
Colorado Counties, Inc.

November 30, 2011

Crisis, Volatility and Gridlock

Presentation by
Floyd Ciruli



Crisis, Volatility and Gridlock

Crisis

Crisis of confidence for core institutions of governance and leaders.

Volatility

Volatility in market. Linked to world markets. Volatility in politics. Shifting partisan control between elections.

Polarization and Gridlock

Elites and public closely and passionately divided on prime issues of responsibility and size of government.

Early Decision, Late or Brokered Republican Convention?

Starts in 30 Days; Colorado in 60

Could Be Late Decision

<u>State</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Date</u>
Iowa	Caucus (R/D)	Jan. 3, Tuesday
New Hampshire	Primary (R/D)	Jan. 10, Tuesday
South Carolina	Primary (R)	Jan. 21, Saturday
Florida	Primary (R/D)	Jan. 31, Tuesday
Nevada	Caucus (R)	Feb. 4, Saturday
Colorado	Caucus (R)	Feb. 7, Tuesday
Minnesota	Caucus (R)	Feb. 7, Tuesday
Missouri	Primary (R/D) (non-binding)	Feb. 7, Tuesday

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Romney and Non-Romney, Gingrich Takes Lead

Polls From the Republican Nomination August to November 2011



Mitt Romney

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Real Clear Politics (Ave) Nov. 28</u>	<u>Gallup Nov. 17</u>	<u>Gallup Oct. 7</u>	<u>Gallup Aug. 21</u>
Romney	21%	21%	20%	14%
Gingrich	24	22	7	3
Cain	16	16	18	4
Perry	8	8	15	25
Paul	8	9	8	11
Bachmann	5	4	5	7
Santorum	2	1	3	3
Huntsman	2	1	2	1



Newt Gingrich

*Real Clear Politics 2011
Gallup 2011
Ciruli Associates 2011*

Presidential Re-Election Numbers Weak



George H.W. Bush

President's Job Approval 11th Quarter (Oct. 20, 2011) and Final Results 1955 to 2011



Jimmy Carter

<u>President</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Approval</u>	<u>Result</u>	
G.H.W. Bush	1991	69%	38%	Lost
D. Eisenhower	1955	73	57	
G.W. Bush	2003	55	51	
B. Clinton	1995	46	49	
R. Nixon	1971	50	61	
B. Obama	2011	41	?	Down 6
R. Reagan	1983	44	49	
J. Carter	1979	31	42	Lost

*Gallup 2011
Ciruli Associates 2011*

When Things Fall Apart, the Center Can't Hold

Change in Economies, Ideas or Charismatic Leader

- 81% dissatisfied with Washington government
- 51% third party needed
- 9% approve Congress
- 18% for Paul in 3-way race

Gallup/WSJ/NBC 2011



Ross Perot



Mayor Mike
Bloomberg



Rep. Ron Paul

What are the Targets? Colorado or Ohio or Both

**President Needs 270 Electoral Votes;
5 Out of 5 States Gives Him 242; Needs 28 More**

States at Top of Democratic Target Lists

	<u>Obama Win in 2008</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Went Democrat in 5 Last Races</u>	<u>Obama Visits 2011</u>
Colorado	9%	9	2 of 5	2
Florida	3	17	2 of 5	10
Nevada	12	4	3 of 5	2
North Carolina	0.3	15	1 of 5	7
Ohio	5	20	3 of 5	4
Virginia	6	13	1 of 5	11

Ciruli Associates 2011



Colorado in 2012 – The Model

Colorado Swings Between Parties in Presidential Race

	Republicans	Democrats
1992	Bush – 36%	Clinton – 40%
1996	Dole – 46%	Clinton – 44%
2000	Bush – 51%	Gore – 42%
2004	Bush – 52%	Kerry – 47%
2008	McCain – 45%	Obama – 54%
2010*	Buck – 47%	Bennet – 48%
*U.S. Senate race		

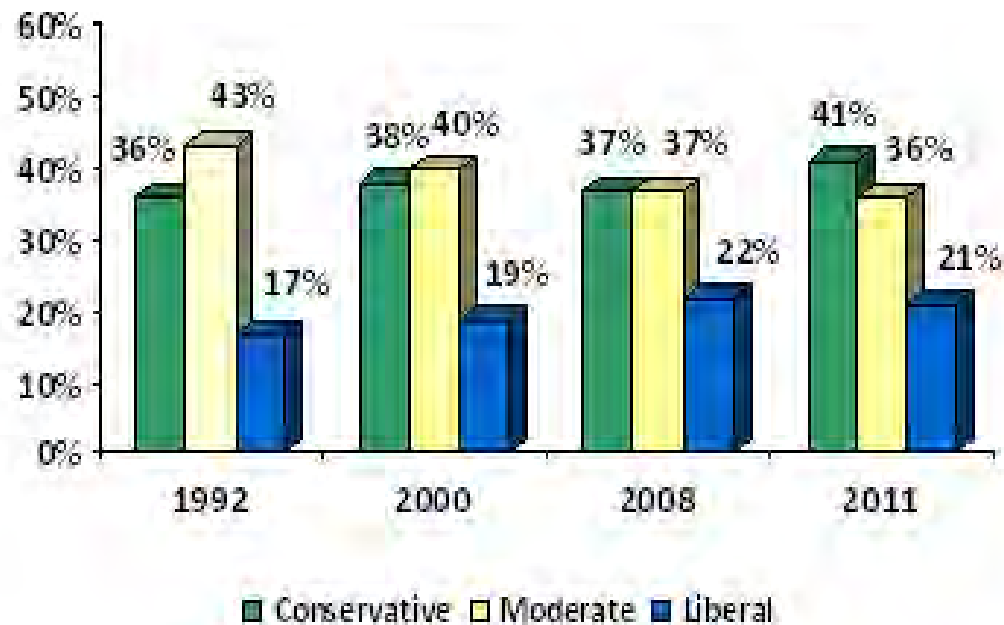
David Axelrod

"The Bennet thing was particularly instructive. They made a big effort there, not only among Hispanics, but women. The contrast he drew with Buck was very meaningful. That's why I say the gravitational pull of those Republican primaries is going to be very significant." Ron Brownstein, National Journal, Jan. 7, 2011

U.S. More Polarized

More Independents, But Fewer Moderates;
Liberals and Conservatives Up

Political Ideology in U.S.



Gallup 2011

Obama's Support Divided by Race, Age and Education

Obama Approval



Pres. Barack Obama

<u>Demographic</u>	<u>Approval</u>	<u>Difference From Average</u>
Average	41%	
Black	85	+44%
Post graduate	50	+9
Hispanic	49	+8
18 to 29 years of age	48	+7
East	47	+6
Not married	47	+6
Female	44	+4
High school or less	39	-2
Some college	39	-2
\$5,000 to \$7,999 income	39	-2
Male	38	-3
65 years old and over	36	-5
Married	36	-5
White	33	-8

Gallup, Sept. 2011

Berlusconi vs. Bernanke

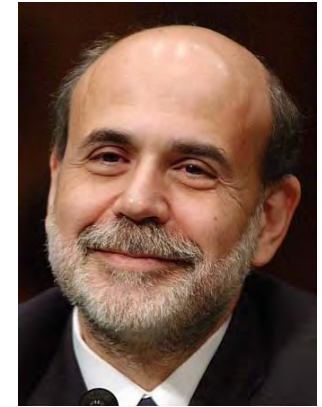
Who has More Influence Over Obama's Re-Election?

A Final Year of Disaster

- Wife divorces in 2009; lingers in court
- Lost local elections, including Milan
- Lost three national referendums
- "Ruby Heartbreaker" trial continues
- 67% disapproval, up from 47%



Silvio Berlusconi



Ben Bernanke

Berlusconi Out of Power

Berlusconi's hold on power mixed a promise of modernization and prosperity with conservative policies to oppose communism (Italian version) and leftist in general...When the final crisis came at the Cannes EU Summit, he both misread its seriousness and his weakened position. (Blog, Nov. 22, 2011)

Tea Party Movement and Occupy Wall Street Recreate '68



TPM Power

2010	Dan Maes vote for governor	11%
2010	Colorado U.S. Senate exit poll	
	Strongly support	20%
2011	Washington Post poll	
	Support	43%
2011	Wall Street Journal poll	
	Support	25%

OWS Power

2011	Washington Post poll	
	Support	44%
2011	Wall Street Journal/NBC	
	Support	28%

TPM=Tea Party Movement
OWS=Occupy Wall Street

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Western Battleground States

2012 Western Elections Three Groupings: Right, Center and Left

Governor and Senate Seats

State	2008 Presidential Winner and Margin	2012 Races
Wyoming	McCain by 32%	Sen. John Barrasso, no race in sight
Utah	McCain by 28%	Sen. Orrin Hatch missed Tea Party primary, no top Dem. yet, Gov. Gary Herbert, Democrats looking for candidate
Idaho	McCain by 25%	No major races
Alaska	McCain by 22%	No major races
Arizona	McCain by 9%	Sen. Jon Kyl (open), no top Dem. yet
Montana	McCain by 2%	Sen. Jon Tester, governor (open), battle for both seats
Colorado	Obama by 9%	No major races
Nevada	Obama by 12%	Sen. Dean Heller (appointed), major battle with Dem. congressman
New Mexico	Obama by 15%	Sen. Jeff Bingaman (open), primary in both parties, polls close
Oregon	Obama by 16%	No major races
Washington	Obama by 17%	Sen. Maria Cantwell secure, governor (open), close race developing
California	Obama by 24%	Sen. Diane Feinstein, no race expected

Ranking in order of 2008 election results

Killing Field for New Taxes

**Election Framed by Weakening Economy
and Growing Hostility to Government**

School Bonds, Mil Levies and Municipal Taxes Fail

**Proposition 103 Tax (Money for Education)
Sample of Front Range Counties**

<u>Jurisdiction</u>	<u>Approval</u>	<u>Total Vote</u>	<u>Vote in 2008</u>
Statewide	37%	960,000	2,422,000
Adams	32	58,000	161,000
Denver	46	98,000	277,000
Larimer	42	62,000	167,000

Ciruli Associates 2011

"Other than the usual liberal groups and teachers unions, who came to this rather reluctantly, [Mr. Heath] doesn't have much support," Denver pollster Floyd Ciruli said. "The challenge he faces is that not only is the public really anxious about their own income limits and discretionary spending, but this is also an era of anti-government feeling. It's just not a good time." Washington Times, 9-7-11

Hickenlooper for President

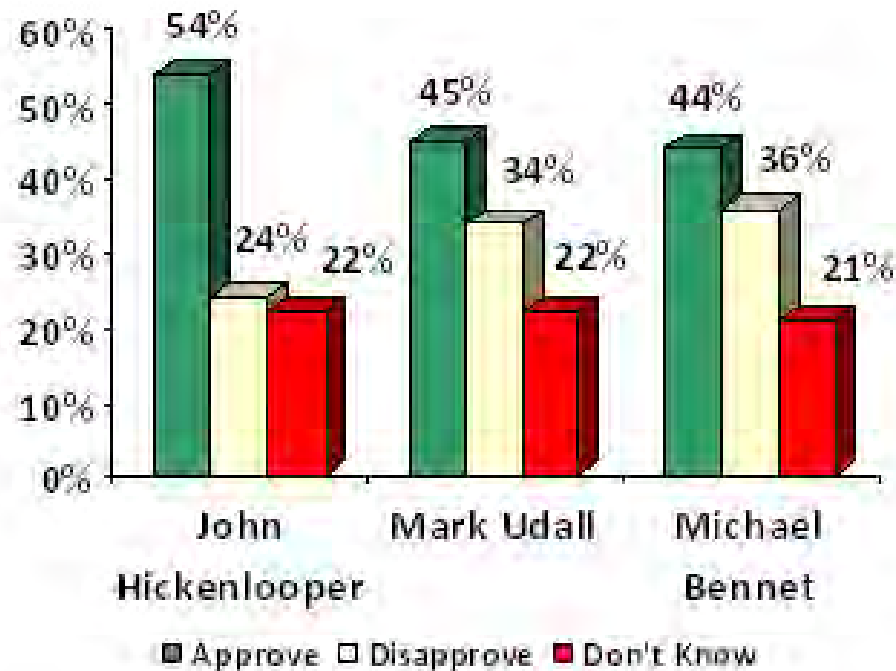
Approval Rating of Top Colorado Democrats



Sen. Michael Bennet



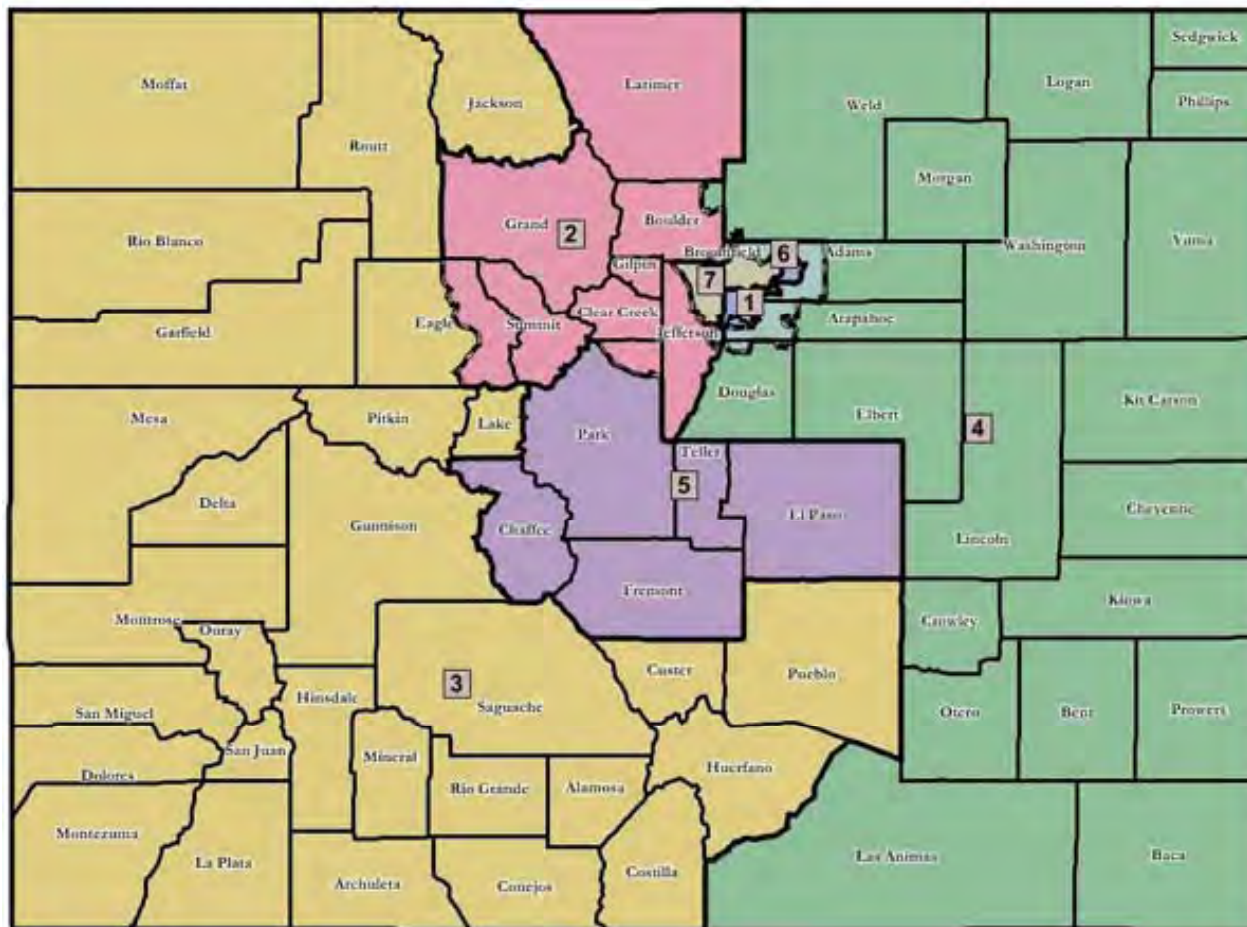
Sen. Mark Udall



Gov. John Hickenlooper

*Public Policy Polling, Aug. 2011
Ciruli Associates 2011*

Democrats' Map Selected, Congressional Redistricting in Court



Judge Hyatt adopts Democratic map. 3rd and 6th CDs shift toward Democrats.

DeGette-45% D, 20% R; Polis-33%D, 29% R; Tipton-31% D, 35% R; Gardner-25% D, 42% R; Lamborn-23% D, 43% R; Coffman-33% D, 34% R; Perlmutter-35% D, 29% R

Economic Development and Youth Top Priorities

Top Issue Citizens Want County Officials to Deal With

<u>Larimer County</u> ¹		<u>Adams County</u> ¹		<u>US</u> ²	
Economy/jobs	16%	Economy/jobs	18%	Unemployment/jobs	39%
Education	15	Education	14	Economy in general	28
Budget/fiscal revenue problems	7	Corruption/ethics in office	12	Dissatisfaction with government	14
Taxes	7	Taxes	8	Federal budget deficit	12
Traffic/congestion/repairs	6	Traffic/congestion	8		

¹What is the top issue you want county officials to deal with?

Ciruli Associates 2011

²Most important problem facing the country today (Gallup, Sept. 15, 2011)

County Issues for 2012

- Structural deficits: state and local
 - Constitutional restrictions
 - Payroll and pensions
- Marijuana: legalize and dispensaries
- Health care: Medicaid and mandates
- Infrastructure: buildings, transportation and communication
- Economic development: siting and incentives
- Water: conservation, recycle, agricultural use, new projects, permitting and financing

Going Public, Going Local, Going Narrow

Communication Changing Due to Fragmentation of Media and Polarization of Politics

Media Usage

	Adams	Larimer
Daily Paper – Denver Post	58%	25%
None	38	24
Weeklies	23%	15%
None	72	79
Adams County government info		
TV 2, 4, 7, 9, 13	57%	59%
Denver Post	28	--
Online	16	--
Weekly	11%	--
Use County website	39%	--

Attend Virtual Town Hall Meeting
Live, online December 6
6:00 - 7:00 p.m.



Expressing public opinion in Douglas County and learning about County initiatives and spending priorities just got easier.

On Tuesday night, December 6, from 6:00 - 7:00 p.m., Douglas County residents and taxpayers will have the opportunity to interact with Douglas County Commissioners during the County's first-ever live, online town hall meeting using Facebook, Twitter and email. The meeting will be moderated by KUSA-TV, 9News reporter, Kyle Clark, and streamed live, online via USTREAM.

To help shape the meeting agenda, public commentary is welcome before the meeting, as well as commentary during the meeting. The public may tweet questions or comments to **twitter.com/douglascountyco** and use @douglascountyco or hashtag #DCTownMeeting; or submit commentary prior to the meeting online at www.douglas.co.us/townmeeting/

On December 6, participants can watch the meeting live on the County's website at www.douglas.co.us, as well as on the County's Facebook page at www.facebook.com/Douglas.co.us For additional information please visit the Douglas County website www.douglas.co.us/townmeeting/


citizenCONNECT
Request service, ask questions, share concerns, get involved.


EMAIL ALERTS
Keep up-to-date in the County Sign-up for e-mail updates


Each of these services can be found on the County's home page. For more online services please visit www.douglas.co.us/Online_Services.html

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 Vimeo
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Ciruli Associates is a polling and consulting firm specializing in public policy, community and cultural affairs, and strategic planning since 1985.

the buzz

Upcoming Speeches & Appearances

April 20 - Lower Arkansas Valley Water Conservancy District
May 13 - American Association of Public Opinion Research



Floyd Cirulli is a pollster and political analyst providing consulting, strategy, policy management, public opinion research, public relations and management. Clients include major Colorado corporations, business and civic associations. Among Denver-based Ciruli Associates' specialties is consulting for government, nonprofit and corporate organizations proposing initiatives for public approval."

[Read More >>](#)

Republicans Take on Congressional Redistricting

Not only did Denver District Court Judge Robert Hyatt provide an incentive for Colorado Republicans to fight his redistricting plan in court by adopting a plan that makes two seats more friendly to Democrats, but by endorsing the Democrat's plan and their rationale of competition with no changes, he provided Republicans an argument for their grassroots and the court of public opinion. [Read more...](#)

Obama Will Have to Choose Ohio or Colorado for Final Target

It is well-established that Colorado, with its 9 electoral votes, is a likely final target for President Obama to assemble his 270 votes. [Read more...](#)

Berlusconi Out of Power

After 17 years of dominance of Italian politics, Silvio Berlusconi resigned the prime ministry Nov. 12, 2011 to the relief of his colleagues and the cheers of the Roman crowd. [Read more...](#)

Romney Leads, But is Not a Lock

More than one-half of the Republican Party active voters are consistently resisting their frontrunner, Mitt Romney. As of mid-November, Newt Gingrich seems to be mounting a strong challenge. But, at various points in the last two months, Herman Cain and Rick Perry have taken the lead. [Read more...](#)

Anti-Tax Voters Dominate Colorado's 2011 Election

The economy became a more significant and negative issue over the summer as warnings of a double-dip recession rang more and more loudly. Polls across the country showed drops in voter optimism and consumer confidence. [Read more...](#)

Democrats Big Winners in Congressional Redistricting

Competitiveness has become a new criterion for state court judges in congressional redistricting, and Democrats won big arguing for it before Judge Robert Hyatt. [Read more...](#)

Aurora is on a Roll

Ed Tauer's retirement as mayor of Aurora after 8 years has focused attention on the City of Aurora's last decade of development. [Read more...](#)



The Variable Archive

