

Results from a Statewide Survey of Black Women Voters in Texas

# The Lives and Voices of Black Women in Texas

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

CONDUCTED BY PERRYUNDEM

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voice  
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.



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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 Texas 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 Texas?

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 Texas.

This report provides findings from a statewide survey among  $n = 575$  Black women\* registered voters. The survey was conducted January 22 through February 2, 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 Texas women registered voters. The margin of sampling error is  $\pm 5.5$  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%	575
Black or African American	100%	575
2+ races	11%	69
Hispanic / Latina/o/x	5%	33
18 to 29	18%	115
30 to 44	26%	131
45 to 64	28%	163
65+	28%	166
HS or less	30%	149
Some college	35%	230
College +	35%	196
Democrat	59%	370
Independent	32%	154
Republican	9%	51
Urban	53%	224
Suburban	40%	174
Rural	8%	27

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# Key findings.

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# Here are 10 key findings.

1

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

Just 32% of 18-to 29-year-old respondents say they are “almost certain” to vote this fall, compared to 59% of all Texan women.

Half of 18- to 29-year-olds (50%) says 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, 84% of 18- to 29-year-olds say it’s extremely or very important that more Black women are elected and nominated to political offices.

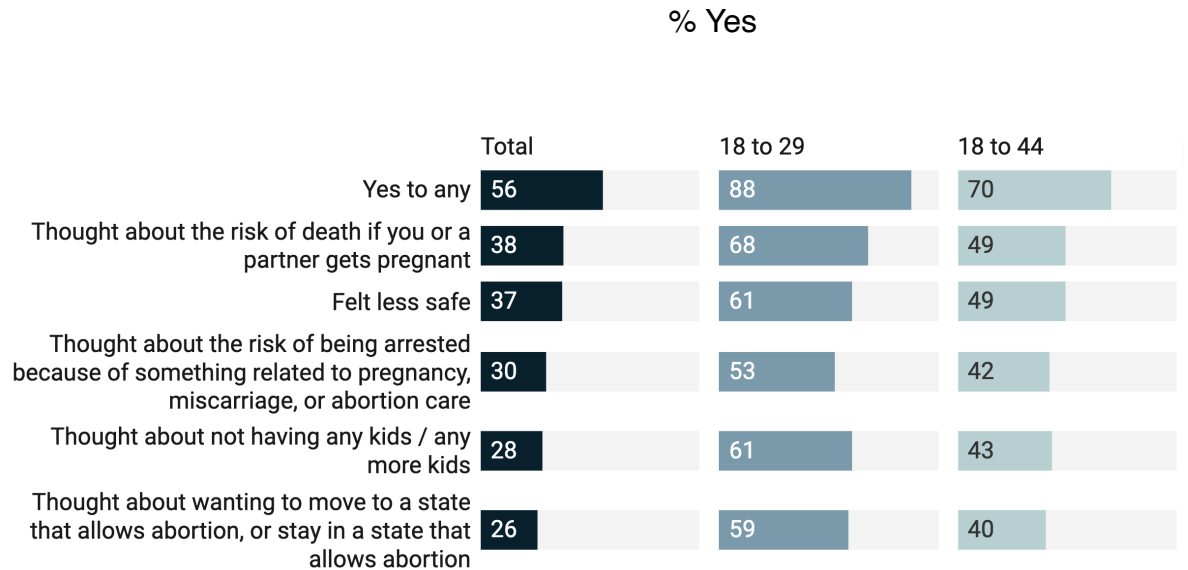


2

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

Two-thirds of 18- to 29-year-olds say recent abortion bans have made them think of their own mortality. Six in ten say the bans have made them think about not having any / any more kids. A majority also says bans made them think about moving to another state. Half has thought about the risk of arrest due to something related to pregnancy.

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



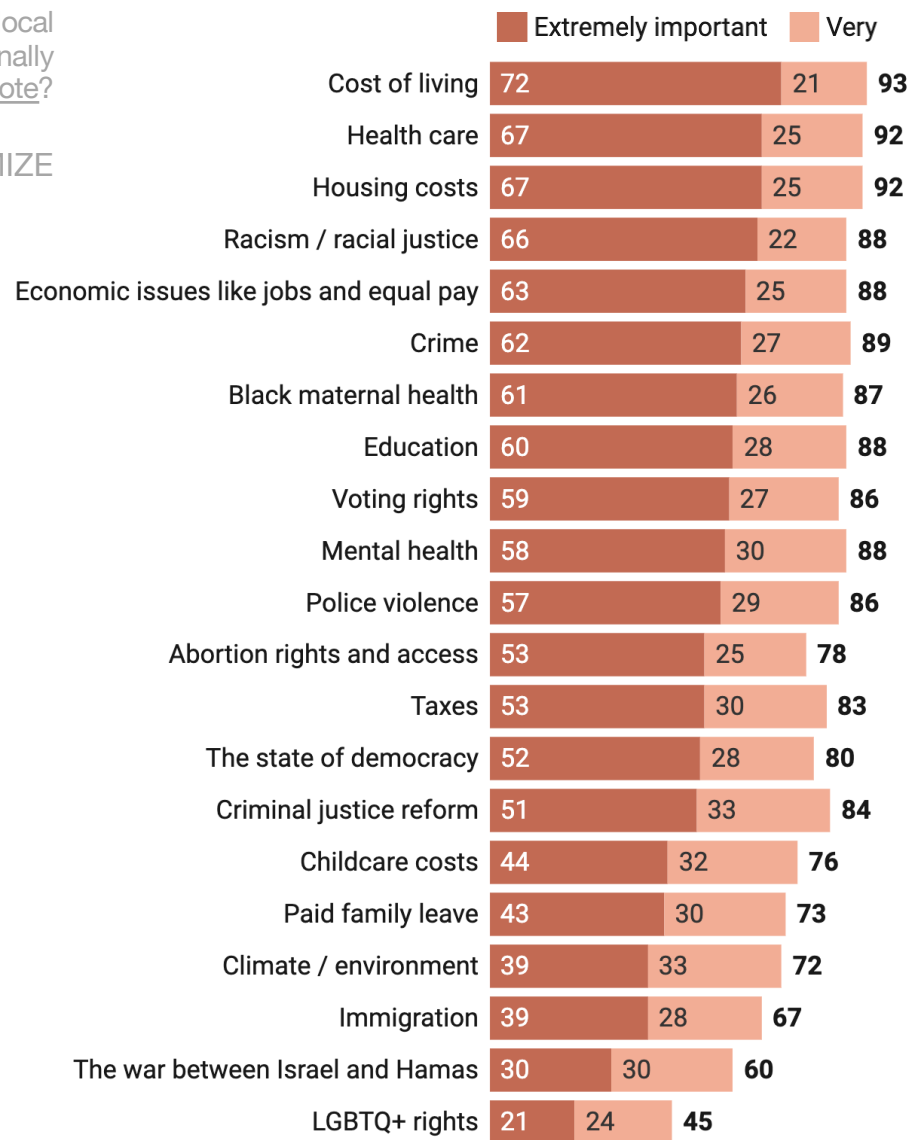
This fall there will be elections for US Congress, state, and local offices. How important is each of these issues to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote?

RANDOMIZE

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

Black maternal health is an extremely important voting issue across the board.

Abortion rights and access is a top issue for 18- to 29-year-olds, right alongside cost of living (see page 35).



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## 4

### **When asked about 20 discrete policy positions, economic and health-related policies are among the most salient.**

Younger respondents also prioritize getting rid of bans and restrictions on abortion care.

#### **IMPORTANT POLICY POSITIONS**

- Lowering the cost of living and inflation (90% 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 (88%)
- Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism (86%)
- Ensuring equal pay for equal work (84%)
- Raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour (82%)
- Increasing access to mental health care (82%)
- Working to end Black maternal mortality (79%)



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**5**

**In a list of 11 motivations to vote,  
these two rise to the top.**

**1**

People fought and died for the right to vote

26% say this is in the top 1 or 2 motivations to vote

**2**

People's rights and freedoms are at stake

25%

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These are additional motivating factors among many respondents.

- Voting will affect who has the power in my state to make laws
- My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections
- Voting is the main way I have power in what happens
- It's a chance to exercise my right to vote

6  
**Data suggest that Black women in Texas are strongly supportive of abortion rights and access.**

Large majorities of respondents support abortion rights and access, including those who attend religious services regularly. This tracks with Black women nationally.

75%

Say abortion should be legal in all or most cases

72% of those who attend religious services regularly

78%

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

77%

88%

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

84%

81%

Say having an abortion can be the responsible choice

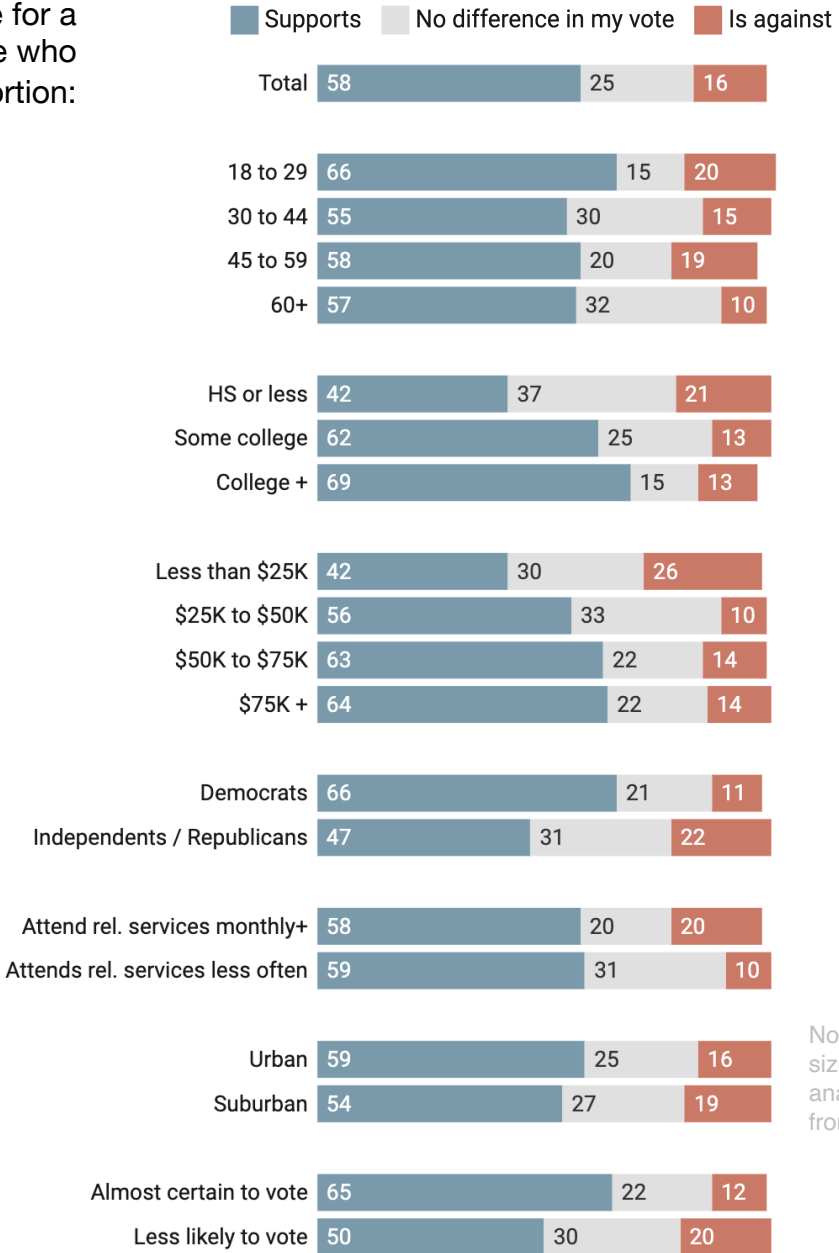
78%



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

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

Even a majority of Black women who attend religious services regularly say 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**  
**Close to two thirds of Black women of reproductive age are interested in getting birth control pills over the counter.**

The retail price for over-the-counter birth control pills is out of reach for 77% of these women.

**62%**

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

**77%**

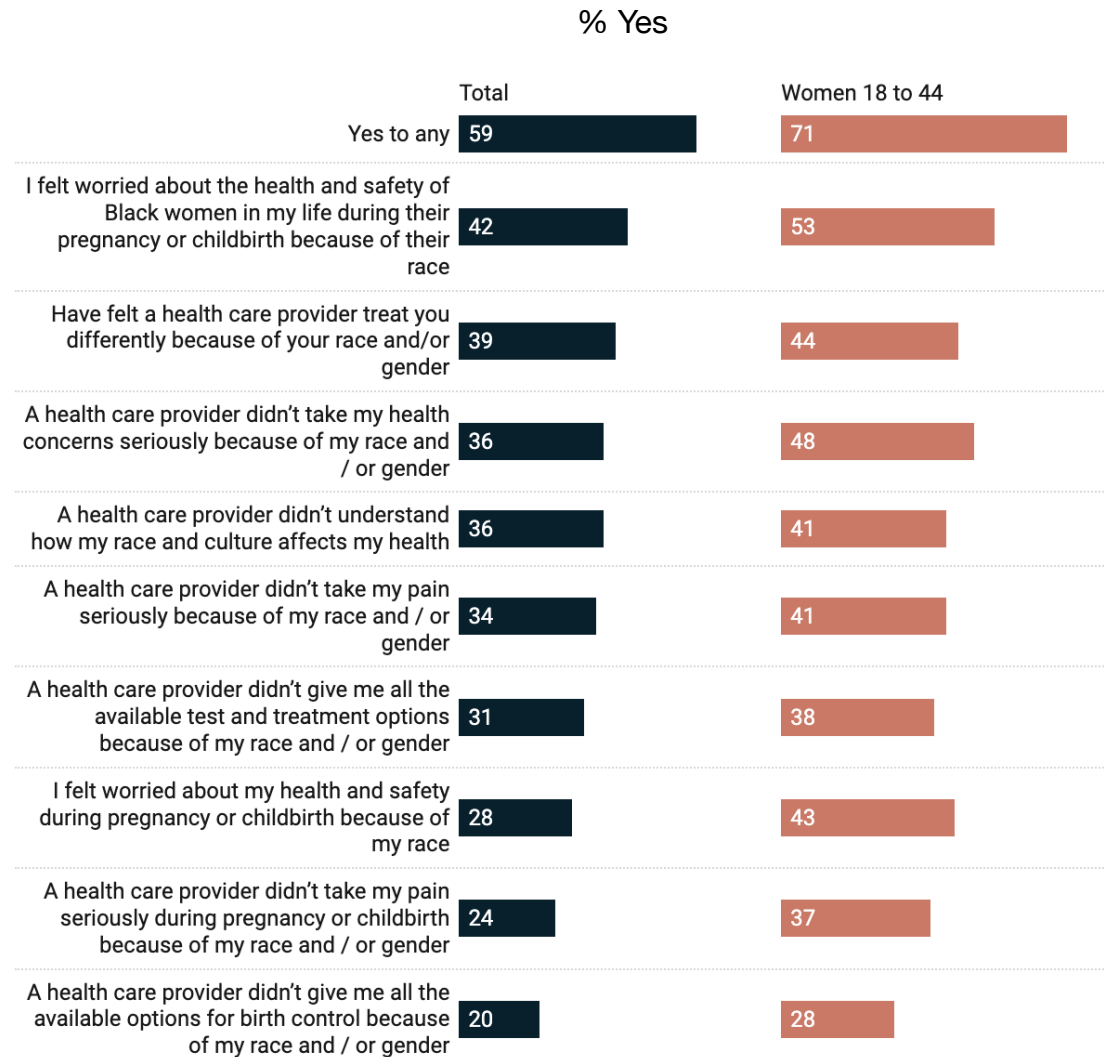
Of women 18 to 44 could not afford to pay \$45 or more for a three-month supply

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

**9**  
**A majority of Black women (59%) says they have felt the effects of racial / gender bias in the health care system.**

Younger respondents are more likely than older respondents to cite these experiences.

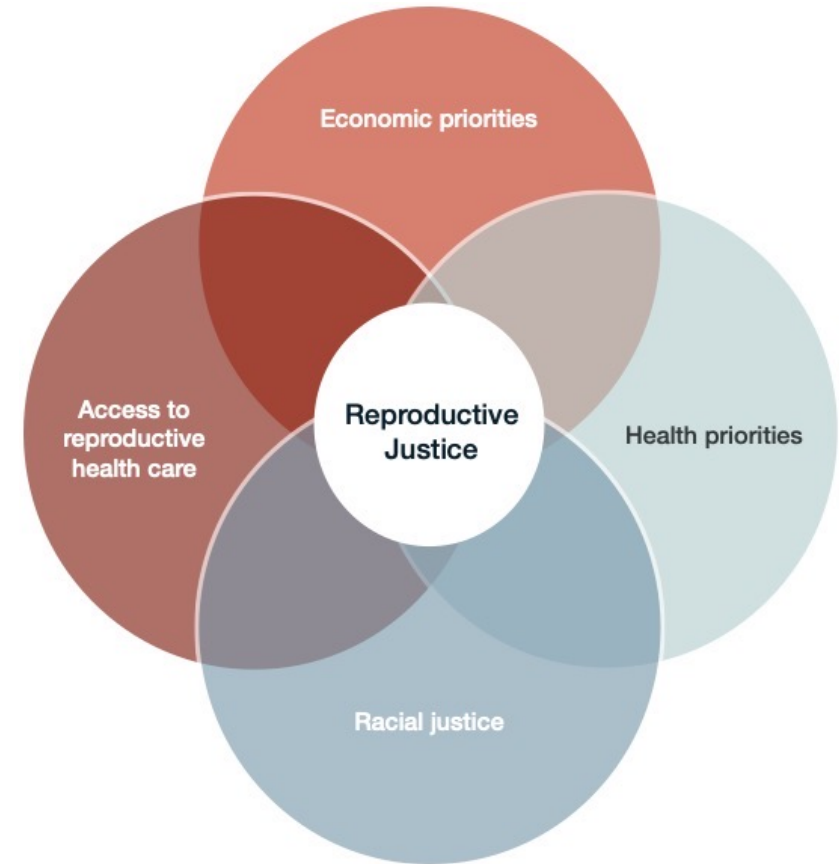
Have you ever felt this way?





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

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 priorities – including the cost of living, housing costs, 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.

Racial justice is top voting issue. Many have experienced gender / racial bias in the medical system.

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**Detailed findings.**

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# Voting in the 2024 elections

**voice**  
IN OUR OWN

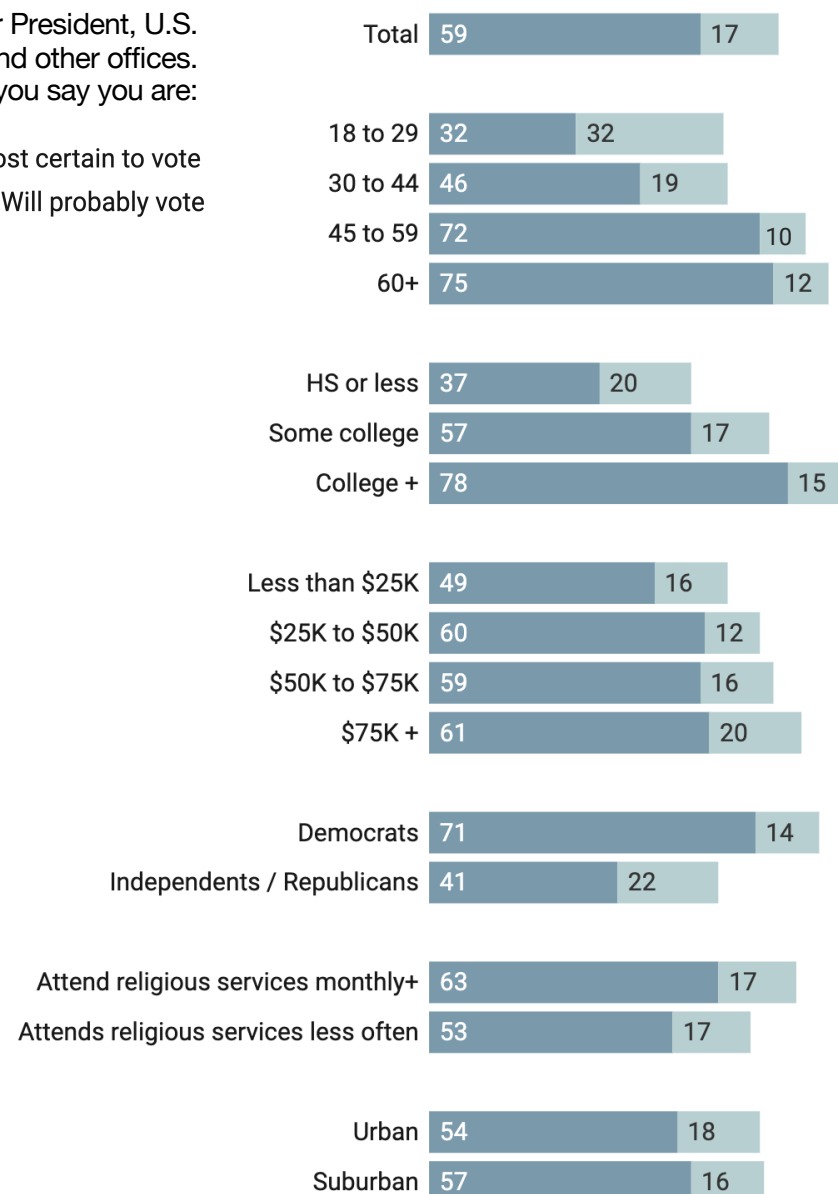
This fall there will be elections for President, U.S. Congress, and other offices. Would you say you are:

■ Almost certain to vote  
 ■ Will probably vote

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

Those who are least certain to vote include:

- 18- to 29-year-olds (32% almost certain)
- Those with a high school degree or less (37%)
- Independent / Republican women (41%)





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 = 283

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

That said, just half of 18- to 44-year-olds (50%) feels the same.

**64%**

Rate 7 – extremely important

50% 18 to 44  
74% 45+

68% Democrats  
58% Inds / Reps

**21%**

Rate 5 or 6

27% 18 to 44  
17% 45+

21% Democrats  
21% Inds / Reps

**15%**

Rate 1 to 4 – toward not important

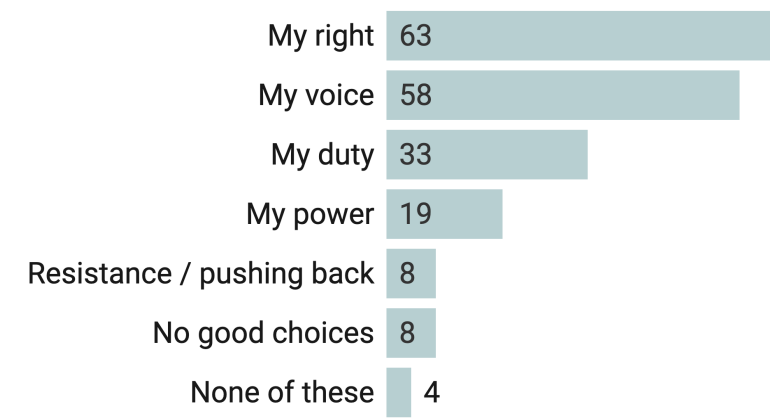
23% 18 to 44  
9% 45+

10% Democrats  
21% 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



**Nearly 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

83% 18 to 29  
79% 30 to 44  
82% 45 to 59  
83% 60+

75% HS or less  
84% Some college  
85% College+

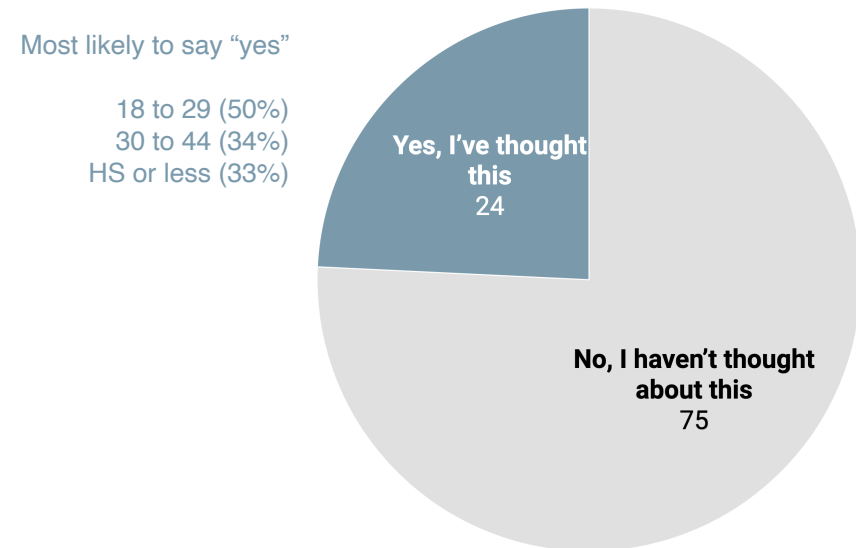
80% Less than \$25K  
81% \$25K to \$50K  
76% \$50K to \$75K  
85% \$75K+

## One in four 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 slight majority (58%) says they'd vote for the Democratic candidate.**

Among those most certain to vote, 73% say they'd vote for the Democratic candidate v. 13% for the Republican.

See the next page for results by demographic segment.

If the 2024 presidential election were held today, would you vote for:  
*Base n = 527*

**58%**

Democratic candidate  
73% of adults almost certain to vote

**13%**

Republican candidate  
13%

**6%**

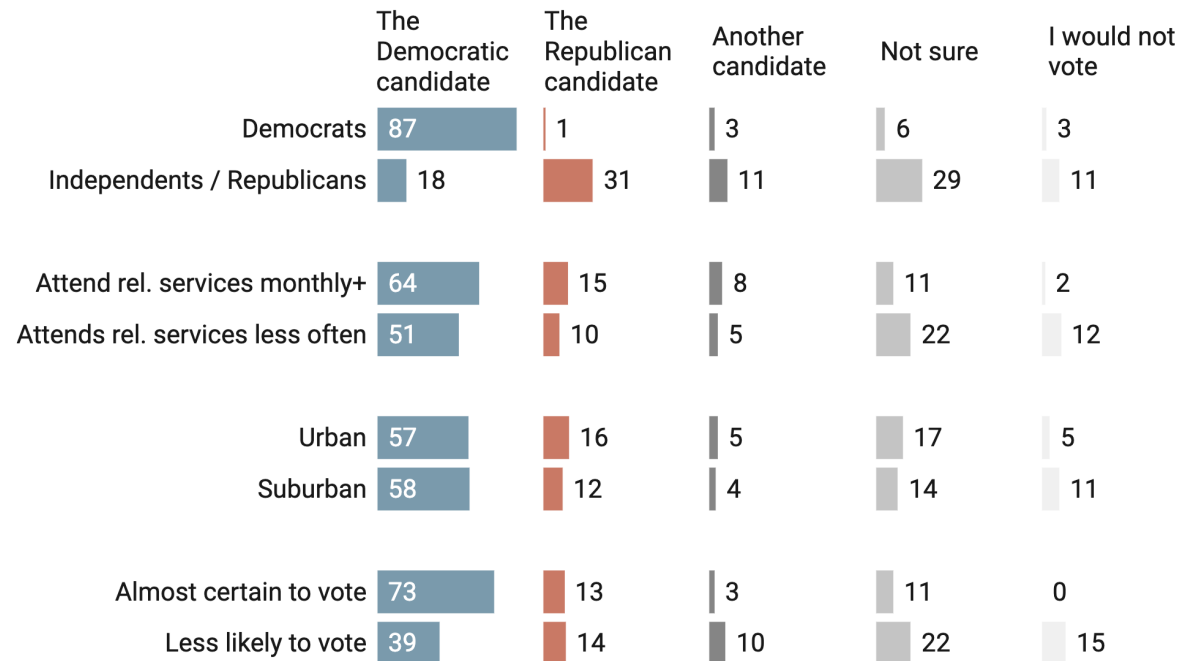
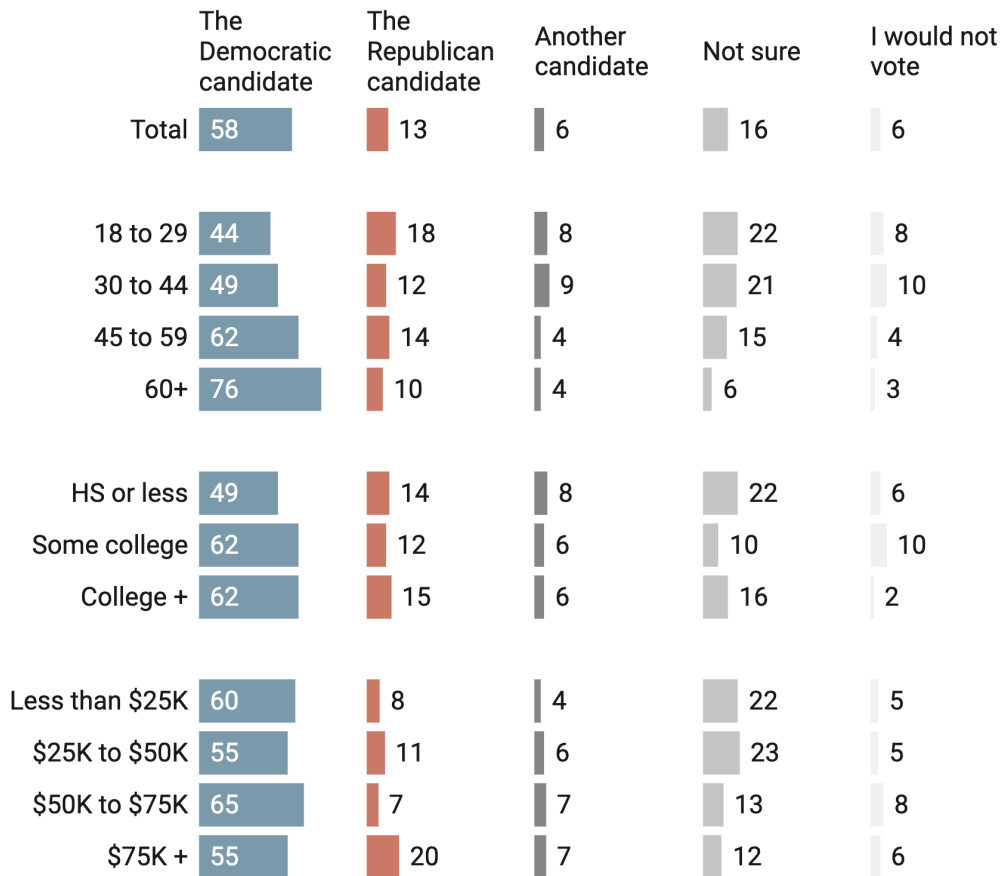
Other  
3%

**16%**

Not sure  
11%

**6%**

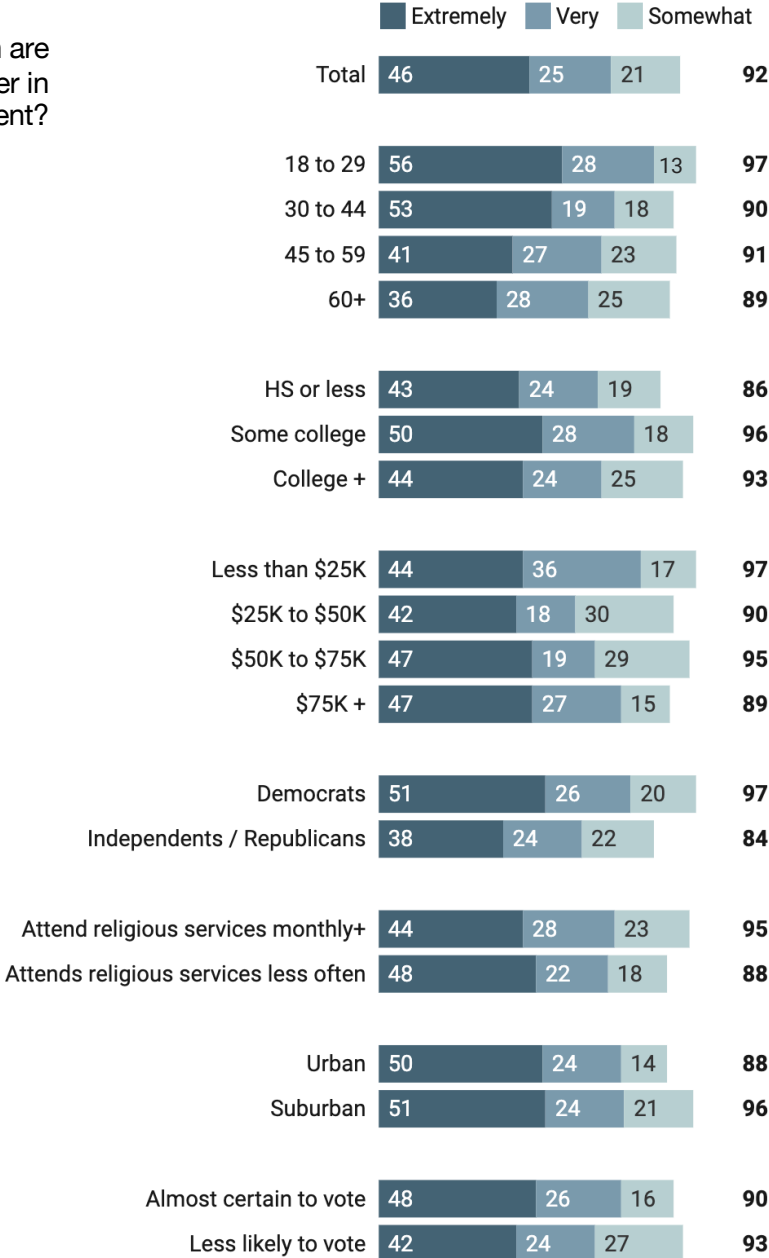
Would not vote  
0%



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.







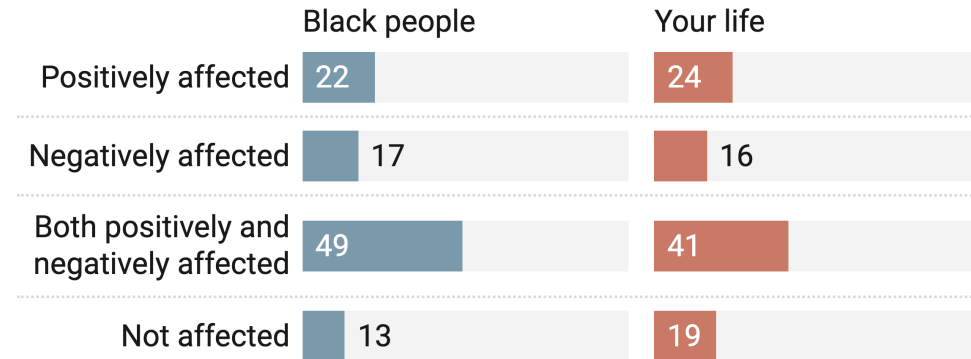
# Impact of the Biden administration

**voice**  
IN OUR OWN

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

Few see only negative effects.

In general, do you think President Biden's policies have \_\_\_\_\_:  
"Black people" (n = 283) / "your life" (n = 292)



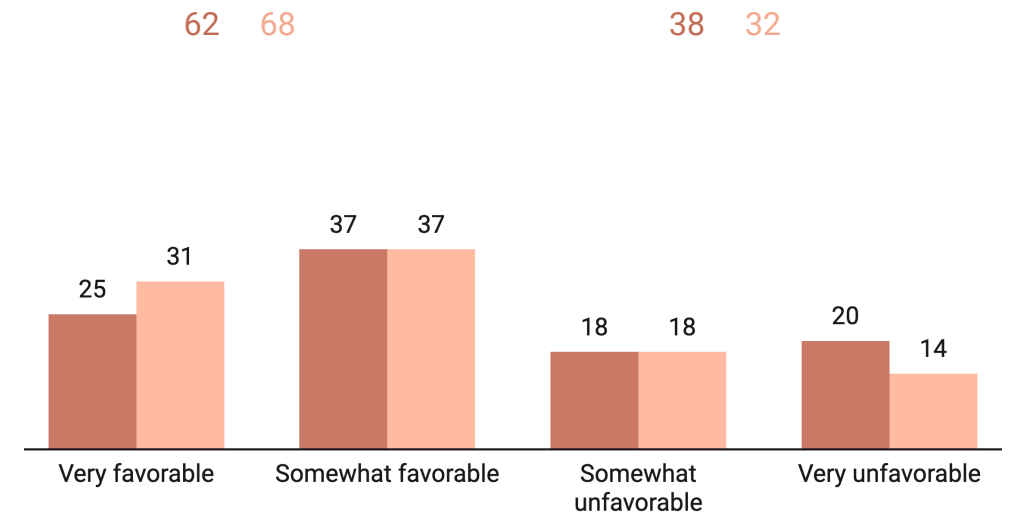


## Still, a majority has favorable impressions of President Biden and Vice President Harris.

Respondents are slightly more likely to be “very favorable” toward Harris vs. Biden.

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of:

President Joe Biden Vice President Kamala Harris



Most likely to be favorable:

- Ages 60+ (79% Biden, 77% Harris)
- Democrats (79%, 83%)

Most likely to be unfavorable:

- Independents / Reps (62%, 55%)
- 18 to 29 (52%, 41%)



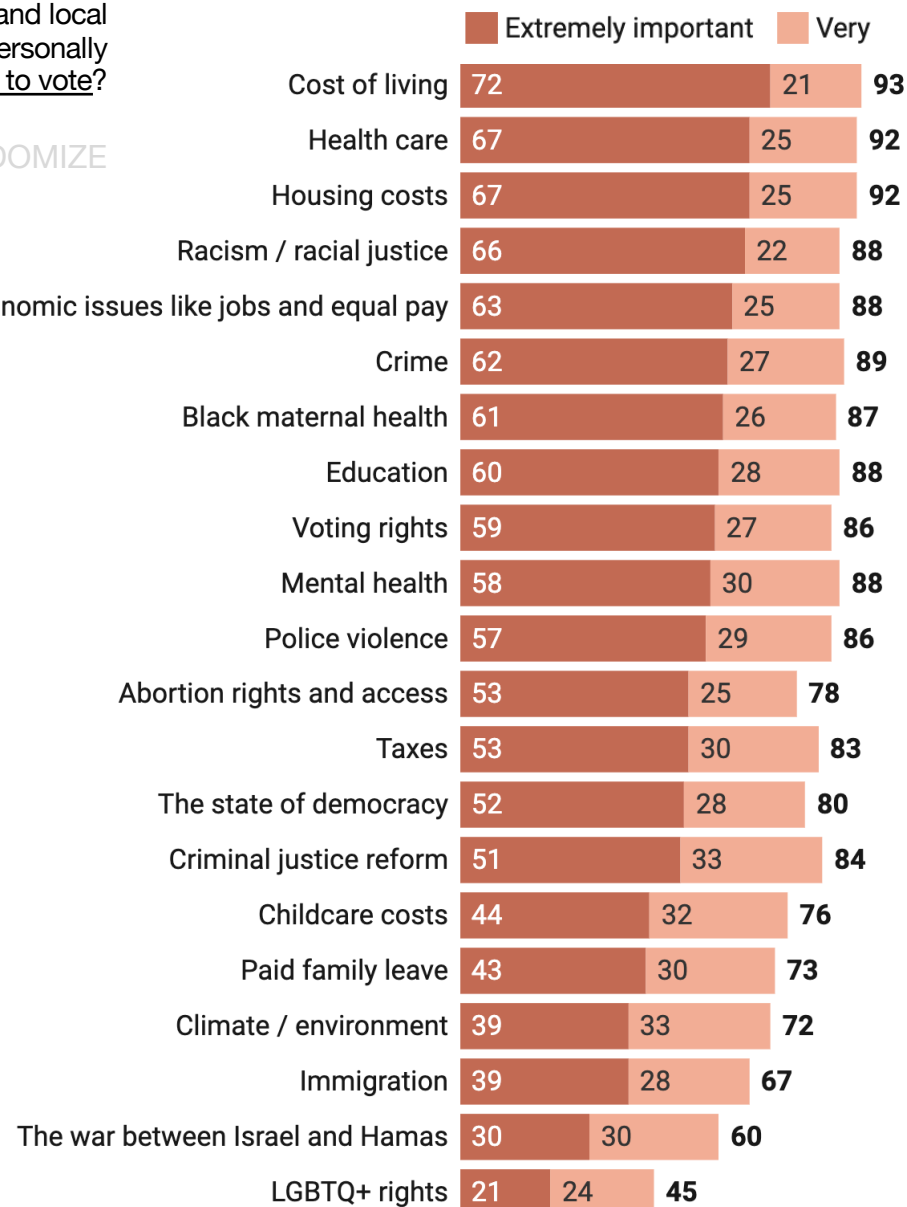
# Issue priorities

**voice**  
IN OUR OWN

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?

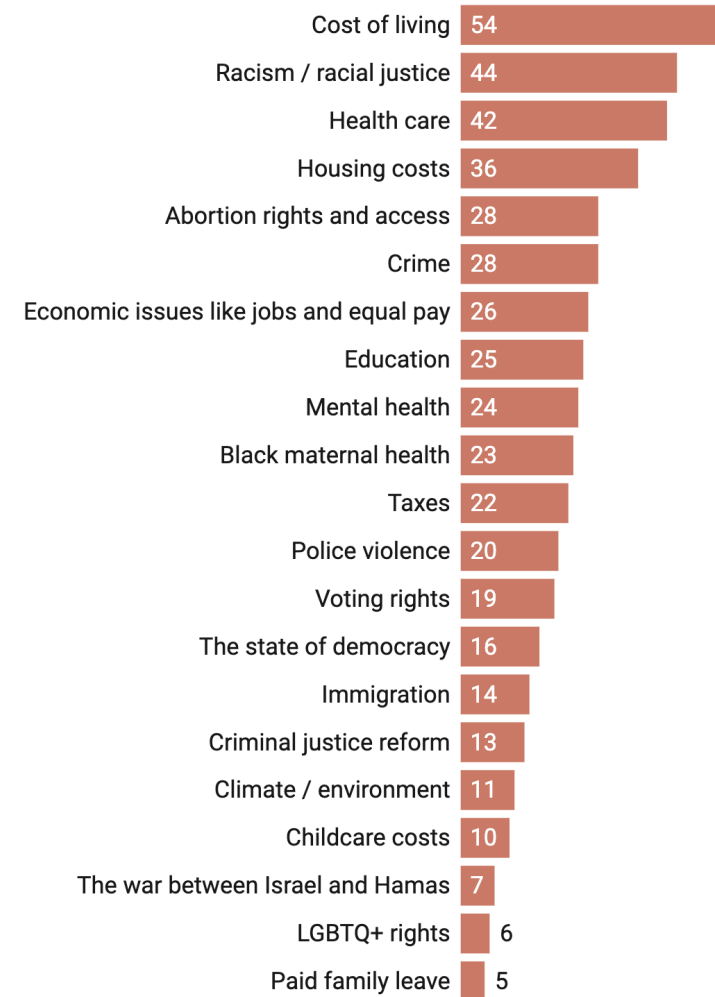
RANDOMIZE

## Many issues are on the minds of Black women in Texas.



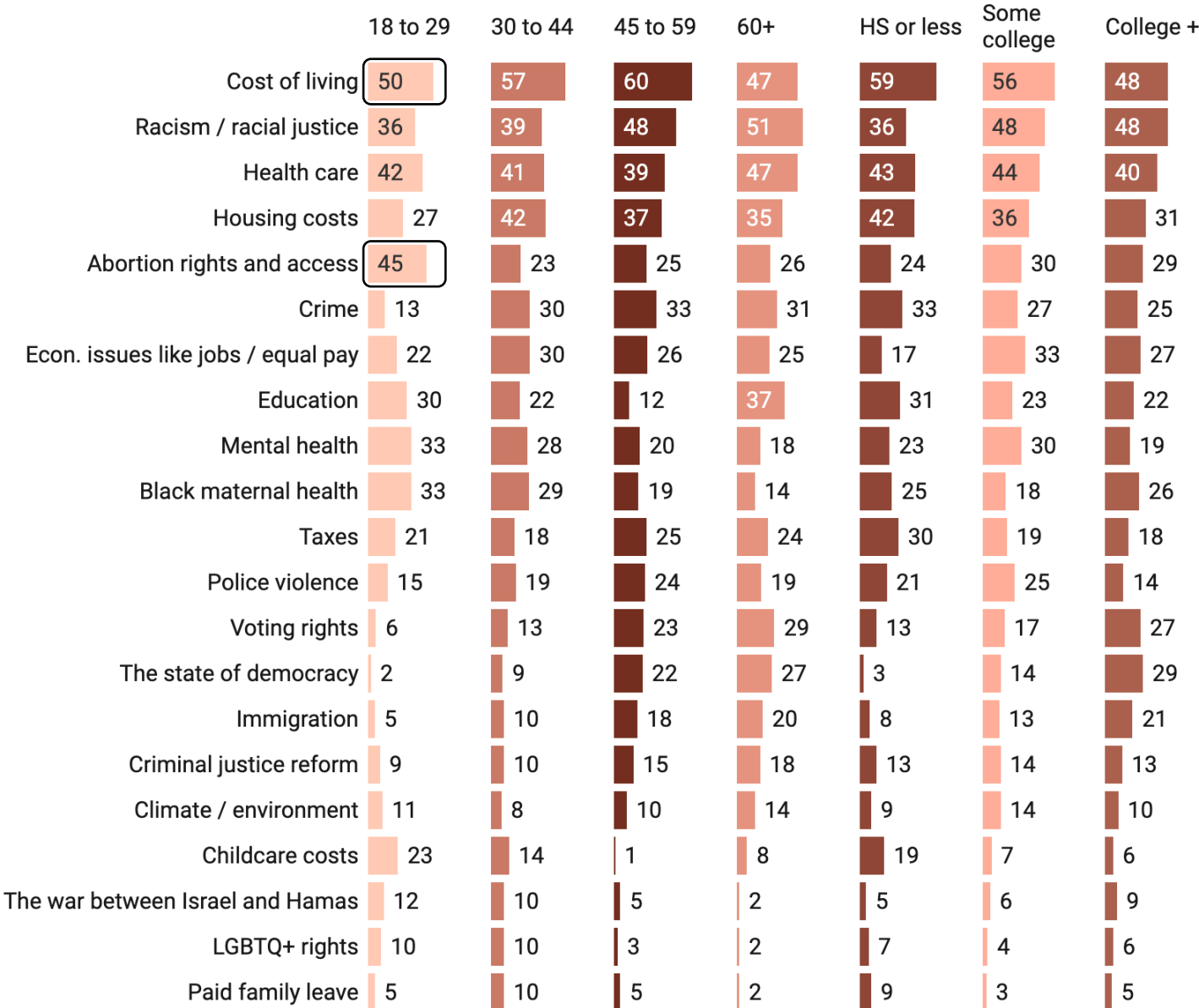
Choose the top 5 issues that matter most to you when voting in elections.

% In top 5



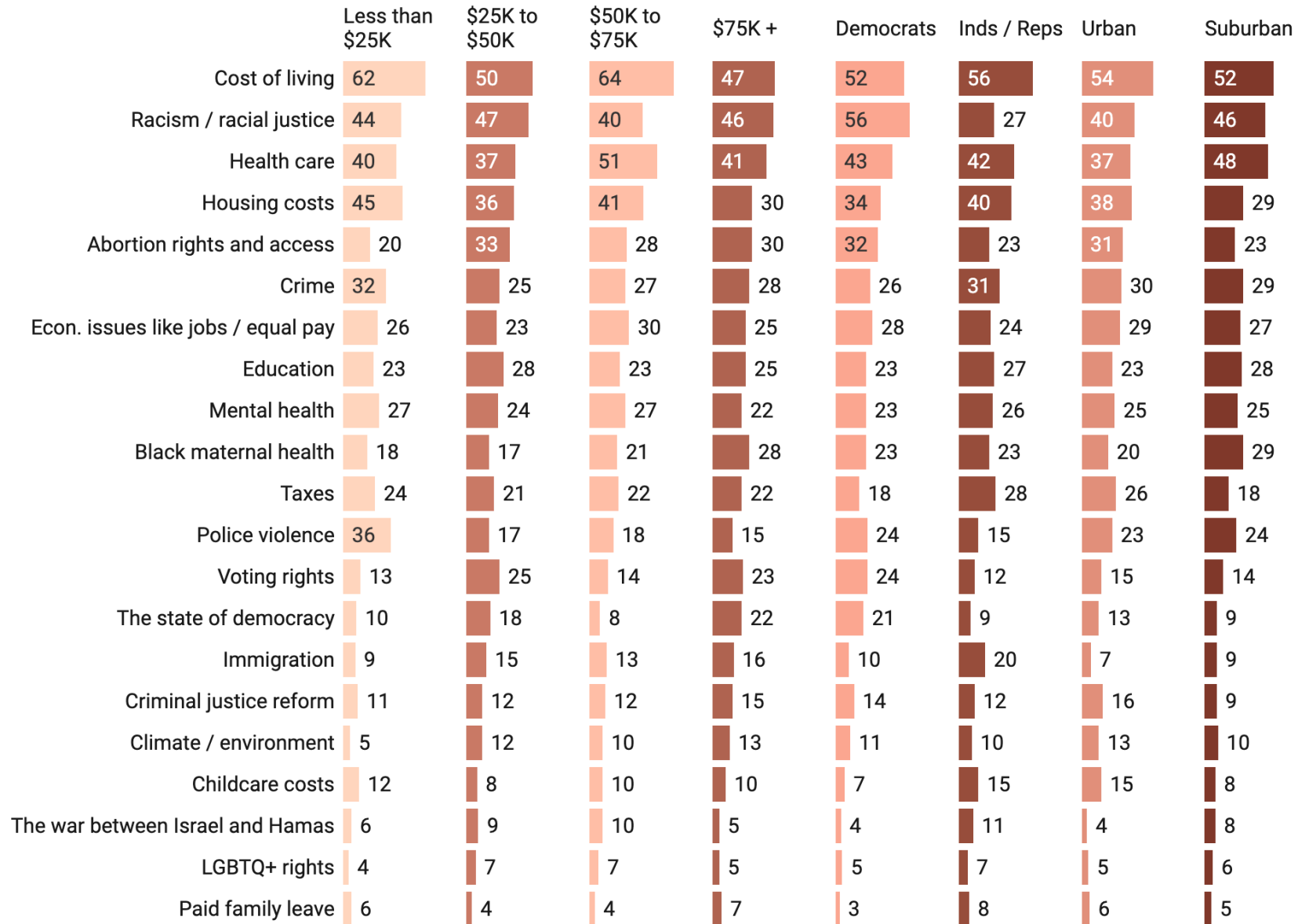
**When asked to prioritize their issues, cost of living tops the list.**

% Chosen as a top 5 issue



Abortion access is a top issue – alongside cost of living – for 18- to 29-year-olds. Black maternal health and mental health are also top among many.

% Chosen as a top 5 issue





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

## 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 7<sup>th</sup> – but nearly half is unsure.

24%

Support

Most likely

- Attends rel. services monthly+ (31%)

29%

Oppose

Most likely

- 18 to 29 (42%)
- College+ (37%)
- Urban (37%)

46%

Not sure

Most likely

- Less than \$25K (60%)
- Attends rel. services less often (57%)

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

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

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

**36%**

Approve

Most likely

- Attends rel. services monthly+ (47%)
- 60+ (52%)

**33%**

Disapprove

Most likely

- 18 to 29 (47%)
- Independents / Republicans (42%)

**29%**

Not sure

Most likely

- Attends rel. services less often (38%)





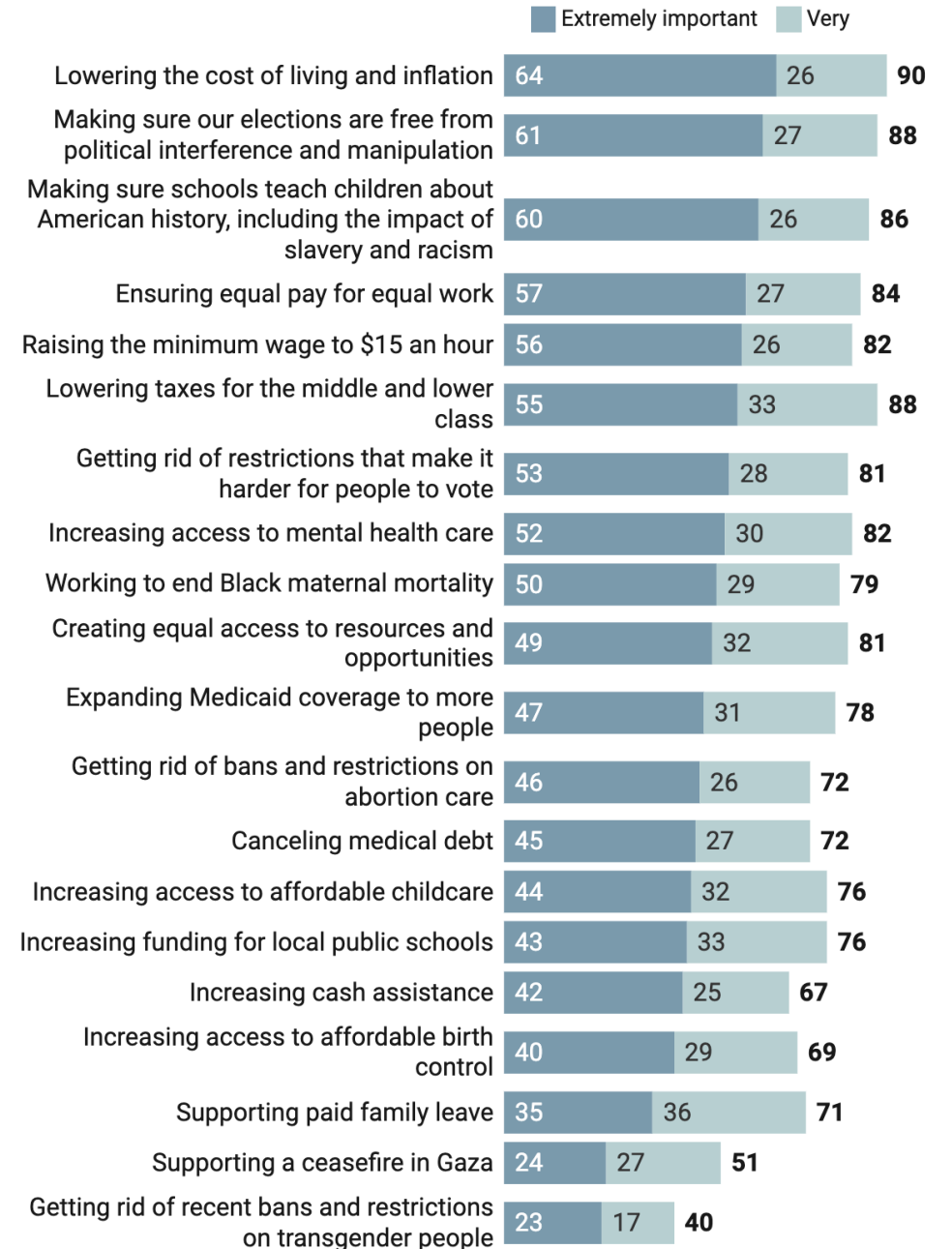
# Policy positions

**voice**  
IN OUR OWN

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?

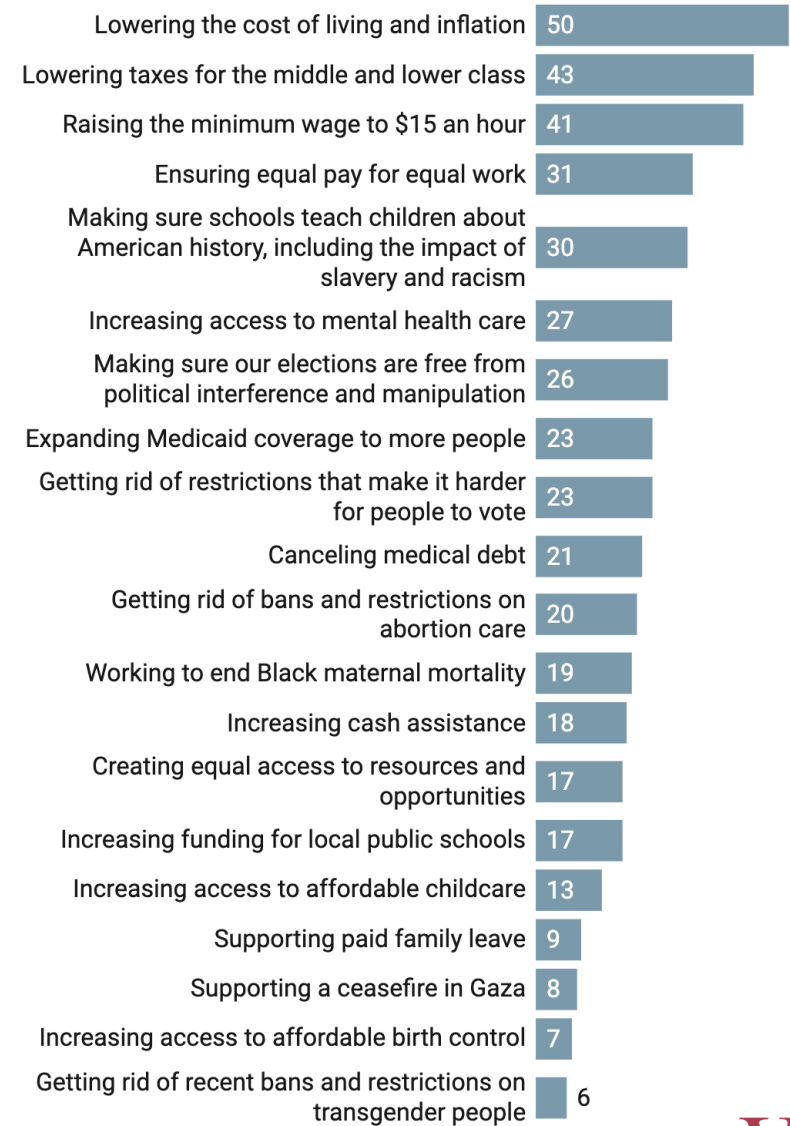
RANDOMIZE

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



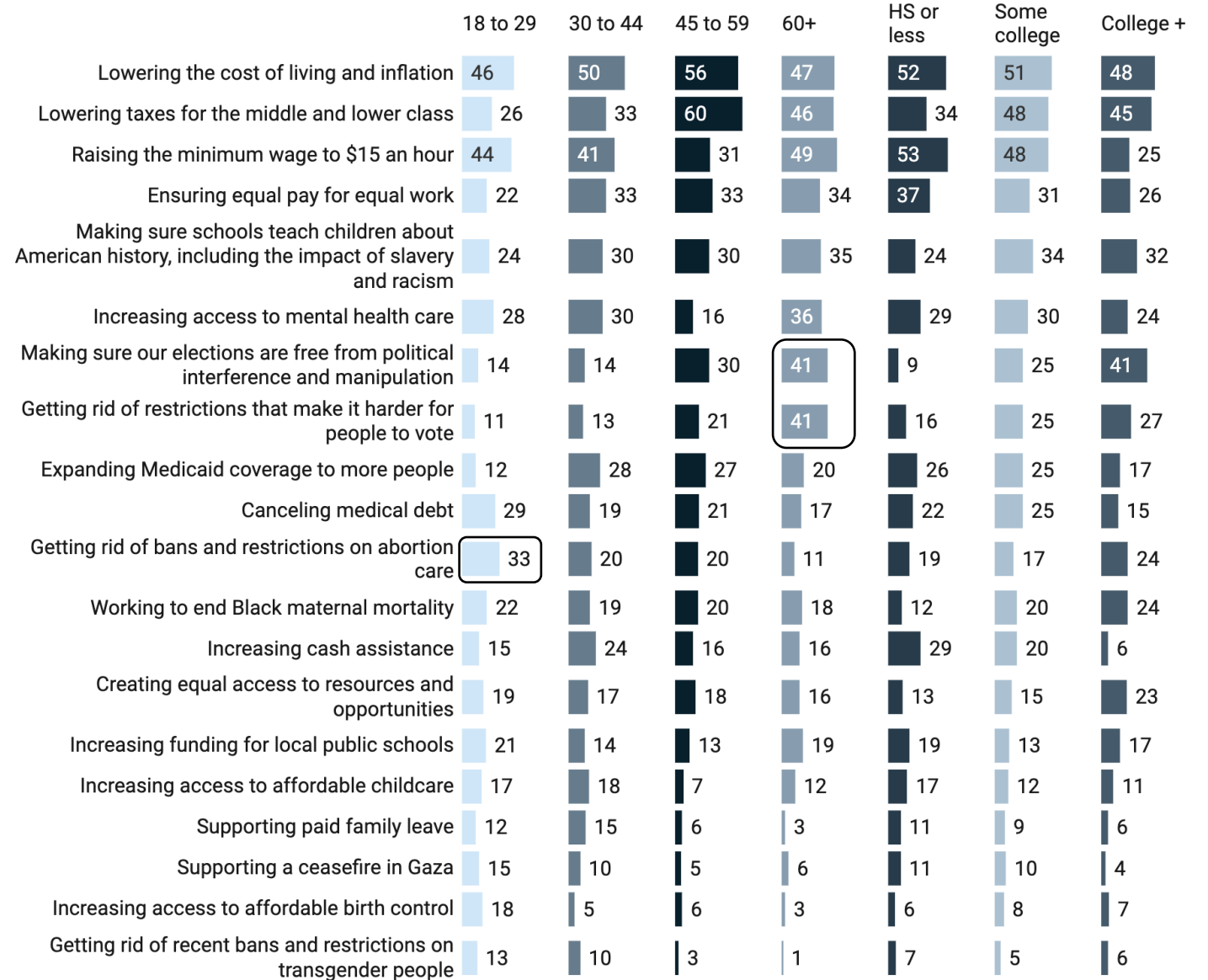
**When asked to narrow down to the most important policy positions, economic policies rise to the top.**

% Chosen as a top 5 policy position





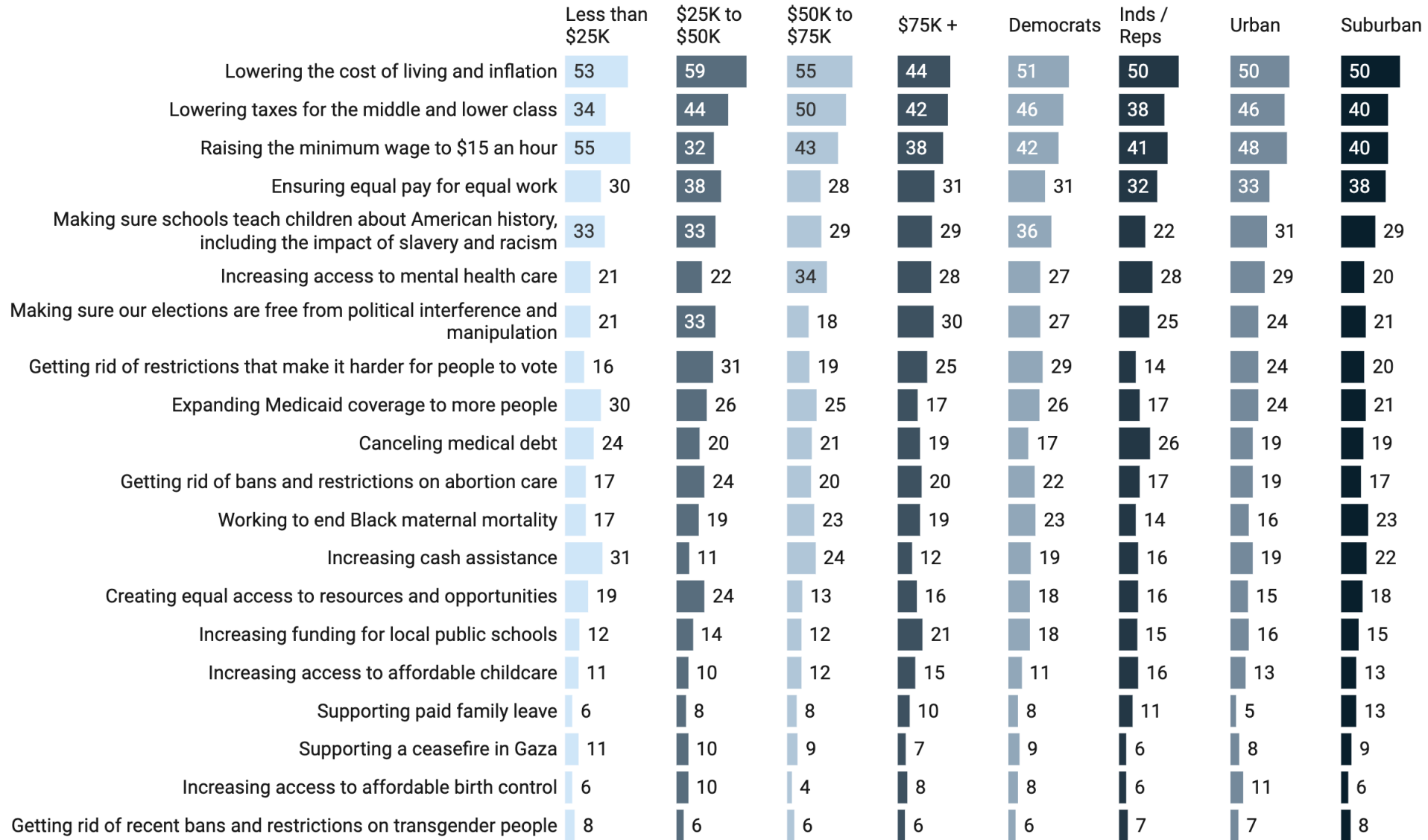
% Chosen as a top 5 issue



Getting rid of abortion bans and restrictions is also a priority for young respondents.

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

% Chosen as a top 5 issue





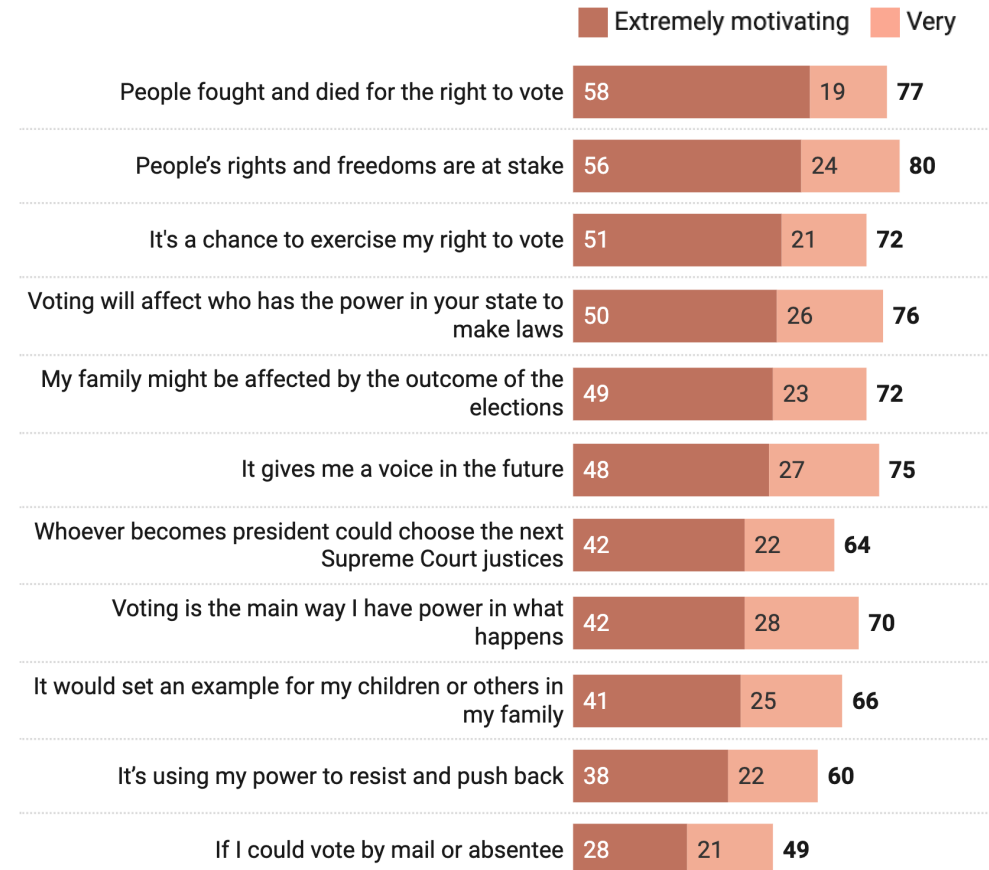
**Why vote?**

**voice**  
IN OUR OWN

## 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.

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

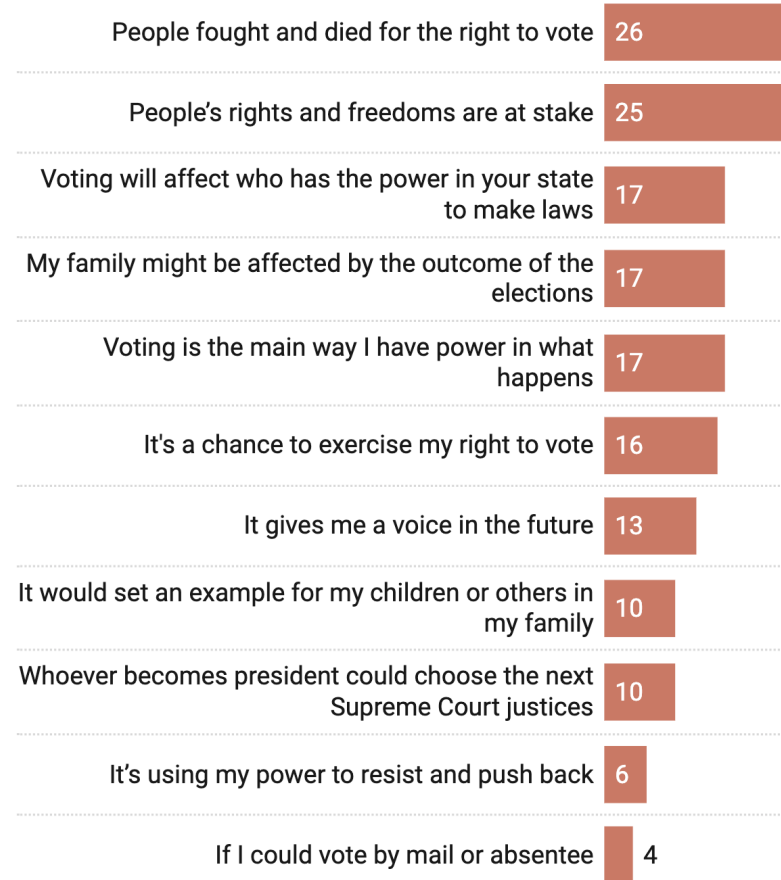




## Here's what they say when forced to choose the top 1 or 2 motivations.

The table on the following pages 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 64	60+	HS or less	Some college	College +
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 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's rights and freedoms are at stake
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	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
People fought and died for the right to vote	People fought and died for the right to vote	Voting is the main way I have power in what happens	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	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws
Voting is the main way I have power in what happens	It would set an example for my children or others in my family	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	Voting is the main way I have power in what happens	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
It gives me a voice in the future	It gives me a voice in the future	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	It gives me a voice in the future	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	Voting is the main way I have power in what happens

## 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	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	My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections
People's rights and freedoms are at stake	People fought and died for the right to vote	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	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
Voting is the main way I have power in what happens	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	People's rights and freedoms are at stake	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	Voting is the main way I have power in what happens	People's rights and freedoms are at stake
Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	Voting is the main way I have power in what happens	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 is the main way I have power in what happens	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws
It would set an example for my children or others in my family	Voting is the main way I have power in what happens	Voting will affect who has the power in your state to make laws	It gives me a voice in the future	It gives me a voice in the future	It's a chance to exercise my right to vote	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

**voice**  
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**Three in four respondents  
say abortion should be legal  
in all or most cases.**

Which comes closest to your view.  
Abortion should be:

**75%**

Legal in all or most  
cases

**23%**

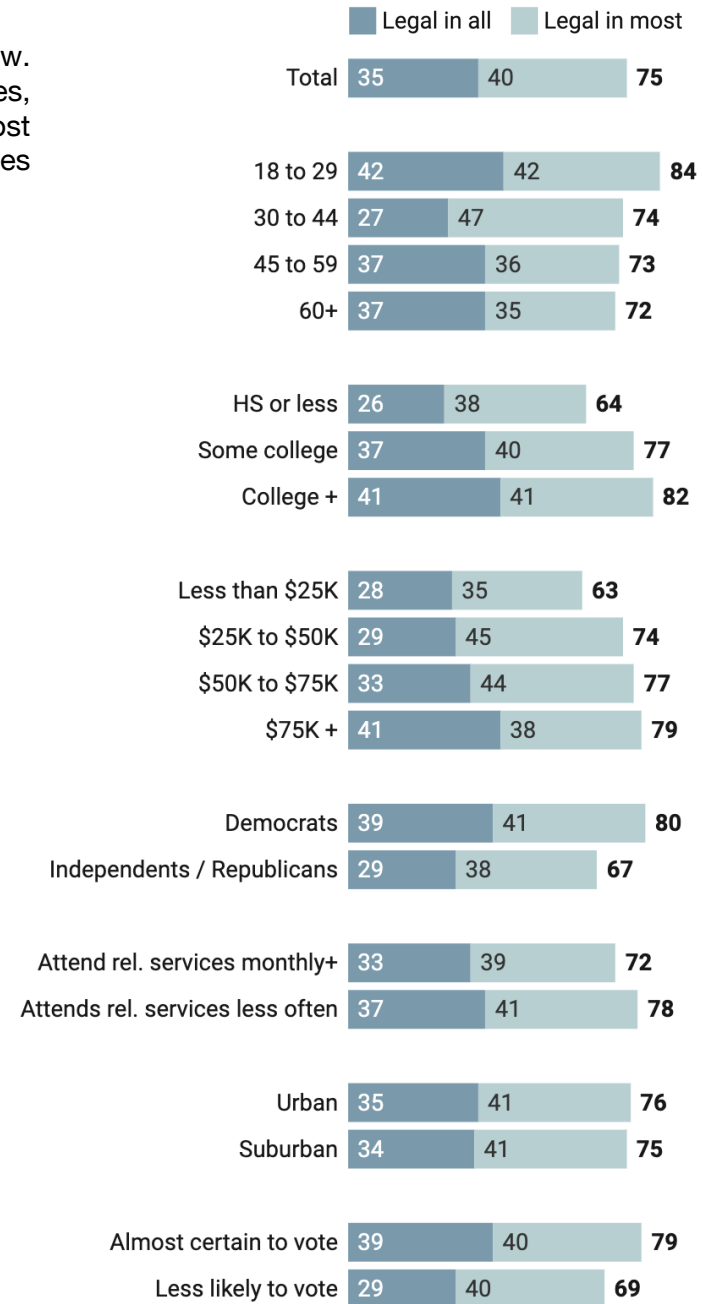
Illegal in all or most  
cases

*7% 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

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

Roughly seven in ten women (72%) 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.**

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

**78%**

**21%**

In favor of this

Against this

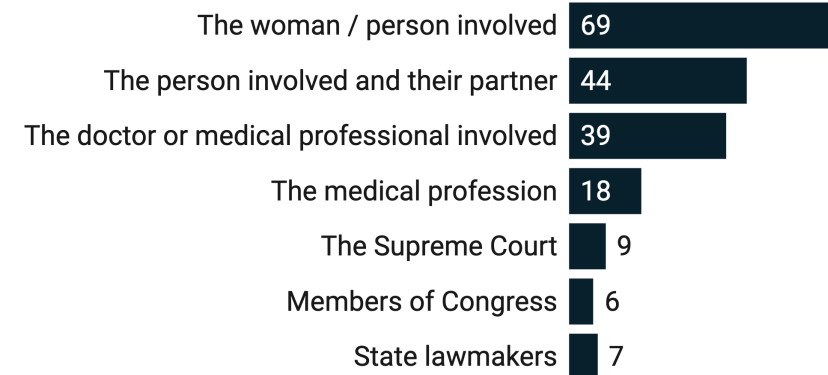
78% 18 to 44  
79% 45+

**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.

88%

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

70% Strongly agree  
19% Somewhat agree

89% 18 to 44  
87% 45+

80%

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 = 292)*

50% Strongly agree  
30% Somewhat agree

75% 18 to 44  
85% 45+

81%

Say having an abortion can be a responsible choice

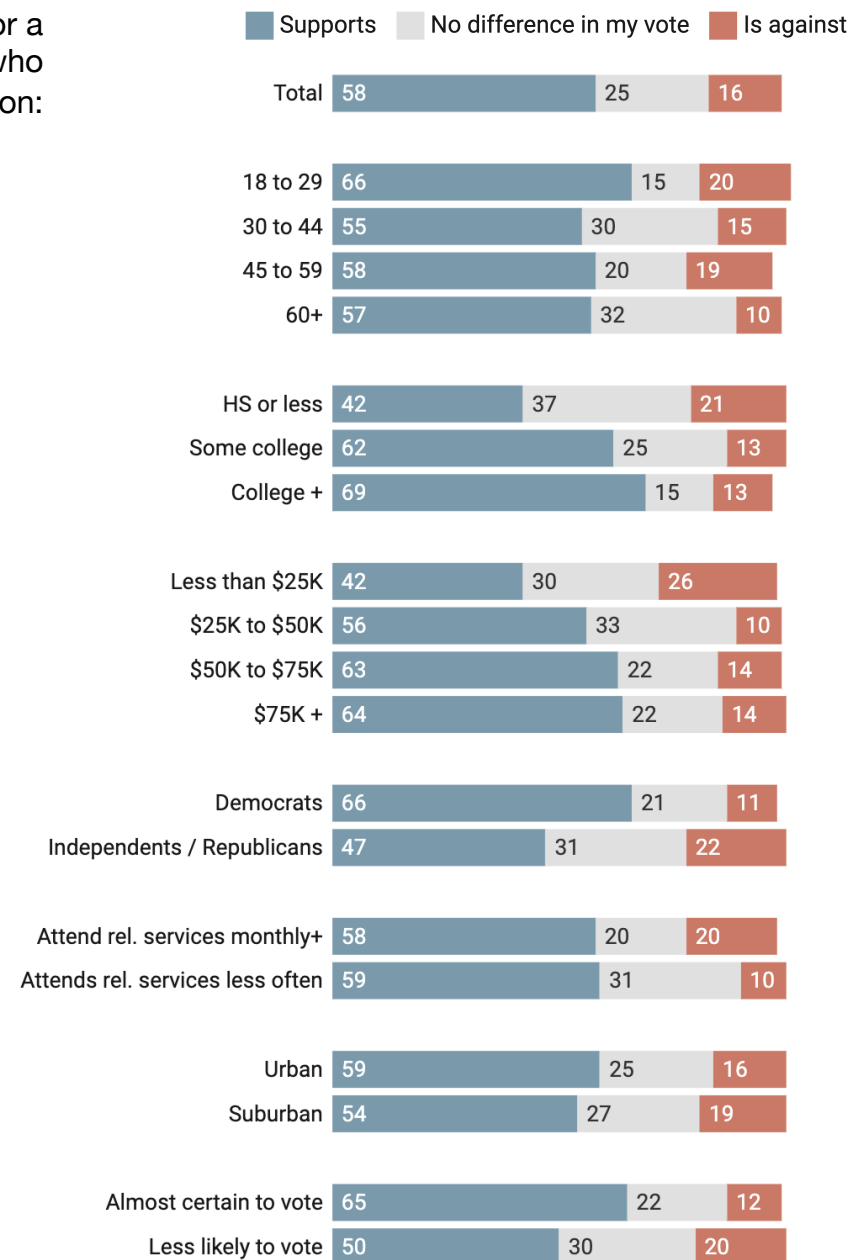
78% 18 to 44  
82% 45+



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

**Respondents are four times more likely to vote for a candidate who supports abortion access (58%) than one who opposes it (16%).**

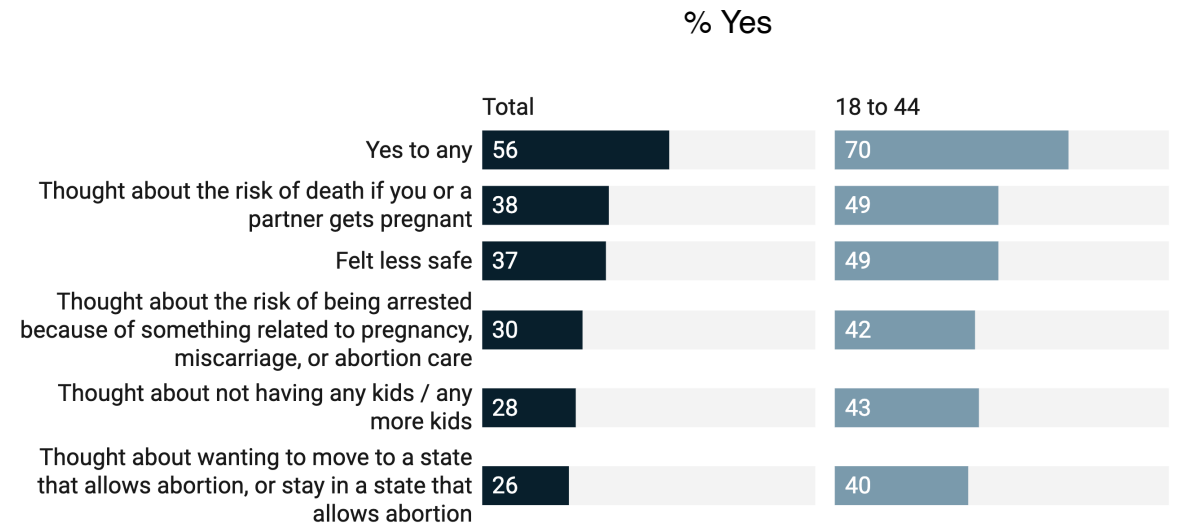
Those most likely to vote are also among the most likely to support a candidate who supports abortion access.



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

Recent bans have made half of women of reproductive age consider their own risk of death should they get pregnant. Four in ten have thought about the risk of being arrested due to something related to pregnancy.

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



**Almost one in four women knows 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?

**23%**

Of all women say yes

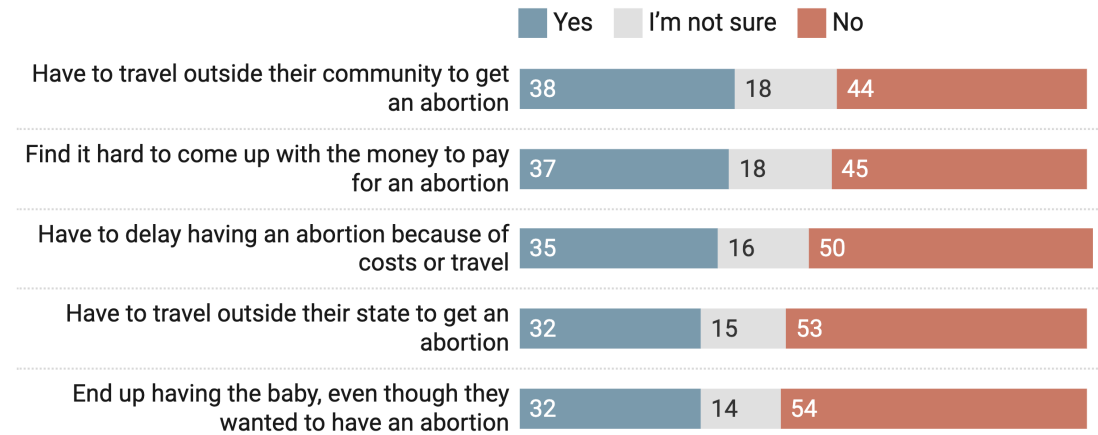
**38%**

Of women 18 to 44 say yes

**More than half (60%)  
says the person(s) they  
know faced at least one  
of these barrier to care.**

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

*Base n = 153 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

**14%**

Oppose

85% Attends rel. services monthly+  
84% 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.

**80%**

Agree

**20%**

Disagree

78% Attends rel. services monthly+

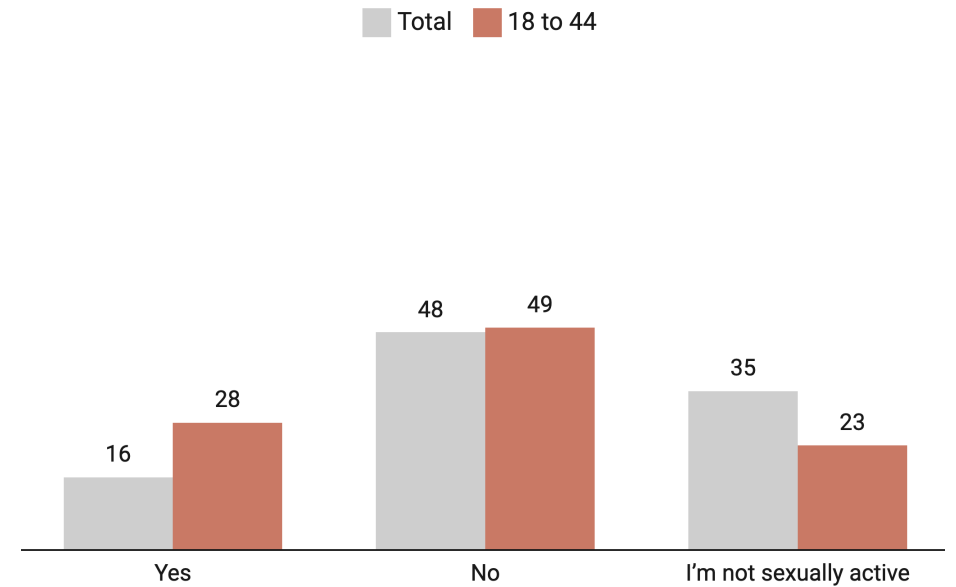




# Access to birth control

**Roughly one in four women of reproductive age (28%) says they or a partner are currently using birth control.**

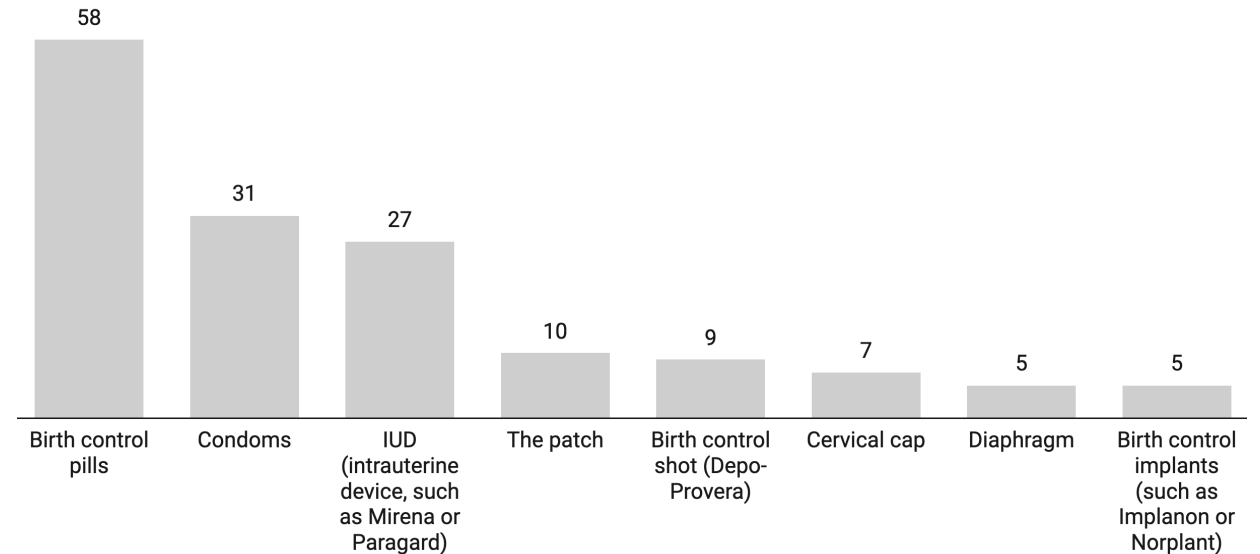
Are you or your partner currently using birth control?



**Pills, condoms, and IUDs  
are the most common birth  
control methods.**

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

*Base n = 75 self or partner is currently  
using birth control*



**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

**62%**

Women 18 to 44

**73%**

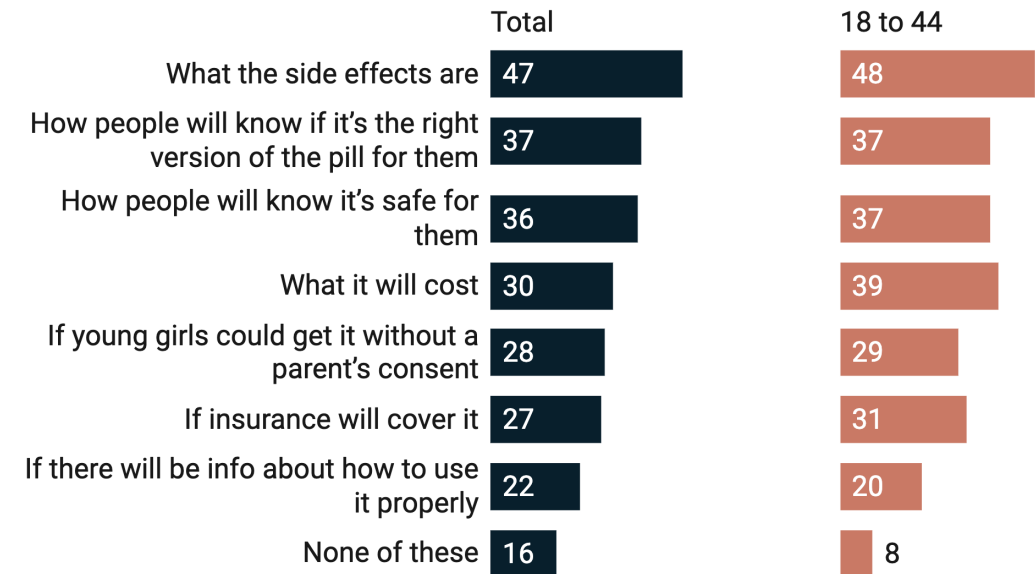
Women 18 to 29

**The most common questions about over-the-counter pills are around side effects, versions of the pill, safety, 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



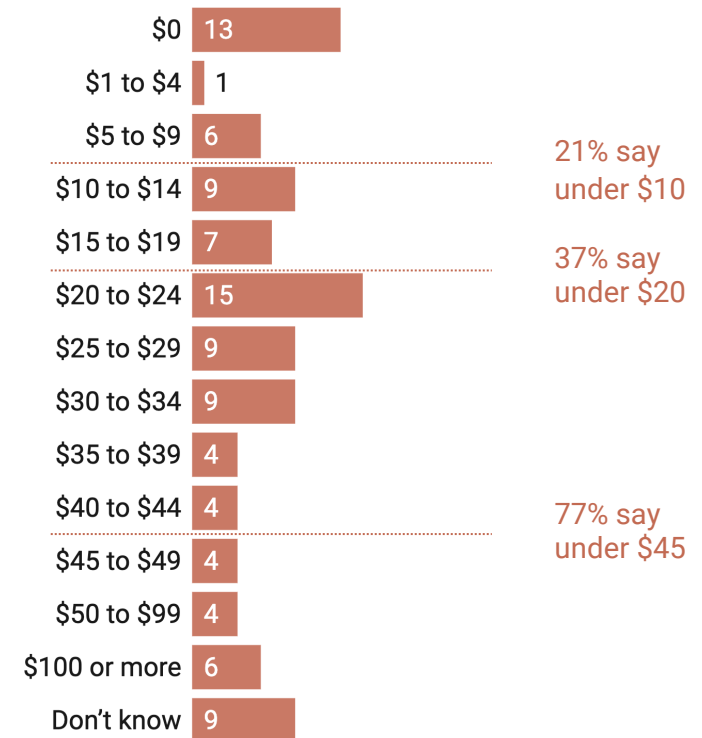
**The retail price for over-the-counter birth control (\$49.00) is out of reach for 77% of these women.**

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 = 246 women 18 to 44*



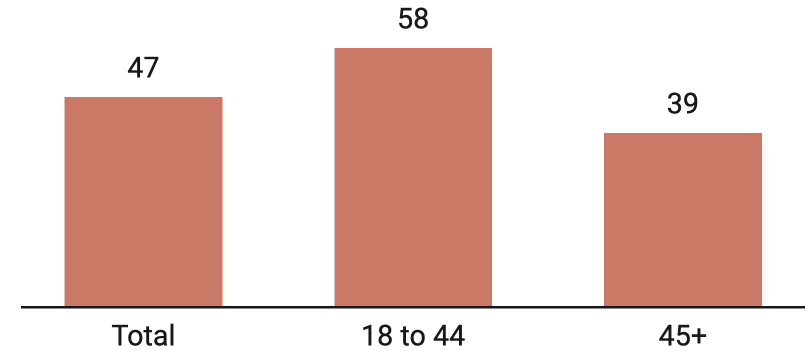
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## Half of respondents (47%) says they are likely to talk with loved ones about over-the-counter access to birth control.

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

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

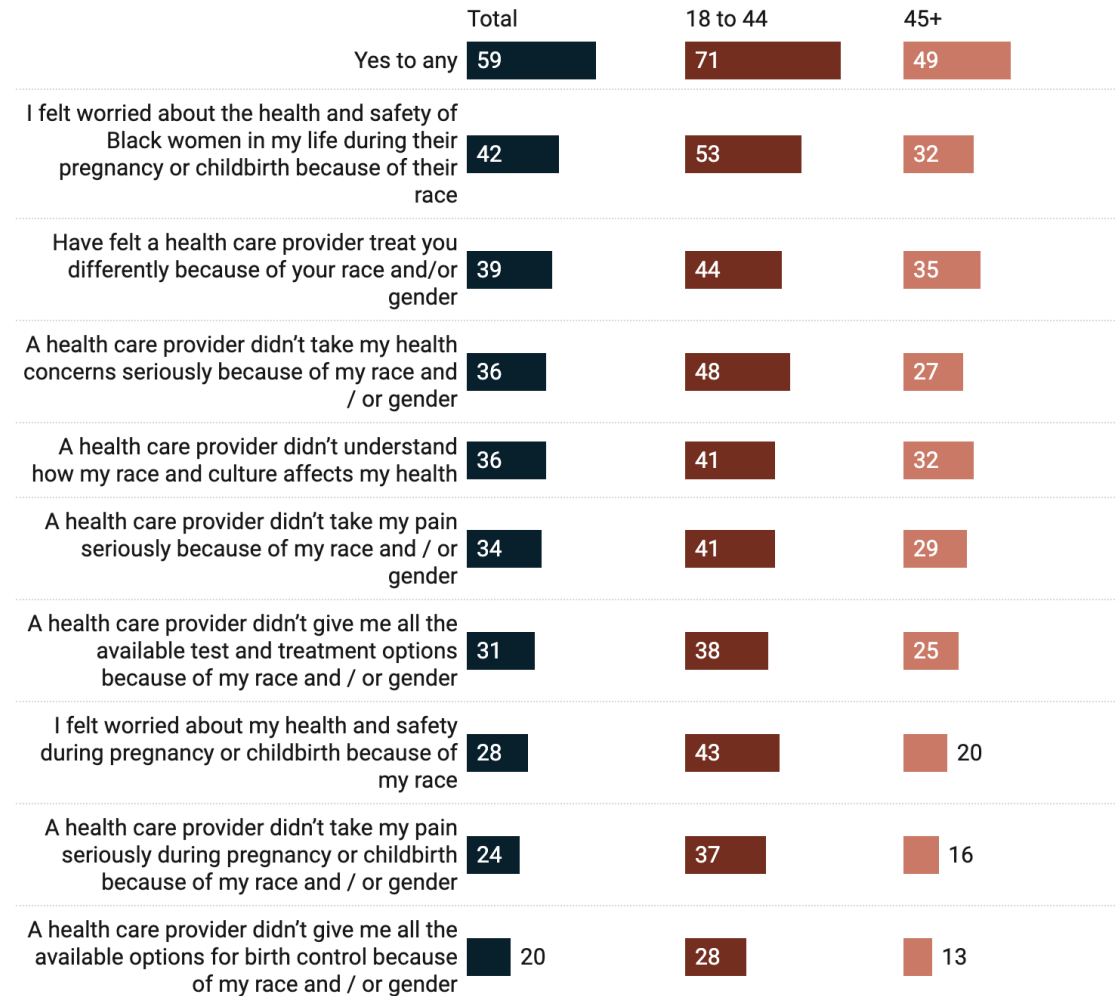
**voice**  
IN OUR OWN

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

RANDOMIZE

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

Younger respondents are more likely than their older counterparts to report these experiences.



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voice  
IN OUR OWN