

Connecting Black Voters to Political Power

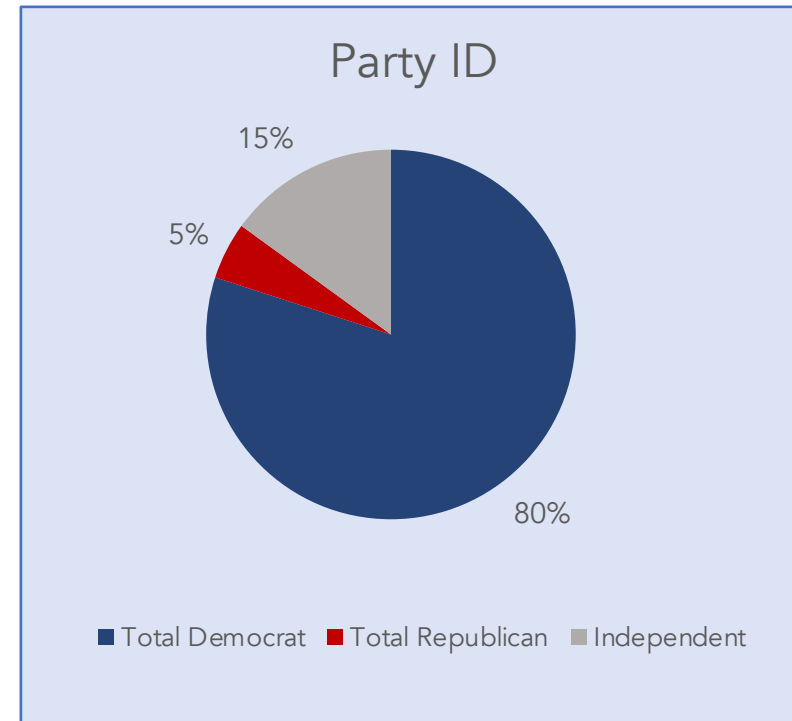
Survey of Black Voters in the US | September 2020



Research Methodology

Objectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explore reactions to significant current events (COVID-19, racial uprising, upcoming election, etc) to determine how it is shifting political consciousness of Black voters. 2. Determine persuasive/mobilization messaging to increase Black political engagement in upcoming elections, and beyond.
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Sample	Black voters and oversamples of rural voters, immigrant voters, and LGBTQ voters	<p>These findings are from a proprietary survey conducted by HIT Strategies on behalf of Black Futures Labs. This survey consisted of 800 voters, with an oversample of rural voters, immigrant voters, and LGBTQ voters. The survey was conducted via online panel. The survey fielded from August 27 – September 7, 2020 and the margin of error is +/- 3.1% with a confidence level of 95%.</p>
Size	<p>N = 800 +100 OS Rural Voters +50 OS Immigrant Voters +50 OS LGBTQ Voters</p>	
Geo	National	



Key Findings

- **Presidential Horserace.** Biden is significantly underperforming Hillary Clinton's margins amongst Black voters (-15%) which is concentrated amongst younger Black voters (-20%). This is a combination of Trump increasing his approval rating and both Biden and Harris dropping amongst younger Black voters
- **Trump Rhetoric:** 27% of respondents found our pro Trump message to be convincing (6-10), with 20% rating it as very convincing (20%). Trump's bootstrap rhetoric is gaining far too much ground with Black voters.
- **Issues:** Racism, Coronavirus, and the Economy were the top rated across all groups of Black voters. Notably, making a difference on issues that matter most to them is a top motivating factor for why they vote. That means this election must be seen as a tool improve racism to mobilize our least likely voters.
- **Police Brutality Reforms:** Defunding and divesting money away from the police are rated as the least favorable reform options. Body cams and holding officers accountable in court are more favorable options.
- **Messaging:** Top performing messages vary by demographic. But messages that anchor voting as a form a protest, demonstrate the power of their vote, and remind them of the collective power of our votes were the most effective at shifting Black voters on our key metrics.
- **Shift:** On metrics such as vote likelihood, motivation to vote, and perceptions of power our messaging was most likely to shift younger-cynical voters and residents of small towns and rural areas.
- **Barriers & Motivators:** Aside from COVID-19 being the biggest barrier to voting in this election, most voters believe that they believe their vote doesn't make a difference is the largest barrier to voting. Removing Trump is the top motivator this year for Black voters to turnout.

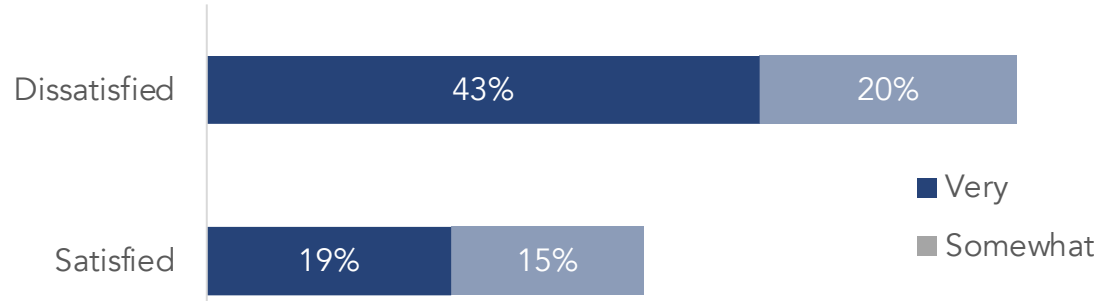
Defining Demographics

	Total	Under age 50 (60%)	Over age 50 (40%)	Shift to More Powerful (20%)	Shift to Increased Vote Likelihood (12%)	Shift to More Motivated (15%)
Vote for POTUS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 74% Biden ➤ 11% Trump ➤ 6% Und. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 66% Biden ➤ 14% Trump ➤ 8% Und. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 87% Biden ➤ 7% Trump ➤ 3% Und. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 65% Biden ➤ 14% Trump ➤ 8% Und. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 57% Biden ➤ 18% Trump ➤ 10% Und. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 69% Biden ➤ 12% Trump ➤ 7% Und.
Top 3 Important Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism (55%) • COVID (52%) • Economy (35%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism (48%) • COVID (40%) • Economy (34%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • COVID (65%) • Racism (64%) • Economy (37%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism (52%) • COVID (48%) • Economy (31%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism (48%) • COVID (36%) • Economy (27%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism (48%) • COVID (38%) • Economy (32%)
Top Messages (Top box – rated 8-10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protest (56%) • Biden (55%) • Strength in numbers (54%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protest (46%) • Strength in numbers (43%) • Biden (42%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Punitive power (77%) • Biden (74%) • Protest (73%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Punitive power (52%) • Biden (46%) • Strength in numbers (44%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biden (35%) • Punitive power (32%) • Protest (32%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protest (38%) • Biden (38%) • Punitive power (37%)
Top 3 Reasons to NOT vote	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • COVID (25%) • Doesn't change things (19%) • Vote not properly counted (12%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • COVID (35%) • Doesn't change things (24%) • Vote not properly counted (17%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doesn't change things (11%) • COVID (11%) • Don't like the candidates (8%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • COVID (29%) • Doesn't change things (17%) • Vote not properly counted (12%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • COVID (39%) • Doesn't change things (29%) • Vote not properly counted (19%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • COVID (38%) • Doesn't change things (31%) • Vote not properly counted (15%)
Top 3 Reason to vote	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remove Trump (29%) • Make difference on issues (24%) • Elect Biden (12%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remove Trump (27%) • Make difference on issues (25%) • Support candidate I like (23%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remove Trump (32%) • Elect Biden (27%) • Make difference on issues (21%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remove Trump (30%) • Make difference on issues (21%) • Elect Biden (16%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support candidates I like (27%) • Remove Trump (26%) • Pressure from others (17%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remove Trump (27%) • Elect Biden (23%) • Support candidates I like (23%)

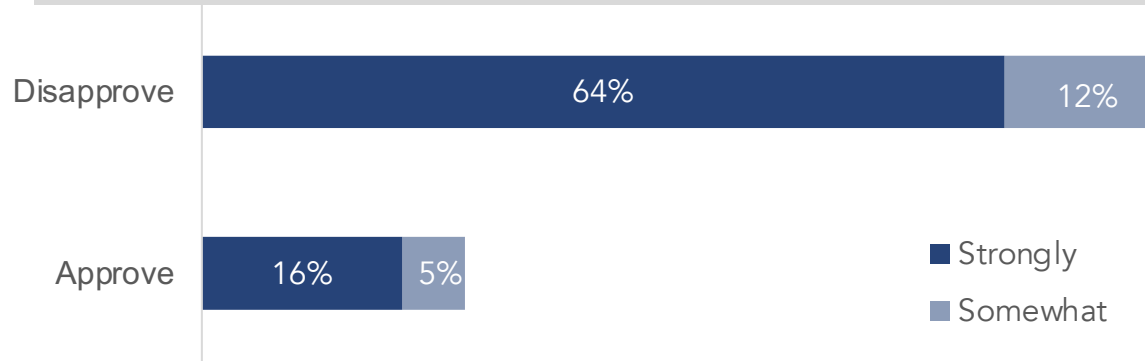
- 1** Political Climate
- 2 Upcoming Election
- 3 Issue Environment
- 4 Message Building
- 5 Shift Measurement
- 6 Conclusion

Black Voters are unhappy with the country on every level

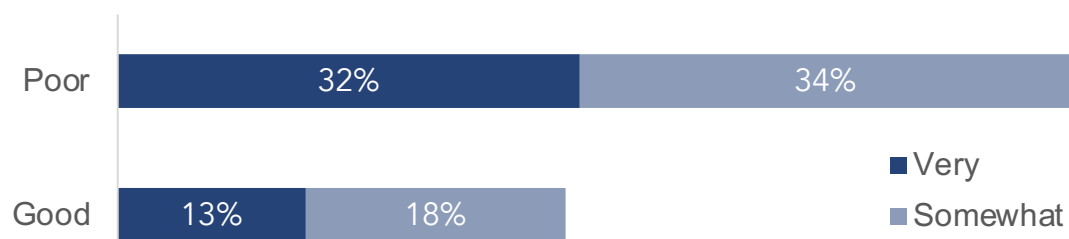
How satisfied are you with the direction in which the country is headed?



Do you approve or disapprove of way Donald Trump's job as President?



How would you rate the economic conditions in the country today?



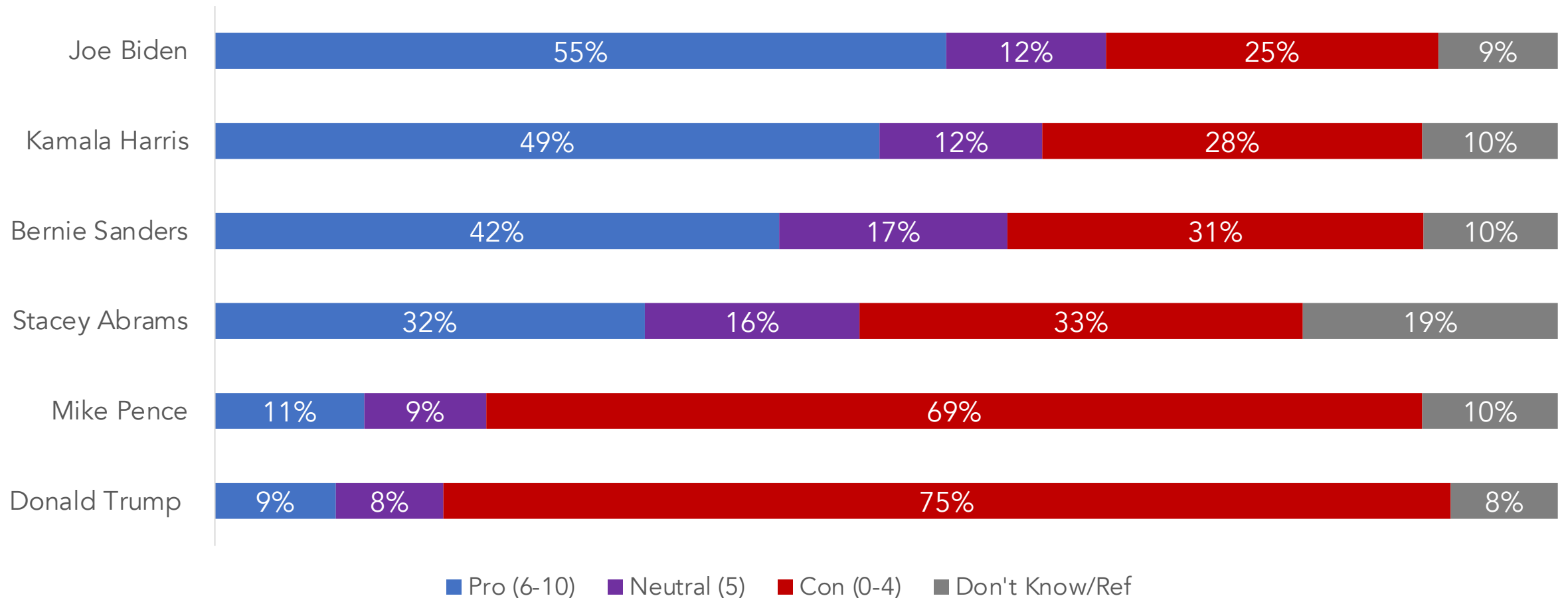
	Total	Men	Women	Under age 50	Over age 50	LGBTQ
Satisfied	34%	35%	33%	46%	17%	59%
Dissatisfied	64%	63%	65%	51%	82%	40%
Don't know/Ref	2%	2%	2%	3%	0%	1%

	Total	Men	Women	Under age 50	Over age 50	LGBTQ
Approve	20%	22%	18%	29%	8%	37%
Disapprove	76%	74%	78%	67%	90%	62%
Don't know/Ref	4%	3%	4%	5%	2%	2%

	Total	Men	Women	Under age 50	Over age 50	LGBTQ
Good	31%	32%	30%	41%	16%	51%
Poor	66%	65%	68%	55%	83%	48%
Don't know/Ref	3%	3%	2%	4%	1%	2%

Favorability - Politicians

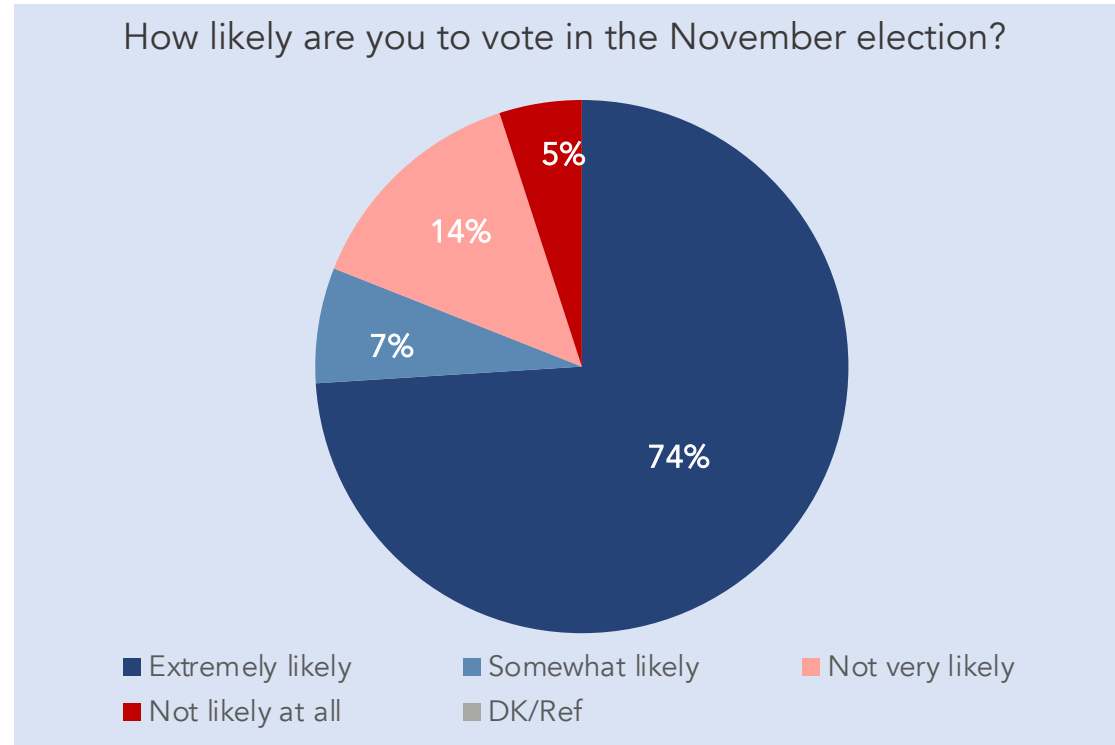
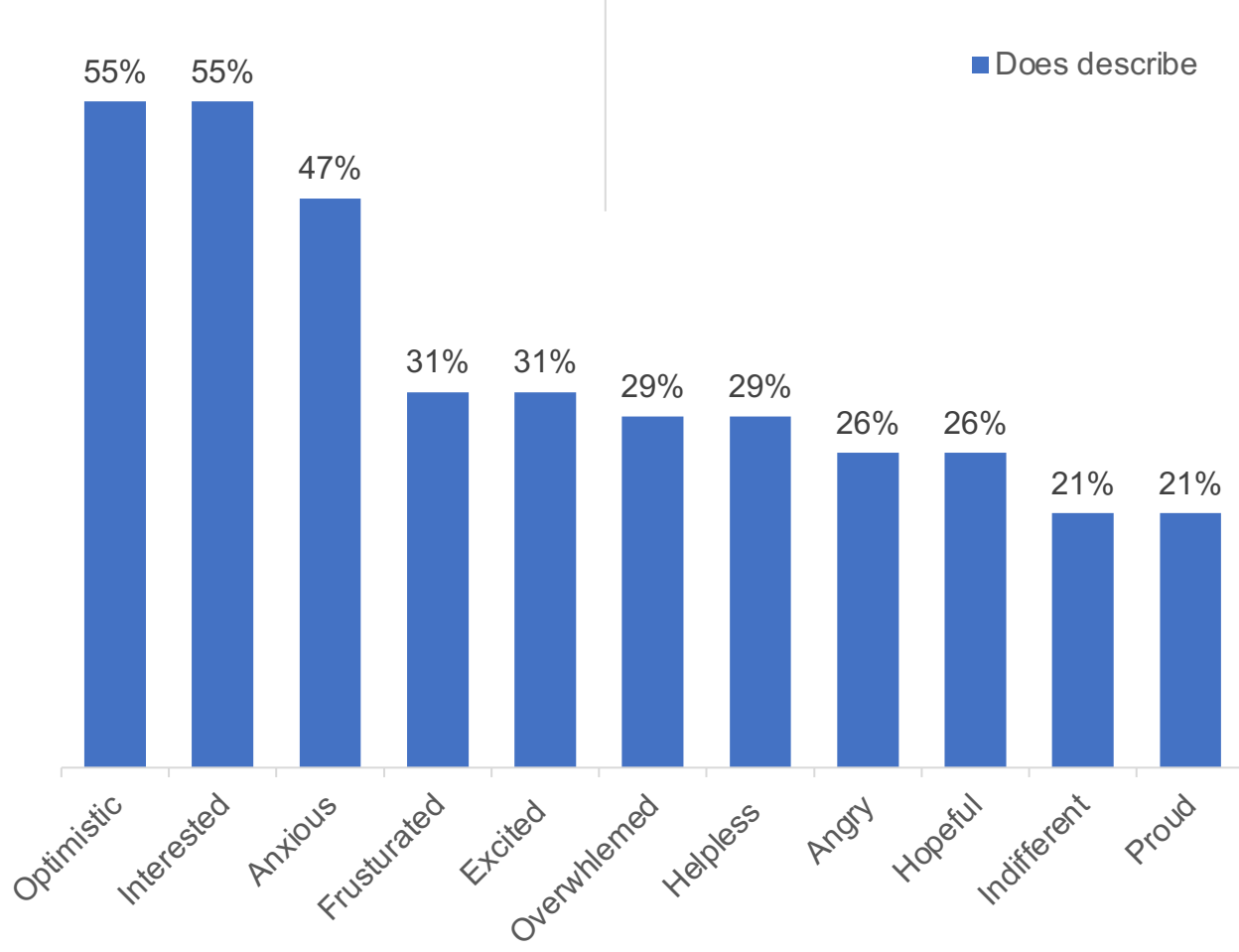
Rate your feelings toward some people using a scale from zero to ten, on which a "10" means that you feel VERY WARM and FAVORABLE towards them, a "0" means that you feel VERY COLD and UNFAVORABLE, and a "5" means that you do not feel particularly warm or cold.



- 1 Political Climate
- 2 **Upcoming Election**
- 3 Issue Environment
- 4 Message Building
- 5 Conclusion

Recent protest have increased optimism toward the election and likelihood to vote

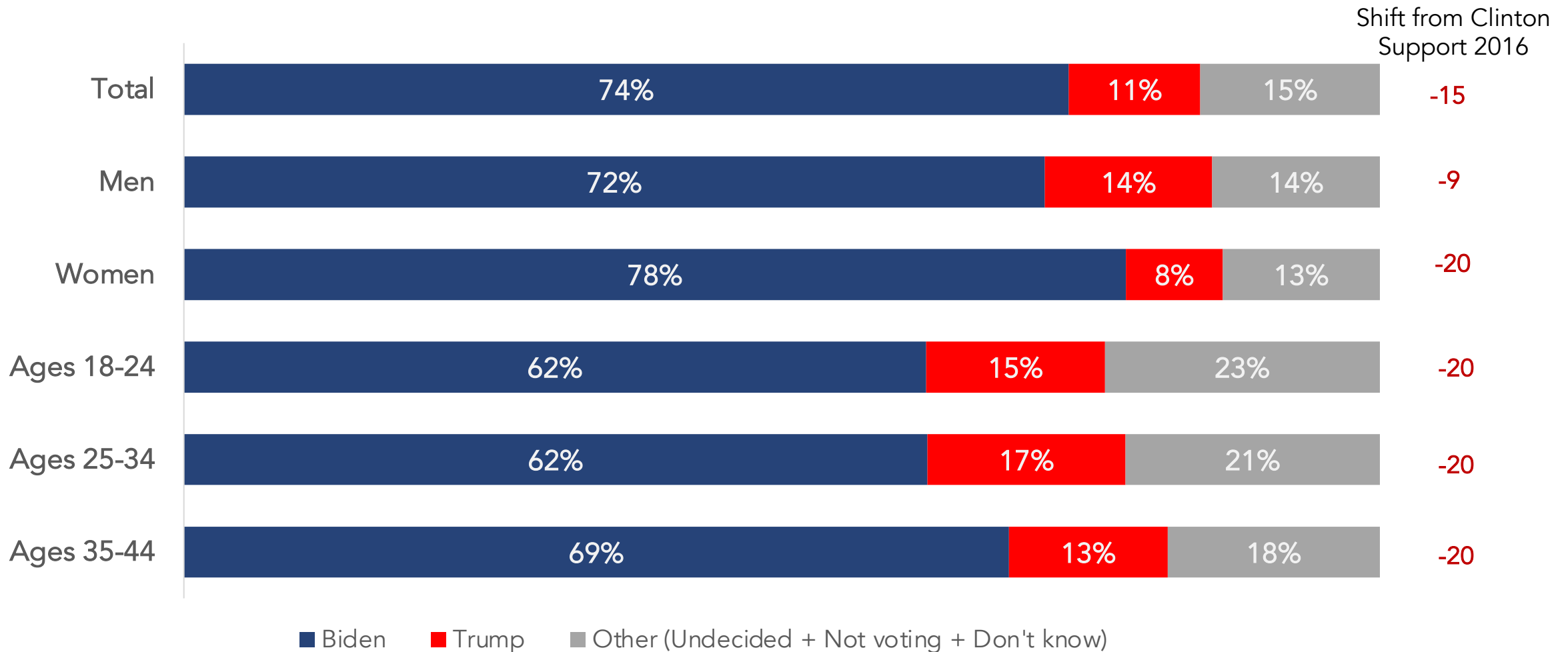
Please indicate whether or not each of the following words describes how you feel about the upcoming general election.



	Total	Men	Women	Under age 50	Over age 50	LGBTQ
Extremely likely	74%	75%	75%	62%	92%	62%
Somewhat likely	7%	8%	8%	11%	2%	11%
Not very likely	14%	12%	12%	20%	5%	18%
Not likely at all	5%	5%	5%	7%	1%	9%

Biden doing much worse and Trump doing much better than 2016 with key groups of Black voters

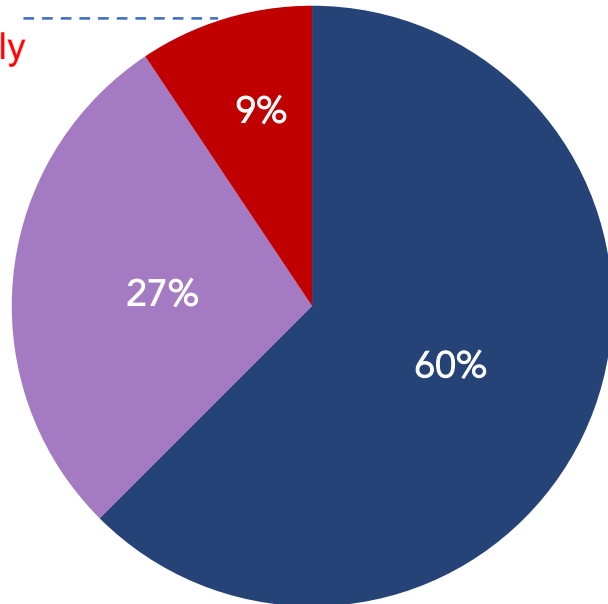
Who would you vote for President if the election were today? Republican Donald Trump, Democrat Joe Biden or a 3rd Party Candidate for President?



Kamala Harris has positive impact on Biden campaign but is severely under water with young voters

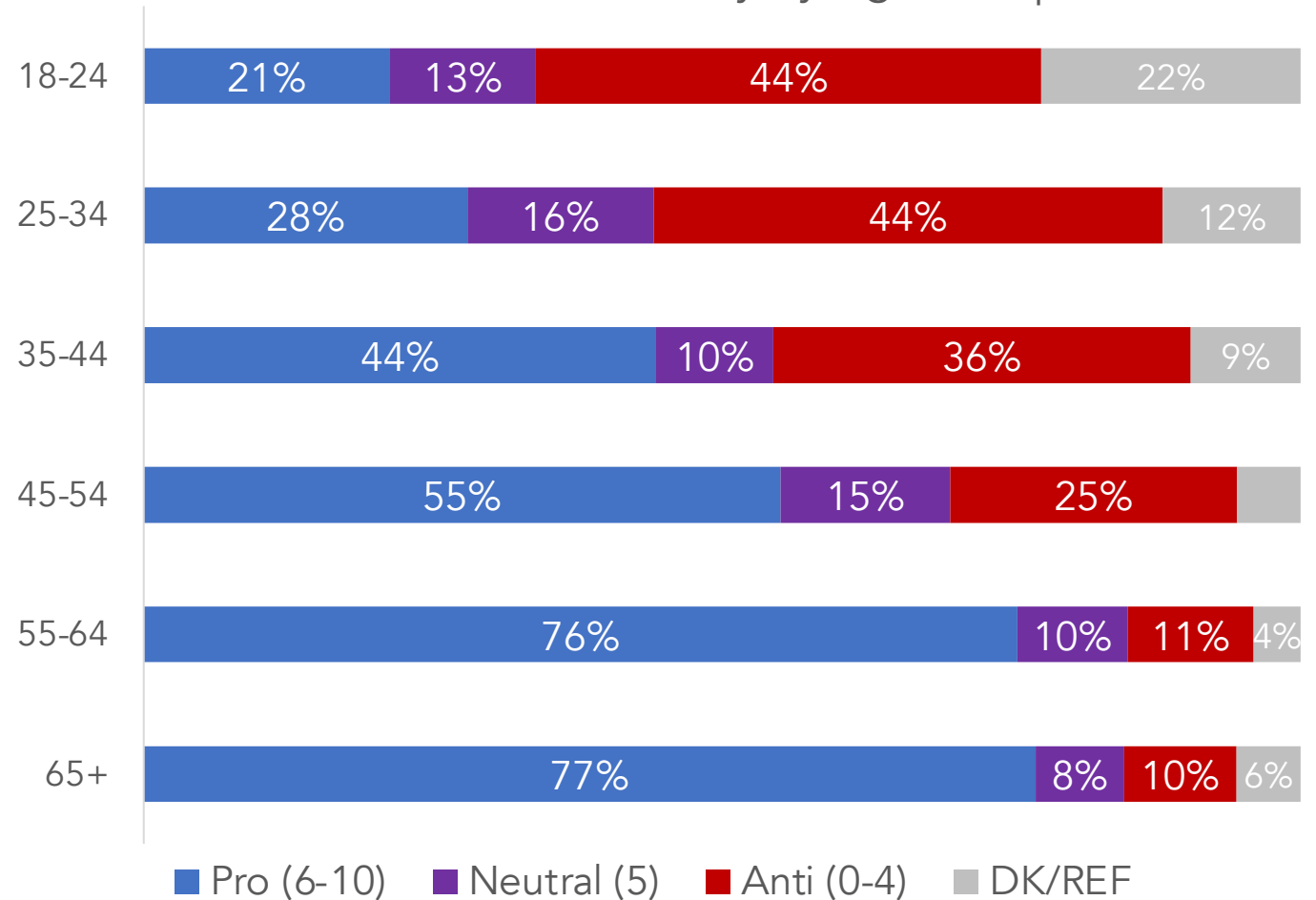
Does Joe Biden's Vice Presidential pick, Kamala Harris, make you any more or less likely to to vote for Joe Biden for President?

Age 18-34
14% Less Likely



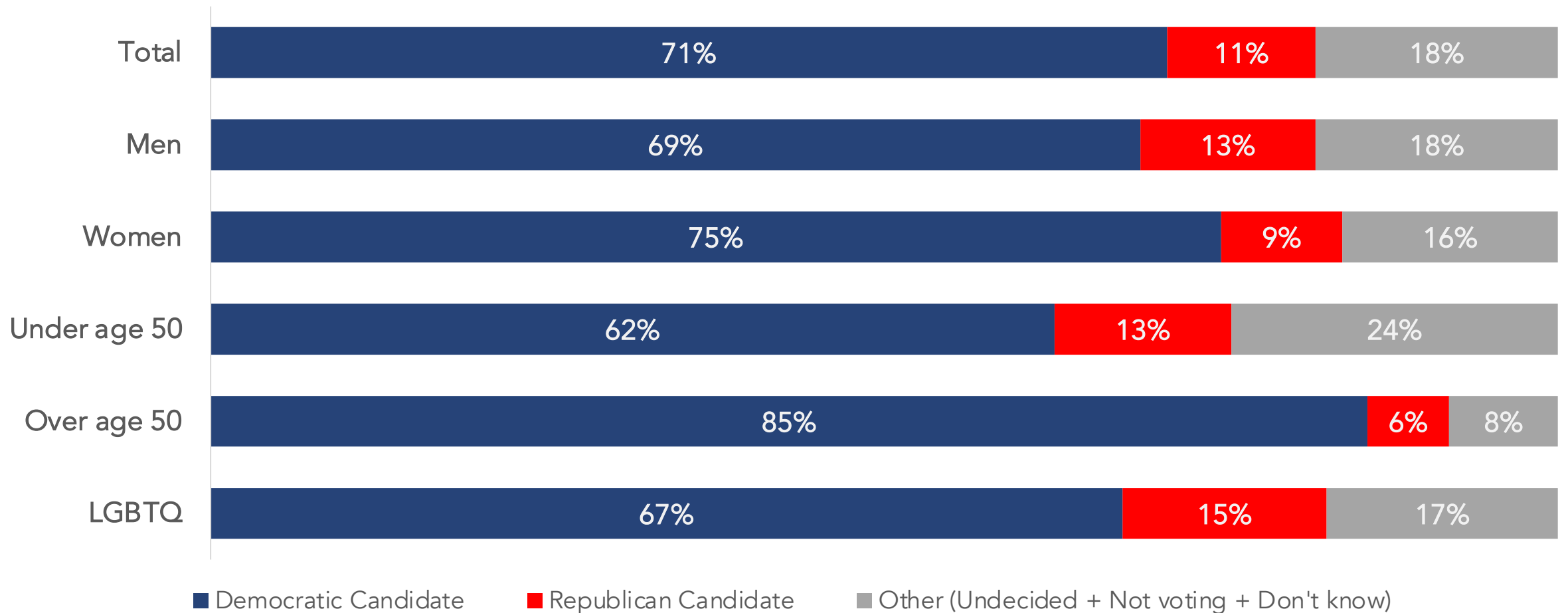
■ More likely ■ No difference ■ Less likely

Kamala Harris Favorability by Age Group



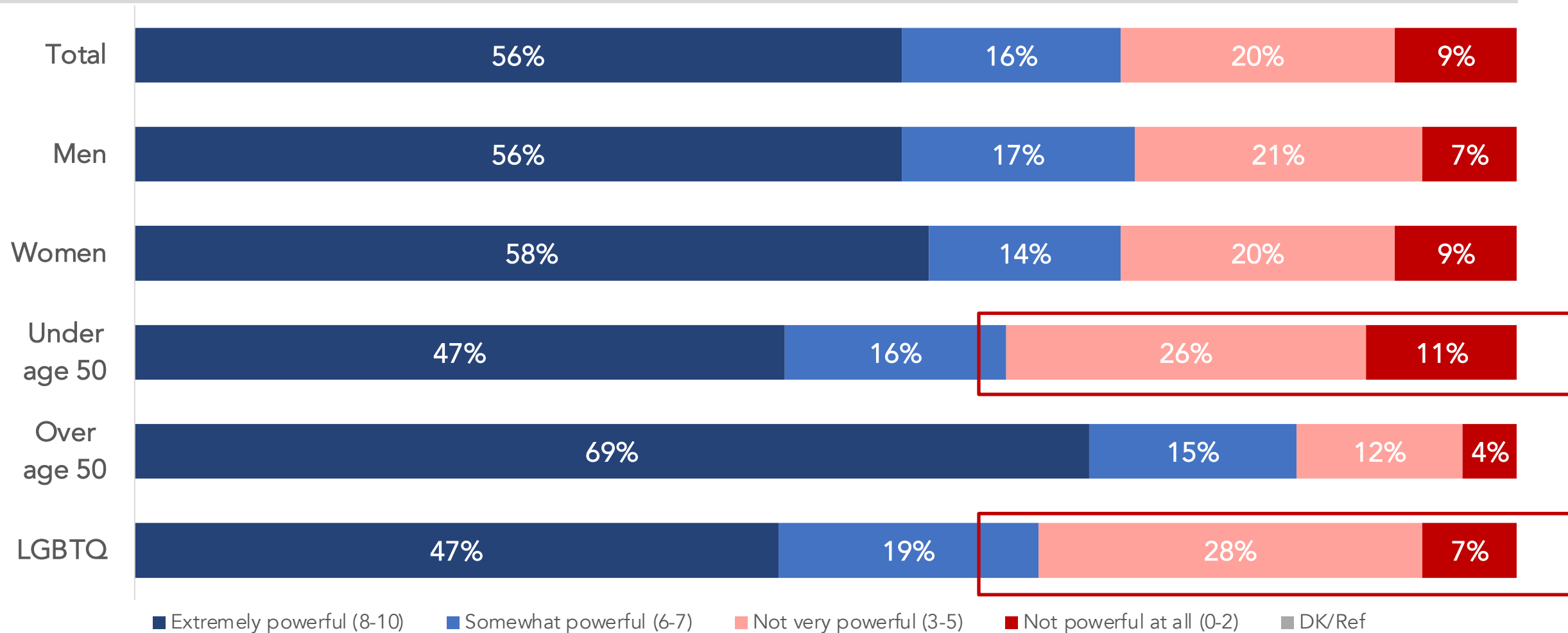
House of Representatives race

If the election was today, who would you vote as your House Representative?



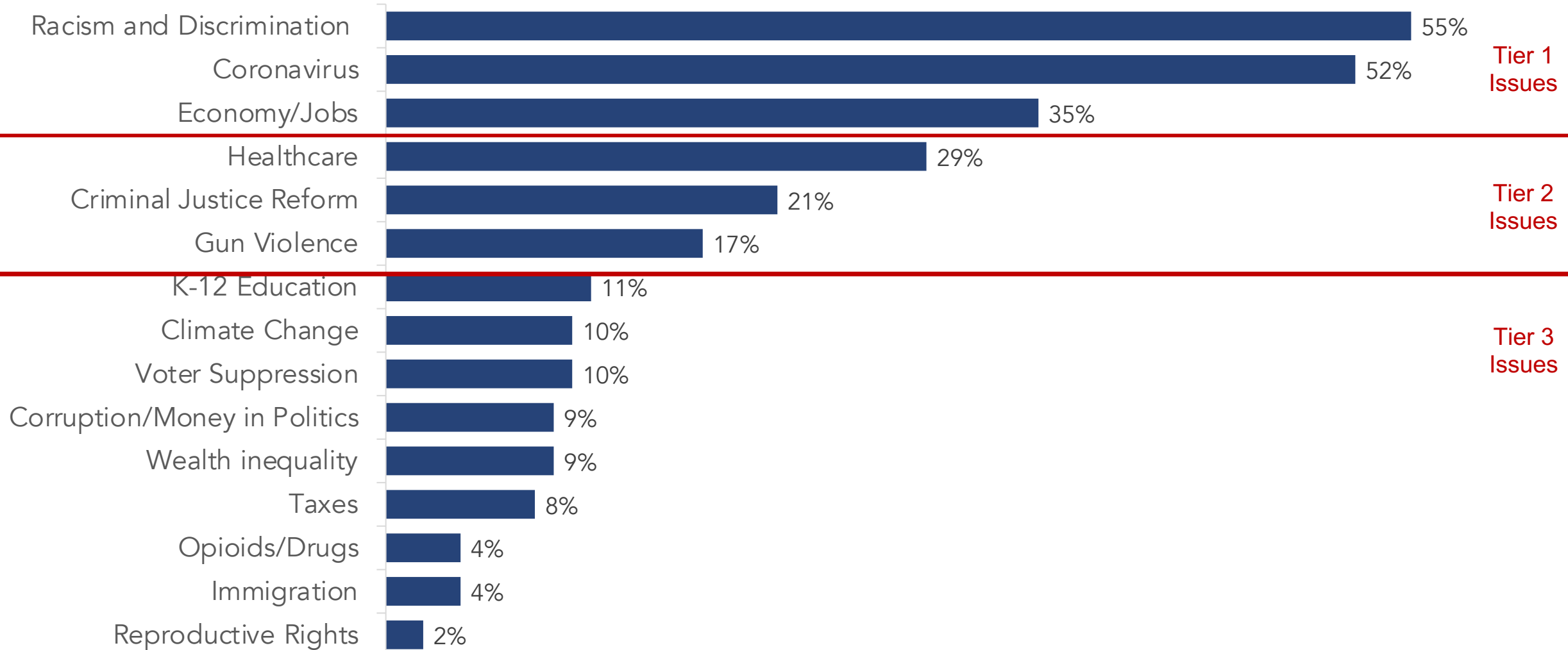
Groups with lowest perceptions of power are also the least likely to vote

How much power do you feel that your vote has to create change in your community?



- 1 Political Climate
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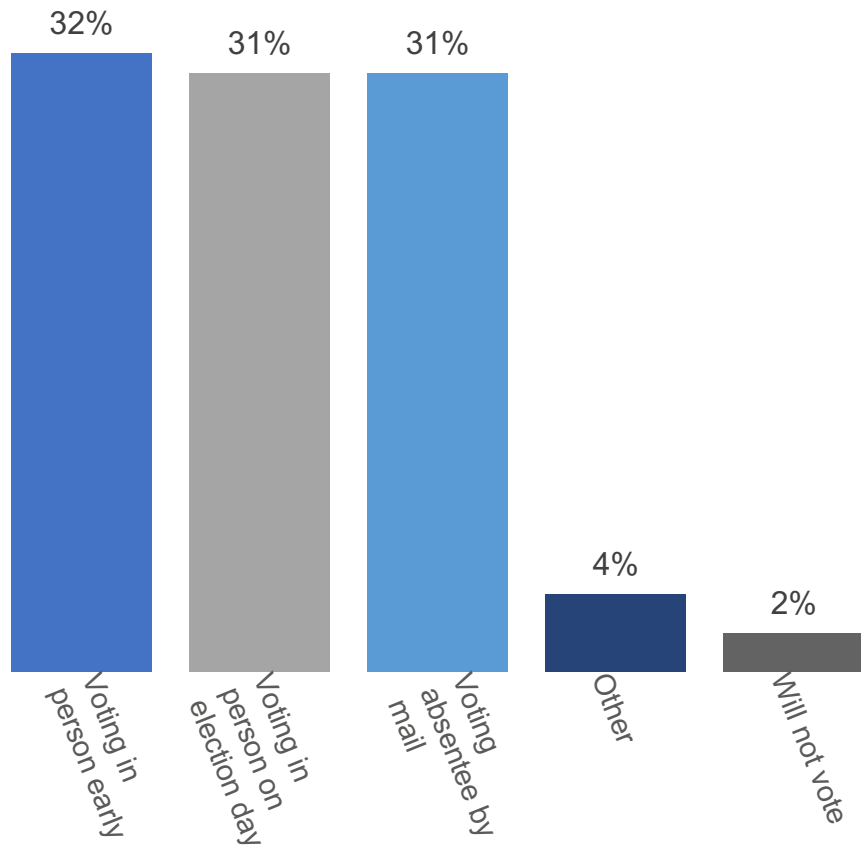
Black voters issue priorities



Black voters are pursuing safer alternatives to cast their votes, equally considering all options



How do you plan on voting in the upcoming 2020 general election?

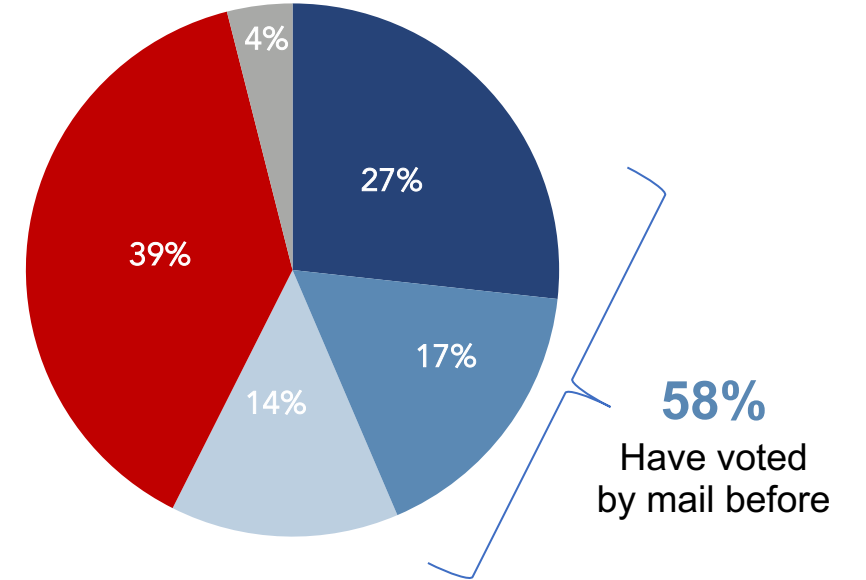
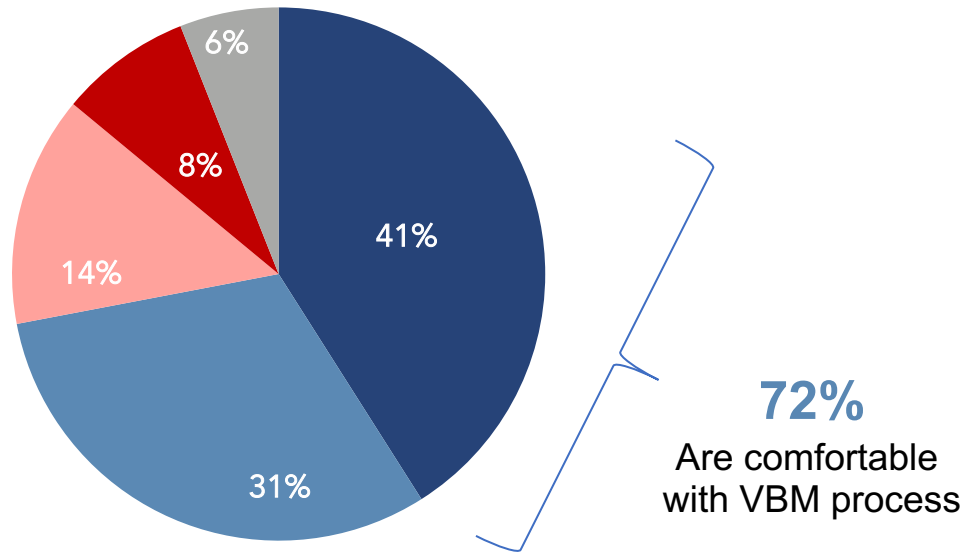


	Total	Men	Women	Under age 50	Over age 50	LGBTQ
Voting in person early	32%	31%	33%	33%	30%	40%
Voting in person on election day	31%	30%	32%	34%	27%	34%
Voting absentee by mail	31%	34%	28%	26%	38%	23%
Other	4%	3%	4%	3%	2%	2%
Will not vote	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	1%

Most Black voters are comfortable with VBM process even if they have never used it

How comfortable are you with the vote by mail process in your state?

Have you ever previously voted by mail in an election in the US?



■ Very Comfortable ■ Somewhat comfortable
■ Somewhat uncomfortable ■ Very uncomfortable

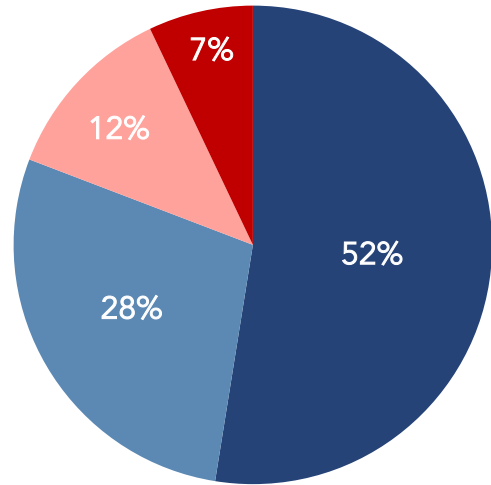
■ Yes, in most elections ■ Yes, in some elections
■ Yes, in at least one election ■ No, I've never used vote by mail

	Total	Men	Women	Under age 50	Over age 50	LGTBQ
Very comfortable	41%	45%	39%	38%	47%	51%
Somewhat comfortable	31%	31%	31%	34%	27%	28%
Somewhat uncomfortable	14%	12%	16%	14%	14%	15%
Very uncomfortable	8%	6%	8%	8%	7%	4%

	Total	Men	Women	Under age 50	Over age 50	LGTBQ
Yes, in most elections	27%	29%	25%	30%	23%	38%
Yes, in some elections	17%	18%	16%	21%	11%	26%
Yes, in at least one election	14%	12%	15%	11%	17%	17%
No, I've never used vote by mail	39%	38%	40%	32%	48%	18%

Link between supporting VBM and anxiety around COVID-19

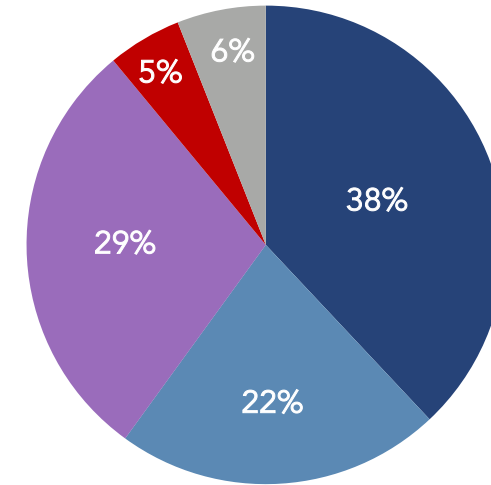
Do you support or oppose your state allowing all voters to VBM in this year's presidential election?



■ Strongly support ■ Somewhat support
■ Somewhat oppose ■ Strongly oppose

	Total	Men	Women	Under age 50	Over age 50	LGBTQ
Strongly support	52%	54%	50%	49%	58%	58%
Somewhat support	28%	27%	31%	28%	28%	27%
Somewhat oppose	12%	11%	12%	16%	6%	12%
Strongly oppose	7%	8%	7%	7%	8%	3%

Has the coronavirus pandemic made you more or less likely to support VBM?

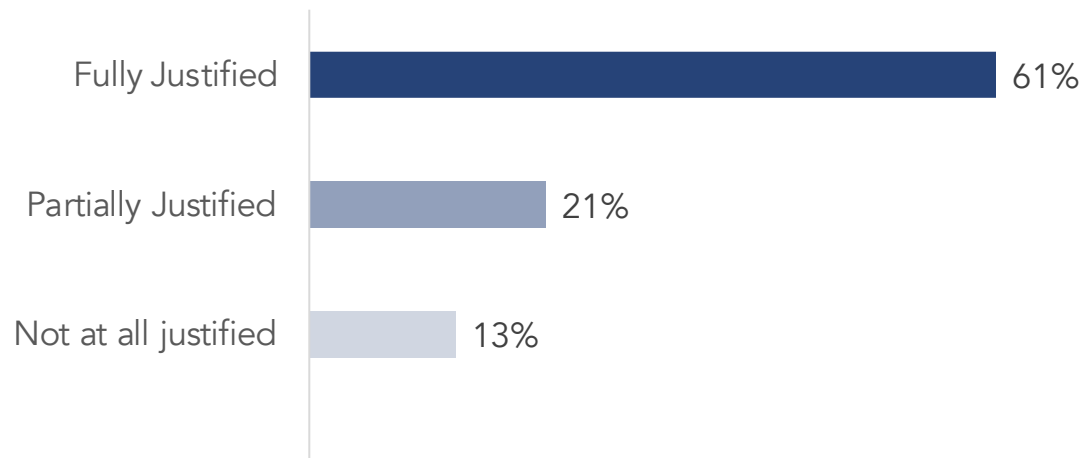


■ Much more likely to support ■ Somewhat more likely to support
■ No more or less likely ■ Somewhat less likely to support
■ Much less likely to support

	Total	Men	Women	Under age 50	Over age 50	LGBTQ
Much more likely	38%	41%	36%	37%	40%	46%
Somewhat more likely	22%	21%	24%	26%	17%	31%
No more or less likely	29%	27%	29%	26%	33%	17%
Somewhat less likely	5%	4%	5%	6%	3%	5%
Much less likely	6%	6%	6%	5%	8%	1%

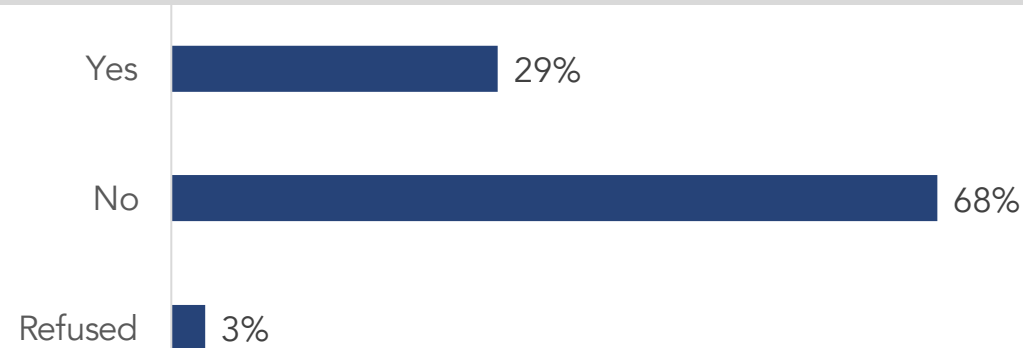
Most Black voters believe protests have been justified and many have personally participated in them

Do you think the frustration that led to the protests involving police and the deaths of Black Americans are justified?



	Total	Men	Women	Under 50	Over 50	LGBTQ
Fully justified	61%	60%	64%	55%	70%	63%
Partially justified	21%	23%	19%	24%	17%	26%
Not at all justified	13%	13%	12%	15%	9%	10%
Don't know	5%	4%	5%	6%	4%	2%

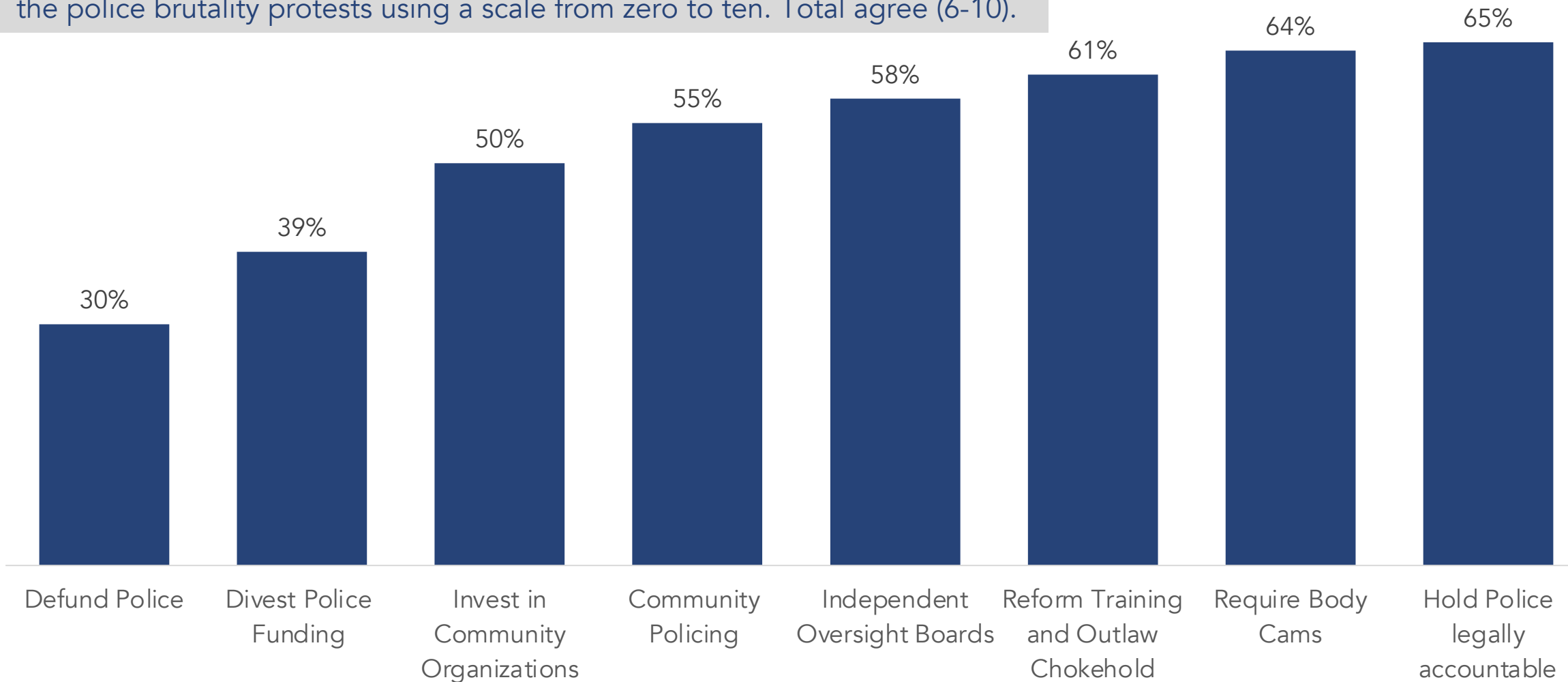
Did you participate in any of the protests following George Floyd's killing that have taken place in cities across the country?



	Total	Men	Women	Under 50	Over 50	LGBTQ
Yes	29%	25%	33%	43%	9%	64%
No	68%	73%	64%	54%	90%	34%

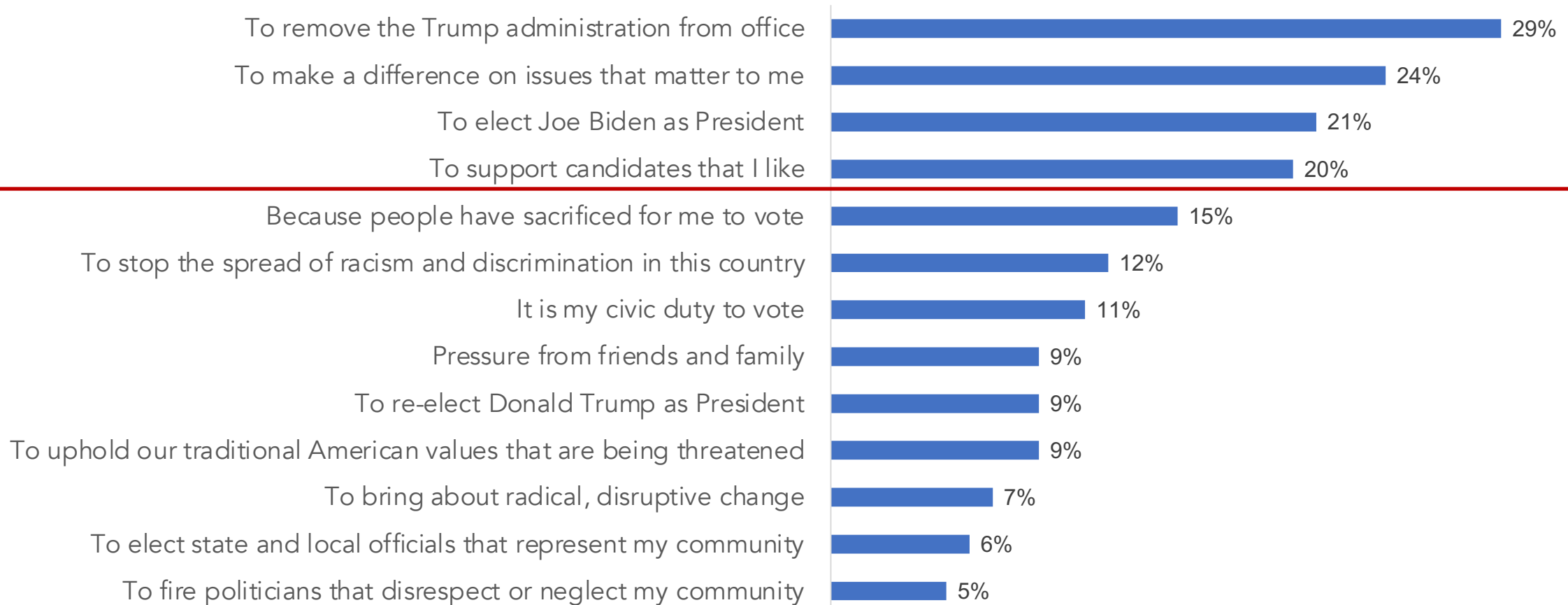
Strong support for police reform measures, much lower support for divesting or defunding police

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with these proposed resolutions to the police brutality protests using a scale from zero to ten. Total agree (6-10).



Motivations for voting: Trump and Issues

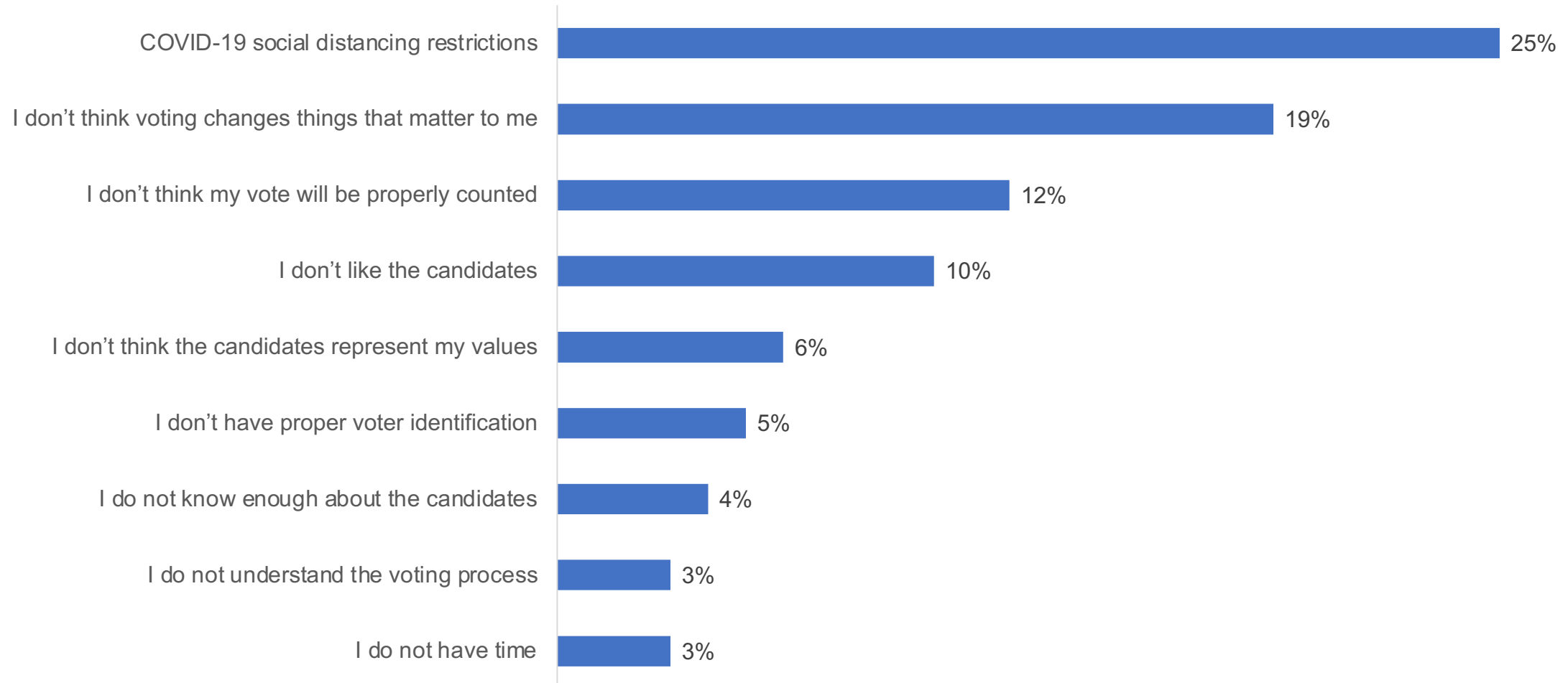
Please select the response(s) that best describe why you might vote in upcoming elections?



■ Totals

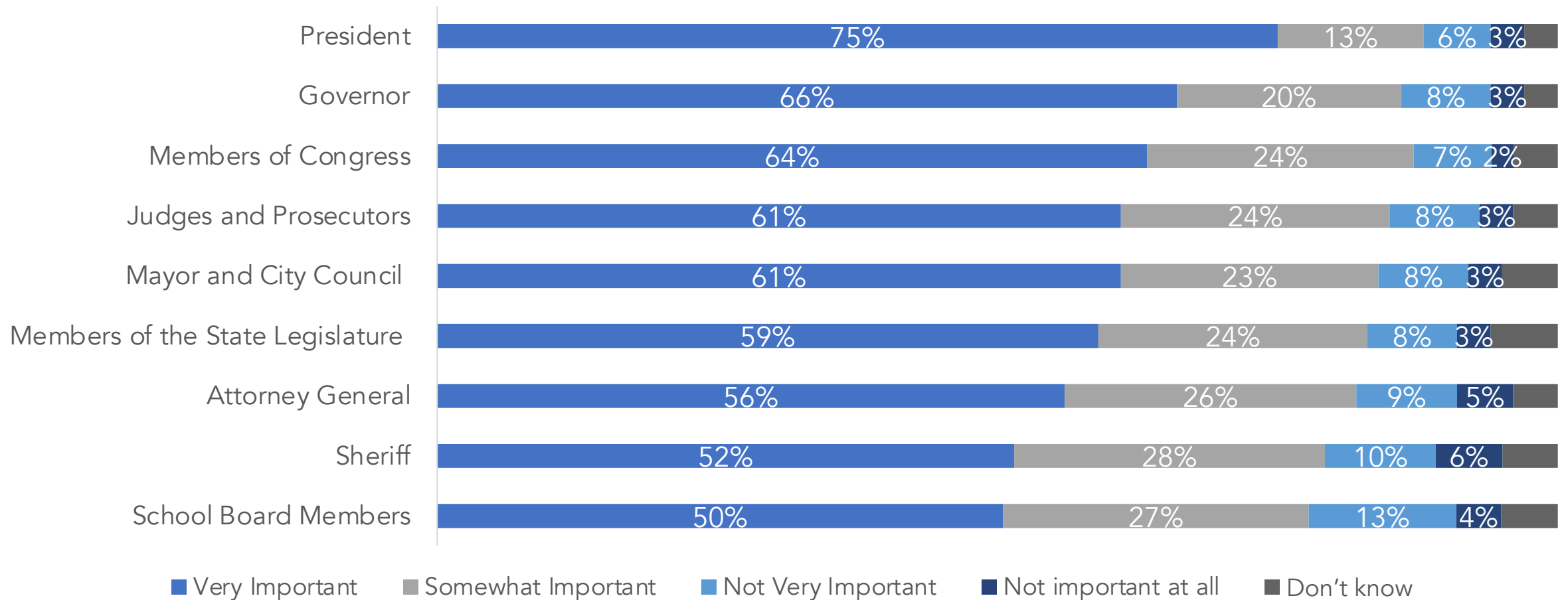
Barriers to voting: COVID and Efficacy

Please select the response(s) that best describe why you might not vote in upcoming elections?



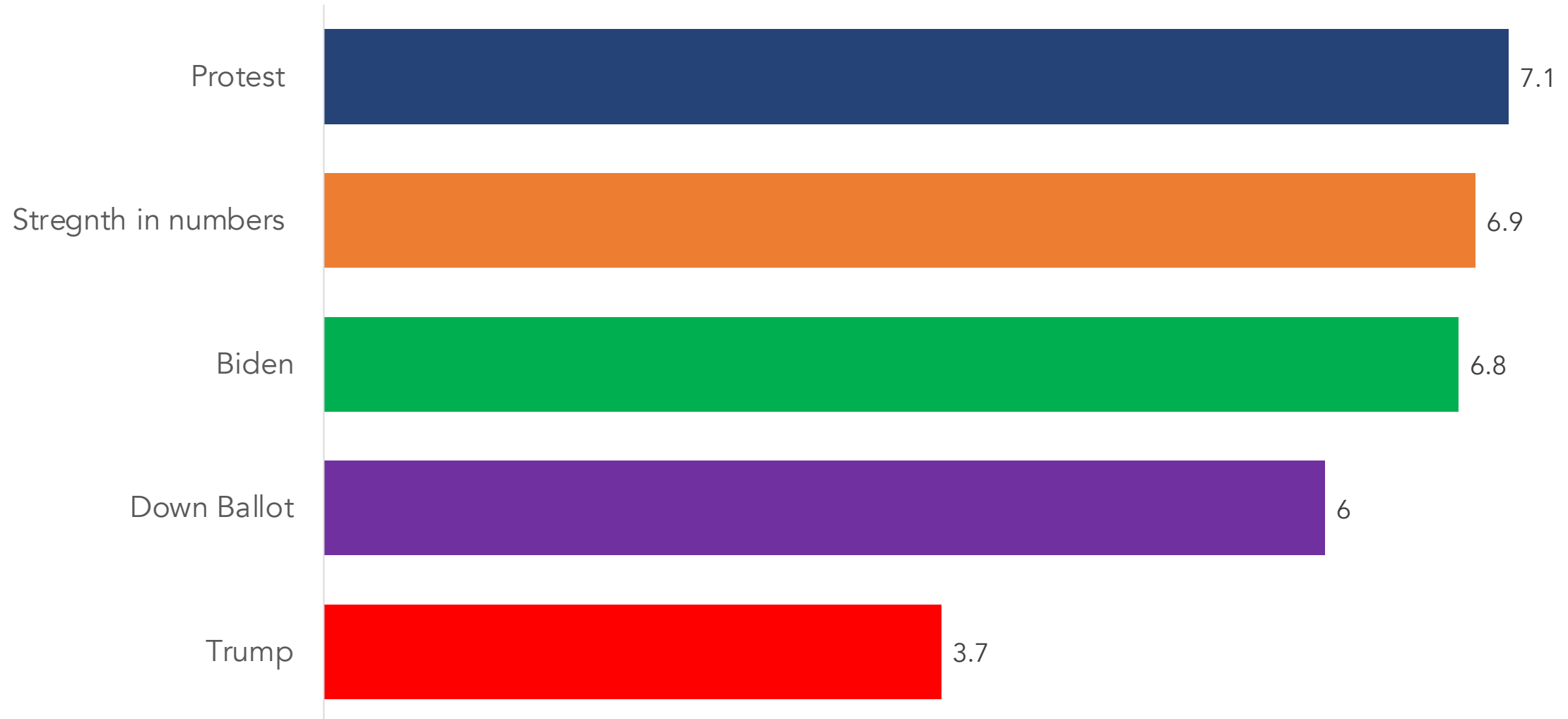
Importance of different elections

How important is it for you to vote on each of the following offices in order to make a difference in your community?



- 1 Political Climate
- 2 Upcoming Election
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- 5 Conclusion

Messages rank by order of convincing



Messaging Battery

Rate each message on a scale of 0 – 10 to describe how convincing it is to you.	Total Mean 0-10	Total Convincing % (6 - 10)
[PROTEST] Over the past 3 months Black people and their allies against racism have taken to the streets across America to demand police reform. As a result of our protest the officers accused of misconduct have been indicted, numerous police chiefs have been fired, and local jurisdictions are pursuing real reforms to reimagine and defund police. While it will not fix racism, voting is a part of our protest and will continue the progress that we have made toward lasting police reform.	7.1	63%



Elements of the message that work:

- Anchor to optimism that is being sparked by the protest
- Demonstrate tangible examples of the protest
- Do not over-promise voting as a way to “fix racism”
- Make voting an extension of protest

Messaging Battery

Rate each message on a scale of 0 – 10 to describe how convincing it is to you.	Total Mean 0-10	Total Convincing % (6 - 10)
[STRENGTH IN NUMBERS] Black voters were the reason the blue wave of democratic legislators elected in 2018 was so overwhelmingly strong. In the competitive House races in 2018, 90% of Black voters voted Democratic, compared to 53% of voters overall. When we vote, we vote together, which is why we have the power to decide the outcome. If we turn out to vote in this election, it will be us who will decide the future president for the rest of the country.	6.9	62%



Elements of the message that work:

- Demonstrate the power of Black votes
- Examples of how Black voters determine elections
- Describe the collective power of Black voters

Messaging Battery

Rate each message on a scale of 0 – 10 to describe how convincing it is to you.	Total Mean 0-10	Total Convincing % (6 - 10)
[BIDEN] Joe Biden worked alongside President Obama as Vice President to contain both the Ebola and H1N1 outbreaks and can help get us out of this mess we are in with COVID-19. Obama also tasked Joe Biden with restoring our economy after the Great Recession. President Obama trusted Joe Biden to navigate some of the greatest crisis' this nation has ever face, now we can trust Joe Biden to help us navigate the mess that Donald Trump has created again	6.8	64%



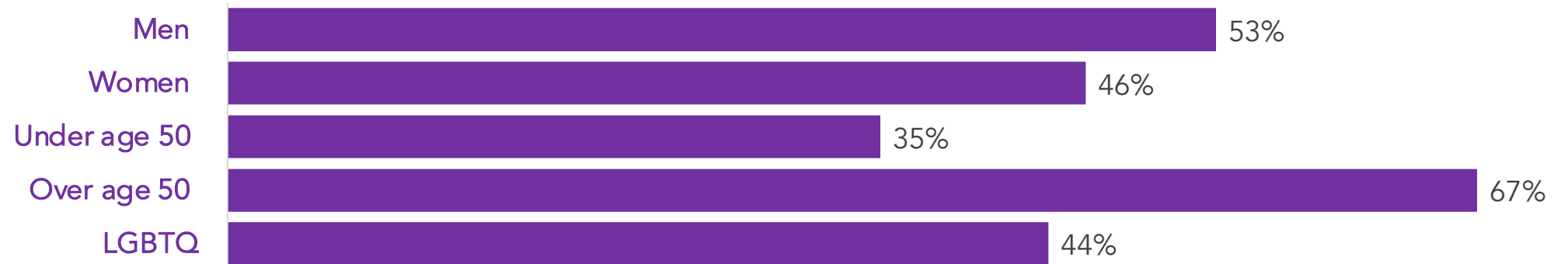
Elements of the message that work:

- Link Biden to the successes of the Obama-administration
- Validate Biden as someone that can be trusted to handle crisis
- Contrast Biden with Trump

Messaging Battery

Rate each message on a scale of 0 – 10 to describe how convincing it is to you.	Total Mean 0-10	Total Convincing % (6 - 10)
[DOWN BALLOT] They want us distracted by all the noise at the top of the ticket so we are too exhausted to pay attention to what's really going on. Focused only on presidential elections instead of the judges, school board, and city council members that really determine the outcome of our communities. They don't want us to know that those local elections are often decided by just a few 100 votes because in the US, a few extra Black votes makes the difference in local elections.	6.0	48%

Down Ballot

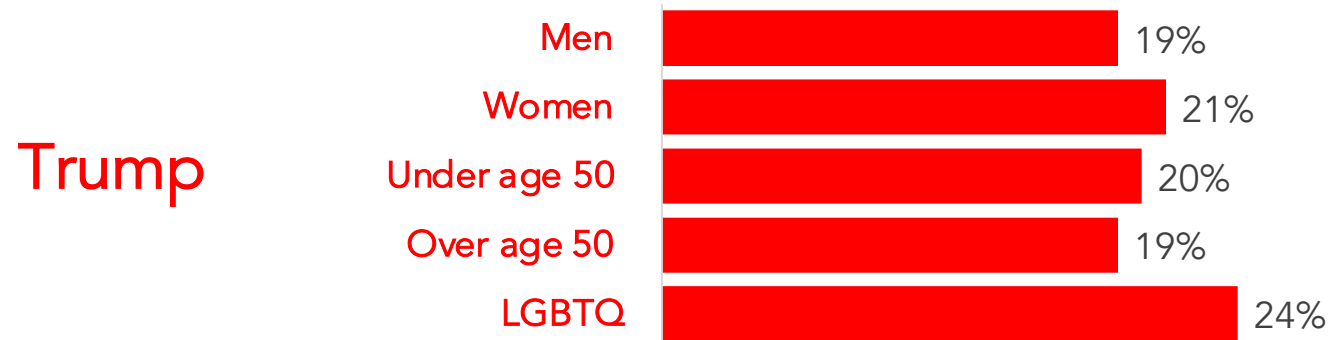


Elements of the message that work:

- Name the distraction at the top of the ticket
- Identify the local election that are also on the ballot
- Demonstrate the

Messaging Battery

Rate each message on a scale of 0 – 10 to describe how convincing it is to you.	Total Mean 0-10	Total Convincing % (6 - 10)
[TRUMP] Donald Trump does not stand for the mob mentality of the violent protests happening across the country and he will stand by and protect the institutions the protestors are trying to destroy. Trump believes in expanding employment opportunities and has sent federal funds to HBCUs, because he knows the only way to get out of an oppressive environment is to work your own way out. That is what makes America great.	3.7	27%



Elements of the message that work:

- Trump law and order message resonates with 27% of Black voters
- Expanding opportunities for Black people also resonate

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Who these messages shifted?

20%

increased their perception of the
power of their vote

32% Ages 18-24

25% Ages 25-34

26% LGBTQ

27% \$75-250k a year

25% College Grad

29% Women college grad

26% 49 and under college grad

12%

increased their likelihood to vote

25% Ages 18-24

18% Ages 25-34

19% LGBTQ

19% Women ages 18-49

18% 49 and under noncollege

15% Small town/rural area

15%

increased their motivation to vote

31% Ages 18-24

23% Ages 25-34

25% 49 and under noncollege

18% Small town/rural area

The best way to increase vote likelihood is to increase perceptions of political power.