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

Presentation at Council of Colleges of Arts and Sciences

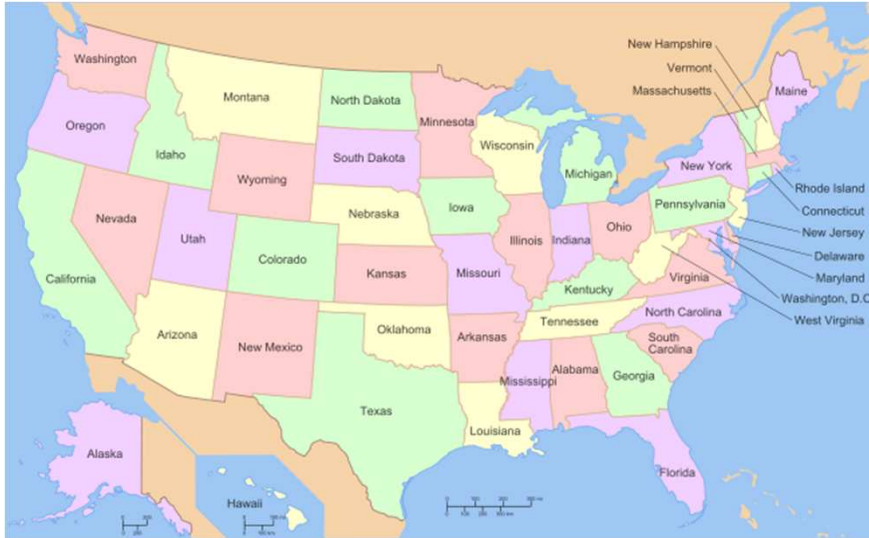
November 2017

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

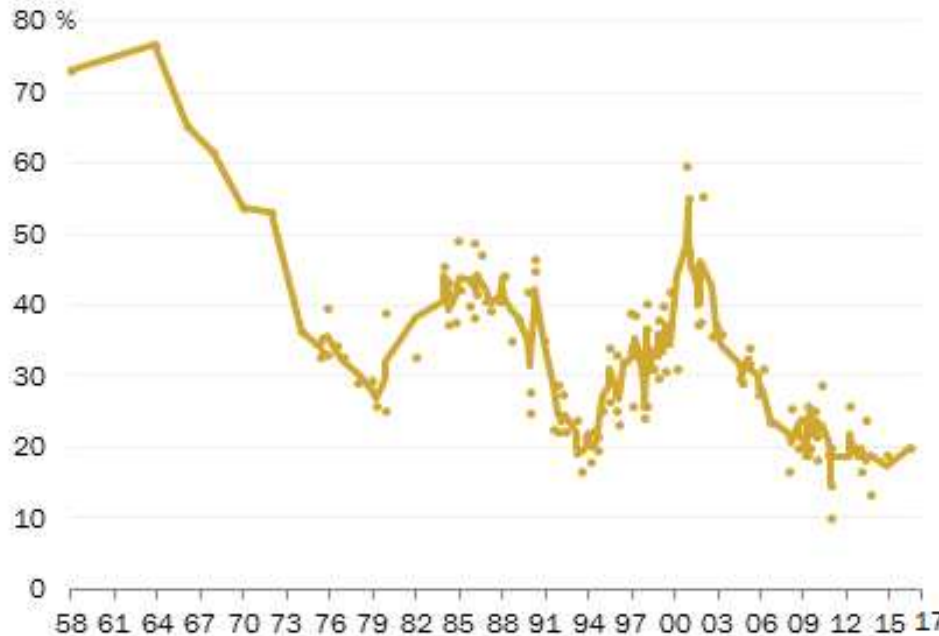
Source: Dow Jones 2017
Format: Ciruli Associates 2017

- 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

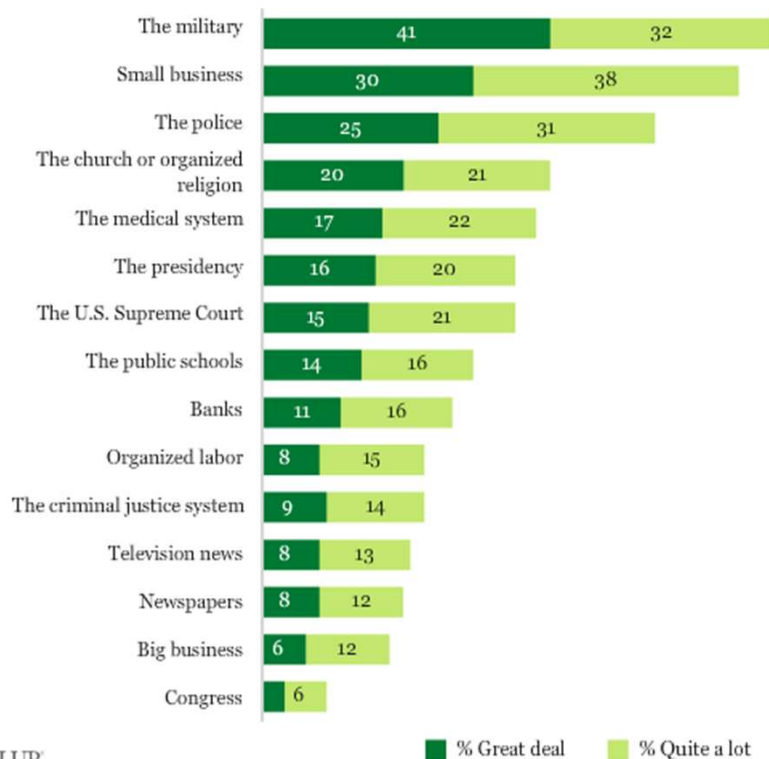
Partisanship spreads,
down ticket, across
topics, economic, media,
social relations

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

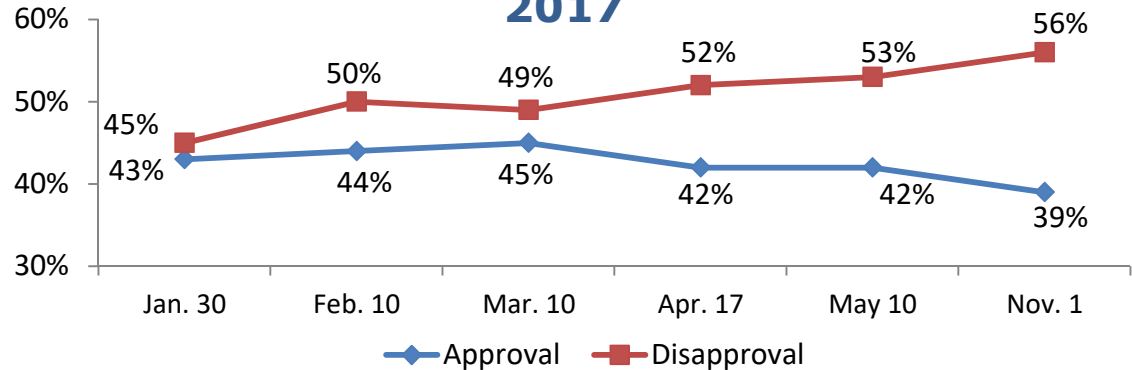
- Sisi, Egypt
- Erdoğan, Turkey
- Putin, Russia
- Maduro, Venezuela
- Duterte, Philippines
- Xi, Hong Kong
- Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland

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
1994	Gingrich replaces Foley	Clinton	Reps win 54 seats	204
2006	Pelosi replaces Hastert	Bush II	Dems win 30 seats	236
2010	Boehner replaces Pelosi	Obama	Reps win 63 seats	193
2014	Boehner	Obama	Reps win 13 seats	188
2016	Ryan replaces Boehner (Sept. 2015)	Obama	Dems need 30 seats, win 6	193
2018	Ryan	Trump	Dems need 24 seats	--

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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

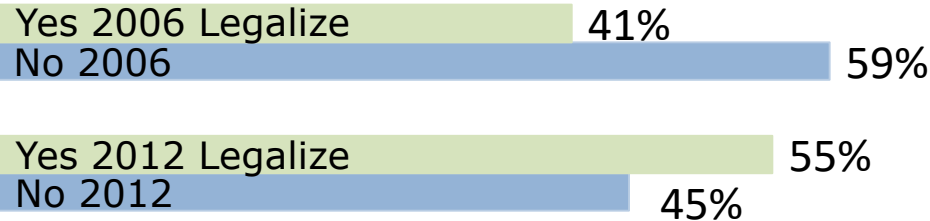
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	Gap
Millennial (18-35)	30%	40%	28%	-2
Generation X (36-51)	23	39	35	+12
Baby Boomers (52-70)	21	33	44	+23
Silent/Greatest (over 70)	17	33	48	+31
Overall	24	36	38	+14

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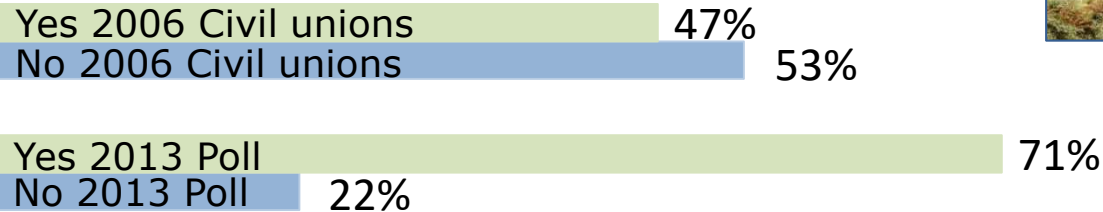
Changes in Colorado Voters' Social Viewpoints

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%

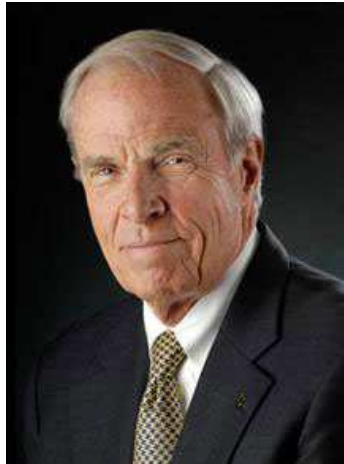
University of Denver



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

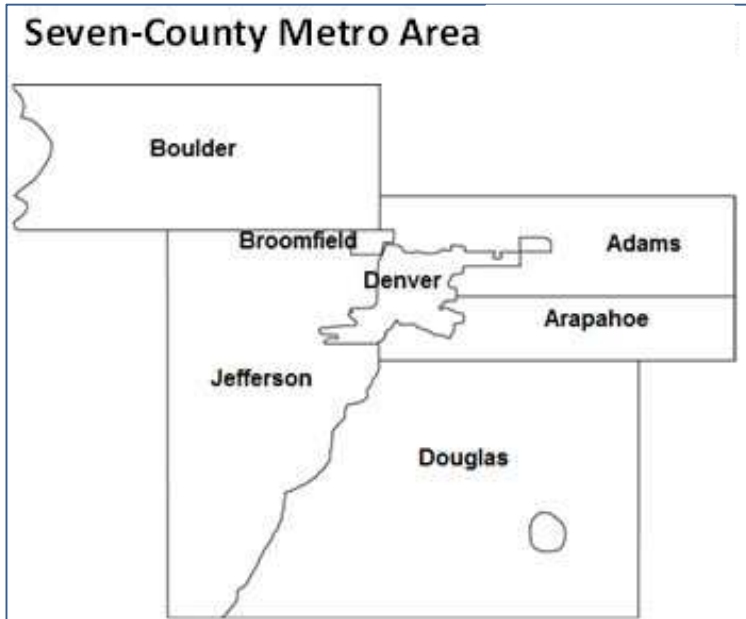
Rebecca Chopp, new chancellor

- 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%
Total favorable	74	73
Total unfavorable	5	9
Don't know/no opinion	22	18

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Partisan Rating of DU and CU

	DU	CU
Total	74%	73%
Democrat	77	79
Unaffiliated	76	70
Republican	69	70

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CU and DU Comparison With Other Organizations and Leaders



Organizations and Politicians

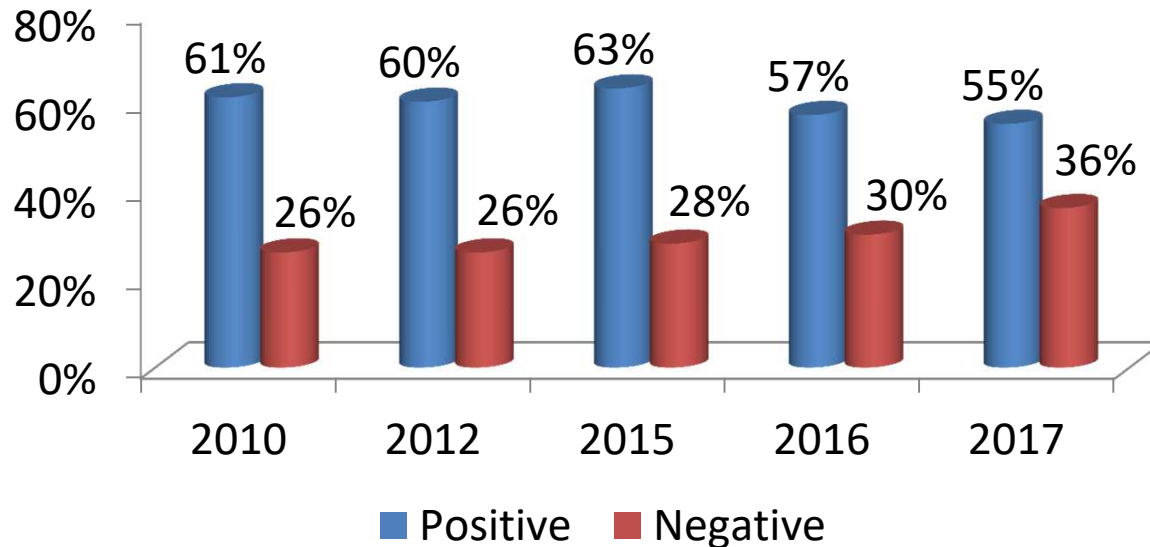
	Very Favorable	Total Favorable
Denver Zoo	76%	95%
Denver Museum of Nature and Science	70	94
Denver Broncos	54	80
DU	41	74
CU	37	73
John Hickenlooper	28	60
Denver Nuggets	26	61

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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

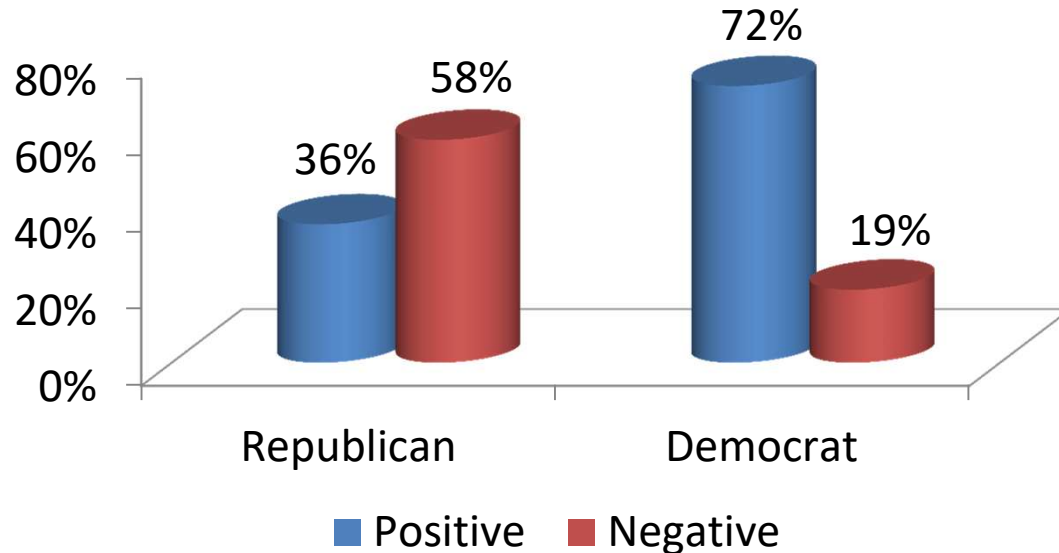


Source: Pew Research 2017
Format: Ciruli Associates 2017

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

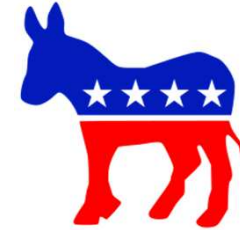
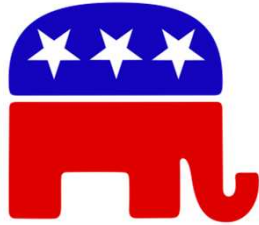
**Feeling Thermometer
Rating Scale 1 to 100,
from 0 Coldest to 100 Warmest**

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	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

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

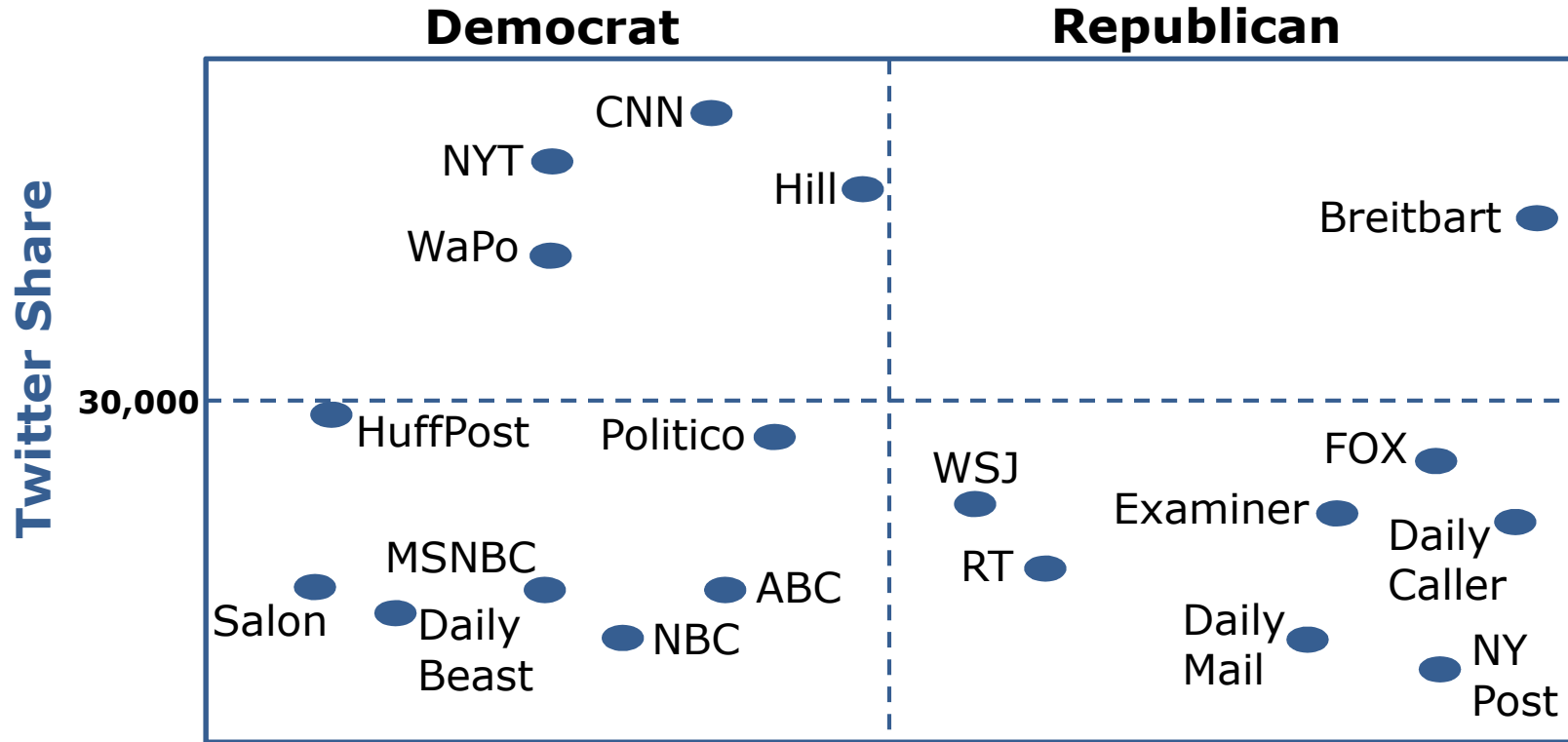
Reagan	6%
Bush II	28%
Trump	47%

- Information flow
- Forum for views
- Watchdog

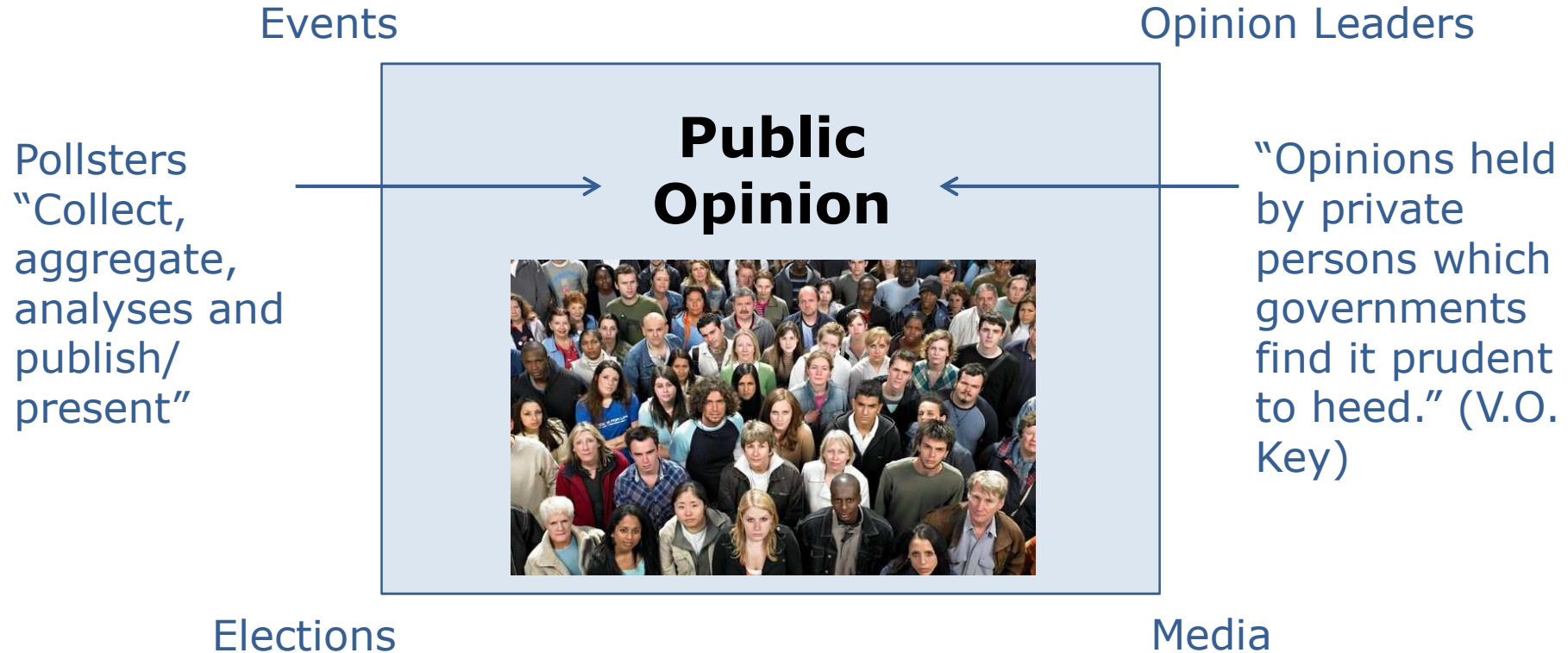
New Media Landscape

Fragmented, Partisan and Online

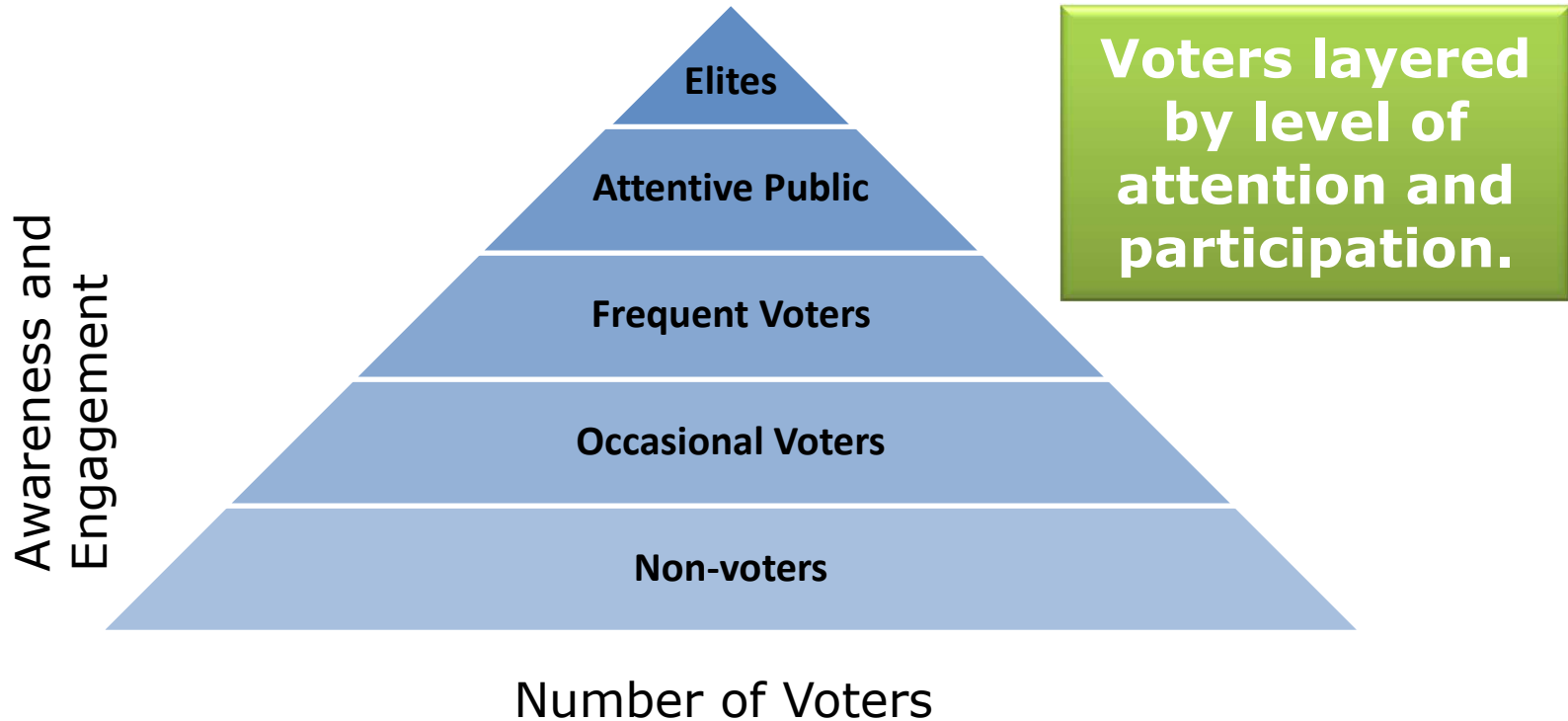
Partisanship Share



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

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