

The Rebuilding of Lower Manhattan: As Plans Progress, Lower Manhattan Residents Evaluate

A Pace Poll Survey Research Study

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By Jonathan Trichter
Director, Pace Poll

&

Chris Paige
Assistant Director, Pace Poll

The Pace Poll is an independent center for survey research on social, political, and economic issues. By routinely measuring regional and national public opinion on both long-standing and timely topics of civic life, the Pace Poll will help public opinion play a more visible role in the open discussion of current affairs. This is an important part of the democratic process, and the Pace Poll will contribute to the public discourse by publishing accurate and meaningful opinion studies on matters of common concern.

I. INTRODUCTION

During the Renaissance, Italians believed that civic involvement in the planning of public works helped their cities transcend mere functionality to capture the hopes, dreams, and imaginations of their citizens. The results of their civic inclusion, for those who haven't been to Italy, include some of humanity's most enduring architectural accomplishments.

To be sure, New York is larger and less homogenous than the average Renaissance city-state – realities that make civic input in the rebuilding of Lower Manhattan a more difficult proposition. But modernity possesses the technical means to canvass the *vox populi*, and properly administered survey research is the best tool today's social scientists have to measure collective thought and behavior. As a result, the Pace Poll Lower Manhattan Rebuilding Tracking Study represents the best means to document how downtown residents respond to the shifting landscape of their neighborhood over time.

II. THE PACE POLL TRACKING STUDY ON LOWER MANHATTAN REBUILDING

No analysis of any survey is complete without disclaimers. Traditional methodological specifications along with their unavoidable error margins can be found at the end of this report (and the authors' opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect those of Pace University or its administration). But this introductory word is meant to point out how, in several critical respects, this Pace Poll tracking study is distinct from other survey research on the subject of downtown rebuilding.

First, previously published polls have asked a number of forced-choice questions that offer respondents only a narrow range of options. As a result, they assess only the public's opinion regarding projects under consideration. In contrast, the Pace Poll

includes more open-ended questions designed to measure public attentiveness to critical rebuilding issues in a non-empirical way. As a result, the Pace Poll downtown rebuilding study extends beyond specific rebuilding issues and measures civic mindedness – or the level of community understanding and participation – connected to the rebuilding effort.

Next, the Pace Poll asks questions that make few assumptions about the public’s prior knowledge, that offer few clues to guide respondents’ answers, and that afford respondents wide latitude to express opinions outside the range of planning ideas currently up for discussion. Thus, the Pace Poll can assess public perceptions *and misperceptions* regarding rebuilding, its officials, and the public’s role in the process.

Also, practical constraints ensure that only some of the various rebuilding proposals can come to completion. Consequently, the Pace Poll asks respondents to rate the importance of the most significant proposals – a technique that provides decision-makers with the public’s rebuilding priorities.

Finally, the Pace Poll employs a rotating panel sample for this ongoing study. Having chosen a random selection of households for the benchmark survey in August of 2003, we re-interviewed a number of the same respondents in this March tracking poll. Future samples in all successive tracking polls will comprise a mix of repeat respondents from the previous survey and new ones. This sample design expands our ability to study change over time, allowing for assessments of shifts in attitudes and behavior both at the aggregate and individual levels.

Pace University believes that public participation in the rebuilding process will enhance the splendor of Lower Manhattan’s rebirth, as it did for 15th Century Italy’s. With this ongoing tracking study (to be fielded every six months through the end of rebuilding), the Pace Poll intends to give voice to downtown residents – the ultimate stakeholders in Lower Manhattan’s rebirth – whose highest aspirations could help transform their neighborhoods into an approximation of the Renaissance ideal.

III. A BRIEF NOTE ON DEMOGRAPHICS

To help in the analysis, Lower Manhattan residents were divided into a number of demographic categories, including ones based on answers to questions from the survey. The most important in this latter category of psychographic groupings are the following¹:

- The “Super-informed,” who say they pay rapt attention to rebuilding news and developments; and
- The “Active” citizens, who involve themselves in key components of the rebuilding effort that are open to public participation.

¹ When cited in the course of this analysis, the demographic and psychographic groups will be redefined for clarity.

Additionally, this tracking poll incorporates questions related to cultural activities in order to gauge the level at which downtown residents frequent local cultural attractions and to determine what kinds of venues they would most like to see move downtown. Respondents were divided into two categories in order to distinguish among those who attend cultural events and those who do not. Henceforth, “Yankees” will refer to people who visit a cultural landmark or attend an artistic performance once a month or more. A little less than a quarter (23%) of the downtown population qualifies as “Yankees.” Our other behavioral grouping will cover those who take advantage of their surrounding cultural amenities at a less frequent rate. Seventy-eight percent of downtown residents fall into this latter category and for the purpose of this analysis will be referred to as “Red Sox.”

As mentioned in the above section, the Pace Poll surveyed a small, representative number of the same respondents interviewed in August of last year. While our overall findings come from a new sample of the resident population living below 14th Street, interviewing a small group of downtown residents again lets us examine changes in opinions at the individual level as well. These “repeat interviews” permit us to highlight places where individual opinions shifted over the course of the last six months.

IV. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

If democratic government derives its lawful authority from the consent of the governed, then someone must determine what the governed have consented to. Putting principle into practice, the Pace Poll launched this rebuilding study to measure periodically public opinion in Lower Manhattan on the downtown rebuilding effort. The results should enable rebuilding leaders to hear the *vox populi* unobstructed by intermediaries. Here are some of the highlights:

- Public optimism surrounding the rebuilding effort is increasing: 56% of residents now say that rebuilding is on the right track, up 6% since August 2003; meanwhile, just 20% now say that rebuilding is off on the wrong track, down 5% since August.
- Residents prefer New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg’s leadership on rebuilding matters, and a plurality (34%) believes Mayor Bloomberg actually is responsible for rebuilding. The Mayor receives a net favorable rating of 33% for his rebuilding performance, which is up 12% since August 2003, against a net 27% negative rating, which is down 6% since August.
- New York State Governor George Pataki receives an overall negative rating. Forty-one percent disapprove of his rebuilding performance, while 18% approve. That represents a 5% decline since August 2003.

- Residents are losing confidence in the effort to protect Lower Manhattan from future terrorist attacks. Presently,² 58% of residents say protecting Lower Manhattan from terrorism is going well, down 7% from August 2003, while 24% now say the protection of Lower Manhattan from future attacks is proceeding poorly, up 3% from August.
 - Residents increasingly attribute primary responsibility for protecting Lower Manhattan from terrorism to the Federal government; but the erosion in public confidence in the homeland security effort likely reflects an erosion in public confidence in the Federal government, not New York City government.
- Similarly, public confidence in the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is strikingly low; residents are more than twice as likely to “never” trust the EPA as they are to “just about always” trust the EPA. Indeed, almost 3 out of 4 residents distrust the Agency.
- Nevertheless, the public’s distrust of the EPA has not translated into an overwhelming interest in 9/11-related health issues; for example, residents remain largely unaware of the World Trade Center Health Registry.
- Public commentary expressed in open forums may not accurately reflect public opinion. This is to say that, demographically, downtown’s chattering class is different from its neighbors. In general, they tend to be wealthier, better educated, and more pessimistic about rebuilding than their peers.
 - The most loquacious Lower Manhattan residents also have different rebuilding priorities: they are less likely to prioritize bread-and-butter issues (like improving public schools and increasing economic development), and more likely to prioritize cultural amenities (like preserving open space). Of course, these are not the only differences between these voluble residents and their peers.
- Emphasizing the prominence of all things economic, downtown residents rank “creating new jobs and economic development” as the most important dimension of the rebuilding effort, even over issues more conventionally associated with downtown redevelopment.
- Although the Pace Poll’s benchmark survey detected some skepticism toward the World Trade Center site memorial selection process, our tracking survey found widespread satisfaction with the winning design.
 - Considering residents’ conflicting desires to honor rescue workers while simultaneously keeping the victims’ names together, the plan to list the

² This survey was completed before the incident in Madrid on March 11, 2004.

names randomly while including service shields next to rescue workers' names appears to be an acceptable compromise.

- Residents share the architectural community's enthusiasm for Santiago Calatrava's design for the new permanent PATH station at the World Trade Center site.
- Lower Manhattan residents are much less likely to anticipate moving than other New Yorkers.
 - Not surprisingly, therefore, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation's (LMDC) residential grant program had little influence on residents' decision to live in Lower Manhattan after September 11.
- When provided with the best arguments in layperson's terms for and against several proposed transportation projects, considered opinions can be surprising.
 - Residents oppose the proposed new rail link connecting Lower Manhattan to Kennedy Airport.
 - Residents oppose the plan to re-route a portion of West Street through a tunnel.
- When provided with the best arguments in layperson's terms for and against several proposals to expand residential housing in Lower Manhattan, again considered opinions can be surprising.
 - Residents want to use Federal rebuilding aid to extend rent protections for tenants in Lower Manhattan.
 - Residents oppose the use of Liberty Bonds as currently implemented to finance new housing projects.
- Among the cultural institutions thus far singled out by the LMDC as potential anchors of Lower Manhattan's redevelopment, residents prefer the 92nd Street Y or one of the museum finalists. But residents prefer the New York City Opera to any of the other performing arts institutions.

In the broadest sense, this tracking survey provides considerable evidence of downtown residents' remarkable resilience; the return of old divisions and issues is less a cause for concern than confirmation that Lower Manhattan, while eternally changed, is healing.

V. KEY FINDINGS

Squeaky Wheels

The Pace Poll measured the awareness, efficacy, and participation levels of downtown residents in rebuilding affairs. Our purpose here was twofold: 1) to measure civic attentiveness to this public process, and 2) to test the representative validity of other assessments of the community response to rebuilding in order to ensure that rebuilding leaders do not stray beyond their true popular mandates. Apropos of the latter purpose, it turns out that the pool of people who show up at public meetings is far from representative of the downtown population on the whole. Subsequently, “Active” citizens have the potential to impart a skewed reading of the public mood to officials who hear them. On this point, our tracking poll’s findings are consistent with our benchmark’s, which leads to the disconcerting question of whether or not officials are misinterpreting the public commentary they are exposed to most as truly representative.

Active citizens (as defined in the above demographic section) make up only 9% of the downtown resident population, but are more likely to earn between \$86K per year and \$125K per year (18% within this income bracket are “Active”), live in Battery Park City, the South Street Seaport area, or the Financial District (18% are Active), and be between 45 to 59 year old (17% Active). In addition, they are more likely to have at least some post-secondary education (13% of those who have some college education but not a degree are Active) and live in the neighborhood for more than 20 years (13% Active). Residents of more modest salaries – between \$36K and \$55K per year – also are more likely to fall into our Active cohort.

Super-informed residents make up 29% of the resident population below 14th Street but are disproportionately made up of homeowners (39% qualify by the abovementioned standards as being Super-informed), residents below Canal Street (39% are Super-informed), 45 to 59 year old residents (38%), Latinos (38%), lesser educated residents with at most a high school diploma (33%), and longtime downtown residents who have lived below 14th Street for between 11 and 20 years (36%) or more than 20 years (32%).

In addition, the Pace Poll quizzed residents on whether they “discuss rebuilding issues with others,” another indicator of civic versatility. Almost two-thirds (65%) of downtown residents discuss rebuilding issues with their neighbors. Those who live in Battery Park, the Financial District, or the South Street Seaport Area (84% discuss rebuilding issues with neighbors), those making between \$86K and \$125K a year (81%), white women (73%), residents ages 26 to 32 (71%), and those living downtown for 3 to 5 years (71%) are extremely likely to discuss rebuilding issues with others.

Why is this important for our analysis? Because downtown Active residents who have made known their opinions to rebuilding officials via public forums possess views on key rebuilding matters that are at odds with those held by the majority of their neighbors. The points where Active citizens most differ in opinion with the general public are:

- They are more pessimistic about the direction of the rebuilding effort;
- They are more likely to be concerned about cultural facilities;
- They are more likely to support tunneling a portion of West Street;
- They are more likely to be concerned with affordable housing;
- They are less likely to prioritize economic development issues; and
- They are less likely to emphasize improving downtown public schools.

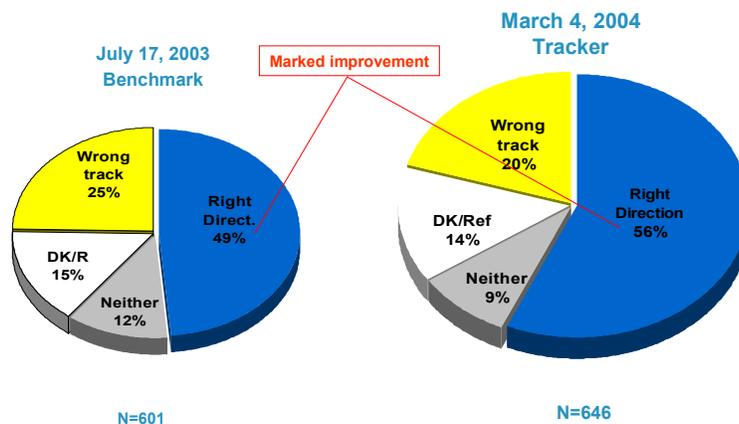
Consequently, officials who wish for meaningful public feedback on rebuilding matters must undertake a sound approach to canvassing a representative sample of the downtown populace. Otherwise, Active citizens could receive asymmetrical attention from civic leaders at the expense of less remonstrative citizens.

Moving Right Along

Once again – after six or so months of redevelopment progress – the majority (56%) of Lower Manhattan residents living below 14th Street are of the opinion that the rebuilding effort generally “is headed in the right direction.” Only one in five (20%) downtown residents say it is “off on the wrong track.” That represents an eleven percent net improvement from August 2003, when we first asked this question in our benchmark.

Optimism regarding the rebuilding effort is increasing.

Question 2: Thinking about rebuilding in Lower Manhattan, would you say in general that the rebuilding effort is headed in the right direction, or would you say the rebuilding effort is off on the wrong track?



The Pace Poll

Chart 1

Younger residents (ages 18 to 25) are the most likely to say the effort is moving along well (67% “right direction”); whereas the older residents get, the less likely they are to think so (only 46% of residents over 60 years old say rebuilding “is headed in the right direction”). In addition, newer residents to downtown Manhattan are happier with the rebuilding progress (68% of those living in Lower Manhattan for two years or less say

“right direction”). By contrast, longtime residents living in Lower Manhattan for 20 years or more are among the most disillusioned (only 44% say “right direction”). Similarly, wealthier residents have a more positive outlook than poorer ones (66% of those earning over \$125K a year vs. only 49% of those earning less than \$35K a year say “right direction”). Geographically, people who live in Battery Park City, the Financial District, or the South Street Seaport area hold favorable opinions about how rebuilding is progressing. Ethnically, Asian residents are more optimistic about the rebuilding effort as well (60% say “right direction”).

Super-informed residents (again, those who pay the most attention to these things) and Active residents (again, those who involve themselves in the participatory elements of the rebuilding effort) are the most likely to be dissatisfied with rebuilding progress. Only 46% of the latter category believes that it is headed in the right direction, and almost a third of Active citizens (32%) think it’s “off on the wrong track.”

Top-of-mind Out of Work

In an open-ended way without restrictions, the Pace Poll asked residents to name the most important rebuilding problem to their thinking. The function of this question is threefold: 1) to canvass for issues that may not have percolated to the grass tops and may remain unknown to downtown’s leadership, but nevertheless are budding at the grassroots and may blossom as high-profile issues in the months ahead; 2) to measure the level of specificity with which downtown residents are conversant in rebuilding issues; and 3) to look for broad patterns that may denote public alarm.

As it happens, residents have difficulty articulating particular problems. To the extent they recall specific rebuilding issues, residents’ answers encompass the kind of vexing downtown problems that preceded the events of September 11, plus a cluster of related economic concerns.

For instance, the most enduring downtown problem, not surprising to those familiar with Lower Manhattan’s residential terrain, appears to be affordable housing. Eleven percent of Lower Manhattan residents say it is the most important problem when it comes to rebuilding their neighborhood landscape. And 21% of Lower Manhattan residents claim that the biggest rebuilding problem is economic in nature, if one adds together the 8% who cite “economic development” as the most important rebuilding issue, the 6% who cite “business returning,” the 4% who cite “finances,” and the 3% who cite “jobs.”

With the exception of the World Trade Center site memorial, economic related issues are on the top of most residents' minds.

Question 3: What do you think is the most important issue or problem that has to do with rebuilding in Lower Manhattan right now? (OPEN ENDED)

Top of Mind Issue	Total Tracker (March 2004)	Total Benchmark (Aug. 2003)
Affordable housing	11%	6%
Economic development	8%	5%
The WTC memorial	6%	6%
Business returning	6%	4%
Finances	4%	3%
Transportation	3%	4%
Traffic	3%	3%
Jobs	3%	3%
Safety/Security	2%	2%

The Pace Poll Green = economic related issue Chart 2

Latinos (17%), older residents 60 years old or more (14%), and 33 to 44 year olds (13%) are the most likely to name “affordable housing” as their chief concern – not a shock, considering elderly residents are the most likely to worry about rent increases, Latinos are the most likely to worry about the gentrification patterns of new developments in their neighborhood (Latinos are clustered on the Lower East Side), and 33 to 44 year olds are the most likely to worry about the inverse relationship between their expanding families and the fixed number of bedrooms in their apartments. In sum, the findings here are strikingly similar to those six months ago – when we posed the same open-ended question in our benchmark poll to a different sample of downtown residents.

Issue Dimensions

Initially, the Pace Poll asked residents to assess the importance of the key dimensions to rebuilding Lower Manhattan, one at a time. Residents assess all of the issue dimensions examined to be “very important.” Still, some are more “very important” than others.

Above all, Lower Manhattan residents emphasize economic priorities; 82% of downtown residents think it is “very important” to create new jobs and promote economic development. That amounts to a higher percentage of “very important” responses than every other rebuilding dimension received, and it reflects a community concerned about and still dealing with a soft economy made worse by the singular events that disrupted the functioning of a world financial district. People even more likely to think that creating jobs and promoting economic development should be the thrust of rebuilding include Latinos (96% say “creating new jobs and economic development is very important to Lower Manhattan’s redevelopment”), lesser educated women with high

school diplomas or less (92%), Lower East Siders (92%), older women ages 45+ (88%), and Blacks (88% “very important”).

The second highest scoring issue dimension may reflect residents’ feelings of social isolation and their focus on the primary barrier to full entry into the rest of New York, namely: “transportation improvements that ease downtown traffic and improve city travel.” Three-quarters (75%) of Lower Manhattan residents say this is a “very important” dimension of rebuilding, and, as we will see later in the analysis, some of the most popular rebuilding projects are those that ease the flow of travel. Those most concerned about transportation include younger residents age 18 to 25 (81% rate it to be “very important” to Lower Manhattan’s redevelopment) and Lower East Siders (78%).

The next highest rated issue dimension is one of those enduring downtown problems that have less to do with rebuilding per se. Be that as it may, 73% of residents report that improving public schools is a “very important” dimension to rebuilding. It is the highest rated concern for Blacks, 93% of whom say it is “very important. It is the second highest concern for Latinos (89% of whom say it is “very important) and lesser educated women (88% “very important”). Not surprisingly, it is the highest rated concern for wage earners between \$36K and \$85K per year, 75% of whom say it is “very important.”

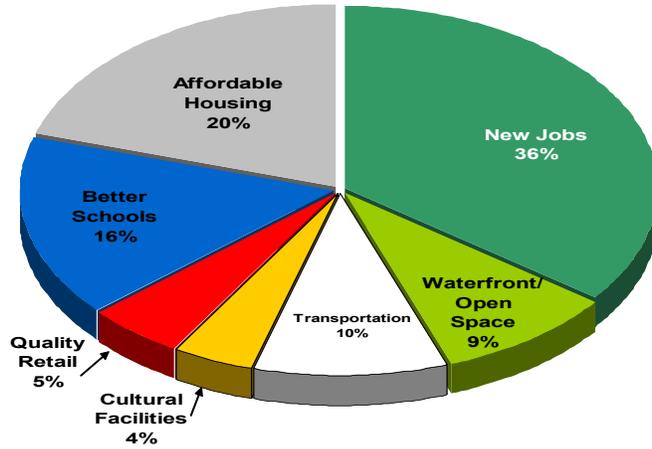
Preserving open space and the downtown waterfront is a “very important” dimension of the rebuilding effort, according to 72% of Lower Manhattan residents. But it is the highest rated rebuilding dimension for some of the wealthiest downtown residents – 87% who earn over \$125K a year but less than \$200K say it is “very important.”

Affordable housing ranks lower on this list of rebuilding dimensions when grouped in this battery. Nonetheless, 65% say it is a “very important” dimension of downtown’s redevelopment. Latinos (86% “very important”) and Blacks (81% “very important”) are the most preoccupied with housing. Also, this is the highest rated concern for those who earn between \$36K and \$85K per year (who likely cannot afford housing), about 70% of whom say it is “very important.”

In order to prioritize all of the abovementioned dimensions to rebuilding, the next question in the survey is vital; specifically, it forces respondents to rank the rebuilding dimensions in order of their importance. Far and away, residents’ top priority is “creating new jobs and economic development.” Over a third (35%) say it is the most important priority for Lower Manhattan redevelopment – this serves to underscore the prominence of all matters economic when it comes to the public’s evaluation of downtown’s resurgence. Although affordable housing ranks prominently as a top-of-mind concern, it places second in this question (19% select it as the most important rebuilding priority), while “improving downtown public schools” shows up third (16%).

When asked to rank the key dimensions to rebuilding, downtown residents' prioritize jobs, affordable housing, and schools.

Question 26: And which of the issues you just rated do you think is most important in Lower Manhattan's redevelopment?



The Pace Poll

Chart 3

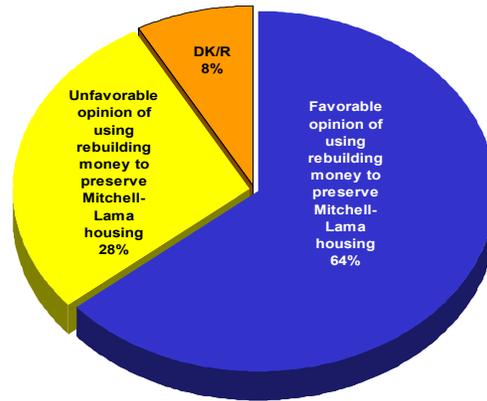
An Affordable Housing Plan

One possible explanation of the surge in interest in affordable housing as a top of mind issue in the last six months (from 6% in open-ended responses to 11%) is that a number of downtown residents may be concerned about the expiration of long-term rent subsidies for 5,000 Lower Manhattan residents, who will be forced to pay higher rents or move. One idea being pressed by a few downtown leaders is to use some of the Federal aid for Lower Manhattan redevelopment to purchase the buildings at issue from their present owners and allow the tenants to remain in their homes at their current rent levels.

Sixty-four percent of Lower Manhattan residents hold a favorable opinion of this idea. Latinos (76% have a favorable opinion), Blacks (75% have a favorable opinion), and residents of the Lower East Side (71% have a favorable opinion) are especially animated about it. Perhaps expectedly, enthusiasm for this policy concept wanes among wealthier downtown residents. Among those who earn upwards of \$126K per year, less than two out of five supports the notion and over half oppose it outright.

Residents have a favorable opinion of using federal aid to extend rent subsidies in Mitchell-Lama housing eligible to exit the program.

Question 51: Long-term rent subsidies for 5,000 Lower Manhattan residents are about to run out, and many of them will be forced to pay higher rents or move. One idea is to use some of the Federal aid for Lower Manhattan redevelopment to purchase these buildings from their present owners and allow the tenants to remain in their homes at their current rent levels. Do you have a very favorable opinion of this idea, a somewhat favorable opinion of it, a somewhat unfavorable opinion of it, or a very unfavorable opinion of it?



The Pace Poll

Chart 4

Perceptions of Public Officials

As the Pace Poll discovered in August 2003, the perceived divisions of redevelopment authority bear minimal resemblance to reality. It is still the case, for example, that over a third (34%) of Lower Manhattan residents identify New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg as the official most in charge and responsible for redevelopment projects. Ironically, perhaps, if rebuilding continues to be perceived as proceeding expeditiously, it is the mayor who stands to gain more than New York Governor George Pataki, since fewer residents (21%) believe the governor is in charge and responsible for rebuilding.

Of course, some residents are more likely to realize that the Governor in fact possesses a greater roll in this process than the Mayor. More men (28%) than women (16%) perceive the Governor to wield more influence in the redevelopment effort, as do residents ages 45 to 59 (31%), homeowners (33%), and other demographic groups that generally are more attuned to redevelopment matters. Even so, there are no dramatic shifts in this question from when first we asked it back in August of 2003.

There have been modest shifts in how residents judge the job performances of rebuilding officials, however. Mayor Bloomberg continues to receive the most positive evaluations on his rebuilding performance, while Governor George Pataki receives an overall negative evaluation.

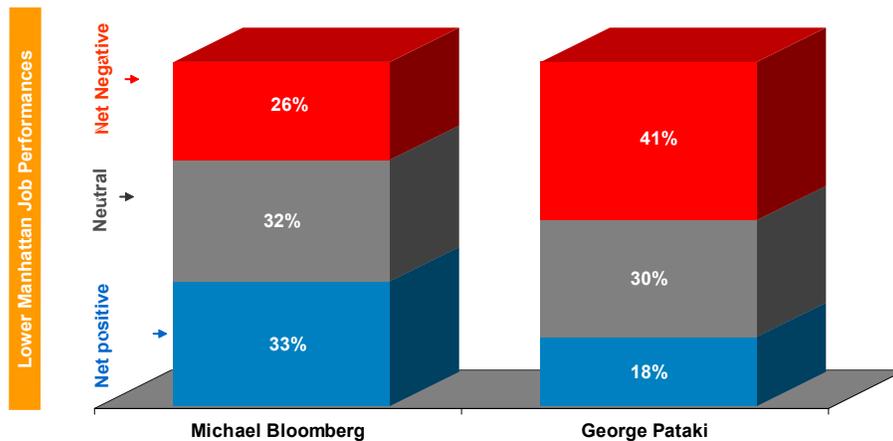
Only eighteen percent of residents give the Governor a positive rating for his rebuilding performance; 41% give him a negative rating. Lesser educated residents (with at best a high school degree) are more likely to give the governor a positive grade for his rebuilding work (34% positive), as are lower income residents who make less than \$35K

a year (33%), Latinos (31%), and residents ages 18 to 25 (25%). Even so, a plurality among most demographic groups give the governor negative marks – especially homeowners (52% negative approval), older women ages 45+ (50% negative), and almost half (49% negative) of both Super-informed and Active citizens.

By contrast, Mayor Michael Bloomberg has improved from negative ratings on his rebuilding performance in August 2003 – when 33% of residents gave him poor grades and 21% gave him positive grades – to positive marks today. A third (33%) of downtown residents presently grant the Mayor positive reviews for his rebuilding work compared to 26% who assign him negative marks. Blacks (36% negative) and Latinos (34%) give the mayor a poorer score on rebuilding work than other demographic groups (a finding consistent with their less favorable outlook on the mayor’s work overall, as recorded in other opinion studies). On the other hand, those paying the most attention to these matters – Super-informed residents and Active citizens – give the mayor high marks (39% positive and 36% positive, respectively).

Rebuilding Performance Ratings

Questions 8 & 9: How would you rate the job [George Pataki, Michael Bloomberg] is doing handling the rebuilding effort?



The Pace Poll

Chart 5

Public Trust & Public Relations

It is a standard measure of a community’s anxiousness to ask whether or not its citizens feel safe in their neighborhoods. The Pace Poll has adapted the technique to evaluate downtown residents’ terrorism-related anxiety. Back in August of 2003, 65% reported that the protection of downtown from future terrorist attacks was going well, vs. 24% who said it wasn’t. Today, 58% of downtown residents say that protecting downtown from terrorist attacks is going well, vs. 27% who say it isn’t. This represents a 10% shift in attitude, and downtown residents’ sense of safety and confidence in Lower Manhattan’s protection from future terrorist attacks appear to be slipping.

The most pessimistic residents are those over the age of 60, only 47% of whom believe downtown is being made secure. The most optimistic include younger residents (83% say downtown is secure), Asians (76%), and residents who live below Canal Street (65%). (The further North residents live, the more anxious they seem to be.)

In August of 2003, residents placed the responsibility for protecting Manhattan from terrorism on the shoulders of New York's finest. Via open-ended responses, one in four people reported that the New York City Police Department (NYPD) should be responsible for this crucial task, 17% said the mayor should be responsible for it, and 16% pointed to the Federal government. The Pace Poll asked a similar question again. But this time, rather than using an open-ended format, we asked respondents to choose from among the most popular responses from last August's open-ended responses. And this time, downtown residents put the responsibility of protecting Lower Manhattan from terrorism squarely on the shoulders of the Federal government – almost half (48%) say that the Federal government should be in charge of protecting Lower Manhattan. Only 19% now report that it should be the New York City Police Department's responsibility.

There is no reason to think this reflects poorly upon the NYPD. On the contrary, other opinion polls as well as subsequent questions in this study show New Yorkers hold the NYPD in high regard. Instead, it seems to be the case – based on responses from other questions in our study – that people expect the Federal government to put more resources into protecting New York. That the Federal government does not may be the primary provocation behind responses that shift responsibility for terrorism protection their way.

One of the more significant developments to emerge since the Pace Poll benchmark survey are revelations about the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) performance in the immediate wake of the World Trade Center's destruction. As a reminder, the Pace Poll canvassed Lower Manhattan residents on the air quality and 9/11 cleanup effort back in August 2003, before the EPA's controversial actions came to light. At that time, 61% viewed the cleanup and monitoring of air quality to be moving along well, next to only 31% who disagreed. Significantly, in an open-ended question where respondents could have answered anything, downtown residents overwhelmingly pointed to the Environmental Protection Agency (41%) as the entity most responsible for air cleanup. This indicated a sophisticated level of awareness when it comes to the EPA's function.

Fast forward a few months. In October 2003, it became known that the EPA may have released unsubstantiated and preliminary reports (without enough underlying data to know for sure) that the air surrounding the Twin Towers after their collapse was safe. And today, less than half (48%) of downtown residents report that the cleanup and monitoring of the air quality in Lower Manhattan is going well, next to 44% who say it is going poorly. Latinos (53%) and Blacks (52%) are the most likely to say it's going poorly, as are longtime residents of 20 years or more (51%), and Active citizens (51%).

The responsibility for the cleanup, according to downtown residents, still rests with the EPA; 34% say the EPA should be responsible for air quality in Lower Manhattan. But in

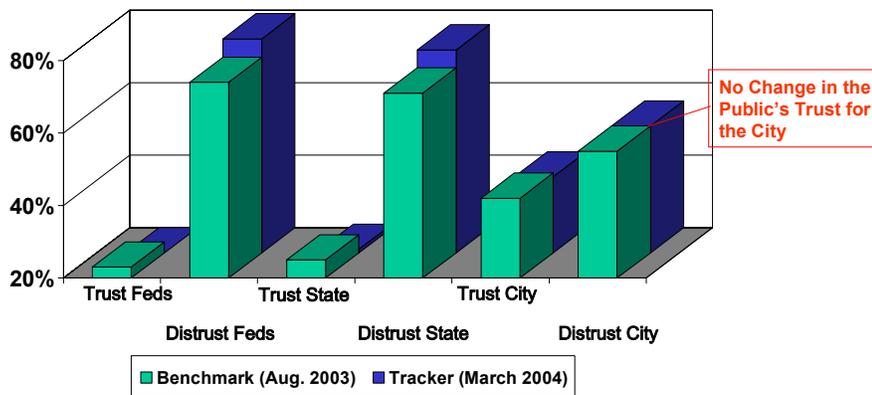
a question to measure the level of faith residents now have in the EPA, only 26% of downtown New Yorkers trust the EPA “to report the truth about the air quality in Lower Manhattan,” whereas a stinging 72% report that the EPA cannot be trusted. Additionally, downtown residents express a desire to shift cleanup responsibilities from the EPA to other Federal agencies. Back in August, just 11% wanted other Federal agencies to take charge of the environmental cleanup. Today, almost a quarter (24%) prefers that some unnamed Federal agency pick up the slack. What’s more, some New Yorkers would prefer the Mayor (21% think the Mayor should be responsibility for the cleanup) or the City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene (11%) to be in charge of Lower Manhattan’s environmental cleanup and monitoring.

All Government Trust is Local

One of the broadest findings from the Pace Poll August benchmark survey was that residents *trusted* local officials more than State or Federal officials to “do what is right when it comes to the rebuilding of Lower Manhattan”. (Back in August, 23% of Lower Manhattan residents trusted the Federal government on rebuilding issues; 25% trusted the State; and 42% trusted the City.) That holds today. Still, no level of governance should be proud of its trust factor. In fact, things have gotten a bit worse. At the moment, only 18% of Lower Manhattan residents trust the Federal government on rebuilding issues; 21% trust the State; and, a bit less distressingly, 41% trust the City.

Residents distrust the Federal and State governments on rebuilding matters, and their doubts are growing.

Questions 15-17: How much of the time do you think you can trust the leaders of [City, State, Federal] government to do what is right when it comes to the rebuilding of Lower Manhattan



The Pace Poll Chart 6

Younger residents ages 18 to 25 are more likely than not (51% vs. 49%) to trust the City to “do what is right when it comes to the rebuilding of Lower Manhattan.” On the flip side of the coin, Blacks (68% distrust the City), Latinos (67%), downtown residents of 20 years or more (65%), and Active citizens (65%) are disproportionately likely to distrust

the City. Meanwhile, 85% of Active citizens, 80% of college graduates, and 80% of homeowners distrust the State. And large majorities of pretty much every cohort distrust the Federal government when it comes to doing the right rebuilding thing. That could make for a cold summer reception for the President of the United States when, during the Republican National Convention, he visits Lower Manhattan to pay his respects.

Homeland Security Dollars

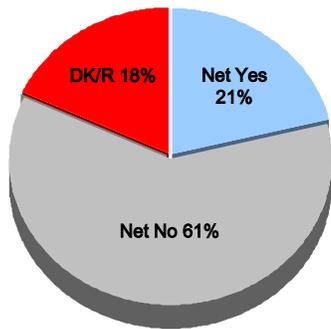
On the subject of Federal Homeland Security dollars, the Pace Poll split the sample so half of all respondents received the following questions (half did not): “Do you think New York City is receiving its fair share of Federal Homeland Security dollars – yes or no?” By almost three to one (61% to 21%), Lower Manhattan residents do not think New York is receiving its fair share of Federal Homeland Security dollars. This is excessively true among Active citizens (85% do not think New York is receiving its fair share of Federal Homeland Security dollars), older women ages 45+ (79%), Super-informed citizens (72%), and residents who have lived downtown for 20 years or more (71%).

The other half of the respondent sample received the following question instead: “To help defend against terrorism, the Department of Homeland Security distributes money to States based on their population, their vulnerable targets, and their threat level. Do you think this system is fair?” Interestingly, 65% of downtown residents think this system is fair, compared to 27% who do not. Obviously, the problem for Lower Manhattan residents with the distribution of Federal money to protect New York from terrorism is one of execution not design.

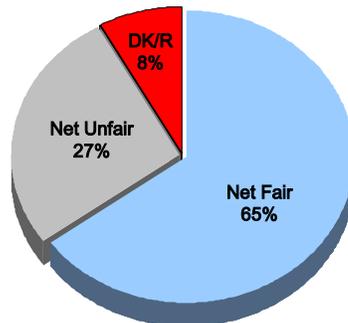
Federal Homeland Security Money: the Devil’s in the Details

Question 50A: Do you think New York City is receiving its fair share of Federal Homeland security dollars?

Question 50B: To help defend against terrorism, the Department of Homeland Security distributes money to States based on their population, their vulnerable targets, and their threat level. Do you think this system is fair?



NYC Gets Fair Share (50A)?
N = 327



System for Distributing Money is Fair (50B)?
N = 319

Time and the Memorial

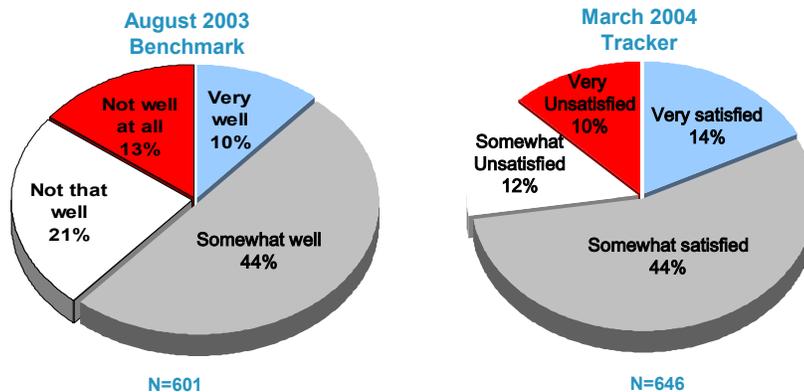
In August last year, one of the most prevalent top-of-mind rebuilding issues was the selection of an appropriate memorial for the World Trade Center site. Most residents (55%) thought the process of selecting a memorial was proceeding well, though a significant minority (33%) had doubts. Ominously, Super-informed residents were among the most likely to express doubts on the selection of an appropriate memorial (43% thought the selection process was proceeding poorly). But now that the winning memorial has been selected and announced, 59% of Lower Manhattan residents claim they are satisfied with the design; only 21% say they are unsatisfied. It's fair to say the design beat expectations, then, if one is allowed to infer that the satisfaction with the selection process was an expression of concern over the quality of the ultimate memorial.

Residents disproportionately likely to be satisfied with Michael Arad's and Peter Walker's "Reflecting Absence" include West Village residents (76% satisfied), people between 26 and 32 years old (71%), and Latinos (68%). As for citizens most engaged in rebuilding issues, only 58% of the Super-informed say they are satisfied with Reflecting Absence and only 53% of the Active citizens say they are satisfied with the memorial design. Although those figures represent lower approval ratings than the rest of the downtown population's, they are majorities nonetheless.

The WTC memorial design beat expectations.

Question 29 (Benchmark): In general, would you say that the selection of an appropriate memorial at the World Trade Center site is going very well, somewhat well, not that well, or not well at all?

Question 32 (Tracker): And based on what you know, how satisfied are you with the World Trade Center memorial design – are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat unsatisfied, or are you very unsatisfied with it?



The Pace Poll

Chart 8

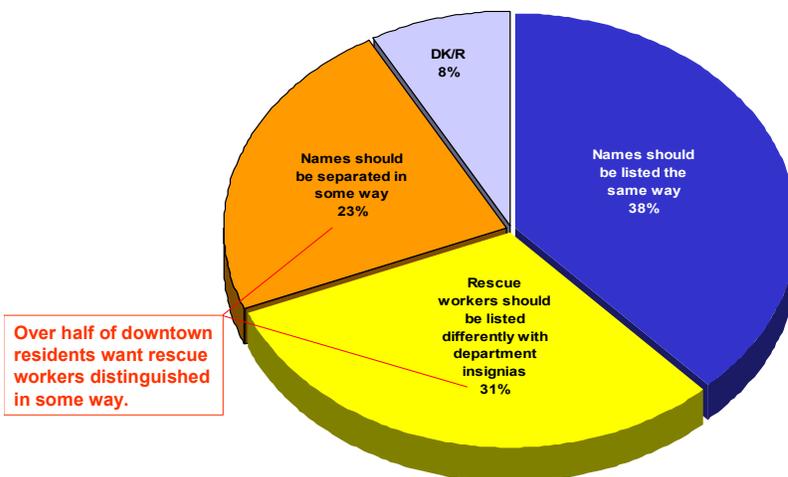
As for the matter of how to list the names of everyone who was lost that day, there are now two dominant schools of thought. The first holds that the memorial should honor everyone who was lost equally and without distinction. The second subscribes to the notion that the memorial should identify rescue workers in some way. The Reflecting Absence memorial design calls for the names of 9/11 victims to be listed in random order

with department insignia next to the names of rescue workers. But downtown residents seem to prefer that the names all be listed similarly, without distinctions (38%).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that another group of residents prefers that the names be *physically* separated in some way (23%). So it is easy to conclude that the present plan for listing the names with department shields affixed aside the rescue workers is a reasonable compromise on an issue the Pace Poll had predicted could become controversial. Indeed, 31% of Lower Manhattan residents prefer this compromise method for listing victims' names straight away. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that for some this is still a matter of great concern. In particular, Blacks overwhelmingly (60%) prefer that victims' names be listed in the same way without any distinctions for rescue workers. But the Super-informed (34%) and Active citizens (39%) are disproportionately likely to prefer the compromise methodology for listing the names.

Listing rescue workers with their service insignias could be a reasonable compromise.

Question 33: How would you like the names of 9/11 victims to be listed on the memorial?



The Pace Poll

Chart 9

The Freedom Tower

Based on what they know so far, downtown residents appear satisfied with the design for the Freedom Tower – over half (52%) say they are satisfied with the design; only 22% are unsatisfied. Among the most enthusiastic are wealthier residents who earn upwards of \$200K a year – two-thirds of them (66%) approve of the design. The most skeptical are those living downtown for 20 years or more – only 47% are satisfied with the Freedom Tower design. Indeed, the longer one has lived downtown, the less likely one is to be satisfied with the design. This likely reflects the conventional skepticism to commercial development among more longstanding downtown residents. Again, though, Super-informed (58%) and Active citizens (62%) are disproportionately likely to approve

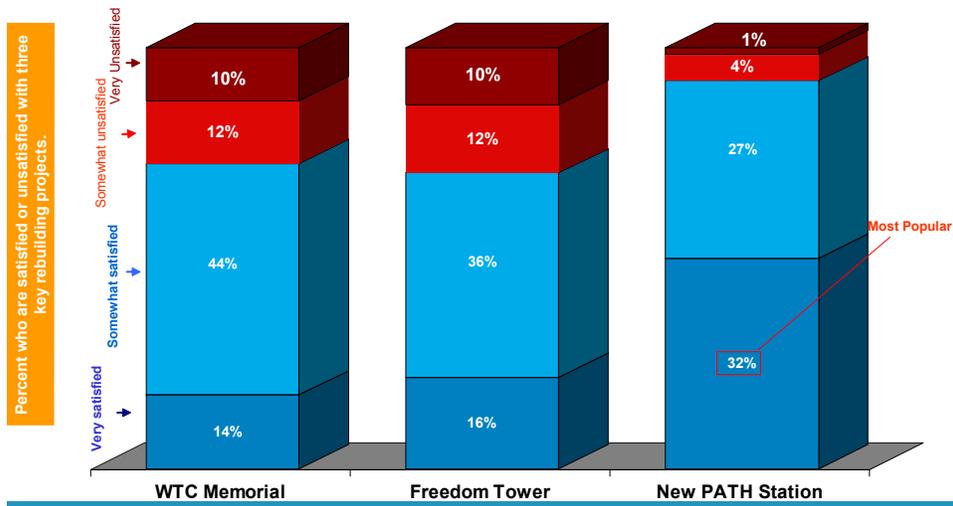
of the design. Of course, these numbers could shift once the tower grows in height and eclipses skylights and sky views in surrounding residential buildings.

The PATH Station Phenomenon

The most popular rebuilding project on the drawing board at the moment appears to be Santiago Calatrava’s design for the new PATH station at the World Trade Center site. Fifty-nine percent of residents approve its plan. Seventy-nine percent of the wealthiest downtown residents approve of its plan, as do 64% of Latinos, and two-thirds of relatively longtime downtown residents (those living there for between 11 and 20 years). Significantly, Super-informed (70%) and Active citizens (75%) are disproportionately likely to approve of the PATH station concept. It’s safe to say that its dramatic conception has captured the imaginations of Lower Manhattan residents.

Lower Manhattan residents are satisfied with the winning designs for the WTC Memorial, Freedom Tower, and the new PATH station.

Questions 32, 34 & 35: Based on what you know, how satisfied are you with the design for [the World Trade Center Memorial, Freedom Tower, the new PATH station] – are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat unsatisfied, or very unsatisfied?



The Pace Poll Chart 10

Lesser Known Potential Rebuilding Projects

The Pace Poll, remember, set out to rate the popularity of imminent rebuilding projects as well as those pending approval. In August 2003, the Pace Poll benchmark rebuilding survey showed that the public lacked the particular expertise and detailed knowledge of more obscure rebuilding projects to render qualified opinions on their merit. This is often the case when it comes to the public’s understanding of complex policy debates, and it is something that polling institutes should confront when they seek to gauge the support (or opposition) for public works. The best methodology for addressing things that may be too obscure is to introduce basic information to respondents prior to assessing opinions.

The Pace Poll did precisely that in order to rate the popularity of the lesser understood rebuilding projects that are up for public discussion. Specifically, the Pace Poll introduced compelling arguments in layperson’s terms for and against each rebuilding project and then queried downtown residents for their reactions.³ Using this preferred method, we learned that some rebuilding projects would be better received than others.

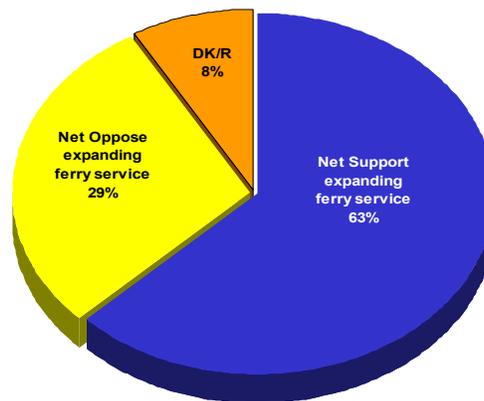
The most popular rebuilding project under discussion appears to be the expansion of the South Ferry subway station, the ferry terminal, and ferry service from Staten Island to Lower Manhattan. Sixty-one percent support these plans, which will improve downtown train service, reduce commuter congestion, and ease the flow of pedestrian traffic. Latinos especially approve of the projects (75% support them), as do the wealthiest downtown wage earners, making more than \$200K a year (70%). Opponents of expanding these transportation hubs argue that they are expensive and will only help commuters while disrupting Battery Park. Only 28% agree with those premises, though.

Lower Manhattan residents like ferries.

Question 48: Now I'm going to read you some thing that people say about various rebuilding projects. For each project, please listen to what its supporters and opponents are saying and then tell me who you agree with more..

STATEMENT A: Supporters of expanding the South Ferry subway station, the ferry terminal, and ferry service from Staten Island to Lower Manhattan say it will improve downtown train service, reduce commuter congestion, and ease the flow of pedestrian traffic.

STATEMENT B: Opponents of expanding the South Ferry subway station, the ferry terminal, and ferry service from Staten Island to Lower Manhattan say that they are expensive projects that will only help commuters and will disrupt Battery Park.



The Pace Poll

Chart 11

Although less significant than large-scale public works, the next most popular idea under public discussion at the moment is to allow quality retail shops in the new PATH station at the World Trade Center site. Over half (56%) of downtown residents approve of it. For the most part, opponents of allowing retail shops in the new PATH station claim it would detract from the beauty and architectural integrity of the design, while taking away commercial activity from surrounding stores and streets. Only 36% of downtown residents agree with those arguments.

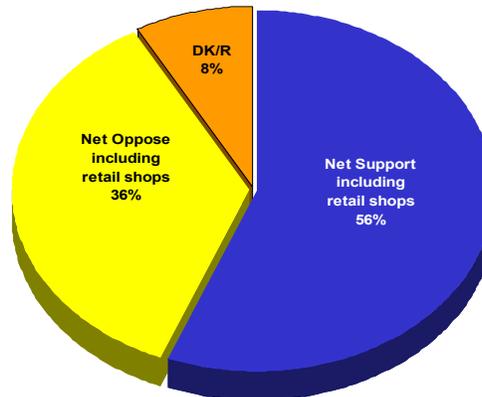
³ The alternative simply would have been to ask for opinions about projects respondents know nothing about. The results would be as meaningless as surveying South Carolinians about the New York City mayoral race. (We’d get responses, but they might be that Hootie and the Blowfish are the frontrunners.)

Residents support adding high-quality retail stores in the new PATH station.

Question 45: Now I'm going to read you some thing that people say about various rebuilding projects. For each project, please listen to what its supporters and opponents are saying and then tell me who you agree with more..

STATEMENT A: Supporters of allowing high-quality retail shops in the new PATH station at the World Trade Center site say this would reduce the cost of the project while offering better shopping opportunities for residents and travelers.

STATEMENT B: Opponents of retail shops in the new PATH station at the World Trade Center say it would detract from the beauty and architectural integrity of the design, while taking away commercial activity from the surrounding stores and streets.



The Pace Poll

Chart 12

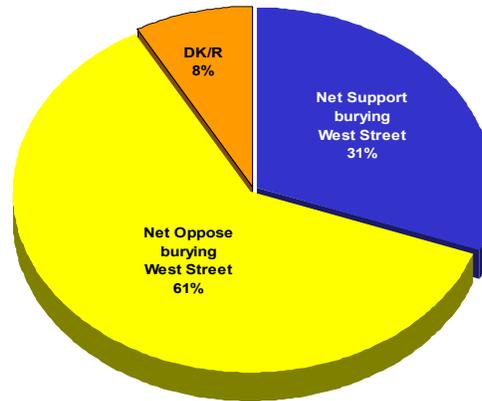
To be sure, not every potential rebuilding project is popular. In particular, the overwhelming majority (60%) of downtown residents oppose building a tunnel under West Street in order to bury it underground and eliminate the highway that isolates Battery Park City from the rest of Manhattan. Residents living in Lower Manhattan for 20 years or more are even more likely to oppose the idea (63% oppose). Even people in Battery Park City, the Financial District, or the Seaport Area, for whom the tunnel would be the most benefit, do not support its concept (60% oppose). By comparison, 30% support burying a portion of West Street and building a tunnel – meaning opponents outnumber supporters 2 to 1.

Residents oppose the little dig.

Question 49: Now I'm going to read you some thing that people say about various rebuilding projects. For each project, please listen to what its supporters and opponents are saying and then tell me who you agree with more..

STATEMENT A: Supporters of building a tunnel under West Street in order to bury it underground say it will eliminate the highway that isolates Battery Park City from the rest of Manhattan.

STATEMENT B: Opponents of building the tunnel say it isn't worth its \$900 million dollar cost, since it will disrupt downtown traffic for years and really only bury a few blocks of West Street.



The Pace Poll

Chart 14

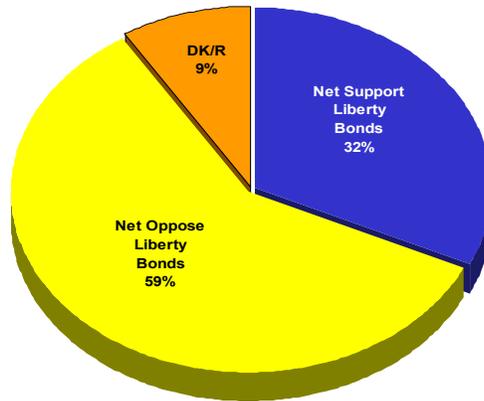
On the subject of Liberty Bonds – which amount to inexpensive loans for development projects, since they are exempt from Federal, State, and City taxes – there has been some controversy on their implementation. Supporters of Liberty Bonds say they are being used to create new residential housing in Lower Manhattan that will attract new residents and strengthen the downtown economy. But only 29% of downtown residents agree with that supposition. By contrast, 54% agree with the supposition that developers are using what is really a public subsidy to build luxury rentals in Lower Manhattan that only rich people can afford. This is especially true of Active citizens, two-thirds (66%) of whom agree with opponents of Liberty Bonds, and is an especially counterintuitive finding considering how badly residents desire new affordable housing.

Residents oppose the Liberty Bond program.

Question 47: Now I'm going to read you some thing that people say about various rebuilding projects. For each project, please listen to what its supporters and opponents are saying and then tell me who you agree with more..

STATEMENT A: Supporters of Liberty Bonds say they are being used to create new residential housing in Lower Manhattan that will attract new residents and strengthen the downtown economy.

STATEMENT B: Opponents of Liberty Bonds say developers are using what is really a public subsidy to help them build luxury rentals in Lower Manhattan that only rich people can afford.



The Pace Poll

Chart 15

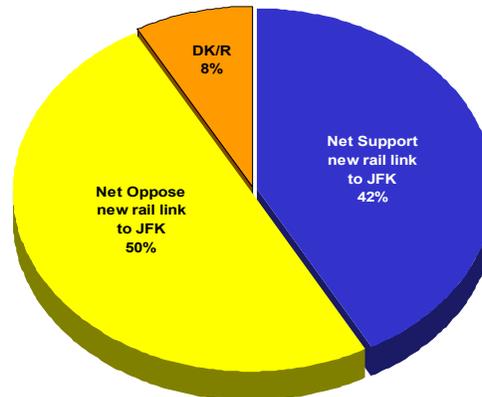
As for linking Lower Manhattan to Kennedy Airport, 42% of downtown residents support the notion that the city badly needs a direct connection to its airports, which would help downtown businesses and encourage more companies to move to Lower Manhattan. But a majority (51%) of Lower Manhattan residents agrees with opponents of the Kennedy Rail Link, who argue that a new train to Kennedy just opened, and building another would cost \$1 billion and deplete New York City's Federal cash grants.

Residents oppose the construction of a new rail link between downtown and JFK Airport.

Question 46: Now I'm going to read you some thing that people say about various rebuilding projects. For each project, please listen to what its supporters and opponents are saying and then tell me who you agree with more..

STATEMENT A: Supporters of linking Lower Manhattan to Kennedy Airport by train say that New York City badly needs a direct connection to its airports and that this will help downtown businesses and encourage more companies to move to Lower Manhattan.

STATEMENT B: Opponents point out that a new train to Kennedy Airport just opened, and building another train to Kennedy would cost \$1 billion dollars and use up all the Federal cash grants that New York City needs to rebuild lower Manhattan.



The Pace Poll

Chart 16

That downtown residents may simultaneously support and oppose different proposals that are meant to enhance the efficiency, health, and character of Lower Manhattan suggests not a capricious inconsistency, but rather the results of deliberative judgments on individual rebuilding projects based on factors as varied as relevance, financial cost, and personal inconvenience. In other words, it appears that Lower Manhattan residents are willing to make reasonably well considered judgments on rebuilding projects.

Staying Put

Just over three-quarters (76%) of downtown residents expect to be living there five years from now; 18% do not. In January of this year, the Pace Poll put the same question to New Yorkers citywide. According to that study, only 58% of all New York City residents expect to be living in their current neighborhoods five years from now.⁴ That divergence – vast as it is – speaks to the stability of the downtown residential population as compared to the itinerancy of residents citywide.

That said, here are the downtown demographic groups who are at some risk of flight: recent arrivals, or those who have lived in Lower Manhattan for two years or less (40% do not expect to be living in Lower Manhattan five years from now), residents between 26 and 32 years old (36%), and wage earners making between \$86K and \$125K per year (22%) or \$126K and \$200K (29% do not expect to be living downtown in five years).

⁴ The Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey: Another Way to Measure the Health and Wealth of our Communities, A Pace Poll Study, January 13, 2004.

The Lower Manhattan Residential Grant Program

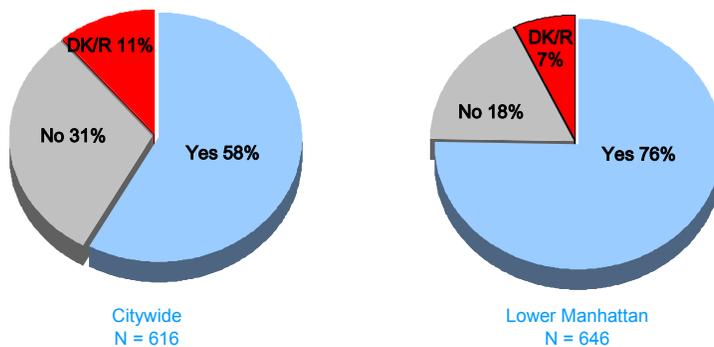
At a practical level, accurate and detailed measurements of public opinion permit a tighter fit between rebuilding programs and community needs. For instance, 29% of survey respondents report that they took part in Lower Manhattan’s residential grant program. Latinos (36% say they took part in the program), older residents age 60+ (35% say they took part in the program), and what may amount to middle class residents by downtown New York City standards (37% of those earning between \$126K and \$200K, and 35% of those earning between \$86K and \$125K) are the most likely to have taken part in the grant program. Yet among those residents who received grant money to subsidize their rents, only 29% say it actually influenced their decisions to live downtown. By all accounts, then, this really is a stable citizenry, which calls into question the grant program’s fundamental efficacy (or whether it was a “tight fit”).

Of course, it is not the case that all citizens are affected by the grant program equally. For those ages 26 to 32 years old, 52% report that the grant program influenced their decision to live in Lower Manhattan. The impact of the grant program also was felt among younger men ages 18 to 44 (44% say the program influenced their decision to live in Lower Manhattan), the poorest residents who earn less than \$35K a year (35%), and Blacks (32%). Still, only 20% of Lower Manhattan residents claim that the termination of the grant program is likely to influence their decision to remain or leave downtown.

For Lower Manhattan Residents, there’s no tree growing in Brooklyn.

Question 27*: Do you expect to be living in Lower Manhattan five years from now?

Question 28**: Do you expect to be living in your neighborhood five years from now?



* Rebuilding Tracker

**The Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey: Another Way to Measure the Health and Wealth of our Communities, A Pace Poll Study, January 13, 2004.

The Pace Poll

Chart 17

Cultural Affairs

A number of New York City cultural institutions have expressed interest in moving or establishing a branch downtown as part of the revitalization of Lower Manhattan.

Recently, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation identified several proposals as potentially promising additions to the cultural landscape of Lower Manhattan and possibly the World Trade Center site itself. Accordingly, these institutions were invited to take part in next-stage meetings to determine which might relocate or establish a downtown branch.

Among those publicly named and being considered, Lower Manhattan residents prefer the 92nd Street Y (17% want it to establish a branch downtown). It is especially popular among older women ages 45+ (22% prefer it), residents of Battery Park City, the South Street area, or the Financial District (22%), and – that culturally literate downtown cohort – “Yankees” (21%).

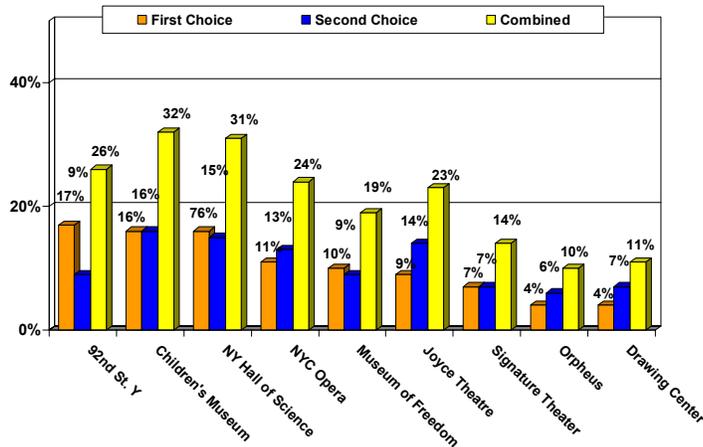
The New York Hall of Science (16% prefer it) and The Children’s Museum of the Arts (16% prefer it) both rank a close second to the 92nd Street Y. The Hall of Science is a particular favorite of older men ages 45+ (22%), while The Children’s Museum of the Arts is a favorite of older women ages 45+ (22%).

Next, 11% choose the New York City Opera, making it the most popular selection from among the *performing* arts venues under official consideration. Asians (24% prefer it) and residents who earn upwards of \$126K (19%) are the most likely to want the City Opera to move downtown.

If one combines first choice responses with second choice responses, then almost a third (32%) of downtown residents would be happy to see The Children’s Museum of the Arts establish itself in Lower Manhattan, 31% would be pleased to see The New York Hall of Science, over a quarter (26%) would like to see the 92nd Street Y, and almost a quarter (24%) would prefer the New York City Opera. The below chart depicts residents’ assessments of their favorite finalists:

Lower Manhattan Residents' Preferred Cultural Additions

Questions 42 & 43 (first and second choice): Now I'm going to read you a list of cultural facilities that may be opening up a branch in Lower Manhattan or moving there. Please tell me which one you would most like to see move to Lower Manhattan?



The Pace Poll

Chart 18

The Physical & Emotional Health of Downtown Residents

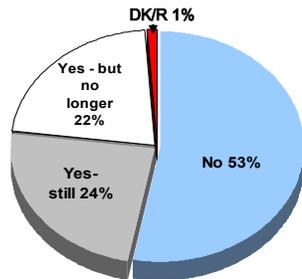
The majority (53%) of downtown residents did not experience any emotional trauma stemming from the events of September 11th, though a minority did. Twenty-two percent of Lower Manhattan residents experienced acute emotional distress in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 that since has subsided. But for 24%, the emotional toil lingers. Mostly, the residents who continue to struggle with mental health issues are Latinos (38% continue to have emotional problems), longtime residents living downtown for more than 20 years (34% continue to have emotional problems), low income residents who make less than \$35K per year (31% continue to have emotional problems), residents below Canal Street (31% continue to have emotional problems), and middle-aged people (30% of those ages 33 to 44 and 37% of those ages 45 to 59 continue to have emotional problems). Even so, for only 37% of these residents do their emotional issues interfere with their work or everyday life. In a testament to the resiliency of the human spirit, 61% of them report that their emotions do not restrict their ability to function at work or in life.

While the majority (64%) of downtown residents did not experience *physical* health effects stemming from the events of September 11th, a minority did. Thirteen percent of Lower Manhattan residents experienced acute respiratory problems after September 11th that since have abated. But for 18% of downtown residents, the physical health effects of September 11 linger. Mostly, these residents are older, female, and minorities, a disproportionate number of whom continue to have some kind of respiratory problem. For 45% of these residents, health problems interfere with their ability to function at work or at other activities as effectively as they did prior to 9/11. For 51% of these residents, their health does not cause such problems.

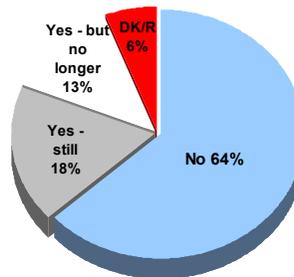
The Acute Health Effects of September 11 on Downtown Residents

Question 39A: Have you experienced any emotional difficulties as a result of September 11, such as depression, sleeplessness, anxiety or nightmares?

Question 39B: Have you experienced any respiratory problems as a result of September 11, such as coughing, wheezing, or sinus headaches?



Emotional Difficulties (39A)
N = 327



Respiratory Problems (39B)
N = 319

The Pace Poll

Chart 19

The World Trade Center Health Registry

The World Trade Center Health Registry is relatively unknown. Only about 7% of Lower Manhattan residents have signed up for what is intended to be the largest long-term study on the health effects from exposure to the events of September 11th. Moreover, registrants are likely to be the wealthiest downtown citizens who earn more than \$200K per year (14% have signed up for the registry) or middle class earners making between \$86K and \$125K (11% have signed up for the registry) than lower wage earners making less than \$35K (only 3% have signed up for the registry) or between \$36K and \$55K per year (only 6% have signed up).

Among residents who have not signed up, three-quarters (75%) are not familiar with the registry at all. This is especially true of lesser educated residents (84% are not familiar with the health registry), Asians (83% are not familiar with it), and younger men ages 18 to 44 (80% are not familiar with the health registry). Even among those who keep up with rebuilding news most of the time, 63% are not familiar with the health registry. Among the Active cohort, a majority (53%) are not familiar with it.

Among those residents who *are* familiar with the health registry but nevertheless have not signed up for it, the most common reason they offer is they don't know enough about it to be interested (19% haven't heard enough about it). Few people (only 3%) cite privacy concerns, 15% claim they weren't exposed badly enough to the effects of the attacks to make their health a concern. Another 7% similarly claim that they are physically fine and needn't bother with the health registry.

VI. CONCLUSION

To borrow a phrase from President Warren G. Harding, Lower Manhattan appears poised for a return to some “normalcy.” The perennial issues of urban living – jobs, affordable housing, and traffic – are moving into the forefront of residents’ thinking, whereas those issues most connected to September 11 are receding into the back of people’s minds. For politicians, this trend suggests that old issue paradigms are reemerging. Thus, residents expect local leaders, like Mayor Michael Bloomberg, to take control of local issues, like neighborhood redevelopment. For rebuilding leaders, this trend suggests that ideas and initiatives – whatever their theoretical merit – must pass conventional tests, such as cost and inconvenience to the community. For concerned citizens, this trend suggests hope – hope that Lower Manhattan residents can and will recover from the singularly wrenching tragedy that is a part of their collective consciousness.

VII. METHODOLOGY

These results are based on telephone interviews conducted from February 29 – March 4, 2004, with 646 Lower Manhattan residents (living below 14th Street) 18 years of age or older. The sample consisted of phone numbers selected via random digit dial (RDD) from among exchanges that ensured each region was represented in proportion to its population.

The results of the benchmark survey are statistically significant within a $\pm 4\%$ margin of error at a 95% level of confidence. Error margins increase for cross-tabulations. Though the Pace Poll adheres to strict methodological standards, the practical elements of fielding any survey can introduce additional sources of error.