### Black Voter Research August 2021

# **OHITstrategies**

DEMOCRACY CORPS CARVILLE • GREENBERG

# **Black Research Methodology**

Objectives	midterm elections, 2. Understand what a	ack registered voters in battleground states regarding their in as well as gauging the performance of President Biden's adm re Black registered voters' most important issues and who the ocus group findings regarding narrative and activation messag	inistration and Congressiona ey trust as allies or opponent	al Democrats. ts within their community.
Sample	Registered African American Voters	These findings are from a proprietary survey conducted	Universe	Definition
Size	N = 1,200	by HIT Strategies on behalf of Democracy Corps. This survey consisted of 1,200 African American registered voters in 10 battleground states (MI, WI, PA, GA, SC, NC, FL, TX, NV, AZ). This survey was conducted via online sample panel and matched to the voter file. This survey	Total: 1200 registered	Non-college Total: 839 registered African
Geography	Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Florida, Texas, Nevada, and Arizona	fielded from August 12 <sup>th</sup> - August 27 <sup>th</sup> , 2021, and the margin of error is +/- 2.8% with a confidence level of 95%. Margin of error is higher among subgroups.	African American voters	American voters who did not graduate college

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#### The Dem Honeymoon is Ending

The 2020 election optimism that Biden and Democrats benefited from is beginning to lag as Black voters approval intensity drops because of perceptions that not enough progress has been made on the issues that they care about the most.

#### **Dems Policies are Popular**

Democratic policies such as labor protections, addressing systemic inequality, child tax credits, and infrastructure jobs are quite popular...Black voters are just not as familiar as we need them to be.

#### **Top Issue Priorities**

While COVID-19, racism, and affordable housing rise as the top issues, almost every Black voter chose at least one economic issue in their top 3 priorities. Dems are perceived to have made the least progress on social and identity issues.

#### **Messaging Needs Improvement**

Dem messaging did not increase Dem performance but did improve vote likelihood. We must identify messaging that promotes Dem economic policies through a justice and equity lens that addresses the economic and social anxiety experienced by Black voters.

#### **Dems Impact on Black Voter's Lives**

While the majority of Black voter's (70%) report their lives have improved since Biden became POTUS, some key audiences under-report that impact. Economic improvements and peace of mind/relief from Trump are credited with improving their quality of life.

### **Executive Summary**



Black registered voters and Black non-college voters are positive towards Biden and Democrats overall, but support is not intense.

- *Very Satisfied* with direction of the country: 20% total Black voters | 19% Black non-college voters
- *Strongly Approve* of Biden's job performance: 43% total black voters | 42% black non-college voters
- Life under Biden Much Better: 21% total Black voters | 20% Black non-college voters

The priorities of Black voters and Black non-college voters align very closely around economic issues within racial justice context.

- COVID-19 delta variant spread: 50% total Black voters | 47% Black non-college voters
- Racism and Discrimination: 34% total Black voters | 36% Black non-college voters
- Affordable Housing: 26% total Black voters | 31% Black non-college voters

For Biden and Democrats to win Black voters and Black non-college voters in 2022 midterms, they must address the top racial justice issues that Black voters have not seen enough progress on. That is where we will see the greatest drop-off among Black voters.

- Racism & Discrimination: 38% total Black voters | 37% Black non-college voters
- Criminal Justice/Police Brutality: 27% total Black voters | 28% Black non-college voters
- Voter Suppression: 26% total Black voters | 26% Crime & Violence Black non-college voters

Ignoring the racial inequities important to both Black and Black non-college voters threatens to expand the alarmingly significant portion of both Black voters who believe that the Black community's needs are not being prioritized by Biden or Democrats.

- Needs of LGBTQ community are being prioritized over Black community: 38% total Black voters | 41% total Black non-college voters
- Needs of AAPI community are being prioritized over Black community: 37% total Black voters | 37% total Black non-college voters



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# **Direction of the Country**

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Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the direction in which the country is headed?



	Non- college Total	Non- college Men	Non- college Women	Non- college Under 50	Non- college Over 50	Total
Total Satisfied	61%	64%	58%	53%	72%	62%
Total Dissatisfied	32%	28%	28%	37%	25%	32%
DK/REF	7%	5%	5%	9%	3%	6%

**11%** of v*ery dissatisfied* Black registered voters in the November 2022 election

Demographics
26% of Black Independents
17% of Black Voters Who Shifted to Very Interested in November 2022 Election
16% of Black Voters in West Region (AZ, NV, TX)
16% of Black Millennials (25 – 39)
16% of Black Women Under 50
15% of Black Catholics

### Joe Biden Job Approval Among Black Registered Voters



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## **Favorability of Political Figures**

### Instrategies

Now, we would like you to rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and issues using a scale from zero to ten, where "10" means that you feel VERY WARM and FAVORABLE towards them, a "0" means that you feel VERY COLD and UNFAVORABLE, and a "5" means that you do not feel particularly warm or cold.



Data Represents Total Non-College

# Respondents said their lives have improved, but **OHIT Strategies** there's a gap among key groups



### The economy and Trump out of office were the top reasons why respondents' lives have improved

### Instrategies

What in your life has gotten better since Joe Biden became President? [Coded open-end responses]



## Biden and Democrat's policies important to **OHIT Strategies** Black non-college voters

Here is a list of policies President Biden and Democrats in Congress are advancing. Which three are the most important to you?



# **Biden and Democrats' Policies**

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Here is a list of policies President Biden and Democrats in Congress are advancing. Which three are the most important to you?

[Min Wage/Labor Protections] Raise the minimum wage for federal contractors to \$15 an hour and are pushing to strengthen public and private sector unions and help all workers bargain successfully for wage increases and stop losses in salary such as employers not paying overtime or forcing off-the-clock work.	<b>48%</b>	[Child Tax Credit] Barring any tax increases for anyone earning under \$400,000 and expanded child tax credit is a big middle-class tax cut for families with kids earning up to \$150,000.	24%
<b>[Systemic Inequality]</b> For many decades, some government agencies didn't provide services to all citizens equally. Now, Black farmers are getting grants, millions of housing vouchers are targeted to minority communities, the infrastructure law removes all lead pipes, and there is increased funding for Black, tribally-controlled colleges and Hispanic institutions.	<b>32%</b>	<b>[Corporate Tax]</b> Big corporations will pay a minimum tax of 15 percent in all countries, so they don't relocate to tax havens. They've raised the top tax rate for the biggest corporation and will give the IRS money to target big corporations paying no taxes.	23%
<b>[Medicare Expansion]</b> Making major changes in Medicare. Their plan will now cover dental, vision and hearing aids and the age a person can enroll in Medicare was dropped from 66 to 62 years.	30%	<b>[Paid Family Leave]</b> They have begun paid medical and family leave, rescued the childcare industry with the raised \$3,000 childcare tax credit that reduces childcare expenses for a family by \$14,800.	22%
<b>[Infrastructure Jobs]</b> Proposed a big new infrastructure investment so America leads the transition from fossil fuels to renewables. It helps US car makers lead in electricity vehicles, building a half million charging stations. It funds thousands of jobs plugging wells and reclaiming mines. And millions of jobs installing solar and wind power.	25%	<b>[More K – 12 Funding]</b> Provide billions to state and local schools to open safely in the fall and an historic one third increase funding for K-12 public education.	20%
<b>[Lower HC Premiums]</b> Mandates no one pays more than 8.5% of their income for health insurance on the exchanges, lowering premiums for first time since Obamacare. And government will negotiate and will lower prescription drug prices	24%	<b>[Small Business Grants]</b> \$25 billion in grants to tens of thousands of restaurants so they can decide how to spend their money and rescue more small businesses.	11%

### **Black Voters' Political Sentiments**

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#### THE BIG TAKEAWAY:

- The 2020 election momentum Biden and Democrats have been enjoying has dissipated, if not come to a halt already, among Black registered voters and Black non-college voters.
- To drive Black voter turnout in November 2022, Biden and Democrats must replace the urgency of Trump with the urgency of advancing Black issues and policy priorities.
- Black voters feel like their lives are improving since Biden became POTUS and point to economic improvements. While Dem economic policies are helpful and impactful, they are not familiar to many Black voters.



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### Black voters do not think enough progress has been made on their top issues

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### Dems vs GOP on top issues

For each, please say whether you think Democrats or Republicans do a better job with it. \*Data in graph represents total non-college\*



Economic Issues Breakout	Non-college Total	Non-college Men	Non-college Women	Non-college Under 50	Non-college Over 50	Total
Working Families	78%	77%	79%	71%	90%	80%
The Middle Class	77%	78%	76%	70%	87%	78%
<b>Economic Inequalities</b>	73%	72%	74%	66%	85%	77%
The Economy	73%	70%	75%	65%	85%	75%
Helping Small Businesses	72%	68%	75%	64%	82%	73%

Output 
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### For some Black voters neither Dem or GOP better on Economic Issues



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For each, please say whether you think joe Biden and the Democrats or Donald Trump and the Republicans would do a better job with it.



### For even more Black voters neither Dem or GOP better **OHIT Strategies** on Social Issues

For each, please say whether you think joe Biden and the Democrats or Donald Trump and the Republicans would do a better job with it.



Data Represents Total Non-College

### **Biden and Democrat Issue Priorities**

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#### THE BIG TAKEAWAY:

- While Black voters give Democrats significant advantage over Republicans on every issue, an increasing number of Black voters say neither party is better for their top issues.
- The same groups of Black voters are most likely to give Dems lower marks on top issues: Black women, Younger Black voters, and Black Independents.
- Preventing under performance among these target groups of Black voters is critical to ensure Democratic success in the 2022 midterm election.

#### WHY IT MATTERS:

- Biden and Democrats can point to specific policy accomplishments since the 2020 general election to demonstrate how effective they've been at producing results since taking office.
- Black voters require a Black policy roadmap from Biden and Democrats to motivate them to turnout in November 2022. It is not enough to say, "they're not Trump/Republicans."
- The strong trust Black respondent's exhibit towards Biden and Democrats at dealing with economic and racial and social issues can help combat Republican misinformation and obstructionism in the coming 2022 election cycle.











# 2022 midterm election interest among respondents is solid, but some groups show potential to underperform

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**11%** Of *Total Uninterested* Black registered voters in the November 2022 election.

#### **Demographics**

25% of Black Gen Z and 17% of Millennials

21% of Black Women Under 50

20% of Black Voters Who Disapprove of Biden's Job

18% of Black Independents

18% of Black Voters Whose Life Has Gotten Worse

16% of Black Voters Who Said Issue of Criminal Justice Has Not Made Enough Progress

# In 2022 Congressional horserace, respondents overwhelmingly side with the Democratic candidate

Thinking about the election for Congress in your district in November 2022, will you vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

85%					2020	2018
				Democ	crat 87%	90%
				Republ	ican 12%	9%
		7%	3%		4%	
Г						
Democratic candidate	Re Re	publican candidate	Other candidate		Will not v	ote
	Non-college Total	Non-college Men	Non-college Women	Under 50	Over 50	Total
Democratic candidate	85%	80%	89%	81%	91%	86%
Republican candidate	7%	13%	3%	9%	4%	7%
Other candidate	3%	3%	2%	3%	2%	3%
Will not vote	4%	3%	6%	6%	2%	4%

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# Many Black voters believe the needs of other communities are being prioritized over their own

## Output Image: Second secon

Which of the following statements come closer to your point of view, even if neither is exactly right?

**Statement A**: Joe Biden and Democrats are making good progress on the needs and priorities of the Black community.

**Statement B**: Joe Biden and Democrats are putting the needs of other communities like the **LGBTQ** community over the needs of the Black community.



**Statement A:** Joe Biden and Democrats are making good progress on the needs and priorities of the Black community.

**Statement B:** Joe Biden and Democrats are putting the needs of other communities like the **AAPI** community over the needs of the Black community.



### **2022 Midterm Election Engagement**

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#### THE BIG TAKEAWAY:

- Perceptions that Dems take Black voters for granted are being perpetuated by a zero-sum mentality...if other communities are getting something then Black communities must be getting less.
- Focus group data suggests that this narrative is a product of misinformation that must be combatted with an inclusive message about the economic policies that Dems have advanced and the impact that it is having on Black communities.



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### **Most Convincing Activation Messages**

### Output Image: Second secon

You will now read some messages that others have said might convince them to vote in the November 2022 election for U.S. Congress, state and local offices. Rate each one on a scale of 0 - 10, where 10 means it is an extremely convincing message for you to vote, a 5 means it's a somewhat convincing reason, and a 0 means it is not at all a convincing reason for you to vote.



# Message Test

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**[CAREGIVER]** As America continues to diversify Democrats understand what makes us unique individually are also making us strong collectively. That is why Democrats are investing in communities that have been historically marginalized such as a moratorium on eviction to protect millions of at-risk families, \$3,000 child tax credits to every family making less than \$150,000 and raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour. Because America can only be great when we are all given an equal opportunity to achieve our full potential.

**[VICTORY LAP]** Because of historic turnout from people like you Democrats were able to win the White House, Senate and Congress to reverse the dangerous policies of the Trump administration. Since then, Democrats have been able to pass the American Rescue plan providing \$1 trillion to families making less than \$90,000 per year, increase vaccine distribution to 57% of the population including 84% of the most vulnerable seniors, and \$3,000 child tax credit to families earning up to \$150,000 a year. Now that we are turning the corner on one of the darkest chapters in history, we must reelect Democrats to get to work on rebuilding infrastructure, increasing the minimum wage, and making sure billionaires pay their fair share. That is the only way we can continue building back better.



% Rated Extremely Convincing (8-10)



# Message Test

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% Rated Extremely Convincing (8-10)



[TRUMP'S WORLD] America has never been more at risk for those who made America
Great. Crime in our country is escalating at a pace we've never seen before. People are pouring
through our borders totally unchecked. We must act to save America and define the future of
our beloved country. Save America is about ensuring that we always keep America First, in our
foreign and domestic policy. Republicans take pride in our country, we teach the truth about
our history, believe in Law and Order and that the men and women of law enforcement are
heroes who deserve our absolute support, and of course, we respect our great American flag.

**[RACE/CLASS]** No matter our race or where we come from, what we need at this moment is

a government that works for us instead of large corporations, or the wealthy one percent. We

million hard-working middle-class families with \$200 per month subsidies to access affordable

\$20 billion to local state governments to help low-income households pay their rent and utility

need to continue building on the progress that has been made since 2020 to provide over a

health care, \$1,400 per person economic assistance to 66 million families with children and

bills. We must ensure equal access to opportunity for working families.

Non-college Total	30%
Non-college Men	32%
Non-college Woman	29%
Non-college Under 50	33%
Non-college Over 50	27%
Total	28%

## 2022 Midterm Election Interest Shift

### Instrategies

As you may know, there will be an election for U.S. Congress, state and local offices next year. How interested are you in the November 2022 election? Please rate your interest from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning that you have no interest in this election and a 10 meaning that you are extremely interested. You can choose any number between 1 and 10.



Initial 2022 Midterm Interest End 20

End 2022 Midterm Interest

	Non-college Total	Non-college Men	Non-college Women	Non-college Under 50	Non-college Over 50	Total
Shifted to More Interested	20%	19%	20%	21%	17%	20%
Shifted to Less Interested	17%	17%	18%	22%	10%	16%
No Change	63%	64%	63%	57%	73%	64%

## 2022 Midterm Election Horserace Shift

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Thinking about the election for Congress in your district in November 2022, will you vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



	Non-college Total	Non-college Men	Non-college Women	Non-college Under 50	Non-college Over 50	Total
Shifted to Democratic Candidate	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Consistent Democratic Candidate	88%	82%	94%	85%	92%	89%
Consistent Undecided/Other	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Shifted to Republican Candidate	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Consistent Republican Candidate	7%	12%	3%	9%	4%	6%

## **2022 Midterm Shift Variables**

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#### THE BIG TAKEAWAY:

- Black political participation in the midterm election is shaping up to be a mobilization challenge. If some Black groups do not believe their top issues are being prioritized or that neither party is better for them then they could opt out of voting.
- Despite no overall shift between midterm vote party preference, the 20% shift to *More Interested in* voting demonstrates the potential in the Black community.
- Democrats have an opportunity to mobilize Black voters with the economic policies that they are advancing, but they cannot ignore the social issues that are also top priorities for the Black voters who we need to mobilize the most.

# Trust in the efficacy of voting as a way of making change **OHIT strategies** could reduce turnout



# Thank You

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