

# Midterms 2018 Report

Network-based analysis of six key races

# NSI Midterm Analysis: Six races that will shape the nation's political future

## Overview of NSI's Midterm Analysis

NSI has completed network analysis of all of the challengers (non-incumbents) in Senate races that the Cook Political Report has rated as toss-up or lean, as well as the challengers in four key gubernatorial races: IL, OH, CA, and FL. These profiles visualize each candidate's personal and professional networks, demonstrate how various industries may influence them, and provide insights on how they may make policy.

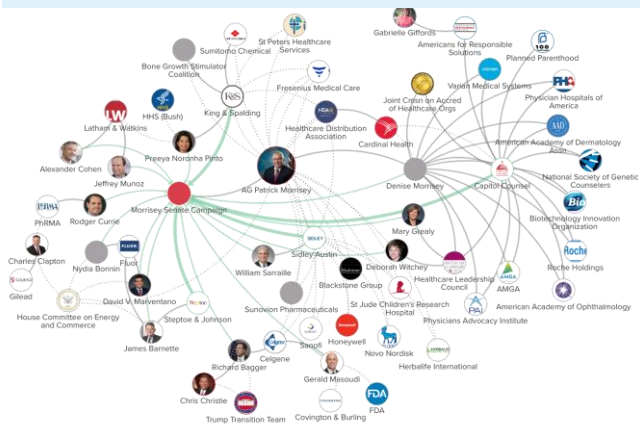
## Network Approach: NSI evaluated candidates' key ties

- ✓ Personal relationships: Family and friends
- ✓ Political mentors
- ✓ Major donors
- ✓ Employment history
- ✓ Current and former staffers
- ✓ Community and advocacy ties

## This Presentation:

- Highlights candidates from six highly-contested races that offer insight into the national midterm election narrative
- Summarizes major communities activated in each candidate's network to indicate industry influences

## Target Network Map



## Network Characterization Analysis

NationalJournal NETWORK SCIENCE INITIATIVE

Midterms 2018 Report: Krysten Sinema

Executive Summary: Krysten Sinema's life, primary stakeholders, and network highlights

NationalJournal NETWORK SCIENCE INITIATIVE

Midterms 2018 Report: Mike DeWine

**Background**

Krysten Sinema entered politics as an affiliate of the Green Party. She became the first openly gay legislator in the House of Representatives and is a member of the House of Representatives. She is a part-time legislator and a part-time lobbyist.

**Primary Stakeholders**

**Major Campaign Donors (by industry)**

- Lawyers/Law Firms
- Securities & Investment
- Women's Issues

**Top AZ Employers**

- Barner Health, State of Arizona, Walmart, County of Maricopa, Wells Fargo, Frys Food Stores, City of Phoenix, Intel, Arizona State University, Bank of America

**Major Campaign Donors**

- EMILY's List, Democracy Engine, Paul, Weiss, et al., Crescent Capital Group, Seal & Wilmer, WomenCount PAC, Blue Cross/Blue Shield, Akin, Gump, et al., Arizona State University, Goldman Sachs

**Major Donors**

Individual	Connection to DeWine	Network Notes	Potential Impact
Umberto Fedeli	• Friend of DeWine • Donor to DeWine's charity and campaign • Both are active in OH catholic communities	• President of The Fedeli Group, a large risk management and insurance firm in Ohio	• Through his and his wife's donations, Fedeli has donated \$25,000 to DeWine's campaign and may be able to connect DeWine with other donors • Fedeli may lobby DeWine on insurance and finance issues

**National-Level Republican Leaders**

Individual	Connection to DeWine	Network Notes	Potential Impact
Rick Santorum	• Worked with DeWine in the Senate • Endorsed DeWine early in the campaign, praising his pro-life stance • Friend of DeWine and his wife, Fran	• CNN Political Commentator • Presidential candidate in 2012 and 2016 • CEO of EchoLight Studios, a Christian movie company • Both Santorum and DeWine lost elections to democrats in 2006	• As Senators, DeWine and Santorum partnered on pro-life bills and welfare reform • In enlisting Santorum to campaign for him, DeWine is highlighting his own socially conservative beliefs based in their shared Catholic faith • If DeWine is elected Governor, he would likely sponsor pro-life legislation and continue his opposition to same-sex marriage
Sen. John McCain	• Frequently coauthored op-eds and legislation with DeWine while in the Senate	• Moderate Republican • Close associates in the Senate include Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC) • Presidential candidate in 2008	• McCain and DeWine coauthored legislation closing gun sale loopholes while in Senate, contributing to DeWine's anti-gun reputation among some conservative circles

# Reference Guide: designations for individuals and organizations based on community and industry

## Major Communities

When possible, NSI has categorized individuals and organizations based on their broad community:

### Major Donor

- Individuals who donate the legal limit to one or more candidates each cycle
- Lead or offer major resources to PACs

### Local

- Individuals or organizations leading local politics in a member's state or district
- Have a significant impact on local opinion and/or work in member's home office

### GOP

- Individuals or organizations affiliated with national Republican politics
- Focused on Republican agenda and elections

### Dem

- Individuals or organizations affiliated with national Democratic politics
- Focused on Democratic agenda and elections

## Interpreting Industries

NSI has tagged individuals and organizations based on their industry (industries not represented below may appear in the deck but are not tagged):



- Food and Agriculture



- Energy Industry, including utilities



- Financial Services



- Health Care, including pharmaceuticals



- Infrastructure and Transportation



- Technology and Telecommunications



- Military Affiliates, including military business to government space

# AZ Senate: The Fight for the Political Middle

Race features two moderate candidates tied to business and veterans issues



Rep. Kyrsten Sinema (D-AZ9)



**Business Community:**  
Positions herself as a moderate, Blue Dog Coalition member with support of the business community



- Despite early career far-left positioning, Sinema campaigns as a pro-business Democrat, and receives donations and recognitions from the US Chamber of Commerce
- *Key Connections:* Former staffer **Alyssa Marois** lobbies for JPMorgan Chase and previously for PNC

**Veterans issues:**  
Places a high priority on veterans issues given her family connections and her district's priorities



- Sinema prioritizes veterans issues in the House
- *Key Connections:* Sinema's brother **Paul Sheldon** is a veteran; trusted staff has VA experience

**LGBTQ equality:**  
Supported by LGBTQ advocacy as an openly bisexual candidate



- The Human Rights Campaigns has donated to and endorsed Sinema given her past support for equality policies
- *Key Connections:* Former Chief of Staff **JoDee Winterhof** and two other staffers work at the Human Rights Campaign



Rep. Martha McSally (R-AZ2)



**Never Trump Republican Funding:**  
Attracts establishment GOP donors due to her past reluctance to align with President Trump



- McSally did not support Trump in 2016, but has stated her openness to collaborating with him on border security
- *Key Connections:* "Never Trump" donor **Randy Kendrick** hosted a fundraiser and donated to McSally; Republican operative **Karl Rove** has donated to her

**Diverse AZ political network:**  
Relies on staff from other Arizona politicians for her own offices



- McSally's staff network in Arizona is still developing
- *Key Connections:* Campaign Manager **Stephen Shadegg** is associated with John McCain and district staffers worked for fmr. Rep. Gabrielle Giffords (D-AZ2)

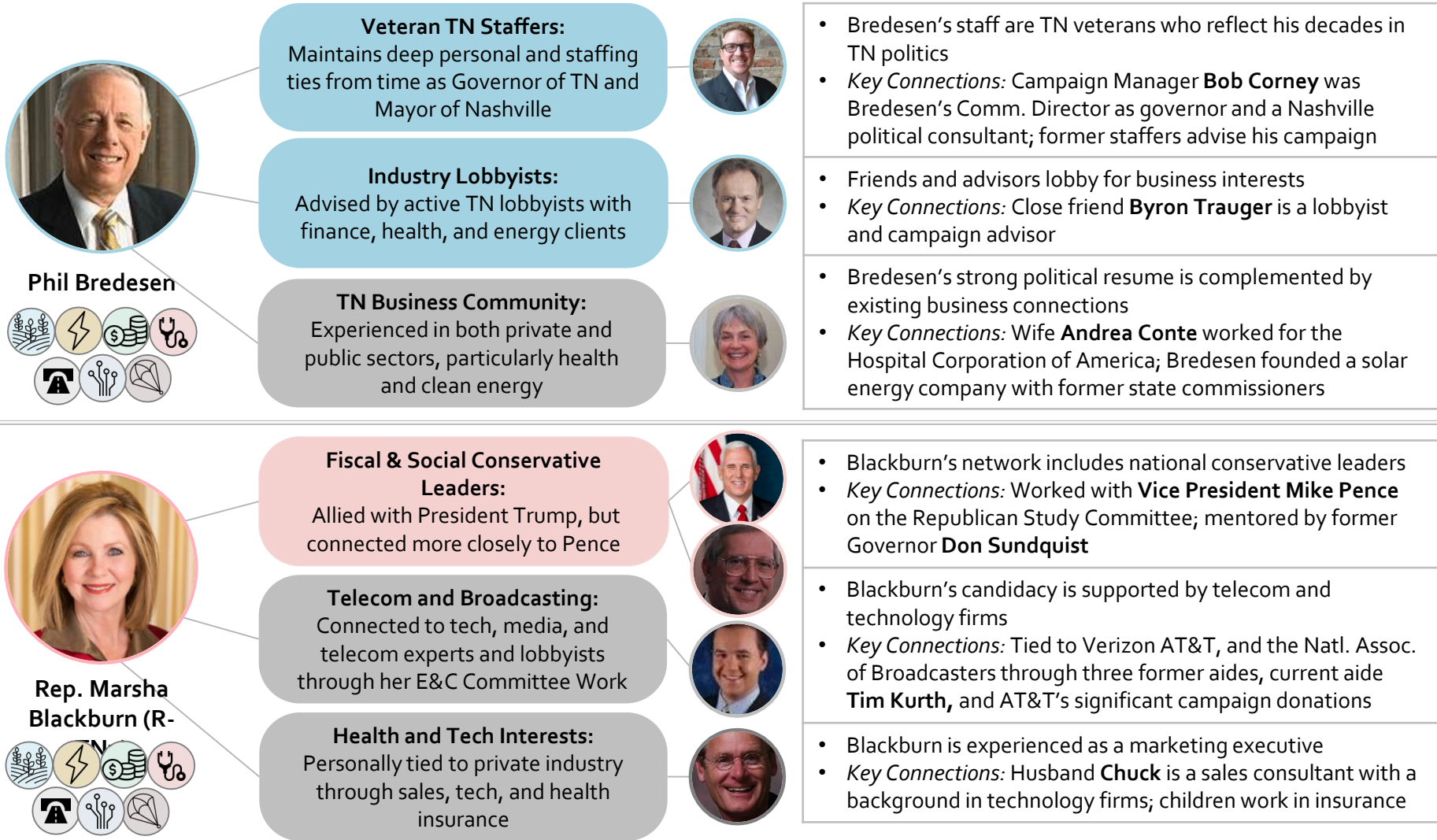
**Military and Defense:**  
Connected to defense given her time in the Air Force and her district's priorities



- McSally focuses her legislative agenda on supporting veterans and securing funding for defense projects
- *Key Connections:* House Homeland Security Committee Aide **Emily Trapani** formerly lobbied for Leidos

# TN Senate: Wither the Centrist Southern Democrat?

Phil Bredesen’s strong business ties compare with those of social conservative Marsha Blackburn





# OH Governor: A love-hate relationship with Washington

Both candidates tout their deep Ohio roots but also rely on strong Washington ties



# FL Governor: A Referendum on Trump and Progressivism

Mega-donors view the race as representative of larger national political trends



Mayor Andrew Gillum



**Major Progressive Donors:**  
Received large, early donations from national progressive leaders

**Tallahassee Leadership:**  
Supported by deep Florida roots and the African America community

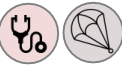
**Criminal Justice Reform and Community Advocacy:**  
Strongly influenced by his family and upbringing



- Large donors are pivotal to Gillum's prospects
- *Key Connections:* **Tom Steyer** and **George Soros**, who don't usually support state races, have given major donations to Gillum's campaign and PAC
- Gillum first won elected office at 23; his long local political career is reflected in his network
- *Key Connections:* Close friend Tallahassee lobbyist **Sean Pittman** represents several Florida cities and corporations at the state level and advises Gillum's campaign
- Gillum cites his family as influencing his progressive policies
- *Key Connections:* Gillum's wife **R. Jai** has worked for United Way and the FL Commission on the Status of Women, and his brother Chuck has a criminal record



Ron DeSantis (R-FL)



**GOP Mega-Donors:**  
Tied to Trump donors and supporters through substantial campaign donations

**Conservative Ideology Ties:**  
Aligned with individuals who share his commitment to conservative ideals

**FL Establishment Republicans:**  
Campaigns with more moderate staffers



- Trump's top donors sit on DeSantis' finance committee
- *Key Connection:* **Laura Perlmutter** served on Trump's Inaugural Committee and donated \$500,000 to DeSantis
- DeSantis staffers have more ideological than industry ties
- *Key Connections:* Close with Freedom Caucus Chair **Rep. Mark Meadows (R-NC11)**; staff ties to the Heritage Foundation and Cato Institute
- DeSantis' is highly connected to Sen. Marco Rubio's political network
- *Key Connections:* Campaign Manager **Brad Herold** and running mate **Jeanette Nunez** and are both tied to Rubio

# MO Senate: A New Intellectual Conservative Hope?



MO AG Josh Hawley



**Conservative Legal Community:**  
Influenced by the legal work of his fellow former clerks

**Big Tech Challengers:**  
Garnered support for anti-trust and privacy work as AG

**Religious Freedom Political Groups:**  
Supported by connections from past legal advocacy for religious freedom/anti-LGBTQ rights

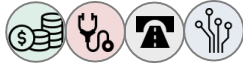


- Hawley's personal network draws on a dense set of ties to conservative legal scholars
- *Key Connections:* Collaborates with wife **Erin** and mentee **Daniel Hartman** on legal scholarship and advocacy
- Hawley has utilized his position as AG to challenge regulation and large tech companies
- *Key Connections:* **Peter Thiel** gave \$300,000 to Hawley; AG staff supporting investigations into large tech companies
- Hawley's career ties him to social conservatives
- *Key Connections:* Former colleague at the Beckett Fund for Religious Freedom **Kristina Arriaga** ; AG staff supporting working on gay rights and bathroom distinction bills

# WV Senate: Swamp Creature Showdown



WV AG Patrick Morrisey



**DC Lobbying Power Centers:**  
Maintains strong ties from lengthy career as health care lobbyist in DC

**Pharma and Health Connections:**  
Personally tied to other health lawyers and interests

**Establishment Republican Campaign Centers:**  
Staffs his campaign with national politicians



- Morrisey fundraised heavily from his vast Washington ties
- *Key Connections:* Wife **Denise** is a lobbyist and 15% shareholder at Capitol Counsel; 21 former colleagues at Sidley Austin have donated to Morrisey's campaign
- Morrisey is tied to pharma, but has received less money than his opponent Manchin
- *Key Connections:* Former coworker **Charles Clapton** lobbies for Gilead Sciences and previously for PhRMA; former colleagues at Celgene
- Morrisey's campaign is lightly staffed by national operatives
- *Key Connections:* Campaign Manager **Ryan Reynolds** has directed campaigns nationally; national consultants on his 35<sup>th</sup> Super PAC



Network Science Initiative is helping our partners prepare for all possible outcomes with detailed profiles on each major candidate. These profiles visualize each candidate's personal and professional network connections, demonstrating how various industry influences may impact their policy decisions, ultimately helping partners build actionable engagement strategies.

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