

# Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

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## Impact of Reapportionment

*After the decennial census, there is reapportionment in order to make congressional districts the same size. Some states gain or lose seats depending on population trends over the previous decade.*

States Gaining Districts (6)	Change
Texas	+2 (from 36 seats to 38 seats)
Florida	+1 (from 27 to 28)
Montana	+1 (from 1 to 2)
Colorado	+1 (from 7 to 8)
North Carolina	+1 (from 13 to 14)
Oregon	+1 (from 5 to 6)
States Losing Districts (7)	Change
California	-1 (from 53 seats to 52 seats)
Illinois	-1 (from 18 to 17)
Michigan	-1 (from 14 to 13)
Ohio	-1 (from 16 to 15)
Pennsylvania	-1 (from 18 to 17)
New York	-1 (from 27 to 26)
West Virginia	-1 (from 3 to 2)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

## CALENDAR

Sept. 14	California Gubernatorial Recall Election
Nov. 2	Virginia & New Jersey Gubernatorial Elections
Nov. 2	Ohio's 11th & 15th Special General Elections
Nov. 2	Florida's 20th District Special Election Primary
Dec. 13	Texas Candidate Filing Deadline
Dec. 17	North Carolina Candidate Filing Deadline
Jan. 11	Florida's 20th District Special General Election

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## 2022 House Overview: Republicans on the Offensive

By Nathan L. Gonzales and Jacob Rubashkin

With census data in hand and President Joe Biden's job performance in the spotlight, the fight for the House is well underway. Republicans came into the cycle with history and redistricting on their side, but now might have the added benefit of a politically damaged Democratic president.

The U.S. Census Bureau's release of block-level demographic data, albeit delayed, allows states to finally start drawing new congressional maps. Republicans are in control of drawing more districts (187 to 74) compared to Democrats, which is significant when the GOP needs a net gain of just five seats to win the House majority. Although it's important to remember that just because a party can gerrymander a state doesn't mean the map can pass the legislature or get past court challenges.

The bigger concern for House Democrats should be Biden's standing. He's at the lowest point of his presidency. As of Thursday, Biden's job rating was 47.1 percent approve / 47 percent disapprove in the FiveThirtyEight average and 47 percent approve / 49 percent disapprove in the RealClearPolitics average. That's not great news for Democrats considering midterm elections are typically referenda on the president's job performance. If a majority of voters don't think Biden is up to the job, then they'll seek out Republicans to put the brakes on his agenda.

It's unclear whether Afghanistan, Covid-19, crime, inflation or a combination of factors is driving Biden's drop, or whether the dip is temporary. But Biden is not where he needs to be for Democrats to buck history, which says the president's party loses an average of 30 House seats in midterm elections. Even though redistricting gets plenty of attention, the political climate is more of a threat to the Democrats' majority.

While the news and pictures coming from Afghanistan are rightfully saturating the conversation now, it's not sustainable as a top story. Other man-made events or natural disasters will cycle through the headlines. And the economy and the pandemic are still more likely to be the top issues because they hit closer to home.

A polarizing Biden makes it difficult for vulnerable Democratic incumbents in swing seats to stick closely with him, even while Democratic strategists insist passing the president's agenda is key to maintaining the majority. Meanwhile, Republicans are going to run on safety as an umbrella message for their complaints about crime in cities, people coming across the southern border, and the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan.

Still more than a year before the midterm elections, and without seeing the new congressional maps, it's foolish to make definitive predictions about the House majority. But right now, House Republicans are positioned to do well in 2022.

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# California Governor Recall: Down to the Wire

By Ryan Matsumoto

Voters across California are already beginning to vote in what may be the most important election of the year. The attempted recall of Democratic Gov. Gavin Newsom is poised to be a blockbuster event that may have ramifications well beyond the Golden State.

## How the recall works

The Sept. 14 recall election works as a two-step process - all voters get to vote on two separate questions on the ballot.

First, voters are asked whether or not they want to remove Newsom from office. This is a simple yes or no vote, with yes meaning that the voter wants to recall Newsom and no meaning that the voter wants to keep him. If the majority of voters vote yes, Newsom is removed from office and the election moves to the next stage to determine his replacement.

Second, voters are asked to select a candidate to replace Newsom if he is successfully recalled on the first question. Forty-six candidates are on the ballot, including 24 Republicans, nine Democrats, and 13 No Party Preference or third-party candidates. If Newsom is recalled, the candidate who receives the plurality of votes on the replacement question is elected governor.

## Polls point to a close race

Recent public polling has pointed to a surprisingly competitive race.

While polling had generally shown Newsom with a double-digit advantage throughout the spring, several recent polls have suggested that the race has tightened to a dead heat.

An average of the five most recent polls of California likely voters (YouGov, SurveyUSA, Emerson College, Core Decision Analytics, and Berkeley IGS) has 48 percent wanting Newsom to remain in office and 47 percent wanting to recall him. While four of the five polls showed Newsom ahead by single-digits, the SurveyUSA poll had the recall ahead 51 percent to 40 percent.

There have been some questions raised about the SurveyUSA poll (their registered voters and likely voters samples may be too Republican and too white), but even without it the polling average would be 46 percent in favor of the recall and 50 percent opposed.

One reason why polls are close is that Republicans could potentially have a turnout advantage. Several pollsters have recall topline for both likely voters and registered voters. In the YouGov and Core Decision Analytics polls, the likely voters margin was 4 percentage points more favorable for yes on recall than the registered voters margin. The Berkeley

IGS poll actually had a likely voters margin that was 12 percentage points more favorable for the recall than the registered voters margin.

## Elder is favored if the recall succeeds

Pollsters have also been asking voters how they plan to vote on the replacement question should Newsom be successfully recalled. So far, Republican Larry Elder has a clear advantage over his competitors on the



Courtesy the Elder Campaign

Larry Elder

replacement question.

An average of the five most recent polls had Elder at 19 percent, far ahead of the other Republicans. Republican John Cox received 7 percent, while Republican Kevin Faulconer was at 5 percent.

Several polls have shown Democrat Kevin Paffrath, a YouTuber and real estate agent, with a substantial share of the vote on the replacement question. SurveyUSA actually had Paffrath leading with 27 percent of the vote while YouGov had him at 13 percent.

However, these polls that show Paffrath in double-digits are flawed and misleading. The reason why Paffrath does so well in these two polls is because he is the only Democratic candidate presented as an option. In reality, there are nine Democrats listed on the ballot, all of whom (including Paffrath) are relatively unknown to most voters. The most plausible scenario is that the nine Democrats on the ballot split the vote of Democratic voters voting on the replacement question somewhat randomly such that each candidate gets a small share of the vote.

It is possible that Paffrath may gain vote share from Democratic voters looking for a backup option since he was the only Democrat to show up to a recent recall election debate. But Paffrath is starting out from a position of relative anonymity—it will be tough for him to quickly gain enough vote share to beat Elder if the recall is successful. And since the California Democratic Party is urging voters to leave the second question blank, it seems very likely that Elder becomes governor if the recall passes.

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## California's Heavily Democratic Partisanship

While polling has pointed to a competitive race, a big advantage Newsom has is California's heavily Democratic partisanship. President Joe Biden won California by 29 percentage points in 2020. The state has actually become far more Democratic since the last gubernatorial recall election in 2003. Twenty one years ago, California voted for Democrat Al Gore by 12 percentage points.

That means there's a reasonable possibility that Democrats outperform the final polls. In a close race, undecided voters in California are probably more likely to be Biden voters, and may be more likely to oppose the recall in the end even if they are lukewarm on Newsom.

In fact, that's what may have happened in 2003. Although Democratic Gov. Gray Davis was successfully recalled with 55 percent, he outperformed pre-election polls, many of which had the recall winning by 15 to 25 percentage points. He also outperformed his own approval rating, which was in the 20s in some polls. It's possible that many Democrats who disapproved of Davis and considered voting for the recall opposed it in the end because they were dissatisfied with the Republican alternatives.

## The Delta Factor

As mentioned earlier, polls of the recall election have narrowed considerably from the spring, when they showed the recall losing by double digits.

One potential reason why the race has narrowed is the effect of the ongoing coronavirus pandemic. Coronavirus case counts nationwide started rising rapidly in early July because of the highly transmissible Delta variant.

The Delta variant surge does seem to have negatively impacted the standing of other incumbent politicians. Biden's net approval rating in the FiveThirtyEight polling average fell from +9.7 percentage points on July 1 to +0.1 percentage points today. A recent poll from St. Pete Polls suggested that Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis' approval rating has suffered recently as Covid-19 surges across the state. And internationally, U.K. Prime Minister Boris Johnson's approval rating has suffered considerably in recent months.

It's definitely possible that the Delta variant is also hurting Newsom's chances as case counts rise and public health measures are reinstated.

## Returned Ballots Data

As of August 26, there were 2,380,359 returned ballots accounted for statewide. The party registration breakdown of these returned ballots was 55 percent Democrats, 23 percent Republicans, and 22 percent No Party Preference or Other.

At the equivalent point in the 2020 election cycle, there were 2,381,032 returned ballots statewide that broke down 57 percent Democrats, 21 percent Republicans, and 22 percent No Party Preference or Other.

As such, it may actually be possible that current returned ballots data is consistent with polling that has shown that Republicans have a bit of an enthusiasm advantage. That's not to say that Republicans are favored in the race overall, but just that the final recall election electorate may not be one that voted for Biden by 29 percentage points last November.

Another major challenge with interpreting returned ballots data is that some counties may have processing delays that make these comparisons difficult. For example, Kern County is only reporting a

handful of returned ballots in the dashboard. As we get closer to Election Day, returned ballots data may give us a better picture of the race.

## The Bottom Line

In May, we changed our rating of the race from Solid Democratic to Likely Democratic. Even though California is a fundamentally Democratic state, the unique nature of the first recall question and uncertainty of turnout for an irregularly scheduled election was enough to necessitate the change.

Nearly four months later, the fundamental tension between the typical partisanship of California and the uniqueness of the recall remains, we're just much closer to Election Day. While the race will likely be much closer than the 2020 presidential race, and there's a chance the governor could be recalled, Newsom is still likely to prevail. We are maintaining our Likely Democratic rating, but of course we could change the rating if necessary in the next couple weeks.

Many of the public polls don't carry enough weight to justify a change yet and Democrats' strong partisan advantage in California cannot be understated. For Republicans to win, they need to generate a huge turnout advantage (including a large number of Democrats choosing not to vote) and also flip a substantial number of Biden voters who may be dissatisfied with the direction of the state.

No matter the outcome, California will dominate the political conversation in September as everyone looks ahead to the midterms. And remember, even if Larry Elder is elected governor, he'll be on the ballot again in 2022 and start as a significant underdog in a regularly-scheduled election.

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# 2022 Governor Ratings

## Battleground

### Democratic-held (6)

Kelly (D-Kan.)  
Mills (D-Maine)  
Whitmer (D-Mich.)  
Sisolak (D-Nev.)  
PA Open (Wolf, D)  
Evers (D-Wisc.)

### Republican-held (5)

AZ Open (Ducey, R)  
DeSantis (R-Fl.)  
Kemp (R-Ga.)  
MD Open (Hogan, R)  
Sununu (R-N.H.)

### Solid Democratic (10)

Newsom (D-Calif.)  
Polis (D-Colo.)  
Lamont (D-Conn.)  
HI Open (Ige, D)  
Pritzker (D-Ill.)  
Walz (D-Minn.)  
Lujan Grisham (D-N.M.)  
Cuomo (D-N.Y.)  
OR Open (Brown, D)  
McKee (D-R.I.)

### Solid Republican (15)

Ivey (R-Ala.)  
Dunleavy (R-Alaska)  
AR Open (Hutchinson, R)  
Little (R-Idaho)  
Reynolds (R-Iowa)  
Baker (R-Mass.)  
NE Open (Ricketts, R)  
Noem (R-S.D.)  
DeWine (R-Ohio)  
Stitt (R-Okla.)  
McMaster (R-S.C.)

## 2021 RACES

### Likely Democratic

CA Recall (Newsom, D)  
VA Open (Northam, D)

### Solid Democratic

Murphy (D-N.J.)

Lee (R-Tenn.)  
Abbott (R-Texas)  
Scott (R-Vt.)  
Gordon (R-Wyo.)



# State-by-State House Overview

**Alabama.** *Current delegation breakdown: 6 Republicans, 1 Democrat.* **Jan. 28 filing deadline. May 24 primary. July 26 runoff (if necessary).** No partisan changes expected in the Yellowhammer State, which will retain its seven-member delegation. There is a competitive primary brewing in the 5th District (Northern Alabama), where GOP Rep. Mo Brooks is leaving to run for the Senate. The map will be drawn by the GOP-controlled state legislature.

## Alabama's Congressional Districts

### 2020 Population vs. Target Population Through Redistricting

District	2020 Population	2020 - Target
1st (Carl, R)	726,276	8,522
2nd (Moore, R)	693,466	-24,288
3rd (Rogers, R)	735,132	17,378
4th (Aderholt, R)	702,982	-14,772
5th (Open; Brooks, R)	761,102	43,348
6th (Palmer, R)	740,710	22,956
7th (Sewell, D)	664,611	-53,143
<b>Statewide Population</b>	<b>5,024,279</b>	
<b>Target District Population</b>	<b>717,754</b>	

**Alaska.** *Current breakdown: 1R, 0D.* **June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 16 all-party primary.** Alaska has had a single, at-large district since it became a state in 1959. For all but 14 of those years it has been represented by Don Young, the 88-year-old Republican and longest currently serving member of the House. Every cycle Young is a target for Democrats and every cycle he wins.

**Arizona.** *Current breakdown: 5D, 4R.* **April 4 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.** Arizona not gaining a tenth seat was one of the biggest surprises from the Census Bureau's apportionment announcement. By the numbers, the seats might look like a status quo split of five Democratic-leaning districts and four GOP-leaning districts, but the 1st and 2nd districts, currently held by Democrats, are likely to be within reach for Republicans under the right electoral conditions.

The lines will be drawn by a five-member redistricting commission. Four of the members were selected by state legislative leaders from a pool assembled by the state's commission on appellate court appointments, and those four then selected an independent chairperson out of a separate pool assembled by the appointments panel. The executive director has worked with GOP candidates in the past. The commission set an Oct. 27 goal for the first draft of a map and a Dec. 22 goal for a final map.

The 5th District (including Mesa and Gilbert) represented by GOP Rep. Andy Biggs needs to shed more than 80,000 voters due to population growth in the Phoenix suburbs. The 8th District (western suburbs of Phoenix), which is represented by GOP Rep. Debbie Lesko, also needs to shrink. The 2nd District (which includes southeastern Arizona and part of Tucson) needs to gain about 50,000 voters and is an open seat because Democratic Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick is not running for re-election. There's a competitive Democratic primary between state Rep. Daniel Hernandez (the

intern who aided Rep. Gabby Giffords after she was shot), surgeon/state Rep. Randy Friesse (who treated Giffords) and state Sen. Kirsten Engel. Juan Ciscomani, a former aide to GOP Gov. Doug Ducey, and others are running on the Republican side. Republicans are also targeting Democratic Rep. Tom O'Halleran in the expansive 1st District that Biden won by just a couple points in 2020. Businessman/retired Navy Seal Eli Crane, state Rep. Walt Blackman and others are running on the Republican side.

Overall, Arizona is a bit of a wild card considering a commission draws the maps and the Democratic trend of Maricopa County in recent elections. Democrats hold some marginal districts that could go Republican in a good midterm election for the GOP, which makes it a state to watch in 2022.

**Arkansas.** *Current breakdown: 4R, 0D.* **March 1 filing deadline. May 24 primary. June 21 runoff (if necessary).** None of Arkansas' four congressional districts are competitive in their current form. Even the DCCC-targeted 2nd District was a 10-point race in GOP Rep. French Hill's favor in 2020. The Republican-dominated state legislature will draw the new map; the 3rd District (Northwest Arkansas) will have to shed some voters, while the 4th District (Southern and western Arkansas) will have to add some voters.

**California.** *Current breakdown: 42D, 11R (Apportionment: -1 seat).* **March 11 filing deadline. June 7 primary.** The largest state in the union is also one of the largest wildcards when it comes to redistricting, due to the state's loss of a seat and its independent citizen redistricting commission that does not prioritize incumbent protection when drawing the new map. The 14-member commission consists of five Democrats, five Republicans and four unaffiliated voters, and can only pass a map with support from at least three members of each bloc. If the commission can't pass a map, the state Supreme Court will assign special masters to do so instead. The commission has a Dec. 31 deadline to produce a new map, but is petitioning the state Supreme Court for a two-week extension. For now, the state is far more focused on the Sept. 14 recall election of Democratic Gov. Gavin Newsom than it is on redistricting. Party insiders agree that predicting a net change out of California is futile, so we'll just have to wait for the new map.

Depending on the new lines, 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's 39th District. Former Democratic Rep. Gil Cisneros, whom Kim defeated in 2020, was confirmed as Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness in the Biden Administration. Further south in Orange County, former Democratic Rep. Harley Rouda is looking for a rematch against GOP Rep. Michelle Steel.

**Colorado.** *Current breakdown: 4D, 3R (Apportionment: +1 seat).* **March 15 filing deadline. June 28 primary.** For the first time, an independent commission is drawing the lines, creating uncertainty for party strategists trying to ascertain the final map. The 12-member body (four Democrats, four Republicans, four unaffiliated) was randomly selected from a winnowed group of qualified applicants, with some input from state

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legislative leaders. Maps will originate from the commission's nonpartisan staff; the commission can provide direction with a vote of eight members, including two unaffiliated members. If the commission cannot come to an agreement on a plan (which takes eight votes as well), then a plan designated the "third" plan produced by the staff is sent to the state Supreme Court for review, and then implemented.

The commission released a preliminary map at the end of June in which Biden finished ahead of Trump in five districts and Trump ahead of Biden in three. That map could definitely change throughout the process, but the general idea that the current 4-3 Democratic advantage in the delegation will remain and there being a new competitive district with a Democratic edge aligns with what national GOP and Democratic sources believe will happen. The commission will release a second preliminary map on or before Sept. 5.

GOP Rep. Lauren Boebert is among Democrats' most abhorred members, and state Rep. Donald Valdez and state Sen. Kerry Donovan are running against her. But her 3rd District (current or from the first preliminary map) would have to get significantly more Democratic to be a legitimate takeover opportunity. Even though the lines aren't complete, Democratic pediatrician/state Rep. Yadira Caraveo announced her campaign for the new 8th District. Others are sure to follow. Overall, Democrats look better-positioned to pick up a seat, but it's not a guarantee.

Part of the *Inside Elections* team has done data analysis for a nonprofit group, Reasonable Districts Colorado, to develop a metric to measure partisan performance. The group has presented to the commission via the public process and the data is publicly available.

### **Connecticut.** *Current breakdown: 5D, 0R. June 7 filing deadline.*

**Aug. 9 primary.** No significant changes are expected in the Nutmeg State. Democrats are likely to maintain control of all five seats. Under the state constitution, the legislature has until Sept. 15 to produce a map by a two-thirds majority (Democrats control both chambers but don't have a two-thirds majority in either). If the legislature fails, then a nine-member backup commission — four Democrats and four Republicans picked by legislative leaders, one member chosen by the other eight — has until Nov. 30 to produce a map of its own. If the commission deadlocks, as it did in 2010, then the state Supreme Court will draw a map with the help of a special master. The state Supreme Court could also extend the deadlines for both the legislative and backup commissions. In the 5th District (Northern Fairfield County and northwestern Connecticut), the GOP already has a credible candidate in former state Sen. George Logan, who was the only Black Republican in the state Senate until he lost re-election in 2020. He's vying to take on Rep. Jahana Hayes and Republicans believe the race could develop into a legitimate opportunity. Biden won the current 5th District by more than 10 points.

**Delaware.** *Current breakdown: 1D, 0R. July 12 filing deadline. Sept. 13 primary.* As it has every year since 1822, Delaware will send a single representative to Congress. As it has been since 2017, that representative will almost certainly be Democrat Lisa Blunt Rochester, a close Biden ally.

**Florida.** *Current breakdown: 16R, 11D (Apportionment +1 seat). June 17 filing deadline. Aug. 23 primary.* Republicans control the redistricting process and Democrats are bracing for the worst. But rather than gaining a large number of seats, Republicans will likely try to shore up seats they already have, including three in South Florida: the 25th (Mario Diaz-

Balart), 26th (Carlos Gimenez), and 27th (Maria Elvira Salazar). The GOP's goal would be to put those out of reach for Democrats for the next decade.

Much of Florida's population growth is from central Florida along the I-4 corridor, even though that's not necessarily where the new seat will be located. Democratic Rep. Charlie Crist is running for governor, so his St. Petersburg-area seat (which Biden only won by 4 points) could be a GOP opportunity with a redraw. For now, the Democratic primary includes state Rep. Ben Diamond, former foreign policy adviser to President Barack Obama / 2016 Democratic primary candidate Eric Lynn, and state Rep. Michele Rayner. On the GOP side, 2020 nominee Ana Paulina Luna is running again.

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## **State-by-state control of redistricting**

*Every state sets its own processes for redistricting. Some empower a commission, rather than the state legislature itself, to draw the lines. Others have more complex systems. The following is a breakdown of which party -- if either -- controls the process in every state. It takes into account the state's unique laws, as well as party control of the state legislature and the party of the governor.*

STATE	2021 CONTROL	STATE	2021 CONTROL
Alabama	Republican	Montana	Commission
Alaska	Single District	Nebraska	Republican
Arizona	Commission	Nevada	Democratic
Arkansas	Republican	New Hampshire	Republican
California	Commission	New Jersey	Commission
Colorado	Commission	New Mexico	Democratic
Connecticut	Democratic/ Commission	New York	Democratic/ Commission
Delaware	Single District	North Carolina	Republican
Florida	Republican	North Dakota	Single District
Georgia	Republican	Ohio	Republican/ Commission
Hawaii	Commission	Oklahoma	Republican
Idaho	Commission	Oregon	Split
Illinois	Democratic	Pennsylvania	Split
Indiana	Republican	Rhode Island	Democratic
Iowa	Republican/ Commission	South Carolina	Republican
Kansas	Republican	South Dakota	Single District
Kentucky	Republican	Tennessee	Republican
Louisiana	Split	Texas	Republican
Maine	Split	Utah	Republican
Maryland	Democratic	Vermont	Single District
Massachusetts	Democratic	Virginia	Commission
Michigan	Commission	Washington	Commission
Minnesota	Split	West Virginia	Republican
Mississippi	Republican	Wisconsin	Split
Missouri	Republican	Wyoming	Single District

**Republican-** GOP controls the map-making process

**Democratic-** Democrats control the map-making process

**Split-** Map-making process is divided between the parties

**Commission-** An independent or bipartisan commission

**Single District-** No redistricting necessary with one, at-large district

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Further east, Democratic Rep. Val Demings is running for the Senate. Biden won her Orlando-area seat by 25 points, but we'll see what it looks like when Republicans are done. Right now there's a competitive Democratic primary including former Ninth Judicial Circuit Court of Florida state attorney Aramis Ayala, state Sen. Randolph Bracy, civil rights lawyer Natalie Jackson, and Rev. Terence Gray the senior pastor at St. Mark AME Church in Orlando. Democratic Rep. Stephanie Murphy is running for re-election, but Republicans could take her Orlando-area seat from a Biden +10 to something significantly more competitive.

In North Florida, some Republicans believe Democratic Rep. Al Lawson's 5th District is an illegal racial gerrymander, and could shake up that part of the state if it is redrawn. Of course changing that district and the entire state will be challenged in court by the Democrats. As with multiple other states, the key question is how aggressive do Republicans want to get to maximize gains but also risk the courts throwing out the map? With a lot of uncertainty about the final shape of the map, it looks like Republicans will make some of the current seats more safe and gain seats in the low single digits.

**Georgia.** *Current breakdown: 8R, 6D. March 11 filing deadline. May 24 primary. June 21 runoff (if necessary).* Republicans control the map-drawing process and are likely to gain a seat by making either the 6th District (represented by Democrat Lucy McBath) or the 7th (represented by Democrat Carolyn Bourdeaux) significantly more Republican. The good news for Democrats is that the other seat is likely to be more solidly Democratic rather than competitive. GOP Army veteran Harold Earls, 2020 7th District GOP Nominee Rich McCormick, former state Rep. Meagan Hanson and former state ethics commission chairman Jake Evans look likely to run in the more Republican of the two newly-drawn seats in the Atlanta suburbs. McBath and Bourdeaux may have to decide if they are going to run against each other in the Democratic seat. There's some talk of Republicans being very aggressive and making Democratic Rep. Sanford Bishop's 2nd District in southwestern Georgia more Republican. But that doesn't look likely at this point.

A crowded primary is taking shape to succeed GOP Rep. Jody Hice (who is running for secretary of state) in the 10th District (East-Central Georgia). Former 10th District Rep. Paul Broun, who has lost three GOP primaries for House and Senate since leaving office, is running, as are state Rep. Timothy Barr, former Georgia Revenue Commissioner David Curry, demolition man Matt Richards, and trucking executive/2014 10th District candidate Mike Collins, who is the son of former Rep. Mac Collins. Overall, Democrats are encouraged by the long-term trend of Georgia, but the short-term prospects in the House are relatively grim.

**Hawaii.** *Current breakdown: 2D, 0R. June 7 filing deadline. Aug. 13 primary.* Hawaii's nine-member redistricting commission recently received a deadline extension from the state Supreme Court; it now has until Jan. 8 to submit a proposed map, and until Feb. 27 to finalize the map. No major changes are expected.

**Idaho.** *Current breakdown: 2R, 0D. March 11 filing deadline. May 19 primary.* All six members — three Republicans and three Democrats — of the Idaho redistricting commission have now been selected, and the body has 90 days from the release of the census data to produce a draft map. No partisan change in seats is expected in a state where Biden struggled to top 33 percent of the vote.

## Georgia's Congressional Districts

### 2020 Population vs. Target Population Through Redistricting

District	2020 Population	2020 - Target
1st (Carter, R)	755,781	-8,029
2nd (Bishop, D)	673,028	-90,782
3rd (Ferguson, R)	763,075	-735
4th (Johnson, D)	773,761	9,951
5th (Williams, D)	788,126	24,316
6th (McBath, D)	765,793	1,983
7th (Bourdeaux, D)	859,440	95,630
8th (A. Scott, R)	719,919	-43,891
9th (Clyde, R)	775,367	11,557
10th (Open; Hice, R)	775,012	11,202
11th (Loudermilk, R)	802,515	38,705
12th (Allen, R)	738,624	-25,186
13th (D. Scott, D)	792,916	29,106
14th (Greene, R)	728,551	-35,259
<b>Statewide Population</b>	<b>6,874,290</b>	
<b>Target District Population</b>	<b>763,810</b>	

**Illinois.** *Current breakdown: 13D, 5R (Apportionment: -1 seat). March 14 filing deadline. June 28 primary.* Republicans are going to lose at least one seat in Illinois, but it could be more. Democrats control the mapmaking process by virtue of their hold on the legislature and governor's mansion, and appear to have their eye on Downstate, represented by GOP Reps. Mike Bost, Rodney Davis, Mary Miller, and Darin LaHood. Even if Democrats draw four GOP seats (one less than they currently have), the new configurations will likely place some incumbents together and force them to make difficult political decisions. Democrats will also try to shore up the 17th District, where Democratic Rep. Cheri Bustos is not running for re-election and Trump won narrowly in 2020.

GOP Rep. Adam Kinzinger, who represents part of north-central Illinois, faces the threat of Democratic cartographers and Republican primary challengers (including 2020 14th district candidate Catalina Lauf, former libertarian think tank official Gene Koprowski, and Paul Gosar-boosted Jack Lombardi) for voting to impeach Trump and supporting an investigation into the Jan. 6 invasion of the Capitol. Republicans believe Democrats risk spreading themselves too thin and could give the GOP multiple takeover targets if or when the political environment shifts against the Democrats. But Democrats are probably willing to take that risk.

**Indiana.** *Current breakdown: 7R, 2D. Feb. 4 filing deadline. May 3 primary.* No major changes expected in the Hoosier State, where Republicans control the redistricting process. GOP cartographers could turn Democratic Rep. Frank Mvran's 1st District in Northwest Indiana from a Democratic seat that went for Biden by 9 points into something more competitive. But they aren't likely to do that this time around.

**Iowa.** *Current breakdown: 3R, 1D. March 18 filing deadline. June 7 primary.* Due to Iowa's redistricting process and relatively

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stable population, no major changes are expected. Since 1980, Iowa's congressional maps have been drawn by an independent commission, with substantial input from the nonpartisan Legislative Services Agency, a statutory body that serves all members of the legislature. The commission has two opportunities to present a map to the state legislature for an up-or-down vote. If the legislature rejects both, the commission presents a third map that the GOP-controlled legislature can modify as it sees fit, but that has never happened. The legislature has always approved a map from the LSA, which keeps the districts compact and does not gerrymander.

Republicans are targeting Rep. Cindy Axne, the lone Iowa Democrat to win in 2020. Trump won her district narrowly, although it will change at least somewhat since it needs to shed about 60,000 voters. Axne already has three GOP challengers: State Sen. Zach Nunn, former state Sen. Mary Ann Hanusa, and Sen. Ted Cruz-endorsed newcomer Nicole Hasso. Democratic state Sen. Liz Mathis is challenging freshman GOP Rep. Ashley Hinson in the 1st District. And Democratic state Rep. Christina Bohannon is taking on GOP Rep. Mariannette Miller-Meeks in the 2nd District. Overall, it's not hard to see Republicans or Democrats gaining a seat, or the status quo.

## Iowa's Congressional Districts

### 2020 Population vs. Target Population Through Redistricting

District	2020 Population	2020 - Target
1st (Hinson, R)	780,180	-17,412
2nd (Miller-Meeks, R)	785,353	-12,239
3rd (Axne, D)	858,974	61,382
4th (Feenstra, R)	765,862	-31,730
<b>Statewide Population</b>	<b>3,190,369</b>	
<b>Target District Population</b>	<b>797,592</b>	

**Kansas.** *Current breakdown: 3R, 1D. June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.* Republicans are focused on defeating Democratic Rep. Sharice Davids, who defeated GOP Rep. Kevin Yoder in the 3rd District in 2018 and won re-election in 2020. Biden won the district, so Republicans will likely divide Democrats in the Kansas City suburbs. Amanda Adkins, who lost to Davids by 10 points last cycle, has consolidated support for a rematch and raised more than \$600,000 through the end of June. GOP State Rep. Chris Croft was exploring a run himself while also chairing the redistricting committee, but he declined to run.

The state legislature draws Kansas' congressional maps, which are subject to gubernatorial veto. Republicans hold veto-proof majorities in both chambers, though in the state Senate the party can only afford two defections and is not always able to override Democratic Gov. Laura Kelly's vetoes on other issues. In 2010, the GOP-dominated legislature was unable to draw new maps, and a federal court drew the lines instead. The upcoming 3rd District race will be the next big test for Davids, who has proven herself to be a formidable foe up to this point. With new lines and a favorable political environment, Republicans could pick up a seat here.

**Kentucky.** *Current breakdown: 5R, 1D. Jan. 7 filing deadline. May 17 primary.* While it would likely give the GOP another seat, Republicans are unlikely to divide up the Louisville-based 3rd District in order to defeat Rep. John Yarmuth, the lone Democrat in the delegation. Kentucky's state legislature, which is fully controlled by Republicans for

the first time in a redistricting cycle since the Civil War, is responsible for drawing the new congressional map. They can override Democratic Gov. Andy Beshear's veto with a simple majority. But Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and 1st District GOP Rep. James Comer both told *Politico* dividing up Louisville is not a good idea. Republicans are more likely to make GOP Rep. Andy Barr's 6th District more Republican, leaving the partisan breakdown of the delegation intact. In this scenario, Yarmuth still can't rest, since he faces a primary challenge from state Rep. Attica Scott, who rose to prominence during the Breonna Taylor protests.

**Louisiana.** *Current breakdown: 5R, 1D. July 22 filing deadline. Nov. 8 all-party primary. Dec. 10 runoff (if necessary).* Democrats are pushing for a second majority-minority district that includes Black voters in Baton Rouge and Shreveport. According to Republicans, there's no legal obligation to draw that seat and the new map will look very similar to the current map when all the legal proceedings are over. Louisiana's congressional map is drawn by the GOP-controlled state legislature and subject to Democratic Gov. John Bel Edwards' veto. That could be a stumbling block for Republicans, who are two votes short of a veto-proof majority in the state House, although three independents who could conceivably tip their way. A three-judge panel would draw a map if there's no agreement. Right now the most likely scenario is no partisan change in the delegation.

**Maine.** *Current breakdown: 2D, 0R. March 15 filing deadline. June 14 primary.* The state Supreme Court gave Maine lawmakers some breathing room by ruling that the advisory commission tasked with creating an initial draft of the new map will have 45 days from the time the census data is released to submit to the legislature (the map had been due in June). The legislature will then have 10 days to adopt the commission's plan, amend it, or pass its own map, by a supermajority vote. While Democrats control both houses of the legislature, they do not have two-thirds majorities, raising the possibility that mapmaking responsibility will fall to the state Supreme Court itself, where a majority of the justices are Democrats.

With minimal population shifts over the past decade, not much is likely to change, though the Democratic-leaning 1st District will need to surrender some voters to the underpopulated 2nd District, where Democratic Rep. Jared Golden will remain a top GOP target. Golden already has a top-tier challenger in former Rep. Bruce Poliquin, whom he ousted in 2018. Republicans are bullish on their chances to get this seat back.

**Maryland.** *Current breakdown: 7D, 1R. Feb. 22 filing deadline. June 28 primary.* GOP Gov. Larry Hogan's nine-member redistricting commission has started a listening tour in counties around the state, but its role in the actual mapmaking process is purely advisory. The Democrat-dominated state legislature has no obligation to engage with the commission's proposals, and Democrats have more than enough votes to override a potential Hogan veto. The big question is whether the state legislature attempts to redraw the 1st District (the Eastern Shore) to undercut Rep. Andy Harris, the delegation's only Republican. He already has a credible challenger in former state delegate/2014 gubernatorial candidate Heather Mizeur. But the district, which Trump won by nearly 20 points in 2020, would have to get friendlier to Democrats for Mizeur to have the upper hand. That could happen, or the map could be more of a status quo. If Democrats attempt the eight-seat sweep, Republicans will sue and have to rely on a positive outcome from a state Supreme Court with a majority of Hogan appointees.

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**Massachusetts.** *Current breakdown: 9D, 0R. May 31 filing deadline. Sept. 20 primary.* While Republican Charlie Baker has led the state as governor for the last six years, Democrats maintain wide, veto-proof majorities in the state legislature, where the new congressional map will be drawn. No partisan changes are likely, but watch out for a potential Democratic primary in the 4th District. Rep. Jake Auchincloss won a narrow primary victory in 2020 despite having been a Republican as recently as 2014, and runner-up Jesse Mermell is seriously considering challenging him from the left, according to the *Boston Globe*.

**Michigan.** *Current breakdown: 7D, 7R (Apportionment: -1 seat). April 19 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.* Michigan is one of the biggest wildcards of the cycle. 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 commissioners were randomly picked from a large pool of applicants and must come to a bipartisan decision on the new map. Strategists are concerned about the lack of knowledge and experience on the commission and Democrats are upset by the commission's recent decision to hire a law firm that has defended GOP maps in the past.

A wide range of outcomes are possible. At a minimum, Republicans are hoping that either Democratic Rep. Elissa Slotkin's 8th District or Rep. Haley Stevens' 11th District (and maybe even Rep. Dan Kildeer's 5th District) gets more Republican. There's also a possibility that both parties have few solid seats and there are a handful of competitive races. The bottom line is that Michigan is a key state to watch and where a handful of seats could get more interesting.

**Minnesota.** *Current breakdown: 4D, 4R. May 31 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary.* Party strategists expect minimal changes with the new lines. 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. A map with minimal changes leaves the 2nd District (represented by DFL Rep. Angie Craig) as competitive after Biden's 6-point victory over Trump in 2020. Republican Tyler Kistner, the 2020 GOP nominee, is running again. The other seats likely need a significant shift in the political environment to be truly competitive.

**Mississippi.** *Current breakdown: 3R, 1D. March 1 filing deadline. June 7 primary. June 28 runoff (if necessary).* Though this may be the first time in 30 years that the state legislature draws the congressional map, rather than the courts, no changes are expected to the partisan composition of the delegation. Democratic Rep. Bennie Thompson's 2nd District in the western part of the state will have to pick up close to 65,000 voters due to population loss, but the Jan. 6 committee chairman's constituency is a majority-Black district protected by the Voting Rights Act, which means he'll almost certainly be back in 2023. The rest of the delegation looks set to return as well; 4th District Rep. Steven Palazzo has faced a GOP primary challenger in all but one cycle this past decade but he's never been in serious danger.

**Missouri.** *Current breakdown: 6R, 2D. March 29 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.* Just 125 votes separated Donald Trump and Joe Biden in the

## Minnesota's Congressional Districts

### 2020 Population vs. Target Population Through Redistricting

District	2020 Population	2020 - Target
1st (Hagedorn, R)	690,726	-22,586
2nd (Craig, DFL)	731,958	18,646
3rd (Phillips, DFL)	737,898	24,586
4th (McCollum, DFL)	726,476	13,164
5th (Omar, DFL)	736,036	22,724
6th (Emmer, R)	733,957	20,645
7th (Fischbach, R)	673,514	-39,798
8th (Stauber, R)	675,929	-37,383
<b>Statewide Population</b>	<b>5,706,494</b>	
<b>Target District Population</b>	<b>713,312</b>	

2nd District (suburban St. Louis), the narrowest result of any district in the country and in a once-solid Republican constituency. The GOP-controlled state legislature will likely shore up the district, especially now that Rep. Ann Wagner has said she will run for re-election. With two incumbents — the 4th District's Vicky Hartzler and the 7th District's Billy Long — leaving their seats to run for Senate, and a third, 8th District Rep. Jason Smith potentially joining them, the mapmakers may have a freer hand to adjust the lines. (It also means the state will see at least two competitive GOP House primaries, in addition to the ongoing and messy Senate primary.) If they're feeling particularly aggressive, Republicans could try to redraw Democratic Rep. Emanuel Cleaver's Kansas City-anchored 5th District as a Republican seat, but the GOP lawmaker in charge of the House redistricting committee recently expressed reservations about taking that step because it could make the surrounding seats more competitive later in the decade. The most likely scenario is no net change in the delegation and the 2nd District getting less competitive.

**Montana.** *Current breakdown: 1R, 0D (Apportionment: +1 seat). March 14 filing deadline. June 7 primary.* Montana's five-member redistricting commission has two Democrats, two Republicans, and a chairwoman picked by the state Supreme Court because the other four commissioners could not come to a consensus. The court's selection, former law professor and tribal attorney Maylinn Smith, frustrated Republicans in the state and in DC because of her past contributions to Democratic candidates. State law requires the commission to pass a map by Nov. 10. The commission recently adopted a set of mandatory and discretionary criteria for redistricting, including a controversial discretionary goal of "competitiveness" in the two new districts.

The expectation is that the state will be split east and west, roughly along the Continental Divide, as it was in the 20th Century. In the eastern district, GOP Rep. Matt Rosendale looks to have a clear path to a second term. The western district should be much more hospitable to Democrats because of deep-blue Missoula. Several Democrats have already announced bids for the western seat: state Rep. Laurie Bishop, former Olympian Monica Tranel, and 2020 Senate candidate Cora Neumann. So have two Republicans: prohibitive favorite Ryan Zinke, the former at-large representative and Trump Interior Secretary, and former state Sen.

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Al Oszlewski. Republicans will probably be the initial favorites to gain a seat in Montana, but a Democratic gain could be within reach.

**Nebraska.** *Current breakdown: 3R, 0D. Feb. 15 filing deadline. May 10 primary.* Nebraska's unicameral legislature — technically nonpartisan but in practice controlled by the GOP — will draw the new map. The big question is if Republicans will try to split Omaha, which could create three solidly GOP seats. Legislators have been unwilling to do that in the past. The competitive Omaha-based 2nd District voted for Biden by more than 6 points but also returned GOP Rep. Don Bacon in 2020. Republicans will likely make the 2nd more Republican to help Bacon, but the seat will still be competitive. State Sen Tony Vargas and mental health counselor Alisha Shelton are running on the Democratic side. Right now, no partisan change to the delegation is expected.

**Nevada.** *Current breakdown: 3D, 1R. March 18 filing deadline. June 14 primary.* No major changes are expected, although the Las Vegas-based 1st District needs to gain about 73,000 voters and the suburban 3rd District needs to lose about 80,000 voters. Democrats hold the legislature and the governor's mansion, giving the party full control over the redistricting process for the first time since the 1990s.

Democrats will focus on shoring up Rep. Susie Lee in the 3rd District, where Biden barely outpaced Trump and the congresswoman won re-election by just 3 points. The seat will likely remain competitive even though Republicans don't yet have a top challenger. Their nominee from last cycle, Dan Rodimer, ran in a special election in Texas this year. The 2nd District will remain in GOP hands, although there might be a competitive Republican primary considering Rep. Mark Amodei announced he's been battling cancer for nearly a year. The 1st District will remain in Democratic hands, but Rep. Dina Titus is facing a primary challenge from Amy Vilela, who was featured in the 2019 campaign documentary *Knock Down the House* alongside Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Cori Bush, and other progressive candidates. Overall, Republicans could pick up a seat based on the political environment and not necessarily redistricting.

**New Hampshire.** *Current breakdown: 2D, 0R. June 10 filing deadline. Sept 13 primary.* No major changes are expected in the Granite State, where Republicans have full control over the redistricting process after taking back both houses of the state legislature in 2020 (they already controlled the governor's mansion). The 2nd District (represented by Democrat Ann McLane Kuster) will likely remain Democratic. The 1st District, which is more competitive (Biden won it by 6 points in 2020), could get interesting. Democratic Rep. Chris Pappas could leave the 1st District open to run for governor if GOP Gov. Chris Sununu runs for the Senate. Republican Karoline Leavitt, a 23-year-old former staffer for New York Rep. Elise Stefanik and the Trump White House, is running. She'll be the constitutionally-required 25 years old by the time new members are sworn in. Overall potential outcomes range from no partisan change to Republicans gaining a seat.

**New Jersey.** *Current breakdown: 10D, 2R. April 4 filing deadline. June 7 primary.* The twelve appointed members of the redistricting commission (six Democrats and six Republicans) couldn't come to an agreement as to who to select as the body's 13th and final member, so the state Supreme Court had to decide for them. The court picked the

## Nevada's Congressional Districts

### 2020 Population vs. Target Population Through Redistricting

District	2020 Population	2020 - Target
1st (Titus, D)	702,822	-73,332
2nd (Amodei, R)	758,820	-17,334
3rd (S. Lee, D)	855,528	79,375
4th (Horsford, D)	787,444	11,291
<b>Statewide Population</b>	<b>3,104,614</b>	
<b>Target District Population</b>	<b>776,154</b>	

Democrats' preferred option, former state Supreme Court Justice John Wallace. The commission has until Jan. 18 to produce a map, otherwise it will present two plans to the state Supreme Court for final selection. Democrats will look to shore up vulnerable Reps. Andy Kim and Tom Malinowski, who faces a likely rematch with state Sen. Tom Kean Jr. after narrowly beating him last cycle. They might also try to make party-switching Rep. Jeff Van Drew's 2nd District a little less friendly for the Republican. The commission could also draw a third Republican-leaning district to make the Democratic-held seats less competitive. The likely end result is either no partisan change or Republicans gaining a seat at the expense of losing other takeover opportunities.

**New Mexico.** *Current breakdown: 2D, 1R. Feb. 1 filing deadline. June 7 primary.* An independent advisory commission will propose three plans to the Democrat-controlled legislature for consideration, but the legislature can change or ignore those maps as they see fit. Everyone is watching the 2nd District, where Republican Yvette Herrell defeated Democratic Rep. Xochitl Torres Small by more than 7 points in 2020. Trump won it by nearly 12 points, so Democrats will want to add Democratic voters to make it more competitive. A question is whether they take so many Democratic voters out of the Albuquerque-based 1st District (which Biden won by 21 points) that it makes that district vulnerable to a GOP takeover in a bad Democratic cycle. Democrats don't think that's necessary and will continue to target the 2nd, although they don't have a candidate yet. Overall, the most likely outcome is no net change, but Democrats could gain a seat.

**New York.** *Current breakdown: 19D, 8R (Apportionment: -1 seat). April 7 filing deadline. June 28 primary.* New York's redistricting process was already going to be unpredictable, with a new independent commission that has had to battle for staffing and funding, and doesn't actually have final say on the map (that still rests with the Democratic-controlled state legislature). All that was before the stunning resignation of Gov. Andrew Cuomo, a towering figure who has led the state for over a decade but left office under the cloud of a sexual harassment scandal. Newly installed Gov. Kathy Hochul is untested and her relationship with the state legislature is a question mark. There's some thought that Cuomo's departure could embolden Democrats in the legislature to be more aggressive in redistricting; in 2011 the then-governor was seen as being too conciliatory to Republicans. But Gov. Hochul, on her first day in office, told *The New York Times* she's willing to help Democrats gain seats through the process.

Democrats in the legislature will have the final say, so long as they

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can keep their two-thirds majorities together in both chambers. So the seat New York loses will likely be a Republican one. With Rep. Lee Zeldin leaving his Long Island district to run for governor, Democrats could try to combine his 1st District and GOP Rep. Andrew Garbarino's 2nd District into a Republican vote sink. They could also try to dissolve retiring Rep. Tom Reed's Southern Tier district, or draw Reps. Claudia Tenney and Elise Stefanik into one North Country district. (Now that former Democratic Rep. Anthony Brindisi has ruled out a rematch with Tenney, Democrats have less incentive to keep Tenney's 22nd District intact.)

The bottom line is that some Republicans are bracing for the worst—a loss of multiple seats, and some marginal districts, such as DCCC Chairman Sean Patrick Maloney's seat, getting less competitive. Other GOP strategists are more bullish, and believe Democrats are risking spreading themselves thin heading into a cycle that could be great for Republicans.

**North Carolina.** *Current breakdown: 8R, 5D (Apportionment: +1 seat).* **Dec. 17, 2021 filing deadline. March 8 primary. April 26 runoff (if necessary).** Republicans control the state legislature, and even though Gov. Roy Cooper is a Democrat, he has no say in the redistricting process. A lot depends on how aggressive GOP state legislators want to be. It looks like Republicans will try to gain a seat or two with a new map. Or maybe the second seat is competitive with a GOP advantage. One specific target is first-term Rep. Deborah Ross, who is on the NRCC's initial list of takeover seats.

Democrats believe the new seat should include the Research Triangle

— at the nexus of North Carolina State Univ., Duke Univ., and the Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill — because of population growth. They also believe that the delegation should be more evenly split because of the competitiveness of the state. But obviously that's not necessarily how it typically works out.

North Carolina has a history of tumultuous redistricting, having used three different maps over the past decade. The first two were struck down as unconstitutional gerrymanders by a federal court (the first map) and the state Supreme Court (the second map). The state Supreme Court has a narrow Democratic majority. A couple weeks ago, state Republicans adopted guidelines which said the General Assembly could not use racial demographic or election data to draw the lines. It was widely seen as an attempt to not get sued over the map they produce. Of course Democrats will pursue their legal options anyway.

**North Dakota.** *Current breakdown: 1R, 0D.* **April 11 filing deadline. June 14 primary.** North Dakota will remain a single at-large district for the next 10 years, and GOP Rep. Kelly Armstrong will remain its representative for at least another two years, so long as he wants to.

**Ohio.** *Current breakdown: 12R, 3D (Apportionment: -1 seat).* **Feb. 2 filing deadline. May 3 primary.** Ohio has one of the most confusing processes, with the end result likely being a map that is in place for just four years instead of the customary decade. The GOP-controlled state legislature will have the first opportunity to draw the new map, but in order to pass that map Republicans will need at least half of each chamber's Democratic caucus to agree to it. If the legislature is unable to draw a map that meets that threshold, responsibility shifts to a backup commission with seven members, five of whom are Republicans and two of whom are Democrats. But the commission can only approve a map if it has support from both Democrats. If the commission fails to produce a map, responsibility shifts back to the state legislature, which can then pass a map by a simple majority. But there's a catch: any map produced in that manner is only good for four years, after which the process repeats itself.

With all that in mind, Republicans are expected to be aggressive, even if it's only a temporary map. With Democratic Rep. Tim Ryan running for the Senate, his northeastern Ohio seat could disappear, leaving Democrats with lone seats in Cleveland (likely Shontel Brown after the special election) and Columbus (Rep. Joyce Beatty). Democrats look likely to lose one seat overall.

**Oklahoma.** *Current breakdown: 5R, 0D.* **April 15 filing deadline. June 28 primary. August 23 runoff (if necessary).** The Oklahoma state legislature, which is controlled by overwhelming GOP majorities, will redraw the state's five congressional districts. Shoring up Rep. Stephanie Bice's 5th District looks like the top agenda item. Trump won the Oklahoma City-area seat by just 5 points in 2020, so the GOP goal would be to make it unreachable for Democrats. Overall, no partisan changes are expected in the delegation.

**Oregon.** *Current breakdown: 4D, 1R (Apportionment: +1 seat).* **March 8 filing deadline. May 17 primary.** Oregon has become one of the most interesting states this redistricting cycle since it gained a seat from reapportionment. And, in exchange for a promise Republicans will stop blocking legislation, Democrats gave up some power over the redistricting

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## 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)

Bennet (D-Colo.)  
Blumenthal (D-Conn.)  
Duckworth (D-Ill.)  
Leahy (D-Vt.)  
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.)

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process, giving Republicans equal representation on the legislative commission in charge of redrawing the maps. That frustrated some national Democratic strategists and could be a sign that local Democrats weren't that interested in making sure Oregon's new seat is a Democratic one.

Both parties seem to be satisfied with the idea of the new seat being competitive, but it's unclear where it will be. 2020 GOP nominee Alek Skarlatos already announced his challenge to Democratic Rep. Peter DeFazio in the 4th District after losing to the congressman by 5 points in 2020. But DeFazio's district could be significantly different if the new seat is positioned in the southern and southwestern part of the state. Republicans believe they can pick up a seat in Oregon, whether it be the new seat, defeating DeFazio, or taking on Rep. Kurt Schrader. Renewable energy executive/Army veteran Nate Sandvig is one of the Republicans to announce in his 5th District.

**Pennsylvania.** *Current breakdown: 9D, 9R (Apportionment: -1 seat).* **March 8 filing deadline. May 17 primary.** Democratic and Republican sources agree that this map is likely to end up in court. Pennsylvania's new map will be drawn by the state legislature, where both houses are controlled by the GOP. But the map is also subject to a veto from Gov. Tom Wolf, a Democrat, and the Republicans don't have veto-proof majorities. We're just a few years removed from the state Supreme Court tossing out the state's congressional map as an unconstitutional gerrymander and the justices redrawing the map themselves. Democrats currently hold a 5-2 majority on the court.

Republicans are expecting the eastern Pennsylvania district represented by Democrat Matt Cartwright (8th District) as well as Conor Lamb's 17th District in western Pennsylvania to get more Republican and more competitive. Lamb is running for the Senate, so that could be an open seat unless it is dissolved into others to account for the seat the state lost due to reapportionment. Both sides expect GOP Rep. Brian Fitzpatrick (1st District) to remain in a competitive district. He won re-election by 13 points in 2020 even though Biden carried the seat by almost 6 points. But again, both sides expect this to end up in court and it's unclear what the new map will look like.

**Rhode Island.** *Current breakdown: 2D, 0R.* **July 21 filing deadline. Sept. 13 primary.** Population shifts mean that Rep. David Cicilline's 2nd District will have to give up a town or two to Rep. Jim Langevin's 1st District, but the two men are breathing sighs of relief they won't have to face each other for an at-large seat, since Rhode Island surprised everyone by retaining both of its districts during reapportionment.

**South Carolina.** *Current breakdown: 6R, 1D.* **March 30 filing deadline. June 14 primary. June 28 runoff (if necessary).** South Carolina's maps are drawn by the GOP-controlled state legislature and are subject to a gubernatorial veto (the governor is a Republican). The lawmaker in charge of the state Senate redistricting subcommittee, Luke Rankin, says he hopes to have the map completed by October. No major partisan changes in the delegation are expected, but the majority-Black 6th District (represented by House Majority Whip Jim Clyburn) will need to pick some voters, while the neighboring 1st District (represented by Republican Nancy Mace, and the only competitive district in the state) will have to shed some voters because of population growth on the coast. Democrats are expecting the 1st District to get more Republican in the process and for the race to be less competitive.

**South Dakota.** *Current breakdown: 1R, 0D.* **March 29 filing deadline. June 7 primary. Aug. 16 runoff (if necessary).** It's a cycle like any other for South Dakota's at-large district, where Republican Dusty Johnson looks set for another term. The only thing that could shake up the landscape 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.

**Tennessee.** *Current breakdown: 7R, 2D.* **April 7 filing deadline. Aug. 4 primary.** After previously taking a pass on the opportunity, Republicans look poised to divide Davidson County (Nashville) in order to defeat Rep. Jim Cooper and allow the GOP to squeeze one more seat out of the delegation. The population growth in and around Nashville should make the task easier. In this scenario, Rep. Steve Cohen of Memphis would be the only Democrat in the delegation. If Cooper's seat remains intact, he'll face a primary against community organizer Odessa Kelly, who has support from Justice Democrats. Sources also warn that in Tennessee, as in some other states, the state legislative map is the priority and the congressional map is still a ways off.

**Texas.** *Current breakdown: 23R, 13D (Apportionment: +2 seats).* **Dec. 13, 2021 filing deadline. March 1 primary. April 24 runoff (if necessary).** Republicans are likely to pick up seats — it's just a matter of how many. Not only did Texas gain two seats, but Republicans will redraw the maps because they control the state legislature. And they believe their 2020 gains with Hispanic voters are enduring and will propel them to gains over the course of multiple cycles.

Even though much of the population growth has been in Democratic-leaning suburbs, that doesn't mean Democrats are going to gain any seats. The best Democrats can hope for is that Republicans make a couple marginal Democratic-held seats less competitive by packing in more Democratic voters to make surrounding districts more Republican. That could benefit Democratic Rep. Colin Allred in the Dallas area and maybe Rep. Lizzie Fletcher in the Houston area, although both of them might not be drawn into the new Democratic seats. Republicans might also consolidate the Austin area into one Democratic seat to make surrounding seats more Republican.

Although the map is far from complete, some candidates are making moves. Republican Wesley Hunt, who lost to Fletcher in 2020, is running again, although he is waiting for the new map before announcing where he'll be running. Democratic Marine veteran/former Small Business Administration official John Lira is challenging GOP Rep. Tony Gonzales in the expansive Rio Grande Valley district.

Overall, Republicans could try to gain up to a handful of seats in 2022, but that could leave them vulnerable to sizable losses later in the decade if the political environment were to shift against them (as nearly happened in 2018, when Democrats flipped two GOP-drawn seats and came with 5 points of winning six others). We'll see how aggressive Republicans try to be.

**Utah.** *Current breakdown: 4R, 0D.* **March 17 filing deadline. June 28 primary.** The new independent, 7-member redistricting commission is functionally advisory. The GOP-dominated state legislature is free to modify or ignore the commission's maps as they see fit, with no requirement to provide an explanation as to its choices. That means it's unlikely voters in Salt Lake City are combined to form a competitive seat.

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So no partisan changes are expected in the delegation. Google operations manager Jake Hunsaker is challenging Rep. Burgess Owens in the 4th District primary as a more pragmatic Republican. That's not usually a winning argument to base voters.

**Vermont.** *Current breakdown: 1D, 0R. May 26 filing deadline.*

**Aug. 9 primary.** No redistricting drama in the Green Mountain State, where Democratic Rep. Peter Welch should have no trouble holding his at-large seat. That is, unless veteran Sen. Pat Leahy retires, Welch seeks a promotion to the Senate and a wide-open Democratic primary breaks out for a safe House seat.

**Virginia.** *Current breakdown: 7D, 4R. March 30 filing deadline.*

**June 21 primary.** Virginia's 16-member redistricting commission (split evenly between Democrats and Republicans, and between state legislators and citizens selected by a panel of retired judges) has until Oct. 11 to produce a congressional map. Democratic and Republican strategists are somewhat skeptical it will happen and there's talk the state Supreme Court will draw the map. But the races are already beginning.

Republicans are excited about Navy veteran/state Sen. Jen Kiggans taking on Democratic Rep. Elaine Luria in the 2nd District. And even though the 7th District might get better for Democratic Rep. Abigail Spanberger, Republicans already have two challengers against her: Communications consultant Taylor Kenney and international religious freedom nonprofit executive/2020 candidate Tina Ramirez.

Virginia is a great example of why the country does reapportionment every 10 years. Northern Virginia's 10th District has nearly 200,000 more people than the 9th District in the western portion of the commonwealth. The apportionment process will bring them back to close to even. Overall, the most likely outcome looks like no net change in the delegation to Republicans gaining a seat or two with help from the political environment.

**Washington.** *Current breakdown: 7D, 3R. May 20 filing deadline.*

**Aug. 2 primary.** Washington has a somewhat complex system, but it's viewed as functional compared to other states. The state delegates redistricting authority to an independent commission with four members, with each state legislative leader choosing one member. Three commissioners must agree on a map to send it to the legislature, which can make minor amendments to the plan with a two-thirds majority. But the legislature (which is controlled by Democrats) cannot reject the map outright — it becomes law 30 days after it is submitted by the commission, with or without amendments. If the commission deadlocks and produces no map by Nov. 15, 2021, the state Supreme Court will draw the districts.

Republicans wouldn't mind getting another seat, or at least another competitive opportunity. But the districts' populations are close to the target populations and don't require a lot of changes. The 8th District, which was held by longtime GOP Rep. Dave Reichert until he retired in 2018, has shifted toward Democrats and is now represented by Rep. Kim Schrier. Depending on the political environment, Democrats may try to take another run at GOP Rep. Jaime Herrera Beutler, who won re-election by 13 points in 2020. GOP Rep. Dan Newhouse, who voted to impeach Trump, looks likely to face a new slate of primary opponents. Overall, no major partisan changes expected in Washington.

**West Virginia.** *Current breakdown: 3R, 0D (Apportionment: -1 seat).*

**Jan. 29 filing deadline. May 10 primary.**

## Virginia's Congressional Districts

### 2020 Population vs. Target Population Through Redistricting

District	2020 Population	2020 - Target
1st (Wittman, R)	827,606	42,934
2nd (Luria, D)	750,830	-33,842
3rd (Scott, D)	756,761	-27,911
4th (McEachin, D)	789,815	5,143
5th (Good, R)	739,211	-45,461
6th (Cline, R)	763,401	-21,271
7th (Spanberger, D)	817,419	32,747
8th (Beyer, D)	798,257	13,585
9th (Griffith, R)	696,755	-87,917
10th (Wexton, D)	885,422	100,750
11th (Connolly, D)	805,916	21,244
<b>Statewide Population</b>	<b>8,631,393</b>	
<b>Target District Population</b>	<b>784,672</b>	

The loss of a seat means two of West Virginia's three GOP representatives will be double-bunked come 2022. The prevailing sense is that it will be 1st District Rep. David McKinley and 2nd District Rep. Alex Mooney, together in a district that encompasses both the northern and eastern panhandles. Mooney has already said he's running for another term, while the 74-year-old McKinley hasn't announced his intentions and may retire rather than compete in a costly GOP primary. Rep. Carol Miller's 3rd District will probably expand to include Charleston and the surrounding areas. Because of the overall partisan lean of the state, both newly drawn districts will be solidly Republican, but Republicans will lose one seat overall.

**Wisconsin.** *Current breakdown: 5R, 3D. June 1 filing deadline.*

**Aug. 9 primary.** Neither party expects significant changes to the map through the redistricting process. The GOP-controlled legislature draws the districts, but the plan is subject to a veto from Democratic Gov. Tony Evers, and the GOP doesn't have veto-proof majorities. The state's redistricting commission is purely advisory. That doesn't mean the state is without major news. Thirteen-term Democratic Rep. Ron Kind announced he will not seek re-election in the 3rd District in southwestern Wisconsin, which Trump won by nearly 5 points in 2020. Republican Derrick Van Orden, who lost to Kind by nearly 3 points in 2020, is running again and has Trump's endorsement. Democrats don't have a top candidate yet. While it's not specifically related to redistricting, Republicans are poised to gain a seat here.

**Wyoming.** *Current breakdown: 1R, 0D. May 27 filing deadline.*

**Aug. 16 primary.** Just because Wyoming will remain a single at-large congressional seat for the next decade doesn't mean that it will be boring. Rep. Liz Cheney, one of just two GOP members on the House Select Committee on Jan. 6, has attracted a bevy of primary challengers, all of whom are competing to win Trump's endorsement. The more fractured the field, the better Cheney's odds are, which is why Trump has repeatedly stated he'd only like one non-Cheney candidate on the ballot. But it looks like we're still a long way from that happening.

