



# Views toward the Voting in 2022 among Black Women

FOR IN OUR OWN VOICE: NATIONAL BLACK WOMEN'S  
REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE AGENDA

BY PERRYUNDEM

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**PERRY  
UNDEM**



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# Introduction.

Black women are a decisive force in elections, yet very little survey research exists reflecting their various views. Most public polls lack robust sample sizes of Black communities, thereby preventing the disaggregation of data by race and gender.

As a result, the National Black Women's Reproductive Justice Agenda: In Our Own Voice commissioned PerryUndem to conduct a robust survey of Black women voters nationwide and in seven states (Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, and Ohio).

The goal of the research is to explore current views toward voting participation in the 2022 midterms, including issue priorities, values related to voting, and reactions to recent issues dominating the news headlines.

This report provides findings from a national survey conducted among  $n = 1,016$  Black women registered voters from May 5 through 20, 2022. The survey was administered by Ipsos' KnowledgePanel. The margin of sampling error is  $\pm 3.8$  percentage points. Many other types of error can contribute to overall survey error.



## **Summary.**

Many issues are on the minds of Black women. That said, structural problems and solutions may be at the core when it comes to voting.



## Here are 6 key findings.

1

**In a list of 19 voting issues, racism and racial justice matter rise to the top.**

Nearly three-quarters of respondents (73%) say that racism / racial justice is an “extremely” important issue in their minds when thinking about voting in the 2022 midterms. Another 18% say it’s “very” important. Racism / racial justice tops the list of issue areas across all segments of Black women.

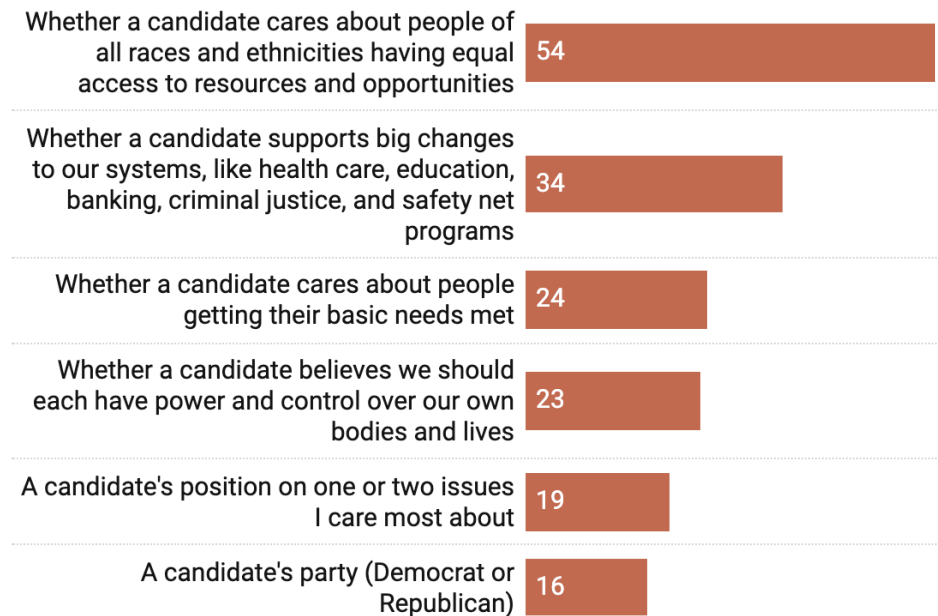
2

## Data suggest that broad values around equal access to resources and opportunities strike at the core of voting behavior.

For example, Black women are much more likely to say a candidate who cares about people of all races and ethnicities having equal access to resources and opportunities is more important than party affiliation or even the candidate's position on a few top issues.

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.

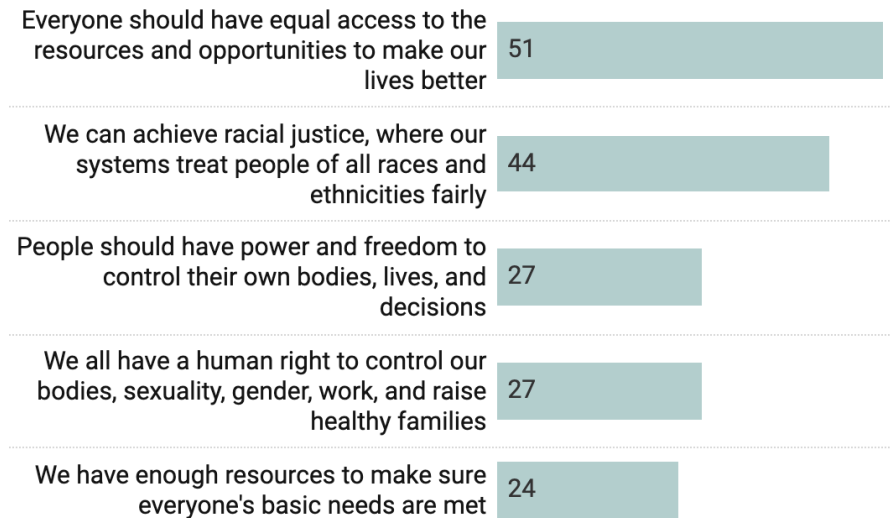
RANDOMIZE



Additionally, equal access to resources and opportunities tops a list of values and beliefs that might affect voting participation.

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



### 3

**When asked about 21 discrete policy positions, majorities say these 8 are “extremely” important when they think about voting this fall.**

When forced to choose the five most important policy positions, a plurality chooses lowering the cost of living and inflation. Lowering taxes and raising the minimum wage are also among the most common top 5.

#### **MOST IMPORTANT**

- Making sure elections are free from political interference and manipulation (66% extremely important)
- Lowering the cost of living and inflation (65%)
- Getting rid of recent voting restrictions (63%)
- Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism (62%)
- Lowering taxes for the middle and lower classes (58%)
- Working to end Black maternal mortality (57%)
- Increasing access to mental health care (56%)
- Raising the minimum wage to \$15 (56%)

**4**  
**Data suggest that these are the  
top 5 values related to getting out  
to vote in the fall elections.**

**1**  
It's a chance to exercise my right to vote  
77% say extremely or very motivating

**2**  
My family might be affected by the outcome  
76%

**3**  
It gives me a voice in the future  
75%

**4**  
It's a way to show gratitude and respect for our  
ancestors who fought for the right to vote  
72%

**5**  
It would set an example for my children or others in my  
family  
69%

5

**These are the top 3 practical considerations in voting.**

**1**  
GA / PA is one of the few states that will decide if Congress becomes Democratic or Republican, which means my vote matters more than in most other states  
76% extremely or very motivating among GA/PA residents

**2**  
If I had unbiased info that makes it easier to decide who to vote for  
61%

**3**  
If I could vote by mail or absentee  
55%

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## 6

### **The survey also explores views toward recent issues in the news:**

- Abortion and the Supreme Court overturning *Roe v. Wade*
- Bans on transgender children
- Bans on teaching children about the affects of slavery and racism
- Policies that make it harder for people to vote
- Police funding and public safety



## On abortion.

Here's what we found.

90%

Generally prefer that the decision to have an abortion is left to the individual v. regulated by law (8%)

80%+

Say they want their state lawmakers to stay out of the issue vs. pass 6-week or 15-week bans

81%

Do not want the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe v. Wade*

52%

Say that they'd be "much more" likely to vote in elections this fall if the Supreme Court overturns *Roe v. Wade*

50%

Also say they'd be more likely to vote this fall if their state lawmakers tried to ban abortion

### On state restrictions.

Most say they oppose recent state restrictions on issues like voting, transgender children, and schools teaching about the impacts of slavery and racism.

% Oppose

93%

Making it harder for some citizens to vote

88%

Banning schools from teaching about American history, including the impacts of slavery and racism

72%

Banning parents from getting gender-affirming health care for a transgender child

69%

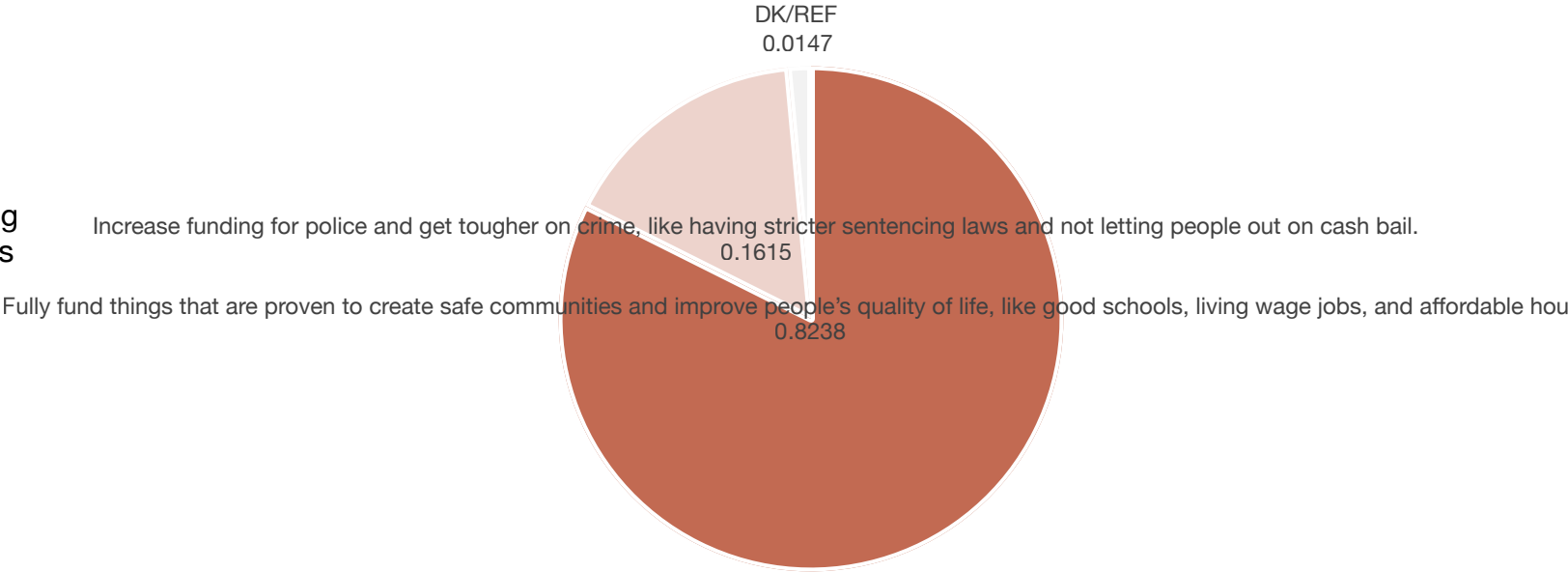
Banning transgender kids from school supports

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

ROTATE

**On public safety.**

On public safety, most prefer fully funding things proven to create safe communities over increasing police funds and getting tougher on crime.



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**Detailed findings.**



## SECTIONS

- 17 Current views toward voting in the midterms
- 17 Issue priorities
- 17 Views toward specific policies
- 17 A closer look at issues in the news
- 17 Factors in choosing candidates
- 17 Why vote?

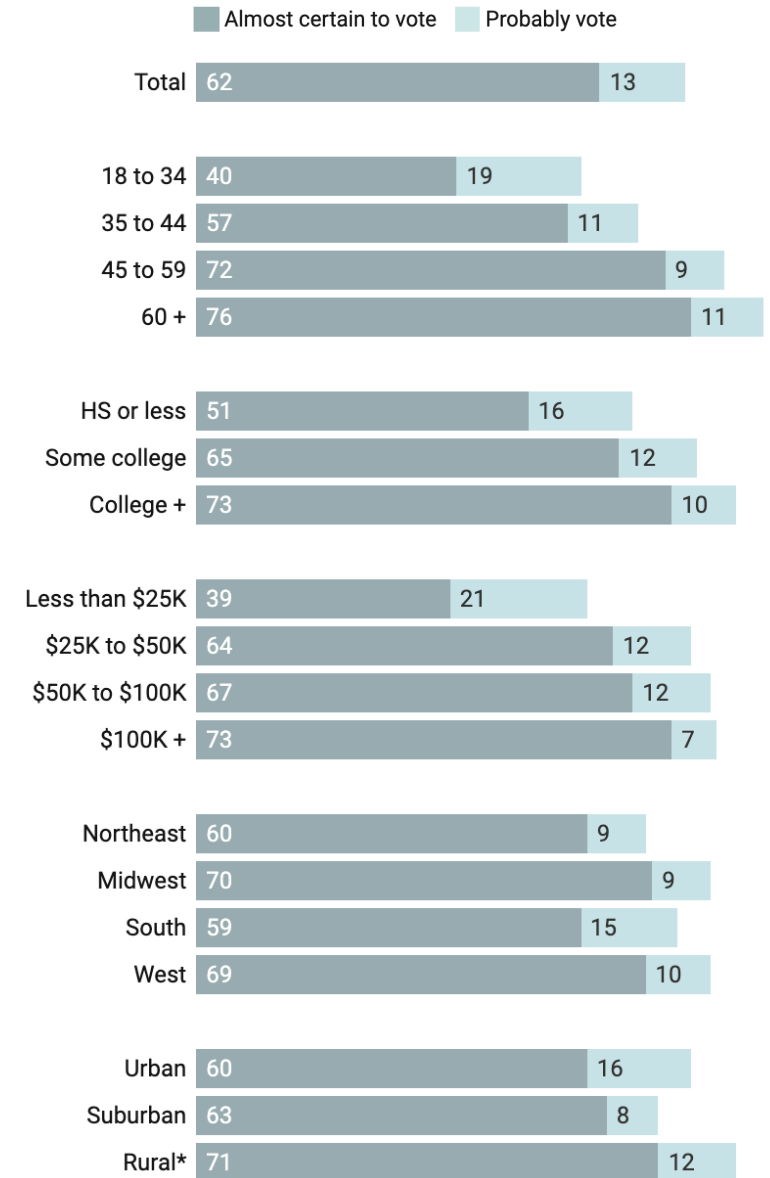


## **Current views toward voting**

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?

## A majority of registered voters say they're “almost certain” to vote in the fall.

Younger voters and those with less education and lower incomes are least certain to vote this fall.



\* Caution small cell size: n = 93

## If the election for US House of Representatives were held today, most Black women say they'd vote for the Democratic candidate.

Among those almost certain to vote in the midterms, the ratio is almost 20 to 1 in favor of the Democratic v. Republican candidate.

Data are fairly consistent across region:

- Northeast residents (70% Democratic candidate v. 5% Republican)
- Midwest (64% v. 7%)
- South (70% v. 7%)
- West (76% v. 4%)

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?

70%

Democratic Party candidate  
81% voters almost certain to vote

6%

Republican Party candidate  
4% voters almost certain to vote

4%

Other  
4% voters almost certain to vote

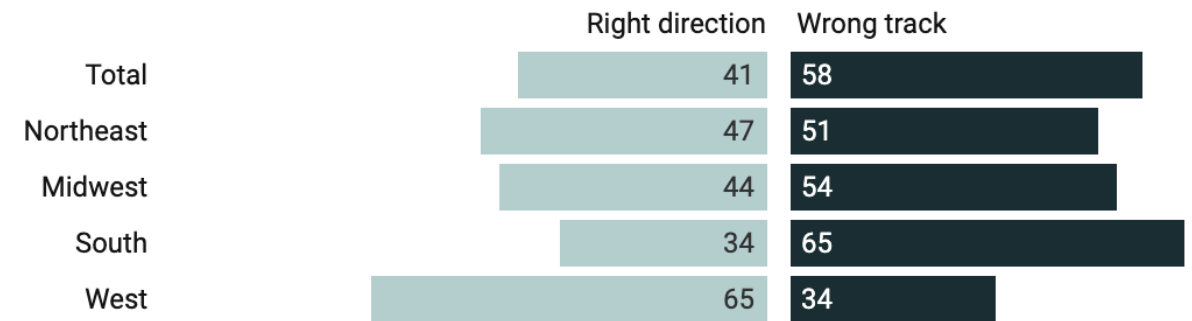
15%

No opinion  
10% voters almost certain to vote

## Close to 6 in 10 Black women say things in their state are off on the wrong track.

Respondents in the South are most likely to say things in their state are off on the wrong track. Residents of the West are most likely to say things in their state are going in the right direction.

Would you say things in your state are going in the right direction or off on the wrong track?

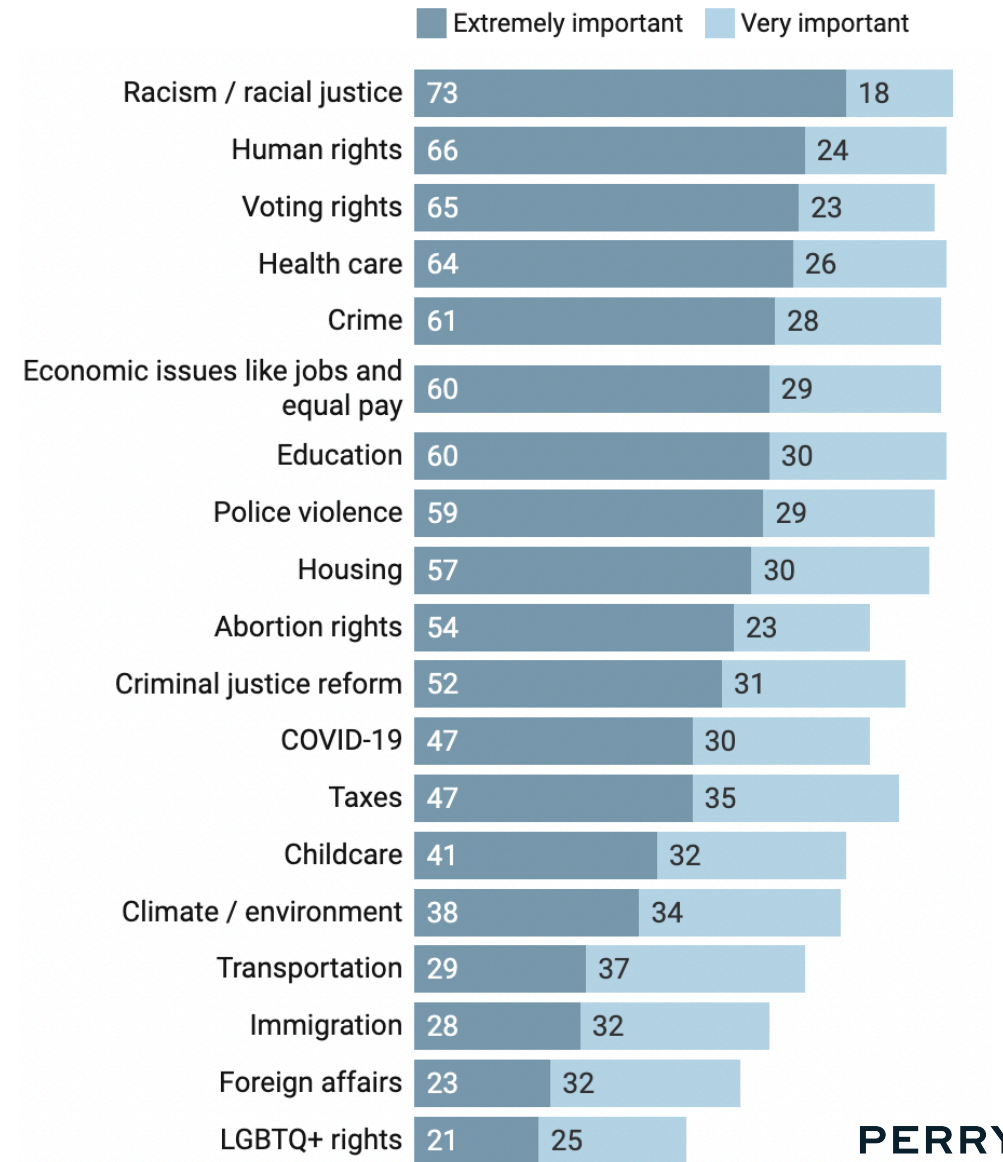




# **Issue priorities**

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?

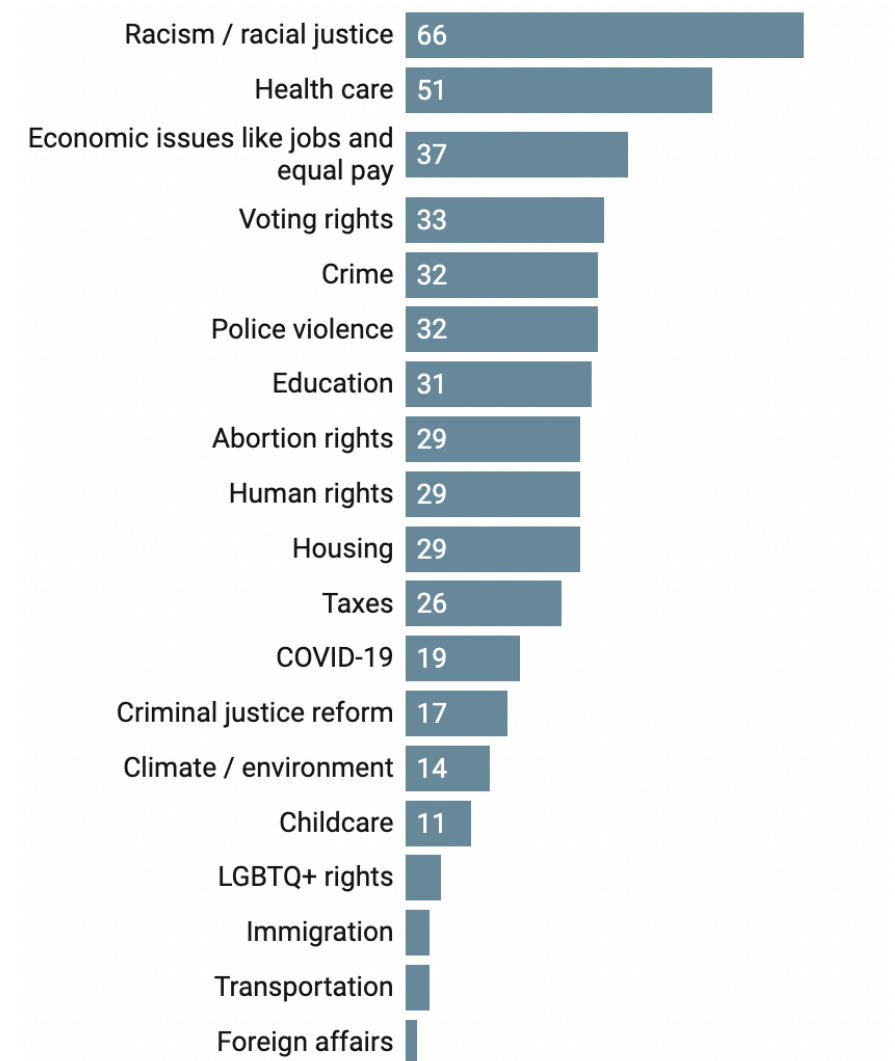
**Many issues are on the minds of Black women – racism and racial justice top the list.**



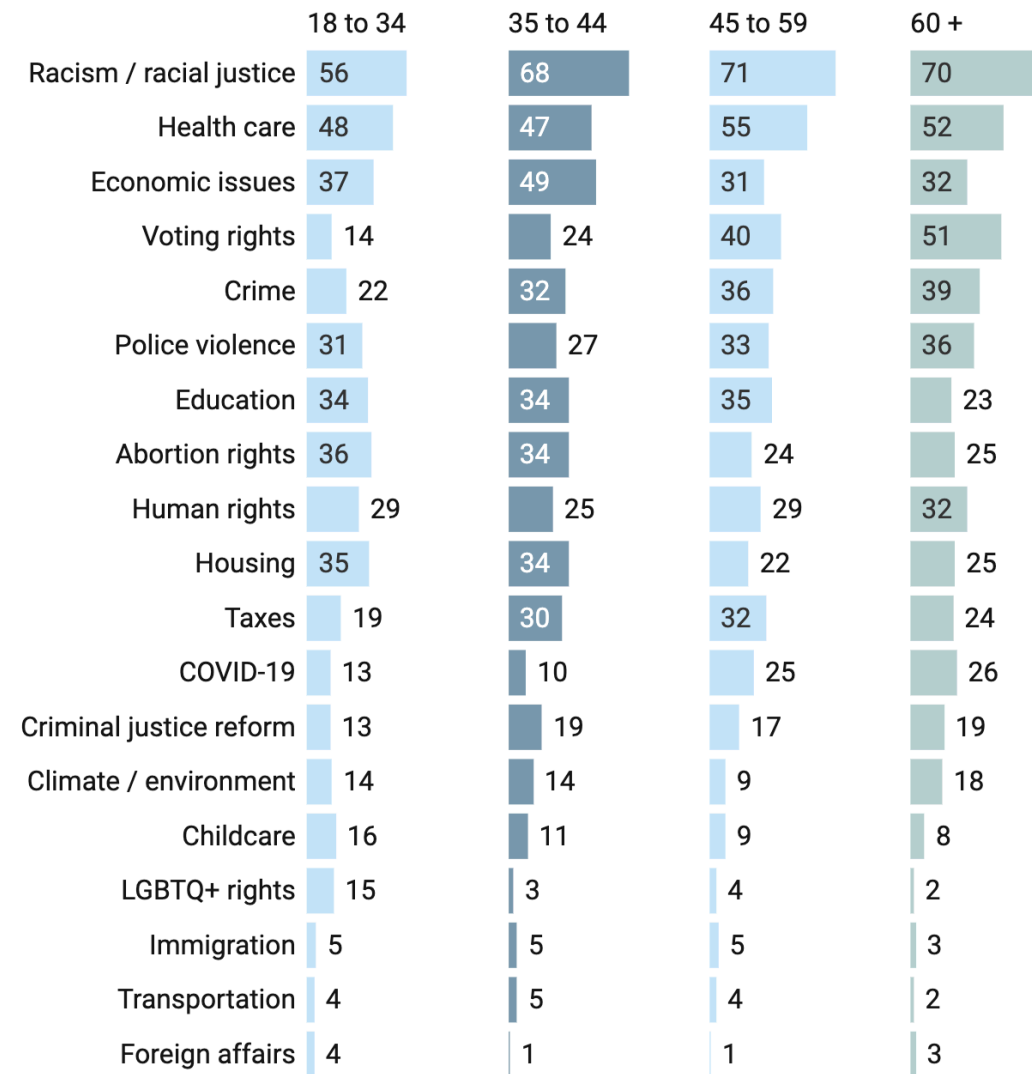
Choose the top 5 issues that matter most  
to you when voting in elections.

**When asked to choose  
the top 5 issue areas,  
racism / racial justice  
again tops the list,  
followed by health care.**

% Chosen as a top 5 issue



## % Chosen as a top 5 issue



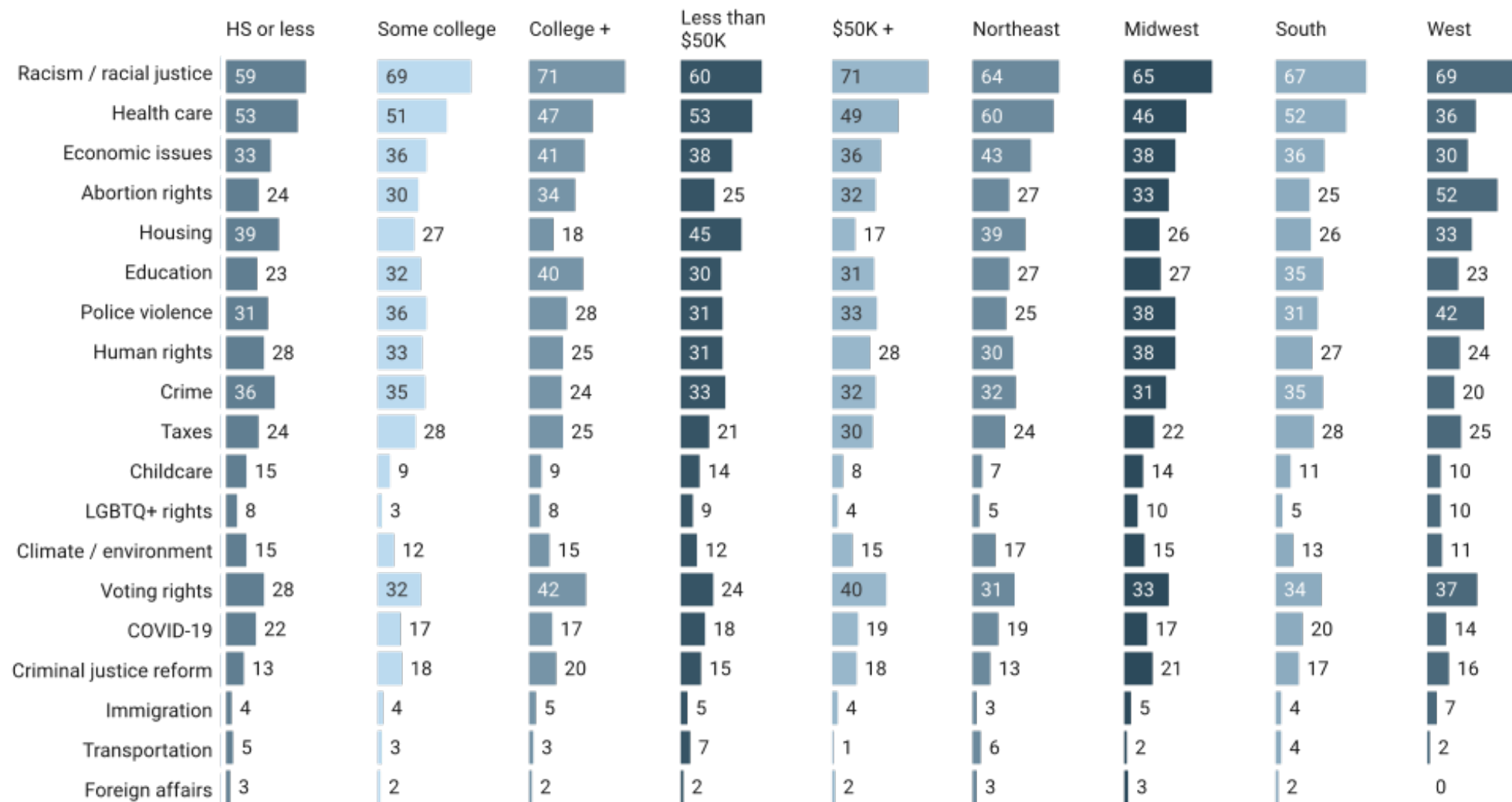
Voting rights is higher on the list for older Black women, whereas economic issues and housing are higher priorities among younger respondents.

Respondents with lower incomes are also more likely than others to prioritize housing.

Black women in the West are more likely than others to say abortion rights and access are in their top 5 most important issues (see next page).

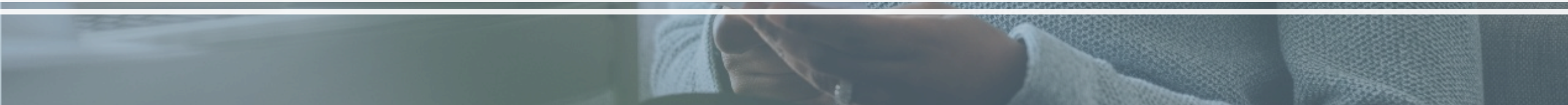
Police violence is higher on the list among residents of the Midwest and West.

% Chosen as a top 5 issue





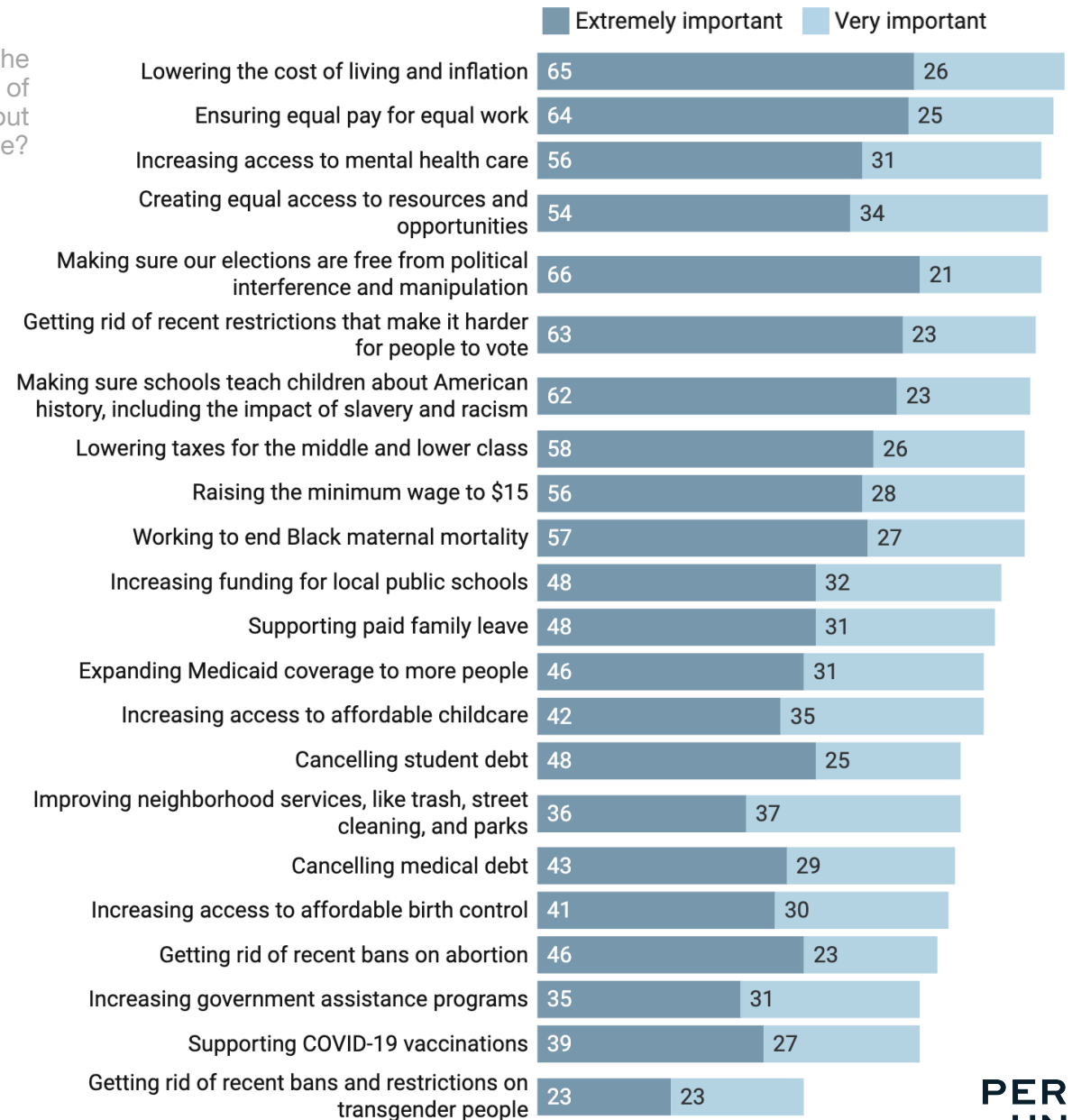
**Views toward specific policies**



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?

## In addition to issue areas, we explored views toward specific policy priorities.

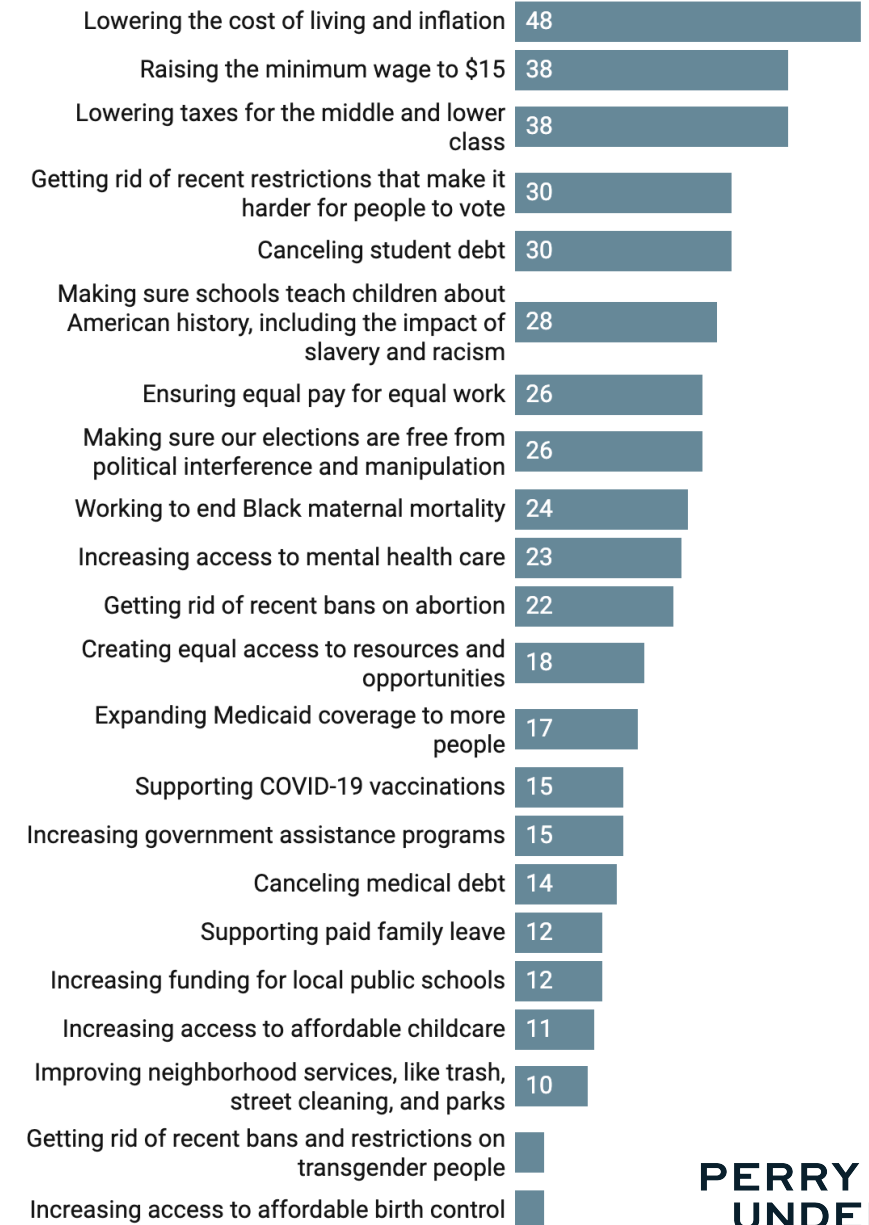
Economic policies rise to the top, in addition to getting rid of voting restrictions and making sure children are taught American history, including the impact of racism and slavery.



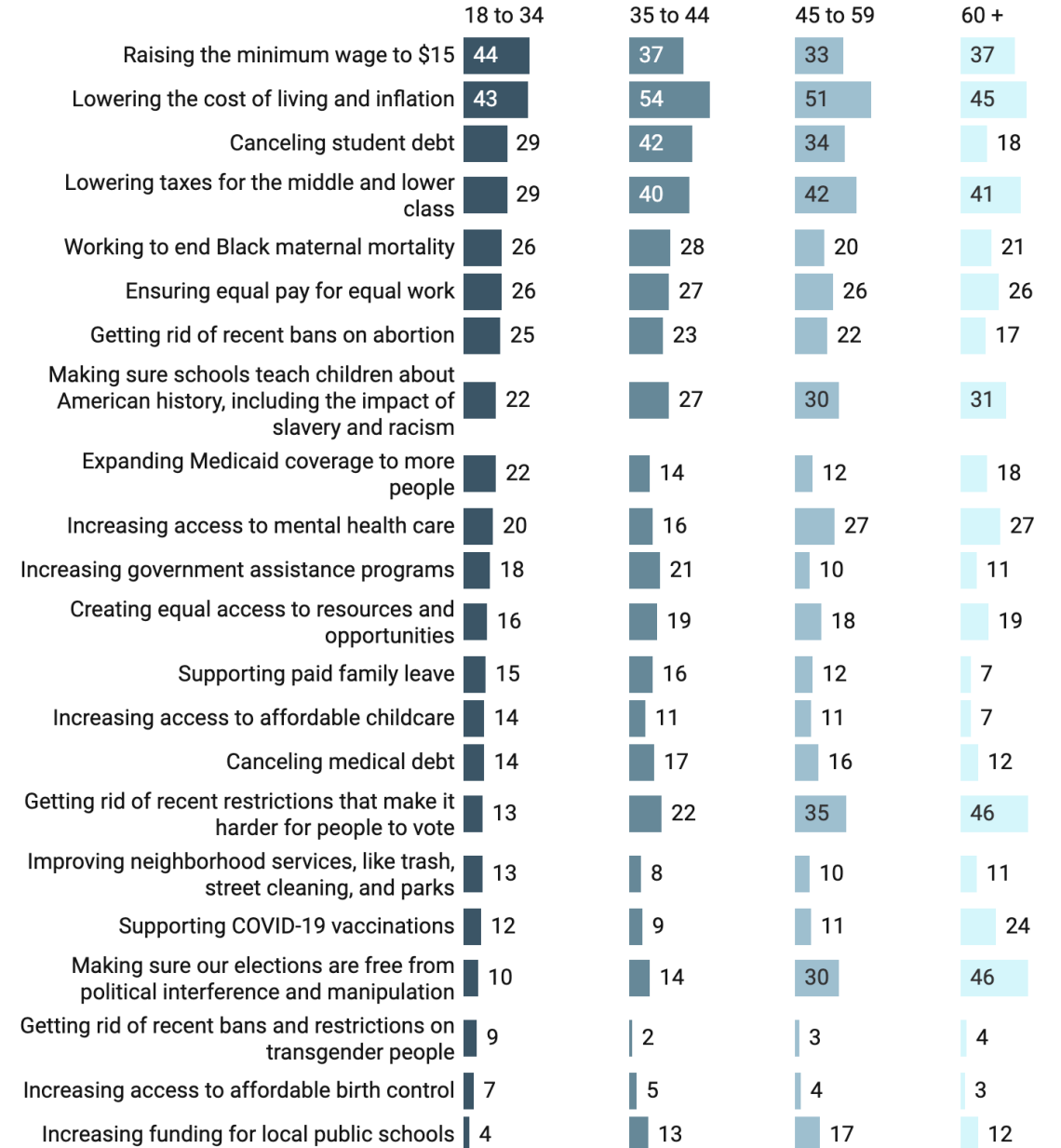
Here are positions some candidates will take in the November elections. How important would each of these issues be to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote?

**When asked to choose the top 5 policies, similar themes rise to the top.**

% Chosen as a top 5 policy position



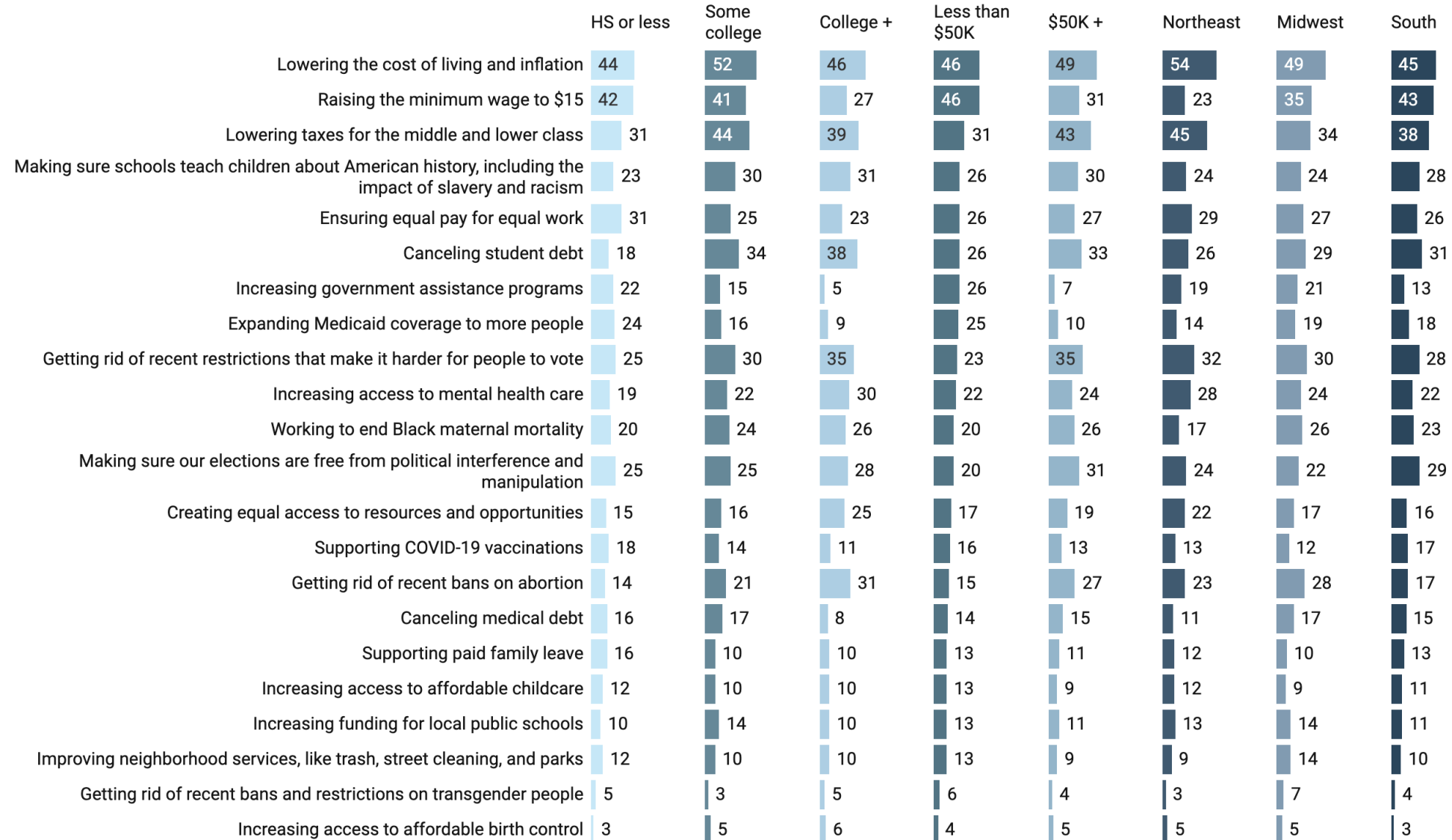
## % Chosen as a top 5 policy position



Economic policies top the list across age cohorts. However, raising the minimum wage to \$15 is highest among younger women, those with lower incomes, and less education (see next page).

Policies related to voting restrictions and election interference are more pressing among older women.

## % Chosen as a top 5 policy position





## **Views toward issues in the news**



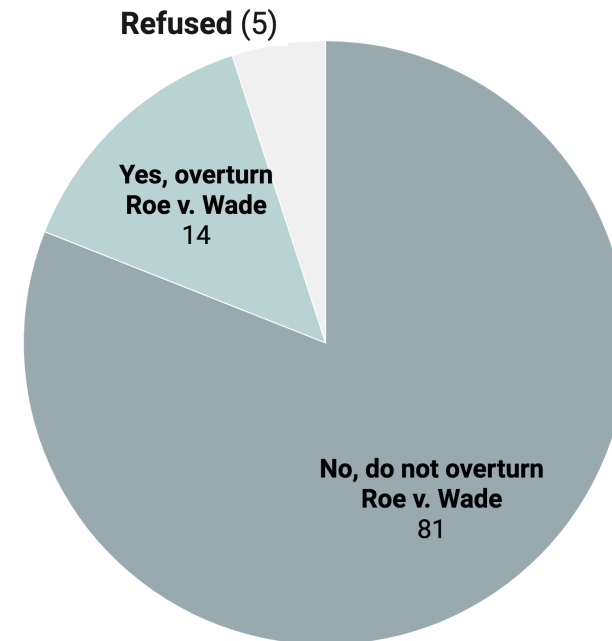
**The survey explores  
opinion toward issues  
that have gained recent  
national attention.**

#### **ISSUES IN THE NEWS**

- Abortion and the Supreme Court overturning *Roe v. Wade*
- Bans on transgender children
- Bans on teaching children about the affects of slavery and racism
- Policies that make it harder for people to vote
- Police funding and public safety

**8 in 10 say they don't want *Roe v. Wade* overturned.**

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?



Northeast: 82% No  
Midwest: 80%  
South: 80%  
West: 85%

## 76% of respondents heard “a lot” or “some” news about the Supreme Court wanting to overturn *Roe*.

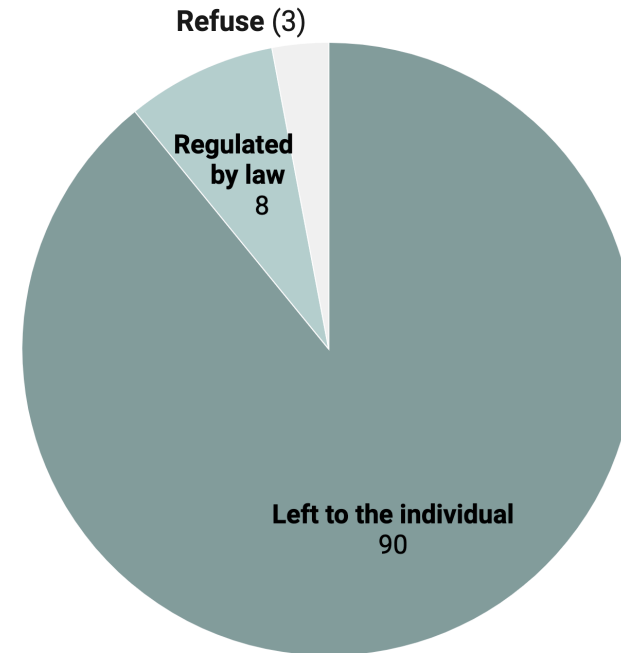
Among those who heard the news, the most common emotional response was anger and outrage. Young women (18 to 34) are most likely to say they felt angry (61%) about the news. One in three (33%) young women says the news made them feel unsafe.

Did hearing about this make you feel...  
Select any that apply. RANDOMIZE  
*Base n = 814 heard “a lot” or “some” about Supreme Court overturning Roe*

	Total	18 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 59	60 +	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Angry	48	61	47	46	41	51	46	45	58
Outraged	49	53	53	52	42	57	46	46	58
Shocked	39	47	44	42	26	41	35	37	49
Sad	40	40	42	43	36	43	40	37	49
Unsafe	23	33	30	19	14	33	21	19	29
Scared	21	30	31	17	12	21	24	18	32
Motivated	11	12	8	15	10	7	14	11	15
Hopeful	5	9	3	4	5	6	2	5	8
Listened to	4	8	3	4	4	1	4	6	1
Happy	1	3	1	0	1	1	1	1	3
Relieved	1	2	3	0	2	0	0	2	2

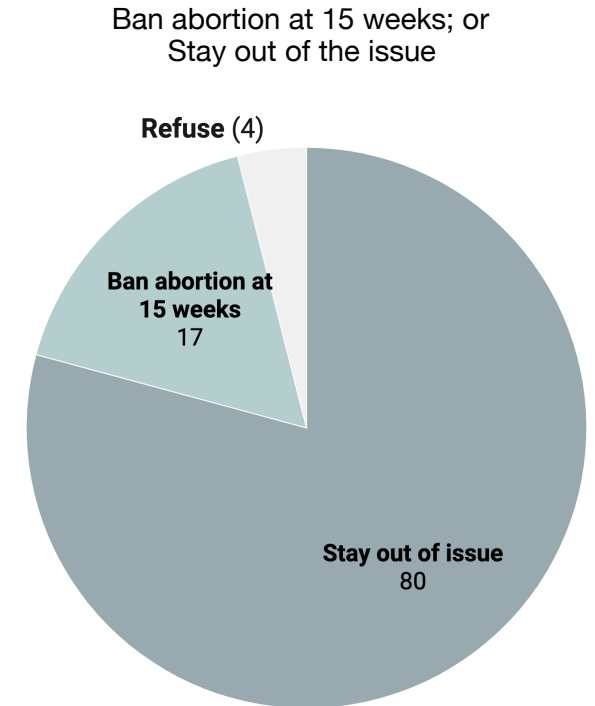
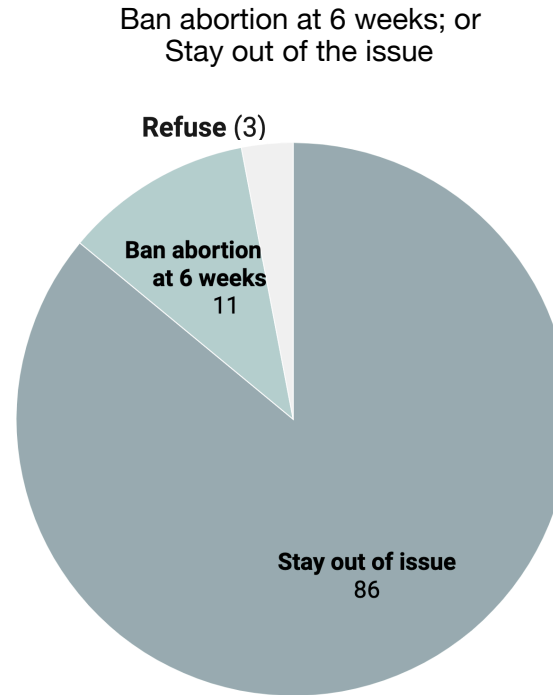
**Overall, 9 in 10  
respondents prefer that  
abortion decisions be  
left to individuals v.  
regulated by law.**

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]?



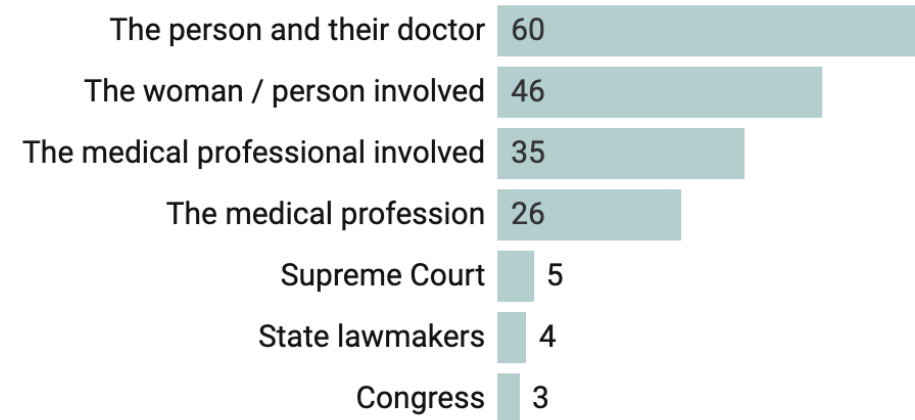
**Similar proportions prefer that lawmakers stay out of regulating abortion at 6 and 15 weeks.**

Some lawmakers have tried to ban abortion at six weeks. Which comes closer to your view: I want my state lawmakers to:



**Most prefer that the individuals involved make decisions on how far along someone can obtain a legal abortion.**

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

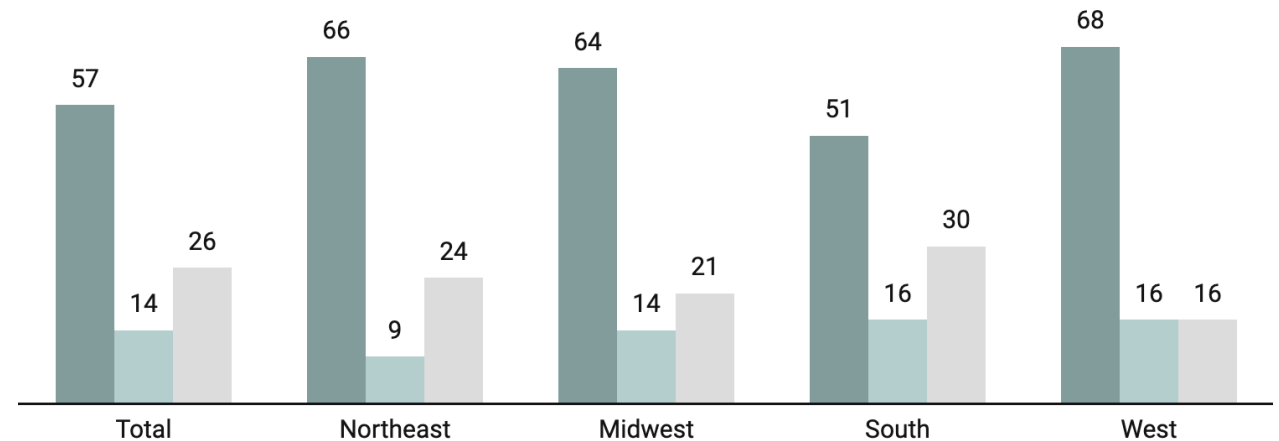


**Respondents across region are more likely to say they'd vote for a candidate who supports abortion rights and access than one who is against it.**

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

ROTATE

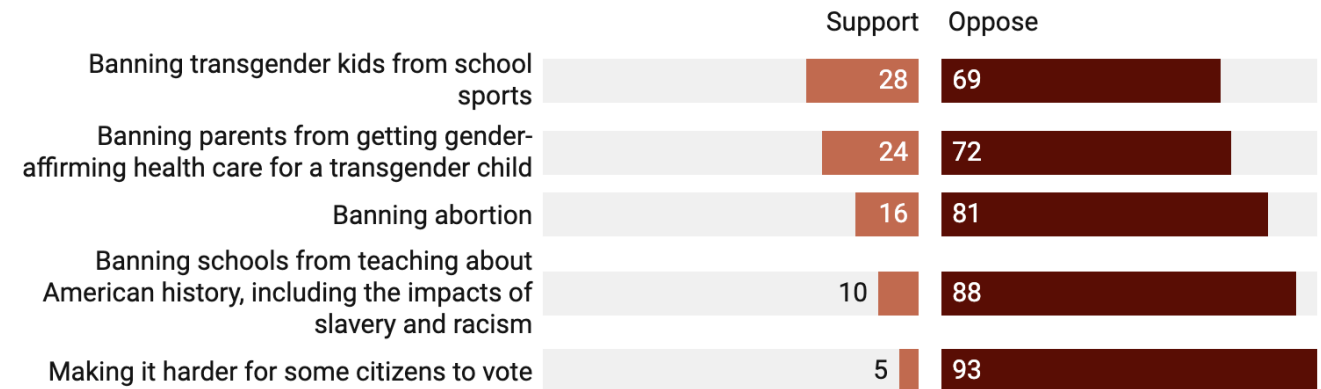
Supports access to abortion Is against access to abortion Doesn't make a difference in my vote



## Majorities oppose recent statewide restrictions on voting, abortion, and transgender children.

Majorities across age and region oppose these restrictions. (See next page.)

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

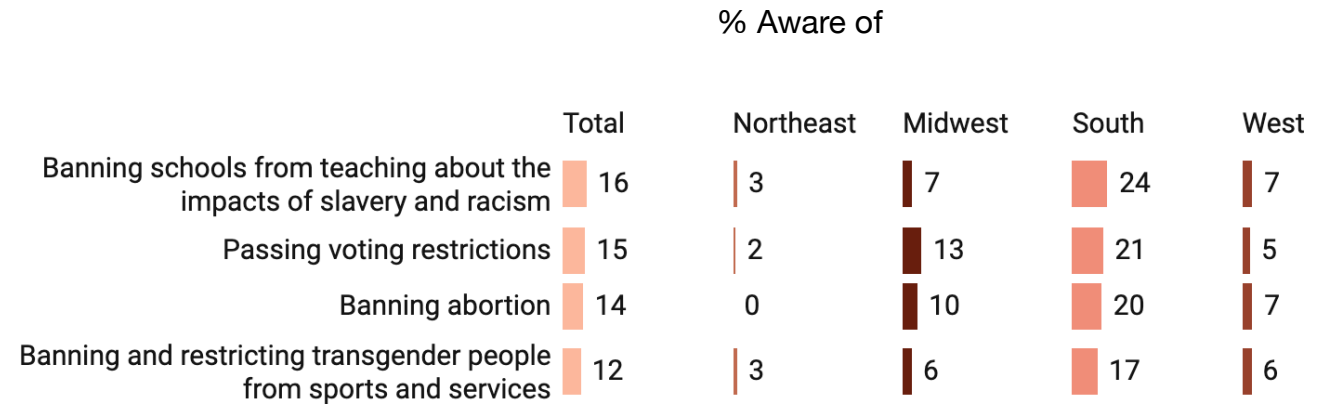


% Oppose

	18 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 59	60 +	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Making it harder for some citizens to vote	88	91	95	96	96	92	92	92
Banning schools from teaching about American history, including the impacts of slavery and racism	84	86	90	92	91	90	86	92
Banning abortion	76	83	82	82	83	80	80	82
Banning transgender kids from school sports	67	65	66	76	73	71	66	73
Banning parents from getting gender-affirming health care for a transgender child	62	74	75	76	75	72	70	78

That said, most are unaware of whether lawmakers in their states have passed any of these restrictions.

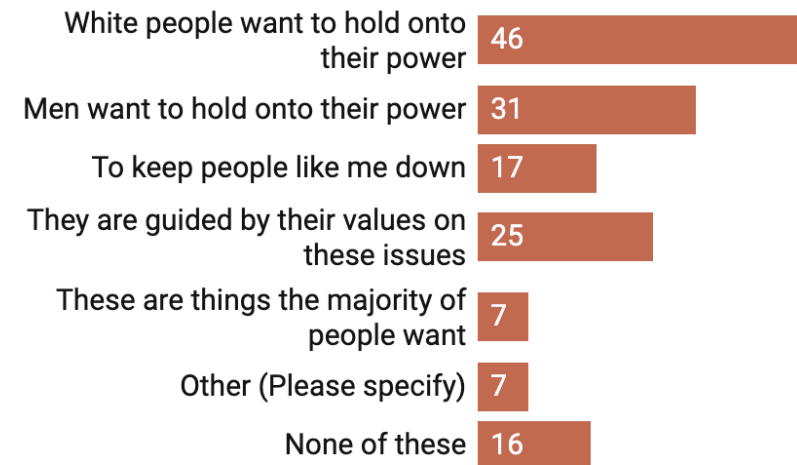
As far as you know, have your state lawmakers done any of these things recently?



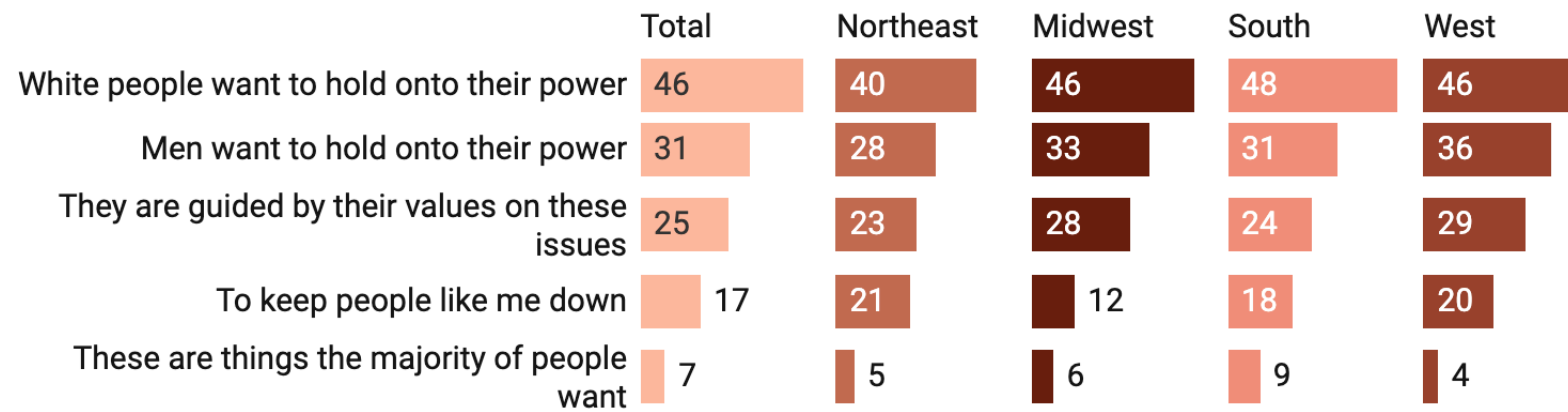
**Respondents are more likely to attribute restrictions to lawmakers' motivations around power, rather than a reflection of their values or the will of the majority.**

These sentiments are consistent across demographics, including region (see next page).

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



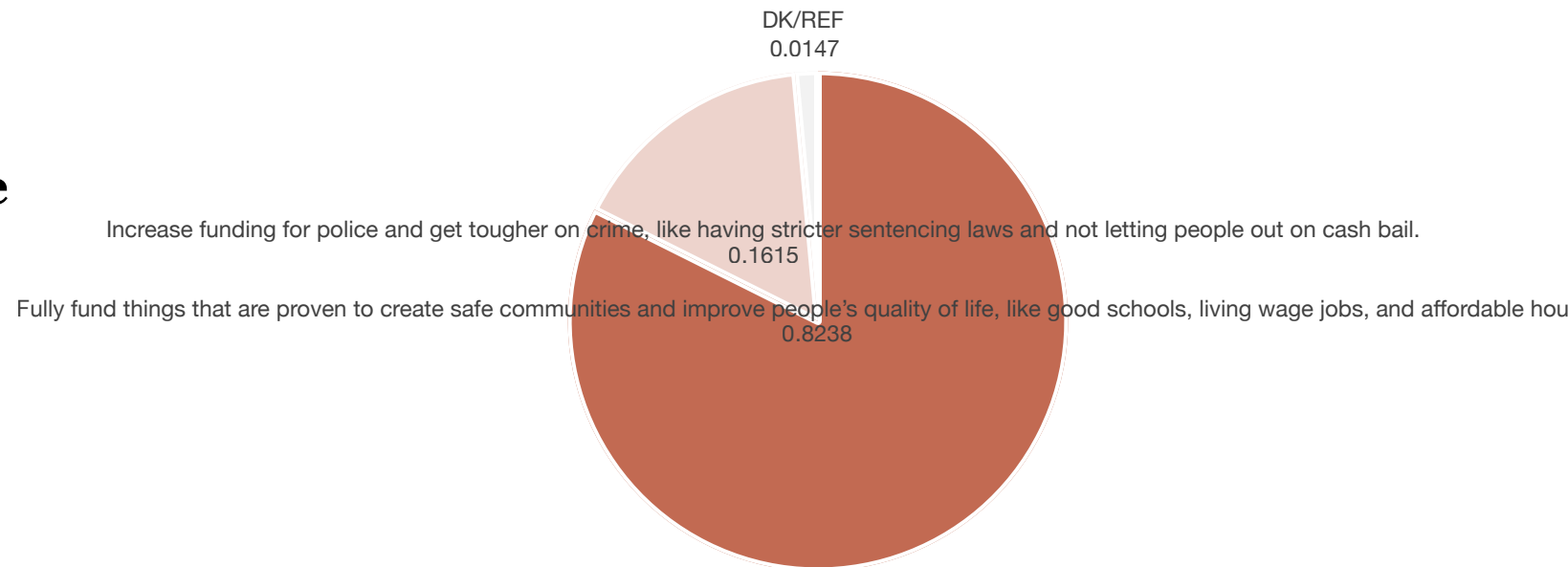
Why do you think some state lawmakers are doing these things?  
Choose 1 or 2.



When given two approaches to crime, most prefer funding things proven to create safe communities over getting tougher on crime and increasing police funding.

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

ROTATE



—

## Lowering the cost of living / inflation is a top policy priority for 48% of Black women.

Respondents are feeling the effects of inflation and economic insecurity.

88%

---

Say their cost of living has gone up

42%

---

Say they don't have enough money to pay all of their bills and basic needs right now

89%

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Say their family does not 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."

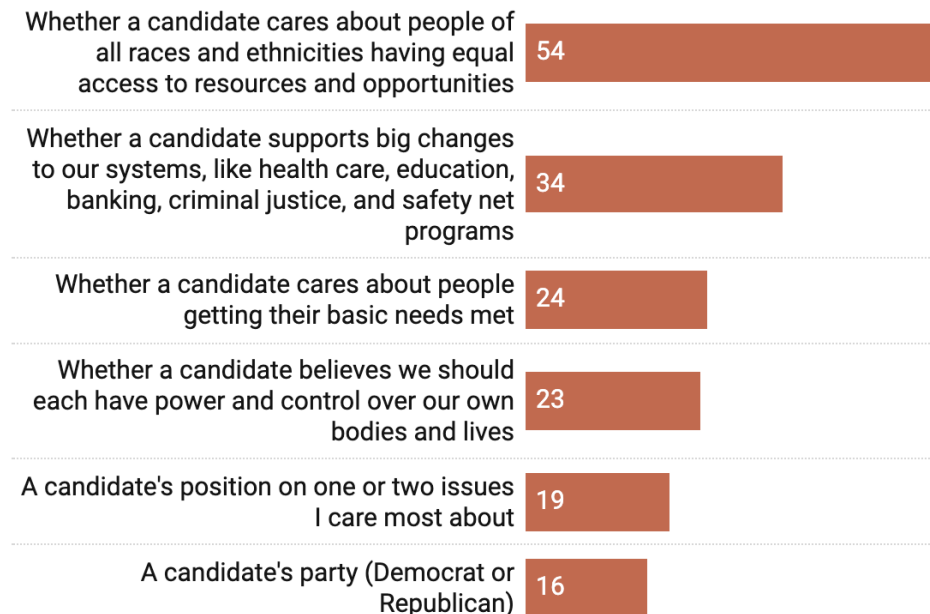


## **Considering candidates**

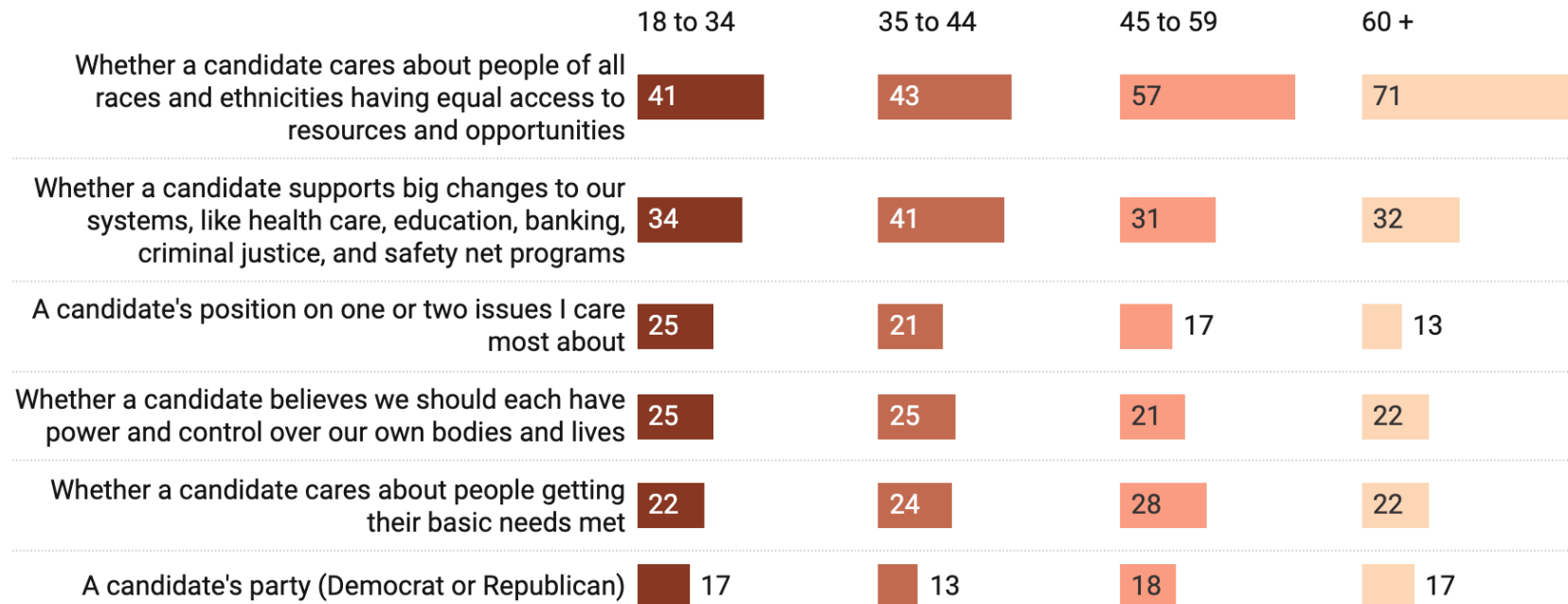
**Data suggest that a candidate's fundamental views about equal access to resources and opportunities may be most important to Black women – more so than party affiliation or issue positions.**

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



This is especially true for older Black women.



**Electing Black women to office is also important to the vast majority of respondents.**

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

**93%**

Extremely (51%),  
very (26%), or  
somewhat (16%)  
important



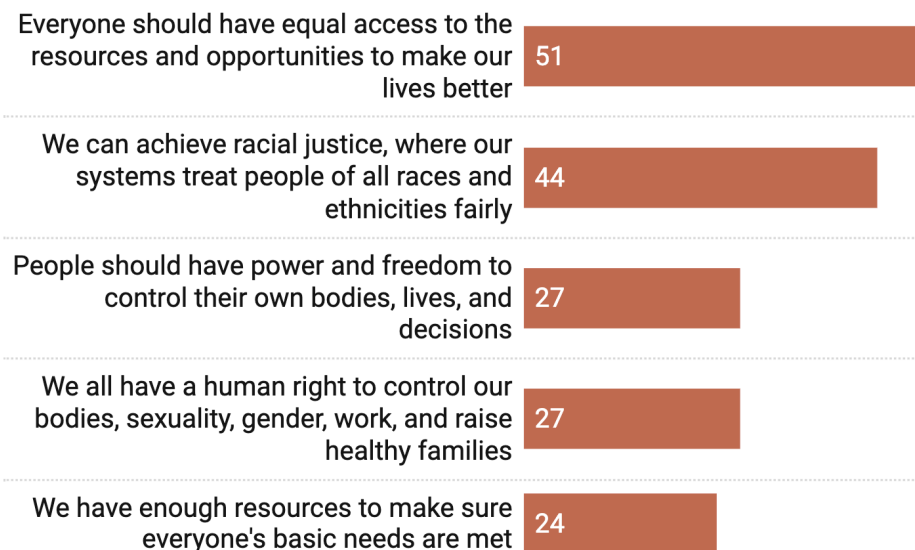
**Why vote?**

## What values relate to feeling motivated to vote in the elections this fall?

Equal access to resources and opportunities tops the list of items presented.

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

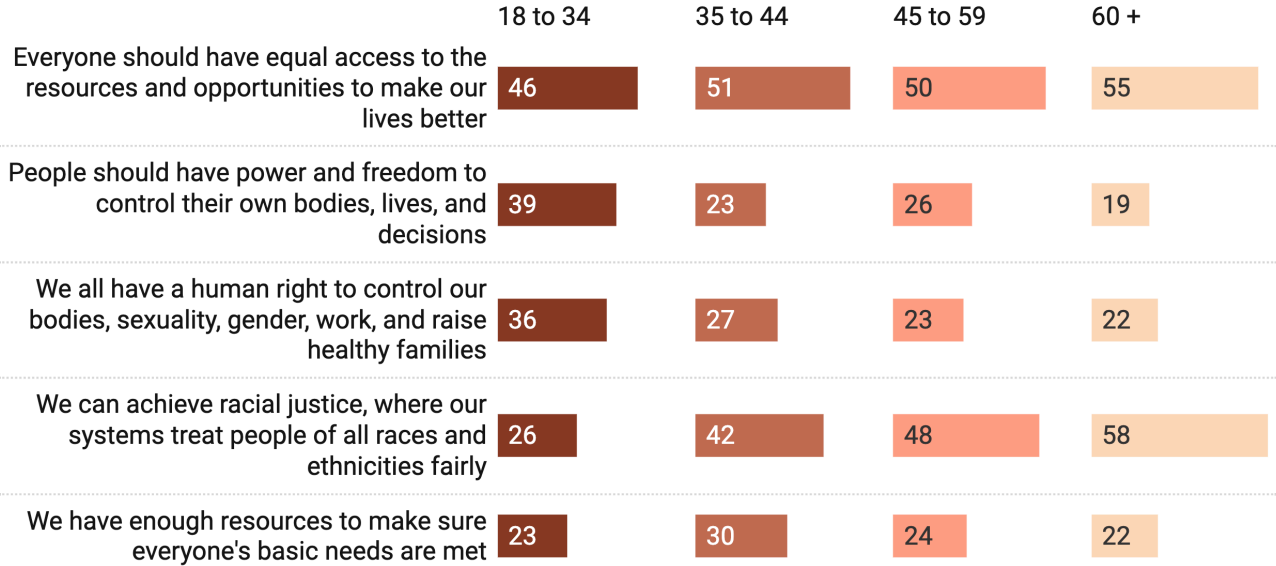


Here are some values and beliefs that are sometimes motivating to voters. Is there one of these that is most motivating when it comes to wanting to vote in the election this fall? Choose 1 or 2.

RANDOMIZE

Younger Black women may be more motivated than their older counterparts by the importance of freedom and power over one’s body, decisions, and lives.

Older Black women are more likely than younger respondents to say that “we can achieve racial justice” is motivating.



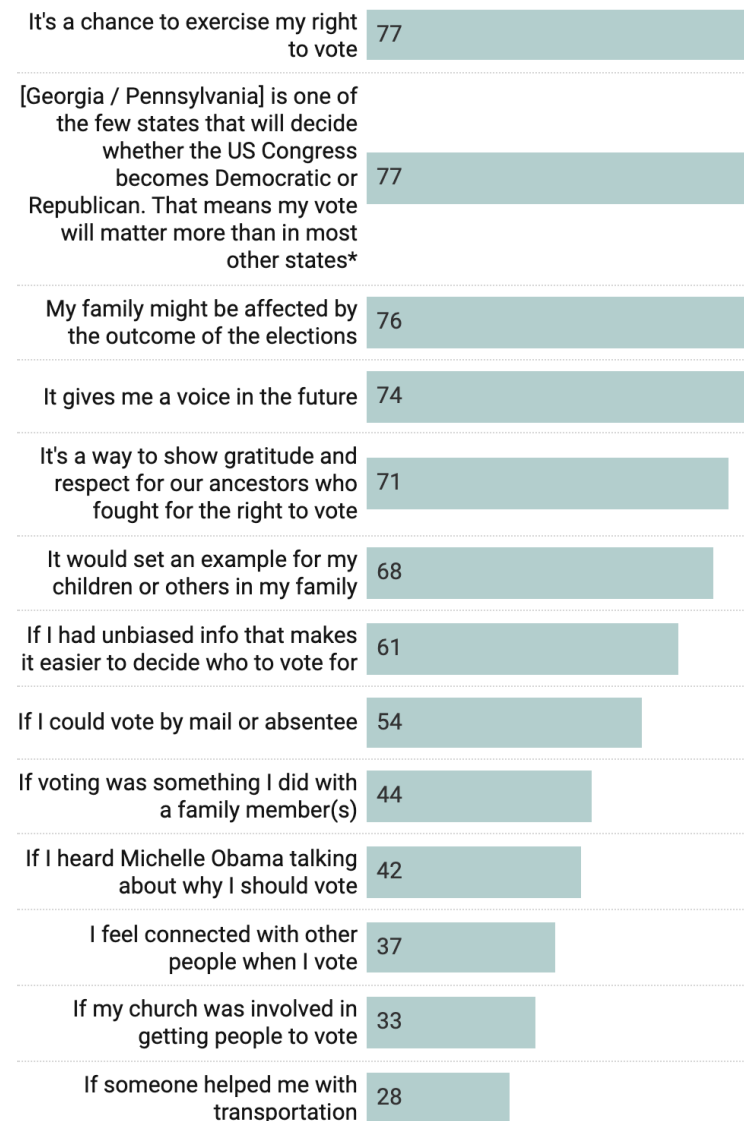
Here are some other things that can be motivating to vote in elections. For you personally, how motivating is each of these to get out and vote in the fall elections?

## We explored several other factors involved in feeling motivated to vote this fall.

Of 13 factors, the top include:

- An opportunity to exercise my right to vote
- My state is one of the few states that will decide the balance of power in Congress
- My family might be affected
- It gives me a voice
- It's a way to show gratitude and respect for ancestors
- It would set an example for my family members

### % Extremely or very motivating

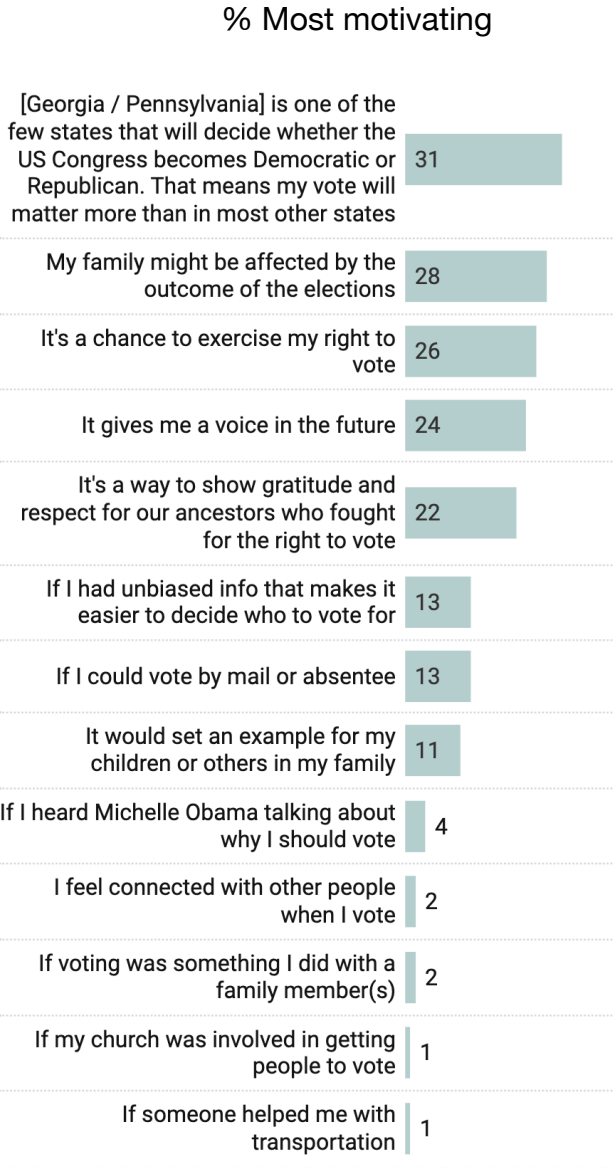


\* Base n = 114 respondents who live in Georgia or Pennsylvania

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

Similar themes rise to the top when asked to choose the most motivating factor from the list.

The table on the following page shows top motivations by demographic group.



\* Base n = 114 respondents who live in Georgia or Pennsylvania

## Here are the top 5 motivations by demographic segment.

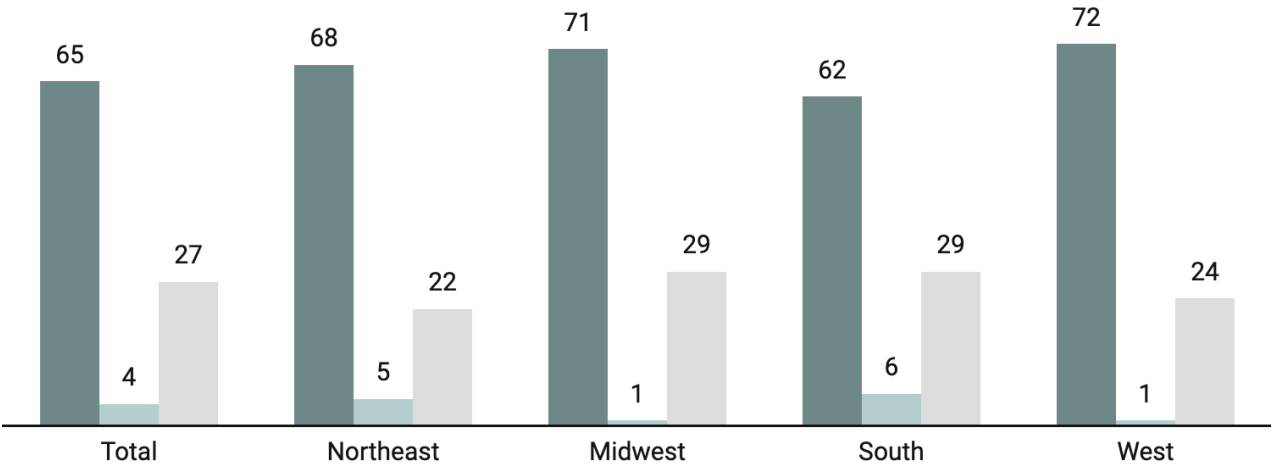
18 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 59	60+	Lower propensity voters	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Family might be affected	Family might be affected	Family might be affected	My chance to exercise my right	Family might be affected	Family might be affected	Family might be affected	My chance to exercise my right	Family might be affected
My chance to exercise my right	Gratitude and respect for ancestors	My chance to exercise my right	Gratitude and respect for ancestors	Gives me a voice in the future	Gratitude and respect for ancestors	My chance to exercise my right	Gives me a voice in the future	Gives me a voice in the future
Gives me a voice in the future	Gives me a voice in the future	Gives me a voice in the future	Gives me a voice in the future	Gratitude and respect for ancestors	My chance to exercise my right	Gives me a voice in the future	Family might be affected	My chance to exercise my right
Gratitude and respect for ancestors	My chance to exercise my right	Gratitude and respect for ancestors	Family might be affected	My chance to exercise my right	Gives me a voice in the future	Gratitude and respect for ancestors	Gratitude and respect for ancestors	If I could vote by mail or absentee
If I had unbiased info making it easier to decide who to vote for	If I could vote by mail or absentee	If I had unbiased info making it easier to decide who to vote for	If I could vote by mail or absentee	If I could vote by mail or absentee If I had unbiased info making it easier to decide who to vote for	Would set an example for my children/family	If I had unbiased info making it easier to decide who to vote for	Could set an example for my children / family	If I had unbiased info making it easier to decide who to vote for

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

More likely to vote this fall   Less likely to vote this fall   It wouldn't make a difference to me

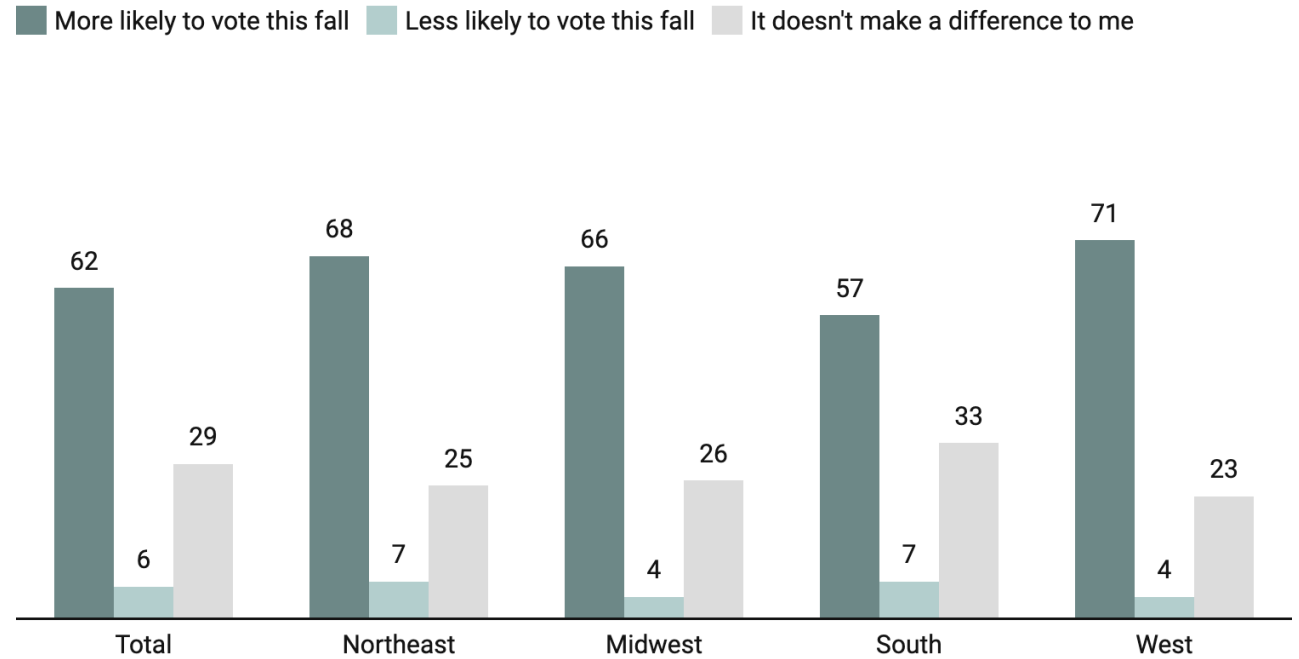
About two-thirds say voter protections would make them feel more likely to vote this fall.



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

**About 6 in 10 say that  
the Supreme Court  
overturning *Roe v.*  
*Wade* would motivate  
them to vote.**

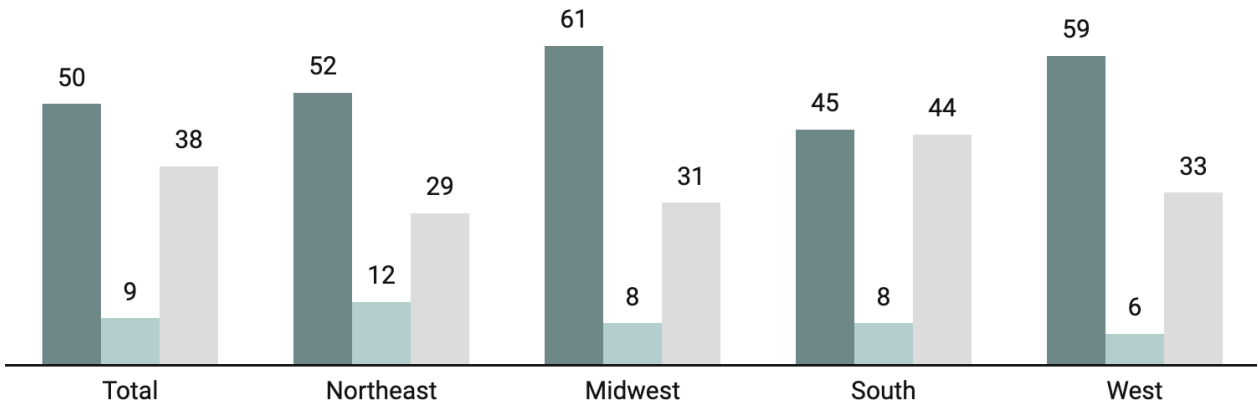


If your state lawmakers tried to ban abortion in your state,  
would that make you feel:

ROTATE

More likely to vote this fall   Less likely to vote this fall   It wouldn't make a difference to me

About half says an  
abortion ban in their  
state would make  
them more likely to  
vote this fall.



## About half of lower-propensity voters\* say they'd be more likely to vote in the fall if....

	Total	18 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 59	60 +	Lower propensity voters	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Strengthening voter protections was an issue	65	57	58	70	74	58	68	71	62	72
The Supreme Court overturns Roe	52	47	52	52	57	49	68	66	57	71
State lawmakers banned abortion in your state	50	52	49	50	48	51	52	61	45	59



\* Respondents who say they'll "probably vote," "chances are 50-50" they'll vote, "not likely to vote," "will not vote," or are "not sure"



Let's say you came across this info on social media site or in public.  
For you personally, how motivating is this info to get out and vote in  
the fall elections?

**60% of respondents say  
this info is “extremely”  
or “very” motivating to  
vote this fall.**

The draft message was created based on  
previous research – it could use an expert  
designer! That said, seeing this info is near the  
top-tier motivations that we examined on page  
XX.

**OUR STATE POLITICIANS SHOULD BE  
IMPROVING OUR QUALITY OF LIFE**

- Cost of living
- Good-paying jobs
- Transportation
- Affordable housing
- Childcare
- Good schools
- Health care

**INSTEAD, THEY'VE SPENT 2 YEARS  
TAKING AWAY OUR HUMAN RIGHTS**

- Taking away voting rights
- Taking away our power to control our  
own bodies and decisions
- Taking away transgender rights
- Taking away abortion rights
- Taking away children's access to  
education about racism

**We have the POWER to vote these people out  
on November 8, 2022. Learn more [here](#).**



## STANDS OUT MOST

What stands out to you most in this? OPEN END  
(In rough order)

- #1: We have the POWER
- Taking away our human rights
- Should be improving our quality of life
- Taking away voting rights
- Cost of living
- Contrast of what they should be doing v. are doing

### OUR STATE POLITICIANS SHOULD BE IMPROVING OUR QUALITY OF LIFE

- Cost of living
- Good-paying jobs
- Transportation
- Affordable housing
- Childcare
- Good schools
- Health care

### INSTEAD, THEY'VE SPENT 2 YEARS TAKING AWAY OUR HUMAN RIGHTS

- Taking away voting rights
- Taking away our power to control our own bodies and decisions
- Taking away transgender rights
- Taking away abortion rights
- Taking away children's access to education about racism

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## What stands out to you most in this? OPEN END

"Letting you know you have the power to vote so you need to use it!!"

"The tagline 'We have the power' stands out the most because it is motivation for people like me to get out and vote."

"'We had the power' stands out to me. After all, it is appealing because it offers me the ability to help myself."

"That they show that bad they've done and they are reaching out to let us know we don't have to sit here and let it happen anymore we can do something about it by voting."

"The fact that voting gives us power. If we want change, we must vote."

"The entire poster. I have been a person of almost all those things and it's not right nor is it fair."

"The contrasting list, what politicians should be focusing on is going undone and instead they just want to restrict things that does not bear restricting."

"How it tells the difference between what they should be doing instead of what they are doing."

"We all want 'human' rights. It expresses that we are less than if human rights are taken away from some and not all."

"Like the sign says, they are taking away our human rights and replacing it with their values and beliefs."

"Our state politicians should be improving our quality of life. Not taking away human rights. Do the job we voted for them to do."

"I just want life in this country to be fair equal and positive for everyone no matter their race gender or sexuality so I hate the idea of bans against people's choices to live."



**PERRY  
UNDEM**