

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Colorado State University (CSU) is a more professionally oriented counterpart to CU-Boulder. Located in Fort Collins, CSU was established as a land-grant institution in 1870, as Colorado Agricultural College (CAC); the first students enrolled in 1879. In 1935, CAC's name was changed to Colorado State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and in 1957 to Colorado State University. Today, Colorado State University remains focused on the more technical fields, including science, technology, engineering, veterinary medicine, and agriculture. It currently enrolls about 32,000 students.⁵⁴⁵

CSU's total expenditures for its FY 2016-17 annual budget is \$1.1 billion, with \$134.5 million of the total in direct state funding.⁵⁴⁶ In the absence of reliable official figures for New Civics spending at CSU, we have developed a lowball estimate of **\$15 million per year**—more than 10% of what CSU receives directly from the state of Colorado. This chapter concludes with our financial analysis.

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As at CU-Boulder, the New Civics at CSU substitutes progressive advocacy for education both inside and outside the classroom. In this chapter we will survey CSU's New Civics domain from the classroom to the dorm room. We will also explore the remnants of CSU's Old Civics, and see how well they fare against the rival efforts of the New Civics.

While CSU's New Civics bureaucracy broadly resembles CU-Boulder's, on a somewhat smaller scale, there are several notable differences in its administrative structure:

1. While CU-Boulder administers most of its New Civics via the single administrative unit of CU Engage, CSU administers its New Civics through several different programs, including Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement (SLiCE), the Leadership Program and Minor, and the Department of Communication Studies.
2. While CU-Boulder has no office to coordinate service-learning, CSU runs its service-learning classes through two offices: the TILT Service Learning Program within SLiCE, and the administratively separate Office for Service Learning and Volunteer Programs.

⁵⁴⁵ "Colorado State University," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colorado_State_University.

⁵⁴⁶ Colorado State University, Source: Mike Hooker, "CSU System board approves budget, tuition and fees," May 5, 2016, <http://source.colostate.edu/csu-system-board-approves-budget-tuition-and-fees/>.

3. While CU-Boulder’s New Civics programs include massive intrusions into students’ extracurricular and residential life, CSU’s New Civics programs have a far more modest presence outside the classroom. Many fewer of CSU’s residential halls are explicitly yoked to the New Civics.
4. While CU-Boulder’s Honors Program remains independent of the New Civics, CSU’s New Civics have captured the University’s Honors Program.

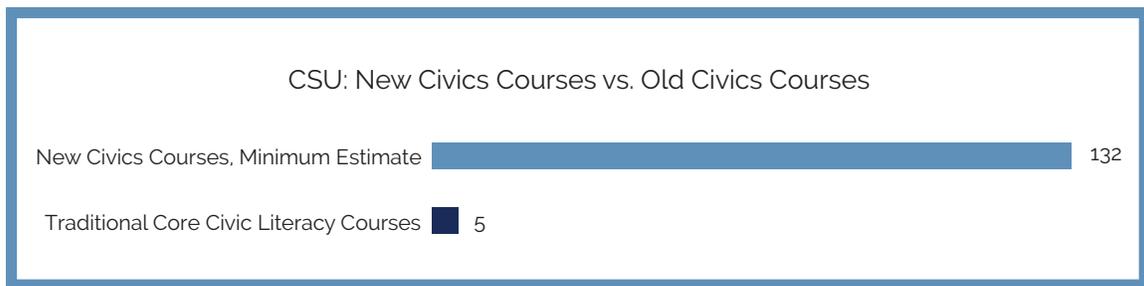
THE BORED-OUT CORE

The **Old Civics** cannot be taught properly at CSU because, like CU-Boulder, CSU has removed the core curriculum within which the Old Civics ought to be taught. Also like CU-Boulder, CSU has substituted distribution requirements for a “core curriculum,” and pretended nothing has changed because it falsely labels these distribution requirements a “University Core Curriculum.”⁵⁴⁷ CSU students share no body of knowledge about their birthright of Western civilization—and, as a consequence, share no civic knowledge.

CSU’s “All-University Core Curriculum” requires students to take courses in eight different curricular areas, each of which offers students dozens of alternatives. Students can satisfy these requirements by choosing courses from among the tattered scraps of the Old Civics—but they have a myriad of alternatives that will satisfy their distribution requirements just as well.

NOTHING BUT NEW CIVICS

CSU concentrates on giving students choices, regardless of how little traditional education they receive. In Fall 2016, the university offered 1,961 different courses, in 4,184 sections.⁵⁴⁸ A few of these classes give students a traditional civics education, but they are far outnumbered by their New Civics rivals. We count a minimum of **132 service-learning courses**⁵⁴⁹ taught each year



⁵⁴⁷ Colorado State University, 2015-2016 Catalog, “University Core Curriculum,” <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.

⁵⁴⁸ Tyson Koss (Colorado State University, Institutional Research, Planning and Effectiveness, Data Analyst) to David Randall, October 11, 2016.

⁵⁴⁹ Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Service-Learning Course,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/facultyInfo/courses.cfm>.

at CSU, while no more than **5 courses** meet a strict definition of traditional civics. For every Old Civics course in the curriculum there are more than 26 New Civics courses.

THE RAGGED OLD CORE

Most of the courses that meet CSU's distribution requirements have no connection to traditional civics. This situation contrasts to CU-Boulder, where some courses that meet distribution requirements contain fragments of traditional civics. For example, where CU-Boulder offers ENGL 3164-3 *History and Literature of Georgian Britain*, CSU offers *General Psychology*. A course such as *General Psychology* may be worthwhile in itself, but because this course and others like it fulfill the CSU *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement, they sidetrack students from taking other courses that would contribute to civic literacy.

Within the *Historical Perspectives* requirement, there are four proper introductory survey courses that could be part of a civics core curriculum: HIST 100 *Western Civilization, Pre-Modern*; HIST 101 *Western Civilization, Modern*; HIST 150 *U.S. History to 1876*; or HIST 151 *U.S. History Since 1876*.⁵⁵⁰ Students who didn't want to take one of these four options had 17 other choices.⁵⁵¹ The alternative to *Western Civilization* is a course such as *World History* or *Asian Civilizations*; the alternative to *U.S. History* is a course such as *Native American History* or *Natural Resources History and Policy*.

Similarly, the *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement can be fulfilled by taking POLS 101 *American Government and Politics*—but students could also take one of 20 alternatives.⁵⁵² The only alternative with civic content is POLS 103 *State and Local Government and Politics*. Most were courses such as *General Psychology* or *General Sociology*.

CSU's *Arts and Humanities* requirement does offer students some bits and pieces of Western Civilization among its 48 choices, such as E 232 *Introduction to Humanities* or PHIL 120 *History and Philosophy of Scientific Thought*. But students can also satisfy this requirement with choices

CSU students can satisfy their Arts and Humanities requirement with choices such as D 140 Understanding Dance, ETST 240 Native American Cultural Experience, or LSPA 320 Spanish for Heritage Speakers.

550 Colorado State University, 2016-1017 Catalog, "All-University Core Curriculum (AUCC)," <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.

551 Colorado State University, 2016-1017 Catalog, "All-University Core Curriculum (AUCC)," <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.

552 Colorado State University, 2016-1017 Catalog, "All-University Core Curriculum (AUCC)," <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.

such as D 140 *Understanding Dance*, ETST 240 *Native American Cultural Experience*, or LSPA 320 *Spanish for Heritage Speakers*.⁵⁵³

“DISTRIBUTION REQUIREMENTS” MEAN “GET OUT OF CIVICS FREE”

CSU students can take some Old Civics courses to satisfy their distribution requirements. Two of the eight distribution requirements in CSU’s “All-University Core Curriculum,” *Historical Perspectives* and *Social and Behavioral Sciences*, can be met with courses that can give students an approximation of a traditional civics education. But students can also fulfill these two requirements by taking courses that are not at all civic in any traditional sense of the word. Students may meet the *Historical Perspectives* requirement by taking ETST 252 *Asian-American History* or HIST 116 *The Islamic World Since 1500*.⁵⁵⁴ Students can fulfill the *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement by taking ECON 240 *Issues in Environmental Economics* or SOWK 110 *Contemporary Social Welfare*. CSU’s distribution requirements provide a horde of rivals to the traditional civics curriculum.

CIVICS SINKING

Our best approximation is that slightly over one half of CSU students take at least one of the five CSU Old Civics survey courses over their entire undergraduate career—but we doubt that more than 60 percent take even two such courses.

In Fall 2016, 1,603 students fulfilled their *Historical Perspectives* requirement by taking one of four equivalents of a civics course: HIST 100 *Western Civilization, Pre-Modern* (210 students),⁵⁵⁵

553 Colorado State University, 2016-1017 Catalog, “All-University Core Curriculum (AUCC),” <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.

554 Colorado State University, 2016-1017 Catalog, “All-University Core Curriculum (AUCC),” <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.

555 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, “Western Civilization, Pre-Modern,” https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=HIST&sel_crse=100&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

HIST 101 *Western Civilization, Modern* (219 students),⁵⁵⁶ HIST 150 *U.S. History to 1876* (342 students),⁵⁵⁷ and HIST 151 *U.S. History Since 1876* (832 students).⁵⁵⁸

Students who didn't want to take one of these four options had 17 other choices.⁵⁵⁹ In Fall 2016 1,077 students fulfilled their *Historical Perspectives* requirement by taking just 4 of those 17 other choices: ANTH 140 *Introduction to Prehistory* (182 students),⁵⁶⁰ HIST 170 *World History, Ancient-1500* (322 students),⁵⁶¹ HIST 171 *World History, 1500-Present* (401 students),⁵⁶² and NR 320 *Natural Resources History and Policy* (172 students).⁵⁶³ Even more narrow choices included HIST 115 *The Islamic World: Late Antiquity to 1500* (80 students)⁵⁶⁴ and ETST 250 *African American History* (47 students).⁵⁶⁵ Perhaps one-half of CSU students voluntarily take one of the

556 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, "Western Civilization, Modern," https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=HIST&sel_crse=101&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

557 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, "U.S. History to 1876," https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=HIST&sel_crse=150&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

558 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, "U.S. History Since 1876," https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=HIST&sel_crse=151&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

559 Colorado State University, 2016-1017 Catalog, "All-University Core Curriculum (AUCC)," <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.

560 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, "Introduction to Prehistory," https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=ANTH&sel_crse=140&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

561 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, "World History, Ancient-1500," https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=HIST&sel_crse=170&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

562 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, "World History, 1500-Present," https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=HIST&sel_crse=171&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

563 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, "Natural Resources History and Policy," https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_disp_detail_sched?term_in=201690&crn_in=64580.

564 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, "The Islamic World: Late Antiquity to 1500," https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_disp_detail_sched?term_in=201690&crn_in=73545.

565 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, "African American History," https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_disp_detail_sched?term_in=201690&crn_in=60118.

four courses that together provide the comprehensive knowledge of Western and American history needed for a civics education.

That same semester, just 356 students fulfilled their *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement by taking POLS 101 *American Government and Politics*.⁵⁶⁶ Most students took one of the 20 alternatives.⁵⁶⁷ In Fall 2016 3,353 students fulfilled their *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement by taking just 4 of those 20 other choices: JTC 100 *Media in Society* (436 students),⁵⁶⁸ PSY 100 *General Psychology* (1716 students),⁵⁶⁹ SOC 100 *General Sociology* (609 students),⁵⁷⁰ and HDFS 101 *Individual and Family Development* (592 students).⁵⁷¹ Each of these courses alone attracted more students than POLS 101 *American Government and Politics*. More progressive choices included ECON 240 *Issues in*

Perhaps one-half of CSU students voluntarily take one of the four courses that together provide the comprehensive knowledge of Western and American history needed for a civics education.

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- 566 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, “American Government and Politics,” https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=POLS&sel_crse=101&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.
- 567 Colorado State University, 2016-1017 Catalog, “All-University Core Curriculum (AUCC),” <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.
- 568 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, “Media in Society,” https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=JTC&sel_crse=100&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.
- 569 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, “General Psychology,” https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=PSY&sel_crse=100&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.
- 570 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, “General Sociology,” https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_lvl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=SOC&sel_crse=100&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_lvl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.
- 571 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, “Individual and Family Development,” https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwkschd.p_disp_detail_sched?term_in=201690&crn_in=61252.

Environmental Economics (102 students)⁵⁷² and SOC 105 *Social Problems* (493 students).⁵⁷³

CIVICS EDUCATION: FOR THE FEW WHO BOTHER

As these numbers indicate, free choice by students is an unsteady pillar for the traditional civics courses at CSU. Most of the alternatives that CSU students take are not frivolous, trendy, or overtly ideological—although some are—but neither do they provide an education in civics.

Within the *Historical Perspectives* requirement, perhaps half of students do choose one of the four basic history courses needed for a civics education—but even so, one half of that half slide by with HIST 151 *U.S. History Since 1876*, the course that tells students the least about the long history of our civilization or the founding principles of our government.

Within the *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement, POLS 101 *American Government and Politics*, CSU's basic American government course, is overwhelmed by courses such as PSY 100 *General Psychology* and SOC 100 *General Sociology*. Even if students want to take this course, CSU has a limited capacity. In Fall 2016, CSU offered only three sections of POLS 101 *American Government and Politics*, with a total capacity of 459 seats; in Summer 2016, it provided one further summer class with 30 seats.⁵⁷⁴ At that rate, a maximum of 3,792 students could take the course during their 4 years at CSU—**not quite 12% of all undergraduates.**

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572 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, “Issues in Environmental Economics,” https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwckschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_levl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=ECON&sel_crse=240&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_levl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

573 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, “Social Problems,” https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwckschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_levl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=SOC&sel_crse=105&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_levl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

574 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, “American Government and Politics,” https://ariesssb.is.colostate.edu/BANPROD/bwckschd.p_get_crse_unsec?term_in=201690&sel_subj=dummy&sel_day=dummy&sel_schd=dummy&sel_insm=dummy&sel_camp=dummy&sel_levl=dummy&sel_sess=dummy&sel_instr=dummy&sel_ptrm=dummy&sel_attr=dummy&sel_subj=POLS&sel_crse=101&sel_title=&sel_from_cred=&sel_to_cred=&sel_levl=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=0&begin_mi=0&begin_ap=a&end_hh=0&end_mi=0&end_ap=a.

CSU's substitution of distribution requirements for a core curriculum ensures that only a tiny portion of its undergraduates receive a traditional civics education.

PREPARING THE WAY FOR A NEW CORE

CSU's distribution requirements also cloak the formation of a new core curriculum of progressive advocacy. CSU has interspersed progressive courses throughout *Arts and Humanities* (ETST 240 *Native American Cultural Experience*), *Historical Perspectives* (ETST 250 *African American History*), and *Social and Behavioral Sciences* (ECON 240 *Issues in Environmental Economics*).⁵⁷⁵ In addition, virtually all 97 courses of the *Global and Cultural Awareness* requirement are tailored to subject CSU students to progressive advocacy. The choices in the *Global and Cultural Awareness* requirement include subjects such as E 142 *Reading Without Borders*; ECON 211 *Gender in the Economy*; ETST 256 *Border Crossings: People/Politics/Culture*; and SOC 220 *Global Environmental Issues*.⁵⁷⁶

These courses are not yet mandatory. Yet when CSU decides to require progressive advocacy and New Civics, the courses they have already put into the distribution requirements will be available to form a new, required core.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IS PROGRESSIVE ADVOCACY, NO MATTER HOW YOU SLICE IT

Little remains of the Old Civics at CSU—but CSU has substituted in its place a thriving New Civics complex. CSU's **Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement (SLiCE)** acts as the equivalent of CU Engage at CU-Boulder, the administrative heart of the New Civics on campus. SLiCE has grown enormously over the last generation: in 1986, its institutional predecessor “consisted of one graduate student and three work-study undergraduate students.”⁵⁷⁷ It now possesses 13 full-time staff and 3 graduate assistants.⁵⁷⁸ The **University Honors Program** and the **Department of Communication Studies** also manage large portions of the New Civics at CSU.

Unlike CU-Boulder, CSU co-ordinates CSU's service-learning from two offices: the **TILT Service Learning Program** within SLiCE, and the administratively separate **Office for Service Learning and Volunteer Programs**. **Key Service Community (KSC)** and **Leadership Development Community (LDC)** are the equivalents to the Residential Academic Programs at CU-Boulder, although smaller in scope.

⁵⁷⁵ Colorado State University, 2016-1017 Catalog, “All-University Core Curriculum (AUCC),” <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.

⁵⁷⁶ Colorado State University, 2016-1017 Catalog, “All-University Core Curriculum (AUCC),” <http://catalog.colostate.edu/general-catalog/all-university-core-curriculum/aucc/>.

⁵⁷⁷ Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “History of Cans,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/cans-around-the-oval/history-of-cans/>.

⁵⁷⁸ Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement (SLiCE),” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/>.

Administrative heart, University Honors Program, activities run by the Department of Communication Studies, wide-ranging service-learning, and miscellaneous efforts including residential life—together these provide a portrait in full of the New Civics at CSU.

RADICAL CELS AT CSU

The first core of the New Civics at CSU is the **Community Engagement Leaders (CELS)** program, sponsored by TILT Service Learning in SliCE. CELS “supports a select group of sophomore and junior level community-engaged students interested in linking their passion for service-learning and community action with their academic major.” These students aim to create “a more peaceful, compassionate, and sustainable world through local and global community initiatives,” focusing on issues such as “education, environmental stewardship, public health, civility, justice, youth development, poverty, sustainable development, elder care, etc.” CELS, in other words, is devoted to creating CSU’s cadre of radical activists.

CELS students also “participate in a community-based service experience with a non-profit or nongovernmental organization of their choice.” This program provides activism training: “students chosen as CELS will have the opportunity to develop and realize their potential as community leaders and scholarship in local, national, and global levels.” The CELS requirements include “6 credit-hours in approved service-learning classes.” The certificate also requires “150 hours of service in partnership with an approved community organization of your choice.”⁵⁷⁹ CELS ensure that its students receive proper vocational training as activists—and ensures that local progressive organizations receive their tithe of free student labor.

CHEER-LEADERS FOR THE LEFT

CELS isn’t the only program at CSU that trains radical cadres: students can get the same training in the **President’s Leadership Program** and the **Interdisciplinary Minor in Leadership Studies**, both run out of SliCE.

CSU students in the **President’s Leadership Program (PLP)** take six courses worth 14 credits: *IU 170** – *A Call to Lead: Theories and Foundations* (2 credits); *IU 171 – A*



Pam Norris,
Director,
Student Leadership,
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Margit Henschel,
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Service Learning



Jessica Dyr Dahl,
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Program, Program
Coordinator

579 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Community Engagement Leaders,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/studentOps/cel.cfm>; Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Community Engagement Leaders: An Undergraduate CSU Service-Learning Certification Program,” [http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/studentOps/pdfs/celBrochure2015%20\(without%20app%20deadline\).pdf](http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/studentOps/pdfs/celBrochure2015%20(without%20app%20deadline).pdf); Colorado State University, Learning Communities CSU, “Campus Connections Learning Community,” <http://www.lc.colostate.edu/campus-corps.aspx>.

Call to Lead: Social Change Model (2 credits); *IU 270* – Leadership Styles I: Personal Application* (2 credits); *IU 271 – Leadership Styles II: Prominent Leadership* (2 credits); *IU 470* – Effective Leadership I: Success as a Leader* (3 credits); and *IU 471 – Effective Leadership II: Vision and Change* (3 credits). *Effective Leadership I and II* require “collaboration with Homeward 2020-Fort Collins’ ten year plan to end homelessness.” PLP students are also expected to “participate in retreats, service projects, and internships that allow them to apply their knowledge and training.”⁵⁸⁰

The **Interdisciplinary Minor in Leadership Studies** requires students to take 2-3 further courses: one qualifying “capstone experience” course from the student’s major for 3 credits, and 1-2 semesters of *IU 486, 487 or 498 Practicum/Internship/Research* for 4 credits. The Leadership Minor as a whole requires a total of 21 credits. The Minor interprets *leadership* as “a process of people working together to effect positive change, rather than a position of one person or the powerful elite.” Each class in the minor possesses “a significant service-learning component that addresses pressing societal issues such as poverty and sustainability.” The Minor further stipulates that “both experiences in, and commitments to, civic engagement and multicultural competence are required.” Students who complete the Minor have skills that include the ability to “Engage in principled dissent, accepting and appreciating other world-views,” “Practice humanitarian skills and value social responsibility towards current social issues,” and “Practice collective efficacy and civic responsibility.”⁵⁸¹

Leadership at CSU is also a practicum in progressive advocacy.

RADICAL RHETORIC

Where CU-Boulder’s Program for Writing and Rhetoric (PWR) focused on creating The Writing Initiative for Service and Engagement (WISE), CSU’s New Civics advocates in their Department of Communication instead have concentrated upon creating yet another pipeline to form radical cadres among the student body. The Department of Communication provides a specialization track in **Rhetoric and Civic Engagement**, which channels even more students toward progressive advocacy in the guise of learning about “a wide array of communication practices, ranging from political speeches to social movements.” Courses in the specialization track include SPCM 401 *Rhetoric in Contemporary Social Movements*, SPCM 407 *Public Deliberation*, SPCM 408 *Applied Deliberative Techniques*, SPCM 523 *Feminist Theories of Discourse*, and SPCM 540/ETST 540 *Rhetoric, Race, and Identity*.⁵⁸²

580 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “President’s Leadership Program,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/presidents-leadership-program/>.

581 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Leadership Minor,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/presidents-leadership-program/leadership-minor/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “President’s Leadership Program Courses,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/presidents-leadership-program/presidents-leadership-program-courses/>.

582 Colorado State University, Department of Communication Studies, “Rhetoric and Civic Engagement,” <http://communicationstudies.colostate.edu/rhetoric-civic-engagement/>.

One recent CSU student, Hailey Duke, illustrates the job choices that the Rhetoric and Civic Engagement track promotes: “As a student at Colorado State University I focused on Rhetoric and Civic Engagement, Women and Gender Studies, and various Social Justice missions. I was Vice President of Students United for Reproductive Justice and the undergraduate representative on the Center for Women’s Studies and Gender Research Executive Board. These experiences lead to internship opportunities at Northern Colorado AIDS Project and Denver Urban Ministries.”⁵⁸³

PACT WITH HARRY BOYTE

CSU trains radical activists through programs housed in CELS, Leadership, and the Department of Communication. CSU’s SLiCE also oversees another local franchise of Harry Boyte’s neo-Alinskyite Public Achievement, **Public Achievement for Community Transformation (PACT)**. CSU’s New Civics advocates use PACT in the usual way, to direct undergraduate progressive activism toward community organizing in local K-12 schools and to soften up K-12 students to be malleable organizees. SLiCE, the School of Education, and the School of Social Work co-sponsor PACT at CSU.

As at CU-Boulder, “PACT coaches ... guide the youth through the six stages of Public Achievement, ending with a community action project in the spring that brings positive, constructive change to their community. These stages ensure learning, growth, and the development of essential skills of dialogue, deliberation, research, campaigning, and exercising the vocabulary of citizenship.” PACT is supposed to model continuing activism: “youth can replicate their PACT experience using the six steps they learned here and continue to make positive, long-lasting change in their own neighborhoods.”

Examples given of PACT community action include creating “an End Racism Now event and Recycle It! environmental campaign.”

PACT “prides itself in its commitment to diversity and multiculturalism,” students in PACT “learn acceptance of multiple identities, cultural competence, and emphasize the importance of having an open mind,” and free student labor for progressive non-profits is phrased as “Assisting an existing organization or service in completing their goals to address a community issue.” Examples given of community action include creating “an End Racism Now event and Recycle It! environmental campaign.”

583 LinkedIn, Hailey Duke, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/haileyduke>.

PACT explicitly contrasts its activities with ordinary community service, such as “tutoring, picking up trash, or making holiday cards for troops.”⁵⁸⁴

DOLLARS FOR “SCHOLARS”

CSU’s students specializing as progressive activists also need financial support, and SLiCE provides them scholarship support from several **Civic Engagement Scholarships**,⁵⁸⁵ including the **Puksta Scholars Program**.⁵⁸⁶ Yet SLiCE provides the greatest amount of dedicated support for its student cadres through the **PRAXIS** program.

PRAXIS, which takes its motto from Paulo Freire’s *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*,⁵⁸⁷ coordinates, provides training for, and funds up to \$2,000 for student “community service or action” projects. These projects are two to four semesters long, and are meant to involve “leadership training and service-learning experiences” and collaboration “with a local community partner (e.g., non-profit agency)” to be selected from a list of appropriate community partners provided by the SLiCE office.⁵⁸⁸ PRAXIS requires student project teams to take part in two training sessions (“leadership training retreats”), a mission clarification session (“learning circle”), an after action report (“reflection circle”), and a publicity event (“PRAXIS Showcase”).⁵⁸⁹

Chosen issues “can be local, national, or global in scope but must affect the Fort Collins community in some tangible way”; SLiCE’s “Examples of local issues include housing/homelessness, health, drugs/alcohol, transportation, and working with special populations like senior citizens, youth, and people with disabilities. Some national issues with local impact include environmental sustainability and immigration.” SLiCE prefers “projects that are structured, sustainable and specific.” It will not



Fabiola Mora,
Assistant Director,
Opportunity Scholar
Programs (Puksta
Scholars Program)

584 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: Public Achievement for Community Transformation,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/public-achievement/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, [“Home,”] <http://www.pact.chhs.colostate.edu/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “About,” <http://www.pact.chhs.colostate.edu/about.aspx>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Success Stories,” <http://www.pact.chhs.colostate.edu/success.aspx>.

585 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “President’s Leadership Program Scholars,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/presidents-leadership-program/presidents-leadership-program-scholars/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “President’s Leadership Program Scholarships,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/presidents-leadership-program/scholarships/>; Colorado State University, Student Financial Services Scholarships. http://sfs.colostate.edu/data/sites/1/pdf/csusa_sfs_scholarships1314.pdf; Colorado State University, University Honors Program, Continuing Students Scholarships. <http://honors.colostate.edu/continuing-students-scholarships/>; Colorado State University, Bedell World Citizenship Foundation (BWCF) Scholarship <http://central.colostate.edu/scholarships/bedell-world-citizen-foundation-bwcf-scholarship/>.

586 Colorado State University, Opportunity Scholar Programs, Puksta Scholarship. <http://osp.casa.colostate.edu/puksta-scholarship.aspx>.

587 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: PRAXIS,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/>.

588 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: PRAXIS,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/>.

589 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “PRAXIS Requirements,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/praxis-rquirements/>.

support “Fundraisers, political campaigns, and projects that have the potential to cause harm.”⁵⁹⁰

PRAXIS-funded projects include “No More Injustice/Enslaved ... a two day event, [during which] 527 participants walked through a human trafficking simulation highlighting sexual slavery, war slavery, and work slavery. After the simulation, participants were encouraged to connect with various nonprofit agencies tackling this issue.”⁵⁹¹

HONORING ADVOCACY

So far the New Civics at CSU largely parallels the New Civics at CU-Boulder. Yet the New Civics advocates at CSU have stolen a march on their peers at CU-Boulder by one important initiative—the partial takeover of CSU’s **University Honors Program (UHP)**. The UHP provides an “enriched” program of study for *ca.* 400 academically talented students in each class of CSU undergraduates—smaller classes only open to honors students and separate Honors sections of regular courses, the possibility of living in a dedicated Residential Learning Community, and a scholarship.⁵⁹²



Donald Mykles,
Director, University
Honors Program

The New Civics bureaucracy has infiltrated this program, and made *leadership and community service* part of the UHP.⁵⁹³ Honors students can add an Enriched Academic Experience to a regular course by means that include a “service-learning activity.”⁵⁹⁴ In the Upper Division Honors Program, Honors students are required to undertake an “in depth study” that may include “an applied or civically engaged project.”⁵⁹⁵ The UHP provides an Enrichment Award that may be applied to “Leadership development programs” and “Community service activities.” Several recent Enrichment Awards have subsidized participation in Alternative Spring/Winter Breaks.⁵⁹⁶

Honors courses are frequently exercises in progressive advocacy—for example, HONR 192 *The Global Environment*; HONR 192 *You Are What You Eat*; and HONR 392 *If You Are So Smart...?*

590 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “PRAXIS Proposals,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/praxis-proposals/>.

591 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “PRAXIS Highlights,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/praxis-highlights/>.

592 Colorado State University, University Honors Program: “Home,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/> ; “Honors Advantage,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/honors-advantage>; “Freshman Application Process,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/freshman-application-process>.

593 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Home,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/>.

594 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Honors Option,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/honors-option>.

595 Colorado State University, Honors Program, <http://www.unco.edu/honors/>.

596 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Enrichment Award,” <http://honors.colostate.edu/enrichment-award>.

*Economic and Social Class in Contemporary America.*⁵⁹⁷

Some are also vehicles for the New Civics. HONR 492-001 *Philanthropy in Action – Passion to Service* “empowers students to maximize their potential to serve others through the lens of assisting in alleviating material poverty” by “practical hands-on experience.” Honors Study Abroad in Zambia centers around “purely experiential learning” and “community projects.”⁵⁹⁸

Meanwhile all HONR 192 courses include “an orientation component,” a one-hour orientation class that account for 20% of the grade for the class. The orientation class gives students “an active learning environment that enhances student connections to other honors students, the campus, and the Honors curriculum. Peer mentors conduct weekly sessions that emphasize campus engagement, activity, and community.”⁵⁹⁹

CSU’s University Honors Program does not require the New Civics, but it “encourages” Honors students to participate in “significant community service and leadership activities throughout your college career.”⁶⁰⁰

The New Civics advocates have taken over CSU’s University Honors Program for the same reason that their peers at CU-Boulder took over the Residential Academic Program. Students naturally desire smaller, better classes; New Civics advocates channel that desire so that students are funneled into participation in the New Civics.

Honors courses are frequently exercises in progressive advocacy—for example, HONR 192 The Global Environment; HONR 192 You Are What You Eat; and HONR 392 If You Are So Smart...? Economic and Social Class in Contemporary America.

597 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Honors Courses (Fall),” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/honors-fall-courses>.

598 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Honors Courses (Summer),” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/honors-courses-summer>.

599 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Peer Mentors,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/peer-mentors>.

600 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, Honors Student Handbook,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/studenthandbook>.

SERVICE-LEARNING TILTED TO THE LEFT

CSU's New Civics advocates also make sure that their progressive advocacy extends far beyond the training of radical cadres. Beyond these core training programs, New Civics advocates have inserted **service-learning classes** into a wide variety of disciplines, to direct free student labor toward progressive organizations. CSU's service-learning is run from both the **TILT Service Learning Program** within SLiCE and the administratively separate **Office for Service Learning and Volunteer Programs (SLVP)**.⁶⁰¹

TILT provides a list of 132 courses that "have historically offered experiential, service-learning components." These generally have innocuous names, such as ART 456 *Advanced Illustration* or INTD 476 *Interior Design Project*; a few have more progressive titles, such as ERHS 498 *Independent Study – Improved Cookstove Intervention for Nicaraguan Families* or ETST 365 *Global Environmental Justice Movements*.⁶⁰²

TILT's *Service-Learning Faculty Manual, Fourth Edition* (2007) and the *SLVP Teaching Guide* both illustrate CSU service-learning's alignment with the radical national movement's dual goals to remake students into progressive activists and provide free labor for progressive non-profits.⁶⁰³ TILT recommends as service-learning partners United Way, AmeriCorps, Student Leadership, Involvement & Community Engagement (SLiCE), PRAXIS, Key Service Community, Alternative Semester Breaks, and Service@CSU.⁶⁰⁴ This list

The New Civics advocates have taken over CSU's University Honors Program for the same reason that their peers at CU-Boulder took over the Residential Academic Program. Students naturally desire smaller, better classes; New Civics advocates channel that desire so that students are funneled into participation in the New Civics.

601 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, "Explore the Service-Learning Program," <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/>; Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Office for Service-Learning and Volunteer Programs," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/slvp.cfm.

602 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, "Service-Learning Courses," <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/facultyInfo/courses.cfm>.

603 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, "CSU Service-Learning Faculty Manual, Fourth Edition – 2007," <http://teaching.colostate.edu/guides/servicelearning/>; Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, "Types of Service-Learning," <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/news/typesOfSL.cfm>; Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, "Grassroots Community Action," http://teaching.colostate.edu/guides/servicelearning/programs_models_grassroots.cfm; Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, "Benefits of Service-Learning," <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/news/benefits.cfm>; Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Service-Learning in Writing Courses," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/writing.cfm; Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Service-Learning and Writing: A Happy Marriage," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/marriage.cfm.

604 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, "Get Involved," <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/studentOps/getInvolved.cfm>.

is not exclusively tilted to the left, but most of these partners are progressive.

TILT also provides mini-grants, usually \$500 to \$1,000, which “fund the development of new service-learning courses or initiatives, the improvement of existing ones, and[/]or the implementation of community-based research projects.” Two top awards in Fall 2015 were \$1000 to Maricela DeMirjyn, Ethnic Studies, for her course on *Borderlands Healing Practices*, and \$2,000 to Karina Cespedes and Ernesto Sagas, Ethnic Studies, for their course *Human and Environmental Sustainability Service-Learning in Cuba*.⁶⁰⁵ By this means, TILT is extending service-learning ever further into the curriculum—as well as directing more funds to New Civics advocates.

In addition, the SLVP’s Service Integration Project (SIP) includes a Faculty Scholars Program (“a six-week training program including a stipend for participation and implementation of service-learning”), a Faculty Fellow Program (“a ten-month fellowship to engage faculty in service-learning teaching, research, professional service, dissemination of outcomes, and peer mentoring”), disbursement of faculty/community mini-grants, and training, information, and awards.⁶⁰⁶ CSU then provides several further financial awards for undergraduates involved in service-learning.⁶⁰⁷

Service-learning at CSU is already extensive; and it directs its funds both to support service-learning cadres in their current efforts and to seed new service-learning classes throughout the university.

Two top TILT mini-grant awards in Fall 2015 were \$1000 to Maricela DeMirjyn, Ethnic Studies, for her course on Borderlands Healing Practices, and \$2,000 to Karina Cespedes and Ernesto Sagas, Ethnic Studies, for their course Human and Environmental Sustainability Service-Learning in Cuba.

605 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Service-Learning Info for Faculty,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/facultyInfo/>; Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Faculty Service-Learning Mini-Grants,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/facultyInfo/miniGrants.cfm>; Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Past Service-Learning Mini-Grant Winners,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/facultyInfo/winners.cfm>.

606 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, “Service Integration Project,” http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/sip.cfm.

607 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Celebrate Undergraduate Research and Creativity,” <http://curc.colostate.edu/>; Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Exceptional Achievement in Service-Learning Student Awards,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/studentOps/awards.cfm>.

ON TO ALINSKY, AT ALL DELIBERATE SPEED

CSU's Department of Communication Studies has also created another distinctive New Civics program, unparalleled at CU-Boulder—or at the University of Northern Colorado or the University of Wyoming, for that matter. CSU's **Center for Public Deliberation (CPD)** (founded 2006) provides undergraduates further opportunities to engage in progressive advocacy for course credit, by way of supporting *public deliberation* initiatives. The CPD is “Dedicated to enhancing local democracy through improved public communication and community problem solving,” by supporting *public deliberation* in Northern Colorado.⁶⁰⁸



Martín Carcasson,
Director, Center for
Public Deliberation

The CPD is mostly a one-man project by Professor Martín Carcasson, whose writings (posted on the CPD website and given its official imprimatur) provide insight as to what Carcasson intends by *public deliberation*.⁶⁰⁹ Most relevant is Carcasson's *Beginning with the End in Mind: A Call for Goal-Driven Deliberative Practice*.⁶¹⁰ Carcasson lists six goals of deliberation: *issue learning, improving democratic attitudes, improving democratic skills, improving institutional decision making, improving community problem solving—and improving community action*. Public deliberation, in other words, aligns with the Alinskyite community organizing focus of other parts of the New Civics agenda.

There is some tension between public deliberation's focus on process and community organizing's focus on progressive ends, “between serving as an impartial resource and as a catalyst for action,”⁶¹¹ but Carcasson takes public deliberation to serve the long-term goals of community action. Public deliberation helps community organization to coordinate and collaborate with one another, and to become more effective by avoiding simplified adversarial tactics: “*deliberation can not*

Carcasson's conclusion re-emphasizes the complementary roles of public deliberation as process and the progressive ends of community organization: “part of the long-term goal for our field is to bring them together and erase the distinction.”

608 Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “Welcome,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/>.

609 Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “CPD Publications,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/resources/cpd-publications/>.

610 Martín Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind: A Call for Goal-Driven Deliberative Practice* (Center for Advances in Public Engagement at Public Agenda, Occasional Paper No. 2., 2009), http://www.publicagenda.org/files/PA_CAPE_Paper2_Beginning_SinglePgs_Rev.pdf.

611 Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind*, p. 11.

*only lead to more individual and community action on common problems, but also to a more collaborative and inclusive kind of individual and community action.*⁶¹²

Public deliberation is supposed to work as a complement to community organization: “Deliberative practitioners may very well be community organizers in many ways, but they are community organizers with a particular long-term focus and a value set that prioritizes inclusion and equality.”⁶¹³ Carcasson’s conclusion re-emphasizes the complementary roles of public deliberation as process and the progressive ends of community organization: “part of the long-term goal for our field is to bring them together and erase the distinction.”⁶¹⁴

The CPD relies heavily on unpaid undergraduates who earn course credit for their work: “Students accepted into the program earn upper level SPCM credits while acquiring a wide range of critical 21st century skills and experiences that will be applicable to many contexts, including facilitating collaborative problem-solving, issue analysis, convening, community organizing, meeting design, and reporting.” These students too are being trained to be progressive activists.

30-40 undergraduates at a time work for the CPD, with an intake of about 15 new students each semester. New students receive 3 credits their first semester for SPCM 408 *Applied Deliberative Techniques*, and at least 1 credit their second semester for SPCM 486 *Practicum*. Students may continue to work for the CPD and receive an indefinite number of credits by repeating SPCM 486 *Practicum*.⁶¹⁵

MARTÍN’S MINIONS

The Department of Communication also provides a **Deliberative Practices specialization** for undergraduates who wish to promote *public deliberation*—yet another track to channel students into progressive activism. Undergraduates who take SPCM 407 *Public Deliberation* learn the theory behind public deliberation; those who take SPCM 408 *Applied Deliberative Techniques* receive credit for work with the CPD. Any graduate student may take SPCM 508 *Deliberative Theory and Practice* and also receive credit for work with the CPD.

The Department of Communication Studies also hosts an associated Deliberative Practices Specialization in its MA program, “designed for those who want to emphasize public deliberation and work extensively with the CPD .” There are usually 3 graduate students admitted to the track each year, and they contribute to the CPD’s research and projects. Among the course requirements for the Deliberative Track, those which are designed to tie directly to the CPD are SPCM 408 *Applied Deliberative Techniques*; SPCM 508 *Deliberative Theory and Practice*; 6 credits in connection

612 Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind*, pp. 10-11.

613 Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind*, p. 11.

614 Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind*, p. 14.

615 Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “Student Associate Program,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/student-associate-program/>.

with the applied research project, SPCM 695 *Independent Study*; SPCM 686 *Practicum*; and “an applied research project supervised by faculty experts in public deliberation.”⁶¹⁶

NEW CIVICS WORKOUT: STEPPING UP AND GETTING IN LEADERSHAPE

So far we have focused on CSU’s New Civics in the classroom—but the New Civics at CSU also extends beyond the classroom into different extracurricular aspects of student life. The New Civics extends into CSU students’ extracurricular life via programs that include the **Campus Step Up** and **LeaderShape** retreats.

Campus Step Up is a university-funded weekend retreat of progressive advocacy and activism training, where students “expand their awareness on issues of diversity and cross-cultural communication” and “spend time in a safe environment focusing on self-reflection, education, and personal growth regarding their perceptions of social justice, multicultural, and global issues.” The ultimate goal for Campus Step Up “is to give students the skills to act on the issues and causes that they are most passionate about.”⁶¹⁷

LeaderShape is a national organization that hosts six-day conferences for college students nationwide; it advertises that, “You’ll also participate in exercises which explore the concept of “inclusive leadership” and how to create communities which value respect, openness, and diverse opinions.” LeaderShape includes what appears to be community organization training: “you’ll begin work developing your own vision for the future which defines a bold change for your community, group, cause, or organization back home.” Some progressive advocacy may be included as well: “You will discuss how core ethical values, thoughtful decisions, and courage all play critical roles in sustaining integrity and fostering trust and respect.”⁶¹⁸

Campus Step Up is a university-funded weekend retreat where students “spend time in a safe environment focusing on self-reflection, education, and personal growth regarding their perceptions of social justice, multicultural, and global issues.”

616 Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “Advisory Board,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/about-us/advisory-board/>; Colorado State University, Communication Studies, “Graduate Program,” <http://communicationstudies.colostate.edu/grad/>; Colorado State University, Communication Studies, “Graduate Program,” “Graduate Program Requirements,” <http://communicationstudies.colostate.edu/grad/graduate-program-requirements/>; Colorado State University, Communication Studies, “Rhetoric and Civic Engagement,” <http://communicationstudies.colostate.edu/rhetoric-civic-engagement/>; Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “Student Associate Program,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/student-associate-program/>.

617 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Campus Step Up,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/campus-step-up/>.

618 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “LeaderShape,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/leadershape/>; LeaderShape, “Community Partners,” <https://www.leadershape.org/Community/Partners>.

Both of these extracurricular activities are channels for further New Civics advocacy.

SERVICE-LEARNING IS THE KEY TO LEADERSHIP

In addition to these extracurricular programs, CSU's New Civics advocates also work to put progressive activism into the dormitories. Precisely paralleling the New Civics takeover of CU-Boulder's RAPs, the **Key Service Community** and the **Leadership Development Community** frame student residential life around the New Civics.

The **Key Service Community (KSC)** "is a first-year residential learning community developed around the theme of 'student leadership and civic engagement.'"⁶¹⁹

KSC students take 2 Service Cluster classes together their first semester: "a 3-credit Introduction to Service-Learning class, combined with a 3-credit focused course that relates to the theme of your cluster." Students may choose from 4 possible Service Clusters. All KSC students also take "a 3-credit introduction to service-learning course: KEY 192 *Public Problem Solving through Service-Learning*." KSC students ideally develop "a deeper understanding of the root causes and broader social issues that contribute to community problems." Their service-learning "is intended to help students learn and care about others and develop the skills and attitudes to become 'multicultural community builders.'" The **Key Service Cluster seminar** requires students to "incorporate service projects and activities that will help you meet the minimum of 1-2 hours of service required per week for your participation in the community."⁶²⁰ Previous service projects include Ram Serve, a service trip to Colorado State's Environmental Learning Center, Colorado State's Reach Out Program, The Sustainability Living Fair, and United Nations World Food Day.⁶²¹

The **Leadership Development Community (LDC)** is a residential learning community in Colorado State's Durward Hall that "provides you with a safe, inclusive, and fun learning community in which you are supported through the college transition with like-minded individuals." LDC students "have the opportunity to continue the development of their leadership skills through a variety of involvement opportunities and participation in service projects, peer facilitation, and experiential learning." LDC students also "have an opportunity to strengthen and expand their own knowledge of ethical leadership and civic engagement." LDC students gain competences that

Key Service Community students' service-learning "is intended to help students learn and care about others and develop the skills and attitudes to become 'multicultural community builders.'"

619 Colorado State University, Key Service Community, "Home," <http://keyservice.lc.colostate.edu/home.aspx>.

620 Colorado State University, Key Service Community, "Academics," <http://keyservice.lc.colostate.edu/academics.aspx>.

621 Colorado State University, Key Service Community, "Service Opportunities," <http://keyservice.lc.colostate.edu/serviceopportunities.aspx>.

include *Multicultural and Intercultural Competence*.⁶²² They are also supposed to “Complete a REAL Leadership Preparation Certification,” which requires them to “Fulfill 20 hours of community service in the fall semester, and an additional 20 hours of community service or a pre-approved involvement activity during the spring semester.”⁶²³

The New Civics advocates have taken over fewer residential programs at CSU than at CSU-Boulder, but they direct them more intensively toward progressive advocacy.

NO BREAK FROM NEW CIVICS

CSU’s New Civics advocates also work to direct time away from campus toward progressive advocacy. CSU students can engage in service-learning and volunteering while **studying abroad**. Service-learning programs affiliated with Colorado State include Alternative Break, Global Sustainability & Service in Nicaragua (non-credit), Community Education & Health in Zambia, Comparative Education in Panama City, Panama (non-credit), Human & Environmental Sustainability in Cuba (non-credit), Integrated Social and Ecological Field Methods in Belize, Integrated Social and Ecological Field Methods in Kenya, Learn and Serve in Ghana, West Africa, Peace Corps, and SLICE Alternative Breaks.⁶²⁴

Moreover, CSU’s Doctor of Veterinary Medicine Program also includes a service-learning course at the Todos Santos Center in the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California Sur.⁶²⁵ CSU/UADY Leadership Experience also applies service-learning to a study-abroad program in Mexico’s Yucatan.⁶²⁶ Colorado State’s volunteer organization partner, African Impact, also recently organized a service learning program in Zambia that provided service in community education and public health.⁶²⁷

CSU’s franchise of the **Alternative Breaks** program also transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions. At CSU, “Past trips have focused on such social/cultural issues as hunger, AIDS/HIV, housing, homelessness, issues facing Native American living on reservations, environmental conservation, education, economic sustainability, and women’s issues.” Roughly 200 students take an Alternative Break service-learning trip each year; “group meetings” bracket the trip, so

622 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Leadership Development Community,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/leadership-development-community/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Community Outcomes,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/leadership-development-community/community-outcomes/>.

623 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Responsibilities,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/leadership-development-community/responsibilities/>.

624 Colorado State University, Office of International Programs, “Service-Learning or Volunteer Abroad,” <http://educationabroad.colostate.edu/service-learning-or-volunteer-abroad/>.

625 Colorado State University, Source, “Veterinary program offers service learning at Todos Santos,” <http://source.colostate.edu/veterinary-program-offers-service-learning-todos-santos-center/>.

626 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “CSU/UADY Leadership Experience,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/csu-uady-leadership-experience/>.

627 Colorado State University, Source, “Rams abroad: CSU launches service-learning program in Zambia,” <http://source.colostate.edu/rams-abroad-csu-launches-service-learning-program-in-zambia/>.

that participants can “get to know group members, learn about the service site, cultures, and issues of social and environmental justice, as well as to adequately process the trip and continue creating change.”

Listed Alternative Break destinations include Atlanta, Georgia (“Partnering with the International Rescue Committee (IRC), this trip focuses on providing opportunities for refugees to thrive in America”); Detroit, Michigan (“this trip will focus on building community and volunteering with various populations in Detroit such as people experiencing homelessness and the lgbtq community”); and Nogales, Arizona (“partnering with both No More Deaths and Humane Borders, participants will gain insight into the perspective of an immigrant crossing the border”).⁶²⁸

WHEN WE’RE OLDER, WE’LL BE BOULDER

The next step for CSU will be to **enlarge its New Civics complex**. CSU’s *2016 Strategic Plan*’s “Goal 3: Student Learning Success” and “Goal 5: Engagement” indicate that CSU intends such an enlargement. These goals include “More active/engaged learning in high-impact practices that promote curricular and co-curricular engagement and integration, service learning, and experiential learning,” via participation in “Honors, SLICE, OURA [Office of Undergraduate Research and Artistry], Presidential leadership, etc.” Improvement in “Levels of undergraduate student engagement” will be assessed by “measureable improvements on NSSE [National Survey of Student Engagement] benchmarks.”

CSU will also focus on developing further “partner agreements” and “recurring partners” with “new partner agencies or communities,” and “Establish Engagement Hubs”. In addition, CSU will “Improve opportunities for scholarship of engagement,” assessed by “Reported scholarship of engagement activity in student and/or faculty portfolios.” All this will further CSU’s larger goals to “Engage students in educational experiences that provide opportunities for deep learning,” and to “Collaborate

“Group meetings” bracket the Alternative Breaks trip, so that participants can “get to know group members, learn about the service site, cultures, and issues of social and environmental justice, as well as to adequately process the trip and continue creating change.”

When CSU has achieved these goals, its New Civics complex will be at least as large as CU-Boulder’s is now.

628 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: Public Alternative Break,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/alternative-break/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Alternative Break Locations & Descriptions,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/alternative-break/alternative-breaks-locations/>.

with stakeholders (campus-wide, local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity that increases CSU's relevance and value to the State of Colorado."⁶²⁹

When CSU has achieved these goals, its New Civics complex will be at least as large as CU-Boulder's is now.

THE NEW CIVICS IN DOLLARS AND CENTS

As at CU-Boulder, the New Civics is already a significant drain on CSU's resources—and in consequence a significant burden to Colorado taxpayers.

As noted above, CSU's total expenditures for its FY 2016-17 annual budget is \$1.1 billion, with \$134.5 million (12.2%) of the total in direct state funding.⁶³⁰ CSU is as little forthcoming as CU-Boulder about the details of its budget, but we do know that the Lory Student Center, which houses Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement (SLiCE)—the heart of CSU's New Civics complex—has a total budget of \$31.3 million.⁶³¹ Moreover, Pamela Norris, the Director of SLiCE, writes more precisely that she administers “9 full-time, 5 graduate student, 30 student staff,” and that she oversees “\$2 million of office budgets and accounts.”⁶³² This \$2 million roughly tallies with the figure we have derived from the University of Delaware,⁶³³ which suggests that each full-time staff person implies a budget of a bit more than \$200,000.

There are further dedicated administrative personnel marbled throughout CSU, in places such as TILT and the Center for Public Deliberation: assume there are no more than 9 further such positions, and we add another **\$2 million (\$4 million total)**. There appear to be at least 132 service learning courses taught each year at CSU:⁶³⁴ if we cautiously assume that the equivalent of no more than 20 instructors a year are teaching service-learning courses, we add another **\$4 million (\$8 million total)**.

Add in administrative support throughout the university (housing, Student Affairs, and so on), as well as miscellaneous financial awards whose moneys are not directly administered by SLiCE, and the costs should easily add another **\$1 million (\$9 million total)**. The direct administrative costs of the New Civics at CSU should be taken, at a lowball estimate, at **\$9 million dollars**.

629 Colorado State University, Opportunities: 2016 Strategic Plan, pp. 6-7, 11-12, http://provost.colostate.edu/provost/media/sites/75/2016/02/302314_2015-format-strat-plan_PRF7.pdf.

630 Colorado State University, Source: Mike Hooker, “CSU System board approves budget, tuition and fees,” May 5, 2016, <http://source.colostate.edu/csu-system-board-approves-budget-tuition-and-fees/>.

631 Colorado State University, Office of Budgets, Operating Budget Summary, Fiscal Year 2016-17, <http://www.budgets.colostate.edu/docs/obs1617.pdf>, p. 11.

632 LinkedIn, Pamela Norris, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/pamela-norris-a5861728>.

633 University of Delaware, 2015 Documentation Reporting Form: Carnegie Community Engagement Classification, <https://www1.udel.edu/engage/downloads/University%20of%20Delaware-carnegie-first-time-app.pdf>.

634 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Service-Learning Course,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/facultyInfo/courses.cfm>.

To this we may add the costs of tuition and fees spent on New Civics courses. One 3-credit course at CSU costs \$1,656 in tuition and fees for an in-state student.⁶³⁵ Multiply \$1,656 by 25 (the average class size at CSU)⁶³⁶ by 132 (the number of service-learning classes), and the total costs to students, government (by way of subsidy of student loans), and the university together should come to another **\$5.46 million (\$14.46 million total)**. Some of these courses are less than 3 credits—but some students, especially in the Community Engagement Leaders (CELS) program and the Interdisciplinary Minor in Leadership Studies, take more than one New Civics course a semester. Direct administrative costs and tuition should come to at least **\$14.46 million a year**.

We may add housing costs to this total. 76 students a year live in the Key Service Community (KSC),⁶³⁷ and another 35 in the Leadership Development Community (LDC),⁶³⁸ both of which are organized around the New Civics. The ordinary cost for room and board at CSU is \$11,862;⁶³⁹ Assigning only half this cost to the New Civics, we may call it \$5,931 a year for 111 students—another **\$658 thousand (\$15.12 million total)**. Round down our total estimate to be cautious, and that brings the total to **\$15 million**—more than one tenth of the state of Colorado’s direct subsidy of \$134.5 million to CSU in 2016-2017.

We strongly suspect that detailed figures from CSU would give us a number substantially greater than \$15 million. We do not attempt to estimate a great many items that should be included in an accounting of the costs of the New Civics, including

1. administrative overhead;
2. pensions for New Civics staff and faculty;
3. student fees for New Civics activities;
4. the Student Affairs budget;
5. budgets of overlapping bureaucracies dedicated to progressive advocacy (Offices of Diversity, Sustainability, and so on);
6. all student housing costs; and
7. university fundraising and publicity dedicated to the New Civics

635 Colorado State University, Registrar’s Office, “Undergraduate-Colorado Resident, Base Tuition and Fees, Per Semester – Fall 2016/Spring 2017,” http://webcms.colostate.edu/registrar/media/sites/29/2015/02/Undergraduate_Colorado_Resident_Base_Tuition_and_Fees.pdf .

636 CollegeData, Colorado State University, http://www.collegedata.com/cs/data/college/college_pg01_tmpl.jhtml?schoolId=747.

637 Colorado State University, Key Service, “Key Service Community,” <http://keyservice.lc.colostate.edu/>.

638 RamLink, Duward Residence Hall, “About,” <https://ramlink.collegiatelink.net/organization/durward/about>.

639 Colorado State University, Office of Financial Aid, “Cost of Attendance for the 2016-2017 Academic Year,” <http://sfs.colostate.edu/cost-of-attendance>.

We believe that these items alone would easily double our estimate—and even this list does not account for incalculables such as opportunity cost and reputational cost. We can say with fair confidence that CSU’s expenditure on New Civics is more than one tenth of what CU-Boulder requests annually from the state of Colorado. We can say with absolute certainty that the New Civics advocates want much more of CSU’s \$1.1 billion a year to forward the New Civics. We presume their ultimate goal, as with their peers nationwide, is to use CSU’s entire budget to forward progressive advocacy.

CSU's expenditure on New Civics is more than one tenth of what CU-Boulder requests annually from the state of Colorado.