

## Indiana Republican State Senate Redistricting Briefing

Public Statements and Persuasion Analysis on the December 2025 Congressional Map

**Prepared for:** Indiana Democrats

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**Subject:** Senate Republican Positions on Mid-Decade Congressional Redistricting

# SECTION 1 — Executive Summary

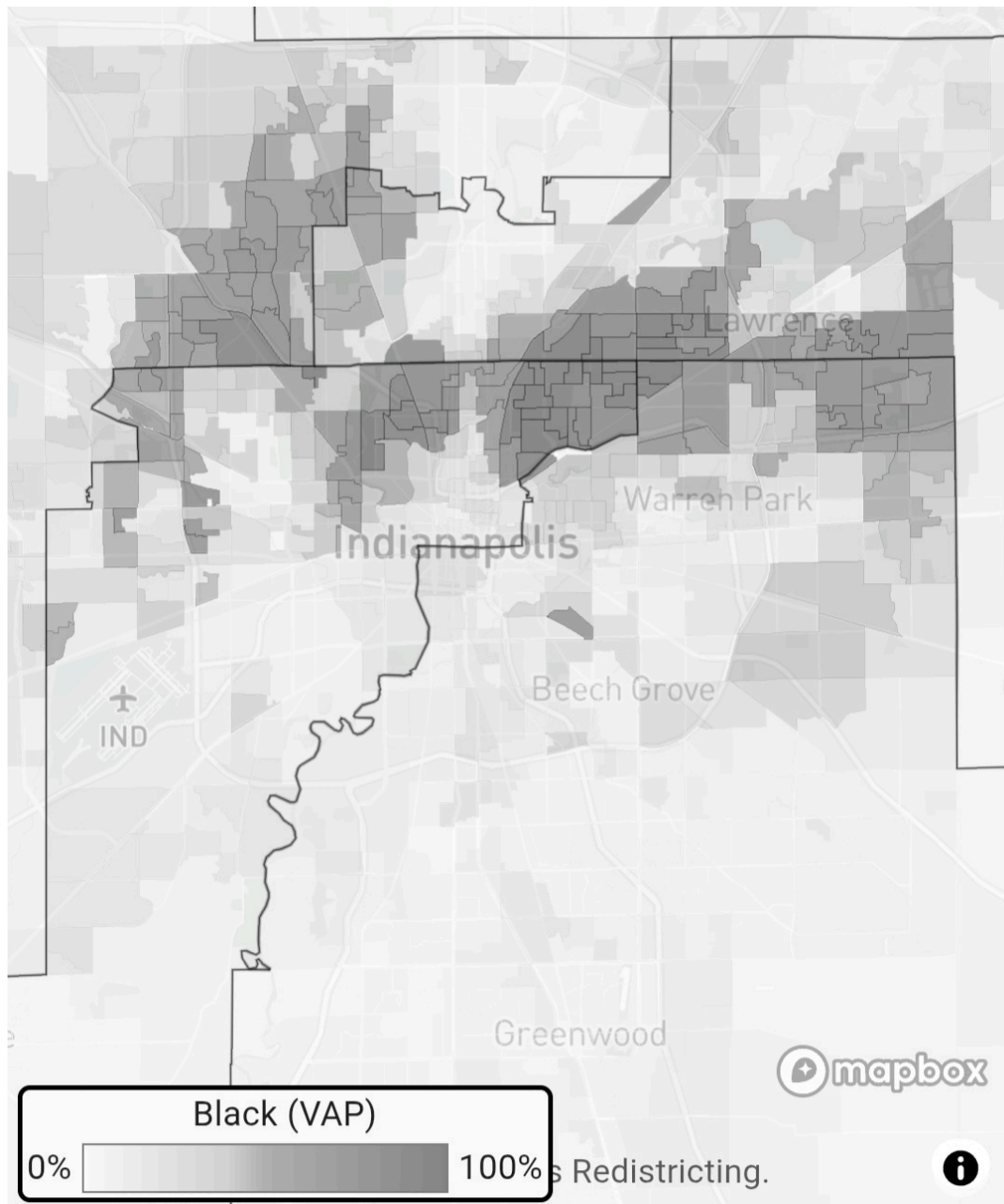
The Indiana House of Representatives released its proposed congressional redistricting map on the morning of December 1, 2025, initiating the most consequential legislative fight in the state since the 2021 redistricting cycle. The map, designed to achieve a 9-0 Republican sweep of Indiana's congressional delegation, fundamentally restructures both Democratic-held districts in ways that would dilute minority voting power and eliminate competitive representation.

## **What the New House Map Does**

The proposed map dismembers the 7th Congressional District—currently held by Democratic U.S. Representative André Carson and anchored entirely within Marion County—by splitting Indianapolis among four separate congressional districts. Each of those four districts extends deep into rural, heavily Republican counties, drowning Democratic votes in a sea of red. The 1st Congressional District, currently held by Democratic U.S. Representative Frank J. Mrvan of Highland, is redrawn to stretch from Lake County more than 100 miles southeast to Wabash County, submerging the Democratic-leaning Gary-Hammond-East Chicago corridor in Republican territory. Under current lines, President Trump lost the 1st District by less than one percentage point; under the proposed map, he would have won it by 12 points.

## Racial and Partisan Implications

The map's most aggressive feature is its surgical dismemberment of Indiana's two largest concentrations of Black voters: Indianapolis and Gary. Both cities have historically anchored majority-minority influence districts. The proposed map would crack these communities across multiple districts, diluting their political power and raising serious Voting Rights Act concerns. Indianapolis—the state's economic engine and most diverse metropolitan area—would be governed by four different U.S. Representatives, none of whom would be accountable primarily to the city's residents.



## Why Senate Republicans Now Decide the Outcome

The Indiana House of Representatives, controlled by Republicans with a supermajority, is expected to pass the redistricting bill this week. House Speaker Todd Huston has repeatedly confirmed his caucus has the votes. The battleground is the Indiana Senate, where President Pro Tempore Rodric Bray announced on November 14 that the chamber lacked the necessary votes—only to reverse course on November 25 under intense White House pressure and agree to convene December 8 for a "final decision."

## Why Democrats Need 16 Republican NO Votes

The Indiana Senate comprises 40 Republicans and 10 Democrats. Passage requires 26 votes—or 25 votes plus a tie-breaking vote from Lieutenant Governor Micah Beckwith, a fierce redistricting advocate who has pledged to recruit primary challengers against dissenting Republicans. With all 10 Democrats certain to vote NO, blocking the map requires 16 Republican defections. As of December 1, the count stands at:

- **Confirmed YES:** 14 Republican senators
- **Confirmed NO:** 10 Republican senators
- **Undeclared/Persuadable:** 16 Republican senators

The math is razor-thin. Redistricting supporters need 12 of the 16 undeclared senators to reach 26 votes. Opponents need only 6 of the 16 to hold firm and block the map.

## **The Role of Lieutenant Governor Beckwith**

Lieutenant Governor Micah Beckwith presides over the Indiana Senate and would cast a tie-breaking vote in the event of a 25-25 deadlock. Beckwith has been one of the most aggressive advocates for redistricting, publicly urging senators to "grow a spine" and pledging to work with President Trump's political operation to recruit, finance, and support primary challengers against Republican senators who vote NO. His presence as the tie-breaker means redistricting supporters need only 25 votes if they fall one short of a majority.

## **The Role of the Approximately 16 Persuadable Republicans**

The 16 undeclared Republican senators represent the decisive bloc. Their votes will determine whether Indiana becomes the fifth Republican-led state to redistrict mid-decade—or whether the state's Senate Republicans become the first GOP legislative body to reject President Trump's redistricting demands outright. Several of these senators have been subjected to swatting incidents, bomb threats, and intense pressure campaigns. Their vulnerability scores, constituent feedback, and institutional independence make them the primary targets for persuasion.

## **How Vulnerability Scores Inform Persuasion Priorities**

The 2022 State Senate Vulnerability Rank dataset estimates each Republican senator's electoral strength by remapping 2022 precinct-level results onto the modern district lines they now represent. Because district boundaries have changed, a senator's score may draw on vote totals from multiple former 2022 Senate districts—whichever precincts now fall inside their current district. The dataset then averages that reconstructed 2022 Senate result with the 2022 Secretary of State outcome within those same modern lines. This produces a blended competitiveness score reflecting how the district actually performs today. Senators with lower combined margins represent the most vulnerable seats and, therefore, the members most susceptible to constituent pressure during the redistricting fight.

## SECTION 2 — Tier A:

### High-Priority Persuasion Targets (Ranked)

The following senators are ranked from most pressurable to least pressurable based on: (1) vulnerability scores from 2022 election data, (2) district competitiveness and suburban/rural dynamics, (3) institutional independence and committee positions, (4) absence of prior public statements supporting redistricting, and (5) known constituent opposition or procedural concerns.

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#### #1 — Sen. Dan Dernulc (R–Highland, SD-1)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / Persuadable

**Vulnerability Rank:** #2 (Margin: 5.23%)

Senator Dan Dernulc represents the most vulnerable Republican-held seat in the Indiana Senate outside of the Indianapolis suburbs. His district spans Lake County—the heart of the 1st Congressional District that redistricting would dismantle. Dernulc has not made a public statement on redistricting despite months of pressure. He voted for the January resolution to delay session, indicating skepticism about the December timeline, and was the victim of a swatting incident on November 19, 2025.

**Critical Messaging Leverage:** Senator Dernulc and U.S. Representative Frank J. Mrvan are both from the same hometown of Highland. A YES vote on redistricting would effectively unseat his own neighbor and eliminate the Region's dedicated voice in Congress. The proposed map would dilute the vote of Highland residents—Dernulc's core constituency—and submerge it in a district stretching to Wabash County, 100 miles away. Dernulc's constituents in Highland would lose their homegrown Representative and be governed by a congressman accountable primarily to rural counties with no connection to Northwest Indiana's industrial economy, labor unions, or demographic composition.

**Constituent Dynamics:** Dernulc's 5.23% Republican margin is the second slimmest of any Republican senator, meaning constituent backlash could directly threaten his reelection. Dernulc's silence suggests he is weighing constituent pressure against White House demands.

**Recommended Approach:** Frame redistricting as an assault on Highland's identity. Emphasize that Dernulc would be voting to eliminate the congressional seat of a fellow Highland resident. Deploy union and labor voices to stress the economic stakes for steelworkers and manufacturing communities.

## #2 — Sen. Aaron Freeman (R–Indianapolis, SD-32)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / Persuadable

**Vulnerability Rank:** #5 (Margin: 14.01%)

Senator Aaron Freeman represents one of the most competitive suburban districts in Indiana, covering portions of southern Marion County and Johnson County. Freeman has made neutral public statements, telling IndyStar in October that "if that's something I gotta face, then I'll deal with it" regarding potential primary threats—a statement that suggests resignation rather than enthusiasm for redistricting.

**District Dynamics:** Freeman's district includes portions of Indianapolis that would be cracked under the proposed map. His suburban constituents have demonstrated skepticism toward redistricting in public polling, and his moderate electoral margin makes him sensitive to backlash from independent voters who oppose mid-decade map manipulation.

**Institutional Independence:** Freeman is a practicing attorney with a reputation for independent judgment on contentious legislation. He has not been a reflexive supporter of White House priorities.

**Recommended Approach:** Emphasize the damage to Indianapolis' regional coherence and economic identity. Highlight polling showing majority opposition to redistricting among suburban voters. Frame a YES vote as a betrayal of constituent preferences.

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## #3 — Sen. Cyndi Carrasco (R–Indianapolis, SD-36)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / No Public Statement

**Vulnerability Rank:** #6 (Margin: 15.81%)

Senator Cyndi Carrasco was appointed to the Indiana Senate in November 2023 and has not faced a contested general election. Her district covers portions of Indianapolis and represents one of the more competitive seats in the metropolitan area. Carrasco has made no public statements on redistricting, maintaining complete silence despite the intense statewide debate.

**District Dynamics:** District 36 includes portions of Indianapolis that would be split among multiple congressional districts under the proposed map. Carrasco's constituents would lose unified representation in Congress.

**Recommended Approach:** Target Carrasco as an appointed senator who has not yet been tested by voters on contentious issues. Frame a YES vote as her first major legislative decision... and one that would harm her own constituents' representation.

## #4 — Sen. Greg Goode (R–Terre Haute, SD-38)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / Persuadable

**Vulnerability Rank:** #14 (Margin: 22.43%)

Senator Greg Goode was appointed to the Senate in November 2023 and represents a district anchored by Terre Haute and Vigo County. He held a constituent listening session on redistricting on October 26, 2025, at which every single resident who spoke opposed redistricting. Goode was the victim of a swatting incident on November 16, 2025—hours after President Trump posted on Truth Social criticizing him by name.

**Critical Context:** Goode was one of only two senators named directly by President Trump in his November 16 social media attack. The swatting incident at Goode's home followed within hours of Trump's post. Goode has stated publicly that he will remain undecided *until he sees a proposed map*, but his listening session results—100% opposition—suggest overwhelming constituent pressure against a YES vote.

**District Dynamics:** Terre Haute is a university town with a more moderate political composition than surrounding rural areas. Indiana State University and Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology provide a base of educated voters who will oppose partisan gerrymandering.

**Recommended Approach:** Goode's listening session results are the strongest documented evidence of constituent opposition in any Senate district. Frame a YES vote as a direct betrayal of the voters who attended his own event and unanimously opposed redistricting.



## #5 — Sen. Brett Clark (R–Avon, SD-24)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / No Public Statement

**Vulnerability Rank:** #12 (Margin: 20.87%)

Senator Brett Clark is a freshman senator, first elected in November 2024. He has made no public statement on redistricting and voted for the January resolution to delay session. As a new member, Clark has no legislative record on redistricting and no prior commitments to either side.

**District Dynamics:** Clark's district spans portions of Hendricks and Putnam counties, representing suburban and exurban communities west of Indianapolis. His background is in law enforcement—he served as Hendricks County Sheriff before his election.

**Institutional Independence:** As a freshman, Clark has no accumulated political debts to White House allies and no established reputation to protect on redistricting. His law enforcement background may make him skeptical of the intimidation tactics deployed against his colleagues.

**Recommended Approach:** Frame the vote as Clark's first major test of independence. Emphasize that constituent feedback, not Washington pressure, should guide his decision. Deploy local voices from Hendricks County who oppose redistricting.

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## #6 — Sen. Linda Rogers (R–Granger, SD-11)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / Persuadable

**Vulnerability Rank:** #8 (Margin: 18.96%)

Senator Linda Rogers represents a northern Indiana district anchored by the Granger and South Bend suburbs. She serves as Chair of the Pensions and Labor Committee. Rogers was the victim of a swatting incident in November 2025 and has made no public statement on redistricting.

**District Dynamics:** Rogers' district includes portions of St. Joseph County, which has a significant Democratic presence. Her suburban constituency has demonstrated skepticism toward extreme partisan measures in past elections.

**Recommended Approach:** Rogers' experience as a swatting victim may have hardened her opposition to the pressure tactics deployed by redistricting advocates. Emphasize constituent safety and the illegitimacy of coerced legislative votes. Frame a YES vote as capitulation to intimidation.

## #7 — Sen. Ed Charbonneau (R–Valparaiso, SD-5)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / No Public Statement

**Vulnerability Rank:** #18 (Margin: 23.59%)

Senator Ed Charbonneau is one of the longest-serving members of the Indiana Senate, first elected in 2007. He represents a district in Porter County, which is part of the 1st Congressional District targeted for dismemberment. Charbonneau has made no public statement on redistricting.

**District Dynamics:** Porter County would be removed from the 1st Congressional District under the proposed map and combined with rural Republican counties. Charbonneau's constituents would lose their connection to the Lake Michigan regional economy.

**Institutional Independence:** Charbonneau's seniority gives him institutional standing to oppose redistricting without fear of White House retaliation. He has weathered past political storms and is not running for reelection until 2028.

**Recommended Approach:** Emphasize that Porter County would be separated from Lake County—its natural regional partner—under the proposed map. Frame redistricting as harmful to Northwest Indiana's economic and political identity.

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## #8 — Sen. Michael Crider (R–Greenfield, SD-28)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / No Public Statement

**Vulnerability Rank:** #21 (Margin: 24.75%)

Senator Michael Crider serves as Chair of the Homeland Security and Transportation Committee. He represents a district east of Indianapolis in Hancock County. Crider has made no public statement on redistricting.

**District Dynamics:** Crider's district is reliably Republican but includes suburban areas that have shown skepticism toward extreme partisan measures in statewide polling.

**Recommended Approach:** Target Crider's committee leadership role—as Homeland Security Chair, he has direct insight into the security threats (swatting, bomb threats) that have accompanied the redistricting push. Frame a YES vote as endorsing the intimidation tactics that his own committee should be investigating.

## #9 — Sen. Ron Alting (R–Lafayette, SD-22)

**Current Redistricting Position:** YES (But Potentially Persuadable)

**Vulnerability Rank:** #7 (Margin: 17.87%)

Senator Ron Alting represents one of the most competitive districts in the Indiana Senate and has served since 1998, making him the longest-serving member of the current chamber. Alting declared support for redistricting on October 25, 2025, but his stated rationale has since collapsed—creating a unique opportunity for reconsideration.

**The Shutdown Justification That No Longer Exists:** Alting explicitly tied his support for redistricting to the federal government shutdown. In his October 25 announcement, he stated: "The ongoing federal government shutdown has convinced me I must support efforts to redraw Indiana's congressional maps." He elaborated that he felt "an obligation to help ensure my former colleagues are working with a strong Republican majority in the US House of Representatives" so "they can get federal spending under control, balance the federal budget, and address the out-of-control national debt."

**Critical Development:** The federal government shutdown ended on November 12, 2025, when President Trump signed the Continuing Appropriations and Extensions Act. The 43-day shutdown—the longest in U.S. history—concluded nearly three weeks before the Senate is scheduled to vote on redistricting. The stated justification for Alting's YES vote no longer exists. If the shutdown was genuinely the reason for his support, that reason has now been resolved.

**The Institutional Moderate Paradox:** Alting has been recognized throughout his career as one of the few institutional moderates in the Republican caucus. His 17.87% margin—the seventh most vulnerable in the chamber—places him in the competitive zone where constituent opinion carries electoral weight. His Lafayette-based district (SD-22) includes both urban and suburban areas with political diversity that makes extreme partisan positioning risky.

**Why the May 2026 Primary Matters:** Alting faces a primary challenger from the right in May 2026. His declaration of support for redistricting appears designed to prevent a primary from his ideological right. However, this creates a unique vulnerability: while the primary challenger may be neutralized by Alting's YES vote, a general election challenger could exploit his reversal from an institutional moderate to a Trump-aligned partisan. In a competitive district where ticket-splitting has historically occurred, Alting's YES vote on redistricting may alienate independent voters and Democrats who would otherwise split their ballot for him.

**Messaging Leverage Point:** Alting's stated justification—the government shutdown—is now moot. The shutdown ended November 12. Congress reached a bipartisan agreement. Federal employees received back pay. The crisis Alting cited as his reason for supporting redistricting has been resolved. Frame his continued support as lacking any principled basis: if the shutdown was the reason, and the shutdown is over, then why is he still voting YES? This line of questioning forces Alting to either admit his shutdown rationale was pretextual or to reconsider his position in light of changed circumstances.

**Recommended Approach:** Target Alting's stated rationale directly. Deploy Lafayette constituents who remember his moderate reputation. Emphasize that his shutdown justification has evaporated. Frame a NO vote as consistent with his original logic: the crisis is over, so the extraordinary measure is no longer necessary. Suggest that reversing course would restore his credibility as a thoughtful legislator who responds to changing facts rather than partisan pressure.

## #10 — Sen. Blake Doriot (R–New Paris, SD-12)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / No Public Statement

**Vulnerability Rank:** #24 (Margin: 32.61%)

Senator Blake Doriot represents a rural northern Indiana district. He co-filed redistricting reform legislation in 2017, suggesting past concern about gerrymandering processes. Doriot has made no public statement on the current redistricting effort.

**Institutional Background:** Doriot's 2017 redistricting reform bill indicates he has previously advocated for process improvements in how maps are drawn. A YES vote would contradict his past reform efforts.

**Recommended Approach:** Highlight Doriot's 2017 redistricting reform legislation and frame a YES vote as abandoning his own principles on fair mapping processes.

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## #11 — Sen. Rick Niemeyer (R–Lowell, SD-6)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / Persuadable

**Vulnerability Rank:** #25 (Margin: 32.74%)

Senator Rick Niemeyer represents a Northwest Indiana district and was the victim of a swatting incident in November 2025. He has stated he is undecided on redistricting. His district includes Lake County communities that would be affected by the 1st Congressional District's dismemberment.

**District Dynamics:** Niemeyer's district overlaps with the 1st Congressional District, meaning his constituents have a direct stake in whether that district is preserved or eliminated.

**Recommended Approach:** Frame redistricting as an attack on Northwest Indiana's regional representation. Emphasize that Niemeyer's constituents would lose their voice in a dedicated congressional district for the Region.

## #12 — Sen. Brian Buchanan (R–Lebanon, SD-7)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / No Public Statement

**Vulnerability Rank:** #28 (Margin: 33.68%)

Senator Brian Buchanan serves as Chair of the Commerce and Technology Committee. He represents a district north of Indianapolis in Boone County. Buchanan has made no public statement on redistricting.

**District Dynamics:** Boone County has experienced rapid population growth and is increasingly suburban in character. Buchanan's constituents may be skeptical of rural-focused redistricting priorities.

**Recommended Approach:** Emphasize suburban voter opposition to redistricting in public polling. Frame a YES vote as prioritizing Washington demands over constituent preference.

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## #13 — Sen. Jeff Raatz (R–Richmond, SD-27)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / No Public Statement

**Vulnerability Rank:** #30 (Margin: 39.34%)

Senator Jeff Raatz represents an eastern Indiana district bordering Ohio. He has made no public statement on redistricting.

**District Dynamics:** Raatz's district is heavily Republican, but his silence suggests he may have reservations about the redistricting process or its implications.

**Recommended Approach:** Target Raatz as a senator who has remained silent while colleagues face threats and intimidation. Frame a YES vote as endorsing the pressure campaign.

## #14 — Sen. Ryan Mishler (R–Bremen, SD-9)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / No Public Statement

**Vulnerability Rank:** #34 (Margin: 42.41%)

Senator Ryan Mishler serves as Chair of the Appropriations Committee—one of the most powerful positions in the Senate. He represents a northern Indiana district and has made no public statement on redistricting.

**Institutional Position:** As Appropriations Chair, Mishler controls the state budget process and wields significant influence over legislative priorities. His silence is notable given his institutional stature.

**Recommended Approach:** Mishler's budget authority gives him leverage to resist White House pressure. Frame a YES vote as subordinating Indiana's institutional independence to Washington demands.

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## #15 — Sen. Andy Zay (R–Huntington, SD-17)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / Persuadable

**Vulnerability Rank:** #37 (Margin: 47.89%)

Senator Andy Zay was the victim of a swatting incident in November 2025. He issued a statement condemning political violence but has not announced a position on redistricting.

**District Dynamics:** Zay's district is heavily Republican, but his experience as a swatting victim may have strengthened his opposition to the pressure tactics accompanying the redistricting push.

**Recommended Approach:** Frame a YES vote as capitulation to the same forces that targeted Zay's home with a false emergency report.

## #16 — Sen. Stacey Donato (R–Logansport, SD-18)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Undeclared / No Public Statement

**Vulnerability Rank:** #39 (Margin: 51.57%)

Senator Stacey Donato was appointed to the Senate in September 2019 and represents a rural north-central Indiana district. She has made no public statement on redistricting.

**District Dynamics:** Donato's district is heavily Republican with limited exposure to competitive pressure. Her silence may reflect institutional deference to leadership rather than strong personal conviction.

**Recommended Approach:** Donato's rural constituency may be less engaged on redistricting than suburban districts. Target her through local community voices who oppose the process.

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## SECTION 3 — Tier B:

### Secondary Persuasion Targets

The following senators have declared opposition to redistricting but face upcoming primaries or have shown vulnerability to intense pressure. They should be monitored for potential wavering and reinforced with constituent support.

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#### Sen. Jim Buck (R–Kokomo, SD-21)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Opposed

**Vulnerability Rank:** #19 (Margin: 23.84%)

Senator Jim Buck has indicated opposition to redistricting but faces a primary challenger, Tracey Powell, who has explicitly campaigned on the redistricting issue. Buck's silence during the most intense phase of the November pressure campaign suggests he may be reconsidering.

**Recommended Approach:**

Reinforce Buck's opposition with constituent contact. Monitor for any signs of wavering.

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#### Sen. Spencer Deery (R–West Lafayette, SD-23)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Firmly Opposed

**Vulnerability Rank:** #20 (Margin: 23.90%)

Senator Spencer Deery has been the most eloquent and principled voice against redistricting in the Republican caucus. His August 13, 2025 statement articulated constitutional objections grounded in popular sovereignty. Deery faces a primary challenger, Paula Copenhaver, who works in Lieutenant Governor Beckwith's office.

**Recommended Approach:** Deery is a firm NO and does not require persuasion. His arguments should be amplified to persuade undeclared colleagues.

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## SECTION 4 — Tier C:

### Low-Value or Low-Probability Targets

The following senators have firmly declared support for redistricting and show no indication of reconsideration. They are listed for completeness but should not receive significant persuasion resources.

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**Sen. Eric Koch (R–Bedford, SD-44):** Author of the 2021 redistricting maps. Declared support November 10, 2025. Koch's position is deeply invested in defending his prior mapping work.

**Sen. Chris Garten (R–Charlestown, SD-45):** Majority Floor Leader. Declared support October 21, 2025. Leadership position makes reversal institutionally impossible.

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## SECTION 5 — Leadership Section

### Senate President Pro Tempore Rodric Bray (R–Martinsville, SD-37)

**Current Redistricting Position:** Mixed / Procedurally Ambiguous

**Vulnerability Rank:** #32 (Margin: 41.22%)

Senator Rodric Bray occupies the most consequential position in the redistricting fight. As Senate President Pro Tempore, he controls the chamber's calendar, procedural rules, and caucus management. Bray announced on November 14 that the Senate lacked the votes to pass redistricting and would not convene in December—then reversed course on November 25 and agreed to hold a session beginning December 8.

**Procedural vs. Substantive Positioning:** Bray has consistently stated his personal opposition to mid-decade redistricting. In November, he told POLITICO: "It seems like the public is talking about this in terms of a binary choice: either 7-2 or redistricting and get 9-0. That is not clear at all to me, because we don't know who's going to run." This statement reflects Bray's belief that redistricting is unnecessary to achieve Republican electoral goals.

However, Bray has also emphasized his procedural role as caucus manager. His November 25 statement agreeing to convene said the Senate would "make a final decision" on redistricting—language that commits to holding a vote without committing to the outcome. Bray appears to be managing competing pressures by allowing the process to proceed while personally signaling opposition.

**Mixed Signals:** Bray did not deliver a speech on Organization Day—an unusual departure from tradition—and released a written statement expressing opposition instead. He has been the primary target of President Trump's social media attacks, including being labeled "a Complete and Total RINO." Bray's 2028 reelection timeline insulates him from immediate primary threats, but the intensity of White House pressure may be forcing his hand procedurally.

**Why Bray Is Treated Separately:** Bray's position as President Pro Tempore means his personal vote is less important than his institutional role. If Bray whips the caucus against redistricting, the map fails regardless of his individual vote. If Bray allows a free vote and the map reaches 25 YES votes, Lieutenant Governor Beckwith breaks the tie and the map passes. Bray's decision about how to manage the caucus—not how to cast his own vote—is the decisive variable.

**Recommended Approach:** Bray should be engaged at the institutional level, not the individual level. Emphasize that his legacy as Pro Tempore will be defined by whether he allowed Indiana to capitulate to White House demands or whether he preserved the Senate's institutional independence.

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## Senate Majority Floor Leader Chris Garten (R–Charlestown, SD-45)

**Position:** Confirmed YES

Senator Garten declared support for redistricting on October 21, 2025, stating he had been "in support since day one." As Floor Leader, Garten manages daily floor operations and vote whipping. His position is fixed.

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## Senate Majority Caucus Chair Travis Holdman (R–Markle, SD-19)

**Position:** Confirmed NO

Senator Holdman announced opposition to redistricting in November 2025, stating: "The message from my district has been clear — they do not support mid-cycle redistricting, and therefore I cannot support it." As Caucus Chair, Holdman's opposition is significant because he typically coordinates caucus positions. His defection weakens the leadership's ability to deliver a unified YES vote.

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## Assistant President Pro Tempore Sue Glick (R–LaGrange, SD-13)

**Position:** Confirmed NO

Senator Glick expressed skepticism about redistricting in October, stating that "most of us" she had talked to didn't think mid-cycle redistricting was "a fair thing to do" or "the right thing to do." Her position as Assistant Pro Tempore makes her opposition institutionally significant.

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## Assistant Majority Floor Leaders

**Sen. Liz Brown (R–Fort Wayne, SD-15):** Confirmed YES. Brown was the first senator to publicly support redistricting and has been among the most aggressive advocates, running radio ads and posting combative social media content.

**Sen. Mike Gaskill (R–Pendleton, SD-25):** Confirmed YES. Declared support October 27, 2025.

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## SECTION 6 —

### Confirmed YES Votes (Name & Shame)

The following 14 Republican senators have publicly committed to voting YES on redistricting. They have chosen to prioritize White House demands over constituent preferences, democratic principles, and the institutional independence of the Indiana Senate.

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#### Sen. Liz Brown (R–Fort Wayne, SD-15)

##### **Assistant Majority Floor Leader; Judiciary Committee Chair**

Senator Brown was the first senator to publicly support redistricting in August 2025. She has been the most aggressive public advocate for the effort, running radio advertisements promoting redistricting in Fort Wayne and posting combative statements on social media.

**Statement (October 22, 2025):** "Redistricting isn't a matter of fairness. Democrats don't want to debate lines — they want to impose them. Either Indiana learns to fight like it intends to win, or it will be ruled like it deserves to lose."

**Assessment:** Brown's rhetoric reveals the naked partisan motivation behind redistricting. She is not persuadable.

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#### Sen. Tyler Johnson (R–Leo, SD-14)

Senator Johnson posted support for redistricting on social media on October 22, 2025, following a phone call with President Trump. He attended the White House meeting with Trump in August.

**Assessment:** Johnson's position follows direct presidential engagement. He is not persuadable.

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#### Sen. Daryl Schmitt (R–Jasper, SD-48)

Senator Schmitt declared support on October 24, 2025, citing "how Democrat-controlled states have gerrymandered their congressional maps."

**Assessment:** Schmitt's rationale—responding to Democratic gerrymandering elsewhere—reflects the national GOP messaging strategy. He is not persuadable.

## Sen. Scott Alexander (R–Muncie, SD-26)

Senator Alexander declared support on October 24, 2025, stating: "President Trump and our conservative majorities are delivering real results to improve the lives of Hoosiers and strengthen our country."

**Assessment:** Alexander's statement explicitly frames redistricting as loyalty to Trump. He is not persuadable.

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## Sen. Ron Alting (R–Lafayette, SD-22)

Senator Alting declared support on October 25, 2025, citing the federal government shutdown as justification. Alting is one of the longest-serving members of the Senate and was previously considered a moderate.

**Critical Note:** Alting faces a primary challenger from the right in May 2026. His support for redistricting may reflect electoral calculation rather than conviction. However, his public commitment makes reversal unlikely.

**Assessment:** Alting's position is fixed. However, his moderate reputation makes his support for redistricting useful for opposition messaging—"even Ron Alting has abandoned his principles."

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## Sen. Justin Busch (R–Fort Wayne, SD-16)

Senator Busch declared support on October 25, 2025.

**Assessment:** Not persuadable.

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## Sen. Mike Gaskill (R–Pendleton, SD-25)

**Assistant Majority Floor Leader for Parliamentary Affairs**

Senator Gaskill declared support on October 27, 2025.

**Assessment:** Leadership position makes reversal institutionally impossible. Not persuadable.

## Sen. Chris Garten (R–Charlestown, SD-45)

### Majority Floor Leader

Senator Garten declared support on October 21, 2025, stating he had been "in support since day one."

**Assessment:** Leadership position makes reversal institutionally impossible. Not persuadable.

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## Sen. Randy Maxwell (R–Guilford, SD-43)

Senator Maxwell declared support on October 23, 2025, stating he supported "President Trump and his initiatives" and wanted to strengthen "the Make America Great Again agenda."

**Assessment:** Maxwell's explicit MAGA framing indicates strong ideological commitment. Not persuadable.

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## Sen. Eric Koch (R–Bedford, SD-44)

### Author of the 2021 Redistricting Maps

Senator Koch declared support on November 10, 2025. As the author of the current maps, Koch's reversal is notable—he previously praised the 2021 maps' durability and defended the 1st District's boundaries.

**Assessment:** Koch's position as the 2021 map author gives him institutional investment in defending his prior work while supporting the new effort. Not persuadable.

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## Sen. Gary Byrne (R–Byrneville, SD-47)

Senator Byrne told the New York Times he views redistricting as "a constitutional mechanism for state legislatures to influence federal matters" and would support a map that could help Republicans "gain a seat or two."

**Assessment:** Not persuadable.

## Sen. Scott Baldwin (R–Noblesville, SD-20)

Senator Baldwin declared support on October 27, 2025.

**Assessment:** Not persuadable.

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## Sen. Jim Tomes (R–Wadesville, SD-49)

### Veterans Affairs and The Military Committee Chair

Senator Tomes initially expressed opposition to redistricting in August 2025 but reversed his position on November 18, 2025, stating: "If the issue ever came down to a vote, that vote would then be whether to support our Commander in Chief Donald Trump, or the other party."

**Assessment:** Tomes' reversal demonstrates the power of the loyalty-framing used by redistricting advocates. His language ("Commander in Chief") suggests he views the vote as a test of partisan loyalty rather than a policy question. Not persuadable.

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## Sen. Michael Young (R–Indianapolis, SD-35)

Senator Young took to the Senate floor on Organization Day to criticize President Pro Tempore Bray for refusing Governor Braun's call for a special session, calling it "a slap in the face of the governor."

**Assessment:** Young's public attack on Bray indicates strong support for redistricting. Not persuadable.

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## SECTION 7 —

### Confirmed NO Votes (Brief Thank-You Section)

The following 10 Republican senators have publicly committed to voting NO on redistricting. Their courage in resisting intense White House pressure deserves recognition and reinforcement.

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**Sen. Spencer Deery (R–West Lafayette, SD-23):** Announced opposition August 13, 2025, with eloquent constitutional arguments grounded in popular sovereignty.

**Sen. Greg Walker (R–Columbus, SD-41):** Announced opposition August 2025, stating the current maps "have undergone considerable public scrutiny" and there is "no justification for revisiting maps less than four years after they were drawn."

**Sen. Jean Leising (R–Oldenburg, SD-42):** Announced opposition November 11, 2025. Target of pipe bomb threat November 29, 2025. Stated only 7% of her constituents support redistricting.

**Sen. Eric Bassler (R–Washington, SD-39):** Announced opposition November 13, 2025, stating: "I cannot support any mid-census redistricting plan."

**Sen. Vaneta Becker (R–Evansville, SD-50):** Announced opposition November 2025. Reported receiving over 750 calls opposing redistricting and only 37 in favor. Stated: "I've been a legislator 42 years. I'm not going to change my vote."

**Sen. Sue Glick (R–LaGrange, SD-13):** Expressed skepticism October 2025, stating "most of us" didn't think mid-cycle redistricting was "a fair thing to do."

**Sen. Kyle Walker (R–Lawrence/Indianapolis, SD-31):** Announced opposition November 14, 2025, citing 93% constituent opposition.

**Sen. Jim Buck (R–Kokomo, SD-21):** Indicated opposition August 2025.

**Sen. Mike Bohacek (R–Michiana Shores, SD-8):** Announced opposition November 28, 2025, citing President Trump's use of a disability-related slur and noting his daughter has Down syndrome.

**Sen. Travis Holdman (R–Markle, SD-19):** Announced opposition November 2025, stating: "The message from my district has been clear — they do not support mid-cycle redistricting."



## SECTION 8 — Appendix: District Competitiveness (Narrative Analysis)

The 2022 State Senate Vulnerability Rank dataset reveals critical patterns that should guide persuasion strategy. Republican margins range from a razor-thin 1.62% (SD-31, Kyle Walker) to an unassailable 52.66% (SD-42, Jean Leising). The distribution clusters into four distinct categories.

**Highly Vulnerable Districts (Margins Under 15%):** Only five Republican senators hold districts with margins below 15%: Kyle Walker (SD-31, 1.62%), Dan Dernulc (SD-1, 5.23%), Scott Baldwin (SD-20, 11.92%), Michael Young (SD-35, 13.61%), and Aaron Freeman (SD-32, 14.01%). Walker has already declared opposition. Baldwin and Young have declared support. Dernulc and Freeman remain undeclared—making them the highest-value persuasion targets.

**Moderately Vulnerable Districts (Margins 15-25%):** Twelve Republican senators hold districts with margins between 15% and 25%. This cohort includes several undeclared senators (Cyndi Carrasco, Linda Rogers, Brett Clark, Greg Goode, Ed Charbonneau, Michael Crider) as well as several confirmed YES voters (Ron Alting, Liz Brown, Mike Gaskill, Justin Busch) and confirmed NO voters (Vaneta Becker, Jim Buck, Spencer Deery). The confirmed NO voters in this range demonstrate that competitive pressure can push senators toward opposition.

**Moderately Safe Districts (Margins 25-40%):** Twelve Republican senators hold districts with margins between 25% and 40%. Most senators in this range have either declared YES or remained silent. The confirmed NO voters in this range (Greg Walker, Mike Bohacek, Travis Holdman) demonstrate that ideological conviction can override electoral safety.

**Safe Districts (Margins Above 40%):** Eleven Republican senators hold districts with margins above 40%. Paradoxically, some of the most prominent NO voters (Jean Leising, Sue Glick, Eric Bassler) come from this cohort—suggesting that electoral safety can enable principled opposition by insulating senators from primary threats. However, most undeclared senators in this range (Ryan Mishler, Andy Zay, Stacey Donato, Rodric Bray) have remained silent, potentially indicating they feel secure enough to wait out the pressure campaign.

**Strategic Implication:** Persuasion resources should concentrate on undeclared senators in the highly vulnerable and moderately vulnerable categories, where constituent backlash poses the greatest electoral risk. Senators Dernulc, Freeman, Carrasco, Rogers, Clark, and Goode represent the highest-value targets based on vulnerability analysis.

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*This briefing reflects publicly available information as of December 1, 2025, the date of the House map release. Vote counts and positions may change as the December 8 Senate session approaches.*