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# **Changing Suburbs: Economic turmoil swings the vote**

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**Hofstra National Suburban Poll**  
for  
**The National Center for Suburban Studies**  
at  
**Hofstra University**

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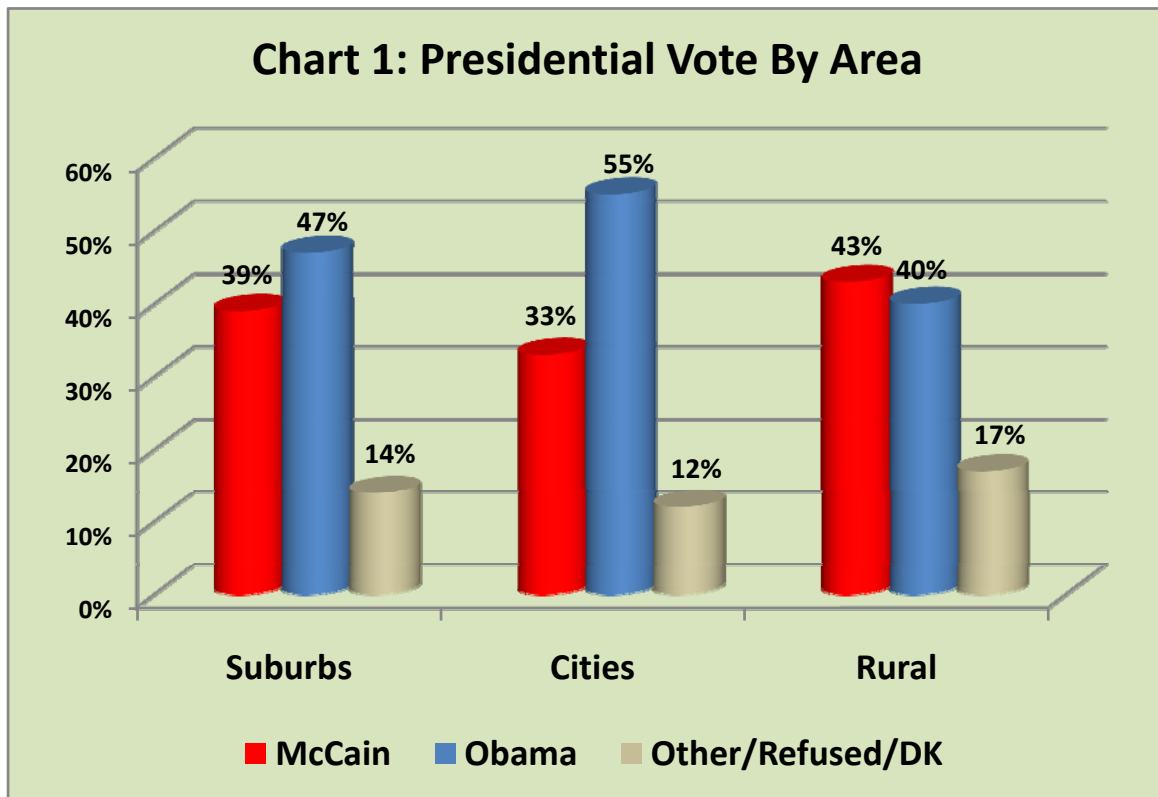
***Prepared By***  
***Princeton Survey Research Associates International***

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## The Suburbs and the 2008 Presidential Race

The suburbs have long been thought of as a Republican bastion, in contrast to the Democratic strength in the nation's major cities. But the economic turmoil that has swept the nation has moved the suburbs out of the Republican column with only a week to go before the 2008 presidential election.

A new National Suburban Poll for Hofstra University shows the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden now grabs the support of 47 percent of suburbanites, compared with only 39 percent of suburban registered voters who now say they back the Republican ticket



of John McCain and Sarah Palin. This is a major reversal from the first National Suburban Poll in September.<sup>1</sup>

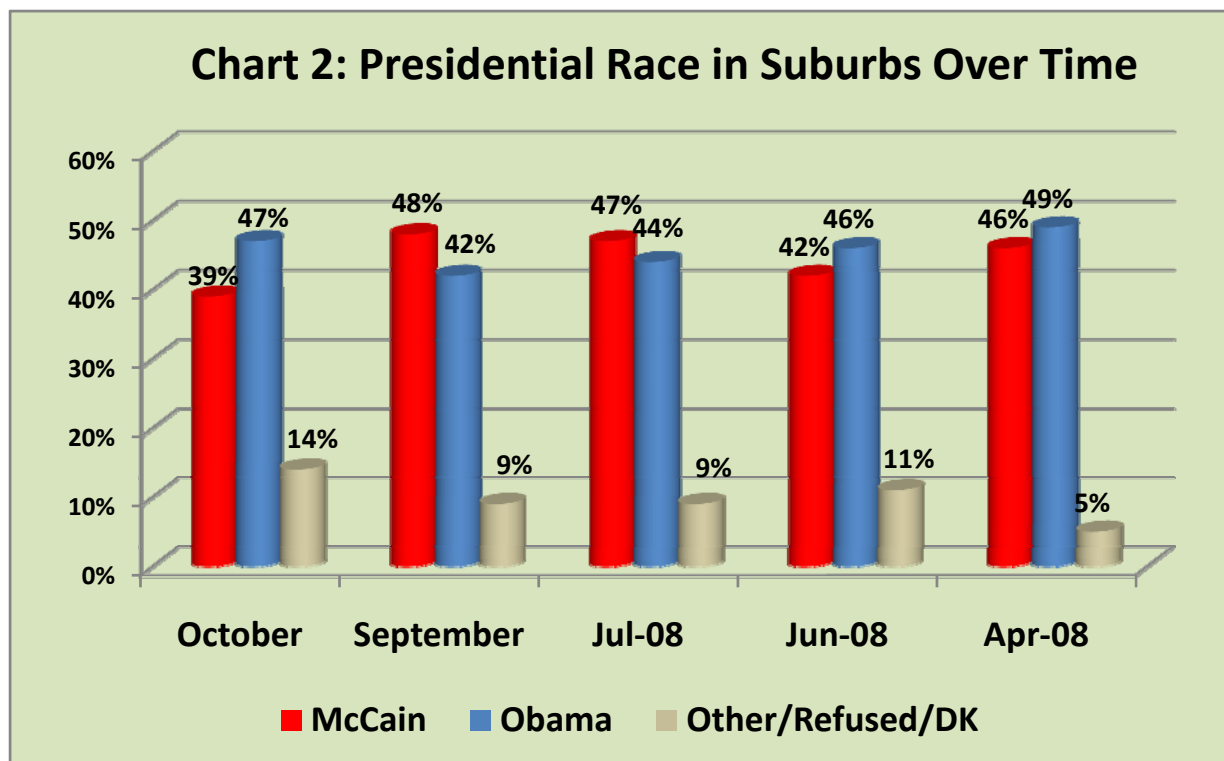
The Democratic ticket's surge to the lead in the national polls is echoed in the rest of the country outside the suburbs. In the rural areas, the Republican ticket now splits the vote with the Democratic ticket 43 percent to 40 percent. But in the cities, Obama and Biden lead by a 22-point margin (55%-33%). Major cities make up about a third of the vote and rural areas about 20 percent. Thus, the overall national race stands at 48 percent for

<sup>1</sup> *The Swing Suburbs: Voting for President in a time of stress*, September 2008, [http://www.hofstra.edu/ACADEMICS/CSS/css\\_poll.html](http://www.hofstra.edu/ACADEMICS/CSS/css_poll.html).

Obama and 38 percent for McCain among registered voters in the latest National Suburban Poll.<sup>2</sup>

Among likely voters, the vote is split, as McCain backers are slightly more likely to fit the definition of a likely voter. Obama's support among suburban likely voters stands at 46 percent; McCain's supporters total 43 percent. Among likely voters for the entire nation, Obama holds an eight-point lead: 48 percent to 40 percent for McCain.<sup>3</sup>

Obama has retaken the lead in the suburbs among registered voters that he held in the spring, but had lost in the summer. In the September Suburban Poll, McCain held a 48-percent-to-42 percent edge over Obama among registered voters. Thus, the October results



show an Obama gain of five percentage points in a month, while McCain has slipped nine points. The September numbers were similar to those in July.<sup>4</sup> But the latest numbers are more similar to those in June<sup>5</sup> and April,<sup>6</sup> where Obama led in both the suburbs and nationwide.

<sup>2</sup> Discussions of attitudes on the presidential race in this report will be based on registered voters in most cases, except in those limited circumstances where the analysis focuses on likely voters. Poll results on topics other than the campaign will generally focus on the attitudes of all suburban adults.

<sup>3</sup> Likely voters are determined using a scale built from seven questions about voting intentions and voting history. Those who are new voters can be likely voters using this index.

<sup>4</sup> *Inflation Staggers Public, Economy Still Seen as Fixable*, Pew Research Center, July 31, 2008, <http://people-press.org/report/438/inflation-economy-obama-overseas-trip>.

<sup>5</sup> *Likely Rise in Voter Turnout Bodes Well for Democrats*, Pew Research Center, July 10, 2008, <http://people-press.org/report/436/obama-mccain-july>.

One of the reasons for the changes in the margins is that early and absentee voting has begun across the country. About one in nine suburbanites (11%) say they have already voted. Among the remaining registered voters who have not yet voted, but plan to, about one in four (27%) say they will vote early. With the start of early voting and the closeness of Election Day, there is more complexity to the questions being asked of respondents, revealing what may be a slight uptick in the numbers of voters refusing to reveal their actual vote or vote intentions.

The shifts in support for the candidates have not changed the levels of enthusiasm for them. Obama's suburban backers say they *strongly* support him by a 71-percent-to-27-percent margin, essentially the same as the margin in September (74%-26%). Among McCain backers in the suburbs, the numbers are very similar to Obama's, voicing strong support for McCain by a 68-percent-to-30-percent margin. And that, again, is essentially identical to the 70-percent-to-29-percent margin in September.

These are some of the findings from a new poll conducted for The National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra University. The poll, designed and executed by Princeton Survey Research Associates International, is based on telephone interviews in English with 1,503 adults age 18 and older living in the continental United States. The interviews were conducted from Oct. 22-26, 2008.

The Hofstra poll over-sampled adults living in suburban areas of the country, completing interviews with 1,000 adults in the suburbs. This over-sampling allows a strong focus on the attitudes of suburbanites, while allowing comparisons with those who live in the nation's cities and rural areas. For results based on total sample, the overall margin of sampling error is plus or minus three percentage points. For results based just on suburban residents or just on registered voters in suburbia, the sampling error is plus or minus four percentage points.

### **The Independents moved and with them, the suburbs**

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With the suburbs a major battleground in the 2008 presidential election, looking at the various subgroups that make up the total group of the voters provides additional insight into what is happening and perhaps why. Such analysis is often laced with labels like soccer moms and blue-collar voters, but the labels can hide complexity that goes beyond simple categories.

Among all the groups in the suburbs, perhaps the most politically sought-after are independents, those who say they are not partisans of either the Republican or the Democratic Party. Both in the suburbs and elsewhere, each partisan ticket continues to do very well retaining the backing of the suburban residents who say they are Democrats or Republicans. In each case, around nine in ten say they back their parties' candidates.

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<sup>6</sup> Obama's Image Slips; His Lead over Clinton Disappears, May 1, 2008, <http://people-press.org/report/414/obamas-image-slips-his-lead-over-clinton-disappears>.

It is the independents in the suburbs who have moved. Last month, the National Suburban Poll showed McCain leading among suburban independents by a 46-percent-to-38-percent edge, but 13 percent were undecided or refused to answer. Now the suburban independents have reversed, going 45 percent for Obama and 37 percent for McCain. With the addition of early voting questions and separating some answers into finer categories, now five percent say they will not vote, five percent say they don't know who they will vote for, six percent refused to say and two percent say they back another candidate.

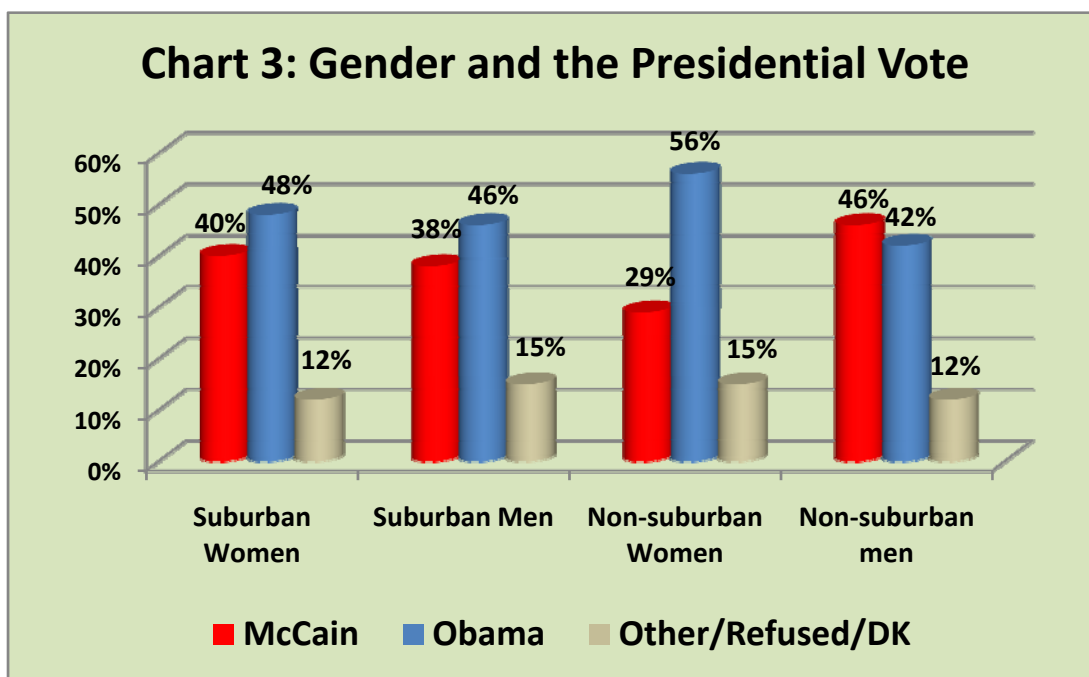
### Those who have been to college moved as well

During the Democratic presidential primaries, some of the key groups in Obama's victories were those who have been to college or hold a college or post-graduate degree. Last month, those suburban voters with greater education were not as strong a group for the Democratic candidate. Now the needle has moved in Obama's direction. Those suburban voters with at least some college education break 51 percent to 36 percent for Obama over McCain. Last month, the same group divided *against* Obama by a six-point margin (42%-48%).

Among those with no college experience, it is an even divide, with Obama at 42 percent and McCain at 43 percent support. Last month, Obama drew the backing of 42 percent and McCain 48 percent among this group.

### Gender in the suburbs

The bulwark of McCain's support has been suburban men, but that has crumbled. Obama now leads among suburban men by a 46-percent-to-38-percent margin. Just one month ago,



McCain led among male registered voters in the suburbs by a 51-percent-to-40-percent margin. And Obama has moved to lead among suburban women as well, by a 48-percent-to-

40-percent edge. A month ago, women in the suburbs were split (45%-45%) between the candidates.

While there has been change in the suburbs that has driven Obama's numbers, outside the suburbs, the change has been muted. Women outside the suburbs back Obama by a 56-percent-to-29-percent margin, not much different from the 56-percent-to-33-percent edge found in the September poll. Among non-suburban men, the current split (46%-42%), with McCain on top, is similar to the split in September (48%-42%).

### **...and marriage and children in the suburbs**

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Republican presidential candidates have done well in recent elections among two overlapping, but not identical groups: married voters and those voters with children under 18 still at home. Particularly in the suburbs, these are voters who are concerned about stability, safety and reducing the government's share of family budgets. In the September Suburban Poll, both groups were central to McCain's suburban strength.

That strength is no more. Just a month ago, married suburbanites backed the Republican ticket by 16 percentage points, 53 percent to 37 percent margin. Now married registered voters in the suburbs split, 45 percent for McCain and 44 percent for Obama. Those suburbanites who are not married – whether never married, widowed, divorced or separated – are still strongly behind the Democratic ticket by a two-to-one margin (54%-27%), up from the 53-percent-to-38-percent edge a month ago.

Outside of the suburbs, married registered voters now divide toward Obama (48%-38%), compared with a 45-percent-to-48-percent split toward McCain last month. Unmarried non-suburbanites back Obama heavily (52%-35%), similar to the previous month's findings.

Among the related group of suburban parents, there has been a flip-flop: they now back Obama by 12 percentage points (51%-39%), after backing McCain by 11 points (51%-40%) a month ago. McCain has slipped a bit among those suburbanites who are not parents, trailing Obama by eight points (46%-38%), compared with a split (44%-46%) finding last month.

So what about soccer moms in 2008? Just as with parents in general, suburban mothers with children under age 18 living at home now support Obama by a 52-percent-to-40-percent edge, reversing the numbers from September. Suburban dads now do the same (49%-38%), a similar flip of results from the previous month.

## Race in the suburbs

American suburbs are now racially diverse, with roughly three-quarters white residents and a variety of other racial and ethnic groups taking up residence outside of the cities.

But race still divides the voters in the presidential race in the suburbs, as in the rest of the country, but the gap has narrowed among white voters. White registered voters in suburbia support the McCain-Palin ticket by a 47-38 edge over Obama-Biden. Minority group suburbanites support Obama by a 74-12 edge over McCain.

Table 1: Suburban Vote by Race and Ethnicity				
	October		September	
	White	Minority	White	Minority
<b>McCain-Palin</b>	47%	12%	55%	21%
<b>Obama-Biden</b>	38%	74%	38%	65%
<b>Other/Don't Know</b>	15%	14%	7%	14%

## Why the vote has changed: The economic crunch in the Suburbs

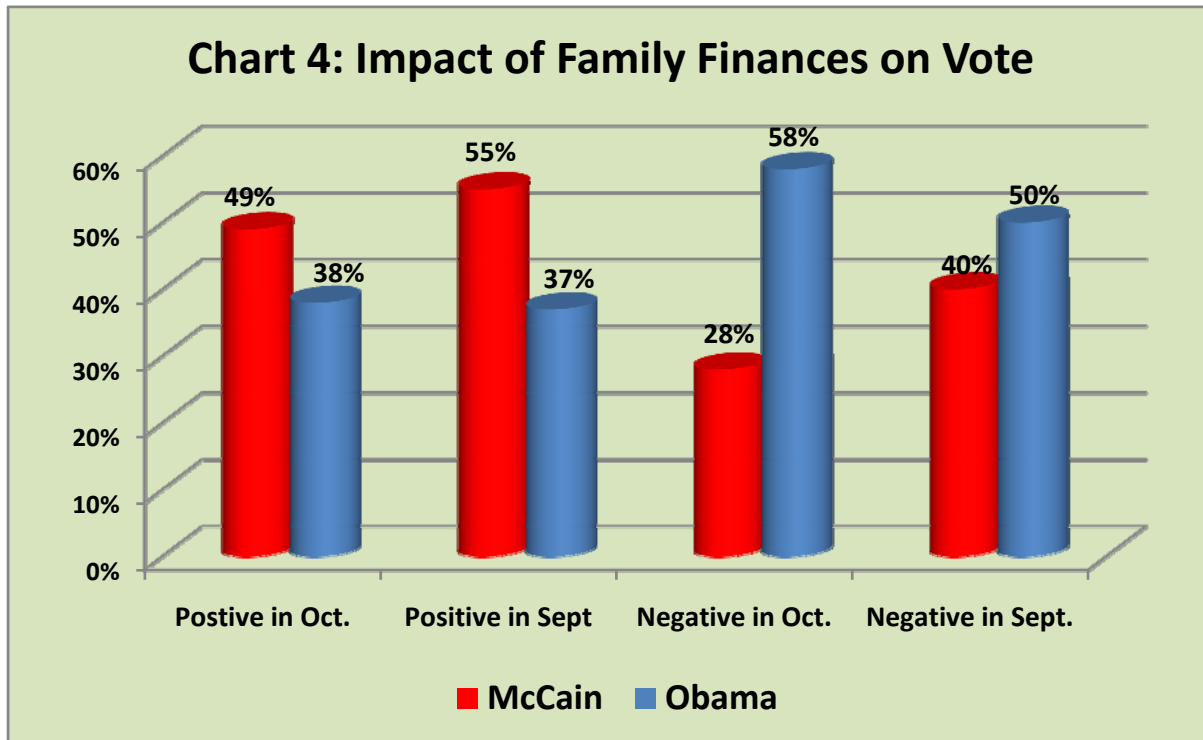
Economic stress is now the major issue in the suburbs. And the government's efforts to fix the economic problems seem to have little support nor are they seen as having much impact.

Views of their own personal finances have not changed much in a month, despite the upheavals on Wall Street, with about half of suburban voters saying their family finances are in good or excellent shape and about half saying they are in poor or only fair shape. And just under four in ten say they live paycheck to paycheck, as in September.

While their view of the current state of their own finances has not changed, suburban voters' views of the candidates have, with major negative consequences for McCain.

In September, those with a positive view of their family finances supported McCain by a 55 to 37 percent margin, an 18-percentage-point advantage. But what a month of economic turmoil has done: now McCain's advantage among suburban voters with a positive view of their finances is only nine points: 49 percent to 38 percent.

And among those who are most economically stressed, the movement is greater: A month ago, suburban voters with a negative view of their personal finances supported Obama by a 10-point margin, 50 percent to 40 percent. Now, among those with a negative view of their finances, Obama has opened up a 30-point margin (58%-28%).



### Federal bailout efforts

The massive efforts by the federal government to revive the credit markets and stop the nation's slide into recession do not draw support in the suburbs.

Half of suburban voters (50%) say that the federal government's efforts are *mostly a bailout for Wall Street and the banks*, while only 35 percent say the efforts are mostly an attempt to rescue the economy in order to help average Americans. Interestingly, suburban Republicans are more likely to say the bailout will help the economy (42%) than suburban Democrats (33%).

One reason for this lack of support is that most suburban voters don't think the bailout will make much difference to them. More than half of suburbanites (53%) say the bailout will make no difference in their own personal family finances. Only 20 percent say it will improve their family finances, almost balanced by the 15 percent who say it will actually hurt their family finances.



## Values to identify with

The introduction of Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin as the Republican vice presidential nominee changed the course of the race for the White House, at least for a time. The Republican Party faithful found new energy and a new enthusiasm for the GOP ticket. But Palin's course as a nominee has been a rocky one, from criticism of her lack of facility at handling media interviews to how much money the party spent on her wardrobe. Some of her poll ratings have declined in the interim.

With a personal story of the rise from a small town to be the state's chief executive, Palin was seen as appealing in terms of background and values to those in suburbia, particularly women and mothers.

For each of the candidates on the major party tickets, a question was asked whether that *person has a background and set of values that you can identify with*. On this dimension, Obama has gained in the past month, with identification with his values rising from 47 percent to 57 percent among suburbanites. McCain has remained steady at 56 percent identifying with his background and values. Palin has not changed to a large degree, although those who do not identify with her background and values rose from 37 percent to 44 percent this month.

Biden has moved the most with now 46 percent identifying with his values and background, compared to 35 percent last month.

<b>Table 2: Suburban Views of Values and Background to Identify With</b>						
	<b>October</b>			<b>September</b>		
	<b>Can identify with</b>	<b>Can Not identify with</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>	<b>Can identify with</b>	<b>Can Not identify with</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Barack Obama</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>John McCain</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Joe Biden</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Sarah Palin</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>16</b>

## Appendices

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## Appendix I: The Topline and Questionnaire

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**Hofstra National Suburban Poll**  
**Princeton Survey Research Associates International**  
**for**  
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### Topline Results

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October 28, 2008

Number of Interviews

Total: 1,503 adults age 18 or older  
Suburban: 1,000 suburban residents  
Urban/Rural: 503 urban and rural residents

Margins of Error

Total: Plus or minus 3 percentage points  
Suburban: Plus or minus 4 percentage points  
Urban/Rural: Plus or minus 5 percentage points  
*Total Registered Voters: Plus or minus 3 percentage points*  
*Suburban RV: Plus or minus 4 percentage points*  
*Urban/Rural RV: Plus or minus 6 percentage points*

Dates of interviewing:

October 22-26, 2008

*PSRAI Job #28085*

*Notes on Topline: Because percentages are rounded they may not total 100%.  
An asterisk indicates a value of less than 1%.  
Unless noted otherwise, trends listed on this topline are from the  
September National Suburban Poll, 1,526 total adults including 1,033  
suburban residents and 493 urban/rural residents,  
interviewed Sept. 15-21, 2008.*

INTRODUCTION: Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I am 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 YOUNGEST MALE, age 18 or older, who is now at home? (IF NO MALE AT HOME NOW, ASK: May I please speak with the YOUNGEST FEMALE, age 18 or older, who is now at home?) (Repeat introduction if respondent did not answer the telephone.)

Q1 How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election – quite a lot or only a little?

<u>CURRENT</u>				<u>SEPT. 2008</u>		
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
76	80	78	Quite a lot	77	73	75
9	6	7	Some (VOL.)	2	2	2
10	11	11	Little	17	22	20
4	3	4	None (VOL.)	3	2	3
*	*	*	Don't know/Refused	1	1	1

Q2 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>CURRENT</u>				<u>SEPT. 2008</u>		
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
90	89	89	Yes, registered	85	81	83
10	11	10	No, not registered	15	18	16
*	*	*	Don't know/Refused	*	*	*

Q3 Do you happen to know where people in your neighborhood go to vote?

*Based on registered voters*

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
87	84	85	Yes
13	14	13	No
*	2	1	Don't know/Refused
(n=929)	(n=468)	(n=1,397)	

Q4 Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

*Based on registered voters*

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
82	83	83	Yes
18	17	17	No
*	*	*	Don't know/Refused
(n=929)	(n=468)	(n=1,397)	

Q5 How often would you say you vote...(READ)

*Based on registered voters*

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
60	61	61	Always
24	24	24	Nearly always
8	8	8	Part of the time, OR
5	5	5	Seldom?
2	2	2	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Never vote <b>(VOL.)</b>
1	0	*	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Other response <b>(VOL.)</b>
*	0	*	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused
(n=929)	(n=468)	(n=1,397)	

**Q6-Q8/Q10 USED FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY**

- Q9 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 ?
- Q11 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)?
- Q12 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to (READ AND ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q11)?

*Current percentages based on registered voters; Trends based on all registered voters asked versions of Q11/Q12.*

	<u>Total McCain/Palin</u>	<u>Total Obama/Biden</u>	<u>Other candidate</u>	<u>Neither/ Not voting for pres.</u>	<u>Don't* know</u>	<u>Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
CURRENT							
Suburbs:	39	47	1	2	5	6	(929)
Urban/Rural:	37	50	1	1	4	7	(381)
Total:	38	48	1	2	5	7	(1,397)
SEPTEMBER 2008							
Suburbs:	48	42	1		8		
Urban/Rural:	40	49	2		9		
Total:	44	46	1		9		
JULY 2008							
Suburbs:	47	44	1		8		
Urban/Rural:	36	51	1		12		
Total:	42	47	1		10		
JUNE 2008							
Suburbs:	42	46	1		10		
Urban/Rural:	38	49	2		11		
Total:	40	48	1		11		
APRIL 2008							
Suburbs:	46	49	1		4		
Urban/Rural:	43	50	2		4		
Total:	45	50	2		4		

*\*Note: "Don't know" and "Refused" responses were combined in the September 2008 poll and all trends.*

- Q13 Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q9/Q11/Q12 – "the McCain/Palin ticket" OR "the Obama/Biden ticket") strongly or only moderately?

*Based on registered voters*

	<u>Support McCain/ Lean McCain</u>			<u>Support Obama/ Lean Obama</u>		
	<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly	68	62	65	71	74	72
Only moderately/lean	30	37	33	27	26	26
Don't know	2	2	2	2	1	1
	(n=391)	(n=187)	(n=578)	(n=398)	(n=208)	(n=606)

Q14 For each of the following candidates, please tell me whether that person has a background and set of values that you can identify with, or whether (he/she) does NOT have a background and set of values that you can identify with. (First/Next) what about (INSERT ITEM)? AS NECESSARY: Can you identify with (his/her) background and set of values?

	<u>Background and values can identify with</u>	<u>NOT background and values can identify with</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Refused</u>
a. John McCain				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	56	38	5	1
Urban/Rural:	49	41	6	3
Total:	52	40	6	2
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>				
Suburbs:	56	37	5	3
Urban/Rural:	46	45	8	1
Total:	50	41	7	2
b. Barack Obama				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	57	36	6	1
Urban/Rural:	54	37	7	3
Total:	55	36	6	2
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>				
Suburbs:	47	45	6	2
Urban/Rural:	53	40	5	2
Total:	50	43	6	2
c. Sarah Palin				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	44	44	11	2
Urban/Rural:	44	43	10	4
Total:	44	43	10	3
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>				
Suburbs:	47	37	14	2
Urban/Rural:	42	43	14	1
Total:	44	40	14	2
d. Joe Biden				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	46	34	19	2
Urban/Rural:	46	34	16	3
Total:	46	34	17	3
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>				
Suburbs:	35	41	22	2
Urban/Rural:	39	39	20	2
Total:	37	40	21	2

Next I'd like to get your views on a few issues that are being discussed in this country today.

- Q15 Regardless of whether you favor or oppose the Federal Government's actions in response to the financial crisis, do you consider these actions mostly a bailout for Wall Street and the banks or do you consider them mostly an attempt to rescue the economy in order to help average Americans?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
50	53	52	Mostly bailout for Wall Street
35	33	34	Mostly an attempt to rescue the economy/help average Americans
2	2	2	(DO NOT READ) Neither
5	4	4	(DO NOT READ) Both/Either one
8	7	8	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
*	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused

- Q16 Do you think abortion should be (READ)?

*(Note: Categories read in reverse order for random ½ of sample.)*

<u>CURRENT</u>				<u>SEPT. 2008*</u>		
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
17	23	20	Legal in all cases	20	20	20
34	31	32	Legal in most cases	32	32	32
23	21	22	Illegal in most cases	28	22	25
17	16	17	Illegal in all cases	14	18	16
8	7	7	(DO NOT READ) Don't know	6	8	7
2	2	2	(DO NOT READ) Refused	-	-	-

*\*Note: "Don't know" and "Refused" responses were combined in the September 2008 poll.*

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about you and your daily life.

- EMP** Are you now employed full-time, part-time, retired, or are you not employed for pay?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
52	48	50	Employed full-time
10	13	12	Employed part-time
22	23	23	Retired
10	10	10	Not employed for pay
1	3	2	(VOL) Disabled
2	1	1	(VOL) Student
2	2	2	(VOL) Other
*	*	*	(DO NOT READ) 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/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
60	53	56	Married
5	8	6	Living with a partner
8	9	8	Divorced
2	3	2	Separated
8	8	8	Widowed
17	19	18	Never been married
1	1	1	Don't know/Refused

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
34	33	33	Yes
66	67	66	No
*	*	*	Don't know/Refused

Q17 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>CURRENT</u>				<u>SEPT. 2008</u>		
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
7	8	8	Excellent shape	8	7	7
43	40	41	Good shape	42	36	39
35	35	35	Only fair shape	34	38	36
14	16	15	Poor shape	15	18	17
1	1	1	Don't know/Refused	2	1	1

Q18 Over the course of the next year, do you think the financial situation of you and your family will improve a lot, improve some, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

*Based on registered voters*

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
8	8	8	Improve a lot
43	42	42	Improve some
23	23	23	Get a little worse
5	7	6	Get a lot worse
11	12	12	(DO NOT READ) Stay the same (VOL.)
9	8	9	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
*	*	*	(DO NOT READ) Refused
(n=929)	(n=468)	(n=1,397)	

- Q19 How confident are you that any money you have in a bank account or in a money market account is secure...(READ 1-4)?

*Based on registered voters*

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
37	34	35	Very confident
40	32	36	Somewhat confident
12	17	14	Not too confident, or
5	11	8	Not at all confident?
5	5	5	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
2	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused
(n=929)	(n=468)	(n=1,397)	

- Q20 How confident are you that you will retire with enough income and assets to last for the rest of your life? Would you say you are...(READ 1-4)?

*Based on registered voters who are currently employed*

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
14	16	15	Very confident
42	36	39	Somewhat confident
24	25	25	Not too confident, or
17	21	20	Not at all confident?
3	1	2	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
*	*	*	(DO NOT READ) Refused
(n=502)	(n=239)	(n=741)	

- Q21 Regardless of what you think of the Federal Government's actions in response to the financial crisis, do you think the Government's actions will IMPROVE your family's financial situation, HURT your family's financial situation or do you think the government's actions will not make much difference?

*Based on registered voters*

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
20	20	20	Improve family finances
15	16	15	Hurt family finances
53	54	54	Make no difference
2	2	2	(DO NOT READ) Both/Neither (VOL.)
9	8	8	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
1	*	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused
(n=929)	(n=468)	(n=1,397)	

Q22 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)?

	<u>Yes, happened to me or someone I know</u>	<u>No, has not happened</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
a. Lost a job			
	<u>CURRENT</u>		
	Suburbs: 51	48	1
	Urban/Rural: 46	53	*
	Total: 49	51	1
	<u>SEPT. 2008</u>		
	Suburbs: 49	51	*
	Urban/Rural: 51	48	1
	Total: 50	49	1
b. Had a cut in pay, reduction in hours, or loss of benefits at work			
	<u>CURRENT</u>		
	Suburbs: 50	48	2
	Urban/Rural: 50	48	2
	Total: 50	48	2
	<u>SEPT. 2008</u>		
	Suburbs: 44	55	1
	Urban/Rural: 45	52	3
	Total: 44	53	2
c. Lost a home due to foreclosure or because you could not afford increased mortgage payments			
	<u>CURRENT</u>		
	Suburbs: 28	71	1
	Urban/Rural: 27	72	1
	Total: 27	71	1
	<u>SEPT. 2008</u>		
	Suburbs: 27	73	1
	Urban/Rural: 25	74	1
	Total: 26	73	1

Q23 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>CURRENT</u>				<u>SEPT. 2008</u>		
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
20	23	22	Always,	22	24	23
17	15	16	Most of the time,	16	20	18
24	22	23	Sometimes,	22	22	22
16	16	16	Hardly ever, OR	20	17	18
22	22	22	Never?	18	15	16
*	1	1	(VOL.) No job/Not currently employed/No regular income	1	2	1
1	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Ref.	1	1	1

**DEMOGRAPHICS:**

Finally, just a few questions for statistical purposes only.

**SEX** RECORD RESPONDENT'S SEX:

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

**AGE** What is your age?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
16	21	19	Age 18-29
38	35	36	Age 30-49
26	25	25	Age 50-64
16	18	17	Age 65 or older
3	2	2	Don't know/Refused

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
19	25	22	Gen Y (18-31)
25	18	21	Gen X (32-43)
35	35	35	Baby Boomers (44-62)
8	8	8	Matures (63-71)
10	12	11	After Work (72+)
3	2	2	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/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
11	14	13	None, or grades 1-8/High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
36	35	35	High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate)
22	25	24	Some college, no four-year degree
21	18	19	College graduate (B.S., B.A. or other four-year degree)
9	8	9	Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college
*	*	*	Don't know/Refused

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

**RACE** Which of the following best describes your race? You can select as many as apply. (READ LIST. RECORD UP TO FOUR RESPONSES IN ORDER MENTIONED.)

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
74	70	72	White, non-Hispanic
9	12	11	Black or African-American, non-Hispanic
10	12	11	Hispanic
6	5	5	Other
1	*	*	Undesignated

**ADULTS** Including yourself, how many adults 18 years of age or older live in your household?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
22	25	24	1 adult in household/Respondent only
55	51	53	2 adults
22	24	23	3 or more adults
1	1	1	Don't know/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?

**CHR** Do you think of yourself as a Christian or not?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
46	50	48	Protestant
22	17	19	Roman Catholic/Catholic
2	3	2	Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)
1	1	1	Jewish
1	*	*	Muslim (Islam)
12	10	11	Other Christian faith
1	1	1	Other non-Christian faith
4	3	3	Atheist/Agnostic
9	12	11	Nothing in particular
3	3	3	Undesignated

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

*Based on Christians*

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
43	52	47	Yes
50	45	47	No
7	4	5	Don't know/Refused
(n=829)	(n=410)	(n=1,239)	

**ATTEND** Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
15	15	15	More than once a week
26	27	26	Once a week
14	12	13	Once or twice a month
19	14	16	A few times a year
15	17	16	Seldom
11	14	13	Never
1	1	1	Don't know/Refused

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
29	27	28	Republican
33	34	34	Democrat
30	32	31	Independent
8	8	8	(DO NOT READ) No preference/ Other party/ Don't know/Refused

**PARTYLN** As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
39	41	40	Republican/Lean Republican
49	47	48	Democrat/Lean Democrat
12	11	12	Refused to lean/Still Independent

**IDEO** In general, would you describe your political views as...(READ)

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
9	11	10	Very conservative
31	31	31	Conservative
36	29	33	Moderate
12	16	14	Liberal, OR
6	5	5	Very liberal?
6	7	7	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused

**MILIT** Are you yourself, or is any member of your household, currently a member of the armed services or a veteran? (IF YES, PROBE FOR STATUS)

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
29	29	29	Total military households
6	5	5	Current member/members of the military
22	22	22	Veterans
2	2	2	Both current military and veterans
70	71	70	Total non-military households
1	*	*	Don't know
*	0	*	Refused

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
74	66	70	Own
18	22	20	Rent
7	11	9	Other arrangement
1	1	1	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused

**INCOME** Last year, that is in 2007, what was your TOTAL family income from all sources, BEFORE taxes. Just stop me when I get to the right category. (READ 01-09)

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
4	4	4	Less than \$10,000
7	9	8	10 to under \$20
10	12	11	20 to under \$30
8	9	9	30 to under \$40
9	11	10	40 to under \$50
14	13	13	50 to under \$75
12	10	11	75 to under \$100
10	9	9	100 to under \$150
7	6	6	\$150,000 or more
8	6	7	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know
10	11	11	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Refused

**IMM1** Where were you born – in the United States, or in another country?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
93	91	92	In the U.S. (including Puerto Rico or other U.S. territory)
7	9	8	In another country
*	*	*	Don't know
*	0	*	Refused

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