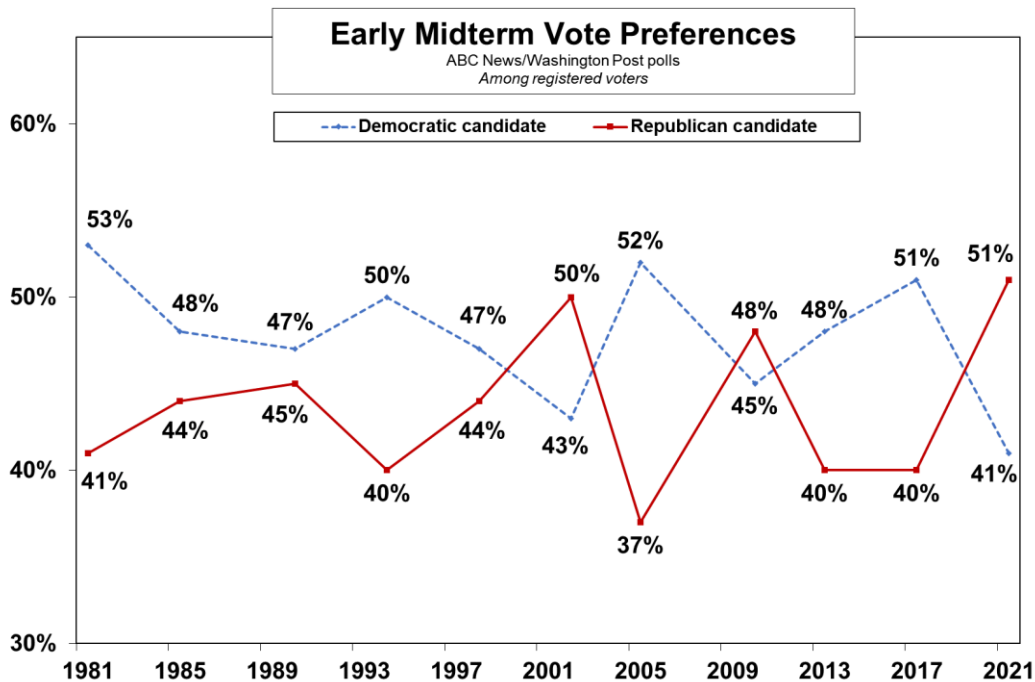


## **Economic Discontent, Criticisms of Biden Lift the GOP to a Record Early Advantage**

Republican congressional candidates hold their largest lead in midterm election vote preferences in ABC News/Washington Post polls dating back 40 years, underscoring profound challenges for Democrats hoping to retain their slim majorities in Congress next year.

While a year is a lifetime in politics, the Democratic Party's difficulties are deep; they include soaring economic discontent, a president who's fallen 12 percentage points under water in job approval and a broad sense that the party is out of touch with the concerns of most Americans; 62 percent say so.



About as many people see the Republican Party as out of touch (58 percent), and there's some solace for Democrats in other results. Notably, Joe Biden's keystone policy initiatives are far more popular than he is, with 63 percent support for the \$1 trillion infrastructure bill passed by Congress and 58 percent support for the now-nearly \$2 trillion social spending bill still under debate.

Yet, with the infrastructure bill secured, Biden gets little credit in this poll, produced for ABC News by [Langer Research Associates](#). Just 31 percent say he's keeping most of his major campaign promises and 35 percent think he's accomplished much overall. And while most

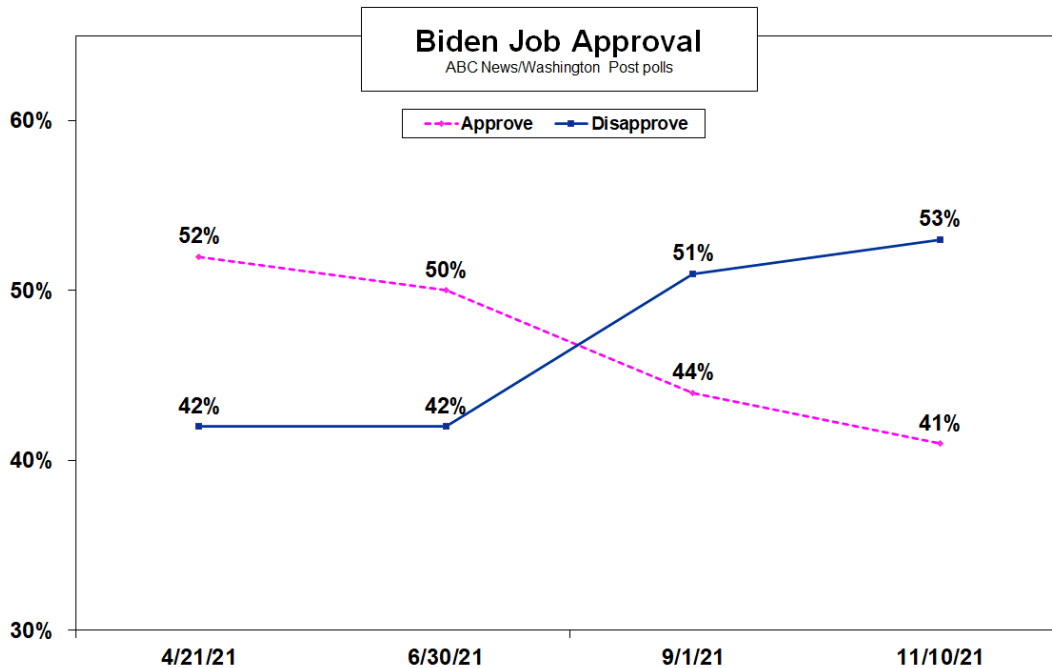
support his spending and policy plans, crosswinds are evident: Fifty-nine percent worry he'll do too much to increase the size and role of government, up 6 points since spring.

As things stand, if the midterm elections were today, 51 percent of registered voters say they'd support the Republican candidate in their congressional district, 41 percent the Democrat. That's the biggest lead for the Republicans in 110 ABC/Post polls to ask this question since November 1981. Indeed, it's only the second time the GOP has held a statistically significant advantage (the other was +7 points in January 2002) and the ninth time it's held any numerical edge at all.

**FACTORS/BIDEN** – Among key factors is the economy: With inflation soaring, 70 percent say it's in bad shape, up from 58 percent last spring. While just half blame Biden directly for inflation – its worst in 31 years – his approval for handling the economy overall is down to 39 percent, off 6 points just since early September and 13 points from last spring.

Fifty-five percent instead now disapprove of Biden's economic performance – 6 points more than Donald Trump's highest disapproval rating on the economy, in September 2017. Just more than a year later, Trump's Republicans lost 40 House seats in the 2018 midterms.

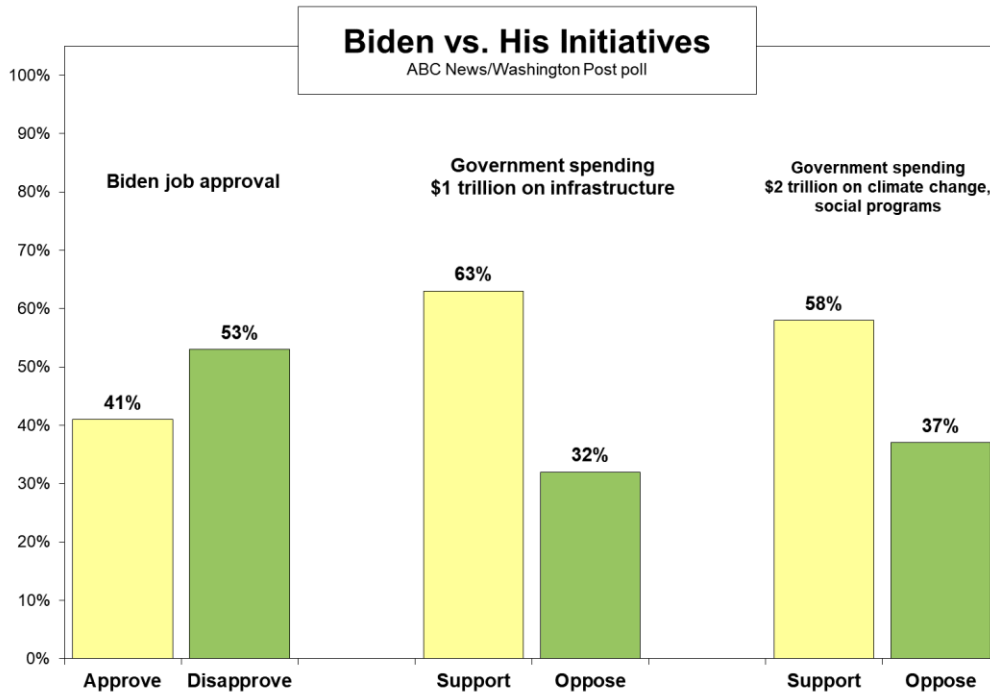
In terms of Biden's job performance overall, a new low of 41 percent approve, while 53 percent disapprove – highly similar to his rating on the economy. Biden's lost 11 points in approval since spring, accelerating with the coronavirus Delta surge and continuing with inflation.



Specifically on the pandemic, Biden's rating is less bad, a 47-49 percent split, approve-disapprove. But that is numerically (albeit not significantly) under water for the first time, with approval ebbing from 64 percent in April and 62 percent in June, both pre-Delta surge.

Biden’s overall approval rating sets or matches career lows among nearly all demographic groups, with positive assessments among most down significantly from their peaks in the spring or summer. The exception is those who already were highly critical of the president, such as Republicans, conservatives and rural residents.

It’s notable that Biden gets just 35 percent approval from independents – while 63 percent of independents support the infrastructure bill and 58 percent support the \$2 trillion climate change and social policy package.

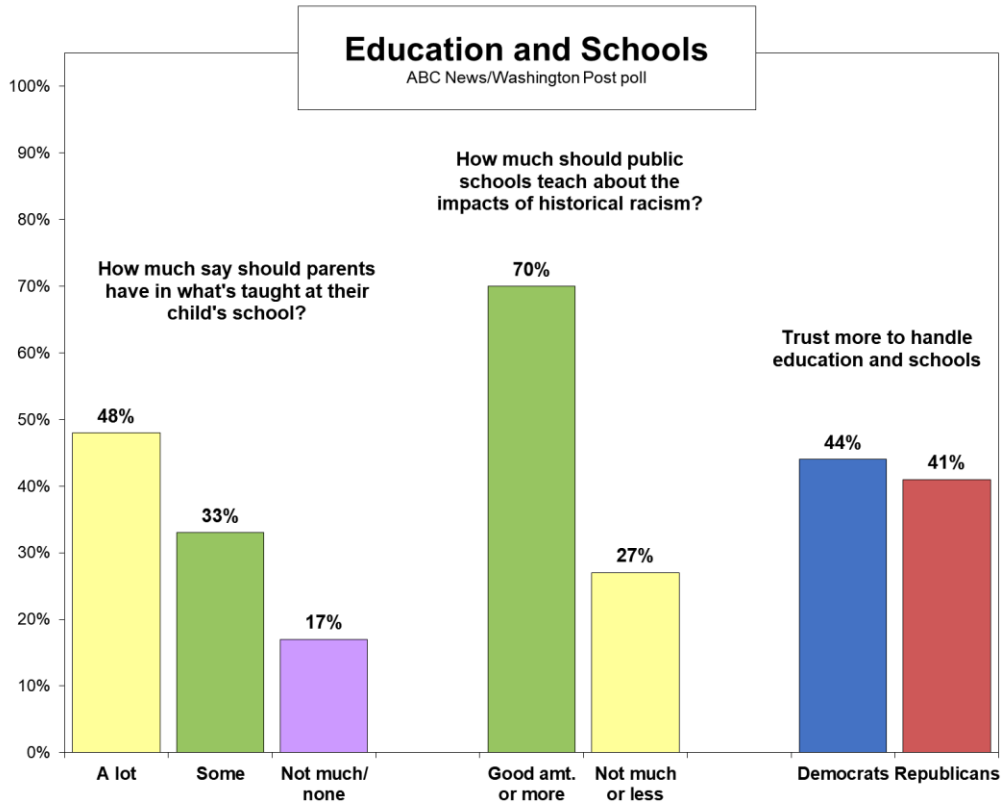


Looking to the midterms, 58 percent of all adults (and 59 percent of registered voters) are inclined to look around for someone new to vote for. That’s fairly typical, albeit slightly above its average in polls back to 1989. (And House incumbents overwhelmingly tend to get re-elected – 92 percent on average in midterm elections since 1946.) Nonetheless, marking Democratic challenges, registered voters interested in looking for someone new currently favor Republican over Democratic candidates by 20 points.

**EDUCATION/RACISM** – Even with the GOP advantages in this poll, results on a hot-button issue in the Nov. 2 gubernatorial election in Virginia, education, are nuanced. On one hand, a plurality, 48 percent, says parents should have “a lot” of say in what schools teach their children (as opposed to some, not much or none), and this group tilts heavily Republican. It’s a view credited as a galvanizing issue for the winner in Virginia, Republican Glenn Youngkin.

On the other hand, a broad 70 percent of Americans say public schools should teach a great deal or good amount about how the history of racism affects the country today – an approach criticized by Youngkin and many Republican officeholders generally.

Forty-four percent of Republicans endorse this teaching approach, rising to 73 percent of independents and 92 percent of Democrats. It’s a question that splits conservatives, with 59 percent of “somewhat” conservative adults in support, dropping to 34 percent of those who call themselves strongly conservative. By race/ethnicity, 61 percent of whites support teaching about impacts of the history of racism, as do 83 percent of Hispanics and 91 percent of Black people.



Fifty-three percent, in another question, call their local public schools’ pandemic response “about right,” vs. 25 percent too strict (another GOP rallying cry) and 16 percent not strict enough. (Parents are more likely than others to call these policies too strict, 31 vs. 22 percent.)

On balance, the public divides, 44-41 percent, between the Democratic and Republican parties in trust to handle education and the schools. Parents divide about the same, 43-43 percent.

SENATE STATES – The 2022 vote question asks about generic Democratic or Republican candidate preferences for the U.S. House of Representatives. Also of interest is control of the closely divided U.S. Senate. Evaluating survey results in just eight states expected to have the most competitive Senate races – four currently held by Democrats, four by Republicans – raises further hope for the GOP and risk for the Democratic Party.

In these states – Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin – Biden’s overall job approval rating is 33 percent, compared with 43 percent elsewhere. On his handling of the pandemic, his approval is 11 points lower than in the rest of the country. On the economy, the difference is a non-significant 7 points.

Residents of these states also are less inclined to back their incumbent House member rather than to look around for someone new to support, 19 vs. 28 percent. And registered voters in these states favor Republicans over Democrats for the House by a 23-point margin, 58-35 percent, vs. 7 points, 49-42 percent, in the rest of the country.

<b>Competitive Senate States vs. Others</b>		
	<b>Competitive</b>	<b>All others</b>
<b>Biden approval, overall</b>	33%	43%
<b>Biden approval, economy</b>	34	41
<b>Biden approval, pandemic</b>	38	49
<b>Re-elect/look around</b>	19-62	28-57
<b>House vote preference (RV)</b>	35-58	42-49

VOTE GROUPS – Differences in congressional vote preferences show the current state of play in likely 2022 battleground groups, with substantial improvements for Republicans compared with 2018.

Independents, often swing voters in national elections, favor GOP candidates by 50-32 percent; they voted +12 points Democratic in 2018. Moderates divide closely, +6 points for Democratic candidates, 48-42 percent, as opposed to +26 points in 2018. Suburban voters favor Republicans by 54-39 percent, rural voters by a broad 66-26 percent. The Democratic advantage among urban residents, 52-38 percent, again is well off their 2018 result.

<b>House Vote Preference – Democratic-Republican</b>				
<i>Among registered voters</i>				
	<b>Today</b>	<b>D-R diff.</b>	<b>2018 exit poll</b>	<b>D-R diff.</b>
<b>All</b>	41-51%	-10 pts.	53-45%	+8 pts.
<b>Independents</b>	32-50	-18	54-42	12
<b>Moderates</b>	48-42	6	62-36	26
<b>Suburban</b>	39-54	-15	49-49	0
<b>Rural</b>	26-66	-40	42-56	-14
<b>Urban</b>	52-38	14	65-32	33
<b>Economy excellent/good</b>	75-19	56	39-60	-21
<b>Economy not so good/poor</b>	28-63	-35	83-14	69
<b>White people</b>	32-62	-30	44-54	-10
<b>Black people*</b>	79-10	69	90- 9	81
<b>Hispanic people*</b>	49-34	15	69-29	40
<b>Non-college white men</b>	18-73	-55	32-66	-34
<b>Non-college white women</b>	29-65	-36	42-56	-14
<b>College-educated white men</b>	40-54	-14	47-51	-4
<b>College-educated white women</b>	54-45	9	59-39	20

\* includes those not registered to vote for adequate sample size

Demonstrating the role of the economy, those who say it's in excellent or good shape favor Democratic candidates by 75-19 percent. But among the broad majority who say it's in worse shape than that – not so good or poor – Republican candidates are favored, 63-28 percent.

Republican advantages in two core groups – non-college-educated white men and women, are more than 20 points broader now than in 2018. And another heartening result for Republicans is among Hispanics: They favor Democrats, but by just a 15-point margin, 49-34 percent. (This result is among all Hispanics, not just those registered to vote, for an adequate sample size. All other vote-preference results are among registered voters.) That compares to the last midterms in 2018, when, according to exit poll results, Hispanics voted Democratic by a 40-point margin.

**METHODOLOGY** – This ABC News/Washington Post poll was conducted by landline and cellular telephone Nov. 7-10, 2021, in English and Spanish, among a random national sample of 1,001 adults, including 882 registered voters. Results have margins of sampling error of 3.5 percentage points for the full sample and registered voters, including the design effect. Partisan divisions in the full sample are 27-26-37 percent, Democrats-Republicans-independents, and 28-28-36 percent among registered voters.

The survey was produced for ABC News by Langer Research Associates of New York, N.Y., with sampling and data collection by Abt Associates of Rockville, Md. See details on the survey's methodology here.

Analysis by Gary Langer.

ABC News polls can be found at ABCNEWS.com. Join our mailing list to get updates on all new poll releases.

Media contacts: Van Scott (212-456-7243) or Caragh Fisher (212-456-3437).

Full results follow.

15-17 previously released. 10-14 held for release. \*= less than 0.5 percent

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president? Do you approve/disapprove strongly or somewhat?

	----- Approve -----			----- Disapprove -----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opinion
11/10/21	41	19	22	53	10	44	6
9/1/21	44	25	19	51	9	42	5
6/30/21	50	30	19	42	7	35	8
4/21/21	52	34	18	42	7	35	6

2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Biden is handling [ITEM]?

11/10/21 - Summary table

Approve    Disapprove    No opinion

a. the economy 39 55 6  
 b. the coronavirus pandemic 47 49 4

Trend:

a. the economy

	----- Approve -----			----- Disapprove -----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opinion
11/10/21	39	NA	NA	55	NA	NA	6
9/1/21	45	NA	NA	49	NA	NA	5
4/21/21	52	33	19	41	8	33	7

b. the coronavirus pandemic

	----- Approve -----			----- Disapprove -----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opinion
11/10/21	47	NA	NA	49	NA	NA	4
9/1/21	52	NA	NA	41	NA	NA	6
6/30/21	62	NA	NA	31	NA	NA	7
4/21/21	64	46	18	31	8	22	11

3. Do you support or oppose the federal government spending one trillion dollars on roads, bridges and other infrastructure?

	Support	Oppose	No opinion
11/10/21	63	32	5

Compare to:

Given what you know about it, do you support or oppose the two-trillion dollar infrastructure development plan that the Biden administration has proposed?

	Support	Oppose	No opinion
4/21/21	52	35	12

4. Do you support or oppose the federal government spending about two trillion dollars to address climate change and to create or expand preschool, health care and other social programs?

	Support	Oppose	No opinion
11/10/21	58	37	6

Compare to:

From what you've heard or read about it, do you support or oppose the federal government spending three and a half trillion dollars on new or expanded social programs, educational assistance and programs to address climate change? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	----- Support -----			----- Oppose -----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opinion
9/1/21	53	34	19	41	10	31	6

5. Biden has been president for about ten months. Would you say he has accomplished a great deal during that time, a good amount, not very much or little or nothing?

	Grt deal/Good amount			-- Not much/nothing --			No
	NET	Great deal	Good amount	NET	Not much	Little or nothing	opinion
11/10/21	35	8	27	63	18	45	2

Trump:							
1/18/18*	37	18	19	60	23	37	3
11/1/17	35	12	23	65	22	43	1
4/20/17	42	16	27	56	21	35	2

Obama:							
1/15/12	47	12	35	52	25	27	1
1/15/10	47	12	35	52	30	22	1
10/18/09	49	14	35	50	27	23	1
4/24/09	63	24	39	36	21	15	1

Clinton:							
8/16/94	36	6	30	64	39	25	*
1/23/94	47	11	36	53	33	19	1
4/26/93	37	5	32	63	38	25	*

\*Question updated for passage of time

6. Is Biden keeping most of his major campaign promises, or not?

	Yes	No	Some (vol.)	No opinion
11/10/21	31	51	4	14

Trump:				
11/1/17	35	55	4	5
4/20/17	44	41	8	7

Obama:				
1/15/10	41	46	8	4
4/24/09	60	26	8	6

Clinton:				
5/15/94	37	48	11	5
1/23/94	37	46	7	10
4/26/93	42	50	6	2

7. How concerned are you, if at all, that Biden will do too much to increase the size and role of government in U.S. society? Are you very concerned about that, somewhat concerned, not so concerned or not concerned at all?

	--- More concerned --			---- Less concerned -----			No
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Not so	Not at all	opinion
11/10/21	59	39	20	38	16	22	3
4/21/21	53	32	21	45	22	23	2

Thinking about the economy,  
8. Would you describe the state of the nation's economy these days as excellent, good, not so good or poor?

	----- Positive -----			----- Negative -----			No
	NET	Excellent	Good	NET	Not so good	Poor	opinion
11/10/21	29	2	26	70	33	38	1
4/21/21	42	4	38	58	37	20	1
9/24/20	40	9	31	59	37	22	1
8/15/20	31	7	24	68	34	33	1
5/28/20	34	8	26	65	40	24	1
9/5/19	56	16	40	43	30	13	1
11/1/18	65	15	49	34	25	9	1
8/29/18	58	12	46	40	31	9	2
1/18/18	58	14	44	40	28	12	2
1/15/17	51	6	45	48	35	14	1



3/29/15	40	2	38	59	40	19	1
1/15/15	41	3	39	58	40	18	1
10/26/14	27	1	26	72	44	28	1
9/7/14	30	1	29	69	42	27	1
4/27/14	29	1	27	71	40	31	1
3/2/14	27	2	26	72	44	28	*
10/20/13	24	2	23	75	45	30	1
9/29/12	RV 18	2	16	81	42	39	*
8/25/12	15	1	14	84	39	45	1
8/5/12*	13	1	12	87	42	44	*
5/20/12	17	1	16	83	47	36	*
2/4/12	11	*	11	89	46	42	*
11/3/11	10	1	9	89	43	47	*
7/17/11	10	1	9	90	40	50	*
6/5/11	11	1	10	89	46	44	*
1/16/11	13	1	12	87	45	41	*
10/28/10	9	*	9	90	41	49	1
10/3/10	9	1	8	90	40	50	*
9/2/10	8	*	7	92	40	53	0
7/11/10	10	1	9	90	44	46	0
6/6/10	12	*	11	88	43	45	0
1/16/09	5	1	5	94	32	62	*
9/22/08	9	*	9	91	34	57	*
4/13/08	10	1	9	90	39	51	*
2/1/08	19	1	18	81	43	38	0
12/9/07	28	3	25	72	40	32	*
11/1/07	35	3	32	64	39	26	*
4/15/07	42	5	37	57	37	20	*

Call for full trend.

\*Washington Post-Kaiser Family Foundation

9. How much if at all do you blame Biden for the current rate of inflation, meaning rising prices - a great deal, a good amount, not much or not at all?

	Grt deal/Good amount			- Not much/at all -			
	Great	Good		Not	Not at	No	
	deal	amount	NET	much	all	opinion	
11/10/21	48	34	14	50	29	21	2

18. Right now, are you inclined to vote to re-elect your representative in Congress in the next election, or are you inclined to look around for someone else to vote for?

	Re-elect	Look around	Depends (vol.)	No opinion
11/10/21	26	58	5	10
11/1/17	26	60	6	8
10/12/14	24	58	5	14
9/7/14	23	67	3	8
4/27/14	22	66	4	8
3/2/14	22	68	3	8
1/23/14	27	63	3	7
10/20/13	24	66	4	6
2/4/12	34	53	3	9
11/3/11	31	59	3	8
7/17/11	30	63	2	5
6/5/11	34	55	4	6
10/28/10	32	50	7	11
10/3/10	29	55	9	7
9/2/10	31	58	5	6
7/11/10	25	60	6	8
6/6/10	29	60	5	6

4/25/10	RV	32	57	7	4
2/8/10		36	56	4	4
11/15/09		38	50	6	5
5/15/06		35	55	6	4
6/5/05		40	50	8	3
2/21/02		40	48	7	6

Call for full trend.

19. If the election for the U.S. House of Representatives were being held today, would you vote for (the Democratic candidate) or (the Republican candidate) in your congressional district? Would you lean toward the (Democratic candidate) or toward the (Republican candidate)?

NET LEANED VOTE PREFERENCE - REG VOTERS

	Dem cand.	Rep cand.	Other (vol.)	Neither (vol.)	Would not vote (vol.)	No opinion
11/10/21	41	51	1	4	*	4
11/1/18	50	43	1	3	1	3
10/11/18	53	42	*	2	*	3
8/29/18	52	38	1	3	0	6
4/11/18	47	43	1	3	*	5
1/18/18	51	39	1	2	1	6
11/1/17	51	40	1	3	1	4
10/24/16 LV	47	46	1	1	1	4
10/13/16	48	42	1	3	1	5
5/19/16	45	45	*	3	1	6
10/26/14	47	44	1	2	1	5
10/12/14	46	44	1	3	1	5
9/7/14	46	44	1	4	1	4
6/1/14	47	45	1	3	1	4
4/27/14	45	44	1	2	1	7
3/2/14	46	45	1	3	*	5
1/23/14	45	46	1	3	1	5
12/15/13	47	45	1	4	1	3
10/20/13	48	40	1	5	1	4
5/19/13	48	40	2	4	1	6
10/28/10	49	44	1	2	*	3
10/3/10	47	43	1	3	1	5
9/2/10*	45	47	1	2	1	5
7/11/10	46	47	*	2	*	5
6/6/10	47	44	2	2	1	4
4/25/10	48	43	1	2	1	6
3/26/10	48	44	1	2	*	4
2/8/10	45	48	*	3	*	4
10/22/06	54	41	*	1	*	3
10/8/06	54	41	*	1	1	3
9/7/06	50	42	*	3	2	4
8/6/06	52	39	*	2	1	5
6/25/06	52	39	1	3	1	4
5/15/06	52	40	1	3	1	4
4/9/06	55	40	*	2	*	3
1/26/06	54	38	1	3	1	5
12/18/05	51	41	1	3	1	4
11/2/05	52	37	1	4	2	6
7/15/02	47	46	1	1	1	4
1/27/02**	43	50	NA	2	1	5
9/6/00	49	42		2	1	6
7/23/00	46	45		3	1	5
2/27/00	45	46		2	1	5

Call for full trend.

\*9/2/10 and previous: "Will not vote (vol.)"

\*\*1/27/02 and previous: No "other candidate" option recorded

20. Do you think [ITEM] is in touch with the concerns of most people in the United States today, or is it out of touch?

11/10/21 - Summary Table

	In touch	Out of touch	No opinion
a. the Republican Party	37	58	6
b. the Democratic Party	33	62	5

Trend:

a. the Republican Party

	In touch	Out of touch	No opinion
11/10/21	37	58	6
8/29/18	31	63	7
4/20/17	32	62	7
3/2/14	28	68	4
4/14/13	23	70	7

b. the Democratic Party

	In touch	Out of touch	No opinion
11/10/21	33	62	5
8/29/18	40	51	9
4/20/17	28	67	6
3/2/14	48	48	4
4/14/13	43	51	6

21. Which political party, the (Democrats) or the (Republicans), do you trust to do a better job handling education and schools?

	Democrats	Republicans	Both (vol.)	Neither (vol.)	No op.
11/10/21	44	41	1	9	5
5/15/06*	56	33	3	6	3
11/2/05	55	32	4	7	2
12/15/02	49	40	4	5	2
10/27/02 LV	44	45	4	3	3
9/26/02	46	39	4	5	6
9/1/02**	40	39	6	6	9
7/15/02***	41	41	4	7	7
1/27/02	40	45	8	4	3
4/22/01	48	40	5	5	3
9/28/98	56	35	NA	NA	9
7/12/98	52	31	5	5	7
1/19/98	54	34	4	5	3
7/8/97	51	30	5	9	4
10/23/94	45	30	6	13	6
9/11/94	48	33	6	8	5
2/27/94	53	28	5	11	3
2/2/92	55	29	6	5	5
12/15/91	47	31	6	10	6
3/4/91	39	41	8	9	4
1/16/90	45	36	7	9	3

\*5/15/06 and previous: "handling education?"

\*\*Post-KFF-Harvard

\*\*\*7/15/02 and previous: "improving education and the schools"

22. Thinking about your local school district, do you think policies relating to the coronavirus pandemic (have been too strict), (have not been strict enough), or have been about right?

	Too strict	Not strict enough	About right	No opinion
11/10/21	25	16	53	5

23. How much say should parents have in what their child's school teaches - a lot, some, not much or not at all?

	--- A lot/Some ----			Not much/Not at all			
	NET	A lot	Some	NET	Not much	Not at all	No opinion
11/10/21	81	48	33	17	12	5	2

24. How much do you think public schools should teach about how the history of racism affects America today - a great deal, a good amount, not so much or not at all?

	Grt deal/Good amount			Not much/Not at all			
	NET	Great deal	Good amount	NET	Not much	Not at all	No opinion
11/10/21	70	38	32	27	16	11	3

\*\*\* END \*\*\*