
Battle for the Suburban Vote:

Economic unease, political uncertainty

The Ninth National Suburban Survey
for
The National Center for Suburban Studies
at
Hofstra University

By

Princeton Survey Research Associates International

Executive Summary

The battle for the White House raged through the first half of 2016. With the presidential race roughly even at the national level in this latest Hofstra National Suburban Poll, conducted in May 2016, suburban residents were breaking for Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton. But they express equal disdain for both candidates.

In substantial contradiction, suburban residents have more than reversed their negative views of President Obama's work in the last two years, but nearly two-thirds of suburban residents are dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today, up slightly from 2014.

With voters paying attention to the race at levels not usually seen until the fall, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump find themselves in a close race among registered voters nationwide (46% v. 45%). However, in May, Trump clearly had the edge over the former Secretary of State among suburban voters (52% v. 39%), while Clinton draws strong support in urban areas (65% v. 27%). For this analysis, the numbers are based on those who express a preference for Clinton or Trump or who lean toward voting for them in the fall.

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 1,508 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 May 10 to May 31, 2016.

In this presidential election year, suburbanites are concerned about a multitude of issues – local as well as national – such as crime and drugs, unemployment, race relations, immigration and climate change, to name a few.

On the issue of personal finances overall, suburban adults have seen signs of improvement in their personal financial situation over the last two years but a majority still think they are in a negative space financially.

Despite these economic and local concerns, Americans are optimistic about the country's long-term economic future (51%) and believe that individual success is built upon a willingness to work hard (68%). A strong work ethic is only part of the solution though, according to the current study. Adults across the country think the \$7.25 hourly federal minimum wage should be increased, with strong support for an increase among both suburban and urban residents (71% and 81% respectively).

This Hofstra survey, the ninth in a series, oversampled adults living in suburban areas of the country, completing interviews with 1,006 adults in the suburbs, focusing on suburban life, economics and politics. The previous Hofstra Suburban surveys were conducted in

September 2008, October 2008, October 2009, September 2010, November 2011, June 2012, October 2012 and August 2014.¹

The coming presidential election

The remarkable presidential primary contests of 2016 have generated intense interest in the presidential election far earlier than usual. About seven in ten Americans have given a lot of thought to the presidential contest this fall. Just two in ten say they have given the election only a little thought. With the potential for changes in party control of the White House and Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike are paying just as much attention to the general election matchup now as they have in the weeks right before past presidential contests.

Mixed favorability ratings of the candidate field

The two candidates heading to the fall ballot are among the least well-regarded among those in the top of the news this spring.

Suburban Americans have less than glowing views of business mogul Donald Trump. Four in ten (38%) have a favorable opinion of Trump, compared with six in ten (59%) who have an unfavorable opinion. Just 15 percent of suburban Americans have a very favorable view of Trump, while 43 percent say they hold a very unfavorable opinion.

Clinton does about the same. Only 36 percent express a favorable view of Hillary Clinton, while 62 percent give unfavorable ratings. Only 14 percent of suburban residents give her very favorable reviews while 41 percent rate her very unfavorably.

Vermont independent senator Bernie Sanders, Clinton's final rival in the primaries, does better, but he still falls a bit short of a majority: Forty-eight percent say they have a favorable opinion, including about one in five (18%) who have a very favorable opinion. Forty-three percent express an unfavorable view.

In contrast, half of suburban respondents (52%) have a favorable opinion of President Obama, including one-quarter who say their opinion is very favorable. Almost as many have an unfavorable opinion (46%), with three in ten saying they look very unfavorably on the President. Obama does especially well among urban residents, with seven in ten giving him favorable marks, including a plurality (42%) giving him top marks.

Trump's former competitors in the GOP primaries do not do very well either. Just as many regard Ted Cruz unfavorably but fewer gave him positive ratings when compared with Trump (30% favorable-58% unfavorable). Marco Rubio is also poorly rated by suburbanites (35%

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*.

favorable-47% unfavorable). John Kasich fared slightly better than others in the Republican field (39% favorable-35% unfavorable).

Dissatisfaction looms but optimism rises

Suburbanites largely express dissatisfaction with how things are going in this country today (65%), a finding that remains relatively unchanged from 2014 (63%). However, compared with a similar period in 2012, there is an uptick in optimism among the public four years later. Today, three in ten suburban dwellers are satisfied with the direction of the nation, up five percentage points from June 2012 and twice as satisfied as November 2011 when just 15 percent expressed that opinion two years post-recession.

In a stark turnaround from 2014, which marked his lowest rating in a Hofstra poll to date (39% approve-51% disapprove), President Obama now has approval from almost half of suburbanites, though opinions still split (48% approve-46% disapprove). This finding is similar to the result in the June 2012 Hofstra survey (45% approve-46% disapprove), where suburban America was also divided but not quite as forlorn as 2014.

Views on the economic climate

There are signs that the financial health of American suburban residents continues to inch upwards since the Great Recession when millions lost their jobs or lost their homes when the bottom fell out of the real estate market. But there is a lingering unease and progress may feel slow to some people who are not yet able to say they are in good standing financially.

More Americans indicate their personal financial situation has improved since the last Hofstra study in 2014, particularly for suburbanites. Today, nearly half of suburban adults rate their personal finances as excellent or good (47%), including one in ten who report they are in excellent financial shape. This is an increase compared with just two years ago, when 41 percent of suburban dwellers gave their finances positive marks. But in contrast, over half of Americans nationwide, and fully half of suburban adults, say their personal finances are in only fair or poor shape.

Personal finances may show only incremental improvement but home prices in America have rebounded significantly since the Great Recession. Roughly two-thirds of respondents say that the home prices in their neighborhood have risen in the past 12 months. Similar shares of suburbanites say the same.

Restored confidence in government and local institutions

Majorities have at least some confidence in local, state or federal government. Local governments take the prize with two-thirds of adults expressing confidence. Confidence in local police and confidence in local public schools are back up after a small dip in confidence two years ago, according to the latest Hofstra poll.

Confidence in Washington has taken a hit in the past few years and now seems to be on the rise. Suburbanites were split in 2014 (49% confidence-49% no confidence) and a majority lacked confidence four years earlier in 2012 (47% confidence-51% no confidence). Today, half of suburban Americans (51%) have a lot or some confidence in the federal government. Nearly as many (47%) have not too much confidence or no confidence at all.

Following the generally positive trend seen in other areas of this year's study, increased numbers of suburbanites now say they have a lot or some confidence in their local law enforcement (82% confidence-18% no confidence in 2016 v. 78% confidence-20% no confidence in 2014).

Cross-currents on the issues

In this ninth edition of the Hofstra Suburban poll, one message is clear: suburban views on key issues are complex, varied, evolving and at times, contradictory.

The role of government depends on the issue, according to suburbanites. When it comes to business, they want government to take a step back. Half say that government regulation of business usually does more harm than good and 39 percent say it is necessary to protect the public interest. However, suburban adults want the government to be involved in reducing income inequality. Six in ten say government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between rich and poor. One-third disagree.

Income inequality is a concern for Americans and so is a living wage. Three-quarters of Americans nationwide favor increasing the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 per hour, including 71 percent of suburban adults and 81 percent of urban dwellers. A handful would favor an increase depending on the amount.

This country is also divided when it comes to free trade agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, and the impact that U.S. trade with other countries may have on jobs in this nation. Four in ten suburbanites think trade with foreign countries is a good thing for the United States, while an equal share (40%) think it is a bad thing. Nearly one in five suburban adults (17%) do not know enough about these trade agreements to share an opinion.

On immigration, an increased share of suburbanites are now in favor of allowing illegal immigrants already in this country a path to citizenship. At 31 percent, this is a rise since 2014 when just 25 percent shared this view. This also marks the largest share of suburban Americans to support a path to citizenship since the topic was first introduced in a Hofstra poll in the fall of 2010.

Suburban residents are also worried about climate change. Two-thirds say it is a problem. Thirty-nine percent say it is a very serious problem and another 27 percent say it is somewhat serious. One-third say climate change is not much of a problem, including 17 percent who do not consider it a problem at all.

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Chapter 1: Election 2016: A nation divided

The remarkable presidential primary contests of 2016 have generated intense interest in the presidential election far earlier than usual. About seven in ten Americans have given a lot of thought to the presidential contest this fall. Just two in ten say they have given the election only a little thought. With the potential for changes in party control of the White House and Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike are paying just as much attention to the general election matchup now as they have in the weeks right before past presidential contests.

Suburbs and the race for the White House

In a head-to-head battle between presumptive nominees Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, registered voters nationwide are locked in a close battle (46% v. 45%), the new Hofstra poll shows. Ten percent say they would choose someone else, choose not to vote or do not know how they would cast their ballots today. For this analysis, the numbers are based on those who express a preference for Clinton or Trump or who lean toward voting for them in the fall.

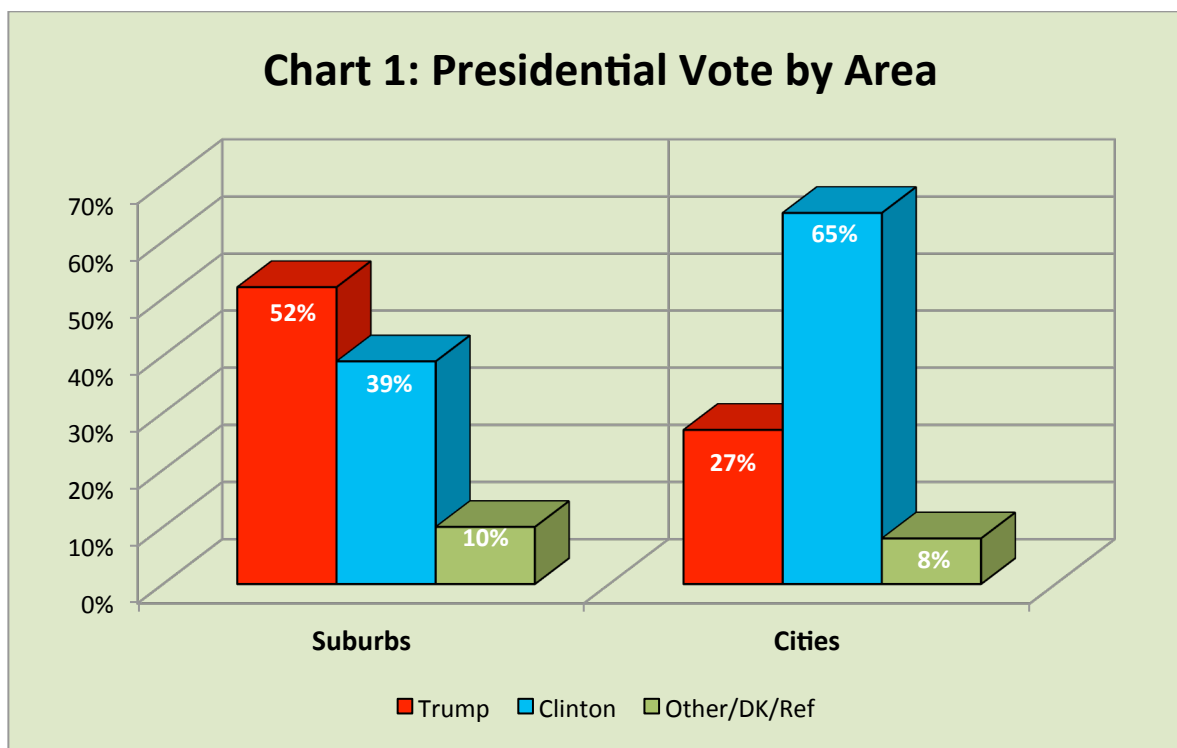
- As reflective of an unusual primary season (and an unfinished Democratic battle in May), there are a fair number of suburban voters who are not expressing a direct preference. Just focusing on those who responded to the straight presidential vote question (and not including the leaners), four percent of suburban voters say they would vote for a candidate other than Trump or Clinton. Seven percent say they would not vote; three percent say they do not know who they will vote for and one percent refuse to give an answer.

Vote preference plays out differently in the suburbs, which has long been thought of as a stronghold for the Republican Party. Though suburban voters in the fall of 2008 and 2012 broke in favor of the Democratic ticket, they are showing early signs of support for Trump, the businessman-turned-politician who is expected to accept the GOP nomination in Cleveland this summer.²

This latest Hofstra survey was conducted during May, as Trump vanquished his GOP rivals, while Clinton continued to battle Bernie Sanders on the Democratic side. Shortly after the current Hofstra poll was conducted, Clinton secured enough delegates on June 7 to become the presumptive Democratic nominee while Trump continued to joust with the Republican establishment. More recently, polls have shown some widening of the margin. The Huffington Post Pollster average of all registered voter polls in April and May put the race as close to dead even, with Clinton at 43.7 percent and Trump at 42 percent nationally. For registered voter polls taken from June 1-16, the Pollster average widened substantially, to

² Results based on suburban registered voters have an error margin of plus or minus 4.3 percentage points.

Clinton at 42.6 percent and Trump at 35.5 percent. These aggregate numbers are sensitive to which national polls are conducted and the methodologies used in a given time period, but the June trend is fairly clear.³



Half of suburban registered voters say they will back Trump in the fall (52%), compared with 39 percent who back the former Secretary of State. Clinton fares much better among voters in urban areas: more than six in ten (65%) say they would choose Clinton over Trump, and a quarter say they will break for Trump.

- A majority of suburban white voters would elect Trump to the White House (59% v. 33% Clinton), while suburban minority voters back Clinton over Trump by almost a three-to-one margin (22% v. 64% Clinton).
- Suburban men would vote for Trump instead of Clinton (58% v. 33%). Suburban women are evenly split, with 46 percent in Trump's corner and 44 percent behind Clinton. There is no statistical difference between the Trump and Clinton numbers among suburban women.
- Nationally, those with at least a college degree give Clinton a slight edge (48%-42%). Among suburban registered voters with at least a college degree the race narrows to

³ These numbers were generated with a custom version of the chart found at <http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-general-election-trump-vs-clinton>.

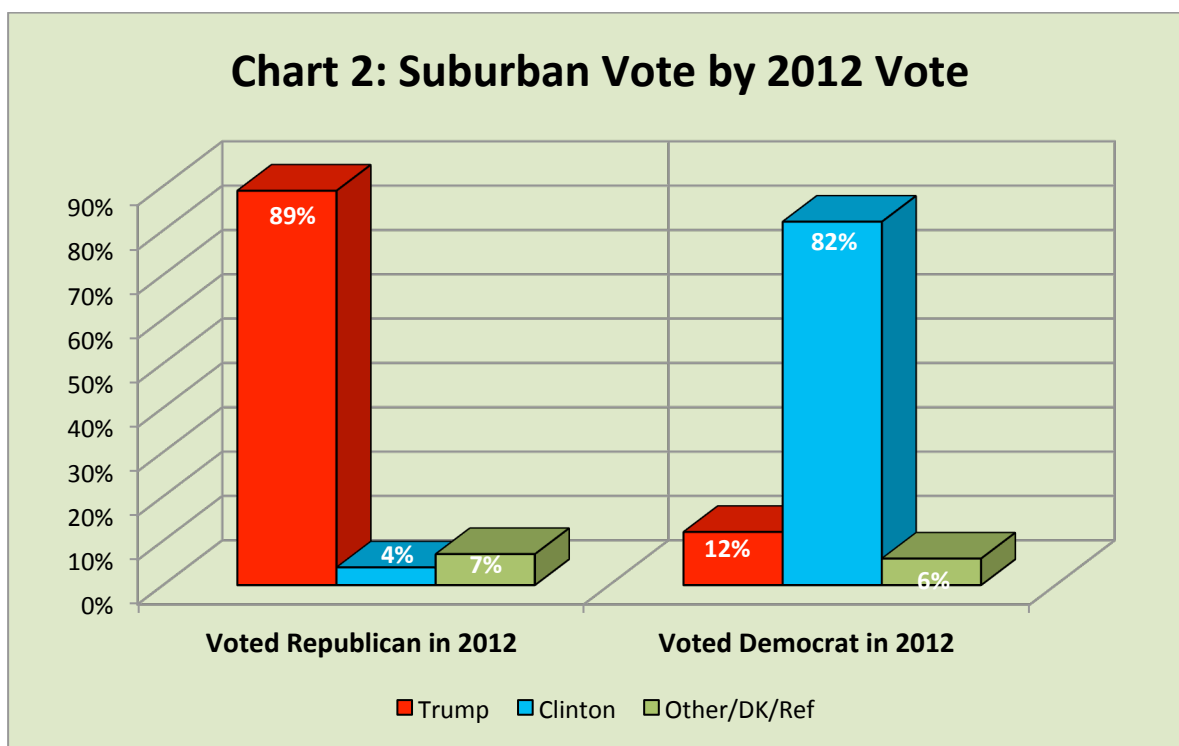
Clinton 47%, Trump 44%. Suburbanites without college experience say they would vote for Donald Trump, 55%-36%.

- Clinton makes inroads among young voters nationally. Fifty-four percent of Millennials (age 35 or younger) would cast their ballots for Clinton and 34 percent for Trump. Donald Trump closes the gap among suburban Millennials (44% Clinton v. 43% Trump). And Trump wins among suburban voters in every other generational category, including a majority of Baby Boomers.
- Suburban working class voters – that is, those with annual household incomes of less than \$50,000 – split their vote evenly between both candidates (45% Clinton v. 44% Trump). Trump leads by a 20-point margin among suburban registered voters with higher annual incomes (56% Trump v. 36% Clinton).
- Among white working class voters in the suburbs, Trump pulls ahead of Clinton by a nearly two-to-one margin (59% Trump v. 30% Clinton). Clinton does only modestly better among white voters with higher incomes but still falls considerably short of closing the substantial gap (59% Trump v. 34% Clinton).

Among registered voters nationwide who voted in the 2012 presidential election, the candidates again find themselves virtually tied. Forty-six percent of registered voters who cast ballots in the 2012 general election favor Trump, and a similar share (45%) support Clinton.

Views of the economy are widely divergent between the two candidates' supporters. The voters who support Clinton are optimistic about the future of the nation's economy by a 66 percent to 30 percent edge. Those who support Trump are pessimistic about the nation's economy by a substantial 40 percent to 57 percent margin.

Focusing on community type, Donald Trump's lead continues among suburbanites who voted in 2012. Fifty-three percent of suburban registered voters who participated in the previous presidential contest say they would support Trump if the election were held today. Over one-third (38%) would support Hillary Clinton. No surprise: candidate choice this year is tied to candidate vote in 2012. Eight in ten suburban registered voters who chose the Democratic ticket in 2012 go for Clinton. Eighty-nine percent of suburbanites who voted for the Republican ticket in 2012 break in favor of Trump.



Ticket splitting and Undecided voters

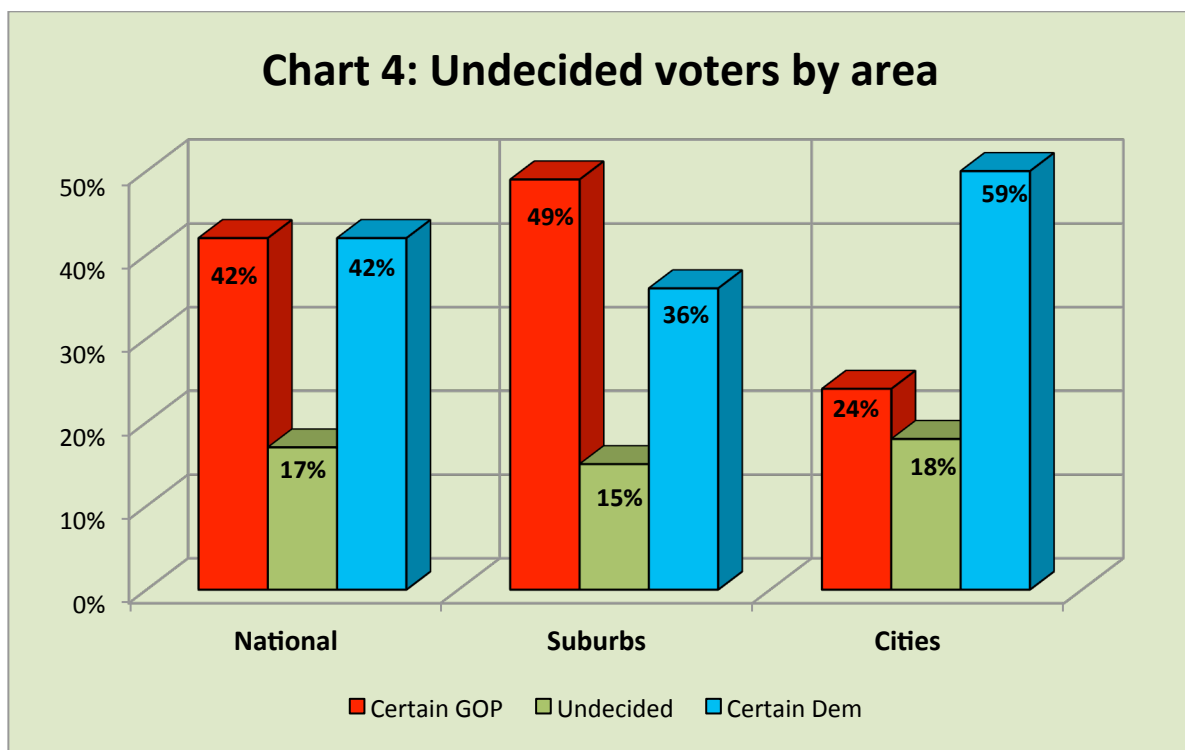
Exit polls during the primary season have highlighted the interesting trend that voters this cycle decided well before primary day for whom they would vote, especially among GOP primary and caucus goers. However, with the two major parties nearly ready to face off against each other instead of battling within their own parties, and with the presidential election still months away, the number of voters who might not toe the party line, or whose minds are not yet made up, is anything but inconsequential.

When asked about their voting preference for both the presidential and congressional races this fall, most registered voters say they will cast ballots straight down the party line. However, two in ten registered voters say they will split the ticket: voting for one party in the presidential race and the other for Congress. This finding is true nationally, in the suburbs and in urban areas.

Table 1: Ticket splitters by area			
	National	Suburbs	Cities
GOP straight ticket	31%	34%	19%
Ticket splitter	20%	22%	18%
Dem straight ticket	35%	28%	52%

Republican and Democratic leaders can usually count on the members of their party to support their own in November. Independents continue to be the wild card. Those who say they will split their votes in the fall between the two parties tend to identify as independent. About six in ten split ticket voters consider themselves independents, 20 percent Republicans and 19 percent Democrats. Among ticket splitters in the suburbs, 58 percent are independents, 19 percent Republicans and 22 percent Democrats.

But while ticket splitters may not vote along party lines, they do express a candidate preference. Going into November, Clinton and Trump will be looking for support from one key group of voters: undecided voters. Undecided voters are those who are registered to vote but express they would not vote for either party's nominee if today were Election Day. About one in five registered voters is undecided at this point in the election cycle, with 17 percent nationally, 15 percent in the suburbs and 17 percent in urban areas falling into that category.



Much rhetoric surrounds the importance of voting and that each vote matters, but there is also a pervasive feeling about whether ordinary citizens can actually influence what goes on in Washington. Among undecided voters in the suburbs, about half think ordinary citizens can make a difference if they put in the effort, while half think ordinary citizens cannot do much to affect Washington.

In what the Hofstra poll is forecasting to be a tight race, how undecided voters actually vote in November could be the determining factor.

Political candidates out of favor with Americans

In a race where neither party's candidate has a clear edge over the other and every vote will matter, suburbanites could have a substantial impact on who eventually becomes the next President of the United States. And opinions on their choices might feel discouraging to contenders still in the race.

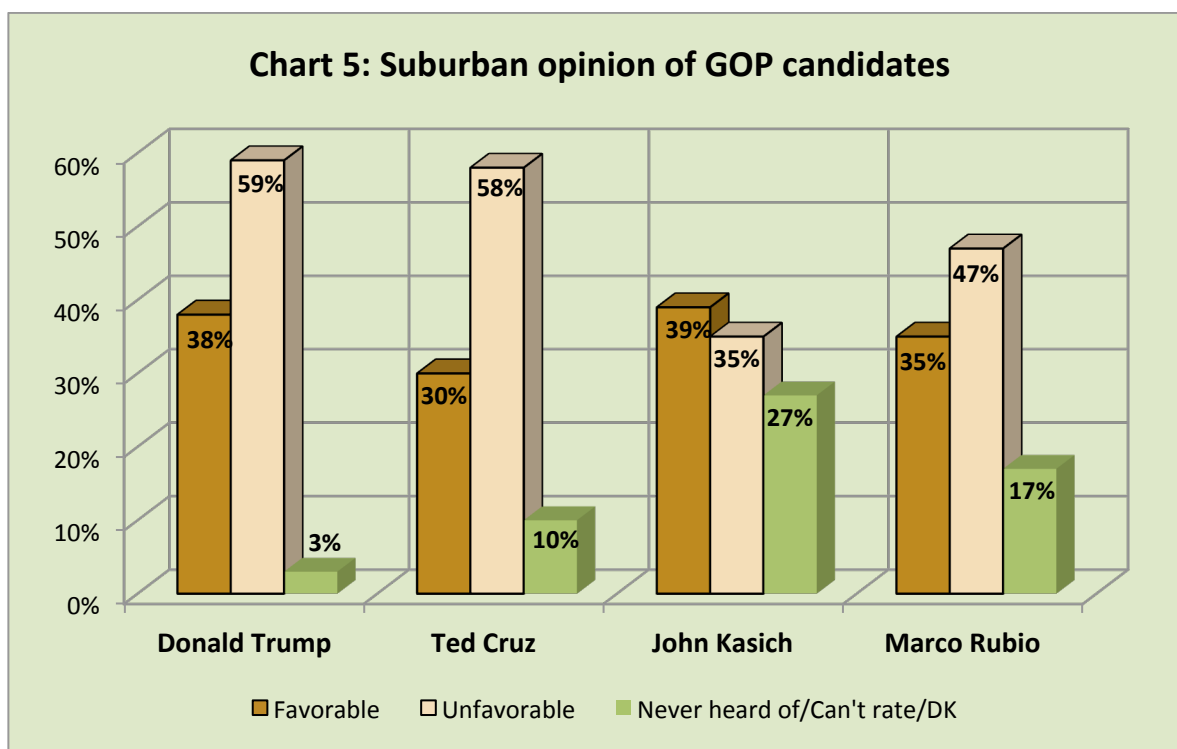
Of the two Democratic candidates vying for the nomination, neither is seen in a favorable light by a majority of suburbanites but Bernie Sanders comes close. Forty-eight percent say they have a favorable opinion of the Vermont senator, including about one in five who have a very favorable opinion. Hillary Clinton lags far behind (36% favorable-62% unfavorable) and receives the lowest rating from 41 percent of suburbanites. A similar pattern emerges for Americans nationwide.

- Seen as a champion of income equality and a harsh critic of Wall Street, Sanders is regarded favorably among suburbanites who favor a minimum wage increase (57%). Clinton also scores better ratings among these suburban residents (46%) than she does among suburbanites as a whole.
- Suburban women are split about evenly in their support for Clinton and Trump, and they generally have an unfavorable view of the candidate who could become the first female Commander-in-Chief. Fifty-seven percent of suburban women have an unfavorable opinion of Clinton, including over one-third who say very unfavorable.
- Majorities of suburban and city dwellers of varying educational backgrounds have a negative opinion of the former Secretary of State but Clinton is regarded well by one key demographic group: 67 percent of urban residents without a college education hold a favorable view of Clinton, including 35 percent who say very favorable.

Though Donald Trump is the presumptive GOP nominee, suburban Americans have less than glowing views of the business mogul. Four in ten have a favorable opinion of Trump, compared with six in ten who have an unfavorable opinion. Just 15 percent of suburban Americans have a very favorable view of Trump, while forty-three percent say they hold a very unfavorable opinion.

- Trump is well liked among suburban Republicans (71% favorable-28% unfavorable) but he fails to win the approval of every demographic group in suburban American, except for one. Half of white suburban men with household incomes of \$50,000 or more say they have a favorable view of the businessman, and nearly as many (47%) hold the opposite opinion.

Donald Trump may receive unfavorable ratings from a majority of suburban residents, but his former competitors do not do much better. Just as many regard Texas Senator Ted Cruz unfavorably but fewer gave him positive ratings when compared with Trump (30% favorable-58% unfavorable). Florida Senator Marco Rubio is also poorly rated by suburbanites (35% favorable-47% unfavorable). John Kasich fared slightly better than others in the Republican field (39% favorable-35% unfavorable) but one-quarter of suburbanites simply are unable to say one way or the other, including 13 percent who say they have never heard of the Ohio Governor.



In somewhat good news for President Obama as he finishes out his last few months in office, half of suburban respondents have a favorable opinion of Obama, including one-quarter who say their opinion is very favorable. The President is the only political figure on either side of the aisle to receive a majority favorable opinion from suburbanites in this year's study. However, almost as many have an unfavorable opinion (46%), with three in ten saying they look very unfavorably on the President. Obama does especially well among urban residents, with seven in ten giving him favorable marks, including a plurality (42%) giving him top marks.

Unfavorable views on the presidential vote

With both Clinton and Trump drawing negative reviews from the public, how does that affect voters' choice for president?

One way to look at the impact is to combine how registered voters look at the two candidates. Nationally, about four percent of the voters see both candidates favorably. About the same percentage view Clinton favorably, but not Trump (36%) as view Trump favorably, but not Clinton (35%). And just about a quarter of the electorate views both candidates unfavorably (25%)

As one would expect, those who view Clinton favorably and Trump unfavorably would vote overwhelmingly for Clinton (98%-1%). And those who view Trump favorably and Clinton unfavorably also follow that path (Trump 99%, Clinton less than 1%).

Those who dislike both candidates are perhaps the most interesting. A total of 36 percent would vote for Clinton, 34 percent would vote for Trump and fully a quarter (25%) would not vote. The rest are divided among those who would vote for another candidate, refused or do not know.

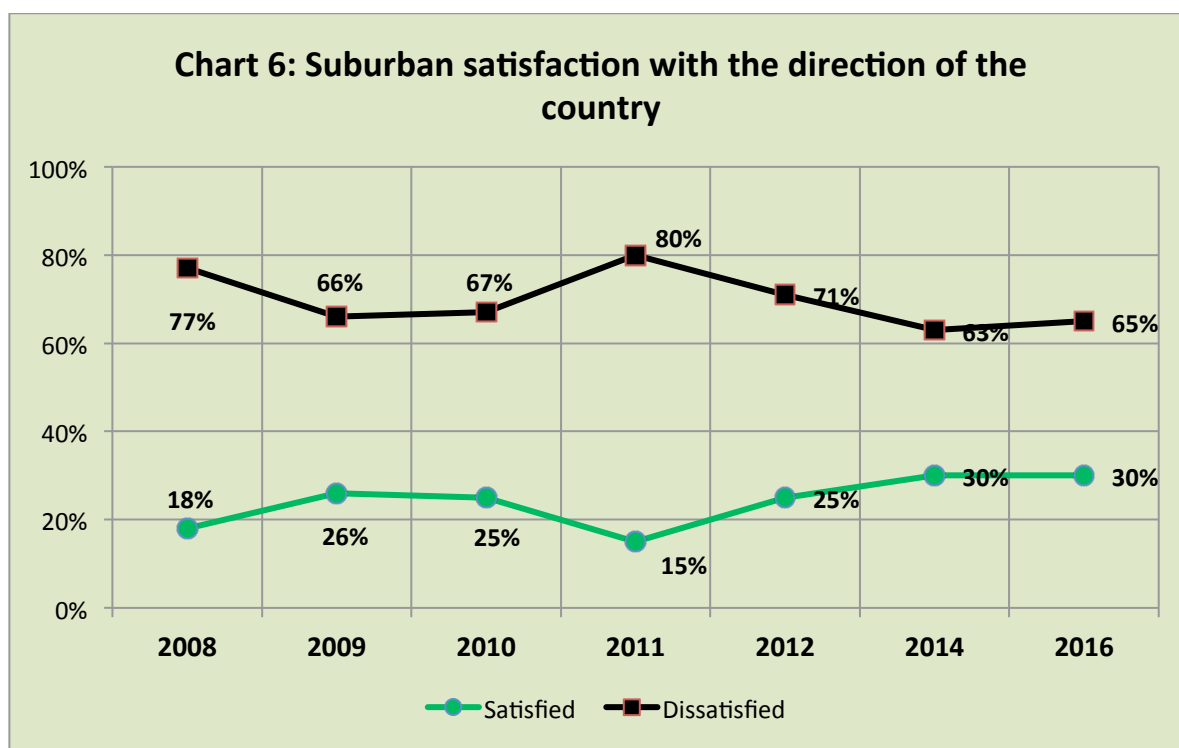
Chapter 2: Concerned but hope returns, including for the President

Suburban residents have more than reversed their negative views of President Obama's work in the last two years, but nearly two-thirds of suburban residents are dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today, up slightly from 2014.

There are signs that the country continues to heal from economic wounds from the Great Recession, as both personal finances and the real estate market see improvements and Americans turn to other, non-economic issues that matter to them.

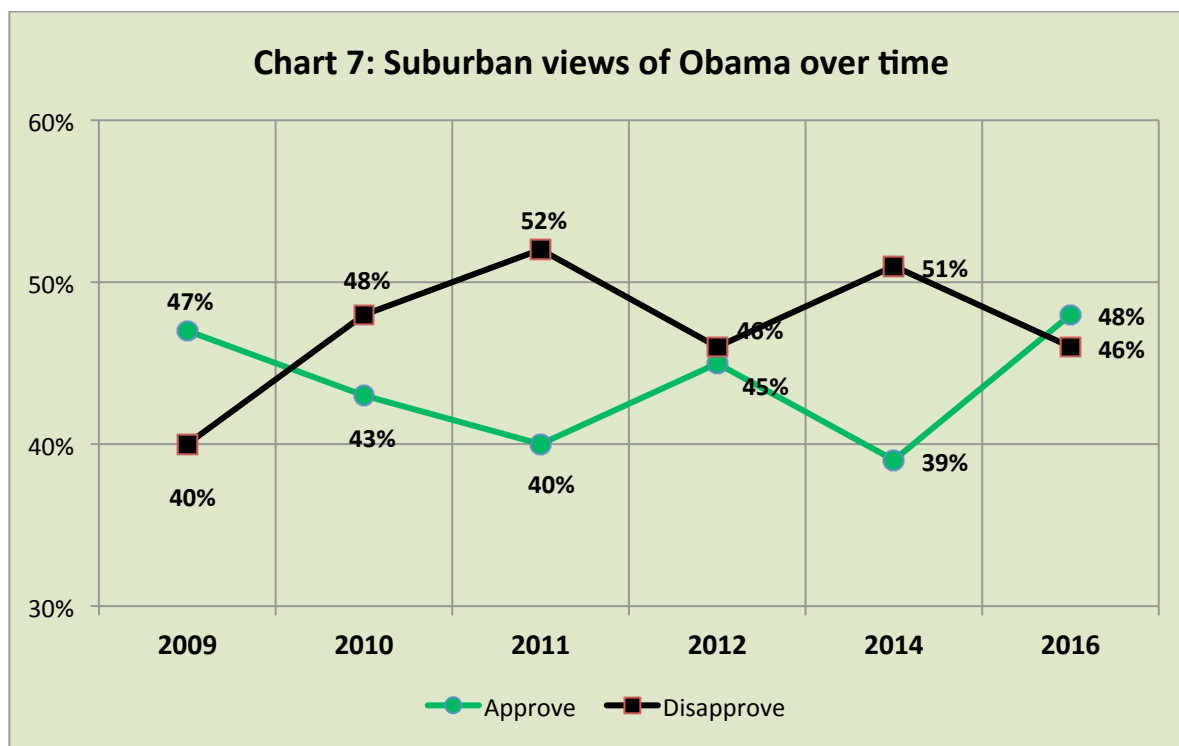
Unease lingers in the suburbs

Suburbanites largely express dissatisfaction with how things are going in this country today (65%), a finding that remains relatively unchanged from 2014 (63%). However, compared with a similar period in 2012, there is an uptick in optimism among the public four years later. Today, three in ten suburban dwellers are satisfied with the direction of the nation, up five percentage points from June 2012 and twice as satisfied as November 2011 when just 15 percent expressed that opinion two years post-recession.



Obama job approval

In a stark turnaround from 2014, which marked his lowest rating in a Hofstra poll to date (39% approve-51% disapprove), President Obama now has approval from almost half of suburbanites, though opinions still split (48% approve-46% disapprove). This finding is similar to the result in the June 2012 Hofstra survey (45% approve-46% disapprove), where suburban America was also divided but not quite as forlorn as 2014.



Since 2014, Obama has rallied support among a key group in the U.S. electorate. Millennials nationwide (age 18-35) now say they approve of how the president is handling his job by a sizeable 64%-26% margin. Two years ago, a plurality of these young Americans still gave Obama their approval but by a much slimmer margin (48% approve-42% disapprove). This latest finding marks Obama's second strongest showing among young Americans, not far behind the 2009 poll where the president earned their approval 68 percent-18 percent. Among suburban Millennials, who were previously divided 47% approve-44% disapprove in 2014, ratings of Obama's job as president are up sharply (58% approve-30% disapprove).

Personal finances are improving

Nearly back to pre-recession levels, 47 percent of suburban residents now say their personal finances are excellent or good, up six points from 41 percent two years ago and a short hop away from the one-half who gave their finances positive marks in the fall of 2008. Fifty-one percent give their finances a negative rating, down four points from 2014.

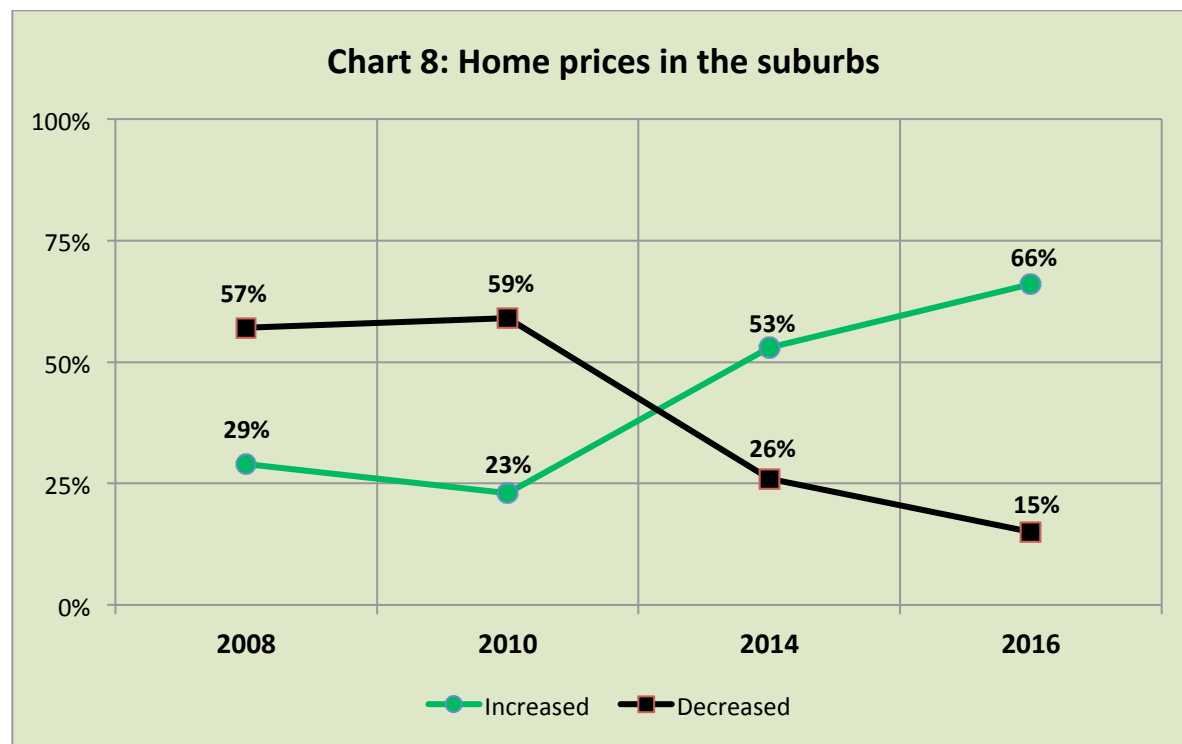
Table 2: Weak finances but better							
	Suburbs Oct. 2008	Suburbs 2009	Suburbs 2010	Suburbs 2011	Suburbs Jun. 2012	Suburbs 2014	Suburbs 2016
Positive	50%	44%	46%	39%	43%	41%	47%
<i>Excellent</i>	7%	7%	9%	7%	7%	7%	10%
<i>Good</i>	43%	37%	37%	32%	36%	34%	37%
Negative	49%	54%	53%	59%	55%	55%	51%
<i>Only Fair</i>	35%	39%	33%	37%	34%	38%	36%
<i>Poor</i>	14%	15%	20%	22%	21%	17%	15%

Despite an overall improvement in personal finances, suburbanites living paycheck to paycheck has remained relatively stable since 2008, especially among those who often have no money left for savings after paying their living expenses. Sixty-two percent of suburbanites say they live from paycheck to paycheck at least some of the time, including 39 percent who do so always or most of the time and another 23 percent who sometimes do. This is only a slight improvement over the 66 percent in 2014 who just barely made ends meet, but no change from the 41 percent who often lived paycheck to paycheck two years ago.

Table 3: Living paycheck to paycheck in the suburbs							
	Suburbs Oct. 2008	Suburbs 2009	Suburbs 2010	Suburbs 2011	Suburbs Jun. 2012	Suburbs 2014	Suburbs 2016
At least sometimes	61%	60%	63%	63%	66%	66%	62%
<i>Always/Mostly</i>	37%	39%	42%	40%	44%	41%	39%
<i>Sometimes</i>	24%	21%	21%	23%	22%	25%	23%
Less often	38%	37%	33%	32%	31%	31%	36%
<i>Hardly ever</i>	16%	18%	16%	17%	16%	15%	17%
<i>Never</i>	22%	19%	17%	15%	15%	16%	19%

Real estate

Personal finances may show incremental improvement but home prices in America have rebounded significantly since the Great Recession. Roughly two-thirds of respondents say that the home prices in their neighborhood have risen in the past 12 months. Similar shares of suburbanites say the same. This finding is a sign of an economic upswing compared with 2014 (53% prices risen), and a sure sign compared with 2010, when a majority of suburban adults (59%) said the market had fallen, including over one-quarter (28%) who said home prices fell a lot.



Those living in American cities today also report home prices are on the rise in their neighborhoods compared with years past. Two-thirds of urban residents say home prices have increased in the past 12 months, including 29 percent who indicate the real estate market in their neighborhood has seen a big recovery. Only 16 percent say home prices have gone down. This is a jump of eight percentage points since 2014, when 58 percent said the market improved (23% improved a lot).

Confidence in government and local institutions makes a comeback

Majorities have at least some confidence in local, state or federal government. Local governments take the prize with two-thirds of adults expressing confidence. Confidence in local police and confidence in local public schools are back up after a small dip in confidence two years ago, according to the latest Hofstra poll.

Confidence in Washington has taken a hit in the past few years and now seems to be on the rise. Suburbanites were split in 2014 (49% confidence-49% no confidence) and a majority lacked confidence four years earlier in 2012 (47% confidence-51% no confidence). Today, half of suburban Americans (51%) have a lot or some confidence in the federal government. Nearly as many (47%) have not too much confidence or no confidence at all.

- In the suburbs, minorities express confidence in the federal government by a 60%-38% margin, essentially unchanged from 61%-37% in 2014 but dipping slightly from 63%-36% in 2012. Among white suburbanites today, confidence in Washington is evenly split 48%-50%, which clearly illustrates a positive and upward shift among this group, who split 43%-55% two years ago and 41%-57% findings four years ago.
- Fewer suburban Millennials today (50%-46%) have confidence in the federal government compared with 2014 (59%-39%). However, a majority of suburban Baby Boomers express confidence in Washington (57%-42%), up significantly from both 2014 (46%-54%) and 2012 (40%-57%).

While views of the federal government are more positive than in years past, the suburban view of state government remains fairly steady. Confidence in state governments stands at 57 percent in the latest poll, unchanged from 2014, up from a low of 53 percent in 2010 and slightly below the 60 percent in 2008.

Once again, suburban views of local governments have also seen little change. Two-thirds of residents now express confidence in their local governments (67%), unchanged from 2014 and 2010.

- With the often Republican insistence on moving government functions to the local level, one might think that GOP suburbanites would have more confidence in local government than their Democratic counterparts. But equal and large shares of Republicans and Democrats in the suburbs have confidence in local government (71% and 72% respectively).

Since 2008, local police have earned the confidence of a substantial majority of suburbanites. The 2016 numbers are an improvement from the 2014 Hofstra poll that found public confidence in local police slightly lower than in years past, particularly among urban residents. Following the generally positive trend seen in other areas of this year's study, increased numbers of suburbanites now say they have a lot or some confidence in their local law enforcement (82% confidence-18% no confidence in 2016 v. 78% confidence-20% no confidence in 2014). The same can be said for urban dwellers compared with two years ago (78% confidence-22% no confidence v. 71% confidence-27% no confidence).

- But confidence in local police has slipped further among one group of Americans: blacks or African-Americans. While large majorities of white and Hispanic adults express confidence in local law enforcement (86% and 76% respectively), a bare majority of black adults (53%) say the same. This is down six percentage points in the last two years, when 59 percent of African-Americans nationwide had confidence in police.
- As they did in 2014, white suburbanites express confidence in the police at rates similar to whites who live elsewhere: over four in five have confidence and about one in ten do not.

Confidence in local public schools is back up in the current survey. Two-thirds of suburbanites have confidence in their local schools, including 33 percent who have a lot of confidence. This is up from 2014, when 63 percent expressed confidence.

- While confidence among suburbanites has been restored to higher levels, confidence among urban dwellers has dropped to a new low (58%) compared with the previous low of 60 percent in 2008.

Chapter 3: Problems aplenty in the suburbs

The economic perspective among suburban adults has brightened with time but there is still plenty of progress to be made, according to the latest Hofstra study. In the months leading up to Election Day, suburbanites want to hear the candidates talk about a diverse set of issues including the economy, immigration, education, health care and foreign affairs. And they are especially bothered by problems that haunt their backyards, like crime, drugs and violence.

Focusing on the issues... but there are many

The economy is traditionally the top concern for Americans, especially during periods of economic unrest. In 2016, suburban adults continue this trend when asked what one or two issues they most want to hear the presidential candidates discuss. Twenty percent of suburbanites want to hear the candidates talk about the economy. One in ten want the focus to be on unemployment. On balance, this is a significant drop from both 2014 (30% economy and 22% unemployment) and 2008 (46% economy and 2% unemployment).

More suburbanites today want to hear the candidates' views and policies on immigration and plans for securing the U.S. border compared with 2014 (14% v. 2%). Ten percent think the candidates need to discuss education reform, up five points since 2014.

Though a hot button issue for nearly two in ten suburban residents two years ago, just 9 percent would most like to hear the candidates discussing health care reform.

A handful of suburbanites cite other issues like the budget deficit, foreign policy, terrorism and national security, climate change, Social Security, LGBT rights and gun control.

The topics on the minds of suburban Americans are long and varied, underscoring the fact that they are expecting Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump to hit on as many points as possible on the campaign trail while still emphasizing the importance of a strong economy and increased availability of U.S. jobs.

Crime and Jobs remain top suburban problems, as priorities shift slightly

In this latest edition of Hofstra's National Suburban Poll, suburban residents report a number of problems plague their area on a big or small scale. In line with a more positive economic outlook, fewer suburbanites today say lack of job opportunities is a big problem for their community but it is not a significant enough drop to knock unemployment from occupying a top spot, alongside crime, drugs and violence, among suburban concerns.

- Worries about crime, drugs and violence has reached an all-time high in the suburbs. Seventy percent say these are problems where they live, including 31 percent who say it is a big problem – the largest share to report such a high level of concern since Hofstra began tracking the issue in 2008.
- Lack of job opportunities is still a chief concern in suburban neighborhoods around the country but not as pressing a problem as it was just two years ago. Today, 68 percent say unemployment is a problem, including 32 percent who cite it as a big problem. This is down from 2014 when 74 percent reported lack of jobs was a problem (39% big problem). Today's suburbanites are back to their pre-recession levels, when in 2008, 66 percent saw this as a problem in the suburbs. In fact, compared with 2008, more residents today say unemployment is not a problem where they live (29% not a problem today v. 24% not a problem in 2008).
- Majorities are also concerned about everyday problems like traffic congestion and relatedly the poor maintenance of public infrastructure like roads, bridges and sewers. Sixty-two percent say traffic woes are a problem in the suburbs, and half of them (29%) say it is a big problem. A similar share, 61 percent, cite poor maintenance of infrastructure as a problem, up eight percentage points from 2014 (53%).
- Nearly half of suburbanites (48%) think that public schools do not provide a good quality education, unchanged from 2014. A similar share, 45 percent, do not think this is a problem where they live.
- Race relations in this country have made their way back into the spotlight, following several high profile clashes between racial groups over the last couple of years. Forty-six percent of suburban adults say that tension between racial and ethnic groups is now a problem in their community, while half (53%) say this is not a problem. In comparison to 2010, racial tension is more of a problem now than in 2010 (28% problem, including 8 percent big problem) and an even more widespread issue than in 2008, when the U.S. was on the cusp of electing its first African-American president.
- Once again, a lack of public parks and recreation facilities ranks low on the list of suburban concerns, with just three in ten seeing this as a problem where they live.

Foreclosures hit close to home for some but for many, not too close

Four in ten Americans nationwide have either personally lost a home due to foreclosure or inability to pay the mortgage or know someone who has. This finding holds true among both suburban and urban dwellers alike.

Among those who say they know someone who has experienced foreclosure, 17 percent of suburbanites say that they personally lost their home at some point in the past. Fifteen percent say another person who currently lives in their household lost their home. Over one-third of suburban residents who know someone affected by foreclosure say it was a neighbor, and 69 percent say it was someone else they know.

Few suburbanites themselves in this latest edition of the Hofstra poll have lost a home due to foreclosure or an inability to make mortgage payments, but those who have gone through this ordeal mention reasons like loss of their job, inadequate income, medical and health issues, and divorce or separation from their partner.

Suburban minorities hold different views from white suburbanites

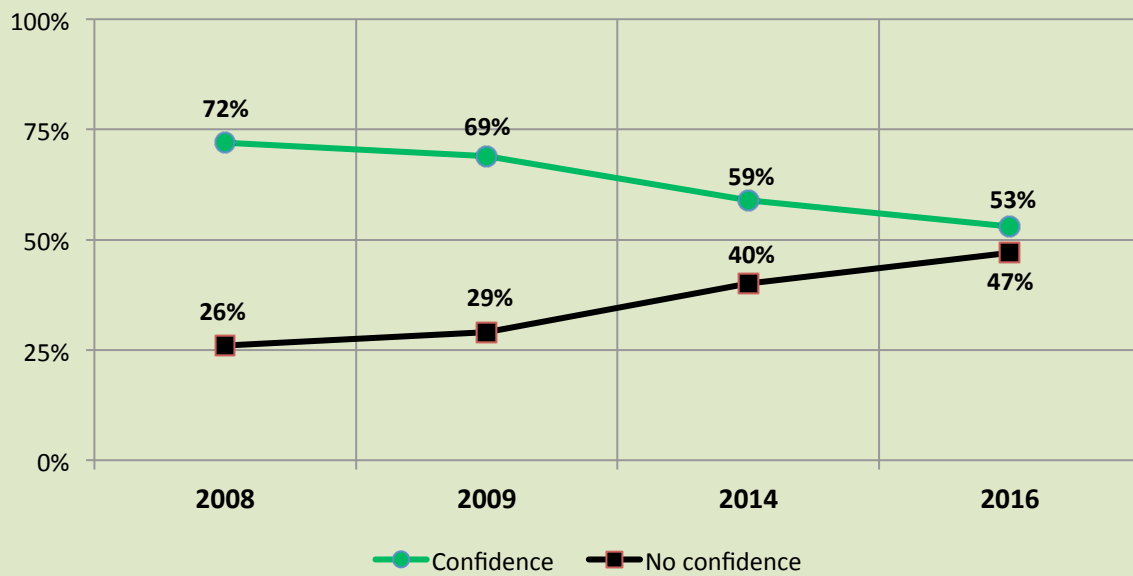
An increasing share of suburban residents are African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American or members of other minority groups, slowly changing the view of the suburbs as lily-white enclaves. And the views of suburban minorities differ from those of white suburbanites.

For example, three-quarters of minority suburban residents (76%) approve of President Obama's work in office, compared with 38 percent of white suburbanites. But while white suburbanite views of Obama improved by eight percentage points in the last two years, minority suburban views jumped by 19 percentage points.

On the issue of racial tensions, minority suburban residents have always seen tension between racial and ethnic groups as a problem more often than white suburbanites. In the 2010 Hofstra survey, 42 percent of minority suburbanites saw tensions as a problem, compared with only 24 percent of white suburbanites. In the latest survey, 48 percent of minority residents see tensions as a problem, while now 45 percent of white suburbanites do.

In terms of local institutions, as mentioned earlier, confidence in local police has slipped further among African-Americans, down six percentage points in the last two years and double digits in the last eight years.

Chart 9: Declining confidence in local police among African-Americans nationwide



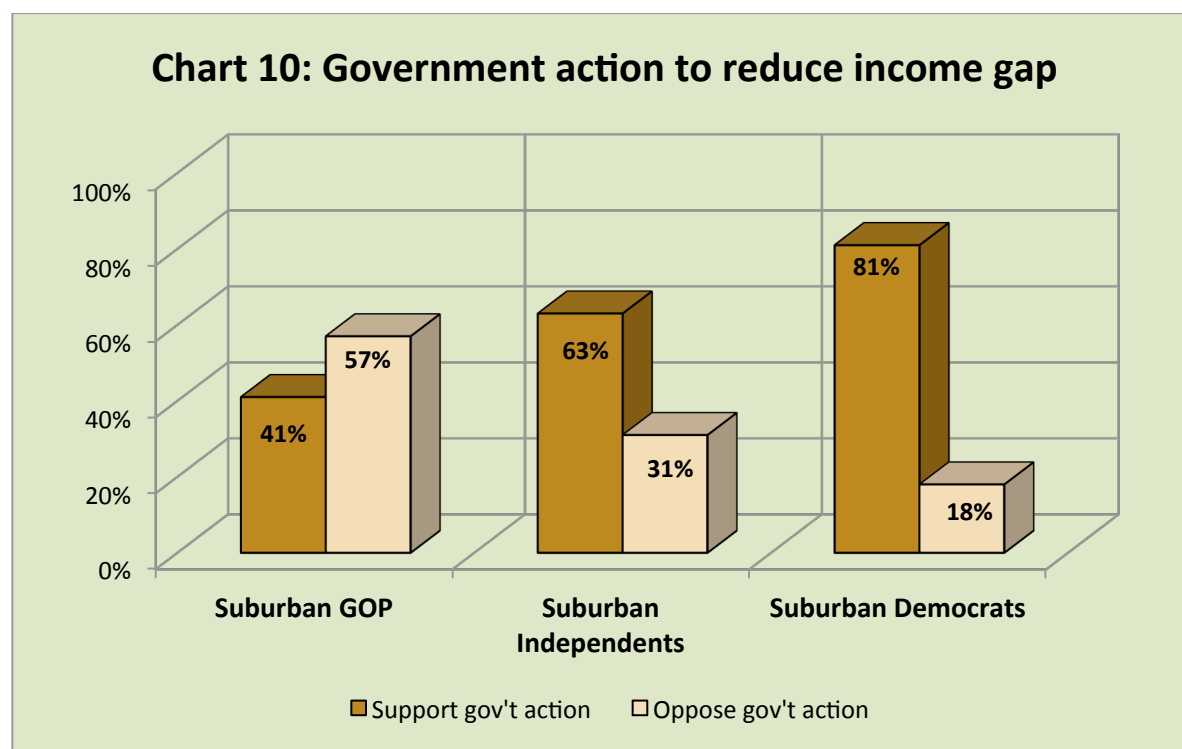
Chapter 4: Minimum wage and impact of trade agreements

Despite a mixed list of economic and local concerns, Americans are optimistic about the country's long-term economic future (51%) and believe that individual success is built upon a willingness to work hard (68%). A strong work ethic is only part of the solution though, according to the current study. Adults across the country think the \$7.25 hourly federal minimum wage should be increased, with strongest support for an increase among urban dwellers.

Income gap

Personal finances may be improving for those in suburbia but many are still living paycheck to paycheck. The income gap between the richest Americans and everyone else, including the poor, continues to grow. Income inequality is a major sticking point for a myriad of adults in this country, especially for Millennials and those in lower income brackets.

The latest Hofstra poll finds that 62 percent of suburbanites say the federal government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between rich and poor. One-third (34%) disagree with that notion. This current finding is unchanged from 2014 (60%), and only down slightly from June 2012 (65%).



Reducing the income gap is a cornerstone of many Democratic platforms, particularly that of Bernie Sanders. Republicans typically disagree that government intervention is needed to

close the wealth disparity, and those in this year's Hofstra poll remain true to that tradition. Four in ten suburban Republicans say the government should work to reduce the income gap, while the majority (57%) think it is not necessary. However, it is interesting to note that compared with two years ago, support for government action among the suburban GOP is up and opposition is down (34% support-60% oppose).

Support for reducing the income gap is strong among millennials in the suburbs. Seven in ten say the government should work to substantially reduce the gap between rich and poor, compared with 60 percent of Gen Xers and Baby Boomers and less than half of the oldest suburbanites.

Suburban income level is also a factor on this issue. Seventy-one percent of those with annual household incomes of less than \$50,000 want government to step in, up five points from 2014 and 2012 (each 66%). Suburban support among higher income residents has once again increased. Today, 57 percent of those making \$50,000/year or more think government action is needed to close the income gap, up from 54 percent in 2014 and 44 percent in June 2012.

Race plays a minor role. Seventy percent of suburban minorities support government action to reduce the income gap (70%-24%), an increase of five points since 2014 (65%-26%). Even though white suburbanites are less likely than minorities to think government should step in, a majority do (60%-38%).

- Nationally, an overwhelming majority of blacks or African-Americans favor government stepping in to help battle against income inequality (86%-10%). Whites and Hispanics also support government intervention but to a lesser extent (61%-37% and 69%-26% respectively).

Majority support increasing the minimum wage

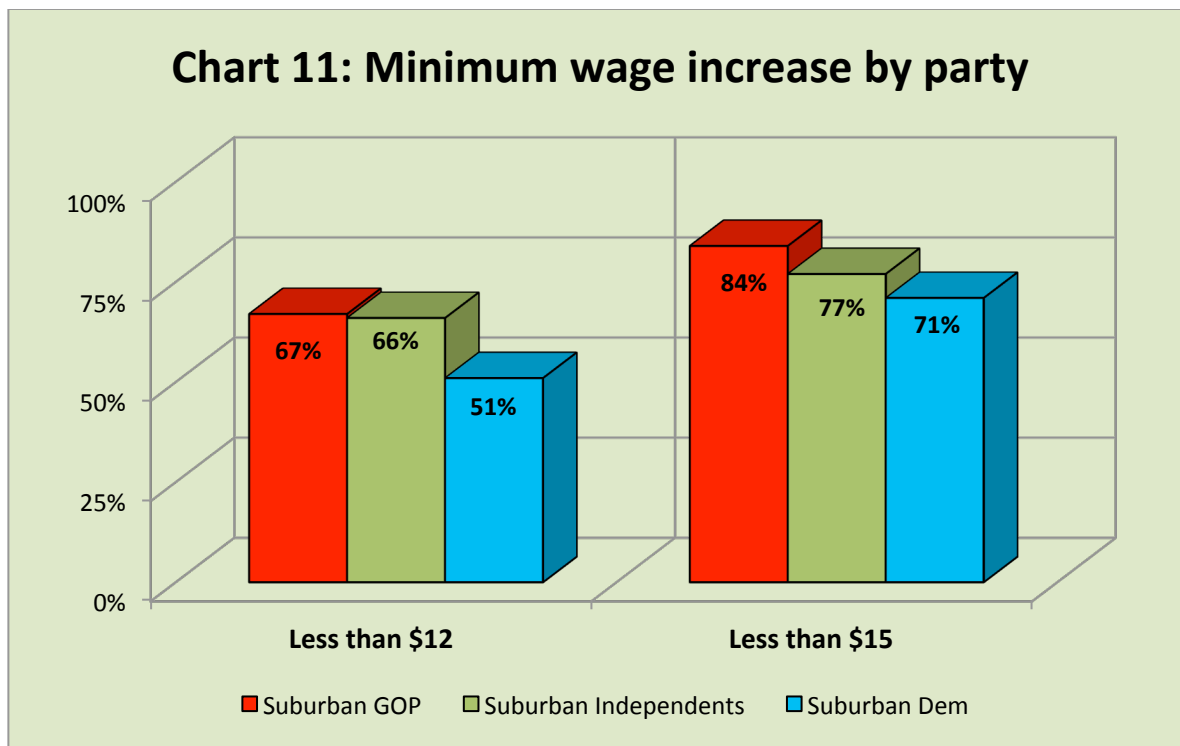
If income inequality is a concern for Americans, then also is a living wage. Three-quarters of Americans nationwide favor increasing the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 per hour, including 71 percent of suburban adults and 81 percent of urban dwellers. A handful say their views depend on the amount proposed.

- Nearly all suburban Democrats (93%) support increasing the minimum wage or would support it depending on the amount. Far fewer but still a majority of Republican suburbanites express the same support (54%). Suburban independents lodge themselves in the middle (73% favor).

A rallying cry often heard is to raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour, but this year's Hofstra poll finds a lack of widespread support for the Fight for Fifteen. Fully 75 percent of those who favor an increase say the hourly wage should be less than \$15, compared with 20 percent who favor an increase to \$15 or more. Suburbanites mirror the general public opinion. In fact, a majority of adults across the country who favor raising the minimum wage

would support a more modest increase. Fifty-eight percent of supporters favor an hourly wage increase under \$12 per hour and another 38 percent say the minimum wage should be \$12 or more.

- Suburban Republicans and independents are more likely to favor a smaller increase in the federal minimum wage. Two-thirds of these suburbanites think the hourly wage should be kept under 12 dollars, compared with 51 percent of suburban Democrats. The gap between opinion lessen as the proposed dollar amount increases.



Though the extent to which Americans support an increase in the federal minimum wage may vary, majorities of adults across different demographic, socioeconomic and political backgrounds think the minimum wage should rise.

Trade agreements are good and bad

Americans are also divided when it comes to free trade agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, and the impact that U.S. trade with other countries may have on jobs in this nation. Four in ten suburbanites think trade with foreign countries is a good thing for the United States, while an equal share (40%) think it is a bad thing. Nearly one in five suburban adults (17%) do not know enough about these trade agreements to share an opinion.

- Millennial suburbanites are the only generation to think trade agreements are a good thing for this country. Forty-nine percent say trade is good and 28 percent say it is bad. Pluralities of Gen Xers, Boomers and our nation's oldest suburbanites say trade is bad for the United States.
- Unsurprisingly, opinion about trade with other countries splits down party lines, with Democrats holding a positive view on these agreements and Republicans sticking with a negative view. But undecided voters are more complex. Undecided voters nationwide say trade is bad for the U.S. by a 41%-34% margin, while suburban undecideds narrowly divide in favor of trade agreements.

Chapter 5: Suburban cross-currents on the issues

In this ninth edition of the Hofstra Suburban poll, one message is clear: suburban views on key issues are complex, varied, evolving and at times, contradictory.

Role of government

The role of government depends on the issue, according to suburbanites. Suburban adults want the government to be involved in reducing income inequality. Six in ten say government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between rich and poor. One-third disagree. However, when it comes to business, they want government to take a step back. Half say that government regulation of business usually does more harm than good and 39 percent say it is necessary to protect the public interest.

- Unsurprisingly, government regulation is a partisan issue in the suburbs. Sixty-five percent of suburban Democrats think government regulation is necessary, while 70 percent of Republicans thinks government regulation does more harm than good. Independents in the suburbs side with Republicans on this issue, although to a lesser degree (58% more harm than good).
- Undecided voters nationwide say that government regulation hurts more than helps (57% harm v. 33% necessary). In the suburbs, these voters hold that opinion by a slightly larger margin (60% harm v. 31% necessary).

Immigration

On immigration, an increased share of suburbanites are now in favor of allowing illegal immigrants already in this country a path to citizenship. At 31 percent, this is a rise since 2014 when just 25 percent shared this view. This also marks the largest share of suburban Americans to support a path to citizenship since the topic was first introduced in a Hofstra poll in the fall of 2010.

Suburban adults are split on how immigration should be handled in this country. Three in ten say that undocumented immigrants should be allowed to become citizens if they pass certain requirements, while another three in ten think securing the border and stricter enforcement of immigration laws should be the priority. Thirty-eight percent say the country's immigration policies need to balance both a path to citizenship and stricter enforcement.

- Immigration is an issue that sharply divides along party lines. Nationally, it divides even more sharply by presidential vote. Among Clinton supporters and Clinton leaners, 48 percent favor a path to citizenship. Among Trump supporters and Trump leaners, 52 percent favor securing the border and tougher immigration laws.
- Race makes a difference on immigration views. White adults across the country are split on their opinions: 29 percent support a path to citizenship, 33 percent want to

secure the borders and 36 percent say both should be given equal priority. Hispanics have a more decided point of view: 53 percent support a path to citizenship, 8 percent want stricter enforcement of laws and 38 percent think both should be priorities. Just under four in ten African-Americans (38%) would be fine with granting citizenship after a series of requirements are met, while somewhat more (46%) favor giving both stricter enforcement and a path to citizenship equal priority.

Abortion

For many Americans, abortion is a moral and a legal issue.

Today, 56 percent of suburbanites say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, including one-quarter who support full legalization. Another four in ten say abortion should be banned most or all of the time. This finding is unchanged from Hofstra's 2014 study.

Though abortion is not a gender issue (majorities of men and women support abortion), it is a candidate issue. Hillary Clinton has been vocal about her pro-choice stance, so it is logical that seven in ten Clinton supporters (including leaners) say abortion should be legal in some form, while just 23 percent are against it. Donald Trump's flip-flopping on his position is reflected among his supporters. Forty-six percent of Trump supporters (including leaners) support a woman's right to have an abortion and a similar share, 48 percent, are against it.

Climate change

Suburban residents are also worried about climate change. Two-thirds say it is a problem, with 39 percent saying it is a very serious problem and 27 percent saying it is somewhat serious. One-third say climate change is not much of a problem, including 17 percent who do not consider it a problem at all. Worries about climate change have increased a bit in the suburbs, from 61 percent who saw it as a problem in 2011 to the current 66 percent level.

Environmental regulation

Given the widespread concern regarding climate change, a strong majority of suburbanites think the U.S. should do whatever it takes to protect the environment (69%). Over half of those in suburbia even strongly support environmental regulation at whatever cost (58%). One quarter (26%) say this country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment.

- Support for environmental protection has risen since 2011, when 60 percent of suburbanites said the U.S. should do whatever it takes to protect the environment. Just under half (44%) felt this way strongly, 14 percentage points lower than this year's poll finds.

The interplay between environmental regulation and the economy is complex. Suburban adults are cautious about regulation and its impact on jobs but still largely say environmental laws are worth it. Fifty-four percent of suburbanites say stricter environmental laws are worth the cost, compared with 38 percent who say stricter regulation would have a negative effect on the economy and jobs.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Topline Results

National Suburban Poll IX

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

Number of Interviews

Total: 1,508 adults age 18 or older
Suburban: 1,006 suburban residents
Urban: 340 urban residents

Total Registered Voters (RVs): 1,235 registered voters
Suburban RVs: 843 suburban registered voters
Urban RVs: 262 urban registered voters

Margins of Error

Total: Plus or minus 3.1 percentage points
Suburban: Plus or minus 3.9 percentage points
Urban: Plus or minus 5.9 percentage points

Total Registered Voters (RVs): Plus or minus 3.5 percentage points
Suburban RVs: Plus or minus 4.3 percentage points
Urban RVs: Plus or minus 6.8 percentage points

Dates of interviewing: May 10-31, 2016
Language of interview: English or Spanish
Type of sample: Landline or Cell phone
PSRAI Job #36011

Notes on Topline:

1. Because percentages are rounded they may not total 100%.
2. An asterisk indicates a value of less than 0.5%.
3. Unless noted otherwise, trends listed on this topline are from previous waves of the National Suburban Poll:
 - i. National Suburban Poll I, 1,526 total adults including 1,033 suburban residents and 283 urban residents, interviewed Sept. 15-21, 2008.
 - ii. National Suburban Poll II, 1,503 total adults including 1,000 suburban residents and 291 urban residents, interviewed Oct. 22-26, 2008.
 - iii. National Suburban Poll III, 1,781 total adults including 1,094 suburban residents and 520 urban residents, interviewed Sept. 21-Oct. 4, 2009.
 - iv. National Suburban Poll IV, 1,549 total adults including 1,000 suburban residents and 406 urban residents, interviewed Sept. 15-28, 2010.
 - v. National Suburban Poll V, 1,517 total adults including 1,016 suburban residents and 411 urban residents, interviewed Oct. 20-Nov. 8, 2011.
 - vi. National Suburban Poll VI, 1,532 total adults including 1,005 suburban residents and 415 urban residents, interviewed June 11-28, 2012.
 - vii. National Suburban Poll VII, 1,504 total adults including 969 suburban residents and 411 urban residents, interviewed October 17-28, 2012.
 - viii. National Suburban Poll VIII, 1,546 total adults including 1,008 suburban residents and 400 urban residents, interviewed July 21-August 7, 2014.

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 YOUNGEST [RANDOMIZE: (MALE / 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, my name is _____ and I'm 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 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 CELL INTRODUCTION TO MAIN INTERVIEW; OTHERWISE THANK AND TERMINATE.]

CELL PHONE INTRODUCTION TO MAIN INTERVIEW: 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...

[GO TO MAIN INTERVIEW]

MAIN INTERVIEW

[RANDOMIZE 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>(VOL.) DK⁴</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016					
	Suburbs:	30	65	3	2
	Urban:	35	61	3	*
	Total:	31	65	3	1
AUGUST 2014					
	Suburbs:	30	63	5	2
	Urban:	34	59	4	3
	Total:	29	65	4	3
OCTOBER 2012					
	Suburbs:	30	65	3	3
	Urban:	46	50	3	1
	Total:	34	61	3	2
JUNE 2012					
	Suburbs:	25	71	2	2
	Urban:	31	62	5	2
	Total:	27	68	4	2
NOVEMBER 2011					
	Suburbs:	15	80	3	2
	Urban:	19	74	5	2
	Total:	17	77	4	2
SEPTEMBER 2010					
	Suburbs:	25	67	6	2
	Urban:	32	62	5	1
	Total:	26	67	5	2
OCTOBER 2009					
	Suburbs:	26	66	5	2
	Urban:	31	62	6	1
	Total:	28	65	5	2
SEPTEMBER 2008					
	Suburbs:	18	77	4	--
	Urban:	18	78	4	--
	Total:	18	77	5	--

⁴ "Don't know" and "Refused" responses are combined in trends unless otherwise reported.

Q2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president? [IF DEPENDS, PROBE ONCE WITH: OVERALL, do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?] [IF STILL DEPENDS, ENTER AS DK]

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016					
	Suburbs:	48	46	5	2
	Urban:	65	30	3	2
	Total:	52	42	4	2
AUGUST 2014					
	Suburbs:	39	51	7	3
	Urban:	51	40	7	3
	Total:	40	50	6	4
OCTOBER 2012					
	Suburbs:	48	42	5	5
	Urban:	60	35	3	3
	Total:	51	41	4	4
JUNE 2012					
	Suburbs:	45	46	6	3
	Urban:	52	37	6	4
	Total:	47	44	5	4
NOVEMBER 2011					
	Suburbs:	40	52	6	2
	Urban:	54	39	5	2
	Total:	45	47	5	3
SEPTEMBER 2010					
	Suburbs:	43	48	8	1
	Urban:	54	35	9	2
	Total:	46	44	9	1
OCTOBER 2009					
	Suburbs:	47	40	9	4
	Urban:	69	22	7	2
	Total:	55	35	7	3

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</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not too much</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
a. The federal government ⁵						
<u>MAY 2016</u>						
Suburbs:	10	41	27	20	2	*
Urban:	14	40	26	18	1	0
Total:	11	40	28	19	1	*
<u>AUGUST 2014</u>						
Suburbs:	8	41	29	20	1	1
Urban:	14	40	26	18	2	*
Total:	10	38	29	21	1	1
<u>JUNE 2012</u>						
Suburbs:	9	38	30	21	*	1
Urban:	9	37	33	16	3	1
Total:	9	37	31	20	1	2
<u>NOVEMBER 2011</u>						
Suburbs:	8	39	32	19	2	1
Urban:	11	41	28	17	3	*
Total:	9	39	32	18	2	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2010</u>						
Suburbs:	11	42	28	18	1	*
Urban:	11	44	27	14	2	1
Total:	11	43	29	16	1	*
<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>						
Suburbs:	11	45	28	13	1	1
Urban:	12	49	28	9	2	1
Total:	12	45	29	12	1	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>						
Suburbs:	9	39	29	20	3	—
Urban:	7	42	30	18	3	—
Total:	8	39	31	19	3	—

Q3 continued on next page...

⁵ In June 2012, "federal government" was asked as a standalone question. For all other trends, it was asked as one item in a list question with multiple items.

Q3 continued...

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not too much</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
b. Your state government						
<u>MAY 2016</u>						
Suburbs:	15	42	24	18	1	*
Urban:	16	46	23	13	2	*
Total:	15	45	23	16	1	*
<u>AUGUST 2014</u>						
Suburbs:	17	40	23	18	1	1
Urban:	14	44	22	18	1	*
Total:	15	42	22	18	1	1
<u>NOVEMBER 2011</u>						
Suburbs:	13	43	27	14	1	1
Urban:	14	40	27	16	2	*
Total:	13	42	26	15	2	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2010</u>						
Suburbs:	12	41	29	17	2	*
Urban:	15	38	24	18	4	*
Total:	14	41	26	17	3	*
<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>						
Suburbs:	9	48	27	14	1	1
Urban:	15	41	28	12	4	1
Total:	13	44	28	13	2	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>						
Suburbs:	14	46	25	14	2	—
Urban:	13	47	20	17	3	—
Total:	14	46	23	15	2	—

Q3 continued on next page...

Q3 continued...

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not too much</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
c. Your local government						
<u>MAY 2016</u>						
Suburbs:	22	45	15	14	3	1
Urban:	19	46	23	11	2	*
Total:	21	46	18	13	3	1
<u>AUGUST 2014</u>						
Suburbs:	21	46	17	13	2	*
Urban:	18	51	16	11	3	1
Total:	20	48	17	13	2	*
<u>SEPTEMBER 2010</u>						
Suburbs:	19	48	18	12	3	1
Urban:	18	47	20	12	3	*
Total:	18	47	20	12	3	*
<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>						
Suburbs:	16	50	21	9	2	1
Urban:	20	45	20	11	4	*
Total:	18	49	20	10	3	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>						
Suburbs:	20	46	18	12	4	--
Urban:	14	49	24	10	3	--
Total:	18	47	19	13	4	--

Q3 continued on next page...

Q3 continued...

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not too much</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
d. Your local public schools						
<u>MAY 2016</u>						
Suburbs:	33	34	15	11	7	1
Urban:	23	35	18	16	6	1
Total:	29	36	16	12	7	1
<u>AUGUST 2014</u>						
Suburbs:	29	34	18	10	7	1
Urban:	31	30	14	12	11	2
Total:	30	34	16	10	8	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2010</u>						
Suburbs:	34	34	15	10	6	2
Urban:	26	37	18	12	7	1
Total:	31	36	16	10	6	1
<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>						
Suburbs:	35	34	13	7	10	1
Urban:	28	40	15	9	7	1
Total:	33	38	13	8	9	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>						
Suburbs:	35	34	15	7	8	--
Urban:	21	39	18	14	8	--
Total:	30	37	16	10	7	--
e. Your local police						
<u>MAY 2016</u>						
Suburbs:	49	33	9	9	1	*
Urban:	39	39	10	12	1	0
Total:	45	35	9	9	1	*
<u>AUGUST 2014</u>						
Suburbs:	47	31	10	10	1	1
Urban:	45	26	12	15	1	1
Total:	44	31	11	12	1	1
<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>						
Suburbs:	49	36	6	6	2	*
Urban:	40	35	11	13	1	1
Total:	45	37	7	8	2	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>						
Suburbs:	51	35	6	5	2	--
Urban:	43	39	8	7	3	--
Total:	46	37	7	7	2	--

ISSUES Thinking about the issues, what one ISSUE would you most like to hear the presidential candidates talk about? [IF GAVE ANSWER, PROBE: Any other issue?] [PRECODED OPEN-END; DO NOT READ; ACCEPT UP TO TWO MENTIONS]

MAY 2016				AUGUST 2014			
Suburbs	Urban	Total		Suburbs	Urban	Total	
20	21	20	Economy	30	25	27	
14	12	13	Immigration / Securing U.S. borders ⁶	2	3	3	
11	9	10	Job situation / Unemployment	22	22	22	
10	16	11	Education / Education reform	5	7	6	
9	13	10	Health care reform / Health care in general	17	17	16	
8	5	7	Budget deficit / National debt	6	7	6	
8	4	7	Foreign policy / Foreign affairs in general ⁷	6	7	6	
7	8	8	Terrorism / Protecting the nation / National security in general ⁸	1	1	1	
2	4	3	Environment/Global warming/Climate change ⁹	*	2	1	
2	2	2	Social Security	3	2	3	
2	2	3	Gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender rights	1	2	1	
2	2	2	Gun control / Gun violence	n/a	n/a	n/a	
2	1	1	ISIS / Islamic State of Iraq and Syria	n/a	n/a	n/a	
1	1	2	Taxes	2	2	3	
1	*	1	Abortion / Reproductive rights	2	1	1	
1	*	1	Bipartisanship / Political parties compromising or working together ¹⁰	1	1	2	
*	3	1	Crime, drugs and violence	n/a	n/a	n/a	
*	1	1	Energy/Gas prices	3	2	3	
*	0	*	Iran	n/a	n/a	n/a	
n/a	n/a	n/a	War ¹¹	3	3	3	
n/a	n/a	n/a	Foreclosures / Housing ¹²	1	2	1	
n/a	n/a	n/a	Student debt / Student loans	*	1	1	
n/a	n/a	n/a	Corporate and special interest influence in politics / Super PACs	*	*	*	
22	21	22	Other (SPECIFY)	14	13	14	
7	6	7	Don't know	6	8	8	
2	2	2	Refused	2	2	2	

Note: Totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

⁶ June 2012 and September precoded response "Immigration reform/Securing U.S. borders".

⁷ June 2012 precoded response was "Foreign policy / Foreign affairs"

⁸ June 2012 precoded response was "Terrorism / Protecting the nation". September 2008 precoded responses were "Terrorism / Protecting the nation" and "National security".

⁹ June 2012 and September precoded response "Environment/Global warming".

¹⁰ June 2012 precoded response was "Bipartisanship / Compromise / Working together"

¹¹ September 2008 precoded response was "Iraq / The war"

¹² September 2008 precoded responses were "Foreclosures/Falling real estate prices" and "Affordable housing".

ISSUES continued on next page...

ISSUES continued...

	SEPTEMBER 2008		
	<u>Subur</u>		
	<u>bs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>
Economy	46	46	44
Immigration / Securing U.S. borders ¹³	3	2	3
Job situation / Unemployment	2	4	3
Education / Education reform	3	5	3
Health care reform / Health care in general	8	10	10
Budget deficit / National debt	2	2	2
Foreign policy / Foreign affairs in general ¹⁴	1	1	1
Terrorism / Protecting the nation / National security in general ¹⁵	4	2	3
Environment/Global warming/Climate change ¹⁶	2	1	1
Social Security	n/a	n/a	n/a
Gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender rights	n/a	n/a	n/a
Gun control / Gun violence	n/a	n/a	n/a
ISIS / Islamic State of Iraq and Syria	n/a	n/a	n/a
Taxes	2	3	2
Abortion / Reproductive rights	1	1	1
Bipartisanship / Political parties compromising or working together ¹⁷	n/a	n/a	n/a
Crime, drugs and violence	n/a	n/a	n/a
Energy/Gas prices	7	6	7
Iran	n/a	n/a	n/a
War ¹⁸	9	7	8
Foreclosures / Housing ¹⁹	1	*	1
Student debt / Student loans	n/a	n/a	n/a
Corporate and special interest influence in politics / Super PACs	n/a	n/a	n/a
Other (SPECIFY)	14	11	13
Don't know	5	9	7
Refused	--	--	--

Note: Totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

¹³ June 2012 and September precoded response "Immigration reform/Securing U.S. borders".

¹⁴ June 2012 precoded response was "Foreign policy / Foreign affairs"

¹⁵ June 2012 precoded response was "Terrorism / Protecting the nation". September 2008 precoded responses were "Terrorism / Protecting the nation" and "National security".

¹⁶ June 2012 and September precoded response "Environment/Global warming".

¹⁷ June 2012 precoded response was "Bipartisanship / Compromise / Working together"

¹⁸ September 2008 precoded response was "Iraq / The war"

¹⁹ September 2008 precoded responses were "Foreclosures/Falling real estate prices" and "Affordable housing".

[READ TO ALL:] Next...

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?²⁰

		<u>Yes, registered</u>	<u>No, not registered</u>	<u>(VOL.) Don't need to register</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016						
	Suburbs:	76	23	n/a	*	*
	Urban:	73	27	n/a	*	0
	Total:	75	24	n/a	1	*
AUGUST 2014						
	Suburbs:	75	23	1	*	*
	Urban:	71	26	2	1	*
	Total:	74	23	1	1	*
OCTOBER 2012						
	Suburbs:	83	16	0	*	*
	Urban:	76	23	0	1	*
	Total:	80	19	0	*	*
JUNE 2012						
	Suburbs:	76	23	n/a	*	0
	Urban:	74	26	n/a	*	1
	Total:	75	25	n/a	*	*
NOVEMBER 2011						
	Suburbs:	77	23	n/a	*	*
	Urban:	72	26	n/a	1	0
	Total:	74	25	n/a	1	*
SEPTEMBER 2010						
	Suburbs:	82	18	n/a	1	0
	Urban:	75	24	n/a	1	0
	Total:	78	21	n/a	1	0
OCTOBER 2008						
	Suburbs:	90	10	n/a	*	--
	Urban:	87	13	n/a	1	--
	Total:	89	10	n/a	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008						
	Suburbs:	85	15	n/a	*	--
	Urban:	79	20	n/a	*	--
	Total:	83	16	n/a	*	--

²⁰ Prior to October 2012, "Don't need to register" was not offered as a volunteered option. For October 2012 and August 2014, "registered voters" are defined as those who say they are registered and those who volunteered they do not need to register.

THOUGHT How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election – quite a lot or only a little?²¹

	<u>Quite a lot</u>	<u>(VOL.) Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>(VOL.) None</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016 (PRESIDENTIAL)						
Suburbs:	70	4	23	2	1	1
Urban:	67	3	25	4	1	*
Total:	68	3	24	3	1	1
AUGUST 2014 (CONGRESSIONAL)						
Suburbs:	34	3	51	9	1	1
Urban:	26	2	60	10	2	1
Total:	31	3	53	10	1	1
OCTOBER 2012 (PRESIDENTIAL)						
Suburbs:	72	2	22	2	*	2
Urban:	72	2	23	2	*	1
Total:	70	3	23	3	*	1
NOVEMBER 2011 (PRESIDENTIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL)						
Suburbs:	51	3	39	6	1	1
Urban:	45	4	44	5	1	*
Total:	48	4	41	6	1	1
SEPTEMBER 2010 (CONGRESSIONAL)						
Suburbs:	47	4	40	7	1	*
Urban:	48	5	37	9	*	*
Total:	47	5	40	7	1	*
OCTOBER 2008 (PRESIDENTIAL)						
Suburbs:	76	9	10	4	*	--
Urban:	85	6	7	3	0	--
Total:	78	7	11	4	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008 (PRESIDENTIAL)						
Suburbs:	77	2	17	3	1	--
Urban:	73	2	22	1	1	--
Total:	75	2	20	3	1	--

²¹ Trend question wording may vary from poll to poll, asking about the upcoming presidential election, congressional elections, or both.

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

Based on all registered voters

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly always</u>	<u>Part of the time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>(VOL.) Never vote</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other response</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016								
Suburbs (n=843):	57	26	9	4	1	1	0	*
Urban (n=262):	52	24	14	7	1	1	*	*
Total (n=1,235):	56	25	11	5	1	1	*	*
AUGUST 2014								
Suburbs (n=815):	52	28	9	8	3	*	*	1
Urban (n=311):	50	25	11	8	4	2	*	0
Total (n=1,242):	51	27	10	7	4	1	*	*
OCTOBER 2012								
Suburbs (n=868):	65	21	5	6	2	1	*	*
Urban (n=345):	71	15	6	4	2	1	*	1
Total (n=1,315):	67	19	6	5	2	1	*	*
SEPTEMBER 2010								
Suburbs (n=860):	52	28	12	5	2	1	0	*
Urban (n=328):	54	27	11	4	3	1	*	*
Total (n=1,299):	53	27	11	5	2	1	*	*
OCTOBER 2008								
Suburbs (n=929):	60	24	8	5	2	1	*	--
Urban (n=266):	62	23	8	5	2	0	0	--
Total (n=1,397):	61	24	8	5	2	*	*	--
SEPTEMBER 2008								
Suburbs (n=936):	55	27	8	5	3	1	1	--
Urban (n=244):	57	24	7	7	4	*	1	--
Total (n=1,367):	55	26	9	6	3	*	1	--

NO QUESTION 4

Q5 Now I'd like your views on some people. As I read some names, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each person. First, [INSERT ITEMS; RANDOMIZE]. Would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT FIRST ITEM] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [INSERT NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Would you say your overall opinion of (ITEM) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE"]

		Very favor- able	Mostly favor- able	Mostly unfavor- able	Very unfavor- able	(VOL.) Never heard of	(VOL.) Can't rate	(VOL.) Ref.
a.	Barack Obama							
	<u>MAY 2016</u>							
	Suburbs:	24	28	17	29	*	1	1
	Urban:	42	26	13	18	0	1	*
	Total:	29	26	16	27	*	1	1
b.	Hillary Clinton							
	<u>MAY 2016</u>							
	Suburbs:	14	22	21	41	*	1	1
	Urban:	24	29	15	28	1	2	1
	Total:	17	24	18	38	*	1	1
c.	Bernie Sanders							
	<u>MAY 2016</u>							
	Suburbs:	18	30	18	25	3	4	1
	Urban:	26	32	19	17	3	3	1
	Total:	20	30	20	23	3	4	1
d.	Donald Trump							
	<u>MAY 2016</u>							
	Suburbs:	15	23	16	43	*	2	1
	Urban:	8	13	18	58	1	2	*
	Total:	14	20	17	46	*	2	1
e.	Ted Cruz							
	<u>MAY 2016</u>							
	Suburbs:	8	22	28	30	3	6	1
	Urban:	8	18	29	35	6	4	1
	Total:	8	22	28	32	4	5	1
f.	John Kasich							
	<u>MAY 2016</u>							
	Suburbs:	8	31	22	13	13	12	2
	Urban:	5	22	28	16	18	10	1
	Total:	7	27	25	14	14	12	1

Q5 continued on next page...

Q5 continued...

	Very favor- able	Mostly favor- able	Mostly unfavor- able	Very unfavor -able	(VOL.) Never heard of	(VOL.) Can't rate	(VOL.) Ref.
g. Marco Rubio							
<u>MAY 2016</u>							
Suburbs:	8	27	28	19	7	9	1
Urban:	6	20	35	22	8	7	2
Total:	7	25	30	21	7	9	1

[READ TO ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:] Thinking now about the 2016 presidential election...

PRES16HEAT If the 2016 presidential election were held today and the candidates were (Hillary Clinton, the Democrat,) and (Donald Trump, the Republican,) who would you vote for?
[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN PARENTHESES]²²

Based on all registered voters

	Democrat (H. Clinton)	Republican (Trump)	(VOL.) Other candidate	(VOL.) Neither/ Did not or would not vote	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Refuse d
MAY 2016						
(H. CLINTON V. TRUMP)						
Suburbs (n=843):	36	49	4	7	3	1
Urban (n=262):	59	24	3	11	3	1
Total (n=1,235):	42	42	4	9	3	1
OCTOBER 2012						
(OBAMA/BIDEN V. ROMNEY/RYAN)						
Suburbs (n=868):	48	42	1	2	3	4
Urban (n=345):	60	31	1	1	4	3
Total (n=1,315):	50	40	1	1	4	4
JUNE 2012						
(OBAMA V. ROMNEY)						
Suburbs (n=844):	43	42	2	4	7	2
Urban (n=335):	52	37	2	5	3	1
Total (n=1,267):	46	41	2	5	5	2
NOVEMBER 2011						
(OBAMA V. ROMNEY)						
Suburbs (n=876):	40	48	2	5	5	1
Urban (n=325):	63	27	*	2	6	1
Total (n=1,268):	49	39	1	4	6	1

PRES16HEAT continued on next page...

²² Trend question wording may vary slightly from poll to poll, asking about presidential candidates only or asking about the party ticket including vice presidential candidates. October 2012 and October 2008 results include those who already voted in the presidential election.

PRES16HEAT continued...

	Democrat (H. Clinton)	Republica n (Trump)	(VOL.) Other candidate	(VOL.) Neither/ Did not or would not vote	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Refuse d
OCTOBER 2008 (OBAMA/BIDEN V. MCCAIN/PALIN)						
Suburbs (n=929):	44	36	2	2	10	7
Urban (n=266):	51	31	1	1	6	9
Total (n=1,397):	46	35	1	2	8	8
SEPTEMBER 2008 (OBAMA/BIDEN V. MCCAIN/PALIN)						
Suburbs (n=936):	38	43	3	n/a	17	--
Urban (n=244):	56	30	4	n/a	11	--
Total (n=1,367):	42	39	3	n/a	15	--

PRES16HEAT If the 2016 presidential election were held today and the candidates were (Hillary Clinton, the Democrat,) and (Donald Trump, the Republican,) who would you vote for?
[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN PARENTHESES]

PRES16LN [ASK IF OTHER, NEITHER, DK OR REFUSED IN PRES16HEAT] As of TODAY, do you
LEAN more to [READ IN SAME ORDER AS PRES16HEAT]

Based on all registered voters

	Total Democrat (H. Clinton)	Total Republican (Trump)	(VOL.) Other candidate	(VOL.) Neither/ Did not or would not vote	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Refused
MAY 2016 (H. CLINTON V. TRUMP)						
Suburbs (n=843):	39	52	1	7	1	*
Urban (n=262):	65	27	*	4	2	1
Total (n=1,235):	46	45	1	7	1	1
OCTOBER 2012 (OBAMA/BIDEN V. ROMNEY/RYAN)						
Suburbs (n=868):	51	43	*	2	1	3
Urban (n=345):	62	34	0	1	1	3
Total (n=1,315):	53	41	*	1	1	3
JUNE 2012 (OBAMA V. ROMNEY)						
Suburbs (n=844):	46	46	2	4	3	*
Urban (n=335):	57	40	0	2	1	*
Total (n=1,267):	49	45	1	3	2	1
OCTOBER 2008 (OBAMA/BIDEN V. MCCAIN/PALIN)						
Suburbs (n=929):	47	39	1	2	5	6
Urban (n=266):	55	33	1	*	4	6
Total (n=1,397):	48	38	1	2	5	7
SEPTEMBER 2008 (OBAMA/BIDEN V. MCCAIN/PALIN)						
Suburbs (n=936):	42	48	1	n/a	8	--
Urban (n=244):	57	34	1	n/a	8	--
Total (n=1,367):	46	44	1	n/a	9	--

CONGHEAT If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for (the Democratic candidate) OR (the Republican candidate) for Congress in your district?
[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN PARENTHESES]²³

Based on all registered voters

	<u>Dem. candida te</u>	<u>Rep. candida te</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither /Would n't vote</u>	<u>(VOL.) Alread y voted</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016							
Suburbs (n=843):	38	43	2	3	n/a	12	1
Urban (n=262):	63	27	*	1	n/a	8	1
Total (n=1,235):	46	40	1	2	n/a	10	1
AUGUST 2014							
Suburbs (n=815):	36	36	6	6	n/a	13	2
Urban (n=311):	47	31	6	5	n/a	8	2
Total (n=1,242):	38	35	7	6	n/a	12	2
OCTOBER 2012							
Suburbs (n=868):	43	42	1	2	*	9	3
Urban (n=345):	56	29	*	2	*	10	2
Total (n=1,315):	47	38	*	2	*	10	3
NOVEMBER 2011							
Suburbs (n=876):	38	44	3	n/a	n/a	12	4
Urban (n=325):	57	29	3	n/a	n/a	9	3
Total (n=1,268):	45	38	3	n/a	n/a	11	3
SEPTEMBER 2010							
Suburbs (n=860):	38	40	5	n/a	n/a	14	3
Urban (n=328):	44	38	4	n/a	n/a	13	1
Total (n=1,299):	39	40	5	n/a	n/a	14	2

²³ Trend question wording may vary slightly from poll to poll, sometimes specifying the election year (e.g. November 2011: "2012 elections for U.S. Congress")

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

LIVE About how long have you lived in the neighborhood where you live now? Have you lived there... [READ]

		<u>Less than 1 year</u>	<u>1 to 5 years</u>	<u>6 to 10 years</u>	<u>11 to 20 years</u>	<u>More than 20 years</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016								
	Suburbs:	9	26	16	22	28	*	*
	Urban:	11	27	14	23	24	*	1
	Total:	9	26	15	23	27	*	*
AUGUST 2014								
	Suburbs:	14	27	15	20	24	0	0
	Urban:	17	29	17	18	19	*	*
	Total:	14	26	16	21	23	*	*
SEPTEMBER 2010								
	Suburbs:	8	28	19	18	27	*	*
	Urban:	14	22	19	21	24	0	0
	Total:	11	24	19	19	27	*	*
OCTOBER 2009								
	Suburbs:	8	29	18	19	27	*	0
	Urban:	19	26	15	17	23	0	0
	Total:	11	27	15	18	29	*	0
SEPTEMBER 2008								
	Suburbs:	6	24	18	23	28	0	*
	Urban:	6	30	24	17	23	0	0
	Total:	6	26	20	20	28	0	*
KNIGHT 2002 ²⁴								
	Total:	7	23	13	19	38	*	--

²⁴ 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]"

Q6 What's your impression about the real estate market in your neighborhood? Over the past 12 months, have home prices in your neighborhood gone up a lot, gone up a little, gone down a little, or gone down a lot?²⁵

		<u>Gone up a lot</u>	<u>Gone up a little</u>	<u>Gone down a little</u>	<u>Gone down a lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Stayed about the same</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
MAY 2016								
	Suburbs:	23	43	10	5	8	11	*
	Urban:	29	37	11	5	4	14	*
	Total:	24	40	11	5	7	13	*
AUGUST 2014								
	Suburbs:	14	39	17	9	7	13	1
	Urban:	23	35	13	6	7	15	*
	Total:	17	38	16	8	8	13	*
SEPTEMBER 2010								
	Suburbs:	9	14	31	28	7	11	*
	Urban:	10	17	31	23	7	12	*
	Total:	10	16	29	26	8	10	*
SEPTEMBER 2008								
	Suburbs:	15	14	29	28	6	8	--
	Urban:	21	13	30	20	5	12	--
	Total:	19	14	27	24	6	10	--

²⁵ August 2014 and September 2010 question wording was: "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?" September 2008 question wording was: "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?"

Q7 And still thinking about the area where you live now... 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 where you live. (First,) what about [INSERT ITEMS; RANDOMIZE; ITEM G ALWAYS LAST]?²⁶

[READ FOR FIRST TWO ITEMS, THEN IF NECESSARY: Is this a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem where you live?]

	<u>Big problem</u>	<u>Small problem</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
a. Crime, drugs and violence					
<u>MAY 2016</u>					
Suburbs:	31	39	29	1	*
Urban:	41	38	20	1	*
Total:	34	39	26	1	*
<u>AUGUST 2014</u>					
Suburbs:	24	40	34	1	*
Urban:	34	37	27	2	*
Total:	28	39	31	1	*
<u>SEPTEMBER 2010</u>					
Suburbs:	23	33	42	1	0
Urban:	28	38	33	1	0
Total:	25	36	37	1	0
<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	19	37	41	2	*
Urban:	44	30	24	1	*
Total:	28	35	35	2	*
<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>					
Suburbs:	19	42	37	2	--
Urban:	33	38	29	1	--
Total:	25	40	33	1	--
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL:</u>	28	48	19	4	--

Q7 continued on next page...

²⁶ Prior to August 2014, the question wording was: "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. [RANDOMIZE ITEMS]. Is this a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem (in your community)?"

Q7 continued...

	<u>Big problem</u>	<u>Small problem</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
b. Unemployment or lack of job opportunities ²⁷					
<u>MAY 2016</u>					
Suburbs:	32	36	29	3	*
Urban:	38	35	22	5	*
Total:	36	35	25	4	*
<u>AUGUST 2014</u>					
Suburbs:	39	35	18	6	1
Urban:	37	35	24	4	*
Total:	39	35	20	5	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2010</u>					
Suburbs:	42	29	23	6	*
Urban:	45	29	17	9	*
Total:	45	29	19	7	*
<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	41	31	17	10	*
Urban:	57	25	13	5	*
Total:	48	30	15	7	*
<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>					
Suburbs:	29	37	24	9	--
Urban:	36	33	24	7	--
Total:	34	35	23	8	--
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL:</u>	32	42	19	7	--

Q7 continued on next page...

²⁷ Prior to August 2014, the trend item was "Unemployment"

Q7 continued...

	<u>Big problem</u>	<u>Small problem</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
c. The public schools do not provide good quality education ²⁸					
<u>MAY 2016</u>					
Suburbs:	24	24	45	6	1
Urban:	32	28	33	7	*
Total:	26	25	42	6	*
<u>AUGUST 2014</u>					
Suburbs:	25	22	45	6	1
Urban:	30	18	43	8	*
Total:	26	21	46	7	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2010</u>					
Suburbs:	19	18	57	6	1
Urban:	27	22	46	5	1
Total:	22	20	53	5	1
<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	17	22	48	12	*
Urban:	35	24	31	9	1
Total:	23	23	43	10	1
<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>					
Suburbs:	17	25	49	8	--
Urban:	33	28	29	10	--
Total:	23	26	42	9	--
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL:</u>	16	26	50	8	--

Q7 continued on next page...

²⁸ Prior to August 2014, the trend item was "The public schools do not provide quality education"

Q7 continued...

		<u>Big problem</u>	<u>Small problem</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
d. Poor maintenance of public properties, like roads, bridges and sewers						
	<u>MAY 2016</u>					
	Suburbs:	26	35	38	1	*
	Urban:	31	37	32	0	0
	Total:	27	36	36	1	*
	<u>AUGUST 2014</u>					
	Suburbs:	23	30	45	2	*
	Urban:	25	29	45	*	*
	Total:	24	30	44	1	*
e. Lack of public parks or recreational spaces						
	<u>MAY 2016</u>					
	Suburbs:	11	19	68	2	*
	Urban:	14	21	65	1	0
	Total:	12	19	67	1	*
	<u>AUGUST 2014</u>					
	Suburbs:	10	17	71	3	*
	Urban:	11	20	66	3	*
	Total:	10	19	68	3	*
f. Traffic congestion						
	<u>MAY 2016</u>					
	Suburbs:	29	33	36	1	*
	Urban:	39	35	25	1	*
	Total:	30	32	38	1	*
	<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>					
	Suburbs:	27	34	37	1	*
	Urban:	34	31	33	2	*
	Total:	26	30	43	2	*
	<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>					
	Suburbs:	26	32	42	1	--
	Urban:	31	38	31	*	--
	Total:	24	33	42	*	--

Q7 continued on next page...

Q7 continued...

	<u>Big problem</u>	<u>Small problem</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
g. Tension between different racial and ethnic groups					
<u>MAY 2016</u>					
Suburbs:	15	31	53	1	*
Urban:	18	40	40	1	1
Total:	15	34	49	1	*
<u>SEPTEMBER 2010</u>					
Suburbs:	8	20	69	2	*
Urban:	13	27	58	2	0
Total:	10	22	66	3	*
<u>OCTOBER 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	12	24	60	4	1
Urban:	23	27	49	1	*
Total:	14	28	55	2	*
<u>SEPTEMBER 2008</u>					
Suburbs:	8	32	56	4	--
Urban:	12	41	43	4	--
Total:	10	35	52	3	--
<u>KNIGHT 2002 TOTAL:</u>	13	40	43	4	--

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

Q8 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>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
MAY 2016						
Suburbs:	10	37	36	15	1	1
Urban:	8	32	41	18	0	1
Total:	10	35	38	16	*	1
AUGUST 2014						
Suburbs:	7	34	38	17	1	2
Urban:	8	35	35	19	1	2
Total:	8	34	38	17	1	2
JUNE 2012						
Suburbs:	7	36	34	21	1	1
Urban:	9	33	38	18	*	1
Total:	8	35	36	19	*	1
NOVEMBER 2011						
Suburbs:	7	32	37	22	*	2
Urban:	7	28	39	25	*	1
Total:	7	30	37	25	*	1
SEPTEMBER 2010						
Suburbs:	9	37	33	20	1	1
Urban:	8	34	36	20	1	0
Total:	8	34	35	21	1	1
OCTOBER 2009						
Suburbs:	7	37	39	15	1	2
Urban:	13	31	37	19	0	*
Total:	9	35	38	16	*	2
OCTOBER 2008						
Suburbs:	7	43	35	14	1	--
Urban:	10	39	32	18	1	--
Total:	8	41	35	15	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008						
Suburbs:	8	42	34	15	2	--
Urban:	7	37	36	18	1	--
Total:	7	39	36	17	1	--

LOSTHOME2 Have you or has someone you know ever lost a home due to foreclosure or because of the inability to afford mortgage payments?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
41	38	39	Yes
59	61	60	No
*	1	1	(VOL.) Don't know
*	0	*	(VOL.) Refused

LOSTHOME3 You said you or someone you know lost their home. Was it [INSERT ITEMS IN ORDER] who lost your home due to foreclosure or because you could not afford mortgage payments? Next, did [INSERT ITEM] lose their home [IF NECESSARY: due to foreclosure or because of the inability to afford mortgage payments]?

Based on those who know someone who ever lost a home

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
a. You				
	<u>MAY 2016</u>			
Suburbs (N=369):	17	83	*	0
Urban (N=130):	20	80	0	0
Total (N=553):	17	83	*	0
b. Another person in your household				
	<u>MAY 2016</u>			
Suburbs (N=369):	15	84	*	0
Urban (N=130):	22	78	0	0
Total (N=553):	18	82	*	0
c. A neighbor				
	<u>MAY 2016</u>			
Suburbs (N=369):	35	62	3	*
Urban (N=130):	40	58	2	0
Total (N=553):	36	61	2	*
d. Someone else I haven't mentioned				
	<u>MAY 2016</u>			
Suburbs (N=369):	69	30	1	*
Urban (N=130):	55	41	3	*
Total (N=553):	64	34	1	*

LOSTHOME4 You said that you had lost a home. Thinking about the most recent time this has happened, about how long ago was that? Was it within the last 12 months, 1 year to under 5 years ago, 5 years to under 10 years ago, or 10 years ago or more?

Based on those who ever lost a home

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>
(n=49)	(n=24)	(n=79)

There are too few cases to report.

Q9 There are many reasons why people sometimes find it hard to meet their mortgage payments. Still thinking about the most recent time you lost a home, what would you say was the main reason you could not afford mortgage payments at that time? [OPEN-END; RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE]

Based on those who ever lost a home

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>
(n=49)	(n=24)	(n=79)

There are too few cases to report.

Q10 Thinking now about America's long-term economic future, would you say you are very optimistic, somewhat optimistic, somewhat pessimistic or very pessimistic?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
10	11	11	Very optimistic
41	46	41	Somewhat optimistic
27	24	27	Somewhat pessimistic
18	15	16	Very pessimistic
1	1	1	(VOL.) Both equally/Mixed
3	3	3	(VOL.) Don't know
1	1	1	(VOL.) Refused

Q11 Please tell me which of these statements comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right: Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest (OR) Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good?²⁹

	<u>Necessary to protect the public interest</u>	<u>Usually does more harm than good</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither/ Both equally</u>	<u>(VOL.) Don't know</u>	<u>(VOL.) Refused</u>
MAY 2016					
Suburbs:	39	52	3	5	1
Urban:	47	46	3	4	*
Total:	41	51	3	5	1
JUNE 2012					
Suburbs:	38	51	3	7	1
Urban:	49	43	2	4	2
Total:	42	48	3	5	2
FEBRUARY 2012					
Suburbs:	41	52	2	4	--
Urban:	45	48	3	4	--
Total:	40	52	2	5	--

²⁹ February 2012 trends from the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

Q12 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between rich or poor. [IF AGREE/DISAGREE, ASK: Do you feel that way STRONGLY or SOMEWHAT?]

		<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Somewha t Agree</u>	<u>Somewha t Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016							
	Suburbs:	39	23	13	21	2	1
	Urban:	52	19	12	14	2	1
	Total:	44	22	13	19	2	1
AUGUST 2014							
	Suburbs:	41	19	12	21	4	2
	Urban:	41	22	8	21	6	2
	Total:	41	19	11	22	5	2
JUNE 2012							
	Suburbs:	35	20	12	26	6	1
	Urban:	39	20	14	20	5	2
	Total:	37	19	14	23	6	1
DECEMBER 1983 ³⁰ :							
	Total:	46	22	11	17	4	0

³⁰ December 1983 trends from a Los Angeles Times poll

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

Q13 As you may know, the federal minimum wage is currently \$7.25 an hour. Do you favor or oppose increasing the minimum wage?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
71	81	74	Favor
25	17	23	Oppose
2	1	2	(VOL.) Depends on the amount
2	1	1	(VOL.) Don't know
1	0	*	(VOL.) Refused

Q14 What should the minimum wage be increased to? [IF NECESSARY: How much do you think the minimum wage should be per hour?] [DO NOT READ; PRECODED OPEN-END]

Based on those who favor increasing the federal minimum wage or Depends

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
22	19	21	Less than \$10 per hour
35	28	33	\$10 to \$10.99 per hour
3	4	4	\$11 to \$11.99 per hour
7	9	9	Exactly \$12 per hour
4	5	4	\$12.01 to \$12.99 per hour
3	2	3	\$13 to \$13.99 per hour
1	3	2	\$14 to \$14.99 per hour
13	19	14	Exactly \$15 per hour
6	6	6	More than \$15 per hour
5	3	4	Don't know
*	2	1	Refused
60	51	58	NET Under \$12 per hour
34	44	38	NET \$12 per hour or more
76	70	75	NET Under \$15 per hour
19	25	20	NET \$15 per hour or more
(n=730)	(n=276)	(n=1,121)	

[READ TO ALL:] Next...

TRADE In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement or NAFTA, have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
39	45	40	Good thing
40	36	39	Bad thing
3	3	3	(VOL.) Neither good nor bad
2	2	2	(VOL.) Both equally

17 13 16 (VOL.) Don't know
 1 1 1 (VOL.) Refused
 Q15 Do you think abortion should be [READ] [PROGRAM CATEGORIES IN ORDER FOR RANDOM ½
 OF SAMPLE; REVERSE ORDER FOR REMAINING ½ OF SAMPLE]

		<u>Legal in all cases</u>	<u>Legal in most cases</u>	<u>Illegal in most cases</u>	<u>Illegal in all cases</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016							
	Suburbs:	24	32	24	15	3	2
	Urban:	29	29	24	12	4	3
	Total:	24	32	23	15	4	2
AUGUST 2014							
	Suburbs:	22	34	21	16	3	3
	Urban:	23	33	21	16	4	4
	Total:	22	32	22	17	4	3
OCTOBER 2008							
	Suburbs:	17	34	23	17	8	2
	Urban:	25	36	15	15	7	2
	Total:	20	32	22	17	7	2
SEPTEMBER 2008							
	Suburbs:	20	32	28	14	6	--
	Urban:	23	34	19	17	7	--
	Total:	20	32	25	16	7	--

NO QUESTION 16

Q17 What should be the priority for dealing with immigration in this country? [READ AND
 RANDOMIZE 1-2]

<u>Allowing illegal immigrants already here to become citizens if they meet certain requirements</u>	<u>Tighter border security and stronger enforcement of immigration laws</u>	<u>Both should be given equal priority</u>	<u>(VOL.) None of these</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
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MAY 2016

Suburbs:	31	29	38	1	1	*
Urban:	38	18	41	*	3	*
Total:	33	26	38	1	1	*

AUGUST 2014

Suburbs:	25	33	39	1	2	*
Urban:	25	26	43	2	3	*
Total:	24	34	38	2	2	*

SEPTEMBER 2010

Suburbs:	21	38	37	1	2	1
Urban:	31	30	36	1	1	1
Total:	24	36	36	1	2	1

Q18 Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views – even if neither is exactly right. The (first/next) pair is... [READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS AND RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR] [AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?]³¹

a.	This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment			This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment			(VOL.) Both/Neither	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Ref.
	NET %	Strongly %	Not strongly %	NET %	Strongly %	Not strongly %	NET %	NET %	NET %
<u>MAY 2016</u>									
Suburbs:	69	58	11	26	19	7	3	2	*
Urban:	79	69	10	15	13	2	3	2	*
Total:	71	61	10	23	17	6	3	2	*
<u>AUGUST 2014</u>									
Suburbs:	70	56	14	26	18	8	3	1	1
Urban:	75	62	13	22	15	7	1	2	1
Total:	70	57	13	26	18	8	2	2	1
<u>JUNE 2012</u>									
Suburbs:	65	52	13	29	20	9	3	2	1
Urban:	69	53	16	25	16	9	2	1	1
Total:	65	51	14	28	19	9	3	2	1
<u>Nov. 2011</u>									
Suburbs:	60	44	16	33	23	10	3	3	1
Urban:	70	54	16	25	15	10	2	3	*
Total:	62	47	15	30	21	9	3	3	1

Q18 continued on next page...

³¹ Beginning in May 2016, statements within each pair were also randomized.

Q18 continued...

b.	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy			Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost			(VOL.) Both/ Neither	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Ref.
	NET %	Strongly %	Not strongly %	NET %	Strongly %	Not strongly %	NET %	NET %	NET %
MAY 2016									
Suburbs:	38	27	11	54	39	15	2	5	1
Urban:	36	27	9	57	46	11	3	4	*
Total:	38	28	10	54	41	13	2	5	1
AUGUST 2014									
Suburbs:	41	29	12	52	38	14	2	5	1
Urban:	37	28	9	56	43	13	2	5	1
Total:	41	30	11	51	38	13	2	5	1
JUNE 2012									
Suburbs:	39	29	10	51	36	15	4	5	1
Urban:	39	29	10	51	35	16	3	5	1
Total:	39	30	9	51	36	15	4	5	2
Nov. 2011									
Suburbs:	43	29	14	47	31	16	3	6	1
Urban:	38	25	13	51	36	15	2	7	2
Total:	42	29	13	47	32	15	3	7	2
c.	Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard			Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people			(VOL.) Both/ Neither	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Ref.
	NET %	Strongly %	Not strongly %	NET %	Strongly %	Not strongly %	NET %	NET %	NET %
MAY 2016									
Suburbs:	68	60	8	29	22	7	1	1	*
Urban:	69	60	9	29	22	7	1	*	*
Total:	69	60	9	28	22	6	1	1	*
d.	Ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the government in Washington if they are willing to make the effort			There's not much ordinary citizens can do to influence the government in Washington			(VOL.) Both/ Neither	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Ref.
	NET %	Strongly %	Not strongly %	NET %	Strongly %	Not strongly %	NET %	NET %	NET %
MAY 2016									
Suburbs:	49	39	10	48	37	11	1	2	*
Urban:	56	44	12	42	34	8	*	2	1
Total:	51	41	10	44	35	9	1	2	1

Q19 In your view, is climate change a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not a problem?³²

		<u>Very serious</u>	<u>Somewha t serious</u>	<u>Not too serious</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016							
	Suburbs:	39	27	16	17	1	*
	Urban:	50	24	11	14	1	0
	Total:	42	26	15	16	1	*
AUGUST 2014							
	Suburbs:	35	28	14	21	2	*
	Urban:	42	26	13	18	1	0
	Total:	37	27	14	20	2	*
JUNE 2012							
	Suburbs:	36	28	15	18	2	*
	Urban:	42	26	16	13	2	1
	Total:	36	28	16	16	2	1
NOVEMBER 2011							
	Suburbs:	31	30	18	18	3	*
	Urban:	41	26	12	15	3	1
	Total:	35	29	15	17	3	1

³² Prior to August 2014, trend question wording was "In your view, is global warming a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not a problem?"

vote2012Now thinking BACK to the 2012 presidential election when Barack Obama ran against Mitt Romney, a lot of people tell us they didn't get a chance to vote in the 2012 presidential election. How about you? Did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?³³

	<u>Yes, voted</u>	<u>No, did not vote</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Can't remember</u>	<u>(VOL.) Refused</u>
MAY 2016 (2012 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION)				
Suburbs:	64	35	*	0
Urban:	63	37	0	0
Total:	65	35	*	0
OCTOBER 2012 (2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION)				
Suburbs:	72	27	*	*
Urban:	71	27	1	0
Total:	71	28	1	*
JUNE 2012 (2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION)				
Suburbs:	71	28	*	0
Urban:	67	32	1	*
Total:	69	31	1	*
NOVEMBER 2011 (2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION)				
Suburbs:	73	27	*	0
Urban:	77	22	1	*
Total:	73	26	*	*
SEPTEMBER 2010 (2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION)				
Suburbs:	77	23	*	*
Urban:	71	28	*	0
Total:	75	25	*	*

³³ Question wording may vary from poll to poll, depending on the presidential election asked about.

CAND2012 In the 2012 presidential election... Did you happen to vote for [IF FORM 1: Mitt Romney, Barack Obama,] [IF FORM 2: Barack Obama, Mitt Romney,] or for someone else?

Based on all those who voted in the 2012 presidential election

	<u>Democrat (Obama)</u>	<u>Republican (Romney)</u>	<u>Other/ Someone else</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Can't remember</u>	<u>(VOL.) Refused</u>
MAY 2016					
(2012 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: OBAMA V. ROMNEY)					
Suburbs (n=760):	43	40	13	2	3
Urban (n=237):	66	25	6	1	3
Total (n=1,116):	49	35	11	2	3
AUGUST 2014					
(2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: OBAMA V. MCCAIN)					
Suburbs (n=806):	53	40	4	1	3
Urban (n=324):	64	29	4	*	3
Total (n=1,221):	55	37	5	1	3
JUNE 2012					
(2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: OBAMA V. MCCAIN)					
Suburbs (n=812):	49	37	6	2	5
Urban (n=319):	58	31	6	*	4
Total (n=1,209):	51	36	7	1	5
NOVEMBER 2011					
(2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: OBAMA V. MCCAIN)					
Suburbs (n=846):	47	40	6	1	5
Urban (n=330):	63	26	6	*	5
Total (n=1,240):	54	34	7	1	5
SEPTEMBER 2010					
(2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: OBAMA V. MCCAIN)					
Suburbs (n=830):	47	40	7	1	5
Urban (n=320):	57	33	6	1	3
Total (n=1,264):	50	37	7	1	4

PAYCHECK 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]

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Most of the time</u>	<u>Some- times</u>	<u>Hardly ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>(VOL.) No job/No regular income</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
MAY 2016								
Suburbs:	23	16	23	17	19	1	1	1
Urban:	24	21	19	17	17	1	1	*
Total:	23	18	22	17	18	1	1	1
AUGUST 2014								
Suburbs:	23	18	25	15	16	1	1	2
Urban:	24	16	26	15	18	1	*	*
Total:	23	17	25	16	17	1	1	1
JUNE 2012								
Suburbs:	26	18	22	16	15	1	1	1
Urban:	26	17	21	15	19	1	1	*
Total:	26	18	21	15	17	1	1	1
NOVEMBER 2011								
Suburbs:	25	15	23	17	15	2	1	3
Urban:	31	20	19	14	13	2	1	1
Total:	29	17	21	16	14	2	1	2
SEPTEMBER 2010								
Suburbs:	26	16	21	16	17	1	1	1
Urban:	26	15	22	20	15	1	*	1
Total:	27	17	21	17	15	1	1	1
OCTOBER 2009								
Suburbs:	24	15	21	18	19	1	1	2
Urban:	32	17	19	16	12	1	1	2
Total:	26	16	21	17	16	1	1	2
OCTOBER 2008								
Suburbs:	20	17	24	16	22	*	1	--
Urban:	24	16	19	14	25	1	1	--
Total:	22	16	23	16	22	1	1	--
SEPTEMBER 2008								
Suburbs:	22	16	22	20	18	1	1	--
Urban:	23	18	22	16	17	2	1	--
Total:	23	18	22	18	16	1	1	--

[READ TO ALL:] A few last questions for statistical purposes only...

SEX RECORD RESPONDENT SEX [DO NOT READ]

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

EMPLOY Are you now employed full-time, part-time, or are you not employed for pay?³⁴

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
48	45	47	Employed full-time
13	15	13	Employed part-time
39	39	39	Not employed for pay
1	0	*	(VOL.) Don't know
*	*	*	(VOL.) Refused

AGE What is your age?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
21	25	21	Age 18-29
33	31	33	Age 30-49
26	26	26	Age 50-64
19	18	19	Age 65 or older
*	*	*	(VOL.) Don't know
1	*	1	(VOL.) Refused

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
32	36	32	Millennials (b. 1981-1998) – Age 18-35
25	24	25	Gen X (b. 1965-1980) – Age 36-51
18	17	18	Younger Boomers (b. 1955-1964) – Age 52-61
13	12	13	Older Boomers (b. 1946-1954) – Age 62-70
6	6	6	Silent generation (b. 1937-1945) – Age 71-79
5	4	4	G.I. generation (b. 1936 or earlier) – Age 80+
*	*	*	(VOL.) Don't know
1	*	1	(VOL.) Refused

³⁴ Question was asked earlier in the interview, following Question 8.

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
7	11	10	NET LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL Less than high school (Grades 1-8 or no formal schooling) / High school incomplete (Grades 9-11 or Grade 12 with NO diploma)
31	29	30	NET HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE High school graduate (Grade 12 with diploma or GED certificate)
30	30	30	NET SOME COLLEGE Some college, no degree (includes some community college) / Two year associate degree from a college or university
31	28	29	NET COLLEGE GRADUATE OR MORE Four year college or university degree/Bachelor's degree (e.g., BS, BA, AB) / Some postgraduate or professional schooling, no postgraduate degree / Postgraduate or professional degree, including master's, doctorate, medical or law degree (e.g., MA, MS, PhD, MD, JD)
*	*	*	Don't know
*	*	*	Refused

ADULTS How many adults, age 18 and over, currently live in your household, INCLUDING YOURSELF?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
18	22	20	1 adult in household / Respondent only
51	48	51	2 adults
30	30	29	3 adults or more
0	0	0	(VOL.) Don't know
1	0	*	(VOL.) Refused

MARITAL Are you currently married, living with a partner, divorced, separated, widowed, or have you never been married? [IF R SAYS "SINGLE" PROBE TO DETERMINE WHICH CATEGORY IS APPROPRIATE]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
49	38	45	Married
8	9	9	Living with a partner
9	9	9	Divorced
2	5	3	Separated
6	7	6	Widowed
25	31	26	Never been married
*	1	*	(VOL.) Don't know
*	*	*	(VOL.) Refused

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
29	23	27	Yes
71	77	73	No
0	0	0	(VOL.) Don't know
*	0	*	(VOL.) Refused

LIVE1 What description best describes your current living situation? [READ]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
16	41	24	I live in an urban area
49	32	39	I live in a suburban area
25	12	26	I live in a rural area
11	13	11	Or are you not sure?
*	1	1	(VOL.) Refused

LIVE2 If money or other factors were NOT an issue, would you choose to live somewhere more urban, more suburban, more rural, or would you choose to live in an area that is similar to where you live now?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
9	8	9	Choose an urban area
8	16	10	Choose a suburban area
16	19	17	Choose a rural area
65	55	62	Choose to live in an area similar to where I live now
2	2	1	(VOL.) Don't know
*	*	*	(VOL.) 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</u>	<u>Total</u>	
66	54	63	A detached single-family house
7	7	6	A townhouse or semi-detached house [includes townhouses and duplexes]
18	30	21	An apartment, condominium or co-op
9	8	9	Something else
*	1	*	(VOL.) Don't know
*	1	1	(VOL.) Refused

OwnRent2 Do you own your home, rent your home, live with your parents or legal guardian or do you have some other type of arrangement?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
56	42	52	Own
27	39	30	Rent
10	12	10	Live with parents
6	7	7	Other arrangement
*	*	*	(VOL.) Don't know
*	*	*	(VOL.) Refused

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

Based on Total respondents

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
27	19	25	Republican
28	41	32	Democrat
39	36	38	Independent
6	4	5	(VOL.) No preference/Other/Don't know/Refused

Based on all registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
31	20	28	Republican
30	47	35	Democrat
36	31	34	Independent
4	2	3	(VOL.) No preference/Other/Don't know/Refused
(n=843)	(n=262)	(n=1,235)	

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

PARTYLN [ASK IF DID NOT CHOOSE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT IN PARTY] As of today, do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

Based on Total respondents

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
43	32	41	Republican / Lean Republican
44	58	47	Democrat / Lean Democrat
14	11	12	Refused to lean / Still Independent

Based on all registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
48	31	43	Republican / Lean Republican
42	64	49	Democrat / Lean Democrat
10	5	8	Refused to lean / Still Independent
(n=843)	(n=262)	(n=1,235)	

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
8	5	7	Very conservative
29	29	31	Conservative
37	30	33	Moderate
14	21	16	Liberal, OR
8	10	9	Very liberal?
3	3	3	(VOL.) Don't know
1	2	1	(VOL.) Refused

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

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
71	48	65	White, non-Hispanic
10	16	11	Black or African-American, non-Hispanic
12	25	15	Hispanic
6	9	7	Other/Mixed race, non-Hispanic
2	1	2	Don't know/Refused

BIRTH_HISP Were you born in the United States, on the island of Puerto Rico, or in another country?

Based on Hispanics

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
42	50	47	U.S.
5	3	4	Puerto Rico
50	46	49	Another country
0	0	0	(VOL.) Don't know
3	0	1	(VOL.) Refused
(n=93)	(n=75)	(n=177)	

INCOME Last year -- that is, in 2015 -- what was your TOTAL family income from all sources, BEFORE taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. [READ]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
7	6	7	Less than \$10,000
9	10	10	10 to under \$20,000
10	14	12	20 to under \$30,000
9	12	10	30 to under \$40,000
8	10	9	40 to under \$50,000
12	15	13	50 to under \$75,000
13	11	12	75 to under \$100,000
12	7	10	100 to under \$150,000, OR
8	6	7	\$150,000 or more?
6	5	5	(VOL.) Don't know
6	4	5	(VOL.) Refused

[READ TO ALL:] Now thinking about your telephone use...

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

Questions RZIPCODE, CALL01 and CALL02 are not reported in this topline.

END OF INTERVIEW – 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 IX

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

June 2016

SUMMARY

The National Suburban Poll IX, sponsored by the National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra, obtained telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 1,508 adults living in the continental United States. The survey was conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI). Interviews were done in English and Spanish by Princeton Data Source, LLC (PDS) from May 10 to May 31, 2016. 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 landline and cellular random digit dial (RDD) samples was used to represent all adults in the continental United States who have access to either a landline or cellular telephone. All samples were provided by Survey Sampling International, LLC (SSI) according to PSRAI specifications.

The landline sample was divided into three strata – urban, suburban and rural. Numbers in the suburban stratum were oversampled while numbers in the urban and rural strata were undersampled. Two cell samples were used. The main cell sample was drawn according to standard RDD cell sampling procedures. The second cell sample was drawn using SSI's Smart Cell frame and was targeted to suburban areas.

Numbers for the landline sample were drawn with equal probabilities from within strata from active blocks (area code + exchange + two-digit block number) that contained one or more residential directory listings. The cellular samples were 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 May 10-31, 2016. 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. Each phone number received at least one daytime call when necessary.

For the landline sample, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult male or female currently at home based on a random rotation. If no male/female was available, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult of the other gender. This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender when combined with cell interviewing. Prior to dialing, the landline sample was scrubbed of numbers that have been ported to wireless service by comparing the sample file to the most recently available Intermodal Ported Telephone Number Identification Service database.

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 adjust for effects of the sample design and to compensate for patterns of nonresponse that might bias results. The weighting was accomplished in multiple stages to account for [a] the disproportionately-stratified samples, [b] the overlapping sample frames, [c] household composition and [d] differential non-response associated with sample demographics.

The first stage of weighting corrected for different probabilities of selection associated with the number of eligible respondents in each household and each respondent's telephone usage patterns.³⁵ This weighting also adjusts for the overlapping sample frames and the relative sizes of each frame and each sample.

The first-stage weight for the i^{th} case from stratum h can be expressed as:

³⁵ i.e., whether respondents have only a landline telephone, only a cell phone, or both kinds of telephone.

$$WT_{hi} = \left[\left(\frac{S_{Lh}}{F_{Lh}} \times \frac{1}{AD_{hi}} \times LL_{hi} \right) + \left(\frac{S_{C1}}{F_{C1}} \times CP_{1i} \right) + \left(\frac{S_{C2}}{F_{C2}} \times CP_{2i} \right) - \left(\frac{S_{Lh}}{F_{Lh}} \times \frac{1}{AD_{hi}} \times LL_{hi} \times \frac{S_{C1}}{F_{C1}} \times CP_{1i} \right) \right. \\ \left. - \left(\frac{S_{Lh}}{F_{Lh}} \times \frac{1}{AD_{hi}} \times LL_{hi} \times \frac{S_{C2}}{F_{C2}} \times CP_{2i} \right) - \left(\frac{S_{C1}}{F_{C1}} \times CP_{1i} \times \frac{S_{C2}}{F_{C2}} \times CP_{2i} \right) \right. \\ \left. + \left(\frac{S_{Lh}}{F_{Lh}} \times \frac{1}{AD_{hi}} \times LL_{hi} \times \frac{S_{C1}}{F_{C1}} \times CP_{1i} \times \frac{S_{C2}}{F_{C2}} \times CP_{2i} \right) \right]^{-1}$$

S_{Lh} = the size of the landline sample in stratum h

F_{Lh} = the size of the landline sample frame in stratum h

S_{C1} = the size of the first cell sample

F_{C1} = the size of the first cell sample frame

S_{C2} = the size of the second cell sample

F_{C2} = the size of the second cell sample frame

AD_{hi} = Number of survey eligible people in household i of stratum h

$LL_{hi}=1$ if respondent i of stratum h has a landline phone, otherwise $LL_{hi}=0$

$CP_{1i}=1$ if respondent i has a cell phone, otherwise $CP_{1i}=0$

$CP_{2i}=1$ if respondent i has a cell phone and is classified as suburban, otherwise $CP_{2i}=0$

The first-stage weight, which was standardized and truncated, was used as an input weight for the demographic raking.

The second stage of weighting balanced sample demographics to population parameters. The sample was balanced to match national population parameters for sex by age, sex by education, age by education, race, Hispanic origin, Census region, population density, telephone usage and community size. The Hispanic origin was split out based on nativity; U.S. born and non-U.S. born. The basic weighting parameters came from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 American Community Survey (ACS) data.³⁶ The population density parameter was derived from Census 2010 data. The telephone usage parameter came from an analysis of the January-June 2015 National Health Interview Survey.³⁷ The urbanity parameter was provided by Survey Sampling International.

³⁶ ACS analysis was based on all adults excluding those living in institutional group quarters (GCs).

³⁷ Blumberg SJ, Luke JV. Wireless substitution: Early release of estimates from the National Health Interview Survey, January-June, 2015. National Center for Health Statistics. Dec 2015.

Weighting was accomplished using the SPSSINC RAKE, an SPSS extension module that simultaneously balances the distributions of all variables using the GENLOG procedure. 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	48.3	48.7
	Female	51.7	51.3
<u>Age</u>			
	18-24	12.9	10.4
	25-34	17.6	10.1
	35-44	16.7	9.9
	45-54	17.8	15.6
	55-64	16.4	17.4
	65+	18.6	36.6
<u>Education</u>			
	HS Grad or less	40.7	34.2
	Some College/Assoc Degree	31.5	27.0
	College Graduate	27.8	38.9
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
	White/not Hispanic	65.1	70.7
	Black/not Hispanic	11.7	10.5
	Hispanic, native born	7.8	6.4
	Hispanic, foreign born	7.5	5.3
	Other/not Hispanic	7.9	5.4
<u>Region</u>			
	Northeast	18.0	20.2
	Midwest	21.2	22.1
	South	37.3	36.7
	West	23.5	21.0
<u>County Pop. Density</u>			
	1 - Lowest	19.9	18.2
	2	20.0	21.3
	3	20.1	21.9
	4	20.0	21.3
	5 - Highest	20.0	17.2
<u>Household Phone Use</u>			
	LLO	6.2	5.0
	Dual	43.1	66.3
	CPO	50.7	28.7
<u>Community Type</u>			
	Urban	33.1	22.5
	Suburban	52.3	66.7
	Rural	14.6	10.7

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 a disproportionate sample design and systematic non-response. The total sample design effect for this survey is 1.51.

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 3.1 percentage points away from their true values in the population. Table 2 shows sample sizes, design effects and margins of sampling error for key subgroups. 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.

Table 2. Design Effects and Margins of Sampling Error

	<u>n</u>	<u>Design Effect</u>	<u>Margin of Error</u>
Total	1,508	1.51	3.1 percentage points
Urban	340	1.25	5.9 percentage points
Suburban	1,006	1.63	3.9 percentage points
Rural	162	1.24	8.6 percentage points

RESPONSE RATE

Table 3 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 sample that was ultimately interviewed. Response rates are computed according to American Association for Public Opinion Research standards.³⁸

³⁸ The American Association for Public Opinion Research. 2011. Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys. 7th edition. AAPOR.

Table 3. Sample Disposition

<u>Landline</u>	<u>Cell</u>	<u>Cell Targeted</u>	
1,636	218	25	Non-residential/Business
451	0	0	Ported numbers identified before dialing
8	0	0	Cell in landline frame
2,095	218	25	OF = Out of Frame
24,741	4,575	169	Not working
1,084	10	0	Computer/fax/modem
25,825	4,585	169	NWC = Not working/computer
2,528	336	33	No answer/busy all attempts
0	3,418	192	Voicemail not set up/caller out of range
2,528	3,754	225	UHUO _{NC} = Non-contact, unknown if household/unknown other
3,161	4,032	402	Voice mail
30	18	1	Other non-contact (deaf/disabled/deceased)
3,191	4,050	403	UO _{NC} = Non-contact, unknown eligibility
3,058	3,991	396	Refusals
23	9	1	On DNC list - not dialed
902	495	32	Callbacks (INCLUDE Spanish CBs)
3,983	4,495	429	UO _R = Refusal, unknown if eligible
30	62	4	O = Other (language)
0	470	41	Child's cell phone
0	0	0	Other ineligible
0	470	41	SO = Screen out
153	312	23	R = Refusal, known eligible (breakoffs and qualified CBs)
770	656	82	I = Completed interviews
38,575	18,602	1,401	T = Total numbers sampled

Continued...

Table 3. Sample Disposition (continued)

22.5%	67.7%	83.5%	$e1 = (I+R+SO+O+UO_R+UO_{NC})/(I+R+SO+O+UO_R+UO_{NC}+OF+NWC)$ - Est. frame eligibility of non-contacts
100.0%	67.3%	71.9%	$e2 = (I+R)/(I+R+SO)$ - Est. screening eligibility of unscreened contacts
56.8%	47.6%	49.5%	$CON = [I + R + (e2*[O + UO_R])]/[I + R + (e2*[O + UO_R + UO_{NC}]) + (e1*e2*UHUO_{NC})]$
15.6%	16.3%	19.7%	$COOP = I/[I + R + (e2*[O + UO_R])]$
8.9%	7.7%	9.7%	$AAPOR\ RR3 = I/[I+R+[e2*(UO_R+UO_{NC}+O)]+[e1*e2*UHUO_{NC}]] = CON*COOP$

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 a suburban area is defined for telephone samples and 2) explain how some information can be summed to the county level in useful ways.

Telephone company geographies

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

PSRAI uses telephone samples from Survey Sampling International (SSI) for most of its RDD surveys. SSI understands the nation's telephone system at a deep level: PSRAI takes advantage of that knowledge in drawing and using telephone samples.

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.

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.