Black Voters: Pain, Power, & Progress.
NAACP 2022 Cycle of Research
The HIT Team

HIT Strategies is a firm of young, diverse, innovative social scientists that use research and data to understand and communicate with hard-to-reach and underrepresented voters. We live and work at the intersections of society that are driving rapidly diversifying voter and consumer trends. We represent communities often misunderstood, overlooked, and underserved in American politics.

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1. Volunteer Recruitment Poll
2. Monthly BlackTrack
3. Low Propensity Focus Groups
4. Battleground Message Poll
Power & Voter Erosion in 2021
Increasing Black political participation requires increasing perceptions of Black political power

But those perceptions of power have dissipated, particularly among Black men and young Black voters.

- Perceptions of Black political power directly correlate with political participation. The less powerful Black voters feel, the less likely they are to vote.

- Perceptions of power are lowest among Black men and Black adults under 50 years old—the two groups most likely to drop off in midterm elections.

Proportion of Black voters in Georgia who feel their vote is powerful

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Extremely powerful (8-10)</th>
<th>Somewhat powerful (6-7)</th>
<th>Not powerful (0-5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020 Total</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021 Total</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020 Male</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021 Male</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020 Under 50</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021 Under 50</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Power Shift

-27% for Total

-30% for Male

-25% for Under 50

HIT Strat poll commissioned by New GA Project. Black Georgia voters conducted in Oct 2020 (N = 620) and Sept 2021 (N = 1,000).
# NAACP Robust 2022 Research Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROJECT</th>
<th>DATES</th>
<th>PURPOSE</th>
<th>SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Propensity Volunteer Recruitment Survey</td>
<td>June 1st – June 12th</td>
<td>• Understand &amp; encourage NAACP members &amp; high propensity voters’ motivations to join the voter engagement program.</td>
<td>High Propensity Black Voters and NAACP Members in Tier 1 Battleground States (AZ, FL, GA, MD, MI, NC, NV, OH, PA, WI) N= 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BlackTrack Tracking Survey</td>
<td>June 23rd - 29th</td>
<td>• Track issue priorities, Black political attitudes • Establish NAACP as market leader on Black intel • Consistent feedback on hot-button issues effecting Black voters throughout the volatile election cycle</td>
<td>Black Registered Voters Nationwide N=1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Propensity Focus Groups</td>
<td>July 26th – 28th</td>
<td>• Determine most effective messaging to describe progress made on Black voters most important issues • Understand Black voters’ positions on the economy, shared fate, and top of mind political issues</td>
<td>Low Propensity Black Voters in PA, OH, MI, GA, FL, AZ, NV and GOP Defecting Men in Philadelphia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Propensity Battleground Survey</td>
<td>July 20th – July 29th</td>
<td>• Determine issue pain points for Black voters • Understand Black voters’ positions on policy achievements • Determine which audiences respond to threat vs progress messaging</td>
<td>Black Surge Voters in Tier 1 Battleground states (AZ, FL, GA, MD, MI, NC, NV, OH, PA, WI) N= 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic issues are deeply concerning for Black voters particularly the disproportionate effects felt by the Black community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Black voters feel incredibly concerned with this economy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Black voters want a hand up not a handout from the government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Respondents don't separate talking about racism/discrimination from talking about the economy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abortion access is part of the constellation of issues important to Black voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Voters recognize the disproportionate effect abortion restrictions have on Black women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Abortion access is an important part of decision calculus though not the primary issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Men agree that abortion should be decided between a woman and her doctor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black voters want solutions to the gun violence epidemic that don't hurt their community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Across groups respondents worry about gun violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Men and women differ in talking about mass shootings vs interpersonal gun crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Respondents worry that attempts to curb gun violence will lead to over policing of African American communities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Young Voters leaning towards not trusting either party on a multitude of issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Younger voters lack the confidence and trust in political institutions of previous generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Under 50 voters, like Black women, are more adversely affected by the GOP agenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Older voters are concerned for Black youth in the US in terms of the education they receive, the violence they deal with, and the economy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Political Climate

1. Political Climate
2. Economics
3. Gun violence
4. Abortion
5. Increasing Black Political Power
6. Conclusion
Black voters were asked, "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the direction in which the country is headed?"

The "Total Approval" shown in the graph combines the respondent's choices of "Strongly approve" and "Somewhat approve."

*No data was collected in April or May 2022.*
Black voters were asked, "Do you approve or disapprove of the job Joe Biden is doing as president?"

The "Total Approval" shown in the graph combines the respondent's choices of "Strongly approve" and "Somewhat approve."
The benefits of Biden’s presidency have not been readily felt by Black voters, particularly among Black voters under 50 and Black men.

Has the quality of your life gotten better, stayed the same, or gotten worse since Joe Biden became president of the United States?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Under 50</th>
<th>50 and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gotten better</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stayed about the same</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotten worse</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Biden Administration is doing in addressing the needs of the Black community?

- Approval of how Biden is addressing the needs of the Black community is lower among battleground voters than among Black voters nationwide (-6) and is lower among Black men (-15).

- 73% of Black Voters say their lives haven’t improved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Under 50</th>
<th>50 and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total approve</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total disapprove</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Racism/discrimination rose to the top for respondents, followed by tangible quality of life issues as the most important issues facing the Black community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Under 50</th>
<th>50 and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Racism/discrimination</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation/Cost of living</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal justice reform/Police brutality</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affordable housing/Rent</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun violence</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime in my neighborhood</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion rights</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter suppression</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Safety</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads/infrastructure</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former felon enfranchisement</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From NAACP Battleground Survey 7/20-7/29
Where voters are: Economics

1. Political Climate
2. Economics
3. Gun violence
4. Abortion
5. Increasing Black Political Power
6. Conclusion
Young Black voters and Black women have borne the brunt of the economic downturn from the COVID-19 pandemic.

Has any of the following happened to you or someone in your household in the last 12 months? Select all that apply.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Under 50</th>
<th>50 and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lost or Changed Jobs</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experienced a Decrease in Pay</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement/ Savings Account Declined</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had to Foreclose on a Home or Move Due to Rent Spikes</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had to Skip Bills or Medical Attention</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Across groups, participants placed the highest importance on increasing affordable housing, and felt that Democrats need to provide more support through government programs

Most important economic priorities for the Black community to vote and organize around in the upcoming election.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority</th>
<th>Average Selections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increase affordable housing that is connected to opportunity</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support more Black-owned businesses through grants and increased access to capital</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invest in training programs to compete for high skill jobs</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliminate employment and compensation practices that discriminate based on race or ethnicity</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensure financial institutions end predatory lending practices</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How should Democrats respond to economic issues?

“I think they need to, if they’re going to elevate the prices and make it where middle class and lower-class families can’t really survive, they need to be able to provide adequate assistant programs to be able to help them.” – Black Woman, Arizona

“More forgiveness programs. Of loans or bills, say PGW, a lot of people try to get it, but they can’t get it because they make too much. And even when they do get it doesn’t help your back payments, it just helps your future. It’s little bit more leniency on type of programs where it helps people get caught up on those.” – Black Woman, Philadelphia

“We talked about before as an issue of the universal basic income or addressing school debt. Student loan debt is a huge thing that, if a lot of people were taking that off their plate every month, inflation wouldn’t be as bad, for at least a lot of people who definitely have that looming student debt.” – Black Man, Michigan

“I’d like for them to raise the minimum wage.” – Black Man, Philadelphia
Where voters are:
Gun Violence

1. Political Climate
2. Economics
3. Gun violence
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6. Conclusion
Respondents associate shootings with racialized violence against the Black community & rate local gun violence as significant issues for their community

**Do you think gun violence is a significant problem for the Black community?**

- “I think it's a problem in every community. Because what we’re seeing with those mass shootings, even though we’re killing each other like there ain’t no tomorrow, something’s wrong with them little white boys. Because they be shooting everybody, man. And my question is, why are they so mad?” – Black Man, Georgia

- “Yes. Absolutely [a significant problem].” – Black Man, Georgia

- “Yeah. Neighborhood, robberies, just road rage, drug violence, stuff like that.” – Black Man, Michigan

- “Something no senseless in the hood shootings, personally. The mass shootings is, no offense, white people doing it or just gun through just depressed, mental issues.” – Black Man, Philadelphia

- “I agree it’s a everyday thing too. But my first initial thought when I think of gun violence is mass shootings, obviously because they’ve been really prevalent these past few months with some big things that have been happening. So that's my first initial thought is mass shootings.” – Black Woman, Arizona

- “Yeah. Yeah. That's what come to mind when you think about gun violence. It mass shooting. I mean, every time you turn on the television, it's a shooting somewhere. You know, where somebody's going into a school, shooting it up. And that directly, when you speak of that, it directly comes to mind.” – Black Man, Georgia

- “Not if it pertains to Black people.” – Black Man, Michigan

- “And I just feel like with gun violence, I think about it as a whole, not just mass shootings and things. Gun violence is just an issue everywhere, honestly. Someone gets shot every day. It all depends on how the news narrates it and things like that. I just feel like it’s an everyday thing.” – Black Woman, Arizona
Where voters are: Abortion

1. Political Climate
2. Economics
3. Gun violence
4. Abortion
5. Increasing Black Political Power
6. Conclusion
Abortion Rights as an issue among registered voters has gone up slightly since the Dobbs decision but it remains behind quality-of-life issues.

What issue should President Biden’s top priority be to improve your community?
Please select top 3

- Inflation or Cost of living
- Gun Violence
- Crime and Violence
- Abortion Rights
- Reducing Racism and Discrimination
- Job Opportunities and Increasing Wages
- Covid 19 Economic Recovery
- Healthcare
- Voting Rights
- Climate Change
- The Spread of Covid 19
- Student Loan Debt
- Criminal Justice Reform
- Immigration

If there were restrictions on abortion, what kind of restrictions would you be okay with, if any? A restriction after 6 weeks, after 15 weeks?

- “No restrictions at all... I don't think there should be any restrictions at all. I don't understand why politicians are deciding, like who made up this rule?” – Black Woman, Philadelphia
- “First of all, I think they should have left that law as it was. Because it's taking away the woman's right to her body. To have control of her body. And yeah, it should be at the federal level. But me personally, I think that women should have this total say over whatever they do with their body.” – Black Man, Georgia
- “I have endometriosis. And if I were to have a child, it does make that process very hard just because there's a chance of me not being able to have the child and it could pop in mid pregnancy. It can happen [with] me trying. So having to deal with that fear and seeing these laws and everything be passed around me. I use birth control to help deal with the pain. And so if they take away birth control, there's not a lot of research on endometriosis as is.” – Black Woman, Arizona
- “It's a term that [for] when the fetus is able to survive outside the body. I think it's around like 22 weeks or something like that. So I do believe, in my opinion, I would say, “Yeah, that's too far at that point.” If the fetus could survive at that point, then that's probably too far. That's too far.” – Black Man, Michigan
Despite the rise in Abortion Rights as an issue priority, the degree to which it is prioritized as a reason to vote in the midterms has slightly decreased.

When thinking about going to vote in the 2022 midterm elections, how important is the issue of abortion access in your decision to go vote? Rate on a scale 0-10

- **June**
  - Total Important: 65%
  - Total Not Important: 35%

- **July**
  - Total Important: 57%
  - Total Not Important: 43%

**Black Men in focus groups are incredibly supportive of abortion access, even ones who’d voted for Trump in 2016**

Would removing the protection of the right to abortion and increasing abortion restrictions in the United States help anyone? What kind of effect do you think this would have on Black women?

- **Philadelphia**
  - “I think that they would be like, I think it would turn into like a criminalization thing. I think that more Black women would be harassed just for wanting to go through with a procedure like that. I think that it would just be a criminalization issue really. In short.” – Black Man, Philadelphia

- **Michigan**
  - “I think it should be federal as well, because it’s basic healthcare. And I think a lot of people, regardless, it should still be, in my opinion, that person’s right. But a lot of people also seem to think of abortion as just the 16 year old girl that gets pregnant or whatever, doesn’t want to have a baby, when there’s so many health crises where women are not advised to continue with their pregnancy or they’re having ectopic pregnancy where they literally have to terminate the pregnancy or they will die. And I’ve been hearing those situations now where people are literally going to the hospital with an ectopic pregnancy and they’re having to call a judge or whoever else, in order to get approval to have an abortion. And a physician can’t proceed without risking his license. And that woman’s basically sitting there dying and that’s insane.” – Black Man, Michigan

- **Philadelphia**
  - “Also, people might die more because they might go through those back alley abortions people, like back in the day, doing backstreet abortions and not being properly trained stuff.” – Black Man, Philadelphia

Would removing the protection of the right to abortion and increasing abortion restrictions in the United States help anyone? What kind of effect do you think this would have on Black women?

**Total Important**

**Total Not Important**
Increasing Black Political Power

1. Political Climate
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Increase Perceptions of Power = Increased Vote Likelihood

1. Information = Power
   - When? Where? How to vote?
   - The role Black voters played in 2020

2. Black Power = Black Progress
   - Must demonstrate progress over the last 2 years before making promises over the last 2 years
   - Must give voters, not politicians, credit for the progress that has been made
   - Must use actual people to describe how actual policies have actually improved their lives

3. Representation = Collective Power
   - Electing a Black Governor or Black Senator is not enough on its own.
   - Changing the face of politics to better reflect the diversity of America is a continuation of progress that they benefit from and an expression of their power
Thank You
Appendix

1. Political Climate
2. Economics
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6. Conclusion
Respondents across groups see young people as being heavily affected by our current political climate

In every group and issue area we discussed, respondents lifted up concerns about Black Youth

“But my frustration is, we talk about black leadership. We just in this country have a void of leadership. Trump’s a leader, but not in the direction I want to go. But he’s one of the last big leaders that are getting galvanizing people. Getting them together and they’re staunchly behind him no matter what. But my point is, we got two jokers that are seniors, and both of them are talking about running next election? Come on. We need... Where is the next generation of young leaders? Because that’s what’s needed. We talking about these two old dudes that might not even be around.” – Black Man, Florida

“I was going to say some of the good things I see happening in my community is school safety. So after the big mass shooting, I see them trying to incorporate some more safety measures in order to keep children safe. So I would say that’s one of the good things so far. There could always be done more, but we are progressing in that area.” – Black Woman, Arizona

“For me personally, it’s the amount of trouble our youth are getting into in our community. It makes me feeling uneasy about the direction that my community will be in the future. So definitely about the youth in the community and where... How is that going to look in 10, 20 years from now?” –Black Man, Ohio

“Just with the same things with Roe v. Wade. I know that, well now here in this state it’s banned, but a lot of healthcare stuff that’s really important and I kind of want someone elected who’s not going to politicize everything. And just more focus in the schools too. I worked in the schools before I started doing healthcare, and a lot of what governor Doug Ducey would implement directly affected my work life and the kids as well. Like not giving funding to schools that let the students wear masks, that was a big thing in our school district. They had meetings and arguments over it. A lot of kids had sicknesses or chronic illnesses, but couldn’t stay home and risk their education. So I think that having someone come in would be crucial with those things.” –Black Woman, Arizona

“I feel discouraged for the kids. I feel like people gave up [on] these kids. I think the news is perpetuating fear, so it’s making people more scared of the kids than wanting to help them...Like just pretty much if a kid from a certain neighborhood or look a certain way, dress a certain way, then they just deemed a certain way, and they put into a box that way.” – Black Man, Philadelphia, GOP Defector

“Programs for youth [should be added to the Black Economic Agenda].” –Black Mother, Philadelphia

“In every group and issue area we discussed, respondents lifted up concerns about Black Youth

But my frustration is, we talk about black leadership. We just in this country have a void of leadership. Trump’s a leader, but not in the direction I want to go. But he’s one of the last big leaders that are getting galvanizing people. Getting them together and they’re staunchly behind him no matter what. But my point is, we got two jokers that are seniors, and both of them are talking about running next election? Come on. We need... Where is the next generation of young leaders? Because that’s what’s needed. We talking about these two old dudes that might not even be around.” – Black Man, Florida

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