

2004 Presidential Race Election Results by Precinct: 50% Or More For Kerry; 75% Or More For Bush

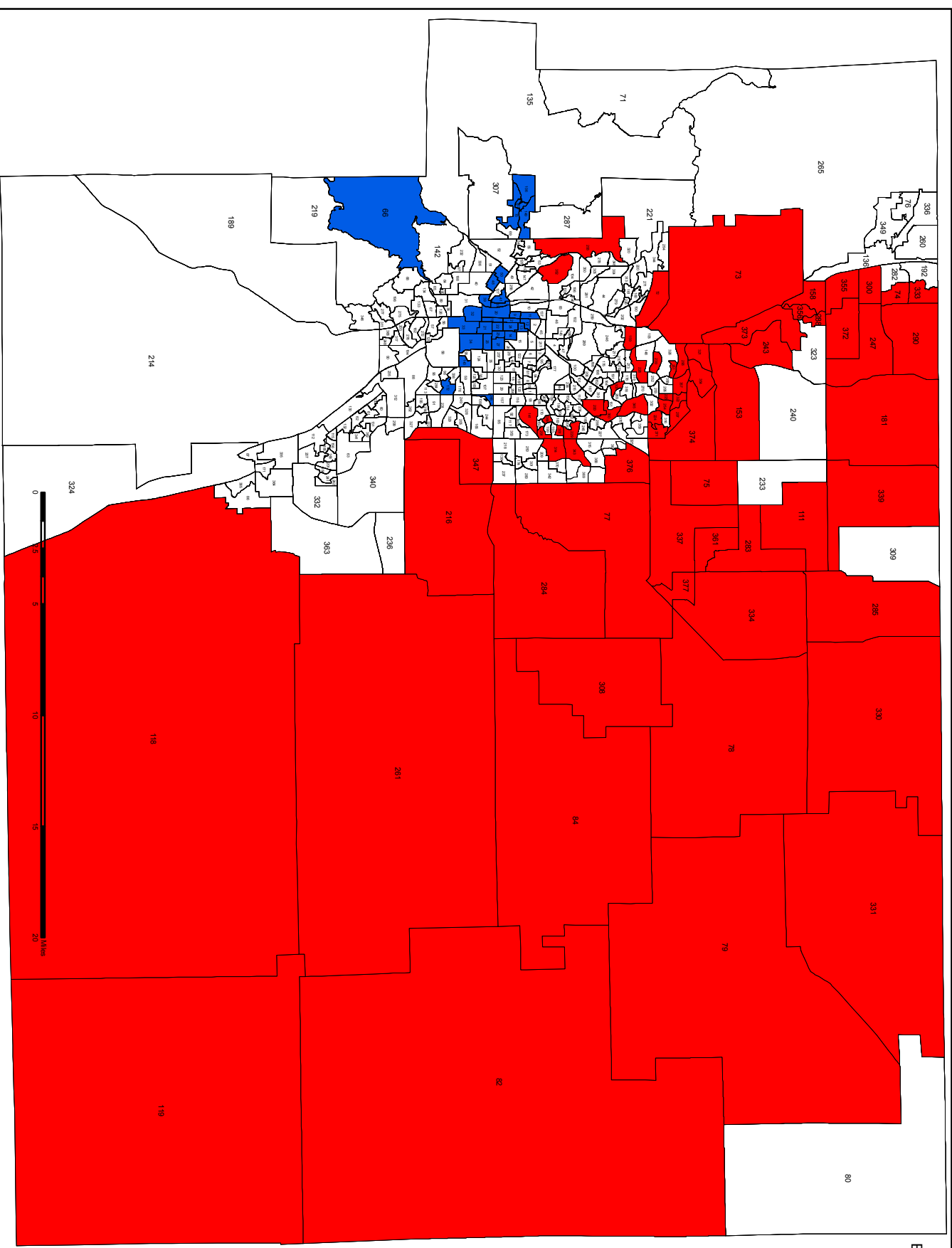


Precincts

Bush - $\geq 75.0\%$

Kerry - $\geq 50.0\%$

Precincts are shown with 2004 boundaries.
Percentages are based on votes cast
in each precinct.



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EL PASO COUNTY, COLORADO (Colorado Springs and environs)

Presidential Vote Increase - 2000 to 2004

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Republican</u> | <u>Democratic</u> |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 2004 | 161,361 | 77,648 |
| 2000 | -128,294 | -61,799 |
| | ----- | ----- |
| Increase 00-04 | 33,067 | 15,849 |
| Increase % | 25.8 | 25.6 |

Presidential Margin Increase - 2000 to 2004

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Republican Margin</u> |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| 2004 | 83,713 |
| 2000 | -66,495 |
| | ----- |
| Increase 00-04 | 17,218 |
| Increase % | 25.9 |

Conclusion: Any county-wide official effort to increase either **voter registration** or **voter participation** in El Paso County, Colorado, will greatly contribute to the Republican margin produced by the county in presidential elections and concomitantly add to the Republican margin statewide.

The Democratic Party in El Paso County, Colorado, should support only neighborhood-specific and group-specific voter registration and voter participation activities in the county.

COUNTY VOTE MARGINS IN COLORADO:
1960-1992 PRESIDENT COMPARED TO 2000 AND 2004

| <u>COUNTY</u> | <u>PRES. AVG. VOTE MAR. 1960-1992</u> | <u>PRES. VOTE MAR. 2000</u> | <u>PRES. VOTE MAR. 2004</u> | <u>PRES. VOTE MAR. DIF. 2000-2004</u> |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Denver | D 20,566 | D 61,469 | D 85,731 | D + 24,262 |
| Boulder | R 1,860 | D 19,110 | D 19,327 | D + 217 |
| Pueblo | D 7,887 | D 6,061 | D 3,989 | D - 2,072 |
| Adams | D 191 | D 6,571 | D 2,417 | D - 4,154 |
| Larimer | R 10,705 | R 16,374 | R 7,633 | R - 8,741 |
| Arapahoe | R 26,629 | R 15,154 | R 9,554 | R - 5,600 |
| Jefferson | R 28,978 | R 19,168 | R 12,978 | R - 6,190 |
| Mesa | R 6,613 | R 16,931 | R 21,385 | R + 4,454 |
| Weld | R 7,110 | R 13,973 | R 23,590 | R + 9,617 |
| Douglas | R 4,326 | R 28,931 | R 40,159 | R + 11,228 |
| El Paso | R 29,801 | R 66,495 | R 81,155 | R + 14,660 |
| Broomfield | | | R 1,087 | |
| Colorado (statewide) | | R 145,521 | R 107,567 | R - 37,954 |

Presidential average vote margins for Colorado from 1960 to 1992 from Cronin and Loevy, *Colorado Politics And Government* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), pp. 149-150.

U.S. President vote margins for Colorado for 2000 and 2004 from Colorado Secretary of State, Denver.

U.S. PRESIDENT: COLORADO AND U.S. REPUBLICAN % COMPARED -
1960 TO 2004 (two-party vote only)

| <u>YEAR</u> | <u>U.S % REPUBLICAN</u> | <u>COLORADO % REPUBLICAN</u> | <u>MARGIN REPUBLICAN</u> |
|-------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 2004 | 51.5 | 52.7 | 1.2 |
| 2000 | 49.7 | 54.5 | 4.8 |
| 1996 | 45.3 | 50.8 | 5.5 |
| 1992 | 46.5 | 47.2 | .7 |
| 1988 | 53.9 | 54 | .1 |
| 1984 | 59.2 | 64.4 | 5.2 |
| 1980 | 55.3 | 63.9 | 8.6 |
| 1976 | 48.9 | 55.9 | 7 |
| 1972 | 61.8 | 64.4 | 2.6 |
| 1968 | 50.4 | 55 | 4.6 |
| 1964 | 38.7 | 38.4 | -.3 |
| 1960 | 49.9 | 54.9 | 5 |

AVERAGE REPUBLICAN MARGIN - 1960 TO 2000: 3.98

AVERAGE REPUBLICAN MARGIN - 1960 TO 2004: 3.75

AMENDMENT 36: COLORADO ELECTORAL COLLEGE WINNER-TAKE-ALL
SYSTEM COMPARED TO PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM - 1960 TO 2000

| <u>YEAR</u> | <u>WINNER TAKE ALL</u> | | <u>PROPORTIONAL</u> | | | <u>REP. +/-</u> |
|-------------|------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | <u>REP.</u> | <u>DEM.</u> | <u>REP.</u> | <u>DEM.</u> | <u>IND.</u> | |
| 2004 | 9 | 0 | 5 | 4 | | -4 |
| 2000 | 8 | 0 | 5 | 3 | | -3 |
| 1996 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 4 | | -4 |
| 1992 | 0 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 2 | +3 |
| 1988 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 4 | | -4 |
| 1984 | 8 | 0 | 5 | 3 | | -3 |
| 1980 | 7 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 1 | -3 |
| 1976 | 7 | 0 | 4 | 3 | | -3 |
| 1972 | 7 | 0 | 5 | 2 | | -2 |
| 1968 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 | -3 |
| 1964 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 4 | | +2 |
| 1960 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 3 | | -3 |

NET TOTAL ELECTORAL VOTES SHIFTED REP. TO DEM. 27

COLORADO AND THE “NEW SECTIONALISM” IN UNITED STATES POLITICS: COULD A RED STATE TURN BLUE IN 2004?

by Robert D. Loevy

It is the red states against the blue states, the political pundits say, referring to the map of the electoral votes cast for the Republican and Democratic candidates for President in the 2000 election. The television networks presented the George W. Bush states in red and the Al Gore states in blue in an election so close it eventually had to be decided in Bush's favor by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The red against blue nomenclature mainly stands for the idea that, compared to the past, there is a sharp ideological division between Republican states and Democratic states, with the Republicans totally committed to social conservatism and the Democrats overboard for liberal economic and social policies.

This sharp division between the two major political parties is the result of changes in the voting behavior of certain states over the past 40 years, but one of the states that has not changed is Colorado. More on that later.

The biggest change in state voting has been the on-going shift of the old Democratic “Solid South” to the Republicans. The 11 states that seceded from the United States during the Civil War have not just turned from blue to red. They have become one of the most reliably Republican parts of the nation.

This change of the old Confederacy from solid Democratic to just-as-solid Republican has dramatically altered the makeup of the two parties. Having lost the support of conservative Southern white voters, the Democratic Party has become increasingly liberal. The Republican Party, having gained those conservative Southern white votes, has shifted dramatically to the right.

But the philosophical chasm between red and blue states has been overstated. A number of states, particularly Midwestern states such as Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ohio, are closely balanced between the two parties and shift from pale pink to light blue, and back again, from one presidential election to another. Gallup pollsters refer to them as “purple states.”

More than symbolizing the growing ideological differences between Republicans and Democrats, the red-blue nomenclature illustrates a “New Sectionalism” in presidential voting behavior. Sectionalism is the analytical tool that sees American Politics in terms of groups of states in particular sections of the nation having distinct voting characteristics.

In recent years the Republican states, including Colorado, have gathered into a large red L-shaped block that includes the Rocky Mountain states (Colorado, Wyoming, etc.) the high plains states (the Dakotas, Nebraska, etc.), and the South (from Texas through Florida to Virginia). The Democrats are concentrated on the upper East Coast (New York and New England, etc.) and the

West Coast (California, Oregon, Washington) to form a bi-coastal bloc. The Midwest swings the balance between these two giant blocks of Republican and Democratic voters.

Colorado has been amazingly consistent in its presidential voting behavior over the years. A generally Republican state solidly located in the Rocky Mountain portion of the Republican L," Colorado tends to vote for Democratic candidates for President only when a strong Democratic tide is sweeping across the nation.

Thus Colorado voted Democratic for President only twice in the past fifty years. The first time was in 1964, when Democratic President Lyndon Johnson swept the nation against arch-conservative Republican Barry Goldwater. The second time was in 1992, when Reform Party candidate Ross Perot split the Republican vote in Colorado and Democrat Bill Clinton was able to defeat incumbent Republican President George H. W. Bush.

So what color should be used to describe Colorado, a state that mainly votes Republican but where Democrats can occasionally win. It is not brick or fire-engine red like Idaho and Utah, which tend to vote Republican for President no matter what. Nor is Colorado pale pink, similar to Missouri or Ohio, which can go either way between the two major parties. Perhaps Colorado should be considered solid pink colored. It is a nice red Republican state, but not all that red.

More instructive than looking at when Colorado votes Democratic for President is surveying what happens in Colorado when there is a close national vote. In 1960 Democrat John F. Kennedy defeated Republican Richard Nixon in one of the closest presidential elections in U.S. history. Colorado voted for Nixon.

In 1968 Republican Richard Nixon narrowly edged out Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey for the White House. Again Colorado gave its electoral votes to Nixon.

There was another cliffhanger in 1976 when Democrat Jimmy Carter won a close race over incumbent Republican President Gerald R. Ford. Colorado supported Ford.

In the 2000 election, Democrat Al Gore won the popular vote. Republican George W. Bush won the electoral vote and the White House. Colorado went comfortably for Bush.

So the most interesting thing about Colorado is its consistent Republican voting behavior in presidential elections. While the Southern states were shifting from loyally Democratic to solidly Republican, Colorado remained true to the Republican cause. As the West Coast and the upper East Coast were going ever more Democratic, Colorado stayed steadfastly on the Republican path. When the Midwest came to swing the balance of the power in U.S. presidential elections, Colorado kept its traditionally Republican ways.

That does not mean Colorado has been unaffected by the major partisan changes that have taken place elsewhere in the United States. It is my contention that, as all those Southern electoral votes progressively slipped away from the Democratic Party, the Democrats cast an ever hungrier eye on Colorado. As states of the old Confederacy such as Alabama and Tennessee drifted solidly into the Republican camp, the Democrats had to look elsewhere to replace those Southern electoral votes. That made Colorado, despite its general Republican voting behavior, more attractive to the Democrats.

I first noted this increased Democratic interest in Colorado in the 1988 presidential election. As election day neared, and polls showed Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis losing in the South, Dukakis began making a serious, if perhaps desperate, effort in Colorado. Dukakis actually devoted valuable time to campaigning in Colorado the weekend before election day. It was a good try, but it did not work. Republican George H. W. Bush defeated Dukakis, both nationally and in Colorado, and went on to one four-year term in the White House.

Once again, in 2004, a Democratic candidate for President is making a major effort to win Colorado. John Kerry is running a flurry of television advertisements in the state. As with Dukakis in 1988, Kerry is forced to compete for Colorado because of his poor prospects for winning electoral votes in the South.

Will it work? Can Kerry take solid pink Colorado and turn it into a pale blue state this coming November. Political history says that if Kerry wins Colorado for the Democrats, the Democrats will be sweeping the election nationally, because it is well established that Colorado only votes Democratic when the rest of the nation is voting heavily Democratic. In such a Democratic sweep, John Kerry will not need Colorado's nine electoral votes.

I think the Kerry campaign has set itself a much more difficult task. It is trying to get Colorado to vote Democratic in a close national election, something that has never happened before. Are the Iraq war and the jobless economic recovery powerful enough issues in Colorado to get the state to vote Democratic when the Democrats are only narrowly winning the nation?

This unusual play by John Kerry and the Democrats is going to make Colorado one of the most interesting red states to watch in the 2004 presidential election.

Bob Loevy is Professor of Political Science at Colorado College in Colorado Springs. His book on the 2000 presidential election is on-line at <http://faculty1.coloradocollege.edu/~bloevy/bookweb>.

John Kerry Cut Off Bush's Coattails In Colorado, Thereby Helping Democrats Win Farther Down The Ballot

By Bob Loevy

It has been more than a month since the 2004 presidential election, so now is a good time to try to figure out exactly what happened in Colorado.

Why was it such a big year for the Democrats in Colorado when that party was doing relatively poorly across the nation?

George W. Bush won Colorado in the presidential race, but the Democrats picked up a U.S. Senator in Colorado (Ken Salazar), a new member of the U.S. House of Representatives (John Salazar), and won control of both houses of the Colorado state legislature.

Much of the credit goes to John F. Kerry, the Democratic nominee for president.

Kerry made the strongest effort to carry Colorado of any Democratic presidential nominee in the past 36 years. He made a number of campaign forays into the Centennial State. In the past Colorado has been lucky to get as much as one visit from a would-be Democratic president.

In addition, the Kerry campaign spent more money on television advertising in Colorado than any past Democratic presidential campaign. My television set overflowed with both positive ads touting John Kerry's abilities and negative ads attacking incumbent President George W. Bush for the war in Iraq and cutting taxes for the rich.

The result of this super effort by Kerry to win Colorado was to greatly cut the Bush margin of victory in the state. True, George W. Bush won Colorado, but he did not win by the usual big Republican vote that has characterized presidential elections in Colorado in the past.

I have a favorite statistic which I have calculated and watched for many years. Colorado on average votes 4 percent more Republican for president than the United States as a whole. This is what makes Colorado, in Political Science speak, a "generally Republican state which occasionally elects a Democrat or two."

Let us look at two recent examples. In 1996, the Republican nominee for President, former Kansas U.S. Senator Bob Dole, won only 45 percent of the national popular vote in a losing effort to incumbent Democratic President Bill Clinton. In Colorado, however, Dole received 51 percent, 6 percent more than the nation and enough to win Colorado.

Much the same thing happened four years later in 2000. George W. Bush won slightly less than 50 percent of the popular vote nationwide, but he garnered 55 percent in Colorado, five percentage points more than the U.S. figure.

But Colorado badly under performed for the Republicans in 2004. George W. Bush received 52 percent of the national popular vote in his race for reelection to the White House, but he only garnered 53 percent of the vote in Colorado, a mere 1 percent more than the nation.

That is way below the average performance level of 4 percent more Republican than the U.S figure.

Presidential coattails tend to be long in Colorado. When a presidential candidate wins big in our state, he tends to carry large numbers of his fellow party members into office with him further down the ballot.

Republicans did well in Colorado in the early 1980s because Republican President Ronald Reagan won the state by extra large margins and pulled significant numbers of GOP candidates into office with him.

But that is not what happened in Colorado in 2004. In effect, by making such a major effort to win the state for the Democrats, John F. Kerry cut-off George W. Bush's coattails.

Republican candidates further down the ballot, from unsuccessful Republican U.S. Senate candidate Pete Coors to GOP candidates for the state legislature, suffered lost votes as a result, often enough votes to lose the election to a Democrat.

There was some irony in the U.S. Senate race. Democratic candidate Ken Salazar went out of his way to not be seen campaigning with John Kerry, the Democratic presidential nominee. Ken Salazar made only one Colorado appearance with Kerry, and that was shortly before election day in Pueblo.

The irony is that one of the more important reasons Ken Salazar won his Senate race was that John F. Kerry, by campaigning so hard in Colorado, was reducing Bush's statewide majority and helping pave Ken Salazar's path to victory over Republican Pete Coors.

Will future Democratic candidates for president campaign as hard in Colorado as John Kerry did in 2004, thereby helping Democrats to win more state and local elections in Colorado?

The answer is probably "yes." As the states of the old South go increasingly Republican, Democratic presidential candidates are going to have to make up for those lost southern votes by shopping in southwestern states such as Colorado. That means more Democratic presidential campaign visits, and more Democratic presidential campaign TV ads.

The 2004 presidential election, in which the Democratic presidential nominee did real electoral damage to Colorado Republicans farther down the ballot, is a harbinger of things to come.