



METHODOLOGY

The Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU), in partnership with Change Research, surveyed 716 likely voters in Georgia, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, and 888 Muslim voters in those same states, from June 20-July 8, 2024. We used the following sources to recruit respondents:

- *targeted advertisements on Facebook and Instagram, as well as across the web via Facebook's ad platform (493 respondents)*
- *text messages sent, via the Echo19 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 data¹ (1111 respondents)*

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

Ads placed on social media targeted likely voters in Georgia, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, and another set of ads targeted voters identified as likely Muslims, either by Emgage or Change Research or both. Those who indicated that they were not registered to vote were terminated. As the survey fielded, Change 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, so that the final sample was roughly representative of the population across different groups. Text messages were sent to voters whose cell phone numbers were on the voter file; some texts were sent to voters identified as likely Muslims by either Emgage or Change Research or both. The survey was conducted in English.

This research was conducted by the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU) in partnership with Change Research, with financial support and partnership from Emgage Foundation. Post-stratification was performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, and state. Weighting parameters for statewide likely voter samples were based on the composition of the likely 2024 electorate, according to likely voter models developed by Clarity, combined with demographic data from the voter file and proprietary modeled partisan data developed by Change Research. That is, if a given group is projected by Clarity to comprise x% of the likely 2024 electorate in a given state, that group would be weighted to x% here. Each state's overall sample was given equal weight. Weights for the Muslim electorate in each state were based on Emgage's list of Muslim voters, matched to demographic data on the L2 voter file and Change Research's partisan data. That is, if a given group comprises x% of voters on Emgage's list in a given state, that group would be weighted to x% of the Muslim subsample in that state.

The modeled margin of error for this survey is 2.8%, which uses effective sample sizes** that adjust for the design effect of weighting. This research, like all public opinion research, does entail some additional unmeasured error.*

¹

* 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.

For more information, contact Ben Greenfield at ben@changeresearch.com

REPORTED QUESTIONS

1. What is your present religion, if any?
 - a. Protestant (Baptist, Methodist, Non-denominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, Jehovah's Witness, etc.)
 - b. Catholic/Roman Catholic
 - c. Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints/LDS)
 - d. Orthodox (Eastern, Greek, Russian, Armenian, etc.)
 - e. Jewish/Judaism
 - f. Muslim/Islamic
 - g. Buddhist
 - h. Hindu
 - i. Christian
 - j. Unitarian (Universalist)
 - k. Atheist (do not believe in God)
 - l. Agnostic (not sure if there is a God)
 - m. Something else (Please specify _____)
 - n. No Religion/none (Nothing in particular)
 - o. Don't know

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

3. Are you registered to vote in [STATE]?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No [TERMINATE]
 - c. No Not sure [TERMINATE]
 - d. Don't know [TERMINATE]

4. In what year were you born? [TEXT BOX]

5. Do you consider yourself white, Black or African American, Asian, Arab, Native American, Pacific Islander, mixed race or some other race?
 - a. White
 - b. Black or African American
 - c. Asian/Chinese/Japanese/Indian/Pakistani
 - d. Native American/American Indian/Alaska Native
 - e. Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander
 - f. Mixed
 - g. Arab
 - h. Other (specify): _____]
 - i. Don't know

- 5a. Are you from a Hispanic, Latino/a or Spanish-speaking background?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know

6. Were you born in the United States, or not?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Don't know

7. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- a. High school diploma or less
- b. Some college, but no degree
- c. Associate's degree, or two-year college degree
- d. Bachelor's degree, or four-year college degree
- e. Graduate degree
- f. Don't know

8a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a: [RANDOMIZE]

- a. Democrat
- b. Republican
- c. Independent
- d. Other
- e. Don't know

[IF INDEPENDENT/ NO PARTY AFFILIATION]

8b. Do you consider yourself closer to:

- a. The Democrats
- b. The Republicans
- c. Neither
- d. Don't know

[IF DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN]

8c. Do you consider yourself a:

- a. Strong [Democrat/Republican]
- b. Not so strong [Democrat/Republican]
- c. Don't know

9. How did you vote in the 2020 election for President or for some reason were you unable to vote?

- a. Joe Biden, the Democrat
- b. Donald Trump, the Republican
- c. Jo Jorgensen, the Libertarian
- d. Not registered/Too young/Ineligible
- e. Did not vote
- f. Don't know

10. If the presidential election were held today, how do you think you would vote?

- a. Joe Biden
- b. Donald Trump
- c. 3rd party (Cornel West, Jill Stein, Chase Oliver, Robert F. Kennedy, Jr)
- d. Write-in
- e. Would not vote
- f. Undecided
- g. Don't know

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

- h. Approve
- i. Disapprove
- j. Don't know

12. What are the three **most** important policy priorities on which you will judge a candidate this November?

- k. The economy and job creation
- l. The war in Gaza
- m. Securing the border
- n. Student loan forgiveness
- o. Campaign finance reform
- p. Taxes
- q. Climate change
- r. Immigration reform
- s. The war in Ukraine
- t. Police brutality
- u. Criminal justice reform
- v. Law and Order
- w. Healthcare
- x. Addressing domestic poverty
- y. The national deficit
- z. Preserving traditional values concerning gender and marriage
- aa. Protecting social security
- bb. Keeping the United States out of foreign wars
- cc. Preserving democracy in the United States
- dd. Abortion
- ee. Gun violence
- ff. Religious freedom
- gg. Freedom of speech on college campuses
- hh. Hate crimes
- ii. Civil rights/racial equality
- jj. Quality K-12 education
- kk. Reducing the availability of illegal drugs, like fentanyl and cocaine
- ll. The country's infrastructure, roads, highways.
- mm. Uniting the country
- nn. Preventing a terrorist attack
- oo. Supporting scientific research
- pp. Income inequality
- qq. Democracy and human rights abroad
- rr. Don't know

13. Please indicate how a presidential candidate's support for the following issues will impact your likelihood to vote for them in the 2024 presidential elections: (ROTATE)

- a. More likely to vote for them
 - b. Less likely to vote for them
 - c. Makes no difference
 - d. Don't know
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- 2. A permanent ceasefire in Gaza
 - 3. Reduction of military aid to Israel
 - 4. Combating Islamophobia
 - 5. Support for affordable healthcare
 - 6. Lowering inflation
 - 7. Keeping the United States out of foreign wars
 - 8. Protecting the environment
 - 9. Support for traditional gender and family structures

14. Please indicate which of the following obstacles, if any, you have experienced when trying to cast your ballot in the past 4 years. [mark all that apply]

- a. Long wait times to cast ballot
- b. Nearby polling stations being shut down
- c. Shortened available hours for polling stations
- d. Intimidation by other people
- e. Cumbersome voter ID requirements
- f. Difficulty understanding ballot choices due to language barriers
- g. Have not experienced any obstacles
- h. Don't know

15. Have you met or communicated by email, phone or mail with your Federal elected congressional representative or their staff within the last year? By "Federal elected representative" we mean your Congress member representing your district or state in Washington, D.C.

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Don't know

16. Have you met or communicated by email, phone or mail with your locally elected representatives or their staff within the last year? By "local" we mean a representative in city or state government, such as a mayor, city council member, state legislator, governor or their staff.

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Don't know

17. Have you contributed money to a political campaign in the past 12 months?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Don't know

18. Which of the following types of media do you consume **most often** as a source of news?:

- a. TV news (Fox, CNN, etc)
- b. Radio
- c. Newspapers, traditional print or online, such as NYT online or Washington Times
- d. News websites other than social media
- e. Podcasts
- f. Posts that appear on your FB timeline
- g. Posts that appear on your X (formerly twitter) feed
- h. Posts on Instagram
- i. Posts on TikTok
- j. Articles or videos sent on Whatsapp or other messaging apps
- k. Some other type of media
- l. Don't know

19. If one or both of the major party candidates for President were to drop out of the race and be replaced with a new candidate, who would you vote for?

- The Democratic candidate
- The Republican candidate
- 3rd party (Cornel West, Jill Stein, Chase Oliver, Robert F. Kennedy, Jr)
- Write-in
- Would not vote
- Undecided
- Don't know