



Black Opps Coalition Research Initiative Phase 3 – Public Release

Findings from August and November 2026 National
Surveys and Focus Groups of Black Registered Voters

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ULTIMATE OUTCOME

Mobilize Black voters to defend the advances of justice that are under attack in order to increase Black political power and participation ahead of future elections.

Black Opps Coalition Funders



Black Opps Coalition Research Objectives

1

Understand Black voter's attitudes toward current political environment and awareness around specific attacks on Black economic wellbeing and democracy.

2

Determine the tactics/actions that Black voters are willing to take to fight back against actions from the federal government that harm Black people, and the barriers and motivations of taking those actions.

3

Determine which examples of pain/resistance stories resonate the most with Black voters.

4

Develop and test content that mobilizes Black voters to fight back against actions from the federal government that harm Black people and prepares them to vote in 2026.

5

Create an activation index that defines audiences according to which Black voters are willing to fight back against attacks on democracy and Black economic wellbeing, and which action they will be willing to take.

© Phase 3: Key Findings

1

Black voters are motivated to protect their rights and prevent further harm from Republicans.



- Over half of registered voters (56%) and almost two-thirds of likely voters (65%) believe that their lives will worsen if the Republicans retain control of Congress in November.
- About 4 in 10 are motivated to vote to protect the rights Black people have fought for (43%).
- Among those who already voted, the top reason to vote is to remove Republicans (40%).

2

Black voters want policies that mitigate the rising cost of living caused by the Trump Administration and that make it possible to afford life in the United States in the longer-term.



If the Democrats win control of Congress in November, Black voters' top policy priorities include:

- Reducing the cost of groceries (41%)
- Taxing the wealthy (39%)
- Raising the minimum wage (39%)
- Preventing private utility companies from passing unreasonable costs to consumers (27%)

3

Election interference has led to Blacklash of political participation that can be harnessed to defend Black votes if there is election interference.



- Almost half (49%) will begin to lose confidence in the election if the results are not called within two days.
- Black voters are ready to mobilize if called upon to protest, boycott, contact elected officials, and more.

EXPAND PERCEPTIONS OF POWER BY EXPANDING THE CYCLE OF POWER

- Direct correlation between perceptions of power and political participation means we must increase Black voter's power to increase Black voter's turnout.
- Perceptions of power surge during election season and then drop off a cliff after the election.
- Maintaining perceptions of power require expanding the cycle of power beyond Electoral Power.

Punitive Power

The ability to collectively fire elected officials that do not satisfy the expectations of their job.

Electoral Power

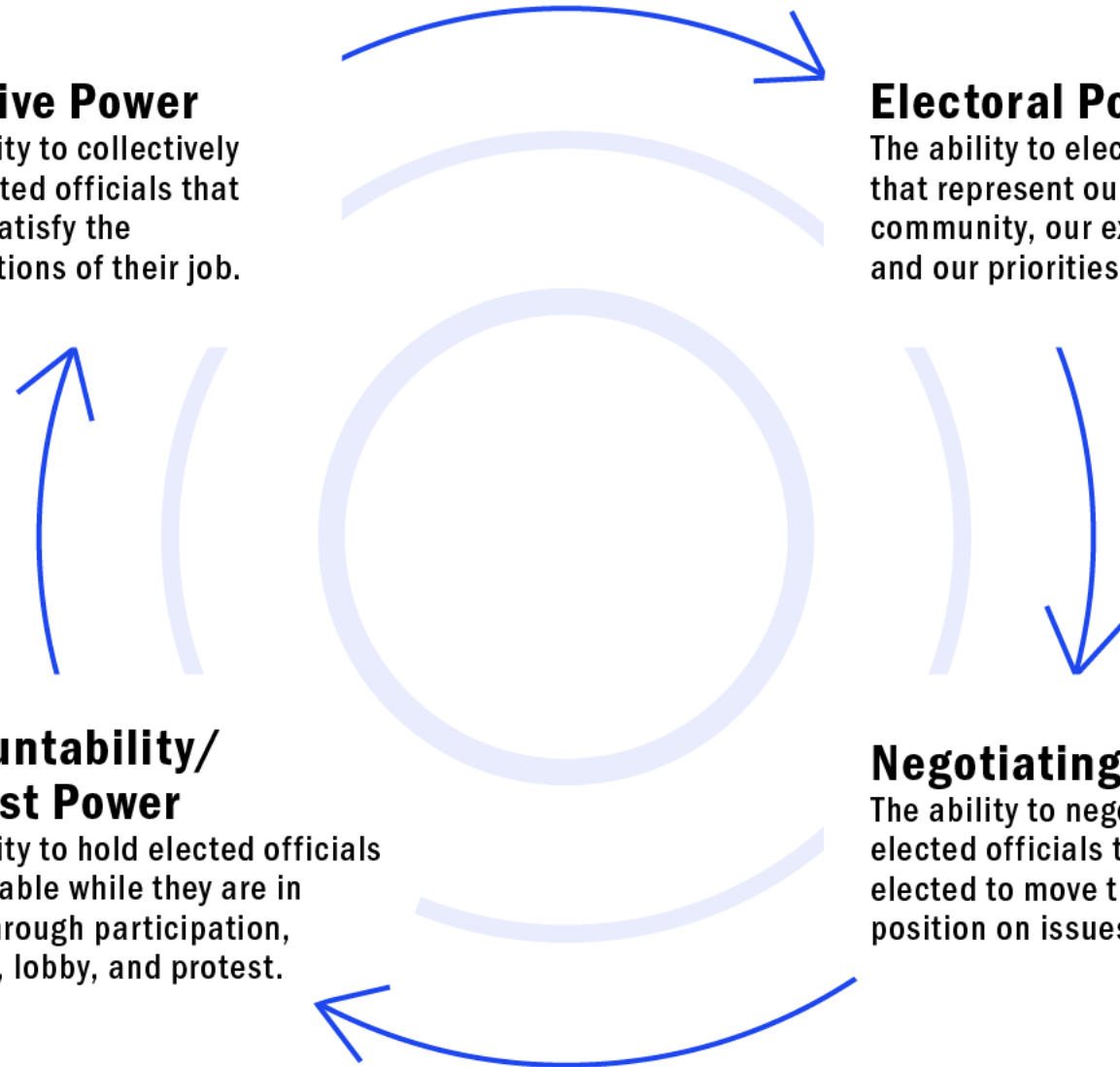
The ability to elect officials that represent our community, our experience, and our priorities.

Accountability/ Protest Power

The ability to hold elected officials accountable while they are in office through participation, petition, lobby, and protest.

Negotiating Power

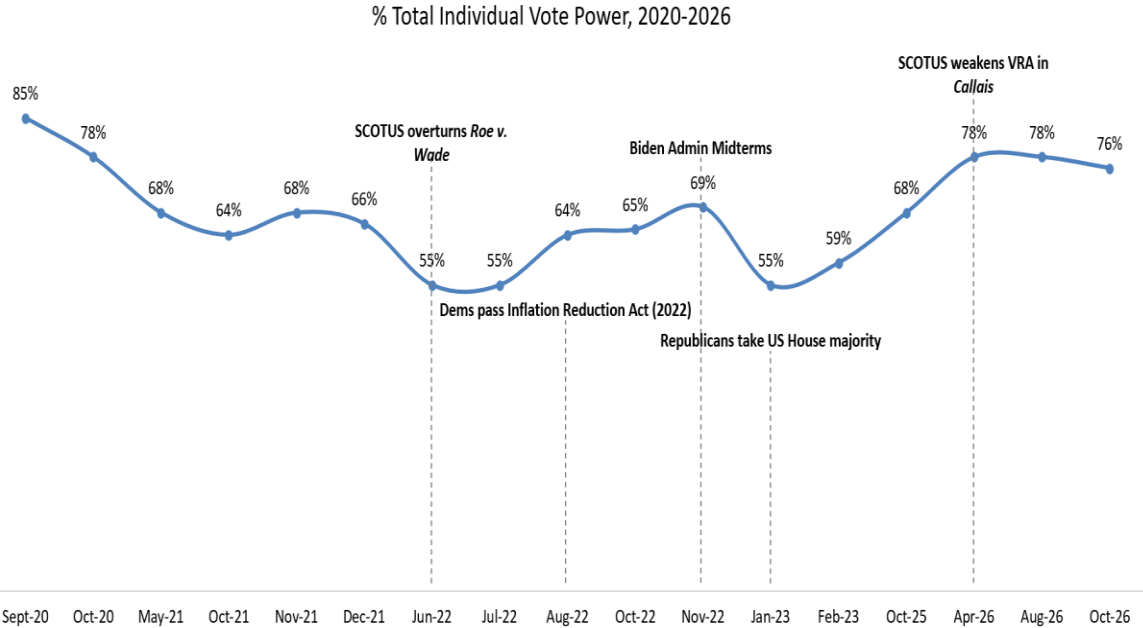
The ability to negotiate with the elected officials that you have elected to move them closer to your position on issues or priorities.



EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE IMPACT OF BLACK VOTES AND LIMIT BLACK POWER ARE BEING MET WITH A BLACKLASH OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

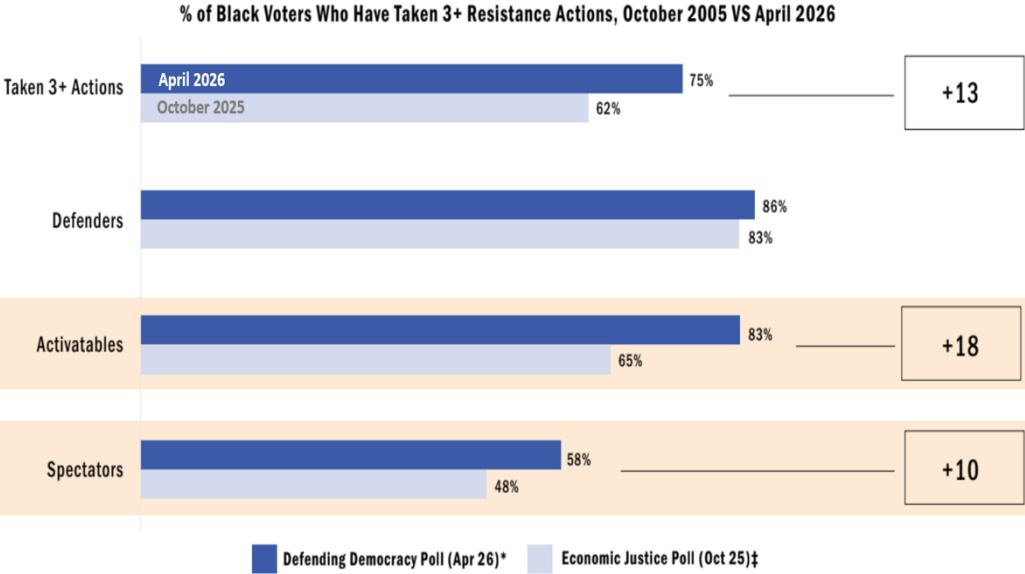
Perceptions of Black Political Power spiked after Callais and remain high

Q10. No matter how frequently you vote in elections, how much power do you feel that your vote has to make change on issues that matter to you?



Since June 2020, HIT Strategies has tracked Black registered voters' attitudes through national *BlackTrack* omnibus surveys and national *Black Opps Project* surveys. Question wording and exact measurement of vote power has shifted slightly over time.

Black political participation in resistance activities also spiked after the Callais decision



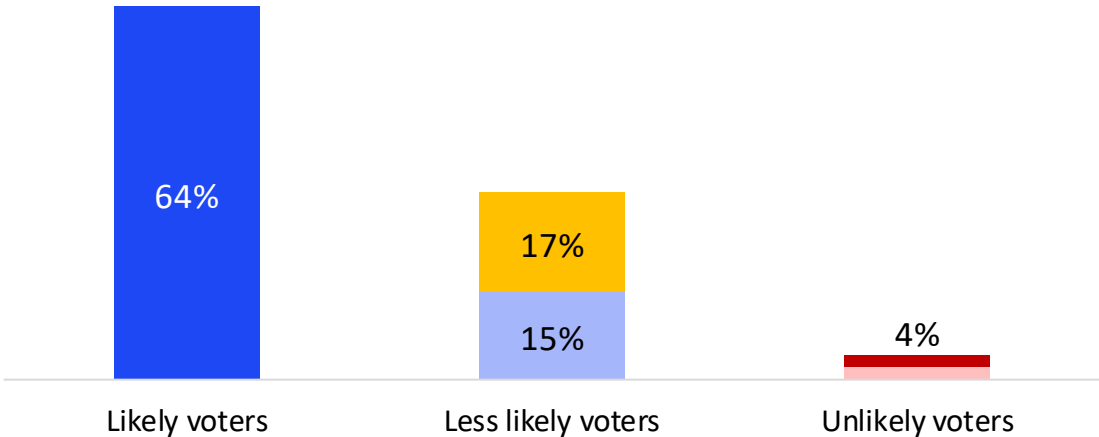


Black voters still require mobilization and persuasion messaging to close the vote likelihood gaps that are concentrated among younger Black voters.

Q12. As you may know, there will be elections for federal, state, and local offices in November 2026. How likely are you to vote in the November 2026 elections - are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50/50, will you probably not vote, or will you definitely not vote?

August 2026

■ Almost certain ■ Probably ■ 50/50 ■ Probably not ■ Definitely not

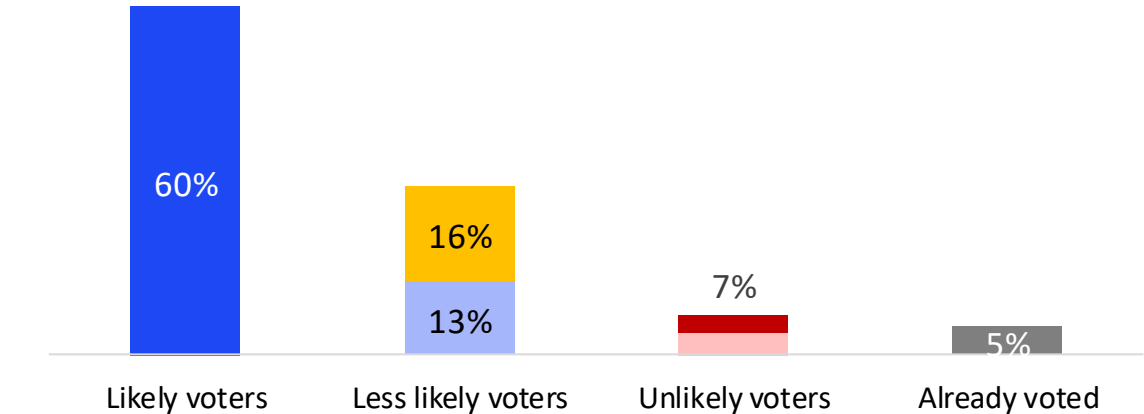


	Men 18-49	Women 18-49	Men 50+	Women 50+	Battleground
Likely voters	56%	54%	70%	78%	63%
Less likely voters	37%	41%	27%	19%	33%
Unlikely voters	7%	4%	3%	4%	4%

Q12. As you may know, there will be elections for federal, state, and local offices in November 2026. How likely are you to vote in the November 2026 elections - are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50/50, will you probably not vote, or will you definitely not vote?

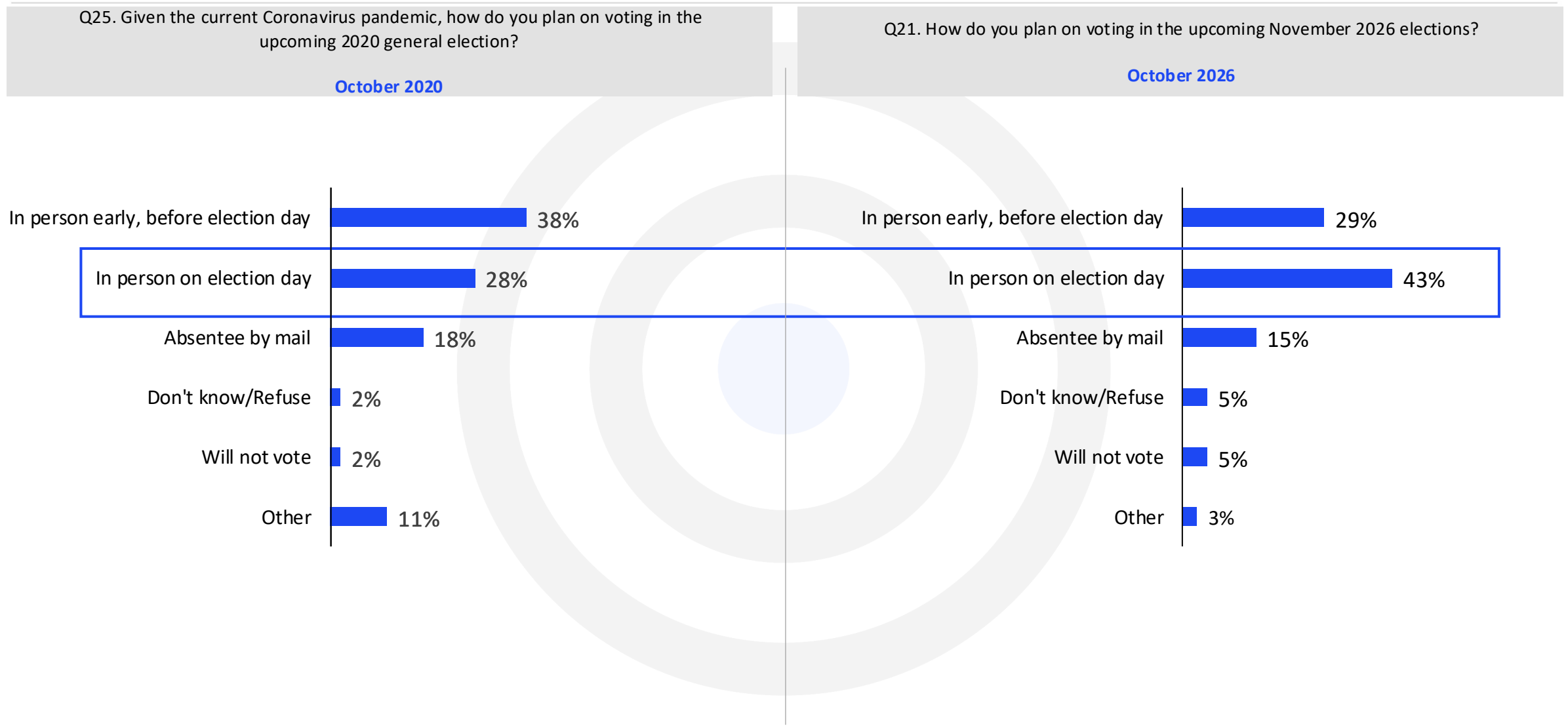
October 2026

■ Almost certain ■ Probably ■ 50/50 ■ Probably not ■ Definitely not ■ Already voted



	Men 18-49	Women 18-49	Men 50+	Women 50+	Battleground
Likely voters	47%	57%	66%	72%	59%
Less likely voters	38%	32%	25%	16%	29%
Unlikely voters	10%	7%	3%	5%	8%
Already voted	4%	4%	5%	6%	5%

🎯 Compared to October 2020, more Black voters plan to vote in person on election day.

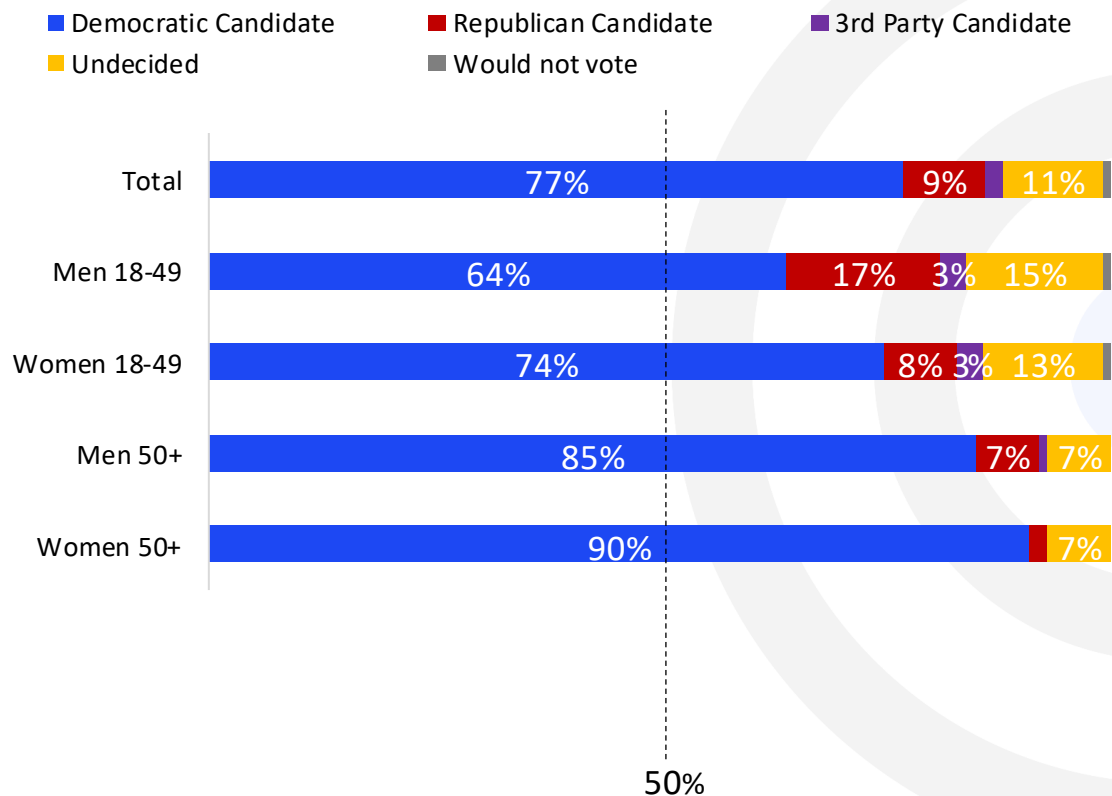




Black battleground voters and Black likely voters are consolidating around Democratic candidates. Notably, named Democratic candidates over perform the generic Democratic ballot.

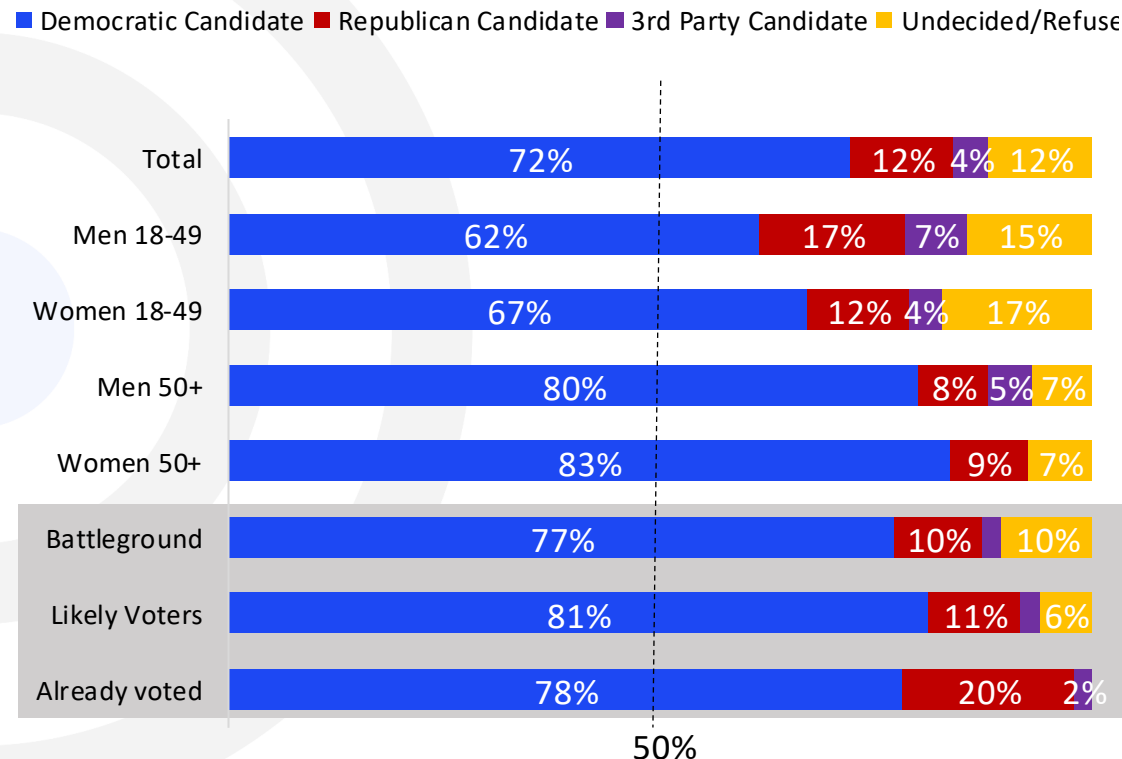
Q18. If the November 8, 2022 midterm elections for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Republican candidate, Democratic candidate or the 3rd party candidate for Congress?

October 2022



Q13/Q14/Q15. If the 2026 general election for U.S. Congress were held today, for whom would you vote?/But if you had to choose, for whom would you vote?/In the election for U.S. Congress in the district where you live, did you vote for the Democratic candidate, the Republican candidate, or the 3rd party candidate?

October 2026



BlackTrack Omnibus Survey. Fielded October 14-17, 2022. N=1001 Black RVs Margin of error $\pm$ 3.1%.

Battleground = GA, MI, OH, NC, TX

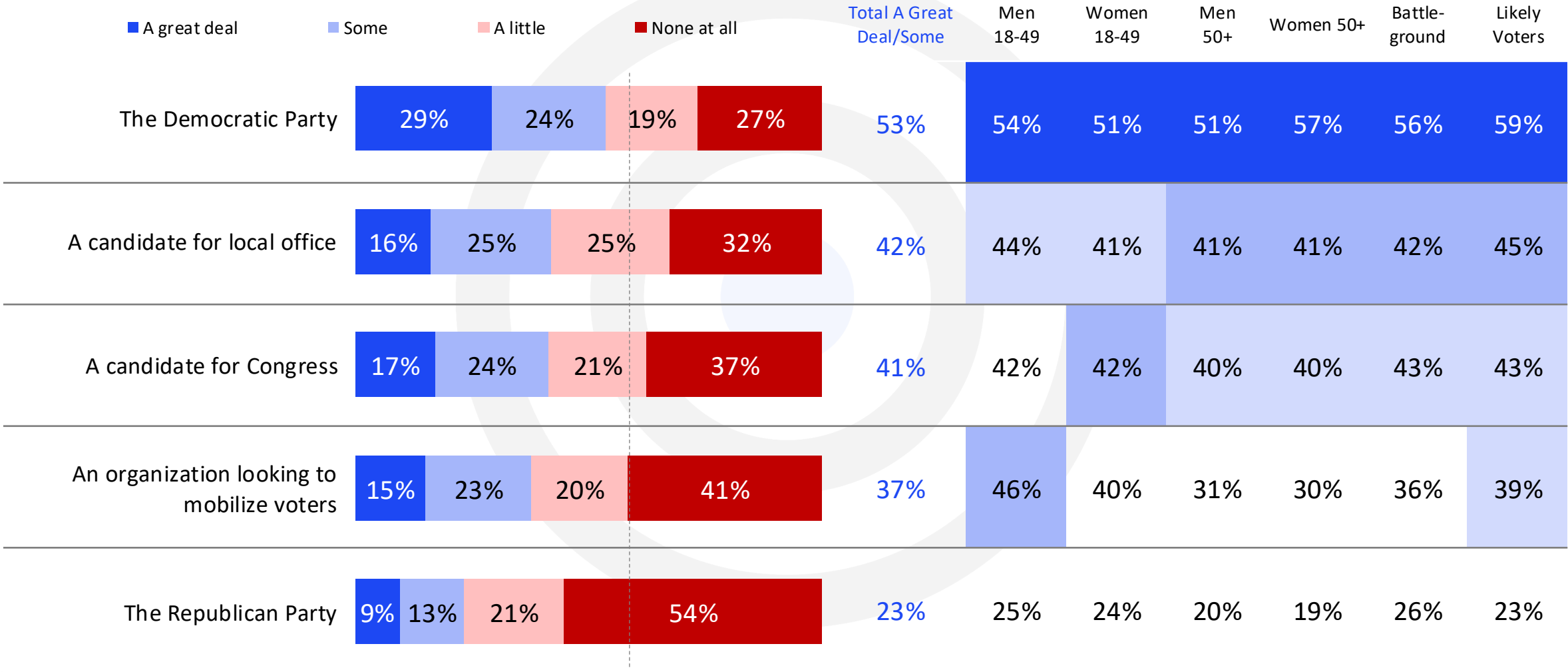
Likely voters are those who are "Almost certain" to vote.



Majority of Black voters have been contacted by The Democratic Party but there are still mobilization and persuasion messaging gaps.

Q30. Thinking about the 2026 elections, how much have you been contacted by any of the following groups in the past three months: a great deal, some, a little, or not at all?

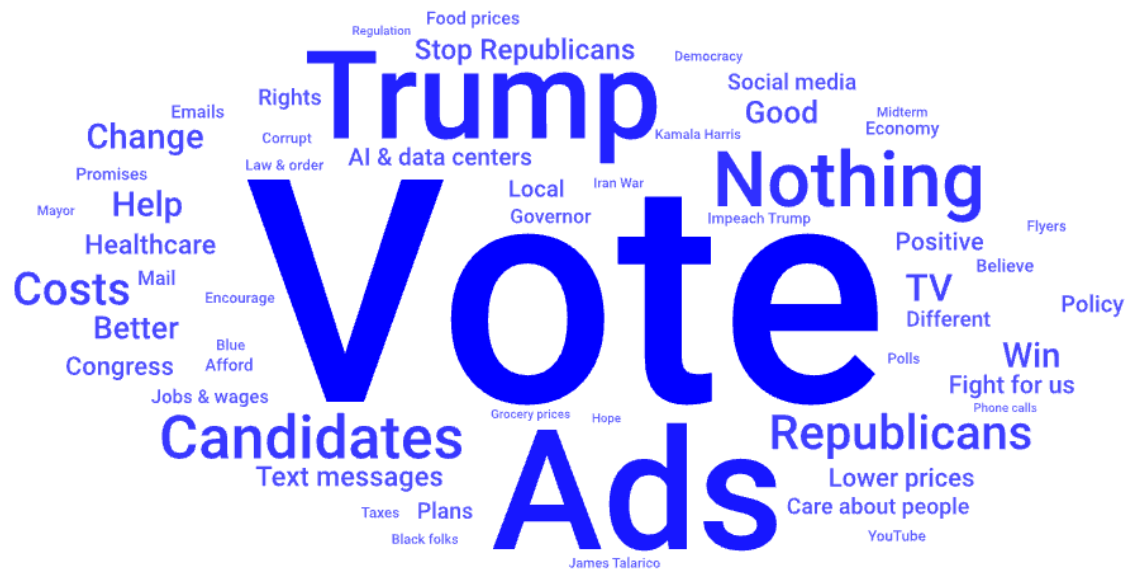
October 2026



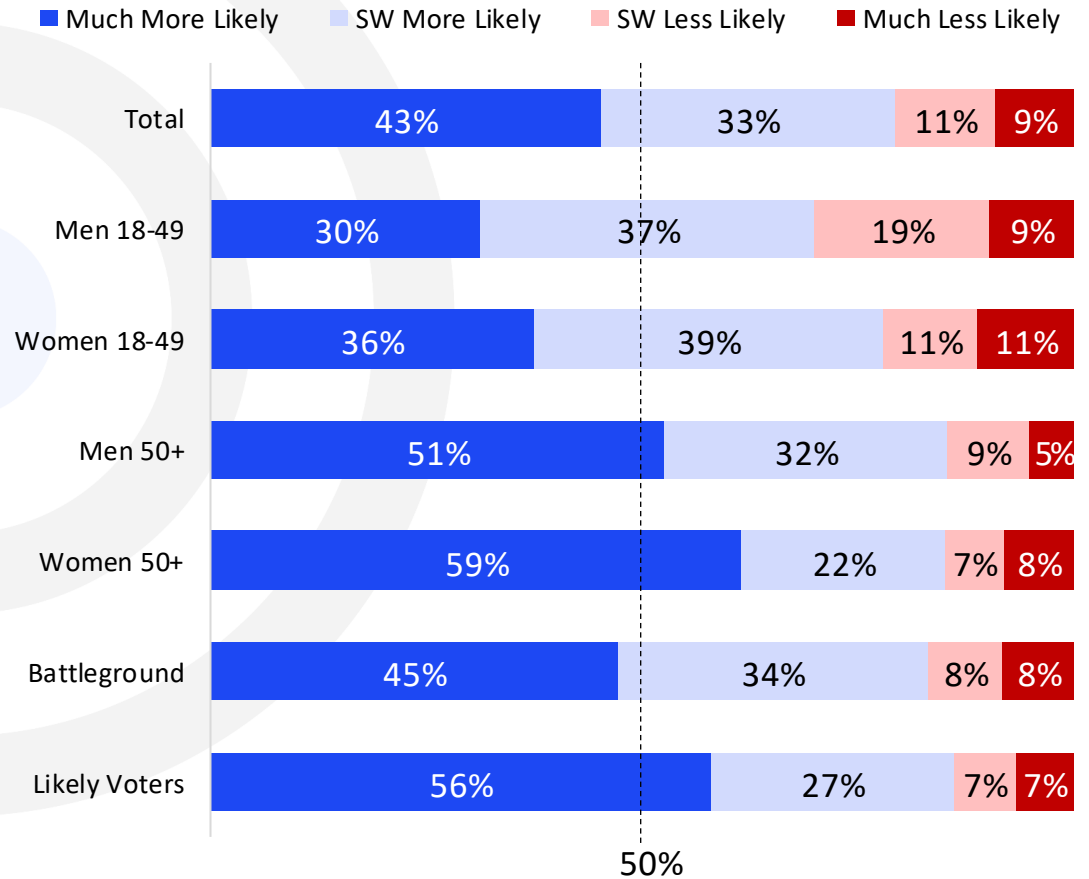
50%

Battleground = GA, MI, OH, NC, TX
Likely voters are those who are "Almost certain" to vote.

October 2026



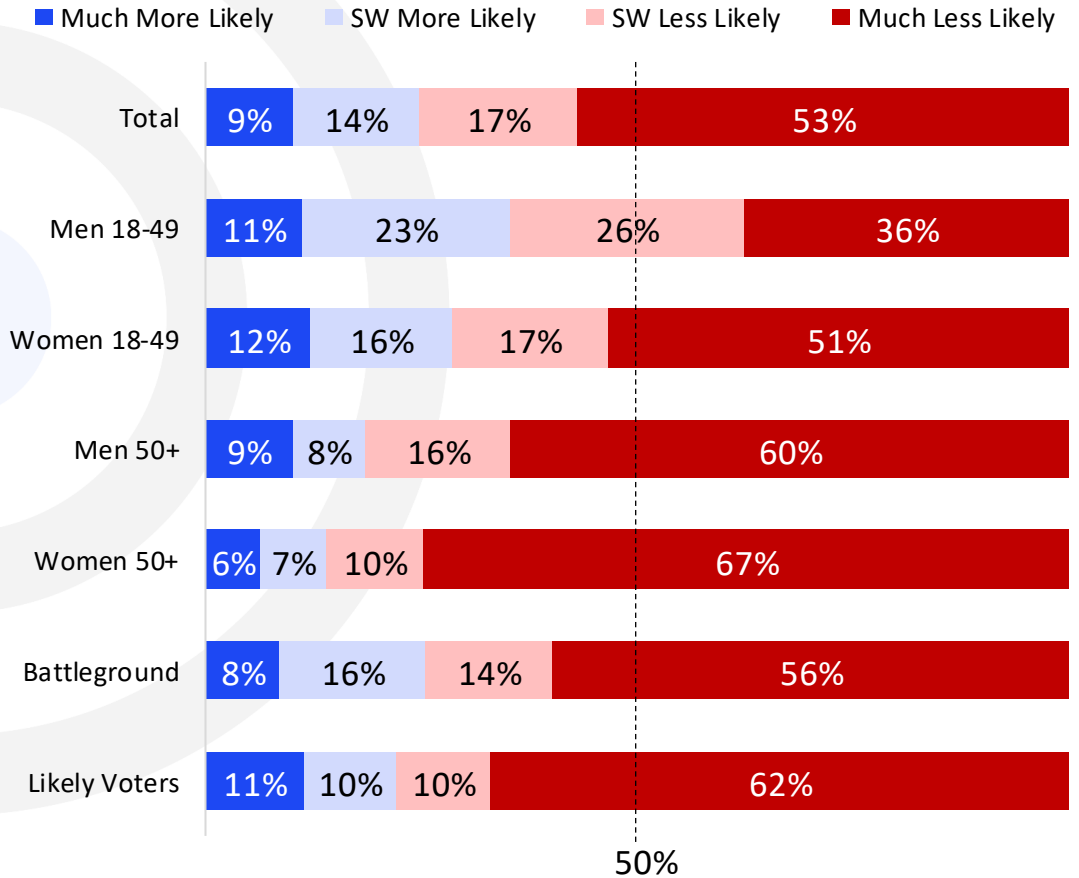
October 2026



Battleground = GA, MI, OH, NC, TX
Likely voters are those who are "Almost certain" to vote.

October 2026

October 2026



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Black voters are highly motivated to fight for Black progress, punish Republicans that harm their communities, and elect Democrats that will help their communities.

Q23. Here is a list of reasons others have provided to explain why they vote in elections. Please select the response(s) that best describe why you might vote in upcoming elections.
 You can select up to 2 answers.

October 2026

		Men 18-49	Women 18-49	Men 50+	Women 50+	Battle-ground	Likely Voters
To protect the rights we have fought for	43%	39%	44%	40%	47%	40%	44%
Make a difference on issues that matter the most to me	25%	20%	27%	27%	25%	28%	27%
To remove Republicans from office	24%	20%	21%	31%	27%	26%	28%
To elect Democrats to office	23%	23%	23%	24%	22%	23%	25%
To stop the spread of hate and discrimination in this country	15%	17%	17%	15%	12%	14%	16%
It is our civic duty to vote / Our ancestors fought for the right to vote	13%	11%	9%	17%	19%	15%	16%
To support a candidate or representative that I like	13%	15%	15%	6%	13%	12%	13%
To oppose a candidate or representative that I don't like	6%	9%	4%	6%	6%	6%	5%
To fire politicians that disrespect or neglect my community	5%	6%	4%	5%	3%	6%	4%

Battleground = GA, MI, OH, NC, TX
 Likely voters are those who are "Almost certain" to vote.



Attitudinal barriers like trust and efficacy of voting, undermine Black turnout more than structural barriers like long lines and voter IDs. This is the first election that safety at the polls emerges as a barrier for some Black voters.

Q24. Here is a list of reasons that some others provided to explain why they do not vote in elections. Please select the response(s) that best describe why you might not vote in upcoming elections. You can select up to 2 answers.
October 2026

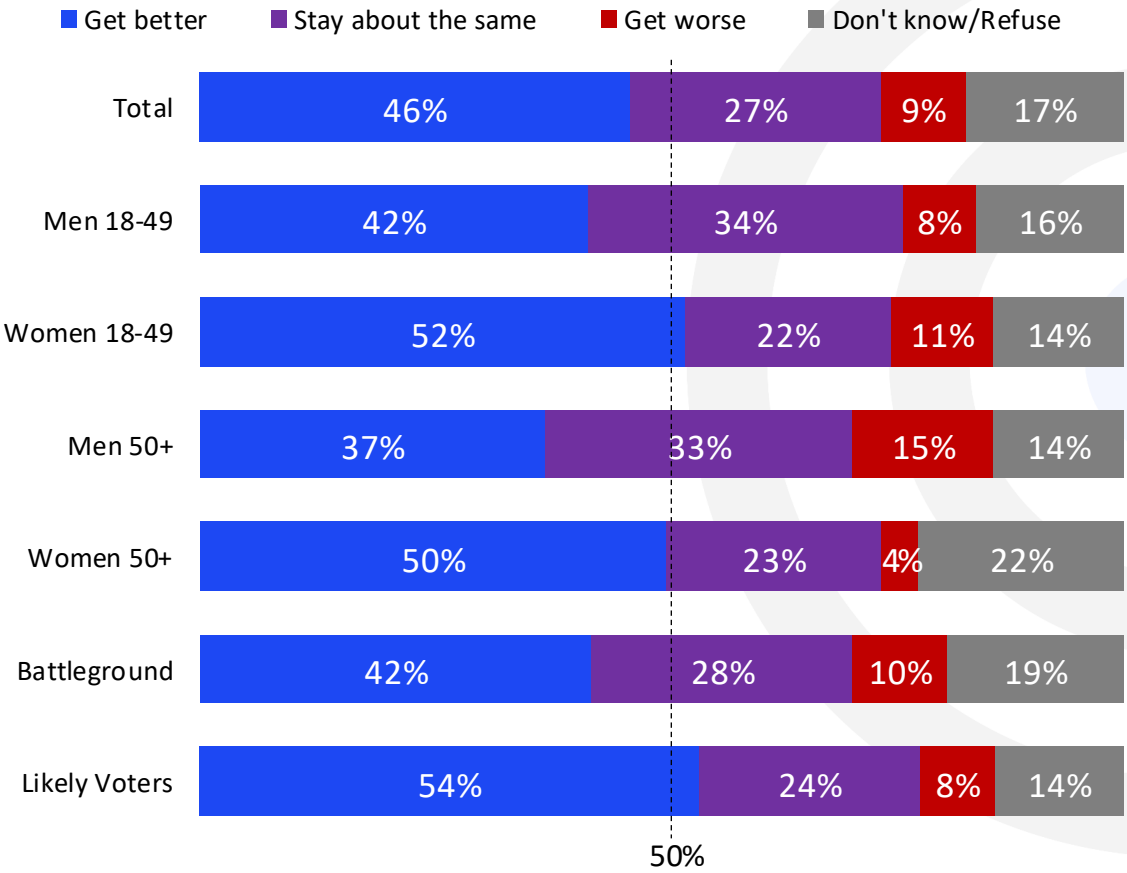
		Men 18-49	Women 18-49	Men 50+	Women 50+	Battle-ground	Likely Voters
The system is rigged	26%	36%	33%	20%	13%	24%	23%
My vote won't be properly counted	15%	17%	18%	11%	12%	13%	14%
Don't know enough about the candidates	14%	15%	18%	9%	10%	11%	9%
Voting doesn't change things	13%	16%	13%	13%	12%	14%	10%
Don't think the candidates rep. my values	13%	14%	11%	18%	11%	12%	9%
Worried about safety at the polls	6%	7%	8%	3%	4%	8%	5%
Have to work	6%	12%	5%	3%	2%	4%	4%
Lines are too long	4%	6%	4%	3%	1%	4%	3%
Don't have a ride	2%	2%	4%	2%	2%	1%	2%
Don't have proper voter identification	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%
Don't understand the voting process	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	2%	0%
Don't know how to register	0.3%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%

Battleground = GA, MI, OH, NC, TX
Likely voters are those who are "Almost certain" to vote.

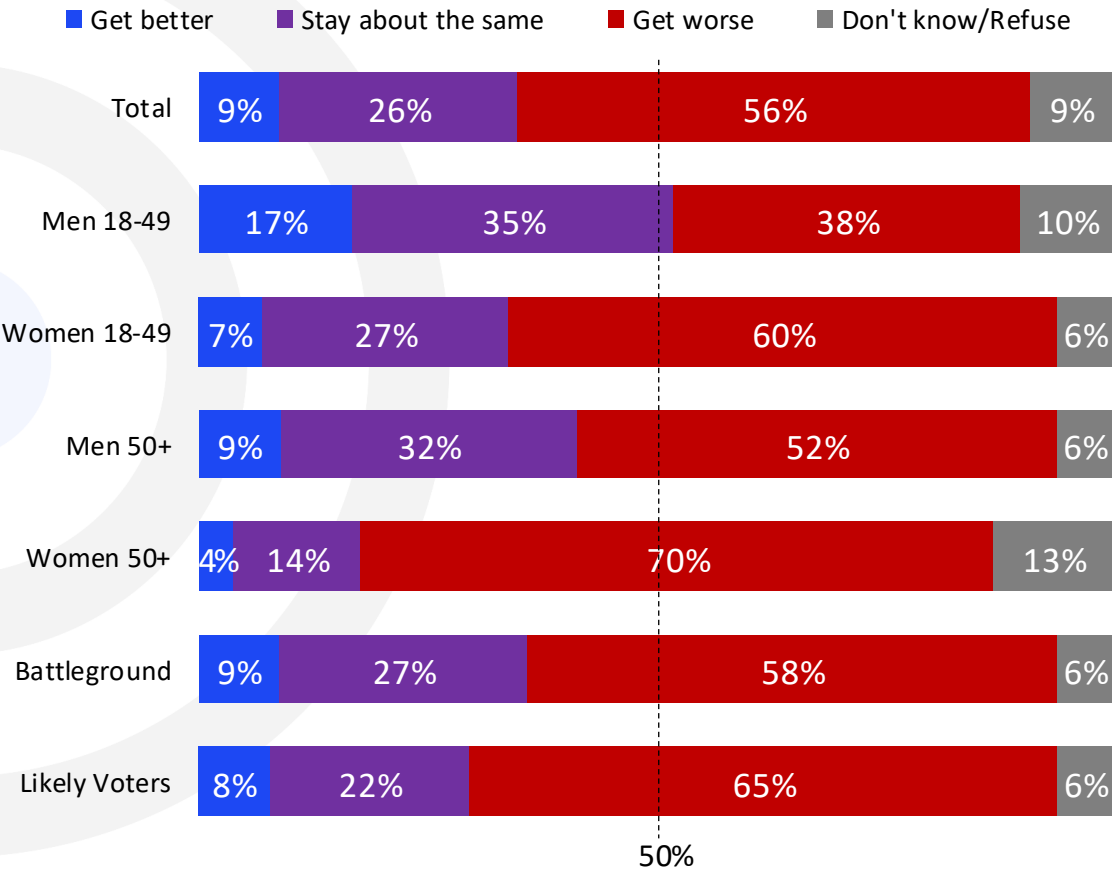


Black voters are split on whether their lives will get better if Democrats win the election, but they are clear that their lives will get worse if Republicans win. This election is about stopping the pain.

Q25 [SSA]. If the **Democrats win control** of Congress, will your life get better, worse, or stay about the same?
August 2026



Q26 [SSB]. If the **Republicans retain control** of Congress, will your life get better, worse, or stay about the same?
August 2026



Battleground = GA, MI, OH, NC, TX
Likely voters are those who are "Almost certain" to vote.



Black voters believe life under the Democrats could be better than life under the Republicans, but they are not confident in Democrats' ability to deliver progress.

Video Link



BOTH GROUPS

“[Democrats winning] would make [life] better, better or at the very least stay the same. Because sometimes the Democrats, I'll be honest, they just don't do much, but I would rather to have a no change than a bad change.”

—Black woman, 19, CA, Group 2
(Black Registered Voters of All Genders Under 40)

“But right now, the main problem is to make sure that no Republican is gonna get in to basically almost destroy America.”

—Black man, 57, IL, Group 1
(Black Men Registered Voters Over 40)

🎯 Economic insecurity is at the forefront of Black voters' minds in this election.

[Video Link](#)



BOTH GROUPS

“There's too much money that the government has for there to be homeless people. I totally agree with that. Gas prices are crazy. There's a bunch of The college students that I know as well. You know, when they come out of college, the debt is just so high. They're struggling to find jobs. A lot of this stuff, it doesn't it doesn't make a lot of sense. “

—Black man, 22, FL, Group 2
(Black Registered Voters of All Genders Under 40)

“For me, it's employment security, food security, and housing security. That all seems to be up in the air with a lot of folks. More [people] defaulting in mortgages, not being able to [sustain] their livelihoods.”

—Black man, 60, GA, Group 1
(Black Men Registered Voters Over 40)



Black Voter Policy Priorities: Black voters want policy responses that address the cost of food, energy, and living, and make the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes.

Q26. [SSA] If the Democrats win control of Congress in the upcoming November elections, which of these policies would you like to see implemented? Please select up to three options.

October 2026

		Men 18-49	Women 18-49	Men 50+	Women 50+	Battle-ground	Likely Voters
Reduce the cost of groceries	41%	43%	36%	36%	47%	43%	50%
Raise taxes on the wealthy	39%	40%	36%	52%	36%	36%	42%
Raise the minimum wage to \$15 per hour	39%	36%	44%	29%	40%	38%	42%
Restrict private utility companies from passing on unreasonable costs	27%	25%	25%	30%	29%	30%	24%
Regulate the development of artificial intelligence	25%	28%	16%	26%	31%	24%	25%
Invest in building new affordable housing	21%	19%	21%	22%	24%	23%	24%
Pause the construction of new data centers	17%	13%	15%	19%	20%	13%	18%
Stop providing military aid and weapons to Israel	14%	14%	14%	18%	10%	12%	12%
Increase protections for abortion	8%	7%	9%	7%	8%	10%	7%
Increase border security	8%	12%	6%	9%	6%	8%	8%
Ban transgender women from playing women's sports	7%	5%	8%	8%	7%	6%	9%
Increase oil and gas drilling	3%	5%	3%	4%	1%	2%	3%
None of the above	4%	3%	6%	2%	3%	6%	2%

Battleground = GA, MI, OH, NC, TX
Likely voters in 2026 are those who are "Almost certain" to vote.



Black Voter Accountability Priorities: Black voters expect investigations into Trump, ICE, corruption...and to end the war in Iran.

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Q27. [SSB] If the Democrats win control of Congress in the upcoming November elections, which of these accountability actions would you like to see implemented? Please select up to three options.

October 2026

		Men 18-49	Women 18-49	Men 50+	Women 50+	Battle- ground	Likely Voters
Impeach U.S. President Donald Trump	50%	47%	50%	51%	52%	52%	57%
End the illegal war in Iran	44%	47%	34%	51%	48%	45%	49%
Investigate corruption in the Trump Administration	31%	27%	24%	43%	33%	27%	36%
Prosecute ICE officers who committed murder	26%	21%	28%	25%	30%	27%	30%
Investigate the impact of ending DEI on Black people at work	19%	16%	26%	9%	21%	21%	19%
Require the judicial branch to establish an enforceable code of ethics for the Supreme Court	16%	15%	15%	14%	19%	13%	18%
Seize all wealth the Trump family has made from the presidency	15%	14%	18%	16%	10%	13%	15%
Prohibit the presidential administration from using their position to build wealth	14%	15%	10%	19%	17%	14%	14%
Ban insider trading by federal officials and political appointees	10%	12%	10%	10%	11%	10%	8%
Break up corporate mergers	9%	10%	11%	7%	7%	12%	8%
None of the above	6%	4%	9%	4%	5%	6%	5%

Battleground = GA, MI, OH, NC, TX

Likely voters in 2026 are those who are "Almost certain" to vote.

- 1**
UNDERSTAND

How Black voters are thinking about the November 2026 midterm elections.
- 2**
TRACK

Track Black voters' attitudes about issues, people, and organizations over time.
- 3**
MOBILIZE

Identify opportunities to contact Black voters and help them vote through November.

Methodology

Instrument

Tracker Poll 1

Tracker Poll 2

Universe

Total N = 1,000 Black registered voters nationwide

Total N = 939 Black registered voters nationwide

Methodology

Online panel: Survey was conducted online using an opt-in web panel vendor.

Online panel: Survey was conducted online using an opt-in web panel vendor.

Margin of Error

Total: $\pm 3.1\%$

Total: $\pm 3.40\%$

Field Dates

August 24 - 31, 2026

October 7 - 15, 2026

Group Number

Focus Group 1

Focus Group 2

Universe

Black Registered Voters, men, over age 40

Black Registered Voters, mixed gender, under age 40

Methodology

Online: Group was conducted online using a remote focus group vendor.

Online: Group was conducted online using a remote focus group vendor.

Date & Time

Tuesday, October 13, 2026: 5:30-7:00PM EST

Tuesday, October 13, 2026: 7:30-9:00PM EST



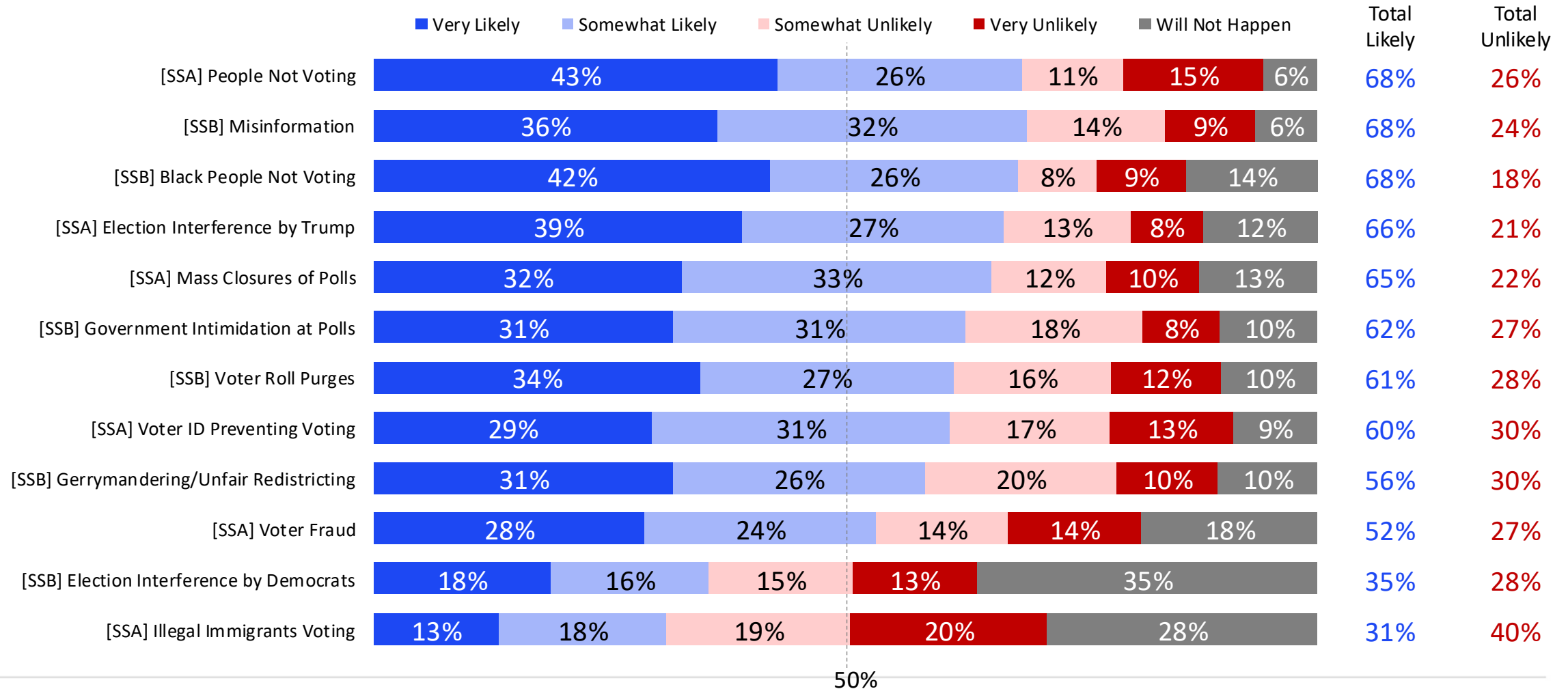
Defending Black Power



A majority of Black voters believe nearly every form of interference will affect the outcome of the election

Q25. How likely or unlikely is each of the following to impact who wins the upcoming midterm elections?

October 2026





There is a potential for Backlash, as Black voters are ready to be mobilized if there is election interference.

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Video Link



BOTH GROUPS

“I think we should turn up just like anywhere else. We did the protests, and, you know, we turned out in numbers for, you know, the No Kings rally, all that stuff like that. Show up to the office of the people who are in charge [of elections] and tell them, ‘Hey. You have a responsibility, and we’re gonna be here until you decide to take charge of this.’”

—Black man, 60, GA, Group 1
(Black Men Registered Voters Over 40)

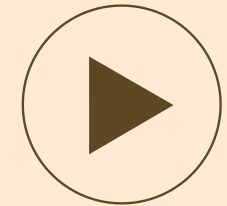
© MOTIVATIONS: WHAT IS WORTH FIGHTING FOR?

Black voters are more willing to defend **freedom, racial justice, and the right to vote** than American democracy.*

The generation gap between younger Black voters and older Black voters is undermining the urgency to defend Democracy, but younger Black voters can be activated to defend Black freedom.

% Who Said “Very Urgent” (8-10) for Me to Take Action to Defend...

	Gen Z	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer
Freedom 75%	73%	72%	74%	82%
The Right To Vote 71%	56%	68%	74%	82%
Racial Justice 71%	66%	68%	71%	77%
Physical Safety 66%	58%	64%	70%	70%
American Democracy 63%	50%	56%	65%	81%
Economic Power 60%	51%	57%	60%	71%
Political Power 53%	48%	46%	57%	59%



"My concern is that the American democracy doesn't always represent my cultural interests...My concern is that the democracy doesn't represent us fully."

—Black woman, 63, NJ

*Below is a list of ideas that some people may take action to defend. For each one, please indicate how urgent it is for you to take action to defend these ideas on a scale of 0-10, where a “0” means it is not at all urgent for you to take action and a “10” means it is extremely urgent for you to take action. You may use any number between 0 and 10.

RESISTANCE ACTIONS TO MOBILIZE BLACK OPPOSITION

Black voters prefer lower-risk, lower time commitment activities that also connect them to their communities.* **Voting is the top tool of resistance.**

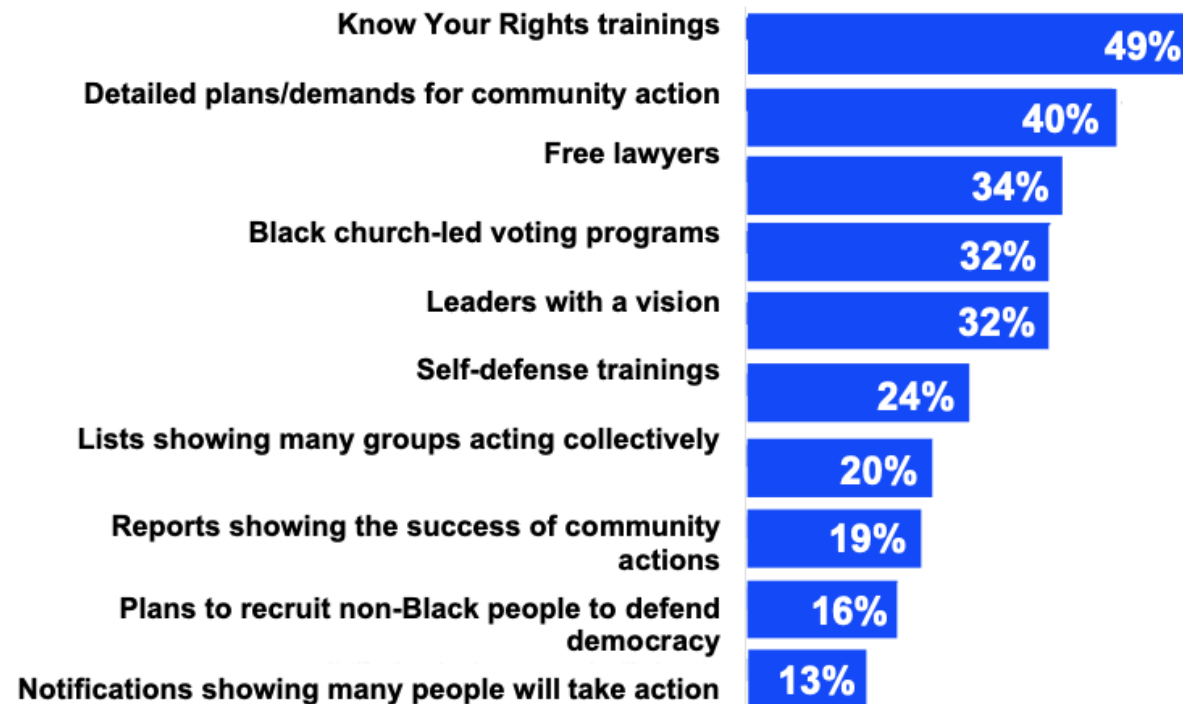
% of Black Voters Willing to take the following actions		Men <50	Women <50	Men 50+	Women 50+
Voting	74%	61%	68%	86%	83%
Helping Register Community	47%	42%	45%	51%	50%
Signing Petitions	45%	37%	41%	53%	51%
Boycotting Companies	36%	25%	37%	43%	42%
Attending Townhalls	35%	29%	33%	41%	40%
Protesting Peacefully	33%	32%	31%	41%	30%
Donating \$ to Community Orgs	32%	25%	34%	36%	34%
Posting Political Info Online	29%	25%	32%	27%	29%
Working at Voting Precincts	26%	20%	23%	29%	34%
Text Banking	26%	22%	25%	30%	29%
Phone Banking	25%	24%	23%	29%	25%
Door Canvassing	22%	24%	19%	25%	22%

*Below is a list of actions that some people might take. Which of the following actions are you willing to take as a Black person to defend democracy? Select all that apply.

Resources that inoculate barriers to resistance include trainings, action plans, legal support, and collective actions of a multi-racial coalition.*



% Who Selected This as a Helpful Resource to Mobilize Action



Below is a list of resources that some civic engagement groups are offering to help mobilize Black people to take action to defend democracy. Thinking about the list of actions above, please select the **THREE most helpful resources that would make you more likely to take action to defend democracy.*

The **Black Gen Z Gamer** video called on younger voters like him to join a youth-led campaign that offered multiple ways to help people vote.

- Democratic pain points**
that connect attacks on democracy to economic impacts and wasteful spending by those most responsible for undermining democracy.
- Name proof of progress**
that reminds Black people of progress achieved by collective action.
- Highlight motivations to fight**
that connect democracy to freedom, racial justice, and voting rights.
- Inoculate the barriers**
through trainings, resources, and organizing tactics that mobilize voters to action.
- Call to action**
that focuses on the actions they are most willing to take.

Black Gen Z Gamer Calls to Help Register Voters



	Overall
Defend right to vote	+4 pp
Defend democracy	+4 pp
Vote Likelihood	+7 pp
Voter reg. drive	+11 pp
Post info	+5 pp
Boycott	+8 pp
Trump policies hurt	+4 pp

Green = statistically significantly different from the placebo at 90% confidence level. The numbers show the percentage points (pp) that the message increased the likelihood of an action/opinion compared to the placebo.

- Democratic pain points**
I used to think politics had nothing to do with me, but then I saw how much they were rigging the rules to make it harder for us to vote, eliminating the Black members of Congress, retracting the gains that we have made just to give tax breaks for rich people and fund endless wars.
- Name proof of progress**
I saw what happened after my parents protested in 2020. They forced changes to policing and accountability, and when Black communities stop spending money at Target after they rolled back DEI programs
- Highlight motivations to fight**
That reminded me that our voices matter, but our money and actions matter too.
- Inoculate the barriers to fight**
That's why I joined We Got Next. They're training young people to help register voters, work the polls, and protect people's right to vote.
- Call to action**
Will you join We Got Next and help people in your community get registered to vote?

BARRIERS OF RESISTANCE

What prevents some Black people from resisting?

Fear of Arrest

Lack of Resistance,
Leadership, or Plan

Fear of Violence

Lack of Impact
or Change

Fear of Professional
Retaliation

Never been asked
to resist

TACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS:

What to DO to increase Black resistance?

- Paid advertising campaigns to join [not just do] collective resistance activities
- Promote collective resistance plan with key tactics, intended outcomes, and ways to escalate peacefully
- Paid advertising campaigns promoting progress and wins from resistance activities
- Resistance Help hotline (QR Codes) for people that encounter problems from protesting
- Know your rights training to inform people of how to resist within the confines of the law
 - Encourage collective actions lead by an identified trusted leader or organization
- Offer regular updates on resistance activities and impact

MESSAGING RECOMMENDATIONS:

What to SAY to increase Black resistance?

Economic Pain Points

Name harmful government actions/policies AND how they specifically impact the Black community.



Proof of Progress from Resistance

Name examples of collective actions and how they resulted in meaningful progress.



Highlight Motivations

Describe the things that they are willing to fight for.



Inoculate the Barriers

Including risk of arrest, violence, or professional harm.



Call to Action

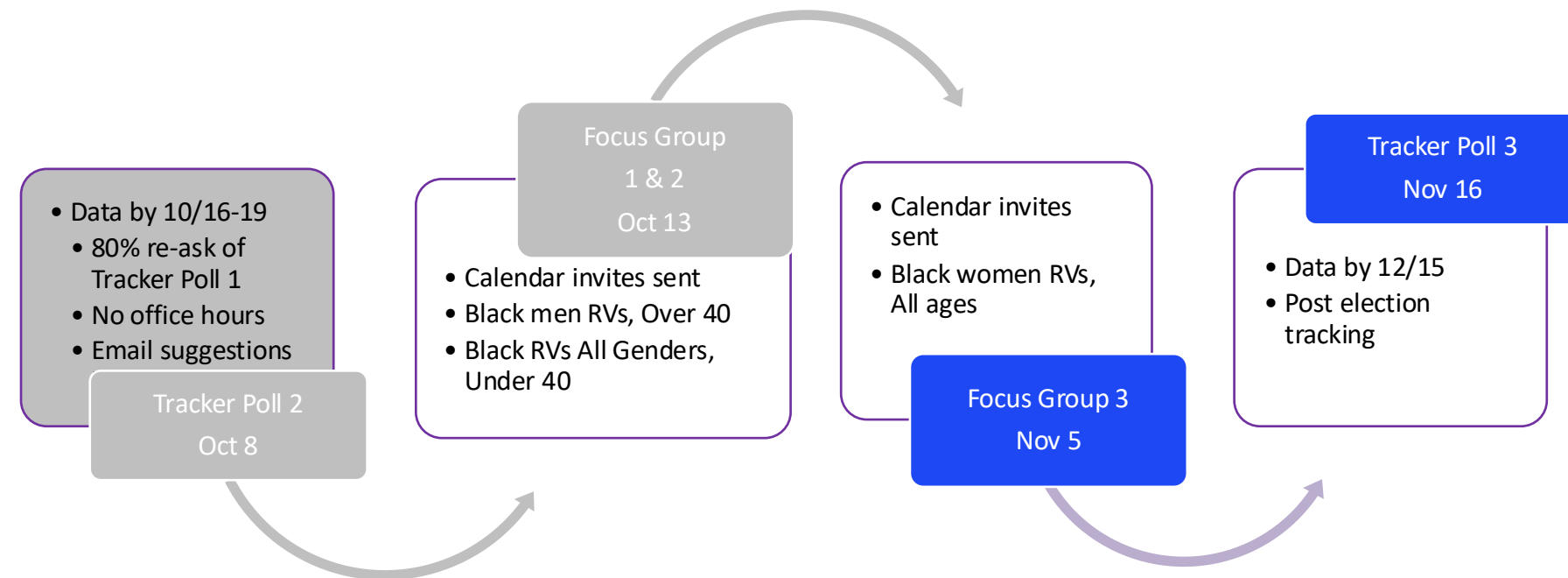
Reduce the risk and burden of the call to action according to their level of resistance urgency.



Support Black Opps Coalition Post-Election Research

Next steps

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Post Election Tracker Poll and Focus Group

--Poll: n1000 Black voters (Nov 16-21)
--Focus Group: Black Women Registered Voters All Ages (Nov 5)

- Voting motivation
- Voting experience
- Voting barriers for non-voters
- Mis/disinformation detection
- Voter interference and intimidation
- Party/Candidate preferences
- Reactions to election results
- Trust in election results
- Expectations of winning party's/candidates

Black Opps Coalition: Join Phase 3 Now



Collaborative Research. Shared Insights. National Impact.

We are now recruiting new funders to support the project through December 2026.

Phase 3-Tracking Resistance: The rapidly evolving political attitudes of Black voters, continued attacks on Black voting power, and increasing resistance of the movement require us to keep a pulse on Black voters through the midterm election. Monthly tracking is how we ensure that resistance actions today lead to votes cast on election day.

What is Included

- ➔ Insights on Black political attitudes and behavior through 2026 Midterm
- ➔ Participation in 2-3 Live Focus Groups
- ➔ Media waived focus group clips
- ➔ Toplines, crosstabs, key findings deck
- ➔ Monthly open briefing of key findings
- ➔ Full access to Phase 1 and 2 research catalogs, data, and messaging guides

Timeline

➔ **August – December 2026**

Ongoing research, reporting, and convenings — designed for timely application and campaign integration.

Membership & Pricing

- ➔ **New Coalition Member:** \$40k total / \$8k per month
- ➔ **Late Registration Membership:** \$10k total / \$5k per month
- ➔ **Optional Add On:** \$10k additional (monthly private briefings for your organization or network)



Thank you

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