
The Damaged Suburbs: Economic Scars in an Election Year

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

By

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October 2010

Executive Summary

America's suburbs are still showing the damage and scars from the worldwide economic crisis of the last three years that ran through the suburbs like a wildfire, leaving unemployment, foreclosures, abandoned houses and ruined personal balance sheets in its wake. Suburban residents saw the problems and began to see the impact of the turmoil in 2008, but the damage spread widely across the land in 2009 and is still evident in 2010.

- A majority of suburban residents (53%) say their personal financial situation is bad, with fully one in five (20%) saying their situation is poor.
- Nearly four in ten (37%) say their personal financial situation is worse off than two years ago.
- More suburbanites (42%) are living from paycheck to paycheck, compared with 38 percent in 2008.

These damaged suburbs are the key battleground for the 2010 elections as the Republicans seek to win control of at least the U.S. House. And it is in the suburbs where, at least as of late September, the GOP holds the advantage in terms of motivating its supporters to get out and vote. As of late September, Republicans and Democrats are tied in terms of how suburban registered voters plan to vote in the U.S. House race, 44 percent for the GOP and 43 percent for the Democrats. But among likely suburban voters, the Republicans hold a 48%-39% lead.

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 1,549 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 September 15-28, 2010.

This Hofstra survey, the fourth in a series, oversampled adults living in suburban areas of the country, completing interviews with 1,000 adults in the suburbs. The first Hofstra Suburban surveys were conducted in September 2008, October 2008 and October 2009, focusing on suburban life, politics, economic turmoil and politics.¹

¹ 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*.

Scorched and scarred

Jobs, homes and incomes all took hits in the suburbs since 2008 and the impact is widely seen.

- Three-quarters of suburban Americans (78%) say they have lost their jobs or know someone who has in the past two years. That number is stable from 2009.
- Of those who know someone who lost their job, one in five (21%) say they personally lost their job. And one in four of the group (26%) says someone in their household was unemployed.
- Just under three-quarters (72%) say they or someone they know has suffered a cut in pay, work hours or benefits in the past two years. That finding stood at 44 percent in September 2008 and is little changed from 2009.
- Nearly four in ten suburbanites (and Americans as a whole) say they, or someone they know, has lost their home due to foreclosure or unaffordable mortgage payments in the last three years.
- Of those familiar with the loss of a home, one in seven (13%) say they lost their home.

Politics and President Obama in the suburbs

Barack Obama won the presidency two years ago by narrowly winning the suburbs. But his popularity has eroded since that high point.

Obama now draws a negative approval rating in the suburbs, with 48 percent saying they disapprove of his handling of his job. Only 43 percent approve of his work. This is a reversal of his job rating in October 2009, when it stood at 47 percent approved and 40 percent disapproved in that Hofstra survey.

One surprising finding is that, despite all the anti-government campaign rhetoric, a majority of suburban Americans (53%) say they have a lot of confidence or some confidence in the federal government. Forty-six percent express not too much or no confidence. The level of confidence is up slightly from the 2008 Hofstra survey, when suburbanites split 48%-49%.

The Congressional Elections

Democrats now control both the U.S. House and the U.S. Senate. But Republicans are shooting to take at least the House back in the 2010 November elections. And the GOP path to success in that endeavor goes right through the suburbs. As of late September, those GOP hopes find support in the Hofstra survey.

While Republicans and Democrats are essentially tied in terms of which party the registered voters will support in the races for U.S. House, a Republican edge does emerge as the pool is reduced to those more likely to vote. Across the country, likely voters overall divide 47

percent for the Republican House candidates and 42 percent for the Democratic candidates. Thus the Republicans are doing slightly better among the suburban likely voters, with their 48%-39% edge. Among likely voters in urban areas, the Democrats sport a 50%-43% edge.

The economic scars in the suburbs interact in a complex way with partisanship as drivers of the vote choices in November. For example, those suburban registered voters who say their finances are excellent or good are planning to vote Republican in the House races by a 53%-37% edge. Those who say their finances are only fair or poor are planning to back the Democratic candidates by a 49%-35% margin.

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Chapter 1: Life is still hard in the suburbs

The worldwide economic crisis of the last three years torched American suburbs, leaving damage and scars that are still evident. Suburban residents began to see the impacts in 2008, but the damage spread widely across the land in 2009 and is still evident in 2010.

- A majority of suburban residents (53%) say their personal financial situation is bad, with fully one in five (20%) saying their situation is poor.
- Nearly four in ten (37%) say they are worse off than two years ago.
- More suburbanites (42%) are living from paycheck to paycheck compared with 2008 (38%).
- More than three-quarters of suburban Americans (78%) say they have lost their job, or know someone who has in the past two years, up from 49 percent in September 2008.² That number is stable from 2009, when 76% reported this.
- Nearly as many, 72 percent, say they or someone they know has suffered a cut in pay, work hours or benefits. That finding stood at 44 percent in September 2008 but is little changed from 2009.
- Sixty-five percent say they have seen layoffs or forced retirements at work, an increase from 48 percent in 2008, but a slight drop from 70 percent in 2009.
- Thirty-eight percent say they, or someone they know, has lost their home due to foreclosure or unaffordable mortgage payments in the last three years. That number stood at 27 percent in 2008 and 36 percent in 2009.³
- There is major optimism that suburban residents are personally turning the corner in terms of their finances.

Personal Finances

There was no “summer of recovery” for the suburbs in 2010.

The damage wreaked on suburban family finances in 2008 and 2009 have not abated in 2010. In numbers little changed in twelve months, a majority still say their finances are bad. Only 46 percent have a positive view of their finances, with a mere nine percent saying they

² The October 2008 questions asked about the past year, while the 2009 questions asked about the past two years.

³ Likewise, the October 2008 questions asked about the past year, while the 2009 questions asked about the past two years.

are in *excellent* financial shape. This is a slight decline from a year ago, when there was a split decision, 50 percent had a positive view and 49 percent a negative view.

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

- It should come as no surprise that *income* is the driver of this perception. Two-thirds of suburban dwellers with incomes of \$75,000 and up (67%) have a positive view of their finances. Three-quarters of those with incomes of less than \$30,000 (75%) have a negative view of their finances.

Asking those in the suburbs to look back over the last two years, since the fall of 2008, the views of the course of their personal finances are interesting. About the same percentage – four in ten – say their finances have worsened (37%) or stayed the same (42%). One in five suburban residents says their finances have improved.

- For example, across income groups, there is little difference in the perception of their personal finances; those with lower incomes differ little from those with higher incomes.
- Suburban Democrats (22%) and Independents (25%) are more likely than Republicans (12%) to say they are better off. Conversely, suburban Republicans (43%) are more likely to say they are worse off than the Independents (33%). And this is despite the fact that suburban Republicans are more likely to report higher incomes than others.
- Suburban Millennials (18-33) are the most likely to report a good two years, with 46% saying their personal financial situation has improved. But at least four in ten suburbanites from age 34 to 65 say their finances have deteriorated.

One good indicator of economic stress in American households is how many report living from paycheck-to-paycheck. Households in this situation have little financial flexibility and are vulnerable to major damage from any type of economic reversal. This indicator of economic vulnerability has been creeping up since 2008. Now, 26 percent of suburban residents say they always live paycheck-to-paycheck and 16 percent say they do so most of the time. This 42% is up from the 37 percent in October 2008, when 20 percent did so

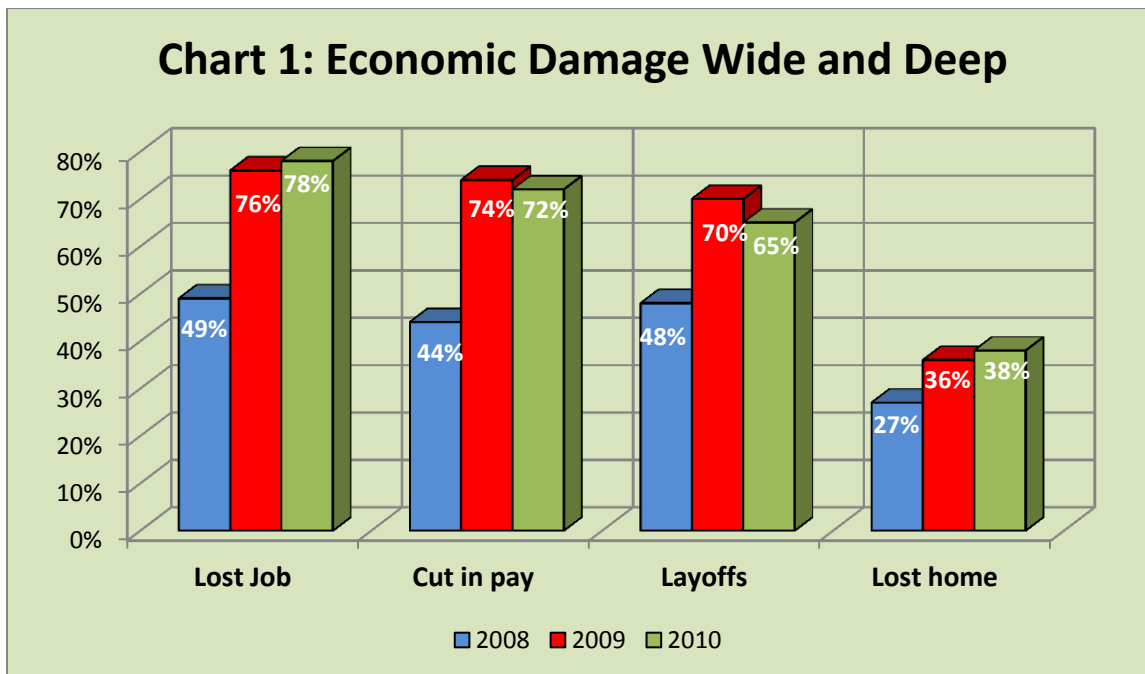
always and 17 percent most of the time. Only 33 percent of suburban residents now say they do this *hardly ever or never*.

Job Losses

Unemployment has skyrocketed since 2007 and the suburbs have been hit hard and close to home.

Seventy-eight percent of suburban residents say they or someone they know has lost their job in the last two years. That is up sharply from 49 percent in 2008, but just about the same as the 76 percent last year.⁴

The breadth of job losses in the economic crisis is amazing. All suburbanites have felt the sting of unemployment, with the percentages varying little across demographic groups.



And much of the sting of unemployment was right in the suburban home. Of those familiar with job losses, one in five (21%) says they personally have been unemployed in the last two years. And one in four (26%) of the group says someone else in the household has been unemployed.⁵

But almost half of those familiar with job losses (48%) say a neighbor has lost their job. And a staggering 86 percent say a friend or relative who does not live in the neighborhood lost their job.

⁴ The question wordings varied over the years, but the findings are roughly comparable.

⁵ Because of a change in question wording about specifically who you know who has been jobless, these findings are not directly comparable to 2008 and 2009.

Foreclosure

The poster child of this economic turmoil is the suburban American family who has lost their home because of foreclosure or because an adjustable mortgage became unaffordable. Nearly two in five suburban residents (38%) have lost their homes in the last three years or know someone who has. That is above the 27 percent found in 2008, but little changed from 2009.⁶

The pain of foreclosure has spread so widely in the suburbs that residents of all income levels report roughly the same level of knowledge of losses. Forty-one percent of those with incomes of under \$30,000 a year report knowing of a foreclosure, not very different from the 35% of those suburbanites making \$75,000 or more who know of a foreclosure.

One key finding is that the foreclosure crisis has hit Gen X (ages 34-45) and Baby Boomers (ages 46-64) the hardest in the suburbs. For each group, 44 percent know of someone who lost their home, higher than those both younger and older in the population.

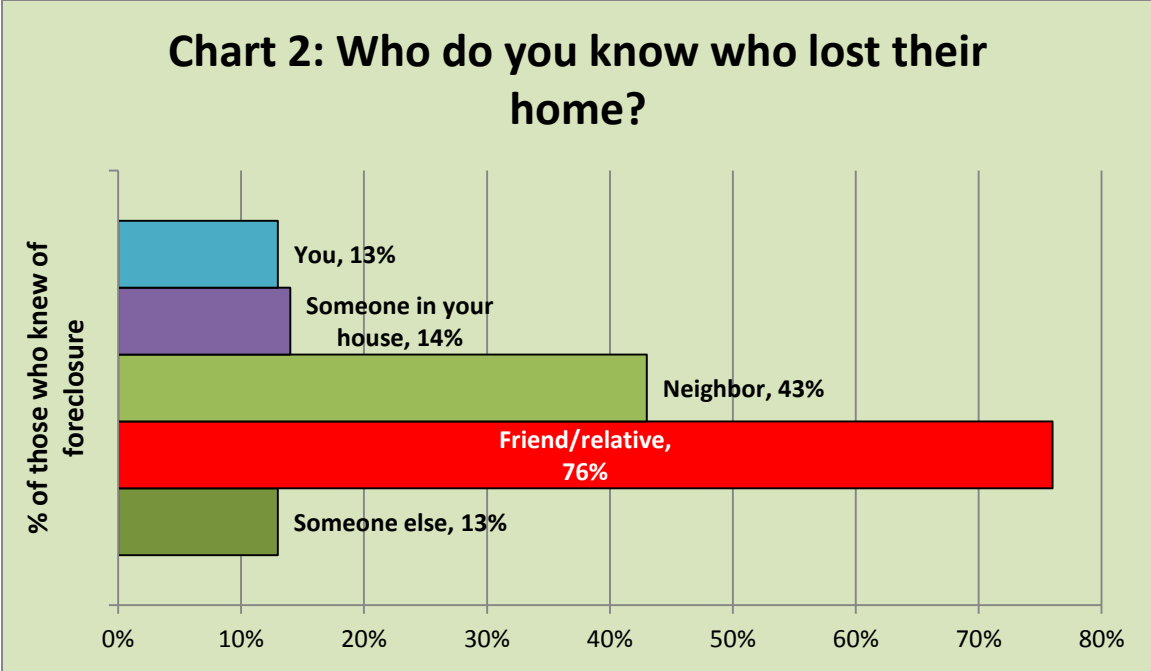
Right at home

Again, much of the pain of foreclosure was very specific. Just about one in seven of the suburban residents (13%) who know of a foreclosure say they themselves lost their home in the last three years. And similarly, about 14% of the group say someone in their household lost their home in the same period.

- In terms of the closeness of the foreclosure, there is a relationship to income. For example, of those familiar with a foreclosure, 18% of those with incomes of less than \$50,000 say they personally lost their home. For suburbanites in the group with higher incomes, only 8 percent report losing their own homes.

More than two in five suburbanites (43%) who know of a foreclosure say a neighbor lost their home. And again, a stunning 76 percent say a friend or relative not living in their neighborhood lost their home. In both these cases, the knowledge of personal foreclosure pain is evenly spread across income groups.

⁶ The 2008 question asked about the previous 12 months and the 2009 question asked about the past two years. The 2010 question asked about the past three years.



Has the government helped?

Americans simply do not believe that the government’s response to the economic crisis has had an impact, and especially not a positive impact, on their family finances.

In the suburbs, 55 percent say the government’s response to the economic crisis did not make much difference to their family’s finances. Almost a third – 31 percent – say the government’s actions hurt their family’s financial situation and only 10 percent say government action improved it.⁷ In the previous Hofstra polls, a similar question was asked about people’s expectations about the impact of the government’s actions. In 2008, about half of suburbanites said they did not expect the government’s efforts to have an impact, while 19 percent expected a positive impact and 15 percent a negative influence.

Hope is in the future

As glum as the current view from the suburbs is today, the future looks brighter, a lot brighter. A majority of suburban residents (55%) say they expect their financial situation to improve over the next year, including 11 percent who expect a lot of improvement. Twenty-four percent expect their finances to deteriorate and 16 percent expect no change.

While these numbers are encouraging, they may reflect, in part, Americans’ native optimism. The current results are almost identical to those found in the Hofstra poll in 2008 and 2009.

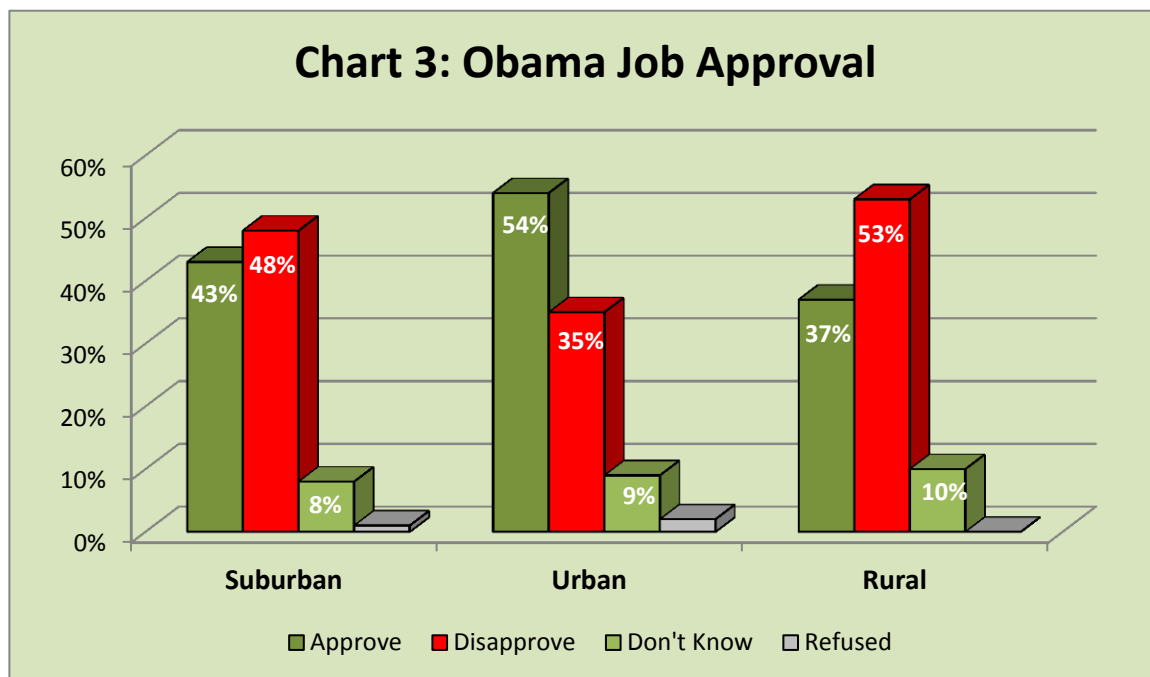
⁷ The responses for all Americans are indistinguishable from those of the suburbanites.

Chapter 2: Politics, Obama and the Suburbs, Two Years Later

Two years after Barack Obama won the White House by narrowly winning the suburban vote and piling up big margins in the urban areas, the view of the Democratic president from the suburbs is decidedly less positive.

Suburban Americans now give Obama a negative approval rating, with 48 percent saying they disapprove of his handling of his job in the latest National Suburban Survey for Hofstra University. Only 43 percent approve of his work at this point. This is a reversal of his job rating in October 2009, when it stood at 47 percent approve and 40 percent disapprove in that Hofstra Survey. The latest numbers compare to Obama's narrow 52 percent to 48 percent edge in the 2008 vote in the suburbs, according to the exit polls.⁸

In the urban areas, Obama does better, but still below his 2009 ratings. In the cities, Obama wins approval of his work by a 54%-35% edge. That is well below the 69%-22% approval rating in the cities in 2009.



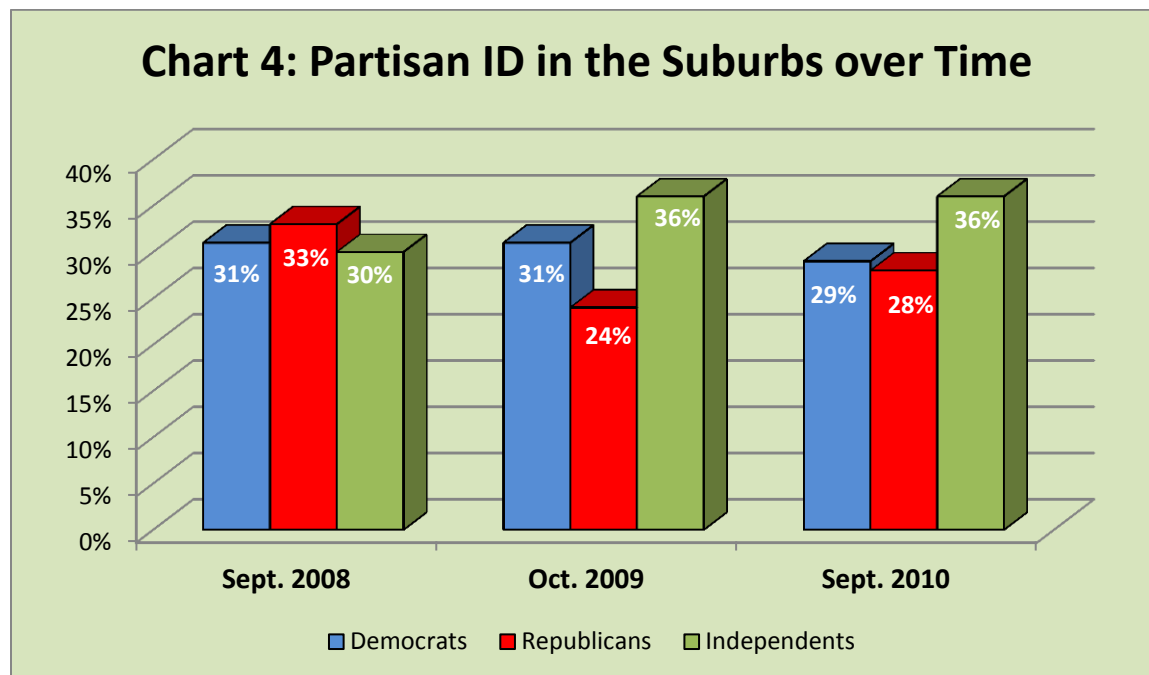
Race is another factor behind Obama's job ratings in the suburbs, also reflecting the reality across the country: his ratings are better among minorities than white voters. In the suburbs, Obama has a 36 percent to 55 percent negative job approval rating from white residents. But among minority suburbanites, his job rating stands at 65 percent positive to 26 percent negative. While positive, it is a shift from the 78%-9% rating among suburban minorities that

⁸ The exit poll definition of the suburbs is not identical to the one used in this survey. But the definitions are comparable enough to be appropriate.

he enjoyed in the 2009 poll. Obama's current standing among white suburbanites is a bit below the percentages seen in the 2008 vote in the suburbs, where Obama lost the white suburban vote by a 43 percent-57 percent margin.

The extreme partisanship seen in Washington is reflected in the suburbs. Democrats in the suburbs approve of Obama's work by a 73%-21% margin. Republicans more than reverse that, giving him a 9%-85% disapproval mark. Independents are, as usual, in the middle with 44 percent giving Obama both approval and disapproval.

It is important to understand that partisan identification is not a stable reference point for many Americans. When asked if they consider themselves a Republican, a Democrat or an Independent, the public's answers vary over time. Among all Americans, this latest poll finds 32 percent say they are Democrats, 27 percent say they are Republicans and 35 percent are Independents. The suburbs are less Democratic in this poll: Democrats 29%, Republicans 28% and Independents 36%.



And those numbers have varied somewhat over the last two years, as Chart 4 shows.

Whatever the views of Obama, suburbanites are not happy with the direction of the nation. Only one in four suburbanites (25%) is satisfied with the way things are going in this country today. Two-thirds (67%) are dissatisfied. Those are very similar to the numbers in the October 2009 poll and satisfaction is up only slightly from the September 2008 survey.

Institutions

While the President's job ratings have declined in the suburbs, the views of key institutions have not shifted as much as one might suspect, perhaps a surprising finding given the levels of anger seen on the media in recent months.

Despite all the Tea Party rhetoric, a majority of suburban Americans – 53 percent – say they have a lot of confidence or some confidence in the federal government. That majority is made up of 11 percent who have a lot of confidence and 42 percent who have some confidence. On the negative side, 28 percent have not too much confidence and 18 percent have no confidence. And that level of confidence is up a bit from 2008, when the September Hofstra survey found 48 percent expressing confidence in the federal government.

- In the suburbs, the change in confidence in the federal government comes almost completely among minorities, who express confidence by a 69%-30% margin. In the 2008 Hofstra poll, suburban minorities split 50%-47%. There is almost no change among white suburbanites' views of the federal government, who now split 48%-51%, essentially the same as the 48%-49% findings in 2008.

If that finding is surprising in one way, the suburban view of state governments might surprise in another. Confidence in state governments has dropped from 60 percent in 2008 to 53 percent in the latest poll. The economic crisis seems to have taken a special toll on state governments.

- It is white suburbanites whose views have shifted on state governments. In 2008, this group expressed confidence in state government by a 61%-37% margin. This year, the split is only 53%-46%. Minority residents of the suburbs split 55%-43% on state governments, essentially the same as in 2008.

In contrast, local governments and local public schools have seen little change. About two-thirds of suburban residents express confidence in their local governments (67%), essentially unchanged from 2008 (66%). Likewise, local public schools still maintain a reasonable level of confidence from suburban residents (68% v. 69% in 2008).

Chapter 3: Congressional Elections in the Suburbs

Republican hopes of recapturing control of the U.S. House of Representatives in the November elections rest firmly in the suburbs. And as of late September, those hopes find support in the Hofstra survey.

Among registered voters in suburbia, the Republicans and Democrats are essentially tied in terms of which party the voters will support in the races for U.S. House: 44 percent say they will vote for the Republican candidate and 43 percent say they will vote for the Democratic candidate. Four percent say they will vote for some other candidate, 7 percent do not know how they will vote and 3 percent refused to answer.⁹

But all registered voters do not vote in the off-year elections. While turnout has been rising for a number of years, only 37 percent of those of voting age population voted in the 2006 elections,¹⁰ while at least 70 percent were registered to vote that year.

More likely

Much has been written in 2010 about Republicans being more enthusiastic about voting this year than Democrats. And that difference in commitment to going to the polling places in November shows up in this survey. Republicans do better in the House vote estimates if the numbers are based only on *likely voters* in the suburbs.

Using a simple screen to determine who is most likely to vote in the general election, 48 percent of suburbanites say they will vote Republican and 39 percent say they will vote for the Democratic candidate. Among all likely voters across the nation, the split is 47% Republican-42% Democratic. This narrowed margin is due to Democrats sporting a 50%-43% edge among urban likely voters.

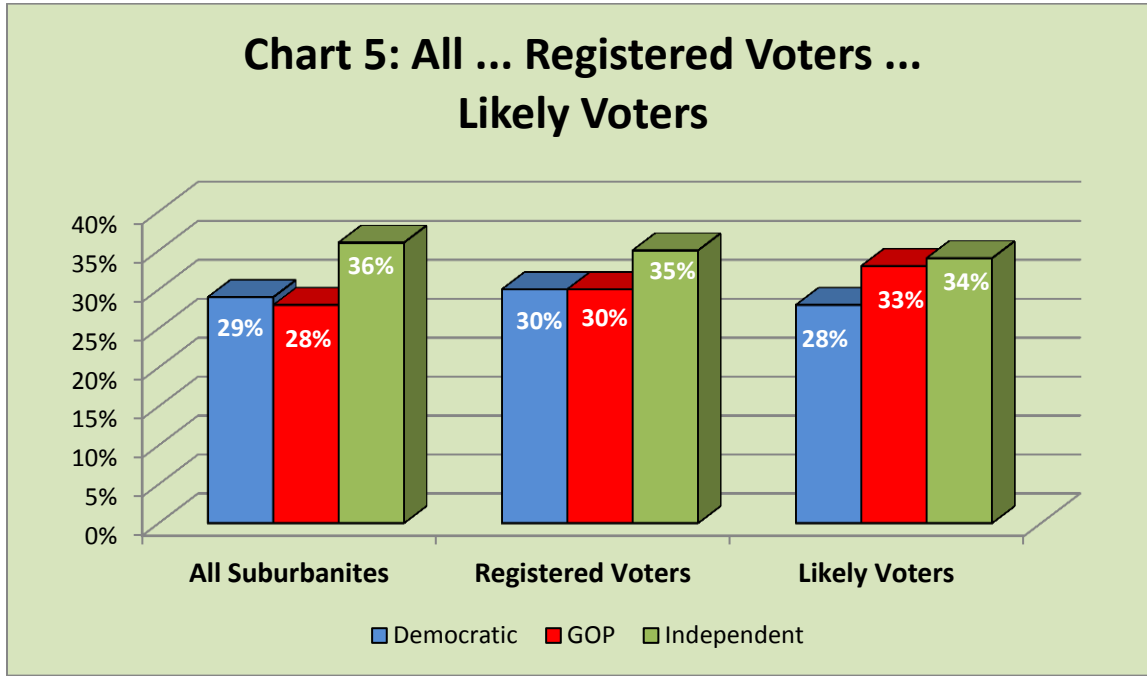
The easiest way to understand the projected House vote, whether among likely voters or registered voters, is to look at the voters' partisan identification. Likely suburban voters who say they are Republicans say they will vote for the GOP over the Democratic candidate by a 91%-5% margin. In identical fashion, Democratic likely voters in the suburbs say they will vote for the Democratic candidate in the U.S. House by a 91%-5% edge. Suburban Independent likely voters will give the GOP candidate the edge by a 43%-33% margin.

The swing toward the GOP in the move from registered voters to likely voters in terms of the U.S. House vote is more than just the edge among Independent voters. In the suburbs, Republicans are more engaged in the election and thus make up a larger share of the likely

⁹ All analyses of the House vote intentions include those who lean toward one party's candidate or another. Among all registered voters, Republicans draw support of 45 percent across the country, little different from the 43 percent who say they will vote for the Democratic House candidate.

¹⁰ Based on 85.7 million votes cast in 2006. http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2006G.html. This is less than the 48 percent reported by the Census Bureau, which usually over-estimates turnout.

voters than they do of all suburbanites. As shown in Chart 5, self-identified Republicans make up 28 percent of all those in the suburbs, 30 percent of suburban registered voters and 33 percent of suburban likely voters. Thus, at this point, the likely voter pool is more Republican than the population as a whole.



Why does this happen? Republicans are more likely than Democrats in the suburbs to say they have thought a lot about the election (64% v. 40%).¹¹ The GOP adherents are more likely to say they always vote than Democrats (62% v. 52%). And Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say they plan to vote this November (98% v. 88%). Thus, Republicans are more likely to end up labeled as likely voters.

It is important to remember that off-year elections such as these in 2010 are very different in terms of attention from the voters. Weeks before the 2008 elections, 82 percent of suburban registered voters said they had given quite a lot of thought to the elections. This year, only 54 percent of suburban registered voters are paying that close attention to the elections.

And it is also important to note that this survey came before the substantial October efforts of both Democratic and Republican campaigns to motivate and convince voters by November 2.

¹¹ This is among all suburban adults.

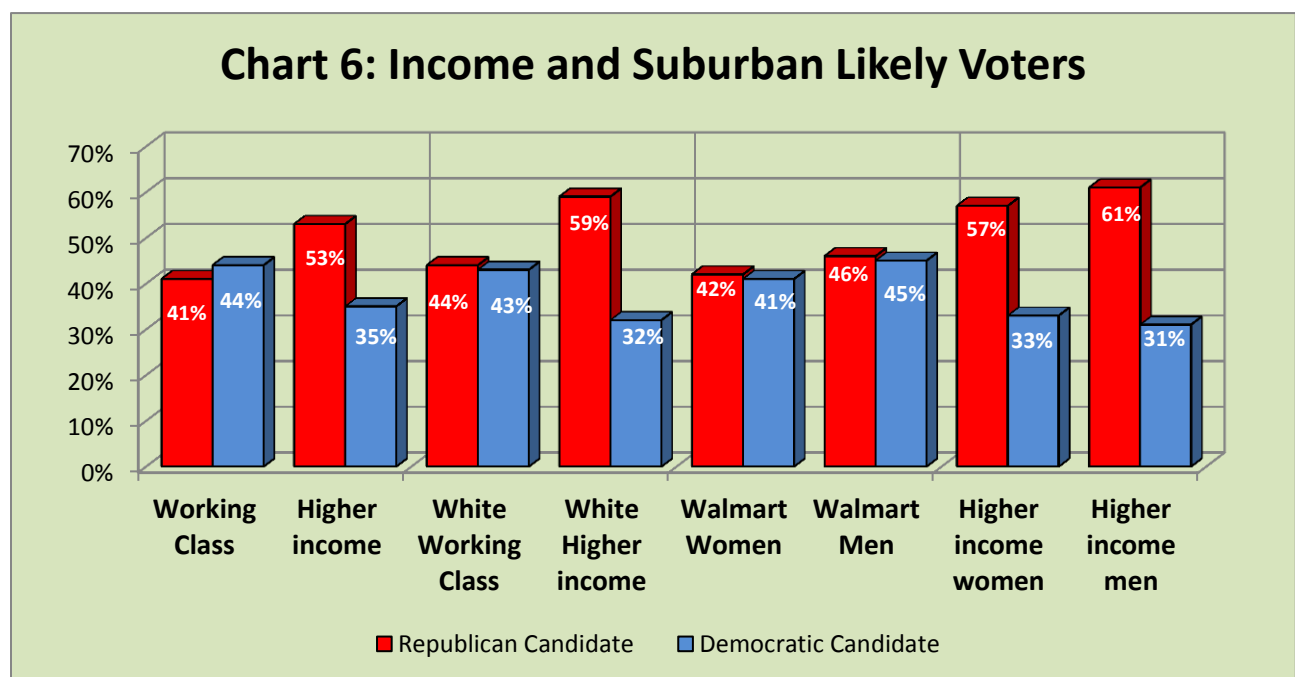
Interesting patterns

Partisanship looms large in the decisions about which congressional candidate to back, but there are other patterns in the suburban vote that go against the conventional wisdom. In particular, there is a sharp, consistent difference by income in the House vote.

Among likely suburban voters, those with annual incomes of \$50,000 and more go for the Republican House candidate by an 18-point margin, 53%-35%. But for those making less than \$50,000, the split is even: 41% GOP-44% Democratic.

Part of this result is certainly that Republican likely voters are more likely to be in the upper-income brackets. But this pattern is not simply a result of race, another major factor in American politics.

Looking just at white likely voters in the suburbs, the same pattern holds. Among those making \$50,000 a year and up, the Republican House candidate gets the nod by a 59%-32% edge, 27 percentage points. Among white likely voters making less than \$50,000, the split is again even: 44% GOP-43% Democratic. Despite diminished sample sizes, these differences are still statistically significant.



And the same holds true for the so-called Wal-Mart women, suburban women from households with incomes of less than \$50,000. Both Wal-Mart women and Wal-Mart men split evenly on the vote choice, while the higher income groups of both genders swing Republican.

Looking at likely suburban voters by race clearly shows both the Republican strength and a major Democratic challenge. White suburban likely voters plan to vote for the GOP by a 53%-

36% edge. Minority likely voters in the suburbs plan to vote Democratic by only a 54%-27% margin. The minority percentages must be treated carefully for the sample size is small, including both the African-American and the Hispanic likely voters in the suburbs.

If Democrats are to avoid major losses in the House races, they must win substantially stronger minority support and achieve higher minority turnout to go with their foundation of support among white working-class suburbanites. In 2006, the national exit poll showed suburban minority voters supporting Democrats in the House races by a 71%-26% margin. White suburban voters supported the Republican House candidates by a 51%-46% edge that year.¹²

In the suburbs, there were also interesting patterns by age a month before the 2010 elections. The youngest group of likely voters, the so-called Millennials (age 18-33) is the most Democratic, although they only split 46%-40% in that direction. Oddly, the Gen X group, age 34-45, is the most Republican, splitting 53%-36% for the GOP.¹³

Marriage also reveals a chasm in the suburbs. Married likely voters go 51%-38% for the Republicans in the U.S. House races. Not married suburbanites go for the Democrats, 49%-40%.

Unhappiness, the Tea Party and it is not just Obama

Summarizing 435 races for the U.S. House in a single national survey inevitably leads to complex patterns and findings.

As has been the case in the past, most suburbanites want to retain their current representative in Congress. Forty-seven percent of suburban registered voters say they would like to see their current House member re-elected this fall. A third (33%) would like someone else elected to the seat.

- Only the Democrats in the suburbs firmly want their representative re-elected (60%-24%). Both the Republicans (43%-38%) and the Independents in the suburbs (41%-38%) split on the fate of their current House member.

Conversely, those in the suburbs do not want to see most members of Congress reelected. Fifty-six percent of suburban registered voters are in favor of a “throw-the-bums-out” approach (excepting their own representative), while only 30 percent want to see most re-elected.

- Conversely, both suburban Republicans and Independents lead the way in wanting to throw out the rest of the House. Among suburban GOP partisans, 73 percent want

¹² Again, the exit poll definition of suburbs is not the same as in the telephone poll, but they are similar.
¹³ These differences are not statistically significant for likely voters, but the similar findings for registered voters are.

most of Congress thrown out and 62% of Independents agree. Only a third of Democrats in the suburbs (33%) agree.

As much as the Republican Party has tried to make the House elections about President Obama, the voters are split on whether or not their votes are a referendum on the Democratic incumbent. One-quarter of suburban registered voters say their vote is a vote in support of Obama and almost the same number (27%) say their vote is a vote against Obama. But most of the rest (45%) say Obama is not much of a factor in their decision.

- That said, the Obama divide in the House vote is pretty wide. Registered voters who backed Obama in 2008 are planning on voting Democratic by a 77%-13% margin. Registered voters who cast their ballot for Republican John McCain will be voting for the GOP House candidate by 87%-7%.

Tea Party

Much has been said about the role of various groups calling themselves Tea Party activists in this election year. The Tea Party has brought activism and enthusiasm to the election campaigns and played a major role in the nomination of specific candidates in Republican primaries. The question for November 2 will be how many votes does the Tea Party bring to the Republicans.

In the suburbs, the Tea Party splits the adults: 35 percent have a favorable impression, 35 percent have an unfavorable impression and 30 percent do not know or did not answer.

- Majorities of suburban Republicans have a favorable view of the Tea Party (59%-17%). Majorities of the Democrats have an unfavorable view (14%-56%). And Independents split (37%-35%).
- In terms of the House vote, the Tea Party appears to be about a wash. About seven in ten suburban registered voters with a favorable view of the Tea Party say they will vote Republican. And about seven in ten suburban voters with an unfavorable view of the Tea Party say they will vote Democratic. And these numbers are essentially the same when one focuses in only on likely voters.

Economic Scars on the Vote

Since the suburbs are still scarred by the economic meltdown of the past three years, these scars should impact the votes of those in the suburbs. The scars do have an impact, but not in ways one always would expect. The patterns are complex and sometimes contradictory.

- Among registered voters in the suburbs, those who rate their family finances as positive are voting Republican for the House by a 53%-37% edge. Among those who say their finances are poor, the Democrats have a 49%-35% margin.¹⁴
- However, among those who say their finances have taken a hit in the last two years, the Republicans lead by 50%-37%. Among those who say their finances have improved, the Democrats lead by 54%-34%.
- Looking to the future, those suburbanites who expect their finances to improve in the next 12 months are voting Democratic by a 53%-36% margin. Among those expecting their finances to decline, the GOP candidates get the nod by 63%-26%.
- If one thinks government response to the economic crisis hurt their family's finances, the Republicans win by 62%-24%. If one says the government helped, the vote goes to the Democrats by 82%-12% in the suburbs.

Mosque

Over the summer of 2010, a furor arose over the plans by a Muslim group to build an Islamic cultural center and mosque in downtown New York City, a few blocks from the site of the World Trade Center. This was often and inaccurately referred to as the Ground Zero Mosque.

Despite furious news coverage of the issue, Americans generally take a reasoned approach to the debate.

Suburbanites share the views of other Americans that it is not appropriate for the group to build near the site of the 9/11 attacks. Sixty-nine percent say it is not appropriate and 24 percent said it is appropriate.

However, about two-thirds of suburban residents (65%) firmly state the group has the right to build the center where it desires, even if the residents do not view the construction as appropriate. Thirty percent say the group does not have the right to build there.

Some candidates for office in 2010 took positions on the issue of the mosque, although many did not do so. Which position a candidate takes on the issue could have an impact.

If a candidate announced support for building the mosque, half of suburban residents say it would make no difference in their vote. But more than a third of the suburbanites (36%) say they would be less likely to vote for that candidate and eight percent say they would be more likely to vote for them.

¹⁴ The results for all these analyses are similar based on likely voters, but most of these analyses of registered voters reach statistical significance, which is not the case for the smaller base.

- A majority of Republicans in the suburbs say candidate support for the mosque would make it less likely for them to back that candidate. But majorities of both Democrats and independents say it would make no difference.

In contrast, if a candidate announces opposition to the mosque, the impact is more divided. Again, almost half (48%) say that it would make no difference. But in this case, 23 percent of suburbanites would be more likely to vote for a candidate who opposes the mosque and 21 percent would be less likely to vote for the candidate.

- In this situation, majorities of all party groups (or close to that) say it would make no difference. Forty percent of the suburban Republicans did say opposition would make them more likely to support the candidate, in contrast to the 35 percent of Democrats who say a candidate's opposition would make them less likely to support that politician.

Chapter 4: On the issues in the suburbs

The economy is clearly the overwhelming issue in the suburbs, at least from a personal level. But other issues in the suburbs and other, non-economic matters that face the country also draw opinions, sometimes strong in the suburbs.

Neighborhood issues

Each of the Hofstra surveys has included a series of questions about the problems that communities face, asking residents to describe the issues as big problems or small problems. The responses to these questions are generally stable over time, so changes are always interesting.

- The biggest change comes in terms of the ranking of unemployment as a neighborhood problem. This has jumped from 29 percent seeing it as a major problem in 2008 in the suburbs to 42 percent seeing it as a major problem in 2010.
- The view of crimes, drugs and violence as a problem has moderated slightly. In 2008, 61 percent saw these as at least a small problem in the suburban neighborhood. In 2010, that has dropped to 56 percent.
- Public schools not providing a quality education showed a similar, small decline. Thirty-seven percent now see it as a problem in the suburbs, in contrast to 42 percent in 2008.
- Despite the foreclosure problem, abandoned or run-down homes are seen as a problem by 39 percent in 2010, essentially the same as the 38 percent in 2009.
- There has been a decline in the perception of tension between racial and ethnic groups as a problem. In 2008, this was perceived as a problem by 40 percent of suburbanites. That slid to 36 percent in 2009 and 28 percent in the latest survey.

Afghanistan

With the shift of American involvement in combat from Iraq to Afghanistan, the question arises of whether the nation is supportive of the effort there.

The short answer is that a majority of Americans (52%) want to see the U.S. pull its troops out of Afghanistan as soon as possible. About four in ten (43%) want to see the troops left there until the situation stabilizes. What is interesting about this finding is that it is identical to results for all Americans to an identical question about Iraq in September 2008: 43% stay-52% withdraw.

However, the views in the suburbs have shifted. Now suburban Americans want to pull out of Afghanistan by a 51%-44% edge. In 2008, the suburbs split 49 percent withdraw and 48 percent stay in Iraq.

Immigration

Immigration remains a hot-button issue for Americans, although the debate shifted somewhat in 2010 with more discussion of securing the nation's borders.

The immigration issue splinters the suburbs, just as it does the nation. Thirty-eight percent of suburban residents say the nation's priority should be border security and enforcement of immigration laws. But one in five residents (21%) says the priority should be allowing illegal immigrants who are already here to become citizens, provided they meet certain requirements. But 37 percent reject picking either one and say BOTH should be the priority.

- Given the shape of the partisan debate, it is not a shock to find that suburban Republicans are the most likely to favor strong enforcement (53%). Democrats in the suburbs prefer making both a priority (42%) and independents are split.

This splintering does not hide the views expressed in other questions that a majority see the federal government as dealing too leniently with illegal immigrants, with a plurality saying the same about state and local governments. Suburbanites are convinced that the members of their own communities are dealing with illegal immigrants appropriately. But there is no agreement on how employers are dealing with illegal immigrants. All these views have been stable since the 2009 Hofstra survey.

A majority of those in the suburbs (56%) say the federal government treats illegal immigrants too leniently. Only 24 percent say the government treats them about right and 10 percent say they are treated too harshly. In a similar vein, 46% percent of suburban residents say their state and local governments are too lenient and just 33 percent say the treatment at that level is correct.

Table 2: Suburban views of treatment of illegal immigrants				
	Too leniently	Too harshly	About right	Don't know/Refused
The federal government	56%	10%	24%	10%
Your state or local government	46%	7%	33%	14%
Employers	36%	12%	35%	16%
Schools, colleges or universities	31%	5%	40%	24%
Members of your community	18%	8%	57%	18%

Gay marriage

Opinions about if or how the government will recognize same-sex couples have been relatively stable in the suburbs.

In the suburbs, a majority of residents still support government recognition of same-sex couples, whether full marriage rights (35%) or civil unions without full marriage rights (19%). Thirty-seven percent oppose any legal recognition of same-sex couples. These numbers shuffling just a little since 2009, when 38 percent supported full rights and 13 percent backed civil unions. The 2009 results were, in turn, something of a shuffle from 2008 (31% marriage rights and 21 percent civil unions).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Topline Results

National Suburban Poll IV

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

October 8, 2010

Number of Interviews

Total: 1,549 adults age 18 or older
Suburban: 1,000 suburban residents
Urban/Rural: 549 urban and rural residents

Total Registered Voters (RVs): 1,299 registered voters
Suburban RVs: 860 suburban registered voters
Urban/Rural RVs: 439 urban and rural registered voters

Margins of Error

Total: Plus or minus 3 percentage points
Suburban: Plus or minus 4 percentage points
Urban/Rural: Plus or minus 5 percentage points

Total Registered Voters (RVs): Plus or minus 3 percentage points
Suburban RVs: Plus or minus 4 percentage points
Urban/Rural RVs: Plus or minus 5 percentage points

Dates of interviewing: September 15-28, 2010

Language of interview: English or Spanish

Type of sample: Landline or Cell phone

PSRAI Job #30071

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.

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...

INTERVIEWER:

If R says it is not a good time, try to arrange a time to call back. Offer the toll-free call-in number they can use to complete the survey before ending the conversation.

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>DK¹⁵</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
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 DON'T KNOW]

<u>CURRENT</u>				<u>Oct. 2009</u>		
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
43	49	46	Approve	47	61	55
48	40	44	Disapprove	40	31	35
8	10	9	Don't know	9	6	7
1	1	1	Refused	4	2	3

¹⁵ "Don't know" and "Refused" responses were combined in all 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:	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:	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	--

Q3 continued on next page...

Q3 continued...

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>
c. Your local government						
<u>CURRENT</u>						
Suburbs:	19	48	18	12	3	1
Urban/Rural:	18	45	22	12	3	*
Total:	18	47	20	12	3	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>						
Suburbs:	16	50	21	9	2	1
Urban/Rural:	21	47	18	11	4	*
Total:	18	49	20	10	3	1
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>						
Suburbs:	20	46	18	12	4	--
Urban/Rural:	16	48	20	13	3	--
Total:	18	47	19	13	4	--
d. Your local public schools						
<u>CURRENT</u>						
Suburbs:	34	34	15	10	6	2
Urban/Rural:	29	37	16	11	6	1
Total:	31	36	16	10	6	1
<u>OCT. 2009</u>						
Suburbs:	35	34	13	7	10	1
Urban/Rural:	30	41	12	8	7	1
Total:	33	38	13	8	9	1
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>						
Suburbs:	35	34	15	7	8	--
Urban/Rural:	26	39	17	12	6	--
Total:	30	37	16	10	7	--

Q4 How much thought have you given to the coming November elections – quite a lot or only a little?¹⁶

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

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

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

¹⁶ Prior to September 2010, the question wording was slightly different: "How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election – quite a lot or only a little?"

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

Based on registered voters

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly always</u>	<u>Part of the time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	(VOL.) <u>Never vote</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other response</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT								
Suburbs (n=860):	52	28	12	5	2	1	0	*
Urban/Rural (n=439):	54	26	11	4	2	1	*	*
Total (n=1,299):	53	27	11	5	2	1	*	*
OCTOBER 2008								
Suburbs (n=929):	60	24	8	5	2	1	*	--
Urban/Rural (n=468):	61	24	8	5	2	0	0	--
Total (n=1,397):	61	24	8	5	2	*	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008								
Suburbs (n=936):	55	27	8	5	3	1	1	--
Urban/Rural (n=431):	55	25	9	7	3	*	1	--
Total (n=1,367):	55	26	9	6	3	*	1	--

Q6 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November, or not?

Based on registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
90	88	89	Yes
7	9	8	No
3	3	3	Don't know
*	*	*	Refused
(n=860)	(n=439)	(n=1,299)	

Q7 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?

Q7b [IF ANSWERED OTHER/DK/REFUSED IN Q7, ASK:] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q7; IF NECESSARY: "for U.S. Congress in your district"]?

Based on registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
44	45	45	Republican Party's candidate/Lean Republican
43	44	43	Democratic Party's candidate/Lean Democrat
4	2	3	Other (VOL.)
7	7	7	Don't know
3	2	3	Refused
(n=860)	(n=439)	(n=1,299)	

Q8 Would you like to see your representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

Based on registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
47	46	47	Yes
33	33	33	No
1	1	1	Representative is not running or has lost in primary (VOL.)
18	20	19	Don't know
1	1	1	Refused
(n=860)	(n=439)	(n=1,299)	

Q9 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>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
30	36	33	Yes
56	51	53	No
12	13	12	Don't know
2	1	2	Refused
(n=860)	(n=439)	(n=1,299)	

Q10 Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote FOR Barack Obama, as a vote AGAINST Barack Obama, or isn't Barack Obama much of a factor in your vote?

Based on registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
25	27	26	For Obama
27	23	25	Against Obama
45	42	44	Obama not much of a factor
3	5	4	Don't know
1	3	2	Refused
(n=860)	(n=439)	(n=1,299)	

Next I'd like to get your views on some issues that are being discussed in this country today. First, thinking about Afghanistan...

Q11 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
44	41	43	Keep troops in Afghanistan
51	52	52	Bring troops home
4	5	4	Don't know
1	2	1	Refused

Now turning to other topics...

Q12a Which do you think is the worst tax – that is, the least fair: federal income tax, federal Social Security tax, state income tax, state sales tax or local property tax?

Q12b Which do you think is the worst tax – that is, the least fair: local property tax, state sales tax, state income tax, federal Social Security tax or federal income tax?¹⁷

	<u>Federal income tax</u>	<u>Federal Social Sec. tax</u>	<u>State income tax</u>	<u>State sales tax</u>	<u>Local property tax</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
Suburbs:	27	13	9	11	28	11	2
Urban/Rural:	31	14	8	10	21	14	1
Total:	29	14	8	11	24	12	2
OCTOBER 2009							
Suburbs:	28	7	8	12	35	10	1
Urban/Rural:	26	11	8	13	31	10	1
Total:	27	9	8	12	33	10	1
SEPTEMBER 2008							
Suburbs:	25	13	6	11	34	10	--
Urban/Rural:	29	12	7	13	28	12	--
Total:	27	12	7	12	31	11	--

¹⁷ Q12a was asked of Form A respondents. Q12b was asked of Form B respondents. Results shown here reflect combined responses, based on Total respondents.

Q13 Do you support full marriage rights for same-sex couples, support civil unions or partnerships for same-sex couples but not full marriage rights, or do you oppose any legal recognition for same-sex couples?

	<u>Marriage rights</u>	<u>Civil unions</u>	<u>No legal recognition</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
Suburbs:	35	19	37	6	3
Urban/Rural:	34	17	39	7	3
Total:	34	18	38	7	3
OCTOBER 2009					
Suburbs:	38	13	38	8	3
Urban/Rural:	39	10	42	5	4
Total:	39	12	40	6	4
SEPTEMBER 2008					
Suburbs:	31	21	40	7	--
Urban/Rural:	29	16	45	10	--
Total:	30	18	43	9	--

Q14a 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?]

Q14b 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 unfavorable or generally favorable opinion of it? [GET ANSWER THEN ASK: Is that a very (favorable/unfavorable) or somewhat (favorable/unfavorable) opinion?]¹⁸

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
13	15	14	Very favorable
20	23	22	Somewhat favorable
15	18	17	Somewhat unfavorable
35	28	31	Very unfavorable
15	14	15	Don't know
1	2	2	Refused

¹⁸ Q14a was asked of Form A respondents. Q14b was asked of Form B respondents. Results shown here reflect combined responses, based on Total respondents.

Q15 Given that you have an unfavorable view of the health reform law, which comes closer to your view of what should happen now? (READ AND ROTATE)

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
65	61	63	The law should be repealed as soon as possible.
31	36	33	The law should be given a chance to work, with Congress making necessary changes along the way.
3	3	3	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
1	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused
(n=539)	(n=254)	(n=793)	

Q16 What should be the priority for dealing with immigration in this country? [RANDOMIZE; (one,) tighter border security and stronger enforcement of immigration laws; OR (two,) allowing illegal immigrants already here to become citizens if they meet certain requirements] OR should BOTH be given equal priority?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
38	34	36	Tighter border security and stronger enforcement of immigration laws
21	27	24	Allowing illegal immigrants already here to become citizens if they meet certain requirements
37	36	36	BOTH should be given equal priority
1	1	1	(DO NOT READ) None of these
2	1	2	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
1	1	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused

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?]

	<u>Strongly Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Strongly Unfavorable</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	
CURRENT							
	Suburbs:	19	16	16	19	27	3
	Urban/Rural:	15	16	15	21	30	3
	Total:	17	16	16	20	29	3
TRENDS (TOTAL ADULTS) ¹⁹							
	8/30 to 9/2, 2010:	18	19	24	21	18	--
	6/3 to 6/6, 2010:	17	19	25	24	14	--
	3/23 to 3/26, 2010:	21	21	16	23	20	--
	2/8, 2010:	20	15	20	20	25	--

¹⁹ 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.

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

Q18 About how long have you lived in the neighborhood where you live now? Have you lived there... (READ)

	<u>Less than one year</u>	<u>One to five years</u>	<u>Six to 10 years</u>	<u>11 to 20 years</u>	<u>More than 20 years</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
Suburbs:	8	28	19	18	27	*	*
Urban/Rural:	14	21	18	19	28	0	*
Total:	11	24	19	19	27	*	*
OCTOBER 2009							
Suburbs:	8	29	18	19	27	*	0
Urban/Rural:	14	25	11	18	32	0	0
Total:	11	27	15	18	29	*	0
SEPTEMBER 2008							
Suburbs:	6	24	18	23	28	0	*
Urban/Rural:	6	27	22	17	28	0	0
Total:	6	26	20	20	28	0	*
KNIGHT 2002 ²⁰							
Total:	7	23	13	19	38	*	--

Q19 As far as you know, are the people in your neighborhood all the same race as you... are most the same race as you... is there a mixture of racial groups... or are most people in your neighborhood of a different race from you?

	<u>All the same race</u>	<u>Most the same race</u>	<u>Mixture of racial groups</u>	<u>Predominantly/ Most of a different race</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs:	13	29	48	8	1	*
Urban/Rural:	13	23	55	8	1	*
Total:	13	26	52	8	1	*
OCTOBER 2009						
Suburbs:	14	27	51	7	1	*
Urban/Rural:	19	25	44	11	1	*
Total:	17	26	48	9	1	*
SEPTEMBER 2008						
Suburbs:	16	31	44	8	2	--
Urban/Rural:	14	29	48	8	1	--
Total:	15	30	46	8	1	--

²⁰ Knight 2002 trend question wording was as follows: "About how long have you lived in your (city/suburb/town/area) where you live now? Have you lived here... (READ)"

Q20 What's your impression about the real estate market in your neighborhood? Over the past year, have home prices in your neighborhood gone up a lot, gone up a little, gone down a little, or gone down a lot?

CURRENT				SEPT. 2008 ²¹		
Suburbs	Urban/ Rural	Total		Suburbs	Urban/ Rural	Total
9	11	10	Gone up a lot	15	22	19
14	19	16	Gone up a little	14	14	14
31	28	29	Gone down a little	29	26	27
28	24	26	Gone down a lot	28	20	24
7	8	8	Stayed about the same (VOL.)	6	5	6
11	10	10	Don't know	8	12	10
*	1	*	Refused	--	--	--

COMMUTE On average, about how long does it take for you to get from home to work, door to door? IF NECESSARY PROBE: Just your best guess is fine.²²

	<15 min.	16-30 min.	31-45 min.	46 min - 1 hr.	>1 hr. - <1.5 hrs.	1.5 hrs. - <2 hrs.	About 2 hrs.	Over 2 hrs.	(VOL.) Work at home	(VOL.) Not em- ployed	DK	Ref.
CURRENT												
Suburbs:	27	24	9	5	2	1	*	1	2	27	1	0
Urban/Rural:	32	26	7	3	2	3	*	1	2	23	1	*
Total:	29	25	8	4	2	2	*	1	2	25	1	*
OCT 2009												
Suburbs:	22	18	9	4	2	*	1	1	1	40	2	1
Urban/Rural:	27	20	7	3	1	1	1	1	2	37	1	*
Total:	25	19	8	3	1	1	1	1	1	39	1	1
SEPT 2008												
Suburbs:	19	19	10	6	1	1	*	1	4	38	*	--
Urban/Rural:	25	19	8	4	1	*	0	1	3	39	0	--
Total:	22	19	9	5	1	1	*	1	4	39	*	--

²¹ September 2008 trend question wording was slightly different: "What's your impression about the real estate market in your area? Over the past year, have home prices in your area gone up a lot, gone up a little, gone down a little, or gone down a lot?"

²² Prior to September 2010, question was asked of those who are employed and commute to work. Trend percentages shown here have been recalculated based on Total respondents.

Q21 Do you happen to have a cell phone, Blackberry, iPhone or other device that is also a cell phone?²³

<u>CURRENT</u>				<u>Oct. 2009</u>		
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
89	89	89	Yes	84	87	86
11	11	11	No	15	13	14
*	*	*	Don't know	*	*	*
*	0	*	Refused	*	0	*

Q21a Does anyone else in your household have a working cell phone?

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
44	34	39	Yes, someone in household has cell phone
54	66	60	No
1	0	1	Don't know
*	0	*	Refused
(n=147)	(n=63)	(n=210)	

Turning to other matters...

Q22 How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape financially?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs:	9	37	33	20	1	1
Urban/Rural:	7	32	37	23	1	*
Total:	8	34	35	21	1	1
OCTOBER 2009						
Suburbs:	7	37	39	15	1	2
Urban/Rural:	12	33	38	17	0	1
Total:	9	35	38	16	*	2
OCTOBER 2008						
Suburbs:	7	43	35	14	1	--
Urban/Rural:	8	40	35	16	1	--
Total:	8	41	35	15	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008						
Suburbs:	8	42	34	15	2	--
Urban/Rural:	7	36	38	18	1	--
Total:	7	39	36	17	1	--

²³ 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.

Q23 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?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
20	25	23	Better off
37	31	34	Worse off
42	43	42	About the same
*	*	*	Don't know
*	1	*	Refused

Q24 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?

	<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							
Suburbs:	11	44	17	7	16	4	1
Urban/Rural:	12	45	14	6	15	6	1
Total:	12	45	16	7	15	5	1
OCTOBER 2009							
Suburbs:	11	44	19	5	15	5	1
Urban/Rural:	13	46	18	6	12	4	1
Total:	12	45	18	5	14	4	1
OCTOBER 2008 ²⁴							
Suburbs:	8	44	22	5	10	10	*
Urban/Rural:	9	43	22	6	11	9	*
Total:	9	43	22	6	11	9	*

²⁴ 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?"

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
46	44	45	Employed full-time
16	17	16	Employed part-time
20	18	19	Retired
13	16	14	Not employed for pay
3	4	4	Disabled (VOL.)
1	1	1	Student (VOL.)
1	1	1	Other (VOL.)
*	0	*	Don't know
*	*	*	Refused

Q25 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						
Suburbs (n=552):	17	34	24	22	2	*
Urban/Rural (n=330):	17	42	23	16	1	0
Total (n=882):	17	38	24	19	2	*
OCTOBER 2009						
Suburbs (n=547):	11	37	26	23	3	*
Urban/Rural (n=353):	16	32	34	17	1	0
Total (n=900):	14	35	30	20	2	*
OCTOBER 2008						
Suburbs (n=534):	13	40	25	18	3	*
Urban/Rural (n=256):	18	35	24	21	2	*
Total (n=790):	16	37	24	20	2	*

Q26 Regardless of what you think of the Federal Government's response to the nation's economic crisis, do you think the Federal Government's response IMPROVED your family's financial situation, HURT your family's financial situation or do you think the government's response did not make much difference?

	<u>Improved</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>Made no difference</u>	<u>(VOL.) Both/ Neither</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
Suburbs:	10	31	55	1	2	1
Urban/Rural:	10	28	59	1	3	*
Total:	10	29	57	1	3	1
OCTOBER 2009 ²⁵						
Suburbs:	19	31	45	*	4	*
Urban/Rural:	24	25	43	1	7	*
Total:	22	28	44	1	6	*
OCTOBER 2008 ²⁶						
Suburbs:	19	15	54	2	9	1
Urban/Rural:	20	16	54	2	8	1
Total:	20	15	54	2	8	1

²⁵ October 2009 question wording was slightly different: "Regardless of what you think of the Federal Government's actions in response to the nation's economic crisis, do you think the Federal Government's actions will IMPROVE your family's financial situation, HURT your family's financial situation or do you think the government's actions will not make much difference?"

²⁶ October 2008 question wording was slightly different: "Regardless of what you think of the Federal Government's actions in response to the financial crisis, do you think the Government's actions will IMPROVE your family's financial situation, HURT your family's financial situation or do you think the government's actions will not make much difference?"

Q27 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]?²⁷

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

Q27 continued on next page...

²⁷ 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 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]?

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

Based on those who lost their job in the past two 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=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:	26	74	*	0
Urban/Rural:	20	79	0	1
Total:	23	77	*	*
c. A neighbor				
	<u>CURRENT</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	*
d. A friend or relative who does not live in your neighborhood				
	<u>CURRENT</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>CURRENT</u>			
Suburbs:	20	75	4	1
Urban/Rural:	16	80	3	1
Total:	18	77	3	1
	<u>OCT. 2009</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 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?

	<u>Yes, has happened to me or someone I know</u>	<u>No, has not happened</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
Suburbs:	38	62	1	0
Urban/Rural:	37	62	1	*
Total:	37	62	1	*
OCTOBER 2009 ²⁸				
Suburbs:	36	63	1	*
Urban/Rural:	34	65	1	*
Total:	35	64	1	*
OCTOBER 2008 ²⁹				
Suburbs:	28	71	1	--
Urban/Rural:	27	72	1	--
Total:	27	71	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008				
Suburbs:	27	73	1	--
Urban/Rural:	25	74	1	--
Total:	26	73	1	--

²⁸ 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 "

²⁹ 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?

Based on those who lost their home in the past three 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=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:	14	85	1	0
Urban/Rural:	10	89	0	*
Total:	12	88	*	*
c. A neighbor				
	<u>CURRENT</u>			
Suburbs:	43	55	2	0
Urban/Rural:	53	45	2	0
Total:	48	50	2	0
	<u>OCT. 2009³⁰</u>			
Suburbs (n=421):	39	58	4	0
Urban/Rural (n=215):	31	63	6	*
Total (n=636):	35	61	5	*
d. A friend or relative who does not live in your neighborhood				
	<u>CURRENT</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>CURRENT</u>			
Suburbs:	13	84	2	1
Urban/Rural:	17	80	3	0
Total:	16	82	2	*
	<u>OCT. 2009</u>			
Suburbs:	17	81	1	1
Urban/Rural:	5	92	1	1
Total:	11	87	1	1

³⁰ October 2009 trend results based on those who lost their home in the **past TWO years** or know someone who did.

Q31 And now thinking about the neighborhood where you live... I'm going to read a list of problems some communities face. For each one, please tell me if it is a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem in your community. (First/Next)... [READ AND RANDOMIZE; ITEM f ALWAYS LAST] – [READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN IF NECESSARY: Is this a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem (in your community)]?

	<u>Big problem</u>	<u>Small problem</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
a. Crime, drugs and violence					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	23	33	42	1	0
Urban/Rural:	27	39	33	1	0
Total:	25	36	37	1	0
<u>OCT. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	19	37	41	2	*
Urban/Rural:	37	34	28	1	*
Total:	28	35	35	2	*
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>					
Suburbs:	19	42	37	2	--
Urban/Rural:	31	39	29	1	--
Total:	25	40	33	1	--
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL:</u>	28	48	19	4	--
b. Unemployment					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	42	29	23	6	*
Urban/Rural:	48	29	15	8	*
Total:	45	29	19	7	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	41	31	17	10	*
Urban/Rural:	55	28	13	4	*
Total:	48	30	15	7	*
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>					
Suburbs:	29	37	24	9	--
Urban/Rural:	38	34	21	6	--
Total:	34	35	23	8	--
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL:</u>	32	42	19	7	--

Q31 continued on next page...

Q31 continued...

Q31 And now thinking about the neighborhood where you live... I'm going to read a list of problems some communities face. For each one, please tell me if it is a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem in your community. (First/Next)... [READ AND RANDOMIZE; ITEM f ALWAYS LAST] – [READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN IF NECESSARY: Is this a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem (in your community)]?

	Big problem	Small problem	Not a problem	DK	Ref.
c. The public schools do not provide quality education					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	19	18	57	6	1
Urban/Rural:	24	22	49	4	1
Total:	22	20	53	5	1
<u>OCT. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	17	22	48	12	*
Urban/Rural:	29	24	38	8	1
Total:	23	23	43	10	1
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>					
Suburbs:	17	25	49	8	--
Urban/Rural:	28	26	36	10	--
Total:	23	26	42	9	--
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL:</u>	16	26	50	8	--
d. Not enough AFFORDABLE housing					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	24	25	46	5	*
Urban/Rural:	27	24	44	5	*
Total:	25	24	45	5	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	25	28	39	7	1
Urban/Rural:	37	25	33	5	*
Total:	31	26	36	6	*
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>					
Suburbs:	30	28	36	6	--
Urban/Rural:	40	27	28	5	--
Total:	36	27	31	5	--
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL:</u>	30	33	32	6	--

Q31 continued on next page...

Q31 continued...

Q31 And now thinking about the neighborhood where you live... I'm going to read a list of problems some communities face. For each one, please tell me if it is a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem in your community. (First/Next)... [READ AND RANDOMIZE; ITEM f ALWAYS LAST] – [READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN IF NECESSARY: Is this a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem (in your community)]?

	Big problem	Small problem	Not a problem	DK	Ref.
e. Abandoned or run-down homes					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	15	24	60	1	0
Urban/Rural:	15	29	54	2	1
Total:	15	26	57	1	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	13	25	61	*	*
Urban/Rural:	16	29	53	2	*
Total:	14	27	57	1	*
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL</u> ³¹	12	39	47	2	--
f. Tension between different racial and ethnic groups					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	8	20	69	2	*
Urban/Rural:	11	23	63	3	0
Total:	10	22	66	3	*
<u>OCT. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	12	24	60	4	1
Urban/Rural:	16	31	51	1	*
Total:	14	28	55	2	*
<u>SEPT. 2008</u>					
Suburbs:	8	32	56	4	--
Urban/Rural:	11	38	48	3	--
Total:	10	35	52	3	--
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL</u>	13	40	43	4	--

³¹ Knight 2002 item wording was: "Abandoned or run-down buildings"

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>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
77	73	75	Yes, voted
23	27	25	No, did not vote
*	*	*	Don't know/Can't remember
*	0	*	Refused

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?³²

Based on all those who voted in the 2008 presidential election

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
47	53	50	Barack Obama
40	35	37	John McCain
7	7	7	Other (VOL.)
1	1	1	Don't know/Can't remember
5	4	4	Refused
(n=830)	(n=434)	(n=1,264)	

³² 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.

Q32 As you know, there are people living in this country who have come from other nations, whether legally or illegally. Those who did not come here legally are sometimes described as “undocumented immigrants” or “illegal immigrants.” As I read you a list of various institutions and groups, please tell me whether you think they generally treat undocumented immigrants too harshly or too leniently or about right. (First,/Next,) (ALWAYS ASK a AND b FIRST IN ORDER, THEN RANDOMIZE c-d; ALWAYS ASK e LAST) [READ FOR FIRST ITEM THEN AS NECESSARY: ...Do you think they treat undocumented immigrants too harshly, too leniently or about right?]

	<u>Too harshly</u>	<u>Too leniently</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
a. The federal government					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	10	56	24	9	1
Urban/Rural:	15	50	27	7	1
Total:	13	53	25	8	1
<u>Oct. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	12	55	22	9	2
Urban/Rural:	15	52	29	4	1
Total:	14	53	26	6	1
b. Your state or local government					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	7	46	33	13	1
Urban/Rural:	11	43	37	9	*
Total:	9	45	35	11	1
<u>Oct. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	11	47	30	10	2
Urban/Rural:	11	44	37	8	1
Total:	11	45	33	9	1
c. Employers					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	12	36	35	15	1
Urban/Rural:	20	27	39	14	*
Total:	16	31	37	15	1
<u>Oct. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	10	36	37	16	1
Urban/Rural:	17	33	36	12	1
Total:	14	34	37	14	1

Q32 continued on next page...

Q32 continued...

Q32 As you know, there are people living in this country who have come from other nations, whether legally or illegally. Those who did not come here legally are sometimes described as “undocumented immigrants” or “illegal immigrants.” As I read you a list of various institutions and groups, please tell me whether you think they generally treat undocumented immigrants too harshly or too leniently or about right. (First,/Next,) (ALWAYS ASK a AND b FIRST IN ORDER, THEN RANDOMIZE c-d; ALWAYS ASK e LAST) [READ FOR FIRST ITEM THEN AS NECESSARY: ...Do you think they treat undocumented immigrants too harshly, too leniently or about right?]

	<u>Too harshly</u>	<u>Too leniently</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
d. Schools, colleges or universities					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	5	31	40	23	1
Urban/Rural:	8	28	48	16	*
Total:	6	30	44	19	1
<u>Oct. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	4	32	41	21	2
Urban/Rural:	9	29	46	15	*
Total:	7	31	44	18	1
e. Members of your community					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	8	18	57	16	2
Urban/Rural:	10	19	56	14	1
Total:	9	18	56	15	1
<u>Oct. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	7	20	56	16	1
Urban/Rural:	10	14	62	11	2
Total:	9	17	59	14	2

Q33a [IF FORM A, ASK:] As you may know, a Muslim group is proposing to build an Islamic cultural center and mosque in downtown New York City, a few blocks from the site of the World Trade Center. From what you've read and heard, do you think it is appropriate to build the center and mosque at that location or is it NOT appropriate to do so?

Q33b [IF FORM B, ASK:] Whether or not you think the group has the right to build at that site, do you think it is appropriate to build the center and mosque at that location or is it NOT appropriate to do so?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
24	23	24	Appropriate
69	69	69	Not appropriate
6	6	6	Don't know
1	2	2	Refused

Q34a [IF FORM A, ASK:] Regardless of whether you think it is appropriate to build a center and mosque at that site, do you think the Muslim group has the right to build a center and mosque there, or do they NOT have the right to build there?

Q34b [IF FORM B, ASK:] As you may know, a Muslim group is proposing to build an Islamic cultural center and mosque in downtown New York City, a few blocks from the site of the World Trade Center. Do you think the Muslim group has the right to build a center and mosque there, or do they NOT have the right to build there?³³

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
65	60	62	Have the right
30	33	31	Do not have the right
4	6	5	Don't know
1	1	1	Refused

³³ To test if question order affected the results significantly, questions Q33a/b and Q34a/b were asked in the following order: Q33a/Q34a for Form A respondents and Q34b/Q33b for Form B respondents. Results indicate that the question order did not have a major effect.

RANDOMIZE ORDER of Q35a-Q35b

Q35a Would you be more likely to vote for a candidate for Congress who SUPPORTS the building of the proposed center and mosque at that location... less likely to vote for that candidate... or would it not make any difference to your vote?

Based on a random half sample

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
8	9	9	More likely to vote for
36	33	35	Less likely to vote for
50	48	49	Makes no difference
1	4	3	Depends (VOL.)
2	2	2	Will not vote/Cannot vote/Would not vote (VOL.)
2	2	2	Don't know
1	1	1	Refused
(n=485)	(n=290)	(n=775)	

Q35b Would you be more likely to vote for a candidate for Congress who OPPOSES the building of the proposed center and mosque at that location... less likely to vote for that candidate... or would it not make any difference to your vote?

Based on a random half sample

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
23	19	21	More likely to vote for
21	20	20	Less likely to vote for
48	57	53	Makes no difference
2	1	2	Depends (VOL.)
2	2	2	Will not vote/Cannot vote/Would not vote (VOL.)
3	*	2	Don't know
1	0	*	Refused
(n=515)	(n=259)	(n=774)	

Q36 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>	(VOL.) <u>No job/No regular income</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT								
Suburbs:	26	16	21	16	17	1	1	1
Urban/Rural:	27	18	21	18	13	1	1	1
Total:	27	17	21	17	15	1	1	1
OCTOBER 2009								
Suburbs:	24	15	21	18	19	1	1	2
Urban/Rural:	29	17	21	17	14	1	*	1
Total:	26	16	21	17	16	1	1	2
OCTOBER 2008								
Suburbs:	20	17	24	16	22	*	1	--
Urban/Rural:	23	15	22	16	22	1	1	--
Total:	22	16	23	16	22	1	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008								
Suburbs:	22	16	22	20	18	1	1	--
Urban/Rural:	24	20	22	17	15	2	1	--
Total:	23	18	22	18	16	1	1	--

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>	
47	51	49	Male
53	49	51	Female

AGE What is your age?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
18	23	21	Age 18-29
36	33	34	Age 30-49
26	26	26	Age 50-64
18	16	17	Age 65 or older
*	*	*	Don't know
3	1	2	Refused

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
24	28	26	Gen Y (18-33)
21	20	21	Gen X (34-45)
34	33	34	Baby Boomers (46-64)
9	9	9	Matures (65-73)
9	7	8	After Work (74+)
*	*	*	Don't know
3	1	2	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>	
10	15	12	None, or grades 1-8 / High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
34	33	33	High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate) / Technical, trade or vocational school AFTER high school
24	26	25	Some college, no four-year degree (includes associates degree)
23	15	19	College graduate (B.S., B.A. or other four-year degree)
10	10	10	Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college (e.g., toward a Master's degree or Ph.D., law or medical school)
*	0	*	Don't know
*	1	*	Refused

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
21	26	23	1 adult in household / Respondent only
55	49	52	2 adults
24	24	24	3 or more adults
0	0	0	Don't know
*	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)

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
57	47	52	Married
7	8	7	Living with a partner
9	10	9	Divorced
2	3	3	Separated
6	8	7	Widowed
19	24	22	Never been married
*	*	*	Don't know
*	1	1	Refused

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
35	30	33	Yes
65	69	67	No
*	*	*	Don't know
*	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				
Suburbs (n=277):	39	61	0	0
Urban/Rural (n=146):	42	58	0	0
Total (n=423):	40	60	0	0
b. Five to 12 years old				
Suburbs:	62	38	0	0
Urban/Rural:	58	42	0	0
Total:	60	40	0	0
c. 13 to 17 years old				
Suburbs:	40	60	0	0
Urban/Rural:	40	60	0	0
Total:	40	60	0	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>	
13	12	12	More than once a week
24	26	25	Once a week
12	16	14	Once or twice a month
17	16	16	A few times a year
20	15	17	Seldom
13	15	14	Never
1	*	1	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>	
28	25	27	Republican
29	35	32	Democrat
36	34	35	Independent
7	6	7	(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?³⁴

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
44	40	42	Republican / Lean Republican
43	47	45	Democrat / Lean Democrat
12	13	13	Refused to lean / Still Independent

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
7	6	7	Very conservative
33	29	31	Conservative
36	35	35	Moderate
15	17	16	Liberal, OR
4	8	6	Very liberal?
3	4	3	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
1	2	1	(DO NOT READ) Refused

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
64	53	59	Own
22	32	27	Rent
12	13	13	Other arrangement
*	1	1	Don't know
1	1	1	Refused

HOUSE What best describes where you live – in a detached single-family house, a townhouse or semi-detached house, an apartment, condominium or co-op, or something else?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
72	63	67	A detached single-family house
6	5	5	A townhouse or semi-detached house [includes duplexes]
16	22	19	An apartment, condominium or co-op
5	9	7	Something else
1	1	1	Don't know
1	1	1	Refused

³⁴ Question was asked of those who did not choose Republican or Democrat in PARTY.

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

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
73	64	68	White, non-Hispanic
8	13	10	Black or African-American, non-Hispanic
12	15	13	Hispanic
5	6	6	Other/Mixed race, non-Hispanic
2	2	2	Undesignated

INCOME Last year, that is in 2009, what was your TOTAL family income from all sources, BEFORE taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. [READ 1-9]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
4	9	7	Less than \$10,000
9	13	11	10 to under \$20,000
11	10	11	20 to under \$30,000
10	11	11	30 to under \$40,000
10	10	10	40 to under \$50,000
16	13	15	50 to under \$75,000
9	9	9	75 to under \$100,000
10	7	8	100 to under \$150,000
6	5	5	\$150,000 or more
5	6	5	(DO NOT READ) Don't know
9	7	8	(DO NOT READ) Refused

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
87	86	87	In the U.S. (including Puerto Rico or other U.S. territory)
12	13	13	In another country
*	*	*	Don't know
*	*	*	Refused

IMM2 Were either of your parents born in another country, or were they both born in the United States?

Based on those who were born in the U.S.

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban/ Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	
12	11	11	One parent or both parents born in another country
88	88	88	Both parents born in the United States
*	*	*	Don't know
0	*	*	Refused
(n=898)	(n=484)	(n=1,382)	

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

Appendix 2: Methodology

National Suburban Poll IV

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

October 2010

SUMMARY

The National Suburban Poll 4, sponsored by the National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra, obtained telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 1,549 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 September 15-28, 2010. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is ± 3.1 percentage points.

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

DESIGN AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Sample Design

A combination of 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=1,087) 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, 462 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 September 15-28, 2010. 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

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. Each random half-sample was weighted separately. Most of the parameters came from a special analysis of the Census Bureau's 2009 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 2009 National Health Interview Survey data and the community size parameter was derived from an analysis of area code/exchange data from SSI.

The second stage of weighting was accomplished using Sample Balancing, a special iterative sample weighting program that simultaneously balances the distributions of all

variables using a statistical technique called the Deming Algorithm. Weights were trimmed to prevent individual interviews from having too much influence on the final results. The use of these weights in statistical analysis ensures that the demographic characteristics of the sample closely approximate the demographic characteristics of the national population. Table 1 compares weighted and unweighted sample distributions to population parameters.

Table 1: Sample Demographics

	<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Unweighted</u>	<u>Weighted</u>
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	48.5%	48.7%	49.0%
Female	51.5%	51.3%	51.0%
<u>Age</u>			
18-24	12.6%	7.9%	11.5%
25-34	17.8%	11.2%	16.9%
35-44	18.2%	13.6%	17.4%
45-54	19.6%	19.9%	19.5%
55-64	15.1%	21.5%	15.3%
65+	16.6%	23.5%	17.0%
<u>Education</u>			
Less than HS			
Graduate	14.1%	7.7%	12.5%
HS Graduate	34.7%	26.8%	33.3%
Some College	24.1%	27.4%	24.9%
College Graduate	27.1%	37.8%	28.8%
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
White/not Hispanic	68.8%	75.3%	68.4%
Black/not Hispanic	11.5%	8.2%	10.5%
Hispanic	13.7%	9.3%	13.3%
Other/not Hispanic	6.0%	4.8%	5.5%
<u>Region</u>			
Northeast	18.5%	20.5%	18.5%
Midwest	22.0%	24.5%	22.4%
South	36.8%	35.4%	36.0%
West	22.7%	19.6%	23.1%
<u>County Pop. Density</u>			
1 - Lowest	20.1%	17.6%	19.3%
2	20.0%	24.1%	19.8%
3	20.1%	21.6%	20.5%
4	20.2%	21.8%	21.0%
5 - Highest	19.6%	14.9%	19.4%

<u>Community Size</u>			
Urban	35.5%	26.2%	35.6%
Suburban	46.6%	64.6%	48.5%
Rural	17.9%	9.2%	15.9%
<u>Household Phone Use</u>			
LLO	11.0%	8.5%	6.6%
Dual	63.6%	79.7%	68.6%
CPO	25.4%	11.7%	24.8%

Effects of Sample Design on Statistical Inference

Post-data collection statistical adjustments require analysis procedures that reflect departures from simple random sampling. PSRAI calculates the effects of these design features so that an appropriate adjustment can be incorporated into tests of statistical significance when using these data. The so-called "design effect" or *deff* represents the loss in statistical efficiency that results from systematic non-response. The total sample design effect for this survey is 1.56.

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

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

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

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

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

The survey's *margin of error* is the largest 95% confidence interval for any estimated proportion based on the total sample—the one around 50%. For example, the margin of error for the entire sample is ± 3.1 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 four percentage points away from their true values in the population. The margin of error for estimates based on the 1,000 suburban respondents is ± 3.9 percentage points. The margin of error for estimates based on the 549 non-suburban respondents is ± 4.8 percentage points. It is important to remember that sampling fluctuations are only one possible source of error in a survey estimate. Other sources, such as respondent selection bias, questionnaire wording and reporting inaccuracy, may contribute additional error of greater or lesser magnitude.

RESPONSE RATE

Table 2 reports the disposition of all sampled telephone numbers ever dialed from the original telephone number samples. The response rate estimates the fraction of all eligible respondents in the sample that were ultimately interviewed. At PSRAI it is calculated by taking the product of three component rates:³⁵

- Contact rate – the proportion of working numbers where a request for interview was made³⁶
- 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 14 percent. The response rate for the cellular sample was 18 percent.

³⁵ PSRAI's disposition codes and reporting are consistent with the American Association for Public Opinion Research standards.

³⁶ 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	
22688	7498	T Total Numbers Dialed
1066	169	OF Non-residential
1120	16	OF Computer/Fax
8	0	OF Cell phone
10378	2786	OF Other not working
1787	127	UH Additional projected not working
8330	4400	Working numbers
36.7%	58.7%	Working Rate
596	42	UH No Answer / Busy
2178	1233	UO_{NC} Voice Mail
39	6	UO_{NC} Other Non-Contact
5517	3119	Contacted numbers
66.2%	70.9%	Contact Rate
464	444	UO_R Callback
3894	1867	UO_R Refusal
1159	808	Cooperating numbers
21.0%	25.9%	Cooperation Rate
39	28	IN1 Language Barrier
0	303	IN2 Child's cell phone
1120	477	Eligible numbers
96.6%	59.0%	Eligibility Rate
33	15	R Break-off
1087	462	I Completes
97.1%	96.9%	Completion Rate
13.5%	17.8%	Response Rate

Appendix 3: One way to define The Suburbs

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

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

Telephone company geographies

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

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.

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 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.

Additional Geographic Variables

In addition to the USR variable, there is the FIPS code for the county, again mapped by SSI. None of these mappings are, or can be, perfect. Different geographies were created for different purposes and thus conflicts occur. There is a certain amount of noise in these variables that is simply unavoidable.

At the county level: USR

Using the straight USR variable, here is how the counties break down:

	Counties		Population	
Urban only	28	0.9%	14,731,575	5.3%
Suburban only	613	19.7%	43,986,094	15.7%
Rural only	1,992	64.1%	46,676,963	16.7%
Urban/Suburban	426	13.7%	169,795,237	60.7%
Urban/Rural	5	0.2%	349,824	0.1%
Suburban/Rural	32	1.0%	1,457,710	0.5%
Urban/Suburban/Rural	13	0.4%	2,586,034	0.9%
	3,109		279,583,437	

For analytical purposes, this breakdown at the county level can be useful, but it is limited. The problem is that the mixed counties (Urban/Suburban, for instance) can vary from 2% Urban/98% Suburban to 99% Urban/1% Suburban.

Other Categorizations: County-level

The information available from SSI does allow us to make an estimate of what proportion of telephone exchanges in each county are urban, suburban and rural. While that maps well to the number of telephone households in the county, it is certainly not precise. But PSRAI has used that information to further categorize counties by majority status of the county.

So there are 817 counties that are majority suburban, with 123.75 million residents.