



METHODOLOGY

Embold Research surveyed 1567 registered voters nationwide from March 28 - April 2, 2024. We used the following sources to recruit respondents:

- *targeted advertisements on Facebook & Instagram (295 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 (1272 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 3.0%, 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"⁽¹⁾ (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 ⁽²⁾.*

(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

9. Which FIVE of the following do you value the most? [RANDOMIZE]

- Justice
- Fairness
- Honesty
- Freedom
- Equality
- Faith
- Responsibility
- Security
- Community
- Patriotism
- Loyalty
- Intelligence
- Success
- Prosperity



- Achievement
- Compassion
- Hard work
- Integrity
- Authority
- Respect
- Obedience
- Open-mindedness
- Creativity
- Tolerance
- Purity
- Diversity
- Tradition
- Strength
- Other (please specify)

CIVIC NATIONAL NARRATIVE - OURS vs THEIRS

[RANDOMIZE Q10-13]

10. **[PURPOSE]** Which of these statements do you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right?

Statement A: As Americans, we are duty-bound to defend one another's inherent rights. The future of the American Experiment ultimately rests on our shared commitment to building a more free, just, and equal nation.

Statement B: As Americans, we are duty-bound to defend our culture, interests, and way of life. The future of the American Experiment ultimately rests on our shared commitment to building a more free, prosperous, and secure nation.

- Statement A much more
- Statement A somewhat more
- Statement B somewhat more
- Statement B much more
- Not sure

11. **[BELONGING]** Which of these statements do you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right?

Statement A: We are united by shared history, traditions, and values and by our fortitude and character as Americans, a people who value hard work, individual responsibility, and national loyalty.



Statement B: We are united not by a shared religion or ancestry or history, but by our shared commitment to a set of American founding ideals: that we all have inherent and 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
- Not sure

12. [PAST] Which of these statements do you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right?

Statement A: America's story is our ancestral fight, at home and abroad, to defend our independence, founding values, and way of life. From the American Revolution to World War II and the Cold War, we have fought for centuries to secure and defend these birthrights.

Statement B: America's story is our ancestral fight, at home and abroad, for liberty, rights, and equality for all. From Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg to Martin Luther King Jr. on the Washington Mall, we have strived for centuries to secure and strengthen these founding ideals.

- Statement A much more
- Statement A somewhat more
- Statement B somewhat more
- Statement B much more
- Not sure

13.[FUTURE] Which of these statements do you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right?

Statement A: Freedom, justice, and equality are ideals each generation must fight for. We must reckon with our shortcomings, take pride in our advances, and pledge ourselves to make our Union more perfect.

Statement B: Security, individual liberties, and respect for our founding values are the heritage each generation must fight for. We must defend our nation, take pride in our history, and pledge ourselves to make our Union more perfect.

- Statement A much more
- Statement A somewhat more
- Statement B somewhat more
- Statement B much more
- Not sure



VALUES/ATTITUDES

14-15. [AUTHORITARIANISM] Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

[RANDOMIZE] [Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Not sure]

- [AUTHORITARIAN SUBMISSION 1] Students at high schools and at university must be encouraged to challenge, criticize, and confront established authorities.
- [AUTHORITARIAN SUBMISSION 2] Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
- [TRADITIONALISM 1] Nobody should stick to the “straight and narrow.” Instead people should break loose and try out lots of different ideas and experiences.
- [TRADITIONALISM 2] Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else.
- [AUTHORITARIAN AGGRESSION 1] The facts on crime and the recent public disorders show we have to crack down harder on troublemakers, if we are going to preserve law and order.
- [AUTHORITARIAN AGGRESSION 2] The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.

FINAL DEMOS

16. 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