

# **The November U.S. Congressional Election: What We Know Today**

**Bruce Stokes**

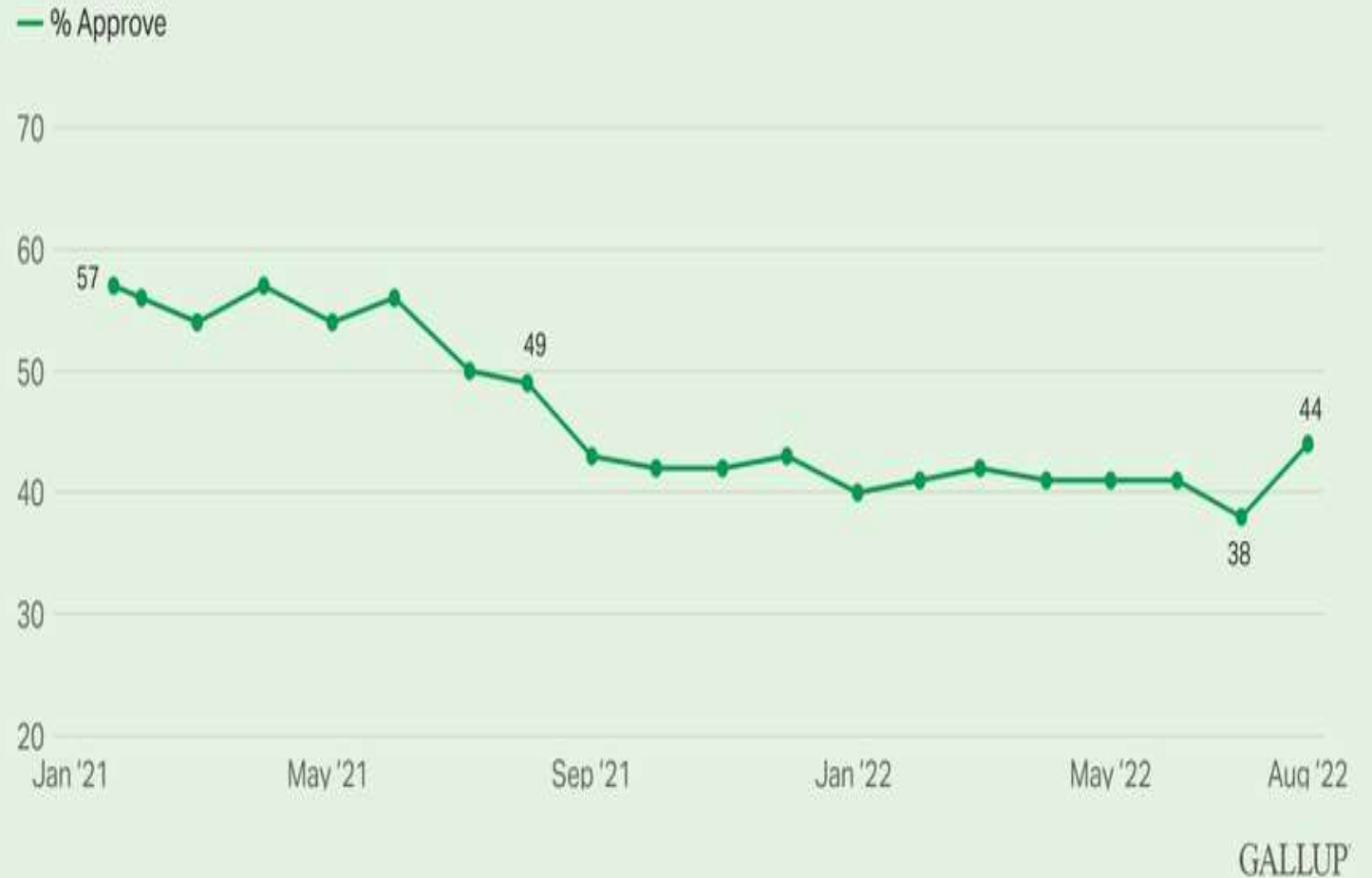
**German Marshall Fund**

**September 8, 2022**

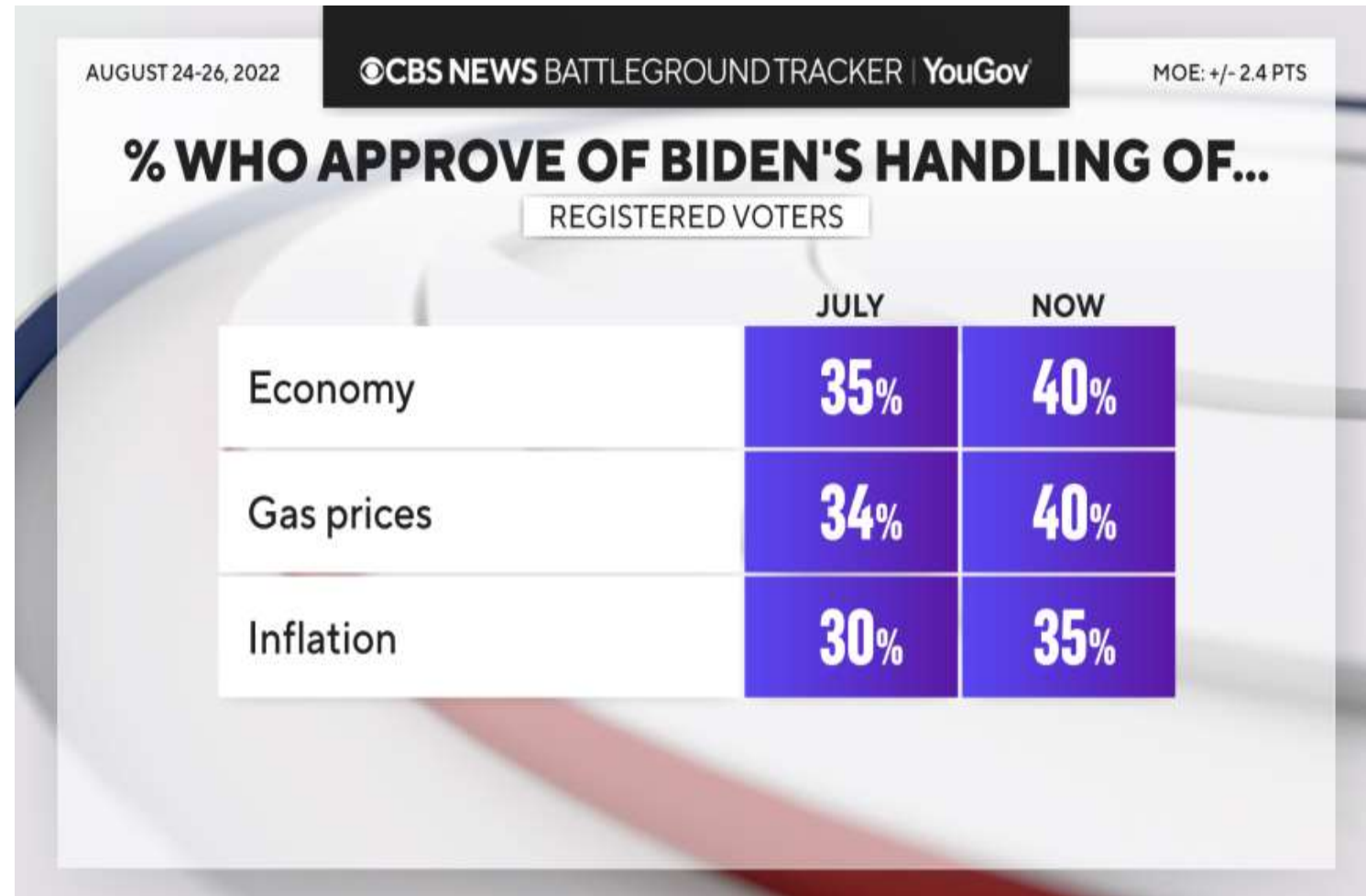
# **WHAT IS DRIVING PUBLIC OPINION AND VOTING INTENTIONS? IS IT BIDEN OR THE ISSUES?**

President  
Biden's  
Approval Has  
Begun to  
Rebound After  
a Steady Slide,  
But He is Still  
Under Water

President Joe Biden's Job Approval Rating



Why the  
Improvement?  
Biden's  
Approval on  
Handling the  
Issues is on  
the Upswing



And While  
Biden Has  
Little Control  
Over Gas  
Prices, People  
See Them  
Going Down  
and Credit Him

AUGUST 24-26, 2022

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MOE: +/- 2.4 PTS

## GAS PRICES IN YOUR AREA HAVE BEEN...

REGISTERED VOTERS

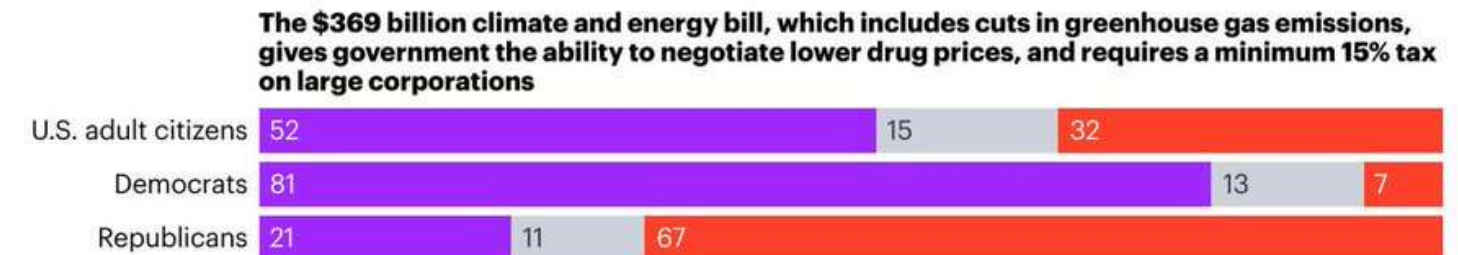
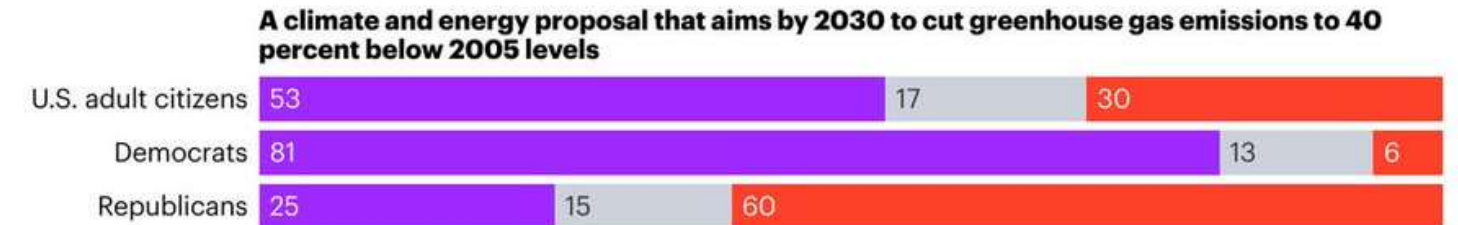
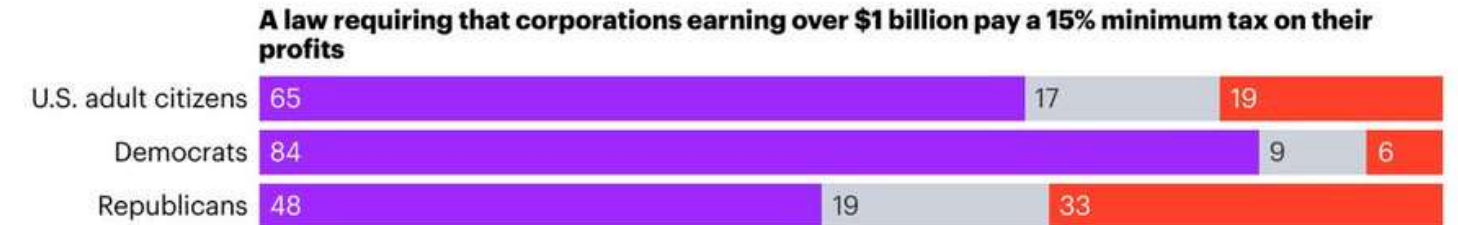
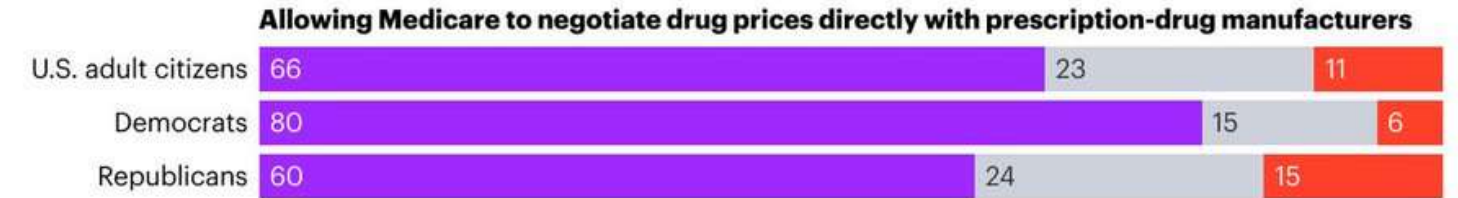


# The Rebound May Also Be Because Most Americans Support Biden's Latest Legislative Accomplishment

## Most Americans support the climate and energy bill recently passed by Congress, as well as its specific components

Would you support or oppose... (%)

Support Not sure Oppose

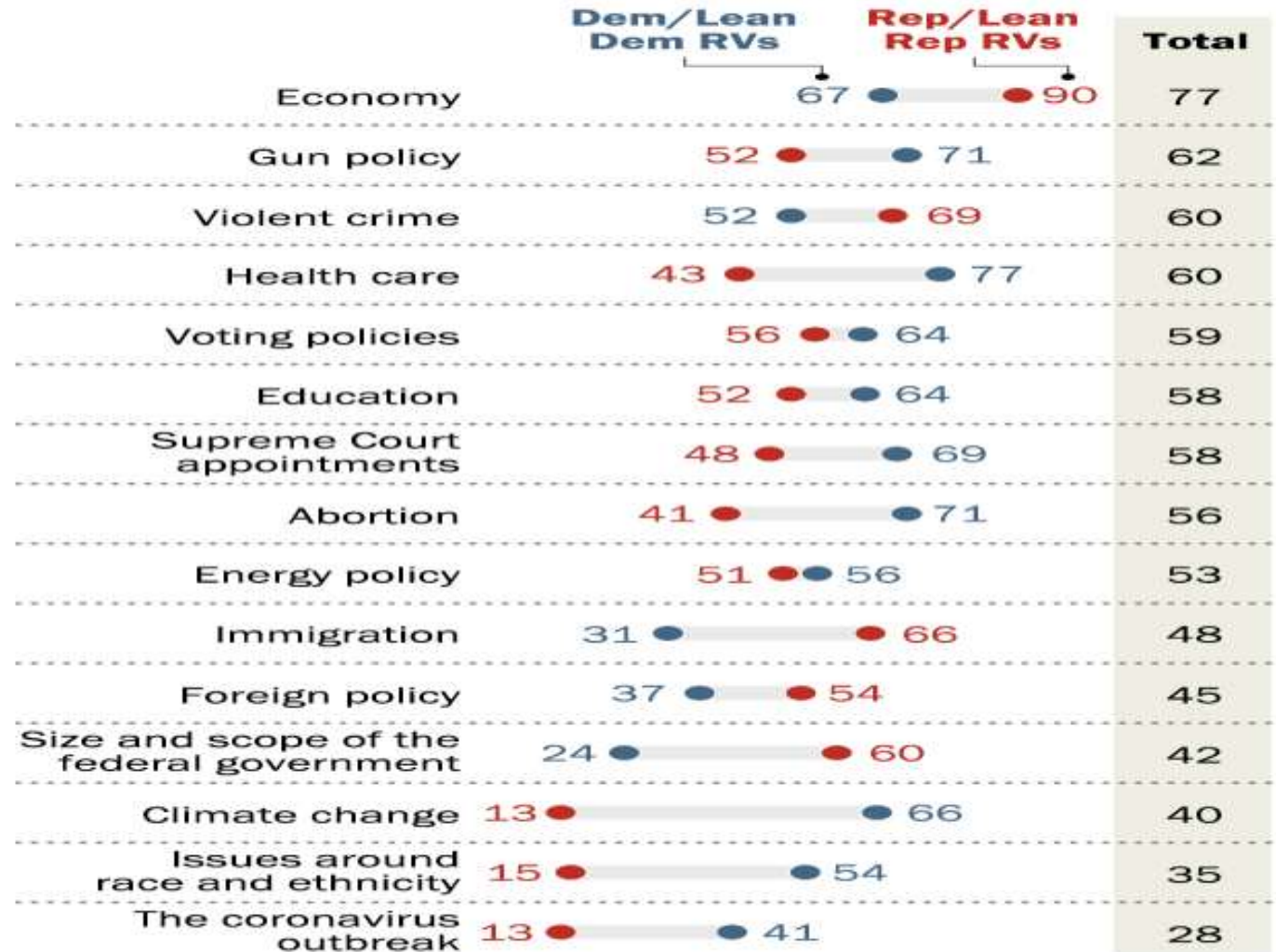




Yet Partisanship  
Still Lives: On  
Most Issues  
There is a  
Yawning Partisan  
Gap on What  
Concerns the  
Public

## Economy is top voting issue for GOP voters; Democrats rate several issues as very important, led by health care

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



Note: Based on registered voters.

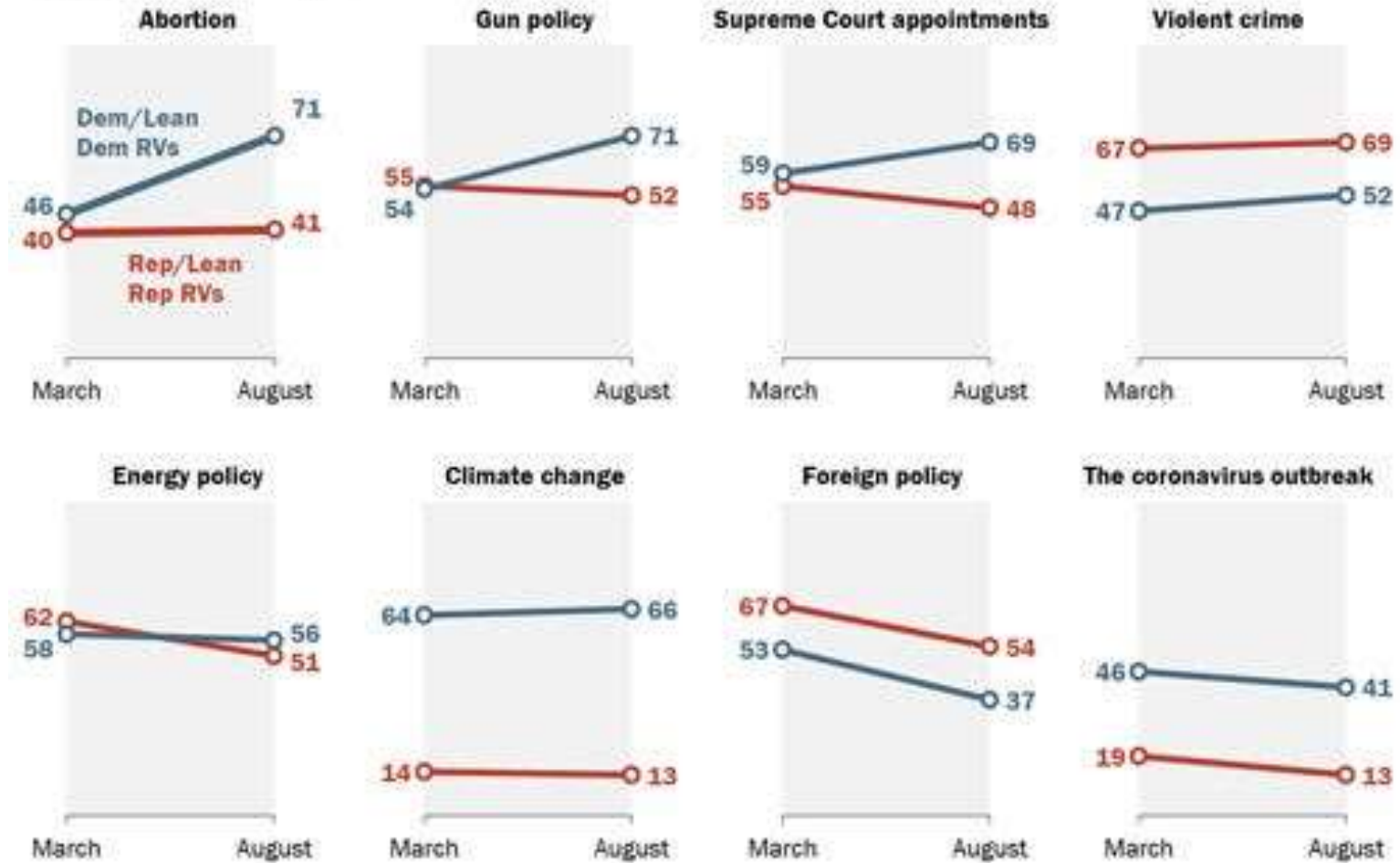
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 1-14, 2022.

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# Looking To the Election: Issues That May Motivate Turnout Are Increasingly Important to Democrats

## Since March, increasing shares of Democrats view abortion, gun policy and Supreme Court appointments as very important to their vote

% 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 August 1-14, 2022.

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Especially  
For  
Democrats  
Its Abortion  
Rights  
Stupid!

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MOE: +/- 4.0 PTS

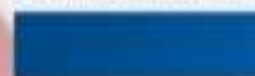
## HOW IMPORTANT IS ABORTION IN YOUR VOTE FOR CONGRESS?

DEMOCRATIC LIKELY VOTERS

**77%** VERY IMPORTANT



**19%** SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT



**4%** NOT TOO/AT ALL IMPORTANT



Thanks to the  
Abortion Issue  
White, Educated  
Women Are  
Returning to the  
Democrats' Fold

AUGUST 24-26, 2022

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MOE: +/- 5.2 PTS

**VOTE FOR CONGRESS:  
WHITE WOMEN WITH COLLEGE DEGREES**

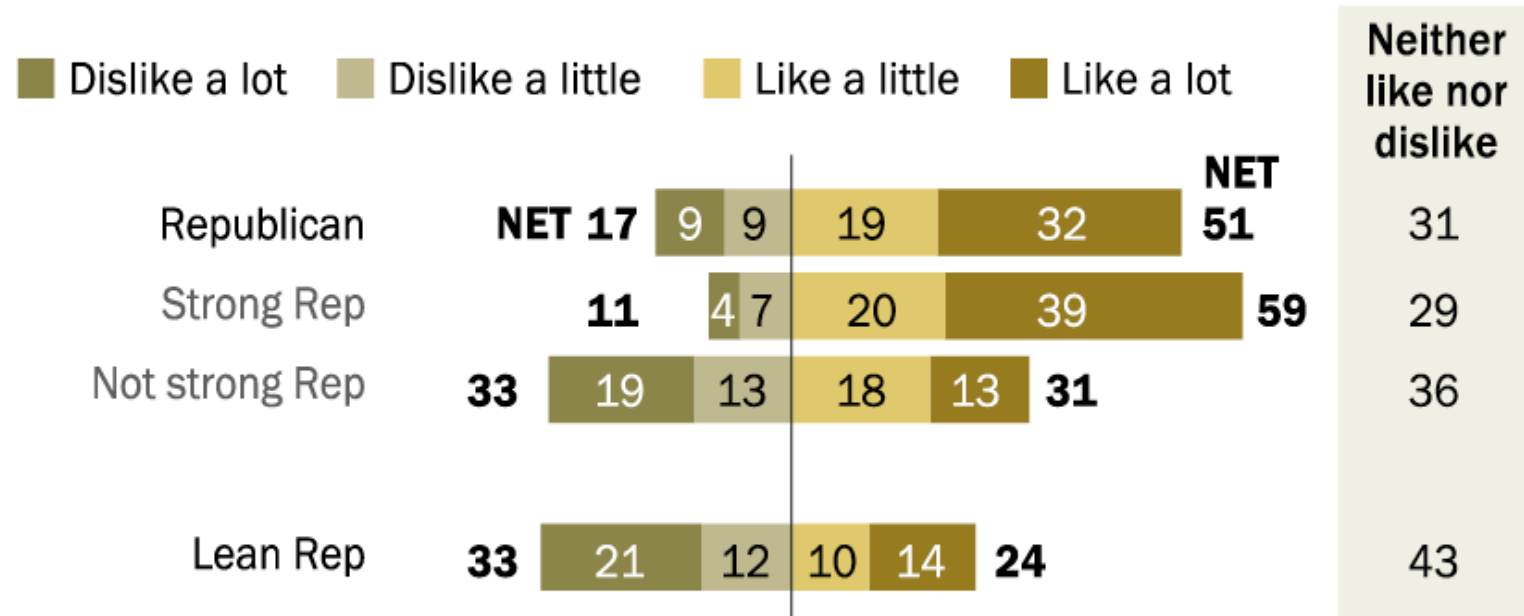
LIKELY VOTERS

	JULY	NOW
Voting Democratic	45%	54%
Voting Republican	39%	41%

Nevertheless,  
Trump's Hold on  
GOP Voters  
Should Not Be  
Underestimated

## A majority of 'strong' Republicans say they like political leaders who claim that Trump won in 2020

*% who \_\_\_\_ a political leader who publicly asserts that Donald Trump is the legitimate winner of the 2020 election*

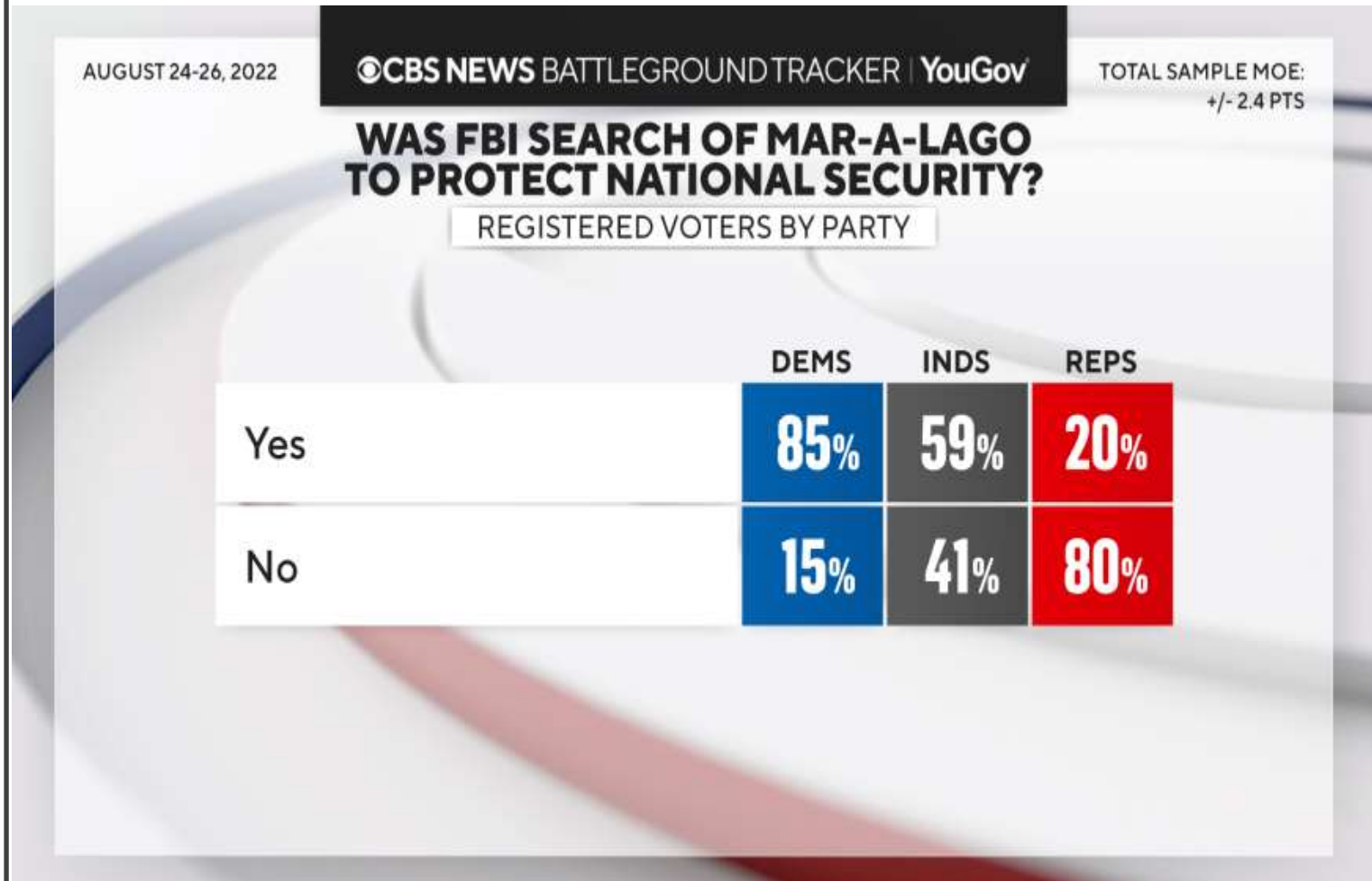


Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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Eight-in-Ten GOP  
Voters Don't  
Believe the  
Search of Mar-a-  
Lago Was About  
National Security,  
Fueling the Trump  
Persecution  
Narrative



And a Majority  
of Republicans  
Say Trump's  
Handling of  
Classified  
Material is Not  
a Problem For  
Them

## How much of a problem do you think it is if Donald Trump took classified material with him to his private residence after leaving office?

Politics (2312 US adults - Aug 9, 2022)

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Other	Not sure
A very big problem	45%	76	12	44	57	19
Somewhat of a problem	17%	14	20	18	10	21
Not a very big problem	11%	4	23	12	6	3
Not a problem	13%	1	28	14	14	11
Not sure	13%	5	17	12	14	46

## **TWO MONTHS OUT, WHO IS UP, WHO IS DOWN?**



The  
President's  
Party Loses an  
Average of 37  
Seats in the  
House When  
His Approval is  
in the Low 40s

## August Presidential Approval Ratings in Midterm Election Years, 1982-2022

Year	President	% Approve	U.S. House seat changes in president's party
1982	Reagan	41	-26
1986	Reagan	61	-5
1990	G.H.W. Bush	75	-8
1994	Clinton	41	-52
1998	Clinton	65	5
2002	G.W. Bush	67	8
2006	G.W. Bush	40	-30
2010	Obama	44	-63
2014	Obama	42	-13
2018	Trump	41	-40
2022	Biden	44	n/a

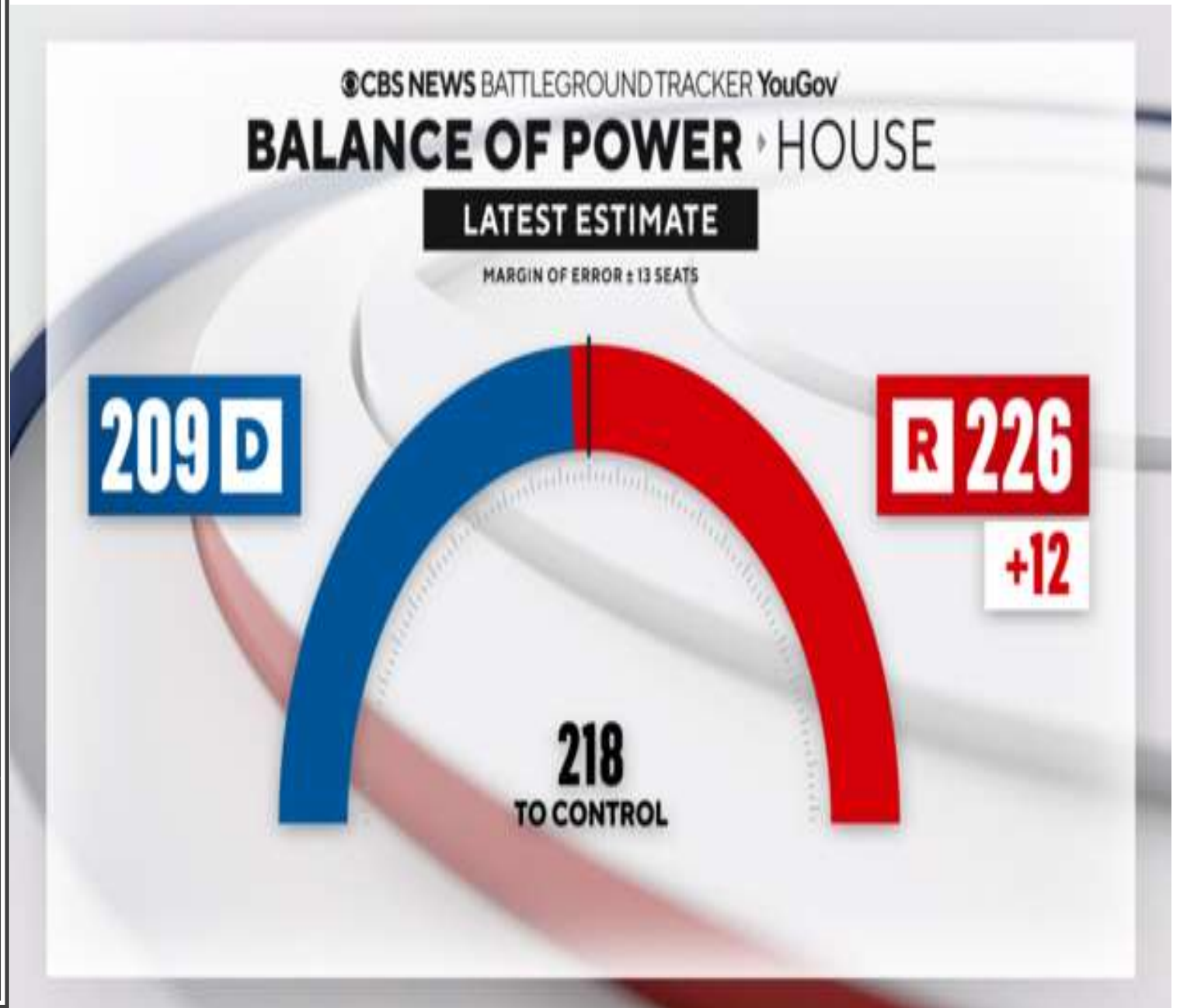
But Election Interest is Up, Particularly Among Democrats and Independents, And Enthusiasm Is Often a Turnout Indicator

## %9-10 Election Interest

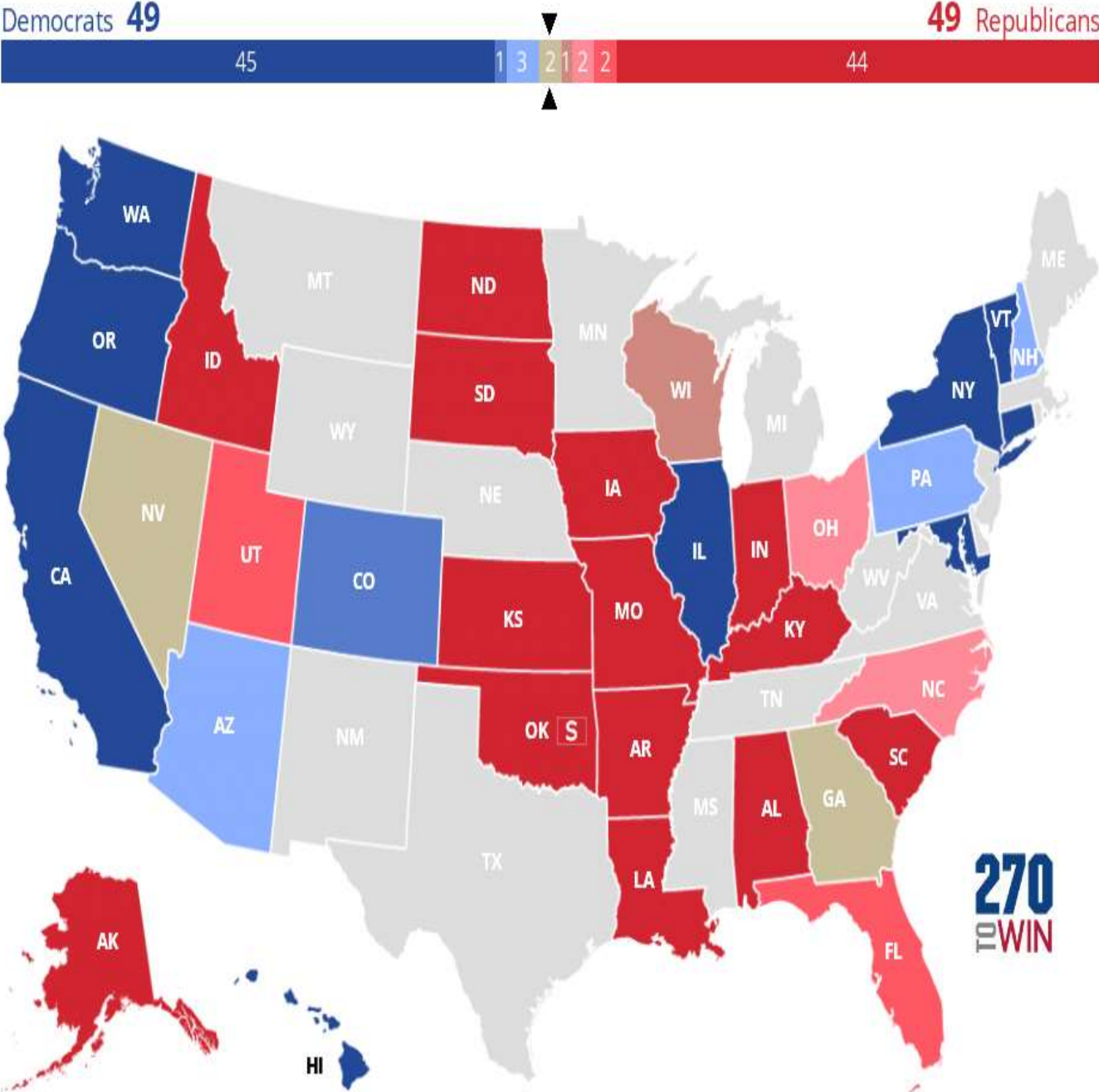


	January/March 2022 Merge	May/August 2022 Merge	Net Difference
All	53%	62%	+9%
Men	52%	60%	+8%
Women	55%	65%	+10%
White Men	57%	63%	+6%
White Women	60%	68%	+8%
18-34	30%	40%	+10%
35-49	48%	55%	+7%
50-64	66%	74%	+8%
65+	71%	78%	+7%
Democrats	48%	64%	+16%
Independents	38%	51%	+13%
Republicans	66%	69%	+3%
Whites	58%	65%	+7%
Black	42%	57%	+15%
Hispanic/Latinos	43%	52%	+9%
Net Difference Scores			
Men - Women	-3%	-5%	
65+ - 18-34	+41%	+38%	
GOP - DEM	+18%	+5%	
White - Black	+16%	+8%	

Pundits Once  
Thought Dems  
Would Lose 30-40  
Seats, But Biden's  
Recovery in the  
Polls and  
Democrats  
Enthusiasm  
Suggest Predictions  
of a GOP Landslide  
Were Premature



The Senate  
Outcome Will Be  
Close, Control  
May Depend on  
the Results in  
Georgia and  
Nevada, Seats  
Now Held by  
Democrats

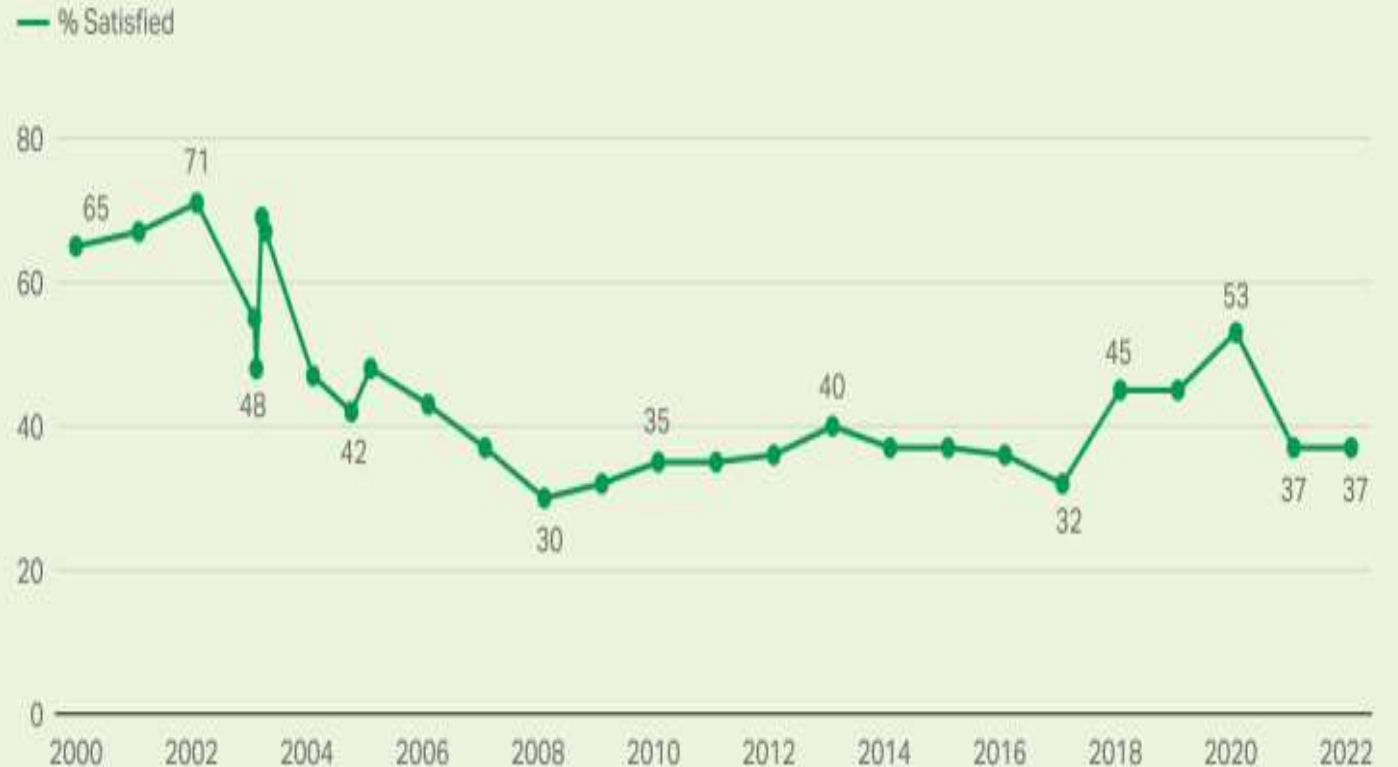


# **AMERICANS' VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES**

# Americans Are Less Satisfied with the U.S. Position in the World

## Americans' Satisfaction With U.S. Position in the World

On the whole, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the position of the United States in the world today?



GALLUP

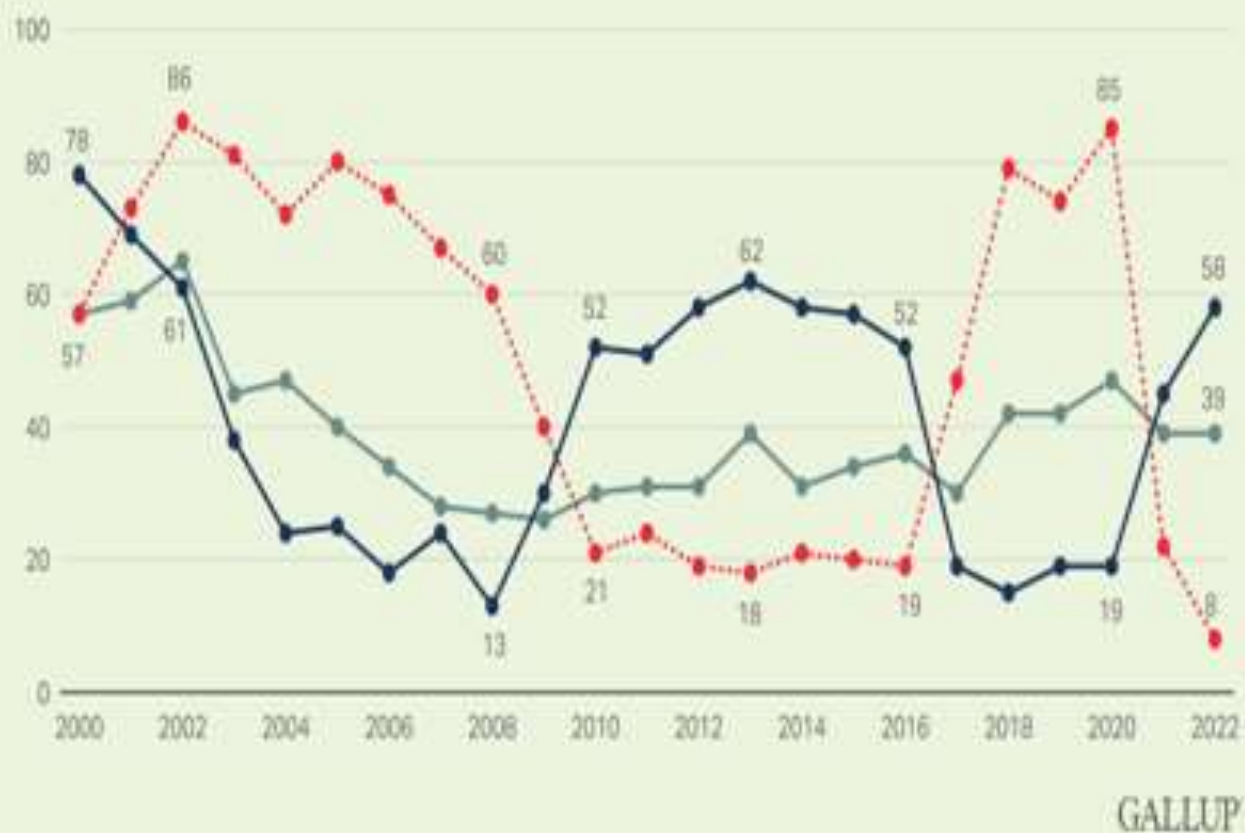


And This is a  
Highly Partisan  
Dissaffection  
Driven by  
Whether Your  
Guy is in the  
White House

Satisfaction With U.S. Position in World, by Party ID

% Satisfied

— Democrats — Independents - - - Republicans

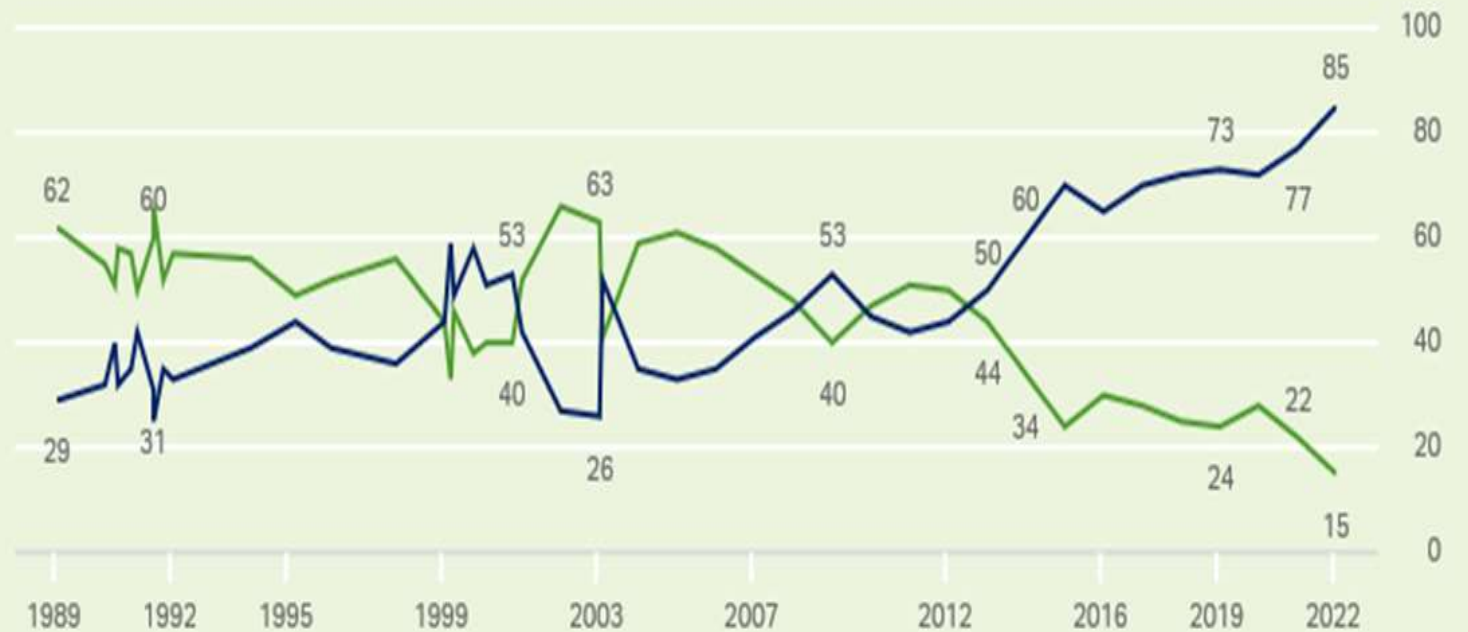


# American Views of Russia Are More Unfavorable Than at Any Time Since the Collapse of the Soviet Union

## Nearly Nine in 10 Americans Have Very or Mostly Unfavorable View of Russia

Next, I'd like your overall opinion of some foreign countries. What is your overall opinion of Russia? Is it very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?\*

— Very/Mostly favorable — Very/Mostly unfavorable



\* Asked as the Soviet Union from 1989-1992

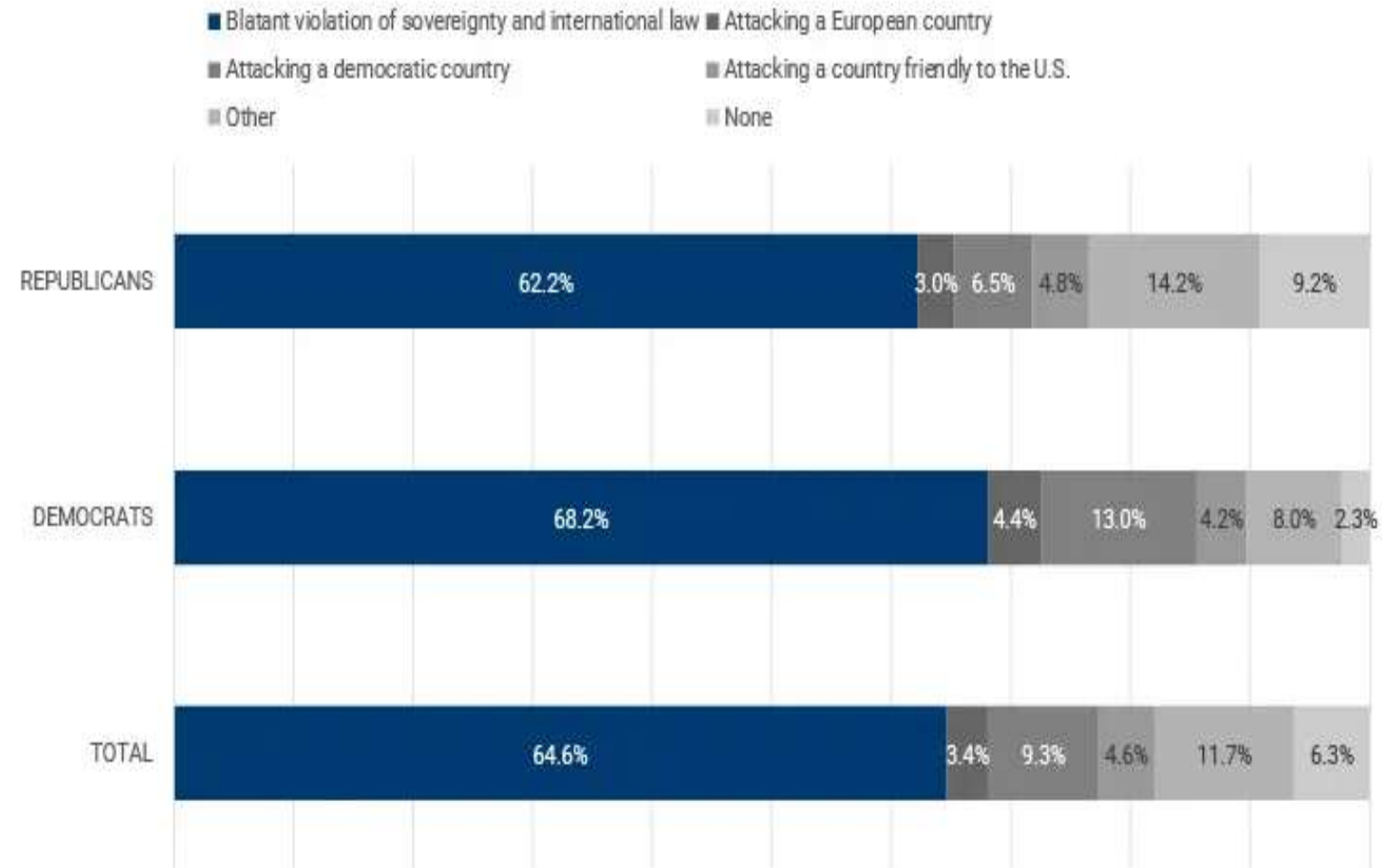
GALLUP

# It is Russia's Violation of Ukraine Sovereignty That Most Upsets Americans

FIGURE 2

Most Americans are most upset by the invasion being a "blatant violation of sovereignty and international law"

Question: What upsets you most about Russia's war in Ukraine?



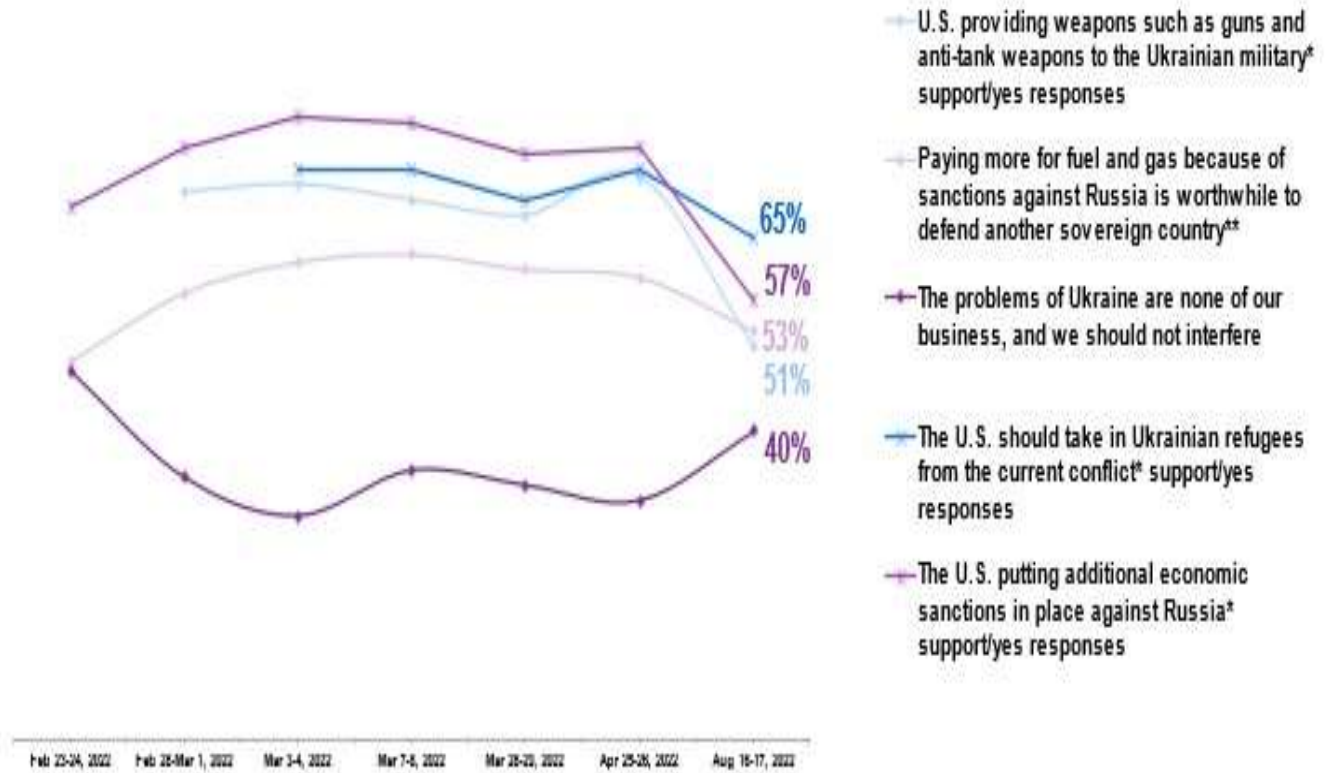
SOURCE: University of Maryland Critical Issue Poll, May 6-16, 2022

BROOKINGS

But Only Half  
of Americans  
Are Willing  
to Pay More  
for Gas to  
Sanction  
Russia

## American Perceptions of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

% of Americans who agree/support/yes



To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

In your opinion, should the U.S. do any of the following in response to the current situation in Ukraine? .../Would you change in August 2022

\*\* Statement text read "Paying more for fuel and gas because of sanctions against Russia is worthwhile to defend

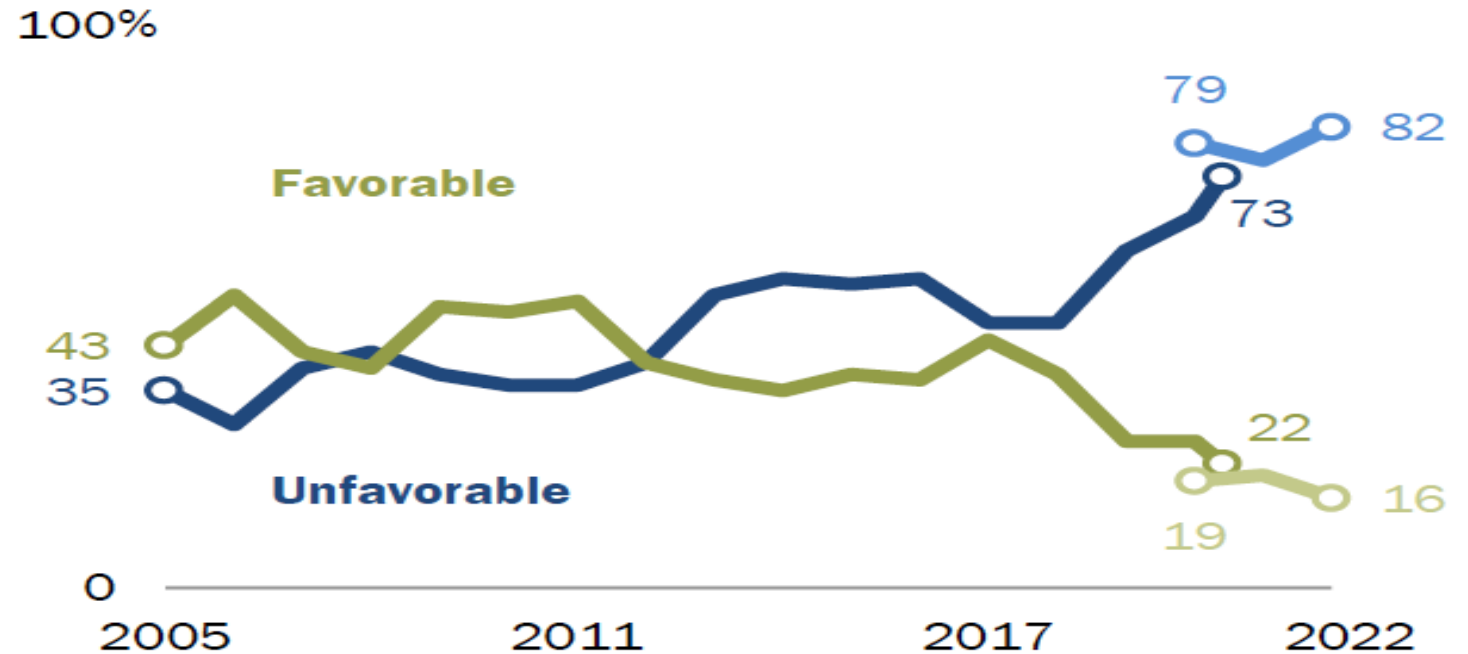
support or oppose the U.S. doing the following in response to the current situation in Ukraine? \* Question

another democratic country prior to August 2022.

Negative  
Views of China  
Have Never  
Been Worse in  
Nearly Two  
Decades of  
Polling

## Roughly eight-in-ten Americans see China unfavorably

*% of Americans who have a(n) \_\_\_ view of China*



Note: In spring 2020, the Center ran concurrent phone (dark blue and dark green in chart) and online panel (light blue and light green in chart) surveys in the U.S. In summer 2020 and prior to 2020, U.S. surveys were conducted over the phone.

Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q5b.

“Negative Views of China Tied to Critical Views of its Policies on Human Rights”

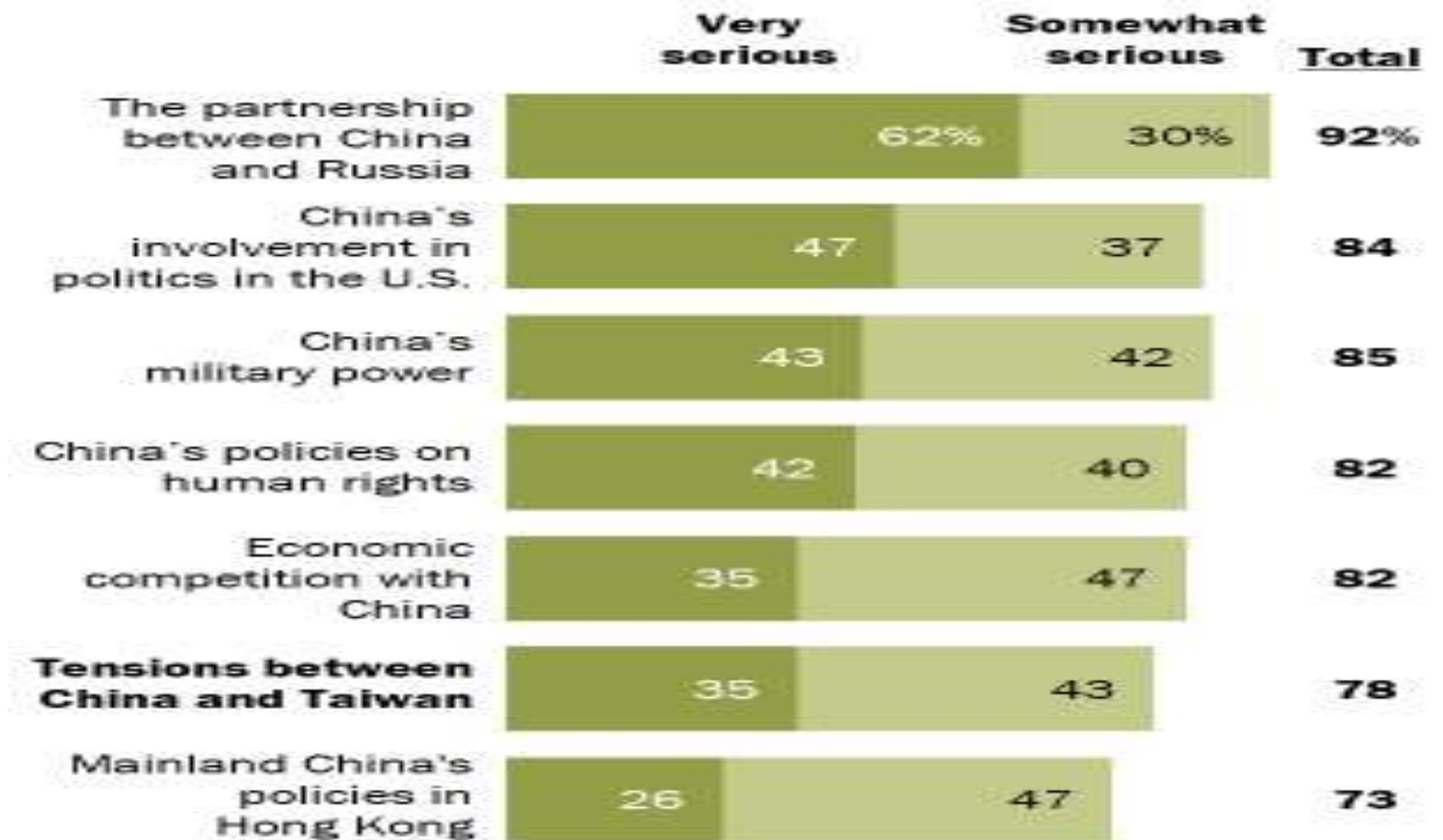
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# Americans' Biggest Concern About China is Its Partnership With Russia

## Around a third of Americans see tensions between China and Taiwan as a very serious problem for the U.S.

*% who say the following would be a \_\_\_ problem for the U.S.*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 21-27, 2022.

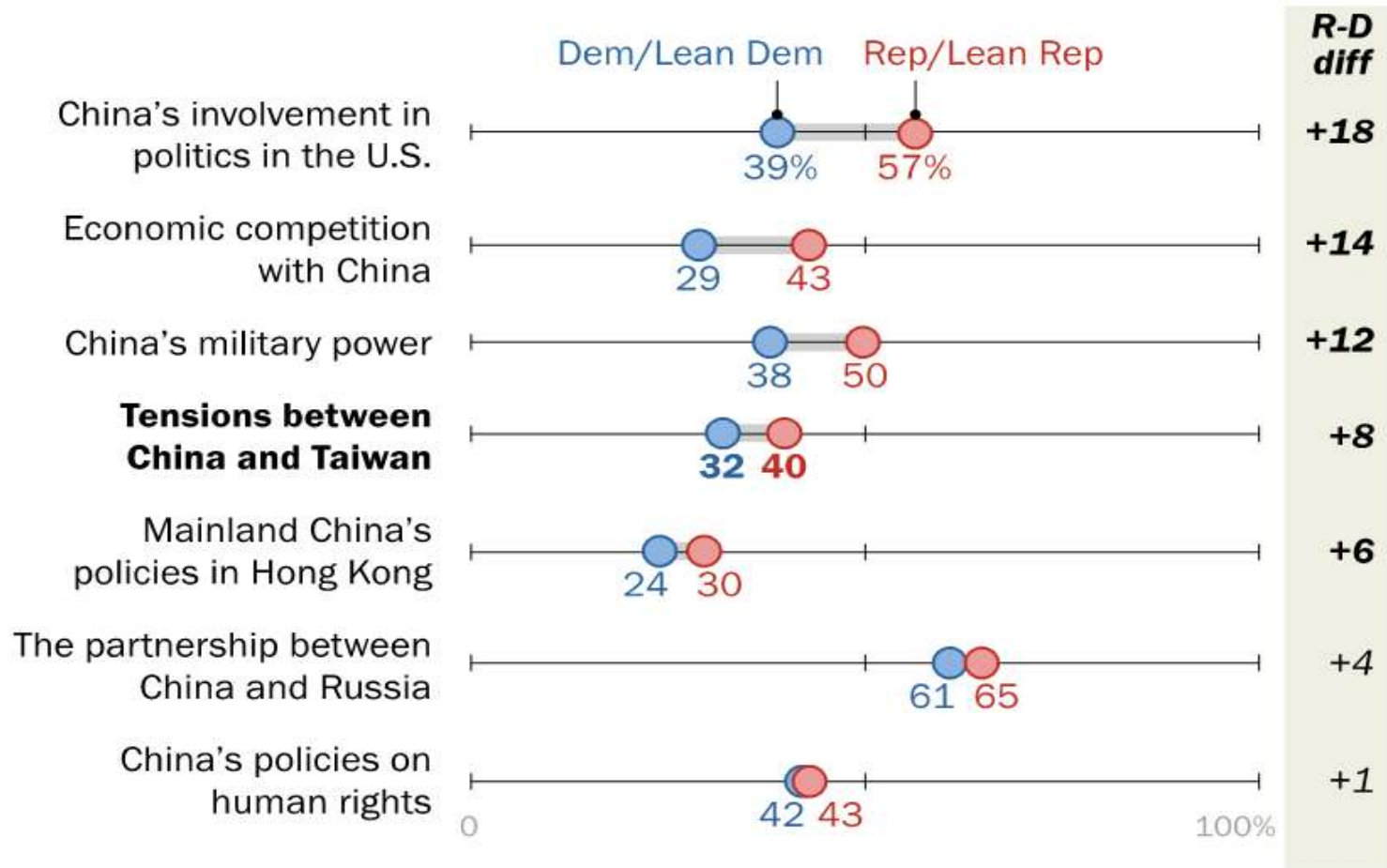
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# And All Views About China, Except on Human Rights, Are Partisan

## Republicans more likely than Democrats to see China-Taiwan tensions as a very serious problem for the U.S.

% who say \_\_\_ would be a **very serious** problem for the U.S.

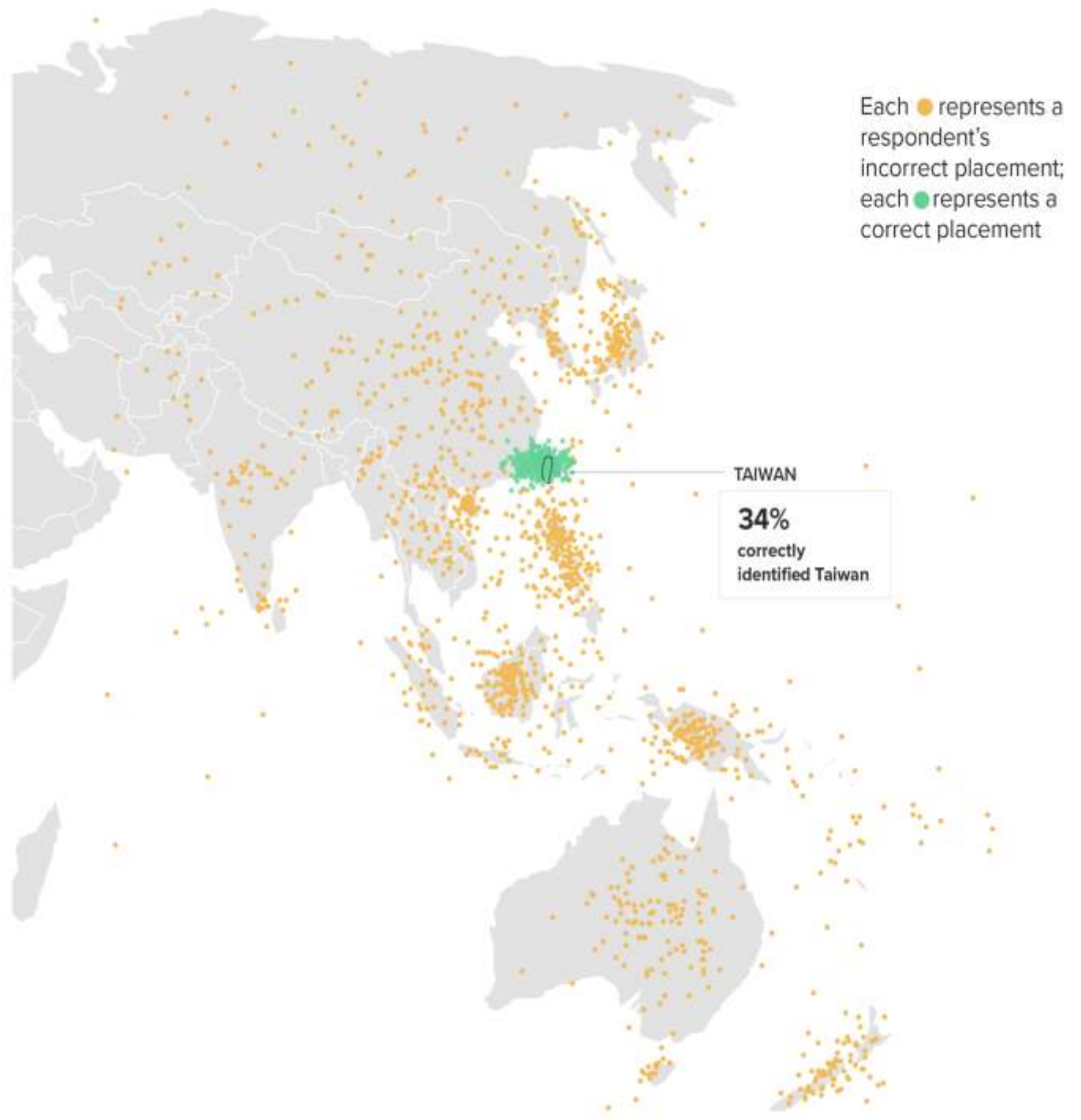


Note: Significant differences shown in **bold**.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 21-27, 2022.

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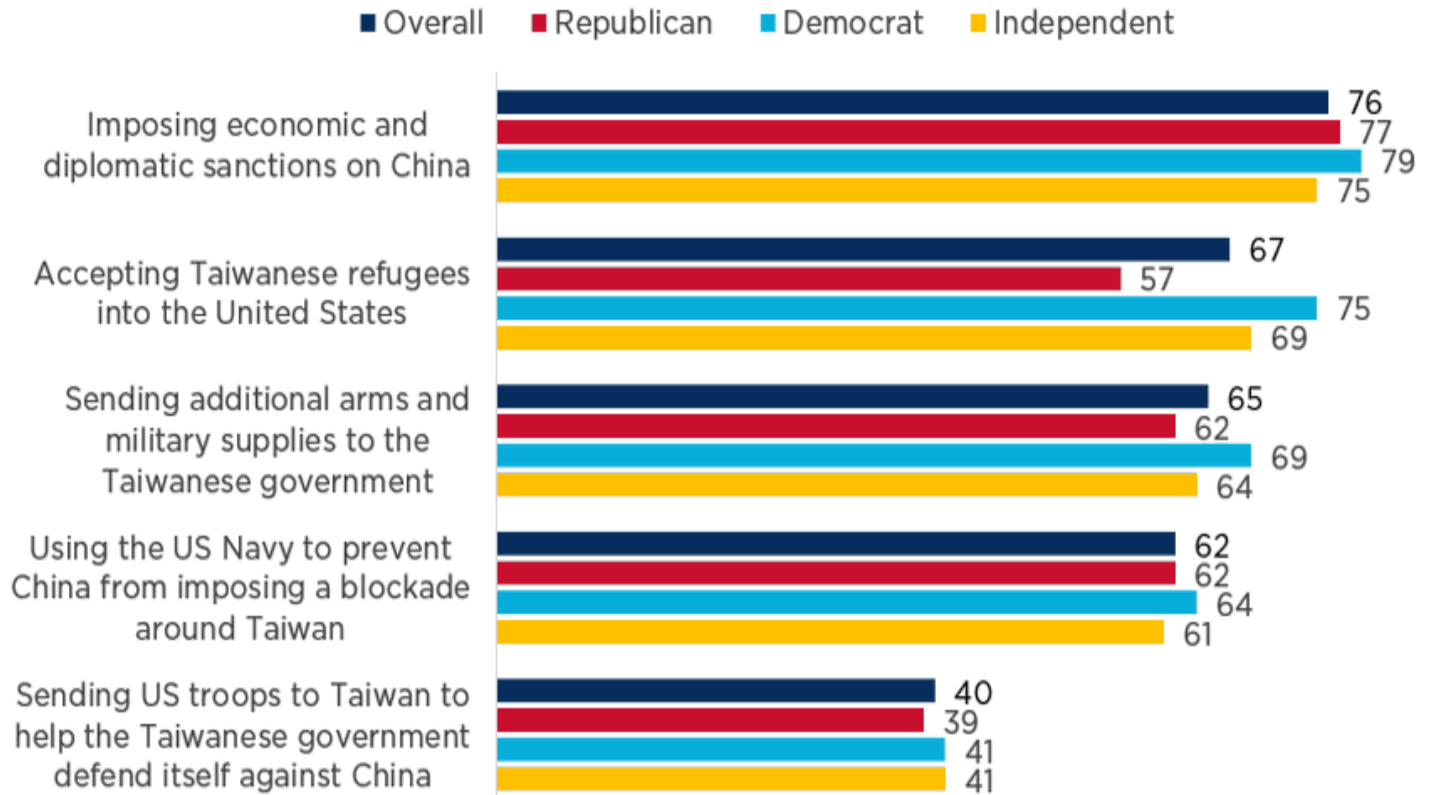
Even During the  
Pelosi Trip To  
Taiwan Only a  
Third of Americans  
Could Find Taiwan  
on a Map Despite  
Heavy Media  
Coverage



# Americans Are Willing to Sanction China Over Taiwan, And Send Arms, But Not Troops

## US Reactions to an Invasion of Taiwan

*If China were to invade Taiwan, would you support or oppose the United States:*

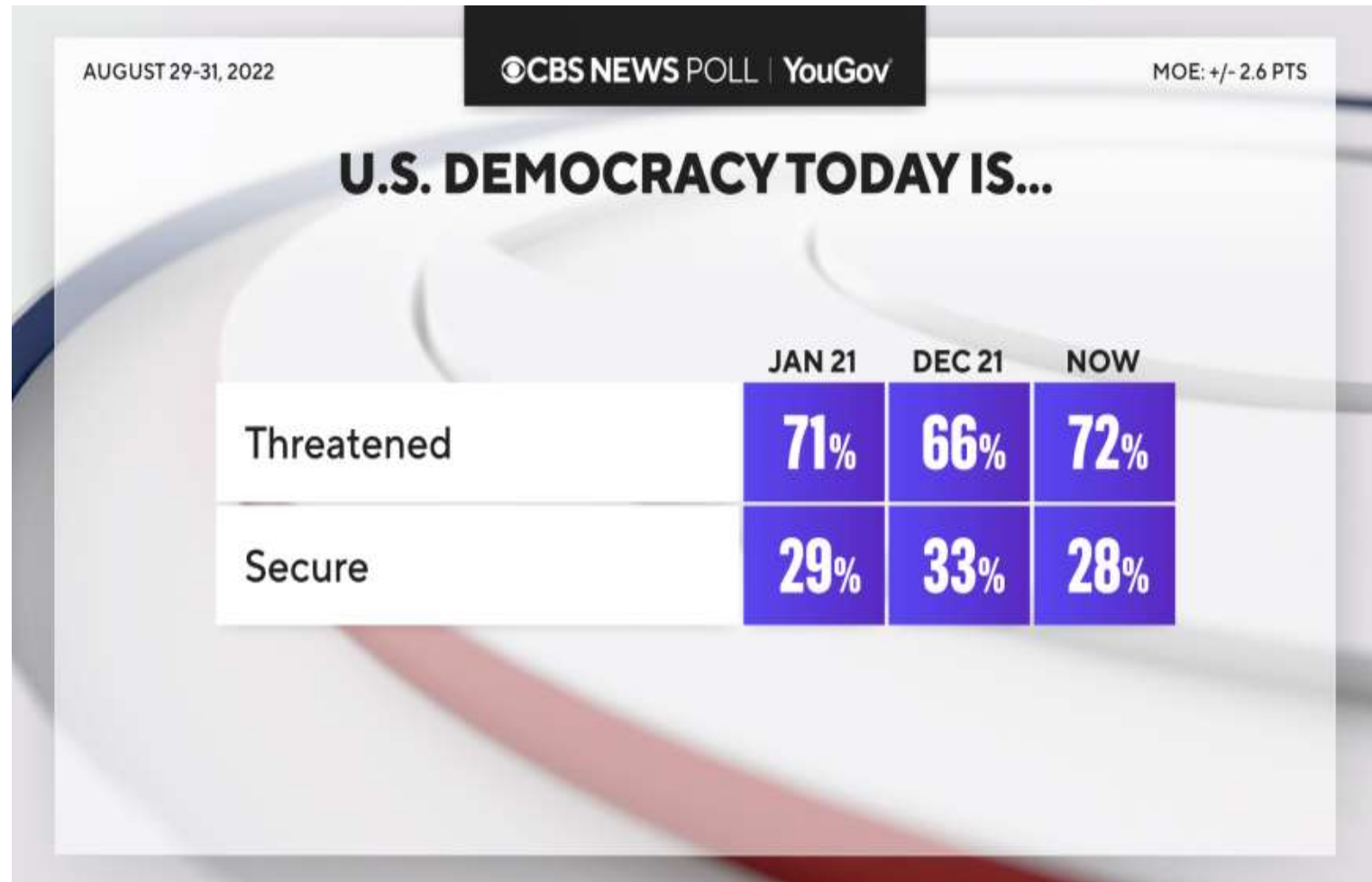


July 15 - August 1, 2022 | n=3,106

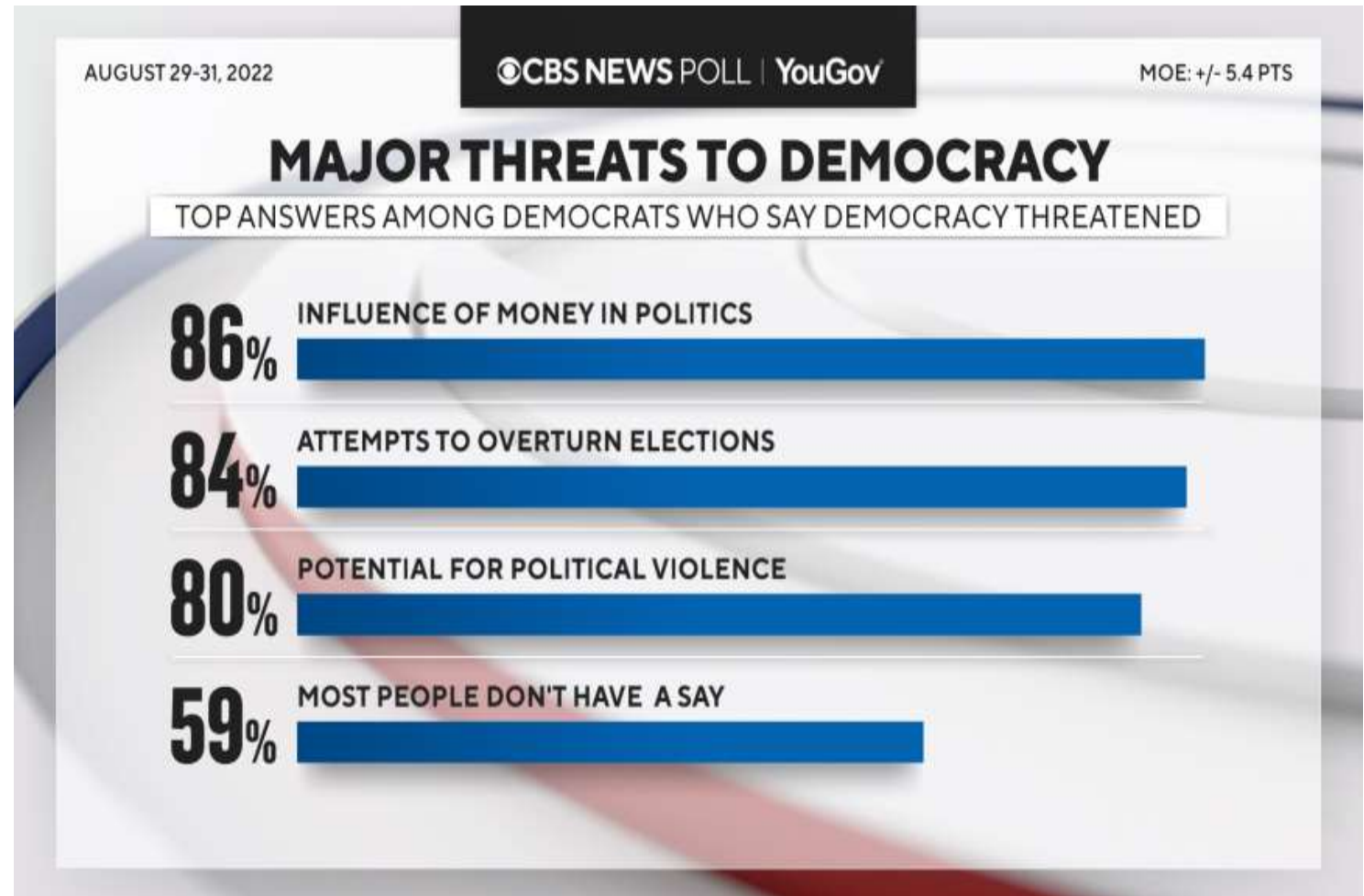
CHICAGO COUNCIL SURVEYS

**THERE IS GROWING EVIDENCE THAT PARTISANSHIP, FUELED BY ALIENATION, IS  
MUTATING INTO SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE, AN UGLY TURN IN PUBLIC SENTIMENT**

Seven-in-ten  
Americans  
Are  
Concerned  
About Their  
Democracy

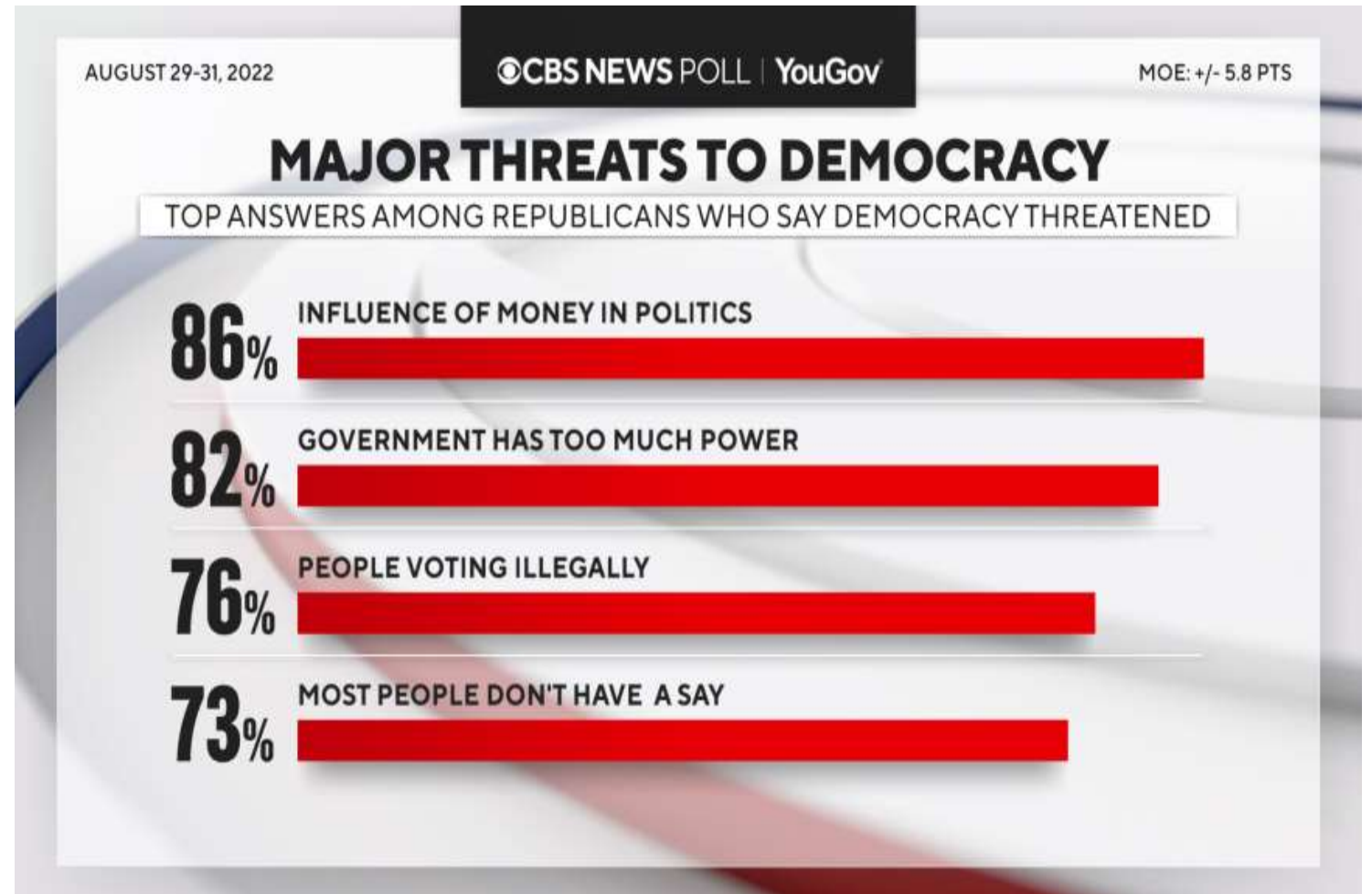


But They See  
the Threat  
Differently: For  
Democrats Its  
Money in  
Politics,  
Election  
Subversion,  
Violence





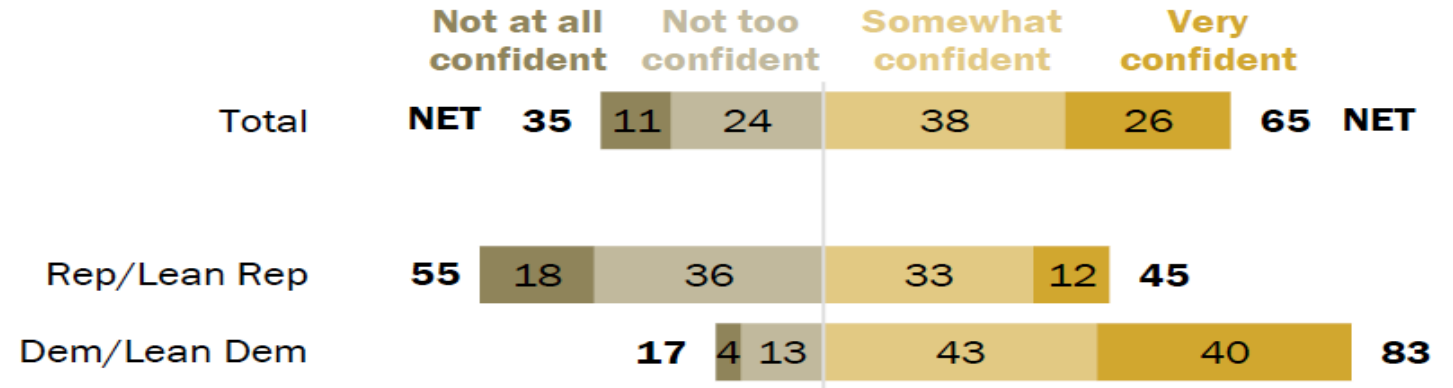
For  
Republicans  
Its Money,  
But Also Big  
Government,  
Voter Fraud



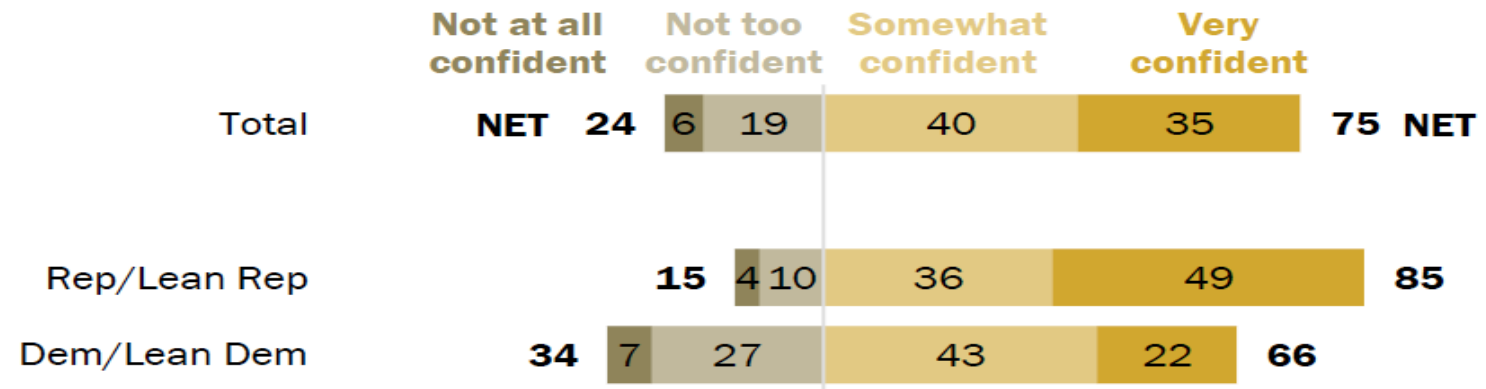
# Fueling GOP Concern is Belief That Congressional Elections Will Not Be Fair

## About half of Republican voters say they are not confident midterms will be conducted fairly

*% of registered voters who say they are \_\_\_\_ that the congressional election this November will be conducted fairly and accurately*



*% of registered voters who say they are \_\_\_\_ that all citizens who want to vote in the congressional election this November will be able to*



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 1-14, 2022.

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There is a  
Growing Sense  
That The  
Country Will  
Get More  
Divided and  
That Violence  
is in the Offing

# Americans expect political divisions and political violence to increase over the next few years

## POLITICAL DIVISIONS

Since the beginning of 2021, do you think this country has become:

**More politically divided** | Stayed the same | Less politically divided



Looking ahead to the next few years, do you think the amount of political division in this country is more likely to:

**Increase** | Stay the same | Decrease



## POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Since the beginning of 2021, do you think political violence in this country has:

**Increased** | Stayed the same | Decreased



Looking ahead to the next few years, do you think the amount of political violence in this country is more likely to:

**Increase** | Stay the same | Decrease

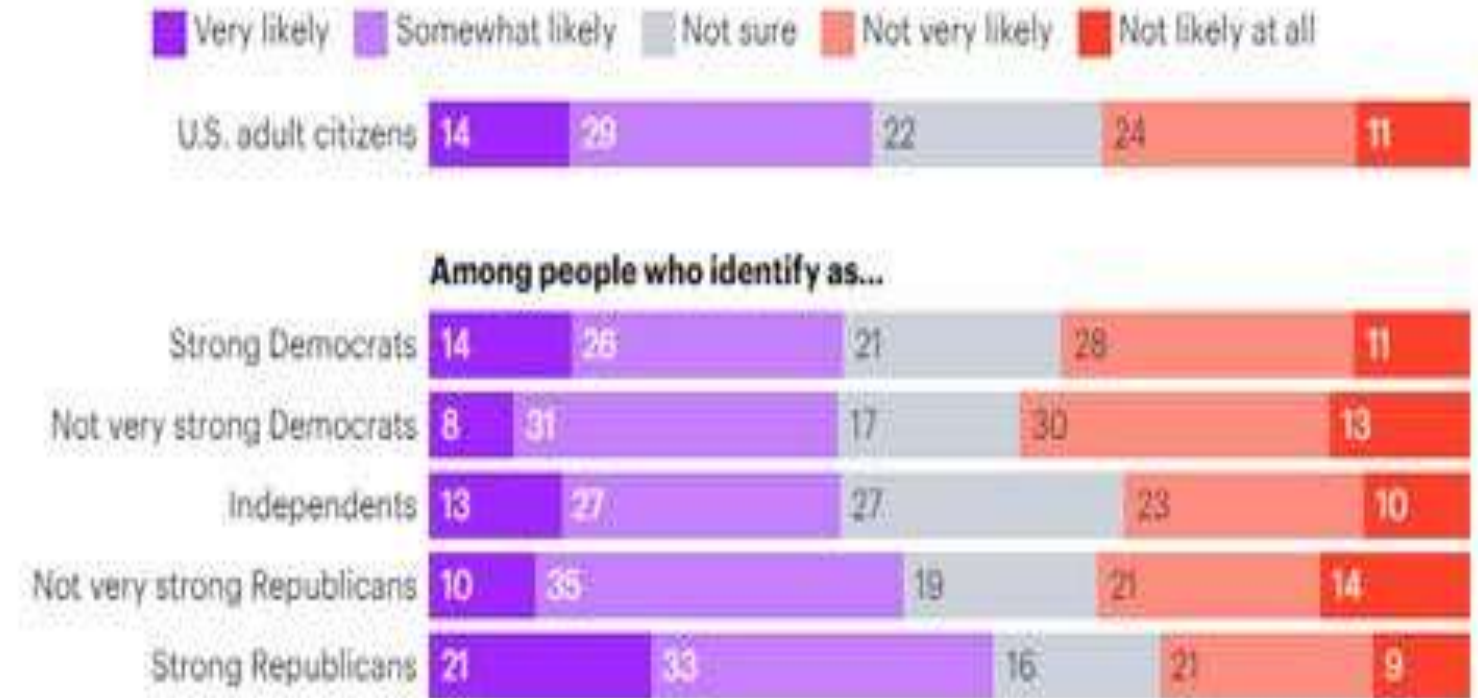


Note: Gray bars represent people who said they are not sure.

And Note  
That One-in-  
Four  
Democrats  
Also Think a  
Civil War is  
Likely

## One in five self-described strong Republicans think it's very likely there will be a U.S. civil war within the next decade

Looking ahead to the next 10 years, how likely do you think it is that there will be a civil war in this country? (%)



YouGov

The Economist / YouGov | August 20 - 23, 2022



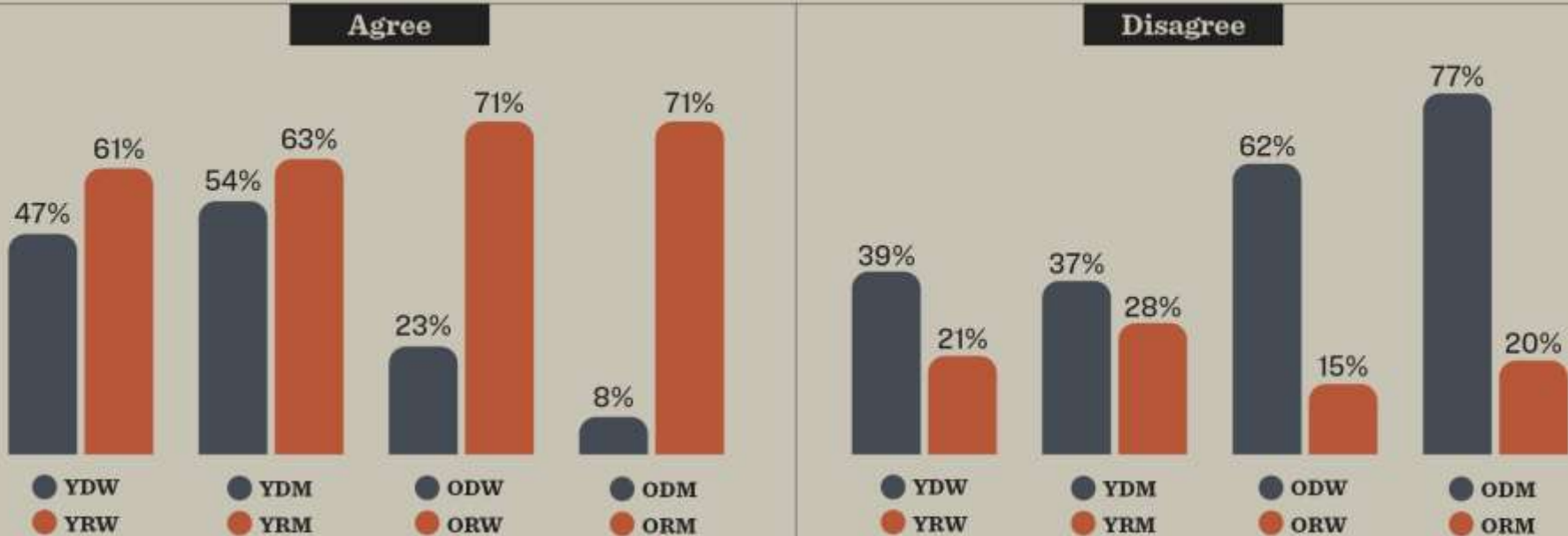
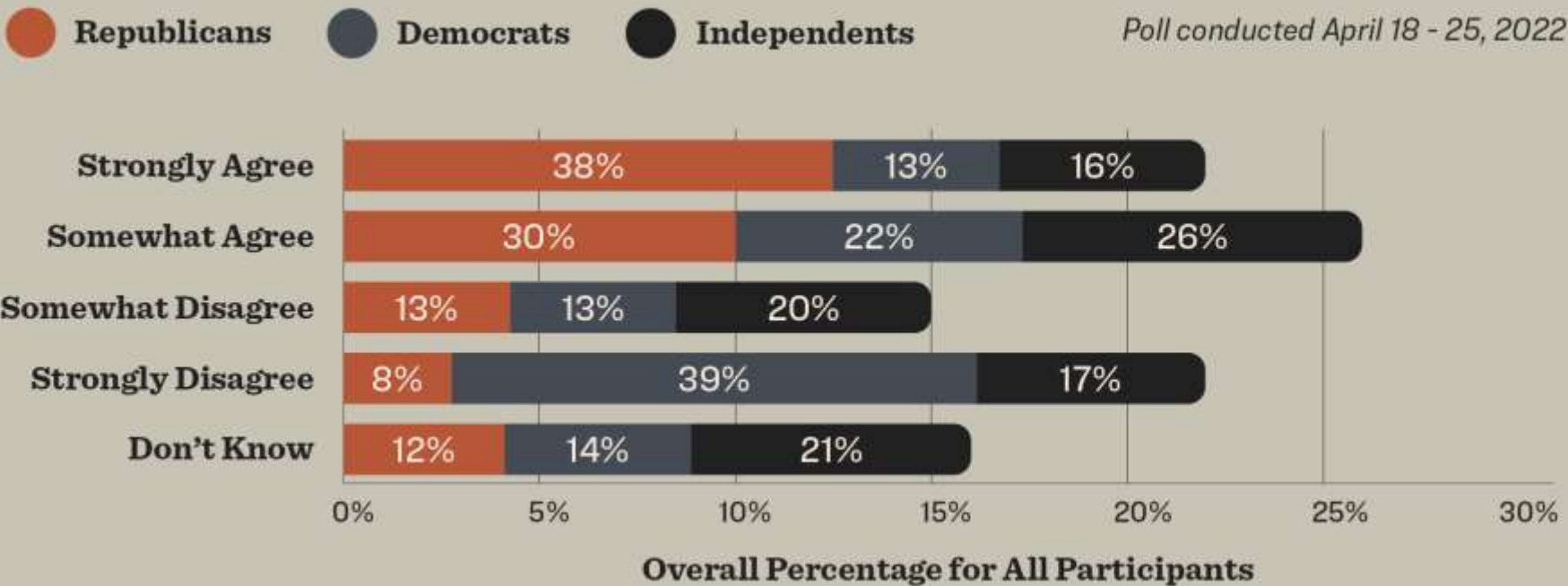
SECTION 1

The Great Replacement

Agree or disagree: The recent change in our national demographic makeup is not a natural change but has been motivated by progressive and liberal leaders actively trying to leverage political power by replacing more conservative white voters.

- YDW Younger Democratic Women
- YRW Younger Republican Women
- YDM Younger Democratic Men
- YRM Younger Republican Men
- ODW Older Democratic Woman
- ORW Older Republican Woman
- ODM Older Democratic Men
- ORM Older Republican Men

Younger = <50 , Older = 50+



## SECTION 2

# Gender Roles and Gender Identity

Agreement that “feminism has done more harm than good” by age, gender and party.

Younger = <50 , Older = 50+

● Agree ● Disagree ● Don't Know

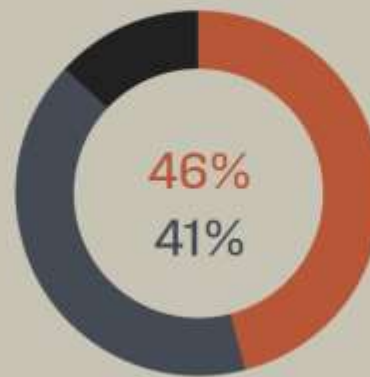
Poll conducted April 18 - 25, 2022



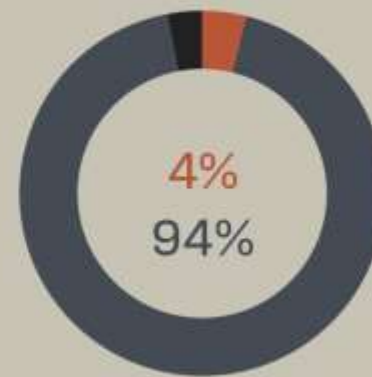
Younger  
Democratic  
Women



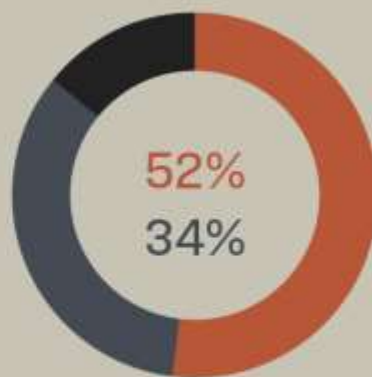
Older  
Democratic  
Women



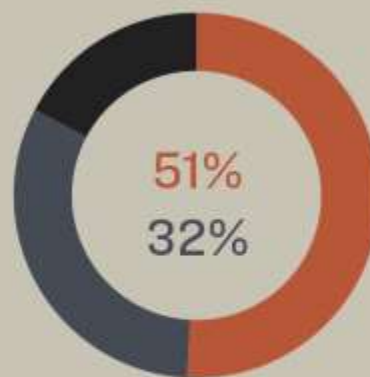
Younger  
Democratic  
Men



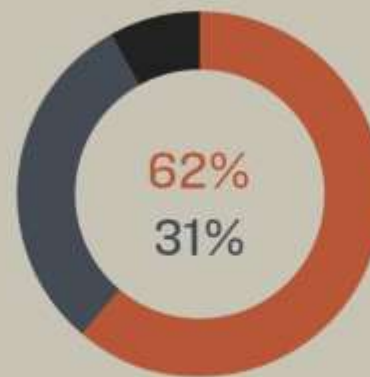
Older  
Democratic  
Men



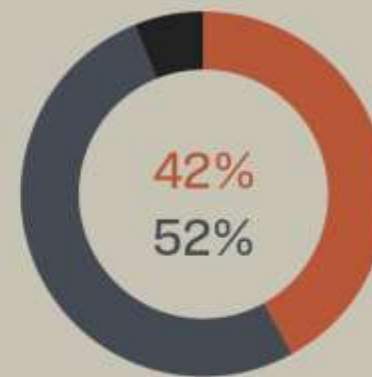
Younger  
Republican  
Women



Older  
Republican  
Women



Younger  
Republican  
Men



Older  
Republican  
Men



## SECTION 4

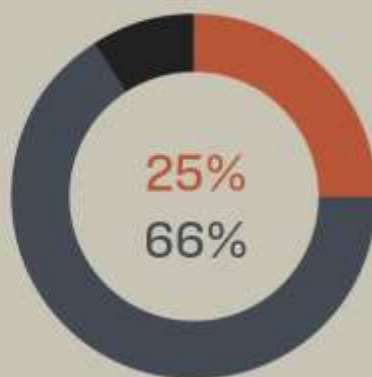
# Partisanship and Violence

Total approval for “threatening a politician who is harming the country or our democracy.”

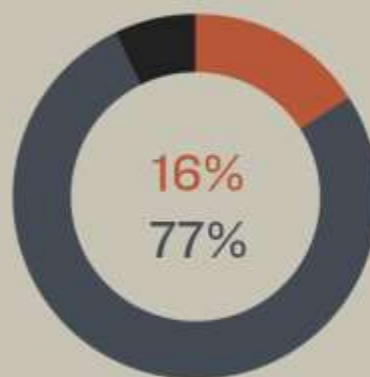
Younger = <50 , Older = 50+

● Approve ● Disapprove ● Don't Know

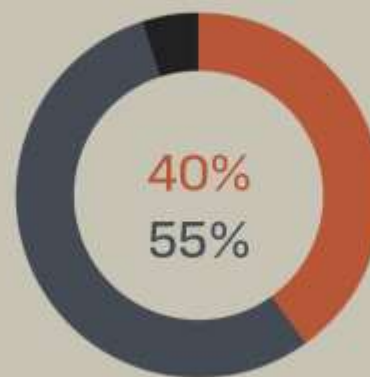
Poll conducted April 18 - 25, 2022



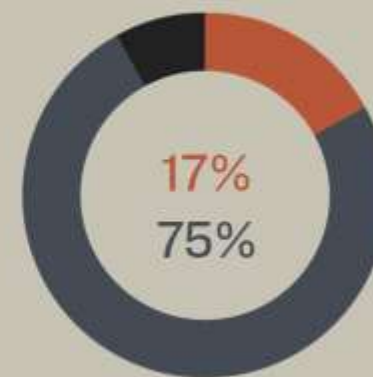
Younger  
Democratic  
Women



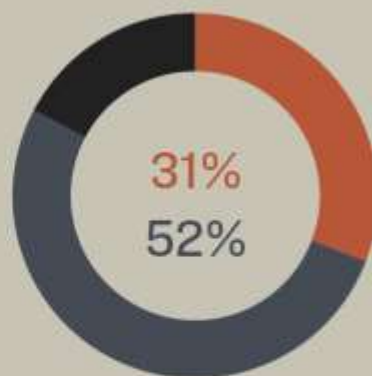
Older  
Democratic  
Women



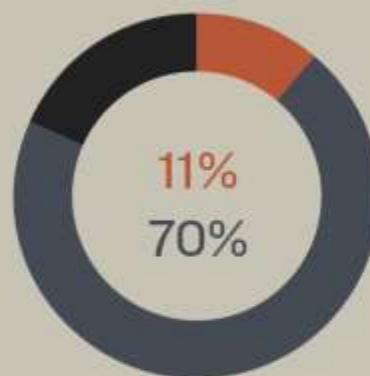
Younger  
Democratic  
Men



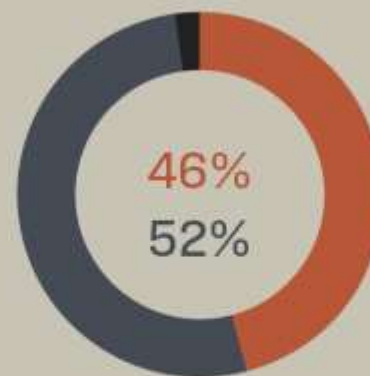
Older  
Democratic  
Men



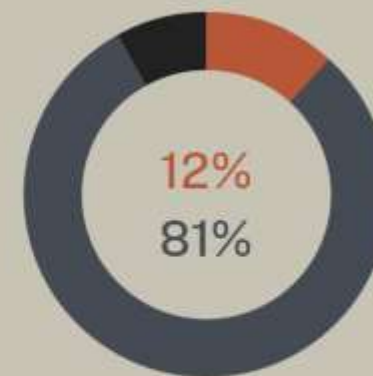
Younger  
Republican  
Women



Older  
Republican  
Women



Younger  
Republican  
Men



Older  
Republican  
Men

**Bruce Stokes**  
**German Marshall Fund**  
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