



THE INCOMING 2022 RED WAVE

2022 MIDTERMS – A RED WAVE OR A BLUE WALL? WHAT MIGHT IT MEAN? GERRI FIALA CAPITOL HILL PARTNERS

KEY AREAS OF DISCUSSION





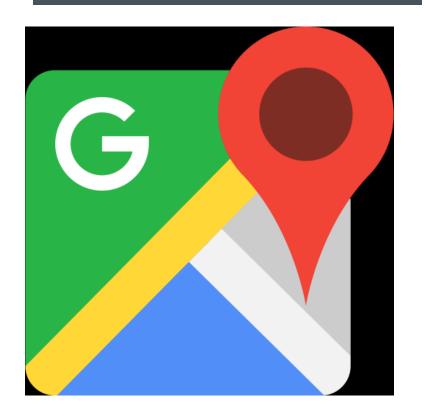




FY 23 FUNDING

WORKFORCE/ ADULT ED RELATED LEGISLATION MIDTERM ELECTIONS – IMPACT ON WORKFORCE PROGRAMMING

WHAT TO EXPECT MOVING FORWARD



WHERE ARE WE NOW?

- Continuing Resolution enacted to fund the government through Dec. 16
- Congress focused on November 8 midterm elections, scheduled to return November 14
- Small number of Senators working behind the scenes to ready amendments (and a few authorizations) to the \$700B+ National Defense Authorization Act to begin debate November 14.



LATE SUMMER LEGISLATIVE RUSH

Passage and Opportunities:

- 1) CHIPS&Science Act-\$280B China competitiveness bill
 - \$54.2B (mandatory) for semiconductor mfg. Commerce R&D, & workforce development
 - \$10B (authorized) for regional tech & innovation hubs) and \$1B to pilot economic development in distressed communities
 - Other funds to NSF, Energy, more...

2) Inflation Reduction Act -\$700B climate/health/energy

- Creates jobs in clean energy manufacturing
- Includes bonus tax credits for business paying prevailing wages and hiring Registered Apprentices

3) Veterans' health care - \$280 billion to expand benefits to Veterans exposed burn bits and other toxic substances

No workforce or education direct funding

FY 23 APPROPRIATIONS

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FY 23 ADMINISTRATION BUDGET REQUEST – PROPOSES SIGNIFICANT INCREASES FOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS



9% overall increase proposed for domestic programs

5% increase for defense programming



10.2% increase for the Department of Education5.7% increase for DOL's Employment and TrainingAdministration programs

FY 23 EDUCATION BUDGET REQUEST

Themes 1) Support Students through Covid-19 Recovery

2) Address Opportunity & Achievement Gaps

3) Support Talented & Diverse Education Workforce

4) Make Higher Education More Inclusive & Affordable, e.g.,

- Increases maximum Pell Grant to \$7,395 for 2023-2024 through combination of mandatory & discretionary funding
- > \$95M for childcare access for parenting students in school
- Increased financial support to Minority Serving Institutions to enhance institutional capacity at HBCUs, TCCUs, MSIs, other

FY 23 EDUCATION BUDGET REQUEST

Themes

5) Build Pathways through Higher Education Leading to Successful Careers

- \$1.35B for CTE State Grants and \$208 M Career Connected High Schools initiative within Career & Technical Ed National Programs to align last two years of high school and first to of higher ed
- \$700 M for Adult Ed State Grants and \$38.7M for National Leadership Activities to scale up College Bridge programs for lowskilled adults without high school diplomas or equivalency.
- Significant increases in TRIO & GEAR UP to expand services that promote access and completion in higher ed for the underserved.

FY 23 HOUSE LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS

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FY 23 HOUSE LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS BILL



House passed Labor-HHS bill this summer-13% overall increase above FY 22

FY 23 HOUSE LABOR/HHS APPROPRIATIONS KEY EDUCATION HIGHLIGHTS

- Career and Technical Education -- \$2.2B, plus \$124M above FY 2022 enacted level
- Adult Education -- \$733 M, plus \$29 M above FY 2022
- > **WIOA Title I** +\$256 million over FY 2022

Student Financial Aid

• \$7,395 for maximum Pell, an increase of \$500 above FY 2022 enacted

FY 23 SENATE LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS

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FY 23 SENATE LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS

Democrats only bill – 10% overall increase

6.5% increase for the Department of Labor9% increase for the Department of Education

No Committee or floor consideration expected

FY 23 SENATE LABOR/HHS APPROPRIATIONS KEY EDUCATION HIGHLIGHTS

- Career and Technical Education -- \$2.246 B, plus \$155 M above FY 2022 enacted level
- Adult Education -- \$739 M, plus \$35 M above FY 2022
- WIOA Title I +\$80 million over FY 2022
- Student Financial Aid
 - \$7,395 for maximum Pell, an increase of \$500 above FY 2022 enacted

STALEMATE ON OVERALL FY 23 APPROPRIATIONS

Lack of agreement on overall "topline" funding Republicans seeking parity between domestic and defense funding increases

Dems want to eliminate policy riders preventing federal funding for abortions

Continuing Resolution likely through December 16th

FY 23 APPROPRIATIONS OUTLOOK

<u>Bottom line</u> – appropriations work delayed until after the midterm elections

<u>If no progress</u> --- CR into next year – though leaders in both parties would like to avoid this scenario

If FY 23 funding enacted - modest increases for workforce and education related funding

WIOA REAUTHORIZATION

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WIOA REAUTHORIZATION

Passed House earlier this year – <u>Democrats only bill</u>

- Tweaking, not an overhaul
- Senate has not taken up the House bill
- Core components Increased focus on:
 - equity
 - career pathways,
 - preparing workers for high demand sectors
 - supportive services,
 - training,
 - evidenced based programming,



WIOA REAUTHORIZATION – REPUBLICAN SUBSTITUTE BILL

 Provides insights into key components of a Republican led bill next Congress:

Key priorities:

- "Flexibility and innovation"
- Enhances Governors' authority to craft local workforce regions
- 70% minimum of local funds for training
- Stronger employer engagement
- Accelerates the Eligible Training Provider process
- Creates employer directed skills accounts in lieu of ITA's



THE BIDEN ADMINISTRATION

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ONGOING WORKFORCE EFFORTS WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION

- Recently passed Infrastructure, CHIPS, and IRA bills do not contain substantial workforce related funds
- However, each has significant workforce skills needs
- Administration attempting to coordinate skills efforts without additional federal funding

CHIPS FUNDING REQUIRES WORKFORCE INVESTMENTS



- Department of Commerce will release FOA's totaling \$28 billion in February for companies seeking to build and maintain semiconductor facilities
- All proposals must have a substantial workforce development commitments, including programming for training and job placement of economically disadvantaged individuals
- Great opportunity to work with business community to expand workforce development

ONGOING WORKFORCE AND EDUCATION EFFORTS WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION

- Likely to focus on Executive Orders and Regulatory Activity to pursue policy agenda
- Reginfo.gov is the website for viewing regulatory actions (the agenda by federal agency which lists the stages of various rulemaking, reviews including Information Collection review), including
 - WIOA Joint Rule for Unified and Combined State Plans, Performance Accountability & One-Stop System Join Provisions (results of testing for 6th performance indicator to measure effectiveness in serving employers)
 - Published September 14; comments due by November 14, 2022

IF REPUBLICANS REGAIN THE CONGRESSIONAL MAJORITY – WHAT TO EXPECT FOR EDUCATION AND WORKFORCE ISSUES

IF REPUBLICANS REGAIN THE MAJORITY – EXPECTATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND WORKFORCE PROGRAMMING

- Dr. Virginia Foxx (R-NC) likely Chair of Education and Labor Committee – needs a waiver from Republican Conference
- Wants to move WIOA and HEA reauthorization bills early next year
- Recently introduced REAL Reforms Act to reform the federal student loan system & add Short-term Pell
- <u>Key priority</u> crafting bill with consensus support within House Republican Conference



EXPECTATIONS IF REPUBLICANS REGAIN THE MAJORITY

Education and Labor Committee - oversight will be a core focus:

"I've joked with my colleagues that we will probably be holding two oversight hearings a day, because we're going to be so busy with oversight," Dr. Foxx on the House floor

- Oversight agenda likely to include:
 - Administration's loan forgiveness plan
 - > ED rulemaking
 - > DOL rulemaking
 - Secretary Walsh's travel

Politico Pro 8/20/22



IF REPUBLICANS REGAIN THE MAJORITY – EXPECTATIONS FOR WORKFORCE PROGRAMMING

Key overall themes:

- Emphasis on alignment and coordination of social service programming ex. WIOA and TANF
- Blocking Administration's regulatory efforts
- Greater focus on training and employer engagement



EXPECTATIONS IF REPUBLICANS GAIN SENATE MAJORITY

- Bipartisanship still a necessity 60 votes needed to pass legislation on Senate floor
- Narrow Committee majorities
- HEA reauthorization will require bipartisan proposal unable to produce bipartisan bill in recent Congresses





MACRO POLITICAL TRENDS

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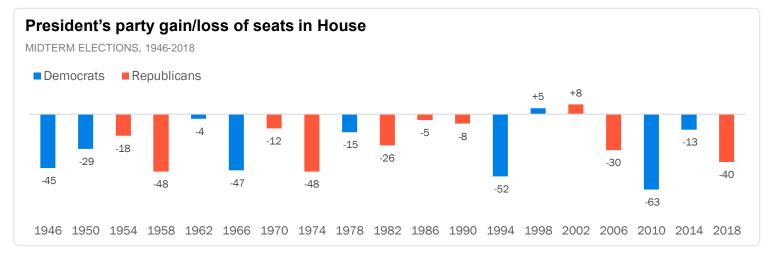
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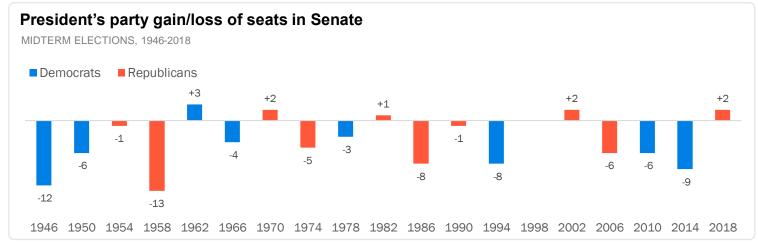
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PRESIDENT'S PARTY LOSES SEATS IN MIDTERMS

- House President's party has lost seats in 36 of 39 midterms since the Civil War.
- <u>Senate</u> President's party has lost seats in 19 of 26 midterms since popular vote elections began for Senators

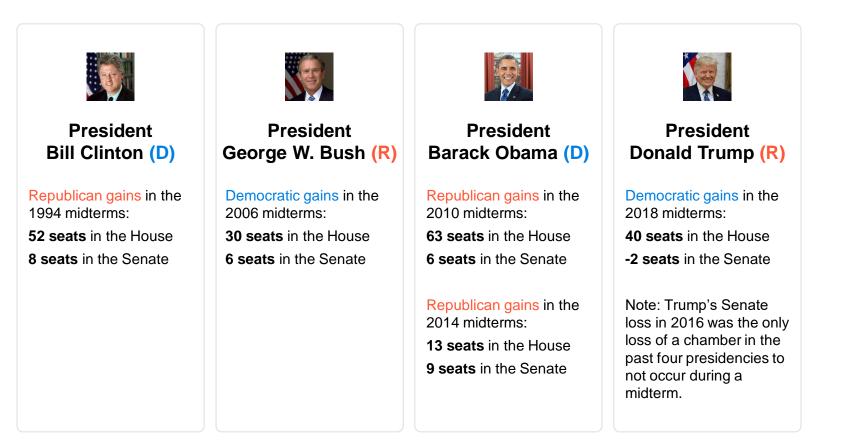
HISTORIC TREND - PRESIDENT'S PARTY LOSES SEATS IN MIDTERMS





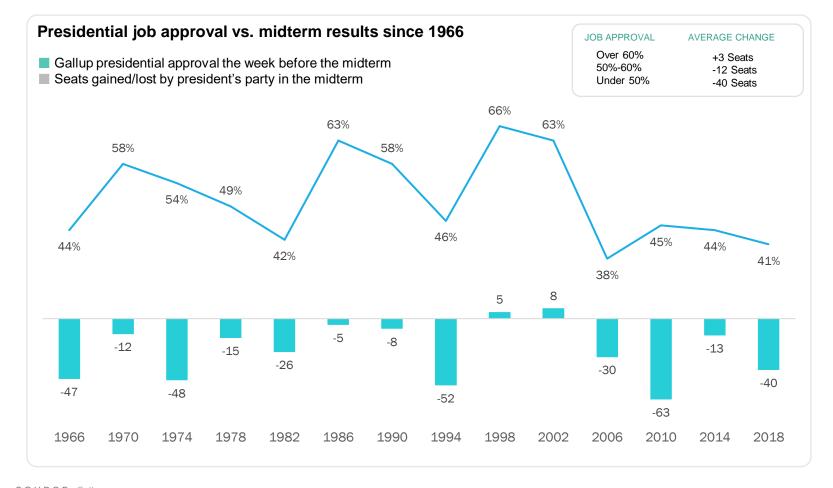
SOURCE The American Presidency Project. SLIDE LAST UPDAED ON 6/4/21

LAST FOUR PRESIDENTS HAVE LOST SENATE AND HOUSE MAJORITIES; ALMOST ALL IN MIDTERM ELECTIONS



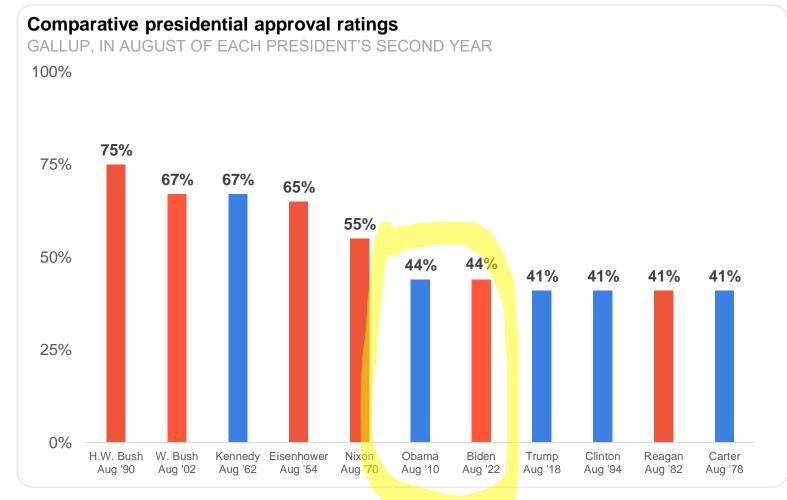
SOURCE The American Presidency Project. SLIDE LAST UPDATED ON 7/16/21

PRESIDENTS WITH A SUB-50% APPROVAL RATING LOSE AN AVERAGE OF 36 SEATS IN THE MIDTERMS

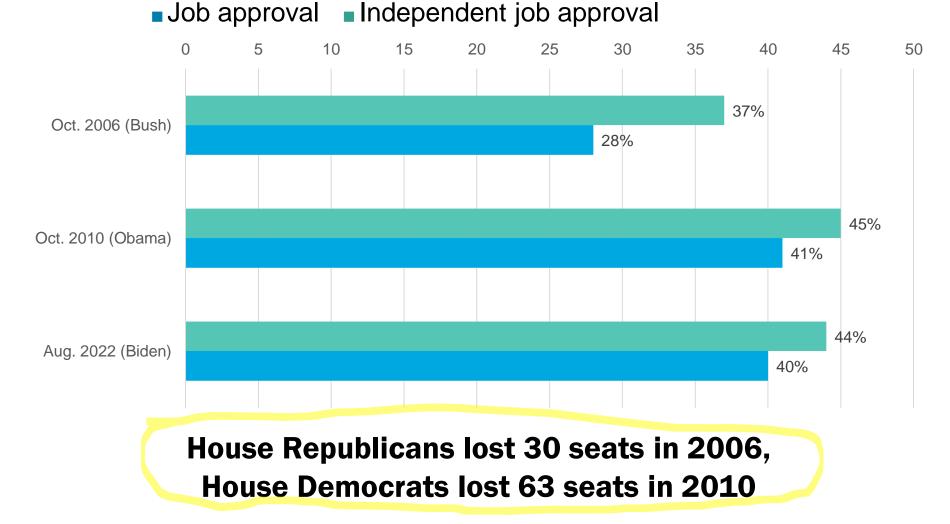


SOURCE Gallup. PRESENTATION CENTER 11/1/21

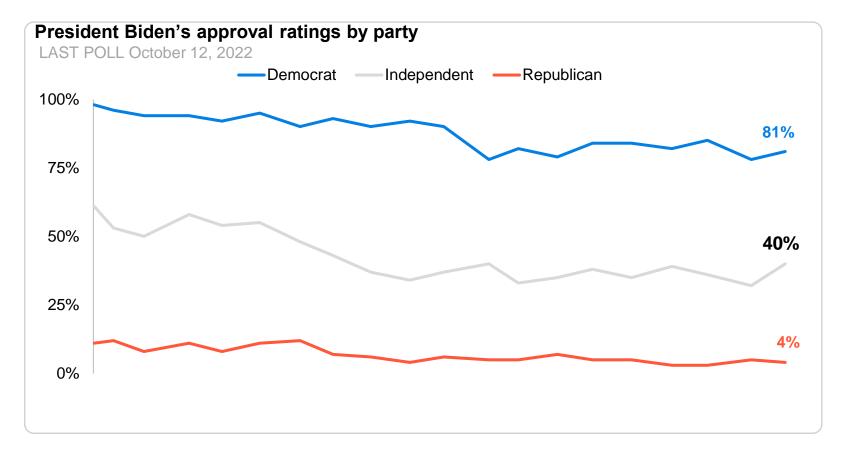
BIDEN 44% APPROVAL SAME AS FORMER PRESIDENT OBAMA AT THIS POINT IN THEIR TERM



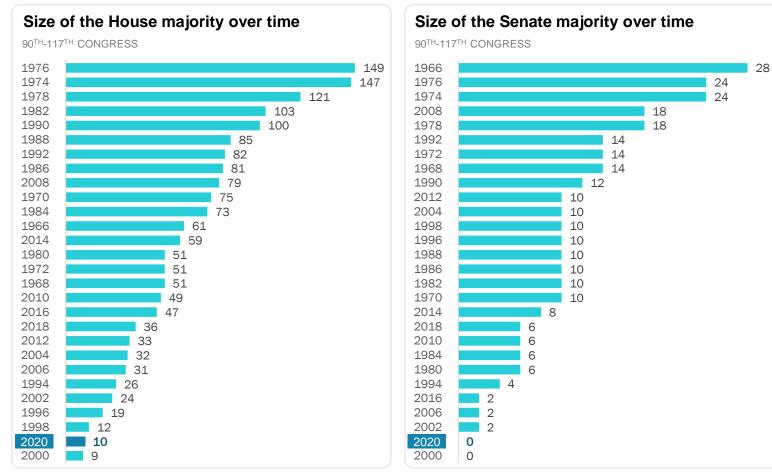
BIDEN'S APPROVAL RATINGS SIMILAR TO LAST TWO MIDTERM WAVE ELECTIONS



ONLY 40% OF INDEPENDENTS APPROVE OF BIDEN'S JOB PERFORMANCE -BUT +8% SINCE JULY



HISTORICALLY SLIM MAJORITIES IN BOTH CHAMBERS OF CONGRESS

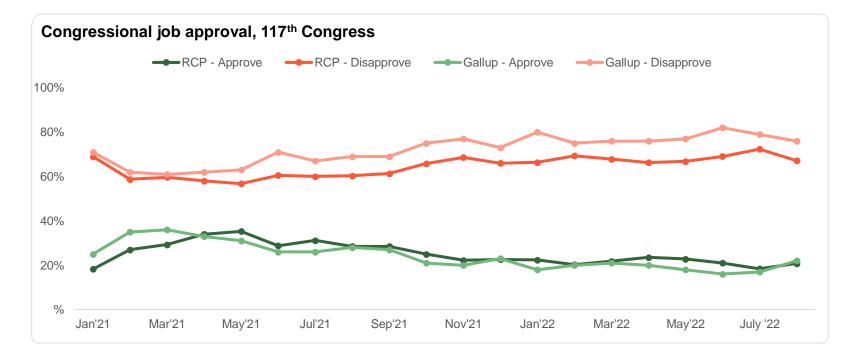


Figures represent the size of the House and Senate majorities at the start of each Congress.

THE 117TH CONGRESS HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE WHEN BIPARTISAN

- On a bipartisan basis:
 - Infrastructure;
 - ➤ CHIPS
 - ➤ gun safety;
 - Veterans' health care;
 - Violence Against Women Act;
 - Postal Service overhaul;
 - Ukraine's war effort;

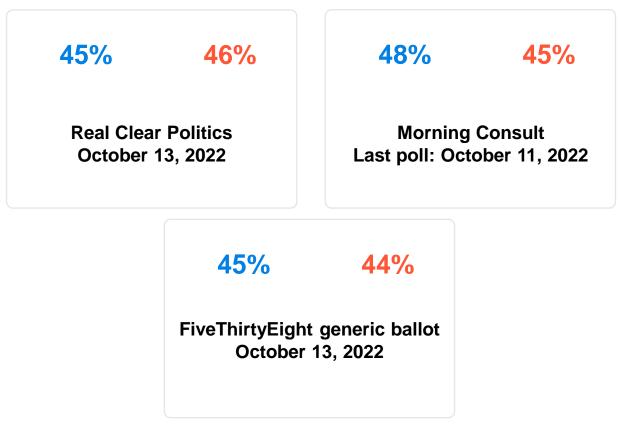
CONSISTENTLY LOW APPROVAL RATINGS FOR CONGRESS



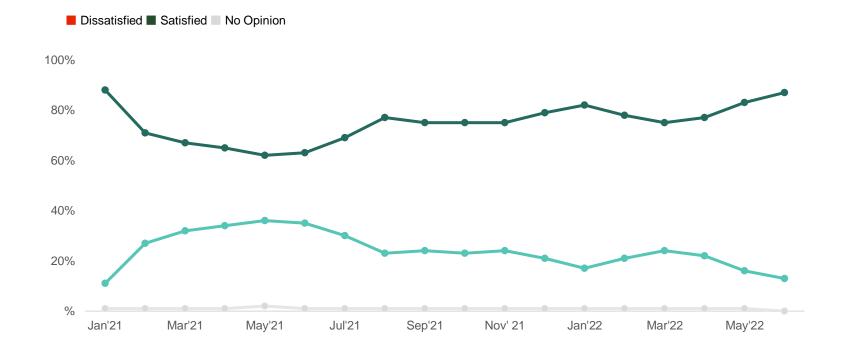


DEEP DIVIDE ON WHETHER VOTERS WOULD PREFER A DEMOCRATIC OR GOP CONTROLLED CONGRESS

Generic Ballot Preference: Would you want to see the Republican Party or the Democratic Party win control of the US House of Representatives?



OMINOUS SIGN FOR INCUMBENTS – 79% OF VOTERS ARE DISSATISFIED WITH COUNTRY'S DIRECTION



ON CAMPAIGN TRAIL – PARTIES FOCUSING ON DIFFERENT ISSUES

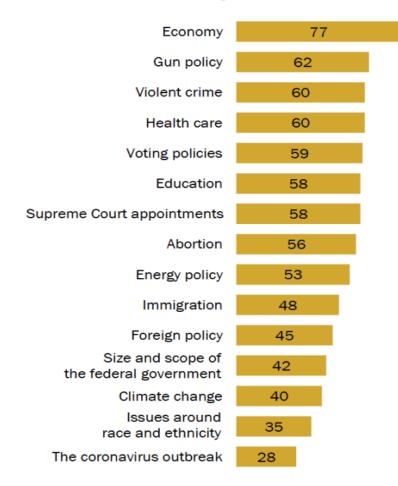
- Republicans have significant advantages on:
 - ➤ inflation
 - ➤ economy
 - ➤ crime
 - border security
- Democrats enjoy significant advantages on:
 - ➤ abortion
 - Climate change
 - ≽ gun control
 - ≻ health care

*** It remains to be seen which set of issues will be most appealing to voters

ECONOMY IS STILL THE TOP ISSUE FOR MIDTERM VOTERS

The economy viewed as top voting issue in midterm elections

% of registered voters saying each is **very important** to their vote in the 2022 congressional election

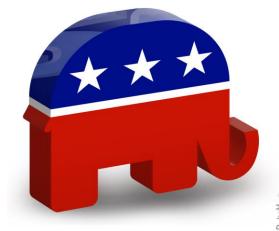


Note: Based on registered voters. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 1-14, 2022.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

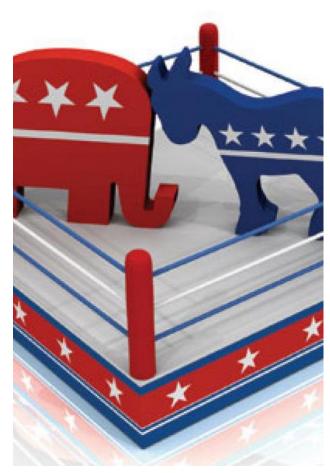
MIDTERM ELECTIONS – DEMS HAVE CAUGHT UP WITH REPUBLICAN VOTERS ENTHUSIASM

- Republicans currently hold a 1% lead in voter enthusiasm
- Republicans held a 13% lead in April









2022 MIDTERMS – A REFERENDUM OR A CHOICE?

Midterms elections - referendum on the President and his party

Is this year different? Two new dynamics:

1) Democrats outperforming in special elections post-Dobbs;

2) Former President Trump's high level engagement.

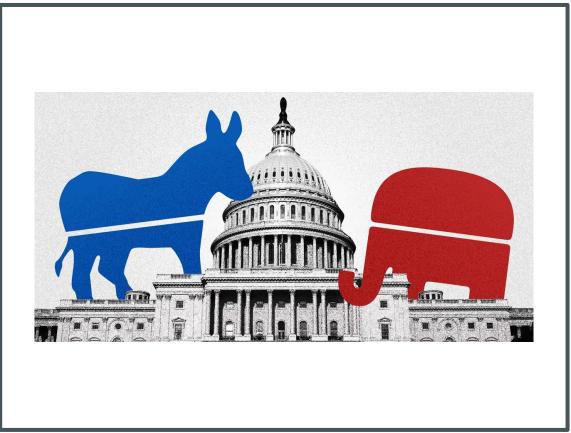
> If it is a choice election – it may help Democrats

DOBBS DECISION MOBILIZING WOMEN VOTERS – BUT HAS MOMENTUM PEAKED?

- Women registering to vote rose by about 35% after the Dobbs decision in ten states tracking voter rolls.
- Men ticked up by 9%.
- Women who are independents ... shifted 20% to the Democrats
- Hispanic women +15% to Democrats since March



OTHER FACTORS THAT HAVE TIGHTENED MIDTERMS



- Steadily falling gas prices but now on the rise again
- 2. Republican primaries pulling candidates to the right
- 3. The Mar-a-Lago search and January 6 hearings shifted focus from Biden to Trump, hurting GOP efforts to make election a referendum on Biden
- Legislative breakthroughs restoring wavering
 Democrats' faith in Biden's ability to pass an agenda

HOWEVER, BIDEN STILL A DRAG ON DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES



Biden's approval rating underwater on key issues

- Economy 36% approval
- Inflation 32% approval
- Gun policy 37% approval
- Helping the middle class 41% approval
- COVID response 55% approval

***50% said Biden's policies have made conditions worse

CNN/SSRS October 12, 2022

UNDER THE RADAR TREND- REPUBLICANS MAKING INROADS WITH HISPANIC VOTERS

- A variety of polling this year show Republican have made progress attracting Hispanic voters.
- Historically Hispanic voters 2 to 1 in favor Democrats, but great diversity in views.
- Economy is top concern.
- Republicans attracting social conservative Hispanic voters
- The National Republican Congressional Committee has **recruited a total of 102 Hispanic candidates in this cycle.**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

51

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HISTORY SAYS DEMOCRATS WILL LOSE SEATS

- The president's party defied history in 1998 and 2002 by gaining House seats the only such outcomes of the past 100 years.
- It's also a redistricting year Republicans have gained three to four seats in 2022.
 - Republicans have benefited in Florida and Ohio
 - Dems gerrymandering in Maryland and New York struck down in courts.

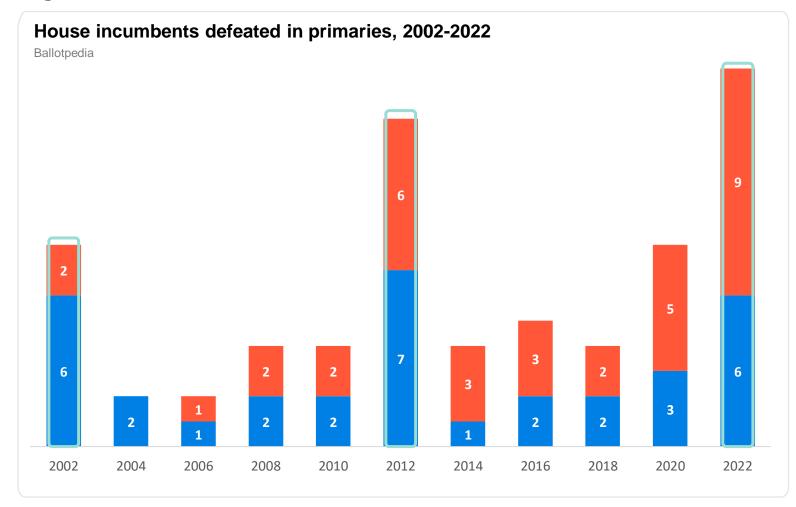
INCUMBENT LOSSES AT A 30 YEAR HIGH

- 14 House incumbents have lost in primaries
- Most in 30 years second most since 1948

Why?

- <u>Redistricting</u> Incumbent vs. incumbent: 10 House members were forced to compete with a colleague for a district after their state lost a seat in reapportionment.
- Former President Trump's effort to purge enemies

Incumbent primary defeats are more common in post-redistricting election cycles



SOURCE Ballotpedia PRESENTTAION CENTER 9/26/22

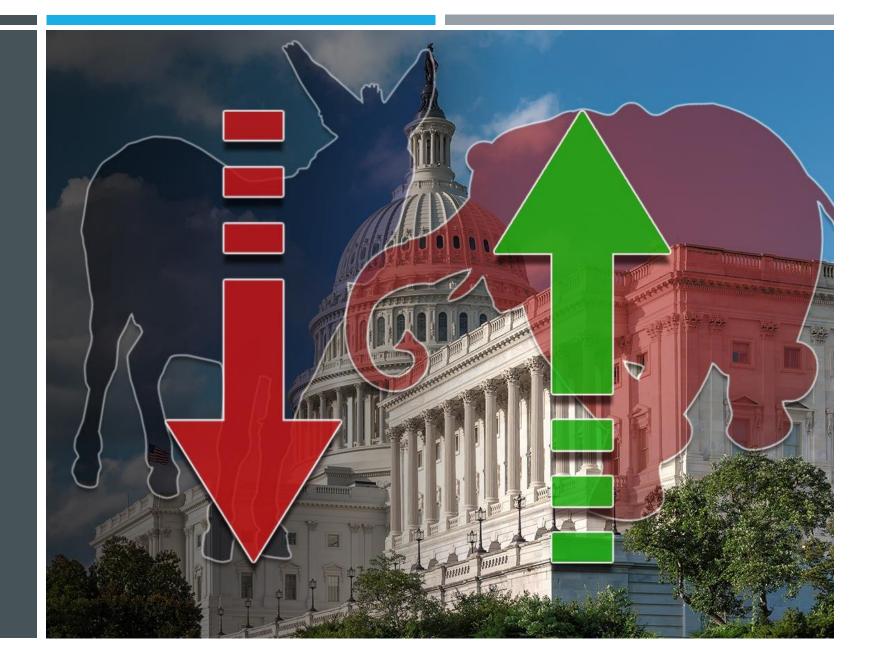
MODERATES LEAVING THE HOUSE

- 13 of 50 most moderate House Members either lost primary or retiring
- Twice the rate of more partisan Members
- As a result, next Congress will be further divided fewer centrist Members to make bipartisan deals

2020 MIDTERMS – REPUBLICANS' ADVANTAGES

Republicans have a number of key advantages this cycle:

- Voters' unhappiness
- Inflation and the economy
- President Biden's jobapproval rating
- Retirements 35 Democratic retirements versus 28 Republicans
 - Most Democratic retirements since
 '94 wave election



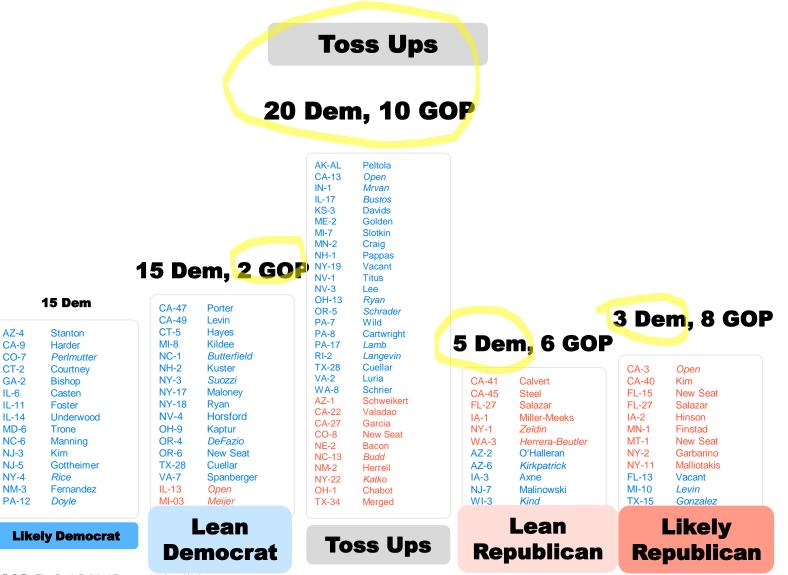
2022 MIDTERMS – DEMOCRATIC MOMENTUM

- Dobbs decision
- Overperforming in special elections
- Recent legislative
 accomplishments
- Biden's popularity climbing - improved 5.5% since mid-July

Tall order for Dems to buck historical trendlines – particularly with redistricting



2022 Competitive House seats



REPUBLICANS LIKELY TO GAIN 10-20 SEATS – ONLY NEED SIX TO RECAPTURE THE MAJORITY

Cook Political Report

- 214 seats at least leaning toward Republicans,
- 188 seats at least leaning towards Democrats and

UNITED STATES SENATE

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SENATE MAJORITY TOO CLOSE TO CALL

Republicans defending six open seats -- AL, MO, NC, OH, OK, and PA

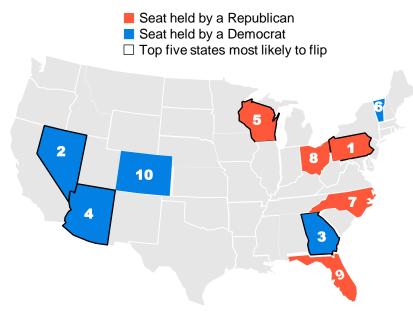
The nine closest Senate races are all closely contested 2020 presidential states



TOP SENATE SEATS MOST LIKELY TO FLIP – EVENLY SPLIT BETWEEN DEMS AND REPS

Hotline's 2022 Senate power rankings

IN ORDER HOW LIKELY THEY ARE TO FLIP PARTY CONTROL



1. Pennsylvania:

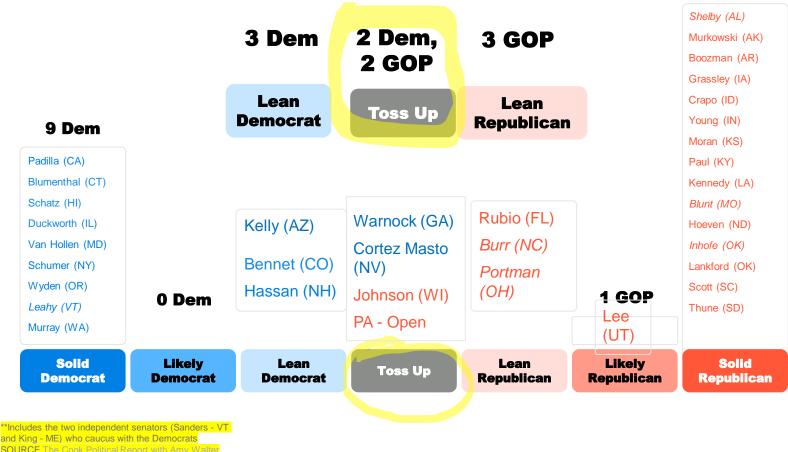
• Incumbent: Open seat (R)

2. Nevada:

- Incumbent: Catherine Cortez Masto (D)
- 3. Georgia:
- Incumbent: Raphael Warnock (D)
- 4. Arizona:
- Incumbent: Mark Kelly (D)
- 5. Wisconsin:
- Incumbent: Ron Johnson (R)

- 6. New Hampshire:
- Inc: Maggie Hassan (D)
- 7. North Carolina —
- Open seat (R)
- 8. Ohio —
- Open seat (R)
- 9. Florida —
- Inc : Marco Rubio (R)
- 10. Colorado —
- Inc: Michael Bennet (D)

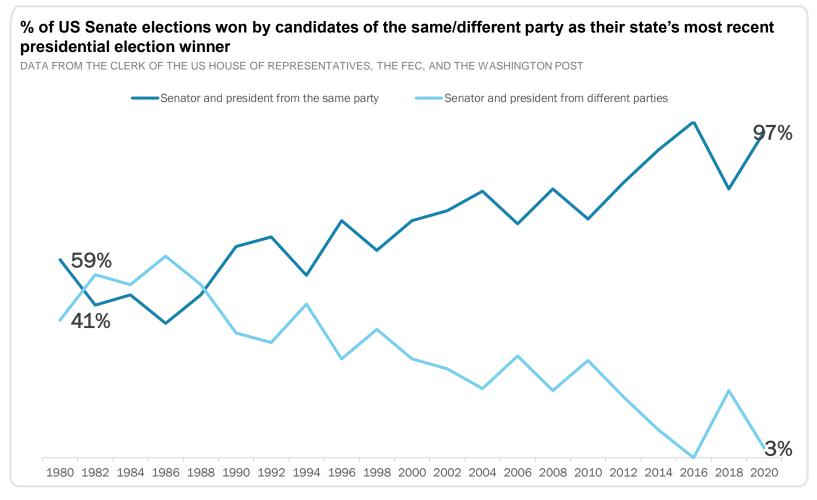
2022 Senate races



15 GOP

and King - ME) who caucus with the Democrats SOURCE The Cook Political Report with Amy Walter SLIDE LAST UDPATED ON 10-06-22

MOST SENATE RACES GO THE SAME WAY AS STATE PRESIDENTIAL VOTES



SOURCE FEC, Clerk of the US House of Representatives, Washington Post, Pew Research Center. PRESENTATION CENTER 10/21/21

REPUBLICANS CHALLENGE IN RECAPTURING SENATE – QUALITY OF CANDIDATES

<u>Republican Leader McConnell</u> –

"I think there's probably a greater likelihood the House flips than the Senate. Senate races are just different – they're statewide, candidate quality has a lot to do with the outcome."

 PA, OH, GA, and AZ – all underperforming – and all Trump endorsed candidates. Several struggling with fundraising

REPUBLICANS' EFFORTS TO RECAPTURE SENATE –

Good news for Republicans -

- Senate Leadership Fund key Republican super PAC spending \$175 million across eight key states
- **2020 polling errors** Republicans undercounted in States where there are key Senate races in 2022:
 - Polling errors higher in Presidential year with Trump on ballot than midterms, as he brought many new voters to the polls

2020 POLLING ERRORS – IF APPLIED TO 2022 SENATE RACES

2022 Senate Race	Current poll average	2020 polling Republican undercount by state	2022 result if similar undercount
PA	Democrat +4.3%	-5.4%	Republican 1.1%
AZ	Democrat +4.1%	-3.3%	Democrat +0.8
WI	Republican +3	-5.3%	Republican +8.3
NV	Republican +2.1	-2.6%	Republican +4.7 – pickup
GA	Democrat +3.8	-1%	Democrat +2.8
NC	Republican +1.5%	-1.9%	Republican +3.4
ОН	Republican +1.2%	-10.5%	Republican +11.7
FL	Republican +4.7%	-6%	Republican +10.7

Sources – NYT 9/12/22 and Real Clear Politics Senate polling avg 10/06/22

REPUBLICANS' EFFORTS TO RECAPTURE SENATE –

Bottom Line

- Senate control likely decided by three seats –
- PA, GA, and NV



2024 SENATE – REPUBLICANS IN DRIVERS SEAT

23 Democrats/10 Republicans up for re-election

Democrats defending three seats in states Trump carried: MT, OH, WV

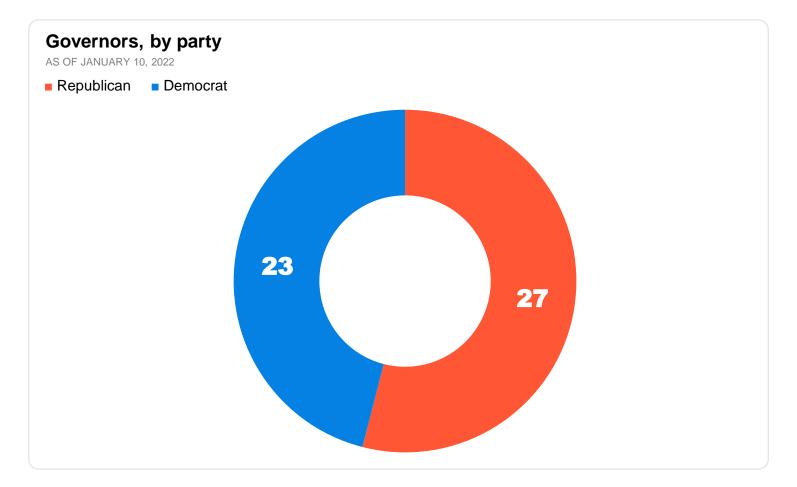
Another five Dem seats in states Biden won by 5 points or less.

None of the 10 GOP seats are in Biden won states.

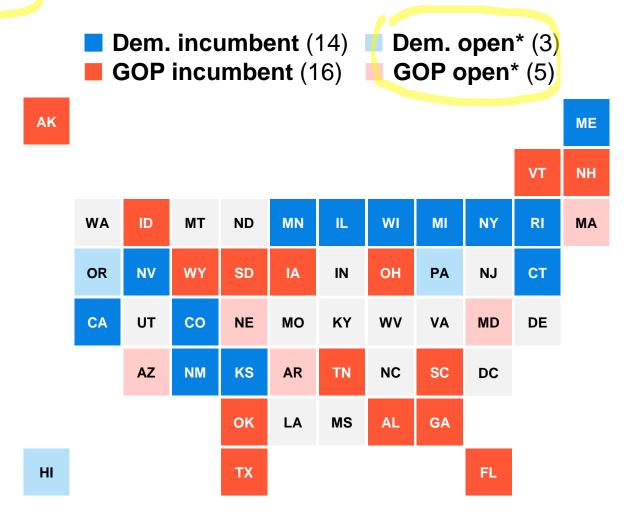




BREAKDOWN OF ALL CURRENT GOVERNORS

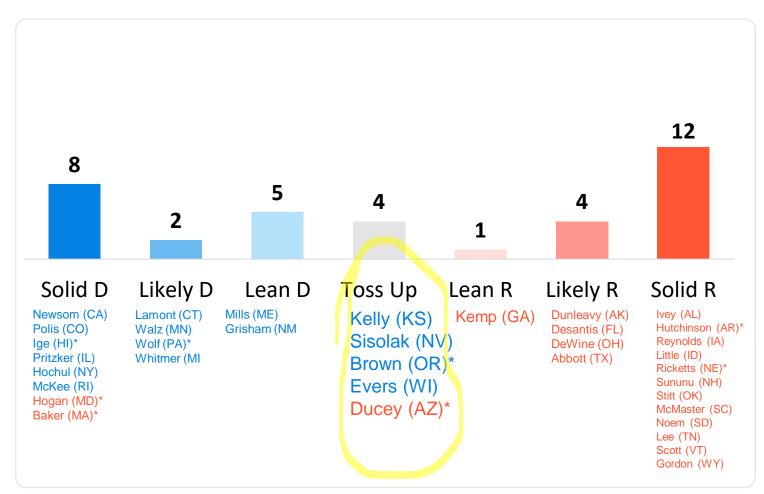


EIGHT OPEN GUBERNATORIAL SEATS UP FOR ELECTION IN 2022



**Open seats" are governorships where incumbent governors are term-limited, they have announced that they are not running for re-election, or lost their primary SOURCE The Cook Political Report with Amy Walter.

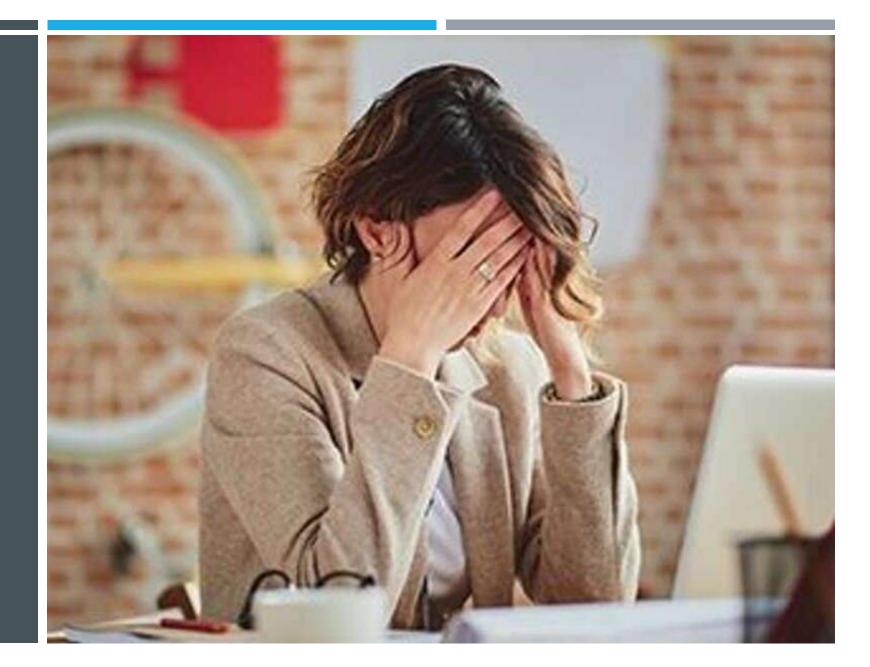
36 GOVERNORSHIPS ARE UP FOR GRABS IN 2022



WORRISOME TREND

Nearly four out of 10 Republicans and one in four Democrats say they'll blame election fraud if their party doesn't win control of Congress in November.

Axios-Ipsos Two Americas Index polling 10-10-22



WHAT LIES **AHEAD?**

WHAT TO EXPECT IN A DIVIDED GOVERNMENT

IF REPUBLICANS RECAPTURE THE HOUSE MAJORITY

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HOUSE REPUBLICANS - "A COMMITMENT TO AMERICA"



House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy established task forces last year to frame House Republicans' agenda:

Four pillars

- **"An economy that is strong":** inflation, high gas prices, supply chain issues and competition with China.
- "A nation that is safe" crime, immigration, border security
- **"A future that is free"** "make sure every kid in every neighborhood can succeed," "better care and improved health outcomes for all Americans" and "confronting big Tech and advancing free speech."

"A government that is accountable" –

- Government oversight as a platform
- Stopping wasteful government spending
- Safe and fair elections

HOUSE REPUBLICANS WILL USE MAJORITY TO FRAME 2024 AGENDA

• <u>Messaging bills</u> – framing 2024 Presidential agenda

- ➢ Key areas of focus −
 - \circ Inflation,
 - o Energy,
 - \circ Crime.
 - Border security

• Launching Investigations –

- o Hunter Biden,
- Southern border security,
- The origins of Covid and pandemic shutdown policies,
- Politicizing DOJ and raid of Mar a Lago
- <u>Attempting to impeach Cabinet officials</u>
- Blocking the Administration's agenda



FUNDING IN A DIVIDED GOVERNMENT

- <u>FY 23</u> likely to have an Omnibus spending deal in the lame-duck session even if Democrats lose their majority, along with passage of the annual defense authorization bill.
- <u>FY 24-25</u> Continuing Resolutions likely for the rest of Biden's first term or CROmnibus



FUNDING IN A DIVIDED GOVERNMENT

Government shutdown?

- A possibility, although it plays to the President's advantage
- McConnell strongly opposes shutdowns

Debt limit extension?

- Likely deadline mid-2023
- Republicans likely to seek extension in exchange for policy changes
- More worrisome than government shutdown more political posturing. Less incentive to compromise
- Can impact credit rating and global economy

REEMERGENCE OF HOUSE FREEDOM CAUCUS

- Most conservative branch of Republican party
- Veto power if Republicans have a narrow majority
- Has already sent a list of their priorities to the leadership:
 - > CR into January
 - > FY 23 funding at FY 19 overall levels
 - Repeal IRA
 - Expand domestic oil and gas production
 - > Beef up the southern border
 - Overturn the Biden administration's federal Covid-19 mandates.



118TH CONGRESS LEADERSHIP

- House Dems all three leaders over age 80. Pelosi has hinted this will be her last year in office.
- Heirs apparent:
 - House Democratic Caucus Chair Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.),
 - Assistant Speaker Katherine Clark (D-MA), and
 - Caucus Vice Chair Peter Aguilar (D-CA)
- House R's Kevin McCarthy
- <u>Senate D's</u> leadership will likely remain intact
- <u>Senate R's</u> leadership expected to remain intact

118TH CONGRESS – KEY COMMITTEE LEADERSHIP

<u>House</u>

- Education and Labor Bobby Scott (D-VA) and Virginia Foxx (R-NC)
- Labor-HHS Appropriations Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) and Tom Cole (R-OK)
- Ways and Means Richie Neal (D-MA) and new Republican lead

<u>Senate</u>

- HELP-
 - Democrats Bernie Sanders (I-VT) or Bob Casey (D-PA)
 - Republicans Rand Paul (R-KY) or Bill Cassidy (R-LA)
- Labor- HHS Appropriations Patty Murray? and new Republican lead
- Finance Committee Ron Wyden (D-OR) and Mike Crapo (R-ID)

COULD REPUBLICAN CONTROL OF CONGRESS OFFER BIDEN A FOIL?

- A GOP-controlled House may allow Biden to pick fights and present his policies as an alternative.
- The last two Democratic presidents won re-election after losing the House in the mid-term election.

BOTTOM LINE

- Midterm election prospects unsettled too volatile to call today
- House likely to shift to Republicans narrowly
- Senate will have a one or two seat majority --- for either party
- Reauthorizing legislation will require bipartisan consensus, but number of moderates is dwindling
- Funding bills will be difficult to enact in a divided government
- Administration will refocus its efforts on regulatory issues as major legislation will be difficult to enact
- Republicans well positioned for Congressional majorities in 2024



QUESTIONS?

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