The Denver Atlas

This project offers a unique look at social, economic and political dynamics in the Denver region, through visual mapping. Maps present suggestive and revealing pictures of the region, filled with geographic data and patterns that are often hard to convey with just narrative. They unveil hidden realities in our communities, present a new angle on familiar phenomena, and deepen our understanding of the world around us. Maps can suggest new courses of action, needed policy changes, or new strategies to community organizations, neighborhood leaders and local officials. This compendium can be explored in any order, as each map stands alone, telling its own piece of our regional story. The maps will take readers through the story of Denver’s 2003 Mayoral race, to gentrification patterns in inner-city Denver, to policing patterns in the streets and in the schools. Though the revelations may sometimes be troubling, we hope they help improve our understanding of our community and inform action to improve it!

The Colorado Community Organizing Collaborative

The Colorado Community Organizing Collaborative (CCOC) is made up of seven community organizing groups working along the nine-county northern front range of Colorado – Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Broomfield, Denver, Douglas, Jefferson, Larimer and Weld counties. These organizations all use grassroots community organizing as a primary strategy, with a strong emphasis on membership-driven self-governance. The CCOC meets regularly and together decides capacity building needs and priority issues in education, economic opportunity and immigrant rights on which to focus their joint efforts.

The CCOC is financially supported by The Philanthropic Community Organizing Collaborative, a partnership of state and local funders that support grassroots organizations. The Philanthropic Community Organizing Collaborative places a special emphasis in helping community organizing partners and others build their individual and collective ability to inform and advance a regional agenda.

Acknowledgments

This project was made possible with the guidance and support of the member organizations of the Colorado Community Organizing Collaborative, and financial support from the Philanthropic Community Organizing Collaborative. Research staff from the Piton Foundation provided technical support and feedback on early drafts of all maps, greatly strengthening the project. Any mistakes or misjudgments that remain in any maps are the responsibility of the author.
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Nearly 20% of Denver residents are foreign-born. The Leetsdale/Parker corridor of Southeast Denver and Aurora boasts the region's most diverse immigrant communities. Russian bookstores, African centers, European marts, Korean restaurants, English acquisition centers, Mosques, and Orthodox churches abound.

"Immigrant Enclaves" were defined by selecting the top 5-30 census tracts for each ethnicity, with the selected tracts depending on where the first natural population break occurred in terms of ethnic population falling off significantly.

Immigrants from Mexico concentrate in north and west Denver, along East Colfax, and in the Greeley area, creating vibrant enclaves across the region.

Far less numerous than Mexican immigrants, South Americans concentrate in entirely different communities southeast of Denver and north of Boulder.

African immigrants are concentrated along Colorado Boulevard in the Glendale area, and in Denver's Montbello and Green Valley Ranch areas (near DIA).

The region's most substantial Central American enclaves are located along East Colfax, in Denver's Montbello and Globeville neighborhoods, and in Greeley.

Total Mexicans: 143,679
Total South Americans: 7599
Total Central Americans: 8063
Total Africans: 8678

The region's largest Asian population is from Vietnam. Southeast Asians (Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos) concentrate in SW Denver, along Federal and Sheridan.

Chinese immigrants are concentrated in the Boulder/Lafayette/Louisville area, and south of Denver, near the Denver Tech Center and Castle Rock.

Japanese immigrants are more dispersed than other Asian immigrants. An enclave exists to the north, in the Fort Collins area.

Supporting two Korean daily newspapers, Koreans are concentrated Southeast of Denver, along Hampden and Havana Streets.

Chinese immigrants are concentrated in the Boulder/Lafayette/Louisville area, and south of Denver, near the Denver Tech Center and Castle Rock.

Japanese immigrants are more dispersed than other Asian immigrants. An enclave exists to the north, in the Fort Collins area.

Supporting two Korean daily newspapers, Koreans are concentrated Southeast of Denver, along Hampden and Havana Streets.

The region’s Middle Eastern population is growing. Residents from Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Turkey concentrate near Boulder and east of Denver.

Immigrants from Southcentral Asia (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, India and Bangladesh) are more numerous than Middle Eastern immigrants.

East European immigrants (e.g., Yugoslavian, Russian, Czech and Hungarian) densely concentrate in a string along Parker, Leetsdale and Speer Boulevards.

Western Europeans are more affluent than Eastern European immigrants. They concentrate in mountain communities to the west of Denver.

This map documents changes in whites as a percent of local population. "White" includes only Non-Hispanic whites, as reported by the Census Bureau. The map reveals the suburban ring surrounding Denver becoming substantially less white (primarily due to the growth of the Latino population in those areas), while whites are "returning to the city" and growing rapidly in Denver's gentrifying inner-city communities such as Five Points, Park Hill and La Alma/Lincoln Park.

One of the region's most pronounced dividing lines between areas experiencing rapid growth and rapid decline in white population is northeast Denver. This area is starkly divided between the trendy Stapleton and gentrifying Five Points neighborhoods which have attracted new residents and gaining white population from the surrounding Denver metropolitan area, while the Elyria/Swansea, Globeville and Commerce City areas suffer from disinvestment and are home to a growing concentration of low-income Latinos.


"State census data show that Latinos now compose 18 percent of Colorado's population, a 75 percent change from 1990...Aurora, Broomfield, Edgewater, Federal Heights, Highlands Ranch, Parker, and Wheatridge were among Denver area cities where Latinos were part of a huge population boom." -- The Hispania News

"Gentrification of [Denver] neighborhoods such as Five Points also has drastically altered the racial mix as the white population in the once predominantly black area has increased more than 10 percent over the last decade." -- The Denver Post

This decade's suburban growth is occurring on the east side of the metro area where whites are expanding into previously lower-income areas. This is occurring across the entire Denver metro area, as the white population in those areas is increasing more than 10 percent over the last decade. This trend is occurring across the entire Denver metro area, as the white population in those areas is increasing more than 10 percent over the last decade.
Linguistic Isolation is defined as living in a household where no one over 14 speaks English. Linguistic isolation is correlated with poverty, food insecurity, and difficulty in accessing schools, health providers and other community institutions. Linguistically isolated households are concentrated in core cities, though there are also rural concentrations, suggesting migrant households. Migrant children (living in an area less than three years, with parents working in agriculture) are especially isolated, and their health and school performance suffer because of it.

Migrant Children in Area School Districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School District</th>
<th>Migrant Children</th>
<th>Other District</th>
<th>Isolated Individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greeley</td>
<td>1,428</td>
<td>St. Vrain Valley</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams-Arapahoe</td>
<td>1,011</td>
<td>Weld RE-8</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams 14</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>Weld RE-1</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Morgan</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulder Valley</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>Keenesburg</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2000, Table PCT 40. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
The Colorado Trust reports that 250,000 Colorado children aged 5-17 are unsupervised after school, with most being in low-income, ethnic minority and/or rural families. Less than 25% of these children participate in after-school programs, and 60% of program-providers had to turn away youth due to lack of resources. The Trust reports that “In particularly short supply are programs and services capable of meeting the needs of immigrant and non-English-speaking families. One in three agencies surveyed said they serve significant numbers of Spanish-speaking-only families, and struggle to recruit and retain bilingual and culturally-competent staff.”

Source: Census 2000, Table PCT 38. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
Though "sustainable development" goals have influenced regional planning, the Front Range continues to sprawl. Brookings Institute scholars recently judged the region to be one of America's top sprawling areas. Population continues to swell in lesser developed areas, particularly near Greeley, which census officials recently named America's fastest growing urban area. Partly because housing prices are lower near Greeley than in areas like Denver and Boulder, HUD has reported that "Greeley has become an affordable bedroom community for some workers in the Denver and Boulder-Longmont metro areas..."
Female headed households with children concentrate almost entirely in the Denver area. These families tend to be low income, and face a host of unique challenges such as securing adequate child care and after-school programs, family-supporting jobs, and good educational opportunities. Affordable housing is a key challenge, often met for female headed households through mobile home communities, which provide a network of peer support and allow lower-income women a rare chance at home ownership.

Source: For complete sources, see Atlas document online at www.fresc.org.
Residents Over Age 65
(per Census Block Group)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 200</td>
<td>Light yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 - 300</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301 - 400</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401 - 500</td>
<td>Dark orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501 - 600</td>
<td>Red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600 - 2200</td>
<td>Brown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This map highlights several notable concentrations of elderly residents.

1) Near the junction of I-225 and Leetsdale/Parker;
2) Along Alameda Boulevard, near Havana Street;
3) Near the intersection of Sheridan and Hwy 285;
4) Near the intersection of Santa Fe Drive and C-470;
5) The Denver Cherry Creek area, between University and Colorado.

Seniors face an array of unique challenges, including health care, disability, transportation, and isolation issues that make it important to provide appropriate services in areas dense with senior citizens (DRCOG Senior Needs).

"Over 71,000 seniors in Colorado have legal problems, according to a fall 2004 survey by the National Research Council. Of this total, approximately one-fourth said the legal issue they faced in the last 12 months would be classified as a 'major' problem."

"For senior citizens living on fixed incomes, the resolution of major legal problems often represents a substantial cost...there is a significant portion of this older demographic that lack the necessary financial resources."

-- Ryan Peacock,

DRCOG data predicts that Colorado's senior population will grow by 50% by 2012, and the Denver metro area aging population will double by 2020.

As the population over age 65 grows, the region will need increasingly to focus on specific challenges facing the elderly. In 2005, for example, seniors reported confusion over the new Medicare plan, including frustration with automated federal phone help lines and inability to navigate on-line advice systems. In targeting responses to such challenges, census data shows that the region's elderly are concentrated in communities like Golden, Wheat Ridge, Lakewood, Loveland, and Fort Collins.

Health care challenges are severe for linguistically isolated seniors (living in a household where no adult speaks English). According to the Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, lack of English leads to misunderstood health advice, low participation rates in programs like Medicare, missed medications, a lower likelihood to use preventive care, and increased ER visits. Linguistically isolated elderly residents are concentrated in Greeley, Brighton, Fort Collins, Fort Lupton, Lafayette, Southwest Denver, Aurora's Havana Street corridor, the Colfax and 225 area, and the I-25 and 225 Junction.

Social Health
The region has spent billions subsidizing growth and has become one of the nation's fastest growing economies. But regional social health is not improving as quickly. Economic Policy Institute analysis shows that over the last 20 years, the poorest 20% of Coloradans were able to add only an extra $140 a year to their income (growing to an average income of $18,983 in 2004). The richest 20% of Coloradans added an extra $2,150 every year to their annual income, growing to an average income of $130,028. Current economic patterns are allowing a few families to earn tremendous wealth, while average wages stagnate.

The federal poverty line in 2000 was $17,463 for a family of four. Many economists and community advocates argue that this measure of family hardship is set too low. A better measure of a "hardship" poverty line might be 1.5 times the federal poverty line, or $26,195 for a family of four. By this measure, more than 20% of the residents of many regional cities endure great hardship.

Source: Census 2000, Table P87. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
Following the model established by Dr. Myron Orfield's "Metropolitics," local revenue capacity is determined by projecting the revenue a locality would raise if regionally average tax rates were applied to its actual local tax base. For this map, the average regional sales tax rate (3%) and property tax rate (84.89 mills) was applied to total taxable sales and taxable assessed value within each jurisdiction to determine local revenue capacity. Revenue capacity was then divided by the number of residents in a locality to determine local revenue capacity per person.

Source: Colorado Department of Local Affairs tax data. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
Fiscal Health is determined by local revenue capacity and by the level of social needs. To generate this map, all municipalities were rated by the percent of residents that fall into five "social need" categories: 1) less than a high school education; 2) female-headed families with children; 3) receiving public assistance; 4) below poverty; 5) renters; and 6) children, or a non-worker (seniors, disabled, etc.). Local percentages in each category were weighted against regional percentages in each category in order to gain a "social needs index" for each city. This figure was divided into each municipality's total revenue capacity (see previous map) and the resulting numbers were aligned on a 100 point scale.

Fiscal Health Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lochbuie</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed Heights</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milliken</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurora</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeley</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry Hills</td>
<td>71.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lone Tree</td>
<td>95.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenwood Vlg</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparative Fiscal Health

100 point Scale

- Red: 1 - 6
- Yellow: 7 - 20
- Light Green: 20 - 30
- Blue: 30 - 100
- Unincorp. or No Data

Source: For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
According to Piton Foundation data, about 70% of Colorado's families need child care. Access to child care varies regionally, with inner-city communities having fewer child care slots available than more affluent suburban areas. Difficulty in accessing child care undermines parents' work participation and harms early child development.

CCCAP is a Colorado program subsidizing child care providers to give care to low-income children, which helps enable family participation in the workforce. Limited funding leads the state to reimburse care providers at less than market rates, leading many providers to refuse or limit CCCAP families. Only 13% of Colorado's eligible children are enrolled with a CCCAP provider. This map compares the number of children under age 11 living in poverty (2000) to the number of child care slots available in that zip code by providers who accept CCCAP (2005). Regions of insufficient CCCAP child care slots emerge, suggesting areas where parents may find it hard to balance work with caring for their children.
60% of Colorado children under 6 need day care because both parents are in the labor force; infant care is especially scarce for these working parents. Many young children belong to a single parent household (usually female headed), whose parent is expected to work under Colorado TANF guidelines. For parents seeking work, expensive or unavailable child care can be a serious obstacle (averaging over $5,000 per year, per child). A TANF enrollee seeking child care can face sanctions if she does not work, yet also often faces the reality of unavailable infant/toddler care in her community. A 5-year evaluation of Colorado's TANF program by Berkeley Policy Associates found that institutional obstacles like unaffordable child care were often the reason for clients not leaving TANF. Under Colorado TANF guidelines, a parent can reduce work expectations if child care is unavailable, but the lifetime 60-month TANF limit still applies. Many counties are terminating TANF parents for hitting this deadline. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
Medicaid covers health care for low-income persons who have no coverage. Many Medicaid patients are employed, but turn to Medicaid because their employer does not provide health care. The program pays most hospitals less than it costs to provide care, so hospitals with large Medicaid caseloads must charge other patients more in order to cover the cost of Medicaid care. Hospitals like Denver Health and Platte Valley in Brighton carry a disproportionate share of the Medicaid burden. This burden is likely to grow as new hospitals (such as Skyridge and Parker Adventist) open in affluent southern rim communities, and established hospitals like St. Anthony’s, Children’s and the University Hospital are moving from core Denver to more affluent suburbs.

"As the number of hospitals in the core Denver area decreases, then more of the load is going to fall on Denver Health. It really is a question of sustainability -- whether they can be the provider of last resort for everyone who needs it. I don't think they can."

-- John Parvensky, CO Coalition for the Homeless

To help low-income children gain health coverage, Colorado's Children's Health Plan (CHP+) was designed under federal guidelines for children who were ineligible for Medicaid, but still under 185% of the poverty line. In 2005, 93,435 children were eligible for CHP+, though only 44% of these were enrolled.

Enrollment rates vary by county, as implementation depends on local HMOs, practitioners, and hospitals. Rural counties struggle with enrollment, and small changes in family income can result in children being added to CHP+ or Medicaid, sometimes removing children from their primary care provider. Under-enrollment of eligible children is also due to government funding limitations, which create caps on the number of children who can be enrolled. Although Colorado lifted its year-long cap on new enrollments in 2004, federal government funding formulas are still in place, putting a cap on the number of eligible children who can be enrolled.

Under-enrollment patterns are likely to have endured. Over the last 5 years, the percentage of eligible children enrolled has increased from 33% to 44%, so the under-enrollment problem remains.

Children's Health Plan (CHP+) was designed under federal guidelines for children who were ineligible for Medicaid, but still under 185% of the poverty line. In 2005, 93,435 children were eligible for CHP+. Of these, only 44% were enrolled. Under-enrollment patterns are likely to have endured. Under-enrollment rates vary by county, as implementation depends on local HMOs, practitioners, and hospitals. Rural counties struggle with enrollment, and small changes in family income can result in children being added to CHP+ or Medicaid, sometimes removing children from their primary care provider.
only larger hospitals are available to deliver indigent care. In many areas there are no community health centers and rural indigent care is often far from a resident’s community health center. Mental health centers or medical community health centers, mental health centers, or medical centers of the state's non-resident. Large areas of the state have no federally qualified health centers. Although rural areas post higher rates of uninsurance, in urban areas, where urban residents have access to inpatient care, access to indigent health care is less. There is variation in access to affordable care for the uninsured across the state. Rural individuals have less access to affordable care for the uninsured.

An estimated 687,000 Coloradans were uninsured in 2004. 2/3 of these people have incomes below 250% of the poverty line. Federal aid, State aid, and hospital cost-shifting to care for these individuals equals about $464 million a year, not including out-of-pocket expenses by the uninsured to pay for their own care. By the Colorado Coalition for the Medically Underserved.

There is variation in access to affordable care for the uninsured across the state. Rural individuals have far less access to indigent health care, although rural areas post higher rates of uninsurance. In large areas of the state there are no community health centers, mental health centers, or medical centers of the state's non-resident. Large areas of the state have no federally qualified health centers. Although rural areas post higher rates of uninsurance, in urban areas, where urban residents have access to inpatient care, access to indigent health care is less. There is variation in access to affordable care for the uninsured across the state. Rural individuals have less access to affordable care for the uninsured.

Health Care Uninsurance Rates and the Indigent Care Network: By County (2004)
Percent of all Rental Units Affordable to Households at Various AMI Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMI Level</th>
<th>1992</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80% of AMI</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60% of AMI</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40% of AMI</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20% of AMI</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Across the region, low-income rental units are disappearing. Even communities that traditionally have provided substantial affordable housing are struggling to meet the demand as the region grows. The map examines 30% of Area Median Income (AMI) affordable units and provides a snapshot of where they are disappearing. The map examines all rental units available at 30% of AMI across the region. For complete sources, see the Atlas document at www.fresc.org.

Shrinking Low-Income Rental Units (1992-2005)
Deconcentrating Subsidized Housing: Public Housing to Section 8

Public Housing: Designed in the 1940s, this program concentrated units in large projects, mostly located in Denver. Problems related to concentrating poor residents in segregated "ghettos" emerged.

Project-Based Section 8: Designed in the 1970s, this program subsidized private landlords to provide their buildings for low-income housing. The program involved the private market in distributing units beyond public housing projects, though still in large buildings.

Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Units: Created in 1986, this program supports non-profit and for-profit developers in building new low-income units throughout the region. Projects are often smaller and more widely distributed than Project-Based Section 8.

Section 8 Vouchers: Increasingly used since the 1990s, vouchers are tenant-based and allow a tenant to find housing anywhere where a landlord will accept the voucher. The program deconcentrates subsidized housing into smaller, market-based units throughout the region.

The Section 8 voucher system was designed to allow more freedom for voucher-holders to live wherever they can find an eligible landlord willing to rent to them. Although voucher holders are spread throughout the region, they still tend to be concentrated in large, multi-unit buildings and in core-city areas. The Section 8 voucher program has allowed for some "deconcentration" of poverty, but regional equity in housing solutions remains elusive. Though this data is dated, more timely mapping is difficult since HUD's most recent data release on the location of Section 8 voucher-holders only included data from 1998. Though the data is dated, it is still useful for understanding regional concentration of poverty. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
Economic Development
The Colorado Office of Economic Development (OED) works with localities to award grants, tax waivers, loans and workforce training to businesses seeking to relocate or expand in the state. Dozens of these subsidies are salted across the region, delivering millions to companies ranging from T. Rowe Price to L’Oreal, from Level3 to Kodak, from EchoStar to the International Chamber of Commerce. In one case (Aurora’s subsidy of Stanley Aviation’s expansion), subsidies paid for about 25% of the entire project. Subsidy packages are generally about 50% state and 50% locally financed. These figures do not include the millions granted to businesses through other tools such as enterprise zone tax credits, tax increment financing, or state-financed business marketing efforts.

A vital tool for financing urban development is Tax Increment Financing, or TIF. When officials use urban renewal authority to attract developers through tax subsidies that finance development infrastructure and land clean-up, it is called a TIF project. TIF works by dedicating up to 25 years of future sales and property tax revenues from a private development site to pay the developer a subsidy. Through TIF, localities are locking up a growing share of local tax revenues for development subsidies. Some of these publicly subsidized developments are the largest new developments in their city, such as Denver's Stapleton or Brighton's new Pavilions project.

DENVER TIF DISTRICTS:
Most tax revenues collected in these red-shaded areas are obligated by TIF contracts to go to developer subsidies, for up to 25 years. These areas include all of Stapleton and Lowry and good portions of LoDo.
Although Denver as a whole is experiencing growing Latino and Asian populations, there is a group of core-city neighborhoods that are becoming more white. These neighborhoods have been targeted by officials for upscale change.

Tax Increment Financing (TIF) is a subsidy tool that allows Denver to divert tax dollars to subsidize upscale development projects. Subsidized projects include the Pavilions, LoDo lofts, and Stapleton. In the last 15 years, TIF has been guided by what Denver's former planning director called "The Downtown Agenda." In the Director's words, this agenda has sought to make Denver "an efficient economic machine," to transform lower-income areas into "investor quality downtown residential neighborhoods," and to attract "people with money to spend on housing." The strategy was designed to address problems of the 1970's and 80s, when upper classes fled Denver and "just about the only downtown residents left were those unwanted as neighbors anywhere else" (J. Moulton, "Ten Steps to a Living Downtown"). As Denver's downtown agenda is successful in subsidizing expensive new developments in core-city neighborhoods, traditional neighborhoods of color are becoming more expensive, and more white.

Note: Whites are non-Latino whites, as reported in Census 1990 & 2000. Table P10: "Hispanic or Latino by Race." For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
Historically, urban renewal has served to displace communities of color, often non-white neighborhoods, to the future of traditional lower-income, non-white neighborhoods as Denver's modern urban renewal efforts target upscale projects along Denver's "racial boundary line." Denver's modern urban renewal efforts target upscale projects along Denver's "racial boundary line," raising questions as to the future of traditional lower-income, non-white neighborhoods. Denver's modern urban renewal efforts target upscale projects along Denver's "racial boundary line," raising questions as to the future of traditional lower-income, non-white neighborhoods. Denver's modern urban renewal efforts target upscale projects along Denver's "racial boundary line," raising questions as to the future of traditional lower-income, non-white neighborhoods. Denver's modern urban renewal efforts target upscale projects along Denver's "racial boundary line," raising questions as to the future of traditional lower-income, non-white neighborhoods. Denver's modern urban renewal efforts target upscale projects along Denver's "racial boundary line," raising questions as to the future of traditional lower-income, non-white neighborhoods. Denver's modern urban renewal efforts target upscale projects along Denver's "racial boundary line," raising questions as to the future of traditional lower-income, non-white neighborhoods.
In the last decade, Denver officials have spent millions subsidizing upscale urban redevelopment projects, strategically located along the boundary line between low and higher property values. "Economically underutilized neighborhoods represent an untapped resource in local communities," asserts one study financed by Colorado redevelopment authorities. To "better utilize" lower income communities, subsidized redevelopment projects penetrate Denver’s poorer communities, raise property values and introduce a “creative class” demographic into previously low-income areas.

Many low income residents were displaced by condo conversion, redevelopment of affordable properties into luxury high-rises, and the demolition of deeply subsidized affordable rental housing projects. Since 1974, Denver has lost almost 3,000 single room occupancy (SRO) units to redevelopment.

-- The Denver Commission to End Homelessness

Urban Renewal Authority


Source: For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
Affluent and low-income neighborhoods are divided in downtown Denver along the 20th street “boundary line.” Following the success of the publicly subsidized, luxurious Post Properties at 20th and Pearl in the late 1990s, upscale developments have begun to creep across 20th street, bringing new investment and attracting affluent residents to traditional low-income communities. With developments like East Village, which will introduce hundreds of upscale housing units into a former public housing community, gentrification and displacement pressures can be expected to grow.

- Lofts or Condos
- Post Properties
- East Village

Source: For complete sources, see Atlas document online at www.fresc.org.
Female Headed Households with Children & Denver's Development Future

"Urban renewal/development activities and pro-business/industry policies often focus on land where the poorest households are living... Displacement and resettlement disproportionately affect more female-headed households, as they tend to be the poorest of the poor. While urban renewal and development could benefit women and their families in the medium-long term, planners, developers and city officials should ensure that these households are not pushed further into poverty due to such activities."

-- The World Conservation Union

"Blueprint Denver" is Denver's plan to target "Areas of Change" for transformation through new investment. Substantial growth subsidies, such as tax increment financing, are already targeting these areas for upscale development. These same areas are also home to many of Denver's female-headed families (generally lower-income).

As Denver "transforms" its areas of change, lower-income families may face displacement and difficulties in benefiting from the new economy.

For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
Retail jobs are some of the fastest growing jobs in the region, but according to IRS tax data, inflation-adjusted average wages in this job sector are declining in sizable areas across the region. Part of the reason for wage depression is because fewer workers are landing full-time, year-round work, while the low-wage contingent workforce (temporary, part-time or day-labor) is growing. Nearly 50,000 Coloradans held temporary jobs in 2004, and growing numbers of Coloradans hold poverty-wage jobs or are required to work at least 2 jobs to survive. Furthermore, the Denver Office of Economic predicts the city’s most rapid job growth in future years will occur in low-wage job sectors.
The pipeline to good jobs and college education begins in early education. Unfortunately, for low-income and minority youth, this pipeline is too often shut down as early as elementary school. Poor performing schools are concentrated in minority communities. Fifth grade gaps on CSAP reading scores parallel gaps in math, writing and science, and endure throughout high school, resulting in low college attendance rates for non-white youth.

*Source: Colorado Department of Education CSAP results. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.*

Under-Performing Schools Concentrated in Latino Communities (2005)
Low CSAP Scores Parallel High Poverty Rates

Students by Parishes: Lunch and Grade Levels
--- North High School Report: The Voice of Over 700

From the High School Race, one story: the story of the systems—how the have and how the have-nots.

A story of separate and unequal schools. There is one set of quality schools for affluent children, and another set of schools (with fewer resources and greater challenges for poor children). The resources and greater challenges for poor children. The story is one set of quality schools for affluent children, and another set of schools (with fewer resources and greater challenges for poor children). The resources and greater challenges for poor children.

CSAP scores reveal Colorado’s separate and unequal school systems. There is one set of quality schools for affluent children, and another set of schools (with fewer resources and greater challenges for poor children). The resources and greater challenges for poor children.

% Free Hot Lunch

Fifth Grade

26 - 56
11 - 25
0 - 10
0% - 25%
26% - 75%
76% - 96%

Dangerous Violations include alcohol and drug abuse, assaults, deadly weapons and habitual disruption. They do not include "code of conduct" violations.

The rising number of students referred to police, or disciplined for "code of conduct" violations, has little to do with high rates of dangerous crime in schools. Most schools see fewer than two dangerous incidents a year. Schools most disciplined look nothing like "dangerous middle schools." The rising number of students referred to police or disciplined for "code of conduct" violations.

Source: Colorado Department of Education. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
For racial bias is high. In such a situation, the potential danger below shows, in such a situation, the potential high rates of any dangerous student behaviors as the high rates of any dangerous student behaviors as the high rates of any dangerous student behaviors as the high rates of any dangerous student behaviors as the high rates of any dangerous student behaviors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Code of Conduct Violations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rangeview (Aurora)</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoky Hill (Aurora)</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunderidge (Highlands Ranch)</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle Academy (Highlands Ranch)</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver School of Arts (Denver)</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byers (Byers)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collegiate Charter (Littleton)</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangeview</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoky Hill (Aurora)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangeview</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, the Advanced Project, "Serious Incidents Code of Conduct" includes "Detrimental Behavior," "Disruptive Clothing," "Slurs," "Obscenities," "Belonging to an Unauthorized Association," and "Bullying." These violations are not related to high rates of truly dangerous student behavior, as the chart below shows. In such a situation, the potential for racial bias is high.

Across the region, schools have adopted a "zero tolerance" approach to school discipline, resulting in rising numbers of students disciplined for "code of conduct" violations. These violations are not for dangerous or violent behavior such as drug use, assaults or deadly weapons, but are for more subjective and non-violent behaviors such as swearing, using disruptive clothing, and wearing clothing that is not appropriate to school discipline. These violations are not for serious incidents Code of Conduct Violations: High School Discretionary Discipline (2004).
Electoral
Denver is a Democratic city, with Kerry (Democrat) receiving 72% of the vote for president against Bush (Republican) in 2004. This map of voting patterns shows vast swaths of Democratic blue and only a small number of Republican red. Considering the Democrats’ historic strength across South Denver and near the County Park, where neither party can be certain of victory, it is instructive to view the map of Denver (Republican) winning 72% of the vote for presidential election in 2004. This map of Denver (Republican) winning 72% of the vote for presidential election in 2004. The map of Denver (Republican) winning 72% of the vote for presidential election in 2004. The map of Denver (Republican) winning 72% of the vote for presidential election in 2004.
While politicians are busy mining the immense wealth reserves from Cherry Creek to Lodo, from Cherry Hills to Castle Rock, vast areas of the Denver region simply cannot purchase the kind of access significant campaign donations bring. While Cherry Hills Village gave over $60 a resident in 2004, less affluent suburbs like Aurora, Thornton, Westminster and Commerce City could only give pennies per person. Racial disparities are also evident between the highest (largely white) and lowest (large non-white) zip codes. While Cherry Hills Village gave over $60 to a resident in 2004, less affluent suburbs like Aurora, Thornton, Westminster and Commerce City could only give pennies per person. Racial disparities are also evident between the highest (largely white) and lowest (large non-white) contributing zip codes.

### Zip Code City Total Donations Per Capita Donations Pop. % Non-White

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zip Code</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total Donations</th>
<th>Per Capita Donations</th>
<th>Pop. % Non-White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80113</td>
<td>Cherry Hills Village</td>
<td>$927,450</td>
<td>$60.28</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80108</td>
<td>Castle Rock</td>
<td>$340,895</td>
<td>$32.78</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80304</td>
<td>Boulder</td>
<td>$251,084</td>
<td>$17.24</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80206</td>
<td>Denver (Country Club)</td>
<td>$225,689</td>
<td>$12.51</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80030</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>$760</td>
<td>$0.06</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80229</td>
<td>Thornton</td>
<td>$520</td>
<td>$0.02</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80222</td>
<td>Commerce City</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$0.02</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80224</td>
<td>Arvada</td>
<td>$250</td>
<td>$0.01</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80017</td>
<td>Aurora</td>
<td>$222,568</td>
<td>$17.24</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Federal Election Commission. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.

Voter Turnout by Precinct
- < 55%
- 55% - 70%
- > 70%
- No Data

Party Registration by Precinct
- > 4% Republican Advantage
- Party Balance
- > 4% Democratic Advantage
- No Data

Source: County elections department data. For complete sources, see Atlas document online at www.fresc.org.
The Colorado State House has 65 seats, leading each party to seek to control at least 33 seats to secure a majority. The Republican party started the decade with 32 safe seats (districts in which Republican registered voters outnumbered Democratic voters by at least 20%), while the Democrats only had 18 such districts. Nevertheless, the Democrats picked the Republican lock on the Colorado House following the 2004 elections by pulling off a near sweep of the 15 districts without a clear party majority (failing to win only District 17, now held by Mark Cloer-R, Colorado Springs), and by winning three Democratic seats in areas with large Republican majorities: District 55 (Buesher-D, Grand Junction), 53 (Paccione-D, Fort Collins), and 29 (Benefield-D, Arvada).

A predictor of Democratic party success is the percent of Latinos in a district. Latinos average 9% of the population in strong Republican (red) districts, 29% of residents in strong Democratic (blue) districts, and 16% of the population in swing districts. The 2004 Presidential election saw Colorado Latino voters break 68% to 32% for Kerry (D) over Bush (R). As Colorado's Latino population grows, the future of party control will increasingly depend on their voting patterns.

### Colorado Party Strength: Democrat vs. Republican Registered Voters (2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State House Districts</th>
<th>Registered Voters</th>
<th>Dems vs. Reps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20%+ more Dems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Only Balanced House District won by a Republican (2004): Cloer

Dem in Rep Territory: Buesher (Dist. 55)
Dem in Rep Territory: Benefield (Dist. 5)
Dem in Rep Territory: Paccione (Dist. 53)

The Only Balanced House District ever won by a Republican (2004): Cloer (Dist. 17)

Source: For complete sources, see Atlas document online at www.fresc.org.
In 2004, Democrats claimed control of the Colorado House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years. Key to this success was high turnout by motivated Democratic voters in previously Republican districts, such as HD 29 (Arvada), where Debbie Benefield (D) pulled off a tight victory over incumbent Bob Briggs (R). Precinct results show large areas of the District where the percentage of Democratic voters who turned out was substantially higher than the percentage of voters who were registered as Democrats. Republicans showed similar motivation in only a few precincts.

A bellwether predicting high Democratic motivation is the number of Latinos in a precinct. In HD 29, concentrations of Latinos correlated with motivated Democratic precincts. A Latino candidate for Senator (Ken Salazar) and the fact that Colorado Latinos split 68% to 30% for the Democrats in their 2004 Presidential vote correlate with Latino trends at the state level. Census data shows that Latinos make up about 20% of Colorado's population (and growing), as they register to vote, the State's politics are changing. While only 40% of eligible Latino citizens voted in 2004, 81% of Latinos who were actually registered turned out to vote.

Source: For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
John Hickenlooper's mayoral majority over Don Mares in the 2003 election was built largely in Denver's more affluent and more white neighborhoods. Following two mayors with substantial support in Denver's communities of color (Federico Pena was Latino and Wellington Webb was African-American), Hickenlooper's victory built its strength in Denver's southern tier neighborhoods east of Broadway and South of Colfax. Of Denver's 299 White-majority precincts, Hickenlooper won 282; Of Denver's 90 Latino majority precincts, Mares won 77.

Mayor Hickenlooper's victory was built in Denver's more Republican precincts. Precincts where Hickenlooper built electoral majorities (tall columns) tended to be areas of Republican strength (yellow or red). Heavy Democratic areas (blue) were Hickenlooper weak spots.

Vote Count By Precinct

- Dark Blue = > 80% Dem
- Light Blue = 71% - 80%
- Green = 61% to 70%
- Yellow = 50% to 60%
- Red = < 50%


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>Precinct Turnout</th>
<th># of Latino/a Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La Alamos Park</td>
<td>20% 34.9% La Alamos Park</td>
<td>501 - 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montbello</td>
<td>23% 34.2% Montbello</td>
<td>1001 - 1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Colfax</td>
<td>22% 34.1% East Colfax</td>
<td>1501 - 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson Park</td>
<td>20% 32.9% Jefferson Park</td>
<td>2001 - 2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Alamos Park</td>
<td>20% 30.4% La Alamos Park</td>
<td>2501 - 3000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Election Day Turnout Only. Denver does not report absentee ballots or early voting by precinct. If this data were available, Denver's more affluent southern neighborhoods would likely post higher turnout rates, since U.S. Election Assistance Commission finds that higher-income and more affluent neighborhoods tend to post higher turnout rates. If this data were available, Denver's more affluent southern neighborhoods would likely post higher turnout rates, since the U.S. Election Assistance Commission finds that higher-income and more affluent neighborhoods tend to post higher turnout rates.*
List of neighborhoods with large Latino/a populations and low turnout:

- Five Points
- Montbello
- Mar Lee
- Highland

Racial Makeup of Four Highest Turnout Neighborhoods (>24% turnout)

- White: 92%
- Latino: 3%
- Black: 4%
- Asian: 1%

"Immediate Entry Warrants" (e.g., No-Knock Raids) by the Denver police reflect racial bias in America’s War on Drugs.

The 2004 National Survey on Drugs and Mental Health shows that over 70% of illicit drug users are white, and about 13% of drug users are black. Nevertheless, 55% of those arrested, 45% of those convicted, and about 30% of illicit drug users are black. The 2004 National Survey on Drugs and Mental Health shows that over 70% of illicit drug users are black.

People often feel these raids do not take place in white middle class neighborhoods and, by and large, that is accurate,” notes Hoover Institution scholar Joseph McNamara.
Denver has a curfew for youth under 18: 11:00 p.m. on weeknights; Midnight on weekends. Dating back to the “zoot suit” panic of the late 1940s, and revitalized following Denver’s gang-scare of the 1999 “Summer of Violence,” Denver’s curfew resulted in 11,287 citations between 2000 and 2005. Sentences include fines, self-help classes, or even being pulled from school for 3 days of labor with a sheriff’s work crew. Curfew citations are rare in affluent communities where most youth are white, and common in areas where more than 75% of youth are of color. Controlling for population aged 5-17, a youth in a neighborhood that is at least 20% non-white is 12 times more likely to receive a citation than a youth in an 80%-plus white neighborhood.

"Legislatures must address the likely eventuality that small segments of the population will bear the brunt of enforcement efforts made to ease the minds of those who favor curfew laws. . . Society should remember that curfews have traditionally been created by the upper classes as a method to control the movements of the lower classes. Curfews may therefore constitute a preemptive strike against an entire segment of the population presumed to have a propensity to commit crimes."
-- Dierdre Norton, New York University School of Law

Homeless Deaths in Denver (January 2004 - August 2005)

Compared Death Rates: 2004-05

Street death rates calculated assuming 1,037 homeless regularly sleeping on Denver's streets (e.g., not in shelters, transitional housing, etc.), as per official count.

Total Deaths: 75

Source: Denver Medical Examiner and Police Department data. For complete sources, see Atlas document at www.fresc.org.
Comparable Death Rate

- Denver Homeless Death Rate: 35.6
- 1970 US Soldier Death Rate: 8.3
- U.S. Death Rate: 0
- Vietnam Death Rate: 0

SOURCE NOTES
Demographic Maps

Immigrant Enclaves

- Census 2000: Table PCT 48: “Place of Birth by Year of Entry by Citizen Status for the Foreign-Born Population.”

Regional Racial Change: White Residents as Percent of Total Population


Concentrations of Linguistic Isolation

- Household data: Census 2000. Table PCT 40: “Age by Language Spoken at Home for the Population 5 Years and Over in Linguistically Isolated Households.”

Spanish-Speaking Youth Without English Skills

- Youth population: Census 2000. Table PCT38: “Age by Language Spoken at Home by Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Over.”

Regional Sprawl: Population Growth Patterns

- Population per square mile change: Census 2000 and 2004 estimates, as embedded in ESRI StreetMap USA software.
Female Headed Households with Children

- Census 2000: Table P15: “Family Type By Presence of Own Children Under 18 Years.”
- Mobile home locations: Colorado Manufactured Home Communities database.

Regional Concentrations of the Elderly

- Census 2000, as embedded in ESRI StreetMap USA software.

Concentrations of Elderly and Linguistically Isolated Elderly

- Elderly residents: Census 2000. Table PCT 40: “Age by Language Spoken at Home for the Population 5 Years and Over in Linguistically Isolated Households.”

Social Health Maps

Regional Economic Hardship by Municipality

- Poverty data: Census 2000. Table P87: “Poverty Status in 1999 by Age.”

Comparative Local Revenue and Comparative Fiscal Health Maps

Tax capacity formulas:
Sales Tax Capacity = Taxable Sales X 3% (average tax rate)/population
Property Tax Capacity = Assessed Valuation X 84.89 (average county mill levy)/population
Fiscal health formula: Defined 6 categories of social needs: 1) less than a high school education; 2) female-headed families with children; 3) receiving public assistance; 4) below poverty 5) renters; and 6) children, or a non-worker (seniors, disabled, etc.). Used 2000 Census data to determine percent of each municipality’s population that fell into each category. That local percentage was divided into the regional average for the category to gain a local need index for the category, giving a sense of how this locality compared to other localities in the region in terms of need. The six different “needs index” figures were totaled together to give a total “needs index” for the locality. Local revenue capacity was divided by this total needs index to gain a “fiscal health score.” These scores were then arrayed on a 100 point scale, for comparison between municipalities.

Child Care Availability

Total child care slots by zip code: Colorado Department of Human Services, Division of Child Care data. Selected all child care slots in the following categories: Child Care, Preschool, Family day care, family day care licensed for under 2, home infant care and school aged children’s care.

Young Children, Female-Headed Families, and Available Infant/Toddler Care

- Infant care sites: Colorado Department of Human Services, Division of Child Care data. Infant Care codes searched: DCH3 and ITH.
- Female-Headed households with children: Census 2000. Table P15: “Family Type By Presence of Own Children Under 18 Years.”

**Medicaid Admissions Concentrated in Select Hospitals**


**Health Care Uninsurance Rates and the Indigent Care Network**


**Children’s Health Plan (CHP+) Eligible Children Enrollment Rates**

Shrinking Low-Income Rental Units


Deconcentrating Subsidized Housing: Public Housing to Section 8 Vouchers


Regional Concentration of Section 8 Vouchers


Economic Development Maps

Business Subsidies


Municipal Use of Tax Increment Financing Developer Subsidies


Rising White Population in Inner-City Denver


Subsidized Development and Denver’s Geography of Race

- Racial Demographics: Census 2000 data, as embedded in ESRI StreetMap USA software.

Subsidized Denver Development Pushes Property Value Boundary Line

- Housing values: GIS raster created from running a kriging (statistical analysis) of median home values, by block group, from census 2000 data. Table H023B: “Median Value--Owner-Occupied Units.”

Gentrification Pressure Along Downtown Boundary Line

- Households earning over $100,000: Census 1990 and 2000 block group data, plotted by random dot density. Table P76: “Family Income.”

Female Headed Families with Children and Denver’s Development Future

- Female headed families: Census 2000. Table P15: “Family Type By Presence of Own Children Under 18 Years.”

Declining Average Retail Wages

Education Maps

Under-Performing Schools Concentrated in Latino Communities


Low CSAP Scores Parallel High Poverty Rates


Middle and High School Discipline


Electoral Maps

Presidential Election: Bush vs. Kerry


Federal Campaign Contributions


The Republican Advantage in Voter Turnout
• Party registration and turnout by precinct: County voting data from elections departments in each county.

**Colorado Party Strength: Democrat vs. Republican Registered Voters**


**A Democratic Win in a Republican District: Motivated Voters in Arvada’s HD 29**

• Party registration and turnout by precinct: County election office voter rolls.


• Party motivation formula (per precinct): Compare the number of registered voters in each party to the number of voters who actually turned out in each party.

\[
\frac{\% \text{ of 2004 Voters who were Dems}}{\% \text{ of Registered voters who were Dems}} \div \frac{\% \text{ of 2004 voters who were Reps}}{\% \text{ of Registered Voters who were Reps}}
\]

The higher the resulting number, the higher the motivation of Democratic voters; the lower the number, the higher the motivation of Republicans.

**Two Views of Denver’s Mayoral Race**


**Pockets of Low Latino/a Turnout in Denver**


• Latino Population, by Census Tract: Census 2000 data, as embedded in ESRI StreetMap USA software.
Policing Maps

No-Knock Police Narcotics Raids Concentrated in Communities of Color

- Imprisonment data: ACLU web database on “Drugs and Race.”  

Denver Curfew Citations Heaviest in Minority Communities

- Curfew data: Denver Police Department.

Homeless Deaths In Denver

- Homeless death locations: Denver Medical Examiners Office and Police Department Data.
- Homeless street death and Homicide rate formula: Divide homeless street deaths by the number of homeless estimated to sleep on the street in Denver during the year. Homeless street population data from Metro Denver Homeless Initiative, “Homelessness in Metropolitan Denver, 5th Annual Point in Time Survey” (2004) (Marsha Gould, PI). Survey numbers: 8668 homeless in the region, 3745 living in Denver, 1,037 of these individuals living regularly on the street in Denver (e.g., not in stable shelter such as transitional housing or a shelter). Homeless street death rates per 1000 calculated utilizing 1,037 as the universe of Denver’s homeless living on the street.
- Denver homicide rate: Denver Police Department.