



Pacific Chapter of American Association
for Public Opinion Research



UNIVERSITY of
DENVER

JOSEF KORBEL SCHOOL OF
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Election Issues in Western States

PAPOR Annual Conference

December 5th & 6th
San Francisco

Election Issues in Western States

- **Mark Baldassare** – President of Public Policy Institute of California. *Californians and the 2020 presidential primary context.*
- **Mark DiCamillo** – Director of the Berkeley IGS Poll. *Updating voter preferences in California's presidential primary and new poll findings about possible impeachment of President Trump.*
- **Jill Darling** – Survey Director of USC Dornsife College's Center for Economic and Social Research. *Voting red in a very blue state: A look at California GOP.*
- **Gilad Amitai** – Research Scientist at SurveyMonkey. *Key differences in opinion in western states.*
- **Floyd Ciruli** – Director of the Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research. *Colorado: From swing state to solid blue?*

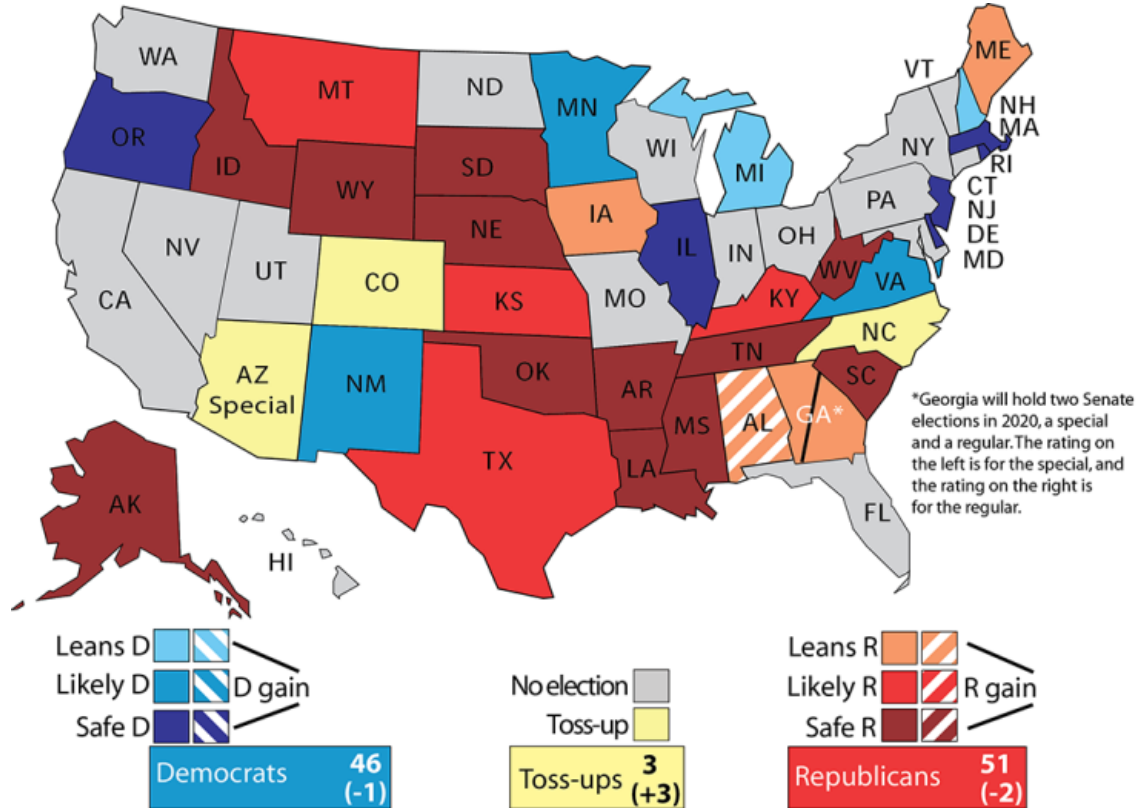
Four Scenarios: Republicans' Best Endgame and Democrats' Possible Sweep

Results from 2020 Election

	Republican President	Democratic President
Republican Senate	<p>Status Quo</p> <p>Trump R Senate R House D</p>	<p>Gridlock</p> <p>Dem. President D Senate R House D</p>
Democratic Senate	<p>Trump Isolated</p> <p>Trump R Senate D House D</p>	<p>Democratic Sweep</p> <p>Dem. President D Senate D House D</p>

Politics in the West

U.S. Senate 2020 – Reps 53 to Dems 47



Sen. Cory Gardner, CO

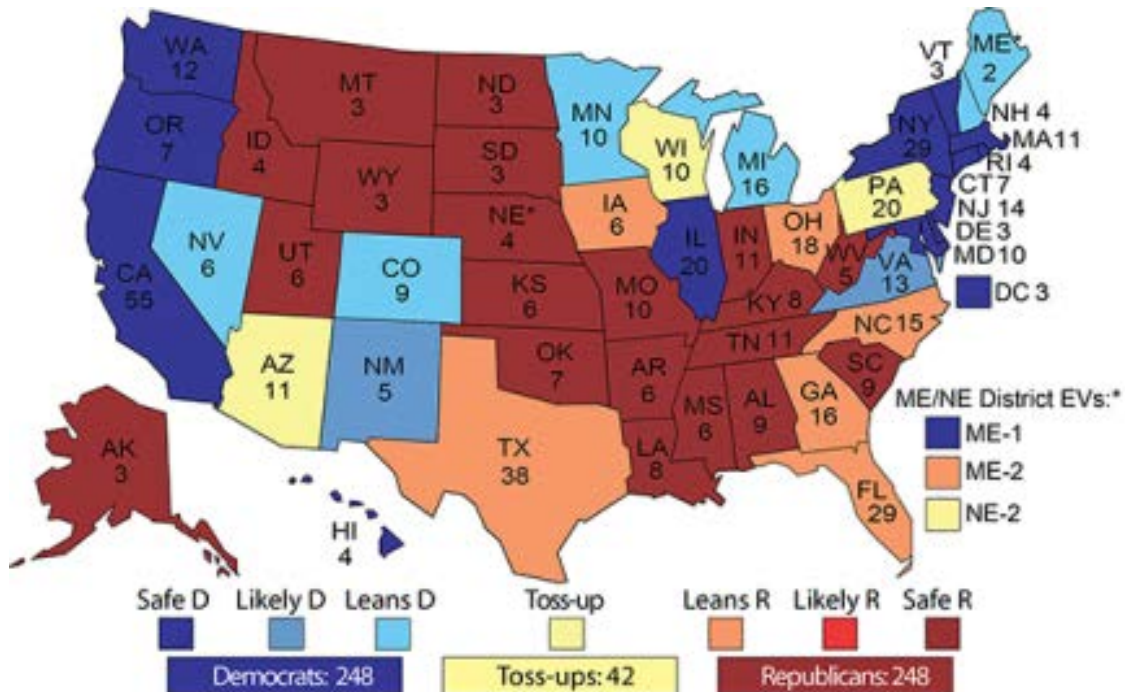


Sen. Martha McSally, AZ

Sabato's Crystal Ball, Oct. 3, 2019

Politics in the West

Presidential Race – Very Close Race



Electoral Votes, Nov. 9, 2019

Democrats – 248
 Republicans – 248
 Toss-ups - 42

West

	Trump
Arizona	+2
Colorado	-5
Nevada	-2
New Mexico	-8

2016

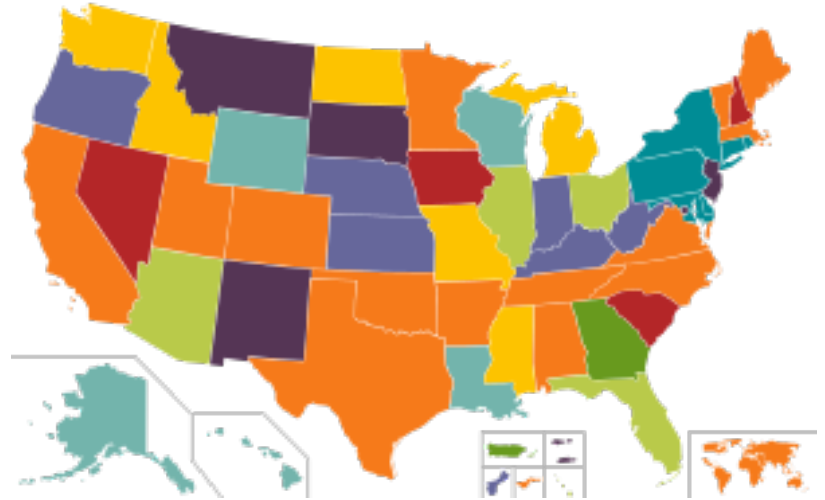
	Trump	Clinton
Electoral vote	306	227
Population	62.9 mil	65.8 mil
%	46.1	48.2

*Two states, Maine and Nebraska, award electoral votes by congressional districts (all others are awarded winner-take-all statewide). Nebraska's two statewide electoral votes, and two of its three districts, are rated Safe Republican. Maine's statewide votes are rated Leans Democratic. The ratings for Maine's two districts, and Nebraska's one competitive district, are listed separately.

Primary and Caucus Calendar

Convention: Need 1805 of 3769 delegates; July 13-19, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

- February 3 – Iowa caucuses
- February 11 – New Hampshire primary
- February 22 – Nevada caucuses
- February 29 – South Carolina primary
- **March 3 – Super Tuesday** (Alabama, Arkansas, California, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont and Virginia primaries)
- American Samoa caucuses; Democrats abroad party-run primary for expatriates features a March 3-10 voting period.



Democratic primary and caucus calendar by currently scheduled date

Primary and Caucus State Numbers Move

Biden Holds National Lead; Buttigieg in Iowa and New Hampshire



Joe Biden



Elizabeth Warren



Bernie Sanders

Current Average Polling of Democratic Candidates RealClearPolitics, December 3, 2019

	U.S.	Iowa	New Hampshire	Colorado
Biden	27%	16%	14%	25%
Sanders	16	18	17	26
Warren	14	18	14	20
Buttigieg	11	24	20	5
Bloomberg	4	--	--	--
Yang	3	3	4	4
Klobuchar	2	5	--	--
Booker	2	--	--	--
Steyer	2	2	3	--
Gabbard	1	--	5	--
Castro	1	--	--	--
Bennet	1	--	--	--

Point 5 and above rounded to 1; Iowa, New Hampshire and Colorado – top 7
Source: RealClearPolitics, Ciruli Associates 2019; Format: Ciruli Associates 2019

DEBATE #6 – DEC. 19, LOS ANGELES



Pete Buttigieg



Michael Bloomberg



Andrew Yang

Out

Swalwell
Hickenlooper
Inslee
Moulton
Gillibrand
de Blasio
Ryan
O'Rourke
Bullock
Harris

New In

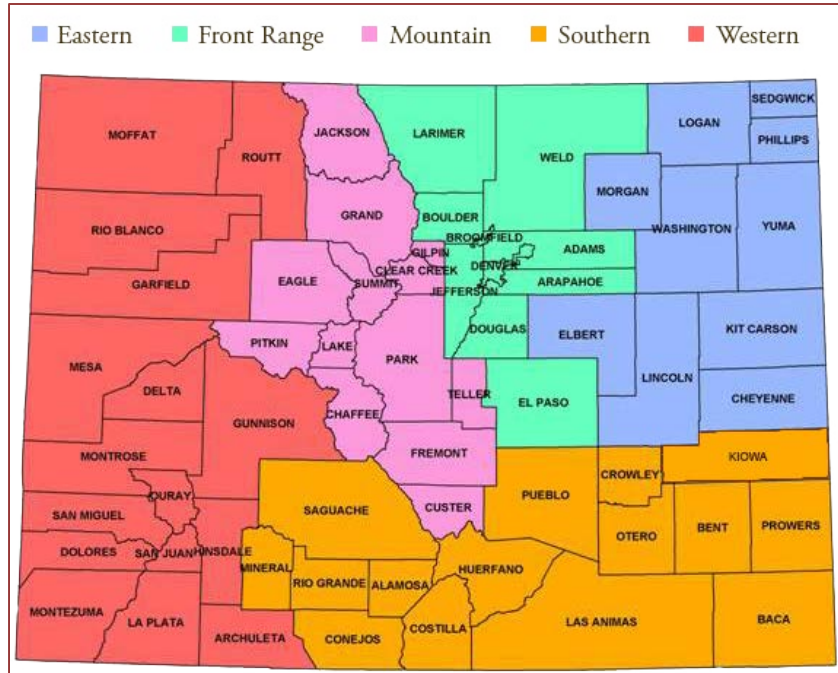
Patrick
Bloomberg

Colorado: From Swing State to Solid Blue? 2000-2020

Floyd Ciruli
Professor
Director of Crossley Center

Colorado Narrative

2000-2020 – Republican Swinging Blue



Factors there will be examined:

- Evidence
 - Partisan outcomes
- Factors
 - Political infrastructure
 - Growth and shifting demographics: age, education, ethnicity
 - Shifting values
- Comparison Arapahoe and Orange counties
- Conclusion/predictions

The Cycle of Colorado Politics: 2002-2020



(L to R) Gov. Jared Polis and former Govs. John Hickenlooper, Dick Lamm, Roy Romer and Bill Ritter | CC Yes! For Colorado ad

Colorado Politics in the 2000s

Offices	All Republican 2002	All Democrat 2008	Divided 2014	Divided 2016	Democrat 2018
Governor	Owens R	Ritter D	Hickenlooper D	Same	Polis D
U.S. Senate	Campbell R	Salazar D	Bennet D	Same	Same D
U.S. Senate	Allard R	Udall D	Gardner R	Same	Same R
Congress	5R, 2D	2R, 5D	4R, 3D	4R, 3D	3R, 4D
Colorado House	37R, 28D	27R, 37D	28R, 37D	D's up 3	D's up 7
Colorado Senate	18R, 17D	14R, 21D	1 seat R	Same	D's up 3
President	Bush 8% (2000) Bush 5% (2004)	Obama 9%	Obama 5%	Clinton 5%	--

Colorado: Moving to the Left – 2 Points

Margin of Victory Presidential Elections 1996-2018



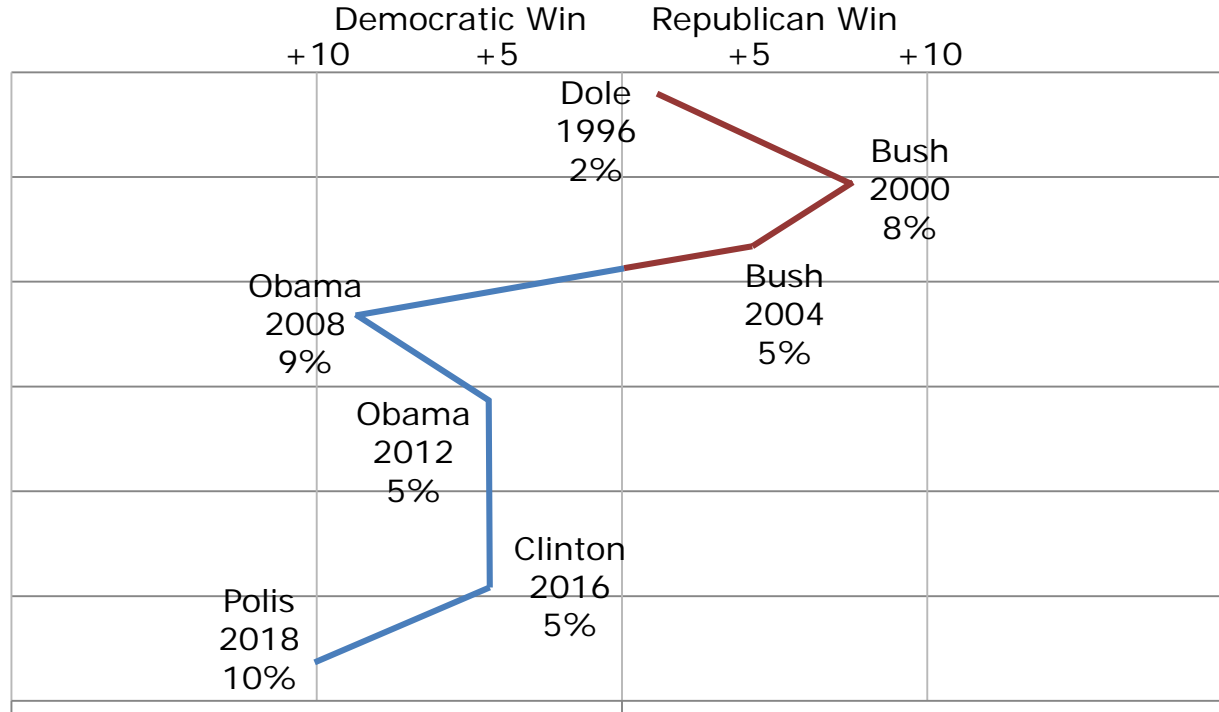
Hillary Clinton



John Hickenlooper



Jared Polis



Donald Trump



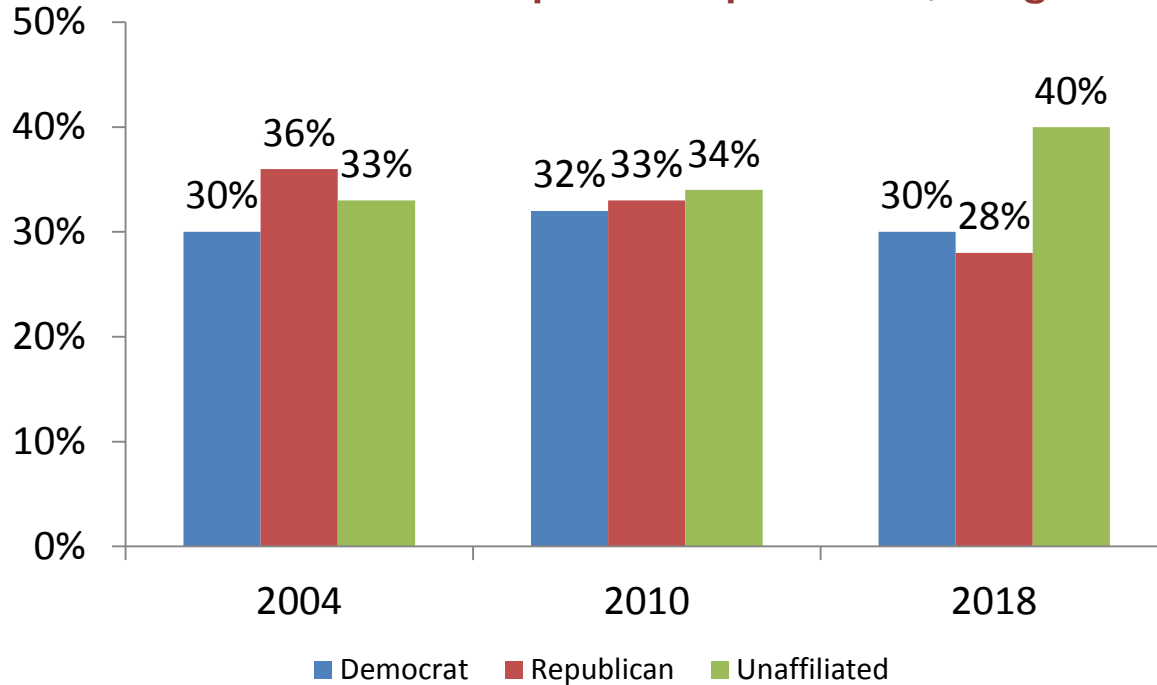
Cory Gardner



Walker Stapleton

Colorado Registration 2004 to 2010 to 2018

Collapse of Republicans, Surge of Unaffiliated



**% Changes
2004-2018**

- Democrat – (0) None
- Republican – (-8) Minus 22%
- Unaffiliated – (+7) Up 21%

Colorado: Democratic Sweep 2018

All Trump or New Direction?



Polis – 10%
Governor
Attorney General
Treasurer
Secretary of State



Legislature
House +7 D
Senate +3 D



Arapahoe County
Crow D
Sheriff D
Clerk D

2018

- Swept constitutional offices
- Moved down county ballot
- 2 points over 2018 national congressional results
- Unaffiliated voted Democratic in primary (new), state and local races (new)
- Caveats: New electorate is unaffiliated, anti-party, anti-establishment
- Hostile to state ballot issues, especially expensive solutions
- Record turnout, Trump?

Party and Activist Infrastructure

2004 to 2020

- ❑ Founders: Polis, Gill, Stryker (3 millionaires)
 - 2006-2010 Governor, State Legislature, President, Senators (2)
 - 2012 President, marijuana
 - 2016 Clinton, State House
 - 2018 Sweep, Congress, State House and Senate
- ❑ Strategy/Organization
 - Targeting
 - Multiple PACs
 - Link progressive organizations
 - Good candidates, moderate
- ❑ Money
 - Check for \$500,000 to \$1 million
- ❑ 2020 ?



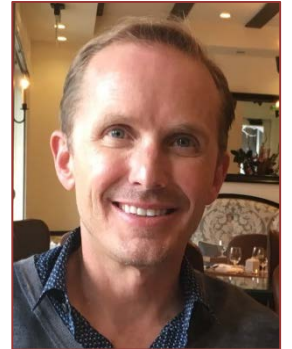
Gov. Jared Polis



Tim Gill



Pat Stryker



Ted Trimpa

Growth: An Accelerant Last Decade

More Urban, Educated, Younger

1. 2000-2010: 4.3 million, 5.3 million, up 17%
2. 2010-2018: 5.3 million, 5.7 million, up 13%
3. Metro area: 3.3 million (58% of state), up 390,000, 8 years
 - Denver 716,000, up 19% since 2010; Percentage for Democrats 62% 2000, 74% 2018
4. Hispanic 11%, Denver 25%
5. Age: Median 37; 31% Millennials, largest group; 15 to 44 years, 56%
6. Education: 41% BA or higher, 2nd in U.S., Denver 47% with BA

Shifting Values

Coloradans Go From No to Yes on Gay Marriage and Marijuana

Gay Marriage and Marijuana in Colorado

Gay Rights		Recreational Marijuana	
1992	Prohibit gay rights protection (53%)	2000	Medical marijuana approved (54% yes)
2006	Voters ban gay marriage (55% yes), reject civil unions (52% no)	2006	Recreational marijuana rejected (59% no)
2013	Legislature approves civil unions. 53% support gay marriage (PPP poll) (66% Millennials)	2012	Recreational marijuana approved (55% yes) (73% Millennials)
2015	U.S. Supreme Court makes gay marriage constitutional right		

OC: A Battleground

Major Factors in Shift From Republican to Democrat in Orange County

Democratic Views	Republican Views
Changing demographics <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Ethnicity- More education- Millennials Recruitment, registration efforts <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Good candidates Trump <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Polarizing- Unpopular	Shift to no party preference (double since 2000) Out-migration due to Democratic policies <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Housing prices- Fewer job opportunities- Higher business costs- Poor schools Vote harvesting

OC Registration

	<u>2000</u>	<u>2018</u>
D	32%	34%
R	40%	34%
NPP	14%	27%

Congress 2018

39 th Cisneros	– 52%
45 th Porter	– 52%
48 th Rouda	– 54%
49 th Levin	– 56%

Arapahoe County

Republican Stronghold to Democratic Sweep

Bush to Trump	
2000	2016
52%	39%

Population	
2000	2016
487,000	643,000 (32%)

Arapahoe Registration		
	<u>2000</u>	<u>2018</u>
D	28%	33%
R	38%	27%
NPP	33%	38%

No Democratic nominee for president won the county since 1964 until Obama in 2008, 2012 and Clinton in 2016. Reagan carried it by 22% in 1984.

Observation:

Growth, especially in Aurora (50% of county), of young and minorities. Since early 2006, county began voting for statewide Democrats. Republicans focused on controversial topics, groups and people, such as guns, abortion, Tea Party and Trump.

Congress and County

6th Crow – 54% (11 points)
 Sheriff – 51% (8 points)
 Clerk – 51% (2 points)
 Assessor – 54% (8 points)



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Discussion and Questions