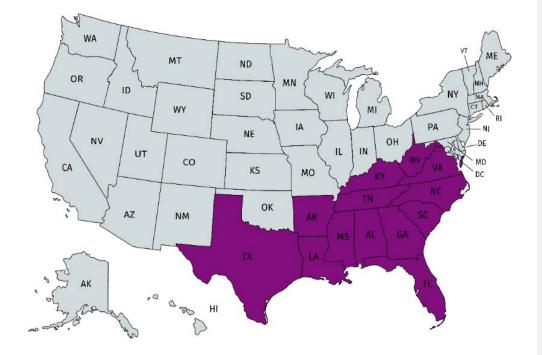


E Pluribus Unum Annual Survey Of Black, White, And Latino Americans in The American South

October 2020

Methodology



GBAO conducted a survey of 1,800 white, Black, and Latino adults in the South on landlines, cellphones and an online panel from October 7-12, 2020. Latino respondents were given the option of taking the survey in English or Spanish. The margin of error for each racial group is +/- 4 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level.

- 600 white adults
- 600 Black adults
- 600 Latino adults

Summary Findings

10m

On the eve of the 2020 election, the racial divide in the American South is very clear and serves as a stark reminder of the challenge facing our country. This survey shows that from policy priorities to views on police reform and systemic racism, Black, white, and Latino Southerners hold very different perspectives that shape the challenges facing the U.S. as we complete a divisive and contentious presidential election.

This challenge is not new. But E Pluribus Unum's ongoing research and work throughout the South have shown that common interests and compassion do exist across race. This latest data offer signs of hope, while also underscoring the hard work that needs to continue as America enters a new chapter.

- There continues to be major divides by race on a range of issues and perspectives, including attitudes on vaccine usage, how to address the pandemic, causes of poverty, equality of opportunity, access to healthcare, systemic racism, the country's priorities, and race relations.
 - Some attitudes that seemed to be changing among white Southerners after the George Floyd murder have reverted to previous views.
 - While some white Southerners' attitudes shift back to the pre-Floyd baseline, Black Southerners express increased concerns over race relations and national priorities.
- There are very large racial divisions along political measures such as motivation to vote and presidential vote choice.
 - White Southerners are most motivated to vote, and strongly support Trump.
 - Black Southerners overwhelmingly support Biden, and are slightly less motivated than white Southerners.
 - Latino Southerners support Biden in levels comparable to the support of white Southerners for Trump, and are the least motivated.

- While Black respondents strongly support numerous police reforms, the support of white respondents is much weaker, particularly on changes that address use of force and the role of police in a community. Latino respondents are more supportive of reforms than white respondents, but not as supportive as Black respondents.
 - There is broad support across race for requiring officers to step in when other officers are using excessive force, as well as requiring reporting of all instances of deadly force used against civilians.
 - White respondents are concerned that lawmakers will go too far with police reform, and Black and Latino respondents are concerned that lawmakers will not go far enough.
- Black and Latino respondents are much more likely than white respondents to attribute the deaths of Black men and women in police custody to a racist police system, whereas white respondents are more likely to say these deaths are the result of the behavior of the individuals in custody.

- The stark racial differences on attitudes toward racism, policing, and other issues get blurred when taking into account partisanship.
 - Democrats across race share common views, and the same holds true for Republicans across race. That is, Black Democrats have similar attitudes as white and Latino Democrats, and white Republicans have similar attitudes as Latino Republicans.
- Educational attainment is another demographic where the racial divide narrows, but not nearly as much as party identification.
- Latina and white women, as well as younger Latino and white people, are more likely than men and older counterparts to cite white people as having economic advantages.

- Despite the many divisions and clear challenges to bridge racial differences, the survey reveals some hopeful trends to build upon.
- While Latino respondents often hold views on race that fall in between the wide gap between Black and white respondents, this latest research suggests some movement on attitudes related to systemic racism in the aftermath of the pandemic and racial justice protests.
 - Over the past year, Latino respondents have moved significantly on the question of whether systemic racism is a problem.
 - In October 2019, 30 percent of Latino respondents said they were not familiar with systemic racism. This has fallen to 19 percent who now say they are not familiar, and a majority of Latino respondents (54 percent) now believe system racism is a major problem.
- There has been notable movement across all three groups on how U.S. leaders should approach the pandemic recovery and racial inequities.
 - White respondents are the only group that believes we should just take steps to restore systems as quickly as possible, instead of making big changes to address historical racial inequities in healthcare, education, and the economy, but their resistance reduced by a net of 10 points since June.
 - Black and Latino respondents both substantially increased their support for big changes (Black respondents by a net of 15 points; Latino respondents by a net of 14 points).

The 2020 Vote



White Adults Are Slightly More Motivated To Vote Than Black Adults; Latino Adults Less Motivated

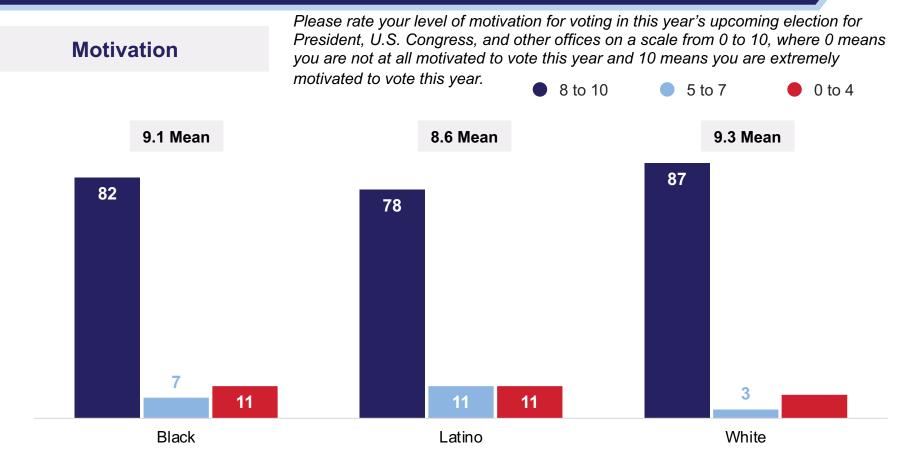
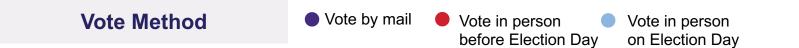
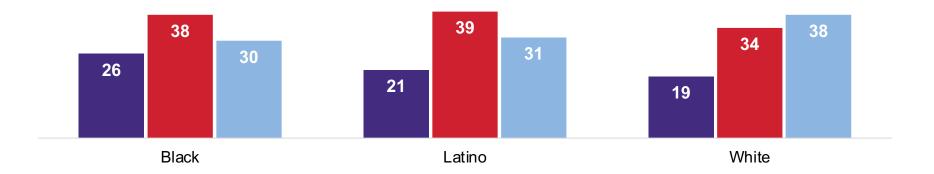


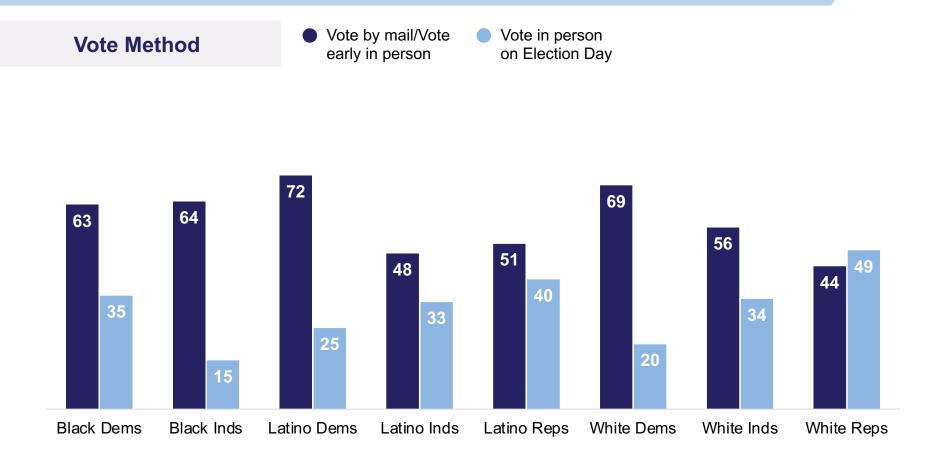
Figure 11



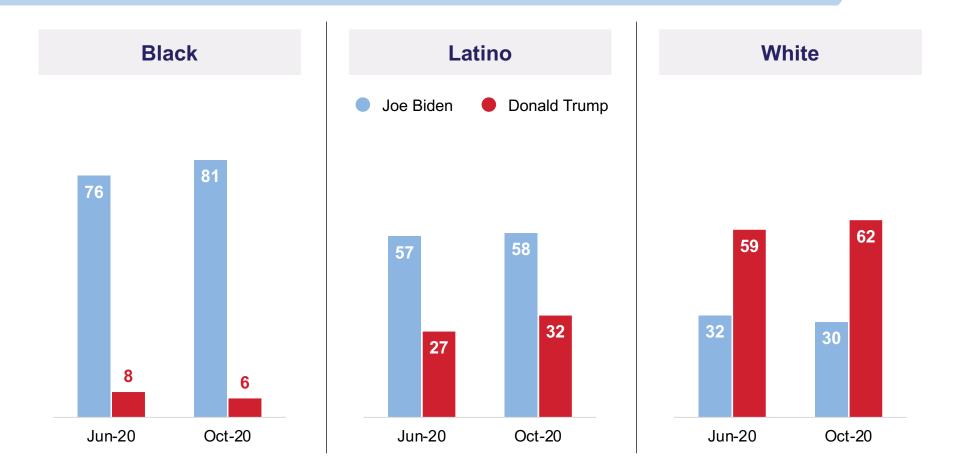


Partisanship Is More Central Than Race To Voting Early

Figure 12



Biden Increasing His Black Vote, Trump Increasing His White Vote



Presidential Vote

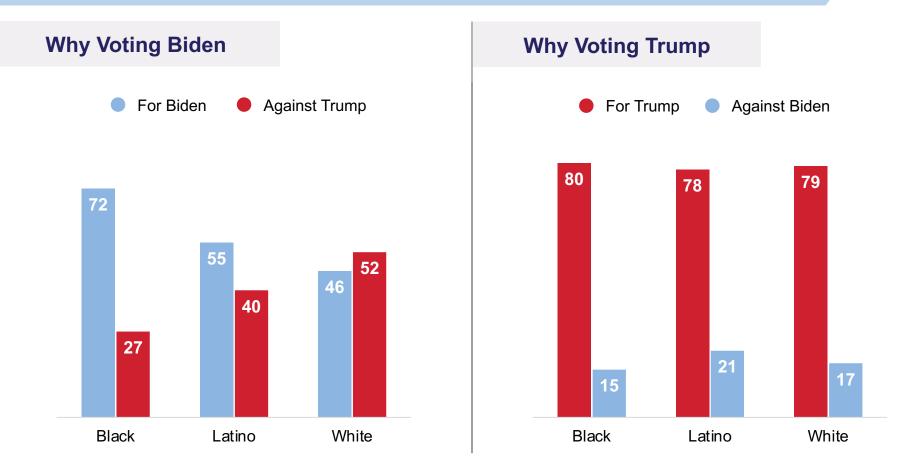
	October 2020		June 2020	October 2020
	Trump	Biden	Net Difference	Net Difference
White Men	69	25	-31	-44
White Women	56	35	-23	-21
White College	54	37	-13	-17
White Non-College	66	28	-31	-38
White Under 50	57	34	-28	-23
White 50+	67	26	-26	-41

Biden Gains With Black Men, Non-College Educated Black respondents, and College Educated Latino respondents

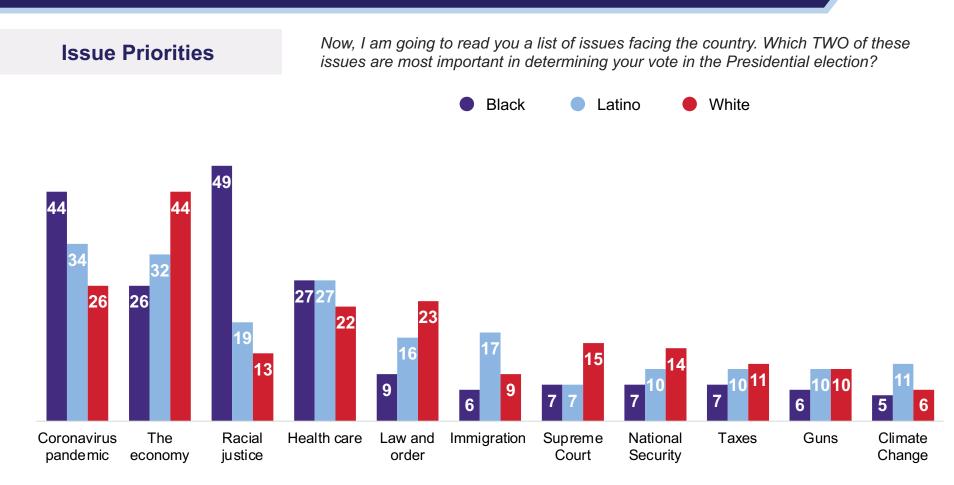
Presidential Vote

			1	
	Octob	er 2020	June 2020	October 2020
	Trump	Biden	Net Difference	Net Difference
Black Me	n 7	78	+60	+72
Black Wome	n 5	84	+75	+79
Black Colleg	e 9	83	+74	+74
Black Non-Colleg	e 5	81	+67	+76
Black Under 5	0 7	79	+64	+72
Black 50	+ 4	85	+75	+81
Latino Me	n 33	53	+19	+21
Latino Wome	n 31	62	+42	+31
Latino Colleg	e 28	65	+26	+37
Latino Non-Colleg	e 32	57	+31	+24
Latino Under 5	0 31	57	+32	+26
Latino 50	+ 34	59	+27	+25

Trump Supporters Voting FOR Trump; Biden Voters Are A Mix Of FOR Biden And AGAINST Trump



Differences On Issue Priorities Reflect Racial Divide



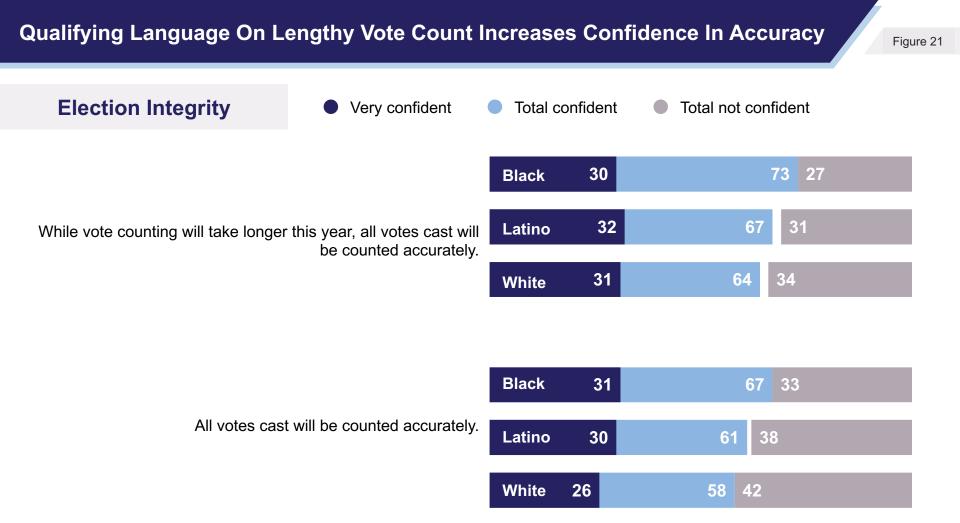
Issue Priorities		Now, I am going to read you a list of issues facing the country. Which TWO of these issues are most important in determining your vote in the Presidential election?					
	Black College	Black Non-Coll	Latino College	Latino Non-Coll	White College	White Non-Coll	
The coronavirus pandemic	43	45	42	31	27	25	
The economy	33	25	32	33	41	46	
Racial justice	52	48	23	18	17	11	
Healthcare	28	25	27	27	21	22	
Law and order	6	9	12	16	19	25	
Immigration	3	7	12	18	7	10	
National Security	10	7	9	11	14	14	
The Supreme Court	9	7	8	7	21	12	
Taxes	7	7	14	9	14	10	
Guns	2	8	5	10	4	13	
Climate Change	6	5	13	11	7	6	

Republicans Regardless Of Race Are Much More Concerned About The Economy And Law And Order, No Concern About Racial Justice

Figure 19

ssue Priorities	Now, I am going to read you a list of issues facing the country. Which TWO of issues are most important in determining your vote in the Presidential election				
	Black Dems	Latino Dems	Latino Reps	White Dems	White Reps
The coronavirus pandemic	46	42	19	48	16
The economy	27	21	46	29	54
Racial justice	52	29	6	28	4
Healthcare	25	34	18	36	17
Law and order	8	7	31	4	32
Immigration	7	22	13	9	11
National Security	7	4	24	8	16
The Supreme Court	5	8	7	9	18
Taxes	6	6	13	4	14
Guns	6	7	14	3	12
Climate Change	4	17	3	18	2

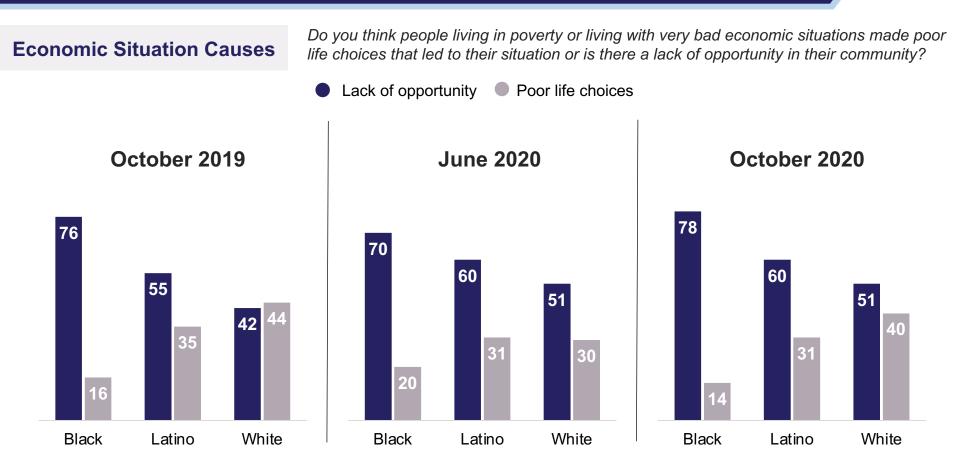
Election Integrity	Very confident	Total co	onfident 🛛 🗎	Total not confident
		Black	29	64 35
All citizens will have safe a	and equal access to voting.	Latino	41	71 28
		White	41	76 22
			_	
The election will be conducted fairl	and the results will reflect	Black	33	71 29
	the will of the people.	Latino	29	69 30
		White	30	67 32



Economics

Large Divides Remain On Causes Of Economic Circumstances, But Increased Views On Lack Of Opportunity Holds Among White And Latino Southerners

Figure 23



Women, Non-College Educated, Younger Drive Changes On Economic Causes Among White Southerners

Econ	omic Situation Causes			bad economic situations ere a lack of opportunity in		
	Lack of Opportunity – Poor Life Choices	October 2019	June 2020	October 2020	Net Shift October 2019 to October 2020	
	White Men	-12	+15	-11	+1	
_	White Women	+8	+29	+30	+22	
-	White College	+7	+26	+14	+7	
	White Non-College	-6	+20	+8	+14	
-	White Under 50	-6	+31	+13	+19	
	White 50+	+1	+13	+8	+7	

Black Men, Latino College Students, Younger Latino Adults Shift Most Toward Lack Of Opportunity

Economic Situation Causes

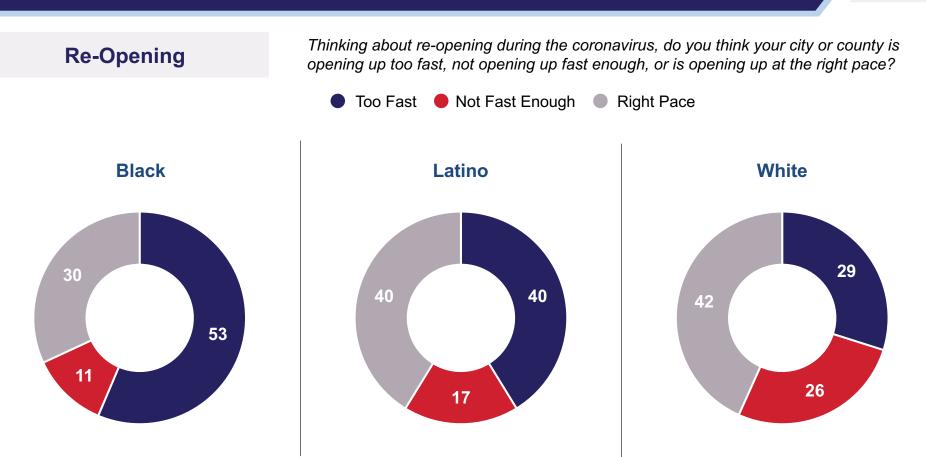
uation Causes	life choices that le	ed to their situation or	is there a lack of op	portunity in their comm
ack of Opportunity – Poor Life Choices	Oct 2019	June 2020	Oct 2020	Net Shift October 2019 – October 2020
Black Men	+53	+45	+73	+20
Black Women	+66	+57	+56	-10
Black College	+67	+63	+68	+1
Black Non-College	+58	+47	+63	+5
Black Under 50	+57	+54	+60	+3
Black 50+	+63	+44	+68	+5
Latino Men	+3	+14	+12	+9
Latino Women	+38	+43	+48	+10
Latino College	+19	+23	+40	+21
Latino Non-College	+21	+29	+27	+6
Latino Under 50	+16	+29	+29	+13
Latino 50+	+29	+27	+31	+2
	ack of Opportunity – Poor Life Choices Black Men Black Women Black College Black Non-College Black Under 50 Black Under 50 Black 50+ Latino Men Latino Men Latino College Latino Non-College Latino Under 50	Latino VoneHorison of the construction of the constructionLatino Under 50Horizont and the constructionLatino Under 50+16Latino Under 50+16Latino Under 50+16	ack of Opportunity – Poor Life ChoicesOct 2019June 2020Black Men+53+45Black Women+66+57Black College+67+63Black Non-College+58+47Black Under 50+57+54Black 50++63+44Latino Men+3+14Latino College+19+23Latino Under 50+16+29	Bilack Men +53 +45 +73 Black Men +53 +45 +73 Black Women +66 +57 +56 Black College +67 +63 +68 Black Non-College +57 +54 +60 Black Under 50 +57 +54 +60 Black 50+ +63 +44 +68 Latino Men +3 +14 +12 Latino College +19 +23 +40 Latino Under 50 +16 +29 +27 Latino Under 50 +16 +29 +29

Do you think people living in poverty or living with very bad economic situations made poor

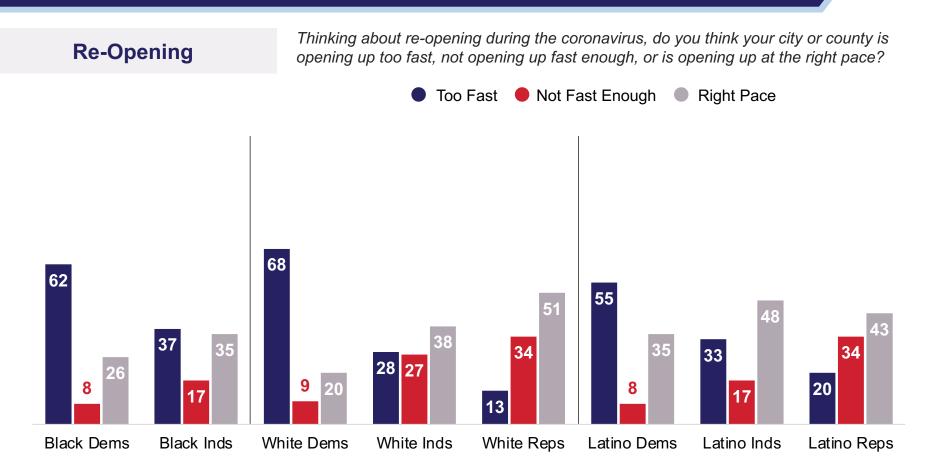
Coronavirus

TUNNIZ WANT

Large Differences On Pace Of Re-Opening

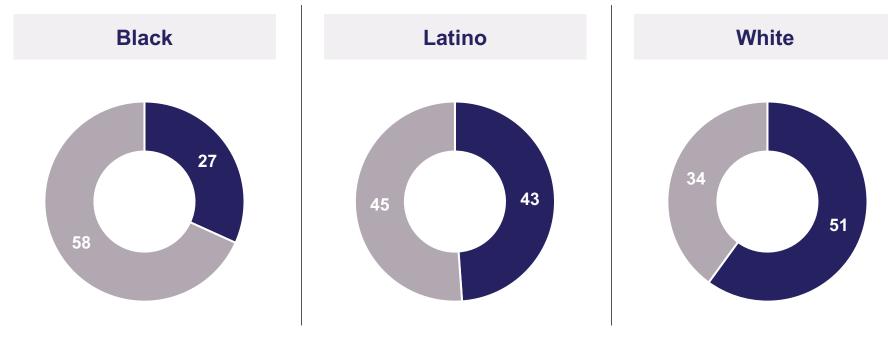


Party ID Drives Views On Re-Opening



Black People Don't Plan On Getting COVID Vaccine, White People Do, Latino People Mixed

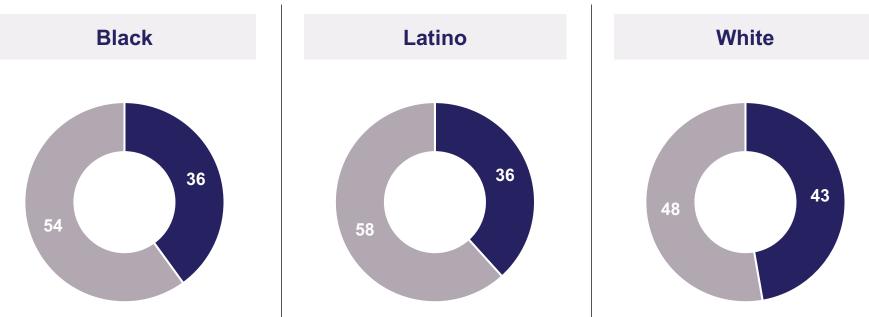
As you may know, scientists and drug manufacturers are working on the development of a COVID vaccine. Do you plan to get a COVID vaccine when it becomes available?





Vaccine Concerns Are Connected To This Particular Vaccine

(IF NOT PLANNING TO GET VACCINE) Do you plan NOT to get a COVID vaccine because you don't trust vaccines in general or because you don't trust the development of this particular vaccine?

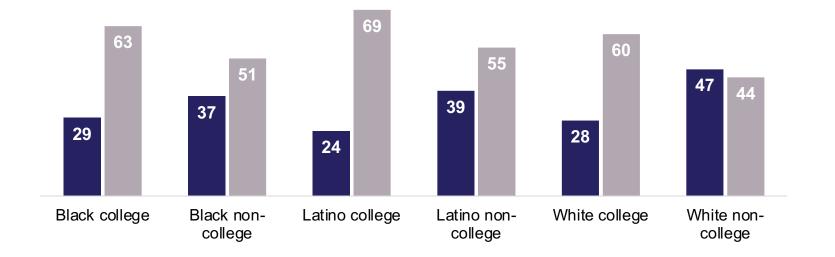


Non-College Educated White People Are Generally More Vaccine Skeptical, But Others More Concerned About This Particular Vaccine

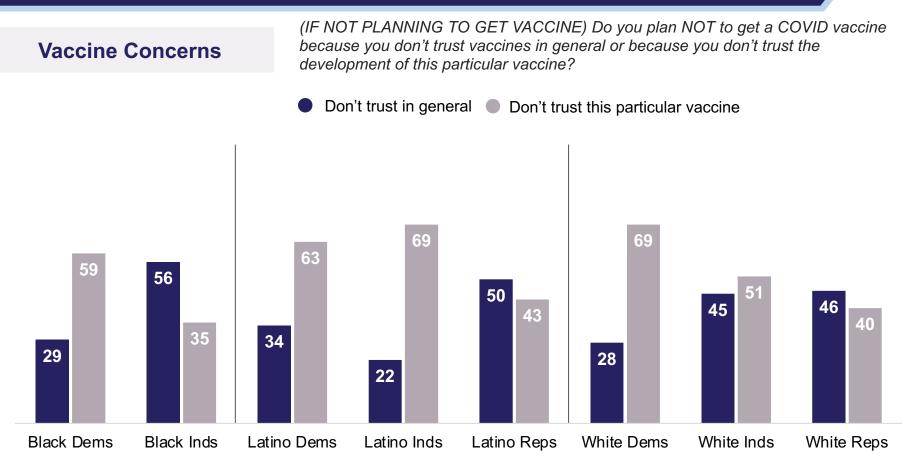
Figure 31

 Vaccine Concerns
 (IF NOT PLANNING TO GET VACCINE) Do you plan NOT to get a COVID vaccine because you don't trust vaccines in general or because you don't trust the development of this particular vaccine?

 • Don't trust in general • Don't trust this particular vaccine

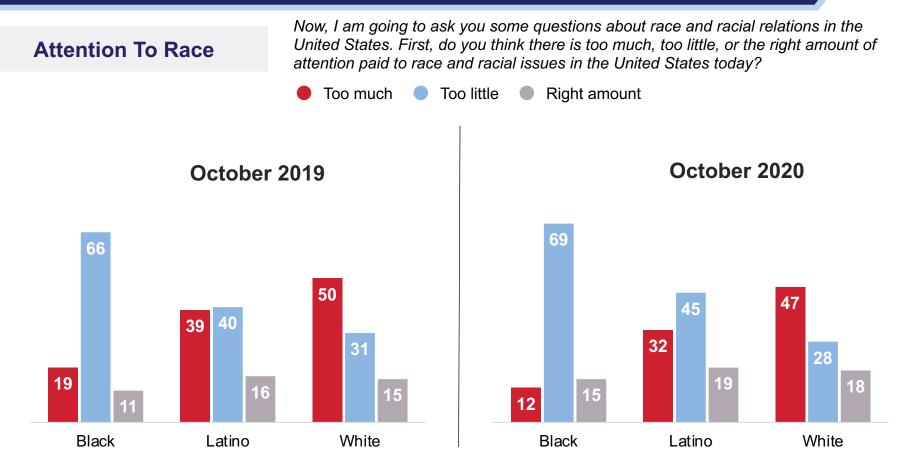


White & Latino Republicans Are More Vaccine Skeptical Than Just Opposed To The COVID Vaccine

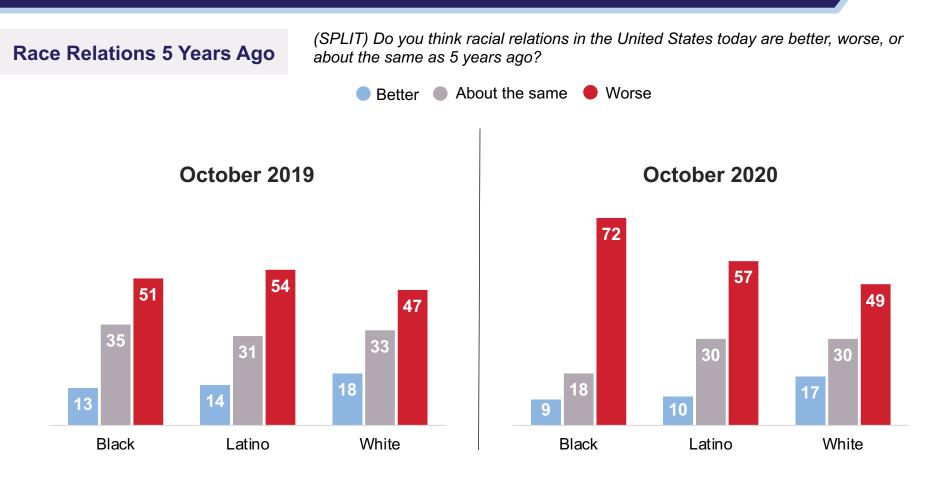


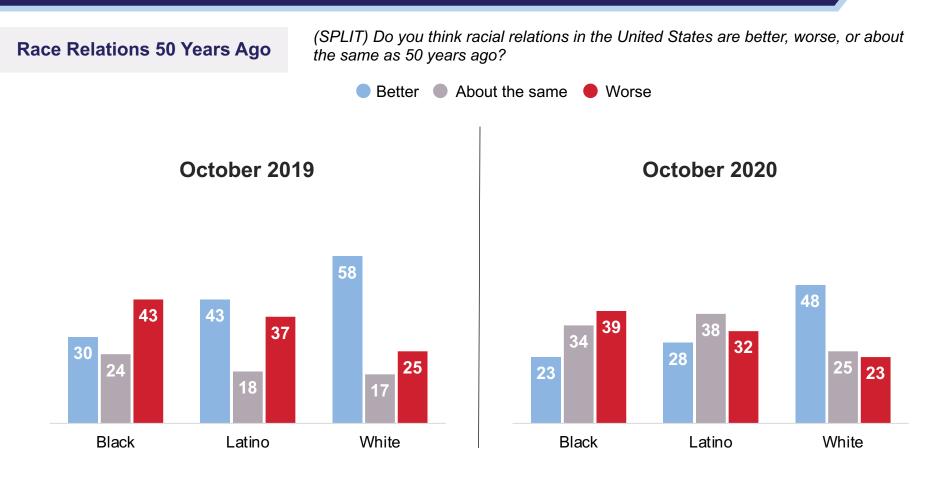
Race, Economics & Health Care

Black And Latino Southerners Think Too Little Attention Is Paid To Racial Issues; White Southerners Think There is Too Much Attention

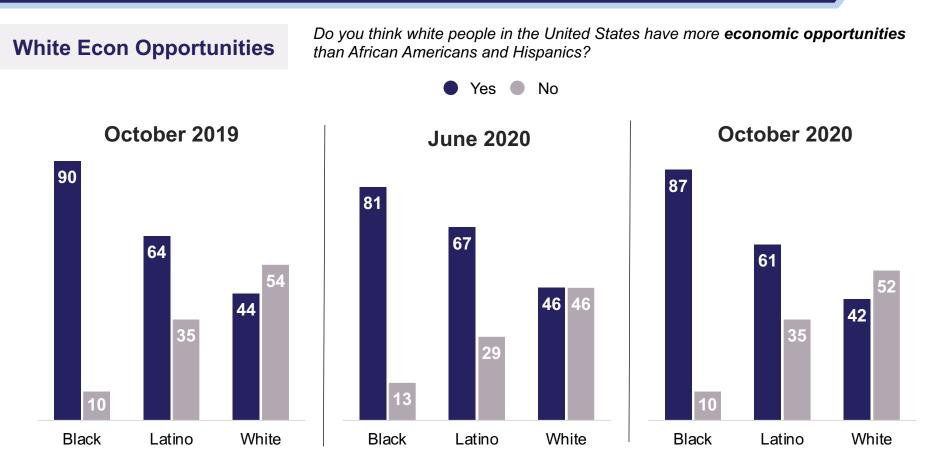


Large Shift Among Black Southernerers Regarding Direction Of Race Relations

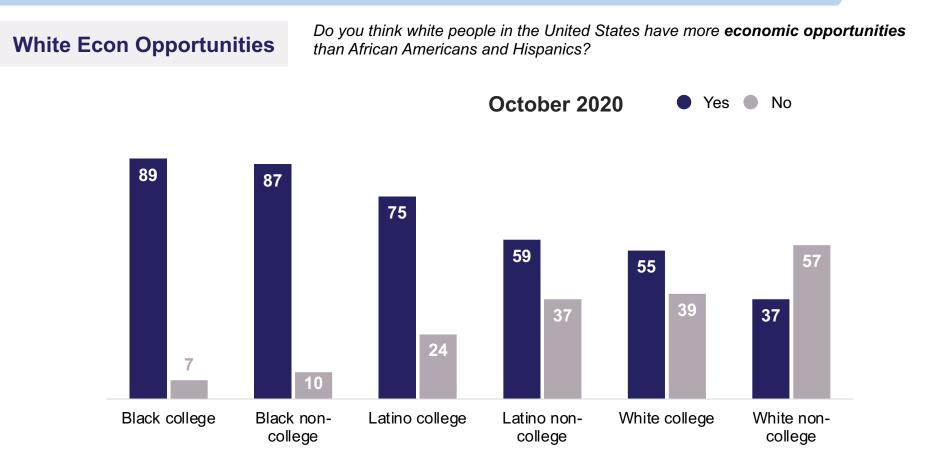




White And Latino Respondents Revert To Their 2019 Views On Inequal Economic Opportunity



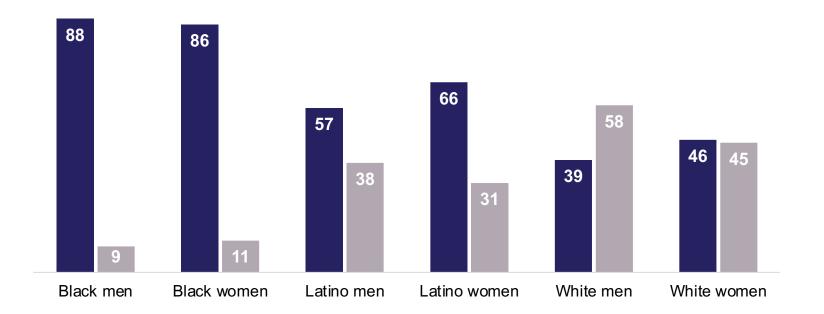
College Educated Latino And White Respondents Cite Inequal Economic Opportunity More Than Non-College Educated People



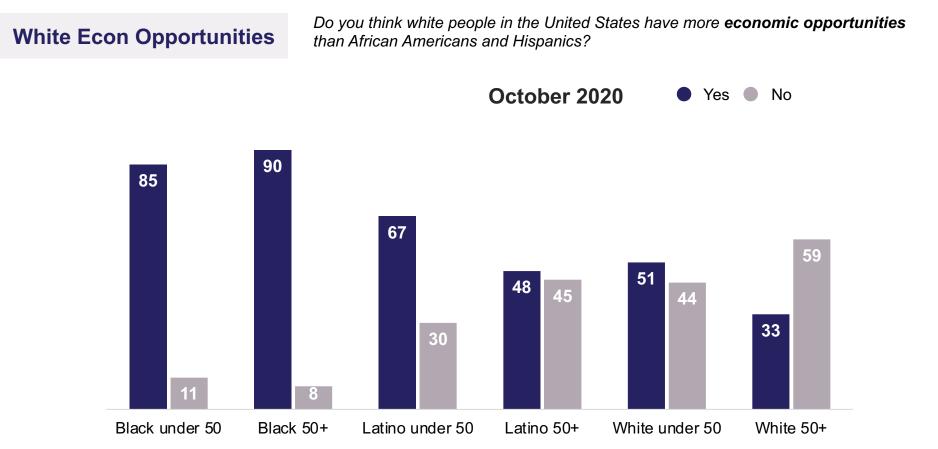
White Econ Opportunities

Do you think white people in the United States have more **economic opportunities** than African Americans and Hispanics?





Older White And Latino Southerners Least Likely To Cite Inequal Economic Opportunity



White Econ Opportunities

Do you think white people in the United States have more **economic opportunities** than African Americans and Hispanics?

	Black				Latino		White		
	Urban	Suburban	Rural	Urban	Suburban	Rural	Urban	Suburban	Rural
Yes	94	92	93	68	58	48	54	45	37
No	3	7	7	30	40	47	44	53	61

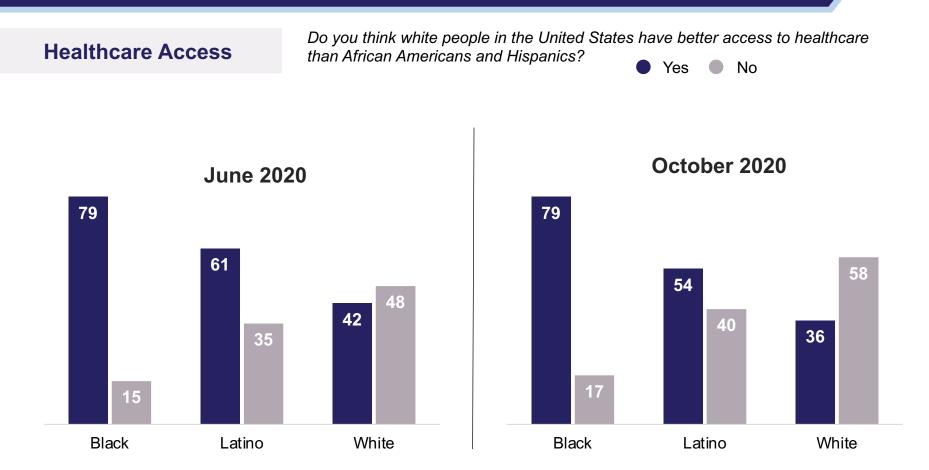
Massive Partisan Divide Among White/Latino Respondents On White Southerners' Economic Opportunity

Figure 42

White Econ Opportunities

Do you think white people in the United States have more **economic opportunities** than African Americans and Hispanics?

	Black			Latino		White			
	Dems	Inds	Dems	Inds	Reps	Dems	Inds	Reps	
Yes	91	78	79	69	23	79	46	24	
No	6	17	18	27	74	12	42	73	



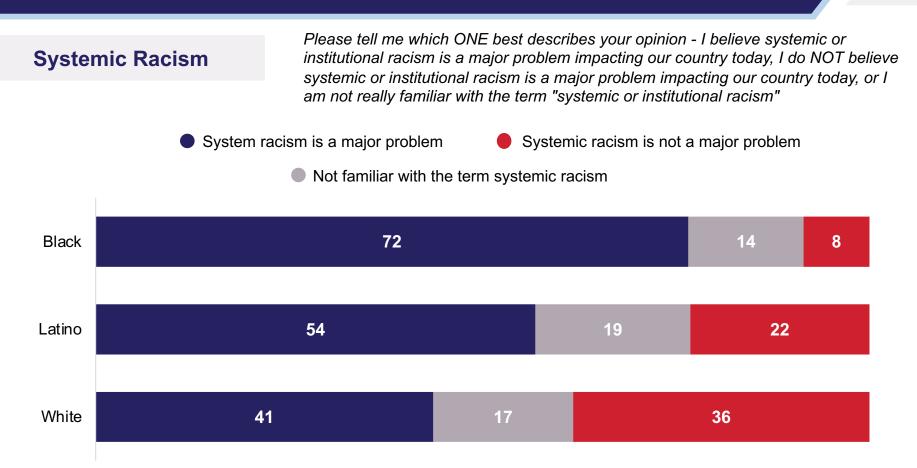
Big Partisan Divide Among White And Latino Southerners On Access To Healthcare

Healthcare Access

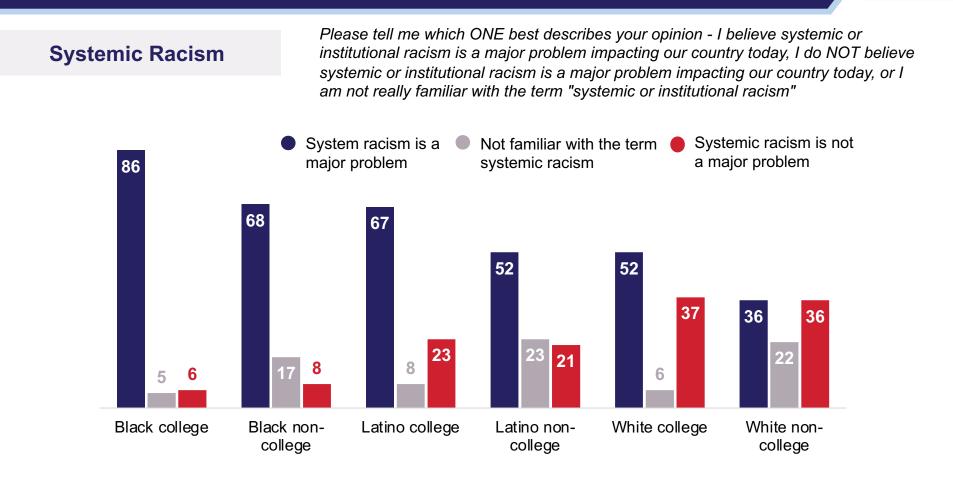
Do you think white people in the United States have better access to healthcare than African Americans and Hispanics?

	Black		Latino			White		
	Dems	Inds	Dems	Inds	Reps	Dems	Inds	Reps
Yes	85	69	77	49	20	74	40	18
No	12	24	19	41	77	15	53	78

Major Differences On Systemic Racism

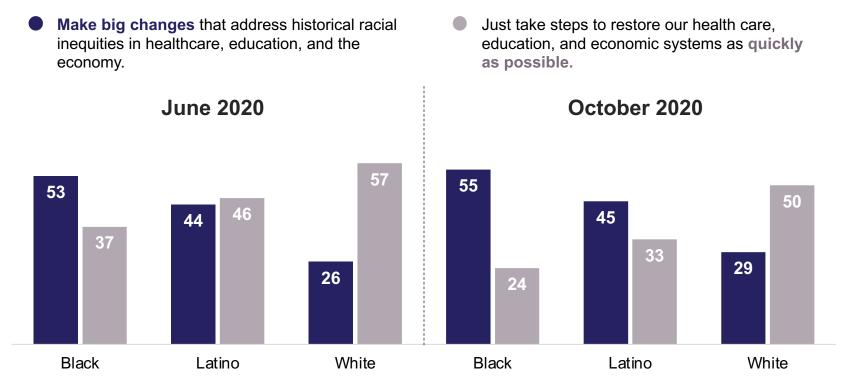


Education Gap On Views Of Systemic Racism



Some Movement Toward Making Big Changes With Recovery, But Large Racial Gaps Remain

Thinking about how the United States recovers from the pandemic and gets back to normal, do you think the next President and Congress should focus on making big changes that address historical racial inequities in health care, education, and the economy OR do you think they should just take steps to restore to the way they were before the pandemic as quickly as possible?

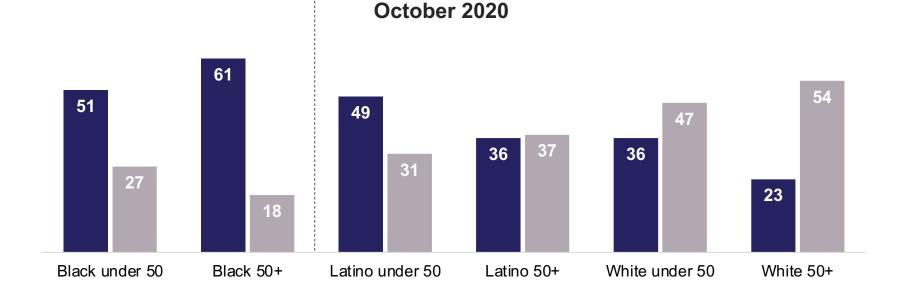


A Substantial Racial Divide Between Younger Black & Latino Southerners & Younger White Southerners; Also, A Massive Gulf Between Older Black, White, & Latino Southerners

Figure 48

Thinking about how the United States recovers from the pandemic and gets back to normal, do you think the next President and Congress should focus on making big changes that address historical racial inequities in health care, education, and the economy OR do you think they should just take steps to restore to the way they were before the pandemic as quickly as possible?

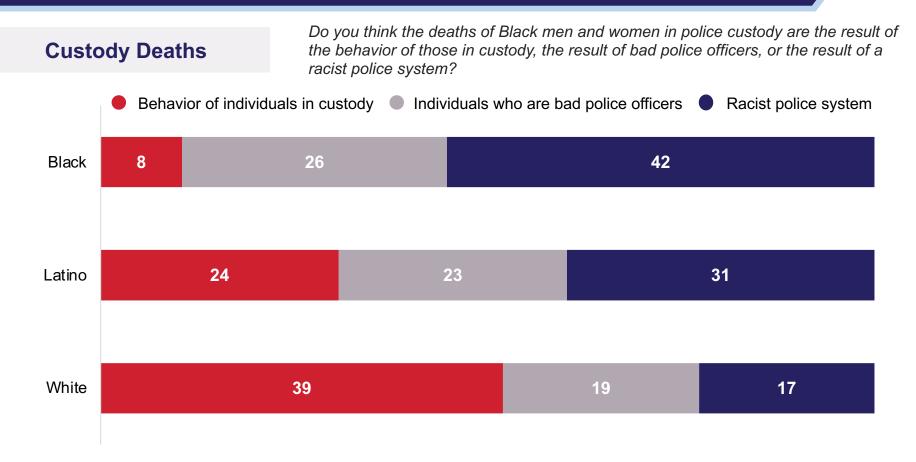
- Make big changes that address historical racial inequities in healthcare, education, and the economy.
- Just take steps to restore our health care, education, and economic systems as quickly as possible.



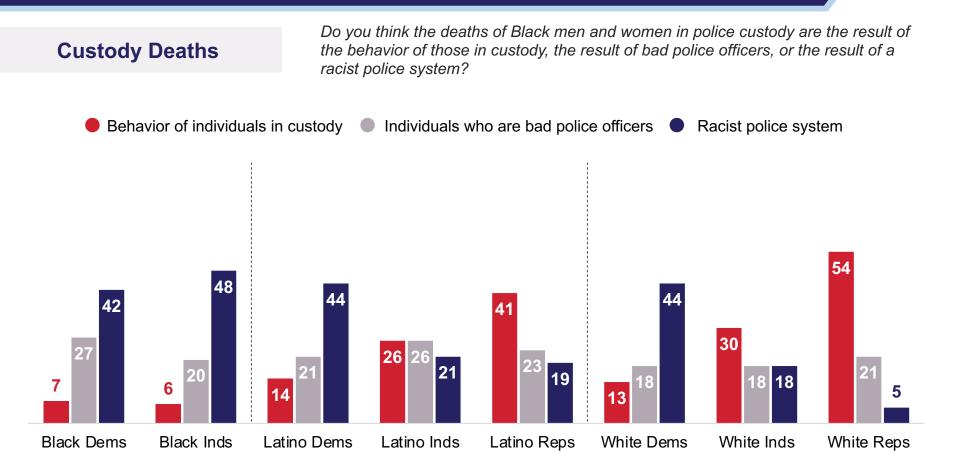
Police Reform

Police

330....



Partisanship Drives Views Of Responsibility For Custody Deaths



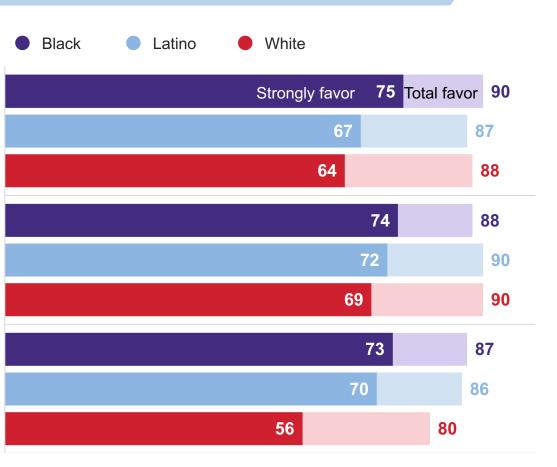
Broad Support On Reform Related To Deadly Force

Police Reform Proposals

Requiring police departments to report all instances of deadly force used against civilians and create a reliable database of such incidents

Requiring other officers to step in when they see other officers using excessive force and holding them responsible if they don't

Ending immunity for police officers and prosecuting them if they break the law



Support Varies By Race For Bolder Reforms Like Re-imagining Policing

Police Reform Proposals

Reforming the police use of force standards, so that it limits and specifies the types of force that can be used to respond to specific types of resistance

Increasing the funding and training hours for police officers across the country

Re-imagining policing, so police officers only deal with violent crime and robbery, while assigning non-violent situations to mental health professionals and other expert

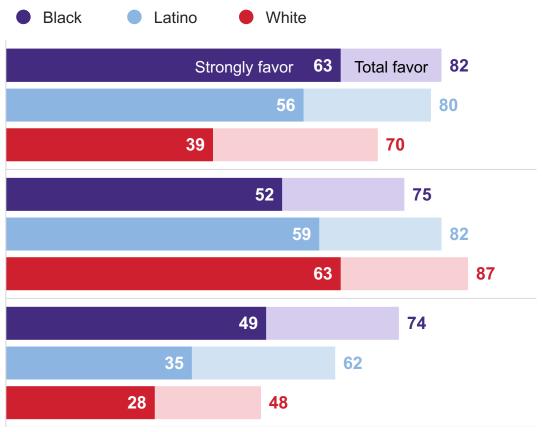


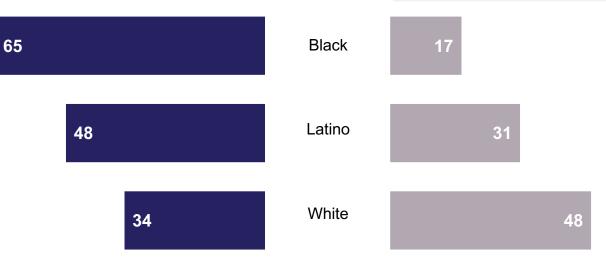
Figure 54

Lawmakers Concern

Thinking about lawmakers' response to the protests that have continued after the death of George Floyd, which of the following concerns you more?

Lawmakers will not go far enough in addressing police brutality and bias against African Americans and other minorities throughout the criminal justice system.

Lawmakers will go too far in addressing these issues and will take steps that end up weakening our ability to enforce law and order, and will make our communities less safe.





RESEARCH + STRATEG Y

Appendix: Black Demographic Profile

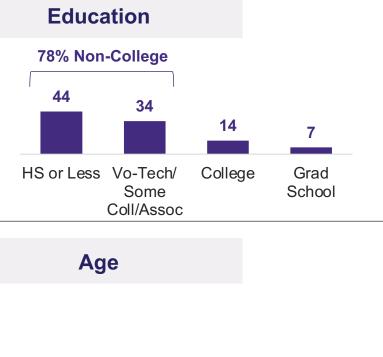
HE

FUTURE

Profile: Very Democratic, Non-College Education, More Women Than Men, Mixed Ages









Profile: Suburban, Majority Homeowners, Middle/Lower-Middle Class

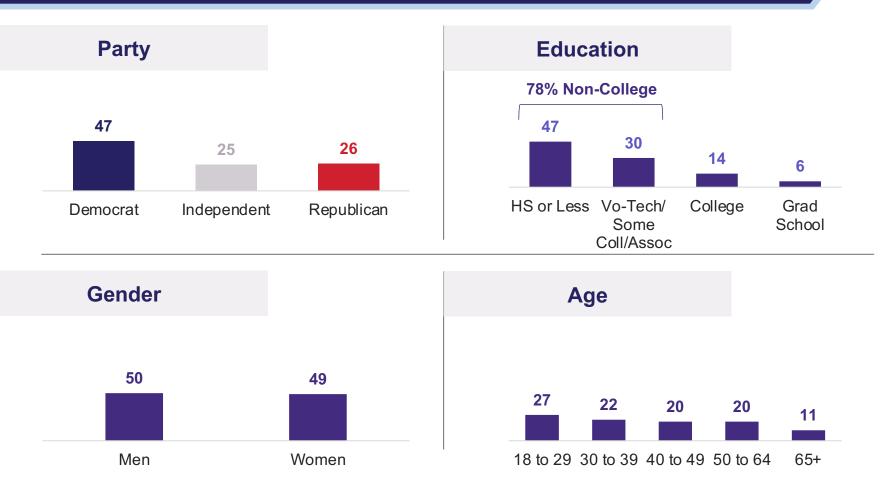


Appendix: Latino Demographic Profile

FUTURE

HE

Profile: Democratic, Non-College Education, Even Gender Mix, Very Young



Profile: Suburban/Urban Mix, Majority Homeowners, Majority Lower Income

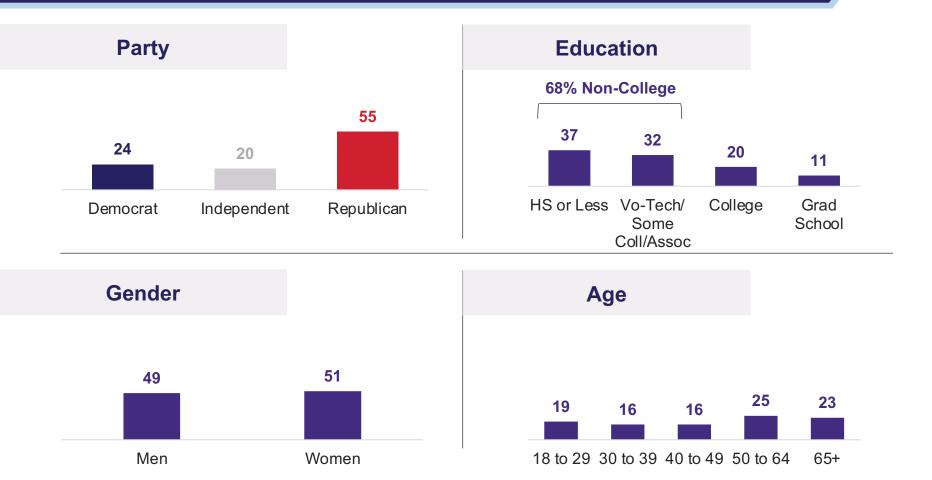


Appendix: White Demographic Profile

HE

FUTURE

Profile: Republican, Mostly Non-College Education, Even Gender Mix, Older



Profile: Heavily Rural/Suburban, High Homeownership, Middle Class

