

# Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

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## 2022 House Ratings

*Due to delays in the redistricting process, ratings are incomplete. New ratings and states will be added on a rolling basis as final maps are approved in each state.*

### Toss-Up (1R, 2D)

CO 8 (Open, New)  
IA 3 (Axne, R)

ME 2 (Golden, D)  
NC 2 (Butterfield, D)

### Tilt Democratic

### Tilt Republican (1D)

*TX 15 (Open; Gonzalez, D)*

### Lean Democratic (1D)

NV 3 (Lee, D)

### Lean Republican (1R)

NE 2 (Bacon, R)

### Likely Democratic (6D)

CO 7 (Perlmutter, D)  
NV 1 (Titus, D)  
NV 4 (Horsford, D)  
OR 4 (Peter DeFazio, D)  
OR 5 (Kurt Schrader, D)  
OR 6 (Open, New)  
TX 28 (Cuellar, D)

### Likely Republican (4R, 1D)

CO 3 (Boebert, R)  
IA 1 (Miller-Meeks, R)  
IA 2 (Hinson, R)  
MT 1 (Open, New)  
NC 11 (Manning, D/Fox, R)  
NC 4 (Open, New)  
TX 23 (Gonzales, R)

# moved benefiting Democrats, \* moved benefiting Republicans Takeovers in Italics

## CALENDAR

<b>Dec. 13</b>	Texas Candidate Filing Deadline
<b>Dec. 15</b>	California Redistricting Deadline
<b>Dec. 17</b>	North Carolina Candidate Filing Deadline
<b>Jan. 10</b>	College Football Championship
<b>Jan. 11</b>	Florida's 20th District Special General Election
<b>Jan. 28</b>	Alabama Candidate Filing Deadline
<b>Jan. 29</b>	West Virginia Candidate Filing Deadline

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## 2022 House Overview: Good to Great for GOP

By Nathan L. Gonzales

Republicans are positioned to have somewhere between a good and great set of midterm elections in 2022, and either scenario should deliver the House majority to the GOP.

With historical midterm trends, redistricting and the current political environment in Republicans' favor, and the fact that they need a net gain of just five seats, it's harder to see how the GOP doesn't win control in 2022 rather than Democrats remaining in power.

The president's party loses an average of 30 House seats in midterms over the last century, President Joe Biden's job rating is mediocre at best, and Republicans have at least a modest edge in drawing more seats through the redistricting process. And significant GOP overperformances (compared to 2020) in the recent gubernatorial elections in Virginia and New Jersey point in the same direction.

Since the midterms are still 11 months away, the political environment could technically change. But it's unlikely. Even a year out from the elections, it's possible to correctly identify their trajectory, as has been the case over the past 20 years. While the year-out projection might have been off in magnitude or in specific races, there hasn't been a single recent election in which the political landscape dramatically shifted in the final year of the race. That's bad news for Democrats.

With strong national winds in their face, Democrats are focused on a district-by-district fight. They're also committed to hitting the campaign trail to sell specific pieces of their legislative agenda. But parties don't typically get an electoral boost after passing big ticket items. Democrats need independent voters to believe, see, and feel the Democratic agenda improving their lives. For now, voters are focused on the rising cost of living and a country moving in the wrong direction; they hold Democrats responsible and are poised to punish Democrats in power.

Making a specific projection on GOP gains is still difficult because of redistricting delays and considering more than half of the 435 seats have not been finalized. We'll continue to release ratings for seats as the state maps are finalized.

Even in a great cycle, GOP gains could be lower than what accompanies a typical wave. By surpassing expectations and gaining 12 seats in 2020, Republicans already took back some of the easiest districts. And Republicans have chosen to solidify some of their current seats through redistricting, sometimes at the expense of drawing solidly Democratic seats, which lowers the GOP's electoral ceiling a bit. And overall partisan alignment limits available persuadable voters.

Of course it's wise to be open minded about possibilities and election outcomes, but the burden of proof is on Democrats to show how they're going to buck the midterm trend.

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# Report Shorts

## Florida's 20th District

Self-funding healthcare executive Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick was certified as the winner of the Democratic primary to replace the late Rep. Alcee Hastings, meaning she's the prohibitive favorite to win the special general election on Jan. 11. The result came after a recount that confirmed Cherfilus-McCormick won five more votes than her closest opponent, Broward County Commissioner Dale Holness.

In a field of 11 candidates, Holness had started out as the nominal frontrunner, but Cherfilus-McCormick spent \$1.7 million of her own money (almost as much as the rest of the field combined) to boost her name ID via TV advertising. This was her third run for Congress, after two unsuccessful primary challenges to Hastings in 2018 and 2020.

## Iowa Senate

Chuck Grassley, the former chairman of the Judiciary and Agriculture committees and the longest-serving current Republican Senator, is running for an eighth term. Grassley will be 89 next year and faces a spirited challenge from former Rep. Abby Finkenauer, 56 years his junior. But he shouldn't have much trouble winning in increasingly red Iowa, which voted for Trump by 8 points last year — especially in a good cycle for Republicans.

## Ohio's 11th District

As expected, Cuyahoga County Councilwoman Shontel Brown won the special election to replace now-HUD Secretary Marcia Fudge in this solid Democratic Cleveland district. Brown had defeated former state Sen. Nina Turner in the August primary, a major blow to national progressives who had backed Turner's bid. Brown was sworn into Congress on Nov. 4.

## Ohio's 15th District

Republican coal lobbyist Mike Carey defeated Democratic state Rep. Allison Russo in the special election to succeed former Rep. Steve Stivers in this suburban and rural Columbus district, 58-42 percent. That's a bit better than former President Donald Trump's mark in the district (he beat Biden 56-42 percent) but a few points shy of Stivers' 2020 re-election (he won 63-37 percent).

Carey was sworn in on Nov. 4, but won't have much time to rest. The latest map proposed by Ohio Republicans makes his district 10 points more Democratic. While that isn't enough to make this seat competitive in a good Republican year, he could face serious re-election races later in the decade.

## 2022 Senate Ratings

### BATTLEGROUND

#### Democratic-Held (4)

Cortez Masto (D-Nev.)  
Hassan (D-N.H.)  
Kelly (D-Ariz.)  
Warnock (D-Ga.)

#### Republican-Held (4)

NC Open (Burr, R)  
PA Open (Toomey, R)  
Johnson (R-Wisc.)  
Rubio (R-Fl.)

#### Solid Democratic (10)

VT Open (Leahy, D)  
Bennet (D-Colo.)  
Blumenthal (D-Conn.)  
Duckworth (D-Ill.)  
Murray (D-Wash.)  
Padilla (D-Calif.)  
Schatz (D-Hawaii)  
Schumer (D-N.Y.)  
Van Hollen (D-Md.)  
Wyden (D-Ore.)

#### Solid Republican (16)

AL Open (Shelby, R)  
MO Open (Blunt, R)  
OH Open (Portman, R)  
Boozman (R-Ark.)  
Crapo (R-Idaho)  
Grassley (R-Iowa)  
Hoeven (R-N.D.)  
Kennedy (R-La.)  
Lankford (R-Okla.)  
Lee (R-Utah)  
Moran (R-Kan.)  
Murkowski (R-Alaska)  
Paul (R-Ky.)  
Scott (R-S.C.)  
Thune (R-S.D.)  
Young (R-Ind.)

## Vermont Senate

Pat Leahy, the Senate president pro tempore, longest-serving current Senator, and the only Democrat ever elected to the Senate from Vermont, won't seek a ninth term. If he finishes out his current term, Leahy will be the third-longest serving senator of all time, behind Massachusetts' Ted Kennedy and Hawaii's Daniel Inouye.

With Democratic Rep. Peter Welch likely to run for (and win) Leahy's seat, especially now that GOP Gov. Phil Scott says he's not interested, the real contest to watch will be the scramble for Welch's at-large House seat. Biden won Vermont by 35 points in 2020, so neither seat is at risk of a GOP takeover.

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**Alabama.** Jan. 28 filing deadline. May 24 primary. July 26 runoff (if necessary). Gov. Kay Ivey, a Republican, signed Alabama's new map into law on Nov. 4. The new lines maintain the status quo partisan balance, with six Solid Republican seats and one Solid Democratic, majority-Black seat (Rep. Terri Sewell's 7th). In the 5th District (Northern Alabama), a primary is brewing to replace GOP Rep. Mo Brooks, who is running for Senate. Candidates include Madison County Commissioner Dale Strong, former Assistant Secretary of the Army Casey Wardynski, and former state Sen. Paul Sanford.

**Alaska.** At-Large (Don Young, R). June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 16 all-party primary. Former President Trump included Young on his list of GOP members he wants to see challenged in a primary, after the 88-year-old congressman voted to pass the bipartisan infrastructure bill. Alaska's new all-party top-four election system means that Young won't actually have to run in a GOP primary. But he already does have one opponent running to his right: Nick Begich III, the grandson of Young's predecessor in Congress, Nick Begich, Sr. Unlike the rest of his storied family, Nick the third is a conservative Republican. No Democrats have announced their campaign yet. Solid Republican.

**Arizona.** Current breakdown: 5D, 4R. April 4 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary. Based on the preliminary map approved by the redistricting commission and the political environment, Republicans believe there's an opportunity to gain at least two seats: the 1st District (represented by Democratic Rep. Tom O'Halleran) and the open 2nd District, left by retiring Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick. Businessman/retired Navy Seal Eli Crane, state Rep. Walt Blackman and others are running on the Republican side in the 1st. And there will be competitive primaries on both sides in the 2nd District. Top Democratic contenders include state Rep. Daniel Hernandez (the intern who aided Rep. Gabby Giffords after she was shot) and state Sen. Kirsten Engel. Juan Ciscomani, a senior adviser to GOP Gov. Doug Ducey, and Tucson surgeon Doug Lowell are running on the Republican side. It's not all offense for Republicans. GOP Rep. Dave Schweikert could get a more competitive seat. The commission set a Dec. 22 goal for a final map.

**Arkansas.** Current breakdown: 4R, 0D. March 1 filing deadline. May 24 primary. June 21 runoff (if necessary). The one bright spot for Arkansas Democrats has been the growth and leftward shift of Pulaski County (Little Rock), which made the 2nd District a battleground in 2018 and 2020. So Arkansas Republicans split Pulaski three ways, parcelling out its voters between the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Districts. As a result, all four new districts are Solid Republican.

**California.** Current breakdown: 42D, 11R (Apportionment: -1 seat). March 11 filing deadline. June 7 primary. The California Citizen Redistricting Commission has until Dec. 27 to finalize a new congressional map. If the commission can't pass a map, the state Supreme Court will assign special masters to do so instead. Overall, California continues to be one of the biggest redistricting wildcards in the country because the commission does not prioritize incumbency.

The first commission draft could force Democratic Reps. Josh Harder and Lucille Roybal-Allard, and GOP Rep. Devin Nunes, to make difficult decisions about where they'd run for re-election. It would also make Democratic Reps. Mike Levin and Katie Porter and Republican Reps. Mike Garcia and Michelle Steel more vulnerable. But Republicans and

Democrats warn that the final map could look distinctly different.

Even without an official map, candidates are lining up to run. Republican Ricky Gill, who was pegged as a rising GOP star before he lost to Rep. Jerry McNerney back in 2012, is running against Harder. And Democrats finally convinced state Assemblyman Rudy Salas to run against Rep. David Valado in the San Joaquin Valley. Jay Chen, president of the Board of Trustees for Mt. San Antonio Community College and a Lieutenant Commander in the United States Navy Reserves, will challenge GOP Rep. Young Kim in Southern California. Further south in Orange County, former Democratic Rep. Harley Rouda is looking for a rematch against Steel.

While there's a lot of uncertainty, and a handful of districts could change significantly, it doesn't look like there will be a large net swing of seats toward one party based on redistricting alone.

**Colorado.** Current breakdown: 4D, 3R (Apportionment: +1 seat). March 15 filing deadline. June 28 primary. The map drawn and approved by the new redistricting commission is complete. It likely keeps the current partisan breakdown the same, but adds a new, competitive seat.

**3rd District (Lauren Boebert, R).** Democratic chances of defeating one of the most polarizing GOP members took a hit when the district (which still includes the Western Slope and about two-thirds of southern Colorado) got a little more Republican. State Sen. Kerry Donovan, the top fundraising Democrat in the race, dropped out. State Rep. Don Valdez is still running but this seat looks like it might be out of reach for Democrats this cycle. Likely Republican.

**7th District (Ed Perlmutter, D).** The makeup of the district changed considerably. It now includes the western suburbs of Denver and stretches southwest into more rural areas. While the congressman will be introducing himself to some new voters, the seat would have supported Biden by 14 points in 2020. Republicans have a chance in the right environment with the right candidate. Likely Democratic.

**8th District (Open; new).** The new seat takes in portions of Adams and Weld counties, including Commerce City, all north of Denver, and should be competitive. It would have voted for Biden by 4 points in 2020 and Trump by 2 points in 2016. Pediatrician/state Rep. Yadira Caraveo and Adams County Commissioner Chaz Tedesco are the first two credible Democratic candidates. On the Republican side, state Sen. Barbara Kirkmeyer jumped into the race this week and Weld County commissioner/former state Rep. Lori Saine is running as well. Toss-up.

**Connecticut.** Current breakdown: 5D, 0R. June 7 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary. Connecticut's legislature failed to produce a map by its Sept. 15 deadline, so a backup commission has until Nov. 30 to produce a map, otherwise responsibility will shift to the state Supreme Court, as it did in 2010. Republicans think that with a good enough national environment, 5th District Rep. Jahana Hayes could be vulnerable, and they like their candidate, former state Sen. George Logan.

**Delaware.** At-Large (Lisa Blunt Rochester, D). July 12 filing deadline. Sept. 13 primary. The congresswoman and Biden ally who has represented Delaware since 2017 will be back in Congress for another two years. Solid Democratic.

**Florida.** Current breakdown: 16R, 11D (Apportionment +1 seat). June 17 filing deadline. Aug. 23 primary. Republicans control the

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redistricting process in Florida. Democrats are bracing for the worst, but initial maps proposed by the state Senate were not as aggressive as they could have been. Democratic Rep. Stephanie Murphy's 7th District in Central Florida gets more Republican, but is not unwinnable. And it doesn't look like Republicans will dismantle Democratic Rep. Al Lawson's 5th District in North Florida.

There will be a competitive Democratic primary in the 10th District, which Democratic Rep. Val Demings is leaving behind to challenge GOP Sen. Marco Rubio. The 13th District, being left behind by Democratic Rep. Charlie Crist to run for governor, will host competitive primaries on both sides of the aisle and a competitive general election. State Rep. Ben Diamond (who is also the grandson of former 19-term Rep. Dante Fascell), state Rep. Michele Rayner, and former Secretary of Defense senior advisor Eric Lynn are running on the Democratic side. Air Force veteran/2020 13th District nominee Anna Paulina Luna, 2020 13th District candidate Amanda Makki, and businesswoman Audrey Henson are running on the Republican side. Republicans are likely to create a new, GOP-leaning seat in Central Florida and could put Democratic Rep. Kathy Castor in a more competitive seat. In South Florida, Republicans will try to shore up the 25th (Mario Díaz-Balart), 26th (Carlos Giménez), and 27th (María Elvira Salazar).

The process is far from over and could extend well into next year. The state House hasn't proposed any maps. But if the current drafts are a guide, Republicans stand to gain between one and three seats out of Florida in the current environment.

**Georgia.** *Current breakdown: 8R, 6D. March 11 filing deadline. May 24 primary. June 21 runoff (if necessary).* Georgia Republicans unveiled the latest version of their proposed map this week. As expected, the map makes one of the two suburban Atlanta seats Democrats flipped over the last four years much more Democratic (Carolyn Bourdeaux's 7th District) and one of them much more Republican (Lucy McBeth's 6th District). The proposed 6th District stretches much further north to include deeply Republican territory. If the final map resembles this draft, McBeth would have to decide whether to run an underdog campaign in a district Trump carried by double digits, or run against Bourdeaux in a primary for the 7th.

One of the two may also decide to run for a statewide office, avoiding a member-vs.-member primary entirely. On the Republican side, GOP Army veteran Harold Earls, physician/2020 7th District GOP Nominee Rich McCormick (whose house is actually in the 9th District in the latest map), former state Rep. Meagan Hanson, and former state ethics commission chairman Jake Evans will have to decide if they all want to run in the much more Republican 6th District, or take a stab at the 7th. The map, which is not final, also makes Rep. Sanford Bishop's southwestern 2nd District more tenuous for Democrats. The most likely outcome is a GOP net gain of one seat, at a 9R-5D delegation come 2023.

**Hawaii.** *Current breakdown: 2D, 0R. June 7 filing deadline. Aug. 13 primary.* Hawaii's nine-member bipartisan redistricting commission is proceeding with a map that makes only minimal changes to the state's two congressional districts, both of which remain Solid Democratic. 1st District Rep. Ed Case has drawn some frustration from the more liberal wing of the party for his role in stalling Biden's infrastructure agenda, and already has one primary challenger, progressive attorney Sergio Alcubilla.

**Idaho.** *Current breakdown: 2R, 0D. March 11 filing deadline. May 19 primary.* Idaho's redistricting commission passed a status quo map into law on Nov. 12, with all three Republican members and one of three Democratic members voting in favor of the plan. The new map continues the trend, since the 1970s, of splitting Ada County (Boise) between the two districts. That dilutes what little voting power the state's few Democrats have. Republicans Russ Fulcher and Mike Simpson will hold both the 1st and the 2nd for the foreseeable future, although Simpson could face another primary.

**Illinois.** *Current breakdown: 13D, 5R (Apportionment: -1 seat). March 14 filing deadline. June 28 primary.* Illinois Democrats passed a map that is awaiting a signature from Democratic Gov. J.B. Pritzker. Democrats likely intend to gain two seats (with a 14D-3R delegation), but Republicans believe Democrats have spread themselves too thin, leaving multiple takeover opportunities, particularly in this political environment.

In the Chicago area, Democratic Rep. Marie Newman's house is in the new 4th District (where Democratic Rep. Chuy Garcia is likely to run) but she is running in the new 6th District, where she currently represents approximately 40 percent of the residents. That would set up a primary against her Democratic colleague Sean Casten. The newly-drawn 3rd District doesn't have an incumbent, but looks primed for a Hispanic Democrat.

Over in the Quad Cities area, both parties are competing for the seat left by retiring Democratic Rep. Cheri Bustos. Esther Joy King, who lost to Bustos by 4 points in 2020, is the initial GOP frontrunner. On the Democratic side, Rockford alderman/Afghanistan war veteran Jonathan Logemann is getting some initial buzz, but Rock Island County Board member Angie Normoyle and former meteorologist Eric Sorenson are running as well. Republicans also aren't giving up on challenging Rep. Lauren Underwood in the 14th District.

Central and Downstate Illinois is a bit of Democrat-created chaos for Republicans. There are five GOP members and three seats. It looks like



Mary Miller

Darin LaHood has the new 16th District to himself, with some help from Adam Kinzinger's decision not to seek re-election. Then the question is whether Mary Miller runs against Mike Bost in the 12th or Rodney Davis in the 15th. Miller's home is

in the 12th, but it's near the nexus of the 12th, 15th, and 16th, so she has options. Current betting is that Miller ultimately runs against Bost. Davis' 15th got more Democratic in the process, but Republicans believe it's still winnable, particularly in this environment.

**Indiana.** *Feb. 4 filing deadline. May 3 primary.* The map is done and effectively solidified the current delegation breakdown of seven Republicans and two Democrats by drawing seats that solidly favor one party or the other. State Republicans chose not to go after Democratic Rep. Frank Mrvan in the 1st District through redistricting, but other

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Republicans believe Black former Air Force pilot Jennifer-Ruth Green could knock him off in the right environment.

**Iowa.** *Current breakdown: 3R, 1D. March 18 filing deadline. June 7 primary.* Republicans shot down the first plan proposed by the state's nonpartisan Legislative Services Agency, but approved the second plan from the LSA (an entity unique to Iowa that generally produces competitive maps).

**1st District (Marianette Miller-Meeks, R).** Miller-Meeks, who won her seat by six votes last year, is running in the southeast corner of the state despite her home being in Ottumwa, which is now in the neighboring southwestern 3rd District (she says she is moving, though legally she is only required to live in the same state). The new district voted for Trump by 2 points, 50-48 percent. Miller-Meeks already has a credible opponent in state Rep. Christina Bohannon, but in what's looking like a tough year for Democrats and with Biden struggling mightily in Iowa, according to recent polling from J. Ann Selzer & Co., it's an uphill climb. Likely Republican.

**2nd District (Ashley Hinson, R).** The northeast corner of the state is now the 2nd District, after being numbered as the 1st for the last decade. Hinson, a freshman Republican, gets to run in a slightly more Republican district than the one she wrested from Democrat Abby Finkenauer last year. Her new district voted for Trump by 4.4 points, compared to 3.4 points under the old lines. Hinson is a strong fundraiser and rising GOP star. While Democrats have already consolidated around state Sen. Liz Mathis (who, coincidentally, was once a news anchor at the same Cedar Rapids TV station as Hinson), this will be a tough district for Democrats to win back in a midterm election. Likely Republican.

**3rd District (Cindy Axne, D).** Iowa's lone Democratic representative finally made her re-election campaign official last week, after contemplating runs for Senate and then governor. Axne's Des Moines-anchored district is the most friendly to Democrats of any in the state, having voted for Trump by just 0.4 percent last year. That makes her a top target for national Republicans, and several hopefuls are already lining up to take her on. State Sen. Zach Nunn, former state Sen. Mary Ann Hanusa, and financial planner Nicole Hasso are all running in what could be a marquee 2022 matchup. Toss-up.

**Kansas.** *Current breakdown: 3R, 1D. June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.* Kansas is still in the preliminary stages of redistricting, but the 3rd District, represented by Democrat Sharice Davids, needs to lose some population due to growth in the Kansas City suburbs. It's not yet clear if Republicans will go after Davids via redistricting. Biden won the old 3rd by 11 points, so unless it gets a bit better for Republicans, likely nominee Amanda Adkins (who lost to Davids by 10 points last cycle) will face an uphill climb. In 2010, Republicans weren't able to agree on a map and a panel of three federal judges drew the lines instead.

**Kentucky.** *Current breakdown: 5R, 1D. Jan. 7 filing deadline. May 17 primary.* Under Kentucky law, Democratic Gov. Andy Beshear's veto can be overridden by a simple majority, so he doesn't have much of a say on the final map. The big question is if Republicans target the Louisville-based 3rd District, where the delegation's only Democrat, John Yarmuth, is retiring at the end of this term. They could also leave the status quo of five solidly Republican districts and one solidly Democratic district intact, perhaps out of professional deference to state Senate

Minority Leader Morgan McGarvey, who is running to replace Yarmuth. State Rep. Attica Scott is also running, and had announced her bid months before Yarmuth said he was retiring.

**Louisiana.** *Current breakdown: 5R, 1D. July 22 filing deadline. Nov. 8 all-party primary. Dec. 10 runoff (if necessary).* The Pelican State is nowhere near drawing its maps for the next decade. The state legislature will meet in February of next year for a special session devoted to redistricting. Democrats want a second majority-minority district for Black voters in Baton Rouge and Shreveport, which former Rep. Cleo Fields or Shreveport Mayor Adrian Perkins could run for. But that's not likely to happen with a GOP-controlled legislature. Democratic Gov. John Bel Edwards has veto power over the map, and Republicans don't quite have veto-proof majorities. If there's a deadlock, a three-judge panel might have to step in and draw new maps. Right now the likeliest outcome is no partisan change in the delegation.

**Maine.** *Current breakdown: 2D, 0R. March 15 filing deadline. June 14 primary.* Maine's new map, which passed the legislature with bipartisan majorities, was signed into law by Gov. Janet Mills on Sept. 29. The 1st District, where Democrat Chellie Pingree is in her twelfth term, remains Solid Democratic.

**2nd District (Jared Golden, D).** Trump 52%. The new map places Augusta, the state capital, in the northern, more rural 2nd District for the first time in history. That's a marginal boost for the incumbent Democrat, who now gets to run for a third term in a district that would have voted for Trump by just 6 points, instead of a 7-point win under the old lines. He'll likely face former Rep. Bruce Poliquin, whom he defeated in 2018, in a challenging race that begins as a Toss-up.

**Maryland.** *Current breakdown: 7D, 1R. Feb. 22 filing deadline. June 28 primary.* The Maryland state legislature released four preliminary draft maps in early November. Two of them would keep Rep. Andy Harris, the state's sole Republican member, in a safe district. One would make his Eastern Shore district more competitive but still favorable to the GOP. And one map would put all of Annapolis, the state capitol, in his district and turn it a light shade of blue. Just how much danger Harris will be in is up to the Democrats who control the state legislature and how aggressive they want to be. Former state Del. Heather Mizeur is already running against Harris, but would need a favorable redraw to make the seat competitive.

**Massachusetts.** *Current breakdown: 9D, 0R. May 31 filing deadline. Sept. 20 primary.* The new map isn't done but no major changes are expected. Democrats are likely to keep their 9-0 advantage in the congressional delegation for another decade, barring a major change in the political environment or state of the two parties. In 2020, under the current lines, Biden's closest margin of victory in any congressional district was 17 points. Nine Solid Democratic seats are expected.

**Michigan.** *Current breakdown: 7D, 7R (Apportionment: -1 seat). April 19 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.* On Nov. 1, the state's new independent redistricting commission moved forward with three map proposals that are now in a 45-day review process. The Wolverine State is losing a district from apportionment and a new redistricting commission adds a level of uncertainty to the process — especially because the 13

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commissioners were randomly picked from a large pool of applicants and must come to a bipartisan decision on the new map.

Republicans are planning to challenge Democratic Reps. Haley Stevens, Dan Kildee, and Elissa Slotkin, depending on the contours of the final map. Iraq War veteran John James, who ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 2018 and 2020, is a potential GOP candidate in the Oakland County area. Michigan continues to be one of the biggest redistricting wildcards of the cycle, although the current proposals aren't as dramatic as initial drafts.

**Minnesota.** *Current breakdown: 4D, 4R. May 31 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary.* Party strategists expect minimal changes with a new map, which is not complete and not even on the horizon yet. The state legislature, where control is split between Democrats and Republicans, draws the maps (which are subject to veto by the Democratic governor). But the lines seem likely to end up being decided by the state Supreme Court, as they were in 2011 and 2001.

Assuming lines are close to the status quo, Republicans are targeting DFL Rep. Angie Craig in the 2nd District. Veteran/2020 GOP nominee Tyler Kistner is running again (and already raised \$766,000 through the end of September) in a seat Biden won by 6 points. Republicans also put 3rd District Rep. Dean Phillips on their initial target list but don't have a serious candidate yet. Anything from no net change in the delegation to a GOP gain of a seat or two seems possible.

**Mississippi.** *Current breakdown: 3R, 1D. March 1 filing deadline. June 7 primary. June 28 runoff (if necessary).* No major changes are expected to the partisan balance in Mississippi, where the mapmaking process is still in its early stages and is not expected to be completed until the legislature returns in January. In the 4th District, Rep. Steven Palazzo, who has longstanding ethics issues, has several primary challengers including 2020 candidate Carl Boyanton, who has loaned his campaign \$550,000, retired banker Clay Wagner, and Jackson County Sheriff Mike Ezell.

**Missouri.** *Current breakdown: 6R, 2D. March 29 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.* Gov. Mike Parson, a Republican, has said he won't call a special redistricting session of the state legislature, so Missouri won't begin its mapmaking process until January. The first priority will be shoring up Rep. Ann Wagner in the 2nd District (suburban St. Louis) which went from being a solid Republican constituency to one of the most closely divided districts in the country — Trump carried it by just 125 votes in 2020.

Then lawmakers will have to decide whether to target Rep. Emanuel Cleaver's Kansas City-anchored 5th District, one of two Democratic-held districts in the state. They could redraw it as a Republican district, but that would mean adding large numbers of Democratic voters to the surrounding districts and making them potentially competitive later in the decade.

In the rural 4th District, a crowded Republican primary is taking shape to replace Rep. Vicky Hartzler, who is running for Senate, and it's a similar situation to the south in the 7th District, where Rep. Billy Long is also seeking a promotion to the upper chamber.

**Montana.** *Current breakdown: 1R, 0D (Apportionment: +1 seat). March 14 filing deadline. June 7 primary.* Republicans in Montana

and DC made their displeasure known when the state Supreme Court selected tribal attorney Maylinn Smith as the chairwoman of the state's redistricting commission. But in the end, Smith cast her tie-breaking vote for the Republican-proposed map, over a competing map drawn by the commission's two Democrats. As expected, the new map splits the state into an eastern and western district. At-large Rep. Matt Rosendale, a Republican, will run in the eastern 2nd District, which is rated Solid Republican.

**1st District (Open; New).** Trump 52%. The western Montana district will be more favorable to Democrats; in 2020 it would have voted for Trump by just 7 points (compared to his 16-point statewide win) and for



Cora Neumann

Courtesy Neumann Campaign

GOP Sen. Steve Daines by just 2 points, 51-49 percent. And in 2018 it would have voted for Democratic Sen. Jon Tester by 10 points, 54-44 percent. On the GOP side, former at-large Rep./former Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke is the favorite. Democrats

are still sorting through their primary field, which includes 2020 Senate candidate and fundraising leader Cora Neumann, 2020 Public Service Commissioner nominee Monica Tranel, and former state Rep. Tom Winter. Zinke has some vulnerabilities (including questions of how often he's actually in Montana) but the new district's partisan lean makes it an uphill climb for any Democrat, especially in a midterm year. Likely Republican.

**Nebraska.** *Current breakdown: 3R, 0D. Feb. 15 filing deadline. May 10 primary.* On Sept. 30, GOP Gov. Pete Ricketts signed Nebraska's new map — a largely status quo update — into law.

**1st District (Jeff Fortenberry, R).** Trump 54%. Fortenberry is facing federal charges of lying to the FBI during an investigation into his campaign finances. An indictment alone probably isn't enough to sink him in this district that voted for Trump by 11 points, especially in what's shaping up to be a good year for Republicans. But if Fortenberry is convicted, he'll face serious pressure to resign, or at the very least not stand for re-election, which would clear the path for the GOP to keep this seat without too much trouble. Democratic state Sen. Patty Pansing Brooks is running. Solid Republican.

**2nd District (Don Bacon, R).** Biden 52%. The new map keeps Bacon in an Omaha district that voted for Biden by 6 points, which means he starts out vulnerable even in a decent year for Republicans. State Sen. Tony Vargas and mental health counselor Alisha Shelton are both running for the Democratic nomination to take on Bacon, and former President Trump released a statement urging a challenge to Bacon in the GOP primary, though nothing serious has materialized yet. Lean Republican.

**Nevada.** *Current breakdown: 3D, 1R. March 18 filing deadline. June 14 primary.* Democrats control the redistricting process and took an aggressive approach with the maps that were recently signed into law by Gov. Steve Sisolak.

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**1st District (Dina Titus, D).** The new map unpacks Rep. Dina Titus' Las Vegas-based 1st District to shore up Rep. Susie Lee's 3rd District. The result is that Titus's district goes from having voted for Biden by 25 points to having voted for Biden by just 9 points. The new district is also now plurality white, as opposed to being plurality Hispanic under the old lines, which will frustrate activists. Titus faces a primary challenge from Amy Vilela, a progressive who ran for the 4th District in 2018. And if the national political environment is particularly bad for Democrats she could also face a competitive general election, especially in a fickle state such as Nevada. Likely Democratic.

**3rd District (Susie Lee, D).** The biggest change in partisan lean is in Lee's southern Nevada district, which voted for Biden in 2020 by just 0.2 points under the old map (and for Trump by 1 point in 2016) but now would have gone for Biden by 7 points. Lee won a narrow re-election by 3 points in 2020 against a flawed opponent, and several Republicans are already lining up to take her on in 2022, including April Becker, who lost a very close state Senate race in 2020 and has been endorsed by House GOP Conference Chairwoman Elise Stefanik. Lean Democratic.

**4th District (Steven Horsford, D).** Biden carried the old 4th District, which spans the center of the state, by 4 points, 51-47 percent. Under the new lines, his margin would have been twice as large, 53-45 percent. Several Republicans are vying to take on Horsford, who was swept out of office in the 2014 GOP wave but came back four years later. Leading the pack are Sam Peters, the Air Force veteran who ran for this seat last year (placing second in the primary) and former Trump campaign staffer Carolina Serrano. In a bad year for Democrats, this seat could get dicey. Likely Democratic.

**New Hampshire. Current breakdown: 2D, 0R. June 10 filing deadline. Sept 13 primary.** Republicans took back control of the state legislature in 2020, giving them full control over the redistricting process. The state House GOP released a draft map that would significantly alter the balance of the two districts, making the 1st District much more Republican (imperiling Democratic Rep. Chris Pappas) and making Rep. Ann Kuster's 2nd District even more Democratic, essentially taking it off the board of competitive races (she won by 10 points last year). Several Republicans are already lining up to take on Pappas, including former Trump assistant press secretary Karoline Leavitt, former TV newscaster Gail Huff Brown (the wife of former Massachusetts Sen. Scott Brown), and state Rep. Tim Baxter. Former NH GOP chairman Matt Mowers, who ran against Pappas in 2020 and lost by 5 points, is also running again, but could switch over to the Senate race now that Republicans are scrambling for a candidate to run against Democratic incumbent Maggie Hassan. GOP optimism about gaining a seat in New Hampshire is growing.

**New Jersey. Current breakdown: 10D, 2R. April 4 filing deadline. June 7 primary.** New Jersey's bipartisan redistricting commission only just began holding hearings, so final maps are still a way away. Republicans continue to be optimistic about former state Senate Minority Leader Tom Kean, Jr.'s likely rematch against Rep. Tom Malinowski, who has come under fire for failing to properly disclose stock trades last year. And the GOP is also excited about Robert Healey, the 38-year-old former punk rocker and current multimillionaire yacht manufacturer running against Rep. Andy Kim. Healey will first have to get through a GOP primary with perennial candidate and firebrand Tricia Flanagan. Malinowski's district went for Biden by 10 points last year while Kim's

voted narrowly for Trump, but Democrats begin the cycle more worried about Malinowski because of the strength of his opponent and 1-point win last year despite Biden's performance at the top of the ticket.

The likely end result is either no partisan change or Republicans gaining a seat at the expense of losing other takeover opportunities if the commission shores up Kim.

**New Mexico. Current breakdown: 2D, 1R. Feb. 1 filing deadline. June 7 primary.** New Mexico's new Citizen Redistricting Committee submitted three maps to the legislature, which does not have to go along with the new committee's report. The big question is if Democrats will target the 2nd District, where Yvette Herrell is the state's only Republican member of Congress. One of three maps from the committee would "unpack" Albuquerque and make the southern 2nd District much more Democratic. Gabe Vasquez, a Las Cruces city councillor and a former aide to Democratic Sen. Martin Heinrich, is already running against Herrell. Former Rep. Xochitl Torres Small, who Herrell beat by 7 points last year, is now an undersecretary of agriculture in the Biden administration. Democrats have an opportunity to gain a seat here.

**New York. Current breakdown: 19D, 8R (Apportionment: -1 seat). April 7 filing deadline. June 28 primary.** Democratic super majorities in the Legislature and new Democratic Gov. Kathy Hochul can effectively disregard the draft maps released by the bipartisan redistricting commission. Democrats are expected to be aggressive, but it's still unclear what that actually looks like. Former Democratic Rep. Max Rose, who lost to Republican Nicole Malliotakis in 2020, is widely expected to run again, which means that Staten Island district is likely to get more Democratic. Retired Army officer Jackie Gordon, who lost to Republican Andrew Garbarino in 2020, is running again, so she must think there will be a Democratic opportunity on Long Island. GOP Rep. Lee Zeldin, who represents part of Long Island as well, is leaving his seat to run for governor. Democratic Suffolk County Legislator Kara Hahn is currently running in that seat. There are lots of other rumblings including retiring GOP Rep. Tom Reed's Southern Tier district being dissolved into neighboring seats. And of course Democrats will try to knock off GOP Rep. John Katko once again. The bottom line is that this is one place where Democrats can net a couple of seats, although they might risk spreading themselves too thin in the near-term in the face of a challenging political environment.

**North Carolina. Current breakdown: 8R, 5D (Apportionment: +1 seat). Dec. 17, 2021 filing deadline. March 8 primary. April 26 runoff (if necessary).** North Carolina's GOP-held legislature passed a new map into law without the signature of Democratic Gov. Roy Cooper, who is powerless in the redistricting process. North Carolina Republicans have seen two of their three previous maps overturned as illegal gerrymanders over the last decade. But that did not prevent them from again drawing one of the most aggressive GOP gerrymanders in the country thus far, one that would likely result in an 11R-3D delegation in a state that is evenly divided politically. The map will be challenged in court and may not survive; Democrats currently control the North Carolina Supreme Court, albeit with a smaller majority than in 2019 when it last overturned a congressional map. The filing deadline is just a few weeks away, but there's precedent for re-opening filing and holding a second primary if the lines are redrawn.

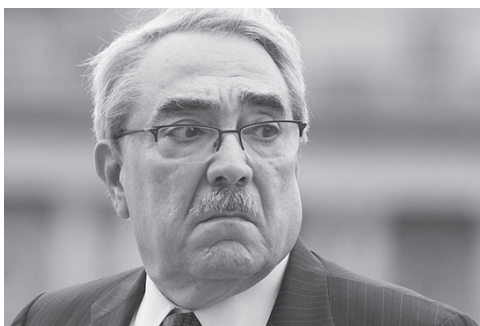
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**2nd District (Open; G.K. Butterfield, D).** Butterfield announced he would retire instead of running in a district redrawn to be significantly more Republican now that it does not include Greenville. Under the new lines, the district would have voted for Biden by just 2.3 points, compared to 9 points under the old map. State Sen. Erica Smith, the Northampton County legislator currently running for Senate, could drop down and run in this seat. And Butterfield's daughter Valeisha, who is currently the co-president of the Recording Academy (the organization that awards the Grammys) could run as well. There will be plenty of interest on the Republican side. Toss-up.

**4th District (Open; New).** The new 4th District is a combination of pieces from the old 7th and 8th Districts and includes Cumberland (Fayetteville), Johnston, and Sampson counties, most of Harnett County, and some of Wayne County. There is no incumbent in the district, which voted for Trump by 7 points, 53-46 percent.

Cumberland County Commissioner Charles Evans, a Democrat, is running but hasn't raised much money. No Republican has declared for the seat yet, but former Rep. Renee Ellmers, who



G.K. Butterfield

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

lost a member vs. member primary in 2016 after the decade's first court-ordered redistricting, could run. Likely Republican.

**11th District (Virginia Foxx, R/Kathy Manning, D).** Manning, the Greensboro Democrat who flipped a redrawn seat in 2020, is on the other end of the map this time. She's drawn into a district with Western North Carolina's Rep. Virginia Foxx, previously of the 5th District. The new 11th, which is in the northwest corner of the state, would have voted for Trump by 15 points, 57-42 percent, and would be Foxx's to lose — if the map passes legal muster. For now, the district is rated Likely Republican.

**14th District (Open; Madison Cawthorn, R).** Despite representing most of this district in Congress today, Cawthorn has chosen to run in the neighboring 13th District instead. That means the Appalachian 14th is an open seat, but one Republicans would be favored to keep as it voted for Trump by 7 points, 53-46 percent. It also means Democrats Jasmine Beach-Ferrera and Eric Gash, both of whom launched splashy campaigns against Cawthorn earlier this year, have to decide if they want to continue running now that their prominent foil has moved to another district. Current 11th District GOP chairwoman Michelle Woodhouse is running now. Solid Republican.

**North Dakota. At-Large (Kelly Armstrong, R). April 11 filing deadline. June 14 primary.** The GOP congressman won't have any trouble winning another term in North Dakota's at-large seat. Solid Republican.

**Ohio. Current breakdown: 12R, 4D (Apportionment: -1 seat). Feb. 2 filing deadline. May 3 primary.** After the expected failures of Ohio's state legislature and backup commission to pass a map with bipartisan support, Republicans in the state legislature are moving forward with a

new map on a party-line vote. Due to a new state law passed by voters in 2018, the new map is only good for four years instead of the customary decade. That means Republicans can pass a temporary map and then adjust it to keep up with political trends in four years.

In 2022, the proposed map would likely result in a 13R-2D delegation with the creation of two solidly Democratic seats, around Cleveland (Rep. Shontel Brown's 11th District) and Columbus (Rep. Joyce Beatty's 3rd District). But it would dismantle Rep. Tim Ryan's 13rd District (though he's running for Senate) and would seriously endanger delegation dean Marcy Kaptur by putting her in a district that voted for Trump, 51-47 percent (her old district voted for Biden, 59-40 percent).

The new map would also make several Republican-held seats more precarious. Republican Steve Chabot's Cincinnati-based 1st District would shift from a Trump 50-47 percent seat to a Biden 51-49 percent seat. Democrats have unsuccessfully targeted Chabot the last two cycles. And the new 13th District, where GOP Rep. Anthony Gonzalez is retiring, includes most of Akron and would have voted narrowly for Biden, 49.7-49 percent. That creates an intriguing opportunity for state House Minority Leader Emilia Sykes, an Akron Democrat. In the 15th District, where Republican Mike Carey just won a special election, Trump's margin of victory would drop from 14 points to 6 points.

In a good cycle for Republicans, which 2022 is shaping up to be, those seats aren't likely to flip to Democrats, which is why a 13R-2D delegation is most likely. But in a good year for Democrats, several of the new seats might be vulnerable.

**Oklahoma. Current breakdown: 5R, 0D. April 15 filing deadline. June 28 primary. August 23 runoff (if necessary).** The Oklahoma state legislature has passed a new map (now awaiting GOP Gov. Kevin Stitt's signature) and as expected it shores up Rep. Stephanie Bice's 5th District by moving Democratic portions of Oklahoma City into the neighboring 3rd District. Under the old lines, Trump won Bice's seat by just 5 points in 2020 (down from 13 points in 2016) and Bice defeated Rep. Kendra Horn by 4 points last year. But under the new lines, Trump won the district by 18 points, and Bice looks set to return to Congress without much difficulty.

**Oregon. Current breakdown: 4D, 1R (Apportionment: +1 seat). March 8 filing deadline. May 17 primary.** The map is done. Depending on the political environment, Democrats could pick up a seat or Republicans could gain one to two seats.

**4th District (Peter DeFazio, D).** The newly-drawn seat is still anchored in Southern Oregon and includes both the University of Oregon and Oregon State University. Afghanistan War veteran Alek Skarlatos, the 2020 GOP nominee who lost by 6 points, is running again. The new district is more Democratic than it was last cycle (Biden would have won it by 12 points), but the overall political environment will likely be better for Republicans. Likely Democratic.

**5th District (Kurt Schrader, D).** Schrader's current district was split between this seat and the new 6th. This seat stretches from the Portland suburbs south to include fast-growing Bend, which is new territory for the congressman. Attorney Jamie McLeod-Skinner is challenging Schrader from the left in the primary. And former Happy Valley Mayor Lori Chavez-DeRemer could be a top GOP candidate in the general election. Likely Democratic.

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**6th District (Open; New).** The Willamette Valley seat includes the state capital (Salem) in Marion County, as well as Dallas (Polk County), Yamhill County and some Portland suburbs in Washington and Clackamas counties. Without an incumbent, competitive primaries are expected on both sides. State Rep. Andrea Salinas, former Multnomah County Commissioner Loretta Smith, physician Kathleen Harder, and chemical engineer Matt West are running on the Democratic side. On the GOP side, state Rep. Ron Noble is running and Jimmy Crumpacker, who self-funded a fourth-place primary finish in 2020 in the 2nd District, is mentioned as a potential candidate. Likely Democratic.

**Pennsylvania.** *Current breakdown: 9D, 9R (Apportionment: -1 seat).* **March 8 filing deadline. May 17 primary.** With maps drawn by the GOP legislature needing approval from the Democratic governor, the process is still destined to end up in court. Democrats currently hold a 5-2 majority on the state Supreme Court. Considering Pennsylvania lost a seat during apportionment, one party is going to lose a seat. But the process still makes it hard to project the final partisan impact.

Democrats would love to challenge 1st District Rep. Brian Fitzpatrick, but he's won in worse political environments. Republicans will find a challenger to Democratic Rep. Matt Cartwright once the lines are finalized. And former Lehigh County Commissioner Lisa Scheller is taking on Democratic Rep. Susan Wild again in the 7th District. In Western Pennsylvania, Democratic Rep. Conor Lamb is running for the Senate and his open seat will attract attention from both parties. Rep. Mike Doyle's retirement means a lively Democratic primary in Pittsburgh.

**Rhode Island.** *Current breakdown: 2D, 0R.* **July 21 filing deadline. Sept. 13 primary.** Some population will have to shift from Democratic Rep. David Cicilline's district to Democratic Rep. Jim Langevin's district. But they're both just happy not to be running against each other in a single, at-large seat. Solid Democratic for both.

**South Carolina.** *Current breakdown: 6R, 1D.* **March 30 filing deadline. June 14 primary. June 28 runoff (if necessary).** Republicans are in full control of the redistricting process but don't appear to be in any hurry to draw a new map. The state Legislature adjourned in September without taking action, so a special session is likely before the end of the year. In 2020, Republican Nancy Mace narrowly defeated Democratic Rep. Joe Cunningham in the 1st District, but Democrats are expecting the district to shed Democratic voters. Mace wasn't even on the DCCC's initial list of takeover targets. Pediatrician Annie Andrews just entered the race and looks like a credible challenger. But the new district and tough environment could force Andrews to take a multiple cycle approach. Overall, the partisan breakdown of the delegation is likely to remain in place.

**South Dakota.** *At-Large (Dusty Johnson, R).* **March 29 filing deadline. June 7 primary. Aug. 16 runoff (if necessary).** The only thing that could shake up the race is if GOP Sen. John Thune decides not to seek re-election. If that happens, and Johnson tries to jump up to the Senate, all eyes will turn to Sioux Falls Mayor Paul TenHaken first as a potential House candidate. Solid Republican.

**Tennessee.** *Current breakdown: 7R, 2D.* **April 7 filing deadline. Aug. 4 primary.** The Tennessee delegation will either remain 7R-2D

or expand to 8R-1D, depending on what Republicans in the state legislature do with Rep. Jim Cooper's Nashville district. Cooper has previously said he'd run even if his district is redrawn to be significantly more Republican. If Republicans leave Nashville intact, Cooper will face a progressive primary challenger from Justice Democrats-backed Odessa Kelly. Rep. Steve Cohen's Memphis seat is protected by the Voting Rights Act.

**Texas.** *Current breakdown: 23R, 13D (Apportionment: +2 seats).* **Dec. 13, 2021 filing deadline. March 1 primary. April 24 runoff (if necessary).** Texas gained two seats in the reapportionment process, but the new map passed by the GOP-held legislature reduces the number of competitive districts statewide from roughly a dozen to as few as one. The map is facing legal challenges on the basis that while nearly all of Texas' population growth was among minority communities, the new lines actually reduce the number of majority-minority seats in the state. But those challenges face steep odds in the conservative judiciary.

**15th District (Open; Vicente Gonzalez, D).** Republicans seized on Trump's surprising performance in the Rio Grande Valley to redraw the 15th into a district that would have narrowly voted for Trump by 3 points instead of Biden. Gonzalez, who had an unexpectedly close race in 2020, is running in the bluer 34th District, setting up an open seat race. Two Democrats are running: former Labor Department official Eliza Alvarado and health care lobbyist Roberto Haddad. On the Republican side, Gonzalez's 2020 opponent, Monica De La Cruz, is running again, and has locked up support from much of the GOP establishment. But she hasn't cleared the field, and *The Washington Post* recently released a story detailing allegations of the candidate's "cruel and aggressive conduct" toward her ex-husband's 14-year-old daughter. Ryan Krause, who lost to De La Cruz in the 2020 GOP primary, is running again, as is 2020 20th District nominee Mauro Garza. Tilt Republican.

**23rd District (Tony Gonzales, R).** Formerly a top focus for both parties in recent election cycles, the new 23rd is noticeably more favorable for Republicans. The district still covers much of West Texas, spanning from La Salle County to east El Paso County, but has been redrawn to further safeguard the congressman. Gonzales won his initial race by 4 points in 2020, when Trump won the district by 2 points. He would have carried the new district by 7 points. Democrats like their candidate, Marine veteran John Lira, but acknowledge his path is difficult under the new lines. Likely Republican.

**28th District (Henry Cuellar, D).** Located in South Texas and connecting Laredo to San Antonio, the 28th remains largely favorable for the Democratic congressman. But he'll face a primary challenge once again from attorney Jessica Cisneros, who came within just 4 points of Cuellar in last year's Democratic primary. Sandra Whitten, the Republican general election candidate who lost to Cuellar by nearly 20 points in 2020, is running again too. Republican Ed Cabrera has also announced a bid. Biden won the newly-drawn seat by 7 points in 2020, so it could get interesting in a very pro-GOP environment. Likely Democratic.

**Utah.** *Current breakdown: 4R, 0D.* **March 17 filing deadline. June 28 primary.** Utah's new congressional map — signed into law Nov. 12 — cracks Salt Lake City, placing pieces of the Democratic-leaning metropolis in all four of the state's districts and making all four districts

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uncompetitive. The state legislature drew its own map after stripping Utah's independent redistricting commission of its authority last year.

**Vermont. At-Large (Peter Welch, D). May 26 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary.** With longtime Democratic Sen. Pat Leahy announcing his retirement at the end of this term, Welch looks likely to run to replace him in the upper chamber, which would leave his at-large House seat up for grabs. Lt. Gov. Molly Gray, state Sen. Keshia Ram Hinsdale, and state Sen. president pro temp Becca Balint could all run, as could state Rep. Tanya Vyhovsky, a Democratic Socialist and member of the Vermont Progressive Party. Vermont has never elected a woman to Congress. Solid Democratic.

**Virginia. Current breakdown: 7D, 4R. March 30 filing deadline. June 21 primary.** Virginia's new, 16-member bipartisan redistricting commission failed to agree on a map for the next decade after a contentious two-week process. Now the state Supreme Court will select two special masters — one Democrat and one Republican — from two slates of nominees provided by each party's legislative leaders, and the two will assist the court in drawing the map. Notably, the court rejected all three initial Republican nominees.

Republican Glenn Youngkin's victory in the gubernatorial race has encouraged the state and national GOP. Youngkin carried two districts represented by Democrats, Elaine Luria's 2nd District and Abigail Spanberger's 7th District, by 8 and 11 points, and came within a few points of winning Jennifer Wexton's 10th District. Biden won all three districts last year, and while the lines will change due to population shifts, Republicans take Youngkin's win as a signal suburban voters are headed back into the GOP fold. The party also likes its candidate in the 2nd, Navy veteran/state Sen. Jen Kiggans, and has several credible challengers to Spanberger in international religious freedom nonprofit founder/2020 candidate Tina Ramirez and communications consultant Taylor Kenney. And state Sen. Amanda Chase just announced her campaign.

**Washington. Current breakdown: 7D, 3R. May 20 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.** The five-member bipartisan commission tasked with drawing a new congressional map failed to do so before their Nov. 16 deadline, so the responsibility now falls to the state Supreme Court. This is the first time since the commission's implementation in the 1990 cycle that it has failed to produce a map. Though the commission did vote on a map — after their deadline and without the force of law — that they have submitted to the court for consideration. The court now has until April 30 of next year to produce its own map. At the moment, no major partisan changes are expected, but the court's involvement adds a layer of unpredictability to the process.

In the 3rd District, GOP Rep. Jaime Herrera Beutler is facing several challenges stemming from her vote to impeach Trump in January. The former president has endorsed Army veteran Joe Kent. Washington conducts all-party primaries, so Herrera Beutler (and her colleague Rep. Dan Newhouse, who also voted to impeach and faces a challenge from 2020 gubernatorial nominee Loren Culp) won't have to face a purely GOP primary electorate. But if Democrats coalesce around a credible candidate, as they've done in the past, Herrera Beutler could have to work to secure one of the two runoff spots in the primary. Iraq War veteran Jesse Jensen is running against Democratic Rep. Kim Schrier. The congresswoman defeated Jensen by 4 points in 2020, but Republicans believe the environment will be better and is a legitimate opportunity, depending on the lines.

**West Virginia. Current breakdown: 3R, 0D (Apportionment: -1 seat). Jan. 29 filing deadline. May 10 primary.** With three incumbents and only two districts after apportionment, Republicans will lose a seat in West Virginia. GOP Rep. Carol Miller should win re-election in the southern 1st District.

**2nd District. (Alex Mooney, R; David McKinley, R).** The newly-drawn seat encompasses all of northern West Virginia and is made up of all of McKinley's old district and half of Mooney's old district. Both Republicans are running for the new seat, setting up a member-vs.-member primary that is tantamount to election in the deeply conservative district. McKinley already represents more of the new district, but Mooney has a lot more money in the bank to start out with, and former President Trump has endorsed Mooney over McKinley because of the latter's vote for Biden's bipartisan infrastructure bill. Solid Republican.

**Wisconsin. Current breakdown: 5R, 3D. June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary.** A Republican-drawn map passed the legislature but Democratic Gov. Tony Evers has already vetoed it. Evers has his own map, drawn by an advisory commission, which is dead-on-arrival in the GOP-controlled legislature. Both sides anticipate the courts will draw the maps, but which courts is still an open question. A panel of three federal judges recently indicated that they expected to draw the maps, though the federal judges acknowledged the possibility that the state Supreme Court might also be involved. Despite Wisconsin being a 50-50 state politically, Democratic voters are much more geographically concentrated than Republicans, giving Republicans a natural advantage in mapmaking. Democrats will keep at least two of their seats, anchored by Madison and Milwaukee. The fate of Rep. Ron Kind's 3rd District to

the west is less clear. In its current form, the district voted for Trump by 4 points, and it could get worse for Democrats. Kind isn't running for re-election, and there's a growing field to replace him that includes state Sen.

Brad Pfaff, former



Courtesy McGrath Campaign

Deb McGrath

CIA officer Deb McGrath, and businesswoman Rebecca Cooke. On the Republican side, the likely nominee is Derrick Van Orden, who narrowly lost to Kind in 2020.

**Wyoming. At-Large (Liz Cheney, R). May 27 filing deadline. Aug. 16 primary.** Cheney continues to be one of Trump's top targets. The vice chairwoman of the House January 6 Committee and the country's loudest Republican critic of Trump still faces several primary challengers. But Trump's endorsement of one — former RNC committeewoman and 2018 gubernatorial candidate Harriet Hageman — helped consolidate the anti-Cheney field. After Trump endorsed Hageman, three candidates dropped out and endorsed her as well. That makes life more difficult for Cheney, who only needs a plurality of the vote to keep her seat and whose best bet is a fractured field. Cheney faces an uphill climb, and isn't making any friends — at least with GOP voters — with her outspokenness on the Jan. 6 committee. Solid Republican.

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