

Topline

# KFF Survey of Women Voters

Early Summer 2024

**KFF**

## METHODOLOGY

This *KFF Survey of Women Voters* was designed and analyzed by public opinion researchers at KFF. The survey was conducted May 23 – June 5, 2024, online and by telephone among a nationally representative sample of 3,102 U.S. women registered voters in English (3,062) and Spanish (40). The project includes separate samples of 928 women registered voters in Arizona and 876 women registered voters in Michigan. Sampling, data collection, weighting, and tabulation were managed by SSRS of Glenn Mills, Pennsylvania in collaboration with public opinion researchers at KFF.

The national sample as well as the samples in Arizona and Michigan were from L2, one of the major providers of voter list samples. Respondents were randomly selected among registered voters identified as female in the L2 voter file and were stratified based on race/ethnicity (African American, Hispanic, Other), 2020 general election vote (voted, did not vote), age of voter (under 30, 30 or older), and party identification (Democrat, Republican, Other), as identified in the sample file. Sampled voters were sent a letter via USPS First-Class Mail with an enclosed \$1 non-contingent incentive. The letter asked the named registered voter to go online or call a toll-free number to complete the survey. Email invitations and up to four reminders were sent to those with a matched email address on file. An SMS (text message) invitation with a link to the web survey was sent to sample with a cell phone number on file. Up to 4 call attempts were made to those with a matched phone number who did not respond to the letter, email, or text invitations. In total, 2,787 completed the survey online and 315 completed the survey via telephone interviewer.

Respondents whose sample information indicated they were Hispanic or a race other than White or younger than 50 years old were offered a \$10 incentive via an electronic gift card if they completed the survey online or via check if they completed the survey by phone. To qualify for the survey, respondents were required to confirm they were the registered voter named in the sample and to provide their gender. Respondents who did not identify as a woman were removed. To ensure data quality, cases were removed if they failed two or more of these quality checks: (1) attention check questions in the online version of the questionnaire, (2) had over 30% item non-response, or (3) had a length less than one quarter of the mean length by mode. Based on this criterion, five cases were removed.

The national sample was weighted using data from two data sources: the L2 voter file and the Census Bureau’s 2022 Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplement. The national sample of women voters was weighted by age, party identification, census region, metropolitan status, 2020 general election vote mode, past primary vote participation, and recent general election vote history based on the L2 voter file; while education, race/ethnicity and nativity were weighted based on the CPS supplement. Women voters in Arizona and Michigan were weighted to national election pool (NEP) region as well as the demographics listed above. Due to limitations in the voter file of Michigan voters, party-identification was not included in the weighting. Instead, the sample was matched to match exit poll result for women voters in the 2020 presidential election, among validated 2020 voters. Each of these weights account for differences in the probability of selection including adjustment for the sample design and stratification by race/ethnicity, age, and 2020 general election vote.

The margins of sampling error including the design effect for the national sample of women voters, Arizona women voters, and Michigan women voters are plus or minus 3 percentage points, 5 percentage points, and 4 percentage points respectively. Numbers of respondents and margins of sampling error for key subgroups are shown in the table below. For results based on other subgroups, the margin of sampling error may be higher. Sample sizes and margins of sampling error for other subgroups are available by request. Sampling error is only one of many potential sources of error and there may be other unmeasured error in this poll or any other public opinion poll. KFF public opinion and survey research is a charter member of the [Transparency Initiative of the American Association for Public Opinion Research](#).

NOTE: Partisan breaks presented in the table below and in all KFF reporting is self-identified in the survey, not from voter file data.

Group	N (unweighted)	M.O.S.E.
<b>Total National Women Voters</b>	1,383	± 3 percentage points
Republicans and Republican-leaning independents	454	± 5 percentage points
Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents	728	± 4 percentage points
Independents	199	± 8 percentage points
<b>Arizona Women Voters</b>	928	± 5 percentage points
Republicans	213	± 9 percentage points
Democrats	323	± 8 percentage points
Independents	312	± 8 percentage points
<b>Michigan Women Voters</b>	876	± 4 percentage points
Republicans and Republican-leaning independents	283	± 7 percentage points
Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents	433	± 6 percentage points
Independents	159	± 11 percentage points

Notes for reading the topline:

- Percentages may not always add up to 100 percent due to rounding.
- Values less than 0.5 percent are indicated by an asterisk (\*).
- “Vol.” indicates a response was volunteered by the respondent, not offered as an explicit choice.
- Questions are presented in the order asked; question numbers may not be sequential.
- “No answer” includes those who said ‘Don’t know’ or refused to answer the question on the phone and those who skipped the question on the web.
- Question wording shown is for web mode; for some questions phone wording varied slightly.

RGENDER. Do you describe yourself as a man, a woman, or in some other way?

S11. Just for background purposes, in which state do you reside?

AGE. What is your age?

AGE2. (ASK IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED AGE) Could you please tell me if you are between the ages of... (READ LIST)

RECA2 VARIABLE

	National	AZ	MI
18-29	14	17	16
30-49	33	27	32
50-64	24	23	24
65+	28	32	27
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

CHILD. Are you the parent or guardian of any child under the age of 18 living in your household?

	National	AZ	MI
Yes	28	25	26
No	72	75	74
No answer	*	-	-
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

**SHOW TO ALL:** Now we have some questions about the upcoming presidential election in November.

Q1. Compared to previous presidential elections, are you (more) motivated to vote than usual, (less) motivated than usual, or about as motivated as in previous elections? (ROTATE ITEMS IN PARENTHESIS)

	National	AZ	MI
More motivated	45	44	46
Less motivated	21	24	20
About as motivated as in previous elections	34	33	34
No answer	-	-	-
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q2. Do each of the following describe how you are feeling about the upcoming presidential election? (RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-E)

	Yes	No	No answer	
a. Anxious				
National	68	31	1	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	69	29	2	<i>n</i> =928
MI	63	36	1	<i>n</i> =876
b. Frustrated				
National	70	29	2	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	75	25	1	<i>n</i> =928
MI	71	28	1	<i>n</i> =876
c. Uninterested				
National	21	76	2	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	21	76	3	<i>n</i> =928
MI	21	78	1	<i>n</i> =876
d. Enthusiastic				
National	33	66	2	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	29	69	2	<i>n</i> =928
MI	34	64	2	<i>n</i> =876
e. Hopeful				
National	53	45	1	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	57	42	1	<i>n</i> =928
MI	57	42	1	<i>n</i> =876

Q3. How much do you worry about affording each of the following for you and your family? (RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-E)

*Item e based on those that are the parent or guardian of any child under the age of 18 living in household*

	A lot/Some (NET)	A lot	Some	A little/None at all (NET)	A little	None at all	No answer	
a. Food and groceries								
National	74	50	24	26	11	15	*	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	72	47	25	28	12	16	*	<i>n</i> =928
MI	70	48	22	30	14	17	-	<i>n</i> =876
b. The cost of health care								
National	74	49	25	26	14	11	*	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	76	52	24	24	13	11	-	<i>n</i> =928
MI	69	45	23	31	15	16	*	<i>n</i> =876
c. Your rent or mortgage								
National	59	38	21	41	13	28	*	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	57	39	18	43	12	31	*	<i>n</i> =928
MI	55	37	18	45	13	32	*	<i>n</i> =876
d. Your monthly utilities like electricity or heat								
National	66	40	26	33	14	20	*	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	67	39	28	33	13	20	*	<i>n</i> =928
MI	63	38	25	37	15	22	*	<i>n</i> =876
e. Childcare								
National	51	36	15	49	10	39	-	<i>n</i> =389
AZ	43	28	14	57	11	46	-	<i>n</i> =204
MI	41	32	10	59	8	51	-	<i>n</i> =224

Q6. Do you regularly discuss politics with someone in your life who has opposing political views to you?

This can include family, friends, colleagues, neighbors, etc.

	National	AZ	MI
Yes	43	39	40
No	57	61	60
No answer	-	-	-
	<i>n</i> =1,383	<i>n</i> =928	<i>n</i> =876

Q7. What will make the biggest difference in how you vote for president? (SCRAMBLE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-3)

	National	AZ	MI
The candidates' stances on specific issues	38	37	37
The candidates' personal characteristics, including their leadership ability, character, values, and experience	54	56	54
The candidates' political party	7	6	9
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n</i> =1,383	<i>n</i> =928	<i>n</i> =876

Q8. Regardless of who you intend to vote for in the upcoming election, which **political party** do you think does a better job (INSERT ITEM)? (SCRAMBLE ITEMS A-E; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1&2)

*Item d based on those that are the parent or guardian of any child under the age of 18 living in household*

	The Democratic Party	The Republican Party	Neither one does this	No answer	
a. Looking out for people like you					
National	37	31	31	-	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	36	32	32	-	<i>n</i> =928
MI	38	32	30	*	<i>n</i> =876
b. Looking out for the interests of women					
National	46	22	31	*	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	46	23	31	*	<i>n</i> =928
MI	48	23	29	*	<i>n</i> =876
c. Addressing the cost of health care for people like you					
National	41	24	35	*	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	39	24	38	*	<i>n</i> =928
MI	41	26	33	*	<i>n</i> =876
d. Addressing the cost of childcare					
National	32	24	44	*	<i>n</i> =389
AZ	29	20	50	1	<i>n</i> =204
MI	31	20	49	-	<i>n</i> =224
e. Addressing the cost of household expenses					
National	29	31	40	*	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	27	32	40	-	<i>n</i> =928
MI	30	33	36	*	<i>n</i> =876

VOTE24. If the 2024 presidential election were held today and the candidates were (Democrat Joe Biden) and (Republican Donald Trump), who would you vote for? (ROTATE ITEMS IN PARENTHESES)

	National	AZ	MI
Democrat Joe Biden	40	40	39
Republican Donald Trump	37	38	40
Some other candidate (Vol.)	13	13	9
I wouldn't vote (Vol.)	10	9	11
No answer	1	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

VOTE24\_OTHER. Who would you vote for if the 2024 presidential election were held today?

*Based on those who said they would vote for some other candidate (VOTE24="Some other candidate")*

	National	AZ	MI
Cornel West	1	1	*
Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	17	14	31
Marianne Williamson	2	1	1
Nikki Haley	4	7	2
Jill Stein	2	3	2
Third party/independent candidate (unspecified)	3	7	3
Anyone besides Trump or Biden	5	4	3
Some other candidate	24	16	17
I wouldn't vote	7	9	2
No answer	35	37	38
	<i>n=186</i>	<i>n=143</i>	<i>n=107</i>

VOTE24LEAN. If the presidential election were being held today and **you had to choose** between (Democrat Joe Biden) and (Republican Donald Trump), who do you lean more towards, or would you not vote? (ROTATE TEXT IN PARENTHESES IN SAME ORDER AS VOTE24)

*Based on those who would vote would for some other candidate or would not vote (VOTE24="Some other candidate" OR "I wouldn't vote")*

	National	AZ	MI
Democrat Joe Biden	21	25	22
Republican Donald Trump	18	17	16
I wouldn't vote	60	58	62
No answer	1	*	-
	<i>n=299</i>	<i>n=212</i>	<i>n=202</i>

**VOTE24/VOTE24LEAN Combo table**

	National	AZ	MI
Joe Biden/Joe Biden lean (NET)	45	46	44
Vote for Joe Biden	40	40	39
Lean Joe Biden	5	5	5
Donald Trump/Donald Trump lean (NET)	41	42	43
Vote for Donald Trump	37	38	40
Lean Donald Trump	4	4	3
Would not vote	14	12	13
No answer	1	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

VOTE24\_REC Variable

	National	AZ	MI
Joe Biden	45	46	44
Donald Trump	41	42	43
Wouldn't vote	14	12	13
No answer	1	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q10c. What is the main reason why you are planning to vote for some other candidate for president other than President Biden or former President Trump?

*Based on those who would vote for some other candidate and, when pushed, would not vote*

*Sample size insufficient to report*

Q10d. What is the main reason why you aren't planning on voting for president in the 2024 presidential election?

*Based on those who would not vote even when pushed*

*Sample size insufficient to report*

PARTY. In politics today, do you consider yourself a: (Republican), (Democrat), an Independent, or something else? (RANDOMIZE REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRAT)

	National	AZ	MI
Republican	27	28	26
Democrat	34	30	32
Independent	30	34	29
Something else	10	8	13
No answer	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

PARTYLEAN. Do you LEAN more towards the (Republican) Party or the (Democratic) Party? (RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS PARTY)

*Based on those who are not Republican or Democrat*

	National	AZ	MI
Republican	25	28	27
Democratic	32	26	29
Independent/Don't lean to either party (Vol. on phone)/I don't lean toward either party (Web response option)	42	47	45
Other party (Vol.)	-	-	-
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=523</i>	<i>n=392</i>	<i>n=372</i>

Summary PARTY and PARTYLEAN

	National	AZ	MI
Republican/Lean Republican	36	39	37
Democrat/Lean Democrat	47	41	44
Pure Independent	17	19	19
Undesignated	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>



Five-Point Party ID

	National	AZ	MI
Democrat	34	30	32
Independent Lean Democrat	13	11	12
Independent/Don't lean	17	19	19
Independent Lean Republican	10	11	11
Republican	27	28	26
Undesignated	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q9. How satisfied are you with your options for president?

	National	AZ	MI
Very/Somewhat satisfied (NET)	40	41	45
Very satisfied	15	16	18
Somewhat satisfied	25	24	28
Not too/Not at all satisfied (NET)	60	59	54
Not too satisfied	27	29	24
Not at all satisfied	33	30	31
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q10a. What is the main reason why you aren't satisfied with Joe Biden as the Democratic nominee for president?

*Based on those who are Democrats or Democrat leaning who are not satisfied with options for president*

	National	AZ	MI
Age or Health (NET)	45	46	50
Age	42	44	46
Mental/physical health	3	2	4
Economy/inflation/debt	8	8	8
Hasn't fulfilled promises/accomplished much	8	8	6
Israel-Palestine conflict	6	8	6
Performance as president/hasn't done a good job	5	6	3
Out of touch/need someone with new/fresh ideas	5	5	4
No answer	4	4	4
Not assertive/strong enough	3	2	3
Generally support Joe Biden	3	3	3
Other reason	3	2	5
Immigration	2	1	1
Concerned he won't win against Trump/Republicans/other candidates	2	2	2
Doesn't do enough for the people	2	2	1
Too moderate/conservative	1	*	4
Abortion/reproductive rights	1	1	1
Dislike him or his policies/not satisfied/want a better option (unspecified)	1	1	*
Dislike both candidates	1	*	*
Doesn't have enough support from Congress/Democrats	1	*	-
Domestic policy	*	2	1
Other reason	3	2	5
	<i>n=466</i>	<i>n=297</i>	<i>n=263</i>

Q10b. What is the main reason why you aren't satisfied with Donald Trump as the Republican nominee for president?

*Based on those who are Republican or Republican leaning who are not satisfied with options for president*

	National	AZ	MI
His personality/demeanor	25	24	23
Lack of morals/Narcissism (NET)	18	19	15
Lack of morals/integrity/not a good person	12	16	15
Narcissism/doesn't care about others	6	3	*
Drama/Divisive (NET)	9	12	10
Too much drama/controversy surrounding him	5	10	9
Too divisive/polarizing	4	3	1
Generally support Donald Trump	8	6	8
Viewpoints/policies	5	2	1
Legal trouble/conviction/trial	4	9	3
Doesn't have enough support	4	9	9
Age	3	4	4
Racism	2	-	*
Didn't do a good job as president	2	-	*
Not satisfied/don't like Trump (unspecified)	2	1	4
January 6th/election integrity	1	2	-
Abortion/women's rights	1	*	1
COVID response	-	2	1
Not mentally fit	*	1	-
Other response	10	7	9
No answer	7	1	12
	<i>n=207</i>	<i>n=137</i>	<i>n=121</i>

Q11. If former President Trump were to choose a woman as his vice-presidential running mate, would you be more likely to vote for him?

*Based on those who are Republican or Republican leaning*

	National	AZ	MI
More likely	34	30	31
Not more likely	65	69	68
No answer	1	2	*
	<i>n=454</i>	<i>n=313</i>	<i>n=283</i>

Q12. Thinking about the 2024 presidential race, what is the **most important issue** determining your vote? (RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-7)

	National	AZ	MI
Inflation, including the rising cost of household expenses	40	37	43
Abortion	10	10	10
Immigration and border security	13	17	13
The war between Israel and Hamas in Gaza	3	4	3
The war in Ukraine	1	*	1
Threats to democracy	22	24	19
Gun policy	4	1	3
Something else (Specify issue)	7	7	8
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

**ROTATE Q13 AND Q14**

Q13. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Biden is handling his job as president?

	National	AZ	MI
Strongly/Somewhat approve (NET)	40	37	39
Strongly approve	13	12	13
Somewhat approve	26	25	26
Somewhat/Strongly disapprove (NET)	60	63	61
Somewhat disapprove	20	20	17
Strongly disapprove	40	43	44
No answer	*	-	-
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q14. Do you approve or disapprove of the way former President Trump handled his job when he was president?

	National	AZ	MI
Strongly/Somewhat approve (NET)	45	45	47
Strongly approve	24	26	28
Somewhat approve	21	19	20
Somewhat/Strongly disapprove (NET)	55	55	52
Somewhat disapprove	11	10	11
Strongly disapprove	43	45	41
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q15. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Joe Biden is handling each of the following? (SCRAMBLE ITEMS A-F)

*Based on those who are Democrats or Democratic leaning independents*

	Strongly/ Somewhat approve (NET)	Strongly approve	Somewhat approve	Somewhat /Strongly disapprove (NET)	Somewhat disapprove	Strongly disapprove	No answer	
<b>a. Affordability of health care</b>								
National	71	30	41	29	19	10	1	<i>n=728</i>
AZ	75	32	42	25	17	7	*	<i>n=455</i>
MI	75	33	42	25	16	8	-	<i>n=433</i>
<b>b. Inflation, including the rising cost of household expenses</b>								
National	52	15	37	48	27	21	*	<i>n=728</i>
AZ	52	20	32	48	28	20	-	<i>n=455</i>
MI	53	17	36	47	26	21	*	<i>n=433</i>
<b>c. Immigration and border security</b>								
National	59	12	46	41	27	14	*	<i>n=728</i>
AZ	63	10	53	37	26	11	*	<i>n=455</i>
MI	64	10	55	34	24	11	1	<i>n=433</i>
<b>d. Abortion and reproductive health issues</b>								
National	70	43	28	29	15	14	1	<i>n=728</i>
AZ	75	45	31	24	11	13	1	<i>n=455</i>
MI	75	46	30	23	11	12	2	<i>n=433</i>
<b>e. Student loan repayment</b>								
National	73	38	35	27	15	12	1	<i>n=728</i>
AZ	78	41	37	21	14	7	1	<i>n=455</i>
MI	78	40	38	22	13	9	*	<i>n=433</i>
<b>f. U.S. involvement in the war between Israel and Hamas in Gaza</b>								
National	48	11	37	51	27	25	*	<i>n=728</i>
AZ	56	11	45	44	20	24	*	<i>n=455</i>
MI	47	8	39	51	27	24	2	<i>n=433</i>

Q16. Thinking back on former President Trump’s time as president, overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way he handled each of the following? (SCRAMBLE ITEMS A-F)

*Based on those who are Republican or Republican leaning independents*

	Strongly/ Somewhat approve (NET)	Strongly approve	Somewhat approve	Somewhat /Strongly disapprove (NET)	Somewhat disapprove	Strongly disapprove	No answer	
<b>a. Affordability of health care</b>								
National	88	42	46	12	9	3	*	n=454
AZ	86	39	47	14	10	4	*	n=313
MI	88	46	42	10	7	3	2	n=283
<b>b. The economy</b>								
National	94	75	20	6	3	2	-	n=454
AZ	97	77	20	3	2	1	-	n=313
MI	94	85	8	6	4	2	-	n=283
<b>c. Immigration and border security</b>								
National	91	72	19	9	4	5	*	n=454
AZ	92	81	11	8	4	3	-	n=313
MI	94	81	13	6	3	3	*	n=283
<b>e. Abortion and reproductive health issues</b>								
National	78	45	33	21	14	7	1	n=454
AZ	79	40	39	20	12	8	1	n=313
MI	77	36	41	21	13	8	1	n=283
<b>f. Crime and policing</b>								
National	90	58	32	9	7	3	*	n=454
AZ	94	62	32	6	3	3	-	n=313
MI	93	69	25	7	4	3	-	n=283

Q20. In your opinion, is President Joe Biden (too supportive) of Israel during the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, (not supportive enough), or is he handling it just right? (ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1)

	National	AZ	MI
Too supportive	36	33	39
Not supportive enough	36	37	34
Handling it just right	26	29	25
No answer	2	1	2
	n=1,383	n=928	n=876

Q21. Regardless of who you plan to vote for in the upcoming election, (IF 1-2 ROTATE ORDER, INSERT: are you better off financially now while President Biden is in office or were you better off financially when former President Trump was in office / IF 2-1 ROTATE ORDER, INSERT: were you better off financially when former President Trump was in office or are you better off financially now while President Biden is in office), or is there no difference? (ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1)

	National	AZ	MI
Better off while President Biden is in office	20	20	18
Better off when former President Trump was in office	48	47	50
No difference	32	33	32
No answer	*	-	-
	n=1,383	n=928	n=876

**ROTATE RESP1 AND RESP2**

RESP1. How much do you think Donald Trump respects [INSERT ITEM]?

	A lot/Some (NET)	A lot	Some	Not much/Not at all (NET)	Not much	Not at all	No answer	
a. Women, generally								
National	33	14	18	67	15	52	1	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	38	18	20	62	14	48	*	<i>n=928</i>
MI	38	17	21	62	17	45	*	<i>n=876</i>
b. Women he interacts with								
National	38	16	22	61	19	43	1	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	42	20	22	58	19	38	1	<i>n=928</i>
MI	44	19	25	56	19	37	*	<i>n=876</i>

RESP2. How much do you think Joe Biden respects [INSERT ITEM]?

	A lot/Some (NET)	A lot	Some	Not much/Not at all (NET)	Not much	Not at all	No answer	
a. Women, generally								
National	70	38	31	29	19	11	1	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	69	39	29	31	19	12	1	<i>n=928</i>
MI	70	33	37	29	16	13	1	<i>n=876</i>
b. Women he interacts with								
National	73	42	32	26	16	10	1	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	74	42	32	26	14	12	1	<i>n=928</i>
MI	72	37	35	27	17	10	1	<i>n=876</i>

**READ/SHOW TO ALL:** Now turning to questions specifically about abortion and reproductive health issues...

Q17. Regardless of who you intend to vote for in the upcoming elections, which presidential candidate do you trust to do a better job deciding policy related to (INSERT ITEM) in the U.S.? (SCRAMBLE ITEMS B-D; KEEP A FIRST; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1)

	President Biden	Former President Trump	Neither	No answer	
a. Abortion access					
National	46	28	26	*	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	47	28	25	*	<i>n=928</i>
MI	45	29	26	*	<i>n=876</i>
b. Birth control access					
National	46	25	28	*	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	48	25	27	-	<i>n=928</i>
MI	45	29	26	*	<i>n=876</i>
c. In vitro fertilization, or IVF					
National	44	24	32	1	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	44	24	32	1	<i>n=928</i>
MI	42	26	31	1	<i>n=876</i>
d. Women's health research					
National	45	25	29	*	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	46	25	29	-	<i>n=928</i>
MI	42	27	31	*	<i>n=876</i>

KAM1. How much, if at all, do you trust Vice President Kamala Harris to speak about abortion policy?

*Based on those who are Democrats or Democrat leaning independents*

	National	AZ	MI
A lot/Some (NET)	82	83	79
A lot	49	52	47
Some	33	31	32
Not too much/Not at all (NET)	18	16	20
Not too much	13	14	12
Not at all	6	3	7
No answer	*	*	1
	<i>n=728</i>	<i>n=455</i>	<i>n=433</i>

Q18. In general, do you think the presidential candidates have been talking (too much), (not enough), or about the right amount about [INSERT ITEM]? (ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1)

	Too much	Not enough	The right amount	No answer	
a. Abortion policy					
<i>National</i>	19	52	27	1	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	23	49	28	1	<i>n=928</i>
MI	30	39	30	1	<i>n=876</i>
b. Reproductive health policy other than abortion, like access to birth control or IVF					
National	14	55	29	2	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	16	57	26	1	<i>n=928</i>
MI	23	47	29	1	<i>n=876</i>

Q23. Do you think this year's election for **president** will have a major impact, a minor impact, or no impact on access to abortion and reproductive health care in (INSERT ITEM)? (ROTATE ITEMS A-B)

	An impact (NET)	Major impact	Minor impact	No impact	No answer	
a. The U.S.						
National	83	54	29	16	1	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	83	62	21	17	*	<i>n=928</i>
MI	82	55	28	17	1	<i>n=876</i>
b. [INSERT SAMPLE STATE]						
National	73	43	29	27	*	<i>n=1,383</i>
AZ	81	56	24	19	1	<i>n=928</i>
MI	75	43	32	24	1	<i>n=876</i>

Q25. In general, do you think the Republican Party has done too much to restrict access to reproductive health services, not done enough, or has done about the right amount?

*Based on those who are Republicans or Republican leaning independents*

	National	AZ	MI
Too much	21	22	16
Not done enough	22	26	31
Done the right amount	55	51	52
No answer	2	*	1
	<i>n=454</i>	<i>n=313</i>	<i>n=283</i>

Q26. In general, do you think the Democratic Party has (done too much) to ensure access to reproductive health services, (not done enough), or has done about the right amount? (ROTATE ITEMS IN PARENTHESIS)

*Based on those who are Democrats or Democratic leaning independents*

	National	AZ	MI
Too much	2	2	2
Not done enough	61	67	58
Done the right amount	37	31	40
No answer	*	-	*
	<i>n=728</i>	<i>n=455</i>	<i>n=433</i>

Q24. Thinking about what you hear or read on the news related to abortion around the country, which of the following comes closest to your view, even if neither is exactly right: (ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1)

	National	AZ	MI
Access to safe and legal abortions has never been more at risk.	66	64	65
The threat to women’s ability to access reproductive health services is overstated.	32	35	34
No answer	2	1	1
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

**ROTATE Q27 AND Q28**

Q27. If former President Trump is elected for a second term, how likely is it that he will sign a federal law banning abortion in the U.S. after 15 weeks of pregnancy, if such a law is passed by Congress?

	National	AZ	MI
Very/Somewhat likely (NET)	73	75	73
Very likely	44	50	43
Somewhat likely	29	25	30
Not too/Not at all likely (NET)	26	24	27
Not too likely	15	14	15
Not at all likely	11	10	12
No answer	1	1	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q28. If President Biden is elected for a second term, how likely is it that he will sign a law granting a federal right to abortion until the point of fetal viability<sup>1</sup>, typically around 23 to 25 weeks of pregnancy, if such a law is passed by Congress?

	National	AZ	MI
Very/Somewhat likely (NET)	72	74	69
Very likely	36	42	33
Somewhat likely	36	32	37
Not too/Not at all likely (NET)	26	25	30
Not too likely	19	16	20
Not at all likely	8	9	10
No answer	2	1	1
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

<sup>1</sup> Hover over on screen showed “Fetal viability: The point in time when a fetus can survive outside of the uterus”  
KFF Survey of Women Voters (May 23-June 5, 2024)



Q29. Do you (support) or (oppose) [INSERT ITEM]? (RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-E)

	Support	Oppose	No answer	
<b>a. A law guaranteeing a nationwide right to abortion</b>				
National	70	29	1	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	69	31	*	<i>n</i> =928
MI	67	32	1	<i>n</i> =876
<b>b. A law establishing a nationwide ban on abortion at 15 weeks</b>				
National	33	66	1	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	35	65	*	<i>n</i> =928
MI	34	64	1	<i>n</i> =876
<b>c. Leaving it up to the states to decide whether abortion is legal or not in each state</b>				
National	38	61	1	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	38	62	*	<i>n</i> =928
National	40	59	1	<i>n</i> =876
<b>d. A federal law protecting access to abortions in the case of rape or incest in all states where abortion is banned</b>				
National	81	18	*	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	83	17	*	<i>n</i> =928
MI	79	20	1	<i>n</i> =876
<b>e. Laws protecting access to abortions for patients who are experiencing pregnancy-related emergencies</b>				
National	86	14	1	<i>n</i> =1,383
AZ	88	12	*	<i>n</i> =928
MI	84	15	1	<i>n</i> =876

VOTE22. A lot of people are unable to get out and vote for many reasons. Did you happen to vote in the 2022 midterm elections for Congress?

*Based on those who are 19 or older*

	National	AZ	MI
Yes, voted	61	62	59
No, did not vote	24	22	25
Do not remember	14	17	15
No answer	-	-	-
	<i>n</i> =1,374	<i>n</i> =900	<i>n</i> =868

VOTE20. In the 2020 election for president did you vote for (Joe Biden), (Donald Trump), someone else, or did you not vote in the 2020 general election for president?

*Based on those who are 21 or older*

	National	AZ	MI
Joe Biden	48	46	47
Donald Trump	35	38	38
Someone else	5	6	2
Did not vote in 2020	12	10	12
No answer	1	*	1
	<i>n</i> =1,327	<i>n</i> =846	<i>n</i> =824

VOTE20 Variable

	National	AZ	MI
Voted in 2020	88	90	87
Did not vote in 2020	12	10	12
No answer	1	*	1
	<i>n=1,327</i>	<i>n=846</i>	<i>n=824</i>

VOTE16. In the 2016 election for president did you vote for (Hillary Clinton), (Donald Trump), someone else, or did you not vote in the 2016 general election for president?

*Based on those who are 23 or older*

	National	AZ	MI
Hillary Clinton	41	38	41
Donald Trump	35	36	38
Someone else	5	6	4
Did not vote in 2016	12	15	10
Don't remember	7	5	7
No answer	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,273</i>	<i>n=789</i>	<i>n=793</i>

VOTE16 Variable

	National	AZ	MI
Voted in 2016	81	81	83
Did not vote in 2016	12	15	10
Do not remember	7	5	7
No answer	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,273</i>	<i>n=789</i>	<i>n=793</i>

**READ/SHOW TO RESPONDENTS IN MICHIGAN:** Now turning to some questions about the upcoming elections in your state in November...

MI1. In 2022, Michigan passed Proposition 3, the Right to Reproductive Freedom Initiative. How much, if at all, have you heard or read about this initiative?

*Based on Michigan voters*

	MI
A lot/Some (NET)	46
A lot	15
Some	31
A little/None at all (NET)	54
A little	26
None at all	28
No answer	*
	<i>n=876</i>

**SHOW IF MICHIGAN VOTER:** As you may know, the Right to Reproductive Freedom Initiative provides a state constitutional right to reproductive freedom and ensures a fundamental right to abortion that the state may not interfere with before the point of fetal viability<sup>2</sup>, typically around 23 to 25 weeks of pregnancy.

MI2. In 2022, did you vote Yes or No to this proposition, did you not vote on this proposition, or do you not remember?

*Based on Michigan voters who voted in 2022*

	MI
Voted on the Right to Reproductive Freedom Initiative (NET)	67
Voted yes, in favor of this proposition	44
Voted no, in opposition to this proposition	23
Did not vote	4
Don't remember	29
No answer	*
	<i>n=548</i>

MI3. Thinking about the Right to Reproductive Freedom initiative<sup>3</sup>, was this initiative...

*Based on Michigan voters who voted on the Right to Reproductive Freedom Initiative in 2022*

	MI
Very/Somewhat important (NET)	73
Very important to your decision to turn out to vote in 2022	48
Somewhat important to your decision to turn out to vote in 2022	25
Not at all a reason in your decision to turn out to vote in 2022	27
No answer	*
	<i>n=347</i>

MI4. Do you think the issue of whether abortion is legal is (decided) in your state, or is it (still being determined)? (ROTATE TEXT IN PARENTHESES)

*Based on Michigan voters*

	MI
Decided	60
Still being determined	38
No answer	2
	<i>n=876</i>

MI5. Did you vote in the Democratic primary in your state in February of this year?

*Based on Democrats and Independents who live in Michigan*

	MI
Yes	42
No	58
No answer	-
	<i>n=558</i>

<sup>2</sup> Hover over on screen “**Fetal viability:** The point in time when a fetus can survive outside of the uterus”

<sup>3</sup> Hover over on screen “The Right to Reproductive Freedom Initiative provides a state constitutional right to reproductive freedom and ensures a fundamental right to abortion that the state may not interfere with before the point of fetal viability which is the point in time when a fetus can survive outside of the uterus, typically around 23 to 25 weeks of pregnancy.”

MI6. Did you vote for Joe Biden, Marianne Williamson, Dean Phillips, or uncommitted? (ROTATE ANSWER 2-3)

*Based on Democrats and Independents in Michigan who voted in primary*

	MI
Joe Biden	79
Marianne Williamson	2
Dean Phillips	3
Uncommitted	16
No answer	-
	<i>n=265</i>

Q30. What is the main reason that you voted uncommitted in the Democratic Primary in your state?

*Based on Michigan voters who voted uncommitted in Democratic primary*

*Sample size too insufficient to report*

MISENATE. If the 2024 Senate elections in Michigan were held today and the candidates were (Democrat Elissa Slotkin) and (Republican Mike Rogers), who would you vote for?

*Based on Michigan voters*

	MI
Democrat Elissa Slotkin	45
Republican Mike Rogers	30
Some other candidate (Vol.)	6
I wouldn't vote (Vol.)	18
No answer	2
	<i>n=876</i>

**READ/SHOW TO RESPONDENTS IN ARIZONA:** Now turning to some questions about the upcoming elections in your state in November...

AZ1. How much, if at all, have you heard about the Arizona Right to Abortion Initiative, a ballot initiative that may appear on the 2024 Arizona ballot?

*Based on Arizona voters*

	AZ
A lot/Some (NET)	53
A lot	19
Some	34
A little/None at all (NET)	47
A little	23
None at all	24
No answer	-
	<i>n=928</i>

**SHOW IF ARIZONA VOTER:** As you may know, the Arizona Right to Abortion Initiative is a ballot initiative that would establish a fundamental right to abortion that the state may not interfere with before the point of fetal viability<sup>4</sup>, typically around 23 to 25 weeks of pregnancy.

AZ2. Do you support or oppose the Arizona Right to Abortion Initiative?

*Based on Arizona voters*

	AZ
Strongly/Somewhat support (NET)	67
Strongly support	45
Somewhat support	22
Somewhat/Strongly oppose (NET)	32
Somewhat oppose	11
Strongly oppose	21
No answer	*
	<i>n=928</i>

AZ3. If the Arizona Right to Abortion Initiative<sup>5</sup> appears on the ballot in November, would that make you (more) motivated to vote in the 2024 election, (less) motivated to vote, or would it not impact your decision to vote? (ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1)

*Based on Arizona voters*

	AZ
More motivated to vote	49
Less motivated to vote	2
No impact	49
No answer	-
	<i>n=928</i>

<sup>4</sup> Hover over on screen “**Fetal viability:** The point in time when a fetus can survive outside of the uterus”

<sup>5</sup> Hover over on screen “The Arizona Right to Abortion Initiative is a ballot initiative that would establish a fundamental right to abortion that the state may not interfere with before the point of fetal viability, typically around 23 to 25 weeks of pregnancy”

AZ4. Thinking about how the issue of abortion might affect your vote for **Congress** in November, which comes closer to your view: (ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-3/3-1)

*Based on Arizona voters*

	AZ
I would only vote for a candidate who shares my views on abortion.	28
A candidate's position on abortion is just one of many important factors.	61
Abortion is not an important factor in my vote choice.	10
No answer	*
	<i>n=928</i>

AZ5. In general, do you think the **candidates for Senate** in Arizona have been talking too much, not enough, or the right amount about abortion?

*Based on Arizona voters*

	AZ
Too much	16
Not enough	50
The right amount	33
No answer	1
	<i>n=928</i>

AZSENATE. If the 2024 Senate elections in Arizona were held today and the candidates were (Democrat Ruben Gallego) and (Republican Kari Lake), who would you vote for? (ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1)

*Based on Arizona voters*

	AZ
Democrat Ruben Gallego	49
Republican Kari Lake	33
Some other candidate (Vol.)	9
I wouldn't vote (Vol.)	8
No answer	1
	<i>n=928</i>

**READ/SHOW TO ALL:** Now we have a few questions we will use to describe the people who took part in our survey...

Q31. A lot of people are unable to get out and vote for many reasons. How likely are you to vote in the upcoming November election?

	National	AZ	MI
Absolutely certain/Will probably (NET)	85	88	84
Absolutely certain you will vote	72	73	75
Will probably vote	13	15	9
There is a 50-50 chance	9	9	10
Probably won't/Absolutely certain (NET)	6	3	6
Probably won't vote	4	2	4
Absolutely certain you won't vote	2	1	2
No answer	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q32. Regardless of whether you voted in a Republican primary election in your state, who was your preference to be the Republican nominee for president? (ROTATE OPTIONS 1 AND 2)

*Based on those who are Republican or Republican leaning*

	National	AZ	MI
Donald Trump	70	70	83
Nikki Haley	13	14	9
Someone else	9	10	6
No preference	7	5	2
No answer	1	-	*
	<i>n=454</i>	<i>n=313</i>	<i>n=283</i>

Q33. If November's election for Congress were held today, which party's candidate are you more likely to vote for in your district? (ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1)

	National	AZ	MI
The Democratic Party's candidate	42	41	41
The Republican Party's candidate	34	33	37
Not sure	19	22	20
Someone else (Vol.)	5	3	2
No answer	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

LGBT. Do you think of yourself as: (Select all that apply.)

	National	AZ	MI
Lesbian	3	2	2
Gay	*	*	-
Bisexual	6	5	5
Trans or Transgender	1	*	*
None of these	91	93	93
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

LGBT\_TOTAL

	National	AZ	MI
LGBT	9	7	7
Non LGBT	91	93	93
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

BORNAGAIN. Would you describe yourself as a "born-again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

	National	AZ	MI
Yes, born-again or Evangelical	27	23	28
No, not born-again or Evangelical	72	77	71
No answer	1	*	1
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

WHITEEVAN VARIABLE

	National	AZ	MI
White evangelical	18	14	20
Not white evangelical	82	86	80
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

COVERAGE. Are you covered by any form of health insurance or health plan or do you not have health insurance at this time?

	National	AZ	MI
Covered by health insurance	95	93	94
Not covered by health insurance	5	7	6
No answer	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

AGECOV VARIABLE

	National	AZ	MI
Insured less than 65	93	90	92
Uninsured less than 65	7	10	8
	<i>n=1,055</i>	<i>n=711</i>	<i>n=639</i>

COVTYPE. Which of the following is your **main** source of health insurance coverage?

*Based on those who are insured*

	National	AZ	MI
Plan through my or my spouse's employer	42	36	40
Plan I purchased myself	11	11	9
Medicare, the government program for adults 65 and older, and some younger adults with long-term disabilities	26	35	25
Medicaid/[STATE-SPECIFIC MEDICAID NAME], the government program for certain low-income adults and children	15	11	17
Plan through my parents/mother/father	4	5	6
Somewhere else (specify)	2	1	2
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=1,304</i>	<i>n=853</i>	<i>n=828</i>

Q34. How worried are you, if at all, that you or someone close to you will need an abortion during a medical emergency and be unable to get it?

	National	AZ	MI
Very/Somewhat worried (NET)	45	47	33
Very worried	23	23	14
Somewhat worried	22	24	19
Not too/Not at all worried (NET)	55	53	67
Not too worried	24	21	27
Not at all worried	32	32	39
No answer	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q35. Do you personally know someone, including yourself, who has ended a pregnancy by abortion?

	National	AZ	MI
Yes	61	63	60
No	39	37	40
No answer	*	-	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>



IDEOLOGY. Would you say your views in most political matters are liberal, moderate, or conservative?

	National	AZ	MI
Liberal	26	21	27
Moderate	46	49	41
Conservative	27	29	31
No answer	1	*	1
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q36. Do you think abortion should be: (ROTATE 1-4/4-1)

	National	AZ	MI
Legal (NET)	74	72	74
Legal in all cases	39	36	38
Legal in most cases	36	36	35
Illegal (NET)	25	28	26
Illegal in most cases	18	23	19
Illegal in all cases	7	5	6
No answer	1	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

Q36\_REC

	National	AZ	MI
Legal in all/Most cases	74	72	74
Illegal in all/Most cases	25	28	26
No answer	1	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

ABORT1. On the issue of abortion, would you say you are more (pro-life) or (pro-choice)? (ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1; ROTATE ITEMS IN PARENTHESES)

	National	AZ	MI
Pro-life	32	32	33
Pro-choice	67	68	67
No answer	1	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

MAGA1. Do you consider yourself to be a supporter of the MAGA movement, that is the Make America Great Again movement?

*Based on those who are Republican or lean Republican*

	National	AZ	MI
Yes	67	63	78
No	32	35	21
No answer	1	2	2
	<i>n=454</i>	<i>n=313</i>	<i>n=283</i>

EDUC. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

	National	AZ	MI
HS grad or less (NET)	27	25	28
Less than high school (Grades 1-8 or no formal schooling)	1	2	1
High school incomplete (Grades 9-11 or Grade 12 with no diploma)	4	4	4
High school graduate (Grade 12 with diploma or GED certificate)	22	18	23
Some college (NET)	31	34	34
Some college, no degree (includes some community college)	19	22	22
Two-year associate degree from a college or university	12	12	12
College grad+ (NET)	42	42	38
Four-year college or university degree/Bachelor's degree	26	25	21
Some postgraduate or professional schooling, no postgraduate degree	4	3	4
Postgraduate or professional degree, including master's, doctorate, medical or law degree	12	13	13
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

HISPANIC. Are you of Latino or Hispanic origin descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Latin American background?

	National	AZ	MI
Yes	12	21	4
No	88	78	96
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

NATIVITY. Were you born in the United States, or on the island of Puerto Rico, or in another country?

	National	AZ	MI
U.S.	89	92	96
Puerto Rico	1	*	*
Another country	10	7	4
No answer	*	*	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

RACE. What is your race? (Select all that apply.)

	National	AZ	MI
White	78	85	82
Black or African American	15	7	16
Asian	4	2	2
American Indian	3	3	1
Alaska Native	*	*	*
Native Hawaiian	*	-	*
Pacific Islander	1	1	*
Multiple races	*	1	*
Some other race (Specify)	3	7	1
No answer	1	1	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

HISPANIC/RACE Combined- RACETHN

	National	AZ	MI
White, Non-Hispanic	68	66	77
Black, Non-Hispanic	13	5	15
Asian, Non-Hispanic	3	1	1
American Indian/Alaskan Native, non-Hispanic	*	*	*
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic	*	*	-
Some other race, non-Hispanic	*	1	*
Hispanic	12	21	4
Multiple races, non-Hispanic	3	4	2
Race undetermined	1	1	*
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

HHADULTS. How many adults, age 18 and over, currently live in your household INCLUDING YOURSELF?

	National	AZ	MI
1	24	24	25
2	48	47	48
3	15	16	15
4	8	8	8
5	2	2	2
6 or greater	2	3	1
No answer	*	*	-
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>

ZIPCODE. What is your zip code?

INCOME. Last year – that is, in 2023– what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes?

	National	AZ	MI
Less than \$20,000	12	11	12
\$20,000 to less than \$30,000	10	9	13
\$30,000 to less than \$40,000	8	9	12
\$40,000 to less than \$50,000	9	7	8
\$50,000 to less than \$75,000	16	18	16
\$75,000 to less than \$90,000	11	10	10
\$90,000 to less than \$100,000	6	5	6
\$100,000 to less than \$200,000	18	22	16
\$200,000 or more	7	7	5
No answer	3	2	3
	<i>n=1,383</i>	<i>n=928</i>	<i>n=876</i>



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