

Results from a Statewide Survey of Black Women Voters in Ohio

The Lives and Voices of Black Women in Ohio

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 Ohio 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*?

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 Ohio.

This report provides findings from a statewide survey among $n = 520$ Black women* registered voters. The survey was conducted January 23 through February 14, 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 Ohio women registered voters. The margin of sampling error is ± 5.6 percentage points. Many other types of errors 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%	520
Black or African American	100%	520
2+ races	12%	55
Hispanic / Latina/o/x	3%	15
18 to 29	19%	126
30 to 44	28%	137
45 to 59	26%	121
60+	27%	136
HS or less	33%	172
Some college	42%	228
College +	24%	120
Democrat	66%	340
Independent	27%	146
Republican	6%	34
Urban	55%	256
Suburban	43%	168
Rural	2%	7

Key findings.

Here are 10 key findings.

1

Younger Black women are less motivated to vote this fall than their older counterparts.

Just over half (57%) of 18 to 44-year-old respondents says they're "almost certain" to vote this fall, compared to 79% of respondents ages 45 and older.

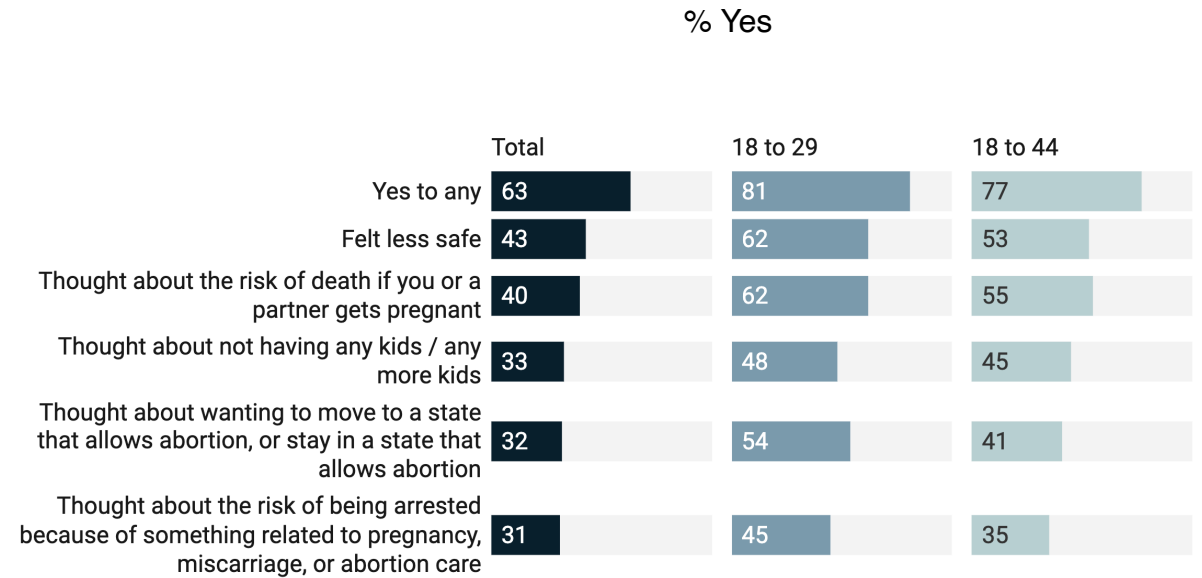
Close to half of 18- to 29-year-olds (45%) says they've thought about not voting in 2024 as a form of protest – compared to 27% of those ages 30 to 44 and 10% of those 45 and older. Insights from our national data suggest that many of these young people are discouraged by the choice of candidates. In this survey, 87% 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.

Half of Black women of reproductive age (53%) says they’ve felt less safe as a result of recent bans. Six in ten 18- to 29-year-old respondents (62%) say recent bans made them think about the risk of death if they or a partner were to get pregnant.

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



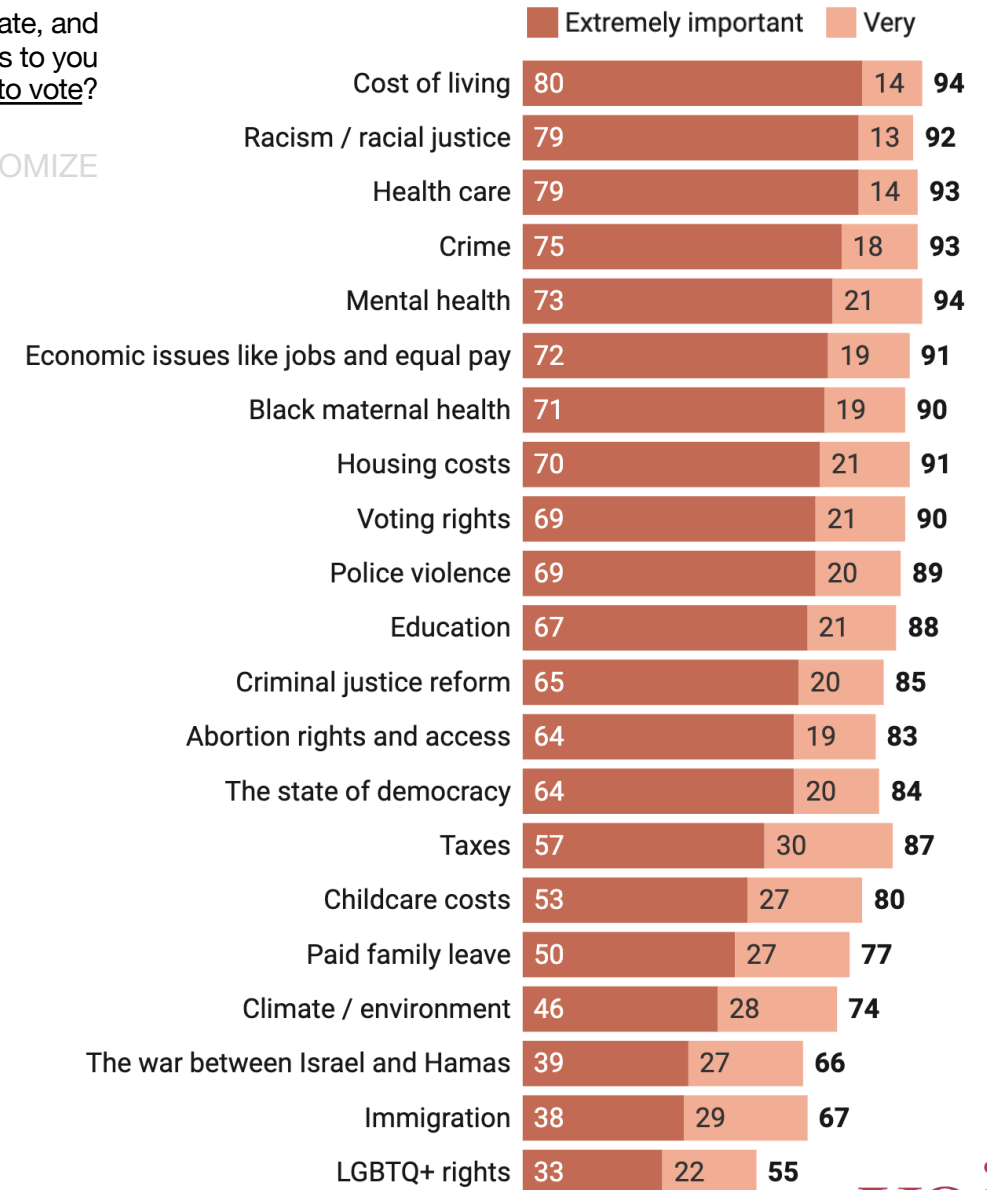
This fall there will be elections for US Congress, state, and local offices. How important is each of these issues to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote?

RANDOMIZE

3
Many issues are on the minds of Black women. Cost of living, racism / racial justice, and health care top the list.

Black maternal health and abortion rights are among the top issues for 18- to 29-year-olds.

Crime and voting rights are among the top issues for older respondents.



4

When asked about 20 discrete policy positions, economic, election, and mental health policies rise to the top.

Younger respondents also prioritize getting rid of abortion bans and working to end Black maternal mortality.

IMPORTANT POLICY POSITIONS

- Lowering the cost of living and inflation (92% extremely or very important when thinking about getting out to vote this fall)
- Ensuring equal pay for equal work (90%)
- Making sure our elections are free from political interference and manipulation (89%)
- Increasing access to mental health care (88%)
- Creating equal access to resources and opportunities (86%)

5
**In a list of 12 motivations to
vote, these three rise to the top.**

TOP MOTIVATIONS

People fought and died for the right to vote

25% say this is in the top 1 or 2 motivations to vote

People's rights and freedoms are at stake

25%

Ohio 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.

22%

These are additional motivating factors among many respondents.

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

6
Black women in Ohio are strongly supportive of abortion rights and access.

Large majorities of respondents support abortion rights and access, including those who attend religious services regularly.

84%

Say abortion should be legal in all or most cases

83% of those who attend religious services regularly

85%

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

83%

93%

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

90%

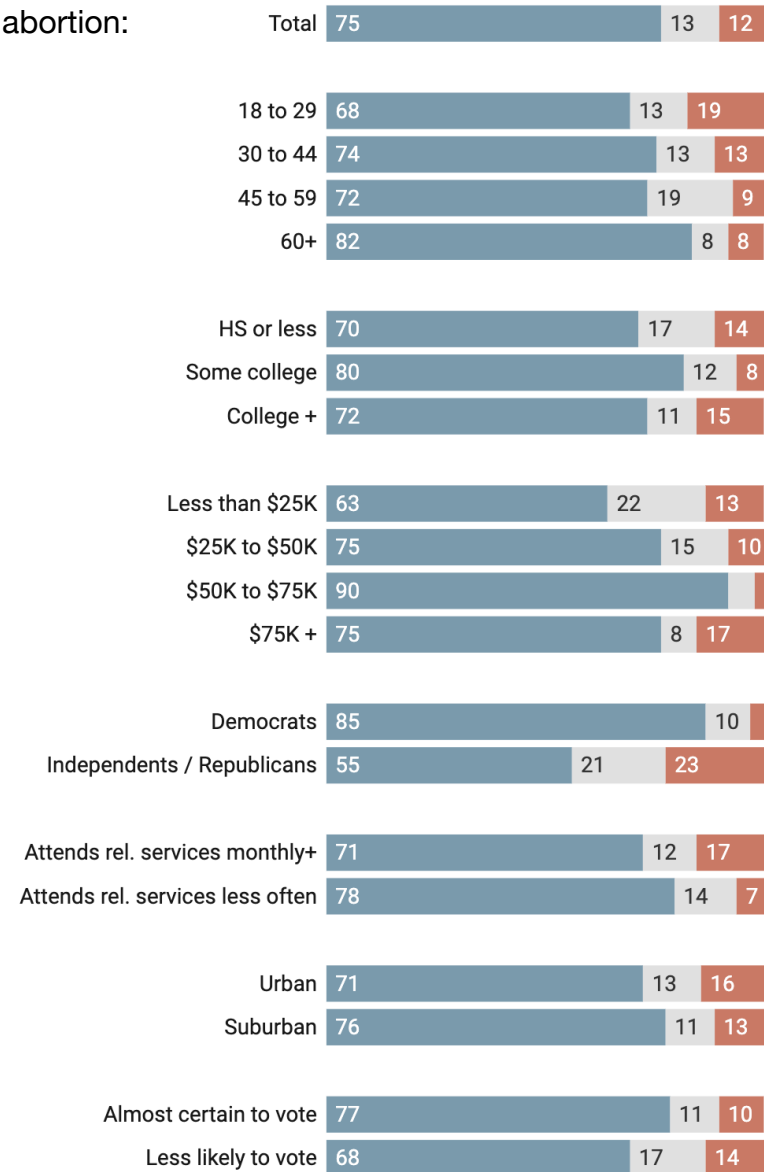
86%

Say having an abortion can be the responsible choice

86%

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

Supports No difference in my vote Is against



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

7 Respondents are six times more likely to vote for a candidate who supports abortion access than one who opposes it.

More than two-thirds of Black women who attend religious services regularly say they're more likely to vote for a candidate who supports abortion access.

8

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

The retail price, however, is out of reach for 75% of these women.

58%

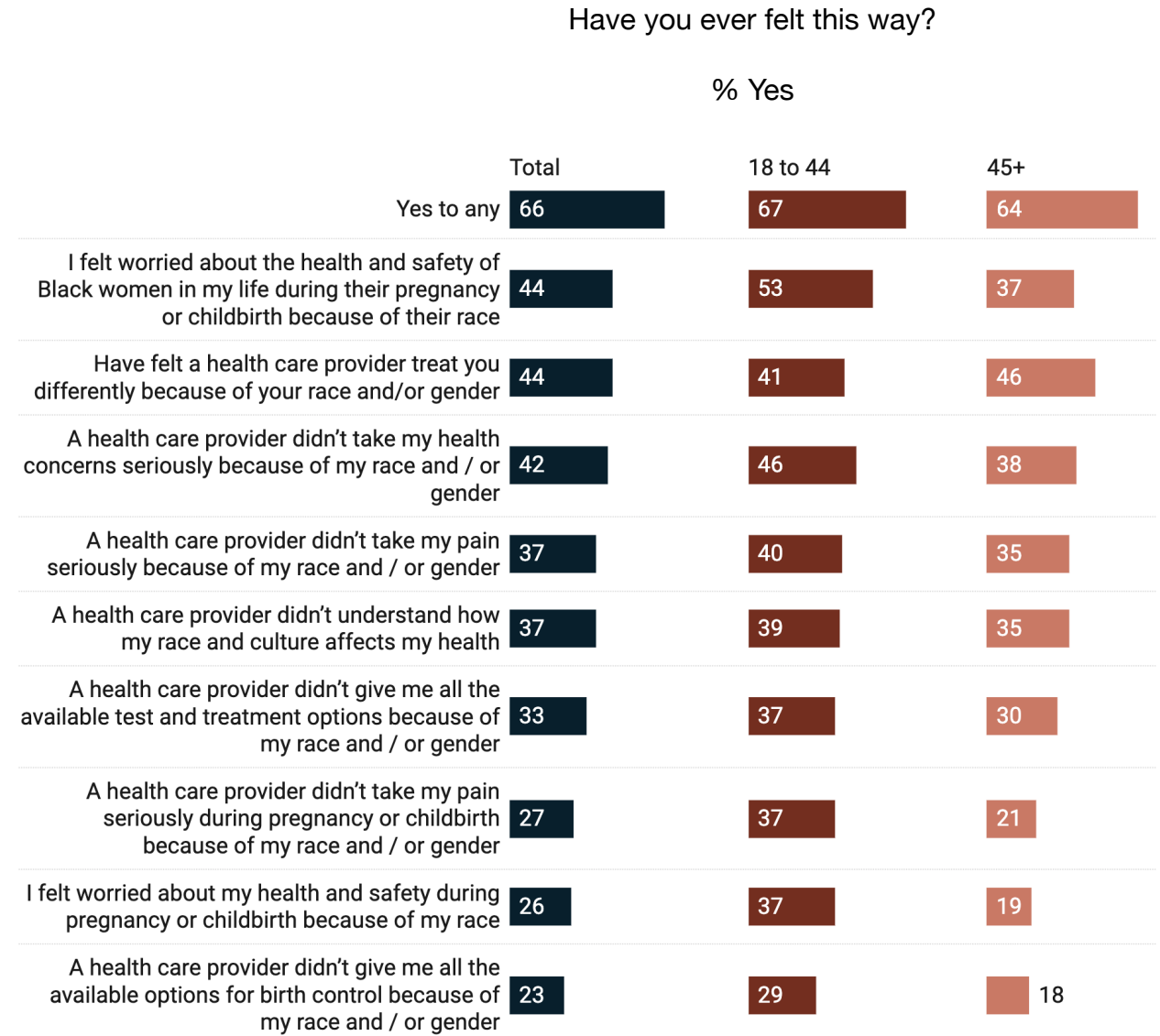
Of women 18 to 44 say they are interested in accessing birth control pills over-the-counter

75%

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

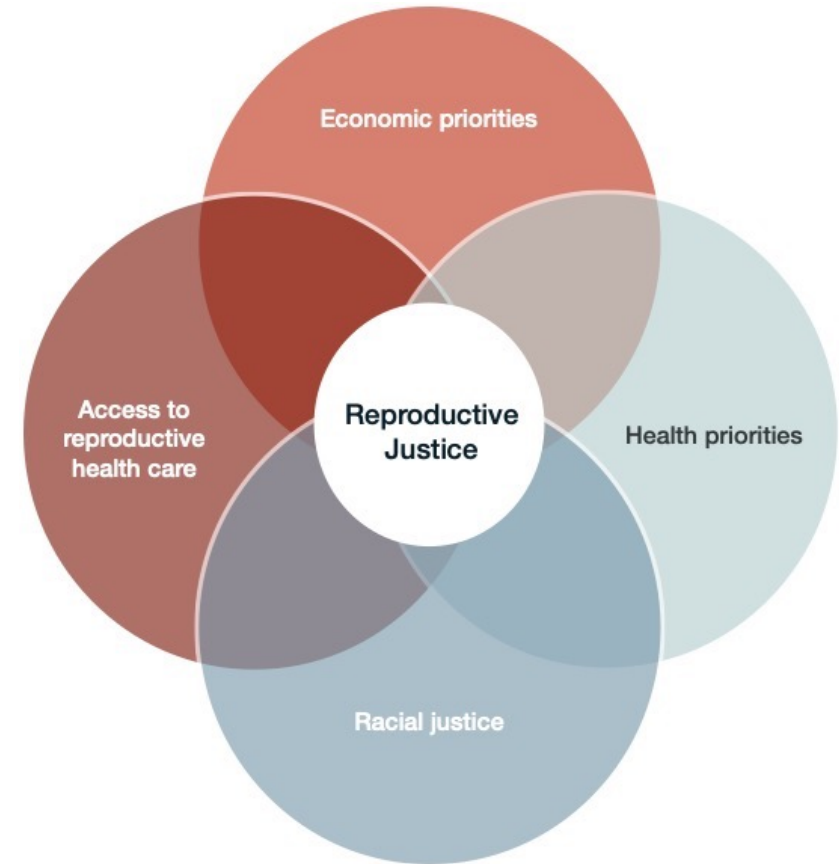
Note: A three-month supply will retail at \$49.99

9
A majority of Black women (66%) 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 Ohio.

Many women of reproductive age are profoundly impacted by abortion bans. Getting rid of abortion restrictions and bans is a top voting issue for 18- to 29-year-olds. A majority of women of reproductive age can't afford the price of over-the-counter birth control pills. Large majorities support access to abortion, comprehensive sex ed, and sex-positive communication with health care providers.



Economic issues top the list of voting and policy priorities – including the costs of living and equal pay.

Health care is also a top voting issue. Majorities are mobilized by policies to end Black maternal mortality, to increase access to mental health care, and to expand Medicaid. Ending Black maternal mortality is a particularly high priority for young women.

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

Detailed findings.

SECTIONS

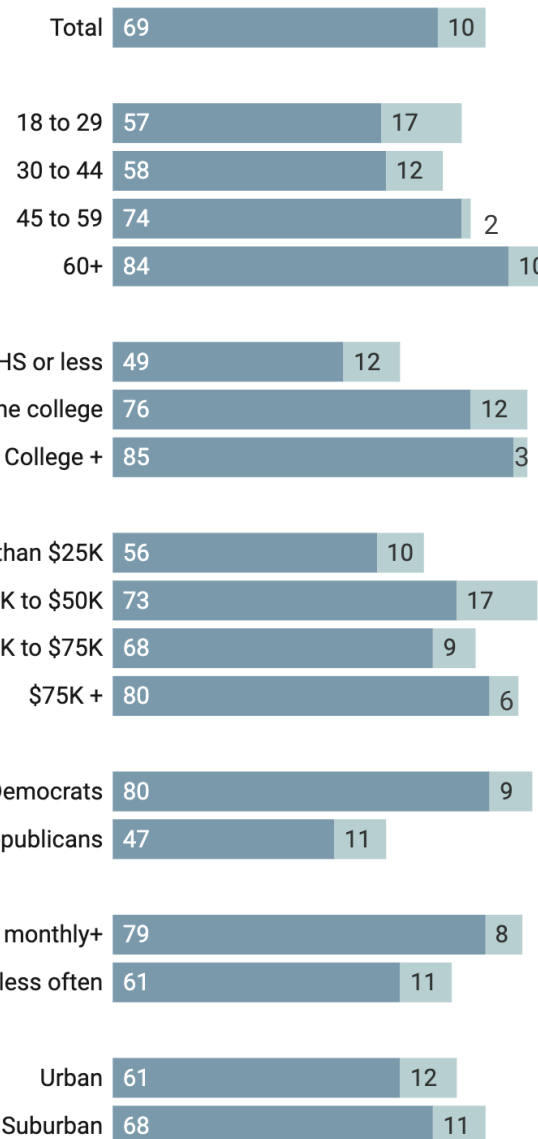
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Voting in the 2024 elections

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



A majority of women (69%) says they're “almost certain” to vote this fall.

Respondents who are least certain to vote include:

- Independent / Republican women (47% almost certain)
- Those with a high school degree or less (49%)

Younger respondents are less certain to vote than their older counterparts.



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 = 265

Three in five women say voting in the 2024 elections is “extremely important.”

62%

Rate 7 – extremely important

55% 18 to 44
67% 45+

72% Democrats
42% Inds / Reps

20%

Rate 5 or 6

21% 18 to 44
18% 45+

19% Democrats
21% Inds / Reps

19%

Rate 1 to 4 – toward not important

24% 18 to 44
15% 45+

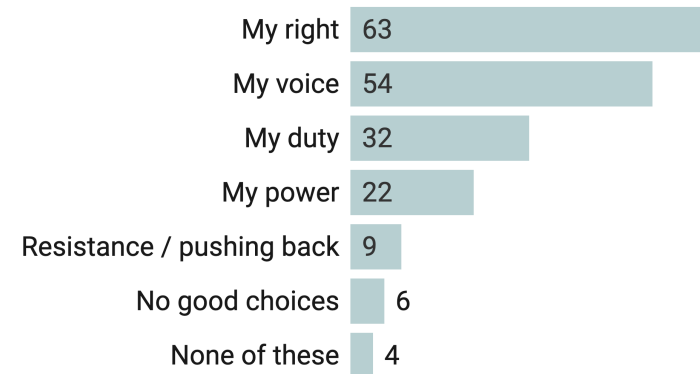
9% Democrats
37% Inds / Reps

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?

82%

18%

Yes

No

77% 18 to 29
75% 30 to 44
84% 45 to 59
88% 60+

76% HS or less
81% Some college
90% College+

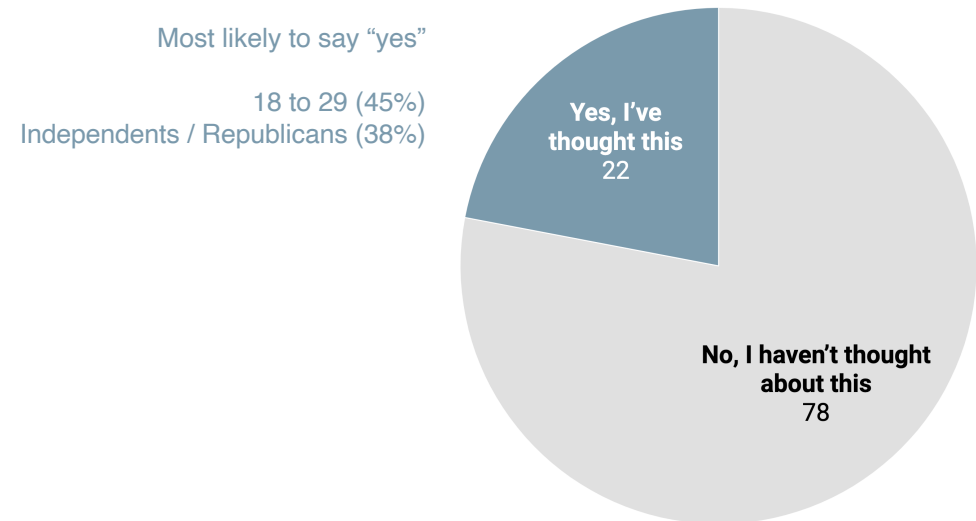
73% Less than \$25K
86% \$25K to \$50K
80% \$50K to \$75K
89% \$75K+

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

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?

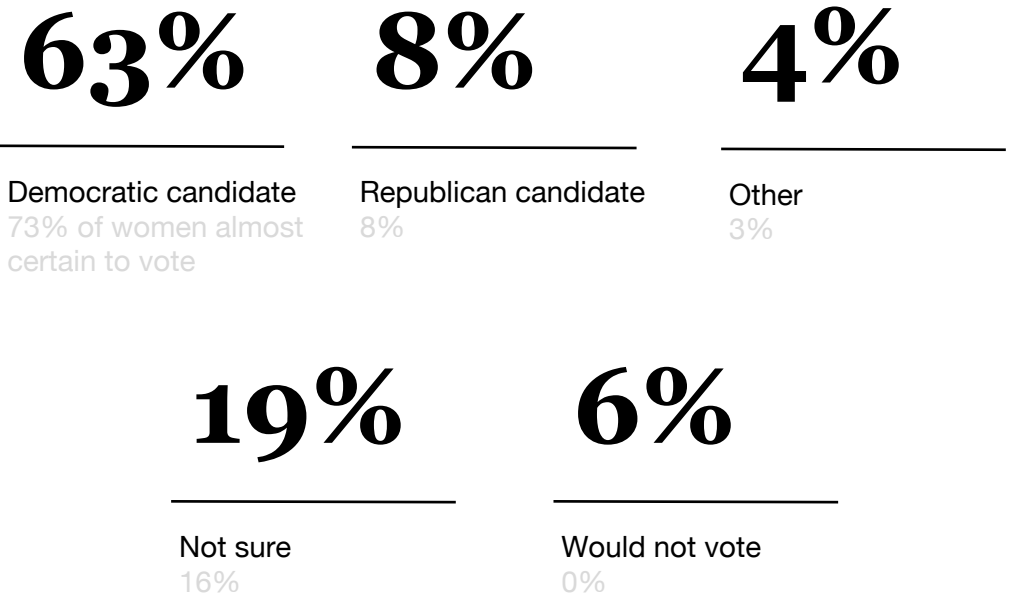


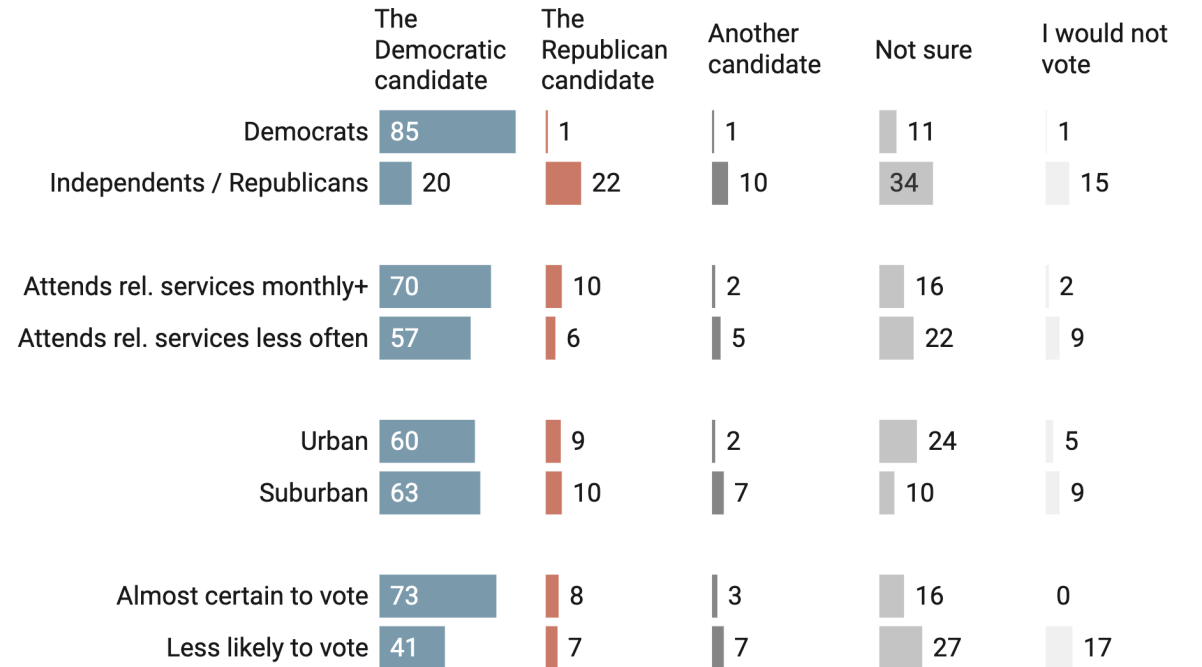
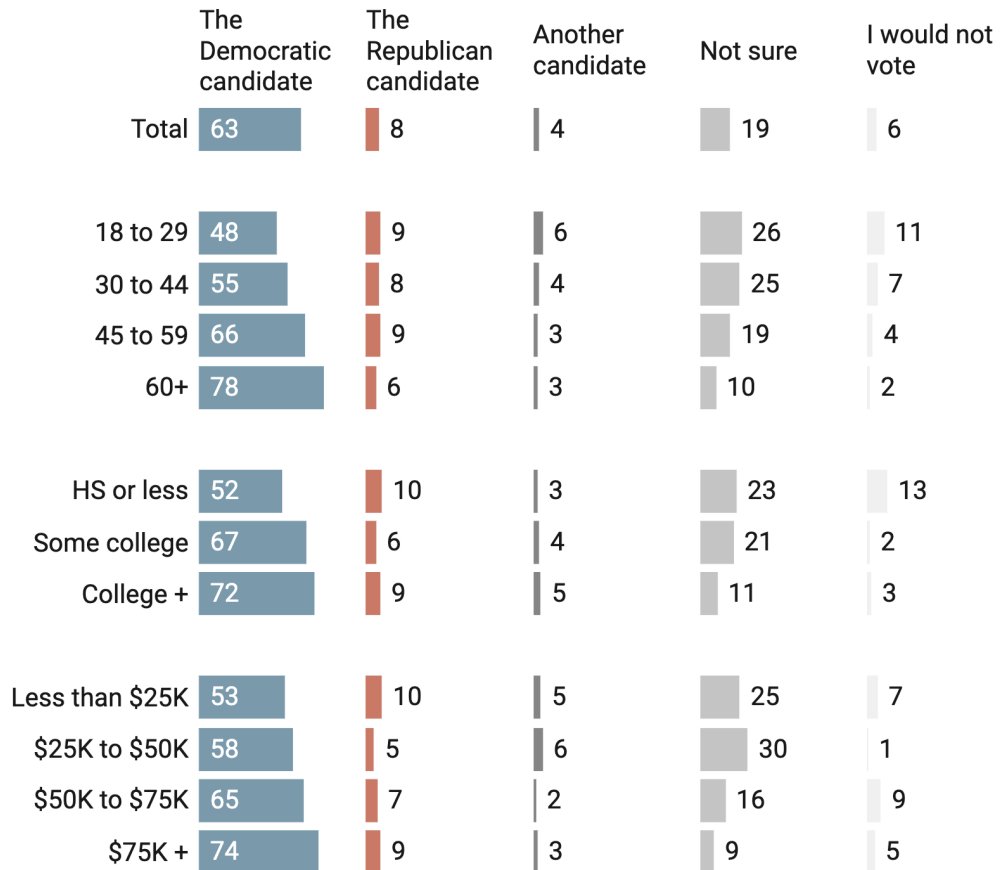
If the presidential election were held today, a majority (63%) says they'd vote for the Democratic candidate.

Among those most certain to vote, 73% say they'd vote for the Democratic candidate.

See the next page for breakouts by demographic segments.

If the 2024 presidential election were held today, would you vote for:
Base n = 516

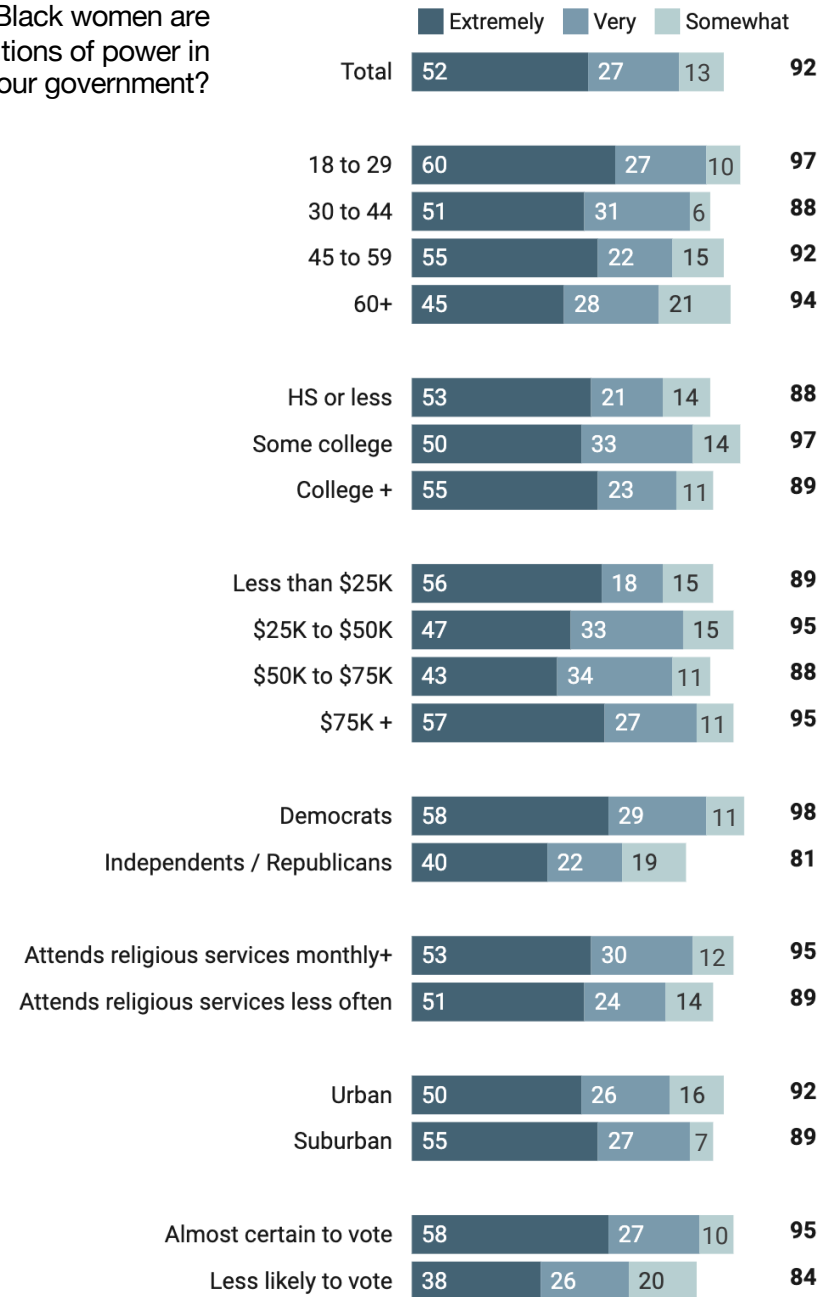




How important is it that more Black women are elected and nominated to positions of power in our government?

Nine in ten respondents (92%) say it's important that more Black women are elected and nominated to positions of power in government.

This sentiment is particularly strong among younger women and Democrats.



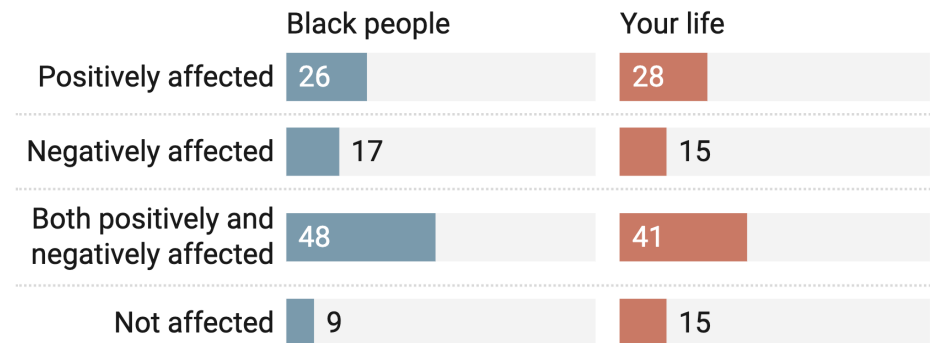


Impact of the Biden administration

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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 = 265) / "your life" (n = 255)

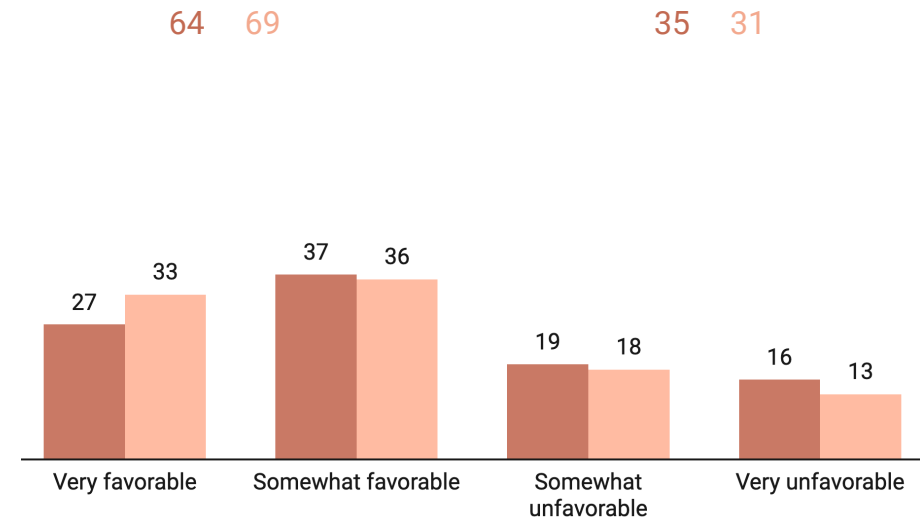




That said, most have favorable impressions of President Biden and Vice President Harris.

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of:

President Joe Biden Vice President Kamala Harris



Most likely to be favorable:

- Ages 60+ (78% Biden, 75% Harris)
- Democrats (78%, 81%)

Most likely to be unfavorable:

- Independents / Reps (62%, 55%)
- 18 to 44 (46%, 37%)



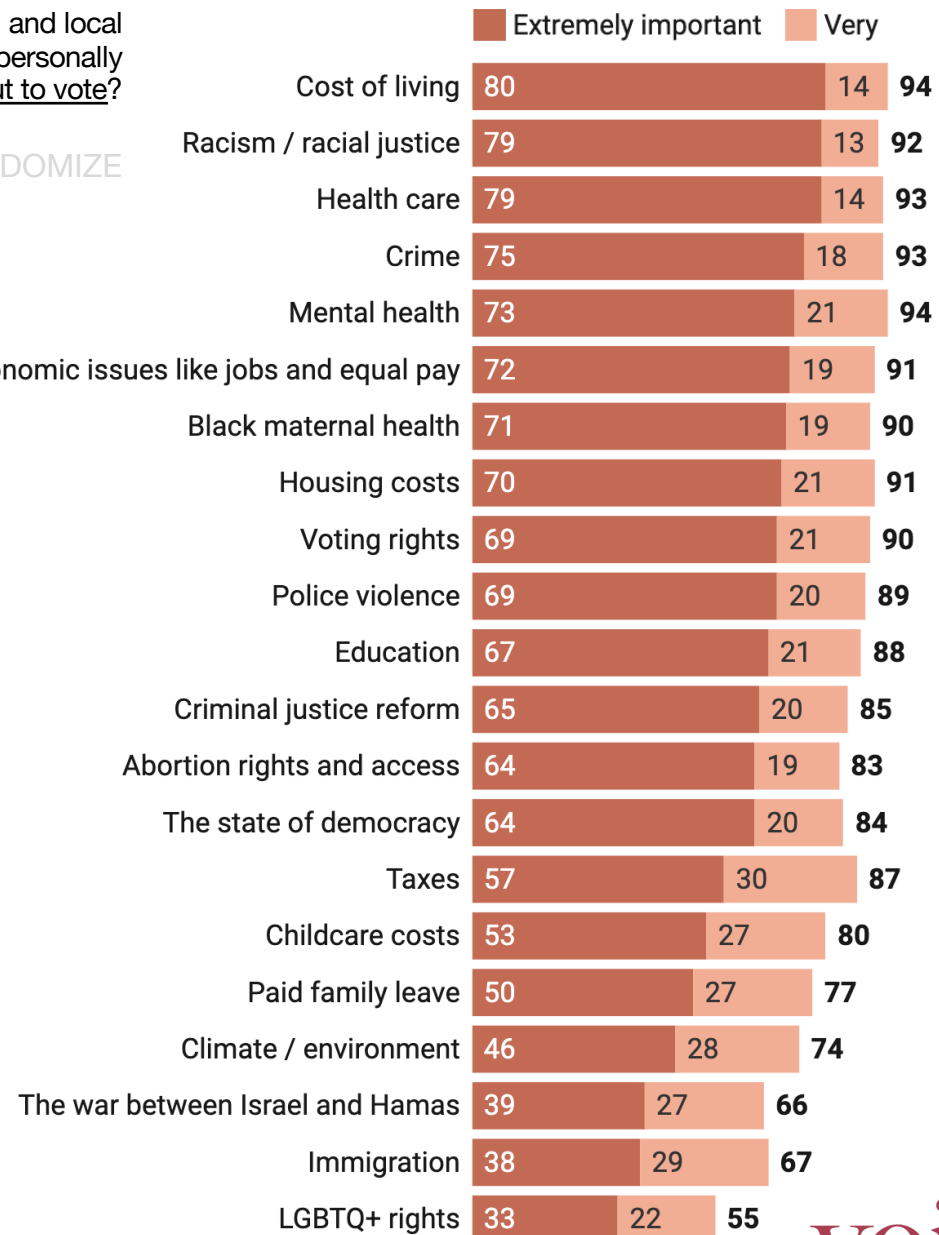
Issue priorities

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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

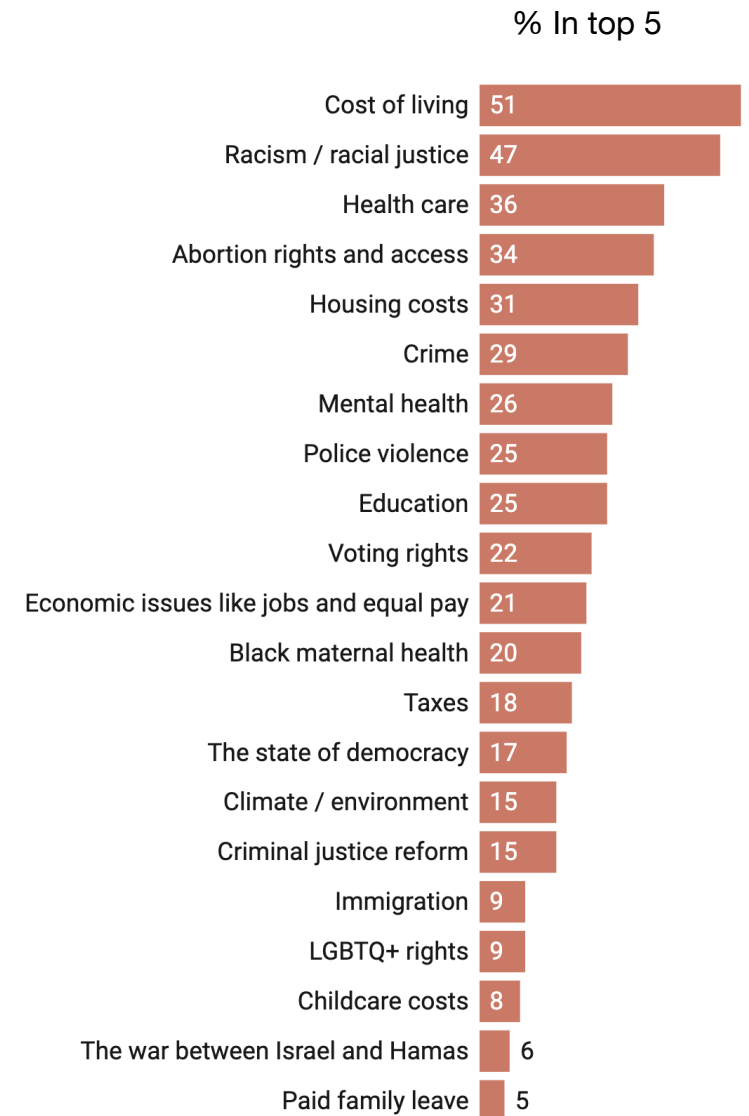
Many issues are on the minds of Black women.



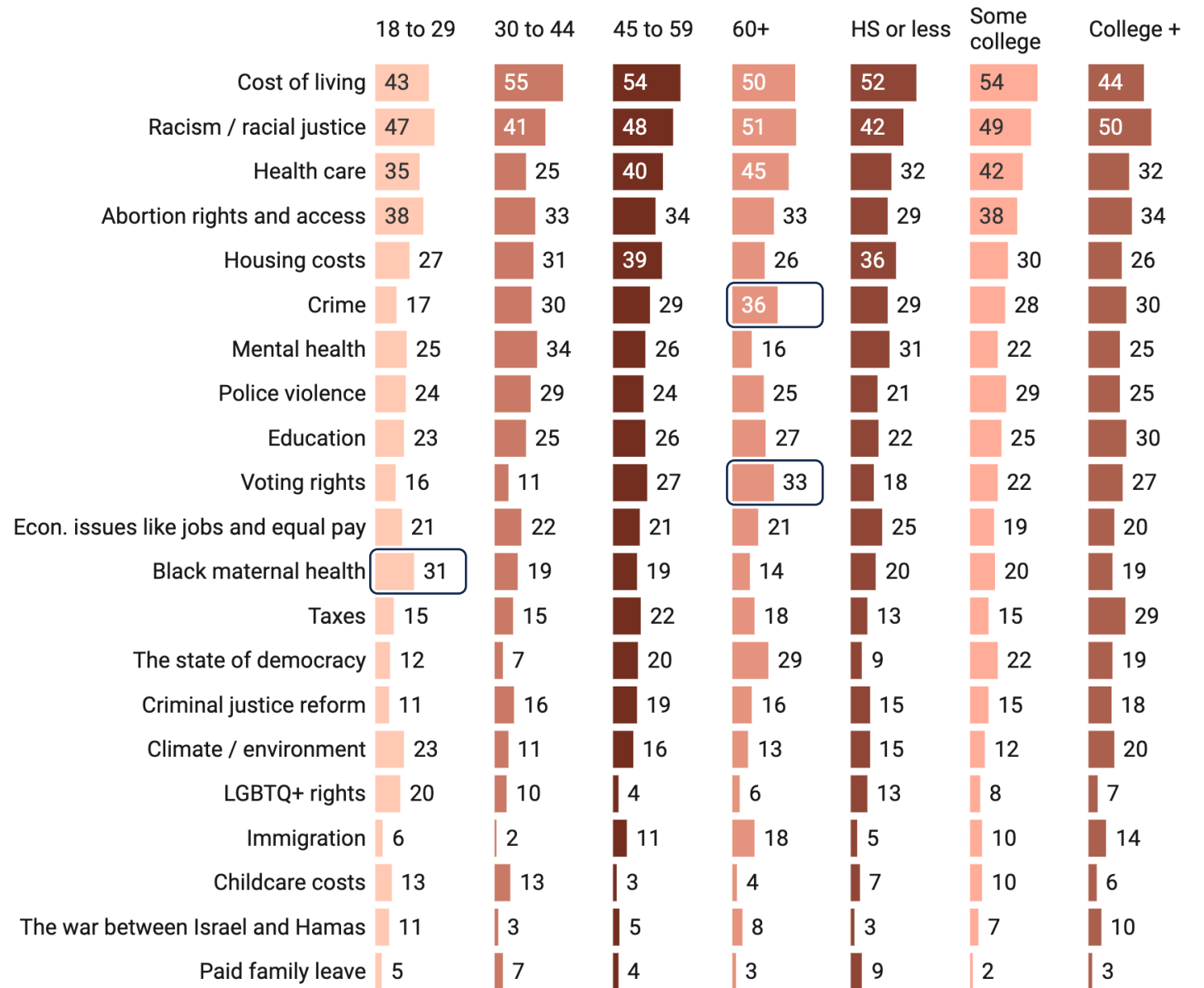
Choose the top 5 issues that matter most to you when voting in elections.

When asked to prioritize their issues, cost of living and racism / racial justice top the list.

Abortion rights and access is also high on the list.



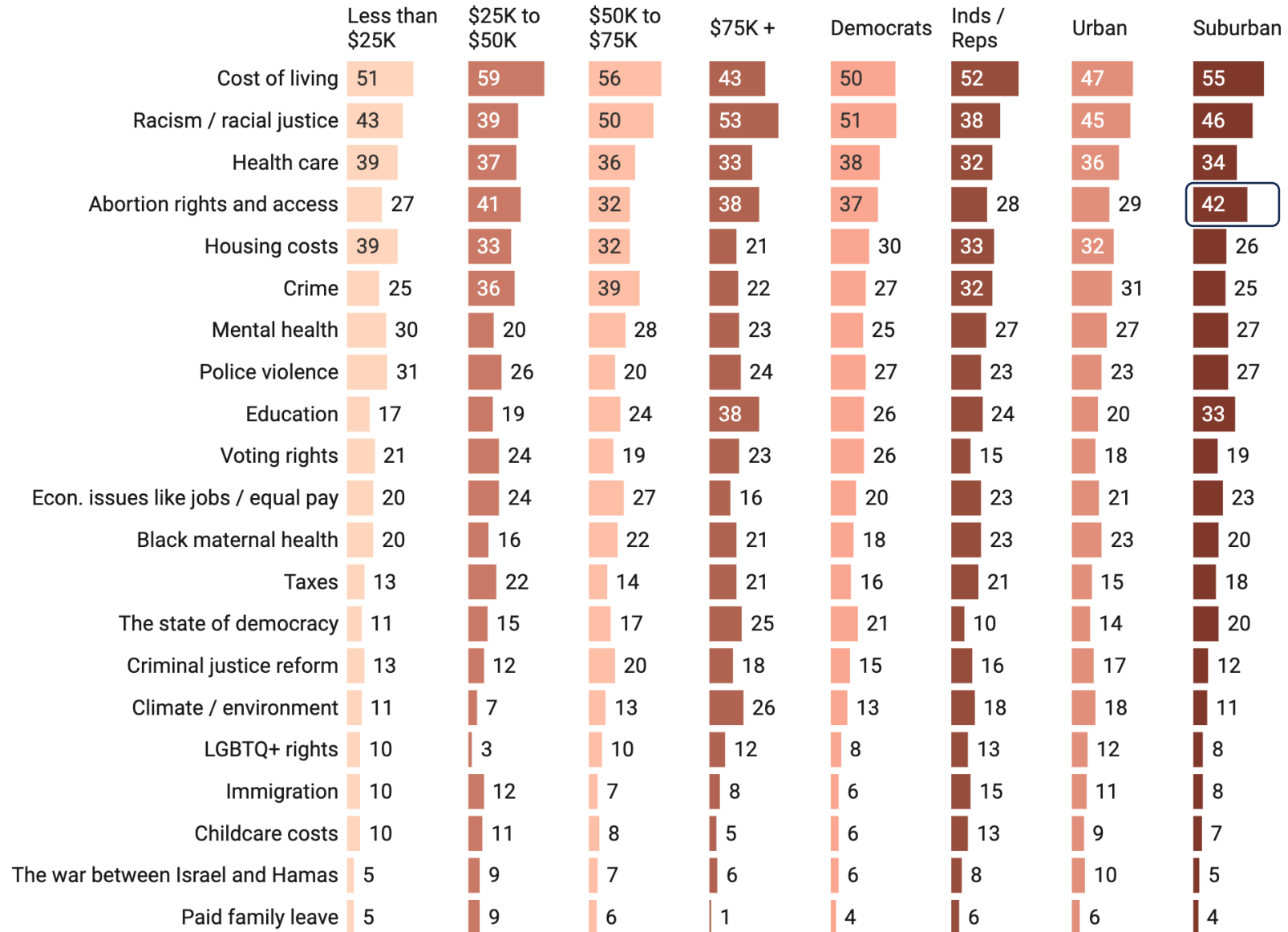
% Chosen as a top 5 issue



Voting rights and crime are among the top issues for older respondents.

Black maternal health is a top issue for 18- to 29-year-olds.

% 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 split in their support and opposition of the way Israel has responded to events of October 7th – but nearly half is unsure.

24%

Support

Most likely

- 60+ (33%)
- Attends rel. services monthly+ (33%)

27%

Oppose

Most likely

- 18 to 29 (47%)

49%

Not sure

Respondents are split on how Biden has dealt with the war.

Older women and those who attend religious services regularly are among the most likely to approve. Younger women are among the most likely to disapprove.

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

37%

Approve

Most likely

- Attends rel. services monthly+ (51%)
- 60+ (50%)

35%

Disapprove

Most likely

- 18 to 29 (54%)
- Independents / Republicans (50%)

27%

Not sure



Policy positions

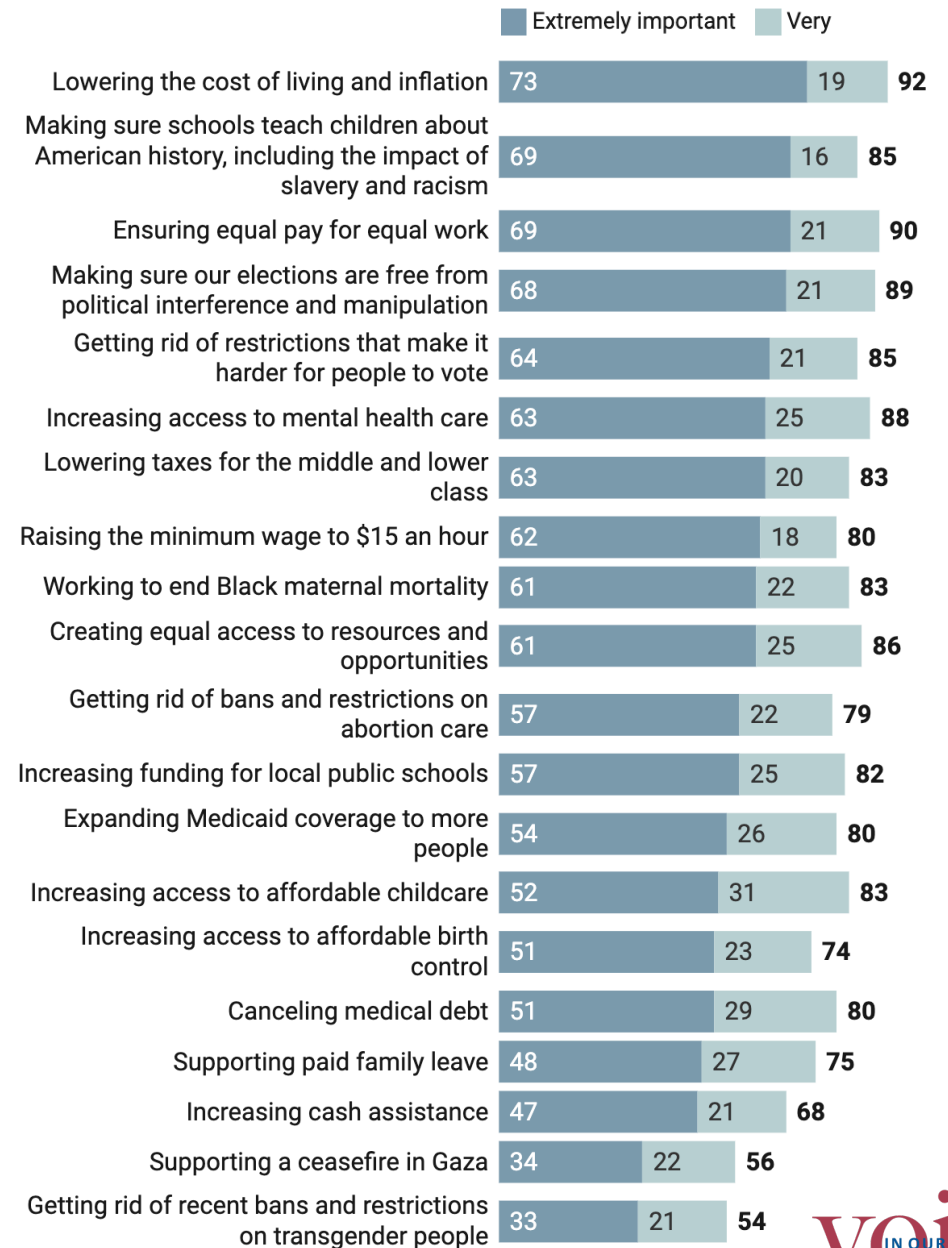
voice
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Here are positions some candidates will take in the November elections. How important would each of these issues be to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote?

RANDOMIZE

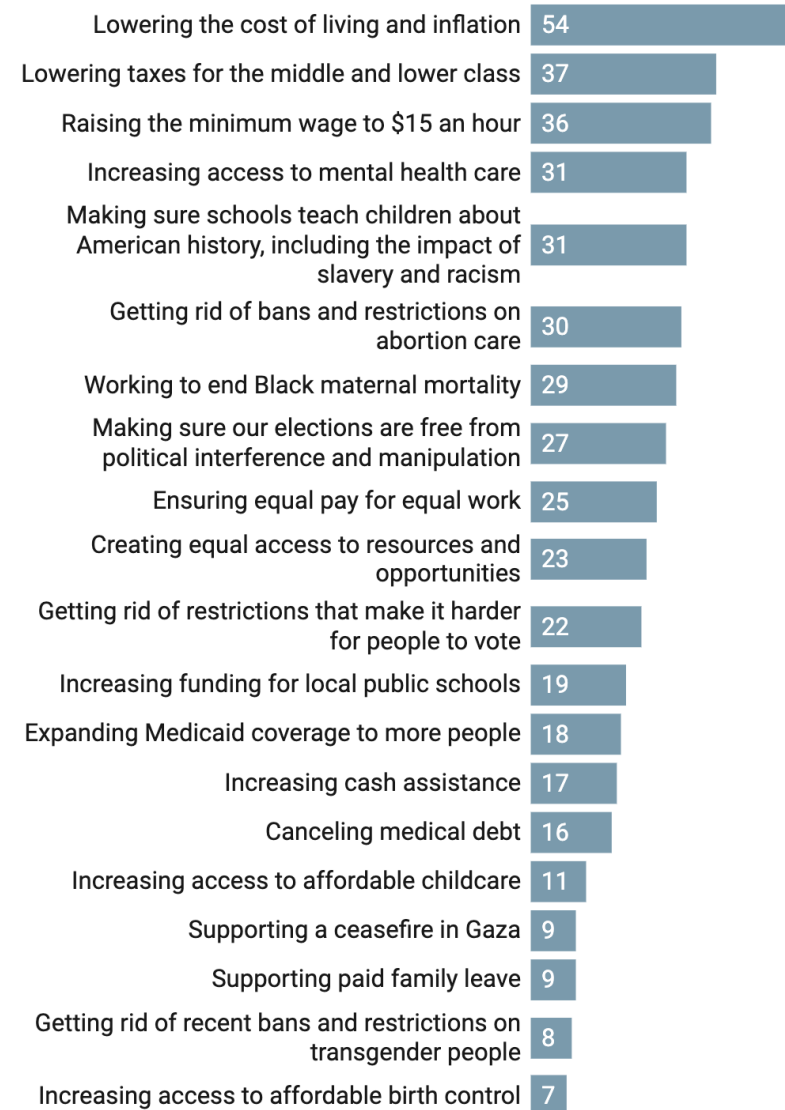
Majorities say candidate policy positions relating to economic factors, elections, education, and health are extremely important.

Six in ten (61%) say ending Black maternal mortality would be “extremely important” when thinking about getting out to vote.

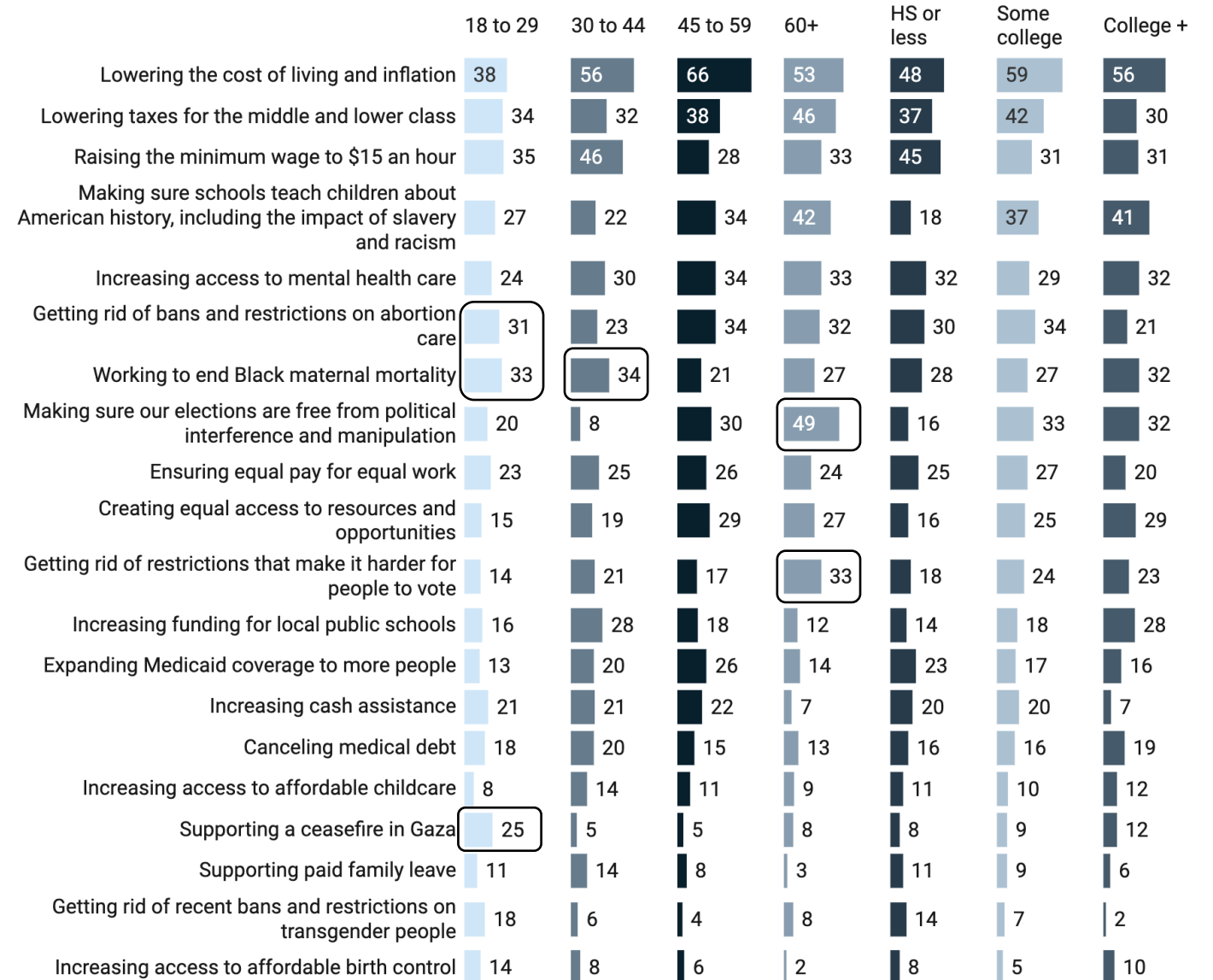


When asked to narrow down to the most important policy positions, economic policies rise to the top.

% Chosen as a top 5 policy position



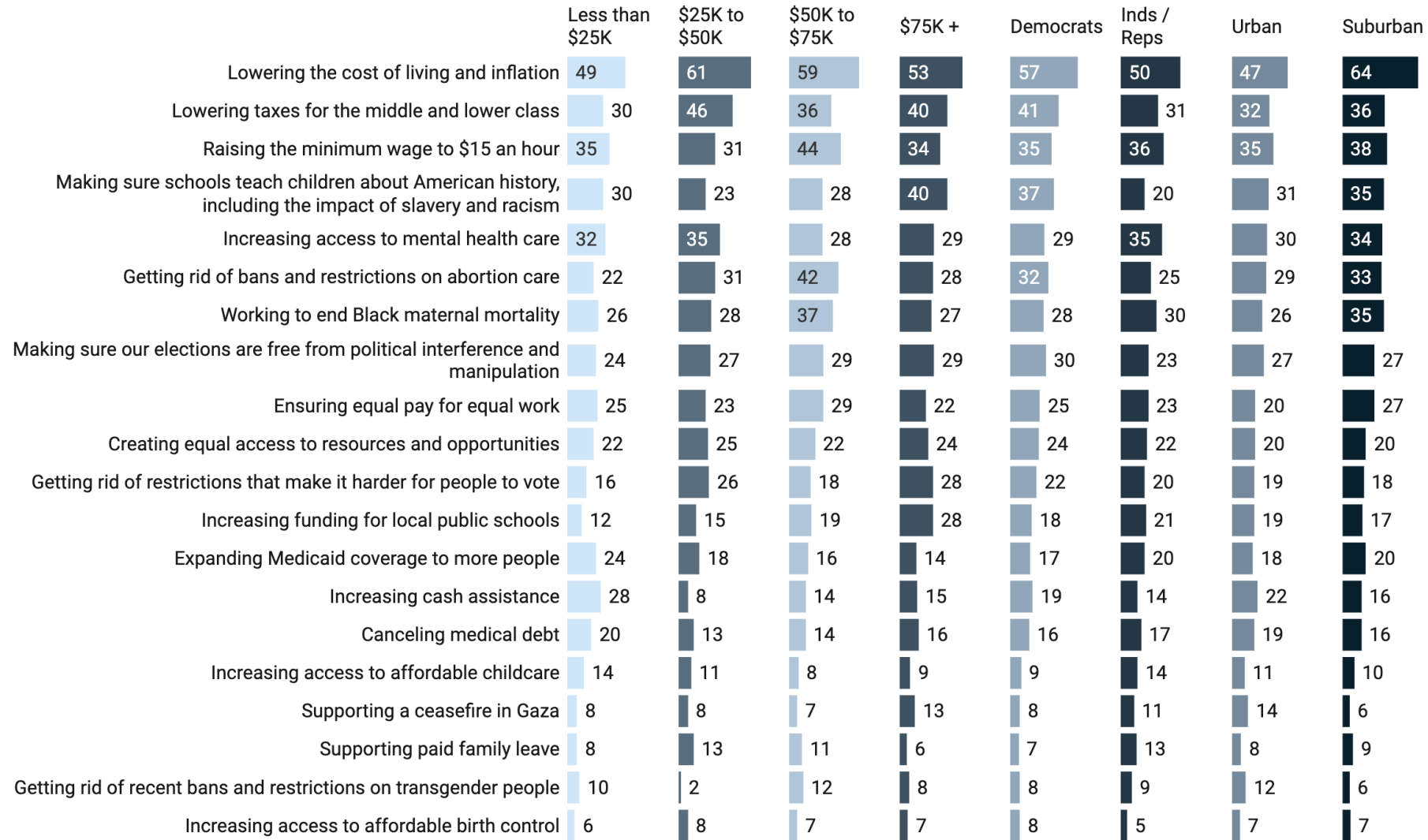
% Chosen as a top 5 issue



Maternal mortality and getting rid of abortion bans and restrictions are top priorities for young respondents. Additionally, supporting a ceasefire in Gaza is a top policy priority among one in four young respondents.

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

% Chosen as a top 5 issue





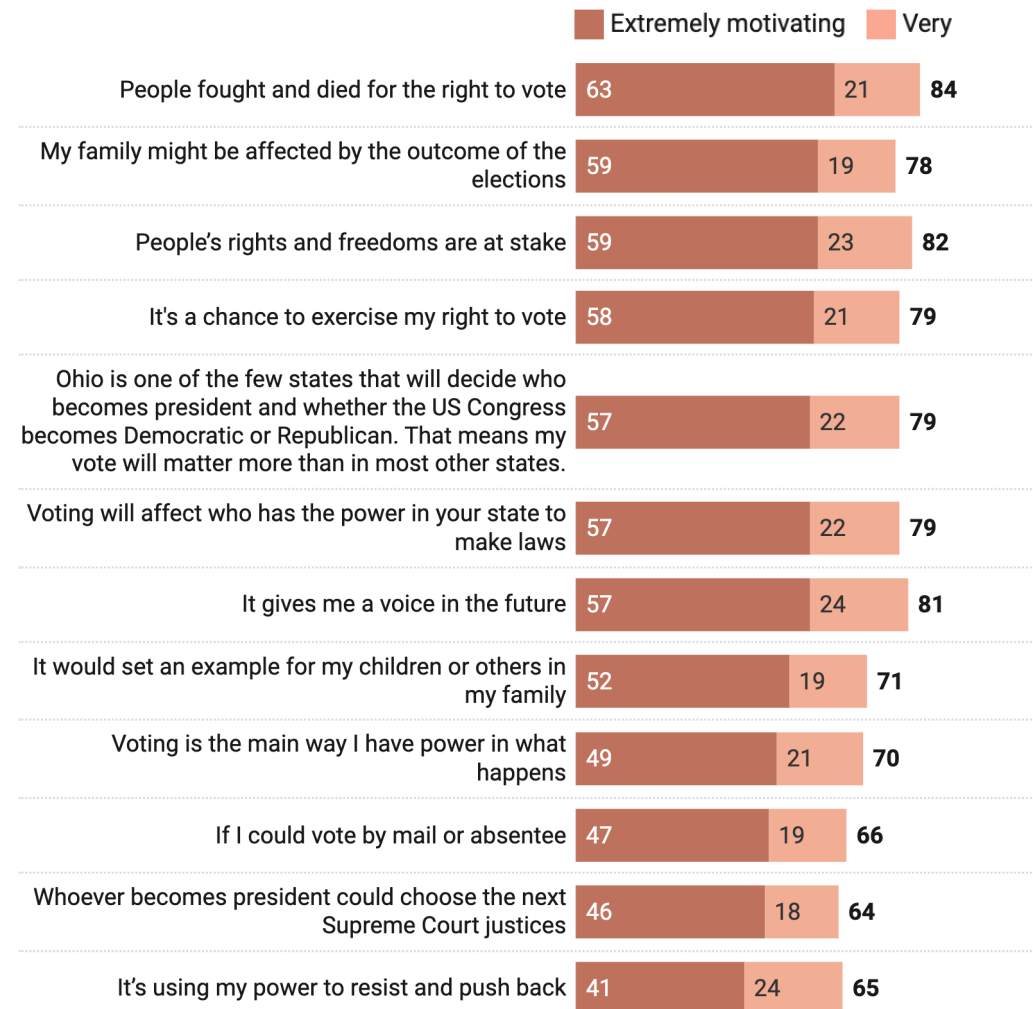
Why vote?

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

There are many motivations. At the top is people having fought and died for the right to vote.

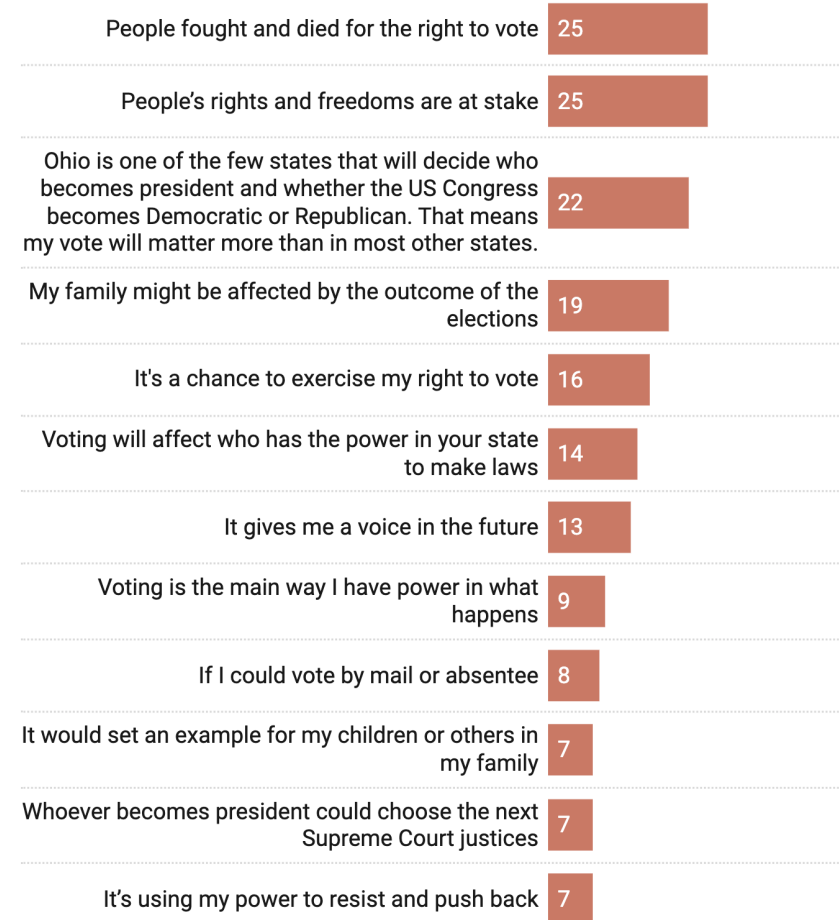
For you personally, how motivating is each of these to get out and vote in the elections this fall?



Here's what they say when forced to choose their top 1 or 2 motivations.

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 +
Ohio 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	Ohio 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
My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	People's rights and freedoms are at stake
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	Ohio is one of the few states that will decide...	It gives me a voice in the future	Ohio is one of the few states that will decide...	Ohio is one of the few states that will decide...
It gives me a voice in the future	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	Ohio is one of the few states that will decide...	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	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 will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	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	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote

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
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's rights and freedoms are at stake	Ohio 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	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections
It gives me a voice in the future	People fought and died for the right to vote	Ohio 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's rights and freedoms are at stake	People fought and died for the right to vote	It gives me a voice in the future
Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	Ohio is one of the few states that will decide...	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	Ohio is one of the few states that will decide...	Ohio 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	Ohio is one of the few states that will decide...	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	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	People's rights and freedoms are at stake
Ohio 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	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote



Views toward reproductive policies

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

Which comes closest to your view.
Abortion should be:

84% **16%**

Legal in all or most cases

Illegal in all or most cases

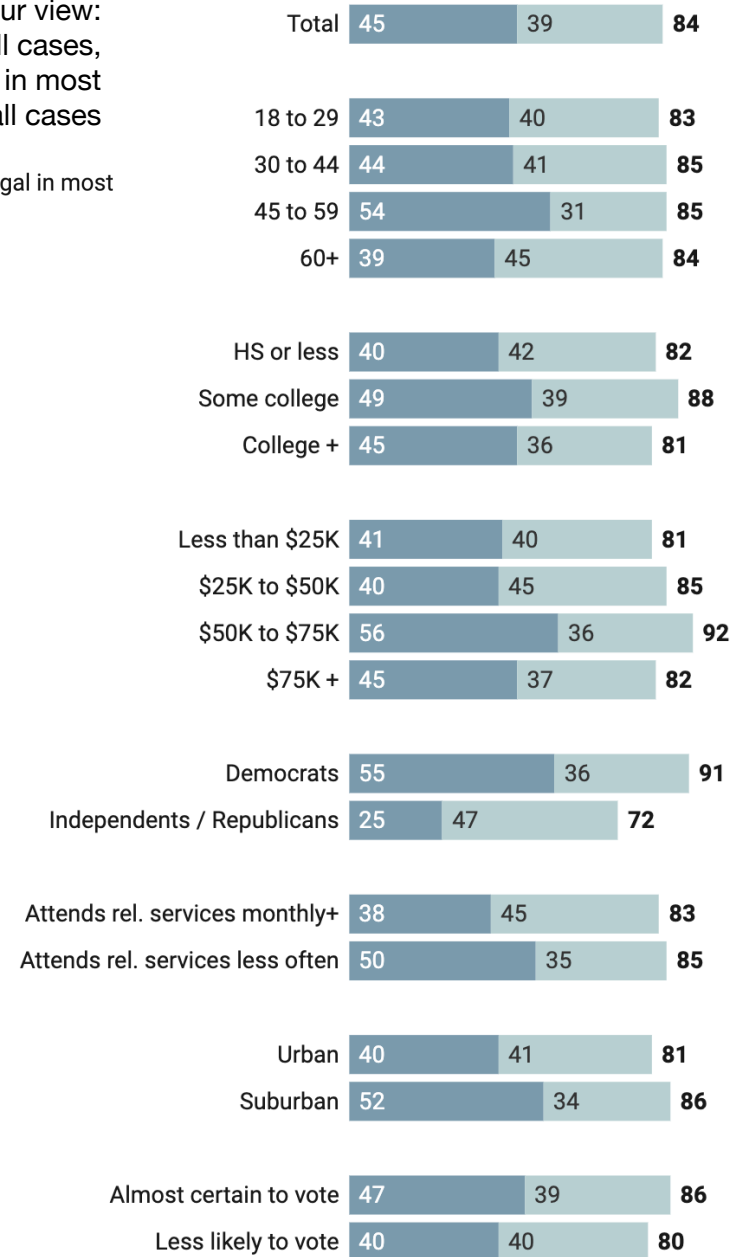
4% illegal in all cases

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.

Four in five women (83%) who attend religious services regularly say abortion should be legal in all or most cases.

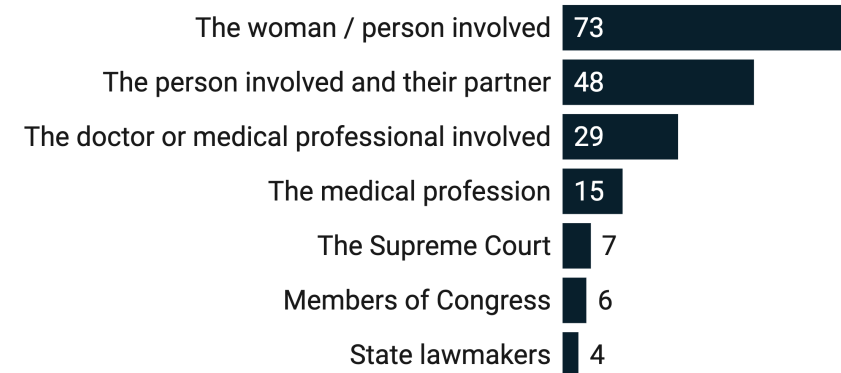


A large majority wants decisions about abortion to rest in the hands of the people involved.

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.

93%

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

79% Strongly agree
13% Somewhat agree

93% 18 to 44
93% 45+

87%

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 = 255)

66% Strongly agree
20% Somewhat agree

85% 18 to 44
89% 45+

86%

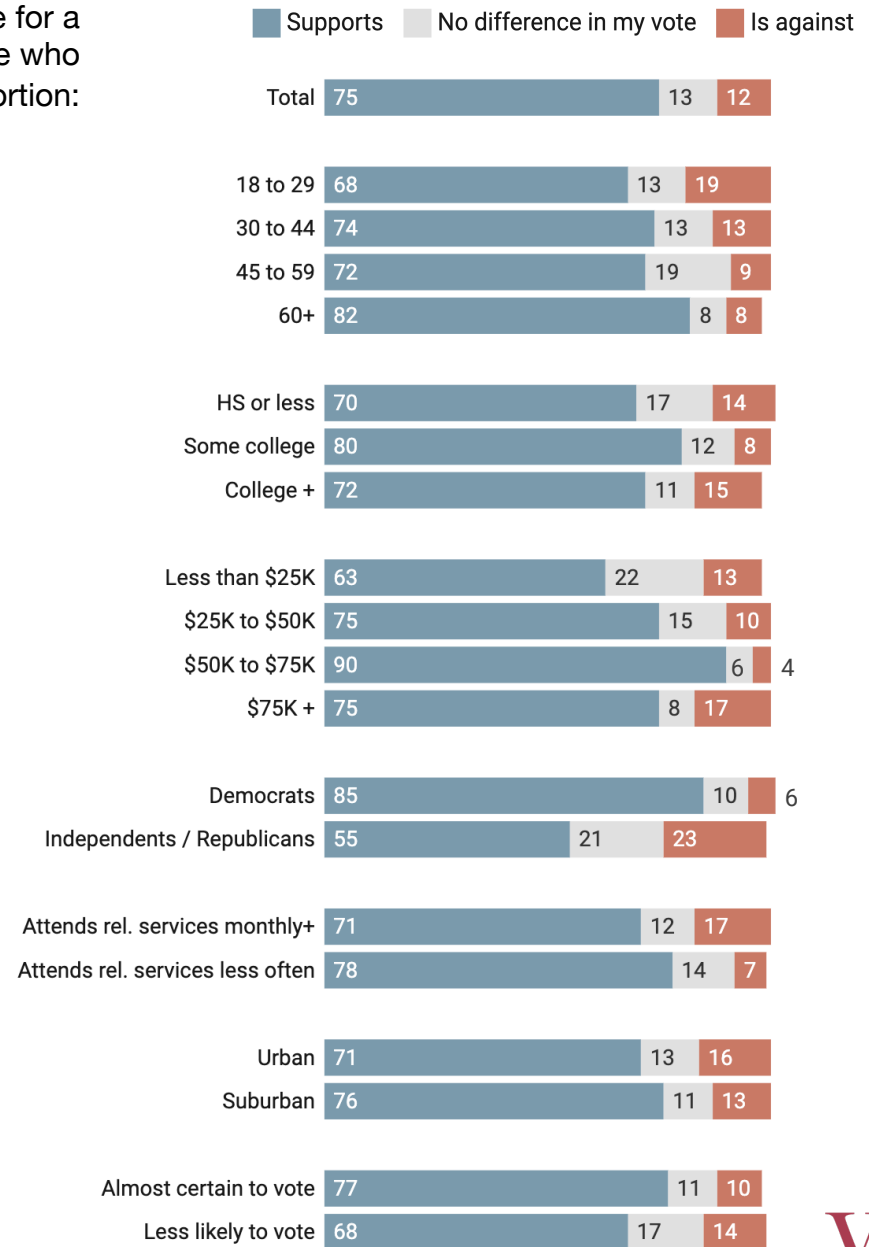
Say having an abortion can be a responsible choice

81% 18 to 44
91% 45+

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

Respondents are six times more likely to vote for a candidate who supports abortion access (75%) than one who opposes it (12%).

A similarly large gap exists among respondents who attend religious services regularly (71% v. 17%).

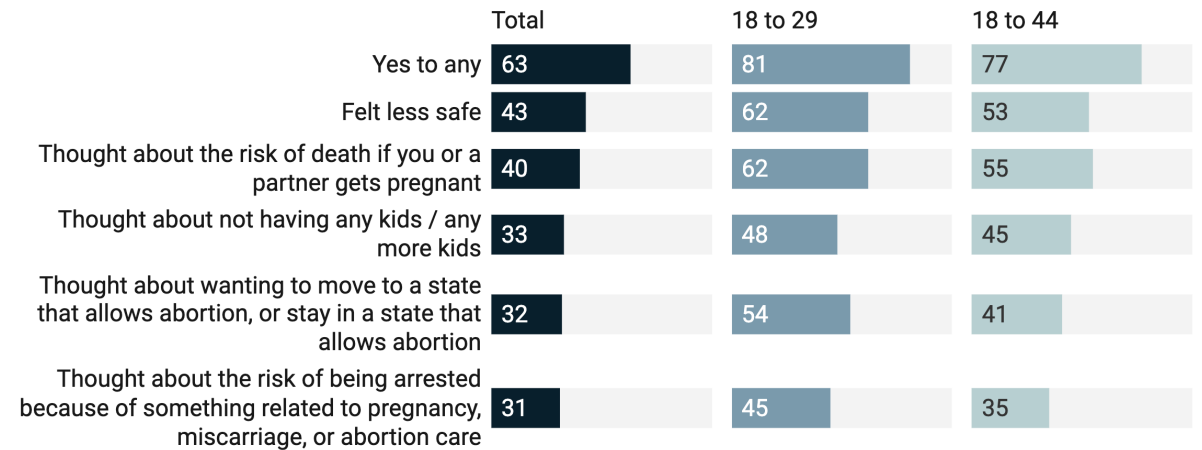


Recent abortion bans are having a personal impact on a majority of Black women of reproductive age.

Recent bans have made 62% of respondents ages 18 to 29 think about the risk of death should they or a partner get pregnant.

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

% Yes



Three in ten women 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?

29%

Of all women say yes

43%

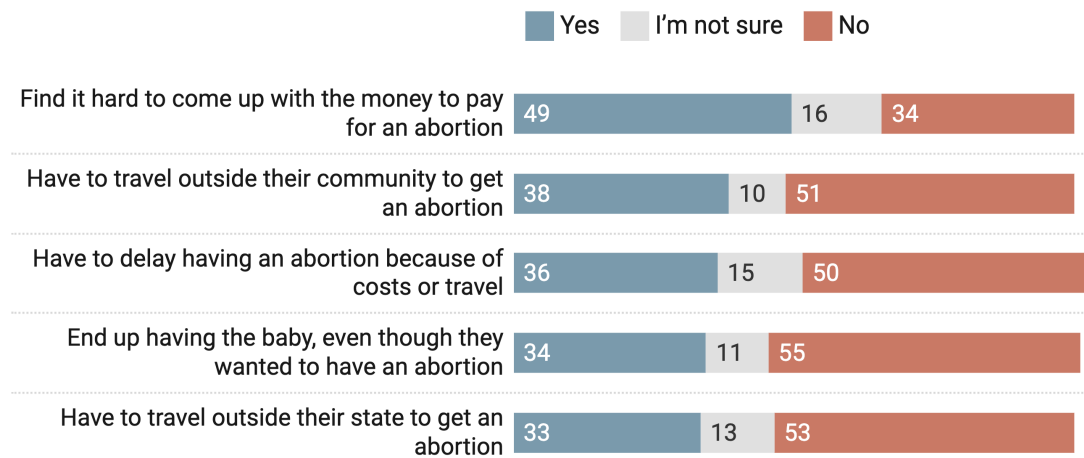
Of women 18 to 44 say yes

Seven in ten (70%) say the person(s) they know faced at least one of these barriers to care.

Costs is the top barrier mentioned.

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

Base n = 171 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?

92%

Support

8%

Oppose

93% Attends rel. services monthly+
91% 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.

81%

Agree

18%

Disagree

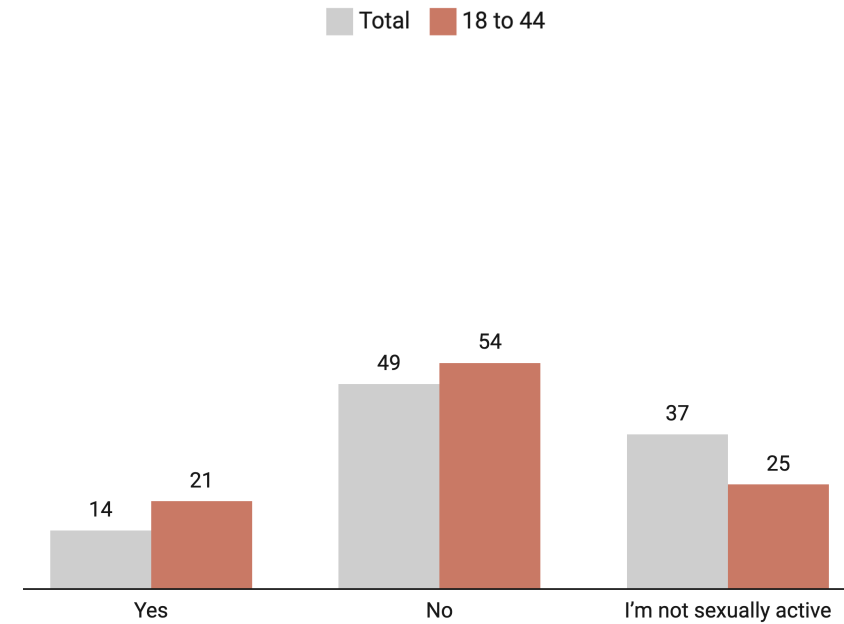
78% Attends rel. services monthly+



Access to birth control

Roughly one in five women of reproductive age (21%) says they or a partner are currently using birth control.

Are you or your partner currently using birth control?

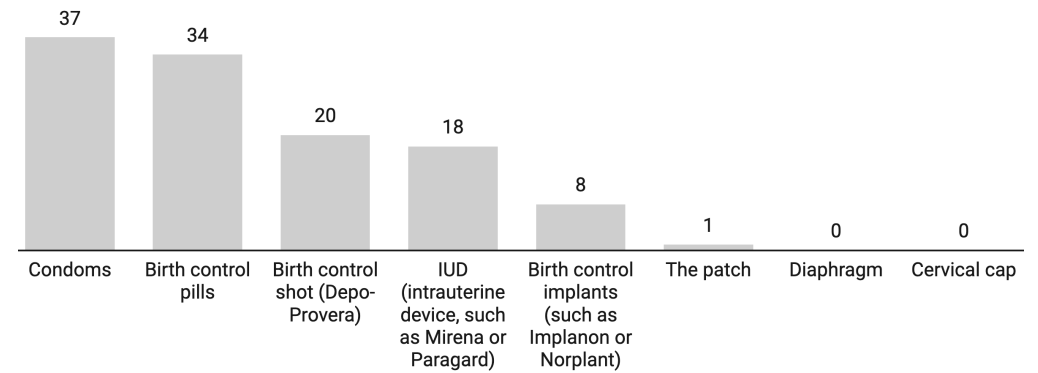




What type(s) of birth control are you or a partner using now? Select any that apply.

Base n = 82 self or partner is currently using birth control

Condoms and pills 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

58%

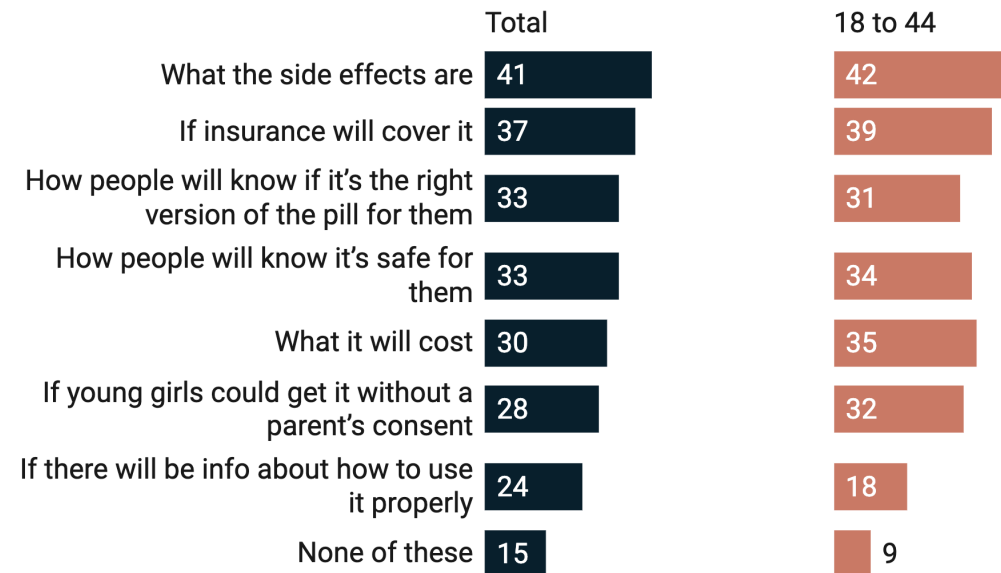
Women 18 to 44

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

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



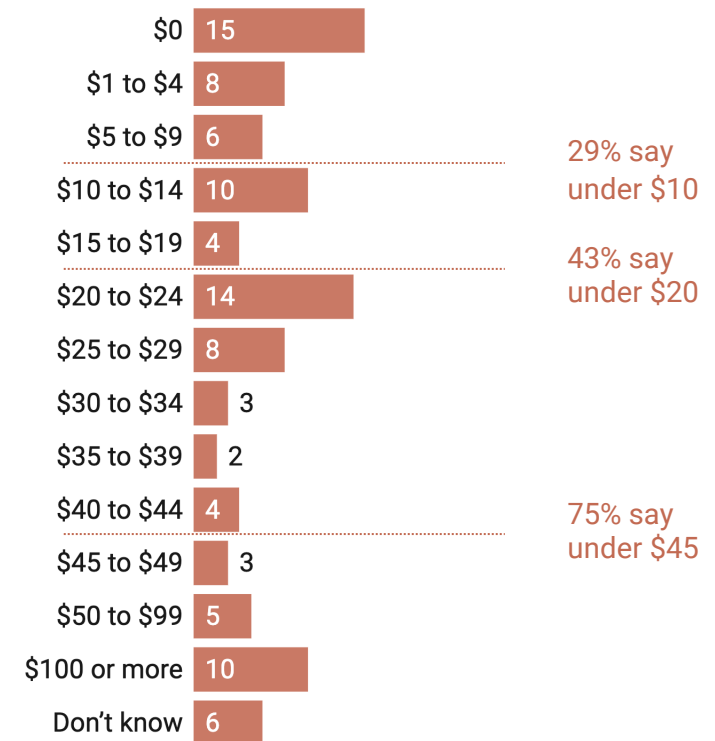
The retail price for over-the-counter birth control (\$49.00) is out of reach for 75% of respondents of reproductive age.

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 = 263 women 18 to 44



Close to half of respondents (46%) says they are likely to talk with loved ones about over-the-counter access to birth control.

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?

46%

Yes



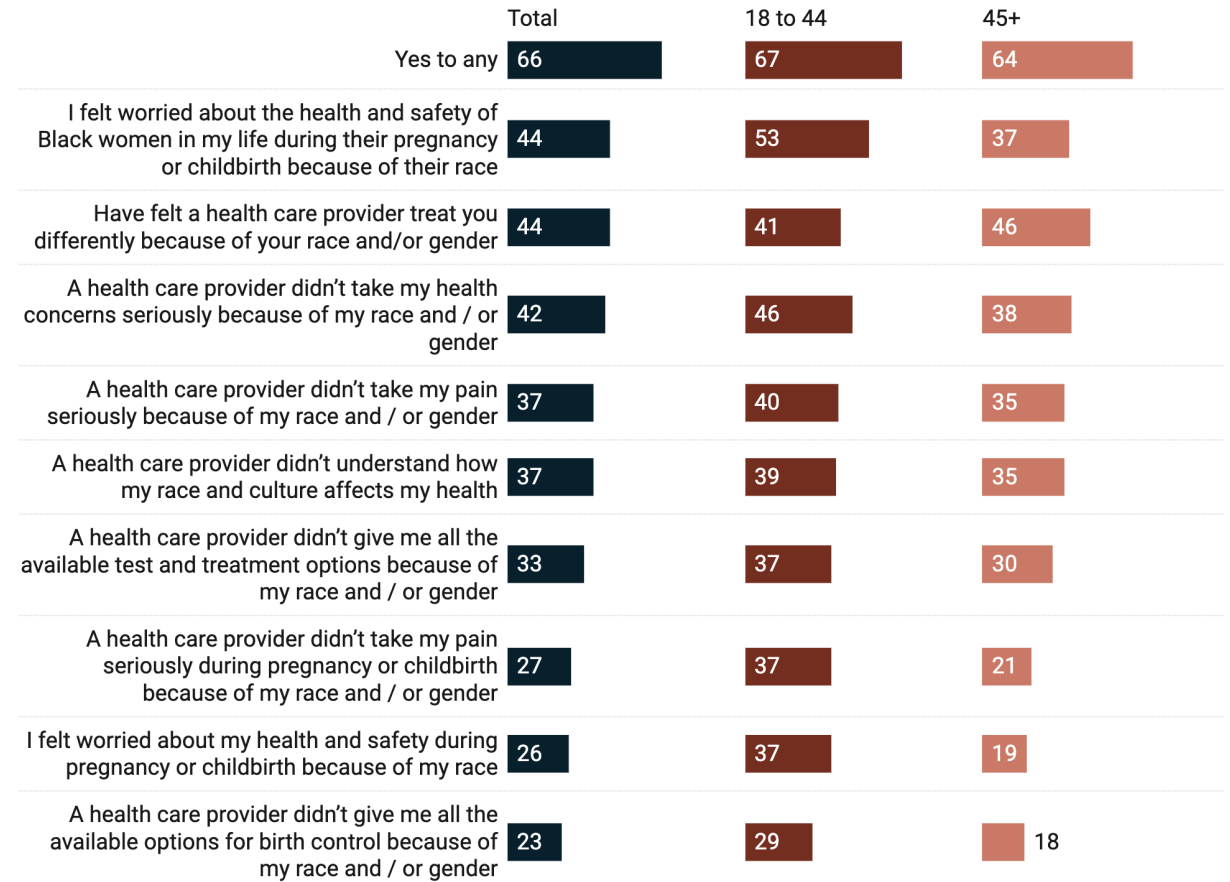
Experiences with medical bias

voice
IN OUR OWN

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

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