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Public Has Modest Expectations for Washington's Return to Divided Government

Republicans less confident than Democrats in midterm vote counts – but more confident than they were after the 2020 election

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How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to understand how voters view the 2022 midterm elections and the voting process. For this analysis, we surveyed 11,377 U.S. adults, including 8,617 respondents who reported voting in the November election. The survey was conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. [Read more about the ATP's methodology.](#)

Here are the [questions used for the report](#) and its [methodology](#).

Public Has Modest Expectations for Washington's Return to Divided Government

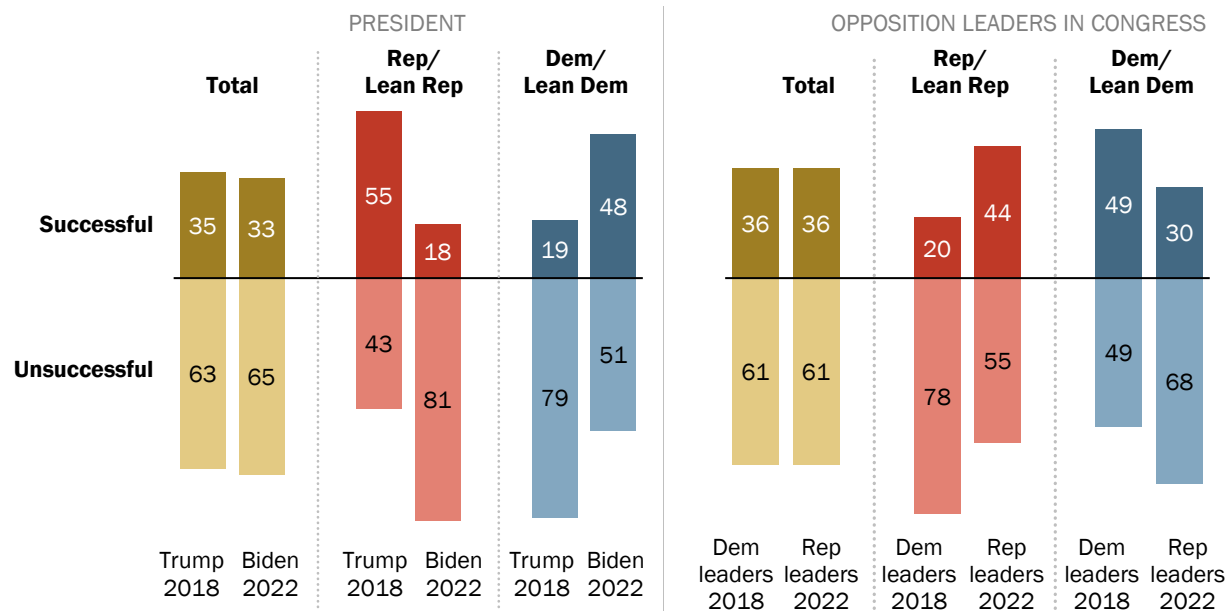
Republicans less confident than Democrats in midterm vote counts – but more confident than they were after the 2020 election

After a second consecutive midterm election that resulted in divided partisan control of Congress, the American public is broadly skeptical that either the president or Republican House leaders will get their programs passed into law.

Most U.S. adults say President Joe Biden (65%) and Republican leaders in Congress (61%) will be unsuccessful getting their agendas enacted in the next two years; only about a third say the president (33%) and GOP leaders (36%) will be successful. The public's expectation of gridlock in Washington essentially mirrors their views in 2018, when about a third of Americans expected Donald Trump or Democratic leaders in Congress to make progress on their key programs. As was

Most Americans don't expect either Biden or Republican leaders in Congress to be successful getting their policies passed into law over the next two years

% who say ____ will be successful or unsuccessful in getting their programs passed into law over the next two years



Notes: Data comes from post-election surveys in each year. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

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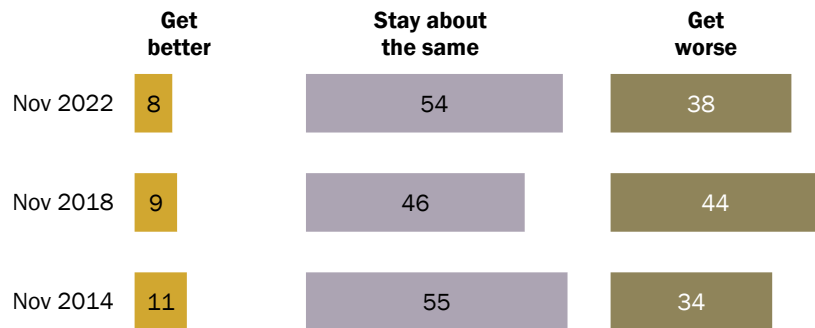
the case four years ago, Republicans and Democrats are more likely to say their side's leaders will be successful over the next two years than the other party's, according to a new Pew Research Center survey of 11,377 adults – including 8,617 who report voting in the November election – conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

About half of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents (48%) expect Biden to be successful in enacting his agenda, while a slightly smaller share of Republicans and Republican leaners (44%) say the same about their party's prospects for success.

Americans largely expect the partisan acrimony that has characterized U.S. politics in recent years to continue: Just 8% say they expect relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington to improve in the next year. About half of U.S. adults (54%) say relations will stay about the same as they are now, while 38% say relations will get worse in the next year. These views are little different from surveys conducted following the 2018 and 2014 midterm elections.

Few Americans expect an improvement in partisan relations in the coming year

% who say relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington will ___ in the coming year



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

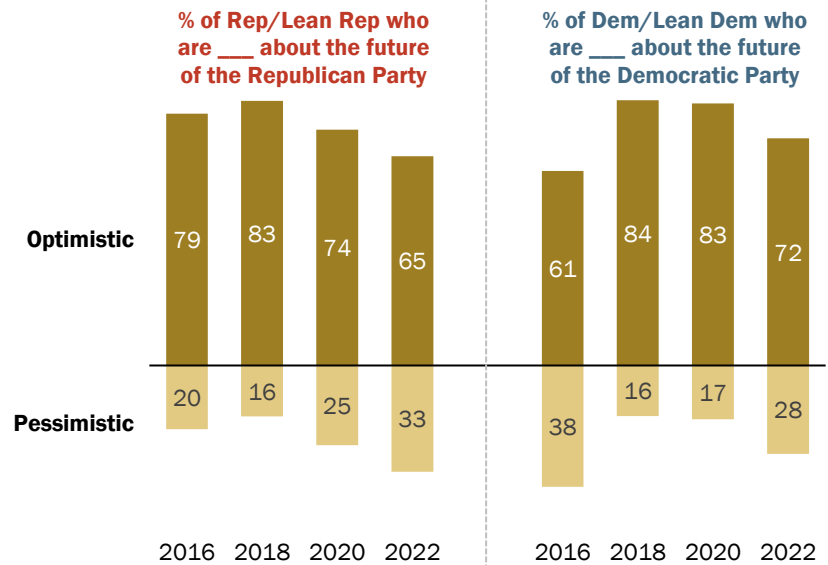
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Other important findings from the post-election survey

Partisans are less optimistic about their parties' futures than they were following the last two elections.

Today, about two-thirds of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (65%) and 72% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents are optimistic about the future of their own party. But the shares saying this are lower than after the 2020 and 2018 elections. A third of Republicans say they are pessimistic about the GOP's future, the highest share saying this in recent post-election surveys. About a quarter of Democrats (28%) are pessimistic about their party's future, higher than in both 2018 and 2020 – though lower than the share saying this following the 2016 election.

Most Republicans and Democrats are optimistic about their party's future, but pessimism has increased



Notes: Data comes from post-election surveys in each year. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

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More Republicans say elections around the country were well run than in 2020 – but wide partisan gaps in voting confidence remain. About half of voters who cast their ballot for a Republican candidate for the U.S. House (53%) say that elections around the United States were conducted very (14%) or somewhat well (39%) this year; after the 2020 presidential election, just 21% of those who voted for Trump said the same. Democratic voters overwhelmingly say this year's elections were administered well (96% say either very or somewhat well), similar to the share of Biden's voters saying this two years ago (94% said very or somewhat well). Republican voters also express higher levels of confidence in the accuracy of counts of mail-in or absentee ballots this year (41% very or somewhat confident that these votes were counted as voters intended) than Trump's voters in 2020 (19% very or somewhat confident). Still, most GOP voters are skeptical these votes were counted accurately (58% are not too or not at all confident). Democratic voters are overwhelmingly confident absentee ballots were counted as voters intended (94%).

In-person voting increased this year compared with 2020. About four-in-ten voters (44%) say they cast their ballots in person on Election Day in this year's election, an increase of 17 percentage points compared with 2020 (27%). Absentee and mail-in voting declined from 46% of voters in 2020 to 35% this year. Republicans (52%) are more likely to say they voted in person on Election Day than Democrats (35%), but the share of Democrats voting on Election Day doubled compared with 2020 (17% two years ago).

Fewer voters say Biden was a factor in their vote than said so about Trump four years ago.

Slightly more than half of voters (53%) say Biden was a factor in their congressional vote this year, while 46% say he was not much of a consideration in their choice. Four years ago, 64% of voters said Trump was a factor. About twice as many voters say they voted against Biden (35%) as say they voted for him (17%). Most Republican voters say their vote was against Biden (68%), while 31% say he wasn't much of a factor. Biden was much less of a consideration among Democratic voters – about six-in-ten (63%) say he wasn't a factor for them.

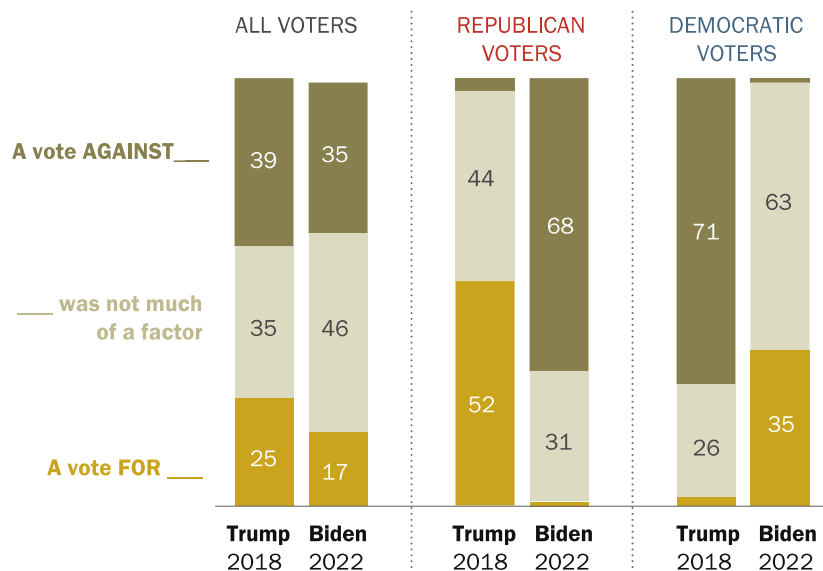
Democratic voters are much

less likely to say they were voting to support the president this year than Republican voters were four years ago (52% of Republican voters in 2018 said their vote was for Trump, while 35% of Democratic voters say the same about Biden now).

Americans remain dissatisfied with the state of the nation. Just 24% of adults say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country, while roughly three times as many (75%) are dissatisfied. That is little changed since shortly before the election, when 21% said they were satisfied in October. In fact, the share saying they are satisfied with national conditions has

Most Republican voters say they were voting 'against' Biden; most Democratic voters say Biden wasn't much of a factor

% of voters who say their vote for Congress in their district was ...



Notes: Based on voters. No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

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changed only modestly over the past year. Democrats (38%) continue to be more likely than Republicans (11%) to express satisfaction.

Evaluations of election administration

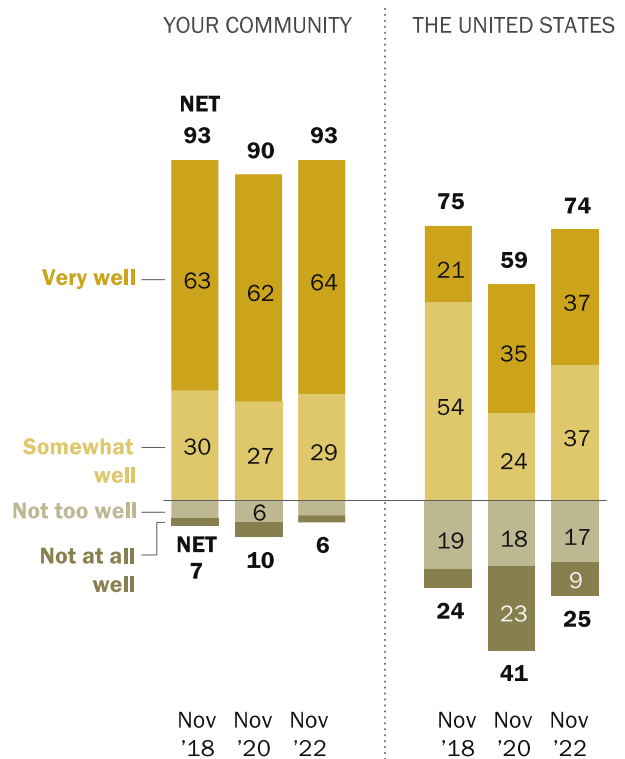
About nine-in-ten voters (93%) say elections in their local communities were administered well this year, while a smaller majority (74%) say elections were administered well across the country.

The share of voters saying their local election was run well has been consistent across the last three election cycles, with about nine-in-ten voters saying their community ran the election well in each cycle. And most voters who give their community positive marks in this area say their local election was run *very* well: About six-in-ten voters have said this after each election cycle.

Voters are less likely to say elections across the U.S. were well administered than to say this about elections in their community, and far fewer say elections across the country were run *very* well. About three-quarters of voters (74%) say elections this November in the U.S. were administered very or somewhat well, including 37% who say they were run very well. This is roughly similar to the share who said this after the 2018 election (75%) but higher than after the 2020 election (59%).

Voters have more positive evaluations of election administration across the country than in 2020

% of voters who say the elections this November in ___ were run and administered ...



Notes: Based on voters. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

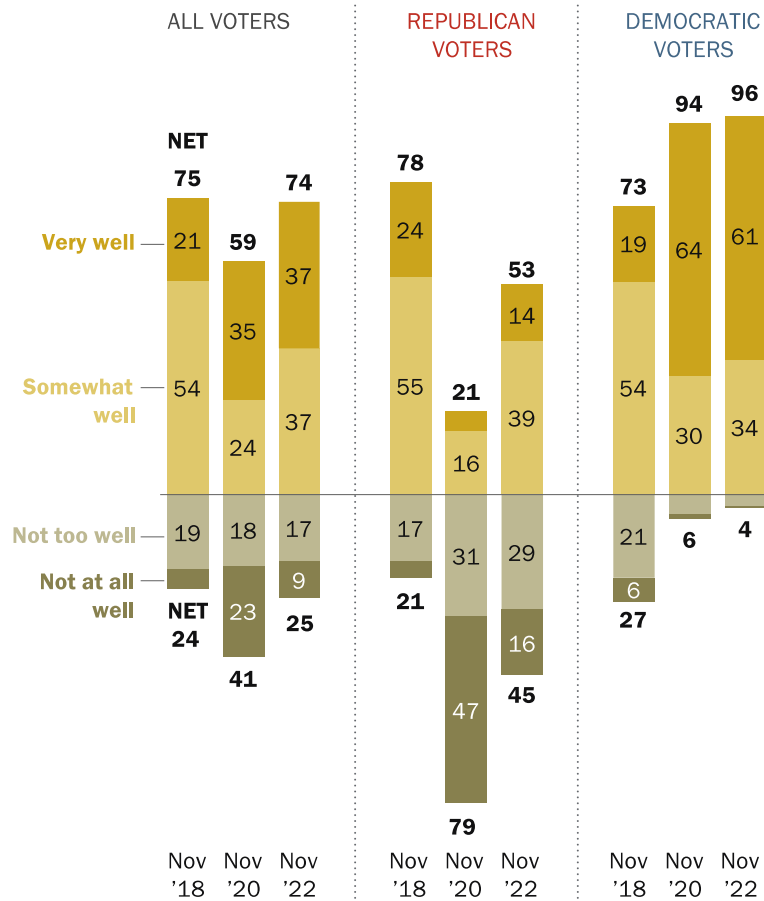
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There is a wide partisan gap between Republican voters' and Democratic voters' assessments of how well the election was administered around the country this year. About half of Republican voters (53%) and nearly all (96%) Democratic voters say November's election was very or somewhat well administered. A majority of Democratic voters (61%) say the election was run very well on a national level; just 14% of Republican voters say the same.

The gap in the shares of Republican and Democratic voters who say the election was well run is narrower now than it was in 2020 – but remains far larger than it was in 2018. In 2020, 94% of Biden voters said the election had been run well, compared with just 21% of Trump voters who said this. Nearly half of Trump voters in 2020 (47%) said the election had been run “not at all well.” By contrast, there was very little difference between Republican and Democratic voters' evaluations of election administration following the 2018 midterm election: 78% of Republican voters and 73% of Democratic voters said the election had been run well.

GOP voters' views of election administration improve compared with 2020, remain lower than 2018

% of voters who say the elections this November in the United States were run and administered ...



Notes: Based on voters. Republican voters in 2020 were those who voted for Donald Trump, Democratic voters were those who voted for Joe Biden. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

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Most voters confident in accuracy of vote counts

Voters are generally confident ballots were counted accurately in this year’s election, yet they express greater confidence in in-person ballots being counted accurately than they do in counts for absentee or mail-in ballots. Republican voters are more skeptical than Democratic voters that votes were counted accurately – particularly for absentee ballots.

Overall, most voters say they are confident that votes cast in person at polling places were counted as voters intended this year: 86% say they are at least somewhat confident that votes cast in person were counted accurately, including about half (49%) who are very confident.

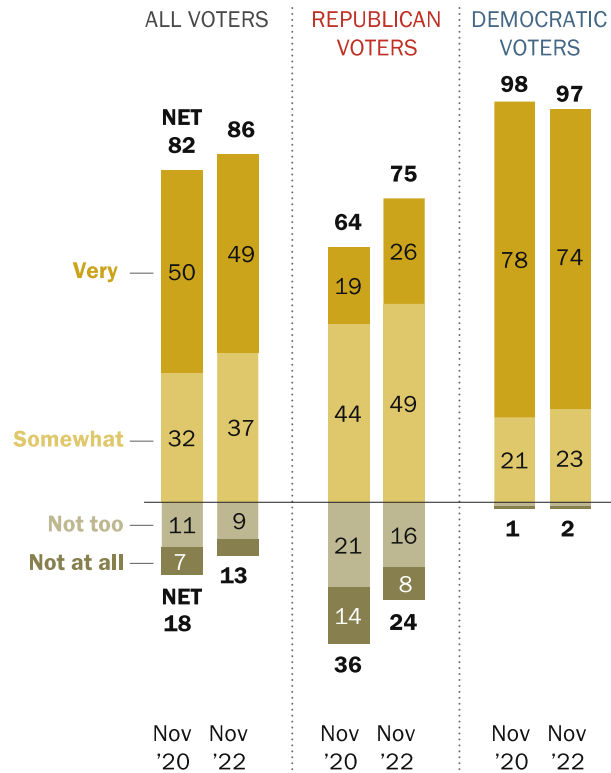
Three-quarters of Republican voters and 97% of Democratic voters say they are at least somewhat confident in-person ballots were counted accurately. Democratic voters are about three times as likely as GOP voters to say they are *very* confident in these counts (74% vs. 26%).

Republican voters’ confidence in the counting of in-person ballots this year is higher than Trump voters’ confidence in these counts in 2020: Two years ago, 64% of Trump voters were at least somewhat confident that in-person votes were counted accurately.

Nearly all Democratic voters (97%) say they are confident that in-person votes were counted as voters intended, which is little different from the opinions of Biden voters in 2020 (98% were very or somewhat confident).

More Democratic than Republican voters say they are confident in-person votes were counted accurately

% of voters who are ___ confident that votes cast in person at polling places across the United States were counted as voters intended



Notes: Based on voters. Republican voters in 2020 were those who voted for Donald Trump, Democratic voters were those who voted for Joe Biden. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

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Voters today are somewhat more confident this year than they were two years ago that absentee or mail-in ballots were counted as voters intended, with Republican voters driving this increase in confidence.

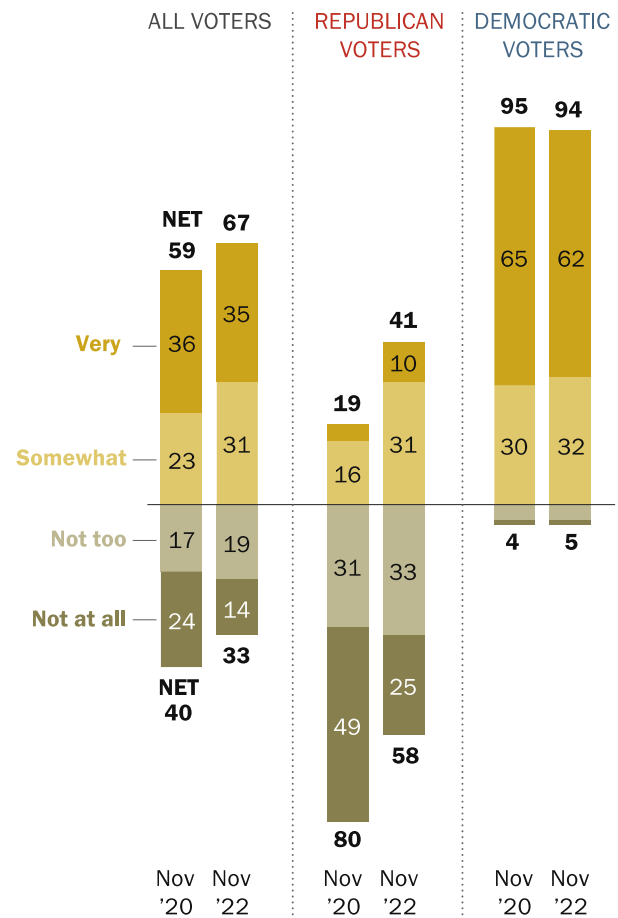
Overall, two-thirds of voters say they are very (35%) or somewhat (31%) confident that absentee or mail-in ballots were counted accurately this year, compared with 59% who said this in 2020.

The share of Republican voters who say they are confident that mail-in ballots were counted as voters intended this year (41%) is about twice the share of Trump voters who said this following the 2020 election (19%).

An overwhelming majority of Democratic voters (94%) say they are confident that absentee and mail-in ballots were counted as voters intended, including 62% who say they are very confident of this. These views are nearly identical to those of Biden voters two years ago.

Majority of GOP voters still are not confident mail ballots were counted accurately, but less skeptical than 2020

% of voters who are ___ confident that votes cast by absentee or mail-in ballot across the United States were counted as voters intended



Notes: Based on voters. Republican voters in 2020 were those who voted for Donald Trump, Democratic voters were those who voted for Joe Biden. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

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About nine-in-ten voters confident their vote was counted accurately

Most voters are confident their own vote was accurately counted in this year's congressional election, but the strength of that confidence varies greatly between Republican and Democratic voters.

Overall, about nine-in-ten voters (89%) are either very (57%) or somewhat (31%) confident that their vote was accurately counted.

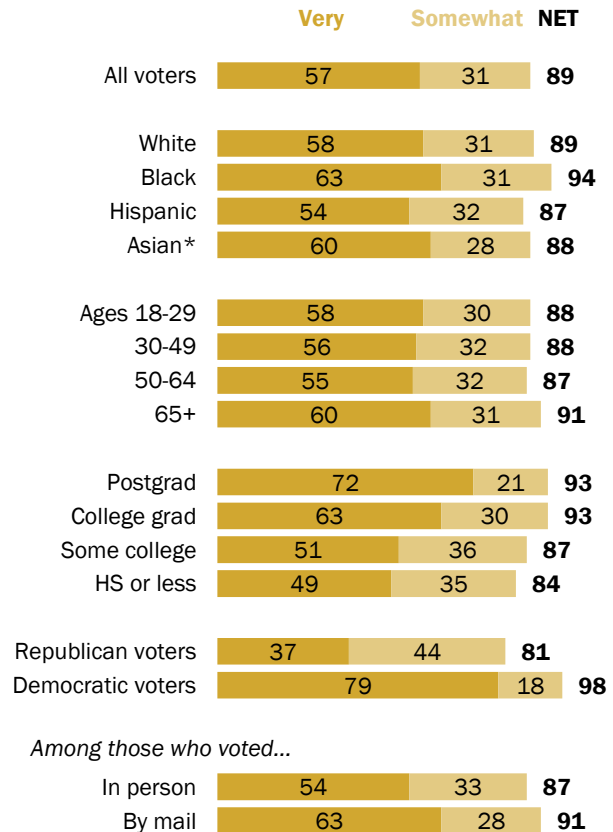
Those who voted for a Democratic candidate in their district are more confident than those who cast their ballot for a Republican candidate that their vote was counted accurately. Nearly all Democratic voters (98%) say they are at least somewhat confident their vote was counted accurately, compared with 81% of Republican voters who say this. Roughly eight-in-ten Democratic voters (79% are *very* confident their vote was counted correctly, about twice the share of Republican voters who express the same level of confidence (37%).

Black voters (94%) are slightly more likely than White (89%), Asian (88%) and Hispanic (87%) voters to say they are at least somewhat confident that their vote was counted accurately.

Voters with college degrees are more likely than voters with less formal education to say they are highly confident that their vote was counted as intended. About seven-in-ten voters with a postgraduate degree (72%) and 63% of those with a four-year degree say they are very confident of this. Half of voters without a college degree say they are very confident their vote was accurately counted.

Most voters are confident their vote was counted accurately

% of voters who say they are *very* or *somewhat* confident that their vote was accurately counted



*Estimates for Asian Americans are representative of English speakers only.

Notes: Based on voters. White, Black and Asian voters include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

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While about nine-in-ten of both in-person voters (87%) and mail or absentee voters (91%) express confidence their vote was counted accurately, absentee voters are somewhat more likely to say they are very confident about this (63% vs. 54%).

A greater share of voters cast ballots in person than in 2020

A clear majority of Americans who voted in this year's congressional elections say they cast their ballots in person. Nearly two-thirds of voters (65%) submitted ballots in person, including 44% who say they voted on Election Day and 21% who voted in person before Election Day.

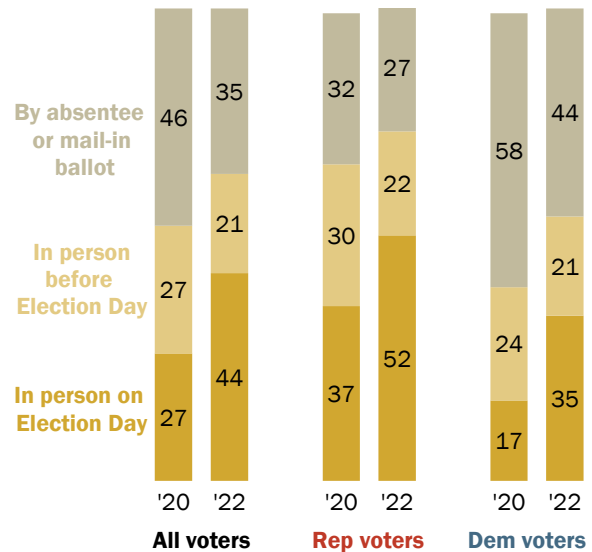
In the 2020 presidential election, which took place [amid heightened concerns over the coronavirus](#), a narrower majority of voters (54%) submitted ballots in person, including just 27% who cast ballots on Election Day.

As was the case in 2020, there are wide differences in how Republican voters and Democratic voters cast their ballots. About half of Republican voters (52%) cast ballots in person on Election Day this year, while 22% cast ballots in person before Election Day.

By contrast, about a third of Democratic voters (35%) cast votes in person on Election Day this year – roughly double the share that did the same in the 2020 presidential election. The share of Democrats who voted in person *before* Election Day is little changed from 2020 (21% vs. 24%), while the share of Democratic voters who cast their votes by absentee or mail-in ballot is 14 percentage points lower than in the 2020 election (44% vs. 58%).

Election Day voting up from 2020

% who voted ...



Notes: Based on voters. Republican voters in 2020 were those who voted for Donald Trump, Democratic voters were those who voted for Joe Biden. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

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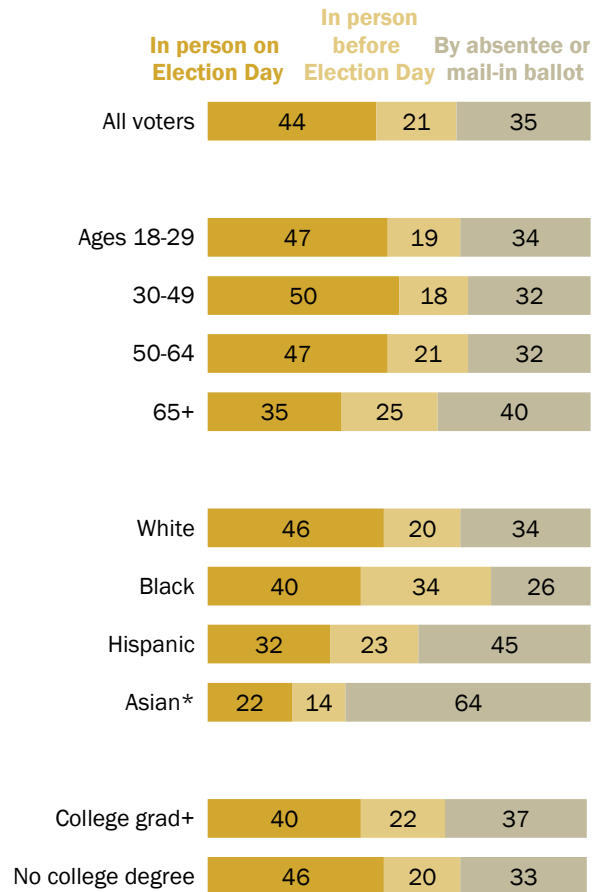
There also are large differences in how voters cast ballots by age and racial or ethnic groups.

Nearly two-thirds of voters ages 65 and older (65%) say they either voted in person before Election Day or voted by mail or absentee. That compares with narrower majorities of voters in younger age groups, who were more likely to vote in person on Election Day.

In addition, White voters are more likely to report voting in person on Election Day (46%) than Black (40%), Hispanic (32%) or Asian voters (21%).

Older voters were more likely than those under 65 to vote before Election Day

% who voted ...



*Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Notes: Based on voters. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022.

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Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

Overview

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report is drawn from the panel wave conducted from Nov. 16 to Nov. 27, 2022. A total of 11,377 panelists responded out of 12,402 who were sampled, for a response rate of 92%. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 4%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 11,377 respondents is plus or minus 1.5 percentage points.

Panel recruitment

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to

American Trends Panel recruitment surveys

Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	1,504
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	882
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	434
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS	9,396	8,778	4,119
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS	5,900	4,720	1,477
June 1 to July 19, 2020; Feb. 10 to March 31, 2021	ABS	3,197	2,812	1,542
May 29 to July 7, 2021				
Sept. 16 to Nov. 1, 2021	ABS	1,329	1,162	790
May 24 to Sept. 29, 2022	ABS	3,354	2,869	1,654
	Total	42,894	30,283	12,402

Note: Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.

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address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a stratified, random sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service’s Delivery Sequence File. Sampled households receive mailings asking a randomly selected adult to complete a survey online. A question at the end of the survey asks if the respondent is willing to join the ATP. In 2020 and 2021 another stage was added to the recruitment. Households that did not respond to the online survey were sent a paper version of the questionnaire, \$5 and a postage-paid return envelope. A subset of the adults who returned the paper version of the survey were invited to join the ATP. This subset of adults received a follow-up mailing with a \$10 pre-incentive and invitation to join the ATP.

Across the five address-based recruitments, a total of 23,176 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 20,341 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. In each household, one adult was selected and asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. Of the 30,283 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 12,402 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service’s Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90% range.¹ The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was non-institutionalized persons ages 18 and older, living in the U.S., including Alaska and Hawaii. All active panel members were invited to participate in this wave.

Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaire was developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with Ipsos. The web program was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the Ipsos project management team and Pew Research Center researchers. The Ipsos project management team also populated test data that was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

¹ AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. “[AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling.](#)”

Incentives

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$20 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

Data collection protocol

The data collection field period for this survey was Nov. 16 to Nov. 27, 2022. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on Nov. 16, 2022.

Invitations were sent out in two separate launches: Soft Launch and Full Launch. Sixty panelists were included in the soft launch, which began with an initial invitation sent on Nov. 16, 2022. The ATP panelists chosen for the initial soft launch were known responders who had completed previous ATP surveys within one day of receiving their invitation. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on Nov. 17, 2022.

All panelists with an email address received an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. All ATP panelists that consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to two SMS reminders.

Invitation and reminder dates

	Soft Launch	Full Launch
Initial invitation	Nov. 16, 2022	Nov. 17, 2022
First reminder	Nov. 19, 2022	Nov. 19, 2022
Final reminder	Nov. 22, 2022	Nov. 22, 2022

Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, the Center's researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for very high rates of leaving questions blank, as well as always selecting the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, two ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

Weighting

The ATP data is weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey. These weights are then rescaled and adjusted to account for changes in the design of ATP recruitment surveys from year to year. Finally, the weights are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks in the accompanying table to correct for nonresponse to recruitment surveys and panel attrition. If only a subsample of panelists was invited to participate in the wave, this weight is adjusted to account for any differential probabilities of selection.

Among the panelists who completed the survey, this weight is then calibrated again to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table and trimmed at the 1st and 99th percentiles to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. A final adjustment was applied to the trimmed weights to ensure that turnout and the popular vote margin exactly matched the weighting benchmark. Sampling errors and tests of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

Weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age (detailed)	2021 American Community Survey (ACS)
Age x Gender	
Education x Gender	
Education x Age	
Race/Ethnicity x Education	
Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans	
Years lived in the U.S.	
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2021 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2022 American Trends Panel Annual Profile Survey/2019 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	2022 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Frequency of internet use	
Religious affiliation	
2022 popular congressional vote and turnout	Cook Political Report and US Elections Project as of November 28
<i>Additional weighting dimensions applied within Black adults</i>	
Age	2021 American Community Survey (ACS)
Gender	
Education	
Hispanic ethnicity	
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	2022 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Religious affiliation	

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population. Volunteerism is estimated using a model to account for potential changes in volunteering behavior due to the coronavirus outbreak that began in February 2020.

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The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey.

Group	Unweighted sample size	Weighted %	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	11,377		1.5 percentage points
Half form	At least 5,645		2.2 percentage points
Voters	8,617		1.4 percentage points
Half form	At least 4,263		2.0 percentage points
Among those who voted for ...			
A Rep House candidate	3,936	51	2.0 percentage points
Half form	At least 1,943		2.9 percentage points
A Dem House candidate	4,361	48	2.0 percentage points
Half form	At least 2,124		2.9 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	5,222	45	2.2 percentage points
Half form	At least 2,603		3.1 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	5,839	48	2.2 percentage points
Half form	At least 2,886		3.1 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Dispositions and response rates

Final dispositions	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	11,377
Logged onto survey; broke off	2.12	78
Logged onto survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	72
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	873
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	0
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		2
Screened out		0
Total panelists in the survey		12,402
Completed interviews	I	11,377
Partial interviews	P	0
Refusals	R	1,025
Non-contact	NC	0
Other	O	0
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		12,402
AAPOR RR1 = I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)		92%

Cumulative response rate	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	12%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	71%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 117	48%
Response rate to Wave 117 survey	92%
Cumulative response rate	4%

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**PEW RESEARCH CENTER
FINAL TOPLINE
WAVE 117 RELIGION AND POLITICS NOVEMBER 2022
November 16-27, 2022
N=11,377**

ASK ALL:

SATIS All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Nov 16-27, 2022	24	75	1
Oct 10-16, 2022	21	79	1
Aug 1-14, 2022	18	81	1
Apr 25-May 1, 2022	24	75	1
Jan 10-17, 2022	21	78	1
Sep 20-26, 2021	25	74	1
Sep 13-19, 2021	26	74	*
Mar 1-7, 2021	33	66	1
Nov 12-17, 2020	22	77	1
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	18	82	1
Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	12	87	1
Jun 16-22, 2020	12	87	1
Apr 7-12, 2020	31	68	1
Mar 19-24, 2020	33	66	1
Oct 29-Nov 11, 2019	31	69	1
Oct 1-13, 2019	28	71	1
Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	27	72	1
Nov 27-Dec 10, 2018	34	65	1
Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	36	63	1
Feb 28-Mar 12, 2017 ²	32	68	0
Sep 27-Oct 10, 2016	23	75	2
Jun 7-Jul 5, 2016	19	80	1
Sep 15-Oct 3, 2014	25	75	0

ASK ALL CITIZENS (XCITIZEN=1) [N = 11,009]:

VOTED_ATPCONG Which of the following statements best describes you?

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u> ³	Nov 7-16, <u>2018</u>	Nov 29-Dec 12, <u>2016</u>
32	I did not vote in the 2022 congressional elections	22	23	14
20	I planned to vote but wasn't able to	9	22	8
47	I definitely voted in the 2022 congressional elections	67	55	77
*	No answer	2	1	1

¹ The W24.5 Mode Study survey was administered by web and phone. Results reported here are from web mode only. In 2020 and 2016, this question was asked about that November's presidential election. In 2018, this question was asked about that November's congressional election.

ASK IF VOTED (VOTED_ATPCONG=3)

CONGPOST In the elections this November for the U.S. House of Representatives, did you vote for the...
[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]

BASED ON VOTERS [N=8,617]:

Note: The survey was weighted to approximately reflect the margin of the election results. See methodology for more details.

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 7-13, <u>2018</u> ²
51	Republican Party's candidate in your district	45
48	Democratic Party's candidate in your district	52
1	Another party's candidate in your district	2
*	No answer	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Nov 17 - Dec 15, <u>2014</u> ³	
44	Republican Party's candidate
44	Democratic Party's candidate
5	Another party's candidate
6	Prefer not to say
1	Refused/Don't know

² In November 2018, the question wording was: In the elections this November for the U.S. House of Representatives, did you vote for **[Show in order of response: "the Republican Party's candidate" OR "the Democratic Party's candidate"]** for Congress in your district? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]** This survey was weighted to approximately reflect the margin of the election results.

³ In 2014, the question wording was: In the elections this November for the U.S. House of Representatives, did you vote for **[RANDOMIZE: "the Republican Party's candidate" OR "the Democratic Party's candidate"]** for Congress in your district? This survey was weighted to approximately reflect the margin of the election results.

ASK IF VOTED (VOTED_ATPCONG=3):

VOTEFORAGNST Would you say that your vote for Congress in your district was more...

BASED ON VOTERS [N=8,617]:

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Oct 10-16, <u>2022⁴</u>	Aug 1-14, <u>2022</u>	Mar 7-13, <u>2022⁵</u>
17	A vote FOR Biden	19	19	24
35	A vote AGAINST Biden	36	31	36
46	Biden was not much of a factor in my vote for Congress this fall	43	49	38
1	No answer	2	1	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Nov 7-13, <u>2018</u>	
25	A vote FOR Trump
39	A vote AGAINST Trump
35	Trump was not much of a factor in your vote
1	No answer

ASK IF DID NOT VOTE (VOTED_ATPCONG=1,2) [N=2,354]POL5MOD If you had voted in the elections this November for the U.S. House of Representatives, would you have voted for the... **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]**

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 7-16, <u>2018⁶</u>	Nov 17- Dec 15, <u>2014</u>
28	Republican Party's candidate in your district	28	25
32	Democratic Party's candidate in your district	38	31
5	Another party's candidate in your district	4	6
34	Not sure	29	37
1	No answer	1	1

⁴ In preelection surveys, the question was asked as: Do you think about your vote for Congress this fall as...

⁵ Prior asks of POL10 in [2018 and earlier](#) were conducted by telephone. As a result, previous estimates are not directly comparable.

⁶ In 2018 and earlier, the question wording was: If you had voted in the elections this November for the U.S. House of Representatives, would you have voted for **[RANDOMIZE: "the Republican Party's candidate" OR "the Democratic Party's candidate"]** for Congress in your district?

ASK IF VOTED (VOTED_ATPCONG=3):

VTCOUNT_OWN How confident are you that your vote was accurately counted?

BASED ON VOTERS [N=8,617]:

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>
57	Very confident	59
31	Somewhat confident	26
8	Not too confident	9
3	Not at all confident	6
*	No answer	*

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:

	Nov 10-14 <u>2016</u>	Nov 6-9 <u>2014</u>	Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>	Nov 4-7 <u>2010</u>	Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2006</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
Very confident	71	68	68	64	73	70	68
Somewhat confident	19	21	22	26	22	23	24
Not too confident	4	5	5	4	3	3	4
Not at all confident	5	4	3	3	2	2	3
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	1	3	*	2	1

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF VTCOUNT_POST_INP AND VTCOUNT_POST_ABS]**ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1) [N=5,645]:**

VTCOUNT_POST_INP How confident are you that votes cast IN PERSON AT POLLING PLACES across the United States were counted as voters intended in the elections this November?

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>	Oct 10-16, <u>2022</u>	<i>Trend for comparison⁷</i> Sep 30- Oct 5, <u>2020</u>
37	Very confident	42	34	42
43	Somewhat confident	35	45	44
13	Not too confident	13	15	10
6	Not at all confident	8	5	4
1	No answer	1	1	1

⁷ In the surveys asked Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020, and Oct 10-16, 2022, the question was asked as: How confident are you that votes cast IN PERSON AT POLLING PLACES across the United States will be counted as voters intend in the elections this November?

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF VTCOUNT_POST_INP AND VTCOUNT_POST_ABS]**ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1) [N=5,645]:**

VTCOUNT_POST_ABS How confident are you that votes cast BY ABSENTEE OR MAIL-IN BALLOT across the United States were counted as voters intended in the elections this November?

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>	<i>Trend for comparison⁸</i>	
			Oct 10-16, <u>2022</u>	Sep 30- Oct 5, <u>2020</u>
25	Very confident	30	21	17
37	Somewhat confident	27	38	38
23	Not too confident	19	24	28
13	Not at all confident	23	16	16
1	No answer	1	1	1

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF VTADMIN_POST_COM AND VTADMIN_POST_US]**ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2) [N=5,732]:**

VTADMIN_POST_COM Do you think the elections this November in YOUR COMMUNITY were run and administered...

Nov 16- 27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>	Nov 7-16, <u>2018</u>	<i>Trend for comparison⁹</i>		
				Oct 10- 16, <u>2022</u>	Sep 30- Oct 5, <u>2020</u>	Sep 24- Oct 7, <u>2018</u>
42	Very well	53	49	40	36	41
42	Somewhat well	32	38	45	48	46
9	Not too well	9	8	10	11	9
4	Not at all well	6	4	4	4	3
3	No answer	1	1	1	*	1

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF VTADMIN_POST_COM AND VTADMIN_POST_US]**ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2) [N=5,732]:**

VTADMIN_POST_US Do you think the elections this November in the UNITED STATES were run and administered...

Nov 16- 27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 12- 17, <u>2020</u>	Nov 7-16, <u>2018</u>	<i>Trend for comparison¹⁰</i>		
				Oct 10- 16, <u>2022</u>	Sep 30- Oct 5, <u>2020</u>	Sep 24- Oct 7 <u>2018</u>
25	Very well	33	21	20	12	20
46	Somewhat well	25	53	49	46	57
18	Not too well	20	18	23	30	18
8	Not at all well	22	7	7	12	4
3	No answer	1	1	1	1	1

⁸ In the surveys asked Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020, and Oct 10-16, 2022, the question was asked as: How confident are you that votes cast BY ABSENTEE OR MAIL-IN BALLOT across the United States will be counted as voters intend in the elections this November?

⁹ In the surveys asked Sept 24-Oct 7, 2018, Sept 30-Oct 5, 2020, and Oct 10-16, 2022, the question was asked as: Do you think the elections this November in YOUR COMMUNITY will be run and administered...

¹⁰ In the surveys asked Sept 24-Oct 7, 2018, Sept 30-Oct 5, 2020, and Oct 10-16, 2022, the question was asked as: Do you think the elections this November in the UNITED STATES will be run and administered...

ASK ALL:

CONGCT

Do you think the results of the midterm elections this November will change the way things are going in this country...

Nov 16-27,

2022

7	A lot
46	Some
36	Not much
11	Not at all
1	No answer

ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1) [N=5,645]:

BIDEN2YR

Over the next two years, do you think Joe Biden will be successful or unsuccessful in getting his programs passed into law?

Nov 16-27,

2022

33	Successful
65	Unsuccessful
2	No answer

TREND FOR COMPARISON

TRUMP2YR

Over the next two years, do you think Donald Trump will be successful or unsuccessful in getting his programs passed into law?

Nov 7-13,

2018

35	Successful
63	Unsuccessful
2	No answer

ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2) [N=5,732]:

REP2YR Over the next two years, do you think Republican leaders in Congress will be successful or unsuccessful in getting their programs passed into law?

Nov 16-27,

2022

36	Successful
61	Unsuccessful
3	No answer

TREND FOR COMPARISON

DEM2YR Over the next two years, do you think Democratic leaders in Congress will be successful or unsuccessful in getting their programs passed into law?

Nov 7-13,

2018

36	Successful
61	Unsuccessful
3	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Generally, do you think Republican leaders in Congress will be successful or unsuccessful in getting their programs passed into law?

		-----Democratic leaders-----									
Jan 7-11, <u>2014</u>		Nov 6-9, <u>2014</u>	Nov <u>2010</u>	Jul <u>2007</u>	Mar <u>2007</u>	Jan <u>2007</u>	Nov <u>2006</u>	Sep <u>1995</u>	Apr <u>1995</u>	Feb <u>1995</u>	Dec <u>1994</u>
45	Successful	49	43	43	54	57	59	54	63	61	62
46	Unsuccessful	40	37	42	32	25	22	31	28	20	24
3	Mixed/Get some passed (VOL.)	5	5	6	4	5	6	--	3	5	4
6	Don't know/ Refused (VOL.)	6	15	9	10	13	13	15	6	14	10

ASK ALL:

POL12 Do you think relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington will get better in the coming year, get worse, or stay about the same as they are now?

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>	Nov 7-13, <u>2018</u>	Nov 17- Dec 15, <u>2014</u>
8	Get better	21	9	11
38	Get worse	37	44	34
54	Stay the same	41	46	55
*	No answer	1	*	1

ASK IF VOTED (VOTED_ATPCONG=3):

VOTE_HOW_POST How did you vote in the election? [RANDOMIZE]

ASK IF VOTED IN PERSON (VOTE_HOW_POST=1) [N=5,592]:

VOTEINPWHEN When did you vote?

BASED ON VOTERS [N=8,617]:

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>
65	In person at a polling place	54
44	<i>On Election Day</i>	27
21	<i>Before Election Day</i>	27
*	<i>Refused</i>	*
35	By absentee or mail-in ballot	46
*	No answer	*

TREND FOR COMPARISON:*When did you vote in the elections this November?**How did you vote in the November election?*

Nov 7-16, <u>2018</u>	
55	On election day
45	Before election day
19	<i>Voted in person</i>
25	<i>Mailed in ballot</i>
*	No answer
*	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:*Did you vote ON Election Day or BEFORE Election DAY?**Did you vote in person or did you mail your ballot in?*

Nov 10-14 <u>2016</u>		Nov 6-9 <u>2014</u>	Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>	Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2006</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2002</u>
59	On Election Day	71	63	66	80	80	85
41	Before Election Day	29	37	34	20	20	15
22	<i>Voted in person</i>	12	19	19	--	--	--
18	<i>Mailed in ballot</i>	16	17	14	--	--	--
1	Other way/DK/Ref (VOL.)	1	*	1	--	--	--
0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	0	*	*	*	*

ASK IF VOTED BY ABSENTEE OR MAIL (VOTE_HOW_POST=2):

VOTEMAIL How did you return your absentee or mail-in ballot? [RANDOMIZE]

BASED ON ABSENTEE OR MAIL VOTERS [N=3,018]:

Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>		Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>
12	In person to an election official or poll worker	15
36	At a designated dropbox	41
52	By mail	44
*	No answer	*

ASK IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN ONLY (XPARTYSUM=1) [N=5,222]:

GOPDIRCT Thinking about the future of the Republican Party, would you say that you are...

	<u>Very optimistic</u>	<u>Somewhat optimistic</u>	<u>Somewhat pessimistic</u>	<u>Very pessimistic</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Nov 16-27, 2022	10	55	27	7	1
Nov 12-17, 2020	23	51	20	5	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	25	54	17	4	1
Nov 7-13, 2018	27	56	13	3	1
Sep 24-Oct 7, 2018	23	51	19	5	2
Sep 14-Sep 28, 2017	12	47	29	10	2
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	28	51	16	4	2
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	12	49	29	9	1

ASK IF DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT ONLY (XPARTYSUM=2) [N=5,839]:

DEMDIRCT Thinking about the future of the Democratic Party, would you say that you are...

	<u>Very optimistic</u>	<u>Somewhat optimistic</u>	<u>Somewhat pessimistic</u>	<u>Very pessimistic</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Nov 16-27, 2022	13	59	23	5	*
Nov 12-17, 2020	25	58	12	5	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	15	60	20	4	1
Nov 7-13, 2018	24	57	14	3	1
Sep 24-Oct 7, 2018	19	58	16	5	2
Sep 14-Sep 28, 2017	13	51	28	6	1
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	14	47	29	10	1
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	22	55	15	6	2

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a:

ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4) OR MISSING:PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...¹¹

<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Something else</u>	<u>No answer</u>	<u>Lean Rep</u>	<u>Lean Dem</u>
27	27	28	16	2	18	20

¹¹ PARTY and PARTYLN asked in a prior survey.