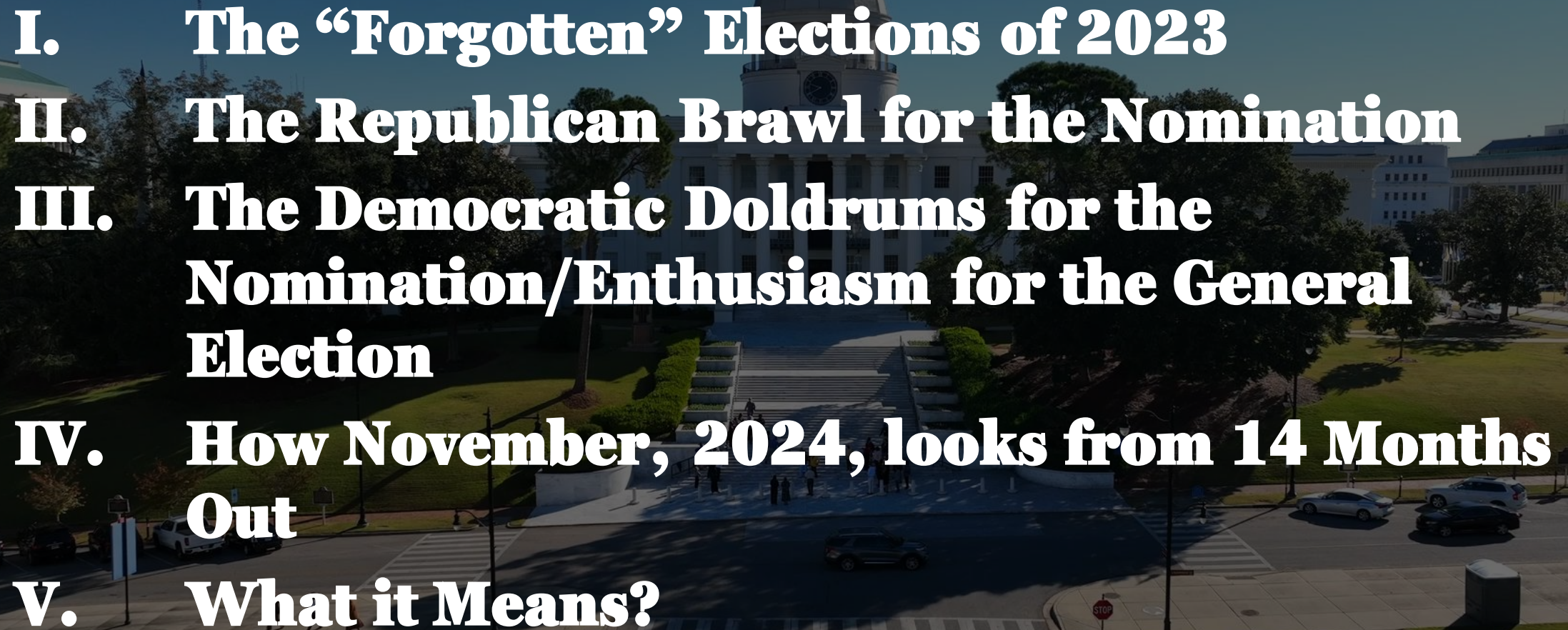


A large American flag is shown on the left side of the image, waving and partially covering the text. The flag features the stars and stripes of the United States flag.

**A Visit With  
The Hawthorn Group  
on  
The 2023/2024  
Election Scene**

**MANUFACTURE  
ALABAMA**

**September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2023**

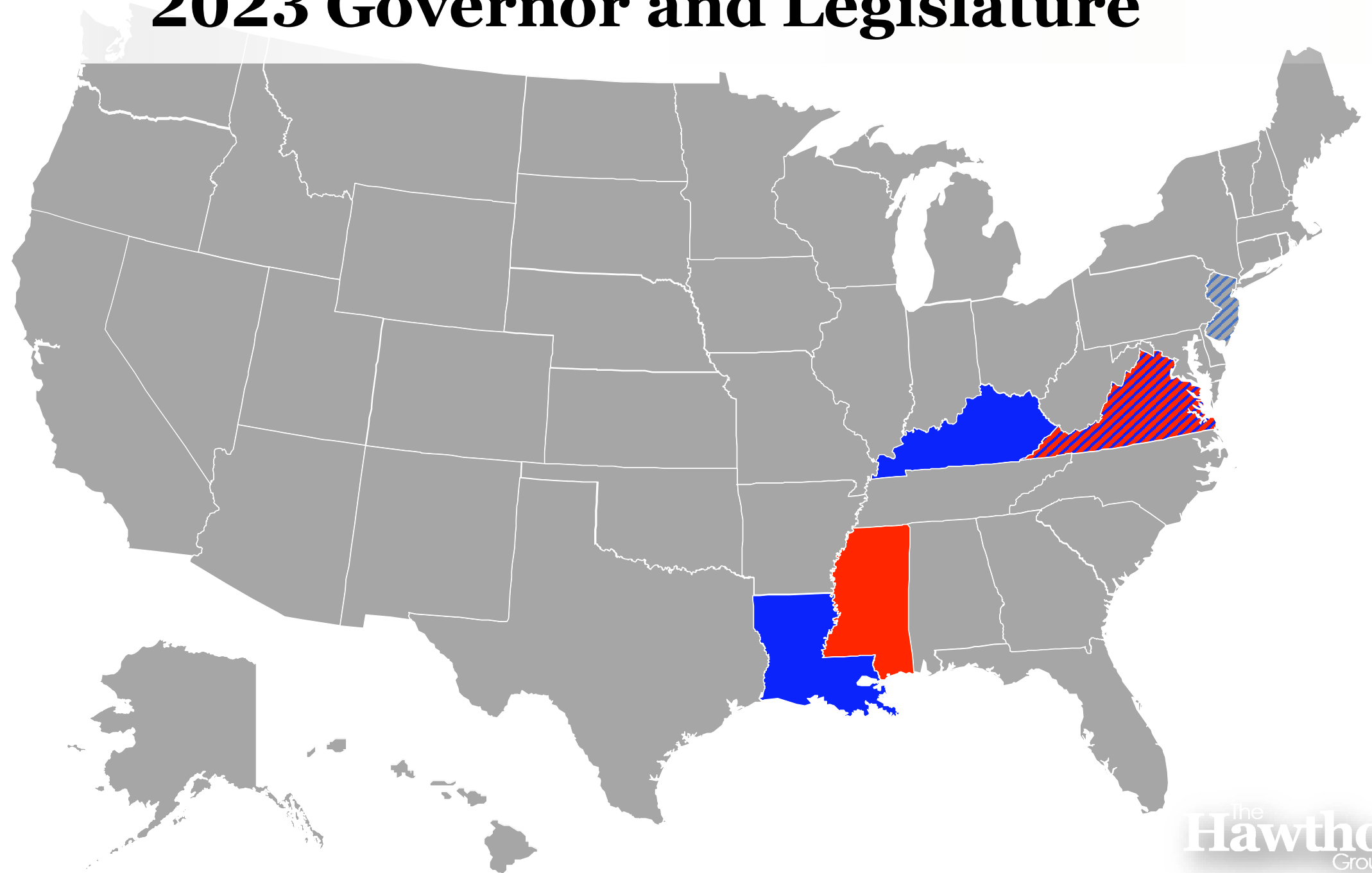
- 
- I. The “Forgotten” Elections of 2023**
  - II. The Republican Brawl for the Nomination**
  - III. The Democratic Doldrums for the Nomination/Enthusiasm for the General Election**
  - IV. How November, 2024, looks from 14 Months Out**
  - V. What it Means?**





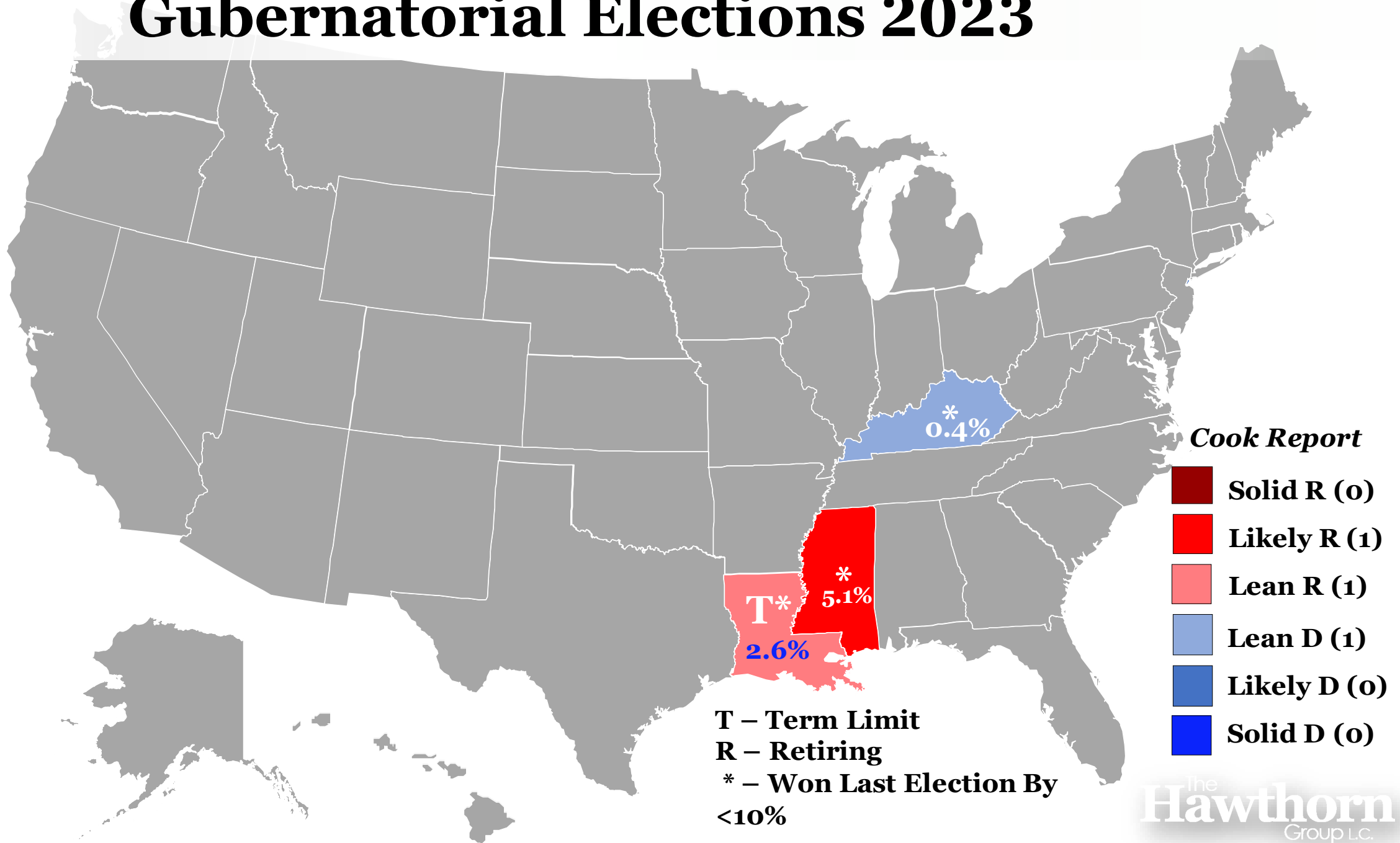
# **I. The “Forgotten” Elections of 2023**

# 2023 Governor and Legislature





# Gubernatorial Elections 2023



# Louisiana Governor

**Primary Date:** October 14, 2023

**General/Runoff Date:** November 18, 2023

– Sixteen people signed up to run for Governor with seven serious candidates

– Latest Poll [Times Picayune: 800LV Aug 14-19]

- **Jeff Landry (R):** 54%
- **Shawn Wilson (D):** 36%
- **Hunter Lundy (I):** 7%



# Mississippi Governor

**Primary Date:** August 8, 2023, August 29, 2023 (Run off)

**General/Runoff Date:** November 7, 2023

– Latest Poll [Siena : 650 LV August 20-28]:

- **Tate Reeves (R):** **52%**
- **Brandon Presley (D):** **41%**
- **Gwendolyn Gray (I):** \*

# Kentucky Governor

**Primary Date:** May 12, 2023

**General Date:** November 7, 2023

- **Latest Poll [Public Policy : 737RV August 9-10]**

- **Andy Beshear (D):** 49%
- **Daniel Cameron (R):** 41%
- **Undecided:** 10%

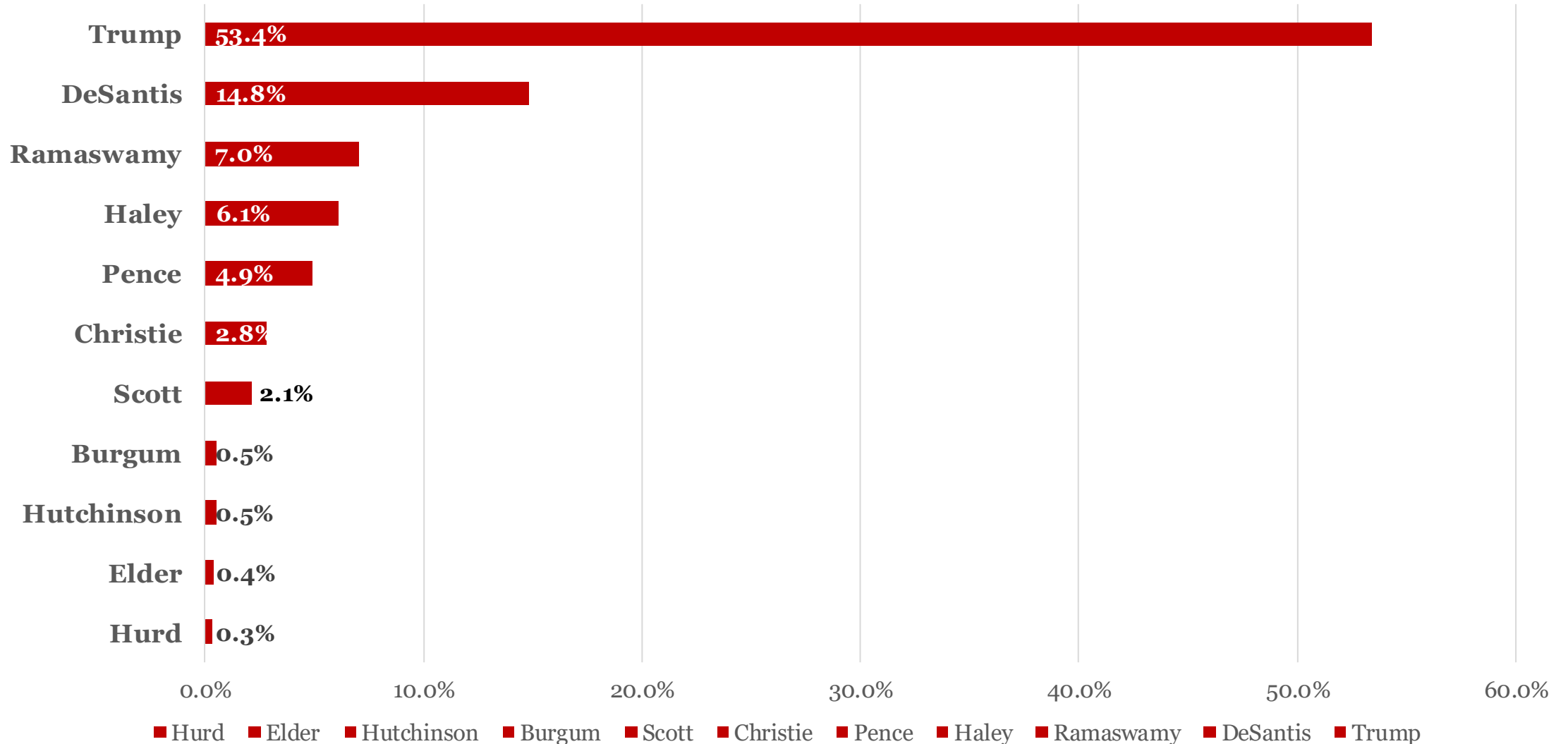


The background features a stylized American flag with blue and red wavy stripes and white stars on a light blue background. The text is centered over this graphic.

# **II. The Republican Brawl for the 2024 Nomination**

# RCP August Polling Averages for Republican Nominee

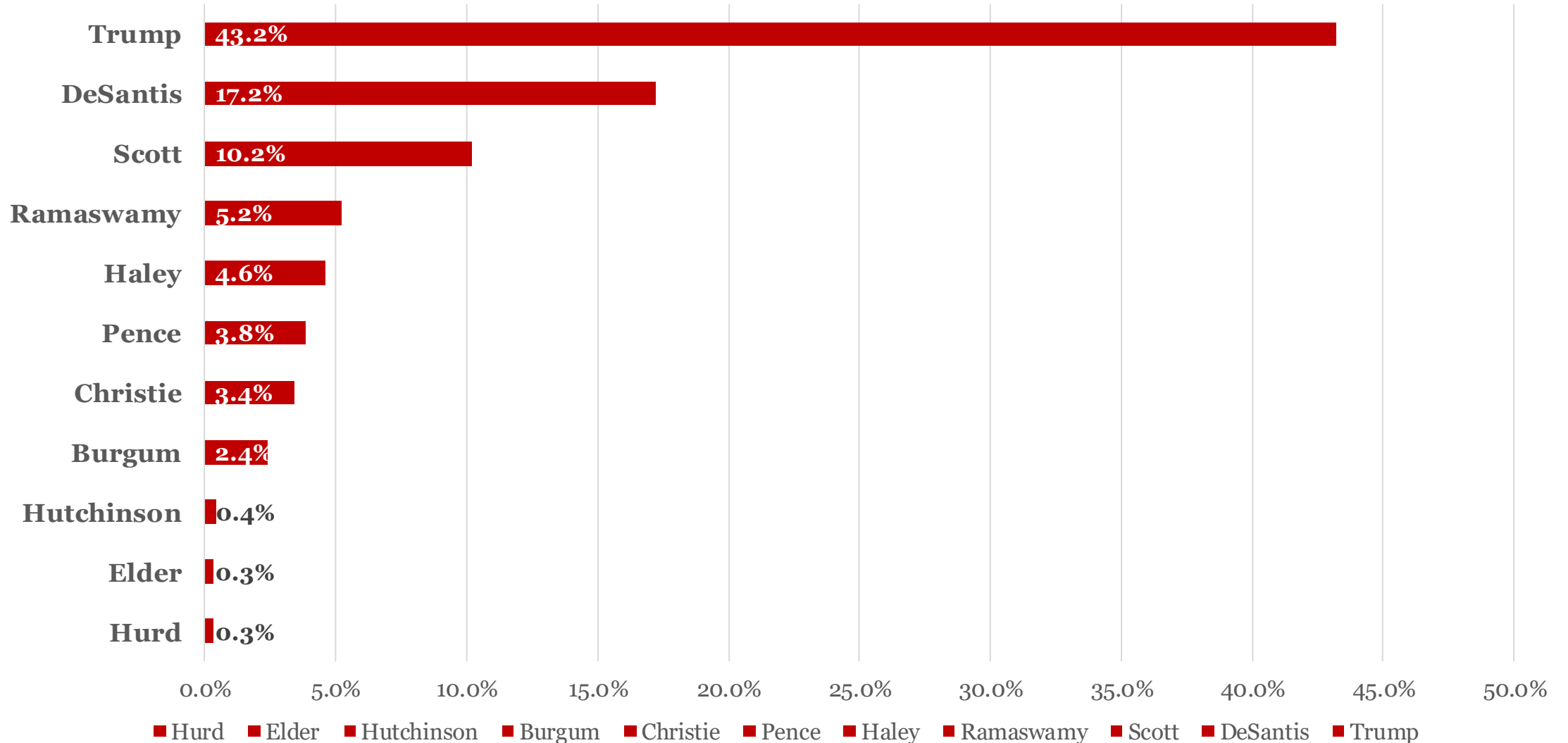
## National Ratings - RCP Average (August 24- 31, 2023)





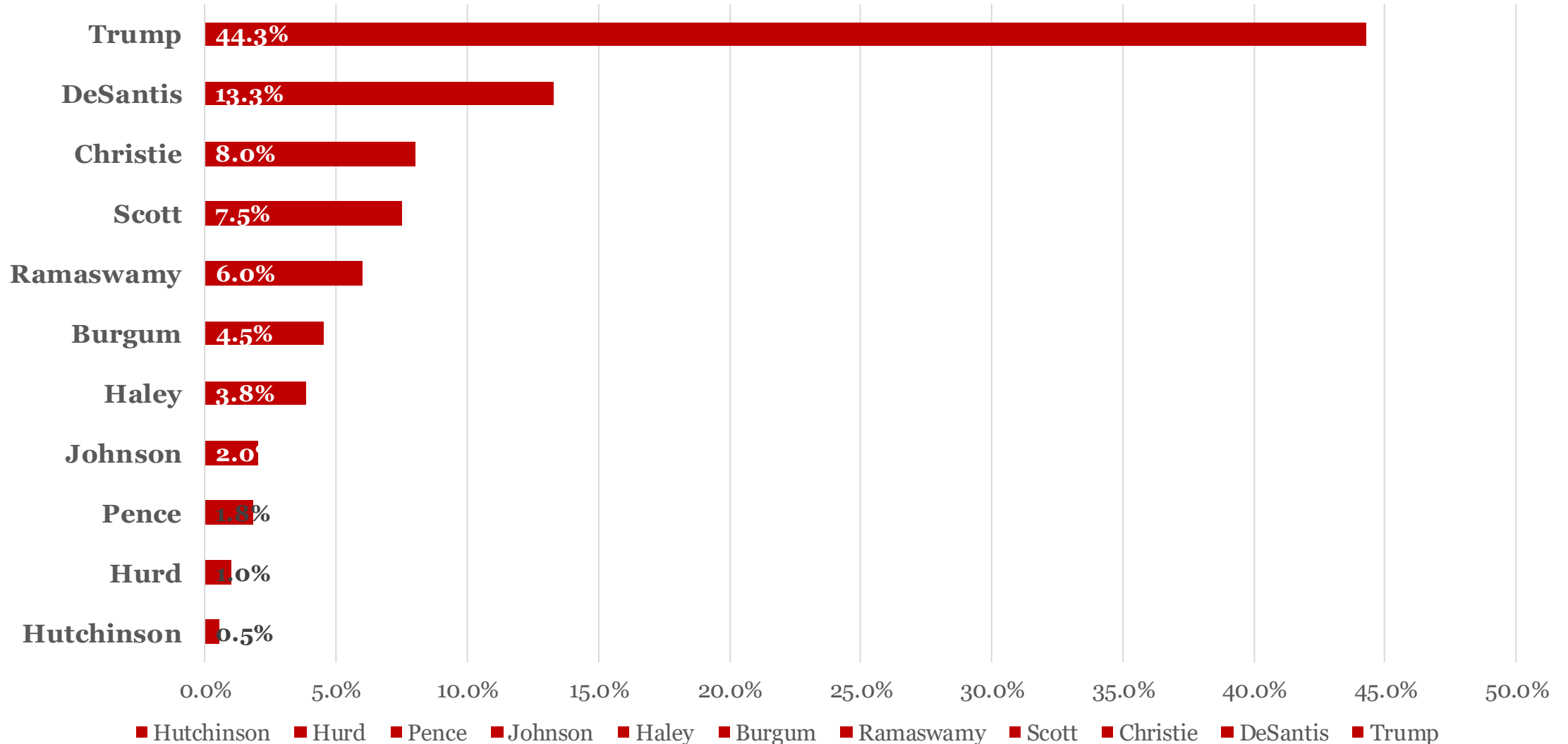
# RCP August Polling Averages for Republican Nominee

## Iowa Ratings - RCP Average (July 15 – Aug 17, 2023)



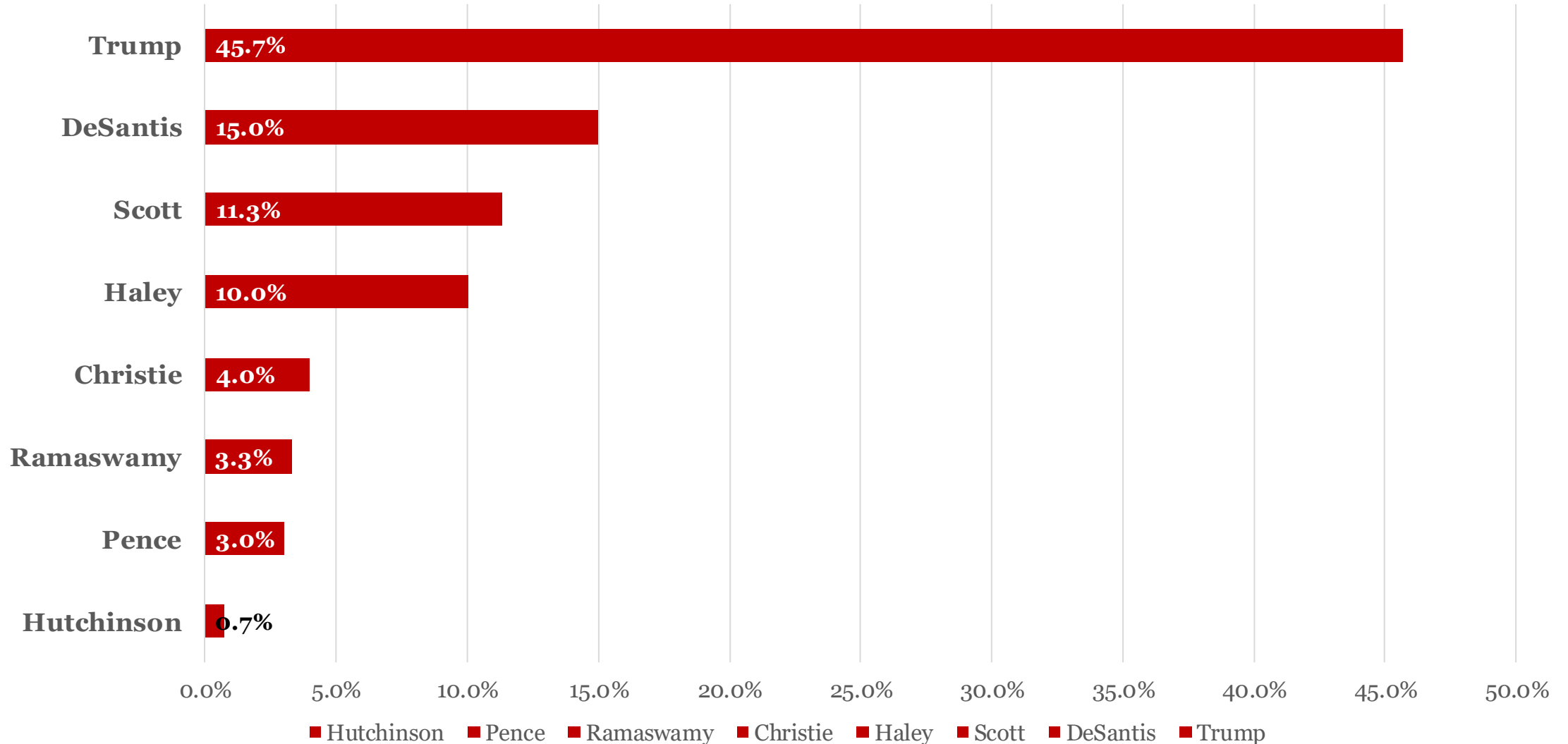
# RCP August Polling Averages for Republican Nominee

## New Hampshire Ratings - RCP Average (July 13 – Aug 16, 2023)



# RCP August Polling Averages for Republican Nominee

## South Carolina Ratings - RCP Average (June 13 – Aug 19, 2023)



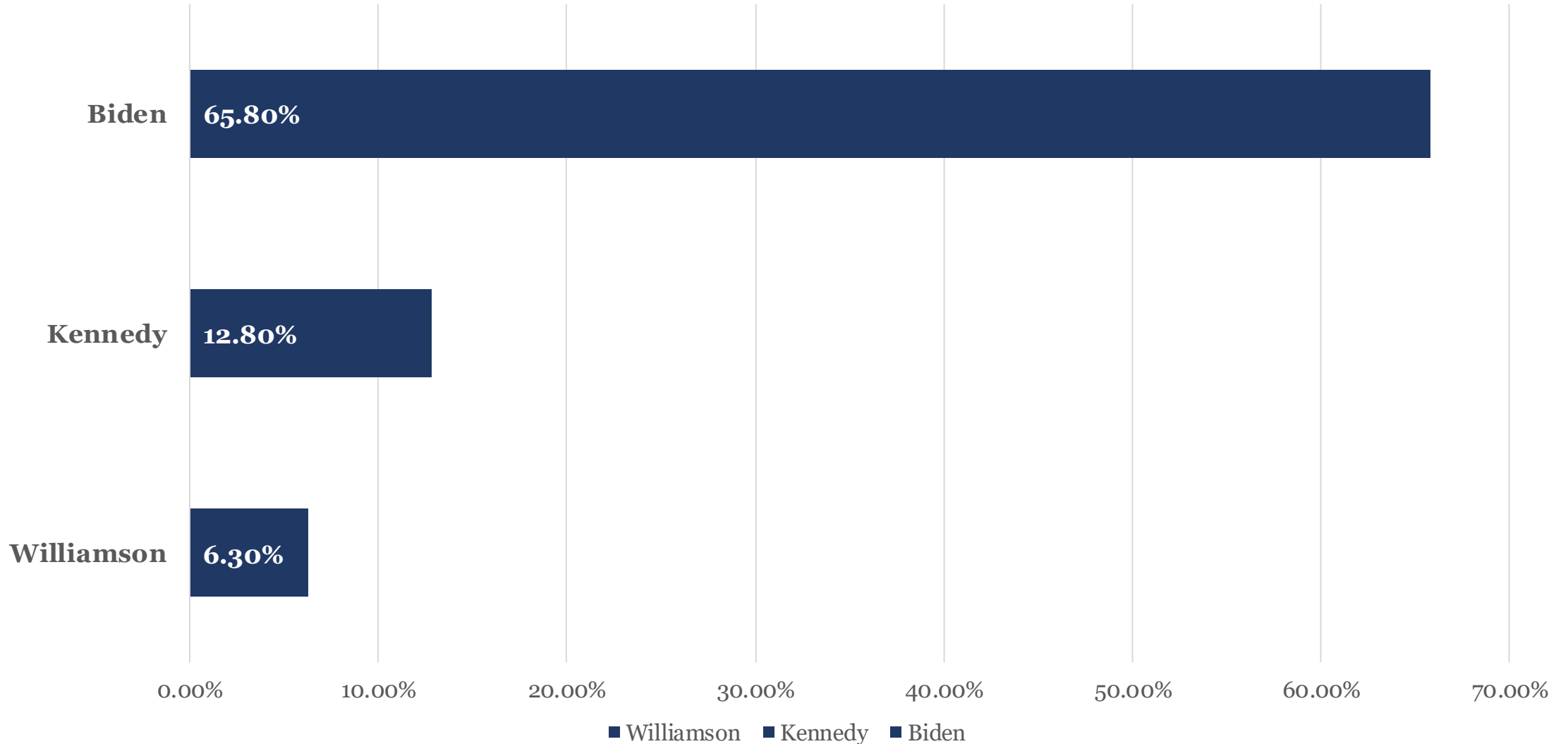


**III. The Democratic  
2024 Doldrums**



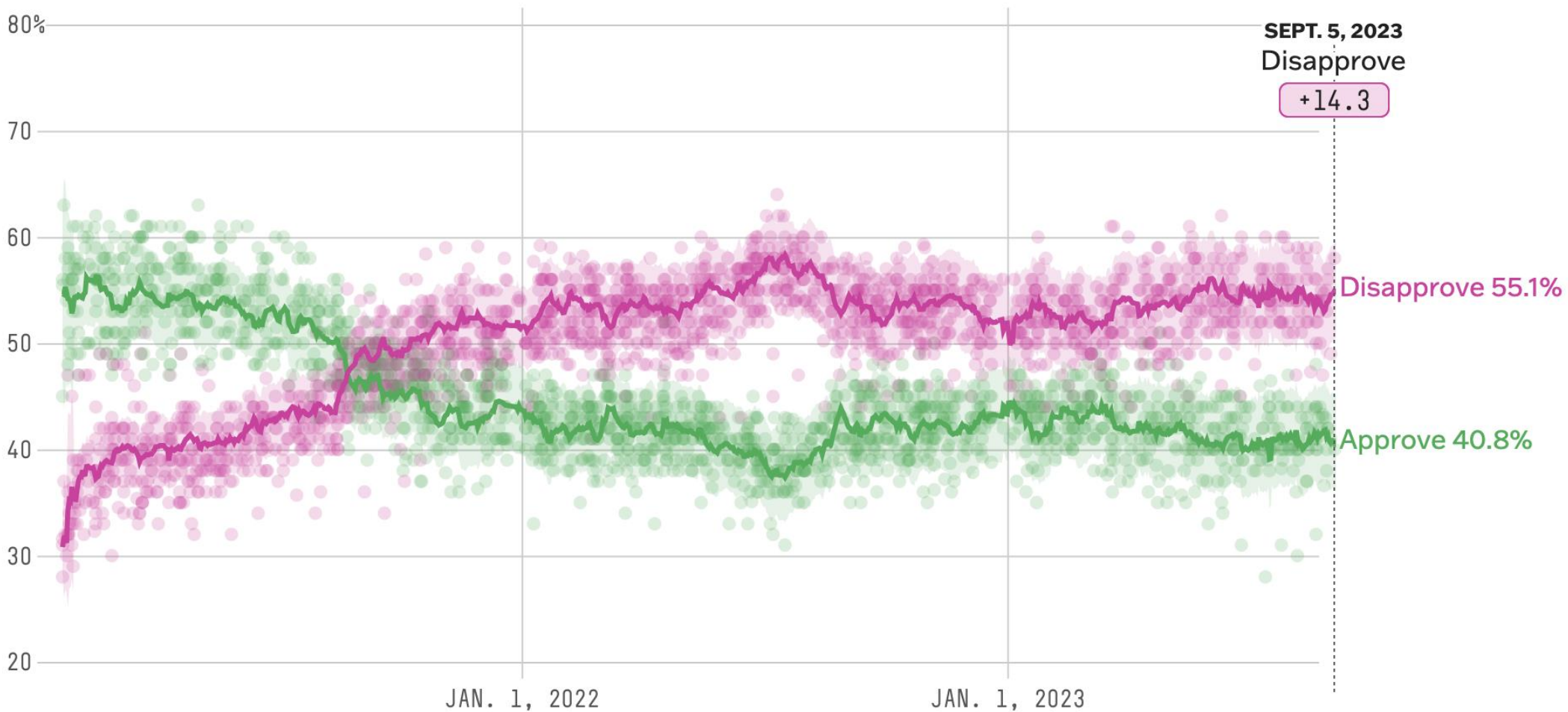
# RCP August Polling Averages with Democratic Incumbent

## National Ratings - RCP Average (August 2 - 28, 2023)



# Biden Job Approval Since Inauguration

## Do Americans approve or disapprove of Joe Biden?



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

# **IV. How November, 2024, looks from 14 Months Out**



# Disclaimers

---

- **Closer today to LAST election than NEXT election**
- **Legal issues**
- **Health issues**
- **National/International crises**
- **Turnout/Third Party**

*“The fight is not always to the strong,  
nor the race always to the swift,  
but that is always how smart money bets.”*

**-Damon Runyon**  
(1880 – 1946)



# 2024

- **34\* U.S. Senate Seats** – Currently **51D** – **49R**  
– **23D** vs. **11R\*** (Retiring **4D** vs. **1R**)
- **435 U.S. House** – Currently **212D** – **222R**- **1 Vacancies**  
– **222D**-**213R** (Retiring **9D** vs. **4R**)

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

# 2024

- **11 Governors** – Currently **24D** – **26R**
  - **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**
- **47 statewide ballot measures have already been certified for the '24 ballot in 22 states.**

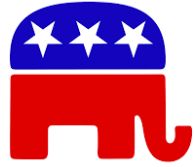


# 2024



- **Major Mayors – Austin, Phoenix, San Francisco, Seattle, Portland**
- **Foreign Elections – Russia, Taiwan, Egypt, Ghana, Mexico, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Australia . . . United Kingdom**

# Presidential Candidates 2024



## Republican Candidates

- Declared:
  - Donald Trump
  - Ron DeSantis
  - Nikki Haley
  - Mike Pence
  - Tim Scott
  - Asa Hutchinson
  - Larry Elder
  - Ryan Binkley
  - Perry Johnson
  - Vivek Ramaswamy
  - Chris Christie
  - Doug Burgum
- Rumored:
  - Mike Rogers
  - Greg Abbott
  - Marco Rubio
  - Glenn Youngkin
  - Kristie Noem



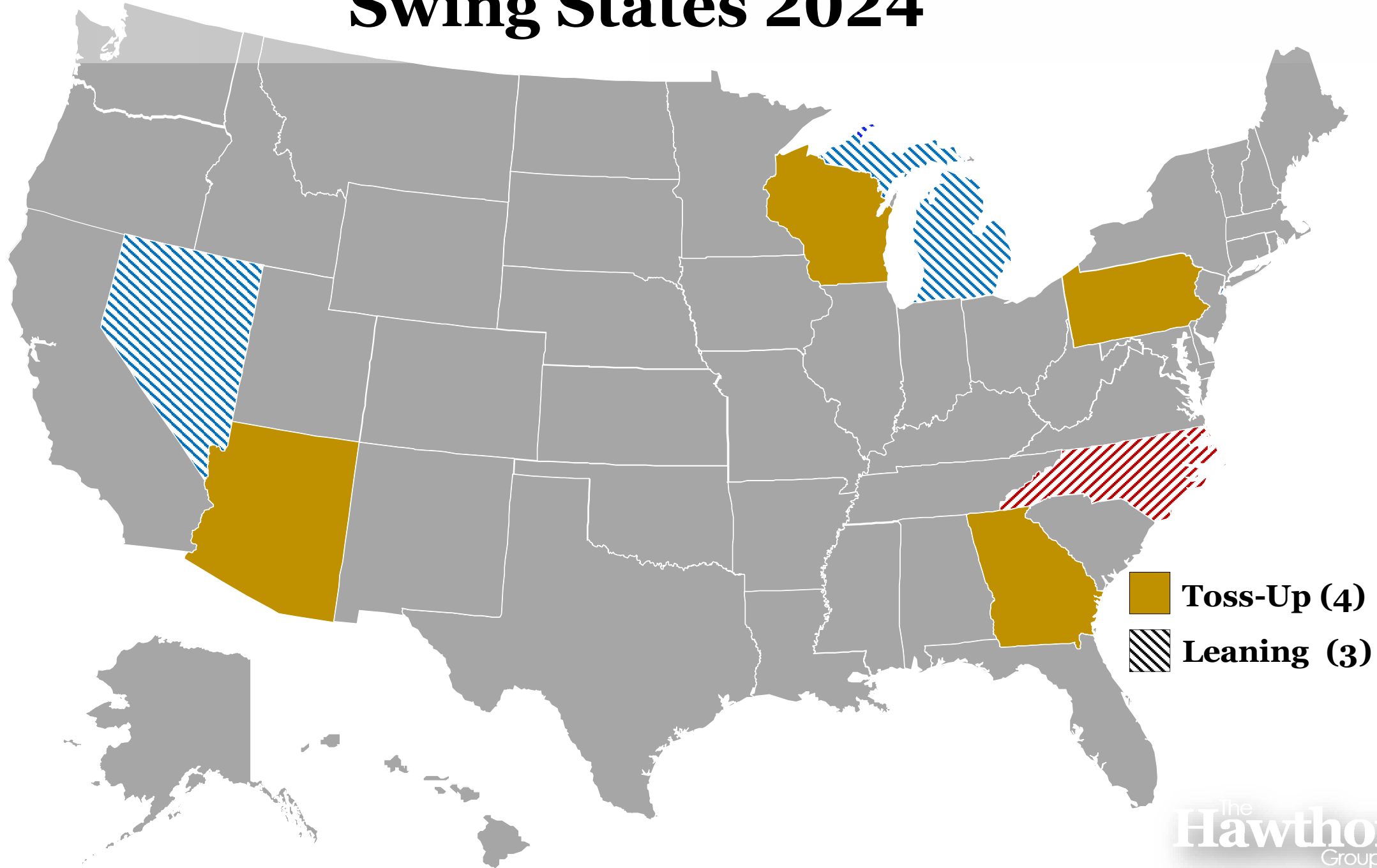
## Democratic Candidates

- Declared:
  - Joe Biden
  - Robert F. Kennedy Jr.
  - Marianne Williamson
- “In the Wings”:
  - Gavin Newsom
  - Gretchen Whitmer
  - J.B. Pritzker
  - Pete Buttigieg
  - (Joe Manchin)

## Independent Candidates

- Cornell West

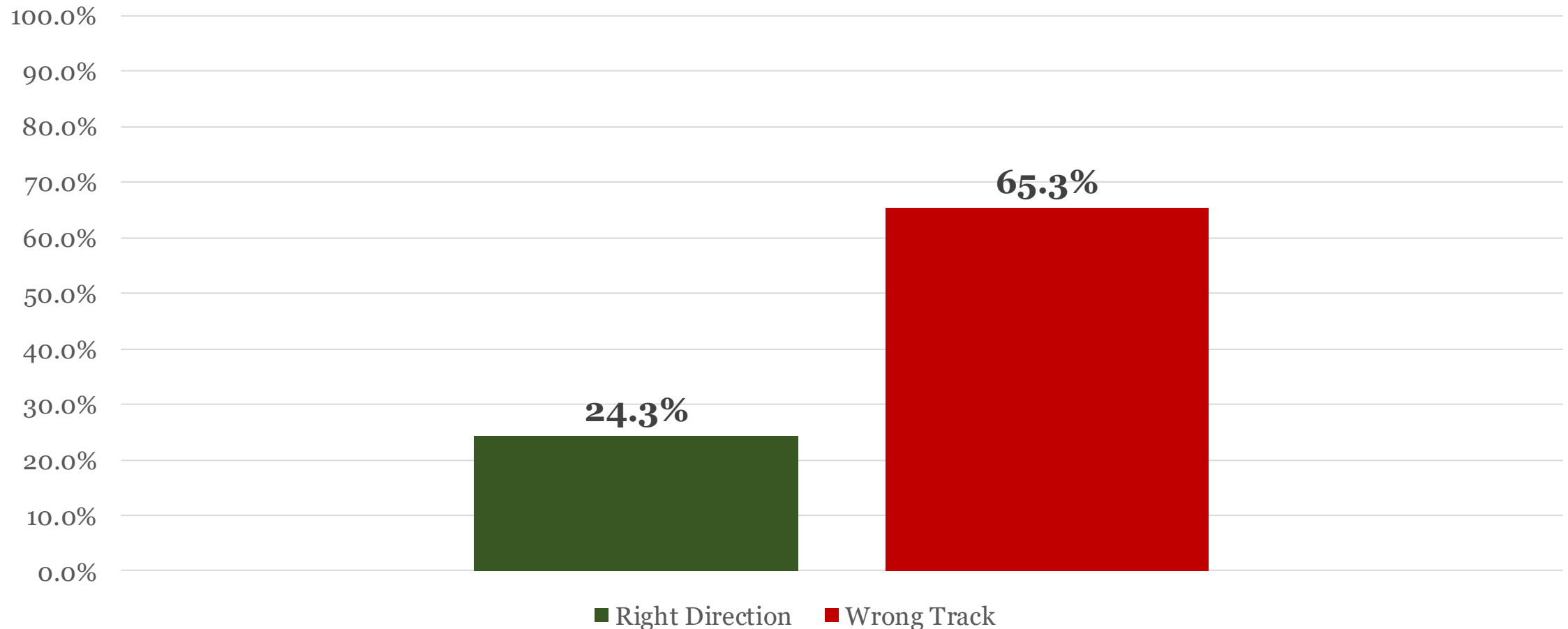
# Swing States 2024





# Right Direction/Wrong Track

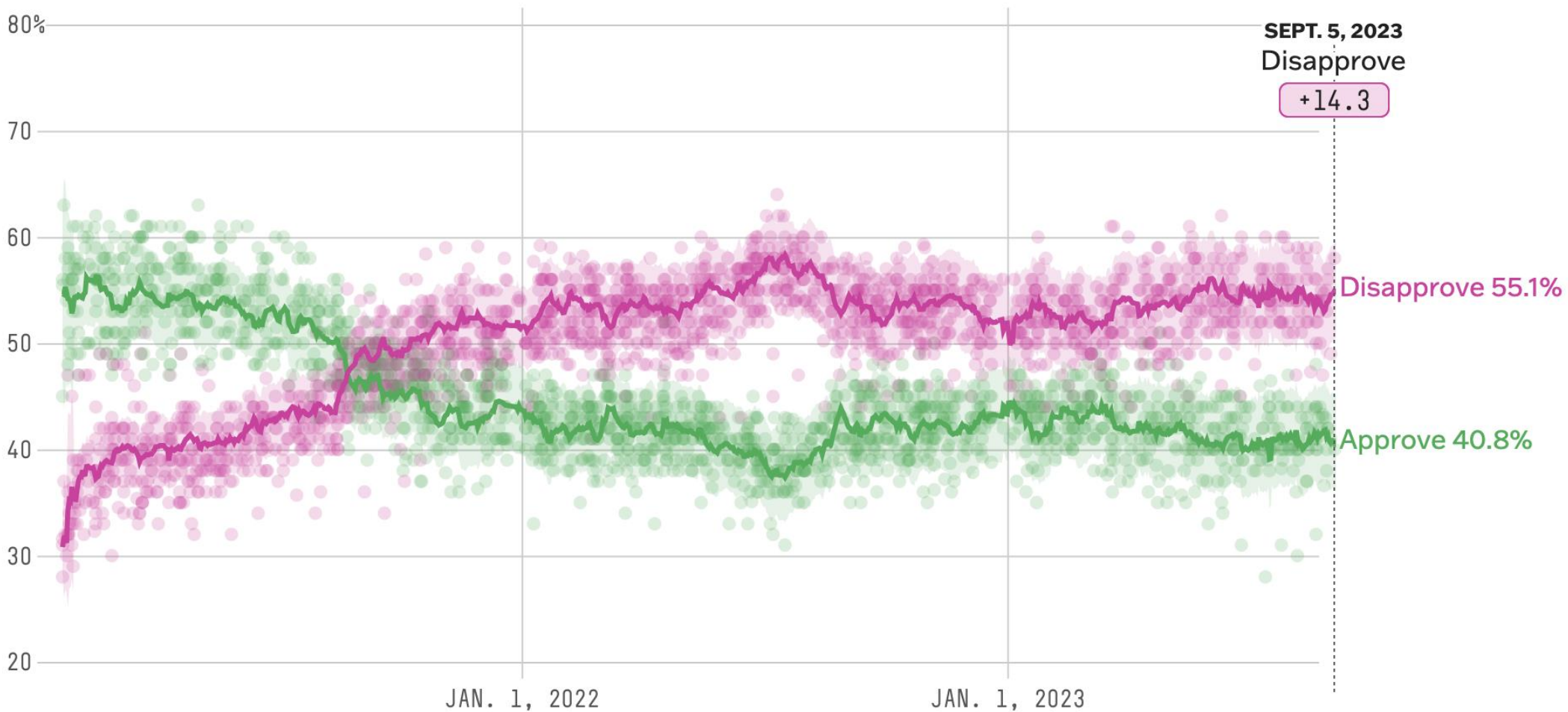
**Do you think the country is going in the right direction, or is it on the wrong track?**

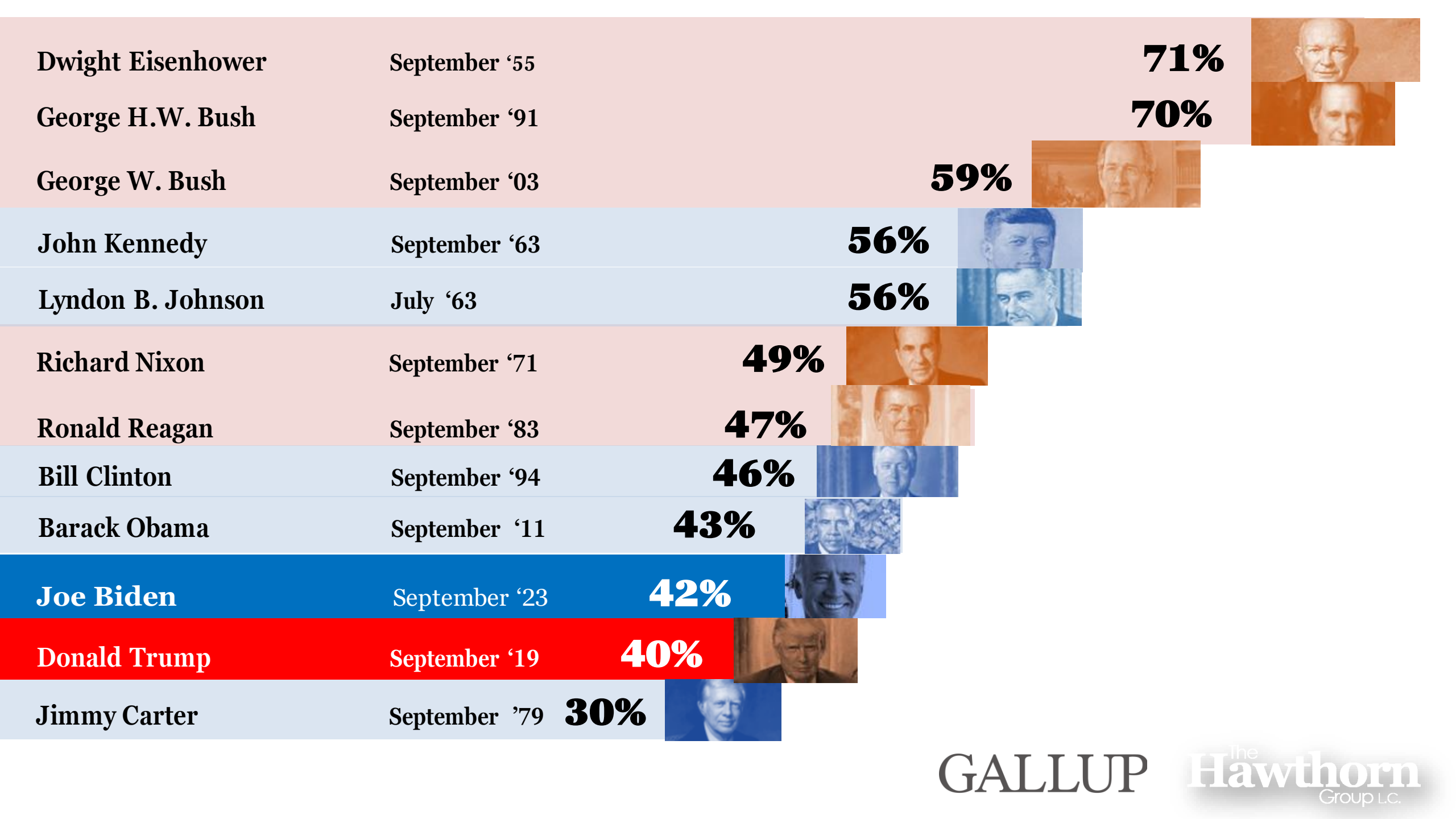


Source: RCP Average 7/12/23 – 8/29/23

# Biden Job Approval Since Inauguration

## Do Americans approve or disapprove of Joe Biden?





Dwight Eisenhower

September '55

71%

George H.W. Bush

September '91

70%

George W. Bush

September '03

59%

John Kennedy

September '63

56%

Lyndon B. Johnson

July '63

56%

Richard Nixon

September '71

49%

Ronald Reagan

September '83

47%

Bill Clinton

September '94

46%

Barack Obama

September '11

43%

Joe Biden

September '23

42%

Donald Trump

September '19

40%

Jimmy Carter

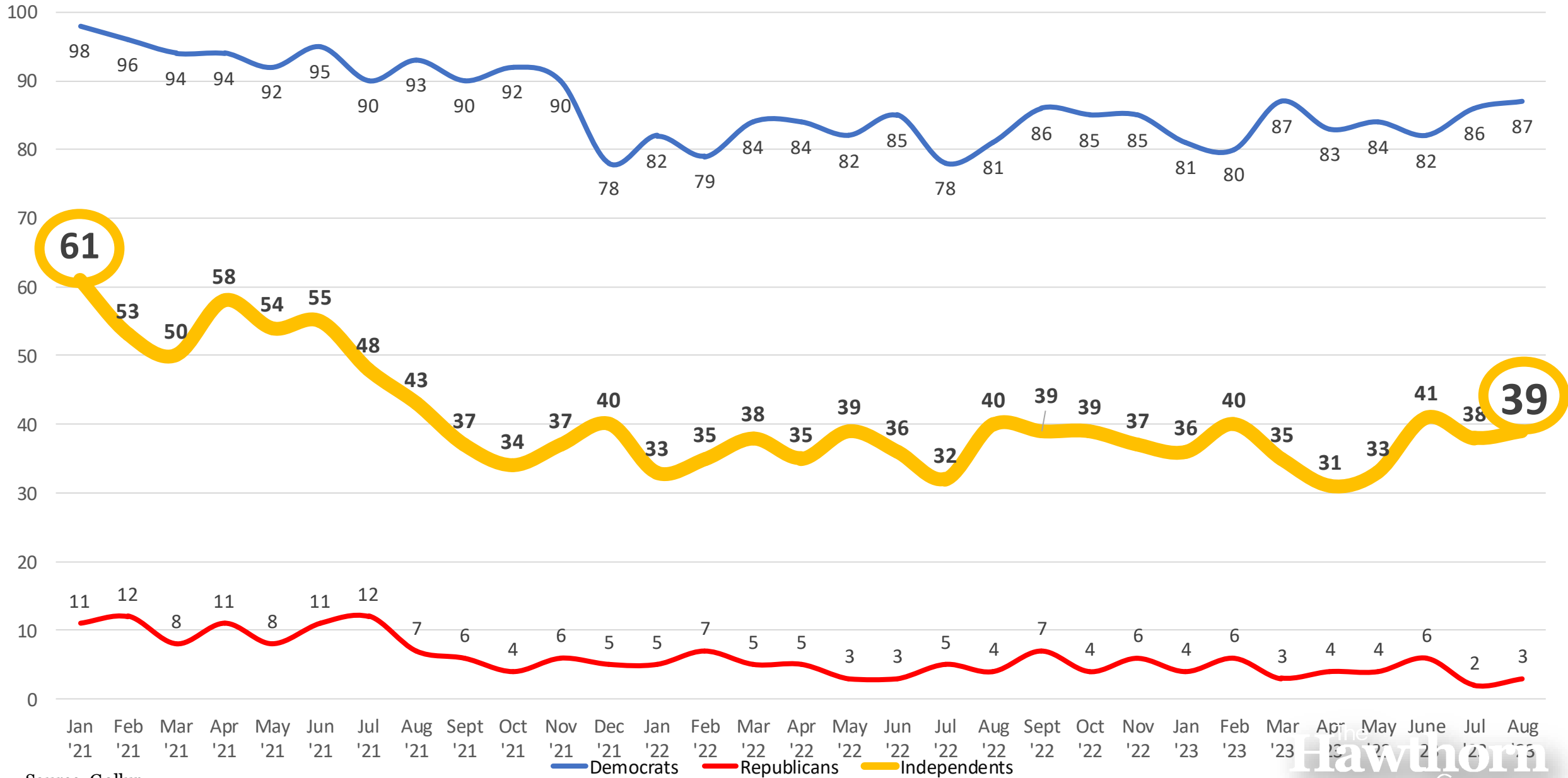
September '79

30%

GALLUP

The Hawthorn Group L.C.

# Biden Approval Since Inauguration by Party ID



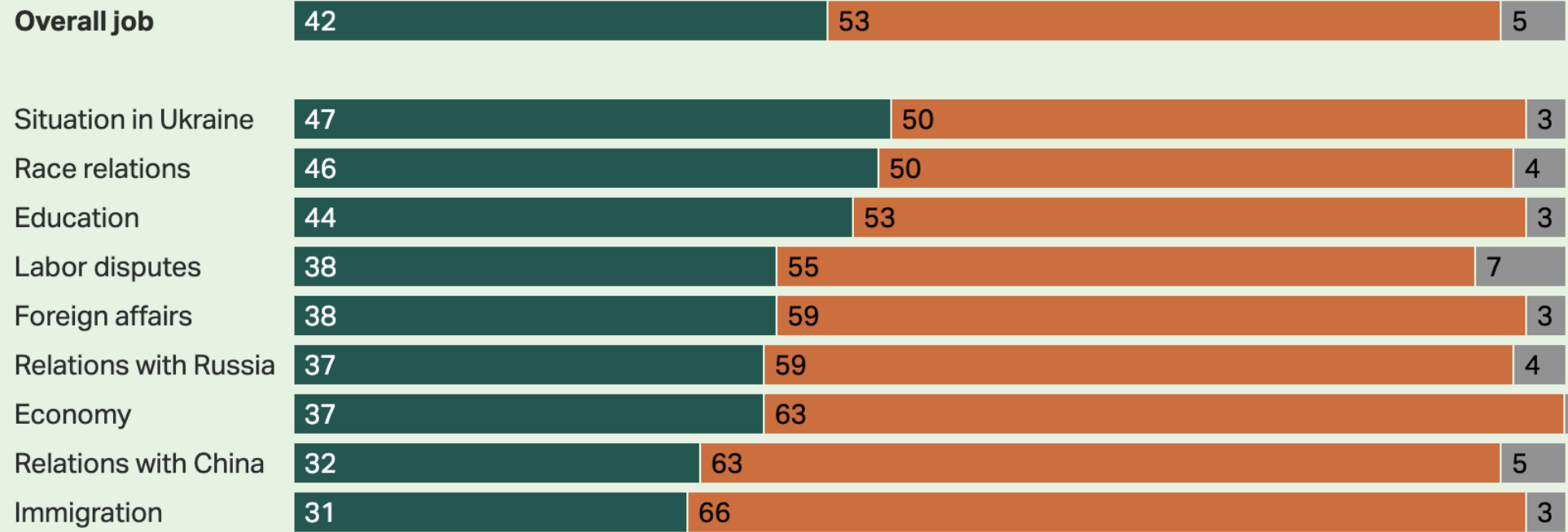
Source: Gallup

# Biden Job Approval By Issue

## President Joe Biden's Job Approval Ratings, Among U.S. Adults

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling each?

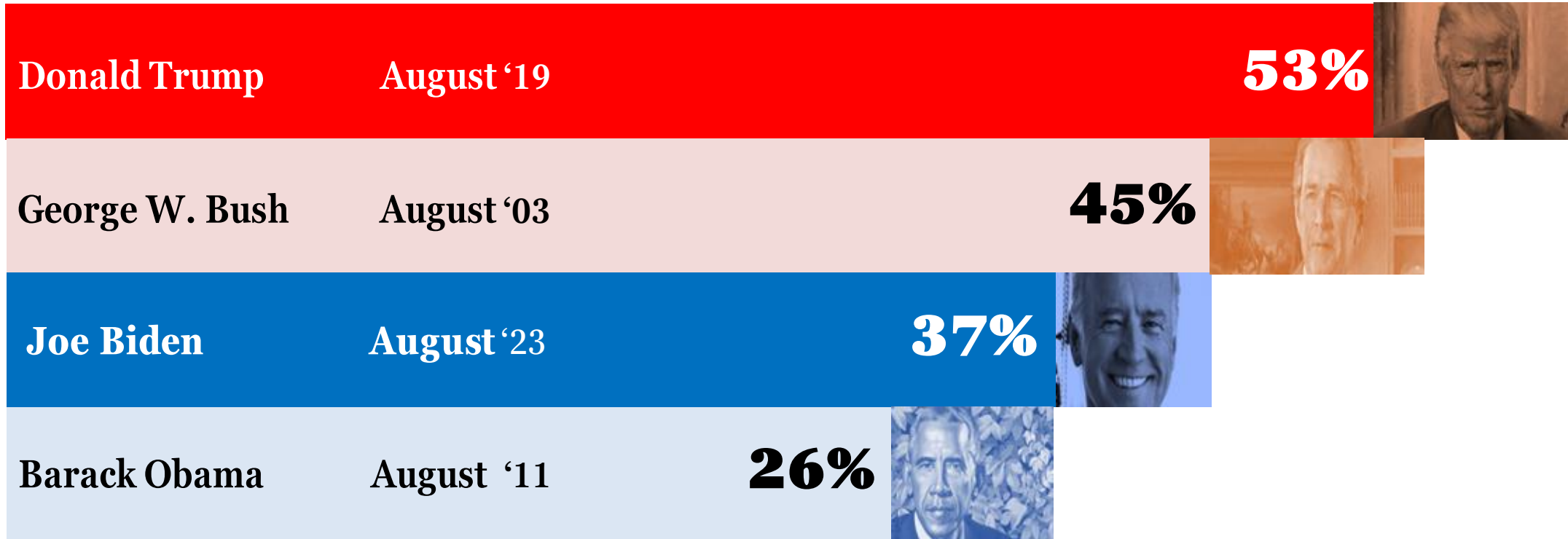
■ % Approve ■ % Disapprove ■ % No opinion



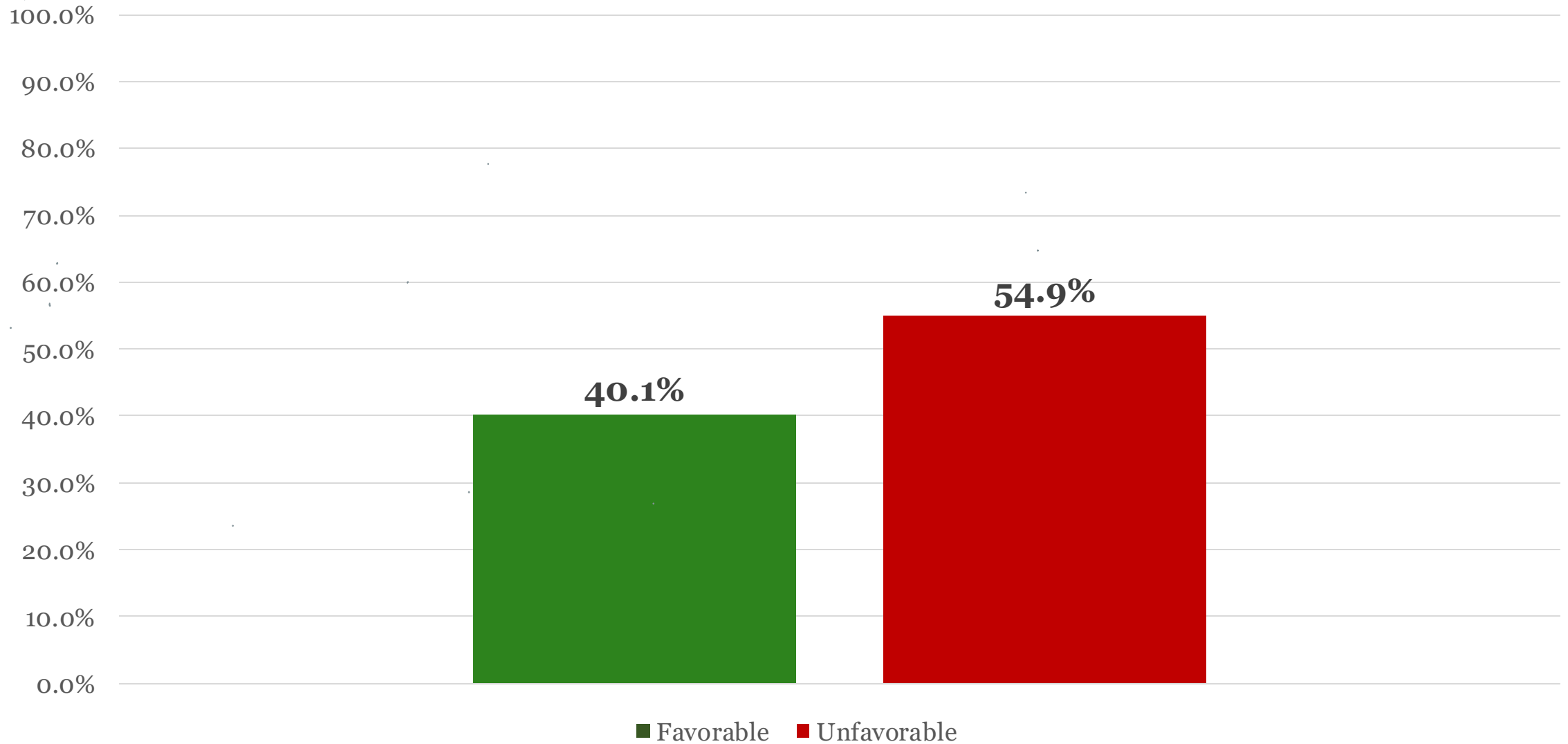
Aug. 1-23, 2023



# Approval Ratings on the Economy

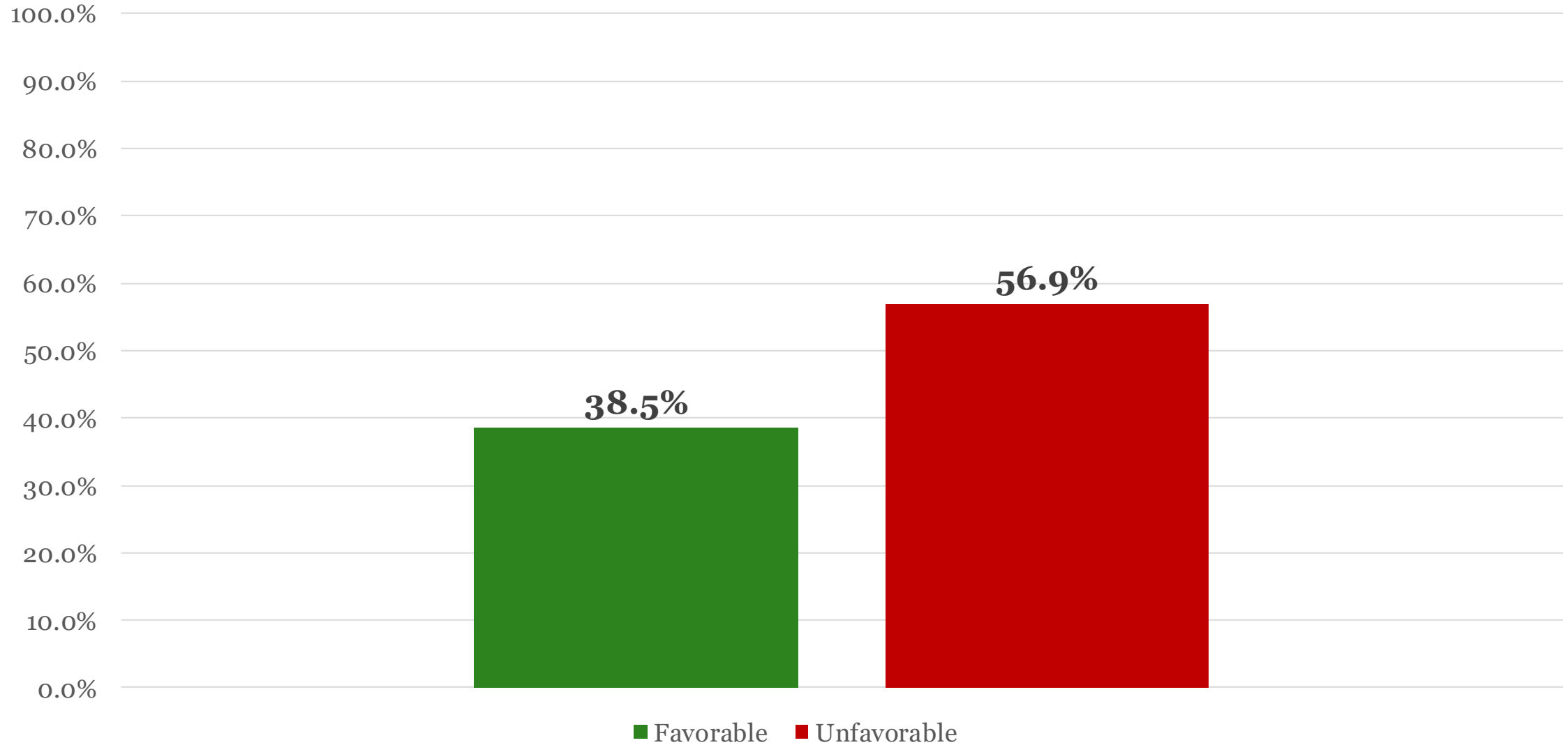


# Biden Personal Favorability



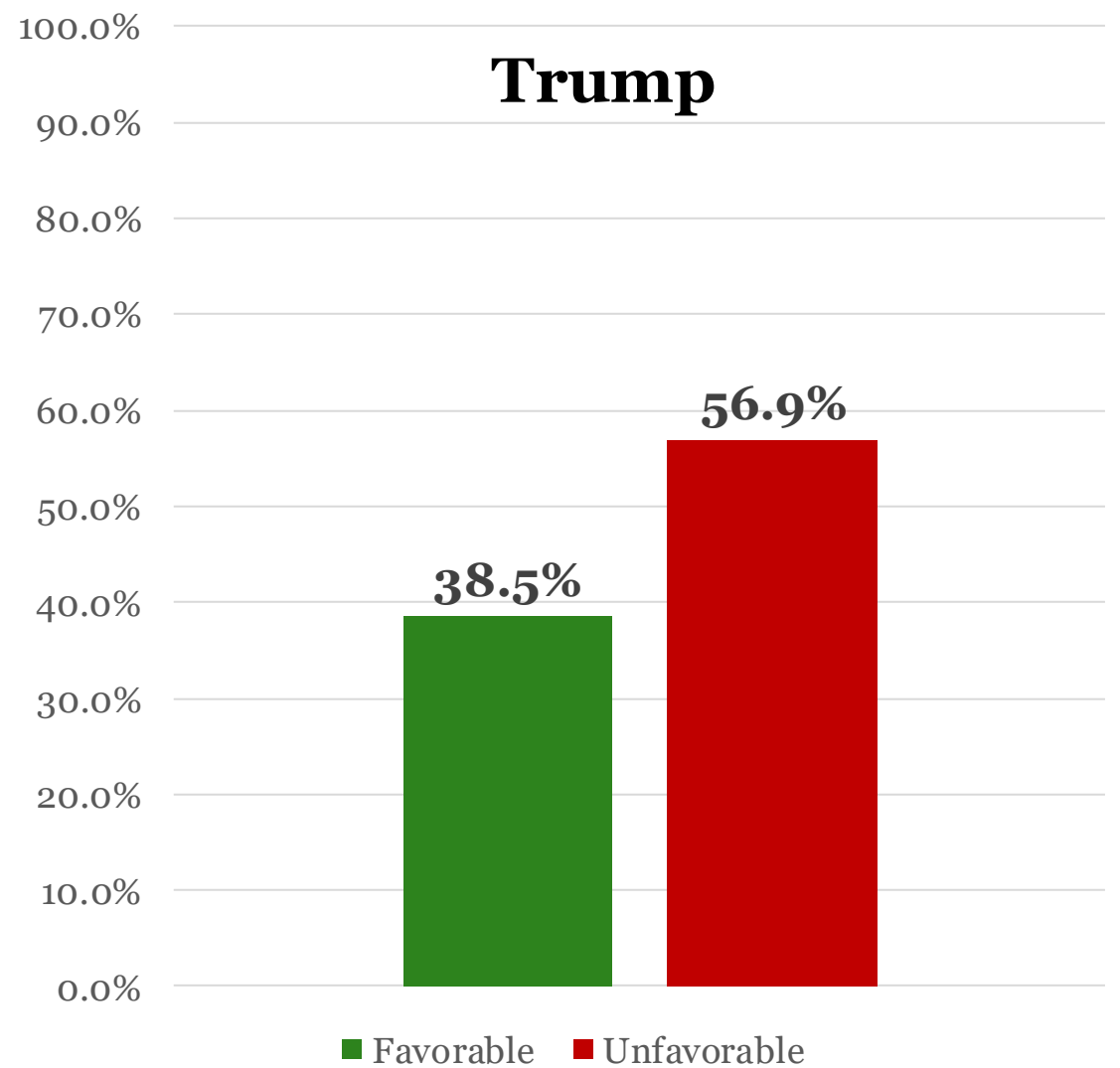
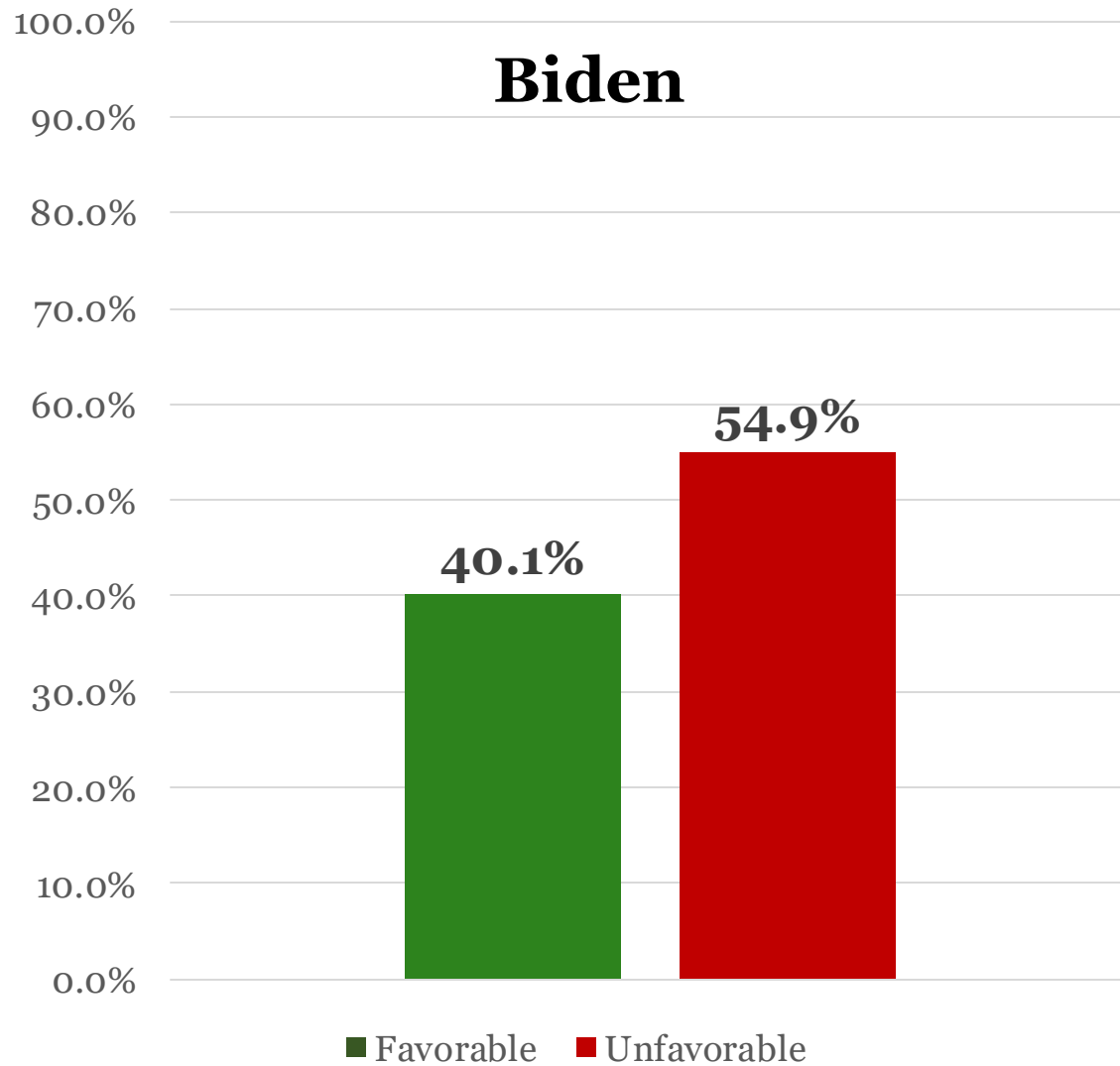
Source: RCP Average 6/13/23 - 8/29/23

# Trump Personal Favorability



Source: RCP Average 6/13/23 - 8/29/23

# Biden vs Trump Personal Favorability



**Biden Vs. Trump – Biden +0.7**

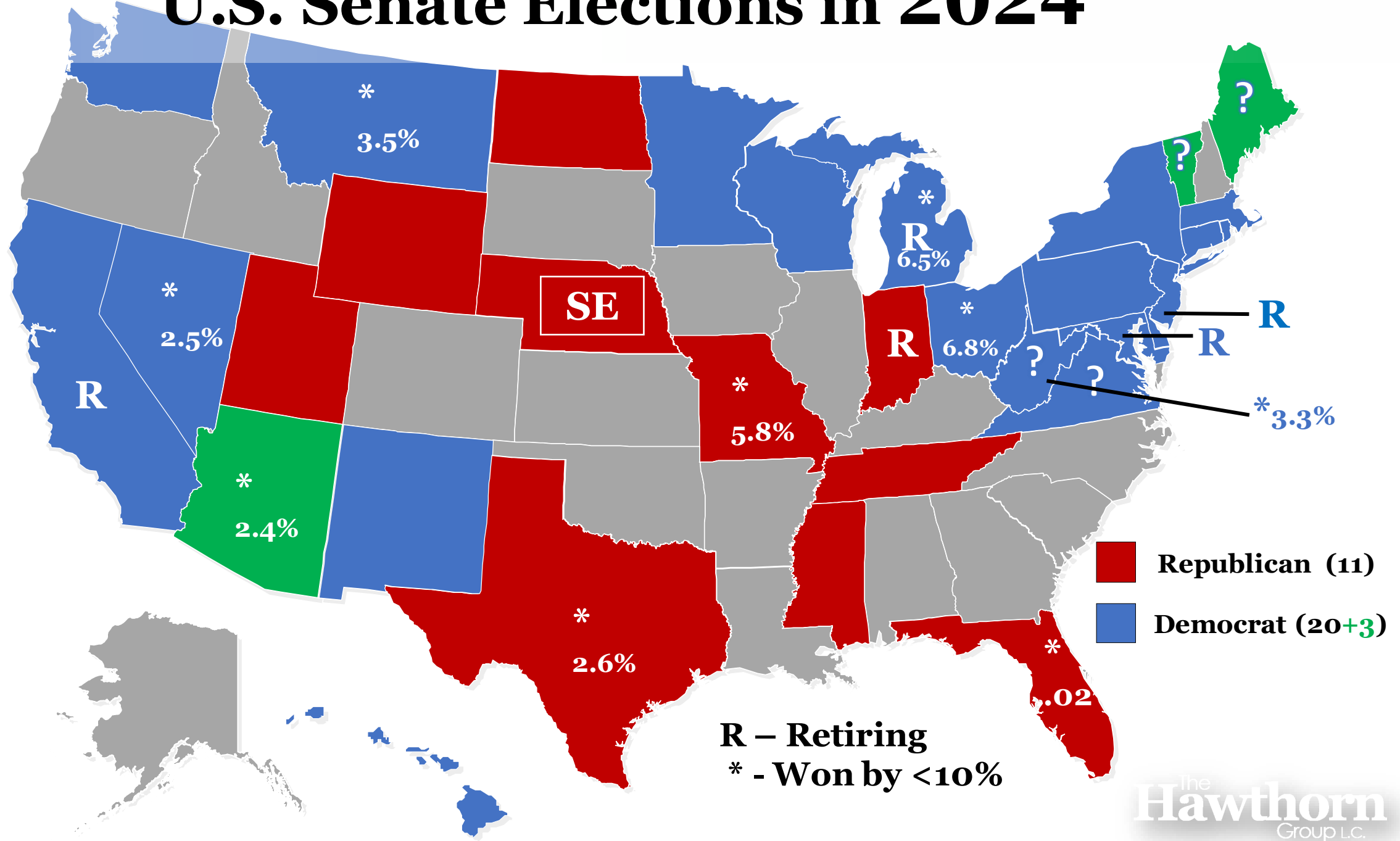
**44.7%**

**44.0%**





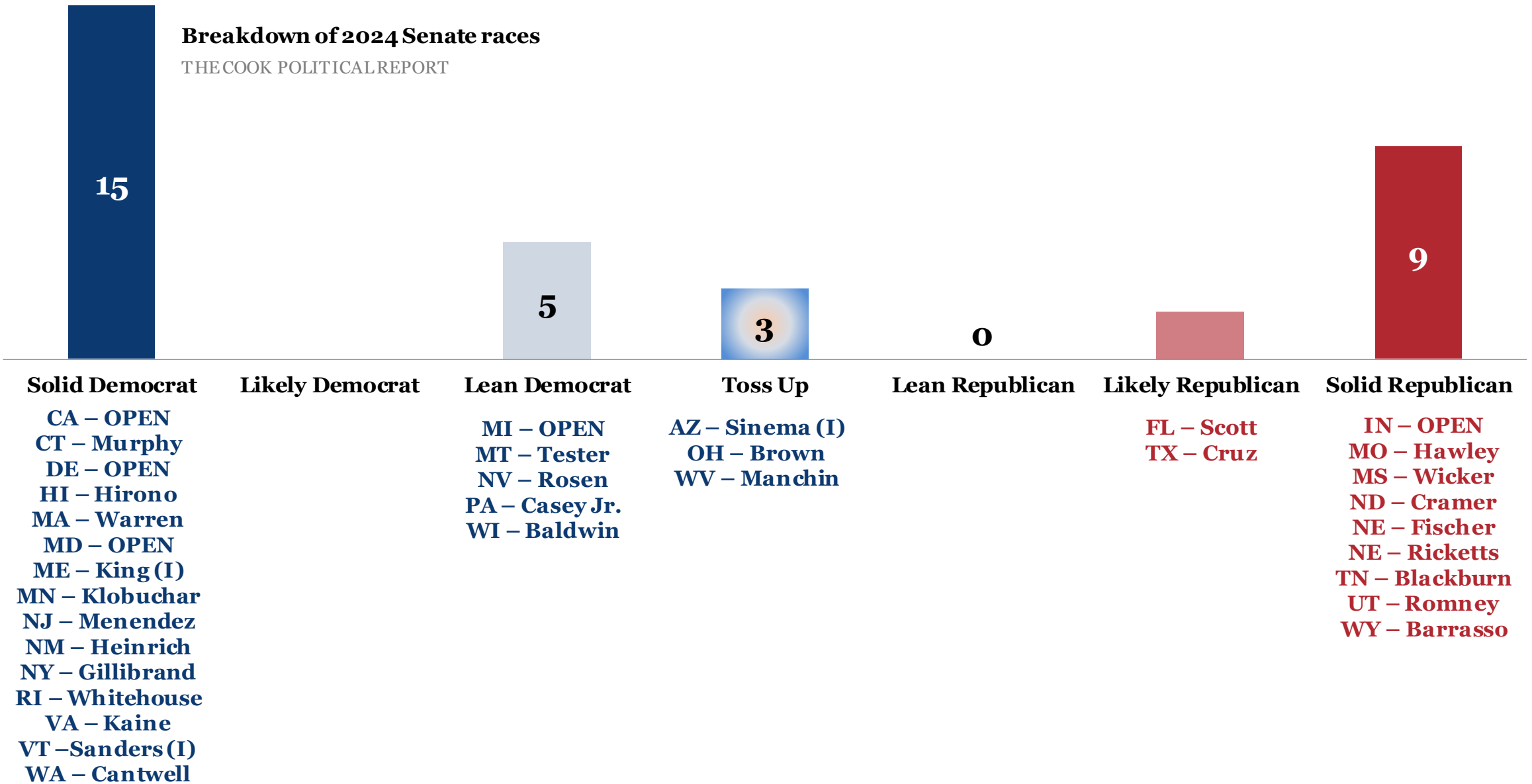
# U.S. Senate Elections in 2024



# Senate Races – Charlie Cook’s Predictions

## Breakdown of 2024 Senate races

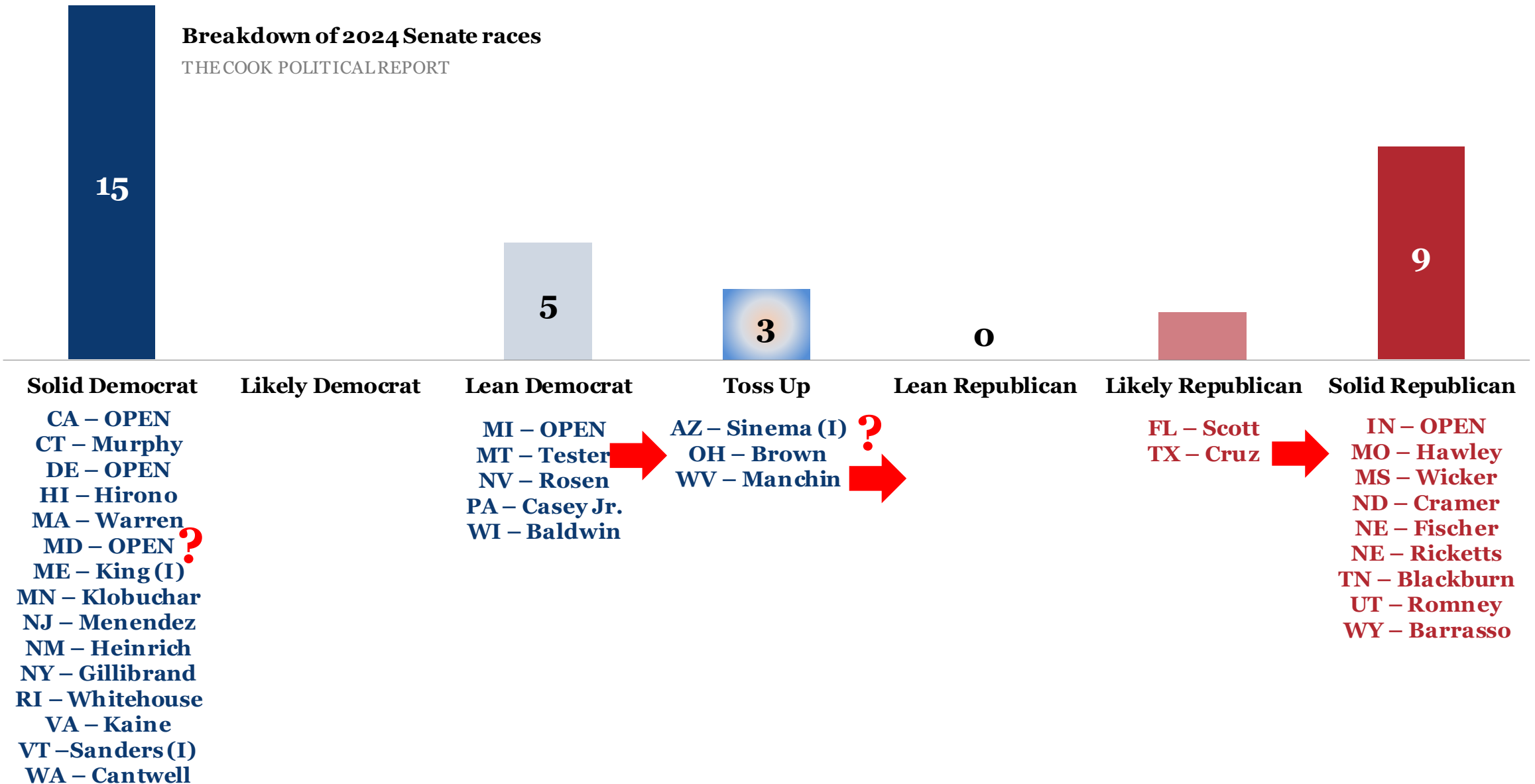
THE COOK POLITICAL REPORT



# Senate Races – Charlie Cook’s Predictions

## Breakdown of 2024 Senate races

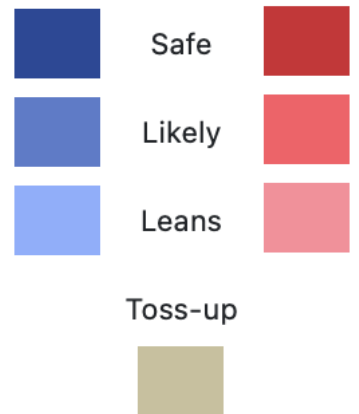
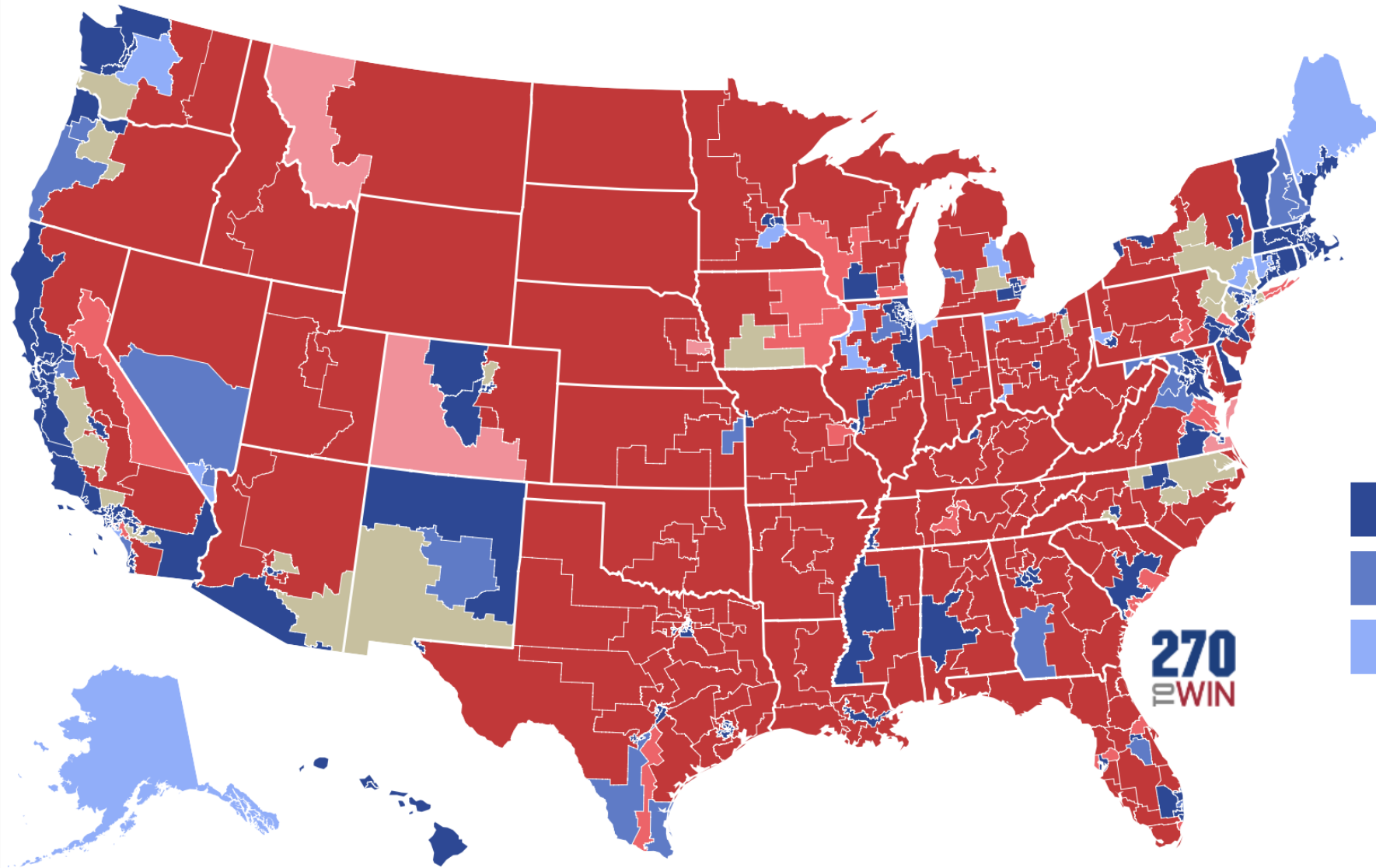
THE COOK POLITICAL REPORT



# U.S. House Elections in 2024

Democrats 202

208 Republicans



Map Updated: Jul. 21, 2023 at 11:06 UTC (7:06 AM EDT)

# Generic Ballot Preference – 2024 Congressional: GOP +0.5

43.5%



44.0%





# Final Generic Ballot Preference – 2022 Congressional: GOP +2.5

45.5%



48.0%



**2022 Congressional Actual: GOP +4.6**

**46.6%**



**51.3%**



# House Races – Cook Report Predictions

Democrat-held seat

Republican-held seat

Open seat – 3 open competitive seats

\* *Italicized name denotes Freshman member.*

**17 Dem, 1 GOP**

AL-02 Moore  
CA-09 Harder  
CA-49 Levin  
FL-09 Soto  
FL-23 Moskowitz  
KS-03 Davids  
MD-06 Open (Trone)  
MI-03 Scholten  
MI-08 Kildee  
MN-02 Craig  
NH-01 Pappas  
NH-02 Kuster  
NV-01 Titus  
NV-04 Horsford  
OR-04 Hoyle  
TX-28 Cuellar  
VA-07 Spanberger  
WA-08 Schrier

Likely Democrat

**14 Dem, 1 GOP**

AK-AL Peltola  
CA-47 Open (Porter)  
CT-05 Hayes  
IL-17 Sorensen  
IN-01 Mrvan  
ME-02 Golden  
NC-01 Davis  
NV-03 Lee  
NY-03 Santos  
NY-18 Ryan  
OH-01 Landsman  
OH-09 Kaptur  
OR-06 Salinas  
PA-17 Deluzio  
TX-34 Gonzalez

Lean Democrat

**10 Dem, 13 GOP**

CO-08 Caraveo  
MI-07 Open (Slotkin)  
NC-06 Manning  
NC-13 Nickel  
NC-14 Jackson  
NM-02 Vasquez  
OH-13 Sykes  
PA-07 Wild  
PA-08 Cartwright  
WA-03 Perez  
AZ-01 Schweikert  
AZ-06 Ciscomani  
CA-13 Duarte  
CA-27 Garcia  
CA-41 Calvert  
CO-03 Boebert  
LA-05 Letlow  
NJ-07 Kean Jr.  
NY-04 D'Esposito  
NY-17 Lawler  
NY-19 Molinaro  
NY-22 Williams  
OR-05 Chavez-DeRemer

TossUp

**0 Dem, 6 GOP**

CA-22 Valadao  
CA-45 Steel  
IA-03 Nunn  
MI-10 James  
NE-02 Bacon  
VA-02 Kiggans

Lean Republican

**0 Dem, 12 GOP**

CA-03 Kiley  
CA-40 Kim  
FL-13 Luna  
IA-01 Miller-Meeks  
LA-06 Graves  
MT-01 Zinke  
NY-01 LaLota  
PA-01 Fitzpatrick  
PA-10 Perry  
SC-01 Mace  
TX-15 De La Cruz  
WI-03 Van Orden

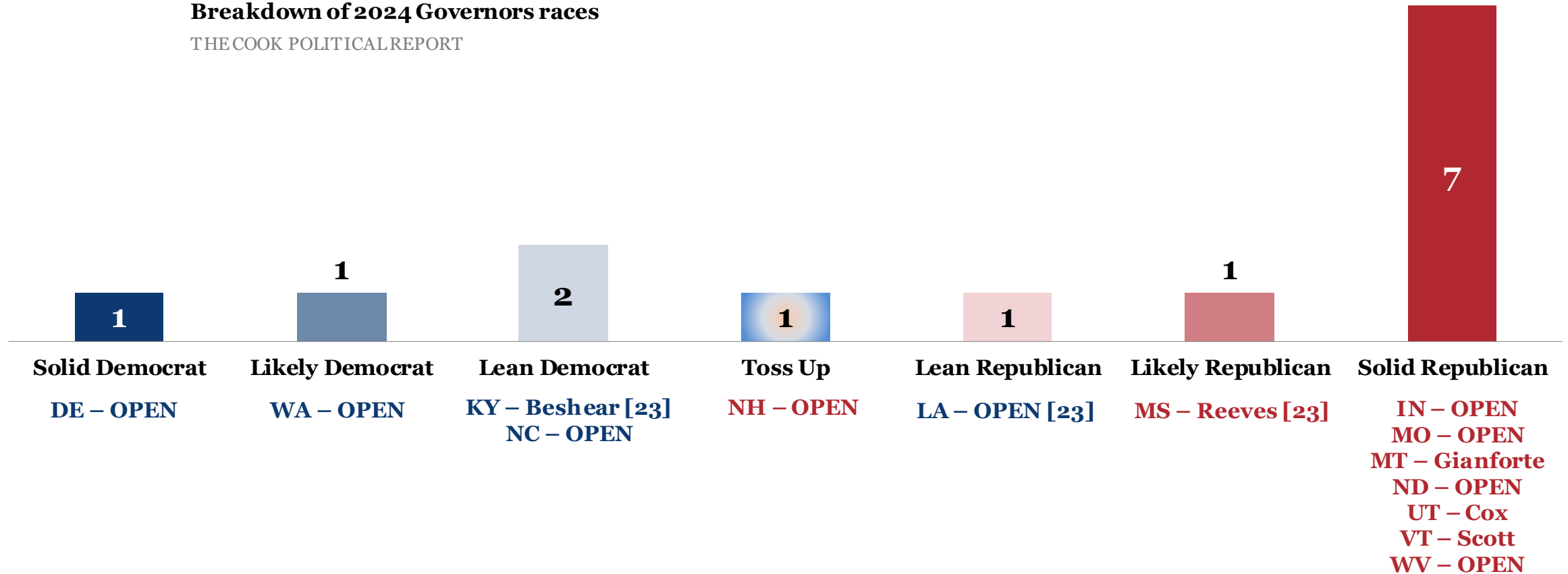
Likely Republican



# Governor's Races – Charlie Cook's Predictions

## Breakdown of 2024 Governors races

THE COOK POLITICAL REPORT

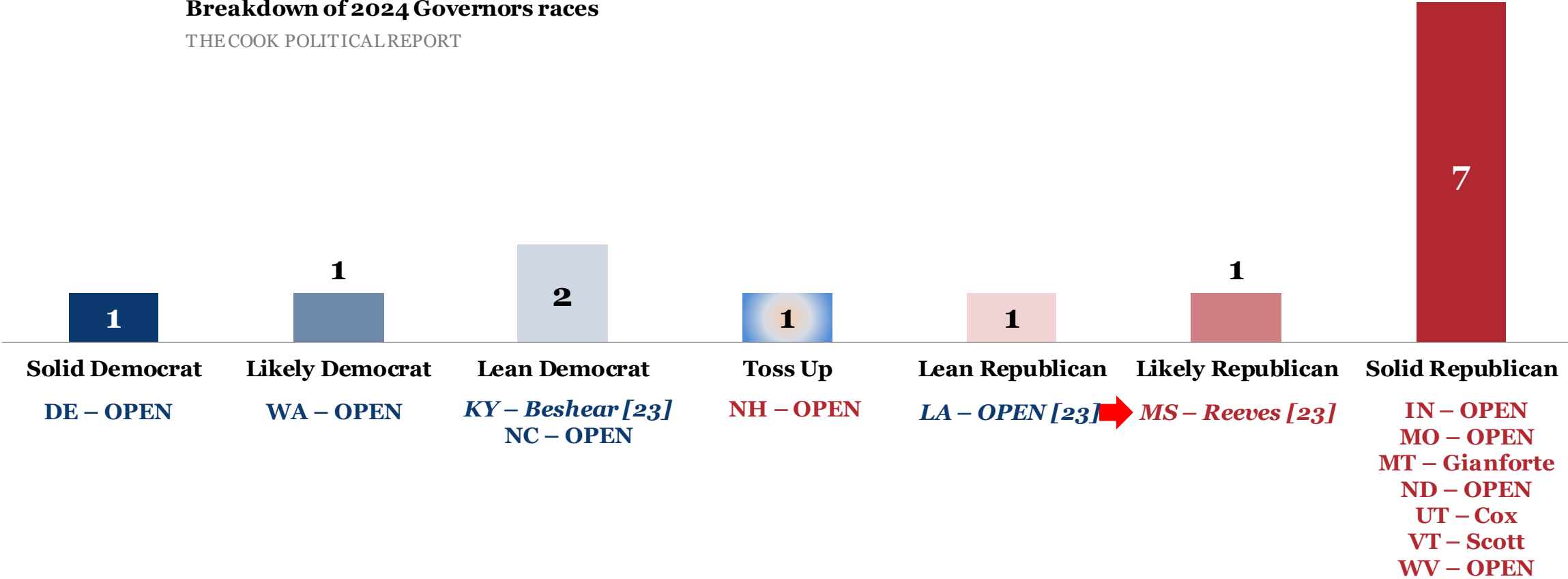




# '23 and '24 Governor's Races – Charlie Cook's Predictions

## Breakdown of 2024 Governors races

THE COOK POLITICAL REPORT



## Hawthorn's 9/15/23 Predictions

---

**Trump vs. Biden, with slight edge to Trump**

**Senate, edge to GOP**

**House, edge to GOP**

**Governors, at least one GOP pickup**

The background features a stylized, abstract representation of the American flag. It consists of flowing, overlapping bands of blue, white, and red, interspersed with numerous white stars of varying sizes and opacities. The overall effect is dynamic and patriotic.

# **V. What it Means**



# **What It Means**

## **Parties are Dysfunctional**

- **Republicans are hostage to Trump**
- **Democrats are not *organized political party***

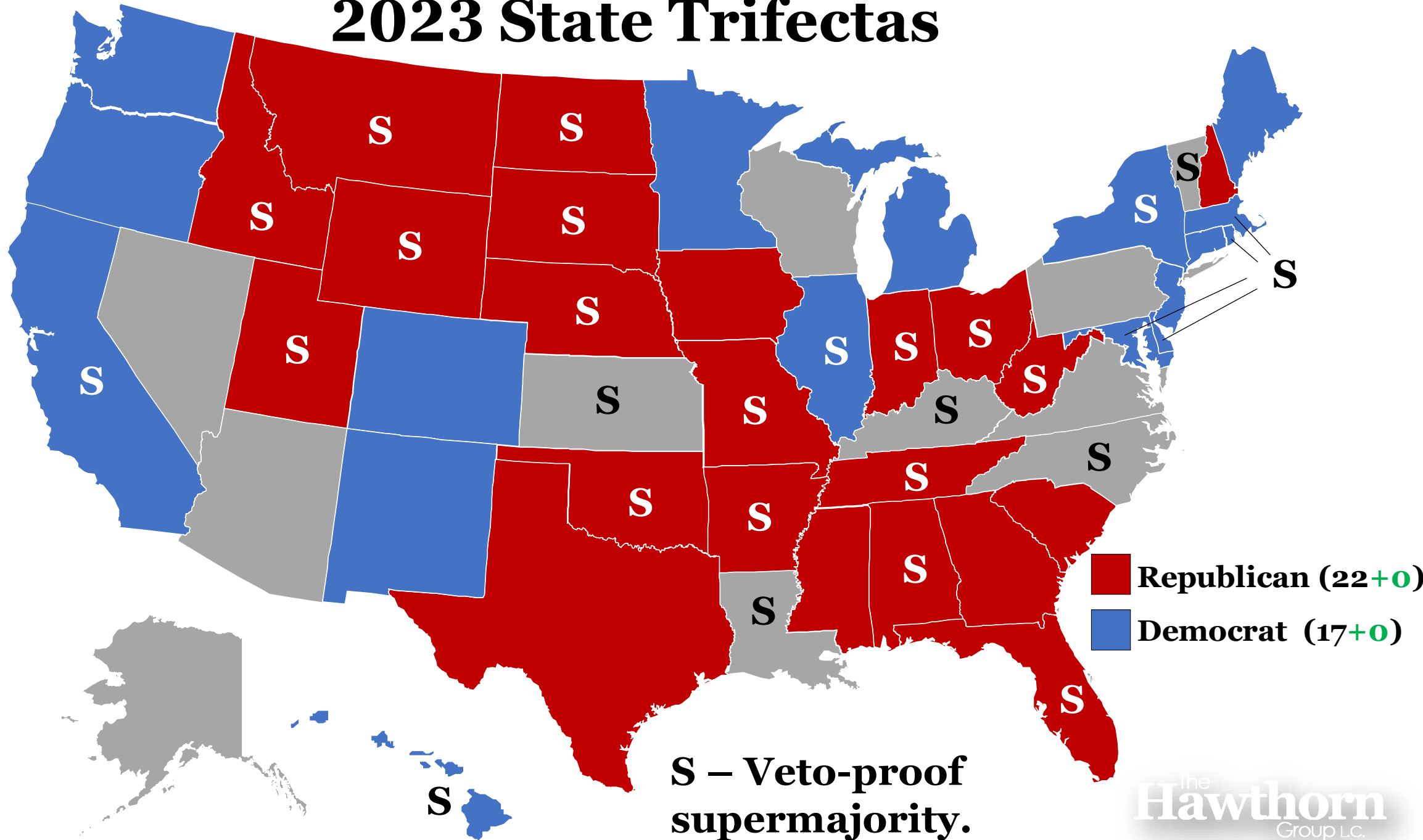
# What It Means



## Electorate:

- **Deeply divided**

# 2023 State Trifectas







# **What It Means**

## **Electorate:**

- **Deeply divided**
- **Highly volatile**
- **Increasingly ungovernable**

**All government policies/programs are at risk**

The background features a stylized American flag with blue, white, and red wavy stripes and stars. The stars are in various shades of blue and white, and the stripes are in shades of blue and red. The overall effect is a dynamic, flowing representation of the flag.

# **V. Show and Tell**

A close-up photograph of Joe Biden smiling broadly. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt, and a dark bow tie. The background is a dimly lit room with other people and candelabras, suggesting a formal event or gala.

**"BIDEN FAMILY, HUNTER ASSOCIATES  
RAKED IN OVER \$17M FROM FOREIGN SOURCES"**

*FOX NEWS, 7/19/23*





JUSTICE  
BACKED BIDEN'S  
SPENDING SPREE

MetroNews, 11/8/21



The background features a stylized American flag with blue, white, and red wavy stripes and stars, set against a white background. The stripes are composed of multiple thin, overlapping lines, creating a sense of motion and depth. The stars are also stylized, appearing as white and light blue shapes scattered across the blue and red areas.

# Discussion



A large American flag is shown on the left side of the image, waving and partially covering the text. The flag features the stars and stripes of the United States flag.

**A Visit With  
The Hawthorn Group  
on  
The 2023/2024  
Election Scene**

**MANUFACTURE  
ALABAMA**

**September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2023**

# Aging Leaders

- **76% of Americans Support Mandatory Mental-Competency Tests for Politicians Over 75**
- **76% support a maximum age for the President, 73% for senators, 72% for Members of Congress**







# **2023 Ballot Issues**

**In 2023, 41 statewide ballot measures are/were certified for the ballot in eight states.**

- **Oklahoma:**
  - **Marijuana Legalization failed in March**
- **Ohio:**
  - **60% Voter Requirement to Approve Constitutional Amendments failed in August**
  - **Right to Abortion Amendment on ballot in November**
- **Maine:**
  - **Pine Tree Power Initiative on ballot in November**

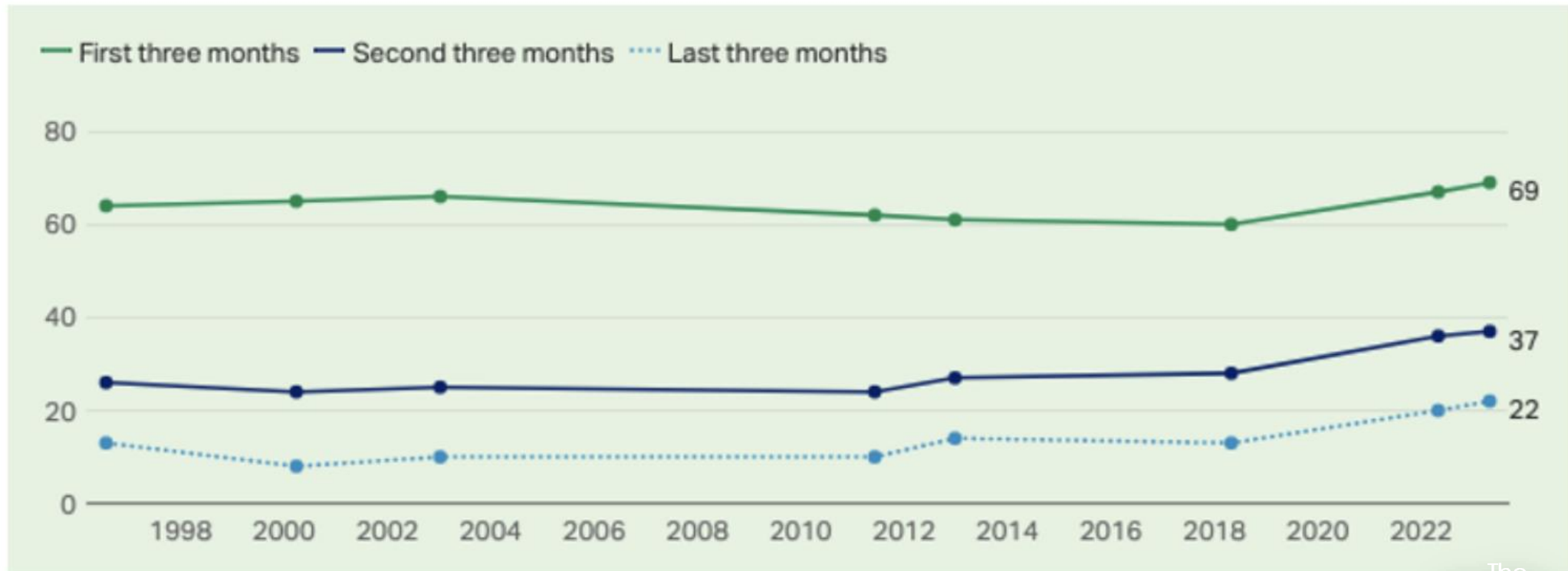


# Abortion

## Americans' support for abortion by state of pregnancy

Do you think abortion should generally be legal or generally illegal during each of the following stages of pregnancy?

% Should be legal



Source: Gallup, 6/14/23



## What It Means – Quote #1

***“I would remind you that  
extremism in the defense of liberty is not vice.  
And let me remind you that  
moderation in the pursuit of justice is not virtue.”***

Barry M. Goldwater, 1964  
(1909 - 1998)





## What It Means – Quote #2

***“There’s nothing in the middle of the road in Texas  
but a yellow line and dead armadillos.”***

James A. Hightower, 1998  
(1943 - )

# Virginia Legislature

**Primary Date:** June 20, 2023

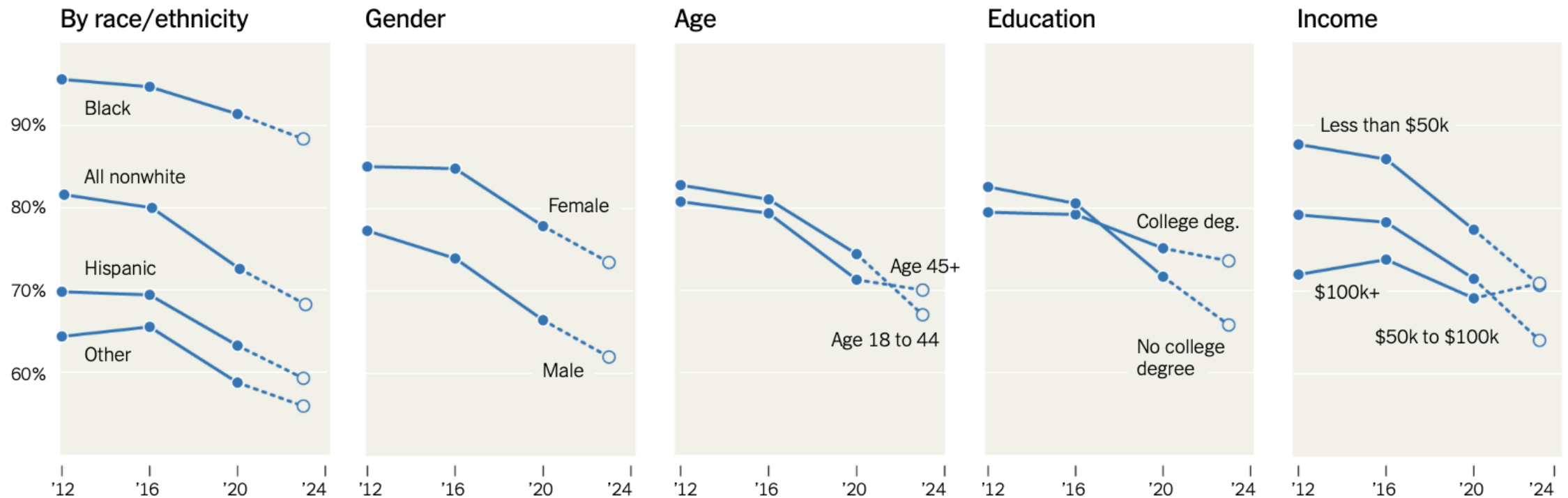
**General Election:** November 7, 2023

- Latest Poll [VCU : 804A July 14-25, 2023]

- **Republican Control of the House of Delegates** 47%
- **Democratic Control of the House of Delegates** 41%
- **Undecided** 12%
  
- **Democratic Control of State Senate** 44%
- **Republican Control of State Senate** 44%
- **Undecided** 12%

# Non-White Enthusiasm for Biden

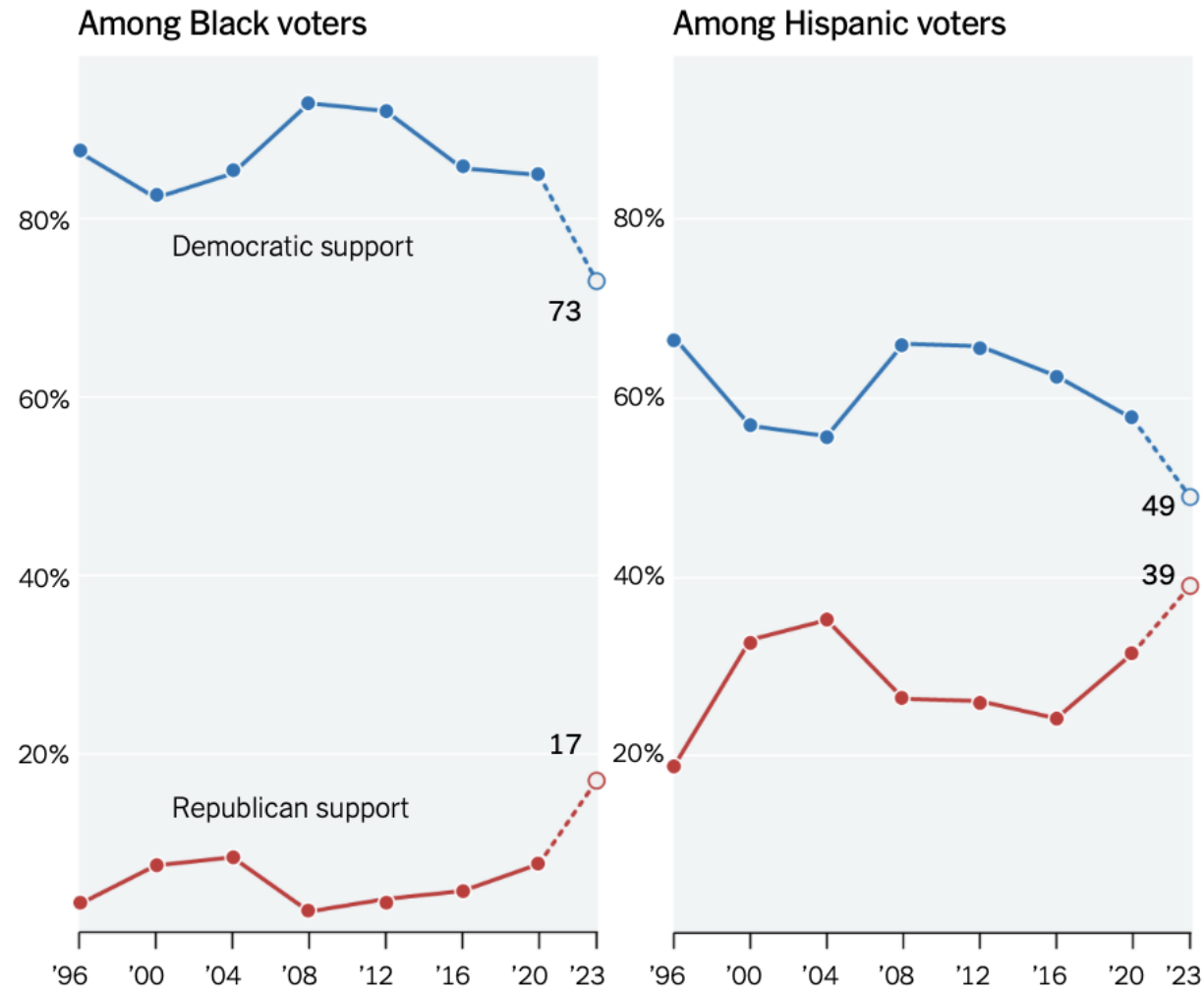
## Democratic share of major party vote among nonwhite voters



Charts show Democratic share of major party vote. Estimates for 2012-2020 are based on pre-election polls archived at the Roper Center and data from the Census Bureau, adjusted to match the final results. Data for 2024 is based on Times/Siena poll respondents who voted in either 2020 or 2022, with voters who are undecided in 2024 allocated based on their self-reported vote choice in the 2020 presidential election.

# Non-White Enthusiasm for Biden

Presidential vote choice in pre-election polls of registered voters



[https://twitter.com/bradj\\_TX/status/1694512114667294838?s=20](https://twitter.com/bradj_TX/status/1694512114667294838?s=20)

Ken Paxton Impeachment Ad

A photograph of Donald Trump in profile, facing left, wearing a dark suit and tie. He is surrounded by a large crowd of people, many of whom are also in suits and appear to be clapping or cheering. The background shows a white building with a staircase. The overall tone is celebratory.

TRUMP MADE US

**WEALTHIER**



**“Biden DOJ  
Discards the Law  
to Get Trump”**

National Review, 3/3/23



© 2020 Trump Media & Entertainment Group

*What if*  
**INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS ESCALATE**

BEAT  
BIDEN



DONATE NOW

About Blake

Events

Endorsements

Media

Store



# ***BLAKE MASTERS***

**FOR U.S. SENATE**

Full Name

Email

Join Team Blake







**“A Champion  
for a  
Woman’s  
Right to  
Choose”**

**WHITMER  
GILCHRIST**  
FOR MICHIGAN



**KEEP FLORIDA FREE**  
**TEXT**  
**FREEDOM**  
**TO 512345**





# TOP GOV



## DESANTIS

FIGHTING TO KEEP FLORIDA FREE



2022

FOR  
**DESANTIS**  
FLORIDA'S FREEDOM



# FLORIDA: AMERICA'S FREEDOM ZONE







George  
**BUSH**

**88**

*"A presidency can shape an era — and it can change our lives.  
A successful presidency can give meaning to an age."*

George Bush October 11, 1991





TEXT "JIM" TO 81614

# JOIN JIM LAMON FOR ARIZONA

Email \*

Zip \*

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**JOIN**

Enter your phone number above to join a recurring text messaging program. By participating, you agree to the [terms & privacy policy](#) for autodialed marketing messages from Lamon to the phone number you provide. No consent required to buy. Msg&data rates may apply.





**GARY**  
**CHAMBERS**  
**U.S. SENATE**  
DO GOOD. SEEK JUSTICE.



**DO GOOD.**

**SEEK JUSTICE.**

The struggle for a better, more just Louisiana will require all of us working to create change.



# ***KENNEDY***

*✦ U.S. SENATE ✦*

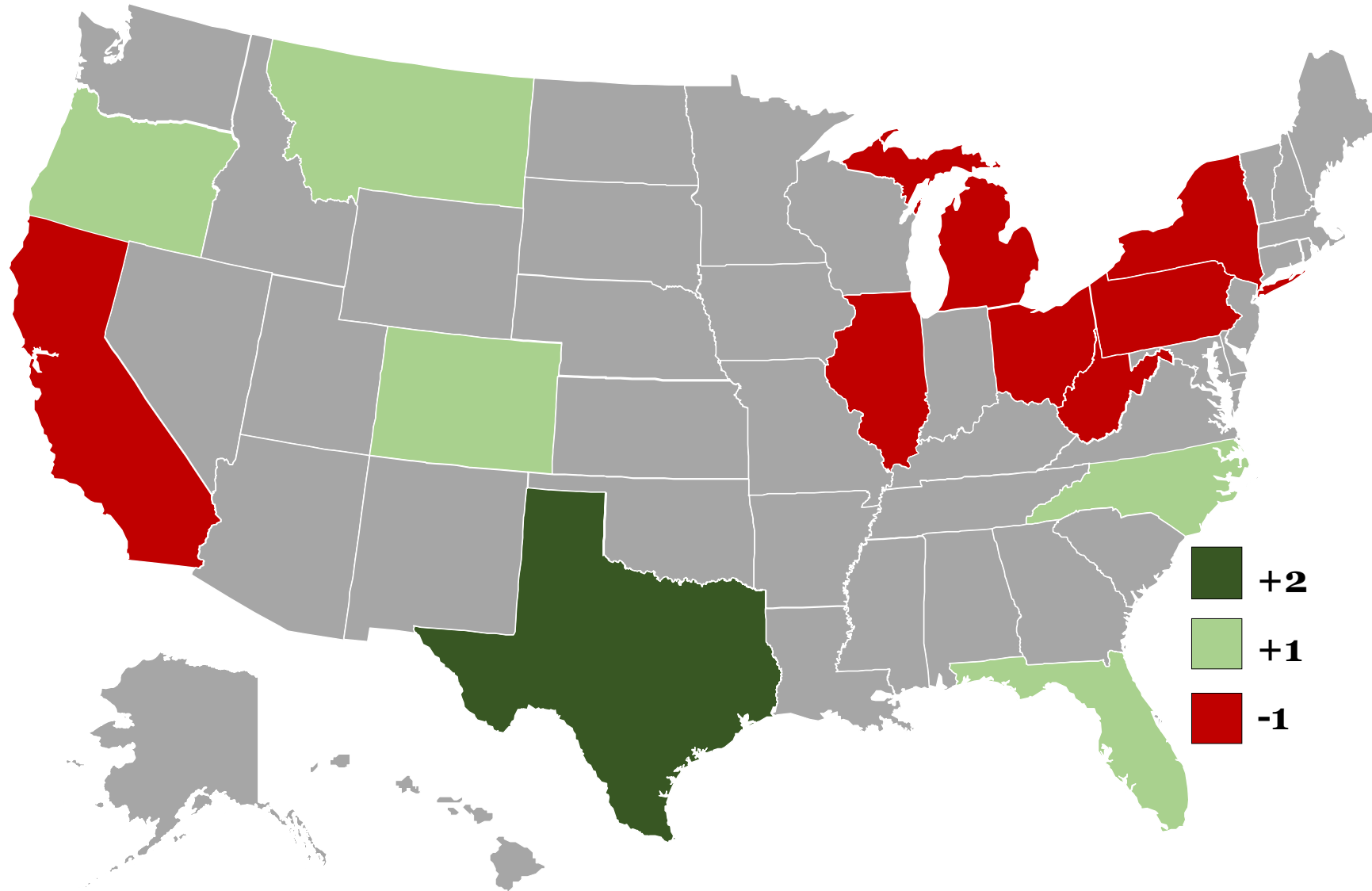
**Contact Us**

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**VOLUNTEER**



# 2020 Reapportionment Results







# Where Senate Candidates Outperformed Biden and Trump

Arrows show how much counties voted more Republican  or Democratic  in the 2022 Senate races than in the 2020 presidential election.





# What does a public affairs firm do?

- Public Affairs is the *strategic* management of an organization's relationships with stakeholders, including the government, media, communities, and the public.
- Companies like yours have issues with regulation, permitting, siting, legislation, etc. at the local, state, or federal level. Often involving input from the public--positive or negative.

**“Dig your well before you’re thirsty”**



# “Everything is politics” – Thomas Mann

- Our firm closely follow politics and the process because the outcomes impact **policy**.
- From the distance of setbacks in a county ordinance to the location of U.S. Space Command, decisions from elected officials impact business.
- Business decisions are ultimately determined by politics



**“If you’re not at the table, then you’re probably on the menu.”**

# Enhance Reputation and Credibility



- Long before a permit is filed or any request is made, your organization needs to be **trusted** by the public.
- Public affairs helps build and maintain a positive image.
- By engaging with stakeholders and addressing concerns early, organizations build trust and credibility.



# Influencing Policy and Regulation

- Engaging with policymakers and government officials allows organizations to influence legislation and regulations that impact their industry.
- Staying ahead of regulatory changes helps corporations adapt and minimize compliance risks.
- Firms like Hawthorn counsel clients on best ways to engage and always advise to do so **early** and **locally**.





# Managing Public Relations Challenges



- When a crisis hits, it's not a public affairs firm's first one
- By proactively addressing issues and responding to crises, organizations can protect their reputation and mitigate potential damage.
- Effective public affairs strategies can turn challenges into opportunities for growth and positive change.



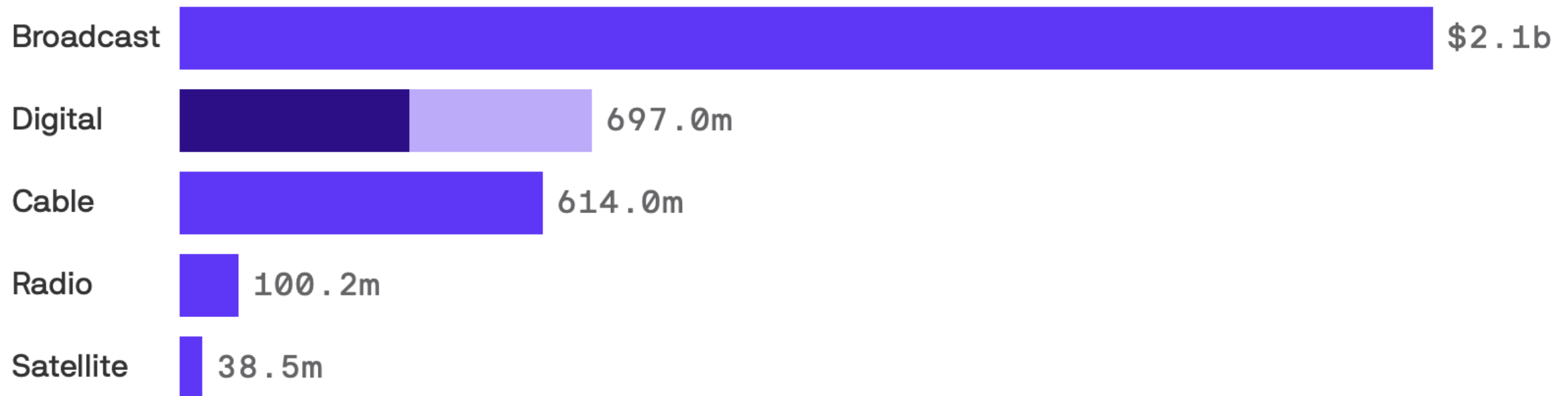
Now, on to the fun stuff...

# Political Advertising by Media Type

## Political ad spending in 2022, by media type

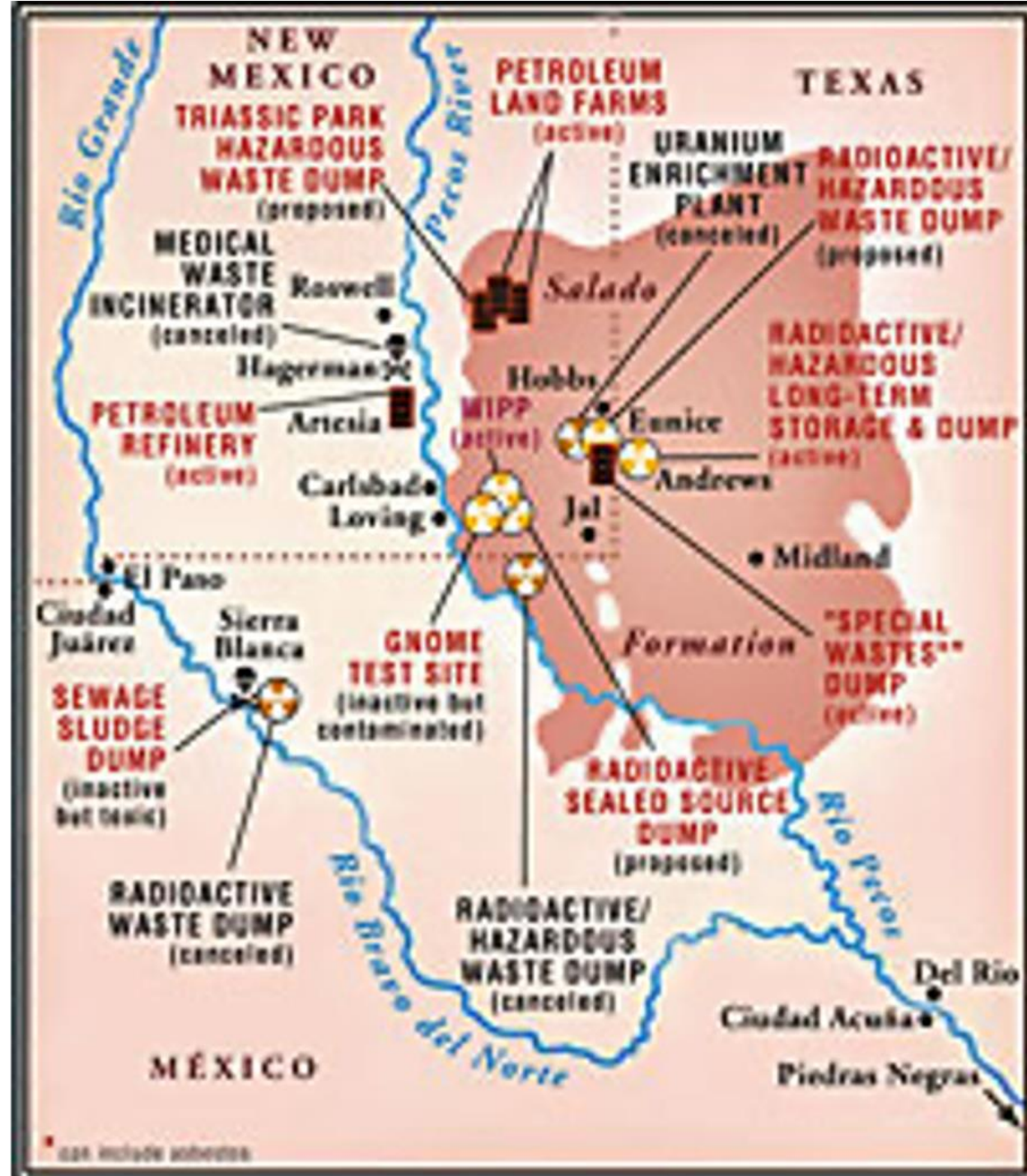
As of Aug. 1, 2022

Digital subgroups: ■ Google/Facebook (\$388m) ■ Connected TV (\$309m)



Data: AdImpact; Chart: Simran Parwani/Axios

# Citizens *for* Alternatives *to* Radioactive Dumping





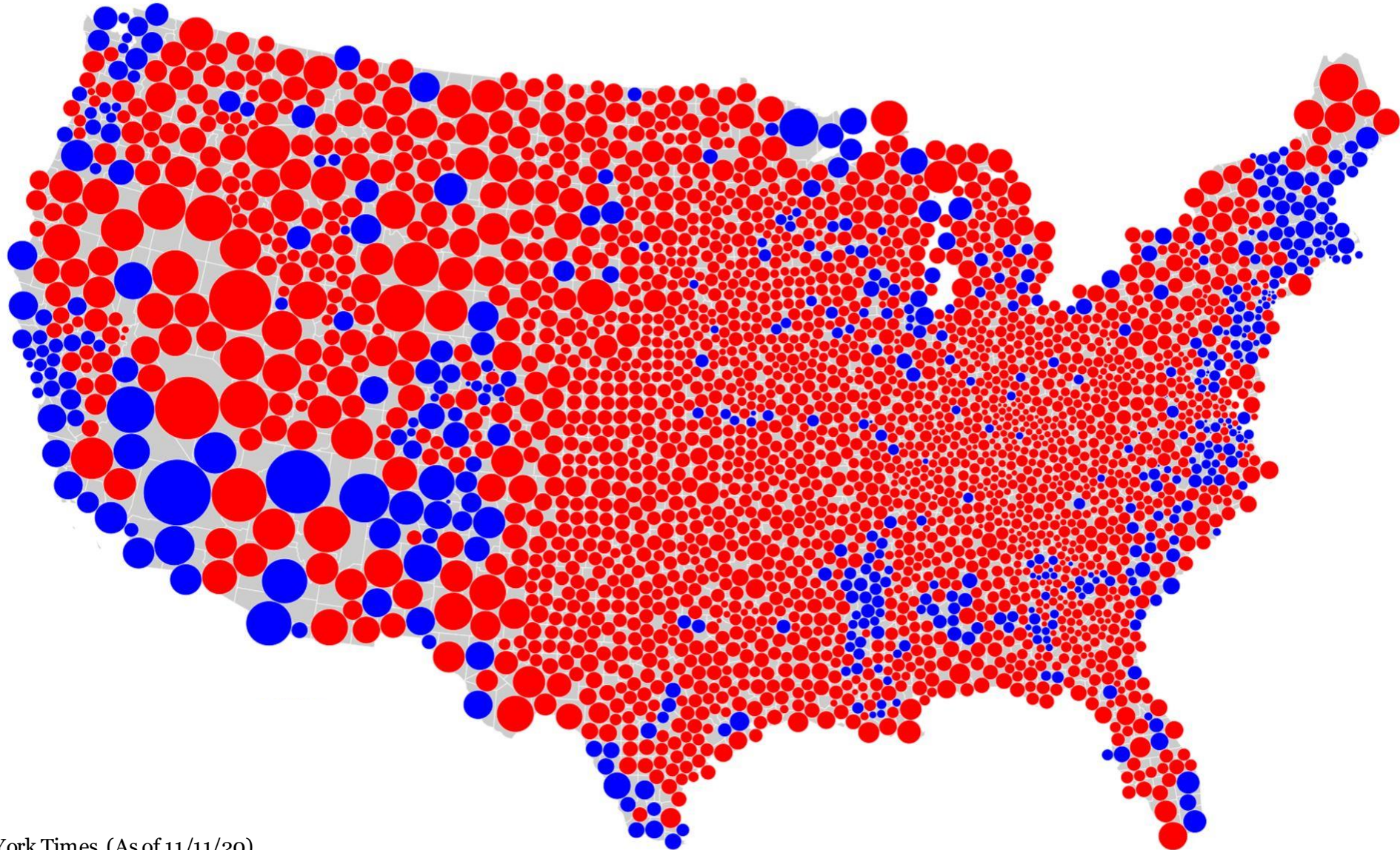
**REAGAN**  
**BUSH '84**

REAGAN  
BUSH '84





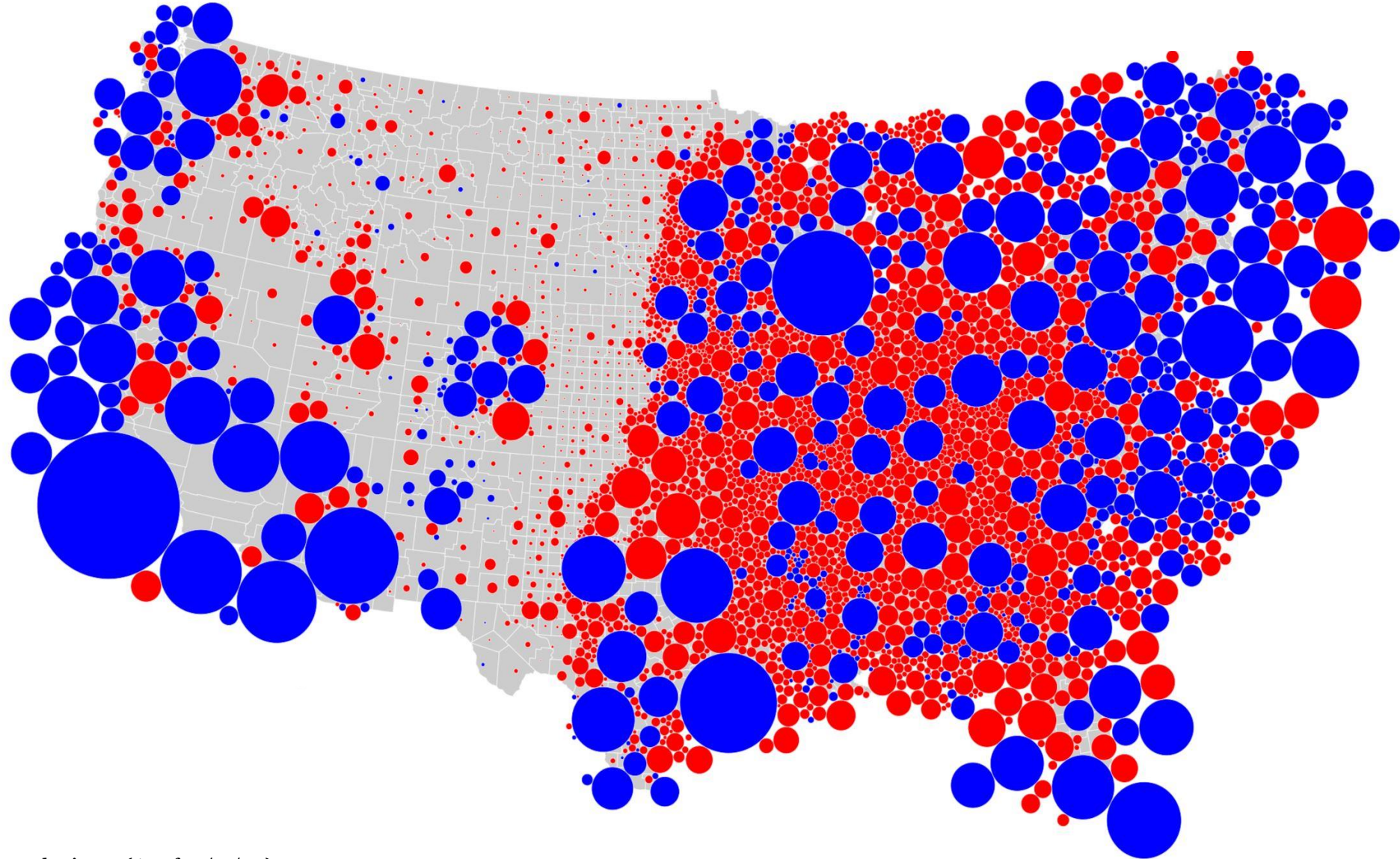
# Biden-Trump County Vote Comparisons – 2020 Land Area



Source: The New York Times (As of 11/11/20)



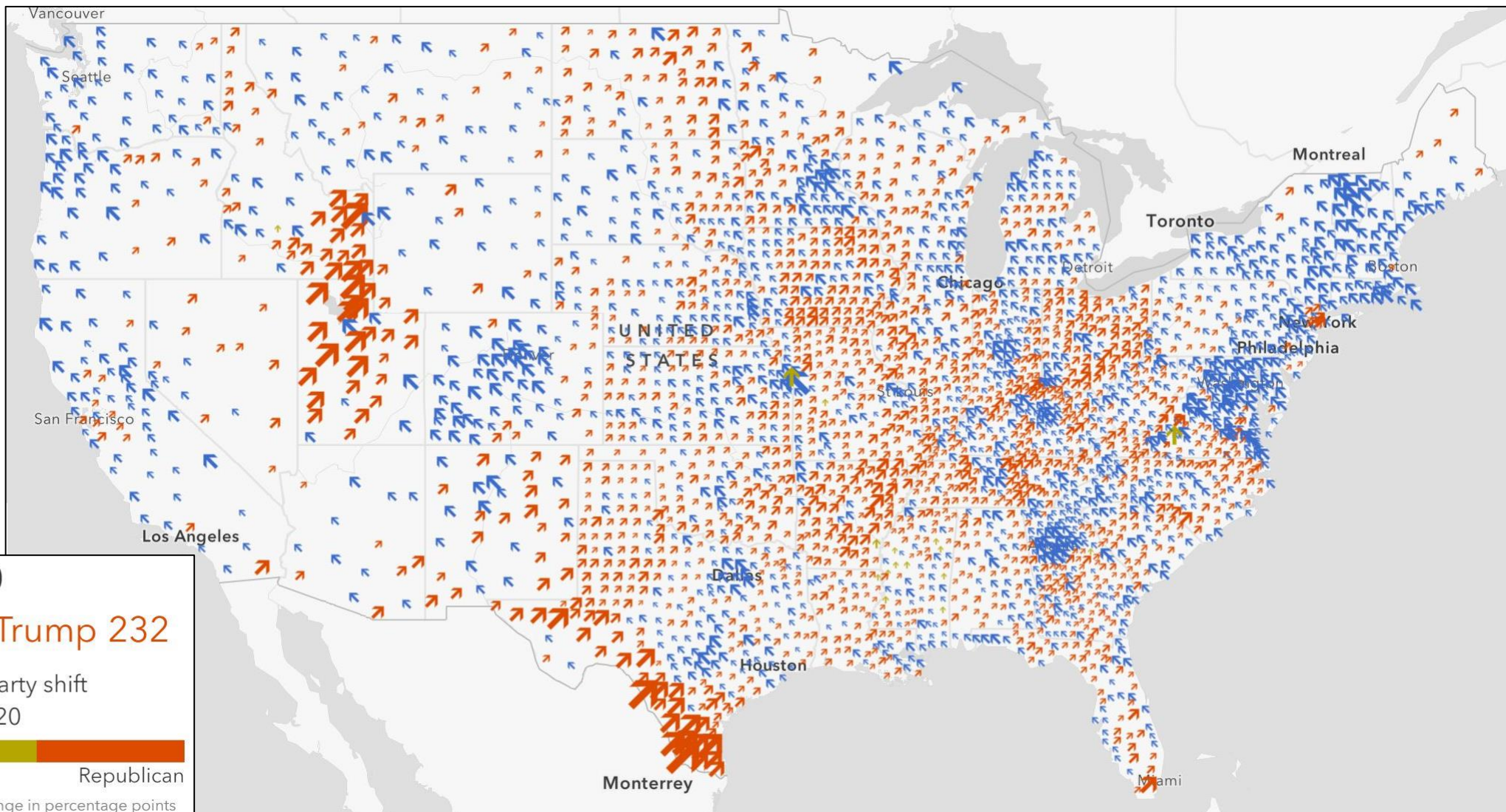
# Biden-Trump County Vote Comparisons – 2020 Population



Source: The New York Times (As of 11/11/20)



# The Winds of Change – 2016 to 2020



2020

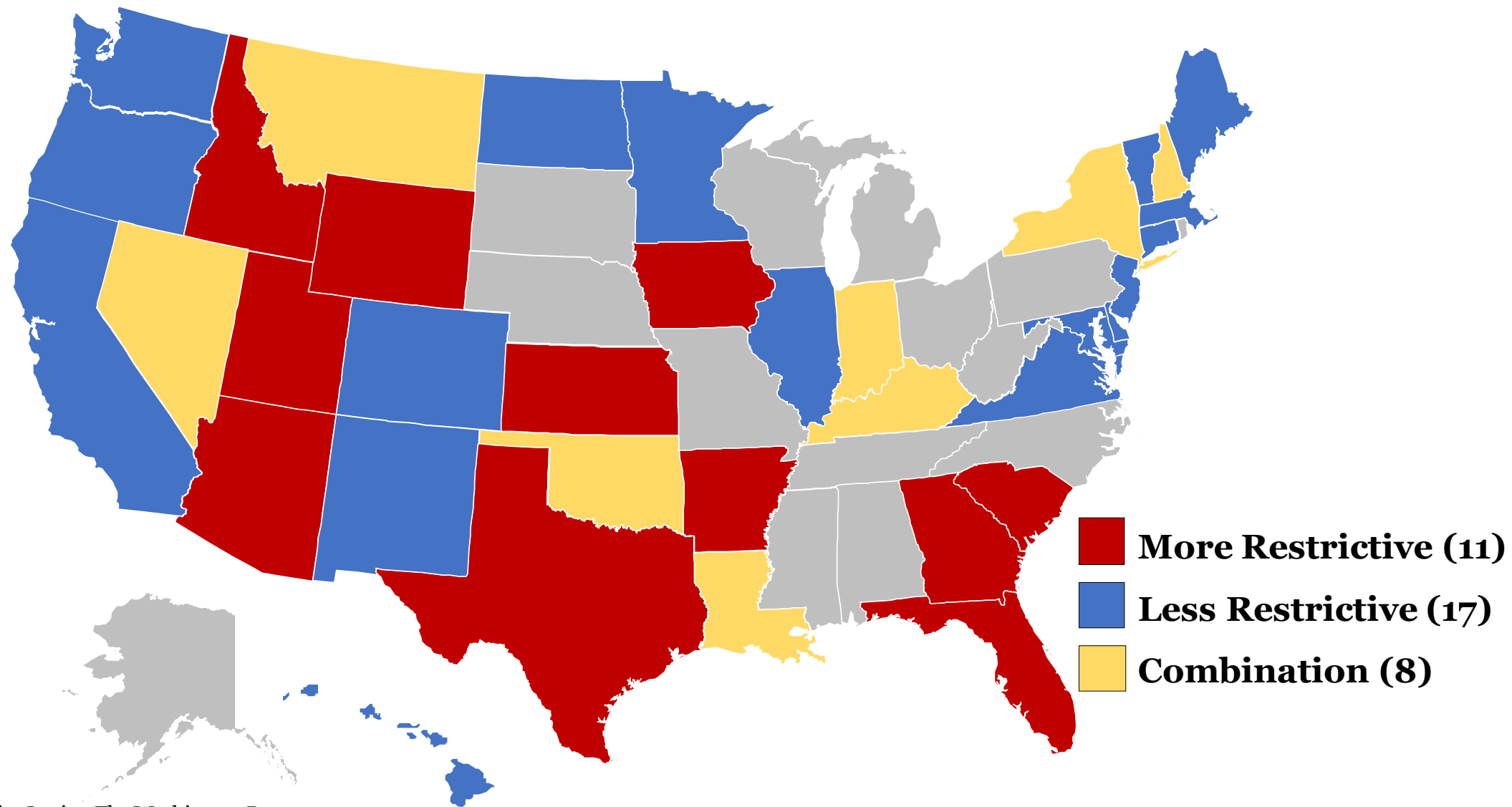
**Biden 306** **Trump 232**

Predominant party shift  
2016-2020

Democrat    Other    Republican

Icon size is proportional to the change in percentage points of votes for the selected party from the previous election.

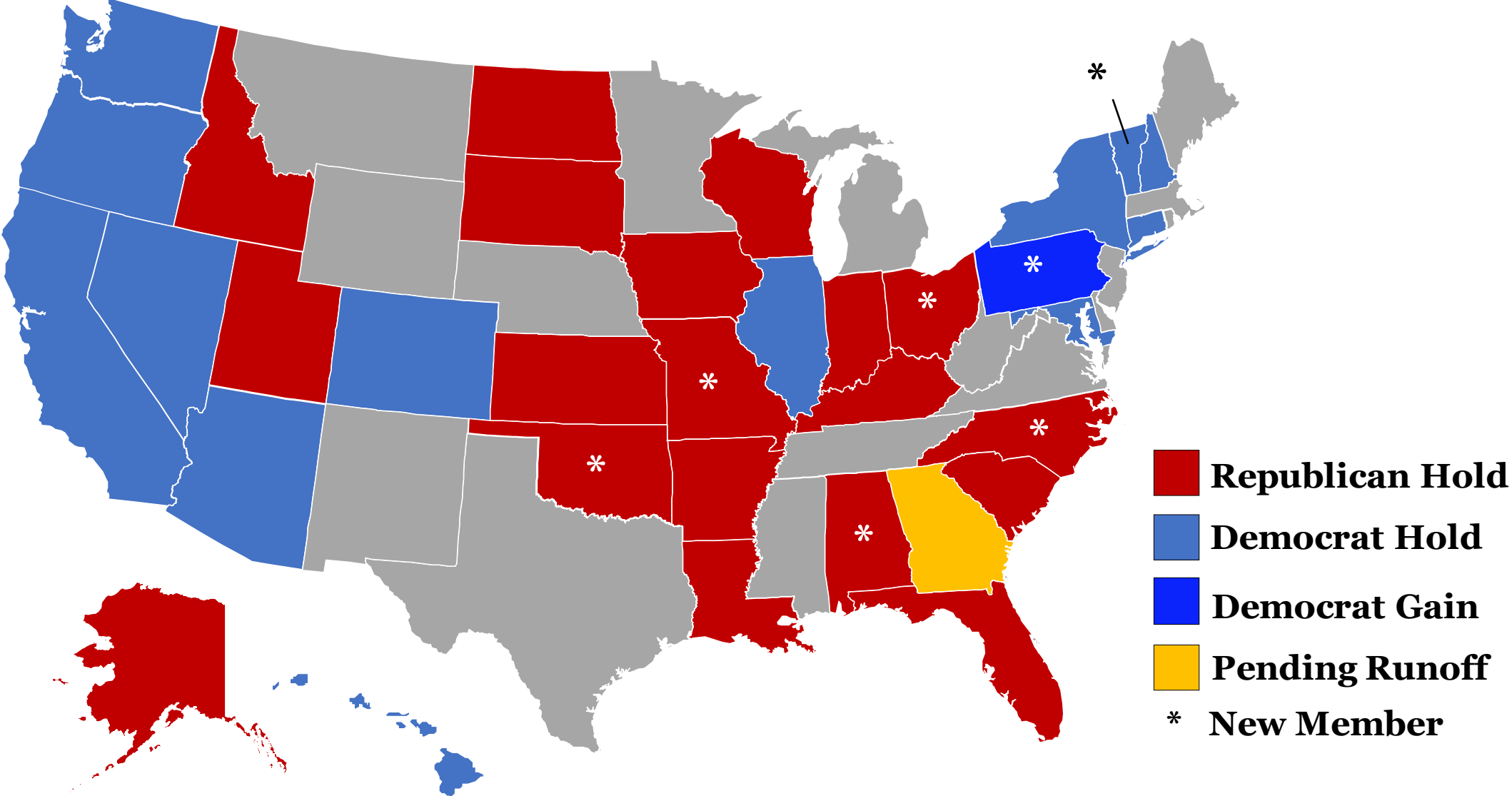
# Voting Law Changes in 2021



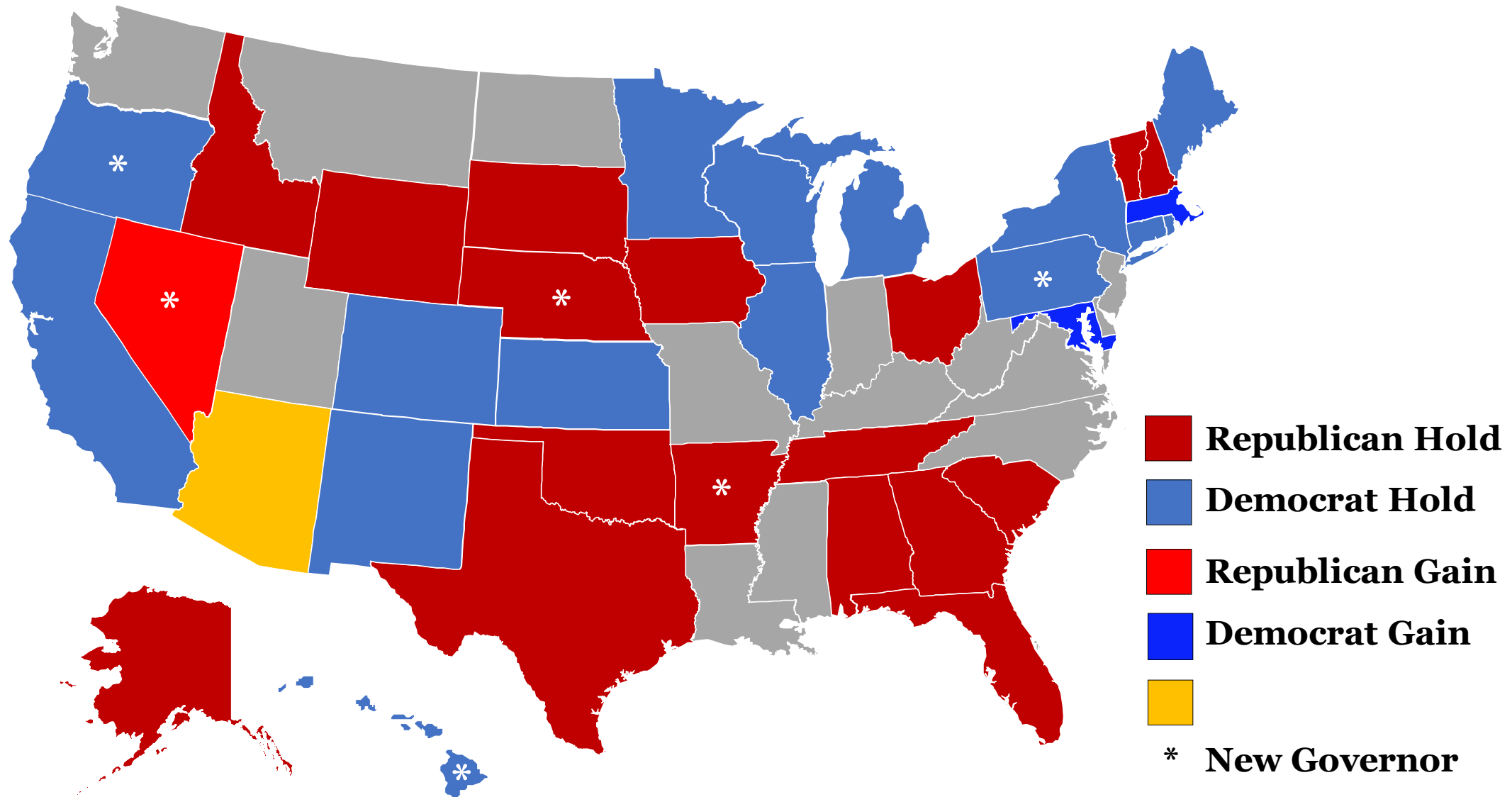




# 2022 U.S. Senate Elections Results



# 2022 U.S. Gubernatorial Elections Results



# 2020 Presidential Election

## Electoral Victor w/Victor's Popular Vote Overlay

