THE BAY AREA CENTER FOR
VOTING RESEARCH

The Most Conservative and Liberal Cities in the United States

Researchers: Jason Alderman, Gitanjali Gurudatt Borkar, Amanda Garrett, Lindsay Hogan, Janet Kim, Winston Le, Veronica Louie, Alissa Marque, Phil Reiff, Colin Christopher Richard, Peter Thai, Tania Wang and Craig Wickersham.

Table of Contents

Table of Tables

Executive Summary

Detroit, Michigan and Provo, Utah each top the Bay Area Center for Voting Research's (BACVR) lists of the nation's most liberal and conservative cities, respectively. Surveying United States cities with a population over 100,000, BACVR found that the top twenty-five most liberal and conservative cities in America come from a wide variety of regions across the nation.

Of the most liberal cities, Detroit heads up the list with 93.96% of voters casting votes for liberal candidates in the 2004 presidential election, followed by Gary, Indiana with 93.08% of the voting going to liberal presidential candidates, and Berkeley, California in third with a 92.76% total for liberals. Other cities in the top twenty five in descending order are the following: the District of Columbia; Oakland, CA; Inglewood, CA; Newark, NJ; Cambridge, MA; San Francisco, CA; Flint, MI; Cleveland, OH; Hartford, CT; Paterson, NJ; Baltimore, MD; New Haven, CT; Seattle, WA; Chicago, IL; Philadelphia, PA; Birmingham, AL; St. Louis, MO; New York, NY; Providence, RI; Minneapolis, MN; Boston, MA; and Buffalo, NY.

Provo, UT heads up the top twenty-five conservative cities with 86% of the vote going to conservative presidential candidates in 2004, followed by Lubbock, TX at 74.81% conservative support, and Abilene, TX in third with 72.80% of its voters choosing conservative candidates. The remaining cities in the top twenty-five in descending order are: Hialeah, FL; Plano, TX; Colorado Springs, CO; Gilbert, AZ; Bakersfield, CA; Lafayette, LA; Orange, CA; Escondido, CA; Allentown, PA; Mesa, AZ; Arlington, TX; Peoria, AZ; Cape Coral, FL; Garden Grove, CA; Simi Valley, CA; Corona, CA; Clearwater, FL; West Valley City, UT; Oklahoma City, OK; Overland Park, KS; Anchorage, AK; and Huntington Beach, CA.

America's voting patterns are split by region, with the Midwest and Northeast predominantly voting for liberal candidates, and the West (with the exception of the coast) and South voting for more conservative candidates. These results confirm the preconceived notions that many have about the conservative nature of the South and liberal nature of the Northeast, but also surprisingly found conservative trends in the West and liberal leanings in the Midwest that defy traditional stereotypes about these areas of the country.

A number of important demographic factors determine whether cities vote for liberals or conservatives, with race being the most important factor. Cities with predominantly large African American populations ended up as the most liberal cities in America, while the cities with the largest Caucasian populations wound up as the most conservative. These strong correlations seem to indicate that African American votes continue to support primarily liberal candidates. A survey of income and economic status indicates that poorer and less educated than average regions also tend to vote for liberal candidates at a higher rate than their conservative counterparts, indicating that liberal candidates may be ahead in capturing those with concerns about the state of government run social programs and poverty.

Another major correlation appears between marriage rate and the tendency to vote for conservative candidates, as liberal cities appeared to have more single voters than conservative cities with marriage rates at or above the national average. This data indicates that family centered voters surprisingly voted more for conservative candidates, demonstrating the success of conservative candidates to appear as the more moral, family oriented candidates in a way that did not appeal as much to single voters. Population size also seems to have a significant effect, with larger urban environments tending to favor liberal candidates by a wider margin than those with smaller population sizes, demonstrating the success of liberal candidates in large

metropolitan areas where concerns about social programs and poverty spoken of against the incumbent Bush administration were most salient. Suburban or mid-sized cities were on the whole more conservative and split in the 2004 presidential election, with conservative candidates receiving more votes in these areas than from their urban counterparts. These demographic issues indicate that racial makeup, income rates, regional location, marital status, and population size all combine to affect the propensity of American cities to vote on either side of the ideological spectrum.

The Twenty-Five Most Conservative Cities in America

The Bay Area Center for Voting Research finds that the top twenty five conservative cities in America share many common characteristics, including larger that average Caucasian populations, a large percentage of married couples, smaller city size, and higher income and education level than average.   The top twenty five conservative cities come primarily from the South, non-coastal areas of the West, and Southern California, which is indicative of a conservative voting trend in these two regions.

The city of Provo, Utah tops the list of the twenty-five most conservative cities in the United States. Located approximated forty-five minutes from Salt Lake City, Provo is a relatively small city by the scale of this study, with a population of 105,166. Founded by Brigham Young, Provo has a strong Mormon background, with Brigham Young University located in its city limits.   Provo's religious background, small town feel, and large Caucasian population all combine to make it the most conservative city in the United States. Analysis of current voting data shows that 86% of registered voters in the city voted for Bush or other third party conservative candidates, while 14% voted for Kerry or other third party liberal candidates.

Lubbock, Texas came in second place, with 75% of the registered voter population voting for a conservative candidate, while 25% of the population voted for a liberal candidate. The city of Abilene, Texas came in third place on the list, with 73% of the registered voter population voting for a conservative candidate, while 25% voted for a liberal candidate. The city of Hialeah, Florida followed in fourth place, with 71% of the registered voter population voting for a conservative candidate, while 29% voted for a liberal candidate. The city of Plano, Texas completes the top five, with 68% of the registered voter population voting for a conservative candidate and 32% voting for a liberal candidate. Rounding out the top ten are the following five

cities, in descending order: Colorado Springs, Colorado; Gilbert, Arizona; Bakersfield, California; Lafayette, Louisiana; and Orange, California. All of these five cities displayed results of over 64% of their registered voter population voting for a conservative candidate and over 32% for a liberal candidate.

The next set of seven cities all display over 62% of their registered voter population voting for a conservative candidate and 37% for a liberal candidate. They consist, in descending order, of the following: Escondido, California; Allentown, Pennsylvania; Mesa, Arizona; Arlington, Texas; Peoria Arizona, and Cape Coral, Florida.

The next set of six cities all display over 61% of their registered voter populations voting for a conservative candidate and over 38% for a liberal candidate. They consist, in descending order, of the following: Garden Grove, California; Simi Valley, California; Corona, California; Clearwater, Florida; West Valley City, Utah; and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The remaining three cities all have over 60% of their registered population voting for a conservative candidate and over 39% for a liberal candidate. They consist, in descending order, of Overland Park, Kansas; Anchorage, Alaska; and Huntington Beach, California.

Altogether, the top twenty-five most conservative cities are composed of twelve cities from the West: seven cities from California, three from Arizona, and two from Utah. There are two cities from the mid-west that are located in Colorado and Kansas. There are nine cities located in the south: four from Texas, three from Florida, one from Louisiana, and one from Oklahoma. Finally, there are one city each in Pennsylvania and Alaska.   Below is a chart of the twenty-five most conservative cities in America with the percentage of votes for either liberal or conservative candidates.

Table 1: Top Twenty-Five Most Conservative Cities

Rank	City	State
1	Provo	Utah
2	Lubbock	Texas
3	Abilene	Texas
4	Hialeah	Florida
5	Plano	Texas
6	Colorado Springs	Colorado
7	Gilbert	Arizona
8	Bakersfield	California
9	Lafayette	Louisiana
10	Orange	California
11	Escondido	California
12	Allentown	Pennsylvania
13	Mesa	Arizona
14	Arlington	Texas
15	Peoria	Arizona
16	Cape Coral	Florida
17	Garden Grove	California
18	Simi Valley	California
19	Corona	California
20	Clearwater	Florida
21	West Valley City	Utah
22	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
23	Overland Park	Kansas
24	Anchorage	Alaska
25	Huntington Beach	California

The Twenty-Five Most Liberal Cities in America

The twenty-five most liberal cities in the United States share much different characteristics than their conservative counterparts—many have large African American populations, large portions of the populations are single, many are larger cities located in urban environments, and lower average levels of income and education are prevalent. The top twenty-five liberal cities come mostly from the traditionally liberal Northeast and West coast, with a surprising number of cities near the top coming from the Midwest. This confirms that the

Northeast and West coast continue to be liberal strongholds in America, but also indicates that the Midwest is beginning to shift closer to the liberal end of the spectrum.

Detroit, Michigan tops the list of the twenty-five most liberal cities in the United States. Unlike Provo, Detroit is a large metropolitan center with a population of 951,270. As the center of America's auto industry Detroit is an industrial unionized environment where more than a quarter of the population is below the poverty line and contains a large African American population, which in turn all contributed to its support for liberal candidates. Liberal candidates garnered 93.96% of the vote in Detroit while conservative candidates held onto amere 6.04% of the vote. Other cities with over 90% liberal votes include: Gary, Indiana; Berkeley, California; the District of Columbia and Oakland, California. The other top liberal cities in the top twenty-five range from 78% to 90% votes for liberal candidates. Conservative candidates got from 6% to 22 % of the vote in the liberal cities.

Geographically, the cities come from a wide range of areas. The top twenty-five cities are composed of five cities from the West: four from California, and one from Washington. There are seven cities from the Midwest including two from Michigan, one from Indiana, one from Ohio, one from Illinois, one from Missouri, and one from Minnesota. The South is represented by only one city in Alabama. There are twelve cities in the East: two from New Jersey, two from New York, two from Massachusetts, two from Connecticut, one from Maryland, one from Rhode Island, one from Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia. The Bay Area is highly represented in the top twenty-five with Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco all finishing as among the most liberal cities in the country. The Bay Area continues to uphold its reputation as the most liberal region in the United States, helping along with Inglewood to make California the highest represented state in the liberal top twenty-five.

Table 2: Top Twenty-Five Most Liberal Cities

Rank	City	State
1	Detroit	Michigan
2	Gary	Indiana
3	Berkeley	California
4	District of Columbia	
5	Oakland	California
6	Inglewood	California
7	Newark	New Jersey
8	Cambridge	Massachusetts
9	San Francisco	California
10	Flint	Michigan
11	Cleveland	Ohio
12	Hartford	Connecticut
13	Paterson	New Jersey
14	Baltimore	Maryland
15	New Haven	Connecticut
16	Seattle	Washington
17	Chicago	Illinois
18	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania
19	Birmingham	Alabama
20	St. Louis	Missouri
21	New York	New York
22	Providence	Rhode Island
23	Minneapolis	Minnesota
24	Boston	Massachusetts
25	Buffalo	New York

California's Trends

As the nation's largest state, California has 55 cities with populations over 100,000 that land in BACVR's ranking. Despite being characterized nationally as a universally liberal state, our findings show that many cities in California are extremely conservative, especially in the southern and inland portions of the state. Six California cities are on BACVR's list of the twenty five most conservative cities in America.

Conversely, cities in Northern California are significantly more liberal. While six Northern California cities rank in the fifty most liberal nationwide, only two from Southern California share the same distinction.

Confirming what many of suspected for years, Berkeley is California's most liberal city and ranks as the third most liberal city nationwide. At the other end of the political spectrum, Bakersfield is the most conservative city in the Golden State and eighth most conservative in the country.

San Francisco Bay Area

With the findings of this study, the San Francisco Bay Area can now officially be designated the most liberal region in the country. With three cities in the top ten liberal list – Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco – no other region comes close to matching the Bay Area.

In addition to Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco, other Bay Area cities rank highly on the national liberal scale. Rounding out the major Bay Area cities ranking on the national liberal list are: Daly City 30, Hayward 33, Vallejo 41, Santa Rosa 57, Sunnyvale 62, Fremont 64, and San Jose 74. Even Concord, the most conservative major city in the Bay Area, comes in at 79 on the national liberal list, making it more liberal than cites such as Austin, Tacoma, Miami and Las Vegas.

San Francisco has long been tagged as the most liberal city in the country, however BACVR research now shatters this myth. San Francisco ranks a distant ninth place on the list of America's most liberal cities, falling behind lesser know cities such as Gary, Indiana and Newark, New Jersey. San Francisco is not even the most liberal city in the Bay Area, ranking below Berkeley and Oakland.

As an infamous site of numerous political protests and demonstrations during the 1960s and 70s, Berkeley continues to maintain its reputation as a hotbed of left-wing activism, being the most liberal city in California and the third most liberal in the nation. The University of California at Berkeley serves as a magnet for left-wing students and professors. Additionally, the liberal atmosphere draws the similarly minded from other Bay Area communities, creating a self-selecting, extremely left-wing population.

Oakland, long in the shadow of San Francisco, emerges with a surprising showing, ranking as more liberal than its larger neighbor across the Bay. Combining an ethnically diverse population, the plurality being African American, with pockets of upper-middle class ideological liberals, Oakland ranks as the fifth most liberal city in America.

Southern California

Cities in Southern California, on the other hand, are almost split exactly in half between liberal and conservative. Out of thirty-nine cities, twenty are considered liberal and nineteen are considered conservative. These same cities have an average conservative percentage of 48.51% and a liberal percentage of 51.49%, making the overall difference only 2.98%. Bakersfield, Orange, and Escondido top the conservative list with percentages over 64% as conservative. Inglewood, Los Angeles, and El Monte are the top three liberal cities in Southern California with liberal percentages above 69%.

<u>Regional Differences</u>

Nationally, regional differences between liberal and conservative leanings emerge in the cities encompassed in this study, confirming America's geographical divide in voting preferences. For the purposes of determining regional voting patterns each city was divided into four different categories—West, South, Midwest, and Northeast. While some areas normally

considered liberal continued to vote in such a pattern, such as the Northeast, others such as the West did not vote for liberals overwhelmingly. In addition the South continued its reputation as a conservative region, while the Midwest voted in a surprisingly liberal fashion.

The West

The West constitutes 68% of the top twenty-five conservative cities and 12% of the top liberal cities. While California is split between the liberal north and more conservative south, cities from Utah and Arizona decisively pull Western cities in the direction of conservatism. Altogether Western cities voted an average of 45.96% of ballots for conservatives and 53.77% for liberals, which was more conservative than how United States cities as whole voted (42.97% and 56.97%, respectively).

The South

The South came out ahead as the most conservative region with an average of 45.96% of the its cities' votes for conservatives and 53.74% for liberals, just barely surpassing Western cities by fractions of a tenth. Seven cities (24%) of the top twenty-five conservative cities come from the South. Five of these seven cities are either from Texas or Florida.

The Midwest

Midwestern cities are surprisingly liberal, making the Midwest the second most liberal region in the United States, according to BACVR's tabulations. The three most liberal cities in the Midwest are predominantly African American, pointing to race as an important factor in the decision to vote for liberal candidates. Also, the Midwestern cities in th top twenty-five liberal cities list have large African American populations. Interestingly, the cities of the two most western states in the Midwest: Nebraska and Kansas were the two most conservative ones. With

only one city on the top twenty-five conservative list, the Midwest makes up 28% of the most liberal list.

The Northeast

The Northeast region's cities emerge with an average 60.83% voting liberal and 29.03% voting conservative- the most solidly liberal region the United States. Nearly half of the most liberal cities in the nation are from the Northeast, confirming the notion that the Northeast coast of the United States remains a liberal stronghold.

<u>The Importance of Race in Voting Patterns</u>

Our research finds that increasingly in America there is a direct correlation between a city's political leanings and its racial makeup. Even more starkly, we find that the whiter a city is, the more conservative its residents and conversely, cities with high African American populations are clearly the most liberal.

A majority of conservative cities have a higher than average Caucasian population. More importantly, these same cities have a disproportionately low percentage of African Americans living in them when compared to the national average. The top twenty-five most conservative cities in the U.S. have an average Caucasian population of 75.5% and a median of 78.1%, compared to a national average of 75.1%. Cities like Provo, UT, Cape Coral, FL, and Overland Park, KA top the list with percentages above 88%. While this may not be striking, the average percentage of African Americans in these conservative cities is 6.4%, which is well below the national average of 12.3%.

Table 3: Racial Make-up of Top Conservative Cities

	City	White	Black	American Indian	Asian	Other	Hispanic[1]
		Percentage of Races within					
1	Provo, UT	88.5	0.5	0.8	1.8	6	10.5
2	Lubbock, TX	72.9	8.7	0.6	1.5	14.3	27.5
3	Abilene, TX	78.1	8.8	0.6	1.3	8.8	19.4
4	Hialeah, FL	88	2.4	0.1	0.4	5.5	90.3
5	Plano, TX	78.3	5.0	0.4	10.2	3.9	10.1
6	Gilbert, AZ	85.7	2.4	0.6	3.6	4.9	11.9
7	Colorado Springs, CO	80.7	6.6	0.9	2.8	5.2	12
8	Bakersfield, CA	61.9	9.2	1.4	4.3	18.7	32.5
9	Lafayette, LA	68.2	28.5	0.2	1.4	0.6	1.9
10	Orange, CA	70.5	1.6	0.8	9.3	13.9	32.2
11	Mesa, AZ	81.7	2.5	1.7	1.5	9.8	19.7
12	Escondido, CA	67.8	2.3	1.2	4.5	19.3	38.7
13	Peoria, AZ	84.9	2.8	0.7	1.9	7.1	15.4
14	Allentown, PN	72.5	7.8	0.3	2.3	13.4	24.4
15	Arlington, TX	67.7	13.7	0.5	6	8.9	18.3
16	Cape Coral	93	2	0.3	0.9	2.3	8.3
17	Garden Grove, CA	46.9	1.3	0.8	30.9	16	32.5
18	West Valley Utah	78.2	1.1	1.2	4.3	11.6	18.5
19	Simi Valley, CA	81.3	1.3	0.7	6	6.6	16.8
20	Corona, CA	62	6.4	0.9	7.5	17.7	35.7
21	Clearwater, Fl	83.9	9.8	0.3	1.6	2.6	9
22	Oklahoma City, OK	68.4	15.4	3.5	3.5	5.3	10.1
23	Anchorage, AL	72.2	5.8	7.3	5.5	3.1	5.7
24	Overland Park, KA	90.6	2.5	0.3	3.8	1.2	3.8
25	Huntington Beach, CA	79.2	0.8	0.6	9.3	5.9	14.7

---

[1] Hispanic is considered a cultural group and not a racial group by the Census. This explains why the numbers in each row do not add up to 100%, since Hispanic individuals may label themselves differently within the Census's official racial categories.

At the other end of the spectrum, the top twenty-five most liberal cities in the U.S. have high African American populations. Detroit, MI, Gary IN, and Birmingham, AL all have an African American population above 73%. The overall average for the top twenty-five liberal cities is 40.3%, which is almost three times higher than the national average of 12.3%. In comparison, the average Caucasian population for these same cities is 41%, below the national average of 75.1%.

Table 4: Racial Make-Up of Top Liberal Cities

	City	White	Black	American Indian	Asian	Other	Hispanic
		Percentage of Races within					
1	Detroit, Michigan	12.3	81.6	0	1	2.5	5
2	Gary, Indiana	11.9	84	0.2	0.1	2	4.9
3	Berkeley, CA	59.2	13.6	0.5	16.4	4.6	9.7
4	District of Columbia	30.8	60	0.3	2.7	3.9	7.9
5	Oakland, CA	31.3	35.7	0.7	15.2	12.2	21.9
6	Inglewood, CA	19.1	47.1	0.7	1.1	27.4	46
7	Newark, NJ	26.5	53.5	0.4	1.2	14	29.5
8	Cambridge, MA	68.1	11.9	0.3	11.9	3.3	7.4
9	San Francisco,CA	49.7	7.8	0.4	30.8	7	14.1
10	Flint, Michigan	41.4	53.3	0.6	0.4	1.1	3
11	Cleveland, Ohio	41.5	51	0.3	1.3	3.6	7.3
12	Hartford, CT	27.7	38.1	0.5	1.6	26.6	40.5
13	Paterson, NJ	30.8	32.9	0.6	1.9	27.7	50.1
14	Baltimore, MD	31.6	64.3	0.3	1.5	0.7	1.7
15	New Haven, CT	43.5	37.4	0.4	3.9	11	21.4
16	Seattle, WA	70.1	8.4	1	13.1	2.9	5.3
17	Chicago, Ilinois	42	36.8	0.4	4.3	13.7	26

18	Philadelphia, PA	45	43.2	0.3	4.5	4.8	8.5
19	Birmingham, AL	24.1	73.5	0.2	0.8	0.6	1.6
20	St. Louis, MO	43.8	51.2	0.3	2	0.8	2
21	New York, NY	44.7	26.6	0.5	9.8	13.5	27
22	Minneapolis, MN	65.1	18	2.2	6.1	4.2	7.6
23	Providence, RI	54.5	14.5	1.1	6	17.8	30
24	Boston, MA	54.5	25.3	0.4	7.5	7.9	14.4
25	Buffalo, NY	54.4	37.2	0.8	1.4	3.7	7.5
	Mean	40.944	40.276	0.536	5.86	8.7	16.012
	Median	42	37.4	0.4	2.7	4.6	8.5
	US Average	75.1	12.3	0.9	3.6	5.6	12.5

In addition, liberal cities tend to be former industrial and factory based centers such as Detroit, New York, Chicago, Flint, and Paterson. On the other hand, conservative cities reflect the opposite. Colorado Springs, Orange, Garden Grove, and Provo are less industrial and more white collar and residential.

In the Bay Area, the percentage of African Americans has less of an impact on how liberal the cities are. Instead of simply having unusually high African American and low Caucasian populations, Bay Area cities have a high number of liberal Hispanic and Asian Americans living in the area. On average, Asian Americans only comprise 3.6% of the population in cities across the nation. Yet, in San Francisco Asian Americans make up 30.8% and in Berkeley they comprise 16.4% of the population. Oakland has a combination of higher than average African American and Asian American populations. In Oakland, Asian Americans make up 15.2% and African Americans make up 35.7% of the total population.

With Caucasian populations below the national average, at 49.7% in San Francisco, 59.2% in Berkeley, and 31.3% in Oakland, these cities also uniquely display a high average of Asian Americans, who are normally not seen as a voting group of influence on the national level.

Income and Economic Status

According to the 2000 Census Data, the top twenty-five most conservative cities in this analysis have an average median household income of $45,695, which is slightly higher than the United States average of $41,994. However, the United States average is 25% higher than the average median household income for the top twenty-five liberal states of $33,637. The same type of data emerges from the percent of individuals below the poverty line. The most conservative cities possess a mean of 12.08%, slightly lower than that of the American average of 12.40%. Yet the most liberal cities reveal an opposite trend, with the most impoverished individuals representing 23% of the population, significantly higher than that of American average.

Explaining the Gap

Other socio-economic trends can be seen in America's most liberal and conservative cities. Education creates an opportunity for greater financial ability, and in analyzing the data, the number of high school diplomas for the conservative cities (mean= 81.72%) exceeds the educated population for the liberal cities (mean= 73.00%). This result seems at odds with the perception by many that liberal voters are often affluent and highly educated.

Another noticeable factor is the comparison of a relatively large African American population (mean=42.60%) to lower income statistics in the liberal cities. Unsurprisingly, the more wealthy conservative cities have a much higher percentage of a Caucasian population (mean= 75.5), and a low African American population (mean= 6.41). In the liberal cities the top

four cities with the highest median house incomes (Berkeley, CA; Cambridge, MA; Oakland, CA and San Francisco, CA) emerge with the smallest African American population. However, the void is not filled with a Caucasian population; in fact, these four cities have the largest Asian population within this category. In spite of this, these factors do not have the same effect in the conservative cities.

Marriage Rate as a Factor

In addition to their differences in racial makeup and income, the top liberal and conservative cities largely differ in their average marriage rates. In the top liberal cities 39.1 percent of males are married and 33.5 percent of females are married. This is significantly lower than the national average which has marriage rates at 56.7 percent for males and 52.1 percent for females. This may be as the result of the large number of gays and lesbians who are unable to legally marry and are more likely to live in predominantly liberal cities where the social and political climate is more accepting of their sexual orientation. Since many GLBT voters traditionally vote for liberal candidates as well, this may explain both why these cities continue to vote for liberal candidates and why the marriage gap is so much larger in these cities. This information becomes even more interesting when examining the top conservative cities and their marriage rates. For these cities, the average marriage rate is 57.4 percent for men and 53.2 percent for women.

The average marriage rates for conservative cities are higher than the national average and significantly higher than the averages of the liberal cities. This shows that religious individuals and those with more traditional values are indeed more drawn to conservative candidates. Conservative cities such as Hialeah, Florida, Gilbert, Arizona and Peoria, Arizona helped increase the overall average by possessing extremely high marriage rates. Overall,

however, every top conservative city possessed a higher average marriage rate than their liberal counterparts. This information would generally help point to the stereotype of liberal cities being younger and therefore having less married citizens. These liberal and conservative cities have very similar age data, but twenty percent more people are married in the conservative locations. This is not a question of age; it is more a reflection of adherence to traditional values and religious undertones which are associated with marriage.

Age and the Youth Vote

Despite their demographic differences, the most liberal and the most conservative cities are similar in containing average ages which are lower than the national norm. This is an interesting finding considering the general perception of conservative voters as older; more financially or religiously established individuals. In fact, the average age in the top 25 liberal cities is 32.3 years old, only slightly lower than the conservative average age of 32.9 years old. The national average age is 35.3 years old, which serves as evidence that conflicts with the general belief of a liberal stronghold amongst the nation's youth.

Population Size and Voting Trends

Although this study is limited to cities with populations over 100,000, different voting patterns emerge between America's largest cities and its moderately populated cities. Overall, the largest cities in America vote more liberal than smaller cities with populations around 100,000. The registered voters of the largest twenty cities in the United States cast votes for liberal candidates 67.31% of the time on average, with 37.59% choosing conservative candidates as seen in the chart below. In fact more than half of the twenty most populated cities in America voted in a liberal fashion overwhelmingly, with eleven cities registering over 70% of their votes for liberal candidates. These cities also hold a large number of the most liberal cities in the

United States, with seven appearing as part the top twenty-five most liberal cities in America, and none in the top twenty-five most conservative cities.

Table 5: Top Twenty Most Populated Cities

	City	State	Population	Liberal Rank	Conservative Rank
1	New York	New York	8,008,278	21	217
2	Los Angeles	California	3,694,820	37	200
3	Chicago	Illinois	2,896,016	17	221
4	Houston	Texas	1,953,631	177	62
5	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	1,517,550	18	220
6	Phoenix	Arizona	1,321,045	172	76
7	San Diego	California	1,223,400	119	119
8	Dallas	Texas	1,188,580	32	206
9	San Antonio	Texas	1,144,646	175	64
10	Detroit	Michigan	951,270	1	237
11	San Jose	California	894,943	74	164
12	Indianapolis	Indiana	781,870	155	82
13	San Francisco	California	776,733	9	229
14	Jacksonville	Florida	735,617	198	37
15	Columbus	Ohio	711,470	78	160
16	Austin	Texas	656,652	93	145
17	Baltimore	Maryland	651,154	14	224
18	Memphis	Tennessee	650,100	39	199
19	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	596,974	40	198
20	Boston	Massachusetts	589,141	24	214

Comparatively, the twenty smallest cities in the study cast an average of 35.70% of their ballots for liberal candidates and 64.31% for conservative contenders, with two cities appearing in the twenty-five most conservative cities and three in twenty-five most liberal cities. They also are more evenly divided between liberal and conservative causes compared to larger cities, with only four cities registering over 70% support for liberal candidates, and five cities with over 50% support conservative candidates. Although on average conservative candidates achieve more support in these smaller cities than in major cities it by no means classifies them as conservative in nature, since the majority of the population voted for liberal candidates over conservative

opponents in fifteen out of the twenty cities. Rather, these smaller cities are more indicative of the close nature of the 2004 presidential race that split many larger suburban areas of the country.

Table 6: Top Twenty Least Populated Cities, with Populations Over 100,000

	City	State	Population	Liberal Rank	Conservative Rank
1	Athens	Georgia	100,266	98	140
2	Burbank	California	100,316	90	148
3	Livonia	Michigan	100,545	180	57
4	Portsmouth	Virginia	100,565	87	151
5	San Buenaventura	California	100,916	134	105
6	Westminster	Colorado	100,940	158	79
7	Cambridge	Massachusetts	101,355	8	230
8	Pueblo	Colorado	102,121	132	107
9	Arvada	Colorado	102,153	174	61
10	Cape Coral	Florida	102,286	222	16
11	Green Bay	Wisconsin	102,313	150	88
12	Berkeley	California	102,743	3	235
13	Gary	Indiana	102,746	2	236
14	Norwalk	California	103,298	75	163
15	Clarksville	Tennessee	103,455	201	36
16	Daly City	California	103,621	30	208
17	Erie	Pennsylvania	103,717	68	170
18	West Covina	California	105,080	103	135
19	Provo	Utah	105,166	237	1
20	Lowell	Massachusetts	105,167	76	162

Explaining the Differences

The tendency to vote for liberal candidates appears frequent in the most urban and populated environments, where concerns about social services for the poor, health care, and other issues traditionally touted by Democrats and liberal candidates are more salient than in a suburban environment. In fact, of the three small cities that ranked in the top twenty-five most liberal cities, Berkeley, California and Cambridge, Massachusetts are traditionally liberal college

towns near major cities, and Gary, Indiana is an area with a great deal of poverty and a predominantly African American population. Higher population appears to induce a large number of liberal votes on average, but small liberal enclaves such as Berkeley, Gary and Cambridge seem to indicate that in more liberal regions this population size is not an overriding factor that determines how cities will vote, but may have a greater impact in more conservative regions, where large cities like Dallas and Austin, TX vote more liberally than small towns in a state many view as a conservative stronghold.

Examining the Major Cities

An assessment of the voting patterns of America's major urban centers (for the purposes of this study cities with populations over 300,000 according to the 2000 Census) further illustrates some of the previously mentioned regional trends in political leanings. Of the fifty-seven American cities studied, Detroit stands as the most liberal major city with 93.96% of ballots cast for liberal candidates, followed in descending order by the District of Columbia, Oakland, San Francisco, Cleveland, Baltimore, Seattle, Chicago, Philadelphia and St. Louis. These cities all interestingly come from areas of the country typically conceived of as liberal, with large representation from traditionally "blue" Midwestern states such as Michigan and Illinois, Northeastern Democratic voting states such as Pennsylvania, and liberal West coast states like California and Washington. Of the top ten major cities only Missouri could theoretically be construed as a Southern state (although classified as Midwestern in this study), further corroboration of the South's greater tilt toward the conservative end of the political spectrum.

Table 7: Top Ten Liberal Major Cities (Over 300,000)

City	State	Overall Conservative Rank	Overall Liberal Rank
Detroit	Michigan	237	1
District of Columbia		234	4
Oakland	California	233	5
San Francisco	California	229	9
Cleveland	Ohio	227	11
Baltimore	Maryland	224	14
Seattle	Washington	222	16
Chicago	Illinois	221	17
Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	220	18
St. Louis	Missouri	218	20

On the conservative side, Colorado Springs stands as the most conservative major city, with 67.32% of voters choosing conservative candidates. Rounding out the top ten in descending order are Mesa, Arlington, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Wichita, Anaheim, Jacksonville, Omaha, and Houston.

Table 8: Top Ten Conservative Major Cities (Over 300,000)

City	State	Overall Conservative Rank	Overall Liberal Rank
Colorado Springs	Colorado	6	231
Mesa	Arizona	13	227
Arlington	Texas	14	226
Oklahoma City	Oklahoma	22	216
Tulsa	Oklahoma	27	211
Wichita	Kansas	30	208
Anaheim	California	35	200
Jacksonville	Florida	37	198

Omaha	Nebraska	55	183
Houston	Texas	62	177

Unlike the liberal cities, many of the cities topping the conservative list are located in the South, with Oklahoma and Texas each claiming two cities in the top ten, and the landlocked areas of the West like Colorado and Arizona. This further confirms a split in political ideology between the South and areas of the West versus the Midwest, Northeast and West coast. Another difference between the most liberal and conservative major cities is that many of the cities with the largest populations appear in the liberal top ten, such as Detroit, San Francisco and Chicago, whereas many of the smaller urban areas such as Anaheim, Colorado Springs and Mesa are located on the conservative side. This further confirms that larger populated areas often contain more liberal voters, and that suburban areas tend to have a more even split between liberal and conservative votes.

Third Party Candidates

Third Party candidates played a less significant role in the 2004 election than they had in previous elections. In the cities which were investigated, the combined average percentage of all third party candidates garnered was a mere .9%. This was due to the seeming importance of this election as it was touted as the most important of our time. Also, the seeming divisiveness of issues like national security and Iraq pushed voters into either the Republican or Democratic camps. One of the dominant themes of both Republican and Democratic campaigns was that a vote for a third party was a vote for the opposition.

Third Party Vote Total

Third Party candidates were separated into liberal or conservative categories in the study. Below is a chart consisting of the candidates, their respective parties, their ideological stance, and the sum of votes in cities with a population over 100,000.

Table 9: Third Party Vote Totals for Cities with Populations of 100,000

Ideology	Candidate	Party	Vote Total
Conservative	Michael Badnarik	Libertarian Party	92,678
Liberal	Ralph Nader	Reform/Independent Party	65,627
Liberal	David Cobb	Green Party	29,194
Conservative	Michael Peroutka	Constitution Party	21,486
Liberal	Leonard Peltier	Peace and Freedom Party of California	11,181
Liberal	James Harris	Socialist Workers Party (surrogate nominee)[2]	456
Liberal	Walt Brown	Socialist Party USA	376
Conservative	Gene Admonson	Concerns of People (Prohibition) Party	269
Conservative	Thomas Harens	Christian Freedom Party	177
Liberal	Roger Calero	Socialist Workers Party	109
Liberal	John Parker	Workers World Party	100
Liberal	Bill Van Auken	Socialist Equality Party	33

Ballot Access

The number of votes that specific third party candidates received is not surprising. They are directly related to the amount of ballot access that candidates received. If a candidate was on the ballot in more states than they would most likely receive more votes. Michael Badnarik for example had ballot access in 48 states while a candidate like Gene Admonson had access to only two states' ballots. The difference is clear in the amount of votes that each garnered. There is also a difference between full ballot access with the names of the candidates on the actual ballots and write-in status. Below is a chart of the candidates with the number of states' ballots they had

---

[2] Roger Calero was not born in the United States and as a result ineligible for the presidency. Consequently he was banned from some state ballots. The Socialist Workers Party thus put the name of their 2000 presidential candidate (Harris) as a surrogate for the states that did not allow Calero on the ballot.

access to and where they were eligible as write-in candidates. The candidates are ordered by total votes received.

Table 10: Ballot Access in States

Candidate	Full Ballot Access (states)	Write-In Access (states)
Badnarik	48	0
Nader	35	9
Cobb	29	5
Peroutka	36	8
Peltier	1 (CA)	0
Harris/Calero[3]	14	0
Brown	8	4
Admonson	2	0
Falk	0	1 (TX)
Harens	1 (MN)	0
Parker	3	0
Van Auken	6	1

Cities with Highest Third Party Votes

The cities that had large third party votes were from states that were not battleground states. Not one of the top 25 cities with the largest third party votes included any states that were even closely contested in the 2004 Presidential election. The conclusion drawn from this is that voters in non-battleground states believed the election in their own states was already decided and did not feel that a vote for a third party would be a lost vote. Third party votes in this election were clearly protest votes and these votes were often cast in states where the election did not hang in the balance. This most likely is linked to the belief that the 2000 election was lost by Gore because of votes for Ralph Nader. The city whose state had the closest differential between Bush and Kerry was Kansas City, Missouri which still had a 7 % vote difference. Below is a

---

[3] Ibid.

chart of the 25 cities with the highest third party percentage. Even on this list the average

percentage that third parties gained was a mere 2%.

Table 11: Top Twenty-Five Cities with Strongest Third Party Voter Turnout

	City	State	Conservative Rank	Liberal Rank	Third Party % of Vote
1	Hartford	Connecticut	226	12	4.07%
2	Salt Lake City	Utah	143	95	3.77%
3	New Haven	Connecticut	223	15	2.88%
4	Buffalo	New York	212	25	2.86%
5	Anchorage	Alaska	24	215	2.61%
6	Provo	Utah	1	237	2.57%
7	Syracuse	New York	193	45	2.52%
8	West Valley City	Utah	21	220	2.32%
9	Cambridge	Massachusetts	230	8	2.25%
10	Waterbury	Connecticut	86	152	2.10%
11	Austin	Texas	145	93	2.06%
12	Rochester	New York	202	38	2.06%
13	Berkeley	California	235	3	2.05%
14	Providence	Rhode Island	215	22	1.83%
15	Spokane	Washington	94	143	1.75%
16	Pasadena	California	186	52	1.61%
17	Bridgeport	Connecticut	195	43	1.57%
18	Sunnyvale	California	176	62	1.56%
19	Costa Mesa	California	48	190	1.54%
20	Santa Rosa	California	181	57	1.54%
21	Abilene	Texas	3	235	1.52%
22	San Buenaventura	California	105	134	1.50%
23	Topeka	Kansas	73	164	1.49%
24	Knoxville	Tennessee	96	142	1.49%
25	Sioux Falls	South Dakota	50	188	1.48%

Cities with Lowest Third Party Votes

In contrast to the cities with high third party results, the lowest 25 cities are a mix of cities. Still there is a dominant pattern of cities in battleground states. Of the 25 cities, 16 of them were from Iowa, Florida, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. These states were hotly contested during the 2004 campaign. Florida, the site of the 2000 election controversy, accounted for 11 of the top 25 cities. In battleground states, voters were less likely to vote for a third party and more likely to vote for either one of the two major parties. Below is a chart of the 25 cities with the lowest third party vote percentages.

Table 12: Top Twenty-Five Cities with Weakest Third Party Voter Turnout[4]

	City	State	Conservative Rank	Liberal Rank	Third Party % of Vote
1	Springfield	Missouri	43	194	0.00%
2	Vancouver	Washington	72	165	0.00%
3	Winston-Salem	North Carolina	93	144	0.00%
4	Cedar Rapids	Iowa	109	129	0.00%
5	Des Moines	Iowa	141	97	0.00%
6	Tacoma	Washington	142	96	0.00%
7	Hialeah	Florida	4	234	0.07%
8	Miami	Florida	118	120	0.11%
9	Fort Worth	Texas	75	163	0.12%
10	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	220	18	0.14%
11	Coral Springs	Florida	120	118	0.14%
12	Fort Lauderdale	Florida	152	86	0.17%
13	Cape Coral	Florida	16	222	0.20%
14	Jacksonville	Florida	37	198	0.21%
15	Hollywood	Florida	165	73	0.22%
16	Fayetteville	North Carolina	110	128	0.22%
17	Toledo	Ohio	185	53	0.26%
18	Clearwater	Florida	20	217	0.27%
19	Erie	Pennsylvania	170	68	0.28%
20	Laredo	Texas	121	115	0.30%
21	Gary	Indiana	236	2	0.31%
22	Shreveport	Louisiana	84	156	0.32%

---

[4] Oklahoma is excluded because no 3rd party candidates were on the ballot.

23	Tampa	Florida	130	108	0.32%
24	St Petersburg	Florida	133	105	0.34%
25	Pembroke Pines	Florida	149	89	0.34%

Research Method

The goal of this research was to rank America's most liberal and conservative cities based on the voting returns of the 2004 United States presidential election. The Bay Area Center for Voting Research identified every American city with a population greater than 100,000 according to the 2000 Census, and obtained the election returns in each of these cities[5]. The researchers obtained information for the applicable cities located within each state by contacting the city recorder, city clerk, or other designated city official. In many instances, it was the recorder of the county in which that city was located that held the information by "precinct," or election district of a city. The votes were tabulated by combining the voting returns from all of the precincts located in a particular city.

Following the gathering of city voting returns, BACVR analyzed the political leanings of third party candidates who received more than 0.1% of the votes cast in a city so that they could be tabulated as liberal, conservative, or neutral. Cities were ranked based upon the percentage of residents who voted for George Bush and John Kerry, and eligible third party Presidential candidates also had their support tabulated. When analyzing the voting returns, votes for George W. Bush or other third party right-wing presidential candidates contributed to the city's conservative score, while votes for John Kerry or other left-wing presidential candidates contributed to the city's liberal score. The cities were then ordered into lists of top twenty-five conservative and top twenty-five liberal, for the purposes of drawing conclusions, anomalies, and trends in a more focused, concentrated manner. Researchers studied the demographic data,

---

[5] All cities with populations over 100,000 were examined with the exception of Wichita Falls, TX and Amarillo, TX who refused to provide voting results.

paying attention to such aspects as the city's median age, race composition, levels of education,

marriage percentages, household income, and percentage below the poverty line.

Appendix 1- All Cities Breakdown (Sorted alphabetically by city)

City	State	Total Population	Conservative % of Total Vote	Liberal % of Total Vote	Conservative Rank	Liberal Rank
Abilene	Texas	115,930	72.80	27.20	3	235
Akron	Ohio	217,074	29.26	70.74	190	48
Albuquerque	New Mexico	448,607	48.24	51.70	95	145
Alexandria	Virginia	128,283	32.94	67.06	175	63
Allentown	Pennsylvania	106,632	63.05	36.95	12	224
Anaheim	California	328,014	58.62	41.38	35	200
Anchorage	Alaska	260,283	60.87	38.89	24	215
Ann Arbor	Michigan	114,024	22.72	77.28	211	27
Arlington	Texas	332,969	62.52	37.48	14	223
Arvada	Colorado	102,153	54.27	46.47	61	174
Athens	Georgia	100,266	41.67	58.33	140	98
Atlanta	Georgia	416,474	24.60	75.40	207	31
Augusta	Georgia	195,182	43.33	56.67	128	110
Aurora	Colorado	276,393	37.49	62.48	161	77
Aurora	Illinois	142,990	43.46	56.54	125	113
Austin	Texas	656,652	40.67	59.33	145	93
Bakersfield	California	247,057	66.27	33.73	8	230
Baltimore	Maryland	651,154	17.20	82.80	224	14
Baton Rouge	Louisiana	227,818	54.59	45.16	58	181
Beaumont	Texas	113,866	43.45	56.55	127	111
Bellevue	Washington	109,569	0.00	0.00	139	99
Berkeley	California	102,743	7.24	92.76	235	3
Birmingham	Alabama	242,820	19.48	80.52	219	19
Boise City	Idaho	185,787	55.75	44.25	54	184
Boston	Massachusetts	589,141	21.89	78.11	214	24
Bridgeport	Connecticut	139,529	28.03	71.97	195	43
Brownsville	Texas	139,722	42.48	57.52	137	101
Buffalo	New York	292,648	21.93	78.07	212	25
Burbank	California	100,316	40.00	60.00	148	90
Cambridge	Massachusetts	101,355	13.39	86.61	230	8
Cape Coral	Florida	102,286	62.09	37.91	16	222
Carrollton	Texas	109,576	58.69	41.31	34	202
Cedar Rapids	Iowa	120,758	46.10	53.90	109	129
Chandler	Arizona	176,581	57.09	41.39	47	199

Charlotte	North Carolina	540,828	45.78	54.22	112	125
Chattanooga	Tennessee	155,554	48.87	51.13	89	149
Chesapeake	Virginia	199,184	57.62	42.38	41	195
Chicago	Illinois	2,896,016	18.72	81.28	221	17
Chula Vista	California	173,556	50.59	49.41	78	160
Cincinnati	Ohio	331,285	31.70	68.30	182	56
Clarksville	Tennessee	103,455	58.57	41.35	36	201
Clearwater	Florida	108,787	61.42	38.58	20	217
Cleveland	Ohio	478,403	16.54	83.46	227	11
Colorado Springs	Colorado	360,890	67.32	32.68	6	231
Columbia	South Carolina	116,278	38.29	61.71	155	82
Columbus	Georgia	185,781	48.60	51.40	91	147
Columbus	Ohio	711,470	37.65	62.35	160	78
Concord	California	121,780	38.18	61.82	158	79
Coral Springs	Florida	117,549	44.42	55.58	120	118
Corona	California	124,966	61.42	38.58	19	218
Corpus Christi	Texas	277,454	58.71	41.10	33	203
Costa Mesa	California	108,724	56.50	43.50	48	190
Dallas	Texas	1,188,580	24.95	75.05	206	32
Daly City	California	103,621	24.41	75.59	208	30
Dayton	Ohio	166,179	27.71	72.29	196	42
Denver	Colorado	554,636	29.68	70.32	189	49
Des Moines	Iowa	198,682	41.64	58.36	141	97
Detroit	Michigan	951,270	6.04	93.96	237	1
District of Columbia		572,059	9.59	90.41	234	4
Downey	California	107,323	43.03	56.97	132	106
Durham	North Carolina	187,035	31.88	67.88	179	61
El Monte	California	115,965	30.06	69.94	187	51
El Paso	Texas	563,662	43.85	56.15	123	116
Elizabeth	New Jersey	120,568	31.53	68.47	183	55
Erie	Pennsylvania	103,717	33.97	66.03	170	68
Escondido	California	133,559	64.04	35.96	11	226
Eugene	Oregon	137,893	31.47	68.53	184	54
Evansville	Indiana	121,582	54.33	45.52	60	179
Fayetteville	North Carolina	121,015	45.88	54.12	110	128
Flint	Michigan	124,943	16.47	83.53	228	10
Fontana	California	128,929	43.05	56.95	131	107
Fort Collins	Colorado	118,652	46.45	53.55	108	131
Fort Lauderdale	Florida	152,397	38.85	61.15	152	86
Fort Wayne	Indiana	205,727	57.53	42.47	44	193
Fort Worth	Texas	534,694	51.57	48.30	75	163
Fremont	California	203,413	32.96	67.04	174	64
Fresno	California	427,652	52.15	47.85	71	166
Fullerton	California	126,003	59.36	40.64	32	205
Garden Grove	California	165,196	61.80	38.20	17	221
Garland	Texas	215,768	59.91	40.09	29	209
Gary	Indiana	102,746	6.92	93.09	236	2

Gilbert	Arizona	109,697	66.83	31.78	7	232
Glendale	Arizona	218,812	57.93	40.43	38	207
Glendale	California	194,973	40.17	59.83	147	91
Grand Prairie	Texas	127,427	48.74	51.26	90	148
Grand Rapids	Michigan	197,800	43.97	56.03	122	117
Green Bay	Wisconsin	102,313	48.89	51.11	88	150
Greensboro	North Carolina	223,891	35.37	64.63	166	72
Hampton	Virginia	146,437	42.47	57.53	138	100
Hartford	Connecticut	121,578	16.64	83.36	226	12
Hayward	California	140,030	25.04	74.96	205	33
Henderson	Nevada	175,381	53.65	46.35	63	176
Hialeah	Florida	226,419	70.97	29.03	4	234
Hollywood	Florida	139,357	35.54	64.46	165	73
Honolulu	Hawaii	371,657	48.57	51.43	92	146
Houston	Texas	1,953,631	53.65	46.31	62	177
Huntington Beach	California	189,594	60.83	39.17	25	213
Huntsville	Alabama	158,216	47.68	52.32	100	138
Independence	Missouri	113,288	49.85	50.15	81	157
Indianapolis	Indiana	781,870	49.41	50.60	82	155
Inglewood	California	112,580	10.27	89.73	232	6
Irvine	California	143,072	52.94	47.06	68	169
Irving	Texas	191,615	54.97	45.03	56	182
Jackson	Mississippi	184,256	28.29	71.71	191	47
Jackson	Mississippi	184,256	28.29	71.71	192	46
Jacksonville	Florida	735,617	58.22	41.78	37	198
Jersey City	New Jersey	240,055	23.32	76.68	210	28
Joliet	Illinois	106,221	45.43	54.58	115	123
Kansas City	Kansas	146,866	32.00	68.00	177	60
Kansas City	Missouri	441,545	31.89	68.11	178	59
Knoxville	Tennessee	173,890	47.98	52.02	96	142
Lafayette	Louisiana	110,257	64.62	35.11	9	229
Lakewood	Colorado	144,126	49.23	50.83	85	153
Lancaster	California	118,718	60.24	39.76	26	212
Lansing	Michigan	119,128	33.38	66.62	172	67
Laredo	Texas	176,576	44.07	56.19	121	115
Las Vegas	Nevada	478,434	46.70	53.30	106	133
Lexington-Fayette	Kentucky	260,512	53.22	46.78	67	170
Lincoln	Nebraska	225,581	56.04	43.96	51	187
Little Rock	Arkansas	183,133	42.59	57.41	136	102
Livonia	Michigan	100,545	54.77	45.23	57	180
Long Beach	California	461,552	34.53	65.47	168	70
Los Angeles	California	3,694,820	26.44	73.56	200	37
Louisville	Kentucky	256,231	49.03	50.97	87	151
Lowell	Massachusetts	105,167	36.87	63.13	162	76
Lubbock	Texas	199,564	74.81	24.92	2	236
Madison	Wisconsin	208,054	25.08	74.92	204	34
Manchester	New Hampshire	107,006	49.91	50.09	80	159

McAllen	Texas	106,414	53.42	46.48	65	173
Memphis	Tennessee	650,100	27.49	72.51	199	39
Mesa	Arizona	396,375	62.59	35.83	13	227
Mesquite	Texas	124,523	56.01	43.99	52	186
Miami	Florida	362,470	44.61	55.39	118	120
Milwaukee	Wisconsin	596,974	27.59	72.41	198	40
Minneapolis	Minnesota	382,618	20.97	78.72	216	23
Mobile	Alabama	198,915	52.22	47.78	70	167
Modesto	California	188,856	56.24	43.76	49	189
Montgomery	Alabama	201,568	49.39	50.61	83	154
Moreno Valley	California	142,381	46.92	53.08	104	135
Naperville	Illinois	128,358	57.37	42.63	45	192
Nashville-Davidson	Tennessee	545,524	44.81	55.19	117	121
New Haven	Connecticut	123,626	18.58	81.42	223	15
New Orleans	Louisiana	484,674	21.93	77.83	213	26
New York	New York	8,008,278	20.89	79.11	217	21
Newark	New Jersey	273,546	13.23	86.77	231	7
Newport News	Virginia	180,150	47.93	52.07	99	139
Norfolk	Virginia	234,403	38.21	61.79	157	80
North Las Vegas	Nevada	115,488	38.50	61.50	154	84
Norwalk	California	103,298	36.78	63.22	163	75
Oakland	California	399,484	9.72	90.28	233	5
Oceanside	California	161,029	57.19	42.81	46	191
Oklahoma City	Oklahoma	506,132	61.25	38.75	22	216
Omaha	Nebraska	390,007	55.28	44.72	55	183
Ontario	California	158,007	47.49	52.51	102	137
Orange	California	128,821	64.18	35.82	10	228
Orlando	Florida	185,951	42.64	57.31	134	104
Overland Park	Kansas	149,080	60.98	38.96	23	214
Oxnard	California	170,358	38.66	61.34	153	85
Palmdale	California	116,670	51.19	48.81	77	161
Pasadena	California	133,936	30.91	69.09	186	52
Pasadena	Texas	141,674	57.64	42.36	40	196
Paterson	New Jersey	149,222	17.06	82.94	225	13
Pembroke Pines	Florida	137,427	39.23	60.77	149	89
Peoria	Arizona	108,364	62.28	36.18	15	225
Peoria	Illinois	112,936	47.94	52.06	97	141
Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	1,517,550	19.46	80.54	220	18
Phoenix	Arizona	1,321,045	51.38	46.51	76	172
Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania	334,563	25.42	74.58	203	35
Plano	Texas	222,030	68.45	31.55	5	233
Pomona	California	149,473	33.36	66.64	173	66
Portland	Oregon	529,121	23.96	76.04	209	29
Portsmouth	Virginia	100,565	38.93	61.07	151	87
Providence	Rhode Island	173,618	21.23	78.77	215	22
Provo	Utah	105,166	86.00	14.00	1	237
Pueblo	Colorado	102,121	46.55	53.31	107	132

Raleigh	North Carolina	276,093	39.06	60.94	150	88
Rancho Cucamonga	California	127,743	59.97	40.03	28	210
Reno	Nevada	180,480	47.52	53.77	101	130
Richmond	Virginia	197,790	29.74	70.26	188	50
Riverside	California	255,166	52.69	47.31	69	168
Rochester	New York	219,773	26.09	72.82	202	38
Rockford	Illinois	150,115	45.53	54.47	114	124
Sacramento	California	407,018	35.07	64.93	167	71
Salem	Oregon	136,924	47.93	52.07	98	140
Salinas	California	151,060	38.28	61.72	156	81
Salt Lake City	Utah	181,743	41.14	58.60	143	95
San Antonio	Texas	1,144,646	53.54	46.46	64	175
San Bernadino	California	185,401	43.21	56.79	129	109
San Buenaventura	California	100,916	46.75	53.25	105	134
San Diego	California	1,223,400	44.51	55.49	119	119
San Francisco	California	776,733	15.77	84.23	229	9
San Jose	California	894,943	36.26	63.74	164	74
Santa Ana	California	337,977	45.16	54.84	116	122
Santa Clarita	California	151,088	59.42	40.58	31	206
Santa Rosa	California	147,595	31.76	68.24	181	57
Savannah	Georgia	131,510	34.06	65.94	169	69
Scottsdale	Arizona	202,705	57.55	40.78	42	204
Seattle	Washington	563,374	0.00	0.00	222	16
Shreveport	Louisiana	200,145	49.30	50.48	84	156
Simi Valley	California	111,351	61.44	38.56	18	219
Sioux Falls	South Dakota	123,975	56.13	43.87	50	188
South Bend	Indiana	107,789	38.05	61.68	159	83
Spokane	Washington	195,629	48.26	51.74	94	143
Springfield	Illinois	111,454	54.36	45.65	59	178
Springfield	Massachusetts	152,082	28.09	71.91	194	44
Springfield	Missouri	151,580	57.55	42.45	43	194
St Petersburg	Florida	248,232	42.71	57.29	133	105
St. Louis	Missouri	348,189	19.70	80.30	218	20
St. Paul	Minnesota	287,151	26.18	73.58	201	36
Stamford	Connecticut	117,083	40.41	59.59	146	92
Sterling Heights	Michigan	124,471	51.69	48.31	74	162
Stockton	California	243,771	43.46	56.54	126	112
Sunnyvale	California	131,760	32.48	67.52	176	62
Syracuse	New York	147,306	28.15	71.85	193	45
Tacoma	Washington	193,556	0.00	0.00	142	96
Tallahassee	Florida	150,624	33.76	66.65	171	65
Tampa	Florida	303,447	43.10	56.90	130	108
Tempe	Arizona	158,625	45.77	54.22	113	126
Thousand Oaks	California	117,005	55.93	44.07	53	185
Toledo	Ohio	313,619	31.35	68.65	185	53
Topeka	Kansas	122,377	51.72	48.28	73	164
Torrance	California	137,946	53.39	46.61	66	171

Tucson	Arizona	486,699	47.13	52.55	103	136
Tulsa	Oklahoma	393,049	60.21	39.79	27	211
Vallejo	California	116,760	27.59	72.41	197	41
Vancouver	Washington	143,560	51.90	48.10	72	165
Virginia Beach	Virginia	425,257	40.83	59.17	144	94
Waco	Texas	113,726	57.81	42.19	39	197
Warren	Michigan	138,247	43.69	56.31	124	114
Waterbury	Connecticut	107,271	49.07	50.93	86	152
West Covina	California	105,080	42.61	57.39	135	103
West Valley City	Utah	108,896	61.31	38.44	21	220
Westminster	Colorado	100,940	49.92	50.11	79	158
Wichita	Kansas	344,284	59.57	40.43	30	208
Winston-Salem	North Carolina	185,776	48.29	51.71	93	144
Worcester	Massachusetts	177,648	31.80	68.20	180	58
Yonkers	New York	196,086	45.79	54.21	111	127

Appendix 2- All Cities; Conservative Rankings

Rank	City	State
1	Provo	Utah
2	Lubbock	Texas
3	Abilene	Texas
4	Hialeah	Florida
5	Plano	Texas
6	Colorado Springs	Colorado
7	Gilbert	Arizona
8	Bakersfield	California
9	Lafayette	Louisiana
10	Orange	California
11	Escondido	California
12	Allentown	Pennsylvania
13	Mesa	Arizona
14	Arlington	Texas
15	Peoria	Arizona
16	Cape Coral	Florida
17	Garden Grove	California
18	Simi Valley	California
19	Corona	California
20	Clearwater	Florida
21	West Valley City	Utah
22	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
23	Overland Park	Kansas
24	Anchorage	Alaska
25	Huntington Beach	California
26	Lancaster	California
27	Tulsa	Oklahoma
28	Rancho Cucamonga	California
29	Garland	Texas

30	Wichita	Kansas
31	Santa Clarita	California
32	Fullerton	California
33	Corpus Christi	Texas
34	Carrollton	Texas
35	Anaheim	California
36	Clarksville	Tennessee
37	Jacksonville	Florida
38	Glendale	Arizona
39	Waco	Texas
40	Pasadena	Texas
41	Chesapeake	Virginia
42	Scottsdale	Arizona
43	Springfield	Missouri
44	Fort Wayne	Indiana
45	Naperville	Illinois
46	Oceanside	California
47	Chandler	Arizona
48	Costa Mesa	California
49	Modesto	California
50	Sioux Falls	South Dakota
51	Lincoln	Nebraska
52	Mesquite	Texas
53	Thousand Oaks	California
54	Boise City	Idaho
55	Omaha	Nebraska
56	Irving	Texas
57	Livonia	Michigan
58	Baton Rouge	Louisiana
59	Springfield	Illinois
60	Evansville	Indiana
61	Arvada	Colorado
62	Houston	Texas
63	Henderson	Nevada
64	San Antonio	Texas
65	McAllen	Texas
66	Torrance	California
67	Lexington-Fayette	Kentucky
68	Irvine	California
69	Riverside	California
70	Mobile	Alabama
71	Fresno	California
72	Vancouver	Washington
73	Topeka	Kansas
74	Sterling Heights	Michigan
75	Fort Worth	Texas
76	Phoenix	Arizona
77	Palmdale	California

78	Chula Vista	California
79	Westminster	Colorado
80	Manchester	New Hampshire
81	Independence	Missouri
82	Indianapolis	Indiana
83	Montgomery	Alabama
84	Shreveport	Louisiana
85	Lakewood	Colorado
86	Waterbury	Connecticut
87	Louisville	Kentucky
88	Green Bay	Wisconsin
89	Chattanooga	Tennessee
90	Grand Prairie	Texas
91	Columbus	Georgia
92	Honolulu	Hawaii
93	Winston-Salem	North Carolina
94	Spokane	Washington
95	Albuquerque	New Mexico
96	Knoxville	Tennessee
97	Peoria	Illinois
98	Salem	Oregon
99	Newport News	Virginia
100	Huntsville	Alabama
101	Reno	Nevada
102	Ontario	California
103	Tucson	Arizona
104	Moreno Valley	California
105	San Buenaventura	California
106	Las Vegas	Nevada
107	Pueblo	Colorado
108	Fort Collins	Colorado
109	Cedar Rapids	Iowa
110	Fayetteville	North Carolina
111	Yonkers	New York
112	Charlotte	North Carolina
113	Tempe	Arizona
114	Rockford	Illinois
115	Joliet	Illinois
116	Santa Ana	California
117	Nashville-Davidson	Tennessee
118	Miami	Florida
119	San Diego	California
120	Coral Springs	Florida
121	Laredo	Texas
122	Grand Rapids	Michigan
123	El Paso	Texas
124	Warren	Michigan

125	Aurora	Illinois
126	Stockton	California
127	Beaumont	Texas
128	Augusta	Georgia
129	San Bernadino	California
130	Tampa	Florida
131	Fontana	California
132	Downey	California
133	St Petersburg	Florida
134	Orlando	Florida
135	West Covina	California
136	Little Rock	Arkansas
137	Brownsville	Texas
138	Hampton	Virginia
139	Bellevue	Washington
140	Athens	Georgia
141	Des Moines	Iowa
142	Tacoma	Washington
143	Salt Lake City	Utah
144	Virginia Beach	Virginia
145	Austin	Texas
146	Stamford	Connecticut
147	Glendale	California
148	Burbank	California
149	Pembroke Pines	Florida
150	Raleigh	North Carolina
151	Portsmouth	Virginia
152	Fort Lauderdale	Florida
153	Oxnard	California
154	North Las Vegas	Nevada
155	Columbia	South Carolina
156	Salinas	California
157	Norfolk	Virginia
158	Concord	California
159	South Bend	Indiana
160	Columbus	Ohio
161	Aurora	Colorado
162	Lowell	Massachusetts
163	Norwalk	California
164	San Jose	California
165	Hollywood	Florida
166	Greensboro	North Carolina
167	Sacramento	California
168	Long Beach	California
169	Savannah	Georgia
170	Erie	Pennsylvania
171	Tallahassee	Florida
172	Lansing	Michigan

173	Pomona	California
174	Fremont	California
175	Alexandria	Virginia
176	Sunnyvale	California
177	Kansas City	Kansas
178	Kansas City	Missouri
179	Durham	North Carolina
180	Worcester	Massachusetts
181	Santa Rosa	California
182	Cincinnati	Ohio
183	Elizabeth	New Jersey
184	Eugene	Oregon
185	Toledo	Ohio
186	Pasadena	California
187	El Monte	California
188	Richmond	Virginia
189	Denver	Colorado
190	Akron	Ohio
191	Jackson	Mississippi
192	Jackson	Mississippi
193	Syracuse	New York
194	Springfield	Massachusetts
195	Bridgeport	Connecticut
196	Dayton	Ohio
197	Vallejo	California
198	Milwaukee	Wisconsin
199	Memphis	Tennessee
200	Los Angeles	California
201	St. Paul	Minnesota
202	Rochester	New York
203	Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania
204	Madison	Wisconsin
205	Hayward	California
206	Dallas	Texas
207	Atlanta	Georgia
208	Daly City	California
209	Portland	Oregon
210	Jersey City	New Jersey
211	Ann Arbor	Michigan
212	Buffalo	New York
213	New Orleans	Louisiana
214	Boston	Massachusetts
215	Providence	Rhode Island
216	Minneapolis	Minnesota
217	New York	New York
218	St. Louis	Missouri
219	Birmingham	Alabama
220	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania

221	Chicago	Illinois
222	Seattle	Washington
223	New Haven	Connecticut
224	Baltimore	Maryland
225	Paterson	New Jersey
226	Hartford	Connecticut
227	Cleveland	Ohio
228	Flint	Michigan
229	San Francisco	California
230	Cambridge	Massachusetts
231	Newark	New Jersey
232	Inglewood	California
233	Oakland	California
234	District of Columbia	
235	Berkeley	California
236	Gary	Indiana
237	Detroit	Michigan

Appendix 3- All Cities; Liberal Rankings

Rank	City	State
1	Detroit	Michigan
2	Gary	Indiana
3	Berkeley	California
4	District of Columbia	
5	Oakland	California
6	Inglewood	California
7	Newark	New Jersey
8	Cambridge	Massachusetts
9	San Francisco	California
10	Flint	Michigan
11	Cleveland	Ohio
12	Hartford	Connecticut
13	Paterson	New Jersey
14	Baltimore	Maryland
15	New Haven	Connecticut
16	Seattle	Washington
17	Chicago	Illinois
18	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania
19	Birmingham	Alabama
20	St. Louis	Missouri
21	New York	New York
22	Providence	Rhode Island
23	Minneapolis	Minnesota
24	Boston	Massachusetts

25	Buffalo	New York
26	New Orleans	Louisiana
27	Ann Arbor	Michigan
28	Jersey City	New Jersey
29	Portland	Oregon
30	Daly City	California
31	Atlanta	Georgia
32	Dallas	Texas
33	Hayward	California
34	Madison	Wisconsin
35	Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania
36	St. Paul	Minnesota
37	Los Angeles	California
38	Rochester	New York
39	Memphis	Tennessee
40	Milwaukee	Wisconsin
41	Vallejo	California
42	Dayton	Ohio
43	Bridgeport	Connecticut
44	Springfield	Massachusetts
45	Syracuse	New York
46	Jackson	Mississippi
47	Jackson	Mississippi
48	Akron	Ohio
49	Denver	Colorado
50	Richmond	Virginia
51	El Monte	California
52	Pasadena	California
53	Toledo	Ohio
54	Eugene	Oregon
55	Elizabeth	New Jersey
56	Cincinnati	Ohio
57	Santa Rosa	California
58	Worcester	Massachusetts
59	Kansas City	Missouri
60	Kansas City	Kansas
61	Durham	North Carolina
62	Sunnyvale	California
63	Alexandria	Virginia
64	Fremont	California
65	Tallahassee	Florida
66	Pomona	California
67	Lansing	Michigan
68	Erie	Pennsylvania
69	Savannah	Georgia
70	Long Beach	California
71	Sacramento	California
72	Greensboro	North Carolina

73	Hollywood	Florida
74	San Jose	California
75	Norwalk	California
76	Lowell	Massachusetts
77	Aurora	Colorado
78	Columbus	Ohio
79	Concord	California
80	Norfolk	Virginia
81	Salinas	California
82	Columbia	South Carolina
83	South Bend	Indiana
84	North Las Vegas	Nevada
85	Oxnard	California
86	Fort Lauderdale	Florida
87	Portsmouth	Virginia
88	Raleigh	North Carolina
89	Pembroke Pines	Florida
90	Burbank	California
91	Glendale	California
92	Stamford	Connecticut
93	Austin	Texas
94	Virginia Beach	Virginia
95	Salt Lake City	Utah
96	Tacoma	Washington
97	Des Moines	Iowa
98	Athens	Georgia
99	Bellevue	Washington
100	Hampton	Virginia
101	Brownsville	Texas
102	Little Rock	Arkansas
103	West Covina	California
104	Orlando	Florida
105	St Petersburg	Florida
106	Downey	California
107	Fontana	California
108	Tampa	Florida
109	San Bernadino	California
110	Augusta	Georgia
111	Beaumont	Texas
112	Stockton	California
113	Aurora	Illinois
114	Warren	Michigan
115	Laredo	Texas
116	El Paso	Texas
117	Grand Rapids	Michigan
118	Coral Springs	Florida
119	San Diego	California
120	Miami	Florida

121	Nashville-Davidson	Tennessee
122	Santa Ana	California
123	Joliet	Illinois
124	Rockford	Illinois
125	Charlotte	North Carolina
126	Tempe	Arizona
127	Yonkers	New York
128	Fayetteville	North Carolina
129	Cedar Rapids	Iowa
130	Reno	Nevada
131	Fort Collins	Colorado
132	Pueblo	Colorado
133	Las Vegas	Nevada
134	San Buenaventura	California
135	Moreno Valley	California
136	Tucson	Arizona
137	Ontario	California
138	Huntsville	Alabama
139	Newport News	Virginia
140	Salem	Oregon
141	Peoria	Illinois
142	Knoxville	Tennessee
143	Spokane	Washington
144	Winston-Salem	North Carolina
145	Albuquerque	New Mexico
146	Honolulu	Hawaii
147	Columbus	Georgia
148	Grand Prairie	Texas
149	Chattanooga	Tennessee
150	Green Bay	Wisconsin
151	Louisville	Kentucky
152	Waterbury	Connecticut
153	Lakewood	Colorado
154	Montgomery	Alabama
155	Indianapolis	Indiana
156	Shreveport	Louisiana
157	Independence	Missouri
158	Westminster	Colorado
159	Manchester	New Hampshire
160	Chula Vista	California
161	Palmdale	California
162	Sterling Heights	Michigan
163	Fort Worth	Texas
164	Topeka	Kansas
165	Vancouver	Washington
166	Fresno	California
167	Mobile	Alabama

168	Riverside	California
169	Irvine	California
170	Lexington-Fayette	Kentucky
171	Torrance	California
172	Phoenix	Arizona
173	McAllen	Texas
174	Arvada	Colorado
175	San Antonio	Texas
176	Henderson	Nevada
177	Houston	Texas
178	Springfield	Illinois
179	Evansville	Indiana
180	Livonia	Michigan
181	Baton Rouge	Louisiana
182	Irving	Texas
183	Omaha	Nebraska
184	Boise City	Idaho
185	Thousand Oaks	California
186	Mesquite	Texas
187	Lincoln	Nebraska
188	Sioux Falls	South Dakota
189	Modesto	California
190	Costa Mesa	California
191	Oceanside	California
192	Naperville	Illinois
193	Fort Wayne	Indiana
194	Springfield	Missouri
195	Chesapeake	Virginia
196	Pasadena	Texas
197	Waco	Texas
198	Jacksonville	Florida
199	Chandler	Arizona
200	Anaheim	California
201	Clarksville	Tennessee
202	Carrollton	Texas
203	Corpus Christi	Texas
204	Scottsdale	Arizona
205	Fullerton	California
206	Santa Clarita	California
207	Glendale	Arizona
208	Wichita	Kansas
209	Garland	Texas
210	Rancho Cucamonga	California
211	Tulsa	Oklahoma
212	Lancaster	California
213	Huntington Beach	California
214	Overland Park	Kansas

215	Anchorage	Alaska
216	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
217	Clearwater	Florida
218	Corona	California
219	Simi Valley	California
220	West Valley City	Utah
221	Garden Grove	California
222	Cape Coral	Florida
223	Arlington	Texas
224	Allentown	Pennsylvania
225	Peoria	Arizona
226	Escondido	California
227	Mesa	Arizona
228	Orange	California
229	Lafayette	Louisiana
230	Bakersfield	California
231	Colorado Springs	Colorado
232	Gilbert	Arizona
233	Plano	Texas
234	Hialeah	Florida
235	Abilene	Texas
236	Lubbock	Texas
237	Provo	Utah

Appendix 4- Demographic Information for Top Twenty-Five Conservative Cities

(From most to least conservative)

City	Education		Marriage Rate		Language	Economic Status	
	% Degrees		% Married		% Speak Foreign Language at Home	Median Household Income ($)	%. Below Poverty Line
	High School	Bachelors +	Male	Female			
Provo, UT	89.4	35.7	49.2	42.9	17	34313	26.8
Lubbock, TX	79.5	26.6	51.4	47.6	22.3	31844	18.4
Abilene, TX	79.1	22	54.1	53.9	15.7	33007	15.4
Hialeah, FL	49.8	10.4	72.1	51.6	92.6	29492	18.6
Plano, TX	93.9	53.3	67.8	65.2	22.1	36514	4.3
Colorado Springs, CO	90.9	33.6	58.4	54.5	11.7	45081	8.7
Gilbert, AZ	94.3	36.1	68.1	65.3	12.4	68032	3.2
Bakersfield, CA	75.9	19.3	57.4	51.7	27.1	39982	18
Lafayette, LA	81.7	31.3	51.9	46.3	16.3	35996	16.3
Orange, CA	80.4	28	59.1	54.7	36.7	58994	10
Escondido, CA	72.6	20.1	57.1	53	38.1	42567	13.4
Allentown, PN	72.7	15.4	48	42.3	27.8	32016	18.5

City	High School	Bachelors +	Male	Female	% Foreign Language Spoken at Home	Median Household Income ($)	% Below Poverty Line
Mesa, AZ	84.7	21.6	57.2	54	18.8	42817	8.9
Arlington, TX	84.9	30.4	57.3	55.1	24.2	47622	9.9
Peoria, AZ	88.3	21.7	66.3	60.4	13.6	52199	5.3
Cape Coral, FL	85.5	17.5	65.4	61.2	13.4	43410	7
Garden Grove, CA	67.8	15	56	54.8	59.2	47754	13.9
Simi Valley, CA	86.9	24.9	59.6	58.5	21	70370	5.8
Corona, CA	80.6	22	62.1	58.5	35.8	59615	8.3
Clearwater, FL	84.4	23.9	52	46	16.6	36494	12.3
West Valley City, UT	78.4	11.4	56.8	56.7	22.5	45773	8.7
Oklahoma City, OK	81.3	24	53.4	49.2	13.4	34947	16
Overland Park, KA	95.8	52.1	64.4	58.4	10.1	62116	3.2
Anchorage, AK	90.3	28.9	53.6	53.8	13.6	41994	12.4
Huntington Beach, CA	89.6	36	53.3	52.4	21.9	64824	6.6
Lancaster, CA	78.3	15.8	50.6	48.2	21.7	41127	16.4
Mean	73.568	25.944	39.092	33.532	26.42	34381.32	22.252
Median	72.7	19.1	38.8	32.7	27.5	32778	22.9
US Average	80.4	24.4	56.7	52.1	17.9	41994	12.4

Appendix 5- Demographic Information for Top Twenty Five Liberal Cities

(From most to least liberal)

City	Education		Marriage Rate		Language	Economic Status	
	% Degrees		% Married		% Foreign Language Spoken at Home	Median Household Income ($)	% Below Poverty Line
	High School	Bachelors +	Male	Female			
Detroit, MI	69.6	11	35	28	9.2	29526	26.1
Gary, IN	72.7	10.1	38.8	30.4	6.4	27195	25.8
Berkeley, CA	92.2	64.3	34.3	32.2	27.5	44485	20
District of Columbia	77.8	39.1	32.8	27.5	16.8	40127	20.2
Oakland, CA	73.9	30.9	43.3	37.5	36.8	40055	19.4
Inglewood, CA	63.7	13.3	46.9	38.3	46.8	34269	22.5
Newark, NJ	57.9	9	39.1	32.1	42.6	26913	28.4
Cambridge, MA	89.5	65.1	36.2	33.3	31.2	47979	12.9
San Francisco, CA	81.2	45	38.5	38.8	45.7	55221	11.3
Flint, Michigan	74.5	11.3	39.4	32.7	4.4	28015	26.4
Cleveland, Ohio	69	11.4	38.1	32.1	11.9	25825	26.3
Hartford, CT	60.8	12.4	35.6	29.9	46.5	24820	30.6
Paterson, NJ	58.5	8.2	43.8	37.7	56.1	32778	22.2
Baltimore, MD	68.4	19.1	35.9	28.8	7.8	30078	22.9
New Haven, CT	73.6	27.1	39.1	32.7	28.4	35950	24.4

Seattle, WA	89.5	47.2	40.4	39.3	20.2	45736	11.8
Chicago, IL	71.8	25.5	42.7	37.4	35.5	38625	19.6
Philadelphia, PA	71.2	17.9	41	33.3	17.7	30746	22.9
Birmingham, AL	75.5	18.5	43.3	33.7	4.7	26735	24.7
St. Louis, MO	71.3	19.1	35.5	30.2	8.6	27156	24.6
New York, NY	72.3	27.4	47.4	39.9	47.6	38293	21.2
Minneapolis, MN	85	37.4	37.2	34.8	19.3	37974	16.9
Providence, RI	65.8	24.4	37.9	32.5	43	26867	29.1
Boston, MA	78.9	35.6	35.9	31.5	33.4	39629	19.5
Buffalo, NY	74.6	18.3	39.2	33.7	12.4	24536	26.6
Mean	73.568	25.944	39.092	33.532	26.42	34381.32	22.252
Median	72.7	19.1	38.8	32.7	27.5	32778	22.9
US Average	80.4	24.4	56.7	52.1	17.9	41994	12.4