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The 2010 Elections: Illinois Still Blue Despite the Red
Wave that Swept the Nation

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Introduction

Illinois experienced two extraordinarily close elections at the top of the ticket on November 2, 2010. In a race with national interest and implications five-term Republican Congressman Mark Kirk bested Democratic State Treasurer Alexi Giannoulias by a narrow margin after a very competitive race. Congressman Kirk became Senator Kirk on November 29th, 2010 replacing Senator Roland Burris, a Democrat who had been appointed to replace then Senator Barack Obama when he became president. Procedurally it was a very unusual election where Illinois voters were asked to vote twice in the Senate race, once to fill the last few weeks of the unexpired Obama term and another race to fill the new six year term which will start with the rest of the newly elected senators in January of 2011. Despite the possibility of great confusion over these two votes and even the potential for two different winners, the race went smoothly and the results were clear when Kirk won both elections. It was a race which both parties desperately wanted to win and one in which millions of dollars were spent by the national parties and external interest groups trying to influence the outcome in Illinois and the overall party control numbers in the U. S. Senate. Almost all of the polls showed this to be a race that was too close to call and although Kirk tended to lead narrowly in most polls, the differences were all within the margin of error so there was much suspense surrounding the outcome (Leonard, October, 2010; Pearson, September, 2010 and October, 2010). Kirk's win was just one factor in the overall Republican pick up of six seats in the Senate although the Democrats retained the majority by a narrow 51 to 47 margin when the national results were tallied.

The Illinois Governor's race was even closer and more exciting and it had the opposite results in partisan terms. In the Governor's race the incumbent, Democrat Pat Quinn, beat Republican State Senator Bill Brady by a 34,903 vote margin out of more than 3.3 million votes cast. Quinn had been Governor since January of 2009 when he advanced to that position because of the impeachment of Rod Blagojevich, his predecessor and former running mate who was the only Illinois Governor to ever be impeached and removed from office. In fact, Quinn had to fight the campaign battle at the same time the ex-Governor was on trial in federal court on official corruption charges. The case against Blagojevich ended in a conviction on one count and a hung jury on eighteen other counts, an impasse which was caused by one hold out juror. The trial was a national sensation and the verdict set off an extraordinary public relations and media blitz orchestrated by Blagojevich who loudly proclaimed his total innocence to any audience who would listen. The U. S. Attorney, Patrick Fitzgerald, promised a re-trial which he planned to begin in January of 2011. This spectacle hardly provided a positive backdrop for Quinn's election campaign and he trailed in most polls for most of the fall campaign. Quinn's election was something of a surprise to many observers and it flew in the face of the national campaign tide which was flowing heavily in the Republican direction in November. When the votes were all counted, Illinois had split its ticket at the top electing a Republican for the U. S. Senate seat and a Democrat for the Governor's mansion.

Executive Summary

This paper provides a description and analysis of the results for those two races. It also provides a longitudinal analysis comparing the 2010 voting patterns to earlier races from 1998, 2002, and 2006. The results illustrate two fundamental facts about Illinois. First, Illinois is a very competitive state, one where either party can win a state-wide election depending on the time, circumstances and candidates involved. Second, Illinois leans slightly toward the Democratic Party in statewide races and the normal vote for Illinois favors the Democrats by a small margin (Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, 1966, chapter 2). The divided vote at the top of the ticket in these two marquee races illustrates both of those truths about politics in Illinois in the first decade of the 21st Century.

The Context of the Races

Mark Kirk was a five term Congressman from a very wealthy district (the 10th) on the north shore of Lake Michigan in Chicago. The district encompassed the north side of Cook County and about half of the eastern side of suburban Lake County. Earlier Kirk had been an aide to Congressman John Porter, a highly successful moderate Republican who retired in 2000 and relinquished the seat to Kirk. In the House, Kirk developed a reputation as a thoughtful and mostly pragmatic Republican in an era when that appeared to be a dying breed. He was a moderate on the social issues who also labeled himself a conservative on fiscal and tax issues. He was a commander in the U. S. Navy Reserve, and he boasted of his military service and his years in Navy Intelligence (Illinois Blue Book, 2009-2010, 37). In fact, that boasting became one of his major liabilities when it was discovered he had embellished his military record by claiming an award as his personally when his unit had won the award collectively and by claiming combat experience in Kosovo when it appeared he had not actually seen any combat. This tendency to embellish the record continued when it was also discovered that he had claimed school teaching experience which had actually been narrowly confined to a short stint in a private school in Great Britain. Next he told a story of being on a sinking a sail boat in Lake Michigan under circumstances that the U. S. Coast Guard's records disputed. This apparent attempt to develop a heroic narrative became a part of the charge that Kirk had a tendency to not tell the truth and to exaggerate his accomplishments.

Kirk's opponent, Alexi Giannoulias, was a 34 year old first term Democrat who was then the State Treasurer in Illinois. Giannoulias was the first generation son of a Greek immigrant family that had come to this country and embodied the American Dream of immigrant success. He had been elected to be State Treasurer when he was only 30 and he had served only one term in that capacity. Before that he had been a professional basketball player in Greece, among other things, as well as a finance officer in his family's bank in Chicago (Illinois Blue Book, 2009-2010, 29). The Broadway Bank became the object of much speculation and then scorn when federal regulators closed it during the U. S. Senate race for a lack of solvency. It reportedly also made loans to various shady characters alleged to be a part of the Chicago underworld. Giannoulias' role as a loan officer in the bank during this period thus became the source of significant embarrassment and headache for his campaign. In addition, the State

Treasurer's Office had a program for the pre-payment of college tuition for state residents. "The Bright Star" program had lost significant investment funds during the economic crisis of 2008 and Giannoulas was accused of having presided over the loss of \$79 million from the capitalization of the Bright Star program. This, too, became the fodder for much criticism of Giannoulas.

So, on balance, both candidates had their problems and these were thoroughly aired on both sides during the general election. Both were arguably flawed or weakened candidates and each flaw or weakness became the grist for an endless array of negative television commercials aired by each side during the 2010 Senate race. The same scenario prevailed in the Governor's race where each candidate had his assets and some very prominent liabilities. Governor Quinn had been in office since January of 2009 when he assumed that office after having served as Lt. Governor under Governor Rod Blagojevich who was impeached that month. Quinn's seventeen month tenure had been a rocky one, and he was beset by budgetary problems which he inherited from Blagojevich. Those budgetary problems only got worse in Quinn's early months as Governor. He was challenged in the Democratic primary by Dan Hynes, who was then State Comptroller. Quinn only beat Hynes by 8,372 votes in a hard fought and divisive primary. (All of the vote totals in this paper were taken from the Illinois State Board of Elections website or official publications). As governor, Quinn also had a number of management problems of his own making including most notably an early-release program for prisoners which had been designed to save money and alleviate prison crowding, but which became very controversial when it was discovered by some of the news media that some of these prisoners had committed felonies again soon after their release. At first Quinn was slow to fire the head of the Department of Corrections even though he blamed the DOC for the mistake and for not having kept him informed of the problems in the early release program. Quinn also had, at best, a difficult relationship with the leadership of the General Assembly, especially Speaker of the House, Michael Madigan, who was also the Chair of the Illinois Democratic Party. On several occasions it did not appear that the leaders of the Illinois Democratic Party in the House and the Senate and the Governor's office were on the same page much less being a part of the same team dedicated to advancing the party's interests and image in the state. So, Quinn's prospects looked problematic from the start and he suffered from a low job approval level and trailed his opponent in most of the polls conducted throughout the race.

However, Quinn's opponent, Bill Brady, had exploitable weaknesses of his own. Brady had been a State Senator from Bloomington since 2002 and he served in the House for eight years prior to that (Illinois Blue Book, 2009-2010, 101). Brady was noted to be a strong social and fiscal conservative. He was not widely recognized as being a leader in the Illinois General Assembly and his name was not associated with any outstanding legislative accomplishments. Brady had run for Governor in the Republican Primary in 2006 finishing third with 18.40 % of the vote (Illinois State Board of Elections, 2006, 1). Senator Brady won the Republican Primary in February in a very narrow victory over six other challengers. He defeated his closest rival, Senator Kirk Dillard, by a very close margin of only 193 votes statewide. Brady, from Downstate Bloomington, won the Republican nomination because the six other candidates divided the

strongly Republican areas in DuPage and the other Collar Counties (Kane, Lake, McHenry, and Will) between them, and Brady actually ran fourth in the metropolitan Chicago region. It was widely believed that Brady would experience difficulties if he stressed his strong social conservatism views in the more moderate and vote rich parts of the Collar Counties. Thus, both gubernatorial candidates entered the general election campaign with significant problems and obstacles facing them. It was often said during the race that each candidate got the opponent he wanted to face in the general election. The early polls showed the race to be a close one with Brady in the lead in most polls (Leonard, October, 2010). This was truly a case where the campaign was destined to make the difference, and it did.

The Results

The general election consisted of eight months of hard campaigning by all of the candidates as they crisscrossed the state in an energetic search for votes. Each major party candidate raised millions of dollars and spent the bulk of it on an extraordinary barrage of television commercials, most of which consisted of very harsh and negative attacks on their opponents. The voters of Illinois already had much to be cynical about given the fact that their last two governors had been convicted of federal crimes and one of them was already serving a six year term in prison for crimes committed while in public office and the other was awaiting a re-trial on federal corruption charges. Illinois voters could be forgiven for believing that all their politicians were liars and crooks who were soft on felons and consorted with mobsters if they watched and believed the welter of television commercials aired on both sides for both offices during the general election. There was no clear winner of the money chase and the air wars during the campaign and it appeared to be a very close race for both offices when November 2nd finally arrived.

When the votes were all counted and certified by the Illinois State Board of Elections Congressman Mark Kirk bested State Treasurer Alexi Giannoulias by 48.01 percent to 46.42 percent or by a 65,313 votes out of more than 3.6 million cast which is a 1.6 percent difference. The Governor's race was even closer. Governor Quinn defeated Senator Brady by 46.79 percent to 45.94 percent. The vote margin was 1,745,219 to 1,713,385 or a 31,834 vote margin out of more than 3.6 million votes cast. The percentages were 46.79 for Quinn, 45.94 for Brady, 3.64 percent for the Independent, Scott Lee Cohen, 2.7 percent for Green Party candidate Rich Whitney, and less than 1 percent for a scattered list of other candidates (Illinois State Board of Elections website, last accessed December 8, 2010). Thus, the Democrats and the Republicans split the two most prominent contest results at the top of the ticket in Illinois in 2010 in spite of the fact that this was clearly a Republican year nationally. In addition, the Democrats won two other constitutional offices, Attorney General and Secretary of State while the Republicans won two, Treasurer and Comptroller. The Democrats also won the Lieutenant Governor's office which runs in tandem with the Governor. That office was won by Sheila Simon, a law professor from Southern Illinois University Carbondale, who had been selected by Pat Quinn and appointed to the ticket by the Democratic State Central Committee after the original nominee, Scott Cohen, had resigned due to a number of personal problems which only surfaced after the primary. The fact that the two parties split the vote at the top, and further

down the ticket, indicates that Illinois is a competitive two-party state where either party can win depending on the time and the candidates. The fact that Pat Quinn was able to overcome long odds indicates that Illinois is still basically a blue state and Quinn won because Illinois still leans toward the Democratic Party side even in a year which was marked by a tidal wave for the Republicans nationally. The fact that Mark Kirk won indicated that moderate Republicans can win in Illinois; however, it is a very difficult challenge for the more hard right Republicans to win statewide. Map 1 indicates the results of the two top of the ticket races in Illinois in 2010.

(Map 1 here)

It is interesting to note from Map 1 that the same party won the senate and the governor's race in each of the state's 102 counties. Another fundamental truth which can be gleaned from Map 1 is that like much of the rest of the nation, Illinois is deeply divided along geographical or regional lines and it is deeply polarized regionally (Fiorina, 2005; White, 2003). The Democrats won Cook County and Chicago in northeast Illinois, St. Clair County in the Metro-East St. Louis area, and Jackson County and Alexander County in southern Illinois. The Republicans won the remaining 98 counties all across the rest of Illinois. This polarization means that partisanship and ideology is overlaid with and reinforced by regional and cultural differences of long-standing duration. This means that a number of fault lines in politics and society, which were once cross-cutting cleavages, are now coterminous and lie on top of each other. The cross-cutting social and political cleavages of yesteryear contributed to and reinforced more moderation among the partisans and office-holders of both parties. This more recent realignment reinforces the natural divisions in the state and makes the partisan and ideological competition more intense and the stakes seem higher. It is key to what we now refer to as the polarization which exists in the nation and in Illinois. These political, social and economic divisions also add to the rancor of recent elections which is then reinforced and exacerbated by the media, especially the negative advertisements and talking head infotainment programs on television and talk radio, all of which have become a fixture of American politics. Illinois clearly suffers from an intense regionalism which makes the losses loom larger for the losers of each election and this division makes it more difficult for the political system to process and settle conflict in ways which seem legitimate to all the players. Map 1 show how widespread that regionalism was in the senate and governor's races in 2010.

This map shows that like the rest of the nation Illinois is especially polarized along the geographical fault lines dividing the rural and small town areas from the cities and the suburban areas. This means that central city Chicago is decidedly Democratic with many of the outstate counties deeply Republican. This leaves the suburbs somewhere in between the two extremes and holding the balance of power in most races. In northeast Illinois the suburbs, which were once heavily Republican, and almost as monolithic as the city was Democratic, recently have trended more Democratic in statewide elections (Jackson and Gottemoller, 2007; Green, 2007). This changing mosaic in the suburban areas, particularly those nearer to the central city, has been the key to most recent statewide elections in Illinois and it has been the key to recent Democratic Party successes in the state. It is particularly notable that the "close-in" suburbs have become more diverse on ethnic, racial, and economic grounds (Jackson and Gottemoller,

2007; Colby and Green, 1986). As one gets further away from the central city, to the “exurbs” the level of Republican support grows to the point where the suburbs begin to look very little different from the rural areas.

Map 1 shows the results by county for both the senate and the governor’s race. The results are remarkably similar for both races. Mark Kirk won 98 of the 102 counties in Illinois. Kirk did better in Chicago and in parts of Cook County than Republicans often do and this is one of the keys to his victory. Of course his record as a Congressman from an affluent north shore district of Chicago which included parts of both Cook and Lake Counties was a big help in that quest. Also, the perception that Kirk was a moderate on social issues and was consistently described that way by the media was also a crucial component of his strong showing in suburban Cook and the Collar Counties.

Given all he had going against him it may be surprising that Alexi Giannoulias did as well as he did, and he came very close to winning this election. Giannoulias’ total was swelled by his Cook County and Chicago totals. He won Cook County as a whole, including Chicago, by a 456,722 vote margin over Kirk. To win, Giannoulias needed to win or come close in at least part of Downstate, and he failed to do this in most counties. Giannoulias did not win any of the Collar Counties and he only carried three counties Downstate. These included St. Clair which is a bastion of Democratic Party strength in the St. Louis “Metro-East” area and Alexander County on the far southern border of the state, and Jackson County which is the home of Southern Illinois University and Lieutenant Governor, Shelia Simon, and another traditionally strong Democratic Party county. We will elaborate on that point in a subsequent section of this paper with the presentation of the more “marginal” counties in Illinois.

Map 1 also replicates the same geographic distribution by county across both the senate and the governor’s races. You have to examine the raw vote totals and the percentages included in the legend of the map to really see any differences even though the Democratic candidate for Governor won while the Republican candidate for the Senate prevailed within the same county level distributions. Map 1 demonstrates by county where Democrat Pat Quinn won his race and where Republican Mark Kirk won his. Some significant number of voters statewide had to split their ticket to obtain this divided result. The legend shows that statewide Mark Kirk received a total of 65,313 votes more than Bill Brady did. This was enough to make the difference between winning and losing for these two Republican candidates. This mixed result appears to be an anomaly dividing the federal election results from the state results. It has long been a truism in Illinois politics that the professional politicians and the strong partisans in the state care a lot more about the Governor’s race, and who is Mayor of Chicago, than they care about the federal races. Governors have political clout and they have jobs and contracts to award. It matters a lot who the Governor of Illinois and the Mayor of Chicago are—at least to the professionals. Thus, it is more important to excite the party base and ensure that the strong partisans go to vote in the governor’s race than in any other race on the ballot. By contrast a United States Senator is one of one hundred voices in the Senate and has only about 30 to 35 jobs to fill. It is important but not crucial to control the U. S. Senate seats, according to the lights of those who run both parties at the state and local level in Illinois and those who

serve in the trenches in the precinct and county organizations. By this measure it was a relatively good night for the Democrats on November 2nd especially in light of the national trends. They lost a net of two seats in the Illinois State Senate and six seats in the Illinois House. Incumbent Democrats also lost four heavily contested Congressional races to the Republicans, which certainly hurt the national party directly. However, given the size and intensity of the national Republican tide that was running in that election, the state Democrats felt it could have been a lot worse. When it was all over the Democrats had retained the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor offices, and they kept the majority in both houses of the General Assembly. The Democrats also won the most high profile of the state constitutional offices, i.e. they won the Secretary of State and the Attorney General's office. Both are important offices in their own right, and both have been stepping stones to higher office for ambitious politicians in the past. **(See Appendix A for the counties won by Lisa Madigan for Attorney General and Jesse White for Secretary of State).**

The Republicans prevailed on the more low profile races for State Treasurer, where State Senator Dan Rutherford beat Robin Kelly who was Giannoulis' top Deputy in the Treasurer's Office and State Comptroller, where former State Treasurer, Judy Barr Topinka, made a comeback by defeating State Representative David Miller. In spite of their considerable victories in the federal races there were many Republicans who expressed their keen disappointment in the state results. For example, State Senator David Leuctefeld said shortly after the results were known that nothing much had changed in Illinois and the same people were still charge when it was over. (Senator Leuctefeld made this point in an appearance sponsored by the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute at SIUC on Tuesday night, Nov. 9th analyzing the election results).

Map 1 shows remarkable continuity across the state if the county is taken as the unit of analysis. The same party won the senate race and the governor's race in every single one of the 102 counties of Illinois. In 98 of those counties the Republicans won the majority in both races. In Cook County, which is by far the biggest prize, the Democrats prevailed by a wide margin in both the senate and the governor's races. However, Quinn won by 69.24 percent in Cook and Giannoulis won by 67.69 percent of the two party vote. This was a 47,103 vote difference between the two Democrats in Cook County, and this difference alone was more than the 36,243 total margin that Kirk enjoyed over Giannoulis. In other words, if there had not been a substantial fall off between the senate race compared to the governor's race, Giannoulis would have won the senate seat (or alternatively Brady would have won the governor's race). In DuPage County which is the greatest prize for the Republicans, Kirk won by 60.27 percent while Brady won by 58.46 percent of the two party vote in their respective races. Kirk gathered a total of 8,889 more votes in DuPage than his fellow Republican did. In all five of the collar counties combined Kirk won by 505,914 votes to 477,503 votes for Brady or a margin of 28,411 over Brady. Kirk outscored his fellow Republican, Brady, in each of the five collar counties. This is the key to the different outcomes for the two parties in the senate versus the governor's races. Cook County and the suburban collar counties provided Kirk with his margin of victory and denied Brady his. Most experts believed that Brady's social conservatism made him a somewhat less viable candidate in the suburbs. We cannot prove this thesis with

aggregate data like these, and it is important not to assert individual level motivations based on aggregate data too confidently. However the thesis certainly seems plausible given what we know from the voting history of these areas in the past and what some of the public opinion polls teach us. Some of those polls, as well as the results of the Republican primary, indicated that Brady was encountering significant difficulty in selling his very conservative social views in the more moderate suburbs (Leonard, October, 2010; Pearson, October, 2010). On the other hand, social conservatism was apparently not a major liability in much of downstate Illinois and if it was, it was overcome by other issues where both Republican candidates could appeal to a majority of the voters which they did successfully in both the senate and the governor's races. **(See Appendix B for the vote totals by county for each candidate in the senate race and Appendix C for the vote totals by county in the governor's race).**

The two parties and their supporters are clearly and deeply divided in Illinois as Map 1 demonstrates graphically. Majorities in 98 of the counties voted for the Republican candidates for both senator and governor in 2010. In four of the counties, Cook, St. Clair, Jackson and Alexander, the Democrats prevailed. The size of the Democratic vote margin in Cook and to a lesser extent St. Clair allowed Pat Quinn and Sheila Simon to win a close victory. The rest of the map was all red as Map 1 demonstrates vividly. Illinois has probably never been as politically divided as it is at this point in our history.

Longitudinal Comparisons

This section of the paper provides longitudinal results for various previous races. First the governor's race results for 2010 are compared to those for 2006. In the 2006 race the Democratic incumbent beat the Republican challenger in a virtual landslide. Rod Blagojevich beat Judy Barr Topinka with 49.8 percent of the vote compared to her 39.3 percent. This is a gap of 10.5 percent. Only the presence of Rich Whitney and the Green Party on the ticket and the 10.4 percent Whitney received prevented Blagojevich from gaining an even more resounding victory. Map 2 shows the 2006 results.

(Map 2 here)

It is notable that Blagojevich won a majority in 32 counties. Topinka took the remainder, or 70 counties. Topinka's 70 counties were all won in 2010 by Bill Brady. In addition, Brady tacked on 28 more counties which he won in 2010 but which Topinka lost in 2006. As noted above this left Quinn winning only four counties in 2010, Cook, St. Clair, Jackson and Alexander. Three of these were also carried by Blagojevich. Only Jackson County went from supporting the Republican, Topinka, in 2006 to supporting the Democrat, Pat Quinn, in 2010. This difference is undoubtedly attributable to the presence of Sheila Simon from Carbondale in the Lieutenant Governor's race in 2010 and perhaps also to the much reduced showing of the Green Party candidate, Carbondale Attorney Rich Whitney, in 2010 compared to 2006. The outsized influence of Cook, and to a lesser extent St. Clair, was enough for Quinn to eke out a close victory over Brady in 2010. By comparison Blagojevich won a virtual landslide in

2006. Blagojevich won by over 10 % of the vote statewide in 2006 despite winning only 32 counties total. Still Map 2 contains a lot more blue counties that Map 1 from 2010 did. The sea of red counties on the 2010 map indicates a strong Republican tide; however, we count people and voters to determine who wins elections in the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States has elevated this time-honored practice into a principle of “one person, one vote” which is constitutionally protected (Baker v. Carr, 1962; Gray v. Sanders, 1963; Reynolds v. Sims, 1964; and Wesberry v. Sanders, 1964). To count votes otherwise would elevate the worth of certain people, for example usually rural voters in the past, over their peers depending on where they live. The court held that such an elevation would amount to a violation of the ‘Equal Protection of the Laws’ clause of the 14th Amendment (Ibid.). Maps 1 and 2 feature mostly a sea of red with islands of blue, but there were a lot more blue islands in 2006 and in 2010 the islands shrank to only four counties total. However, the majority of the voters statewide voted for the Democrats in both 2006 and 2010, albeit by a very narrow and much reduced margin in 2010. Elections offer the periodic opportunity for change in the government and regime; however, sometimes the voters opt for the status quo over potential change and this was the result in 2010 in the governor’s race.

Next we provide a comparison of the results of the races between Rod Blagojevich and Jim Ryan in 2002, Rod Blagojevich and Judy Barr Topinka in 2006 and Pat Quinn and Bill Brady in 2010. In 2002 Rod Blagojevich was running against Jim Ryan for the open seat which was being vacated by then Governor George Ryan. At that point in Illinois history the Republicans had controlled the Governor’s mansion for 26 straight years during the tenure of James Thompson, Jim Edgar and then George Ryan. However, in 2002 George Ryan had decided not to run for a second term partially because he was in some legal difficulty which would ultimately lead to his conviction in federal court for crimes done earlier while he was Secretary of State. Blagojevich was a young congressman from Chicago who was well connected to the Chicago Democratic Party organization through his father-in-law, City Councilman Richard Mell. Blagojevich was challenged by then Attorney General Jim Ryan who handily won the Republican nomination in March of 2002. Ryan had name recognition and was well-respected statewide and based on his party’s 26 years of control of the governorship, he was expected to run a very competitive race which he did. However, Blagojevich won and Map 3 indicates the contours of his victory and Ryan’s defeat. It also provides the comparison with the two subsequent governor’s races. This provides for the picture of continuity in the three governor’s races conducted through the first decade of the 21st Century.

(Map 3 here)

Map 3 demonstrates both continuity and change across these eight years. The continuity is illustrated by the fact that clear majorities in most counties voted for the same party’s candidates in 2002, 2006 and 2010. There are 64 counties (61 Republican and 3 Democratic) which fit this stable pattern. This constitutes almost two-thirds of all the counties in the state. These counties represent deeply engrained cultural and political patterns and the socio-economic realities of life. People tend to live in areas which are fairly homogeneous in socio-economic, racial and ethnic composition and where one or the other of the two parties

prevail and have done so for generations. Especially in the rural areas where the Republicans predominate, the voters live, work, and socialize with “like minded people” (Gelman, 2009; Brooks, 2004). The same can be true in the middle of a big city where homogeneous ethnic and racial enclaves exist within a larger setting which is as determinedly Democratic as the rural areas are Republican. As Map 3 indicates most of those consistently Republican areas are predominantly found in central, eastern, and northern Illinois. This map depicts a broad swath of red counties where the Republicans won three consecutive governor’s races under the banner of three very different candidates, Jim Ryan, Judy Barr Topinka, and Bill Brady. Socio-economic, racial and ethnic homogeneity in many areas carries over into political and partisan attitudes which also tend to be very stable over time. The more diverse areas tend to vote for the Democrats consistently and that diversity and its political effects also tend to create a majority in recent races with Chicago and Cook County being the most prominent example of a Democratic strong hold in northeast Illinois and provides the base for the Democrats. It does not especially matter for many voters that Ryan, Topinka, and Brady were very different candidates with different credentials, strengths and weaknesses who ran vastly different campaigns. In addition, four intervening years, let alone eight years, brought many new issues and much change to the electoral equation. In spite of that change in what the American Voter called the “short term” factors of issues and candidate images, substantial majorities in most counties voted for the same party over this period (Campbell, et. al, 1960). Party identification and the people’s perceptions of the two parties tend to be long term and stabilizing influences in the mass electorate (Heatherington, 2001). Party identification is perhaps as important, and arguably more important now than ever before in American history (Levendusky, 2009; Green and Herrnson, 2002; Heatherington, 2001).

The Marginal Counties

Map 3 also provides support for the theme of change in this same period. There are 16 counties where the Republicans won two of the governor’s races and the Democrats won only one. The yellow counties (N = 9) on Map 3 indicate those where Ryan won in 2002; Blagojevich won in 2006 and Brady won in 2010. Most notably these include Lake and Will from the Collar Counties and Monroe from the Metro east area along with Williamson in southern Illinois. There are 7 other counties (those in orange) where the Republicans won twice, but in this case Blagojevich won in 2002 but then Topinka won in 2006 and Brady won in 2010. Both types of counties are clearly leaning toward the Republicans although the orange counties may be somewhat more recently Republican than the yellow counties. The yellow counties tend to be in northern and northeastern Illinois, traditional Republican strongholds whereas the orange counties are centered in a tier surrounding the state capital’s home, Sangamon County, in the west central part of the state. There are 21 counties shaded in purple to indicate that the Democrats won twice and the Republicans won only once in this time period. These counties are mostly in southern Illinois along with a few in northwest and north central Illinois. In southern Illinois all of these counties were formerly Democratic strongholds where the members of Congress for decades included Kenneth Gray, Paul Simon, and Glenn Poshard. Several of those counties (Randolph, Perry, Franklin, Union and Pulaski) are now represented in Congress by Democrat, Jerry Costello. In those counties the court houses and local officials are

still predominantly Democrats; however, the national tides have turned the local voters away from the Democrats, probably mostly on the social issues. These are counties that are truly marginal where either party can win; however, the Democrats have increasing problems winning with their statewide and national candidates. These split-level results with Democrats winning local races handily while losing federal races, and now increasingly state wide races, is a familiar phenomenon in the American South where a long term partisan realignment has been underway for a generation. In that sense, southern Illinois may just be belatedly following the South in its turning away from the Democratic Party; however, only time will tell if this is a temporary aberration or a long term trend. These divided results also show that the electoral tides are not immutable.

To some extent the results depend on who the parties nominate and how well they campaign. It also depends on the time and the national electoral trends. 2002 was a very good year nationally for the Republicans in the midterm elections. George W. Bush was president and he was still in fighting mode in the wake of 9/11 and his poll numbers were very high. He used this personal popularity to campaign widely for Republican candidates and causes and to raise money. In Illinois he endorsed Jim Ryan for Governor. In spite of all this, however, Ryan ultimately lost a fairly close race to Blagojevich. 2006, by comparison was a very good year for the Democrats nationally. Bush was half way through his second term and by then the majority of voters had turned against Bush and much of his program. The Republicans lost substantial numbers in the U. S. House and Senate that year. This national tide helped Blagojevich win a fairly easy victory over Judy Barr Topinka who did not run an especially inspired race. So, it does depend on who is running and what the issues and national trends are in any given year. Change can come as Map 3 demonstrates. However, that change is also going to be channeled and contained at the macro level within some very large boundaries where the voting habits and political allegiances of generations will also influence and constrain the final electoral results at the county and then the state levels.

The comparisons afforded by Map 3 also indicate the highly important role that party identification plays in the decisions that the voters must make every four years. In general, party identification is a stabilizing factor in each election. Extensive research at the individual level of analysis shows that party identification alone is a highly important independent variable explaining much of the variance in the vote. In addition it is also a very important indirect influence on the vote via the cue giving function and the perceptual screen it provides to influence the way the voters view and evaluate the candidates and issues (Campbell, et al, 1960). Both of those roles have grown in recent elections when the voters have “sorted” themselves even more markedly into more partisan camps (Levendusky, 2009). While much of the voting behavior research was done on voters at the individual level of analysis, their behavior can be aggregated upward into county and state level returns which are tutored by these results (Gelman, 2009). The stability of political culture and political values operating at the individual level leads to longitudinal stability in statewide and county aggregate level voting results such as those provided in Map 3.

Map 4 extends the analysis even further back in time. This map adds the 1998 governor's race to the three twenty-first century races shown in Map 3. The 1998 race provides an important comparison point since it is the last time a Republican won the governor's office. In 1998 there was an open seat as Republican Jim Edgar was retiring after two terms. His Republican colleague, George Ryan, who was Secretary of State at that time, and who had been Lieutenant Governor under James Thompson, won the Republican primary and wanted to step up to the office of Governor which he had long cherished. He was opposed by Glenn Poshard, a five term Congressman from southern Illinois. Poshard had been an educator and a State Senator before going to the Congress in 1988 upon the retirement of Kenneth J. Gray who had been the veteran Democratic Congressman before Poshard. This deep southern Illinois House seat had also been held for ten years previously by Paul Simon who gave it up in 1984 to run successfully for the U. S. Senate. Poshard was a moderate Democrat who was very popular in southern and central Illinois; however, he had trouble selling some of his more socially conservative stances in parts of Chicago and the Collar Counties. George Ryan also raised a lot more money than Poshard did and Ryan won the race by a 119,903 vote margin out of more than 3.3 million cast statewide (Illinois State Board of Elections, 1998, 4). The race was closer than most experts expected and closer than the polls had indicated. Poshard won handily in his home areas in southern Illinois and the parts of central Illinois he had represented; however, he did not win Chicago by the margins Democrats ordinarily expect. Poshard beat Ryan by 713,272 to 585,008 votes or a 128,264 vote margin; however, that was not enough to overcome Ryan's vote elsewhere. Ryan bested Poshard in the crucial Collar Counties by significant margins. Ryan beat Poshard by 104,168 votes in DuPage and that total alone almost overcame Poshard's lead from Cook County. Ryan won the other four Collar Counties by a margin of 135,123 votes. In total George Ryan won 59 counties and Glenn Poshard won 43 counties. Ryan won in the traditional Republican base in central and northern Illinois most notably the Collar Counties. Poshard won Cook and all across southern Illinois plus some of the central Illinois counties in his congressional district or near to it. Map 4 adds this last governor's election of the 20th Century to the three more contemporary elections from the first decade of the 21st Century.

(Map 4 here)

Map 4 identifies those counties where, based on recent history, a Democrat might expect to do better in a future statewide race than Pat Quinn did in 2010. In fact, those marginal counties are potential "battleground counties" like the battleground states which have emerged so prominently in recent presidential elections. Those are counties either party's candidates might win in future statewide races. Indeed, these are counties where both parties have won the governor's race recently; however, some of these counties clearly lean Republican and some lean toward the Democrats, while some are true toss ups with each party batting 500. The most competitive counties, where the Democrat has won in two elections and the Republican has won in two elections are marked in purple to designate the most competitive of all the counties. Others are colored in orange or yellow to indicate that either party has won that county recently; however, they are marked also by a 3 to 1 victory margin over the past four elections. There are 15 of the purely marginal counties, marked in purple.

The purple counties include Williamson, Marion and Lawrence counties in southern Illinois and a whole tier of counties running from Jersey to Macoupin, Montgomery, Christian, Macon and Cass in central Illinois extending from just north of the Metro East area to include a horse shoe surrounding Sangamon. Map 4 also indicates that these most competitive counties include Henderson, Rock Island and Whiteside counties in Northwest Illinois and Winnebago, Putnam, and LaSalle in north central Illinois. If a statewide candidate wants to target the campaign's efforts and resources on places where there are marginal voters perhaps susceptible to the appeals of both parties, these are the most likely hunting grounds.

The yellow counties are those which lean toward the Republicans but which are not red counties because they voted once out of four elections for the Democrats. There are 23 of these lean Republican counties to go with the 44 red on totally Republican victory counties for a total of 67 counties which form the Republican base in Illinois. Most of these yellow counties which lean Republican are in a clump in southern and eastern Illinois. These include a nest of yellow which extends from White County on the south all the way up through Moultrie, Shelby and Coles on the east. Those are all counties where Glenn Poshard won in 1998 and where the Democrats have not won since. Poshard was a unique Democrat in that election since he had represented a big part of this same geography in Congress. The other yellow counties are predominantly those where Blagojevich won in 2006 but he is the only Democrat to have carried those counties in four elections extending across twelve years. These include counties in west central Illinois and most notably Will and Lake from the Collar Counties.

Map 4 also contains 17 orange counties. Those are counties which clearly lean toward the Democrats since the Democratic candidate has won three out of four of the recent governor's races. Most of these are in southern Illinois and include Randolph, Perry, Jackson, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Saline, Gallatin, Pope, Hardin, Union, Pulaski, and Massac counties in deep southern Illinois. These are all counties won by Glenn Poshard, then won by Blagojevich twice and then lost by Pat Quinn in 2010 (except for Jackson which is a pure toss up county and has the most volatile or deviate pattern of voting in the entire state).

These comparisons across three earlier governor's races strengthen our contention that these are marginal counties which can go either way depending on the political circumstances and the candidates involved. The proposition that these are swing counties is buttressed by the fact that Jesse White won all of these counties in his race for Secretary of State in 2010 (except for Edwards and Richland which are probably the most Republican counties in the state). Lisa Madigan won most of these same counties in her race for Attorney General. It is notable that while Pat Quinn won only three counties "Downstate", i.e. outside Cook and the Collar Counties, White won 100 of 102 counties total. He won the same four that Quinn won plus 96 others. Madigan won the same four that Quinn won plus 73 others. Madigan won Cook and the 5 Collar Counties handily, and she won 71 total Downstate counties. The only counties where Steve Kim won were the solidly red Republican and some of the yellow or "leans Republican" counties mostly in central and eastern Illinois. Again this is because Kim's wins mark the definitive boundaries of the Republican base in Illinois.

With respect to further identifying the marginal counties, it is notable that many of them are in southern Illinois. This area used to be fertile grounds for Democrats running statewide. Many of the county court houses in southern Illinois are still controlled today by the Democrats. Some of those deep southern Illinois counties, like Franklin, Perry, Randolph, and Union have long histories of turning out significant margins for the Democrats. However, in recent elections it has been harder and harder for Democratic Party candidates running statewide to win in those former areas of strength. Some of this change is related to the balance between economic interests versus commitment to social values. Many of the people in these southern Illinois counties are like the voters in the South where their ancestors originated. They are committed conservatives in their social values while retaining some allegiance to the economic liberalism which went with their former status as the coal mining region of Illinois. When coal was king the unions, especially the United Mine Workers of America, were also strong. Coal is no longer king and the mines and with them the UMWA and other unions have declined. Those with only high school educations who formerly worked in the coal mines have left the area or they now work in much more low paying and non-union jobs at places like Wal-Mart and Target. In addition, in many of these southern Illinois counties hunters are numerous and politically active and many of them are mobilized by the National Rifle Association to be on guard constantly against a threat to their gun rights. There is no objective evidence that the Democrats have any plans either nationally or statewide to take away the gun rights of hunters. However, the fact that the City of Chicago has been the site of the long running battle over hand gun control, a fight which has been led by Mayor Richard M. Daley, is not lost on the gun advocates of southern Illinois. This perceived threat to their guns, by extension, has been a significant factor in the re-alignment of the two parties in statewide races where the rural areas are quick to assert and defend their Second Amendment rights.

The gun rights and social issue voters now clearly outnumber the economic liberals in most of these rural areas. This is a clear metaphor for the change which has converted many of the rural areas, particularly those in the South and Midwest, from places where formerly “Blue Dog” or moderate Democrats could win races for the Congress on a mixture of economic populism and social conservatism. This change to the Republican Party was most notable and accelerated in the 2010 mid-term elections where the Republican wave swept 63 new Republican Congressmen into the U. S. House of Representatives. This mixture of economic change coupled with the social issues taking a more prominent role in American politics has led much of southern Illinois to move from reliably located in the Democratic columns in statewide races of the past to now often faithfully supporting the Republicans or at least liable to be found in the ranks of the purple or marginal counties.

The southern Illinois story also provides a metaphor for other rural parts of Illinois. The loss of coal mining jobs in southern Illinois is replicated by the loss of blue collar manufacturing jobs in lots of central and northern Illinois communities. There has been a commensurate shift of the economy to service based and knowledge based jobs in those communities. The unions have also declined or never existed in those industries outside the public sector. Agriculture continues to be a strong base for the economy of many of those counties. Agricultural interests have almost always been Republican in their orientation, particularly those in the more

prosperous and big farm areas and particularly those aligned with the American Farm Bureau which predominantly supports Republican candidates. The Republicans now dominate in many of those rural central and northern Illinois areas as the governor and senate races of 2010 demonstrate. For some especially in central and northern Illinois this dominance goes back for generations perhaps even back to the Civil War and the contests between the Whigs who were the party of Lincoln versus the Democrats, who were the party of the South at that time. Those cultural heritage factors still hold sway in some parts of central and northern Illinois. There the Republicans predominate today just as they have for over a century. However, the more diverse the county, the more they have experienced population growth and the influx of new immigrants the more they are likely to be a purple or marginal county. All of this is evident from Map 4 and Appendix A. There is change evident in this map and the change is where the Democrats may expect to be more competitive in future races. There is also a great deal of continuity where the Republicans are accustomed to winning by large margins in Downstate and where the Democrats are accustomed to winning by even larger margins in the City of Chicago. Those geographic areas are what give stable and predictable parameters to Illinois politics from election to election and candidate to candidate.

Conclusion

If you take the traditional red versus blue map approach and designate the counties according to which party won the majority of the two party vote, Illinois is indeed a very polarized state. It is a microcosm of the United States and like the nation as a whole it is deeply divided into liberal versus conservative, Democratic versus Republican, rural versus urban areas where people see the world quite differently and vote quite differently. There is a deep and growing rural versus urban divide in this country. The suburbs are the fastest growing parts of most states and the suburbs hold the key and the balance of power in this highly polarized equation. In Illinois, as go the suburban ring of Chicago, the Collar Counties and Cook outside the city, so goes Illinois in statewide elections. The different results for Republicans Mark Kirk and Bill Brady illustrated this pattern quite graphically in 2010.

If you look for a more nuanced treatment, you can find some interesting variation. There are some counties which changed sides between 2006 and 2010 although all of them, except Jackson County, changed from the Democratic to the Republican columns. If you track the vote for a longer period of time, especially if all four of the statewide governor's races reviewed here are included, you can identify a lot more variation and the record of change across many of these counties is quite evident. Those are counties where the candidates and their supporters must focus particular attention and commit special resources. Those are the counties where a strategic infusion of staff time and campaign resources, particularly media and money, can make a crucial difference. They are the marginal counties which will be the battleground counties in races of the future.

The results in 2010 illustrate again that Illinois is both a microcosm of the nation as a whole and remains a closely divided and competitive state (Ohlemacher, 2007; Jackson, 2004). The nation as a whole is closely divided and competitive. Like several other big and diverse

urban states such as New York and California the Democrats did reasonably well in the statewide results while they lost ground in the federal elections in 2010. At the beginning of the new year in 2011 Democrats had lost some ground, but Illinois was still a predominantly blue state thanks mostly to the size of Chicago and the crucial importance of the Collar Counties. Illinois could easily become a purple state in the future depending on the political circumstances of the day and especially depending on how well the Democrats are perceived as governing in the next two to four years. The fortunes of the two parties continue to be shaped by the performance of the officials they help elect to public office, the candidates they nominate to challenge in the next electoral round and the campaigns they run, changes in the socio-economic foundations of the state and its constituent counties, and the movement of the national political tides. Politics in Illinois is grounded in the past and anchored by the large underlying contours of past campaigns and the people they elected; however, politics in Illinois is also always dynamic and volatile and full of the potential for surprises. Illinois is always interesting and compelling, filled with larger than life characters and unexpected story lines. It is a story well worth documenting and retelling every four years.

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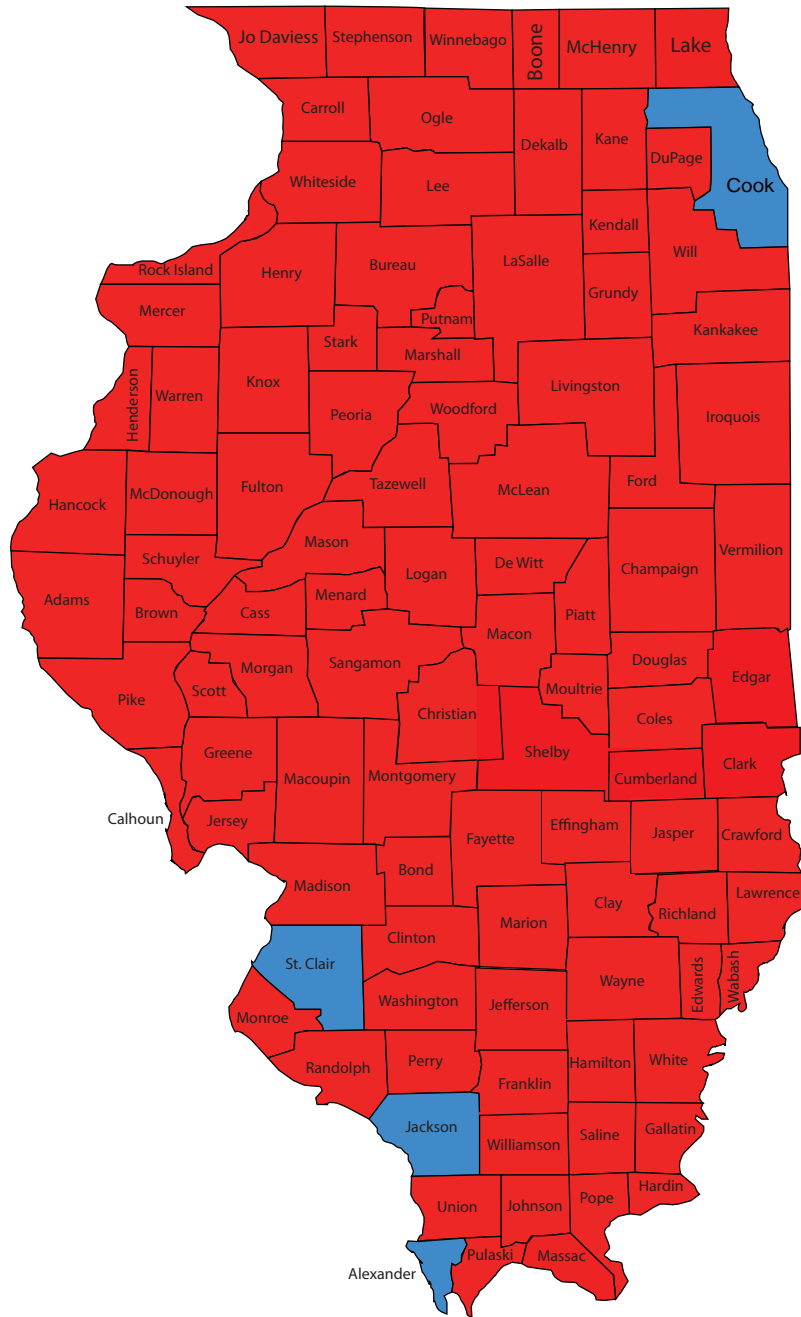
Baker v. Carr, 369 U. S. 186 (1962)

Gray v. Sanders, 83 S. Ct. 801 (1963)

Reynolds v. Sims, 84 S. Ct. 1362 (1964)

Wesberry v. Sanders, 84 S. Ct. 526 (1964)

Map 1



Legend

	Governor	% of Vote	Senator	% of Vote
Blue	Quinn	46.79	Giannoulis	46.29
Red	Brady	45.94	Kirk	47.31
Green	Whitney	2.70	Jones	3.65
Independent	Cohen	3.64	Zadek	0.02
Liberitarian	Green	0.93	Labno	2.70

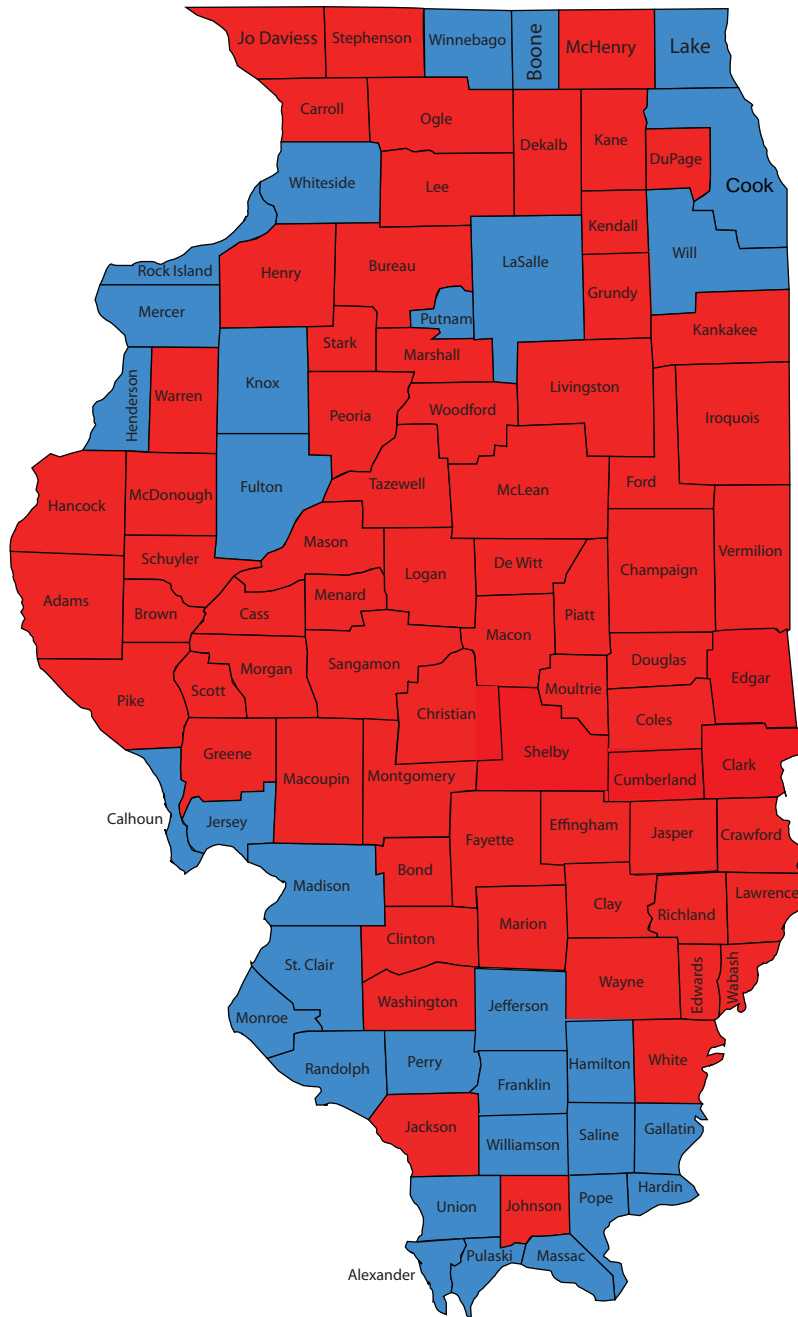
Source: Illinois State Board of Elections website

<http://www.elections.il.gov/ElectionInformation/VoteTotalsList.aspx?officeid=3780>

Last Accessed 12/6/10

Map 2

Governor's Race Results 2006



Legend

% of Vote		
Blue	Blagojevich	49.8
Red	Topinka	39.3
Green	Whitney	10.4

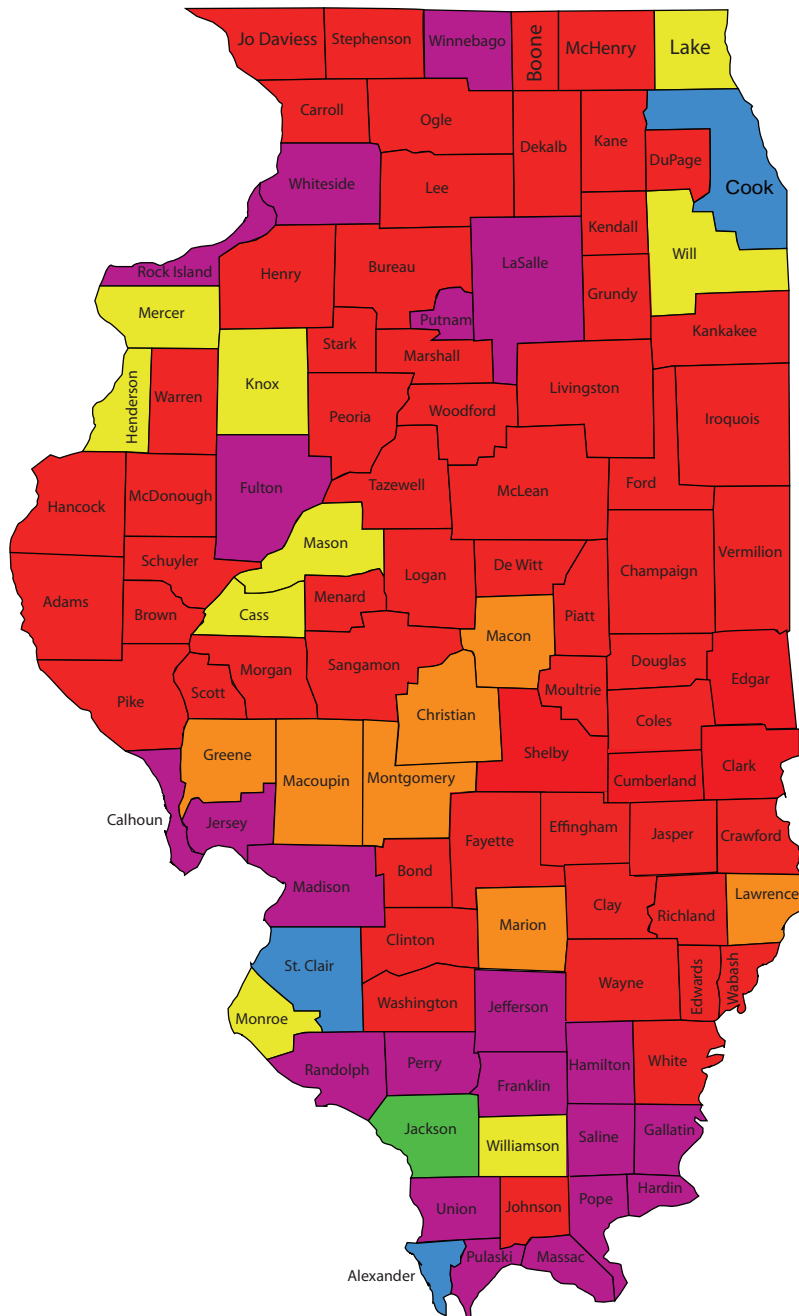
Source: Illinois State Board of Elections website

<http://www.elections.il.gov/ElectionInformation/VoteTotalsList.aspx?officeid=3780>







Last Accessed 12/6/10

Map 3

2002, 2006, and 2010 Illinois Governor Election

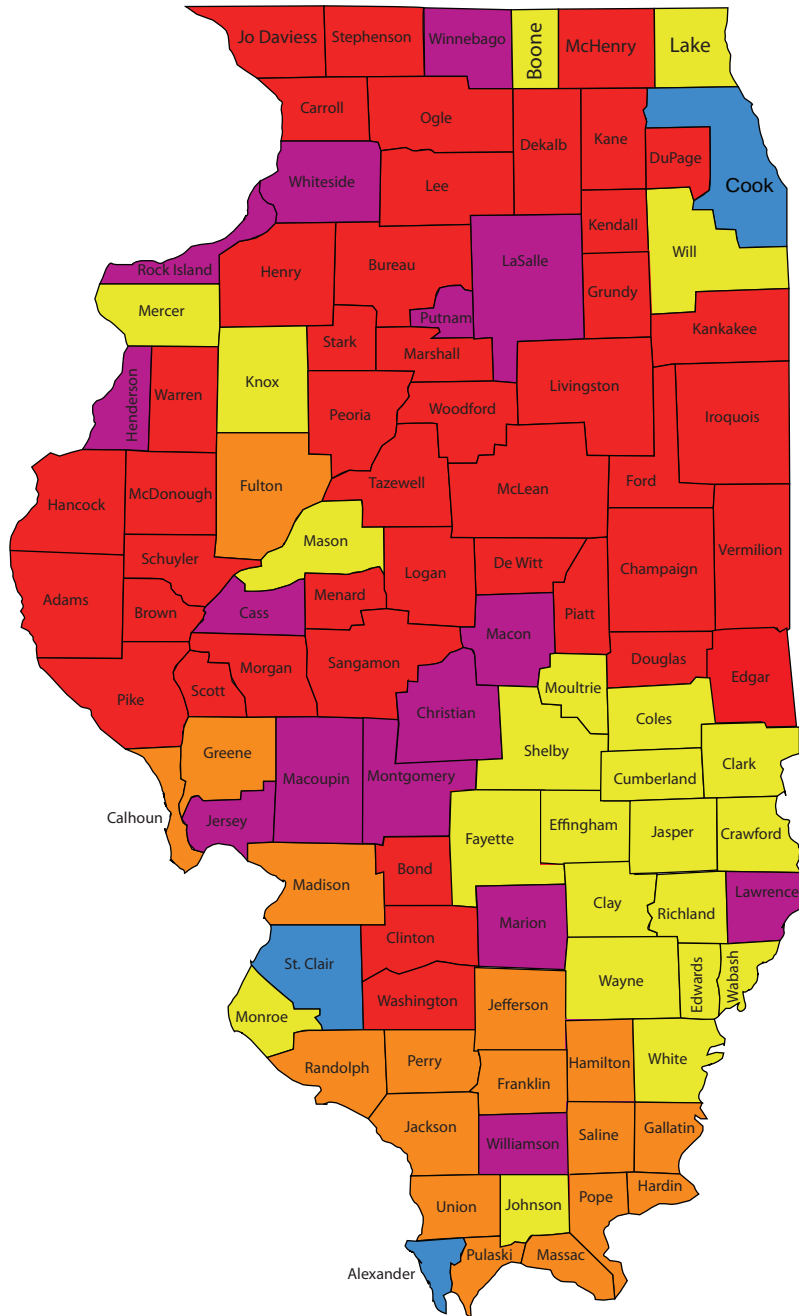


Legend

-  Democrat wins in 2002, 2006, and 2010 (only Cook, St. Clair and Alexander)
-  Blagojevich wins in both 2002 and 2006; Quinn loses in 2010 (2 Democratic victories)
-  Blagojevich gains in 2006; Quinn loses in 2010 (2 Republican victories)
-  Blagojevich loses in 2006 and Quinn loses in 2010 (2 Republican victories)
-  Republican wins in 2002, 2006, and 2010 (3 Republican victories)
-  Blagojevich wins in 2002; loses in 2006; Quinn wins in 2010 (Jackson only)

Map 4

Illinois Governor Elections 1998 through 2010



Legend

- Republican in all four elections
- Democrat in all four elections
- Democrat in three elections
- Democrat in 2 elections; Republican in 2 elections
- Democrat in 1 election

Appendix A

Counties Carried by Lisa Madigan

But not by Quinn or Giannoulis 2010

Adams	Kankakee	Pulaski
Bond	Kendall	Putnam
Boone	Knox	Randolph
Brown	Lake	Rock Island
Bureau	LaSalle	Saline
Calhoun	Lee	Sangamon
Carroll	Livingston	Schuyler
Cass	Logan	Scott
Champaign	Macon	Shelby
Christian	Macoupin	Stark
Coles	Madison	Stephenson
DeKalb	Marion	Tazewell
DeWitt	Marshall	Union
Douglas	Mason	Vermillion
DuPage	McDonough	Warren
Franklin	McHenry	Whiteside
Fulton	McLean	Will
Gallatin	Menard	Williamson
Greene	Mercer	Winnebago
Grundy	Montgomery	
Hamilton	Morgan	
Hardin	Moultrie	
Henderson	Ogle	
Henry	Peoria	
Jefferson	Perry	
JoDaviess	Piatt	
Kane	Pike	

Note: Jesse White carried all of these and all other counties in the state except Edwards and Richland. Thus, he carried 100 of 102 counties in Illinois.

Appendix B
Senate: General Election November 2, 2010

<u>County</u>	<u>Kirk Republican</u>	<u>Giannoulas Democratic</u>	<u>Democratic % of Two Party Vote</u>
Adams	17525	5124	22.62%
Alexander	1179	1358	53.53%
Bond	3219	1791	35.75%
Boone	9029	4408	32.80%
Brown	1411	514	26.70%
Bureau	7452	4180	35.94%
Calhoun	1140	937	45.11%
Carroll	3290	1425	30.22%
Cass	2305	1190	34.05%
Champaign	29321	20205	40.80%
Christian	7072	4037	36.34%
Clark	4125	1635	28.39%
Clay	3256	1185	26.68%
Clinton	8623	3364	28.06%
Coles	9629	3985	29.27%
Cook	442029	898751	67.03%
Crawford	4724	1682	26.26%
Cumberland	2916	944	24.46%
DeKalb	15389	10633	40.86%
DeWitt	3791	1356	26.35%
Douglas	4624	1263	21.45%
DuPage	163875	10429	39.37%
Edgar	4699	1664	26.15%
Edwards	1685	353	17.32%
Effingham	9518	2378	19.99%
Fayette	4571	1711	27.24%
Ford	3441	823	19.30%
Franklin	6636	5222	44.05%
Fulton	5761	4612	44.46%
Gallatin	1013	880	46.49%
Greene	2591	1326	33.85%
Grundy	9418	5814	38.17%
Hamilton	1910	1146	37.50%
Hancock	4647	1641	26.10%
Hardin	1133	719	38.82%
Henderson	1837	1279	41.05%
Henry	11034	5653	33.88%
Iroquois	7763	1871	19.42%
Jackson	7436	7443	50.02%
Jasper	2606	1112	29.91%
Jefferson	7580	3779	33.39%

Appendix B
Senate: General Election November 2, 2010

Jersey	4569	2450	34.91%
JoDaviess	4859	2546	34.38%
Johnson	3094	1157	27.22%
Kane	70621	47486	40.21%
Kankakee	18277	12037	39.71%
Kendall	17633	10797	37.98%
Knox	9389	6081	39.31%
Lake	117971	78569	40.60%
LaSalle	18278	12826	41.24%
Lawrence	3198	1535	32.43%
Lee	6869	3072	30.90%
Livingston	8575	2894	25.23%
Logan	6105	1959	24.29%
Macon	21072	12938	38.04%
Macoupin	8823	6182	41.20%
Madison	44152	32575	42.46%
Marion	7071	3966	35.93%
Marshall	2679	1106	29.22%
Mason	2753	1571	36.33%
Massac	3129	1453	31.71%
McDonough	5656	2859	33.58%
McHenry	55831	30889	35.62%
McLean	32958	15448	31.98%
Menard	3190	1268	28.44%
Mercer	3806	2321	37.88%
Monroe	7854	3536	31.04%
Montgomery	5427	3351	38.17%
Morgan	6816	3101	31.26%
Moultrie	3189	1241	28.01%
Ogle	11184	4261	27.59%
Peoria	28797	19751	40.68%
Perry	3960	2754	41.02%
Piatt	4582	1569	25.51%
Pike	4067	1696	29.43%
Pope	1242	602	32.65%
Pulaski	1429	1155	44.70%
Putnam	1241	846	40.54%
Randolph	6168	4358	41.40%
Richland	3501	1270	26.62%
Rock Island	23249	20445	46.80%
Saline	4528	2668	31.52%
Sangamon	42169	25248	37.45%

Appendix B
Senate: General Election November 2, 2010

Schuyler	1830	844	31.56%
Scott	1203	440	26.78%
Shelby	5401	1936	26.39%
St. Clair	38185	38512	50.20%
Stark	1250	464	27.07%
Stephenson	8711	4174	32.39%
Tazewell	28825	12765	30.69%
Union	3658	2347	39.08%
Vermilion	14078	6309	30.95%
Wabash	2645	974	26.19%
Warren	3654	1883	21.37%
Washington	3833	1494	28.05%
Wayne	4922	1201	19.61%
White	3407	1466	30.08%
Whiteside	10473	7005	40.08%
Will	100616	78787	43.39%
Williamson	13197	7320	35.68%
Winnebago	44622	29144	39.51%
Woodford	10022	2734	21.43%
Total	1778698	1719478	49.15%

Appendix C
Governor: General Election November 2, 2010

<u>County</u>	<u>Quinn Democratic</u>	<u>Brady Republican</u>	<u>Democratic % of the Two-Party Vote</u>
Adams	4883	17765	21.57%
Alexander	1371	1248	52.35%
Bond	1847	3345	35.57%
Boone	4414	9074	32.73%
Brown	499	1503	24.93%
Bureau	4371	7319	37.74%
Calhoun	961	1227	43.92%
Carroll	1445	3361	30.01%
Cass	1088	2433	30.09%
Champaign	21053	29297	41.81%
Christian	3820	7465	33.85%
Clark	1629	4231	27.78%
Clay	1158	3484	24.95%
Clinton	3653	8547	29.94%
Coles	4100	9713	26.69%
Cook	900832	400285	69.24%
Crawford	1691	4864	25.80%
Cumberland	970	2993	24.48%
DeKalb	10852	14949	42.06%
DeWitt	1358	3920	25.73%
Douglas	1239	4753	20.68%
DuPage	110117	154986	41.54%
Edgar	1607	4890	24.73%
Edwards	380	1800	17.43%
Effingham	2381	9856	19.46%
Fayette	1598	4675	25.48%
Ford	906	3452	20.79%
Franklin	5741	6395	47.31%
Fulton	4748	5786	45.07%
Gallatin	883	1148	43.47%
Greene	1305	2739	32.27%
Grundy	5813	9132	38.90%
Hamilton	1206	2052	37.02%
Hancock	1631	4780	25.44%
Hardin	680	1303	34.29%
Henderson	1297	1888	40.72%
Henry	5980	10900	35.43%
Iroquois	1997	7741	20.51%
Jackson	7386	7220	50.57%
Jasper	1008	2837	26.22%
Jefferson	4030	7500	34.95%

Jersey	2509	4724	34.69%
JoDaviess	2842	4763	37.37%
Johnson	1309	3021	30.23%
Kane	48579	68426	41.52%
Kankakee	12046	17207	41.12%
Kendall	11158	17130	39.44%
Knox	6465	9085	41.16%
Lake	86878	102675	45.83%
LaSalle	13495	17378	43.71%
Lawrence	1642	3229	33.71%
Lee	3246	6838	32.19%
Livingston	3503	8273	29.75%
Logan	1953	6304	23.65%
Macon	11966	21914	35.32%
Macoupin	6042	9278	39.44%
Madison	33060	44382	42.70%
Marion	4168	7016	35.20%
Marshall	1162	2744	29.75%
Mason	1594	2836	35.99%
Massac	1513	3170	32.31%
McDonough	2792	5716	32.83%
McHenry	31695	53585	37.14%
McLean	15723	32972	32.29%
Menard	1324	3159	29.53%
Mercer	2403	3710	39.31%
Monroe	3849	7639	33.50%
Montgomery	3262	5670	36.52%
Morgan	3162	6738	31.94%
Moultrie	1117	3346	25.03%
Ogle	4542	11318	28.64%
Peoria	20039	28955	40.90%
Perry	2997	3898	43.47%
Piatt	1619	4653	25.18%
Pike	1514	4391	25.64%
Pope	566	1309	30.19%
Pulaski	1082	1631	39.88%
Putnam	913	1195	43.31%
Randolph	4607	6227	42.52%
Richland	1266	3684	25.58%
Rock Island	20514	22904	47.25%
Saline	3060	4448	40.76%
Sangamon	25038	42278	37.19%
Schuyler	845	1891	30.88%

Scott	422	1235	25.47%
Shelby	1819	5638	24.39%
St. Clair	39152	37772	50.90%
Stark	543	1242	30.42%
Stephenson	4209	9293	31.17%
Tazewell	13189	29248	31.08%
Union	2411	3676	39.61%
Vermilion	6561	14251	31.52%
Wabash	1054	2728	27.87%
Warren	1965	3602	35.30%
Washington	1495	3950	27.46%
Wayne	1123	5404	17.21%
White	1510	3537	29.92%
Whiteside	6981	10510	39.91%
Will	79786	97831	44.93%
Williamson	8654	12240	41.42%
Winnebago	28398	46492	37.92%
Woodford	2990	10170	22.71%
Total	1745219	1713385	50.46%