

ciruli associates
political news analysis public opinion consulting

2014 Midterm Election Results

Colorado Medical Society

Floyd Ciruli

November 2014

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2014: Wave or No Wave

Nationalization or All Elections are Local or Both

President Obama's Approval Ratings 2012-2014

Metrics

- Obama spread – (11%)
- Congressional approval – 13%
- Generic ballot test – Reps 2%
- Direction, right – 27%
- House 234, need 17/lost 12
- Senate 45, need 6/won 8/9

Date	Approval	Disapproval
7-Sep-12	48%	49%
1st Debate	50%	48%
Election Day	50%	47%
Christmas	54%	42%
Inauguration	52%	43%
15-Apr-13	49%	47%
29-Nov-13	40%	56%
20-March-14	44%	51%
4-Nov-14	42%	53%

Source: Real Clear Politics 2013/14
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Office	Count	Name
House Minority Leader	184	Nancy Pelosi
Senate Majority Leader	44	Harry Reid
Speaker	244	John Boehner
Senator	53	Mitch McConnell

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Control of U.S. Senate 2014

Forecasts Mostly Right; Miss Size of Republican Tide

November 4 and Results

Win the Senate
538 – 75% R
Huffington Post – 77% R
New York Times – 70% R
R win 7, maybe 9

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Tonight You Shook Up the Senate

Gardner by 2 Points and Wins by 2; Post Endorses

Gardner vs. Udall – Real Clear Politics

"About 85 percent of Colorado voters immediately decided who they supported. Since then, the lead has shifted and remains close. Gardner's current lead is just at the margin of error in the polling average."

Denver Post Perspective, 10-26-14

Poll	Date	Gardner	Udall
Results	11-4	48%	46%
Average	11-2	46	44
PPP	11-2	48	45
Quinnipiac	11-2	45	43
Denver Post	10-29	46	44
Rasmussen	10-23	51	45
CBS/NYT/YouGov	10-23	46	47
NBC/Marist	10-22	46	45
USA Today/Suffolk	10-21	46	39
Denver Post	10-12	45	43
Quinnipiac	9-15	48	40
Denver Post	9-10	42	42
PPP	3-16	40	42

Source: Real Clear Politics 2014
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Forecasts and Results on Udall vs. Gardner Calling the Race, Election Night Narrative, Final Results



Udall Will Lose
November 4, 2014

Forecast	%
New York Times	80 R
FiveThirtyEight	81 R
Huffington Post	66 R
Washington Post	97 R

"The forecasters, such as FiveThirtyEight, New York Times, Washington Post and Huffington Post, are predicting Cory Gardner the Senate winner with higher and higher percentages."

The Buzz, 10-30-14

Year	Candidate	Vote	%	Difference
2008	Udall D	1,230,994	53	240,239
	Schaffer R	990,755	42	
2014	Udall D	925,937	46	43,392
	Gardner R	969,329	48	



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War on Women – Overkill? One Dimensional, Loses Favorability, Alienates Men

Gardner – 17% men
Udall – 8% women
NBC Exit Poll

Colorado Senate Race
Gender Differences

"Republicans win as
gender gap shrinks."
Wall Street Journal, 10-24-14

	Udall	Gardner	Difference	Favor
Quinnipiac				
Men	34%	53%	19	Gardner
Women	49	40	9	Udall
<small>Source: Quinnipiac, 10-13-14 Formatted: Cirulli Associates 2014</small>				
PPP				
Men	39%	46%	7	Gardner
Women	46	42	4	Udall
<small>Source: PPP, 10-19-14 Formatted: Cirulli Associates 2014</small>				
USA Today/Suffolk				
Men	38%	46%	8	Gardner
Women	39	46	7	Gardner
<small>Source: USA Today/Suffolk, 10-21-14 Formatted: Cirulli Associates 2014</small>				



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Game Changer – DENVER POST Endorsement

The overall theme is that the best anecdote to gridlock is change.

- Washington is gridlocked. It needs "fresh leadership, energy and ideas."
- Gardner has been a reservoir of ideas and leadership from the start of his career.
- Udall is a fine man, but "not perceived as a leader" and "not at the center of the issues that count."
- Udall's multi-million dollar "war on women" ad campaign is now damaging him more than Gardner. As the *Post* says, the "obnoxious one-issue campaign is insult to those he seeks to convince."
- Flipping the Senate to Republican control will, in their view, be more productive for the next two years. President Obama's desire for a legacy and Republican self-interest in repairing their reputation for gridlock could converge and would be enhanced in the *Post's* view by Gardner's election (See The Buzz, October 13).



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A Political Disaster – The ACA

- Not popular to start, inspired the Tea Party (Jan. 2011 – 41% approve, Pew)
- ACA website, November 2013 major political crisis for President, damaged his credibility (keep your insurance)
- Program not popular today (Nov. 2014 – 45% approve, Pew)
- Passionate issue in Republican primaries, used extensively in Republican campaigns
- Mend, don't end is Democratic defense
- Gift that keeps giving, delayed mandates, prices increase

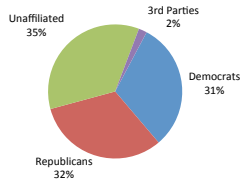


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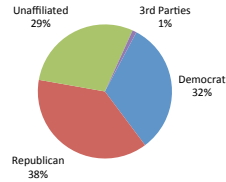
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The Bannock Street Project vs. Fight Club Not Enough Voters, Democrats or Unaffiliated

Voter Registration – Oct. 2014



Voters In – Nov. 4, 2014



Voter Returns

Active Registered	Date	Voter Returns	%	Dems	%	Rep	%	Unaffiliated	%
2,916,145	10-17	27,640	0.9%	8,714	32%	12,766	46%	5,864	21%
2,916,145	10-22	332,050	11%	105,401	32%	145,824	44%	77,285	23%
2,916,145	10-29	905,500	31%	294,648	33%	379,250	42%	222,043	24%
2,916,145	11-3	1,607,220	55%	519,225	32%	636,223	40%	433,648	27%
2,916,145	11-4	2,052,982	69%	--	32%	--	38%	--	29%



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Governor Race – Four More Years Denver Post and Pueblo Chieftain Endorse Hick

Gubernatorial Polls

	Denver Post 9-10-14	Denver Post 10-12-14	CBS News 10-22-14	NBC News 10-22-14	Denver Post 10-29-14	YouGov 10-31-14	Quinnipiac 11-2-14
Hickenlooper	45%	45%	48%	46%	46%	44%	43%
Beauprez	43	44	44	41	46	42	45
Don't know/ other	12	11	8	13	8	14	12

Sources: Quinnipiac, Denver Post, CBS, NBC, YouGov 2014
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Gov. John Hickenlooper



Bob Beauprez

Year	Candidate	Vote	%	Difference
2008	Hickenlooper D	912,005	51	61,739
	Other R	850,260	47	
2014	Hickenlooper D	987,545	49	63,061
	Beauprez R	924,484	46	



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Sixth Congressional - Coffman Democrat Loses Big – 9 Points

Obama Wins it by Five Points in 2012
Coffman Wins it by Two Points in 2012



Rep. Mike Coffman



Andrew Romanoff

Coffman R	143,101	52%
Romanoff D	118,483	43

- Polis loses Larimer and Jeffco in 2nd
- Tipton wins Pueblo in 3rd
- Buck wins 65% in 4th

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"Nancy Pelosi is not going to add 17 seats (for Democrats to retake the House) without getting this one. It'll be one of the most heavily fought races in the country. It'll be highly negative. I have no doubt about that." (Denver Post, Jan. 19, 2014)

2014 votes:

Arapahoe: Romanoff (8,500); Udall 3,000; Hickenlooper 18,000



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Down Ballot – Republican Sweep

Colorado State Constitutional Offices

	USA Today 9-16-14	PPP 10-19-14	USA Today 10-21-14	Denver Post 10-29-14	Results
Attorney General					
Cynthia Coffman, R	40%	46%	42%	45%	52%
Don Quick, D	30	32	31	38	42
Other	5	7	8	6	6
Don't know	24	15	12	11	--
State Treasurer					
Walker Stapleton, R	--	42%	--	46%	50%
Betsy Markey, D	--	40	--	41	45
Other	--	6	--	5	5
Don't know	--	12	--	8	--
Secretary of State					
Wayne Williams, R	35%	35%	35%	43%	47%
Joe Neguse, D	29	31	28	39	45
Other	8	13	6	7	7
Don't know	28	20	31	11	--

Sources: USA Today/Suffolk, PPP, Denver Post 2014
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Cynthia Coffman



Don Quick



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Colorado State Legislature Split Decision

Partisan Comparison

	State House		State Senate		Governor
	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	
2008	37	27	21	14	Ritter
2010	33	34	20	15	Hickenlooper
2012	37	28	20	15	Hickenlooper
2013	37	28	18	17	Hickenlooper
2015	34	31	17	18	Hickenlooper



Republicans hold largest number of legislatures since Great Depression



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Colorado Ballot Issues 145 Filed, 4 Make Ballot, 1 Wins



	USA Today	USA Today	Denver Post	Results
	9-16-14	10-21-14	10-29-14	
Amendment 67 - Personhood				
Yes	35%	31%	32%	35%
No	45	55	54	64
Don't know	17	13	14	--
Amendment 68 - Gaming at Racetracks				
Yes	33%	21%	32%	29%
No	44	67	63	70
Don't know	19	10	5	--
Proposition 104 - School Board Open Meetings				
Yes	54%	64%	61%	69%
No	24	22	24	30
Don't know	19	14	15	--
Proposition 105 - Label Genetically Modified Food				
Yes	52%	30%	34%	34%
No	27	49	59	65
Don't know	19	21	8	--

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\$100 Million-Dollar Senate Race Mostly TV, Mostly Negative

80% say seen TV ads

Contributions September 30

	Gardner	Udall	Total
Candidate	\$ 9.3 million	\$17.7 million	\$27.0 million
"Independent" committees	26.8 million	29.2 million	56.0 million
Total	\$36.1 million	\$46.9 million	\$83.0 million

Source: Denver Post 2014
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Political advertising teaches vast numbers of viewers to live with a false sense of insecurity
(Paraphrase of Nightcrawler)

Brandon Rittiman of 9News tosses coin in debate with Mark Udall (L) and Cory Gardner (R)

Photo: Brennan Linsley, AP



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Colorado Politics in Transition Election Isn't About Colorado Any More

- Nationalization of 2014 Colorado election
 - Change of Senate
 - Forecasting
 - No local issues
- Flood of money
 - \$100 million Senate
 - Mostly independent expenditures
- TV is king
 - TV debates, advertisements, truth tests
 - GOTV is challenger/online third
- Denver Post endorsement still powerful
 - Gridlock, change, poor campaign
- No access, less free media
 - No mistake campaigns
 - GOP keeps GOTV quiet



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ACA Today – 9KUSA Republican Senate Major and Professor Gruber

Ciruli says if voters didn't grasp that when the Affordable Care Act passed in 2010, they figured it out pretty quickly. "[The ACA] picked up that image of sort of a welfare program that's going to cost everybody else," Ciruli said.

Democrats lost control of the US House soon after and the Senate this year, with Republicans railing on Obamacare and how it was sold to the people.

With control of both chambers in Washington DC, will the GOP pass a repeal?

It's not likely because the GOP doesn't have 60 seats in the Senate, though Ciruli thinks they will be looking for measures to roll back modest parts of Obamacare with a handful of votes from Democrats.

Ciruli argues Republicans will need a serious replacement ready to go in that case.

"The one thing that [President] Obama has done and the Democrats is they have now set an expectation of value which I believe will be absolutely impossible to back off of," Ciruli said. "And that is that society owes these impoverished individuals basic healthcare."



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ACA Politics

Pew Research Center

	Approve	Disapprove	Unsure/ Refused
11-14	45%	51%	4%
10-13	41	52	7
1-11	41	48	11

Q: Do you approve or disapprove of the health care law passed by Barack Obama and Congress in 2010?

- Will ACA gain majority support by 2016?
- Will ACA be changed?



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