

## **The Battle for Five Electoral Votes: The New Mexico Presidential Campaign of 2004**

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The 2000 New Mexico presidential race was the closest in the nation with a mere 366 votes separating the state winner Al Gore from his Republican opponent George W. Bush. The very tight gap was in spite of the overwhelming Democratic (52 percent) to Republican (33 percent) registration advantage. In 2004 the Electoral College race appeared close enough to make this small state of about 1.83 million people and only five electoral votes a battleground.<sup>1</sup> New Mexico holds additional interest with regard to the presidential election since it is the first so-called minority-majority state where whites and Hispanics dominate the political and cultural landscape comprising 43.1 percent and 43.4 percent of the state population, respectively. American Indians make up the next largest group representing about 8.5 percent of the state population.

Given the low number of GOP registrants in the state, the Republican Party is regularly forced to seek out potential crossover voters. In the 2004 election, two key groups were seen as likely crossover voters. First, Hispanics were targets because of their perceived social conservatism on moral issues such as abortion and gay marriage.<sup>2</sup> Second, military soldiers, veterans, and their families constituted a high volume of potential swing voters for the president.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, Democrats and their allies also saw opportunities to win the state by mobilizing key demographic groups, particularly given the large Democratic base. The key for Democrats was mobilizing unlikely voters, especially Hispanic and American Indian voters.<sup>4</sup> Mobilization efforts by both parties brought tremendous amounts of activity to New Mexico, bombarding residents with

information through TV, radio, mail, and person-to-person contact from early spring of 2004 to voting day.

### **Overview of New Mexico Race**

While the state was in a statistical dead heat through most of the contest (see Figure 6-1),<sup>5</sup> Kerry enjoyed a brief polling edge during the early phase of the nomination campaign when the Republicans were mostly watching on the sidelines. But, on March 11, when the nomination phase of the campaign technically ended due to delegate totals, almost immediately the presidential campaign for New Mexico's voter began. While the TV campaign throughout the elections was highly negative on both sides, the Bush campaign threw the first punch in March with six negative, anti-Kerry ads. The Bush campaign did not show a positive ad until August, when five out of eight ads were positive. The anti-Kerry ads focused on the war on terror and taxes. The pro-Bush featured messages on the economy, American values, opportunity and ownership, and national security. After August the negative ads again outnumbered the positive ads focusing on taxes, Kerry "doublespeak," crime, abortion, and the war on terror. On the other hand, all of Kerry's ads before August were positive. Because the Kerry campaign accepted public financing for the general election, his campaign was not active on TV in August, relying instead on allies, especially the Media Fund and MoveOn.org, 527 organizations whose TV ads were nearly all anti-Bush. However, in September the campaign changed tactics and nearly every Kerry ad aired was negative, especially on issues relating to health care, the economy, and Iraq. Various 527s, such as Swift Boat Veterans for Truth and MoveOn, contributed to this negative activity.

By September, with the GOP convention in New York and a barrage of ads by the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth capturing the attention of the media and the voters, Bush took the lead for the first time (45 percent versus 42 percent), but the margin of error made the race still too close to call.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, poll data in September showed Kerry had some serious problems.<sup>7</sup> Foremost among them was Kerry's weak lead in the Democratic stronghold of Northern New Mexico where he had only an eleven point lead (49 percent versus 38 percent), with 10 percent of the voters still undecided. In addition, polls indicated that 27 percent of Hispanics and 20 percent of Democrats were supporting Bush. According to state conventional wisdom, the Republican candidate needs about a quarter of both the Hispanic and Democratic vote to win.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Bush had a majority of support from likely voters on issues like the economy and unemployment, the war in Iraq, and homeland security and terrorism. Kerry was only favored over Bush on the issue of health care, but did not enjoy the support of a majority of likely voters even on this issue (47 percent versus 41 percent). Even more unfortunate for Kerry was the fact that health care rated fifth in importance (7 percent), behind Iraq (24 percent), homeland security and the war on terror (23 percent), the economy and unemployment (19 percent) and moral issues and family values (11 percent).

Kerry's October ads continued the old themes and added several new ones that responded to attacks on his character, patriotism, and record on national security and taxes. As early voting began Democratic and Republican groups intensified their mobilization efforts. That meant more phone calls, more volunteers and staff on the streets going door-to-door, and more campaign advertising that often featured back-to-back political ads during commercial breaks. Our data indicate that the eighteen

Democrat-aligned interest groups that participated in the air war spent an estimated \$1.2 million on TV and radio ads over the course of the campaign. Although only nine GOP allies purchased TV and/or radio ads, they spent almost twice as much, nearly \$2 million. Overall, the two sides spent remarkably similar amounts of money on the air war. On the Democratic side, the candidate, party, and interest groups combined spent an estimated \$5.27 million in New Mexico. Republican groups spent \$5.38 million. (See table 6-1.) In the end, Bush won the state by 5,988 votes, but he did not win a majority. Once again New Mexico was the closest state in the country, with Bush receiving 49.8 percent (376,930) of the popular vote to Kerry's 49.1 percent (370,942).

### **The Mobilization Game**

Democratic and Republican groups both knew that the key to winning this race was mobilization; the question was how to do it. Both groups reflected on recent internal and external research that demonstrated the potential power of person-to-person mobilization efforts. J. Scott Jennings, executive director of the Bush-Cheney campaign in New Mexico, indicated that internal GOP research showed that it took an average of seventeen TV ads compared to six person-to-person contacts to get their message to a voter.<sup>9</sup> Democratic allies discussed cutting edge research by political scholars Green and Gerber who argue personal contact is the most effective means for voter mobilization.<sup>10</sup> For both groups person-to-person contact became the primary focus in their get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts. However, which voters they focused on and how they reached them became a critical difference between the campaigns and may help to explain the election outcome.

### *The GOP Allies*

GOP staff came into New Mexico early. Both Jennings, and the Bush Victory 2004 executive director, Jay McClesky, arrived in January and began operations February 1. This gave them the necessary time to set up a, “statewide, comprehensive, grassroots, precinct-level organization.”<sup>11</sup> This was a top-down, centralized campaign model led by Jennings and McClesky who organized volunteers and paid staff and kept local party activists focused on the task of reelecting Bush. This centralized effort proved critical because the Republican Party of New Mexico (GOPNM) was somewhat fractured from in-fighting over local issues and control. The presidential campaign had the potential to pull them together.<sup>12</sup> This was a new approach: in the past the party relied on local party activists and county customs to fight the ground war; this time the national actors from the Bush and Bush Victory 2004 campaigns were calling the shots.<sup>13</sup> Their goal was more than reelecting President Bush; it was to “leave something behind.”<sup>14</sup> They were investing in building an apparatus that would make the state party stronger for future contests.

With these plans, the Bush campaign set turnout targets for each county. Knowing that Democrats were going to focus on turning out their base in the most populated and Democratic counties, Republicans focused on remaining competitive in these areas (Bernalillo, Sandoval, Valencia, Santa Fe and Doña Ana). Republicans also worked hard to offset the more populated counties by mobilizing voters in the rural southeast counties (Lincoln, Otero, Chaves, Roosevelt, Curry, Lea, Eddy) and the two northern counties, Los Alamos and San Juan, where Republican registration exceeds that of Democrats (see table 6-2). Work in these areas included satellite offices in small counties, ad purchases

of about \$80,000 in El Paso, Texas, for some southern New Mexico voters, a radio campaign, and visits to these key areas by Bush and Cheney (see table 6-3). A smaller part of this strategy involved a voter registration drive. Recognizing that they could not compete with the Democratic groups on this front, the GOPNM set a modest goal of registering 30,000 Republican voters.<sup>15</sup> Their efforts far exceeded their goals. In place of the hoped-for 30,000 the GOP registered an additional 20,000 voters.

The Bush and Bush Victory 2004 campaigns' main strategy was mobilizing the Bush base. In a state with registration numbers that favor Democrats strongly, this meant finding Democratic crossover voters. During the summer, the campaign focused on voter identification and built a swing voter file to determine voter preference on candidates and issues.<sup>16</sup> Given the high number of new registrants in the state since 2000, Republicans focused their attention on early voting and Election Day turnout and not the more confusing absentee voter turnout that they successfully used in 2002.<sup>17</sup> In addition, they organized local communities by identifying and recruiting volunteers within evangelical churches, Catholic parishes, and every precinct in the state to lead voter mobilization.

Much like the Democratic group America Coming Together (ACT), Bush campaigners used data compiled in the field to bring targeted messages to individual voters through telephone calls, door-to-door canvassing, and direct mail. As Jennings said, "We have returned campaigning to what it was years and years ago. Shoe leather campaigns, telephone-driven campaigns where you have actual volunteers on the ground making the difference."<sup>18</sup> However, this campaign differed in the GOP emphasis on personal contact from a like-minded and local individual. Evangelical Christians and Catholics received calls from other evangelicals and Catholics encouraging them to vote

for life by voting for Bush. Veterans called veterans, hunters called hunters, and neighbors called neighbors, all identifying themselves as kindred hearts and emphasizing their passion for the election and the issues. This gave GOP canvassing a personal touch that was matched by very few groups on the left. The campaign also encouraged strong Republicans to find three Bush supporters and vote with them early. Other group outreach emphasized policy. Volunteers outreaching to Hispanic and veteran voters emphasized topics of interest to them, such as social issues like abortion and gay marriage, and the war on terror. Because women often care about education, their callers left messages about the success of No Child Left Behind legislation.<sup>19</sup>

The last weekend of the campaign was intense. 1,500 volunteers from Southwest Texas went to Lea and Eddy counties to make phone calls, knock on doors, put up signs, and offer rides on Election Day. The GOP rented hundreds of vans to GOTV. Walk teams and phone banks in Albuquerque were also used. The GOP estimates it made about 100,000 phone calls on Election Day and 1 million voter contacts overall. This was double the contacts than in 2000.<sup>20</sup> Estimated costs for these activities were placed at \$2 million.<sup>21</sup>

The Republican National Committee (RNC) supplemented these efforts with massive amounts of direct mail to potential New Mexico voters, some of it in Spanish. Many of these ads highlighted family-oriented, conservative values. Others addressed issues such as terrorism, prescription drugs, social security, and Second Amendment rights. Ads targeted particularly to New Mexico included two endorsements by popular Republican Senator Pete Domenici and a description of the candidates' positions on a local environmental issue. The RNC and Bush-Cheney also ran TV and radio ads, both

groups altogether spending an estimated \$3.4 million on the air war, compared to \$4.1 million spent by Kerry and the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The Republican TV ads covered more domestic issues than the direct mail and often highlighted Kerry's changing positions on issues. Several ads were run on Spanish TV stations and discussed domestic issues and family values (see table 6-4).

A number of other Republican allies sent direct mail to New Mexico voters, although the RNC was the most active and the only group to narrowly tailor their direct mail specifically to New Mexicans. The 527 group Swift Boat Veterans for Truth sent two booklets of multiple pages mirroring the attacks of their TV ads. The November Fund sent two pamphlets regarding problems with medical malpractice. Both pamphlets attacked John Edwards as a personal injury lawyer and praised Bush's commitment to medical liability reform. Progress for America sent a poster of Bush comforting Ashley Faulkner, the reverse side describing Bush's support of the family and his leadership qualities. The Citizen Leadership Coalition sent a packet of information to pastors of conservative churches to distribute to young, new voters in their churches. Their "voter guides" compared Kerry and Bush on a number of religious issues. They also included flyers describing the "left's assault on Christianity," with a special focus on Michael Moore. National Right to Life sent two mailings, one bilingual, with comparisons of Bush and Kerry on abortion-related policies.

#### *Democratic Allies*

Kerry's campaign in New Mexico focused particularly on mobilizing voters in the more populated and urban areas focusing mostly on three domestic issues: health care, the economy and education.<sup>22</sup> The campaign utilized 5,000 volunteers for phone and

door-to-door activities in Democratic strongholds in the North and in Albuquerque (Bernalillo County).<sup>23</sup> The Coordinated Campaign of New Mexico defined its targets in a more aggregated way than Republicans, focusing on any precinct that was at least 65 percent Democratic, conceding in particular Southeastern regions of the state, a mistake they lamented in hindsight.<sup>24</sup> The Kerry campaign and DPNM focused on specific demographic groups as well including women, college-educated men, Hispanics, and American Indians.

The targeted issues, demographic groups and regions, however, proved to be inadequate to ensure a Democratic victory. In part, this was due to a Democratic campaign that was organized, but not responsive to an evolving campaign. For example, although there was an active “Catholics for Kerry” organization, Democrats did not answer religious issues highlighted by Republicans. Hispanic targeting was less successful because they were “taken for granted.”<sup>25</sup> And the coordinated campaign was not as coordinated as it should have been.<sup>26</sup>

Democratic interest groups played a major role in the New Mexico presidential contest. Using 501(c)(4), 501(c)(3), or 527 IRS tax status depending on their activities, groups such as the America Votes Coalition took over much of the party building work that was previously funded by soft money. In New Mexico, the America Votes Coalition consisted of ACT, the League of Conservation Voters (LCV), Moving America Forward, the NARAL Pro-Choice America, MoveOn, and the Southwest Young Voter Alliance. The coalition’s purpose was to create efficiency by communicating with each other about activities, messages, and targets to prevent any overlap. Many groups started organizing, planning and operating as early as March including voter registration activities,

identification for targeting, and mobilization. All groups focused on pushing their targets to vote absentee or early.

Because of the state's already high Democratic registration numbers, the America Votes Coalition focused their voter registration drive on hard to turnout groups (e.g. Hispanics, the young, and American Indians).<sup>27</sup> One major player in this area was New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson's 527 called Moving America Forward.<sup>28</sup> Its focus was on getting new and low propensity voters, especially Hispanics, American Indians, and newly registered voters to the polls. According to the director, Dan Sena, its mission was to "register and protect these voters' voting rights by educating them about the vote process."<sup>29</sup> Moving America Forward began its efforts in May and continued through Election Day with an aggressive educational message. The early start was the key to "building a successful relationship with a voter."<sup>30</sup> The initial efforts focused on a registration drive using over ninety paid staff that did site registration, door-to-door registration, and a phone bank that matched home ownership to voter registration data to help determine if some adults in a home were not yet registered. To obtain access in pueblos, where potential voters are spread out, often have no phones and/or rely on the Chapter House for mail service because they lack a mailing address, Moving America Forward focused on building a relationship with tribal leaders who could provide them with the best information on how and when to reach potential American Indian voters. This meant different strategies were used at different pueblos. The results of these activities were 27,921 successfully registered Hispanics and American Indians, outpacing the groups' goal of 25,000 new voters. Of these, about ten thousand were American Indian.

In addition to its registration activities, Moving America Forward focused mobilization efforts on any Hispanic or non-Republican potential voter who was either newly registered as of January 2003 or an infrequent Democratic voter. The universe targeted 190,407 potential voters. These targets were then educated about the voting process, particularly voting by mail, early voting, provisional ballots and voter identification issues. Potential voters received a minimum of twelve contacts, including mail from Governor Richardson, person-to-person contact through phone or canvass, and “robocalls” from the governor encouraging them to vote. The call also provided them with a contact phone number for voting questions. Their voter care line was a busy and crucial part of their GOTV effort. According to Sena their efforts were very successful. Over 57 percent of their targeted voters cast early or absentee ballots, and an additional 20 percent turned out on voting day.

The local group Southwest Organizing Project (SWOP) also worked to register voters as part of its broader community-organizing mission. It focused on two groups: unregistered members and young Hispanics. It sent mail to members, went door-to-door, and used phone banks in Carlsbad and Albuquerque. It used imagery (such as a graffiti contest) and local issues (such as local anti-assembly laws) to appeal particularly to young citizens. Similarly the Young Voter Alliance also registered young people, focusing largely on the southern part of the state. Youth organizer Lolita Roybal noted that the high amount of national mobilization efforts made it difficult for local groups to compete; and that many people were simply turned off by “overkill.”<sup>31</sup>

Other nonpartisan groups focused on increased registration as well. Victor Landa of the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVREP) came to New Mexico

from Texas in March to train New Mexicans to register voters. He organized registration drives in seventeen communities, chosen for their high number of unregistered Hispanics, including Hobbs, Las Cruces, Silver City, Zuni, Gallup, McKinley, and Santa Fe counties. Rather than moving door-to-door, it did site registrations at grocery stores, fiestas, and churches. This group registered twenty thousand new voters in the state. After the registration deadline, it focused on mobilizing those newly registered voters using telephone calls and home visits. Landa estimates that about seventy percent of those it registered turned out to vote.<sup>32</sup> SVREP also targeted young people to vote with their “Take 5 and Drive” contest. Participants completed a form with the names of five friends they would get to the polls. If everyone on the form voted, the participant’s form went in a drawing for a Ford Mustang. The organization sent direct mail to advertise the contest, and followed up with recorded phone messages, including one by actor Danny Glover.

ACT started its New Mexico operation in late May with an office in Albuquerque, followed by an office in June in Santa Fe, one in Las Cruces (Doña Ana County) in July, and one in October in Española (Rio Arriba County).<sup>33</sup> Late in the campaign it also placed about 10 percent of its effort in more rural areas, including some of the larger cities in the North (Las Vegas, Gallup, and Los Alamos), and in the Southeast in Carlsbad and Roswell. Its state goals were the same as its national goals: to “defeat George Bush, elect John Kerry, and other progressive candidates,” and to do so by working on persuading registered Democrats, registered members of third parties and those “decline to state” voters through a focus on issues.<sup>34</sup> ACT used a large paid staff and volunteers for its efforts. Its voter issue identification project began in June. It found that, like other battleground states, its target voters saw Iraq as the top issue, but unlike other states there

was no top second issue. In New Mexico, the other issues—health care, social security, education, and the economy—were equally important. ACT made over 200,000 contacts, and by August targeted voters were receiving at least one piece of mail each week on their “most important issue.” Courtney Hunter, communications director for ACT, anecdotally noted that Democrats in the Southeast were particularly hard sells, appearing scared and fearful and often arguing that even though “I don’t like Bush, we need to stay the course and let him finish the job he started and protect our families.”<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless Hunter believed their New Mexico efforts were successful, especially for increasing the turnout of younger voters.<sup>36</sup> ACT spent about \$3 million on its mobilization efforts.

The LCV’s goal was to focus on the top four hundred precincts that were identified as volatile (i.e. could go for Bush or Kerry) and compact enough to enable face-to-face contact with voters.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly almost every precinct in Albuquerque was identified as “volatile.” In the end, it focused on the northeast areas of Albuquerque (Bernalillo County), as well as the cities of Santa Fe (Santa Fe County) and Rio Rancho (Sandoval County and a suburb of Albuquerque). It had four different canvass pieces all focused on environmental and energy issues. The LCV knocked on the doors of 80,000 households with a total of 175,000 door knocks, averaging over two door knocks per address. In addition, it had five mailings that it sent to about 12,000 potential voters. Two of these addressed dependence on foreign oil. The other three mailings specifically addressed New Mexico’s main environmental concerns: air and water pollution. It also spent \$16,500 on one small TV ad, late in the campaign. The LCV spent a total of \$8 million in the state all of it for John Kerry and against George W. Bush.

The NARAL Pro-Choice America focused on two groups.<sup>38</sup> First, it focused on its membership, which consists of about five thousand men and women throughout the state. One positive and two negative pieces of direct mail discussing medical privacy as well as abortion rights were addressed to donors and members from the national NARAL Pro-Choice America. Another piece of direct mail from the state organization compares Kerry and Bush (as well as congressional candidates) on abortion, medical privacy, judicial nominees, and the “gag rule” related to overseas medical clinics. Second, it attempted to reach infrequent women voters who cared about social issues by calling or by canvassing. To identify these women, they did a phone canvass that asked three questions, one each on the environment, gay rights, and choice. Women who supported at least two out of three of these issues were then targeted, resulting in a target group of about eleven thousand women. NARAL Pro-Choice America’s theme throughout was: “Voting, it feels good,” a predominantly GOTV message that was neither anti-Bush nor pro-Kerry. One nonpartisan mailer from the state office, for example, has two women talking, one saying, “Yeah, you should do it. It felt so good.” Their first priority for both target groups was to get them to vote by mail, and if a voter indicated she wanted to do so, NARAL Pro-Choice America sent her an absentee application. When this window closed, they shifted their focus to early voting. When early voting ended, they turned their remaining attention to a phone bank consisting of twenty-five phone lines and person-to-person contact. At this point their operation was folded into ACT for purposes of “live” phone calls whose only message was “go vote.” They were able to contact about 28,000 potential voters in the last four days.

The Democratic ally and progressive group MoveOn started its election efforts in June, late in the process by comparison.<sup>39</sup> For Democrats this group was the closest mobilization effort to the Republican machine. It relied on a grassroots, volunteer campaign that used members to contact neighbors and friends mostly in Bernalillo, which includes Albuquerque, and Santa Fe Counties. After a door-to-door voter identification campaign determined potential Kerry supporters and undecided voters, it followed up on each target six or seven times with in-person or phone contacts. Like other groups, MoveOn encouraged targeted voters to vote early or absentee. Its main theme was “beat Bush,” and for these advocacy efforts MoveOn used its PAC status and hard dollars. Though part of the America Votes Coalition, it asserted its independence by choosing not to participate in GOTV efforts on Election Day. Consequently, it occasionally overlapped with other groups because of its reliance on volunteer door-to-door activity. MoveOn was also busy as a 527, educating voters on Bush policies through two TV commercials.

The Sierra Club began its voter identification process in March and, with directions from the national group, had clear-cut compliance standards for staying within the law.<sup>40</sup> It used 501(c)(3) money for voter education and 501(c)(4) monies when specifically advocating for a candidate. For example, 501(c)(4) money was used for endorsement materials. The organization mostly focused on its seven thousand state members through phone banks and phone contacts; it used a chapter in California for these efforts as well. Like other Democratic and Republican groups, the Sierra Club encouraged its members to vote absentee or early. Organizers explained that, “if every member voted, it could make the difference in the election outcomes.”<sup>41</sup> Much of its efforts overlapped with other groups, and, according to Rio Grande Chapter President

Susan Martin, some members got angry about the abundance of calls. Indeed long-term member John Schultze quit the Sierra Club after begging them to stop calling.<sup>42</sup> Sierra Club members also volunteered for candidate campaigns and Moving America Forward.

A variety of other groups also focused on GOTV efforts. In Albuquerque the Association of Community Organizing for Reform Now (ACORN), New Mexico hired citizens to visit homes in highly Hispanic neighborhoods with a nonpartisan GOTV message. Peace Action sent activists from California to canvass select neighborhoods in urban areas, armed with a voter guide comparing the candidates on nuclear waste and weapons policy. It also sent out one piece of direct mail.

### **Evaluation of Activity**

The campaign influenced New Mexico's overall political landscape. As shown in table 6-5, from 2000 to 2004, the electorate grew by 131,839, a 13.5 percent increase. Democratic allies that targeted young voters for mobilization were particularly successful. While voters under twenty-five comprise only 11 percent of registered voters in the state, this group represented 36 percent of new voters in 2004. Changes in county voter registration from 2000 to 2004 are shown in table 6-6. This table also shows the overall change in the distribution of the Republican, Democrat, other party and non-party registration categories. The data indicate that despite large increases in overall registration, Democratic registration declined in twelve counties and Republican registration declined in four. The big winner in terms of party registration was the no party option of "decline to state," which increased in every county. When we examine the overall change in each county, we find that Democrats on average lost more of the registration pie than they gained, actually losing a small proportion of the overall

registration numbers in twenty-eight of thirty-three New Mexico counties. At the state level, Democratic registration declined two percent, from 52 percent to 50 percent, from 2000 to 2004, while Republican registration saw no overall percentage change. So, while both Republican and especially Democratic groups were able to increase overall registration, the newly registered voters did not advantage either party.

The GOTV efforts were largely successful for both groups, and turnout in the state increased by 22.9 percent from 615,607 voters in 2000 to 756,304 in 2004 (see table 6-5). Both Democratic and Republican groups were also successful at getting voters to the polls early, which was a big push for both groups.<sup>43</sup> Early voting saw lines and waiting periods unheard of in New Mexico and represented 31 percent of voting activity. Another 20 percent voted absentee. In 2004 just over half (51 percent) of the electorate cast its ballot before Election Day. This represented a large change from 2000 when over two-thirds (69 percent) voted on Election Day and only 13 percent voted early.

The basic strategy of both parties was to turn out their base. For Democrats, this meant the most populated counties in the state. Democrats worked hardest in these areas to get out the vote and by all counts succeeded as seen in table 6-7, which shows the total votes in each county by party. For example, in Bernalillo Democrats increased their turnout by 33 percent, Republicans by 28 percent. In Santa Fe, Democrats turned out an additional 15,000 voters for an increase of 47 percent, while the Republican increase was 32 percent. Republicans, therefore, had to offset the gains of Democrats in the more urban areas with gains in the more rural areas. Amazingly, the Republican strategy of offsetting the northern and more populated parts of the state with the southeastern and less populated part of the state was a success. As table 6-7 shows, in the Southeastern part

of the state (including Lea, Eddy, Otero, Curry, Roosevelt, Lincoln and Chaves), Republicans increased their percentages consistently and with gains much larger than the Democrats. For example in Lea County, votes for Bush increased 47.5 percent more than votes for Kerry increased. In Eddy County the Republican increase compared to the Democratic was 31.6 percent. These data indicate that in the end, the Bush-Cheney strategy was successful, resulting in a win for Bush. Strategically, the Democrats erred by ignoring or at least not attending to voter mobilization in the rural and especially southeastern parts of the state. In these areas the Republicans invested greater resources in terms of candidate visits, manpower (people on the ground and organization), and voter registration with excellent results. Simply stated, the Democrats put most of their balls in the same “large population” courts.

According to exit polls, Republicans also made Election Day gains among New Mexico Hispanics.<sup>44</sup> Gore won two thirds of the Hispanic vote in 2000, while Kerry received only 56 percent of it. Exit polls indicated that 21 percent of New Mexico Hispanics, compared to 11 percent of Hispanics nationally, viewed strong leadership as the attribute that mattered most in their voting decision, and fully 83 percent of these voters supported Bush.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, despite a focus on American Indians by Democratic groups and the extensive fieldwork done by the Kerry campaign and DPNM in Indian Country (especially McKinley County), it did not appear to help Kerry. Data in table 6-6 indicate that in McKinley County, Bush achieved a 5 percent gain compared to 2000, while Kerry received no vote gain compared to Gore in 2000. And, DPNM Executive Director Vanessa Alarid noted that in the northeastern counties of the state, more citizens actually

voted for local offices, especially judgeships, than for president, suggesting that Kerry and the Kerry campaign did not connect with voters there, even if they got voters to the polls.<sup>46</sup>

### **Conclusion**

In the end, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA) did not attenuate campaign activity. Groups were still able to do what they had always done, though, in some cases, they had to change the source of the money to do it. For example, for the Bush-Cheney and Bush Victory 2004 campaigns, that meant relying on hard money for their mobilization efforts. Bush also benefited from the air and ground-war activities of 527 groups like the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth and the November Fund. Democrats relied heavily on 527s and very carefully targeted educational activities using their 501(c)(3) status. When pressed about the source of funds, group leaders mentioned the lawyers and directives involved because of BCRA; however, organizational leaders never seemed to think that BCRA hindered their activities.

What seems clear is that the ground war and how and where voters were targeted is important in understanding the New Mexico outcome. Person-to-person contact was successful for both groups, but in the end it was more successful for the GOP, which were able to turn out Bush voters in both the urban and especially the rural counties. Where Democrats organized and fought, they fared better, but the areas they ignored were heavily staffed and organized and consequently won by the Bush campaign. It is also important to note that the GOP may also have benefited from its style of person-to-person contact that emphasized what neighbors might have in common, e.g. veterans for veterans and hunters for hunters, *etc.* This strategy seemed to work better than the paid

and volunteer staff used more frequently by Democratic allies who often had no specific social connection to those they contacted. In a close race, minor differences in mobilization tactics may be pivotal for a group's success.

**Table 6-1**  
**The Air War: Television and Radio Advertising Expenditures,**  
**New Mexico Presidential and 1<sup>st</sup> Congressional District Races, 2004<sup>a</sup>**

Type and Organization <sup>b</sup>	TV	Radio	Total \$ Spent	CMAG TV
<b>Democratic allies<sup>c</sup></b>				
<i>Candidates</i>				
Kerry-Edwards 2004, Inc.	\$1,647,355	\$85,903	<b>\$1,733,258</b>	\$4,069,065
Romero for Congress	\$772,879	...	<b>\$772,879</b>	\$1,661,226
John Kerry / DNC	\$211,390	\$8,055	<b>\$219,445</b>	\$514,170
<i>Political parties</i>				
DNC	\$2,008,690	\$144,993	<b>\$2,153,683</b>	\$1,916,970
DCCC	\$899,090	...	<b>\$899,090</b>	\$908,037
<i>Interest groups</i>				
The Media Fund	\$378,324	\$37,235	<b>\$415,559</b>	\$1,034,567
AFSCME	\$215,895	...	<b>\$215,895</b>	...
MoveOn.org	\$136,555	...	<b>\$136,555</b>	\$308,035
American Family Voices	\$98,030	...	<b>\$98,030</b>	\$32,438
American Federation of Teachers	...	\$73,490	<b>\$73,490</b>	...
New Democratic Network	\$66,500	...	<b>\$66,500</b>	\$88,803
National Air Traffic Controllers	\$36,080	...	<b>\$36,080</b>	\$44,417
American Federation of Government Employees	...	\$20,987	<b>\$20,987</b>	...
Heritage Forest Campaign	\$14,800	\$2,415	<b>\$17,215</b>	...
League of Conservation Voters	\$16,590	...	<b>\$16,590</b>	\$49,590
Save Our Environment	\$15,700	...	<b>\$15,700</b>	\$48,656
TrueMajority.org	...	\$14,955	<b>\$14,955</b>	...
Stronger America Now	\$12,505	...	<b>\$12,505</b>	\$13,554
National Resource Defense Council	\$14,650	...	<b>\$14,650</b>	\$32,198
National Progress Fund	\$5,700	...	<b>\$5,700</b>	...
Moving America Forward	...	\$1,120	<b>\$1,120</b>	...
AFL-CIO	...	...	...	\$173,091
People for the American Way	...	...	...	\$1,204
<b>Republican allies<sup>c</sup></b>				
<i>Candidates</i>				
Bush/Cheney '04	\$1,354,780	\$187,091	<b>\$1,541,871</b>	\$2,334,837
Heather Wilson for Congress	\$1,398,682	\$63,552	<b>\$1,462,234</b>	\$2,270,718
Bush/Cheney '04 / RNC	\$651,135	...	<b>\$651,135</b>	\$1,973,126
<i>Political parties</i>				
RNC	\$1,145,065	\$63,570	<b>\$1,208,635</b>	\$509,543
NRCC	\$1,024,705	...	<b>\$1,024,705</b>	\$779,702
<i>Interest groups</i>				
Swift Boat Veterans for Truth	\$895,655	...	<b>\$895,655</b>	\$741,055
Progress for America	\$826,015	\$16,215	<b>\$842,230</b>	\$846,117
November Fund	\$206,290	...	<b>\$206,290</b>	...
United Seniors Association	\$149,975	\$7,200	<b>\$157,175</b>	\$225,836

Type and Organization <sup>b</sup>	TV	Radio	Total \$ Spent	CMAG TV
National Rifle Association	...	\$14,409	<b>\$14,409</b>	...
The Latino Coalition	...	\$11,400	<b>\$11,400</b>	...
Priests for Life	...	\$9,800	<b>\$9,800</b>	...
American Family Coalition	...	\$3,030	<b>\$3,030</b>	...
National Right to Life	...	\$3,000	<b>\$3,000</b>	...
U.S. Chamber of Commerce	...	...	...	\$56,591
Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care	...	...	...	\$54,687
<b>Other party allies</b>				
<i>Candidates</i>				
Michael Badnarik for President	\$29,920	\$5,994	<b>\$35,914</b>	\$102,407
<b>Nonpartisan</b>				
<i>Interest groups</i>				
Compare Decide Vote	\$28,825	...	<b>\$28,825</b>	...
New Mexico Alliance for Legal Reform	\$28,510	...	<b>\$28,510</b>	...
JustGoVote.org	\$9,628	...	<b>\$9,628</b>	...
American Civil Liberties Union	...	\$2,700	<b>\$2,700</b>	...
People Who Believe the Truth Really Matters	\$1,560	...	<b>\$1,560</b>	...
New Mexico Sees	...	\$1,500	<b>\$1,500</b>	...
AARP	...	...	...	\$84,198

Source: Data compiled from David B. Magleby, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson, "2004 Campaign Communications Database," (Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy: Brigham Young University, 2005); and Campaign Media Analysis Group data.

<sup>a</sup> Please see appendix A for a more detailed data explanation. The ad-buy data collected for this study may contain extraneous data because of the difficulty in determining the content of the ads. The parties or interest groups that purchased the ad buys possibly ran some ads promoting House, Senate, or presidential candidates or ballot propositions not in the study's sample but still within that media market. Unless the participating academics were able to determine the exact content of the ad buy from the limited information given by the station, the data may contain observations that do not pertain to the study's relevant House, Senate, or presidential battleground races. For comparison purposes the CMAG data is included in the table. Because of the sheer volume of TV and radio stations and varying degrees of compliance in providing ad-buy information, data on spending by various groups might be incomplete. This data does not include every station in the state. This table is not intended to represent comprehensive organization spending or activity within the sample races. TV ads purchased from national cable stations that aired in this state are not reflected in this table. A more complete picture can be obtained by examining this table with table 6-4.

<sup>b</sup> All state and local chapters or affiliates have been combined with their national affiliate to better render the picture of the organization's activity. For instance, Progress for America Voter Fund data have been included in the Progress for America totals.

<sup>c</sup> Certain organizations that maintained neutrality were categorized according to which candidates their ads supported or attacked or whether the organization was openly anti- or pro- conservative or liberal. In blank cells, "..." only reflects the absence of collected data and does not imply the organization was inactive in that medium.

**Table 6-2  
Registration Totals by Party and Decline to State,  
Ranked by County from Most to Least Number of Registered Voters**

County	Democrat	Republican	No Party	Other	Total Registered
Bernalillo	162,461	122,840	60,002	11,118	356,421

Santa Fe	58,254	17,432	14,051	4,980	94,717
Doña Ana	47,767	28,078	16,337	2,528	94,710
Sandoval	29,227	22,278	10,158	2,288	63,951
San Juan	24,134	28,540	10,118	716	63,508
Valencia	18,438	12,058	5,110	1,051	36,657
McKinley	22,910	6,077	5,786	536	35,309
Chaves	12,954	15,335	4,265	907	33,461
Otero	11,192	14,545	5,097	215	31,049
Lea	11,601	13,350	4,475	65	29,491
Eddy	15,256	9,706	2,881	85	27,928
Rio Arriba	19,804	2,879	1,562	510	24,755
Taos	15,523	3,489	2,876	1,192	23,080
Grant	12,885	5,114	2,862	630	21,491
Curry	8,444	10,104	2,744	57	21,349
San Miguel	15,494	2,873	2,109	605	21,081
Cibola	9,572	3,039	1,347	323	14,281
Lincoln	3,945	7,817	1,875	382	14,019
Los Alamos	4,964	5,751	2,458	401	13,574
Socorro	6,605	3,783	1,532	480	12,400
Luna	5,980	3,552	1,417	186	11,135
Roosevelt	4,627	4,464	1,765	88	10,944
Torrance	4,182	3,956	1,113	307	9,558
Colfax	4,960	2,637	788	146	8,531
Sierra	3,090	3,113	1,000	55	7,258
Quay	3,798	1,848	496	46	6,188
Mora	3,451	741	115	103	4,410
Guadalupe	3,110	458	60	66	3,694
Hidalgo	2,138	672	133	43	2,986
Catron	970	1,478	282	18	2,748
Union	1,387	981	134	24	2,526
De Baca	985	386	83	10	1,464
Harding	383	366	28	7	784
<b>Total</b>	<b>550,491</b>	<b>359,740</b>	<b>165,059</b>	<b>30,168</b>	<b>1,105,458</b>

Source: Secretary of State, "Voter Registration Report for 04 Election,"  
(www.sos.state.nm.us/Election/04general/county.htm [January 29, 2005]).

**Table 6-3**  
**Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidate Visits to New Mexico by County,**  
**July 1 through Election Day 2000 and 2004**

County	Democratic Ticket 2000	GOP Ticket 2000	Democratic Ticket 2004	GOP Ticket 2004	County Population (2000)
Bernalillo	7	3	4	4	556,678
Santa Fe	2	0	2	0	129,292
Doña Ana	0	2	2	1	174,682
Sandoval	0	1	0	1	89,908
San Juan	0	0	0	2	113,801
Valencia	0	1	0	1	66,152
McKinley	0	0	1	0	74,798
Chaves	0	1	0	1	61,382
Otero	0	0	0	1	62,298
Lea	0	0	0	1	55,511
San Miguel	0	0	1	0	30,126
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	

*Note:* Counties not included were not visited.

*Source:* Data compiled by authors.

**Table 6-4**  
**Number of Unique Campaign Communications by Organization,**  
**New Mexico Presidential Race, 2004<sup>a</sup>**

Type and Organization <sup>b</sup>	E-mail	Mail	Newspaper/ Magazine	Personal Contact	Phone Call	Radio	TV	Total Unique Ads
<b>Democratic allies<sup>c</sup></b>								
<i>Candidates</i>								
Kerry-Edwards 2004, Inc.	15	1	...	1	6	1	41	<b>65</b>
John Kerry / DNC	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	<b>10</b>
<i>Political parties</i>								
DNC	5	12	...	1	...	2	24	<b>44</b>
New Mexico Democratic Party	...	18	...	2	2	...	...	<b>22</b>
Democratic Party of Santa Fe County	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	<b>3</b>
<i>Interest groups</i>								
MoveOn.org	58	...	...	1	...	...	2	<b>61</b>
America Coming Together	6	18	...	2	...	...	...	<b>26</b>
Sierra Club	...	17	...	1	1	...	1	<b>20</b>
Labor <sup>d</sup>	...	7	...	...	...	1	6	<b>14</b>
League of Conservation Voters	...	5	...	6	...	...	1	<b>12</b>
The Media Fund	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	<b>7</b>
Human Rights Campaign	...	5	...	...	1	...	...	<b>6</b>
People for the American Way	...	5	...	...	...	...	1	<b>6</b>
Democracy for America	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	<b>5</b>
Moving America Forward	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	<b>5</b>
NARAL Pro-Choice America	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	<b>5</b>
JustGoVote.org	...	3	...	...	...	...	1	<b>4</b>
New Mexico Federation of Education Employees	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	<b>4</b>
Peace Action	1	1	...	2	...	...	...	<b>4</b>
American Federation of Teachers	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	<b>3</b>
Individual Donor: George Soros	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	<b>3</b>
New Democratic Network	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	<b>3</b>
American Civil Liberties Union	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	<b>2</b>
Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	<b>2</b>
Greenpeace	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	<b>2</b>
Heritage Forest Campaign	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	<b>2</b>
Stronger America Now	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	<b>2</b>
America Family Voices	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	<b>1</b>
Defenders of Wildlife Action Fund	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	<b>1</b>
NAACP National Voter Fund	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	<b>1</b>
National Air Traffic Controllers	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	<b>1</b>
National Progress Fund	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	<b>1</b>
National Resource Defense Council	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	<b>1</b>
New House PAC	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	<b>1</b>
Physicians for Social Responsibility	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	<b>1</b>
Planned Parenthood Action Fund	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	<b>1</b>
Public Citizen	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	<b>1</b>
Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	<b>1</b>
Save Our Environment	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	<b>1</b>
Southwest Organizing Project	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	<b>1</b>
True Majority	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	<b>1</b>

Type and Organization <sup>b</sup>	E-mail	Mail	Newspaper/ Magazine	Personal Contact	Phone Call	Radio	TV	Total Unique Ads
<b>Republican allies<sup>c</sup></b>								
<i>Candidates</i>								
Bush/Cheney '04	...	3	...	...	...	2	20	25
Bush/Cheney '04 /RNC	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	21
<i>Political parties</i>								
RNC	...	41	...	2	...	1	3	47
Republican Party of New Mexico	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	2
<i>Interest groups</i>								
NRA Political Victory Fund	...	1	...	...	...	1	4	6
Swift Boat Veterans for Truth	...	2	...	...	...	...	4	6
Progress for America	...	1	...	...	...	...	4	5
National Right to Life	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	3
The November Fund	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	3
America's PAC	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
American Family Coalition	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Citizen Leader Coalition	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
National Right to Work Committee PAC	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Priests for Life	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
<b>Nonpartisan</b>								
<i>Interest groups</i>								
Southwest Voter Registration Education Project	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	3
Campaign for Communities	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Compare Decide Vote	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Leadership Forum	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
New Mexico Conservation Education Fund	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1

*Source:* Data compiled from David B. Magleby, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson, "2004 Campaign Communications Database," (Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy: Brigham Young University, 2005).

<sup>a</sup> See appendix A for a more detailed data explanation. Data represent the number of unique or distinct pieces or ads by the group and do not represent a count of total items sent or made. This table is not intended to portray comprehensive organization activity within the sample races. A more complete picture can be obtained by examining this table together with table 6-1.

<sup>b</sup> All state and local chapters or affiliates have been combined with their national affiliate to better render the picture of the organization's activity. For instance, Sierra Club Rio Grande Chapter data have been included in the Sierra Club totals.

<sup>c</sup> Certain organizations that maintained neutrality were categorized according to which candidates their ads supported or attacked or whether the organization was openly anti- or pro- conservative or liberal. In blank cells, "..." only reflects the absence of collected data and does not imply the organization was inactive in that medium.

<sup>d</sup> The labor category under Democratic affiliated interest groups includes the AFL-CIO, AFSCME, Service Employees International Union, and United Automobile Workers Union.

**Table 6-5**  
**Changes In Voter Turnout and Registration Data from 2000 to 2004**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2004</b>
Registered voters	973,533	1,105,372
Turn-out	615,607	756,304
Absentee	18%	20%
Early	13%	31%
Voting day	69%	49%
Voting Age Population	1,311,478	1,375,000

*Source:* Information comes from New Mexico Secretary of State, “Canvass of Returns of General Election Held on November 2, 2004—State of New Mexico” ([www.sos.state.nm.us/PDF/Gensumm\\_04.pdf](http://www.sos.state.nm.us/PDF/Gensumm_04.pdf) [January 12, 2005]); and Steve Fresquez, director of data process, Information Systems Division, New Mexico Secretary of State Office, Bureau of Elections, telephone interview by Mekoce Walker, January 7, 2005.

**Table 6-6  
Change in Registration Data from 2000 to 2004**

<b>County</b>	<b>Change in Democratic Registration</b>	<b>Change in Republican Registration</b>	<b>Change in Decline to State Registration</b>	<b>Percentage Difference Democrats 2004-2000</b>	<b>Percentage Difference Republicans 2004-2000</b>	<b>Percentage Difference Decline to State 2004-2000</b>
Bernalillo	10.9	9.5	42.3	-1	-2	3
Santa Fe	20.1	11.11	46.7	0	-2	3
Doña Ana	10.9	11.9	51.4	-2	-1	4
Sandoval	24.3	30.9	79.4	-2	0	4
San Juan	3.8	20.7	28.7	-4	2	2
Valencia	7.8	13.7	50.2	-3	0	3
McKinley	6.4	6.7	50.9	-4	1	4
Chaves	-8.4	7.1	36.8	-5	2	3
Otero	1.1	21.8	43.2	-5	2	3
Lea	-7.4	24.1	35	-7	5	3
Eddy	-9.5	11.3	27.1	-5	4	2
Rio Arriba	8	17.4	17.2	-2	1	1
Taos	24.8	9.1	32.5	2	-2	1
Grant	4.4	11.5	31.2	-3	1	2
Curry	-7.8	22.7	16.2	-7	6	1
San Miguel	10.5	17.6	88	-4	1	4
Cibola	5	6.9	41.6	-2	0	2
Lincoln	-4	15.3	14.1	-4	4	0
Los Alamos	-1.7	-1.4	13.4	-1	-2	2
Socorro	11.7	7.2	43.2	-1	-2	2
Luna	2	4.6	37.4	-2	0	3
Roosevelt	4.9	18.6	46.6	-7	3	3
Torrance	2.9	12.5	58.3	-3	0	4
Colfax	-3.8	3.3	8.3	-2	1	1
Sierra	7.2	0.6	2.6	-2	1	1
Quay	-7.5	10.2	21.8	-4	3	1
Mora	8.8	2.9	78.5	0	-1	0
Guadalupe	8.3	-8.1	22.5	1	-3	1
Hidalgo	-13.2	-0.3	-3	-2	2	0
Catron	-8.9	12.4	17.9	-5	-4	1
Union	0.7	9.1	6.4	-2	2	0
De Baca	-12.2	14.1	40.7	-5	4	2
Harding	-1.8	-8	44.4	2	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>8.3</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>42.1</b>	<b>-2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>

*Source:* Data compiled from New Mexico Secretary Of State, “Final Voter Registration Report by County as of 11/02/2004,” ([www.sos.state.nm.us/Election/04general/county.htm](http://www.sos.state.nm.us/Election/04general/county.htm) [January 29, 2005]); and New Mexico Secretary of State, “Voter Registration Report by County as of 11/2000,” ([www.sos.state.nm.us/avrs/november.htm](http://www.sos.state.nm.us/avrs/november.htm) [January 29, 2005]).

**Table 6-7**  
**Vote Choice in 2004 and Change in Party Vote Choice From 2000 by County**

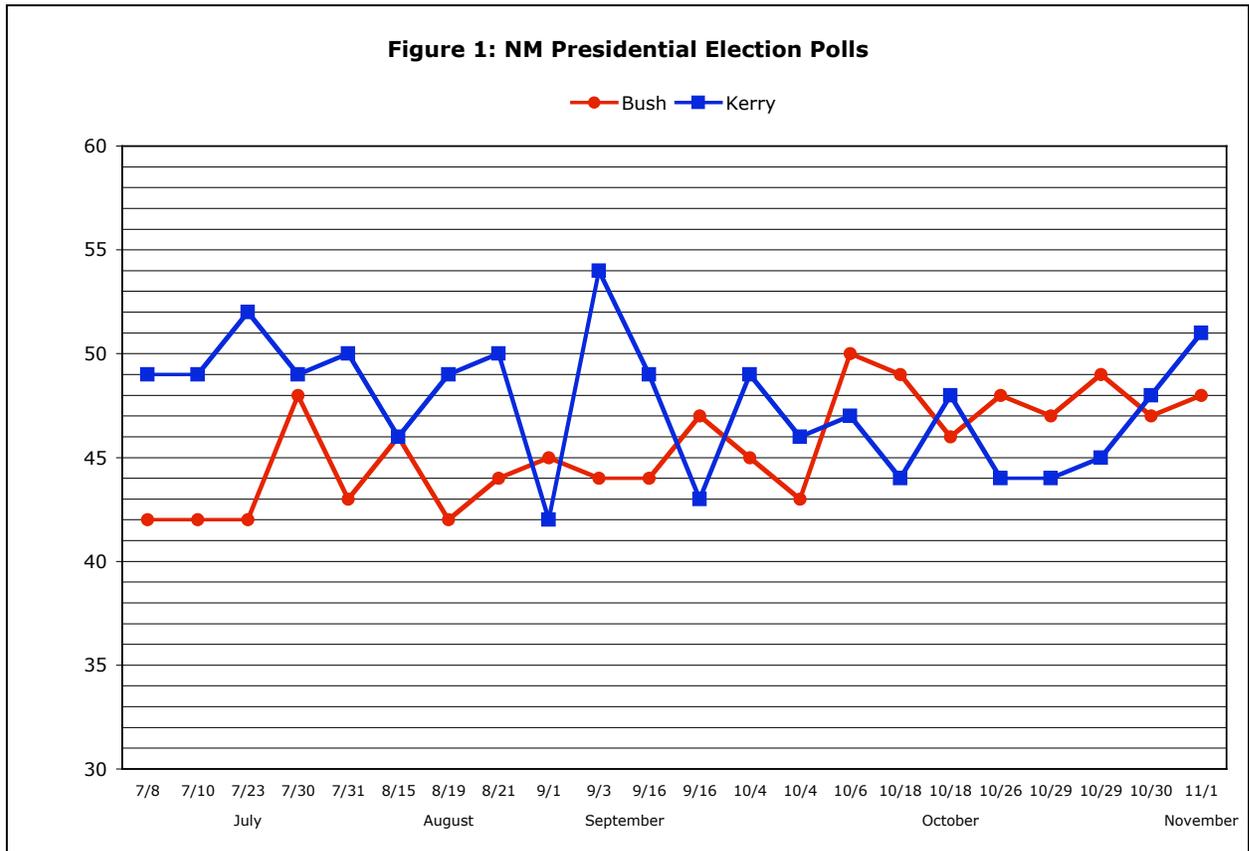
<b>County</b>	<b>Democrat 2004</b>	<b>Republican 2004</b>	<b>Percent Increase Democrat</b>	<b>Percent Increase Republican</b>	<b>Difference in Increase (Democrats- Republicans)</b>
Bernalillo	132252	121454	33.0	27.5	5.5
Santa Fe	47074	18466	47.0	32.1	14.9
Dona Ana	31762	29548	32.8	39.0	-6.2
Sandoval	21421	22628	43.8	46.7	-2.9
San Juan	14843	29525	23.9	37.7	-13.8
Valencia	11270	14474	14.8	34	-19.2
McKinley	13051	7351	26.9	45.0	-18.1
Chaves	6726	14773	6.1	29.8	-23.7
Otero	6433	14066	17.7	37.1	-19.4
Lea	3646	14430	-5.4	42.1	-47.5
Eddy	6880	13268	-3.2	28.4	-31.6
Rio Arriba	9753	5149	19.4	47.3	-27.9
Taos	10987	3666	56.1	33.6	22.5
Grant	7095	6135	25.1	23.7	1.4
Curry	3541	10649	2.0	28.3	-26.3
San Miguel	8683	3313	32.8	49.6	-16.8
Cibola	3913	3477	-5.2	26.3	-31.5
Lincoln	2822	6070	39.2	36.2	3.0
Los Alamos	5206	5810	25.5	3.3	22.2
Socorro	4025	3696	22.2	16.5	5.7
Luna	3340	4164	12.3	22.7	-19.7
Roosevelt	2082	4997	18.2	32.8	-14.6
Torrance	2386	4026	27.7	39.3	-11.6
Colfax	2824	3082	6.4	18.5	-12.1
Sierra	1926	3162	14.0	16.2	-2.2
Quay	1422	2661	-3.3	16.1	19.4
Mora	1876	928	28.8	38.9	-10.1
Guadalupe	1340	914	24.5	66.8	-42.3
Hidalgo	861	1081	2.6	13.3	-10.7
Catron	551	1427	56.1	12.1	44.0
Union	411	1454	-9.1	14.6	-23.7
De Baca	281	706	-19.5	15.4	-34.9
Harding	259	380	21.0	3.8	17.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>370,942</b>	<b>376,930</b>	<b>29.3*</b>	<b>31.6*</b>	<b>-2.3</b>

\*Average percent increase from 2000 to 2004

Sources: New Mexico Secretary of State, canvass report of the 2004 election, ([www.sos.state.nm.us/](http://www.sos.state.nm.us/) [January 29, 2005]). For 2000 data, New Mexico Secretary of State, "Official 2000 General Election Results

By County By Office," ([www.sos.state.nm.us/Election/00General/cntyindx.htm](http://www.sos.state.nm.us/Election/00General/cntyindx.htm) [January 29, 2005]).

**Figure 6-1**  
**New Mexico Presidential Election Polls, July 8 to November 1**



Source: Poll data taken from RealClear Politics (realclearpolitics.com [December 31, 2004]).

<sup>1</sup> The population information comes from the US Census, American Community Service 2003 New Mexico Profile.

<sup>2</sup> Greg Graves, executive director, Republican Party of New Mexico, interview by Lonna Atkeson, Albuquerque, N.M., November 10, 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Graves interview, November 10, 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Vanessa Alarid, executive director, Democratic Party of New Mexico, interview by Nancy Carrillo, Albuquerque, N.M., November 16, 2004.

<sup>5</sup> Poll data taken from RealClear Politics (realclearpolitics.com [December 31, 2004]). Polls taken after early September did not find a gap of more than five percentage points between the two candidates. All of these polls were within the margin of error except the Mason-Dixon poll that ended October 18.

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<sup>6</sup> Other polls, as shown in figure 6-1, showed Kerry still ahead.

<sup>7</sup> The data were taken from KOBTV poll margins, conducted by Mason-Dixon Polling and Research, Inc., September 15–16, 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Andy Lenderman, “Oh, So Close! Bush Has Slight Lead in N.M.,” *Albuquerque Journal*, September 5, 2004, p. A1.

<sup>9</sup> J. Scott Jennings, New Mexico executive director, Bush-Cheney ‘04, interview by Lonna Atkeson, Albuquerque, N.M., November 5, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Margaret C. Toulouse, New Mexico state campaign director, League of Conservation Voters, interview by Lonna Atkeson, Albuquerque, N.M., December 12, 2004.

<sup>11</sup> Jennings interview, November 5, 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Graves interview, November 10, 2004.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Jennings interview, November 5, 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Jay McClesky, campaign director, Victory 2004, interview by Lonna Atkeson, Albuquerque, N.M., November 10, 2004.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Andy Lenderman, “Campaign Calls Bombard Voters,” *Albuquerque Journal*, October 28, 2004, p. A1.

<sup>19</sup> Graves interview, November 10, 2004.

<sup>20</sup> Jennings interview, November 5, 2004.

<sup>21</sup> McClesky interview, November 10, 2004.

<sup>22</sup> Mercado interview, November 4, 2004.

<sup>23</sup> Moses Mercado, New Mexico state director, Kerry-Edwards campaign, interview by Nancy Carrillo, Albuquerque, N.M., November 4, 2004.

<sup>24</sup> Alarid interview, November 16, 2004.

<sup>25</sup> Alarid interview, November 16, 2004.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

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- <sup>27</sup> Courtney Hunter, New Mexico communications director, America Coming Together, telephone interview by Lonna Atkeson, December 30, 2004.
- <sup>28</sup> The information in this paragraph comes from Dan Sena, regional director, Moving America Forward, telephone interview by Lonna Atkeson, January 4, 2005.
- <sup>29</sup> Sena interview, January 4, 2005.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> Lolita Roybal, youth organizer, Southwest Organizing Project, telephone interview by Nancy Carrillo, January 4, 2005.
- <sup>32</sup> Victor Landa, central region registration director, Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, telephone interview by Nancy Carrillo, January 4, 2005.
- <sup>33</sup> The data in this paragraph come from Courtney Hunter, New Mexico communications director, America Coming Together, telephone interview by Lonna Atkeson, December 30, 2004.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>35</sup> Hunter interview, December 30, 2004.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup> The data in this paragraph come from Margaret C. Toulouse, New Mexico state campaign director, League of Conservaton Voters, telephone interview by Lonna Atkeson, December 21, 2004.
- <sup>38</sup> The data in this paragraph come from Giovanna Rossi, executive director, NARAL Pro-choice New Mexico, telephone interview by Lonna Atkeson, December 21, 2004.
- <sup>39</sup> The information in this paragraph comes from Ed Sullivan, New Mexico state organizer, MoveOn.org, telephone interview by Lonna Atkeson, January 5, 2005.
- <sup>40</sup> The information in this paragraph comes from Susan Martin, Rio Grande chapter president, the Sierra Club, telephone interview by Lonna Atkeson, January 6, 2005.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>42</sup> John Schultze, former member, Sierra Club, interview by Lonna Atkeson, Santa Fe, New Mexico, November 2, 2004.
- <sup>43</sup> Information comes from New Mexico Secretary of State, “Canvass of Returns of General Election Held on November 2, 2004—State of New Mexico” ([www.sos.state.nm.us/PDF/Gensumm\\_04.pdf](http://www.sos.state.nm.us/PDF/Gensumm_04.pdf)) [January 12,

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2005]); and Steve Fresquez, director of data process, Information Systems Division, New Mexico Secretary of State Office, Bureau of Elections, telephone interview by Mekoce Walker, January 7, 2005.

<sup>44</sup> It is important to be very careful with our inference here. Fully 51 percent of voters turned out before Election Day and we have no way of knowing if Election Day voters were representative of those who voted early or absentee. They may not be representative given the targets by GOP and Democratic groups. Therefore our inference with these voters is to Election Day voters only.

<sup>45</sup> Barry Massey, "Bush Made Gains Among N.M. Hispanics," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, November 6, 2004, p. B4.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*