

Results from a Statewide Survey of Black Women Voters in Georgia

The Lives and Voices of Black Women in Georgia

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

CONDUCTED BY PERRYUNDEM

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IN OUR OWN

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Introduction.

Black women represent decisive forces in elections, yet surveys among them are rare. Even rarer are state-level surveys among Black women.

For the past few elections, National Black Women's Reproductive Justice Agenda: In Our Own Voice has invested in rigorous and robust national and state-level surveys to better understand the voting and policy priorities, needs, and views among Black adults and women.

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 election. How are Black women in Georgia feeling about the upcoming election? 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* and the current abortion ban in Georgia?

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 women in Georgia.

This report provides findings from a statewide survey among $n = 588$ Black women* registered voters. The survey was conducted January 22 through February 9, 2024 via Ipsos' KnowledgePanel, an online panel constructed from address-based probability sampling. The sample was supplemented by off-panel, opt-in sample. The data are weighted to reflect a representative sample of Georgia women registered voters. The margin of sampling error is ± 5.3 percentage points. Many other types of error can contribute to overall survey error.

This survey is part of a larger project that includes [national data](#) among all Black adults.

** Our future surveys will use expansive questions around gender identity. This survey used a standard binary variable. Transgender individuals who identify as women and chose it in a binary question are included in the survey. Typically, surveys tend to find about < 1% to 2% of respondents identifying outside of the binary.*

Here is the demographic composition of the survey respondents.

	Weighted %	Unweighted N
Total	100%	588
Black or African American	100%	588
2+ races	6%	35
Hispanic / Latina/o/x	3%	18
18 to 29	15%	92
30 to 44	29%	151
45 to 59	28%	160
60+	29%	185
HS or less	30%	143
Some college	36%	226
College +	34%	219
Democrat	69%	429
Independent	26%	127
Republican	6%	31
Urban	33%	151
Suburban	61%	254
Rural	7%	31

Key findings.

Here are 10 key findings.

1

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

Just 39% of 18-to 29-year-old respondents say they are “almost certain” to vote this fall, compared to 66% of all respondents.

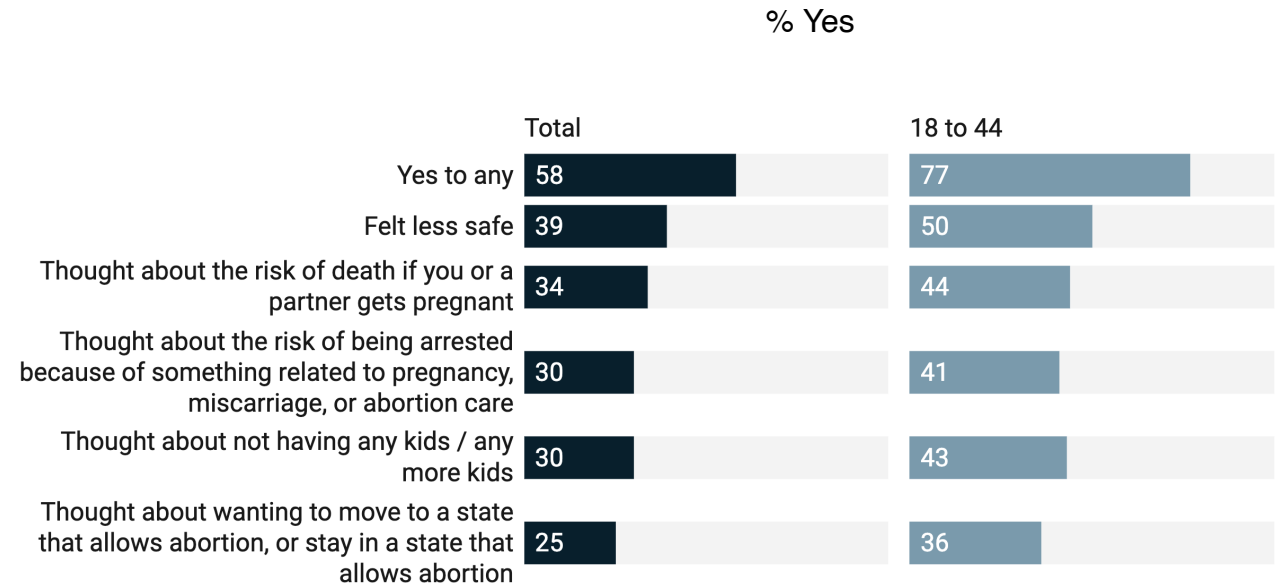
Four in ten 18- to 29-year-olds (41%) say they’ve thought about not voting in 2024 as a form of protest. Insights from our national data suggest that young people are discouraged by the choice of candidates. In this survey, 69% of 18- to 29-year-olds say it’s extremely or very important that more Black women are elected and nominated to political offices.

2

Abortion bans have affected young people’s sense of safety and their thinking about profound life decisions.

Three in four (77%) respondents of reproductive age say recent bans have made them feel less safe, think about their own risk of death or arrest, reconsider having kids, or consider moving to another state.

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



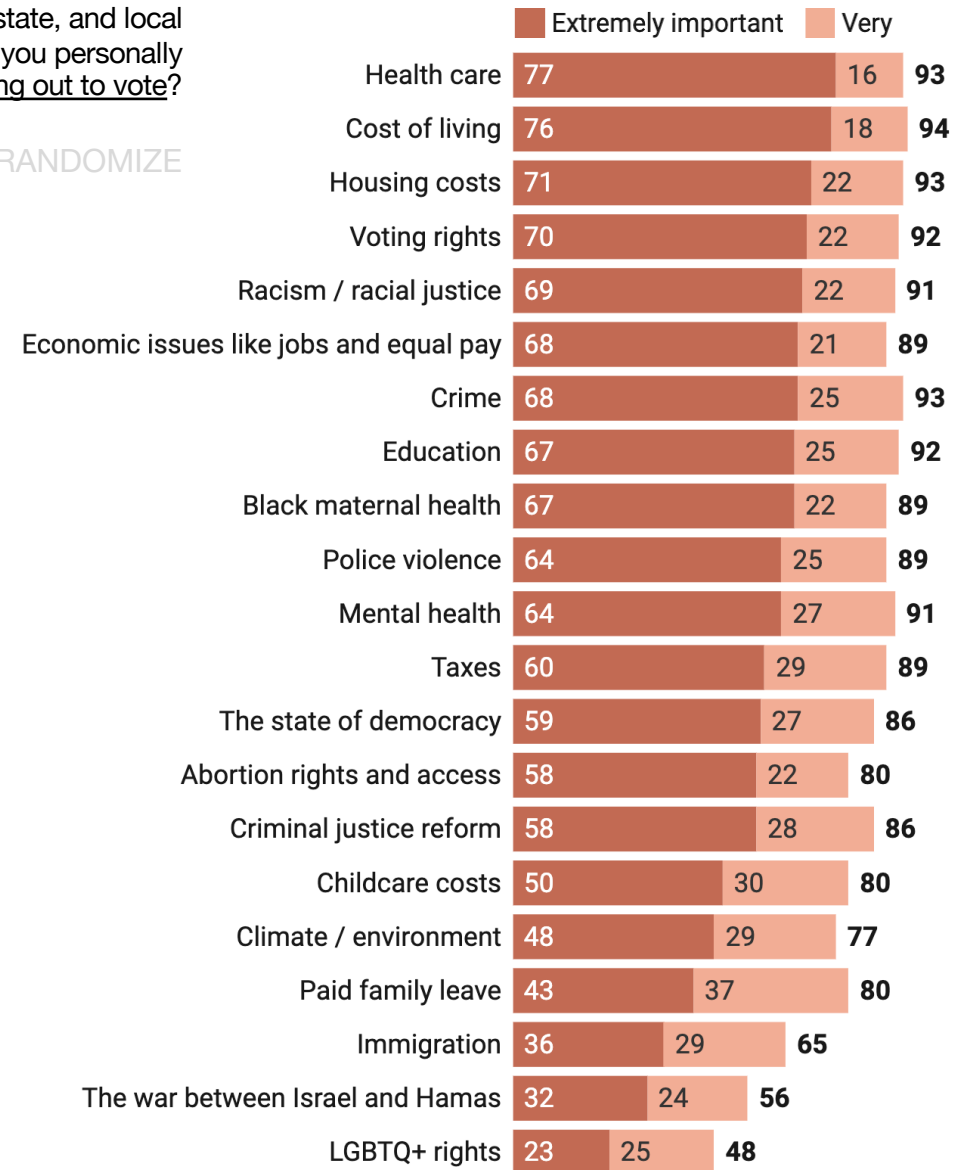
This fall there will be elections for US Congress, state, and local offices. How important is each of these issues to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote?

RANDOMIZE

3
Many issues are on the minds of Black women. Health care, cost of living, housing costs, voting rights, and racism / racial justice top the list.

Mental health is among the top issues for women ages 18 to 29.

Voting rights, the state of democracy, and crime are among the top issues for older women.



4

When asked about 20 discrete policy positions, the most important tend to relate to economics, elections, education, and health care.

Georgia women prioritize voting and election-related policies more than respondents in our other state surveys.

IMPORTANT POLICY POSITIONS

- Lowering the cost of living and inflation (88% extremely or very important in thinking about voting this fall)
- Lowering taxes for the middle and lower classes (88%)
- Making sure our elections are free from political interference and manipulation (87%)
- Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism (86%)
- Ensuring equal pay for equal work (85%)
- Getting rid of restrictions that make it harder to vote (84%)
- Increasing access to mental health care (84%)

5

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

1

People fought and died for the right to vote

24% say this is in the top 1 or 2 motivations to vote

2

Georgia 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%

3

People's rights and freedoms are at stake

22%

These are additional motivating factors among many respondents.

- It's a chance to exercise my right to vote
- My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections
- It gives me a voice in the future
- Voting will affect who has the power in my state to make laws

6

Large majorities of Black women in Georgia are supportive of abortion rights and access – including most of those who attend religious services regularly.

79%

Say abortion should be legal in all or most cases

76% of those who attend religious services regularly

82%

Say they'd vote in favor of a state amendment that protects pregnancy and abortion decisions

80%

91%

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

90%

83%

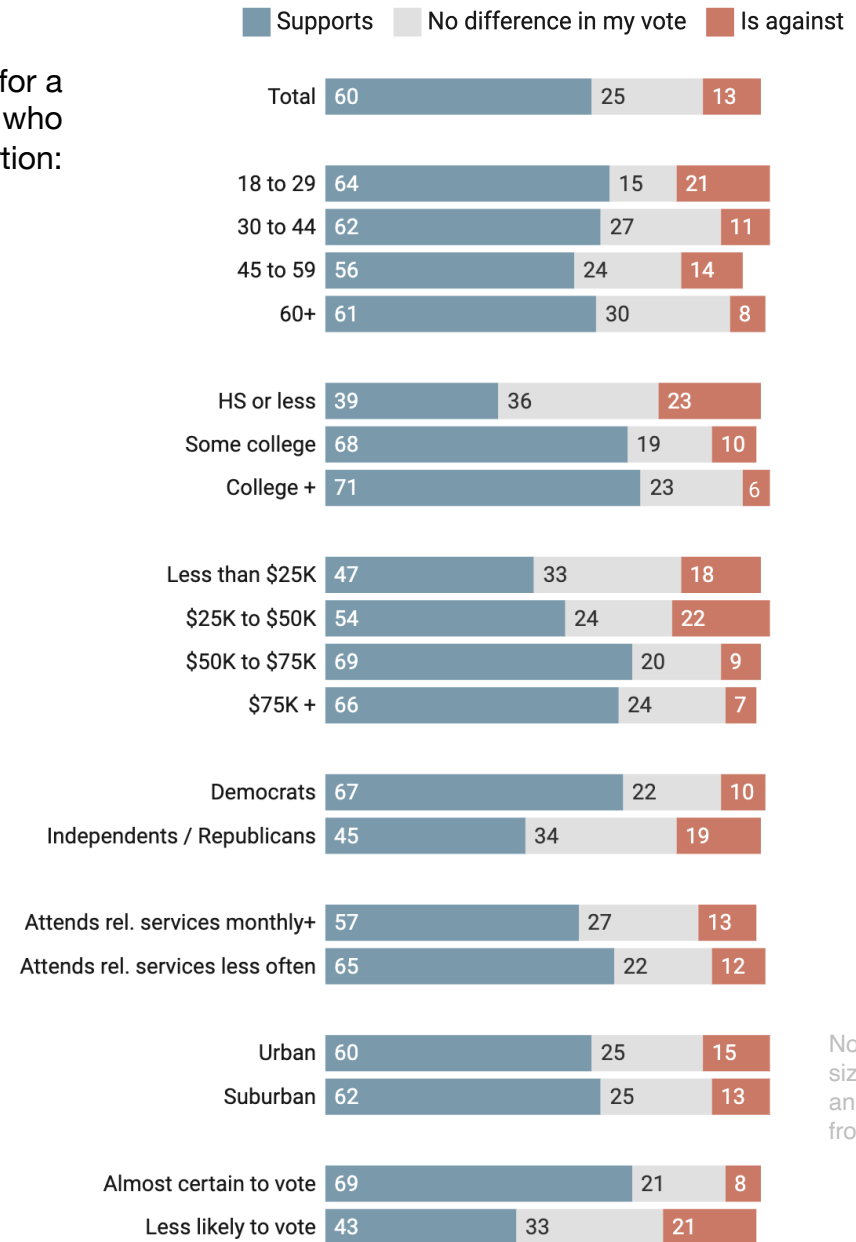
Say having an abortion can be the responsible choice

80%

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

7 Respondents are five times as likely to vote for a candidate who supports rather than opposes abortion access.

A majority of Black women who attend religious services regularly also says they're more likely to vote for a candidate who supports abortion access.



Note: The sample size is too small to analyze respondents from rural areas.

8
A majority of women of reproductive age are interested in getting birth control pills over the counter.

However, the retail price is out of reach for 72% of these women.

54%

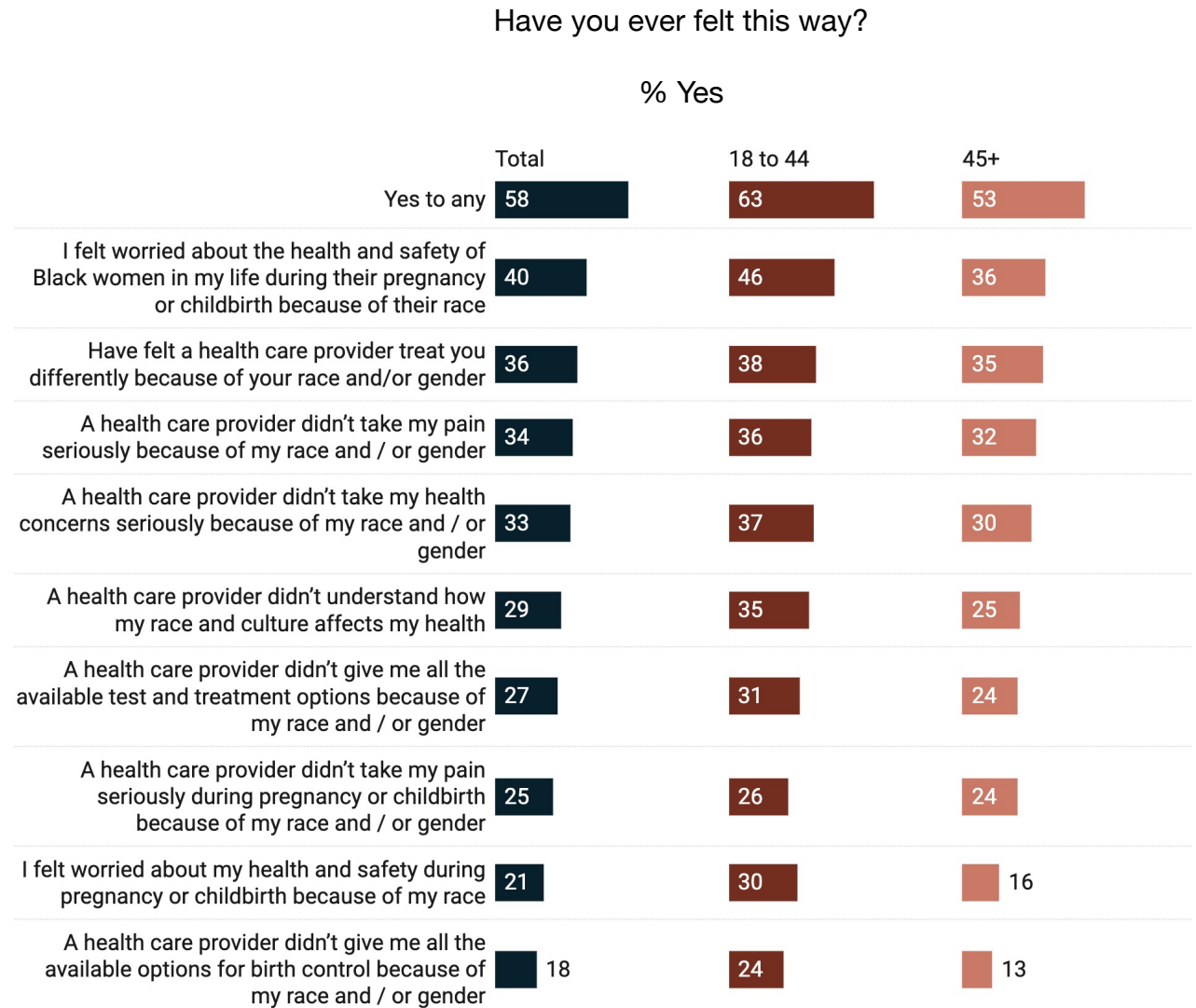
Of women 18 to 44 say they are interested in accessing birth control pills over-the-counter

72%

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

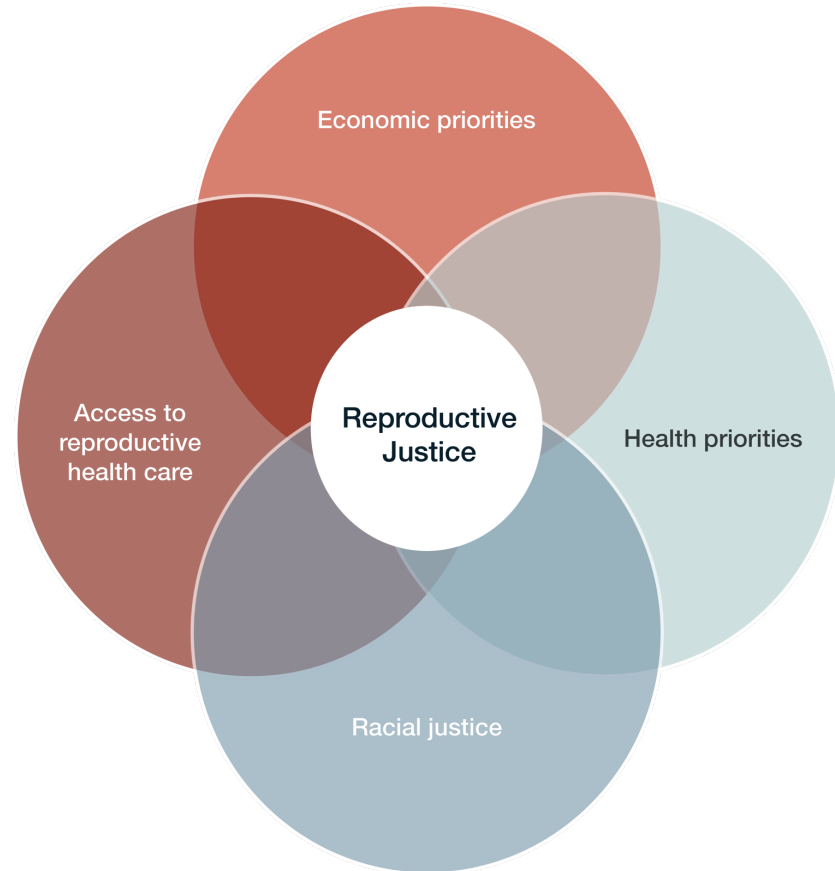
Note: A three-month supply will retail at \$49.99

9
A majority of Black women (58%) says they have felt the effects of racial / gender bias in the health care system.



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

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



Economic issues top are among the top voting issues – including the cost of living, housing costs, and equal pay.

Health care is also a top voting issue. Mental health care is among the top voting issues for 18- to 29-year-olds. Medicaid expansion is among the top priorities for respondents with lower incomes.

Racial justice is top voting issue. A majority has experienced gender / racial bias in the medical system.

Detailed findings.



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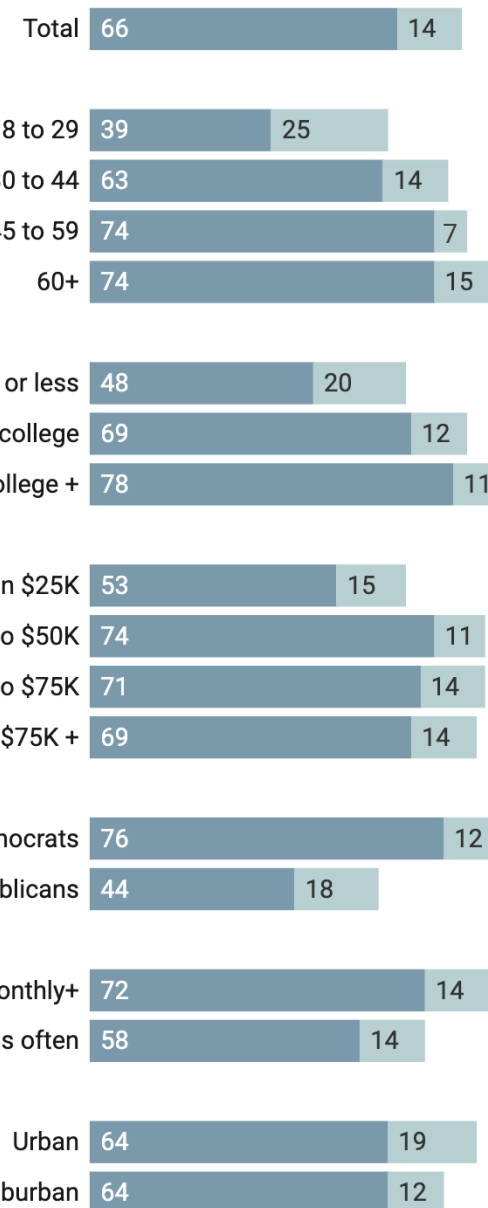


Voting in the 2024 elections

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This fall there will be elections for President, U.S. Congress, and other offices. Would you say you are:

■ Almost certain to vote
 ■ Will probably vote



Two-thirds of women (66%) say they're “almost certain” to vote this fall.

Women who are least certain to vote include:

- 18- to 29-year-olds (39% almost certain)
- Independent / Republican women (44%)
- Those with a high school degree or less (48%)



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

1 to 7 scale
Not at all important to extremely important
Base n = 253

About two-thirds of women say voting in the 2024 elections is “extremely important.”

That said, just half of 18- to 44-year-olds (51%) feels the same.

65%

Rate 7 – extremely important

51% 18 to 44
74% 45+

74% Democrats
44% Inds / Reps

18%

Rate 5 or 6

23% 18 to 44
15% 45+

15% Democrats
26% Inds / Reps

17%

Rate 1 to 4 – toward not important

26% 18 to 44
11% 45+

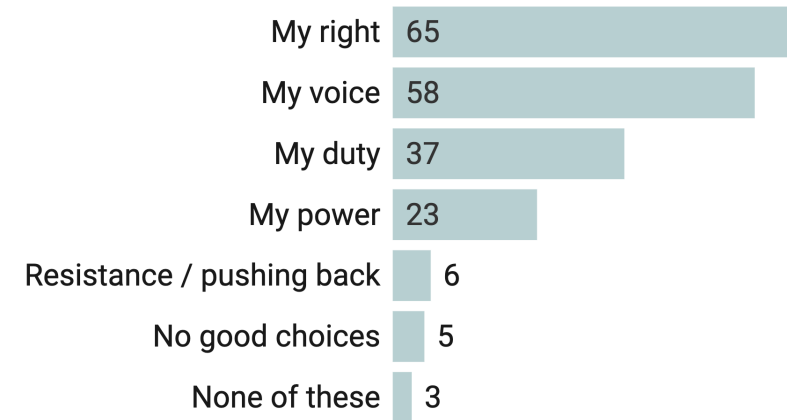
12% Democrats
30% Inds / Reps

Respondents are most likely to say voting in the 2024 elections is about “my right” and “my voice.”

Finish this sentence. For me, voting in this year's election is about: _____ .

Select up to 3

RANDOMIZE UP TO NO GOOD CHOICES



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

Do you feel the Black community has the power to change the outcomes of elections, or not?

83%

17%

Yes

No

82% 18 to 29
86% 30 to 44
78% 45 to 59
83% 60+

75% HS or less
84% Some college
88% College+

78% Less than \$25K
77% \$25K to \$50K
88% \$50K to \$75K
84% \$75K+

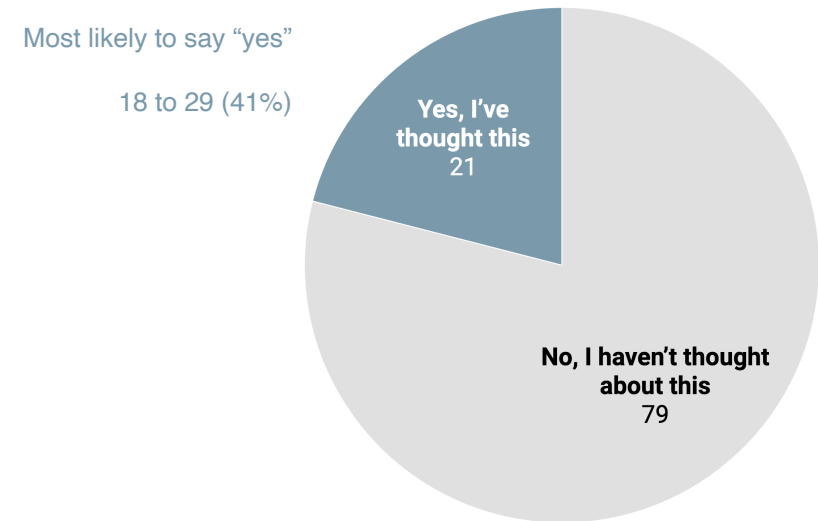
One in five says they've thought about not voting as a form of protest.

Four in ten 18- to 29-year-old women (41%) say they've thought of this.

What might they be protesting? In our companion national survey, we asked a random subset of respondents to explain in an open-ended question. Here are the main themes:

- Bad candidates, candidates who don't represent their views, Biden/Trump being old white men
- Feeling their vote doesn't count
- Protecting Palestine / protesting what's happening in Gaza

Have you thought about not voting in the 2024 elections as a form of protest?



If the presidential election were held today, two-thirds (65%) say they'd vote for the Democratic candidate.

Among those most certain to vote, 77% say they'd vote for the Democratic candidate v. 8% for the Republican.

See the next page for breakouts by demographic segments.

If the 2024 presidential election were held today, would you vote for:
Base n = 575

65%

Democratic candidate
77% of women almost certain to vote

8%

Republican candidate
8%

4%

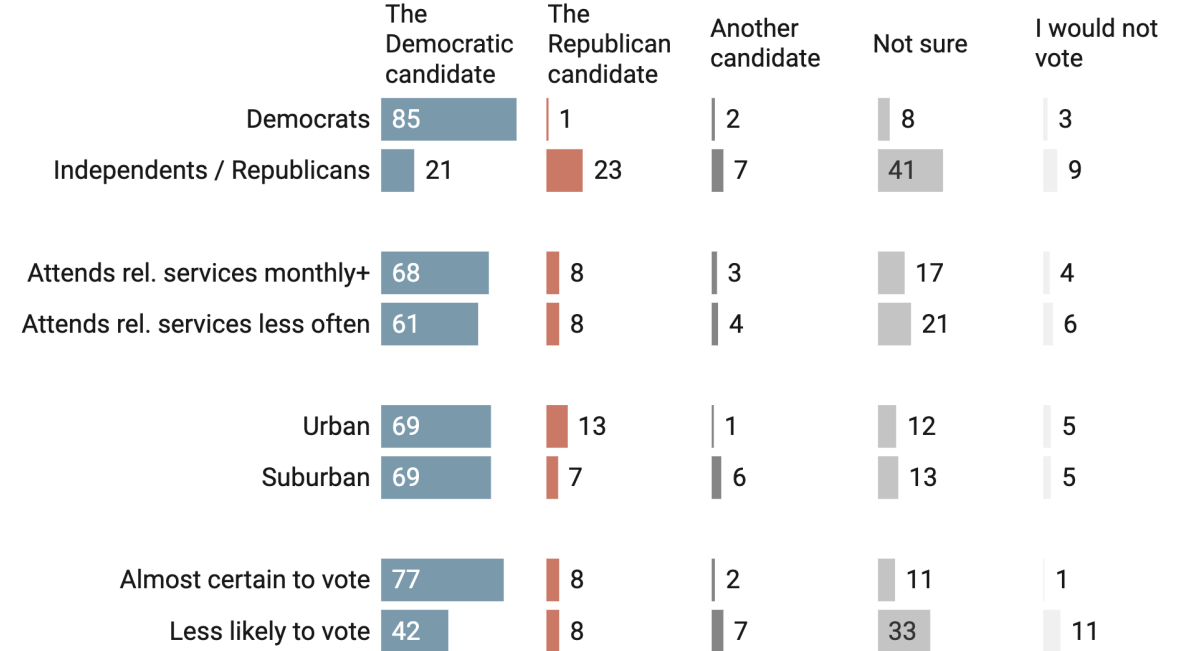
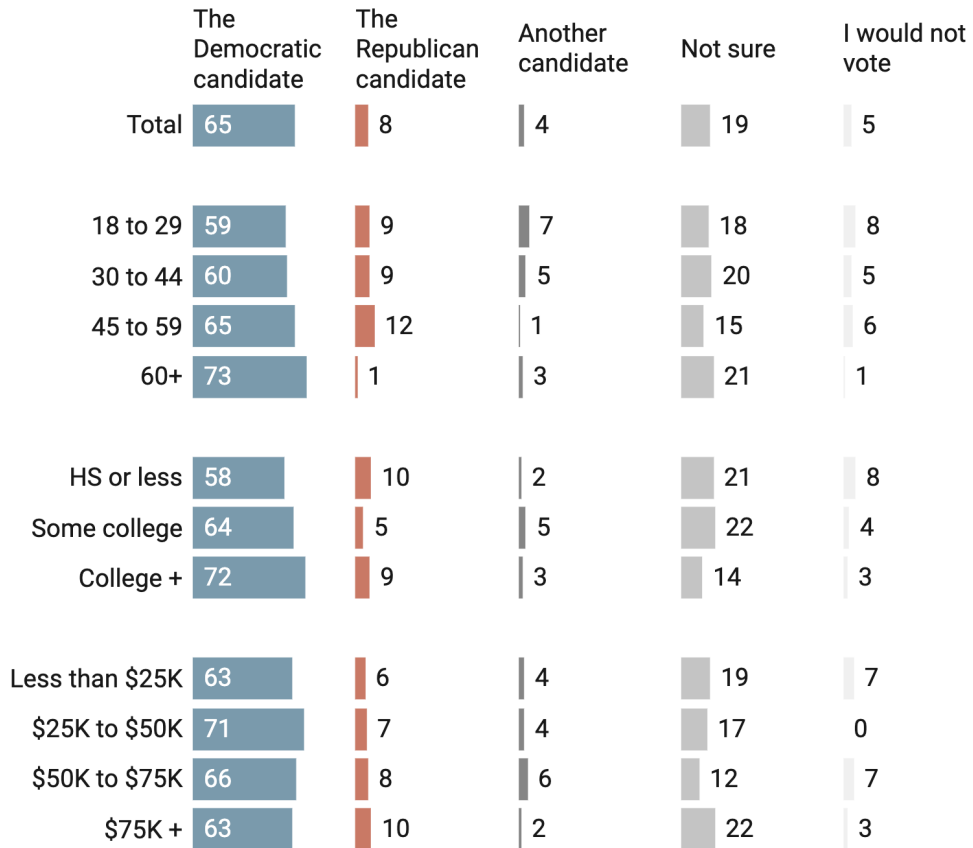
Other
2%

19%

Not sure
11%

5%

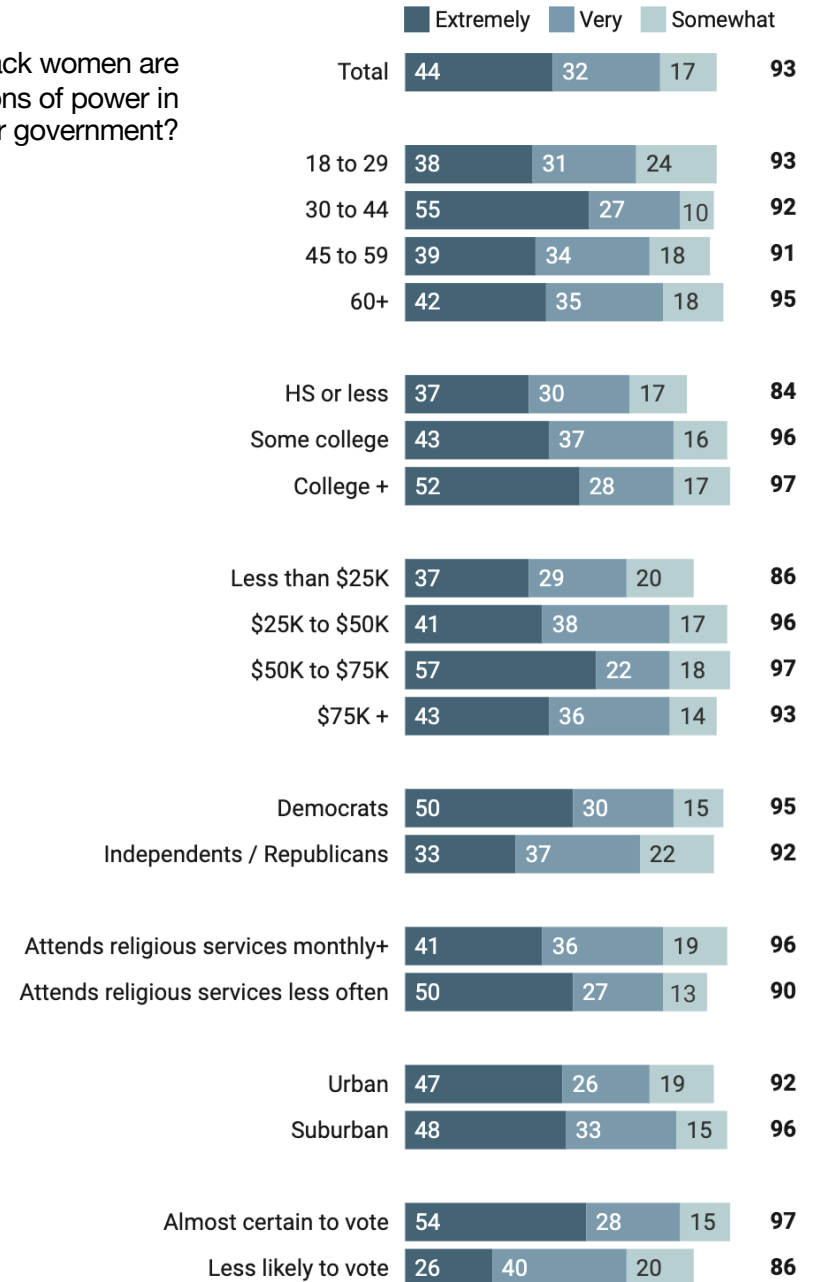
Would not vote
1%



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

Nine in ten Black women (93%) say it's important that more Black women are elected and nominated to positions of power in government.

This sentiment is particularly strong among respondents most likely to vote.



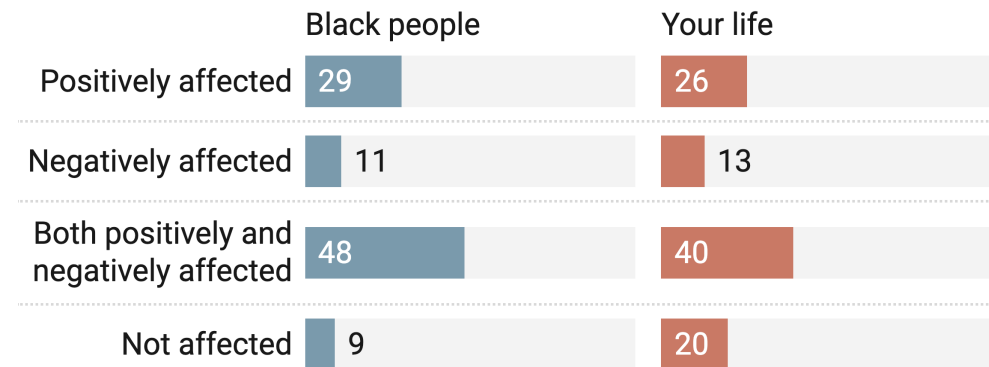


Impact of the Biden administration

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A plurality of respondents feels President Biden's policies have both positively and negatively affected their life.

In general, do you think President Biden's policies have _____:
"Black people" (n = 297) / "your life" (n = 291)



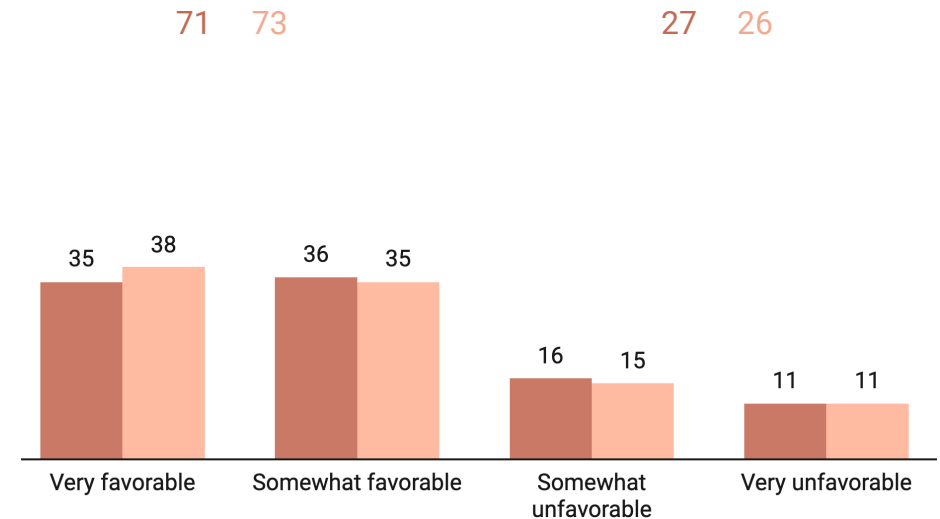


Most have favorable impressions of President Biden and Vice President Harris.

Older women are more likely than younger women to feel favorably.

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of:

President Joe Biden Vice President Kamala Harris



Most likely to be favorable:

- Ages 60+ (84% Biden, 85% Harris)
- Democrats (80%, 83%)

Most likely to be unfavorable:

- Independents / Reps (45%, 44%)
- 18 to 44 (39%, 34%)



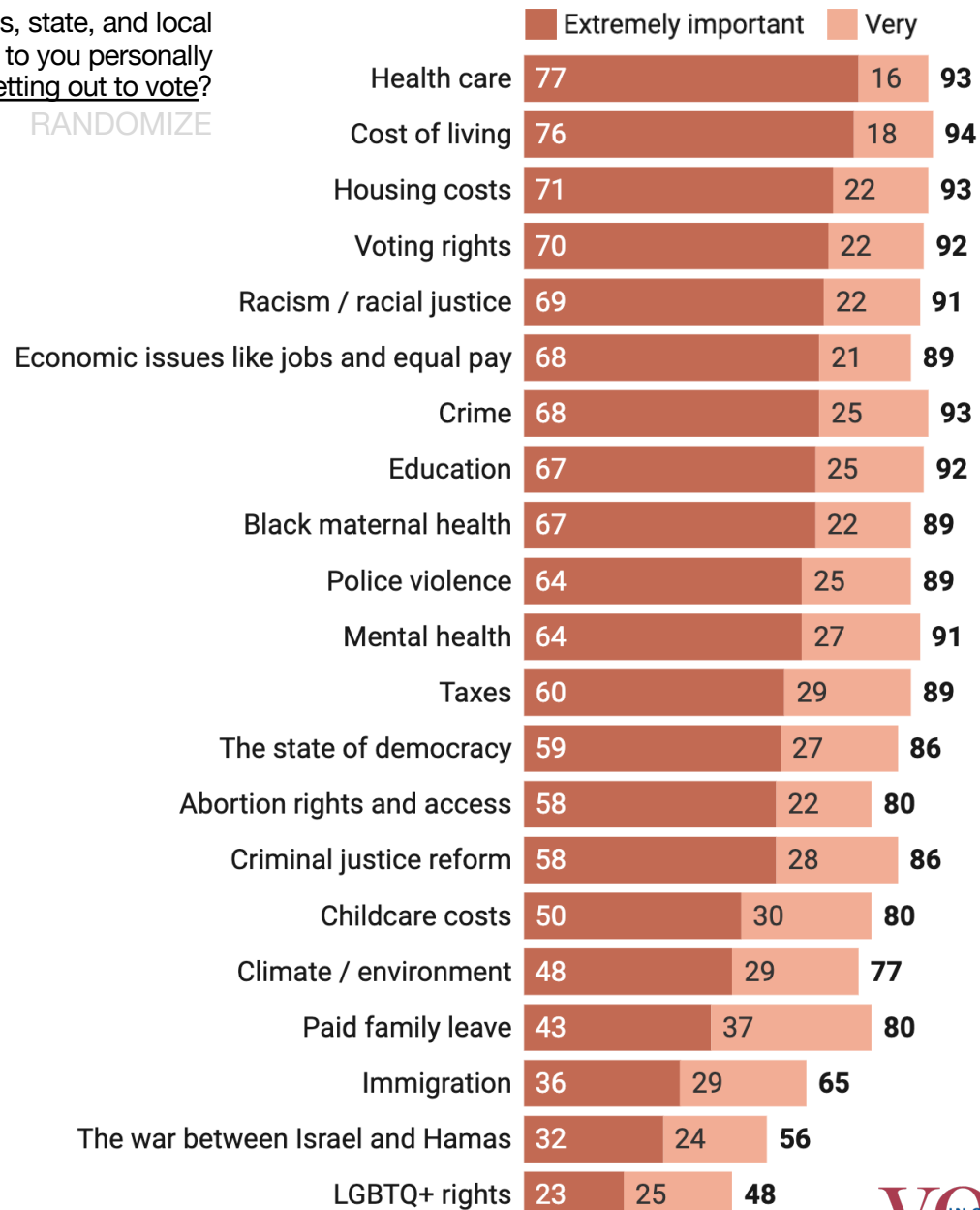
Issue priorities

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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?

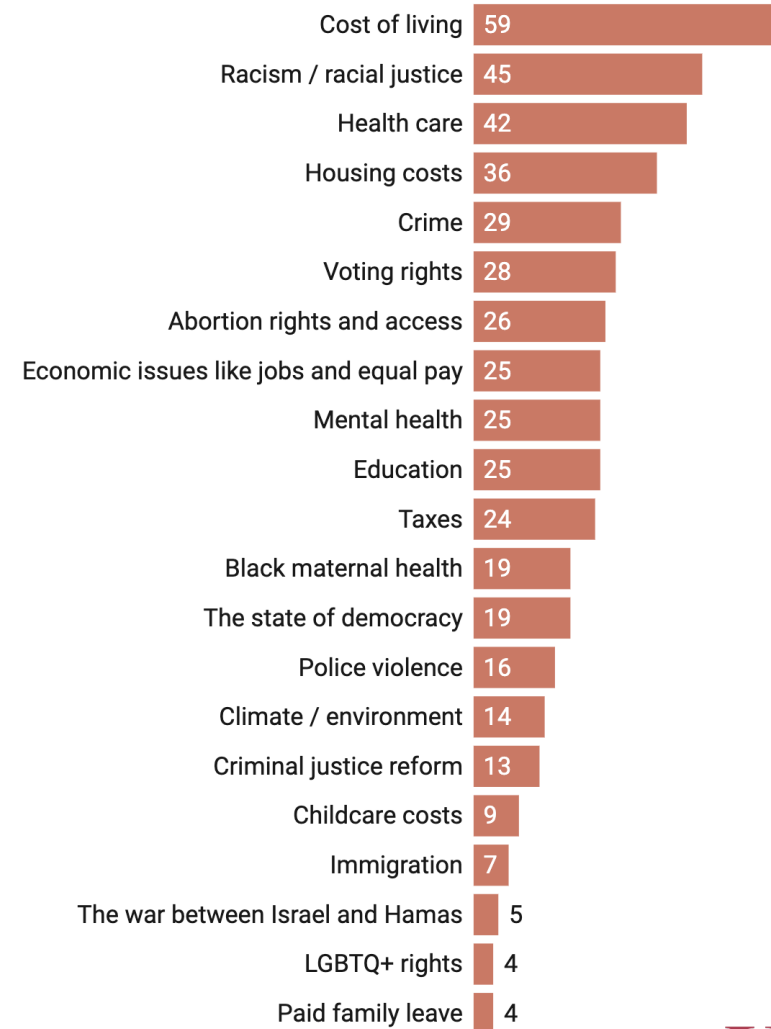
RANDOMIZE

Many issues are on the minds of Black women.



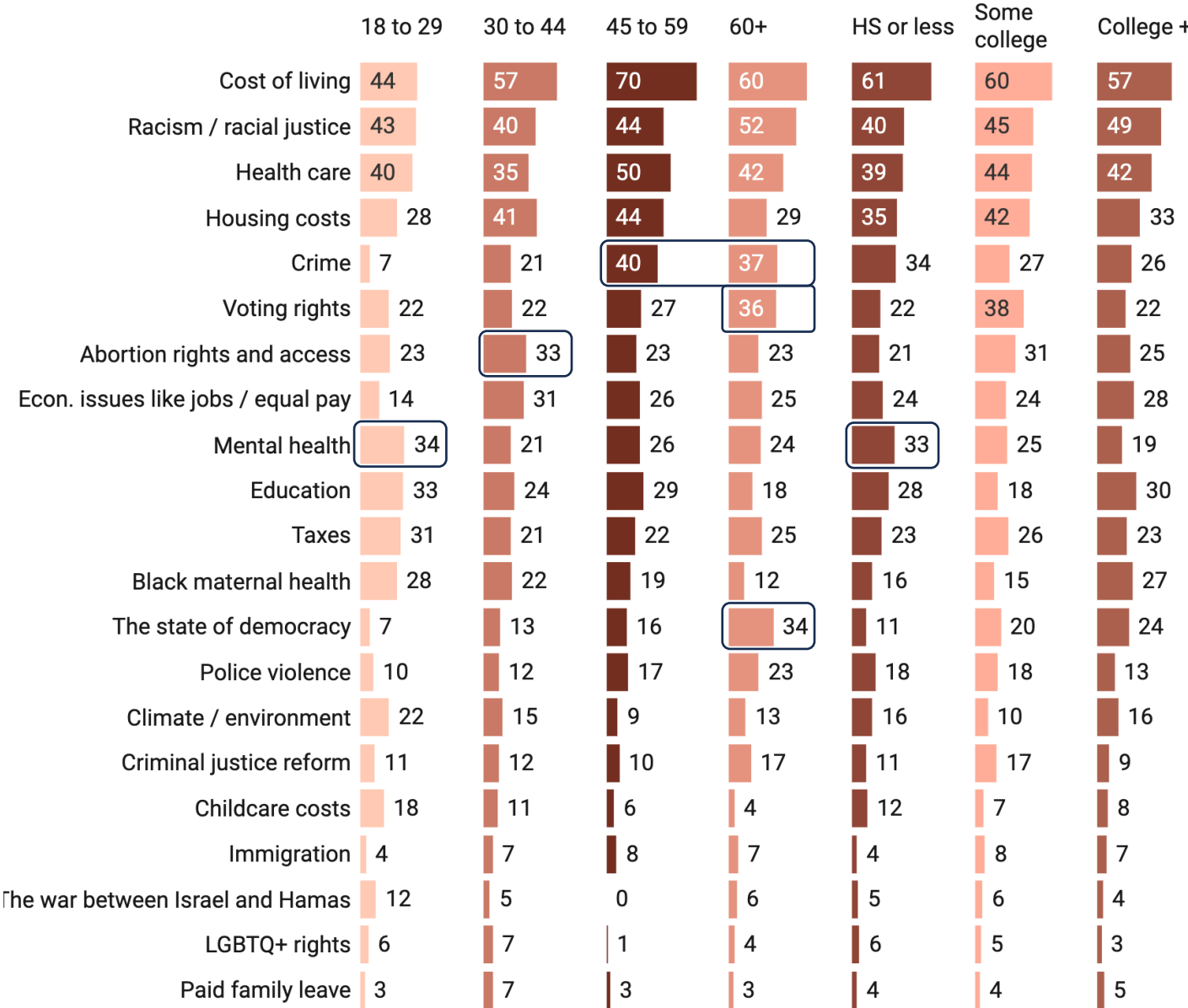
Choose the top 5 issues that matter most to you when voting in elections.

% In top 5



When asked to prioritize their issues, cost of living tops the list.

% Chosen as a top 5 issue



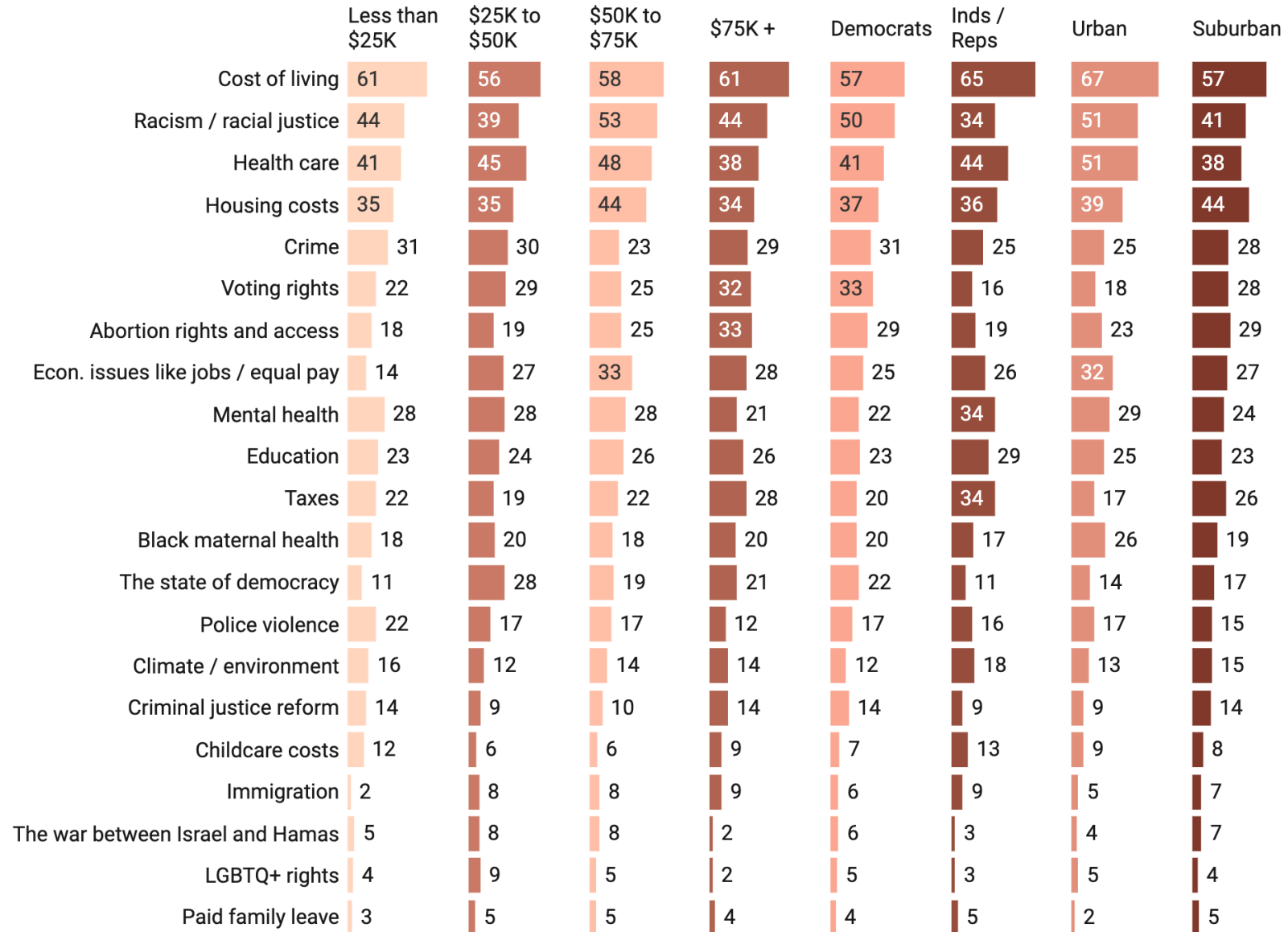
Mental health is among the top issues for 18- to 29-year-olds and respondents with a high school degree or less.

Abortion rights and access are among the top issues for 30- to 44-year-old women.

Older voters prioritize voting rights and democracy more than younger voters.

Crime is also more of a priority for older voters (45+).

% Chosen as a top 5 issue



Do you support or oppose how Israel has responded to the events of October 7th?

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

Respondents are slightly more likely to oppose than support the way Israel has responded to events of October 7th – but half is unsure.

21%

Support

Most likely

- 18 to 29 (35%)

28%

Oppose

Most likely

- 18 to 29 (36%)
- College+ (35%)

50%

Not sure

Most likely

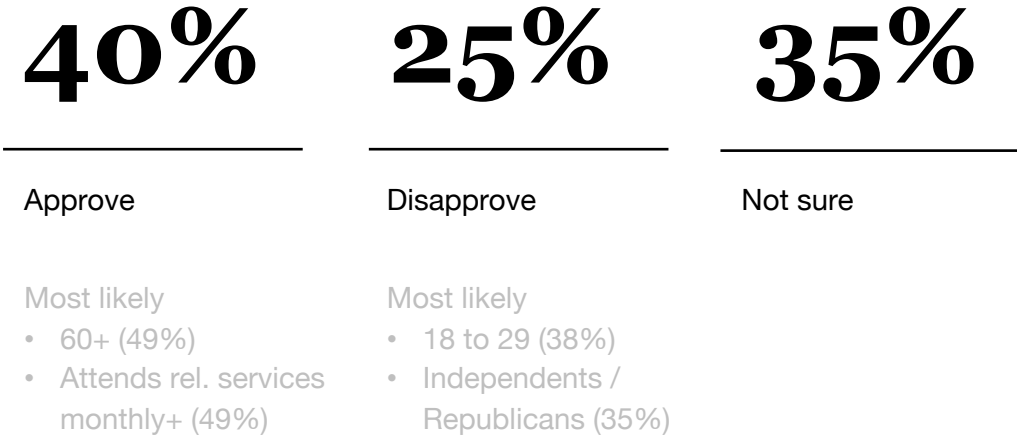
- Attends rel. services less often (61%)



Do you approve or disapprove of the way
President Biden has dealt with the war
between Israel and Hamas?

Respondents are more likely to approve than disapprove of Biden’s handling of the war.

Older women are among the most likely to approve. Younger women are among the most likely to disapprove.





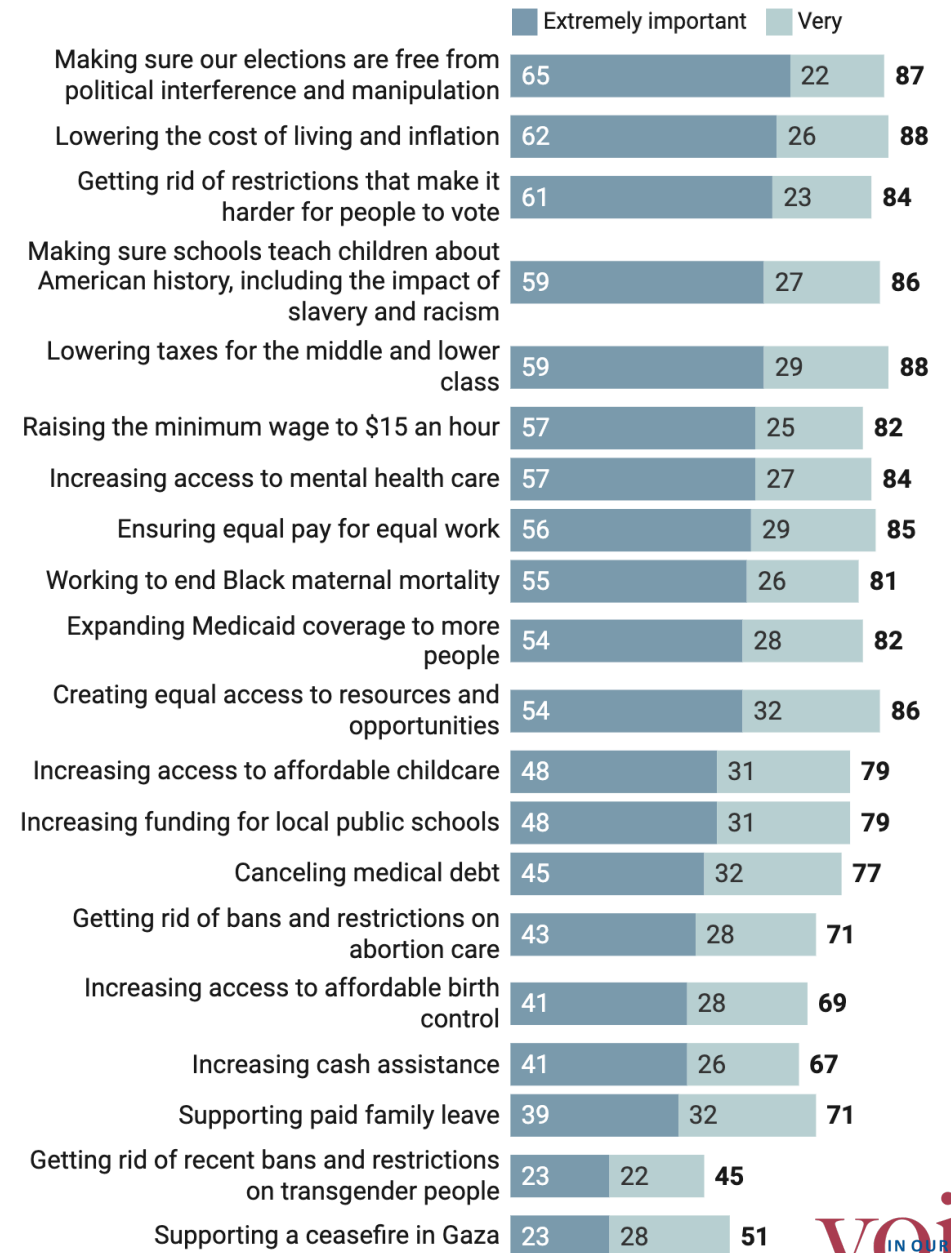
Policy positions

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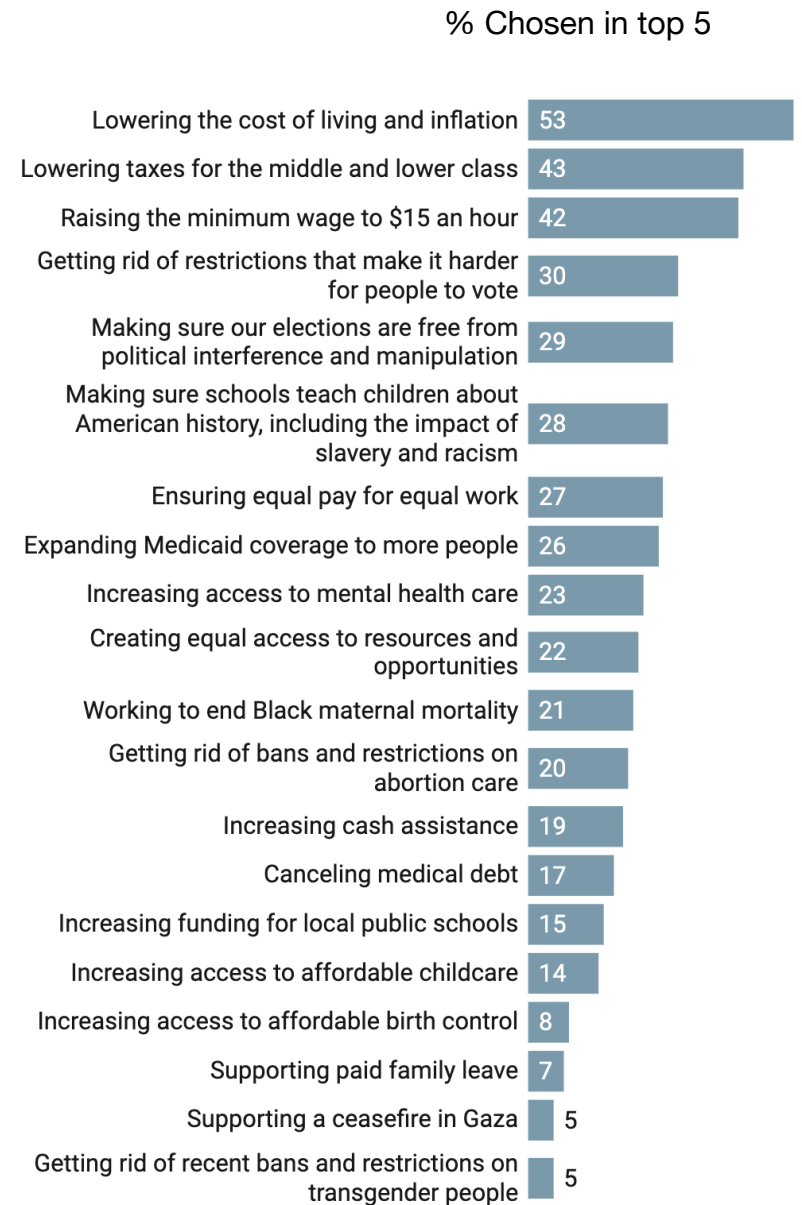
Here are positions some candidates will take in the November elections. How important would each of these issues be to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote?

RANDOMIZE

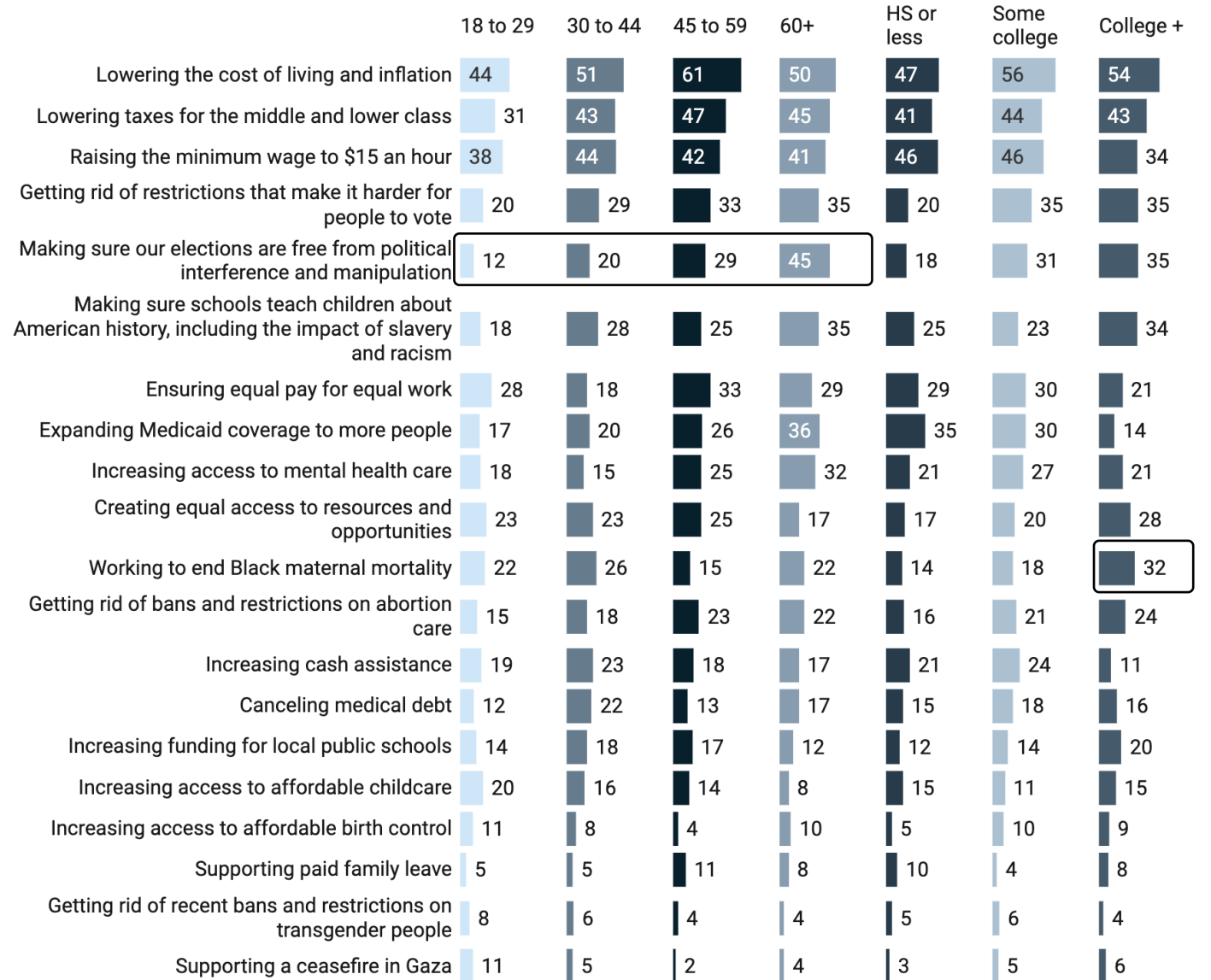
Majorities say candidate policy positions relating to elections, economic factors, education, and health are extremely important in voting.



When asked to narrow down to the most important policy positions, economic policies rise to the top.



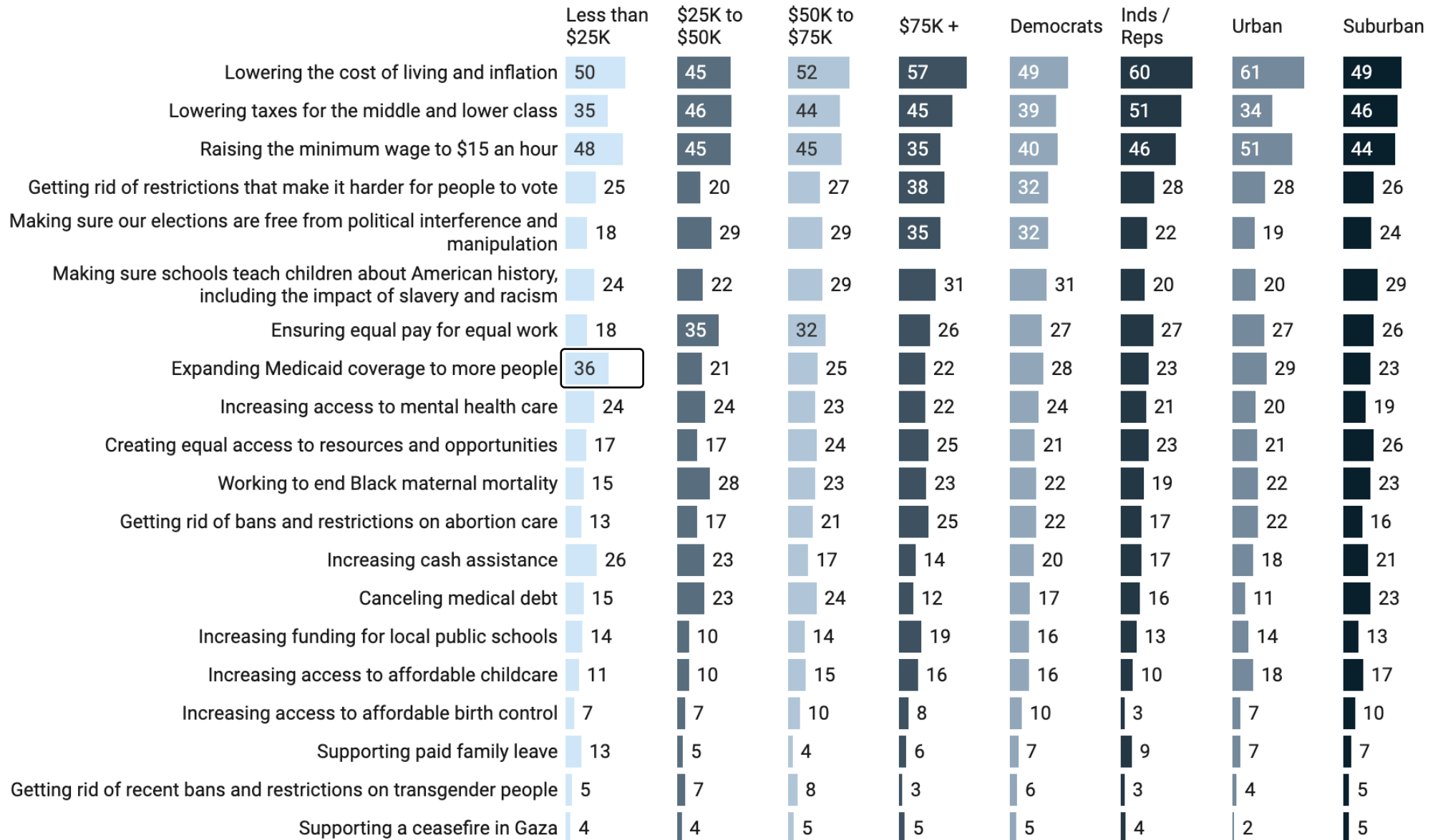
% Chosen in top 5



Policies relating to free and fair elections are higher priorities for older v. younger respondents.

Working to end Black maternal mortality is among the top policy priorities for college-educated respondents.

% Chosen in top 5





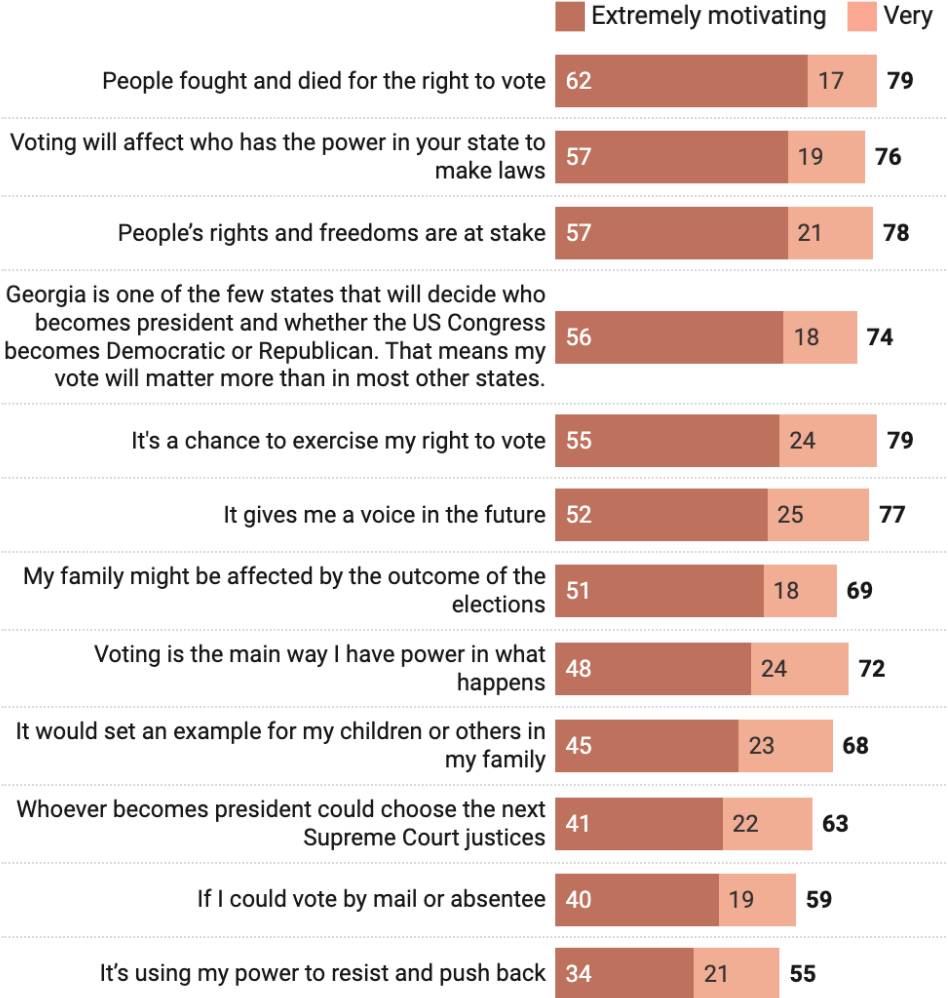
Why vote?

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For you personally, how motivating is each of these to get out and vote in the elections this fall?

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

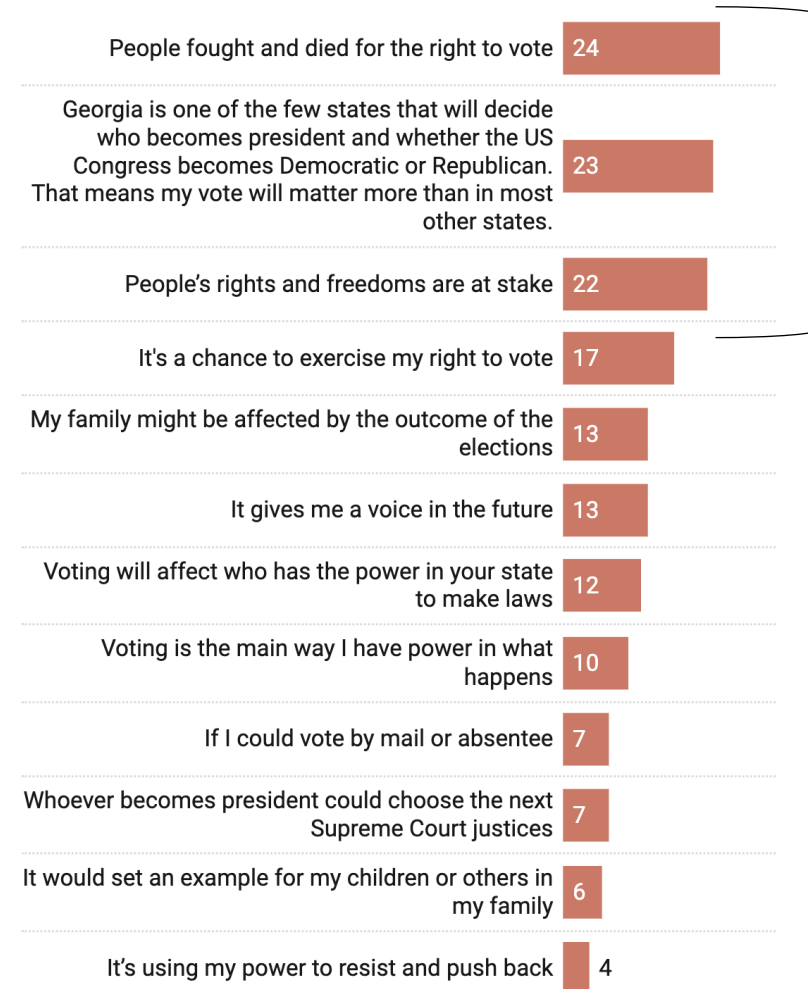
Respondents say many of these factors are motivating to get out and vote.



Three rise to the top when forced to choose.

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

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



Here are the top 5 motivations by demographic segment.

18 to 29	30 to 44	45 to 59	60+	HS or less	Some college	College +
It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	People fought and died for the right to vote	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	People fought and died for the right to vote	People fought and died for the right to vote	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...
Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	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	People fought and died for the right to vote	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	People fought and died for the right to vote	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	People's rights and freedoms are at stake
It gives me a voice in the future	It gives me a voice in the future	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws
People fought and died for the right to vote	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	It gives me a voice in the future	Voting is the main way I have power in what happens	It gives me a voice in the future	It gives me a voice in the future	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections

Here are the top 5 motivations by demographic segment.

Less than \$25K	\$25K to \$50K	\$50K to \$75K	\$75K +	Urban	Suburban	Almost certain to vote	Less likely to vote
It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	People fought and died for the right to vote	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	People fought and died for the right to vote
People fought and died for the right to vote	People fought and died for the right to vote	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	People fought and died for the right to vote	People fought and died for the right to vote	People fought and died for the right to vote	People fought and died for the right to vote	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...
People's rights and freedoms are at stake	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	It gives me a voice in the future	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections
Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	It gives me a voice in the future	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	Georgia is one of the few states that will decide...	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	People's rights and freedoms are at stake
It gives me a voice in the future	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	It gives me a voice in the future



Views toward reproductive policies

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More than three in four respondents say abortion should be legal in all or most cases.

Which comes closest to your view.
Abortion should be:

79%

20%

Legal in all or most cases

Illegal in all or most cases

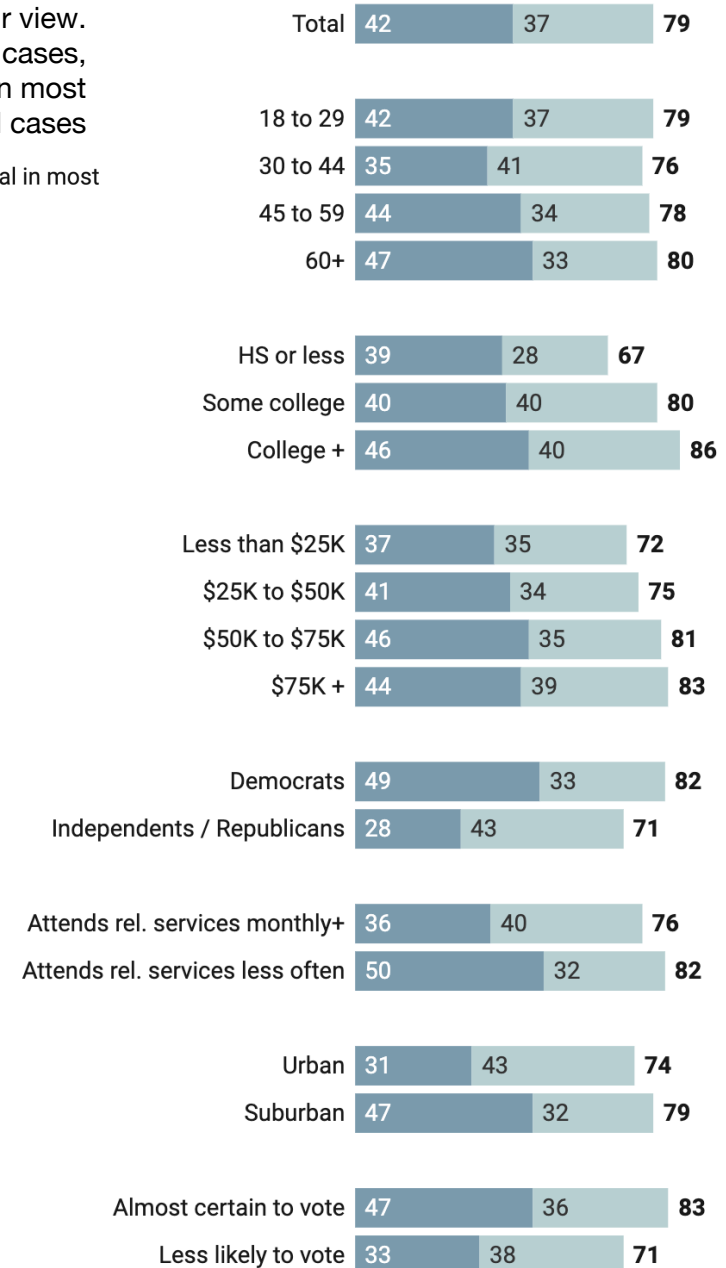
6% illegal in all cases

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

Legal in all Legal in most

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

Three in four women (76%) who attend religious services regularly say abortion should be legal in all or most cases.



Eight in ten say they'd vote in favor of a state amendment to guarantee the right to make decisions about pregnancy, including abortion.

Let's say there was a proposed amendment to your state constitution. You could vote on it. The amendment would guarantee the right to make all decisions about pregnancy and abortion care, without the state interfering. Would you vote:

ROTATE

82%

16%

In favor of this

Against this

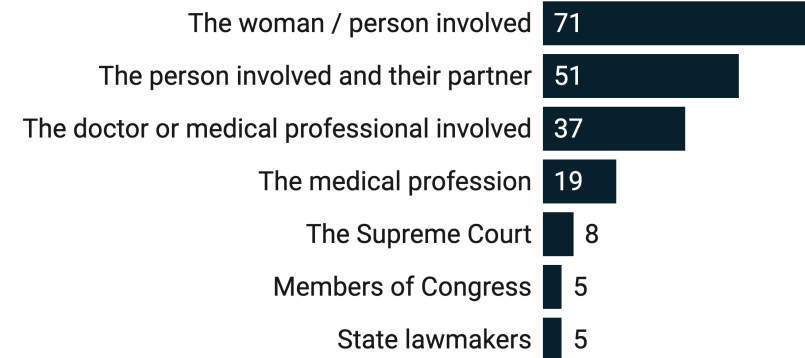
80% 18 to 44
84% 45+

A large majority wants decisions about abortion to rest in the hands of the people involved.

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

Select any that apply:

RANDOMIZE



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

91%

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

74% Strongly agree
17% Somewhat agree

92% 18 to 44
91% 45+

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 fear of punishment

(Base n = 291)

49% Strongly agree
31% Somewhat agree

80% 18 to 44
79% 45+

83%

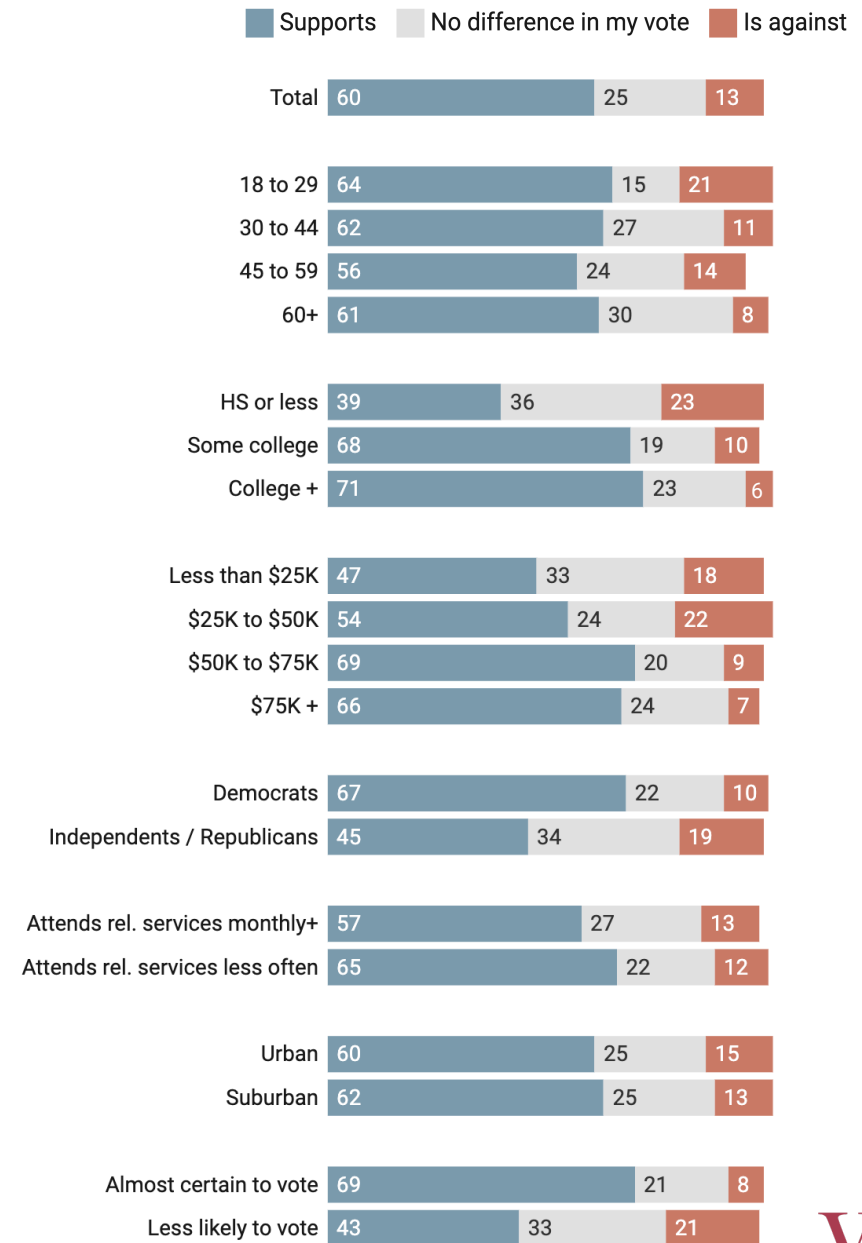
Say having an abortion can be a responsible choice

80% 18 to 44
85% 45+

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

Respondents are nearly five times more likely to vote for a candidate who supports abortion access (60%) than one who opposes it (13%).

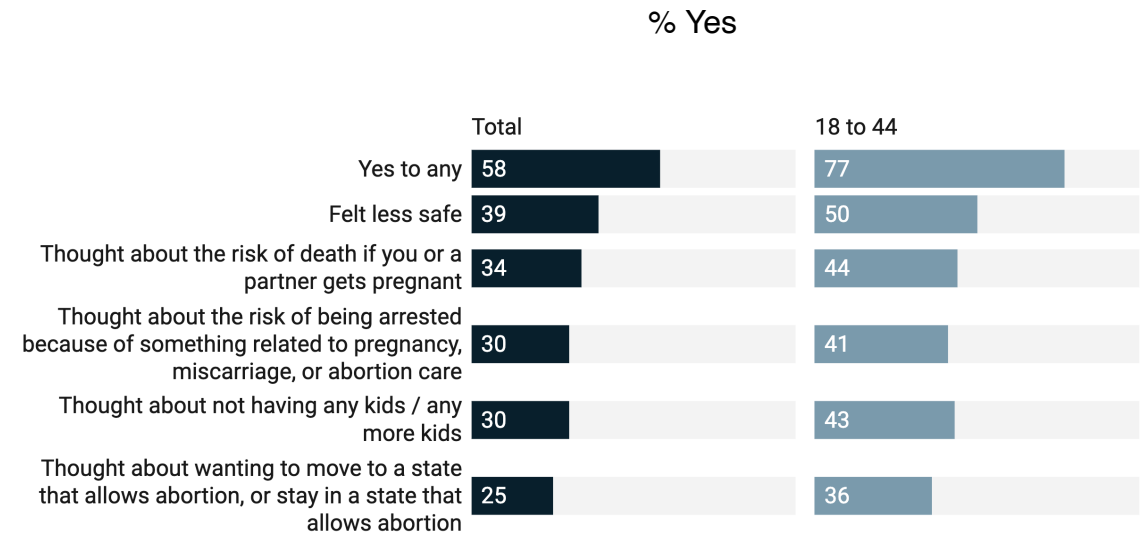
Those most likely to vote are eight times more likely to vote for candidates who support abortion access.



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

Three in four (77%) respondents of reproductive age say recent bans have made them feel less safe, think about their own risk of death or arrest, reconsider having kids, or consider moving to another state.

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



Four in ten women of reproductive age know someone who has tried to have an abortion in the past year or two.

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

24%

Of all women say yes

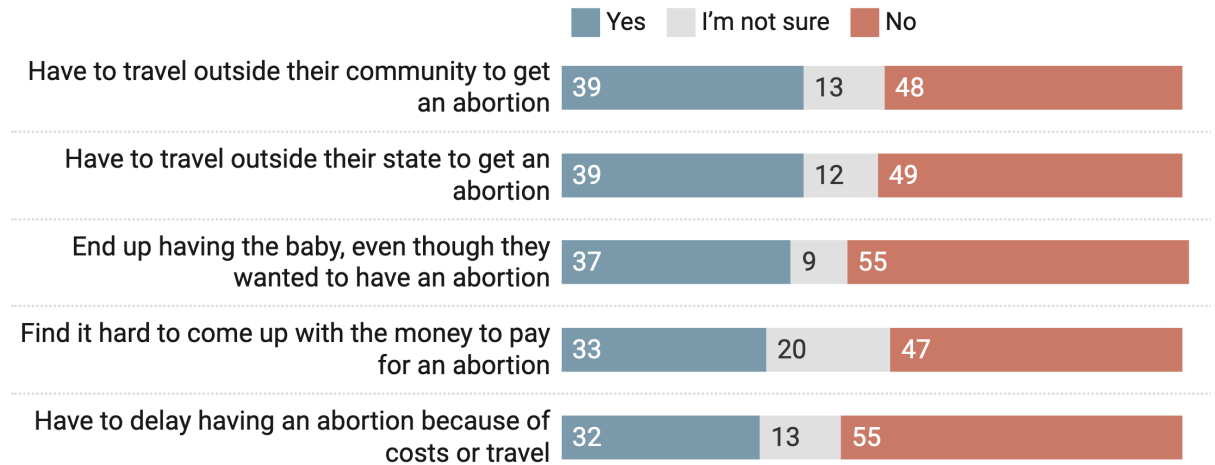
42%

Of women 18 to 44 say yes

Two in three (68%) say the person(s) they know faced at least one of these barriers to care.

Did [ONE PERSON: that person / MORE THAN ONE: any of the people you know]:

Base n = 163 who know someone who has had an abortion or tried to have an abortion in the past two years



—

A large majority of women support comprehensive sex ed in high school.

Majorities of women 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?

85%

Support

13%

Oppose

82% Attends rel. services monthly+
90% Less often

Four in five women agree that health care providers should create space for conversations about sexuality, including sexual pleasure.

Do you agree or disagree: Our health care providers should create space for education and non-judgmental conversations about sexuality, including how we can experience pleasure.

79%

Agree

20%

Disagree

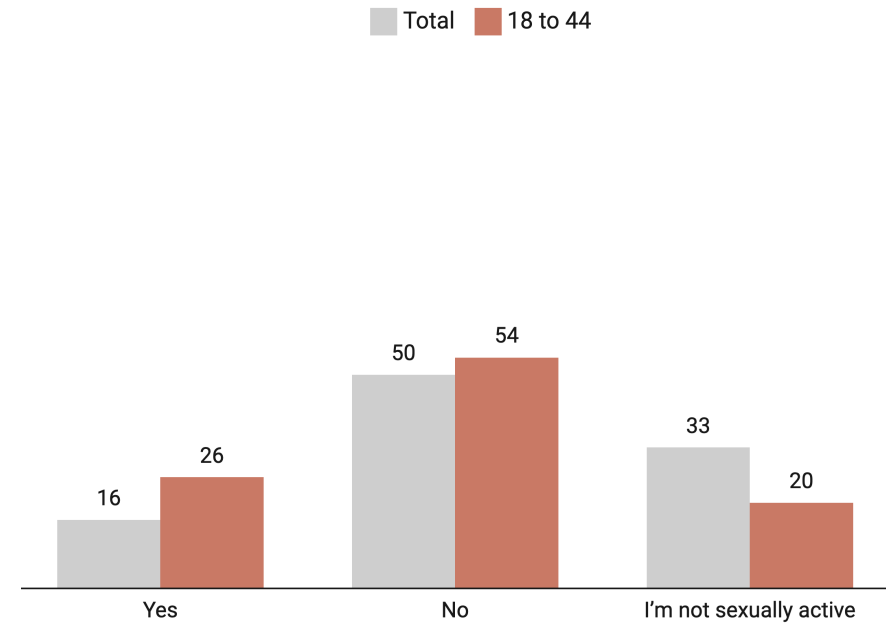
78% Attends rel. services monthly+



Access to birth control

Roughly one in four women of reproductive age (26%) says they or a partner are currently using birth control.

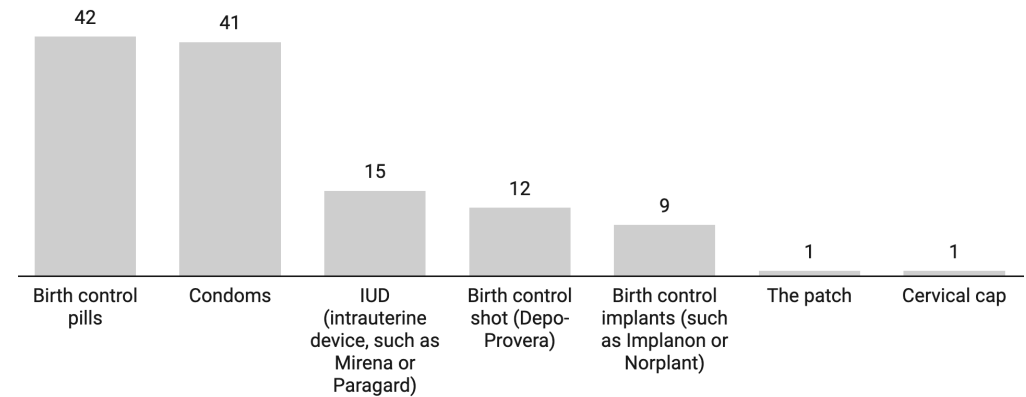
Are you or your partner currently using birth control?



What type(s) of birth control are you or a partner using now? Select any that apply.

Base n = 98 self or partner is currently using birth control

Pills and condoms are the most common birth control methods.



A majority of women of reproductive age expresses interest in getting birth control over the counter.

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

54%

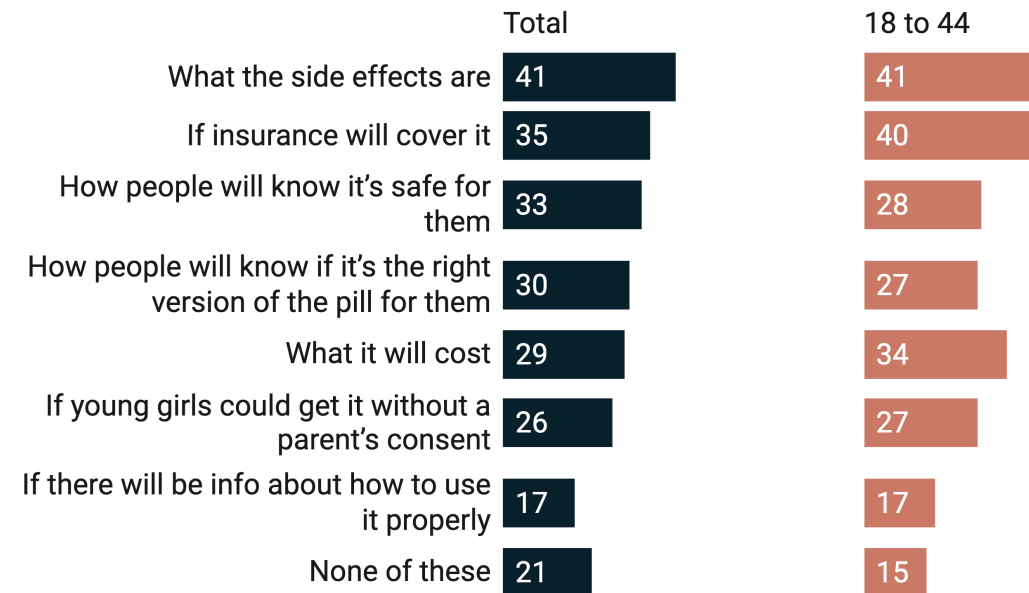
Women 18 to 44

The most common questions about over-the-counter pills are around side effects, insurance coverage, and costs.

What would you want to know about birth control pills being over-the-counter?

Select the top 3 things you'd want to know.

RANDOMIZE



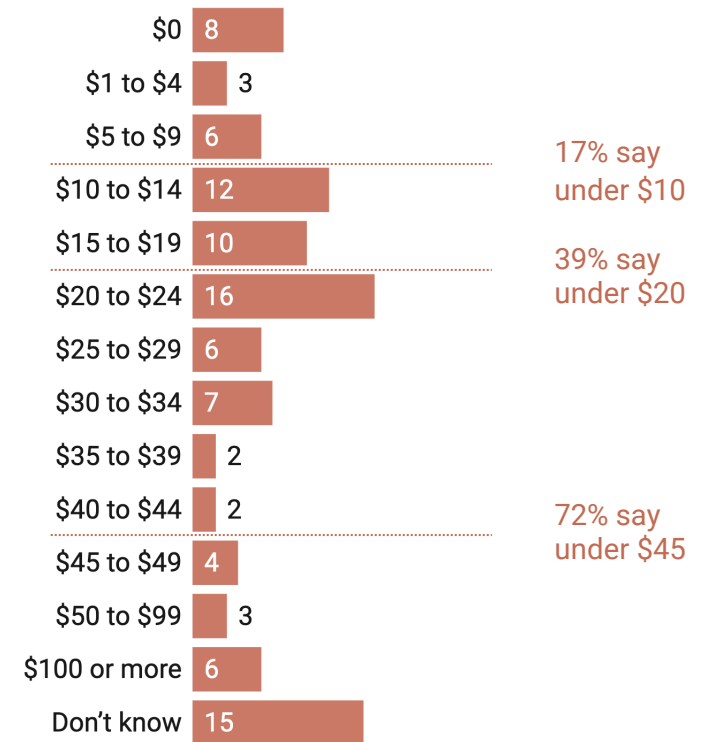
The retail price for over-the-counter birth control (\$49.00) is out of reach for 72% of respondents of reproductive age.

Let's say you or a loved one needed a 3-month supply of birth control pills. How much would you be able to pay for it, out-of-pocket, today?

Even if you don't need birth control pills, please imagine a situation in which you or a loved one does.

Your best guess is fine.

Base n = 254 women 18 to 44

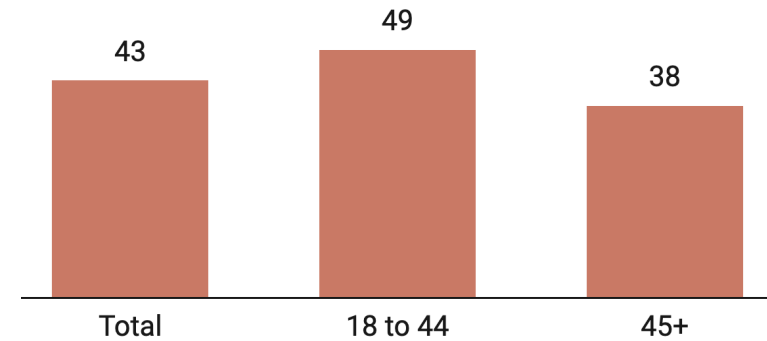


Four in ten respondents (43%) say they are likely to talk with loved ones about over-the-counter access to birth control.

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

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?

% Yes





Experiences with medical bias

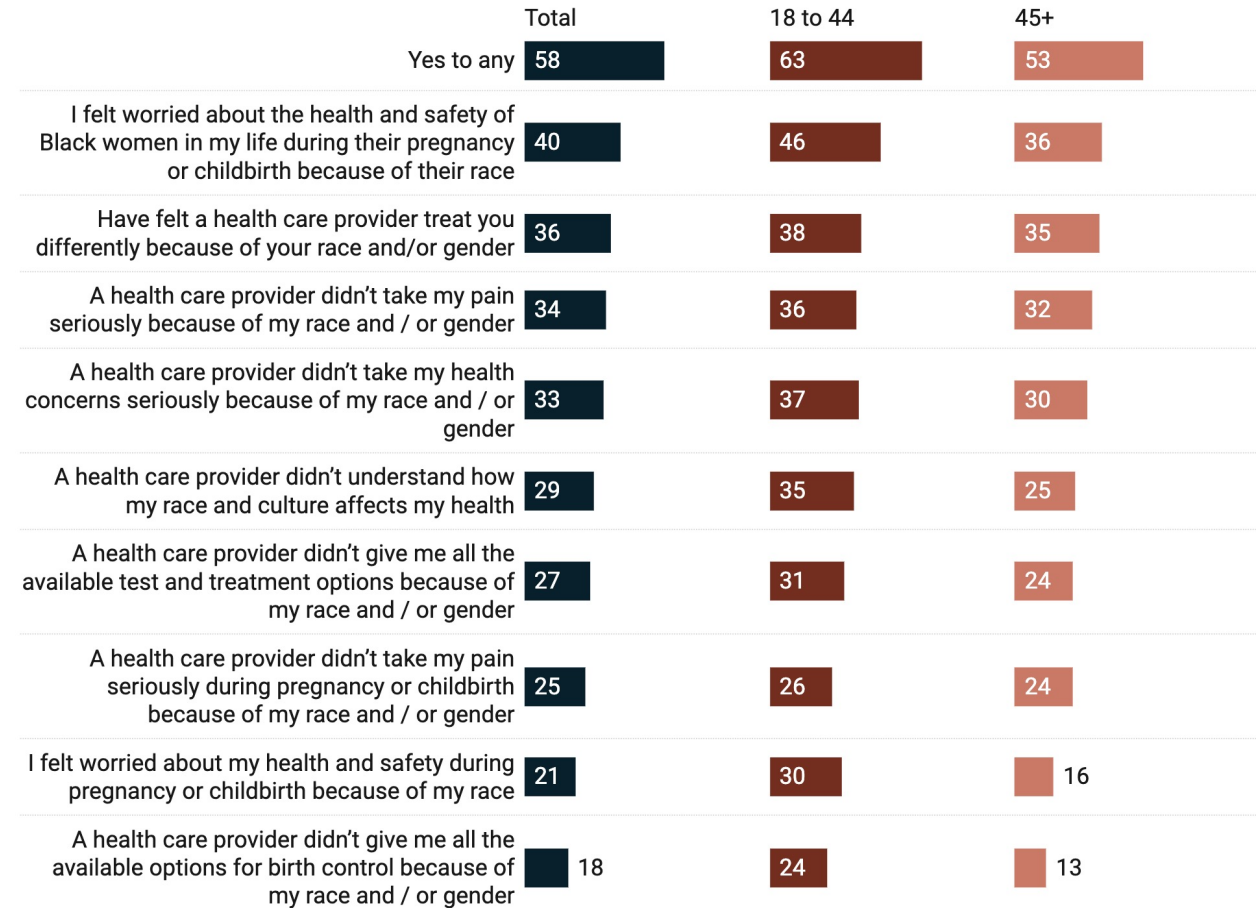
voice
IN OUR OWN

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

Women of reproductive age are more likely than older respondents to say they've felt these effects.

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

RANDOMIZE



voice
IN OUR OWN