
Uncertain Times in the Suburbs:

Signs of Recovery and Worry as Election Nears

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

By

Princeton Survey Research Associates International

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Executive Summary

The mood in America's suburbs is unsettled in the summer of 2014. Some signs of recovery from the Great Recession are unmistakable, such as rising real estate prices. But suburbanites still see their overall personal finances as weak and voice growing concerns about problems where they live: unemployment, local public education and crime.

Suburban residents are less dissatisfied with the way the country is going in 2014, but more dissatisfied with the job Barack Obama is doing as President, giving him the lowest rating found in any Hofstra poll.

And the nation's suburbs are not yet paying attention to the November elections. The battle for the U.S. House is a roughly even split in the suburbs: 42 percent of suburban registered voters say they will vote for the Democratic candidate and 41 percent say they will vote the Republican candidate.¹ The GOP has the edge in voters paying attention to the elections at this point, an advantage which, if maintained, might translate into victory on Election Day.

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 1,546 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 July 21 to August 7, 2014.

This Hofstra survey, the eighth in a series, oversampled adults living in suburban areas of the country, completing interviews with 1,008 adults in the suburbs. The previous Hofstra Suburban surveys were conducted in September 2008, October 2008, October 2009, September 2010, November 2011, June 2012 and October 2012, focusing on suburban life, economics and politics.

Hints of economic progress, but unease in the suburbs

Perceptions of the local real estate market have changed in recent years, with suburban residents seeing a stronger market now than four years ago. When asked about home prices in their neighborhood, 53 percent of suburban residents now say prices have gone up in the past year, while 26 percent say prices have gone down. This is in stark contrast to 2010 when 59 percent said home prices had gone down and just 23 percent said prices were higher.

There is also a feeling that personal finances have rebounded from the depths of 2008. About one-third of suburban residents (34%) say they are better off today financially than they were in 2008. Twenty-three percent say they are worse off and 41 percent see no

¹ This split is well inside the error margin of plus or minus 4.9 percentage points for registered suburban voters.

change in their fiscal condition. The percentage of suburbanites saying they are better off has risen steadily, up from 28 percent in a 2012 Hofstra poll. The percentage saying they are worse off peaked in 2011 at 41 percent and is now down 18 percentage points from that level.

While the financial situation of suburban adults has improved since 2008, there has been little change since the summer of 2012, with about equal numbers of suburbanites currently positive about their financial situation as they were two years ago. Now, 41 percent of suburban residents say their personal finances are excellent or good compared with a similar share of 43 percent two years ago. And 55 percent give their finances a negative rating, unchanged from 2012.

A less dim view of the nation, a dimmer view of the President

While the country as a whole and the suburbs in particular are still dealing with the economic turmoil of the last six years, there continues to be indications that the worst is past. Dissatisfaction with the direction of the country is still high in the suburbs, with 63 percent expressing that view and 30 percent saying they are satisfied. These numbers show a small improvement from the summer 2012 Hofstra survey, when the split was 25% satisfied-71% dissatisfied.

Obama receives his lowest rating yet in terms of how suburbanites view his work as president in this survey. Just 39 percent of those in the suburbs approve of Obama's work and 51 percent disapprove. That reflects a significant drop since the summer 2012 Hofstra survey, where 45 percent said they approve of his work and 46 percent said they disapprove.

The coming elections

A defining element of the public sentiment is that most are not yet paying attention to the November elections. About a third of suburban adults (34%) say they are paying quite a lot of attention to the upcoming elections just months before Election Day. This latest finding from the August survey is a full 13 percentage points lower than the 47 percent who were paying attention to the midterm elections in September 2010. Currently, 51 percent say they have given the coming November elections only a little thought at this point.

Slipping confidence in local police and local schools

Confidence in local police and confidence in local public schools are waning even as attitudes toward local government in general are stable. A lack of trust in local police is often mentioned as an issue following recent violence in Ferguson, MO. This poll was completed before the violent outbreaks in Ferguson.

Local police evoke substantial confidence but it is declining: 78 percent of suburban residents have confidence in the police and 20 percent do not. But those numbers are down from the 2008 Hofstra survey, where 86 percent of suburban residents had confidence in the police and 11 percent did not.

Confidence in local police among suburban minorities is also slipping. Seventy-three percent of minorities in the suburbs have confidence in local police and 27 percent do not. Confidence among these Americans has dropped 14 percentage points since 2008, when 87 percent of suburban minorities had confidence in police.

- African-Americans are less likely than others to express confidence in their local police. Nationally, 59 percent of African-Americans express confidence in the local police. That is a substantial drop since the 2008 Hofstra poll, when 72 percent of African-Americans nationally expressed confidence in the police. Now, four in five white Americans (80%) have confidence in the police, while 70 percent of Hispanics do so.
- In the suburbs, the sample of African-Americans is too small to talk about with much statistical confidence. However, the confidence expressed by African-Americans in the suburbs is identical to the levels nationally: 59 percent express confidence and 40 percent do not.

Cross-currents on the issues

The tapestry of suburban views on key issues today continues to change and defy easy characterization.

For the first time, gay marriage has the support of a plurality of suburban residents, exceeding the combined numbers of support for civil unions and opposition to all legal recognition. Despite sharply divided views on the federal government, the oft-discussed income gap in America is now the target for federal government action in the eyes of a strong majority in the suburbs. But raising taxes on the wealthy is losing favor in the suburbs as an appropriate policy path.

On immigration, more suburbanites are now in favor of allowing illegal immigrants already in this country a path to citizenship, while nationally the numbers are unchanged from 2010.

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Chapter 1: Hints of economic progress, but unease in the suburbs

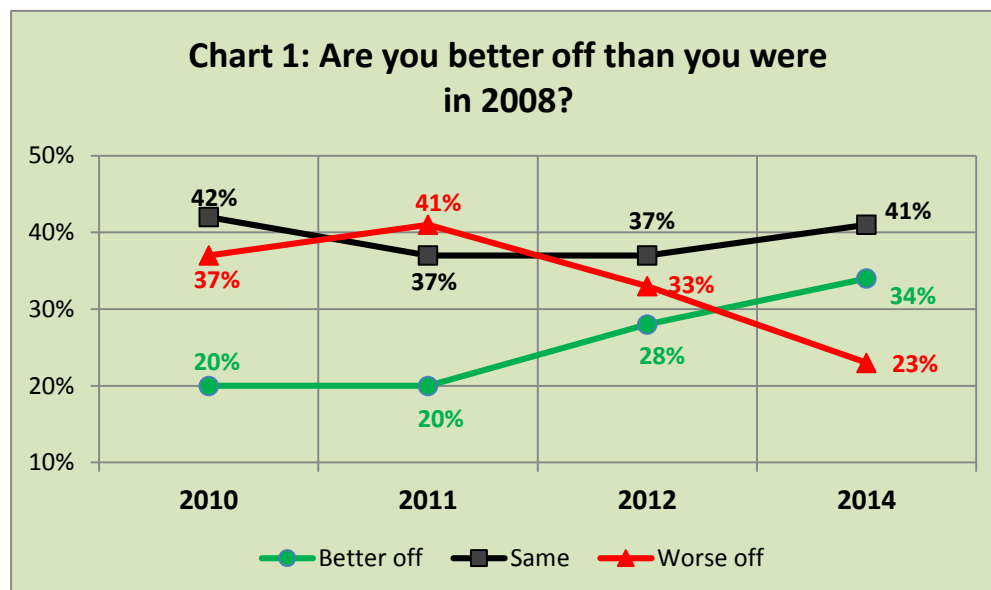
America's suburbs have stabilized since the Great Recession, with hints of economic recovery that are unmistakable, such as rising real estate prices and the perception that personal finances have rebounded from the nadir of 2008 and 2009. But suburbanites still see their overall personal finances as weak.

And suburban residents have growing concerns about problems in the area where they live: unemployment remains an issue; there are increased worries about public education and about crime and violence.

Personal Finances

About one-third of suburban residents (34%) say they are better off today financially than they were in 2008. Twenty-three percent say they are worse off and 41 percent see no change in their fiscal condition.

While these findings are far from sunny, the economic perspective has brightened. The percentage of suburbanites saying they are better off has risen steadily, up from 28 percent in the 2012 Hofstra poll. The percentage saying they are worse off peaked in 2011 at 41 percent and is now down 18 percentage points from that level.



While their financial situation has improved since 2008, suburbanites' views of their own finances have held steady from 2012. Now, 41 percent of suburban residents say their personal finances are excellent or good compared with 43 percent two years ago. And 55 percent give their finances a negative rating, unchanged from 2012.

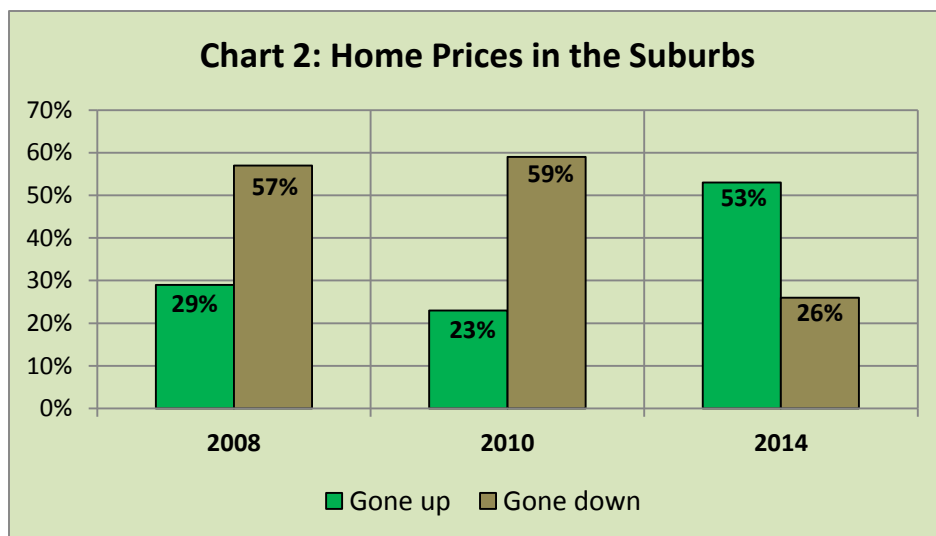
Table 1: Still weak personal finances						
	Suburbs Oct. 2008	Suburbs 2009	Suburbs 2010	Suburbs 2011	Suburbs Jun. 2012	Suburbs 2014
Positive	50%	44%	46%	39%	43%	41%
<i>Excellent</i>	7%	7%	9%	7%	7%	7%
<i>Good</i>	43%	37%	37%	32%	36%	34%
Negative	49%	54%	53%	59%	55%	55%
<i>Only Fair</i>	35%	39%	33%	37%	34%	38%
<i>Poor</i>	14%	15%	20%	22%	21%	17%

And ratings on personal finances remained below those in 2008, when fully half of suburbanites gave their finances a positive rating.

Four in ten suburban residents (41%) say they often live from paycheck to paycheck, and two-thirds (66%) say they do so at least some of the time. While these percentages have not changed much from two years ago, they have increased from September 2008, when 38 percent lived paycheck to paycheck most of the time, and 60% did so some of the time.

Real estate

The plunge in housing prices was the harshest and most visible indicator of the Great Recession, as homeowners saw the values of their biggest investment nosedive. Now perceptions of the local real estate market have changed, with suburban residents seeing a stronger market now than four years ago. When asked about home prices in their neighborhood, 53 percent of suburban residents say prices have gone up over the past year, while 26 percent say prices have gone down. This is in stark contrast to 2010 when 59 percent said prices had gone down and just 23 percent perceived prices to be higher.



Mobility

Another possibly positive indicator is that mobility may be improving the suburbs after the freeze from the Great Recession. While a majority (59%) have lived in the same neighborhood for six years or longer, this percentage has dropped from 69 percent in 2008. The current survey also shows an increase in those who have lived in their neighborhood for less than 1 year (14% vs. 6% in 2008).

Table 2: How long lived in neighborhood			
	Suburbs 2008	Suburbs 2010	Suburbs 2014
Less than 1 year	6%	8%	14%
1-5 years	24%	28%	27%
6 years or longer	69%	64%	59%

- Age is a contributing factor on this issue, with suburban Millennials (age 18-33) and Gen X-ers (age 34-49) more likely to stay in their neighborhood the shortest amount of time. One-quarter (24%) of Millennials and 18 percent of Gen X-ers have lived in their neighborhood for less than one year, compared with seven percent of suburban Baby Boomers.
- But in past years, mobility for Millennials was not always a sign of economic improvement. Perhaps due to the struggling economy in recent years, an astonishing four in ten Millennials both in the suburbs and nationwide report having moved back in with their parents after having lived on their own at some point.

Festering Problems in the Suburbs

The Hofstra surveys have for years tracked the problems that communities face, asking residents to describe the issues as big problems or small problems. Changes in these findings are always interesting.

In the latest survey, suburban residents are continuing to see problems and, in several cases, they are seeing bigger problems than in recent years, including significant growth in suburbanites who are concerned about the quality of education in their public schools.

- Unemployment ranks at the top of the list in terms of major neighborhood problems presented in the survey. In 2008, 29 percent saw this as a major problem in the suburbs. Two years into the Great Recession this jumped to 42 percent seeing it as a major problem. Now, 39 percent rank lack of jobs as a big problem, and three quarters (74%) say this is at least a small problem where they live, up from 71 percent in 2010.
- The biggest change comes on the issue of public schools not providing a good quality education. In 2010, 37 percent saw this as a problem in the suburbs. Now, 47

percent say schools are a problem, including one quarter who say it is a big problem, up from 19 percent in 2010.

- The view of crimes, drugs and violence as a problem has fluctuated. In 2008, 61 percent saw these as at least a small problem in the suburban neighborhood. After dropping to 56 percent in 2010, concerns rise in the current survey, with 64 percent ranking it as at least a small problem where they live.
- Asked for the first time in 2014, the issue of maintaining roads, bridges and sewers is a concern for suburban residents. About half (53%) see this as a problem where they live.
- Public parks and recreation facilities ranks low on the list of concerns, with one quarter (27%) seeing this as a problem where they live.

Chapter 2: Mixed feelings about the president and government

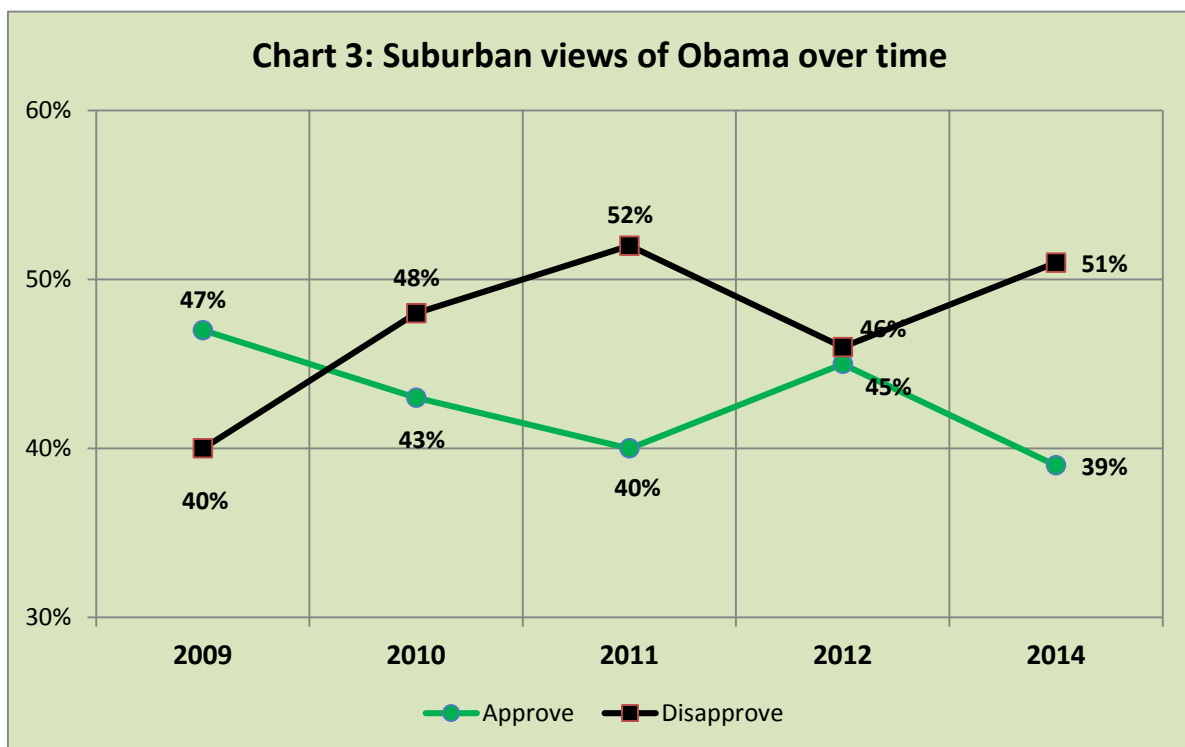
Suburban residents are less dissatisfied with the way the country is going, but more dissatisfied with the job Barack Obama is doing as President, giving him the lowest rating found in any Hofstra poll.

While the country as a whole and the suburbs in particular are still dealing with the economic turmoil of the last six years, there continue to be indications that the worst is past. Perceptions of the direction of the nation have continued a slight upward trend from a 2012 Hofstra poll.

Dissatisfaction with the direction of the country is still high in the suburbs, with 63 percent expressing that view and 30 percent saying they are satisfied. These numbers show a small improvement from the summer 2012 poll, when the split was 25% satisfied-71% dissatisfied.

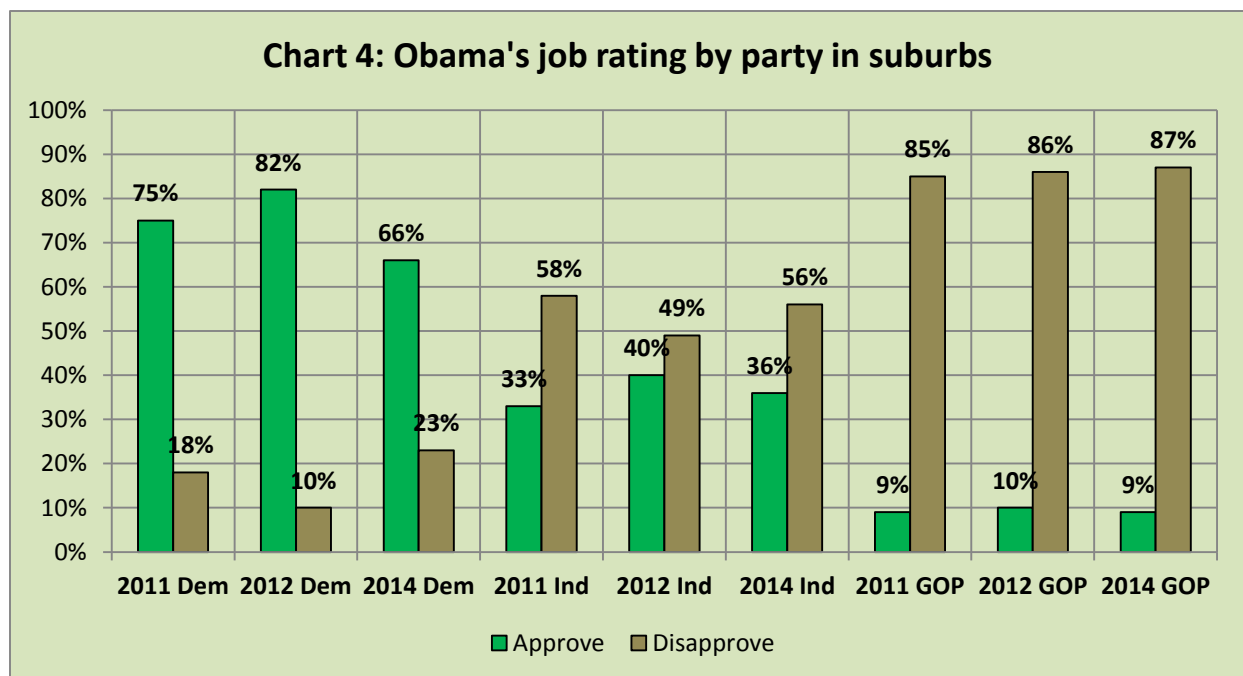
Obama job approval

Obama receives his lowest rating yet in terms of how suburbanites view his work as president in this survey. Just 39 percent of those in the suburbs approve of Obama's work and 51 percent disapprove. That reflects a significant drop since the summer 2012 Hofstra survey, where 45 percent said they approve of his work and 46 percent said they disapprove.



Nationally, the view of the incumbent's work has dropped as well, with 40 percent saying they approve and 50 percent saying disapprove. Obama's ratings among Americans on the whole have fluctuated over the years after reaching a high point of 55% approve-35% disapprove in 2009.

Obama job ratings were higher in 2012 partly due to a swing among independents and some improvements among Democrats from the previous year. In a 2012 Hofstra survey, independents rated Obama's work negatively by only nine percentage points (40%-49%), a considerable improvement from the 25-point negative edge (33%-58%) seen in 2011. Now, suburban independents lie somewhere in the middle, rating his work as president negatively by 20 percentage points (36%-56%). His rating among suburban Democrats is down 16 points from 2012 to 66 percent, while the strongly negative views of suburban Republicans have not changed.



- Obama has also lost support in the last two years from a key group that helped elect him twice – Millennials (age 18-33). Nationally, these young adults still give the president their stamp of approval by a 48%-42% margin. This latest finding is a significant drop among Millennials since 2012, when the majority split in favor of Obama by a 54%-35% edge. The same pattern emerges among suburban Millennials, who are now divided 47% approve-44% disapprove on their ratings of Obama's job as president, down from 54%-36% in 2012.

Confidence

Suburban confidence in the federal government may be on the upswing, but confidence in confidence in some local government institutions is headed down. Confidence in local police and confidence in local public schools are waning.

Confidence in the federal government has shown a slight improvement in the suburbs over recent years. Currently 49 percent of suburbanites have a lot (8%) or some confidence (41%) in the federal government, up two points from 2012. On the negative side, 29 percent have not too much confidence and 20 percent have no confidence.

- In the suburbs, minorities express confidence in the federal government by a 61%-37% margin, dropping just slightly from 2012, when suburban minorities split 63%-36%. There is a small positive shift of the federal government among white suburbanites' views, who split 43%-55%, compared with 41%-57% findings in 2012.
- Despite dips in their approval of Obama's job as president, suburban Millennials currently have just as much confidence in the federal government as they did in 2012. Six in ten Millennial suburbanites express confidence in Washington, compared with four in ten who do not. These numbers are unchanged from 2012.

While views of the federal government are slightly more positive, the suburban view of state government has been relatively stable. Confidence in state governments stands at 57 percent in the latest poll, up from a low of 53 percent in 2010 and slightly below the 60 percent in 2008.

Views of local governments have also seen little change. About two-thirds of suburban residents now express confidence in their local governments (67%) compared with 66 percent in 2008. But the same is not true about two major local institutions in the suburbs (and the country at large). Local police and local schools face declining confidence from their citizens.

First, local police evoke substantial confidence but it is declining: 78 percent of suburban residents have confidence in the police and 20 percent do not. But those numbers are down from the 2008 Hofstra survey, where 86 percent of suburban residents had confidence in the police and 11 percent did not.

Among minorities, the drop in confidence over the last few years is more substantial. In the latest Hofstra poll, 73 percent of suburban minorities say they have confidence in local police. More than one-quarter of suburban minorities (27%) currently report having not much or no confidence in their local police. These findings indicate that minorities are feeling more negatively towards local police than they were in 2008. Then, suburban minorities had more confidence in local law enforcement, with 87 percent giving police their vote of confidence and just 13 percent who did not.

- African-Americans are less likely than others to express confidence in their local police. Nationally, 59 percent of African-Americans express confidence in the local police, compared with 40 percent who do not. Four in five white Americans (80%) have confidence in the police, while 70 percent of Hispanics do so.
- That is a substantial drop since the 2008 Hofstra poll, when 72 percent of African-Americans nationally expressed confidence in the police and 26 percent did not.
- In the suburbs, the sample of African-Americans is too small to talk about with much statistical confidence. However, the confidence expressed by African-Americans in the suburbs is identical to the levels nationally: 59 percent express confidence and 40 percent do not.
- White suburbanites express confidence in the police at rates similar to whites who live elsewhere: about four in five have confidence and one in five do not.

Second, suburbanites show less confidence in their local public schools, down from 69 percent confident in 2008 to 63 percent confident in the current survey.

- In contrast, the racial differences over local schools are less pronounced than those found for police. Nationally, sixty-four percent of whites and 63 percent of African-Americans express confidence in the local public schools, although African-Americans are more likely to express a lot of confidence.

Chapter 3: A summertime dead heat in the suburbs

With an unsettled mood in the nation's suburbs in the summer of 2014, the November elections are not front and center for many. The voters are not yet paying attention to the elections, and are still distracted by an uncertain economic recovery and continuing worries for the nation's institutions. That leaves the battle for the U.S. House a roughly even split in the suburbs: 42 percent of suburban registered voters say they will vote for the Democratic candidate and 41 percent say they will vote the Republican candidate.²

Nationally, the picture is much the same: Democrats have the backing of 44 percent of all registered voters, compared to 41 percent for the GOP candidates. In urban areas, Democrats lead 54 percent to 36 percent.³ This generic vote question for the House is at best a crude indicator of how the public is leaning in advance of the election, since there are actually 435 elections for the House, not one national vote. And given the wide variations in district composition, the party that has the lowest total of votes across all House races can still win a majority of seats in the House, as was the case in 2010 and 2012.

The results of this latest poll show the continuing role of the suburbs as a partisan battleground. In 2012, Mitt Romney won the suburbs by a narrow 50%-48% margin over President Obama, according to the exit polls.⁴ The same exit polls say Republican House candidates won the suburbs in 2012 by a 50%-46% margin.

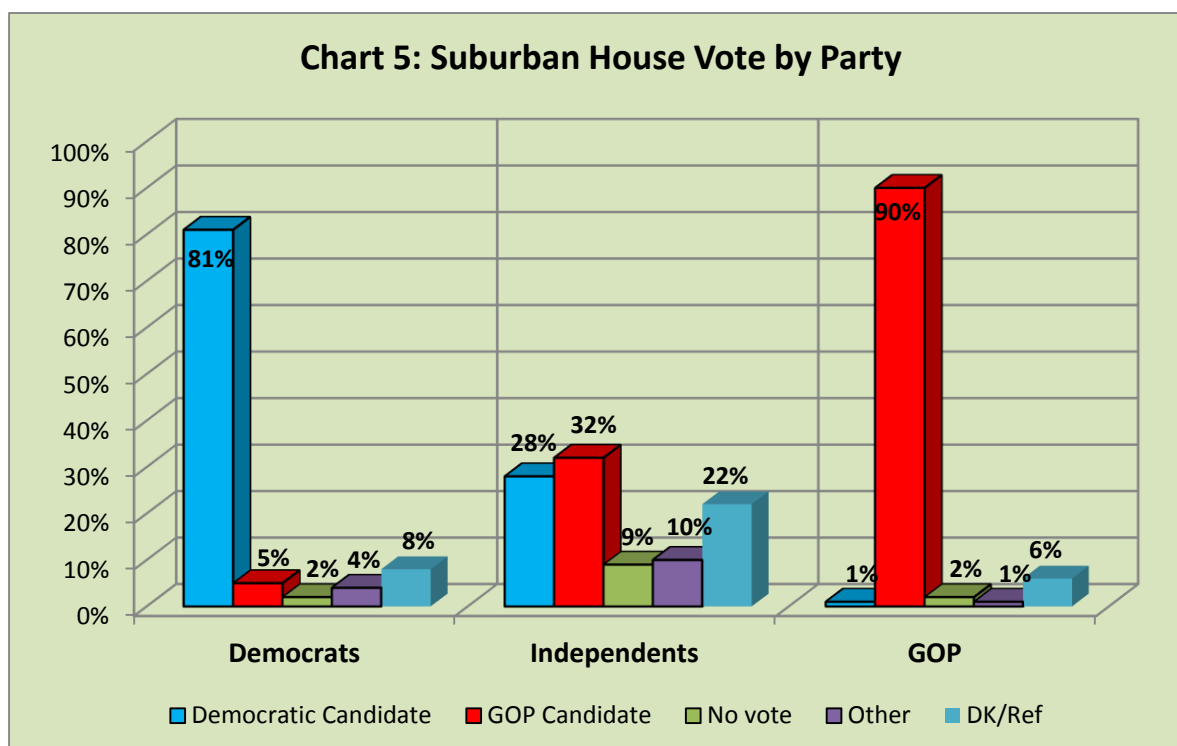
The split in the House vote among registered voters is driven by polarized positions of the party faithful. Essentially all suburban Republicans (90%) say they will vote for their party's candidate while almost as many of the suburban Democrats (81%) say they will vote the party line.

Independents split, 32 percent for the Republican candidate and 28 percent of the Democratic candidate. But, in a clear indication of dissatisfaction for the political system and the choice they face in the fall, one in five suburban independents (20%) say they do not know whom they will vote for; 10 percent say they will vote for some other candidate and 9 percent say they simply will not vote. Put another way, at this point in the 2014 election cycle, more independents in the survey (41%) do not express support for a party's candidate than do express support for either of the party's candidates.

² This split is well inside the error margin of plus or minus 4.9 percentage points for registered suburban voters.

³ Republicans are apparently leading in rural areas, but the number of interviews in those areas in this poll are too small to report reliably.

⁴ The exit poll definition of the suburbs is not identical to the one used in this survey. But the definitions are comparable enough to be appropriate.



There is a big gender gap in the suburbs and in the nation among registered voters. Suburban men support the GOP candidate by a 47%-36% margin over the Democratic candidate. Suburban women are the reverse: the GOP candidate gets only 35 percent of their vote, while the Democratic candidate gets 48 percent.

A lack of attention

With less than three months left until Election Day, a defining element of the public sentiment is that most are not paying attention to the November elections.

In the latest Hofstra poll in August, about a third of suburban adults (34%) say they are paying quite a lot of attention to the upcoming elections. Fifty-one percent say they are paying little attention at this point. For comparison, in the suburban survey in September 2010, 47 percent of suburbanites were paying attention to those midterm elections, fully 13 percentage points above the current reading. The comparison with 2010 is not perfect, since interest in the election rises the closer Election Day looms. While attention appears to be down in the suburbs, it has cratered in the urban areas: only 26 percent of urban adults are paying attention to the election, down almost half from the 48 percent who said they were paying attention in September 2010.

- And the attention to the elections varies substantially in the suburbs by party, with the GOP far more attentive. Half of suburban Republicans (49%) say they are paying quite a lot of attention to the elections. But only 30 percent of suburban Democrats and 33 percent of suburban Independents are paying that level of attention.

- Among the least likely to be thinking about Election Day 2014 at this point are young Americans. Only a quarter (26%) of suburban Millennials (age 18-33) have given at least some thought to the coming November elections, compared with 73 percent who have paid little or no attention at this point. The eyes and ears of these young adults could perk up closer to November, as evidenced in a past Hofstra study when 36 percent of suburban Millennials were paying attention in September 2010 to that year's midterm elections. Millennials are the age group least likely to vote in elections, based on recent elections.

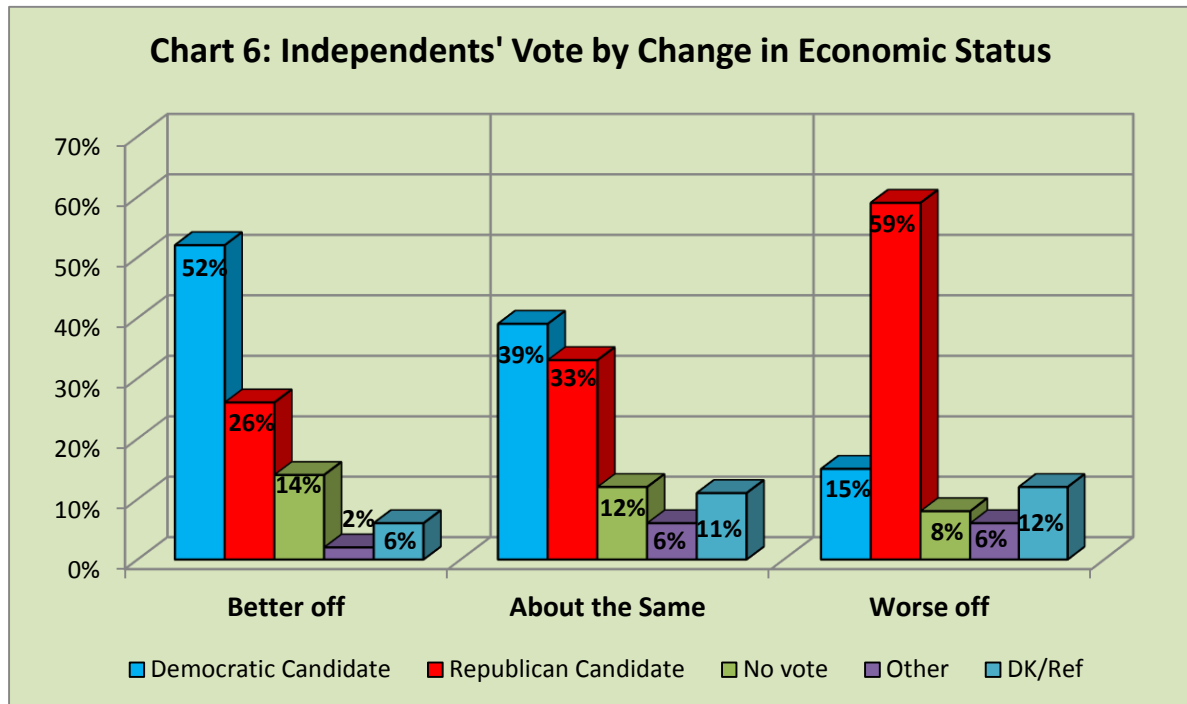
There is substantial debate about the use of likely voter definitions for polls taken months out from elections. Given the substantial partisan split on the attention question, it is no surprise that a simple likely voter screen for this Hofstra poll finds the Republicans doing better than the Democrats, both in the suburbs and nationally. Among likely voters in the suburbs, 47 percent say they would vote for the GOP House candidate and 40 percent for the Democratic candidate. That differs only a bit from the national figures, where the GOP is backed by 47 percent of likely voters and the Democrats by 41 percent.

Is the economy driving election decisions?

As discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 1), suburbanites' view of the economy is mixed. Real estate prices have improved, but personal finances are little changed over the last four years. Personal finances have certainly improved since the depths of the Great Recession in 2008. But do these economic views drive choices about voting for the U.S. House this year?

Upon first look, one would say yes, the economy is driving choice. Among those registered voters who say they are better off now than in 2008, Democrats get the nod in the elections by a 55%-33% edge. Among those who say they are worse off, Republican candidates get the nod by a larger 54%-27% margin. For registered voters who say their economic status is about the same, Democrats are the choice of 43 percent and Republicans the choice of 41 percent.

But this overall figure hides the real texture of the economic impact. For party stalwarts (self-identified Democrats and Republicans), the economy question has essentially no impact on their vote choice. Both parties' faithful are voting the party line, whatever their economic situation. But among independents, the economy is driving the vote.



Those independents who say their personal finances are better off say they will vote Democratic by a 52%-26% edge. Those who say their finances are worse will vote Republicans by a 59%-15% margin. And independents who say their financial status has not changed split: 39 percent for Democratic candidates and 33 percent for Republican candidates. (The same pattern holds for independents in the suburbs, but the numbers are too small for be statistically significant.)

Chapter 4: Contradictions abound in suburbia on the issues

The Hofstra Suburban polls document complex patterns and interactions that are characteristic of the views of suburban residents on the broad sweep of public issues in America, perhaps forever putting to rest the long-incorrect view that the suburban residents hew to a consistent ideological view.

This latest Hofstra survey provides new insights into the suburban issue tapestry, with several developments:

- For the first time, gay marriage has the support for a plurality of suburban residents, finally topping all other options (14% civil unions and 28% no legal recognition).
- Despite sharply divided views on the federal government, the oft-discussed income gap in America is now the target for federal government action in the eyes of a strong majority in the suburbs.
- But raising taxes on the wealthy is losing favor in the suburbs as an appropriate policy path for the government.
- Support for keeping abortion legal is rising in the suburbs.

But some things have not changed: support for environmental regulation is still strong and everyone wants their taxes cut.

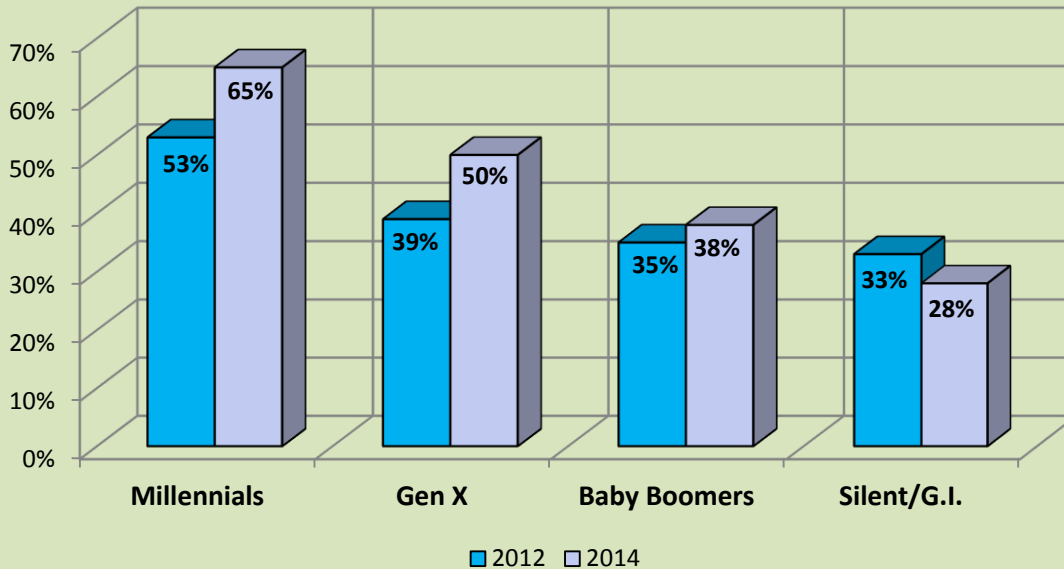
Gay marriage

Nearly half of suburbanites now support full marriage rights for same-sex couples, continuing the mostly steady growth in the views documented by the suburban polls. For the first time, support for gay marriage is now larger than support for civil unions (14%) and no legal recognition (28%) combined.

And the largest source of the change in the last two years on gay marriage has come in the generations under age 50. Younger Americans have been the major source of support for same-sex marriage and that support is growing. Among Suburban Millennials (ages 18-33), support for same-sex marriage stands at 65 percent, up 12 percentage points from the 53 percent finding in the June 2012 Hofstra poll. Somewhat surprisingly, the more conservative Generation X (ages 34-49) had almost as big a jump. Suburban members of Gen X now give same-sex marriage 50 percent support, up 11 percentage points since the 2012 survey.

In contrast, older Americans' views are little changed. For suburban Baby Boomers (ages 50-68), support for same-sex marriage inched up from 35 percent to 38 percent. For Americans ages 69 and up, support stands at 28 percent, down from 33 percent in 2012.

Chart 7: Suburban support by age for same-sex marriage 2012-14



Immigration

Immigration is a hotly debated issue across both sides of the aisle in Congress. While views of all adults nationwide about how to handle U.S. immigration policy have essentially remained unchanged since 2010, more suburban Americans now lean towards a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants but still by a smaller share than those who want to tighten up the border.

The gap in suburban America between those who say a path to citizenship is key to immigration reform and those who say securing the border is top priority has closed by about half of what it was just four years ago. One-quarter of suburbanites (25%) say that this country should allow illegal immigrants who are already here to become citizens if they meet certain requirements. That is four percentage points higher than the 2010 Hofstra poll. One-third think that securing the border and stricter enforcement of immigration laws should be the top focus on this issue, down from 38 percent in 2010. Thus, the 17-point gap between the views in 2010 has dropped to eight points. The largest percentage, roughly four in ten suburban adults, feel that immigration policy in this country would be best managed with a combination of the two approaches.

- Unsurprisingly, the immigration debate is a partisan issue, with the majority of suburban Republicans in favor of strong enforcement of immigration laws (57%). Though one-third of Democrats in suburbia say that a path to citizenship should be a priority, a plurality of Democrats prefer making both a priority (41%). The lion's share

of independents (42%) also indicate a combination of enforcement and leniency is the best approach.

- Nationally, white Americans are the most vocal about wanting to secure the border (42% v. 21% African-Americans and 14% Hispanics). Hispanics are more likely to favor allowing illegal immigrants to become citizens if they meet the requirements (48% v. 27% African-Americans and 18% whites). Nearly one-half of African-Americans want both to be a priority.

Income gap

The growing income gap between the wealthiest Americans and those not at the top of the income scale has become a touchstone of many Democratic politicians, especially those on the more liberal side of the spectrum. And majority support for the federal government is growing.

In the latest Hofstra survey, 60 percent of those in suburbia say the federal government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between rich and poor. Only 33 percent disagree. In the June 2012 Hofstra survey, 55 percent said the government should act, while 38 percent disagreed.

Support for government action on the income disparity is strong in most quarters, except among the GOP party faithful. Suburban Republicans oppose government action by a 34%-to-60% margin. Suburban Democrats are in support by 81%-13% and suburban independents by 60%-34%. Women give stronger support than men (suburban women, 67%-27%; suburban men, 52%-40%).

Income is, not surprisingly, a factor on this issue. Sixty-six percent of the suburban residents who make less than \$50,000 a year support government action, while only 54 percent of those who make more do so. Support from working class suburbanites is unchanged since 2012, but support from higher income suburban residents is up 10 points from the 44 percent finding that year.

Age matters on this measure as well. Many young adults struggle to find a well-paying job in the competitive market that is still recovering from the Great Recession. An overwhelming majority of suburban Millennials (70%) say the federal government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between rich and poor, at least 10 percentage points more than Gen X-ers, Baby Boomers or the oldest Americans.

Race also plays a role, but a subordinate one. Suburban minorities support government action to reduce the income gap by 65%-26%, not substantially different from suburban whites: 57%-37%. But the difference is wider in the urban areas: urban minorities back action 75%-15%, while urban whites do so by a slender 51%-41% margin.

Taxes

Taxes remain a popular topic in the suburbs, at least in terms of ways to cut the unpopular levies.

Support for cutting federal taxes for all Americans is up, as is strong support for increased state tax rebates and limits on property tax increases. The federal income tax is now the worst tax in people's view, as anger about local taxes has ebbed.

Despite support for reducing the income gap between the rich and poor, there is less support for increasing taxes on the wealthy.

Cutting federal taxes is a staple for some politicians and a sure crowd pleaser in many situations. And it is increasingly popular: 61 percent of suburban residents say personal federal income taxes for all Americans should be reduced and only 33 percent disagree. Support for tax cuts appears to be up a bit from the 56 percent finding in 2012. But that apparent increase in the suburbs is matched by a decrease in the cities: 52 percent in the urban areas support federal tax cuts, down from 59 percent in 2012.

And federal income taxes are now more unpopular than local property taxes. Presented with a list of taxes, 32 percent say the federal income tax is the worst tax, with 25 percent saying local property taxes are the worst. As recently as the 2009 Hofstra poll, property taxes were picked as the worst by a 35 percent to 28 percent margin over federal income taxes.

And local taxes overall are a bit less burdensome in the suburbs. Fifty percent say local taxes are too high, when weighed against the services from local government. Forty-five percent say they are about right and only a lonely one percent say taxes are too low. In the suburbs, this is a bit of a swing toward moderation compared with the 2009 Hofstra survey, when the split was 55 percent too high and 39 percent about right.

The political focus on reducing the income gap between the wealthy and the poor is often paired with a policy admonition that increasing taxes on the wealthy will help achieve that goal. But that policy prescription is losing some altitude, even as worries about the income gap increase. The latest poll says 53 percent of suburban residents say federal income taxes should be raised on wealthier Americans and 45 percent disagree. That 8-point margin is well below the 25-point margin from the June 2012 survey, when 60 percent favored such tax increases and 35 percent opposed.

- There is a distinct partisan element to this issue: with 70 percent of suburban Democrats favoring tax increases on the wealthy and 72 percent of suburban Republicans opposing them. (Fifty-four percent of suburban Independents favor the tax increases.)

When faced with broader questions about the government, taxes and programs, there is surprising unity matched with polarization.

When asked what is the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit, there is a lot of agreement among Americans: about seven out of ten suburbanites (69%) and urbanites (73%) say both cuts in major projects and increased taxes are necessary.

But asked to choose between a bigger government providing more services and a smaller providing fewer services, smaller is the winner. In the suburbs, smaller government is the choice by a 52%-40% edge. In the cities, larger government is the choice by 41%-50%. Interestingly, there has been little change in the suburban views in the last two years, but urban views have shifted toward bigger government.

- Smaller government is not the choice for all suburbanites. In fact, suburban Millennials more closely align with urban Americans, opting for larger government by a 44%-51% edge. It is worth noting that young adults in the suburbs have shifted their views away from bigger government in the last two years. In 2012, a majority of Millennials chose bigger government and more services by a larger margin, 31%-57%.

Abortion

Abortion is one of the most bitterly debated and fought-over issues in America. Those who are stridently opposed to abortion are often matched in their vigor from those who declare a woman has the right to choose an abortion.

Nationally, opinion on abortion has not shifted substantially, but there has been an uptick in support for abortion rights in the suburbs and a similar decrease in support in the cities. In the latest Hofstra survey, 56 percent of suburbanites say abortion should be legal in at least most cases. Likewise, 56 percent of urban dwellers say abortion should be legal in most cases. While those views are in step in the latest poll, these findings reveal a five-percentage point increase in support for abortion rights in the suburbs since 2008 (51 percent to 56 percent) and a five-percentage point decrease in the cities (61 percent to 56 percent).

Environmental regulation

Americans have increasingly supported moves to protect the environment through government regulation over the years, while the costs and benefits of such regulation have been a balancing act in the public's eyes.

Suburban support for safeguarding the environment has strengthened since previous Hofstra surveys. Seven in ten suburban residents (70%) say the environment should be protected by doing "whatever it takes," with 56 percent agreeing strongly with this position. One-quarter say the country "has gone too far" in environmental protection. This is a somewhat stronger finding than in 2012, when 65 percent said the environment should be the first priority, and in 2011, 60 percent said the same.

- This is one of the issues where age makes a big difference, though differences between generations is less pronounced than in 2012. Among suburban Millennials (age 18-33), doing whatever it takes is backed by a 67-point margin (81%-14%) compared with a 61-point margin in 2012. Gen X-ers in the suburbs have shown more movement toward efforts to protect the environment, with 72 percent now saying to do whatever it takes, compared with 57 percent in 2012. Sixty-four percent of suburban Baby Boomers also hold this view, up from 58percent in 2012.

Adding the possibility that regulation could cost jobs narrows the margin, at least on one question. Half of suburban residents (52%) say “stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost,” while 41 percent back the opinion that “stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.” The support for stricter laws is virtually unchanged from 51 percent in a 2012 Hofstra survey.

Climate change

The debate about whether climate change is real and what should be done about it has been divisive. At least on one dimension, there is a clear view that climate change is a problem. A total of 63 percent of suburbanites say climate change is a very serious or somewhat serious problem. One third (35%) say it is not too serious a problem or not a problem at all. These concerns remain unchanged from 2012, when respondents were asked if global warming is a problem.⁵ Sixty-four percent said global warming is a very serious or somewhat serious problem, and one third (33%) said it is not a problem.

⁵ Prior to the August 2014 poll, survey participants were asked about ‘global warming,’ rather than ‘climate change.’

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Topline Results

National Suburban Poll VIII

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

Number of Interviews

Total: 1,546 adults age 18 or older
Suburban: 1,008 suburban residents
Urban: 400 urban residents

Total Registered Voters (RVs): 1,242 registered voters
Suburban RVs: 815 suburban registered voters
Urban RVs: 311 urban registered voters

Margins of Error

Total: Plus or minus 3.5 percentage points
Suburban: Plus or minus 4.4 percentage points
Urban: Plus or minus 6.6 percentage points

Total Registered Voters (RVs): Plus or minus 3.9 percentage points
Suburban RVs: Plus or minus 4.9 percentage points
Urban RVs: Plus or minus 7.6 percentage points

Dates of interviewing: July 21-August 7, 2014

Language of interview: English or Spanish

Type of sample: Landline or Cell phone

PSRAI Job #34018

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.

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: We're interested in learning more about people with cell phones. If you are now driving a car or doing any activity requiring your full attention, I need to call you back later. The first question is...

[GO TO MAIN INTERVIEW]

MAIN INTERVIEW

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.) DK⁶</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
	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	--

⁶ "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>
CURRENT					
	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 ⁷						
<u>CURRENT</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...

⁷ 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>CURRENT</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	—
c. Your local government						
<u>CURRENT</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>CURRENT</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>CURRENT</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	–

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?⁸

		<u>Yes, registered</u>	<u>No, not registered</u>	(VOL.) <u>Don't need to register</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
	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	*	--

⁸ Prior to October 2012, "Don't need to register" was not offered as a volunteered option. Beginning October 2012, "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 November elections – quite a lot or only a little?⁹

	<u>Quite a lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT (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	--

⁹ 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>
CURRENT								
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	--

Q4 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for [RANDOMIZE: “the Democratic candidate” OR “the Republican candidate”] for Congress in your district?¹⁰

Based on all registered voters

	<u>Dem. candidate</u>	<u>Rep. candidate</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither/ Wouldn't vote</u>	<u>(VOL.) Already voted</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
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

¹⁰ 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)”

Q4/Q4B Summary Table

- Q4 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for [RANDOMIZE: “the Democratic candidate” OR “the Republican candidate”] for Congress in your district?
- Q4B [IF ANSWERED OTHER/NEITHER/DK/REFUSED IN Q4, ASK:] As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q4: “Democratic candidate” OR “Republican candidate”] [IF NECESSARY: “for U.S. Congress in your district”]?

Based on all registered voters

	Dem. candidate/ <u>Lean</u>	Rep. candidate/ <u>Lean</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other</u>	(VOL.) Neither/ Wouldn't <u>vote</u>	(VOL.) Already <u>voted</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
Suburbs (n=815):	42	41	2	8	n/a	6	1
Urban (n=311):	54	36	1	3	n/a	4	1
Total (n=1,242):	44	41	3	6	n/a	5	1
OCTOBER 2012							
Suburbs (n=868):	46	45	*	3	*	4	2
Urban (n=345):	60	33	*	1	*	2	2
Total (n=1,315):	50	42	*	2	*	4	2
SEPTEMBER 2010							
Suburbs (n=860):	43	44	4	n/a	n/a	7	3
Urban (n=328):	48	43	2	n/a	n/a	5	2
Total (n=1,299):	43	45	3	n/a	n/a	7	3

- Q5 Regardless of how you feel about your own representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

Based on all registered voters

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT				
Suburbs (n=815):	22	65	10	2
Urban (n=311):	25	62	12	1
Total (n=1,242):	21	67	11	1
NOVEMBER 2011				
Suburbs (n=876):	23	64	10	2
Urban (n=325):	27	61	11	*
Total (n=1,268):	25	62	11	2
SEPTEMBER 2010				
Suburbs (n=860):	30	56	12	2
Urban (n=328):	38	48	12	2
Total (n=1,299):	33	53	12	2

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

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

Q6 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>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT								
	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 ¹¹								
	Total:	7	23	13	19	38	*	--

¹¹ 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]"

Q7 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?¹²

		Gone up a lot	Gone up a little	Gone down a little	Gone down a lot	(VOL.) Stayed about the same	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Ref.
CURRENT								
	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	--

¹² September 2008 trend question wording was slightly different: "What's your impression about the real estate market in your area? Over the past year, have home prices in your area gone up a lot, gone up a little, gone down a little, or gone down a lot?"

Q8 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]?¹³

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

	Big problem	Small problem	Not a problem	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Ref.
a. Crime, drugs and violence					
<u>CURRENT</u>					
Suburbs:	24	40	34	1	*
Urban:	34	37	27	2	*
Total:	28	39	31	1	*
<u>SEPT. 2010</u>					
Suburbs:	23	33	42	1	0
Urban:	28	38	33	1	0
Total:	25	36	37	1	0
<u>OCT. 2009</u>					
Suburbs:	19	37	41	2	*
Urban:	44	30	24	1	*
Total:	28	35	35	2	*
<u>SEPT. 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	--

Q8 continued on next page...

¹³ 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)?"

Q8 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 ¹⁴						
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	39	35	18	6	1
	Urban:	37	35	24	4	*
	Total:	39	35	20	5	1
	<u>SEPT. 2010</u>					
	Suburbs:	42	29	23	6	*
	Urban:	45	29	17	9	*
	Total:	45	29	19	7	*
	<u>OCT. 2009</u>					
	Suburbs:	41	31	17	10	*
	Urban:	57	25	13	5	*
	Total:	48	30	15	7	*
	<u>SEPT. 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	--
c. The public schools do not provide good quality education ¹⁵						
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	25	22	45	6	1
	Urban:	30	18	43	8	*
	Total:	26	21	46	7	1
	<u>SEPT. 2010</u>					
	Suburbs:	19	18	57	6	1
	Urban:	27	22	46	5	1
	Total:	22	20	53	5	1
	<u>OCT. 2009</u>					
	Suburbs:	17	22	48	12	*
	Urban:	35	24	31	9	1
	Total:	23	23	43	10	1
	<u>SEPT. 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	--

Q8 continued on next page...

¹⁴ Prior to August 2014, the trend item was "Unemployment"

¹⁵ Prior to August 2014, the trend item was "The public schools do not provide quality education"

Q8 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>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	23	30	45	2	*
	Urban:	25	29	45	*	*
	Total:	24	30	44	1	*
e.	Lack of public parks or recreational spaces					
	<u>CURRENT</u>					
	Suburbs:	10	17	71	3	*
	Urban:	11	20	66	3	*
	Total:	10	19	68	3	*

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

Q9 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>
CURRENT							
	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	--

Q10 How would you say your CURRENT personal financial situation compares to what it was during the time of the economic downturn -- that is, in 2008? Would you say you are better off now, worse off or about the same?¹⁶

		<u>Better off</u>	<u>Worse off</u>	<u>Same</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
	Suburbs:	34	23	41	1	1
	Urban:	33	14	51	1	*
	Total:	33	19	45	1	1
JUNE 2012						
	Suburbs:	28	33	37	1	1
	Urban:	32	27	40	*	*
	Total:	29	31	39	1	1
NOVEMBER 2011						
	Suburbs:	20	41	37	*	1
	Urban:	23	31	45	2	*
	Total:	21	38	39	1	1
SEPTEMBER 2010						
	Suburbs:	20	37	42	*	*
	Urban:	26	28	46	*	*
	Total:	23	34	42	*	*

¹⁶ Prior to August 2014, trend question wording was slightly different. Instead of "compares to what it was during the time of the economic downturn," in September 2010 it read "compared to what it was two years ago", in November 2011 it read "compared to what it was three years ago" and in June 2012 it read "compared to what it was four years ago."

Q11 Considering what you get back in services from the local government, overall, do you think the local taxes you pay are too high, too low, or about right?

	<u>Too high</u>	<u>Too low</u>	<u>About right</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
Suburbs:	50	1	45	3	*
Urban:	49	3	42	6	1
Total:	49	2	44	4	*
OCTOBER 2009					
Suburbs:	55	1	39	4	1
Urban:	46	1	50	3	*
Total:	51	1	45	3	*
SEPTEMBER 2008					
Suburbs:	48	1	47	3	--
Urban:	44	2	48	5	--
Total:	47	2	47	4	--

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

Q12 Here are some proposed changes in local, state or federal policies. (First,/Next,) do you think that... [INSERT ITEMS; RANDOMIZE; RANDOMIZE a-b AS A PAIR IN ORDER], or not? [IF NECESSARY: Just in general]¹⁷

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
a. Personal federal income taxes on all Americans should be REDUCED ¹⁸				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	61	33	5	1
Urban:	52	42	5	*
Total:	57	38	4	1
<u>JUNE 2012</u>				
Suburbs:	56	36	7	2
Urban:	59	35	5	1
Total:	57	35	6	2
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	57	36	6	2
Urban:	54	39	5	1

¹⁷ Prior to August 2014, trend question wording was "Here are some changes in federal policies that have been proposed in recent months. For each one, please tell me if you favor or oppose such a change. (First,/Next,) do you favor or oppose... [INSERT ITEM]?" Results shown here for "Yes" reflect "Favor" responses and "No" reflect "Oppose" responses. Results for "Don't know" include the trend volunteered option "Neither favor nor oppose."

¹⁸ Prior to August 2014, the trend item was favor/oppose "Reducing personal income taxes on all Americans"

b. Personal federal income taxes on wealthier Americans should be RAISED¹⁹

Total:	56	37	5	2
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	53	45	2	*
Urban:	50	47	2	*
Total:	52	45	2	*
<u>JUNE 2012</u>				
Suburbs:	60	35	5	1
Urban:	63	31	5	1
Total:	62	33	4	1
<u>Nov. 2011</u>				
Suburbs:	59	37	3	1
Urban:	67	27	5	0
Total:	63	32	4	1

Q12 continued on next page...

¹⁹ Prior to August 2014, the trend item was favor/oppose "Raising personal income taxes on wealthier Americans"

Q12 continued...

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
c. State government should increase the money set aside for property tax rebates for homeowners				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	55	34	10	1
Urban:	51	39	9	1
Total:	53	35	10	2
d. State government should limit the percentage that property taxes can be raised each year				
<u>CURRENT</u>				
Suburbs:	70	26	3	1
Urban:	70	25	4	1
Total:	70	26	3	1

Q13 If you had to choose, would you rather have [RANDOMIZE: (a smaller government providing fewer services) or (a bigger government providing more services)]?

	<u>Smaller gov't, Fewer services</u>	<u>Bigger gov't, More services</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither/Both</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT					
Suburbs:	52	40	4	3	1
Urban:	41	50	5	3	2
Total:	51	42	4	3	1
OCTOBER 2012					
Suburbs:	49	37	4	6	3
Urban:	44	45	3	6	3
Total:	49	39	4	6	3

Q14 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>Somewhat Agree</u>	<u>Somewhat Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
	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 ²⁰ :							
	Total:	46	22	11	17	4	0

Q15 In your view, what is the better way to reduce the federal budget deficit? Should we [RANDOMIZE: mostly focus on cutting major programs, / mostly focus on increasing taxes,] or should we do a combination of both?

		<u>Cutting major programs</u>	<u>Increasing taxes</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither</u>	<u>(VOL.) Deficit not a priority</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
CURRENT								
	Suburbs:	14	4	69	9	*	2	1
	Urban:	11	6	73	7	*	1	2
	Total:	14	5	70	8	*	2	1
OCTOBER 2012								
	Suburbs:	16	5	66	5	*	4	3
	Urban:	14	7	67	5	*	6	2
	Total:	14	6	67	5	*	5	3

²⁰ December 1983 trends from a Los Angeles Times poll

Q16 As you may know, a health reform bill was signed into law in 2010. Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of it? [IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, ASK: Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?]²¹

		<u>Strongly Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Strongly Unfavorable</u>	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Ref.
CURRENT							
	Suburbs:	19	17	17	37	7	3
	Urban:	20	23	12	28	14	2
	Total:	18	18	16	35	10	2
JUNE 2012							
	Suburbs:	13	17	17	30	19	4
	Urban:	17	20	14	28	19	2
	Total:	14	18	15	29	20	4
NOVEMBER 2011							
	Suburbs:	12	21	17	34	13	3
	Urban:	18	25	19	17	19	2
	Total:	14	22	18	27	16	3
SEPTEMBER 2010							
	Suburbs:	13	20	15	35	15	1
	Urban:	19	23	18	23	15	1
	Total:	14	22	17	31	15	2

²¹ November 2011 question wording was slightly different: "As you may know, a health reform bill was signed into law early last year. Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of it? [IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, ASK: Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?]"

September 2010 question wording was slightly different, with the terms in parentheses based on a 50/50 split form: "As you may know, a new health reform bill was signed into law earlier this year. Given what you know about the new health reform law, do you have a (generally favorable) or (generally unfavorable) opinion of it? [GET ANSWER THEN ASK: Is that a very (favorable/unfavorable) or somewhat (favorable/unfavorable) opinion?]" Percentages shown here for 'strongly (favorable/unfavorable)' reflect 'very (favorable/unfavorable)' trend responses.

Q17 Given that you have an unfavorable view of the health reform law, which comes closer to your view of what should happen now: [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

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

	The law should be repealed <u>as soon as possible</u>	The law should be given a chance to work, with Congress making necessary <u>changes along the way</u>	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Ref.
CURRENT				
Suburbs (n=534):	62	36	1	1
Urban (n=177):	57	41	2	*
Total (n=787):	63	35	1	*
JUNE 2012				
Suburbs (n=480):	59	34	6	1
Urban (n=182):	65	34	1	1
Total (n=709):	63	33	4	1
SEPTEMBER 2010				
Suburbs (n=539):	65	31	3	1
Urban (n=173):	57	41	1	1
Total (n=793):	63	33	3	1

Q18 Do you support full marriage rights for same-sex couples, support civil unions or partnerships for same-sex couples but not full marriage rights, or do you oppose any legal recognition for same-sex couples?

		<u>Marriage rights</u>	<u>Civil unions</u>	<u>No legal recognition</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT						
	Suburbs:	47	14	28	7	4
	Urban:	48	10	26	9	6
	Total:	45	12	32	7	5
JUNE 2012						
	Suburbs:	42	16	34	6	4
	Urban:	46	14	31	5	4
	Total:	42	15	34	5	4
SEPTEMBER 2010						
	Suburbs:	35	19	37	6	3
	Urban:	41	17	33	8	2
	Total:	34	18	38	7	3
OCTOBER 2009						
	Suburbs:	38	13	38	8	3
	Urban:	43	9	36	6	5
	Total:	39	12	40	6	4
SEPTEMBER 2008						
	Suburbs:	31	21	40	7	--
	Urban:	36	18	37	9	--
	Total:	30	18	43	9	--

Q19 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>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
	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	--

Q20 Which do you think is the worst tax – that is, the least fair: [IF FORM 1: federal income tax, federal Social Security tax, state income tax, state sales tax or local property tax] [IF FORM 2: local property tax, state sales tax, state income tax, federal Social Security tax or federal income tax]?

		<u>Federal income tax</u>	<u>Federal Social Sec. tax</u>	<u>State income tax</u>	<u>State sales tax</u>	<u>Local property tax</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT								
	Suburbs:	32	14	9	10	25	8	2
	Urban:	28	15	9	13	24	10	1
	Total:	32	15	9	11	23	8	1
SEPTEMBER 2010								
	Suburbs:	27	13	9	11	28	11	2
	Urban:	30	14	8	11	21	14	1
	Total:	29	14	8	11	24	12	2
OCTOBER 2009								
	Suburbs:	28	7	8	12	35	10	1
	Urban:	24	10	7	14	31	12	1
	Total:	27	9	8	12	33	10	1
SEPTEMBER 2008								
	Suburbs:	25	13	6	11	34	10	--
	Urban:	27	12	8	14	27	12	--
	Total:	27	12	7	12	31	11	--

Q21 What should be the priority for dealing with immigration in this country? [READ AND RANDOMIZE 1-2]

		Tighter border security and stronger enforcement of <u>immigration laws</u>	Allowing illegal immigrants already here to become citizens if they meet <u>certain requirements</u>	Both should be given equal <u>priority</u>	(VOL.) None <u>of these</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
	Suburbs:	33	25	39	1	2	*
	Urban:	26	25	43	2	3	*
	Total:	34	24	38	2	2	*
SEPTEMBER 2010							
	Suburbs:	38	21	37	1	2	1
	Urban:	30	31	36	1	1	1
	Total:	36	24	36	1	2	1

Q22 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views – even if neither is exactly right. The (first/next) pair is... [READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR] [AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?]

a.	This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment			This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment			(VOL.) Both/ Neither	(VOL.) DK	(VOL.) Ref.
	<u>NET</u> %	<u>Strongly</u> %	<u>Not strongly</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>Strongly</u> %	<u>Not strongly</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>NET</u> %
<u>CURRENT</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
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.
	<u>NET</u> %	<u>Strongly</u> %	<u>Not strongly</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>Strongly</u> %	<u>Not strongly</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>NET</u> %	<u>NET</u> %
<u>CURRENT</u>									
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
<u>JUNE 2012</u>									
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
<u>Nov. 2011</u>									
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

Q23 In your view, is climate change a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not a problem?²²

		<u>Very serious</u>	<u>Somewhat serious</u>	<u>Not too serious</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
CURRENT							
	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

TP Do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of the political movement known as the Tea Party? [IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, ASK: Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?]

		<u>Strongly Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Strongly Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL.) Never heard of</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK</u>	<u>(VOL.) Ref.</u>
CURRENT								
	Suburbs:	14	16	18	25	9	14	4
	Urban:	11	13	19	28	10	14	5
	Total:	14	15	19	26	9	13	4
JUNE 2012								
	Suburbs:	15	16	15	24	8	19	3
	Urban:	9	12	14	32	13	17	2
	Total:	13	15	14	26	9	19	3
NOVEMBER 2011								
	Suburbs:	17	19	17	26	5	13	3
	Urban:	13	12	18	34	6	12	4
	Total:	16	16	18	28	5	13	3
SEPTEMBER 2010								
	Suburbs:	19	16	16	19	n/a	27	3
	Urban:	12	16	15	25	n/a	31	2
	Total:	17	16	16	20	n/a	29	3

TP continued on next page...

²² 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?"

TP continued...

	<u>Strongly Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Strongly Unfavorable</u>	(VOL.) <u>Never heard of</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
TRENDS (TOTAL ADULTS) ²³							
8/30 to 9/2, 2010:	18	19	24	21	n/a	18	--
6/3 to 6/6, 2010:	17	19	25	24	n/a	14	--
3/23 to 3/26, 2010:	21	21	16	23	n/a	20	--
2/8, 2010:	20	15	20	20	n/a	25	--

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>	(VOL.) <u>No job/No regular income</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
CURRENT								
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

PAYCHECK continued on next page...

²³ Most trends are from joint ABC News/Washington Post polls. March 2010 trend is from a Washington Post poll. All surveys conducted among adults 18+ nationwide.

PAYCHECK continued...

		<u>Always</u>	<u>Most of the time</u>	<u>Some-times</u>	<u>Hardly ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	(VOL.) No job/No regular <u>income</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK</u>	(VOL.) <u>Ref.</u>
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:] Finally, just a few questions for statistical purposes only...

SEX RECORD RESPONDENT SEX [DO NOT READ]

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

AGE What is your age?

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
21	22	20	Age 18-29
33	35	34	Age 30-49
28	26	27	Age 50-64
17	16	18	Age 65 or older
*	1	*	(VOL.) Don't know
1	1	1	(VOL.) Refused
<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
27	33	28	Millennials (b. 1981-1996) - Age 18-33
27	23	27	Gen X (b. 1965-1980) - Age 34-49
20	19	19	Younger Boomers (b. 1955-1964) - Age 50-59
13	10	12	Older Boomers (b. 1946-1954) - Age 60-68
7	7	7	Silent generation (b. 1937-1945) - Age 69-77
5	5	6	G.I. generation (b. 1936 or earlier) - Age 78 or older
*	1	*	(VOL.) Don't know
1	1	1	(VOL.) Refused

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>	
11	9	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)
30	27	31	NET HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE High school graduate (Grade 12 with diploma or GED certificate)
30	32	31	NET SOME COLLEGE Some college, no degree (includes some community college) / Two year associate degree from a college or university
29	32	28	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>	
17	24	21	1 adult in household / Respondent only
49	44	48	2 adults
34	32	31	3 adults or more
0	*	*	(VOL.) Don't know
1	*	1	(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>	
52	39	48	Married
9	6	7	Living with a partner
10	10	10	Divorced
3	4	3	Separated
6	10	8	Widowed
20	30	24	Never been married
0	1	*	(VOL.) Don't know
1	1	*	(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>	
32	24	29	Yes
67	75	71	No
0	1	*	(VOL.) Don't know
*	*	*	(VOL.) Refused

OwnRent 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>	
53	43	53	Own
27	39	30	Rent
10	9	9	Live with parents
9	7	8	Other arrangement
*	1	*	(VOL.) Don't know
1	1	*	(VOL.) Refused

BOOMERANG [IF OWNRENT=LIVE WITH PARENTS: Even if you currently live with your parents...] Has there ever been a time when you moved back in with your parents or legal guardian after living on your own, or not?

Based on 18-34 year olds

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
41	36	39	Yes, have moved back in with parents
58	64	60	No, have never moved back in with parents
1	0	2	(VOL.) Always lived with parents / Never lived on own
0	0	0	(VOL.) Don't know
*	0	*	(VOL.) Refused
(n=193)	(n=101)	(n=315)	

RELIG What is your present religion, if any? Are you Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, something else, or nothing in particular?

[IF R SAYS “nothing in particular, none, or no religion” etc. BEFORE REACHING THE END OF THE LIST, PROMPT WITH: And would you say that’s atheist, agnostic, or just nothing in particular?]

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
32	32	34	Protestant (Baptist, Methodist, Non-denominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, Jehovah’s Witness, etc.)
23	23	21	Roman Catholic (Catholic)
1	1	2	Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints/LDS)
1	*	1	Orthodox (Greek, Russian, or some other orthodox church)
2	1	1	Jewish (Judaism)
1	1	1	Muslim (Islam)
*	1	1	Buddhist
1	2	1	Hindu
14	16	14	(VOL.) Christian
*	0	*	(VOL.) Unitarian (Universalist)
3	3	2	Something else (SPECIFY)
3	1	2	Atheist (do not believe in God)
3	4	4	Agnostic (not sure if there is a God)
14	13	15	Nothing in particular
*	1	*	(VOL.) Don’t know
2	2	2	(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>	
21	24	23	Republican
29	36	29	Democrat
42	31	39	Independent
8	9	8	(VOL.) No preference/Other/Don't know/Refused

Based on all registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
23	27	26	Republican
30	37	30	Democrat
42	31	39	Independent
5	4	5	(VOL.) No preference/Other/Don't know/Refused
(n=815)	(n=311)	(n=1,242)	

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>	
38	34	39	Republican / Lean Republican
45	52	45	Democrat / Lean Democrat
17	14	16	Refused to lean / Still Independent

Based on all registered voters

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
39	36	41	Republican / Lean Republican
46	55	47	Democrat / Lean Democrat
14	9	12	Refused to lean / Still Independent
(n=815)	(n=311)	(n=1,242)	

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

<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>	
8	6	8	Very conservative
27	29	30	Conservative
37	35	35	Moderate
18	19	18	Liberal, OR
6	6	6	Very liberal?
3	4	3	(VOL.) Don't know
2	2	2	(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>	
66	53	65	White, non-Hispanic
11	15	11	Black or African-American, non-Hispanic
16	19	15	Hispanic
6	11	7	Other/Mixed race, non-Hispanic
1	3	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>	
32	54	41	U.S.
4	3	4	Puerto Rico
60	39	52	Another country
0	0	0	(VOL.) Don't know
4	3	3	(VOL.) Refused
(n=127)	(n=63)	(n=196)	

INCOME Last year -- that is, in 2013 -- 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	9	8	Less than \$10,000
11	10	11	10 to under \$20,000
10	16	12	20 to under \$30,000
10	12	11	30 to under \$40,000
9	8	9	40 to under \$50,000
12	10	13	50 to under \$75,000
10	10	10	75 to under \$100,000
10	7	9	100 to under \$150,000, OR
6	7	5	\$150,000 or more?
5	7	5	(VOL.) Don't know
8	6	7	(VOL.) Refused

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 VIII

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

August 2014

SUMMARY

The National Suburban Poll VIII, sponsored by the National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra, obtained telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 1,546 adults living in the continental United States. The survey was conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Interviews were done in English and Spanish by Princeton Data Source, LLC (PDS) from July 21 to August 7, 2014. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is ± 3.4 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. Both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International, LLC (SSI) according to PSRAI specifications. The samples were disproportionately-stratified to increase the incidence of respondents in 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 sample was not list-assisted, but was drawn through a systematic sampling from dedicated wireless 100-blocks and shared service 100-blocks with no directory-listed landline numbers. The cell sample was also disproportionately-stratified and sample was drawn with equal probability within strata.

Contact Procedures

Interviews were conducted from July 21 to August 7, 2014. 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.

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 landline and cell 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.²⁴ This weighting also adjusts for the overlapping landline and cell sample frames and the relative sizes of each frame and each sample. Since we employed a disproportionately-stratified sample design, the first-stage weight was computed separately for each stratum.

²⁴ i.e., whether respondents have only a landline telephone, only a cell phone, or both kinds of telephone.

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

$$WT_{hi} = \left[\left(\frac{S_{LLh}}{F_{LLh}} \times \frac{1}{AD_{hi}} \times LL_{hi} \right) + \left(\frac{S_{CPH}}{F_{CPH}} \times CP_{hi} \right) - \left(\frac{S_{LLh}}{F_{LLh}} \times \frac{1}{AD_{hi}} \times LL_{hi} \times \frac{S_{CPH}}{F_{CPH}} \times CP_{hi} \right) \right]^{-1}$$

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

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

S_{CPH} = the size of the cell sample in stratum h

F_{CPH} = the size of the cell sample frame in stratum h

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 $LL_{hi}=0$

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

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, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region (U.S. Census definitions), 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 2012 American Community Survey data.²⁵ The population density parameter was derived from Census 2010 data. The telephone usage parameter came from an analysis of the July-December 2013 National Health Interview Survey.²⁶ The urbanity parameter was provided by Survey Sampling International.

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.

²⁵ ACS analysis was based on all adults excluding those living in institutional group quarters (GCs).

²⁶ Blumberg SJ, Luke JV. Wireless substitution: Early release of estimates from the National Health Interview Survey, July-December, 2013. National Center for Health Statistics. Jul 2014.

Table 1: Sample Demographics

	<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Unweighted</u>	<u>Weighted</u>
<u>Gender</u>			
	Male	48.2	49.9
	Female	51.8	50.1
<u>Age</u>			
	18-24	13.1	13.1
	25-34	17.4	16.6
	35-44	17.1	17.0
	45-54	18.5	18.6
	55-64	16.2	16.9
	65+	17.7	17.9
<u>Education</u>			
	HS Grad or less	41.4	41.0
	Some College/Assoc Degree	31.6	30.7
	College Graduate	27.0	28.3
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
	White/not Hispanic	66.4	66.6
	Black/not Hispanic	11.6	11.2
	Hispanic, native born	7.4	7.3
	Hispanic, foreign born	7.4	7.9
	Other/not Hispanic	7.2	7.0
<u>Region</u>			
	Northeast	18.3	18.7
	Midwest	21.6	21.5
	South	37.4	36.7
	West	22.7	23.2
<u>County Pop. Density</u>			
	1 - Lowest	19.9	19.7
	2	20.0	19.6
	3	20.1	20.4
	4	20.0	20.2
	5 - Highest	20.0	20.1
<u>Household Phone Use</u>			
	LLO	6.9	6.5
	Dual	51.2	53.3
	CPO	41.9	40.2
<u>Community Type</u>			
	Urban	32.8	32.0
	Suburban	48.8	50.2
	Rural	18.4	17.8

Effects of Sample Design on Statistical Inference

Post-data collection statistical adjustments require analysis procedures that reflect departures from simple random sampling. PSRAI calculates the effects of these design features so that an appropriate adjustment can be incorporated into tests of statistical significance when using these data. The so-called "design effect" or *deff* represents the loss in statistical efficiency that results from a disproportionate sample design and systematic non-response. The total sample design effect for this survey is 1.97.

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 ± 3.5 percentage points. This means that in 95 out every 100 samples drawn using the same methodology, estimated proportions based on the entire sample will be no more than 3.5 percentage points away from their true values in the population. 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	1,546	1.97	3.5 percentage points
Urban	400	1.80	6.6 percentage points
Suburban	1,008	2.00	4.4 percentage points
Rural	138	1.37	9.7 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. At PSRAI it is calculated by taking the product of three component rates:²⁷

- Contact rate – the proportion of working numbers where a request for interview was made²⁸
- Cooperation rate – the proportion of contacted numbers where a consent for interview was at least initially obtained, versus those refused
- Completion rate – the proportion of initially cooperating and eligible interviews that were completed

Thus the response rate for the land line samples was 9 percent. The response rate for the cellular samples was 9 percent.

²⁷ PSRAI's disposition codes and reporting are consistent with the American Association for Public Opinion Research standards.

²⁸ PSRAI assumes that 75 percent of cases that result in a constant disposition of "No answer" or "Busy" are actually not working numbers.

Table 3: Sample Disposition

Landline	Cell	
34,543	20,846	Total Numbers Dialed
1,537	234	Non-residential
1,279	67	Computer/Fax
17	----	Cell phone
21,022	7,033	Other not working
1,773	628	Additional projected not working
8,915	12,884	Working numbers
25.8%	61.8%	Working Rate
591	209	No Answer / Busy
3,508	5,072	Voice Mail
18	10	Other Non-Contact
4,798	7,593	Contacted numbers
53.8%	58.9%	Contact Rate
207	1,348	Callback
3,606	4,646	Refusal
985	1,599	Cooperating numbers
20.5%	21.1%	Cooperation Rate
32	58	Language Barrier
----	537	Child's cell phone
953	1,004	Eligible numbers
96.8%	62.8%	Eligibility Rate
159	252	Break-off
794	752	Completes
83.3%	74.9%	Completion Rate
9.2%	9.3%	Response Rate

Appendix 3: One way to define The Suburbs

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

The goal of this note is to 1) explain how 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.