

To: Interested Parties

From: Lake Research Partners and HIT Strategies

RE: Survey Findings among Sporadic and Non-voting Young Women

Date: July 2024

On behalf of the Supermajority Education Fund, Lake Research Partners and HIT Strategies conducted a survey¹ among young women who are sporadic voters and non-voters (also known as low-propensity voters). Defined as those ages 18 to 35 who have voted in 50% or less of the last six federal elections that they were eligible for, these voters are deeply concerned about what the future holds but are hopeful that through taking action together, we can create meaningful change.

Civic participation from these young women is critical— young women have been consequential to every election outcome and subsequent policy shift since 2016. But the reality is that they are frustrated and hopeless. **Engaging young sporadic and non-voting young women hinges on clarifying the stakes of this election for the future. They vote to have a say in their future, they believe government isn't doing its job but that it could work well in the future, and they are concerned about the future that Project 2025 could create.**

Young women who are sporadic voters and non-voters are cognizant about the most pressing issues of this moment, and they're in agreement on where to place the blame for their problems. **They blame older white men running wealthy corporations and the country for today's problems, and they believe having more diverse leadership, such as more women of color, could address these problems now and in the future.**

Key Findings

- **When they hear about the agenda of Project 2025, sporadic young women voters and non-voters are concerned** (49% very, 80% overall), reinforcing that this agenda is disastrously out of step with young women's values and policy goals. **Nearly two-thirds (62%) think Project 2025 is likely to become a reality**—though only 24% think it is very likely.
- **The cost of living is the most important issue for elected officials to address and is the most motivating issue for young women who are sporadic and non-voters** (48% say this is a top issue and 55% say this is a motivating issue on which to take action).
 - Second-tier issues for elected officials to address and to motivate women to take action on are reproductive healthcare, including abortion (17% top issue and 16%

¹ Phone survey of 1,100 young women ages 18-35 nationwide who are registered to vote, but are sporadic or non-voters, which includes a base sample of 800 young women with oversamples of 100 Black, 100 Latina, and 100 Asian American Pacific Islander young women registered voters. Conducted May 20 to June 2, 2024, using professional telephone interviewers and text to online (a portion of the sample received a text to their cell phone with a link to complete the survey online). The margin of error is +/-3.0%.

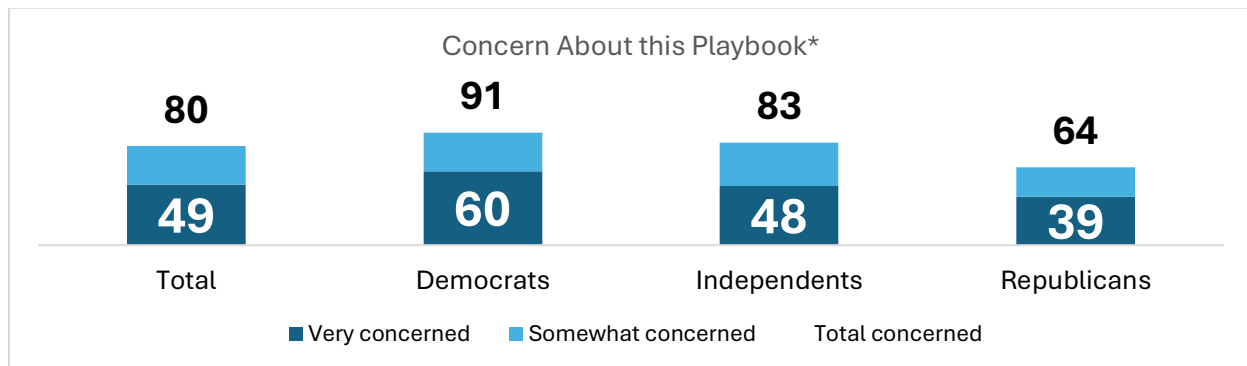
most motivating) and the Israel/Palestine conflict (17% top issue and 16% most motivating).

- The top sentiments that these young women low-propensity voters feel when it comes to voting are **frustrated** (38%) and **hopeless** (31%).
- While young women who are sporadic voters and non-voters are feeling demobilized right now, **they see future openings for solutions.**
 - A majority (58%) strongly agree that ***we must vote to have a say not only in our futures, but also in our children and younger siblings' futures, so they can grow up in a better world than previous generations have left for us*** (87% agree overall).
 - Similarly, a majority (57%) sides with a statement that says ***our government and political system do not work effectively now to provide solutions for the issues facing the American people but could in the future*** as opposed to believing the systems will likely never work effectively (30% side with this sentiment) or work effectively now (7% side with this sentiment).
- While these young women low-propensity voters **feel positive about their own personal futures** (66% feel positive), **they feel negatively about the future of the country** (71% feel negative) and **the future of the planet** (65% feel negative).
- **Young low-propensity women voters place the blame for the problems we face today squarely on the shoulders of older white men running wealthy corporations and running the country.** About half (49%) strongly agree, and three quarters (76%) agree that *older white men running wealthy corporations and running the country are causing most of the problems we face today*. The finding that young people feel encumbered by corporate power and greed is a consistent theme corroborated by previous Supermajority Education Fund research and other studies on attitudes among young voters.
- **They also agree that increased diversity in leadership could address many of our problems.** A plurality (43%) strongly agrees, and 79% agree that *having more diverse leadership in wealthy corporations and in the government, such as more women of color, could provide a fresh perspective to decision-making and could address many of the problems we face today*.

Concerns and Skepticism about Project 2025

- When presented with information about Project 2025, described as “a playbook” that would change presidential power, deny climate change and repeal laws, ban medication abortion, cut investments in children and seniors, and mistreat and harm undocumented immigrants, people experiencing homelessness, and queer and trans people, about half (49%) of these young women low-propensity voters say they feel very concerned about this playbook. Four in five (80%) feel concerned.

Description: According to articles in *Politico* and *Time Magazine*, some policymakers have written a playbook that includes instructions for restructuring the government within the first 180 days of the next presidency. If enacted, this plan would give the next president more power, ban medication abortion in every state, deny climate change and repeal laws and agencies trying to combat it, round up undocumented immigrants into detention camps for deportation, arrest and fine people experiencing homelessness, define queer and trans people as pornography to be outlawed, and cut children's and senior programs.



*split sampled question

- Those who are most intensely concerned about Project 2025 are strong Democrats (64% very concerned) and 4-year college graduates (56%).
- Across racial and ethnic groups, young women who are sporadic voters and non-voters are concerned about Project 2025:
 - Asian American or Pacific Islander young women² – 46% are very concerned
 - Black young women – 49%
 - Latinas – 55%
 - White women – 47%
- Across party identification, young women are concerned. Democratic young women are more intensely concerned – 60% very concerned/91% concerned, followed by Independents³ – 48%/83% concerned, and Republicans⁴ – 39%/64%.

² Note small sample size

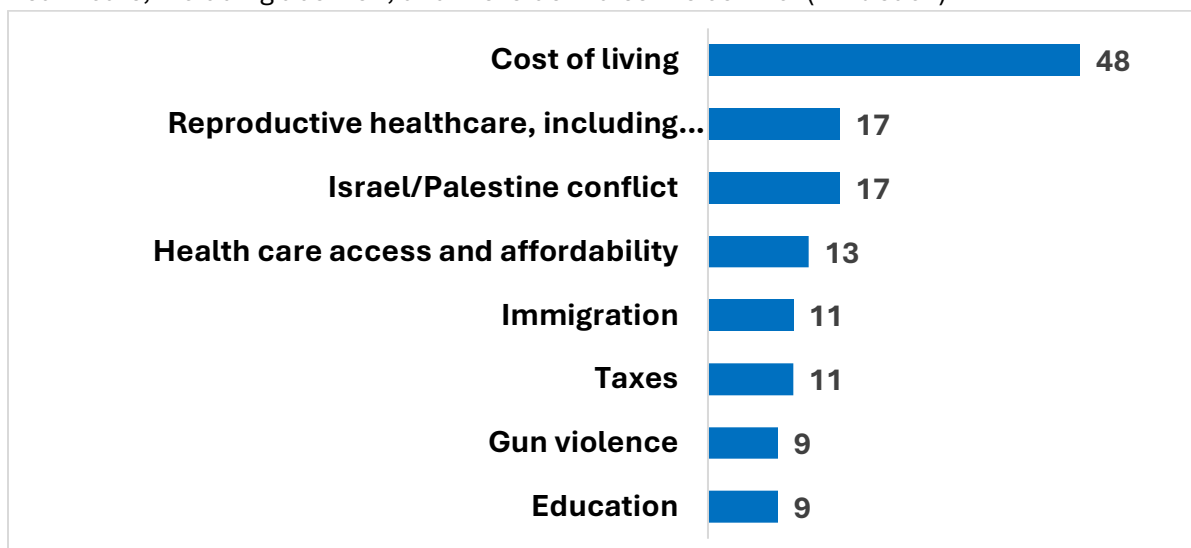
³ Includes those who don't know their party identification

⁴ Note small sample size

- However, while a solid majority (62%) of these young women low-propensity voters think this playbook is likely to become reality, only a quarter (24%) believe it is **very likely** that this playbook could become reality.⁵
 - About a third of strong Democrats (33%) and married women (32%) think it is very likely that the Project 2025 playbook could become a reality.
 - Women of color are more likely than white women to think this could become reality: 72% of Asian American or Pacific Islander young women,⁶ 69% of Black young women, 68% of Latinas, and 59% of white young women think this is likely to become reality.
 - Nearly three quarters (74%) of Democrats and six in ten (61%) Independent young women say this is likely to become reality.
 - Nearly every demographic, geographic, and attitudinal subgroup thinks it is more likely than not that this playbook could become a reality. Republican women (47% likely, 46% not likely) and rural women⁷ (40% likely, 43% not likely) split between thinking this is likely and not likely to become reality.

The Issue Agenda

- The top concern that young women who are sporadic and non-voters want elected officials to address is the cost of living (48% say this is a top issue).⁸ In a second tier are reproductive healthcare, including abortion, and the Israel/Palestine conflict (17% each).⁹



- Cost of living is also the most motivating issue to take action, including but not limited to voting (55% say this is a top most motivating issue to take action), followed again by

⁵ Split sampled question

⁶ Note small sample size

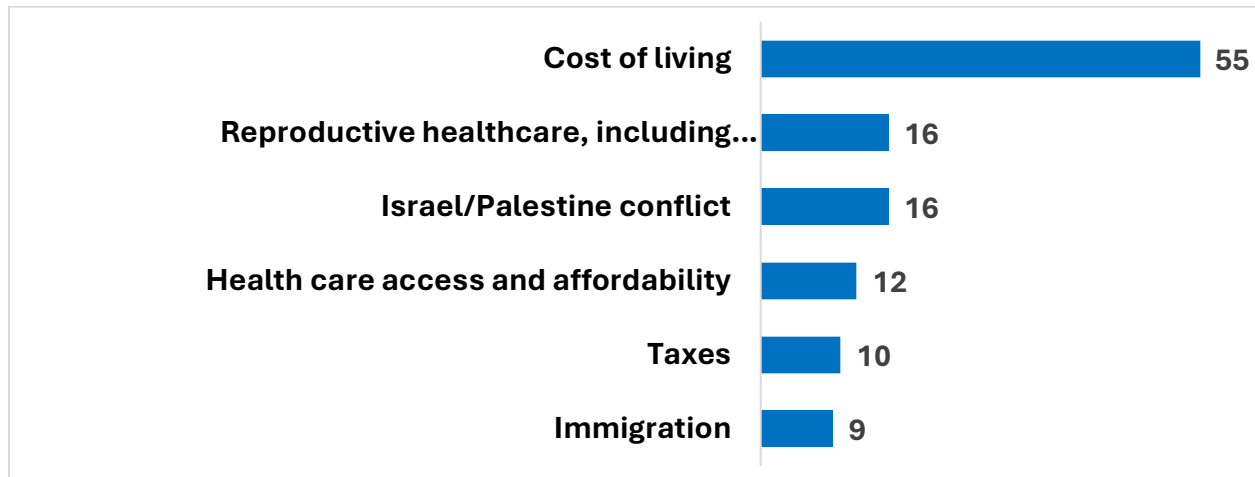
⁷ Note small sample size

⁸ Split sampled question

⁹ Seven percent or less say student loans, jobs, mental health, crime, the environment and climate change, democracy, cost and availability of caregiving for family members, national security, racism, LGBTQ equality, or something else.

reproductive healthcare, including abortion, and the Israel/Palestine conflict (16% each).¹⁰

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- Across subgroups, cost of living is the issue these young women low-propensity voters want elected officials to address and the most motivating issue that makes them want to take action.

Cost of living	% Top Concern	% Most Motivating
Ages 18-24	47	52
Ages 25-29	47	60
Ages 30-35	50	54
AAPI ¹²	63	51
Black	35	59
Latina	52	53
White	50	54
High school/less	43	55
Post-high school no college	48	53
4-year college graduate	56	60
Post-graduate ¹³	43	52
Democrat	40	42
Independent	53	60
Republican ¹⁴	52	67
Married	49	54
Unmarried	48	57
Moms	48	55

¹⁰ Split sampled question

¹¹ Eight percent or less say crime, jobs, democracy, mental health, the environment and climate change, gun violence, student loans, cost and availability of caregiving for family members, racism, education, national security, LGBTQ equality, or something else.

¹² Note small sample size

¹³ Note small sample size

¹⁴ Note small sample size

Childless	48	56
Urban	52	58
Suburban	36	54
Rural ¹⁵	49	43

- It is no surprise that cost of living resonates at this level. A plurality (43%) of these young women low-propensity voters strongly agrees and 76% agree that *I am unlikely to meet the same economic milestones as my parents or grandparents, such as buying a house.*¹⁶
 - Every demographic, geographic, and attitudinal subgroup agrees with this by wide margins, with net agreement for most subgroups at 40 points or higher.
- Reproductive health care, including abortion, remains on the issue agenda for young women low-propensity voters.
 - Rural women¹⁷ (26%) and Democrats (24%) are more likely than other groups to say that reproductive health care, including abortion, is an issue they want elected officials to address.¹⁸
 - Democrats (31%), young women in the Midwest region¹⁹ (26%), white college-educated young women (25%), four-year college graduates (23%), are more likely than other groups to say that reproductive health care, including abortion, is a motivating issue.²⁰
- The Israel/Palestine conflict is salient for young women low-propensity voters.
 - Women of color²¹ ages 18-29 (25%) and young women in the South Atlantic²² (25%) or Pacific²³ (25%) regions are more likely than other groups to say the Israel/Palestine conflict is an issue they want elected officials to address.²⁴
 - Post-graduates²⁵ (38%), young women in the Middle Atlantic region²⁶ (32%), white college-educated young women (24%), and Asian American or Pacific Islander young women (23%) are more likely than other groups to say that the Israel/Palestine conflict is a motivating issue.²⁷

¹⁵ Note small sample size

¹⁶ Split sampled question

¹⁷ Note small sample size

¹⁸ Split sampled question

¹⁹ The Midwest is defined as young women who live in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, or Missouri

²⁰ Split sampled question

²¹ Women of color are defined as Asian American or Pacific Islander, Black, Latina, Native or Indigenous American, Middle Eastern or North African, another race or ethnicity, or bi- or multi-racial young women.

²² The South Atlantic is defined as young women who live in who live in Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, or Florida.

²³ The Pacific is defined as young women who live in California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, or Hawaii. Also, note small sample size

²⁴ Split sampled question

²⁵ Note small sample size

²⁶ The Middle Atlantic is defined as young women who live in New York, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania.

²⁷ Split sample question

- Seven in ten (70%) young women low-propensity voters are concerned about the conflict in Gaza, with 38% who are very concerned. Fewer than a quarter are not concerned (23%, 10% not concerned at all).
 - Every demographic, geographic, and attitudinal subgroup is concerned about the conflict in Gaza by wide margins.
 - Subgroups who are the most likely to be very concerned about the conflict in Gaza are Asian American or Pacific Islander women ages 30 to 35²⁸ (62%), non-college-educated Asian American or Pacific Islander women²⁹ (55%), college-educated Black women (53%), college-educated Latinas (51%), post-graduates (50%), and Democrats (49%).

- When they think about the conflict in Gaza, young women low-propensity voters are most bothered by killing and targeting civilians in Gaza (35% say this bothers them the most). About a fifth say that using U.S. tax dollars to fund a genocide (22%) or we are spending too much money abroad and not enough at home (21%) are the aspects that bother them the most.
 - Few young low-propensity women voters are most bothered by the hostages still not being released (4%), arresting protestors in the U.S. (2%), making sure Israel is secure (2%), or antisemitism (2%).
 - Killing and targeting civilians in Gaza is especially salient to Democrats and suburban young women.
 - Asian American or Pacific Islander young women and those with a high school degree or less education split between being most bothered by killing and targeting civilians and U.S. tax dollars funding genocide.
 - Republican young women are split between being most bothered by spending too much money abroad and not enough at home, and killing and targeting Gazan civilians.
 - Rural young women are most bothered by spending too much money abroad and not enough at home.

²⁸ Note small sample size

²⁹ Note small sample size

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% Most Bothered By...	Killing and targeting civilians in Gaza	Using U.S tax dollars to fund a genocide	Spending too much abroad and not enough at home
Ages 18-24	36	29	18
Ages 25-29	36	22	17
Ages 30-35	35	17	25
AAPI	33	32	23
Black	40	23	21
Latina	39	19	22
White	34	22	20
High school/less	26	25	20
Post-high school no college	37	20	20
4-year college graduate	39	21	24
Post-graduate	38	24	19
Democrat	48	24	10
Independent	32	23	25
Republican	26	17	30
Married	36	17	21
Unmarried	35	25	20
Moms	31	19	24
Childless	38	24	19
Urban	35	24	20
Suburban	45	17	18
Rural	21	19	30

- Sporadic voting and non-voting young women give poor ratings to both national elected Democrats³⁰ and national elected Republicans³¹ for their handling of pro-Palestinian protests in the U.S.
 - A majority (59%) rate national elected Democrats poorly and 38% rate them very poorly for their handling of pro-Palestinian protests in the U.S.
 - Similarly, a majority (59%) rate national elected Republicans poorly and 40% rate them very poorly for their handling of pro-Palestinian protests in the U.S.
 - Independents rate both national elected Democrats (61%) and nationally elected Republicans (62%) poorly.

³⁰ Split sampled question

³¹ Split sampled question

- Democratic young women low-propensity voters are more likely than Republican young women low-propensity voters to rate members of their own party poorly (51% of Democrats rate national elected Democrats poorly; 43% of Republicans rate national elected Republicans poorly).

% Rate Poorly	National Elected Democrats*	National Elected Republicans*
Ages 18-24	61	59
Ages 25-29	59	55
Ages 30-35	59	61
AAPI ³²	64	57
Black	62	68
Latina	50	65
White	62	55
High school/less	58	45
Post-high school no college	56	55
4-year college graduate	61	70
Post-graduate ³³	72	72
Democrat	51	68
Independent	61	62
Republican	72	43
Married	60	57
Unmarried	60	59
Moms	59	59
Childless	60	59
Urban	57	58
Suburban	69	66
Rural ³⁴	57	49

*split sampled

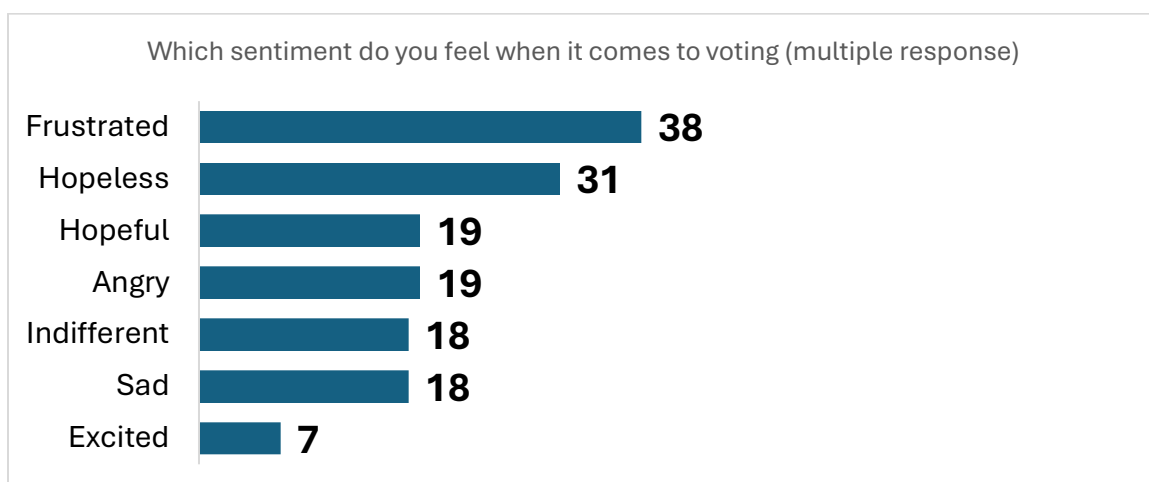
Feelings about Voting

- The top sentiments that young women who are sporadic voters and non-voters feel when it comes to voting are frustrated (38%) and hopeless (31%).
 - Frustrated is the top emotion across age and parental status, and among white women, Asian American and Pacific Islander women, college graduates, Democrats, and suburban and rural young women.
 - Frustrated and hopeless are tied for the top emotions among non-college graduates.

³² Note small sample size

³³ Note small sample size

³⁴ Note small sample size



- About one in five (19%) of these young women low-propensity voters feel hopeful.
 - Those who are most likely to feel hopeful include Democrats (25%) and Latinas in their 30s (24%).
- Similarly, one in five (19%) feel angry.
 - Those who are most likely to feel angry include Asian American and Pacific Islander women (30%), strong Democrats (27%), Black women in their 30s (26%), and 4-year college graduates (26%).

Looking to the Future

- When given three options about how our government and political systems work, a majority (57%) of young women low-propensity voters says that a statement that says *our government and political system do not work effectively now to provide solutions for the issues facing the American people but could in the future* is closest to their own views. Three in ten (30%) say that a statement that says *our government and political system will likely never work effectively to provide solutions for the issues facing the American people* is closest to their own views, and 7% say that *our government and political system work effectively to provide solutions for the issues facing the American people* is closest to their views.
 - Every key demographic, geographic, and attitudinal subgroup says they align the most with the statement about our government and political system not working now but that it could work in the future, suggesting that despite widespread pessimism, there is still space and hope for a better future.
 - Those who are most likely to side with this view are Asian American and Pacific Islander women in their 30s³⁵ (74%), young women in the Mountain region³⁶ (74%), young women in the Pacific region (65%), Democrats (64%), and Black college-educated women (63%).

³⁵ Note small sample size

³⁶ Note small sample size

- The most skeptical about our government and political system ever working are young women who are not likely to vote in November (45%), Black non-college-educated women (42%), Black women in their 30s (40%), and Asian American and Pacific Islander women ages 18-29 (39%).
- Over half (58%) of these young low-propensity women voters strongly agree and nearly nine in ten (87%) agree that *we must vote to have a say not only in our futures, but also in our children and younger siblings' futures, so they can grow up in a better world than previous generations have left for us.*³⁷
 - Young women low-propensity voters do not have to be moms to agree with this sentiment. Majorities of moms (56%) and childless women (60%) strongly agree that we must vote for our own futures as well as our children and younger siblings' futures.
 - This sentiment resonates among young women low-propensity voters across age, race, educational attainment, party identification, marital status, and urbanicity.
 - Ages 18-24 – 63% strongly agree, ages 25-29 – 55%, 30-35 – 58%
 - Asian American or Pacific Islander young women³⁸ – 56% strongly agree, Black young women – 54%, Latinas – 64%, and white women – 57%
 - High school or less – 67% strongly agree, post-high school no college – 46%, college graduates – 68%
 - Democrats – 67% strongly agree, Independents – 53%, Republicans³⁹ – 57%
 - Married women – 57% strongly agree, unmarried women – 60%
 - Urban – 59% strongly agree, suburban – 51%, and rural⁴⁰ – 69%
- Two-thirds (66%) of young women who are sporadic voters and non-voters feel positive about their own futures, with 22% who feel very positive.
 - Latinas ages 30-35 (73%), post-graduates (74%), Republicans (73%), and those who live in a large city (73%) are the most likely to feel positive toward their own futures.
 - Every demographic, geographic, and attitudinal subgroup feels net-positive about their own futures.
- However, seven in ten (71%) feel negative about the future of the country, with a third (33%) who feel very negative.
 - Negativity about the future of the country crosses age, race, educational attainment, party identification, marital status, parental status, and urbanicity.
- Similarly, about two-thirds (65%) feel negative about the future of the planet, with over a quarter (28%) who feel very negative.

³⁷ Split sampled question

³⁸ Note small sample size

³⁹ Note small sample size

⁴⁰ Note small sample size

- As we see with thinking about the future of the country, negativity about the future of the planet crosses age, race, educational attainment, party identification, marital status, parental status, and urbanicity.

% Feel negative	The future of the country	The future of the planet
Ages 18-24	68	63
Ages 25-29	70	64
Ages 30-35	74	68
AAPI	63	65
Black	69	62
Latina	71	65
White	73	66
High school/less	79	68
Post-high school no college	62	57
4-year college graduate	80	73
Post-graduate	72	70
Democrat	69	68
Independent	75	68
Republican	68	57
Married	77	67
Unmarried	68	64
Moms	77	67
Childless	68	64
Urban	68	62
Suburban	76	70
Rural	78	73

The Cause of and Solution to Our Problems

- Young women who are sporadic voters and non-voters overwhelmingly agree that *older white men running wealthy corporations and running the country are causing most of the problems we face today* (49% strongly agree, 76% agree).⁴¹
 - The subgroups who are most likely to strongly agree that powerful older white men causing most of the problems are strong Democrats (63%), Black women (58%), and women in the West South Central region⁴² (58%).
 - Every demographic, attitudinal, and geographic subgroup agrees by wide margins that *older white men running wealthy corporations and running the country are causing most of the problems we face today*.

⁴¹ Split sampled question

⁴² Note small sample size

Older white men cause most problems	Strongly agree	Agree
Ages 18-24	52	80
Ages 25-29	51	79
Ages 30-35	46	71
AAPI ⁴³	49	79
Black	58	87
Latina	49	83
White	45	70
High school/less	53	79
Post-high school no college	47	74
4-year college graduate ⁴⁴	50	77
Democrat	59	87
Independent	49	82
Republican	34	54
Married	44	66
Unmarried	52	82
Moms	46	68
Childless	51	82
Urban	52	80
Suburban	43	70
Rural ⁴⁵	43	67

- Too much power at the hands of older white men is the problem, and these young women low-propensity voters see more diverse leaders as part of the solution. A plurality (43%) strongly agrees and about four in five agree (79%) that *having more diverse leadership in wealthy corporations and in the government, such as more women of color, could provide a fresh perspective to decision-making and could address many of the problems we face today.*⁴⁶
 - The subgroups who are most likely to strongly agree that more diverse leadership could provide fresh perspective and address many problems are Democrats (58%) and Black women (53%).
 - Again, every demographic, attitudinal, and geographic subgroup of young women low propensity voters agrees by wide margins that *having more diverse leadership in wealthy corporations and in the government, such as more women of color, could provide a fresh perspective to decision-making and could address many of the problems we face today.*

⁴³ Note small sample size

⁴⁴ N size for post-graduates too small to analyze

⁴⁵ Note small sample size

⁴⁶ Split sampled question

More diverse leadership could address problems	Strongly agree	Agree
Ages 18-24	49	85
Ages 25-29	43	78
Ages 30-35	38	74
AAPI ⁴⁷	47	87
Black	53	91
Latina	38	86
White	41	73
High school/less	45	80
Post-high school no college	38	80
4-year college graduate	49	82
Post-graduate	39	66
Democrat	58	91
Independent	40	81
Republican ⁴⁸	24	60
Married	38	69
Unmarried	45	85
Moms	36	68
Childless	47	86
Urban	43	82
Suburban	38	72
Rural ⁴⁹	45	71

⁴⁷ Note small sample size

⁴⁸ Note small sample size

⁴⁹ Note small sample size