In August 2022, Black to the Future Action Fund and HIT Strategies kicked off our new collaboration to survey Black communities in three of our priority states – California, North Carolina, and Georgia. The priority states of the Black to the Future Action Fund were selected according to each state's Black population density, alongside exciting opportunities to build the power of Black voters in the state, and increase the number of Black community members who participate in elections. These polls surveyed a total of 1,200 Black voters in Georgia, North Carolina, and California, including an oversample of 100 Black rural voters in Georgia and North Carolina. In this new polling project, we are taking a deeper dive into our priority states to learn about respondents’ top concerns and what motivates them for the upcoming midterm election and beyond.
As our Temperature Check Polls - a series of six bi-monthly surveys of 1,000 Black adults conducted from July 2021 to May 2022 - came to a close, we redirected our polling work from the national to the state level, to take a closer look at Black voters in our priority states, looking specifically at their attitudes toward the upcoming midterm elections, their top issues and concerns, as well as how recent changes in policies at the state and federal level have impacted them.

In the first set of a 3-part series of polls to be conducted through December 2022, we spoke to 400 Black voters in each state about what is motivating them, what resonates with them, and the ways they are willing to engage themselves and others ahead of the midterm elections.

Continue reading to examine our key findings.
The Direction of the Country & States

In all three states, the majority of Black voters are dissatisfied with the direction our country is headed (CA: 53%; GA: 56%; NC: 58%). When asked about the favorability of President Biden, Black voters still have mostly favorable sentiments (total favorability - CA: 69%; GA: 60%; NC: 62%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% Dissatisfied</th>
<th>% Favorable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>69%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>60%</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>62%</td>
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At the state level, Black voters in California and North Carolina are more satisfied than dissatisfied with the direction of their state (CA: 65% satisfied; NC: 57% satisfied). In Georgia, 61% of Black voters are dissatisfied with the direction of the state. When polled on the favorability of their governors, Black voters in California and North Carolina were more favorable than not for Governor Gavin Newsom (D) (total favorability: 61% [44% very favorable, 17% somewhat favorable]) and Governor Roy Cooper (D) (total favorability: 64% [46% very favorable, 18% somewhat favorable]), respectively. In Georgia, respondents gave Governor Brian Kemp (R) a 15% favorability rating - 45% of Black voters responded as having very unfavorable sentiments towards the Governor, and 15% had somewhat unfavorable feelings. Democratic challenger, Stacey Abrams, had the highest favorability rating of any candidate we asked about, receiving an 80% favorability rating - 64% of Black voters in Georgia find her very favorable, and 16% find her somewhat favorable.
The Issues

When asked about what issues are at the top of mind for them this election season, inflation and cost of living was the top response for respondents in all three states. Black voters across all three states do not see their financial situations improving in the next six months. At the same time, economic policy decisions in these states are adversely impacting Black communities. For example, the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Recovery Act (CARES) was passed in 2020 for use in providing relief for expenses that relate directly to COVID-19. Each state was allocated over $1 billion to be distributed for the pandemic’s impact on schools and education, rent and mortgage payments, and access to healthcare. In Georgia, Governor Kemp allocated $37.4 million of federal COVID-19 dollars to school programs intended to help students who may have fallen behind during the pandemic and $200 million of federal COVID-19 money to law enforcement. In California, inflation and the cost of living and housing, alongside white nationalist violence, are ranked in the top three concerns for Black voters. In North Carolina, the economy, inflation and gun violence are ranked in the top three concerns for Black voters. In Georgia, the cost of living, violence, and racism are ranked in the top three concerns for Black voters. All in all, issues related to the economy, violence, and racism are top of mind for Black voters in these states as they head to the polls in November.
Black voters in California and North Carolina all rank issues related to economic recovery, violence, and racism/discrimination as within their top five issues - and notably, in Georgia, abortion access is an issue for Black voters. Of the three states surveyed, Georgia is the only one where a bill has passed that restricts abortion access. That bill, which bans abortion after six weeks, was opposed by 83% of Black women and 73% of Black men, according to our polling.

When asked about the Biden-Harris administration, Black voters believe that there has been progress on the issues most important to them, and that there is progress still to be made. While respondents do feel conditions have improved for education, student loan debt, and jobs, Black voters perceive that inflation and the cost of living, crime and gun violence, the cost of housing, white supremacist and nationalist violence, discrimination and racism, criminal justice reform/police brutality, and abortion access are getting worse.
63% of Black voters have a favorable impression of President Biden, with 47% saying they feel very favorably towards President Biden. In contrast, 61% of Black voters had an unfavorable impression of Governor Brian Kemp, compared to high favorability ratings amongst Black voters for California Governor Gavin Newsom (61%) and North Carolina Governor Roy Cooper (64%). This indicates that Black voters have a more favorable impression of Democrats than they do Republicans – and this is true at the state level and at the federal level. 58% of Black voters felt favorably toward Democrats in Washington, and 63% felt favorably toward Democrats in their state. In contrast, 65% of Black voters felt unfavorably toward Republicans in Washington, and 57% of Black voters felt unfavorably toward Republicans in their state.

When asked about the most impactful accomplishment of the Biden-Harris administration, 68% of Black voters polled chose the Executive Order on Advancing Effective, Accountable Policing and Criminal Justice Practices to Enhance Public Trust and Public Safety – the police reform executive order that was signed by President Biden after the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor. Black voters also identified the 8.3 million jobs created under the Biden Administration (54%) and the Childcare Tax Credit (52%) as the other two most impactful accomplishments.

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Black Voter Engagement

Across the country, voting rights are under attack. States continue to pass voter suppression laws, and misinformation and disinformation targeted at Black voters paint the picture that Black votes do not matter. However, in spite of these attempts, Black voters recognize the power their vote holds. In both Georgia and California, 68% of Black voters polled say their vote holds power, while 58% of Black voters in North Carolina felt the same. 50% of all respondents said that politicians making it harder for Black communities to vote was the most motivating issue leading them to the polls this November.

Black voters in Georgia are most interested in the outcome of the Abrams–Kemp rematch on the ballot this fall, and Black voters in all three states are keeping an eye on the US House and Senate races. Regardless of what races they’re watching, when asked about their personal interest in engagement efforts, Black voters in California, Georgia, and North Carolina overwhelmingly believe that it is important to engage in political discussion and to vote. In all three states, over 90% of Black voters believe that it is important to engage others (CA: 92%, GA: 92%, NC: 91%).

When asked about the ways they were more likely to take action, the top responses across all three states were: encouraging more friends and family to vote; watching, reading, or listening to news about politics; and, sharing, liking, and commenting on a politician’s or political campaign’s social media. In Georgia, Black voters were as likely to donate money to a political campaign as they were to share, like, or comment on a politician’s or political campaign’s social media.
Conclusion

Although there is a popular narrative of Black people being apathetic or not engaged, it is clear that Black voters in California, Georgia, and North Carolina are motivated to use their vote to build political power.

As we continue to see the cost of living and inflation go up, Black voters want their elected officials to be more responsive around economic issues - and as we see in Georgia, Black voters are less satisfied when those in power fail to use resources to that end. As the midterm elections draw closer, elected officials and candidates in these states must prioritize economic recovery, protecting voter rights and access, and combating white supremacist violence to be responsive to their Black constituents.
Methodology

The Black to the Future Action Fund/HIT Strategies Poll was conducted in English among a sample of 1200 Black voters living in California, Georgia, and North Carolina. The survey was conducted in August 2022. The margin of error overall is ±2.8% among the full sample, and ±4.9% within each state.

About Black to the Future Action Fund

The Black to the Future Action Fund works to make Black communities powerful in politics, so that we can be powerful in the entirety of our lives. We work to enact policies that improve the lives of Black communities and to elect Black and pro-Black legislators with progressive values who move progressive policies. Together we work to ensure that Black people have what all people deserve—dignity, safety, and power.

About HIT Strategies

HIT Strategies uses 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.