



## METHODOLOGY

Embold Research surveyed 568 likely “Overwhelmed Olivias,” “Lost Lucilles,” and “Nervous Nessas” in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia from August 28 - September 1, 2024. We used targeted advertisements on Facebook and Instagram to recruit respondents.

They were directed to a survey hosted on SurveyMonkey’s website.

Ads placed on social media targeted a list of adult women voters in the targeted states, provided by E Pluribus Unum, whose demographic and voting data made them likely to fit the Overwhelmed Olivia,” “Lost Lucille,” or “Nervous Nessa” profile, as defined by E. Pluribus Unum. 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. The survey was conducted in English.

The survey was commissioned by E. Pluribus Unum and conducted online by Embold Research. No post-stratification weights were applied.

The modeled margin of error\* for this survey is 4.1%, 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.

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## REPORTED QUESTIONS

1. Are you:
  - Male [Terminate]
  - Female
  - Other [Terminate]
  
2. In what year were you born? [TEXT BOX]
  
3. In what ZIP code do you currently live? [TEXT BOX]
  - 3b. What state do you currently live in? [List states alphabetically]  
[Terminate if not in AL, AR, FL, GA, KY, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX, VA, or WV]
  
4. What is your race? [Terminate if not White]
  - White / Caucasian
  - Hispanic or Latino/a
  - Black or African American
  - Asian / Pacific Islander
  - American Indian or Alaska Native
  - Other (please specify): [TEXT BOX]
  - 4b. [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
  - Not sure
  
7. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a: [RANDOMIZE DEM/REP]
  - Democrat
  - Republican
  - Independent/Other
  - [IF DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN] Do you consider yourself a:
    - Strong Democrat/Republican
    - Not so strong Democrat/Republican

[IF INDEPENDENT/OTHER] Do you consider yourself closer to: [RANDOMIZE DEM/REP]

- The Democrats
- The Republicans
- Neither

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. Roughly how many years have you lived in your current community?

- Less than 2 years
- 2 - 5 years
- 6 - 10 years
- 11 - 15 years
- More than 15 years

10. How would you rate your satisfaction with each of the following as a place to live? [RANDOMIZE]  
[Very satisfied | Somewhat satisfied | Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied | Somewhat dissatisfied | Very Dissatisfied]

- Your state
- Your neighborhood
- Your town or city

11. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? [RANDOMIZE] [Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree]

- I feel like a valued member of my local community.
- I would be treated poorly by members of my local community if I expressed beliefs different from theirs.
- I feel that I can make a meaningful impact in my local community.
- When interacting with people in my local community, I feel like I truly belong.
- I feel like an “insider” who understands how my local community works.
- People in my local community welcome and include me in activities.
- I am unable to influence decision-making in my local community.

12. What is one place in your local community where you feel a sense of belonging, and why? Please be as specific as possible. [TEXT BOX]

13. Are there people who may NOT feel a sense of belonging in your local community? If so, what identity groups are they from and what might cause them to feel like they don't belong? [TEXT BOX]

14. What is one value that you think is shared by most people in your local community? [TEXT BOX]

15. Focus now on yourself. In your opinion, which THREE of the following values are most important for maintaining strong local communities? [RANDOMIZE] [Up to 3 choices]
- Justice
  - Hope
  - Honesty
  - Freedom
  - Equality
  - Fairness
  - Faith
  - Family
  - Responsibility
  - Security
  - Community
  - Patriotism
  - Other (please specify)
16. Below are some ways that people get involved in their community. Which of the following have you done in the last year? Select all that apply. [RANDOMIZE]
- Donated to a cause, candidate, or political party
  - Volunteered for a cause, candidate, or political party
  - Attended a town hall or community forum
  - Supported or promoted an issue of importance to me on social media or online
  - Contacted an elected official (via email, phone call, letter, etc)
  - Voted in an election
  - Asked friends or family to support a cause or register to vote
  - Attended a demonstration for or against a candidate, person, or issue
  - Participated in a PTA or school board meeting
  - Been active in your church
  - Mentored a young person
  - Participated in a moderated conversation with people who hold views that are different from your own
  - Organized community efforts
  - None of these
17. Thinking about your involvement in your community, which of the following comes closest to your view?
- a. I get involved in my community because I feel hopeful that I can bring about the changes I want to see.
  - b. I get involved in my community even though it's hard to have hope that it will bring about the changes I want to see.
  - c. I don't get involved in my community because I don't have any hope that it will bring about the changes I want to see.
  - d. I don't get involved in my community because there aren't any changes that I want to see.
  - e. I don't get involved in my community for other reasons (e.g., time, interest, energy, etc.).
18. What motivates you the most to be involved in causes that are important to you? [Open-ended]

19. What deters you the most from being involved in causes that are important to you? [Open-ended]
20. What do you believe is the biggest obstacle that keeps individuals or organizations from being effective in making change in their community? [Open-ended]
21. How many of your family, close friends, neighbors, coworkers, and acquaintances are from another race or ethnicity than you? [None | 1 | 2-3 | 4-5 | 6 or more]
- Family members (parents, siblings, children, uncles, grandparents, cousins, etc.)
  - Close friends
  - Neighbors
  - Colleagues
  - Other people you are in **regular** contact with (store clerk, worker, server, etc.)
- 21b. How would you describe the interactions with the people you identified above (e.g., family, close friends, neighbors, coworkers, and acquaintances who are from another race or ethnicity than you) [Show only the options that are selected as more than “None”]
- Very positive
  - Somewhat positive
  - Neither positive nor negative
  - Somewhat negative
  - Very negative
22. There are a lot of conversations in America today about racial justice and making our communities more fair for people of all races. How often do you hear about such conversations happening in your local community?
- Often
  - Sometimes
  - Rarely
  - Never
23. Which of the following comes closest to your view? [ROTATE]
- When it comes to discrimination against Black people in our country today, the bigger problem is racism **in our laws and systems**.
  - When it comes to discrimination against Black people in our country today, the bigger problem is racism **by individual people**.
  - There is no discrimination against Black people in our country today.
24. How often do you find yourself having the following conversations or discussions? [Randomize] [Often | Sometimes | Rarely | Never]
- Talk about race and equity with like-minded friends and family.
  - Talk about race and equity with people that have opinions different from yours.
  - Talk about politics with like-minded friends and family.
  - Talk about politics with people that have opinions different from yours.
  - Confront a family member or friend that is saying something racist, sexist, or unjust.
  - Confront someone you don't know that is saying something racist, sexist, or unjust.

25. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

“People like me can make a difference in advancing racial justice.”

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

26. How interested or uninterested are you in taking actions to advance racial justice in your community?

- Very interested
- Somewhat interested
- Neither interested nor uninterested
- Somewhat uninterested
- Very uninterested

27. Which of the following reasons would most motivate you to take action to advance racial equity?

Please select UP TO THREE. [RANDOMIZE]

- To help me feel like the best version of myself
- To help all people feel at home and welcome where they live
- To create a better future for our loved ones than the one we were raised in
- To be a role model for young people who are important in my life
- To find a community of people that I trust and can work with to make a difference
- To help an organization I care about make a difference
- To step in when I see that others could use a helping hand
- To make a difference, even if it might be small
- To keep communities from missing out on talent, innovation, and brilliance when not all people have the opportunity to succeed.
- Other, please specify:
- None of these

28. Which of the following factors are most important to you when deciding whether to take action or participate in an event to advance racial equity? Please select UP TO FIVE factors that are most important to you. [RANDOMIZE]

- What the organizer’s agenda is
- What I would need to do there
- How much time it will take
- How much money it will cost
- How near to me or far away it is
- How much fun I might have
- How other people there feel, believe, or act
- Whether I can take my family or friends
- Whether I can do it flexibly, on my own time or schedule
- Whether I will already know people there
- Whether I can meet new people
- Whether I can learn something new
- Other, please specify:

- None of these

29. Below is a list of issues that people sometimes consider to be challenges in their communities. In your opinion, what are the THREE biggest challenges in your community? Please select UP TO THREE. [RANDOMIZE]

- Polarization and the inability to talk across differences
- Growing economic inequality
- The cost of housing and rent
- The potential for political violence
- Schools, giving children the tools they need to succeed
- Reducing illegal immigration
- Crime and public safety
- Racism and discrimination
- An increase in hate incidents
- Opioid and substance abuse crisis
- Too much development, too fast
- Loss of natural resources
- Gender equality
- LGBTQ+ rights
- Lowering government spending, more fiscal responsibility
- Extreme weather events such as flooding
- Water quality and availability
- Voter access and election security

Next, you will see a statement about people getting involved in their communities to help everyone belong.

30a. [50% SEE - MESSAGE FRAME 1: WE HAVE MORE POWER THAN WE THINK]

We all want to feel safe and welcome where we live, work, and play. But given our country's history of prejudice, some people don't feel like they belong here. Thankfully, we can each do something about it right now.

We each have more power than we think. But sometimes we need guidance, and connection to others who feel like we do. That support can help us overcome discomfort, find time to contribute, and realize the difference we can make.

People like us can start with the things we do every day, like talking to our friends and family, or putting our talents to use to create caring communities. It only takes a few minutes to learn how you can make a difference.

How favorable or unfavorable do you feel toward this statement?

- Very favorable
- Somewhat favorable
- Neutral
- Somewhat unfavorable
- Very unfavorable

30b. [50% SEE - MESSAGE FRAME 2: WE EACH HAVE A PART TO PLAY IN PROGRESS]

We all want to create a better world than the one we were raised in. A big part of making that happen is creating communities where everyone—no matter where you come from, what you look like, or what you believe in—feels welcomed, supported, and that they belong.

We've come a long way, but there's more work to be done. While we did not create today's inequalities, we can be part of the solution. We can create kinder communities for ourselves, our families, neighbors, and generations to come.

How favorable or unfavorable do you feel toward this statement?

- Very favorable
- Somewhat favorable
- Neutral
- Somewhat unfavorable
- Very unfavorable

31. How does this statement make you feel? Select all that apply. [RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ANSWER CHOICES]

- Inspired
- Optimistic
- Motivated
- Included
- Overwhelmed
- Angry
- Depressed
- Confused
- Pessimistic
- Defeated
- None of the above

32. Based off the statement you just read, how interested or uninterested are you in taking actions to advance racial justice in your community?

- Very interested
- Somewhat interested
- Neither interested nor uninterested
- Somewhat uninterested
- Very uninterested

33. Which of the following best describes the areas you've lived in?

- Lived in the South my whole life
- Grew up in the South, but spent some time living in other areas before returning
- Grew up somewhere else, then moved to the South
- Other (please specify)

34. How closely do you follow the following topics? [Very closely | Somewhat closely | Not too closely | Not closely at all] [RANDOMIZE]

- Local politics
- State level politics
- National politics
- Local sports or entertainment
- Community events

35. For each of the following people or groups, please indicate how much you trust the information they provide. [Randomize]

[Strongly trust | Somewhat trust | Somewhat distrust | Strongly distrust]

- K-12 educators
- Law enforcement
- Doctors and nurses
- The federal government
- Your local government
- Faith leaders
- Local business owners
- The Democratic Party
- The Republican Party
- Community leaders
- Veterans
- Your neighbors
- Friends
- Family

36. [SHOW TRUSTED MESSENGERS] For each of the sources you trust, what kinds of news or information do you find most credible? [MULTI TEXT BOX]

37. Where do you get information about local issues? Select all that apply.

- Local newspaper
- Local TV news
- AM Radio
- FM Radio
- Word of mouth (eg: friends, family, or neighbors)
- Facebook
- Instagram
- Youtube
- Nextdoor
- Twitter/X
- TikTok
- Reddit
- Organizations you are a member of
- Town halls
- Local political party
- Email newsletters
- Bulletin boards
- Somewhere else (please specify):

- None of the above

38. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [RANDOMIZE] [Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree]

- When making policy priorities, we must consider the well-being of all groups.
- Creating opportunities for one group of people often occurs at the expense of other groups.
- Today in America, it seems that the rights of Americans of color are better protected than the rights of white Americans.

39. Are you the parent or guardian of one or more children under the age of 18?

- Yes
- No

40. Which of the following best matches your religious affiliation? [RANDOMIZE]

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