



METHODOLOGY

Change Research surveyed 1,066 Black registered voters from February 18 - 24, 2023. We used the following sources to recruit respondents:

- targeted advertisements on Facebook. (80 respondents nationwide)
- text messages sent, via the Switchboard platform, to cell phone numbers listed on the voter file for individuals who qualified for the survey's sample universe, based on their voter file data. (403 respondents nationwide)
- email messages sent, via SurveyMonkey, to a random selection of respondents who had previously taken surveys in which they identified themselves as African American voters (583 respondents nationwide)

Regardless of which of these sources a respondent came from, they were directed to a survey hosted on SurveyMonkey's website.

Ads placed on social media targeted all adult Black voters nationwide. Those who indicated that they were not registered to vote were terminated. As the survey fielded, Change Research used dynamic online sampling: adjusting ad budgets, lowering budgets for ads targeting groups that were overrepresented, raising budgets for ads targeting groups that were underrepresented. Respondents were also recruited to the online survey instrument via SMS from a voter file of adult Black voters in the United States. The survey was conducted in English.

The survey was conducted online by Change Research. Post-stratification was performed on region, age, gender, and education. Weighting parameters were based on the demographic composition of adult Black voters nationwide, obtained from the voter file.

The modeled margin of error* for this survey is 3.5%, which uses effective sample sizes** that adjust for the design effect of weighting.

* We adopt The Pew Research Center's convention for the term "modeled margin of error"⁽¹⁾ (mMOE) to indicate that our surveys are not simple random samples in the pure sense, similar to any survey that has either non-response bias or for which the general population was not invited at random. A common, if imperfect, convention for reporting survey results is to use a single, survey-level mMOE based on a normal approximation. This is a poor approximation for proportion estimates close to 0 or 1. However, it is a useful communication tool in many settings and is reasonable in places where the proportion of interest is close to 50%. We report this normal approximation for our surveys assuming a proportion estimate of 50%.

** The effective sample size adjusts for the weighting applied to respondents and is calculated using Kish's approximation (2).

(1) <https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/2018/01/26/for-weighting-online-opt-in-samples-what-matters-most/>

(2) Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling, 1965.

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Using its Dynamic Online Sampling Engine to obtain a sample reflective of the population of Black voters nationwide, Change Research polled 1,066 Black registered voters from February 18 - 24, 2023. The margin of error is 3.5%. Post-stratification was done on region, age, 2020 vote, and education. Change Research is AAPOR Certified.



REPORTED QUESTIONS

Are you male or female?

44% Male
56 Female

In what year were you born? [recoded to the following age buckets]

28% 18 to 34
27 35 to 49
25 50 to 64
20 65+

What is your race?

100% Black or African American
0 White / Caucasian
0 Hispanic or Latino/a
0 Asian / Pacific Islander
0 American Indian or Alaska Native
0 Other

Do you identify as Afro-Hispanic or Afro-Latino/a?

7% Yes
93 No

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

14% High school diploma or less
33 Some college, but no degree
18 Associate's degree, or two-year college degree
19 Bachelor's degree, or four-year college degree
17 Graduate degree

Party Identification

49% Strong Democrats
19 Weak Democrats
11 Independent lean Democrats
11 Pure independents
3 Independent lean Republicans
2 Weak Republicans
5 Strong Republicans

4 Point Census Regions

58% South
18 Midwest
16 Northeast
8 West



How did you vote in the 2020 election for President, or for some reason were you unable to vote?

- 84% Joe Biden, the Democrat
- 10 Donald Trump, the Republican
- 1 Jo Jorgensen, the Libertarian
- 0 Not registered/Too young/Ineligible
- 5 not vote

How favorable are your feelings about each of the following public figures?

	<u>Favorable</u>		<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>		Never Heard of	Total Fav	Total Unfav
	Very	Smwt		Smwt	Very			
Barack Obama	71	13	7	3	6	0	83	9
Joe Biden	34	29	16	8	14	0	62	21
Raphael Warnock	40	15	16	3	7	18	56	11
Kamala Harris	32	23	21	9	14	1	55	23
Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez	30	22	19	5	11	13	51	16
Hakeem Jeffries	32	16	18	2	5	26	48	7
Pete Buttigieg	19	21	24	6	11	20	40	16
Tim Scott	5	8	22	9	25	32	12	34
Ron DeSantis	6	6	12	9	53	14	12	62
Donald Trump	7	6	6	7	73	2	12	80

When you vote in elections, would you say you:

- 54% Always vote for Democrats
- 29 Usually vote for Democrats, but sometimes vote for Republicans
- 7 Split my votes evenly
- 6 Usually vote for Republicans, but sometimes vote for Democrats
- 3 Always vote for Republicans

Which THREE of the following do you feel are the most important issues for the Black community?

- 50% Racism & discrimination
- 36 The economy and jobs
- 34 Police brutality
- 32 Gun violence
- 32 Rent/housing costs
- 29 Health care access
- 28 Crime and public safety
- 27 Criminal justice reform
- 24 Voting rights
- 22 Drug addiction and/or mental health issues
- 13 Taxes
- 13 College affordability
- 12 Student debt relief
- 9 Climate change & the environment
- 8 Infrastructure & transportation
- 8 Abortion rights



If the 2024 election for President were held today and the candidates are Joe Biden, the Democrat, or Donald Trump, the Republican, who would get your vote?

74% Joe Biden, the Democrat
 14 Donald Trump, the Republican
 12 Not sure

If the 2024 election for President were held today and the candidates are Joe Biden, the Democrat, or Ron DeSantis, the Republican, who would get your vote?

76% Joe Biden, the Democrat
 14 Ron DeSantis, the Republican
 11 Not sure

If the 2024 election for President were held today and the candidates are Kamala Harris, the Democrat, or Donald Trump, the Republican, who would get your vote?

78% Kamala Harris, the Democrat
 15 Donald Trump, the Republican
 8 Not sure

If the 2024 election for President were held today and the candidates are Kamala Harris, the Democrat, or Ron DeSantis, the Republican, who would get your vote?

77% Kamala Harris, the Democrat
 13 Ron DeSantis, the Republican
 10 Not sure

How favorable are your feelings about each of the following public figures and groups?

	<u>Favorable</u>		<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>		Never Heard of	Total Fav	Total Unfav
	Very	Smwt		Smwt	Very			
The NAACP	43	27	20	4	6	1	70	10
Planned Parenthood	48	29	18	4	11	0	66	15
The Black Lives Matter Movement	41	24	15	7	13	0	65	20
Democrats in Congress	33	32	18	7	10	0	64	17
Labor unions	36	26	27	4	5	1	62	10
Rihanna	33	20	36	4	7	1	52	11
Beyoncé	27	19	36	7	11	1	46	18
The Supreme Court	10	14	26	27	23	0	24	50
Elon Musk	6	8	23	21	38	4	14	59
Kanye West	6	8	21	20	44	1	14	64
Republicans in Congress	4	5	18	20	53	1	8	73

Do you think Joe Biden should run for President in 2024?

35% Yes, yes he should
 45 No, he should not
 20 Not sure

Do you think Donald Trump should run for President in 2024?

13% Yes, yes he should
 81 No, he should not
 7 Not sure



[DEMS ONLY] If Joe Biden decides not to run for President in 2024, how likely would you be to support Kamala Harris in the Democratic primary?

- 52% Very likely
- 29 Somewhat likely
- 7 Not too likely
- 6 Not likely at all
- 6 Not sure

[DEMS ONLY] If Joe Biden decides not to run for President in 2024, who would you be most likely to support in the Democratic primary?

- 30% Kamala Harris
- 19 Stacey Abrams
- 12 Cory Booker
- 9 Gavin Newsom
- 7 Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
- 6 Raphael Warnock
- 4 Pete Buttigieg
- 3 Gretchen Whitmer
- 9 Other

How much trust do you have in the following public figures and groups?

	Trust				Total Trust	Total Not Trust
	Great Deal	Fair Amount	Only a little	Not at All		
President Joe Biden	25	36	20	19	61	39
Local community organizers	15	44	28	12	59	41
Democrats in Congress	20	38	26	16	57	43
Church officials	10	30	34	25	41	59
Police officials	6	26	38	29	32	68
The Supreme Court	6	22	42	30	28	72
Republicans in Congress	2	10	25	63	12	88

Over the last 5 years, would you say that the state of race relations in America has gotten:

- 3% Much better
- 9 Somewhat better
- 22 Stayed the same
- 34 Somewhat worse
- 32 Much worse

When police are called to a situation, do you generally believe they make things:

- 9% Much safer
- 33 Somewhat safer
- 23 Somewhat less safe
- 24 Much less safe
- 10 Not sure



Have you or an immediate family member ever felt that the police were harassing you or them?

- 59% Yes
- 41 No

Have you ever had a serious talk about how to avoid being the victim of police violence, either with your own children if you have any, or with your parents when you were a child?

- 36% Yes, I've had it both as a parent with my child(ren), and with my parents when I was a child
- 21 Yes, I've had it only as a parent with my child(ren)
- 21 Yes, I've had it only with my parents when I was a child
- 23 No, never had one

Would you support reparations in the form of financial payments and distributions from the federal government for the descendants of American slavery?

- 59% Strongly support
- 18 Somewhat support
- 3 Somewhat oppose
- 11 Strongly oppose
- 8 Not sure

Which of the following comes closest to your feelings about voting?

- 67% I vote to amplify the voices of other Black people like myself and the causes that matter to me most.
- 33 I vote, but other communities have depended on Black voters to fix things for too long. They need to step up to the plate.

Once again, which of the following comes closest to your feelings about voting?

- 56% I am more motivated to vote now than I ever have been
- 44 I vote, but I am feeling more hopeless that it won't bring the change I want to see

As you may know, Republican lawmakers in many states have passed voting restrictions – for example, limiting early voting, making it easier to purge citizens from the voter rolls, or requiring people to show photo ID in order to vote. Do you think these laws are mostly intended to:

- 78% Make it harder for Black people and other people of color to vote
- 22 Preserve the integrity of our elections

Which of the following do you think is the biggest obstacle to you voting?

- 16% No good candidates to vote for
- 8 Don't know enough about the candidates
- 7 Nothing ever changes, so there's no point
- 5 My vote doesn't matter
- 4 I'm afraid my vote won't be counted
- 2 No travel/access to my polling location
- 2 Don't have time to vote
- 2 Just don't care
- 0 Don't know where to vote
- 55 Nothing can stop me from voting



There has been a lot of talk this past year about how we teach our children about American history and racism. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	<u>Agree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Smwt</u>	<u>Smwt</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
“Our children need an honest education, and that includes teaching not just about American heroes like Martin Luther King Jr. and others who fought for freedom, but also about how the legacy of racism continues to affect people today. We have to tell our children the truth and teach them to celebrate their differences while working to make things better and fairer for everyone.”	78	12	4	6	90	10
“The conversation about teaching racism in schools often ignores the perspectives of Black parents. We don’t get to decide to shield our kids from learning about racism. We have to talk to our kids about it, in order to keep them safe. Our schools should teach all kids about these problems, in an honest and age-appropriate way.”	74	15	6	6	89	11
“It’s more important that we focus on raising teacher pay, reducing classroom size, and attracting and retaining more good teachers in our schools and focus less on telling kids what bathroom to use and outlawing critical race theory.”	61	18	11	10	79	21
“Critical race theory has no place in our schools because it reinforces racial division. Schools should focus on what is good about Americans and celebrate how far we’ve come, instead of dwelling on what makes us different from each other.”	20	9	11	60	29	71

Governor Ron DeSantis of Florida has recently invoked the newly passed Stop WOKE Act to prevent the establishment of an AP African American Studies course in Florida schools. Do you agree or disagree with this decision?

- 13% Strongly agree
- 4 Somewhat agree
- 6 Somewhat disagree
- 72 Strongly disagree
- 4 Not sure

Which statement comes closer to describing your opinion on housing development?

- 72% Allowing more new housing will help my community by creating jobs, increasing customers for local businesses, and making housing more affordable.
- 28 Allowing more new housing will hurt my community by increasing traffic, displacing local residents, and hurting property values.



Do you support or oppose each of the following possible policies?

	<u>Support</u>		<u>Oppose</u>		Not Sure	Total Support	Total Oppose
	Strong	Smwt	Smwt	Strong			
Capping annual rent increases at 2.5%	55	20	7	9	9	76	15
Providing incentives to cities and towns to build more housing	47	28	12	6	8	75	17
Strengthening protections for tenants facing eviction	47	27	10	9	7	74	19
Adding housing and building up communities near train and bus stations	40	32	10	8	11	72	17
Banning housing discrimination based on a criminal conviction or release more than 3 years old	42	30	10	8	11	71	18
Reforming zoning laws in suburban areas so more multi-family housing can be built	34	32	13	9	12	66	23

As we head towards the 2024 election, how do you feel about the following?

	Excited Optimistic Content Frustrated Worried Unsure					
	Excited	Optimistic	Content	Frustrated	Worried	Unsure
Impact my vote will make in the 2024 Presidential Election	23	30	11	12	12	22
Impact Black voters will make in the 2024 Presidential Election	22	36	8	8	15	11
Progress the Democrats have made over the past two years	15	29	14	25	9	8
Progress the Democrats will make over the next two years	14	35	8	13	19	11