

**The Impact of New Jersey's County Line Primary Ballots
on Election Outcomes, Politics, and Policy**

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This article examines New Jersey's unique county line primary ballots; specifically, how the county line ballots affect primary election outcomes, and how that, in turn, impacts the state's political system. Primary elections are particularly important in New Jersey because the majority of the state's counties and legislative districts are dominated by one of the two major parties.¹ With general election outcomes largely a foregone conclusion in much of the state, the real contests happen in the primaries.

The article proceeds as follows: The first section describes the county line ballot and the mechanisms through which it may affect voting behavior. The second section examines the impact of the county line ballot on primary election outcomes. The third section describes how parties award the county line and the resulting candidate choices available to voters. The article concludes with a discussion of how the county line primary ballot affects New Jersey politics and policy.

I. New Jersey's Unique Primary Ballot

New Jersey's county line primary ballots are very different from primary ballots in other states.² A review of primary ballots in the largest counties in all fifty states and the District of Columbia found that, outside of New Jersey, primary ballots are organized by the electoral position being sought, such as Senator or Governor. Most states list candidates beneath the position they are seeking (see Figure 1, Elko County, Nevada ballot). In a few states, candidates appear to the right of the position they are seeking

¹ See Matt Friedman. *N.J. advocates push commission to draw more competitive legislative districts*, NJ.Com, February 18, 2011. https://www.nj.com/news/2011/02/commission_based_on_nj_politic.html

² See Julia Sass Rubin. *Toeing the Line: New Jersey Primary Ballots Enable Party Insiders to Pick Winners*. NJ Policy Perspective, June 29, 2020. <https://njppprevious.wpengine.com/reports/toeing-the-line-new-jersey-primary-ballots-enable-party-insiders-to-pick-winners>

(see Figure 1, Sussex County, Delaware ballot). These ballot designs make it relatively easy for voters to identify which candidates are running for each electoral position.

Insert Figure 1 here

By contrast, county line primary ballots, which are used by both the Democratic and Republican parties in nineteen of New Jersey's twenty-one counties, are organized around a group of candidates endorsed by the county parties. These groups of party-endorsed candidates are referred to as the "county line," "party line," or organization line" because they are presented on the ballot as a vertical or horizontal line of names, usually with a candidate included for every position on the ballot in that election cycle.

Figure 2 shows a 2020 New Jersey Democratic primary ballot from Monmouth County. The seven county line candidates are in column one. The remaining six candidates are scattered across the other four, mostly empty, columns. There is no obvious logic as to why each of the non-endorsed candidates is in a particular column. Column two includes a candidate for the U.S. Senate and two candidates for County Commissioner (previously called Freeholder). Column three includes a candidate for President and his delegates. Columns four and five each include a single candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives.

Insert Figure 2 here

This ballot design provides multiple advantages for candidates who appear on the county line. First, the county line is easy for voters to find on the ballot. The inclusion of

candidates for every position makes it visually distinct. It also usually has prime ballot position, in the first or second column or row.

Candidates on the county line are further advantaged by the placement of candidates for the highest position on the ballot that cycle at the head of the line -- such as Joseph Biden in the Monmouth example. While voters may not know the names of candidates running for county commissioner or county clerk, they generally know who is running for president, governor, or US senator. These better-known candidates lend familiarity and legitimacy to the other county line candidates.

Candidates not on the county line appear in different columns or rows and are often separated from the county line by additional blank columns or rows, such as the two columns between Stephanie Schmid, the county line candidates for US House of Representatives on the Monmouth ballot, and her two challengers Christine Conforti and David Applefield. In extreme examples, candidates on the county line are separated from their challengers by multiple columns or rows. For example, on the 2018 Camden County Democratic primary ballot shown in Figure 3, Donald Norcross, the county line candidate for US House of Representatives, is separated from his challengers by six blank columns. This can make the non-county line candidates more difficult for voters to find on the ballot, a placement that has colloquially come to be known as “ballot Siberia.”

Insert Figure 3 here

Candidates not on the county line also may be placed in the same column or row as their opponents. For example, on the 2018 Camden County Democratic primary ballot, two candidates running against each other for the US House of Representative both appear in column 9.

Designing primary ballots in this way creates murky contest boundaries that make it difficult for voters to determine which candidates are running for each office.³ This results in voters not realizing that some positions are contested, benefiting the candidates on the county line, who are easier to locate on the ballot. By confusing voters, the county line ballots also encourage overvotes and undervotes.

The 2020 primary election provided examples of both outcomes. The Mercer County Democratic primary ballot shown in figure 4, listed two of the three candidates for the US House of Representatives 4th Congressional District in column A, which is the county line, one below the other. The third candidate appeared in column B.⁴

Insert Figure 4 here

New Jersey primary voters are encouraged by the county parties, and conditioned by years of practice, to vote for all the candidates on a county line regardless of the ballot instructions. In this case, placing both Christine Conforti and Stephanie Schmid on the same column encouraged voters to vote for both even though the ballot instructed them

³ See Andrea Cordova McCadney, Lawrence Norden and Whitney Quesenbery, Common Ballot Design Flaws and How to Fix Them, The Brennan Center. February 3, 2020. <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/common-ballot-design-flaws-and-how-fix-them>.

⁴ Article VII of Mercer County Democratic Committee Constitution and Bylaws states that “Any candidate failing to be endorsed shall have the option of choosing to run in the same column as the endorsed candidate(s) but without the party slogan only if the unendorsed candidate received at least forty percent (40%) of the vote of the registered delegates in any ballot in which a candidate received the endorsement of the Convention.” See https://www.mercerdemocrats.com/files/ugd/f6fae7_3f3c588f8c354170aca934a23017a381.pdf page 6.

to vote for only one candidate. This ballot design resulted in a 32.4% overvote in this Congressional contest, leading to all the overvotes being discarded.

In contrast, the Atlantic County Democratic primary ballot shown in Figure 5 resulted in substantial undervotes, with the number of Democratic votes cast for the U.S. Senate totaling only 81% of the votes cast for President and only 82% of the votes cast for U.S. House of Representatives. In every other county, the total votes for U.S. Senate exceeded the number cast for the U.S. House of Representatives and equaled at least 97% of the total votes cast for President.

Insert Figure 5 here

The undervotes in the Atlantic County example likely reflect the lack of a Senate candidate on the county line in column A. Cory Booker, the incumbent senator running for reelection, was endorsed by all the county parties but chose not to run on the line in Atlantic County. Instead, Senator Booker appeared on the primary ballot in column J, above his friend Brigid Callahan Harrison, who was running for the US House of Representatives and did not receive the Atlantic County party's endorsement. Nearly twenty percent of the Democratic voters in this primary left the US Senate position on their ballots blank. Conditioned to vote for everyone on the line, they may have been reluctant to vote for candidates not on the county line or may not even have realized that they could do so.

II. Impact of the County Line on New Jersey Primary Election Outcomes

To evaluate the impact of the county line primary ballot on election outcomes, Diez examined New Jersey legislative election outcomes for incumbents from 2003 to 2019.⁵ I updated his data to include the 2021 and 2023 legislative primary elections.

Between 2003 and 2023, 1033 incumbent NJ state legislators ran for reelection; 227 of them had a challenger.⁶ In 208 of those 227 contested primaries, incumbents were awarded the county line in all the counties in their district that used a county line ballot. In 19 of the 227 contested primaries, incumbents were denied the county line in at least one of the counties in their district.

Of the 208 incumbents who ran on the county line in all the counties in their district, 205 won renomination and three were defeated.

Insert Figure 6 here

Of the 19 incumbents denied the county line in at least one county in their legislative district, nine won their primaries and ten were defeated. Only two of those nine won while running off the county line in every county in their district – Nia Gill in 2003 and Ronald Rice in 2007. The other seven had the county line in at least one of the counties in their district. For example, Robert Auth and Deanne DeFuccio lost the county line in Passaic in their 2021 reelection bid for the Republican nomination for the 39th NJ Assembly District. However, they kept the county line in Bergen, which was the larger

⁵ Francisco Diez, The Likely Advantages of the Line, Communication Workers of America analysis, July 29, 2019. This analysis was not published but was shared with the author.

⁶ Incumbent is defined as having served in the prior term in the same capacity in at least some of the same counties. This includes incumbents whose district number changed post redistricting and those who ran against other incumbents post redistricting.

portion of their district. They lost their races in Passaic but still won the primary because they won in Bergen.

Insert Figure 7 here

Two of the ten incumbents who lost after losing the county line in at least one county in their district had the county line in other counties in their district. Both won the counties where they were on the county line.

Insert Figure 8 here

No incumbent on the county line in all the counties in their district has lost a primary election since 2009. This fourteen-year period encompasses seven legislative election cycles. In contrast, in the other 49 states, 1,145 state legislative incumbents lost primary elections over that time period.⁷

To quantify the impact of the county line on primary election outcomes, I analyzed the results of congressional and senatorial primary election contests held between 2002 and 2022 in which political parties in different counties endorsed different primary candidates.⁸ For example, in the 2020 primary, two candidates split the Republican party endorsements in the two counties that made up the 3rd Congressional District. Kate Gibbs was endorsed and given the line by the Burlington County Republican party and David Richter was endorsed and given the line by the Ocean County Republican

⁷ In the 48 states that hold their state legislative elections in even-numbered years, 1,121 state legislators lost primary elections between 2010 and 2022. Source: <https://news.ballotpedia.org/2022/10/21/a-closer-look-at-the-229-incumbents-who-lost-state-legislative-primaries/>. In Virginia, the only other state besides New Jersey to hold its state legislative elections in odd-numbered years, 24 state legislative incumbents lost their primary elections between 2011 and 2023. Source: https://ballotpedia.org/Incumbents_defeated_in_state_legislative_elections,_2023#Virginia

⁸ The historical election results are from the New Jersey Voter Information Portal, Department of State, Division of Elections <https://www.state.nj.us/state/elections/election-information-results.shtml>.

party. Gibbs received 57% of the vote when she was on the county line in Burlington and 22% when she was not on the county line in Ocean. Richter received 78% of the vote when he was on the county line in Ocean and 43% when he was not on the county line in Burlington. The difference in how Gibbs and Richter performed when they were on the county line versus when their opponent was on the county line was 35 percentage points.

Insert Figure 9 here

Between 2002 and 2022, 45 congressional and senatorial candidates appeared on the county line in at least one county and had at least one opponent on the county line in a different county.⁹ Every one of those 45 candidates performed substantially better when they were on the county line than when their opponent was on the county line. The average margin in performance for those 45 candidates between being on the county line and having their opponent on the county line was 38 percentage points.

Insert Figure 10 here

Only three of those 45 candidates were incumbents – Senator Frank Lautenberg, who split county endorsements with Congressman Rob Andrews in the 2008 Democratic senatorial primary, and Congressmen Bill Pascrell and Steven Rothman, who split endorsements with each other in the 2012 Democratic primary for the 9th congressional

⁹ For contests with more than two counties, a candidate's percentage of the total vote was averaged for all the counties in which that candidate was on the county line versus their percentage of the total vote for all the counties in which one of their opponents was on the county line. Counties that did not use a county line ballot in that election contest were excluded from the averages.

district.¹⁰ The small number of incumbents is not surprising as incumbents, particularly those at the federal level, generally maintain county party support for their reelections.

Although incumbency did not protect state legislators who lost the county line, we might expect congressional incumbents to have greater name recognition with primary voters, which could help counter the impact of the county line. In each of the three federal primaries that included incumbents, however, being on the county line provided a greater advantage than incumbency. Lautenberg, Pascrell, and Rothman lost every county in which their opponent was on the county line and won every county in which they were on the county line.

Insert Figure 11 here

III. Awarding the County Line and New Jersey Politics

The county line is awarded to candidates endorsed by the county Democratic and Republican parties. In theory, the endorsement decisions are made by county committee members, two Democrats and two Republicans elected in each precinct by primary voters who belong to those parties.¹¹ The county committee members are meant to represent the voters of their political party who live in their home precincts in determining which candidates to endorse for local, county, and state-level positions.

¹⁰ Pascrell and Rothman competed against each other after New Jersey lost a Congressional District following the 2010 census. Prior to redistricting, Rothman had represented the 9th Congressional District consisting of Bergen, Hudson, and a small part of Passaic County, while Pascrell had represented the 8th, consisting of Passaic and Essex counties. Post redistricting, parts of both of their former districts ended up in the new 9th Congressional District, which consisted of Bergen, Hudson, and Passaic counties. Rothman and Pascrell split county endorsements, with Rothman receiving the county line in Bergen and Hudson counties and Pascrell, who had represented a much larger portion of Passaic than Rothman, receiving the county line in Passaic.

¹¹ County committee members are elected during primaries and serve for two-, three- or four-year terms, depending on the bylaws of their county party.

In practice, the endorsement process varies substantially by county and between election cycles. A few county party bylaws mention a specific endorsement process. Most county party bylaws, however, are silent on this issue.

In some counties, the party endorsement process includes a vote by county committee members.¹² Municipal party committees, made up of the county committee members in each municipality, decide on endorsements for mayor and city council. The entire county committee meets at county nominating conventions to determine county-wide endorsements (e.g., county elected positions, state legislature, congress, governor, and president). In other counties, the endorsement decisions are made solely by the county party chair, sometimes after consultation with the chairs of the municipal party committees in that county.^{13,14}

Even in counties that hold county nominating conventions at which all county committee members vote, the endorsement process is vulnerable to influence by the county party chairs. In some counties, convention votes cast by individual committee members are not secret, which can create pressure to vote in ways that align with the wishes of the county party chair.¹⁵

Pleasing the county party chair is important because the chair determines which county committee members may run for election on the county line, along with the other

¹² The number of county committees that allow a vote varies by year, based on the preferences of the county party chairs.

¹³ See Colleen O'Dea, *Some NJ Congressional Primary Candidates Argue Party-Line Politics Are Unfair*. NJ Spotlight, May 14, 2018. <https://www.njspotlightnews.org/2018/05/18-05-13-some-nj-congressional-primary-candidates-argue-party-line-politics-are-unfair/>

¹⁴ County party chairs are elected by members of the county committee. They must reside in the county but do not have to be county committee members themselves. See Brett M. Pugach, *The County Line: The law and politics of ballot positioning in New Jersey*. Rutgers University Law Review, Volume 72, Issue 3, Spring.

¹⁵ See O'Dea. Also see Max Pizarro, *LIVE BLOG: Union County Democratic Committee Special Convention*, February 21, 2018. <https://www.insidernj.com/live-blog-union-county-democratic-committee-special-convention/>

endorsed candidates. If the chair removes a committee member from the county line, it can be much more difficult for that committee member to be reelected. This happens regularly. In Union County, for example, the Democratic County party chair Nicholas Scutari removed a large number of county committee members from the county line in 2019 after they supported his opponent in the 2018 chair election.¹⁶ Scutari knew which committee members voted for him versus his opponent because they had to sign their names to their ballots.¹⁷

Another reason that county committee members may act in accordance with the wishes of the county party chair is that they or their family members may be municipal or county employees and fear losing those jobs as retribution from the county party chairs.¹⁸

Retribution is a particular concern when the party chair also holds other positions of power. Scutari, for example, is Union County Democratic Party Chair; represents part of Union County in the New Jersey State Senate; has served as Senate President since 2021; and is the prosecutor for the Union County City of Linden. Similarly, Shaun Golden, the Republican party chair of Monmouth County, serves as the elected county sheriff.

In addition to their ability to influence the votes of county committee members, county party chairs can also influence endorsement decisions by withholding information regarding the endorsement process from candidates they do not support or by

¹⁶ See Maryanne Disporto, Charlie Sweeney, Paul Bentsen, Joanne Wroblewski, Patricia Brandt, Nancy Yewaisis, Joseph Wroblewski, Phil Laskowski, Harry Brandt, Maria Santiago, Patrick Murphy, Judith Gottlieb, Robin Dexter-Meyer, Robert Ellenport, Michael Altmann, Leslie Romano, Denise Hessler, Dario Valdivia, Paul Bentsen, Joanne Wroblewski, Mark Boulanger, Gail Sweeney, Jerry Fogle, and Nancy Sheridan. *Union County Dem Chair Wages War on Opponents in Local Towns*. Tap Into Clark. May 28, 2019. <https://www.tapinto.net/towns/clark/articles/union-county-dem-chair-wages-war-on-opponents-in-local-townset> all

¹⁷ See Pizarro, 2018.

¹⁸ See Disporto et al, 2019.

implementing county convention rules that are challenging for those candidates to navigate. In Somerset County, for example, some of the 2021 Democratic candidates for state assembly were excluded from consideration because of a requirement that they be nominated from the convention floor. Chris Fistonich, one of those candidates, described his experience:

The Somerset County Democratic Committee (SCDC) has a screening process to vet candidates... They held their nominating convention on March 4th, 2021. With no public notice in any newspaper or any public facing publication...As a candidate for the 16th Assembly District, I reached out to Somerset County party leadership in February, formally announcing my intention to seek the endorsement of the SCDC. I was told that I had “missed screening.” Later that week I finally learned when the convention would be and was instructed that I would require a member of the SCDC to nominate me, and another member to second the nomination in order to speak and to be eligible to earn votes at the convention. Delegates were forbidden from nominating or seconding multiple candidates, already reducing the pool of delegates who might consider nominating the myriad candidates running for the Assembly seat. Contact information was provided for the voting delegates that I might seek their support. A dozen of the email addresses bounced back from being either out of date or erroneously written out. More than half a dozen delegates were excited about my candidacy: a bold, progressive vision backed by technical expertise. Many agreed that more scientists are needed in our state government. Several indicated they would be happy to vote for me. Zero delegates, however, would nominate me or second my nomination. One cited a “conflict of interest.” Another cited “fear of blowback from party leadership, especially Peg [Schaffer].” Yet another mentioned in no uncertain terms that they were “discouraged from nominating a non-Somerset resident.” I would not get to speak at the convention due to these insurmountable restrictions and roadblocks.”¹⁹

Even in counties that allow county committee members to participate in the candidate endorsement process and to vote a secret ballot, county committee decisions can be overruled by the county party chair, who has the power under New Jersey law to

¹⁹ Chris Fistonich, personal communication with author, March 6, 2021.

determine who will be on the county line.²⁰ In 2021, for example, the Middlesex County Democratic party chair Kevin McCabe overruled the Edison municipal committee endorsements for mayor and city council and awarded the county line to other candidates.²¹

Candidates are aware of the power of the county line to determine primary election outcomes. Many drop out of the primary if they do not receive the party's endorsements. This is particularly the case for county-level and state legislative positions, candidates for which tend to be less well known to the voters. This includes incumbents. In 2021, for example, Assembly Majority Whip Nickolas Chiaravalloti did not seek reelection to a fourth term in the state Assembly after losing the county line.²² Chiaravalloti said that he decided to retire because "the prospect of winning a Democratic primary off an organization line was too daunting."²³

The difficulty of winning when not on the county line may explain New Jersey's low percentage of contested primary elections, particularly for the state legislature and county positions. In 2021, for example, only 10 percent of the state legislative positions

²⁰ See Brett M. Pugach, *The County Line: The law and politics of ballot positioning in New Jersey*. Rutgers University Law Review, Volume 72, Issue 3, Spring. "The practical effect of receiving the endorsement of the county committee is that it leads to the endorsed candidates having their names listed on the same column or row of the ballot, with the same ballot slogan under each of their names...The slogan used by county committee-endorsed candidates is often owned by a corporation, which grants permission for the slogan's use to the slate of candidates endorsed by the county committee. This is because New Jersey law requires that those who wish to use a ballot slogan containing the name of another person or an incorporated association must receive the written consent of such person or entity. For all practical purposes, the county chair and the county's political machine, or those under their close direction, will control the corporation that owns the slogan. Furthermore, all endorsed candidates will be featured on the same line of the ballot with that same slogan. Technically, the county line itself is controlled by the campaign manager of the candidates (usually two or more [county commissioner] candidates) who file a joint petition with the county clerk, and not by the county chair; however, in practice, the county chair will control who that campaign manager is" (p. 654).

²¹ Insider NJ, *Bhagia Hits Back After McCabe Awards Edison Line to Joshi*. April 7, 2021.

<https://www.insidernj.com/bhagia-hits-back-after-mccabe-awards-edison-line-to-joshi/>

²² By long-standing tradition, the county line for the two state assembly positions in Chiaravalloti's district is allocated by the mayors of Bayonne and Jersey City. See Peter D'Auria, Chiaravalloti will seek re-election without the county line, Mar. 30, 2021, <https://www.nj.com/hudson/2021/03/chiaravalloti-will-seek-re-election-without-the-county-line.html>.

²³ See David Wildstein (2021, April 19). Chiaravalloti drops bid for re-election after losing party support. New Jersey Globe. <https://newjerseyglobe.com/legislature/chiaravalloti-drops-bid-for-re-election-after-losing-party-support/s>

were contested in the primary. Two years later, following redistricting that saw the retirement of a historically large number of incumbents, the percentage of contested primaries increased only minutely to 11.3%.²⁴ This is one of the lowest percentages nationally.²⁵

Insert Figure 12 here

The power of the county party chairs to determine who receives the county line also contributes to the state's relatively low percentages of women in elected office. Unlike 33 other states, New Jersey has never had a female US Senator. Only one woman has served as governor and only seven women have served in Congress (with two of those seven elected in the last eight years). New Jersey ranks 27th nationally for the percentage of women in municipal office and 21st nationally for the percentage of women in the state legislature.²⁶

As Jean Sinzdak, Associate Director of the Rutgers Center for American Women and Politics, observed "Valuable [county] line slots are frequently taken by people who emerge from the networks of the party chairs, limiting the ability of outsiders to break

²⁴ In 2023, 28 out of 240 state legislative positions did not have an incumbent running in the primary. Seven incumbents retired from the New Jersey State Senate before the primary and two others were redistricted into the same district. Twenty incumbents retired from the New Jersey Assembly before the primary. In comparison, there were only fifteen seats without an incumbent running in 2011, the first year after the 2010 redistricting, and an average of 8.4 open seats for the five election cycles in between 2011 and 2023. See Ballotpedia https://ballotpedia.org/New_Jersey_State_Senate_elections,_2023

²⁵ In 2021, 24 out of 240 state legislative seats (120 Republican and 120 Democratic) were contested in the primary. In 2023, 27 out of 240 state legislative seats were contested in the primary. According to Ballotpedia, twenty percent of the legislative primaries held in 2022 were contested, ranging from 1.7% in Alaska to 60% in California. The national percentage of contested even-year state legislative primaries held during the prior decade ranged from 16 to 19%. See Ballotpedia https://ballotpedia.org/Contested_state_legislative_primaries,_2022 Direct comparisons across states are challenging because Ballotpedia calculates the number of contested primaries using the number of primaries rather than the number of contested seats. Because New Jersey ballots ask voters to select up to two candidates for the state Assembly, Ballotpedia treats both candidates as one primary. As a result, Ballotpedia does not differentiate whether one or both seats are contested.

²⁶ See Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP). 2023. "New Jersey." New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University-New Brunswick. <https://cawp.rutgers.edu/facts/state-state-information/new-jersey> (Accessed August 15, 2023)

through...And as the network of insiders in the state's political system is already overwhelmingly male, New Jersey remains trapped in a negative feedback loop that privileges the emergence of male candidates and disadvantages women."²⁷

IV. Impact of the county line on New Jersey Politics and Policy

The impact of the county line on New Jersey politics and policy extends well beyond the candidate choices available to voters. Elected officials are aware of the importance of the line for their reelection and the power of county party chairs to award the line. If an elected official does not do as the county chair wants, they can lose the line and almost surely lose the primary, ending or severely curtailing their political careers. In such an environment, it is the county party chairs rather than the voters that elected officials must please to be elected and to stay in office. This gives the county party chairs substantial power to shape the state's politics and public policy.

The chairs determine not only who is elected to the state legislature but, through their ongoing influence over those state legislators, they also shape whom the legislators elect Senate President and Assembly Speaker. These are very powerful positions that decide which legislators serve as committee chairs and vice-chairs and which bills are posted for consideration. The Senate President and Assembly Speaker also control

²⁷ See Jean Sinzdak, *In national politics, women are rising. In New Jersey, they're treading water*. NJ.Com, December 8, 2020. <https://www.nj.com/opinion/2020/12/in-national-politics-women-are-rising-in-new-jersey-theyre-treading-water-opinion.html>. As of August 2023, only 10 of New Jersey's 42 county party chairs are women, representing 28.4% of all chair positions (see Women in New Jersey Government 2023, Center for American Women and Politics <https://cawp.rutgers.edu/women-new-jersey-government>).

well-funded political action committees they can use to support their own reelection as well as that of other political candidates.²⁸

Governors, US Senators, and Congresspeople must also court the county party chairs to receive the county line and win their respective primaries. For example former Governor John Corzine and Governor Phil Murphy, both wealthy investment bankers, made substantial donations to county party organizations to win the chairs' endorsements.²⁹ By early October 2016, months before any formal county party endorsement processes took place and more than seven months before the primary election, Murphy had secured the support of many North Jersey Democratic county party chairs and Jersey City Mayor Steve Fulop and Senate President Steve Sweeney, Murphy's main primary opponents, had both dropped out of the race.³⁰ Matthew Hale, a political science professor at Seton Hall University, observed that this showed "how important county chairs are, and how important backroom politics in New Jersey is."³¹

²⁸ See Julia Sass Rubin, Can Progressives Change New Jersey? The American Prospect, June 26, 2020 <https://prospect.org/politics/can-progressives-change-new-jersey/> "The leadership of the state Senate and General Assembly is critical in New Jersey. No legislation can advance without the blessing of the Senate president and Assembly Speaker. They decide committee assignments, determine committee leadership, and have final say as to which committee a bill is referred, which bills are heard and voted on in committee, and which bills are voted on by the full Senate and Assembly after clearing committee. They also control legislative leadership PACs that raise their own contributions and help fund the election and re-election of their allies. Legislators who are in their good graces receive committee chairmanships that provide them with additional resources to hire staff and enable them to generate contributions from the groups that hope to move legislation through their committees. In contrast, legislators who upset the leadership risk losing committee positions and the ability to advance legislation" (p.7).

²⁹ See David Kocieniewski, G.O.P. Says Corzine's Cash Makes Him the New Boss, The New York Times, Feb. 18, 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/18/nyregion/gop-says-corzines-cash-makes-him-the-new-boss.html> and Brent Johnson, Phil Murphy nabs another county endorsement in 2017 governor's race, NJ.Com, Oct. 18, 2016, https://www.nj.com/politics/2016/10/phil_murphy_nabs_another_county_endorsement_in_201.html

³⁰ See Herb Jackson and Charles Stile, Fulop won't run for governor, endorses Murphy, Asbury Park Pres, September 28, 2016 <https://www.app.com/story/news/politics/new-jersey/2016/09/28/fulop-murphy-nj-governor/91219024/> and Matt Friedman, Sweeney out of NJ governor's race, setting up Murphy as 2017 front-runner, Politico, October 6, 2016, <https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2016/10/sweeney-will-not-run-for-governor-in-2017-106135>.

³¹ See Brent Johnson, Phil Murphy nabs another county endorsement in 2017 governor's race, NJ.Com, Oct. 18, 2016, https://www.nj.com/politics/2016/10/phil_murphy_nabs_another_county_endorsement_in_201.html

This system of backroom politics is part of a transactional political culture that hinders transparency and accountability and feeds what former state senator William Schluter termed soft corruption, “when people who hold public office figure out how to game the system in ways that enrich them and their cronies without breaking any laws”³² It also has enabled political machines to maintain power in the state even as they have been weakened in much of the rest of the country.³³

Eliminating the county line primary ballots would not resolve every problem with New Jersey’s political system. However, it would dramatically rebalance the power away from the county party chairs and toward the voters, opening opportunities for much needed reforms.

³² See William E. Schluter, *Soft corruption: How unethical conduct undermines good government and what to do about it*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2017, page 2.

³³ See Julia Sass Rubin, Can progressives Change New Jersey? The American Prospect, June 26, 2020, <https://prospect.org/politics/can-progressives-change-new-jersey/> and David Kocieniewski, G.O.P. Says Corzine's Cash Makes Him the New Boss, The New York Times, Feb. 18, 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/18/nyregion/gop-says-corzines-cash-makes-him-the-new-boss.html>

Figure 1

Elko County, NV 2018 Democratic primary ballot

Sussex County, DE 2018 Democratic primary ballot

FEDERAL PARTISAN OFFICES	
UNITED STATES SENATOR Six (6) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE	
BURLEIGH, DANNY	<input type="radio"/>
KNIGHT, DAVID DREW	<input type="radio"/>
MAHENDRA, SUJEET "BOBBY"	<input type="radio"/>
RHEINHART, ALLEN	<input type="radio"/>
ROSEN, JACKY	<input type="radio"/>
SBAIH, JESSE	<input type="radio"/>
NONE OF THESE CANDIDATES	<input type="radio"/>

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, DISTRICT 2 Two (2) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE	
ALM, VANCE	<input type="radio"/>
FOGARTY, PATRICK	<input type="radio"/>
HURLEY, JESSE DOUGLAS	<input type="radio"/>
KOBLE, CLINT	<input type="radio"/>
SCHOFIELD JR., JACK L.	<input type="radio"/>
SHEPHERD, RICK	<input type="radio"/>

STATEWIDE PARTISAN OFFICES	
GOVERNOR Four (4) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE	
BONAVENTURA, JOHN	<input type="radio"/>
DEWAN, ASHEESH	<input type="radio"/>
GIUNCHIGLIANI, CHRISTINA "CHRIS G"	<input type="radio"/>
JONES, DAVID E.	<input type="radio"/>
SISOLAK, STEVE	<input type="radio"/>
THORNS, HENRY	<input type="radio"/>
NONE OF THESE CANDIDATES	<input type="radio"/>

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Four (4) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE	
HANSEN, LAURIE L.	<input type="radio"/>
MARSHALL, KATE	<input type="radio"/>
NONE OF THESE CANDIDATES	<input type="radio"/>

ATTORNEY GENERAL Four (4) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE	
FORD, AARON	<input type="radio"/>
MACKIE, STUART J.	<input type="radio"/>
NONE OF THESE CANDIDATES	<input type="radio"/>

 DEMOCRATIC PARTY	
FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR VOTE FOR ONE (1)	THOMAS R. CARPER <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	KERRI EVELYN HARRIS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL VOTE FOR ONE (1)	KATHLEEN JENNINGS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	CHRISTOFER JOHNSON <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	TIMOTHY P. MULLANEY, SR. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	LAKRESHA ROBERTS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FOR AUDITOR OF ACCOUNTS VOTE FOR ONE (1)	KATHLEEN ANN DAVIES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	KATHLEEN K. MCGUINNESS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	DENNIS E. WILLIAMS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Figure 2: Monmouth County 2020 Democratic primary ballot



Christine Giordano Hanlon
Christine Giordano Hanlon
 Monmouth County Clerk

Official Democratic Mail-In Ballot
 Primary Election, Tuesday, July 7, 2020, Monmouth County, New Jersey

Office Title	Democratic	Democratic	Democratic	Democratic	Democratic	Personal Choice
Choice for President and Delegates to the Democratic National Convention Seventh Delegate District A vote for President is an automatic vote for all affiliated Delegates and Alternate Delegates. Vote for One	Joseph R. <input type="radio"/> BIDEN Monmouth County Democrats Delegates: Mary FOSTER-SCOGALES, Michael DuPONT, Joseph LIBUTTI, Ava JOHNSON Alternate Delegate: Edward ZIPPRICH		Bernie <input type="radio"/> SANDERS Bernie 2020. Not Me. Us. Delegates: Joel E. SCHWARTZ, Katherine TRIGGIANO, Anna-Marta VISKY, Dan WON Alternate Delegate: Angus McDUGALD			<input type="radio"/> _____ write in local fill in space
For United States Senate Vote for One	Cory <input type="radio"/> BOOKER Monmouth County Democrats	Lawrence <input type="radio"/> HAMM Not Me. Us.				<input type="radio"/> _____ write in local fill in space
For U.S. House of Representatives 4th Cong. District Vote for One	Stephanie <input type="radio"/> SCHMID Monmouth County Democrats			Christine <input type="radio"/> CONFORTI Monmouth County Democrats for the People	David <input type="radio"/> APPLEFIELD Fairness in Healthcare, Schools, Local Businesses	<input type="radio"/> _____ write in local fill in space
For County Clerk Vote for One	Angela <input type="radio"/> AHBEZ-ANDERSON Monmouth County Democrats					<input type="radio"/> _____ write in local fill in space
For Members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders Vote for Two	Michael <input type="radio"/> PENNA Monmouth County Democrats	Angelica <input type="radio"/> ASHFORD Not Me. Us.				<input type="radio"/> _____ write in local fill in space
	Moira <input type="radio"/> NELSON Monmouth County Democrats	Lucille <input type="radio"/> BENFANTI Not Me. Us.				<input type="radio"/> _____ write in local fill in space

Figure 3: Camden County 2018 Democratic primary ballot

DEMOCRAT BALLOT PAPELETA DEMÓCRATA									
OFFICE TITLE TITULO DE OFICINA	COLUMN COLUMNA 1	COLUMN COLUMNA 2	COLUMN COLUMNA 3	COLUMN COLUMNA 4	COLUMN COLUMNA 5	COLUMN COLUMNA 6	COLUMN COLUMNA 7	COLUMN COLUMNA 8	COLUMN COLUMNA 9
United States Senator <i>(Vote for One)</i> Senado de los Estados Unidos <i>(Vote Por Uno)</i>	Democrat for Change Lisa A. MC CORMICK <input type="checkbox"/>	Camden County Democrat Committee, Inc. Robert MENEZDEZ <input type="checkbox"/>							
Member of the House of Representatives <i>(Vote for One)</i> Miembro de Casa de Representantes <i>(Vote Por Uno)</i>		Camden County Democrat Committee, Inc. Donald W. NORCROSS <input type="checkbox"/>							The Assembly Scott John TOMASZEWSKI <input type="checkbox"/>
									Democrat for Change Robert Lee CARLSON <input type="checkbox"/>
Sheriff <i>(Vote for One)</i> Oficina del Alguacil <i>(Vote Por Uno)</i>		Camden County Democrat Committee, Inc. Gilbert L. "Whip" WILSON <input type="checkbox"/>							
Members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders <i>(Vote for Three)</i> Miembros de la Junta de Legisladores del Condado <i>(Vote Por Tres)</i>		Camden County Democrat Committee, Inc. Jeffrey L. NASH <input type="checkbox"/>	Proletarian Socialist Party Unity Martha L. CANAS <input type="checkbox"/>	Real Progressives for a Better Tomorrow Kathleen A. KUNYCHKA <input type="checkbox"/>	Wish Tomorrow a Better Place Alexis DE LUCA <input type="checkbox"/>	New Alliance Class Allies James COYLE <input type="checkbox"/>	People We Pledge Chris KEHNER <input type="checkbox"/>	Let's Get It Camden County Michael LEONETTI <input type="checkbox"/>	
		Camden County Democrat Committee, Inc. Susan SHIN ANGULO <input type="checkbox"/>	Proletarian Socialist Party Unity Mary Ann DUNN <input type="checkbox"/>	Real Progressives for a Better Tomorrow Robert J. STRONG <input type="checkbox"/>	Wish Tomorrow a Better Place Patricia GRIFFIS <input type="checkbox"/>	New Alliance Class Allies Joanne ROSSELL <input type="checkbox"/>	People We Pledge Ralph T. GORGO, JR. <input type="checkbox"/>		
		Camden County Democrat Committee, Inc. William F. MOEN, JR. <input type="checkbox"/>							

Figure 4: Mercer County 2020 Democratic primary ballot

OFFICE TITLE	Column A Democratic	Column B Democratic	Column C Democratic	Column D Democratic
U.S. President 4 Year Term - Vote for One	Regular Democratic Organization Joseph R. BIDEN (1A)		Bernie 2020. Not Me. Us. Bernie SANDERS (1C)	A VOTE HERE IS A VOTE FOR ALL UNCOMMITTED DELEGATES BELOW (1D)
8th District Delegates to Democratic National Convention	A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES JOSEPH R. BIDEN <i>Biden For President</i> Linda GREENSTEIN Cathleen LEWIS Sharon SHINKLE Bruce STERN Kelvin GANGES		A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES BERNIE SANDERS <i>Bernie 2020. Not Me. Us.</i> Rano BANERJEE Lizette DELGADO Franceline EHRET Brady RIVERA Neeharika THURAVIL	A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL UNCOMMITTED DELEGATES UNCOMMITTED Joseph WOLFGANG
U.S. Senate 6 Year Term - Vote for One	Regular Democratic Organization Cory BOOKER (2A)	Not Me. Us. Lawrence HAMM (2B)		
U.S. House of Representatives 2 Year Term - Vote for One	Regular Democratic Organization Christine CONFORTI (3A)	Fairness in Healthcare, Schools, Local Businesses. David APPLEFIELD (3B)		
	Mercer County Democrats Stephanie SCHMID (4A)			
Sheriff 3 Year Term - Vote for One	Regular Democratic Organization John A. "Jack" KEMLER (5A)			
County Clerk 5 Year Term - Vote for One	Regular Democratic Organization Paula SOLLAMI COVELLO (6A)			
Board of Chosen Freeholders 3 Year Term - Vote for Two	Regular Democratic Organization Lucyille RS WALTER (7A)			
	Regular Democratic Organization John A. CIMINO (8A)			
Council 1 Year Unexpired Term - Vote for One	Regular Democratic Organization Charles F. WHALEN (9A)			
County Committee 2 Year Term - Vote for Two				

Figure 5: Atlantic County 2020 Democratic primary ballot

OFFICE TITLE	Column A Democratic	Column B Democratic	Column C Democratic	Column D Democratic	Column E Democratic	Column F Democratic
Choice for President VOTE FOR ONE	Atlantic County Democratic Committee Joseph R. BIDEN ○	Bernie 2020. Not Me. Us Bernie SANDERS ○				
2nd District Delegates to Democratic National Convention	A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES JOSEPH R. BIDEN <i>Atlantic County Democratic Committee</i> Breanda BRATHWAITE Michael SULEIMAN Philip NUFFRID	A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES BERNIE SANDERS <i>Bernie 2020. Not Me. Us.</i> Laury-Ran DIAZ Sean LOFTUS Cristian MORENO-RODRIGUEZ		A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES <i>Uncommitted</i> Joyce MOLLINEAUX		
U.S. Senator VOTE FOR ONE		Bernie 2020. Not Me. Us Lawrence HAMM ○	Atlantic County Regular Democrats, Org. Cory BOOKER ○			
House of Representatives VOTE FOR ONE	Atlantic County Democratic Committee Amy KENNEDY ○		Atlantic County Regular Democrats, Org. Brigid CALLAHAN HARRISON ○	True Democrats Will CUNNINGHAM ○	Atlantic County's Moderate Democrat Robert D. TURKAVAGE ○	Working for You John FRANCIS ○
Sheriff VOTE FOR ONE	Atlantic County Democratic Committee Eric SCHEFFLER ○					
Surrogate VOTE FOR ONE	Atlantic County Democratic Committee Stephen DICHT ○		Atlantic County Regular Democrats, Org. Levi FOX ○			
Freeholder-at-Large VOTE FOR TWO	Atlantic County Democratic Committee Caren FITZPATRICK ○ Atlantic County Democratic Committee Celeste FERNANDEZ ○					

Figure 6: New Jersey incumbent legislators who lost primary while on county line in all counties, 2003-23

	Year	Incumbent	Party	Chamber	District	Number of Counties in District	County	Had county line	Won County
1	2003	Joseph V. Doria	D	Assembly	31	1	Hudson	Yes	No
2	2003	Elba Perez-Cinciarelli	D	Assembly	31	1	Hudson	Yes	No
3	2009	Marcia A. Karrow	R	Senate	23	2	Hunterdon Warren	Yes No (1)	No No

(1) Warren County did not use a county line ballot in 2009.

(2) 2003 to 2019 data courtesy of Francisco Diez analysis for CWA.

Figure 7: New Jersey incumbent legislators who won primary after losing at least one county line, 2003-23

	Year	Incumbent	Party	Chamber	District	Number of Counties in District	Won District?	County	Had county line	Won County
1	2003	Nia H. Gill	D	34	Senate	2	Yes	Essex	No	Yes
								Passaic	No	Yes
2	2007	Ronald L. Rice	D	28	Senate	1	Yes	Essex	No	Yes
3	2007	David C. Russo	R	40	Assembly	3	Yes	Bergen	No	Yes
								Essex	Yes	Yes
								Passaic	Yes	Yes
4	2017	Samuel D. Thompson	R	12	Senate	4	Yes	Burlington	No	Yes
								Middlesex	No	No
								Monmouth	Yes	Yes
								Ocean	Yes	Yes
5	2017	Ronald S. Dancer	R	12	Assembly	4	Yes	Burlington	No	Yes
								Middlesex	No	Yes
								Monmouth	Yes	Yes
								Ocean	Yes	Yes
6	2017	Robert D. Clifton	R	12	Assembly	4	Yes	Burlington	No	Yes
								Middlesex	No	No
								Monmouth	Yes	Yes
								Ocean	Yes	Yes
7	2021	Jay Webber	R	26	Assembly	3	Yes	Essex	No (1)	Yes
								Morris	Yes	Yes
								Passaic	No (1)	Yes
8	2021	Robert Auth	R	39	Assembly	2	Yes	Bergen	Yes	Yes
								Passaic	No	No
9	2021	Deanne DeFuccio	R	39	Assembly	2	Yes	Bergen	Yes	Yes
								Passaic	No	No

(1) Voters were instructed to vote for two candidates for the Assembly, but only one Assembly candidate (BettyLou DeCroce) appeared on the Essex and Passaic county lines.

(2) 2003 to 2019 data courtesy of Francisco Diez analysis for CWA

Figure 8: New Jersey incumbent legislators who lost primary after losing at least one county line, 2003-23

	Year	Incumbent	Party	Chamber	District	Number of Counties in District	Won District?	County	Had county line	Won County
1	2003	Arline Friscia	D	19	Assembly	1	No	Middlesex	No	No
2	2005	Joseph Azzolina	R	13	Assembly	2	No	Middlesex	Yes	Yes
								Monmouth	No	No
3	2005	Anthony Chiappone	D	31	Assembly	1	No	Hudson	No	No
4	2007	Craig A. Stanley	D	28	Assembly	1	No	Essex	No	No
5	2007	Oadline D. Truitt	D	28	Assembly	1	No	Essex	No	No
6	2007	Wilfredo Caraballo	D	29	Assembly	2	No	Essex	No	No
								Union	No	No
7	2019	Joe Howarth	R	8	Assembly	3	No	Atlantic	No	No
								Burlington	No	No
								Camden	No	No
8	2021	Serena Dimaso	R	13	Assembly	1	No	Monmouth	No	No
9	2021	BettyLou DeCroce	R	26	Assembly	3	No	Essex	Yes	Yes
								Morris	No	No
								Passaic	Yes	Yes
10	2023	Nia H. Gill (1)	D	27	Senate	2	No	Essex	No	No
								Passaic	No	No

(1) From January 2002 to January 2024, Senator Nia Gill represented the 34th legislative district in the New Jersey State Senate. As of June 2023, the 34th district included parts of Essex and Passaic Counties. Following the 2022 redistricting, Senator Gill's hometown of Montclair was moved into the 27th legislative district. Prior to redistricting, the 27th legislative district included parts of Essex and Morris Counties. After redistricting, the 27th district included parts of Essex and Passaic Counties. In the 2023 primary, Gill ran against another incumbent, Senator Richard Codey, who had represented the 27th legislative district prior to redistricting.

(2) 2003 to 2019 data courtesy of Francisco Diez analysis for CWA

Figure 9: New Jersey 3rd Congressional District 2020 Republican primary

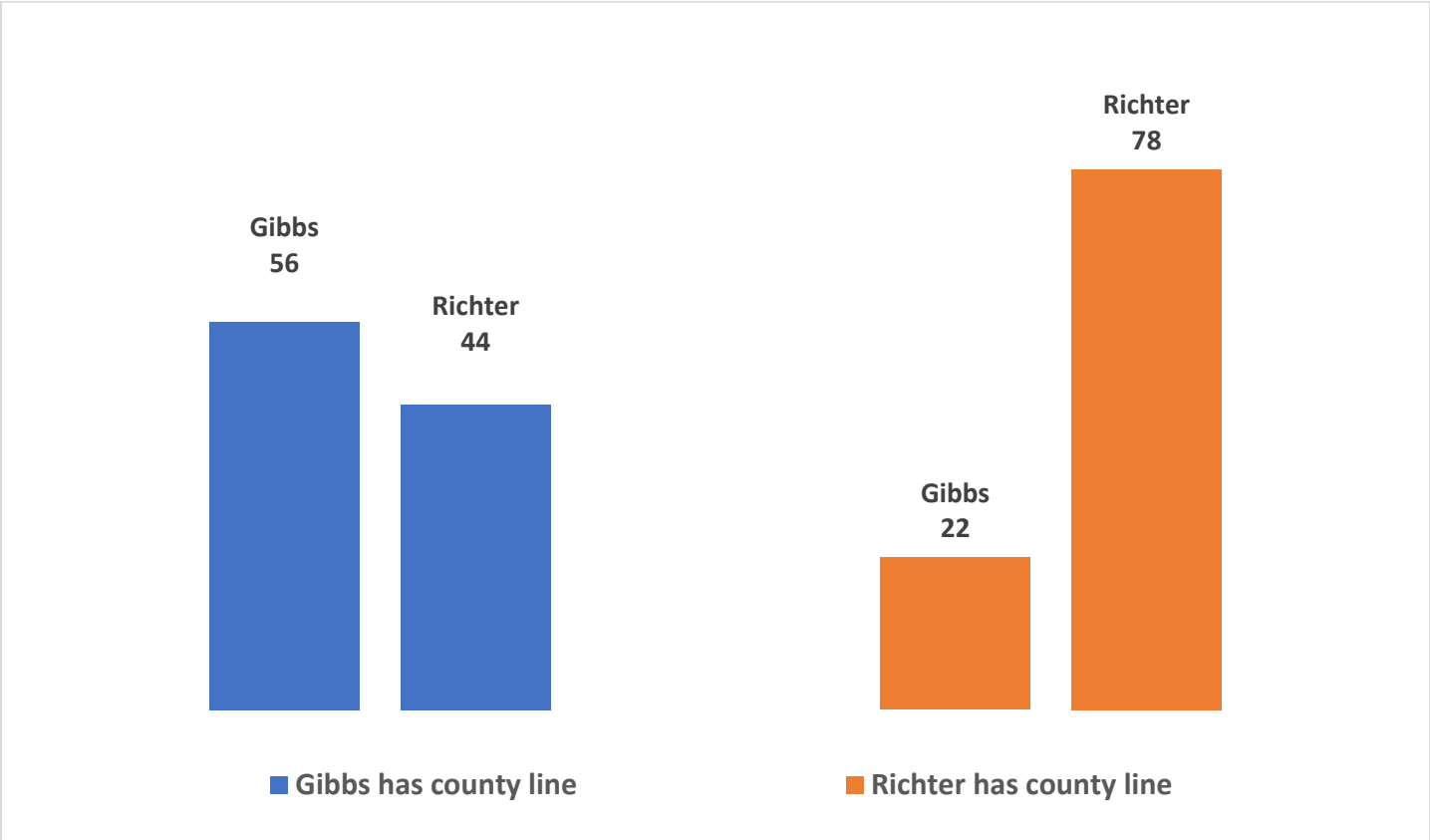


Figure 10: Impact of county line, US House & Senate, 2002 – 2022

Year	Candidate	Margin	Contest/Party	Incumbent
2002	Allen	+31	Senate/Republican	No
2002	Forester	+44	Senate/Republican	No
2002	Matheussen	+31	Senate/Republican	No
2006	Sires	+47	CD13/Democrat	No
2006	Vas	+47	CD13/Democrat	No
2008	Kelly	+34	CD3/Republican	No
2008	Myers	+46	CD3/Republican	No
2008	Lance	+42	CD7/Republican	No
2008	Hatfield	+39	CD7/Republican	No
2008	Whitman	+27	CD7/Republican	No
2008	Pennacchio	+27	Senate/Republican	No
2008	Sabrin	+13	Senate/Republican	No
2008	Zimmer	+27	Senate/Republican	No
2008	Andrews	+36	Senate/Democrat	No
2008	Lautenberg	+33	Senate/Democrat	Yes
2012	Shober	+72	CD 2/Democrat	No
2012	Hughes	+79	CD 2/Democrat	No
2012	Little	+24	CD 6/Republican	No
2012	Cullari	+24	CD 6/Republican	No
2012	Pascrell	+64	CD 9/Democrat	Yes, redistricted
2012	Rothman	+64	CD 9/Democrat	Yes, redistricted
2012	Payne	+22	CD 10/Democrat	No
2012	Gill	+36	CD 10/Democrat	No
2014	Watson Coleman	+57	CD 12/Democrat	No
2014	Greenstein	+48	CD 12/Democrat	No
2014	Chivukula	+52	CD 12/Democrat	No
2014	Goldberg	+27	Senate/Republican	No
2014	Pezzullo	+33	Senate/Republican	No

2014	Sabrin	+15	Senate/Republican	No
2016	Keady	+58	CD 3/Democrat	No
2016	Lavergne	+58	CD 3/Democrat	No
2018	Singh	+37	CD 2/Republican	No
2018	Fiocchi	+34	CD 2/Republican	No
2020	Kennedy	+25	CD 2/Democrat	No
2020	Harrison	+20	CD 2/Democrat	No
2020	Schmid	+40	CD 4/Democrat	No
2020	Gibbs	+35	CD 3/Democrat	No
2020	Richter	+35	CD 3/Democrat	No
2020	Mehta	+41	Senate/Republican	No
2020	Singh	+50	Senate/Republican	No
2022	Pallotta	+13	CD 5/Republican	No
2022	De Gregorio	+17	CD 5/Republican	No
2022	Tayfun	+33	CD 11/Republican	No
2022	DeGroot	+38	CD 11/Republican	No

Figure 11:

2008 Democratic primary for US Senate percentage of total vote by candidate**

County	Frank Lautenberg	Robert Andrews	Donald Cresitellow
Atlantic	45%	50%	4%
Bergen	79%	17%	5%
Burlington	42%	52%	6%
Camden	16%	80%	3%
Cape May	45%	50%	5%
Cumberland	46%	47%	6%
Essex	76%	21%	3%
Gloucester	17%	80%	3%
Hudson	75%	22%	4%
Hunterdon	59%	34%	8%
Mercer	74%	22%	4%
Middlesex	62%	29%	9%
Monmouth	66%	22%	11%
Morris	65%	24%	11%
Ocean	58%	33%	9%
Passaic	79%	14%	7%
Salem*	32%	60%	9%
Somerset	65%	25%	10%
Sussex*	53%	30%	17%
Union	68%	28%	5%
Warren*	47%	31%	22%

*Salem, Sussex and Warren counties did not use a county line ballot for the 2008 Democratic primary

2012 Democratic primary for CD 9 percentage of total vote by candidate**

County	Bill Pascrell	Steve Rothman
Bergen	27%	73%
Hudson	26%	74%
Passaic	90%	10%

** (Vote % of candidate on county line shown in bold)

Figure 12: Contested New Jersey legislative primaries, 2021 and 2023

2021				
Assembly District	Party	Number of Seats Challenged	Senate District	Party
10	Rep	2	2	Rep
12	Rep	1	16	Rep
13	Rep	1	18	Dem
16	Dem	1	20	Dem
18	Dem	2	24	Rep
20	Dem	2	28	Dem
21	Rep	1	37	Dem
26	Rep	2		
30	Rep	1		
37	Dem	2		
39	Rep	2		

2023				
Assembly District	Party	Number of Seats Challenged	Senate District	Party
3	Rep	1	3	Rep
3	Dem	2	3	Dem
4	Rep	2	4	Rep
12	Rep	1	18	Dem
14	Rep	1	19	Dem
20	Dem	2	20	Dem
24	Rep	2	23	Dem
26	Rep	2	26	Rep
27	Dem	2	27	Dem
28	Dem	1	31	Dem
31	Dem	1		