



**ciruli associates**  
political news analysis public opinion consulting



# Making the Case for Colleges and Universities in the New Political Environment

**Presentation at Council of Colleges of Arts and Sciences**

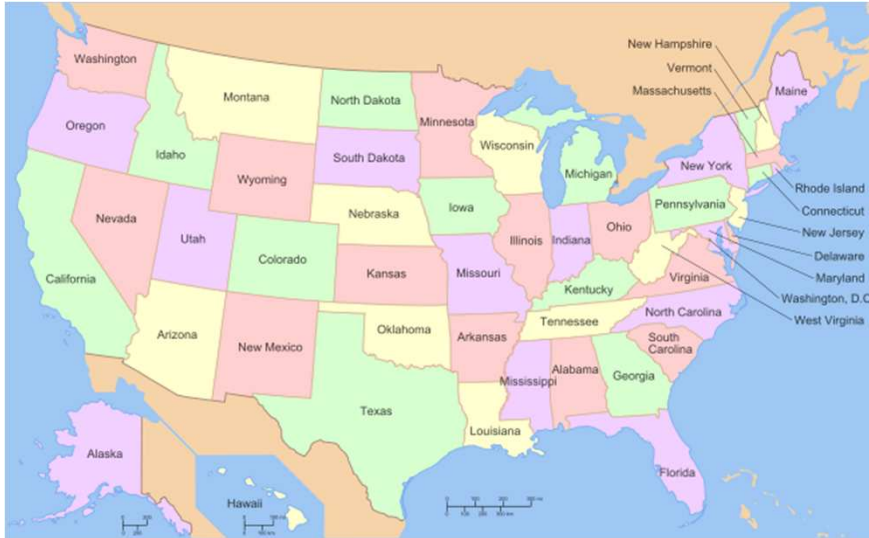
November 2017

Professor Floyd Ciruli

The extraordinary 2016 Presidential election was full of the unexpected. This is one of the most divided times in our country's history providing specific challenges for institutions attempting to achieve public policy goals. This presentation addresses the political climate for making a case for higher education. Floyd Ciruli is a professor at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver and director of the Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research.



# Higher Education Narrative



The U.S. is in the midst of a major, if uneven, expansion. Higher education is a vital asset facing a host of challenges in a changing political environment.

- 17 million students
- 3,500 colleges/universities
- Tight budgets
- High debt
- Value propositions questions
- Media fragmentation
- Washington/political disruption

# Era of Disruption



Democrat Colorado Gov. John Hickenlooper and Republican Ohio Gov. John Kasich at a news conference in Washington, June 27, 2017 | Getty Images

State politics and budgets vary, but tend to be constrained. Higher education faces fierce competition. State-level politics effected by national dialogue and political movements.

- National politics disrupted
- State budget constraints
- Budget competition
- Politics of grievance and free speech issues

# Achieve Public Policy Goals

## Methodology

- Data driven
- Scan legacy and alt-media
- Examine voting behavior and public opinion
- Identity values and internal factors
- Focus on advocates and major drivers

## Contents

- ✓ National
- ✓ Colorado
- ✓ Education
- ✓ Drivers

# Washington Politics Effects Local Politics



President Donald Trump



Secretary of Education  
Betsy DeVos

## October 18, 2017 Record Gain of 1000 Points Dow Jones Industrial Average

Date	Milestone	Trading Days to Reach
Oct. 18, 2017	23157	54
Aug. 2, 2017	22016	107
Mar. 1, 2017	21000	24
Jan. 25, 2017	20000	42
Nov. 22, 2016	19000	483
Dec. 4, 2014	18000	108
July 3, 2014	17000	153
Nov. 21, 2013	16000	139
May 7, 2013	15000	1,460
July 19, 2007	14000	59
Apr. 25, 2007	13000	127
Nov. 19, 2006	12000	1,879
May 3, 1999	11000	24
Mar. 29, 1999	10000	245

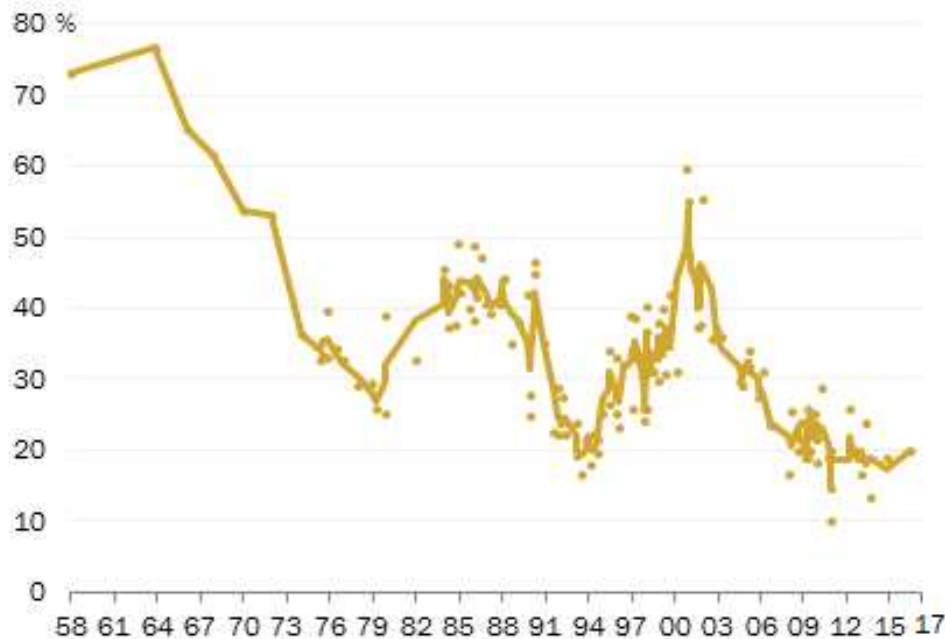
Source: Dow Jones 2017  
Format: Ciruli Associates 2017

- Significant change in direction in educational policy and funding
- Surging stock market and healthy economy creates competition. Only metric the President doesn't believe is fake.
- Mostly on your own, periodically must react to D.C.

# Collapse of Trust in Government

## Public trust in government remains near historic lows

*Trust the federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time...*



Vietnam, Watergate, Reagan recovery, 9/11 spike but mostly down

***Trust higher at local level***

Notes: From 1976-2016 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.  
Source: Survey conducted April 5-11, 2017.  
Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN polls.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# 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
2017	Trump	82%	11%	71%
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 2017  
Format: Ciruli Associates 2017

## Negative Partisanship

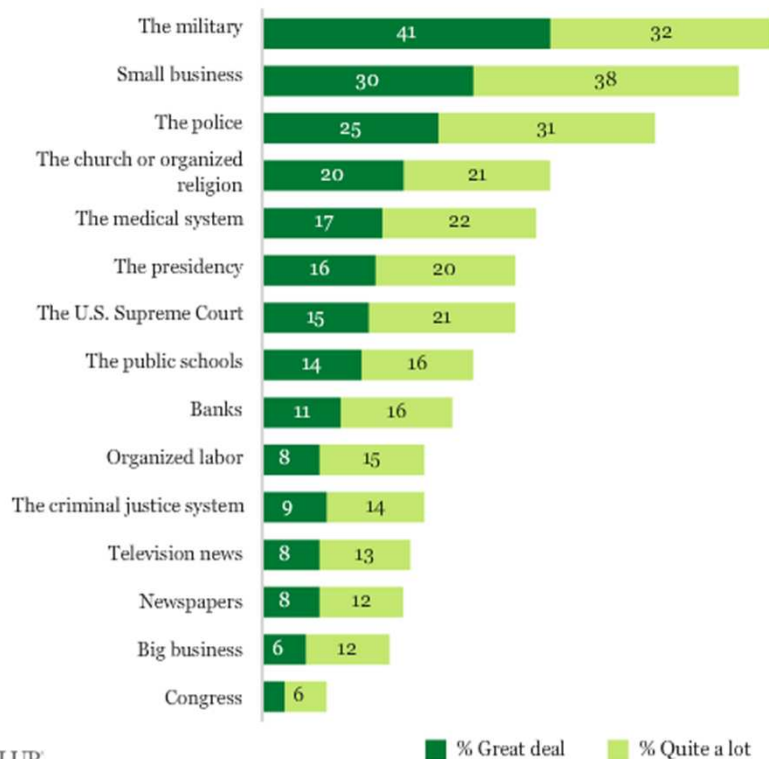
Partisanship spreads,  
down ticket, across  
topics, economic, media,  
social relations

## Media Watchdog Role Democrat vs. Republican

Reagan	6%
Bush II	28%
Trump	47%

# 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]*



# Populism on the Move

**Populism** – Ordinary citizens' interests harmed by elites and their politics and institutions. Popular will represented by a strong leader.

**Nationalism** – Loyalty and devotion to nation state over individual, group or other countries. Promotes national interest above other countries.

**Bannon** – It's an insurgency that could imperil Republican majorities in the House and Senate. It is 'populist nationalist conservative revolt' (AP, 10-5-17)

**Civilization Threatened** – Welcome ends, build walls, resist liberal cultural values

**Sovereignty** – Skeptical of agreements, alliances, international, multilateral institutions

**Anti-establishment** – Center parties in retreat, governing class under attack, legacy media devalued

**Caustic Conversations** – Ill-tempered, hostile, vulgar, alt media, tweets

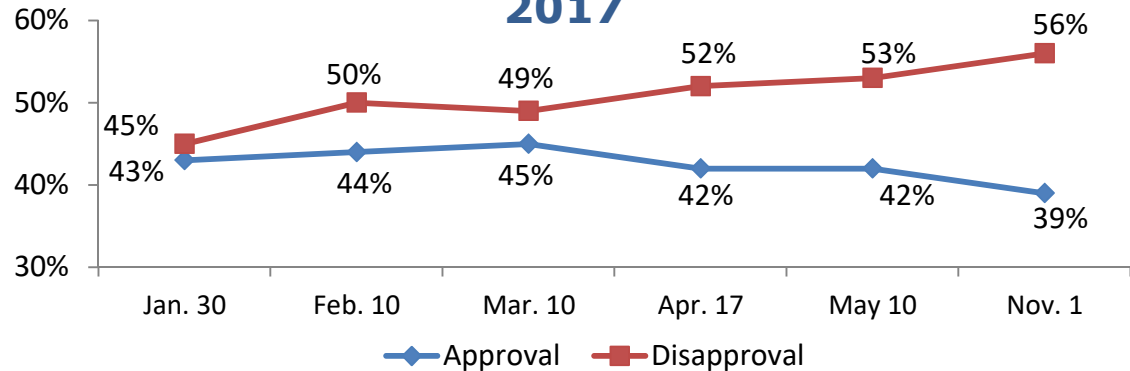
- Sisi, Egypt
- Erdoğan, Turkey
- Putin, Russia
- Maduro, Venezuela
- Duterte, Philippines
- Xi, Hong Kong
- Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland

# National Dashboard: 2017: Republicans in Power, But 2018 Could Be Tough

## Metrics

- Trump spread – (-17%)
- Days in office – 280 plus
- Congressional approval – 12%
- Generic congressional – D 10%
- Direction, right – 31%
- DOW YTD – up 19%
- House: D 194, R 241; D's need 24
- Senate: D 46, R 52; D's need 3

## President Trump's Approval Ratings 2017



Source: Real Clear Politics 2017  
Formatted: Ciruli Associates 2017

188



House Minority Leader  
Nancy Pelosi

46



Senate Minority Leader  
Chuck Schumer

247



Speaker  
Paul Ryan

52



Senator Majority Leader  
Mitch McConnell

# Is Congress in Play?



Speaker  
Paul Ryan

## Trump and First Midterm Could be Deadly

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

Minority Leader  
Nancy Pelosi



Date	Speaker	President	Wins/Losses	Democratic Seats (Need 218)
1982	O'Neill	Reagan	Reps lose 26 seats	269
<b>1994</b>	<b>Gingrich replaces Foley</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Reps win 54 seats</b>	<b>204</b>
2006	Pelosi replaces Hastert	Bush II	Dems win 30 seats	236
<b>2010</b>	<b>Boehner replaces Pelosi</b>	<b>Obama</b>	<b>Reps win 63 seats</b>	<b>193</b>
2014	Boehner	Obama	Reps win 13 seats	188
2016	Ryan replaces Boehner (Sept. 2015)	Obama	Dems need 30 seats, win 6	193
<b>2018</b>	<b>Ryan</b>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Dems need 24 seats</b>	<b>--</b>

Ciruli Associates 2017

# Millennials Gaining Control – More Liberal

## Size of Generations

Generation	Ages	Numbers in Cohort	
		2015	2050
Millennial	18-35	75 million	79 million
Generation X	36-51	66 million	50 million
Baby Boomer	52-70	75 million	17 million
Silent	71-88	29 million	--
Greatest	89 and older	?	--

Source: Pew Research 2015  
Formatted: Ciruli Associates 2015

## Ideology of Generations

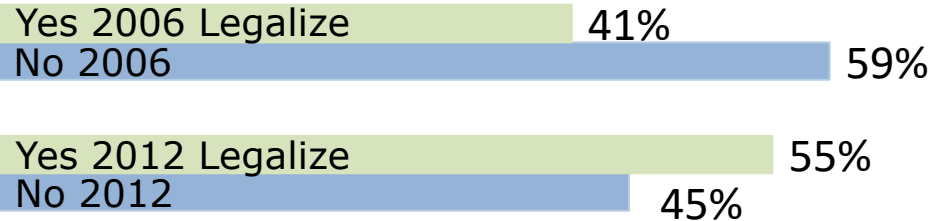
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	Gap
Millennial (18-35)	30%	40%	28%	-2
Generation X (36-51)	23	39	35	+12
Baby Boomers (52-70)	21	33	44	+23
Silent/Greatest (over 70)	17	33	48	+31
<b>Overall</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>+14</b>

Source: Pew Research 2015  
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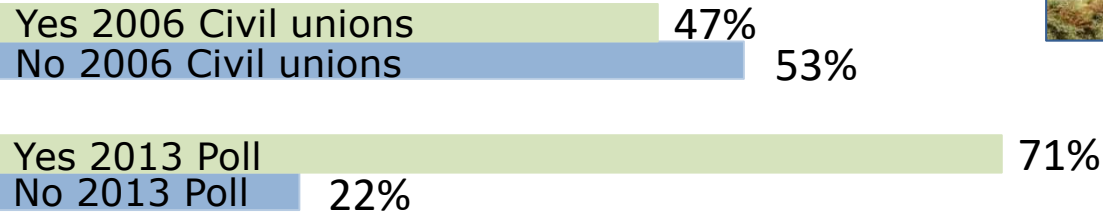
# Changes in Colorado Voters' Social Viewpoints

## Legalize Recreational Marijuana and Approve Civil Unions Colorado 2006 and 2012

14 percentage  
point shift from  
2006 to 2012



1992  
Amendment 43:  
yes 56%;  
prohibited  
minority status  
for gays



Sources: Colorado Secretary of the State, 2006, 2013; Quinnipiac 2013  
Formatted: Ciruli Associates 2014

# University of Colorado



CU Anschutz Medical Campus | Laura Parker/University Communications

- High favorability
- Medical expansion
- State budget issues
- Usual sports, gender, race issues
- Major anchor institution
- Statewide tax effort in 2008; loses with 42%

# University of Denver

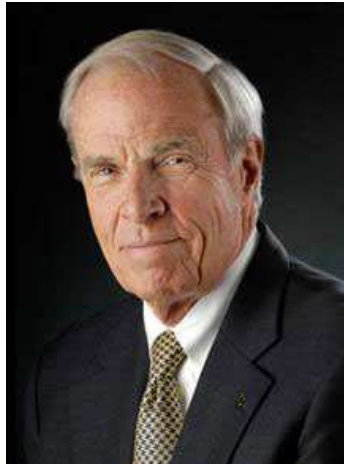
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University of Denver Campus | DU Magazine

- Budget issues/tuition dependent
- Building program, campus welcome
- 2012 presidential debate
- Strategic plan underway
- International engagement
- Major anchor institution

# Presidents and Chancellors



Bruce Benson  
President, CU

**Bruce Benson**, president, high profile Republican

- Prodigious fundraiser
- A state ballot tax issue failed
- Moved office to near Capitol
- Ideological balance

**Rebecca Chopp**, new chancellor

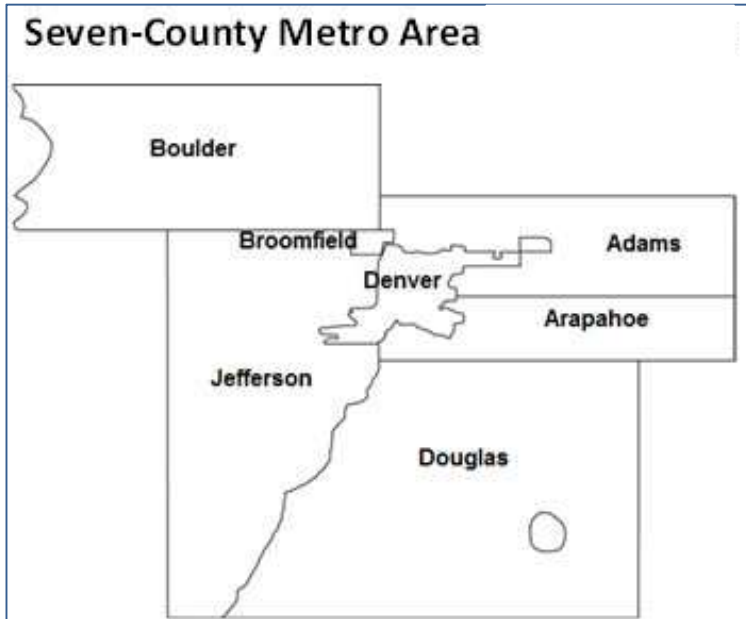
- Strategic plan
- National recruitment, graduate parity
- Regionalism, neighborhood anchor
- International engagement



Rebecca Chopp  
Chancellor, DU



# Metro Denver Favorability of DU and CU



## Favorability of DU and CU

	DU	CU
Very favorable	41%	37%
<b>Total favorable</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>73</b>
Total unfavorable	5	9
Don't know/no opinion	22	18

Ciruli Associates 2017

## Partisan Rating of DU and CU

	DU	CU
<b>Total</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>73%</b>
Democrat	77	79
Unaffiliated	76	70
Republican	69	70

Ciruli Associates 2017

# CU and DU Comparison With Other Organizations and Leaders



## Organizations and Politicians

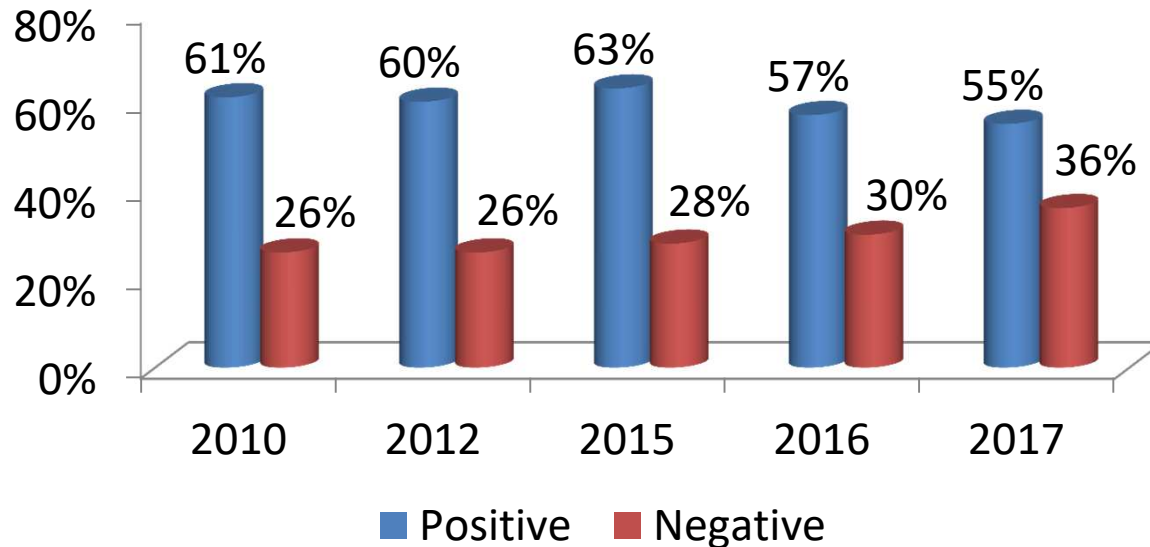
	Very Favorable	Total Favorable
Denver Zoo	76%	95%
Denver Museum of Nature and Science	70	94
Denver Broncos	54	80
<b>DU</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>CU</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>73</b>
John Hickenlooper	28	60
Denver Nuggets	26	61

Ciruli Associates 2017

# Pew: Decline of the Public's Confidence of Colleges and Universities

## Colleges and Universities Still Have Positive Effect on County, But:

- 6 point decline in positive
- 10 point increase in negative

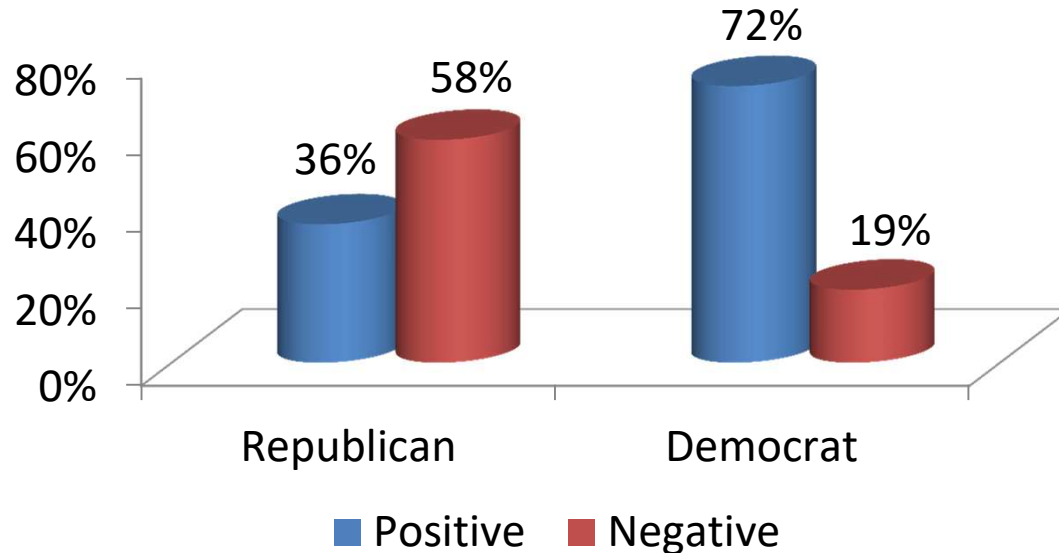


Source: Pew Research 2017  
Format: Ciruli Associates 2017

# Pew: Partisan Views of Colleges and Universities

## Partisan Impact on Reputation

- Only 36% positive Republican to 72% positive Democrat
- Only media has more polarization



Source: Pew Research 2017  
Format: Ciruli Associates 2017

## Reputation Moved From Positive to Negative in Two Years

- Minus 18% in 2 years

### Republicans

2015	54%
2016	43
2017	36

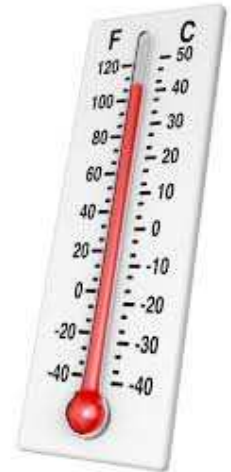
Source: Pew Research 2017  
Format: Ciruli Associates 2017

# Pew: Rating Professors

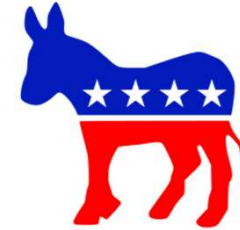
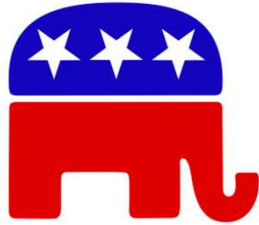
**Feeling Thermometer  
Rating Scale 1 to 100,  
from 0 Coldest to 100 Warmest**

Profession	Total	Republican	Democrat
Teachers	78%	72%	87%
Police	67	84	62
Professors	58	46	71

Source: Pew Research, Aug. 2017  
Format: Crossley Center 2017



# Gallup: Reasons for Rating Colleges and Universities Negatively by Political Affiliation



Reason	Republican	Democrat
Too liberal/political	<b>32%</b>	1%
Pushing agenda/don't think for self	21	6
Students not well educated	13	9
Too expensive	11	<b>36</b>
Poor leadership, not well run	9	14
Can't find jobs	7	10

Source: Gallup, Aug. 2017  
Format: Crossley Center 2017

# Onslaught Against the Media

**FAKE News**  
**Enemies of the American People,**  
**Not Very Nice People**



The New York Times  
The Washington Post

## How Much Do You Trust the Media?

	All	Democrat	Republican	Independent
A great deal	8%	16%	4%	5%
A good amount	22	40	5	23
Not very much	31	26	32	35
Not at all	37	16	59	35

Source: PBS NewsHour/NPR/Marist, June 2017  
Format: Ciruli Associates 2017

## Media Watchdog Role Democrat vs. Republican

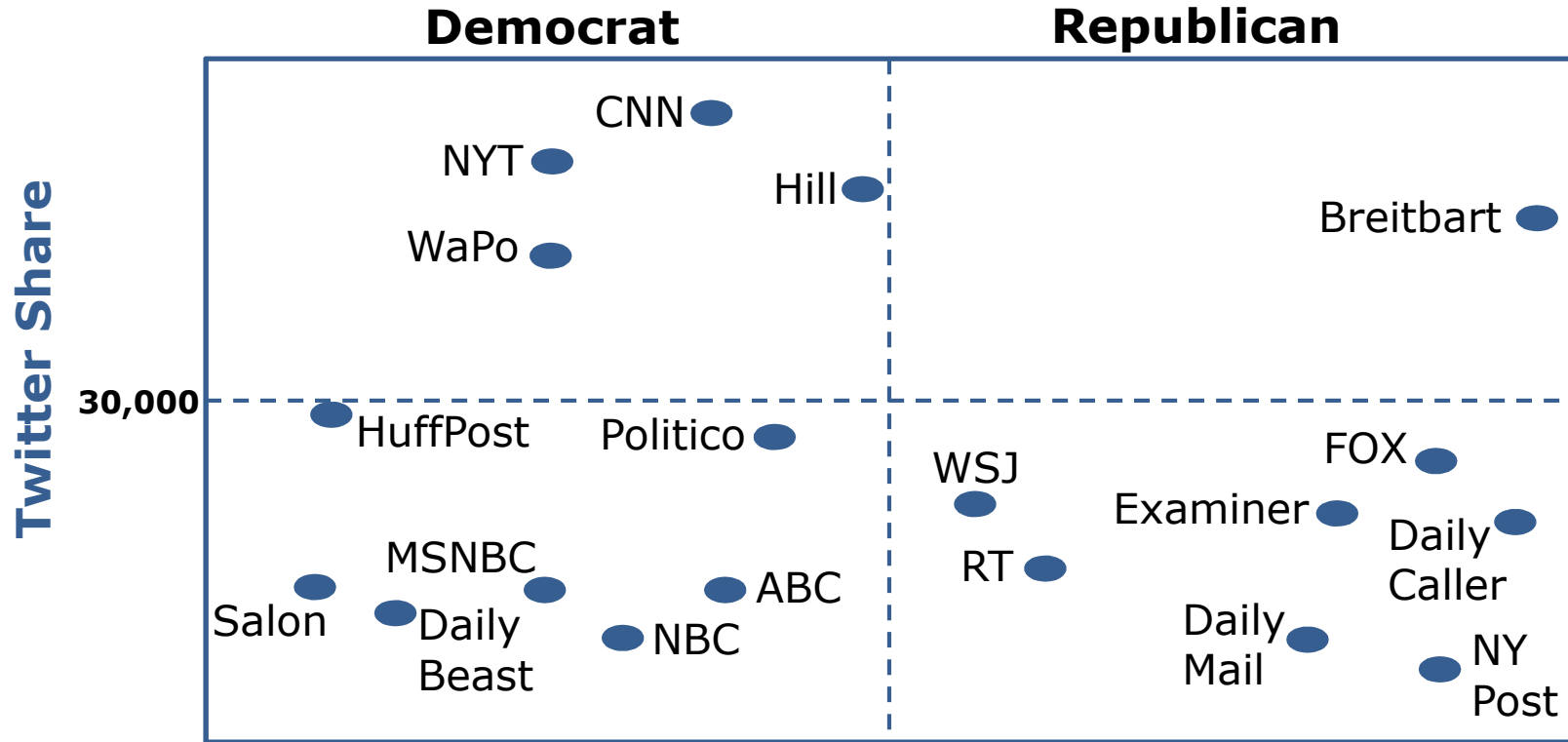
Reagan	6%
Bush II	28%
Trump	47%

- Information flow
- Forum for views
- Watchdog

# New Media Landscape

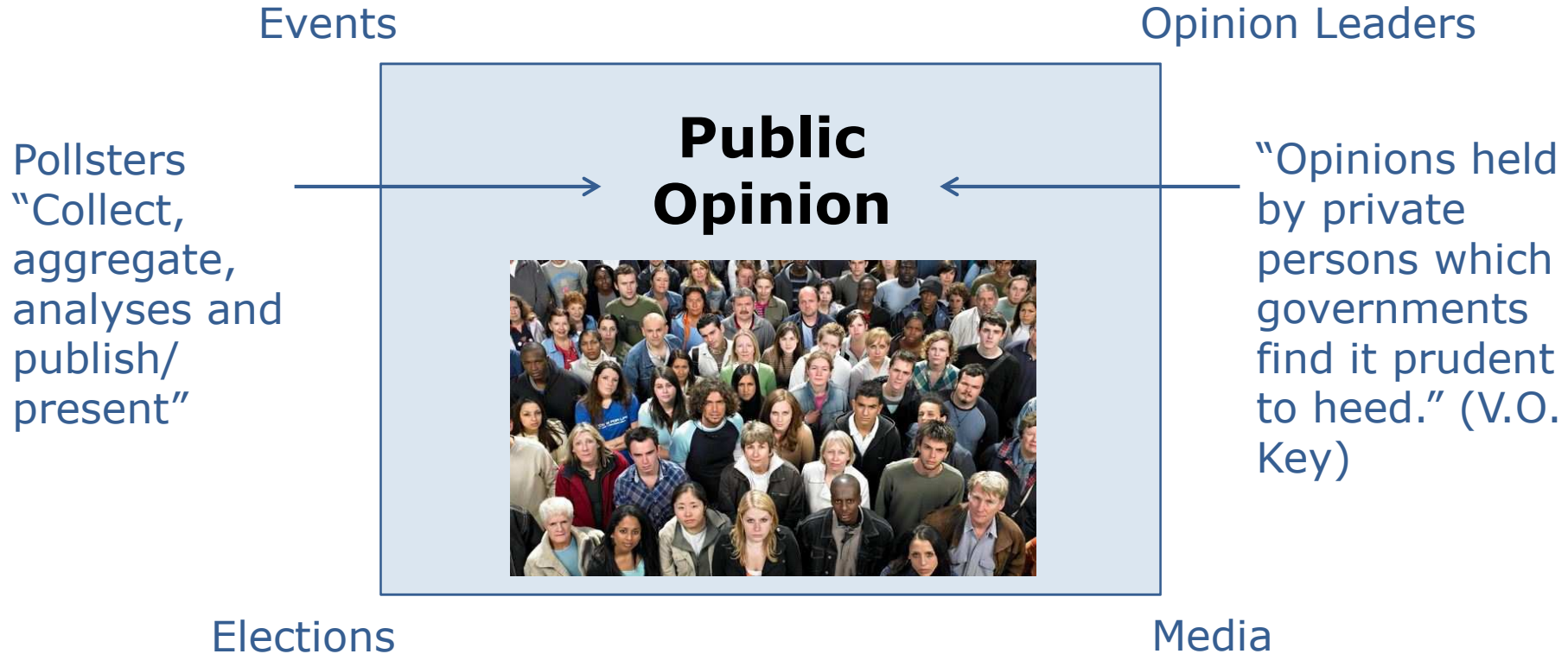
## Fragmented, Partisan and Online

### Partisanship Share

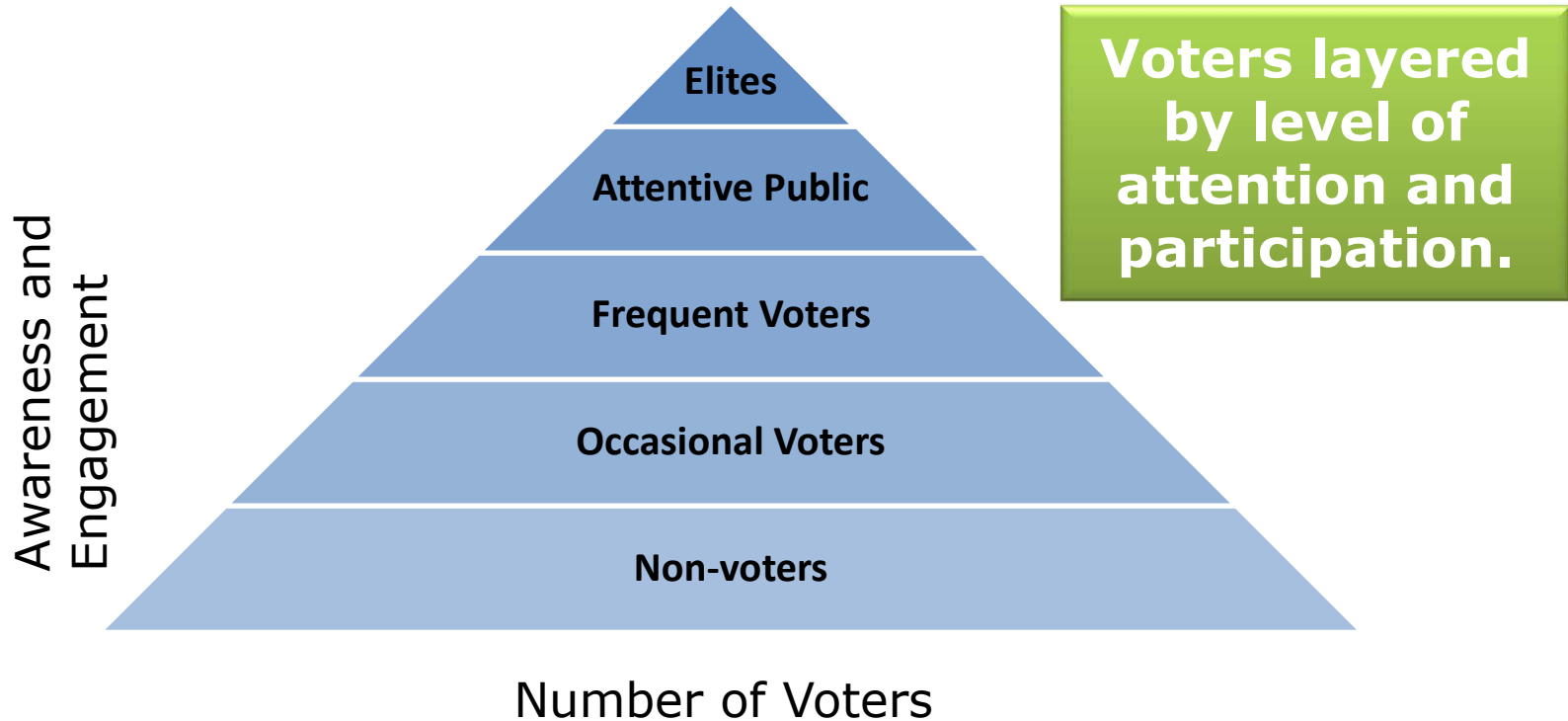




# Factors Influencing Public Opinion



# Levels of Attention and Participation



# NBC/WSJ: Fewer Americans Value College Education

## College Education

	Worth It	Not Worth It
White working class	28%	65%
Rural	31	66
18-34 years old	39	57
Trump voters	42	54
Men	43	53
Women	54	41
Non-white	56	41
Clinton voters	60	34
College degree	61	33

Source: NBC News/Wall Street Journal 2017  
Format: Ciruli Associates 2017

# Case for Value Proposition

- Basic research is in national self-interest
- College research is economic engine
- Need for more college graduates
- Location decision by industry affected by availability of highly skilled, trained workforce
- Colleges are anchor institutions in community
- College educated person will prosper, be a better citizen and be more fulfilled person
- Essential to support a fair, productive and modern democracy

# Message and Audience Delivery

## Thinking About the Messages and Audiences

Issue	Message	Audience
Expensive	Make it efficient Make it affordable Debt relief	Businesses/social clubs Parents/alumni
Overall Worth	Shortage of college skilled graduates Employment rate/higher incomes Boost for economy Civic benefits	All/parents
Students Don't Graduate	Student centered Measure progress	All/parents/alumni
Biased	Welcome all viewpoints Don't tolerate intolerance	Businesses/parties
Elite/Isolated	Part of community Spinoff businesses Major economic centers	All/businesses

# Anchor Institutions and Allies

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Chamber of  
Commerce

Local  
Government

Major  
Corporations

Associations



Real Estate

Cultural Facilities

Foundations

# Institutional Networks and Assets



# ***Making the Case for Colleges and Universities in the New Political Environment***

**End**

**Questions and Discussion**



# CIRULI: Higher education is in political trouble

Author: Floyd Ciruli - October 25, 2017 - Updated: October 25, 2017



Floyd Ciruli

Higher education is facing turbulent times. It must navigate tight budgets, high prices, enrollment shortfalls and sky-rocketing student debt.

Since the Great Recession, state budgets for public higher education institutions have declined by 16 percent per student, and during the past decade, tuition at four-year colleges and universities nationally has gone up 35 percent by almost \$2,500.

In Colorado, the triumvirate of the recession, TABOR limits and competing state budget

interests has caused tuition increases of 63 percent since 2008. And, without other recourse, students have made up the difference by going into debt, which has increased by 59 percent since 2000.

Private schools face their own budget demands, leading to dramatic tuition increases and piles of student debt. A single year in a private college can easily cost \$40,000, relieved by some grants and student aid, but still requiring loans in most cases.

The financial surge has translated into an enrollment crises. Large percentages of the population are beginning to question the value of a four-year degree. A recent *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll shows only half of the public believes "a four-year degree is worth the cost because people have a better chance to get a good job and earn more money over their lifetime." And 47 percent said it wasn't worth it "because people often graduate without specific job skills and with a large amount of debt to pay off." Among Millennials, 57 percent said it wasn't worth it. That reflects an increase of 19 points from Millennials who said a degree wasn't worth the cost just four years ago.

Addressing higher education budget and enrollment problems is compounded by political divisions.

In a 2016 survey in the Denver metro area conducted by Ciruli Associates, the University of Denver (DU) received a 41 percent "very favorable" rating, followed closely by the University of Colorado (CU) with a 37 percent "very favorable" rating. The total favorability ratings (combining "very" and "somewhat" favorable) were 74 percent and 73 percent, respectively — a good showing. But Republicans rated the universities less favorably than Democrats. The survey showed an 8

percent difference among Democrats and Republicans in rating DU favorably, and 9 percent difference between the parties on rating CU.

The local partisan trend was recently confirmed in a national poll. A 2017 Pew Research poll shows a 6-point drop in favorability ratings of higher education since 2010, and a 10 point increase in negative ratings, mostly due to declines in favorability among Republicans. Most ominously, Republican favorability dropped 18 points in the last two years and is now in negative territory (36% favorable to 58% unfavorable).

Additional studies from [Pew Research](#) and [Gallup](#) reinforce the growing threat to higher education from the polarized public perception. Pew shows that Republicans rate professors lower in favorability than those in other professions. When comparing professions with a “feeling thermometer,” Pew results showed that teachers and police officers have warmer ratings than professors (teachers 78%, police 67%, professors 58%). Republicans are especially colder in their rating of professors than Democrats by a 25-point difference (46% Republican, 71% Democrat) in the feeling thermometer ratings.

Gallup probed why people have critical views of colleges and universities, and the differences are significant between parties. Republicans are more likely to cite political concerns and Democrats more economic concerns.

#### Reasons for Rating Colleges and Universities Negatively by Political Affiliation

Reason	Republican	Democrat
Too liberal/political	32%	1%
Pushing agenda/don't think for self	21	6
Students not well educated	13	9
Too expensive	11	36
Poor leadership, not well run	9	14
Can't find jobs	7	10

*Source: Gallup, Aug. 2017  
Format: Crossley Center 2017*

In a [report recently published by the Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research](#) at the University of Denver, the following observation summed up the challenge:

” News organizations have reported numerous stories with a negative slant toward higher education in recent years. The high cost of college, student debt loads and low graduation rates have been well covered. Recently, and of more interest to Republicans, have been stories frequently reported in conservative news sites of campus disruptions, takeovers of administrator’s offices, student protests of conservative speakers and an assertion of weak faculty and administrative responses.

Restoration of public confidence in higher education will require a significant effort. Placing visible Republicans in president or chancellor roles at universities is not enough. Bruce Benson has headed up CU for a decade and has frequently spoken up for ideological balance and freedom of speech on campus. In fact, Benson created a center of Western Civilization, which sponsors events that “showcase respectful, intelligent dialogue.” But incidents on campuses around the country can affect local public opinion.

The need for a highly educated populace is increasing and the value of Colorado’s renowned higher education institutions is undeniable. But, to break through traditional and social media dissonance, educational leaders must band together and seize regional and national attention to re-establish the value of a

degree, and in today's polarized environment, re-assert their commitment to academic freedom, broad and full discussion of ideas and an educational experience that challenges students and doesn't just cocoon them.

 Post Views: 247

Crossley Center For Public Opinion Research At The University Of Denver

Gallup

Higher Education

Pew Research

University Of Colorado

Wall Street Journal/NBC News Poll



## Related Articles

OPINION

October 30, 2017

Cindy Greer



**Why tax reform is key to restoring Colorado's small towns**

OPINION

October 30, 2017

Chase Kohne



**Opioid addiction is a disease, not a choice; Congress, White House should act accordingly**

OPINION

# CIRULI: Millennials are moving Colorado to the left

Author: Floyd Ciruli - October 18, 2017 - Updated: October 18, 2017



Floyd Ciruli

Although Colorado remains competitive between the two main political parties, with candidates representing both parties winning statewide races and splitting control of the state legislature, the state has, in fact, moved at least two points to the Democratic side of the scale since 2006. This is most clearly shown in terms of registration and voter behavior in presidential elections. Republicans have lost their registration advantage. Voters not affiliated with a party are now the largest political group in the state, and polling shows

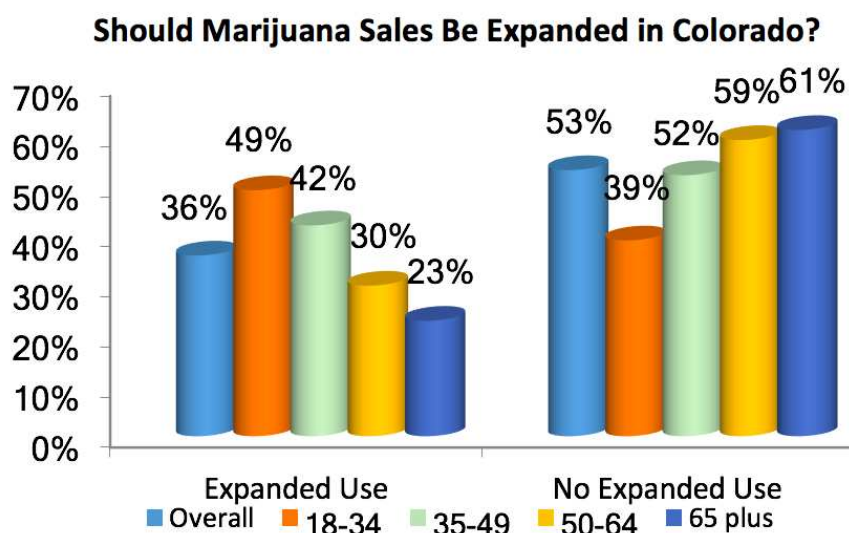
that they skew younger and somewhat more liberal and Democratic. The presidential races since 1996 offer evidence that Colorado has shifted to the Democratic side with Barack Obama's elections, and has remained in that camp through Hillary Clinton's win in the state during the 2016 presidential election.

One reason for the shift is that voters under 35 years old are flooding the voter rolls nationally and, when motivated to vote, are changing the politics of the country and Colorado.

Millennials have now overtaken Baby Boomers as the largest population cohort, and as they register and turn out to vote, they will become the dominant voting bloc by the 2020 presidential election. In 2016 presidential election polls conducted by the Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Denver's Korbel School, Colorado's Millennials distinguished themselves with a number of characteristics:

- **Millennials are more liberal.** In terms of ideology, Millennials are more likely to categorize themselves as liberals (41% compared to Colorado average 34%) than other age cohorts. One-fifth (21%) say they are very liberal (15% very liberal statewide) and only 7 percent describe themselves as very conservative (18% very conservative statewide). In Colorado, Millennials are primarily divided among Democrats (40%) and independents (33%), with fewer Republicans (23%).
- **Continued support for marijuana.** Support for marijuana use continues among Millennials. They were a key constituency in its passage in 2012. Now, they represent the age demographic in the state most supportive of

expanded recreational use (49% support). All other age cohorts strongly oppose expanded use, ranging from 52 percent opposed by 35 to 49 year olds, to 60 percent of Colorado voters 50 years old and older opposed to expanded use.



- **More support for government health care.** The 2016 Colorado ballot had a \$25 billion version of Bernie Sanders's health care plan, which went down to defeat 82% to 18%. Polling showed it losing, but of the Millennials polled, only 54 percent opposed it, while 38 percent were in favor – a 12-point difference in favorability compared to the 66 percent opposed and 26 percent in favor in a statewide poll.
- **Preferred Clinton and Senator Bennet.** Clinton won the polling by 2 percentage points, but carried Colorado Millennials by 19 points against Donald Trump (she won in Colorado by 5 points one week after the poll). Millennials stayed in the Democratic fold and voted for Senator Michael Bennet in his re-election by 28 points, three times the 7 points he won by.
- **Millennials are new to the state and highly optimistic about its direction.** Colorado has been one of the fastest growing states in the U.S., and residents under 35 years old make up 52 percent of those who have been in the state five years or less. While more than half the population (56%) believes Colorado is moving in the right direction, more than two-thirds (68%) of Millennials subscribe to the state's positive direction.
- **Reached by cell phones.** Eighty-five percent of Millennials were reached in this poll by cell phones, whereas only 26 percent of voters over 65 years old and 53 percent of the sample overall were reached by cell phone.
- **More likely to be minorities.** Nearly one-quarter of Colorado's Millennials are Hispanic compared to 16 percent among ages 35-40, 11 percent among ages 50-64, and 3 percent age 65 and over.

The next political battle in Colorado will be to replace Governor Hickenlooper. The contours of the race have mostly formed. Any advantage Democrats have will depend on motivating Millennials, both among Democrats and unaffiliated voters.



The survey, sponsored by the University of Denver/Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research, which is part of the Josef Korbel School of International Studies, interviewed 550 likely Colorado voters. It was in field from October 29-31, 2016. Overall, the survey's margin of error is plus or minus 4.2 percentage points. The margin of error for subgroups is larger.

 Post Views: 1,587

Baby Boomers

Expanded Marijuana Sales

Millennials

National Health Care



## Related Articles

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