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# **Dark mood in the suburbs:**

## ***Independents' 2012 vote is up for grabs***

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

***By***

***Princeton Survey Research Associates International***

November 2011

## Executive Summary

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The mood in America's suburbs is dark in waning months of 2011. In some aspects, the mood is as bad as it was as the economic crisis washed over the country in 2008. And in other perspectives, the suburban view is even darker now.

And the re-election prospects for President Obama are also in negative territory in the suburbs a year before the general election. His job approval rating has slumped, particularly among suburban independents.

Suburbanites are divided on whether they want to see the Democratic incumbent win re-election: 36 percent want Obama re-elected, and 39 percent prefer a Republican. Eight percent want someone else and a remarkable 14 percent say they don't know. Four percent refused to say.

- Suburban independents are badly splintered on their possible vote in November 2012. Preferring a Republican to win is the top option with 38%. Re-electing Obama draws only 25% of suburban independents. But 13 percent choose another candidate or option. And one in four of this group (25%) did not give an answer, including don't know (19%) and refused (6%).

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 1,517 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 October 20-November 8, 2011.

This Hofstra survey, the fifth in a series, oversampled adults living in suburban areas of the country, completing interviews with 1,016 adults in the suburbs. The previous Hofstra Suburban surveys were conducted in September 2008, October 2008, October 2009 and September 2010, focusing on suburban life, economic turmoil and politics.<sup>1</sup>

## The Economic Mood

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Fully four in five suburbanites (80%) say they are dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country today, and only 15 percent are satisfied in the latest Hofstra National Suburban Poll. That is just as gloomy as the view in the first suburban poll in 2008, when the split was 18% satisfied-77% dissatisfied.

But suburbanites say their personal economic situation is worse today than three years ago: only 39 percent say their personal financial situation is excellent or good while 59 percent

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<sup>1</sup> 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*.

say it is only fair or poor. That is a noticeable decline from 2008, when half (50%) said their financial situation was positive compared with 49 percent with negative views.

## Bad News for the Democrats

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Looking to the November 2012, Republican Mitt Romney holds a slim lead over Obama in a head-to-head matchup in the suburbs, among registered voters 48 percent to 40 percent. Other Republican candidates do not do as well in the suburbs.

- The economy is a huge issue in the 2012 race, but its link to the presidential vote is complex. A voter's views of the economic future seem to have a greater impact on their vote choice than their perception of their current situation.

At this point a year out from the presidential election, there are problems in the suburbs for Democratic candidates as well. The Republican congressional candidates get the nod from 44 percent of the suburbanites, but the Democrats receive support from 38 percent.

- At the moment, the throw-the-bums-out feeling is there in the suburbs. Support for keeping their House incumbent is at 48 percent, almost exactly where it was in 2010. And nearly two-thirds of suburban voters (64%) say they would like to see most members of Congress tossed out in the next election.

## Issue Inconsistency

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Despite the clarity of differences between the party leaders in Washington on many issues, suburban residents express strong, often contradictory opinions on key issues, shattering any effort to align them with neat philosophical theories of government.

Suburbanites are strongly for cutting federal spending in general (71% favor-23% oppose). But not so fast on cutting defense spending (opposed by a 41%-51% edge) or Medicare and Social Security benefits (13%-84%).

And they are in favor of reducing personal income taxes on all (57%-36%). And without hesitation, they are also in favor of raising taxes on wealthier Americans (59%-37%).

## Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street

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Suburban attitudes toward the Tea Party have hardened since the last Hofstra poll in 2010. Thirty-six percent of suburbanites have a favorable view of the Tea Party, essentially unchanged from the 35 percent view in 2010. Unfavorable views now stand at 43 percent, up from 35 percent in 2010.

The recent emergence of the Occupy Wall Street movement in New York and around the world has caught the attention of most Americans, with nearly four in five having heard of the movement. Looking at all suburbanites, 39 percent have a favorable opinion of the Occupy movement, 34 percent have an unfavorable opinion and 27 percent haven't heard of it or did not offer an opinion.

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## Chapter 1: Economic Gloom Deepens in the suburbs

America's suburbs are not a happy place in the fall of 2011. Dissatisfaction with the direction of the nation is as deep as, if not deeper than, it was in the fall of 2008. And one must look no further than the suburbanites' personal finances to understand the reasons for the gloom.

Fully four of five suburbanites (80%) are dissatisfied with the direction of the country, with a mere 15 percent saying they are satisfied. This is a sharp drop from the 2010 Hofstra poll (25% satisfied-67% dissatisfied) and the 2009 Hofstra findings (26%-66%). The current readings are similar to the 18 percent satisfaction-77 percent dissatisfaction found in the first Hofstra poll in September 2008, when the economic collapse was front and center.

And personal finances are a key reason for the suburban angst. Almost three in five suburbanites say their personal finances are poor (22%) or only fair (37%). Just two in five suburbanites (39%) say their personal financial situation is excellent (7%) or good (32%). This is the dreariest perspective found in any of the Hofstra surveys and a sharp drop from 2010, when 46 percent had a positive view of their finances.

<b>Table 1: Weak Personal Finances</b>				
	<b>Suburbs 2011</b>	<b>Suburbs 2010</b>	<b>Suburbs 2009</b>	<b>Suburbs Oct. 2008</b>
<b>Positive</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>50%</b>
<i>Excellent</i>	7%	9%	7%	7%
<i>Good</i>	32%	37%	37%	43%
<b>Negative</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>49%</b>
<i>Only Fair</i>	37%	33%	39%	35%
<i>Poor</i>	22%	20%	15%	14%

This decline in finances is centered among lower-income suburbanites and minority residents. Working class suburbanites<sup>2</sup> have a negative view of their finances: 24 percent to 76 percent. Higher-income residents have a 58 percent-42 percent positive view. A similar gap by income is seen among non-suburbanites.

Race plays something of a role. White suburbanites have a downbeat assessment of their personal finances (44%-54%). But minority residents in the suburbs are even more downbeat (25%-74%).

But income has the larger role than race in these views. White working class suburbanites are downcast about their financial situation (28%-71%), compared with the much more positive views of higher-income white residents (60%-40%).

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<sup>2</sup> Working class is defined as having a pre-tax family income of less than \$50,000 a year.

Partisan identification plays little role in suburbanites' current views of their situation, with Democrats, independents and Republicans all holding roughly the same views. And this pattern mostly holds when looking at income groups across party.

And the economic outlook for the coming year is only okay. Just six percent expect their finances to improve a lot and 44 percent of suburban residents expect some improvement. One in five (20%) say their situation will get a little worse in the next 12 months and eight percent say it will get a lot worse. These findings are not as positive as they might be at first blush, for they are little changed from the past Hofstra surveys. While people's financial situations have worsened, their hopes for the future have not strengthened.

Interestingly, income does not play a major role in looking at the economic future, while race does. Among white suburbanites, only 44 percent see their economic situation improving over the next 12 months, while 33 percent expect declines and 18 percent foresee no change. Among suburban minorities, two-thirds are positive about the future (67%), while only 16 percent expect their finances to worsen. Ten percent expect no change.

By party, there is a substantial divide. Suburban Republicans are split on whether their personal finances will improve or worsen (43% v. 40%). Suburban Democrats are much more positive, with 54 percent expecting improvement to 21 percent seeing a decline to come. Suburban independents are more in line with Democrats: 51 percent expect improvement, 28 percent a decline and 17 percent no change.

## Personal Experience with Economic Devastation Continues

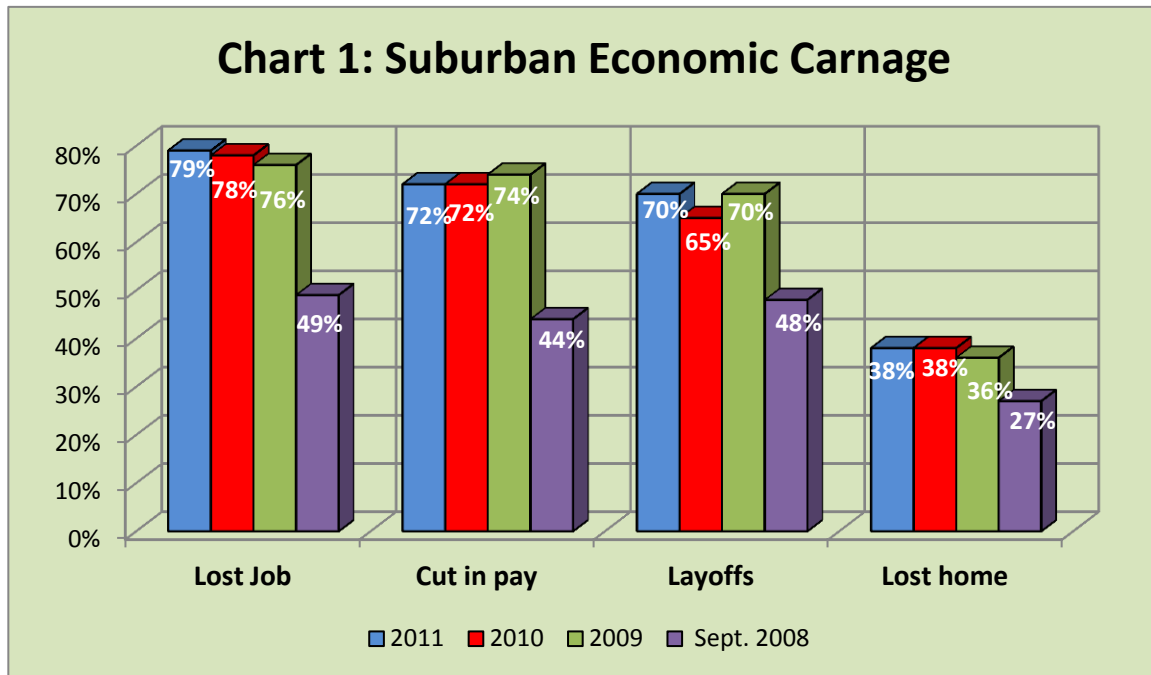
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The economic turmoil of the past three years has left scars across the suburbs, and those scars have not faded.

Fully two in five suburban residents say their personal financial situation is worse now than it was in 2008. Thirty-seven percent see no change and 20 percent say their personal financial situation has improved.

- Working class suburbanites are the hardest hit, with 48 percent seeing a decline. Suburbanites making \$50,000 or more a year are less likely to report a personal financial hit (32%).
- Republicans in the suburbs (50%) are more likely to say they are personally worse off financially than they were in 2008, compared with Democrats (32%). Independents are in the middle in terms of personal impact (43%).

But suburbanites have seen a lot of economic devastation in the past three years. More than three-quarters of suburban residents (79%) have either lost their job in the past three



years or know someone who has. Nearly as many (72%) have had a cut in pay, reduction in hours or loss of benefits at work, or know someone who has. Seven in ten (70%) have seen firings or layoffs at work or seen co-workers forced into early retirement.

And in the past four years, nearly four in ten suburbanites (38%) have lost their home to foreclosure or soaring mortgage payments or know someone who has experienced such a loss.

All these reports of economic devastation are as bad as, or worse than, those seen in the previous three years of Hofstra surveys.

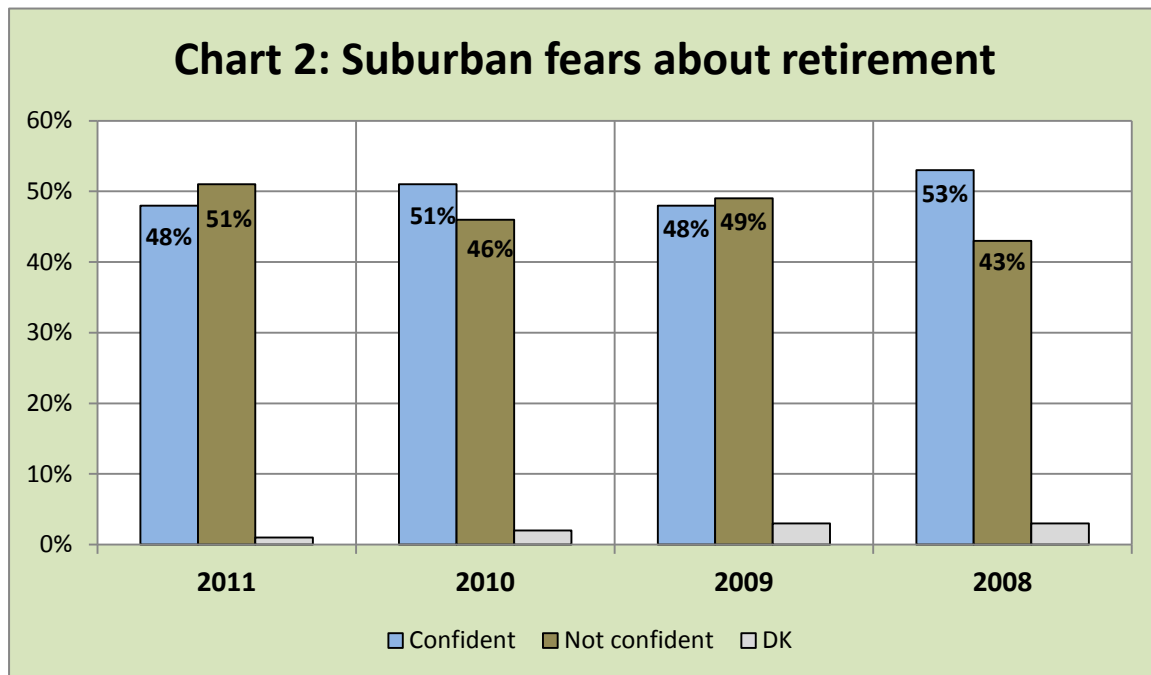
### Paycheck to paycheck

One way to judge economic distress is to ask how many people are living paycheck-to-paycheck, not saving, just keeping their financial heads above the water line. Two in five suburbanites (40%) say they live paycheck to paycheck *always* or *most of the time*. One in four (23%) say *sometimes*. And 32 percent say *hardly ever* or *never*.



## Ebbing confidence about retirement

The economic turmoil has another effect: it is eroding Americans' confidence that they will have enough to live on when they retire. For the first time in the Hofstra surveys, a majority of Americans say they will not have enough to live on in retirement. In the latest poll, 48 percent of suburbanites say they are very or somewhat confident they will have enough assets and income to live on when they retire. But 51 percent are not too confident or not confident at all that they will have enough to live on.



The latest figures are roughly an even split, given the margin of error for the poll, but they are dramatically different from the optimism that was present in 2008, even though that survey was taken in the middle of the financial system collapse that year.

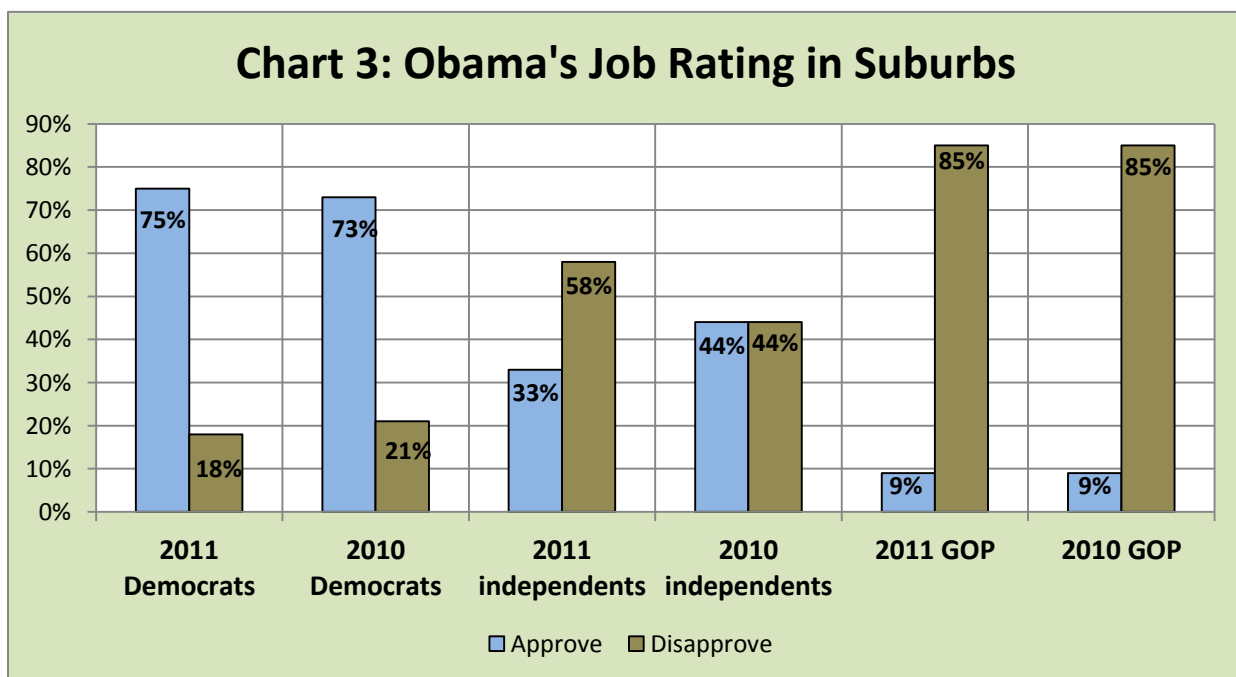
## Chapter 2: Republicans solid, Democrats with work to do

A year before the 2012 elections, President Obama is in trouble in the suburbs, with residents looking for someone else for the White House, even if they have not settled on just who that might be. Suburban independents are a particularly weak point for the Democratic incumbent, one he must address to improve his chances for re-election.

And the Democratic problem in the suburbs is not confined to Obama: Democrats running for the U.S. House are facing a deficit, while the Republicans are sitting pretty much where they were before their big victories in 2010.

Obama has a negative job rating in the suburbs with only 40 percent saying they approve of his work and 52 percent saying they disapprove. And this is as Obama's rating among all Americans is split, 45 percent approve and 47 percent disapprove. The suburban numbers reflect a continuing slide for him: his suburban approval rating was 47 percent in 2009 and 43 percent in 2010, while his disapproval number has grown from 40 percent in 2009 and 48 percent in 2010.

The biggest shift in thinking about Obama has occurred among independents. In 2010, suburban independents were split 44 percent to 44 percent on Obama's work: now they are a decisive 33 percent to 58 percent in disapproval. There was little change in the views of the suburban Democrats from 2010 (strongly positive) and in the views of the suburban Republicans (strongly negative).



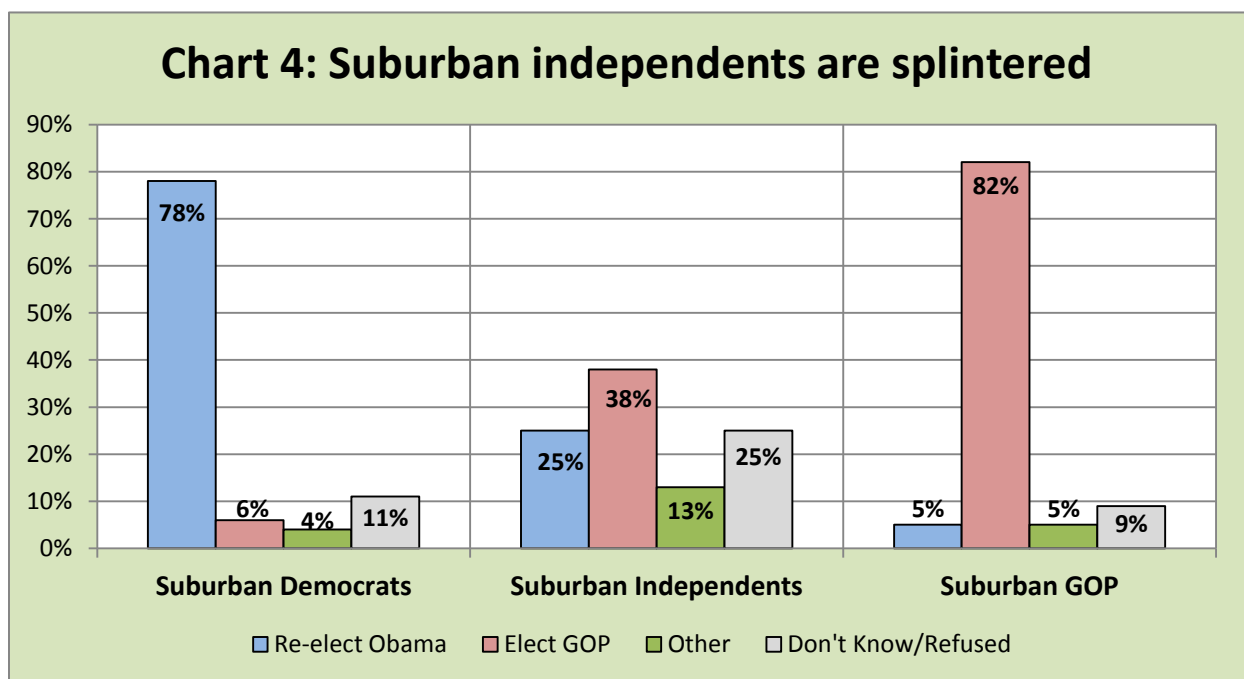
Suburban white residents have a negative view of Obama's performance, 30 percent approve-62 percent disapprove. Suburban minorities have a positive view, 68 percent to 26 percent. While the number of interviews with Hispanic suburbanites is too small to analyze, among all Hispanics, Obama has a positive rating (56%-38%). However, that is down from the 2010 margin of 60 percent approval and 28 percent disapproval among Hispanics nationwide.

## 2012 Elections

With the Republicans still working to pick their nominee, the initial question is: what do suburban voters think of the incumbent, President Obama? And the answer is: it's complicated.

Just 36 percent of suburban residents say they would like to see Obama re-elected president in 2012, while 39 percent say they would prefer a Republican to win the election. Eight percent say they would prefer another choice and fully 14 percent say they don't know. Four percent refuse to give an answer. (Among suburban registered voters, the numbers slide a bit more to the GOP, with re-electing the incumbent at 35 percent and electing a Republican at 41 percent.) Obama does much better in the cities, giving him 44 percent in all areas of the nation backing his re-election, while 36 percent prefer a Republican.

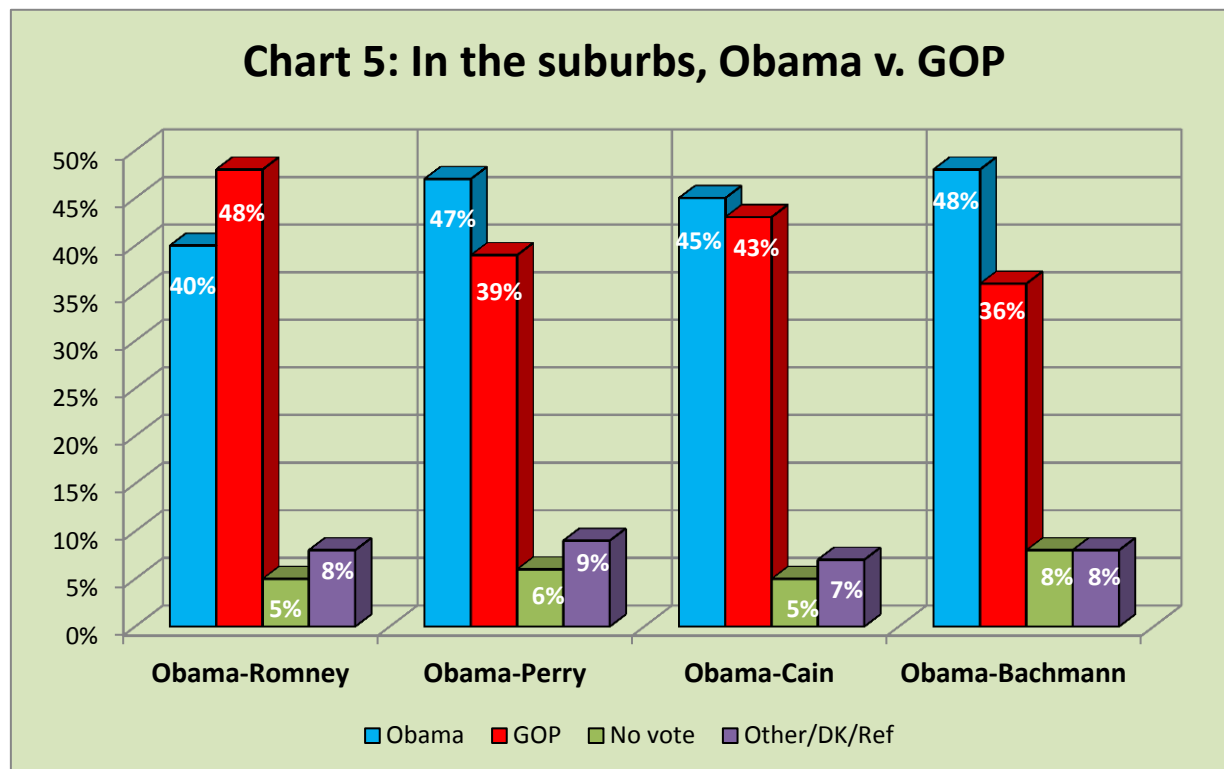
And here the true ambivalence of the suburban independents comes through. It is not good for the incumbent, but not many kudos for the GOP either. Preferring a Republican to win is the top option with 38%. Re-electing Obama draws only 25% of suburban independents. But 13 percent choose another candidate or option. And more than one in four of this group (25%) did not give an answer, including don't know (19%) and refused (6%).



As with job approval, Obama is much stronger among suburban minorities (56% re-elect v. 24% for the GOP), than among suburban white residents (28% re-elect v. 45% for the GOP). And among all Hispanic Americans, Obama holds a narrow majority, with 53 percent calling for a second term and 29 percent backing a Republican candidate.

## Four match-ups

Of course, the cliché that “you can’t beat somebody with nobody” applies to presidential elections as well. The Hofstra surveys asked registered voters about four possible GOP candidates pitted) against Barack Obama as the Democratic nominee: Mitt Romney, Rick Perry, Herman Cain and Michele Bachmann. Given the ups and downs of the Republican process, the survey was conducted as Cain was surging to the front, only to face accusations of sexual harassment and sexual assault from a number of women.<sup>3</sup>



Of these four GOP candidates, Romney does the best among registered voters in the suburbs, narrowly leading Obama by a 48 percent-40 percent margin.<sup>4</sup> Conversely, Obama easily bests Perry (47%-39%) and Bachmann (48%-36%). But the Obama-Cain match-up in the suburbs is roughly even (45%-43%).

- Romney has a big lead over Obama among suburban independents, winning the group 54 percent to 29 percent. Cain does nearly as well (51%-33%). Obama and Perry split these independents (42%-37%) as he does with Bachmann (45%-39%).

<sup>3</sup> A substantial portion of the interviews were conducted before several women made allegations of sexual misconduct against Cain.

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

- Romney is the only GOP candidate to do even moderately well among suburban women. He splits the group with Obama (43%-43%). The rest lose the group: Perry (33%-50%), Cain (38%-48%), and Bachmann (33%-50%).
- And Romney does best with suburban men, winning the group by a 53 percent to 36 percent edge. Perry splits the group with Obama, 46 percent to 42 percent while Cain does a bit better at 49 percent-41 percent. Bachmann loses among suburban men (41%-47%).
- In a very interesting signal about the intentions of older voters, Romney is the only one to best Obama among the suburban voters age 66 and up (48%-40%). Obama wins the group against Perry (47%-38%), Cain (45%-37%) and Bachmann (46%-32%). If Obama can do better among older voters in 2012 than he did in 2008, the chances of the incumbent's winning re-election improve.
- Romney leads among those suburbanites who have at least been to college, 50 percent to Obama's 40 percent. But Obama holds a big lead in this group in the urban areas, giving Obama a 48%-43% split with Romney among all registered voters with some college education.

### The complicated impact of the economy

The voters' views of the economy do have an impact on their potential choices in the next election, but not in the simple ways one might expect.

For example, the impact of one's view of one's current finances has only a minor impact. Suburban voters who have a positive view of their current finances are more likely to say they will vote for Romney than Obama (50%-40%). However, if one has a negative view of one's personal finances, Romney has a narrow 47 percent-40 percent edge. In other words, even those who say they are doing okay financially do not give Obama credit for that with their vote.

Looking forward, the picture is a little more in the expected range. Those suburbanites who expected their personal financial situation to improve are more likely to back Obama than Romney (50%-38%), a finding in the expected direction. Those who expect no change in their finances back Romney (49%-34%). And those who expect their finances to worsen are really in the Romney camp (61%-27%), again an expected direction.

The link between views of one's finances and one's vote is complex, in part for 2012 because there is little difference by party in terms of the perceptions of one's current finances among suburbanites. But Democrats are a little more positive about their economic future than Republicans.

## U.S. House

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Republicans scored huge victories in the midterm U.S. House races in 2010, picking up 63 seats from the Democrats. The Democratic outlook in the suburbs a year from the election is not great, while the Republicans seem to be holding steady.

Forty-four percent of suburban registered voters say they will vote for the GOP candidate in next year's house elections, while only 38 percent say they will vote for the Democratic Party's candidate. But a hefty one in eight (12%) say they don't know who they will vote for.

This is good news from the Republican perspective because in September 2010, before their big victories, the same number of suburbanites (44%) said they would be voting Republican. But in 2010, it was an even split with the Democrats, with 43 percent of the suburbanites saying they would vote Democratic in the House races.

The only negative for the Republicans is that this year, voters in urban areas do not like the GOP. While urbanites split 38 percent-44 percent toward the Democrats in 2010, at this time they throw their support to the Democrats even more, by a 57 percent-29 percent edge.

## Throw the bums out?

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There is much talk today of anger at Washington and at Congress. That anger does not seem to be motivating the suburbs in the House races at this point. Asked if they would like to see their representative in Congress re-elected next year, 48 percent said yes and 32 percent said no. That is almost identical to the 47 percent-33 percent finding in 2010.

There does seem to be a little more generalized anger at Congress now than a year ago. Nearly two-thirds of suburban voters (64%) say they would like to see most members of Congress tossed out in the next election, while only 23 percent want them retained. In 2010, the split was 56% out-30% retained.

## It is early

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All discussions of the 2012 elections need a quick caveat that the nation has not really turned its attention to the campaign and will not do so for many months. Just under half of Americans (48%) say they are paying quite a lot of attention to the 2012 elections. Forty-one percent say they are paying only a little attention. Four percent volunteer they are paying some attention. In the suburbs, the attention levels are similar with 51 percent giving a lot of attention and 39 percent only a little.

This contrasts sharply with the findings of the Hofstra poll in October 2008, just before the last presidential election. At that time, more than three-quarters of Americans (78%) said they were paying quite a lot of attention to the 2008 elections and only 11 percent said they were paying just a little attention.

As one would expect with a hot GOP presidential race and none on the Democratic side, the GOP faithful are paying more attention. Nationally, 58 percent of Republicans are paying a lot of attention, compared with 47 percent of independents and 46 percent of Democrats.



## Chapter 3: Suburban opinions do not fit into neat categories

Years of heated partisan argument over many issues may have clarified where Democratic and Republican leaders stand on taxes, spending and regulation. But Americans continue to express strong, often contradictory opinions on key issues, shattering any effort to align them with neat philosophical theories of government.

There is something in current public opinion for both Democratic and Republican party leaders. Republicans will be heartened to know that strong majorities of Americans, voters and suburbanites:

- Favor cutting federal spending in general, and
- Favor reducing personal income taxes on all.

Democrats will be pleased to know that majorities of Americans, voters and suburbanites:

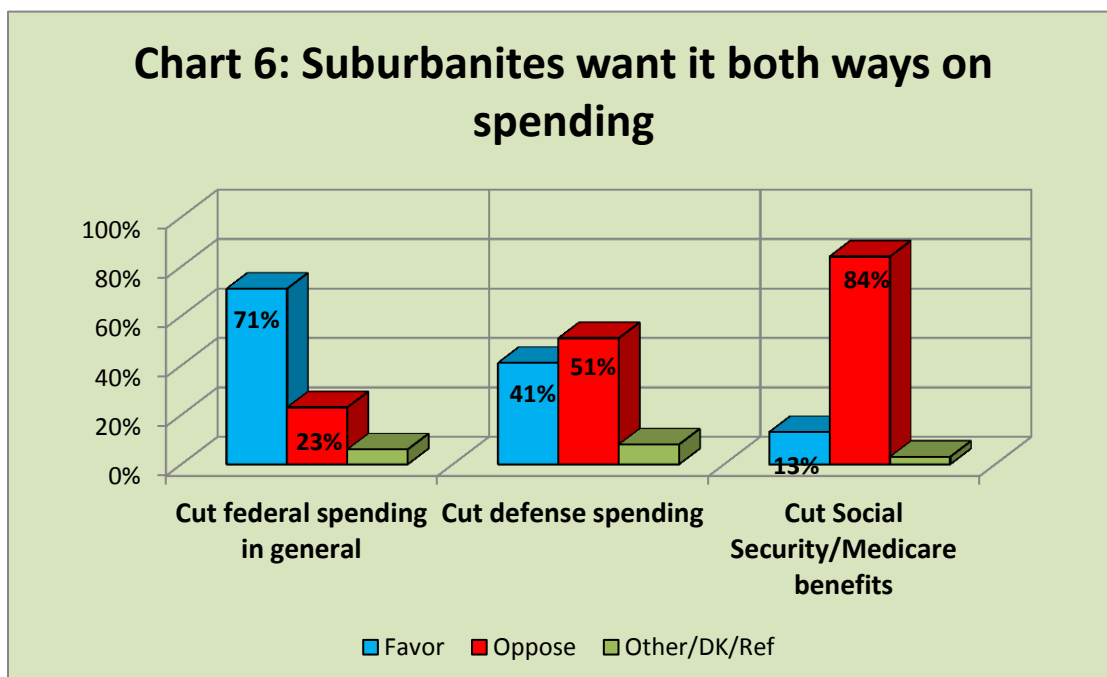
- Oppose cuts in Social Security and Medicare,
- Favor increased spending on roads, bridges and other public works, and
- Favor raising income taxes on wealthier Americans.

Slim majorities of Americans support increasing federal spending to create “green jobs” and oppose cutting defense spending.

### Cutting Spending

As has been the case for years, Americans love the idea of cutting government spending. It is just the pesky specifics of what to cut that get in the way.

Seven in ten suburban residents (71%) say they favor cutting federal spending in general



and 23 percent oppose it. Majority support for cutting goes across all groups in the suburbs and of course across all parts of the nation as well (69%-24% for all adults).

But now, when the question is cutting defense spending, the big margins of support evaporate. Only 41 percent of suburbanites support cutting defense spending and 51 percent oppose that. As the support levels plummet, the divisions among groups appear. Suburban Republicans are firmly opposed to defense cuts (28% favor-67% oppose) while suburban independents (46%-47%) and suburban Democrats (48%-45%) are split.

And there is a vanishing small level of support for cutting Social Security and Medicare, two of the largest items in the federal budget. Only 13 percent of suburban residents support such cuts, while 84 percent oppose such moves. In fact, it is hard to find any subgroup where supporting such cuts rises to even one in five people or 20 percent.

### *Increasing spending*

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In fact, there is substantial support for increasing some types of federal government spending. Nearly two-thirds of suburban dwellers (64%) support increasing spending on roads, bridges, and other public works projects, while 30 percent oppose that.

And 53 percent support increasing federal spending to create “green jobs” that focus on the environment. Forty-two percent of suburban residents oppose such increases.

Again, the major dividing line on increasing each spending items is party. Democrats and independents in the suburbs strongly support increases in both categories. A bare majority of suburban Republicans (51%) support increased public works spending. And a majority of the GOP suburbanites oppose spending for green jobs (70%).

On another spending issue, majority support exists for renewing the federal program that pays for unemployment benefits for those who have been jobless for more than 26 weeks. The current program is scheduled to expire at the end of 2011. Fifty-three percent of suburban residents support extending the program and 42 percent oppose the extension.

On this issue of benefits for those without jobs, gender, party, race and income come into play in explaining the patterns of support and opposition. On this issue in the suburbs, women support extending the program by a 60 percent-35 percent margin. Men oppose it by a 45 percent-50 percent edge. A fairly traditional partisan split appears on the issue: Democrats support the program (72%-26%), independents are divided (49%-45%) and Republicans are opposed (34%-60%).

Race does play something of a role. White suburban residents split on extending the program (49%-45%) while minority suburban dwellers support the extension (64%-33%). But income plays a role as well. White working class suburbanites (making less than \$50,000 a year) tend to support the program (53%-41%) while higher-income white residents are split (48%-49%).

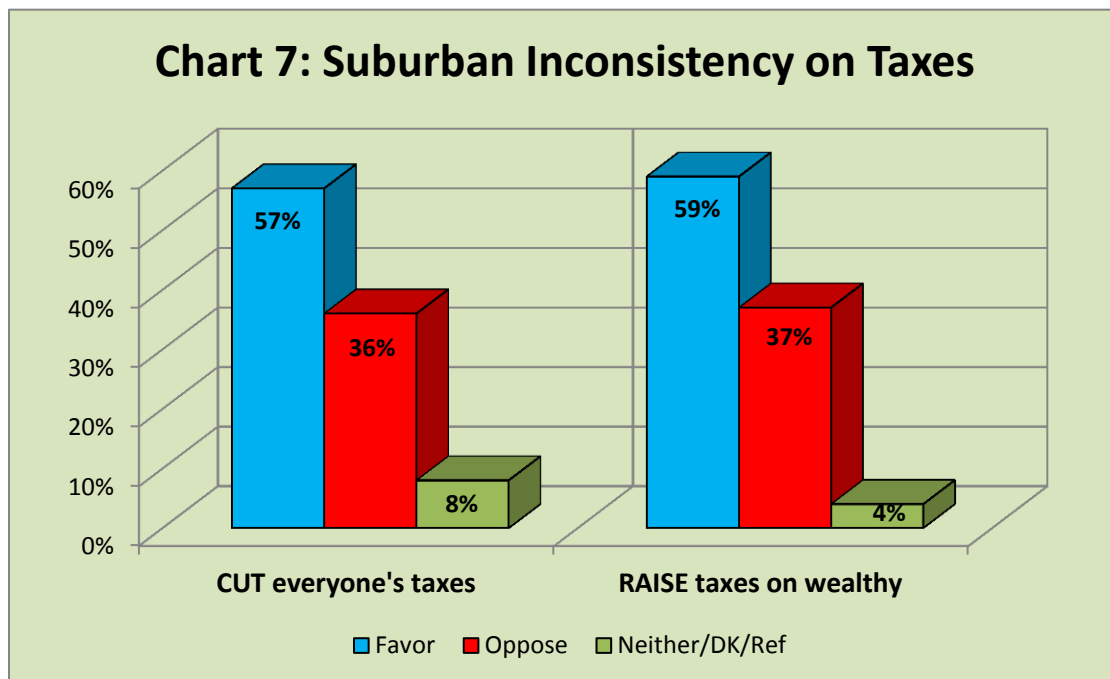
## Cut taxes on all? Yes

## Raise taxes on higher-income Americans? Yes

Taxes are perhaps the only other topic, besides government spending, that puts in sharp relief the contrasting and contradictory views that Americans can hold at the same time.

The GOP will be happy to know that a majority of suburbanites (57%) supports reducing personal income taxes on all Americans. More than a third (36%) oppose such cuts.

The Democrats will be happy to know that a majority of suburbanites (59%) also support raising personal income taxes on wealthier Americans. Fully 37 percent oppose such cuts.



About half of the public has consistent views on this issue. About a quarter of suburban residents (26%) favor cutting taxes on all Americans and oppose raising taxes on wealthier Americans. About a quarter take the opposite view: opposing general tax cuts and favoring tax increases on the higher-wage earners. But then, 30 percent of suburbanites favor cutting taxes for all Americans and support higher taxes for wealthier Americans: two views that seem diametrically opposed to one another. One cannot simply explain these patterns by saying the GOP faithful consistently oppose higher taxes and Democrats consistently support higher taxes. There are substantial numbers of members of both parties in the categories that are contrary to party orthodoxy. For example, the 30 percent of suburbanites who want to cut taxes for all and raise taxes on the wealthy are split: 40 percent are independents, 36 percent are Democrats and 19 percent are Republicans.

Even with this conundrum, there is also the debate over who are higher-income Americans. Obama has proposed, for example, higher taxes on those who make \$250,000 a year or more.

To try to examine suburban opinion on this issue, the group who say they support higher income taxes on wealthier Americans were asked a series of follow-up questions. Asked if they would support higher income taxes on those making \$100,000 a year, 59 percent of the group say they do. That percentage works out to 35 percent of all suburbanites who support higher taxes for this income bracket.

Obama's stance, raising taxes on those making \$250,000 a year, is supported by almost all of those who support higher taxes, which works out to 50 percent of all suburban residents who support taxing this income group more.

And 97 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 57 percent of all suburbanites who support raising taxes on these wealthier Americans.

In the suburbs, Democrats support higher taxes on those at all three income levels. Suburban Republicans oppose higher taxes on those at all three income levels. Independents are in their usual position in the middle. Suburban independents oppose raising taxes on those making more than \$100,000 a year by a 31 percent-64 percent edge. They are split on raising the taxes paid on those making at least \$250,000 (47%-49%). But they support raising taxes on those making \$1 million or more by 56 percent-40 percent margin.

### **The Tea Party and the Occupy Wall Street divide**

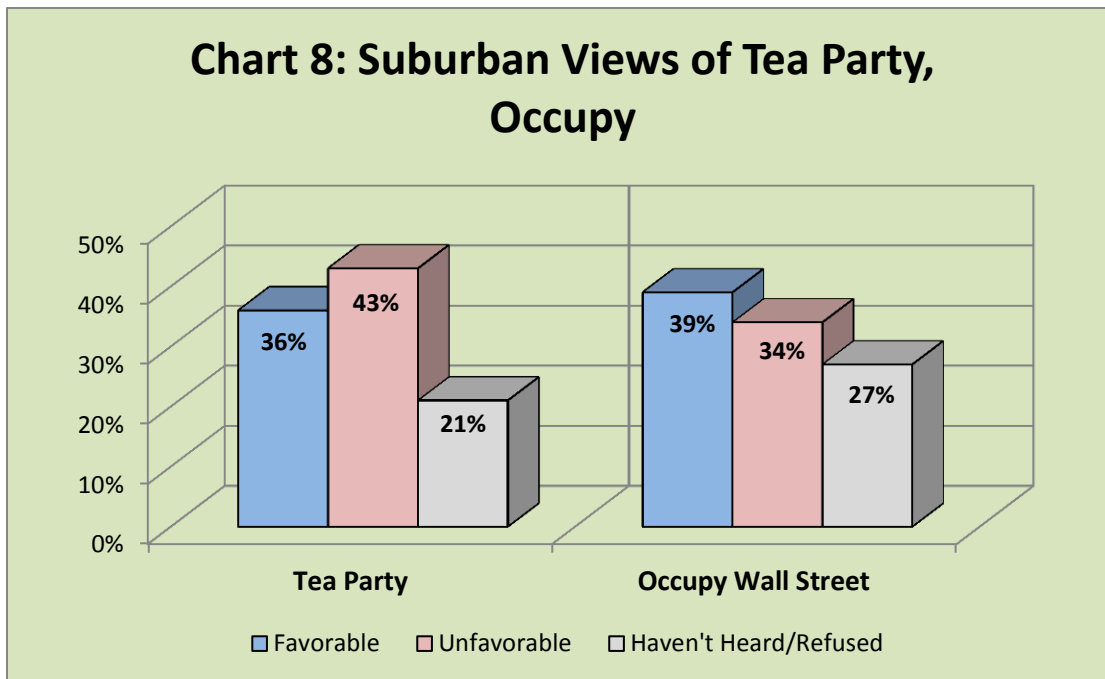
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The Occupy Wall Street movement burst into the headlines in September with its Manhattan encampment and its efforts to stand for the 99 percent, those who are not in the upper one percent of the population in terms of income. Many were quick to label Occupy Wall Street as a liberal response to the Tea Party, which first came to fore in 2009 and has been a major force in the Republican Party since.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The interviewing for this survey was completed before the closure of many Occupy sites by authorities in New York City and elsewhere.

Most suburbanites (80%) have at least heard, read or seen something about the Occupy movement. Nineteen percent have not. Of those who are aware of the movement, opinions



are divided about the protests. Forty-eight percent of those suburbanites who have heard of the Occupy movement hold favorable impressions of the protests, while 42 percent have an unfavorable impression. Combining both questions together, 39 percent of all suburbanites have a favorable opinion of the Occupy movement, 34 percent has an unfavorable opinion and 27 percent haven't heard of it or did not offer an opinion.

Suburban attitudes toward the Tea Party have hardened since the last Hofstra poll in 2010. Thirty-six percent of suburbanites have a favorable view of the Tea Party, essentially unchanged from the 35 percent view in 2010. Unfavorable views now stand at 43 percent, up from 35 percent in 2010.

## Environment

Americans' attitudes toward protecting the environment through government regulation have been divided over the years, as the public tries to balance the issues of costs and benefits.

For example, asked to choose whether the environment should be protected "whatever it takes" or if the country "has gone too far" in environmental protection, majorities say to do what it takes. Among suburbanites, fully three in five residents (60%) support doing whatever it takes, with 44 percent strongly agreeing with that view and 16 somewhat agreeing. On the other hand, 33 percent of suburban residents say the country has gone too far, with 23 percent strongly holding that view and 10 percent agreeing, but not strongly.

But the country is divided more evenly when the question of jobs is added to the equation. Forty-seven percent of suburbanites say “stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost.” But 43 percent agree that “stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.”

### Global warming

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On the often contentious issue of global warming, there is strong support for the view that it is real and it is a problem.

Almost six in ten suburbanites (59%) say there is solid evidence that that the average temperature on the earth has been getting warmer. But 34 percent disagree.

Whatever the nature of the evidence, most also agree global warming is a problem. Sixty-one percent say it is a problem, with 31 percent saying it is a very serious problem. A total of 36 percent say global warming is not a problem.

# APPENDICES

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## Appendix 1: Topline Results

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### National Suburban Poll V

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

November 9, 2011

#### Number of Interviews

Total: 1,517 adults age 18 or older  
Suburban: 1,016 suburban residents  
Urban/Rural: 501 urban and rural residents

Total Registered Voters (RVs): 1,268 registered voters  
Suburban RVs: 876 suburban registered voters  
Urban/Rural RVs: 392 urban and rural registered voters

#### Margins of Error

Total: Plus or minus 4 percentage points  
Suburban: Plus or minus 4 percentage points  
Urban/Rural: 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/Rural RVs: Plus or minus 6 percentage points

Dates of interviewing: October 20-November 8, 2011

Language of interview: English or Spanish

Type of sample: Landline or Cell phone

*PSRAI Job #31085*

#### 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 493 urban/rural residents, interviewed Sept. 15-21, 2008.
  - ii. National Suburban Poll II, 1,503 total adults including 1,000 suburban residents and 503 urban/rural residents, interviewed Oct. 22-26, 2008.
  - iii. National Suburban Poll III, 1,781 total adults including 1,094 suburban residents and 687 urban/rural residents, interviewed Sept. 21-Oct. 4, 2009.
  - iv. National Suburban Poll IV, 1,549 total adults including 1,000 suburban residents and 549 urban/rural residents, interviewed Sept. 15-28, 2010.



**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> <sup>6</sup>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
	Suburbs:	15	80	3	2
	Urban/Rural:	19	75	4	2
	Total:	17	77	4	2
SEPTEMBER 2010					
	Suburbs:	25	67	6	2
	Urban/Rural:	27	66	5	2
	Total:	26	67	5	2
OCTOBER 2009					
	Suburbs:	26	66	5	2
	Urban/Rural:	30	65	5	1
	Total:	28	65	5	2
SEPTEMBER 2008					
	Suburbs:	18	77	4	--
	Urban/Rural:	18	77	5	--
	Total:	18	77	5	--

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:	40	52	6	2
	Urban/Rural:	50	42	5	4
	Total:	45	47	5	3
SEPTEMBER 2010					
	Suburbs:	43	48	8	1
	Urban/Rural:	49	40	10	1
	Total:	46	44	9	1
OCTOBER 2009					
	Suburbs:	47	40	9	4
	Urban/Rural:	61	31	6	2
	Total:	55	35	7	3

<sup>6</sup> "Don't know" and "Refused" responses were combined in trends unless otherwise reported.

Q3 We're interested in how much confidence you have in some different institutions. (First,) in general, how much confidence do you have in... [INSERT ITEMS IN ORDER]? [READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN REPEAT AS NECESSARY: A lot of confidence, some, not too much, or no confidence at all?]

	<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>
a. The federal government						
<u>CURRENT</u>						
Suburbs:	8	39	32	19	2	1
Urban/Rural:	10	38	31	17	2	1
Total:	9	39	32	18	2	1
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>						
Suburbs:	11	42	28	18	1	*
Urban/Rural:	10	44	29	14	2	*
Total:	11	43	29	16	1	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>						
Suburbs:	11	45	28	13	1	1
Urban/Rural:	12	45	30	10	1	1
Total:	12	45	29	12	1	1
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>						
Suburbs:	9	39	29	20	3	--
Urban/Rural:	7	39	32	19	3	--
Total:	8	39	31	19	3	--
b. Your state government						
<u>CURRENT</u>						
Suburbs:	13	43	27	14	1	1
Urban/Rural:	14	41	25	16	3	1
Total:	13	42	26	15	2	1
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>						
Suburbs:	12	41	29	17	2	*
Urban/Rural:	15	41	23	17	4	*
Total:	14	41	26	17	3	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>						
Suburbs:	9	48	27	14	1	1
Urban/Rural:	16	41	29	11	3	*
Total:	13	44	28	13	2	1
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>						
Suburbs:	14	46	25	14	2	--
Urban/Rural:	14	47	21	16	2	--
Total:	14	46	23	15	2	--

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><b>Yes, registered</b></u>	<u><b>No, not registered</b></u>	<u><b>DK</b></u>	<u><b>Ref.</b></u>
CURRENT				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	77	23	*	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	71	28	1	0
<b>Total:</b>	74	25	1	*
SEPTEMBER 2010				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	82	18	1	0
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	75	24	1	0
<b>Total:</b>	78	21	1	0
OCTOBER 2008				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	90	10	*	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	89	11	*	--
<b>Total:</b>	89	10	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	85	15	*	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	81	18	*	--
<b>Total:</b>	83	16	*	--

Q4 How much thought have you given to the presidential and congress elections in November 2012 – quite a lot or only a little?<sup>7</sup>

	<u>Quite a lot</u>	<u>(VOL.) Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>(VOL.) None</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	51	3	39	6	1	1
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	45	5	42	6	1	1
<b>Total:</b>	48	4	41	6	1	1
SEPTEMBER 2010						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	47	4	40	7	1	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	46	5	40	7	1	*
<b>Total:</b>	47	5	40	7	1	*
OCTOBER 2008						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	76	9	10	4	*	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	80	6	11	3	*	--
<b>Total:</b>	78	7	11	4	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	77	2	17	3	1	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	73	2	22	2	1	--
<b>Total:</b>	75	2	20	3	1	--

Q5 Looking ahead, would you like to see Barack Obama re-elected president in 2012 or would you prefer that a Republican candidate win the election? [IF RESPONDENT SAYS "OTHER" OR "SOMEONE ELSE," PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose, would you like to see Barack Obama re-elected or would you prefer that a Republican candidate win the election?"]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
36	52	44	Obama re-elected
39	32	36	Prefer Republican
8	6	7	Other (VOL.)
14	6	10	Don't know
4	3	4	Refused

<sup>7</sup> 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?" Prior to September 2010, the question wording was: "How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election – quite a lot or only a little?"

**RANDOMIZE Q6/Q7/Q8/Q9; FOR EACH OF THESE FOUR QUESTIONS, ROTATE RESPONSE CATEGORIES 1-2 BUT IN THE SAME ORDER FOR A GIVEN RESPONDENT**

Q6 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 1-2]?

***Based on registered voters***

<b><u>Suburbs</u></b>	<b><u>Urban/ Rural</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>	
48	30	39	Mitt Romney
40	59	49	Barack Obama
2	*	1	(DO NOT READ) Other candidate
5	3	4	(DO NOT READ) Neither/Would not vote in presidential race
5	7	6	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
1	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused
(n=876)	(n=392)	(n=1,268)	

Q7 If the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY and the candidates were Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Rick Perry, the Republican, would you vote for [READ AND ROTATE 1-2]?

***Based on registered voters***

<b><u>Suburbs</u></b>	<b><u>Urban/ Rural</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>	
39	24	32	Rick Perry
47	63	54	Barack Obama
1	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Other candidate
6	4	5	(DO NOT READ) Neither/Would not vote in presidential race
6	8	7	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
2	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused
(n=876)	(n=392)	(n=1,268)	

Q8 If the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY and the candidates were Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Herman Cain, the Republican, would you vote for [READ AND ROTATE 1-2]?

***Based on registered voters***

<b><u>Suburbs</u></b>	<b><u>Urban/ Rural</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>	
43	29	36	Herman Cain
45	60	52	Barack Obama
1	2	1	(DO NOT READ) Other candidate
5	4	4	(DO NOT READ) Neither/Would not vote in presidential race
5	5	5	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
1	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused
(n=876)	(n=392)	(n=1,268)	

- Q9 If the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY and the candidates were Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Michele Bachmann, the Republican, would you vote for [READ AND ROTATE 1-2]?

***Based on registered voters***

<b><u>Suburbs</u></b>	<b><u>Urban/ Rural</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>	
36	22	29	Michele Bachmann
48	64	56	Barack Obama
2	1	2	(DO NOT READ) Other candidate
8	5	6	(DO NOT READ) Neither/Would not vote in presidential race
5	7	6	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
1	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused
(n=876)	(n=392)	(n=1,268)	

- Q10 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?<sup>8</sup>

***Based on registered voters***

	<b><u>Republican Party's candidate</u></b>	<b><u>Democratic Party's candidate</u></b>	<b><u>(VOL.) Other</u></b>	<b><u>DK</u></b>	<b><u>Ref.</u></b>
CURRENT					
<b>Suburbs (n=876):</b>	44	38	3	12	4
<b>Urban/Rural (n=392):</b>	32	53	3	9	3
<b>Total (n=1,268):</b>	38	45	3	11	3
SEPTEMBER 2010					
<b>Suburbs (n=860):</b>	44	43	4	7	3
<b>Urban/Rural (n=439):</b>	45	44	2	7	2
<b>Total (n=1,299):</b>	45	43	3	7	3

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<sup>8</sup> September 2010 trends include leaners. Question wording was: "If the 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?" and "[IF ANSWERED OTHER/DK/REFUSED IN PREVIOUS QUESTION, ASK:] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the [READ IN SAME ORDER AS PREVIOUS QUESTION; IF NECESSARY: "for U.S. Congress in your district"]?"

Q11 Would you like to see your current representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?<sup>9</sup>

*Based on registered voters*

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) Rep. is not running or has <u>lost in</u> <u>primary</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
<b>Suburbs (n=876):</b>	48	32	1	17	2
<b>Urban/Rural (n=392):</b>	54	30	1	14	1
<b>Total (n=1,268):</b>	51	31	1	16	1
SEPTEMBER 2010					
<b>Suburbs (n=860):</b>	47	33	1	18	1
<b>Urban/Rural (n=439):</b>	46	33	1	20	1
<b>Total (n=1,299):</b>	47	33	1	19	1

Q12 Regardless of how you feel about your own representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

*Based on registered voters*

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
<b>Suburbs (n=876):</b>	23	64	10	2
<b>Urban/Rural (n=392):</b>	27	61	11	1
<b>Total (n=1,268):</b>	25	62	11	2
SEPTEMBER 2010				
<b>Suburbs (n=860):</b>	30	56	12	2
<b>Urban/Rural (n=439):</b>	36	51	13	1
<b>Total (n=1,299):</b>	33	53	12	2

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<sup>9</sup> September 2010 question wording was: "Would you like to see your representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?"



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

Q13 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>	<u>(VOL.) Neither favor nor oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
a.	Reducing personal income taxes on all Americans					
	<b>Suburbs:</b>	57	36	2	4	2
	<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	56	37	1	4	2
	<b>Total:</b>	56	37	1	4	2
b.	Raising personal income taxes on wealthier Americans					
	<b>Suburbs:</b>	59	37	*	3	1
	<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	67	27	2	3	2
	<b>Total:</b>	63	32	1	3	1
c.	Cutting federal spending in general					
	<b>Suburbs:</b>	71	23	1	3	2
	<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	68	26	1	4	2
	<b>Total:</b>	69	24	1	3	2
d.	Cutting defense spending					
	<b>Suburbs:</b>	41	51	3	4	1
	<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	43	49	1	6	2
	<b>Total:</b>	42	50	2	5	1
e.	Increasing spending on roads, bridges, and other public works projects					
	<b>Suburbs:</b>	64	30	2	1	2
	<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	67	30	1	1	*
	<b>Total:</b>	66	30	2	1	1
f.	Cutting Medicare or Social Security benefits					
	<b>Suburbs:</b>	13	84	1	1	1
	<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	10	88	1	*	1
	<b>Total:</b>	12	86	1	1	1
g.	Increasing federal spending to create "green jobs" that focus on the environment					
	<b>Suburbs:</b>	53	42	2	2	1
	<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	58	37	1	3	*
	<b>Total:</b>	56	39	1	3	1

Q14 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]?<sup>10</sup>

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

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u> <u>favor nor</u> <u>oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
a. \$100,000 or more					
<b>Suburbs (n=619):</b>	59	37	1	3	*
<b>Urban/Rural (n=322):</b>	64	33	0	3	*
<b>Total (n=941):</b>	61	35	*	3	*
b. \$250,000 or more					
<b>Suburbs:</b>	85	12	*	2	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	86	12	0	1	1
<b>Total:</b>	86	12	*	1	1
c. \$1,000,000 or more					
<b>Suburbs:</b>	97	3	*	*	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	95	4	*	*	0
<b>Total:</b>	96	4	*	*	*

Q15 Do you favor or oppose renewing the federal program that extends unemployment benefits to jobless people beyond 26 weeks?

<u>Suburb</u> <u>s</u>	<u>Urban/</u> <u>Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
53	60	56	Favor
42	35	38	Oppose
1	1	1	Neither favor nor oppose (VOL.)
3	3	3	Don't know
1	1	1	Refused

<sup>10</sup> Item B was asked of those who responded oppose/neither/DK/Refused in Item A. Item B results 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 results for 'favor' include those who responded 'favor' in either Item A or Item B.

Q16 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?]<sup>11</sup>

	<b><u>Strongly Favorable</u></b>	<b><u>Somewhat Favorable</u></b>	<b><u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u></b>	<b><u>Strongly Unfavorable</u></b>	<b><u>DK</u></b>	<b><u>Ref.</u></b>
CURRENT						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	12	21	17	34	13	3
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	16	22	19	20	20	2
<b>Total:</b>	14	22	18	27	16	3
SEPTEMBER 2010						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	13	20	15	35	15	1
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	15	23	18	28	14	2
<b>Total:</b>	14	22	17	31	15	2

Q17 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?]

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

<sup>11</sup> 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?]" Results shown here for 'strongly (favorable/unfavorable)' reflect 'very (favorable/unfavorable)' trend responses.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

Q18 Have you heard, read or seen anything about the anti-Wall Street protests in New York and other cities, sometimes referred to as "Occupy Wall Street"?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
80	73	77	Yes, heard, read or seen
19	25	22	No, have not
1	2	1	Don't know
*	*	*	Refused

Q19 From what you have heard, read or seen, would you say you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of these protests? [IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, ASK: Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?]

*Based on those who are aware of Occupy Wall Street*

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
32	26	30	Strongly favorable
16	24	20	Somewhat favorable
15	17	16	Somewhat unfavorable
27	22	25	Strongly unfavorable
8	9	8	Don't know
1	2	2	Refused
(n=861)	(n=391)	(n=1,252)	

**[READ TO ALL:]** Now turning to another topic...

Q20 On a five-point scale, where 1 means strongly disagree and 5 means strongly agree, please indicate your level of agreement with this statement: "Having a college degree is essential for getting a good job in this country"? You may use any number between 1 and 5.

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
8	8	8	1=Strongly disagree
7	8	8	2=Disagree
26	25	25	3=Neither agree nor disagree
19	18	19	4=Agree
40	40	40	5=Strongly agree
*	1	1	Don't know
*	1	*	Refused

Q21 Do you happen to have a cell phone, Blackberry, iPhone or other device that is also a cell phone?<sup>13</sup>

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	83	16	*	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	84	16	0	*
<b>Total:</b>	84	16	*	*
SEPTEMBER 2010				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	89	11	*	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	89	11	*	0
<b>Total:</b>	89	11	*	*
OCTOBER 2009				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	84	15	*	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	87	13	*	0
<b>Total:</b>	86	14	*	*

Q22 Does anyone else in your household have a working cell phone?

*Based on landline sample without a cell phone/Don't know/Refused*

	<b>Yes, someone in household <u>has cell phone</u></b>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
<b>Suburbs (n=195):</b>	44	54	0	2
<b>Urban/Rural (n=84):</b>	46	51	4	*
<b>Total (n=279):</b>	45	52	2	1
SEPTEMBER 2010				
<b>Suburbs (n=147):</b>	44	54	1	*
<b>Urban/Rural (n=63):</b>	34	66	0	0
<b>Total (n=210):</b>	39	60	1	*

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<sup>13</sup> Question was asked of landline sample only. Current and trend percentages shown here have been recalculated based on Total respondents by including all cell phone sample in the 'Yes' category.

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

Q23 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						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	7	32	37	22	*	2
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	6	28	38	27	*	1
<b>Total:</b>	7	30	37	25	*	1
SEPTEMBER 2010						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	9	37	33	20	1	1
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	7	32	37	23	1	*
<b>Total:</b>	8	34	35	21	1	1
OCTOBER 2009						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	7	37	39	15	1	2
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	12	33	38	17	0	1
<b>Total:</b>	9	35	38	16	*	2
OCTOBER 2008						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	7	43	35	14	1	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	8	40	35	16	1	--
<b>Total:</b>	8	41	35	15	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008						
<b>Suburbs:</b>	8	42	34	15	2	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	7	36	38	18	1	--
<b>Total:</b>	7	39	36	17	1	--

Q24 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?<sup>14</sup>

	<u>Better off</u>	<u>Worse off</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
<b>Suburbs:</b>	20	41	37	*	1
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	22	35	42	1	*
<b>Total:</b>	21	38	39	1	1
SEPTEMBER 2010					
<b>Suburbs:</b>	20	37	42	*	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	25	31	43	*	1
<b>Total:</b>	23	34	42	*	*

<sup>14</sup> 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?"

Q25 Over the course of the next year, do you think your financial situation will improve a lot, improve some, get a little worse or get a lot worse?<sup>15</sup>

	<u>Improve a lot</u>	<u>Improve some</u>	<u>Get a little worse</u>	<u>Get a lot worse</u>	<u>(VOL.) Stay the same</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
<b>Suburbs:</b>	6	44	20	8	16	4	1
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	12	43	16	6	17	6	1
<b>Total:</b>	9	43	18	7	17	5	1
SEPTEMBER 2010							
<b>Suburbs:</b>	11	44	17	7	16	4	1
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	12	45	14	6	15	6	1
<b>Total:</b>	12	45	16	7	15	5	1
OCTOBER 2009							
<b>Suburbs:</b>	11	44	19	5	15	5	1
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	13	46	18	6	12	4	1
<b>Total:</b>	12	45	18	5	14	4	1
OCTOBER 2008							
<b>Suburbs:</b>	8	44	22	5	10	10	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	9	43	22	6	11	9	*
<b>Total:</b>	9	43	22	6	11	9	*

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

<u>Suburb s</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
44	40	42	Employed full-time
13	13	13	Employed part-time
21	18	20	Retired
17	21	19	Not employed for pay
3	6	5	Disabled (VOL.)
1	2	1	Student (VOL.)
1	*	*	Other (VOL.)
*	*	*	Don't know
*	0	*	Refused

<sup>15</sup> October 2008 question wording was slightly different: "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?"

Q26 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 those who are currently employed*

	<u>Very confident</u>	<u>Somewhat confident</u>	<u>Not too confident</u>	<u>Not at all confident</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
<b>Suburbs (n=491):</b>	16	32	28	23	*	1
<b>Urban/Rural (n=240):</b>	13	39	27	20	0	1
<b>Total (n=731):</b>	15	35	27	22	*	1
SEPTEMBER 2010						
<b>Suburbs (n=552):</b>	17	34	24	22	2	*
<b>Urban/Rural (n=330):</b>	17	42	23	16	1	0
<b>Total (n=882):</b>	17	38	24	19	2	*
OCTOBER 2009						
<b>Suburbs (n=547):</b>	11	37	26	23	3	*
<b>Urban/Rural (n=353):</b>	16	32	34	17	1	0
<b>Total (n=900):</b>	14	35	30	20	2	*
OCTOBER 2008						
<b>Suburbs (n=534):</b>	13	40	25	18	3	*
<b>Urban/Rural (n=256):</b>	18	35	24	21	2	*
<b>Total (n=790):</b>	16	37	24	20	2	*



Q27 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]?<sup>16</sup>

	<b>Yes, happened to me or someone I know</b>	<b>No, has not happened</b>	<b>DK</b>	<b>Ref.</b>
a. Lost a job				
<b><u>CURRENT</u></b>				
Suburbs:	79	21	*	0
Urban/Rural:	81	19	*	0
Total:	80	20	*	0
<b><u>SEPT. 2010</u></b>				
Suburbs:	78	22	*	0
Urban/Rural:	76	24	*	0
Total:	77	23	*	0
<b><u>OCT. 2009</u></b>				
Suburbs:	76	24	*	*
Urban/Rural:	73	27	*	0
Total:	74	25	*	*
<b><u>OCT. 2008</u></b>				
Suburbs:	51	48	1	--
Urban/Rural:	46	53	*	--
Total:	49	51	1	--
<b><u>SEPT. 2008</u></b>				
Suburbs:	49	51	*	--
Urban/Rural:	51	48	1	--
Total:	50	49	1	--

*Q27 continued on next page...*

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<sup>16</sup> 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]?"

Q27 continued...

Q27 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]?

	<b><u>Yes, happened to me or someone I know</u></b>	<b><u>No, has not happened</u></b>	<b><u>DK</u></b>	<b><u>Ref.</u></b>
b. Had a cut in pay, reduction in hours, or loss of benefits at work				
<b><u>CURRENT</u></b>				
Suburbs:	72	26	1	*
Urban/Rural:	71	28	2	*
Total:	71	27	1	*
<b><u>SEPT. 2010</u></b>				
Suburbs:	72	27	1	0
Urban/Rural:	74	25	*	0
Total:	73	26	1	0
<b><u>OCT. 2009</u></b>				
Suburbs:	74	25	*	*
Urban/Rural:	72	27	1	0
Total:	73	26	1	*
<b><u>OCT. 2008</u></b>				
Suburbs:	50	48	2	--
Urban/Rural:	50	48	2	--
Total:	50	48	2	--
<b><u>SEPT. 2008</u></b>				
Suburbs:	44	55	1	--
Urban/Rural:	45	52	3	--
Total:	44	53	2	--
c. Had layoffs or firings at work, or co- workers asked to take early retirement				
<b><u>CURRENT</u></b>				
Suburbs:	70	29	1	*
Urban/Rural:	72	26	1	*
Total:	71	27	1	*
<b><u>SEPT. 2010</u></b>				
Suburbs:	65	33	2	*
Urban/Rural:	66	33	1	0
Total:	66	33	1	*
<b><u>OCT. 2009</u></b>				
Suburbs:	70	30	1	*
Urban/Rural:	66	33	2	*
Total:	68	31	1	*
<b><u>SEPT. 2008</u></b>				
Suburbs:	48	51	1	--
Urban/Rural:	47	51	2	--
Total:	48	51	1	--

Q28 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?<sup>17</sup>

***Based on those who lost their job in the past three 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=778):	20	80	0	*
Urban/Rural (n=385):	23	77	0	0
Total (n=1,163):	21	79	0	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs (n=744):	21	79	*	0
Urban/Rural (n=405):	23	77	0	*
Total (n=1,149):	22	78	*	*
b. Someone else in your household				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	21	78	*	*
Urban/Rural:	22	78	0	*
Total:	22	78	*	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	26	74	*	0
Urban/Rural:	20	79	0	1
Total:	23	77	*	*
c. A neighbor				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	41	51	8	*
Urban/Rural:	38	54	8	*
Total:	39	52	8	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	48	46	5	*
Urban/Rural:	40	54	6	0
Total:	44	50	5	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>				
Suburbs (n=783):	33	56	11	*
Urban/Rural (n=454):	34	57	9	*
Total (n=1,237):	33	57	10	*

*Q28 continued on next page...*

<sup>17</sup> Base of respondents for trends may vary from poll to poll due to slightly different time periods asked about in the question wording.

Q28 continued...

Q28 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?

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

	<u><b>Yes</b></u>	<u><b>No</b></u>	<u><b>DK</b></u>	<u><b>Ref.</b></u>
d. A friend or relative who does not live in your neighborhood				
<u><b>CURRENT</b></u>				
Suburbs:	83	14	2	1
Urban/Rural:	82	14	4	0
Total:	82	14	3	*
<u><b>SEPT. 2010</b></u>				
Suburbs:	86	13	1	*
Urban/Rural:	86	13	1	0
Total:	86	13	1	*
e. Someone else I haven't already mentioned (SPECIFY)				
<u><b>CURRENT</b></u>				
Suburbs:	24	69	3	3
Urban/Rural:	21	70	7	1
Total:	23	70	5	2
<u><b>SEPT. 2010</b></u>				
Suburbs:	20	75	4	1
Urban/Rural:	16	80	3	1
Total:	18	77	3	1
<u><b>OCT. 2009</b></u>				
Suburbs:	17	78	3	3
Urban/Rural:	16	77	6	1
Total:	16	77	5	2

Q29 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?<sup>18</sup>

	<b><u>Yes, has happened to me or someone I know</u></b>	<b><u>No, has not happened</u></b>	<b><u>DK</u></b>	<b><u>Ref.</u></b>
CURRENT				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	38	60	1	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	40	59	1	*
<b>Total:</b>	39	60	1	*
SEPTEMBER 2010				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	38	62	1	0
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	37	62	1	*
<b>Total:</b>	37	62	1	*
OCTOBER 2009				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	36	63	1	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	34	65	1	*
<b>Total:</b>	35	64	1	*
OCTOBER 2008				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	28	71	1	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	27	72	1	--
<b>Total:</b>	27	71	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	27	73	1	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	25	74	1	--
<b>Total:</b>	26	73	1	--

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<sup>18</sup> 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".

Q30 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?<sup>19</sup>

*Based on those who lost their home in the past four 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=399):	10	89	0	1
Urban/Rural (n=178):	17	83	0	0
Total (n=577):	14	86	0	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs (n=345):	13	87	0	0
Urban/Rural (n=204):	4	96	0	0
Total (n=549):	8	92	0	0
b. Someone else in your household				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	11	89	0	1
Urban/Rural:	14	84	1	0
Total:	13	86	1	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	14	85	1	0
Urban/Rural:	10	89	0	*
Total:	12	88	*	*
c. A neighbor				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	44	55	1	1
Urban/Rural:	37	58	5	*
Total:	40	56	3	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>				
Suburbs:	43	55	2	0
Urban/Rural:	53	45	2	0
Total:	48	50	2	0
<u>OCT. 2009</u>				
Suburbs (n=421):	39	58	4	0
Urban/Rural (n=215):	31	63	6	*
Total (n=636):	35	61	5	*

*Q30 continued on next page...*

<sup>19</sup> Base of respondents for trends may vary from poll to poll due to slightly different time periods asked about in the question wording.

Q30 continued...

Q30 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?

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

	<u><b>Yes</b></u>	<u><b>No</b></u>	<u><b>DK</b></u>	<u><b>Ref.</b></u>
d. A friend or relative who does not live in your neighborhood				
<u><b>CURRENT</b></u>				
Suburbs:	75	23	1	1
Urban/Rural:	78	21	1	0
Total:	77	22	1	*
<u><b>SEPT. 2010</b></u>				
Suburbs:	76	23	1	0
Urban/Rural:	78	21	1	0
Total:	77	22	1	0
e. Someone else I haven't already mentioned (SPECIFY)				
<u><b>CURRENT</b></u>				
Suburbs:	20	75	2	2
Urban/Rural:	16	79	6	0
Total:	18	77	4	1
<u><b>SEPT. 2010</b></u>				
Suburbs:	13	84	2	1
Urban/Rural:	17	80	3	0
Total:	16	82	2	*
<u><b>OCT. 2009</b></u>				
Suburbs:	17	81	1	1
Urban/Rural:	5	92	1	1
Total:	11	87	1	1

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

Q31 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> %
<b>Suburbs:</b>	60	44	16	33	23	10	3	3	1
<b>Urban/ Rural:</b>	65	50	15	28	19	9	3	4	1
<b>Total:</b>	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> %
<b>Suburbs:</b>	43	29	14	47	31	16	3	6	1
<b>Urban/ Rural:</b>	41	28	13	48	34	14	2	8	2
<b>Total:</b>	42	29	13	47	32	15	3	7	2

Q32 From what you've seen or heard, is there solid evidence that the average temperature on earth has been getting warmer over the past few decades, or not?

<u>Suburb s</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
59	63	61	Yes
34	31	33	No
1	*	1	Mixed/some evidence (VOL.)
5	6	5	Don't know
1	0	*	Refused



Q33 In your view, is global warming a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not a problem?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
31	38	35	Very serious
30	28	29	Somewhat serious
18	13	15	Not too serious
18	17	17	Not a problem
3	3	3	Don't know
*	2	1	Refused

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				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	73	27	*	0
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	73	26	1	1
<b>Total:</b>	73	26	*	*
SEPTEMBER 2010				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	77	23	*	*
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	73	27	*	0
<b>Total:</b>	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?<sup>20</sup>

***Based on all those who voted in the 2008 presidential election***

	<b><u>Barack Obama</u></b>	<b><u>John McCain</u></b>	<b><u>Other/ Someone else</u></b>	<b><u>DK/Can't remember</u></b>	<b><u>Ref.</u></b>
CURRENT					
<b>Suburbs (n=846):</b>	47	40	6	1	5
<b>Urban/Rural (n=394):</b>	60	28	7	*	5
<b>Total (n=1,240):</b>	54	34	7	1	5
SEPTEMBER 2010					
<b>Suburbs (n=830):</b>	47	40	7	1	5
<b>Urban/Rural (n=434):</b>	53	35	7	1	4
<b>Total (n=1,264):</b>	50	37	7	1	4

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<sup>20</sup> For the current survey as well as trends, Vote02a was asked of Form A respondents. Vote02b was asked of Form B respondents. Results shown here reflect combined responses, based on all respondents who voted in the 2008 presidential election.

Q34 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								
<b>Suburbs:</b>	25	15	23	17	15	2	1	3
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	32	19	19	14	12	2	1	1
<b>Total:</b>	29	17	21	16	14	2	1	2
SEPTEMBER 2010								
<b>Suburbs:</b>	26	16	21	16	17	1	1	1
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	27	18	21	18	13	1	1	1
<b>Total:</b>	27	17	21	17	15	1	1	1
OCTOBER 2009								
<b>Suburbs:</b>	24	15	21	18	19	1	1	2
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	29	17	21	17	14	1	*	1
<b>Total:</b>	26	16	21	17	16	1	1	2
OCTOBER 2008								
<b>Suburbs:</b>	20	17	24	16	22	*	1	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	23	15	22	16	22	1	1	--
<b>Total:</b>	22	16	23	16	22	1	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008								
<b>Suburbs:</b>	22	16	22	20	18	1	1	--
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	24	20	22	17	15	2	1	--
<b>Total:</b>	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/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
46	52	49	Male
54	48	51	Female

AGE What is your age?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
20	24	22	Age 18-29
33	33	33	Age 30-49
27	23	25	Age 50-64
17	18	17	Age 65 or older
4	2	3	Don't know/Refused

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
27	32	30	Gen Y (18-34)
20	19	19	Gen X (35-46)
34	30	32	Baby Boomers (47-65)
15	17	16	Matures (66+)
4	2	3	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>	
12	12	12	None, or grades 1-8 / High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
29	37	33	High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate) / Technical, trade or vocational school AFTER high school
28	23	25	Some college, no four-year degree (includes associates degree)
18	16	17	College graduate (B.S., B.A. or other four-year degree)
13	11	12	Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college (e.g., toward a Master's degree or Ph.D., law or medical school)
*	*	*	Don't know
1	*	1	Refused

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

<b><u>Suburbs</u></b>	<b><u>Urban/ Rural</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>	
18	25	21	1 adult in household / Respondent only
57	51	54	2 adults
23	22	23	3 or more adults
*	*	*	Don't know
1	1	1	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)

<b><u>Suburbs</u></b>	<b><u>Urban/ Rural</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>	
57	49	53	Married
7	7	7	Living with a partner
7	12	9	Divorced
1	3	2	Separated
7	5	6	Widowed
20	23	21	Never been married
*	0	*	Don't know
1	1	1	Refused

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

<b><u>Suburbs</u></b>	<b><u>Urban/ Rural</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>	
30	34	32	Yes
70	66	68	No
0	0	0	Don't know
*	1	1	Refused

CHILD Do you have any children... [READ IN ORDER]?

***Based on parents who have children under age 18 in the household***

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
a. Under age five				
<b>Suburbs (n=242):</b>	42	58	0	0
<b>Urban/Rural (n=135):</b>	43	56	0	1
<b>Total (n=377):</b>	43	57	0	*
b. Five to 12 years old				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	62	38	0	0
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	54	45	0	1
<b>Total:</b>	58	42	0	*
c. 13 to 17 years old				
<b>Suburbs:</b>	40	60	0	0
<b>Urban/Rural:</b>	40	59	0	1
<b>Total:</b>	40	60	0	*

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>	
12	11	11	More than once a week
24	25	24	Once a week
14	16	15	Once or twice a month
18	17	17	A few times a year
15	16	16	Seldom
16	14	15	Never
*	*	*	Don't know
1	1	1	Refused

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
25	16	21	Republican
30	40	35	Democrat
39	35	37	Independent
6	9	8	(VOL./DO NOT READ) No preference/Other party/Don't know/Refused

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

PARTYLN As of today, do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?<sup>21</sup>

<u>Suburb s</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
44	31	37	Republican / Lean Republican
43	57	50	Democrat / Lean Democrat
13	12	13	Refused to lean / Still Independent

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

<u>Suburb s</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
6	6	6	Very conservative
31	29	30	Conservative
37	33	35	Moderate
15	20	17	Liberal, OR
5	5	5	Very liberal?
5	5	5	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
1	2	2	(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>Suburb s</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
72	61	67	White, non-Hispanic
9	13	11	Black or African-American, non-Hispanic
12	16	14	Hispanic
5	8	6	Other/Mixed race, non-Hispanic
2	2	2	Undesignated

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<sup>21</sup> Question was asked of those who did not choose Republican or Democrat in PARTY.

INCOME Last year, that is in 2010, what was your TOTAL family income from all sources, BEFORE taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. [READ 1-9]

<b><u>Suburb s</u></b>	<b><u>Urban/ Rural</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>	
6	13	9	Less than \$10,000
13	12	12	10 to under \$20,000
10	11	11	20 to under \$30,000
10	10	10	30 to under \$40,000
7	10	9	40 to under \$50,000
14	13	13	50 to under \$75,000
12	9	10	75 to under \$100,000
8	6	7	100 to under \$150,000
6	5	5	\$150,000 or more
4	4	4	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
10	8	9	(DO NOT READ) Refused

*Questions C1, 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

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### National Suburban Poll 5

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

November 2011

#### SUMMARY

The National Suburban Poll 5, sponsored by the National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra, obtained telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 1,517 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, Inc. from October 20 to November 8, 2011. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is  $\pm 3.5$  percentage points.

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

#### Design and Data Collection Procedures

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##### Sample Design

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A combination of land line 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 ( $n=1,230$ ) came from landline RDD sample. This was an equal probability sample of telephone numbers drawn 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, 287 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 20 to November 8, 2011. 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. 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

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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. Most of the parameters came from a special analysis of the Census Bureau's 2010 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 July-December 2010 National Health Interview Survey.<sup>22</sup> and the community size parameter was derived from an analysis of area code/exchange data from SSI.

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<sup>22</sup> Blumberg SJ, Luke JV. Wireless substitution: Early release of estimates from the National Health Interview Survey, July-December, 2010. National Center for Health Statistics. June 2011.

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.

**Table 1: Sample Demographics**

	<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Unweighted</u>	<u>Weighted</u>
<u>Gender</u>			
	Male	44.7	48.9
	Female	55.3	51.1
<u>Age</u>			
	18-24	8.0	13.2
	25-34	9.5	17.3
	35-44	11.2	16.4
	45-54	19.8	19.1
	55-64	21.0	16.1
	65+	30.4	17.9
<u>Education</u>			
	Less than HS Graduate	8.3	11.9
	HS Graduate	29.7	33.5
	Some College	25.7	25.6
	College Graduate	36.3	29.0
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
	White/not Hispanic	77.4	68.0
	Black/not Hispanic	8.9	11.4
	Hispanic	10.1	14.2
	Other/not Hispanic	3.6	6.4
<u>Region</u>			
	Northeast	21.0	19.9
	Midwest	21.7	21.3
	South	36.7	37.0
	West	20.7	21.7
<u>County Pop. Density</u>			
	1 - Lowest	15.5	17.9
	2	24.3	19.7
	3	25.4	21.7
	4	20.3	21.0
	5 - Highest	14.4	19.7
<u>Household Phone Use</u>			
	LLO	11.6	8.7
	Dual	79.3	62.4
	CPO	9.1	28.9
<u>Community</u>			
	Urban	27.1	37.2
	Suburban	67.0	49.7
	Rural	5.9	13.1

## Effects of Sample Design on Statistical Inference

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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 1.96.

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  $\pm 3.5$  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 3.5 percentage points away from their true values in the population. The margin of error for estimates based on the 1,016 suburban respondents is  $\pm 4.4$  percentage points. The margin of error for estimates based on the 501 non-suburban respondents is  $\pm 5.5$  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

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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:<sup>23</sup>

- Contact rate – the proportion of working numbers where a request for interview was made<sup>24</sup>
- 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 samples was 13 percent. The response rate for the cellular sample was 16 percent.

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<sup>23</sup> PSRAI's disposition codes and reporting are consistent with the American Association for Public Opinion Research standards.

<sup>24</sup> 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	
28893	5600	<b>T</b> Total Numbers Dialed
1240	126	<b>OF</b> Non-residential
1212	9	<b>OF</b> Computer/Fax
7	0	<b>OF</b> Cell phone
15167	2131	<b>OF</b> Other not working
1609	62	<b>UH</b> Additional projected not working
9658	3273	Working numbers
33.4%	58.4%	Working Rate
536	21	<b>UH</b> No Answer / Busy
2940	921	<b>UO<sub>NC</sub></b> Voice Mail
49	4	<b>UO<sub>NC</sub></b> Other Non-Contact
6133	2327	Contacted numbers
63.5%	71.1%	Contact Rate
494	392	<b>UO<sub>R</sub></b> Callback
4318	1405	<b>UO<sub>R</sub></b> Refusal
1321	530	Cooperating numbers
21.5%	22.8%	Cooperation Rate
47	22	<b>IN1</b> Language Barrier
0	209	<b>IN2</b> Child's cell phone
1274	299	Eligible numbers
96.4%	56.4%	Eligibility Rate
44	12	<b>R</b> Break-off
1230	287	<b>I</b> Completes
96.5%	96.0%	Completion Rate
13.2%	15.5%	Response Rate

## Appendix 3: One way to define The Suburbs

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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

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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.