

A close-up, diagonal view of the American flag, showing the stars and stripes, occupying the left side of the image.

A Hawthorn Group 2024 Political Update for

MANUFACTURE ALABAMA

September 12, 2024
53 Days Until the Election

***“It’s a Strange Strange World
We Live In Master Jack”***

**Four Jacks and a Jill
1967**



But Some Things Don't Change

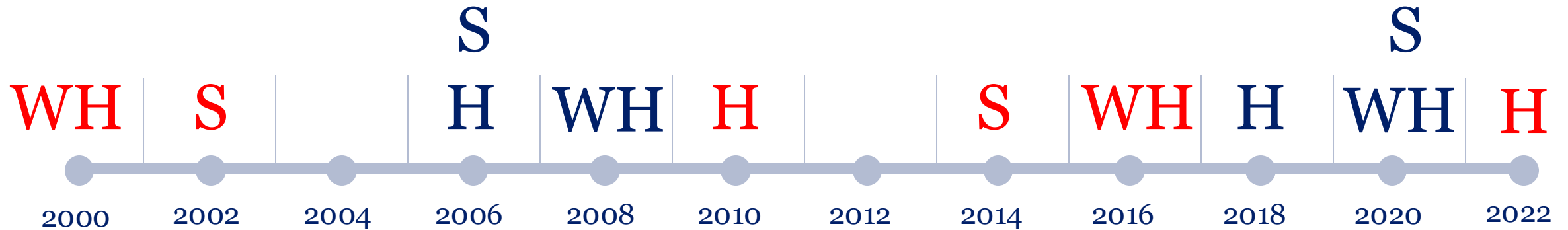
I. It's likely to be a **close election**

II. Popular and electoral vote may **split**

III. Change is to be expected

In 10 of the last 12 elections, there has been a change in control of the House, Senate and/or White House

The last five presidents have lost control of at least one branch of Congress



KEY

WH: Republican gain control of White House

S: Democrats gain control of Senate

H: Republicans gain control of House

A Look at this Strange World

I. The 2024 Races


II. What We're Watching

III. What Voters Are Watching

IV. What We Are Predicting TODAY

V. What It Means

VI. Discussion

The background of the slide features a stylized American flag. The top portion consists of light blue and white wavy stripes, while the bottom portion shows a blue field with white stars and red wavy stripes. The text is centered over the white space between the two flag sections.

I. The 2024 Races

2024

- **President & Vice President – Currently D**
- **34* U.S. Senate Seats – Currently 51D – 49R
–23D vs. 11R* (Retiring 7D vs. 3R)**
- **435 U.S. House – Currently 211D – 220R- 4
Vacancies
(Retiring 30D vs. 29R including 4 Chairs)
(Lost Primary 2D and 2R)**

* Sen. Sasse's seat (Ricketts R-NE) special election will take place during 2024 General Election

2024

- **11 Governors** – Currently **23D** – **27R**
 - **3D** vs. **8R** (Term-Limited/Retiring **3D** vs. **4R**)
- **162 State Executive Offices**
- **5,812 State Legislative Seats**
 - **Senates: 851** – **1,109**
 - **Houses: 2420** – **2944**
(9 chambers in five states could flip **5D** and **4R**)
- **159 statewide ballot measures** have already been certified for the '24 ballot in 41 states, 11 of which are Abortion (including in two Swing States)

2024

**More than 70 countries that together
have half the world's population have national elections in 2024**

- **Foreign “Elections” – Taiwan, Pakistan, Finland, Russia, Egypt, Ghana, Mexico, India, Indonesia, Australia, Iran, South Africa, Venezuela, Germany . . . United Kingdom, France, *and Canada***

The background features a stylized American flag with blue and red wavy stripes and white stars. In the upper right, there is a faint, light-colored map of the Northeastern United States, showing the outlines of New England and the Great Lakes region.

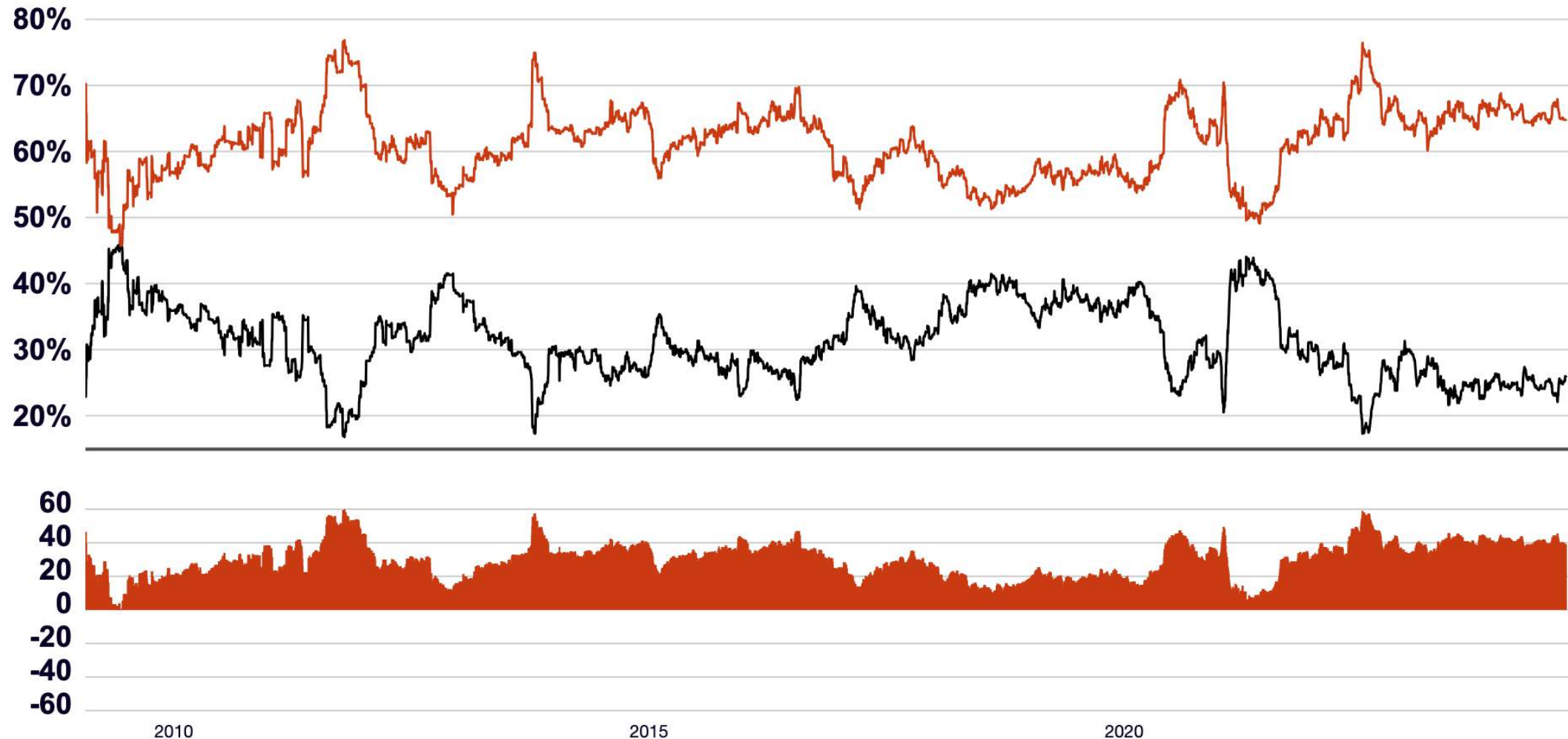
II. What WE Are Watching

What WE Are Watching

- **The Polls . . . Especially Swing States**
 - **Gender/Education/Racial/Age Gaps**
- **The Money**
- **Voter Enthusiasm**
- **Endorsements . . . Especially Unions**
- **Grassroots . . . Persuasion AND Turnout**
- **Social Media . . . Especially Memes**
- **The Ads**
- **. . . And the “Defining Moments” Everyone is Watching**

Is the United States heading in the right direction?

Aug 28th

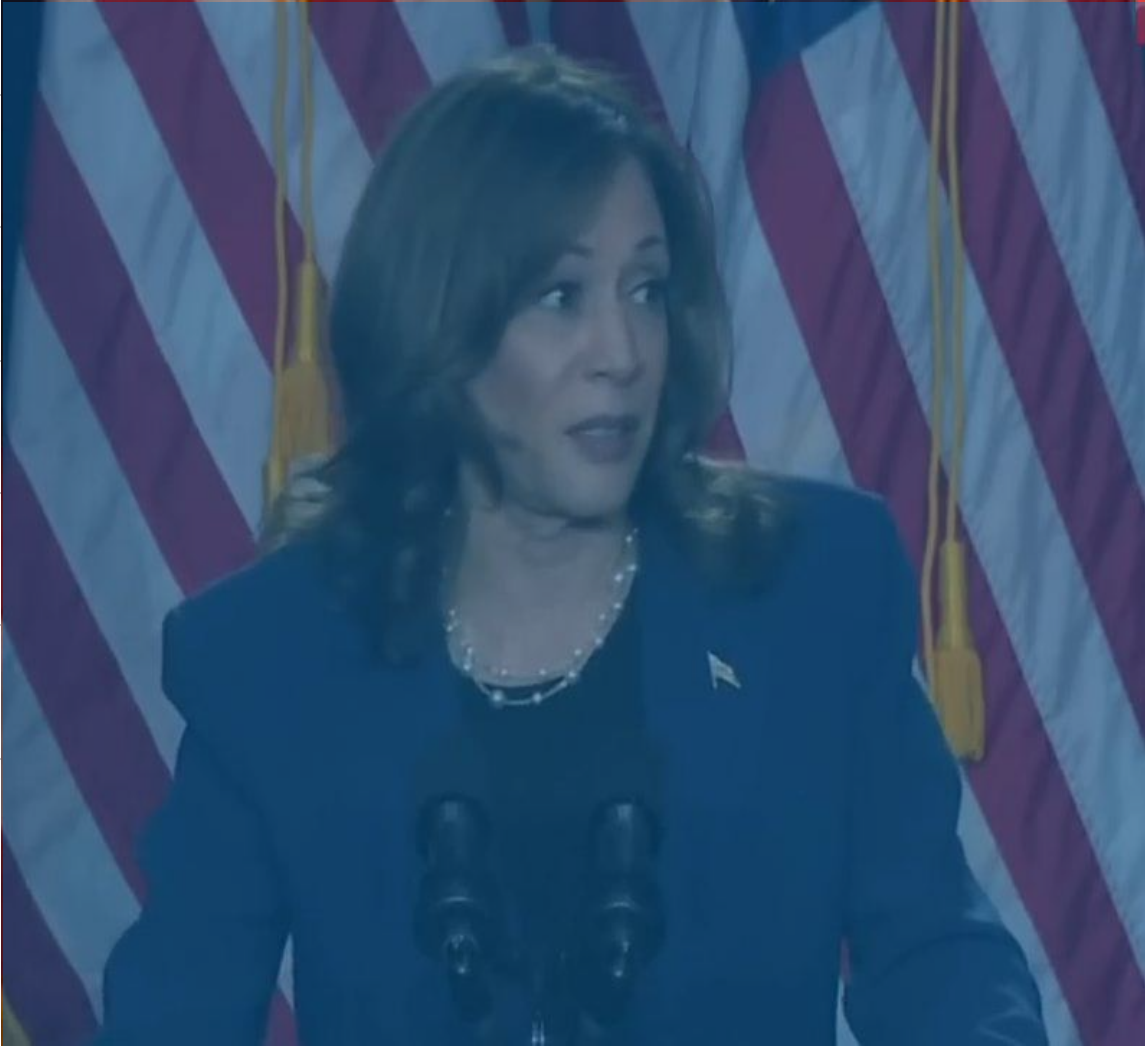


Harris Vs. Trump – Harris +1.3%

RealClearPolitics Average – August 22 - September 6, 2024

48.3%

47.0%



Latest Polls: Harris v. Trump

Pollster	Dates	Sample	MOE	Harris (D)	Trump (R)	Spread
<u>NY Times/Siena</u>	9/3 - 9/6	1695 LV	-	47	48	Trump+1
<u>Harvard-Harris</u>	9/4 - 9/5	2358 RV	2.1	50	50	Tie
<u>Emerson</u>	9/3 - 9/4	1000 LV	2.9	49	47	Harris+2
<u>Rasmussen Reports</u>	8/29 - 9/4	1838 LV	3.0	46	47	Trump+1
<u>Morning Consult</u>	9/2 - 9/4	11414 LV	1.0	49	46	Harris+3
<u>I&I/TIPP</u>	8/28 - 8/30	1386 RV	2.8	48	45	Harris+3
<u>Wall Street Journal</u>	8/24 - 8/28	1500 RV	2.5	48	47	Harris+1
<u>Quinnipiac</u>	8/23 - 8/27	1611 LV	2.4	49	48	Harris+1
<u>ABC News/Ipsos</u>	8/23 - 8/27	RV	-	50	46	Harris+4
<u>Yahoo News</u>	8/22 - 8/26	1194 RV	3.0	47	46	Harris+1

Can the Momentum Sustain For Harris?



- **Issues**

- Economic Anxiety . . . with “Underclass” Growing
- Immigration
- Housing and Homelessness
- Drugs and Healthcare
- International Chaos

- **Voter Support and Turnout**

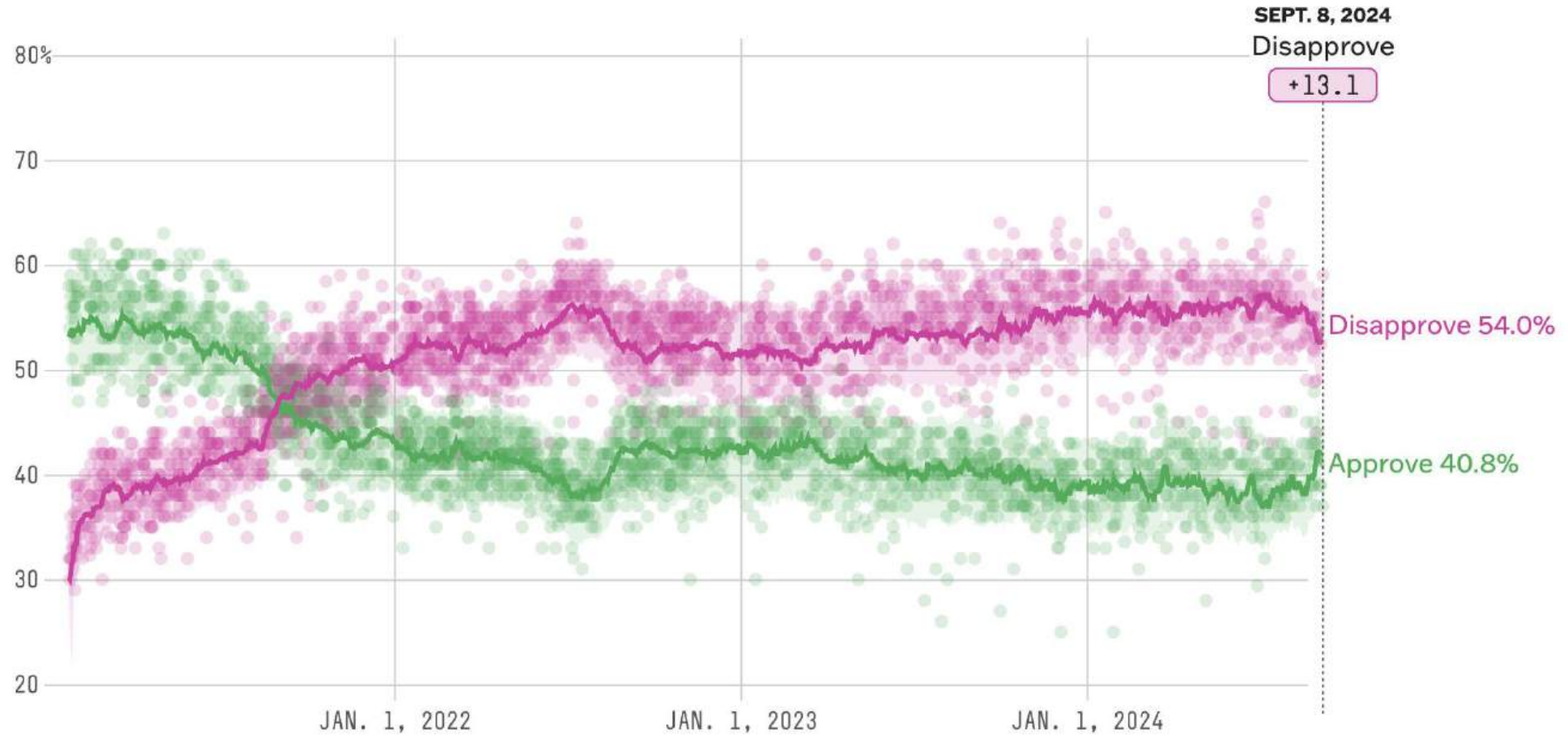
- Defined vs. Being Defined
- *Black Men/Latino/Young/Suburban Women*
- Labor Unions

- **RFK/3rd Party**

- **Swing States**

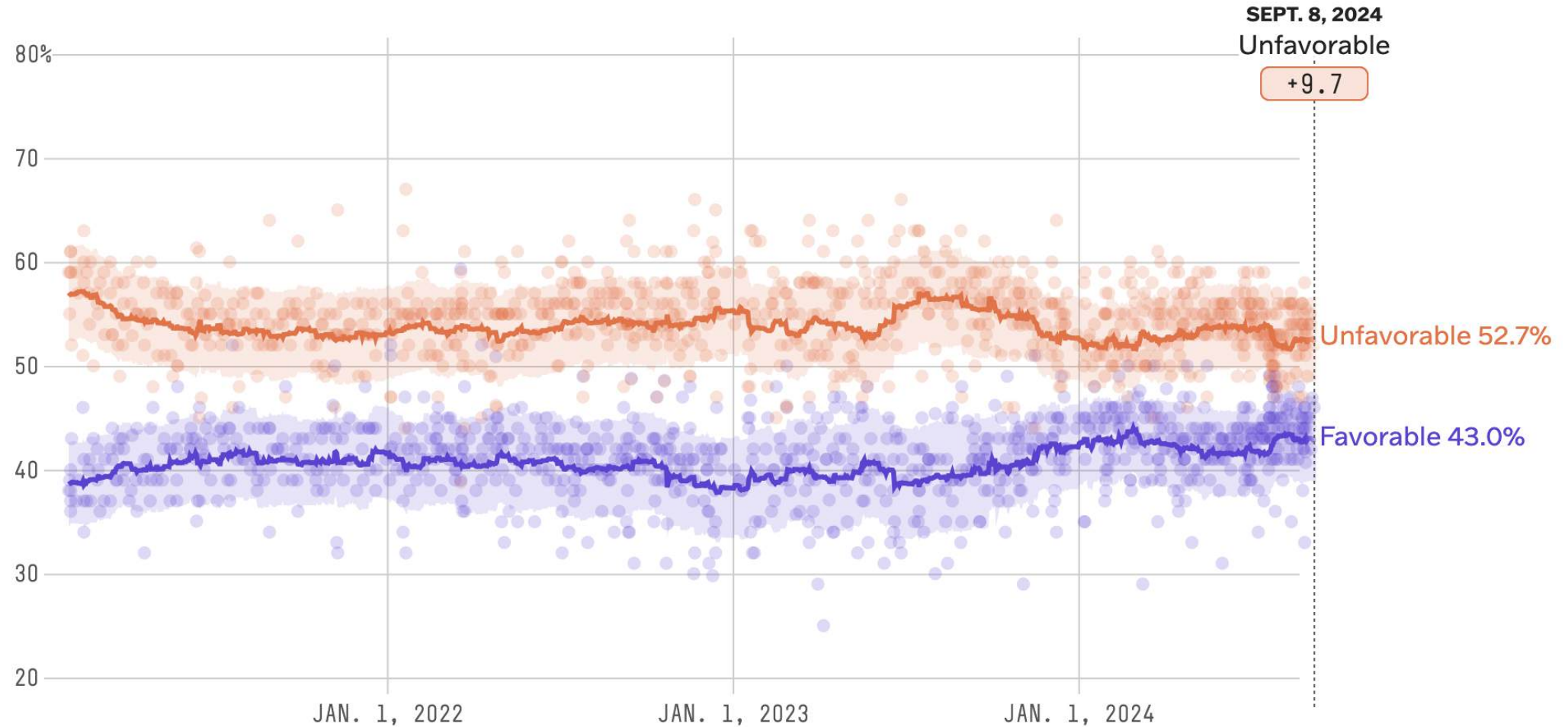
Biden Job Approval Since Inauguration

Do Americans approve or disapprove of Joe Biden?

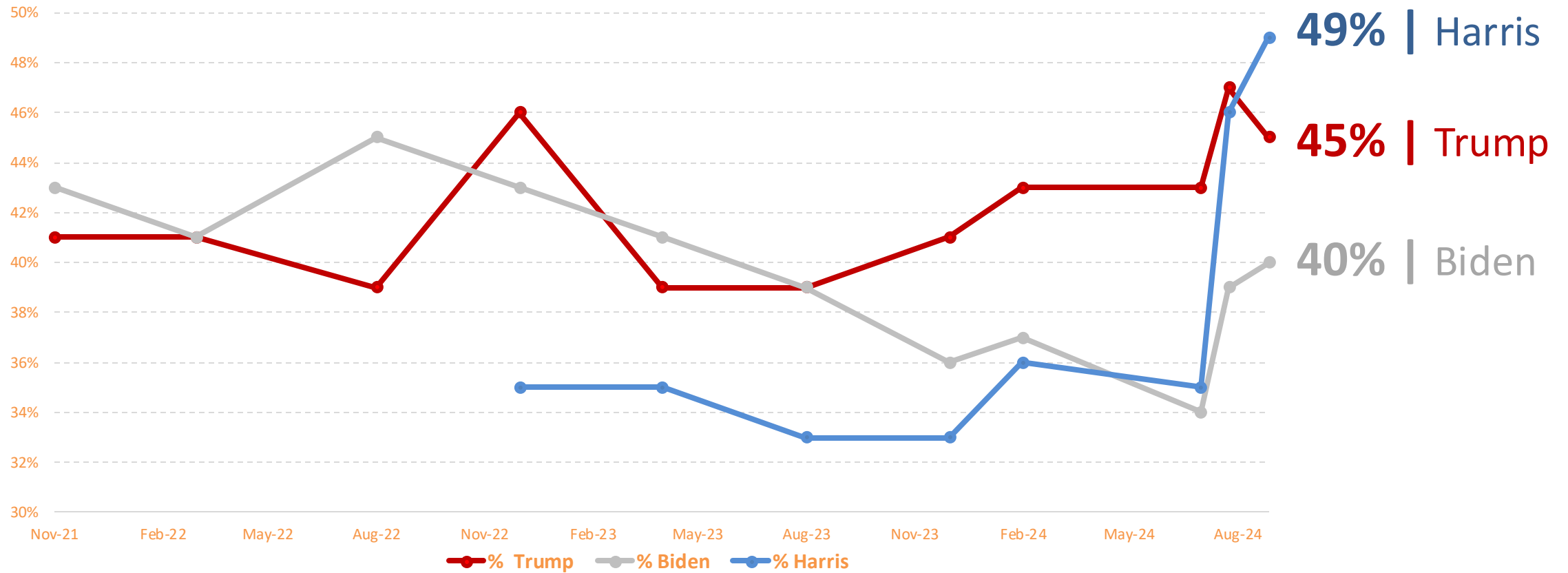


Trump Approval Since 2021

Do Americans have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Donald Trump?



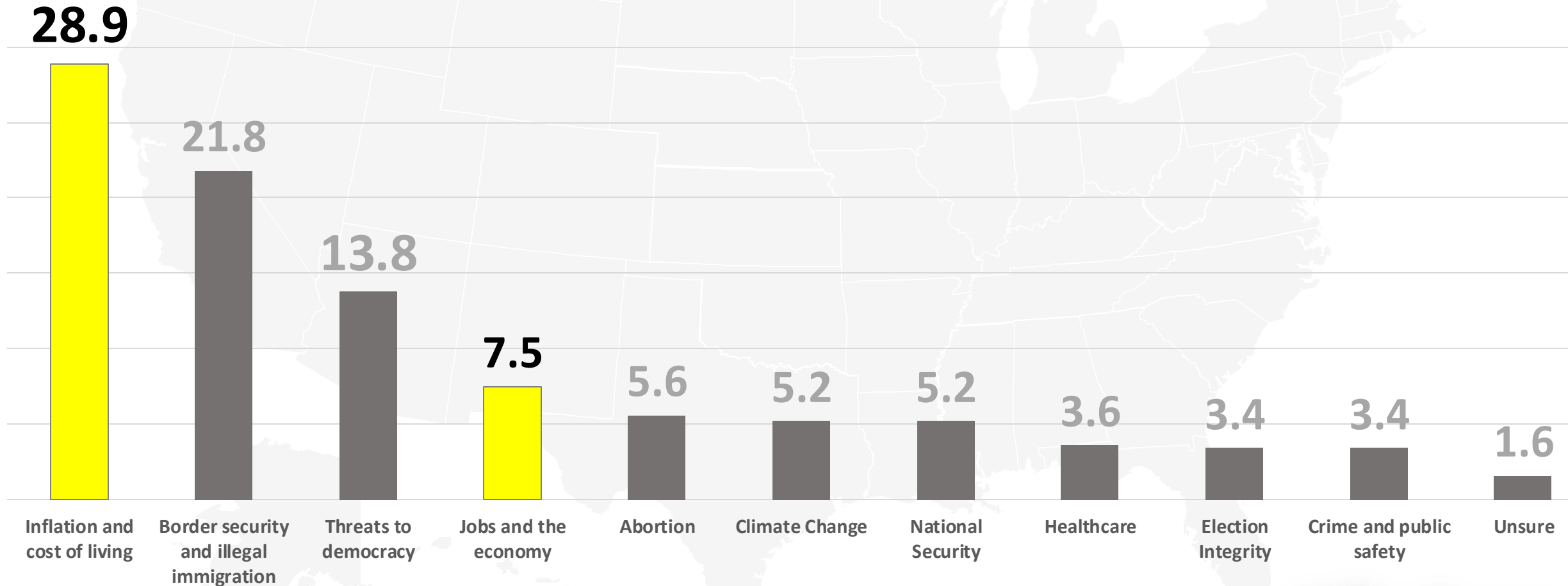
Harris' favorability jumped 11 points after becoming the presumptive nominee and now has a positive favorability rating



Source: Wall Street Journal, Aug. 28, 2024

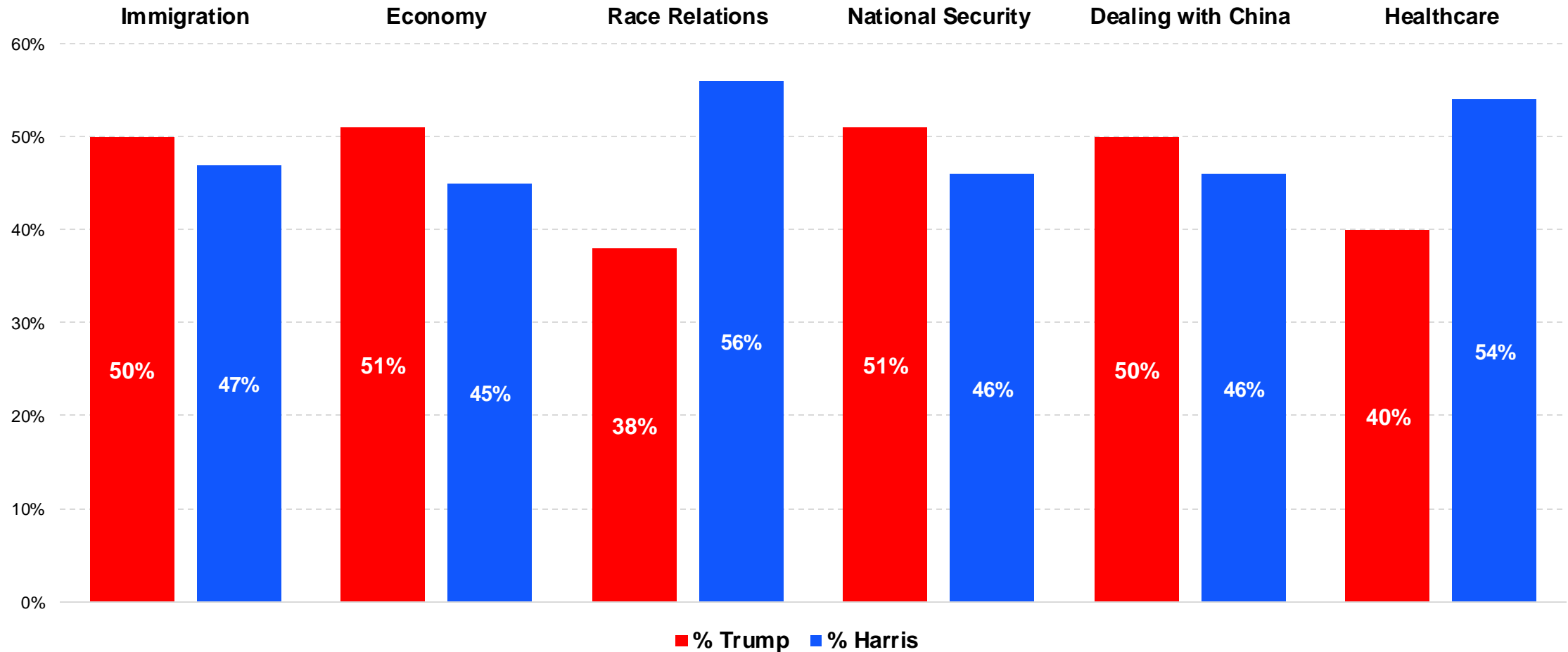
Voter's Top Priority

Which one of the following issues do you believe should be the top priority for Congress?



Cygnal National Poll | June 30 – July 1 | n=1,515 likely general election voters.

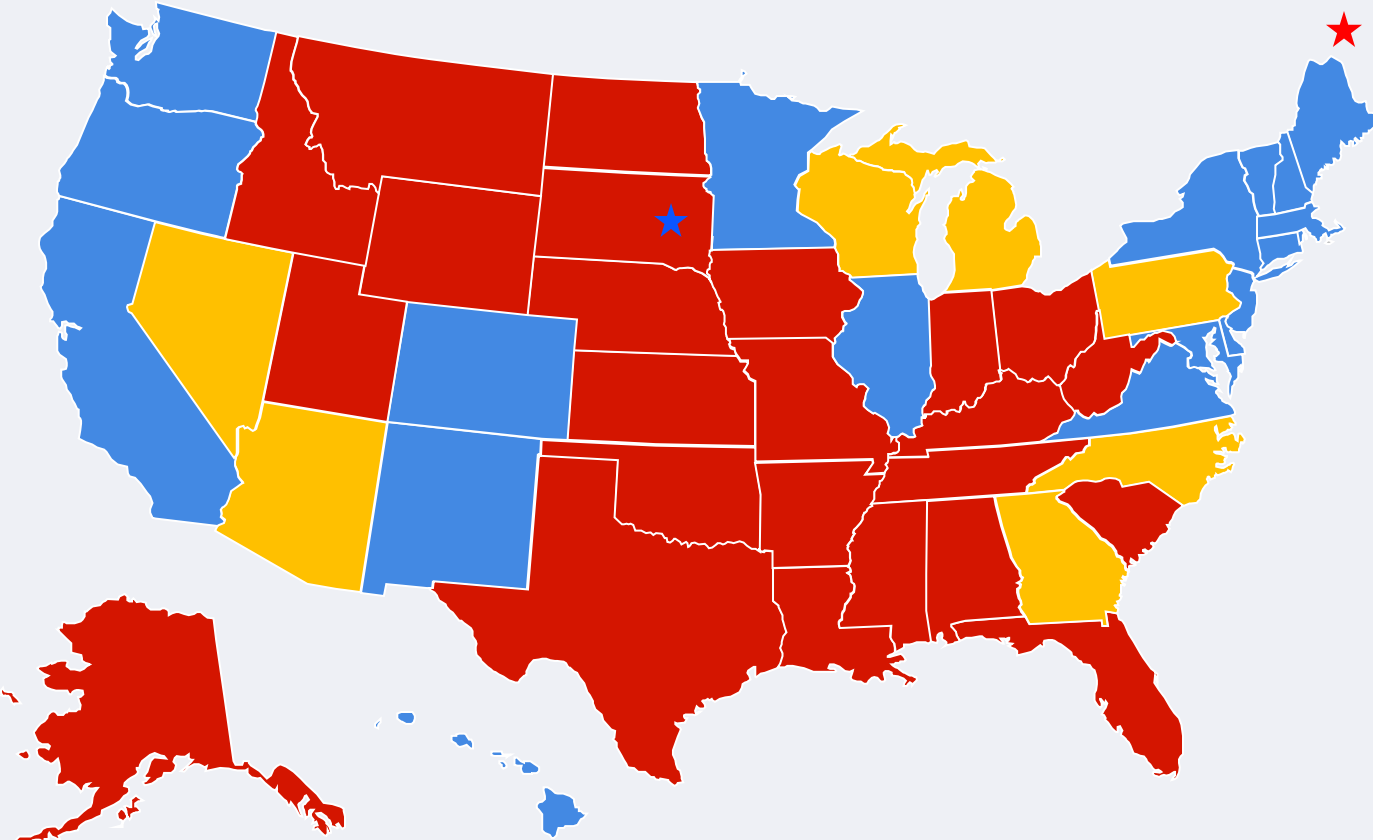
While Trump still leads on most key issues to voters, Harris has closed the gap since Biden was on the ticket in July



Source: USA Today / Suffolk University, Jul. 8, 2024 & Sep. 3, 2024

Seven states will likely determine the outcome of the election

Current projected electoral votes: **219 Republican**; **226 Democrat**; **93 Toss Up**



SPLIT VOTES			
District	1	2	3
ME	Dem	Rep	N/A
NE	Rep	Dem	Rep

Swing States Decide Close U.S. Elections



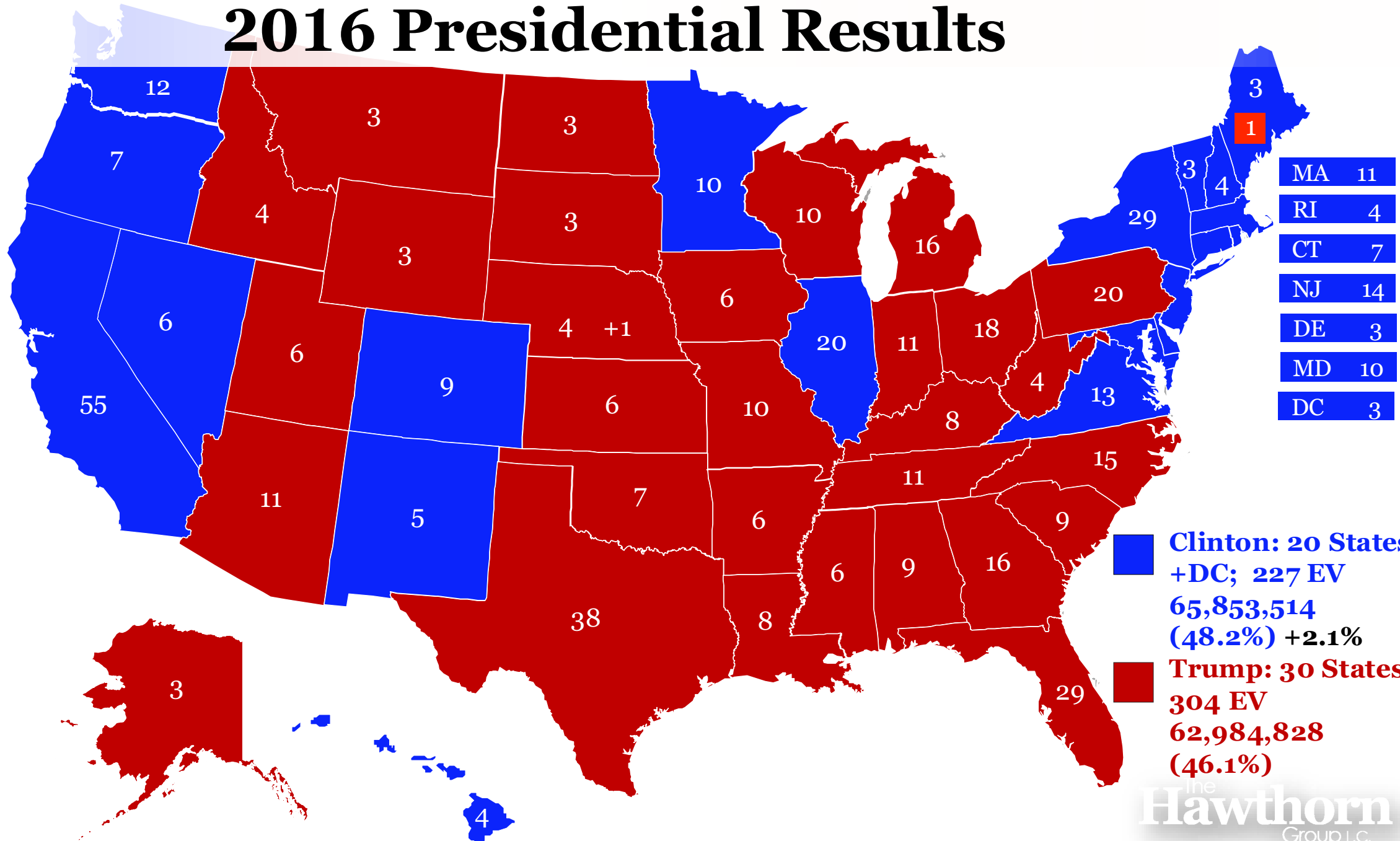
• For President

- **Michigan**
- **Pennsylvania**
- **Wisconsin**
- **Arizona**
- **Nevada**
- **Georgia**
- **North Carolina**

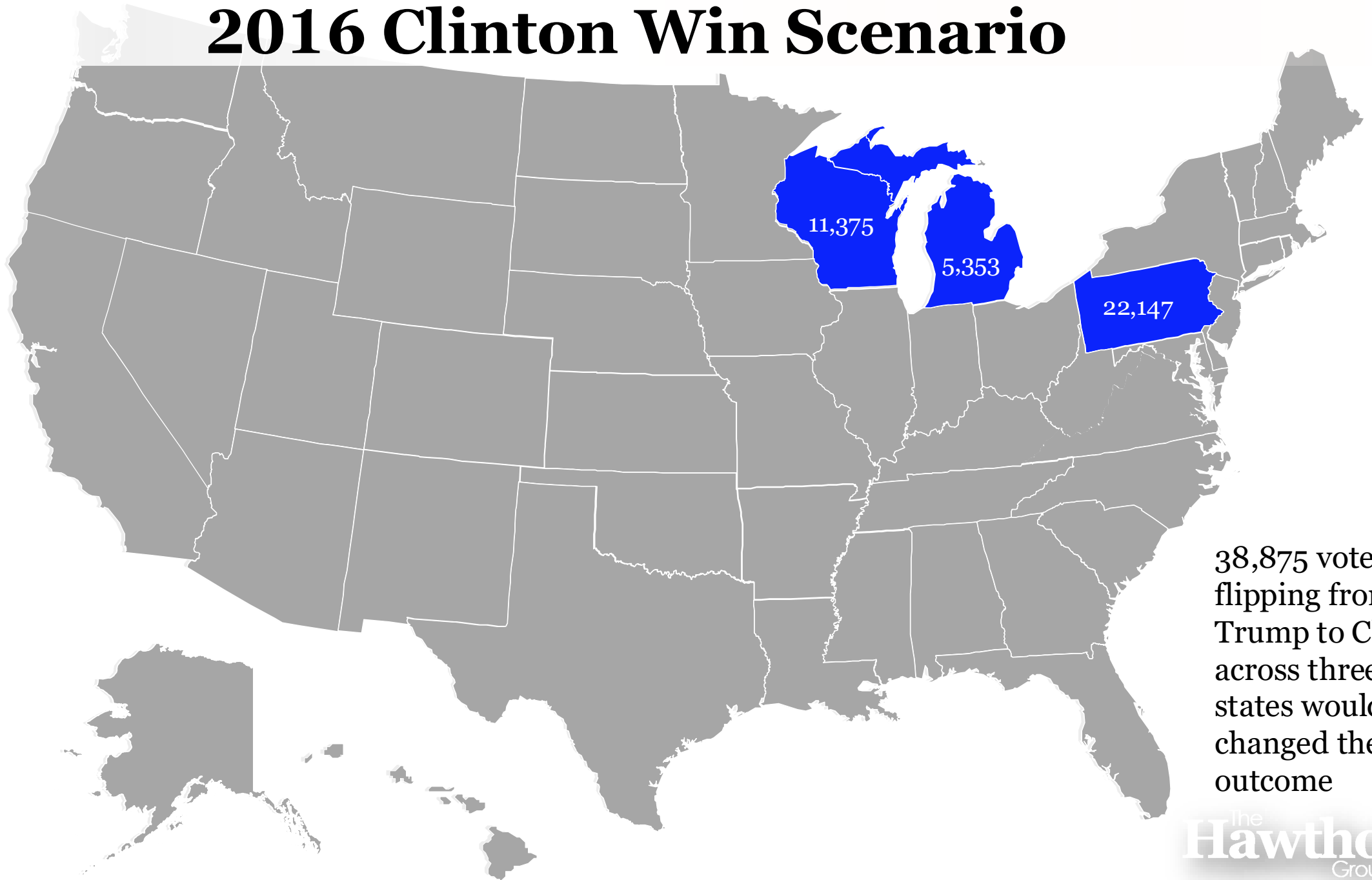
• For U.S. Senate

- **Ohio**
- **Arizona**
- **Montana**
- **Nevada**
- **Michigan**
- **Wisconsin**
- **Maryland**
- **Pennsylvania**

2016 Presidential Results

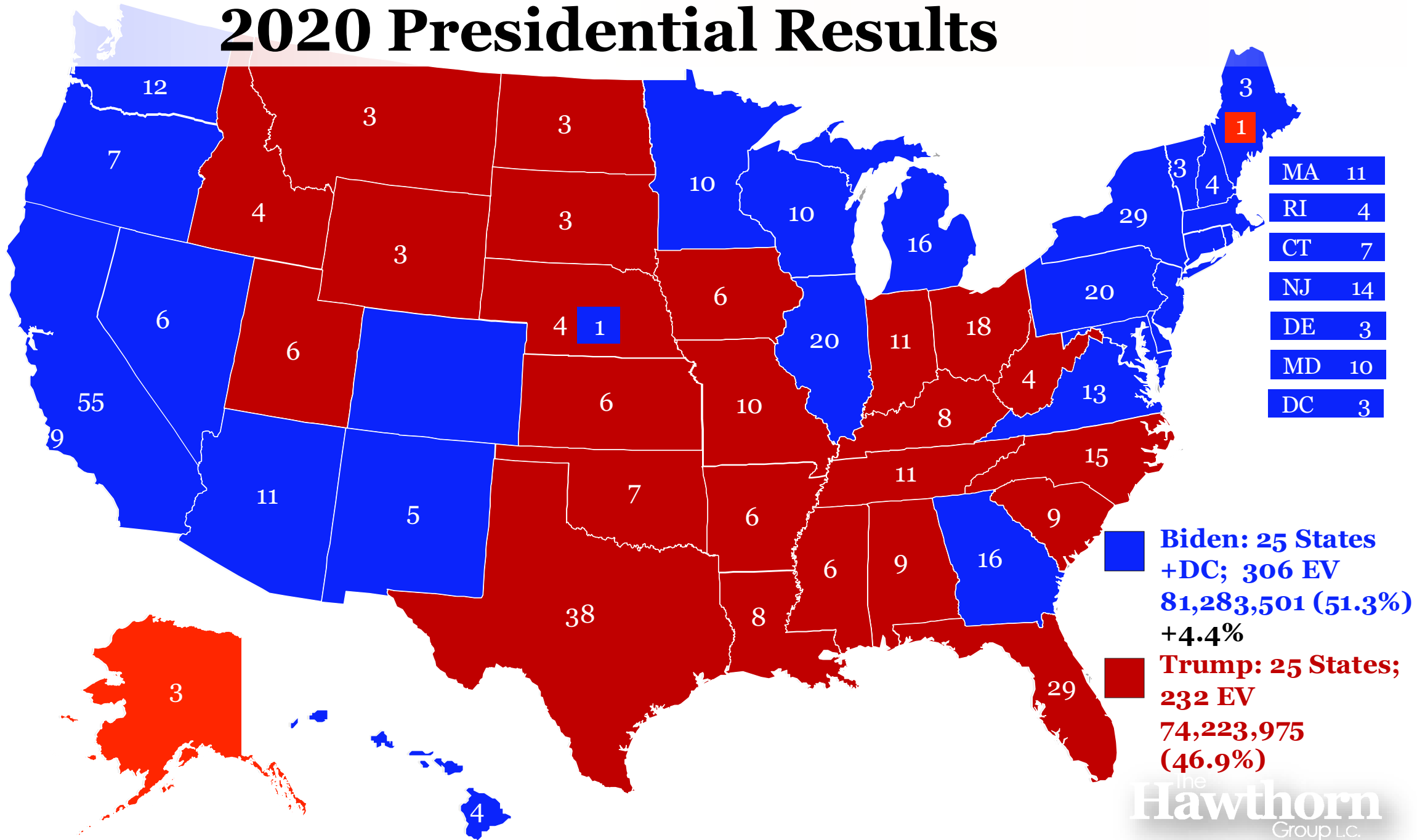


2016 Clinton Win Scenario

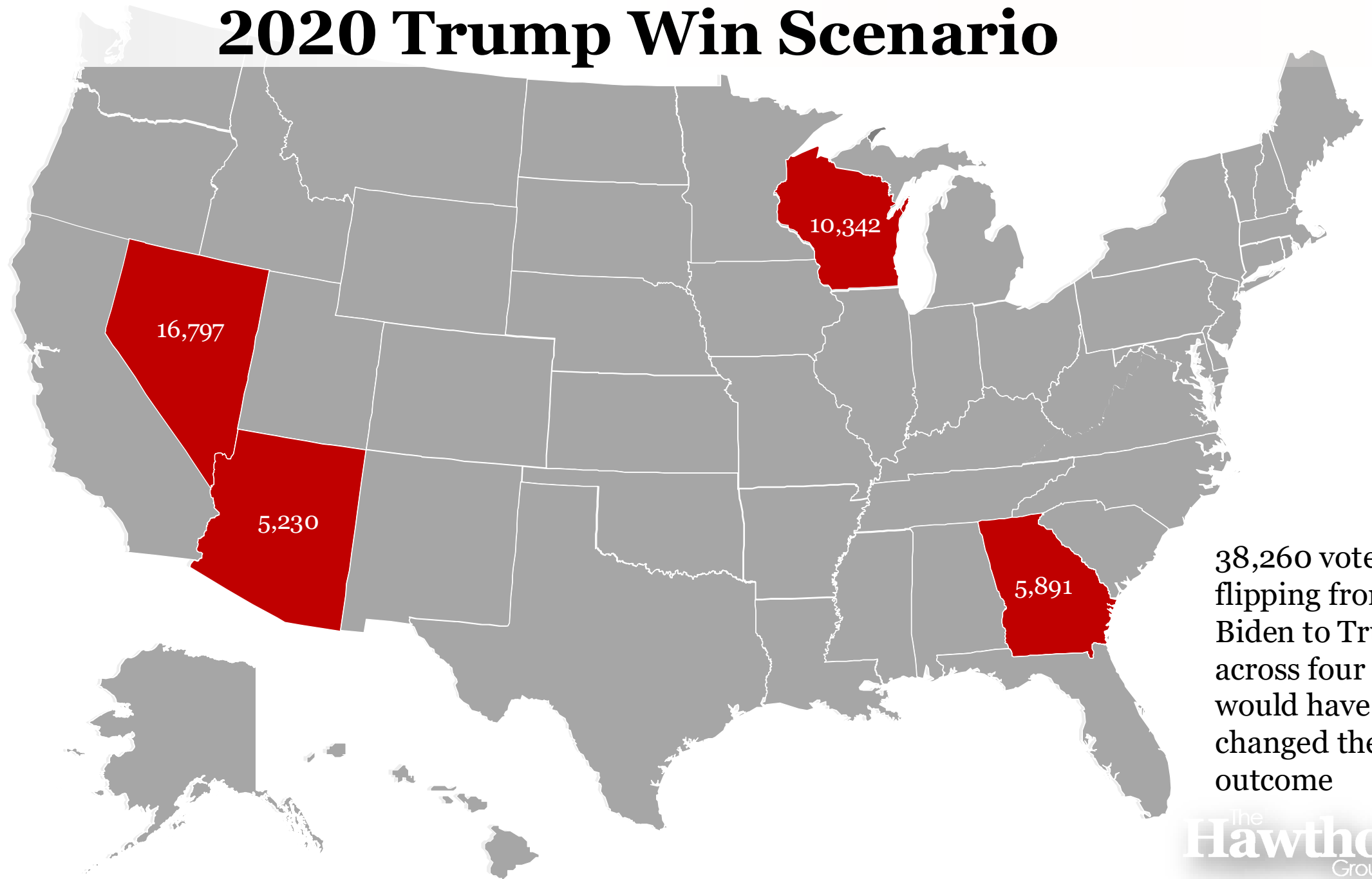


38,875 votes
flipping from
Trump to Clinton
across three
states would have
changed the
outcome

2020 Presidential Results



2020 Trump Win Scenario



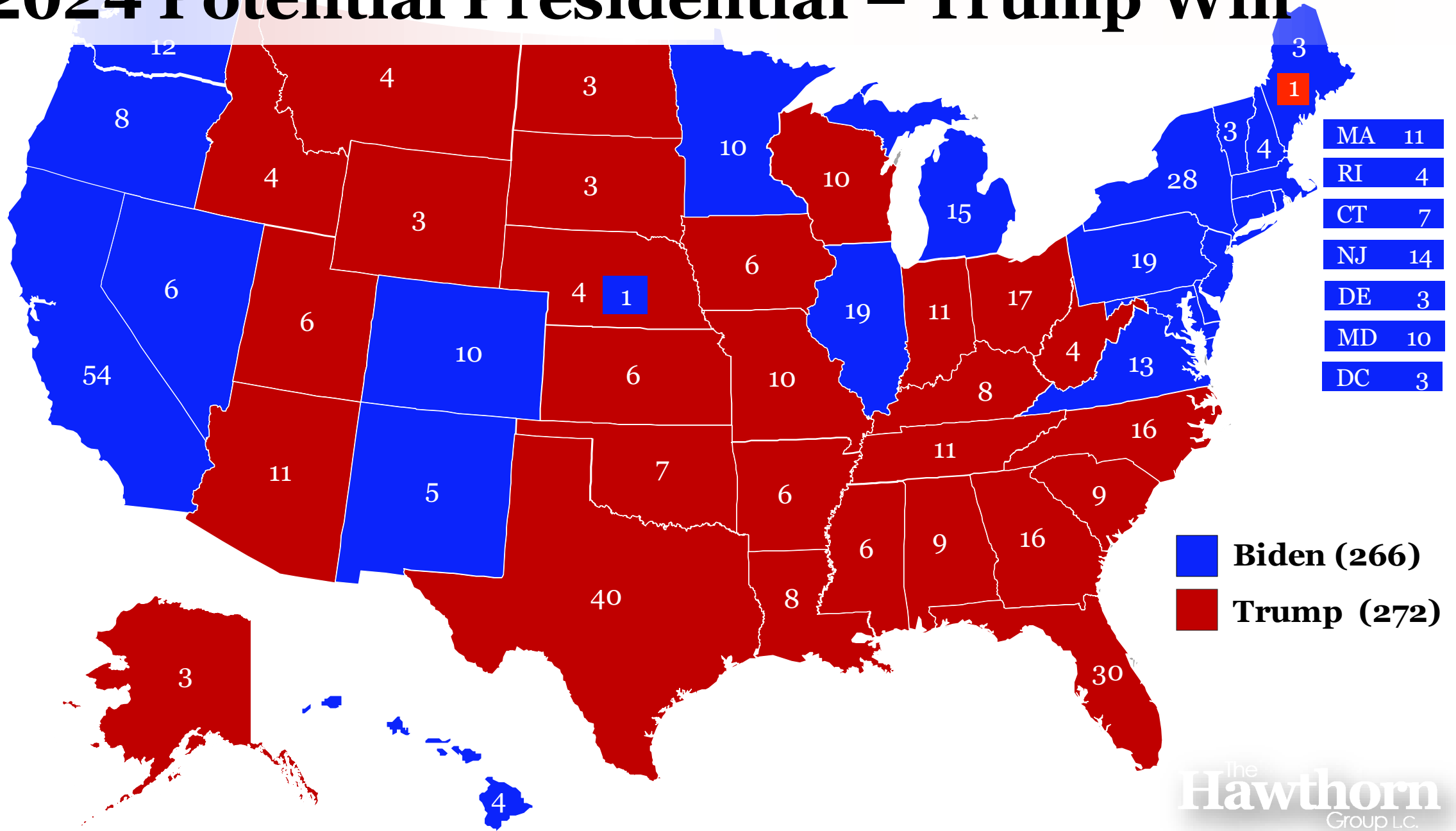
38,260 votes
flipping from
Biden to Trump
across four states
would have
changed the
outcome

2020 Trump Win Scenario – 2

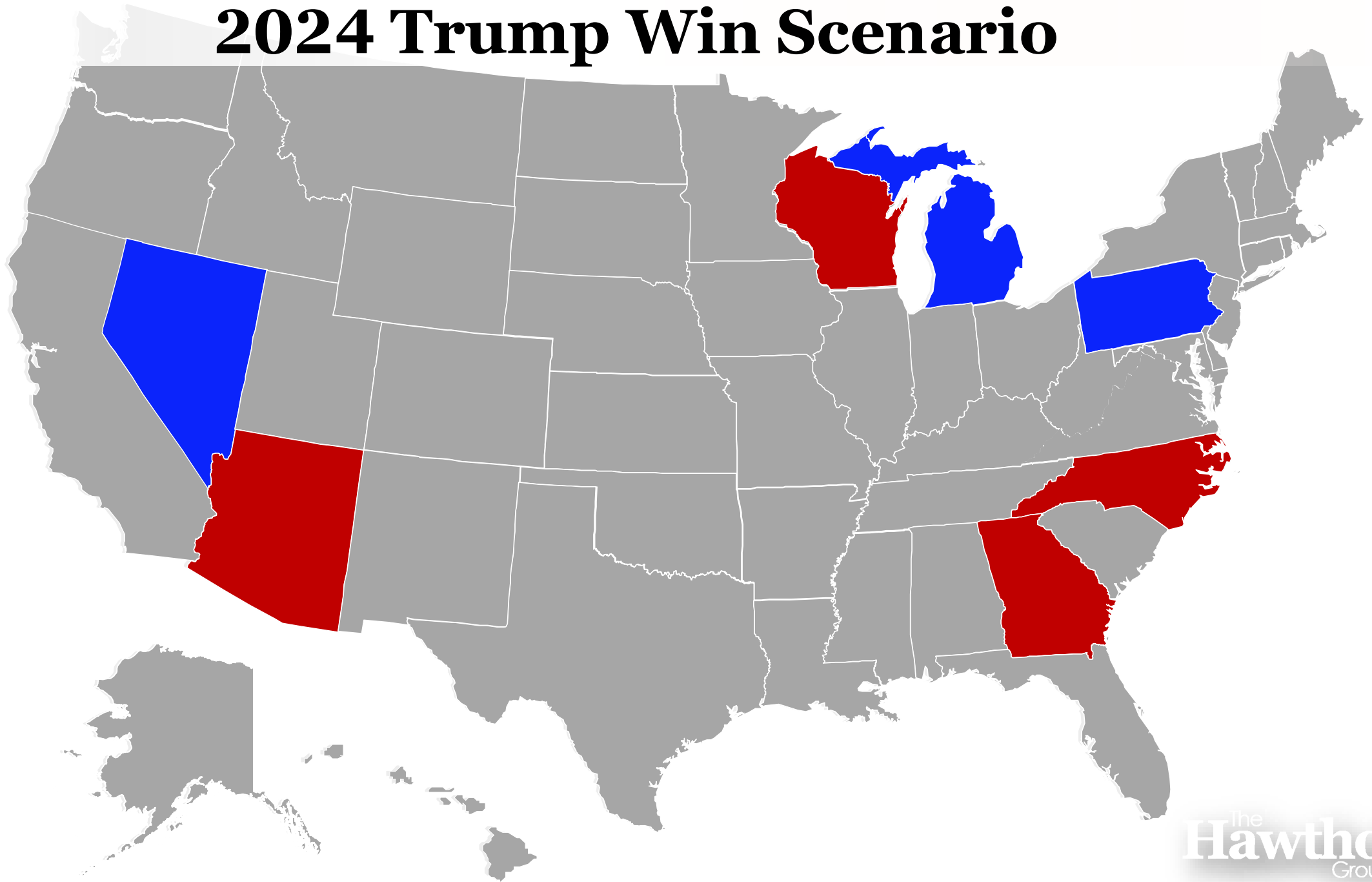


32,510 votes
flipping from
Trump to Clinton
across three states
and NE-2 would
have changed the
outcome

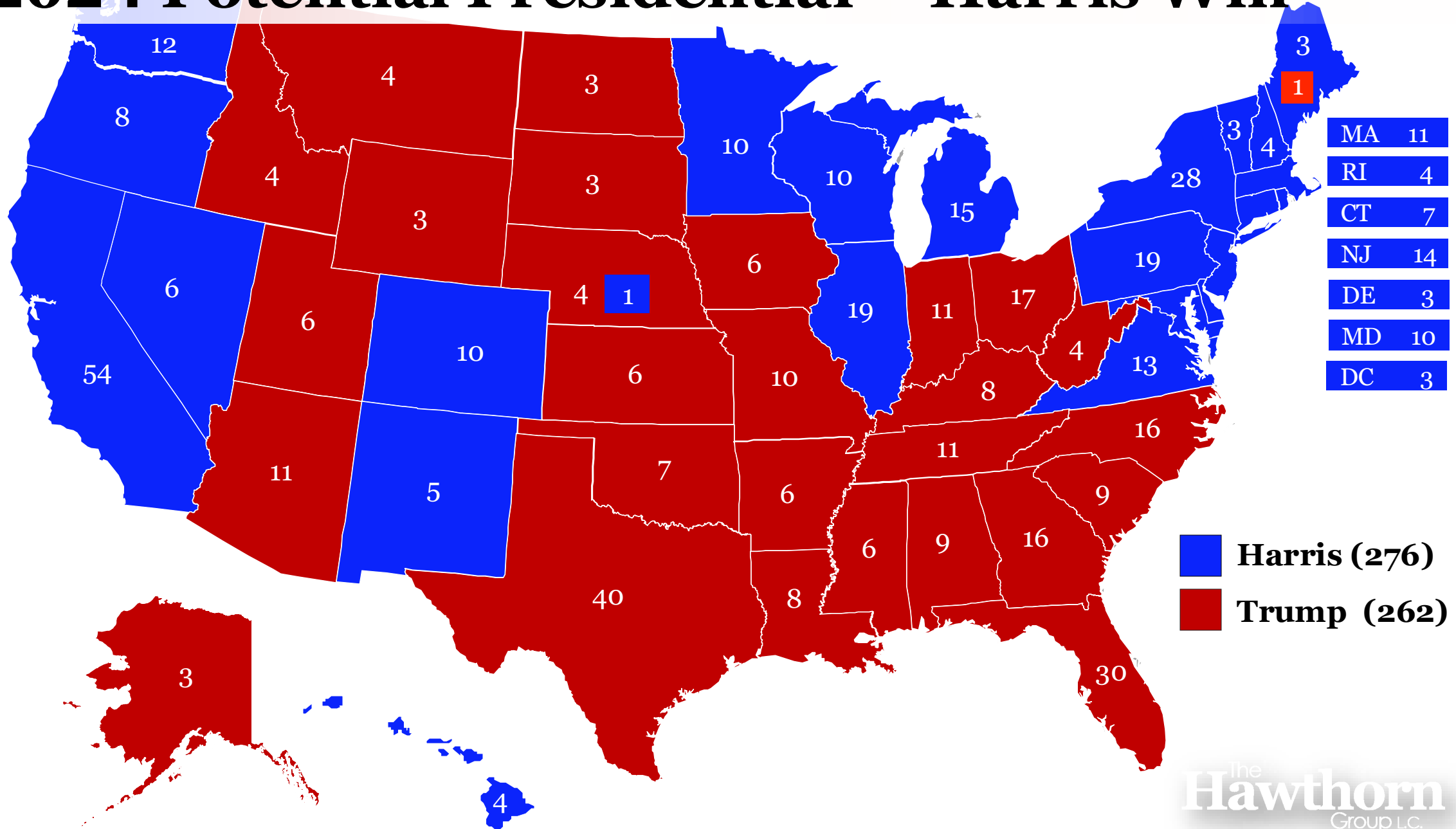
2024 Potential Presidential – Trump Win



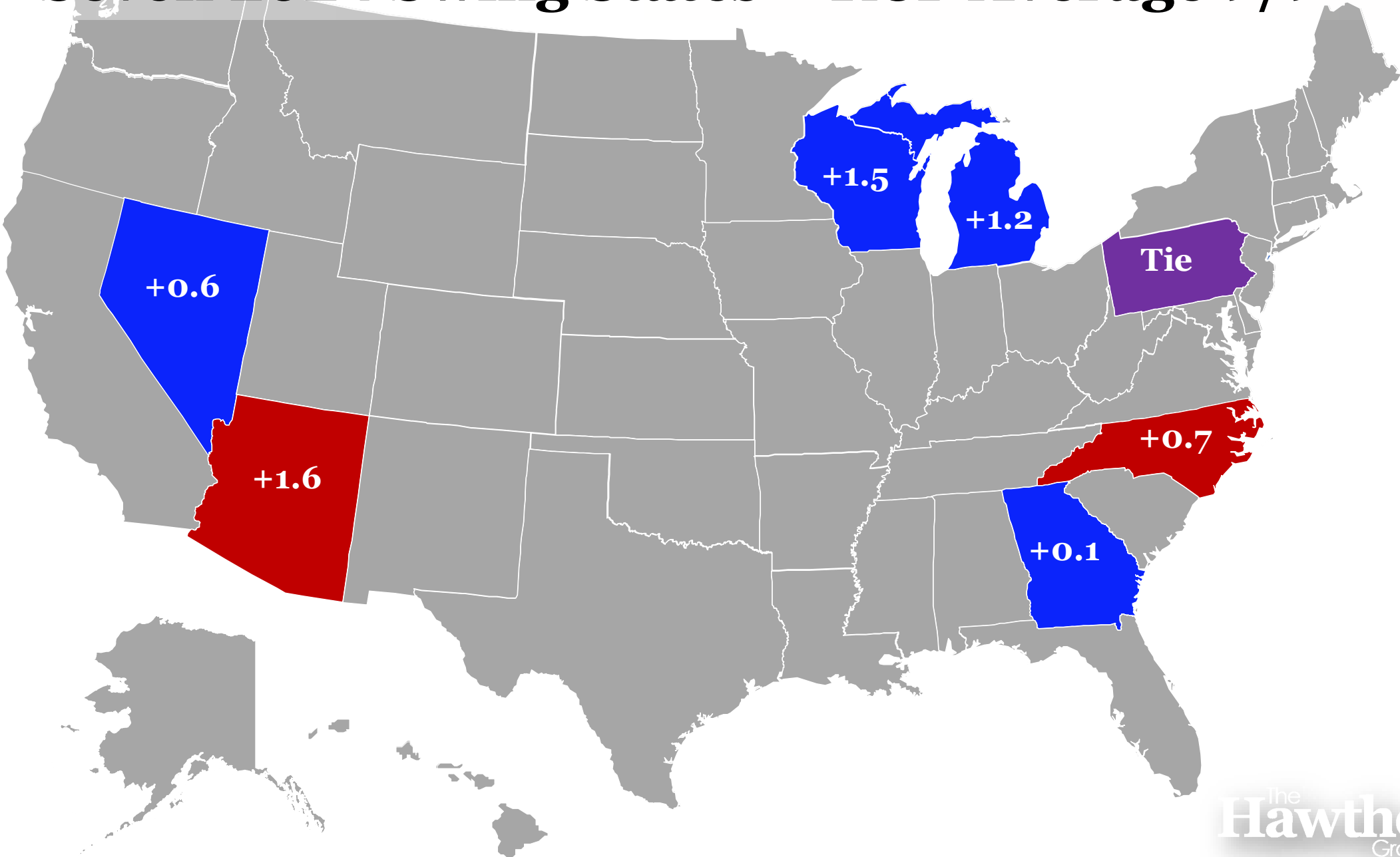
2024 Trump Win Scenario



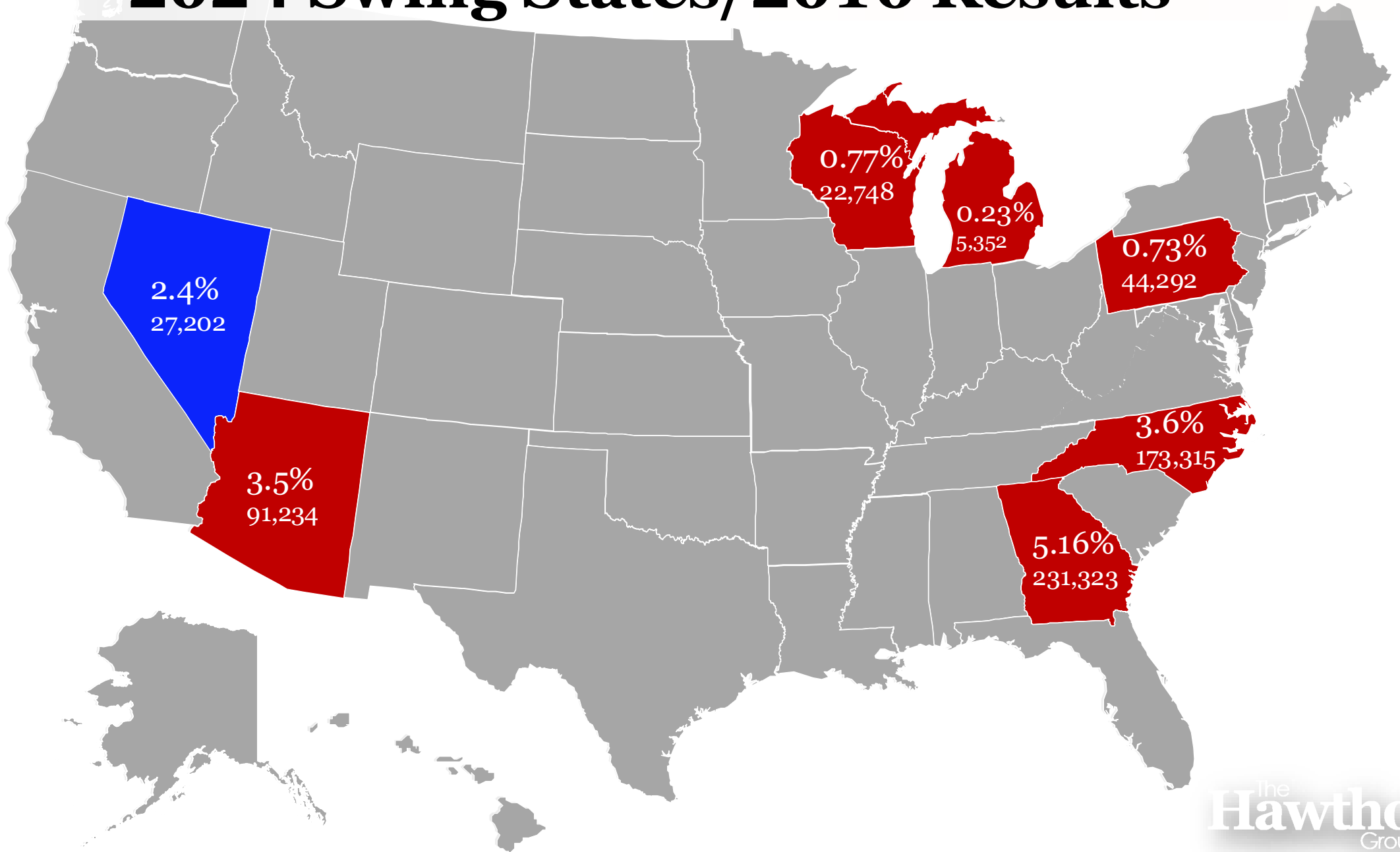
2024 Potential Presidential – Harris Win



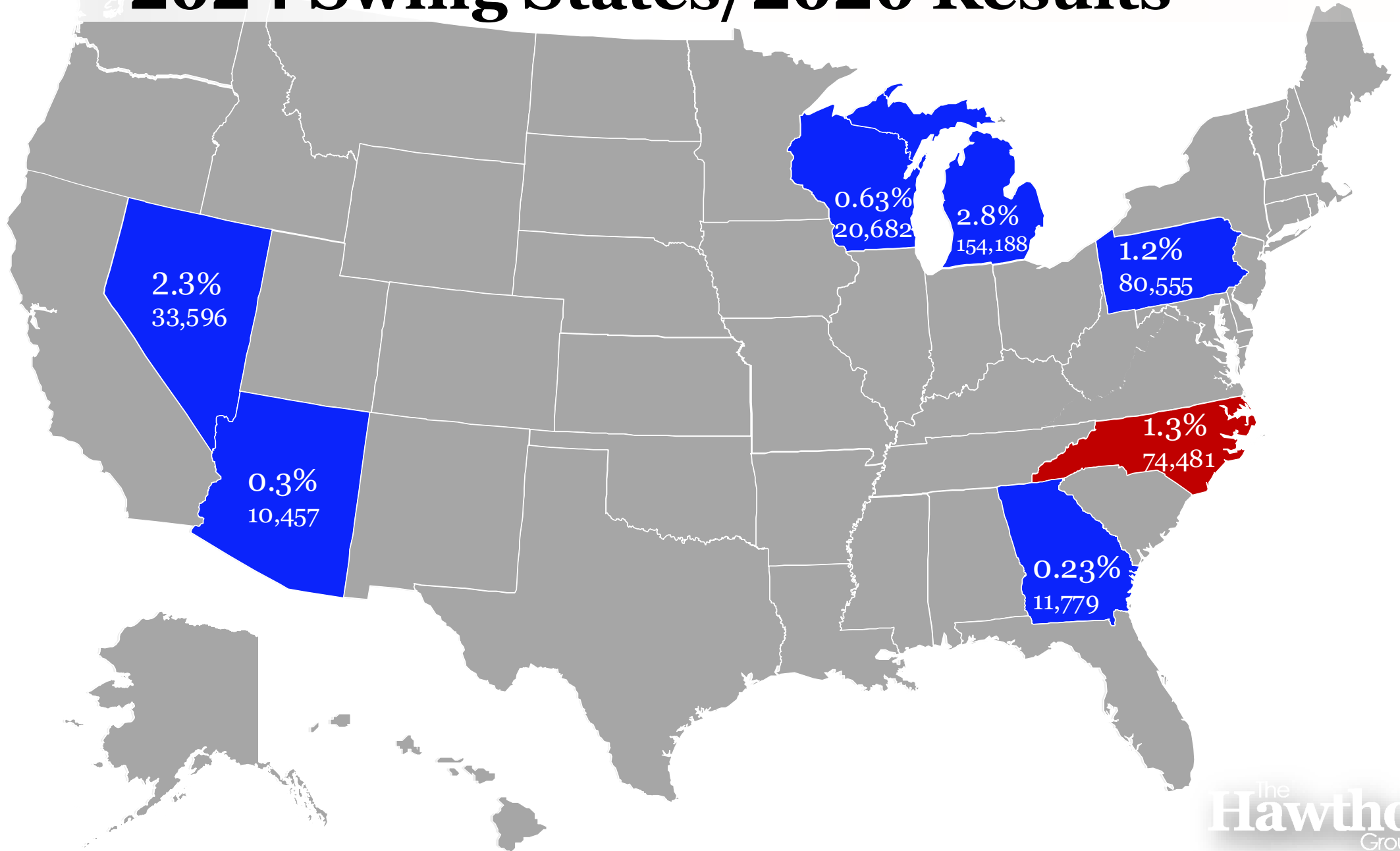
Seven 2024 Swing States – RCP Average 9/9



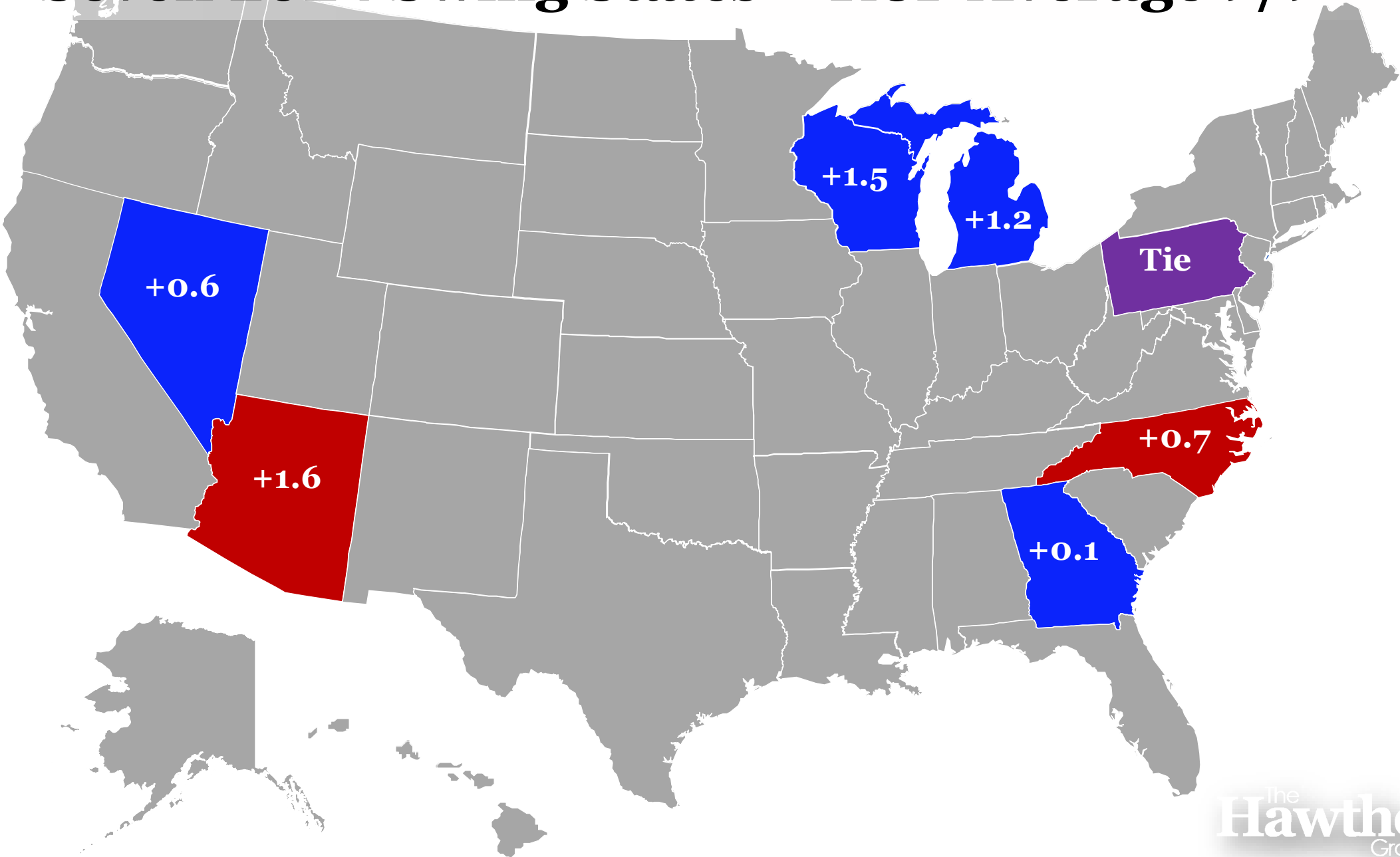
2024 Swing States/2016 Results



2024 Swing States/2020 Results



Seven 2024 Swing States – RCP Average 9/9



Recent swing state polling

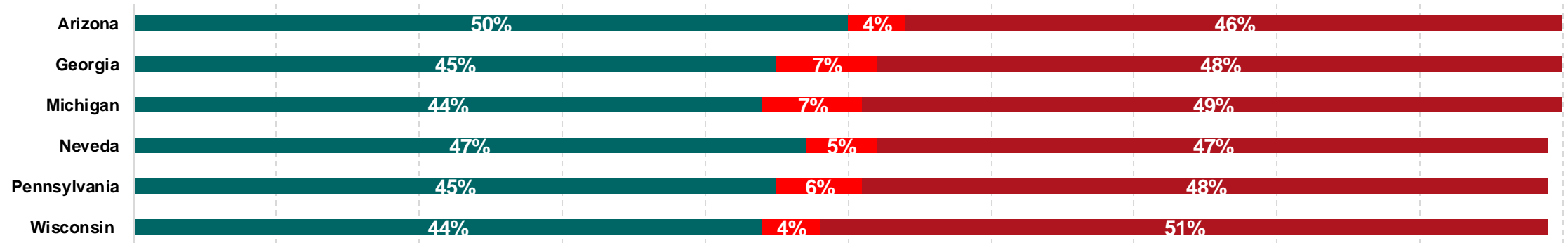
Though Harris leads in several key states, her path towards 270 electoral votes remains well within the margin of error

STATE	CNN AUG. 23 – 29	BLOOMBERG / MORNING CONSULT AUG. 23 – 27
Arizona	Trump + 5	Tie
Georgia	Harris + 1	Harris + 2
Michigan	Harris + 5	Harris + 3
Nevada	Harris + 1	Harris + 4
North Carolina	N/A	Harris + 2
Pennsylvania	Tie	Harris + 4
Wisconsin	Harris + 6	Harris + 8

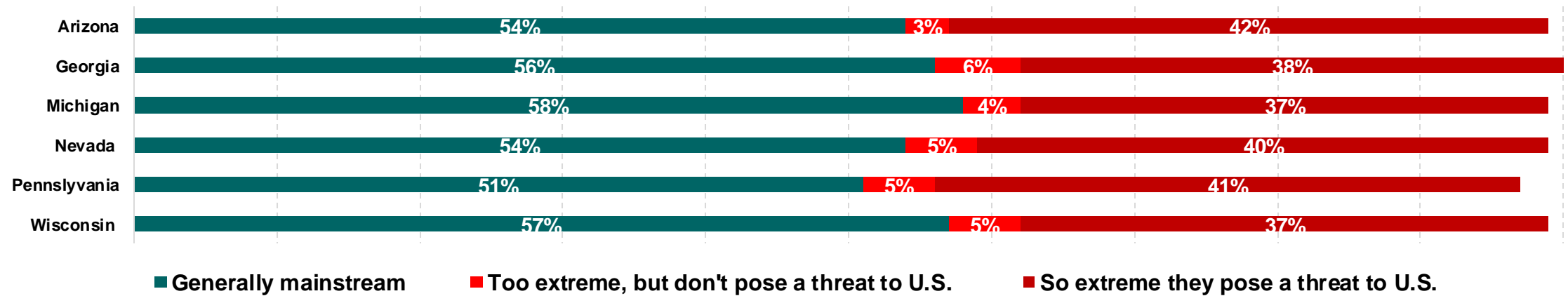
Sources: CNN, Aug. 23–29, 2024; Bloomberg / Morning Consult, Aug. 23–27, 2024

Nearly half of swing-state voters believe that Trump's views and policies pose a threat to the country

DONALD TRUMP'S VIEWS AND POLICIES ARE:



KAMALA HARRIS' VIEWS AND POLICIES ARE:



Source: CNN, Aug. 23-29, 2024; Bloomberg / Morning Consult, Aug. 23-27, 2024

There is a stark gender divide among swing state voters' choice for president

State	Women	Men	Net Gap
Arizona	Harris + 3	Trump + 14	17 pts.
Georgia	Harris + 10	Trump + 10	20 pts.
Michigan	Harris + 16	Trump + 8	24 pts.
Nevada	Harris + 16	Trump + 18	34 pts.
Pennsylvania	Harris + 11	Trump + 15	26 pts
Wisconsin	Harris + 17	Trump + 9	26 pts.

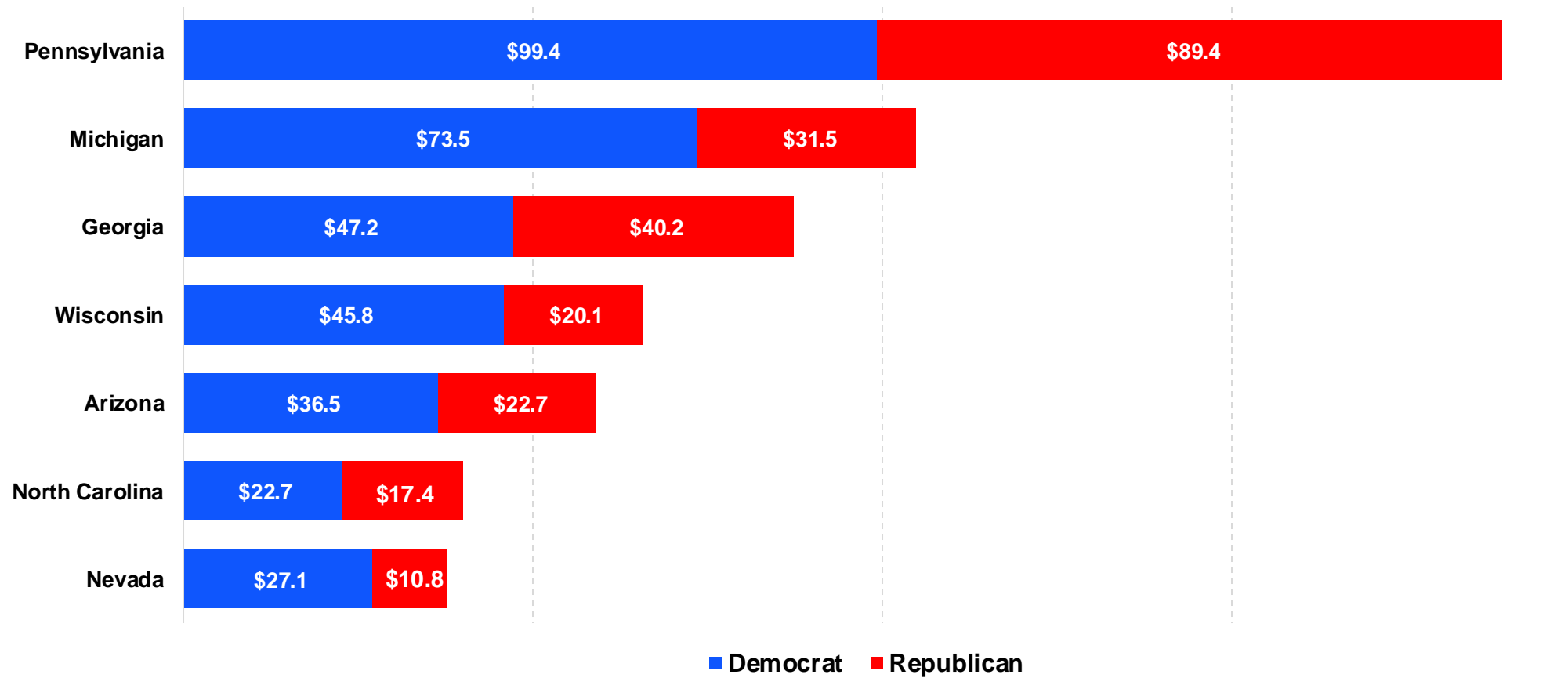
Source: CNN, Aug. 23-29, 2024

The Money

- **Since July 1st Harris has raised \$671M to Trump's \$269M**
- **40% of Harris' donors are NEW donors to Biden/Harris**
- **As of 9/6 Harris has \$404M Cash on Hand to Trump's \$300M**

Battleground state spending from March 6th until election day

Political ad spending (millions)

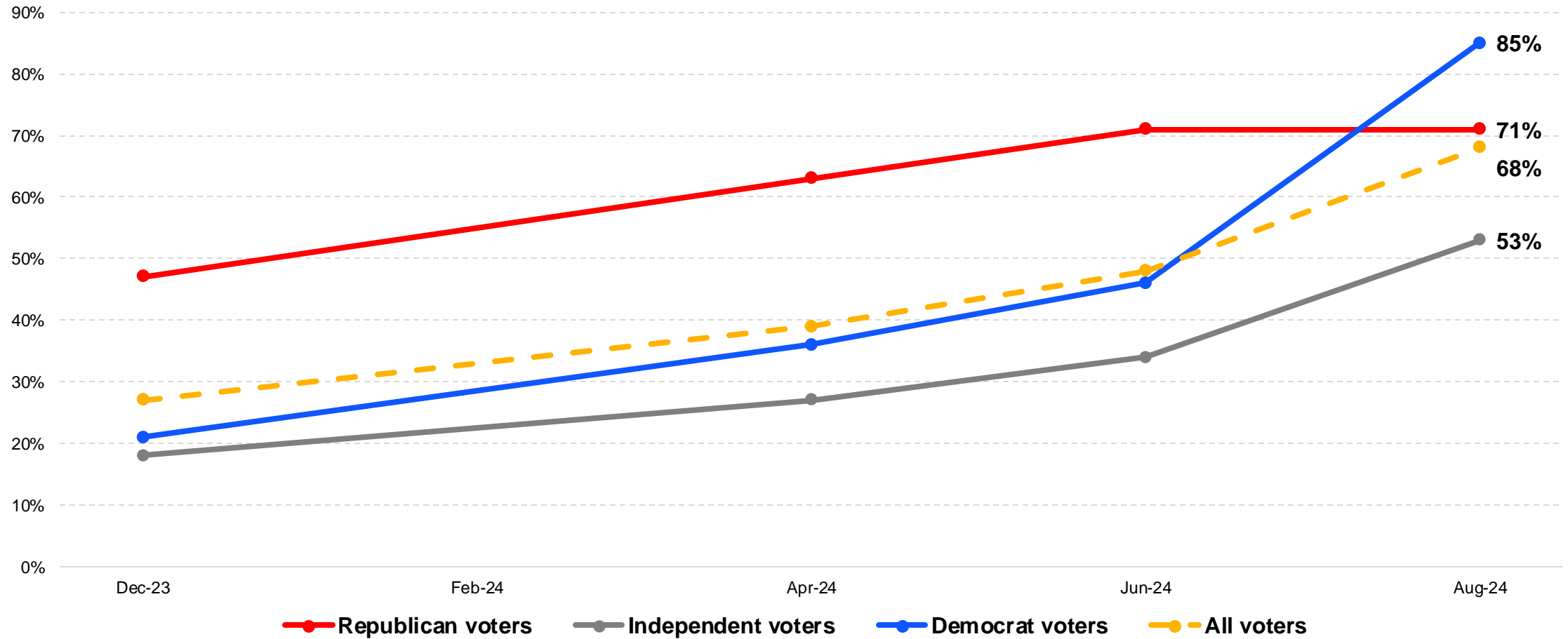


Sources: AdImpact; August 23, 2024

What WE Are Watching

- The Polls . . . Especially Swing States
 - Gender/Education/Racial/Age Gaps
- The Money
- **Voter Enthusiasm**
- **Endorsements . . . Especially Unions**
- **Grassroots . . . Persuasion AND Turnout**
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- **The Ads**
- . . . And the “**Defining Moments**” Everyone is Watching

Democrats are driving a surge in election enthusiasm



Source: Monmouth University Aug. 14, 2024

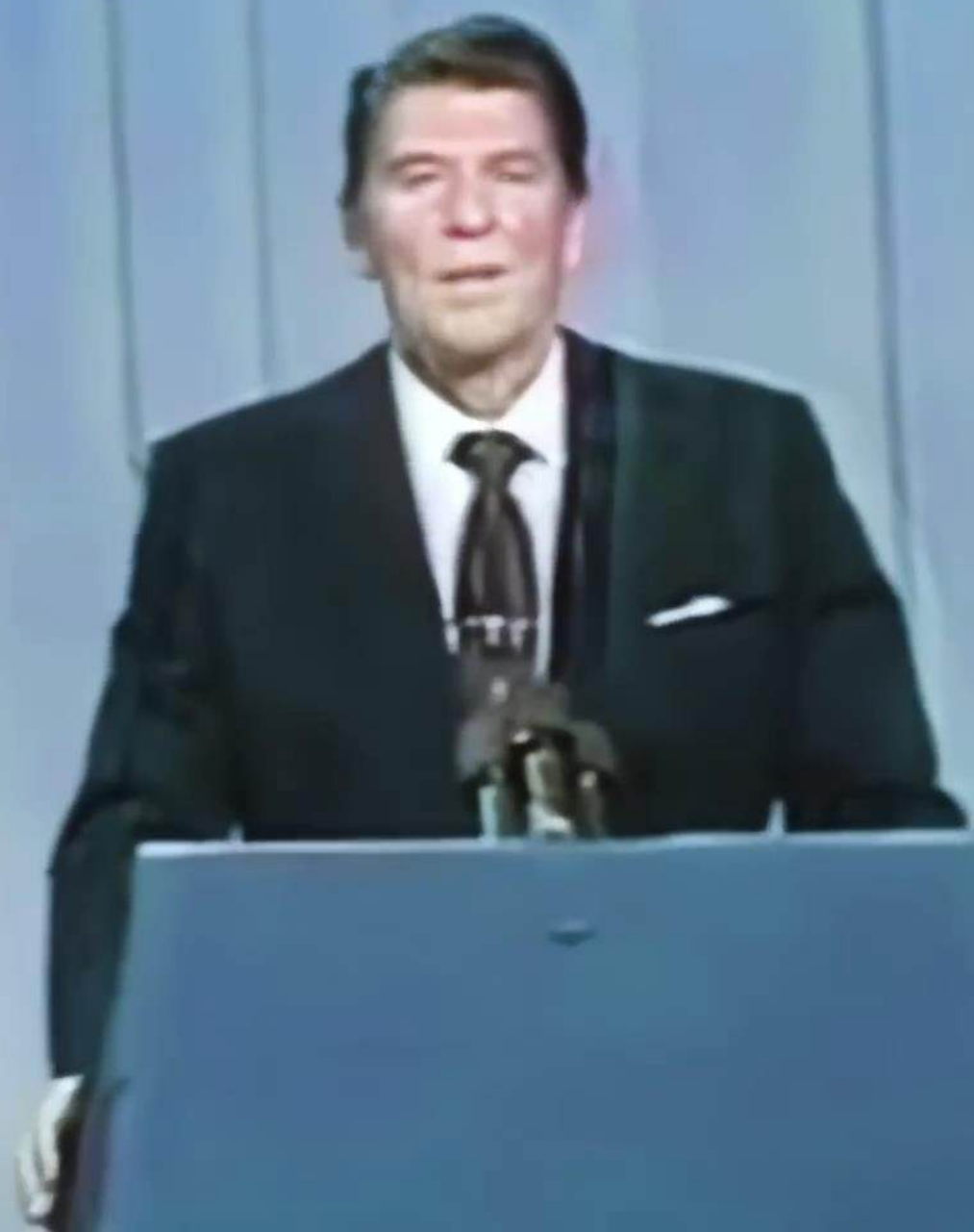
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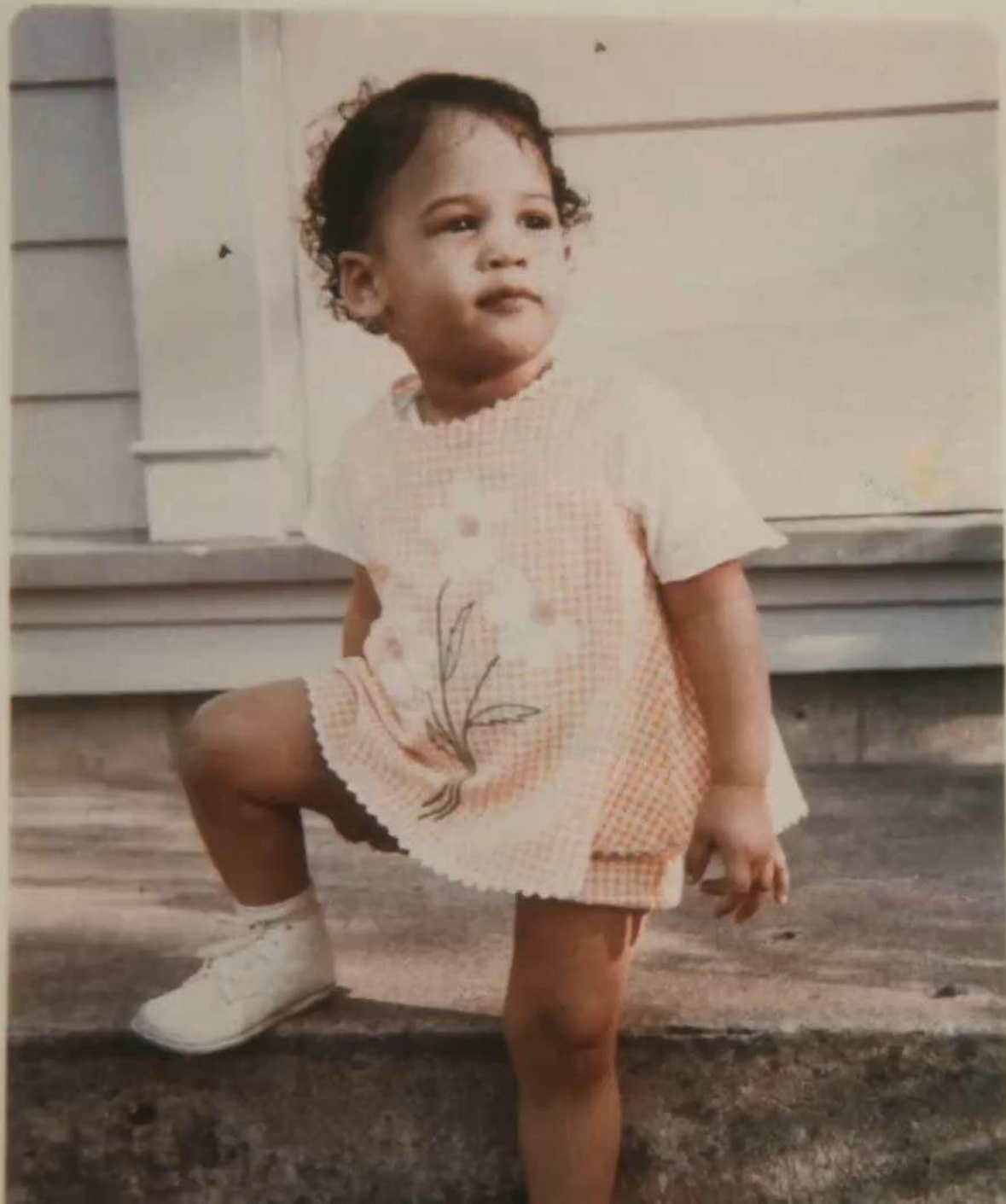
III. What Voters are Watching (click to view ads)





A woman in a dark suit, identified as Kamala Harris, is walking away from the camera on an airfield. In the background, a large white airplane with blue accents is parked on the tarmac. Several men in suits and uniforms are standing around the plane, some appearing to be disembarking. The scene is set during a golden hour, with a warm, low sun creating a silhouette effect on the subjects and a soft glow on the horizon. The overall mood is professional and significant.

KAMALA HARRIS
FEARLESS



WHAT'S

JIM

JUSTICE

HIDING?



TEAM
KENTUCKY



COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
1792

The background features a stylized American flag with blue, white, and red wavy stripes and stars. The text is centered over this graphic.

IV. What We Are Predicting TODAY

Changing White House Prediction

Pre-Biden Withdrawal

80-20 chance Trump wins

Post-Biden Withdrawal

60-40 chance Trump wins

August 8th

55-45 chance Trump wins

Changing White House Prediction

Pre-Biden Withdrawal

80-20 chance Trump wins

Post-Biden Withdrawal

60-40 chance Trump wins

August 8th

55-45 chance Trump wins

Today

50-50

Harris likely wins popular vote

But Trump can win Electoral vote

Changing White House Prediction

Pre-Biden Withdrawal

80-20 chance Trump wins

Post-Biden Withdrawal

60-40 chance Trump wins

August 8th

55-45 chance Trump wins

Today

50-50

Harris likely wins popular vote

But Trump can win Electoral vote

November 5th

???

Depends on:

Debate Exploitation/Recovery

Harris Momentum/GOTV

Trump Discipline/GOTV

Domestic Economy

Border Incidents

International Crises

“October Surprise”

Republicans Win U.S. Senate

90%

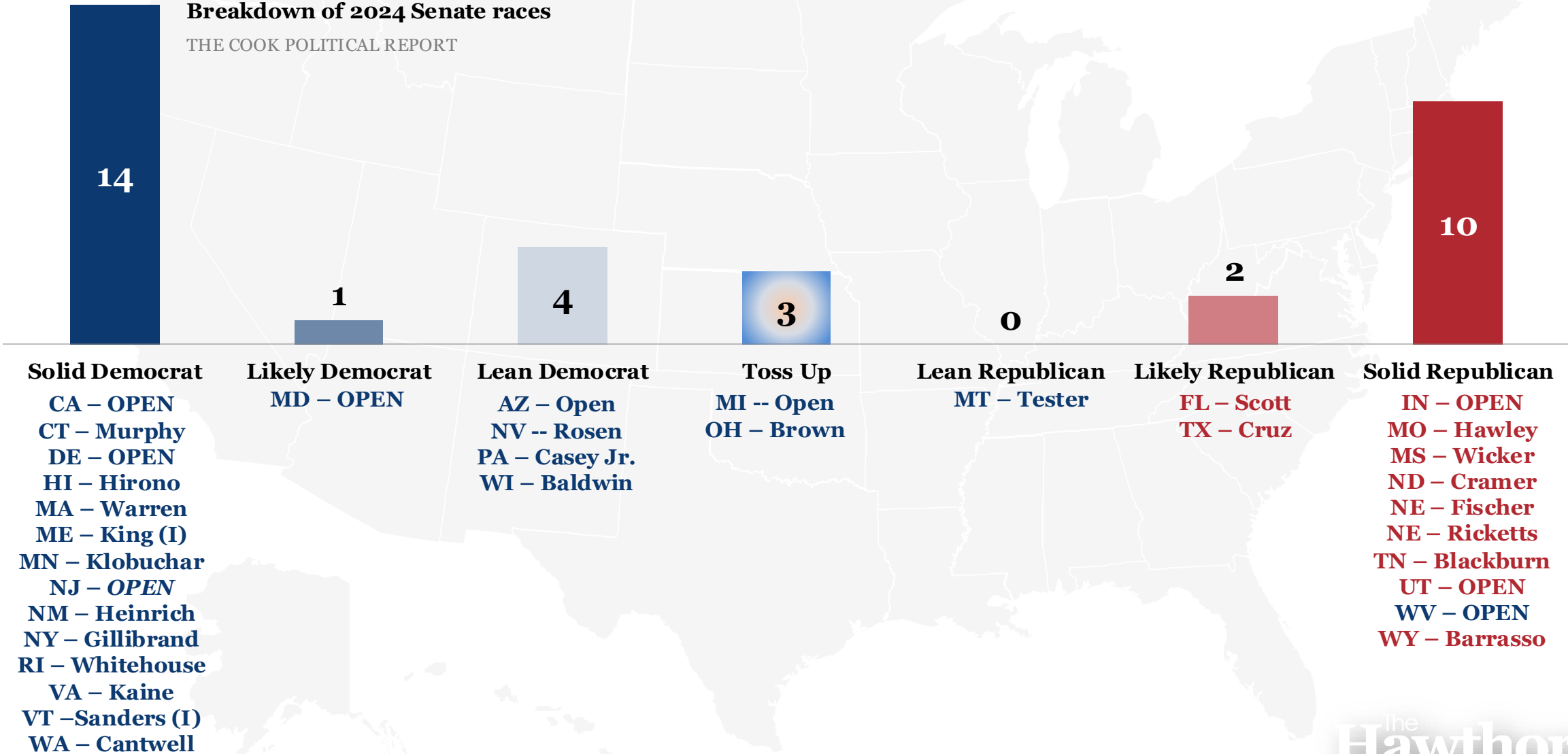
Unless Harris wins in Landslide AND Dems “Run the table” on Senate

But GOP does NOT get 60 vote majority

Senate Races – Charlie Cook’s Predictions

Breakdown of 2024 Senate races

THE COOK POLITICAL REPORT



Solid Democrat

- CA – OPEN
- CT – Murphy
- DE – OPEN
- HI – Hirono
- MA – Warren
- ME – King (I)
- MN – Klobuchar
- NJ – OPEN
- NM – Heinrich
- NY – Gillibrand
- RI – Whitehouse
- VA – Kaine
- VT – Sanders (I)
- WA – Cantwell

Likely Democrat

- MD – OPEN

Lean Democrat

- AZ – Open
- NV -- Rosen
- PA – Casey Jr.
- WI – Baldwin

Toss Up

- MI -- Open
- OH – Brown

Lean Republican

- MT – Tester

Likely Republican

- FL – Scott
- TX – Cruz

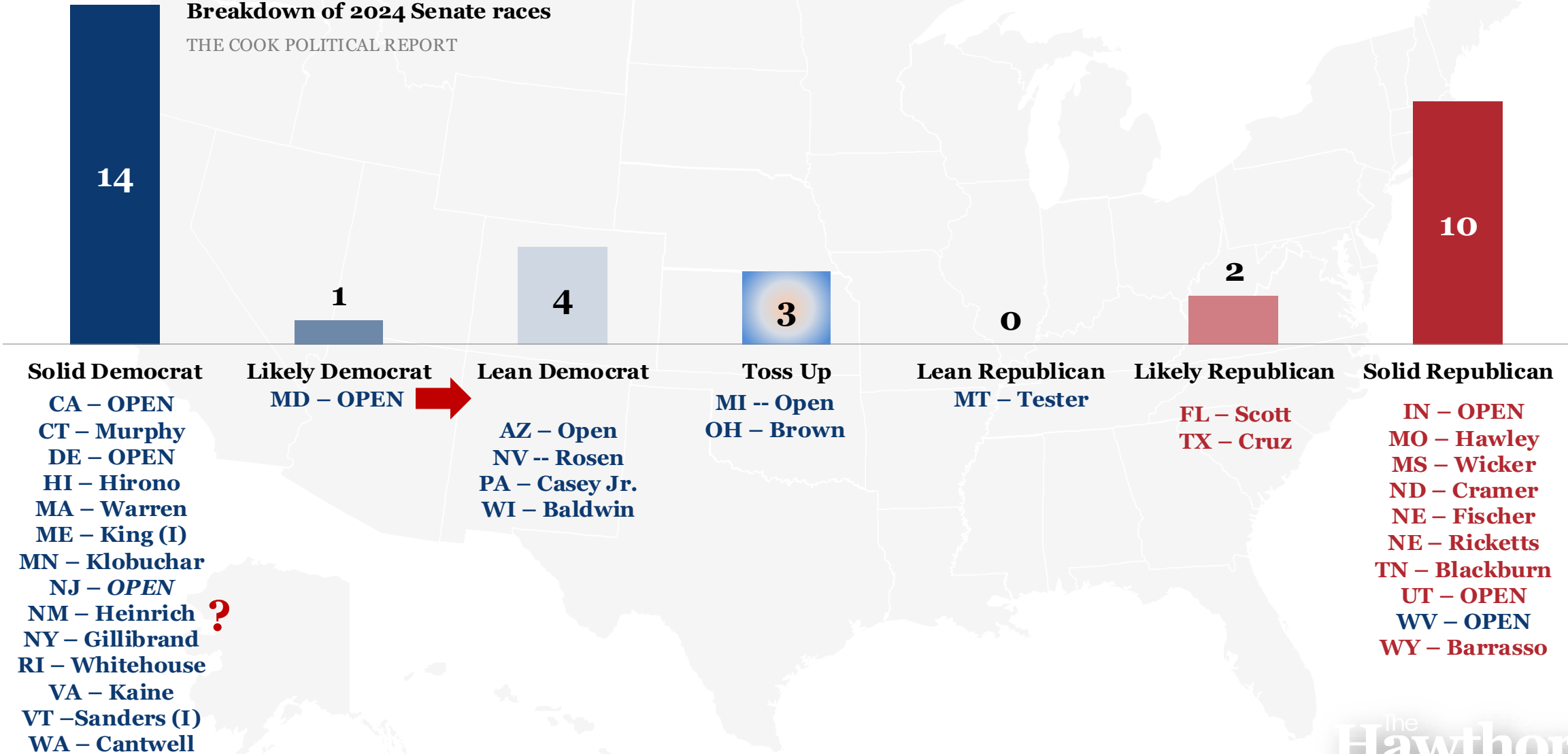
Solid Republican

- IN – OPEN
- MO – Hawley
- MS – Wicker
- ND – Cramer
- NE – Fischer
- NE – Ricketts
- TN – Blackburn
- UT – OPEN
- WV – OPEN
- WY – Barrasso

Senate Races – Charlie Cook’s Predictions

Breakdown of 2024 Senate races

THE COOK POLITICAL REPORT



Republicans Keep U.S. House



Control of Congress also hangs in the balance in 2024

SENATE

- The Democrats currently have a 2-seat majority
- All 8 competitive seats this cycle are currently held by the Democrats:

STATE / SENATOR	COOK POLITICAL REPORT RATING	2020 PRESIDENTIAL MARGIN
AZ – Open	Lean Dem	Biden + .3%
MI – Open	Toss-up	Biden + 2.8%
MT – Tester	Toss-up	Trump + 16.4%
NV – Rosen	Toss-up	Biden + 2.4%
OH – Brown	Toss-up	Trump + 8.0%
PA – Casey Jr.	Lean Dem	Biden + 1.5%
WV – Open	Solid Rep	Trump + 39.0%
WI – Baldwin	Lean Dem	Biden + .6%

Source: Cook Political Report, Sep. 6, 2024

HOUSE

- The Republicans entered the Congress with a 5-seat majority
- There are only 43 competitive House seats (23 D / 20 R)
- There are 17 Republican House members in districts carried by Biden and only 5 Democrats in districts won by Trump
- The Republicans are defending 9 competitive districts in California and New York
- The Democrats are defending 7 competitive districts in Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania



V. What It Means for 2025

It's Three-Dimensional Chess

White House	Senate	House
R	R	R
R	R	D
R	D	D
R	D	R
D	R	D
D	D	D
D	D	R
D	R	R

It's Three-Dimensional Chess

White House	Senate	House	Likelihood
R	R	R	40%
R	R	D	10%
R	D	D	0%
R	D	R	0%
D	R	D	40%
D	D	D	5%
D	D	R	0%
D	R	R	5%

What It Means for 2025

Red World

(Post-Chevron)

Vs.

Blue World

(Post-Chevron)

Second Trump Term:

Back to MAGA

Basics

with Tariffs

Harris Term:

Biden II+

But with GOP

Senate

What It Means for 2025

Red World (Post-Chevron)

- Potential attacks on Fed Independence and pressure to lower interest rates
- Extended Tax Cuts
- Steep tariffs on China; ad hoc tariffs on other countries
- Financials Generally Win:
 - ✓ Banks – A positive de-regulatory shift
 - ✓ Crypto – SEC leadership change
 - ✓ Consumer Finance – CFPB leadership change
 - ✓ M&A – Less merger ambiguity
- Tech funding for military technology including cyber security, advanced manufacturing, and broadband
- Lower environmental regulations/funding
- Dependent on Agency Appointments
 - ✓ Major civil servant turnover

Vs.

Blue World (Post-Chevron)

- Adoption of Basel III Standards
- End to some Tax Cuts
- Fewer tariffs and more Collaboration
- Increased Regulatory Scrutiny
 - ✓ Crypto under additional watch
- Control over future appointments
 - ✓ Powell's & Barr's replacements at The Fed
- Continued Pressure on M&A
- Fed Independence and interest rates dependent on inflation and economy
- Stringent environmental regulations
- Tech funding and focus on renewable energy, EVs, biomedical, and broadband
- Policy Gridlock in a Divided Government
- Spending Gridlock in a Divided Government

What It Means for 2025



- **Confusion and Chaos**
- **Gridlock in Washington**
- **Increasing Role for States**
- **Growing Customer Uncertainty**

The background features a stylized American flag with blue, white, and red wavy stripes and stars. In the upper right, there is a faint, light-colored map of the Northeastern United States, showing the outlines of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

VI. Discussion

An American flag is shown on the left side of the image, waving and partially visible. The stars and stripes are clearly defined against a light blue background.

A Hawthorn Group 2024 Political Update for

MANUFACTURE ALABAMA

September 12, 2024
53 Days Until the Election

Next 53 Days



- **(September 6th Excused Absentees Go Out in North Carolina)**
- **September 16th Early Voting Starts in Pennsylvania**
- **October 1st Vice Presidential Debate**
- **October 25th – November 1st World Series**
- **November 5th Election Day**

The 76 Days Thereafter



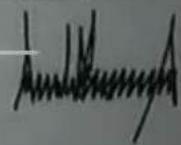
- **December 17th Electoral College Meets**
- **January 3rd Congress Convenes**
- **January 20th Presidential Inaugural**

An aerial photograph of a border wall stretching across a vast, green, hilly landscape. In the foreground, a tall silver pole holds an American flag. The wall is made of a dark material, possibly metal or wood, and runs along a dirt path. The background shows a wide expanse of green hills under a clear blue sky. The text "On the border" is overlaid in a white, italicized font.

On the border

COMPLETE CONTROL

WH.G





Illegal Immigrant Drove Over Drew's Body Three Times

WASHINGTON FREE BEACON, 8/6/24



KAMALA HARRIS

WAS SUPPOSED TO

SECURE THE BORDER

A photograph of Governor Larry Hogan speaking at an outdoor event. He is wearing a purple polo shirt and has his hands raised in a gesture. The background is blurred, showing other people and a building. A large, dark, textured graphic overlay is positioned in the center of the image, containing the main text.

THE UN-TRUMP REPUBLICAN:
GOV. LARRY HOGAN'S RADICALLY NORMAL
MODEL FOR THE GOP

- *The Washington Post*, 08/03/17

ROOM

300

2021

2022

2023

2024

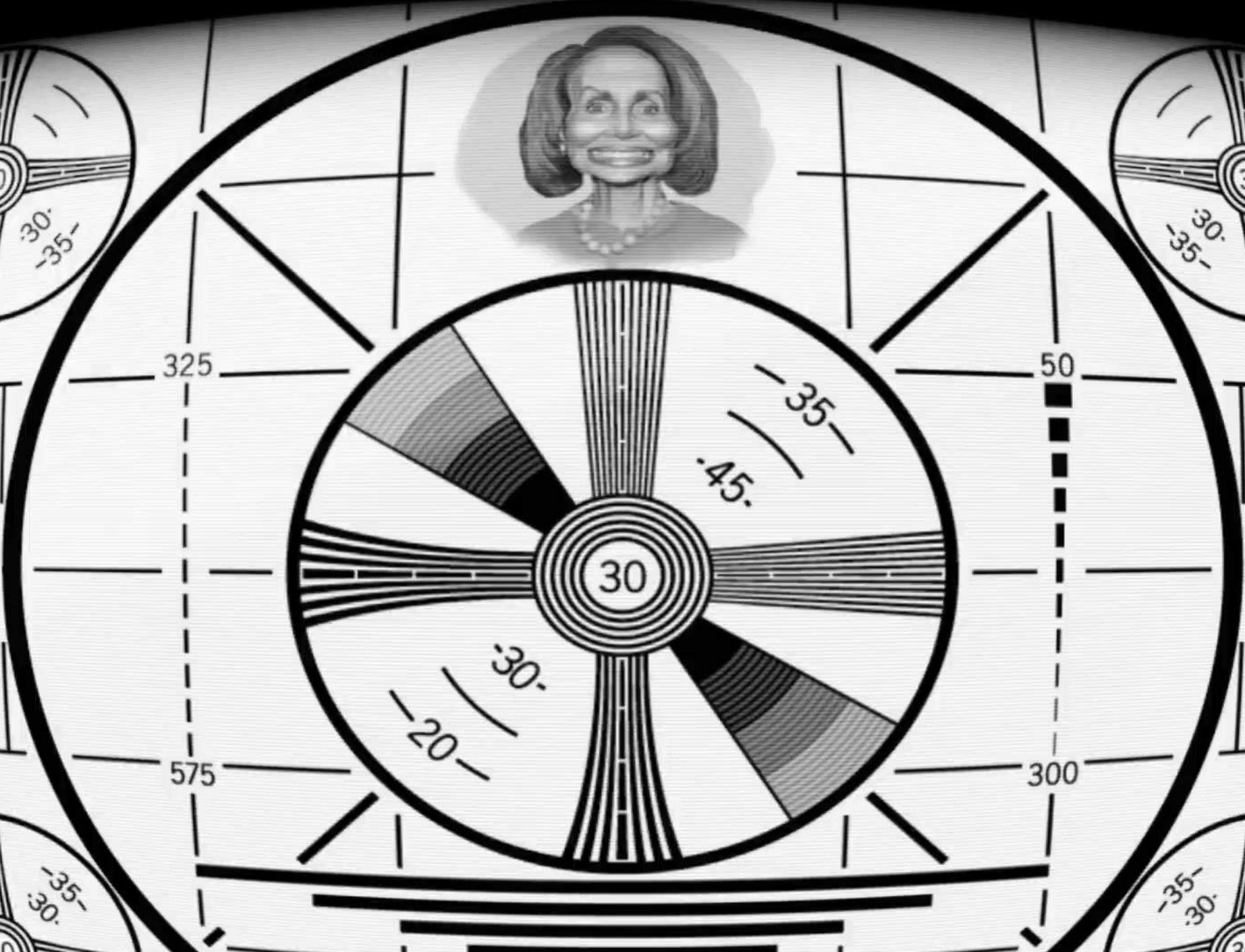
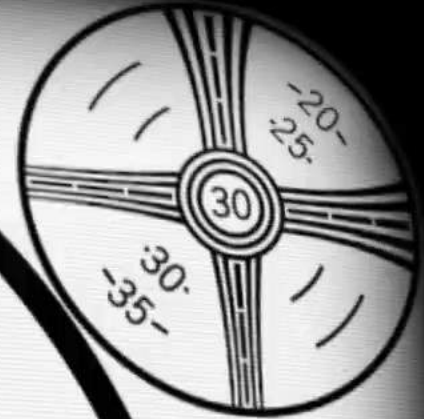
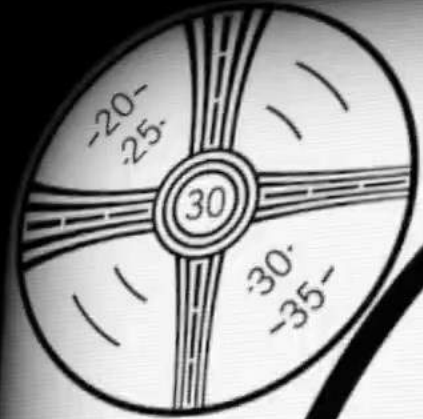




DANGEROUSLY LIBERAL AGENDA









On the border
THE CHOICE IS SIMPLE

FAILED.WEAK.
**DANGEROUSLY
LIBERAL.**



APPROVED BY DONALD J. TRUMP. PAID FOR BY DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESIDENT 2024, INC.

Dwight Eisenhower | June '56 | **70%**

Bill Clinton | July '96 | **58%**

Ronald Reagan | July '84 | **54%**

George W. Bush | July '04 | **48%**

Barack Obama | July '12 | **46%**

Donald Trump
July '20

41%



Joe Biden
July '24

36%



Jimmy Carter | July '80 | **33%**

George H.W. Bush | July '92 | **31%**

GALLUP

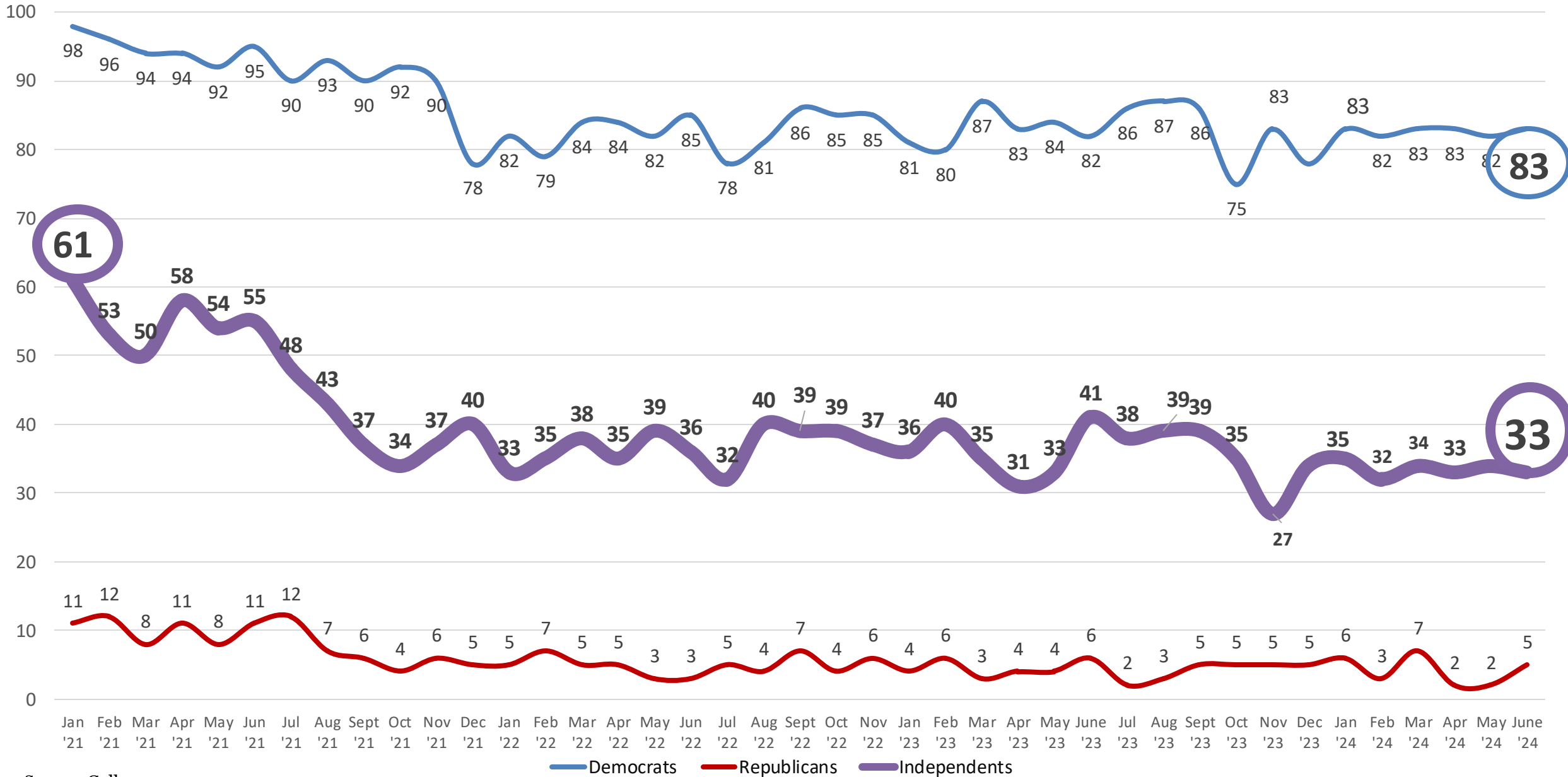
The Hawthorn
Group L.C.

Harris Vs. Trump – Post Debate Polls

POLL	HARRIS	TRUMP	MARGIN	DATES	MARGIN OF ERROR
CBS-YouGov	48	51	Trump by 3	July 16 - 18	+/- 2.7
Reuters-Ipsos	44	44	Tie	July 16	+/- 3.3
Economist/YouGov	39	44	Trump by 5	July 13 - 16	+/- 3
NPR/PBS NewsHour/Marist	50	49	Harris by 1	July 9 - 10	+/- 3
Fox News	48	49	Trump by 1	July 7 - 10	+/- 3.5
NBC News	45	47	Trump by 2	July 7 - 9	+/- 3.3
Economist/YouGov	38	42	Trump by 4	July 7 - 9	+/- 2
Post-ABC-Ipsos	49	47	Harris by 2	July 5 - 9	+/- 3.1
Reuters-Ipsos	42	43	Trump by 1	July 1 - 2	+/- 3.5
Yahoo News/YouGov	45	47	Trump by 2	June 28 - July 1	+/- 3.5
CNN	45	47	Trump by 2	June 28 - 30	+/- 3.7

Voters who were undecided, would not vote, or gave another response are not shown.

Biden Approval Since Inauguration by Party ID



Source: Gallup

Disclaimers

*“In 30 years of coaching
I’ve yet to hear a good alibi.”*

*Volney C. Ashford
(1907 – 1973)*