



THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF  
POLITICAL MANAGEMENT

thumbtack

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY – THUMBTRACK.COM SMALL BUSINESS  
POLITICAL SENTIMENT SURVEY:  
METHODOLOGY & ANALYSIS

Nathan Allen  
Analyst, Thumbtack.com  
[nathan.allen@thumbtack.com](mailto:nathan.allen@thumbtack.com)

Sander Daniels  
Co-founder, Thumbtack.com  
[sander.daniels@thumbtack.com](mailto:sander.daniels@thumbtack.com)

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Small businesses have already played a major role in the 2012 Presidential election, and their role is likely only to increase. Both candidates have spoken to the importance of helping small businesses, and each has attacked the other's policies as detrimental to small business.<sup>1</sup> Governor Romney and President Obama have focused on this demographic with good reason. Small businesses accounted for 65% of net new jobs created between 1993 and 2009 and employ nearly half of all private sector employees.<sup>2</sup> A Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation report released this year noted that one effect of the Great Recession has been to encourage a larger-than-usual share of the unemployed and underemployed to start a business.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to playing a major role in the economy, small business owners are also politically crucial for another reason. Nearly 40% of the survey respondents who are registered and likely to vote consider themselves Independent. This contrasts sharply with the 29% identifying as neither Republican nor Democrat in a recent Rasmussen poll.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, nearly 20% of the survey respondents labeled themselves as still undecided in the election, substantially more than the estimated 6-10%<sup>5</sup> who are undecided among the general populace.

A joint effort between the George Washington University Graduate School of Political Management's Professor David Rehr and Thumbtack.com, the George Washington University – Thumbtack.com Small Business Political Sentiment Survey is designed to provide the media, policy makers, and the public at large with a better understanding of what small businesses value in the 2012 Presidential election.

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<sup>1</sup> One need look no further than the President's attacks on Romney's tax plan and private equity investments, or Romney's frequent use of Obama's "You didn't build that" remark.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Small Business Administration. *Advocacy Small Business Statistics and Research*. Retrieved from <http://web.sba.gov/faqs/faqindex.cfm?arealD=24>.

<sup>3</sup> R. W. Fairlie. "2011 Kauffman Index of Entrepreneurial Activity: 1996-2011." March, 2012. Retrieved from [http://www.kauffman.org/uploadedfiles/kiea\\_2012\\_report.pdf](http://www.kauffman.org/uploadedfiles/kiea_2012_report.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> See [http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\\_content/archive/mood\\_of\\_america\\_archive/partisan\\_trends/summary\\_of\\_party\\_affiliation](http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/archive/mood_of_america_archive/partisan_trends/summary_of_party_affiliation). It is worth noting that, according to a Gallup study released in January 2012, approximately 40% of Americans identified themselves as Independents in 2011. However, the same study noted that the number of self-identifying as Independent drops sharply in election years. See <http://www.gallup.com/poll/151943/Record-High-Americans-Identify-Independents.aspx>.

<sup>5</sup> For example, see [http://www.scribd.com/doc/104119402/Aug1b-Ctm-Elec?secret\\_password=24vdx7v29toba1fa1ie](http://www.scribd.com/doc/104119402/Aug1b-Ctm-Elec?secret_password=24vdx7v29toba1fa1ie) and <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0812/79504.html>

## II. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE & DATA COLLECTION

Our data was collected over a period of approximately four weeks.<sup>6</sup> We provided a link on the login page of our website asking our small business users to take the survey. The survey can be found [here](#) and [here](#), and it also appears in Appendix A of this paper.

We collected four types of data from 6,164 respondents, with each response being mapped to a state. Many are also mapped to individual cities and towns.

1. **Responses to survey questions regarding the specific Presidential, Gubernatorial, and Senatorial candidates.**
  - These included questions regarding the favorability of the various candidates and which candidates the respondent would likely choose, as well as the candidates' apparent support of small business.
  - This includes a 'free form' question, in which respondents were invited to suggest policies and programs that would be helpful for small business. Over a third of the respondents chose to offer a comment or suggestion.
2. **Responses to survey questions evaluating the usefulness and value of various government programs and policies.**
  - The responses address health care, tax cuts, and SBA loans.
3. **Responses to survey questions regarding the factors most important to their voting decisions and their small business:**
  - Single most important issue in choice of president.
  - Single most important economic issue in choice of president.
  - Rating of importance to their business of various factors.
  - Rating of burdensomeness of various costs to their business.
4. **Demographic information connected to each respondent.**
  - This information comes from two sources:
    - i. Self-reported information in the survey. This includes age of business, number of employees at business, respondent's gender, respondent's political preference, and respondent's highest level of education.
    - ii. Thumbtack's internal database. The respondents to this survey are Thumbtack users, and many of these users have given us information about themselves separate from that given in the survey. This includes location (zip, county, and state of business; also includes the major city in which respondent resides if he/she resides in a major city), and professional category.

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<sup>6</sup> The survey was administered between July 27<sup>th</sup> and August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2012.

### III. ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

#### Geographic distribution

The state survey response levels approximately parallel the small business density reported by the US Census.<sup>7</sup> However, some states were slightly overrepresented and others were slightly underrepresented. To minimize any bias that this could introduce into the national scores, we instituted a geographic weighting system. This involved determining the total number of small businesses the Census reported in each state,  $B_{CS}$ .<sup>8</sup> This number was then divided by the total number of small businesses nationally ( $B_{CN}$ ), yielding the percentage of the nation's small businesses contained in that state:

$$B_{CS} \div B_{CN} = R_{CS}$$

The same calculation was performed on the number of respondents to our survey for each state:

$$B_{SS} \div B_{SN} = R_{SS}$$

The percentage of US small businesses in that state based on census data ( $R_{CS}$ ) was then divided by the percentage of survey respondents that were from that state ( $R_{SS}$ ), yielding that state's weighting factor,  $W_s$ :

$$R_{CS} \div R_{SS} = W_s$$

Where the proportion of the sample is lower than the proportion in the population,  $W_s$  is greater than one, thereby adjusting for that state's under-representation. For example, Missouri has 1.8% of the nation's small businesses, but comprised only 1.6% of our survey respondents, leading to an adjustment factor of 1.16. Where the proportion of the sample is higher than the proportion in the population,  $W_s$  is less than one, thereby adjusting for that state's over-representation. The scores for six of the survey questions are provided in Appendices B-1 through B-6.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Census data available at [www.census.gov/epcd/susb/latest/us/us--.htm](http://www.census.gov/epcd/susb/latest/us/us--.htm)

<sup>8</sup> The national number of firms was calculated as the sum of both employee and nonemployee firms within each state, based on US Census data. We used the most common definition of "small business," namely a firm with fewer than 500 employees.

<sup>9</sup> App. B-1: "What is the single most important issue in your choice for president?"

B-2: "Thinking specifically about the economy, what is the most important economic issue in your choice for president?"

B-3: "How important are the following issues to the success of your business?"

B-4: "How burdensome are the following costs to your business?"

B-5: "Independent of who you are voting for, which candidate do you believe is more supportive of small business?"

B-6: "Do you disagree or agree that the following programs help your business?"

-SBA Loans

-Pres. Obama's tax cuts

-Pres. Obama's help care policy

## Gender

We compared the gender composition of our sample with that of US businesses generally. Of the nearly six thousand survey respondents who provided gender information,<sup>10</sup> 37.6% were female, and 62.3% were male. This was almost identical to the gender composition of business owners reported by the Census (35.9% female and 64.1% male).<sup>11</sup> As such, we did not feel the need to utilize a gender-weighted adjustment.

## Business age

To ensure representativeness of our sample, we also compared the age of firms that responded to our survey with the age of businesses generally. The Small Business Administration reports that 69% of small businesses are at least two years old, and 51% are at least five years old.<sup>12</sup> Our sample matches up favorably: 67% are at least two years old, and 48% are at least five years old. The age of our sample businesses was sufficiently close to the age of small businesses generally so as to not warrant a weighting adjustment.

## Business size

According to US Census data, 91.6% of small businesses have between one and five workers.<sup>13</sup> Another 3.8% have 6-10 workers, and 4.6% have over 11 workers.<sup>14</sup> Our survey respondents followed a very similar distribution: 89.1% had between one and five workers, 6.4% had 6-10 workers, and 4.5% had over 11 workers.<sup>15</sup> Given that the proportion of firms in each size category is similar between Census data and our survey results, a weighting adjustment basing on firm size seemed unnecessary.

## Swing (Battleground) States

Exactly what constitutes a “swing” state varies over time and among different polls and publications, although some states are consistently included. For example, the Washington Post has denoted eight states as definite “Tossups,” with another four leaning in one direction while still meriting swing states status.<sup>16</sup> The New York Times takes a slightly broader view, adding one additional “leaning” state to those included in the Post.<sup>17</sup> We tended towards the stricter end of the spectrum, labeling ten states as swing/battleground states:

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<sup>10</sup> Although we had a total of 6164 respondents, about 5% did not specify gender.

<sup>11</sup> Available at [http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/business\\_enterprise.htm](http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/business_enterprise.htm).

<sup>12</sup> Available at <http://web.sba.gov/faqs/faqindex.cfm?arealID=24>

<sup>13</sup> This calculation is based on non-employer firms (*i.e.*, firms with no employees besides the owner) and employer firms with fewer than 500 employees. The full data is available at <http://www.census.gov/econ/smallbus.htm>.

<sup>14</sup> A more precise breakdown for 2008 Census:

2.3% have 11-20 workers, 1.9% have 21-100, and 0.33% have 101-500.

<sup>15</sup> A more precise breakdown for Thumbtack.com survey results:

3.3% have 11-30 workers, 0.6% have 31-50, 0.8% have over 51.

<sup>16</sup> Available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/wp/2012/08/16/swing-state-voters-dont-see-u-s-economy-rebounding/>

<sup>17</sup> Available at <http://elections.nytimes.com/2012/electoral-map> (accessed Sept. 6, 2012).

- Colorado
- Florida
- Iowa
- New Hampshire
- Nevada
- Ohio
- Virginia
- Wisconsin
- Michigan
- North Carolina

#### IV. DISCUSSION

##### **It's the economy, stupid**

Proffered two decades ago, James Carville's sage advice is just as relevant in 2012 as it was in 1992, and perhaps more so. When presented with a dozen choices, 40% of the over six thousand small business owners surveyed named the economy and job creation as the single most important issue in their choice of president.<sup>18</sup> The number edged up another two percentage points among swing state small business owners. Nationwide, the story was largely the same across party lines.<sup>19</sup> However, there were meaningful differences between male and female business owners. Across all political affiliations, men were more likely to choose the economy/jobs as the most important issue, especially among Democrats and Independents.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, women were more likely to choose ethics/honesty/corruption in government or social/moral issues than were men.<sup>21</sup>

While the economy is clearly the most important issue to small businesses, there is less consistency with respect to which facets of the economy matters most to them. "Unemployment and the job market" wins with a plurality of over a quarter of all respondents choosing that as the most important economic issue for them. However, many other choices garnered a substantial portion of the response, with the majority of the thirteen options receiving in the 3-6% range.<sup>22</sup> Responses tended to be very similar across the political spectrum, with a few exceptions. Most notable is the federal budget deficit, which 27% of Republicans chose as the most important economic issue, contrasted with 15% of

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<sup>18</sup> See Appendix B-1

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix B-1.1

<sup>20</sup> Males—Dems: 44%; Inds: 42%; Reps: 45%  
Females—Dems: 33%; Inds: 34%; Reps: 41%

<sup>21</sup> See Appendix B-1.2

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix B-2

Independents and only 8% of Democrats. The opposite was true of health care costs and the financial and banking system.<sup>23</sup>

## Party loyalty and its limits

Behind the economy and jobs, the next highest priority among those identified as Republican or Democrat was electing their candidate and/or defeating the opposing party. This is hardly a surprise, and about 15% of each party chose that as their top issue.<sup>24</sup> More interesting was the second most common top priority among Independents (and number three for both Republicans and Democrats). A full 17% of Independents chose ethics/honesty/corruption in government as the most important issue for them in this year's election, with 12% of Democrats and 10% of Republicans following suit.

Nearly as interesting (and probably more surprising) are the issues that topped few respondents' priorities. Although taxes are a perennial topic of discussion, a paltry 3% listed it as the top issue. This places it behind the federal budget deficit (5%), health care (5%), education (4%) and social/moral issues (6%) in importance to small businesses. In fact, it only ranked ahead of foreign policy/national security issues. Even among economic issues, tax policy was the top concern for less than 6% of small businesses.

So, which candidate is best positioned to take advantage of small business owners' concern about the economy? We asked respondents which candidate is more supportive of small business, independent of whom they intend to vote for. As would be expected, the answers largely split along party lines, which about three-quarters of Republicans and Democrats choosing Mitt Romney and President Obama, respectively.<sup>25</sup> However, among both Republicans and Democrats, one in five is still unsure. The uncertainty is much higher among Independents, with 39% unsure as to which candidate would be better for small business.

## Regulations and costs of doing business

Businesses tended to rate the importance of various regulations according to which profession they worked in. For example, home improvement professionals disproportionately rated workers' compensation costs as an issue that is important to the success of their business.<sup>26</sup> However, small businesses were fairly universal in their response to certain other regulations. For example, taxes and licensing regulations were among the factors consistently rated as issues that are important to the

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<sup>23</sup> See Appendix B-2.1

<sup>24</sup> See Appendix B-1.1

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix B-5.1

<sup>26</sup> Ratings within various professional (and other) categories are available [here](#).

success of small business. Health care costs and federal and state small business incentives also scored highly, with over 75% of small businesses rating them as important, and about 50% as “very important.”<sup>27</sup>

Gas and fuel costs top the list of most burdensome costs, with nearly 60% of respondents describing them as “very burdensome,” and only 6% felt that they were “not burdensome at all.”<sup>28</sup> The next most burdensome costs were self-employment taxes, health care costs, and income taxes.

Business funding was another top concern for small businesses. Nearly two-thirds of businesses indicated that access to capital and loans was important for their business. 63% of respondents indicated that the cost of borrowing money was burdensome to their business, and over half of that group described the cost as “very burdensome.” We also asked an open question in the survey: “What policies or programs could the government change or implement that would help your business?” We categorized the responses according to the topic(s) discussed in the response, and lending issues were clearly top-of-mind: the policy most commonly mentioned by small businesses that would help their business was improved access to loans.

In addition to asking about government programs generally, we asked about three in particular: President Obama’s health care policy, the President’s tax cuts, and Small Business Administration loans. We asked these questions because they are the Obama administration’s three primary talking points when they discuss how the President has helped small business during his first term in office.<sup>29</sup> The most common attitude (even across party lines, for the most part) is one of ambivalence, with nearly half of the respondents feeling neither helped nor hurt by the programs.<sup>30</sup> There are some stronger sentiments, however. Among Republicans, 58% strongly disagreed that Obama’s health care policy was helpful, and 40% felt similarly about the Obama tax cuts. In contrast, Democrats tend to feel substantially more positive about the three programs: as a group, they were about three times more likely than Independents to feel strongly that the programs were helpful.

For more information on any of our findings or to learn more about Thumbtack, please contact us at [nathan.allen@thumbtack.com](mailto:nathan.allen@thumbtack.com) or [sander.daniels@thumbtack.com](mailto:sander.daniels@thumbtack.com).

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<sup>27</sup> See Appendix B-3

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix B-4

<sup>29</sup> See <http://www.barackobama.com/small-business-owners/accomplishments>

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix B-6.1





## Appendix A:

### Thumbtack - George Washington University Poll

Thanks for participating in the inaugural Thumbtack – George Washington University Small Business Political Survey!

This survey should take 7-10 minutes to complete.

This survey was developed in partnership between Thumbtack and George Washington University and seeks to provide insight into the political issues that matter most to small businesses across the country.

The results of this survey will be used by Thumbtack and George Washington University to provide policymakers and researchers with valuable information on how small businesses feel about their state and national policymakers.

Unless you elect otherwise, your name will not be released outside of Thumbtack and George Washington University. And all publicly released analysis of the survey's results will reflect only aggregate results.

Thanks again.

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#### ***The Basics***

In which state do you primarily operate your business?

Are you registered to vote?

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#### ***National Politics***

How closely are you following the 2012 presidential race?

- Very closely     Somewhat closely     Not so closely     Not closely at all

Overall, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of Barack Obama?

- Favorable     Unfavorable     No opinion

Overall, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of Mitt Romney?

- Favorable       Unfavorable       No opinion

If the presidential election were being held today and the candidates were Barack Obama (the Democrat) and Mitt Romney (the Republican), for whom would you vote?

- Barack Obama       Mitt Romney       Not sure

What is the single most important issue in your choice for president?

- Beating Obama/Electing Romney/Supporting the Republicans
- Beating Romney/Electing Obama/Supporting the Democrats
- Economy/Jobs
- Education
- Ethics/Honesty/Corruption in Government
- Federal Budget Deficit
- Foreign Policy/National Security
- No Opinion
- Other
- Social/Moral Issues
- Taxes

Thinking specifically about the economy, what is the most important economic issue in your choice for president?

- Federal budget deficit
- Financial and banking system
- Gas/fuel prices
- Health care costs
- Home values and the housing market
- Inflation/rising prices
- No opinion
- Other
- Personal debt
- Social Security
- Student Loans
- Taxes
- Unemployment and the job market

Independent of who you are voting for, which candidate do you believe is more supportive of small business?

- Barack Obama    
  Mitt Romney    
  Not sure

Please evaluate the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
<b>President Obama's health care policy helps my business</b>					
<b>President Obama's tax cuts help my business</b>					
<b>Small Business Administration loans help my business</b>					

How important are the following issues to the success of your business?

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not so important	Not important at all
<b>Business/workers' compensation insurance costs</b>				
<b>Deficit reduction &amp; entitlement reform</b>				
<b>Employment, labor, hiring and union regulations</b>				
<b>Environmental regulations</b>				
<b>Export/import trade policy</b>				
<b>Federal small business incentives</b>				
<b>State small business incentives</b>				
<b>Health and safety regulations</b>				
<b>Health care costs</b>				
<b>Immigration policy</b>				
<b>Licensing/permitting requirements and fees</b>				
<b>Tax rates and tax-related regulations</b>				
<b>Tort/medical malpractice regulations</b>				
<b>Zoning or land use regulations</b>				

How burdensome are the following costs to your business?

	Very burdensome	Somewhat burdensome	Not so burdensome	Not burdensome at all
<b>Accounting fees</b>				
<b>Automobile insurance costs</b>				
<b>Business insurance costs</b>				
<b>Costs of borrowing money</b>				
<b>Disability insurance costs</b>				
<b>Gas/fuel costs</b>				
<b>Health care costs</b>				
<b>Legal fees</b>				
<b>Licensing/permitting forms, requirements, and fees</b>				
<b>Minimum wage costs</b>				
<b>Personal income taxes</b>				
<b>Property taxes</b>				
<b>Self-employment taxes</b>				
<b>Social Security taxes</b>				
<b>Tort/medical malpractice insurance costs</b>				
<b>Worker's compensation costs</b>				

What policies or programs could the government change or implement that would help your business?

For example:

What policy changes would help your business succeed?

Have you ever used any training or networking programs offered by the Small Business Administration?

Does the government do anything to help support your business?

Would you be willing to be quoted in the press about your views on politics and small business?

- Yes       No
- 

### ***You and Your Business***

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a...

- Democrat       Republican       Independent

How long has your business been operating?

- Less than 1 year     1-2 years       3-4 years     5 or more years

How many people does your business employ?

- 1-2     3-5     6-10     11-30     31-50     51+

What is your gender?

- Female     Male

What is the highest level of education you have reached?

- No high school       High school       Community college     Technical college  
 Undergraduate degree     Masters degree     Doctoral degree

**Appendix B-1: “What is the single most important issue in your choice for President?”**

Rank Code	Most important issue in choosing president	National Weighted Score
A	Beating Obama/electing Romney/Supporting the Republicans	5.06%
B	Beating Romney/electing Obama/Supporting the Democrats	6.05%
C	Economy/jobs	39.82%
D	Education	3.81%
E	Ethics/honesty/corruption in government	13.73%
F	Federal budget deficit	4.93%
G	Foreign policy/national security	1.62%
H	Keeping/repealing Obama's health care policy	5.25%
I	No opinion	5.40%
J	Other	5.20%
K	Social/moral issues	6.32%
L	Taxes	2.87%

RESPONSE	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
<b>STATE</b>												
Alabama	10%	7%	34%	3%	8%	10%	2%	8%	2%	10%	7%	0%
Alaska	0%	0%	53%	0%	16%	5%	0%	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%
Arizona	7%	5%	40%	3%	15%	7%	2%	7%	4%	6%	3%	1%
Arkansas	3%	9%	48%	12%	9%	6%	0%	3%	3%	0%	3%	3%
California	4%	7%	38%	5%	17%	4%	1%	5%	6%	4%	7%	3%
Colorado	5%	2%	39%	3%	16%	3%	0%	6%	6%	7%	11%	2%
Connecticut	3%	1%	47%	4%	11%	3%	7%	3%	6%	3%	7%	4%
Delaware	0%	0%	30%	5%	25%	5%	0%	5%	10%	10%	0%	10%
District of Columbia	3%	10%	29%	10%	16%	6%	0%	3%	0%	10%	10%	3%
Florida	5%	5%	45%	3%	12%	5%	1%	4%	7%	5%	5%	2%
Georgia	3%	7%	46%	4%	11%	4%	1%	7%	5%	4%	4%	4%
Hawaii	0%	3%	31%	10%	14%	3%	3%	7%	10%	17%	0%	0%
Idaho	13%	7%	27%	3%	27%	17%	0%	0%	0%	3%	3%	0%
Illinois	3%	8%	41%	3%	10%	7%	1%	6%	5%	8%	6%	3%
Indiana	4%	1%	38%	1%	14%	9%	1%	5%	8%	9%	8%	0%
Iowa	6%	2%	39%	4%	8%	6%	0%	6%	6%	6%	12%	4%
Kansas	14%	4%	22%	2%	24%	12%	0%	8%	2%	2%	10%	2%
Kentucky	8%	5%	39%	0%	18%	3%	0%	5%	5%	3%	8%	5%



Louisiana	11%	5%	34%	5%	13%	5%	0%	5%	8%	5%	5%	3%
Maine	0%	23%	37%	10%	10%	7%	0%	3%	3%	3%	3%	0%
Maryland	3%	8%	41%	5%	12%	2%	2%	6%	3%	5%	8%	5%
Massachusetts	3%	6%	52%	5%	10%	2%	2%	3%	3%	6%	5%	3%
Michigan	5%	5%	45%	4%	15%	4%	1%	4%	4%	3%	6%	6%
Minnesota	8%	8%	32%	2%	15%	4%	3%	4%	7%	9%	6%	3%
Mississippi	10%	8%	38%	2%	6%	4%	2%	8%	4%	12%	8%	0%
Missouri	5%	8%	44%	3%	14%	0%	0%	3%	2%	5%	9%	5%
Montana	0%	0%	53%	16%	5%	5%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	5%
Nebraska	10%	10%	29%	10%	14%	5%	5%	5%	5%	0%	10%	0%
Nevada	7%	13%	29%	9%	14%	3%	1%	4%	7%	9%	3%	1%
New Hampshire	6%	6%	51%	0%	17%	0%	0%	9%	3%	9%	0%	0%
New Jersey	4%	6%	46%	3%	11%	6%	1%	5%	5%	2%	7%	5%
New Mexico	0%	9%	22%	13%	26%	0%	4%	4%	0%	0%	13%	9%
New York	3%	8%	40%	4%	13%	3%	3%	5%	7%	4%	6%	3%
North Carolina	5%	3%	45%	2%	15%	5%	0%	3%	4%	6%	9%	2%
North Dakota	13%	7%	40%	7%	7%	7%	0%	0%	0%	7%	13%	0%
Ohio	6%	5%	39%	4%	14%	7%	3%	4%	7%	5%	4%	2%
Oklahoma	9%	2%	35%	4%	9%	13%	2%	9%	4%	2%	7%	4%
Oregon	3%	7%	32%	2%	25%	3%	1%	10%	3%	6%	5%	3%
Pennsylvania	4%	5%	41%	4%	13%	2%	1%	8%	8%	5%	7%	2%
Rhode Island	0%	8%	52%	4%	16%	0%	0%	4%	0%	4%	0%	12%
South Carolina	8%	6%	42%	0%	11%	2%	4%	1%	6%	6%	11%	4%
South Dakota	0%	0%	55%	0%	15%	15%	0%	0%	0%	15%	0%	0%
Tennessee	8%	3%	37%	2%	16%	7%	2%	8%	6%	0%	8%	4%
Texas	7%	6%	35%	3%	12%	6%	3%	6%	5%	6%	6%	4%
Utah	4%	2%	35%	4%	11%	18%	2%	11%	2%	9%	4%	0%
Vermont	0%	5%	50%	0%	20%	5%	0%	0%	5%	0%	5%	10%
Virginia	8%	7%	40%	5%	14%	3%	4%	4%	5%	5%	6%	1%
Washington	3%	5%	38%	3%	16%	7%	0%	5%	8%	7%	6%	2%
West Virginia	8%	4%	21%	0%	25%	13%	0%	4%	4%	8%	13%	0%
Wisconsin	8%	11%	37%	4%	18%	3%	2%	4%	5%	3%	4%	0%
Wyoming	0%	0%	53%	5%	5%	0%	5%	5%	16%	5%	0%	5%



**Appendix B-1.1: “What is the single most important issue in your choice for President?”**

**Political Orientation**

<b>Most important issue in choosing president</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>Republican</b>
Beating Obama/electing Romney/Supporting the Republicans	1%	2%	15%
Beating Romney/electing Obama/Supporting the Democrats	15%	3%	1%
Economy/jobs	39%	39%	43%
Education	6%	4%	2%
Ethics/honesty/corruption in government	12%	17%	10%
Federal budget deficit	3%	5%	7%
Foreign policy/national security	1%	2%	2%
Keeping/repealing Obama's health care policy	5%	5%	6%
No opinion	3%	8%	3%
Other	5%	7%	3%
Social/moral issues	8%	5%	7%
Taxes	2%	3%	2%

**Appendix B-1.2: “What is the single most important issue in your choice for President?”**

**Political Orientation + Gender**

Most important issue in choosing president	Female			Male		
	Democrat	Independent	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican
Beating Obama/electing Romney/Supporting the Republicans	0%	2%	13%	1%	2%	16%
Beating Romney/electing Obama/Supporting the Democrats	16%	4%	0%	15%	2%	1%
Economy/jobs	33%	34%	41%	44%	42%	45%
Education	6%	5%	3%	5%	3%	1%
Ethics/honesty/corruption in government	13%	19%	12%	11%	17%	9%
Federal budget deficit	3%	5%	7%	2%	5%	7%
Foreign policy/national security	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%
Keeping/repealing Obama’s health care policy	7%	5%	7%	4%	4%	5%
No opinion	4%	8%	2%	3%	8%	3%
Other	5%	7%	4%	5%	6%	3%
Social/moral issues	11%	5%	7%	5%	5%	6%
Taxes	1%	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%

**Appendix B-2: “Thinking specifically about the economy, what is the most important economic issue in your choice for president?”**

Rank Code	Most important economic issue in choosing president	National Weighted Score
A	Federal budget deficit	16.08%
B	Financial and banking system	7.79%
C	Gas/fuel prices	5.70%
D	Health care costs	9.75%
E	Home values and the housing market	4.23%
F	Inflation/rising prices	6.82%
G	No opinion	4.93%
H	Other	4.29%
I	Personal debt	2.41%
J	Social Security	2.52%
K	Student loans	3.12%
L	Taxes	5.80%
M	Unemployment and the job market	26.55%

RESPONSE	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
<b>STATE</b>													
Alabama	23%	8%	5%	3%	5%	11%	0%	7%	0%	3%	5%	7%	23%
Alaska	21%	11%	5%	0%	21%	0%	11%	5%	5%	0%	0%	5%	16%
Arizona	19%	6%	3%	9%	4%	7%	5%	5%	3%	3%	2%	6%	27%
Arkansas	9%	12%	0%	12%	0%	9%	6%	9%	6%	0%	9%	6%	21%
California	14%	8%	5%	12%	4%	8%	5%	3%	2%	2%	2%	4%	29%
Colorado	16%	9%	6%	12%	3%	4%	5%	5%	3%	2%	3%	6%	24%
Connecticut	10%	12%	4%	9%	6%	7%	3%	1%	1%	3%	6%	10%	28%
Delaware	15%	15%	5%	0%	5%	15%	15%	5%	0%	0%	0%	5%	20%
District of Columbia	6%	13%	6%	0%	6%	6%	0%	10%	0%	6%	16%	10%	19%
Florida	15%	8%	6%	11%	7%	5%	6%	5%	3%	2%	2%	5%	26%
Georgia	17%	4%	6%	13%	2%	4%	6%	4%	2%	0%	5%	6%	31%
Hawaii	7%	18%	4%	11%	0%	4%	18%	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%
Idaho	34%	0%	10%	3%	3%	0%	0%	7%	3%	3%	7%	3%	24%
Illinois	14%	8%	4%	8%	7%	7%	4%	4%	1%	2%	4%	6%	31%
Indiana	25%	9%	1%	12%	1%	5%	4%	4%	4%	1%	4%	4%	24%



Iowa	16%	6%	4%	14%	6%	4%	8%	0%	2%	4%	2%	10%	22%
Kansas	10%	12%	8%	10%	4%	6%	2%	4%	0%	6%	2%	14%	22%
Kentucky	32%	5%	8%	3%	5%	8%	5%	5%	5%	5%	0%	3%	16%
Louisiana	16%	14%	3%	5%	5%	14%	5%	5%	0%	5%	5%	8%	14%
Maine	13%	13%	0%	17%	7%	3%	10%	3%	0%	7%	10%	3%	13%
Maryland	16%	8%	5%	12%	8%	8%	4%	6%	2%	1%	4%	6%	19%
Massachusetts	10%	8%	7%	7%	5%	7%	1%	5%	4%	0%	4%	3%	40%
Michigan	12%	4%	9%	10%	4%	6%	4%	4%	3%	1%	5%	7%	29%
Minnesota	22%	10%	4%	9%	3%	6%	7%	8%	2%	1%	3%	8%	20%
Mississippi	12%	10%	8%	2%	2%	18%	0%	4%	0%	8%	8%	12%	18%
Missouri	13%	11%	3%	6%	7%	6%	5%	4%	0%	3%	2%	9%	29%
Montana	26%	21%	11%	5%	0%	0%	5%	5%	0%	5%	0%	11%	11%
Nebraska	10%	15%	5%	15%	0%	15%	0%	5%	0%	5%	0%	5%	25%
Nevada	12%	7%	3%	8%	5%	3%	9%	9%	0%	3%	4%	5%	31%
New Hampshire	20%	3%	3%	6%	11%	9%	0%	6%	0%	3%	0%	14%	26%
New Jersey	12%	10%	3%	8%	7%	5%	5%	5%	2%	1%	4%	6%	33%
New Mexico	22%	17%	4%	0%	0%	9%	0%	4%	9%	9%	0%	0%	26%
New York	11%	8%	4%	10%	4%	7%	7%	5%	4%	3%	3%	5%	28%
North Carolina	18%	9%	8%	8%	3%	2%	5%	6%	2%	1%	2%	7%	27%
North Dakota	20%	20%	0%	13%	0%	7%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	27%
Ohio	15%	5%	9%	13%	5%	5%	5%	3%	3%	1%	2%	7%	28%
Oklahoma	20%	7%	13%	9%	2%	15%	7%	2%	2%	4%	2%	0%	17%
Oregon	14%	8%	4%	14%	8%	5%	1%	5%	5%	1%	1%	7%	30%
Pennsylvania	14%	5%	5%	12%	3%	8%	6%	3%	5%	5%	3%	7%	21%
Rhode Island	4%	12%	4%	8%	8%	12%	4%	8%	0%	8%	8%	4%	20%
South Carolina	19%	7%	8%	14%	1%	7%	6%	5%	0%	5%	1%	7%	19%
South Dakota	25%	5%	10%	15%	0%	15%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	5%	20%
Tennessee	26%	6%	8%	11%	2%	6%	7%	1%	2%	2%	3%	4%	24%
Texas	19%	7%	9%	10%	3%	8%	3%	4%	2%	3%	4%	7%	22%
Utah	25%	9%	4%	15%	2%	7%	4%	4%	0%	0%	5%	9%	16%
Vermont	11%	0%	5%	0%	5%	21%	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%	11%	32%
Virginia	16%	7%	7%	12%	4%	4%	3%	8%	4%	2%	1%	7%	26%
Washington	23%	4%	6%	9%	6%	10%	6%	2%	1%	4%	1%	4%	26%
West Virginia	17%	9%	22%	17%	9%	4%	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	4%	13%
Wisconsin	18%	7%	7%	16%	3%	4%	3%	4%	3%	1%	4%	2%	26%
Wyoming	21%	0%	5%	11%	0%	11%	16%	5%	5%	0%	0%	5%	21%

**Appendix B-2.1: “Thinking specifically about the economy, what is the most important economic issue in your choice for president?”**

**Political Orientation**

<b>Most important economic issue in choosing president</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>Republican</b>
<b>Federal budget deficit</b>	8%	15%	27%
<b>Financial and banking system</b>	9%	9%	4%
<b>Gas/fuel prices</b>	5%	6%	6%
<b>Health care costs</b>	15%	9%	8%
<b>Home values and the housing market</b>	5%	4%	5%
<b>Inflation/rising prices</b>	6%	7%	6%
<b>No opinion</b>	3%	7%	3%
<b>Other</b>	3%	5%	4%
<b>Personal debt</b>	3%	2%	2%
<b>Social Security</b>	3%	2%	2%
<b>Student loans</b>	5%	3%	1%
<b>Taxes</b>	5%	5%	8%
<b>Unemployment and the job market</b>	30%	25%	25%

**Appendix B-3 “How important are the following issues to the success of your business?”**

**National Response**

	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>Not so important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Very important</b>
<b>Access to capital/loans</b>	15%	24%	31%	30%
<b>Business/workers' compensation insurance costs</b>	17%	21%	29%	32%
<b>Deficit reduction &amp; entitlement reform</b>	16%	24%	30%	31%
<b>Employment, labor, hiring and union regulations</b>	18%	22%	28%	32%
<b>Environmental regulations</b>	20%	26%	29%	25%
<b>Export/import trade policy</b>	25%	27%	26%	22%
<b>Federal small business incentives</b>	10%	12%	33%	45%
<b>State small business incentives</b>	8%	11%	32%	49%
<b>Health and safety regulations</b>	15%	24%	33%	28%
<b>Health care costs</b>	10%	13%	26%	50%
<b>Immigration policy</b>	27%	24%	21%	28%
<b>Licensing/permitting requirements and fees</b>	10%	17%	34%	39%
<b>Tax rates and tax-related regulations</b>	6%	9%	32%	52%
<b>Tort/medical malpractice regulations</b>	28%	27%	24%	22%
<b>Zoning or land use regulations</b>	26%	28%	25%	21%

**Appendix B-4 “How burdensome are the following costs to your business?”**

**National Response**

	<b>Not burdensome at all</b>	<b>Not so burdensome</b>	<b>Somewhat burdensome</b>	<b>Very burdensome</b>
<b>Accounting fees</b>	18%	31%	33%	17%
<b>Automobile insurance costs</b>	13%	26%	35%	26%
<b>Business insurance costs</b>	12%	21%	35%	32%
<b>Costs of borrowing money</b>	16%	21%	29%	34%
<b>Disability insurance costs</b>	24%	29%	25%	21%
<b>Gas/fuel costs</b>	6%	10%	25%	59%
<b>Health care costs</b>	13%	16%	26%	45%
<b>Legal fees</b>	18%	30%	27%	25%
<b>Licensing/permitting forms, requirements, and fees</b>	12%	24%	33%	31%
<b>Minimum wage costs</b>	31%	33%	20%	16%
<b>Personal income taxes</b>	8%	16%	34%	42%
<b>Property taxes</b>	19%	22%	27%	33%
<b>Self-employment taxes</b>	8%	14%	30%	49%
<b>Social Security taxes</b>	10%	20%	31%	39%
<b>Tort/medical malpractice insurance costs</b>	33%	28%	19%	20%
<b>Worker's compensation costs</b>	28%	25%	21%	26%

**Appendix B-5: “Independent of who you are voting for, which candidate do you believe is more supportive of small business?”**

Candidate more supportive of small business	Nationally adjusted %
Barack Obama	39.40%
Mitt Romney	32.19%
Not Sure	28.42%

CANDIDATE	Barack Obama	Mitt Romney	Not sure
<b>STATE</b>			
Alabama	29.51%	47.54%	22.95%
Alaska	35.00%	30.00%	35.00%
Arizona	32.04%	39.78%	28.18%
Arkansas	42.42%	42.42%	15.15%
California	42.36%	26.76%	30.88%
Colorado	41.24%	29.94%	28.81%
Connecticut	45.71%	27.14%	27.14%
Delaware	57.89%	10.53%	31.58%
District of Columbia	41.94%	16.13%	41.94%
Florida	37.50%	34.77%	27.73%
Georgia	47.30%	30.63%	22.07%
Hawaii	46.43%	21.43%	32.14%
Idaho	36.67%	50.00%	13.33%
Illinois	45.55%	23.56%	30.89%
Indiana	32.47%	42.86%	24.68%
Iowa	28.57%	38.78%	32.65%
Kansas	20.83%	52.08%	27.08%
Kentucky	23.68%	55.26%	21.05%
Louisiana	28.95%	36.84%	34.21%
Maine	46.67%	16.67%	36.67%
Maryland	50.32%	25.81%	23.87%
Massachusetts	46.75%	27.27%	25.97%
Michigan	37.14%	32.86%	30.00%
Minnesota	38.46%	31.73%	29.81%
Mississippi	34.62%	44.23%	21.15%





Missouri	35.05%	23.71%	41.24%
Montana	21.05%	36.84%	42.11%
Nebraska	42.86%	23.81%	33.33%
Nevada	36.00%	26.67%	37.33%
New Hampshire	44.12%	35.29%	20.59%
New Jersey	36.72%	35.03%	28.25%
New Mexico	47.83%	30.43%	21.74%
New York	41.95%	19.76%	38.30%
North Carolina	40.29%	31.55%	28.16%
North Dakota	33.33%	40.00%	26.67%
Ohio	37.11%	37.74%	25.16%
Oklahoma	19.57%	43.48%	36.96%
Oregon	46.62%	22.56%	30.83%
Pennsylvania	46.67%	25.24%	28.10%
Rhode Island	57.69%	11.54%	30.77%
South Carolina	26.51%	53.01%	20.48%
South Dakota	25.00%	60.00%	15.00%
Tennessee	24.76%	45.71%	29.52%
Texas	39.45%	35.09%	25.46%
Utah	29.63%	61.11%	9.26%
Vermont	47.37%	31.58%	21.05%
Virginia	40.24%	27.22%	32.54%
Washington	36.65%	34.16%	29.19%
West Virginia	37.50%	45.83%	16.67%
Wisconsin	36.56%	36.56%	26.88%
Wyoming	36.84%	31.58%	31.58%

**Appendix B-5.1: “Independent of who you are voting for, which candidate do you believe is more supportive of small business?”**

<b>Candidate more supportive of small business</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>Republican</b>
<b>Barack Obama</b>	75%	34%	8%
<b>Mitt Romney</b>	7%	27%	72%
<b>Not Sure</b>	19%	39%	21%

**Appendix B-6: “Do you disagree or agree that the following programs help your business?”**

	<b>President Obama's health care policy helps my business</b>	<b>President Obama's tax cuts help my business</b>	<b>Small Business Administration loans help my business</b>
<b>Strongly agree</b>	10%	11%	11%
<b>Agree</b>	10%	19%	16%
<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	38%	38%	45%
<b>Disagree</b>	11%	11%	12%
<b>Strongly disagree</b>	30%	20%	17%

**Appendix B-6.1: “Do you disagree or agree that the following programs help your business?”**

	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>Republican</b>
<b>President Obama's health care policy helps my business</b>			
Strongly agree	23%	7%	2%
Agree	19%	9%	2%
Neither agree nor disagree	45%	44%	21%
Disagree	6%	12%	17%
Strongly disagree	8%	28%	58%
<b>President Obama's tax cuts help my business</b>			
Strongly agree	24%	8%	2%
Agree	32%	18%	7%
Neither agree nor disagree	35%	44%	32%
Disagree	5%	11%	19%
Strongly disagree	5%	19%	40%
<b>Small Business Administration loans help my business</b>			
Strongly agree	20%	8%	6%
Agree	21%	15%	12%
Neither agree nor disagree	43%	48%	41%
Disagree	8%	12%	16%
Strongly disagree	9%	18%	25%