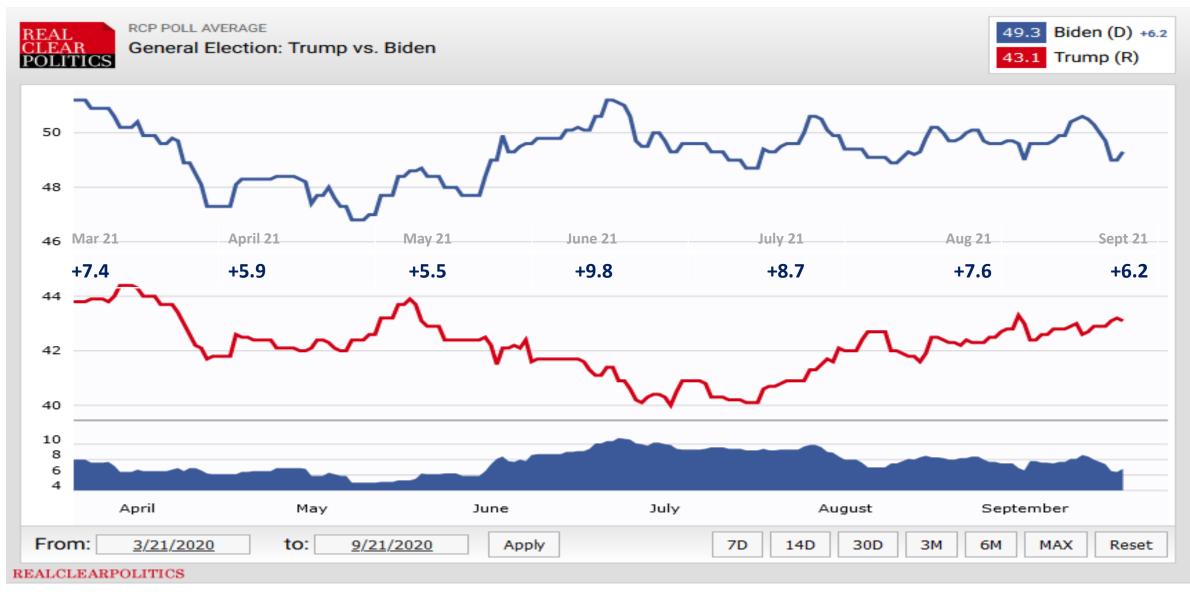
3. Study History

- Our Founders built a system predicated on compromise across lines
- The other party is the loyal opposition, not a threat to our nation

STATE OF THE RACE *A Look at the Polling*

NATIONAL POLLING FAVORS BIDEN

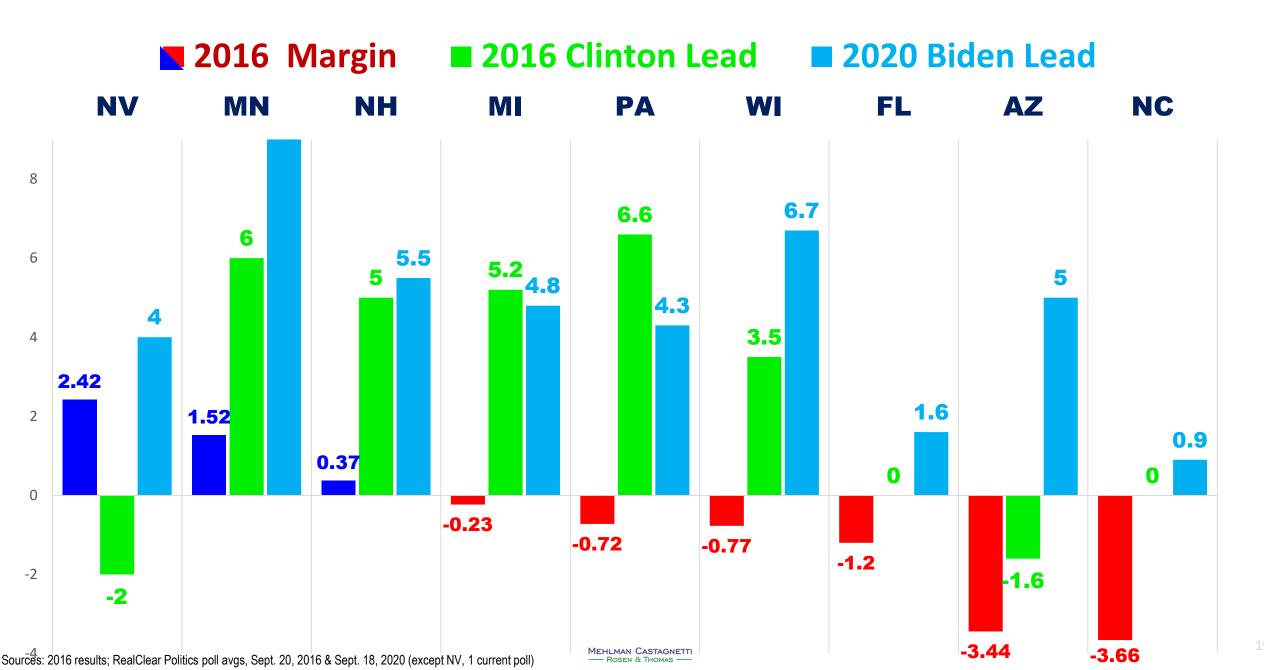
Consistent Biden Lead, But Shrinking from Summer (Reverting to the Mean?)



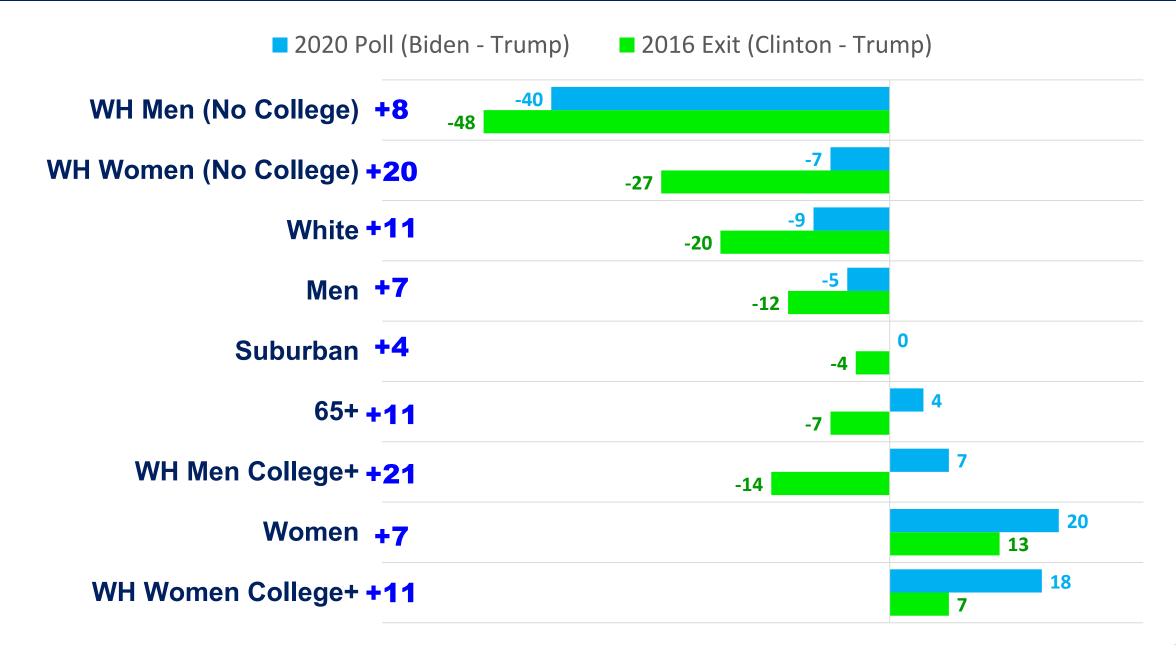
MEHLMAN CASTAGNETTI

- Rosen & Thomas -

BIDEN OUT-PERFORMING CLINTON & TRUMP IN SWING STATES



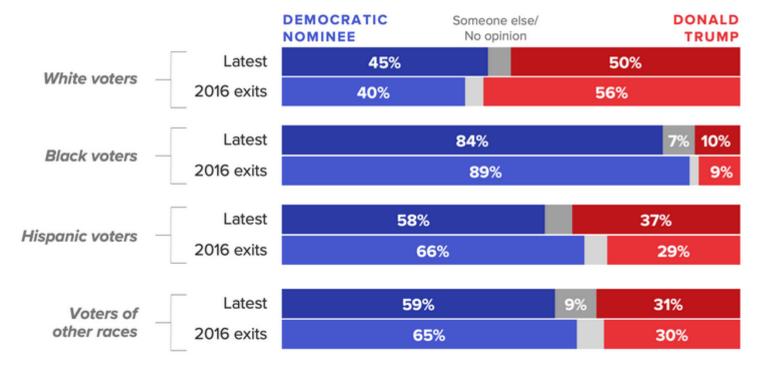
BIDEN AHEAD OF HILLARY MARGINS WITH MANY DEMOGRAPHICS



BUT BIDEN TRAILING CLINTON MARGINS w/ VOTERS OF COLOR

Biden Besting 2016 Margins Among White Voters, Underperforming Among Voters of Color

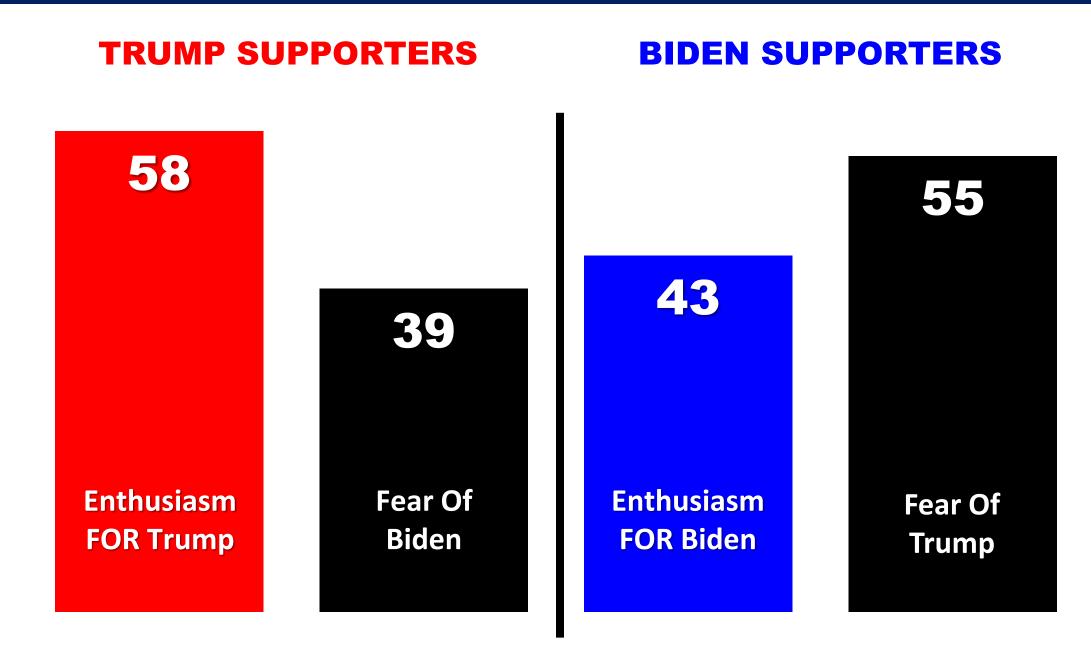
Hillary Clinton won the popular vote by 2.1 percentage points four years ago, compared with an 8-point lead for Joe Biden over President Trump in the latest Morning Consult Political Intelligence tracking



MORNING CONSULT

Polls conducted Sept. 11-13, 2020, among 10,392 likely voters, and Oct. 18-Nov. 9, 2016, among 25,065 Americans who voted early or on Election Day, with margins of error for responses shown ranging from +/-1% to +/-4%.

TRUMP SUPPORTERS LIKE TRUMP... BIDEN SUPPORTERS FEAR TRUMP



Fox News poll, Sept. 7-10, 2020; (in Sept. '16 it was 35-61 for Trump supporters, 44-54 for Clinton)

CAN WE TRUST POLLING?

2016's presidential polls were about as accurate as average

Weighted-average error in polls in final 21 days of the campaign

CYCLE	NATIONAL	STATE	COMBINED
2016	3.1	5.2	4.8
2012	3.3	3.7	3.6
2008	2.3	3.9	3.6
2004	2.2	3.5	3.2
2000	3.9	4.6	4.4
1996	6.4	4.8	5.3
1992	4.6	5.2	5.1
1988	3.5	5.0	4.6
1984	5.4	4.5	4.7
1980	8.9	8.6	8.6
1976	2.5	3.8	3.4
1972	2.6	4.6	4.3
Average	4.1	4.8	4.6

Pollsters that are banned by FiveThirtyEight because we know or suspect that they faked their data are not included in the averages. Averages are weighted based on the number of polls a particular firm conducted.

ARE THERE "SHY" TRUMP VOTERS?... Maybe

Share of voters who say they are hesitant to share their true opinions when polled by phone



LESSONS FROM HISTORY Because maybe this time <u>isn't</u> different

INCUMBENT PRESIDENTS TEND TO WIN RE-ELECTION...

Since 1860, Incumbents Running for Reelection Won 15 / 21 (71.4%)

	NT RAN & ON
2012	1944
2004	1940
1996	1936
1984	1916
1972	1904
1964	1872
1956	1864

1948

FORMER / CURRENT VICE PRESIDENTS TEND TO LOSE

Since 1860, Current / Former VPs (who hadn't become President) Only Won 2 / 7 (28.6%)

George	VP RAN & WON	VP RAN & LOST	
BUSH	1988	2000	Gore
88	1968	1984	2000
		1968	
		1960	
		1860	

OTHER WOULD-BE FIRSTS:

Silent Generation Candidates 0 / 4

(McCain, Kerry, Dukakis, Mondale)

Women on Ticket 0 / 2

(Ferraro, Palin)

CHANGE ELECTIONS ARE INCREASING...

Change in Control of House, Senate and/or White House



...BUT "WASHINGTON" CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN FAILING

Candidates with More Years in Washington Won 9 of 10

(before Vietnam & Watergate)

MORE / TIE (YEARS)		FEWER (YEARS)
FDR (11.5)	1936	(0) Landon
FDR (15.5)	1940	(0) Willkie
FDR (19.5)	1944	(0) Dewey
Truman (14)	1948	(0) Dewey
Eisenhower (0)	1952	(0) Stevenson
Eisenhower (4)	1956	(0) Stevenson
Kennedy (14)	1960	(14) Nixon
LBJ (27.75)	1964	(12) Goldwater
Humphrey (28)	1968	(14) Nixon
Nixon (18)	1972	(14) McGovern

Candidates with More Years in Washington Lost 9 of 11

(after Vietnam & Watergate)

MORE / TIE (YEARS)		FEWER (YEARS)
Ford (27.25)	1976	(0) Carter
Carter (4)	1980	(0) Reagan
Mondale (16)	1984	(4) Reagan
Bush (14.75)	1988	(0) Dukakis
Bush (18.75)	1992	(0) Clinton
Dole (36)	1996	(4) Clinton
Gore (24)	2000	(0) GW Bush
Kerry (20)	2004	(4) GW Bush
McCain (26)	2008	(4) Obama
Obama (8)	2012	(0) Romney
Clinton (20)	2016	(0) Trump
BIDEN (44)	2020	(4) TRUMP

ESTABLISHMENT DEMOCRATS LOSE, DISTRUPTORS WIN

ESTABLISHMENT NOMINEE		DISRUPTOR NOMINEE
	1976	won
LOST	1984	
LOST	1988	
	1992	won
LOST	2000	
LOST	2004	
	2008	won
LOST	2016	



ECONOMIC RECESSIONS HISTORICALLY KILL INCUMBENTS

No Recession in 2 Years Before Election Recession in 2 Years Before Election

RECESSION?	President (Year)	REELECTION?	
NO	Obama (2012)	YES	
NO	Bush43 (2004)	YES	
NO	Clinton (1996)	YES	
NO	Reagan (1984)	YES	
NO	Nixon (1972)	YES	
NO	LBJ (1964)	YES	
NO	IKE (1956)	YES	
NO	Truman (1948)	YES	
NO	FDR (1944)	YES	
NO	FDR (1940)	YES	
NO	FDR (1936)	YES	
NO	Wilson (1916)	YES	

RECESSION?	President (Year)	REELECTION?	
YES	Trump (2020)	???	
YES	Bush41 (1992)	NO	
YES	Carter (1980)	NO	
YES	Ford (1976)	NO	
YES	Hoover (1932)	NO	
YES	Coolidge (1924)	YES	
YES	Taft (1912)	NO	

INCUMBENTS STRUGGLE AMIDST RISING UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment Momentum Matters (12 months before Reelections)

	Unemployment Rate			Outcome		
	October Year Before	October Election Year	CHANGE	YEAR	W/L	Incumbent Pop. Vote Margin
	1.9%	1.2%	-36.8%	1944	WON	+7.5%
	20.1%	16.9%	-15.9%	1936	WON	+24.3%
	8.8%	7.4%	-15.9%	1984	WON	+18.2%
Γ	17.2%	14.6%	-15.1%	1940	WON	+10%
Γ	8.9%	7.9%	-11.2%	2012	WON	+3.9%
Γ	4.3%	3.9%	-9.3%	1956	WON	+15.4%
Γ	8.4%	7.7%	-8.3%	1976	LOST	-2%
	6.0%	5.5%	-8.3%	2004	WON	+2.5%
Γ	5.5%	5.1%	-7.3%	1964	WON	+22.6%
Ī	5.5%	5.2%	-5.5%	1996	WON	+8.5%
Ī	3.9%	3.7%	-5.0%	1948	WON	+4.5%
Ī	5.8%	5.6%	-3.5%	1972	WON	+23.2%
	7.0%	7.3%	+4.3%	1992	LOST	-5.6%
Ī	6.0%	7.5%	+25%	1980	LOST	-9.7%
	15.9%	23.6%	+48.4%	1932	LOST	-17.8%
	3.6%	???	>+100%?	2020	TBD	TBD

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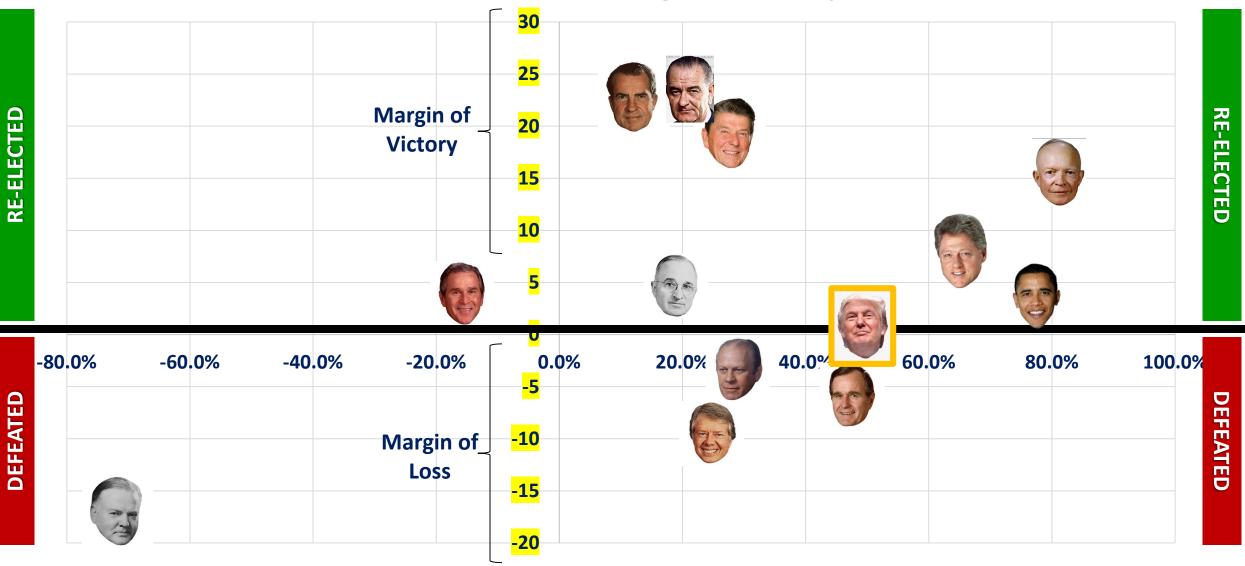
STOCK MARKET RETURNS... DON'T PREDICT WINNERS

S&P 500 Return, Inauguration Day to Re-election Day GHWB GRF DJT RWR BHO WJC **JEC** LBJ HST HHH FDR 198.5% DDE RMN GWB 200.0% 150.0% 100.0% 82.1% 77.4% 64.8% 46.6% 46.5% 50.0% 28.1% 27.5% 25.3% 22.3% 18.9% 12.1% you are here 0.0% -15.8% -50.0% -71.5% -100.0%

https://finance.yahoo.com/quote/%5EGSPC/history?p=%5EGSPC; Trump through 9/15/2020

STOCK MARKET RETURNS... DON'T PREDICT MARGINS

S&P 500 Return (1st term) & Margin of Victory / Defeat



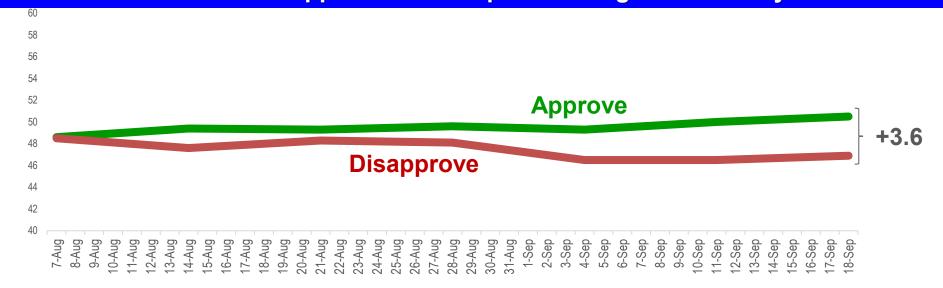
TOP ISSUES Economy, Pandemic, Order/Justice, SCOTUS



MEHLMAN CASTAGNETTI

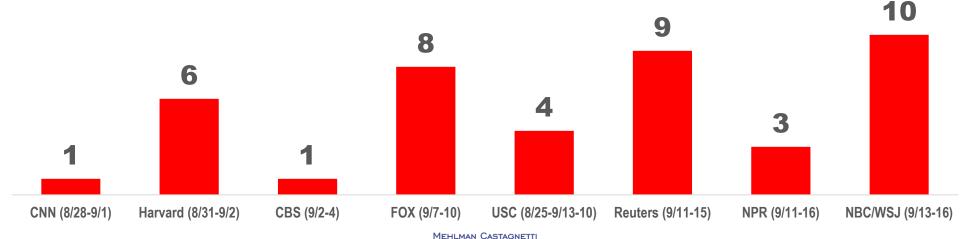
ECONOMY: #1 ISSUE OVERALL... TRUMP LEADS BUT NARROWING

REFERENDUM: Approval of Trump's Handling the Economy



Source: <u>RealClearPolitics</u>, 9/19

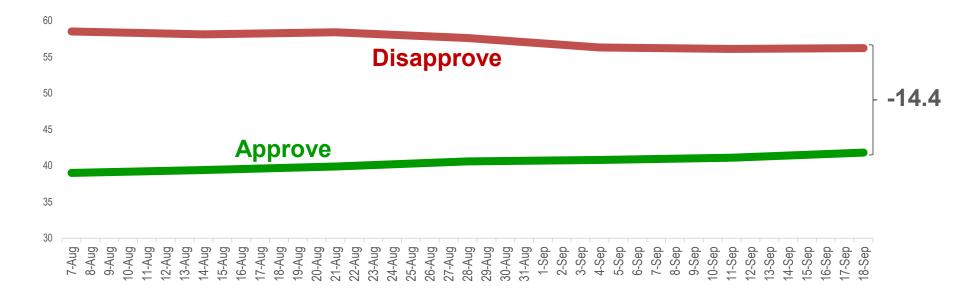
CHOICE: Trump's Lead Over Biden on "Better for the Economy"



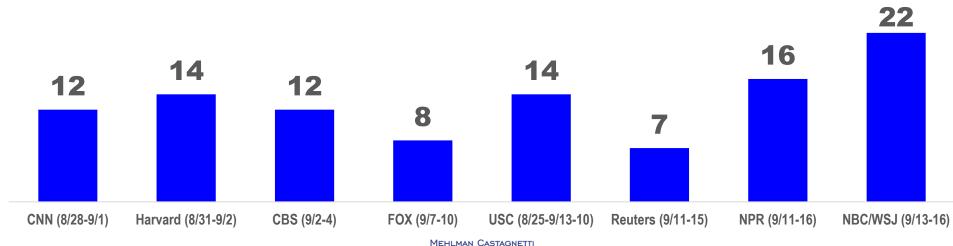
Sources: NBC/WSJ; NPR; Reuters; USC; Fox; CBS; Harvard; CNN

PANDEMIC: TRUMP APPROVAL CONSISTENTLY UNDER-WATER

REFERENDUM: Approval of Trump's Handling the Pandemic



CHOICE: Biden's Lead Over Trump on "Better Handling Coronavirus"

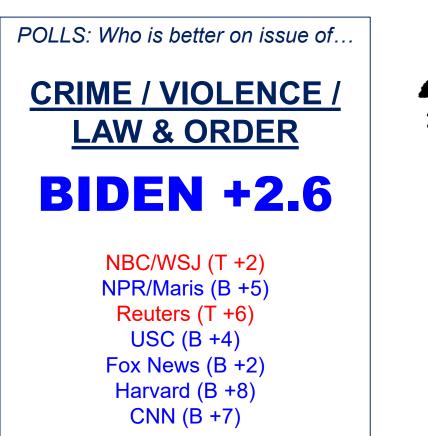


Sources: NBC/WSJ; NPR; Reuters; USC; Fox; CBS; Harvard; CNN

Source: RealClearPolitics

ORDER OR JUSTICE: IT MIGHT DEPEND

The 2020 Rorschach Test: Do You See Racism or Riots?





POLLS: Who is better on issue of...

RACIAL INEQUALITY / CIVIL RIGHTS BIDEN +18.3

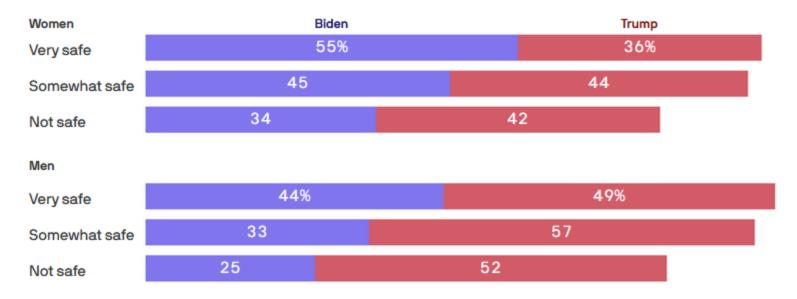
NBC/WSJ (B +23) NPR/Maris (B +23) Reuters (B +16) USC (B +22) Fox News (B +8) Harvard (B +18)

CNN (B +18)

FEAR OF DISORDER COULD IMPACT WHITE SUBURBAN VOTE

White suburan Americans' presidential preference based on how safe they feel in their communities

Survey of 14,043 U.S. adults who are white and live in suburbs, conducted Aug. 31 to Sept.6, 2020



Data: SurveyMonkey poll of 35,732 U.S. adults conducted Aug. 31 to Sept. 6, 2020 with ±1% margin of error; Chart: Naema Ahmed/Axios

SCOTUS: MOTIVATES BOTH SIDES

2016 Exit Poll

in your vote, were supreme court appointments:

	clinton	trump	other/no answer
the most important factor 21%	41%	56%	3%
an important factor 48%	49%	46%	5%
a minor factor 14%	49%	40%	11%
not a factor at all 14%	55%	37%	8%
24558 responde	nts		

2018 Exit Poll

Importance of debate over Kavanaugh's confirmation to vote

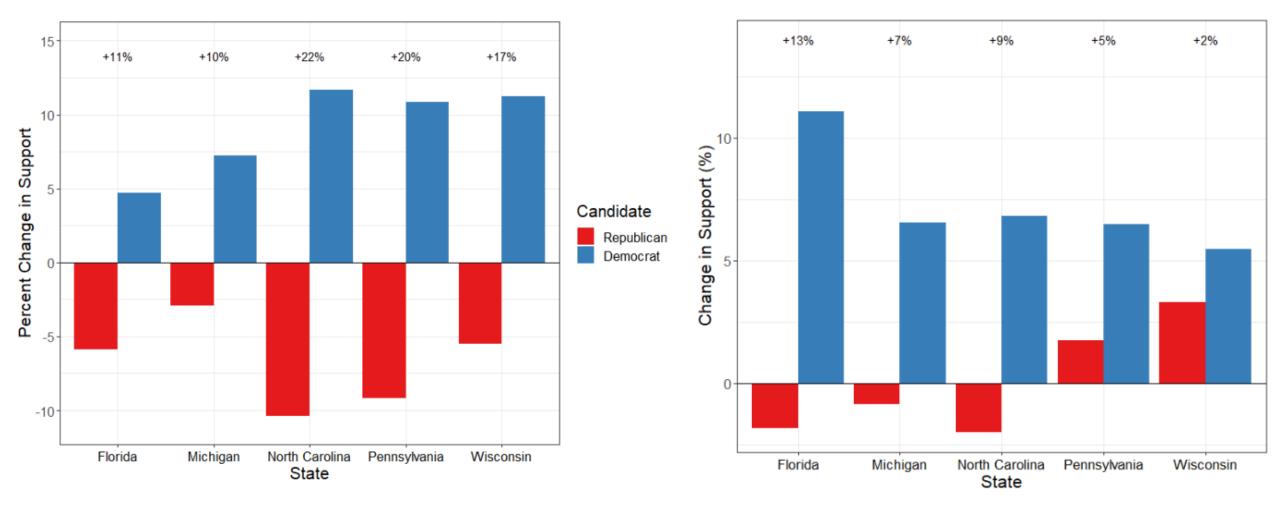
	SHARE	VOTED DEMOCRAT	VOTED REPUBLICAN	VOTED OTHER
Very important	48%	56 %	43%	1%
Somewhat important	27	50	47	3
Not very important	15	41	56	4
Not at all important	9	34	62	5

SCOTUS: ABORTION, FRONT & CENTER

Supreme Fight Might Re-Energize Wavering Evangelical & Catholic Voters, Especially in Swing States

2: Evangelical change in voting patterns between 2016-2020.

Plot 1: Catholic change in voting patterns between 2016-2020.



CONGRESSIONAL RACES Dem House Safe, GOP Senate In-Play



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 2020

GOP Needs a Tsunami... Unlikely Any Trump Coattails Long Enough

RATINGS SUMMARY							
SOLID DEMOCRATIC			218	3			SOLID REPUBLICAN
190	17	14		28	14	18	154
 Likely: These seats are not considered competitive at this point, but have the potential to become engaged. Lean: These are considered competitive races, but one party has an advantage. Toss Up: These are the most competitive; either party has a good chance of winning. 							



MEHLMAN CASTAGNETTI — ROSEN & THOMAS —

SENATE 2020: 10 GOP SEATS AT-RISK vs 2 DEM SEATS...

Current Margin: 53R – 47D Net Seats to Flip Control: 3+ WH

STATE-Incumbent (Avg. of Sept. Polls)

Solid D	Likely D	Lean D	Toss Up	Lean R	Likely R	Solid R
DE-Coons IL-Durbin MA-Markey MN-Smith NH-Shaheen NJ-Booker NM- <i>Open</i> OR-Merkley RI-Reed VA-Warner		MI-Peters (+4.8) AZ-McSally (-6.7)	CO-Gardner (-7) GA-Perdue (-1) IA-Ernst (-3) ME-Collins (-8.5) MT-Daines (+2) NC-Tillis (-3.6)	AL-Jones* GA-Loeffler (+4) KS-Open* SC-Graham (Tie)	AK-Sullivan KY-McConnell TX-Cornyn	AR-Cotton ID-Risch LA-Cassidy MS-Hyde-Smith NE-Sasse OK-Inhofe SD-Rounds TN- <i>Open</i> WV-Moore Capito WY-Open

INCUMBENT SENATORS ARE HARD TO BEAT

Since 1992, Incumbent Senators Win...





^{37/53} ...of races when the Presidential candidate of their party *loses* their state

70%

Closest 2020 Senate Races by

How State Is Leaning in the Presidential Race (per Cook Report)

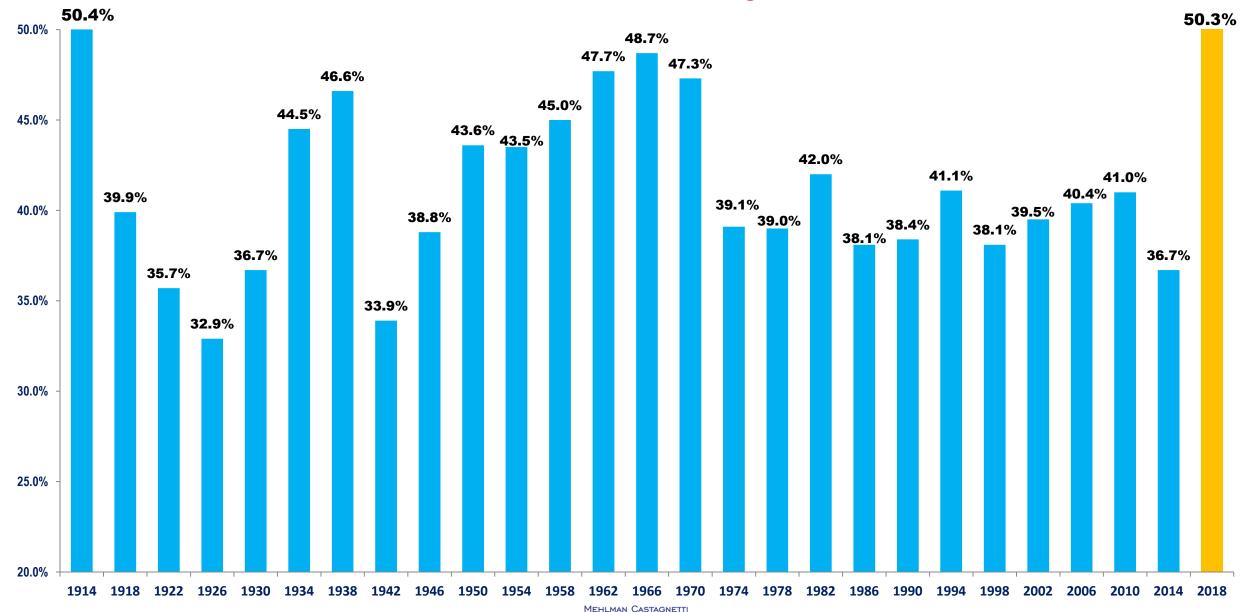
Biden Likely+	Lean Biden	Toss Ups	Lean Trump	Trump Likely+
ME	СО	AZ	IA	AL
	MI	GA ²		MT
		NC		

TURNOUT & TRUST Foreseeable Failures Ahead



COMING OFF THE HIGHEST MIDTERM TURNOUT IN 104 YEARS...

U.S. Voter Turnout as % of Eligible Voters

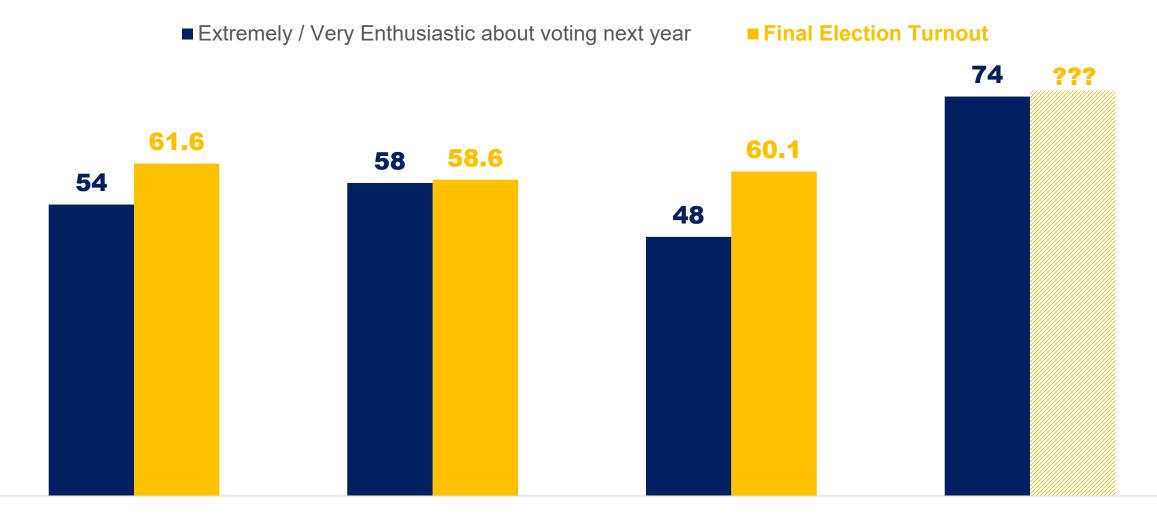


---- ROSEN & THOMAS -----

Source: US Election Project.

2019 POLLS SHOW UNPRECEDENTED ENTHUSIASM TO VOTE IN 2020

Highest "Extremely Enthusiastic" to Vote Ever Recorded by CNN



2007

2011

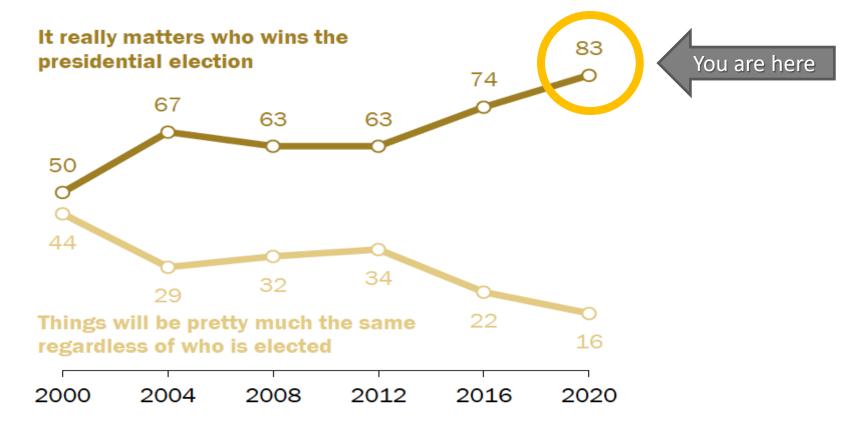




MEHLMAN CASTAGNETTI — ROSEN & THOMAS —

RECORD NUMBERS SAY "IT REALLY MATTERS WHO WINS" THIS ELECTION

% of registered voters who say ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. Volunteered and don't know responses not shown. Data for prior years from June surveys. Source: Telephone survey of U.S. adults conducted July 23-Aug. 4, 2020.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

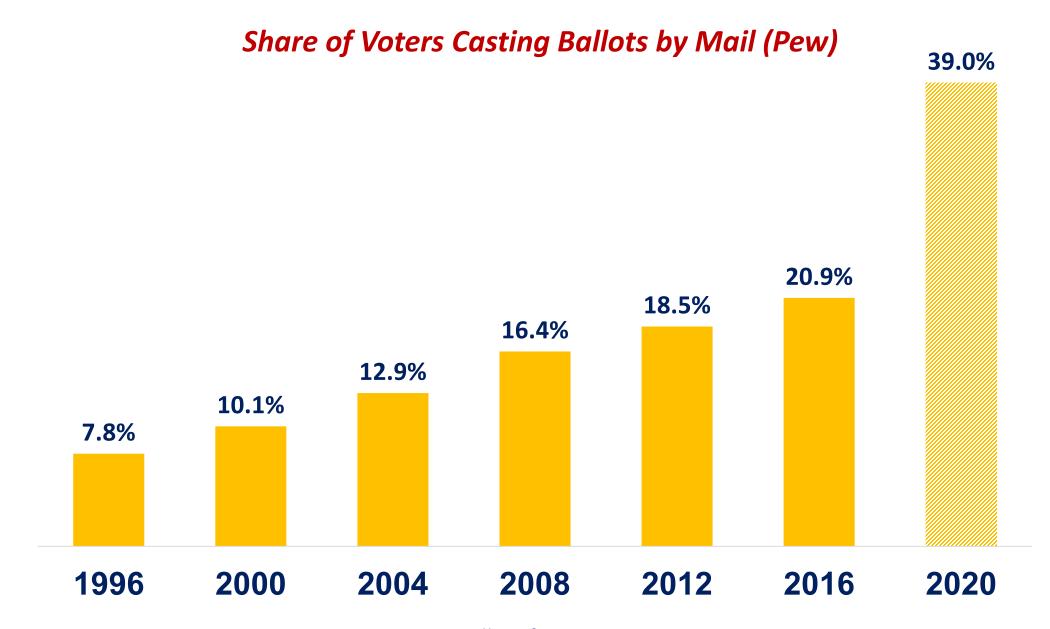
WHO BENEFITS FROM HIGHER TURNOUT?... THAT DEPENDS

Eligible Citizens Who Didn't Vote in 2016

	State/2016	Non-College White	College White	Non-White
	MI	1,563,809	412,191	643,000
Trump	MN	786,284	210,716	259,000
Opportunities: Rust Belt	NH	220,282	68,924	24,795
	PA	2,289,875	603,125	695,000
	WI	819,356	160,644	306,000
	AZ	683,831	228,169	904,000
	FL	2,565,664	719,336	2,565,000
	GA	1,171,614	327,386	1,303,000
	NC	1,105,431	320,569	834,000
	ТХ	2,665,119	812,881	4,274,000

Biden Opportunities: Sun Belt

HISTORIC SHARE OF MAIL-IN BALLOTS EXPECTED AMIDST PANDEMIC

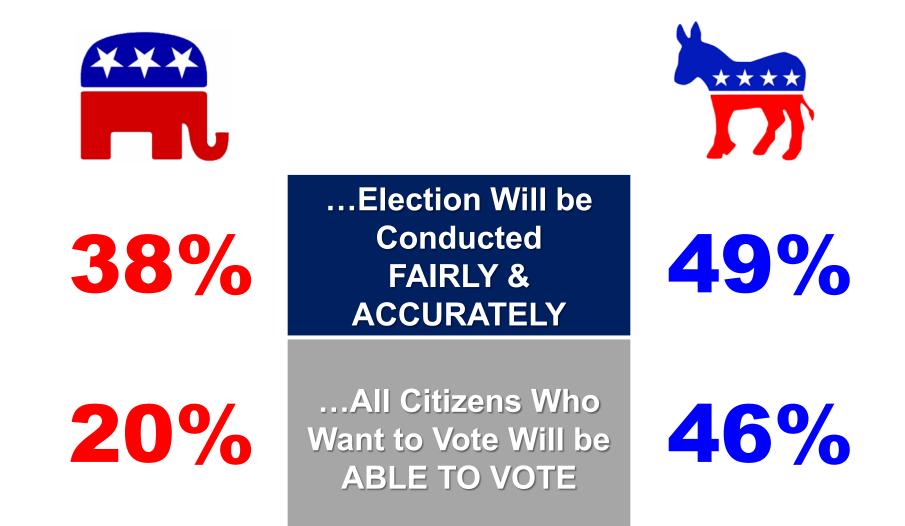


MAILED-IN VOTES EXPECTED TO FAVOR BIDEN... "BIGLY"

PLAN TO VOTE IN PERSON	PLAN TO VOTE BY MAIL
66% of Trump supporters	11% of Trump supporters
26% of Biden supporters	47% of Biden supporters
TRUMP +33	BIDEN +63
Counted & reported on election night	Counted & reported over days or weeks
Rejected voters create provisional ballots	Rejected ballots often not- curable

THE "NO CONFIDENCE" ELECTION

Percentage of Voters Who Are Not Too Confident / Not At All Confident that...



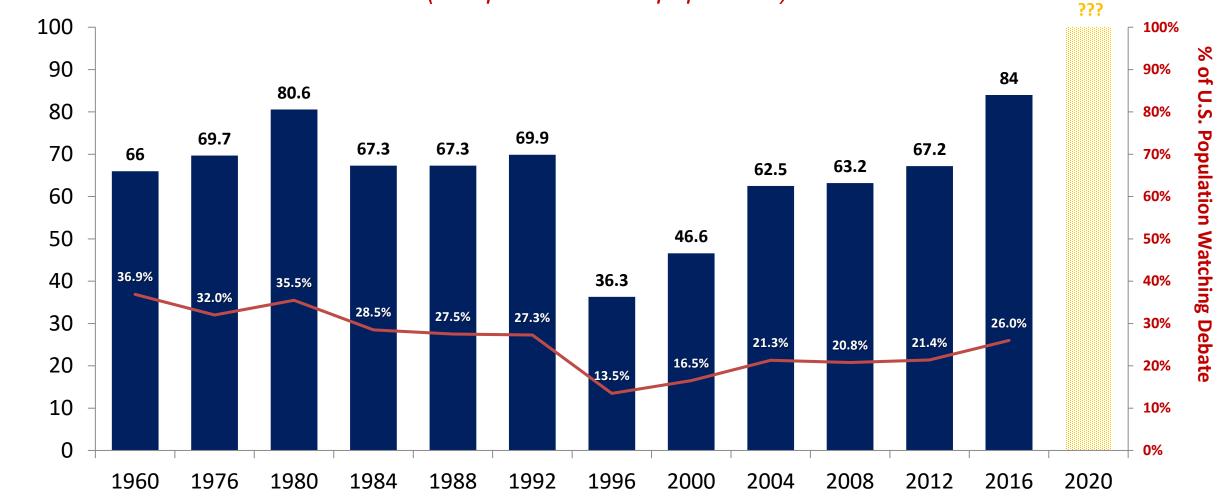
PARTING THOUGHTS Buckle Up

MEHLMAN CASTAGNETTI — ROSEN & THOMAS —

2020 DEBATES MAY BE MOST-WATCHED, MOST-DECISIVE IN HISTORY

Millions of Americans Who Watched Most-Viewed Debate





Millions of TV Viewers

BECAUSE, 2020...

1 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2 21 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2	43 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2
2 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2 22 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2	44 FL PA MJ NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2
3 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2 23 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2	45 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2
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15 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO N MOSt "2020" Outcome imagii	
16 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2 37 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2	59 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2
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19 FL PA MU NG AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2 40 FL PA MI NG AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2	62 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2
20 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2 41 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2	63 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2
21 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2 42 FL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2	64 EL PA MI NC AZ MN WI CO NV NH ME NE-2

For these / future slides: bruce@mc-dc.com

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