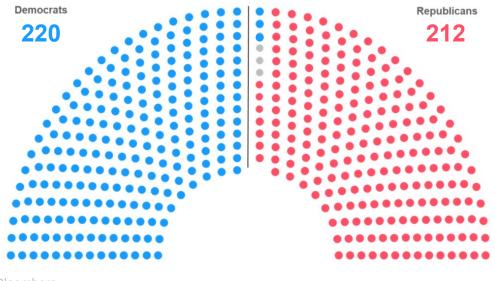
2022 Midterm Elections Pre-Election Program

Holland & Knight

October 12, 2022

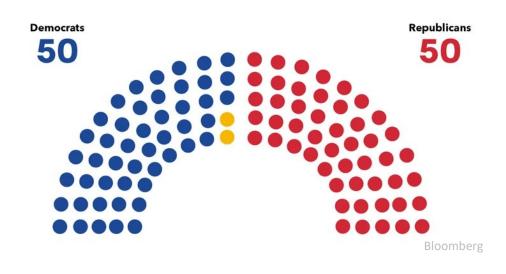
Current House and Senate Composition

U.S. House of Representatives



220 Democrats212 Republicans3 vacancies

U.S. Senate



50 Republicans
50 Democrats
*Democratic Majority with Vice President Harris' tie-breaking vote

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The 118th Congress: Paradigm Shifts

U.S. House of Representatives

- All 435 House seats are up for election. 33 races are considered toss-ups (25 Democrat seats and 8 Republican seats) and 49 Representatives are not seeking re-election.
- Republicans have an 74% chance of taking over the house according to FiveThirtyEight.
- Redistricting has played a significant role in House races, many primaries have pitted members against members, with incumbents being ousted in key seats. At the start of the cycle, Republicans were positioned to gain 3-4 seats in 2022 through redistricting alone.
- New ages, demographics running for office
 - <u>Millennials and Gen Z</u>: From 2018 to 2020, there was a 266% increase in Millennials running for Congress. This is the first election cycle where members of Gen Z (those born after 1996) are eligible to run. Gen Z candidates include: Karoline Leavitt (R-NH) and Maxwell Frost (D-FL). The average age of a member of the House is currently 59 years old.
 - <u>Females</u>: 544 women filed to run for the House of Representatives. Women have won 37% of Democratic House primary races and Republican women have won 20% of their primaries.
 - <u>Veterans</u>: less than 20% of Congress has a military background. According to the House GOP's campaign committee, 251 Republican veterans filed to run for House seats this year.

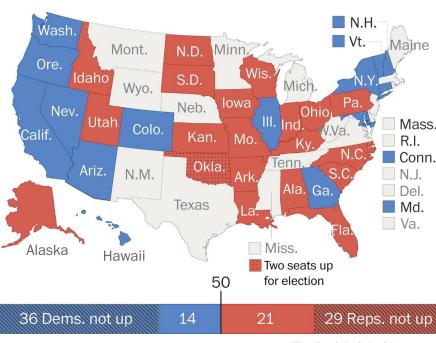
The 118th Congress: Paradigm Shifts (cont.)

2022

U.S. Senate

- ➤ 21 Republicans seats are up in 2022. 16 Republicans are running for re-election, and five seats are open with the retirements of Sens. Burr (NC), Toomey (PA), Portman (OH), Shelby (AL), Blunt (MO), and Inhofe (OK). The open Burr, Shelby, Portman, Blunt, and Inhofe seats are in states won by President Trump. Republicans are defending two Senate seats in states Joe Biden won in 2020 (PA, WI).
- ➤ 14 Democratic seats are up in 2022. Every Democratic incumbent is running for reelection except for Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT). Democrats are not defending any Senate seats in states Donald Trump won.
- Republicans need to net only one seat to take control of the Senate and are targeting two seats that flipped to Democrats narrowly in 2020 special elections in traditionally GOP-leaning states (GA, AZ). The GOP is also targeting Sen. Cortez Masto's seat in Nevada and Sen. Maggie Hassan's seat in New Hampshire.
- ➤ Democrats are not defending any competitive open seats or seats in states Trump won in 2020 and are targeting three GOP seats where the incumbent is retiring (PA, NC, and WI).

2022 Senate Map



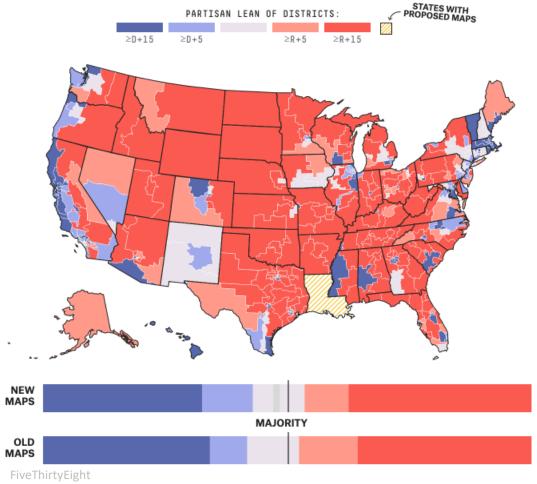
The Cook Political Report

➤ FiveThirtyEight forecasts Senate control as a 70-30, with Democrats *slightly favored*.

2022

Redistricting in the House

The Latest Redistricting Map



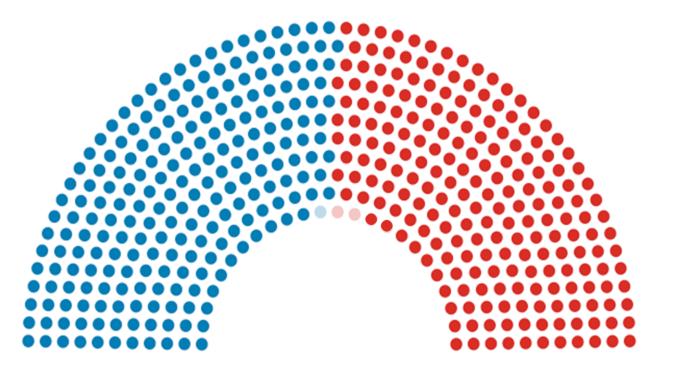
Analysis

- The national congressional map is biased toward the GOP (225 districts that are more Republican leaning vs. 210 districts that are more Democrat leaning). The new map has six fewer highly competitive seats.
- Historically, in midterm elections, the party that holds the White House loses seats held by their party in their respective Houses of Congress. This historical dynamic is more true in the House than the Senate.
- Even if Democrats were to win all the races currently designated as toss-ups, plus hold onto all of the seats they're favored to win, they would still wind up short of the number needed for a majority.

U.S. House of Representatives

218 Seats = Control

- ➤ 218 seats are needed for the majority
- ➤ 25 Democratic seats are rated as "Toss up" vs just 8 Republican seats
- ➤ Republicans must net gain 5 seats for an outright majority
- ➤ GOP could swing handfuls of seats in California, Iowa, Ohio, Maine, Nebraska, Texas, Michigan, and Pennsylvania.



The Current Partisan Breakdown

- 220 Democrats
- 212 Republicans
 - 3 vacancies

House Races to Watch

> Arizona

- AZ -1 Rep. David Schweikert (R) v. Jevin Hodge Lean R
- AZ-2 **Rep. Tom O'Halleran** (D) v. Eli Crane (R) Likely R
- AZ-4 **Rep. Greg Stanton** (D) v. Kelly Cooper (R) Toss Up
- AZ-6 Juan Ciscomani (R) v. Kirsten Engel (D) Lean R

> California

- CA-9 **Rep. Josh Harder** (D) v. Tom Patti (R) Lean D
- CA-13 Adam Gray (D) v. John Duarte (R) Toss Up
- CA-22 Rudy Salas (D) v. **Rep. David Valadao** (R) Toss Up
- CA-26 **Rep. Julia Brownley** (D) v. Matt Jacobs (R) Lean D
- CA-27 Christy Smith (D) v. **Rep. Mike Garcia** (R) Toss Up
- CA-40 Asif Mahmood (D) v. **Rep. Young Kim** (R) Lean R
- CA-41 Will Rollins (D) v. **Rep. Ken Calvert** (R) Lean R
- CA-45 Jay Chen (D) v. **Rep. Michelle Steel** (R) Lean R
- CA-47 **Rep. Katie Porter** (D) v. Scott Baugh (R) Toss Up
- CA-49 **Rep. Mike Levin** (D) v. Brian Maryott (R) Toss Up

> Colorado

- CO-7 Rep. Brittany Pettersen (D) v. Erik Aadland (R) Lean D
- CO-8 **Rep. Yadira Varaveo** (D) **v.** Barbara Kirkmeyer (R) Lean R Holland & Knight

≻Connecticut

- CT-2 Mike France (R) v. **Rep. Joe Courtney** (D) Lean D
- CT-5 George Logan (R) v. **Rep. Jahana Hayes** (D) Toss Up

> Florida

- FL-23 Jared Moskowitz (D) v. Joe Budd (R) Lean D

> Georgia

- GA-2 Rep. Sanford Bishop (D) v. Chris West (R) Lean D

> Illinois

- Il-6 **Rep. Sean Casten** (D) v. Keith Pekau (R) Toss Up
- IL-13 Nikki Budzinski (D) v. Regan Deering (R) Toss Up
- IL-14 Rep. Lauren Underwood (D) v. Scott Gryder (R) Lean D
- IL-17 Eric Sorensen (D) v. Esther Joy King (R) Lean R

≻Indiana

- IN-1 **Rep. Frank Mrvan** (D) v. Jennifer-Ruth Green (R Toss Up

> Iowa

- IA-1 Christina Bohannan (D) v. **Rep. Mariannette Miller-Meek** (R) Lean R
- IA-3 **Rep. Cindy Axne** (D) v. Zach Nunn (R) Lean R

House Races to Watch (Cont.)

2022

>Kansas

- KS-3 Rep. Sharice Davids (D) v. Amanda Adkins (R) Lean R

>Maine

- ME-2 **Rep. Jared Golden (D)** v. Bruce Poliquin (R) Toss Up

≻Michigan

- A MI-3 Hilary Scholten (D) v. John Gibbs (R) Toss Up
- MI-7 **Rep. Elissa Slotkin** (D) v. Tom Barrett (R) Toss Up
- MI-8 **Rep. Dan Kildee** (D) v. Paule Junge (R) Toss Up

> Maryland

- MD-6 Rep. David Trone (D) v. Nail Parrot (R) Lean D

> Minnesota

- MN-2 **Rep. Angie Craig (D)** v. Tyler Kristner (R) Toss Up

> New Hampshire

- NH-1 **Rep. Chris Pappas** (D) v. Karoline Leavitt (R) Lean D
- NH-2 **Rep. Annie Kuster** (D) v. Robert Burns (R) Lean D

> Nevada

- NV-1 **Rep. Dina Titus** (D) v. Mark Robertson (R) Toss Up
- NV-3 **Rep. Susie Lee** (D) v. April Becker (R) Toss Up
- NV-4 **Rep. Steven Horsford** (D) v. Sam Peters (R) Toss Up

> Nebraska

- NE-2 Tony Vargas (D) v. Rep. Don Bacon (F Toss Up

> New Jersey

- NJ-3 Rep. Andy Kim (D) v. Bob Healey (R) Lean D
- NJ-5 **Rep. Josh Gottheimer** (D) v. Frank Pallotta (R) Lean D
- NJ-7 **Rep. Tom Malinowski** (D) v. Thomas Kean Jr. (R) Lean R
- NJ-11 **Rep. Mikie Sherrill** (D) v. Paul DeGroot (R) Lean D

> New Mexico

- NM-2 **Rep. Yvette Herrell** (R) v. Gabriel Vasquez (D) Lean R
- NM-3 Rep. Teresa Fernandez (D) v. Alexis Johnson (R) Lean D

Incumbents in **BOLD**Rankings from RealClearPolitics

> New York

- NY-3 Robert Zimmerman (D) v. George Devolder-Santos (R) Toss Up
- NY-4 Laura Gillen (D) v. Anthony D'Esposito (R) Toss Up
- NY-17 **Rep. Sean Maloney** (D) v. Michael Lawler (R) Toss Up
- NY-18 Pat Ryan (D) v. Colin Schmitt (R) Toss Up
- NY-19 Josh Riley (D) v. Marcus Molinaro (R) Toss Up
- NY-22 Francis Conole (D) v. Brandon Williams (R) Toss Up

>North Carolina

- NC-1 Don Davis (D) v. Sandy Smith (R) Toss Up
- NC-13 Wiley Nickel (D) v. Bo Hines (R) Lean R

≻Ohio

- OH-1 Greg Landsman (D) v. **Rep. Steve Chabot (R)** Lean R
- OH-9 **Rep. Mary Kaptur (D)** v. J.R. Majewski (R) Toss Up
- OH-13 Emilia Sykes (D) v. Madison Gesiotto Gilbert (R) Lean R

≻Oregon

- OR-4 Val Hoyle (D) v. Alek Skarlatos (R) Lean D
- OR-5 Jamie McLeod-Skinner (D) v. Lori Chaves-DeRemer (R) Toss Up

≻Pennsylvania

- PA-1 Ashley Ehasz (D) v. Brian Fitzpatrick (R) Lean R
- PA-7 **Rep. Susan Wild** (D) v. Lisa Scheller (R) Lean R
- PA-8 **Rep. Matt Cartwright** (D) v. Jim Bognet (R) Lean R
- PA-17 Chris Deluzio (D) v. Jeremy Shaffer (R) Toss Up

>Rhode Island

- RI-2 Seth Magaziner (D) v. Allan Fung (R) Lean D

>Texas

- TX-15 Michelle Vallejo (D) v. Monica De La Cruz (R) Lean R
- TX-28 **Rep. Henry Cuellar** (D) v. Cassy Garcia (R) Toss Up
- TX-34 Rep. Mayra Flores (R) v. Dan Sanchez (D) Lean D

≻Virginia

- VA-2 **Rep. Elaine Luria** (D) v. Jen Kiggans (R) Lean R
- VA-7 **Rep. Abigail Spanberger** (D) v. Yesli Vega (R) Toss Up

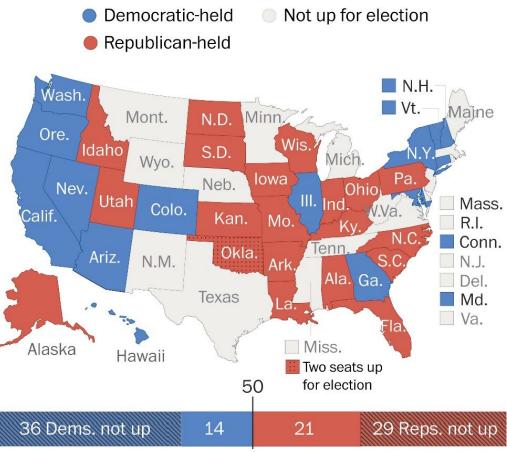
>Washington

- WA-8 **Rep. Kim Schrier** (D) v. Matt Larking (R) Toss Up

>Wisconsin

- WI-3 Brad Pfaff (D) v. Derrick Van Ordern (R) Lean R

U.S. Senate



Any losses or gains in seats may alter the narrow Democratic majority in the Senate.

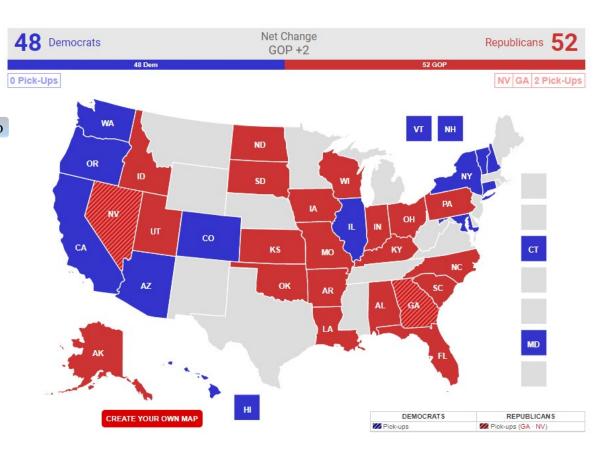
Analysis

- Of the 35 Senate seats up for grabs, 21 are currently held by Republicans. Fourteen are held by Democrats.
- According to FiveThirtyEight, Democrats have a 70% chance of keeping their narrow control of the Senate.
- Democrats have chances to gain a GOP-held seat in North Carolina and Pennsylvania. According to FiveThirtyEight, Republicans have chances to pickup new seats in Georgia and Nevada, where the races are rated as toss-ups.

The Cook Political Report

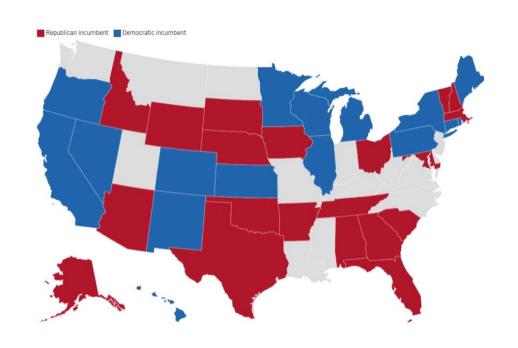
2022

- > Arizona Sen. Mark Kelly (D) v. Blake Masters (R) Lean D
- ➤ Colorado Sen. Michael Bennet (D) v. Joe O'Dea (R) Lean D
- Florida Chief Val Demings (D) vs. **Sen. Marco Rubio (R)** Lean R
- ➤ Georgia **Sen. Raphael Warnock (D)** v. Herschel Walker (R) Toss U_I
- ➤ Nevada **Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto** (D) v. Attorney General Adam Laxalt (R) Toss Up
- ➤ North Carolina –OPEN –Cheri Beasley (D) v. Ted Budd (R) Lean R
- New Hampshire **Sen. Maggie Hassan (D)** v. Don Buldoc (R) Lean D
- ➤ Ohio OPEN Rep. Tim Ryan (D) v. J.D. Vance (R) Lean R
- ➤ Pennsylvania OPEN Lt. Gov. John Fetterman (D) v. Dr. Mehmet Oz (R) Toss Up
- ➤ Washington **Sen. Patty Murray (D)** v. Tiffany Smiley (R) Lean D
- ➤ Wisconsin Mandela Barnes (D) v. **Sen. Ron Johnson (R)** Toss Up



Incumbents in **BOLD**Rankings and graphic from RealClearPolitics

Key Gubernatorial Races Nationwide



> 36 governorships are up for election

Key Races

- o Arizona: Katie Hobbs (D) v. Kari Lake (R) Toss Up
- o Georgia: Stacey Abrams (D) v. **Gov. Brian Kemp** (R) Likely R
- o Kansas: **Gov. Laura Kelly** (D) vs. Derek Schmidt (R) Toss Up
- o Michigan: Gov. Gretchen Whitmer (D) v. Tudor Dixon (R) Likely D
- o Nevada: Gov. Steve Sisolak (D) v. Joe Lombardo (R) Lean D
- o Oregon: Tina Kotek (D) v. Christine Drazan (R) Lean D
- o Pennsylvania: Josh Shapiro (D) v. Doug Mastriano (R) Likely D
- O Wisconsin: Gov. Tony Evers (D) v. Tim Michels (R) Lean D
- o Florida: **Gov. Ron Desantis** (R) v. Charlie Crist (D)

Holland & Knight

118th Congress – Committee Chairmanship

2022

Democrats – Senate Committee Chairs

- Sen. Patty Murray (WA) Appropriations Committee
 - Chairman Patrick Leahy (VT) retiring after the 117th Congress
- Sen. Bernie Sanders (VT) Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee
 - Chairwoman Murray (WA) to vacate the position to chair Appropriations;
- Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (OR) or Sen. Jeff Merkley (MI) **Budget Committee**
 - Chairman Sanders (VT) moves to Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee



Anticipated New Chair in italics

> Democrats Senate Committees

- Thomas Carper (DE) Environment and Public Works Committee
- Sherrod Brown (OH) Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee
- Richard Durbin (IL) **Judiciary Committee**
- Ron Wyden (OR) -- **Finance committee**
- Debbie Stabenow (MI) **Agriculture Committee**
- Joe Manchin (WV) **Energy Committee**
- Jack Reed (RI) **Armed Services**
- Gary Peters (MI) **Homeland Security Committee**
- Amy Klobuchar (MN) Rules Committee, Joint Committee on Library, Joint Committee on Printing
- John Tester (MT) **Veterans Committee**
- Brian Schatz (HI) **Indian Affairs Committee**
- Chris Coons (DE) Ethics Committee
- Robert Casey (PA) **Aging Committee**
- Benjamin Cardin (MD) **Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee**
- Mark Warner (VA) **Intelligence Committee**
- Martin Heinrich (NM) **Joint Economic Committee**
- Ron Wyden (OR) Joint Committee on Taxation
- Robert Menendez (NJ) Foreign Relations Committee
- Maria Cantwell (WA) Commerce, Science, and Transportation

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118th Congress – Senate Committee Leadership

2022

> Republican – Senate Committees:

- Patrick Toomey (PA) **Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee**
 - *Sen. Toomey retires at the end of the 117th Congress. Sen. Tim Scott (SC) is expected to become top Republican member unless Sen. Mike Crapo (ID) leaves Finance.
- Roger Wicker (MS) **Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee**
 - *Sen. Ted Cruz (TX) slated to become top Republican member if Sen. Wicker leads Armed Services Committee
- Rob Portman (OH) Homeland Security Committee
 - *Sen. Portman retires at the end of the 117th Congress. Sen. Ron Johnson (WI) is expected to become top Republican member.
- Shelley Moore Capito (WV) Environment and Public Works (EPW) Committee
- Richard Shelby (AL) **Appropriations Committee**
 - *Sen. Shelby retires at the end of 2022. Sen. Collins (ME) is expected to become leading Republican on the committee.
- John Boozman (AR) **Agriculture Committee**
- Mike Crapo (ID) **Finance Committee**
- Jim Inhofe (OK) **Armed Services Committee**
- *Sen. Inhofe retires at the end of 2022, Sen. Roger Wicker Holland & Knight

(MS) is expected to become top Republican on committee.

- Lindsey Graham (SC) **Budget Committee**
- John Barrasso (WY) **Energy and Natural Resources Committee**
- James Risch (ID) **Foreign Relations Committee**
- Jerry Moran (KS) **Veterans Affairs Committee**
- Roy Blunt (MO) **Rules Committee** Sen. Blunt is retiring.
- Richard Burr (NC) **Health, Education, Labor and**

Pensions Committee

- *Sen. Burr retires at the end of the 117th Congress. Sen. Rand Paul (KY) is expected to become leading Republican on committee.
- Chuck Grassley (IA) **Judiciary Committee**
- Lisa Murkowski (AK) **Indian Affairs Committee**
- Rand Paul (KY) **Small Business Committee**
- James Lankford (OK) Ethics Committee
- Marco Rubio (FL) **Intelligence Committee**
- Tim Scott (SC) **Aging Committee**

118th Congress – House Committee Leadership

2022

> Republican – House Committees

- Rodney Davis (IL-13) Administration
 - *Rep. Davis lost in his primary. Reps. Barry Loudermilk and Bryan Steil are both running to be the lead Republican on the committee.
- Glenn Thompson (PA-15) **Agriculture**
- Kay Granger (TX-12) **Appropriations**
- Mike Roger (AL-3) **Armed Services**
- Jason Smith (MO-8) **Budget**
 - *Rep. Smith is running to be the leading Republican on Ways and Means. Reps. Buddy Carter (GA-1), Jody Arrington (TX-19), and Lloyd Smucker (PA-11) are running to be lead Republican position on Budget.
- Virginia Foxx (NC-5) Education and Labor
- Cathy McMorris Rodgers (WA-5) **Energy and Commerce**
- Michael Guest (MS-3) **Ethics**
- Patrick McHenry (NC-10) Financial Services
- Mike McCaul (TX-10) Foreign Affairs

- John Katko (NY-24) **Homeland Security**
 - *Rep. Katko retires at the end of 2022. Reps. Scott Perry (PA-10), and Clay Higgins (LA-3) are running to be lead Republican on the committee.
- Jim Jordan (OH-4) **Judiciary**
- Bruce Westerman (AR-4) **Natural Resources**
- Jim Comer (KY-1) **Oversight And Reform**
- Tom Cole (OK-4) **Rules**
- Frank Lucas (OK-3) **Science, Space, and Technology**
- Blaine Leutkemeyer (MO-3) Small Business
- Sam Graves (MO-6) **Transportation and Infrastructure**
- Mike Bost (IL-12) **Veterans' Affairs**
- Kevin Brady (TX-8) **Ways and Means**
 - *Rep. Brady retires at the end of the 117th Congress. Reps. Vern Buchanan (FL-16), Jason Smith (MO-8), and Adrian Smith (NE-3) are running to be the lead Republican on the committee.

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118th Congress – House Committee Leadership

2022

> Democrat – House Committees

- David Scott (GA-13) Agriculture
- Rose DeLauro (CT-3) **Appropriations**
- Adam Smith (WA-9) **Armed Services**
- John Yarmuth (KY-3) **Budget**
 - *Rep. Yarmuth retires at the end of the 117th Congress. Rep. Hakeem Jeffries (NY-8) is expected to become leading Democratic member on the committee.
- Bobby Scott (VA-3) **Education and Labor**
- Frank Pallone (NJ-6) **Energy and Commerce**
- Susan Wild (PA-7) **Ethics**
- Maxine Waters (CA-43) **Financial Services**
- Gregory Meeks (NY-5) **Foreign Affairs**
- Bennie Thompson (MS-2) **Homeland Security**
- Zoe Lofgren (CA-13) **House Administration**
- Jerry Nadler (NY-10) **Judiciary**
- Raúl Grijalva (AZ—3) **Natural Resources**

- Carolyn B. Maloney (NY-12) **Oversight And Reform**
 - *Rep. Maloney lost in her primary. Reps. Jamie Raskin (MD-8), Gerry Connolly (VA-11), and Stephen Lynch (MA-8) are running to be lead Democratic on the committee.
- Jim McGovern (MA-2) **Rules**
- Eddie Bernice Johnson (TX-30) **Science, Space, and Technology**
 - *Rep. Johnson retires at the end of the 117th Congress. Rep. Suzanne Bonamici (OR-1) is slated to become top Democratic member on the committee, unless Rep. Zoe Lofgren (CA-19) leaves House Administration.
- Nydia Velázquez (NY-7) **Small Business**
- Peter DeFazio (OR-4) **Transportation and Infrastructure**
 - *Rep. DeFazio retires at the end of the 117th Congress. Reps. Eleanor Holmes Norton (DC), and Rick Larson (WA-2) are running to be leading Democratic member of the committee.
- Mark Takano (CA-41) **Veterans' Affairs**
- Richard Neal (MA-1) **Ways and Means**

Legislative Priorities

Lame Duck Legislative Session

- Appropriations
 - Congress must pass spending package by December 16 deadline; a continuing resolution (CR) passed in September to fund the federal government until then. Potential measures that will be included in the final spending bill:
 - Hurricane Aid FEMA's disaster relief fund meets immediate needs, but won't last forever
 - Targeted military aid for Ukraine \$12 billion has been spent on aid so far, with the White House announcing further spending in September
- National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA)
 - House passed version by 329-101 vote in July (H.R. 7900)
 - Topline funding \$839.3 billion; includes 4.6% pay raise for troops; requires tougher gender-neutral fitness standards; increases funding for cybersecurity and AI development
 - Senate has yet to announce a date for a floor vote but aims to enact final bill by December 31. (S. 4543)
- Respect for Marriage Act (H.R. 8404)
 - Senate pushed a vote on a same-sex marriage bill to codify the right into federal law until after the midterm elections.
 - Passed the House in July with nearly 50 Republicans joining Democrats by a margin of 267-157.
- Electoral Count Reform and Presidential Transition Improvement Act (S.4573)
 - Introduced on July 20; the bill revises aspects of the electoral vote counting process among other things
 - Senate Committee on Rules and Administration voted 14-1 in favor of the bill with bipartisan support
 - Senate has yet to announce future actions on the bill, but aims to proceed following the midterm recess

Important Dates

Date	Event
October 21	Senate in recess until after midterm elections
November 8	Midterm congressional elections
December 16	Last day of CR funding; congressional appropriations committees must negotiate and write an omnibus spending package before end of calendar year
December 16	House in recess until new year
December 21	Senate in recess until new year

Holland & Knight