Howard Initiative on Public Opinion

September 4 - 11, 2024
1,000 Total Respondents; Margin of error: ± 3.1 percentage points
963 Likely Voters; Margin of error: ± 3.2 percentage points
40 Landline Respondents (Total Weighted: 41, Likely Voters Weighted: 28)
350 Wireless Respondents (Total Weighted: 344, Likely Voters Weighted: 329)
610 Text-to-Web Respondents (Total Weighted: 615, Likely Voters Weighted: 606)

Battleground African American Survey - Wave 1
Frequencies

Q.3 In which state are you registered to vote?

	Total	Likely voters
Arizona	4	3
Georgia	42	41
Michigan	12	12
Nevada	4	4
North Carolina	23	25
Pennsylvania	11	11
Wisconsin	4	4
(Other) (TERMINATE)	-	-
(I am not registered to vote) (TERMINATE)	-	-
(Don't know/refused) (TERMINATE)	-	-

Q.4 Yes or no, do you identify as Black or African American?

	Total	Likely voters
Yes	100	100
No (TERMINATE)	-	-
(Don't know/refused) (TERMINATE)	-	-

Q.5 What are the chances that you will vote in the election for president, Congress, and local offices in November -- are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or do you think you will not vote?

	Total	Likely voters
Almost certain	85	90
Probably	5	4
50-50	7	6
Don't think will vote	3	-
(Don't know/refused)	1	-

Q.6 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Joe Biden?

	Total	Likely voters
Very favorable	40	44
Somewhat favorable	25	24
Somewhat unfavorable	8	7
Very unfavorable	20	19
No opinion	7	6
Never heard of	1	0
(Refused)	1	1
Total Favorable	**64**	**68**
Total Unfavorable	**28**	**26**
Can't ID	**7**	**6**

Q.7 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Kamala Harris?

	Total	Likely voters
Very favorable	54	59
Somewhat favorable	16	15
Somewhat unfavorable	7	6
Very unfavorable	17	16
No opinion	5	4
Never heard of	1	0
(Refused)	1	0
Total Favorable	**70**	**74**
Total Unfavorable	**24**	**21**
Can't ID	**5**	**4**

Q.8 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Donald Trump?

	Total	Likely voters
Very favorable	14	13
Somewhat favorable	6	5
Somewhat unfavorable	11	9
Very unfavorable	65	71
No opinion	3	2
Never heard of	1	0
(Refused)	1	1
Total Favorable	**20**	**17**
Total Unfavorable	**77**	**80**
Can't ID	**4**	**3**

Q.9 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Project 2025?

	Total	Likely voters
Very favorable	9	8
Somewhat favorable	5	5
Somewhat unfavorable	7	5
Very unfavorable	58	64
No opinion	11	10
Never heard of	10	9
(Refused)	0	0
Total Favorable	**14**	**13**
Total Unfavorable	**65**	**69**
Can't ID	**21**	**18**

Q.10 Thinking again about this November's election, if the election for president were held today, would you be voting for Democrat Kamala Harris, Republican Donald Trump, or another candidate?

	Total	Likely voters
Democrat Kamala Harris	77	81
Lean Democrat Kamala Harris	1	1
Republican Donald Trump	14	12
Lean Republican Donald Trump	0	0
Another candidate	1	1
Lean Another candidate	0	0
(Undecided)	7	5
(Will not vote)	-	-
Total Democrat Kamala Harris	**78**	**82**
Total Republican Donald Trump	**14**	**12**
Total Another candidate	**1**	**1**
Harris - Trump	**64**	**70**

(Effective Base: 858 Total; 850 Likely voters)

Q.12 (IF NOT TRUMP IN Q.10) Would you say there is a good chance, some chance, a slight chance, or no chance at all that you will vote for Donald Trump for president?

	Total	Likely voters
A good chance	0	-
Some chance	3	3
A slight chance	9	7
No chance at all	86	89
(Don't know/refused)	2	1
Total Good/Some chance	**3**	**3**
Total Slight/No chance at all	**95**	**96**

(Effective Base: 221 Total; 172 Likely voters)

Q.13 (IF NOT HARRIS IN Q.10) Would you say there is a good chance, some chance, a slight chance, or no chance at all that you will vote for Kamala Harris for president?

	Total	Likely voters
A good chance	-	-
Some chance	5	6
A slight chance	21	19
No chance at all	62	63
(Don't know/refused)	12	12
Total Good/Some chance	**5**	**6**
Total Slight/No chance at all	**82**	**82**

(Effective Base: Total: 352 Likely voters: 330)

Q.14 (DO NOT ASK IN GEORGIA OR NORTH CAROLINA) And if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for Democrat NAMED DEMOCRAT or Republican NAMED REPUBLICAN?

	Total	Likely voters
Named Democrat	71	76
Lean Named Democrat	2	2
Named Republican	13	11
Lean Named Republican	1	1
(Other candidate)	1	0
Lean (Other candidate)	-	-
(Undecided)	13	10
(Will not vote)	-	-
Total Named Democrat	**73**	**78**
Total Named Republican	**13**	**11**
Total Other candidate	**1**	**0**
Named Democrat - Named Republican	**60**	**67**

Q.24 Please indicate if each of the following things about Kamala Harris makes you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to support her for president.

	Much more likely	Smwt more likely	Smwt less likely	Much less likely	(Neither more nor less likely)	(Don't know/ refused)	Total More likely	Total Less likely
A. Her record as a prosecutor								
Total	50	16	6	12	11	7	**65**	**18**
Likely voters	53	16	6	10	11	6	**69**	**15**
B. Her positions and agenda on the economy								
Total	55	16	4	12	7	6	**71**	**16**
Likely voters	60	16	4	9	6	5	**76**	**13**
C. Her positions and agenda on immigration								
Total	44	20	6	16	7	7	**64**	**22**
Likely voters	48	20	5	13	7	6	**68**	**19**
D. Her positions and agenda on abortion and reproductive health care								
Total	65	11	4	11	5	5	**75**	**15**
Likely voters	69	9	3	9	5	4	**79**	**13**
E. Her positions and agenda on the conflict in Gaza								
Total	40	19	9	12	11	9	**59**	**21**
Likely voters	44	19	7	10	12	8	**63**	**17**
F. Her values								
Total	61	12	3	13	4	8	**73**	**16**
Likely voters	67	11	2	11	4	6	**78**	**13**
G. Her age								
Total	57	13	3	5	21	2	**70**	**7**
Likely voters	60	12	2	4	20	2	**73**	**6**
H. Her gender								
Total	41	11	3	8	35	3	**52**	**11**
Likely voters	42	11	3	6	36	2	**53**	**9**
I. Her temperament								
Total	61	14	4	10	8	4	**75**	**14**
Likely voters	66	13	4	8	7	3	**79**	**12**
J. Her ability to defeat Donald Trump								
Total	62	9	4	8	13	3	**72**	**12**
Likely voters	68	9	3	7	12	3	**77**	**9**

Q.25 Please indicate if each of the following things about Donald Trump makes you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to support him for president.

	Much more likely	Smwt more likely	Smwt less likely	Much less likely	(Neither more nor less likely)	(Don't know/ refused)	Total More likely	Total Less likely
A. His record in business								
Total	14	4	9	61	8	4	**18**	**70**
Likely voters	12	3	8	66	8	3	**16**	**74**
B. His record as president								
Total	14	5	8	65	6	4	**18**	**72**
Likely voters	12	4	6	70	6	3	**16**	**76**
C. His positions and agenda on the economy								
Total	15	5	10	58	6	5	**21**	**69**
Likely voters	13	5	9	64	6	4	**18**	**73**
D. His positions and agenda on immigration								
Total	15	4	9	64	5	3	**19**	**73**
Likely voters	13	4	8	68	5	3	**17**	**75**
E. His positions and agenda on abortion and reproductive health care								
Total	11	4	6	71	6	3	**14**	**77**
Likely voters	10	3	6	75	5	2	**12**	**80**
F. His positions and agenda on the conflict in Gaza								
Total	11	4	10	57	10	8	**15**	**67**
Likely voters	10	4	9	61	10	7	**13**	**70**
G. His values								
Total	9	5	5	71	7	3	**14**	**76**
Likely voters	7	4	5	75	7	2	**11**	**80**
H. His age								
Total	6	3	11	56	20	3	**9**	**68**
Likely voters	6	3	10	60	19	2	**9**	**70**
I. His gender								
Total	5	6	7	26	51	4	**11**	**34**
Likely voters	4	5	6	29	52	4	**10**	**35**
J. His temperament								
Total	7	4	8	70	8	2	**11**	**79**
Likely voters	6	4	6	75	7	2	**10**	**81**

	Much more likely	Smwt more likely	Smwt less likely	Much less likely	(Neither more nor less likely)	(Don't know/ refused)	Total More likely	Total Less likely
K. His ability to defeat Kamala Harris								
Total	11	3	8	58	15	6	**13**	**65**
Likely voters	9	3	7	61	15	5	**12**	**68**

Q.26 Please indicate if you are very concerned, somewhat concerned, a little concerned, or not at all concerned each of the following things will happen if Donald Trump wins the election for president.

	Very concerned	Smwt concerned	A little concerned	Not at all concerned	(Don't know/ refused)	Total Very/ Somewhat concerned	Total A little /Not at all concerned
A. A rise in hate or brutality against African Americans							
Total	71	11	3	13	2	**82**	**16**
Likely voters	76	9	2	11	2	**84**	**14**
B. American democracy being threatened							
Total	70	9	3	16	1	**80**	**19**
Likely voters	75	8	3	13	1	**83**	**16**
C. A rise in extremist groups							
Total	75	7	4	12	3	**82**	**15**
Likely voters	79	6	3	10	2	**85**	**13**

Q.27 Please indicate if you are very concerned, somewhat concerned, a little concerned, or not at all concerned each of the following things will happen if Kamala Harris wins the election for president.

	Very concerned	Smwt concerned	A little concerned	Not at all concerned	(Don't know/ refused)	Total Very/ Somewhat concerned	Total A little /Not at all concerned
A. A rise in hate or brutality against African Americans							
Total	27	19	12	40	2	**46**	**52**
Likely voters	26	19	13	40	2	**45**	**53**
B. American democracy being threatened							
Total	24	9	11	55	2	**33**	**65**
Likely voters	23	8	10	57	2	**32**	**67**
C. A rise in extremist groups							
Total	28	18	19	33	3	**45**	**52**
Likely voters	27	17	19	34	3	**45**	**53**

Q.28 What policies would you say you associate most with Kamala Harris?

	Total	Likely voters
Pro-abortion rights/Women's rights/Reproductive health care	27	28
Jobs/The economy (economic policies)	25	26
Preserving democracy/Unifying the country/Unity	10	11
Illegal immigration/Border policies	7	8
Health care/Mental health	7	7
Individual rights/Civil rights/Personal freedoms	6	6
Taxes/Tax breaks	5	5
General positive/Offers hope/Joy	4	4
Affordable housing/Housing/Rent control	4	4
Foreign policies/Foreign relations	3	3
Guns/Gun control/Gun violence	3	3
Education (schools/student loans)	3	3
For the people/Best interests in mind	2	3
Everything	2	3
Cost of living/Inflation	1	1
Lies/Dishonest/Inconsistent	1	1
More information needed/Need to research	1	1
Crime/Public safety	1	1
Never heard of her	0	0
Other	6	5
None/Nothing	2	2
Don't know/Refused	3	2

Q.29 What policies would you say you associate most with Donald Trump?

	Total	Likely voters
Border control/Immigration	16	14
Trump's policies/Plans/Views	10	8
Economic views	9	9
Abortion/Women's rights	9	9
General negative	8	8
Tax cuts for the wealthy	8	8
Hate/Hatred	7	8
Racism/White nationalism	7	7
Project 2025	6	6
Dictatorship/Authoritarian	6	6
His criminal activity/Safety concerns	3	3
Dishonest/Liar	2	3
Foreign policy/National safety	2	2
General positive	2	1
Gun laws	1	1
Other	3	3
None/Nothing	15	18
Don't know/Refused	3	2

Q.30 As you may know, Donald Trump was convicted of 34 felony counts of falsifying business records by a New York jury in May. Do you think Trump was rightfully convicted or wrongfully convicted?

	Total	Likely voters
Rightfully convicted	81	84
Wrongfully convicted	11	9
(Don't know/refused)	8	6

Q.31 As you may know, in some states convicted felons permanently lose their right to vote. Do you support or oppose allowing people convicted of felonies to vote after serving their sentences?

	Total	Likely voters
Strongly support	49	50
Somewhat support	24	25
Somewhat oppose	8	8
Strongly oppose	13	12
(Don't know/refused)	6	6
Total Support	**73**	**75**
Total Oppose	**21**	**20**

Q.32 And yes or no, do you believe Donald Trump should have the right to run for president as a convicted felon?

	Total	Likely voters
Yes	17	14
No	78	82
(Don't know/refused)	5	4

Q.33 Now I am going to read you some sources where some people get their news. Please indicate if you get a lot of your news, some of your news, a little of your news, or none of your news from each of these sources.

	A lot of your news	Some of your news	A little of your news	None of your news	(Don't know/ refused)	Total A lot/ Some	Total A little/ None
A. Television network and local news							
Total	43	28	16	12	1	**71**	**28**
Likely voters	45	29	15	10	0	**75**	**25**
B. Cable news							
Total	31	27	19	22	1	**58**	**41**
Likely voters	33	30	17	20	1	**62**	**37**
C. Mainstream newspapers							
Total	10	21	21	46	2	**31**	**67**
Likely voters	10	22	21	45	2	**32**	**66**
D. Minority newspapers such as Black community serving newspapers or Hispanic community serving newspapers							
Total	5	18	24	49	5	**23**	**72**
Likely voters	5	18	24	49	4	**24**	**73**
E. Radio							
Total	11	30	23	35	1	**41**	**58**
Likely voters	11	32	24	33	1	**42**	**57**
F. Internet news sites							
Total	22	40	23	14	1	**62**	**37**
Likely voters	21	40	24	15	1	**61**	**38**
G. YouTube							
Total	17	25	21	35	2	**42**	**56**
Likely voters	15	24	21	38	2	**39**	**59**
H. Social media							
Total	25	25	26	23	2	**50**	**48**
Likely voters	23	25	28	23	2	**48**	**51**

Q.34 Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes. Thinking back to the 2020 presidential election, did you vote for Democrat Joe Biden or Republican Donald Trump?

	Total	Likely voters
Democrat Joe Biden	77	81
Republican Donald Trump	10	9
(Another candidate)	1	1
(Did not vote)	10	7
(Refused)	2	2
Biden - Trump	**66**	**73**

Q.35 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, or what?

	Total	Likely voters
Strong Democrat	48	52
Weak Democrat	10	10
Independent-lean Democrat	14	13
Independent	14	13
Independent-lean Republican	9	7
Weak Republican	2	2
Strong Republican	4	4
(Don't know/refused)	0	-
Democrat	**58**	**62**
Independent with Leaners	**36**	**33**
Republican	**6**	**6**
Democrat - Republican	**52**	**56**
Democrat and Ind. Lean Dem	**71**	**75**
Pure Independent	**14**	**13**
Republican and Ind. Lean Rep	**15**	**13**
Democrat and Ind. Lean Dem - Republican and Ind. Lean Rep	**57**	**62**

Q.38 Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are liberal, moderate, or conservative?

	Total	Likely voters
Liberal	23	22
Moderate	45	48
Conservative	20	18
(Don't know/refused)	11	11

Q.39 Are you a current or retired member of a labor union?

	Total	Likely voters
Yes; respondent belongs	15	16
Yes; household member	6	7
No member belongs	76	75
(Don't know/refused)	3	3
Total Union Household	**21**	**22**

Q.40 Do you self-identify as a male; female; transgender male; transgender female; or non-binary, gender-nonconforming, gender fluid, or genderqueer?

	Total	Likely voters
Male	44	41
Female	56	59
Transgender male	-	-
Transgender female	-	-
Non-binary/gender-nonconforming/gender fluid/genderqueer	-	-
(Other)	-	-
(Don't know/refused)	-	-

Q.41 What education level have you attained?

	Total	Likely voters
No high school diploma	2	2
High school diploma	14	13
Trade school certificate	3	3
Some college	17	17
Associate's degree	11	11
Bachelor's degree	25	26
Some post-graduate education	4	5
Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, MSW, MDiv)	15	16
Doctorate or professional degree (e.g. PhD, MD, JD, DO)	6	6
(Don't know/refused)	2	2
H.S. or less	**16**	**15**
Post H.S.	**32**	**31**
Total College Graduate	**51**	**52**
Not College	**48**	**46**

Q.42 How would you describe your employment status -- are you currently working, a student, unemployed, retired, on disability, or something else?

	Total	Likely voters
Full-time worker	50	51
Part-time worker	5	4
Student	6	5
Unemployed	5	4
Retired	26	28
On disability	6	6
Seasonal worker	0	-
Other	2	2
(Don't know/refused)	0	1
Total Employed	**54**	**55**
Total Unemployed	**43**	**42**

Q.43 What is your marital status?

	Total	Likely voters
Married	36	40
Partnered but not married	6	5
Separated/divorced	13	14
Single	39	34
Widowed	6	6
(Don't know/refused)	1	1

Q.44 Would you say your religious views do not impact your voting priorities at all, somewhat impact your voting priorities, or strongly impact your voting priorities?

	Total	Likely voters
My religious views do not impact my voting at all	49	49
My religious views somewhat impact my voting	22	23
My religious views strongly impact my voting	18	18
(I am not religious)	9	8
(Don't know/refused)	2	2

Q.45 How frequently do you attend religious services or engage in religious practices -- more than weekly, weekly, several times a month, monthly, a few times a year, or never?

	Total	Likely voters
More than weekly	18	17
Weekly	23	25
Several times a month	11	12
Monthly	6	6
A few times a year	23	22
Never	17	16
(Don't know/refused)	2	3
Total At least weekly	**41**	**42**
Total At least monthly	**58**	**59**

Q.46 In what year were you born?

	Total	Likely voters
18-29	20	16
30-39	20	16
40-49	17	16
50-64	23	27
65+	19	24
(Don't know/refused)	-	-

(Effective Base: 385 Total; 357 Likely voters)
Phone line type

	Total	Likely voters
Wireless	89	92
Not Wireless	11	8

Mode

	Total	Likely voters
Online	62	63
Phone	39	37

Survey Methodology

Howard Initiative on Public Opinion designed and administered this multi-modal survey. The survey reached 1,000 adults, age 18 or older, who self-identified as African American or Black and indicated they were registered to vote in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, or Wisconsin. 963 respondents indicated they are almost certain to vote, will probably vote, or the chances are 50-50 that they will vote in the election for president, Congress, and local offices in November. The survey was conducted September 4 - 11, 2024, via live phones with trained operators and online via a link from a SMS.

The sample was randomly selected from a national voter file. Thirty-nine percent of respondents were reached on telephones (Total weighted: 39 percent; Likely voters weighted: 37 percent). Ninety percent of the respondents who took the survey via phone were reached on a wireless phone (Total weighted: 89 percent; Likely voters weighted: 92 percent). Sixty-one percent were reached via SMS and took the survey online (Total weighted: 62 percent; Likely voters weighted: 63 percent).

Quotas were assigned to reflect the demographic distribution of registered African American/Black voters in the presidential battleground, defined as Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. The data were weighted by gender; age; predictive model scores for turnout, partisanship, and high school education only; and region by state to ensure an accurate reflection of the population.

The margin of error for the total data is +/- 3.1% and the margin of error for likely voters is +/- 3.2%. The margin of error for subgroups is larger and varies. Percentage totals may not add up precisely due to rounding.