
In the balance:

Suburbs, swing voters hold key to White House

The Sixth National Suburban Survey

for

The National Center for Suburban Studies

at

Hofstra University

By

Princeton Survey Research Associates International

July 2012

Executive Summary

The summer of 2012 finds the battle for the White House a dead heat in the suburbs: Barack Obama has the support of 46 percent of registered suburban voters and Mitt Romney also has the support of 46 percent of the registered suburban voters.

With economic optimism on the upswing, nationally, the race is a trace better for the incumbent with the backing of 49 percent of all registered voters to 45 percent for the presumptive GOP nominee. Obama's national numbers are boosted by his showing in urban areas, where he leads Romney by a 57%-40% margin.¹

The results of this latest poll are a bit of an improvement for Obama from November 2011, when the Hofstra poll that year found Romney leading 48%-40% among registered voters in the suburbs.²

Four months before the election, there are still a fair number of voters who say they are willing to change their minds. About one in four registered voters is a swing voter at this point in the election cycle, with 25 percent nationally and 25 percent in the suburbs falling into that category.

These are some of the findings from a new survey conducted for The National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra University. The survey, designed and executed by Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI), is based on telephone interviews in English and Spanish with 1,532 adults age 18 or older living in the continental United States. Interviews were conducted on both landline telephones and cell phones. The interviews were conducted from June 11-28, 2012.

This Hofstra survey, the sixth in a series, oversampled adults living in suburban areas of the country, completing interviews with 1,005 adults in the suburbs. The previous Hofstra Suburban surveys were conducted in September 2008, October 2008, October 2009, September 2010 and November 2011, focusing on suburban life, economic turmoil and politics.³

The Economic Mood

The mood in the suburbs has brightened just a bit since 2011. Perceptions of the direction of the nation and personal economies have improved. And more suburbanites are willing to say they are now better off than they were four years ago.

¹ Romney is apparently leading in rural areas, but the number of interviews in those areas in this poll is too small to report reliably.

² The 2011 survey did not ask undecided voters which candidate they leaned toward backing.

³ It is not a simple matter to define what is and is not a suburb in America. A full description of the method used in this survey to define suburbs is included in *Appendix 3: One way to define The Suburbs*.

Dissatisfaction with the direction of the country is still high in the suburbs, with 71 percent expressing that view and 25 percent saying they are satisfied. As dismal as those numbers are, they show some improvement from the 2011 Hofstra poll, when the split was 15% satisfied-80% dissatisfied.

The suburbs' answer to Ronald Reagan's 1980 question of "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" is no. Fully a third of suburban residents (33%) say they are worse off today financially than they were four years ago. Slightly fewer (28%) say they are better off and 37 percent see no change in their fiscal condition.

While negative, the economic perspective has brightened over the last two years. The percentage seeing personal financial improvement has risen eight percentage points. The percentage saying they are worse off peaked in 2011 and is now down eight percentage points from that level.

Personal pain, not statistics

One of the most telling aspects of the suburban experience with the economic turmoil since 2007 is the personal impact. Suburban residents lost their jobs and their homes, or they personally knew those who suffered such losses. The economic statistics flashed on the nightly news were not just statistics to those in the suburbs.

The personal experience with the economic carnage has not abated in the suburbs, where more than seven in ten residents (73%) have lost their job or know someone who has. Experience with losing a home to foreclosure or because of skyrocketing mortgage payments has continued to rise. More than two in five suburbanites (43%) say they or someone they know has lost their home, up five percentage points since 2011.

Cross-currents on the issues

Suburbanites want government to do more... and to do less. They want all Americans to pay lower taxes, and the well-off to pay more in taxes. In short, those in suburbia have a broad and contradictory set of opinions that do not follow simple ideological consistency.

One key example of the complexity of suburban thought starts with the debate over the income gap between very wealthy Americans and those who are not so wealthy. Here, suburban residents start out with a reasonably clear position: A majority (55%) support government action to "substantially reduce the income gap between rich and poor." A total of 35 percent strongly agree with the call for government action. Thirty-eight percent of suburbanites disagree with that view, including 26 percent who strongly disagree.

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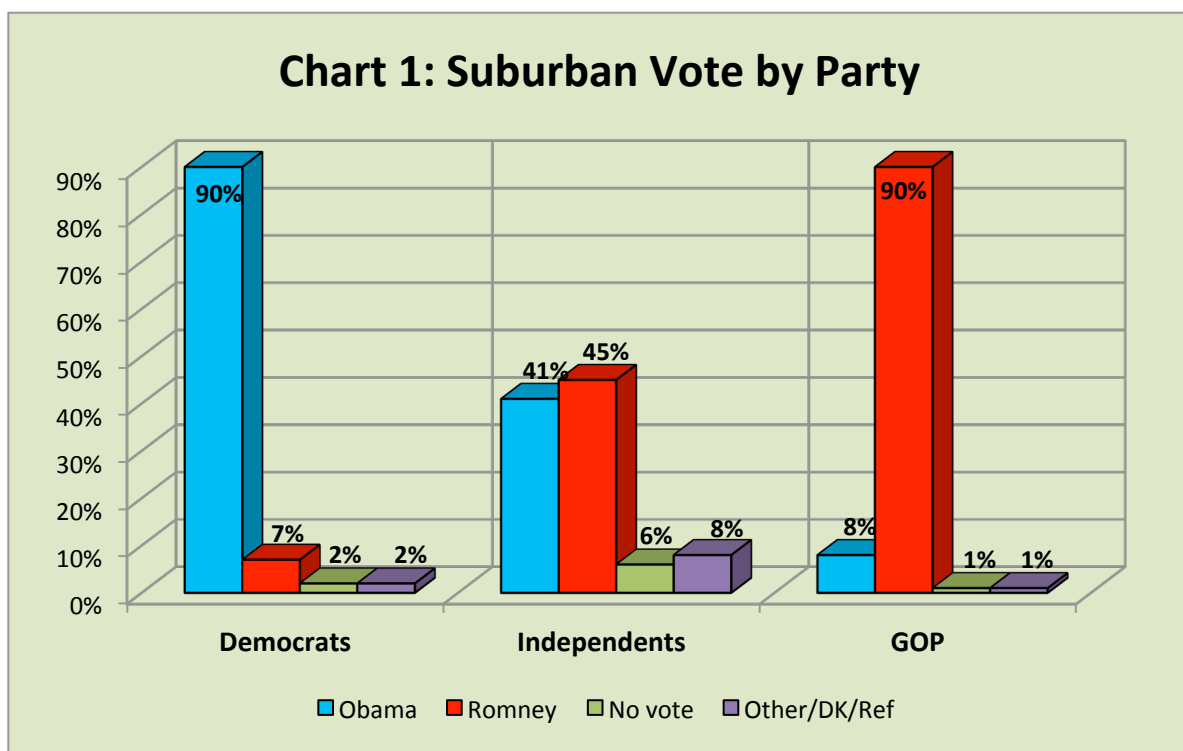
Chapter 1: A dead heat in the summer in the suburbs

In the summer of 2012, the battle for the White House in the suburbs is a dead heat: Barack Obama has the support of 46 percent of registered suburban voters and Mitt Romney also has the support of 46 percent of the registered suburban voters.⁴

Nationally, the race is a trace better for the incumbent with the backing of 49 percent of all registered voters to 45 percent for the presumptive GOP nominee, as there has been an uptick in economic optimism. Obama's national numbers are boosted by his showing in urban areas, where he leads Romney by a 57%-40% margin.⁵

The results of this latest poll are a bit of an improvement for Obama from November 2011, when the Hofstra poll that year found Romney leading 48%-40% among registered voters in the suburbs. And these 2012 numbers compare to Obama's narrow 50 percent to 48 percent edge in the 2008 vote in the suburbs, according to the exit polls.⁶

The structure of each candidate's support in the suburbs has shifted since last fall, with Romney's having gone through a tough primary season and Obama's dealing with the ups



⁴ Results based on suburban registered voters have an error margin of plus or minus 5 percentage points.

⁵ Romney is apparently leading in rural areas, but the number of interviews in those areas in this poll are too small to report reliably.

⁶ The exit poll definition of the suburbs is not identical to the one used in this survey. But the definitions are comparable enough to be appropriate.

and downs of the economy.⁷

By party, the pattern has taken shape in sharp contrasts: nine in ten suburban Republicans will vote for Romney and nine in ten suburban Democrats will vote for Obama. And the independents lean slightly toward Romney: 45 percent for Romney and 41 percent for Obama.

And there are other contrasts as well among the suburban vote, looking at various demographic groups:

- Romney wins suburban men, 50%-44%, but suburban women were split 47% Obama-43% Romney. In the November 2011 Hofstra poll, Romney won suburban men by a 53 percent to 36 percent edge, while splitting suburban women 43%-43%.
- In terms of age, Obama has a decided edge among the Millennials (age 18-35, also known as Gen Y) leading by a 52%-36% edge. But Romney takes over from there. The GOP choice does well among the next age group, Gen X (age 36-47), leading 51%-43% and among the big group of Baby Boomers in the suburbs (age 48-66), winning them 51%-42%. Among the oldest suburban voters, Romney nabs 48 percent and Obama 46 percent.
- In the suburbs, there is a split by education. Among registered voters with a college degree or more, Obama has a 51%-43% edge over Romney. Among registered voters with only some college experience, Romney has a slight edge margin, 47%-41%.
- There are large differences by race and ethnicity in the suburbs. Romney has a 17-point lead, 55%-38%, among white registered voters in the suburbs, while Obama leads 91%-1% among African-American registered voters in the suburbs. The number of interviews with Hispanic registered voters in the suburbs is not large enough to generate reliable estimates, but they suggest that Obama has a substantial margin with the group.
- In terms of income in the suburbs, the patterns of support are similar to the overall numbers. The only income group where one candidate grabs a clear lead is among those making \$50,000 to just under \$75,000: Romney wins this group by a 55%-44% edge.
- Marital status is another factor that uncovers a big divide. Married suburban voters back Romney by a 51%-43% edge. Suburban voters who are not currently married back Obama, 50%-39%.⁸

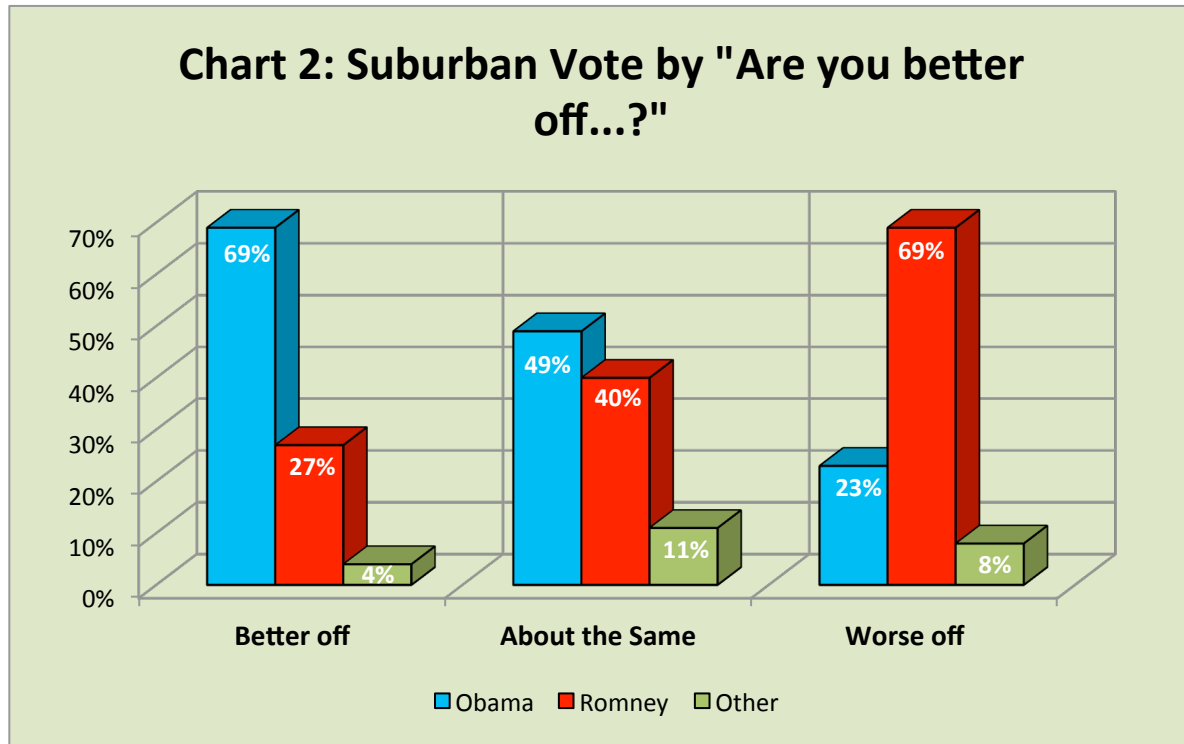
⁷ The great majority of the interviews for this survey were completed before the Supreme Court handed down its decision that Obama's signature health care reform law is constitutional.

- Obama is currently holding onto 86 percent of the suburban voters who say they backed him in 2008, losing 10 percent to Romney. Romney is winning 90 percent of the group who say they voted for John McCain in 2008, with Obama picking up 5 percent of the GOP voters.

⁸ Currently unmarried voters include those who are now single as well as those who are separated, widowed or divorced.

The election and the economy

Nationwide, there is a bit of an upswing in economic optimism, and that is true in the suburbs as well. (See Chapter 2 for a full exposition.) This shift has helped Obama a bit, although the patterns are complex.



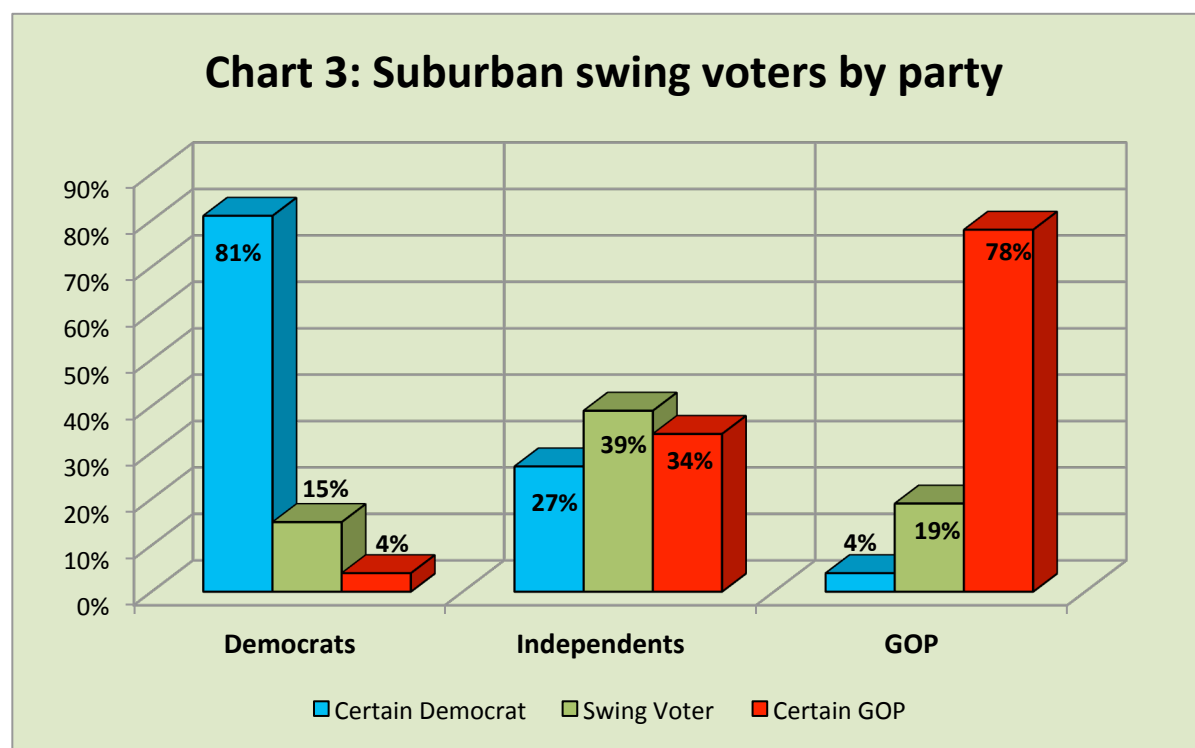
The group that says they are better off than four years ago and the group that says they are worse off are mirror images of each other. Obama wins the group that says they are better off by a 69 percent-27 percent edge, while Romney win the worse-off group by a 23 percent-69 percent margin. Those who view their economic situation as about the same are split, with Obama winning 49 percent to 40 percent for Romney.

The change in the economic outlook has benefited Obama in three ways. First, the size of the “better-off” group has increased since the 2011 Hofstra poll and the size of the “worse-off” group has shrunk. In addition, Obama’s edge among the “better-off” group has grown from the 46 percent-46 percent tie in 2011.

Swing voters

Not only is the race for the White House close about four months before the election, but there are still a fair number of voters who say they are willing to change their minds. About one in four registered voters is a swing voter at this point in the election cycle, with 25 percent nationally and 25 percent in the suburbs falling into that category. These are the voters who have either not expressed a preference for one of the candidates or have said they would consider voting for the candidate they do not currently favor. In urban areas, the total percentage of swing voters (22%) appears to be just a trace less than in the suburbs.

This number of swing voters nationally is somewhat less than in previous elections,⁹ but how



this group votes will, indeed, determine the election.

By party, 19 percent of the GOP suburban voters fit into the swing category, compared with 15 percent of the Democrats in the suburbs. But fully 39 percent of the independent registered voters in the suburbs are swing voters. The numbers in the urban areas are similar, with the same 39 percent of independent voters in the urban areas falling into the classification of swing voters. Looking at it the other way, half of the suburban swing voters are independents (50%), 22 percent are Republicans and 19 percent are Democrats.

⁹ <http://www.people-press.org/2012/06/21/section-2-assessing-obama-and-romneys-support/>

In what could be bad news of the incumbent, the age group with the biggest number of swing voters in the suburbs is the Millennials, of which 40 percent say they are not certain of their vote. This age group gives Obama his biggest margin in the suburbs, suggesting that his margin among this group of young voters could be vulnerable as the campaign continues. Among some other groups:

- Fifty-eight percent of the suburban swing voters are women, and only 42 percent, men.
- Forty-four percent say they are “born-again Christians”, about the same as the percentage of certain GOP suburban voters (45%), and above the 32 percent of the certain Democratic voters.
- Among the suburban swing voters, 32 percent say they are conservative; 46 percent moderate; and 15 percent liberal.

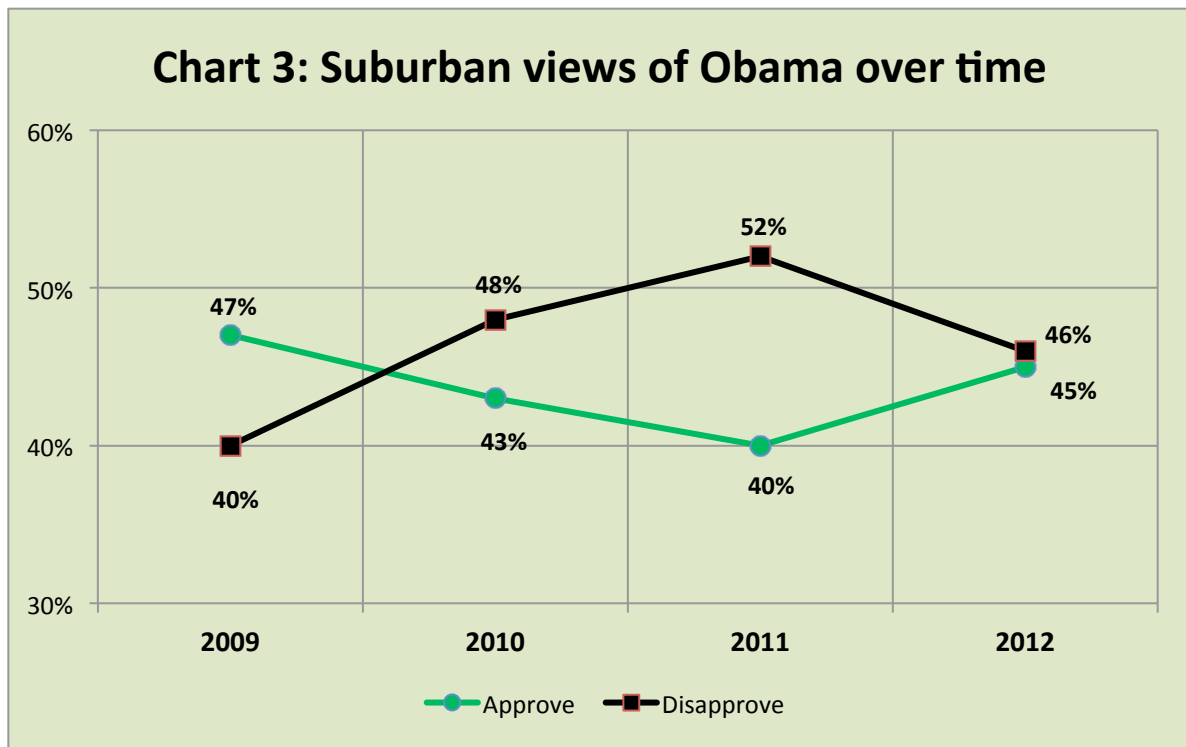
In terms of the issues, the views of swing voters largely reflect those of all voters, with a few exceptions.

- Thirty-six percent of suburban swing voters approve of the job Obama is doing as president and 49 percent disapprove, a less positive view than all suburbanites. (See next section.)
- Just slightly more satisfied than all suburbanites, only 28 percent of the suburban swing voters are satisfied with the way the country is going, compared to 67 percent who are dissatisfied.
- Suburban swing voters are a less likely than all suburbanites to call for federal income tax cuts for all, splitting 45 percent-45 percent on the issue. But they are also a little less likely to support tax cuts on the wealthy, 56 percent-36 percent. (See page 16.)

Job rating

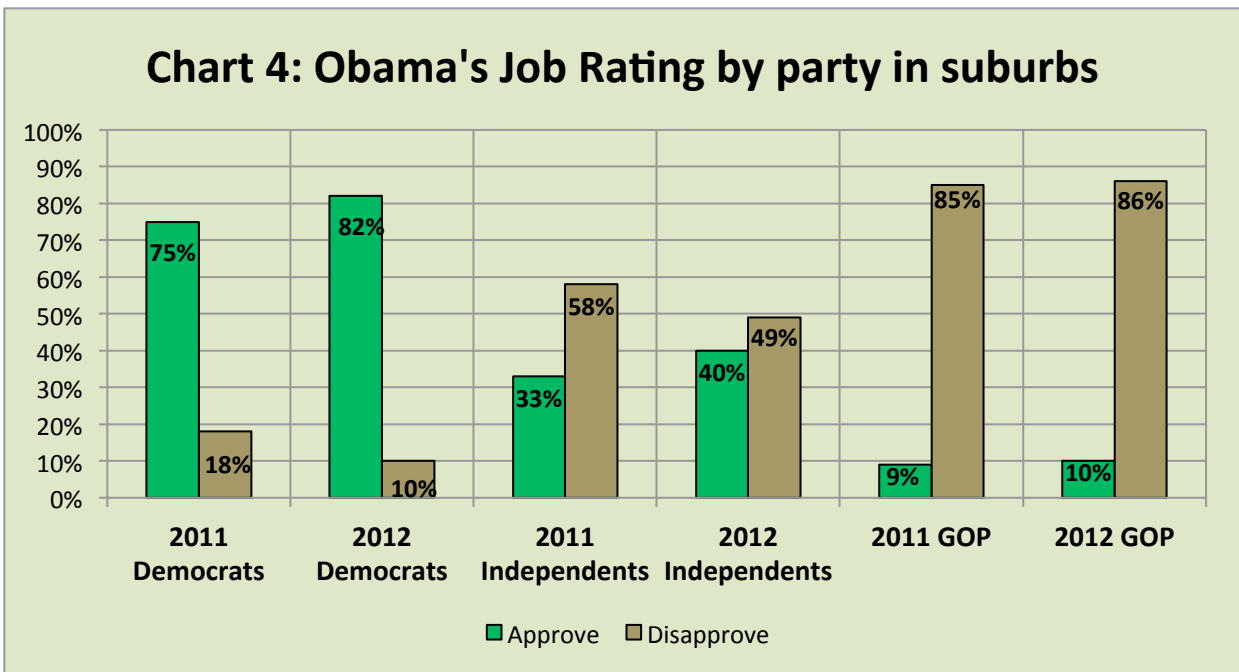
Obama has climbed back to a roughly even split in terms of how suburbanites view his work as president. Now, 45 percent of those in the suburbs approve of Obama’s work and 46 percent disapprove. That reflects at least a modest improvement since the 2011 Hofstra survey, where only 40 percent said they approve of his work and 52 percent said they disapprove.

Nationally, the view of the incumbent’s work is split as well, with 47 percent saying they approve and 44 percent saying disapprove.



Obama has edged back from the negative 40% approve-52% disapprove rating in the November 2011 Hofstra poll, but he has not reached the high point in the suburbs of 47%-40% he had in 2009.

Views of Obama have improved in the suburbs because of a swing among independents and some improvements among Democrats since 2011. In the last Hofstra poll, independents



rated his work negatively by a 25-point margin (58%-33%). That negative edge has dropped to only 9 percentage points in the current poll (40%-49%). His rating among suburban Democrats is up about 7 points to 82 percent, while the strongly negative views of suburban Republicans have not changed.

Chapter 2: A hint of economic progress in the suburbs

The economic turmoil of the last five years wreaked havoc on the suburbs, but there some indications that the worst is past. Perceptions of the direction of the nation and personal economies have brightened a bit from 2011 and more suburbanites are willing to say they are now better off than they were four years ago.

Dissatisfaction with the direction of the country is still high in the suburbs, with 71 percent expressing that view and 25 percent saying they are satisfied. As dismal as those numbers are, they show some improvement from the 2011 Hofstra poll, when the split was 15% satisfied-80% dissatisfied.

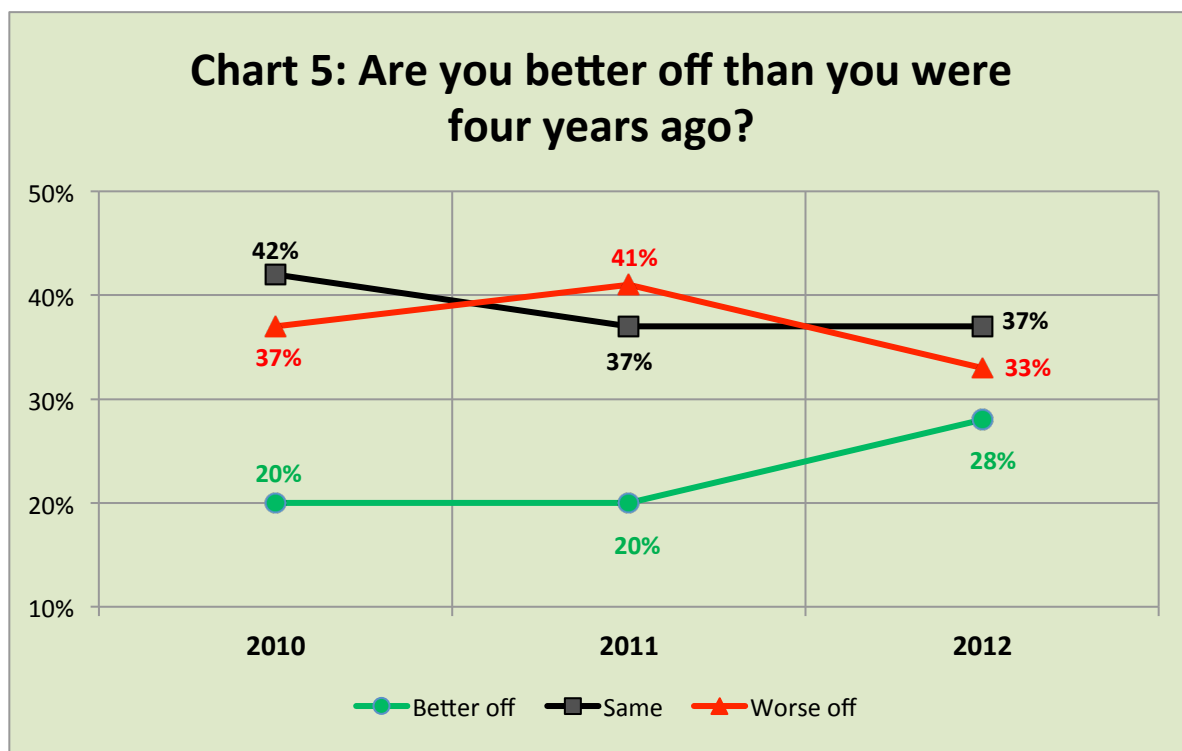
Views of one's own finances have picked up slightly from the lows of 2011 as well. Now, 43 percent say their personal finances are excellent or good, up from 39 percent last year. And 55 percent give their finances a negative rating, compared with 59 percent in the previous poll.

Table 1: Still weak personal finances					
	Suburbs Oct. 2008	Suburbs 2009	Suburbs 2010	Suburbs 2011	Suburbs 2012
Positive	50%	44%	46%	39%	43%
<i>Excellent</i>	7%	7%	9%	7%	7%
<i>Good</i>	43%	37%	37%	32%	36%
Negative	49%	54%	53%	59%	55%
<i>Only Fair</i>	35%	39%	33%	37%	34%
<i>Poor</i>	14%	15%	20%	22%	21%

“Are you better off than you were four years ago?”

The classic one-liner from Ronald Reagan in the 1980 debate with Jimmy Carter summed up the case against reelecting the Democratic incumbent. Today the same question in the suburbs is negative if applied to Obama's work in office, but there has been some improvement since last year.

Fully a third of suburban residents (33%) say they are worse off today financially than they were four years ago. Slightly fewer (28%) say they are better off and 37 percent see no



change in their fiscal condition.

While negative, the economic perspective has brightened over the last two years. The percentage seeing personal financial improvement has risen eight percentage points. The percentage saying they are worse off peaked in 2011 and is now down eight percentage points from that level.

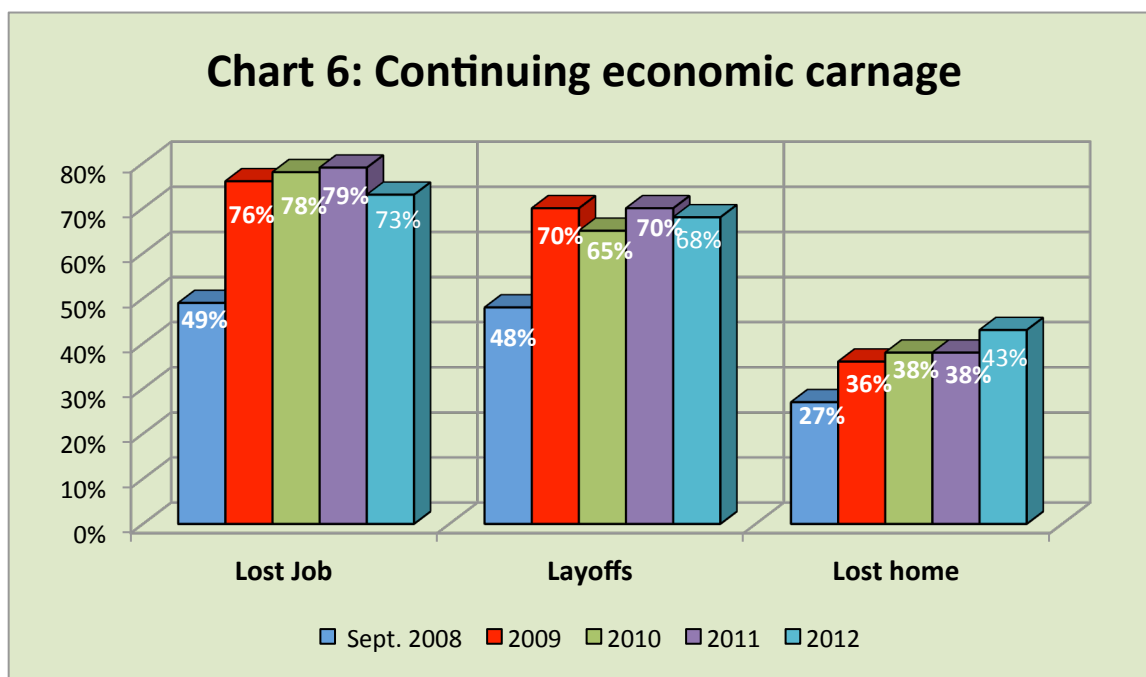
- The biggest changes in economic perspective in the suburbs occurred among the independents and Democrats. Republicans in the suburbs (47%) are more likely to say they are personally worse off financially than they were in 2008, little changed from the 50 percent finding in 2011. But this year, only 22 percent of Democrats said they were worse off, down from 32 percent in 2011. And among Independents, 31 percent report they are worse off, down from 43 percent in 2011.

Personal Experience with Foreclosures Continues to Rise

One of the most telling aspects of the suburban experience with the economic turmoil since 2007 is the personal impact. Suburban residents lost their jobs and their homes, or they personally knew those who suffered such losses. The economic statistics flashed on the nightly news were not just statistics to those in the suburbs.

The personal experience with the economic carnage has not abated in the suburbs where more than seven in ten residents (73%) have lost their job or know someone who has, down a bit from 79 percent in 2011. Almost as many (68%) have seen layoffs or forced retirements at their workplace, just about the same as the 70 percent in 2011.

Experience with losing a home to foreclosure or because of skyrocketing mortgage payments has continued to rise. More than two in five suburbanites (43%) say they or someone they know has lost their home, up five percentage points since 2011.



Of suburbanites who know of losing a home, fully 13 percent of that group lost their home and 14 percent say someone else in their household lost their home. Looking at it another way, about one in 10 suburban residents (9%) either personally lost their home to foreclosure or had a family member suffer such a loss.

Chapter 3: Suburban cross-currents on the issues

Suburbanites want government to do more... and to do less. They want all Americans to pay lower taxes, and the well-off to pay more in taxes. They want the government to do something to reduce the income gap between the 1 percent and the 99 percent. And they are increasingly in favor of gay marriage.

In short, those in suburbia have a broad and contradictory set of opinions that belie the simplistic sound-bites of the politicians in the polarized nation's capital. Simple ideological consistency is not a feature of suburban opinions.

Income gap

One key example of the complexity of suburban thought starts with the debate over the income gap between very wealthy Americans and those who are not so wealthy. The debate has taken many forms, particularly in the wake of the financial meltdown and huge Wall Street paychecks, but one popularized version was put forward by the Occupy Wall Street movement, arguing that the top 1% income bracket make far too much, compared with the other 99% of Americans.

And here, suburban residents start out with a reasonably clear position: A majority (55%) support government action to “substantially reduce the income gap between rich and poor.” A total of 35 percent strongly agree with the call for government action. Thirty-eight percent of suburbanites disagree with that view, including 26 percent who strongly disagree.

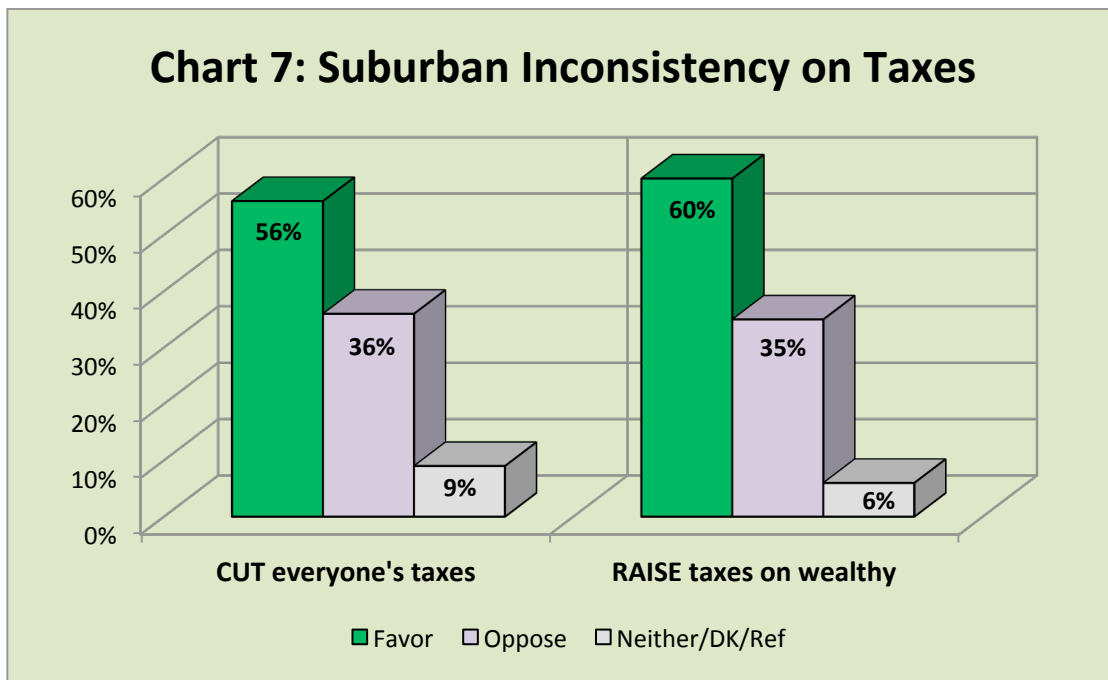
- And there is a big difference on this issue between the supporters of the presidential candidates. Obama backers in the suburbs support such government action by a 67 percent-25 percent margin, while Romney supporters oppose it by a 30 percent-64 percent edge.
- Suburban swing voters are neatly split on such government action regarding the income disparity (46%-47%).

Taxes

Debates about tax increases and tax cuts provoke starkly different reactions in the U.S. Congress, mostly following partisan lines. In the suburbs, majorities hold conflicting views on taxes, at the same time.

- A majority of suburbanites (56%) supports *reducing* personal income taxes on all Americans. More than a third (36%) oppose such cuts.

- A similar majority of suburbanites (60%) support *raising* personal income taxes on wealthier Americans. A total of 35 percent oppose such cuts.¹⁰



In fact, just under half of the suburbanites do have roughly consistent views on these tax issues:

- About a quarter of suburban residents (23%) favor cutting taxes on all Americans and oppose raising taxes on wealthier Americans.
- Another quarter (25%) take the other side: opposing general tax cuts and favoring tax increases on the higher-wage earners.

Next are the one-third of suburbanites (31%) who seem to want to have it both ways: they favor cutting taxes for all Americans and they support higher taxes for wealthier Americans: No analyses of the demographic makeup of this group untangle this conundrum.

And finally, there is the group that roughly wants no change: 10 percent oppose cutting taxes on all Americans and oppose raising taxes on wealthier Americans.

Among those who favor higher taxes on wealthier Americans, there is a major question of who is a wealthier or higher-income American. President Obama has proposed, for example, higher taxes on those who make \$250,000 a year or more, while Democrats in the Senate have talked of repealing the Bush tax cuts for those making more than \$1 million a year.

¹⁰ On both these questions, almost identical percentages were found in the 2011 Hofstra survey.

To tease out the attitudes on which higher-income citizens should pay more taxes, those who say they support higher income taxes on wealthier Americans were asked a series of follow-up questions. When asked if they would support higher income taxes on those making \$100,000 a year, 56 percent of suburbanites in the group said they do. That equals 34 percent of all suburbanites.

Raising taxes on those making \$250,000 a year, roughly Obama's position, is supported by almost all of those who support higher taxes (83%), which equals 50 percent of all suburban residents.

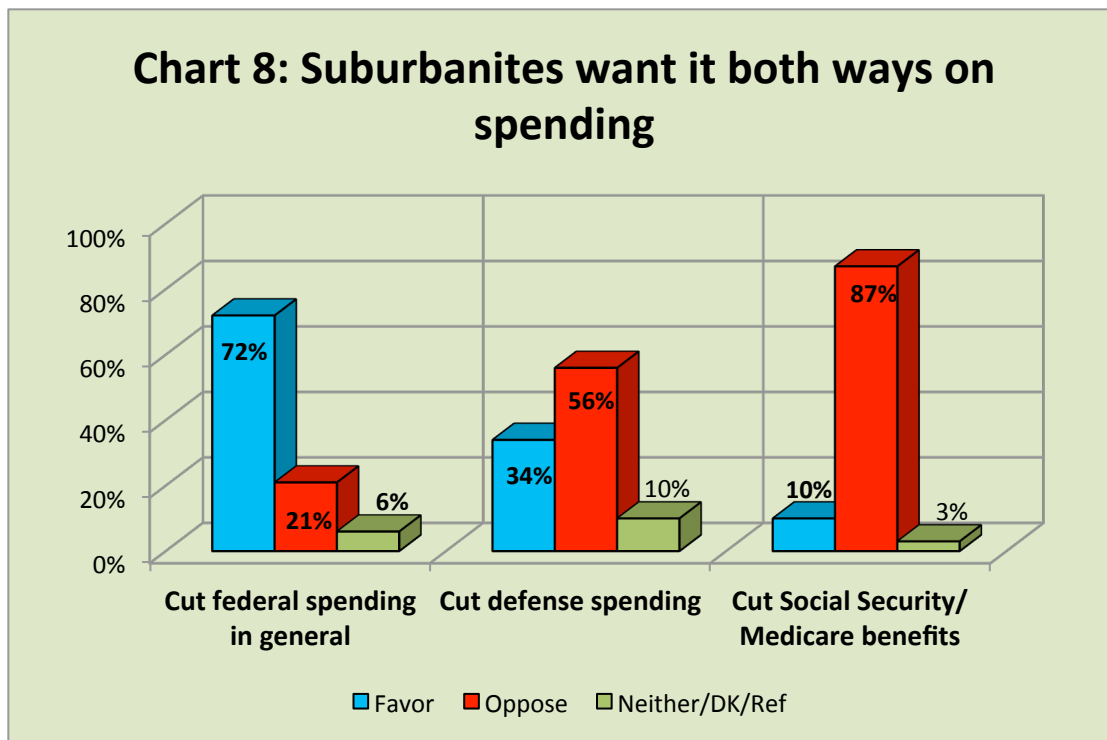
And 96 percent of suburbanites who support higher taxes on higher income Americans agree that means raising taxes on those making \$1 million or more a year. That works out to 58 percent of all suburbanites.

Cutting Spending

Just as Americans seem to love the idea of cutting everyone's taxes, they also strongly back cutting government spending...in theory. The problem arises when one talks about just what kind of government spending to cut.

More than seven in ten suburban residents (72%) say they favor cutting federal spending in general and only 21 percent oppose such trims.

But ask about cutting defense spending and a majority is opposed, 34 percent to 56 percent. And almost no one wants to cut spending on Social Security and Medicare, two of



the largest items in the federal budget. Only 10 percent of suburban residents support such cuts, while 87 percent oppose such moves.

- Government spending is one area where a person's views of the Tea Party have some resonance in the suburbs. Eighty-four percent of those who have favorable views of the Tea Party favor cutting government spending, while 66 percent of those with an unfavorable view do so. But it is only some government spending they want to cut: only 25 percent of Tea Party supporters in the suburbs want to cut defense spending, compared with 50 percent those with unfavorable views of the group.

Increasing spending

Turning the issue around, there is majority support for increasing some government spending. Nearly two-thirds of suburban dwellers (65%) support increasing spending on roads, bridges, and other public works projects, while 30 percent oppose it.

Despite recent controversies around federal money lost in supporting the Solyndra Corp., 53 percent support increasing federal spending to create "green jobs" that focus on the environment. Forty-one percent of suburban residents oppose such increases.

Gay marriage

In the past four years, suburban views on full recognition of marriage rights for gay couples have reversed.

In the September 2008 Hofstra poll, only 31 percent of suburban residents supported full recognition; 21 percent supported civil unions and 40 percent called for no legal recognition at all.

In this latest poll, the positions have switched: 42 percent of suburbanites back full marriage rights for gay couples; 16 percent support civil unions and 34 percent oppose any legal recognition.

Government regulation of business

The public has substantial suspicions that government regulation of business might have negative impacts that outweigh its value to society. About half of suburban residents (51%) say "government regulation of business usually does more harm than good." Only 38 percent say such regulation is "necessary to protect the public interest."

But, in talking about the environment, regulation gets a green light

Despite concerns about government regulation in general, Americans have increasingly supported moves to protect the environment through government regulation over the years, while the costs and benefits of such regulation have been a balancing act in the public's eyes.

Nearly two-thirds of suburban residents (65%) say the environment should be protected by doing “whatever it takes”, with half (52%) agreeing strongly with this position. But 29 percent say the country “has gone too far” in environmental protection. There has been a slight strengthening of the environmental position since the 2011 Hofstra poll, which found 60 percent said the environment should be the first priority.

- This is one of the issues where age makes a big difference. Among suburban Millennials (age 18-35), doing whatever it takes is backed by a 61-point margin (78%-17%). But among Gen X’s and Baby Boomers in the suburbs that margin drops precipitously (19 points and 22 points, respectively.)

Adding the possibility that regulation could cost jobs narrows the margin, at least on one question. Half of suburban residents (51%) say “stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost,” while 39 percent back the opinion that “stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.” The support for stricter laws is up from 47 percent in the 2011 survey.

Global warming

The debate about whether global warming is real and what should be done about it has been divisive. At least on one dimension, there is a clear view that global warming is a problem. A total of 64 percent of suburbanites say global warming is a very serious or somewhat serious problem. One third (33%) say it is not too serious a problem or not a problem at all.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Topline Results

National Suburban Poll VI

Princeton Survey Research Associates International
for
National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra

Number of Interviews

Total: 1,532 adults age 18 or older
Suburban: 1,005 suburban residents
Urban: 415 urban residents

Total Registered Voters (RVs): 1,267 registered voters
Suburban RVs: 844 suburban registered voters
Urban RVs: 335 urban registered voters

Margins of Error

Total: Plus or minus 3 percentage points
Suburban: Plus or minus 4 percentage points
Urban: Plus or minus 6 percentage points

Total Registered Voters (RVs): Plus or minus 4 percentage points
Suburban RVs: Plus or minus 5 percentage points
Urban RVs: Plus or minus 7 percentage points

Dates of interviewing: June 11-28, 2012
Language of interview: English or Spanish
Type of sample: Landline or Cell phone
PSRAI Job #32005

Notes on Topline:

1. Because percentages are rounded they may not total 100%.
2. An asterisk indicates a value of less than 0.5%.
3. Unless noted otherwise, trends listed on this topline are from previous waves of the National Suburban Poll:
 - i. National Suburban Poll I, 1,526 total adults including 1,033 suburban residents and 283 urban residents, interviewed Sept. 15-21, 2008.
 - ii. National Suburban Poll II, 1,503 total adults including 1,000 suburban residents and 291 urban residents, interviewed Oct. 22-26, 2008.
 - iii. National Suburban Poll III, 1,781 total adults including 1,094 suburban residents and 520 urban residents, interviewed Sept. 21-Oct. 4, 2009.
 - iv. National Suburban Poll IV, 1,549 total adults including 1,000 suburban residents and 406 urban residents, interviewed Sept. 15-28, 2010.
 - v. National Suburban Poll V, 1,517 total adults including 1,016 suburban residents and 411 urban residents, interviewed Oct. 20-Nov. 8, 2011.

LANDLINE INTRO:

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling on behalf of Hofstra University. We are conducting an important national survey to find out what Americans think about some important issues today. May I please speak with the [RANDOMIZE: ("YOUNGEST MALE, age 18 or older, who is now at home") / ("YOUNGEST FEMALE, age 18 or older, who is now at home")]? [IF NO MALE/FEMALE, ASK: May I please speak with the YOUNGEST (FEMALE/MALE), age 18 or older, who is now at home?]
[Repeat introduction if respondent did not answer the telephone.]
GO TO MAIN INTERVIEW

CELL PHONE INTRO:

Hello, I am _____ calling on behalf of Hofstra University. We are conducting a national survey of cell phone users. I know I am calling you on a cell phone. This is not a sales call.

[IF R SAYS DRIVING/UNABLE TO TAKE CALL: Thank you. We will try you another time...]

VOICEMAIL MESSAGE [LEAVE ONLY ONCE – THE FIRST TIME A CALL GOES TO VOICEMAIL]: I am calling on behalf of Hofstra University. We are conducting a short national survey of cell phone users. This is NOT a sales call. We will try to reach you again.

CELL SCREENING INTERVIEW:

S1. Are you under 18 years old, OR are you 18 or older? [IF S1=18 or older, CONTINUE WITH MAIN INTERVIEW; OTHERWISE THANK AND TERMINATE.]

CELL PHONE INTRODUCTION TO MAIN INTERVIEW: We're interested in learning more about people with cell phones. If you are now driving a car or doing any activity requiring your full attention, I need to call you back later. The first question is...

MAIN INTERVIEW

[ROTATE Q1 and Q2]

Q1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

		<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>DK¹¹</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
	Suburbs:	25	71	2	2
	Urban:	31	62	5	2
	Total:	27	68	4	2
NOVEMBER 2011					
	Suburbs:	15	80	3	2
	Urban:	19	74	5	2
	Total:	17	77	4	2
SEPTEMBER 2010					
	Suburbs:	25	67	6	2
	Urban:	32	62	5	1
	Total:	26	67	5	2
OCTOBER 2009					
	Suburbs:	26	66	5	2
	Urban:	31	62	6	1
	Total:	28	65	5	2
SEPTEMBER 2008					
	Suburbs:	18	77	4	--
	Urban:	18	78	4	--
	Total:	18	77	5	--

¹¹ "Don't know" and "Refused" responses were combined in trends unless otherwise reported.

Q2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president? [IF DEPENDS, PROBE ONCE WITH: OVERALL do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?] [IF STILL DEPENDS, ENTER AS DK]

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
	Suburbs:	45	46	6	3
	Urban:	52	37	6	4
	Total:	47	44	5	4
NOVEMBER 2011					
	Suburbs:	40	52	6	2
	Urban:	54	39	5	2
	Total:	45	47	5	3
SEPTEMBER 2010					
	Suburbs:	43	48	8	1
	Urban:	54	35	9	2
	Total:	46	44	9	1
OCTOBER 2009					
	Suburbs:	47	40	9	4
	Urban:	69	22	7	2
	Total:	55	35	7	3

Q3 In general, how much confidence do you have in the FEDERAL government? Would you say a lot of confidence, some, not too much, or no confidence at all?¹²

		<u>A lot of confidence</u>	<u>Some confidence</u>	<u>Not too much confidence</u>	<u>No confidence</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
	Suburbs:	9	38	30	21	*	1
	Urban:	9	37	33	16	3	1
	Total:	9	37	31	20	1	2
NOVEMBER 2011							
	Suburbs:	8	39	32	19	2	1
	Urban:	11	41	28	17	3	*
	Total:	9	39	32	18	2	1
SEPTEMBER 2010							
	Suburbs:	11	42	28	18	1	*
	Urban:	11	44	27	14	2	1
	Total:	11	43	29	16	1	*
OCTOBER 2009							
	Suburbs:	11	45	28	13	1	1
	Urban:	12	49	28	9	2	1
	Total:	12	45	29	12	1	1
SEPTEMBER 2008							
	Suburbs:	9	39	29	20	3	--
	Urban:	7	42	30	18	3	--
	Total:	8	39	31	19	3	--

¹² Prior to the current poll, "federal government" was asked as one item in a list question with multiple items. Trend wording was: "We're interested in how much confidence you have in some different institutions. (First,) in general, how much confidence do you have in... [INSERT ITEM]? A lot of confidence, some, not too much, or no confidence at all?"

Q4 Thinking about the issues, what one ISSUE would you most like to hear the presidential candidates talk about? [IF GAVE ANSWER, PROBE: Any other issue?] [PRECODED OPEN-END; DO NOT READ; ACCEPT UP TO TWO MENTIONS]

<u>CURRENT</u>			<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>			
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>
30	25	27	Economy	46	46	44
22	22	22	Job situation / Unemployment	2	4	3
17	17	16	Health care reform / Health care in general	8	10	10
6	7	6	Budget deficit / National debt	2	2	2
6	7	6	Foreign policy / Foreign affairs	1	1	1
5	7	6	Education / Education reform	3	5	3
3	3	3	War ¹³	9	7	8
3	2	3	Energy/Gas prices	7	6	7
3	2	3	Social Security	n/a	n/a	n/a
2	3	3	Immigration reform / Securing U.S. borders	3	2	3
2	2	3	Taxes	2	3	2
2	1	1	Abortion / Reproductive rights	1	1	1
1	2	1	Foreclosures / Housing ¹⁴	1	*	1
1	2	1	Gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender rights	n/a	n/a	n/a
1	1	2	Bipartisanship / Compromise / Working together	n/a	n/a	n/a
1	1	1	Terrorism / Protecting the nation ¹⁵	4	2	3
*	2	1	Environment/Global warming	2	1	1
*	1	1	Student debt / Student loans	n/a	n/a	n/a
*	*	*	Corporate and special interest influence in politics / Super PACs	n/a	n/a	n/a
14	13	14	Other (SPECIFY)	14	11	13
6	8	8	Don't know	5	9	7
2	2	2	Refused	--	--	--

Note: Totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

¹³ Trend precoded response was "Iraq / The war"

¹⁴ Trend precoded responses were "Foreclosures/Falling real estate prices" and "Affordable housing".

¹⁵ Trend precoded responses were "Terrorism / Protecting the nation" and "National security".

REG These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

	<u>Yes, registered</u>	<u>No, not registered</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
Suburbs:	76	23	*	0
Urban:	74	26	*	1
Total:	75	25	*	*
NOVEMBER 2011				
Suburbs:	77	23	*	*
Urban:	72	26	1	0
Total:	74	25	1	*
SEPTEMBER 2010				
Suburbs:	82	18	1	0
Urban:	75	24	1	0
Total:	78	21	1	0
OCTOBER 2008				
Suburbs:	90	10	*	--
Urban:	87	13	1	--
Total:	89	10	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008				
Suburbs:	85	15	*	--
Urban:	79	20	*	--
Total:	83	16	*	--

No Questions 5-9

Q10 If the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY and the candidates were Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Mitt Romney, the Republican, would you vote for [READ AND ROTATE: Mitt Romney (or) Barack Obama]?

Based on registered voters

	<u>Romney</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other candidate</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither/ Wouldn't vote</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs (n=844):	42	43	2	4	7	2
Urban (n=335):	37	52	2	5	3	1
Total (n=1,267):	41	46	2	5	5	2
NOVEMBER 2011						
Suburbs (n=876):	48	40	2	5	5	1
Urban (n=325):	27	63	*	2	6	1
Total (n=1,268):	39	49	1	4	6	1

- Q10 If the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY and the candidates were Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Mitt Romney, the Republican, would you vote for [READ AND ROTATE: Mitt Romney (or) Barack Obama]?
- Q11 [ASK IF DID NOT CHOOSE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC TICKET IN Q10] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ AND ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q10]?¹⁶

Based on registered voters

	<u>Romney</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other candidate</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither/ Wouldn't vote</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs (n=844):	46	46	2	4	3	*
Urban (n=335):	40	57	0	2	1	*
Total (n=1,267):	45	49	1	3	2	1
OCTOBER 2008						
Suburbs (n=929):	39	47	1	2	5	6
Urban (n=266):	33	55	1	*	4	6
Total (n=1,397):	38	48	1	2	5	7
SEPTEMBER 2008						
Suburbs (n=936):	48	42	1	n/a	8	--
Urban (n=244):	34	57	1	n/a	9	--
Total (n=1,367):	44	46	1	n/a	9	--
JULY 2008						
Suburbs (n=633):	47	44	1	n/a	8	--
Urban (n=345):	32	58	*	n/a	9	--
Total (n=1,241):	42	47	1	n/a	10	--
JUNE 2008						
Suburbs (n=769):	42	46	1	n/a	10	--
Urban (n=492):	34	55	1	n/a	10	--
Total (n=1,574):	40	48	1	n/a	11	--
APRIL 2008						
Suburbs (n=673):	46	49	1	n/a	4	--
Urban (n=374):	36	57	2	n/a	5	--

¹⁶ October 2008 trend questions had the following wording, combining registered voters who had already voted and registered voters who had not yet voted: "In the presidential election, DID YOU VOTE for (READ AND ROTATE: the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin or the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden)?" / "If the 2008 presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for (READ AND ROTATE: the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin / the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden)?" / "[ASK IF DID NOT CHOOSE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC TICKET IN PREVIOUS QUESTION] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to (READ AND ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS PREVIOUS QUESTION)?"

September 2008 trend questions had the following wording: "If the 2008 presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for (READ AND ROTATE: the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin / the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden)?" / "[ASK IF DID NOT CHOOSE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC TICKET IN PREVIOUS QUESTION] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to (READ AND ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS PREVIOUS QUESTION)?"

July 2008, June 2008 and April 2008 trends from the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

Total (n=1,323):	45	50	2	n/a	4	--
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[RANDOMIZE Q12 AND Q13]

Q12 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Mitt Romney in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?¹⁷

Based on registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
9	11	10	Chance might vote for him
37	44	38	Decided not to vote for him
4	3	4	Don't know/Refused if chance might vote for him
46	40	45	Chose Romney/Definite Romney voter
4	2	3	Would not vote in the presidential election
(n=844)	(n=335)	(n=1,267)	

Q13 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Barack Obama in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?¹⁸

Based on registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
6	4	6	Chance might vote for him
42	36	40	Decided not to vote for him
2	2	2	Don't know/Refused if chance might vote for him
46	57	49	Chose Obama/Definite Obama voter
4	2	3	Would not vote in the presidential election
(n=844)	(n=335)	(n=1,267)	

No Question 14

¹⁷ Question was asked of those who did not choose Romney or do not lean towards Romney. Percentages have been recalculated to be based on all registered voters.

¹⁸ Question was asked of those who did not choose Obama or do not lean towards Obama. Percentages have been recalculated to be based on all registered voters.

[READ TO ALL:] Now I'd like to ask you some questions about you and your daily life.

OwnRent Do you own your home, rent your home, or do you have some other type of arrangement?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
56	52	56	Own
28	37	30	Rent
16	10	13	Other arrangement
*	*	*	Don't know
1	1	1	Refused

Questions QL1, QL1a and QC1 are not reported in this topline.

[READ TO ALL:] Turning to other matters...

Q15 How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape financially?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs:	7	36	34	21	1	1
Urban:	9	33	38	18	*	1
Total:	8	35	36	19	*	1
NOVEMBER 2011						
Suburbs:	7	32	37	22	*	2
Urban:	7	28	39	25	*	1
Total:	7	30	37	25	*	1
SEPTEMBER 2010						
Suburbs:	9	37	33	20	1	1
Urban:	8	34	36	20	1	0
Total:	8	34	35	21	1	1
OCTOBER 2009						
Suburbs:	7	37	39	15	1	2
Urban:	13	31	37	19	0	*
Total:	9	35	38	16	*	2
OCTOBER 2008						
Suburbs:	7	43	35	14	1	--
Urban:	10	39	32	18	1	--
Total:	8	41	35	15	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008						
Suburbs:	8	42	34	15	2	--
Urban:	7	37	36	18	1	--
Total:	7	39	36	17	1	--

Q16 How would you say your personal financial situation compares to what it was four years ago -- that is, in 2008? Would you say you are better off than you were four years ago, worse off or about the same?¹⁹

	<u>Better off</u>	<u>Worse off</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
Suburbs:	28	33	37	1	1
Urban:	32	27	40	*	*
Total:	29	31	39	1	1
NOVEMBER 2011					
Suburbs:	20	41	37	*	1
Urban:	23	31	45	2	*
Total:	21	38	39	1	1
SEPTEMBER 2010					
Suburbs:	20	37	42	*	*
Urban:	26	28	46	*	*
Total:	23	34	42	*	*

¹⁹ November 2011 question wording was slightly different: "How would you say your personal financial situation compares to what it was three years ago -- that is, in October 2008? Would you say you are better off than you were three years ago, worse off or about the same?"

September 2010 question wording was slightly different: "How would you say your personal financial situation compares to what it was two years ago -- that is, in September 2008? Would you say you are better off than you were two years ago, worse off or about the same?"

Q17 In the past FOUR years, which of the following things, if any, have happened to you or someone you know? (First,) have you or someone you know [INSERT ITEMS IN ORDER]?²⁰

	<u>Yes, happened to me or someone I know</u>	<u>No, has not happened</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
a. Lost a job				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	73	27	1	*
Urban:	68	31	1	1
Total:	70	29	1	*
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	79	21	*	0
Urban:	79	20	*	0
Total:	80	20	*	0
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	78	22	*	0
Urban:	75	24	*	0
Total:	77	23	*	0
<u>OCT. 2009</u>				
Suburbs:	76	24	*	*
Urban:	72	28	*	0
Total:	74	25	*	*
<u>OCT. 2008</u>				
Suburbs:	51	48	1	--
Urban:	48	52	1	--
Total:	49	51	1	--
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>				
Suburbs:	49	51	*	--
Urban:	53	46	1	--
Total:	50	49	1	--

Q17 continued on next page...

²⁰ In November 2011, question wording was slightly different: "In the past THREE years, which of the following things, if any, have happened to you or someone you know? (First,) have you or someone you know [INSERT ITEMS IN ORDER]?"

In September 2010, question wording was slightly different: "In the past TWO years, which of the following things, if any, have happened to you or someone you know? (First,) have you or someone you know [INSERT ITEMS IN ORDER]?"

In both October 2008 and September 2008, question wording was slightly different: "In the past 12 months, which of the following things, if any, have happened to you or someone you know? (First,) have you or someone you know [INSERT—READ AND RANDOMIZE]?"

Q17 continued...

	<u>Yes, happened to me or someone I know</u>	<u>No, has not happened</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
c. Had layoffs or firings at work, or co-workers asked to take early retirement				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	68	31	1	*
Urban:	64	35	1	0
Total:	66	33	1	*
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	70	29	1	*
Urban:	73	26	1	*
Total:	71	27	1	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	65	33	2	*
Urban:	65	33	1	0
Total:	66	33	1	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>				
Suburbs:	70	30	1	*
Urban:	62	37	1	*
Total:	68	31	1	*
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>				
Suburbs:	48	51	1	--
Urban:	47	50	2	--
Total:	48	51	1	--

Q18 You said you or someone you know had lost their job. Was it [INSERT IN ORDER] who lost their job, or not? Next, did [INSERT ITEM] lose their job, or not?²¹

Based on those who lost their job in the past four years or knows someone who did

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
a. You				
	<u>CURRENT</u>			
Suburbs (n=687):	24	76	0	0
Urban (n=280):	26	74	0	0
Total (n=1,041):	26	74	0	0
	<u>Nov. 2011</u>			
Suburbs (n=778):	20	80	0	*
Urban (n=311):	21	79	0	0
Total (n=1,163):	21	79	0	*
	<u>SEPT. 2010</u>			
Suburbs (n=744):	21	79	*	0
Urban (n=296):	22	77	0	*
Total (n=1,149):	22	78	*	*
b. Someone else in your household				
	<u>CURRENT</u>			
Suburbs:	25	75	0	*
Urban:	20	80	0	0
Total:	23	76	0	*
	<u>Nov. 2011</u>			
Suburbs:	21	78	*	*
Urban:	25	75	0	*
Total:	22	78	*	*
	<u>SEPT. 2010</u>			
Suburbs:	26	74	*	0
Urban:	21	78	0	1
Total:	23	77	*	*

Q18 continued on next page...

²¹ Base of respondents for trends may vary from poll to poll due to slightly different time periods asked about in the question wording.

Q18 continued...

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
c. A neighbor				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	36	55	9	*
Urban:	36	52	11	1
Total:	35	54	10	1
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	41	51	8	*
Urban:	37	53	9	1
Total:	39	52	8	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	48	46	5	*
Urban:	38	57	5	0
Total:	44	50	5	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>				
Suburbs (n=783):	33	56	11	*
Urban (n=347):	35	54	11	*
Total (n=1,237):	33	57	10	*
d. A friend or relative who does not live in your neighborhood				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	82	16	2	*
Urban:	81	16	2	1
Total:	82	16	2	*
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	83	14	2	1
Urban:	83	13	5	0
Total:	82	14	3	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	86	13	1	*
Urban:	86	14	*	0
Total:	86	13	1	*

Q18 continued on next page...

Q18 continued...

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
e. Someone else I haven't already mentioned (SPECIFY)				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	18	73	8	*
Urban:	20	67	12	1
Total:	19	71	9	1
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	24	69	3	3
Urban:	20	72	8	*
Total:	23	70	5	2
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	20	75	4	1
Urban:	16	82	2	1
Total:	18	77	3	1
<u>OCT. 2009</u>				
Suburbs:	17	78	3	3
Urban:	11	80	7	1
Total:	16	77	5	2

Q19 Now, thinking about a slightly longer period of time, the last FIVE years... that is, since 2007... Have you or someone you know lost their home due to foreclosure or because you could not afford increased mortgage payments?²²

		<u>Yes, has happened to me or someone I know</u>	<u>No, has not happened</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
	Suburbs:	43	56	1	*
	Urban:	38	60	1	0
	Total:	40	58	1	*
NOVEMBER 2011					
	Suburbs:	38	60	1	*
	Urban:	38	61	1	*
	Total:	39	60	1	*
SEPTEMBER 2010					
	Suburbs:	38	62	1	0
	Urban:	35	64	1	*
	Total:	37	62	1	*
OCTOBER 2009					
	Suburbs:	36	63	1	*
	Urban:	34	65	*	0
	Total:	35	64	1	*
OCTOBER 2008					
	Suburbs:	28	71	1	--
	Urban:	28	71	1	--
	Total:	27	71	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008					
	Suburbs:	27	73	1	--
	Urban:	26	73	1	--
	Total:	26	73	1	--

²² In November 2011, question wording was: "Now, thinking about a slightly longer period of time, the last FOUR years... that is, since October 2007... Have you or someone you know lost their home due to foreclosure or because you could not afford increased mortgage payments?"

In September 2010, question wording was: "Now, thinking about a slightly longer period of time, the last THREE years ... that is, since September 2007... Have you or someone you know lost their home due to foreclosure or because you could not afford increased mortgage payments?"

In October 2009, question wording was: "In the past TWO years, which of the following things, if any, have happened to you or someone you know? (First,) have you or someone you know [INSERT—READ IN ORDER]?" Item wording was: "Lost a home due to foreclosure or because you could not afford increased mortgage payments".

In both October 2008 and September 2008, question wording was: "In the past 12 months, which of the following things, if any, have happened to you or someone you know? (First,) have you or someone you know [INSERT—READ AND RANDOMIZE]?" Item wording was: "Lost a home due to foreclosure or because you could not afford increased mortgage payments".

Q20 Was it [INSERT IN ORDER] who lost their home [IF NECESSARY: due to foreclosure or increased mortgage payments], or not? Next, did [INSERT ITEM] lose their home [IF NECESSARY: due to foreclosure or increased mortgage payments], or not?²³

Based on those who lost their home in the past five years or know someone who did

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
a. You				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs (n=391):	13	87	0	*
Urban (n=160):	11	89	0	0
Total (n=591):	12	88	0	*
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs (n=399):	10	89	0	1
Urban (n=141):	15	85	0	0
Total (n=577):	14	86	0	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs (n=345):	13	87	0	0
Urban (n=143):	4	96	0	0
Total (n=549):	8	92	0	0
b. Someone else in your household				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	14	86	0	*
Urban:	11	89	*	0
Total:	12	88	*	*
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	11	89	0	1
Urban:	13	86	2	0
Total:	13	86	1	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	14	85	1	0
Urban:	9	90	0	1
Total:	12	88	*	*

Q20 continued on next page...

²³ Base of respondents for trends may vary from poll to poll due to slightly different time periods asked about in the question wording.

Q20 continued...

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
c. A neighbor				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	46	52	2	0
Urban:	44	52	4	0
Total:	45	53	3	0
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	44	55	1	1
Urban:	37	57	5	1
Total:	40	56	3	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	43	55	2	0
Urban:	50	49	1	0
Total:	48	50	2	0
<u>OCT. 2009</u>				
Suburbs (n=421):	39	58	4	0
Urban (n=169):	34	60	6	*
Total (n=636):	35	61	5	*
d. A friend or relative who does not live in your neighborhood				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	73	26	1	0
Urban:	80	20	*	0
Total:	76	23	1	0
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	75	23	1	1
Urban:	77	22	1	0
Total:	77	22	1	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	76	23	1	0
Urban:	79	19	2	0
Total:	77	22	1	0

Q20 continued on next page...

Q20 continued...

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
e. Someone else I haven't already mentioned (SPECIFY)				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	14	81	2	3
Urban:	16	76	6	2
Total:	14	79	3	3
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	20	75	2	2
Urban:	17	78	5	0
Total:	18	77	4	1
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	13	84	2	1
Urban:	14	83	4	0
Total:	16	82	2	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>				
Suburbs:	17	81	1	1
Urban:	5	92	1	1
Total:	11	87	1	1

[READ TO ALL:] Next I'd like to get your views on some issues that are being discussed in the country today.

Q21 Here are some changes in federal policies that have been proposed in recent months. For each one, please tell me if you favor or oppose such a change. (First,/Next,) do you favor or oppose... [INSERT ITEM; ASK a,b,c first then RANDOMIZE]?

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u> <u>favor nor</u> <u>oppose</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>	<u>Refused</u>
a.	Reducing personal income taxes on all Americans					
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	56	36	2	5	2
	Urban:	59	35	2	3	1
	Total:	57	35	2	4	2
	<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
	Suburbs:	57	36	2	4	2
	Urban:	54	39	*	5	1
	Total:	56	37	1	4	2
b.	Raising personal income taxes on wealthier Americans					
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	60	35	2	3	1
	Urban:	63	31	3	2	1
	Total:	62	33	2	2	1
	<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
	Suburbs:	59	37	*	3	1
	Urban:	67	27	2	3	0
	Total:	63	32	1	3	1
c.	Cutting federal spending in general					
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	72	21	2	3	1
	Urban:	66	27	2	4	1
	Total:	70	23	2	4	1
	<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
	Suburbs:	71	23	1	3	2
	Urban:	67	28	1	3	1
	Total:	69	24	1	3	2

Q21 continued on next page...

Q21 continued...

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither favor nor oppose</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Refused</u>
d. Cutting defense spending						
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	34	56	2	6	2
	Urban:	36	55	4	4	1
	Total:	34	56	3	5	2
	<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
	Suburbs:	41	51	3	4	1
	Urban:	48	44	*	7	1
	Total:	42	50	2	5	1
e. Increasing spending on roads, bridges, and other public works projects						
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	65	30	3	2	*
	Urban:	65	30	3	2	*
	Total:	66	29	3	2	1
	<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
	Suburbs:	64	30	2	1	2
	Urban:	68	30	*	1	*
	Total:	66	30	2	1	1
f. Cutting Medicare or Social Security benefits						
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	10	87	1	2	*
	Urban:	10	87	2	*	*
	Total:	10	86	2	1	*
	<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
	Suburbs:	13	84	1	1	1
	Urban:	11	87	2	1	0
	Total:	12	86	1	1	1
g. Increasing federal spending to create "green jobs" that focus on the environment						
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	53	41	1	4	1
	Urban:	62	31	5	2	1
	Total:	56	37	3	3	1
	<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
	Suburbs:	53	42	2	2	1
	Urban:	61	34	1	3	*
	Total:	56	39	1	3	1

Q22 For each of the following, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose RAISING taxes for various households. (First,/Next,) would you favor or oppose raising federal income taxes on households with incomes of [INSERT ITEM IN ORDER]?²⁴

Based on those who favor raising personal income taxes on wealthier Americans

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither favor nor oppose</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Refused</u>
a. \$100,000 or more					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs (n=598):	56	41	*	2	*
Urban (n=252):	59	39	*	1	0
Total (n=921):	58	40	1	2	*
<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
Suburbs (n=619):	59	37	1	3	*
Urban (n=265):	59	37	0	4	*
Total (n=941):	61	35	*	3	*
b. \$250,000 or more					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	83	15	1	*	*
Urban:	84	13	1	3	0
Total:	85	13	1	1	*
<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
Suburbs:	85	12	*	2	*
Urban:	85	12	0	1	1
Total:	86	12	*	1	1
c. \$1,000,000 or more					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	96	3	0	*	0
Urban:	95	4	0	1	0
Total:	95	4	0	1	0
<u>Nov. 2011</u>					
Suburbs:	97	3	*	*	*
Urban:	95	5	*	*	0
Total:	96	4	*	*	*

²⁴ Item B was asked of those who responded oppose/neither/DK/Refused in Item A. Item B percentages for 'favor' include those who responded 'favor' in Item A. Item C was asked of those who responded oppose/neither/DK/Refused in Item B. Item C percentages for 'favor' include those who responded 'favor' in either Item A or Item B.

Q23 As you may know, a health reform bill was signed into law in 2010. Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of it? [IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, ASK: Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?]²⁵

	<u>Strongly Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Strongly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Refused</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs:	13	17	17	30	19	4
Urban:	17	20	14	28	19	2
Total:	14	18	15	29	20	4
NOVEMBER 2011						
Suburbs:	12	21	17	34	13	3
Urban:	18	25	19	17	19	2
Total:	14	22	18	27	16	3
SEPTEMBER 2010						
Suburbs:	13	20	15	35	15	1
Urban:	19	23	18	23	15	1
Total:	14	22	17	31	15	2

²⁵ November 2011 question wording was slightly different: "As you may know, a health reform bill was signed into law early last year. Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of it? [IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, ASK: Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?]"

September 2010 question wording was slightly different, with the terms in parentheses based on a 50/50 split form: "As you may know, a new health reform bill was signed into law earlier this year. Given what you know about the new health reform law, do you have a (generally favorable) or (generally unfavorable) opinion of it? [GET ANSWER THEN ASK: Is that a very (favorable/unfavorable) or somewhat (favorable/unfavorable) opinion?]" Percentages shown here for 'strongly (favorable/unfavorable)' reflect 'very (favorable/unfavorable)' trend responses.

Q24 Given that you have an unfavorable view of the health reform law, which comes closer to your view of what should happen now: [READ AND ROTATE]

Based on those who have an unfavorable view of the health care reform law

	The law should be repealed as soon as <u>possible</u>	The law should be given a chance to work, with Congress making <u>necessary changes</u> <u>along the way</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
Suburbs (n=480):	59	34	6	1
Urban (n=182):	65	34	1	1
Total (n=709):	63	33	4	1
SEPTEMBER 2010				
Suburbs (n=539):	65	31	3	1
Urban (n=173):	57	41	1	1
Total (n=793):	63	33	3	1

Q25 Do you support full marriage rights for same-sex couples, support civil unions or partnerships for same-sex couples but not full marriage rights, or do you oppose any legal recognition for same-sex couples?

		<u>Marriage rights</u>	<u>Civil unions</u>	<u>No legal recognition</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Refused</u>
CURRENT						
	Suburbs:	42	16	34	6	4
	Urban:	46	14	31	5	4
	Total:	42	15	34	5	4
SEPTEMBER 2010						
	Suburbs:	35	19	37	6	3
	Urban:	41	17	33	8	2
	Total:	34	18	38	7	3
OCTOBER 2009						
	Suburbs:	38	13	38	8	3
	Urban:	43	9	36	6	5
	Total:	39	12	40	6	4
SEPTEMBER 2008						
	Suburbs:	31	21	40	7	--
	Urban:	36	18	37	9	--
	Total:	30	18	43	9	--

Q26 Please tell me which of these statements comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right: Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest (OR) Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good?²⁶

		<u>Necessary to protect the public interest</u>	<u>Usually does more harm than good</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither/Both equally</u>	<u>(VOL.) Don't know</u>	<u>(VOL.) Refused</u>
CURRENT						
	Suburbs:	38	51	3	7	1
	Urban:	49	43	2	4	2
	Total:	42	48	3	5	2
FEBRUARY 2012						
	Suburbs:	41	52	2	4	--
	Urban:	45	48	3	4	--
	Total:	40	52	2	5	--

²⁶ February 2012 trends from the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

Q27 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between rich or poor. [IF AGREE/DISAGREE, ASK: Do you feel that way STRONGLY or SOMEWHAT?]²⁷

<u>CURRENT</u>			<u>Dec. 1983</u>
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
35	39	37	Strongly agree 46
20	20	19	Somewhat agree 22
12	14	14	Somewhat disagree 11
26	20	23	Strongly disagree 17
6	5	6	Don't know 4
1	2	1	Refused 0

Q28 Do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of the political movement known as the Tea Party? [IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, ASK: Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?]

	<u>Strongly Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Strongly Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL.) Never heard of</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
Suburbs:	15	16	15	24	8	19	3
Urban:	9	12	14	32	13	17	2
Total:	13	15	14	26	9	19	3
NOVEMBER 2011							
Suburbs:	17	19	17	26	5	13	3
Urban:	13	12	18	34	6	12	4
Total:	16	16	18	28	5	13	3
SEPTEMBER 2010							
Suburbs:	19	16	16	19	n/a	27	3
Urban:	12	16	15	25	n/a	31	2
Total:	17	16	16	20	n/a	29	3
TRENDS (TOTAL ADULTS) ²⁸							
8/30 to 9/2, 2010:	18	19	24	21	n/a	18	--
6/3 to 6/6, 2010:	17	19	25	24	n/a	14	--
3/23 to 3/26, 2010:	21	21	16	23	n/a	20	--
2/8, 2010:	20	15	20	20	n/a	25	--

²⁷ December 1983 trends from a Los Angeles Times poll

²⁸ Most trends are from joint ABC News/Washington Post polls. March 2010 trend is from a Washington Post poll. All surveys conducted among adults 18+ nationwide.

[READ TO ALL:] On a different subject...

Q29 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views – even if neither is exactly right. The (first/next) pair is... [READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR] [AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?]

a.	This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment			This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment			Both/Neither	DK	Ref.
	<u>NET</u> %	<u>Strongly</u> %	<u>Not strongly</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>Strongly</u> %	<u>Not strongly</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>NET</u> %
<u>CURRENT</u>									
Suburbs:	65	52	13	29	20	9	3	2	1
Urban:	69	53	16	25	16	9	2	1	1
Total:	65	51	14	28	19	9	3	2	1
<u>Nov. 2011</u>									
Suburbs:	60	44	16	33	23	10	3	3	1
Urban:	70	54	16	25	15	10	2	3	*
Total:	62	47	15	30	21	9	3	3	1
b.									
	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy			Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost			Both/Neither	DK	Ref.
	<u>NET</u> %	<u>Strongly</u> %	<u>Not strongly</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>Strongly</u> %	<u>Not strongly</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>NET</u> %
<u>CURRENT</u>									
Suburbs:	39	29	10	51	36	15	4	5	1
Urban:	39	29	10	51	35	16	3	5	1
Total:	39	30	9	51	36	15	4	5	2
<u>Nov. 2011</u>									
Suburbs:	43	29	14	47	31	16	3	6	1
Urban:	38	25	13	51	36	15	2	7	2
Total:	42	29	13	47	32	15	3	7	2

Q30 In your view, is global warming a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not a problem?

	<u>Very serious</u>	<u>Somewhat serious</u>	<u>Not too serious</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs:	36	28	15	18	2	*
Urban:	42	26	16	13	2	1
Total:	36	28	16	16	2	1
NOVEMBER 2011						
Suburbs:	31	30	18	18	3	*
Urban:	41	26	12	15	3	1
Total:	35	29	15	17	3	1

Vote01 Now thinking BACK to the 2008 presidential election when Barack Obama ran against John McCain, a lot of people tell us they didn't get a chance to vote in the 2008 presidential election. How about you? Did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

	<u>Yes, voted</u>	<u>No, did not vote</u>	<u>DK/Can't remember</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
Suburbs:	71	28	*	0
Urban:	67	32	1	*
Total:	69	31	1	*
NOVEMBER 2011				
Suburbs:	73	27	*	0
Urban:	77	22	1	*
Total:	73	26	*	*
SEPTEMBER 2010				
Suburbs:	77	23	*	*
Urban:	71	28	*	0
Total:	75	25	*	*

Vote02a In the 2008 presidential election... Did you happen to vote for John McCain or Barack Obama... or for someone else?

Vote02b In the 2008 presidential election... Did you happen to vote for Barack Obama or John McCain... or for someone else?²⁹

Based on all those who voted in the 2008 presidential election

	<u>Barack Obama</u>	<u>John McCain</u>	<u>Other/ Someone else</u>	<u>DK/Can't remember</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
Suburbs (n=812):	49	37	6	2	5
Urban (n=319):	58	31	6	*	4
Total (n=1,209):	51	36	7	1	5
NOVEMBER 2011					
Suburbs (n=846):	47	40	6	1	5
Urban (n=330):	63	26	6	*	5
Total (n=1,240):	54	34	7	1	5
SEPTEMBER 2010					
Suburbs (n=830):	47	40	7	1	5
Urban (n=320):	57	33	6	1	3
Total (n=1,264):	50	37	7	1	4

²⁹ For the current survey as well as trends, Vote02a was asked of Form A respondents. Vote02b was asked of Form B respondents. Percentages shown here reflect combined responses, based on all respondents who voted in the 2008 presidential election.

Q31 Some people live from paycheck to paycheck, which means just being able to pay regular bills and other expenses with money from each paycheck with almost nothing left over for savings. How often, if ever, do you and your family live from paycheck to paycheck... [READ 1-5]?

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Most of the time</u>	<u>Some- times</u>	<u>Hardly ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>(VOL.) No job/No regular income</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT								
Suburbs:	26	18	22	16	15	1	1	1
Urban:	26	17	21	15	19	1	1	*
Total:	26	18	21	15	17	1	1	1
NOVEMBER 2011								
Suburbs:	25	15	23	17	15	2	1	3
Urban:	31	20	19	14	13	2	1	1
Total:	29	17	21	16	14	2	1	2
SEPTEMBER 2010								
Suburbs:	26	16	21	16	17	1	1	1
Urban:	26	15	22	20	15	1	*	1
Total:	27	17	21	17	15	1	1	1
OCTOBER 2009								
Suburbs:	24	15	21	18	19	1	1	2
Urban:	32	17	19	16	12	1	1	2
Total:	26	16	21	17	16	1	1	2
OCTOBER 2008								
Suburbs:	20	17	24	16	22	*	1	--
Urban:	24	16	19	14	25	1	1	--
Total:	22	16	23	16	22	1	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008								
Suburbs:	22	16	22	20	18	1	1	--
Urban:	23	18	22	16	17	2	1	--
Total:	23	18	22	18	16	1	1	--

[READ TO ALL:] Finally, just a few questions for statistical purposes only...

SEX RECORD RESPONDENT SEX (DO NOT READ)

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
48	49	50	Male
52	51	50	Female

AGE What is your age?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
23	18	21	Age 18-29
32	40	35	Age 30-49
27	25	26	Age 50-64
17	16	17	Age 65 or older
1	1	1	Don't know/Refused

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
35	32	33	Gen Y (18-35)
17	20	19	Gen X (36-47)
33	33	33	Baby Boomers (48-66)
14	14	14	Matures (67+)
1	1	1	Don't know/Refused

EDUC What is the last grade or class that you completed in school?
[DO NOT READ, BUT PROBE FOR CLARITY IF NEEDED]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
12	12	12	None, or grades 1-8 / High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
32	30	33	High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate) / Technical, trade or vocational school AFTER high school
26	20	25	Some college, no four-year degree (includes associates degree)
17	19	18	College graduate (B.S., B.A. or other four-year degree)
11	18	13	Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college (e.g., toward a Master's degree or Ph.D., law or medical school)
*	1	*	Don't know
*	*	*	Refused

ADULTS INCLUDING YOURSELF, how many adults 18 years of age or older live in your household?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
20	25	22	1 adult in household / Respondent only
55	54	55	2 adults
25	21	23	3 or more adults
0	0	0	Don't know
*	*	*	Refused

MARITAL Are you currently married, living with a partner, divorced, separated, widowed, or have you never been married? [IF R SAYS "SINGLE" PROBE TO DETERMINE WHICH CATEGORY IS APPROPRIATE]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
50	42	49	Married
6	9	8	Living with a partner
9	10	10	Divorced
2	3	2	Separated
8	6	7	Widowed
24	28	23	Never been married
0	0	0	Don't know
*	1	1	Refused

PARENT Are you the parent or guardian of any children under age 18 now living in your household?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
31	28	30	Yes
68	71	70	No
0	*	*	Don't know
*	1	1	Refused

RELIG What is your present religion, if any? Are you Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, something else, or nothing in particular? {Sept. 08, Oct. 08}

IF R SAYS "nothing in particular, none, or no religion" etc. BEFORE REACHING THE END OF THE LIST, PROMPT WITH: And would you say that's atheist, agnostic, or just nothing in particular?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
35	41	39	Protestant (Baptist, Methodist, Non-denominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, Jehovah's Witness, etc.)
24	20	21	Roman Catholic/Catholic
2	1	2	Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints/LDS)
2	3	2	Jewish (Judaism)
1	2	1	Muslim (Islam)
14	11	12	Other Christian
2	4	3	Other non-Christian faith
5	5	5	Atheist (do not believe in God) / Agnostic (not sure if there is a God)
14	11	13	Nothing in particular
2	2	2	Undesignated

BORN Would you describe yourself as a "born again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

Based on Christians

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
42	41	43	Yes
52	53	50	No
5	5	5	Don't know
1	2	2	Refused
(n=783)	(n=317)	(n=1,189)	

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

Based on Total respondents

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
26	23	25	Republican
32	36	33	Democrat
35	34	35	Independent
7	7	7	No preference/Other/Don't know/Refused

Based on registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
30	23	28	Republican
32	41	35	Democrat
33	32	33	Independent
5	4	5	No preference/Other/Don't know/Refused
(n=844)	(n=335)	(n=1,267)	

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

PARTYLN [ASK IF DID NOT CHOOSE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT IN PARTY] As of today, do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

Based on Total respondents

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
40	36	40	Republican / Lean Republican
47	51	47	Democrat / Lean Democrat
13	13	13	Refused to lean / Still Independent

Based on registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
45	36	43	Republican / Lean Republican
45	56	48	Democrat / Lean Democrat
10	8	9	Refused to lean / Still Independent
(n=844)	(n=335)	(n=1,267)	

IDEO In general, would you describe your political views as... [READ 1-5]?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
6	5	6	Very conservative
34	30	33	Conservative
35	35	36	Moderate
14	15	13	Liberal, OR
6	8	7	Very liberal?
4	6	4	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
1	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused

HISP Are you, yourself, of Hispanic or Latino origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

RACE What is your race? Are you white, black, Asian, or some other race? IF R SAYS HISPANIC OR LATINO, PROBE: Do you consider yourself a WHITE (Hispanic/Latino) or a BLACK (Hispanic/Latino)? IF R DOES NOT SAY WHITE, BLACK OR ONE OF THE RACE CATEGORIES LISTED, RECORD AS "OTHER"

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
74	62	72	White, non-Hispanic
11	17	12	Black or African-American, non-Hispanic
6	11	8	Hispanic
7	9	7	Other/Mixed race, non-Hispanic
2	*	1	Undesignated

BIRTH_HISP Were you born in the United States, on the island of Puerto Rico, or in another country?

Based on Hispanics

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
35	40	37	U.S.
9	8	8	Puerto Rico
56	52	55	Another country
0	0	0	Don't know
0	0	0	Refused
(n=79)	(n=60)	(n=147)	

INCOME Last year, that is in 2011, what was your TOTAL family income from all sources, BEFORE taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. [READ 1-9]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
7	8	8	Less than \$10,000
10	13	10	10 to under \$20,000
11	10	11	20 to under \$30,000
10	8	9	30 to under \$40,000
8	9	9	40 to under \$50,000
12	15	13	50 to under \$75,000
12	9	11	75 to under \$100,000
11	6	8	100 to under \$150,000
5	7	6	\$150,000 or more
5	9	6	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
7	5	7	(DO NOT READ) Refused

Questions CALL01 and CALL02 are not reported in this topline.

THANK RESPONDENT: That completes the interview. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. Have a nice (day/evening).

Appendix 2: Methodology

National Suburban Poll VI

Prepared by Princeton Survey Research Associates International
for the National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra

July 2012

SUMMARY

The National Suburban Poll VI, sponsored by the National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra, obtained telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 1,532 adults living in the continental United States. The survey was conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Interviews were done in English and Spanish by Princeton Data Source, LLC from June 11 to June 28, 2012. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is ± 3.4 percentage points.

Details on the design, execution and analysis of the survey are discussed below.

Design and Data Collection Procedures

Sample Design

A combination of landline and cell phone RDD samples was used to represent people with access to either type of telephone. The samples were provided by Survey Sampling International, LLC (SSI).

The majority of the interviews ($n=1,102$) came from landline RDD sample. This was drawn with probabilities in proportion to their share of listed telephone households from active blocks containing one or more listed telephone numbers. The landline sample was disproportionately stratified in order to oversample residents of suburban areas. This oversampling was corrected in the first stage of weighting.

In addition to the landline RDD sample, 430 interviews were conducted with respondents on cellular telephones. The cellular sample was not list-assisted, but was drawn through a systematic sampling from dedicated wireless 100-blocks and shared service 100-blocks with no directory-listed landline numbers.

Contact Procedures

Interviews were conducted from June 11 to June 28, 2012. As many as 5 attempts were made to contact every sampled telephone number. Sample was released for interviewing in replicates, which are representative subsamples of the larger sample. Using replicates to control the release of sample ensures that complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. Calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chance of making contact with potential respondents. Phone numbers received at least one daytime call when necessary in an attempt to make contact with a potential respondent.

For the landline sample, half of the time interviewers first asked to speak with the youngest adult male currently at home. If no male was at home at the time of the call, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult female at home. For the other half of the landline contacts, interviewers first asked to speak with the youngest adult female currently at home. If no female was available, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult male at home.

For the cellular sample, interviews were conducted with the person who answered the phone. Interviewers verified that the person was an adult and in a safe place before administering the survey.

Weighting and analysis

Weighting is generally used in survey analysis to compensate for disproportionate sampling and patterns of nonresponse that might bias results. This data was weighted in three stages. The first-stage weight corrected for the disproportionate landline RDD sample design. The second stage of weighting corrected for different probabilities of respondent selection associated with [a] the overlapping landline and cell sample frames and [b] the number of adults in each household. The third and final stage of weighting adjusted sample demographics to match national parameters for sex, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region, population density, telephone use and community size. The Hispanic origin was split out based on nativity; U.S. born and non-U.S. born. Most of the parameters came from a special analysis of the Census Bureau's 2011 Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC). The population density parameter was derived from an analysis of 2000 Census data. The cell phone usage parameter came from an analysis of the January-June 2011

National Health Interview Survey³⁰ and the community size parameter was derived from an analysis of area code/exchange data from SSI.

The second stage of weighting was accomplished using Sample Balancing, a special iterative sample weighting program that simultaneously balances the distributions of all variables using a statistical technique called the *Deming Algorithm*. Weights were trimmed to prevent individual interviews from having too much influence on the final results. The use of these weights in statistical analysis ensures that the demographic characteristics of the sample closely approximate the demographic characteristics of the national population. Table 1 compares weighted and unweighted sample distributions to population parameters.

³⁰ Blumberg SJ, Luke JV. Wireless substitution: Early release of estimates from the National Health Interview Survey, January-June, 2011. National Center for Health Statistics. Dec 2011.

Table 1: Sample Demographics

	Parameter	Unweighted	Weighted
<u>Gender</u>			
	Male	48.6	47.9
	Female	51.4	52.1
<u>Age</u>			
	18-24	12.8	7.8
	25-34	18.0	9.6
	35-44	17.2	13.0
	45-54	19.0	18.9
	55-64	16.0	22.0
	65+	17.0	28.7
<u>Education</u>			
	Less than HS Graduate	13.4	7.8
	HS Graduate	34.4	28.8
	Some College	24.5	24.3
	College Graduate	27.8	39.1
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
	White/not Hispanic	68.0	77.2
	Black/not Hispanic	11.6	9.1
	Hispanic, born in US	6.6	5.3
	Hispanic, born outside US	7.4	4.4
	Other/not Hispanic	6.4	4.0
<u>Region</u>			
	Northeast	18.5	18.4
	Midwest	21.8	23.7
	South	37.0	35.7
	West	22.7	22.2
<u>County Pop. Density</u>			
	1 - Lowest	20.1	16.5
	2	20.0	23.0
	3	20.1	25.1
	4	20.2	19.4
	5 - Highest	19.6	16.0
<u>Household Phone Use</u>			
	LLO	7.6	8.7
	Dual	59.4	77.9
	CPO	33.0	13.4
<u>Community</u>			
	Urban	35.5	27.1
	Suburban	46.7	65.6
	Rural	17.8	7.3

Effects of Sample Design on Statistical Inference

Post-data collection statistical adjustments require analysis procedures that reflect departures from simple random sampling. PSRAI calculates the effects of these design features so that an appropriate adjustment can be incorporated into tests of statistical significance when using these data. The so-called "design effect" or *deff* represents the loss in statistical efficiency that results from systematic non-response. The total sample design effect for this survey is 1.82.

PSRAI calculates the composite design effect for a sample of size n , with each case having a weight, w_i as:

$$deff = \frac{n \sum_{i=1}^n w_i^2}{\left(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i \right)^2} \quad \text{formula 1}$$

In a wide range of situations, the adjusted *standard error* of a statistic should be calculated by multiplying the usual formula by the square root of the design effect (\sqrt{deff}). Thus, the formula for computing the 95% confidence interval around a percentage is:

$$\hat{p} \pm \left(\sqrt{deff} \times 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{\hat{p}(1 - \hat{p})}{n}} \right) \quad \text{formula 2}$$

where \hat{p} is the sample estimate and n is the unweighted number of sample cases in the group being considered.

The survey's *margin of error* is the largest 95% confidence interval for any estimated proportion based on the total sample— the one around 50%. For example, the margin of error for the entire sample is ± 3.4 percentage points. This means that in 95 out every 100 samples drawn using the same methodology, estimated proportions based on the entire sample will be no more than 3.4 percentage points away from their true values in the population. The margin of error for estimates based on the 1,005 suburban respondents is ± 4.2 percentage points. The margin of error for estimates based on the 415 urban respondents is ± 5.9 percentage points. It is important to remember that sampling fluctuations are only one possible source of error in a survey estimate. Other sources, such as respondent selection bias, questionnaire wording and reporting inaccuracy, may contribute additional error of greater or lesser magnitude.

Response Rate

Table 2 reports the disposition of all sampled telephone numbers ever dialed from the original telephone number samples. The response rate estimates the fraction of all eligible respondents in the sample that were ultimately interviewed. At PSRAI it is calculated by taking the product of three component rates:³¹

- Contact rate – the proportion of working numbers where a request for interview was made³²
- Cooperation rate – the proportion of contacted numbers where a consent for interview was at least initially obtained, versus those refused
- Completion rate – the proportion of initially cooperating and eligible interviews that were completed

Thus the response rate for the landline sample was 11 percent. The response rate for the cellular sample was 12 percent.

³¹ PSRAI's disposition codes and reporting are consistent with the American Association for Public Opinion Research standards.

³² PSRAI assumes that 75 percent of cases that result in a constant disposition of "No answer" or "Busy" are actually not working numbers.

Table 2: Sample Disposition

Landline	Cell	
30,887	10,499	Total Numbers Dialed
1,364	119	Non-residential
1,326	19	Computer/Fax
5	----	Cell phone
15,352	3,831	Other not working
2,708	218	Additional projected not working
10,132	6,312	Working numbers
32.8%	60.1%	Working Rate
903	73	No Answer / Busy
3,213	2,180	Voice Mail
32	7	Other Non-Contact
5,984	4,052	Contacted numbers
59.1%	64.2%	Contact Rate
393	738	Callback
4,434	2,544	Refusal
1,157	770	Cooperating numbers
19.3%	19.0%	Cooperation Rate
30	10	Language Barrier
----	309	Child's cell phone
1,127	451	Eligible numbers
97.4%	58.6%	Eligibility Rate
25	21	Break-off
1,102	430	Completes
97.8%	95.3%	Completion Rate
11.2%	11.6%	Response Rate

Appendix 3: One way to define The Suburbs

Defining what is a suburb in America is not as easy as looking up a location and seeing whether the U.S. Census Bureau defines it as urban, suburban or rural. The lack of such an easy-to-apply definition is complicated further when one is conducting a random digit dial (RDD) telephone survey.

The goal of this note is to 1) explain how a suburban area is defined for telephone samples and 2) explain how some information can be summed to the county level in useful ways.

Telephone company geographies

Just as there are Census geographies, there are also telephone company geographies. These telephone company geographies have a long history, based on assigning telephone numbers, first via exchanges (the first three digits of the telephone number) and then by area code. Originally, each of the more than 64,000 telephone company exchanges was tightly linked to a specific geographic area. With the modernization of the telephone infrastructure, that link has loosened, but it still exists. A single telephone exchange in a given area code, say 202-555-xxxx in Washington DC, is still located in and linked to a specific geographic area.

PSRAI uses telephone samples from Survey Sampling International (SSI) for most of its RDD surveys. SSI understands the nation's telephone system at a deep level: PSRAI takes

SSI Definitions

What is the definition of URBAN?

A Central City or Principal City of a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) is considered Urban.

What is the definition of SUBURBAN?

Any portion of an MSA county that is not in a Central City is considered Suburban.

What is the definition of RURAL?

All non-MSA counties are considered Rural.

advantage of that knowledge in drawing and using telephone samples.

SSI uses Census Bureau definitions and Census tract information to code each of the 64,000 telephone exchanges in the country as Urban/Suburban/Rural. In short, an exchange is coded as *Urban* if a plurality of the directory-listed telephone households in the exchange are in tracts coded as *Urban*. If a plurality of the exchange's numbers are in non-MSA counties, it is coded as *Rural*. If it is not one of these, it is coded *Suburban*.

Thus, for each telephone number dialed, there is a designation of Urban, Suburban or Rural, a variable called USR. This is a variable at the telephone number level, not at the county

level. For an average telephone survey, around half of the numbers are suburban, just about three out of ten are urban and under 20 percent are rural.

For this poll, when talking about suburban residents, it will be those respondents whose telephone numbers are coded Suburban using this process.