



METHODOLOGY

Change Research surveyed 1208 registered voters nationwide from April 28-May 2, 2023. We used the following sources to recruit respondents:

- *targeted advertisements on Facebook & Instagram (990 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 (228 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 all adults nationwide. 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, 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. The survey was conducted in English.

This survey was conducted online by Change Research. Some questions, which are not reported here, were sponsored by other organizations; the questions reported here were developed by and conducted on behalf of Change Research. Post-stratification was performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, region, urbanicity and 2020 presidential vote. Weighting parameters were based on the demographic composition of voters nationwide; that is, if a group represented x% of all voters nationwide, that group 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

In what year were you born?

In what ZIP code do you currently live?

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*

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]*

[IF NOT LATINO/A] Are you from a Hispanic, Latino/a or Spanish-speaking background?

- *Yes*
- *No*

Are you registered to vote?

- *Yes*
- *No [Terminate]*
- *Not sure [Terminate]*

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*



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

Are you a:

- Man
- Woman
- Something else

How motivated are you to vote in the 2024 presidential election on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you are not motivated at all and 10 means you are extremely motivated? [0 - Not motivated at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 - Extremely motivated]

How favorable are your feelings about each of the following officials and organizations?

[Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Neutral | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | Never heard of them] **[Randomize]**

- Joe Biden
- Donald Trump
- Ron DeSantis
- The Democratic Party
- The Republican Party
- The Supreme Court
- Chief Justice John Roberts
- Justice Clarence Thomas
- Justice Brett Kavanaugh
- Justice Neil Gorsuch
- Justice Samuel Alito
- Justice Amy Coney Barrett
- Justice Elena Kagan
- Justice Sonia Sotomayor
- Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson
- Fox News
- Tucker Carlson
- Elon Musk

How would you rate the job Joe Biden is doing as President?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Not sure

If the election for President were held today and the candidates were the following, who would you vote for? **[Randomize Dem and Rep]**

- Joe Biden, the Democrat
- Donald Trump, the Republican
- Not sure



[If not sure] If you had to choose, who would you vote for? **[Randomize Dem & Rep]**

- Joe Biden, the Democrat
- Donald Trump, the Republican
- Not sure
- Would not vote

If the election for President were held today and the candidates were the following, who would you vote for? **[Randomize Dem and Rep]**

- Joe Biden, the Democrat
- Ron DeSantis, the Republican
- Not sure

[If not sure] If you had to choose, who would you vote for?

[Randomize Dem & Rep]

- Joe Biden, the Democrat
- Ron DeSantis, the Republican
- Not sure
- Would not vote

Which of the following Republican candidates do you think has the best chance of defeating Joe Biden in the 2024 presidential election? [RANDOMIZE]

- Donald Trump
- Ron DeSantis
- Both have an equal chance
- Not sure

Do you plan to vote in one of the presidential primary elections in early 2024, or will you wait until the general election in November 2024?

- I will definitely vote in the Democratic primary
- I will definitely vote in the Republican primary
- I will wait until the general election in November
- Not sure

[IF REPUBLICAN PRIMARY] If the 2024 Republican primary for President were held today and you could cast votes for **all** of the candidates that you approve of, who would you vote for? You may vote for as many or as few as you would like.

- Donald Trump
- Ron DeSantis
- Tim Scott
- Nikki Haley
- Mike Pence
- Asa Hutchinson
- Vivek Ramaswamy
- Chris Christie
- Not sure



[IF NOT SURE] If you had to choose, who would you vote for?

- Donald Trump
- Ron DeSantis
- Tim Scott
- Nikki Haley
- Mike Pence
- Asa Hutchinson
- Vivek Ramaswamy
- Chris Christie
- Not sure

How much trust and confidence do you have in the U.S. Supreme Court?

- A great deal
- A fair amount
- Not very much
- None at all

Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Supreme Court is handling its job?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Not sure

Do you think the U.S. Supreme Court is: [RANDOMLY FLIP]

- Very conservative
- Somewhat conservative
- Somewhere in the middle
- Somewhat liberal
- Very liberal
- Not sure

Recent news stories have documented that Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas has taken trips on luxury yachts and stayed in exclusive resorts paid for by billionaire real estate developer Harlan Crow. Mr. Crow also bought the residence of Justice Thomas's mother and paid to upgrade it. Justice Thomas did not disclose these transactions. How much does this concern you?

- A lot
- Some
- A little
- Not at all
- Not sure

Do you believe Justice Clarence Thomas should resign from the Supreme Court?

- Yes
- No



How common do you think it is for other Supreme Court Justices to accept large gifts without disclosing them?

- Most Justices do it
- Some Justices do it
- Most Justices do not do it
- No other Justices do it, only Thomas
- Not sure

The U.S. Supreme Court currently has no rules on ethics for its justices. Do you support or oppose a proposal that would establish an ethics code and limit the gifts that Supreme Court justices can receive?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

Do you believe the U.S. Senate should hold hearings to get more detail about the relationship between Justice Thomas and Harlan Crow and what impact, if any, it has had on decisions made by the Supreme Court?

- Yes, the U.S. Senate should hold hearings
- No, the U.S. Senate has more important things to do
- Not sure

Following the reporting about Justice Thomas's gifts, the US Senate invited Chief Justice Roberts to appear before the Senate Judiciary Committee to answer questions about proposed ethical reforms for the Supreme Court, but Chief Justice Roberts declined the invitation, indicating that Justices rarely appear before the Senate. Do you approve or disapprove of the Chief Justice's decision not to appear?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Not sure

It was recently reported that, shortly after John Roberts became Chief Justice, his wife became a legal recruiter, placing lawyers at law firms – including some that had cases before the Supreme Court. In the position, Mrs. Roberts earned over \$10 million over the next eight years. How much does this concern you?

- A lot
- Some
- A little
- Not at all
- Not sure



Has recent news made you feel more or less favorable about the US Supreme Court?

- Much more favorable
- Somewhat more favorable
- No change
- Somewhat less favorable
- Much less favorable

Do you support or oppose the idea of expanding the size of the Supreme Court?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

Do you support or oppose the idea of term limits for Supreme Court Justices, and no longer allowing them to serve until they retire or die?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

GENDER-AFFIRMING CARE QUESTIONS

Which of the following comes closest to your view? [ROTATE]

- Whether a person is a man or a woman can be different from sex assigned at birth.
- Whether a person is a man or a woman is determined by sex assigned at birth.
- Not sure

How closely have you been following news about bills proposed by several states related to gender-affirming care for people who are transgender? [FLIP]

- Very closely
- Somewhat closely
- Not too closely
- Not at all closely

Do you support or oppose making it illegal to provide gender-affirming care for minors?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure



The World Health Organization defines gender-affirming care as a range of social, psychological, behavioral and medical interventions designed to support and affirm an individual's gender identity when it conflicts with the gender they were assigned at birth.

Do you support or oppose the following types of gender-affirming care for minors?

[Strongly support | Somewhat support | Somewhat oppose | Strongly oppose | Not sure]

- Counseling to help a patient cope with issues pertaining to gender identity
- Puberty blocking medication that pauses pubertal development temporarily
- Hormone therapy, including testosterone hormones for those who were assigned female at birth and estrogen for those who were assigned male at birth
- “Top” surgery to create male-typical chest shape or enhance breasts

Select all that apply. Do you support **puberty blockers and hormone therapy** as gender-affirming care for minors if: [RANDOMIZE ALL BUT LAST]

- The patient's parents consent to treatment
- The treatment is reversible
- Treatment is restricted to older youth only
- The patient is suicidal in the absence of this treatment
- The treatment is provided at your region's children's hospital
- The treatment is provided after a year or more of mental health support
- Two or more licensed medical professionals determine that the treatment is medically indicated for a given patient
- I do not support puberty blockers or hormone therapy for minors under any of the above conditions

Select all that apply. Do you support gender-affirming **chest masculinization or breast augmentation surgery** for minors if: [RANDOMIZE ALL BUT LAST]

- The patient's parents consent to treatment
- Treatment is restricted to older youth only
- The patient is suicidal in the absence of this treatment
- The treatment is provided at your region's children's hospital
- The treatment is provided after a year or more of mental health support
- Two or more licensed medical professionals determine that the treatment is medically indicated for a given patient
- I do not support gender-affirming chest masculinization or breast augmentation surgery for minors under any of the above conditions

Do you support or oppose the following types of surgical interventions for minors whose gender identity **does align** with their sex assigned at birth? [RANDOMIZE] [Strongly support | Somewhat support | Somewhat oppose | Strongly oppose | Not sure]

- Breast augmentation for females born with very little breast tissue
- Breast reduction for males born with excessive breast tissue



Below are some descriptions of some candidates for elected office. For each one, please indicate whether you could ever imagine voting for a candidate who held the position, or if it would be a deal-breaker.

[FOR EACH: Could imagine voting for | Deal-breaker]

- Pro-choice
- Supports a federal ban on abortion starting at 15 weeks into a pregnancy
- Supports a federal ban on abortion starting at 6 weeks into a pregnancy
- Supports a federal ban on abortion in all cases
- Supports a bill to ban gender-affirming care to minors
- Thinks that politicians should not decide who can get gender-affirming care
- Supports a ban on transgender people using school bathrooms that do not match their birth certificate
- Opposes any laws that discriminate against transgender people

Are you the parent of one or more school-age children?

- Yes
- No

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

[FOR EACH: Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Not sure]

- Schools indoctrinating students with a liberal, woke agenda is a serious problem in this country
- Schools indoctrinating students with a liberal, woke agenda is a serious problem in my area
- The rise in politicians banning books from schools is a serious problem in this country
- Ethnic studies, which teaches students about all different racial and ethnic groups and their histories, should be part of a public school curriculum
- It is appropriate for students to learn about the history of slavery, civil rights, and racial inequalities as part of their education

Some people believe that parents should have a great deal of control over what is taught in their children's classrooms. Others say that if all 25 sets of parents in a classroom could give teachers different instructions about what to teach, it would introduce chaos, and believe that decisions about curriculum should mostly be made by schools and teachers. Do you agree or disagree that parents should be able to control what is and is not taught in their children's classrooms?

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

How much of a say do you think each of the following groups should have in determining what is taught in public schools?

[FOR EACH: A great deal | A decent amount | A little bit | None at all]

- Politicians
- Parents
- Teachers and other school officials