



## METHODOLOGY

Embold Research surveyed 2734 registered voters nationwide from August 8-15, 2024. We used the following sources to recruit respondents:

- targeted advertisements on Facebook & Instagram (1878 respondents)
- text messages sent, via the Switchboard platform, to cell phone numbers listed on the voter file for individuals who qualified for the survey's sample universe, based on their voter file data (856 respondents)

Regardless of which of these sources a respondent came from, they were directed to a survey hosted on SurveyMonkey's website.

Ads placed on social media targeted registered voters across the United States. Those who indicated that they were not registered to vote were terminated. As the survey fielded, Embold Research used dynamic online sampling: adjusting ad budgets, lowering budgets for ads targeting groups that were overrepresented, and raising budgets for ads targeting groups that were underrepresented. Respondents were also recruited to the online survey instrument via SMS from a voter file of registered voters in the targeted counties. The survey was conducted in English.

The survey was conducted for the Pell Center. Post-stratification was performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, county, and 2020 presidential vote. Weighting parameters were based on the demographic composition of registered voters nationwide, obtained from the voter file; that is, if x% of registered voters were women, then women would be weighted to x% of the sample.

The modeled margin of error\* for this survey is 2.0%, which uses effective sample sizes\*\* that adjust for the design effect of weighting.

\* We adopt The Pew Research Center's convention for the term "modeled margin of error"<sup>(1)</sup> (mMOE) to indicate that our surveys are not simple random samples in the pure sense, similar to any survey that has either non-response bias or for which the general population was not invited at random. A common, if imperfect, convention for reporting survey results is to use a single, survey-level mMOE based on a normal approximation. This is a poor approximation for proportion estimates close to 0 or 1. However, it is a useful communication tool in many settings and is reasonable in places where the proportion of interest is close to 50%. We report this normal approximation for our surveys assuming a proportion estimate of 50%.

\*\* The effective sample size adjusts for the weighting applied to respondents and is calculated using Kish's approximation<sup>(2)</sup>.

(1) <https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/2018/01/26/for-weighting-online-opt-in-samples-what-matters-most/>

(2) Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling, 1965.



## LIST OF REPORTED QUESTIONS

\*1. In what year were you born? [TEXT BOX]

\*2. In what ZIP code do you currently live? [TEXT BOX]

\*3. Are you a:

- Man
- Woman
- Something else

\*3a. [If "Something else"] How would you describe your gender? [TEXTBOX]

\*4. What is your race?

- White / Caucasian
- Hispanic or Latino/a
- Black or African American
- Asian / Pacific Islander
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Other (please specify): [TEXT BOX]

\*4a. [If Hispanic/Latino not selected] Are you from a Hispanic, Latino/a, or Spanish-speaking background?

- Yes
- No

\*5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- High school diploma or less
- Some college, but no degree
- Associate's degree, or two-year college degree
- Bachelor's degree, or four-year college degree
- Graduate degree

\*6. Are you registered to vote?

- Yes
- No [TERMINATE]
- Not sure [TERMINATE]

\*7. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a: [RANDOMIZE]

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent/Other

[IF INDEPENDENT/ NO PARTY AFFILIATION]

\*7a. Do you consider yourself closer to:

- The Democrats
- The Republicans
- Neither



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[IF DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN]

\*7b. Do you consider yourself a:

- Strong [Democrat/Republican]
- Not so strong [Democrat/Republican]

[IF REPUBLICAN]

7c. Do you identify as a MAGA Republican or not?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

\*8. How did you vote in the 2020 election for President, or for some reason were you unable to vote?

- Joe Biden, the Democrat
- Donald Trump, the Republican
- Jo Jorgensen, the Libertarian
- Not registered/Too young/Ineligible
- Did not vote

## ELECTION

9. Will you vote in the November 5th, 2024 election for President, Congress, and other state and local offices?

- Yes, definitely
- Yes, probably
- Maybe (50-50)
- No, probably not
- No, definitely not

10. If the 2024 election for president were held today, and the candidates were the following, who would you vote for?

- Donald Trump, the Republican
- Kamala Harris, the Democrat
- A third party candidate
- Not sure

## IDENTIFYING VALUES

11-13. How important are each of the following values to you? [Very important | Somewhat important | Not that important | Not important at all] [RANDOMIZE]

- Justice
- Fairness
- Honesty
- Freedom



- Equality
- Faith
- Security
- Community
- Patriotism
- Loyalty
- Compassion
- Open-mindedness
- Tradition
- Strength

## DECLARATION LANGUAGE

14. The Declaration of Independence tells us that the government exists to protect the rights of people to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Do you agree or disagree that as Americans, it's our job to protect *one another's* rights to these things?

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Not sure

*The Declaration of Independence is having its 250th birthday the year after next. We're interested in how to talk about what the different passages mean and how they define America's purpose.*

### [RANDOMIZE TEST ORDER] [FLIP]

15. [INHERENT RIGHTS] Which of these statements do you find more compelling?

**Statement A:** We all have inherent and equal rights to live, to not be tyrannized, and to pursue happiness as we each understand it.

**Statement B:** We are all born with equal rights to live, to not be tyrannized, and to pursue happiness as we each understand it.

- Statement A much more
- Statement A somewhat more
- Statement B somewhat more
- Statement B much more
- No preference/both equally

16. [NATURAL RIGHT TO ACCESS GOV'T] Which of these statements do you find more compelling?

**Statement A:** To secure these liberties, every American has an equal and inherent right to participate in our representative self-government.

**Statement B:** To secure these liberties, every American has an equal and inherent right to take part in determining who represents us and holding them accountable.

- Statement A much more
- Statement A somewhat more



- Statement B somewhat more
- Statement B much more
- No preference/both equally

17. [PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS] Which of these statements do you find more compelling?

**Statement A:** As Americans, we believe every person is born free to live the life they choose for themselves. To live, to think, to work, to love, to play, and pray on our own terms is the essence of liberty.

**Statement B:** As Americans, we believe every person is born with equal rights to pursue their happiness as they understand it. To live, to think, to work, to love, to play, and pray on our own terms is the essence of liberty.

- Statement A much more
- Statement A somewhat more
- Statement B somewhat more
- Statement B much more
- No preference/both equally

18. [LIBERTY] Which of these statements do you find more compelling?

**Statement A:** As Americans, we believe every person is born with the right to not be tyrannized. They cannot be subjected to arbitrary violence at the hands of the state. They cannot be killed on the whim of a leader. They cannot be enslaved by anyone.

**Statement B:** As Americans, we believe every person is born with the right to live safe in their own person. They cannot be subjected to arbitrary violence at the hands of the state. They cannot be killed on the whim of a leader. They cannot be enslaved by anyone.

- Statement A much more
- Statement A somewhat more
- Statement B somewhat more
- Statement B much more
- No preference/both equally

19. [COVENANT] Which of these statements do you find more compelling?

**Statement A:** As citizens, the thing that binds us together as a people, that defines the United States of America as a nation, is that we are all participants in the “American Experiment,” a project to protect each others’ rights by governing ourselves.

**Statement B:** As Americans, we’re in a covenant to uphold one another’s inherent rights. And the “American Experiment” is our ongoing effort – despite the despotic track record of human history -- to build a nation, a society, a world where that is possible.

- Statement A much more
- Statement A somewhat more
- Statement B somewhat more
- Statement B much more
- No preference/both equally

20. [LEGACY] Which of these statements do you find more compelling?



**Statement A:** We've spent 248 years struggling to achieve the Declaration's ideals, but they have been contested from the outset by those who would make our country something far less, just another nation-state built on blood -- tribal kinship, inherited rule, inherited slavery or inherited servitude -- where rights are things granted by superiors, when they are granted at all. Americans fought a Civil War over them at home and a World War for them abroad and advanced them at Seneca Falls, Selma and Stonewall.

**Statement B:** We've spent 248 years struggling to achieve the Declaration's ideals, but they have been contested from the outset by those who would make our country something far less, just another nation-state built on blood -- tribal kinship, inherited rule, inherited slavery or inherited servitude -- where rights are things granted by superiors, when they are granted at all. Americans fought for these ideals at Valley Forge and Yorktown, in the trenches of France and on the beaches of Normandy.

- Statement A much more
- Statement A somewhat more
- Statement B somewhat more
- Statement B much more
- No preference/both equally

## NATURAL RIGHTS IN PRACTICE

21. In June of this year, the Supreme Court ruled that a president cannot be held accountable for crimes they commit as part of an official act. Do you support or oppose this ruling?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Don't know/need more information

22. In 20 states and Washington, D.C., people are able to register to vote on Election Day. In one state where that has been allowed for years and is a popular policy with voters, lawmakers from one party recently eliminated same-day registration because, as one legislator stated, people who are "not on our side of the aisle" were making use of the policy. If you lived in this state, would you support or oppose the lawmaker's actions?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Don't know/need more information

23. Across the country, local and state governments have forced public libraries to remove books that some people find offensive or inappropriate by withholding funding or threatening eviction. Do you support or oppose these kinds of actions?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Don't know/need more information



24. Imagine there is an election where you live. Your party controls the government, but loses the election to the opposing party. There's no evidence of fraud, but officials are refusing to certify the election results. Would you support or oppose their actions?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Don't know/need more information

## **FINAL DEMOS**

25. Which of the following best matches your religious affiliation?

- Evangelical
- Protestant, Non-Evangelical
- Observant Catholic
- Non-observant Catholic
- Mormon / Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Other
- Non-religious