

Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2022

Population Characteristics

Current Population Reports

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INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Census Bureau conducts the Current Population Survey's (CPS) November Voting and Registration Supplement following each national election to ask eligible respondents about their voting and registration behavior. The supplement is fielded following both presidential elections, when congressional seats and the presidency are decided, and midterm elections, when congressional seats are the highest offices decided. The CPS has surveyed Americans eligible to vote in these elections since 1964, and estimates derived from this survey are among the most consistently reliable and publicly available estimates of the characteristics of American voters.¹

The 2022 congressional election featured a decrease in voter turnout from 2018; however, this election was also characterized by the highest registration rate during a midterm election in over 30 years.² Other notable highlights include:

- The share of voters who were aged 65 or older was the highest for a congressional election on

¹ "Americans eligible to vote," as used in this report, refers to citizens in the civilian population who are 18 years or older. This does not account for voter disenfranchisement.

² The U.S. Census Bureau has reviewed this data product to ensure appropriate access, use, and disclosure avoidance protection of the confidential source data used to produce this product. Disclosure Review Board approval number: CBDRB-FY24-SEHSD003-014.

record, as was the share of voters with a bachelor's degree or higher.³

- The share of the 2022 voting population that was non-Hispanic White was higher than the non-Hispanic White share of the citizen voting-age population, and this gap was the largest difference in a congressional election on record.⁴
- About one-half of all voters voted early or by mail in 2022.
- For those who registered but did not vote, the most-cited reason was being too busy or having a conflicting schedule.

This report uses the 2022 CPS November Voting and Registration Supplement to analyze voters, nonvoters, and voting methods by age, race and ethnicity, educational attainment, and sex—demographic characteristics historically associated with voter turnout.⁵ Using past years of the Voting

³ Prior to 1978, there are not readily available data that allow for the calculation of demographic breakdowns entirely consistent with later years; the CPS also did not ask about citizenship status, which is needed to calculate the citizen voting-age population.

⁴ The differences between the White non-Hispanic voter share and citizen voting-age population share in 2022 and 2014 were not statistically different.

⁵ Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza, "Social Cleavages and Political Alignments: U.S. Presidential Elections, 1960 to 1992," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 62, No. 6, 1997, pp. 937-946; Kelly Dittmar, "Women Voters," *Minority Voting in the United States*, eds. Kyle L. Kreider and Thomas J. Baldino, 2015; Thom File, "Who Votes? Congressional Elections and the American Electorate: 1978-2014," *Population Characteristics*, P20-577, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC, 2015; Thom File, "The Diversifying Electorate—Voting Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin in 2012 (and Other Recent Elections)," *Population Characteristics*, P20-568, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC, 2013; Thom File, "Young-Adult Voting: An Analysis of Presidential Elections, 1964-2012," *Population Characteristics*, P20-573, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC, 2014.

and Registration Supplement, this report also explores voting trends across these characteristics from 1978 to 2022. Given the large differences in voting behavior between midterm and presidential elections, this report focuses on comparisons between the 2022 election and previous midterm elections (historical CPS voting products are available at <www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/voting-historical-time-series.html>).

This report begins with a detailed description of the CPS voting supplement as well as the definition of key populations and terms used throughout the report. The "American Voters Over Time: Congressional Elections 1978–2022" section details trends in the demographics of voters over time and provides a comparison to the demographic trends of the citizen voting-age population. "American Voters Across States" explores prominent national voter trends at the state level. "Methods of Voting" compares rates of early voting and voting by mail by voter characteristics. And finally, "Nonparticipation" details the reasons that nonvoters did not vote and did not register to vote.

UNDERSTANDING VOTING

The CPS is a monthly household survey collected as the primary source of labor force statistics for the civilian, noninstitutionalized U.S. population. The survey is administered to a sample of 60,000 occupied housing units in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. Along with the regular labor force questions, the survey features different sets of supplemental questions in certain months. Conducted in November of even-numbered years, following

COMPARING CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY (CPS) VOTING ESTIMATES TO OFFICIAL REPORTS

Estimates in this report are based on responses to the November Voting and Registration Supplement to the Current Population Survey (CPS), which surveys the civilian, noninstitutionalized population of the United States. Voting estimates from the CPS and other sample surveys have historically differed from those based on administrative records, such as the official reports from each state disseminated collectively by the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives and the Federal Elections Commission. In general, sample surveys like the CPS tend to yield higher voting rates than official results.¹ Potential explanations for these differences include question misreporting, problems with memory or knowledge of others' behavior, and methodological issues related to question wording, method of survey administration, and survey nonresponse bias. Despite these observed differences between CPS estimates and official tallies, the CPS remains the most comprehensive data source available for examining the social and demographic composition of American voters in federal elections, particularly when examining broad historical results.²

¹ Mary G. Powers and Richard W. Dodge, "Voter Participation in the National Election November 1964," *Current Population Reports*, P20-143, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC, 1965; Matthew DeBell et al., "The Turnout Gap in Surveys: Explanations and Solutions," *Sociological Methods & Research*, May 7, 2018.

² Michael P. McDonald, "The True Electorate: A Cross-Validation of Voter Registration Files and Election Survey Demographics," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 71, Issue 4, 2007, pp. 588–602.

national elections, the Voting and Registration Supplement asks eligible respondents a series of questions about their voting and registration behavior during the latest election.⁶ Eligible respondents are those in the citizen voting-age population, detailed further below, as determined by responses to questions about age and citizenship in the labor force portion of the survey.

Eligible respondents are first asked whether they voted in the most recent national election. Those who indicated that they voted are assumed to be registered and are asked further questions regarding their method of voting and registration. Those who did not indicate they voted, including those

who responded that they did not vote, "Don't know," and those who refused to respond, were asked questions about their registration status. Those who did not vote and those who did not register were asked for the main reason they did not vote or register. The final question of the supplement asked respondents how long they have lived at their current address.

These questions resulted in the following population universes:⁷

Voting-age population (VAP): The population aged 18 or older on Election Day. This group includes both noncitizens (who are ineligible to vote) and citizens. In 2022, there were 255.5 million people in the VAP.

⁶ Since the CPS allows proxy responses, "eligible respondents" includes proxies for eligible respondents.

⁷ These populations include only noninstitutionalized civilians.

Citizen voting-age population (CVAP): Those who are citizens and in the VAP. This subset of the VAP is the pool of eligible voters, or those who may register to vote and cast a ballot in a national election. This report focuses on this universe of respondents. Those in this population are eligible respondents of the Voting and Registration Supplement. In 2022, there were 233.5 million citizens of voting age.

Noncitizens: Those who are not U.S. citizens and, therefore, ineligible to vote in national elections. Respondents to the CPS survey who indicate they are noncitizens are not asked the questions in the Voting and Registration Supplement. There were 21.9 million noncitizens in 2022.⁸

Nonrespondents: Those in the CVAP who do not answer questions in the Voting and

Registration Supplement. These respondents are determined to be part of the CVAP in the CPS but did not respond when asked if they voted or registered to vote in the latest national election. Nonresponse may occur for a variety of reasons, such as refusing to answer a question or not knowing the answer to a question. Nonrespondents of the main voting question were an estimated 16.5 percent of the CVAP in 2022.

Voters: Those in the CVAP who indicated they voted in the 2022 election. These respondents are in the CVAP and are registered to vote. There were an estimated 121.9 million voters in 2022.

Nonvoters: Those in the CVAP who indicated they did not vote in the 2022 election. Nonvoters may or may not be registered to vote. There were an estimated 73.1 million nonvoters in 2022.

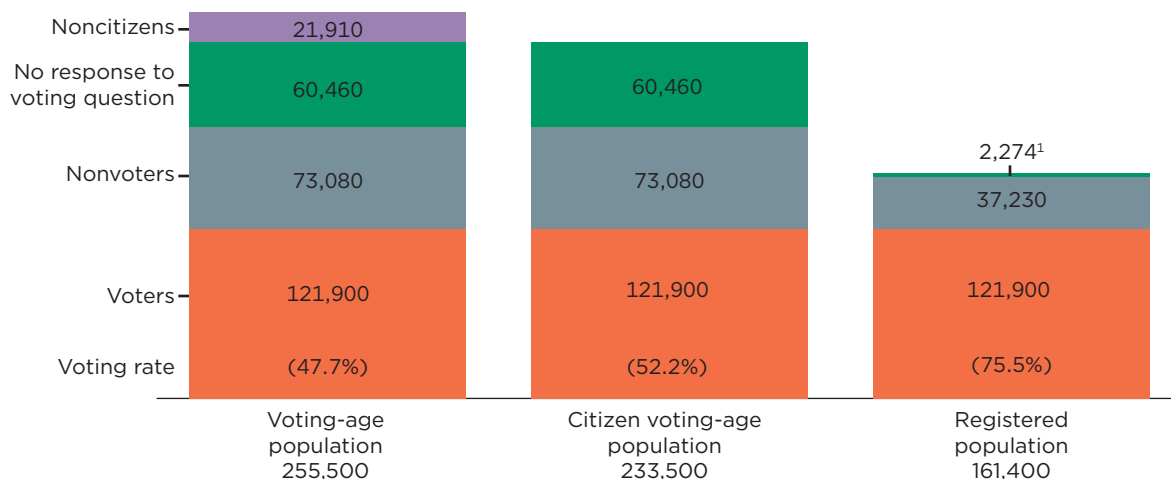
Registered: Those who are in the CVAP and registered to vote by or on Election Day. Registered respondents may or may not have voted. There were an estimated 161.4 million citizens of voting age who registered to vote in the 2022 election.

Registered nonvoters: Those who are in the CVAP and registered to vote but did not indicate they voted in the 2022 election. There were an estimated 37.2 million registered nonvoters in the 2022 election.

Figure 1 details the relationship between these population universes. Voters were 47.7 percent of the VAP, 52.2 percent of the CVAP, and 75.5 percent of the registered population in 2022. For the remainder of this report, the voter turnout refers to the percentage of the CVAP who voted unless otherwise noted.

⁸ Numbers may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Figure 1.
Voters Among the Total, Citizen, and Registered Voting-Age Populations: 2022
(Population aged 18 and older, in thousands)



¹ Represents those who were registered with no response to the initial voting question.
Note: Numbers and percentages may not sum to totals due to rounding.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2022.

AMERICAN VOTERS OVER TIME: CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS 1978–2022

The number of voters did not statistically increase between the 2018 and 2022 congressional elections, following an increase of 30 million voters between the 2014 and 2018 elections (Table 1). The number of registered citizens continued to increase, with over 160 million registered to vote in the 2022 election. The registration rate in 2022 was 69.1 percent, the highest registration rate since 1986.⁹ However, with no statistical increase in the number of voters and continued growth in the number registered, the share of the registered population who voted fell by 4.4 percentage points, from 79.9 percent in 2018 to 75.5 percent in 2022.

This section explores the demographics of the 2022 voting population and demographic trends in the voting population over time. While the changing characteristics of American voters can represent shifts in relative turnout across demographics, they may also reflect underlying demographic changes to the CVAP. Trends over time in the share of voters in each age, educational, and racial and ethnic group are compared to the changes in the share of the CVAP in each of these groups. The difference between the voter share and CVAP share for a group is that group's representation among the voting population. A positive difference between the voting

⁹ The 2022 and 1986 registration rates were not statistically different.

share and CVAP share should be interpreted as the group being overrepresented among voters, and a negative difference should be interpreted as the group being underrepresented among voters.¹⁰

Table 2 presents the number and share of the CVAP, registered population, and voting populations across different demographic characteristics in the 2022 election. The last column of Table 2 presents the over- or underrepresentation of each group among the voting population.

Young adults aged 18–29 were 11.7 percent of the voting population in 2022 and 19.6 percent of the CVAP, the lowest share of the CVAP for this group on record. As a result, 18- to 29-year-olds were underrepresented by 7.9 percentage points among the voting population, an increase from 6.9 percentage points in 2018 (Figure 2). While voters aged 18–29 have been underrepresented in every congressional election on record, the 2022 election marked the second-smallest underrepresentation for this group, just behind the 2018 election.

Voters aged 30–44 were underrepresented by 2.5 percentage points in 2022. This was not statistically different from the underrepresentation of this group in 2018. Voters in this age group were 22.0 percent of the voting population and 24.5 percent of the CVAP. This group has been underrepresented

¹⁰ The difference between the voting share and CVAP share may sometimes not equal the over- or underrepresentation in this report due to rounding.

in every congressional election from 1994 to 2022.

As the younger age groups were underrepresented among voters, it follows that older age groups were overrepresented in 2022. Voters aged 45–64 were overrepresented by 3.7 percentage points in 2022, as this age group represented 35.8 percent of voters and 32.1 percent of the CVAP. These voters have been overrepresented in every congressional election; however, the 2022 and 2018 elections mark their smallest overrepresentations on record.¹¹ The 2022 election also marked the lowest voter share for 45- to 64-year-olds since 1994.¹²

Voters aged 65 or older were overrepresented by 6.7 percentage points in 2022. This group was 23.8 percent of the CVAP; however, they made up 30.4 percent of voters. This age group has also been overrepresented in every congressional election dating back to and including 1978. The 2022 election featured the second-largest overrepresentation of these voters on record, only behind an overrepresentation of 8.3 percentage points in 2014.¹³ The 2022 election also featured both the largest voter share and the largest CVAP share on record for those aged 65 or older.

¹¹ Overrepresentation of those aged 45–64 in the 2022 and 2018 elections were not statistically different.

¹² The 1994 45- to 64-year-old voter share was statistically lower than the 2022 45- to 64-year-old voter share.

¹³ Overrepresentation of those aged 65 or older in the 2022 and 2002 elections were not statistically different.

Table 1. **Voting and Registration—Congressional Elections: 1978–2022**
(Numbers in thousands)

Election year	Total 18 and older	Citizens								
		Total	Registered		Voted		Did not vote		No response to voting question	
			Number	90 percent C.I. ¹	Number	90 percent C.I. ¹	Number	90 percent C.I. ¹	Number	90 percent C.I. ¹
2022	255,500	233,500	161,400	160,400-162,400	121,900	120,900-122,900	73,080	72,030-74,120	38,550	37,560-39,550
2018	249,700	228,800	153,100	152,400-153,800	122,300	121,500-123,100	66,110	65,190-67,030	40,440	39,550-41,340
2014	239,900	219,900	142,200	141,500-142,900	92,250	91,580-92,920	93,030	92,070-94,000	34,660	33,840-35,470
2010	229,700	210,800	137,300	136,600-138,000	95,990	95,300-96,670	81,110	80,450-81,760	33,710	33,230-34,190
2006	220,600	201,100	135,800	135,200-136,500	96,120	95,450-96,780	80,840	80,200-81,490	24,110	23,700-24,530
2002	210,400	192,700	128,200	127,500-128,800	88,900	88,260-89,540	83,550	82,920-84,180	20,200	19,820-20,580
1998	198,200	183,500	123,100	122,500-123,700	83,100	82,450-83,740	85,250	84,610-85,900	15,100	14,750-15,450
1994	190,300	177,300	119,000	118,400-119,600	85,700	85,080-86,320	80,450	79,830-81,060	11,110	10,820-11,400
1990	182,100	166,200	113,200	112,700-113,800	81,990	81,390-82,590	78,770	78,170-79,370	5,391	5,185-5,597
1986	173,900	161,900	111,700	111,200-112,300	79,950	79,350-80,560	77,130	76,530-77,740	4,859	4,656-5,062
1982	165,500	154,900	106,000	105,700-106,300	80,310	79,880-80,730	69,940	69,490-70,380	4,611	4,437-4,785
1978	151,600	142,300	94,880	94,520-95,250	69,590	69,140-70,030	68,990	68,540-69,440	3,729	3,572-3,886

¹ A 90 percent confidence interval (C.I.) is a measure of an estimates' variability. The larger the confidence interval in relation to the size of the estimate, the less reliable the estimate.
 Note: Numbers are based on weighted reports of voting behavior derived from a survey sample.
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 1978-2022.

Table 2.

Registration and Voter Characteristics: 2022

(Numbers in thousands)

Characteristic	Citizen voting-age population		Registered		Voted		Over- or under-representation ¹
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Total	233,500	100.0	161,400	100.0	121,900	100.0	X
Age							
18 to 29	45,820	19.6	24,520	15.2	14,290	11.7	-7.9
30 to 44	57,300	24.5	38,970	24.1	26,880	22.0	-2.5
45 to 64	74,940	32.1	55,010	34.1	43,660	35.8	3.7
65 and older	55,480	23.8	42,920	26.6	37,090	30.4	6.7
Sex							
Male	113,000	48.4	77,020	47.7	57,970	47.5	-0.8
Female	120,500	51.6	84,400	52.3	63,950	52.5	0.8
Race and Hispanic Origin							
White, non-Hispanic	155,000	66.4	113,400	70.3	89,320	73.3	6.9
Black, non-Hispanic	29,050	12.4	18,780	11.6	13,260	10.9	-1.6
Asian, non-Hispanic	11,740	5.0	7,038	4.4	4,715	3.9	-1.2
Hispanic	31,190	13.4	18,020	11.2	11,810	9.7	-3.7
Some Other Race, non-Hispanic	6,602	2.8	4,151	2.6	2,814	2.3	-0.5
Nativity and Citizenship Status							
Native-born	209,800	89.8	146,900	91.0	112,100	91.9	2.1
Naturalized citizen	23,710	10.2	14,470	9.0	9,826	8.1	-2.1
Marital Status							
Married, spouse present	117,800	50.5	89,680	55.6	72,740	59.7	9.2
Married, spouse absent	2,927	1.3	1,788	1.1	1,221	1.0	-0.3
Widowed	14,440	6.2	10,480	6.5	8,202	6.7	0.5
Divorced	24,840	10.6	17,280	10.7	12,760	10.5	-0.2
Separated	3,889	1.7	2,396	1.5	1,576	1.3	-0.4
Never married	69,600	29.8	39,800	24.7	25,420	20.8	-9.0
Employment Status							
In civilian labor force	147,300	63.1	104,100	64.5	76,370	62.6	-0.4
Private industry	20,500	8.8	16,230	10.1	12,830	10.5	1.7
Self-employed	113,200	48.5	78,750	48.8	56,810	46.6	-1.9
Unemployed	8,718	3.7	6,299	3.9	5,007	4.1	0.4
Government worker	4,813	2.1	2,863	1.8	1,726	1.4	-0.6
Not in labor force	86,290	36.9	57,280	35.5	45,550	37.4	0.4
Duration of Residence²							
Less than 1 year	21,330	9.1	13,930	8.6	8,632	7.1	-2.1
1 to 2 years	28,380	12.2	20,790	12.9	13,910	11.4	-0.7
3 to 4 years	27,770	11.9	21,970	13.6	16,020	13.1	1.3
5 years or longer	121,300	51.9	103,000	63.8	82,040	67.3	15.4
Not reported	34,780	14.9	1,783	1.1	1,310	1.1	-13.8
Region							
Northeast	40,520	17.3	28,380	17.6	21,810	17.9	0.5
Midwest	50,270	21.5	36,200	22.4	27,180	22.3	0.8
South	89,070	38.1	59,540	36.9	43,540	35.7	-2.4
West	53,690	23.0	37,300	23.1	29,380	24.1	1.1
Educational Attainment							
Less than 9th grade	4,673	2.0	1,894	1.2	1,104	0.9	-1.1
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	12,090	5.2	5,403	3.3	3,237	2.7	-2.5
High school graduate	67,220	28.8	39,770	24.6	27,190	22.3	-6.5
Some college or associate's degree ..	65,340	28.0	47,160	29.2	34,150	28.0	Z
Bachelor's degree	53,190	22.8	41,810	25.9	34,190	28.0	5.3
Advanced degree	31,030	13.3	25,390	15.7	22,040	18.1	4.8
Veteran Status³							
Total	233,700	100.0	161,600	100.0	122,000	100.0	X
Veteran	18,210	7.8	14,180	8.8	11,410	9.4	1.6
Nonveteran	215,500	92.2	147,400	91.2	110,600	90.6	-1.6

Footnotes available at end of table.

Table 2.

Registration and Voter Characteristics: 2022—Con.

(Numbers in thousands)

Characteristic	Citizen voting-age population		Registered		Voted		Over- or under-representation ¹
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Annual Family Income⁴							
Total family members	166,800	100.0	118,300	100.0	90,480	100.0	X
Under \$20,000	7,153	4.3	4,047	3.4	2,333	2.6	-1.7
\$20,000 to \$49,999	25,400	15.2	16,690	14.1	11,600	12.8	-2.4
\$50,000 to \$99,999	42,830	25.7	32,340	27.3	24,040	26.6	0.9
\$100,000 and over	61,280	36.7	50,350	42.6	40,710	45.0	8.3
Income not reported	30,180	18.1	14,880	12.6	11,790	13.0	-5.1

X Not applicable.

Z Rounds to zero.

¹ Over- and underrepresentation is calculated as the differences between each demographic group's voter share and citizen voting-age population share. A demographic group is overrepresented among voters if the difference is positive and underrepresented among voters if the difference is negative.

² Some states have durational residency requirements in order to register and vote.

³ The veterans estimates were derived using the veteran weight, which uses different procedures for construction than the person weight used to produce other turnout estimates in 2022.

⁴ Limited to people in families.

Note: Numbers are based on weighted reports of voting behavior derived from a survey sample. Numbers and percents may not sum to totals due to rounding.

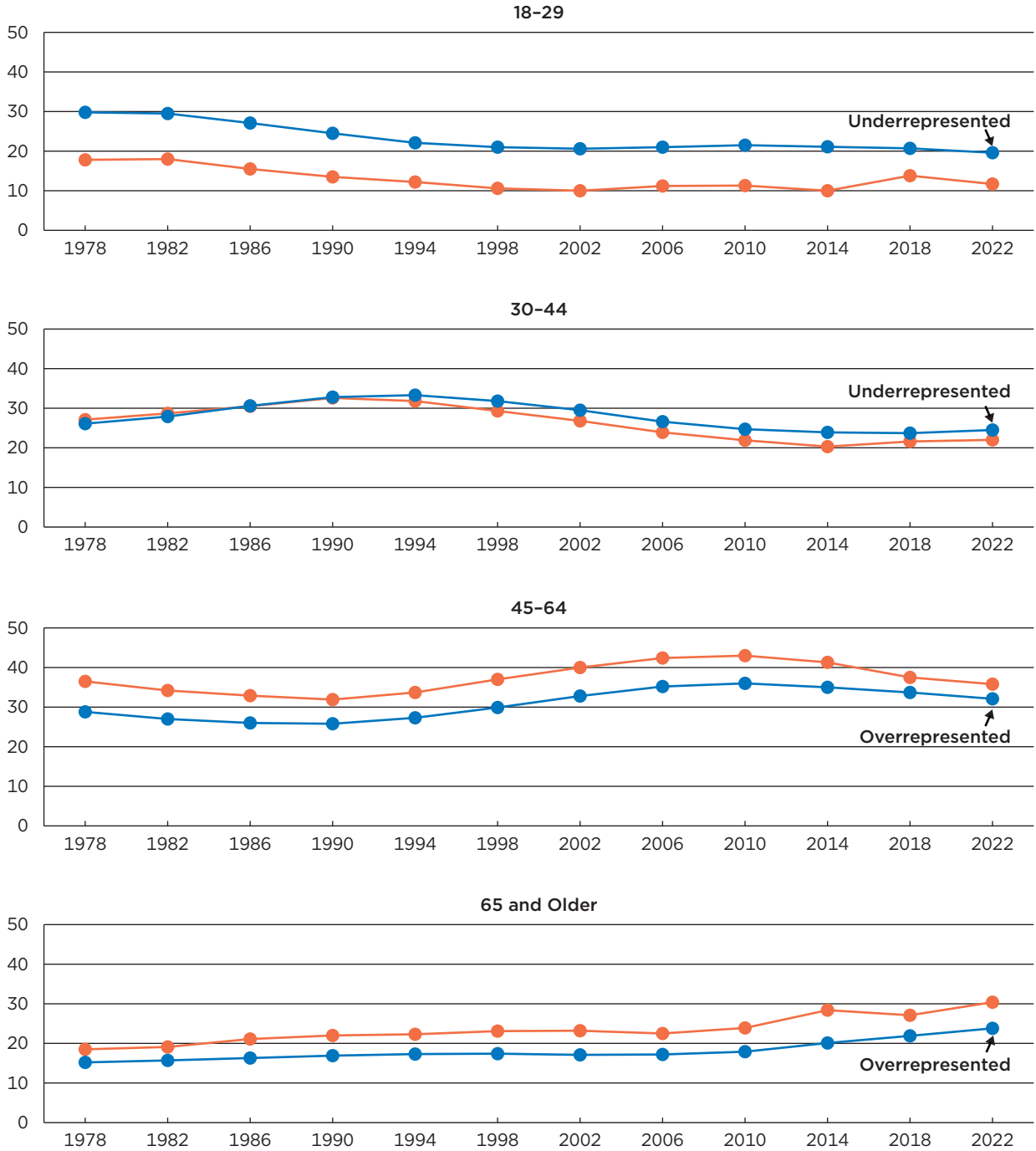
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2022.

Figure 2.

Voter and Citizen Voting-Age Population (CVAP) Share by Age Group in Congressional Elections: 1978-2022

(Citizens aged 18 and older, in percent)

● CVAP share
● Voter share



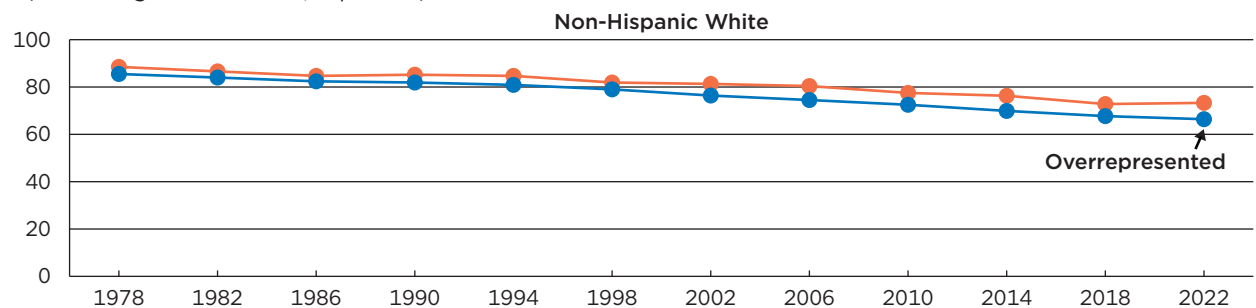
Note: Over- and underrepresentation is calculated as the difference between each demographic group's voter share and CVAP share. A demographic group is overrepresented among voters if the difference is positive and underrepresented among voters if the difference is negative.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 1978-2022.

Figure 3a.

Non-Hispanic White Voter and Citizen Voting-Age Population (CVAP) Share in Congressional Elections: 1978–2022

(Citizens aged 18 and older, in percent)



Note: Over- and underrepresentation is calculated as the difference between each demographic group's voter share and CVAP share. A demographic group is overrepresented among voters if the difference is positive and underrepresented if the difference is negative.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 1978–2022.

Across race and Hispanic origin, non-Hispanic White voters and citizens constituted the largest share of both voters and the CVAP. However, non-Hispanic White shares have declined over time (Figure 3a). In 2022, 73.3 percent of voters were non-Hispanic White, down 15.2 percentage points from 1978. This group's voter share declined in every election between 1994 and 2018, but did not statistically change between 2018 and 2022. Non-Hispanic White citizens were 66.4 percent of the CVAP in 2022, down 19.1 percentage points from 1978. The non-Hispanic White share of the CVAP has declined in every congressional election on record, including between 2018 and 2022. Non-Hispanic White voters have been overrepresented in every congressional election on record, including an overrepresentation of 6.9 percentage points in 2022—their highest overrepresentation.¹⁴

Non-Hispanic Black voters were 10.9 percent of the voting population in 2022, and non-Hispanic Black citizens were

¹⁴ Non-Hispanic White overrepresentation in the 2022 and 2014 elections were not statistically different.

12.4 percent of the CVAP (Figure 3b).

This 1.6-percentage-point underrepresentation was an 1.1-percentage-point increase from 2018 and the greatest underrepresentation for this group since 2006.¹⁵ The 2022 election also marked the lowest non-Hispanic Black share of the voting population since 2002 and the highest non-Hispanic Black share of the CVAP on record (along with the 2018 election).¹⁶ This group of voters was the second-largest share of the voting population in 2022, greater than the Hispanic share of voters by 1.2 percentage points.

Non-Hispanic Asian voters were underrepresented by 1.2 percentage points in 2022. The share of voters who were non-Hispanic Asian was 3.9 percent in 2022, an increase of 1.7 percentage points

¹⁵ Non-Hispanic Black underrepresentation in the 2022 and 2006 elections were not statistically different. Non-Hispanic Black voters were not statistically underrepresented in 2010.

¹⁶ The non-Hispanic Black voter shares in the 2022 and 2002 elections were not statistically different, and the non-Hispanic Black CVAP shares in the 2022 and 2018 elections were not statistically different.

from 2006.¹⁷ Non-Hispanic Asian citizens were 5.0 percent of the CVAP in 2022, an increase of 1.8 percentage points from 2006.¹⁸ Both shares were the highest dating back to at least 2006.

Those who were non-Hispanic and Some Other Race were 2.3 percent of voters and 2.8 percent of the CVAP. This 0.5-percentage-point underrepresentation was not statistically different from the underrepresentation of this group in the 2014 and 2018 elections.¹⁹

Hispanic voters were underrepresented by 3.7 percentage points in 2022 and have been underrepresented in every congressional election on record. Underrepresentation among voters increased from 2018 to 2022 for this group, and they were more underrepresented in 2022 than in any congressional election aside

¹⁷ Prior to 2006, the Asian category was "Asian and Pacific Islanders;" therefore, rates are not comparable with prior years.

¹⁸ The 2006–2022 increase in the non-Hispanic Asian voter share was not statistically different from the 2006–2022 increase in the non-Hispanic Asian CVAP share.

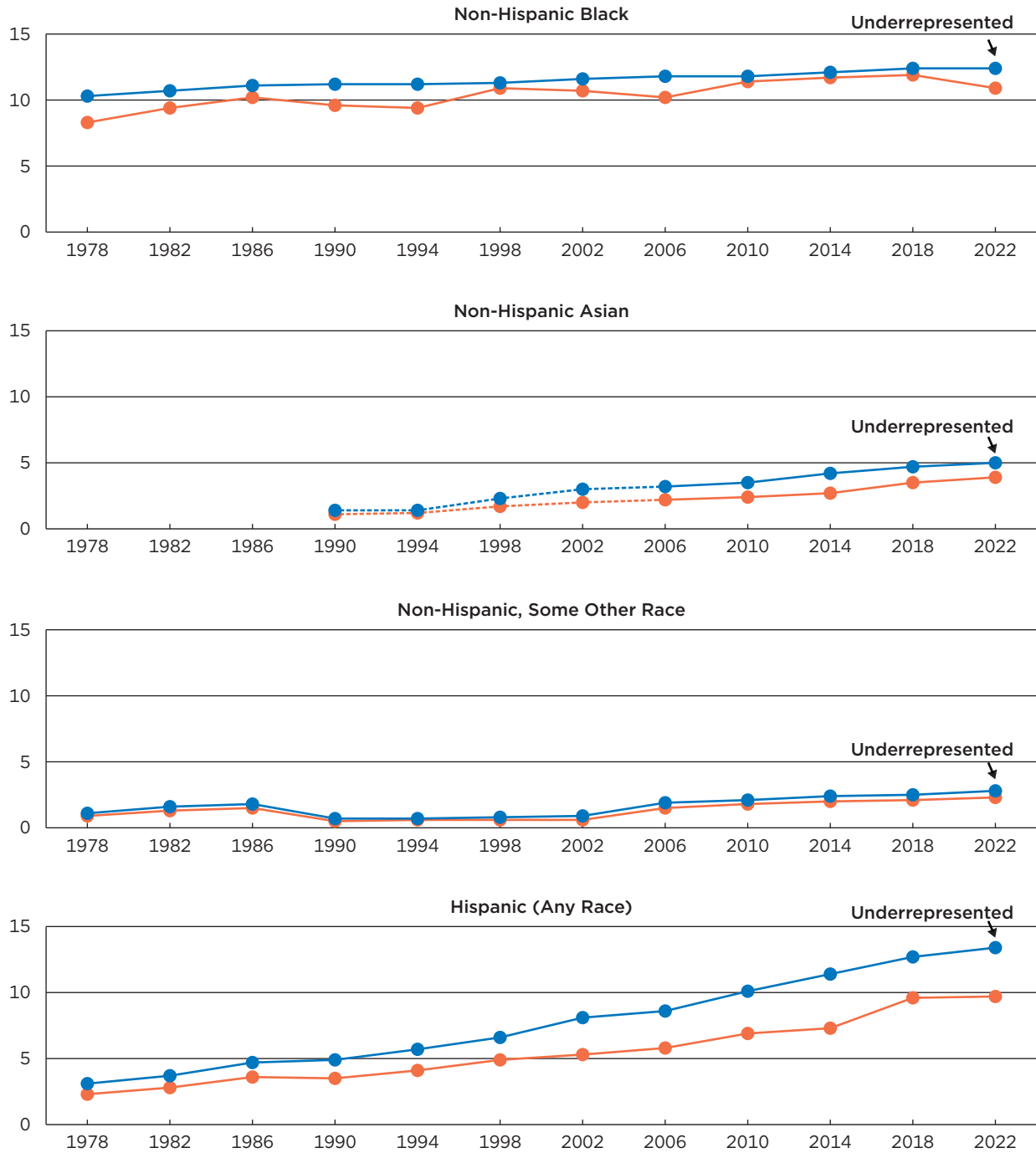
¹⁹ Other non-Hispanic underrepresentation in the 2018 and 2014 elections were not statistically different.

Figure 3b.

Voter and Citizen Voting-Age Population (CVAP) Share by Race and Hispanic Origin in Congressional Elections: 1978-2022

(Citizens aged 18 and older, in percent)

● CVAP share
● Voter share



Note: Over- and underrepresentation is calculated as the difference between each demographic group's voter share and CVAP share. A demographic group is overrepresented among voters if the difference is positive and underrepresented if the difference is negative. Prior to 2006, the Asian category was "Asian and Pacific Islanders;" therefore, rates are not comparable with prior years. Prior to 1990, this category did not exist.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 1978-2022.

from the 2010 and 2014 elections.²⁰ Hispanic voters were 9.7 percent of the voting population, which was not statistically different from the 9.6 percent Hispanic voter share in 2018 but was 7.4 percentage points higher than in 1978. Hispanic citizens were 13.4 percent of the CVAP, which was 10.2 percentage points higher than their share in 1978.

Figure 4 plots the educational attainment of voters and the CVAP over time, combining the two lowest and two highest education categories in Table 2.²¹ Voters with less than a high school diploma were 3.6 percent of voters and 7.2 percent of the CVAP—the smallest education group share of these populations in 2022. The voter and CVAP shares of this group have declined in every election since at least 1994, when 10.7 percent of voters and 16.8 percent of the CVAP had less than a high school diploma. Those with less than a high school diploma have been consistently underrepresented among voters in every election; however, the 3.6 underrepresentation in 2022 is the smallest on record for this group.

²⁰ Hispanic underrepresentation in the 2022 election was not statistically different from underrepresentation in the 2014 or 2010 elections; however, underrepresentation in 2014 was significantly greater than in 2010.

²¹ Prior to 1994, the CPS asked respondents the highest grade or year of schooling they completed. Those who reported completing 4 or more years of high school are assumed to have a high school diploma, and those who reported completing 4 or more years of college are assumed to have a bachelor's degree or higher. In the 1994 supplement and beyond, respondents were also asked whether they have a high school diploma, some college education, or a bachelor's degree or higher.

High school graduates were underrepresented by 6.5 percentage points in 2022, the most this group has been underrepresented in a congressional election.²² This group has been underrepresented in every congressional election, and this underrepresentation has increased from 3.9 percentage points in 1994. The high school graduate voter share declined over this period, from 30.8 percent in 1994 to 22.3 percent in 2022. The share of citizens with this level of education also declined from 34.8 percent of the CVAP in 1994 to 28.8 percent in 2022.

Those who completed some college or an associate's degree were statistically neither over- nor underrepresented in 2022, as this group made up 28.0 percent of both voters and the CVAP. Voters with this level of education were a lower share of the voting population in 2022 than in every election going back to and including 1994.

Those with at least a bachelor's degree have increased from 29.4 percent of voters and 21.1 percent of the CVAP in 1994 to 46.1 percent of voters and 36.1 percent of the CVAP from 2022—the highest voter and CVAP shares across education groups. Both population shares have increased in every congressional election. This group was overrepresented by 10.1 percentage points in 2022 and has been overrepresented in every election on record.

²² High school graduate underrepresentation in 2022 was not statistically different from 2018.

AMERICAN VOTERS ACROSS STATES

With no presidential contest at the top of the ticket, congressional elections lack a common national election across states. Many states feature gubernatorial or senate elections, while other states have neither and only vote for seats in the House of Representatives. The top elections that residents vote for in congressional elections may vary more in competitiveness and prominence from state to state, and this may lead to variation in state-level turnout and voter demographics in congressional elections. This is not the only potential cause for relative turnout differences across states, however, as states differ in other important ways such as in election-related laws. This section of the report explores the demographics of voters and the CVAP across states in 2022 to provide further context to the national patterns discussed in the previous section. The focus of this section is on the underrepresentation of 18- to 29-year-olds and non-Hispanic Black voters, as well as the overrepresentation of voters with a bachelor's degree or higher.²³

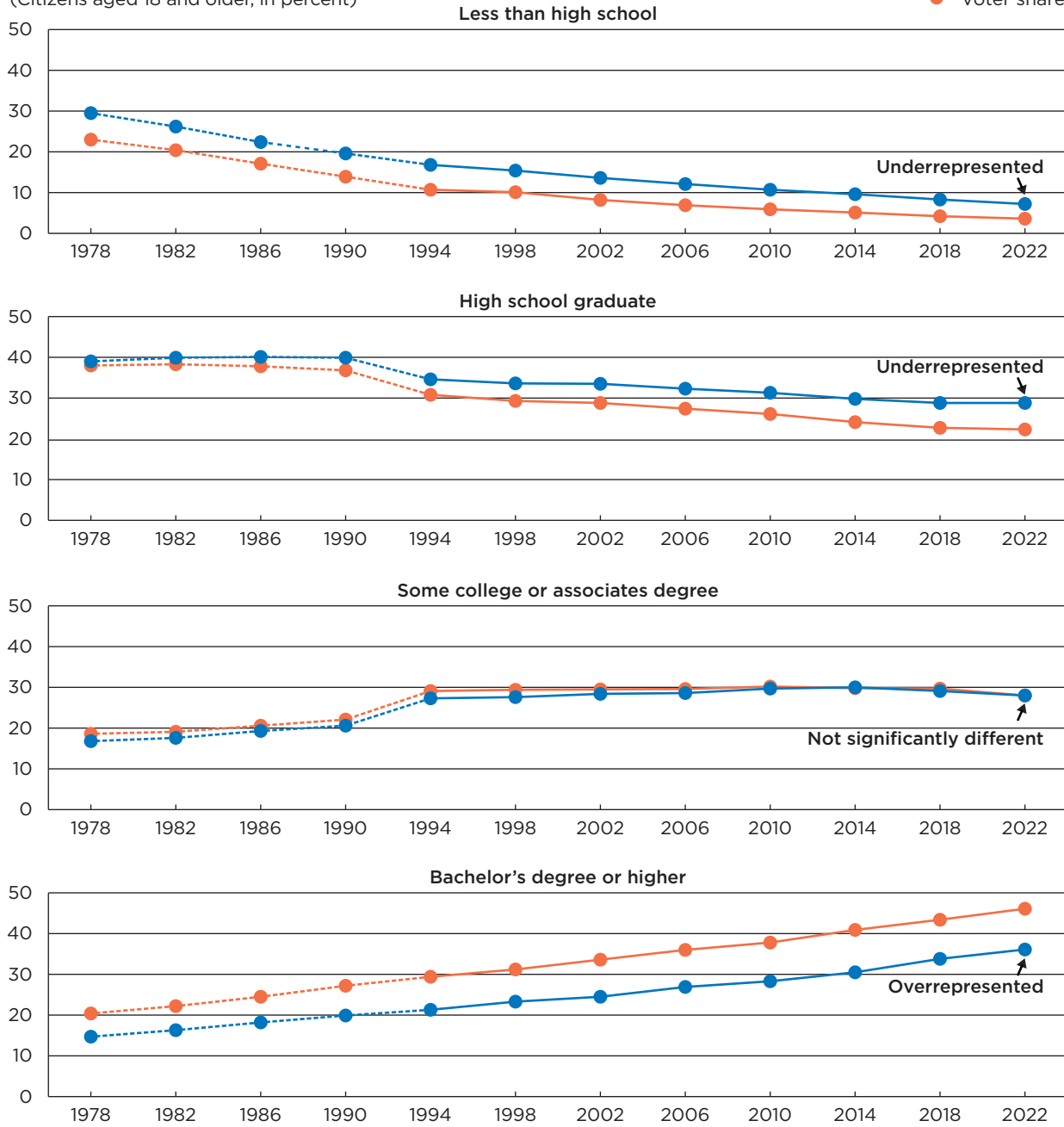
²³ Comparisons between pairs of states other than those mentioned in the text have not been tested for statistical significance. Caution should be used when comparing estimates for states not otherwise noted as smaller samples may result in nonsignificant differences between states.

Figure 4.

Voter and Citizen Voting-Age Population (CVAP) Share by Educational Attainment: Congressional Elections 1978–2022

(Citizens aged 18 and older, in percent)

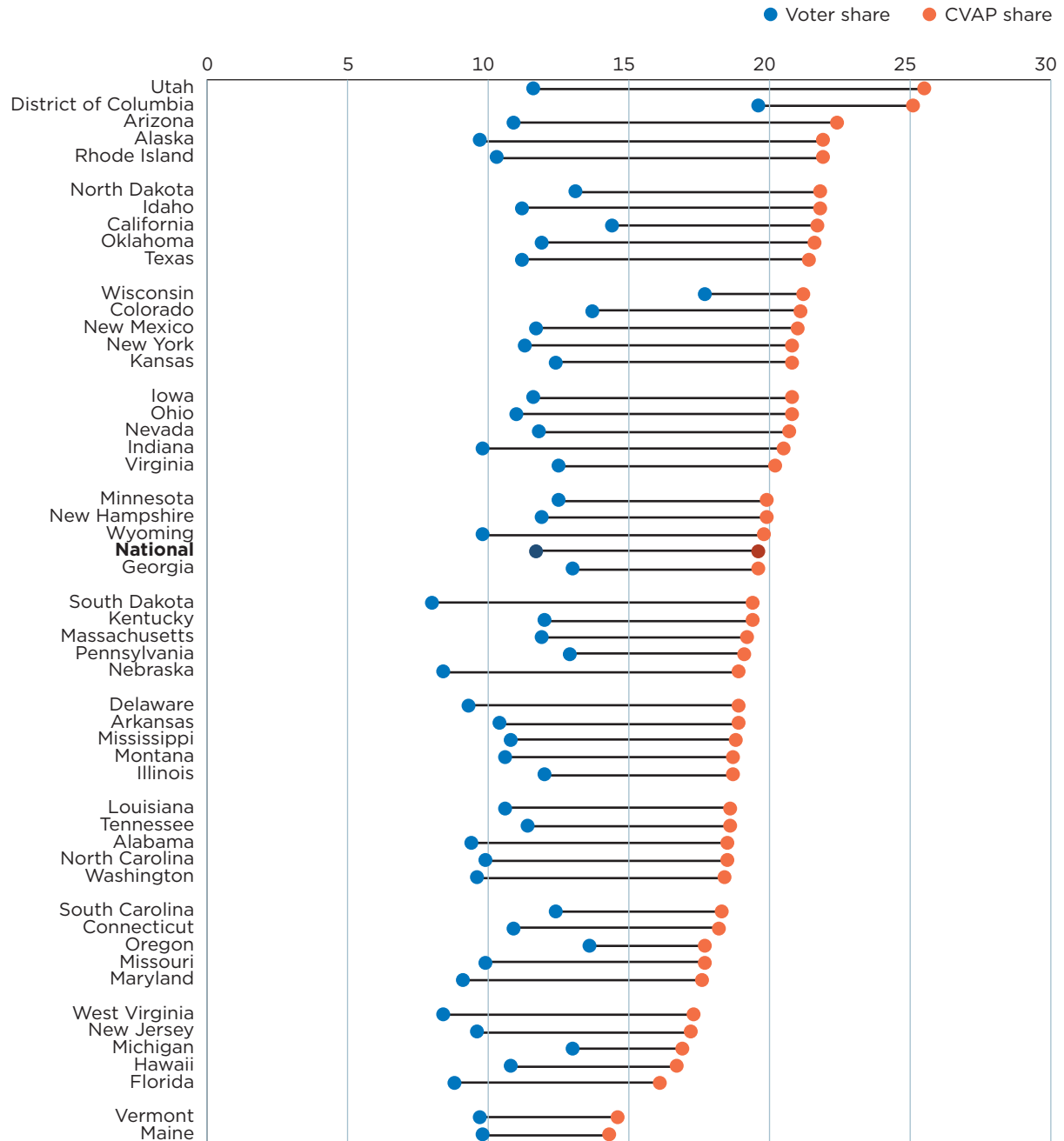
● CVAP share
● Voter share



Note: Over- and underrepresentation is calculated as the difference between each demographic group's voter share and citizen voting-age population share. A demographic group is overrepresented among voters if the difference is positive and underrepresented if the difference is negative. For estimates in congressional elections years 1978–1990, those who completed 4 or more years of high school are assumed to have their high school diploma, and those who completed 4 or more years of college are assumed to have a bachelor's degree or higher.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 1978–2022.

Figure 5.
Share of Voters and Citizen Voting-Age Population (CVAP) Aged 18-29 by State: 2022
 (In percent)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2022.

Underrepresentation of 18- to 29-Year-Olds

Second to only the 2018 congressional election, the 2022 election featured relatively low underrepresentation of young adult voters. However, underlying the national underrepresentation of 18- to 29-year-olds were large differences across states (Figure 5). Utah and the District of Columbia were younger than the nation, with 18- to 29-year-old CVAP shares of 25.5 percent and 25.1 percent, respectively, in 2022. While not statistically different from each other, Utah's young adult CVAP share was 5.9 percentage points greater and the District of Columbia's share was 5.5 percentage points greater than the nation as a whole.²⁴ However, despite no statistical difference between CVAP shares, the share of voters in Utah between the ages of 18 and 29 was 7.9 percentage points lower than that of the District of Columbia.²⁵ Young adults in Utah

²⁴ The differences in the 18- to 29-year-old CVAP shares between the District of Columbia and the nation and between Utah and the nation were not statistically different.

²⁵ The share of voters in Utah between the ages of 18 and 29 was not statistically different from the national share of voters in this age group.

were underrepresented by 13.9 percentage points, 6.0 percentage points more than the nation. In contrast, young adults in the District of Columbia were underrepresented by only 5.6 percentage points, which did not statistically differ from the national underrepresentation.

In Wisconsin, 17.7 percent of voters and 21.2 percent of the CVAP were between the ages of 18 and 29; however, this 3.5-percentage-point difference was not statistically significant.²⁶ In Texas, with 21.4 percent of the CVAP between the ages of 18 and 29, young adult voters were underrepresented by 10.2 percentage points, 2.3 percentage points more than the nation.²⁷

Underrepresentation of 18- to 29-year-olds among voters in both Oregon and Michigan was significantly less than that of the nation, though not different from each other. Young adults in Oregon were 13.6 percent of voters and 17.7 percent of the CVAP, and thus were underrepresented by 4.1

²⁶ Underrepresentation of 18- to 29-year-olds in Wisconsin was not statistically different from national underrepresentation.

²⁷ The Wisconsin and Texas 18- to 29-year-old CVAP shares were not statistically different.

percentage points. Young adults in Michigan were underrepresented by 3.9 percentage points, making up 13.0 percent of voters and 16.9 percent of the CVAP.²⁸

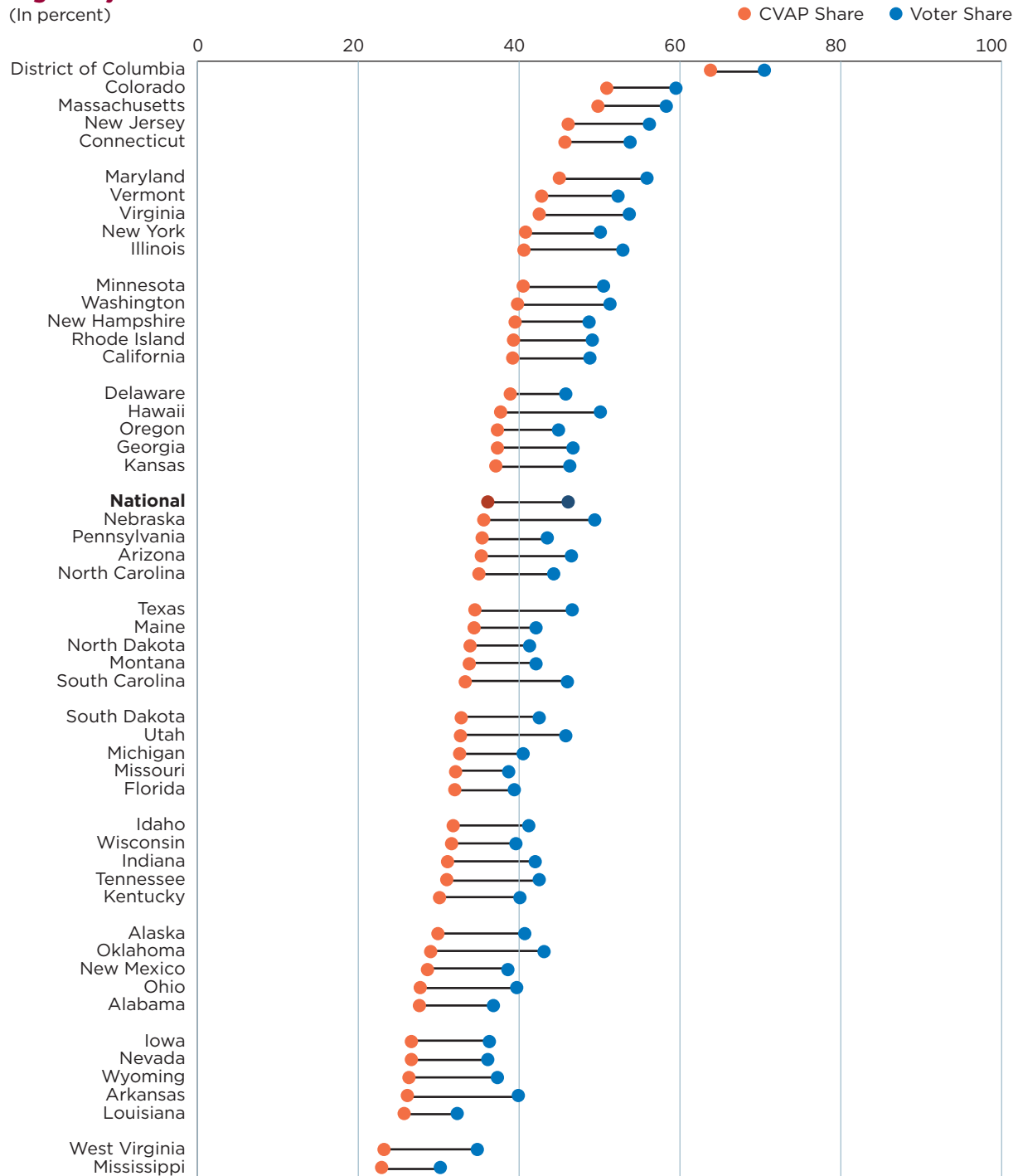
Overrepresentation of Those With at Least a Bachelor's Degree

Highly educated voters continued to be overrepresented among voters in 2022, and this held true across the country. Voters with at least a bachelor's degree were overrepresented in every state in 2022 (Figure 6). However, in no state was overrepresentation of this group statistically different from overrepresentation at the national level.

Along with having a young population, the District of Columbia is also one of the most educated areas of the nation, with 63.8 percent of the CVAP holding a bachelor's degree or higher in 2022, 27.8 percentage points more than the nation. Among voters in the District of Columbia, 70.5 percent had at least a bachelor's degree, resulting in an overrepresentation

²⁸ The Oregon and Michigan 18- to 29-year-old voter shares were not statistically different, nor were the 18- to 29-year-old CVAP shares statistically different between these two states.

Figure 6.
Share of Voters and Citizen Voting-Age Population (CVAP) With a Bachelor's Degree or Higher by State: 2022
 (In percent)

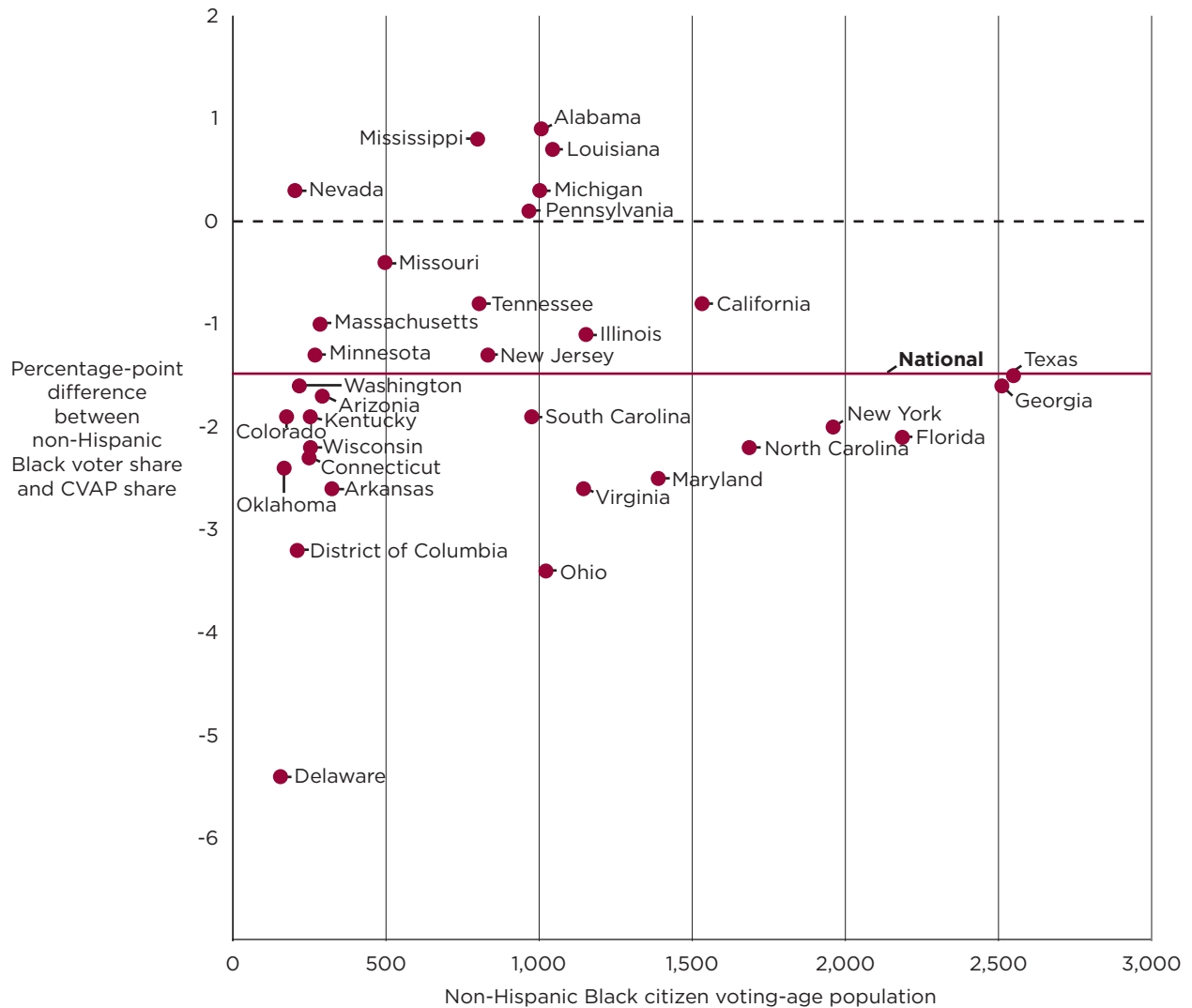


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2022.

Figure 7.

Non-Hispanic Black Over- and Underrepresentation and Citizen Voting-Age Population (CVAP) by State: 2022

(Citizens aged 18 and older)



Note: Excludes states without a non-Hispanic Black CVAP greater than 100,000. Over- and underrepresentation is calculated as the difference between each demographic group's voter share and CVAP share. A demographic group is overrepresented among voters if the difference is positive and underrepresented if the difference is negative.
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2022.

of these voters of 6.7 percentage points. The District of Columbia's overrepresentation did not statistically differ from the national overrepresentation of those with a bachelor's degree or higher. In Mississippi, the share of the CVAP with a bachelor's degree or higher was 41.0 percentage points less than in the District of Columbia; however, highly educated voters

were overrepresented by 7.4 percentage points, which did not statistically differ from overrepresentation in the District of Columbia.

Underrepresentation of Non-Hispanic Black Voters

The 2022 election featured the first increase in non-Hispanic Black underrepresentation among voters since an increase in the 2006

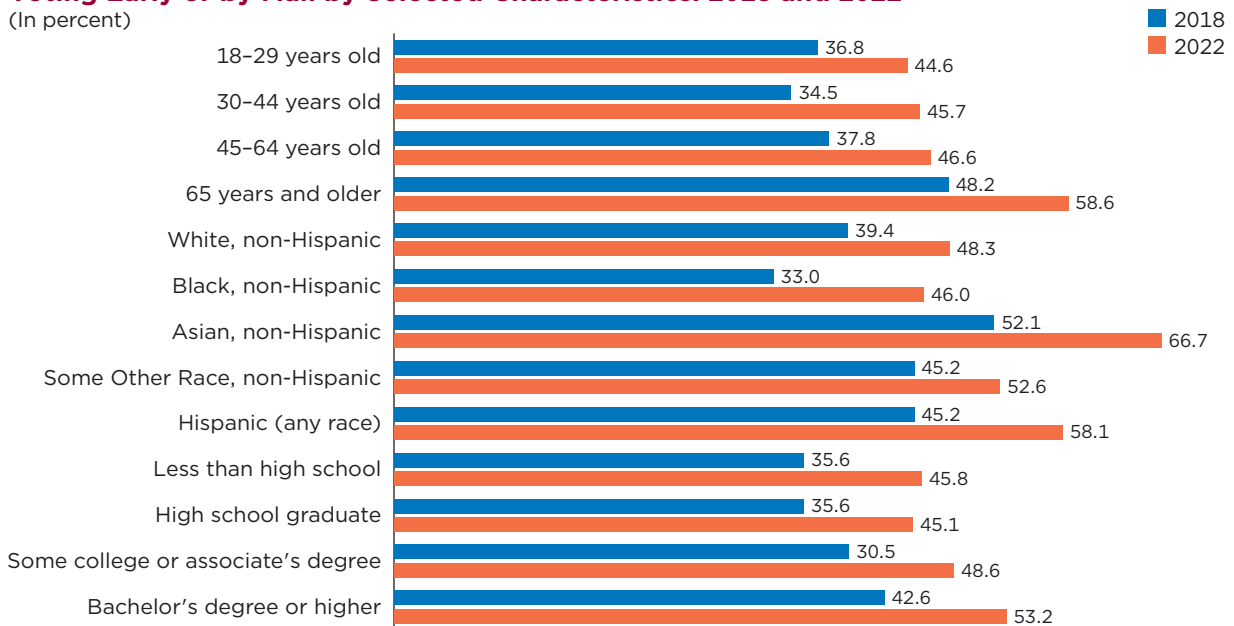
election.²⁹ While non-Hispanic Black voters were underrepresented in many high-population states with large non-Hispanic Black CVAPs in 2022, not every state experienced an underrepresentation of non-Hispanic Black voters (Figure 7). To compare

²⁹ The increases in non-Hispanic Black underrepresentation in 2022 and 2006 did not statistically differ.

Figure 8.

Voting Early or by Mail by Selected Characteristics: 2018 and 2022

(In percent)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2018-2022.

non-Hispanic Black voter representation across states, it is useful to examine combined populations across groups of comparable states due to small sample sizes in individual states. Over one-half of all non-Hispanic Black citizens of voting age in the United States lived in nine states: California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. In these nine states combined, non-Hispanic Black voters were underrepresented by 1.4 percentage points, making up 13.7 percent of voters and 15.1 percent of the CVAP.

In contrast, non-Hispanic Black voters were not statistically underrepresented in the three southern states of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi combined. The non-Hispanic Black share of all voters in these three states combined was 32.0 percent, not statistically different from the 31.2 percent of the combined CVAP that was

non-Hispanic Black. In just the nearby states of Florida, Georgia, and Texas combined, these voters were underrepresented by 1.2 percentage points, making up 16.0 percent of voters and 17.2 percent of the CVAP.

Further north, non-Hispanic Black representation among voters in Michigan and Pennsylvania combined contrasted with representation in Ohio. These three states each have about 1 million non-Hispanic Black citizens of voting age.³⁰ In Ohio, non-Hispanic Black voters were underrepresented by 3.5 percentage points, while in Michigan and Pennsylvania combined, these voters were not significantly underrepresented.

METHODS OF VOTING

Beyond whether people voted, the CPS voting supplement also provides a look at the methods by

which people voted. Along with voting in person on Election Day, many states offer early voting and voting by mail. These methods of voting were used at record levels in the 2020 presidential election during the COVID-19 pandemic (<www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2022/demo/p20-585.pdf>). In 2022, 49.8 percent of all voters used one or both of these methods to vote, 10.0 percentage points more than in 2018 and 18.8 percentage points more than in 2014. This section explores the use of early voting and voting by mail in the 2022 election with comparisons to the 2018 election.

Figure 8 presents the percentage of all voters across demographic characteristics who voted early, by mail, or both in the 2018 and 2022 elections. Across every age, race and Hispanic origin, and education group, rates of these methods of voting increased from 2018 to 2022.

³⁰ The non-Hispanic Black CVAPs of Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania were not statistically different from each other.

By age, those 65 or older voted early or by mail at the highest rate in both 2018 and 2022. The share of this age group using these methods increased by 10.3 percentage points, from 48.2 percent in 2018 to 58.6 percent in 2022. This age group was the only one with over one-half of all voters voting early or by mail; however, no age group had less than 40 percent of voters use these methods in 2022. This is in contrast to 2018, when those aged 65 or older were the only age group with over 40 percent voting early or by mail.

Non-Hispanic Asian voters did so early or by mail at the highest rate across all races and Hispanic origin groups in 2022, with 66.7 percent of votes cast with one or both of these methods. This was a 14.6-percentage-point increase for these voters from 2018. The second-highest rate of these voting methods was for Hispanic voters, at 58.1 percent. The lowest rate of early and by-mail voting was for non-Hispanic Black voters, with 46.0 percent voting with at least one of these methods, a full 20.7 percentage points less than for non-Hispanic Asian voters. Despite being the lowest rate, the percentage of non-Hispanic Black voters who voted early or by mail increased by 13.0 percentage points from 2018.³¹

Of voters with a bachelor's degree or higher, 53.2 percent voted early or by mail, a 10.5-percentage-point increase from 2018. This was the highest rate among all education levels in 2022, and the only group with an early or by-mail voting rate above 50 percent. Of voters with less than a high school education, a high school diploma, some

college, or an associate's degree, no group had more than 40 percent of voters cast a ballot early or by mail in 2018, while 45 percent or more of each of these groups used such methods in 2022.

NONPARTICIPATION

For those who do not participate in the election, either through not voting or not registering to vote, the voting and registration supplement asks about the reasons for nonparticipation. This section details the reasons across race and Hispanic origin, age, and educational attainment. Table 3 presents the response rate across these demographics for each reason for nonparticipation in 2022.

Of the 37.2 million registered nonvoters, 26.5 percent were too busy to vote in 2022. This was the most common reason for not voting. The second most common reason for not voting was not being interested, and illness or disability was the third most common reason for not voting.

Non-Hispanic Black and non-Hispanic White registered nonvoters were too busy to vote at rates that did not differ statistically, with 25.8 percent of non-Hispanic Black nonvoters and 25.1 percent of non-Hispanic White nonvoters too busy to vote. Hispanic and non-Hispanic Asian registered nonvoters were both more likely to be too busy to vote, with 30.5 and 31.5 percent too busy to vote, respectively.³²

Younger registered nonvoters were more likely to be too busy to vote. Of 18- to 29-year-old registered nonvoters, 32.2 percent were too busy to vote, as were 33.9 percent

of the 30- to 44-year-old and 24.3 percent of the 45- to 64-year-old registered nonvoters.³³ In contrast, only 6.4 percent of those aged 65 or older were too busy to vote. The most common reason for not voting for those aged 65 or older was illness or disability, with this being the reason for about one-third of this age group. Only 4.4 percent of 18- to 29-year-old nonvoters did not vote due to illness or disability.

Reasons for not voting also differed across education levels. Registered nonvoters with a bachelor's degree or higher were more likely to be too busy to vote (28.9 percent) than those with less than a high school diploma (17.4 percent). Those with at least a bachelor's degree were less likely to be not interested (14.8 percent) than those with less than a high school diploma (19.3 percent). Illness or disability was also more common for those with less than a high school diploma (19.3 percent) compared to those with the highest educational attainment (10.6 percent).³⁴

The most common reason for not registering to vote was a lack of interest, at 41.0 percent of the non-registered. This was particularly true for the non-Hispanic White nonregistered population—44.3 percent of whom were not interested. Other common reasons for not registering were not meeting registration deadlines (11.2 percent) and the “Other reason” response (16.8 percent).

SUMMARY

The 2022 congressional election stands out from previous elections

³¹ The increase in early voting or voting by mail for non-Hispanic Asian voters between 2018 and 2022 was not statistically different from the increase for non-Hispanic Black voters.

³² The shares of Hispanic and non-Hispanic Asian nonvoters who were too busy to vote did not differ statistically. The non-Hispanic Other race “too busy” rate did not differ statistically from any other racial or ethnic group.

³³ The shares of 18- to 29-year-old registered nonvoters and 30- to 44-year-old registered nonvoters who were too busy to vote were not statistically different.

³⁴ The less-than-high-school response rates for “too busy,” “not interested,” and “illness or disability” did not statistically differ.

Table 3. **Reasons for Not Voting and Not Registering by Selected Characteristics: 2022**
(Numbers in thousands)

Characteristic	Percent distribution of reasons for not voting and registering														
	Total		Race and Hispanic origin				Age				Educational attainment				
	Number	Percent	White, non-Hispanic	Black, non-Hispanic	Asian, non-Hispanic	Some Other Race	Hispanic (any race)	18-29 years	30-44 years	45-64 years	65 years and older	Less than high school	High school graduate	Some college or associate's degree	Bachelor's degree or higher
Registered Nonvoters ..	37,230	100.0	22,880	5,071	2,206	1,262	5,813	9,324	11,510	10,770	5,631	2,825	11,900	12,200	10,310
Reasons for Not Voting!															
Too busy, conflicting schedule	9,876	26.5	25.1	25.8	31.5	28.7	30.5	32.2	33.9	24.3	6.4	17.4	25.2	28.0	28.9
Not interested	6,560	17.6	18.2	15.6	14.6	18.1	17.9	17.0	18.8	18.5	14.7	19.3	19.9	17.4	14.8
Illness or disability	4,642	12.5	13.3	13.4	12.4	9.4	9.0	4.4	7.6	12.8	35.0	19.3	14.3	10.7	10.6
Other reason ²	4,368	11.7	11.2	13.8	12.6	16.5	10.6	10.7	11.9	12.9	10.9	11.1	11.1	12.1	12.3
Out of town	3,092	8.3	9.2	8.1	7.8	4.3	6.0	10.9	5.8	9.4	6.9	6.9	6.0	8.6	11.0
Forgot to vote	2,890	7.8	6.8	9.9	9.8	6.8	9.3	8.9	8.5	7.3	5.3	7.9	7.7	8.7	6.7
Didn't like candidates or campaign issues	2,103	5.6	6.2	3.8	4.0	5.3	5.7	3.4	4.9	6.0	10.1	6.9	6.3	4.7	5.8
Don't know, refused, or no response	1,116	3.0	3.0	3.1	2.0	2.1	3.5	4.2	2.9	2.2	2.6	3.3	3.0	3.1	2.8
Inconvenient hours, polling place, or lines ..	908	2.4	2.3	2.6	2.1	3.0	2.8	2.9	2.4	2.6	1.6	1.7	2.6	2.3	2.5
Registration problems ..	894	2.4	2.6	1.5	2.5	1.7	2.7	3.7	2.2	1.6	2.2	1.7	1.6	2.5	3.4
Transportation problems	783	2.1	2.1	2.3	0.8	4.1	2.0	1.8	1.1	2.3	4.3	4.6	2.2	2.0	1.4
Not Registered	32,530	100.0	17,750	4,057	2,415	1,178	7,131	11,220	8,709	7,911	4,696	55,20	14,080	7,805	5,129
Reasons for Not Registering³															
Not interested	13,330	41.0	44.3	35.9	35.4	36.0	38.3	40.0	41.7	41.9	40.3	41.0	43.5	41.9	32.7
Other reason ⁴	5,463	16.8	17.0	18.1	23.6	20.3	12.7	14.8	16.3	18.0	20.4	16.0	15.7	18.6	17.8
Did not meet registration deadlines ..	3,638	11.2	11.3	10.2	9.7	10.7	11.9	15.4	10.6	8.1	7.3	6.8	9.5	12.9	17.9
Not eligible to vote	2,965	9.1	6.0	8.0	13.2	7.8	16.4	9.7	9.3	9.7	6.2	12.5	9.0	7.5	8.3
Permanent illness or disability	1,747	5.4	5.9	7.3	2.3	8.0	3.6	2.6	4.5	6.4	11.7	8.2	6.8	2.6	2.7
Don't know, refused, or no response	1,416	4.4	4.0	5.2	4.1	5.8	4.6	4.5	5.5	3.6	3.2	4.1	4.7	4.0	4.2
Did not know where or how to register	1,393	4.3	3.1	6.2	7.7	4.7	5.0	5.8	3.8	3.3	3.2	4.9	4.0	4.4	4.2
My vote would not make a difference	1,331	4.1	4.7	5.1	0.9	2.2	3.4	3.0	4.0	5.3	4.8	3.7	4.7	4.4	2.3
Did not meet residency requirements	1,248	3.8	3.8	4.0	3.1	4.4	4.1	4.1	4.2	3.7	2.8	2.7	2.2	3.7	9.8

¹ Only individuals who reported being registered and also reported not voting were asked the question about the reason for not voting.

² Includes those respondents who reported "Other reason" or "Bad weather conditions" as the reason for not voting.

³ Includes only those respondents who answered "no" to the question, "Were you registered in the elections of November 2022?"

⁴ Includes those respondents who reported "Other reason" or "Difficulty with English" as the reason for not registering.

Note: Numbers are based on weighted reports of voting behavior derived from a survey sample. Numbers and percents may not sum to totals due to rounding.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2022.

for a high registration rate and overrepresentation among voters of those aged 65 or older, those with a bachelor's degree or higher, and those who were non-Hispanic White.³⁵ Demographic voting trends varied across the nation, with many differences across states in both young adult and non-Hispanic Black voter turnout. The November CPS Voting and Registration Supplement provides a detailed look at the demographics of voters, the methods used to vote, and trends in these measures across time.

ACCURACY OF THE ESTIMATES

The population represented (i.e., the population universe) in the CPS is the civilian, noninstitutionalized population living in the United States. In the CPS Voting and Registration Supplement, this population is further restricted to those who reported as citizens who are aged 18 or older and have completed the core CPS survey.

Responses to the Voting and Registration Supplement are the basis for estimates in this report. The first question asked whether respondents voted in the election held on Tuesday, November 8, 2022. Respondents who did not respond to the question or answered "No" or "Do not know" were then asked if they were registered to vote in the election.

As in all surveys, estimates from the CPS and the November supplement are subject to sampling and nonsampling error. All comparisons presented in this report have taken sampling error into account and are significant at the 90 percent

³⁵ Non-Hispanic White and those aged 65 or older overrepresentation were not statistically different.

confidence level unless otherwise noted.³⁶

Nonsampling error in surveys is attributable to a variety of sources, such as survey design, the respondents' interpretation of the questions, the respondents' willingness and ability to provide correct and accurate answers, and post-survey practices like question coding and response classification. To minimize these errors, the Census Bureau employs quality control procedures in sample selection, the wording of questions, interviewing, coding, data processing, and data analysis.

The CPS weighting procedure uses ratio estimation to adjust sample estimates to independent estimates of the national population by age, race, sex, and Hispanic origin. This weighting partially corrects for bias due to undercoverage of certain populations, but biases may still be present when people are missed by the survey who differ from those interviewed in regard to other characteristics. We do not precisely know the effect of this weighting procedure on other variables in the survey. All of these considerations affect comparisons across different surveys or data sources.

Further information on the source of the data and accuracy of the estimates, including standard errors and confidence intervals can be found at <www.census.gov/programs-surveys/cps/technical-documentation/complete.html> or by contacting the Demographic Statistical Methods Division

³⁶ All comparisons within this text are simple pair-wise comparisons; no multiple comparison adjustments were made to the tests. We acknowledge that some of the conclusions made in this text may not remain statistically significant if the multiple comparison adjustments were included.

via email at <dsm.source.and.accuracy@census.gov>.

The CPS estimates used in this report are an important analytic tool in election studies because they identify the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the voting population, registered population, and those who did not participate in the election. However, these estimates may differ from those based on administrative data or exit polls.

Every state's board of elections tabulates the vote counts for each national election, while the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives reports these state results in aggregate form for the entire country.³⁷ These tallies, which are typically described as the official results for a specific election, detail the number of votes counted for select offices. In the elections discussed in this report, the official count of comparison is either the total number of votes cast for the office of the President (in presidential election years) or the total number of votes cast for a House of Representatives or Senate seat (in Congressional election years). In each election, there are discrepancies between the CPS Voting and Registration Supplement estimates and these official counts. The discrepancy has varied in each election year, with official tallies typically showing lower turnout than the estimates in these types of reports. Differences between the official counts and the November CPS supplement may be due to a combination of an

³⁷ The official count of votes cast can be found on the webpage of the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives at <<https://history.house.gov/Institution/Election-Statistics/>> or on the webpage of the Federal Election Commission at <www.fec.gov/introduction-campaign-finance/election-and-voting-information/>.

understatement of official numbers and an overstatement of supplement estimates.

Understatement of Official Vote Tallies

Ballots are sometimes invalidated and thrown out during the vote counting process, and therefore do not appear in the official counts as reported by the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives. Official vote counts also frequently exclude mismarked, unreadable, or blank ballots. Additionally, because the total number of official votes cast is typically determined by counting votes for a specific office (such as President or U.S. Representative), voters who did not vote for this specific office, but who did vote for a different office in the same election, may not be included in the official reported tally. In all of these instances, it is conceivable that individuals would be counted as voters in the CPS and not counted in official tallies.

Overstatement of Voting in the CPS Voting and Registration Supplement

Some of the error in estimating turnout using the CPS core questions and the CPS Voting and Registration Supplement is the result of population controls and survey coverage. Respondent misreporting is also a source of error in the estimates. Previous analyses based on reinterviews found that respondents and proxy

respondents are consistent in their reported answers, suggesting that misunderstanding the questions does not fully account for the difference between the official counts and the survey estimates. However, studies that have matched survey responses with voting records indicate that part of the discrepancy between survey estimates and official counts is the result of respondent misreporting, particularly vote overreporting to appear to behave in a socially desirable way.³⁸

As discussed earlier, the issue of vote overreporting is not unique to the Voting and Registration Supplement. Other surveys consistently overstate voter turnout as well, including highly respected national-level surveys like the American National Election Studies and the General Social Survey. Potential reasons why respondents might incorrectly report voting in an election are myriad and include intentional misreporting, legitimate confusion over whether a vote was cast or not, and methodological issues related to question wording, method of survey administration, and specific question nonresponses.

³⁸ Allyson L. Holbrook and Jon A. Krosnick, "Social Desirability Bias in Voter Turnout Reports: Tests Using the Item Count Technique," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Oxford University Press, Vol. 74, Issue 1, 2009.

Voting Not Captured in the CPS Voting and Registration Supplement

The CPS only covers the civilian, noninstitutionalized population residing in the United States. Therefore, the supplement does not capture voting for citizens living in institutions in the United States or voting for citizens, whether civilian or military, residing outside of the United States who cast absentee ballots.

MORE INFORMATION

Detailed table packages are available that provide demographic characteristics of the population by voting and registration status. The Census Bureau also provides a series of historical tables and graphics. Electronic versions of these products and this report are available at <www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-586.html>.

CONTACT

U.S. Census Bureau Customer Service Center toll free at 1-800-923-8282.

Visit <<https://ask.census.gov>>.

SUGGESTED CITATION

Fabina, Jacob and Michael Martin, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2022," *Current Population Survey Reports*, P20-586, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC, 2024.