

COLORADO POLITICS IN 2018: TRANSITION IN YEAR OF DISRUPTION



Colorado Governor's residence at the Boettcher
Mansion

Colorado Counties Inc. Foundation 2018 Summer Conference

Presented by
Floyd Ciruli

Director, Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research,
Josef Korbel School at University of Denver

Shift in Colorado Government Most Likely Scenarios

All Democrats



Democratic



Democratic Governor

Democratic Senate
Democratic House

Republican



Republican Governor

Republican Senate
Democratic House

Strong Republican



Current



Democratic Governor

Republican Senate
Democratic House

Republican Governor

Democratic Senate
Democratic House

Governor Only



Crowded Governor's Primary – Most Competitive in Two Decades

Governing Magazine Lists November Race Competitive

2018 Registration		2010 Primary Turnout	
Unaffiliated	1,193,000	Democrat	340,000
Democrat	1,015,000	Republican	410,000
Republican	1,001,000	Republican (2014)	385,000
Total	3,209,000		

- Primaries in both parties (30%-38%)
- Could spend \$20-\$25 million
- Independents can vote, 2-to-1 Democratic
- Kennedy/Walker rematch?



Mike Johnston



Cary Kennedy



Donna Lynne



Jared Polis



Greg Lopez



Victor Mitchell



Doug Robinson



Walker Stapleton

Colorado: Moving to the Left or Still in Middle?



Hillary Clinton

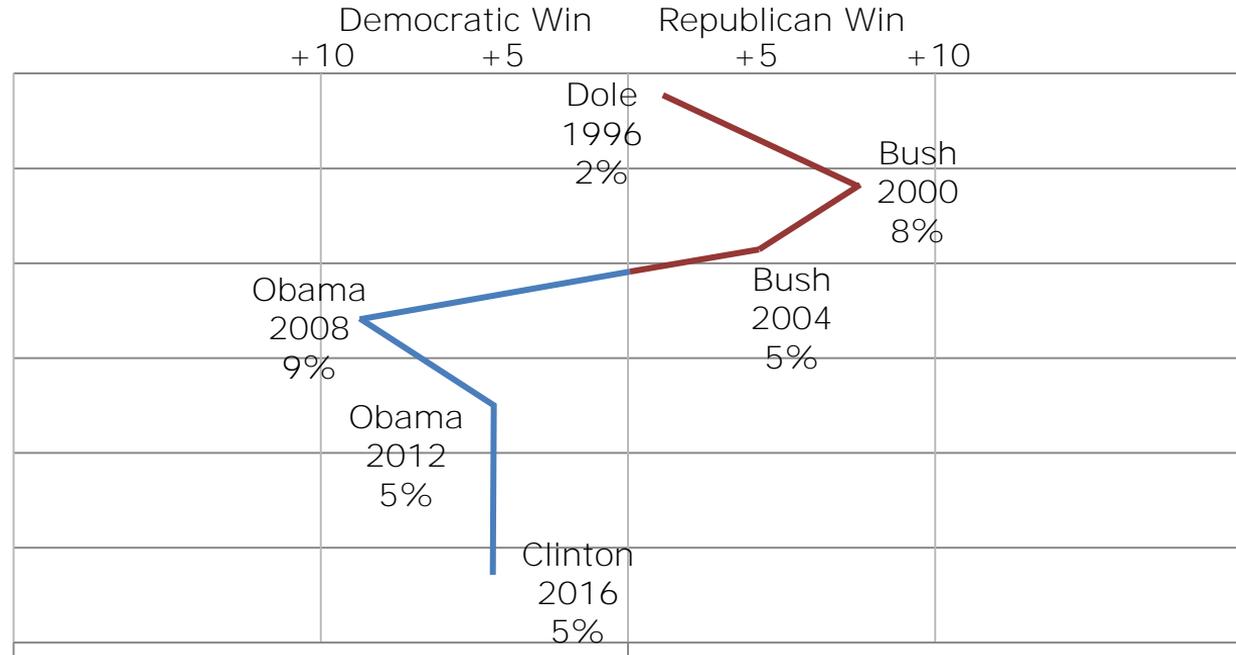


Michael Bennet



John Hickenlooper

Margin of Victory Presidential Elections 1996-2016



Donald Trump



Cory Gardner



Mike Coffman

Short of Big Blue Wave, Very Resilient Incumbents



Rep. Mike
Coffman
6th District



Rep. Scott
Tipton
3rd District

Congressional Performance Major Changes: 1982, 1994, 2006 and 2010

Date	Speaker	President	Approval	Wins/Losses	Democratic Seats (Need 218)
1982	O'Neill	Reagan	46%	Reps lose 26 seats	269
1994	Gingrich replaces Foley	Clinton	55%	Reps win 54 seats	204
2006	Pelosi replaces Hastert	Bush II	37%	Dems win 30 seats	236
2010	Boehner replaces Pelosi	Obama	48%	Reps win 63 seats	193
2018	Ryan	Trump	43%	Dems need 24 seats	--

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Lamborn Attracts Primaries, But Divides and Conquers

Congressman Doug Lamborn 5th Congressional District

Date	Nomination/Primary	Lamborn
2006	6-way race	27%
2008	3-way race	45%
2010	No primary	--
2012	2-way race	62%
2014	No primary	--
2016	2-way primary (nearly didn't make convention ballot)	62%
2018	3-way primary (on ballot after court ruling)	DL 37% DG 27% OH 16%

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Rep. Doug Lamborn



Darryl Glenn
Denver Post file



Owen Hill
YouTube grab

Attorney General: Important Job and Competitive Race



George Brauchler



Phil Weiser



Joe Salazar

Brauchler (R) – High profile prosecutor

Salazar (D) – Name is a brand. Far left position line up with base

Weiser (D) – The establishment candidate

"The Democrats are dramatically different," said Floyd Ciruli, an independent political analyst in Denver. "A very mainstream, respected attorney-dean in Mr. Weiser versus a sort of insurgent legislator coming from the deep liberal wing of the party in terms of a lot of his positions and a lot of his support. It's sort of the classic choice we are seeing in primaries across the country in the Democratic Party."

He added: "I think it's a competitive race."

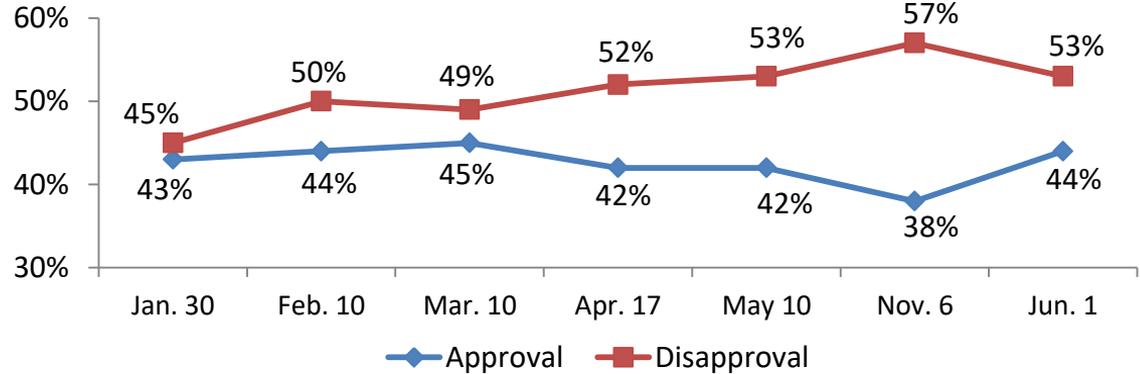
– Denver Post, May 27, 2018, Jesse Paul

National Dashboard: Blue Wave or Just a Ripple?

Metrics

- Trump spread – (-9%)
- Days in office – 487 plus (1 yr, 130 days)
- Generic congressional – D 4%
- DOW YTD – down 1%
- Congressional approval – 16%
- Direction, right – 39%
- House: D 193, R 235; D's need 25
- Senate: D 47, R 51; D's need 2

President Trump's Approval Ratings 2017-18



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

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House Minority Leader
Nancy Pelosi

47



Senate Minority Leader
Chuck Schumer

247



Speaker
Paul Ryan

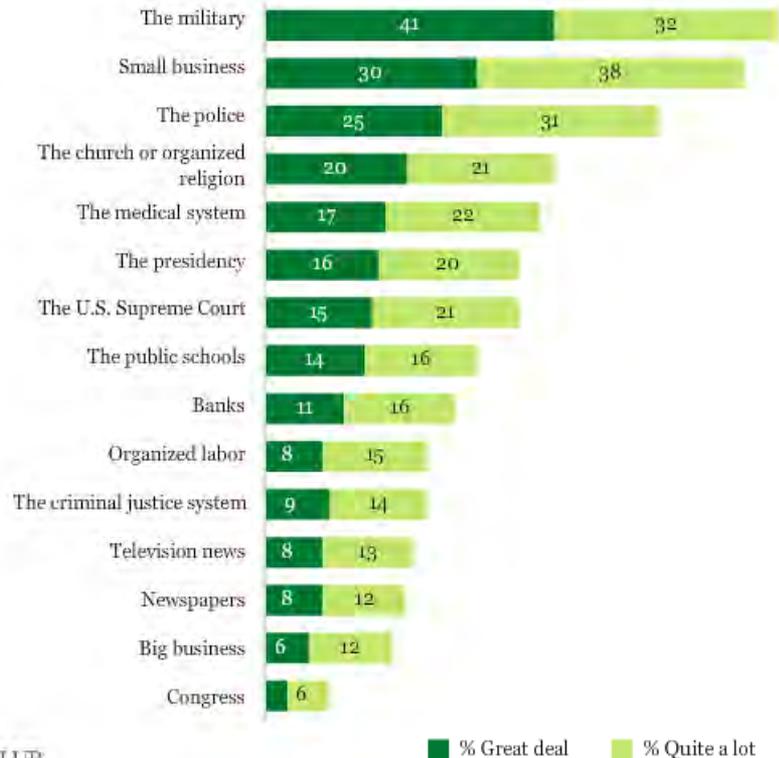
51



Senator Majority Leader
Mitch McConnell

Losing Confidence in Many American Institutions

National Government, Media Low Public Confidence



Military, police at top; presidency, courts, schools in middle; Congress, media, big business and labor at bottom

Q: Now I am going to read you a list of institutions in American society. Please tell me how much confidence you, yourself, have in each one -- a great deal, quite a lot, some, or very little? First, ... Next, [RANDOM ORDER]

U.S. Partisanship Gap Highest in History of Polling

Partisan Approval of President

		Approval of President by Own Party	Approval of President by Other Party	Difference
2018	Trump	82%	6%	76%
2010	Obama	81	14	67
2000	Bush	81	23	58
1990	Clinton	80	27	53
1980	Reagan	83	31	52
1970	Carter	57	30	27
	Nixon	75	34	41
1960	Johnson	76	40	36
	JFK	84	49	35

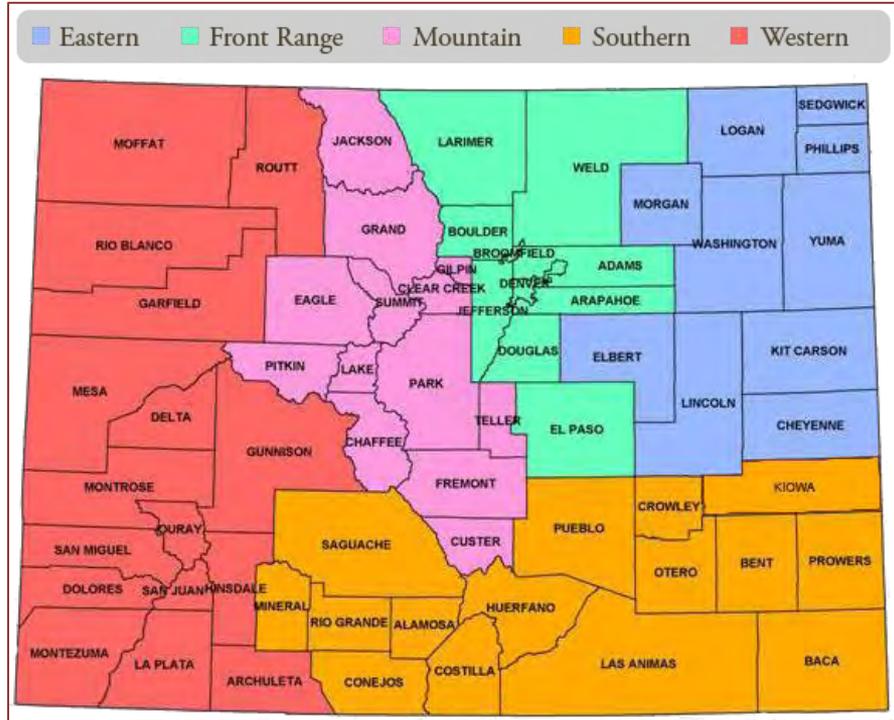
Average of term

Source: Pew 2016/ABC News-Washington Post 2018
Format: Ciruli Associates 2018

Media Watchdog Role Democrat vs. Republican

Reagan	6%
Bush II	28%
Trump	47%

Colorado Narrative: Transition and Challenges



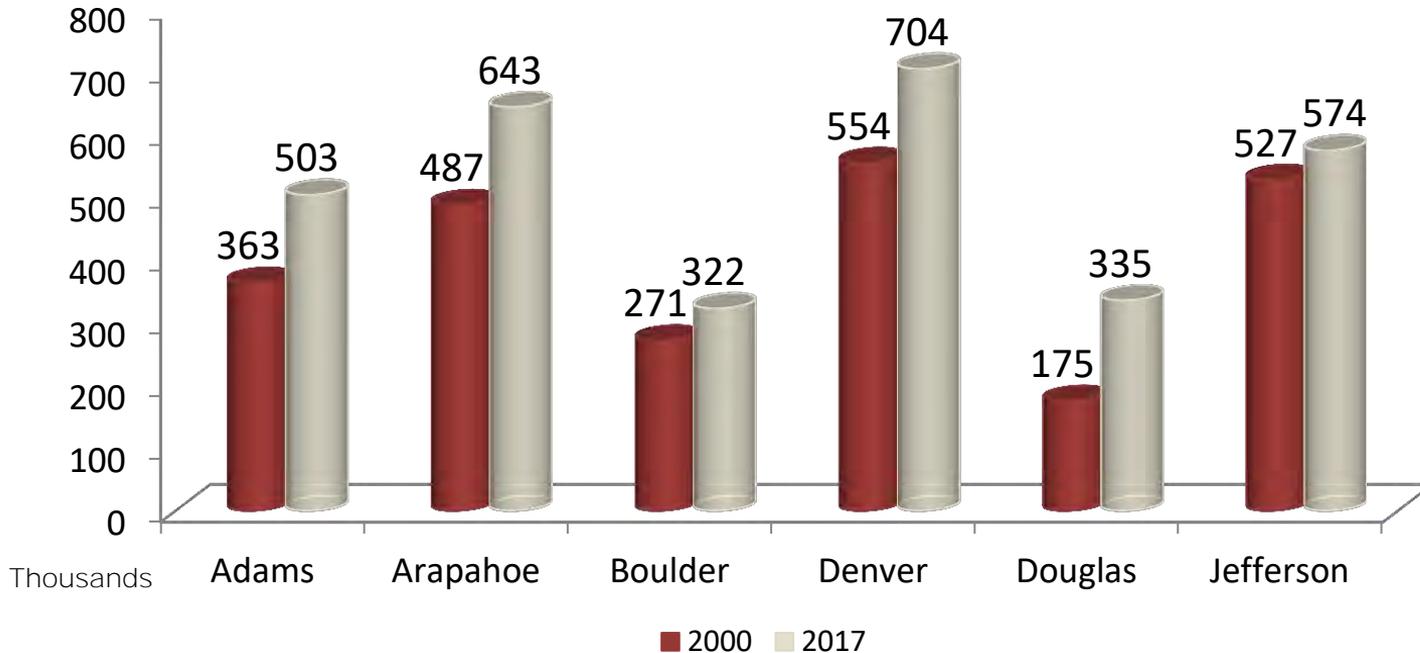
Colorado is in the midst of a rapid, if uneven, expansion. A beautiful and prosperous state that is facing a significant political transition and a host of challenges.

- Record growth (5 to 9 million by 2050), slowing slightly
- New congressional seat
- Strong economy
- 2nd best educated

Denver Regional Population Growth, 2000-2017

704,000 in 17 Years

Six Counties (Thousands)



% Growth

Adams – 39%
Arapahoe – 32%
Boulder – 2%
Denver – 27%
Douglas – 91%
Jeffco – 9%
El Paso – 699,000

U.S. Millennials: Size and Ethnicity

Largest Cohort, More Liberal

Size of Generations and Ethnicity

Generation	Ages	Numbers in Cohort	
		2018	% Non-Hispanic White
Millennials	18-35	75 million	56%
Generation X	36-53	66 million	61
Baby Boomers	54-72	70 million	72
Silent	73-94	25 million	79
Greatest	95 and older	?	--

Source: Pew Research 2018
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Ideology of Generations

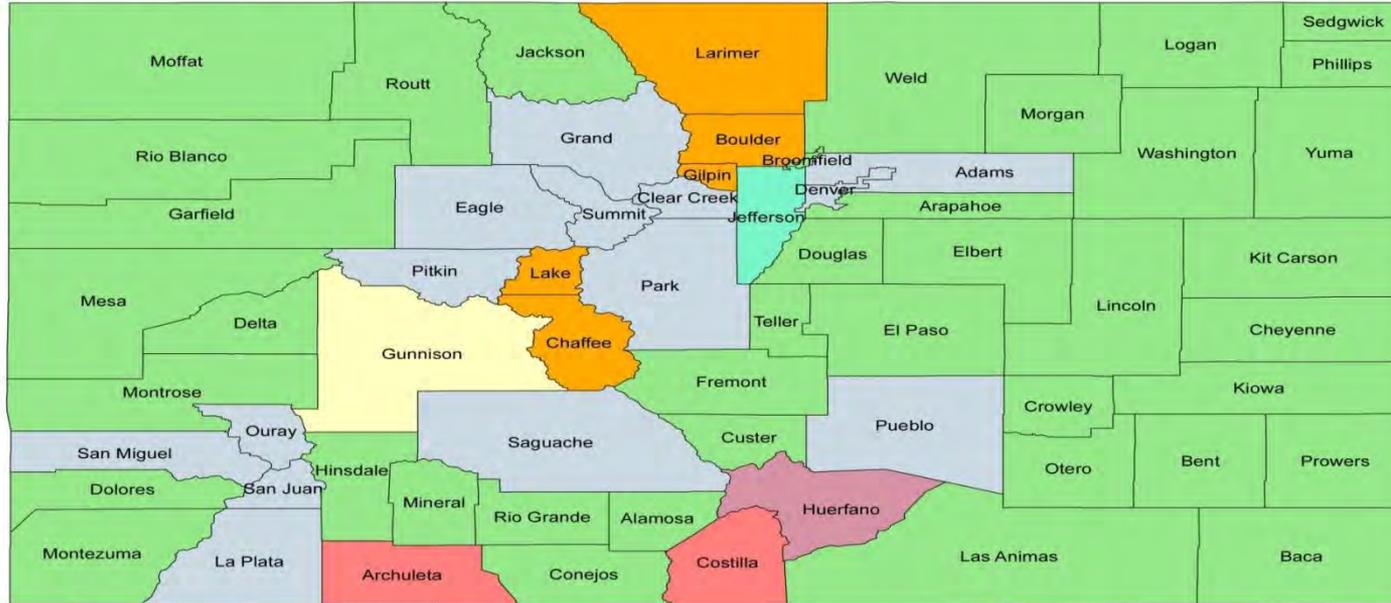
	Liberal	Mixed	Conservative	Conservative Gap
Millennials (18-35)	57%	31%	12%	-45
Generation X (36-53)	43	34	23	-20
Baby Boomers (54-72)	37	28	32	-5
Silent/Greatest (73 and older)	28	32	39	+11

Source: Pew Research 2017
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After Legalization: Local Option, Not Uniform or Universal, Conflict is Not Over



Colorado County Regulatory Status – Recreational Marijuana



- Allowing Sales, Cultivation, Product Manufacturing & Testing
- Prohibiting New Establishments, but Allowing Migration of Existing MMJ to Recreational
- Allowing Cultivation, Product Manufacturing & Testing Only
- Ban or Moratoria in Effect
- Allowing Cultivation Only
- Allowing Sales and Cultivation Only
- Allowing Testing Only

Created by Trent Pingenot for CCI For information purposes ONLY. Please contact individual counties for specifics on their regulatory status. Map Revision: August 15, 2016

Largest Counties	
Total	4,688,000
Allow	2,018,000
Ban	2,670,000
Ban	57%
County Totals	45 ban
	19 allow
	70% ban

Medical is not recreational and expansion is different than legalization

Priorities for Water Leaders and the Governor

Funding, Project Identification, Basin Plans, Permitting

Water Leaders: Top 5 Priority Topics for Colorado's Water Plan

Include a comprehensive discussion on funding for water storage and other water infrastructure	53%
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Identify specific water projects that the state can endorse	46
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Explain how the state will help implement and fund Basin Implementation Plans	43
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Specify how the permitting process for water projects will be streamlined	41
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Explain the role of the state in securing a stable water supply	38
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Hickenlooper and Ciruli Call for Bipartisan Leadership on Water Solutions



Photo: CWC

Initiatives Back in Season

- **Amendment 71**, the limitation on initiatives approved in 2016, challenged in court, receives hostile ruling concerning 35 legislative districts
- More than 150 initiatives filed. Mostly statutory (**98,492 signatures**)
- Land use, reapportionment, gas and oil regulation, and taxes among scores of topics
 - Reapportionment (constitutional)
 - Limit on Local Housing Growth
 - Setback Requirements for Oil and Gas Development
 - Severance Tax on Oil and Gas
 - Taking Property for Public Use
 - Taxes for schools and transportation
 - Immigration

July 1 – New President of Mexico

López Obrador Will Win and Mexico Will Lose

Mexican Polls

Candidate	Candidate 4-25	Candidate 5-27
López Obrador, MORENA	47%	52%
Ricardo Anaya, PAN	26	26
Antonio Meade, PRI	18	19

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Andrés Manuel
López Obrador

**“Tropical Messiah,”
“Mexican Chavez,” WSJ**

- Left-wing populist
- Gridlock
- Extra legal action
- Not free market
- Nationalist/isolationist, non-democratic
- **Issues are:** Corruption, violence, slow economy

Recent Mexican Presidential Elections

2012	Nieto	PRI	38%	Mayor DF
	Obrador	PRD	32	
2006	Calderón	PAN	36%	
	Obrador	PRD	35	
2000	Fox	PAN	43%	
	Labastida	PRI	36	

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Enrique Peña Nieto

***“Maybe he will
do something”***

History of Colorado Politics: 1972, 2002, 2008, 2016

Colorado Politics in the 1970s

1972	Olympic bid defeated 61%
1972	Wayne Aspinall, Mr. Chairman, defeated
1972	Pat Schroeder goes to Congress
1974	Nixon resigns (August)
1974	Dick Lamm, Gary Hart, Tim Wirth, Sam Brown elected
1974	Democrats take State House, lose it in 1976



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

Colorado Politics in the 2000s

Offices	All Republican 2002	All Democrat 2008	Divided 2016	New 2018
Governor	Owens R	Ritter D	Hickenlooper D	?
U.S. Senate	Campbell R	Salazar D	Bennet D	Bennet D
U.S. Senate	Allard R	Udall D	Gardner R	Gardner R
Congress	5R, 2D	2R, 5D	4R, 3D	?
Colorado House	37R, 28D	27R, 37D	29R, 36D	?
Colorado Senate	18R, 17D	14R, 21D	1 seat R	?
President	Bush 8% (2000) Bush 5% (2004)	Obama 9%	Clinton 5%	Clinton 5%



Associates of Martin Luther King Jr. point toward the sound where the gunfire originated moments after his assassination at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tenn., April 4, 1968 | Joseph Louw/The LIFE Images Collection via Getty



Robert F. Kennedy in Los Angeles, June 5, 1968 | Politico



Young demonstrators hold signs during a "lie-in" demonstration supporting gun control reform in Washington, D.C. in response to mass shooting in Parkland, Florida | Zach Gibson/Getty Images



A caravan of Central American asylum-seekers who traveled through Mexico to the border with San Diego face possible separation from their children and detention for many months, April 29, 2018 | Hans-Maximo Musielik/AP

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Questions and Discussion