



Survey of the South | Toplines | December 2025

1904 Interviews with white, Black, and Hispanic registered voters in 13 southern states from November 18 - December 7, 2025. Modeled Margin of Error = +/- 2.4%.

Q1. How long have you lived in the South?

1%	Less than a year
7	1-5 years
7	6-10 years
5	11-15 years
25	15+ years
54	I have lived in the South my whole life

Q2. How long have you lived in your city/town?

3%	Less than a year
20	1-5 years
14	6-10 years
8	11-15 years
30	15+ years
25	I have lived there my whole life

Polling was conducted online from November 18 - December 7, 2025. Using Dynamic Online Sampling to attain a representative sample, Embold Research polled 1904 white, Black, and Hispanic registered voters in 13 southern states. Post-stratification was performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, region, and 2024 presidential vote. You can see a full methodology statement [here](#), which complies with the requirements of AAPOR's Transparency Initiative. Members of the Transparency Initiative disclose all relevant details about our research, with the principle that the public should be able to evaluate and understand research-based findings, in order to instill and restore public confidence in survey results.

Q3. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about your local community, the town or city in which you live. (Sorted descending by *Strongly Agree*)

	<u>Disagree</u>		Neither agree nor disagree	<u>Agree</u>	
	Strongly	Smwt		Smwt	Strongly
I am comfortable sharing my opinion with members of my community, even if others would disagree	6	8	16	31	39
I feel emotionally connected to my local community.	8	9	24	33	27
People in my community welcome and include me in activities.	6	7	30	30	27
I feel like a valued member of my local community.	8	7	30	30	25
I am actively involved in events, clubs, or volunteer groups in my local community	18	15	24	24	20
I am unable to influence decision-making within my local community.	14	17	35	20	15
I feel unable to be my whole and authentic self with members of my community.	30	18	22	18	12
I feel treated like I'm 'less than' others in my community.	37	16	26	13	8

Q4. In the United States, do you feel that individuals who share the following characteristics with you are being overlooked? Please select the option that best represents your viewpoint for each category. (Sorted descendingly by 'Yes, Strongly')

	<u>Yes</u>		<u>No</u>		
	Strongly	Smwt	Not really	Not at all	Not sure
People who share my racial or ethnic background	28	26	22	19	5
People in my generation or age group	25	31	27	13	5
People who share my gender	24	25	27	18	5
People in my socio-economic bracket	23	31	28	12	6
People who share my religion or faith	22	23	29	17	8
People who share my sexual orientation	20	18	27	29	7
People from my region or community	19	30	31	14	6

Q5. How many of your family, close friends, neighbors, coworkers, and acquaintances are from another race or ethnicity than you?

	<u>None</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2-3</u>	<u>4-5</u>	<u>6 or more</u>
Family members (parents, siblings, children, uncles, grandparents, cousins, etc.)	32	7	23	12	25
Close friends	18	11	31	14	26
Neighbors	20	8	28	14	31
Colleagues	27	5	19	13	36
Other people you are in regular contact with (store clerk, worker, server, etc.)	14	5	20	14	46

Q6. In terms of your financial situation, education, and career, do you feel you are better or worse off than others in your local community, state, or nationally? Could you specify any groups of people you have in mind when making these comparisons? [See individual responses.](#)

Q7. Every person has different roles and group memberships that shape their identity. How important are each of the following aspects in shaping your personal identity? (Sorted descending by 'Extremely Important')

	<u>Important</u>				
	Extremely	Very	Moderately	Not That	Not At All
Your religion or faith	33	19	18	9	21
Your race or ethnicity	28	22	17	10	23
Your gender identity	28	20	19	8	24
Your sexual orientation	25	19	18	9	29
Your generation or age group	23	26	26	11	13
Your political party	22	22	23	14	19
Being from {{STATE}}	22	20	20	11	28
Your occupation	20	22	23	12	24
Being a Southerner	19	19	21	11	30
Being from your city	16	17	23	14	29

Q8. Focus now on yourself. In your opinion, which THREE of the following values are most important for maintaining strong local communities?

- 39% Family
- 38 Equality
- 36 Honesty
- 30 Freedom
- 30 Faith
- 30 Responsibility
- 28 Justice
- 26 Security
- 25 Community
- 13 Patriotism
- 12 Hope
- 2 Other (please specify): [See individual responses](#)

Q9. In a situation where information from two or more sources that you trust conflict, how do you decide which one to trust? [See individual responses.](#)

Q10. Have you changed your stance on a political or social issue in the past year?

- 18% Yes
- 76 No
- 6 Not sure

Q10b. [IF “yes” or “not sure” to changed stance/opinion on an issue in the past year] What factors have influenced you to change your stance or opinion on a political or social issue? Select all that apply.

- 47% Personal experience or direct impact from the issue
- 44 Witnessed broad societal or community impact of the issue
- 43 Saw compelling statistical data or factual evidence
- 30 Learned more from a trusted but impersonal source (e.g., expert, journalist)
- 27 Learned more from someone I trust or know
- 22 Met someone in person who is impacted by the issue
- 22 Religious or spiritual beliefs guided my change in opinion
- 13 Interacted online with someone who is impacted by the issue
- 6 None of the above
- 3 Other (please specify): [See individual responses](#)

Q11. Below is a list of issues that people sometimes consider to be challenges in their local communities. In your opinion, what are the THREE biggest challenges in your local community? Please select UP TO THREE.

- 46% The cost of housing and rent
- 35 Cost and quality of healthcare
- 28 Crime and public safety
- 24 Schools, giving children the tools they need to succeed
- 23 Growing economic inequality
- 23 Racism and discrimination
- 21 Too much development, too fast
- 14 Lowering government spending
- 13 The inability to talk across differences
- 13 Reducing illegal immigration
- 13 Opioid and substance abuse crisis
- 9 The potential for political violence
- 8 Extreme weather events such as flooding
- 8 Water quality and availability
- 8 Voter access and election security
- 7 An increase in hate incidents
- 7 Loss of natural resources
- 6 LGBTQ+ rights
- 5 Gender equality

Q12. How much do you trust your local government to address the top issues in your local community?

- 11% Trust strongly
- 33 Trust somewhat
- 28 Trust a little
- 28 Do not trust at all

Q13. How often do you visit any of the following places – outside of home or work – to relax or socialize? (Sorted by 'Often')

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Park/outdoor space	34	42	17	7
House of worship or religious center	31	23	22	24
A cafe, bar, or coffee shop	27	36	23	14
A barber shop, salon or spa	21	31	24	24
Gym	20	23	23	35
Library	15	29	33	24
A fraternal, social, or service organization building	11	18	22	48
Community center	10	22	27	41
Senior center	6	11	17	66

Q14. There are many ways people spend their free time. In the past 12 months, have you spent your free time participating in any of these types of activities either online or in person? Please select all that apply. Do NOT count activities required by your job or organized through your employer.

- 65% Hobbies, recreation, or social activities
- 38 Religious or faith-based activities
- 36 Activities related to personal health or community health (mental health or physical health)
- 31 Local community or neighborhood activities
- 30 Arts and culture activities
- 28 Volunteering activities
- 19 Activities related to local schools and youth education
- 19 Adult education activities, either teaching or learning
- 18 Political activities
- 17 Social justice or human rights activities
- 16 Youth activities outside of school
- 14 Conservation or environmental activities
- 9 None of these

Q15. Thinking about the activities you do in your free time, which of the following ways do you do those activities? Select all that apply.

- 44% One-time events that happen in person
- 42 Regular meetings that happen in person
- 40 Over messaging platforms, group chats, or online forums with people you mostly know in real life
- 35 Over messaging platforms, group chats, or online forums with people you may not know in real life
- 24 One-time events that happen online (like over live stream or video)
- 23 Regular meetings that happen online (like over live stream or video)
- 5 Another way (please tell us what): [See individual responses](#).

Q16. [IF “local schools”/”youth activities”/”adult education”] Thinking about activities related to youth or adult education, which of the following groups or activities have you participated in within the last 12 months? Please select all that apply.

- 48% Donated food, clothing, or other supplies through a school-lead drive or event
- 26 Attended a class for adult education or learning a new skill
- 22 Attended, helped run, or organized a school fair or social event
- 22 Attended, helped run, or organized a school fundraising event
- 16 Volunteered in a classroom
- 15 Attended a school board meeting
- 15 Volunteered during school drop-off or school pick-up
- 15 Coached or lead a youth club or sports team
- 14 Participated in or was a member of a parent teacher association
- 14 Helped run or organize a donation drive for local schools or youth programs
- 14 Participated in or lead a youth mentoring program
- 11 Taught a class for adult education or learning a new skill
- 8 Participated in or lead an adult mentoring program
- 5 Something else (please tell us what): [See individual responses](#)

Q17. [IF “religion”] Thinking about religious or faith-based activities, which of the following groups or activities have you participated in within the last 12 months? Please select all that apply.

- 72% Attended a religious service in a house of worship (e.g., a church, synagogue, mosque, etc.)
- 52 Participated in a religious service in a house of worship (e.g., a church, synagogue, mosque, etc.)
- 49 Donated food, clothing, or other supplies through your church or house of worship
- 33 Participated in online religious services, prayer groups, or faith communities
- 30 Participated in or lead a bible study group
- 25 Participate or lead a prayer group or fellowship group
- 17 Participated in or ran a program to provide meals through a house of worship (e.g., a church, synagogue, mosque, etc.)
- 16 Participated in, helped run, or organized a fundraiser event for your religious group or church
- 15 Participated in or lead a religious music, arts, or theater activity (e.g., a choir, a worship band, an arts group, etc.)
- 13 Served on a religious committee, council, or leadership board
- 11 Participated in or led a youth group or Saturday/Sunday school
- 10 Participated in or lead a religious or faith-based book club
- 10 Provided administrative or office support for your religious organization
- 4 Something else (please tell us what): [See individual responses](#)

Q18. [IF “social justice” or “political”] Thinking about social justice, human rights, or political activities, which of the following groups or activities have you participated in within the last 12 months? Please select all that apply.

- 44% Attended a demonstration or protest for a cause or candidate
- 33 Attended a town hall meeting
- 28 Attended, helped run, or organized an event for a local organization or advocacy group
- 27 Volunteered at a local organization or advocacy group
- 24 Attended, helped run, or organized a community organizing meeting (not a town hall)
- 22 Canvassed or volunteered for a candidate or campaign
- 18 Participated in or helped run a mutual aid network or community support group
- 18 Participated in or supported labor organizing or workplace advocacy
- 11 Something else (please tell us what): [See individual responses](#)

Q19. [IF “local community”/”hobbies”/”arts culture”] Thinking about activities related to your hobbies or your neighborhood, which of the following groups or activities have you participated in within the last 12 months? Please select all that apply.

- 29% Attended or helped organize a local festival, street fair, or community celebration
- 28 Participated in or were a member of a club, group, or organization related to your hobby
- 27 Attended or hosted a neighborhood social event
- 27 Took classes, workshops, or lessons related to your hobby
- 23 Attended or hosted an in-person event focused around your hobby
- 17 Attended or hosted an online event focused around your hobby
- 17 Attended a town hall meeting or local council
- 16 Participated in or were a member of a tenant, resident, or homeowners association
- 11 Participated in or maintained a community garden or shared community space
- 10 Participated in or were a member of a local civic organization (Rotary club, Lions club, etc.)
- 8 Volunteered or helped run a neighborhood watch or safety effort
- 10 Something else (please tell us what): [See individual responses](#)

Q20. [IF “volunteering”] Thinking about volunteering, which of the following groups or activities have you participated in within the last 12 months? Please select all that apply.

- 44% Attended, helped run, or organized donation drive collecting food, clothing, toiletries, or other supplies
- 36 Attended, helped run, or organized a fundraiser
- 27 Served or helped run a soup kitchen or food distribution service
- 19 Volunteered with disaster relief, or as part of emergency services
- 18 Assisted or lead local environmental preservation or clean-up efforts
- 16 Volunteered at an animal shelter or in animal rescue
- 15 Volunteered at a library, museum, or other cultural organization
- 14 Provided pro-bono services (e.g., legal, medical, technical. etc.)
- 12 Volunteered in a hospital or senior center
- 6 Volunteered at a crisis hotline or other counseling service
- 14 Something else (please tell us what): [See individual responses](#)

Q21. There are different factors that may serve as barriers to economic opportunity. What are the top two hurdles you face when trying to improve your financial situation? Please select TWO.

- 30% High cost of living in my area
- 21 Lack of high-paying job opportunities in my area
- 16 Health conditions or disabilities restricting job prospects
- 14 Difficulty balancing work and family responsibilities
- 13 Lack of available job openings in my field
- 12 Lack of access to more affordable healthcare coverage
- 11 Lack of influential contacts for better job opportunities
- 10 Can't afford or don't have time to pursue a college degree or a higher education degree
- 10 Can't afford or don't have time to get additional job skills or training
- 9 Lack of access to reliable means of transportation
- 6 Experienced racial discrimination that affected economic opportunities
- 4 Experienced gender or sexual identity discrimination that affected economic opportunities
- 22 No barriers—I have all the economic opportunities I need

Q22. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following:

	<u>Agree</u>		Neither agree nor disagree	<u>Disagree</u>	
	Strongly	Smwt		Smwt	Strongly
Moving forward, some groups will have access to fewer opportunities in the United States.	37	29	21	6	8
Creating opportunities for one group of people often occurs at the expense of other groups.	27	28	23	8	14
Today in America, it seems that the rights of Americans of color are better protected than the rights of white Americans.	18	18	17	9	38

Q23. What, if anything, do you believe is the biggest obstacle that prevents you from making a positive change in your community? [See individual responses.](#)

Q24. How often do you find yourself doing the following? (Sorted by 'Often')

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Speak up when a family member or friend says something racist, sexist, or unjust.	40	36	15	9
Talk about politics with like-minded people.	38	40	16	7
Talk about fairness and equal opportunity (across race, gender, and other factors) with like-minded people.	34	39	18	8
Speak up when someone you don't know says something racist, sexist, or unjust.	32	38	20	10
Talk about fairness and equal opportunity (across race, gender, and other factors) with people who have opinions different from yours.	25	40	25	9
Talk about politics with people who have opinions different from yours.	21	43	26	10

Q25. Which of the following best matches your religious affiliation?

- 12% Evangelical
- 19 Protestant, Non-Evangelical
- 0 Mormon
- 12 Observant Catholic
- 10 Non-observant Catholic
- 2 Mormon / Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
- 1 Jewish
- 1 Muslim
- 21 Non-religious
- 21 Other (please specify)

Q26. When forming an opinion on an issue or an event, where do you turn to to get that information? Please select all that apply.

- 36% Local TV network
- 35 Facebook
- 34 YouTube
- 30 Word of mouth sources (like friends, family, or neighbors)
- 30 FOX News
- 27 CNN
- 22 National newspapers (like The Washington Post or New York Times)
- 21 Local newspapers
- 21 TikTok
- 20 Local talk or news radio
- 20 Instagram
- 19 Podcasts
- 18 MSNBC
- 16 NPR or local public radio
- 16 Twitter/X
- 14 News aggregations sites or apps (like Apple News or Ground News)
- 10 Reddit
- 9 Newsmax
- 8 Threads
- 7 Truth Social
- 13 Somewhere else (please specify): [See individual responses](#)

Q27. When forming an opinion on an issue or an event, how do you usually get information? Select all that apply.

- 43% Conversations with friends
- 40 Local TV news programs
- 38 Conversations with family
- 38 National TV news programs
- 25 Long videos on platforms like YouTube
- 25 National newspapers (e.g., New York Times, Washington Post) in print or online
- 24 Short video clips on social media
- 24 Podcasts or talk shows
- 23 Posts, emails, or updates from advocacy groups, campaigns, or issue-based creators
- 21 Local newspapers
- 20 Livestreams with news reporters or news content creators
- 20 Radio (AM/FM or satellite like SiriusXM)
- 18 Neighborhood or community groups (e.g. Nextdoor, local Facebook groups)
- 13 From my church or faith community
- 12 Newsletters or blogs
- 12 Religious or faith-based media
- 12 Phone alerts or push notifications
- 8 Memes or screenshots shared online
- 3 None of the above
- 6 Other (please specify): [See individual responses.](#)

D1. Are you:

- 46% A man
- 54 A woman
- 1 Another identity

D2. Age

29% 18 to 34
25 35 to 49
23 50 to 64
23 65+

D3. What is your race?

36% White / Caucasian
32 Hispanic or Latino/a
32 Black or African American
0 Asian / Pacific Islander
0 American Indian or Alaska Native
0 Other

D4. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

25% High school diploma or less
23 Some college, but no degree
17 Associate's degree, or two-year college degree
22 Bachelor's degree, or four-year college degree
14 Graduate degree

D5. Party Identification

29% Strong Democrats
10 Weak Democrats
10 Independent lean Democrats
12 Pure independents
7 Independent lean Republicans
8 Weak Republicans
23 Strong Republicans

39% Base Democrats
30 Independents + Leaners
31 Base Republicans

49% Democrats
12 Pure independents
38 Republicans

D5b. [IF Republican] Do you identify as a MAGA Republican or not?

59% Yes
27 No
14 Not sure

D6. How did you vote in the 2024 election for President, or for some reason were you unable to vote?

49% Kamala Harris, the Democrat
40 Donald Trump, the Republican
3 A third party candidate
0 Not registered/Too young/Ineligible
8 Did not vote

D7. State

5%	AL
2	AR
22	FL
11	GA
3	KY
4	LA
2	MS
9	NC
4	SC
5	TN
27	TX
6	VA
1	WV