

Subject: Identifying the Potential Tipping Points: Top Senate Targets for Businesses to be Prepared to Influence under a Biden Presidency, a Democratic-Majority Senate, and Elimination of the Filibuster for Legislation
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Smart businesses, trade associations, advocacy groups and other organizations with a vested interest in the national policy agenda are actively preparing for what would be a sea change in Washington that many political observers believe is a likely scenario for policymaking in 2021: a Joe Biden presidency, and a Senate controlled by the Democratic caucus that exercises the nuclear option of eliminating the filibuster for legislation. A key element of preparing for this scenario is identifying the key Democratic senators who may regularly be the “tipping point” 50th vote that ensures passage of legislation, as senators in this position have the potential to hold significant leverage in shaping legislative provisions.

To support this, Rational 360 has analyzed sitting Democratic senators—along with potential new Democratic senators running for competitive GOP-held seats—to determine **how likely a senator is to be a tipping point vote**. These rankings are informed by the latest [Bipartisan Index](#) produced by The Lugar Center and the McCourt School of Public Policy at Georgetown University, and the most recent [Congressional Scorecard](#) produced by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, supplemented by our own insights into sitting Democratic senators and candidates.

Rational 360 is actively working with clients to be prepared for this scenario, not only to influence senators on their overall support for or against final legislation, but on their **behind-the-scenes negotiations over provisions within bills that are critical for clients**; this will be especially relevant for newly-elected members, who are likely to feel strong pressure to support leadership on floor votes, given the resources being dedicated to their races by the DSCC and leadership-controlled PACs. A robust public affairs approach will be essential in any strategy to influence these tipping point members; here are our **top three recommendations for what clients should be doing now to stay ahead**:

- 1. Begin building grassroots infrastructure now.** Having the capability to flip a switch to activate pre-existing grassroots supporters is one of the best influence tools an organization can have. We help clients build and sustain digital grassroots armies, with in-state constituents and other key stakeholders, who can flood offices with emails, calls, social media posts, and other communications. In many cases, a focus on tipping point states with sitting senators not up for reelection (Coons, Hassan, Manchin, Rosen, Sinema) is a smart place to start.
- 2. Identify key business operations in relevant states.** Do you know exactly how many employees you have in the states of the potential tipping point senators? What about how many suppliers and customers? Being able to localize your concerns about legislative proposals to a senator's state is essential in communications targeting them. If your impact isn't significant in a potential tipping point state, senators not in that category could still be important targets if legislation is expected to have a significant impact on key constituencies in their state.
- 3. Ensure your strategy is customized—and adaptable.** While this analysis should be a useful starting point, the rankings are generalized, and the calculus will vary for every legislative proposal based on the specific policy issues under debate. It is also likely that some senators will be nominated for Cabinet or other high-level positions in a Biden administration, further shifting where the tipping point may lie.

THE TIPPING POINT: LIKELY 46TH – 55TH VOTES

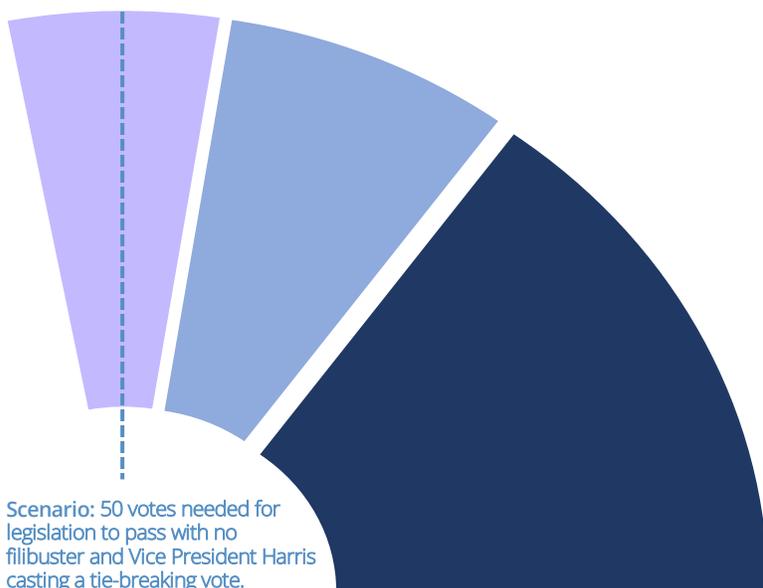
*Steve Bullock (MT)	Doug Jones (AL)
Chris Coons (DE)	Joe Manchin (WV)
*Cal Cunningham (NC)	*Jon Ossoff (GA)
Maggie Hassan (NH)	Jacky Rosen (NV)
*John Hickenlooper (CO)	Kyrsten Sinema (AZ)

THE NEW MIDDLE: LIKELY 31ST – 45TH VOTES

Michael Bennet (CO)	Amy Klobuchar (MN)
*Barbara Bollier (KS)	Gary Peters (MI)
Tom Carper (DE)	Jeanne Shaheen (NH)
*Sara Gideon (ME)	Tina Smith (MN)
*Theresa Greenfield (IA)	Jon Tester (MT)
Tim Kaine (VA)	Mark Warner (VA)
*Mark Kelly (AZ)	Ron Wyden (OR)
Angus King (ME)	

THE SOLID SUPPORTERS: TOP 30 LIKELY DEMOCRATIC VOTES

Tammy Baldwin (WI)	*Ben Ray Lujan (NM)
Cory Booker (NJ)	Ed Markey (MA)
Richard Blumenthal (CT)	Bob Menéndez (NJ)
Sherrod Brown (OH)	Jeff Merkley (OR)
Ben Cardin (MD)	Chris Murphy (CT)
Bob Casey (PA)	Patty Murray (WA)
Maria Cantwell (WA)	Jack Reed (RI)
Catherine Cortez Masto (NV)	Bernie Sanders (VT)
Tammy Duckworth (IL)	Brian Schatz (HI)
Dick Durbin (IL)	Chuck Schumer (NY)
Dianne Feinstein (CA)	Debbie Stabenow (MI)
Kirsten Gillibrand (NY)	Chris Van Hollen (MD)
Martin Heinrich (NM)	Elizabeth Warren (MA)
Mazie Hirono (HI)	Sheldon Whitehouse (RI)
Patrick Leahy (VT)	*TBD California Senator (Harris seat)



Notes: asterisks & italics indicate non-incumbent candidates. Categories are sorted alphabetically; senators are not ranked individually.

APPENDIX: SOURCE DATA

Democratic Caucus Member	Bipartisan Index 2019 Score	Chamber 2019 Rating	Chamber Lifetime Rating
Tammy Baldwin (WI)	48.421%	50%	34%
Michael Bennet (CO)	14.725%	70%	50%
Richard Blumenthal (CT)	-30.528%	56%	44%
Cory Booker (NJ)	-78.644%	30%	38%
Sherrod Brown (OH)	4.420%	59%	35%
Maria Cantwell (WA)	-28.300%	64%	50%
Ben Cardin (MD)	26.734%	50%	37%
Tom Carper (DE)	-12.272%	45%	52%
Bob Casey (PA)	17.880%	65%	48%
Chris Coons (DE)	93.212%	57%	49%
Catherine Cortez Masto (NV)	4.974%	64%	48%
Tammy Duckworth (IL)	-44.095%	55%	50%
Dick Durbin (IL)	-52.055%	60%	36%
Dianne Feinstein (CA)	-41.823%	65%	48%
Kirsten Gillibrand (NY)	-19.178%	13%	34%
Maggie Hassan (NH)	97.883%	68%	52%
Martin Heinrich (NM)	-26.784%	65%	38%
Mazie Hirono (HI)	-94.442%	46%	37%
Doug Jones (AL)	94.672%	73%	66%
Tim Kaine (VA)	-57.982%	51%	55%
Angus King (ME)	28.371%	76%	54%
Amy Klobuchar (MN)	95.944%	32%	44%
Patrick Leahy (VT)	-28.682%	44%	34%
Ben Ray Lujan (NM)	21.175%	52%	39%
Joe Manchin (WV)	72.536%	87%	62%
Ed Markey (MA)	-23.683%	27%	26%
Bob Menéndez (NJ)	9.148%	54%	40%
Jeff Merkley (OR)	-63.340%	32%	32%
Chris Murphy (CT)	-77.071%	61%	42%
Patty Murray (WA)	-105.447%	48%	47%
Gary Peters (MI)	128.459%	51%	43%
Jack Reed (RI)	-77.296%	32%	36%
Jacky Rosen (NV)	65.054%	66%	66%
Bernie Sanders (VT)	-164.345%	3%	18%
Brian Schatz (HI)	-41.114%	45%	42%
Chuck Schumer (NY)	N/A	31%	37%
Jeanne Shaheen (NH)	68.103%	67%	50%
Kyrsten Sinema (AZ)	175.302%	82%	82%
Tina Smith (MN)	8.827%	52%	51%
Debbie Stabenow (MI)	-3.482%	50%	38%
Jon Tester (MT)	129.422%	57%	48%
Chris Van Hollen (MD)	-21.604%	41%	39%
Mark Warner (VA)	48.923%	64%	54%
Elizabeth Warren (MA)	-19.189%	52%	35%
Sheldon Whitehouse (RI)	-38.024%	35%	36%
Ron Wyden (OR)	78.928%	49%	40%

Notes:

- The Lugar Center and Georgetown University's McCourt School of Public Policy say their Bipartisan Index is intended to be “an objective measure of how well members of opposite parties work with one another using bill sponsorship and co-sponsorship data,” and that they “regard any score above zero as a good score.”
- According to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, it rates senators and members of Congress “based on the votes they have cast for or against business priorities.” A higher score indicates voting more often in favor of business priorities.
- Rep. Ben Ray Lujan’s data reflects his 2019 House scores for both the Bipartisan Index and the Chamber ratings.
- As Minority Leader, Sen. Chuck Schumer is not scored by the Bipartisan Index.