



HITstrategies
TALKER CALL SERIES

Black Ops 2025: Where We Go from Here?

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Welcome!

Orie Ward

HIT Chief Operating Officer, Principal
Host & Moderator



About Us

Who Are We?

For organizations striving to understand the values, behavior, and opinions shaping our rapidly changing society, HIT Strategies is a leading public opinion research firm with a proven track record of delivering the most accurate data and targeted insights about the deciding electorate and diverse populations in the U.S.

What To Expect?

- ⦿ Thought partners with innovative approaches to research
- ⦿ Deep understanding of trend-making audiences
- ⦿ Strategic insights tailored to your needs

Our Promise

Conduct culturally competent research and deliver a brilliant [Research Experience](#) with [Impactful Insights](#) and [Strong Analysis](#) Each Time, Every Time.

Who We Serve



Advocates



Philanthropists



Non-Profit Leaders



Candidates



Party Leaders



Political Action Committees



Civil Servants



Union & Labor Leaders



Business Leaders



Industry Professionals

Our Portfolio

Populations	Issues	Elections	Corporations (Coming Soon)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Youth (18 - 34)• Women• People of Color (POC)• LGBTQIA+	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Healthcare• Education• Climate• Economy• Labor• Immigration• Racial Justice• Voting• Public Safety• Housing• DEI	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Local• State• Federal• Ballot Initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Brand• Consumer Insights• Corporate Social Responsibility• Employee Relations

Why Clients Come to HIT

- Cultural competency
- Unparalleled research and data on Black voters
- Adaptive field research
- Thorough data collection
- Multi-modal outreach
- Diverse respondents
- National, regional, state, and local reach
- Values-driven analysis
- Bold thought leaders with representative backgrounds
- Expansive network of subject matter experts
- Proven and proprietary frameworks for targeting and messaging multi-cultural, multi-generational audiences



Some of Our Clients



Terrance Woodbury

Co-Founder & President

Terrance Woodbury is co-founder & President of HIT Strategies, a full-service public opinion research firm, where he most recently served as a pollster for the 2024 Harris for President campaign. Terrance's polling and incites specialize in the young and diverse voters that will continue to determine the outcome of elections.

Under Terrance's leadership, HIT Strategies has grown from a small startup to a 30+ person firm since 2019, becoming a go-to resource for understanding and mobilizing key voting blocs. His expertise has made him a sought-after media analyst, with insights featured in The Washington Post, POLITICO, The Wall Street Journal, The Hill, USA Today, NPR, and on CNN, MSNBC and Showtime's The Circus.



Joshua Doss

Senior Research Manager

Joshua Doss, a pollster and political strategist, spearheads HIT's Black voter and Economic Narrative research as the Senior Manager and Director of HIT's People and Culture Team. In this role, Joshua oversees the production of opinion research, political strategy, message development, and analyses of emerging consumer trends. Joshua also drives HIT's brand communication strategies with TV and newspaper media engagements, alongside panel conversations and public research briefings.

Joshua has been featured in The New York Times, The Washington Post, Politico, ABC, NBC, Newsweek Magazine, News Nation Live and more.

Clients include: Black Economic Alliance, DCCC, African American Policy Forum, National Black Justice Coalition, Onyx Impact, Center for Popular Democracy, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.



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Theory of the Case: Black Electorate

What Happened in 2024?

What happened in 2024?

1

Under-investment caused significant erosion to Democratic Base; could signal a realignment if not corrected.

2

Harris lost, but Dems did not get wiped out.

3

Voters trusted Trump on the issues they cared about the most: the economy and immigration.

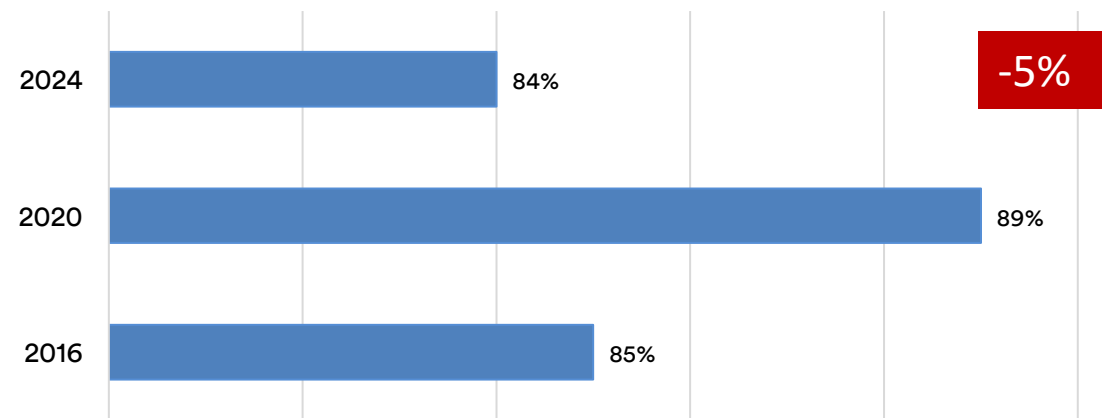
What happened in 2024?

1

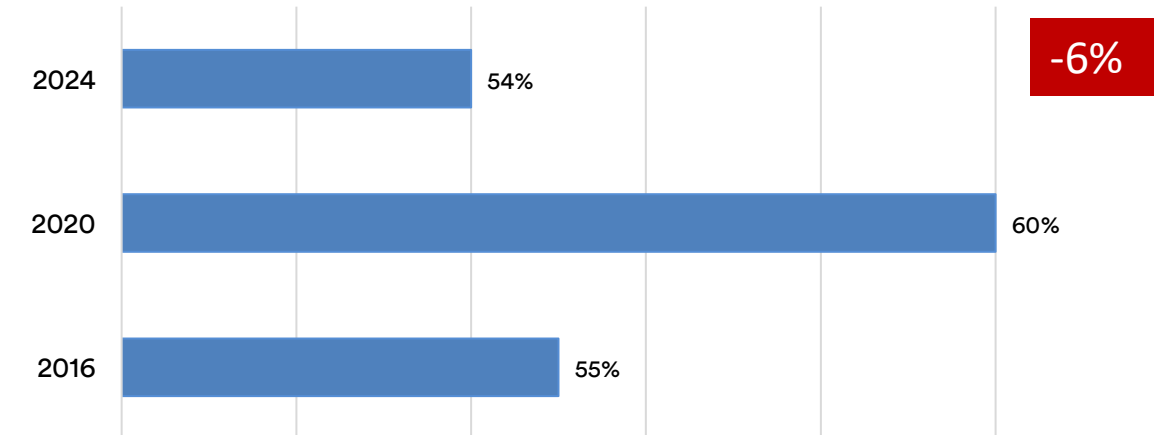
Ongoing, multi-cycle under-investment caused significant erosion to Democratic Base, could signal a realignment if not corrected

- Less support from Men of Color
- Less support from young voters
- Less support among ALL subgroups of POC voters
- Less support from working class voters
- Less support in Urban centers
- ZERO increase from white, women, and suburban voters despite massive Dem investment

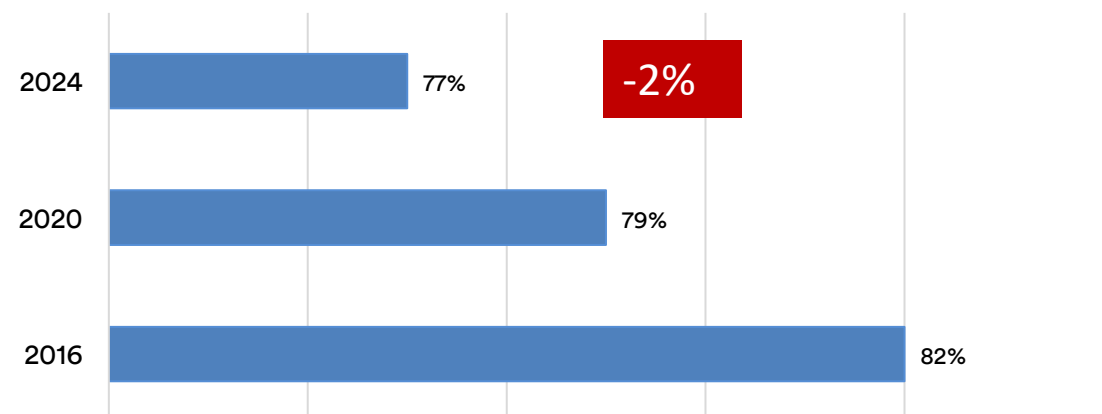
Presidential Democratic Vote – Black Youth



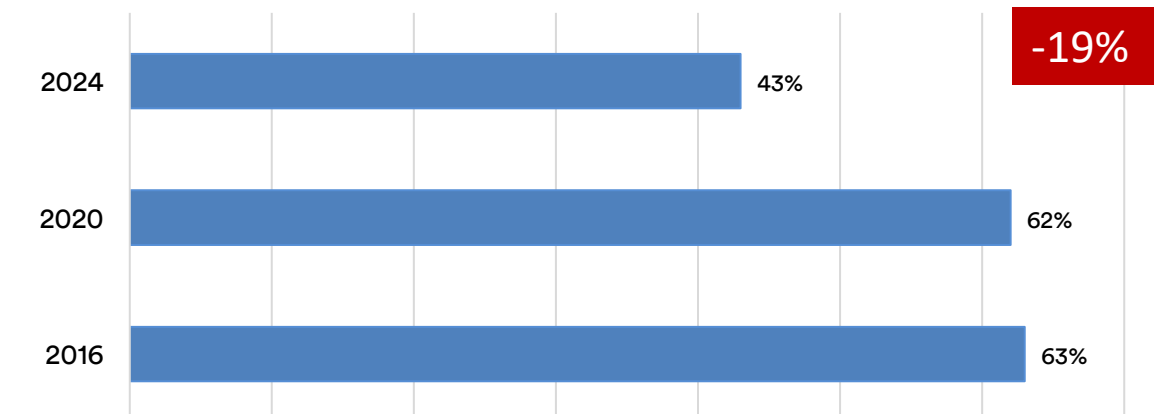
Presidential Democratic Vote – Youth (18-29) voters



Presidential Democratic Vote – Black Men



Presidential Democratic Vote – Latino Men

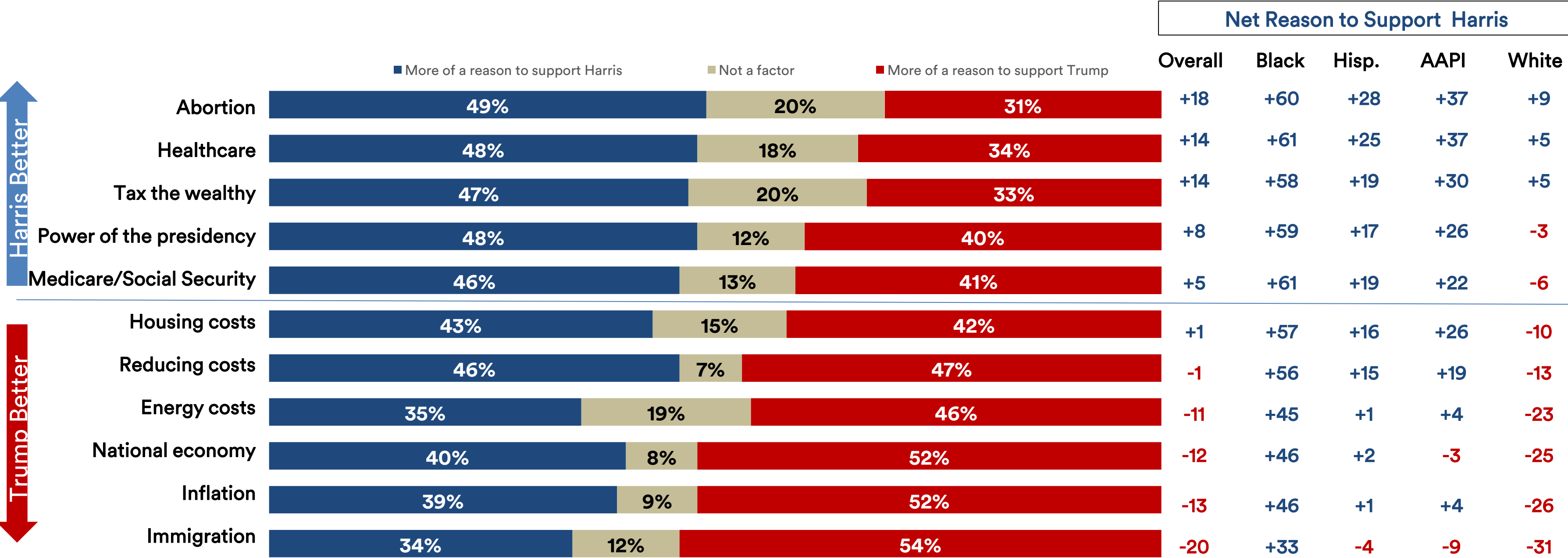


What happened in 2024?

3

Voters trusted Trump on the issues they cared about the most, Economy and Immigration.

- Black voters trusted Harris on all issues more than Trump
- But Hispanic voters trusted Trump more on the Ukraine/Russia war, how America deals with allies and enemies around the world, the conflict in the Middle East, and immigration policy
- Among Hispanic men 18-44 and Hispanic non-college, Trump held an advantage on the economy (net -9 Harris Hispanic men and net -1 Harris for Hispanic non-college) and inflation (net -10 Hispanic men and net -4 Hispanic non-college)



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What HIT got right about Black voters?

What did HIT get right?



1

Predicted horserace for Black voters, including assuaging concerns of Black voters overall turning to Trump while raising the alarm about younger Black men.

2

Predicted turnout for Black voters, cutting through social desirability bias that created inflated vote likelihood numbers to warn organizers about the need for mobilization.

3

Informed the Harris campaign's "opportunity agenda for Black men" to close Black gender gap.

1

Accurately predicted Black voter horserace

- **False media narrative:** In June, Newsweek reported on a New York Times poll that 30% of Black voters would vote for Donald Trump. Over the rest of the election cycle, mainstream news sources continued to overstate Black voters’ support of Trump.
- **HIT led the way with precise polling:** HIT countered this narrative with consistent, accurate polling that showed that Black voters overall were not supporting Trump at a higher rate than previous elections. Ultimately, CNN exit polls showed that 13% of Black voters voted for Trump, in line with HIT’s final poll which showed 11% support.
- **Redirecting media attention:** However, HIT also communicated to partners and organizers that young Black voters and men, in particular young Black men, were more likely to support Trump than their peers, allowing the campaign to redirect efforts towards those demographics.

Media and outside polling efforts created a narrative that Black voters were flocking to Trump.

HIT countered this narrative with consistent (and ultimately, accurate) polling that showed Black voters at between 11-14% support for Trump, while highlighting instead that Democrats should increase outreach for younger Black men.

Donald Trump Wins 30 Percent of Black Vote in Shocking Poll

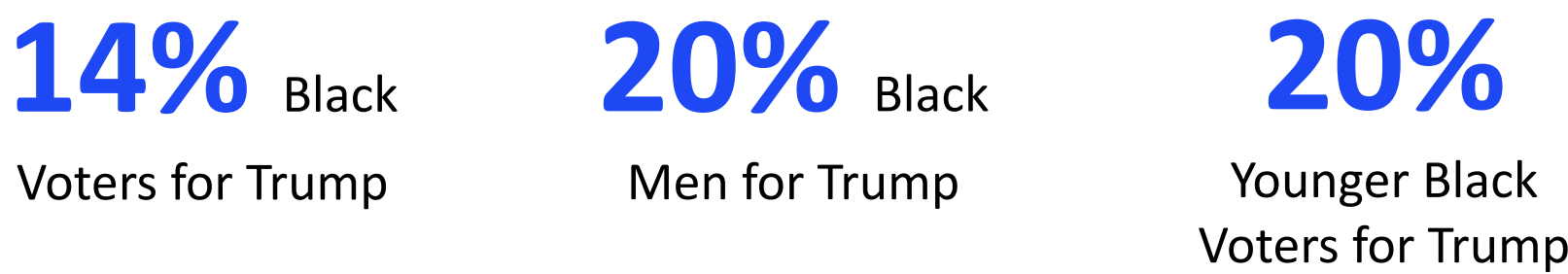
Published Jun 27, 2024 at 11:50 AM EDT

Latest national poll from Siena & New York Times shows growing support for Trump among Black voters

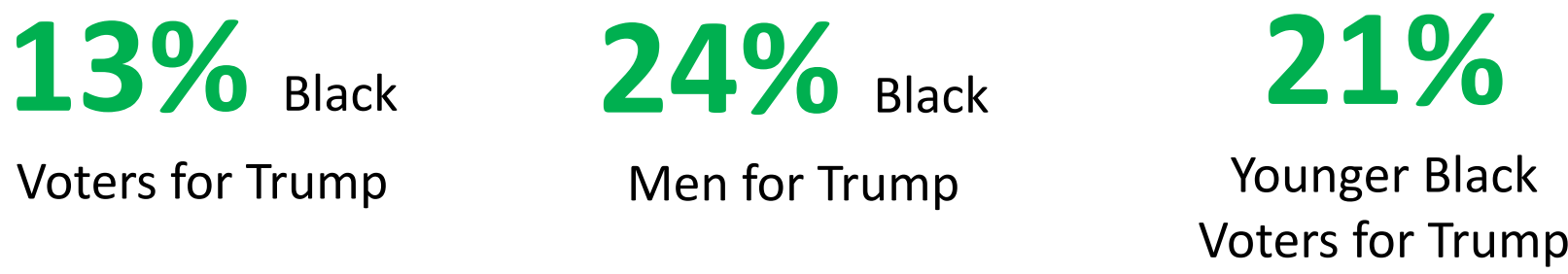


Good news for Donald Trump! His support among Black voters has doubled

HIT Strategies Pre-Election Polling (August 2024)



Black Voter Results (Exit Polling from November 2024 – CNN and Navigator)



August 2024 survey conducted by HIT Strategies for the NAACP.
Fielded August 6-12, 2024 with N=1000 Registered Black Voters nationwide.

What did HIT get right in 2024

2

Accurately predicted Black voter turnout

HIT gained an edge on the market by eschewing the popular “voter likelihood” question for the much more accurate “vote power” question in order to avoid social desirability bias from respondents who generally don’t want to admit that they aren’t going to vote. As a result:

- HIT got a much more accurate metric than those who used a “vote likelihood” question. HIT’s “vote power” metric for Black voters was 59% in October 2024, and Black voter turnout ended up at 55%, within the margin of error.
- The reasoning is that, especially for Black voters, the more someone feels like their vote matters, the more likely they are to take the time to vote.
- HIT was able to sound the alarm and work with partner organizations on turnout efforts throughout the election cycle.

HIT Strategies Vote Likelihood Question (October 2024)

HIT Strategies Vote Power Question (October 2024)

Actual Black Voter 2024 Turnout (reported by Navigator)

81%

Total Likely to vote

59%

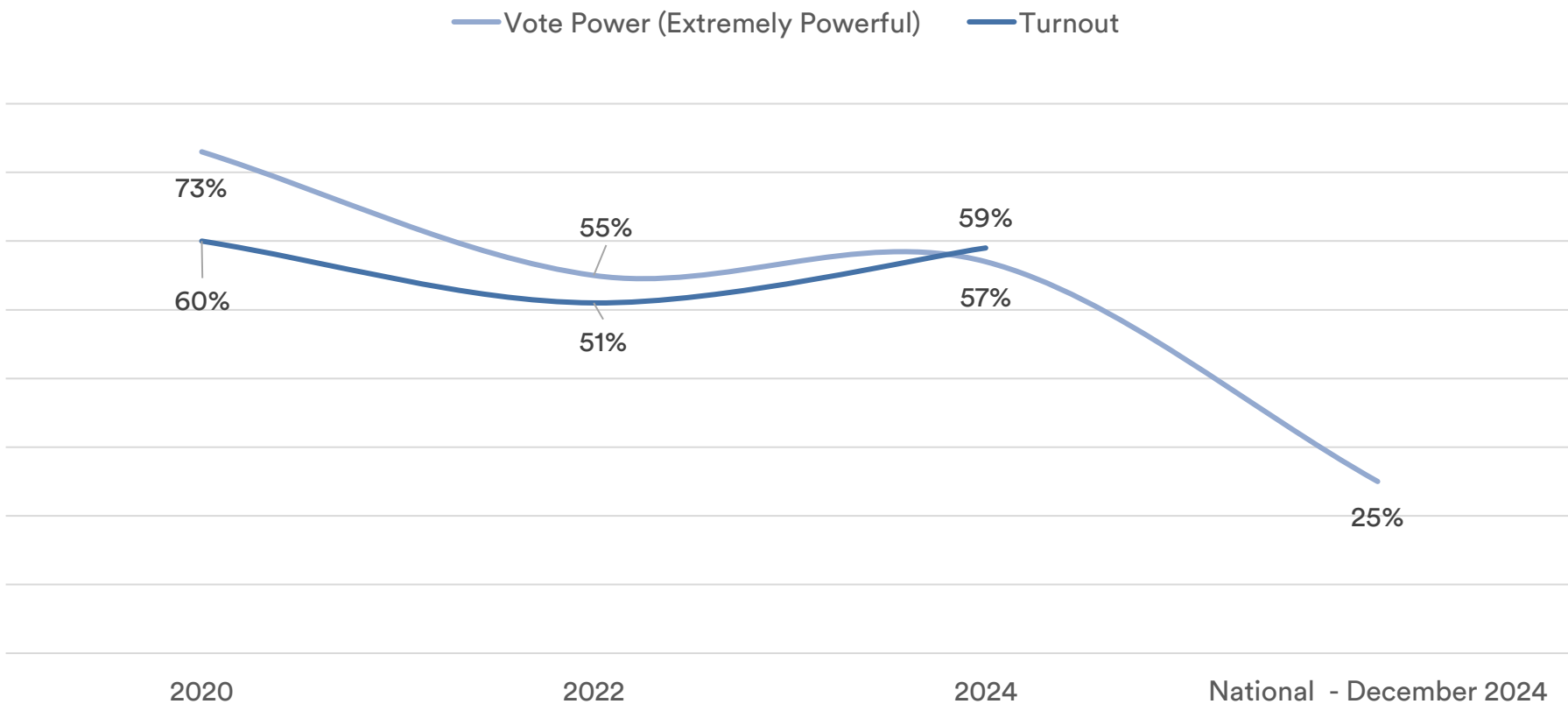
Total Vote Power

55%

Actual Black Voter Turnout

October 2024 survey conducted by HIT Strategies for the NAACP. with N=1000 Registered Black Voters nationwide.

Black Perceptions of Vote Power and Turnout in Georgia



According to Navigator research’s post-election survey, 55% of Black adults voted in the 2024 election – well below the 81% self-reported vote likelihood, but within the margin of error of the 59% vote power metric. This allowed HIT to have an accurate estimate of Black voter turnout throughout the cycle.

What did HIT get right in 2024

3

Informed the Harris campaign's "opportunity agenda for Black men" to close Black gender gap

- In September HIT Strategies and the NAACP released their wave 1 survey, media jumped upon the finding that 26% of Black men under 50 said they would vote for Donald Trump.
- The survey also prescribed the remedies that Black voters were looking for on their economic issues: addressing the cost of living and housing, lowering the cost of everyday goods, and creating good-paying jobs.
- On October 14, one month after the NAACP's research became a national talking point, the Vice President Harris's campaign revealed an "opportunity agenda for Black men" in an economic address directed toward Black voters.



As a new NAACP poll showing more than a quarter of Black men under 50 said they would support the Republican candidate in this year's election, Maryland Gov. Wes Moore says he thinks this is due to "a frustration of the pace of progress in America."

"I think the frustration that people feel is real," he says, adding, "Donald Trump is a vessel to the skepticism, but what he is not is actually a vehicle for the solution."



- HIT released a poll that showed Black voters had deep economic concerns on issues like the cost of living, rent, and lack of jobs.
- The poll also showed that 26% of Black men under 50 would vote for Trump.

- Governor Wes Moore appeared on Face the Nation to discuss HIT's poll and concerns that Democrats were losing Black men.

- The Harris campaign released an "opportunity agenda for Black men". The agenda included language and policy solutions directly from HIT's research, including lowering rent, increasing homeownership, lowering costs, and creating jobs.

Sept 15

Sept 30

Oct 10

What did HIT get right?



1

Predicted horserace for Black voters, including assuaging concerns of Black voters overall turning to Trump while raising the alarm about younger Black men

2

Predicted turnout for Black voters, cutting through social desirability bias that created inflated vote likelihood numbers to warn organizers about the need for mobilization

3

Informed the Harris campaign's "opportunity agenda for Black men" to close Black gender gap

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What some got wrong about
Black voters?

Why Democrats lost 2024

1

Democrats do not know how to talk to Black voters about social/cultural issues.

2

Democrats are defending 'the system' that Black voters blame for their pain, and are not offering a reason for their pain.

3

Democrats are not putting forth a proactive vision for a multi-racial society with a plan to achieve it.

4

Democrats are losing men that increasingly feel like their identities, values, and priorities are more aligned to GOP.

Why Dems Lost 2024

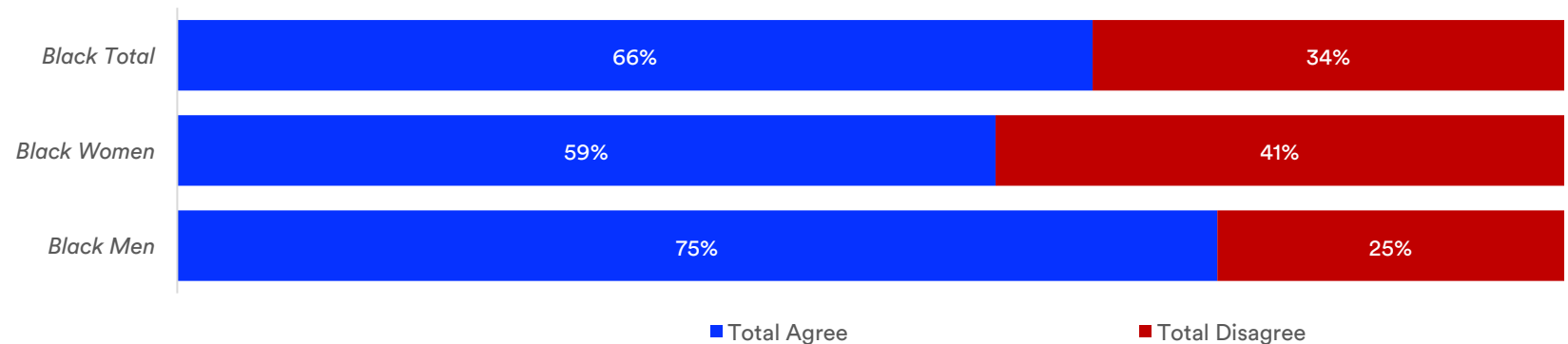
1

Democrats does not know how to talk to Black voters about social/cultural issues.

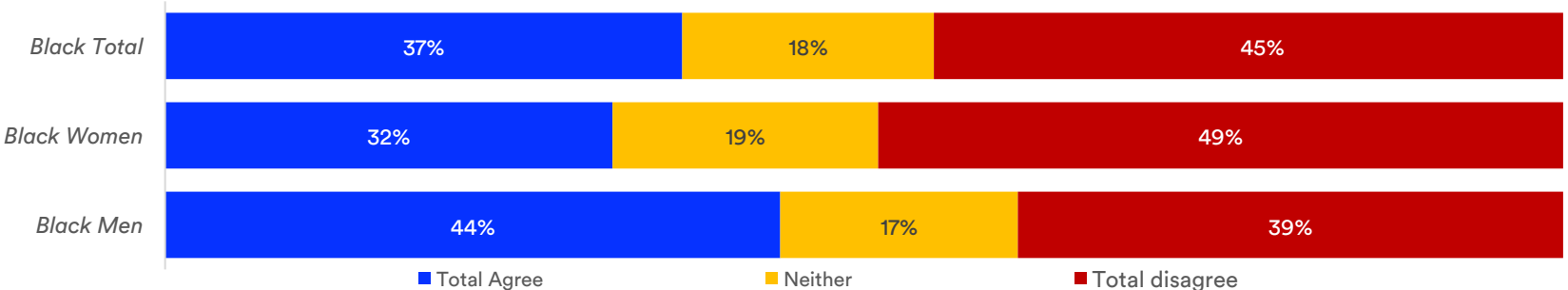
- **Immigration:** Many Black and Brown voters support mass deportation, building a wall, limiting financial support to undocumented immigrants.
- **Race:** Black voters, and POC voters, want to live in a merit-based society that does not give special treatment based on race. Many do not believe that racism has the power impact them.
- **Gender Roles:** Some men (and some women) express concerns about a woman being President, does not mean they are sexist.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

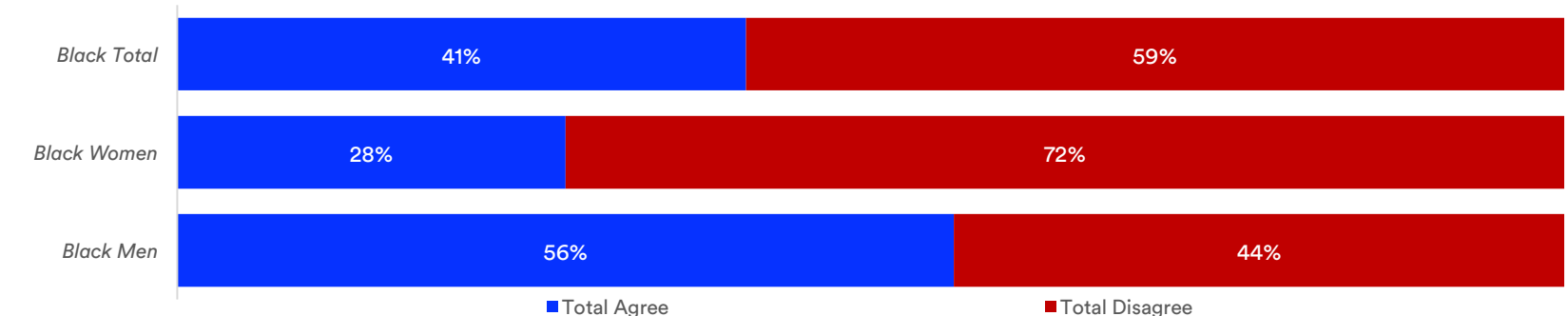
Men should be the head of the household.



Racism exists but does not prevent Black people from accessing the same opportunities as everyone else.



Generally speaking, men are better leaders than women



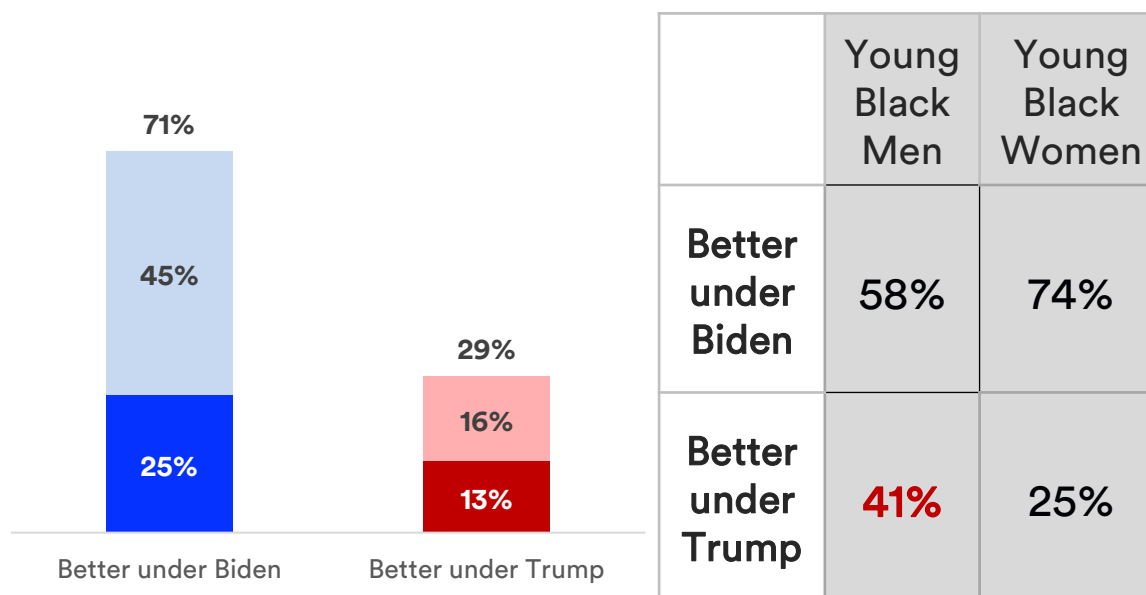
Why Dems Lost 2024

2

Democrats are defending 'the system' that Black voters blame for their pain, and are not offering a reason for their pain.

- 33% of Black voters say their economic conditions got worse under Biden, Dems say it's the strongest economy in generations
- 68% of Black voters say the system is failing them, Dems defend the system while Trump offers to blow it up
- 29% of Black voters (41% of Black men) say their lives were better under Trump
- Dems say ALL economic (and social pain) is because of Trump/MAGA, voters say their pain existed before Trump
- Trump says ALL economic pain is because social issues
 - Immigration = Taking Black jobs
 - Trans = Taking Black tax dollars

Was your life much better under President Biden or President Trump?



Survey conducted by HIT Strategies for Working Families Party. Fielded August 2023. N=5,003 Registered Voters.

59%

of Black Voters Agree

Gains for **LGBTQ+ communities** sometimes come at the expense of the Black community

64%

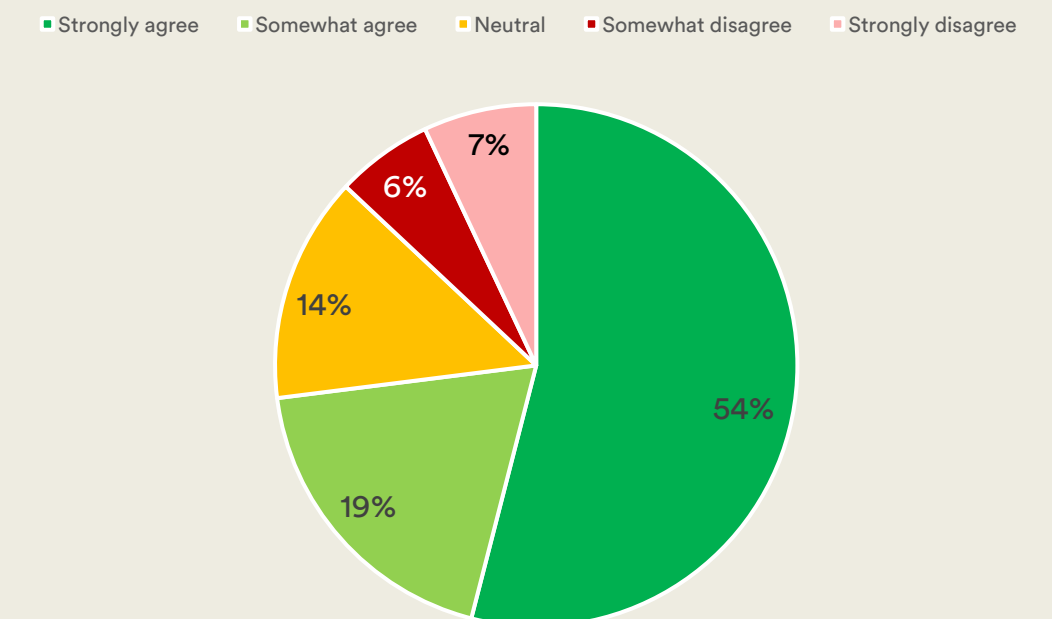
of Black Voters Agree

Gains for **Latino** communities sometimes come at the expense of the Black community

Source: NBJC Poll of N=1000 Black voters, March 2024

Zero sum politics threaten to splinter the multi-cultural coalition if groups in pain believe MAGA narrative that other groups are responsible for their pain.

Greedy corporations and billionaires have rigged the system to keep themselves rich.



Survey conducted by HIT Strategies for Working Families Party. Fielded August 1-8, 2023. N=5,003 Registered Voters.

Billionaires are a believable villain that people already blame for their pain...before Trump gave billionaires the keys to the federal government.

Why Dems Lost 2024

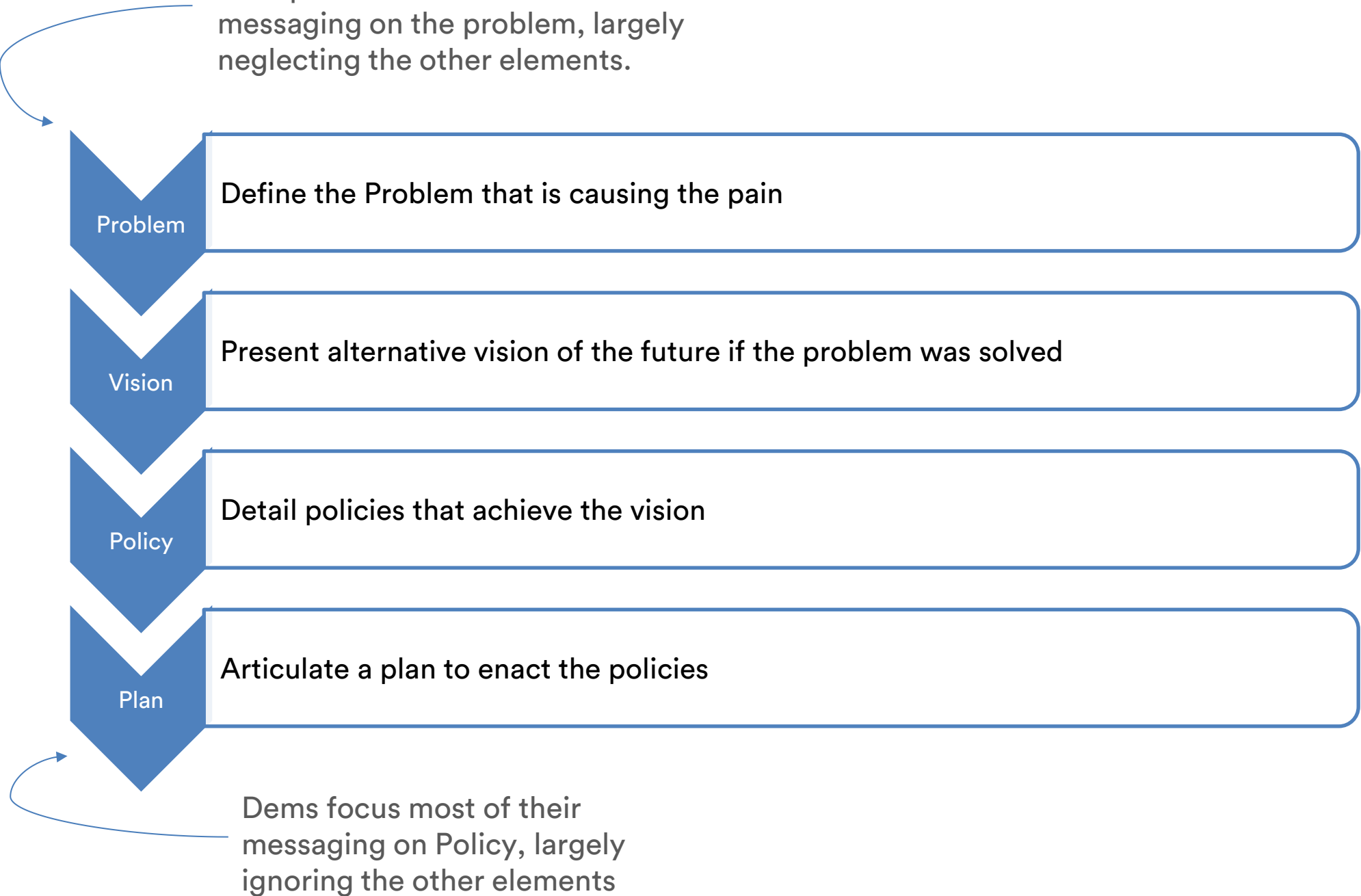
3

Democrats are not putting forth a proactive vision for a multi-racial society with a plan to achieve it.

- Dems critiqued Project 2025 by saying it was a bad plan instead of presenting a better alternative to the plan
- Dems adopted policies that were aligned with Black voters but politics have become post-policy and require a compelling narrative
- MAGA says Dems want to defund the police - Dems say no we don't
- MAGA says Dems want to brainwash youth with woke ideology about race and gender - Dems say no we don't
- MAGA says Dems send American \$ to support the world instead of supporting Americans - Dems say what's wrong with that

Trump focuses ALL of his messaging on the problem, largely neglecting the other elements.

Trump Narrative Arc



Immigrants and Trans people and DEI (Black) people are the reason you have less

Make America Great Again

Remain in Mexico Policy.
End DEI Policy.
End Trans Sports Policy.

Project 2025

Dems focus most of their messaging on Policy, largely ignoring the other elements

Why Dems Lost 2024

4

Democrats are losing men that increasingly feel like their identities, values, and priorities are more aligned to GOP.

- Men are expressing overwhelming pain, cynicism, frustration. Economically AND Culturally
- Despite putting forth first-of-its-kind policy positions for Men of Color, Harris support dropped across all Men of Color
- Pain and cynicism make Men of Color more susceptible to mis/disinformation

Dems must reclaim/redefine values that are important to Men

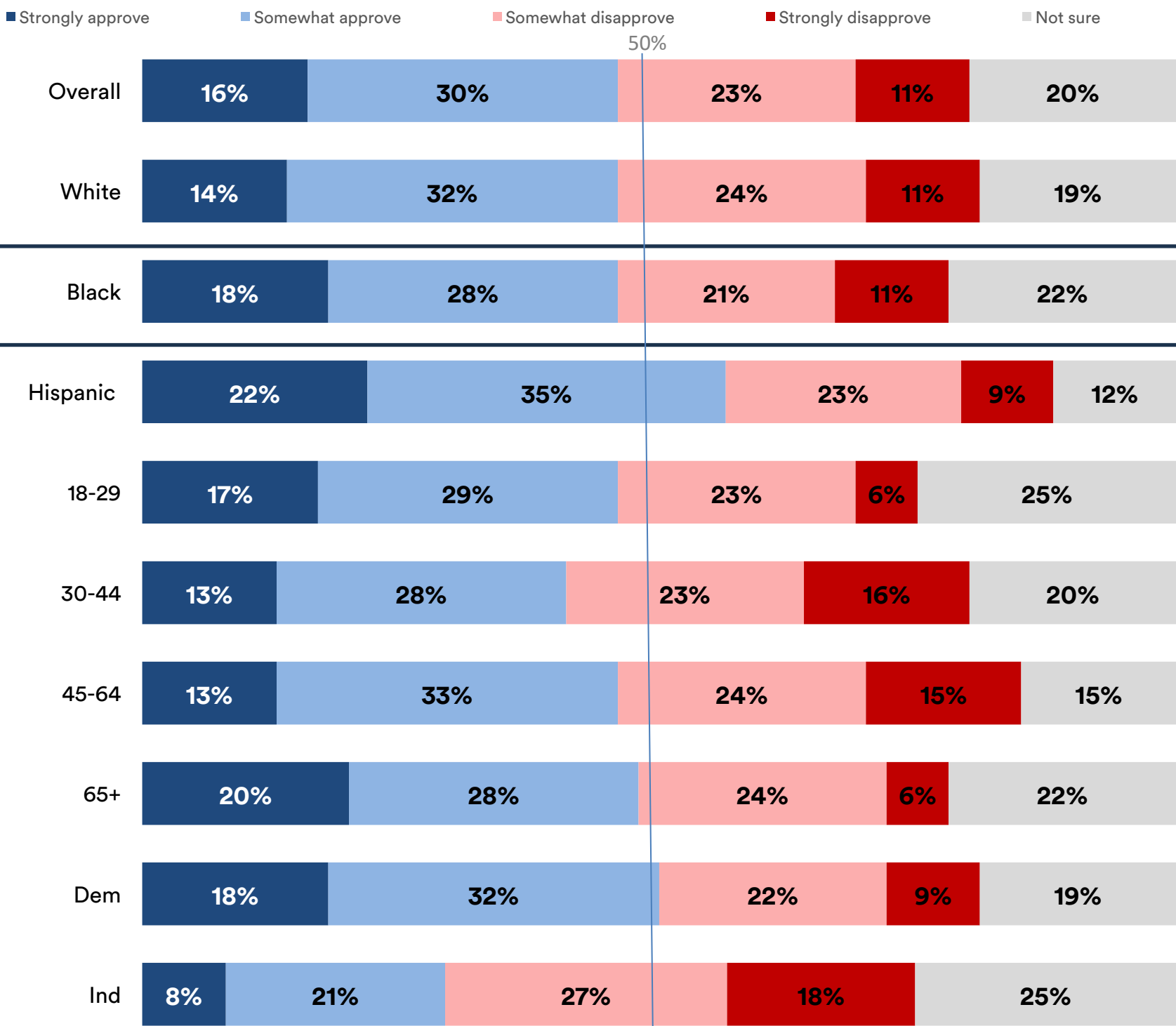
Masculinity	As the head of my household, it is up to me to protect my family from intrusive governments that tell them how they are allowed to express themselves.
Hard Work	Black people have always had to work twice as hard to get half as far. DEI programs don't give us an advantage, it removes 400 years of disadvantage so that we can compete fairly.
Religion	If God grants us all freedom of choice then why should government grant women any less then that.
Patriotism	It is hard to always love a country that doesn't seem to always love you back. But that has never stopped Black people from building, contributing, and fighting for this country.

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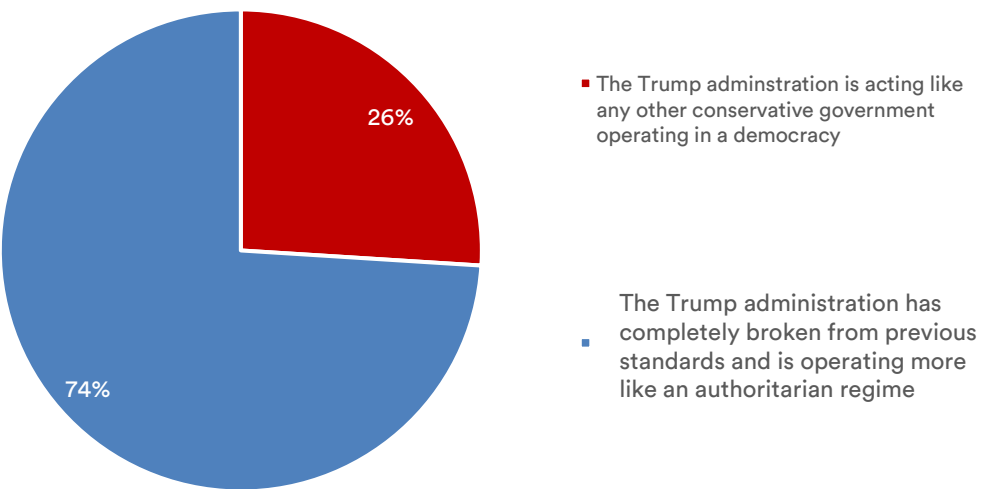
Where are Black voters now?

Majority of Black and Democratic voters do not approve of the way Dems respond to Trump

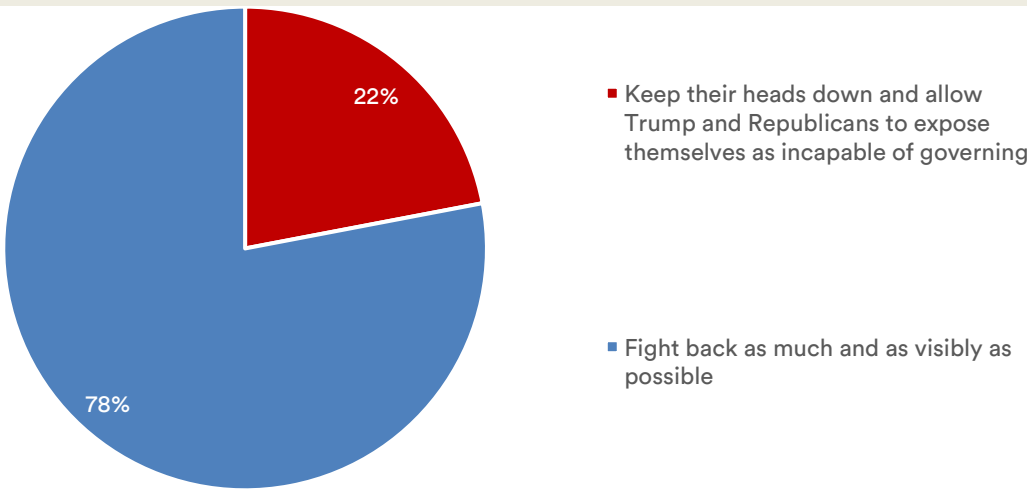
Approval of Response to Trump Among Dems in Congress*



Which of the following statements best describes your view? [Black Voters]

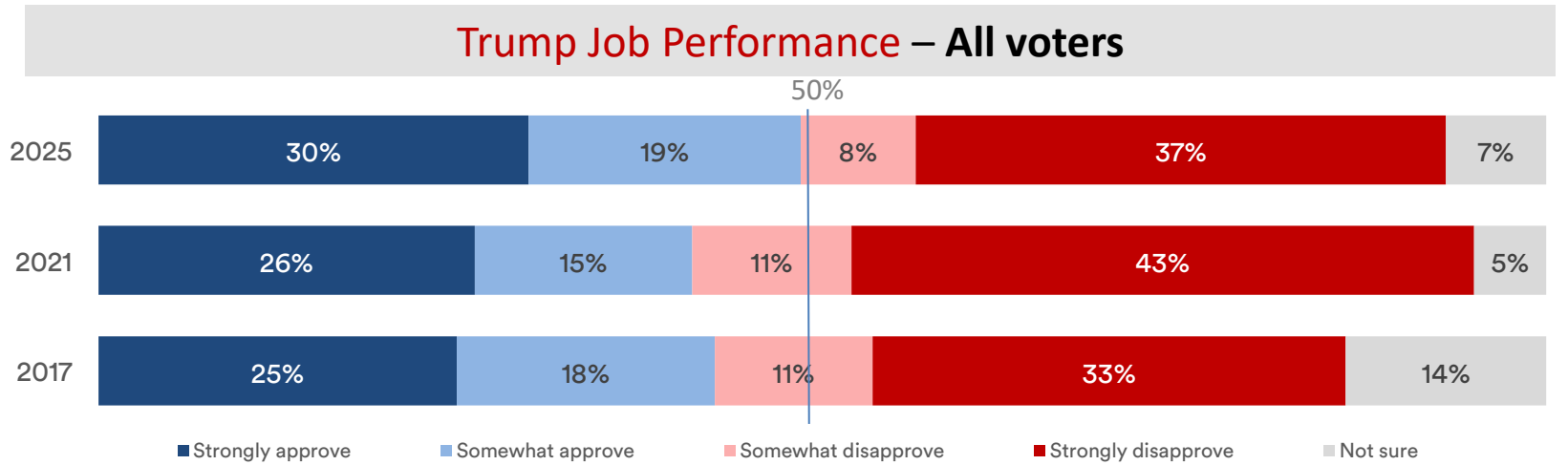
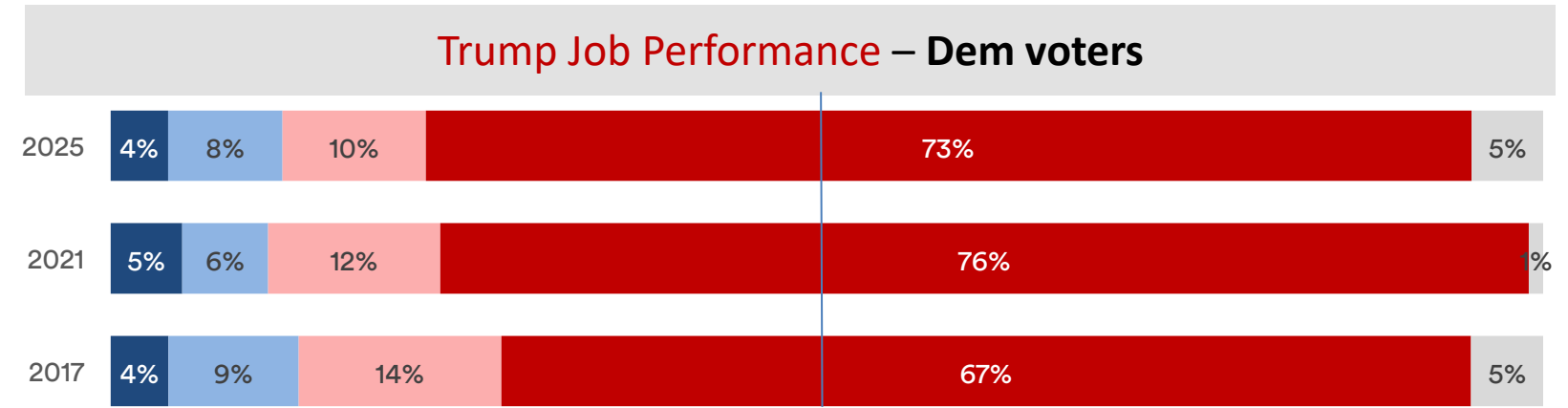
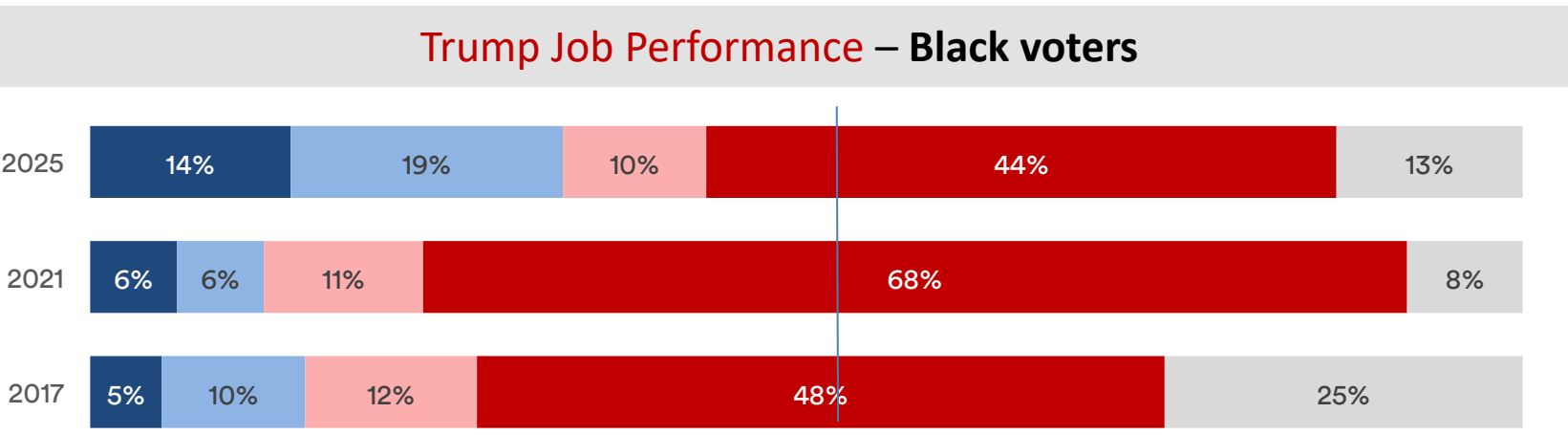
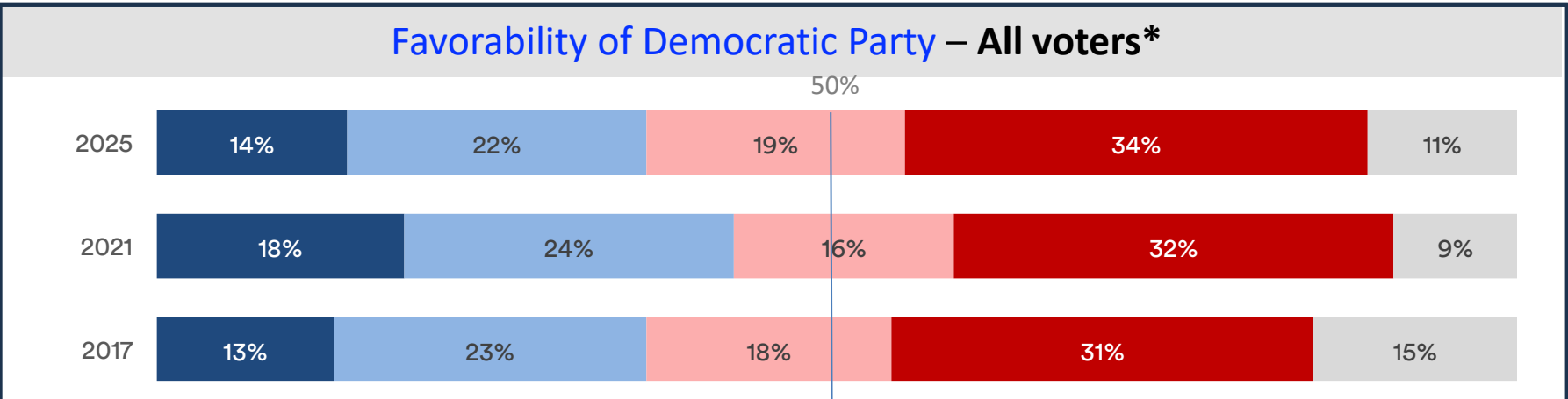
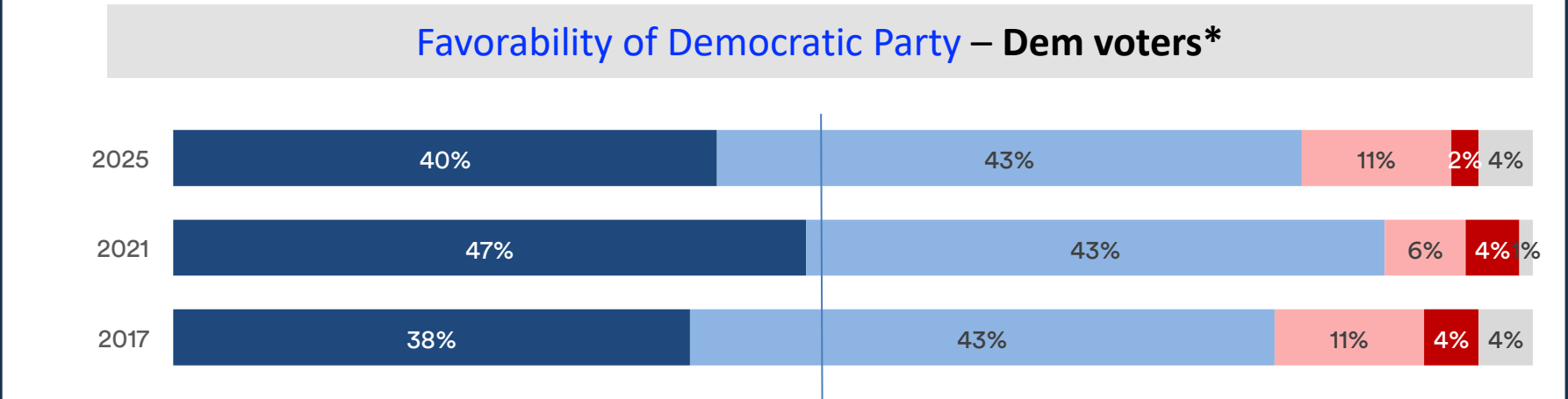
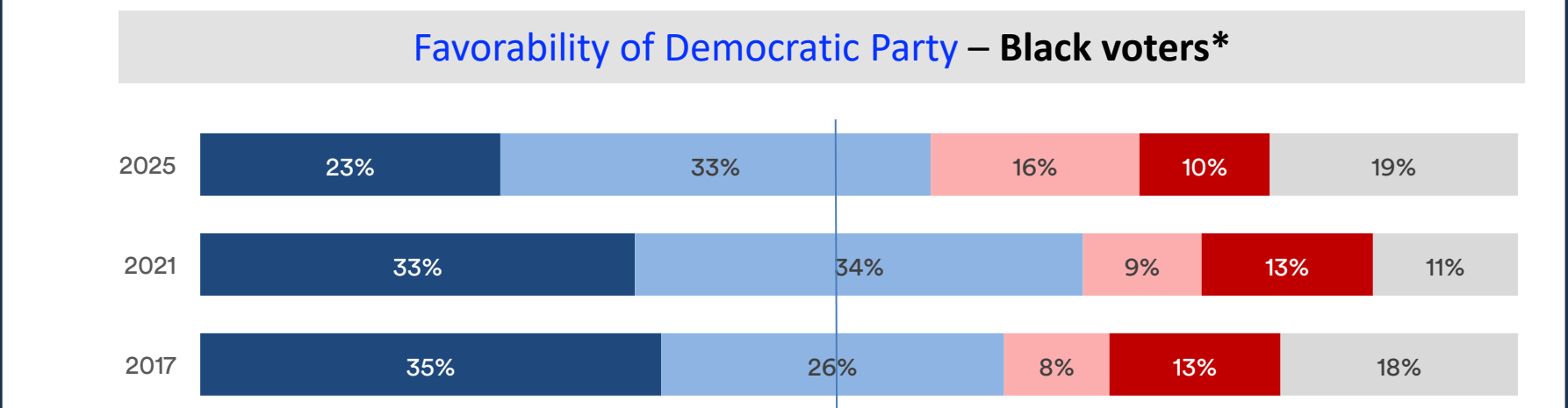


Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on how Democrats in Congress should approach the Trump administration? [Black Voters]



Source: Data For Progress Survey. March 10, 2024. N=188 Black Voters

Trump job approval has increased over the years, while favorability of the Dem party has dropped among Black voters and Dem voters.



Source: The Economist/YouGov Polls: Jan 28 - 31, 2017 - 1500 U.S. Adult Citizens; Jan 24- 26, 2021 - 1500 U.S. Adult Citizens; Feb 23-25, 2025 – 1604 U.S. Adult citizens

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Black Voter Research Opportunities

HITs 2025 Black Voter Research Opportunities



Defend Justice

All of the justice that Black voters have fought for are being unraveled

- Environmental Justice
- Economic Justice
- Criminal Justice
- Racial Justice

How do Trump actions hurt Black communities progress?

Which progress are people willing to defend?

Which victims spark outrage/mobilization?

Resistance Tactics and Messaging

Black voters want to resist and we need a unified message to mobilize their resistance.

What messages mobilize our communities?

Which messengers are credible?

What tactics do Black voters want use?

Blue South/New South

The Blackest states in America have the lowest Black turnout.

The South are not red states, they are oppressed states.

What are the structural and attitudinal barriers preventing Black political participation?

How do we mobilize Black voters to transform the political map?

Men of Color Swing Voter

Men of color have emerged as the new swing voters that are determining the outcome of elections.

How do we reclaim the values of men of color from the right?

Who are the credible messengers?

How do we message the displacement that they feel?

Economic Populism Messaging

We must offer an alternative reason for the pain that Black voters feel and offer an aspirational vision for how to improve their lives.

Who are the credible villains that are responsible for their pain?

What is our aspirational vision to relive that pain?

What is our plan to achieve that vision?

HITs 2025 Black Voter National Coalition Initiatives



Features	Deliverable Descriptions
Qualitative Research	Live focus groups in every battle ground state with aggregated focus group clips segmented by sentiment and demographics
National Surveys	Detailed results of all questions asked in a survey broken out by demographic, geography, and response segmentations
Tracker Survey	Bi-monthly tracker survey to measure changes in attitudes over time
Content Library	Culturally competent content created from the messaging guidance of the research will be field tested
Playbook	Segmented audience profiles, message guide with demo targeting, content library with demo targeting
Strategy Convenings	Bi-monthly briefing sessions on the latest research findings
Strategy Reviews	1 hour call with Principal Researcher to discuss public opinion, strategy, and messaging implications of this research

HIT Strategies has developed comprehensive, multi-phase research designs to achieve each of these ambitious research projects.

HIT is actively recruiting a coalition of funders to support each of these research campaigns.

Initiative subscriptions ranging from \$25k - \$150k

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HIT Research Services

Our Service Model

- ➔ Our research investment team learns about your organization and the goals, outcomes, and impact you want your research to have.
- ➔ Our researchers design surveys, polls, and other instruments to collect the right data.
- ➔ We identify the best targets and conduct your field research.
- ➔ We analyze your data to spot trends and anomalies then use our proprietary tools to contextualize findings
- ➔ Our Research Portfolio Managers and Principals then provide insights and on-going support through our strategy consulting practice

Research Service Offerings

- ① Custom Research
- ② Coalition Research
- ③ Membership Research
- ④ Diverse Opinion Data
- ⑤ Tailored & Special Analysis
- ⑥ Insights Reports
- ⑦ Report Subscriptions (Coming Soon)

Strategy Consulting Practice

- ① Public Opinion
- ② Targeting
- ③ Messaging

Standard Research Packages



Custom Research	Membership Tracking	Coalition Research	Content Testing
Research instruments with customized questions designed to collect qualitative and quantitative information about any population or topic you choose, fielded over a period to get you the best results.	Quarterly survey of your stakeholders to measure and track impact using one of our proprietary research instruments.	National research initiative and think tank with a coalition of organizations from around the country in a year-long study on a focused theme.	Test content and messaging with your desired target audience
What's Included: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Custom instruments• Data: crosstabs and topline• Field memos (optional)• Special analysis (optional)• Standard or expanded research report• 2 stakeholder presentations	What's Included: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 20-question survey• Data topline• Standard quarterly reports	What's Included: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Data: crosstabs and topline• Field memos• Expanded research report• Strategy reviews• Strategy convenings• Strategy playbook• Donor memos & fundraising assistance• Press memos and data release assistance	What's Included: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Text, Video, Mailers or Audio Messages• Data: crosstabs and topline• Message Guide
Pricing: Varies based on demographic, geography, sample size and contact mode	Pricing: Starts at \$40,000, varies based on sample size and contact mode	Pricing: Tiered	Pricing: Per piece test, varies based on demographic, geography, and sample size

HIT Standard Contact Modes



Quantitative

- Phone
- Text-to-Web
- Online



Qualitative

- In-Person Focus Groups
- Virtual Focus Groups
- QualBoards (Digital Journals)
- In-Depth Interviews

How to Get Started: Follow Us On Social Media



✉ Book a Discover Call, sales@hitstrat.com

✕ @dosdiscourse

✉ joshua@hitstrat.com

✕ @t_woodbury1

✉ terrance@hitstrat.com

✕ @HITStrat

in HITStrategies

📷 @hitstrategies

🎯 Thank You!

