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

CONDUCTED BY PERRYUNDEM

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## Introduction.

Black communities represent decisive forces in elections, yet surveys among Black adults are rare.

For the past few elections, National Black Women's Reproductive Justice Agenda: In Our Own Voice has invested in rigorous and robust national surveys to better understand the voting and policy priorities, needs, and views among Black adults. In Our Own Voice commissioned Perry Undem to develop this poll ahead of a crucial 2024 voting cycle.

In 2017, early in the Trump administration, we explored the attitudinal landscape among Black adults related to race, policy, and reproductive justice. In December 2020, prior to Biden taking office, we went back in the field to listen to Black adults' experiences and views over the past few years. Prior to the 2022 midterm elections, we conducted a national survey and several state surveys to better understand Black women voters' issue priorities, values, and reactions to news dominating the headlines at the time.

Here we are in 2024, near the end of the Biden administration, with the country heading into another consequential presidential election. How are Black communities feeling about the upcoming elections? What voting issues are on their minds? What is motivating them to vote? What are their views on abortion and reproductive issues, given the overturning of Roe $v$. Wade?

These are the questions we set out to answer, with the goal of providing data as a resource for policymakers, the media, and other parties who want to understand the views and lives of Black adults in America.

This report provides findings from a national survey conducted among $n=1,005$ Black adults from January 22 through January 27,2024 . The survey was administered by Ipsos'
KnowledgePanel, an online panel constructed from addressed-based probability sampling. The data are weighted to reflect a representative sample of Black adults nationwide. See the next page for the demographic composition of the sample. The margin of sampling error is $\pm 3.5$ percentage points. Many other types of errors can contribute to overall survey error.

The survey also includes oversamples in nine states: California, Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Those results are reported separately.

Here is the demographic composition of the survey respondents.

Respondents were allowed to select multiple responses for their racial and gender identities.

Roughly one percent of the sample identifies with a gender outside of the traditional binary, which is on par with surveys among the general population (ranging from less than $1 \%$ to $2 \%$ ).

In many parts of this report, we segment data by "women" and "men." All respondents who identify as a woman or man are included in these variables, including transgender respondents who identify as a woman or man. There are not enough respondents who identify outside of the binary to analyze separately. These respondents are included in the total, but not analyzed separately.

|  | Weighted $\%$ | Unweighted <br> N |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Total | $100 \%$ | 1,005 |
| Black or African <br> American | $100 \%$ | 1,005 |
| 2+ races | $9 \%$ | 92 |
| Hispanic / <br> Latina/o/x | $5 \%$ | 52 |
| Identifies as: |  |  |
| A woman | $55 \%$ | 558 |
| A man | $44 \%$ | 442 |
| Transgender | $*$ | 2 |
| Non-binary | $*$ | 3 |
| Other | $24 \%$ | 3 |
| 18 to 29 | $29 \%$ | 146 |
| 30 to 44 | $31 \%$ | 267 |
| 45 to 64 | $17 \%$ | 358 |
| $65+$ |  | 234 |

[^0]|  | Weighted <br> $\%$ | Unweighted <br> N |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Women 18 to 44 | $28 \%$ | 227 |
| Men 18 to 44 | $24 \%$ | 181 |
| Women 45+ | $27 \%$ | 331 |
| Men 45+ | $20 \%$ | 261 |
| < College | $75 \%$ | 674 |
| College + | $25 \%$ | 331 |
| <\$50K HH income | $37 \%$ | 396 |
| \$50K to \$100K | $30 \%$ | 316 |
| $\$ 100 K+$ | $33 \%$ | 293 |
| Democrat | $55 \%$ | 570 |
| Independent | $38 \%$ | 370 |
| Republican | $6 \%$ | 56 |
| Urban | $46 \%$ | 483 |
| Suburban | $44 \%$ | 430 |
| Rural | $9 \%$ | 92 |
| Northeast | $17 \%$ | 169 |
| Midwest | $16 \%$ | 172 |
| South | $56 \%$ | 562 |
| West | $10 \%$ | 102 |
| Born in the US** | $93 \%$ | 887 |
| Born outside the US | $7 \%$ | 71 |

## Summary.

voice

1
Young Black adults may feel particularly
unmotivated to vote in the fall elections.

Just $38 \%$ of 18- to 29-year-olds say they are "almost certain" to vote this fall, compared to $59 \%$ of respondents overall.

One in four 18- to 29-year-olds (25\%) says they've thought about not voting in 2024 as a form of protest - of things such as the choice of candidates and what's happening in Gaza.

That said, like a majority of all respondents, $72 \%$ of young voters feel the Black community has the power to change elections.

## 2 <br> Many issues are on the minds of Black adults. Cost of living and racism / racial justice top the list.

Economic issues are most pressing for younger adults, including the cost of living and housing costs. Older respondents ( 65 and older) are most likely to prioritize racism / racial justice, the state of democracy, and voting rights.


## IMPORTANT POLICY POSITIONS

## 3 <br> When asked about 20 discrete policy positions, economic-related policies are among the most salient.

Older respondents prioritize free and fair elections more than their younger counterparts.

- Lowering the cost of living and inflation (85\% extremely or very important in thinking about voting this fall)
- Making sure our elections are free from political interference and manipulation (81\%)
- Ensuring equal pay for equal work (80\%)
- Creating equal access to resources and opportunities (80\%)
- Lowering taxes for the middle and lower classes (79\%)
- Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism (79\%)

1
People's rights and freedoms are at stake
$24 \%$ say this is the top 1 or 2 motivation to vote

2
People fought and died for the right to vote

## 4

In a list of 12 motivations to vote, these 3 top the list.

23\%

3
(Among swing state residents) Our state is one of the few states that will decide who becomes president and whether the US Congress becomes Democratic or Republican. That means my vote will matter more than in most other states
23\%

- Voting will affect who has the power in my state to make laws
- My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections

These are additional motivating factors among many respondents.

- Voting is the main way I have power in what happens
- It gives me a voice in the future
- Whoever becomes president could choose the next Supreme Court justices


## 5 <br> Recent abortion bans are having a personal impact on a majority of Black women of reproductive age.

Recent bans have made four in ten women of reproductive age ( $41 \%$ ) consider their own risk of death should they get pregnant. One in three living in restrictive states (36\%) has thought about the risk of being arrested due to something related to pregnancy.

As a result of recent abortion bans and restrictions, have you...


## 6 <br> Black communities continue to <br> be strongly supportive of abortion rights and access.

As we've seen for many years, large majorities of Black adults support abortion rights and access, including those who attend religious services regularly.

Say abortion should be legal in all or most cases
$68 \%$ of those who attend religious services regularly


Agree: Each person should have the right to make their own decision on abortion, even if I may disagree with it

Say they'd vote in favor of a state amendment that protects pregnancy and abortion decisions
$77 \%$
80\%

Say having an abortion can be the responsible choice
$74 \%$

## ${ }^{7}$ The overturning of Roe $\boldsymbol{v}$. Wade likely shifted the importance of a candidate's supportive position on abortion. <br> Respondents are +19 points more likely in 2024 <br> v. 2020 to prioritize a candidate who supports access to abortion.

Are you more likely to vote for a candidate for state legislature who $\qquad$ access to abortion:



Of women 18 to 44 say they are interested in accessing birth control pills over-the-counter

Of women 18 to 44 could not afford to pay $\$ 45$ or more for a three-month supply

Note: A three-month supply will retail at $\$ 49.99$

Women

I felt worried about the health and safety of Black women in my life during their pregnancy or childbirth because of their race
$\square$

A health care provider didn't take my health concerns seriously because of my race and / or gender

Have felt a health care provider treat you differently because of your race and/or gender

A health care provider didn't take my pain seriously because of my race and / or gender

A health care provider didn't understand how my race and culture affects my health

I felt worried about my health and safety during
pregnancy or childbirth because of my race
A health care provider didn't give me all the available test and treatment options because of my race and / or gender

A health care provider didn't take my pain seriously during pregnancy or childbirth $\square$ 19 because of my race and / or gender

A health care provider didn't give me all the available options for birth control because of my race and / or gender

10
Reproductive Justice is at the intersection of top priorities and policy preferences among
Black communities.

Large majorities support access to abortion, comprehensive sex ed, and sex-positive
communication with health care providers. Many women of reproductive age are profoundly impacted by abortion bans. A majority of women of reproductive age can't afford the price of over-the-counter birth
control pills.


Racial justice is top voting issue

# Detailed findings. 

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29 Impact of the past two administrations
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46 Why vote?
52 Views toward reproductive policies
65 Access to birth control
72 Experiences with medical bias


Voting in the 2024 elections
$\square$


## A majority of respondents (59\%) says they're "almost certain" to vote this fall.

Adults who are least certain to vote include:

- Independent / Republican women (36\% almost certain)
- 18- to 29-year-olds (38\%)
- Respondents with the lowest incomes (44\%)


For you personally, how important is voting in the 2024 elections this fall?

## 1 to 7 scale

## Slightly more than half says

 voting in the 2024 elections is "extremely important."That said, nearly half of 18- to 29-year-olds (48\%) lean away from thinking it's important to vote this fall.

56\% Women
52\% Men

```
\(35 \% 18\) to 29
\(44 \% 30\) to 44
64\% 45 to 64
81\% 65+
```

72\% Democrats 35\% Independents

16\%

Rate 5 or 6

14\% Women
17\% Men
$15 \% 18$ to 29
$17 \% 30$ to 44
19\% 45 to 64
8\% 65+
16\% Democrats
15\% Independents

## 30\%

Rate 1 to 4 - toward not important

28\% Women
31\% Men
48\% 18 to 29
$37 \% 30$ to 44
$17 \% 45$ to 64
9\% 65+
13\% Democrats 49\% Independents
$\qquad$ —.

## Respondents are most likely

## Select up to 3

to say voting in the 2024
elections is about "my right" and "my voice."

Older respondents are more likely than their younger counterparts to think about voting as their "duty" (e.g. 47\% of those 45 and older v. 24\% of 18- to 44-year-olds).

My right 51
My voice 47
My duty 35
My power 18
Resistance / pushing back 10
No good choices 12
None of these 11

## 78\% <br> 20\%

Nearly eight in ten respondents feel the Black community has the power to change the outcomes of elections.

No

79\% Women
77\% Men
$72 \% 18$ to 29
70\% 30 to 44
$86 \% 45$ to 64
88\% 65+
$76 \%$ < College
$86 \%$ College+
$71 \%$ Less than $\$ 50 \mathrm{~K}$
84\% \$50K to \$100K
82\% \$100K+

## One in six says they've thought about not voting as a form of protest.

DK/REF (1)

```
Most likely to say "yes"
Women 18 to 44 (27%)
Ind. / Rep. women (26%)
    Northeast (25%)
```

Yes, I've thought this 18

No, I haven't thought
about this

If the presidential election were held today, a slight majority (55\%) says they'd vote for the Democratic candidate.

Nine percent say they'd vote for the Republican candidate. One in five is unsure. See the next page for breakouts by demographic segments.

## 55\% 9\% 5\%

Democratic candidate
Republican candidate
Other

20\%

Not sure

Would not vote


## A majority of respondents

 (84\%) says it's important that more Black women are elected and nominated to positions of power in government.This sentiment is particularly strong among women and likely 2024 voters.



## Impact of the past two administrations

## Over time, we've explored the perceived overall impact of the Trump and Biden administrations on Black communities.

Early in the Trump administration, we asked Black adults to predict whether President Trump's policies would end up positively or negatively affecting Black people.

After Trump's term, we were in the field again. This time, we asked Black adults to evaluate whether they thought Trump's policies did in fact positively or negatively affect Black communities.

We asked the same set of questions of President Biden prior to his taking office in December 2020 and then again in January 2024.

Early in the Trump administration, data suggest that most Black adults (64\%) were anticipating Trump's policies to have negative consequences for Black communities. After Trump's term, in December 2020, a similar proportion (66\%) said Trump's policies did indeed negatively affect Black people.

In the month before Biden took office, a plurality of Black adults (43\%) anticipated his policies having a singularly positive impact on Black communities. By January 2024, however, just 26\% say that happened.

[^1]Perceived impact of policies on Black communities

|  | Trump's |  |  |  |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Begatively affect Black people | Policies would <br> (July 2017) | Policies did <br> (Dec. 2020) | Policies would <br> (Dec. 2020) | Policies did <br> (Jan. 2024) |
| Positively affect | 54 | 66 | 8 | 14 |
| Both negatively and positively affect | 24 | 6 | 43 | 26 |
| No effect | 6 | 26 | 39 | 42 |

## Most have at least somewhat favorable impressions of President Biden and Vice President Harris.

Women and older adults lean more favorably toward both Biden and Harris.



Issue priorities
voice

Many issues are on the minds of Black adults - cost of living and racism / racial justice top the list.


We see a similar ordering of priorities when we ask them to identify their top 5 issues.



Economic issues like jobs and equal pay 2
Police violence 21
Taxes
Voting rights
Mental health


Criminal justice reform Immigration 14
Black maternal health 14
Climate / environment 13
The war between Israel and Hamas
Paid family leave
Childcare costs

Voting rights and the state of democracy are among the top issues for older respondents.

Economic issues are most pressing for younger adults.

Abortion is in the second tier of issues among women.

Men are more likely than women to prioritize the state of democracy.

Among respondents with lower incomes, mental health is among the top priorities (see next page).

|  | Women 18 to 44 | Women 45+ | Men 18 to 44 | Men 45+ | < College | College + | Less than $\$ 50 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ 50 \mathrm{~K} \text { to } \\ & \$ 100 \mathrm{~K} \end{aligned}$ | \$100K + |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cost of living | 52 | 50 | 51 | 41 | 50 | 45 | 47 | 54 | 45 |
| Racism / racial justice | 42 | 48 | 46 | 51 | 46 | 48 | 40 | 48 | 52 |
| Health care | 33 | 34 | 32 | 32 | 33 | 32 | 32 | 35 | 32 |
| Housing costs | 33 | 32 | 34 | 19 | 32 | 24 | 38 | 28 | 24 |
| Education | 28 | 30 | 23 | 22 | 25 | 29 | 27 | 28 | 23 |
| Abortion rights and access | 29 | 27 | 19 | 27 | 24 | 30 | 21 | 26 | 30 |
| Crime | 17 | 29 | 23 | 29 | 26 | 20 | 25 | 27 | 21 |
| The state of democracy | 7 | 30 | 21 | 42 | 20 | 34 | 16 | 26 | 31 |
| Econ. issues like jobs / equal pay | 26 | 22 | 26 | 21 | 22 | 27 | 23 | 26 | 21 |
| Police violence | 19 | 21 | 23 | 21 | 22 | 18 | 22 | 22 | 19 |
| Taxes | 20 | 23 | 18 | 23 | 20 | 24 | 15 | 22 | 26 |
| Voting rights | 10 | 32 | 10 | 33 | 17 | 31 | 13 | 20 | 30 |
| Mental health | 20 | 20 | 17 | 14 | 19 | 15 | 25 | 14 | 15 |
| Criminal justice reform | 10 | 15 | 17 | 20 | 15 | 17 | 13 | 16 | 17 |
| Immigration | 9 | 13 | -10 | 27 | 13 | 16 | - 8 | 16 | 19 |
| Black maternal health | 16 | 16 | 11 | 11 | 14 | 14 | 16 | 12 | 13 |
| Climate / environment | 14 | 14 | -11 | 14 | 13 | 15 | - 10 | 17 | 13 |
| The war between Israel and Hamas | 9 | \| 5 | \| 4 | 9 | -7 | 7 | 8 | 5 | -7 |
| Paid family leave | 7 | -7 | \| 5 | 2 | 6 | 3 | - 6 | 7 | 3 |
| Childcare costs | 8 | -6 | \| 4 | 2 | \| 5 | -6 | -7 | 2 | \| 5 |
| LGBTQ+ rights | 6 | 2 | -8 | 3 | \| 5 | \| 4 | -7 | - 6 | 2 |

Democrats tend to prioritize racial justice, whereas independents and Republicans are more focused on cost of living.



| Independent/ Republican women | Independent / Republican men |
| :---: | :---: |
| 57 | 47 |
| 34 | 40 |
| 33 | 30 |
| 36 | 30 |
| 34 | 26 |
| 23 | 15 |
| 20 | 26 |
| 12 | 25 |
| 24 | 22 |
| 18 | 18 |
| 21 | 26 |
| 10 | 14 |
| 20 | 8 |
| 8 | 13 |
| 14 | 22 |
| 17 | 11 |
| 12 | 9 |
| 11 | 6 |
| - 5 | 5 |
| 9 | 3 |
| - 5 | $3 \quad$ - |

## We also explored views toward the war between Hamas and Israel.

Respondents are more likely to oppose than support the way Israel has responded to events of October $7^{\text {th }}-$ but nearly half is unsure.
Support
Most likely

- Men 45+ (39\%)
- $65+$ (34\%)
- Independent /
Rep men (28\%)


## 31\%

Oppose

Most likely

- College+ (39\%)
- Attends rel. services
rarely / never (36\%)
Note: Younger women
are most likely to
stronaly oppose ( $21 \%$
of 18 - to 44-year-old
women v. $12 \%$ of
women $45+$ or $15 \%$ of
men 18 to 44)

47\%

Not sure

Most likely

- 18 to 29 (56\%)
- HS or less (56\%)
- Independent / Rep women (54\%)


## Respondents are split on

 how Biden has dealt with the war.Older respondents are among the most likely to approve. Younger women are among the most likely to disapprove.

Approve
Most likely

- $65+(57 \%)$
- Democratic men
(44\%)

33\%
Disapprove
Most likely

- Residents of the
West (45\%)
- Independent /
Rep men ( $43 \%)$
- Women 18 to 44
(41\%)

Not sure

Most likely

- Independent / Rep women (45\%)
- Northeast residents (42\%)
- 18 to 29 ( $41 \%$ )

Note: 18- to
29-year-olds are three
times more likely than
$65+$ to strongly
disapprove (23\% v.

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?

Majorities say policy positions relating to elections, the cost of living, and teaching children about history are extremely important in thinking about getting out to vote.


Younger respondents and those from lower socio-economic backgrounds are most focused on economic policies.

|  | Women | Men | 18-29 | 30-44 | 45-64 | $65+$ | Women 18-44 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Men } 18 \\ & -44 \end{aligned}$ | Women 45+ | Men $45+$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lowering the cost of living and inflation | 54 | 49 | 51 | 55 | 55 | 40 | 55 | 51 | 52 | 46 |
| Lowering taxes for the middle and lower class | 40 | 42 | 35 | 35 | 50 | 40 | 34 | 37 | 45 | 48 |
| Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism | 31 | 35 | 23 | 29 | 34 | 49 | 24 | 28 | 37 | 42 |
| Raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour | 31 | 31 | 37 | 31 | 27 | 29 | 31 | 37 | 31 | 23 |
| Making sure our elections are free from political interference and manipulation | 29 | 31 | - 17 | 14 | 39 | 59 | 15 | - 17 | 44 | 49 |
| Ensuring equal pay for equal work | 25 | 25 | 24 | 27 | 26 | 22 | 23 | 29 | 27 | 22 |
| Getting rid of restrictions that make it harder for people to vote | 22 | 25 | - 10 | 14 | 30 | 43 | 8 | 17 | 36 | 33 |
| Creating equal access to resources and opportunities | 22 | 24 | 20 | 21 | 27 | 23 | 21 | 20 | 23 | 30 |
| Getting rid of bans and restrictions on abortion care | 23 | 21 | 16 | 27 | 19 | 30 | 25 | 19 | 22 | 24 |
| Increasing access to mental health care | 23 | 19 | 16 | 21 | 25 | 22 | 21 | 17 | 25 | 22 |
| Expanding Medicaid coverage to more people | 21 | 22 | 21 | 19 | 24 | 22 | 18 | 22 | 24 | 21 |
| Working to end Black maternal mortality | 22 | 18 | 24 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 25 | 17 | 19 | 19 |
| Increasing funding for local public schools | 18 | 18 | 15 | 18 | 18 | 20 | 16 | 17 | 19 | 19 |
| Canceling medical debt | 12 | 16 | -14 | - 17 | 15 | 7 | 13 | 19 | 12 | 12 |
| Increasing cash assistance | 13 | -9 | -15 | -12 | - 10 | 10 | 13 | -13 | 14 | 5 |
| Increasing access to affordable childcare | 11 | -9 | \| 7 | 17 | \| 8 | 7 | - 15 | \| 10 | 7 | 8 |
| Supporting paid family leave | 9 | \| 5 | \| 7 | -9 | -9 | 4 | 1 | 7 | -10 | 3 |
| Supporting a ceasefire in Gaza | 8 | \| 7 | 9 | 7 | \| 6 | 10 |  | 5 | , | -9 |
| Getting rid of recent bans and restrictions on transgender people | 6 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 4 | $\mid 2$ |
| Increasing access to affordable birth control | 6 | \| 4 | \| 8 | 3 | 3 | 8 | \| 8 | 3 | 5 | 5 |


|  | < College | College + | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Less than } \\ & \$ 50 \mathrm{~K} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \$50K to } \\ & \$ 100 \mathrm{~K} \end{aligned}$ | \$100K + | Dem women | Dem men | Ind / rep women | Ind / rep men |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lowering the cost of living and inflation | 51 | 52 | 50 | 57 | 48 | 56 | 48 | 51 | 49 |
| Lowering taxes for the middle and lower class | 39 | 44 | 33 | 46 | 44 | 42 | 46 | 36 | 39 |
| Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism | 30 | 40 | 25 | 37 | 36 | 35 | 39 | 24 | 31 |
| Raising the minimum wage to $\$ 15$ an hour | 35 | 18 | 39 | 30 | 22 | 31 | 35 | 31 | 27 |
| Making sure our elections are free from political interference and manipulation | 28 | 37 | 25 | 27 | 38 | 35 | 36 | 20 | 27 |
| Ensuring equal pay for equal work | 24 | 27 | 27 | 25 | 22 | 29 | 32 | 19 | 19 |
| Getting rid of restrictions that make it harder for people to vote | 20 | 31 | 15 | 26 | 30 | 27 | 31 | 15 | 19 |
| Creating equal access to resources and opportunities | 22 | 27 | 19 | 25 | 26 | 24 | 24 | 19 | 25 |
| Getting rid of bans and restrictions on abortion care | 18 | 35 | 14 | 24 | 30 | 26 | 26 | 19 | 17 |
| Increasing access to mental health care | 21 | 23 | 21 | 20 | 22 | 27 | 22 | 17 | 17 |
| Expanding Medicaid coverage to more people | 23 | 15 | 29 | 20 | 14 | 25 | 27 | 14 | 17 |
| Working to end Black maternal mortality | 21 | 18 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 15 |
| Increasing funding for local public schools | 16 | 23 | 16 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 20 | 18 | 17 |
| Canceling medical debt | 16 | 8 | 13 | 19 | 10 | 13 | 20 | 11 | 11 |
| Increasing cash assistance | 13 | \| 6 | 18 | 11 | \| 4 | 14 | -8 | 12 | - 11 |
| Increasing access to affordable childcare | 9 | 13 | -9 | 11 | 11 | 12 | - 9 | 10 | 9 |
| Supporting paid family leave | 7 | - 8 | -9 | - 6 | \| 7 | 10 | \| 5 | 10 | \| 6 |
| Supporting a ceasefire in Gaza | 6 | 10 | \| 6 | 8 | - 8 | - 7 | \| 5 | 9 | - 8 |
| Getting rid of recent bans and restrictions on transgender people | 5 | \| 5 | \| 6 | -7 | 2 | -6 | \| 5 | 7 | 3 |
| Increasing access to affordable birth control | 5 | \| 6 | \| 7 | \| 4 | \| 4 | - 6 | \| 5 | -7 | 13 |



Why vote?
voice

|  | Extremely motivating |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| People fought and died for the right to vote | 51 |  | 17 | 68 |
| People's rights and freedoms are at stake | 49 |  | 21 | 70 |
| It's a chance to exercise my right to vote | 43 | 21 |  | 64 |

## We explored several motivations to vote in the elections this fall.

There are many motivations. At the top are people having fought and died for the right to vote and feeling that people's rights and freedoms are at stake.

| [STATE] is one of the few states that will decide who becomes president and whether the US Congress becomes Democratic or Republican. That means my vote will matter more than in most other states* | 42 |  | 15 | 57 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws | 40 |  | 24 | 64 |
| My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections | 39 |  | 22 | 61 |
| It gives me a voice in the future | 38 |  | 22 | 60 |
| It would set an example for my children or others in my family | 36 |  | 17 | 53 |
| Voting is the main way I have power in what happens | 36 |  | 21 | 57 |
| Whoever becomes president could choose the next Supreme Court justices | 34 |  | 19 | 53 |
| If I could vote by mail or absentee | 29 | 20 |  | 49 |
| It's using my power to resist and push back | 27 | 19 | 46 |  |

## Here's what they say when forced to choose their top motivations.

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

People's rights and freedoms are at stake 24
[STATE] is one of the few states that will decide who becomes president and whether the US Congress becomes Democratic or Republican. That means my vote will matter more than in most other states.*

People fought and died for the right to vote
My family might be affected by the outcome of the 13
elections
your state to



Voting is the main way I have power in what happens 12
It's a chance to exercise my right to vote
Whoever becomes president could choose the next
Supreme Court justices
$\square$
$\square$
It would set an example for my children or others in my
nily 5

It's using my power to resist and push back 4

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



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



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

| Less than \$50K | \$50K to \$100K | \$100K + | Almost certain to vote | Probably vote | Chances are 50-50 or less | Parent of child under $18$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [State] is one of the few states that will determine control <br> People's rights and freedoms are at stake | [State] is one of the few states that will determine control <br> People fought and died for the right to vote | People's rights and freedoms are at stake <br> People fought and died for the right to vote | People's rights and freedoms are at stake <br> People fought and died for the right to vote | People's rights and freedoms are at stake <br> People fought and died for the right to vote | [State] is one of the few states that will determine control <br> People fought and died for the right to vote | [State] is one of the few states that will determine control <br> People's rights and freedoms are at stake |
| People fought and died for the right to vote | People's rights and freedoms are at stake | [State] is one of the few states that will determine control | [State] is one of the few states that will determine control | My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections | My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections | People fought and died for the right to vote |
| My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections | My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections | Whoever becomes president could choose the next Supreme Court justices | Voting is the main way I have power in what happens <br> Voting will affect who | [State] is one of the few states that will determine control | Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws | My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections |
| Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws | Voting is the main way I have power in what happens | Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws | has the power in your state to make laws | It's a chance to exercise my right to vote | People's rights and freedoms are at stake | Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws |

A large majority of Black adults says abortion should be legal in all or most cases.

77\%

Legal in all or most cases

19\%

Illegal in all or most cases

4\%

Not sure / refused question

Which comes closest to your view. Abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, illegal in all cases

## Majorities across every demographic group think abortion should be legal in all or most cases.

Two-thirds of respondents (68\%) who attend religious services regularly say abortion should be legal in all or most cases.



Nearly eight in ten say they'd vote in favor of a state amendment to guarantee the right to make decisions about pregnancy, including abortion.
$\frac{\text { In favor of this }}{\text { Against this }}$

In your view, who should make decisions about when and how someone can get abortion care in your state? Select any that apply

## A large majority wants decisions about abortion to rest in the hands of the woman / person involved.

## Large majorities value each person and circumstance driving decisions, including later in pregnancy.

## 87\%

Agree: Each person should have the right to make their own decision on abortion, even
if I may disagree with it

```
69\% Strongly agree
18\% Somewhat agree
```

88\% Women
86\% Men

## $79 \%$

Agree: People should be able to get abortion care as early as possible and as late as necessary. Abortion care provided later in pregnancy occurs under complex and unpredictable circumstances. Medical professionals should be able to care for patients without government interference or

55\% Strongly agree
24\% Somewhat agree
80\% Women
78\% Men
fear of punishment
(Base $n=520$ )

## 80\%

Say having an abortion can be a responsible choice

82\% Women
77\% Men
$\qquad$ access to abortion:Is against

## Black adults are six times more likely to vote for a candidate who supports abortion access (61\%) than one who opposes it (11\%).

One in four (25\%) says the issue doesn't factor into their vote.



Attends rel. services less often ${ }^{24}$

The overturning of Roe $v$. Wade likely shifted the importance of a candidate's supportive position on abortion.

Respondents are +19 points more likely in 2024
v. 2020 to prioritize a candidate who supports access to abortion.

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


As a result of recent abortion bans and restrictions, have you...

## Recent abortion bans are having a personal impact on Black women of reproductive age.

Recent bans have made four in ten women of reproductive age (39\%) consider their own risk of death should they get pregnant. One in three living in restrictive states (34\%) has thought about the risk of being arrested due to something related to pregnancy.
\% Yes


Do you know anyone who has had an abortion or tried to have an abortion in the past year or two?

One in seven respondents knows someone who has tried to have an abortion in the past year or two.

## 15\%

Of all respondents
say yes
$18 \%$ in accessible states
$13 \%$ in restrictive states

29\%

Of women 18 to 44 say yes
$31 \%$ in accessible states $27 \%$ in restrictive states

## More than half (55\%) says the person(s) they know faced at least one of these barrier to care.

| Find it hard to come up with the money to pay for an abortion? |  |  | 47 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Have to travel outside their community to get an abortion? | 15 | 57 |  |
| Have to travel outside their state to get an abortion? | 12 | 59 |  |
| Have to delay having an abortion because of costs or travel? | 20 | 54 |  |
| End up having the baby, even though they wanted to have an abortion? | 13 | 61 |  |

## A large majority of respondents supports comprehensive sex ed in high school.

Majorities of respondents who regularly attend religious services also support comprehensive sex ed.

Do you support or oppose comprehensive sex ed in high school that covers topics such as abstinence, birth control, abortion, preventing HIV and other sexual transmitted diseases, different sexual orientations, gender identity, sexual violence, consent, and healthy relationships?

## 84\%

Support

84\% Women<br>83\% Men<br>82\% Attends rel<br>services monthly +<br>87\% Less often

Oppose

## Three in four

respondents agree that health care providers should create space for conversations about sexuality, including sexual pleasure.
non-judgmental conversations about sexuality, including how we can experience pleasure.

75\%

Agree
Disagree

78\% Women
70\% Men
73\% Attends rel.
services monthly


Access to birth control
voice

One in six (18\%) respondents says they are currently using birth control.


What type(s) of birth control are you or a partner using now? Select any that apply.
Base $n=148$ self or partner is currently
using birth control

Pills and condoms are the most common methods.


Soon people will be able to get birth control pills over-the-counter. They will be available at the drugstore, like condoms and other birth control methods. How interested are you in getting birth control pills over-the-counter for you or a loved one?
\% Very or somewhat interested

## Nearly half of women of reproductive age expresses interest in getting birth control over the counter.

# 49\% 

Women 18 to 44

38\%

Men 18 to 44

|  | Total | Women 18 to 44 | Men 18 to 44 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The most common | What the side effects are 36 | 35 | 33 |
| questions about | How people will know it's safe for them 31 | 32 | 22 |
| over-the-counter pills are | What it will cost 30 | 37 | 34 |
| around side effects, safety | If insurance will cover it 29 | 35 | 25 |
| and cost. | How people will know if it's the right version of the pill for them | 29 | 24 |
|  | If young girls could get it without a parent's consent | 23 | 19 |
|  | If there will be info about how to use it properly | 22 | 9 |
|  | None of these 25 | 17 | 31 |

## \$10 out-of-pocket for a three-month supply of birth control is out of reach for one in four women of reproductive age.



Soon people will be able to get birth control pills over-the-counter. They will be available at the drugstore, like condoms and other birth control methods. Is this something you'd talk about with partners, family, or friends?

## About one in three respondents (36\%) says they are likely to talk with loved ones about over-the-counter access to birth control.

Women of reproductive age are most likely to say they'll have conversations about the topic.


Experiences with medical bias
voice

Here are things that can happen in the healthcare system due to racial bias or racism. Have you ever felt this way?


## A majority of Black women says they have felt the effects of racial / gender bias in the health care system.

## VOice


[^0]:    ess than one percen

[^1]:    See the next page.

