Checks and Balances in
Washington and New
Politics of Colorado

Floyd Ciruli
9NEWS, KOA, Denver Post

Director, Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research,
Josef Korbel School at University of Denver
Hold on: Political rumblings afoot
Colorado politics could be shaken to its core this November

EXIT RIGHT, PLEASE
The political divide in Colorado deepened this election as voters showed a score of Republicans the door

Jeff Neumann, The Denver Post; photo by Thinkstock by Getty Images

Jeff Neumann, The Denver Post; photo by Thinkstock by Getty Images
Midterms Wave by Nate Beeler, The Columbus Dispatch, OH

• Trump feels the wave
• Economy not enough, image hurt
• Sent a message in House, Republicans held Senate
• Colorado Democrats supercharged, women, young, money
• Unaffiliated voters now in the game
• No on state taxes and untested proposals
• Vertical control and danger of overreach
• Senator Cory Gardner is up next
Not a Blue Wave, Parting of the Waves
Democrats the House, Republicans the Senate

President Trump’s Approval Ratings
2017-18

Metrics
- Trump spread – (-9%)
- Generic congressional – D 8%
- Direction, right – 40%
- House: D 194/229, R 241/206
- Senate: D 47, R 55; R’s get 2?

Source: Real Clear Politics 2017-18
Formatted: Ciruli Associates 2018

House Minority Leader
Nancy Pelosi

Senate Minority Leader
Chuck Schumer

Speaker
Paul Ryan

Senator Majority Leader
Mitch McConnell

194 (35?) 47 (-2) 241 (-35) 51 (2?)

Jan. 30 Feb. 10 May 10 Nov. 10 May 10 Nov. 5

Approval
Disapproval

Source: Real Clear Politics 2017-18
Formatted: Ciruli Associates 2018
Republicans Win U.S. Senate Seats
Red Meat for Red States

Senate Races
and Polling Averages
November 6, 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Frontrunner</th>
<th>Poll Avg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>McSally (R)</td>
<td>+1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Nelson (D)</td>
<td>+2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>Donnelly (D)</td>
<td>+1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>Hawley (R)</td>
<td>+1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>Tester (D)</td>
<td>+3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>Heller (R)</td>
<td>Tie*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>Cramer (R)</td>
<td>+9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>Blackburn (R)</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>Cruz (R)</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Toss-up

RealClearPolitics 2018
Congressmen Coffman: “Too bad, Mike”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>President</th>
<th>Approval</th>
<th>Wins/Losses</th>
<th>Democratic Seats (Need 218)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>O’Neill</td>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>Reps lose 26 seats</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Gingrich replaces Foley</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>Reps win 54 seats</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Boehner replaces Pelosi</td>
<td>Obama</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>Reps win 63 seats</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>Ryan (Pelosi)</td>
<td>Trump</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>Dems need 23 seats</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6th CD Registered
146 D
135 R
176 U
Trump 41%, (36,000)

3rd CD Registered
130 D
155 R
166 U
Trump 52%, (44,000)

Mike Coffman 43%
Jason Crow 54%
Diane Mitsch Bush 44%
Scott Tipton 52%

Ciruli Associates 2018
Democrats Have Mandate to Restore Checks and Balances
“I can’t go everywhere.” - Trump, Nov. 1, 2018

Exit Poll: Reason for Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Vote</th>
<th>FOX</th>
<th>CNN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vote to support Trump</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote to oppose Trump</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not a factor</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: FOX, CNN Exit poll 2018
Formatted: Ciruli Associates 2018

Top Issues for Republicans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guns</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gallup 2018
Formatted: Ciruli Associates 2018

President Trump at a rally in Johnson City, Tennessee. October 1, 2018 | YouTube
Colorado Midterm Statistics
Blue Year With Unaffiliated Voters

Colorada election:
- 3.4 million voters registered in 2018
- 2 million voted in 2014
- 441,000 more registered since 2014
- 76% turnout, or 2.5 million voters

Colorado Voter Turnout
Nov. 8, 2016 (9:00 am)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>840,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>813,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
<td>877,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2,578,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secretary of State 2018

2014 Election Turnout
(000)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hickenlooper (D)</td>
<td>1,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Beauprez (R)</td>
<td>938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,042</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gov. John Hickenlooper
Secretary of State 2018

Ciruli Associates 2018
Democratic Sweep: Gov’s Race – Started at 7-Point Advantage and Ended
$60 Million Mostly Anti-Trump Ads Help Democrats

Democratic Advantage

- Registration shifts 160,000 R in 2000 to 40,000 D in 2018
- Trump net 20 points negative
- 119,600 more D voters in primary
- Trump embrace: “...His opponent, Jared Polis, is weak on crime and weak on borders – could never do the job. Get out and VOTE – Walker has my Complete and Total Endorsement!”
- Win both houses of Legislature by many women, join 13 states with Democratic trifecta
Colorado Initiatives – 2018
More Than $60 Million Spent

- Reapportionment, state and federal (constitutional), Y & Z – PASSED – 71%
- Taxes for schools - $1.6 billion, 73 – DEFEATED – 46%
- Setback requirements for oil and gas development (2,500 ft), 112 – DEFEATED – 45%
- Taking property for public use, 74 – DEFEATED – 46%
- Sales tax for transportation, 110 – DEFEATED – 40%
- Fix Our Damn Roads (bonds), 109 – DEFEATED – 39%
- Candidate contributions ($1 million), 75 – DEFEATED – 34%
- Payday loans interest restrictions, 111 – PASSED – 77%
Trump is Changing the Team
National Security and Foreign Policy Team

Out
- Jeff Sessions
  Attorney General
- Stephen Miller
  Senior Advisor
- Nikki Haley
  UN Ambassador
- Kirstjen Nielsen
  Secretary of Homeland Security

Leaving
- Jim Mattis
  U.S. Defense Secretary
- John Kelly
  Chief of Staff
- Joseph Dunford
  Chair of the Joint Chiefs
- John Bolton
  U.S. National Security Advisor

Leaving
- ?

Leaving
- ?

Out
- ?
"Among House Democrats, Pelosi 'has the arguments of raising money and knowing the system,' Ciruli said. While a faction of the party is calling for new leadership, Pelosi might be appreciated for her ability 'to rein in an incredibly tough president without making him look sympathetic,' he said." (Baltimore Sun, Nov. 7, 2018)

**Democrats** – Committee hearings, investigations, subpoenas, legislation

**Republicans** – Protect president, protect gains, think about 2020
2019-2020 Presidential Race

1. Trial balloons
2. Announcements (June 15, 2015 Trump Tower)
3. Donors, endorsements, operatives
4. Early polling legitimizes/momentum
5. Decides if included in debates, where standing
6. Daring or careful?
7. Trump could win; Clinton, Obama won after bad midterm

August 2015 FOX Debate

(L to R) Christie, Rubio, Carlson, Walker, Trump, Bush Huckabee, Cruz, Paul and Kasich, August 6, 2016 | Fox News/Facebook
History of Colorado Politics: Shifts in Power from 1972 to 2018

**Colorado Politics in the 1970s**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Olympic bid defeated 61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Wayne Aspinall, Mr. Chairman, defeated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Pat Schroeder goes to Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Nixon resigns (August)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Dick Lamm, Gary Hart, Tim Wirth, Sam Brown elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Democrats take State House, lose it in 1976</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Colorado Politics in the 2000s**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offices</th>
<th>All Republican 2002</th>
<th>All Democrat 2008</th>
<th>Divided 2016</th>
<th>New 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governor</td>
<td>Owens R</td>
<td>Ritter D</td>
<td>Hickenlooper D</td>
<td>Polis D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Senate</td>
<td>Campbell R</td>
<td>Salazar D</td>
<td>Bennet D</td>
<td>Bennet D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Senate</td>
<td>Allard R</td>
<td>Udall D</td>
<td>Gardner R</td>
<td>Gardner R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>5R, 2D</td>
<td>2R, 5D</td>
<td>4R, 3D</td>
<td>3R, 4D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado Senate</td>
<td>18R, 17D</td>
<td>14R, 21D</td>
<td>1 seat R</td>
<td>16R, 19D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>Bush 8% (2000)</td>
<td>Obama 9%</td>
<td>Clinton 5%</td>
<td>Clinton 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bush 5% (2004)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Govs. (L to R) Dick Lamm, Bill Ritter, John Hickenlooper, Bill Owens and Roy Romer at a fundraiser at the governor’s mansion on Nov. 20 | Bernard Grant/The Colorado Statesman