



Post-Pandemic? What's Next

Legislation and Congress
Heading to Mid-terms

FLISA/NAFIS Messaging

3

POST-PANDEMICP POST?

Etc. Kine light Elease

Coronavirus in the U.S.:
Latest Map and Case Count

County and Case County

County a

POST-PANDEMICP WHAT'S NEXT

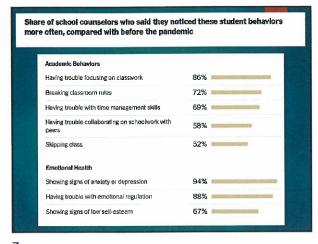
362 School Counselors on the Pandemic's Effect on Children:
'Anxiety Is Filling Our Kids'
In a Times survey, counselors said students are behind in their abilities to learn, cope and relate.

By this Shithlite and Blues Pather Produced by first Box

American schoolchildren's learning loss in the pandemic isn't just in reading sudmath. It's also in social and emotional stills—those meeted to make and lover firends; participate in group projects; and cape with frustration and other emotions.

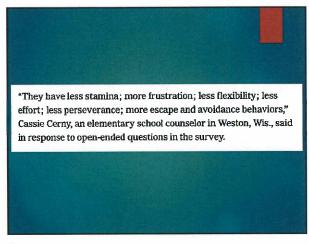
In a survey of 362 school counselors national deby The New York Times is Arfil, the counselors allowed decastors who geach these skills—described usany sundents as frozen, socially and emotionally, at the age they were when the pandemic started.

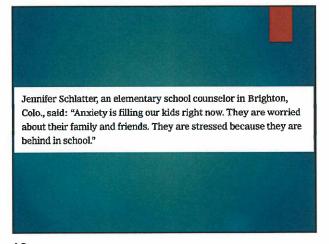
1



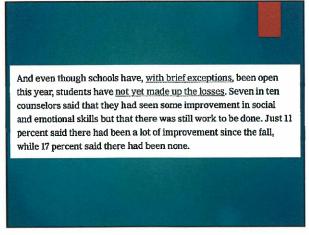
Share of school counselors who said they noticed these student behaviors more often, compared with before the pandemic Social Skills Having trouble solving conflicts with friends 59% == Having trouble making new friends Harassing beers online 51% = Physically fighting with peers Unsafe Student Behaviors 85% = Being chronically absent from school Using computers or the internet in school-inappropriate ways 45% Vandalizing school property 44% Possessing drugs or alcohol at school 38% == Engaging in age-inappropriate sexual behavior 31% 🎟 Bringing non-finearm weapons to school 11% = Bringing guns to school 3% | meds from 262 counselors in April

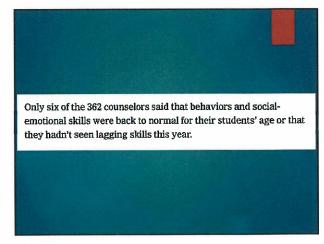
7





9 10





Despite counselors' deep concern, they had reasons for optimism. Most had seen improvement once schools and in-person extracurricular activities reopened. Dozens said they were struck by children's resilience. And some said the experiences of the past two years had helped children grasp the importance of mental health.

"They are learning a lot about resilience and hardship, and we are finally talking openly about mental health and suicide," said Melissa Dole, who works with high schoolers in Longmont, Colo. "This makes me hopeful for students' ability to learn coping strategies and reach out when help is needed."

POST-PANDEMICP WHAT'S NEXT

TODAY'S LESSONTHE 2ND
AMENDMENT

14

16

13

Pandemic Impact
NEA Survey Shows Big
Jump in Educators
Planning to Leave
Teaching Sooner Than
Planned

By Kristal Kuykendal | 02/01/22

The National Education Association, the nation's largest union
representing nearly 3 million educators, on Tuesday released its
latest survey conducted last month showing 80% of educators
responded that burnout is a "serious problem" for them.

Also notable: more than half, 55%, of the 3,621 educators surveyed
said the pandemic has made them "more likely to rethe or leave
education earlier than planned" — representing a significant increase
from the 37% with this response to the same question in an August
2021 NEA survey.

15

Addressing Burnout

Below is a list of different proposals to address educator burnout. For each one, please indicate whether you support or oppose the proposal.

Strongly Support Total Support

Balse educator salaters

181 96

181 96

181 96

181 96

181 96

181 96

181 96

181 96

181 96

181 96

181 96

181 96

182 90

183 90

184 90

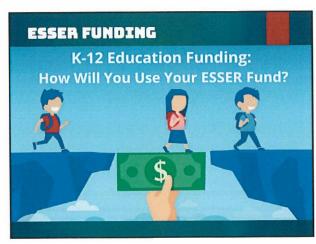
185 Rever puperson requirements

185 186 187

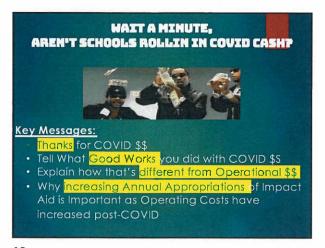
186 Rever puperson requirements

188 188 188

188 188 188

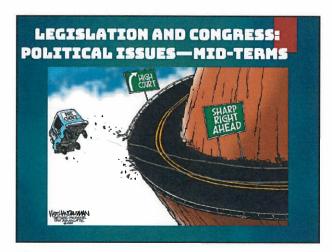


17 18

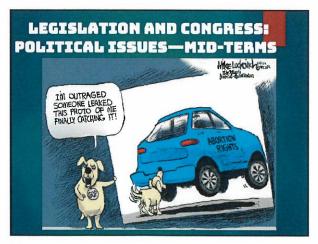


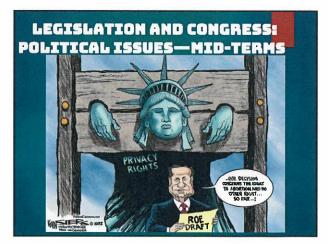




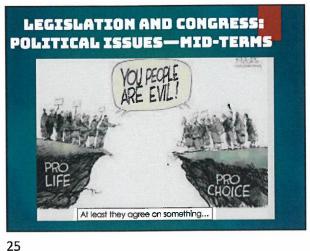


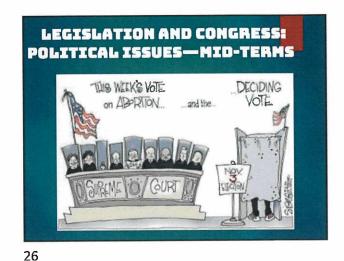
21 22

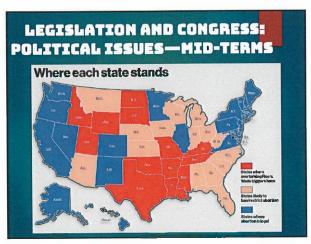


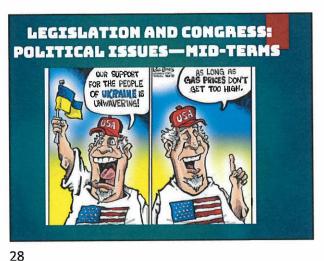


23 24

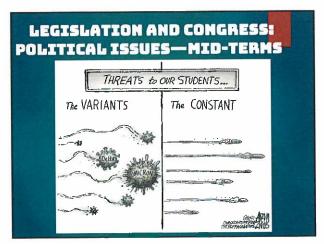


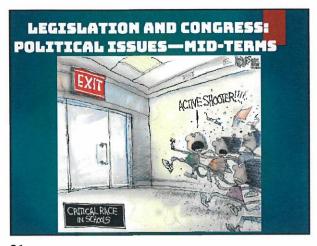


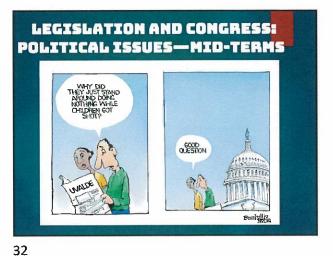


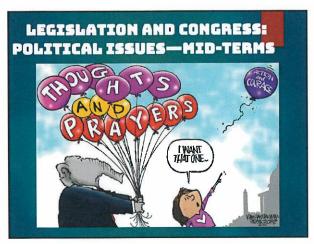






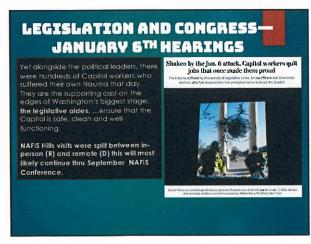


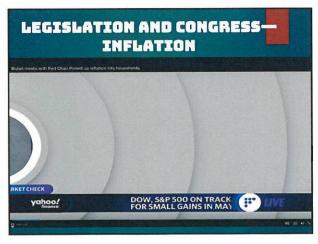




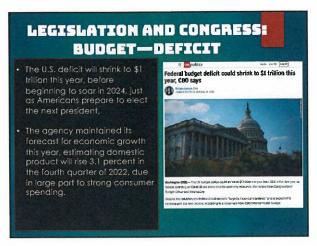


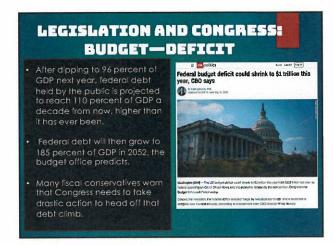
33 34

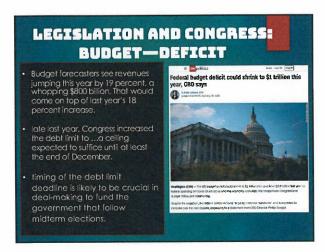




35 36



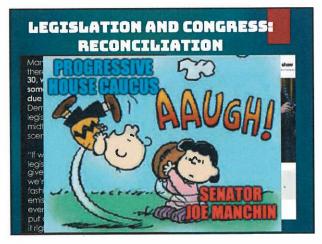




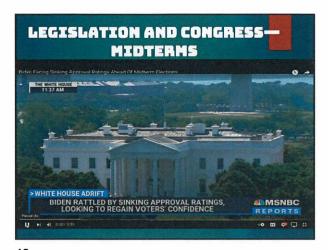


39 40





41 42



At this point, redistricting has created six more Democratic-leaning seats nationally and five fewer highly competitive seats (the number of Republican-leaning seats has held steady).

However, because many of those newly blue seats are already held by Democrats, it's actually Republicans who have gained a handful of House seats through the redistricting process so far.

Republicans have also converted light-red districts into safer seats in states like Indiana, Oklahoma and Utah.

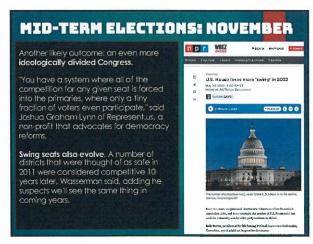
Overall, redistricting hasn't drastically changed the House landscape so far — but that's good news for Republicans, since the old maps already filted the House playing field in their favor.

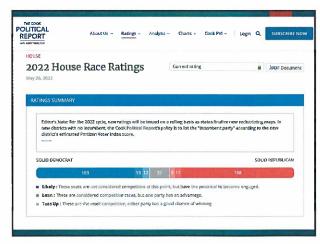
43 44





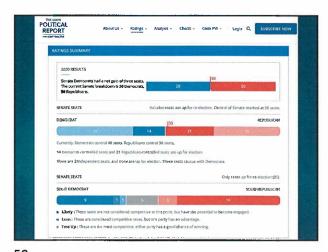
45 46

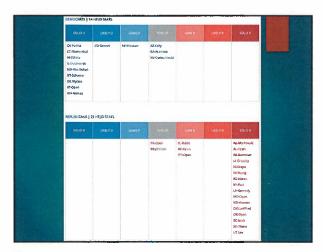




47 48

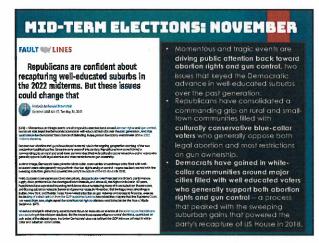








51 52





53 54



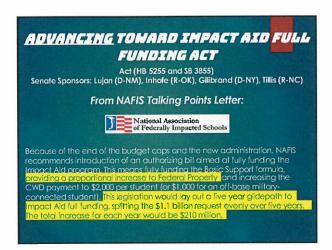
WHAT WE THINK KNOW ABOUT APPROPRIATIONS FALL 2022 IN WASHINGTON DC

The President's proposed FY 23 Budget will be published and most likely will not eliminate 7002 Impact Aid.

OUR ASK:

\$2M increase for Federal Property would help cover the cost of new school districts as the Federal Government continues to acquire property and districts continue to establish eligibility.

55 56



ADVANCING TOWARD IMPACT AID FULL
FUNDING ACT

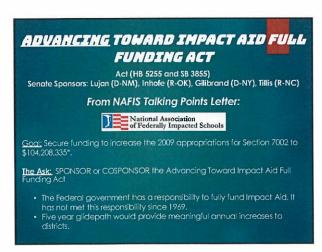
Act (HB 5255 and SB 3855)
Senate Sponsors: Lujan (D-NM), Inhofe (R-OK), Gilibrand (D-NY), Tillis (R-NC)

From NAFIS Talking Points Letter:

National Association of Pederally Impacted Schools

Because of the end of the budget caps and the new administration, NAFIS recommends introduction of an authorizing bill aimed at fully funding the impact Aid program. This means tuly funding the Bosic Support formula, providing a proportional increase to Federal Property and increasing the CWD payment to \$2,000 per student (or \$1,000 for an off-base military-connected student). This legislation would lay out a five year gildepath to impact Aid full funding, splitting the \$1.1 billion request evenly over five years. The total increase for each year would be \$210 million.

57 58



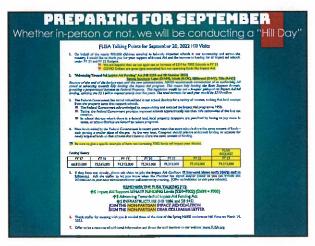
WAIT A MINUTE,
AREN'T SCHOOLS ROLLIN IN COVID CASH?

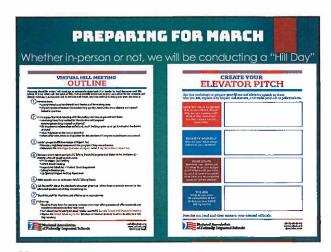
Key Messages:
Thanks for COVID \$\$

Tell What Good Works you did with COVID \$S

Explain how that's different from Operational \$\$

Why increasing Annual Appropriations of Impact Aid is Important as Operating Costs have increased post-COVID





What's Next in Washington? - June Edition

01 June 2022 Legal News: Federal Public Affairs Publication Author(s): Dennis A. Cardoza, Jennifer F. Walsh, William Ball, Jared B. Riffs, Kate M. Kros, John R. West, Scott L. Klug, Michael K. Crossen



Unexpected events last month re-energized two key policy debates. In early May, a leaked draft opinion by Justice Samuel Alito showed that the Supreme Court is poised to overturn *Roe v. Wade* in its decision of *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*. Then, in late May, two mass shootings took place, which in turn has reinvigorated the national debate over gun control.

This month, Congress is poised to debate gun control legislation, reconcile differences over the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act, and begin markups on the appropriations for Fiscal Year (FY) 2023. They will also work to pass legislation on mental health, drug pricing, and user fee reauthorizations. Outside of Washington, primary elections continue throughout June.

See below for greater detail on key issues in this month's edition of What's Next in Washington? presented by the Foley & Lardner Federal Public Affairs team.

- 1. Primary election season heats up in June
- a. 13 states have already held their primary elections, 20 more states will hold their elections in June, rounding out one of the busiest months in the Midterm cycle.

- b. All 435 seats in the House of Representatives and 35 Senate seats are in play this November. Democrats are defending slim majorities in both chambers.
 - To keep track of all the primary elections, retiring Members of Congress, and ratings on all Senate races, the Foley team has created a handbook for everything you need to know about the 2022 Midterms.
 - 1. Please click here to read more.
- 2. The House will begin its markup of appropriations for FY-2023
- a. House appropriators, including Chairwoman Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) and Ranking Member Kay Granger (R-TX), plan to begin their markup of the FY-2023 appropriations bills in June. The duo said they're aiming for votes to begin in July.
 - Senate appropriators have recently confirmed that they aim to mark up all 12 appropriations bills in July.
- Senate Appropriations Chairman Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Ranking Member Richard Shelby (R-AL) have both expressed a desire to enact funding prior to the end of the 117th Congress, when both Senators will retire.
- House and Senate appropriators have already conducted meetings on topline spending figures.
- d. Agency heads have testified before Congress on their FY-2023 budget requests, the hearings will continue through June.
- 3. Conferee's continue to negotiate differences between the House & Senate versions of
- a. Last month, lawmakers outlined the conference schedule for <u>May</u> and <u>June</u>.
 Leadership has set June 20th as its deadline to report the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act out of conference.
- i. This timeline is unlikely as the conference has already missed its deadline of May 25th to "close out" all legislative items.
 - Sen. Todd Young (R-IN), the bill's original author alongside Majority
 Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY), has stated that he doesn't anticipate the
 bill being ready until late August.
- b. There are still stark differences between the House-passed America COMPETES
 Act and USICA. This includes provisions on immigration exemptions, something
 that Republicans have said distracts from the original aim of the bill.
- i. Immigration provisions would seek to exempt those who hold a PhD from

- green card quotas. Advocates for the bill have stated that this provision would assist in training and developing the domestic workforce.
- Overall, the bill would provide \$52 billion to build up domestic semiconductor production.

4. Talks on reconciliation continue between Senate Democrats

- a. Dubbed the "<u>Chuck and Joe Show</u>" by *Politico*, Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) and Sen. Joe Manchin (D-WV) have been negotiating the terms of a new reconciliation package to replace the Build Back Better Act.
- Manchin announced back in December 2021 that he could not support the Build Back Better Act, a key pillar of President Biden's economic and social agenda.
- b. Senate Democrats were hoping for a deal to be reached on reconciliation package by Memorial Day. While talks have continued, no notable progress has been made yet and Manchin has indicated that negotiations would continue into June.
 - Manchin has stated that he would like to see the bill combat inflation, drug pricing, and provide funding for climate provisions.
- c. Democrats in Congress and the Administration have urged the passage of a new reconciliation package to advance Biden's climate agenda.
- Department of Energy Secretary Jennifer Granholm <u>stated</u> that tax credits are needed to charter the transition to clean energy as outlined the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law.
- d. Manchin has been working on a separate energy package with Senate Republicans, including Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) and Kevin Cramer (R-ND).
- The package would focus on tax credits for clean energy sources, including wind, solar, carbon capture, and batteries.
- Additional focus would include reform of federal oil and gas leasing, and reduction of American dependence on foreign energy.

5. A new health agency comes into focus

- a. In late May, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) Secretary Xavier Becerra <u>named</u> Adam H. Russell, D.Phil, as acting Deputy Director of the newly established Advanced Research Project Authority for Health (ARPA-H).He will begin his new role this month.
- ARPA-H was authorized in the Fiscal Year 2022 omnibus package that was enacted last March.

- This <u>provision</u> established the agency within HHS, but also gave HHS the opportunity to place ARPA-H within the National Institute of Health (NIH), if so desired.
- ii. Secretary Becerra opted to house ARPA-H within NIH, with the caveat that the agency will not be housed within NIH's physical facilities, and the ARPA-H director will report directly to Becerra and not the NIH director.
- c. Congress is working to pass additional legislation that hones more prescriptive authorizing language.
- The House Energy and Commerce (£&C) Committee <u>advanced</u> legislation that would establish ARPA-H as an independent agency within HHS.
- ii. The Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (HELP) Committee <u>advanced</u> legislation that would establish ARPA-H within NIH but outside of DC.
- iii. Reps. Diana DeGette (D-CO) and Fred Upton (R-MI) proposed <u>CURES 2.0</u>, which would establish ARPA-H within NIH but outside of Washington, DC.
- d. Several states, including California, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Texas, among others, are vying for the opportunity to house the agency.

6. Congress and the Administration prepare for the expiration of HHS' Public Health

Emergency

- a. HHS Secretary Becerra extended the Public Health Emergency (PHE) declaration on April 12th, noting that states and agencies should prepare for an end to the flexibilities that the declaration has allowed throughout the pandemic.
- b. The Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) will hold its second monthly <u>webinar</u> in preparation for the restart of the Medicaid/CHIP redetermination process with continuous coverage coming to an end when the PHE expires.
- Approximately 15 million people are at risk for losing access to Medicaid or CHIP when flexibilities unwind.
- ii. Following <u>a letter</u> from the administration urging them to start planning for an end to the PHE, Governors are planning to return to "normal operations" with regards to Medicaid and CHIP enrollment.
- State officials were promised 60 days' notice of HHS' intentions to let the declaration expire, so it is highly likely that Becerra will extend the PHE at least once more.

- 7. Bipartisan talks continue on the expansion of telehealth options and mental health needs
- that will expand telehealth opportunities, reauthorize various SAMHSA programs, services, relevant House and Senate committees continue to work on legislation strengthen the mental health workforce, and allow for mental health coverage a. Following several months of hearings on barriers to access in mental health
- i. In late May, House E&C unanimously advanced H.R. 7666, the Restoring Hope for Mental Health and Wellbeing Act of 2022. The full House vote and Senate markup of this bill have not yet been scheduled.
- will compromise a portion of its mental health package, which is currently ii. Last week, Senate Finance released a draft telehealth proposal. This bill still being drafted.
- beneficiaries and eliminate the requirement for infrequent in- This legislation will expand telehealth services for Medicare person visits in order to qualify for tele-services.
- Means committee is in the planning stages of a Medicare-focused piece of iii. Senate HELP continues to work on a mental health package, though they have not yet released details on draft legislation. The House Ways and
- Prescription Drug User Fee Act (PDUFA), Generic Drug User Fee Amendments (GDUFA) Biosimilar User Fee Act (BsUFA), and Medical Device User Fee Amendments (MDUFA), 8. Congress will continue to work towards passage of reauthorization legislation for the
- a. Late last month, House E&C voted unanimously to pass their user fee
- reauthorization legislation out of committee.
- b. Senate HELP will mark up their legislation early this month.
- HELP Ranking Member Richard Burr (R-NC), due to the FDA's response to i. There is a possibility the bill will be delayed, as suggested recently by the infant formula shortage.
- User Fee programs for human prescription drugs and biologics, medical devices, and generic drugs and biosimilars are set to expire this year on October 1st

government, cultivating relationships, and gaining expertise in a variety of issue areas. Our The Foley & Lardner Federal Public Affairs team has spent years working in and around insights are largely based on discussions we have with key players in the Executive and

POLITICO



Q

FINANCE

U.S. deficit will shrink to \$1T this year before soaring, federal forecasters say

At the same time, inflation is likely to persist throughout the year and then ease as economic growth slows, says Congress' nonpartisan scorekeeper.



A Peterson Foundation billboard displaying the national debt is pictured on 18th Street on February 08, 2022 in downtown Washington, D.C. | Jemal Countess/Getty Images for Peter G. Peterson Foundation

By JENNIFER SCHOLTES and KATE DAVIDSON 05/25/2022 02:07 PM EDT

Updated: 05/25/2022 04:16 PM EDT





The U.S. deficit will shrink to \$1 trillion this year, before beginning to soar in 2024, just as Americans prepare to elect the next president, Congress' nonpartisan budget forecaster predicted Wednesday. While the nation's shortfall has substantially declined following last year's \$2.8 spending and revenue will grow starting in 2024, reaching more than 6 percent of GDP a decade from now. The U.S. has only run greater deficits than that six trillion deficit, the Congressional Budget Office estimates the gap between times since 1946, CBO noted.

Advertisement

the federal deficit in American history," White House budget director Shalanda inevitable" that the U.S. has notched "the single largest nominal reduction in The Biden administration stressed the upside. It wasn't "automatic or Young said.

Young said, "which allowed us to wind down emergency measures, combined with a significant increase in revenues stemming from an historically strong "It's because this administration has responsibly managed the pandemic," economic recovery."

office's new predictions, as concerns about inflation and the deficit factor into On Capitol Hill, lawmakers have been clamoring for months to see the budget negotiations, including talks about revamping the Build Back Better package Sen. Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.) stunted in December.

expenditures index rising 4 percent in the fourth quarter from the same period projections in July 2021. The agency now sees the personal-consumption CBO doubled its expectations for inflation since it last issued updated a year earlier, then slowing to 2.3 percent next year. Last July, CBO estimated inflation would return to the Fed's 2 percent target by the end this year. Now, it doesn't see that happening until after 2024.

The agency maintained its forecast for economic growth this year, estimating real gross domestic product will rise 3.1 percent in the fourth quarter of 2022 compared to a year earlier, due in large part to strong consumer spending.

inflation and rising interest rates are expected to weigh on economic activity. projection Federal Reserve officials released in March. But it's a step down from the rapid expansion seen in 2021, as the war in Ukraine, elevated That's a slightly more optimistic forecast than the 2.8 percent growth

higher interest rates and waning government spending, which will slow GDP growth to 2.2 percent in 2023 and 1.5 percent in 2024, according to the latest CBO also sees several factors holding back growth after this year, including

POLITICO





rake in a substantial amount of cash from taxes this year and see a dip over the next two years in federal debt held by the public. Both of those boons are expected to be short-lived, however. After dipping to 96 percent of GDP next year, federal debt held by the public is projected to reach 110 percent of GDP a decade from now, higher than it has

ever been. Federal debt will then grow to 185 percent of GDP in 2052, the budget office predicts. Many fiscal conservatives warn that Congress needs to take drastic action to head off that debt climb, to save the U.S. from a financial crisis like that of Greece, where the debt-to-GDP ratio has surpassed 200 percent in recent Budget forecasters see revenues jumping this year by 19 percent, a whopping \$800 billion. That would come on top of last year's 18 percent increase

The increases will be across the board, CBO predicts, with individual income taxes leading the way, thanks in part to surging inflation. Higher nominal wages translate into bigger tax payments to the Treasury.

Altogether, receipts will reach the highest level, compared to the size of the economy, since 2000.

The budget office is more than three months late in releasing the muchanticipated fiscal predictions. By law, the agency is supposed to publish the detailed forecast by mid-February so lawmakers can use it to guide the debate on funding the government before the new fiscal year kicks off in October.

A slew of fresh estimates in the report are also expected to help narrow predictions for the nation's next debt cliff.

Pressing up against the U.S. borrowing cap late last year, Congress increased the country's debt limit to more than \$31 trillion, a ceiling expected to suffice until at least the end of December. With CBO's new projections for fiscal influences like revenue and interest rates, economic forecasters will likely home in on estimates for when the U.S. will rack up enough debt to near that new limit and risk defaulting on the nation's loans.

The timing of the debt limit deadline is likely to be crucial in deal-making to fund the government and other cross-party talks that follow the November midterm elections and that could substantially change party split in both the House and Senate.

Brian Faler contributed to this report.

POLITICO



CONGRESS Dems stand back and watch Chuck and Joe show

Democrats are hoping Chuck Schumer's 10-year-plus relationship with Joe Manchin will finally get the party their sweeping tax-and-climate bill.



The 50-50 Senate plainly strained things for Sens. Chuck Schumer and Joe Manchin, who have remained close and cordial even if their ideology and political philosophies don't always align. | Patrick Semansky/AP Photo.

By BURGESS EVERETT 05/19/2022 04:30 AM EDT



The fate of Senate Democrats' yearlong drama over the party's signature bill essentially boils down to two people: Chuck Schumer and Joe Manchin.

After months of intrigue and disagreements between the duo on critical Senate votes, the Democratic leader is finally getting down to brass tacks with his conservative colleague from West Virginia. The two met for the second time in a month on Wednesday about how to fight inflation, which Manchin wants to be the centerpiece of any party-line bill that would be Democrats' last major piece of legislation before the midterms.

ð

The majority party's last-ditch effort relies on Schumer's 10-year-plus relationship with Manchin, though the centrist senator also keeps lines open to President Joe Biden. After Manchin and the White House battled publicly in the wake of Manchin's opposition to the "Build Back Better" bill, Democrats now have "a deliberate strategy" to leave things to Schumer, said Sen. Ben Cardin (D-Md.).

The 50-50 Senate plainly strained things for Schumer and Manchin, who have remained close and cordial even if their ideology and political philosophies don't always align. Manchin serves on Schumer's leadership team and has reliably supported Biden's nominees and many key bills. But he voted against Schumer's agenda this year on changing the filibuster and an abortion rights bill, and the two signed a secret agreement last summer, focused on the scope of the party spending legislation, that showed plain distrust between the two camps.

Yet even through all that, Manchin still signals he's up for a deal. He's outlined what he supports — raising taxes on corporations and the wealthy, plowing money into energy and climate development, deficit reduction and lowering drug prices. Manchin's and Schumer's staffs are having "substantive conversations" about the contents of a package like that, according to a person familiar with the talks. And Manchin says Schumer gets where he's coming from

"I think he understands it. But you know, Sen. Schumer has a pretty far-left caucus. And with that, there were people in the overwhelming majority who were going a different direction. And he's the leader of that," Manchin explained in an interview. "I understand he was in a very difficult position ... and we have a very good understanding, and I think, a very good relationship."

Yet there's still no framework and no handshake deal. There's no agreement on who is supposed to write a potential agreement. And it's almost Memorial Day, some Democrats' unofficial deadline for some making a decision on whether or not to drop the effort to pass a sweeping Democratic bill along party lines.

Asked about where things stand with Manchin, Schumer replied Wednesday: "We're making progress, got more to do. But we're making some progress. I'm feeling decent."

Many Democrats fret that dragging things out and failing again would be the worst of all scenarios ahead of a difficult midterm election cycle. Senate Majority Whip Dick Durbin (D-III.), for one, abandoned the effort mentally months ago.

He laughed incredulously when asked about a last-gasp party-line bill: "I put so much time into immigration on reconciliation. It took a year of my legislative life. I have nothing to show for it. I wish Chuck well on reconciliation. I'm going to focus my legislative efforts in the 60-vote world."

Dealing with Manchin is a careful and delicate process for Schumer, a famously chatty leader who constantly calls his members and staffers at all times for the latest updates on politics, policy and everything in between. What's more, opposing Washington Democrats doesn't exactly hurt Manchin — his tactics thus far have boosted his poll numbers in West Virginia ahead of a possible 2024 run for reelection.

Democratic leaders have learned over the years not to lean on Manchin for his vote, a tactic that might just as easily repel the West Virginian. Because when it comes down to it, Manchin's bottom line is this: "I have to answer to the people who I represent, who really hire me to do the job of being the representative. And I would hope that all of my caucus colleagues understand."

Schumer breakthrough with Manchin.

"Obviously, the devil is in the details, so I'm not going to give up on something that I haven't seen. But given Manchin's willingness to support, you know, billions for, well," Sanders said, before cutting himself off. "The answer is: 'We'll see."

While it may frustrate their fellow senators, Manchin and Schumer have purposely left others in the dark. And with good reason: The public nature of negotiations in December backfired badly.

Sen. Jon Tester (D-Mont.) said he has "no idea" what's going on, while Cardin said "it's been total" silence about Manchin and Schumer's talks.

"They have the relationship that they could do something, absolutely," Tester said. "They'd better hurry up ... time is becoming an issue."

2 HOURS AGO

Bobby Scott strongly denied rumors that the Virginia Democrat is eyeing an **exit from the House.**

Read more

The best way to get up-to-the-minute Congress news

POLITICO

Meanwhile, Manchin's concurrently working in bipartisan groups on the difficult issues of energy and reforming the Electoral Count Act, which Schumer has tacitly allowed to continue. And if Democrats are waiting on Manchin to officially cut things off on the party-line reconciliation bill, they will be waiting for months.

Manchin said Tuesday he doesn't think there's any deadline other than Sept. 30, when Democrats' ability to pass something on party lines will expire due to



CONGRESS

Dems plot spring sprint for party-line spending deal with Manchin

BY BURGESS EVERETT

Yet Democrats' say they don't really understand why, if Manchin is ready for a deal, there isn't a piece of paper in front of them. Many on Capitol Hill now believe an agreement with Manchin just isn't going to materialize. His West Virginia colleague, Republican Sen. Shelley Moore Capito, said, "I don't think there's a deal to be cut. I just don't. Not leading up to the election like this."

Manchin says it's fair to say nothing's really happening: "That's exactly right. It's pretty true." Commensurately, the crowd of reporters seeking updates on Democrats' agenda has disappeared from outside Manchin's office. And frustration is evident all around the Democratic Party.

Cardin said simply: "It's been a very difficult period." Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) said "people are really frustrated that we have not come to a deal earlier."

"There's no new piece of evidence that causes everyone to think that somehow positions have changed and negotiations are falling into place. On the other hand: We should have been able to reach a deal," Warren said. "It takes all 50 of us to get there. And that's a challenge. I hope that ... I'm going to stop there."

Despite their exasperation, most Democrats are unwilling to call it quits on Manchin, tempted by the tantalizing glimmer of potential success. Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) said in an interview that the party needs to focus on bringing more progressives to Congress who would blunt the influence of Manchin and moderate Democratic Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (D-Ariz.): "The crisis facing Democrats is because of people like Manchin and Sinema."

But even Sanders won't say the party should give up on the possibility of a



What You Need to Know: 2022 Midterm Election

John R. West, Kate M. Kros 31 May 2022

Legal News: Federal Public Affairs

The 2022 Midterm Elections will take place in less than six months. All 435 seats in the House of Representatives and 35 seats in the Senate will be decided. Democrats face an uphill battle to keep their control of Congress. Democrats currently have a slim 221-208 edge in the House, and the Senate is split 50-50 tie, with Vice President Kamala Harris as the tie-breaking vote. Swing states, including Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, all have Senate seats in play.

See below for everything you need to know heading into the 2022 Midterm Elections, including all of the retiring Members of the House and Senate, the Primary Election calendar, and ratings for all Senate seats.

Retiring House Democrats

- Rep. Alan Lowenthal (CA-47)
- Rep. Albio Sires (NJ-08)
- Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick (AZ-02)
- Rep. Bobby Rush (IL-01)
- Rep. Brenda Lawrence (MI-14)
- Rep. Cheri Bustos (IL-17)
- Rep. David Price (NC-04)
- Rep. Ed Perlmutter (CO-07)
- Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson (TX-30)
- Rep. Filemon Vela (TX-34)
- Rep. G.K. Butterfield (NC-01)
- Rep. Jackie Speier (CA-14)
- Rep. Jerry McNerney (CA-09)
- Rep. Jim Cooper (TN-05)
- Rep. Jim Langevin (RI-02)
- Rep. John Yarmuth (KY-03)
- Rep. Kathleen Rice (NY-04)
- Rep. Lucille Roybal Allard (CA-40)
- Rep. Mike Doyle (PA-17)
- Rep. Peter DeFazio (OR-03)
- Rep. Ron Kind (WI-03)
- Rep. Stephanie Murphy (FL-07)
- Rep. Ted Deutch (FL-22)

Retiring Senate Democrats

Sen. Patrick Leahy (VT)

Democrats Running for New Office

- Rep. Anthony Brown (MD-04) Running for Attorney General of Maryland
- Rep. Antonio Delgado (NY-19) Appointed Lt Governor of NY
- Rep. Charlie Crist (FL-13) Running for Governor of Florida
- Rep. Connor Lamb (PA-17) Ran for Open PA Senate Seat, Lost Democratic Nomination
- Rep. Kai Kahele (HI-02) Running for Governor

- Rep. Karen Bass (CA-37) Running for Mayor of Los Angeles
- Rep. Peter Welch (VT-00) Running for Senate
- Rep. Tim Ryan (OH-13) Running for Open OH Senate Seat
- Rep. Tom Suozzi (NY-03) Running for Governor of New York
- Rep. Val Demings (FL-10) Running for Senate

Retiring House Republicans

- Rep. Adam Kinzinger (IL-16)
- Rep. Anthony Gonzalez (OH-16)
- Rep. Bob Gibbs (OH-07)
- Rep. Devin Nunes (CA-22)
- Rep. Don Young (AK-00) Died in Office
- Rep. Fred Keller (PA-12)
- Rep. Fred Upton (MI-06)
- Rep. Jeff Fortenberry (NE-01)
- Rep. Jim Hagedorn (MN-01) Died in Office
- Rep. John Katko (NY-24)
- Rep. Kevin Brady (TX-08)
- Rep. Tom Reed (NY-23)
- Rep. Trey Hollingsworth (IN-09)
- Rep. Van Taylor (TX-03)

Retiring Senate Republicans

- Sen. Jim Inhofe (OK) Ending term early
- Sen. Pat Toomey (PA)
- Sen. Richard Burr (NC)
- Sen. Richard Shelby (AL)
- Sen. Rob Portman (OH)
- Sen. Roy Blunt (MO)

Republicans Running for New Office

- Rep. Billy Long (MO-07) Running for Senate
- Rep. Jody Hice (GA-10) Running for Georgia Secretary of State
- Rep. Lee Zeldin (NY-01) Running for Governor of New York
- Rep. Louie Gohmert (TX-01) Running for Attorney General
- Rep. Markwayne Mullin (OK-03) Running for Senate
- Rep. Mo Brooks (AL-05) Running for Senate
- Rep. Ted Budd (NC-13) Running for Senate
- Rep. Vicky Hartzler (MO-04) Running for Senate

2022 Primary Election Calendar

STATE	PRIMARY DATE	STATE	PRIMARY DATE	STATE	PRIMARY DATE
Texas	1-Mar	California	7-Jun	Arizona	2-Aug
Indiana	3-May	Iowa	7-Jun	Kansas	2-Aug
Ohio	3-May	Mississippi	7-Jun	Michigan	2-Aug
Nebraska	10-May	Montana	7-Jun	Missouri	2-Aug
West Virginia	10-May	New Jersey	7-Jun	Washington	2-Aug

Idaho	17-May	New Mexico	7-Jun	Tennessee	4-Aug
Kentucky	17-May	South Dakota	7-Jun	Connecticut	9-Aug
North Carolina	17-May	Maine	14-Jun	Minnesota	9-Aug
Oregon	17-May	Nevada	14-Jun	Vermont	9-Aug
Pennsylvania	17-May	North Dakota	14-Jun	Wisconsin	9-Aug
Alabama	24-May	South Carolina	14-Jun	Hawaii	13-Aug
Arkansas	24-May	District of Columbia	21-Jun	Alaska	16-Aug
Georgia	24-May	Virginia	21-Jun	Wyoming	16-Aug
		Colorado	28-Jun	Florida	23-Aug
		Illinois	28-Jun	Massachusetts	6-Sep
		Maryland	28-Jun	Delaware	13-Sep
		New York	28-Jun	New Hampshire	13-Sep
		Oklahoma	28-Jun	Rhode Island	13-Sep
		Utah	28-Jun	Louisiana	8-Nov

2022 Senate Election Outlook - Source: Cook Political Report

STATE	INCUMBENT	RATING	STATE	INCUMBENT	RATING
California	Alex Padilla	Strong Democrat	Alaska	Lisa Murkowski	Strong Republican
Colorado	Michael Bennet	Likely Democrat	Arkansas	John Boozman	Strong Republican
Connecticut	Richard Blumenthal	Strong Democrat	Florida	Marco Rubio	Lean Republican
Hawaii	Brian Schatz	Strong Democrat	Idaho	Mike Crapo	Strong Republican
Illinois	Tammy Duckworth	Strong Democrat	Indiana	Todd Young	Strong Republican
Maryland	Chris Van Hollen	Strong Democrat	Iowa	Chuck Grassley	Strong Republican
Nevada	Catherine Cortez Masto	Toss-up	Kansas	Jerry Moran	Strong Republican
New Hampshire	Maggie Hassan	Lean Democrat	Kentucky	Rand Paul	Strong Republican
New York	Chuck Schumer	Strong Democrat	Louisiana	John Kennedy	Strong Republican
Oregon	Ron Wyden	Strong Democrat	North Dakota	John Hoeven	Strong Republican
Arizona	Mark Kelly	Toss-up	Oklahoma	James Lankford	Strong Republican
Georgia	Raphael Warnock	Toss-up	South Carolina	Tim Scott	Strong Republican
Washington	Patty Murray	Strong Democrat	South Dakota	John Thune	Strong Republican
Vermont	Open	Strong Democrat	Utah	Mike Lee	Strong Republican
			Wisconsin	Ron Johnson	Toss-up
			Alabama	Open	Strong Republican
			Missouri	Open	Strong Republican
			North Carolina	Open	Lean Republican
	į.		Ohio	Open	Lean Republican
			Oklahoma	Open	Strong Republican
			Pennsylvania	Open	Toss-up





WBEZ

DONATE

SUBSCRIBE TO THE NPR POLITICS PODCAST

U.S. House loses more 'swing' in 2022

Heard on All Things Considered May 29, 2022 · 5:00 AM ET



SUSAN DAVIS

3-Minute Listen

PLAYLIST Download



The number of competitive swing seats for the U.S. House is on the decline. Gemunu Amarasinghe/AP Every ten years, congressional districts are redrawn to reflect the nation's population shifts, and every ten years, the number of U.S. House seats that could be reasonably won by either party continue to shrink.

Kelly Burton, president of the left-leaning National Democratic Redistricting Committee, says it might not be great for democracy. "It increases the polarization. It decreases the willingness and likelihood of two sides coming together to solve problems and skews the incentive structure for our elected officials much more toward the extremes then toward the middle," she told NPR.

dispute; only roughly 30 of 435 U.S. House seats will be considered traditional "swing seats" on the ballot this November. Those are congressional districts that were won While not all 2022 congressional district maps are finalized, one outcome is not in within 5% by Joe Biden or Donald Trump. Districts that competitive tend to be represented by lawmakers who have the most incentives to be bipartisan.

partisans take advantage of that reality to more easily draw legislative maps with safe But like-minded Americans are living more clustered together than ever before, and Democratic and Republican seats, according to non-partisan election analyst Dave Wasserman of The Cook Political Report.

Sponsor Message

"These two things feed off of each other and compound to absolutely eviscerate the number of swing seats," Wasserman told NPR.

The number of swing seats has dropped precipitously over the last 20 years. According to *Cook* data, there were 124 such seats after the 2002 redistricting process, and only 99 seats after the 2012 redistricting.

With a growing baseline of safe Republican and Democratic seats, both parties find it hard to command a sustainable House majority. Since the 1994 GOP wave broke a four-decade run of Democratic House control, the chamber has flipped three times (2006, 2010, 2018) and is poised to flip again in November, to Republicans.

A smaller number of competitive seats "means that there are a lot fewer natural and easy opportunities for us to go win," said Dan Conston, president of the Congressional Leadership Fund, which is the top House GOP super PAC. It is forcing Republicans to try to compete in seats with less "swing."

"The political environment is so good that we are able to extend much deeper into Democrat-held territory than we ever were before, and we believe that we're going to be able to make significant gains in traditional Democrat areas," said Conston, noting that Republicans are fielding candidates in districts Biden carried by as much as 15%.

But with a less competitive House overall, even a banner year for Republicans would likely translate to a 25 to 30 seat gain and result in a narrow — and fragile — majority.

With fewer swing seats, the House is more vulnerable to whiplash between the two parties for control, says Stanford University Professor Morris Fiorina.

"Now the parties are so evenly matched that even though there's very few marginal districts, the Congress could shift even with a much smaller change in seats than it could a generation ago," he told NPR.

The risk, Fiorina says, is that both parties tend to misread the message from voters in these elections because of how tiny vote shifts can tilt control of the whole chamber.

"Each new majority says, 'OK, now we have a mandate.' They don't have a mandate. The mandate was, 'We like you slightly better than the other people," Fiorina said.

Another likely outcome: an even more ideologically divided Congress

"You have a system where all of the competition for any given seat is forced into the primaries, where only a tiny fraction of voters even participate," said Joshua Graham Lynn of Represent.us, a non-profit that advocates for democracy reforms.

Burton says it's not all bad news.

"Even though the total number of competitive seats is smaller, there are enough seats within that competitive bucket that the House will be competitive for the decade, and I think that that is good for democracy," she said, "I think you want the outcome of the elections to reflect the will of the voters and you want to see the people in power be determined by the voters themselves and not predetermined by the maps."

Swing seats also evolve. A number of districts that were thought of as safe in 2011 were considered competitive 10 years later, Wasserman said, adding he suspects we'll see the same thing in coming years.



Republicans are confident about recapturing well-educated suburbs in the 2022 midterms. But these issues could change that



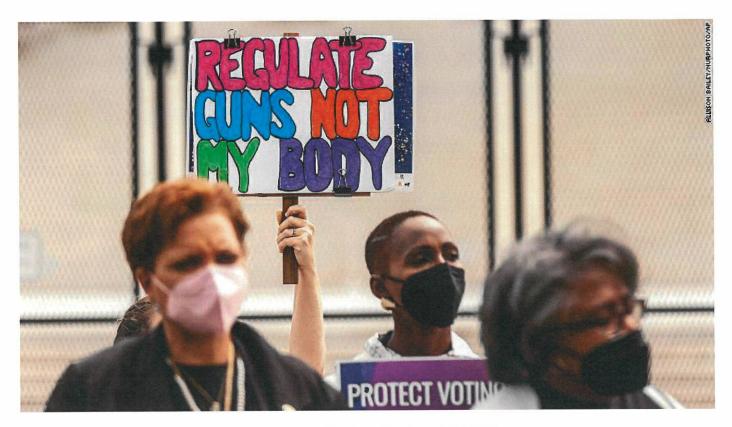
(CNN) — Momentous and tragic events are driving public attention back toward abortion rights and gun control, two issues that keyed the Democratic advance in well-educated suburbs over the past generation. And that could create the Democrats' best chance of defending those gains in the stormy environment of the 2022 midterm elections.

Debates over abortion and guns have played a central role in the ongoing geographic resorting of the two predominant political parties. Since the early years of this century, Republicans have consolidated a commanding grip on rural and small-town communities filled with culturally conservative blue-collar voters who generally oppose both legal abortion and most restrictions on gun ownership.

In mirror image, Democrats have gained in white-collar communities around major cities filled with well-educated voters who generally support both abortion rights and gun control -- a process that peaked with the sweeping suburban gains that powered the party's recapture of the US House in 2018.

Amid discontent over persistent Covid disruptions, dissatisfaction over President Joe Biden's performance, supply chain problems like the shortage of infant formula, and above all, the highest inflation in 40 years, Republicans have expressed mounting confidence about recapturing many of those suburban House seats, and flipping suburban voters in Senate and governor races, in November. But the tragic mass shootings in Buffalo, New York, and Uvalde, Texas, have riveted attention on gun violence and access to firearms, even as the leaking of a draft opinion from five GOP-appointed justices has raised the prospect that the Supreme Court, just weeks from now, might repeal the constitutional right to abortion established under the Roe v. Wade decision in 1973.

No serious analyst in either party expects more focus on these issues to erase all the advantages Republicans are stockpiling in the midterm elections. But the more those issues influence voters' decisions, operatives on both sides of the debate agree, the better Democrats' chances to blunt the GOP advance, at least in white-collar and suburban communities.



A demonstration outside the Supreme Court on Wednesday, May 25, 2022.

"Refocusing on gun safety and abortion rights will move many of these 2018 suburban districts away from the Republicans and make their playing field smaller," predicts Peter Ambler, executive director of Giffords, the gun safety advocacy group founded by former Rep. Gabby Giffords.

Many Republicans agree they could face more resistance in suburbia if abortion rights and gun control remain prominent concerns through Election Day. John Thomas, a Texas-based GOP consultant who has worked extensively in California suburbs such as Orange County, says that until these issues resurfaced so prominently, the Republican path in these areas appeared clear, with voters less focused on their distaste for former President Donald Trump and more on their dissatisfaction with Biden.

"Two months ago, we would have absolutely waltzed through these places with college-educated suburban White women, because they had no real reason to either break against us or turn out," he says. "There's no orange man [Trump] -- there was no wedge issue for them."

Like most Republicans, and even some Democrats, Thomas believes that discontent over inflation and disenchantment over Biden will remain the driving factor in white-collar districts, just as in less affluent places. But, he says, the renewed attention to abortion and gun control has added an element of uncertainty and created an opening for Democrats to change the electoral dynamic in some areas.

"It comes down to what is the national conversation and top issue as we go to November," Thomas says. "Is it economic driven and a referendum on Biden's failure? Quite frankly, if those other issues [gun control and abortion] are in the world of parity, Republicans have problems in those seats."

Democrats' suburban advance

Improved performance in well-educated suburbs (along with society's increasing racial diversity and the growth

of millennials and Generation Z in the electorate) has been among the most significant drivers of Democratic electoral gains over the past quarter century. The Democrats' suburban advance has reflected the increasing prominence of cultural affinities in shaping electoral choices, with the party gaining among voters who often took center-right positions on economic issues like taxes but leaned left on cultural questions such as abortion, gun control and LGBTQ rights. (That process, in reverse, fueled the GOP small-town and rural gains among culturally conservative voters who once backed Democrats supporting expansive government programs such as Social Security.)

Through the 1990s, House Republicans representing suburban constituencies often voted for gun control and/or expressed support for legalized abortion: When the House in 1993 passed the "Brady Bill" establishing the national background check system for purchases from gun stores, 54 House Republicans, mostly representing suburban areas, voted for it. But since then, almost all elected Republicans, whatever their constituencies, have moved toward lockstep opposition to legal abortion and gun control.

Dana Bash presses GOP lawmaker on gun safety solutions 04:30

Against the backdrop of widespread white-collar discontent with Trump, Democrats exploited that mismatch more effectively than ever in 2018, when they ousted Republicans from suburban districts around major cities from coast to coast. In that election, Republicans tumbled from holding about 43% of all the House districts with more college graduates than average to only about 25% of them, according to a CNN analysis at the time. The Giffords group calculated that 40 House Republicans with high ratings from the National Rifle Association lost or retired that year. Two years later, those same suburban places provided decisive votes for Biden.

But these suburban areas haven't been immune to the general discontent over the country's direction and Biden's performance that has generated such a powerful tailwind for Republicans in the 2022 elections. Biden's approval with college-educated White voters remains much higher than his standing among Whites without such degrees. But compared with his 2020 vote he has fallen substantially with well-educated voters as well, especially men.

Amid that discontent, Republicans have been extremely optimistic about regaining ground with suburban voters in the critical statewide races for governor (including in Michigan, Wisconsin, Georgia, Texas, Arizona and Nevada) and the Senate (including Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Georgia, Arizona and Nevada.)

"These areas had been moving more Democrat," says former National Republican Congressional Committee Chairman Tom Davis, who represented a suburban Northern Virginia seat in the US House. "What you see now are the Democrats in charge, and to the average person the economy is not being managed [well], and so I think it's going to snap back to some extent."

Because suburban seats fueled the Democratic takeover of the House, they are especially central to Republican hopes of winning back the chamber. In 2020, Republicans recaptured many of the Democratic 2018 pickups in districts where Trump remained popular. That's left Democrats mostly defending seats this fall in metropolitan areas that didn't like Trump but have now soured on Biden -- a list that includes the districts held by Reps. Elaine Luria and Abigail Spanberger in Virginia, Elissa Slotkin in Michigan, Angie Craig in Minnesota, Cindy Axne in Iowa, Greg Stanton in Arizona, Susie Lee in Nevada, Kim Schrier in Washington state, and Mike Levin and Katie Porter in California. The suburbs are "where we are either going to stem losses or hold our ground," says Democratic pollster Molly Murphy.

As the salien grows with the and the salie grow with the Court decision these swing enrage them over the company Republican From extreme right conservative

PETER AMBLE
OF GIFFORDS

Attitudes about guns and abortion may represent Democrats' best chance in these places.

Public polling shows that large majorities of college-educated voters side with Democratic views on both issues. Nearly 70% of college-educated adults, for instance, said they opposed overturning Roe v. Wade in a nationwide CNN poll conducted by SSRS in May. Among college-



Audio Live TV

Log In

also opposed a policy proliferating in Republican-controlled states: allowing people to carry concealed weapons without permits in public places.

State polls underline that message. In California, a state with multiple competitive US House races, 69% of college-educated adults said they were more likely to vote for a candidate who supported maintaining Roe, compared with just 12% who said they wanted a candidate committed to overturning it, according to a recent Public Policy Institute of California survey. Even in Texas, University of Texas/Texas Tribune polls have found that nearly 6 in 10 residents with college degrees oppose both the complete ban on abortion that will snap into effect there this summer if the Supreme Court overturns Roe and the 2021 state law allowing permitless carry of firearms.

Could the landscape shift?

Given such lopsided attitudes among well-educated voters, activists and Democratic operatives believe the sharp contrasts between the parties on guns and abortion could shift the electoral dynamic in suburban battlefields up and down the ballot.

"This renewed focus on gun safety undermines the Republican case in those more educated, affluent, diverse suburban districts that have been at the core of the Democrats' new majority," says Ambler of Giffords. "As the salience of gun violence grows with these mass shootings, and the salience of abortion rights grow with the upcoming Supreme Court decision, you are going to see these swing suburban voters enrage themselves all over again over the common cause the Republican Party has made with the extreme right wing of the conservative movement."

Abortion rights advocates believe a high court decision in the next few weeks overturning Roe would transform the political debate by eliminating what Christina Reynolds, vice president for communications at Emily's List, a group supporting Democratic female candidates who favor abortion rights, calls the "believability gap": the skepticism among voters who back abortion rights that the right to abortion, in place for so long, really could be rescinded. "Fundamentally people believe you should have the freedom to make your own decisions," she says.

Shannon Olivieri Hovis, the director of NARAL Pro-Choice California, says the group's polling and focus groups have found widespread awareness -- and astonishment -- that Roe could be reversed. "Certainly the leak of the draft majority opinion was an eye-opening reality for a lot of folks," she says. Most people alive, she adds, "no matter how old they are," have lived in a nation where abortion has been legal "for the vast majority of their lives." Now that could change, within weeks given how many states are poised to ban abortion immediately if the Supreme Court allows it. "People do not like having their rights taken away. It's completely an astonishing idea [to them] that something that is so established could be reversed," she says.

44

I do feel pret economy, ho food shortag there, and ... driving the m then Democr wiped.

JOHN THOMAS CONSULTANT

Toobin on SCOTUS leak investigation: 'You can understand why the clerks are freaking out' 02.55

Democrats and advocacy groups don't expect that more attention to abortion rights and gun control will cause Republican women who agree with them on the issues to abandon GOP candidates. But they do think the renewed prominence of these controversies could tip some independent women dissatisfied with Biden and inflation. Even more important, they believe these questions could increase turnout among key groups in their coalition that might otherwise be less motivated to vote in a midterm, particularly college-educated, single and younger women.

Chris Taylor, spokesperson for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, says the contrasts

between the parties on guns and abortion could energize Democratic-leaning voters who turned out in huge numbers to oppose Trump but may feel less urgency now. Gun control will "be front and center, and the same thing on abortion: It all falls under the same banner of you may not agree with us on everything but these guys are way too extreme for you to vote for them," he says.

The enthusiasm gap

Thomas, the Republican consultant, agrees that in many white-collar areas it will be difficult for Republican candidates to win a debate centered on views about those two polarizing issues. And he agrees the increased attention to both concerns will likely rejuvenate Democrats' small-donor fundraising, strengthening their capacity to defend more seats. But he remains optimistic that even in suburban districts, the campaign debate won't lastingly shift toward guns and abortion. "I do feel pretty confident that the economy, housing, inflation, gas, food shortages are going to be there, and ... if that kind of stuff is driving the media conversation, then Democrats are going to get wiped," he predicts.

Republican pollster Gene Ulm is even more emphatic. "These issues, all of them, are just being crushed by economic concerns, and that will continue," he says. While guns and abortion could generate "an incremental turnout effect that could affect suburbia in certain states," he adds, "we're talking about an incremental change when there's huge sea changes going on," with voters across the income and educational spectrum moving toward the GOP amid discontent over inflation and Biden.

It's not only the overriding public concern about inflation and the economy; the extent of electoral re-sorting that has already occurred also could dilute the impact of these issues this fall, Davis argues. Most voters, he notes, who disagree with either party on abortion and guns have already migrated toward the other -- meaning a renewed focus on those issues isn't likely to shift many more voters now. "I think it helps the Democratic base, which was starting to crater, but I don't think it's the game changer it might have been 20 years ago," Davis says.

Although the horrific Buffalo and Uvalde massacres, and the pending Supreme Court decision on Roe, could shift the public's focus, polls make clear that Democrats still have work to do in persuading voters to focus more on these issues this year. In the recent Public Policy Institute of California poll, for example, just 2% of California voters picked abortion as their top concern, compared with 24% who identified jobs, the economy or inflation. In the May CNN survey, half of the minority of adults who wanted to overturn Roe said they were extremely or very enthusiastic about voting in November, compared with less than two-fifths of those who opposed reversing the decision.

Murphy says that ultimately both parties must compete on both fronts: Democrats need to respond to voter concerns about the economy and Republicans have to defend their differences with suburban voters on abortion and guns. "I think it's not so binary, because I do think these races are going to include a mix," Murphy says. "Republicans will have to debate these issues and Democrats will have to show their economic strength."

Most analysts in both parties agree that so many voters are expressing unhappiness over the country's direction that Republicans are likely to post significant gains in November no matter how much attention shifts from the economy to abortion rights and gun control. The real issue isn't whether Democrats can reverse that wave, it's whether they can blunt it by holding on to some of the white-collar suburban voters who looked ready to move back toward the GOP after stampeding away from the party under Trump.

In that way, abortion and gun control could affect this election the same way the battle over the Supreme Court nomination of Brett Kavanaugh did in 2018, predicts David Wasserman, who studies House races for The Cook Political Report with Amy Walter. The incendiary Kavanaugh struggle only a few weeks before Election Day, he notes, did not stop big Democratic gains in 2018 but it did narrow the enthusiasm gap between Democratic and Republican voters and prevent an even worse shellacking for the GOP.