A close up of a sign

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**Tennessee Survey of Black Women Voters**

For In Our Own Voice: National Black Women's Reproductive Justice Agenda

18 minute questionnaire

Fielded May 10 through May 31, 2022

N = 488 Black women registered voters

Margin of sampling error: + 3.8 percentage points

**Introduction**

This is a survey among Black women voters across the country, including in Tennessee. The purpose is to understand our community's views, experiences, and what we want for the country. The survey is funded by a non-profit organization working to help Black communities. Your input is valuable to us. Thank you for taking this survey.

1. Are you registered to vote at your current address, or not?

Yes 100

No TERMINATE -

I’m not sure TERMINATE -

1. In November, there will be elections for US Congress, state, and local offices. Most people don't vote in midterm elections like these. How likely are you to vote in the November midterm elections this fall?

Almost certain to vote 59

Probably vote 15

Chances are 50-50 15

Not likely to vote 4

Will not vote 2

I’m not sure 4

DK / REF 0

1. SPLIT A: For you personally, how important is voting in the 2022 midterm elections? 1 TO 7 SCALE (*N = 254)*

1 - Not at all important 2

2 3

3 6

4 10

5 11

6 9

7 - Extremely Important 59

DK / REF 0

1. Would you say things in your state are:

Going in the right direction 36

Off on the wrong track 64

DK / REF 0

1. Thinking about the upcoming elections for the US House of Representatives this November… if the elections were held today, would you vote for ROTATE the Democratic Party’s candidate or the Republican Party’s candidate?

The Democratic Party’s candidate 72

The Republican Party’s candidate 8

Other 4

No opinion 14

Would not vote 2

DK / REF 0

**Voting priorities**

1. This fall there will be elections for US Congress, state, and local offices. How important is each of these issues to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote? RANDOMIZE

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Extrmly imp. | Very imp. | Smwt imp. | Not too imp. | Not at all imp. | DK / REF |
| 1. Economic issues like jobs and equal pay | 65 | 24 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. COVID-19 | 58 | 22 | 13 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Racism / racial justice | 78 | 13 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Health care | 69 | 21 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Abortion rights | 51 | 24 | 14 | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| 1. Childcare | 50 | 26 | 17 | 5 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Education | 67 | 26 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Climate / environment | 38 | 37 | 18 | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Voting rights | 69 | 20 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. LGBTQ+ rights | 24 | 21 | 30 | 11 | 13 | 0 |
| 1. Human rights | 73 | 18 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Crime | 69 | 21 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Taxes | 51 | 31 | 13 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Immigration | 33 | 29 | 29 | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| 1. Criminal justice reform | 57 | 30 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Housing | 59 | 26 | 13 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Police violence | 67 | 21 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Transportation | 35 | 34 | 24 | 7 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Foreign affairs | 29 | 32 | 29 | 6 | 4 | 0 |

1. Choose the top 5 issues that matter most to you when voting in elections?

SHOW ALL ITEMS RATED AS EXTREMELY OR VERY IMPORTANT - IN SAME ORDER.

Racism / racial justice 60

Health care 47

Police violence 36

Human rights 36

Crime 35

Economic issues like jobs and equal pay 32

Voting rights 31

Education 30

Housing 28

Criminal justice reform 23

COVID-19 22

Abortion rights 22

Taxes 20

Childcare 13

Climate / environment 11

LGBTQ+ rights 8

Immigration 5

Transportation 5

Foreign affairs 2

Here are positions some candidates will take in the November elections. How important would each of these issues be to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote? RANDOMIZE

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Extr. imp. | Very imp. | Smwt  imp. | Not too | Not at all | DK / REF |
| 1. Getting rid of recent bans on abortion | 44 | 23 | 18 | 7 | 7 | 1 |
| 1. Getting rid of recent bans and restrictions on transgender people | 24 | 22 | 27 | 13 | 12 | 1 |
| 1. Getting rid of recent restrictions that make it harder for people to vote | 65 | 21 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism | 68 | 18 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing access to affordable birth control | 45 | 27 | 19 | 6 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Lowering the cost of living and inflation | 66 | 21 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Raising the minimum wage to $15 | 62 | 21 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Supporting COVID-19 vaccinations | 43 | 28 | 16 | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| 1. Expanding Medicaid coverage to more people | 52 | 27 | 16 | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Working to end Black maternal mortality | 60 | 25 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Ensuring equal pay for equal work | 67 | 20 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Supporting paid family leave | 50 | 32 | 12 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing access to affordable childcare | 48 | 34 | 14 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing funding for local public schools | 58 | 27 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing access to mental health care | 60 | 25 | 11 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Canceling student debt | 53 | 22 | 18 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Canceling medical debt | 52 | 27 | 16 | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Lowering taxes for the middle and lower class | 64 | 21 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing government assistance programs | 41 | 32 | 19 | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Improving neighborhood services, like trash, street cleaning, and parks | 39 | 35 | 19 | 7 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Making sure our elections are free from political interference and manipulation | 67 | 20 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Creating equal access to resources and opportunities | 55 | 32 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 0 |

1. Choose the top 5 issues that matter most to you when voting in elections?

SHOW ALL ITEMS RESPONDED RATED ABOVE AS EXTREMELY OR VERY IMP - IN SAME ORDER

Lowering the cost of living and inflation 46

Raising the minimum wage to $15 42

Lowering taxes for the middle and lower class 33

Ensuring equal pay for equal work 29

Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism 27

Canceling student debt 26

Making sure our elections are free from political interference and manipulation 26

Getting rid of recent restrictions that make it harder for people to vote 24

Increasing access to mental health care 23

Expanding Medicaid coverage to more people 22

Canceling medical debt 20

Increasing funding for local public schools 19

Working to end Black maternal mortality 19

Creating equal access to resources and opportunities 18

Supporting COVID-19 vaccinations 18

Getting rid of recent bans on abortion 17

Increasing government assistance programs 15

Supporting paid family leave 13

Increasing access to affordable childcare 11

Improving neighborhood services, like trash, street cleaning, and parks 9

Increasing access to affordable birth control 6

Getting rid of recent bans and restrictions on transgender people 6

1. Let's say you're deciding who to vote for in an election. Which of these would be most important in your decision? Choose 1 or 2. RANDOMIZE

Whether a candidate cares about people of all races and ethnicities having equal access to resources and opportunities 57

Whether a candidate supports big changes to our systems, like health care, education, banking, criminal justice, and safety net programs 39

Whether a candidate cares about people getting their basic needs met 24

Whether a candidate believes we should each have power and control over our own bodies and lives 20

A candidate's party (Democrat or Republican) 18

A candidate's position on one or two issues I care most about 15

1. How important is it that more Black women are elected and nominated to positions of power in our government?

Not at all important 3

Not too important 2

Somewhat important 15

Very important 24

Extremely important 56

DK / REF 0

1. Here are two approaches to dealing with crime. Which comes closest to your view? ROTATE

We need to increase funding for police and get tougher on crime, like having stricter sentencing laws and not letting people out on cash bail. 19

We need to fully fund things that are proven to create safe communities and improve people’s quality of life, like good schools, living wage jobs, and affordable housing 81

DK / REF 0

1. Here are some values and beliefs that are sometimes motivating to voters. Is there one of these that is most motivating when it comes to wanting to vote in the election this fall? Choose 1 or 2. RANDOMIZE

Everyone should have equal access to the resources and opportunities to make our lives better 51

We can achieve racial justice, where our systems treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly 50

We all have a human right to control our bodies, sexuality, gender, work, and raise healthy families 27

People should have power and freedom to control their own bodies, lives, and decisions 24

We have enough resources to make sure everyone's basic needs are met 23

Here are some other things that can be motivating to vote in elections. For you personally, how motivating is each of these to get out and vote in the fall elections?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Extre-mely | Very | Smwt | Not too | Not at all | N/A | DK / REF |
| 1. It's a chance to exercise my right to vote | 60 | 24 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. It's a way to show gratitude and respect for our ancestors who fought for the right to vote | 59 | 21 | 12 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. It would set an example for my children or others in my family | 48 | 27 | 14 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| 1. My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections | 48 | 22 | 16 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 0 |
| 1. If I had unbiased info that makes it easier to decide who to vote for | 36 | 32 | 18 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 0 |
| 1. I feel connected with other people when I vote | 28 | 21 | 26 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 0 |
| 1. If voting was something I did with a family member(s) | 25 | 27 | 21 | 8 | 11 | 8 | 0 |
| 1. It gives me a voice in the future | 53 | 28 | 13 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. If my church was involved in getting people to vote | 29 | 22 | 24 | 7 | 8 | 11 | 0 |
| 1. If someone helped me with transportation | 28 | 17 | 20 | 7 | 9 | 19 | 0 |
| 1. If I could vote by mail or absentee | 36 | 21 | 21 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| 1. If I heard Michelle Obama talking about why I should vote | 33 | 23 | 22 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 0 |

1. Of these, which might be most motivating for you personally to vote this fall? Choose 1 or 2.

LIST ALL EXTREMELY OR VERY MOTIVATING ITEMS FROM PREVIOUS SERIES.

It's a chance to exercise my right to vote 28

It's a way to show gratitude and respect for our ancestors who fought for the right to vote 27

It gives me a voice in the future 24

My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections 21

It would set an example for my children or others in my family 15

If I could vote by mail or absentee 13

If I had unbiased info that makes it easier to decide who to vote for 11

If I heard Michelle Obama talking about why I should vote 7

I feel connected with other people when I vote 6

If voting was something I did with a family member(s) 5

If someone helped me with transportation 5

If my church was involved in getting people to vote 3

In the past two years, some states have passed new bans and restrictions. In your state, do you support or oppose: RANDOMIZE

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Support | Oppose | DK / REF |
| 1. Banning abortion | 26 | 74 | 0 |
| 1. Making it harder for some citizens to vote | 11 | 88 | 0 |
| 1. Banning schools from teaching about American history, including the impacts of slavery and racism | 14 | 86 | 0 |
| 1. Banning transgender kids from school sports | 32 | 68 | 0 |
| 1. Banning parents from getting gender-affirming health care for a transgender child | 31 | 69 | 0 |

1. As far as you know, have your state lawmakers done any of these things recently? Check any that apply. It's okay if you're not sure - just check not sure.

Banning schools from teaching about the impacts of slavery and racism 21

Banning and restricting transgender people from sports and services 19

Passing voting restrictions 19

Banning abortion 17

My state lawmakers have not done any of these things recently 11

I'm not sure 52

1. Why do you think some state lawmakers are doing these things? Choose 1 or 2.

White people want to hold onto their power 42

Men want to hold onto their power 30

They are guided by their values on these issues 29

To keep people like me down 19

These are things the majority of people want 13

Other (Please specify) 3

None of these 17

Let's say you came across this info on social media site or in public.

Text

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1. For you personally, how motivating is this info to get out and vote in the fall elections?

Extremely motivating 49

Very motivating 24

Somewhat motivating 15

Not too motivating 5

Not at all motivating 4

Doesn't apply 3

DK / REF 0

1. RANDOM SAMPLE OF N = 100 TOTAL: What stands out to you most in this? OPEN END

*Coding open-ended responses*

**Life**

1. In the past year or so, has your cost of living (Cost of living is the amount of money you need to pay for things like housing, food, transportation, health care, and bills):

Gone up 83

Gone down 6

Stayed the same 11

DK / REF 0

1. Do you have enough money right now to pay all of your bills and basic needs, like food and housing?

Yes 48

No 52

DK / REF 0

1. Where have you most noticed the cost of living going up? Choose 1 or 2.

Gas 68

Food 66

Housing 28

Bills like heating and cooling 16

Household supplies 6

Cars 5

Clothes 2

Childcare 1

Public transit 1

1. Which costs have affected your life most? Choose 1 or 2.

Food 59

Gas 57

Housing 24

Bills like heating and cooling 22

Cars 5

Household supplies 5

Childcare 3

Clothes 1

Public transit 1

1. Does your family have generational wealth? This is money or assets that can be passed down by grandparents or parents. Parents might use their wealth to help a child with a down payment on a house or pay for college tuition.

Yes, my family has generational wealth 20

No, my family doesn't have generational wealth 80

DK / REF 0

**Repro Attitudes**

1. Overall, do you think the decision of whether or not a person gets an abortion should be ROTATE: [regulated by law] or should be [left to the individual]?

Should be regulated by law 18

Should be left to the individual 82

DK / REF 0

1. Who should decide how far along in a pregnancy someone can obtain a legal abortion? Select any that apply. RANDOMIZE

The person and their doctor 54

The woman / person involved 44

The medical professional involved 38

The medical profession 29

Supreme Court 10

State lawmakers 8

Congress 6

ROTATE 65/66

1. Some lawmakers have tried to ban abortion at six weeks. Which comes closer to your view: ROTATE

I want my state lawmakers to ban abortion at six weeks 22

I want my state lawmakers to stay out of this issue 78

DK / REF 1

1. Some state lawmakers have tried to ban abortion at 15 weeks. Which comes closer to your view: ROTATE

I want my state lawmakers to ban abortion at 15 weeks 25

I want my state lawmakers to stay out of this issue 74

DK / REF 0

1. Are you more likely to vote for a candidate for state legislature who:

ROTATE FIRST TWO

Supports access to abortion 44

Is against access to abortion 27

Doesn’t make a difference in my vote 28

DK / REF 1

1. If your state lawmakers tried to ban abortion in your state, would that make you feel: ROTATE FIRST TWO

More likely to vote in the elections this fall 46

Less likely to vote in the elections this fall 13

It wouldn't make a difference to me 40

DK / REF 0

1. In 1973, the Supreme Court’s *Roe v. Wade* decision established a woman’s constitutional right to have an abortion. Would you like to see the Supreme Court overturn its *Roe v. Wade* decision, or not?

Yes, overturn *Roe v. Wade* 28

No, do not overturn *Roe v. Wade* 71

DK / REF 1

1. In the past few weeks, how much have you heard about the Supreme Court wanting to overturn its *Roe v. Wade* decision*?*

A lot 41

Some 27

Not much 15

Not at all 17

DK / REF 0

1. IF A LOT OR SOME: Did hearing about this make you feel… Select any that apply. RANDOMIZE UP TO NO FEELINGS *(N = 331)*

Angry 37

Outraged 36

Sad 35

Shocked 31

Unsafe 18

Scared 17

Listened to 11

Motivated 9

Hopeful 8

Happy 7

Relieved 4

None of these 15

1. The Supreme Court is about to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. This ruling will take away people's right to access abortion. It will also allow states to ban abortion. Does this make you feel: ROTATE FIRST TWO

Much more likely to vote in the elections this fall 44

Somewhat more likely to vote in the elections this fall 13

Somewhat less likely to vote in the elections this fall 6

Much less likely to vote in the elections this fall 7

It doesn’t make a difference to me 30

DK / REF 1

1. This year, the US Congress tried to pass a law to strengthen voting rights for all American citizens. It didn't pass because every Republican Senator voted against it. If strengthening voter protections were an issue in the 2022 election, would that make you feel: ROTATE FIRST TWO

More likely to vote in the elections this fall 65

Less likely to vote in the elections this fall 10

It wouldn’t make a difference to me 24

DK / REF 1

1. For you personally, how important is voting in this next election? 1 TO 7 SCALE

1 - Not at all important 4

2 0

3 3

4 13

5 9

6 11

7 - Extremely important 60

DK / REF 0

1. How often do you attend religious services?

More than once a week 14

About once a week 33

At least once a month 12

A few times a year 13

Less often than that 13

Never 15

DK / REF 0

**Demographics**

Gender

Woman 100

Man -

Age

Ages 18 to 29 20

Ages 30 to 44 27

Ages 45 to 59 25

Ages 60+ 28

Please choose one or more race(s) that you consider yourself to be. Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential.

Black 100

Hispanic 1

2+ races, non-Hispanic 2

White 0

Other 0

Education

High school or less 37

Some college 36

Bachelor’s degree or higher 27

Party ID

Democrat 68

Independent 20

Republican 5

Something else 8

Metro status

Metro 86

Non-metro 13