# 2024 ELECTION OUTLOOK TIBER CREEK GROUP



## What to Watch on Election Night

We may not know control of the White House and balance of power in Congress on Election Night, but a few critical data points will be essential to understanding how the results are shaping up and where the election is headed.

Click **HERE** for TCG's breakdown of what to watch on election night.

## **Ballot Initiatives in Swing States**





related to tax exemptions under consideration on November 5.



Wisconsin's ballot will include <u>one</u> measure, the "Citizenship Voting Requirement Amendment," which dictates that only U.S. citizens 18 years or older can vote in federal and local elections.



**Arizona** has <u>thirteen</u> statewide ballot measures, including measures to make unlawful border crossings from Mexico a state crime and allow judicial deportations, to require partisan primary elections for partisan offices, to end term limits for Supreme Court Justices, and enact requirements for citizen-initiated ballot measures.



**Nevada** has <u>seven</u> ballot measures on the ballot in November – (1) to remove the constitution al status of the Board of Regents, (2) to revise language in the constitution related to public entities that benefit individuals with mental illness, blindness, or deafness, (3) to provide for open top-five primaries and ranked-choice voting for general elections, (4) to repeal language in the state constitution allowing the use of slavery and involuntary servitude as criminal punishments, (5) to provide sales tax exemption for child and adult diapers, (6) to establish the right to to an abortion, and (7) to require Nevada residents present a form of identification while voting.

**North Carolina** has <u>one</u> ballot measure related to altering the state's constitution to clarify that only a U.S. citizen may vote.



Ballotpedia

## **Ticket Splitting**

Ticket splitting has become much less common in recent years. In 2020, Sen. Susan Collins (R-ME) was the only senate candidate who won her race while the presidential nominee of her party – Donald Trump – lost the state. Only five states (WI, WV, OH, MT, and ME) have senators running in the opposing party of the president in 2024.

This year, at least two Democratic senators will need to pull off this increasingly rare feat as Trump is favored to win their state: Sen. **Jon Tester** of Montana and Sen. **Sherrod Brown** from Ohio.



Trump carried Montana by **16 points** in 2020. Polls indicate Trump has a roughly **17-point lead** over Harris in Montana.\* Other Democratic Senate candidates who may need to run ahead of Harris include Sens. **Bob Casey** from Pennsylvania, **Tammy Baldwin** from Wisconsin, and **Jacky Rosen** from Nevada.

In Maryland, former Republican Governor **Larry Hogan** will need to run ahead of Trump in order to win a seat in the Senate, because President Biden carried the state by 33 points in 2020. Trump carried Ohio by **8 points** in 2020. Current polls indicate Trump has a roughly **7-point lead** over Harris in Ohio.\*\*

## Abortion on the Ballot

States with confirmed ballot measures involving abortion



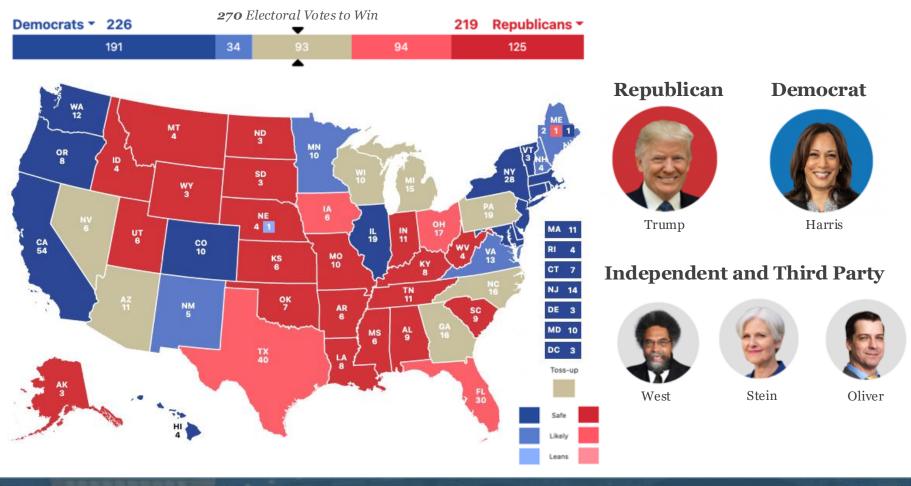


KFF Ballot Tracker

# 2024 Presidential Election

1 DAY UNTIL THE GENERAL ELECTION





## **State of the Race: National Polling**

#### New York Times/Siena College \*Likely voters between Oct. 24 – Nov. 2







48%

### **Emerson College**

\*Likely voters between Oct. 30 - Nov. 2



49%





Reuters/Ipsos \*Likely voters between Oct. 25-27







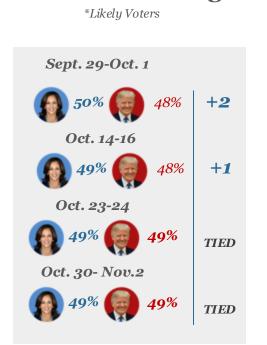




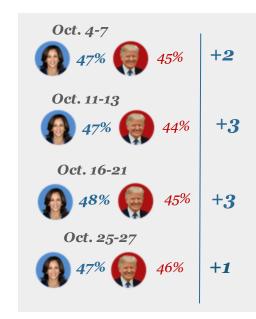
### **State of the Race: National Polling Trends**

**Emerson College** 

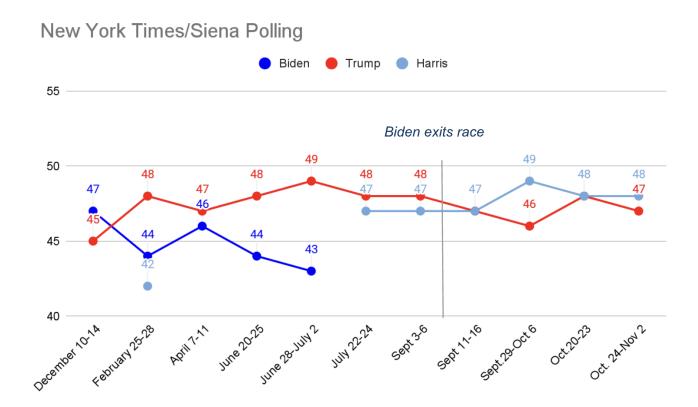




Reuters/Ipsos \*Likely Voters



## **State of the Race: Polling Trends**



## **State of the Race: Issue Polling**

Who do Americans trust more to handle key issues?



*Reuters/Ipsos poll Oct. 22-27, compared to Sept 11-13* 

## State of the Race: National Polling Demographic Breakdown



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Harris/Trump – New York Times/Siena College Poll of likely voters between October 25 – Nov.2 Biden – New York Times/Siena College Poll of likely voters between June 28 – July 2

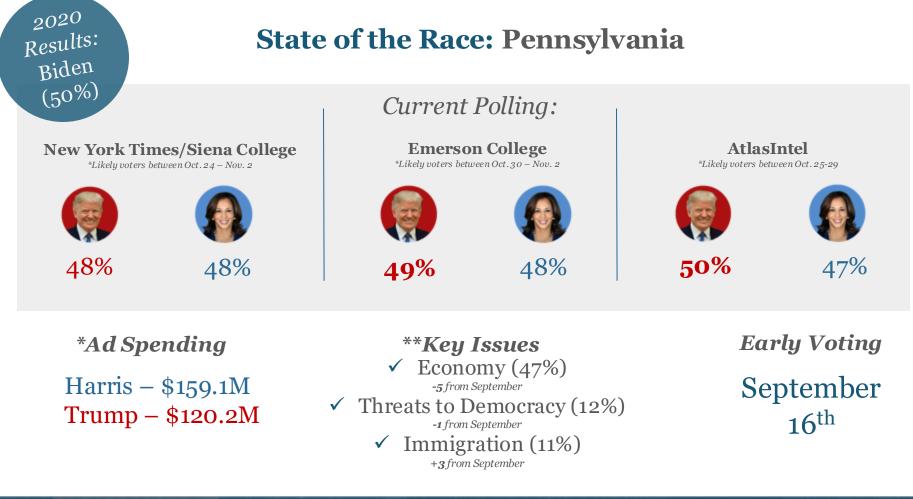
## **State of the Race: Issue Polling Over Time**

Pew Research Center polling of the most important issue to registered voters compared to the last four presidential election cycles

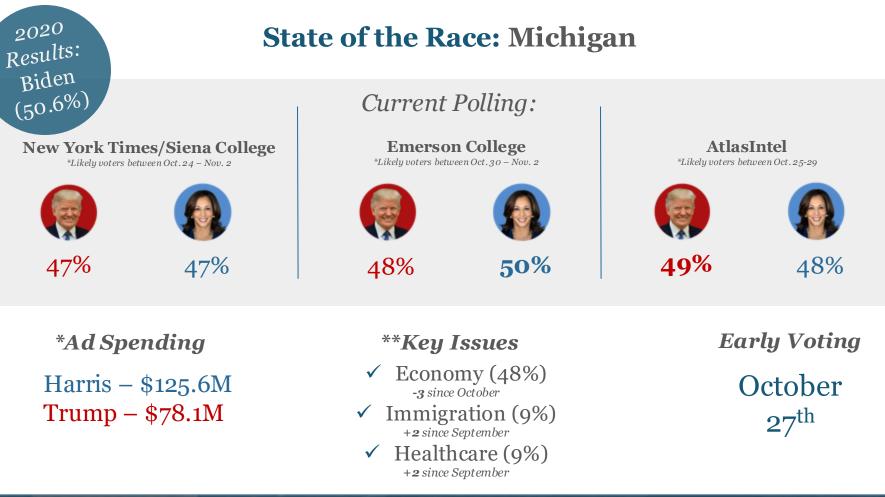
#### Percent of registered voters who say an issue is "very important"

The economy has remained the central most important issue for	ECONOMY 2012: 86% 2016: 84% 2020: 79% 2024: 81%	ABORTION         2012:       39%         2016:       45%         2020:       40%         2024:       51%	DEMOCRACY 2012: N/A 2016: N/A 2020: N/A 2024: N/A	<b>Democracy</b> is not measured in the Pew poll. It has emerged as a key issue for voters in recent years, with Republicans flagging concerns about stolen elections and the
voters across the last four election cycles.	IMMIGRATION         2012:       42%         2016:       70%         2020:       52%         2024:       61%	HEALTH CARE         2012:       74%         2016:       74%         2020:       68%         2024:       65%	*PUBLIC SAFETY2012:59%Terrorism2016:80%Terrorism2020:59%Violent Crime2024:61%Violent Crime	weaponization of courts against political opponents, while Democrats warn against effects of false claims about election fraud and the rule of law under Trump.

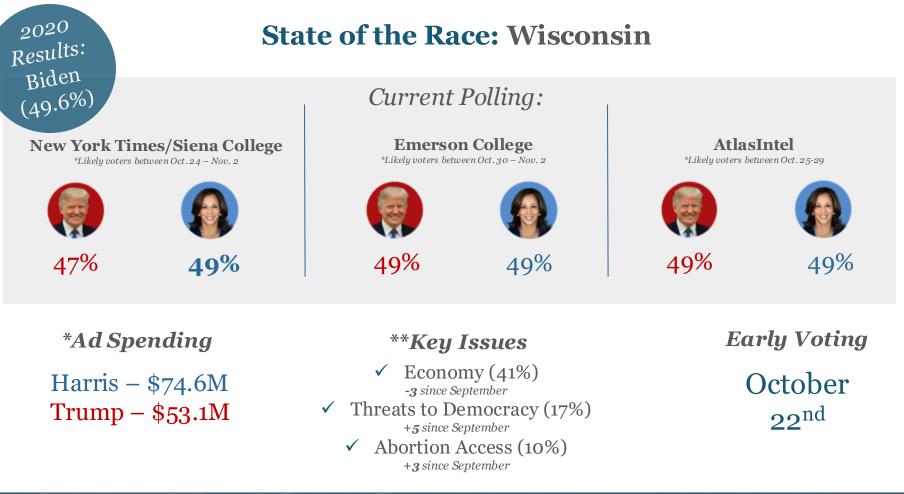
*Pew Research Center Polling of registered voters April 2012, June 2016, August 2020, September 2024* \* *The term public safety is used to encompass both terrorism and violent crime, which have fluctuated In overall importance in recent elections.* 



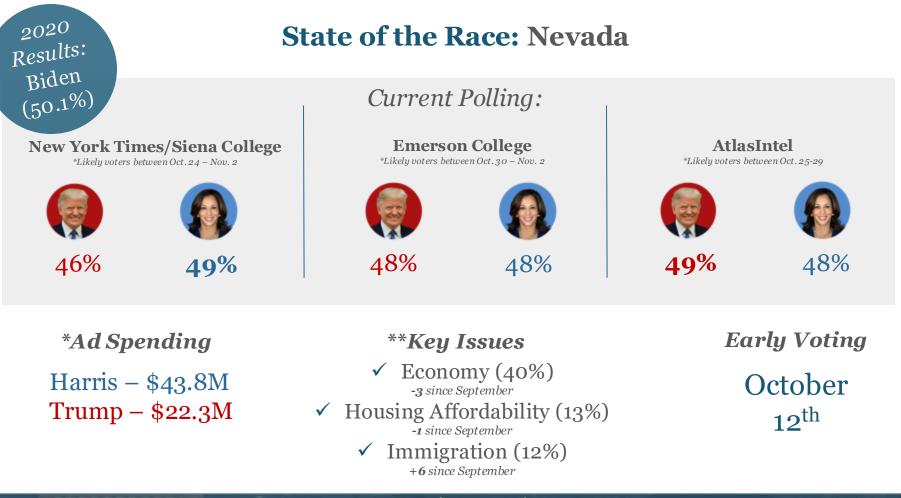
\*Ad Spending includes candidates' campaigns and affiliated groups between July 22<sup>nd</sup> and October 8<sup>th</sup>. \*\*Polling between Oct. 5-8 according to Emerson College Polling, previous polling between Sept. 15-18 <u>CNN, NPR, WSJ</u>



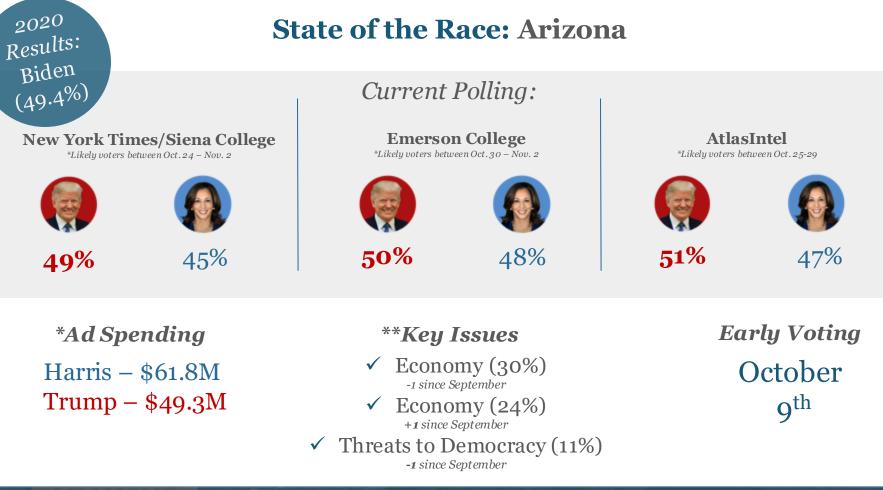
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\*Ad Spending includes candidates' campaigns and affiliated groups between July 22<sup>nd</sup> and October 8<sup>th</sup>. \*\*Polling between Oct. 21-22 according to Emerson College Polling, previous polling between Sept. 15-18 CNN, NPR, WSJ

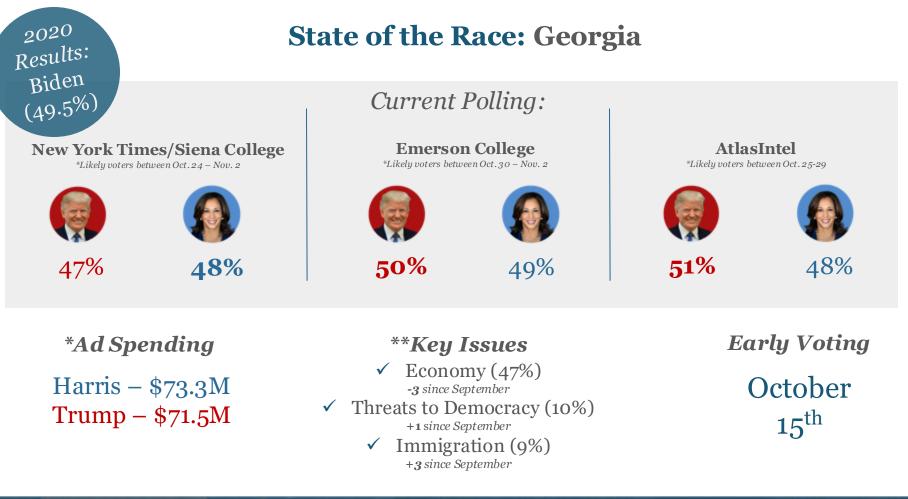


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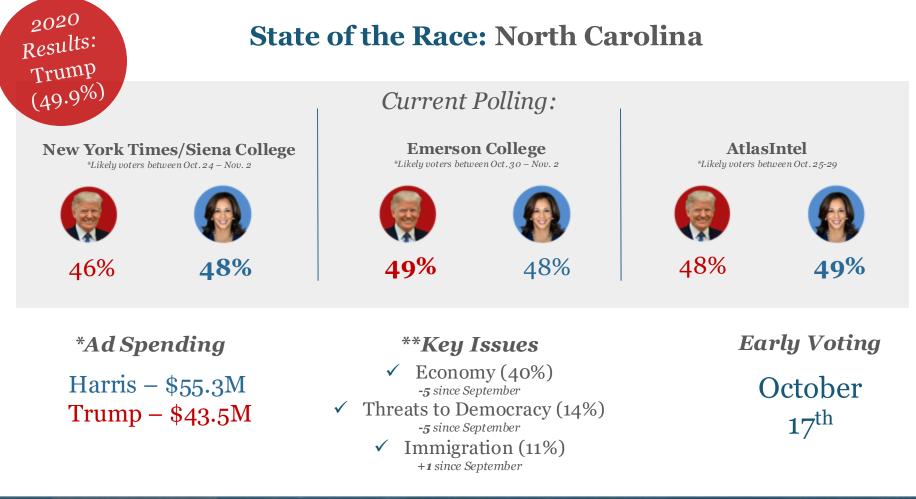


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## **Presidential Election: Key Dates**

State	Early Voting	In-Person Absente e	2024 Gen Election EV Dates	State	l V
Alabama	voting	Absentee	Early voting not offered in AL	Mississippi	
Alaska		1	Mon Oct 21 - Tue Nov 5	Missouri	
		*	<u> </u>	Montana	
Arizona		-	Wed Oct 9 - Fri Nov 1	Nebraska	
Arkansas	1		Mon Oct 21 - Mon Nov 4	Nevada (1)	
California <sup>(1)</sup>		1	Mon Oct 7 - Tue Nov 5	New Hampshire	
Colorado (1)	1		Mon Oct 21 - Mon Nov 4	New Jersey	
Connecticut	1		Mon Oct 21 - Sun Nov 3	New Mexico	
Delaware	1		Fri Oct 25 - Sun Nov 3	New York	
DC	1		Mon Oct 28 - Sun Nov 3	North Carolina	
Florida	1		Sat Oct 26 - Sat Nov 2	North Dakota	
Georgia	1		Thu Oct 15 - Fri Nov 1		
Guam		1	Mon Oct 7 - Thu Oct 31	Ohio	
Hawaii (1)	1		Tue Oct 22 - Tue Nov 5	Oklahoma	
Idaho		1	Mon Oct 21 - Fri Nov 1	Oregon <sup>(1)</sup>	
Illinois	1		Thu Sep 26 - Mon Nov 4	Pennsylvania Rhode Island	
Indiana	-	1	Tue Oct 8 - Mon Nov 4	South Carolina	
Iowa		1	Wed Oct 16 - Mon Nov 4	South Dakota	
Kansas		1	Wed Oct 16 - Mon Nov 4	Tennessee	
Kentucky		1	Thu Oct 31 - Sat Nov 2	Texas	
Louisiana	1		Fri Oct 18 - Tue Oct 29	Utah <sup>(1)</sup>	
Maine		1	Sun Oct 6 - Thu Oct 31	Vermont <sup>(1)</sup> Virginia	
Maryland	1		Thu Oct 24 - Thu Oct 31	Virgin Islands	
Massachusetts				Washington <sup>(1)</sup>	
	1		Sat Oct 19 - Fri Nov 1	West Virginia	
Michigan		1	Sat Oct 26 - Sun Nov 3	Wisconsin	
Minnesota		1	Fri Sep 20 - Mon Nov 4	Wyoming	

State	Early Voting	In-Person Absente e	2024 Gen Election EV Dates
Mississippi	voting	Absentee	Mon Sep 23 - Sat Nov 2
			Tue Sep 17 - Mon Nov 4 (with excuse)
Missouri		1	Tue Oct 22 - Mon Nov 4 (with excuse)
Montana		1	Mon Oct 7 - Mon Nov 4
Nebraska		1	Mon Oct 7 - Mon Nov 4
Nevada (1)		1	Sat Oct 12 - Fri Nov 1
ew Hampshire			Early voting not offered in NH
New Jersey	1		Sat Oct 26 - Sun Nov 3
New Mexico	1		Tue Oct 8 - Tue Nov 5
New York	1		Sat Oct 26 - Sun Nov 3
orth Carolina		1	Thu Oct 17 - Sat Nov 2
North Dakota	1		Contact Local Election Office to Confirm Dates and Times
Ohio		1	Tue Oct 8 - Sun Nov 3
Oklahoma		1	Wed Oct 30 - Sat Nov 2
Oregon <sup>(1)</sup>		1	Thu Oct 31 - Tue Nov 5
Pennsylvania		1	Mon Sep 16 - Tue Nov 5
Rhode Island	1		Wed Oct 16 - Mon Nov 4
outh Carolina	1		Mon Oct 21 - Sat Nov 2
South Dakota		1	Fri Sep 20 - Mon Nov 4
Tennessee	1		Wed Oct 16 - Thu Oct 31
Texas	1		Mon Oct 21 - Fri Nov 1
Utah (1)	1		Tue Oct 22 -Fri Nov 1
Vermont (1)		1	Tue Oct 1 - Mon Nov 4
Virginia		1	Fri Sep 20 - Mon Nov 4
irgin Islands	1		Mon Oct 14 - Mon Oct 28
Vashington (1)	1		Fri Oct 18 - Tue Nov 5
Vest Virginia	1		Wed Oct 23 - Sat Nov 2
Wisconsin		1	Tue Oct 22 - Sun Nov 3
Wyoming	1		Tue Oct 8 - Mon Nov 4

### 1

#### DAY UNTIL ELECTION DAY

While these two terms are often used interchangeably to refer to any voting done in-person before election day - most states only use one or the other.

**EARLY VOTING**: Early voting usually refers to voting that takes place at specially designated early voting sites inside a voting booth.

#### **IN-PERSON ABSENTEE**

**VOTING:** In-person absentee voting usually refers to going through the absentee balloting process in-person at a local election office.

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(1) - All mail election. This state conducts elections entirely by mail. All registered voters should automatically receive a mail-in ballot.

### **Absentee and Mail-In Ballots: Counting and Reporting Timeline**



Early Voting Began: October 7 Processing: Upon receipt Counting: Upon receipt Deadline: 7 PM on Nov. 5 **2.9 million** absentee / mail-in ballots cast in 2020

## Early Votes Cast: **2.21 million**

33% - from Democrats 41% - from Republicans 26% - from Unaffiliated

Automatic recount if less than or equal to 0.5% margin, no requested recount process 2020: Called around 3 AM on **election night** 



Early Voting Began: October 15 Processing: October 14 Counting: 7 AM on November 5 Deadline: Close of polls November 5 **1.3 million** absentee / mail-in ballots cast in 2020

#### Early Votes Cast: 4.01 million

Candidate can request recount if less than or equal to 0.5% margin 2020: Called **10 days** after the election, recount needed



Early Voting Began: October 12 Processing: October 14 Counting: 7 AM on November 5 Deadline: November 9\* Must bepostmarked on or before Nov.5 **671,906** absentee / mail-in ballots cast in 2020

Early Votes Cast: 1.07 million **34%** - from Democrats **38%** - from Republicans **28%** - from Unaffiliated

Recount can be requested by voters or candidate within three days after canvass. 2020: Called 12:15 PM**four days after** the election

Early Voting Began: October 17 Processing: October 1 Counting: 5 PM on November 5 Deadline: 7:30 PM on November 5 **995,135** absentee / mail-in ballots cast in 2020

Early Votes Cast: 4.45 million 32% - from Democrats
33% - from Republicans
34% - from Unaffiliated

Automatic recount if "substantial error" is detected, recount can be requested by candidate within two days after canvass 2020: Called around 3 PM **ten days after** the election Across key battleground states, **registered Republicans** are returning a **larger share** of early ballots than in 2020.

In **Georgia** and **North Carolina**, **in-person votes** make up the majority of total early votes cast.

In **Pennsylvania**, **Michigan**, **Wisconsin**, and Arizona, the majority of early votes cast are through **mail**.

Party registration statistics are for states that have party registration and are not actual votes. By federal law, election officials do not count votes until election day, though they may start preparing for counting in advance.

University of Florida Election Lab, TIBER CREEK GROUP AP, NCSL, Ballotpedia

### **Absentee and Mail-In Ballots: Counting and Reporting Timeline**



Processing: Nov. 4

Counting: 7 AM on Nov. 5

Deadline: Close of polls Nov. 5 3.1 million absentee / mail-in ballots cast in 2020

2020: Called at 6 PM the day after the election



Processing: 7 AM on Nov. 5\*

Counting: 7 AM on Nov. 5

Deadline: 8 PM on Nov. 5 **1.9 million** absentee / mail-in ballots cast in 2020

2020: Called mid-afternoon two days after the election

#### Early Votes Cast:

#### 2.98 million

Automatic recount if margin of 2,000 votes or less

Early Votes Cast: 1.51 million

Candidate can request recount if within 1% margin, state party chair can request recount if within 500 votes



Processing: 7 AM on Nov. 5\*

Counting: 7 AM on Nov. 5

Deadline: 8 PM on Nov. 5 2.7 million absentee / mail-in ballots cast in 2020

2020: Called at 11:25 AM **four days** after the election

*Early Votes Cast:* 1.73 million

**56%** - from Democrats **33%** - from Republicans **11%** - from Unaffiliated

Automatic recount if less than or equal to 0.5% margin, recount can be requested by voters within five days after canvass

University of Florida Election Lab

#### November 5, 2024

Counties begin reporting results of the popular vote.

#### December 11, 2024

States submit Certificates of Ascertainment listing the names of persons appointed as electors.

#### December 17, 2024

State electors meet to officially cast votes for President and Vice President

There are no Constitutional provisions or Federal laws to require electors to vote in accordance with the popular vote, but they are held to vote for the candidate whom the state's voters have chosen.

Final Certificates of the Vote must be sent to Federal and State officials immediately after the meeting concludes.

#### January 6, 2025

Congress meets in a joint session to count electoral votes and certify the election.

Objections must include the signature of at least one-fifth of the House and one-fifth of the Senate and clearly, without argument, state that: (1) the electors of the state were not lawfully certified under a certificate of Ascertainment or (2) the vote of one or more electors has not been regularly given.

Vice President Harris will preside and complete ministerial duties as President of the Senate.

#### January 20, 2025

Inauguration Day

## **Election Certification: Timeline**

Due to varying laws across all 50 states, it may be **days** before the presidential race is called or the balance of power is confirmed in the House and Senate.

- ✓ Each state dictates when ballot counting can begin with many, including several swing states, restricting counting of early vote ballots before Nov. 5, making same-day turnaround unlikely. Pennsylvania and Wisconsin do not allow for ballot processing to begin until Nov. 5.
- States dictate the deadline for mail-in ballots to be received, with most requiring delivery on or before election day. However, 18 states accept mail-in ballots received after Nov. 5 if postmarked on or before election day.
- ✓ Mail in ballots take longer to process, and after the expansion of the system to accommodate the 2020 election during the COVID-19 pandemic, more people are opting to vote by mail.

Click <u>HERE</u> for a memo detailing potential certification complications in the 2024 election

Protect Democracy, U.S. Election Assistance Commission, National Conference of State Legislatures, Bloomberg Government



## **2024 Election: Litigation**

While partisan battles over voting laws have long been a part of elections, the rate of **election litigation has tripled since 2000**, when the Supreme Court settled the election in favor of George W. Bush. In 2020, litigation soared as changes to voting rules were made to accommodate the coronavirus pandemic and President Trump challenged results of the presidential election in multiple states.

More than **180 lawsuits** have already been filed across the country related to voter eligibility, ballot counting and processing, and election certification. The **Supreme Court** has **four** election-related applications on their emergency docket. In particular, last-minute challenges to ballots and voting access have increased this month.

#### Swing State Litigation: October

- The Supreme Court ruled RFK Jr. must stay on the ballot in Michigan and Wisconsin and has yet to rule on an RNC challenge related to who can cast provisional ballots in Pennsylvania as well as a challenge to remove more than 1,600 people from voter rolls in Virginia.
- ✓ A Georgia court reaffirmed state officials have a mandatory, **ministerial duty to certify** election results.
- The Georgia Supreme Court also upheld a lower court's ruling overturning a recent decision from the state election board requiring handcounting of ballots before reporting digital results.
- ✓ The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled voters whose mail-in ballots were rejected because of defects can cast provisional ballots, despite RNC efforts to get them disqualified.
- ✓ The RNC also brought lawsuits in Michigan and Nevada that took issue with the number of registered voters on **voter rolls**, but the judge ruled plaintiffs didn't provide sufficient evidence.
- ✓ A federal appeals court ruled that Mississippi's **acceptance of mail-in ballots after Election Day** violates federal law, though a lower court must determine if this ruling will apply for the 2024 election.
- The Ohio Supreme Court ruled people dropping off ballots for voters with disabilities must go to an election office rather than drop them off in a ballot drop box.

## **Too Close to Call: Contingent Presidential Election**

If no candidate wins at least 270 electoral votes, the 12th Amendment dictates the House of Representatives decides the presidency by a majority vote, with each state delegation receiving one vote.

The newly elected 119<sup>th</sup> Congress would be responsible for this vote. The partisan breakdown of the 118<sup>th</sup> House is:

Republican Majority: 25

Democratic Majority: **23** 

Even: **2** 

A tie in the House is possible. In this case, the Senate would vote for a vice president, who would temporarily perform the duties of president until a majority is reached in the House.

State	Democrats	Republicans	State	:	Democrats
labama	1	7	Mississ ip pi		1
laska	1	0	Misso uri	_	2
rizona	3	6	Montana		0
rkansas	0	4	Nebraska		0
alifornia	40	12	Nevada	_	3
olorado	•		New Hampshire	_	2
	5	3	New Jersey	_	9
onnecticut	5	0	New Mexico	_	3
elaware	1	0	New York	_	16
С	1	0	North Carolina		7
lorida	8	20	North Dakot a	_	0
eorgia	5	9	Ohio		5
uam	0	1	Oklahoma	_	0
awaji	2	0	Oregon	_	4
laho	0	2	Pennsylvania	_	9
	-		Rhode Island	_	2
linois	14	3	South Carolina		1
ndiana	2	7	South Dakota		0
owa	0	4	Tennessee		1
ansas	1	3	Texas		13
entucky	1	5	Utah		0
ouisiana	1	5	Vermont		1
aine	2	0	Virginia	_	6
			Virgin Islands	_	1
laryland	7	1	Washington		8
lassachus etts	9	0	West Virginia		0
lichigan	7	7	Wisconsin		2
linnesota	4	4	Wyoming		0

#### Party Breakdown in the 118th Congress

## Fundraising & Spending

- ✓ In the last full fundraising quarter before election day, Harris' two joint fundraising committees raised around \$652 million, and Trump's two committees raised roughly \$340 million.
- ✓ The legality of Elon Musk's \$1 million sweepstakes to encourage voter registration in swing states has been called into question by the Justice Department, which sent a warning letter to the America PAC earlier this week. Over the last three months, Musk has contributed about \$75 million to this super PAC, which he founded earlier this year.
- More than 11,000 political groups including PACs and special interest groups spent nearly \$15 billion in the 2024 election cycle, comprising about 99% of all political spending.
- The super PAC Future Forward has risen as a top contributor to Harris' campaign, raising \$700 million in combination with an affiliated nonprofit group. The PAC spent \$35 million to broadcast a single ad for Harris this month.



- ✓ Harris has concentrated her advertising topics on taxation (32%), healthcare (21%), housing (21%), and abortion (20%). The Trump campaign has made inflation the cornerstone of ads (62%), followed by the economy (53%), housing (31%), and immigration (17%).
- ActBlue and WinRed have processed more than \$113 million donations this election cycle and distributed \$4.5 billion to other committees.
- ✓ Former President Trump's campaign raised more money from PACs and wealthy donors than grassroot contributions for the first time in his three White House bids.
- Since Harris entered the race, 79% of all presidential ad spending has gone to the seven battleground states. These states are expected to receive 88% of future reservations between now and election day.

\*Figures announced by parties cannot be verified until federal filings are released publicly.

### **Public Sentiment: Comparison to Prior Presidents' Approval Ratings**





\*November 2024: **44%** -1 from October

November 2024: 43% even from October



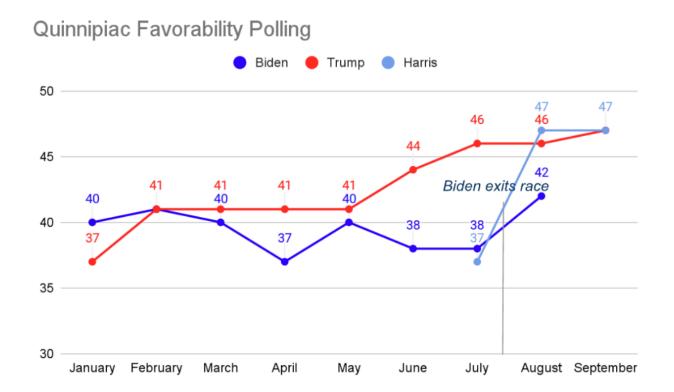


\*\*November 2012: **51%** 

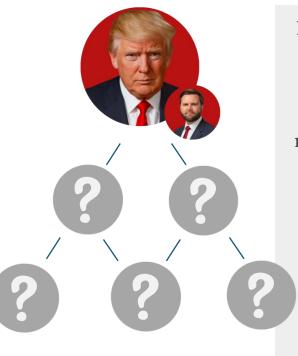
November 2004: **52%** 



## **State of the Race: Favorability Trends**



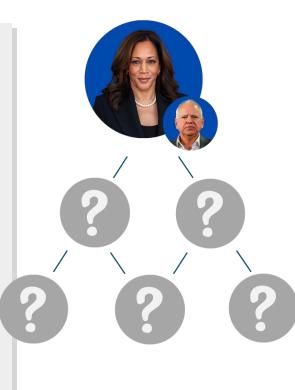
### **Potential Administration Members**



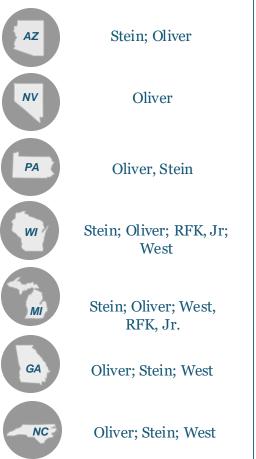
Neither Trump nor Harris have engaged in **formal conversations** around their potential Cabinets. However, a number of sources have indicated **rumored contenders** for the positions based on a myriad of factors such as experience, policy positions, relation to the candidate, public support, and strategy.

The **Senate** must approve all Cabinet nominations, but the length of the confirmation process **varies** administration to administration.

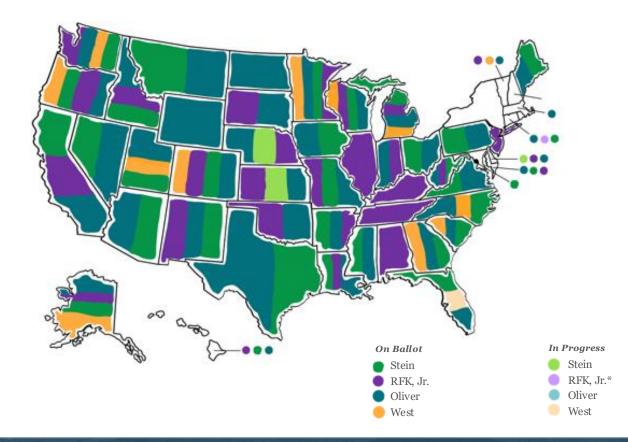
Please click <u>here</u> for a list of potential administration members for a Harris or Trump Administration.



#### **Ballot Access in Swing States**



### **Third Party Candidates: Ballot Access**



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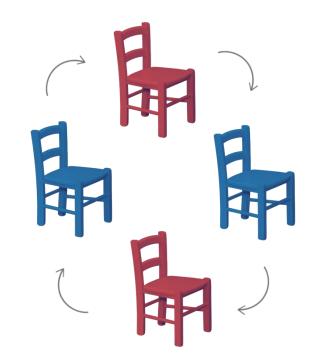
The New York Times, Politico



# **Congressional Projections**

## 119<sup>th</sup> Congress: Committee Leadership Musical Chairs

The 119th Congress-elect will begin to organize within weeks of the election, setting off a **real-time** musical chairs of committee leadership.

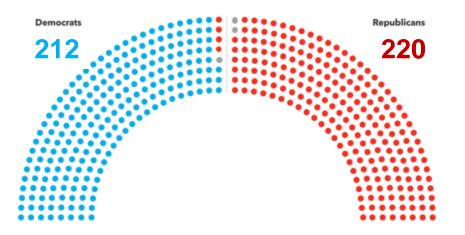


The document linked represents our informed speculation on chairs and ranking members based on **"known knowns**," with further clarification provided in the weeks to come.

Please click **HERE** for TCG's outlook for congressional committee leadership.



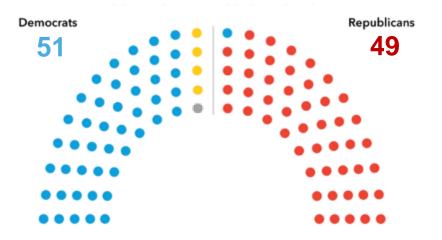
## What's at Stake: Congressional Balance of Power



#### House of Representatives

All **435** House seats are contested in 2024

Democrats must flip **4** seats currently held by Republicans to gain a majority *Three Vacancies: NJ-09, WI-08, TX-18* 



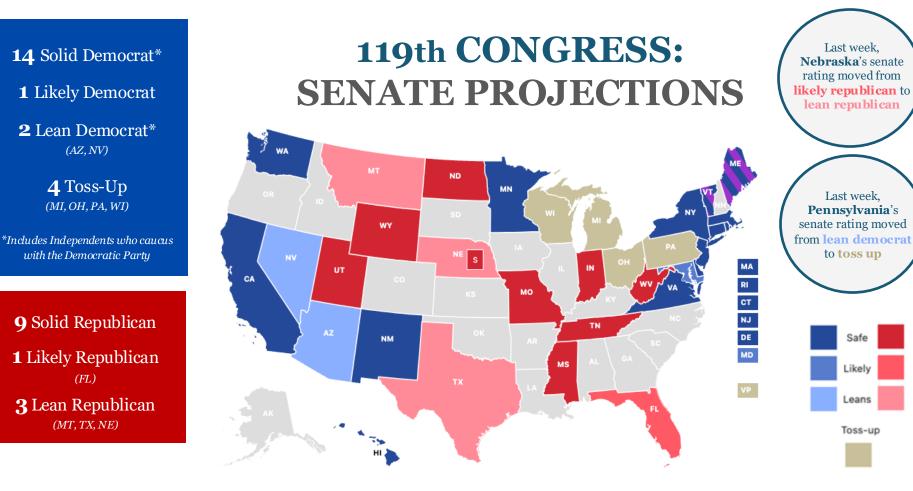
#### **U.S. Senate**

**34** Senate seats are contested in 2024

Races to Watch: PA, OH, NV, WI, MI, MT

Map includes 4 Independents who participate in the Democratic caucus VP Harris serves as tiebreaking 51st vote

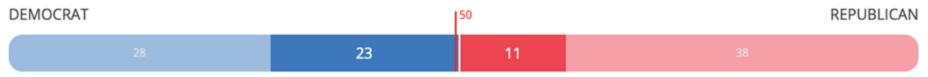




Cook Political Report, 270 to Win Updated as of Nov. 4



## **Races to Watch: Competitive Senate Seats**



**34** contested Senate seats:

**23** Democratic-controlled seats

**11** Republican-controlled seats

Most competitive:

4 Toss-Up: OH (Brown), MI (Open), PA (Casey Jr.), WI (Baldwin)

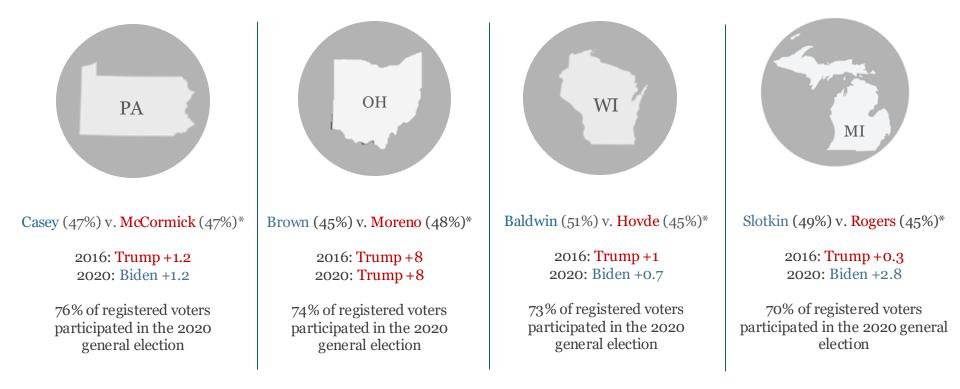
Competitive:

**2 Lean D:** NV (Rosen), AZ (Open)

3 Lean R: MT (Tester), TX (Cruz), NE (Fischer)

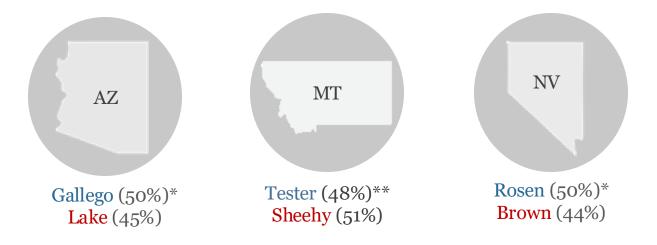


#### **Races to Watch: Toss-Up Senate Seats**





#### **Races to Watch: Competitive Senate Seats**



\*Emerson College Polling of likely voters between Oct 30-Nov 2 \*\* Emerson College Polling of likely voters October 23-25



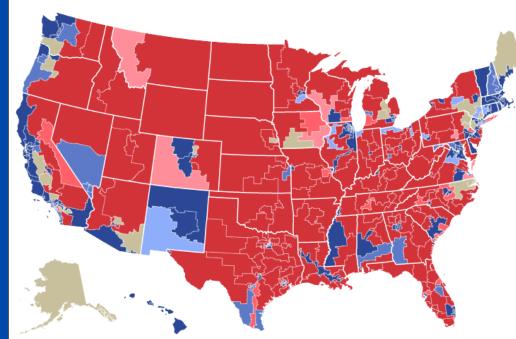
### 119th CONGRESS: HOUSE PROJECTIONS

**10** Toss-Up

**13** Lean Democrat

**17** Likely Democrat

**175** Solid Democrat



**12** Toss-Up**8** LeanRepublican

**9** Likely Republican

**191** Solid Republican

Totals: 205 Democrat 208 Republican 22 Toss-Ups 218 needed for majority

270toWin, Cook Political Report Updated as of Nov. 4



### **Races to Watch: Most Competitive House Seats**

#### **Most Competitive**

Competitive

10 D Toss-Up	12 R Toss-Up	13 Lean D	8 Lean R
AK-AL (Peltola) CO-08 (Caraveo) ME-02 (Golden) MI-08 (Open) NC-01 (Davis) NM-02 (Vasquez) PA-07 (Wild) PA-08 (Cartwright) VA-07 (Open) WA-03 (Perez)	AZ-01 (Schweikert) AZ-06 (Ciscomani) CA-13 (Duarte) CA-22 (Valadao) CA-27 (Garcia) CA-41 (Calvert) CA-45 (Steel) IA-01 (Miller-Meeks) IA-03 (Nunn) NY-19 (Molinaro) OR-05 (Chavez-DeRemer) PA-10 (Perry)	CA-47 (Open) CA-49 (Levin) CT-05 (Hayes) MD-06 (Open) NE-02 (Bacon) NV-03 (Lee) <i>NY-04 (D'Esposito)</i> <i>NY-18 (Ryan)</i> <i>NY-22 (Williams)</i> OH-09 (Kaptur) <i>OH-09</i> (Kaptur) <i>OH-13 (Sykes)</i> <i>PA-17 (Deluzio)</i> TX-34 (Gonzalez)	CO-03 (Open) MI-07 (Open) MI-10 (James) MT-01 (Zinke) NJ-07 (Kean Jr.) NY-17 (Lawler) VA-02 (Kiggans) WI-03 (Van Orden)

\*Italicized denotes Freshman Member

**TIBER CREEK GROUP** 

#### **Digging Deeper:** Fighting For Control of the House

New York and California are battlegrounds for House control – mostly in Biden-leaning districts held by Republicans. Vulnerable Republicans in California and New York will have to rely on split-ticket voters in November.



2024: Rep. Molinaro will face a rematch with Democratic attorney Josh Riley

2022: Molinaro (50.8%) v. Riley (49.2%)

2020: Biden +4



2024: Rep. D'Esposito will face Laura Gillen again 2022: D'Esposito (51.8%) v. Gillen (48.2%) 2020: Biden +12



2024: Rep. Valadao will face a rematch with Rudy Salas 2022: Valadao (51.5%) v. Salas (48.5%) 2020: Biden +13



2024: Rep. Garcia will face George Whitesides 2022: Garcia (53.2%) v. Smith (46.8%) 2020: Biden +12

#### **Digging Deeper:** Fighting For Control of the House

In redrawn and Trump-carried districts, incumbent Democrats' political resilience will be tested as Republicans fight to defend their narrow House majority.



2024: Republican Tom Barrett is running for the seat against former state Sen. Curtis Hertel.
2022: Slotkin (51.7%) v. Barrett (46.3%)

2020: Biden +0.5



2024: Rep. Glusenkamp Perez will face her 2022 opponent, Joe Kent.

2022: Glusenkamp Perez (50.1%) v. Kent (49.3%) 2020: Trump +3.7



2024: Rep. Cartwright will face businessman Rob Bresnahan.

2022: Cartwright (51.2%) v. Bognet (48.8%)

2020: Trump +4.4



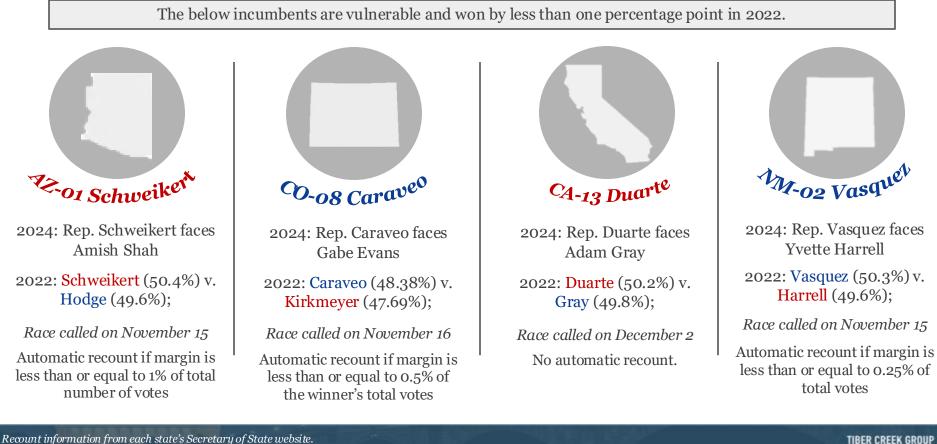
2024: Rep. Peltola faces Republican Nick Begich, Independence Party candidate John Wayne Howe, and Democrat Eric Hafner in the state's ranked-choice ballot.

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2022: Peltola (51.5%) v. Palin
(48.5%)
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2020: Trump +10



#### **Digging Deeper:** Fighting for Control of the House



The New York Times, The Hill, Ballotpedia, Cook Political Report

#### **Digging Deeper:** Fighting For Control of the House

In the two weeks before Election Day, Cook Political Report moved the following races to Toss Up seats.



2024: Rep. Miller-Meeks faces former state Sen. Christina Bohannan

2022: Miller-Meeks (53.4%) v. Bohannan (46.6%)

2020: Trump +3



2024: Rep. Wild will face state Rep. Ryan Mackenzie 2022: Wild (51%) v. Scheller (49%) 2020: Biden +0.6

# PA-10 Perry

2024: Rep. Perry faces Janelle Stelson

2022: Perry (53.8%) v. Daniels (46.2%)

2020: Trump +4



2024: Republican Derrick Anderson faces Democrat Eugene Vindman

2022: Spanberger (52.2%) v. Vega (47.6%)

2020: Biden +7

**TIBER CREEK GROUP** 

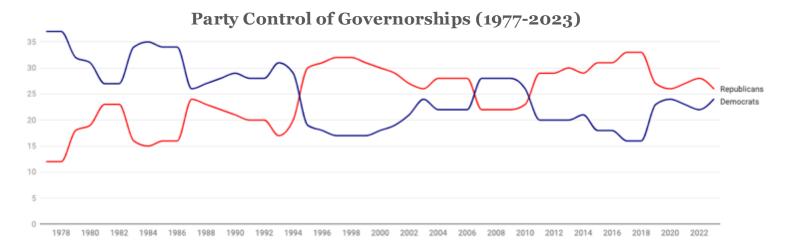
### **2024 Gubernatorial Election: Projections**

**Current Landscape:** There are **24** Democratic governors and **26** Republican governors **2024:** Elections will be held in **11** states

**Solid R:** MO (Open), MT (Gianforte), ND (Open), UT (Cox), VT (Scott), WV (Open)

Solid D: DE (Open) Likely D: WA (Open), NC (Open)

Toss-Up: NH (Open)





#### **New Hampshire**

Open Seat | Toss Up Joyce Craig (D) vs. Kelly Ayotte (R) \*Polling: Ayotte +4

- Polls show Craig and Ayotte in a **neck-and-neck race**, with a UMass Lowell survey from early October estimating that 14 percent of independent voters remain undecided.
- Ultimately, this race may come down to **how far Ayotte can outrun Trump** by in the traditionally blue state; the better Harris does in the state, the more likely she is to carry Craig with her.
- Ayotte has leaned on support from popular incumbent Gov. Chris Sununu, who decided to retire instead of seek reelection. Sununu has called Ayotte's campaign an extension of his tenure.
- **Craig** is a more undefined candidate and had to pivot her campaign strategy quickly after a messy Democratic primary. Ayotte has centered her messaging around **attacking Craig's time as mayor** of Manchester, zeroing in on Craig's proposal **to re-up a tax on income from interest and dividends** set to expire at the end of the year, arguing this would harm small businesses.
- Democrats have centered advertisements around GOP **abortion politics**, even though Ayotte has emphasized she supports New Hampshire's current abortion law and would veto efforts to change it.
- Craig has spent nearly **\$25 million** on advertisements compared to Ayotte's **\$22 million**.

### 2024 Gubernatorial Election: Competitive Races

Washington Open Seat | Likely Democrat Bob Ferguson (D) vs. Dave Reichert (R) \*\*Polling: Ferguson +17

- Incumbent Governor Jay Inslee (D) is retiring.
- This seat is likely to stay in Democrat's hands; Republicans have not won a gubernatorial race in Washington since 1980.
- In the August 6<sup>th</sup> blanket primary, Democratic support comprised for **55% of the vote**, with Republicans gamering **43%**. This is a more **favorable environment for Democrats** than in 2020, when the party achieved 53% of the primary vote and Inslee won re-election by 13 points in the general.
- Polling finds **support for Harris similar to Biden**'s wide margin of success in 2020.
- The DGA has spent a massive amount of money on reproductive rights advertisements that highlight Reichert's legislative record on abortion, spending over \$9 million on ads, compared to just \$332,000 from Republicans.

#### Indiana Open Seat | Likely Republican Mike Braum (R) vs. Jennifer McCormick (D) \*\*\*\*Polling: Braun +11

- Incumbent Governor Eric Holcomb (R) is term limited.
- **Braun** is well known in Indiana, which has **elected Republican governors the last five cycles** in a row.
- **McCormick** was elected statewide as a Republican in 2016, so she is also a relatively high-profile candidate.
- Last week, Cook Political Report shifted Indiana's race ranking from Solid Republican to Likely Republican. Cook made this change to reflect increased activity in the state from the Democratic Governor's Association, which has focused on both Indiana and North Carolina as possible pickup opportunities.
- This seat is **nearly guaranteed to remain in Republican hands**; former President Donald Trump currently leads the state over Vice President Harris by about 15 points, and **Braun remains the clear favorite.**





## 2024 Presidential Election

#### **KEY ISSUE COMPARISON**



### **CLIMATE AND ENERGY**

Trump and Harris have very different views on energy policy, but both have the goal of lowering energy costs and strengthening domestic manufacturing. Trump favors production from traditional sources of energy such as oil and natural gas and opposes the IRA. Harris supports the IRA and favors more incentives for renewable energy sources such as wind, solar, and battery storage.

#### Kamala Harris

- ✓ In the September debate, Harris affirmed that she would not ban fracking. She also advocated for investing in diverse sources of energy to reduce dependence on foreign oil.
- ✓ During her 2020 presidential campaign, Harris proposed a \$10 trillion plan to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. In 2020, she indicated that a Harris Administration would strengthen enforcement and prosecution of fossil fuel companies.
- ✓ Harris has advocated for climate action while engaging in conversations with officials to facilitate climate legislation and attending private events with environmental leaders. During the COP28 climate summit, Harris announced a \$3 billion pledge from the U.S. to the Green Climate Fund. She has supported goals of reducing climate pollution by 2030 and reaching net-zero emissions by 2050. Harris also led the Biden Administration's Action Plan on Global Water Security and helped implement the Administration's Justice40 initiative.

- ✓ Trump has said his Administration would lower the cost of energy by rescinding a number of the Biden Administration's regulations, including electricity guidelines, CAFE fuel economy standards, emission regulations for vehicles, and measures that increase taxes for oil, gas, and coal producers.
- ✓ Trump has announced his intention to once again exit the Paris Climate Accords and oppose Green New Deal policies.
- ✓ During the Presidential debate, Trump voiced support for clean air and water. He has promised to continue efforts to reduce carbon dioxide and prioritize American-made energy.
- ✓ Trump has expressed plans to end delays related to federal drilling permits and leases, free up the vast stores of oil on America's public land for energy development, eliminate red tape related to oil and natural gas projects, and expedite approval of natural gas pipelines.

### TRADE

A focus on bolstering U.S. industry through increased tariffs is a focal point in Trump's proposed trade policies, while Harris' track record indicates her focus will be on worker's rights and environmental provisions.

#### Kamala Harris

- ✓ In 2020, Harris was one of the few senators who voted against Trump's U.S.-Canada-Mexico Agreement, stating that it did not sufficiently protect American workers nor address climate change. She opposed the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in 2016 due to similar concerns. When seeking the Democratic nomination for president in 2019, Harris said, "…in a Harris Administration, there would be no trade deal that would be signed unless it protected American workers and protected our environment."
- ✓ During a Democratic primary debate in late 2019, Harris said if elected, she would focus on bolstering American exports. She called Trump "erratic" on trade policy and argued tariff wars during his Administration had hurt American farmers facing foreign regulation.
- ✓ Harris echoed earlier criticism of Trump when discussing his plan to impose 10 percent tariffs on all imports into the United States. She said such a policy would inflate the cost of "everyday expenses for families."

- ✓ Trump has said he plans to impose tariffs on foreign producers to bolster American manufacturing and sever dependencies on foreign countries. He plans to implement a system of universal baseline tariffs on most imported goods and pass the Trump Reciprocal Trade Act. Trump has said he supports increasing tariffs on all imports by 10%, with a 60% tariff on imports from China. Additionally, he has said he would levy a reciprocal tariff policy on foreign countries.
- ✓ Trump stated would restore his Executive Order 13944 on Ensuring Essential Medicines, Medical Countermeasures, and Critical Inputs Are Made in the United States to return production of essential medicines to the U.S.
- ✓ To combat China's global manufacturing influence, Trump would implement a 4-year national reshoring plan, ban Chinese ownership of all critical infrastructure in the U.S., and revoke China's Most Favored Nation trade status.



### TAXES

In light of provisions of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) and the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) expiring in 2025, tax policy remains a focus for both candidates. Tax and economic policy are important issues for voters and businesses who will ultimately be affected by efforts to raise or decrease taxes in the next Administration.

#### Kamala Harris

- Harris's economic plan states she would roll back tax  $\checkmark$ cuts for wealthy Americans, enact a billionaire minimum tax, and quadruple the tax on stock buybacks.
- Harris pledged not to raise taxes on anyone making  $\checkmark$ under \$400,000 a year, an extension of a promise that Biden made that has been central to his Administration's economic agenda.
- $\checkmark$ She would expand the startup expense tax deduction for new businesses from \$5,000 to \$50,000.
- Harris and Vance have advocated to more than double  $\checkmark$ the child tax credit to \$6,000 per child.
- Harris' economic plan suggests providing up to \$25,000  $\checkmark$ to first time home buyers, with an emphasis on firstgeneration homeowners.
- Both Trump and Harris have proposed eliminating taxes  $\checkmark$ on tipped wages.

- **Donald Trump** Trump's America First Economic Agenda lists cutting taxes as a pillar of his policy objectives.
- He has committed to making the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act  $\checkmark$ (TCJA) permanent. He recently suggested reversing the State and Local Tax (SALT) provisions in the TCJA that limits a taxpayer's deduction to \$10,000.
- Trump's economic plan proposes promoting house  $\checkmark$ ownership through tax incentives and support for first-time buyers.
- Trump has expressed interest in lowering the corporate  $\checkmark$ income tax rate to 15% and taxing large private university endowments.
- Trump called for an "end" to taxes on Social Security for  $\checkmark$ older Americans receiving benefits that are still working. Earlier this month, former President Trump announced an additional set of targeted tax breaks, including making interest paid on car loans tax deductible, ending taxes on overtime wages, and ending double taxation on Americans who live abroad.



### **PRIVACY & TECHNOLOGY**

The Biden-Harris Administration and Trump have adopted similar strategies to bolster American technology leadership, focusing on containing China's rise in fields such as AI, microchips, and quantum, while also working to advance U.S. innovation. Both Harris and Vance have strong ties to Silicon Valley and could use their connections to build new advisory teams if elected.

#### Kamala Harris

- ✓ The Biden-Harris Administration's technology policy has focused on critical technology fundamentals: connectivity, cybersecurity, and domestic and international competition policy. Harris played a role in steering the White House's executive order on the federal government's use and development of AI.
- ✓ The Biden-Harris Administration passed the CHIPS and Science Act to revitalize American manufacturing, strengthen American supply chains, and advance U.S. global leadership in the technologies of the future. Harris has committed to building on the Administration's progress.
- ✓ During her time as California Attorney General and Senator, Harris sued large tech companies for data privacy breaches, the spread of non-consensual intimate images, and cyberbullying.

- ✓ Trump has pushed for a complete decoupling of the U.S. and China tech industries. He argues the U.S. should enact aggressive restrictions on Chinese ownership of any vital infrastructure in the U.S. - including technology and telecommunications - and force Chinese companies to sell current holdings in any U.S. companies.
- ✓ Trump favors lighter regulation on AI and pledged to repeal President Biden's Executive Order on AI.
- ✓ Trump has frequently opposed Big Tech companies, calling them too big and powerful. He acknowledges the importance of the companies in the global tech ecosystem for U.S. global leadership, but advocates for the implementation of guardrails to protect children and elections.



### **IMMIGRATION**

*Immigration has emerged as a contentious issue in the 2024 elections, prompting debates among candidates and voters about border security and immigration reform, as more Americans now view it as a major concern comparable to inflation and the economy.* 

#### Kamala Harris

- ✓ One of Harris's responsibilities as Vice President has been addressing the underlying conditions in Latin America spurring the migration crisis. She organized the Partnership for Central America, a coalition between private companies and the U.S. government, to invest over \$5 billion towards job creation and other initiatives in the region.
- ✓ Harris has only visited the border once as VP, and has leaned on her experience as Attorney General in California in an attempt to bolster her credentials on this issue.
- ✓ Harris supported the failed bipartisan border deal proposed in Congress earlier this year, acknowledging the need to fix the "broken immigration system."
- ✓ As Senator, Harris advocated for legal protections for DACA recipients, denounced Trump's immigration policies and officials, and reintroduced legislation to expedite the reunification of immigrant families.

- ✓ Trump has announced, if reelected, he will complete the border wall, shift federal law enforcement to immigration enforcement, end catch and release, deploy troops to the southern border, and begin a wide-reaching deportation program.
- ✓ The former president has stated intention to sign an executive order to end birthright citizenship for people born in the U.S. whose parents are both in the country illegally.
- Trump argued that foreigners graduating from U.S. colleges should receive green cards if they are "skilled graduates who can make significant contributions to America" following an aggressive vetting process.

### **HEALTH CARE**

While Trump and Harris have distinctly different records and positions on health care, both candidates have promised to protect Medicare, support drug price negotiations, and limit provider consolidation.

#### Kamala Harris

- Harris has committed to using "every tool" to bring down drug prices and strengthen the Affordable Care Act. She has praised the Inflation Reduction Act for capping prescription drug and insulin costs and giving Medicare the power to negotiate. Harris has also stated intention to combat pharmacy benefit managers (PBMs) to bring down drug prices.
- ✓ As California Attorney General, Harris scrutinized healthcare mergers and acquisitions and succeeded in litigation and settlements against pharmaceutical companies.
- Harris led the White House's first Maternal Health Day of Action and announced the Administration's Blueprint for Addressing the Maternal Health Crisis, a whole-of-government effort to combat maternal mortality and morbidity.
- ✓ Harris recently announced the Biden-Harris Administration's plan to eliminate medical debt as a consideration in credit scores.

- ✓ Trump has pledged to restore medical freedom, end surprise billing, increase fairness through price transparency, and further reduce the cost of prescription drugs and health insurance premiums. His platform promises to not "cut one penny" from Medicare and Social Security.
- Trump has proposed budget cuts to the CDC and other federal public health programs and vowed to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act.
- ✓ J.D. Vance has expressed interest in re-branding Republicans as more of a populist party on health policy. He supports Medicare drug price negotiation and importing drugs from overseas and has opposed completely repealing the Affordable Care Act.



### ABORTION

Women's reproductive health and access to abortion have become top issues since the Supreme Court handed down Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization in 2022.

#### Kamala Harris

- ✓ Harris has supported abortion rights throughout her career and has been seen as a stronger reproductive rights advocate than Biden. As a Senator, she co-sponsored legislation that would ban states from imposing restrictions on abortion rights and voted against a bill that would ban abortions after 20 weeks of pregnancy.
- ✓ As Vice President, Harris condemned the Supreme Court's 2022 decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* and became the White House's leading voice on reproductive health rights.
- ✓ In early 2024, Harris visited a Planned Parenthood Clinic in Minnesota, believed to be the first time a sitting U.S. Vice President visited an abortion provider.

- ✓ In 2017, Trump supported the House's 20-week abortion ban legislation and called on the Senate to approve the bill in 2018, saying he would sign it into law. Early in 2024, reports suggested he might support a national 15-week ban, but Trump recently said he supports the issue being delegated to the states as called for in the *Dobbs* decision.
- ✓ J.D. Vance expressed support for the Supreme Court's decision to preserve access to the abortion pill mifepristone.



### **ISRAEL & HAMAS WAR**

Vice President Harris has mostly echoed Biden and Trump in firmly backing Israel's right to defend itself but has criticized Israel's military approach at times.

#### Kamala Harris

- ✓ In March, Harris became one of the earliest high-profile leaders in the Administration to call for an immediate temporary cease-fire. She delivered a sharp rebuke against Israel's handling of aid flows into the Gaza Strip and described the conflict as a "humanitarian catastrophe" for innocent civilians.
- ✓ Harris has stated support for a two-state solution as the best path toward durable peace in the region on multiple occasions.
- ✓ Harris said that "the threat Hamas poses to the people of Israel must be eliminated" and emphasized that "too many innocent Palestinians have been killed." She has shared her opposition to an Israeli invasion of Rafah.

- Trump has expressed doubt on the viability of an independent Palestinian state, saying he is "not sure a twostate solution anymore is going to work" but suggested "there may not be another idea."
- ✓ During the Presidential debate, Trump argued Biden needs to "let Israel finish the job."
- ✓ In May, Trump told donors he would support deporting foreign students participating in pro-Palestine campus protests.
- ✓ Trump's campaign has said if Trump is reelected, "Israel will once again be protected, Iran will go back to being broke, terrorists will be hunted down, and the bloodshed will end."



### UKRAINE

Vice President Harris has vowed to support Ukraine throughout its ongoing war with Russia, and Trump has said ending the war would be a top priority in his Administration. Harris and Biden have worked on rebuilding NATO alliances, which Trump has stated he would "fundamentally reevaluate."

#### Kamala Harris

- Harris has voiced strong support for Ukraine, reaffirming U.S. support for Ukraine for "as long as it takes."
- ✓ Harris has condemned Vladimir Putin and criticized Russia's attacks on Ukrainian civilians as "crimes against humanity" and vowed to hold authorities in Moscow responsible.
- ✓ Harris was the Biden Administration's lead spokesperson at the Munich Security Conference, making the case for the U.S.'s role in Ukraine, NATO, and in the world. In June, she represented the U.S. at the Summit for Peace in Ukraine, where she had her sixth meeting with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky.

- ✓ Trump has suggested Russia would not have invaded Ukraine if he was president. He has repeatedly stated that a top priority of his second term will be to quickly negotiate an end to the Russia-Ukraine War. He believes European nations should be paying more of the cost of the conflict, not the U.S.
- ✓ J.D. Vance is strongly opposed to more aid for Ukraine and has suggested Kyiv should be prepared to cede territory to Russia for peace.
- ✓ Trump has long avoided criticism of Russia's invasion and questioned the value of the NATO alliance. He has said allowing Ukraine to become a NATO member was a "mistake" and is "really why this war started."

