

The Political State of the Union

Today, Headed Toward 2020
The Hawthorn Group, L.C.

LAMPAC

April 30th 2019 (Updated June 7, 2019)



“We’ve Been Here Before”

*Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
**Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,**
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
**The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.***

“The Second Coming,” 1919
William Butler Yeats, 1865 - 1939

Today's Four Big Questions


- 1. Will Trump win re-election?**
- 2. Who will the Democrats nominate?**
- 3. Will the Democrats take the Senate?**
- 4. Will the Democrats hold the House?**

The Four Unasked Questions

- 1. What about THIS year's elections?**
- 2. What about the Governors next year?**
- 3. And the Legislatures?**
- 4. And the Ballot Issues?**

The Never US-Asked Question

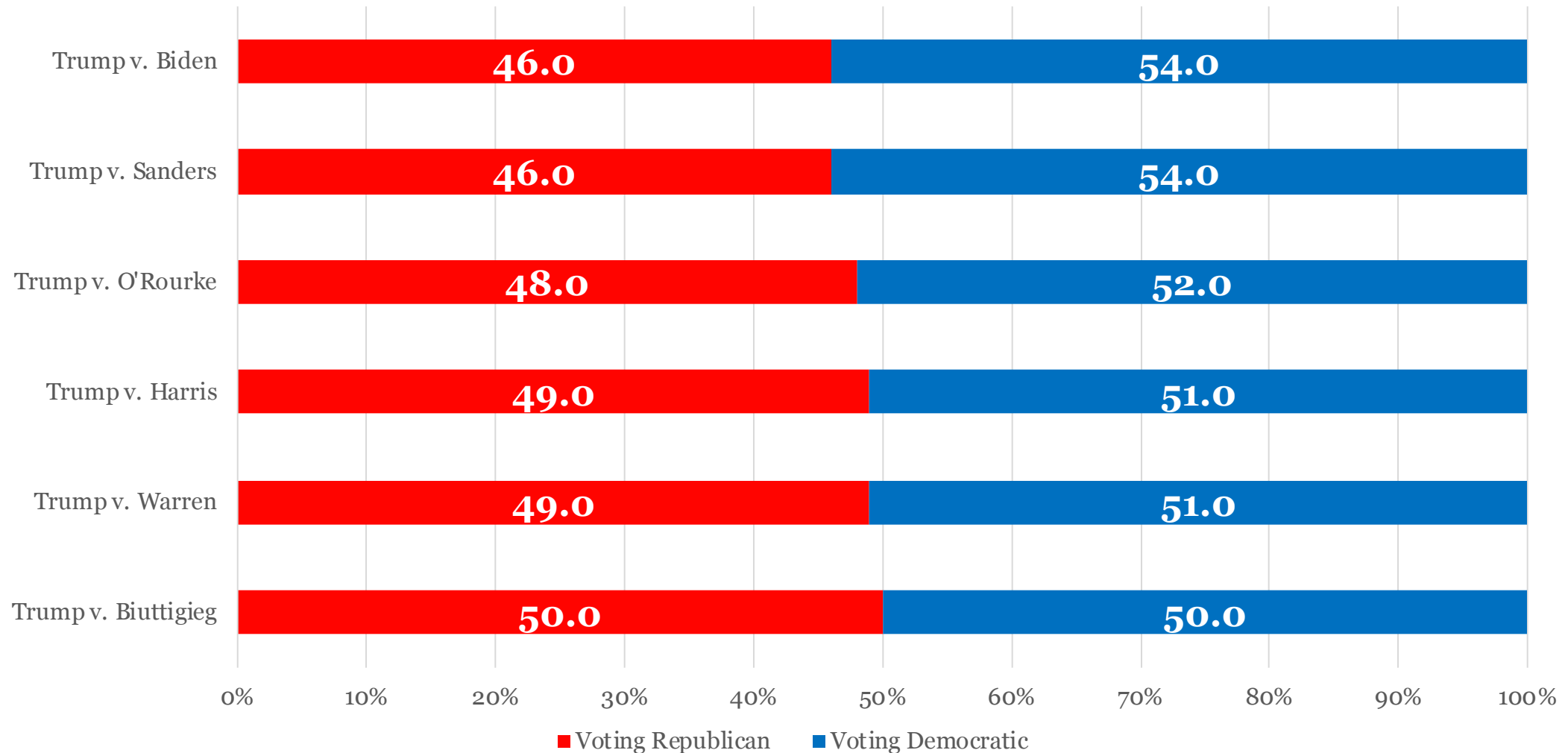
Does it matter what is going on in the rest of the world?



1. Will Trump Win Re-Election?

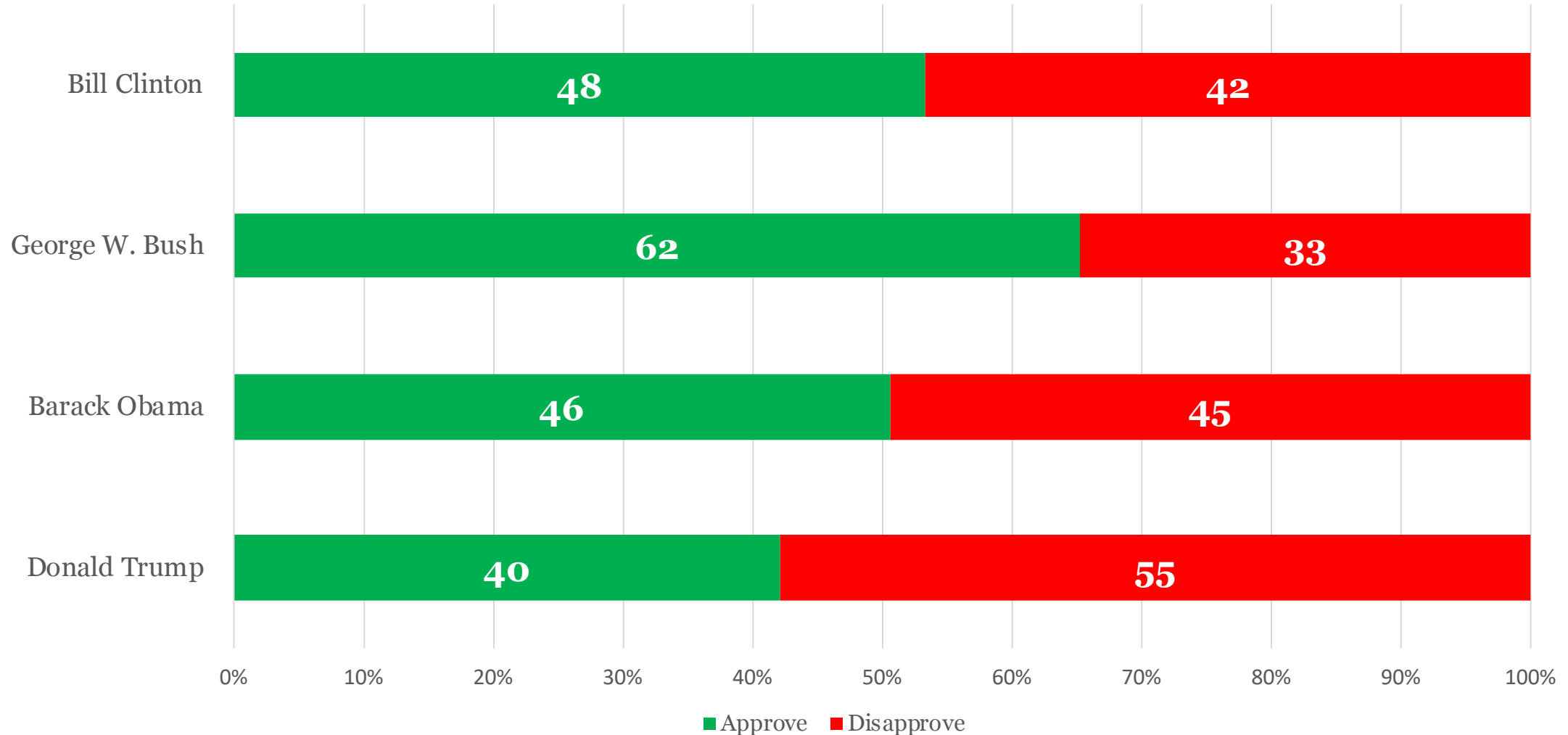
Trump “Re-Elect” Polling – Emerson Poll (May 14, 2019)

Trump Re-Elect – General Election Matchups

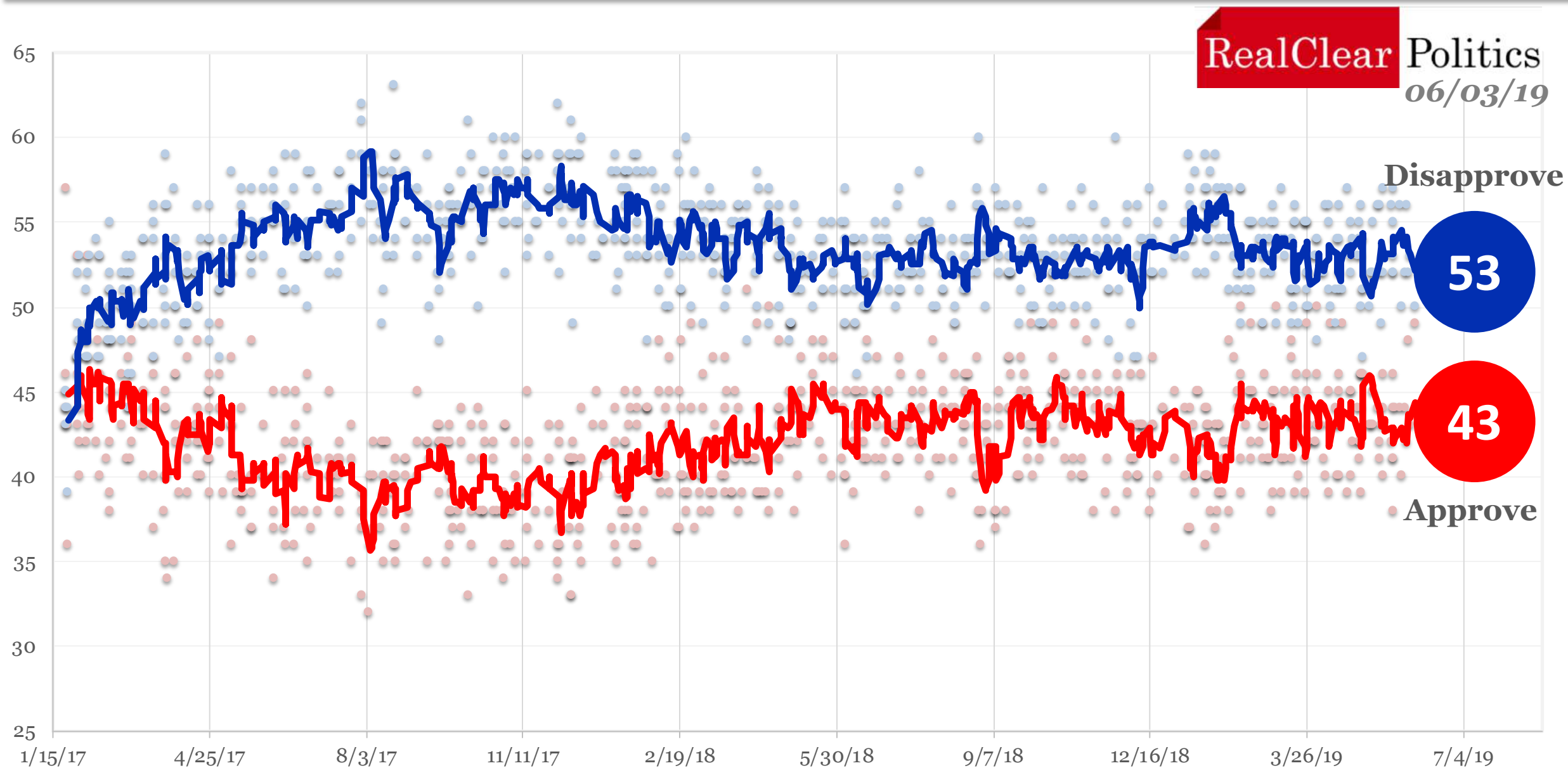


Trump Approval– Comparison at ~860 Days in Office

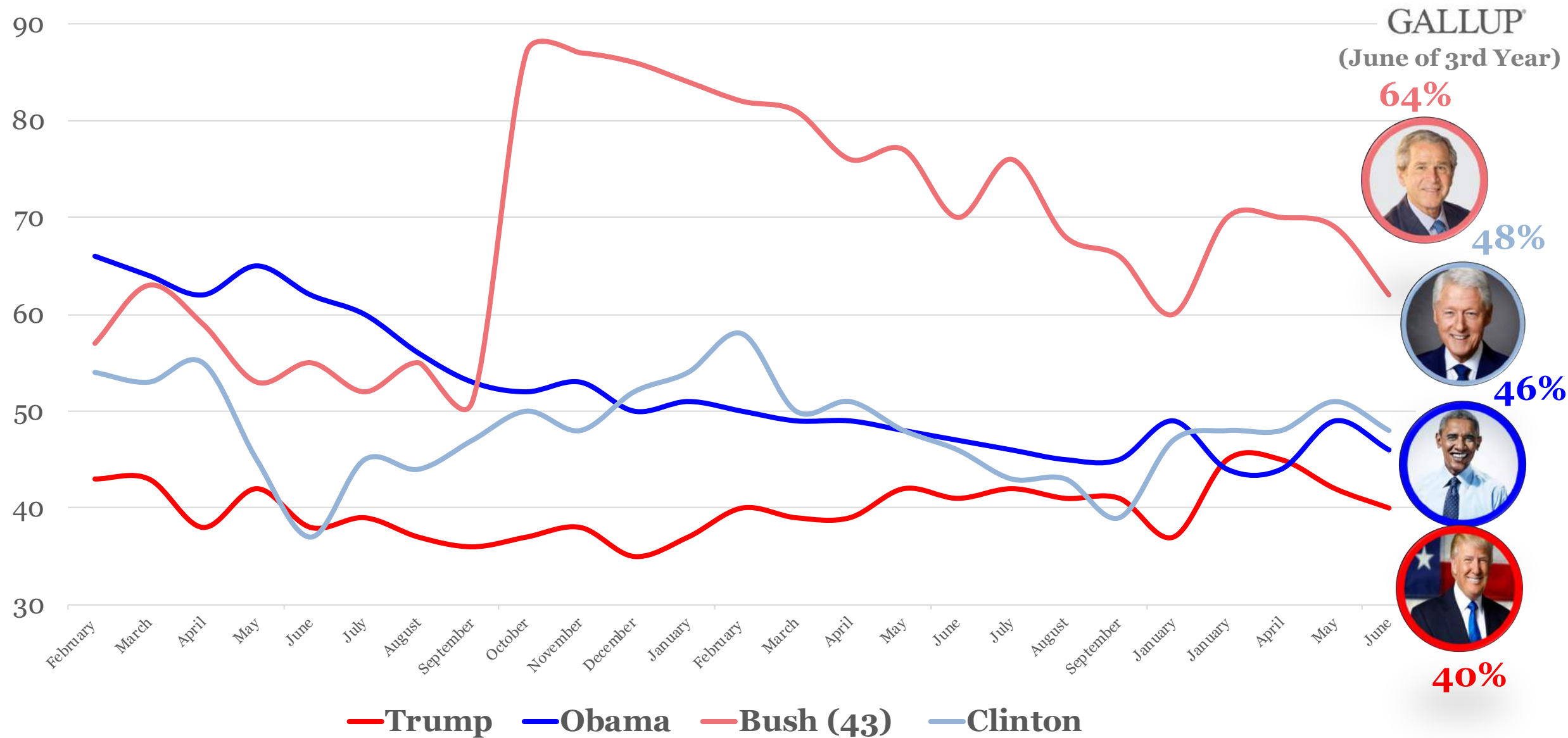
Presidential Job Approval



Trump Job Approval



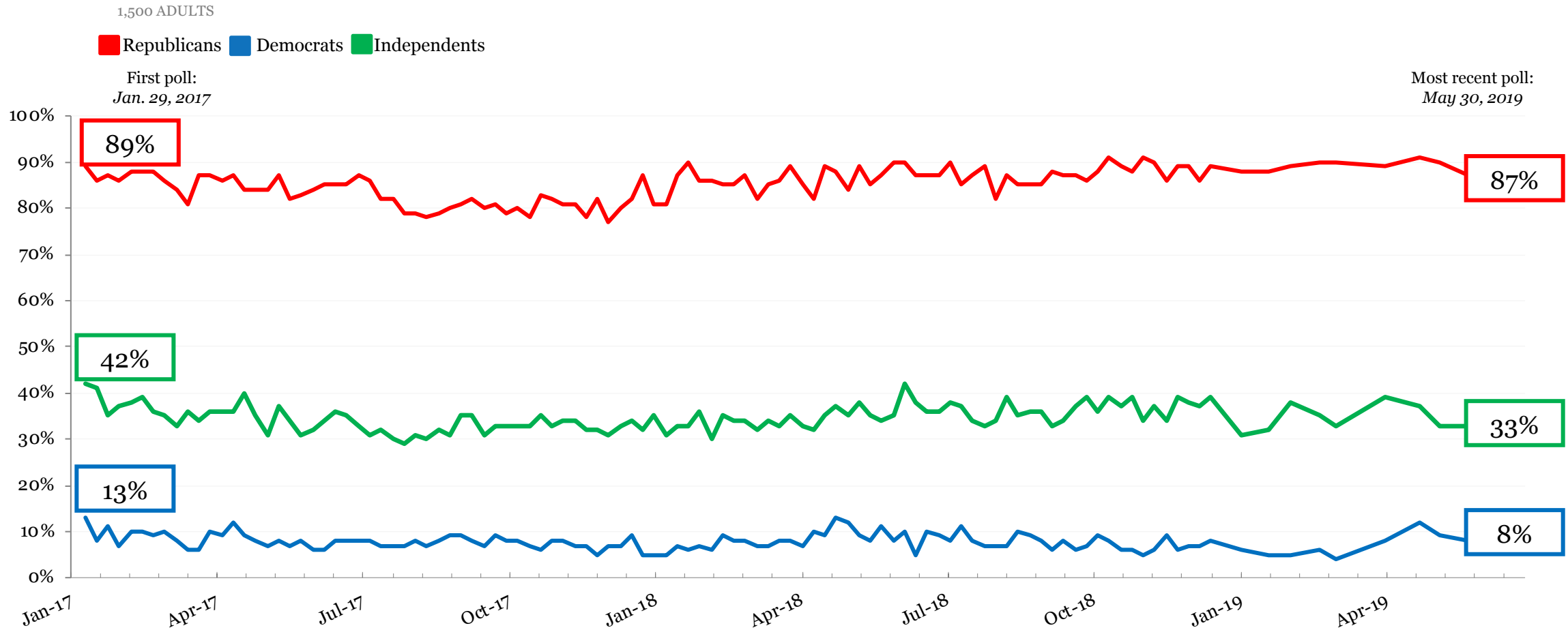
Trump Job Approval Comparison



Trump Rating with Independents

Trump's approval rating among independents has increased since January, remains very high among Republicans

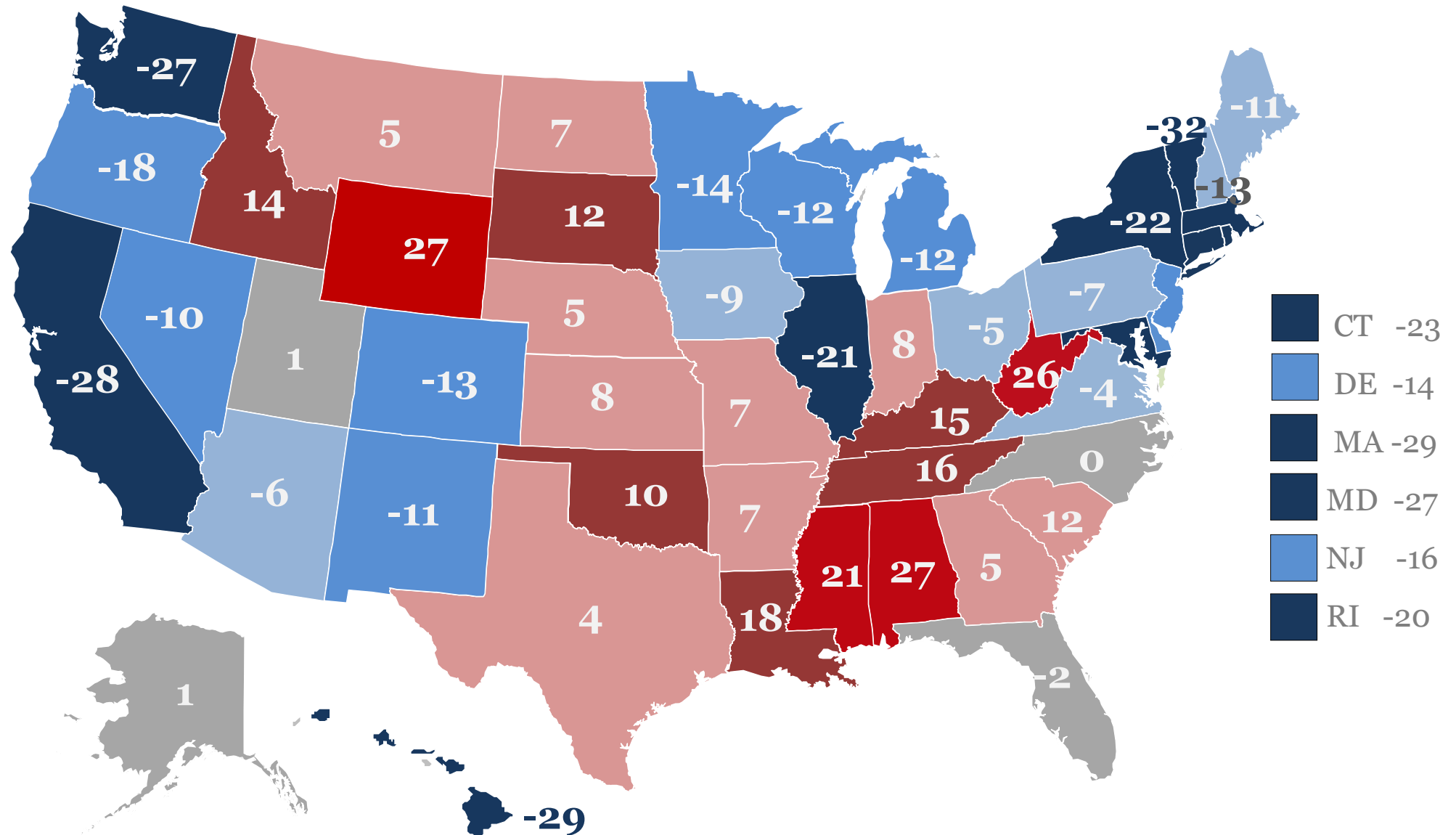
Donald Trump approval ratings by party since inauguration



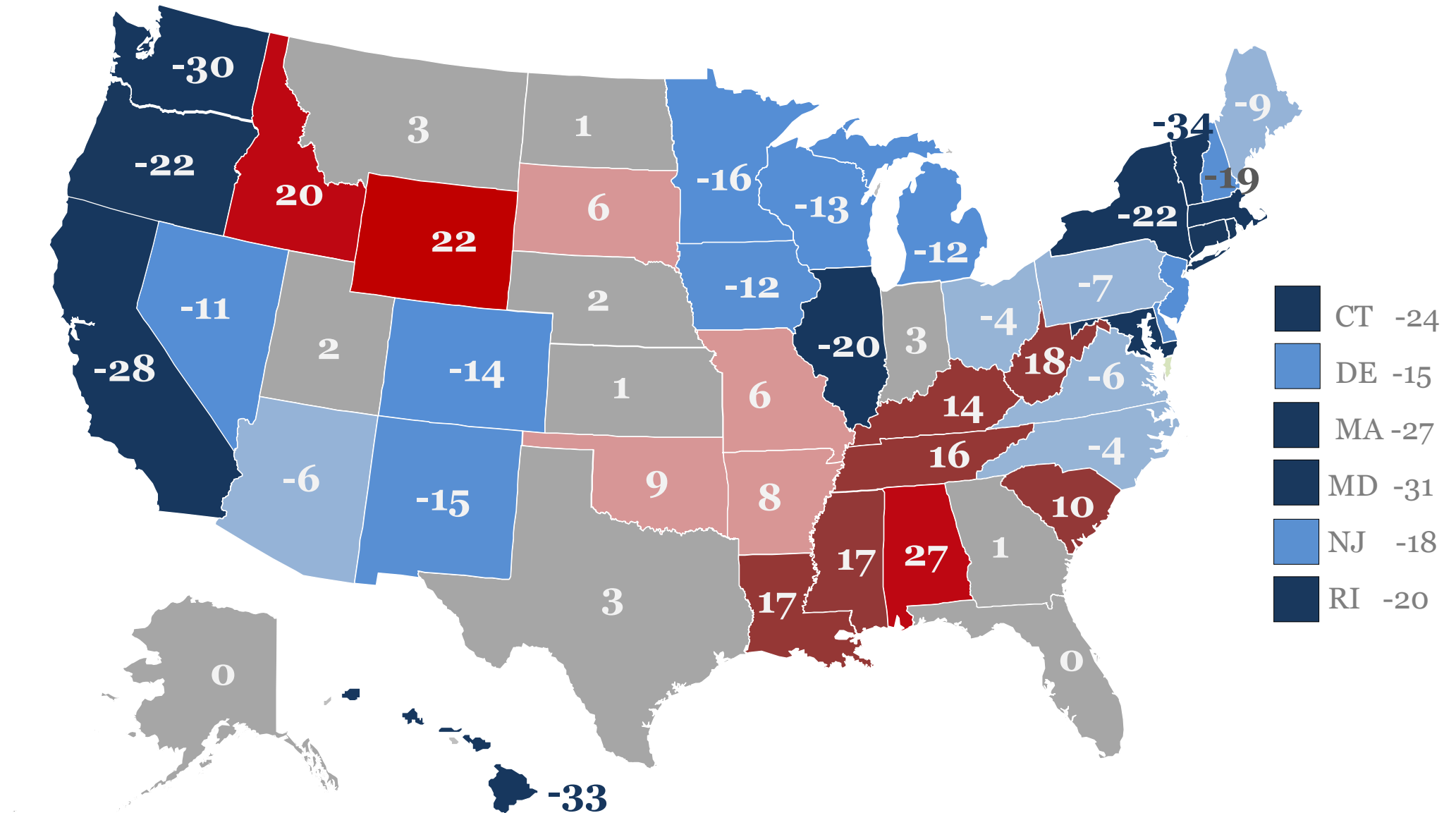
Source: Gallup, 2019.

Slide last updated on: April 19, 2019

Trump Net Approval by State – April 2019

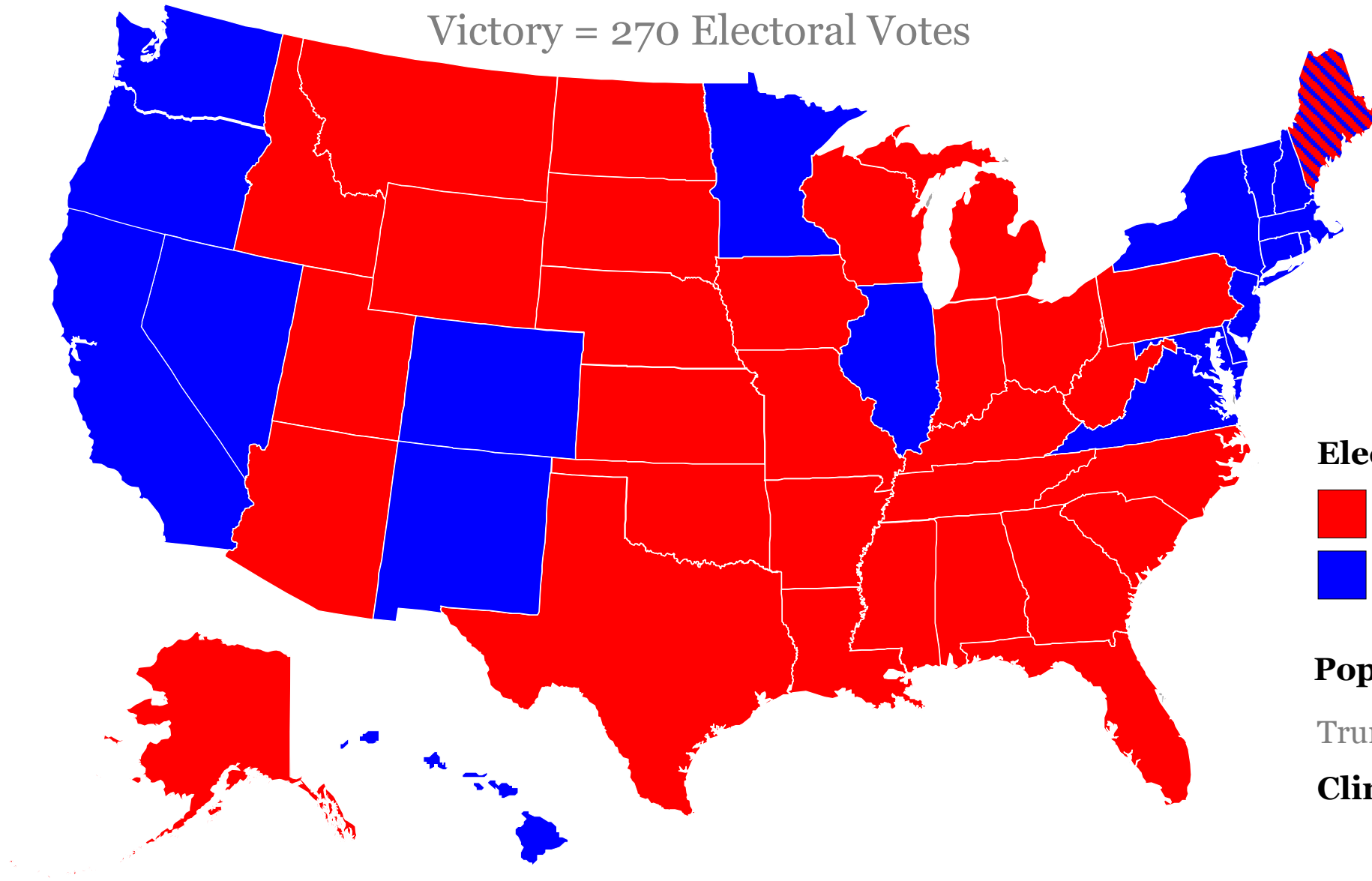


Trump Net Approval by State – May 2019



November 8, 2016

Victory = 270 Electoral Votes



Electoral:

Trump (306) 56.9%

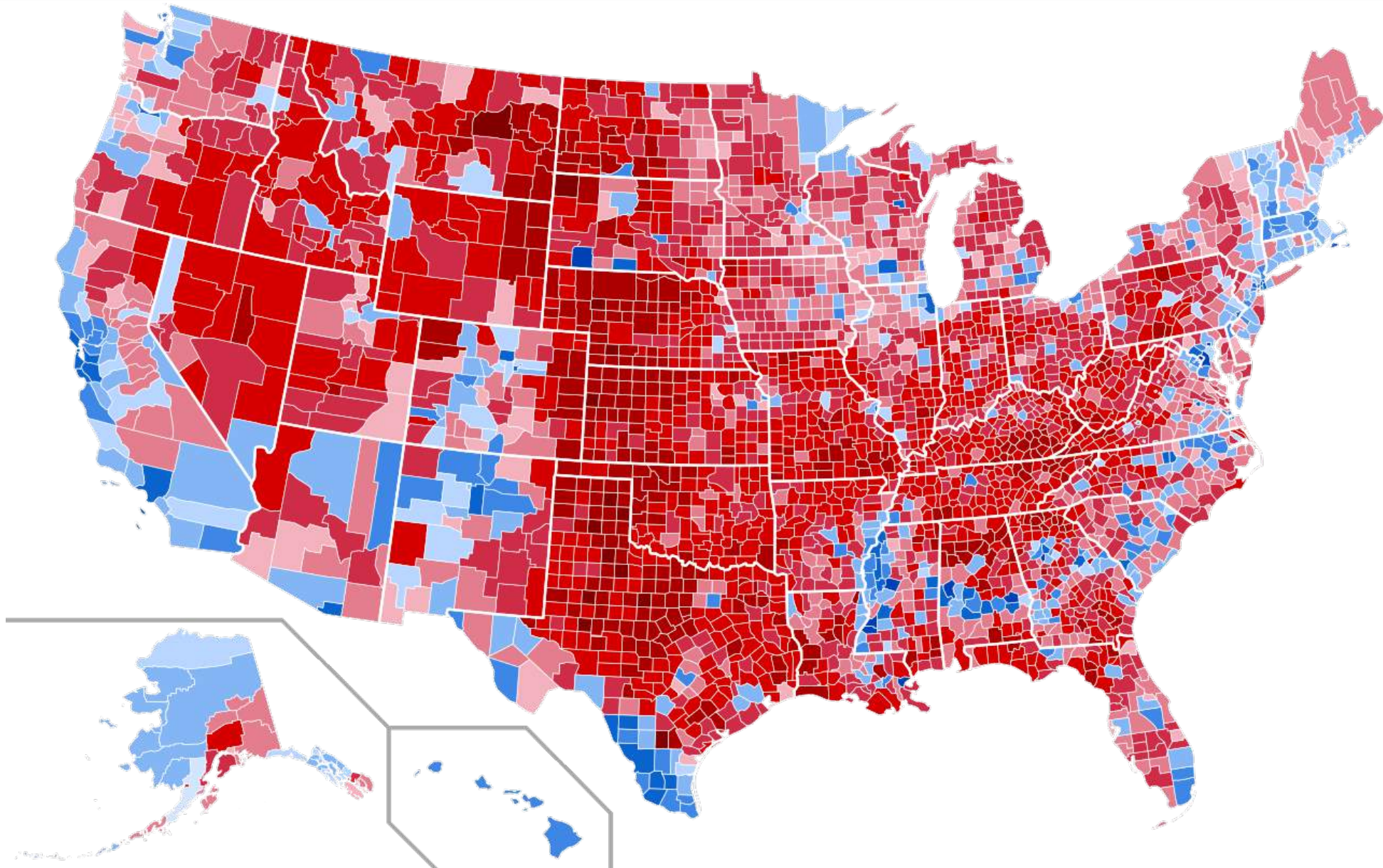
Clinton (232) 43.1%

Popular:

Trump 62,980,160 - 46.4%

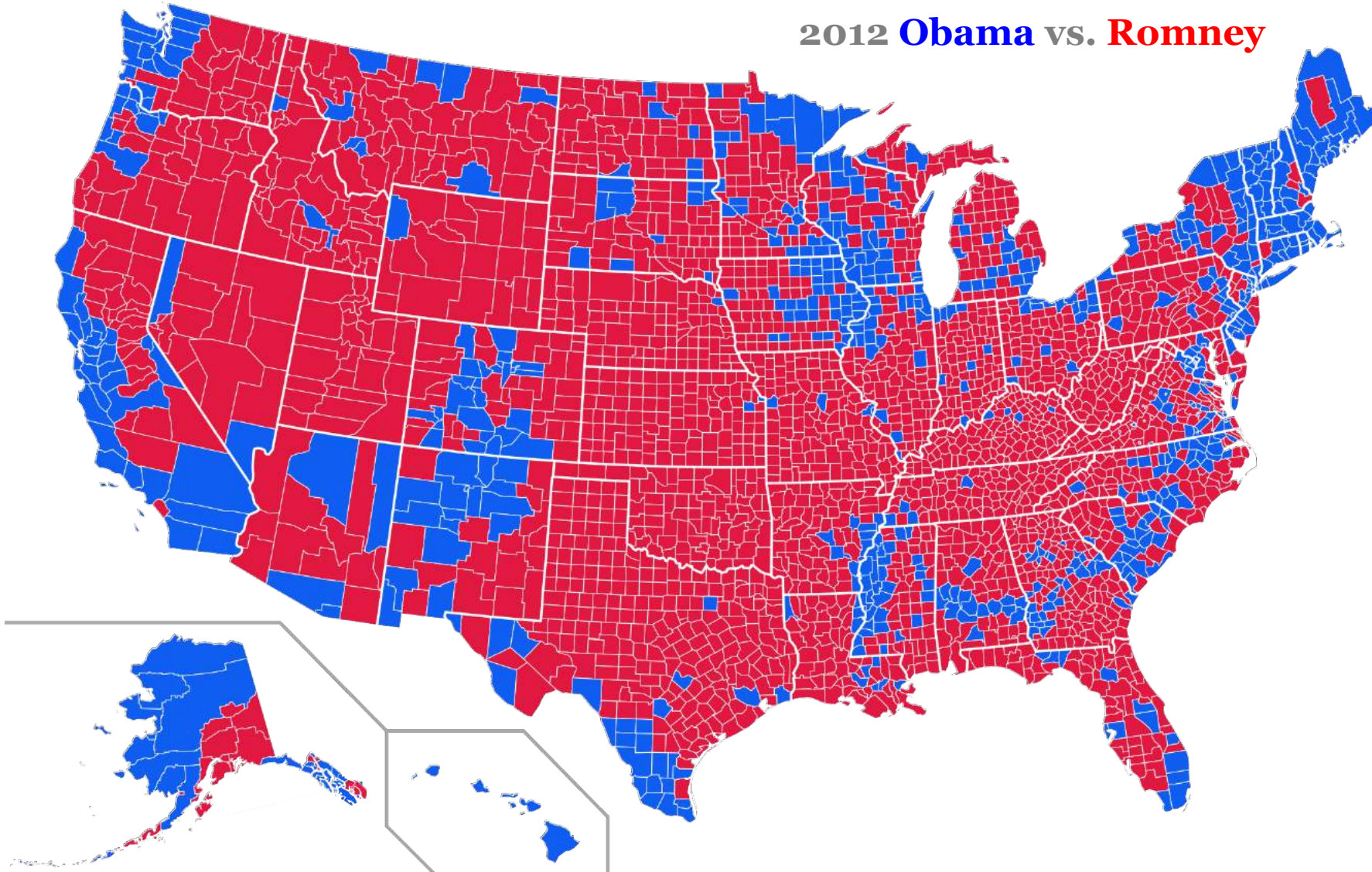
Clinton 65,853,516 - 48.5%

In 2016, Trump Carried 84% of Counties in the US

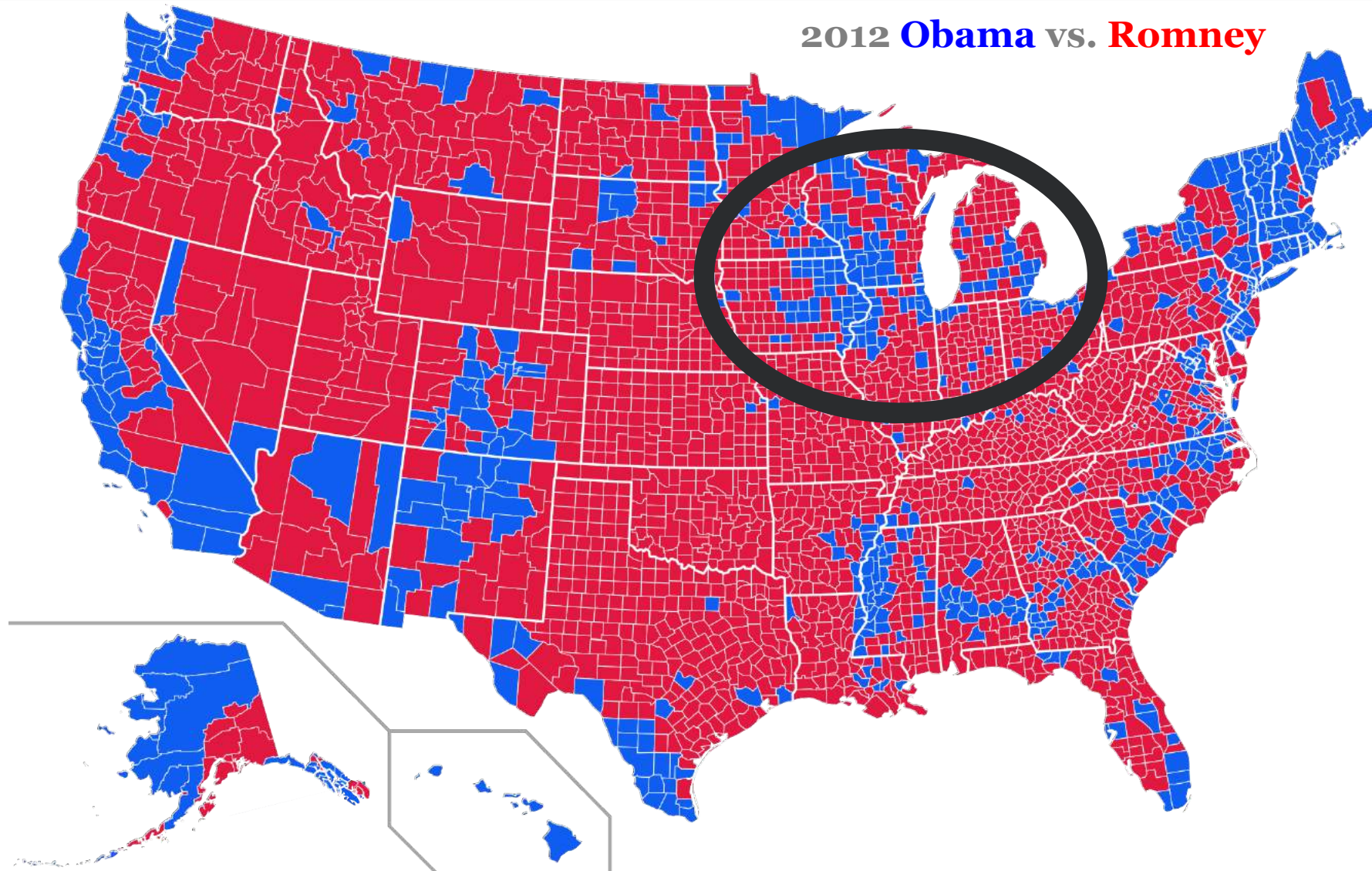


Swing Counties

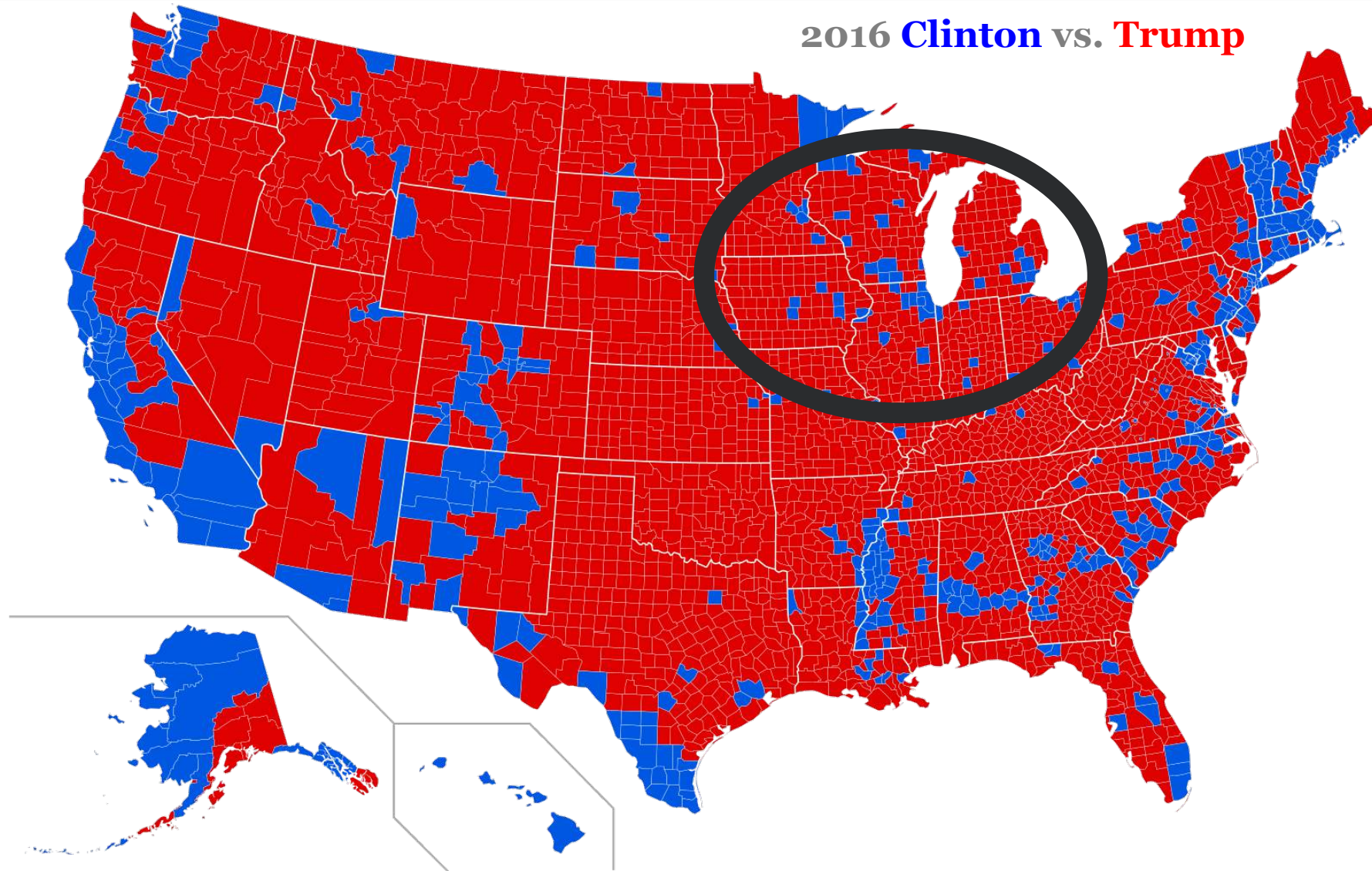
2012 **Obama** vs. **Romney**



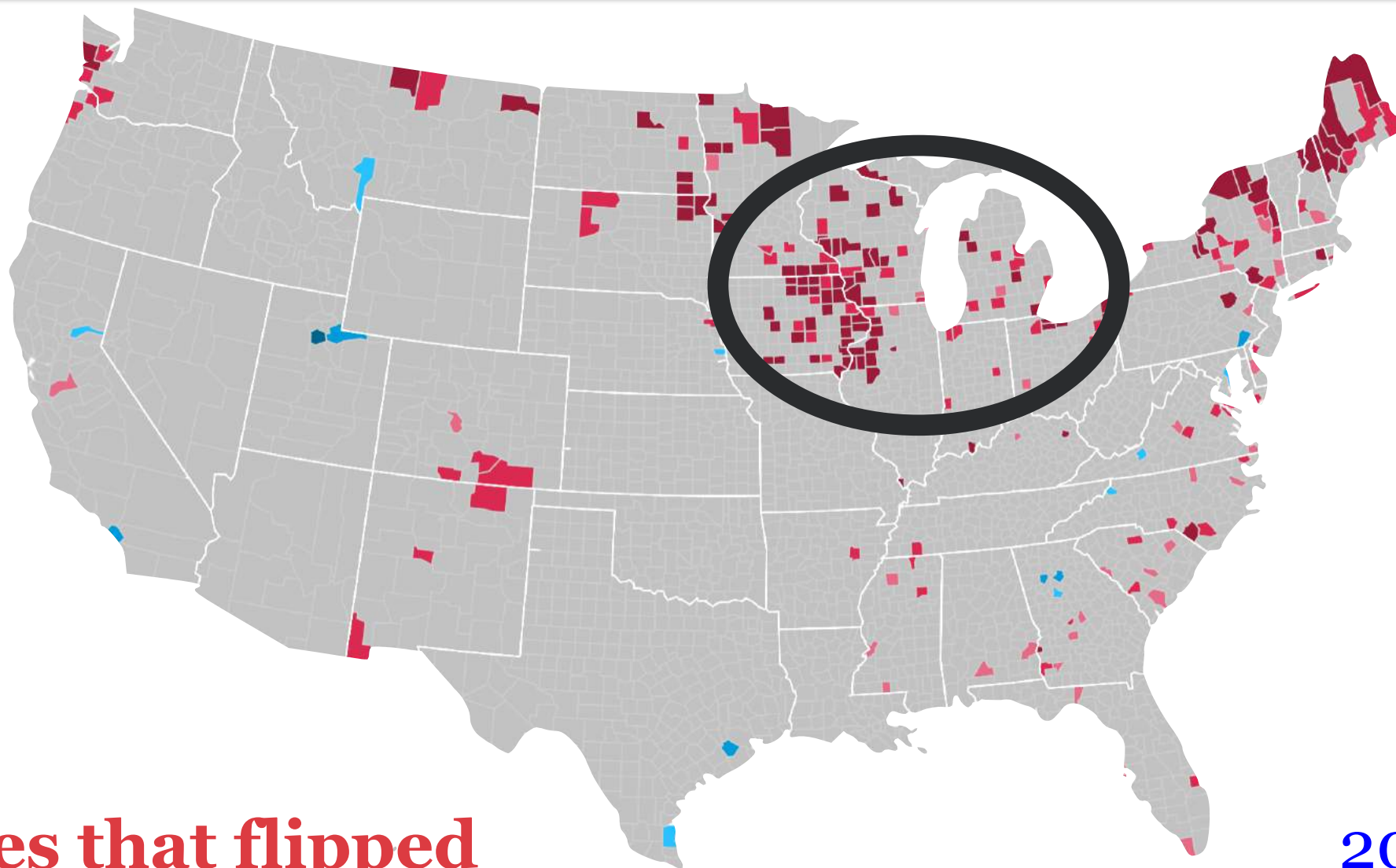
Swing Counties



Swing Counties



Swing Counties



Counties that flipped

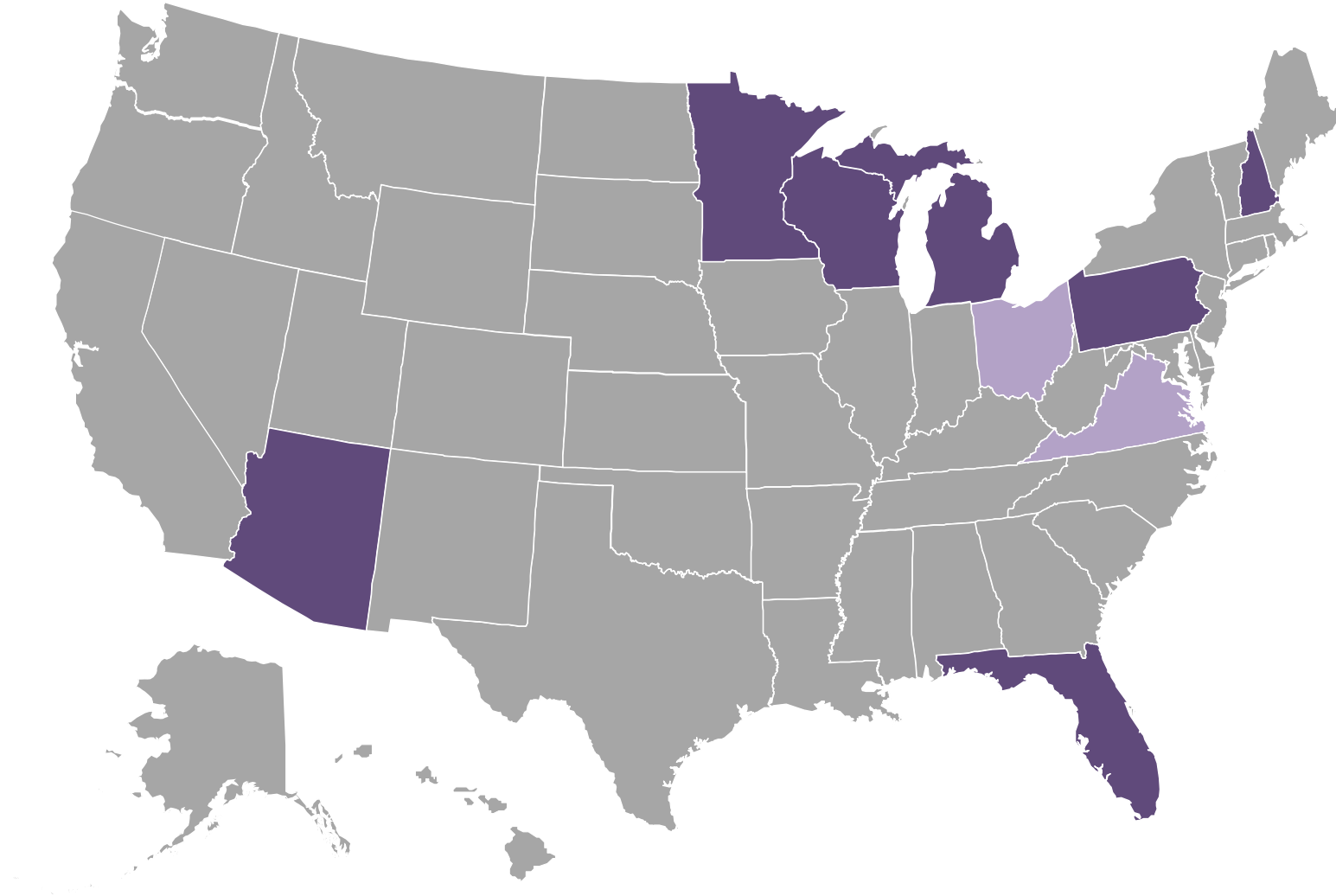
2012-2016

Trump Rating in Key States

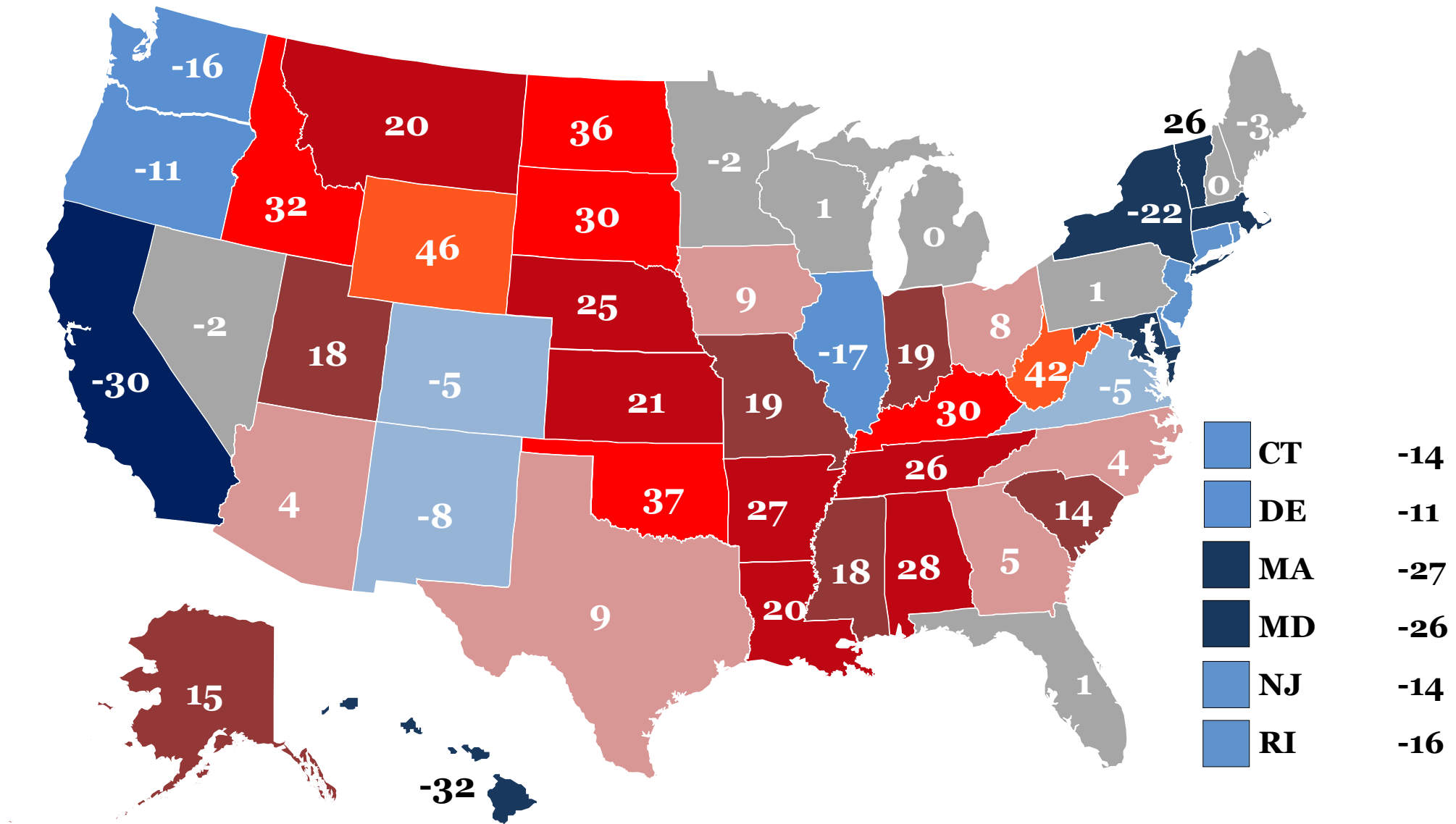
2020 Battleground States

Michigan
Pennsylvania
Wisconsin
Minnesota
New Hampshire
Florida
Arizona

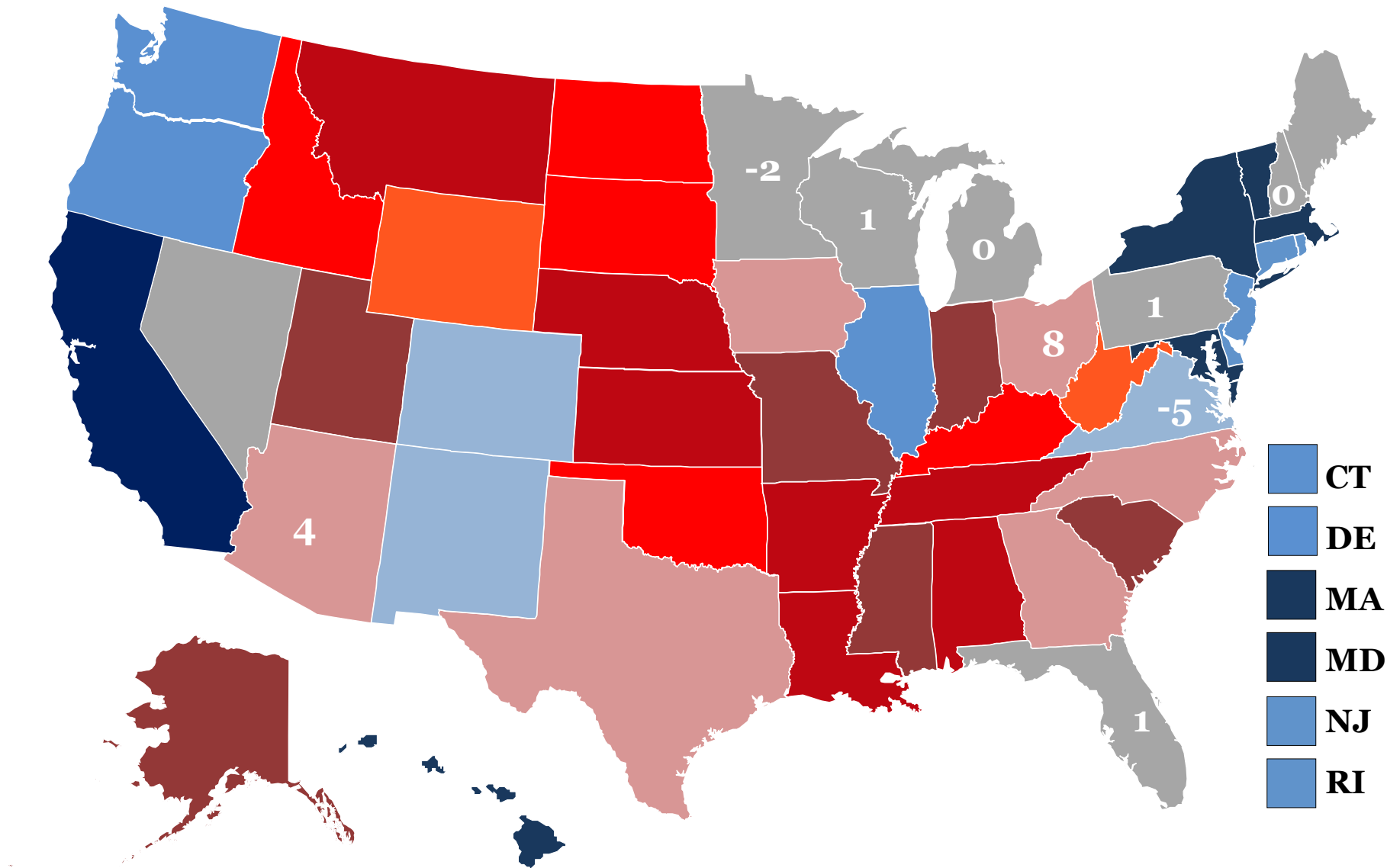
Virginia
Ohio



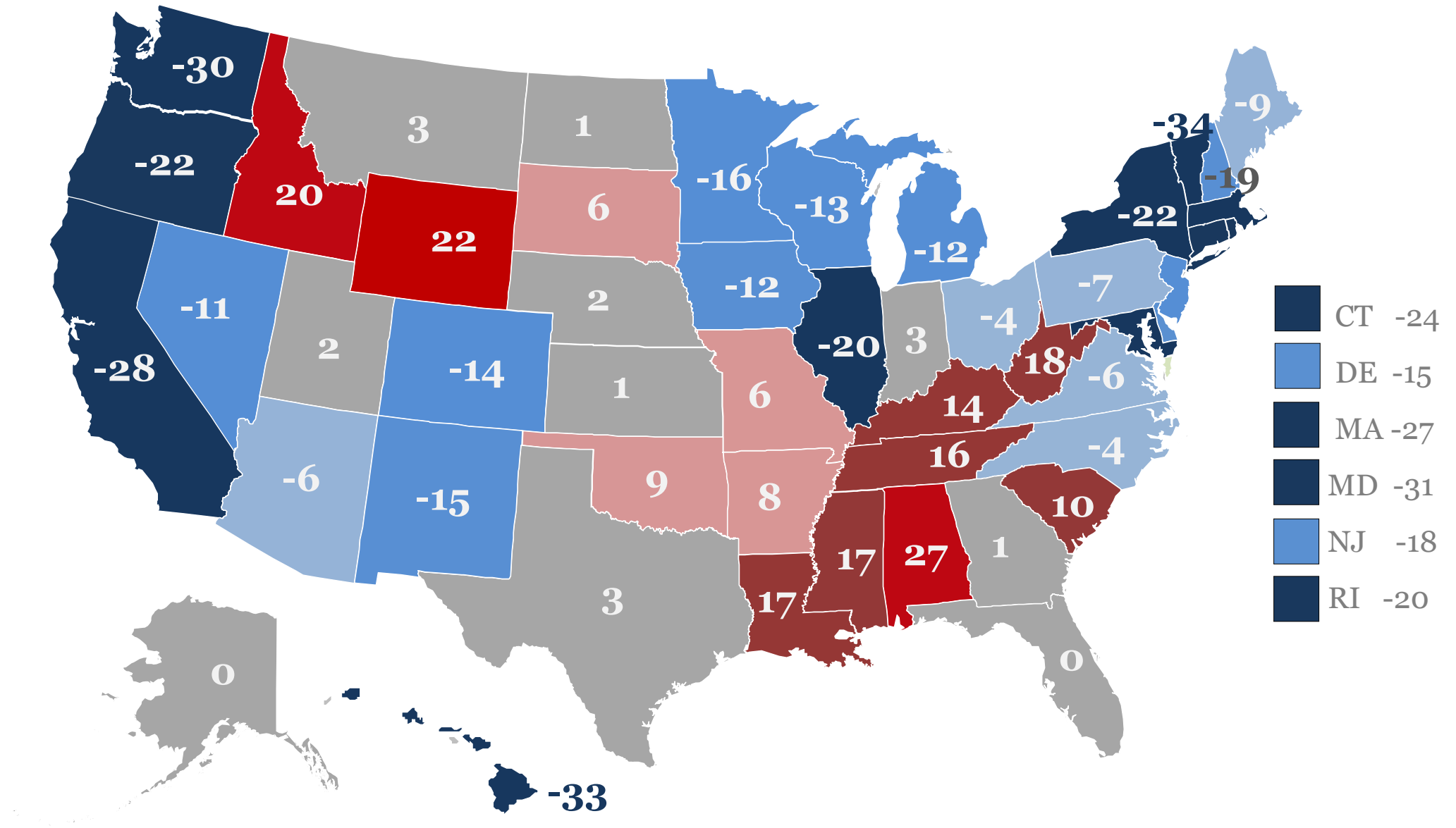
2016 Presidential Margins



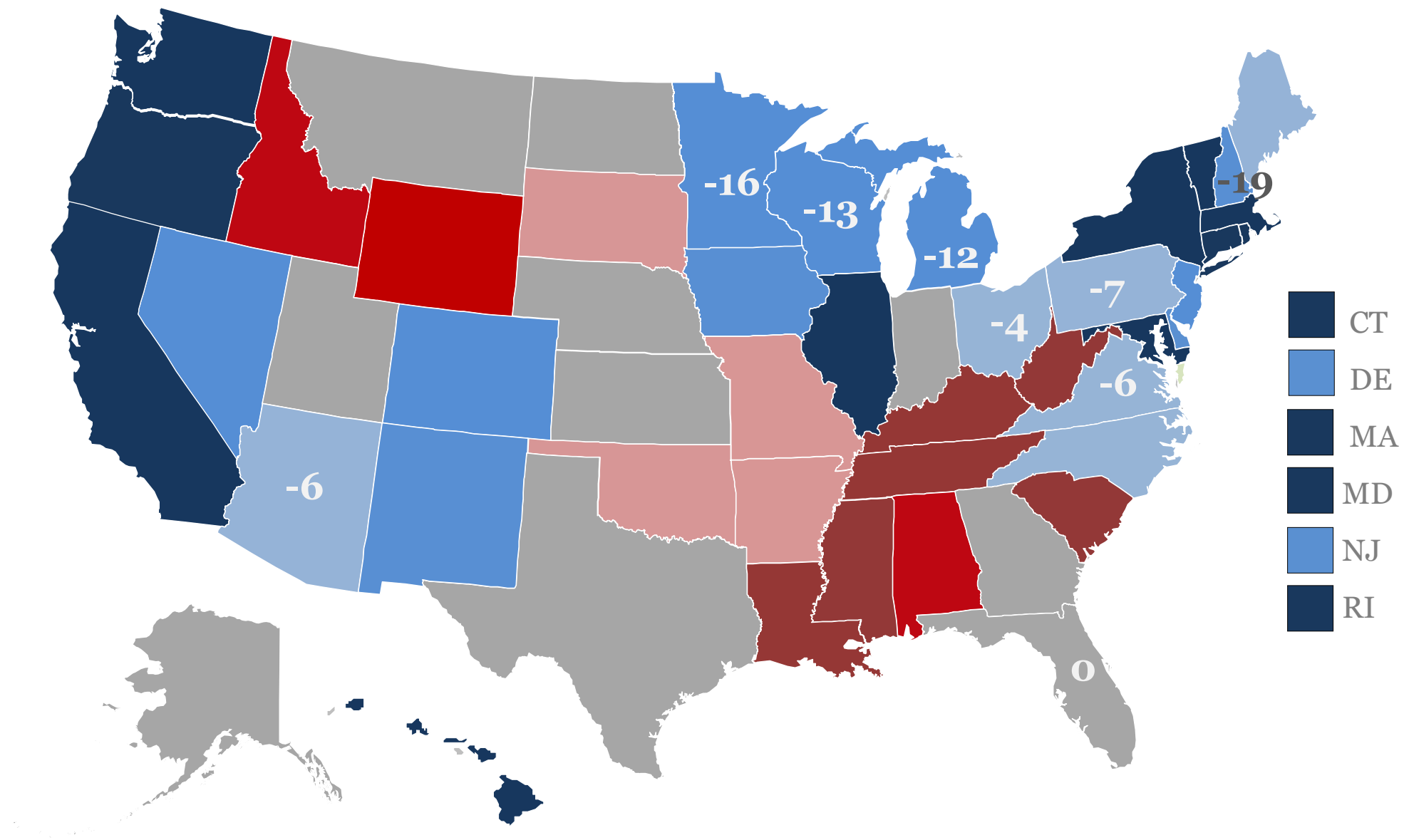
2016 Presidential Margins In 2020 Battleground States



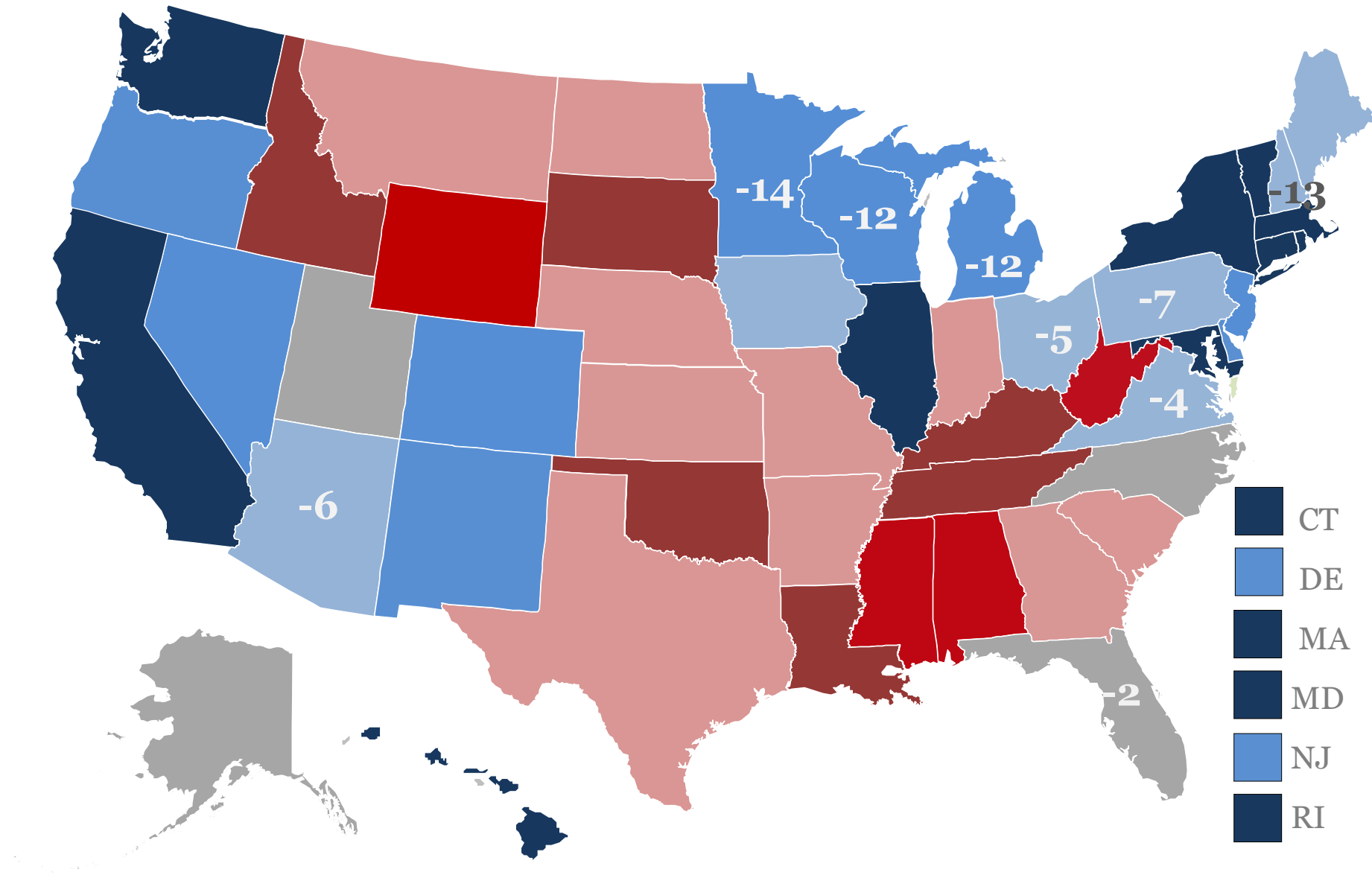
Trump Current Net Approval by State



Trump Current Net Approval by State in 2020 Battleground States



April 2019 - Trump Net Approval by State in 2020 Battleground States

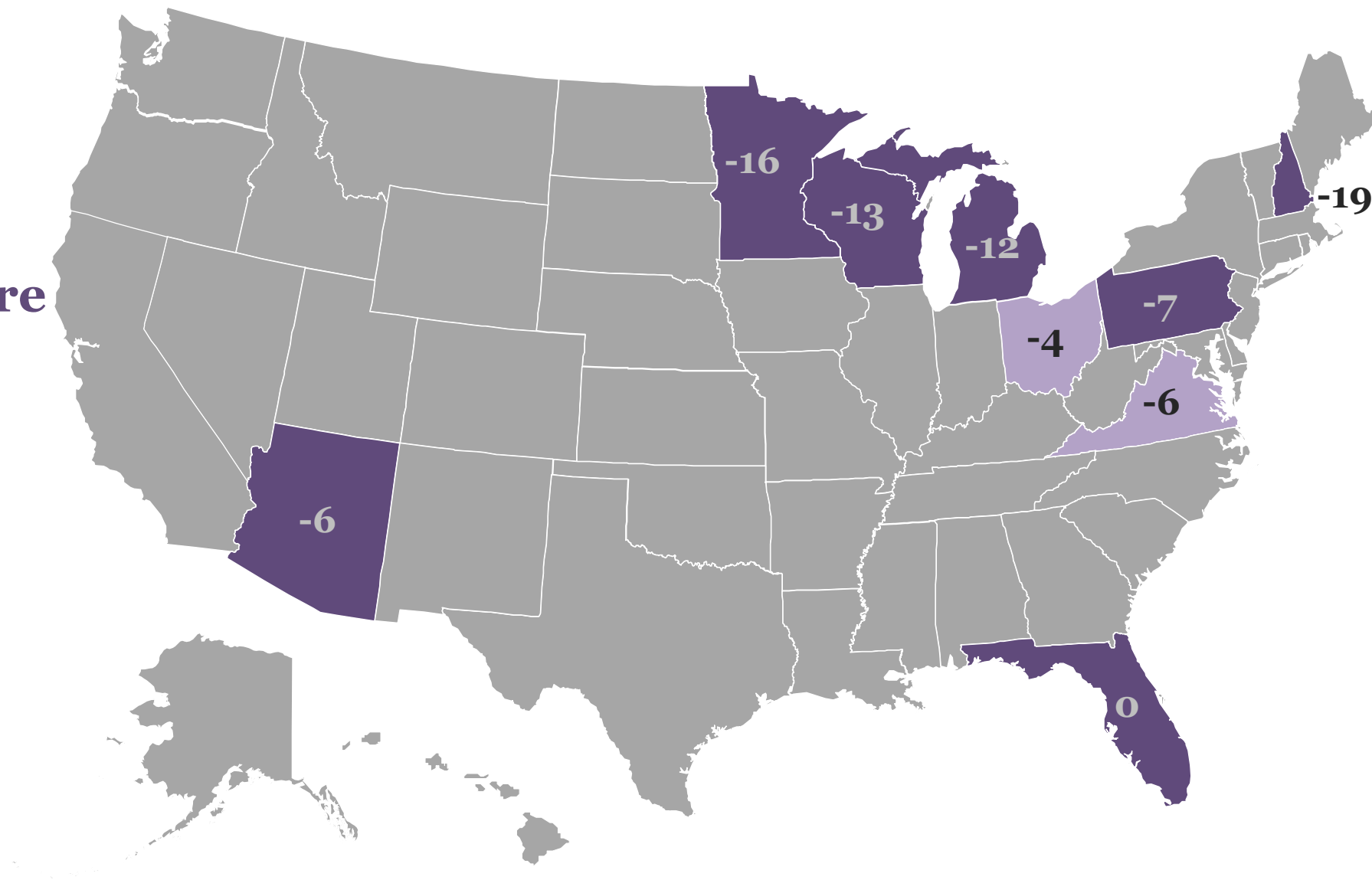


Trump Rating in Key States

2020 Battleground States

Michigan
Pennsylvania
Wisconsin
Minnesota
New Hampshire
Florida
Arizona

Virginia
Ohio



Trump Rating in Key States

Michigan

Pennsylvania

Wisconsin

Minnesota

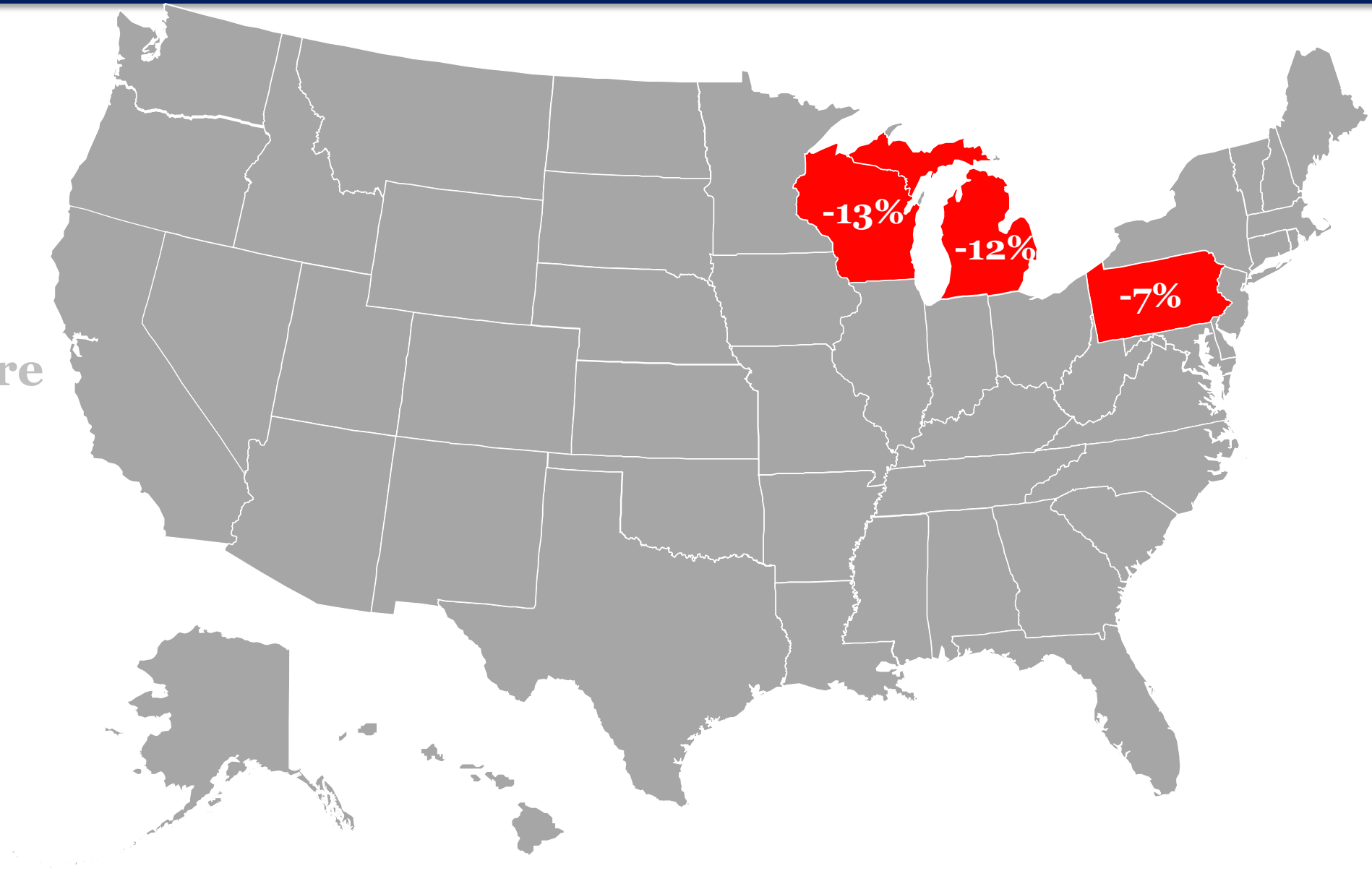
New Hampshire

Florida

Arizona

Virginia

Ohio



“Follow the Money”

Trump Fundraising Figures

- Trump has \$40,762,192.70 cash on hand and has spent \$64,701,975.35 since January 1, 2017
- He raised \$30.3 million in the first quarter of this year
 - The only person to raise a similar amount of money was Hillary Clinton, who raised \$36 million by April 2007. However, she transferred \$10 million from her Senate campaign!
 - Trump Victory raised an additional \$8,288,179.95 and spent \$7,890,993.49 in the first quarter.
- Small Donations
 - Those making small donations of under \$200 make up 98.78% of Trumps contributors.
 - Small donations make up 55% of his campaign fundraising totals.

Party Cash on Hand

- DNC Cash on Hand: **\$8,550,790.77**, DNC Debt: **\$4,590,612.47**
- RNC Cash on Hand: **\$31,141,261.06**, RNC Debt: **\$0**



2. Who Will the Democrats Nominate?

Who Have They Got?

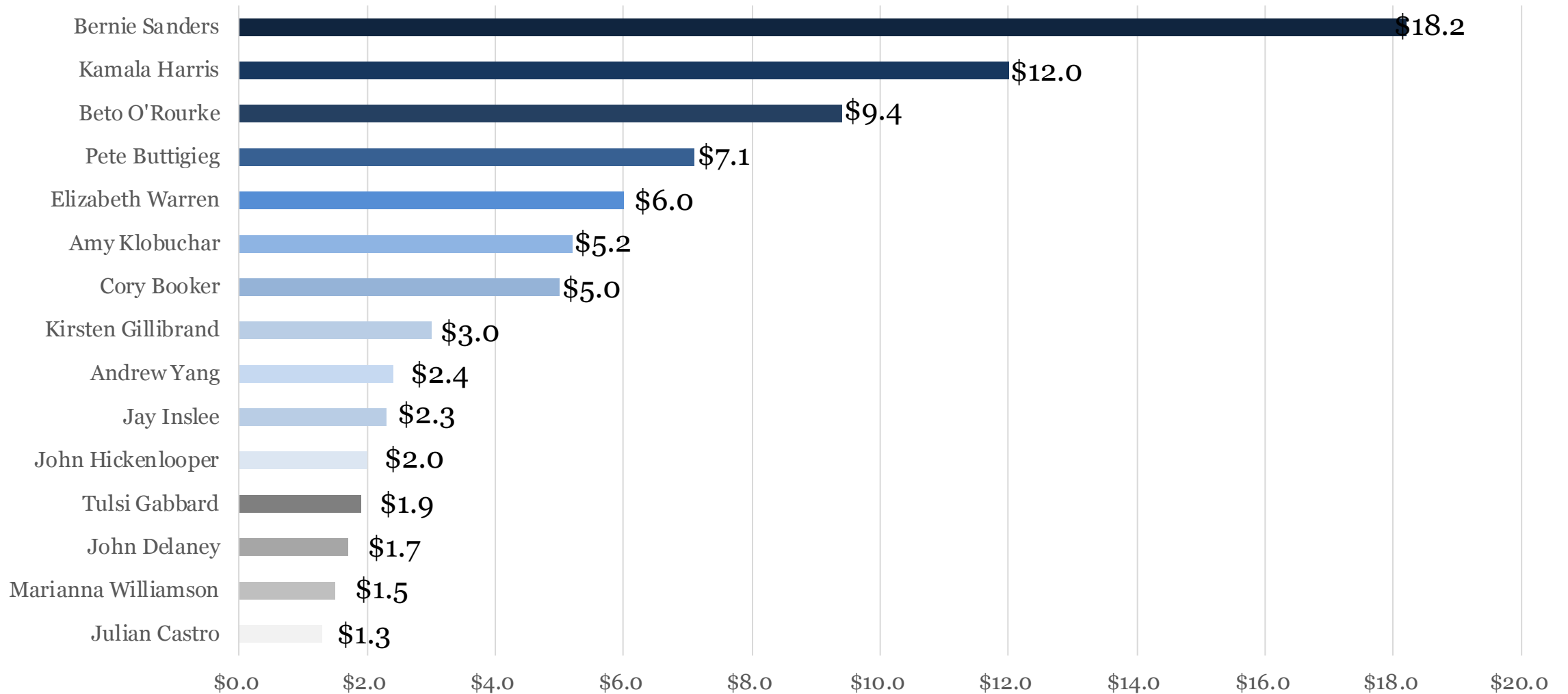
“The Over The Hill Gang”

“The Not Quite Ready For Prime Time Players”

“The Legends in Their Own Minds”

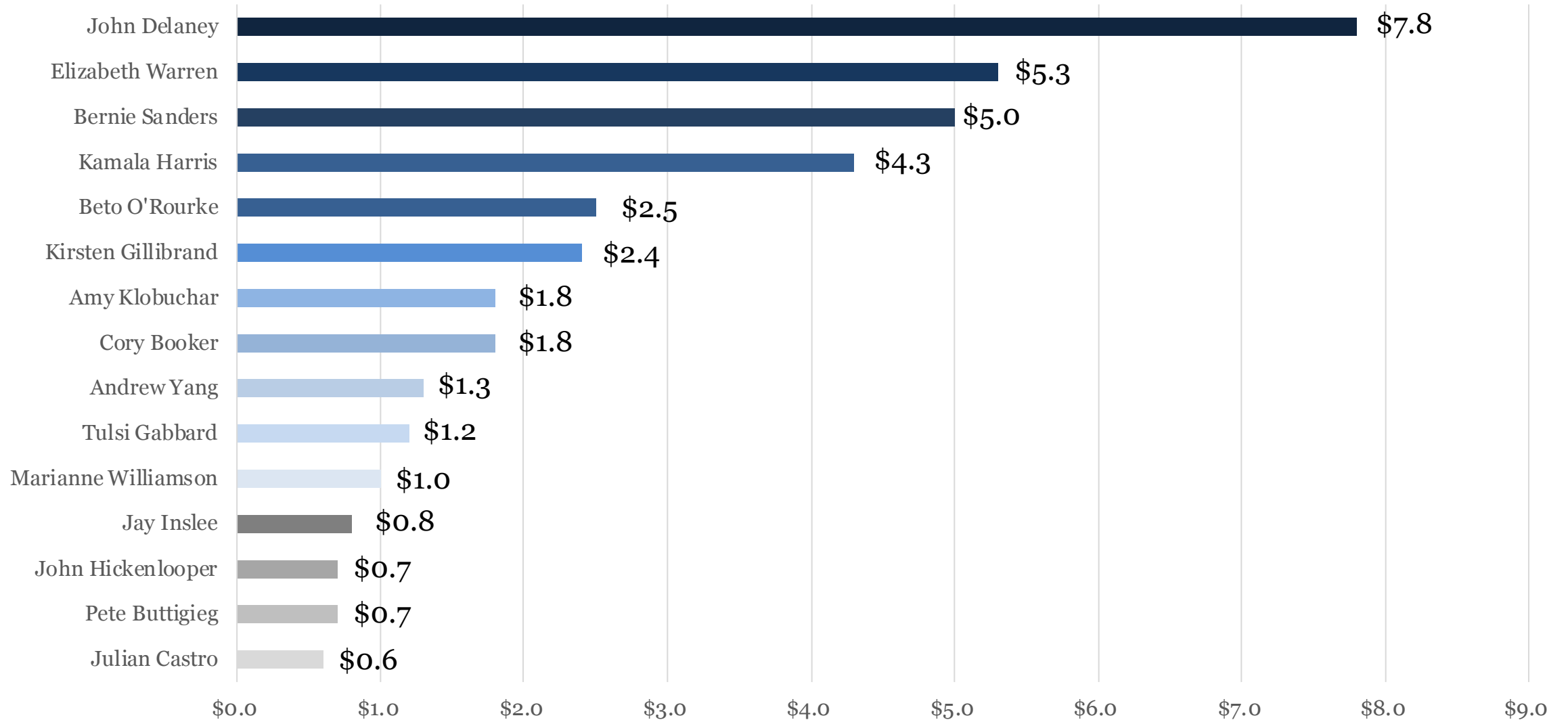
“Follow the Money” - Presidential Fundraising

Individual Contributions (In Millions)



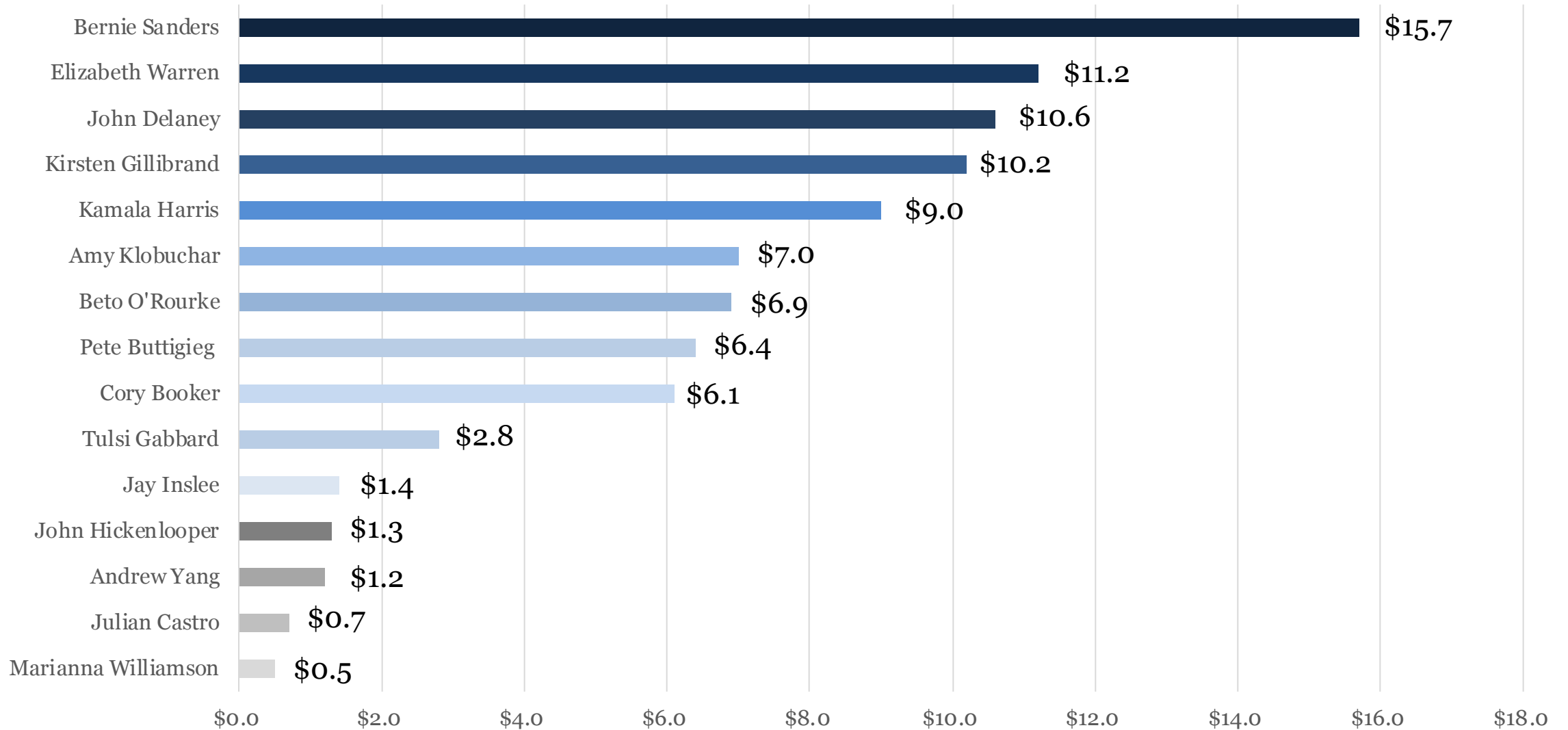
“Follow the Money” - Presidential Fundraising

Total Spent (In Millions)



“Follow the Money” - Presidential Fundraising

Cash on Hand (In Millions)

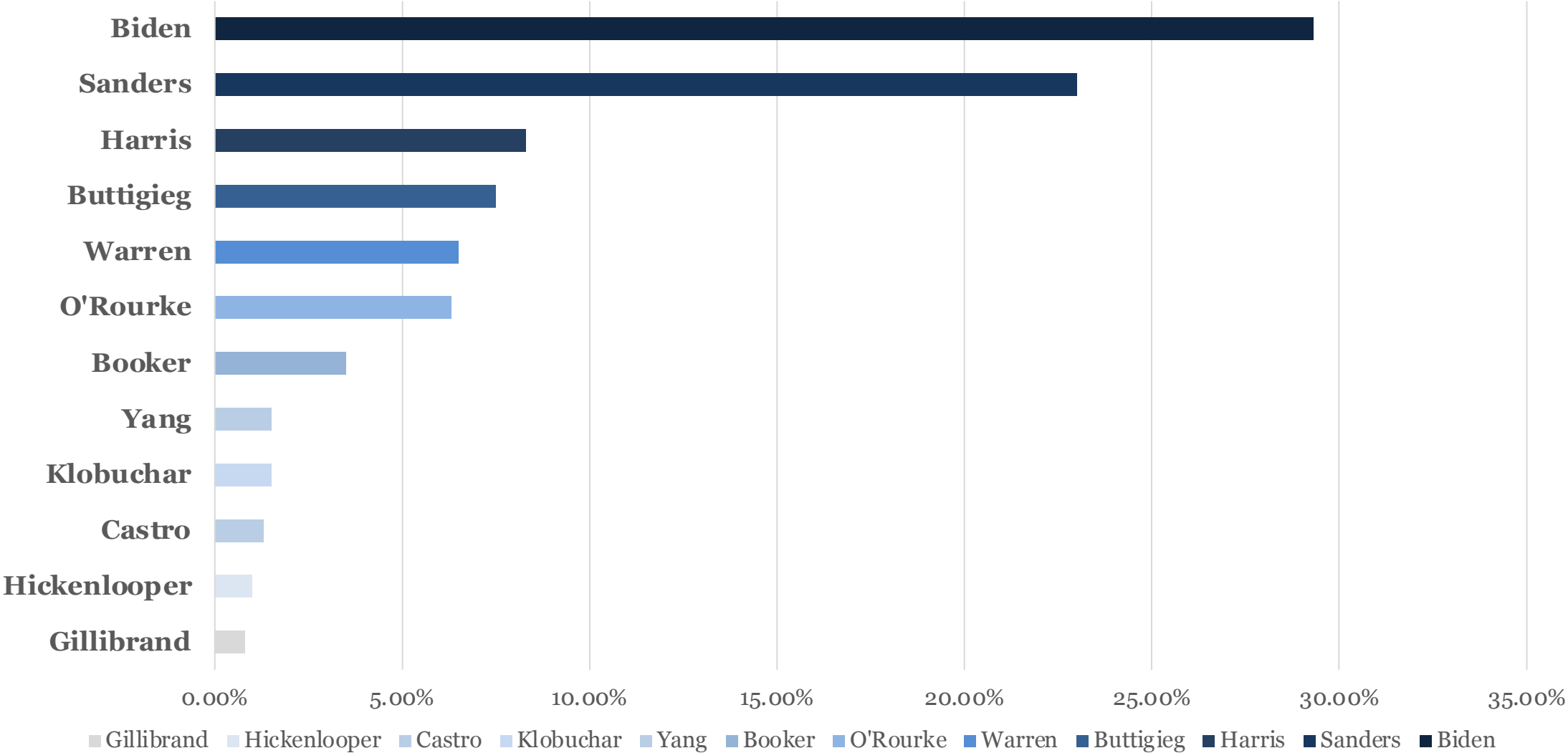


The Early Polling

- **National**
- **Early States**
 - **Iowa**
 - **New Hampshire**
 - **South Carolina**
 - **Nevada**

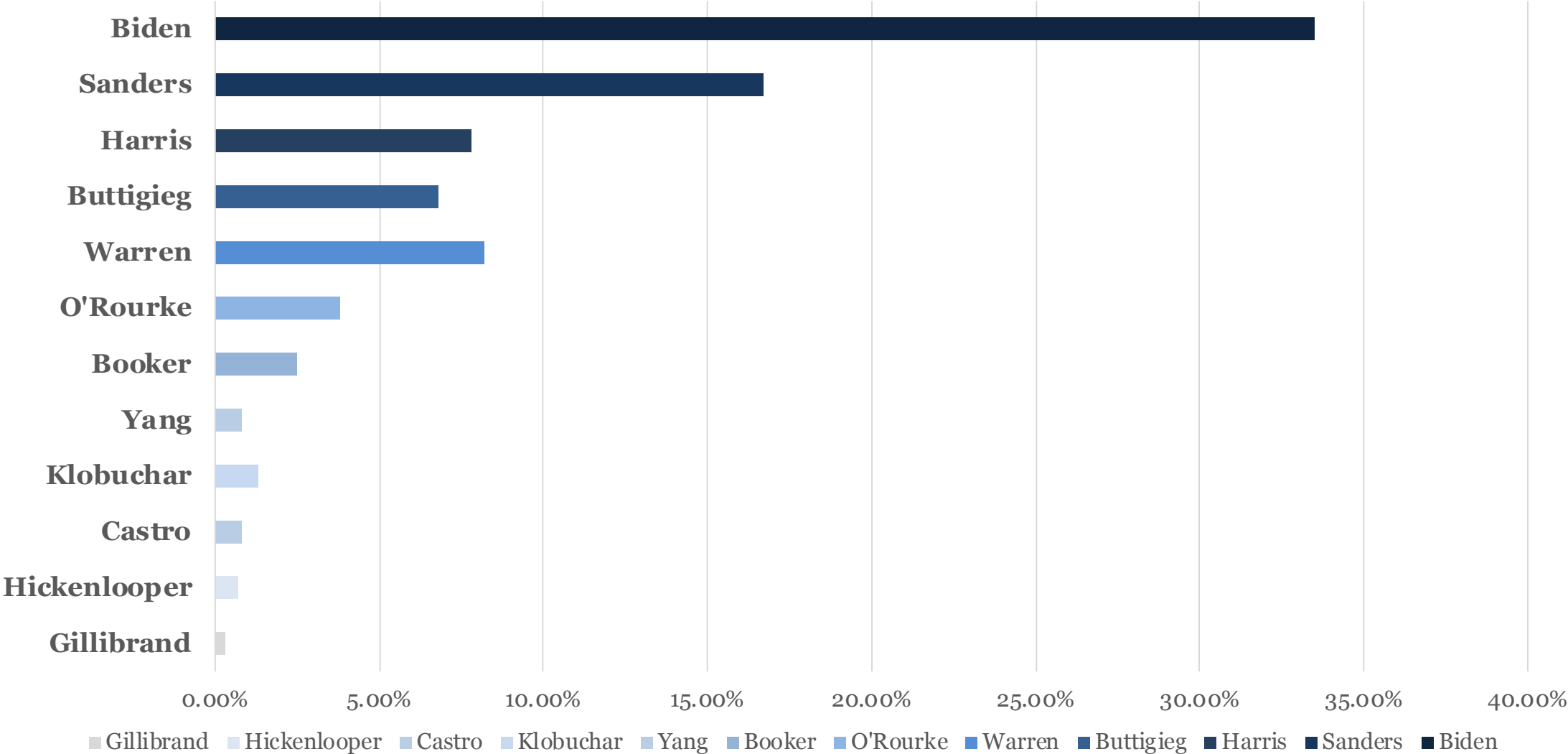
Early National Polling

National Ratings - RCP Average (4/5 to 4/21)



Early National Polling

National Ratings - RCP Average (5/16/19 to 6/4/19)

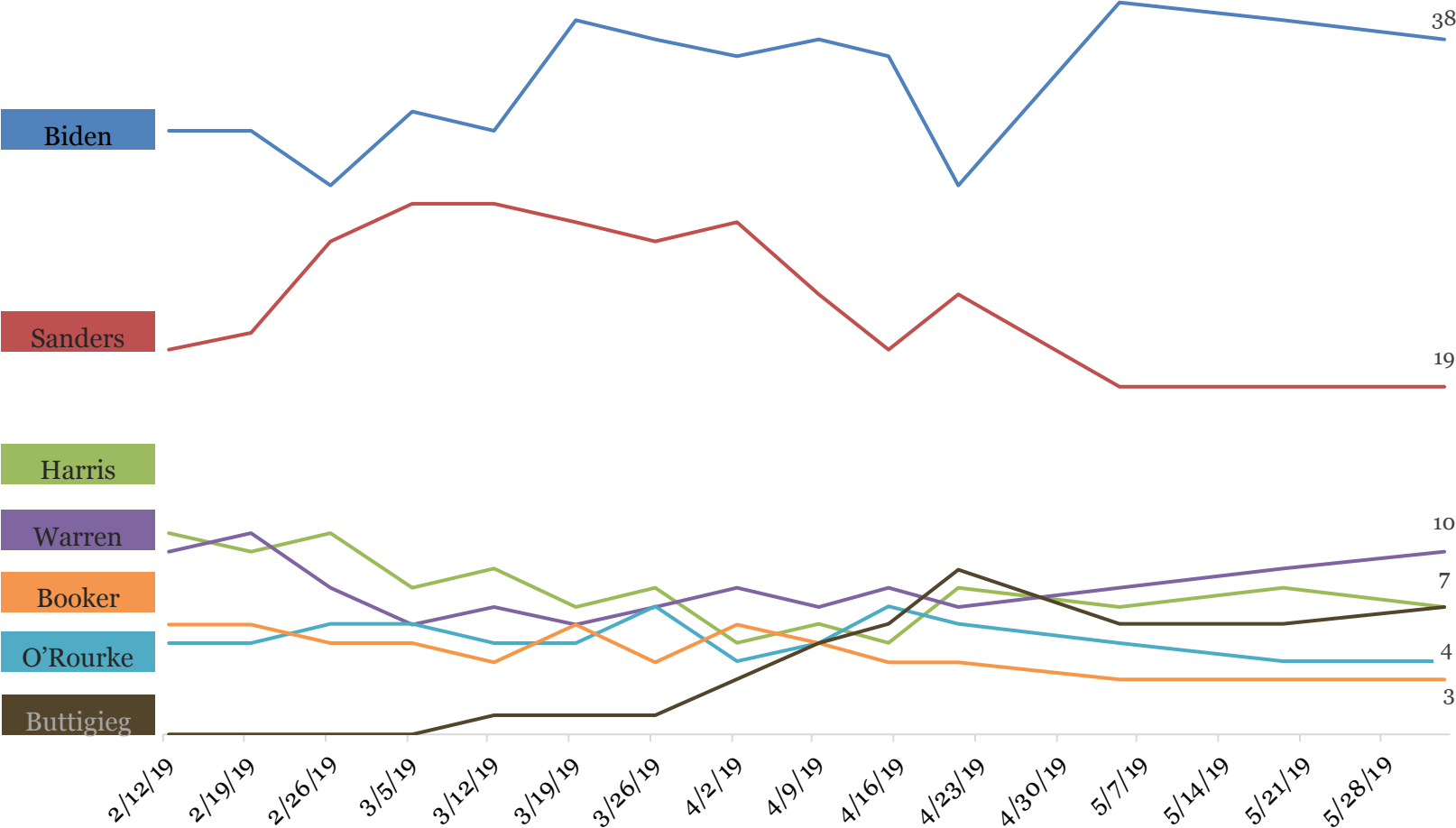


The Early Polling

Early primary state voters prefer Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders for the 2020 Democratic nominee for president

Polling of voters' first choices in Iowa, New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Nevada

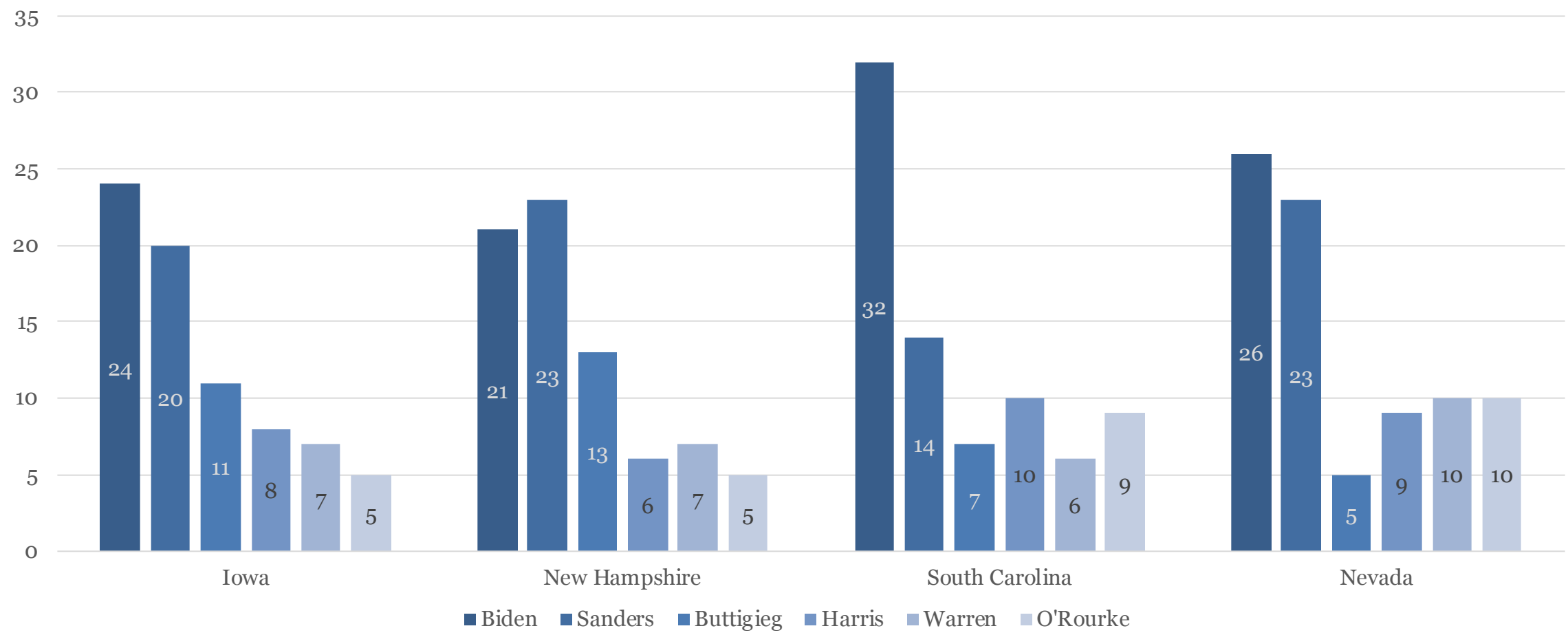
MORNING CONSULT TRACKING POLL OF 629 REGISTERED VOTERS IN EARLY STATES



Other declared or potential candidates (6/2/19)	
Candidate	% voters' first choice
Julián Castro	1
John Delaney	1
Tulsi Gabbard	1
Jay Inslee	1
Amy Klobuchar	1
Steve Bullock	1
Kirstin Gillibrand	1
John Hickenlooper	1

Sources: Morning Consult, Political Intelligence, 2019.

2020 Early Primary Polling



Early Primaries

Iowa Caucuses – February 3rd (California Starts Early Voting)

New Hampshire Primary – February 11th

Nevada Primary – February 22nd


South Carolina Primary – February 29th

Super Tuesday (California, Alabama, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia) – March 3rd

Michigan, Ohio, Washington – March 10th

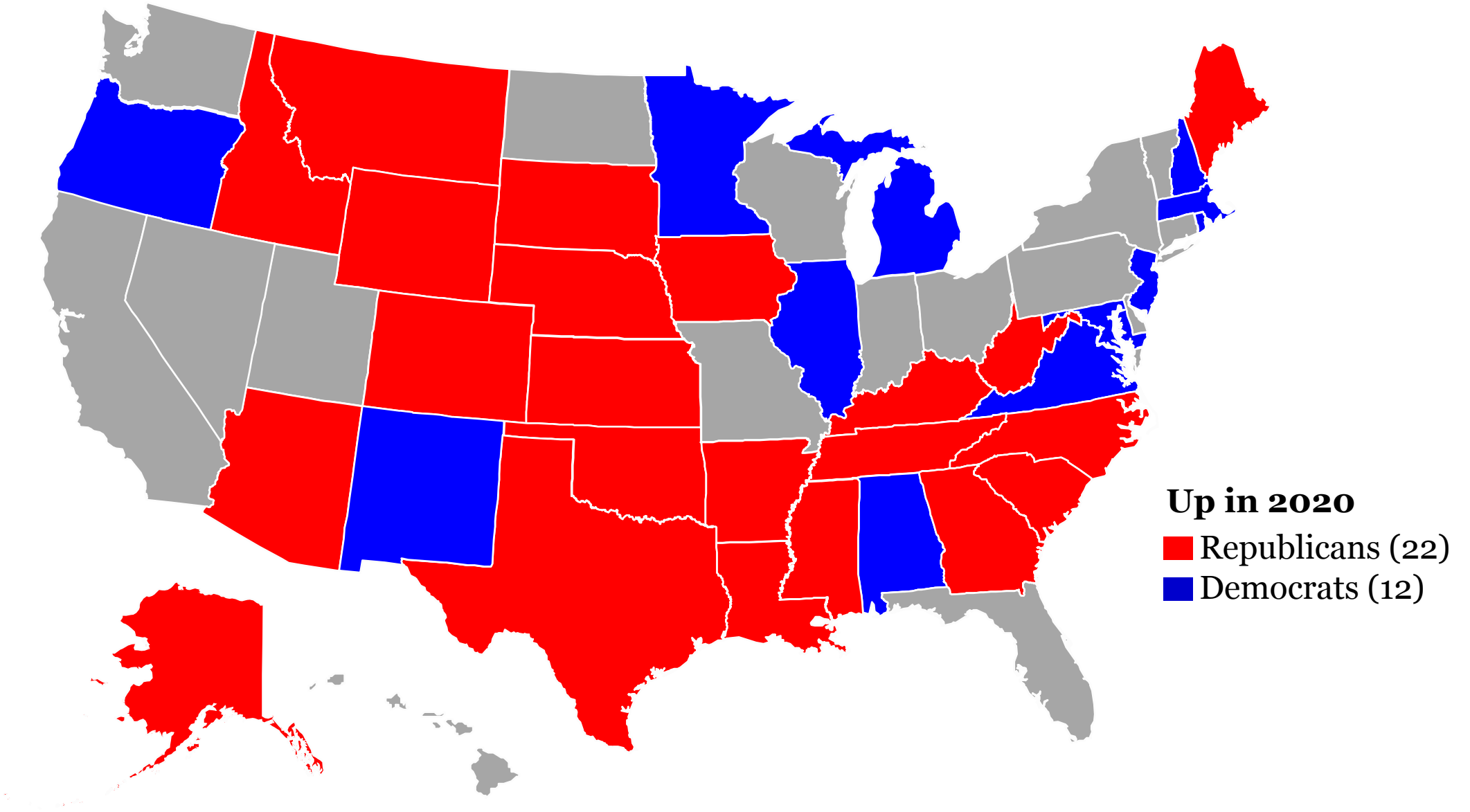
Arizona, Florida, Illinois – March 17th

Democratic Convention July 13 – 16, Milwaukee
Republican Convention August 24 – 27, Charlotte



3. Will the Democrats take the Senate?

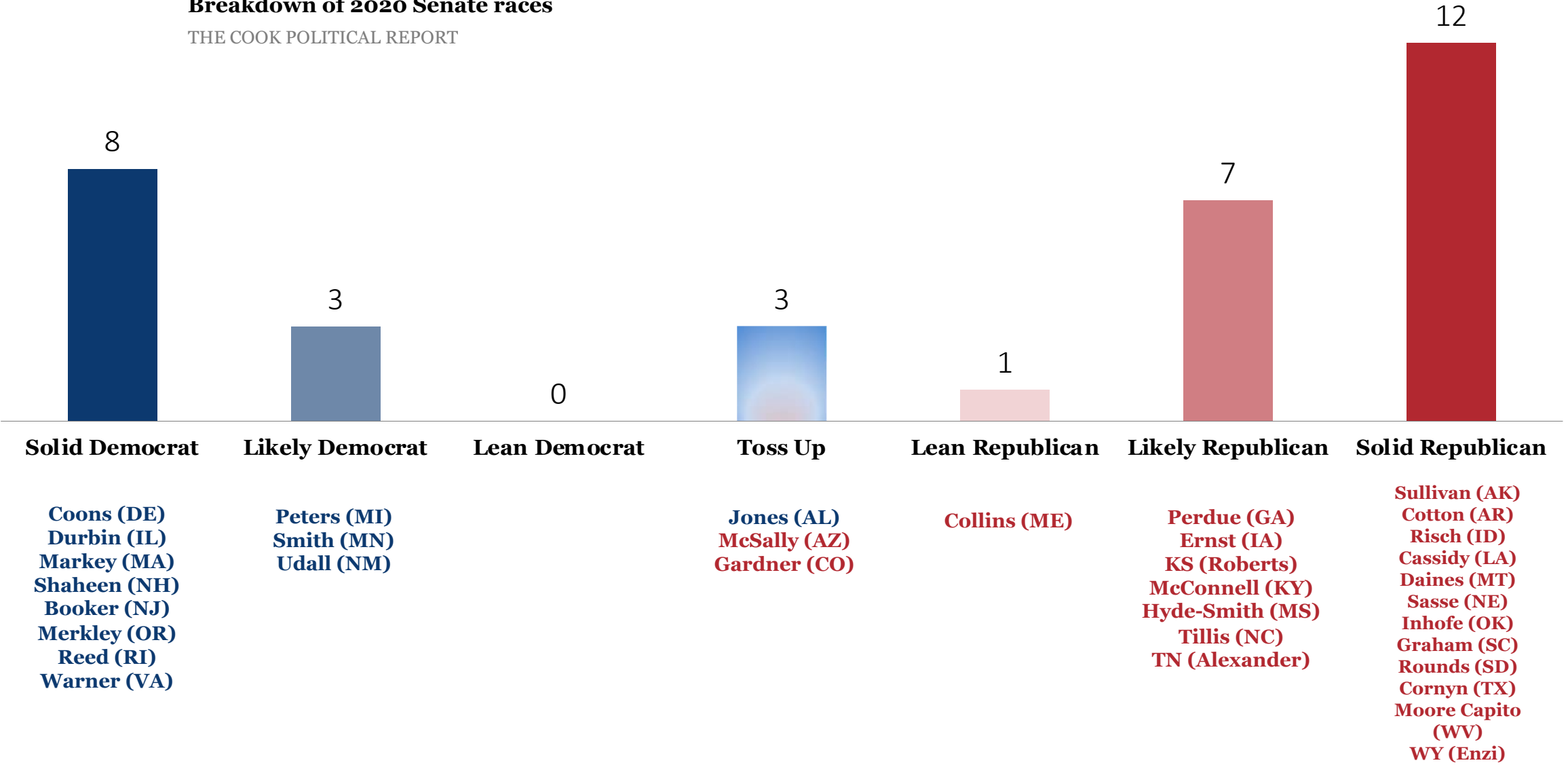
Senate Seats Up in 2020




Senate Races – Charlie Cook’s View

Breakdown of 2020 Senate races

THE COOK POLITICAL REPORT

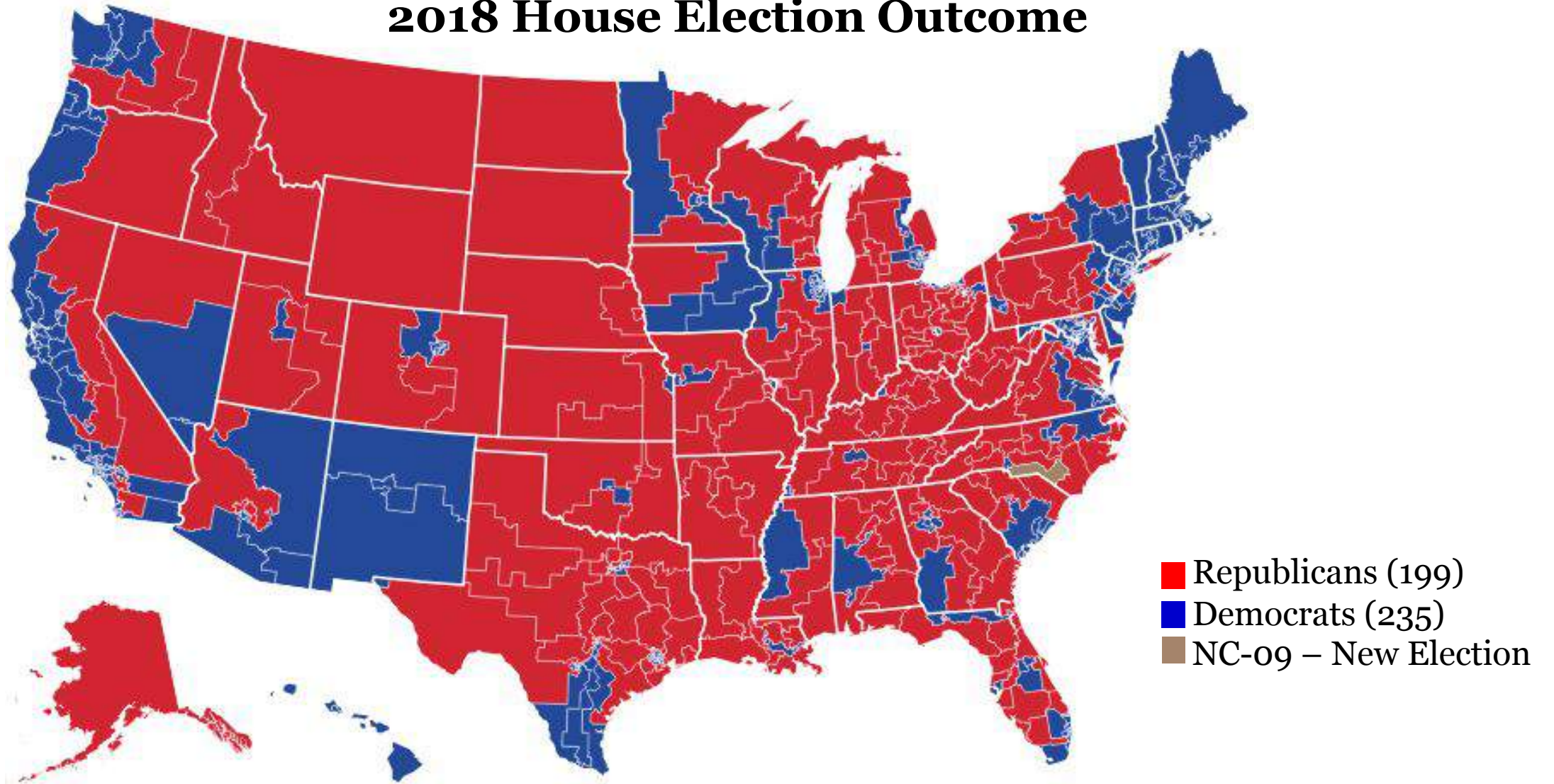




4. Will the Democrats hold the House?

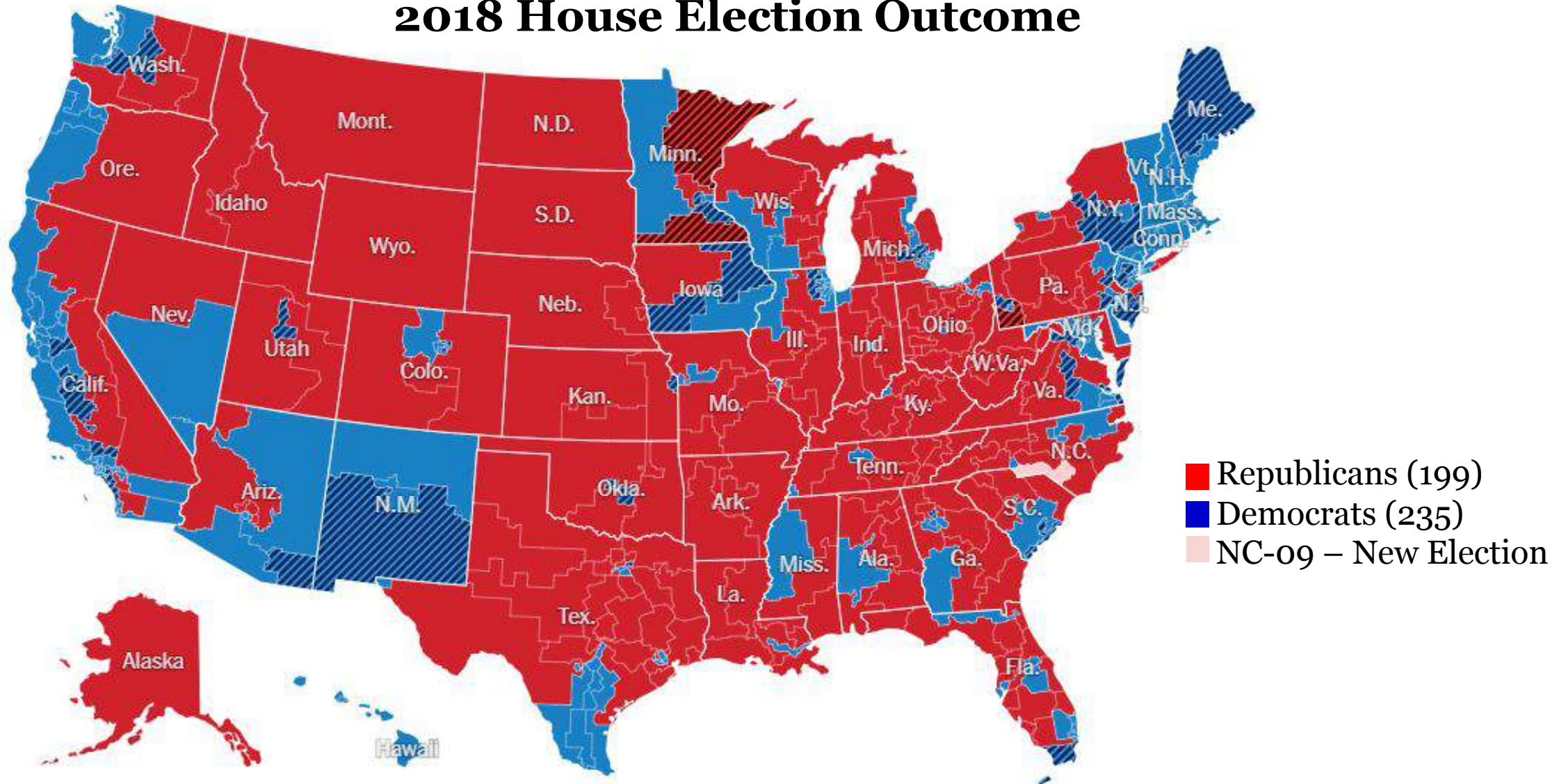
116th Congress – House Post-Election Results

2018 House Election Outcome



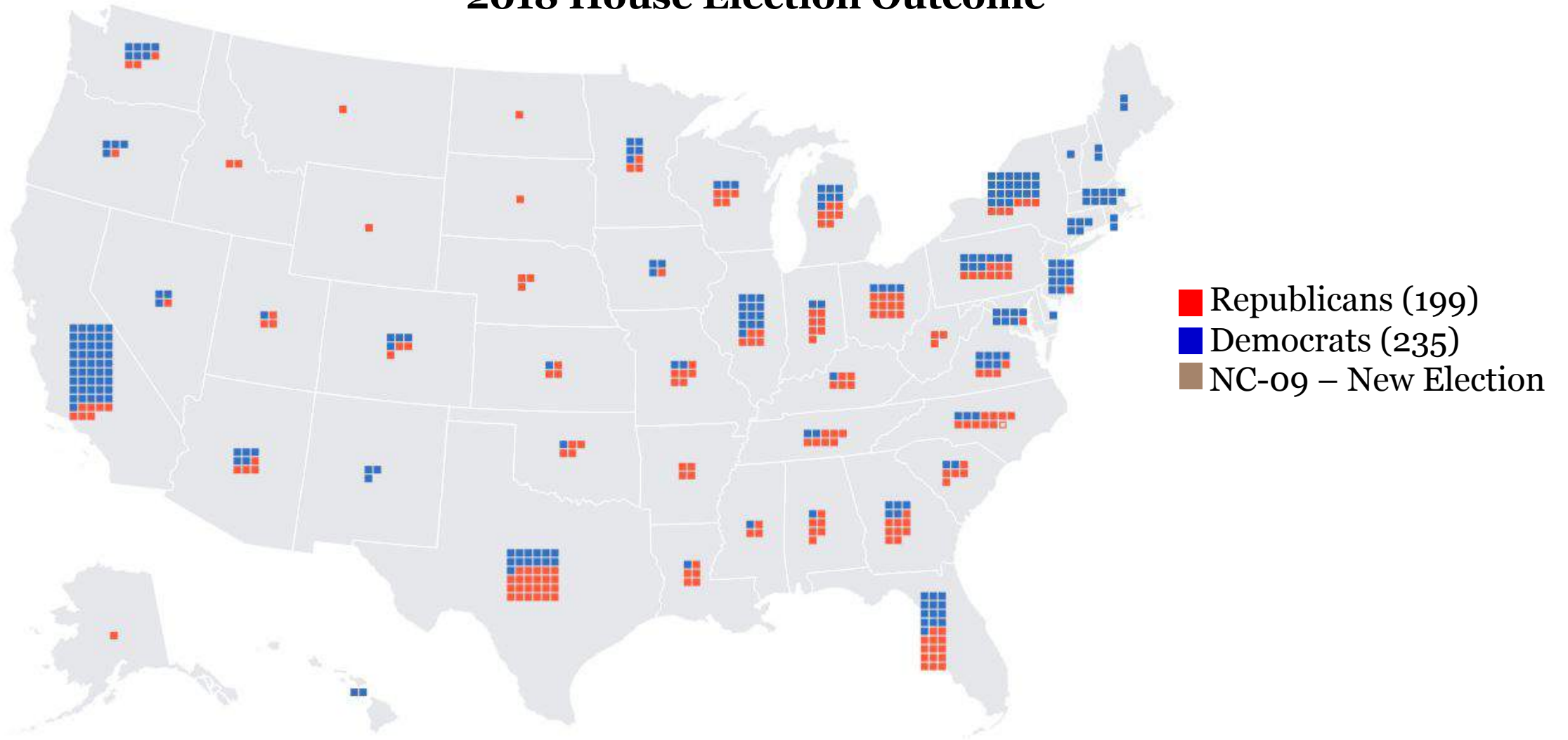
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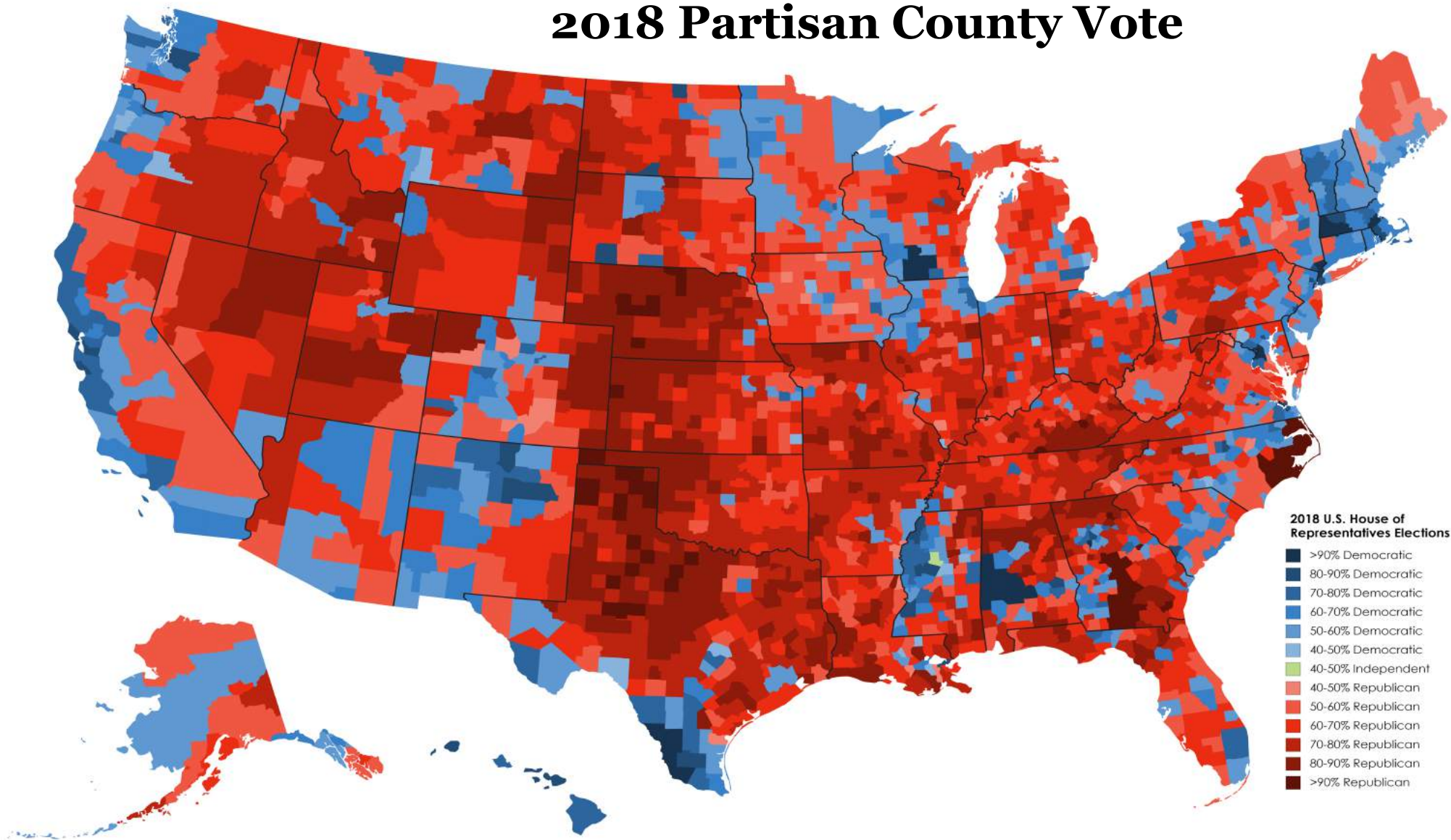
116th Congress – House Post-Election Results

2018 House Election Outcome



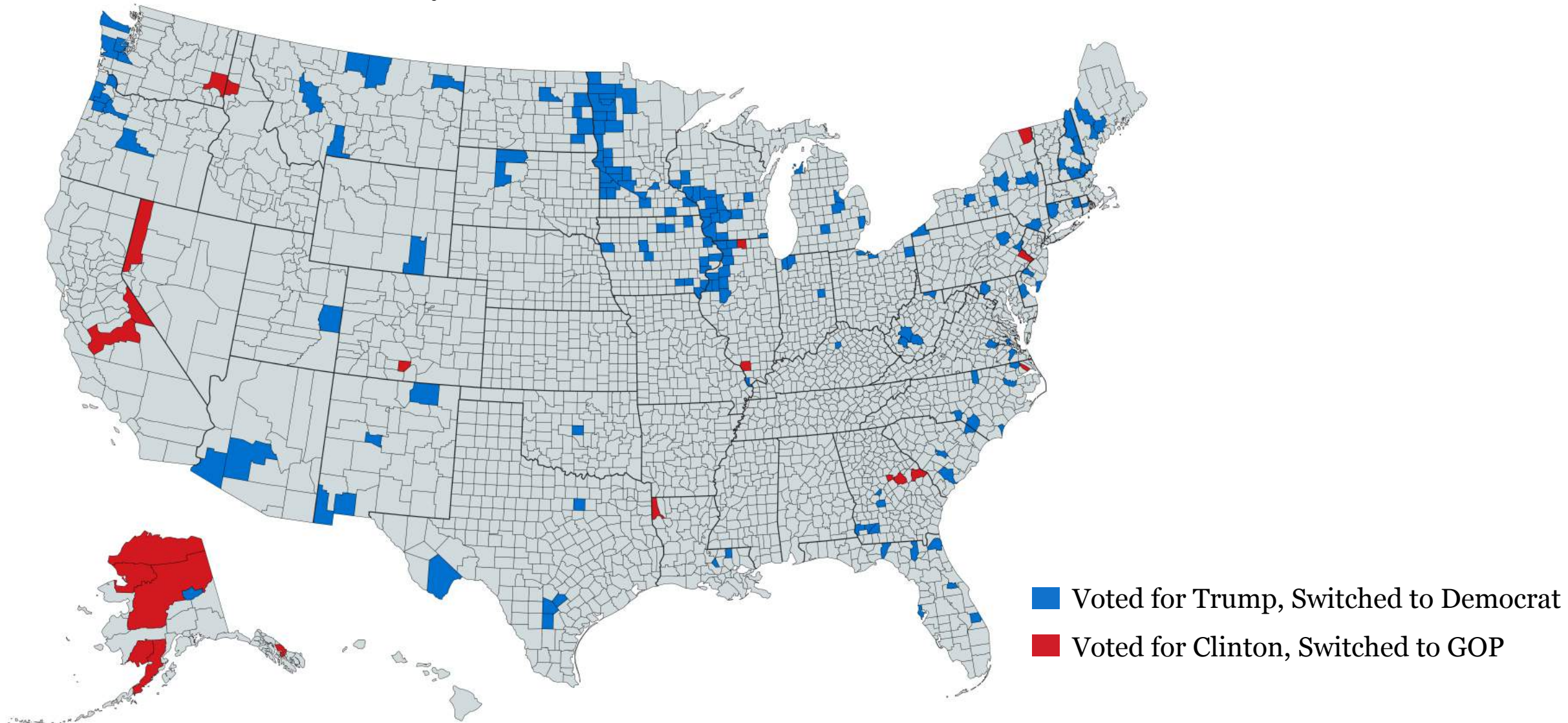
116th Congress – Partisan Vote by County

2018 Partisan County Vote



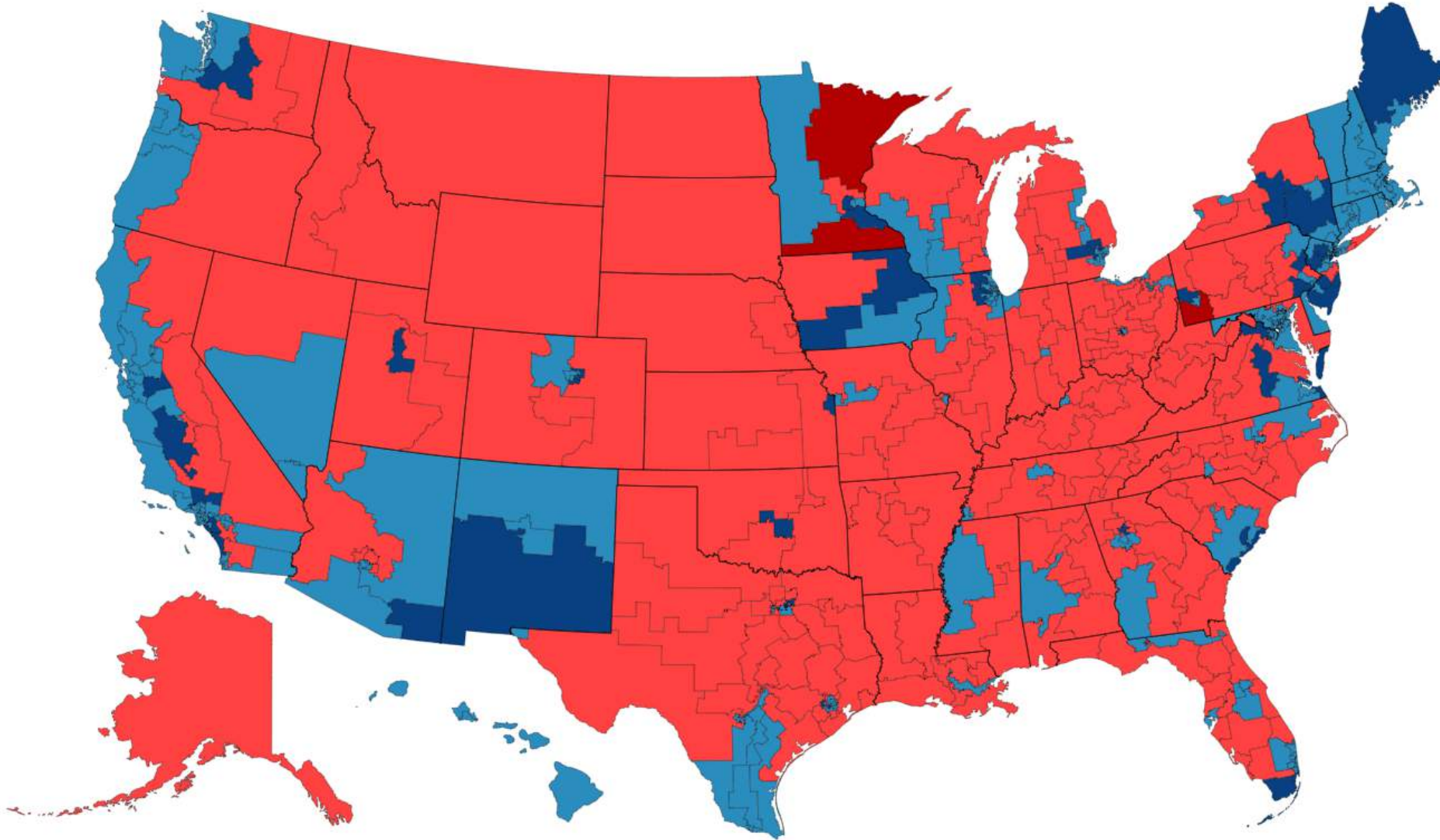
2018 House Election – Shift in County Vote

Shift in County Vote: 2016 Presidential to 2018 House Elections



House Districts that Flipped

2018 Election - House Districts

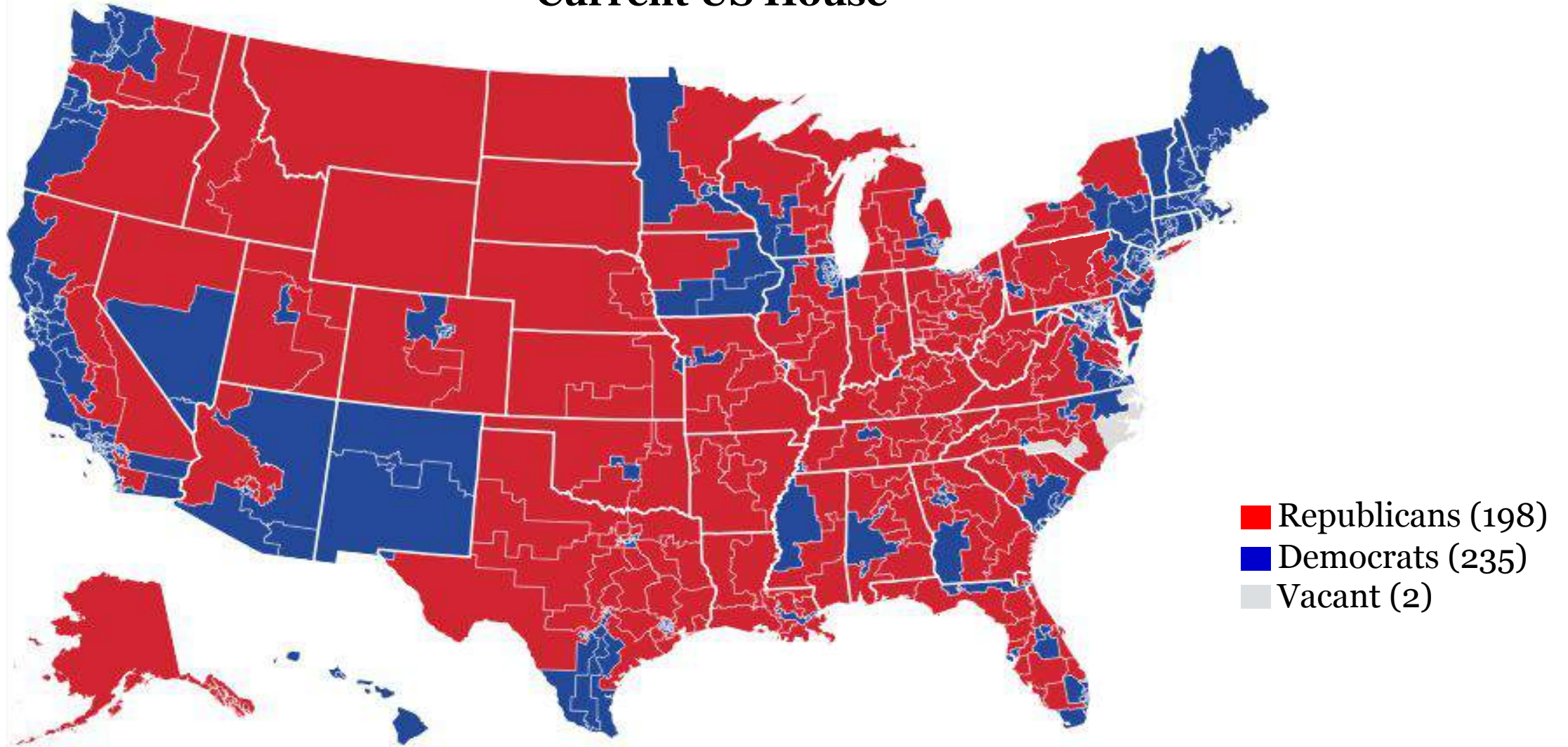


Flipped Districts

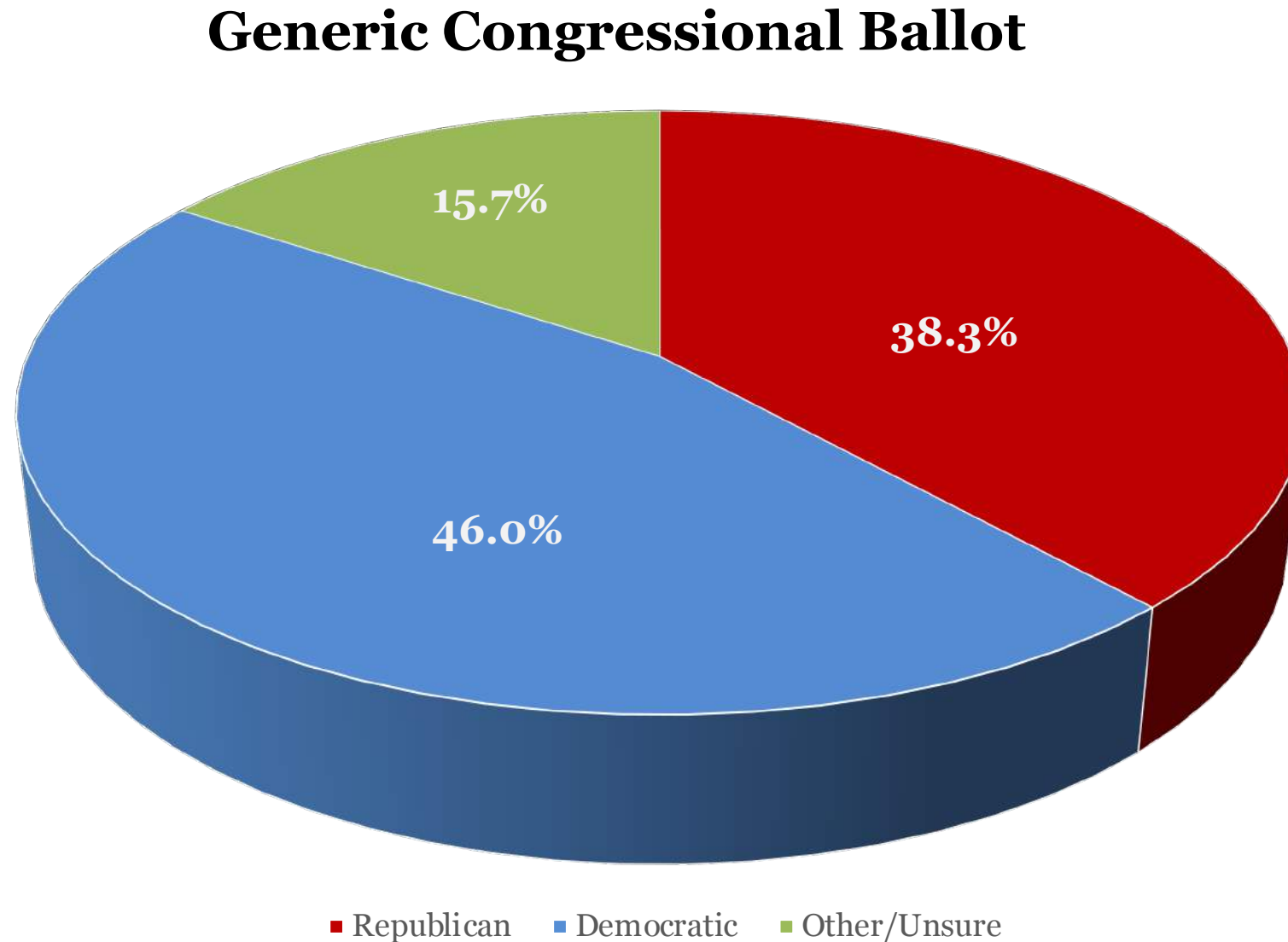
- Republicans (3)
- Democrats (43)

116th Congress – Current Makeup

Current US House



Generic Congressional Ballot



Democrats hold a 7.7 point advantage, but many voters remain on the fence.

Suburbs Decide

New York

Philadelphia

Pittsburgh

D.C.

Richmond

Charleston

Atlanta

Miami

Detroit

Chicago

Minneapolis

Kansas City

Oklahoma City

Dallas

Houston

Denver

Salt Lake City

Los Angeles

House Races – Charlie Cook's View

House Republicans are defending 37 competitive seats
to 53 competitive Democratic seats

Cook Political Report ratings

COMPETITIVE 2020 HOUSE RACES

Democrat-held seat
Republican-held seat

(18 Dem)		(18 Dem)		(17 Dem, 4 GOP)		(14 GOP)		(19 GOP)	
AZ-1	O'Halleran	CA-10	Harder	GA-6	McBath	CA-50	Hunter	AK-AL	Young
AZ-2	Kirkpatrick	CA-21	Cox	IA-1	Finkenauer	FL-15	Spano	AZ-6	Schweikert
CA-25	Hill	CA-39	Cisneros	IA-2	OPEN	IL-13	Davis	CA-22	Nunes
CA-7	Bera	CA-45	Porter	IA-3	Axne	MO-2	Wagner	IA-4	King
CA-49	Levin	CA-48	Rouda	IL-14	Underwood	NC-2	Holding	KS-2	Watkins
CO-6	Crow	FL-26	Mucarsel-Powell	ME-2	Golden	NE-2	Bacon	KY-6	Barr
FL-27	Shalala	IL-6	Casten	MI-8	Slotkin	NY-27	Collins	MI-6	Upton
IL-17	Bustos	KS-3	Davids	NM-2	Torres Small	OH-1	Chabot	MN-1	Hagedorn
MN-3	Phillips	MI-11	Stevens	NJ-3	Kim	PA-1	Fitzpatrick	MN-8	Stauber
NV-4	Horsford	MN-2	Craig	NY-11	Rose	PA-10	Perry	MT-AL	Gianforte
NJ-5	Gottheimer	MN-7	Peterson	NY-19	Delgado	TX-10	McCaul	NC-13	Budd
NJ-11	Sherrill	NV-3	Lee	NY-22	Brindisi	TX-21	Roy	NY-1	Zeldin
NY-18	Maloney	NH-1	Pappas	OK-5	Horn	TX-22	Olson	NY-2	King
PA-7	Wild	NJ-2	Van Drew	SC-1	Cunningham	TX-31	Carter	NY-24	Katko
PA-17	Lamb	NJ-7	Malinowski	UT-4	McAdams			OH-12	Balderson
VA-10	Wexton	PA-8	Cartwright	VA-2	Luria			PA-16	Kelly
WA-8	Schrier	TX-7	Fletcher	VA-7	Spanberger			TX-6	Wright
WI-3	Kind	TX-32	Allred	GA-7	OPEN			VA-5	Rigglesman
				NC-9	OPEN			WA-3	Herrera Beutler
				TX-23	Hurd				
				TX-24	Marchant				
Likely Democrat		Lean Democrat		Toss Up		Lean Republican		Likely Republican	

Source: Cook Political Report.

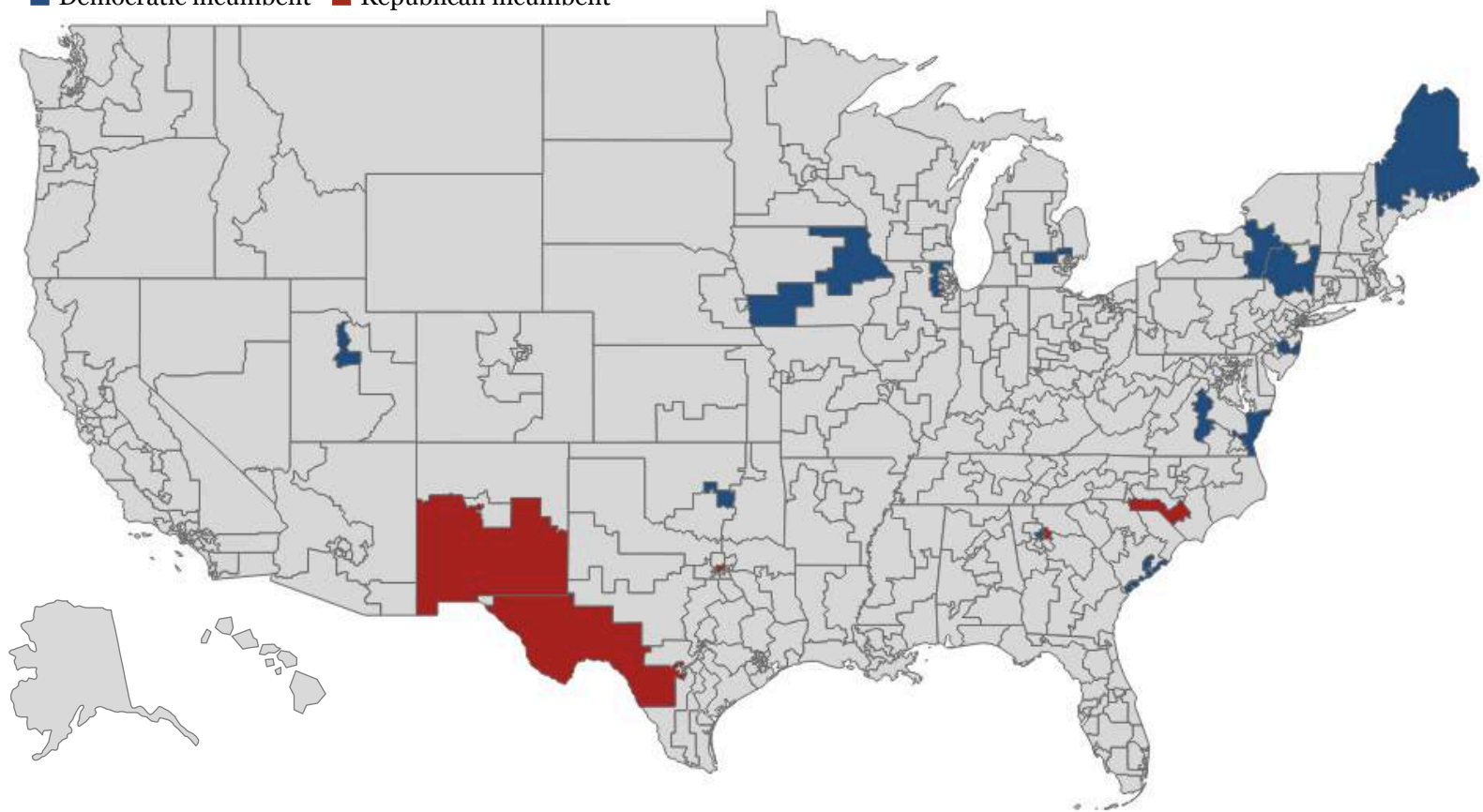
Slide last updated on: April 10, 2019

House Races – Charlie Cook’s View

Charlie Cook currently rates 21 House seats as toss ups for the 2020 election

2020 House toss up seats

■ Democratic incumbent ■ Republican incumbent



Toss up seats	
GA-6	NY-11
GA-7	NY-19
IA-1	NY-22
IA-3	OK-5
IL-14	SC-1
ME-2	UT-4
MI-8	VA-2
NC-9	VA-7
NJ-3	TX-23
NM-2	TX-24

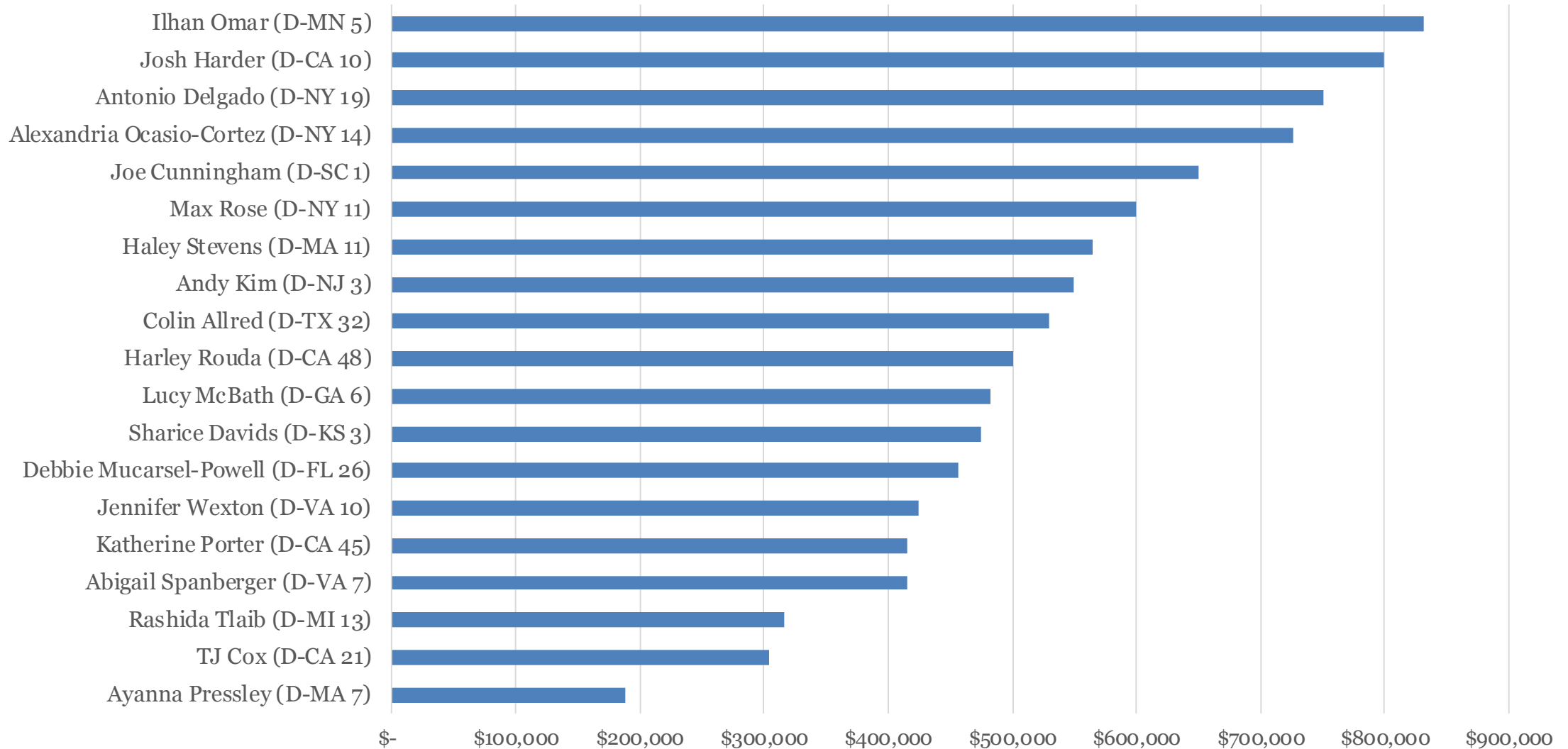
“Follow the Money”

Most Significant House Freshman Fundraisers

- Out of the 43 freshman Democrats being targeted by Republicans heading into 2020, only eight posted numbers less than \$300,000.00.
- No House Democrat Freshman has been outraised by declared opponents
- The DCCC raised \$32.5 million in Q1, and plans to go on the offensive in 2020
- Josh Harder (D-CA 10) defeated incumbent Jeff Denham (R) in 2018. Has raised \$874,000, "over triple the average for all House candidates"
- Antonio Delgado (D-NY 19), Joe Cunningham (D-SC 1), Katie Hill (D-CA 25), Max Rose (D-NY 11), and Lizzie Pannill Fletcher (D-TX 7) all raised over \$500,000 in Q1.

“Follow the Money”

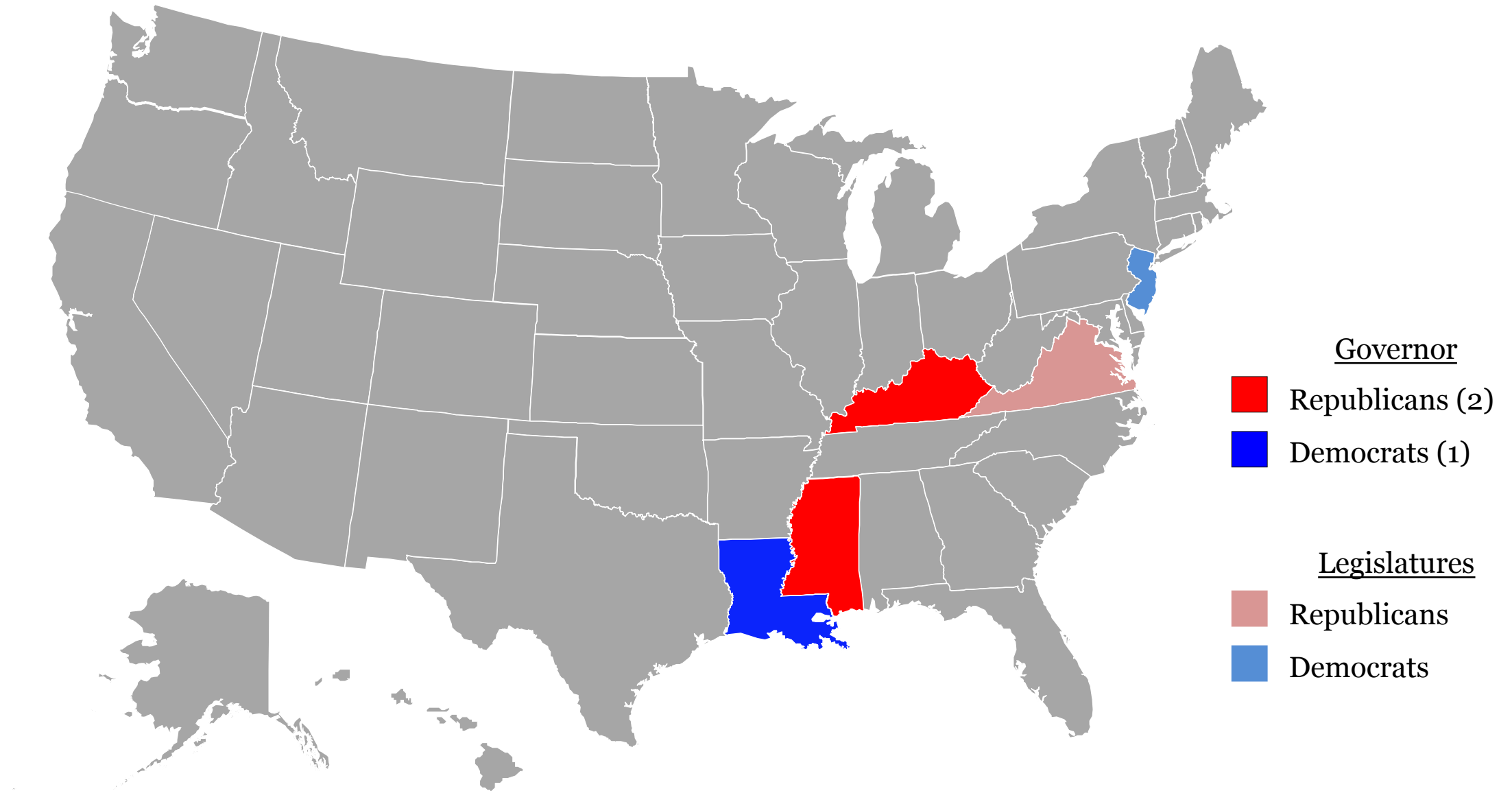
Most Significant Democrat House Freshman Fundraisers (Q1)





1. What About This Year's Elections?

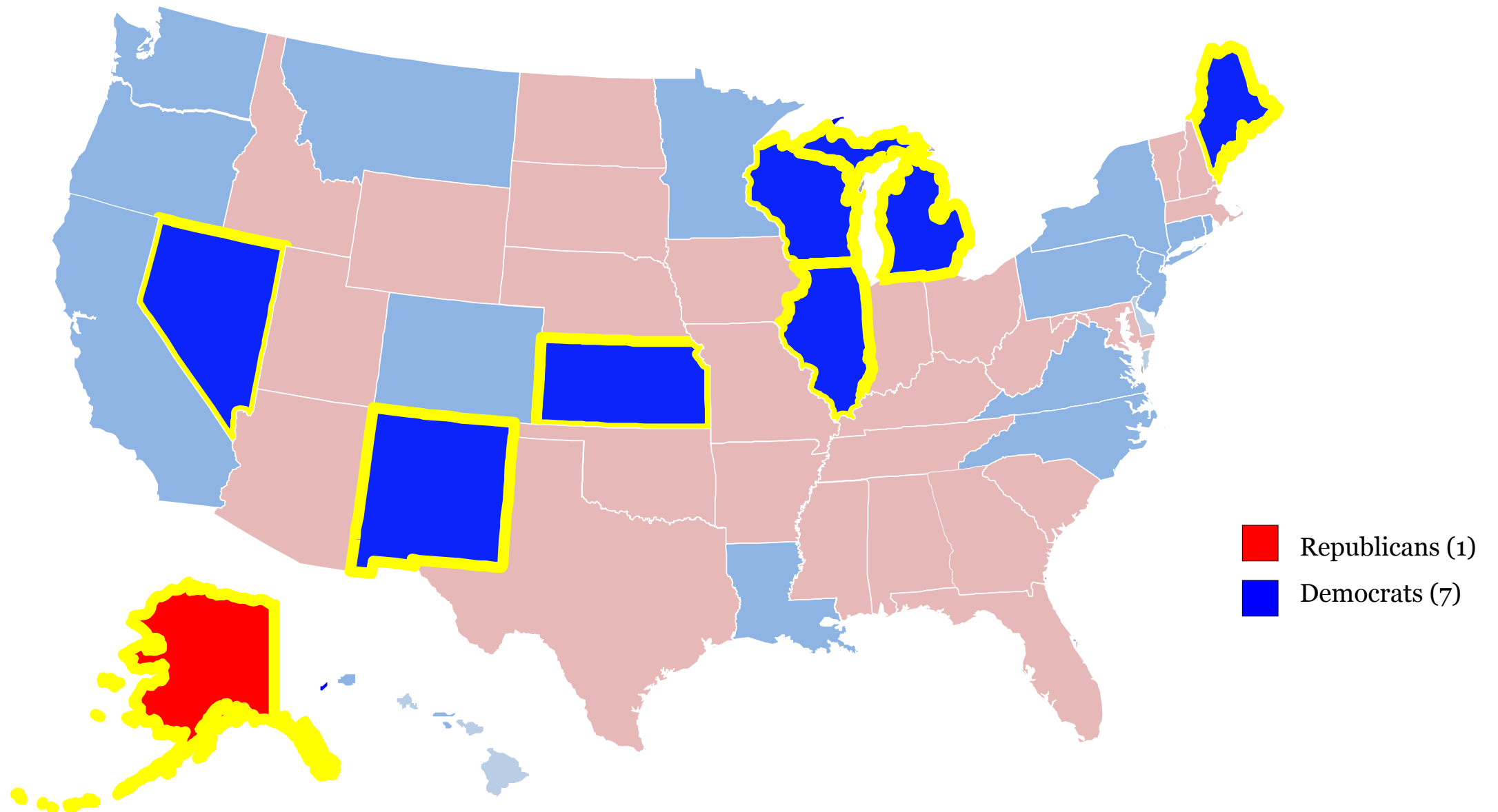
Governors and Legislatures – 2019



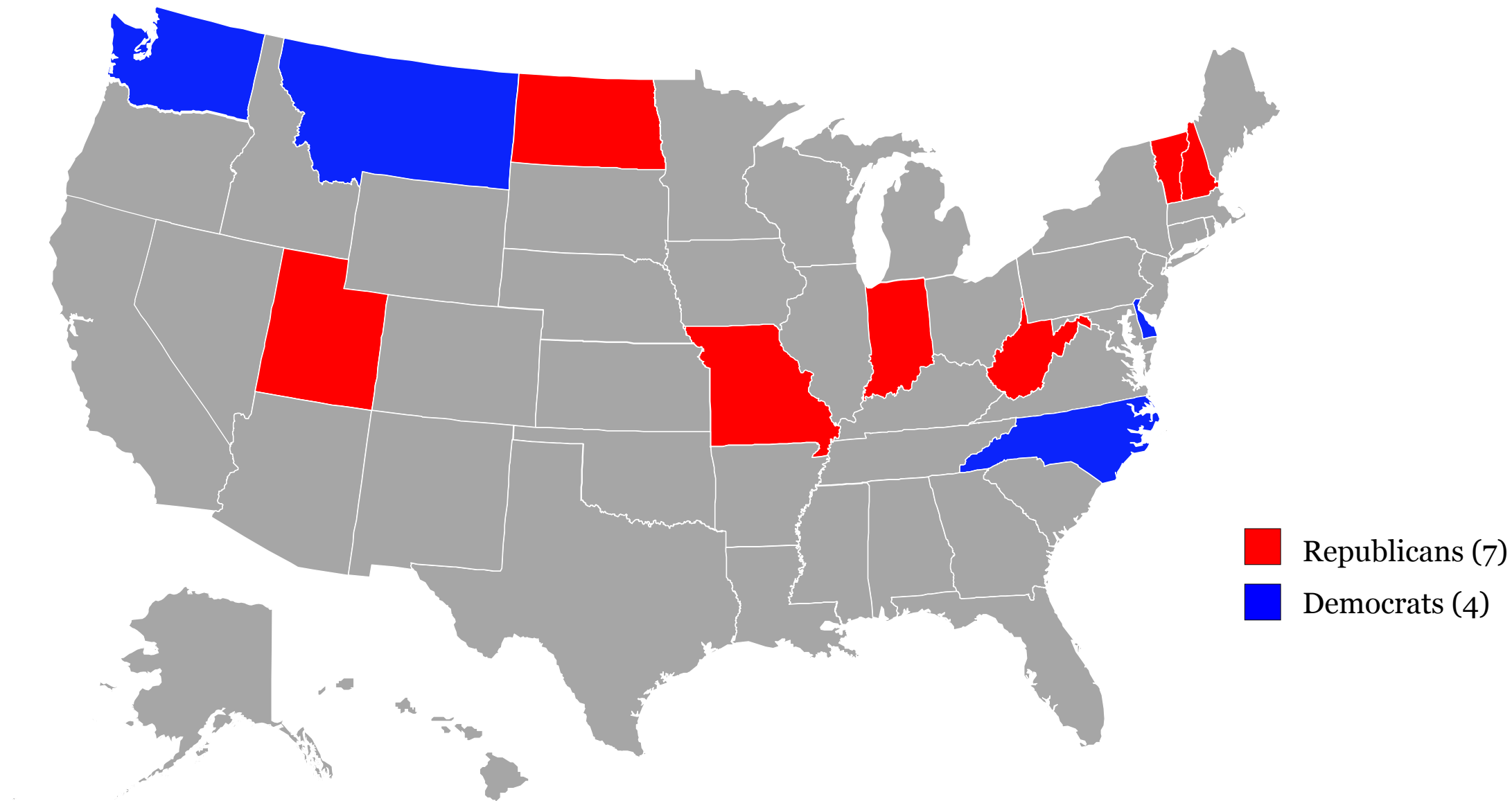


2. What about the Governors next year?

Governors – States That Flipped in 2018



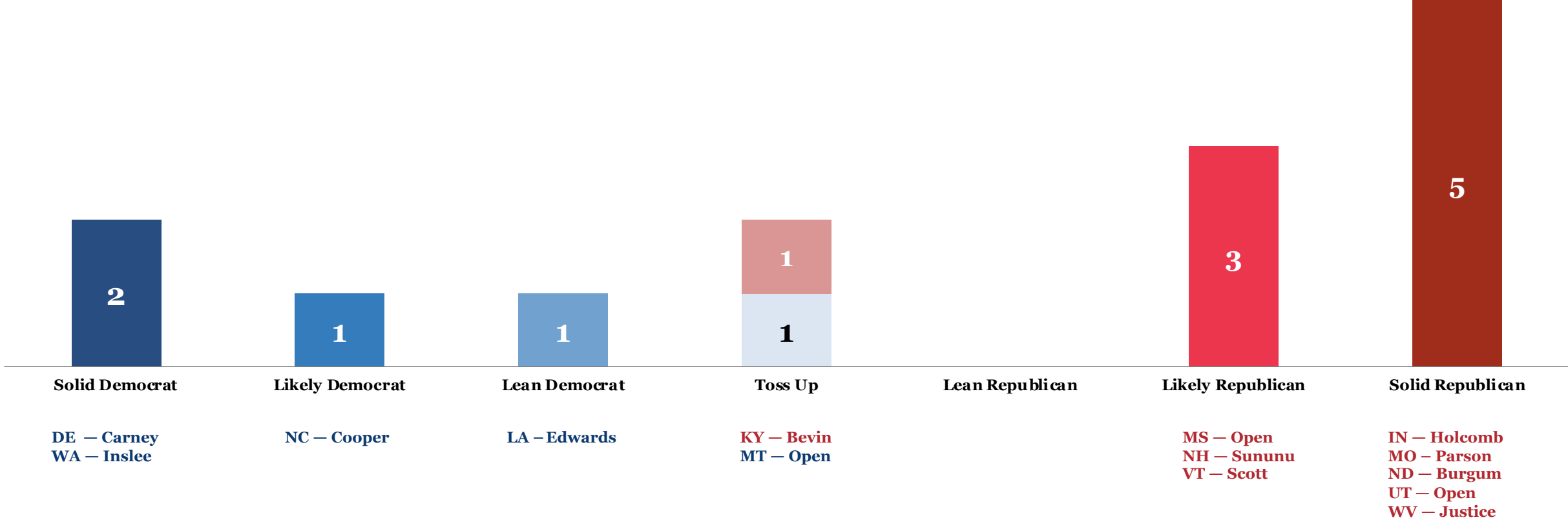
Governors – 2020



Governors Races – Charlie Cook’s View

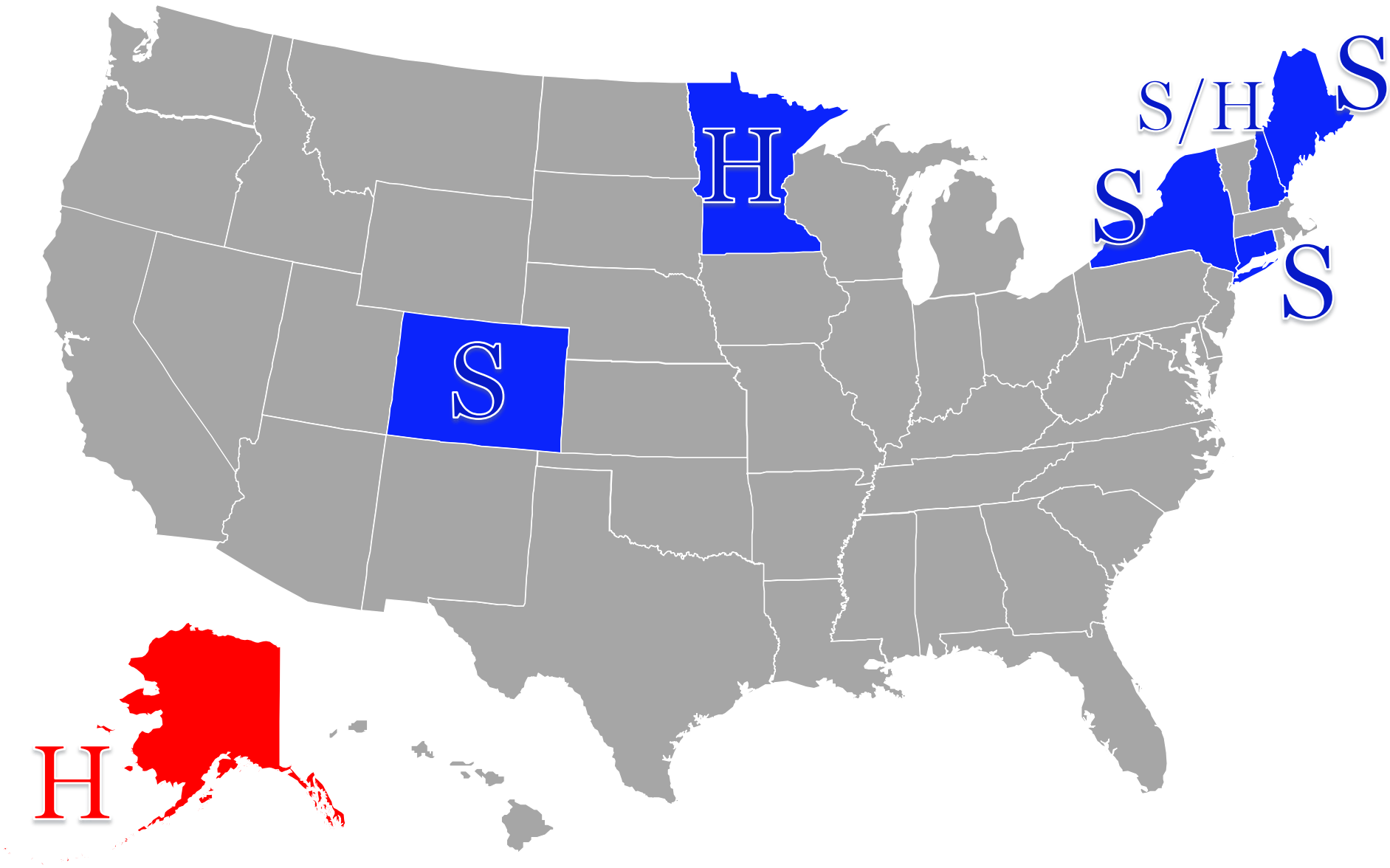
A total of 14 governorships are up for grabs in the 2019 and 2020 election, including three open seats

Cook Political Report 2019/2020 governor ratings

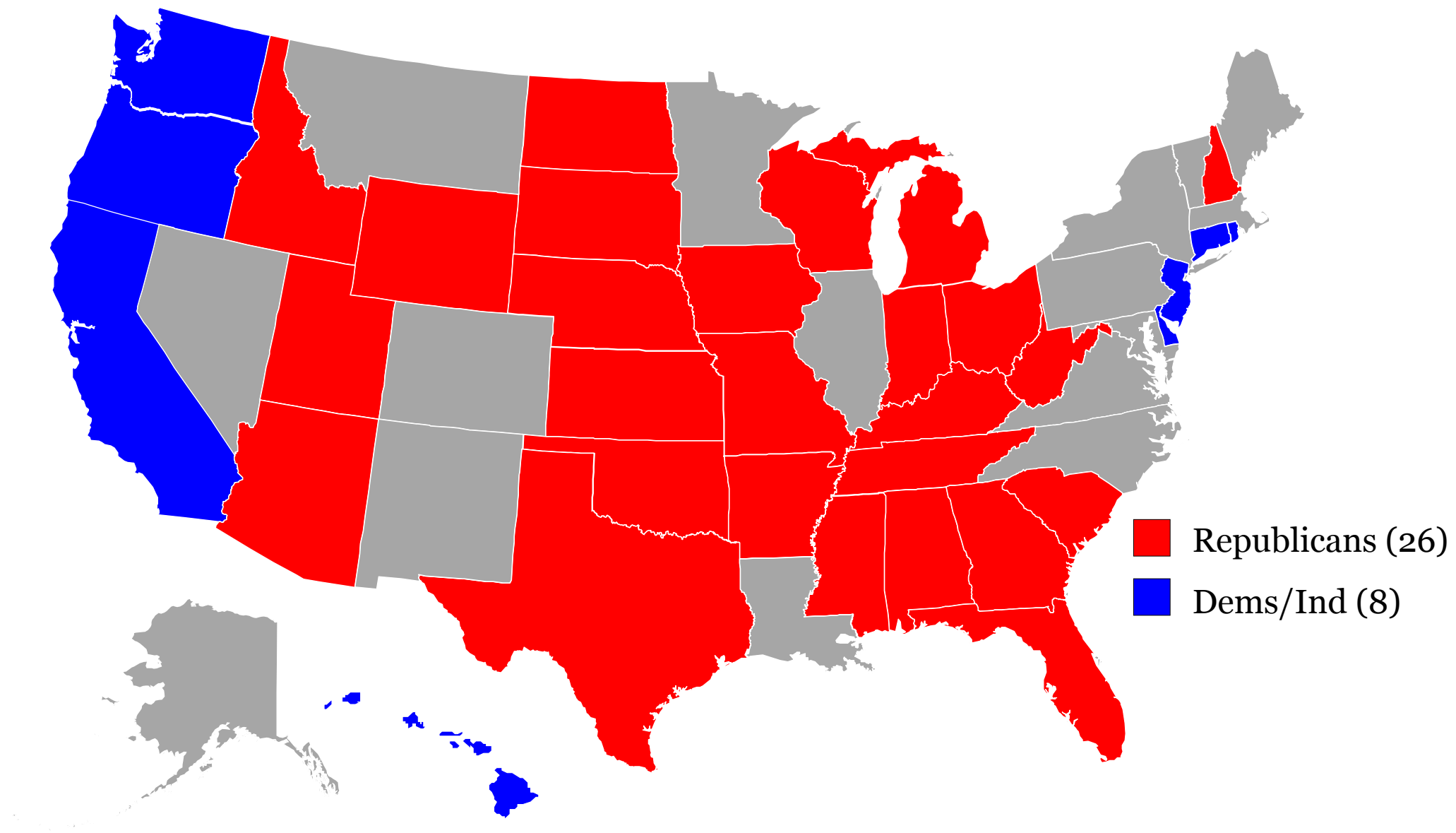




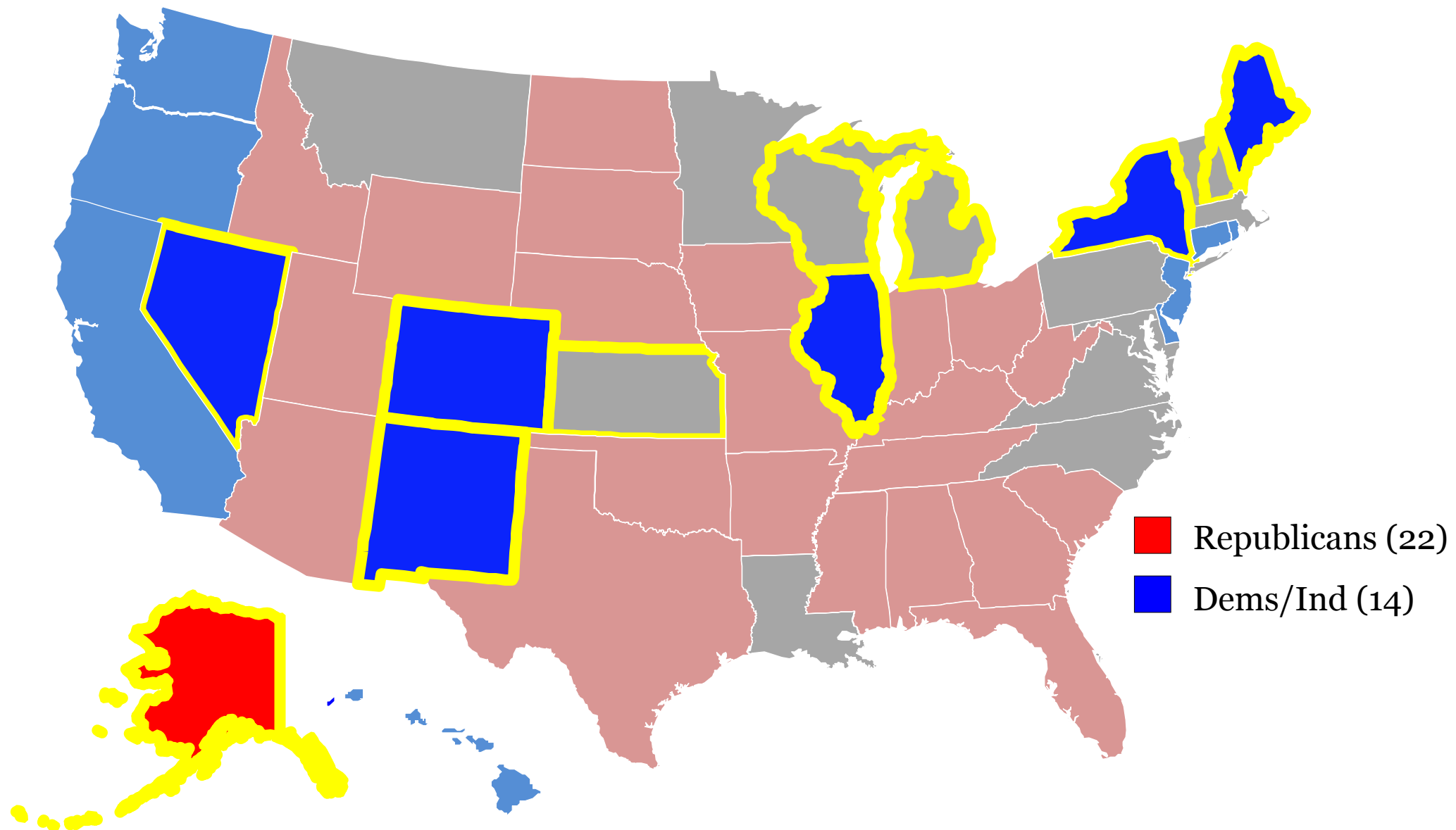
3. What about Legislatures in 2020?



State Government Trifectas – Pre-Election

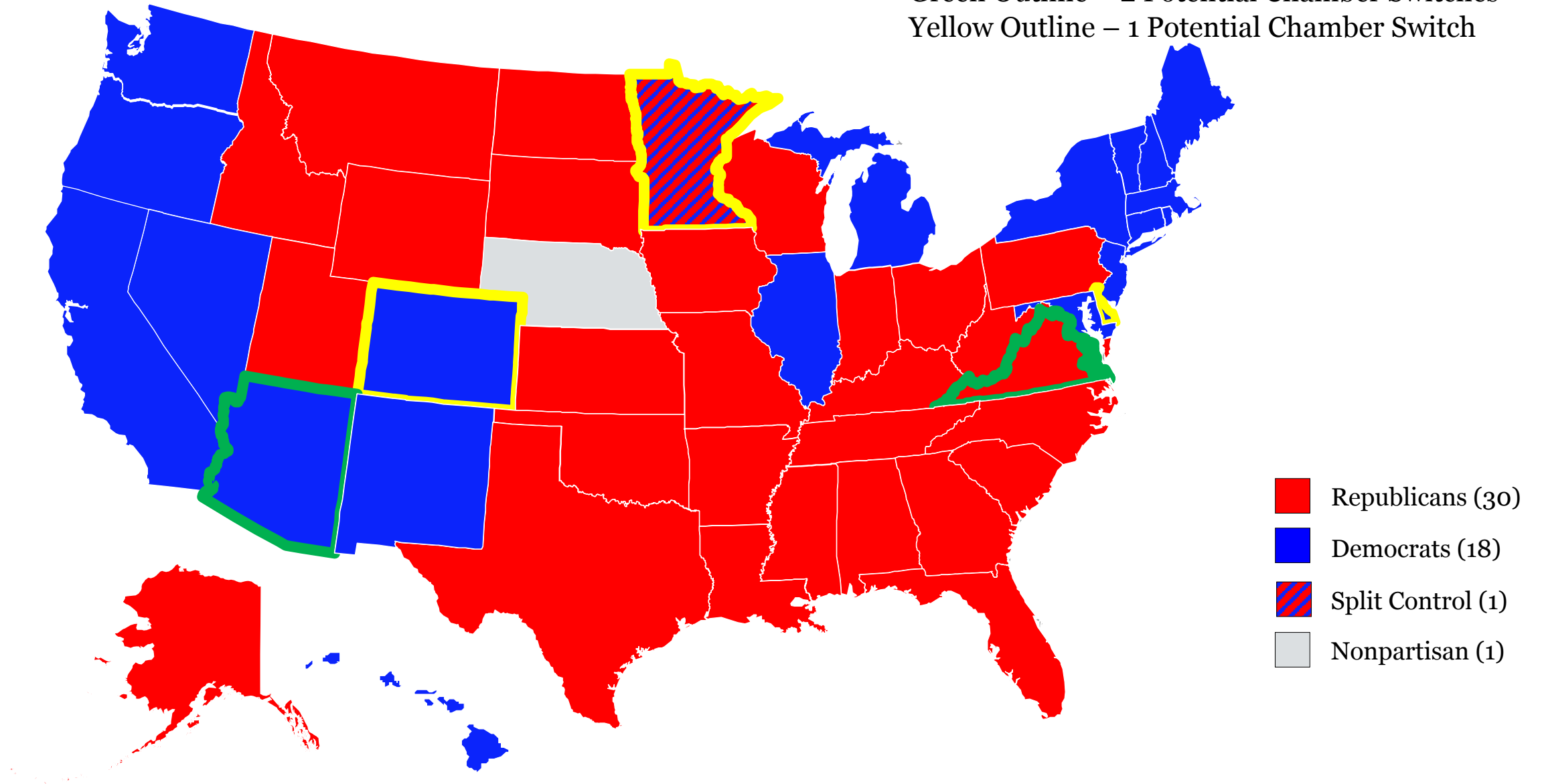


State Government Trifectas – Post-Election



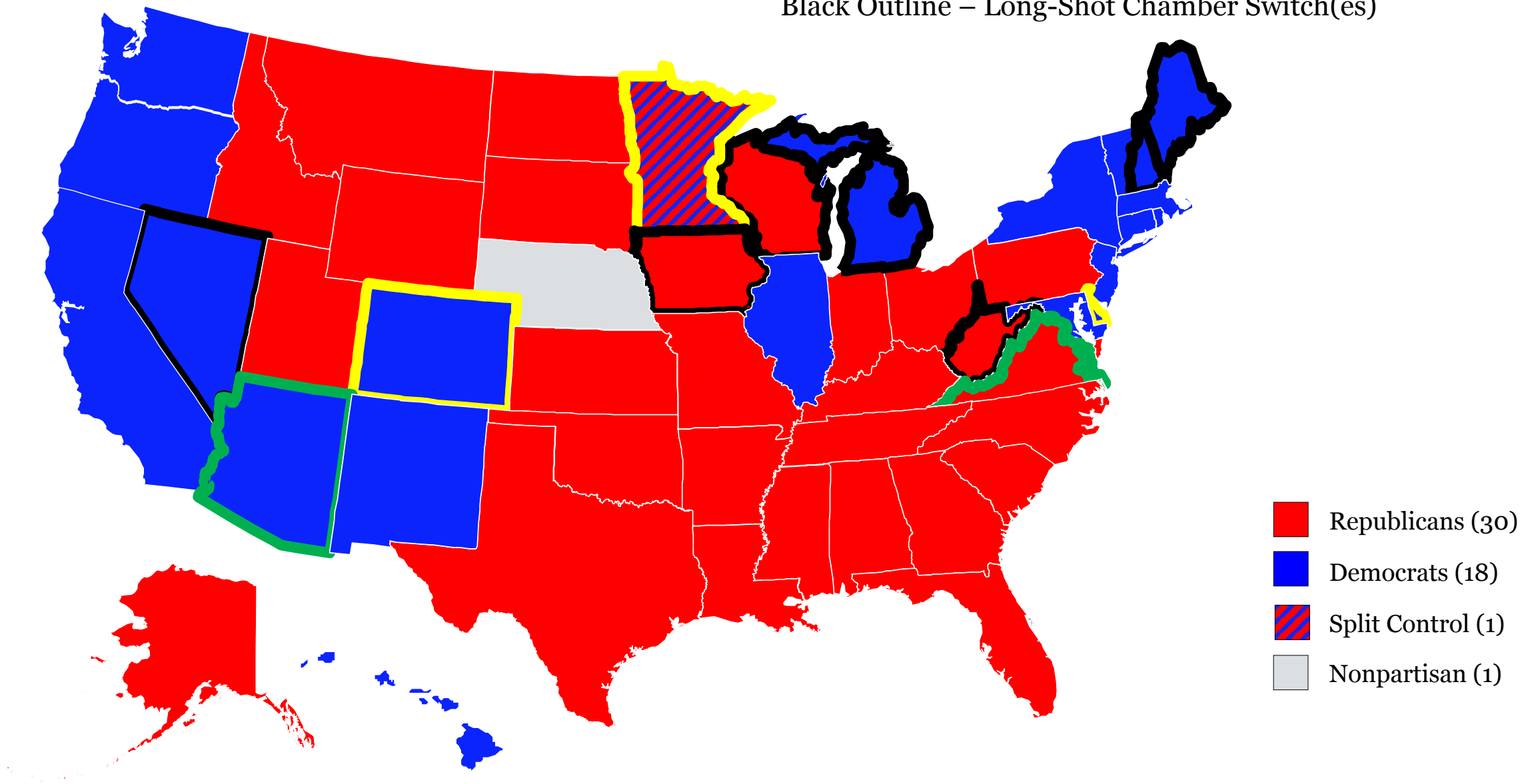
State Legislatures

Green Outline – 2 Potential Chamber Switches
Yellow Outline – 1 Potential Chamber Switch



State Legislatures

Black Outline – Long-Shot Chamber Switch(es)





4. And Ballot Issues in 2020?

2018 Ballot Issues

- **Nevada (6 Statewide Ballot Issues)**
 - Utility Choice (Question 3) **FAILED 67%-33%**
 - Renewable Portfolio Standard (Question 6) **PASSED 59%-41%**
- **Arizona (5 Statewide Ballot Issues)**
 - Renewable Portfolio Standard (Proposition 127) **FAILED 69%-31%**
- **Washington Carbon Tax FAILED 56%-44%**
- **Colorado Drilling Restriction FAILED 57%-43%**
- **California (11 Statewide Ballot issues)**
 - Water Bonds (Proposition 3) **FAILED**
 - Gas Tax Repeal (Proposition 6) **REPEAL FAILED**
 - Rent Control (Proposition 10) **FAILED**
 - Animal Rights (Proposition 12) **PASSED**

Upcoming Ballot Issues

Energy Related:

- **Florida** - Energy Choice Constitutional Amendment - Competition for Utility Measure (under review; not yet approved).
- **Wyoming** - Wind Tax Increase.
- **Colorado** Initiative on Health and Safety - an initiative to overturn the main elements of the fossil fuel overhaul passed last week. Would undue requirements for the Colorado Oil and Gas Conservation Commission to focus on health and safety.

Direct Democracy Related:

- **Arkansas** Initiative on Initiatives, Referenda, and Constitutional amendment processes - Will increase the number of counties needed in initiative petitions to 45 from 15; would require constitutional amendments from the legislature have 3/5s support in both chambers rather than a simple majority from both.
- **Montana** Constitutional Amendment on Constitutional Amendment Language - Would alter the language of the state constitution to match the currently enforced signature requirements.
- **North Dakota** legislative amendment on initiatives - would change ND to an indirect initiative state (make initiatives approved in a general vote subject to approval by the legislature. If rejected, the initiative would need to pass in a vote the following election year, again.

Tax Related:

- **California** Constitutional tax amendment - changes the constitution to tax commercial/industrial buildings based on their market value (except agriculture).

Criminal Justice Related:

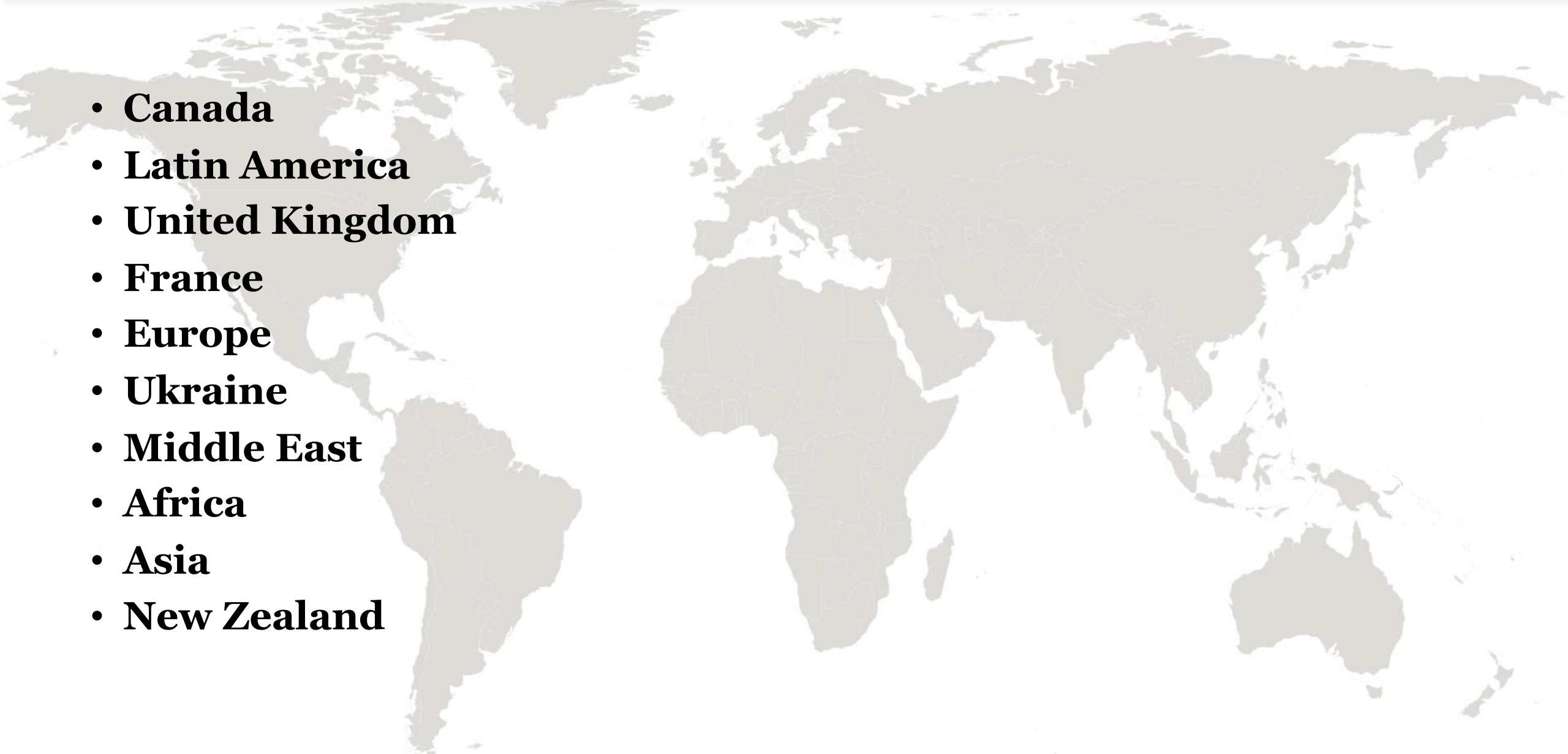
- **Nebraska, Utah Slavery Constitutional Amendments** - Remove servitude/slavery as a punishment (extend the ban on slavery to criminals).
- **California Crime Classification Initiative** - Would re-designate crimes such as certain thefts and frauds as misdemeanors rather than felonies.

The background of the image is a stylized, abstract representation of the United States flag. It features flowing, wavy stripes in shades of blue and red, with numerous white stars of varying sizes scattered throughout. The overall effect is dynamic and patriotic.

**Does it matter what is going
on in the rest of the world?**

Does it matter what is going on in the rest of the world?

- **Canada**
- **Latin America**
- **United Kingdom**
- **France**
- **Europe**
- **Ukraine**
- **Middle East**
- **Africa**
- **Asia**
- **New Zealand**



“We’ve Been Here Before”

*GOD, give us men!
A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office can not buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking!
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty, and in private thinking;
For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land and waiting Justice sleeps.*

“God, Give Us Men!” 1844
Josiah Gilbert Holland, 1819 - 1881

The Hawthorn Group, L.C.

The Hawthorn Group is an international public affairs firm of senior corporate and political communications experts specializing in building grassroots and grasstops support for issues to achieve public policy objectives. We find and provide all appropriate means of persuasion, from industry coalitions to individual networking, from traditional advertising to community relations, from media relations to social media, blending all the available tools into the art of advocacy.

- **Strategic Communications and Issues Management** We help clients identify threats and emerging issues and then work to develop overarching plans and manage tactics to solve a problem, promote an agenda, and inoculate against expected challenges.
- **Crisis Planning and Communications** When problems occur, we provide real-time support that help our clients manage and recover from crises. We also work with companies to identify what challenges to anticipate. We'll get you ready for them both substantively and through systems development so that you can effectively respond.
- **Grassroots/Grasstops Engagement** Hawthorn has demonstrated experience with activating the grassroots and the grasstops to take real, verifiable actions in a controlled and measured way. We have the local operatives developed over 20 years of campaigns, as well as the most cutting-edge digital tactics to reach audiences.

John Ashford



Once a country and western disc jockey, John Ashford is now Chairman and CEO of The Hawthorn Group, L.C., the international public affairs and public relations firm he co-founded in 1992. Drawing on communications and public affairs experience gained in hundreds of successful political and corporate campaigns, Ashford now provides senior counsel to Hawthorn clients across the country and around the world. Raised in a small farm community, Ashford first appeared on the political scene in his native Missouri. When he was only 26 years old, the Kansas City Star had already called him a “political kingmaker.”

The Political State of the Union

Today, Headed Toward 2020
The Hawthorn Group, L.C.

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