
An Even Split in the Suburbs: *Obama, Romney tied as election nears*

**The Seventh National Suburban Survey
for
The National Center for Suburban Studies
at
Hofstra University**

By

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October 2012

Executive Summary

Just days before the 2012 election, suburban voters are evenly divided on their choice for the White House: Barack Obama and Mitt Romney each have the backing of 48 percent of suburban likely voters.

The race is also close nationwide, with Obama holding 49 percent and Romney 47 percent among those likely to vote and who have already voted, according to the latest National Suburban Poll for Hofstra University.¹

This seventh Hofstra poll hints of slight movement nationwide toward Obama. The poll was conducted from Oct. 17 through Oct. 28, with half the interviews taken between the second presidential debate at Hofstra University and half conducted after the final debate on Oct. 22. The interviews taken between the debates find the race knotted at 49 percent to 49 percent nationwide among likely voters. The interviews taken after the third debate split Obama 50 percent to Romney 45 percent among likely voters nationwide.² These changes are not statistically significant, but other national polls have shown some movement toward Obama in the days following the final debate.³

In the 2008 election between Obama and John McCain, suburbanites split their votes 50 percent for Obama and 48 percent for McCain.⁴

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 1,504 adults age 18 or older living in the continental United States. Interviews were conducted from October 17-28, 2012 on both landline phones and cell phones.

This Hofstra survey, the seventh in a series, oversampled adults living in suburban areas of the country, completing interviews with 969 adults in the suburbs. The previous Hofstra Suburban surveys were conducted in September 2008, October 2008, October 2009, September 2010, November 2011 and June 2012, focusing on suburban life, economic turmoil and politics.

¹ The sample margin of error for likely voters nationwide is plus or minus 4 percentage points. The sample margin of error for likely suburban voters is plus or minus 5 percentage points.

² The sample margin of error for likely voters nationwide interviewed after the final debate is plus or minus 6 percentage points.

³ For example, see <http://www.people-press.org/2012/10/29/presidential-race-dead-even-romney-maintains-turnout-edge/>.

⁴ 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.

Registered Voters and Likely Voters

This report will focus on the findings among likely voters, particularly suburban likely voters.⁵

In the suburbs, Democrats, Republicans and Independents are evenly divided among registered voters: 34 percent are Democrats, 31 percent are Republicans and 32 percent are independents.⁶ This profile shifts slightly toward the GOP when looking at suburban likely voters: 33 percent Democrats, 34 percent Republicans and 30 percent independents.

The shift when moving to likely voters comes because more Republican registered voters are categorized as likely voters (75%) than Democrats are (64%).

This shift has a major impact on the presidential contest. The contest is tied 49 percent to 49 percent among suburban likely voters and those who have already voted, but Obama holds a 51 percent-43 percent edge when the group is widened to all suburban registered voters.⁷ The oft-repeated mantra that “Turnout will determine the election” is certainly true in the suburbs in 2012.

Among suburban registered voters over the past year, Romney has lost the lead he once held. In the Hofstra poll in November 2011, Romney led 48%-40% among registered voters in the suburbs.⁸ In the sixth Hofstra survey in June 2012, Obama and Romney each held the support of four in ten registered suburban voters (43 percent Obama, 42 percent Romney).⁹

The Groups

Independents

In this partisanship-drenched year, independents hold the key in the suburbs. Ninety-six percent of the suburban Democratic likely voters will back Obama and 92 percent of the GOP likely voters will support Romney. Among the suburban independents, Romney is backed by 50 percent while Obama wins 45 percent. The difference is not statistically significant, but this is where Romney’s suburban edge is built.¹⁰

In urban areas, the partisans break in much the same way. But in contrast, independent likely voters in the urban areas back Obama by a 55%-39% edge.

⁵ Likely voters are determined using a scale built from six questions about voting intentions and voting history. Those who are new voters can be likely voters using this index.

⁶ Among all registered voters nationwide in the survey, 37 percent are Democrats, 28 percent are Republicans and 31 percent are independents.

⁷ The sample margin of error for suburban registered voters is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

⁸ The 2011 survey did not ask undecided voters which candidate they leaned toward backing.

⁹ At that time nationally, the incumbent had the backing of 46 percent of registered voters to 41 percent for Romney.

¹⁰ Among independent registered voters in suburbia, Obama leads 49 percent to 41 percent.

Swing Voters

Forty-four percent of suburban likely voters say they back Obama and will not back Romney and 45 percent are firm in their support for Romney. That leaves only 11 percent of the suburban likely voters who can be categorized as swing voters. Here is how this group of swing voters breaks down:

- Five percent back Obama, but haven't ruled out Romney.
- Three percent back Romney, but haven't ruled out Obama.
- And another three percent say they are firmly undecided.

In the Hofstra poll in June 2012, fully 25 percent of the registered voters were swing voters, both nationally and in the suburbs.

Early voters

Voting absentee by mail or early in person is a growing trend in American elections. Twelve percent of the suburban likely voters say they have already cast their ballots. Nationwide, 13 percent of likely voters say they have already voted.

Men and Women

For years, women have been the bulwark of Obama's support. That advantage shrinks in the suburbs when the focus is narrowed to likely voters. While female registered voters in the suburbs back Obama (53%-42%), female likely voters split 51 percent Obama, 46 percent Romney.

It is an opposite pattern among suburban men. Among male registered voters, Obama splits 49 percent to 44 percent for Romney. But among male suburban likely voters, Romney has the edge, 50 percent to 45 percent. None of these differences by gender rise to the level of statistical significance.¹¹

Marriage

There is a big divide in the suburbs between those who are now married and those who are not, whether divorced, widowed or never married. Romney wins the backing of married suburban likely voters by a 56 percent-40 percent edge, while Obama wins the non-married group by a 63 percent-32 percent edge.¹²

White/Minorities

Race is another major divide in the suburbs as the first African-American to be president seeks a second term. Romney holds a commanding margin among white suburban likely voters, 54 percent-42 percent. Obama holds an even larger edge among the smaller group of minority suburban likely voters, 72 percent-24 percent.

¹¹ Not surprisingly, similar patterns are seen by gender among the nationwide numbers.

¹² The numbers are too small for statistical significance, but married suburban women break for Romney and non-married suburban women break for Obama.

This divide is also large among the broader group of registered voters. Among white suburban registered voters, Romney holds the edge 51 percent-43 percent. Among minority suburban registered voters, Obama leads 77 percent-18 percent.

Working Class/White Working Class

Income is also a dividing line in this election. If one defines working class as those who make less than \$50,000 a year, Obama wins the suburban working class likely voters by a 58 percent-38 percent margin. Romney turns that around and wins the suburban likely voters making \$50,000 a year and more by a 53 percent-44 percent edge.¹³

If one looks only at white, working class likely voters, the picture changes a bit. Those making less than \$50,000 split Obama 48 percent, Romney 47 percent. Those white suburban voters making a higher income give Romney the edge, 55 percent to 42 percent.

Generations

By age, the only generation of likely voters in the suburbs that goes for the incumbent is the Millennials (age 18-35), who back Obama with 66 percent of their vote, to 30 percent for Romney. The next older group, Gen X (age 36-47), gives Romney his strongest support in the suburbs by a 58 percent-38 percent edge. The huge suburban Baby Boom generation (ages 48-66) is split 48 percent-48 percent. The older group of suburban likely voters, the Matures age 67 and up, go for Romney 57 percent to 39 percent.

College Experience

Among suburban likely voters, those who never attended college split, with 50 percent for Romney and 46 percent for Obama, while those likely voters with some college experience split 49 percent for Obama and 46 percent for Romney.

2008 vote

The disenchantment with Obama's performance among 2008 supporters is clear in this survey, if not with huge margins. Obama is currently holding onto 84 percent of the suburban likely voters who say they backed him in 2008, losing 14 percent to Romney. Romney is winning 93 percent of the group who say they voted for John McCain in 2008, with Obama picking up only four percent of those likely voters in the suburbs.¹⁴

Obama is making it a contest in the suburbs because he is winning the votes of those likely voters in 2012 who did not vote in 2008 by a 61 percent-37 percent margin.

¹³ The split among suburban registered voters is similar. Obama wins the suburban working class registered voters by 59%-34%, while the candidates split the higher income, suburban registered voters by 49%-47%.

¹⁴ These likely voter numbers are also virtually identical when comparing registered voters today to their reported vote in 2008.

Again, Obama would gain strength if all suburban registered voters who did not vote in 2008 actually voted in 2012. This registered voter group says they would vote for Obama by a 35-point margin, 61 percent to 26 percent.

Key Issues

Suburban likely voters hold a number of conflicting views on government. They want the federal government to be smaller and do less (56%) as opposed to a bigger government that does more (32%). But they say the bigger task for the next president is creating jobs (63%), not cutting the federal deficit (24%).

As to how the deficit should be addressed, two-thirds (67%) favor cutting major programs *and* raising taxes. Eighteen percent say the deficit should be reduced solely by cutting major programs and just five percent say raising taxes should be the sole solution. And on the question of who should pay more taxes, likely voters in the suburbs are split: 38 percent say repeal the Bush-era tax cuts on those making more than \$250,000; 19 percent say repeal all the Bush tax cuts, and 31 percent say repeal none of them.

The relationship of these issues to the vote is predictable in some cases, but not others.

Among those who want a smaller government and fewer services, Romney wins among suburban likely voters by a 75 percent-21 percent edge. Obama takes those with the opposing view, 88 percent to 9 percent.

Jobs have been the focus for much of this campaign. Among the suburban likely voters who saying creating jobs should be the new President's first priority, Obama holds the lead 58 percent to 40 percent. Romney easily wins those focusing on the deficit (65%-31%).

In terms of how to deal with the federal government's budget deficit, Obama wins by 53 percent to 42 percent among suburban likely voters who say both that programs must be cut *and* taxes raised. Romney wins nine out of ten of the votes from those who rely solely on cutting programs and Obama wins a similar margin among those focused solely on raising taxes.

On ending the Bush tax cuts, the pattern is complex. Romney easily wins the votes of suburbanites who want to keep all the Bush tax breaks, 83%-15%. Obama takes the votes of suburban likely voters who want to end the tax cuts for those making more than \$250,000, but by 70 percent to 26 percent. And among those who want all the tax cuts repealed (a position neither candidate has taken), Obama wins by 60 percent to 37 percent.

The Race for the U.S. Congress

In the suburbs, the battle for control of the U.S. House is still undecided. Among suburban likely voters (and those who have already cast their ballots), 49 percent say they will vote for the Republican House candidate in their district and 46 percent say they will vote for the Democratic candidate.

And the House battle is moving right in sync with the fight for the White House: 89 percent of the Obama voters in the suburbs say they will back the Democratic House candidate and 91 percent of the Romney voters say they will back the Republican House standard-bearer.

Detailed Tables

	2012 Suburban Likely Voters			2012 Suburban Registered Voters			
	%	Obama	Romney	%	Obama	Romney	
Total	100	48	48	100	51	43	
Gender							
<i>Men</i>	46	45	50	46	49	44	
<i>Women</i>	54	51	46	54	53	42	
Party							
Democrats	33	96	3	34	94	4	
Independents	30	45	50	32	49	41	
Republicans	34	6	92	31	7	91	
Ideology							
Liberal	19	94	6	18	93	5	
Moderate	36	60	35	36	61	32	
Conservative	42	17	79	41	24	73	
Race							
Whites	79	42	54	76	43	51	
Minorities	19	72	24	22	77	18	
Age							
Millennials	24	66	30	27	66	25	
Gen X	21	38	58	21	43	51	
Baby Boom	34	48	48	34	50	46	
Matures	19	39	57	17	41	53	
Income							
Less than \$50,000	35	58	38	38	59	34	
\$50,000+	53	44	53	49	47	49	
Marital status							
Married	65	40	56	62	43	52	
Not married	34	63	32	37	65	28	
Education							
H.S. graduate or less	28	46	50	33	48	45	
Some college	31	55	41	31	61	35	
College graduate or more	40	45	50	36	46	47	

	2012 Suburban Likely Voters			2012 Suburban Registered Voters			
Religion							
Protestant	40	36	57	38	37	55	
Catholic	21	47	51	21	50	47	
Other Christian	13	41	58	14	52	46	
Other religions	7	63	34	7	63	31	
Atheist/Agnostic/ No particular religion	16	81	15	15	80	14	
White, Born- Again/ Evangelicals¹⁵							
Yes	36	12	79	34	17	75	
No	58	44	53	58	45	50	
Census Region							
Northeast	19	54	44	24	60	37	
Midwest	21	44	48	21	46	46	
South	37	43	53	35	45	48	
West	23	54	42	20	56	38	
2008 Vote							
Voted in 2008	92	47	49	84	49	46	
Did not vote	7	62	36	16	61	26	
Voted for Obama	47	84	14	44	85	12	
Voted for McCain	39	4	93	34	4	92	

¹⁵ The White, Born Again numbers are based only on white respondents who said they were adherents to a Christian faith and answered the born-again question.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Topline Results

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

Number of Interviews

Total: 1,504 adults age 18 or older
Suburban: 969 suburban residents
Urban: 411 urban residents

Total Registered Voters (RVs): 1,315 registered voters
Suburban RVs: 868 suburban registered voters
Urban RVs: 345 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 4 percentage points
Urban RVs: Plus or minus 6 percentage points

Dates of interviewing: October 17-28, 2012
Language of interview: English or Spanish
Type of sample: Landline or Cell phone
PSRAI Job #32006

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.
 - vi. National Suburban Poll VI, 1,532 total adults including 1,005 suburban residents and 415 urban residents, interviewed June 11-28, 2012.

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>DK</u> ¹⁶	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
	Suburbs:	30	65	3	3
	Urban:	46	50	3	1
	Total:	34	61	3	2
JUNE 2012					
	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	--

¹⁶ "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:	48	42	5	5
	Urban:	60	35	3	3
	Total:	51	41	4	4
JUNE 2012					
	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

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?¹⁷

	<u>Yes, registered</u>	<u>No, not registered</u>	<u>(VOL.) Don't need to register</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
Suburbs:	83	16	0	*	*
Urban:	76	23	0	1	*
Total:	80	19	0	*	*
JUNE 2012					
Suburbs:	76	23	n/a	*	0
Urban:	74	26	n/a	*	1
Total:	75	25	n/a	*	*
NOVEMBER 2011					
Suburbs:	77	23	n/a	*	*
Urban:	72	26	n/a	1	0
Total:	74	25	n/a	1	*
SEPTEMBER 2010					
Suburbs:	82	18	n/a	1	0
Urban:	75	24	n/a	1	0
Total:	78	21	n/a	1	0
OCTOBER 2008					
Suburbs:	90	10	n/a	*	--
Urban:	87	13	n/a	1	--
Total:	89	10	n/a	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008					
Suburbs:	85	15	n/a	*	--
Urban:	79	20	n/a	*	--
Total:	83	16	n/a	*	--

¹⁷ Prior to October 2012, the volunteered category 'don't need to register' was not offered. In the October 2012 survey, any question asked of registered voters or a subgroup of registered voters included those who indicated they do not need to register.

Q3 How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election... quite a lot or only a little?¹⁸

	<u>Quite a lot</u>	<u>(VOL.) Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>(VOL.) None</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs:	72	2	22	2	*	2
Urban:	72	2	23	2	*	1
Total:	70	3	23	3	*	1
NOVEMBER 2011						
Suburbs:	51	3	39	6	1	1
Urban:	45	4	44	5	1	*
Total:	48	4	41	6	1	1
SEPTEMBER 2010						
Suburbs:	47	4	40	7	1	*
Urban:	48	5	37	9	*	*
Total:	47	5	40	7	1	*
OCTOBER 2008						
Suburbs:	76	9	10	4	*	--
Urban:	85	6	7	3	0	--
Total:	78	7	11	4	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008						
Suburbs:	77	2	17	3	1	--
Urban:	73	2	22	1	1	--
Total:	75	2	20	3	1	--

¹⁸ In November 2011, the question wording was: "How much thought have you given to the presidential and congress elections in November 2012 – quite a lot or only a little?" In September 2010, the question wording was: "How much thought have you given to the coming November elections – quite a lot or only a little?"

Q4 How often would you say you vote... [READ]

Based on registered voters/don't need to register

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly always</u>	<u>Part of the time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>(VOL.) Never vote</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other response</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
CURRENT								
Suburbs (n=868):	65	21	5	6	2	1	*	*
Urban (n=345):	71	15	6	4	2	1	*	1
Total (n=1,315):	67	19	6	5	2	1	*	*
SEPTEMBER 2010								
Suburbs (n=860):	52	28	12	5	2	1	0	*
Urban (n=328):	54	27	11	4	3	1	*	*
Total (n=1,299):	53	27	11	5	2	1	*	*
OCTOBER 2008								
Suburbs (n=929):	60	24	8	5	2	1	*	--
Urban (n=266):	62	23	8	5	2	0	0	--
Total (n=1,397):	61	24	8	5	2	*	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008								
Suburbs (n=936):	55	27	8	5	3	1	1	--
Urban (n=244):	57	24	7	7	4	*	1	--
Total (n=1,367):	55	26	9	6	3	*	1	--

Q5 Do you plan to vote in the presidential election, have you ALREADY voted, or do you NOT plan to vote?¹⁹

Based on registered voters/don't need to register

	<u>Plan to vote</u>	<u>Already voted</u>	<u>Do not plan to vote</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
Suburbs (n=868):	88	9	2	1	0
Urban (n=345):	87	11	1	1	0
Total (n=1,315):	88	10	2	1	0
OCTOBER 2008					
Suburbs (n=929):	83	11	4	1	0
Urban (n=266):	83	13	3	1	0
Total (n=1,397):	82	13	3	1	0

¹⁹ October 2008 question wording was: "Do you yourself plan to vote in the election on November 4th, or have you already cast your vote by absentee ballot, early voting or through a mail ballot?"

Q6 For the presidential election, do you plan to vote BEFORE Election Day by absentee ballot, early voting or through a mail ballot, or will you vote at your polling place ON Election Day?²⁰

Based on registered voters/don't need to register and plan to vote for president

	<u>Plan to vote before Election Day</u>	<u>Will vote on Election Day</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
Suburbs (n=730):	25	74	2	*
Urban (n=295):	24	72	3	0
Total (n=1,111):	25	73	2	*
OCTOBER 2008				
Suburbs (n=761):	27	70	2	*
Urban (n=212):	27	72	2	0
Total (n=1,123):	28	70	2	*

Q7 What are the chances you will vote in the November election? Will you definitely vote, probably vote, are the chances about 50-50, or less than that?

Based on registered voters/don't need to register and have not already voted for president

	<u>Definitely vote</u>	<u>Probably vote</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Less than that</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
Suburbs (n=747):	88	4	5	2	*	1
Urban (n=301):	89	2	5	1	1	1
Total (n=1,137):	88	4	5	3	1	1

²⁰ October 2008 question wording was: "In the presidential election this fall, do you plan to vote BEFORE Election Day by absentee ballot, early voting or through a mail ballot, or will you vote at your polling place ON Election Day?"

Q8 Now, suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between [RANDOMIZE: (the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden) or (the Republican ticket of Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan)], who would you vote for?²¹

Based on registered voters/don't need to register and have not already voted for president

	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Romney</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other candidate</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither/ Wouldn't vote</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs (n=747):	48	41	1	2	4	4
Urban (n=301):	60	31	1	1	4	3
Total (n=1,137):	50	39	1	1	4	4
JUNE 2012						
Suburbs (n=844):	43	42	2	4	7	2
Urban (n=335):	52	37	2	5	3	1
Total (n=1,267):	46	41	2	5	5	2
NOVEMBER 2011						
Suburbs (n=876):	40	48	2	5	5	1
Urban (n=325):	63	27	*	2	6	1
Total (n=1,268):	49	39	1	4	6	1
OCTOBER 2008						
Suburbs (n=809):	44	36	2	2	10	6
Urban (n=223):	54	30	1	1	7	6
Total (n=1190):	47	34	1	2	9	6
SEPTEMBER 2008						
Suburbs (n=936):	38	43	3	n/a	17	--
Urban (n=244):	56	30	4	n/a	11	--
Total (n=1,367):	42	39	3	n/a	15	--

²¹ In November 2011 and June 2012, question was asked of registered voters with the following question wording: "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 [ROTATE: Mitt Romney (or Barack Obama)]?" In October 2008, question wording was: "If the 2008 presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for [ROTATE: the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin OR the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden]?" In September 2008, question was asked of registered voters with the following question wording: "If the 2008 presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for [ROTATE: the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin OR the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden]?"

- Q8 Now, suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between [RANDOMIZE: (the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden) or (the Republican ticket of Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan)], who would you vote for?
- Q9 [ASK IF OTHER, NEITHER, DK OR REFUSED IN Q8:] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q8]?

Based on registered voters/don't need to register and have not already voted for president

	Obama/ <u>Lean</u>	Romney/ <u>Lean</u>	(VOL.) Other <u>candidate</u>	(VOL.) Neither/ <u>Wouldn't</u> <u>vote</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs (n=747):	52	42	*	2	1	3
Urban (n=301):	62	34	0	1	1	3
Total (n=1,137):	53	41	*	2	1	3
OCTOBER 2008						
Suburbs (n=809):	47	39	1	2	5	5
Urban (n=223):	58	32	1	*	4	4
Total (n=1190):	50	38	1	2	5	5
SEPTEMBER 2008						
Suburbs (n=936):	42	48	1	n/a	8	--
Urban (n=244):	57	34	1	n/a	8	--
Total (n=1,367):	46	44	1	n/a	9	--

- Q8 Now, suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between [RANDOMIZE: (the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden) or (the Republican ticket of Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan)], who would you vote for?
- Q9 [ASK IF OTHER, NEITHER, DK OR REFUSED IN Q8:] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q8]?
- Q10 [ASK IF ALREADY VOTED FOR PRESIDENT:] In the presidential election, did you vote for [READ AND RANDOMIZE]²²

Based on registered voters/don't need to register

	<u>Total</u> <u>Obama</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Romney</u>	<u>Other</u> <u>candidate</u>	<u>Neither/</u> <u>Did not or</u> <u>would not</u> <u>vote</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Refuse</u> <u>d</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs (n=868):	51	43	*	2	1	3
Urban (n=345):	62	34	0	1	1	3
Total (n=1,315):	53	41	*	1	1	3
OCTOBER 2008						
Suburbs (n=929):	47	39	1	2	5	6
Urban (n=266):	55	33	1	*	4	6

²² In 2008, candidates were the Democratic ticket of Obama/Biden and the Republican ticket of McCain/Palin.

- Total (n=1,397): 48 38 1 2 5 7
- Q8 Now, suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between [RANDOMIZE: (the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden) or (the Republican ticket of Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan)], who would you vote for?
- Q9 [ASK IF OTHER, NEITHER, DK OR REFUSED IN Q8:] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q8]?
- Q10 [ASK IF ALREADY VOTED FOR PRESIDENT:] In the presidential election, did you vote for [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?
- Q11 [ASK IF REGISTERED VOTER/DON'T NEED TO REGISTER AND CHOSE/ALREADY VOTED FOR DEM OR REP TICKET:] Do you support [INSERT CHOICE FROM Q8 OR Q10: the Obama/Biden ticket; the Romney/Ryan ticket] strongly or only moderately?²³

Based on registered voters/those who don't need to register who have already voted for either Obama/Biden or Romney/Ryan or who did not already vote

<u>CURRENT</u>				<u>OCTOBER 2008</u>		
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>
51	62	53	Obama/Lean Obama	48	57	50
35	48	38	Strongly	34	43	36
16	14	15	Only moderately/Lean	13	14	13
*	1	*	DK/Refused	1	*	1
43	34	42	Romney/Lean Romney	40	35	39
32	25	30	Strongly	27	24	25
11	9	11	Only moderately/Lean	12	11	13
*	0	*	DK/Refused	1	1	1
5	4	5	Undecided/Other	12	8	11
*	0	*	Other	1	1	1
2	1	1	Neither/Won't vote	2	*	2
1	1	1	Don't know	5	4	4
3	2	2	Refused	5	3	5
(n=860)	(n=343)	(n=1,303)		(n=897)	(n=255)	(n=1,342)

²³ In 2008, candidates were the Democratic ticket of Obama/Biden and the Republican ticket of McCain/Palin.

[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?²⁴

Based on registered voters/don't need to register

	<u>Chance might vote for him</u>	<u>Decided not to vote for him</u>	<u>DK/Refuse d if chance might vote for him</u>	<u>Chose Romney/ Definite Romney voter</u>	<u>Wouldn't vote</u>	<u>Already voted</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs (n=868):	6	43	4	38	n/a	9
Urban (n=345):	6	49	4	30	n/a	11
Total (n=1,315):	6	44	4	37	n/a	10
JUNE 2012						
Suburbs (n=844):	9	37	4	46	4	n/a
Urban (n=335):	11	44	3	40	2	n/a
Total (n=1,267):	10	38	4	45	3	n/a

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?²⁵

Based on registered voters/don't need to register

	<u>Chance might vote for him</u>	<u>Decided not to vote for him</u>	<u>DK/Refuse d if chance might vote for him</u>	<u>Chose Obama/ Definite Obama voter</u>	<u>Wouldn't vote</u>	<u>Already voted</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs (n=868):	4	36	3	48	n/a	9
Urban (n=345):	3	28	3	55	n/a	11
Total (n=1,315):	4	35	3	48	n/a	10
JUNE 2012						
Suburbs (n=844):	6	42	2	46	4	n/a
Urban (n=335):	4	36	2	57	2	n/a
Total (n=1,267):	6	40	2	49	3	n/a

No Questions 14-15

²⁴ 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/don't need to register.

²⁵ 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.

Q16 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for [RANDOMIZE: “the Democratic candidate” OR “the Republican candidate”] for Congress in your district?²⁶

Based on registered voters/don't need to register

	Dem. candida te	Rep. candida te	(VOL.) Other	(VOL.) Neither /Would n't vote	(VOL.) Alread y voted	DK	Ref.
CURRENT							
Suburbs (n=868):	43	42	1	2	*	9	3
Urban (n=345):	56	29	*	2	*	10	2
Total (n=1,315):	47	38	*	2	*	10	3
NOVEMBER 2011							
Suburbs (n=876):	38	44	3	n/a	n/a	12	4
Urban (n=325):	57	29	3	n/a	n/a	9	3
Total (n=1,268):	45	38	3	n/a	n/a	11	3
SEPTEMBER 2010							
Suburbs (n=860):	38	40	5	n/a	n/a	14	3
Urban (n=328):	44	38	4	n/a	n/a	13	1
Total (n=1,299):	39	40	5	n/a	n/a	14	2

Q16 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for [RANDOMIZE: “the Democratic candidate” OR “the Republican candidate”] for Congress in your district?

Q17 [IF ANSWERED OTHER/NEITHER/DK/REFUSED IN Q16, ASK:] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q16: “Democratic candidate” OR “Republican candidate”] [IF NECESSARY: “for U.S. Congress in your district”]?

Based on registered voters/don't need to register

	Dem. candidate /Lean	Rep. candidate /Lean	(VOL.) Other	(VOL.) Neither /Would n't vote	(VOL.) Alread y voted	DK	Ref.
CURRENT							
Suburbs (n=868):	46	45	*	3	*	4	2
Urban (n=345):	60	33	*	1	*	2	2
Total (n=1,315):	50	42	*	2	*	4	2
SEPTEMBER 2010							
Suburbs (n=860):	43	44	4	n/a	n/a	7	3
Urban (n=328):	48	43	2	n/a	n/a	5	2
Total (n=1,299):	43	45	3	n/a	n/a	7	3

²⁶ November 2011 question wording was: “If the 2012 elections for U.S. CONGRESS were being held TODAY, would you vote for [RANDOMIZE: “the Republican Party’s candidate” OR “the Democratic Party’s candidate”] for Congress in your district?”

Q18 In the elections for U.S. Congress, did you vote for the [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q16: "Democratic candidate" OR "Republican candidate"]?

Based on registered voters/those who don't need to register and have already voted for Congress

Too few cases to report (Suburbs N=2, Urban N=2, Total N=5)

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

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

No Questions 19-23

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

[RANDOMIZE Q24/Q25/Q26/Q27]

Q24 Which should be a higher priority for the next president...[RANDOMIZE: (creating jobs even if that raises the budget deficit) OR (cutting the budget deficit even if that increases unemployment)]?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
66	71	68	Creating jobs
19	17	19	Cutting budget deficit
5	5	5	(VOL.) Neither/Both
6	4	6	(VOL.) Don't know
3	2	2	(VOL.) Refused

Q25 If you had to choose, would you rather have [RANDOMIZE: (a smaller government providing fewer services) or (a bigger government providing more services)]?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
49	44	49	Smaller government, fewer services
37	45	39	Bigger government, more services
4	3	4	(VOL.) Neither/Both
6	6	6	(VOL.) Don't know
3	3	3	(VOL.) Refused

Q26 Which comes closest to your view about the tax cuts passed when George W. Bush was president? [READ IN ORDER]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
25	23	24	All of the tax cuts should remain
37	36	35	Tax cuts for those making more than \$250,000 should be repealed while the others should remain
22	27	24	All of the tax cuts should be repealed
12	11	13	(VOL.) Don't know
4	3	4	(VOL.) Refused

Q27 In your view, what is the better way to reduce the federal budget deficit? Should we [RANDOMIZE: mostly focus on cutting major programs, / mostly focus on increasing taxes,] or should we do a combination of both?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
16	14	14	Cutting major programs
5	7	6	Increasing taxes
66	67	67	Combination of both
5	5	5	(VOL.) Neither
*	*	*	(VOL.) Deficit is not a priority/Don't focus on deficit
4	6	5	(VOL.) Don't know
3	2	3	(VOL.) Refused

vote2008 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:	72	27	*	*
Urban:	71	27	1	0
Total:	71	28	1	*
JUNE 2012				
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	*	*

Vote2008FA [ASK IF FORM A RESPONDENT] In the 2008 presidential election... Did you happen to vote for John McCain or Barack Obama... or for someone else?

Vote2008FB [ASK IF FORM B RESPONDENT] In the 2008 presidential election... Did you happen to vote for Barack Obama or John McCain... or for someone else?²⁷

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=806):	53	40	4	1	3
Urban (n=324):	64	29	4	*	3
Total (n=1,221):	55	37	5	1	3
JUNE 2012					
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

²⁷ For the current survey as well as trends, percentages shown here reflect combined responses, based on all respondents who voted in the 2008 presidential election.

[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>	
46	52	49	Male
54	48	51	Female

AGE What is your age?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
20	22	20	Age 18-29
35	33	33	Age 30-49
25	29	28	Age 50-64
18	15	17	Age 65 or older
*	*	*	Don't know
2	1	1	Refused

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
30	33	31	Gen Y (18-35)
21	18	20	Gen X (36-47)
31	34	33	Baby Boomers (48-66)
16	13	15	Matures (67+)
*	*	*	Don't know
2	1	1	Refused

EDUC2 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? [DO NOT READ]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
9	15	11	Less than high school (Grades 1-8 or no formal schooling) / High school incomplete (Grades 9-11 or Grade 12 with NO diploma)
29	30	30	High school graduate (Grade 12 with diploma or GED certificate)
30	24	28	Some college, no degree (includes some community college) / Two year associate degree from a college or university
32	31	29	Four year college or university degree/Bachelor's degree (e.g., BS, BA, AB) / Some postgraduate or professional schooling, no postgraduate degree/Postgraduate or professional degree, including master's, doctorate, medical or law degree (e.g., MA, MS, PhD, MD, JD)
*	*	*	Don't know
1	*	1	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>	
19	23	21	1 adult in household / Respondent only
53	48	52	2 adults
27	28	27	3 or more adults
*	*	*	Don't know
*	0	*	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>	
56	43	51	Married
4	10	6	Living with a partner
7	13	9	Divorced
2	1	2	Separated
7	5	6	Widowed
23	29	25	Never been married
*	0	*	Don't know
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>	
35	26	30	Yes
65	74	69	No
0	0	0	Don't know
*	0	*	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?

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	33	36	Protestant (Baptist, Methodist, Non-denominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, Jehovah's Witness, etc.)
22	20	21	Roman Catholic/Catholic
2	1	2	Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints/LDS)
1	1	1	Orthodox
2	3	2	Jewish (Judaism)
1	2	1	Muslim (Islam)
11	11	12	Other Christian
3	4	3	Other non-Christian faith/Something else (SPECIFY)
18	20	18	Atheist (do not believe in God) / Agnostic (not sure if there is a God) / Nothing in particular
*	1	1	Don't know
4	4	3	Refused

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>	
39	47	44	Yes
52	45	47	No
5	6	6	Don't know
4	2	3	Refused
(n=741)	(n=281)	(n=1,122)	

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>	
28	19	25	Republican
32	39	34	Democrat
34	36	35	Independent
6	6	6	No preference/Other/Don't know/Refused

Based on registered voters/don't need to register

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
31	23	28	Republican
34	43	37	Democrat
32	31	31	Independent
3	3	4	No preference/Other/Don't know/Refused
(n=868)	(n=345)	(n=1,315)	

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>	
41	31	38	Republican / Lean Republican
48	59	51	Democrat / Lean Democrat
10	10	10	Refused to lean / Still Independent

Based on registered voters/don't need to register

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
44	34	41	Republican / Lean Republican
49	60	52	Democrat / Lean Democrat
7	5	6	Refused to lean / Still Independent
(n=868)	(n=345)	(n=1,315)	

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
7	7	8	Very conservative
31	25	29	Conservative
34	38	36	Moderate
16	20	16	Liberal, OR
4	5	4	Very liberal?
5	3	4	(VOL.) Don't know
2	2	2	(VOL.) 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>	
71	58	68	White, non-Hispanic
9	18	11	Black or African-American, non-Hispanic
14	16	14	Hispanic
4	8	6	Other/Mixed race, non-Hispanic
2	1	2	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>	
51	36	46	U.S.
2	4	2	Puerto Rico
47	60	51	Another country
0	0	0	Don't know
*	0	*	Refused
(n=89)	(n=60)	(n=160)	

- 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	11	8	Less than \$10,000
10	11	11	10 to under \$20,000
10	10	11	20 to under \$30,000
6	8	8	30 to under \$40,000
9	9	9	40 to under \$50,000
11	12	12	50 to under \$75,000
10	10	10	75 to under \$100,000
11	9	10	100 to under \$150,000
12	7	9	\$150,000 or more
5	7	5	(VOL.) Don't know
9	7	8	(VOL.) Refused

Question RZIPCODE is 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 VII

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

October 2012

SUMMARY

The National Suburban Poll VII, sponsored by the National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra, obtained telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 1,504 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 October 17-28, 2012. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is ± 3.3 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 ($n=1,001$) 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, 503 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 October 17-28, 2012. As many as three 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 Census data. The cell phone usage parameter came from an analysis of the January-June 2011 National Health Interview Survey²⁸ 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.

²⁸ 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	49.2
	Female	51.4	50.8
<u>Age</u>			
	18-24	12.8	11.4
	25-34	18.0	18.3
	35-44	17.2	16.5
	45-54	19.0	19.6
	55-64	16.0	16.6
	65+	17.0	17.7
<u>Education</u>			
	Less than HS Graduate	13.3	11.5
	HS Graduate	30.4	30.2
	Some College	28.5	28.5
	College Graduate	27.8	29.7
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
	White/not Hispanic	68.0	68.7
	Black/not Hispanic	11.6	11.5
	Hispanic, born in US	6.6	6.9
	Hispanic, born outside US	7.4	7.2
	Other/not Hispanic	6.4	5.7
<u>Region</u>			
	Northeast	18.5	18.6
	Midwest	21.8	22.3
	South	37.0	35.4
	West	22.7	23.7
<u>County Pop. Density</u>			
	1 - Lowest	19.9	18.8
	2	20.0	19.8
	3	20.1	20.5
	4	20.0	20.3
	5 - Highest	20.0	20.7
<u>Household Phone Use</u>			
	LLO	7.0	6.2
	Dual	57.8	58.9
	CPO	35.2	34.8
<u>Community</u>			
	Urban	34.2	34.2
	Suburban	48.8	50.6
	Rural	17.0	15.2

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 1.69.

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 ± 3.3 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 3.3 percentage points away from their true values in the population. 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:²⁹

- Contact rate – the proportion of working numbers where a request for interview was made³⁰
- 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 9 percent.

²⁹ PSRAI's disposition codes and reporting are consistent with the American Association for Public Opinion Research standards.

³⁰ 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	
28523	14006	Total Numbers Dialed
1056	180	Non-residential
1123	23	Computer/Fax
10		Cell phone
15223	4955	Other not working
1817	357	Additional projected not working
9294	8491	Working numbers
32.6%	60.6%	Working Rate
606	119	No Answer / Busy
4202	3861	Voice Mail
23	7	Other Non-Contact
4463	4504	Contacted numbers
48.0%	53.0%	Contact Rate
351	1484	Callback
3075	2233	Refusal
1037	787	Cooperating numbers
23.2%	17.5%	Cooperation Rate
20	30	Language Barrier
	248	Child's cell phone
1017	509	Eligible numbers
98.1%	64.7%	Eligibility Rate
16	6	Break-off
1001	503	Completes
98.4%	98.8%	Completion Rate
11.0%	9.2%	Response Rate