



# Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

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## 2022 Senate Ratings

### Toss-up

Cortez Masto (D-Nev.)

Warnock (D-Ga.)

Kelly (D-Ariz.)

### Tilt Democratic

Hassan (D-N.H.)

### Tilt Republican

PA Open (Toomey, R)

### Lean Democratic

### Lean Republican

NC Open (Burr, R)

Johnson (R-Wisc.)

### Likely Democratic

### Likely Republican

Rubio (R-Fl.)

### Solid Democratic

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

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.)

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

## Pennsylvania Senate: GOP Spending Spree

By Jacob Rubashkin

Five months ago, the Republican primary to succeed retiring Sen. Pat Toomey looked like a relatively straightforward affair. But after the frontrunner dropped out amidst scandal and with the primary fast approaching, the Republican field in Pennsylvania is as unsettled as it ever has been.

The evenly divided Senate means that Republicans need to gain just one seat to take control of the chamber. With only four credible pickup opportunities, the GOP has little room for error, and losing one of their own seats like Pennsylvania’s would make reclaiming the majority that much harder.

Sean Parnell, the Army veteran who narrowly lost a Western Pennsylvania congressional race in 2020 — had emerged as a Fox News and Trumpworld favorite against a divided field of lesser known hopefuls.

But just weeks after finally receiving Trump’s endorsement, Parnell lost custody of his children in a contentious divorce proceeding that saw his then-wife accuse him of physical abuse. He dropped out of the race, throwing the primary into a state (or commonwealth) of uncertainty.

In the vacuum that followed, none of the candidates already in the race — even the one who successfully pushed Parnell out, real estate investor Jeff Bartos — could establish themselves as the new frontrunner.

Instead, the contest has been jolted by several surprise entries, and with less than four months to go there’s no one clear favorite anymore. The GOP nomination is an important piece of one of the most competitive Senate races in the country. We’ll cover the Democratic primary in a subsequent issue.

### The Lay of the Land

Pennsylvania has played host to some of the closest presidential and Senate contests of the past two decades, making it integral to both parties’ paths to the majority.

In 2020, Pennsylvania was the fourth-closest state in the presidential race, with Joe Biden eking out a 1-point victory, 50-49 percent, over President Donald Trump. It took four days to determine the winner of that contest, and its conclusion prompted most major media organizations to project Biden as the president-elect.

In 2016, Trump won Pennsylvania by 0.7 points, 48.2-47.5 percent, the third-closest result of the night. In 2012, President Barack Obama carried the commonwealth, 52-47 percent, down from his relative landslide 10-point victory, 54-44 percent, in 2008, but greater than John Kerry’s 51-48 percent win in 2004.

Toomey’s two Senate races have also been nail-biters. In 2010, he

*Continued on page 5*

# Report Shorts

**California House.** Democratic Rep. Jerry McNerney announced he will not seek re-election, setting off a brief game of musical chairs. The congressman was assumed to be running for the newly-drawn 9th District. But now that McNerney is on his way out, Democratic Rep. Josh Harder will run for re-election in the 9th instead of the 13th. The 13th District is more competitive (it's currently rated Likely Democratic) and looks like it won't have an incumbent. McNerney was first elected in 2006 by defeating GOP Rep. Richard Pombo. McNerney was the only candidate of either party to flip a seat in California from 2002 to 2010.

In Southern California, Democratic Navy veteran Joseph C. Rocha will run for the state Senate instead of challenging GOP Rep. Darrell Issa. And in the Central Valley, former Democratic state Assemblywoman Nicole Parra is giving up her bid against GOP Rep. David Valadao to run for the state Senate.

**Florida's 20th District Special Election.** Democrat Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick won the special election to succeed the late Democratic Rep. Alcee Hastings, who died early last year. A home health care executive, Cherfilus-McCormick won a crowded Democratic primary in November by just five votes over Broward County Commissioner Dale Holness, spending \$2.7 million of her own money along the way.

This was her third run for Congress in the South Florida district. She had previously challenged Hastings in the 2018 and 2020 primaries, losing both times but with a higher percentage of the vote (26 percent and 31 percent) than she won in the 2021 special election primary (24 percent).

In the Jan. 11 special general election, she defeated Republican Jason Mariner, 79-19 percent. Holness has already said he will run against her in the regularly-scheduled Aug. 23 primary.

**New York House.** GOP Rep. John Katko announced he will not seek re-election. His departure could be a headache for Republicans, considering he consistently won re-election in a competitive, Syracuse-based seat. But Democrats haven't finished redrawing the congressional lines in the Empire State, so it's unclear what his district looks like and how strong of a replacement candidate Republicans will need.

**Rhode Island House.** Democratic Rep. James Langevin announced he will not seek re-election in the 2nd District, which is

# 2022 Governor Ratings

## Battleground

### Democratic-held (6)

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

### Republican-held (6)

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

### Solid Democratic (10)

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

### Solid Republican (14)

AR Open (Hutchinson, R)  
NE Open (Ricketts, R)  
Ivey (R-Ala.)  
Dunleavy (R-Alaska)  
Little (R-Idaho)  
Reynolds (R-Iowa)  
Noem (R-S.D.)  
DeWine (R-Ohio)  
Stitt (R-Okla.)  
McMaster (R-S.C.)  
Lee (R-Tenn.)  
Abbott (R-Texas)  
Scott (R-Vt.)  
Gordon (R-Wyo.)

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

most likely to elect a Democrat to replace him. This cycle has been a rollercoaster of electoral emotion for the Ocean State. At first, it looked like Rhode Island would lose a seat during apportionment, forcing Langevin into a competitive Democratic primary against fellow Rep. David Cicilline. But the state maintained its two districts and now Langevin isn't running at all.

Since the congressman just made his announcement on Wednesday, the race to replace him is just getting started and could include some candidates currently running for governor. The state hasn't finalized redrawing its districts yet either, although no major changes are expected. Biden won the current 2nd by more than 13 points, so Democrats should hold the seat unless the cycle spirals out of control for their party. **IE**

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# Maryland Redistricting: Crossing the Chesapeake

By Jacob Rubashkin

As one of the few states in which Democrats had full control of redistricting, Maryland was a major focus of national Democrats looking for any advantages heading into a tough midterm election.

But while state legislators in Annapolis moved against the congressional delegation's lone remaining Republican member, they did not act as aggressively as some Democrats had hoped.

As a result, Maryland is set to see its first competitive congressional general election in nearly a decade, but could still return a delegation of seven Democrats and one Republican, rather than eight Democrats, at a time when every single race matters to Democrats' five-seat majority.

## 1st District

Andy Harris is the last Republican standing in the state's congressional delegation, and the new map means he'll face his toughest race in over a decade. But while the new map makes the 1st District significantly more competitive, it does not go as far as several other members of the delegation, including Reps. David Trone, Jamie Raskin, and Steny Hoyer had hoped. It still presents a path for Harris to return to Congress.

The new 1st is still anchored by the Eastern Shore but no longer stretches across the state's northern border with Pennsylvania, and also crosses the Chesapeake Bay to take in a stretch of land just north of Annapolis. Just 60 percent of the new district's population live in the old iteration. And while the old 1st voted for President Donald Trump by 20 points, 59-39 percent, the new version would have narrowly gone for Biden, 48.9-48.5 percent.

That shift in partisanship means Harris will have a real race for the first time since 2008, when he defeated incumbent Wayne Gilchrest in the GOP primary but narrowly lost to Democrat Frank Kratovil in the general election. Harris defeated Kratovil two years later in a great Republican cycle. In a similar cycle, the new 1st is winnable for Harris in 2022.

On the Democratic side, the frontrunner is former state Del. Heather Mizeur, who ran for governor in 2014 and placed an unexpectedly strong third place. Mizeur has outraised Harris this cycle by nearly two-to-one, but ended September with just \$764,000 in the bank compared to his \$1.4 million. Retired diplomat Dave Harden is also running as a Democrat but had just \$111,000 in the bank on Sept. 30 and is mulling whether to move to the Eastern Shore after his Carroll County home was drawn into another district.

Mizeur is a credible candidate, though she'll face charges of carpetbagging after moving with her wife from Montgomery County, which she represented in the state legislature, to a farm on the Eastern Shore. Democrats think that Harris has disqualified himself with his stances on coronavirus and the Jan. 6, 2021 insurrection but the partisanship of the district and the national environment still give the GOP an initial edge. Lean Republican.



Heather Mizeur

Courtesy Heather Mizeur

## Rating Maryland's New Congressional Districts

DISTRICT	INCUMBENT	INITIAL RATING
1st	Andy Harris, R	Lean Republican
2nd	Dutch Ruppersberger, D	Solid Democratic
3rd	John Sarbanes, D	Solid Democratic
4th	OPEN (Brown, D)	Solid Democratic
5th	Steny Hoyer, D	Solid Democratic
6th	David Trone, D	Solid Democratic
7th	Kweisi Mfume, D	Solid Democratic
8th	Jamie Raskin, D	Solid Democratic

## 2nd District

The new 2nd District is a more compact version of its previous iteration, encompassing the northern third of Anne Arundel County, the southern half of Baltimore City, and some of the coastal and suburban areas of Baltimore County.

Democratic Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger will run here — he currently represents about 55 percent of the new district. The district would have voted for Joe Biden, 58-39 percent, so Ruppersberger's vulnerability would come in a Democratic primary. Progressive challenger Brittany Oliver, an activist from Baltimore County, had \$23,000 in the bank on Sept. 30 compared to the congressman's \$1.3 million. The area is rapidly diversifying, which could have created an opening for a younger Black challenger such as Oliver, but Ruppersberger got a boost when his district was drawn to have significantly more white voters than before. Solid Democratic.

## 3rd District

The 3rd district was the most significantly altered of any in the state, with its old population scattered between six different new districts. While the old, brutally disfigured seat snaked from Annapolis up to Glen Burnie, all the way down to Silver Spring, and then, circuitously, up through Baltimore City, and around to the suburbs in Baltimore County, the new 3rd doesn't include Annapolis. Instead it is most of Hartford County, a sliver of west Baltimore County with an appendage into Baltimore City, most of Howard County, and a stretch of Montgomery County south to Wheaton.

Current 3rd District Rep. John Sarbanes only represents slightly more than a third of the new district but will run here. The district is much less Democratic than previously, because it absorbed some Republican voters from the old 1st District. But Biden would have carried the seat 61-36 percent, so as long as Sarbanes wins the primary — he has no credible challengers — he'll be returning to DC. Solid Democratic.

## 4th District

Incumbent Democrat Anthony Brown is not seeking re-election and is running for state attorney general instead, meaning this solid Democratic seat is up for grabs. The district is still anchored by the inner Prince George's County suburbs but now also includes some of eastern Montgomery County, and also surrendered some of Anne Arundel County to the new 1st District.

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The new seat would have voted for Biden, 83-15 percent, so the winner of the Democratic primary is all but assured a seat in Congress.

There are four Democrats currently in the running, including former Rep. Donna Edwards, who gave up this seat in 2016 to run for Senate (she lost in the primary to Rep. Chris Van Hollen). This is Edwards' second comeback attempt; she lost in the Democratic primary for Prince George's county executive in 2018. Glenn Ivey, a former state attorney who lost the 2016 4th District primary to Brown, 42-34 percent, is running, as is state Del. Jazz Lewis, a former Steny Hoyer staffer running with the majority leader's endorsement. Former state Del. Angela Angel is also in the race. The only public poll so far, sponsored by Ivey, showed Ivey with a substantial lead but did not include Edwards as an option. Solid Democratic.

### 5th District

House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer's district was nearly untouched by mapmakers, shedding its portion of Anne Arundel County but seeing few other changes. Hoyer already represents 93 percent of the new district, which Biden would have carried 71-27 percent.

Hoyer faces another primary challenge from activist McKayla Wilkes, who ran against him in 2020 with the backing of groups including Democracy for America and Brand New Congress. Hoyer won, 64-27 percent, with the lowest share of the primary vote of his career.

In 2020, Wilkes raised \$444,000 before the primary, but has only pulled in \$79,000 so far this cycle, and had just \$33,000 in the bank at the end of September compared to Hoyer's \$1.1 million. Because of the proximity to Washington, Hoyer doesn't have to worry about splitting his time between DC and the district, which has allowed him to avoid the "gone Washington" criticism that has been effective against other longtime incumbents. Solid Democratic.

### 6th District

Democratic Rep. David Trone's district is largely unchanged, and still runs from Western Maryland down through Frederick County to the western half of Montgomery County. It would have voted for Biden, 60-38 percent.

Former state Del. Aruna Miller, who placed second to Trone in the 2018 Democratic primary for the 6th District, was planning on running again, but dropped her bid after being tapped by gubernatorial candidate Wes Moore as his running mate.

State Del. Neil Parrott, the 2020 GOP nominee for this seat, is running again. He lost to Trone, 59-39 percent. Parrott had \$217,000 in the bank at the end of September. Trone had just \$96,000 in his campaign account but won't lose because of a lack of money. The wine magnate is one of the wealthiest members of Congress and spent \$31 million of his own money on races in 2016 and 2018. Solid Democratic.

### 7th District

Kweisi Mfume, the former president of the NAACP who returned to Congress in 2020 after a two-decade hiatus, was one of the most prominent Democratic voices urging a less aggressive approach to redistricting because it would mean placing more Republican voters into Democratic districts.

In the end, the partisanship of Mfume's district was relatively unaltered — it would have voted for Biden, 77-21 percent — but its shape shifted notably. The seat shed most of Howard County but still retains its swath of downtown Baltimore City and suburbs east and west of the city.

Mfume has no serious challenger in either the primary or the general election. In 2020, Republican Kimberly Klacik became a viral star on Fox News and as a Republican National Convention primetime speaker and was one of the top House fundraisers in the entire country. She outspent Mfume 10-to-1 and lost, 71-28 percent. She said in late 2020 she would run again. Solid Democratic.

### 8th District

Jamie Raskin rose to national prominence in 2021 as the lead impeachment manager in the trial of Trump for inciting the Jan. 6 insurrection. He is running again.

The 8th maintains its mushroom shape, with the inner DC suburbs of Montgomery County connected to the more rural Carroll and Frederick Counties. The new seat would have voted for Biden, 65-32 percent, a slight decrease from the old lines because it absorbed some Republican voters from the old 1st District.

Medical logistics specialist/Air Force Veteran Mariela Roca is running as a Republican but had just \$4,400 in the bank at the end of the year. Raskin had \$1.9 million on Sept. 30. Solid Democratic.

## 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 (4D, 5R)

CA 22 (Valadao, R)	ME 2 (Golden, D)
CA 27 (Garcia, R)	MI 3 (Meijer, R)
CA 45 (Steel, R)	NC 2 (Open; Butterfield, D)
CO 8 (Open, New)	NJ 7 (Malinowski, D)
IA 3 (Axne, D)	NM 2 (Herrell, R)

### Tilt Democratic (2D)

MI 7 (Slotkin, D)
MI 8 (Kildee, D)

### Tilt Republican (3D)

AZ 6 (Open; Kirkpatrick, D)
MI 10 (Open; Levin, D)
TX 15 (Open; V. Gonzalez, D)

### Lean Democratic (1D)

NV 3 (S. Lee, D)
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### Lean Republican (1D, 3R)

AZ 1 (Schweikert, R)
AZ 2 (O'Halleran, D)
MD 1 (Harris, R)
NE 2 (Bacon, R)

### Likely Democratic (11D)

AZ 4 (Stanton, D)
CA 13 (Open; Harder, D)
CA 47 (Porter, D)
CA 49 (Levin, D)
CO 7 (Open; Perlmutter, D)
NM 3 (Leger Fernandez, D)
NV 1 (Titus, D)
NV 4 (Horsford, D)
OR 4 (Open; DeFazio, D)
OR 5 (Schrader, D)
OR 6 (Open, New)
TX 28 (Cuellar, D)

### Likely Republican (7R, 1D)

CA 3 (Open; McClintock, R)
CA 40 (Kim, R)
CA 41 (Calvert, R)
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



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narrowly defeated Democratic Rep. Joe Sestak, 51-49 percent, even as the Republican nominee for governor was winning by 9 points, and in 2016 he beat former gubernatorial chief of staff Katie McGinty 49-47 percent despite trailing in polling for much of the year.

Pennsylvania politics can be intensely parochial, with primaries often breaking down on regional lines. East vs. center vs. west is a consistent theme in both Democratic and GOP contests, with candidates from Philadelphia and the surrounding suburbs in the Delaware River Valley clashing with contenders from Pittsburgh and the far more midwestern and Appalachian western half of the commonwealth.

Candidates routinely overperform in their home counties. In the 2018 GOP gubernatorial primary, state Sen. Scott Wagner won a narrow 44-37 percent victory over Paul Mango, but carried his home of York County 65-19 percent. Mango won his home county, Allegheny, 48-27 percent.

In the 2016 Democratic Senate primary, Braddock Mayor John Fetterman placed third overall (19 percent) but won a strong first place (43 percent) in his Allegheny County home, and placed second in all of the surrounding counties. And second-place finisher Sestak (33 percent) crushed the competition in his home county of Delaware with 63 percent and performed best in the Delaware Valley.

## The Republican Contenders

Parnell's abrupt departure scuttled any semblance of order in the GOP primary field. Within weeks of Parnell dropping out, the race saw one major shakeup with the entry of talk show host and cardiothoracic surgeon Mehmet Oz, and another with the entrance of former hedge fund CEO David McCormick.

Already in the race were 2018 lieutenant governor nominee Jeff Bartos, (in the race since March 2021), former U.S. Ambassador to Denmark Carla Sands (in since July), and 2020 4th District

nominee Kathy Barnette (in since April). Prominent Philadelphia attorney George Bochetto, whistleblower Everett Stern, and Sean Gale, the younger brother of Montgomery County Commissioner Joe Gale, are also running but not expected to be a factor.

But while GOP strategists say they'd be comfortable with any of Oz, McCormick, Bartos, or Sands as the nominee, Oz and McCormick seem to have carved out a top tier for themselves, with Bartos and Sands in a second tier.

Oz, 61, is best known as the host of his eponymous daytime television show *Dr. Oz* produced by Oprah Winfrey. The Cleveland-born, state of Delaware-raised surgeon graduated Harvard in 1982 and University of Pennsylvania in 1986 with a dual MD-MBA degree. That was the last time he lived in Pennsylvania before returning recently to run for Senate. He most recently lived in Cliffside Park, New Jersey, though says he is renting his in-laws' house in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, northeast of Philadelphia.

For most of his career, Oz has been affiliated with Presbyterian Hospital and Columbia University's medical school, where he was a professor for 20 years and helped develop several surgical devices and procedures.

Oz began appearing on television in the early 2000s, and rose to national prominence in 2005 as a medical expert on the Oprah Winfrey show. That platform led to his own show, beginning in 2009, as well as numerous spinoffs, books, and syndicated columns.

Throughout his career, Oz has been dogged by accusations of quackery and pseudoscience for his embrace of alternative medicine. His promotion of miracle weight loss and anti-aging cures has drawn condemnation from everyone from the *British Medical Journal* to senators on both sides of the aisle in a tense 2014 Senate hearing.

But Oz is leaning into his medical background for his Senate run, going as far as to film his introductory video on a set similar to the one used on his show, and to repurpose the show's logo for his campaign.

To win over GOP primary voters, Oz is reframing his work on TV as a sort of medical populism in which he has empowered regular people to take their health in their own hands rather than rely on incompetent experts in places such as Washington, DC.

Oz's campaign team includes former NRSC executive director Chris Hansen, media consultant Larry Weitzner of Jamestown Strategies and pollster Jon Lerner of Basswood Research, who helped shepherd Toomey to victory in 2010.

McCormick, 56, recently stepped down as the CEO of Bridgewater Associates, the hedge fund founded by Ray Dalio. He lived and worked in Connecticut from 2009 until this year, when he bought a house in Pittsburgh.

The West Point (1987) and Princeton (Ph.D., 1996) graduate was born in Western Pennsylvania and grew up in Bloomsburg and Pittsburgh. He served five years in the Army and was awarded a Bronze Star for service in the Gulf War.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, McCormick lived in Pittsburgh and worked as a consultant for McKinsey and then as the CEO of a software company. President George W. Bush appointed him Under Secretary of Commerce for Industry and Security in 2005 and Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs in 2007. In 2019, *Foreign Policy* reported McCormick was under consideration to be Secretary of Defense under Trump (the position eventually went to Mark Esper).

McCormick is married to Dina Powell, who was a deputy national security advisor in the Trump White House, giving him deep ties with the last two Republican presidential administrations.

McCormick has deemphasized his hedge fund work in his campaign messaging, instead focusing on his time at West Point and in the Army and his Pennsylvania roots as a wrestler and tree farmer.

His campaign team includes general consultant Jeff Roe of Axiom Strategies, pollster Chris Wilson of WPai, and media consultant Mark Harris of Cold Spark, who ran Toomey's campaign in 2010.

Bartos, 49, lives in Montgomery County. He has never held elected office before but has been involved in GOP politics for much of the past decade. In 2018, Bartos ran as the lieutenant governor nominee on a ticket with state Sen. Scott Wagner and lost to Democratic Gov. Tom Wolf and his running mate Fetterman, 58-41 percent. Fetterman is now running for Senate as a Democrat.

Bartos also flirted with a bid for Congress in 2016, and was briefly a candidate for Senate in the 2018 cycle, for the seat held by Democrat Bob Casey. But he switched to the lieutenant governor contest after Rep. Lou Barletta entered the Senate race (Barletta lost 56-43 percent).

An Emory (1994) and University of Virginia Law School (1997) graduate, Bartos also served stints as a Montgomery County GOP



Mehmet Oz

Courtesy Oz Campaign

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committee member, and the state GOP's finance committee chairman in 2019 and 2020. That means he is well known within the state party apparatus. But according to several Republican strategists not working on the race, that also means he'll have to counter existing perceptions that he's a nice guy but not a "killer" with the "it" factor.

He is currently the president of a commercial and residential real estate company, and he also started the Pennsylvania 30 Day Fund, a coronavirus relief effort for small businesses modeled after a similar program started by 2021 Virginia gubernatorial candidate Pete Snyder.

The program has featured heavily in Bartos' campaign messaging, as he seeks to draw a contrast between how he has been a contributing member of the Pennsylvania community for decades while his opponents only recently returned to the state to run for Senate.

The Bartos campaign team includes general consultant Chris Grant of Big Dog Strategies (which is also handling direct mail), Strategy Group for paid media and pollster Tony Fabrizio of Fabrizio Lee and Associates.

Sands, 61, was Trump's ambassador to Denmark from 2017 to 2021, and is the chairman of Vintage Capital Group, a real estate investment firm founded by her late husband, Los Angeles real estate mogul Fred Sands. Carla Sands is a native of Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania and attended Indiana University of Pennsylvania and Elizabethtown College, and later received a Doctor of Chiropractic degree from Life University in Marietta, Georgia.

Sands worked as an actress (including time on the CBS soap opera *The Bold and the Beautiful*) and chiropractor in California until marrying Fred in 1999 and entering philanthropy. She took over Vintage after her husband died in 2015, and in the 2016 presidential race, she donated to Sens. Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz before backing Trump in the general election. She sat on the then-nominee's economic advisory committee, hosting a big-dollar fundraiser with him at her Bel Air mansion and later cutting a six-figure check to his 2017 inauguration committee.

Sands was confirmed in the Senate by a voice vote but struck controversy in 2020 when she used her official government Twitter account to attack Democrats running for president, spread false information about Kamala Harris' eligibility to be vice president, and solicit campaign contributions for Republicans. In 2021, the Office of Special Counsel found she repeatedly violated the Hatch Act, but the Biden administration took no further action.

In 2018, Sands began selling off her California homes and moved to Harrisburg in 2020.

Sands has struggled with staffing. Her campaign underwent a major shakeup last fall, parting ways with Roe, Wilson, and campaign manager Joe DeSilets. Roe and Wilson are now working with McCormick. Her current general consultant is Jim Hilk of FP1 Strategies. Moore Information is conducting the polling.

Barnette, 50, was the GOP nominee for the 4th District in 2020, losing that race to Democratic incumbent Madeleine Dean, 60-40 percent. The Alabama-born Barnette served in the Army Reserves in the 1990s before working as a financial analyst and adjunct college professor in Illinois. After her loss in 2020, she became a central figure in the election fraud conspiracy movement, garnering the attention of fringe Trumpworld figures such as Michael Flynn and Sebastian Gorka, who have endorsed her campaign.

## The Republican Primary

The primary is scheduled for May 17, though there are some rumblings that it could be pushed back to a later date due to a protracted

redistricting process. Candidates must collect 2,000 valid signatures between Feb. 15 and the March 8 filing deadline.

Oz enters the race with the highest name ID due to his time on TV. But GOP strategists caution that the recognition and appreciation one garners from daytime TV is not necessarily transferable to politics. Despite his substantial name ID advantage over his relatively unknown opponents, Oz only entered the race with a modest lead, according to private and public polling.

And it remains unclear if the doctor can take a direct punch. Given the amount of money that will be spent against him, his ability to respond to attacks directly and effectively will be integral to his chances of success. A recent *New York Magazine* profile prompted some questions about how ready Oz is for the rough-and-tumble political arena.

Researchers on both sides of the aisle are already poring over thousands of hours of footage from Oz's show, in search of past comments and stances that can be used against him. Oz has lived his life on camera for the better part of two decades, and several operatives working on opposing campaigns say nobody knows how much damaging material there is to find.

McCormick is running as a local boy made good — one of his ads features two of his "high school buddies" in a dive bar teasing him —



Courtesy Department of Defense

David McCormick

and leans heavily on his summers spent on his family's tree farm in Bloomsburg baling hay and trimming trees. Unmentioned are his Ph.D. in international relations from Princeton or the specifics of his hedge fund work.

But he won't be able to avoid discussing the specifics of his time at Bridgewater sooner or later, given that his business in China will be the central attack on him from his opponents. A brief line in one ad about standing up for capitalism and fighting socialism offers a clue at how he might frame the issue to his advantage.

## The Money

All four major candidates bring significant personal resources to the race. Oz and McCormick have not yet filed their financial disclosures but GOP operatives estimate that each have amassed nine-figure wealth over their respective careers, and that each could potentially spend at least \$20 million on their campaigns.

While Oz's first FEC report is not due until the end of January, data from Kantar /CMAG indicates he has already spent more than \$5.4 million on television advertising and an additional \$180,000 on Google and Facebook. And because McCormick did not officially enter the race until January, he will not file with the FEC until mid-April but has already spent \$3.7 million on television advertising, per Kantar /CMAG.

Sands and Bartos are also wealthy, though less so. Sands disclosed assets between roughly \$20 million and \$53 million, and Bartos between \$7.5 million and \$15 million (candidates only report in broad ranges).

Sands reported raising \$454,000 from July through September, plus an additional \$3.1 million in personal funds, and \$3.3 million in the bank on

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Sept. 30. She has spent \$1.9 million on TV advertising since October, and another \$250,000 on Facebook and Google.

Bartos entered the race in February 2021 and raised \$1.6 million through the end of September. He put in an additional \$1.3 million out of his own pocket, and reported \$2.2 million in the bank at the end of that month. Bartos' allies conservatively estimate that he'll need to spend \$7-8 million total. He has not yet advertised on TV, and has spent \$148,000 on Facebook and Google since the beginning of 2021.

Barnette is the only other Republican candidate with notable resources (Bochetto says he will self-fund \$1 million but hasn't reported). She raised eyebrows in July when she reported a \$595,000 fundraising quarter, outpacing Bartos and Parnell. But her fundraising all but dried up the following quarter, when she raised just \$204,000 and spent \$309,000.

## How It Plays Out

Oz and McCormick have only been in the race a short while but are already treating each other like mortal enemies, and Republican observers expect both candidates — and their allies — to “go nuclear” on each other before the race is over.

Both candidates have Super PACs in their corner. Republican sources say that, at least for the moment, those nominally independent groups — “American Leadership Action” for Oz and “Honor Pennsylvania” for McCormick — will carry the brunt of the negative messaging, while the candidates themselves stick to positive messaging.

(Though both Super PACs were formed in late 2021, neither began to spend until 2022. That means that their donors likely won't be public until the middle of April, a few weeks before the scheduled primary.)

Both organizations have already gone on the offensive. In a \$1.2 million buy, American Leadership Action is targeting McCormick over his business dealings with China and his comments about not being a Trump supporter.

Honor Pennsylvania is responding with a \$1 million TV ad buy. The McCormick allies will try to impeach Oz's conservative credentials, especially on social issues including abortion and transgender youths. But the first spot released by the group focused instead on an illegal immigration bust and subsequent record fine paid by Asplundh, the tree pruning company owned by Oz's wife's family (the spot calls Oz himself an owner of the company). It's a sign that immigration will be a central issue for GOP primary voters.

A subject that Oz's opponents may broach more delicately is his religion — the surgeon would be the first Muslim to serve in the U.S. Senate — and his two years spent in the Turkish army. McCormick has already called on Oz to “renounce” his Turkish citizenship. (Oz is a dual citizen.)

Bartos' campaign also has the support of a Super PAC, “Jobs for Our Future,” which recently launched a \$1 million ad buy slamming Oz and McCormick as “out of state politicians coming into Pennsylvania to buy a Senate seat.”

He hopes to recreate the winning playbook of now-Gov. Bill Lee of Tennessee. In what *The Tennessean* called “the biggest Cinderella story in Tennessee Republican politics in decades,” Lee won a crowded, expensive primary in 2018 against two better-funded, wealthy opponents. The first time Lee led in a public poll was two weeks before the primary.

Financially outgunned, Bartos is focusing on his ground game — one Pennsylvania Republican said he's gone to “every chicken dinner in the state” — with an eye toward the six state party regional caucus straw polls that could culminate in an endorsement vote by the Republican

State Committee in February.

In the first straw poll of the cycle, the Central Caucus backed Bartos with 49 votes to Barnette's 30, McCormick's 15, Sands' 8 and Oz's 1.



Courtesy, Sands Campaign

Carla Sands

over the party apparatus). But the Central Caucus also voted, 67-39, to recommend against the state committee making an endorsement next month, and GOP sources say it's unlikely the state party does weigh in, potentially blunting any momentum Bartos could see even if he keeps up his current pace in the straw polls.

## The Race for Trump

All of the candidates will be watching what Trump does now that his preferred pick is out of the running. GOP strategists don't expect Trump to weigh in imminently after Parnell's flameout (though he has been known to defy expectations), but most anticipate he will do so eventually, given his desire to remain the party's kingmaker.

Republicans watching the race say the most likely recipients of the Trump nod are McCormick or Oz.

McCormick — aided by his wife's Rolodex — has surrounded himself with Trumpworld associates including Hope Hicks, Kellyanne Conway, David Urban, Stephen Miller and others, in what *Politico* termed an effort to “MAGA-proof” his campaign. Parnell has also endorsed McCormick.

Oz is a personal friend of Trump's, and they share a background in TV showmanship. It was on Oz's program that Trump revealed his “medical records” during the 2016 campaign, and did a staged patient examination with the host.

The candidate with perhaps the most to lose if Trump re-enters the fray is Sands, whose strongest argument is that she is a bonafide conservative and was a dedicated and loyal Trump supporter earlier than any other candidate. But Trump, who passed over Sands last year to endorse Parnell, has bristled at candidates who he feels overstate their connection to him — including in Alabama, where another former Trump ambassador, Lynda Blanchard, ran as a MAGA candidate only to see the president recoil and endorse one of her opponents.

## Home is Where Your Address Is

In Pennsylvania, candidates' home counties appear on the ballot next to their name, a quirk that only exacerbates regional voting tendencies. For Bartos, Barnette, and Oz (who claims residency at his in-law's house in Bryn Athyn) that will be Montgomery County, the wealthy Philadelphia suburb.

Sands has taken up residence in Harrisburg, in Dauphin County, and stresses her upbringing in Cumberland County — all point to trying to establish herself as the candidate for south central Pennsylvania.

And McCormick has made his Bloomsburg (Columbia County) roots

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a primary part of his initial messaging, but when he moved back to the commonwealth he bought a house in Pittsburgh (where he lived in the early 2000s) and so will be listed as being from Allegheny County on the ballot — the only major candidate with a Western Pennsylvania designation.

## The Bottom Line

All four candidates are pursuing credible strategies, but their paths are complicated by the presence of a doppelganger running a similar campaign.

Oz and McCormick both intend to press their financial advantage by

flooding the zone with TV advertising. But having an opponent that can go dollar-for-dollar softens that advantage.

Sands and Bartos both hope to shoot the gap between the two heavy hitters. But there may not be enough room for both of them to sneak through. With each presenting themselves as the alternative, neither may be able to marshal enough support to win, especially with a bevy of lower tier candidates sucking up valuable votes.

The scope of the field, wealth of the candidates, and size of the state mean that this primary election could be one of the most expensive in history. And the winner will have to do it all over again against the Democratic nominee in one of the fall's most important races. **IE**

# Michigan Redistricting: Mix and Match

By Jacob Rubashkin

While Michigan's new congressional map looks even on paper, the final results could be skewed toward Republicans, thanks to a positive political environment.

Currently, the Michigan congressional delegation is evenly divided, with seven Democrats and seven Republicans. But that won't be the case for much longer, as the state lost a congressional seat during the decennial reapportionment process due to sluggish population growth, dropping from 14 representatives to 13 (down from a peak of 19 seats in 1980).

And following Michiganders' approval of a redistricting initiative in 2018, the new congressional map was drawn by an independent commission rather than the state legislature.

Unlike most other independent commission states, Michigan relied largely on random selection to choose its commissioners (four Democrats, four Republicans, and five unaffiliated voters). While the commission had some stumbles early on, it ultimately approved a map with eight votes — two Republican, two Democratic, and four unaffiliated — that reflects the state's closely divided partisanship.

In 2020, Joe Biden would have carried seven of the 13 new districts as he won the state 51-48 percent, while President Donald Trump would have carried six. Under the old map, Trump carried eight of the state's 14 districts despite losing by 3 points.

But in the immediate term, with an unpopular Democratic president in the White House, Democrats could see a net loss of as many as two seats, complicating the party's already-narrow path to retaining its slim House majority.

## 1st District

The 1st District is still the entire Upper Peninsula, though it extends slightly further downstate. Trump would have carried it, 59-39 percent. Democratic candidate Bob Lorinser has a compelling background as a physician and foreign service officer but won't be competitive against incumbent Republican Jack Bergman. Solid Republican.

## 2nd District

The new 2nd district is a mashup of the old 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Districts, stretching from the Lake Michigan coast east to just outside Midland, and wrapping south around Grand Rapids to Barry County, just north of Kalamazoo. Around 42 percent of the new district's residents reside in the old 4th District, while 30 percent come from the old 3rd and 23

percent from the old 2nd, according to Daily Kos Elections calculations. Current 4th District Rep. John Moolenaar, a Republican, is running here and shouldn't have any trouble given that Trump would have carried the seat, 63-35 percent. Solid Republican.

## 3rd District

The 3rd District is still anchored by Grand Rapids, which it now includes completely. But instead of extending south through Calhoun County, the 3rd now extends west to Lake Michigan, through Ottawa County (excluding Holland) and north to grab Muskegon.

Unlike the old 3rd District, which Trump carried by 3 points, the new 3rd would have voted for Biden by 8 points, 53-45 percent. That makes it Democrats' best pickup opportunity on the new map.

Republican incumbent Peter Meijer is facing heat from both sides of the aisle. The freshman congressman drew Trump's wrath after voting to impeach him in early 2021, and Trump has endorsed a primary challenger against Meijer: former acting assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development John Gibbs. Several other Republicans are challenging Meijer as well, including immigration attorney Gabrielle Manolache, 2020 3rd District candidate Tom Norton, and Audra Johnson, a GOP activist who went viral for her MAGA wedding dress.

Whoever wins the nomination will also face a competitive general election due to the partisanship of the district. 3rd District Democratic nominee Hillary Scholten told *Inside Elections* she is "taking a very, very hard look" at running in the redrawn district. She lost to Meijer, 53-47 percent. Grand Rapids state Sen. Winnie Banks is not running.

Meijer is a strong candidate. A telegenic Army veteran who broke publicly with Trump, who has endless personal resources and the benefit of his family's name plastered on supermarkets across the region, he'd be the GOP's best bet at keeping this seat in Republican hands despite the unfavorable partisan lean. But he'll have to make it through his primary first, and even then he'll have a competitive general election. For now, this race is a Toss-up.

## 4th District

The new 4th District sits south of Grand Rapids, running along the coast of Lake Michigan from Benton Harbor up to Holland, and east to Battle Creek.

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By population, 64 percent of the new district previously lived in Rep. Fred Upton's old district, 25 percent lived in Rep. Bill Huizenga's old district, and 11 percent lived in Meijer's old district. Meijer is running in the new 3rd District. Despite the majority of Huizenga's current constituents now residing in the 3rd District, Huizenga has said he will instead run in the new 4th, heading off a GOP primary with Meijer.

Upton has not yet said if he will seek re-election to what would be his eighteenth term. The former Energy and Commerce Committee chairman was already facing a Trump-backed primary challenge from state Rep. Steve Carra because of his vote to impeach Trump in early 2021. Now that Huizenga, who has a closer relationship to Trump than Upton does, is running here, it is not clear what Trump will do.

The new 4th would have voted for Trump by 4 points, 51-47 percent, a similar partisanship to Upton's old seat. In a good year for the GOP, they should not have to worry about holding this seat no matter the nominee, but in a less favorable environment this seat could be competitive, as it was in 2018 — especially if the moderate Upton is no longer around. Solid Republican.

### 5th District

The new 5th District runs the length of the bottom of the state. Of its residents, 65 percent were previously in GOP Rep. Tim Walberg's old district and 30 percent were in Upton's old district. Walberg is running here and should have a clear path because the district would have backed Trump, 61-37 percent. Solid Republican.

### 6th District

The new 6th District is centered on Ann Arbor, home to the University of Michigan, and also includes suburbs south of Detroit. Although Rep. Debbie Dingell's Dearborn home was drawn out of the district, a majority of the new constituency is currently represented by the Democratic congresswoman, and she will run here this year. The district voted for Biden, 62-36 percent. Solid Democratic.

### 7th District

Democratic Rep. Elissa Slotkin currently represents the Lansing-based 8th District and will run in the new Lansing-based 7th District, though it no longer includes her home in Oakland County and instead includes all of Shiawassee and Clinton counties to the north and most of Eaton County to the west. Sixty-two percent of the new district's residents are already represented by Slotkin in Congress.

While Slotkin's old district voted narrowly for Trump, this new seat would have voted narrowly for Biden, 50-49 percent. Republican state Sen. Tom Barrett, a helicopter pilot in the Army National Guard, is running.

Slotkin is a formidable incumbent. She reported \$3.8 million in the bank on Sept. 30, and has raised around \$1 million every three months this year, a ferocious pace. She also outperformed the top of the ticket in 2020 by beating her opponent, 51-47 percent, while Biden was losing by 1 point. Tilt Democratic.

### 8th District

The new 8th District is the successor to the old 5th District. It still stretches north from Flint up to Lake Huron, though it no longer includes the northernmost counties of Arenac and Iosco. Just under 80 percent of the new district's residents currently live in the old 5th District.

Democrat Dan Kildee will seek re-election here, though he'll face a

## Rating Michigan's New Congressional Districts

DISTRICT	INCUMBENT	INITIAL RATING
1st	Jack Bergman, R	Solid Republican
2nd	John Moolenaar, R	Solid Republican
3rd	Peter Meijer, R	Toss-up
4th	Fred Upton, R/Bill Huizenga, R	Solid Republican
5th	Tim Walberg, R	Solid Republican
6th	Debbie Dingell, D	Solid Democratic
7th	Elissa Slotkin, D	Tilt Democratic
8th	Dan Kildee, D	Tilt Democratic
9th	Lisa McClain, R	Solid Republican
10th	OPEN (Levin, D)	Tilt Republican
11th	Haley Stevens, D/Andy Levin, D	Solid Democratic
12th	Rashida Tlaib, D	Solid Democratic
13th	OPEN (Lawrence, D)	Solid Democratic

competitive general election, given that Biden would have carried the new district by just 2 points, 50-48 percent. Republican Paul Junge, a former Immigration and Customs Enforcement official and Fox47 news anchor who lost the 2020 8th District race to Slotkin, is running.

Kildee often overperforms the top of the ticket, winning by 12 points in 2020 (as Biden carried it by 4 points), 24 points in 2018 (as Gov. Gretchen Whitmer won the district by 12 points) and 26 points in 2016 (as Hillary Clinton won the district by 4 points). But he's never faced a well-funded opponent or run a race with national attention. Tilt Democratic.

### 9th District

The new 9th is the successor district to the old 10th District and is situated in the "thumb" of Michigan's mitten. Freshman Republican Lisa McClain already represents 71 percent of the new district and looks to be set for a second term, as Trump would have carried this seat, 64-35 percent. Solid Republican.

### 10th District

The new 10th District includes the southern half of Macomb County plus Rochester and Rochester Hills in Oakland County. It would have voted for Trump by a narrow 50-49 percent margin, a serious shift from the previous southern Macomb district (the old 9th), which voted for Biden, 56-43 percent.

Most of Democratic Rep. Andy Levin's current constituents live in the new 10th District, but he's planning to run in the 11th, making the 10th an open seat and a prime pickup opportunity for Republicans in the Detroit suburbs.

One Republican is already in the race: attorney Erik Esshaki, who was the 2020 nominee for the 11th district, losing 50-48 to Democratic Rep. Haley Stevens. But GOP establishment favorite John James, who lost back-to-back Senate races in 2018 and 2020 but is beloved by Republican strategists in DC, is seriously considering running here as well. If he does, it's not clear if Esshaki will stay in the race.

Democrats need a candidate now that Levin is running elsewhere. Former state Sen. Steve Bieda, who briefly ran against Levin in the 2018 Democratic primary, could run.

For now, Republicans have to be seen as having an advantage in an open seat that Trump carried, even narrowly. Though this district does

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have serious Democratic DNA, and Democratic Sen. Gary Peters actually carried the district in 2020 even as Biden lost it, despite doing worse than Biden statewide. Tilt Republican.

### 11th District

The new 11th District is still in the northwest Detroit suburbs, but its population is pulled from three old seats, all currently held by Democrats. Forty-five percent of the residents in the new 11th currently live in Stevens' district, 30 percent live in Democratic Rep. Brenda Lawrence's district, and 25 percent live in Levin's district.

Lawrence is retiring from Congress. Both Stevens and Levin are running in the new 11th District, setting up a clash between the scion of a Michigan Democratic dynasty (Levin), and a poster child of the "blue wave" that swept Democrats back to power in 2018 (Stevens).

Levin is a favorite of organized labor, while Stevens has been endorsed by organizations including End Citizens United. She may also be able to count on support from EMILY's List, which has already waded into another member vs. member primary, in Illinois' 6th District.

The new 11th would have voted for Biden by 20 points, 59-39 percent, so the winner of the primary will almost certainly head back to Congress. Solid Democratic.

### 12th District

Rashida Tlaib's downtown Detroit district was split in two, with about 61 percent of its residents put into the new 12th and 39 percent put into the new 13th. The new 12th includes western Detroit, Southfield, Livonia, Westland, and Dearborn. Tlaib is running here.

Biden would have carried the new 12th, 74-25 percent, so Tlaib's only vulnerability would come in a primary. The controversial Squad member could draw a challenge, especially from a politician in Dearborn or Southfield, which are new territory for her. But Tlaib convincingly beat back a primary challenge in 2020 from former Rep./Detroit City Council President Brenda Jones and does not have an opponent yet. Solid Democratic.

### 13th District

The new 13th district is eastern Detroit plus suburbs south of Dearborn, and includes parts of the old 12th, 13th, and 14th districts.

Along with the new 12th, the 13th is at the center of a Voting Rights Act lawsuit filed by, among others, a caucus of Detroit-based state legislators, that alleges the new map dilutes the voting power of Black Michiganders. Under the old map, the Detroit area's substantial Black population was concentrated in the 13th and 14th Districts, both of which were majority Black and generally elected Black representatives. Under the new map, the metro area's Black population is spread across several districts so that none of them are majority Black; the new 12th is 46 percent Black and 47 percent non-Hispanic White, and the new 13th is 47 percent Black and 40 percent White.

With Reps. Dingell and Tlaib running in other seats, and Lawrence retiring, this is an open seat. Biden would have carried the district, 74-25 percent, so the Democratic primary nomination is the real contest.

There are two announced candidates: former state Rep. Sherry Gay-Dagnogo and state Rep. Shri Thanedar, who spent \$10.6 million of his own money on a quirky campaign for governor in 2018 (he placed last in the Democratic primary, won by Whitmer). But more will almost certainly follow. Solid Democratic.



## House Members Not Seeking Re-election

Thus far, 28 Democrats and 13 Republicans are running for another office or leaving Congress entirely.

	Current District	Member
DEMOCRATS	Arizona's 2nd	Ann Kirkpatrick
	California's 9th	Jerry McNerney
	California's 14th	Jackie Speier
	California's 37th	Karen Bass
	California's 40th	Lucille Roybal-Allard
	California's 47th	Alan Lowenthal
	Colorado's 7th	Ed Perlmutter
	Florida's 7th	Stephanie Murphy
	Florida's 10th	Val Demings
	Florida's 13th	Charlie Crist
	Illinois' 1st	Bobby Rush
	Illinois' 17th	Cheri Bustos
	Kentucky's 3rd	John Yarmuth
	Maryland's 4th	Anthony Brown
	Michigan's 12th	Brenda Lawrence
	New York's 3rd	Thomas Suozzi
	North Carolina's 1st	G.K. Butterfield
	North Carolina's 4th	David Price
	New Jersey's 8th	Albio Sires
	Ohio's 13th	Tim Ryan
	Oregon's 4th	Peter DeFazio
	Pennsylvania's 17th	Conor Lamb
	Pennsylvania's 18th	Mike Doyle
	Rhode Island's 2nd	Jim Langevin
	Texas' 30th	Eddie Bernice Johnson
	Texas' 34th	Filemon Vela
	Vermont's At-Large	Peter Welch
	Wisconsin's 3rd	Ron Kind
REPUBLICANS	Alabama's 5th	Mo Brooks
	Georgia's 10th	Jody Hice
	Illinois 16th	Adam Kinzinger
	Indiana's 9th	Trey Hollingsworth
	Missouri's 4th	Vicky Hartzler
	Missouri's 7th	Billy Long
	New York's 1st	Lee Zeldin
	New York's 23rd	Tom Reed
	New York's 24th	John Katko
	North Carolina's 13th	Ted Budd
	Ohio's 16th	Anthony Gonzalez
	Texas' 1st	Louie Gohmert
	Texas' 8th	Kevin Brady