

Making Citizens: How American Universities Teach Civics

With Case Studies of the University of Colorado, Boulder; Colorado State University; University of Northern Colorado; and the University of Wyoming



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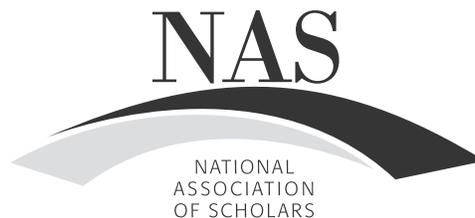


MAKING CITIZENS: HOW AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES TEACH CIVICS

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Colorado State University; University of Northern Colorado;
and the University of Wyoming

A REPORT BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOLARS

January 2017



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WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY ASHLEY THORNE

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ABOUT THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOLARS

Mission

The National Association of Scholars is an independent membership association of academics and others working to sustain the tradition of reasoned scholarship and civil debate in America's colleges and universities. We uphold the standards of a liberal arts education that fosters intellectual freedom, searches for the truth, and promotes virtuous citizenship.

What We Do

We publish a quarterly journal, *Academic Questions*, which examines the intellectual controversies and the institutional challenges of contemporary higher education.

We publish studies of current higher education policy and practice with the aim of drawing attention to weaknesses and stimulating improvements.

Our website presents a daily stream of educated opinion and commentary on higher education and archives our research reports for public access.

NAS engages in public advocacy to pass legislation to advance the cause of higher education reform. We file friend-of-the-court briefs in legal cases, defending freedom of speech and conscience, and the civil rights of educators and students. We give testimony before congressional and legislative committees and engage public support for worthy reforms.

NAS holds national and regional meetings that focus on important issues and public policy debates in higher education today.

Membership

NAS membership is open to all who share a commitment to its core principles of fostering intellectual freedom and academic excellence in American higher education. A large majority of our members are current and former faculty members. We also welcome graduate and undergraduate students, teachers, college administrators, and independent scholars, as well as non-academic citizens who care about the future of higher education.

NAS members receive a subscription to our journal *Academic Questions* and access to a network of people who share a commitment to academic freedom and excellence. We offer opportunities to influence key aspects of contemporary higher education.

Visit our website, www.nas.org, to learn more about NAS and to become a member.



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The Appendices of this report appear in the electronic version of *Making Citizens*, at www.nas.org/makingcitizens. Readers who wish to follow the references in both the Table of Contents and the Index to material in the Appendices should consult this webpage.



ABSTRACT

A new movement in American higher education aims to transform the teaching of civics. This report is a study of what that movement is, where it came from, and why Americans should be concerned.

What we call the “New Civics” redefines civics as progressive political activism. Rooted in the radical program of the 1960s’ New Left, the New Civics presents itself as an up-to-date version of volunteerism and good works. Though camouflaged with soft rhetoric, the New Civics, properly understood, is an effort to repurpose higher education.

The New Civics seeks above all to make students into enthusiastic supporters of the New Left’s dream of “fundamentally transforming” America. The transformation includes de-carbonizing the economy, massively redistributing wealth, intensifying identity group grievance, curtailing the free market, expanding government bureaucracy, elevating international “norms” over American Constitutional law, and disparaging our common history and ideals. New Civics advocates argue among themselves which of these transformations should take precedence, but they agree that America must be transformed by “systemic change” from an unjust, oppressive society to a society that embodies social justice.

The New Civics hopes to accomplish this by teaching students that a good citizen is a radical activist, and it puts political activism at the center of everything that students do in college, including academic study, extra-curricular pursuits, and off-campus ventures.

New Civics builds on “service-learning,” which is an effort to divert students from the classroom to vocational training as community activists. By rebranding itself as “civic engagement,” service-learning succeeded in capturing nearly all the funding that formerly supported the old civics. In practice this means that instead of teaching college students the foundations of law, liberty, and self-government, colleges teach students how to organize protests, occupy buildings, and stage demonstrations. These are indeed forms of “civic engagement,” but they are far from being a genuine substitute for learning how to be a full participant in our republic.

New Civics has still further ambitions. Its proponents want to build it into every college class regardless of subject. The effort continues without so far drawing much critical attention from the public. This report aims to change that.

In addition to our history of the New Civics movement and its breakthrough moment when it was endorsed by President Obama, we provide case studies of four universities: the University of Colorado, Boulder (CU-Boulder), Colorado State University in Fort Collins (CSU), the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley (UNC), and the University of Wyoming in Laramie (UW).



We make four recommendations to state legislators across the country:

1. Mandate a course in traditional American civics as a graduation requirement at all colleges and universities that receive public funding. If the institution itself is unwilling or unable to offer such a course, students must be permitted without penalty to meet the requirement by taking a qualified civics course at another institution.
2. Establish a public body to set the guidelines for the required civics course, which should at a minimum teach the history, nature, and functions of our institutions of self-government, and which should aim to foster commitment to our form of self-government. The public body should also be charged with reviewing and approving civics textbooks to be used in these courses.
3. Require that the traditional civics requirement be met only through classroom instruction. Service learning, civic engagement, or analogous extra-curricular activities will not be accepted as a substitute, supplement, or alternative.
4. End funding for service-learning and civic engagement programs and bureaucracies.

PREFACE BY PETER WOOD

Civics is an old and integral part of American education, dating from the early years of the republic. Over the course of more than 200 years, instruction in civics changed in response to both national needs and pedagogical fads. This study examines the most recent of those changes, the rise of what we call the New Civics.

What is most new about the New Civics is that while it claims the name of civics, it is really a form of anti-civics. Civics in the traditional American sense meant learning about how our republic governs itself. The topics ranged from mastering simple facts, such as the branches of the federal government and the obligations of citizenship, to reflecting on the nature of Constitutional rights and the system of checks and balances that divide the states from the national government and the divisions of the national government from one another. A student who learns civics learns about voting, serving on juries, running for office, serving in the military, and all of the other key ways in which citizens take responsibility for their own government.

The New Civics is really a form of anti-civics.

The New Civics has very little to say about most of these matters. It focuses overwhelmingly on turning students into “activists.” Its largest preoccupation is getting students to engage in coordinated social action. Sometimes this involves political protest, but most commonly it involves volunteering for projects that promote progressive causes. At the University of Colorado at Boulder, for example, the New Civics includes such things as promoting dialogue between immigrants and native-born residents of Boulder County; marching in support of the United Farm Workers; and breaking down “gender binary” spaces in education.

Whatever one might think of these activities in their own right, they are a considerable distance away from what Americans used to mean by the word “civics.” These sorts of activities are not something *added* to traditional civics instruction. They are presented as a complete and sufficient *substitute* for the traditional civics education.

From time to time, the press picks up on surveys that purport to show the astonishing ignorance of large percentages of college students when they are asked basic questions about the American political order. We hear that 35 percent of recent college graduates mistakenly believe that the Constitution gives the President the power to declare war; that only 28 percent correctly identified James Madison as father of the Constitution; and that more than half misidentified the elected terms of members of Congress.¹ These glimpses of the state of civic knowledge may seem to reflect

1 GfK, “Constitution Day,” ACTA Survey Findings, August 28–30, 2015, http://www.goacta.org/images/download/Constitution_Day_Survey.pdf. There are even more dismal results in the Annenberg Public Policy Center’s 2016 survey. “Americans’ knowledge of the branches of government is declining,” *PR Newswire*, September 13, 2016, <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/americans-knowledge-of-the-branches-of-government-is-declining-300325968.html>.

ill on the students, who seem not to remember the most basic elements of their instruction in civics. The truth, however, is that most of these students have never had any basic instruction in civics. They can't be blamed for what they have never been taught. Their answers merely reflect the neglect of traditional civics instruction at every level of education, from grade school through college.

In issuing this report, the National Association of Scholars joins the growing number of critics who believe that some version of traditional civics needs to be restored to American education. This is a non-partisan concern. For America to function as a self-governing republic, Americans must possess a basic understanding of their government. That was one of the original purposes of public education and it has been the lodestar of higher education in our nation from the beginning.

The New Civics has diverted us from this basic obligation.

While many observers have expressed alarm about the disappearance of traditional civics education, very few have noticed that a primary cause of this disappearance has been the rise of the New Civics. This new mode of “civic” training is actively hostile to traditional civics, which it regards as a system of instruction that fosters loyalty to ideas and practices that are fundamentally unjust. The New Civics, claiming the mantle of the “social justice” movement, aims to sweep aside those old ideas and practices and replace them with something better.

The Aims of This Study

The deeper purpose of this report is to examine the replacement of traditional civics by New Civics. In this introduction, we give an overview of what the New Civics is and how it has muscled aside traditional civics. In the body of the report, we offer a deeper examination of the topic. Part One is a historical study of the rise of New Civics. Part Two consists of four case studies: the University of Colorado at Boulder, Colorado State University, the University of Northern Colorado, and the University of Wyoming. Part Three offers our assessments and recommendations.

The New Civics is a national development, not something limited to the Rocky Mountain States. While it has been in the works for decades, its official moment of arrival might be dated to the publication in 2012 of a White House commissioned study, *A Crucible Moment: College Learning & Democracy's Future*. The publication of *A Crucible Moment* raised several questions for the National Association of Scholars: To what extent has the New Civics already taken hold in American higher education? What precisely is the New Civics? And what is a proper alternative for civics instruction in higher education?

While many observers have expressed alarm about the disappearance of traditional civics education, very few have noticed that a primary cause of this disappearance has been the rise of the New Civics.

The first part of our answer to those questions was a forum in the fall 2012 issue of *Academic Questions*, which published critiques of *A Crucible Moment* from eminent scholars throughout the country, as well as their ideas for how to reform post-secondary civics education.² This report is the second part of our answer.

The National Association of Scholars (NAS) is a non-partisan advocacy organization that upholds the standards of a liberal arts education. We view the liberal arts, properly understood, as fostering intellectual freedom, the search for truth, and the promotion of virtuous citizenship. From our founding in 1987, the topic of how higher education informs American self-governance has been among our chief concerns. NAS pursues this concern in a variety of ways, one of which has been the publication of in-depth research reports on what colleges and universities actually do in carrying out their civic mission.

This report thus follows in a long series of studies that have examined the public commitments and roles played by colleges and universities. Like our previous studies, it aims for depth and thoroughness—far more depth and thoroughness than typically is found in think tank-style studies. We believe our efforts to describe matters in such detail serve two important purposes. First, the search for the truth often requires the patience to gather and analyze a large body of facts. We believe that fair-minded thoroughness contributes more to the broader discussion than either anecdote or artificially narrow selection of data. Second, we describe matters in great detail because we believe in the value of context. Especially in describing long-term and complex phenomena, it is crucial to see how the various pieces come together—and where they fail to. Large-scale social and cultural developments have both internal consistencies and inconsistencies. Our studies aim to give due attention to both. *Making Citizens* is written in this spirit.

Complications

New Civics has appropriated the name of an older subject, but not the content of that subject or its basic orientation to the world. Instead of trying to prepare students for adult participation in the self-governance of the nation, the New Civics tries to prepare students to become social and political activists who are grounded in broad antagonism towards America's founding principles and its republican ethos.

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2 *Academic Questions* (Fall 2012): articles by Charlotte Allen, Mark Bauerlein, Patrick J. Deneen, Donald A. Downs, Daniel J. Flynn, Mary Grabar, Neil W. Hamilton, K. C. Johnson, Thomas K. Lindsay, and Diana Schaub, pp. 325-76, https://www.nas.org/articles/aq_fall_2012_issue_a_crucible_moment_a_forum_on_the_presidents_call_for_a_n.

But a casual observer of New Civics programs might well miss both the activist orientation and the antagonism. That's for two reasons. First, the New Civics includes a great deal that is superficially wholesome. Second, the advocates of New Civics have adopted a camouflage vocabulary consisting of pleasant-sounding and often traditional terms. Taking these in turn:

Superficial wholesomeness. When New Civics advocates urge college students to volunteer to assist the elderly, to help the poor, to clean up litter, or to assist at pet shelters, the activities themselves really are wholesome. Why call this superficial? The elderly, the poor, the environment, and abandoned pets—to mention only a few of the good objects of student volunteering—truly do benefit from these efforts. The volunteering itself is not necessarily superficial or misguided. But, again, context matters. In the context of New Civics, student volunteering is not just calling on students to exercise their altruistic muscles. It is, rather, a way of drawing students into a system that combines some questionable beliefs with long-term commitments. These seemingly innocent forms of volunteering, as organized by the patrons of New Civics, are considerably less “voluntary” than they often appear—especially since more and more colleges are turning such “volunteer” work into a graduation requirement. Some students even call them “voluntaryranny,” given the heavy hand of the organizers in coercing students to participate. They submerge the individual into a collectivity. They ripen the students for more aggressive forms of community organization. And often they turn the students themselves into fledgling community organizers. For example, at the University of Colorado at Boulder, the program called Public Achievement includes a sub-program in which college students are sent out to organize grade school students into teams to pick up litter. This is certainly wholesome if taken in isolation, but in context, it is what we call superficially wholesome.

Camouflage vocabulary. The world of New Civics is rife with familiar words used in non-familiar ways. Democracy and civic engagement in New Civic-speak do not mean what they mean in ordinary English. We will deal with many of these terms more extensively when they come up in context, but it will help the reader to start with a rough idea of double meanings of the key words.

The advocates of New Civics have adopted a camouflage vocabulary consisting of pleasant-sounding and often traditional terms.

These seemingly innocent forms of volunteering ripen the students for more aggressive forms of community organization. And often they turn the students themselves into fledgling community organizers.

A Dictionary of Deception

ACTIVE

ENGAGED IN POLITICAL ACTION, AS OPPOSED TO THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE.

This is exemplified in a catchphrase used by Syracuse University’s civic program: “*Citizen* isn’t just something you *are*. *Citizen* is something you *do*.”³ The idea is that students aren’t getting a full education just by reading books, listening to lectures, writing papers, speaking in class, debating with each other, and participating in the social life of the college community. They must also “learn by doing.” Another phrase for this is that students should “apply their academic learning” or “practice” it in the real world. “Active” always means “active in progressive political campaigns.”

ALLIES

OUTSIDE SUPPORTERS OF A GRIEVANCE GROUP.

Non-blacks who support Black Lives Matter, men who support feminist groups, and non-gays who support LGBTQ groups are examples of allies. Allies are expected to defer in all cases to the opinions of the leaders of the grievance group they support. To venture an independent opinion, or worse, to suggest a criticism of the views or tactics of the grievance group is to invite an accusation of presumptuousness, betrayal, or infringement upon the grievance group’s “safe space.” An articulate ally must be made to shut up.

AWARENESS

ENLIGHTENED ABOUT THE ESSENTIAL OPPRESSIVENESS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, ALTHOUGH NOT YET “ACTIVE.”

The “aware” student is up to date with the progressive party line, and knows the current list of oppressions that need to be righted. The “aware” student knows the true meaning of words: “academic freedom,” for example, is really “a hegemonic discourse that perpetuates the structural inequalities of white male power.” “Awareness” requires politically correct purchases and social interactions—reusable water bottles, fair-trade coffee, a diffident approach to pronouns—but it does not require active participation in a campaign of political advocacy. The “aware” student can move higher in the collegiate

Being “aware” requires a lower level of commitment than being “engaged.” “Awareness” is low-energy virtue-signaling.

3 Maxwell Program in Citizenship and Civic Engagement, Syracuse University. <https://www.maxwell.syr.edu/citizenship/>.

pecking order by accusing his peers of being less “aware.” Being “aware” requires a lower level of commitment than being “engaged.” “Awareness” is low-energy virtue-signaling.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

POLITICAL ACTIVISM ON BEHALF OF PROGRESSIVE CAUSES.

Thomas Ehrlich’s frequently cited *Civic Responsibility and Higher Education* (2000) defines “civic engagement” as “working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes.”⁴ In practice, “civic engagement” hardly ever refers to participation in the machinery of government—jury duty, service in the armed forces, volunteer work as a fireman, and so on. “Civic engagement” overwhelmingly means “political activism for a progressive ‘community’ organization.” Alternative terms include “community engagement,” “democratic learning,” “civic pedagogies,” and “civic problem-solving.”

“Civic engagement” overwhelmingly means “political activism for a progressive ‘community’ organization.”

CIVIC ETHOS

DEFERENCE TO THE PROGRESSIVE IDEOLOGY OF NEW CIVICS ACTIVISTS.

“Civic ethos” refers to the character traits—the “dispositions” that support civic engagement, civic learning, and so on. These “dispositions” include Respect for freedom and human dignity; Empathy; Open-mindedness; Tolerance; Justice; Equality; Ethical integrity; and Responsibility to a larger good.⁵ Other people are supposed to be “tolerant” and “open-minded” toward progressives; progressives never have to be tolerant and open-minded toward other people.

4 Thomas Ehrlich, *Civic Responsibility and Higher Education* (Phoenix, 2000), p. vi.

5 The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, *A Crucible Moment: College Learning & Democracy’s Future* (Association of American Colleges & Universities, 2012), p. 4, https://www.AAC&U.org/sites/default/files/files/crucible/Crucible_508F.pdf

CIVIC LEARNING

LEARNING PROGRESSIVE DOCTRINES, AND THE POLITICAL TACTICS NEEDED TO FORWARD THEM.

“Civic learning” is learning how to be properly civically engaged; civic learning, in other words, teaches students the content of progressives’ political beliefs, how to propagandize for them, and the means by which to enforce them on other people via the administrative state. New Civics advocates are trying to make progressive propaganda required for college students by calling “civic learning” an “essential learning outcome.” Civic learning is supposed to become “pervasive”—inescapable political education.

FIGURE 6. From Partial to Pervasive: Constructing More Advanced Levels of Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement in Higher Education

Partial foundation laid ...	Civic learning is pervasive ...
• Civic learning is optional for some students	• Civic learning is expected for all students, regardless of field or area of study
• Civic learning is a one-time experience	• Civic learning is infused across students’ educational experiences over time in a developmental arc
• Teaching critical thinking does not consider real-world contexts	• Teaching critical thinking also occurs in relation to issues of public significance
• Civic learning is individually oriented	• Civic learning also fosters collaboration with diverse people and groups
• Civic learning focuses on external engagement	• Civic learning also asks students to reflect on their own social identity and location as well as those of others
• Faculty in some disciplines and certificate programs raise civic questions in relation to their field	• Faculty in all disciplines and certificate programs raise civic questions in relation to their field
• Community-based scholarship is accepted in some departments	• Community-based scholarship is positively viewed in all departments and influences the hiring and promotion of faculty
• Civic learning practices in the curriculum and cocurriculum are parallel but not integrated	• Civic learning practices in the curriculum and cocurriculum are coordinated and connected through partnerships between academic and student affairs
• Community engagement is one-directional, with colleges and universities providing expertise to the community	• Community engagement is reciprocal, with colleges/ universities and communities working together to identify assets and solve public problems
• Mission and vision statements do not explicitly address civic responsibility	• Mission and vision statements explicitly address civic responsibility

Source: *A Crucible Moment*, p. 43.

COMMITMENT

LOYALTY TO AND ENTHUSIASTIC PARTICIPATION IN A SOCIAL JUSTICE CAUSE.

“Commitment” is an enthusiastic form of being “active.” It signals a student’s readiness to make a career as a progressive advocate in a “community organization,” university administration, or

the government. It also signals to progressives entrusted to hire new personnel that a student is a trustworthy employee.

COMMUNITY

A GROUP FOR WHOM PROGRESSIVES CLAIM TO ACT, OFTEN PUTATIVELY DEFINED BY A SHARED HISTORY OF SUFFERING.

A community is a group of people not defined by their civic status—citizens of America, Colorado, Denver, and so on. Precisely because communities have no civic or legal definition, New Civics advocates use the word to claim that they speak for a group of people, since the claim can never be falsified. While “community” can be used as a generic assertion of power by New Civics advocates, it is most often used 1) in reference to the “campus community,” as a way to assert power within the university; and 2) in reference to a local grievance group, usually but not exclusively poor blacks or Hispanics, on whose behalf progressives assert a moral claim so as to forward their political program.

New Civics advocates use community organization tactics against the university itself, as they try to seize control of its administration and budget.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

MACHIAVELLIAN TACTICS TO INCREASE THE POWER OF THE RADICAL LEFT, FOLLOWING THE STRICTURES OF SAUL ALINSKY.

“Community organization” as a process refers to the Machiavellian tactics used by mid-twentieth-century radical Saul Alinsky to forward radical leftist goals. New Civics advocates use community organization tactics against the university itself, as they try to seize control of its administration and budget; they also train students to act as community organizers in the outside world. “Community organization” as a noun refers to a group founded by Alinskyite progressives, with Alinskyite aims. Community organization signifies the most intelligent and dangerous component of the progressive coalition.

CONSENSUS

A LOUDLY SHOUTED PROGRESSIVE OPINION, VERIFIED BY DENYING DISBELIEVERS THE CHANCE TO SPEAK.

Consensus means that everyone agrees. Progressives achieve the illusion of consensus by shouting their opinions, asserting that anyone who disagrees with them is evil, and preventing opponents

from speaking—sometimes by denying them administrative permission to speak on a campus, sometimes literally by shouting them down. “Consensus” is also used as a false claim to authority, especially with reference to “scientific consensus.” Notably, “sustainability” advocates claim (falsely) that 97 percent of scientists believe that the Earth is undergoing manmade catastrophic global warming. Some scientists do, in fact, believe this, but the percentage is a fraction of the oft-repeated “97 percent.” The policy that follows from the 97 percent claim is government-forced replacement of fossil fuels, starting with coal, with expensive and unreliable “renewable sources” of energy. The advocates of consensus desire that nothing contrary to such scientific “consensus” should ever be taught in a university.

CRITICAL, CRITIQUE

DISMANTLING BELIEF IN THE TRADITIONS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND AMERICAN CULTURE.

To be critical, or to engage in critique, is to attack an established belief on the grounds that it is self-evidently a hypocritical prejudice established by the powerful to reinforce their rule, and believed by poor dupes clinging to their false consciousness. “Critical thought” sees through the deceptive appearance of freedom, justice, and happiness in American life and reveals the underlying structures of oppression—sexism, racism, class dominance, and so on. “Critique” works to dismantle these oppressive structures. “Critical thought” and “critique” is also meant to reinforce the ruling progressive prejudices of the universities; it is never to take these prejudices as their object.

DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

THOUGHTFUL, RATIONAL DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL ISSUES THAT ENDS UP WITH PROGRESSIVE CONCLUSIONS.

Deliberative democracy is a concept that political theorists have drawn from Jürgen Habermas’ theory of communicative rationality. While formally about the procedures of democratic decision-making, it aligns with the idea of a transcendental, quasi-Marxist Truth, toward which rational decision-making inevitably leads. New Civics advocates in Rhetoric/Communications and Political Science departments frequently use “deliberative democracy” classes and centers as a way to forward progressive goals.

DEMOCRACY*PROGRESSIVE POLICIES ACHIEVED BY ARBITRARY RULE AND/OR THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE.*

New Civics advocates use “democracy” to mean “radical social and economic goals, corresponding to beliefs that range from John Dewey to Karl Marx.” They also use “democratic” to mean “disassembling all forms of law and procedure, whether in government, the university administration, or the classroom.” A democratic political decision overrides the law to achieve a progressive political goal; a democratic student rally intimidates a university administration into providing more money for a campus New Civics organization; a democratic class replaces a professor’s informed discussion with a student’s incoherent exposition of his unfounded opinion. A democracy in power issues arbitrary edicts to enforce progressive dogma, and calls it freedom.

New Civics advocates use “democracy” to mean “radical social and economic goals, corresponding to beliefs that range from John Dewey to Karl Marx.”

DIALOGUE*LECTURES BY PROGRESSIVE ACTIVISTS, INTENDED TO HARANGUE DISSIDENTS INTO SILENCE.*

In “dialogue,” or “conversation,” students are supposed to listen carefully to a grievance speaker, usually a professional activist, and if possible echo what the speaker has to say. The dialogue is never between individuals, but between representatives of a race, a religion, a nationality, and so on. The structure of dialogue thus dehumanizes all participants by making them nothing more than mouthpieces for a group “identity.” Progressive “dialogue” presumes a progressive conclusion, and presumes that non-progressives have nothing worthwhile to say. Non-progressives engage in dialogue to learn the progressive things to say, or to learn how to shut up.

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DIVERSITY*PROPAGANDA AND HIRING QUOTAS IN FAVOR OF MEMBERS OF THE PROGRESSIVE GRIEVANCE COALITION.*

The Supreme Court used “diversity” as a rationale for sustaining the legality of quotas for racial minorities in higher education admissions, first in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978) and then in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003). Academic bureaucrats therefore used the

word intensively in the following decades.”Diversity” has spread out to the broader culture as a euphemism and a justification for racial discrimination. In recent years progressives have come to use it as a form of loyalty oath, requiring Americans to affirm diversity as a way to say that they support both the legality and the goodness of preferences for members of the progressive grievance coalition. Progressives cite “diversity” as a reason to prohibit opponents from speaking on campus.

EFFECTIVE

TIED TO A STABLE PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATION.

When New Civics advocates talk about “effective” action they mean programs that outlast the immediate period of student engagement. Programs that have an enduring base within the “community” are effective. “Effective” action is action that supports a progressive “community organization,” and that is directed by that community organization.

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ENGAGED CITIZENS

ENRAGED CITIZENS. COMMITTED ACTIVISTS.

Those who promote “civic engagement” on college campuses want students to become “engaged citizens,” as opposed to apathetic or self-interested individuals. An engaged citizen works for a progressive advocacy organization, to pressure the university administration or the government to enact progressive goals. Civic engagement never refers to accountable service in government, although it does sometimes refer to electing progressive activists into office, so as to enforce the progressive agenda via the power of the government.

EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

WHATEVER IS LEARNED BY DOING AS OPPOSED TO READING, STUDYING, LISTENING, ETC.

“Experiential learning” is a fancy way to say that reading an engineering textbook doesn’t teach you how to steady a steel beam at a construction site while the guy next to you is goldbricking. In the modern university, the phrase disguises the hollowness of undergraduate education: students take internships and other forms of “experiential learning” because the university has no solid classes to offer them. “Experiential learning” is also useful to businesses looking for unpaid labor. New Civics advocates use “experiential learning” as a way to justify “service-learning”—unpaid labor for progressive advocacy organizations, by way of training students to be progressive advocates.

GIVING BACK*EXPIATING UNEARNED PRIVILEGE BY SERVING A DESIGNATED GRIEVANCE GROUP.*

“Giving back” or “paying forward” was originally a mawkish way of saying that you can pay back the good that has been done to you by doing good to someone else. Progressives use “giving back” to mean that ordinary Americans have received an unearned and sinful benefit of privilege, and must use their good fortune to work for designated grievance groups, presumptively unprivileged, in a way that a progressive organization thinks would be most useful. “Giving back” never refers to the gratitude students should feel for the hard work their parents have done to make a good life for them; “paying forward” never refers to hard work so as to make a good life for their own children.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP*DISAFFECTION FROM AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP IN FAVOR OF A NOTIONAL MEMBERSHIP IN A NON-EXISTENT GLOBAL STATE.*

“Global citizenship” is a way to combine civic engagement, study abroad, and disaffection from primary loyalty to and love of America. A global citizen favors progressive policies at home and abroad, and is in favor of constraining the exercise of American power in the interest of American citizens. A global citizen is a contradiction in terms, since he is loyal to a hypothetical abstraction, and not to an actual *civitas*—a particular state with a particular history. A global citizen seeks to impose rule by an international bureaucratic elite upon the American government, and the beliefs of an international alliance of progressive non-governmental organization upon the American people.

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GRASSROOTS*PUTATIVELY NON-HIERARCHICAL PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS.*

The “grassroots” have democratic authenticity—they’re not professional politicians claiming to speak for the people, and they aren’t made to conform to any sort of hierarchical authority. Real grassroots—citizens coming together to lobby legislators—is intrinsic to the American political system, but when progressives claim to speak for the grassroots, and they mean a drive funded by George Soros and organized by paid activists. These activists declare that “consensus” has been reached by “the people” outside the formal structures of representative democracy. Since “consensus” is achieved by shouting down moderates, compromisers, and gentle souls, genuine progressive grassroots organizations make unaccountable ideological fanaticism the source of decision-making. See Black Lives Matter.

HIGH-IMPACT PRACTICES

SUCCESSFUL PROPAGANDA OR CONTROL OF STUDENTS.

A “high-impact practice” is education that works. Since New Civics advocates define education as progressive propaganda of students and the training of students to be progressive activists, they use “high-impact practice” to refer to *effective propaganda* and *effective activist training*. The AAC&U lists “first-year seminars and experiences”; “common intellectual experiences”; “learning communities”; “writing-intensive courses”; “collaborative assignments and projects”; “undergraduate research”; “diversity/global learning”; “service learning/community-based learning”; “internships”; and “capstone courses and projects” as examples of *high-impact educational practices*.⁶ This list reveals that these programs are now all used as instruments of the New Civics.

INCLUSION

GRANTING PRIVILEGES AND FUNDING TO A GRIEVANCE-BASED IDENTITY GROUP.

An inclusive college administration hires professors and staff who belong to an aggrieved identity group, under the misapprehension that funding grievance will make it go away. An inclusive student affairs staff will host endless celebrations of, by, and for the aggrieved identity group, silently acclaimed by all observers. An inclusive class spends a great deal of time celebrating aggrieved identity groups, in any subject from algebra to zoology. *Inclusion*, like *diversity*, is now used as a loyalty oath to affirm the legality and goodness of discrimination in favor of members of the progressive coalition of the aggrieved. Progressives cite “inclusion” as a reason to prohibit opponents from speaking on campus.

INTERDEPENDENCE

SINCE EVERYONE NEEDS EVERYONE, EVERYONE MUST DO WHAT PROGRESSIVES WANT.

“Ecological interdependence” means that we must destroy oil companies because flowers can’t bloom without bees. There is, of course, real interdependence, ecological and otherwise. Wolves need prey, and prey need wolves to keep down their numbers. The public and private sectors need one another. But “global interdependence” in the language of the progressive left means America must always do what other countries want, because we need them. “Interdependence” means “we are responsible to everyone else”—where responsible in turn means we

“Interdependence” universalizes the language of needs and rights, and therefore justifies the expansion of the progressive state to extend to every aspect of life.

6 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “High-Impact Educational Practices: A Brief Overview,” excerpting George D. Kuh, *High-Impact Educational Practices: What They Are, Who Has Access to Them, and Why They Matter* (AAC&U, 2008), <http://www.AAC&U.org/leap/hips>.

must do what progressives tell us is for the common good. “Interdependence” universalizes the language of needs and rights, and therefore justifies the expansion of the progressive state to extend to every aspect of life. “Interdependence” means we are morally obliged to renounce our freedom to do as we will.

INTERSECTIONALITY

THE IDEA THAT EVERY COMPONENT OF THE PROGRESSIVE LEFT MUST SUPPORT ALL OTHER COMPONENTS OF THE PROGRESSIVE LEFT.

“Intersectionality” is a way to align progressives’ competing narratives of oppression and victimhood by making every purported victim of oppression support every other purported victim of oppression. Progressive advocates for racial discrimination (“diversity”) must support progressive advocates for suppressing religious freedom (“gay rights”), and vice versa. Practically speaking, the greatest effect of “intersectionality” is that BDS activists—pro-Palestinian activists pushing for the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctioning of Israel—are using it as a rationale to remove Jews from positions in campus leadership and from jobs as progressive activists.⁷ Intersectionality is both a way to whip progressive activists into following a broader party line and, increasingly, a rationale for anti-Semitic discrimination by progressives.

PERVASIVENESS

MAKING NEW CIVICS INESCAPABLE AT THE UNIVERSITY.

The New Civics seeks to insert progressive advocacy into every aspect of higher education, inside and outside the college. *A Crucible Moment* summons higher education institutions to make civic learning “pervasive” rather than “peripheral.”⁸ “Pervasiveness” justifies the extension of progressive propaganda and advocacy by student affairs staff and other academic bureaucrats into residential life and “co-curricular activities”—everything students do voluntarily outside of class. It also justifies the insertion of progressive advocacy into every class, as well as making progressive activism a hiring and tenure requirement for faculty and staff.

“Pervasiveness” justifies the extension of progressive propaganda and advocacy by student affairs staff and other academic bureaucrats into residential life and “co-curricular activities”—everything students do voluntarily outside of class.

7 Seffi Kogen, “How BDS Is Pushing Jewish Students Out of Social Justice Activism,” *Forward*, September 4, 2016, <http://forward.com/opinion/349000/how-bds-is-pushing-jewish-students-out-of-social-justice-activism/>.

8 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 2.

RECIPROCITY*CONTROL BY PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS.*

Service-learning is founded on the idea that the student who volunteers should also be transformed. The student gives to the community, but in turn learns from the community, reciprocally. This basic idea has been transformed into a euphemism for control by progressive community organizations, since you can't learn unless the "community" tells you what to do and think. "Reciprocal" is a sign that progressive organizations have seized control of university funds.

"Reciprocal" is a sign that progressive organizations have seized control of university funds.

SERVICE-LEARNING*FREE STUDENT LABOR FOR PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS; TRAINING TO BE A PROGRESSIVE ACTIVIST.*

"Service-learning" was invented in the 1960s by radicals as a way to use university resources to forward radical political goals. It aims to propagandize students ("raise their consciousness"), to use their labor and tuition money to support progressive organizations, and to train them for careers as progressive activists. It draws on educational theories from John Dewey, Paulo Freire, and Mao's China. Since the 1980s, "service-learning" has used the name "civic engagement" to provide a "civic" rationale for progressive political advocacy. Civic engagement, global learning, and so on, all are forms of service-learning.

Service-learning aims to propagandize students ("raise their consciousness"), to use their labor and tuition money to support progressive organizations, and to train them for careers as progressive activists.

SOCIAL JUSTICE*PROGRESSIVE POLICIES JUSTIFIED BY THE PUTATIVE SUFFERINGS OF DESIGNATED VICTIM GROUPS.*

Social justice aims to redress putative wrongs suffered by designated victim groups. Unlike real justice, which seeks to deliver individuals the rights guaranteed to them by written law or established custom, social justice aims to provide arbitrary goods to collectivities of people defined by equally arbitrary identities. Social justice uses the language of law and justice to justify state redistribution of jobs and property to whomever progressives think deserve them. Since social justice can never be achieved until every individual's consciousness has been raised, social justice

also justifies universal political propaganda, to make every human being affirm progressivism, and not just obey its dictates.

SUSTAINABILITY

GOVERNMENTAL TAKEOVER OF THE ECONOMY TO PREVENT THE IMMINENT DESTRUCTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT.

“Sustainability” translates thrift, conservation, and environmentalism into a political program aimed at subjugating the free-market economy, as the necessary means to avert “climate change.” It also requires propaganda to kill the desires in people that lead to burning fossil fuels. Since the environment is a “global problem,” the sustainability agenda dovetails with “global citizenship.”

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY SKILLS

DIGITAL MEDIA SKILLS USED TO FORWARD THE PROGRESSIVE AGENDA.

The ability to use social media and graphic design for progressive propaganda and organization. The emphasis on “skills” generally argues that universities don’t need to teach any body of knowledge; the particular emphasis on “twenty-first century skills” further argues that universities don’t need to teach anything discovered before the year 2000. Recent college graduates use “twenty-first century skills” as an argument that they should be employed despite knowing nothing and having no work experience.

A Crucible Moment?

The definitions we have sketched in the preceding section voice our distrust of the New Civics movement. Its declarations about its aims and its avowals about its methods can seldom be taken at face value. This isn’t a minor point. Civics in a well-governed republic has to be grounded on clear speaking and transparency. A movement that goes to elaborate lengths to present a false front to the public is not properly civics at all, no matter what it calls itself.

We began this study in the hope of finding out how far the New Civics had succeeded in becoming part of American colleges and universities. We came to a mixed answer. New Civics is present to some degree at almost all colleges and universities, but it is much more fully developed and institutionalized at some than it is at others. In our study, the University of Colorado at Boulder stands as our example of a university where New Civics has become dominant. But even at universities where New Civics has not attained such prominence, it is a force to be reckoned with. We show what that looks like at the

A movement that goes to elaborate lengths to present a false front to the public is not properly civics at all, no matter what it calls itself.

University of Northern Colorado, Colorado State University, and the University of Wyoming.

The word “civics” suggests that students will learn about the structures and functions of government in a classroom. Some do, but a major finding of our study is that there has been a shift of gravity within universities. New Civics finds its most congenial campus home in the offices devoted to student activities, such as the dean or vice president for students, the office of residence life, and the centers for service-learning. Nearly every campus also has some faculty advocates for New Civics, but the movement did not grow out of the interests and wishes of mainstream faculty members. A partial exception to this is schools of education, where many faculty members are fond of New Civics conceits.

The positioning of New Civics in student services has a variety of implications.

First, it means the initiative is directly under the control of central administration, which can appoint staff and allocate budget without worrying about faculty opinion or “shared governance.” Programs like this can become signature initiatives for college presidents, and few within the university, including boards of trustees, have any independent basis to examine whatever claims a college president makes on behalf of New Civics programs. In a word, such programs are unaccountable.

Second, the positioning of New Civics as parallel to the college’s actual curriculum frees advocates to make extravagant claims about its contributions to students’ general education. New Civics is full of hyperbole about what it accomplishes, and even so, it vaunts itself as deserving an even larger role in “transforming” students. Its goal is to be everywhere, in all the classes, and in that sense to subordinate the teaching faculty to the staff who run the student services programs.

Third, the New Civics placement in student services tends to blur the line between academic and extra-curricular. New Civics advocates may hold adjunct appointments on the faculty. Frequently they push for academic credit for various forms of student volunteering. In general they treat the extra-curricular as “co-curricular,” which is rhetorical inflation.

New Civics is about seizing power in society, and the place nearest at hand is the university itself. New Civics mandarins are ambitious, and what starts in student services doesn’t stay there.

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History

In Part I of the report, we trace New Civics to its origin in the 1960s as part of the radicalization of the teachings of John Dewey and the influence of the Marxist pedagogue Paulo Freire. The two ideas born of these influences were that students are better served by being made to “do” things than they are by teaching them with books and ideas, and that the only truly legitimate purpose

of education is to achieve a progressive reordering of society. Put together, these premises lead to a single conclusion: students should be initiated into the life of social activism. The purpose of “school” is to turn as many students as possible into community organizers.

While these ideas won many fervent advocates from the 1960s through the 1980s, and became dominant at a few wayward colleges, they failed to persuade the vast majority of faculty members and college administrators. They were instead the preoccupation of a radicalized fringe, often based in schools of education.

During this period, however, higher education was engaged in three other developments that would eventually open the way for the New Civics activists.

Curricular Vacuum

First, colleges and universities dismantled their core curricula and general education requirements. Formerly students had been required to take a collection of specific courses, such as Western Civilization, American History, Calculus, English Composition, and Literature. These courses were required both in their own right and as prerequisites to more advanced courses. This system of instruction was replaced by one that relaxed requirements in favor of “choice.” Colleges varied to the degree in which choices were constrained. Some, such as Brown University, essentially left it up to students to take whatever courses they wanted, subject only to departmental restrictions. Many other colleges settled on “distribution requirements,” which required students to take at least one course in each of several categories, such as “humanities,” but left the student to choose among dozens or even hundreds of courses that met the requirement. Sometimes these distribution requirements have been falsely presented to the public as a “core curriculum,” but that is at best a drastic redefinition of the term. Distribution requirements, unlike a core curriculum, do not ensure that all the students at a college study any particular body of knowledge.

The National Association of Scholars in several previous reports has examined how the elimination of required courses reshaped American higher education. In *The Dissolution of General Education 1914-1993* (1996)⁹, we tracked the disappearance of courses with prerequisites, and showed that the elimination of core curricula resulted in a “flatter” curriculum. The ideal of surmounting a difficult subject step by step, each course building on the last, survived in the sciences, foreign languages, and some technical fields, but it was lost in most of the humanities and social sciences.

Note that civics was one of the subjects that was swept away as a general education requirement and as a stepping stone to more advanced courses.

9 National Association of Scholars, *The Dissolution of General Education: 1914-1993* (Princeton, NJ, 1996), https://www.nas.org/images/documents/report_the_dissolution_of_general_education_1914_1993.pdf.

In our study *The Vanishing West* (2011)¹⁰ we tracked the disappearance of Western Civilization survey courses from 1964—when they were still required at most colleges and universities—to 2010, by which time they were an extreme rarity. In *What Does Bowdoin Teach? How a Contemporary Liberal Arts College Shapes Students* (2013)¹¹ we traced in fine detail the disastrous consequences of one college’s decision in 1970 to jettison all general education requirements. In our series of reports titled *Beach Books*¹², NAS has examined the common reading programs that many colleges have created in recent years as a way to conjure a modicum of intellectual community in the entropy of the post-core-curriculum campus. Having read nothing else in common, students are encouraged to read a single book, which often turns out to be a book that praises social activism. Examples include *Wine to Water: How One Man Saved Himself While Trying to Save the World*; *Shake the World: It’s Not About Finding a Job, It’s About Creating a Life*; and *Almost Home: Helping Kids Move from Homelessness to Hope*.

Into the curricular vacuum left after the formal version of general education was removed has stepped the New Civics with its comprehensive dream of turning all students into progressive activists.

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Mass Higher Education

American higher education in the last half century underwent an enormous expansion. In 1960 about 45 percent of high school graduates attended college. By 1998, more than 65 percent did—a figure that has remained fairly stable since, topping out at 70 percent in 2009.¹³ That translates into more than 17 million students enrolled in undergraduate studies, with another 3 million enrolled in graduate programs. With the huge increase in students came plummeting standards of admission. The newer generations of college students could not be counted on to have studied or to know things that preceding generations studied and knew, such as the basics of civics. Mass higher education coupled with the dismantling of general education

10 Glenn Ricketts, et al., *The Vanishing West, 1964-2010. The Disappearance of Western Civilization from the American Undergraduate Curriculum* (Princeton, NJ, 2011), <https://www.nas.org/images/documents/TheVanishingWest.pdf>.

11 Peter Wood and Michael Toscano, *What Does Bowdoin Teach? How a Contemporary Liberal Arts College Shapes Students* (New York, 2013), https://www.nas.org/images/documents/What_Does_Bowdoin_Teach.pdf.

12 Most recently, David Randall, *Beach Books: 2014-2016. What Do Colleges and Universities Want Students to Read Outside Class?* (New York, 2016), https://www.nas.org/images/documents/NAS-BeachBooks2014-16_Full_Report.pdf.

13 Floyd Norris, “Fewer U.S. Graduates Opt for College After High School,” *New York Times*, April 25, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/26/business/fewer-us-high-school-graduates-opt-for-college.html?_r=0.

standards ensured that many of these students would never be taught knowledge that previous generations considered basic.

Mass higher education brought greater demographic diversity to the nation's campuses, but it also laid the seeds for the ideology of "diversity." The ideology is to be sharply distinguished from the demographic facts. As an ideology, diversity is a recipe for racial and ethnic antagonism. It offers a superficial vision of peaceful interdependence among identity groups, but at the same time it stokes resentments based on the idea that each of these groups has grievances at the core of their American experience, and that these grievances justify a policy of permanent racial quotas.

Civics that embraces the ideology of diversity is civics that treats the ideals of American unity and common experience as illusions. The New Civics plays off American mass higher education as an opportunity to emphasize inequity and unfairness in the nation's racial and ethnic history and in the current distribution of wealth and power. Attending college itself is portrayed not as a privilege to be earned but as a right that has been historically denied to members of oppressed groups.

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Dismantling (Some) Authority

The end of general education requirements and the rise of mass higher education are two of three pre-conditions for New Civics. The third is the dismantling of *in loco parentis*—the efforts that colleges formerly took to regulate the behavior of students on campus through well-enforced rules. The rules included such things as single-sex dorms, bans on underage drinking, and parietal hours. The end of *in loco parentis* was connected with the protests of the 1960s and the sexual revolution. But as college moved out of the work of building and fostering normative communities of students on campus, students felt more and more adrift. Reports in the late 1980s registered that one of the chief complaints of college students was "lack of community on campus." Into this breach stepped the campus bureaucrats responsible for student activities. There followed a series of manifestos from student life organizations that *they* knew how to bring "community" back to campus. These were among the first steps to programs that elevated "student engagement" over academic study.

The Presidents Step In

These developments made it possible for the New Civics to grow—but it was Campus Compact, an organization of college presidents, which provided the fertilizer. In 1985 service-learning radicals hijacked the newly-founded Campus Compact's volunteering initiative, and from that moment on hundreds of college presidents began to shovel money and official support to service-learning. At the same time the New Civics advocates started referring to *service-learning* as *civic engagement*—a coat of new paint meant to give service-learning a higher status and the appearance of uplifting enterprise. It also helped to paint over the progressive propaganda that was a little too nakedly

on display in Service-learning, where the service was typically to a leftist cause. What happened next illustrates the powers of college presidents to shift the course of higher education. The New Civics went from strength to strength in the next decades, both as a revolution from above and as a paycheck for a growing army of civic engage-o-crats.

The New Civics is now everywhere in American higher education—not just as *civic engagement*, but also as *global learning*, *global civics*, *civic studies*, *community service*, and *community studies*. The New Civics is also endemic in *leadership programs*, *honors programs*, *co-curricular activities*, *orientation*, *first-year experience*, *student affairs*, *residential life*, and more. The New Civics advocates use a variety of labels for their programs, but the vocabulary is much the same. *Office of Civic Engagement & Leadership* (Towson University), *Office of Civic and Community Engagement* (University of Miami), *Office of Student Leadership and Engagement* (University of Tampa), *Office of Civic Engagement & Service Learning* (University of Massachusetts), *Office of Experiential Education and Civic Engagement* (Kent State University), *Office of Civic Engagement and Social Justice* (The New School’s Eugene Lang College), *Office of Community and Civic Engagement* (University of North Carolina, Pembroke), *Office of Civic Engagement and Social Responsibility* (CUNY Brooklyn College), *Office of Civic and Social Responsibility* (University of Nebraska, Omaha), *Office of Community-Engaged Learning* (Southwestern University), *Office of Service Learning and Community Engagement* (University of Montevallo), *Office of Global Engagement* (University of Mississippi), *Office of Citizenship and Civic Engagement* (University of New England)—there are thousands of these offices across the country, and Centers and Initiatives and Programs too. They all use the same buzzwords and they all do the same thing—progressive propaganda, training cadres of progressive student activists, and grabbing hold of university resources and routing them to off-campus progressive organizations.

The New Civics went from strength to strength in the next decades, both as a revolution from above and as a paycheck for a growing army of civic engage-o-crats.

National Infrastructure

When we speak of New Civics, we are referring to more than a scattering of like-minded programs at the nation’s many colleges and universities. A national infrastructure buttresses these programs. The Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) finances and coordinates the New Civics with dozens of other activist organizations. Career bureaucrats of the Department of Education use their regulatory power and grant money to aid the New Civics. The accreditation bureaucracies that determine whether a college or university is eligible to receive federal money push “learning goals” that can only be satisfied by creating New Civics programs—and college bureaucrats slip in New Civics programs in the guise of satisfying accreditation “learning goals.” Professional organizations, journals, conferences, and job lists create standard career paths that

New Civics advocates can pursue in virtually every college or university. Most important, an ever-growing number of administrators, faculty, and students ensconced as student life officers, education professors, and the like put advocacy of the New Civics at the center of their lives. Each new program plugs into a national network—and follows the example of older programs as it works to take over a new university.

Any effort to change the New Civics on a single campus has to take account of the fact that it is part of an ideologically committed national movement.

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Revolutions Soft and Hard

New Civics is dedicated to radical politics, but some programs use softer means. *Service-learning* is the most innocuous, *civic engagement* more political, and Harry Boyte’s neo-Alinskyite chain of Public Achievement franchises, which uses college students to organize K-12 students, is the most hard-edged of all. The different forms of New Civics are ultimately variants on the techniques and goals of radical *community organization*. Service-learning might involve something as innocuous as organizing students to pick up litter from a park—but the point is to accustom them to organizing and being organized, and to “raise their consciousness” in a progressive direction. The New Civics draws students ever farther into the world of progressive politics, seeking to make as many as possible into full-time activists—or at the very least, into full-time academic administrators. Soft-edged or hard-edged, all New Civics steadily pulls students toward progressive activism—pretending to be a nonpartisan civic effort, and on the taxpayer’s dime.

The New Civics advocates redefine “civic” around the techniques of radical activism and discard the idea that civics should provide students a non-partisan education about the mechanisms of government. They likewise redefine “civic” to include the political goals of progressive politics, and they exclude any cause that contradicts progressive goals. The New Civics defines civics to include advocacy for illegal immigrants and “sustainability,” along with the rest of the progressive agenda—but so far as we can tell, not one of the millions of hours spent by students each year on community service, service-learning, and civic engagement has included service for organizations that forward (for example) Second Amendment rights, pro-life advocacy, or traditional marriage. The mission statements of the New Civics virtually define such work as

The fundamental lesson of the New Civics is that anyone who isn't progressive is un-American—and to be treated as an enemy of the state.

uncivic. It is bad enough that the New Civics is a progressive advocacy machine—but it is worse that the New Civics advocates teach their narrow-minded ideological intolerance to America’s youth as civic religion. The fundamental lesson of the New Civics is that anyone who isn’t progressive is un-American—and to be treated as an enemy of the state.

Ambitions

The New Civics advocates aren’t satisfied with what they’ve already achieved. *A Crucible Moment* outlined what they want to do now—to make New Civics classes mandatory throughout the country, to make every class “civic,” and to require every teacher to be “civically engaged.” In short, they want to take over the entire university. After that, the New Civics advocates want to take over the private sector and the government as well. Every business and every branch of government is meant to support civic engagement. The same subterfuge that has been used to organize the university will be used to organize the country.

The New Civics advocates have already had disturbing success. More and more colleges are requiring students to take New Civics courses, and the Strategic Plans of universities throughout America now talk about “infusing civic engagement” into every class and every “co-curricular” activity. Every day, the New Civics advocates are pressing forward with their stated plan to take over America’s colleges and universities. They will continue to push to enact every part of their agenda.

Civic Engagement Now: Protest for Every Occasion

That’s for the future—but the New Civics advocates have already changed the country. The point of the New Civics was to create a cadre of permanent protestors, and justify their agitation as “civic”—and they have succeeded. I write this Preface in November 2016, and *civic engagement* is behind today’s headlines. A few days ago, high-school students around the country walked out from school to protest the election of Donald Trump—and “youth development leaders see the youth-led walkouts as a highly positive form of civic engagement.” Ben Kirshner, the director CU-Boulder’s New Civics program CU Engage, thinks these protests “are a really important statement of dissent.” But he’s only in favor of street protest so long as the protestors don’t express “racist or sexist ideas.” Amy Syvertsen of the Search Institute specifies that “When people make public statements that are driven from a place of hate, and when they minimize the political and civil rights of others, that is a negative

Radical left protests intended to delegitimize Donald Trump’s presidency before it begins are civic engagement, but any support of Donald Trump crosses the line.

form of civic engagement that crosses the line.”¹⁴ In other words, radical left protests intended to delegitimize Donald Trump’s presidency before it begins are civic engagement, but any support of Donald Trump *crosses the line*.

That’s just the New Civics encouraging protest—but the New Civics are also crossing a bright line and starting to fund that protest directly. At Pomona College, the Draper Center for Community Partnerships advertized a November 9 anti-Trump rally in Los Angeles on Facebook and reimbursed transportation costs for students to attend. The Draper Center personnel knew what they were doing: “The Draper Center is organizing a bus that will take students to downtown LA TONIGHT to stand against Trump.” As a result, Pomona College is being sued for violating its 501(c)(3) status, and is liable to sanctions up to and including losing its tax-exempt status.¹⁵

The New Civics has been grossly politicized for decades, but now it’s beginning to use university money for directly political activity. The New Civics advocates have preached the identity of progressive politics and civic activity for so long that they’ve forgotten the difference. Draper’s funding of anti-Trump political activity shows where the New Civics is heading nationwide. It also reveals a weakness of the New Civics advocates. They can be sued for political activity, and they can do grave fiscal damage to their host universities in the process. The NAS recommends that citizen groups around the nation look closely at what the New Civics programs in universities are doing, and that they sue their host universities for each and every political act they commit. Lawsuits, and the threat of lawsuits, may actually prod academic administrators to shut down New Civics programs.

This is an extreme remedy, but a necessary one. The New Civics has been creating activist-protestors for decades, but they have now achieved a critical mass. Look at any radical left protest, and like as not you will find a New Civics program somewhere in the background. As the New Civics grows stronger, so will the drumbeat of radical left agitation. Radical demonstration on our

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14 Stell Simonton, “Student Walkouts a Fine Form of Civic Engagement, Say Youth Development Leaders,” *Youth Today*, November 15, 2016, <https://youthtoday.org/2016/11/student-walkouts-a-fine-form-of-civic-engagement-say-youth-development-leaders/>.

15 Matthew Reade and Ross Steinberg, “President Oxtoby Denies Wrongdoing as IRS Complaint Filed Against Pomona College,” *The Claremont Independent*, November 16, 2016, <http://claremontindependent.com/president-oxto-by-denies-wrongdoing-as-irs-complaint-filed-against-pomona-college/>.

streets is now chronic, and that is an achievement of the New Civics. The New Civics is working to make such radical protest a daily occurrence, and America ungovernable save along progressive lines. The New Civics revolution has already begun.

Solutions

If *service-learning*, *civic engagement*, and *global civics* were just ideas that had bubbled up independently in a few colleges and universities, we would only recommend the reform of the programs that carry them out. NAS recommends that the New Civics be removed root and branch from higher education precisely because each individual program is part of a national movement that is ideologically committed toward radical left politics, with enormous reservoirs of bureaucratic power to repel any attempt to reform it. The New Civics cannot be reformed; it can only be dismantled. And it should be dismantled as soon as possible, before it does worse damage to our country.

The New Civics advocates must be stopped—but they won't be stopped on campus. There are too many academic administrators and faculty pushing the New Civics forward, and too few who want to resist its progress. Lawsuits can help, but clever New Civics advocates can figure out how to avoid direct political activity. The Department of Education can't be trusted to help either—although support from political appointees by the incoming Trump administration might make the campaign to eradicate the New Civics easier, too many of the Department's permanent bureaucrats are allies of the New Civics advocates. State and federal legislatures have to do the hard work of defunding the New Civics. They need to freeze New Civics spending at once, and move swiftly to eliminate New Civics programs entirely. *Making Citizens* provides detailed suggestions about how precisely this could be done—for example, by tying government funding of universities to reestablishing traditional civic literacy curricula and removing the compensation of class credit from volunteer work. But we make our suggestions in all humility. The disposition of the New Civics is for legislators to decide.

The New Civics is working to make radical protest a daily occurrence, and America ungovernable save along progressive lines. The New Civics revolution has already begun.

The New Civics cannot be reformed; it can only be dismantled. And it should be dismantled as soon as possible, before it does worse damage to our country.

The Full Report

I have written this preface so as to give the full political and educational context of the full report of *Making Citizens*. I invite the reader to turn now to that work. The first section of the report includes an examination of the history, the present condition, and the ambitions of the New Civics. The second section provides case studies of the decay of the Old Civics and the rise of the New Civics at four universities—the University of Colorado, Boulder; Colorado State University; the University of Northern Colorado; and the University of Wyoming. The end of the report contains our recommendations for how to restore civics education in America to good health.

The New Civics advocates have written histories of their efforts for one another, as a way to give pointers on how to do their work more effectively. We believe this report is the first book-length examination of the New Civics addressed to a general audience—the first report to reveal precisely what the New Civics advocates are doing in the guise of civics education. We look forward to what we know will be a thoughtful critique and development of the ideas presented here. We also look forward to action that will bring an end to the New Civics' hostile takeover of American higher education.

INTRODUCTION

The New Civics movement has taken over America’s civics education, with the goal of redefining civics education as progressive (=radical left) political activism. The pioneers of this movement, originally members of the 1960s radical left, took advantage of the demolition of the old civics curriculum in the 1960s. The Old Civics had focused on basic civic literacy—knowledge about the structure of our government and the nature of America’s civic ideal—so as to prepare young men and women to participate in the machinery of self-governance. The 1960s radicals replaced the Old Civics with a New Civics of their own, devoted instead to preparing young men and women to be progressive activists.

Service-learning feeds off the all-American impulse to volunteer and do good works for others, and diverts it toward progressive causes.

This New Civics began as “service-learning,” and slowly established itself in the next decades in the fringes of higher education. Service-learning feeds off the all-American impulse to volunteer and do good works for others, and diverts it toward progressive causes. For example, service-learning channels the urge to clean up litter from a local park toward support of the anti-capitalist “sustainability” movement. Service-learning’s main goals in higher education are:

1. to funnel university funds and student labor to advertise progressive causes.
2. to support off-campus progressive nonprofits—“community organizations.”
3. to radicalize Americans, using a theory of “community organization” drawn explicitly from the writings of Saul Alinsky, a mid-twentieth-century Chicago radical who developed and publicized tactics of leftist political activism.
4. to “organize” the university itself, by campaigning for more funding for service-learning and allied progressive programs on campus. These allied programs include “diversity” offices, “sustainability” offices,” and components of the university devoted to “social justice.”

Service-learning was created in order to divert university resources toward progressive causes.

In 1985, several influential university presidents founded Campus Compact to support student volunteerism and community service. Service-learning advocates took over Campus Compact’s campaign, and from that vantage point inserted service-learning into virtually every college in the nation. They then gave service-learning a new name—“civic engagement”—and used this new label as a way to replace the old civics curriculum with service-learning classes. Service-learning and civic engagement together form the heart of the New Civics.

The New Civics is now endemic in higher education:

- The presidents of more than 1,100 colleges, with a total enrollment of more than 6 million students, have signed a declaration committing their institutions to “educate students for citizenship.”¹⁶
- The American Democracy Project, an initiative of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) in partnership with the *New York Times* that now includes 250 AASCU-member colleges and universities, seeks to “produce graduates who are committed to being knowledgeable, involved citizens in their communities.”¹⁷
- Seventy-one community colleges have signed The Democracy Commitment, a pledge to train students “in civic learning and democratic practice.”¹⁸
- More than 60 organizations and higher education institutions participating in the Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement Action Network (CLDE) have submitted statements committing them to “advance civic learning and democratic engagement as an essential cornerstone for every student.”¹⁹
- The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching awarded a “Community Engagement Classification” to 240 colleges and universities in 2015.²⁰

As of 2016, the “civic engagement” movement—a combination of federal bureaucrats, nonprofit foundations, and a network of administrators and faculty on college campuses—has already succeeded in replacing much of the old civics education. It now aims for a broader takeover of the entire university. The goal is to give every class a “civic” component, and to make “civic engagement” a requirement for tenure. The advocates of “civics education” now aim to insert progressive politics into every aspect of the university, to advertise progressive causes to the student body in every class and every off-campus activity, and to divert even larger portions of the American university system’s resources toward progressive organizations.

16 Presidents’ Declaration on the Civic Responsibility of Higher Education, <http://compact.org/who-we-are/mission-and-vision/presidents-declaration-on-the-civic-responsibility-of-higher-education/>.

17 American Association of State Colleges and Universities, American Democracy Project, <http://www.aascu.org/programs/ADP/>.

18 The Democracy Commitment, About Us. <http://thedemocracycommitment.org/about-us/>.

19 Association of American Colleges & Universities, National Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement Action Network, <https://www.AAC&U.org/crucible/action-network>.

20 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, “Carnegie Selects Colleges and Universities for 2015 Community Engagement Classification,” January 7, 2015. <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/newsroom/news-releases/carnegie-selects-colleges-universities-2015-community-engagement-classification/>.

The New Civics advocates want to redefine the entire American civic spirit to serve the progressive political agenda—which is hostile to the free market; supports racial preferences in the guise of *diversity*; supports arbitrary government power in the guise of *sustainability*; and undermines traditional loyalty to America in the guise of *global citizenship*.

The New Civics has replaced the Old Civics, which fostered civic literacy. In consequence, American students' knowledge about their institutions of self government has collapsed. According to the Association of American Colleges & Universities' report *A Crucible Moment: College Learning & Democracy's Future* (2012), "Only 24 percent of graduating high school seniors scored at the proficient or advanced level in civics in 2010, fewer than in 2006 or in 1998," "Half of the states no longer require civics education for high school graduation," and "Among 14,000 college seniors surveyed in 2006 and 2007, the average score on a civic literacy exam was just over 50 percent, an 'F'."²¹

What the New Civics has produced instead is a permanently mobilized cadre of student protestors, ready to engage in "street politics" for any left-wing cause. In November 2016, for example, when high-school students around the country walked out from school to protest the election of Donald Trump, New Civics advocates described "the youth-led walkouts as a highly positive form of civic engagement."²² Civic education ought to teach students how presidents are elected, not to engage in political warfare that denies the legitimacy of their fellow citizens' choice for the presidency.

The New Civics also disguises the collapse of solid education in colleges. The universities' resort to internships and "experiential education" already conceded that students do not have four years worth of material to study. Now "service-learning" and "civic engagement" classes transform what was at least useful work experience, if not really a college class, into vocational training for work as progressive community organizers—or for careers in college administration running New Civics programs. While the main goals of the New Civics are to advertise progressive causes and divert

The New Civics advocates want to redefine the entire American civic spirit to serve the progressive political agenda—which is hostile to the free market; supports racial preferences in the guise of diversity; supports arbitrary government power in the guise of sustainability; and undermines traditional loyalty to America in the guise of global citizenship.

²¹ *A Crucible Moment*, p. 7.

²² Stell Simonton, "Student Walkouts a Fine Form of Civic Engagement, Say Youth Development Leaders," *Youth Today*, November 15, 2016, <https://youthtoday.org/2016/11/student-walkouts-a-fine-form-of-civic-engagement-say-youth-development-leaders/>.

university resources to progressive organizations, it also works to disguise collapsing standards in education, train community activists, and prepare new personnel to administer New Civics programs.

The New Civics further damages colleges and universities by hollowing out the ideals and the institutional frameworks of a liberal arts education. A liberal arts education aims to introduce a student to the best works of the Western tradition, partly to educate his character toward personal and civic virtue and partly to foster the individuation of character that allows each person to commit himself, as an individual, to private success and public duty. The educational structure that supports the liberal arts takes this education of character to be the first purpose of a college, and one which needs no further justification. In addition to warping the definition of civic virtue by redefining it as commitment to progressive politics, the New Civics also eliminates the idea that the education toward virtue is meant to *precede* political action, and instead substitutes political action *in place of* education toward virtue. The New Civics likewise eliminates the liberal arts' aim to foster the individuation of character, and replaces it with forced mobilization within a *community*, characteristically defined by *race, class, and/or gender* rather than by *American citizenship*. The New Civics then remakes the institutional structure of higher education in its own image: the core curricula that fostered a liberal arts education have been removed, and a new set of core curricula centered on *civic engagement, global citizenship*, and so on, is rising in their place. The New Civics assumes that a liberal arts education cannot justify itself.

The New Civics' advocates are very optimistic about their ability to carry out an educational revolution, and they are not yet in a position to carry out all their plans. Yet they have already achieved great success, by following Saul Alinsky's intelligent recommendation to focus upon capturing institutions and building enduring organizations. The number of New Civics advocates has grown enormously during the last two generations, and these advocates now command a substantial bureaucratic infrastructure. They have already begun to use the regulatory power of the Federal Government to forward their agenda. The New Civics advocates also have prospered by taking advantage of the American public's trust that people hired to educate their children actually have that object in mind. They abuse that trust by using the anodyne vocabulary of "volunteerism" and "civics" to obscure their radical political agenda. The New Civics advocates are not yet an all-powerful force in higher education—but they are a formidable one, and their strength grows each year. Only concerted, thoroughgoing action can remove them from our colleges and universities.

While the main goals of the New Civics are to advertise progressive causes and divert university resources to progressive organizations, it also works to disguise collapsing standards in education, train community activists, and prepare new personnel to administer New Civics programs.

Readers should be aware that the New Civics movement now extends far beyond college. Project Citizen and similar organizations insert service-learning and the community organizing model into K-12 education,²³ and the New Civics advocates insert publicity for progressive causes wherever they can.²⁴ Here we focus on the role of the New Civics in undergraduate education, but we believe that the New Civics must be excised from every part of the American educational system, from kindergarten to graduate school.

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This report focuses yet further upon four universities in the two mountain states of Colorado and Wyoming. The University of Colorado, Boulder (CU-Boulder), is a national leader in the New Civics movement. Colorado State University in Fort Collins (CSU), the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley (UNC), and the University of Wyoming in Laramie (UW) retain more of the old focus on civic literacy and volunteerism—but the New Civics vocabulary and bureaucracy frames civics education at these three colleges as much as at CU-Boulder. Moreover, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has awarded a Community Engagement Classification to both CSU and UNC.²⁵ These large public universities serve a student body that is fairly typical of modern American college students. Our close analysis of these institutions complements our study of the New Civics at the national level by providing an in-depth examination of the decay of traditional civics education and its replacement by the New Civics—not yet the masters of our universities, but a pervasive and rapidly growing presence throughout the heartland of America’s higher education.

This study has 9 national findings:

1. **Traditional civic literacy is in deep decay in America.** Because middle schools and high schools no longer can be relied on to provide students basic civic literacy, the subject has migrated to colleges. But colleges have generally failed to recognize a responsibility to cover the basic content of *traditional civics*, and have instead substituted programs under the name of civics that bypass instruction in American government and history.
2. **The New Civics, a movement devoted to progressive activism, has taken over civics education.** “Service-learning” and “civic engagement” are the most common labels this movement uses, but it also calls itself *global civics*, *deliberative democracy*, *intercultural learning*, and the like.

23 *Project Citizen: A Portfolio-Based Civic Education Program*, <http://www.civiced.org/images/brochure/brochure-projectcitizen.pdf>.

24 E.g., Brian D. Schultz, *Spectacular Things Happen Along the Way: Lesson from an Urban Classroom* (New York, 2008).

25 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, “All Community Engagement Classified Institutions: 2010 and 2015,” p. 2, http://nerche.org/images/stories/projects/Carnegie/2015/2010_and_2015_CE_Classified_Institutions_revised_1_11_15.pdf.

3. **The New Civics movement is national, and it extends far beyond the universities.** Each individual college and university now slots its “civic” efforts into a framework that includes federal and state bureaucracies, national nonprofit organizations, and national professional organizations. Any university that affiliates itself with these national organizations also affiliates itself with their progressive political goals.
4. **The New Civics redefines “civic activity” as “progressive activism.”** It aims to advertise progressive causes to students and to use student labor and university resources to support progressive “community” organizations.
5. **The New Civics redefines “civic activity” as channeling government funds toward progressive nonprofits.** The New Civics has worked to divert government funds to progressive causes since its foundation fifty years ago.
6. **The New Civics redefines “volunteerism” as labor for progressive organizations and administration of the welfare state.** The new measures to require “civic engagement” will make this volunteerism compulsory.
7. **The New Civics replaces traditional liberal arts education with vocational training for community activists.** The traditional liberal arts prepared students for leadership in a free society. The New Civics prepares them to administer the welfare state.
8. **The New Civics also shifts the emphasis of a university education from curricula, drafted by faculty, to “co-curricular activities,” run by non-academic administrators.** The New Civics advocates aim to destroy disciplinary instruction and faculty autonomy.
9. **The New Civics movement aims to take over the entire university.** The New Civics advocates want to make “civic engagement” part of every class, every tenure decision, and every extracurricular activity.

The New Civics movement aims to take over the entire university. The New Civics advocates want to make “civic engagement” part of every class, every tenure decision, and every extracurricular activity.

This study also has 4 local findings:

1. **The University of Colorado, Boulder, possesses an extensive New Civics bureaucracy, but only the fragments of a traditional civics education.** The New Civics' main nodes at CU-Boulder are CU Engage (including CU Dialogues, INVST Community Studies, Leadership Studies Minor, Participatory Action Research, Public Achievement, Puksta Scholars, and Student Worker Alliance Program), service-learning classes, and the Residential Academic Programs.
2. **Colorado State University possesses a moderately extensive New Civics bureaucracy, but only the fragments of a traditional civics education.** The New Civics' main nodes at CSU are Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement (SLiCE), Office for Service-Learning and Volunteer Programs, and the Department of Communication Studies.
3. **The University of Northern Colorado possesses a moderately extensive New Civics bureaucracy, but only the fragments of a traditional civics education.** The New Civics' main nodes at UNC are The Center for Community and Civic Engagement; the Center for Honors, Scholars and Leadership; the Social Science B.A. – Community Engagement Emphasis; Community Engaged Scholars Symposium; and the Student Activities Office.
4. **The University of Wyoming possesses a limited New Civics bureaucracy, and the core of a traditional civics education.** The New Civics' main node at UW is Service, Leadership & Community Engagement (SLCE). UW's traditional civics education is taught halfheartedly at best, and is in the process of being transformed into a less rigorous distribution requirement.

We make 8 national recommendations:

1. **Restore a coordinated civic literacy curriculum at both the high school and college levels.** Civics education should not start at the college level. When students' first exposure to civics education comes in college, something has gone wrong with their education at the lower levels. States should design their high school and college civics educations as a coherent whole, and make sure that undergraduate civics education provides more advanced education than high-school civics.
2. **Define civics education as civic literacy, in a traditional academic course.** Colleges and universities should define civics education as specifically as possible, so as to limit the ability of progressive activists to substitute the New Civics. Civics education should be defined explicitly as a way to learn testable material in class—such as the structure and function of the different parts of the Federal Government, America's historical geography, and landmark Supreme Court cases and their consequences—and be defined equally explicitly not to include service-learning, civic engagement, or any other activities besides

reading, writing, classroom discussion, and classroom examinations. (See Appendix 4: **Civic Literacy** for a sample list of facts and topics that ought to be included in civics courses.) The stated ideals of civics education should make clear that this knowledge is in itself so valuable for any citizen that it needs no further justification.

3. **Redefine civic ideals in non-progressive language.** Colleges and universities should use traditional language to define inspirational civic ideals and actions. The definition of civic ideals should emphasize unpoliticized education for participation in government, and explicitly distinguish between civic activity and participation in extra-governmental political pressure groups.
4. **Freeze or curtail all federal and state funding for service-learning and civic engagement.** These programs have had bipartisan support back to President George H. W. Bush's federal-level initiatives in the early 1990s. Yet no matter how well-intentioned these programs, they now are used to advertise progressive causes, support progressive community organizations, and provide jobs for progressives in academic administration. The progressive takeover of these programs can only be kept in bounds by more oversight than it is realistic to expect from a federal or state legislature. Legislatures ought to be able to rely on local administrators doing what they are supposed to do with government funds, and in this case they cannot. Moreover, even if service-learning and civic engagement could be depoliticized, they provide no real college-level education. Public money for service-learning and civic engagement should be capped immediately.
5. **Remove the service-learning and civic engagement bureaucracies from the universities.** The administrators in charge of these programs cannot distinguish education from progressive activism. Their career goals are to divert university resources to progressive organizations and to reorganize the university for progressive goals. No further personnel should be hired for these bureaucracies; as New Civics bureaucrats retire or resign, their positions should be eliminated. In due time, these programs need to be de-funded and closed. Presumably attrition will thin the ranks of these administrators before their positions are finally eliminated. The public will support this effort when it learns that the cost savings will be substantial.

No further personnel should be hired for the New Civics bureaucracies; as New Civics bureaucrats retire or resign, their positions should be eliminated. In due time, these programs need to be de-funded and closed.

6. **Legislators should mandate full and detailed fiscal transparency by all public educational institutions.** College administrators hide New Civics expenditures to conceal its expansion, and they will hide New Civics expenditures so as to thwart any effort by legislators or trustees to cap the New Civics. Colleges and universities must have transparent finances, so that college administrators can be held accountable by legislators and the public.
7. **Foster a genuine culture of volunteerism.** Many colleges now define volunteer activities as civic engagement. This conflation should be stopped at once. Moreover, all volunteer activities ought to be genuinely volunteer activities—coordinated by volunteers and done by volunteers, without financial support or class credit. Colleges and universities should state explicitly that a “volunteer” activity for which you receive remuneration is really an internship as an administrator of the welfare state.
8. **Create a rival national alliance of educational organizations dedicated to countering and replacing the national alliance of service-learning organizations.** The New Civics movement can pretend that its program of progressive activism and advocacy is generic civics education because it has the field to itself. An alternative national alliance of civics organizations needs to work forcefully to promote unpoliticized civics education, focused around civic literacy rather than civic engagement. This alternative national alliance should work to promote traditional civic literacy and dislodge the New Civics, by rallying public opinion and informing federal and state legislators. This alternative national alliance should also provide national civics programs for the use of American universities, aligned toward traditional civic literacy rather than progressive activism.

An alternative national alliance of civics organizations needs to work forcefully to promote unpoliticized civics education, focused around civic literacy rather than civic engagement.

We make 2 local recommendations:

1. **The University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado State University, the University of Northern Colorado, and the University of Wyoming should cap spending for their New Civics bureaucracies.** Funding for any activity labeled as “service-learning,” “civic engagement,” or any other specialized term from the New Civics vocabulary should also be capped, with the long-term goal of its elimination. Any worthwhile activities currently run by the New Civics bureaucrats should be transformed into unpaid, volunteer activity.

2. **The University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado State University, and the University of Northern Colorado should restore their traditional civics education, while the University of Wyoming should improve the way it teaches its required civics course.** All four institutions should invest money to make sure the restored civics curriculum is taught in small classes, and if possible with a tuition remission for the students.

PROGRESSIVE POLITICS: A NOTE

This report goes along with a basic claim of the New Civics movement: that it only came about because of a conversation within the discipline of civics education. We trace the history of the New Civics as if that were the case, but that is merely a convenient simplification. The New Civics isn't a pedagogical movement that happens to have been captured by political progressives; it is, to the contrary, one more opportunistic extension of progressive activism. The rationale of civic pedagogy is a fig leaf.

The Association of American Colleges & Universities' report *A Crucible Moment* (2012)—a touchstone document of the New Civics, discussed below at greater length—identifies civics education with political activism “to eliminate persistent inequalities, especially those in the United States determined by income and race,” and with activism about “growing global economic inequalities, climate change and environmental degradation, lack of access to quality health care, economic volatility, and more.” *A Crucible Moment's* explicit conflation of civics and progressive activism reveals the real point of the New Civics. There is no substantive distinction between the New Civics and other progressive takeovers of higher education, such as the diversity and sustainability movements. The New Civics is hostile to the free market; supports racial preferences in the guise of *diversity*; supports arbitrary government power in the guise of *sustainability*; and undermines traditional loyalty to America in the guise of *global citizenship*. It is no accident that these components of the modern progressive agenda permeate the New Civics. The purpose of the New Civics is to advance progressive politics.

The reader should keep this broader progressive campaign in mind, even as we focus upon what now goes under the name of civics education.

PART ONE: CIVICS EDUCATION IN AMERICA

Overview

Civics education has a long history going back to the establishment of service learning in the 1960s. In this chapter we trace that history, describe its present state, and sketch its prospects. The topics are:

1. **Traditional Civics Education:** what civics education should be; what universities actually teach; and the history of the Old Civics in America, which focused on civic literacy.
2. **The New Civics' Origins:** the field of *service-learning*; the explicitly Alinskyite, community-organizing tradition that led to the *Public Achievement* programs; and the New Civic *pedagogy*.
3. **Civic Engagement:** the field of Civic Engagement as it has emerged since the 1980s and which now explicitly substitutes for the Old Civics.
4. **The New Civics Now:** the national infrastructure that supports the New Civics.
5. **Ambitions:** what the advocates of the New Civics hope to make of American higher education in the years to come.

This organization repeats a central theme: that service-learning programs in the past, civically engaged programs in the present, and the ambitions of the New Civics advocates all center on advertising for progressive causes, transforming students into progressive activists, and diverting university resources to support progressive organizations. We seek to show the continuity between this movement's origins in 1960s radicalism and its present nature, even where that nature disguises itself in innocuous civic vocabulary.

Sources

This section relies on writings by advocates of service-learning and civic engagement: we present their own description of their aims and actions.

For the section on service-learning, we rely on Timothy K. Stanton, Dwight E. Giles, Jr., and Nadinne I. Cruz, *Service Learning: A Movement's Pioneers Reflect on Its Origins, Practice, and Future* (1999), a history of the first decades of the field drawn largely from interviews with the leading pioneers in the field. This is an essential resource, and most other histories of service-learning draw upon it. We rely secondarily on David Busch's "A Brief History of Service Learning" at the *SocialChange101* website: Busch writes concisely, informatively, and authoritatively.

For the section on Public Achievement, we rely on articles written or co-written by Harry Boyte, the founder of Public Achievement.

For the sections on civic engagement, and on the ambitions of the civic engagement movement, we rely on several linked documents. The first is the Association of American Colleges & Universities' report *A Crucible Moment: College Learning & Democracy's Future* (2012); the second is The Civic Series, a series of five collections of essays issued by "Bringing Theory to Practice Project (BTtoP)," a private grant-making "initiative" that was a key sponsor of *A Crucible Moment*. These five essay collections are *Civic Provocations* (2012); *Civic Values, Civic Practices* (2013); *Civic Studies* (2014); *Civic Engagement, Civic Development and Higher Education* (2014); and *Civic Learning and Teaching* (2014). We cite these not only because they present a great deal of the theory and practice of civic engagement but also because these works were commissioned to inform action by the Department of Education. Indeed, the Federal Government has already begun to change its policy in accordance with the authors' description of what civic engagement is and should be. We cite these works above all because their definition of civic engagement is the one that will direct government funding and regulatory power in the next decades.

TRADITIONAL CIVICS EDUCATION

What Civics Education Should Be

Civics education has come down to us from the Greeks, who originated the ideal of the *cives*, the city. As Patrick Deneen notes, a *cives* was “a particular place with a particular history and particular polity.” Civics education therefore is meant to be “an education in citizenship” as well as “the activity of those who shape and make the laws in a polity, who exercise in common the office of self-governance.” This education consists of three components: knowledge of the history of your nation and the civilization from which it arose; knowledge of how laws are passed and your role as a citizen in governing your country; and education to virtue, since the virtue of governing yourself and commanding your own passions is a prerequisite for joining in the collective self-governance of a free state. While civics education should make citizens capable of engaging in politics, it should not forward any particular political program.²⁶

Every nation has its own version of civics education, tailored to its political order, but for few is civics education so important as it is for the United States. We are a nation founded on the ideals incarnated in our political order rather than on race or religion. To be an American is to be a citizen dedicated to the preservation of the republican order that sustains our national creed, as articulated in the Declaration of Independence: “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”²⁷ By becoming citizens, we are made into Americans out of the nations of the world. Civics education is not optional: an American is nothing if not a citizen, and civics education gives us the capacity to be Americans.²⁸

The details of this civics education have varied over the generations, but our citizens and professional educators generally have assumed that American students need some core knowledge about the history of their country, the nature of its ideals, and the structure of its government.

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nations of the world.
Civics education
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American is nothing
if not a citizen, and
civics education gives
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Americans.*

²⁶ Patrick J. Deneen, “An Unbalanced Crucible,” *Academic Questions* 25, 3 (2012), pp. 338-40.

²⁷ Declaration of Independence, Charters of Freedom, National Archives, http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html.

²⁸ Cf. George Thomas, *The Founders and the Idea of a National University: Constituting the American Mind* (Cambridge, 2015).

In America, civics education usually is meant to instruct students in the history of the United States; enunciate and explain its founding principles; enumerate our constitutional rights; explain the structure, operation, and limits of our government; itemize our duties to our fellow citizens; discuss the interrelation of economic freedom and political freedom; and provide impartial summaries of current policy debates. Above all, civics education is supposed to teach students how to be citizens rather than subjects, how to be self-governing rather than governed, and how to be free without usurping the freedom of others. These lessons collectively have been taken to be necessary to equip students to embrace their civic rights and responsibilities, and assume their birthright as American citizens.

Students are supposed to receive civics education both in secondary school and in college. Colleges and universities are meant both to reinforce the basic civics education students have received earlier and to give them a higher level of knowledge that digs deeper into both the theory and practice of civics. Such college-level civics education is especially important because it should inform students who have just reached voting age and are assuming the rights, responsibilities, and good civic habits of adult citizens. College-level civics education should be the capstone of civics.

What Universities Actually Teach

What civics education should be is a far cry from what it is. High schools do not do a good job of teaching civic literacy—and they do a worse job than they used to. According to the Association of American Colleges & Universities’ report *A Crucible Moment: College Learning & Democracy’s Future* (2012), “Only 24 percent of graduating high school seniors scored at the proficient or advanced level in civics in 2010, fewer than in 2006 or in 1998,” “Half of the states no longer require civics education for high school graduation,” and “Among 14,000 college seniors surveyed in 2006 and 2007, the average score on a civic literacy exam was just over 50 percent, an ‘F’.”²⁹ In 2010, the National Center for Education Statistics likewise reported that “Twenty-seven percent of fourth-graders, 22 percent of eighth-graders, and 24 percent of twelfth-graders performed at or above the *Proficient* level in civics.”³⁰ In 2014, comparable statistics were only available for eighth-graders, but these indicated no improvement: “Only 17 percent of all eighth-graders assessed were proficient in U.S. history—meaning they demonstrated competency of subject-matter knowledge, application of such knowledge to real-world situations, and related analytical skills. Only 22 percent exhibited proficiency in civics, and 24 percent in geography.”³¹ Carol Schneider states that “Only 12 percent of graduating

29 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 7.

30 National Center for Education Statistics, “The Nation’s Report Card: Civics 2010,” May 2011, <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/pubs/main2010/2011466.asp#section1>.

31 Esther Cepeda, “Disappointment in the Latest Nation’s Report Card,” *Madison.com*, May 10, 2015, http://host.madison.com/news/opinion/column/guest/esther-cepeda-disappointment-in-the-latest-nation-s-report-card/article_aa5cdd63-a20a-5ec3-9c34-1bfe6f3e98c8.html.

high school seniors are proficient in history.”³² Civics education at the college level should be a capstone—but is now required to provide remediation for the widespread failure of civics education at the K-12 level.

College civics education does not even provide much of that remedial knowledge. In September 2015 the American Council of Trustees and Alumni published a survey of Americans’ knowledge about the Constitution.³³ Of the college graduates who took the survey, 35 percent mistakenly believed that the Constitution gives the president the power to declare war. Only 28 percent correctly identified James Madison as the “Father of the Constitution,” whereas 59 percent thought it was Thomas Jefferson. A third of college graduates mislabeled John Boehner as the current president of the Senate. More than half misidentified the correct length of elected terms for members of Congress. Fewer than half of college graduates correctly chose “ratification by three-fourths of the states” in answer to the question, “What is required before a proposed amendment can be approved as part of the Constitution?” A third of graduates could not correctly define the Bill of Rights as the name for the first ten amendments.³⁴ No less than the K-12 schools, America’s colleges and universities evidently are failing at civics education. The advocates of the New Civics are certainly correct in their diagnosis of this aspect of America’s educational failure, even if their prescription has itself contributed to the problem. *A Crucible Moment* is correct to say that “Far too many students arrive on campus lacking knowledge basic to democracy, and far too many graduate, a few years later, still underprepared for their responsibilities as citizens in our globally engaged and broadly influential democracy.”³⁵

Civics education at the college level should be a capstone—but is now required to provide remediation for the widespread failure of civics education at the K-12 level.

How did America’s civics education come to function so poorly?

The Old Civics

Civics education was not originally the subject of any specialized, professional discipline, but rather blended into education in general. John Pierpont’s *National Reader* included inspirational civic readings as a matter of course, such as “Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill,” O. Dewey’s “Claim of the Pilgrims to the Reverence and Gratitude of their Descendants,” and Edward Everett’s “Extract

32 Carol Geary Schneider, “To Democracy’s Detriment: What Is the Current Evidence, and What if We Fail to Act Now?,” in Donald W. Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations* (Washington, D.C., 2012), p. 8.

33 GfK, “Constitution Day,” ACTA Survey Findings, August 28–30, 2015, http://www.goacta.org/images/download/Constitution_Day_Survey.pdf.

34 GfK, “Constitution Day,” ACTA Survey Findings, August 28–30, 2015, http://www.goacta.org/images/download/Constitution_Day_Survey.pdf.

35 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 8.

from an Oration, delivered at Plymouth, Mass.”³⁶ Charles W. Sanders’ *The School Reader: Fourth Book* (1842) also included readings such as Willis G. Clark’s “Death of President Harrison,” Lydia Howard Sigourney’s “Family of the New England Farmer,” and Joseph Story’s “Responsibilities of the American People.”³⁷ Story’s “Responsibilities of the American People” gives a flavor of such civic readings: “I call upon you, young men, to remember whose sons you are, whose inheritance you possess. Life can never be too short, which brings nothing but disgrace and oppression. Death never comes too soon if necessary in defense of the liberties of your country.”³⁸

McGuffey’s *Fifth Reader* (1853) likewise incorporated texts such as Patrick Henry’s “Speech Before the Virginia Convention,” Lord Chatham’s “On the Removal of the British Troops from Boston,” and Daniel Webster’s “Duties of American Citizens” and “Importance of the Union.”³⁹ More generally, “history” was to a considerable extent the inspirational civics under another name.⁴⁰

The first challenge to this all-round civics education came from the newly professionalizing discipline of history, formed around the model promulgated by German professors of history. From the 1880s onward, a generation of historians sought to reorient American civics education around the new professional history: students would now learn civics not only to inculcate patriotism and improve character but also to practice memory, acquire facts, and make sense of these facts by applying imagination, judgment, and disciplined, methodical thinking. In other words, the intellectual formation of a history professor of Wilhemine Germany was to be superimposed on the education of American schoolchildren—not least to justify the employment of specialized, professionalized history teachers in America’s schools.

“I call upon you, young men, to remember whose sons you are, whose inheritance you possess. Life can never be too short, which brings nothing but disgrace and oppression. Death never comes too soon if necessary in defense of the liberties of your country.”

*Joseph Story,
“Responsibilities of
the American People”
(1828)*

36 John Pierpont, *The National Reader: A Selection of Exercises in Reading and Speaking* (Boston, 1828), pp. 200-09, 242-49.

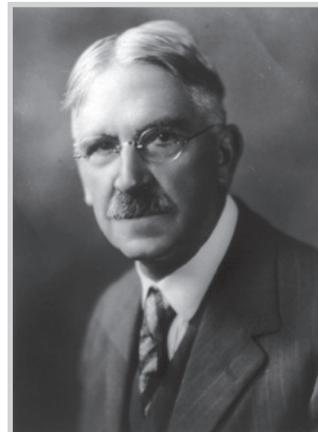
37 Charles W. Sanders, *The School Reader. Fourth Book* (New York, 1842), pp. 47-49, 279-80, 299-301.

38 Sanders, *School Reader*, p. 301.

39 McGuffey’s *Newly Revised Rhetorical Guide; or Fifth Reader of The Eclectic Series* (New York, 1853), pp. 92-94, 327-39, 458-61.

40 David Warren Saxe, *Social Studies in Schools: A History of the Early Years* (Albany, 1991), p. 30.

This educational program itself faced a new challenge almost immediately. The subject matter of the new professional history focused on the political history of America and Europe. Despite its aspiration to inspire imagination and methodical thinking,⁴¹ this history consisted all too often (at least in the polemic of its opponents) of the memorization of dry lists of dates and facts. A series of pedagogical reformers between the 1890s and the 1910s therefore sought to broaden this curriculum to include newer sorts of history—notably social history and economic history—and other disciplines, such as economics and political science. These reformers in effect argued that civics education indeed should be the subject of professional discipline, but that the sub-discipline of political history should not be allowed a monopoly over civics education. This wave of reform culminated in the *1913 Preliminary Statement*, the *1915 Report on Community Civics*, and the *1916 Report on Social Studies*, all of which were significantly influenced by the thought of John Dewey. This last report effectively founded the catch-all discipline of social studies. Social studies included history, economics, political science, psychology—and civics, now given its own name as a focused, quasi-professional subject. This new discipline of civics was meant to be taught alongside the other elements of the social studies curriculum, rather than as a permeating influence upon the whole of education.⁴² This was America’s Old Civics—a compromise that fused the reforms of the late nineteenth-century and of the Progressive Era. This Old Civics transformed the all-around civics education of the one-room schoolhouse into the departmentalized education of the modern high school.



John Dewey

The Old Civics thus was founded as a mixture of the knowledge of dates and facts needed to provide civic literacy and the Progressive-era pedagogy associated with John Dewey. Civics was supposed to provide basic information about the structure of government and the nature of society, and it was also supposed to form an active citizen capable of taking part in that government. The classic civics curriculum as it emerged from the *1916 Report on Social Studies* therefore consisted of a sequence of civics classes taught in conjunction with geography, American history, European history—or, in later variations, with a more interdisciplinary “social studies” substituting for some

41 Saxe, *Social Studies in Schools*, pp. 30-50.

42 Saxe, *Social Studies in Schools*, esp. pp. 51ff; C. Gregg Jorgenson, *John Dewey and the Dawn of Social Studies: Unraveling Conflicting Interpretations of the 1916 Report* (Charlotte, NC, 2012).

portion of geography and history. This system—whose goals found an eloquent summary in the Harvard Committee’s *General Education in a Free Society* (1945) and the Commission on Higher Education’s 1947 report *Higher Education for American Democracy*—in essence was the civics curriculum that held sway until the 1960s.⁴³

To defend the Old Civics and civic literacy, in other words, is to uphold a system significantly formed first by late nineteenth century professionalization and then by progressive theories of education. It is also the defense of a system that gave a majority of American students at least a sketchy knowledge of their system of government and of the civic virtues, and that encouraged them to think of this knowledge as something to be used as adults rather than just learned and forgotten for a test. The best thing to be said about this system is that it is better than what replaced it.

What immediately replaced it was nothing at all. Much of the Old Civics was taken apart during the 1960s. A new wave of more radically Deweyan pedagogues dismantled a great deal of the traditional educational standards—including much of the traditional civics requirements. The following generation of students were scarcely taught in school how to be citizens. Meanwhile, both the American family and American civil society were undergoing wrenching attrition: these, the traditional schools of virtue and civic practice, were (and still are) both in radical decline.⁴⁴ The hollowing out of virtue (civic and otherwise) from school, the family, and our civil society provided the fundamental impetus for the renewed desire since the 1980s for a more intensive civics education.

Much of the Old Civics was taken apart during the 1960s. A new wave of more radically Deweyan pedagogues dismantled a great deal of the traditional educational standards—including much of the traditional civics requirements.

43 *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee* (Cambridge, MA, 1945), esp. pp. 73-78, 132-50, 213-20; James J. Carpenter, “The Development of a More Intelligent Citizenship’: John Dewey and the Social Studies,” *Education and Culture* 22, 2 (2006), 31-42; Ronald W. Evans, *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach the Children?* (New York, 2004), esp. 21-45.

44 Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, 2000); William Damon, *Failing Liberty: How We Are Leaving Young Americans Unprepared for Citizenship in a Free Society* (Stanford, 2011), p. 40.

THE NEW CIVICS' ORIGINS

The New Civics in some ways hearkens back to the oldest style of civics education in America, where civics permeated education as a whole. Yet it reflects only the ambition of that oldest civics, not its content: the New Civics substitutes a left-partisan political program for the reverence and love for America expounded by Pierpont, Sanders, and McGuffey. To understand the New Civics properly we must examine in detail its three main sources: the service-learning movement, the neo-Alinskyite Public Achievement movement, and the New Civic Pedagogy. We discuss these topics in the following order:

1. Service-Learning: Institutional History
2. Service-Learning: Theory
3. Service-Learning: Goals
4. Service-Learning: Effects
5. Public Achievement
6. The New Civic Pedagogy

Service-learning is by far the most important source of the New Civics, and requires examination at length. We thus divide service-learning into four sections—Institutional History, Theory, Goals, and Effects.

Service-Learning: Institutional History

Service-learning, the mainspring of the New Civics movement, claims to found itself on some uncontroversial truths about teaching. Every pedagogue back to the ancient Greeks has emphasized the importance of practice as a complement to theory; the college-larned fool who knows nothing about the real world has been a butt of humor for centuries. That education should be an apprenticeship is traditional; the idea of an internship updates this old concept. At the college level, an internship for an education major or an engineering major seemed common sense.

Much of service-learning indeed is vocational training for progressive community activists.

Service-learning claimed that it was nothing more than a civic variant of this theme, where an internship with a community-service component could join these other forms of internships as a “practical” education. Much of service-learning indeed is vocational training for progressive community activists—but it was not founded with such practical goals primarily in mind.

INSTITUTIONAL ROOTS

Service-learning traces its institutional roots to organizations such as the Highlander Folk School of Tennessee, which applied ideals of “emancipatory education” drawn from the Danish Folk Schools to the Appalachian South between the 1930s and the 1960s. The Highlander Folk School was closely associated with both the Labor movement and the Civil Rights movement.

The movements of the 1960s, however, provided the immediate framework for service-learning. During this decade, the admirable cause of civil rights used radical pedagogical means that would provide a deeply pernicious precedent for higher education. Civil rights activists “implemented a form of education as service.” The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) set up Freedom Schools as part of the 1964 Freedom Summer, intended both to provide academic instruction for black students in Mississippi and to “empower” both the students and the college volunteer staff. The Freedom Schools’ “Classroom activities included voter registration work and political role-playing.” The general pedagogical attitude, provided for the exceptional circumstances of Mississippi in 1964, encouraged teachers to learn from students’ experiences, to tie classroom content to outside social and political issues, and to make “service” an integral part of learning.

One schoolteacher at the Freedom Schools was Mario Savio; he would import its techniques to the Alternative University set up by the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley.⁴⁵ Education toward activism received a powerful boost from the Civil Rights struggle, both as moral precedent and as a practicum in the procedures of turning education toward activism.

The 1960s also witnessed a flourishing of service-learning-type organizations, including the foundation of the Peace Corps in 1961, Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA, the ancestor of AmeriCorps VISTA) in 1964, and the White House Fellows Program in 1964.⁴⁶ Significantly, these organizations also drew on Deweyan theory.⁴⁷ Equally significantly, these organizations served a double purpose—the one humanitarian, used to acquire bipartisan support, and the other more political, intended to channel humanitarian impulses into organizations that softly (and not so softly) forwarded progressive policies. Finally, federal money now supported organizations whose education of character resonated to a progressive tune. Service-learning would inherit from these organizations the combination of Deweyan theory, a civic rationale applied to organizations that promoted progressive causes, and dependence on government money.

45 David Busch, “A Brief History of Service Learning,” *SocialChange101*, <http://www.socialchange101.org/history-of-service-learning/>.

46 Lisa Gallagher, Eric Planowski, and Kyra Tarbell, *Faculty Guide to Service-Learning: Information and Resources for Creating and Implementing Service-Learning Courses* (Denver: <http://www.ucdenver.edu/life/services/ExperientialLearning/foremployers/Documents/UC%20Denver%20Faculty%20S-L%20Guide.pdf>), p. 4. For the VISTA connection, see also Timothy K. Stanton, Dwight E. Giles, Jr., and Nadinne I. Cruz, *Service Learning: A Movement’s Pioneers Reflect on Its Origins, Practice, and Future* (San Francisco, 1999), p. 59.

47 Busch, “Brief History,” <http://www.socialchange101.org/history-of-service-learning/>.

Among the people trained and employed by these predecessor organizations, along with other organizations devoted to civil rights activism, were the founders of the field of service-learning.⁴⁸



Richard Couto



Nadinne Cruz



Kenneth Reardon



Ira Harkavy

SERVICE-LEARNING'S PIONEERS

Service-learning was founded in the late 1960s and first flourished in the 1970s. Service-learning's pioneers had mixed professional affiliations: some were teachers or administrators, while others worked in government or community organizing.⁴⁹ Yet they were all committed to the radical left, and traced their commitment to service-learning to their political commitments.⁵⁰

Among these service-learning pioneers, Nadinne Cruz (Higher Education Consortium for Urban Affairs, Stanford University) stated that “Consistently from then until now, I have seen myself mostly as a political activist whose paid job happens to be by choice in the academy. I see myself as having figured out a niche in academic spaces in order to continue work I started in 1963 as a student volunteer caught up in social change. I see the academy as an organizing base from which to do social change work.”⁵¹ Kenneth Reardon (Cornell University, University of Illinois) affirmed that, “yes, we have a particular point of view, which is fundamentally looking at redistribution of resources and power within our society, bringing educational programs forward that help support the efforts of local communities to have the chance to participate in decisions and in the economy. It is political.”⁵² Richard Couto (Vanderbilt University, University of Richmond) recalled that “I saw my work as an extension of social movements of the 1960s,” and “My motivation was political change.” In Couto’s Community

“Yes, we have a particular point of view... It is political.”

*- Kenneth Reardon
(Cornell University,
University of Illinois)*

48 Busch, “Brief History,” <http://www.socialchange101.org/history-of-service-learning/>.

49 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 53.

50 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 54.

51 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 85; and see also p. 110.

52 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 138.

Problem Solving (COMPS) seminar, student projects included setting up a computer spreadsheet program for Habitat for Humanity and “assisting the state Planned Parenthood office to develop a program of school-based sex education.”⁵³

As these statements suggest, the service-learning pioneers moved into the academy essentially to pursue radical politics by other means.⁵⁴ So Ira Harkavy followed up on Lee Benson’s call “for the creation of a national academic-practitioners alliance—a progressive alliance, which actually was formed with progressive unions, civil rights organizers, and academics.” Harkavy, then at the University of Pennsylvania, applied this dictum locally: “We turned it toward West Philadelphia, to the neighborhood, on schooling issues. There the notion of academically based community service started to develop out of a participatory action research mode, asking the question of how universities can change the world.”⁵⁵

The pioneers’ answer was the field of service-learning.

RAMSEY AND SIGMON CREATE SERVICE-LEARNING

William Ramsey established the first “service-learning” program in 1965, at the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies in Tennessee.⁵⁶ He was joined in 1966 by Robert Sigmon, who explicitly acknowledged that his work with Ramsey was motivated by radical politics and used radical pedagogy: “Experiential education was our venue. We were linking our experiential education alternative with how you feel about destitution and despair.”⁵⁷



Robert Sigmon

From the beginning, Ramsey’s service-learning involved organized extraction of government money by local organizations, with the ready complicity of federal bureaucrats eager to disburse the funds.⁵⁸ As this sort of activity came to seem increasingly tangential to nuclear studies, Ramsey and Sigmon transferred themselves to the Southern Regional Education Board in Atlanta.⁵⁹ They experimented with different terms—“*experiential learning*, *experience learning*, *work learning*, *action learning*”—and in 1967 they came up with *service-learning*: “We decided to call it service-learning, because *service* implied a value consideration that none of the other words we came up with did. ... We were

53 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 75; Richard A. Couto, “Civic Leadership,” in Richard M. Battisoni and William E. Hudson, eds., *Experiencing Citizenship: Concepts and Models for Service-Learning in Political Science* (Sterling, VA, 2006), p. 221.

54 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 80, 93.

55 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 83.

56 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 64.

57 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 140.

58 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 65-66.

59 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 67.

looking for something with a value connotation that would link action with a value of reflection on that action—a disciplined reflection.”⁶⁰

In 1969 a follow-up conference of university faculty and Peace Corps and VISTA officials defined *service-learning*, and the ensuing *Atlanta Service-Learning Conference Report* of 1970 framed the introduction of service-learning into higher education.⁶¹ It also gave service-learning an enduring definition.

ATLANTA SERVICE-LEARNING CONFERENCE REPORT (1970): DEFINITION OF SERVICE-LEARNING

“the integration of the accomplishment of a needed task with educational growth,” and whose goals are:

- to accomplish needed public services
- to add breadth and depth and relevance to students’ learning
- to offer a productive avenue of communication and cooperation between public agencies and institutions of higher education
- to give students exposure to, testing of, and experience in public service careers
- to increase the number of well-qualified young people entering public service careers, and
- to give young people, whatever line of work they choose to enter, front-line experience with today’s problems so they will be better equipped to solve them as adult citizens.

Atlanta Service-Learning Conference Report, p. iii.

SERVICE-LEARNING: THE EARLY DECADES

From that point on, service-learning began to expand, slowly but surely, through the American system of higher education. The National Student Volunteer Program (1969), now the National Center for Service Learning, provided a national framework to forward service-learning through the 1970s, and from the early 1970s began publishing *The Syntegist*, “a journal linking academic learning and community service.”⁶² Two parallel societies also emerged in the 1970s, the Society

60 Dwight E. Giles, Jr. and Janet Eyley, “The Theoretical Roots of Service-Learning in John Dewey: Toward a Theory of Service-Learning,” *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* 1, 1 (1994), p. 78; Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 67.

61 Busch, “Brief History,” <http://www.socialchange101.org/history-of-service-learning/>; Southern Regional Education Board, *Atlanta Service-Learning Conference Report* (1970), <http://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=slceproceedings>.

62 Sally Berman, *Service Learning: A Guide to Planning, Implementing, and Assessing Student Projects, Second Edition* (New York, 2015).

for Field Experience Education (SFEE) and the National Center for Public Service Internships (NCPSI), eventually to merge as the National Society for Internships and Experiential Education.⁶³ In 1979, the NSVP published Robert Sigmon’s refinement on the principles of service-learning, which emphasized that “this experiential learning is ‘reciprocal’: Both those who provide a service and those who receive it learn from the service. Unless that reciprocity exists, an experience is not true service learning.”⁶⁴ *Reciprocity* would remain a key word in service-learning, civic engagement, and all related endeavors. The use of the words *reciprocity* and *reciprocal* are enduring signs that a class or program, whatever it calls itself, is really a form of service-learning.

SERVICE-LEARNING: THE TAKEOVER OF CAMPUS COMPACT

Service-learning remained a small, marginal movement until the 1980s.⁶⁵ The foundation of Campus Compact in 1985, however, allowed for a major step forward in the spread of service-learning. Campus Compact provided an institutional framework for an alliance of colleges and universities to promote service-learning nationwide. As David Busch wrote in *A Brief History of Service Learning*, this was the point at which “What was once a marginal, not-well-understood form of alternative education was suddenly on the front burner of numerous higher education organizations and on the minds of a growing number of campus administrators and faculty.”⁶⁶

Campus Compact did not just happen to adopt service-learning; the decision was the result of a deliberate takeover by the advocates of service-learning. Campus Compact at first seemed about to favor a more traditional sense of service and volunteerism, without the radical goals of service-learning, and the service-learning advocates were afraid that this new competition would drive them out of business. Instead, they took over Campus Compact’s new program.

Richard Couto, Michele Whitham (Cornell University), and Timothy Stanton (Cornell University, Stanford University) “strategized how we could influence Campus Compact’s thinking so that it would embrace and support service-learning as well as voluntary service.” They then met with Susan Stroud, the director of Campus Compact.⁶⁷ Soon thereafter, Campus Compact adopted service-learning. It is not clear



Richard Couto



Michele Whitham



Timothy Stanton

63 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 155-57.

64 Berman, *Service Learning*.

65 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 5.

66 Busch, “Brief History,” <http://www.socialchange101.org/history-of-service-learning/>; Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 5- 6.

67 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 166-68.

how many participants in Campus Compact realized what had just happened. Campus Compact promoted service-learning from then on, with all its radical goals, instead of apolitical service and volunteerism.

SERVICE-LEARNING'S SPONSORS

Campus Compact provided service-learning the sponsorship of university presidents throughout America. This is only the most dramatic of the many times when academic administrative sponsorship forwarded the cause of service-learning.⁶⁸ Support from external nonprofit organizations was also critical for establishing service-learning. Gib Robinson (San Francisco State University) recollected how much he depended upon the support of Ruth Chance, director at the progressive, California-focused Rosenberg Foundation: “She asked hard questions and then empowered me to go do what I wanted. She basically gave me a check and said, ‘Go do it.’”⁶⁹ Administrative sponsorship, witting or unwitting, has been crucial throughout for service-learning’s success.



Gib Robinson

SERVICE-LEARNING IN RECENT DECADES

While service-learning began to feed into the “civic engagement” field from the moment it took over Campus Compact’s volunteerism campaign, service-learning also continued its own autonomous life. Further notable developments included the drafting of *The Principles of Good Practice for Combining Service and Learning* (1989); the passage of the National and Community Service Act (1990); the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development’s (ASCD) sanction of service learning (1993); the passage of the National Service Bill (1993); the publication of the first peer-reviewed service-learning journal, the *Michigan Journal of Community Service-Learning* (1994); the foundation of AmeriCorps (1994); and the establishment of the National Service-Learning Clearinghouse (1997).⁷⁰ Service-learning as a national practice was largely established by this point; it has grown in scale since then, but not changed much in character.⁷¹

Campus Compact provided service-learning the sponsorship of university presidents throughout America.

68 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 182.

69 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 184.

70 Berman, *Service Learning*; Gallagher, Planowski, and Tarbell, *Faculty Guide to Service-Learning*, p. 4.

71 For a handy summary in graphical form of the structure of a service-learning class, see *Service-Learning in the Curriculum: A Three-Phase Developmental Model*, http://www.compact.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/3-Phase-Model-Handout_UVM_2010.pdf.

Perhaps the most significant event in these decades was the 1993 reauthorization of the National and Community Service Act. This reauthorization, by way of establishing the parameters for federal fiscal support of service-learning, codified service-learning in federal law.

FEDERAL DEFINITION OF SERVICE LEARNING

The term *service-learning* means a method under which students or participants learn and develop through active participation in thoughtfully organized service that—

5. Is conducted in and meets the needs of a community;
6. Is coordinated with an elementary school, secondary school, institution of higher education, or community service program, and with the community;
7. Helps foster civic responsibility;
8. Is integrated into and enhances the academic curriculum of the students or the educational components of the community service program in which the participants are enrolled; and
9. Includes structured time for the students and participants to reflect on the service experience.

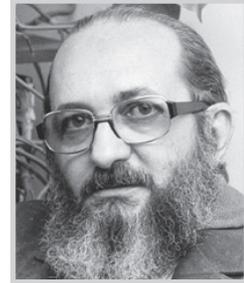
The Code of Federal Regulations of the United States of America, “Corporation for National and Community Service,” Title 45, §2510.20, p. 609.

This codification made it possible for service-learning to tap the coffers of federal money directly.

Service-Learning: Theory

ORIGINS

Service-learning pioneers drew on a large number of “theoretical mentors,” among them radical tactician Saul Alinsky and the anti-war activist Berrigan brothers.⁷² Within the catalogue of progressive activists and pedagogues, the most influential exemplars for the service-learning movement appear to have been the pedagogy of John Dewey, the institutional example of extension programs at land grant universities, and the 1960s civil rights movement’s initiatives to organize campuses and communities.⁷³ Morris Keeton (founder, Council for Adult and Experiential Learning; Antioch College) takes service-learning’s emphasis on critical reflection to draw directly upon Deweyan pedagogy, while service-learning pioneers more generally believed that Dewey and his cohort of early-twentieth-century progressive pedagogues provided the precedent for service-learning by linking democracy, education, and experiential learning.⁷⁴ Paulo Freire’s *critical pedagogy*, designed to radicalize students, was also deeply influential among the service-learning pioneers—although made somewhat more structured, to fit it to the institutional mold of American higher education.⁷⁵ Dewey and Freire provided the theoretical lodestars of the service-learning movement.



Paulo Freire

OPEN-DOOR SCHOOLING

Yet there were still more radical sources for service-learning. One strand drew upon the political re-education pedagogy of Maoist China at the height of the Cultural Revolution. Service-learning pioneer Nadinne Cruz (Higher Education Consortium for Urban Affairs, Stanford University) began as a radical in the Philippines who drew upon the Chinese model: “We looked to the Cultural Revolution as a way to return people to useful knowledge. We studied Mao...We wanted to emulate the Chinese experiment by sending the bourgeois to the countryside to unlearn the sins of education.”⁷⁶ Timothy Stanton (Cornell University, Stanford University), who went to China in 1977, also affirmed that his concept of service drew upon Maoist pedagogy—in his case, upon Open-Door Schooling.⁷⁷

72 Timothy K. Stanton, Dwight E. Giles, Jr., and Nadinne I. Cruz, *Service Learning: A Movement’s Pioneers Reflect on Its Origins, Practice, and Future* (San Francisco, 1999), p. 192.

73 Goodwin Liu, “Foreword,” in Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. xii.

74 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 4, 193.

75 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 112, 193; and for the influence of Freire, also see pp. 56, 69, 125, 136-37, 192; Liu, “Foreword,” p. xi.

76 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 41, 84.

77 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 114.



Staff Reporter, "Open Door Schooling is Good," *China Reconstructs* 25, 7 (July 1976), p. 10.

When Lo Yu-chuan first began her studies, learning so many fine details about such tiny insects seemed to her very remote from the great cause of socialism. Then, while working on the pest control project in the countryside, she got involved in the local class struggle. She was inspired by the changes brought about by the mass movement to learn from the national model production brigade Tachai and moved by the peasants' selfless labor. But what really changed her thinking was the way the class enemy utilized an incident with the insects to take a crack at socialism.

Staff Reporter, "Open Door Schooling is Good," *China Reconstructs* 25, 7 (July 1976), p. 12.

In China, Open-Door Schooling was the slogan used by the Maoist government during the Cultural Revolution to justify moving college students to factories and fields to be "educated" by workers and peasants. Open Door Schooling caused enormous damage to the Chinese educational system: as the *Historical Dictionary of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* summarizes, "Applying the slogan 'Open Door Schooling,' enrollments were massively increased, courses cut savagely in length and heavily politicized in content, and young learners taught to challenge and confront teachers in class and outside."⁷⁸ The self-description of Open-Door Schooling also explicitly tied together experiential education and political education: "The young people are gaining much more than professional knowledge in the big classroom of the countryside. Their political awareness is also being heightened."⁷⁹

Influential members among the creators of service-learning meant it to be an improved variation of political re-education in Maoist China.

Influential members among the creators of service-learning meant it to be an improved variation of political re-education in Maoist China.

78 Guo Jian, Yongyi Song, and Yuan Zhou, *Historical Dictionary of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Lanham, MD, 2006), p. 246; John Cleverley, *In the Lap of Tigers: The Communist Labor University of Jiangxi Province* (Lanham, MD, 2000), p. 161.

79 Staff Reporter, "Open Door Schooling Is Good," *China Reconstructs* 25, 7 (July 1976), p. 12, <http://www.bannedthought.net/China/Magazines/ChinaReconstructs/1976/CR1976-07.pdf>.

PROGRESSIVE POLITICS AS EDUCATION

The theory of service-learning emerged from a combination of Deweyan, Freirian, and Maoist philosophies and pedagogies with more immediate radical political inspirations, such as the campaigns of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Cesar Chavez.⁸⁰ The “pedagogical practice” of service-learning derived from 1960s radicals experimenting with how to integrate academics and “community action,” so as to make “deeper, more relevant education for students.”⁸¹ Service-learning was always a “values-oriented” form of progressive political education, intended to make students “better understand the causes of social injustice” and to “take actions to eliminate the causes.”⁸² Its *values* were the values of 1960s radicals—hardly changed, the values of modern progressives.

EDUCATION TO REMAKE THE UNIVERSITY AND THE WORLD

Service-learning also committed itself from the beginning to a definition of civic value that explicitly redefined the values of the university as a whole, and of the American nation.⁸³

The traditional view of education had resisted its politicization: Sidney Hook said in 1968 that “The goal of the university is not the quest for power or virtue, but the quest for significant truth.”⁸⁴ The service that education was supposed to provide fit broadly into this traditional conception, whether by training character (liberal arts colleges), creating and applying knowledge (research universities), training professionals (professional schools), or making college available to a broad variety of citizens (community college).⁸⁵

But Seth Pollack (California State University, Monterey Bay) affirms that service-learning assumed a redefinition of the sort of service that education should provide: “The crux of the debate is whether education should provide students with the skills and knowledge base necessary to fit into the existing social structure or prepare them to engage in social transformation.”⁸⁶

Indeed, “embedded in the debates around the social function of education is a third struggle over the definition of democracy itself.”⁸⁷ Service-learning is and always has been intended for social



Seth Pollack

80 USC Dornsife, “History of Service-Learning,” <https://dornsife.usc.edu/history-of-service-learning/>.

81 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. xv, 1.

82 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 3, 5.

83 Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago and London, 1970), pp. 73-74; Seth S. Pollack, “Early Connections Between Service and Education,” in Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 13

84 Cited in Pollack, “Early Connections,” p. 13.

85 Pollack, “Early Connections,” pp. 15-16.

86 Pollack, “Early Connections,” pp. 16-17.

87 Pollack, “Early Connections,” p. 16.

transformation, in the Dewey-to-Marx range,⁸⁸ and it strives for “democracy” defined around the achievement of that social transformation.

Most radically, service-learning aimed to change the entire nature of education.⁸⁹ At the deepest level, Timothy Stanton claimed that “the ultimate power of learning is its epistemological implication. When we suggest that important learning comes from thinking about community experience, that’s a political matter as well as a philosophical and pedagogical one. ... The academy will change when we transform our epistemological paradigms.”⁹⁰ Service-learning, and above all its community partnerships, are intended as a total challenge to traditional education—as Stanton puts it, to make progressive politics a precondition of how we know the world.

Service-Learning: Goals

PROGRESSIVE ADVOCACY

A primary aim of service-learning has always been “consciousness-raising”—which is to say, political advocacy to transform college students into progressives. Michele Whitham (Cornell University) recollected that “Dan Berrigan, said to a group of us—white radical student activists who hadn’t really found a niche—‘You know, the most important thing is the transformation of people’s consciousness. Why don’t you start a school?’ This was the inspiration for her later work organizing students in “community activities,” where they would “learn experientially.”⁹¹

Richard Cone (University of Southern California) likewise stated that “The only way we change the world is by changing the students we send out to do direct

“When we suggest that important learning comes from thinking about community experience, that’s a political matter as well as a philosophical and pedagogical one. ... The academy will change when we transform our epistemological paradigms.”

- Timothy K. Stanton.

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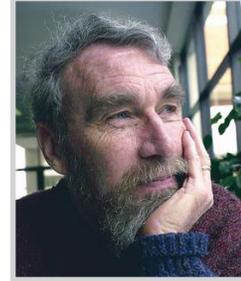
88 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 102.

89 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 77.

90 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 228-29.

91 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 55-56.

service—changing them so that when they become corporate lawyers, maybe they will be a different kind of corporate lawyer or a different kind of doctor.”⁹² Michael Goldstein (Urban Corps; University of Illinois) likewise emphasized that “When we did Urban Corps in 1965, we weren’t changing the world. It was the students. The change is what they did. So if we look at outcomes, what we ought to be looking at is how students become part of change.”⁹³ Kenneth Reardon (Cornell University, University of Illinois) put it that “‘True North’ for these pioneers ... is the development of thinking people committed to and able to act on behalf of community development and social justice.”⁹⁴



Richard Cone

DIVERTING RESOURCES

A second primary aim for service-learning has always been to divert resources for its own benefit. Service-learning’s three main targets are the government, the university, and any organization that can be appealed to with a grant application.



Michael Goldstein

DIVERTING GOVERNMENT MONEY

Service-learning has worked to divert governmental money from its first years. Kenneth Reardon recalls that in the Nixon administration he had the University of Massachusetts, Amherst’s Center of Outreach use federal money from the National Student Volunteer Program to place students “in community action and community organizing projects” such as “antiwar activities, anti-imperialism, anti-colonial work, as well as more traditional social service.” Reardon had the students “looking at the structural causes of social inequality.”⁹⁵

Michael Goldstein likewise channeled funds from the College Work-Study Program to fund the New York City Urban Corps: “By June we had a thousand students at work in city agencies.” The universities were the losers, as the students otherwise would have been working for the university, in the library and elsewhere. Goldstein conceived of this diversion as a way of spreading the benefits of service-learning to poor minorities who otherwise couldn’t participate in service-learning.⁹⁶ Goldstein’s policy certainly spread the effects of service-learning to a broader portion of the student body, whether or not service-learning actually benefitted them.

92 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 89.

93 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 237-38.

94 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 77.

95 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 43-44.

96 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 70-71, 73, 124.

HIJACKING UNIVERSITY RESOURCES

The diversion of funds is not just from the government, but from the academy itself: from the beginning, service-learning has also aimed to channel university resources toward radical political ends. Kenneth Reardon recollects that he moved from community organizing to the university in good measure “because that’s where a lot of resources could be mobilized to support the efforts I was interested in. It’s sort of like Willie Sutton, who robbed banks because that’s where the money was.” Richard Couto (Vanderbilt University, University of Richmond) thinks of himself as an agent of “redistributive justice” and believes that in his role at Vanderbilt’s health services department he “reversed the tide of resources in a lot of those communities.”⁹⁷ In general, service-learning pioneers have made it their priority to redirect university funds—and students—to the programs they favor.⁹⁸

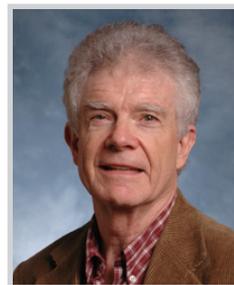
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PROSPECTING FOR GRANTS

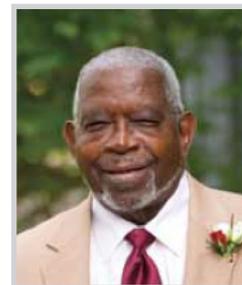
Service-learning has concerned itself from early on with grant-writing skills. Robert Newbrough recollected that “They wanted me to teach a grant writing course. ... I had trouble with that [simulating grant writing], so I moved it into real grant writing, where we found a client organization in the community and wrote grants for them. More and more it grew into the students’ preparing grant proposals.”⁹⁹ As we shall see below, service-learning courses in rhetoric and communications—remedial writing courses for college students—lend themselves to transformation into such practica in persuading other people to give you money.

“COMMUNITY CONTROL”: CONTROL BY PROGRESSIVE NONPROFITS

The beneficiaries of these university resources were the progressive community organizations that claimed to speak for the communities service-learning intended to benefit. Community organizations were meant to articulate the goals and run the service-learning programs.



Robert Newbrough



J. Herman Blake

97 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 81; and see p. 151.

98 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 139.

99 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 126.

The decision to cede control to community organizations was partly a practical recognition that students frequently were more interested in doing something for a semester and then moving on, whether or not their actions did any good. Herman Blake (University of California, Santa Cruz) didn't "want students to leave things half-done, just for their own benefit."¹⁰⁰ Service-learning advocates phrased this goal in the bland language of effectiveness: service-learning pioneers "wanted to encourage students' idealism, support it, and make it long-lasting and effective."¹⁰¹

This goal translated, however, into putting these community organizations in charge of the students. Herman Blake states that his students "had to be under the supervision and control of a community-based organization without public funds. That's how we provided the service. ... They were under the supervision of those communities."¹⁰² The community organizations soon made control over student labor a condition of their participation.

Kenneth Reardon writes that the East St. Louis community organization he worked with demanded full control of the service-learning project, including help to "establish primary relationships with area and regional funders that are not mediated or brokered by the university."¹⁰³ In consequence, as Michele Whitham put it, "students became their employees in a sense. If the community organization said they needed X, that's what the students would undertake with those people in the community."¹⁰⁴ Kenneth Reardon continued to make sure that community organizations would call the shots: "community-based organizations, which are partners and collaborators, evaluate not only their own organizational development, but also the university as a technical assistance provider. Then they identify the projects to be done during the next year."¹⁰⁵

"I connected the program to artists and community-based arts organizations and focused on how they defined their work as change agents, community developers, development organizers, and sustainers of change. ... It included artists ... who identified their work in terms of race or ethnicity ... I was very conscious about that, especially on issues of class."

– Nadinne Cruz

100 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 128.

101 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 85.

102 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 128-29.

103 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 138.

104 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 116.

105 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 137.

Community control is intimately tied to the larger pedagogical and political agenda of service-learning: Stanton, Giles, and Cruz write that university sponsors placed high trust in the community organizations, and assumed they would teach students “the ‘right’ things.”¹⁰⁶ Nadinne Cruz gives an idea of the nature of the community organizations selected as service-learning partners. When she developed the City Arts program while at the Higher Education Consortium for Urban Affairs in Minnesota, “I connected the program to artists and community-based arts organizations and focused on how they defined their work as change agents, community developers, development organizers, and sustainers of change. It included artists ... who identified their work in terms of race or ethnicity ... I was very conscious about that, especially on issues of class.”¹⁰⁷

The commitment to be “not funded by the public” has gone by the wayside, as the Federal Government has extended itself to ever greater funding of putatively independent non-profits, but the control of student efforts by progressive community organizations has continued.

“CAPACITY BUILDING”: SERVICE-LEARNING TO BUILD UP PROGRESSIVE INFRASTRUCTURE

Indeed, “community control” means that service-learning exists to build “capacity” for these community organizations and to “empower” them.¹⁰⁸

Service-learning’s focus on capacity building of community organizations is not simply practical, but part of a deliberate practice of radical politics. Kenneth Reardon acknowledges its debt to the “Alinsky-oriented” tactics of community organization to “build the membership, leadership base, and political skills of community-based institutions.”¹⁰⁹ Alinskyite influence has continued to affect service-learning as the field developed.¹¹⁰ Hence, as Kenneth Reardon affirms, “We’re concerned not only with their [local residents’] power to decide what their focus is going to be, but also with capacity building of community-based organizations so they can maintain and extend these activities when the university’s focus changes.”¹¹¹

ORGANIZING THE UNIVERSITY

Since service-learning is centrally about learning the tactics of political change, it was natural for service-learning advocates to apply these tactics to the university itself.¹¹² At Vanderbilt University, Richard Couto taught a class on community assessment that “took as its project a study of diversity

106 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 139.

107 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 111.

108 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 119, 136-37.

109 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 137.

110 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 226.

111 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 137.

112 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 131.



Jane Permaul



Dwight Giles



Sharon Rubin

at Vanderbilt. The university was the community that we were going to assess.”¹¹³ When Couto moved to the University of Richmond, he made this new goal explicit: “Previously I gave my strongest attention to the community organization, putting something in place that would be sustained. Now I put that attention to the university.”¹¹⁴ Nadinne Cruz put it that, “what we’re really trying to do is change educational institutions. They are part of the larger systems that’s creating problems in the community.”¹¹⁵

Jane Permaul used the Field Studies Development Program at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), established in 1980, as a tool by which to make the university itself her target community to be organized through “change agents.”¹¹⁶ Such tactics included getting professorial support by strategic proffers of money. Robert Sigmon (Southern Regional Education Board) recollected that “At SREB [Southern Regional Education Board] we moved all over the South, bribing professors to get students out and to go out themselves and work on projects that community folks had designed.” He said the pitch was, “Mr. Professor, if you will work a learning agenda with these students and give them credit, we’ll give you three hundred dollars for the summer to work with these kids. We’ll pay the kids a hundred dollars a week.”¹¹⁷

Permaul likewise focused on wooing the faculty by providing them with “funded and trained graduate teaching assistants” in exchange for the faculty adding service-learning to their courses.¹¹⁸ This strategy worked, and the incentives prompted many professors to adjust their courses as requested.

“Previously I gave my strongest attention to the community organization, putting something in place that would be sustained. Now I put that attention to the university.”
– Richard Couto

113 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 151.

114 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 152.

115 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 240.

116 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 146-47.

117 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 141.

118 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 146.

Other professionals, such as Sharon Rubin at Ramapo College of New Jersey, used faculty development programs. She included service-learning in training for new faculty, who tend to be eager for teaching tips as well as “more open to some of these ideas” than their older colleagues. Rubin also emphasized experiential learning as an acceptable component of tenure packets.¹¹⁹

As Timothy Stanton put it, “If we truly want to change higher education on behalf of service-learning, then we have to let go of the doing of it and encourage, bribe, and support the faculty to take up the work.”¹²⁰ Money has always been crucial to service-learning’s success: Gib Robinson (San Francisco State University) recalls of the 1970s that “There wasn’t a whole lot of outside money. So when I got funded, the university said, ‘Well, we don’t know what he’s doing and we don’t know why he’s doing it, but he’s got money, so we’ll let him do it.’ That was crucial.”¹²¹

Service-learning's focus on organizing the university so as to divert funds from it more effectively is intrinsic to the discipline.

A central point of service-learning, and its derivatives in civic engagement, is for advocates to devote themselves to “organizing” the university to support and finance their political agenda. As Permaul put it, “It’s like crashing a fraternity and making the fraternity change its way of thinking, recruiting, and sustaining its membership.”¹²² Service-learning’s focus on organizing the university so as to divert funds from it more effectively is intrinsic to the discipline.

ORGANIZING STUDENT SELF-INTEREST

The institutionalization of service-learning followed a deeply practical (and Alinskyite) desire to align service-learning with students’ self-interest. Early on, Dwight Giles (Cornell University, Vanderbilt University) met a dean at Vanderbilt who remarked that, “I’ve never met anybody who’s made a career out of experiential learning.”¹²³ This soon would change. Mary Edens (Michigan State University) noticed students were engaging in service-learning with some other ulterior career goal in mind, and had an epiphany. “I thought, ‘Why don’t we work on making volunteer service okay as part of a major?’” So in general, “We began to move from community service to service-learning in a career development model.”¹²⁴ And indeed an increasing number of students did get such careers. Timothy Stanton recollected that, “I got a letter from one of those students a couple of years after

119 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 147-48

120 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 154

121 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 183-84

122 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 146

123 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 196

124 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 96, 99

she graduated, in which she told me how she was trying to organize things where she worked and how she was taking the curriculum that we had taught them in New York and applying it, and how well it was helping her. Outcomes like that make me feel like it's all worth it."¹²⁵

CHANGING PUBLIC POLICY

Some part of service-learning has also been about changing public policy: Kenneth Reardon recalls that “students did some very good action-oriented policy research for community groups. In some cases, we got New York City to change a major decision that became very public.”¹²⁶ Reardon refers to work in the late 1980s by the Cornell University Community Research Workshop’s NYC Cooperative Extension Office that 1) pressured New York City to subsidize merchants at the Essex Street Market by limiting rent increases, spending \$2 million on “deferred maintenance,” and insuring the merchants against losses during renovation; and 2) a study of New York City’s Auction Sales Program in Bedford-Stuyvesant that concluded with “a strong recommendation in favor of providing City financing for building rehabilitation,” and ended up helping pressure the City to eliminate the Auction Sales Program entirely.¹²⁷ Helen Lewis (Clinch Valley College, Highlander Research Education Center) in Appalachia had her students start “a movement for a sales tax on coal.” They achieved their aim, and “Now there’s a 7 percent tax on coal.”¹²⁸ Service-learning devotes considerable efforts toward the short-term goals of advertising progressive causes, diverting funds, and re-organizing the university, but it also has worked, successfully, toward its long-term goal to enact progressive policy.



Helen Lewis

Service-Learning: Effects

BUREAUCRATIZATION

Service-learning has done much to revolutionize American universities, but it has not been unchanged by its sojourn in the academy. Perhaps the most important transformation service-learning has undergone is bureaucratization—a metamorphosis done to justify the field to university administrations and to philanthropic and governmental sponsors. At Cornell University, the service-learning advocates designed and established

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125 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 185

126 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 115.

127 Kenneth M. Reardon, “Undergraduate Research in Distressed Urban Communities: An Undervalued Form of Service-Learning,” *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* 1, 1 (1994), pp. 44-54.

128 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 134.

a “highly structured pedagogy.”¹²⁹ At Augsburg College, Garry Hesser institutionalized the experiential learning program by means of outside funding.¹³⁰ Hal Woods needed resources for his service-learning program at the University of Vermont, and so had to seek out funding sources tied to support for academics. He found it in “the federally supported University Year for Action (UYA), which was funded through ACTION in Washington, D.C.”—but as a consequence, Woods had to bureaucratize his service-learning program to satisfy federal reporting requirements.¹³¹

Perhaps the most bureaucratizing development of all arose from the need to make service-learning assessable/evaluable, so as to justify the receipt of funding. John Duley at Michigan State University sought out ways to make service-learning an evaluable academic program. He received advice from Paul Dressel, an expert on evaluating academic performance. Dressel advised him to use two models: “the Aviation Evaluation Program for the air force in determining the capability of people to become pilots,” which had “a critical incident technique ... developed to document learning acquired through experience,” and the Peace Corps, which assessed returning Corps members for the “kind of cross-cultural learning skills had they needed and acquired.”¹³² Making service-learning evaluable made it administratively possible to give students college credit for service-learning courses.

Yet many service-learning pioneers acknowledged the tension between their radical goals and service-learning’s institutionalization.¹³³ The very form of service-learning—assessable, for college credit—indeed has extinguished whatever anarchic spark the field once possessed. Service-learning has become an institutional revolutionary movement.

PERSISTING RADICALISM

Service-learning today still is meant to align with radical pedagogies and radical political action. It also is supposed to align with feminist pedagogy, which also relies upon concepts such as *critical reflection, dialogue, power, and privilege*.¹³⁴ It is supposed to align with critical theory, which critiques “the civic responsibilities of education” so as to provide a “dialectical” solution that relies upon the belief that “education is political.”¹³⁵ At the personal level, Dr. Tobi Jacobi, Director of the Center for Community Literacy at Colorado State University and enthusiastic advocate for service-



Tobi Jacobi

129 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 112.

130 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 149.

131 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 117, 119-20.

132 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 159-60.

133 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 173, 231-32.

134 Kathleen Flecky, “Foundations of Service Learning,” in Kathleen Flecky and Lynn Gitlow, eds., *Service Learning in Occupational Therapy Education* (Sudbury, MA, 2011), p. 4.

135 Flecky, “Foundations of Service Learning,” p. 4.

learning, described her ideal service-learning student as someone who sees the subject as social-justice work, and described her class as a whole as irreducibly concerned with social justice and activism.¹³⁶ Service-learning's bland vocabulary continues to disguise radical activism.¹³⁷ Service-learning has calcified in form, but its ambitions remain as radical as at its birth.

A MODERN SERVICE-LEARNING COURSE IN COLORADO

Metropolitan State University: WMS 3170 - Social Justice: Self and Citizenship: A Service Learning Course

Description: This course focuses upon psychological theory and self-identity in the context of multicultural and social justice issues (classism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, and ableism). Lectures, readings, and discussions are integrated with a required service learning placement involving 30 hours of volunteer work in a setting for the underserved. Students have the opportunity to a) reflect on social oppressions; b) analyze the political systems that surround their communities and institutions; and c) apply their reflections to their career goals and personal development.

Metropolitan State University, MSUDenver Catalog, "WMS 3170 - Social Justice: Self and Citizenship: A Service Learning Course," http://catalog.msudenver.edu/preview_course_nopop.php?catoid=13&coid=36705.

A MODERN SERVICE-LEARNING COURSE IN WYOMING

CASPER COLLEGE: GNDR 2000 – Gender Studies Learning Service (Spring 2012)

Instructor's Name: Georgia Wheatley

Course Description: This course will provide students with the opportunity to apply their theoretical understanding of Gender Studies to practical and concrete situations in their community settings. Students will work in a variety of agencies including educational, political, and/or social service agencies; students will chose their site according to their interests and according to faculty recommendations. In addition to the on-site experience, students will meet regularly with the faculty and their classmates to share and analyze their service-learning experience and to engage in critical reflection about gender theory. This course may be repeated for a maximum of 3 credit hours.

Casper College, http://www.caspercollege.edu/sites/default/files/documents/syllabi-spring-2012/2012sp_GNDR2000_01.pdf.

136 Tobi Jacobi, Interview by Craig Keller, June 16, 2015.

137 Flecky, "Foundations of Service Learning," p. 4.

SUMMARY

Service-learning's promotion of self-reflective consciousness raising in effect means that the student is supposed to be studying himself rather than any external subject: Herman Blake at University of California, Santa Cruz, encouraged service-learning students to "analyze their own experiences and their own history."¹³⁸ This focus diverts college students from learning about what other people have thought and discovered to an unproductive concern with studying themselves. Service-learning also fosters pedagogical practices that do not seem appropriate for university education. Nadinne Cruz said of her programs at City Arts in Minneapolis: "We would do rituals or ceremonies that artists could set up. We worked with music, or we would actually do arts activities together, sometimes in silence ... Their articulation is often not necessarily talking. I had seminars and reflections that went from 6 P.M. to past midnight, because of the students' involvement and commitment."¹³⁹ Student enthusiasm is all to the good, but more regular hours and more verbal articulation would be preferable.

Service-learning teaches no real skills, save those of a career progressive activist. It aims to transform its practitioners into progressive activists, and it seeks to forward the progressive movement's substantive political goals.

Service-learning teaches no real skills, save those of a career progressive activist. It aims to transform its practitioners into progressive activists, and it seeks to forward the progressive movement's substantive political goals.¹⁴⁰ Its bureaucratic structure squeezes its original revolutionary zest out of its operations. It transfers public money and student time to the service of progressive organizations purporting to speak in the name of the community. In doing all this, it is the standard-bearer of the New Civics. As *A Crucible Moment* puts it, "Without question, service learning, in its many manifestations, has been the dominant curricular vehicle for promoting different dimensions of civic learning and engagement with larger communities."¹⁴¹

138 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 133.

139 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 111.

140 See also the critiques in John B. Egger, "No Service to Learning: "Service-Learning" Reappraised," *Academic Questions* 21, 2 (June 2008), pp. 183-94; and Carl L. Bankston III, "The Civic Education Crusade: A Heretic's Analysis," *Society* 50, pp. 629-34.

141 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 58.

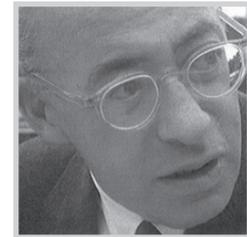
Public Achievement

Parallel to and intermixed with the extension of service-learning in higher education, the ideas of Saul Alinsky have also entered into higher education. So have many members of Alinskyite organizations. The most serious such transfer occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s, via Harry Boyte's Public Achievement movement. Public Achievement thus arrived later than service-learning, and works to a considerable extent within the service-learning matrix. It is, however, a separate movement that needs to be addressed separately. It is also a smaller movement than service-learning—but one with a harder political edge. Service-learning generally works to forward progressive political ends; Public Achievement works toward these ends with more focus and organization, via the Alinskyite method of *community organizing*. The Alinskyite tactical model of Public Achievement is what makes the New Civics formidable.

The Alinskyite tactical model of Public Achievement is what makes the New Civics formidable.

SAUL ALINSKY AND HIS ACOLYTES

In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, Saul Alinsky pioneered the theory and practice of community organization as a route toward left political power. In Darwyn Fehrman and Aaron Schutz's summary, "In Alinsky's model for social action, oppressed groups first choose specific, "winnable" issues to energize and inspire the group's members. Wins on these issues show that these groups can be effective and help to establish that the community has the ability to influence an oppressive organization's decisions."



Saul Alinsky

Alinskyite community organizations operate via "collective action, confrontation, and conflict" with powerful elites who "rarely voluntarily offer anything of real value to the less privileged." Alinsky's community organizing in turn provided the model for Alinskyite youth organizing, which "basically combines Alinsky's organizing ideology with the field of youth development. ... Youth organizers seek to organize large numbers of youths so that they represent a significant force for social change."¹⁴²

Alinsky's acolytes put his technique into considerable effect in the 1960s and 1970s, both by direct activist organizing effort within America and by taking over various Federal Government programs (particularly VISTA) as a way to provide funding for their organizations and causes.¹⁴³ Successive

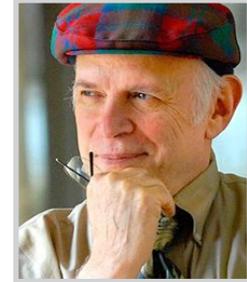
142 Darwyn Fehrman and Aaron Schutz, "Beyond the Catch-22 of School-Based Social Action Programs: Toward a More Pragmatic Approach for Dealing with Power," *Democracy & Education* 19, 1 (2011), p. 4, <http://democracyeducationjournal.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=home>; and see also *Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, Service Learning*, p. 143 (note 4).

143 Stanley Kurtz, *Radical-in-Chief: Barack Obama and the Untold Story of American Socialism* (New York, 2010), pp. 161-63.

setbacks, however, forced them toward less immediately radical ambitions. President Nixon’s election signaled that the Revolution would be postponed; President Reagan’s that it would not be receiving government funding any longer. Different tactics were in order.

HARRY BOYTE

Where Alinsky took community organization to aim at opposition to all forms of authority, his successors took a subtler point of view. Community organization could influence power structures, work with them, take them over—they need not oppose them directly. Harry Boyte, in particular, was a vector of Alinskyite thought. Between 1971 and 1975, Boyte co-founded the socialist New American Movement, and served on its National Interim Committee; between 1976 and 1981 he was a member of the National Board and Executive Committee of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; and from 1981 to 1983 he was the director of the Citizen Heritage Center in Minneapolis.¹⁴⁴ From 1983 to 1986, Boyte was Education Consultant for the progressive activist group Citizen Action¹⁴⁵—a perch from which Boyte turned to focus his neo-Alinskyite activism upon higher education.



Harry Boyte

Boyte drew upon the Alinskyite heritage—but a softer-edged version of it. While Boyte first tried to infuse communitarian thought into the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), he concluded that this combination was still excessively committed to leftist dogma. Boyte then reimagined community organizing as *public work* that abandoned rigid and off-putting commitments to radical ideology.¹⁴⁶ When Boyte made his decisive turn into a career in higher education, he brought this softer-edged Alinskyism with him.

Harry Boyte’s great success has come via his creation of Public Achievement in 1990. Boyte’s resume indicates the nature and extent of what he and Public Achievement have achieved since.

Boyte then reimagined community organizing as public work that abandoned rigid and off-putting commitments to radical ideology. When Boyte made his decisive turn into a career in higher education, he brought this softer-edged Alinskyism with him.

144 “Biographical Note - Harry C. Boyte,” Register of the Boyte Family Papers, 1941–1981, Duke University Libraries, p. 4, <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/findingaids/boyte.pdf>; Harry Chatten Boyte, <http://prabook.com/web/person-view/html?profileId=322851>

145 Harry Boyte, CV, <https://www2.hhh.umn.edu/cv/boyte001-cv.doc>.

146 Gary Dorrien, “Democratic Organizing, Social Ethics, and Economic Democracy,” *Syndicate*, February 10, 2016, <https://syndicatetheology.com/commentary/democratic-organizing-social-ethics-and-economic-democracy/>.

HARRY BOYTE: RESUME

Harry Boyte is founder of Public Achievement, a theory-based practice of citizen organizing to do public work for the common good that is used in schools, universities, and communities across the United States and in more than a dozen countries. Boyte has been an architect of a “public work” approach to civic engagement and democracy promotion, a conceptual framework on citizenship that has gained worldwide recognition for its theoretical innovations and its practical effectiveness.

Since coming to the [Hubert Humphrey] Institute [of Public Affairs] in 1987, Boyte has worked with a variety of partners in Minnesota, nationally, and internationally on community development, citizenship education, and civic renewal. Currently, Boyte is head of the [Sabo] Center for Democracy and Citizenship at Augsburg College. He also serves on the board of Imagining America, a consortium of colleges and universities whose mission is to strengthen the public role and democratic purposes of the humanities, arts, and design. ... Boyte served as national coordinator of the New Citizenship (1993 to 1995), a broad nonpartisan effort to bridge the citizen-government gap. He presented New Citizenship findings to President Clinton, Vice President Gore and other administration leaders at a 1995 Camp David Seminar on the future of democracy, a presentation which helped to shape Clinton’s “New Covenant” State of the Union that year. Boyte has also served as a senior advisor to the National Commission on Civic Renewal, and as national associate of the Kettering Foundation. He has worked with a variety of foundations, nonprofit, educational, neighborhood and citizen organizations concerned with community development, citizenship education, and civic renewal.

University of Minnesota, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, “Harry Boyte,” <http://www.hhh.umn.edu/directory/harry-boyte>.

*HARRY BOYTE: RELATED ORGANIZATIONS AND DISCIPLINES***American Commonwealth Partnership**

Boyte organized the American Commonwealth Partnership (ACP),¹⁴⁷ with the institutional imprimatur of the White House Office of Public Engagement, the Department of Education, the Association of American Colleges & Universities, and the Campaign for the Civic Mission of the Schools. Boyte also served as the ACP’s National Coordinator, and the ACP’s Inaugural Host Institution was Augsburg College in Minneapolis—Boyte’s institutional home. Launched at the White House

147 University of Denver, Center for Community Engagement & Service Learning, *Public Good Newsletter* 11 (Winter 2012), p. 4, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/newsletters/2012_winter_pg_newsletter.pdf.

in January 2012, the ACP “is an alliance of community colleges, colleges and universities, P-12 schools and others dedicated to building ‘democracy colleges’ throughout higher education.” The ACP consults with the Department of Education’s Office of Postsecondary Education “on policies to strengthen higher education’s public engagement and is also helping to organize state level policy initiatives on the topic.” It promotes initiatives that include the Deliberative Dialogue Initiative, the Citizen Alum Initiative, the Student Organizing Initiative, the Pedagogies of Empowerment and Engagement Initiative, the Public Scholarship Initiative, the Campus-Community Civic Health Initiative,¹⁴⁸ the Civic Science Initiative, and the ACP Policy Initiative.¹⁴⁹ It generally promotes work chronicling the “civic history and mission of higher education”; work emphasizing the “civic nature of the disciplines and professions”; Public Scholarship; Civic Learning; and Community Partnerships.¹⁵⁰

Citizen Alum

Boyte is a member of the National Steering Committee of Citizen Alum.¹⁵¹ Citizen Alum “counters the image of alumni as primarily ‘donors’ with a vision of them as also ‘doers.’ Alums are allies in education—crucial partners in building multigenerational communities of active citizenship and active learning.”¹⁵²

Civic Studies

Boyte was a co-signer of the Framing Statement (2007) of the discipline of Civic Studies.¹⁵³ He has since arranged for his institutional home at the Sabo Center for Democracy and Citizenship to co-sponsor the Civic Studies Initiative, with funding from the Kettering Foundation. (See the separate section below.)¹⁵⁴

148 American Democracy Project, Campus Community Civic Health Initiative, https://adpaascu.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/adp-ncoc-campus-community-civic-health-initiative_description.pdf.

149 DemocracyU, “About DemocracyU and American Commonwealth Partnership,” <https://democracyu.wordpress.com/about/>.

150 *The American Commonwealth Project: Colleges and Universities as Agents and Architects of Democracy*, p. 3, <http://cmapspublic3.ihmc.us/rid=1JKM5R4SP-MoZ56X-R1K/American%20Commonwealth%20Project%20Description%20Final.pdf>.

151 Citizen Alum, National Steering Committee, <http://www.citizenalum.org/national-steering-committee/>.

152 Citizen Alum, About, <http://www.citizenalum.org/about/>.

153 Tufts University, Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, “Summer Institute of Civic Studies – Framing Statement,” <http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/civic-studies/summer-institute/summer-institute-of-civic-studies-framing-statement/>.

154 Augsburg College, Center for Teaching and Learning, “Civic Studies Initiative,” <http://inside.augsburg.edu/ctl/about/civic-studies-initiative/>.

Imagining America

Boyte is a member of the board of Imagining America.¹⁵⁵ Imagining America (IA) dedicates itself to encouraging civic engagement and service learning among “artists, humanists, designers, and other scholars in the cultural disciplines who passionately wanted to claim engagement at the core of their identities as intellectuals and artists.” (See the separate section below.)¹⁵⁶

Boyte’s resume is also useful as a map of the web of organizations that have forwarded the Alinskyite stream of the New Civics in the last two generations.

CAMOUFLAGED ALINSKYISM

Boyte’s Alinskyism was subtler, but the heart of his project remained an effort to insert community activism into schools. In Boyte’s own words, “The challenge today is to revive the organizing skills, the professional sensibilities, and the larger strategic framework of the 1930s.”¹⁵⁷ Boyte aimed to train teachers to act as community activists and students to act as the community to be organized. This he did most directly via Public Achievement.

Boyte himself describes Public Achievement as “a youth civic engagement pedagogy developed by the [Sabo] Center for Democracy and Citizenship” in which “teams of young people, ranging from elementary to high school students, work over months on a public issue they choose.” It is meant to develop “initiatives that show the possibilities for spreading democratic populist politics in varied settings, especially in schools and higher education itself.”¹⁵⁸

Noelle Johnson’s description provides more detail: “PA teaches concepts such as democracy, power, politics, public work, citizenship, and diversity through hands on projects. ...The general format involves K-12 students who work with undergraduates at a college and while learning these concepts, decide on an issue and a problem they want to solve and a project that goes with that.” Undergraduate students act as “coaches’ for these students and take on a role that is actively engaging, mentoring and encouraging youth. Through both courses and community engagement the undergraduate students are benefiting from this program as well as the youth they work with.”¹⁵⁹

Public Achievement preserves many aspects of Alinskyite youth-community organization: “Both

155 University of Minnesota, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, “Harry Boyte,” <http://www.hhh.umn.edu/directory/harry-boyte>.

156 Imagining America, “History,” <http://imaginingamerica.org/about/history/>.

157 Harry C. Boyte, “Public Work: Civic Populism versus Technocracy in Higher Education,” in David W. Broan and Deborah Witte, eds., *Agent of Democracy: Higher Education and the HEX Journey* (Dayton, 2007) p. 93.

158 Boyte, “Public Work,” p. 95.

159 Noelle Johnson, “Public Achievement: Transforming Education,” AASCU’S American Democracy Project, <https://adpaascu.wordpress.com/tag/public-achievement/>.

in youth organizing and in traditional PA, members often begin by asking questions about who has power/resources in the community, how those with power can be challenged, how power can be taken from the powerful, and what power youths already have. ... Youth organizers teach young people political skills similar to those usually taught in traditional PA groups.”¹⁶⁰ Public Achievement relies on the Alinskyite emphasis on *power*, which reduces politics to the use of force to defeat hostile opponents.

As Boyte and Blase Scarnati (University of Northern Arizona) wrote, “Public Achievement was founded ... as a contemporary version of the Citizenship Education Program (CEP) ... Through CEP, African Americans and some poor whites learned skills and concepts associated with community organizing and effective change-making. ... Through participation in Public Achievement, young people learn skills, concepts, and methods of empowering public work.”¹⁶¹ Boyte and Fretz reiterate the tie between Public Achievement and community organizing: “One of the primary ways we teach community organizing is through Public Achievement, a youth civic engagement initiative ... that trains undergraduates to act like community organizers in schools and to engage in consequential, productive public work that has an impact on the world.”¹⁶²

Public Achievement, in effect, not only works directly to forward aspects of the Alinskyite program but also educates students to be the proper material for Alinskyite organization as adults: “Generally in PA, college student coaches meet once a week after school with groups of six to eight K–12 students to work on a shared public project. Traditional PA offers students a number of strategies, political skills (collaborative use of power, conflict resolution, negotiation, etc.), and “core concepts” through activities recommended in its manual for coaches.”¹⁶³ All that a product of Public Achievement

“Both in youth organizing and in traditional PA, members often begin by asking questions about who has power/resources in the community, how those with power can be challenged, how power can be taken from the powerful, and what power youths already have. ... Youth organizers teach young people political skills similar to those usually taught in traditional PA groups.”

- Darwyn Fehrman and Aaron Schutz

160 Fehrman and Schutz, “Beyond the Catch-22 of School-Based Social Action Programs,” p. 5.

161 Harry C. Boyte and Blase Scarnati, “Transforming Higher Education in a Larger Context: The Civic Politics of Public Work,” in Peter Levine and Karol Edward Soltan, eds., *Civic Studies* (Washington, D.C., 2014), pp. 85–86.

162 Harry C. Boyte and Eric Fretz, “Civic Professionalism,” *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 14, 2 (2010), <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ905436.pdf>, p. 75.

163 Fehrman and Schutz, “Beyond the Catch-22 of School-Based Social Action Programs,” p. 4.

needs to become a community organizer or organizee is the oppositional Alinskyite thrust.

Alinskyite youth organization emphasizes that “Political education is also a significant part of most youth organizing models.”¹⁶⁴ Public Achievement—as, indeed, the New Civics more broadly—preserves political education as a goal, even where it eschews Alinsky’s direct political oppositionism.

WORKING TOWARD SAUL

Public Achievement is more directly activist than the usual service-learning.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, Public Achievement differs from more hard-core Alinskyite organizing in that it allows for the possibility of organization that does not immediately seek to oppose established institutions.¹⁶⁶ Fehrman and Schutz describe Public Achievement’s “public work” as ranging from the collaborative, such as “creating a community garden,” to open conflicts such as “protesting unfair school policies.” They judge that most PA projects are co-operative—but “co-operative” does not mean “apolitical.” They take PA to be significantly more politically oriented than service-learning, although not quite as political as youth organizing outside of the schools.¹⁶⁷

Public Achievement uses the old Alinskyite tactics to create a new generation of politically engaged—radical activist—students and teachers. So Boyte and Scarnati preach “public work,” characterized by “self-organizing, egalitarian, and cooperative efforts by people who would otherwise be divided; practical concern for creating shared collective resources; adaptability; and incentives based on appeals to immediate interests combined with cultivation of concern for long-term community well-being.”¹⁶⁸ As with service-learning, Boyte and Scarnati articulate Public Achievement’s goals in nominally apolitical language—yet Boyte and Scarnati immediately follow up this definition by associating civic effort with progressive political campaigning: “the Obama campaign of 2008, with its theme of ‘Yes We Can,’ showed possibilities for introducing civic agency on a large scale by integrating community organizing methods into its field operation.”¹⁶⁹ Boyte’s conception of the civic cannot be distinguished from progressive politics.

All that a product of Public Achievement needs to become a community organizer or organizee is the oppositional Alinskyite thrust.

164 Fehrman and Schutz, “Beyond the Catch-22 of School-Based Social Action Programs,” p. 4.

165 Fehrman and Schutz, “Beyond the Catch-22 of School-Based Social Action Programs,” p. 4.

166 Fehrman and Schutz, “Beyond the Catch-22 of School-Based Social Action Programs,” pp. 4-5.

167 Fehrman and Schutz, “Beyond the Catch-22 of School-Based Social Action Programs,” p. 4.

168 Boyte and Scarnati, “Transforming Higher Education,” p. 78.

169 Boyte and Scarnati, “Transforming Higher Education,” p. 80.

Boyte particularly emphasizes that he aims for the slow seizure of institutions rather than the useless, feel-good protest so beloved by the callow left. He quotes Bayard Rustin approvingly: “It is institutions—social, political, and economic institutions—which are the ultimate molders of collective sentiments. Let these institutions be reconstructed today, and let the ineluctable gradualism of history govern the formation of a new psychology.”¹⁷⁰ This focus on capturing institutions characterizes the entire New Civics movement, but it is particularly strong in Alinskyite organizations such as Public Achievement.

This focus on capturing institutions characterizes the entire New Civics movement, but it is particularly strong in Alinskyite organizations such as Public Achievement.

THE FULL ALINSKY

Public Achievement provides room for individual teachers to impose a pedagogy that slips from Public Achievement’s more collaborationist model toward Alinsky’s oppositional model. Fehrman and Schutz write that in their Public Achievement projects in the Social Action Charter High School (SACHS) in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, they “tried to push students to engage more directly with power, with forces that prevent significant social change in the areas students were focused on. Thus, ... we attempted to shift PA in the direction of a more youth organizing model of civic engagement.”¹⁷¹

Eric Fretz likewise incorporated “Gamaliel training” for community organizing into his Public Achievement classes: “during the first class of the semester, as students introduce themselves, I ask them to name one thing that makes them angry. ... a male student raises his hand and says, ‘From everything we’ve said today, I’d say that a good citizen is someone who is angry and obnoxious in relationship with others.’” This class explicitly taught students how to use the techniques of activism in the university.¹⁷²

“From everything we’ve said today, I’d say that a good citizen is someone who is angry and obnoxious in relationship with others.” – what a student learned in a Public Achievement class

The stated pedagogy of Public Achievement should be taken as an Alinskyite minimum; actual practice, as with Fehrman, Fretz, and Schutz, may well be more radical. Public Achievement’s roots in Alinskyite thought make such slippages a predictable result of using the Public Achievement model.

170 Boyte and Scarnati, “Transforming Higher Education,” p. 83.

171 Fehrman and Schutz, “Beyond the Catch-22 of School-Based Social Action Programs,” pp. 2, 5.

172 Eric Fretz, “Practicing Politics in Higher Education: Community Organizing Strategies for the University,” *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 12, 2 (2008), pp. 71, 76, 84-85, 87.

ENDEMIC ALINSKYISM

The community-organizing strand of civic engagement has spread far beyond Public Achievement. A notable example from Colorado (although not from the universities in our case studies below) is a document entitled the *Community Organizing Handbook*—written and sponsored by the Center for Community Engagement & Service Learning (CCESL) at the University of Denver, and posted on the website of the Campus Compact of the Mountain West.¹⁷³ CCESL wrote the *Handbook* “for use in trainings, civic engagement programs and courses,”¹⁷⁴ and it uses the standard language of progressive advocacy throughout, intermixed with the tactics of community organization.

WHITCHER, ET AL., *COMMUNITY ORGANIZING HANDBOOK, EXTRACTS*

We are committed to developing active citizens using our student learning outcomes. ... [Skills to be acquired include:] Participating in a public action. ... [Goals include:] Critically reflect on their own social and cultural identities, and constructively engage with people from groups who have different social and cultural backgrounds, worldviews and perspectives from their own. ... Identify the inequalities and injustices that exist in their local and global communities. [p. 3]

All of us experience privileges and oppressions as part of our formed identity living in society with others. Privilege and oppressions are derived from societal power structures and are generally identified as systemic. Privileges are often referred to as unearned, something you are born into or with. Oppressions are identified as unjust, meaning that it is unwarranted or for no cause of the person’s actual personhood or actions. ... It is important to acknowledge and explore how privilege and oppression are part of our individual identities, as well as, our collective identities when working in a group. [p. 7]

Community organizing is about achieving long-term change through building powerful, public relationships; influencing and negotiating with government, corporations and institutions; achieving direct representation; and holding decision-makers accountable to the public through public actions. It is not about the short-term mobilization of bodies, protests or rallies. [p. 11]

The facilitator asks participants to identify something in their world that makes them angry or that they want to see changed.

173 Campus Compact of the Mountain West document: Jenny Whitcher, Frank Coyne, Sarah McCauley, and Sarah Rauenhorst, *Community Organizing Handbook, 2nd Edition* (University of Denver, Center for Community Engagement & Service Learning, 2010), http://www.ccmountainwest.org/sites/default/files/melora_coi_handbook.pdf.

174 Whitcher, et al., *Community Organizing Handbook*, p. 3.

As they identify a range of social problems (that might include homelessness, racial profiling, a cultural lack of respect for youth, and others) ... the facilitator asks each participant what, specifically, they are doing to resolve these issues that they have identified.

This will raise the tension in the room, because very few people are doing anything about these larger problems they can so passionately identify. This tension is what can motivate people towards action. [p. 22]

Whitcher, et al., *Community Organizing Handbook*.

Alinskyite community-organizing pedagogy has the imprimatur of the Center for Community Engagement & Service Learning at the University of Denver; the University of Denver as a whole; and the Campus Compact of the Mountain West. Public Achievement is always Alinskyite education, but Alinskyite education is by no means confined to Public Achievement.

Other parts of the civic engagement program also have an Alinskyite flavor—for example, sociologist Troy Duster cites Saul Alinsky’s community organizing as one of his models for engaged learning and civic engagement.¹⁷⁵ There is also continuity of personnel: for example, Maria Avila, who was Director of the Center for Community Based Learning at Occidental College from 2001 to 2011, worked earlier in her career “as a community organizer with the Industrial Areas Foundation, the international network founded by the late Saul Alinsky in the 1940s.”¹⁷⁶ Yet Public Achievement is the lineal descendant of Alinskyite organization, and it remains Alinskyism’s most influential vector within higher education.

HARRY BOYTE’S INFLUENCE IN COLORADO

Harry Boyte has had a nationwide influence, but he has been especially influential in Colorado.

There are four separate Public Achievement programs in Colorado:

- Public Achievement at the University of Colorado at Boulder.¹⁷⁷
- Public Achievement for Community Transformation (PACT) at Colorado State University.¹⁷⁸

175 Troy Duster, “Engaged Learning as a Bridge to Civic Engagement,” in Donald W. Harward, ed., *Civic Values, Civic Practices* (Washington, D.C., 2013), pp. 43-45.

176 California State University Dominguez Hills, “Maria Avila, MSW, PH.D.,” <http://www4.csudh.edu/social-work/facultystaff/maria-avila>.

177 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/>.

178 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: Public Achievement for Community Transformation,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/public-achievement/>.

- Public Achievement at Colorado College.¹⁷⁹
- Public Achievement at the University of Denver.¹⁸⁰

Boyte organized the American Commonwealth Project (ACP); the ACP's National Council includes

- Cecilia M. Orphan, director of the American Democracy Project from 2006 to 2011, and currently an Assistant Professor in Higher Education at the Morgridge College of Education of the University of Denver.¹⁸¹
- Elaina Verveer, Program Advisor to CU-Boulder's Puksta Scholars Program and Executive Director of the Empowerment Center of East County.¹⁸²
- Jenny Whitcher, formerly Associate Director of the Center for Community Engagement & Service Learning (CCESL) at the University of Denver, and currently Director of Service Learning at the Iliff School of Theology in Denver, vice chair of the Puksta Foundation Advisory Council, member of the Advisory Committee of Campus Compact of the Mountain West.¹⁸³

Boyte serves on the board of Imagining America. Imagining America's membership includes

- Kira Pasquesi, Co-Director of Imagining America's PAGE (Publicly Active Graduate Education), and Director of the Leadership Studies Minor Program at CU-Boulder.¹⁸⁴
- Ben Kirshner, member of Imagining America, and Faculty Director of CU Engage at CU-Boulder.¹⁸⁵

179 Colorado College, Collaborative for Community Engagement, <https://www.coloradocollege.edu/offices/cce/students/student-organizations/public-achievement.html>.

180 University of Denver, Center for Community Engagement and Service Learning, Public Achievement, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/development/public_achievement.html.

181 University of Denver, "Orphan, Cecilia, PHD," <http://morgridge.du.edu/staff-members/orphan-cecilia/>; University of Denver, Orphan Curriculum Vitae June 2016, <https://portfolio.du.edu/downloadItem/332555>.

182 University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, "Elaina Verveer," <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/elaina-verveer>.

183 Iliff School of Theology, Jenny Whitcher, <http://www.iliff.edu/learn/your-faculty/jenny-whitcher>; Campus Compact of the Mountain West, Jenny Whitcher, <http://www.cmountainwest.org/jenny-whitcher>.

184 Imagining America, "Kira Pasquesi," <http://imaginingamerica.org/leadership/kira-pasquesi/>.

185 Imagining America, "University of Colorado-Boulder," <http://imaginingamerica.org/members/university-of-colorado-boulder/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, "Who We Are," <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/about-us/who-we-are>.

- Valerio Ferme, member of Imagining America, and Associate Dean of Arts & Humanities at CU-Boulder.¹⁸⁶
- Jenny Whitcher, member of Imagining America, and Director of Service Learning at Iliff School of Theology in Denver.¹⁸⁷

Boyte has also been a regular visitor to Colorado, where he provides inspirational lectures and participates in professional meetings. He has appeared at,

- The University of Colorado at Boulder in October 2005, speaking on “Higher Education: Architects of a Democratic Way of Life.” Boyte also led “a workshop for CU-Boulder faculty and staff on organizing approaches to civic engagement.”¹⁸⁸
- The University of Denver in January 2007, speaking on “From Me to We: Higher Education and the Democratic Renaissance.”¹⁸⁹
- The University of Northern Colorado in October 2008, speaking on “The democracy mission of higher education.”¹⁹⁰
- The 2013 National Meeting of the American Democracy Project/The Democracy Project, held in June 2013 in Denver, as a member of the panel on “Purposeful Work: Educating for Citizen Careers.”¹⁹¹
- The University of Northern Colorado in November 2014, speaking on “Reframing Democracy as the Work of the People.”¹⁹²

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- 186 Imagining America, “University of Colorado-Boulder,” <http://imaginingamerica.org/members/university-of-colorado-boulder/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “Valerio Ferme,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/valerio-ferme>.
- 187 Imagining America, “Iliff School of Theology,” <http://imaginingamerica.org/members/iliff-school-of-theology/>.
- 188 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Boulder Today, “Civic Engagement Expert To Address Importance Of Democracy Education In Oct. 27 CU-Boulder Talk,” October 17, 2005, <http://www.colorado.edu/today/2005/10/17/civic-engagement-expert-address-importance-democracy-education-oct-27-cu-boulder-talk>.
- 189 Annalise Kinkel, “Public Good lecture series ties humanities with civic engagement,” *University of Denver Magazine*, November 13, 2006, <http://magazine.du.edu/campus-community/public-good-lecture-series-ties-humanities-with-civic-engagement/>.
- 190 Harry Boyte, CV, <https://www2.hhh.umn.edu/cv/boyte001-cv.doc>.
- 191 21st Century Citizens: Building Bridges, Solving Problems, <http://www.aascu.org/WorkArea/DownloadAsset.aspx?id=6551>.
- 192 University of Northern Colorado, News Central, “Fall Schulze Speaker Series Concludes Nov. 11 with Harry Boyte,” <http://www.unco.edu/news/releases.aspx?id=7048>; University of Northern Colorado, UNC Community Engaged Partners Workshop Luncheon, “Reframing Democracy as the Work of the People,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Boyte_WS%20Flyer.pdf.

The New Civic Pedagogy

OVERVIEW

Service-learning provides the largest intellectual and institutional source for the New Civics, while the smaller Public Achievement has played an outsized role as the most notable gateway between Alinskyism’s hard-edged tactical focus on community organizing and the New Civics. Neither of these, however, justified themselves in civic terms. The emergence of that justification, which allowed service-learning and Alinskyite community organization to call themselves *civic*, was the culminating prerequisite for the emergence of the New Civics. This rationale was largely specious: the New Civics remains a tool used to serve progressive politics. Yet the rationale does exist—and not only as a disguise. New Civics advocates are partly engaged in a manipulative diversion of civics education to serve progressive ends—but partly they genuinely believe that their progressive agitation really is civic activity. The New Civics advocates’ incapacity to distinguish between progressive politics and civic activity derives above all from the New Civic pedagogy.

GENEALOGY

The New Civics, as the Old Civics, also traces its intellectual history back to John Dewey and the Progressive era. John Dewey’s writings, especially *Democracy and Education* (1916), fostered three related conceptions relevant to the New Civics: that education should be tied to experience, that education in a democracy should foster the exercise of democratic habits by all citizens, and that subject matter ought to be tied to method.¹⁹³ Although Dewey did not braid the three strands together himself, the New Civics pedagogy plausibly reads Dewey when it twines these strands together. Since method ought to be tied to subject matter, education toward democracy should be done by way of democratic pedagogy in a sort of vocational training consisting of democratic practice—civic activism of some sort.¹⁹⁴

The New Civics also draws on Paulo Freire’s “empowering” *critical pedagogy*, which was designed to “raise critical consciousness” among the “economically and socially marginalized” so as to enable “students to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and take action against the oppressive elements of society.”¹⁹⁵ Freirian pedagogy shared with Deweyan pedagogy a political focus, but critical pedagogy substituted a left-activist agenda for Dewey’s mixture of civics and

193 John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York, 1916), esp. chs. 7, 11, 13.

194 E.g., Dwight E. Giles, Jr. and Janet Eyler, “The Theoretical Roots of Service-Learning in John Dewey: Toward a Theory of Service-Learning,” *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* 1, 1 (1994), pp. 77-85; Henry Chatten Boyte, “A Different Kind of Politics: John Dewey and the Meaning of Citizenship in the 21st Century,” *The Good Society* 12, 2 (2003), pp. 1-15.

195 David Busch, “A Brief History of Service Learning,” *SocialChange101*, <http://www.socialchange101.org/history-of-service-learning/>.

early-twentieth-century vintage progressivism. Freirian pedagogues found the civics curriculum a natural home for their efforts: redefine *civic engagement* as *political activism*, and confine the prescribed politics solely within the leftist agenda, and much of the Freirian agenda can be—and was—inserted into the civics curriculum. A Deweyan civics that focused on civic practice rather than on civic literacy was uniquely susceptible to takeover by Freirian pedagogues. The Freirians redefined Deweyan education for democracy as education for leftist agitation, framed in the language of revolution.

This new Deweyan-Freirian pedagogy drew spurious plausibility from an increasing sense after World War II that the Old Civics was an insufficient education. Many Americans came to believe that civic literacy was mere dead knowledge, and not sufficient to make citizens. Some part of this new belief was the ordinary response to the effect of making civics something to be tested for in school. Reducing civic knowledge to the framework of a multiple-choice test could not help but remove some zest from learning about how to be a citizen.

This disaffection from traditional civic literacy was also a consequence of the broader consequences of the rise of the managerial state—and, indeed, the transition of the Republic from a land of farms and small towns to a land of large cities and suburbs. This transformation had eroded a good deal of the old civic practices, and the culture that had done so much to sustain them. Young Americans did not receive so thorough a civics education as their forebears, or see the need for one, as government increasingly became the domain of professional classes, and government increasingly became *for the people* rather than *by the people*. This truth was significantly exaggerated—American critics of the 1950s often had a dismal view of their country, which hardly seems justified when we look back at it from the 2010s. Nevertheless, the attenuation of the old self-reliant civic culture was real. That reality, in combination with the destruction of the Old Civics curriculum, provided the opening for the New Civics pedagogues.

The shift to the New Civics also took advantage of the increasing political polarization of America after 1960, and presented itself as a compromise between incompatible claims about the proper content of an education for civic literacy. Since right and left could no longer agree on the proper content of civic culture—largely because progressives dissented from much of its traditional contents—those members of the right and left intent upon restoring civics to the curriculum perforce sought a common ground built upon the lowest-common-denominator.

Freirian pedagogues found the civics curriculum a natural home for their efforts: redefine civic engagement as political activism, and confine the prescribed politics solely within the leftist agenda, and much of the Freirian agenda can be—and was—inserted into the civics curriculum.

The New Civics’ emphasis on “civic practice” could acquire consensus support, even when knowledge of the history of our country and the mechanics of our government could not.

CONFLATING THE CIVIC AND THE COMMUNAL

A great deal of the New Civic pedagogy simply applies the latest theoretical vocabulary to justify the substitution of radical politics for civics education. These theories generally share a profound misapprehension as to the nature of what is *civic*. The New Civics pedagogues (following the Marxist tradition) conflate the *civic* with *community* or *society*. Donald Harward provides a good example of this misapprehension when he states that an “*engaged, or higher, learner*” is one who will “know, judge, and act in a community”, and that “the civic” implies “a commitment to community.”¹⁹⁶



Donald Harward

Timothy Eatman similarly writes that “The term *civic*, [is] commonly used in reference to community-wide systems and processes.”¹⁹⁷

Sixty years ago Hannah Arendt identified the deformation of the modern West in this conflation of the civic with the social: the imperative demand for conformity in the name of *society* and *community* colonizes and perverts the political/civic realm. Where the civic realm should promote individuality, the identification of the civic with the social or the communal inverts its dynamics and subordinates all aspects of the individual to the imperatives of the social.¹⁹⁸

Civic education, properly understood, aims for a flourishing of the individual rather than a forced and pervasive commitment to the community.

The New Civics, in its drumbeat of *shared responsibility, a common purpose, and a commitment to community*, recapitulates Arendt’s prediction that social administration would replace civic freedom. Civics education, properly understood, aims for a flourishing of the individual rather than a forced and pervasive commitment to the community. It is precisely because civics education aims to create free men that it should not seek to mobilize all aspects of students’ lives. The New Civics, by conflating *civic* with *communal* and *social*, works to create a thoroughly administered state—but not a free one.

196 Harward, “Why Now? The Civic as a Core Part of What Higher Learning Means,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, p. 16.

197 Timothy K. Eatman, “Afterword: Reflections on the Center of the Civic,” in Ashley Finley, ed. *Civic Learning and Teaching* (Washington, D.C., 2014), p. 69.

198 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition: The Second Edition* (Chicago and London, 1998), pp. 38-41.

Civic Engagement

OVERVIEW

Service-learning, neo-Alinskyite community organization, and the radical New Civic pedagogy came together in the 1990s to form a philosophy and a program broadly described as *civic engagement*.¹⁹⁹ A substantial portion of this shift simply derived from making *civic engagement* the new term for service-learning. Robert Shumer (University of California, Los Angeles; University of Minnesota) stated that, “The word *service* confuses people, as does *volunteerism*. I prefer the term *civic engagement*. By definition, civic engagement is a voluntary act, with people living in a culture where they have a say about what’s going on. Learning how to do that is the power of service in experiential learning.”²⁰⁰



Robert Shumer

This shift of terms by itself allowed service-learning to begin replacing the civic ideal. Yet the use of *civic engagement* reinforced this shift by joining together the aims and techniques of service-learning with Public Achievement’s community organizing and the specifically civic strand of Deweyan-Freirian pedagogy. *Civic engagement*—in effect, the New Civics—was now in a position to build upon the bipartisan dissatisfaction with the hollowing out of the traditional civics curriculum. The use of civic vocabulary allowed the pedagogy to present itself as nothing more than an updated civics curriculum—along with affiliated pedagogies such as deliberative dialogue,²⁰¹ intergroup dialogue,²⁰² and collective civic problem solving.²⁰³

Yet this vocabulary was profoundly deceptive, for the New Civics substituted in place of the Old Civics a program that was not only educationally inferior but also diverted toward left-activist ends. A shadow of the old civic literacy curriculum usually remained, but the emphasis was on

1. “civic” volunteer activities, described in progressive terms;
2. “emancipatory” advertisements of progressive causes; and

199 For a select bibliography of recent works by practitioners in the field, see Iain Mac Labhrainn and Lorraine McIlrath, eds., *Higher Education and Civic Engagement: International Perspectives* (Aldershot, 2007); John Saltmarsh and Edward Zlotkowski, *Higher Education and Democracy: Essays on Service-Learning and Civic Engagement* (Philadelphia, 2011); Michael T. Rogers and Donald M. Gooch, eds., *Civic Education in the Twenty-First Century: A Multidimensional Inquiry* (Lanham, MD, 2015); Omobolade Delano-Oriaran, Marguerite W. Penick-Parks, and Suzanne Fondrie, eds., *The SAGE Sourcebook of Service-Learning and Civic Engagement* (Los Angeles, 2015); Forrest Clingerman and Reid B. Locklin, eds., *Teaching Civic Engagement* (Oxford, 2016).

200 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 103.

201 Caryn McTighe Musil, “A ‘National Call to Action’ from the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, p. 72; *A Crucible Moment*, p. 55.

202 Musil, “National Call to Action,” p. 72; Patricia Gurin and Biren (Ratnesh) A. Nagda, “Intergroup Dialogue and Civic and Service Learning: Toward Mutually Engaged Learning,” in Finley, ed. *Civic Learning and Teaching*, pp. 34-41; *A Crucible Moment*, p. 55.

203 Musil, “National Call to Action,” p. 73; *A Crucible Moment*, p. 55.

3. community organization, either outright for progressive causes or simply to train students how to organize and be organized.

Overwhelmingly, the goals and techniques of civic engagement echo the content of service-learning and Alinskyite community organization: civic engagement simply repurposes the old progressive agenda in civic language. The new would-be discipline of Civic Studies aims to provide a disciplinary home for civic engagement, and the new and growing campaign for Global Citizenship extends civic engagement to active disengagement of students' affections from the United States.

Global Citizenship actually directly subverts the purportedly civic goals of civic engagement, because it substitutes loyalty to the globe (defined around progressive policy goals) for loyalty to country. The campaign for Global Citizenship demonstrates most clearly that the transformation of *service-learning* into *civic engagement* results in an education that not only hollows out traditional civic literacy but also actively disaffects students from love of their country. Civic engagement is worse than service-learning precisely because it now encompasses and encourages such actively anti-civic movements.

GOALS AND TECHNIQUES

PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL CONTENT

The advocates of civic engagement present their goals as non-political, but their vocabulary reveals their political orientation. In the words of the Coalition for Civic Engagement and Leadership at the University of Maryland, civic engagement “encompasses the notions of global citizenship and interdependence.” By acting “Through civic engagement, individuals—as citizens of their communities, their nation, and the world—are empowered as agents of positive social change for a more democratic world.”²⁰⁴

Yet *A Crucible Moment* emphasizes the political nature of the New Civics as it emerged in practice from the 1980s onward: “In the late 1980s and 1990s, a formative wedge of socially-minded students were a determining force in the establishment of volunteer service centers that now are commonplace on nearly every campus.”²⁰⁵ The examples *A Crucible Moment* provides of “civic learning” in practice are all progressive.

“In the late 1980s and 1990s, a formative wedge of socially-minded students were a determining force in the establishment of volunteer service centers that now are commonplace on nearly every campus.”
– *A Crucible Moment*

204 Cited in Reid B. Locklin with Ellen Posman, “Discourse, Democracy, and the Many Faces of Civic Engagement: Four Guiding Objectives for the University Classroom,” in Forrest Clinger and Reid B. Locklin, ed., *Teaching Civic Engagement* (Oxford, 2016), p. 8.

205 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 45.

A CRUCIBLE MOMENT: EXAMPLES OF CIVIC LEARNING

Three examples suggest the range of civic learning and real political engagement that a range of students practice. **The One Campaign** works with the general public and college students to encourage Congress to allocate at least 1 percent of the GDP to alleviate global poverty (www.one.org). **The Interfaith Youth Core**, founded in 2002, is building a youth movement that believes “faith can be a bridge of cooperation, strengthening our civil society and promoting the common good” (www.ifyc.org). Their Interfaith Youth Institute and Better Together Campaign fostered youth-led events in more than 200 campuses last year. **The Energy Action Coalition**, co-founded by Billy Parish when he was a Yale student, brought twelve thousand students to Washington for its Power Shift 2009—and thousands more in 2011—to learn how to shape legislation and lobby Congress (www.energyactioncoalition.org). Many student activists committed to sustainability (to focus on only one issue among dozens) are doing their social change civic work locally: securing environmental studies majors; green financial investments; and coalitions with presidents, facilities managers, and boards of trustees who have signed on to honor the American College & University Presidents’ Campus Climate Commitment (<http://presidentsclimatecommitment.org>).

A Crucible Moment, p. 45.

Civic engagement likewise promotes the concept of “stewardship of place,” “an ongoing partnership between higher education and local communities that is designed to tackle and ameliorate festering social problems and inequities,” which echoes the goals and tactics of service-learning: “these kinds of reciprocal, long-term, collaborative efforts ... provide extraordinary opportunities for the academic community to learn from the insights and judgments of civic communities, with their multiple sources of perspective, energy, skepticism, disagreement, wisdom, and grass-roots decision making. These collaborative civic problem-solving partnerships model democracy in action.”²⁰⁶ “Stewardship of place,” just as service-learning, is another rationale to harness the resources of higher education to forward the efforts of progressive non-profits who claim to speak for “local communities,” via “reciprocal, long-term, collaborative efforts.” This is the meat of civic engagement.

More specifically, the New Civics advocates identify civic action with the following causes:

1. **amnestying illegal immigrants:** BTtoP authors Margaret Salazar-Porzio and George J. Sanchez want “practitioners of civic engagement” to recruit students to take “political and civic action” to ensure that “legal status is not a prerequisite and

²⁰⁶ Schneider, “To Democracy’s Detriment,” p. 10.

- where participation pushes for full consideration of these ‘Dreamers’ as Americans—as students who should have the full civil rights needed to contribute to and shape our democracy.”²⁰⁷
2. **increasing the number of ex-felons on campus:** BTtoP author Michelle Fine desires engaged “research on all the ways our institutions ... keep students with incarceration on their records out,” presumably with an eye to increasing the number of ex-felons on campus.²⁰⁸
 3. **gun control, as a wedge toward pervasive governmental power over the private sector:** BTtoP author Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn called for turning private entities—“shopping malls, restaurants, schools, and workplaces”—into public ones, installing security cameras and state police both inside and out, and getting the government involved in business hiring.²⁰⁹
 4. **environmental “sustainability”:** Sustainability is intended as bait to draw students and faculty to support the New Civics who would otherwise lack interest in it.²¹⁰ As Dickinson College provost Neil B. Weissman wrote, “sustainability brings citizenship down to earth” and provides a specific way to apply the broad principles of New Civics.²¹¹
 5. **racial quotas (“diversity”):** Donald Harward, former president of Bates College and BTtoP co-founder, wrote that “advocates of the engaged university” must insist that their universities promote affirmative action and seek “to lessen racial and class stratification in the larger society.”²¹²
 6. **removing objective standards for admission to college:** BTtoP author Michelle Fine desires engaged “research on all the ways our institutions ... rely upon test scores we know to be invalid,” presumably with an eye toward ending the use of standardized test scores as a component of college admission.²¹³

207 Margaret Salazar-Porzio and George J. Sanchez, “The Logic of Civic Possibility: Undocumented Students and the Struggle for a Higher Education,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Values, Civic Practices*, p. 72. Also see Fine, “Critical Civic Research,” p. 39.

208 Michelle Fine, “Critical Civic Research,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, p. 39.

209 Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, “Individual Liberty and Civic Practices: Citizen, Consumer, Combatant,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Values, Civic Practices*, pp. 73-81, esp. pp. 78-79.

210 Neil B. Weissman, “Sustainability & Liberal Education: Partners by Nature,” *Liberal Education* 98, 4 (Fall 2012), <http://ugs.utah.edu/sustainability-certificate/Sustainability%20and%20Liberal%20Education.pdf>, [p. 7].

211 Weissman, “Sustainability & Liberal Education,” [pp. 3-4]. See also Carl Benton Straub, “The Civic within the More-than-Human World,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Values, Civic Practices*, pp. 3-4; and Brian Murphy, “Civic Learning in Community Colleges,” in Jill N. Reich, ed., *Civic Engagement, Civic Development, and Higher Education* (Washington, D.C., 2014), p. 19.

212 Matthew J. Countryman, “Diversity and Democratic Engagement: Civic Education and the Challenge of Inclusivity,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, p. 49. See also “Organizing Your Civic Seminar,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, p. 82.

213 Fine, “Critical Civic Research,” p. 39.

7. **the Occupy movement:** BTtoP author Todd Gitlin states that “The most important thing to understand is that the eruption of Occupy was a civic achievement.”²¹⁴

OCCUPY DENVER AS CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

I participated in the Occupy Denver march this past Saturday. It was a long-overdue event with a wide variety of people expressing divergent views in a peaceful, enthusiastic demonstration of civic engagement.

Thad Tecza, *Denver*

The Denver Post, ELetters, October 19, 2011, <http://blogs.denverpost.com/eletters/2011/10/19/occupy-denver-and-the-response-from-police-6-letters/15151/>.

8. **“critical civic scholarship”:** BTtoP author Michelle Fine lauds *critical civic scholarship*, which makes “visible the circuits of dispossession, resistance, validation as well as the circuits of possibility that link these sites.”²¹⁵
9. **miscellaneous progressive goals:** BTtoP author Paul LeBlanc states that “civic-oriented scholarship infused with diversity and global perspectives” are meant to solve “problems that need to be solved today—whether related to climate change, economic inequity, fundamentalism, or corporate irresponsibility.”²¹⁶

BTtoP author Todd Gitlin states that “The most important thing to understand is that the eruption of Occupy was a civic achievement.”

All but one of these suggestions comes from the Bringing Theory to Practice (BTtoP) series of monographs, which are meant to inform Federal Government practice going forward. The one exception, Neil B. Weissman’s advocacy of civic sustainability, is closely echoed within the BTtoP monographs by articles by Carl Benton Straub and Brian Murphy.

214 Todd Gitlin, “Social Media, the Occupy Movement, and Civic Values,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Values, Civic Practices*, p. 20.

215 Fine, “Critical Civic Research,” p. 36. See also Seth Pollack, “(Social) Justice for All (Undergraduate Degree Programs): Institutionalizing Critical Civic Literacy in the Undergraduate Curriculum,” in Finley, ed. *Civic Learning and Teaching*, p. 17.

216 Paul LeBlanc, “Making Civic Engagement Matter to More Students: Expanding Our Reach and Improving Our Practice,” in Reich, ed., *Civic Engagement, Civic Development, and Higher Education*, p. 27; *A Crucible Moment*, p. 46.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION TRAINING

A number of civically engaged educational efforts are based on subject matter that seems uncontroversial. BTtoP author Matthew Countryman gives as an example work to abate lead poisoning from a local community. This effort appears innocuous—but it accustoms participants to the structure of community organization. “Community leaders,” undefined, play a leading role—and what they do is “use the data to pressure apartment owners to comply with local ordinances around lead abatement and to pressure municipal authorities to police apartments more closely.”

Pressure is the key word here. Key absences include *seek to understand the costs of lead abatement* and *seek to understand the motivations of those who oppose lead abatement*. The conclusion is also a model: “produce learning and new knowledge in order to challenge and change the status quo through democratic means.”²¹⁷ Even if this particular case can be justified—and lacking the point of view of the opponents of this campaign, how can one know?—this is education that primes students to work for “community leaders,” to engage in extra-governmental “pressure,” never to seek out the point of view of one’s opponents, and to prize only change and never preservation.

The progressive articulation of civic learning becomes apparent as one moves away from lead poisoning. Donald Harward cites examples of “moving from civic learning to practiced agency and engagement” that include “preparing background briefs for indigent clients seeking public assistance” and “drafting petitions.”²¹⁸ So too does *civic engagement’s* divorce from its traditional definition of as *participation in government*. Barry Checkoway cites examples of *civic engagement* that include “when people organize action groups, plan local programs, or develop community-based services. They might vote in an election, contact a public official, or speak at a public hearing; they might organize an action group, mobilize around a neighborhood problem, or join a protest demonstration.”²¹⁹

The organization of effective protest demonstration is at the heart of the new interpretation of civic engagement. Amanda McBride, Director of the Gephardt Institute for Civic and Community Engagement at Washington University in St. Louis, specifies that “To be effective as a form of civic engagement, the demands of protestors should be focused and clear. The actions should employ the most effective

This is education that primes students to work for “community leaders,” to engage in extra-governmental “pressure,” never to seek out the point of view of one’s opponents, and to prize only change and never preservation.

217 Countryman, “Diversity and Democratic Engagement,” p. 52.

218 Donald W. Harward, “Introduction and Framing Essay,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Values, Civic Practices*, p. xv.

219 Barry Checkoway, “Civic Engagement, Civic Learning, and Higher Education,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, p. 25.

tactics of community organizing. Beyond consciousness raising, these actions force those in power to be disrupted, to be cornered in terms of their reaction.” More briefly, one must “Protest with purpose.”²²⁰



Barry Checkoway



Amanda McBride



Philip Nyden

SUBORDINATION TO PROGRESSIVE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

The New Civics makes it a point of theoretical virtue to subordinate academic personnel to the demands of community organizers, just as academic research is meant to be subordinated to political activism. Philip Nyden writes that “*academic researchers themselves may have a deficit that needs to be corrected by experienced community leaders and activists*” [emphasis in the original]. Activists must teach academics how to “pressure elected officials to adopt new policies or to organize community opposition to a corporate policy perpetuating pollution in their neighborhoods.”

The result is politicized research: “It is the organic collaboration between researcher and activist ... that produces valuable, rigorous, civically engaged research. In civically engaged scholarship, researchers and citizen activists are equal partners.”²²¹ Some partners, of course, are more equal than others. Nyden’s crucial phrase is “*corrected by experienced community leaders and activists.*”

Not all such community partners are progressive nonprofits. In New York, for example, Hudson Valley Community College’s Center for Service Learning and Civic Engagement lists community partners that include the Albany Police Athletic League, Berkshire Bird Sanctuary and Botanical Gardens, Catskill Animal

“Academic researchers themselves may have a deficit *that needs to be corrected by experienced community leaders and activists ... In civically engaged scholarship, researchers and citizen activists are equal partners.*”

– Philip Nyden

220 Amanda Moore McBride, “Protests and Beyond: Civic Reengagement,” Gephardt Institute for Civic and Community Engagement, <https://gephardtinststitute.wustl.edu/protests-and-beyond-civic-reengagement/>.

221 Philip Nyden, “Public Sociology, Engaged Research, and Civic Education,” in Levine and Soltan, eds., *Civic Studies*, pp. 109-10.

Sanctuary, and Rensselaer County Historical Society.²²² On the other hand, in California’s De Anza College, the Vasconcellos Institute for Democracy in Action (VIDA), successor to the Institute for Community and Civic Engagement) advertises 5 VIDA Top Projects in its Community Partners for Service Learning webpage, all of which are progressive activist organizations.

*DE ANZA COLLEGE, VASCONCELLOS INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (VIDA),
VIDA TOP PROJECTS 2015-2016*

DALE [Deferred Action for Leadership Empowerment] de Anza:

“Participants will help eligible undocumented immigrants and their families apply for greater legal and employment security through the DACA and DAPA programs.”

San Jose Renters’ Rights Coalition: “Join a movement in San Jose to fight back against skyrocketing rents. Housing is a human right! Participants will attend meetings and join some of the most influential non-profits in San Jose in spreading awareness and getting voters to approve a measure to decrease or stabilize rents in San Jose and make the area more affordable to live in.”

Student Advocacy/Student Representation Campaign: “Participants will work as part of a state-wide campaign to create a permanent funding stream to develop student political power by implementing a \$2.00 “Student Representation Fee” on the De Anza College Campus. This fee will pay for student organizers, student advocacy trainings, student coalition-building projects and other campaigns to organize, empower, and mobilize the 2.5 million community college students in California.”

TRANSITION De Anza: “Transition is a student group that advocates for better transportation options to De Anza College, including Bus Rapid Transit; a faster, frequent, and reliable form of public transportation. Our goal is to provide viable alternatives to the automobile so more students can get an education without wasting time on slow bus service or stuck in traffic.”

Make It Fair/Commercial Property Tax Reform (CPTR): “Make It Fair is dedicated to making California’s tax code fair to all by phasing out loopholes in Prop. 13 that have allowed a handful of giant corporations and wealthy commercial property owners to dramatically lower their tax obligations, while everyone else’s taxes have risen and state and local governments are constantly strapped for revenues.”

De Anza College, Vasconcellos Institute for Democracy in Action: “Community Partners for Service Learning,” <https://www.deanza.edu/vida/students.html>;
“VIDA Projects 2015-2016,” <https://www.deanza.edu/vida/topprojects.html>.

222 Hudson Valley Community College, Center for Service Learning and Civic Engagement, “Community Partners for Spring 2016,” <http://www.lvcc.edu/servicelearning/community-sites.pdf>.

Many community partners nationwide are like the Police Athletic Leagues and Bird Sanctuaries. But the preferred partners of the civic engagement movement are like those that De Anza College advertises: the progressive political advocates.

CIVICALLY-ENGAGED RESEARCH

Civically-engaged research frequently concludes that the government should provide more money for civic engagement programs. Flanagan and Levine’s “Civic Engagement and the Transition to Adulthood” (2010), for example, calls for more programs that provide “opportunities for civic engagement,” and cites approvingly the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act, which increased funding for AmeriCorps and parallel governmental service corps. They regret, however, that the Kennedy Act “forbids corps members from engaging in political activity of any sort.”²²³ An exemplary category of civically-engaged research is “participatory action research”—research intended to achieve a real-world goal. Within the world of civic engagement, it generally means gathering information as part of organizing a campaign to pressure the government, usually for more money from the state. The researcher then writes up the results of the campaign for more government money.

“Participatory Action Research” generally means gathering information as part of organizing a campaign to pressure the government, usually for more money from the state. The researcher then writes up the results of the campaign for more government money.

Some part of such “research” includes tendentious polling: “We recently completed Polling for Justice, a survey that asked 1,200 young people across New York City about their experiences of what we call circuits of dispossession in education, criminal justice, housing, and healthcare.” As intended, the poll’s results supported a call for left-wing political action: “Through the survey, we have documented unbelievably high rates of negative police interaction between kids of color and police.” This “research” produced no new information, save that of confirmation: “Together, we identify geographic “hot spots” of police activity. And through a secondary analysis of the New York Police Department’s own database, we’ve discovered that these “hot spots” mirror those identified by the police themselves.”²²⁴

Participatory-action research is the model for all such civically engaged research: information gathered for polemical purposes rather than out of a disengaged love of knowledge. It resembles traditional research as little as civic engagement resembles traditional civics education.

223 Constance Flanagan and Peter Levine, “Civic Engagement and the Transition to Adulthood,” *Future Child* 20, 1 (2010), pp. 173-75, http://www.futureofchildren.org/futureofchildren/publications/docs/20_01_08.pdf.

224 Fine, “Critical Civic Research,” 38.

DIVERTING RESOURCES

As with service-learning, the phrase that indicates such diversions is “community partnership.” Students are not just supposed to volunteer, but to volunteer with a “community partner.” This is justified by the ideal of reciprocity—students are supposed to learn from the community. But as with service-learning, “community” means “community partner,” and “community partner” means “progressive, non-profit, non-governmental organization.” Service-learning and civic engagement alike provide volunteer labor for progressive non-profits, where the costs (tuition) are borne either by the students and their families, or via university (hence public) subsidy by way of tuition remission. More largely, they divert resources from the university to the progressive organizations that claim to speak for “the community.” As Caryn Musil puts it, a properly civically engaged university—an “anchor institution”—is a place that “is likely to transform how research is done, where it’s done, the length of time that it’s done for, its purposes, and the way in which higher education redistributes its resources.”²²⁵ Overwhelmingly, the New Civics functions as a way to channel free labor to these progressive non-profits.

Overwhelmingly, the New Civics functions as a way to channel free labor to these progressive non-profits.

As Shari Tishman put it in VolunteerMatch’s *Engaging Volunteers* blog, “At this point, I hope a lightbulb is going off above your head, or perhaps a little birdy singing ‘Opportunity! Opportunity!’ Because for nonprofits, these civically active people are the cream of the potential volunteering crop.”²²⁶

TRAINING TO ASK FOR OTHER PEOPLE’S MONEY

Many New Civics initiatives have no purpose beyond securing more funding from the government, whether for New Civics programs or for other preferred recipients. Bernita Quoss and her colleagues summarize the mechanics of one such exercise in “participatory action research” in Wyoming: “During one state’s actions related to welfare reform, undergraduate university students who had been trained in advocacy education ... engaged in direct advocacy. These students, most who [sic] were welfare recipients, successfully lobbied the state legislature to define postsecondary education as a form of work under their state’s new welfare law.” Quoss and her colleagues emphasized the importance of the students’ “research” in securing new public money for themselves: “The students’ legislative success cannot be understood apart from the context of the participatory action research (PAR) study that facilitated their actions.”²²⁷ Wyoming now would be paying unemployed students

225 Musil, “National Call to Action,” p. 73.

226 Shari Tishman, “The Difference Between “Civically Engaged” and “Volunteer” (and How to Turn One into the Other),” October 17, 2011, *Engaging Volunteers: The VolunteerMatch Blog for Social Change Organizations*, <http://blogs.volunteermatch.org/engagingvolunteers/2011/10/17/the-difference-between-civically-engaged-and-volunteer-and-how-to-turn-one-into-the-other/>.

227 Bernita Quoss, Margaret Cooney, and Terri Longhust, “Academics and Advocates: Using Participatory Action Research to Influence Welfare Policy,” *The Journal of Consumer Affairs* 34, 1 (2000), pp. 47-61.

to engage in an educational program whose goal was to train these students in activities such as lobbying for more money for unemployed students. Quoss and her colleagues took this as a successful example of the New Civics in action.

CAREER OPPORTUNITIES

Civic engagement provides vocational training to students seeking a career in progressive non-profits, and/or in the college administration supervising New Civics. A 2016 blog posting by New Civics advocate Peter Levine indicated five typical jobs.



Peter Levine

NEW CIVICS JOBS AVAILABLE: POSTING BY PETER LEVINE

1. two Civic and Engagement Program Officers for the Ford Foundation, one working on American issues and one on Global Issues, “to make civic engagement more powerful and strategic, and government more representative, responsible and accountable”;
2. one Associate for the Evaluation and Learning Unit of Everyday Democracy, “a national leader in civic participation and community change ... [that works] with grass-roots organizers and public officials to bring people together to talk about and work on critical public issues, using a racial equity lens”;
3. “a Program Director to implement our Legal Diversity Pipeline Programs” for Street Law, Inc.; and
4. An Action Civics Coordinator for the Florida Joint Center for Citizenship, who “will be responsible for working with K-12 districts, schools and teachers throughout Florida to implement service learning and other active civic learning initiatives.”

Peter Levine, A Blog for Civic Renewal, “job openings in civic renewal (11), June 2, 2016, <http://peterlevine.ws/?p=16982>.

On June 22, 2016, the job listings at indeed.com included 1,963 Civic Engagement jobs.²²⁸ The Columbia University Center for Career Education helpfully describes the fields available to Civic Engagement and Advocacy job seekers: “Whether it is to ensure immigrant’s rights, organizing for gay marriage, or against hate speech, many opportunities exist within the field of civic engagement and advocacy.”²²⁹

228 Indeed.com, <http://www.indeed.com/q-Civic-Engagement-jobs.html>, downloaded June 22, 2016.

229 Columbia University, Columbia University Center for Career Education, Civic Engagement and Advocacy, <https://www.careereducation.columbia.edu/resources/industry/social-justice/civic-engagement>.

College students trained in the New Civics are prepared mainly for these kinds of career paths.

A CAREER IN CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: FIELD ORGANIZER FOR THE WYOMING DEMOCRATS

We are seeking Organizers to work in communities across Wyoming, as we engage voters to elect Democrats in Wyoming and expand opportunities for the Equality State. ... Organizers develop skills that can be applied in a wide range of sectors and industries, including training volunteers, careful listening, data reporting & tracking, messaging, and teamwork. They also get first-hand exposure to how a major campaign operates, which is valuable for anyone interested in careers in politics or civic engagement.

“We’re Hiring Field Organizers!”, Wyoming Democrats, <http://www.wyodems.org/job/were-hiring-field-organizers>.

LOWERING STANDARDS

Civic engagement courses disguise the lowering of academic standards. As Paul LeBlanc notes, “at most institutions, civic engagement often feels squishy—ill-defined, [and] poorly assessed.”²³⁰ The advocates of civic engagement prefer this lack of effective assessment. Barbara Holland states that “it is easier and more appealing to make the case for institutional support by telling individual stories of student and community impact than it is to design formal measurement tools that gather information on outcomes across the diverse forms and goals of civic learning and teaching.”²³¹



Barbara Holland

Civic engagement and service-learning courses, overwhelmingly, assign work that requires no college education, with a “reflection paper” added on to mimic the form of an academic class. The advocates of these courses usually claim non-academic, unquantifiable successes, such as “increasing students’ sense of social responsibility and citizenship skills.” These skills include “religious and racial tolerance, prosocial decision making, and exploring the intersections between

230 LeBlanc, “Making Civic Engagement Matter,” p. 26.

231 Barbara Holland, “Strategies for Understanding the Impact of Civic Learning and Teaching,” in Finley, ed. *Civic Learning and Teaching*, pp. 22-23.

identity and privilege; the ability to work well with others; leadership and communication skills; and, importantly, a sense of being able to effect change in their community.”²³²

Claims that such courses increase grade-point averages, retention rates, and graduation rates may correlate with lower academic standards: the ability to do well and feel motivated in courses devoid of academic content is not a reliable measure of success.²³³ Students who take such courses acknowledge that they are uninterested in or incapable of a full four years of college-level coursework, while colleges and universities that offer such courses acknowledge that they are incapable of providing four years of college-level coursework for their students. Service-learning and civic engagement alike register the reduction of a college degree to a hollow credential that is devoid of substantive academic content.

The lowering of standards associated with the New Civics also reflects its involvement in remediation and retention programs. A significant portion of these courses and related endeavors is intended to facilitate the retention of struggling students²³⁴—which is to say, these New Civics courses and programs are disguised remediation for students unprepared for college education. To the extent that such coursework is intended for remedial students, as participants as well as beneficiaries, it is a way to disguise the lowering of college standards by providing undemanding courses for unqualified students.

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²³² *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 13, 61.

²³³ *A Crucible Moment*, p. 12; Christine M. Cress, et al., *A Promising Connection: Increasing College Access and Success through Civic Engagement* (Boston, 2010).

²³⁴ Cress, et al., *A Promising Connection*.

DISGUIISING LANGUAGE

The New Civics grows because people allow it to expand throughout American higher education. Within campuses, political liberals who do not endorse the project generally do not oppose it either. They view it at worst as a clumsy way of bringing about good ends. Among the public at large, the jargon of the education schools usually repels casual readers. The New Civics advocates also disguise these programs' true purposes with deceptively bland language.

The word *democratic* signifies *progressive*; the term *civic engagement* signifies *permanent mobilization*. *A Crucible Moment* provides a perfect example of such prose: “higher education must in this next generation of civic learning investments build a broader theory of knowledge about democracy and democratic principles for an age marked as it is by multiplicity and division.”²³⁵

We may translate this sentence as “Progressives must finish taking over the university and turn all college students into progressive activists.” The authors of *A Crucible Moment* went to some lengths, and quite successfully, to ensure that their prose did not convey their true ambitions clearly.

The New Civics advocates disguise these programs' true purposes with deceptively bland language. The word democratic signifies progressive; the term civic engagement signifies permanent mobilization.

CIVIC STUDIES

“Civic Studies” is the latest invention of the New Civics—a way to give civic engagement a disciplinary home within higher education. “The New Civic Politics: Civic Theory and Practice for the Future,” Civic Studies’ organizing manifesto, uses the New Civics’ standard vocabulary to define this would-be discipline:

1. Civic Studies aims “to understand power broadly” for the “generation of productive public action, and realization of civically valuable outcomes”; and
2. “The political community in question is not to be associated exclusively with the state or the nation.”²³⁶

The website civicstudies.org provides an overview of the current state of the emerging field of Civic Studies.²³⁷ The subsection on the Civic Agency Syllabi Project—“sponsored by the American

²³⁵ *A Crucible Moment*, p. 31.

²³⁶ Tufts University, Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, “Summer Institute of Civic Studies – Framing Statement,” <http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/civic-studies/summer-institute/summer-institute-of-civic-studies-framing-statement/>.

²³⁷ Civic Studies, [“Home,”] civicstudies.org.

Democracy Project (ADP), Imagining America, and the Civic Studies Alumni and organized by the Sabo Center for Democracy and Citizenship”—likewise provides a good cross-section of the sorts of college classes being taught under its rubric. Such courses include *Social Construction of Race and Citizenship*, *Organizing for the Public Good*, *Community Organizing for Effective Public Policy*, *Participatory Community Engagement*, *Building the Public Good: Public Achievement and Organizing*, *Practicum in Public Achievement*, *Managing Civic Engagement*, and *Community Organizing*.²³⁸ Harry Boyte’s syllabus for *The New Civic Politics* provides typical goals of such courses.

HARRY BOYTE, THE NEW CIVIC POLITICS, DRAFT SYLLABUS: CLASS GOALS

- To provide students in public affairs as well as other disciplines and professions with introductory experiences of civic agency – empowering, consequential, relational public action -- and a 21st century civic politics embodying civic agency;
- To analyze obstacles to civic politics, including technocracy, meritocracy, and consumerism;
- To provide opportunities for students to help co-create the class;
- To strategize about how to spread theory and practice of civic politics

Harry Boyte, *The New Civic Politics*, Draft October 29, 2013, <http://civicstudies.org/civic-agency-syllabi/>, accessed March 1, 2016.

Erica Kohl-Arenas’ syllabus for *Participatory Community Engagement* provides some of the progressive intellectual substance lurking behind the civic vocabulary: “Theoretical and historical underpinnings include the work of Paulo Freire, Augusto Boal, bell hooks, and a number of case studies including the muralista movement, Theater of the Oppressed, immigrant organizing, Occupy Wall Street, and community based school reform.”²³⁹ Philip Nyden explains that “the creation of an explicitly democratic field of civic studies is a political process” that looks to “solution-oriented research.”²⁴⁰ Students who major in Civic Studies will not be exposed to disengaged scholarship or a pure love of learning.

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238 Civic Studies, “Civic Agency Syllabi,” <http://civicstudies.org/civic-agency-syllabi/>, accessed March 1, 2016.

239 Erica Kohl-Arenas, *Participatory Community Engagement*, Spring 2014, <http://civicstudies.org/civic-agency-syllabi/>.

240 Nyden, “Public Sociology, Engaged Research, and Civic Education,” p. 112.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

ORIGINS

The origins of “global citizenship” practically lie in the impulse by service-learning advocates to spread their programs to suburban and rural campuses. Service-learning pioneers on suburban and rural campuses have found it easier to persuade students to go overseas for a semester than to drive 50 miles to an urban ghetto, and so “global education,” “global citizenship,” and the like, arose out of the purely practical desire to bring service-learning to the suburbs.

For example, Nicholas Royal and Martin Tillman (University of California, Santa Cruz) used service-learning to teach students “how to interact ethically and effectively with people of diverse cultures and nations.”²⁴¹ The leftist orientation of such study was as strong abroad as at home. Royal recalls, “I taught a course for many years, Social Change in the Third World, when the Sandinistas were in power in Nicaragua. A student said, ‘How can I go there?’ ... in the fall she went to Nicaragua for six months. Then she went back again as a senior sociology student and spent a year there. To me, that was what was exciting: to see that sort of continuity, that students used it that way.”²⁴²

CONSEQUENCES

These practical roots, however, have had serious consequences. “Global citizenship,” by every traditional definition, is a contradiction in terms. As Patrick Deneen notes, the root of civics education is “the ideal of *cives*—the ‘city,’ that is, a particular place with a particular history and particular polity.” Civics education always included “a knowledge of one’s own history, at once a focus on the history of one’s nation and more broadly the long tradition from which one’s nation arose—in our case, America and the West.”²⁴³ To teach “global citizenship” is to contradict the original notion of civics education.

To teach “global citizenship” is to contradict the original notion of civic education.

The Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) has specified that by global citizenship it means something more than a simple broadening of horizons: “we need to differentiate our broad civic objectives from narrower efforts to ‘internationalize’ the curriculum—efforts that are often confused with global learning because of a similar interest in combating parochialism and expanding students’ horizons.” The AAC&U intends something far more radical: its Shared Futures

241 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 103; and see also pp. 106-07, 109.

242 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 105.

243 Deneen, “An Unbalanced Crucible,” pp. 338-39.

initiative asks of students, “What does it mean to be a citizen in the evolving global context?” and “How should one act in the face of large unsolved global problems?”²⁴⁴

Other definitions of global citizenship also intend to detach students from unique loyalty to the United States, from confidence in its ability to act with sovereign independence, or from a desire for it to do so. Global citizenship is meant to focus on issues that putatively “challenge the centrality of the nation state.”²⁴⁵ Global citizenship intends to align students with “transnational normative judgments of actions and emerging global public opinion” intended to constrain America’s sovereign actions by acting as a “second superpower.”²⁴⁶

GLOBAL CIVICS

Karol Soltan states that global civics is “the most encompassing subfield of the emerging field of the new civics”; and “the subject matter of global civics” is “the encompassing global project,” defined in contrast with “the American project”—that is to say, the United States.²⁴⁷ The texts of global civics are not the Constitution or *The Federalist*, but the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Earth Charter (2000).²⁴⁸ Meanwhile, global civics is based on theories of “cosmopolitan democracy, the global constitution, and global justice.”²⁴⁹ Global civics intends just as much as global citizenship to foster an alternate locus of loyalty than the United States.

The texts of global civics are not the Constitution or The Federalist, but the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Earth Charter (2000).

PROGRESSIVE AGENDAS

It is also another justification for activist organization. AAC&U’s Shared Futures initiative (2001-) defines global citizenship around an “ethical imperative” to a “civic commitment” that will “take privilege, power, democratic opportunity, and patterned stratification into account” and “apply knowledge and values to real-world problems.”²⁵⁰

244 Kevin Hovland, *Shared Futures: Global Learning and Liberal Education* (Washington, D.C., 2006), p. 19. See also Richard Detweiler, “Is the Civic a Culturally Dependent Concept? Are Democratic Practices?”, in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, esp. p. 57.

245 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 7.

246 Hakan Altınay, “A Global Civics?”, in Harward, ed., *Civic Values, Civic Practices*, p. 86.

247 Karol Edward Soltan, “The Emerging Field of a New Civics,” in Levine and Soltan, eds., *Civic Studies*, p. 16.

248 Soltan, “Emerging Field of a New Civics,” p. 17.

249 Soltan, “Emerging Field of a New Civics,” p. 17.

250 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 9.

According to the AAC&U, liberal education generally should be redefined around the globalizing “commitment to be socially responsible citizens in a diverse democracy and increasingly interconnected world,” and to “help” students “recognize that citizenship in a nation is only one factor in understanding the world.” Students are also supposed to “understand—and perhaps redefine—democratic principles and practices within a global context,” “gain opportunities to engage in practical work with fundamental issues that affect communities not yet well served by their societies,” and “translate global learning into ethical and reflective practice.” Put another way, “Global issues” are meant to “provide students with opportunities to develop important civic knowledge and to engage—globally and locally—in civic practice.”²⁵¹

AAC&U provides several Campus Models of global learning. Nebraska Wesleyan University’s Global Citizenship Preparation, now renamed the Archway Curriculum, offers a particularly vivid example of what such Global Citizenship entails. The Archway Curriculum integrates “rethinking what diversity means in a global context” with “the ecological ramifications of climate change in a biology class,” and “the difficulties of implementing international climate initiatives in a political science class.” Nebraska Wesleyan is designating “housing areas” to support this program—a Green House, an International House, and “a Sanctuary House that works with local refugee communities.” All students at Nebraska Wesleyan will also be mandated to take a “two-tier experiential learning requirement,” with a total of 65 hours of required service, and encouraged to study abroad—where, “Like service learning,” the “study abroad experience” will be “deliberate and reflective.”²⁵²

Global learning and global citizenship use a slight variation of the language of civic engagement to justify the same diversion of university resources to forward the progressive agenda—with an emphasis on those aspects of the progressive agenda that replace patriotic commitment to our country with allegiance to a progressively defined global community.

COLLEGE MISSION STATEMENTS

The global citizenship project takes advantage of college mission statements’ tendency to include good-willed generalities by inserting language that aligns them with the global citizenship project. Some mission statements include “commitments to prepare graduates to thrive in a future characterized by global interdependence.”²⁵³ Others connect colleges’ “global” missions” more explicitly to the progressive agenda, and “often link global learning with diversity and multiculturalism.”²⁵⁴

251 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, pp. 16-17, 28.

252 Association of American Colleges & Universities, Toolkit Resources: Campus Models & Case Studies, “An Integrative Approach to Global Learning at Nebraska Wesleyan University,” May 2013, <https://www.AAC&U.org/campus-model/integrative-approach-global-learning-nebraska-wesleyan-university>.

253 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 11.

254 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 12.

GLOBAL LEARNING

Global learning aims to absorb all undergraduate study by a “transformation of undergraduate education.” This is to be done “By moving global learning goals out of the one or two multicultural course requirements and sharing responsibility for these outcomes across the curriculum.”²⁵⁵ So far this goal has been only partly achieved. New degree programs in Global Studies such as those at the University of Minnesota²⁵⁶ and the University of California, Santa Barbara²⁵⁷ provide a model for global learning’s transformation of undergraduate education, but are not yet mandatory.

Still, there are already harbingers of the future: the College of St. Benedict & Saint John’s University, Colby College, and Montclair State University have begun to redesign their general requirements around global learning. Colby College makes the progressive advocacy of such courses transparent: its diversity requirement—two courses devoted to “progress in overcoming prejudice, privilege, oppression, inequality, and injustice”—makes sure that one such course is about the world outside the United States, and hence an exercise in global learning and global citizenship.²⁵⁸ Drury University’s Core Program also makes global learning melded with service-learning a core requirement for Drury students.²⁵⁹ Global learning has made progress in its assimilatory goals.

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ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES (AAC&U)

The Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) is a major institutional sponsor of global citizenship programs. AAC&U’s efforts via the Shared Futures initiative include its project Liberal Education and Global Citizenship: The Arts of Democracy (2001–5), which “supported a curriculum and faculty development network of eleven institutions that focused

255 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 17.

256 University of Minnesota, Institute for Global Studies, “Global Studies Major,” <http://igs.cla.umn.edu/ugrad/majors.html>.

257 University of California, Santa Barbara, Global & International Studies, “Global Studies Major,” <http://www.global.ucsb.edu/undergrad/programs/gi>.

258 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, pp. 13–15; Colby College, Colby College Catalogue 2015–2016, “Academic Requirements,” <http://www.colby.edu/catalogue/front-of-catalogue/requirements/>.

259 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, pp. 31–32; Drury University, Drury Core, <http://www.drury.edu/core>.

their global learning reform efforts on redesigning selected majors.”²⁶⁰

At Brooklyn College, the project created a service-learning center: “ten departments committed themselves to developing new required courses in the major that explicitly addressed globalization and democracy. Each course was also to include an experiential element—internship, field work, or community service in Brooklyn.”²⁶¹ Generally the project advertised a progressive goal for students to “recognize the construction of their own identities as shaped by the currents of power and privilege, within both a multicultural United States and an interconnected and unequal world.”²⁶²

AAC&U’s follow-up project, Shared Futures: General Education for Global Learning (2005-; subtitle since changed to “Global Learning and Social Responsibility”), further aims “to integrate learning across the curriculum.” This initiative connects global learning with “questions of diversity, identity, citizenship, democracy, power, privilege, sustainability, and ethical action.”

Shared Futures’ initial projects funded initiatives at institutions including Arcadia University (Glenside, Pennsylvania), Butler University (Indianapolis, Indiana), California State University, Long Beach, Chandler-Gilbert Community College (Chandler, Arizona), Dickinson College (Carlisle, Pennsylvania), Drury University (Springfield, Missouri), Hawaii Pacific University, Marquette University (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Mesa Community College (Mesa, Arizona), Otterbein College (Westerville, Ohio), Stephens College (Columbia, Missouri), United States Military Academy (West Point, New York), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, University of Wyoming, Wheaton College (Norton, Massachusetts), and Whittier College (Whittier, California). Shared Futures’ funding range has only increased in the last decade: its General Education for a Global Century project alone now has 32 participating colleges and universities.²⁶³ As capstone to AAC&U’s Liberal Education and Global Citizenship project, Saskia Sassen gave a keynote speech at the global learning symposium of the AAC&U’s 2003 Diversity and

AAC&U’s “Global Learning and Social Responsibility” initiative connects global learning with “questions of diversity, identity, citizenship, democracy, power, privilege, sustainability, and ethical action.”



Saskia Sassen

²⁶⁰ Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 19.

²⁶¹ Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 22; and for other funded initiatives, all progressive, see pp. 22-24.

²⁶² Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 23.

²⁶³ Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 24; Association of American Colleges & Universities, “Shared Futures: Global Learning and Social Responsibility,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/shared-futures>; Association of American Colleges & Universities, “General Education for a Global Century Participating Institutions,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/shared-futures/global-century/institutions>.

Learning conference, in which she said that globalization “has the effect of partly unbundling the unitary character of citizenship.”²⁶⁴ Rather than seeking out a civics education that would defy and counter the forces that seek to dissolve our national bonds, or taking them as a prompt toward a greater emphasis on national unity, education toward global citizenship accommodates, and accelerates, the unraveling of national identity, loyalty, and citizenship.

Education toward global citizenship accommodates and accelerates the unraveling of national identity, loyalty, and citizenship.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP SUMMARY

The global citizenship movement is meant to work jointly with experiential learning, service-learning, and allied movements: “Both global and diversity work often focus on big questions, perspective taking, and learning across differences, which is why the interface with civic problem solving pedagogies is relatively seamless.”²⁶⁵ It is also intended to be inescapable: Hakan Altinay wishes that “it should be impossible to complete a four-year university degree without some exposure to a global civics.”²⁶⁶

SUMMARY

Civic engagement—the New Civics—is the braid that ties together service-learning, Alinskyite community organization, Deweyan-Freirian pedagogy, and the new movement of global citizenship. Civic engagement is effectively the name of a real alliance among progressive causes. We have mentioned the Alinskyite Maria Avila already—the Director of the Center for Community Based Learning at Occidental College from 2001 to 2011, worked earlier in her career “as a community organizer with the Industrial Areas Foundation, the international network founded by the late Saul Alinsky in the 1940s.”²⁶⁷ A lengthier extract from her professional self-description illustrates how these different aspects of civic engagement can unite in the career of one person.

MARIA AVILA, RESUME

Dr. Avila began her career in social work, organizing in the rural areas of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. She earned a degree in Social Work at the Universidad Autonoma de Ciudad Juarez, a BA in Psychology at University of Illinois at Chicago, a MA in Social

264 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 23.

265 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 63; Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 28.

266 Altinay, “A Global Civics?”, p. 83.

267 California State University Dominguez Hills, “Maria Avila, MSW, PH.D.,” <http://www4.csudh.edu/social-work/facultystaff/maria-avila>.

Service Administration at University of Chicago, and a PhD in Adult and Community Education at Maynooth University, in Ireland. She was Andrew W. Mellon Teaching Fellow with the Center for Diversity and Democracy, and taught in the department of American Studies and Ethnicity from 2012 to 2014, at the University of Southern California.

She was the founding Director of the Center for Community Based Learning at Occidental College, from 2001 to 2011. Prior to working in higher education, Dr. Avila worked as a community organizer with the Industrial Areas Foundation, the international network founded by the late Saul Alinsky in the 1940s. Dr. Avila has performed volunteer and consulting work with a number of organizations, including Partnerships to Uplift Communities, the Northeast LA Education Strategy, the City of Los Angeles, Imagining America: Artists and Scholars in Public Life, and the Council for Social Work Education's Council on Global Issues.

Her research focuses on civic engagement, particularly in the use of community organizing practices with the aim to transform the culture of higher education institutions and their surrounding communities. Her participatory and collaborative teaching philosophy and practice is influenced by the Brazilian Educator Paulo Freire's liberation pedagogy. Central to Avila's research and teaching is realizing the democratic mission of higher education to collaborate in enhancing democratic values and practices in society. She has given numerous presentations and workshops nationally and internationally, and her research has been supported by the Kettering Foundation.

California State University Dominguez Hills, "Maria Avila, MSW, PH.D.," <http://www4.csudh.edu/social-work/facultystaff/maria-avila>.

Alinskyite, community organizer, follower of Freirian liberation pedagogy, Director of the Center for Community Based Learning at Occidental College, recipient of funding from the Kettering Foundation, member of a Council on Global Issues, and scholar whose research subject is also civic engagement and community organizing—Avila incarnates the interwoven components of the New Civics.

The New Civics has made Avila's career. It has also had a serious effect on American higher education: the efforts to inculcate "societal, civic, and global knowledge" have replaced traditional civics education with progressive advocacy described as "study of a non-European culture and of contemporary cultural diversity (i.e., gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.) and justice issues, both in the United States and abroad." This has been done particularly by means such as

“service learning programs explicitly designed to involve students with challenging societal issues.”²⁶⁸

This civic engagement differs starkly from traditional understandings of active citizenship. Civic engagement is about joining an activist pressure group. Traditional civics is about taking an active role in government. The first choice conceives of political action as joining a likeminded faction that takes no responsibility for governance; the second choice conceives of political action as making oneself accountable to the entire citizenry and taking up the responsibility for governance. Civics education ought to prepare students to take part in the responsibilities of government—but civic engagement educates students to conceive of civics as political agitation by irresponsible pressure groups—all of whom agitate for the agenda of the radical left.

De Anza College in the San Francisco Bay region demonstrates the sort of higher education, and the sort of college students, the New Civics creates. De Anza’s priority is “developing the civic identity of our students” and it “embeds” this goal “in program design and curricula across the campus.” Brian Murphy notes positively that “activism is deeply embedded in the culture at De Anza College. Undocumented students and their allies were deeply involved in the fight for the DREAM Act, students organized for the living wage in San José, and still others participated in annual budget fights in the state capitol.”

Civics education at De Anza contrasts with academic achievement: “Eighty-five percent of our students do not test at college level in math or reading.” But students are civically engaged.²⁶⁹

Alinskyite, community organizer, follower of Freirian liberation pedagogy, Director of the Center for Community Based Learning at Occidental College, recipient of funding from the Kettering Foundation, member of a Council on Global Issues, and scholar whose research subject is also civic engagement and community organizing—Maria Avila incarnates the interwoven components of the New Civics.

²⁶⁸ Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 6.

²⁶⁹ Murphy, “Civic Learning in Community Colleges,” pp. 19-21.

The New Civics Now

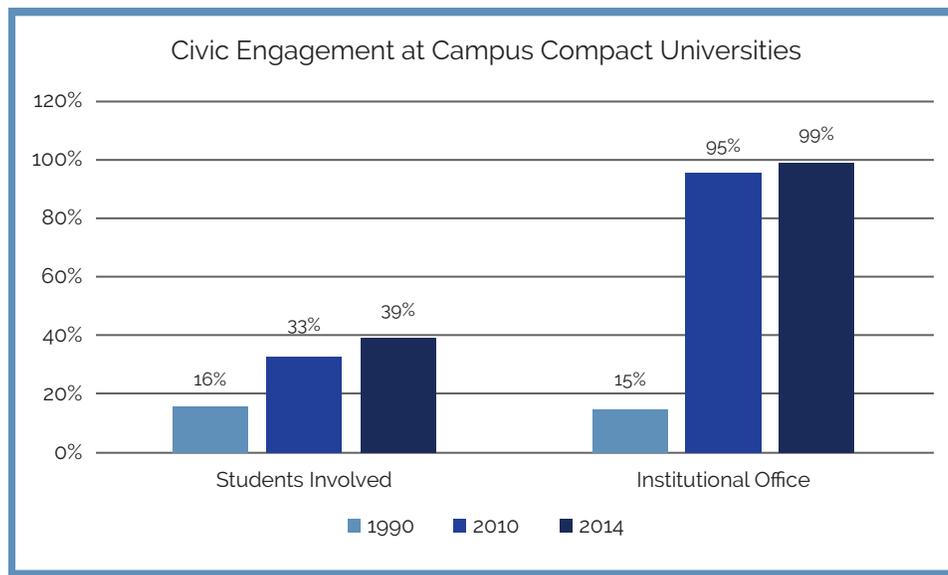
So far we have discussed the history, the theory, and the goals of the New Civics—but we have not given a sense of its institutional scope and nature. In this section we first provide an overview of the scope of the New Civics. We then examine the making of *A Crucible Moment* as an example of how the national New Civics infrastructure works together. We will also provide biographies of the individuals responsible for producing and promulgating *A Crucible Moment*, by way of providing individual faces for the broad national movement. Next, we anatomize that infrastructure, looking at the Federal Government, national organizations, university administrative offices, and so on. Finally, we examine the finances of the New Civics. This section sketches the bureaucratic sinews of the New Civics movement at the present moment (the mid-2010s).

Civics education ought to prepare students to take part in the responsibilities of government—but civic engagement educates students to conceive of civics as political agitation by irresponsible pressure groups—all of whom agitate for the agenda of the radical left.

OVERVIEW

The New Civics revolution has been staggeringly successful in the last 30 years. In 1990, Campus Compact’s member universities reported that only “16 percent of their students were involved in service (almost all of it volunteerism); only 15 percent of these institutions had offices to support this work; 59 percent of the presidents characterized the extent of their faculty’s involvement in this work as ‘little’ or ‘not at all.’” A generation later, a 2010 Campus Compact survey revealed that “35% of students enrolled at Campus Compact member schools participated in service, service-learning, and civic engagement activities,” while “95 percent of the member institutions have an office or center coordinating service efforts; [and] 64 percent of the institutions take involvement in activities like teaching service-learning courses and engaging in community-based research into account in promotion and tenure decisions’.”²⁷⁰

270 Matthew Hartley, “An Engagement for Democracy,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, p. 51; Campus Compact, *Annual Membership Survey Results 2010. Executive Summary*, pp. 2, 5, 8, <http://www.compact.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/11/2010-Annual-Survey-Exec-Summary-4-8.pdf>.



The 2014 Campus Compact survey updated these numbers: at the 419 institutions that responded to the survey, nearly 100% had institutional offices coordinating “curricular and/or co-curricular engagement”—and 57% had more than one office. 39% of graduate and undergraduate students, 1,382,145 in total, “served an average of 3.5 hours each week through both curricular and co-curricular mechanisms.” The total number of hours they served in the 2013-2014 academic year was 154,800,240, and their service was valued at \$3,490,745,412—almost 3.5 billion dollars.

The amount of work-study dollars had also shifted drastically in the direction of the New Civics: while in 1986 “17% [of surveyed institutions] reported dedicating more than 5% of work study dollars to community engagement,” by 2014 “96% report using 7% or more. Forty-nine percent reported they dedicate greater than 10% to community service.”²⁷¹ By a different estimate, about one-half of college students in 2010 “report participating in credit-bearing service learning activities during their time in college.”²⁷² That number presumably is higher by now.

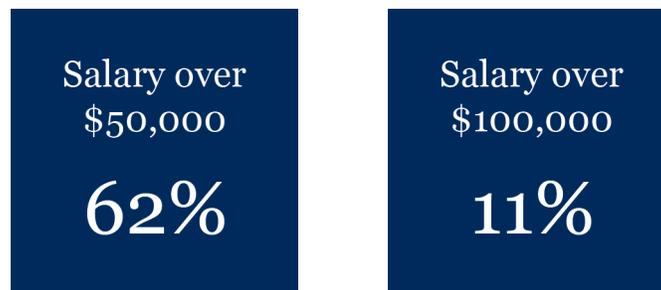
The personnel devoted to civic engagement have also grown enormously in number. “In 1986, only 33 institutions had a center or office, and only 22 institutions had a paid director or staff member. In 2014, every institution reported staffing for community engagement. ... across all offices at all respondents 2,376 full time staff, 1,184 part-time staff, and 7,027 paid students support the coordination of curricular and/ or co-curricular engagement.” Many of the people staffing these positions are themselves graduates of civic engagement programs: such programs have their greatest successes in providing employment for their own graduates.

271 Campus Compact, *Three Decades of Institutionalizing Change: 2014 Annual Member Survey*, <http://compact.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/2014-CC-Member-Survey.pdf>, pp. 4-5.

272 Ashley Finley, *A Brief Review of the Evidence on Civic Learning in Higher Education* (2012), <https://www.AAC&U.org/sites/default/files/files/crucible/CivicOutcomesBrief.pdf>, p. 1.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT PERSONNEL AT CAMPUS COMPACT INSTITUTIONS IN 2014

Civic engagement personnel are well paid for their services: “Since 2012 there has been an increase in reported salaries [of community engagement center directors]: 59% in 2012 had a salary under \$60,000, and only 7% earned over \$100,000; in 2014, 62% report a salary over \$50,000, with 11% earning greater than \$100,000.” Moreover, “158 institutions reported an institution-wide standing committee responsible for overseeing or coordinating community engagement, indicating the integration of engagement into campus governance processes. All but seven reported that a faculty member was on the team, and 82% included a staff person.”²⁷³

SALARIES, COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT CENTER DIRECTORS AT CAMPUS COMPACT INSTITUTIONS, 2014

In 2012, Massachusetts made Civic Learning a requirement in all state colleges and universities. The definition of civic learning is phrased in the language of service-learning and civic engagement: e.g., “The applied competencies component refers to the practical skills and capacities needed to engage effectively in civic activities.” The policy, however, may be discerned from the personnel as well. In May 2015, Dr. John Rieff was appointed the first Director of Civic Learning and Engagement

²⁷³ Campus Compact, *Three Decades of Institutionalizing Change: 2014 Annual Member Survey*, p. 6.

for the Massachusetts Department of Higher Education. His previous job was at University of Massachusetts Amherst, where he was in charge of Civic Engagement and Service-Learning.²⁷⁴

Service-learning is also becoming a requirement in K-12 education: in 2015 the state of Illinois inserted a one-semester civics requirement for the public high schools: “Civics course content shall focus on government institutions, the discussion of current and controversial issues, service learning, and simulations of the democratic process.”²⁷⁵ The Chicago Public schools now have a Department of Social Science & Civic Engagement to implement service-learning, which has been given guidelines to engage in Action with Community Partners.²⁷⁶

All in all, the New Civics is no longer a marginal movement, but a central component of American higher education—and, increasingly, of K-12 education.

A CRUCIBLE MOMENT (2012)

In 2012 a White-House-commissioned task force led by the Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) published *A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy’s Future*.²⁷⁷ It called on “the higher education community—its constituents and stakeholders—to embrace civic learning and democratic engagement as an undisputed educational priority for all of higher education, public and private, two-year and four-year.”²⁷⁸ This report is a notable and influential text whose content and creation illuminate the nature of the New Civics movement today.

COMMISSIONING THE REPORT: THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

While Secretary of Education Arne Duncan and President Barack Obama bear ultimate responsibility for the commissioning of *A Crucible Moment*, the directly responsible individuals were mid-ranking bureaucrats in the Department of Education.

Martha Kanter, Under Secretary of Education from 2009 to 2013, commissioned *A Crucible Moment*. Kanter was a childhood participant in the sort of activities that would



Martha Kanter

274 Academic Resource Conference 2016, “Civic Learning as a Goal for Every Undergraduate: The Massachusetts Experience in Public Higher Education,” <http://2016.wascarc.org/session/public-good-passport/civic-learning-goal-every-undergraduate-massachusetts-experience-public>; Massachusetts Board of Higher Education Policy on Civic Learning: Summary, <http://2016.wascarc.org/sites/default/files/MA%20Civic%20Learning%20Policy%20One-Page%20Summary.pdf>.

275 Diane Rado, “Civics class required for high school graduation will push the envelope,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 7, 2015, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-civics-required-for-graduation-met-20150907-story.html>.

276 Chicago Public Schools, Civic Engagement & Service Learning, “Guidelines,” <http://cps.edu/ServiceLearning/Pages/Guidelines.aspx>.

277 *A Crucible Moment*, <https://www.AAC&U.org/crucible>.

278 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 2; and see *A Crucible Moment*, p. 49; Schneider, “To Democracy’s Detriment,” p. 7.

later be funded by service-learning: “as a ninth-grader at the independent Winsor School [in the early 1960s] she traveled to the South End House in Roxbury to volunteer in a tutoring program run by neighborhood activist Mel King.”²⁷⁹ Kanter then received a BA in Sociology, a Masters in Education from Harvard University, and a Doctorate in Education from the University of San Francisco.²⁸⁰

Kanter spent much of her career in academic administration—including ten years (1993-2003) as president of De Anza College and six years (2003-2009) as chancellor of the Foothill-De Anza Community College District.²⁸¹ De Anza currently possesses a strongly politicized civic engagement program, the Vasconcellos Institute for Democracy in Action (VIDA), whose creation was set in motion (2006) during Kanter’s tenure as chancellor of Foothill-De Anza.²⁸² Both at De Anza and at the Department of Education, **Kanter has played the role of the sympathetic progressive administrator who authorizes the initiatives of the New Civics advocates.**

Eduardo Ochoa, Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education from 2010 to 2012, assisted Kanter in commissioning *A Crucible Moment*. Ochoa earned degrees in physics, nuclear science, and economics, became a professor, and moved into academic administration in 1997.²⁸³ Ochoa resigned his position in 2012 to become president of California State University Monterey Bay (CSUMB), a national leader in making the New Civics mandatory for all students.²⁸⁴ Ochoa seems to have had no particular interest in the New Civics before he helped commission *A Crucible Moment*, but **his role in facilitating the extension of the New Civics at the federal level appears to have turned his career toward overseeing the extension of the New Civics at the local level.**



Eduardo Ochoa

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- 279 “Martha Kanter ’70 is uncapping human potential,” *Brandeis Now*, December 8, 2009, <http://www.brandeis.edu/now/2009/december/bum-kanter.html>.
- 280 New York University Steinhardt, Faculty, “Martha Kanter,” http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/faculty/Martha_Kanter.
- 281 “Martha Kanter ’70 is uncapping human potential,” *Brandeis Now*, December 8, 2009, <http://www.brandeis.edu/now/2009/december/bum-kanter.html>.
- 282 De Anza College, Vasconcellos Institute for Democracy in Action: “Community Partners for Service Learning,” <https://www.deanza.edu/vida/students.html>; “VIDA Projects 2015-2016,” <https://www.deanza.edu/vida/topprojects.html>; President’s Task Force on Community and Civic Engagement, *Plan for De Anza College’s Institute for Community and Civic Engagement*, March 6, 2006, <https://www.deanza.edu/vida/pdf/historyplan.pdf>.
- 283 California State University Monterey Bay, Office of the President, “Biography, President Eduardo M. Ochoa, Ph.D.,” <https://csumb.edu/president/biography>.
- 284 Pollack, “(Social) Justice for All (Undergraduate Degree Programs),” p. 17 (note 1).

FUNDING THE REPORT: BRINGING THEORY TO PRACTICE

Bringing Theory to Practice (BTtoP), which provided major funding for the creation of *A Crucible Moment*, was founded in 2003, and has made more than 500 grants awards to more than 300 different institutions. BTtoP supports “ongoing campus projects at institutions interested in taking steps toward realizing their missions for learning, well-being and civic development of their students.”²⁸⁵ BTtoP’s two co-founders are **Donald W. Harward** and **Sally Engelhard Pingree**.

Donald W. Harward was a professor of philosophy before moving into academic administration; he was president of Bates College from 1989 to 2002. At Bates, Harward provided crucial support for New Civics programs, especially in service-learning, and was a founder of Maine Campus Compact. Bates College now has renamed its New Civics center the Donald W. and Ann M. Harward Center for Community Partnerships, while Maine Campus Compact now gives out a Donald Harward Faculty Award for Service-Learning Excellence. Since 2003 Harward has co-led BTtoP, as well as serving “on the boards of national educational, philanthropic, and social service organizations.”²⁸⁶



Donald W. Harward

Harward exemplifies the university president whose administrative and fund-raising skills forward the New Civics.

Sally Engelhard Pingree is a philanthropist; she is the daughter of industrialist Charles W. Engelhard, a trustee of the Charles Engelhard Foundation, president of the S. Engelhard Center, and a major donor to the Democratic Party and to various progressive causes. The Engelhard Foundation and the S. Engelhard Center are both funders of BTtoP; the Engelhard Foundation and BTtoP together funded the AAC&U to help publish *A Crucible Moment*.²⁸⁷ **Pingree is the**



Sally Engelhard Pingree

285 Bringing Theory to Practice: “What We Do,” <http://www.bttop.org/node/340>; “About Bringing Theory to Practice,” <http://www.bttop.org/about>.

286 Bates College, News, “Students, faculty and staff honored for service-learning,” March 31, 2005, <https://www.bates.edu/news/2005/03/31/service-learning/>; Bringing Theory to Practice, “Who We Are,” <http://www.bttop.org/about/who-we-are>; Illinois Wesleyan University, “Panel of Presidents,” <https://sun.iwu.edu/~iwunews/Inauguration/presidents.html> ; Bates College, Harward Center, “About,” <https://www.bates.edu/harward/civic-engagement/about/>.

287 Bringing Theory to Practice, “Who We Are,” <http://www.bttop.org/about/who-we-are>; Sally E. Pingree, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sally_E._Pingree.

progressive millionaire whose financial support provides crucial support for New Civics activities.

AN EXEMPLARY DOCUMENT OF THE NEW CIVICS MOVEMENT

A Crucible Moment aims to further the New Civics program. Its framework consists of the New Civics standards: Knowledge (whose six categories include only one that corresponds to traditional civic literacy), Skills, Values, and Collective Action.²⁸⁸ In its subject matter, *A Crucible Moment* focuses on how to teach about diversity, sustainability, inequality, and global interdependence.²⁸⁹ *A Crucible Moment* also urges colleges to teach students that they must strive to become “globally engaged,” and offers California State University, Monterey Bay (CSUMB), as a model to imitate. (CSUMB, as we shall see in our analysis below, has become a pioneer in remolding its curriculum to promote progressive causes.)²⁹⁰

DRAFTING THE REPORT I: THE GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE INSTITUTE

The Department of Education commissioned the **Global Perspective Institute** to write *A Crucible Moment*.

Larry A. Braskamp, president of **Global Perspective Institute (GPI)**, received his doctorate in Educational Psychology from the University of Iowa, has been a professor and an academic administrator at several institutions, is a Senior Fellow at the Association of American Colleges & Universities, and was Interim President of Elmhurst College in 2015-2016.²⁹¹ Braskamp founded the GPI in 2008; it is a privately held company that “aims to promote global holistic human development, particularly among the college student population.” Its ultimate aim is “to develop productive, responsible, and fully functioning global citizens.”²⁹² GPI sells the Global Perspective Inventory to colleges to assess “student learning”



Larry A. Braskamp

288 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 4.

289 *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 19, 22.

290 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 10.

291 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “Larry A. Braskamp,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/contributor/larry-braskamp>; Loyola University of Chicago, “Larry A. Braskamp,” <http://www.luc.edu/faculty/lbraska/>; Elmhurst College, Office of the President, “About Interim President Braskamp,” <http://www.elmhurst.edu/president/313348571.html>.

292 Christie Lee, “Speaking With An Expert: Larry Braskamp Shares His Thoughts On SAS,” *News from the Helm, Semester at Sea*, March 19, 2014, <http://www.semesteratsea.org/2014/03/19/speaking-with-an-expert-larry-braskamp-shares-his-thoughts-on-sas/>; Manta, “Global Perspective Institute Inc.,” <http://www.manta.com/c/mrp9bmk/global-perspective-institute-inc.>

in activities including study abroad, leadership programs, service learning, and civic engagement projects.²⁹³

GPI appears to be a means for Braskamp to make a private profit from New Civics activities. While Braskamp’s own administrative experience might explain his personal participation in the project to create *A Crucible Moment*, it is unclear why GPI was awarded the primary contract, since an assessment organization would not appear to be an obvious choice to produce a report of this nature. We have made queries about the awards process for *A Crucible Moment* to Braskamp, AAC&U, and the Department of Education, but have not yet received information from them.

DRAFTING THE REPORT II: ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES

GPI subcontracted **Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U)** to do the actual work of producing *A Crucible Moment*. The four staff members directly responsible for producing the report were **Caryn Mctighe Musil** (Senior Vice President), **Nancy O’Neill** (Director of Integrative Programs), **Eleanor Hall** (Program Associate), and **Van Luu** (Administrative Assistant). Of these four, Musil was the lead author of *A Crucible Moment*.

Caryn Mctighe Musil, now Senior Scholar and Director of Civic Learning and Democracy Initiates at AAC&U, received her degrees (BA, MA, PhD) in English, but made her way from the professoriate to education administration by way of founding Women’s Studies minors and programs, and working as Executive Director of the National Women’s Studies Association (1984-90). She has worked at the AAC&U since 1990, in increasingly senior positions.



Caryn Mctighe Musil

Her current projects include *Bridging Cultures to Form a Nation: Community, Difference, and Democratic Thinking*; *Core Commitments: Educating Students for Personal and Social Responsibility*; *General Education for a Global Century*; and the ongoing *Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement*, which produced *A Crucible Moment*.²⁹⁴

293 Global Perspective Inventory: Brochures, <https://gpi.central.edu/supportDocs/GPI-Brochure.pdf>; Fees, <http://www.gpi.hs.iastate.edu/fees.php>; Washburn University, Global Perspective Inventory, <http://www.washburn.edu/academics/general-education-files/GPI.pdf>.

294 Association of American Colleges & Universities, Caryn Mctighe Musil, <https://www.AAC&U.org/contributor/caryn-mctighe-musil>.

Musil is a career administrator at a progressive nonprofit organization who has devoted decades of her career to forwarding the New Civics in higher education.

A Crucible Moment also preserves the essential goal of the New Civics, the diversion of free student labor for progressive nonprofits, by recommending that universities “Expand the number of robust, generative civic partnerships and alliances locally, nationally, and globally to address common problems, empower people to act, strengthen communities and nations, and generate new frontiers of knowledge.”²⁹⁵ The overarching goal of *A Crucible Moment*’s educational vision is “global citizenship,” which encompasses a wide-ranging set of commitments that include “diversity, democracy, civic engagement, social responsibility, and sustainability.”²⁹⁶

DRAFTING THE REPORT III: THE NATIONAL TASK FORCE ON CIVIC LEARNING AND DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT

The GPI and AAC&U formed a **National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement (NTF)** to write *A Crucible Moment*. The NTF first commissioned **Nancy Thomas** of The Democracy Imperative to write a background paper in October 2010 on the current state of civic learning; the NTF then held multiple National Roundtables with 134 New Civics figures around the nation. The NTF then wrote *A Crucible Moment*, with **Caryn Musil** (mentioned above) taking the lead role. Other members of the NTF included **Derek Barker, Richard Guarasci, Sylvia Hurtado, Donald Harward** (mentioned above), **Eric Liu, Gale Muller, Brian Murphy, Eboo Patel, Carol Geary Schneider, David Scobey, and Kathleen Maas Weigert**.

Nancy Thomas received degrees in Government, Law, and Education, moved from there to academic administration, and from there to educational nonprofit administration. She has been director of The Democracy Imperative since 2007, where she has advocated for the spread of the New Civics; she has also directed New Civics “research” at the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service at Tufts University since 2012.²⁹⁷ Thomas advocates for a system of higher education where the “privilege” of academic freedom is secondary to “educating



Nancy Thomas

295 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 30.

296 Kevin Hovland, “What Can Global Learners Do?” *Diversity and Democracy*, Spring 2014, Vol. 17, No. 2. <https://www.AAC&U.org/diversitydemocracy/2014/spring/hovland>.

297 Nancy Thomas, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/nancy-thomas-4b25305>.

for democracy,” which she equates with “civic learning programs.”²⁹⁸ **Thomas is the advocate who advances the New Civics through a dual perch in a nonprofit organization and in a university.**

Derek Barker has a doctorate in political science, writes on subjects including “democratic theory,” “public deliberation,” and “civic engagement,” and has moved from academia to a career as a program officer at the Kettering Foundation. The Kettering Foundation funds ways to publicize New Civics research and bring New Civics researchers together, although it does not itself directly fund New Civics research.²⁹⁹ **Barker is the mid-level bureaucrat at a progressive nonprofit organization who does the spade work of forwarding the New Civics.**



Derek Barker

Richard Guarasci received degrees in economics and political science, turned to academic administration, and has been president of Wagner College since 2002. Early in his career at Hobart & William Smith College, Guarasci created a service-learning major; at Wagner, before he became president, Guarasci introduced *The Wagner Plan for the Practical Liberal Arts*, which requires all undergraduates to take New Civics courses. Guarasci became chairman of the board of Campus Compact in 2014.³⁰⁰ **Guarasci is the New Civics advocate who has risen to the university presidency, and uses that position to continue forwarding the New Civics.**



Richard Guarasci

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- 298 Nancy L. Thomas, “The Politics of Learning for Democracy,” Association of American Colleges & Universities, <https://www.AAC&U.org/diversitydemocracy/2015/fall/thomas>.
- 299 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; Kettering Foundation, Derek Barker, Program Officer, <https://www.kettering.org/people/derek-barker-program-officer>; Kettering Foundation, What KF Does & Doesn’t Do, <https://www.kettering.org/shared-learning/what-kf-does-doesnt-do>.
- 300 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; Wagner College, Dr. Richard Guarasci, President, <http://wagner.edu/about/leadership/>; Wagner College, News, “President Guarasci named chairman of Campus Compact board,” April 2, 2014, <http://wagner.edu/newsroom/president-guarasci-named-chairman-of-campus-compact-board/>.

Sylvia Hurtado received her degrees in sociology and education, teaches and does research on “Diverse college environments and their effect on diverse college students,” and is now Director of the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) in the Graduate School of Education and Information Sciences at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). She serves on the editorial boards of numerous professional journals in education, and on the boards of equally numerous professional associations.



Sylvia Hurtado

Hurtado, and HERI, do research to improve educational outcomes—for example, Hurtado coordinated “a U.S. Department of Education-sponsored project on how colleges are preparing students to achieve the cognitive, social, and democratic skills to participate in a diverse democracy.”³⁰¹ Hurtado states that “What is so important about what we do at HERI and what is evolving in my work is thinking about the students we educate as social change agents.”³⁰² **Hurtado is a “diversity” advocate whose role in the New Civics includes advocacy for racial quotas and institutionalized propaganda.**³⁰³

Eric Liu graduated from Yale with a BA in history and from Harvard with a degree in law, worked as a speechwriter for President Bill Clinton, and then became Clinton’s deputy domestic policy adviser. He has since become a “civic entrepreneur” advocating for “progressive patriotism,” combining careers as an author, a journalist, the founder and CEO of Citizen University, and the executive director of the Aspen Institute Citizenship and American Identity Program. Liu is a board member of the Corporation for National and Community Service. **Liu is the liberal establishmentarian with long years of service in the Democratic Party’s political apparatus.**³⁰⁴



Eric Liu

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- 301 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; University of California, Los Angeles, Sylvia Hurtado, <https://gseis.ucla.edu/directory/sylvia-hurtado/>.
- 302 Joanie Harmon, “Q&A: Sylvia Hurtado and how universities can help students embrace diversity,” *UCLA Newsroom*, October 27, 2014, <http://newsroom.ucla.edu/stories/q-a-sylvia-hurtado-and-how-universities-can-help-students-embrace-diversity>.
- 303 Sylvia Hurtado, Josephine Gasiewski, and Cynthia Lua Alvarez, *The Climate for Diversity at Cornell University: Student Experiences* (March 2014), esp. i-viii: <http://diversity.cornell.edu/sites/default/files/Qualitative-Study-of-Student-Climate-Full-Report.pdf>.
- 304 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; Citizen University, Eric Liu, <http://www.citizenuniversity.us/eric-liu/>.

Gale Muller (1944-2015) received his degrees in mathematics, educational psychology, and measurements; he spent his career at Gallup, and rose to be its Vice Chairman of Worldwide Research and Development and general manager of the Gallup World Poll. Muller generously served in the organization of various nonprofit organizations, including the Village Foundation (to aid Nebraska youth), the Nebraska Special Olympics, the Community Blood Bank of Lincoln, Nebraska, and the Nebraska Human Resources Research Foundation.³⁰⁵ **Muller was the exemplar of the good-hearted, uncoerced, and effective American volunteer, who was persuaded to support the New Civics under a misapprehension as to its true nature.**



Gale Muller

Brian Murphy received his degrees in political science, moved into academic administration, and succeeded **Martha Kanter** in 2004 as president of De Anza College. Murphy spearheaded the creation of De Anza's Institute for Community and Civic Engagement, and in 2011 was a founding member of the Democracy Commitment, which aims to spread the New Civics among community colleges nationwide. He is also a member of New Civics organizations including the International Consortium for Higher Education, Civic Responsibility and Democracy, the American Association of Colleges & Universities, and California Campus Compact.³⁰⁶ **Murphy, like Richard Guarasci, is a New Civics advocate who has risen to the university presidency, and uses that position to continue forwarding the New Civics.**



Brian Murphy

Eboo Patel received a doctorate in the sociology of religion, and is the founder and Executive Director of Interfaith Youth Core (IFYC), New Civics advocacy group dedicated to organizing “the global interfaith youth movement.” IFYC engages in activities such as “driving complex conversations around identity, diversity, and social justice on campus” so that students can “build the interfaith movement” and



Eboo Patel

305 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; Gallup, “Gale D. Muller, 1944-2015,” <http://www.gallup.com/opinion/gallup/183716/gale-muller-1944-2015.aspx>.

306 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; Brian Murphy, Long Biography, https://www.deanza.edu/president/BrianMurphy_LongBiography.pdf; Brian Murphy, Memberships/Organizations, <https://www.deanza.edu/president/BMurphyOrganizations.pdf>.

“mobilize their campuses.”³⁰⁷ **Patel is the “diversity” advocate who ensures that the New Civics uses the language of religious tolerance to disguise the creation of another progressive advocacy group.**

Carol Geary Schneider received her degrees in history, moved into the world of educational nonprofit administration, **and was** president of the Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) from 1998 to 2016. Schneider made the AAC&U into a leading institutional advocate for the New Civics.³⁰⁸ **Schneider, like Musil, is a career administrator at a nonprofit organization who has devoted decades of her career to forwarding the New Civics in higher education.**



Carol Geary Schneider

David Scobey received his degrees in English, Social Anthropology, and American Studies, and moved into academic New Civics administration partway through his professorial career. He has been Director of the Arts of Citizenship Program at the University of Michigan, Director of the Donald W. and Ann M. Harvard Center for Community Partnerships at Bates College, and is now Executive Dean for the New School in New York City. He serves on national New Civics organizations such as Imagining America.³⁰⁹



David Scobey

Scobey is an academic who has turned to academic administration via the New Civics, but has not risen to become a university president.

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- 307 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; Interfaith Youth Core, Build Pluralism on Campus, <https://www.ifyc.org/campus-staff>; Interfaith Youth Core, Interfaith Leadership Institutes, <https://www.ifyc.org/leadership-institutes>.
- 308 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; Association of American Colleges & Universities, Carol Geary Schneider, <https://www.AAC&U.org/contributor/carol-geary-schneider>.
- 309 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; Campus Compact, David Scobey, <http://compact.org/resource-posts/david-scobey/>; David Scobey CV, <http://www.maincompact.org/documents/consultant-bios/scobeyCV.pdf>.

Kathleen Maas Weigert received her degrees in **international relations and sociology**, and is now dually employed at Loyola University Chicago as a Professor of Women and Leadership and Assistant to the Provost for Social Justice Initiatives at Loyola University Chicago. She has been an advocate for social justice and the New Civics through much of her career as a professor and an academic administrator; she is the Founding Director of Georgetown University’s Center for Social Justice Research, Teaching & Service.³¹⁰ **Weigert is an academic who has turned to academic administration via the New Civics, and who represents the pacifist constituency of the New Civics coalition.**



Kathleen Maas Weigert

ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANTS

The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement met with 134 New Civics figures in five Roundtables as part of the process of preparing *A Crucible Moment*. These five Roundtables included *Leaders of national civic organizations and students; Leaders of campus-based civic and political engagement centers, community representatives, and students; Faculty, civic scholars, and higher education researchers; College, community college, and university presidents; and Public policy leaders, foundation leaders, and heads of higher education associations and disciplinary societies.*³¹¹ These categories provide a reasonable division of the categories of New Civics advocates, and the membership of the Roundtables also provides a good cross-section of the New Civics leadership nationwide as of 2011.

AN EXEMPLARY PRODUCT OF THE NEW CIVICS MOVEMENT

The very creation of *A Crucible Moment* demonstrates how nonprofit organizations, federal bureaucrats, and New Civics advocates among the professoriate work together to expand the New Civics nationwide. New Civics advocates in the Department of Education requested an “assessment” of civic learning. They called upon other New Civics advocates who had already received funding from nonprofit organizations to formulate their plans for a further extension of the New Civics, and then received a ready-made report. The Department of Education’s imprimatur rendered these suggestions a strong hint to the nation’s colleges and universities that they advance the New Civics.

310 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/clde/committee>; College of Saint Benedict & Saint John’s University, “CV – Kathleen Maas Weigert,” <http://www.csbsju.edu/peace-studies/graduate-update-form/cv-kathleen-maas-weigert>.

311 *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 89-95.

The Federal Government’s regulatory power and funds were the implicit incentives for compliance: “We therefore charge these stakeholders below to formulate a civic agenda for their groups and to create their own Civic Investment Plans. We offer the recommendations cited below and developed by participants at the national roundtables, as merely a starting point for further action.”³¹² Bringing Theory to Practice (BTtoP) followed up with companion projects intended to flesh out the vision sketched in *A Crucible Moment*.³¹³

A PROMPT FOR FEDERAL INTERVENTION

The hint of federal intervention suggested by the Department of Education’s imprimatur soon received confirmation. The Department of Education followed *A Crucible Moment* with its own report, *Advancing Civic Learning and Engagement in Democracy: A Road Map and Call to Action* (2012).³¹⁴

Advancing Civic Learning refers to *A Crucible Moment* as galvanizing its own action. It recapitulates the language and rationales of the New Civics, and concludes with a list of recommendations. These promise changes in federal regulations and funding priorities to further the growth of the New Civics.³¹⁵ Two of the nine recommendations illustrate the mechanics of federal intervention.

ADVANCING CIVIC LEARNING: TWO RECOMMENDATIONS

1. **Leverage federal investments and public-private partnerships.** The Department will encourage grantees and grant applicants to include civic learning and democratic engagement initiatives in federally funded education programs where permitted and feasible. To this end, the Department may conduct presentations to raise awareness of civic learning and democratic engagement as allowable uses of program funds, or consider adjustments to program criteria and reporting outcomes. The Department will also encourage grantees to pursue public-private partnerships with businesses, foundations, and community-based organizations to advance their civic learning and democratic engagement goals.
2. **Encourage community-based work-study placements.** Colleges and universities that participate in the Federal Work-Study program are required to use at least 7 percent of funds to pay FWS students employed in community service jobs. Many exceed this threshold, while others struggle to

312 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 38.

313 “How Support Available from Bringing Theory to Practice Can Make a Campus Seminar Happen and Subsequent Campus Seminar Reporting,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, p. 83.

314 United States Department of Education, *Advancing Civic Learning and Engagement in Democracy: A Road Map and Call to Action* (2012), <http://www.ed.gov/sites/default/files/road-map-call-to-action.pdf>.

315 United States Department of Education, *Advancing Civic Learning*, pp. 3, 21-25.

meet it. Consistent with the Department’s interest in promoting work-study placements that align with—and are not a distraction from—students’ learning and career interests, the Department will encourage the expansion of efforts to place FWS students in assignments appropriately tailored to their interests in federal, state, or local public agencies or private nonprofit organizations. Postsecondary institutions will be encouraged to share promising practices and track outcomes for students and the community.

United States Department of Education, *Advancing Civic Learning*, pp. 23-24.

A 2016 news article states that “Since the report’s release, dozens of colleges and organizations have created new initiatives related to civic engagement.” Notable initiatives include one at California State University, Los Angeles, where “students must take two courses in civic learning as part of their general education requirements,” and faculty “will develop assignments and projects using an online module created by the Association of College and University Educators.” Wake Forest University has “created a task force to identify areas of institutional strength and weakness across civic ethos, literacy, inquiry and action.” Keene State College “used the report to train student leaders in various campus groups.” In 2014, Massachusetts made “preparing citizens” a requirement for all public colleges and universities in the state.³¹⁶

Such changes are only the beginning.

SUMMARY

Each future step in the extension of New Civics through American higher education will follow some variant of the process by which *A Crucible Moment* was commissioned, written, and used as a prompt for a myriad of federal “encouragements.” The New Civics infrastructure that produced *A Crucible Moment* is in place to insert further portions of the New Civics into American higher education.

THE NEW CIVICS INFRASTRUCTURE

As the commissioning, writing, and use of *A Crucible Moment* suggests, the New Civics is not just a few administrators and professors acting independently. It is a national movement with substantial funding, supported by numerous governmental and private organizations.

Colleges and universities that participate in the Federal Work-Study program are required to use at least 7 percent of funds to pay FWS students employed in community service jobs.

316 Jake New, “Civic Learning,” *Inside Higher Ed*, May 10, 2016, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/05/10/colleges-placing-increasing-importance-programs-promoting-civic-engagement>.

The New Civics in Colorado and Wyoming, which we will examine in detail, works toward the goals set by this larger national movement and receives significant funding from these larger organizations.

Perhaps as important, this larger structure provides a national culture and a national career track for New Civics personnel: they share a professional and political culture with these peers nationwide, they receive acknowledgment from their peers by means of publications and awards, and they seek professional advancement within a network of Civic Engagement jobs nationwide. The different nodes of the New Civics work together as a whole far greater than the sum of their parts.

The three main components of the New Civics infrastructure are:

1. Federal Government;
2. National Organizations; and
3. Colleges and Universities.

Regional organizations also provide more localized support for colleges engaged in New Civics; in Colorado and Wyoming, for example, Campus Compact of the Mountain West and the Puksta Foundation are a significant component of the New Civics infrastructure. They generally act in the same way as the National Organizations, but on a smaller scale.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Since the 1960s, the Federal Government has paid for programs suffused with a service-learning ethos—the Peace Corps, VISTA (AmeriCorps*VISTA), and the White House Fellows Program. The early 1990s saw an important extension of the federal role: a bipartisan consensus emerged that the Federal Government should subsidize civics education, and Congress and the President approved first the National and Community Service Act (1990) and then the passage of the National Service Bill (1993). As noted above, this round of reform ended with service-learning codified into federal law as an entity entitled to receive federal money. Fundamentally, these bills tied *civics education* to the expansion of state power—and so by their very nature undercut an education in individual and local self-reliance, since such self-reliance was being taught by the employees of the central state. These programs in particular, and a host of smaller followers, channeled federal money, administrative assistance, and regulatory weight toward the establishment and furtherance of the New Civics. These federal interventions frequently had a progressive tinge; even where they did not have that direct effect, they complemented private efforts that pushed a progressive agenda more forthrightly.

The New Civics is not just a few administrators and professors acting independently. It is a national movement with substantial funding, supported by numerous governmental and private organizations.

To these general effects we may add that *A Crucible Moment* and *Advancing Civic Learning* bear witness to the entry of the New Civics advocates, and their allies, into the federal education bureaucracy. The machinery of federal government now works to forward the New Civics, regulation by regulation and grant application by grant application.

For example, in 2014 the Department of Education awarded a \$7.7 million grant to the University of Central Oklahoma's Student Transformative Learning Record (STLR) "to track, assess and provide information to help college students develop and use skills critical to their workplace, citizenship and personal success." Students acquired "these skills through experiences in each of the 'Central Six' tenets of transformative learning: discipline knowledge; leadership; research, scholarly and creative activities; service learning and civic engagement; global and cultural competencies; and health and wellness."³¹⁷ Leadership, service-learning, civic engagement, global and cultural competencies—all these elements of the New Civics are now the prerequisite for a successful grant application.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

National organizations such as Campus Compact and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) link hundreds of colleges and universities across America in pursuit of the New Civics.³¹⁸ (The Talloires Network joins these universities with foreign universities pursuing similar goals.³¹⁹) *A Crucible Moment* cites as leaders in the New Civics movement such foundations as "Everyday Democracy, the Kettering Foundation, the National Issues Forum Institute, AmericaSpeaks, The Democracy Imperative, the Public Conversations Project, the Guiding Lights Network, and Public Agenda." It adds to this list a nineteen-page appendix of national organizations that contribute to the New Civics.³²⁰ We provide a partial list of such organizations below, in **Appendix 1: The New Civics Infrastructure**.

These organizations provide theoretical documents such as *A Crucible Moment* for both the Federal Government and for colleges and universities across the land. These

The machinery of federal government now works to forward the New Civics, regulation by regulation and grant application by grant application.

Sample Department of Education Grant to a University

\$7,700,000

317 University of Central Oklahoma, "US Department of Education Awards \$7.7 Million Grant to UCO," <http://broncho2.uco.edu/press/prdetail.asp?NewsID=18041>.

318 Musil, "National Call to Action," pp. 72-73.

319 Robert M. Hollister, "Building a University-Wide College of Citizenship and Public Service," in Reich, ed., *Civic Engagement*, p. 54; Tufts University, The Talloires Network, "Who We Are," <http://talloiresnetwork.tufts.edu/who-we-ar/>.

320 *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 57-58, 97-115.

documents contain goals, organizational frameworks, techniques, and so on, that forward the New Civics. Individual colleges that affiliate with such national organizations therefore affiliate with the New Civics' structures and goals, wittingly or no.

The Spencer Foundation and others provide funding for New Civics initiatives—often seed money that then can be replaced by direct funding from university endowments or state budgets. Meanwhile, a congeries of national conferences, societies, and journals provide nation-wide intellectual communities for the administrators, graduate students, and professors engaged in the New Civics—intellectual communities that provide moral support and organizational assistance for New Civics advocates at individual colleges and universities.

Such national support has been important since the early days of service-learning,³²¹ and the New Civics advocates still rely upon it. As Robert Hollister states of his experience creating a civics education program at Tufts in the late 1990s, “Because all of us in academia work for organizations that vigorously resist change, we need inter-institutional support in order to dismantle our individual ivory towers.”³²²

Some of the most notable of these national organizations are Campus Compact, the Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U), The American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), the Democracy Commitment, the Carnegie Foundation, Imagining America, Alternative Breaks, The International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement, and IMPACT National Conference.

*“Because all of us
in academia work
for organizations
that vigorously resist
change, we need inter-
institutional support in
order to dismantle our
individual ivory towers.”
– Robert Hollister*

³²¹ Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 186-87.

³²² Hollister, “Building a University-Wide College of Citizenship and Public Service,” pp. 52-53.



Campus Compact

Campus Compact³²³ is perhaps the most broadly influential of these organizations. It is a coalition of 1,084 colleges and universities (including all four of the universities we study in detail)³²⁴ whose presidents have signed the “Presidents’ Declaration on the Civic Responsibility of Higher Education.”³²⁵ In its own description, “Campus Compact has raised the profile of the strategic importance and value of civic learning and engagement nationally, and thirty-four state Compact organizations offer grants and programs that engage students, faculty, and community partners in civic learning and development.”³²⁶

This network was founded in 1985 by Brown University president Howard Swearer; Georgetown University president Timothy Healy; Stanford University president Donald Kennedy; and Education Commission of the States president Frank Newman, as a response to perceived civic apathy among college students.³²⁷ Campus Compact more recently has articulated its goals in its *Presidents’ Declaration on the Civic Responsibility of Higher Education* (2000), which proclaims its commitment to the New Civics: “We also challenge higher education to become engaged, through actions and teaching, with its communities. ... We must seek reciprocal partnerships with community leaders ... We ask other college presidents to join us in seeking recognition of civic responsibility in accreditation procedures, Carnegie classifications, and national rankings.”³²⁸

Campus Compact exclusively lauds as “civic” activities that forward the progressive agenda.

323 Campus Compact, <http://compact.org/>.

324 Campus Compact, Membership, List of Members by State, <http://www.compact.org/membership/list-of-members-by-state/list/>.

325 Campus Compact’s membership overlaps strongly with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching’s (CFAT) Community Engagement Classification, which it awards every five years to qualifying colleges and universities among an applicant pool of several hundred institutions of higher education. CFAT defines “community engagement” as “collaboration” between universities and the “larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global)” in order to “enrich scholarship, research, and creative activity; enhance curriculum, teaching and learning; prepare educated, engaged citizens; strengthen democratic values and civic responsibility; address critical societal issues; and contribute to the public good.” In 2015, 199 out of the 240 institutions that received the Carnegie Classification were Campus Compact members. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, “Carnegie Selects Colleges and Universities for 2015 Community Engagement Classification,” January 7, 2015. <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/newsroom/news-releases/carnegie-selects-colleges-universities-2015-community-engagement-classification/>; Campus Compact, “Campus Compact Members Are Overwhelming Majority of New Carnegie Recognized Institutions,” January 16, 2015. <http://compact.org/resource-posts/campus-compact-members-receive-the-2015-carnegie-classification-for-community-engagement/>.

326 Holland, “Strategies for Understanding the Impact of Civic Learning and Teaching,” pp. 25-26.

327 Campus Compact, Who We Are, Mission and Vision. Education Commission of the States <http://compact.org/who-we-are/mission-and-vision/>.

328 Campus Compact, *Presidents’ Declaration on the Civic Responsibility of Higher Education*, <http://www.compact.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/Presidents-Declaration.pdf>.

The *Presidents' Declaration* states that it is possible to take this approach to education “without a political agenda,” and calls for “robust debate on our campuses” and “community partnerships” between town and gown—but the presidents’ selective endorsement of appropriate civic causes casts doubt upon the effectiveness of their commitment to political impartiality and unfettered argument. Consider the selection pattern for Campus Compact’s annual Newman Civic Fellows Award, given annually to several dozen college students around the country: honorees in 2015 were involved in causes such as sustainable food, LGBT equality, “climate justice,” affordable housing, inner city education, and freedom of speech, but not (for example) pro-life advocacy, support for traditional marriage, Second Amendment rights, or protection from unreasonable search and seizure.³²⁹ Neither did the Compact award Fellows interested in prostitution, fatherlessness, drug use, or vagrancy as issues meriting “civic” action. In practice, Campus Compact exclusively lauds as “civic” activities that forward the progressive agenda.

CAMPUS COMPACT OF THE MOUNTAIN WEST, ENGAGED SCHOLARSHIP AWARD, 2016

Dr. James P. Walsh, University of Colorado Denver

The Engaged Scholarship Award recognizes a faculty member at a CCMW member institution whose scholarship illustrates clear goals for academic and community change, adequate preparation in the content area and in the community, methodological rigor, significant impact in the field and in the community, effective dissemination to academic and community audiences, reflective critique, and ethical behavior.



Dr. James P. Walsh

As a researcher, instructor, and social justice advocate, Dr. Walsh has consistently and authentically partnered with organizations including El Centro Humanitario (a day laborer immigrant rights center), the Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition, the American Friends Service Committee, Rights for All People, and Sacred Heart House homeless shelter. Dr. Walsh’s Department Chair writes, “Jim has demonstrated a profound commitment to innovation and advancement of higher education (particularly through experiential learning and civic engagement campaigns that place the university into service-partnerships with surrounding community groups), a profound sense of individual civic responsibility (e.g., he is the founder and leader of the nationally recognized Romero Theater Troupe, which produces a theater of social activism), and a life-long commitment to improving the welfare of individuals from marginalized communities.” We are truly delighted to be able to honor Dr. Walsh for his many accomplishments and look forward to celebrating those to come.

329 Campus Compact, Initiatives, Awards Programs, Newman Civic Fellows Award, The 2015 Newman Civic Fellows. <http://www.compact.org/initiatives/awards-programs/the-frank-newman-leadership-award/the-2015-newman-civic-fellows/>.

Campus Compact of the Mountain West, 2016 Engaged Scholarship Award, <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/awards/2016-engaged-scholarship-award>.

CAMPUS COMPACT OF THE MOUNTAIN WEST, NEWMAN CIVIC FELLOW AWARD, 2015

Emily Thomas, University of Denver

Emily Thomas is the Newman Civic Fellow Award recipient from the University of Denver. Emily is a talented scholar who applies her academic learning to her passion for creating sustainable community change. This passion for social justice and sustainability is clear when she talks about her identity as a sustainable development activist. In her work on and off campus, Emily demonstrates her commitment to understanding the root causes of social inequalities, especially equitable access to healthy foods. She focuses on



Emily Thomas

working with communities to seek long-term solutions. Emily has served as a coach through the university's Public Achievement program, empowering youth to create the sustainable futures they desire. Emily also works with communities in many other capacities. For example, she is an assistant gardener for the DU-community Bridge Garden, a member of DU Rotaract, and a member of Students for Sustainable Food. She is also an elected member of the university-wide Sustainability Council and co-chair of that council's food and mindful consumption committee. Through this sustainability work, Emily has been an integral team member in assisting the Bridge Garden in transitioning to a new space on campus and in securing DU's commitment to the Real Food Challenge, committing to the purchase of 20 percent "real food" by the year 2020.

Campus Compact of the Mountain West, 2015 Newman Civic Fellow, <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/awards/2015-newman-civic-fellow>.



Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U)

The Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U)³³⁰ is a major mover in the New Civics movement. The AAC&U has exerted broad influence by “creating useful rubrics for the assessment of civic learning outcomes and has produced research studies and reports on the topic. The AAC&U’s influence has also helped to make civic learning a major goal of Lumina Foundation’s Degree Qualifications Profile.”³³¹ Concretely, AAC&U has inserted Civic Engagement, Global Learning, Integrative Learning, and Intercultural Knowledge and Competence into its Valid Assessment of Learning in Undergraduate Education (VALUE) Rubrics. These VALUE Rubrics are then used by colleges and universities nationwide as a benchmark they proffer to higher education accreditation organizations as a proof of successful “student learning outcomes.”³³² VALUE Rubrics insert the New Civics into every activity colleges and universities undertake as they seek accreditation.

Between 1993 and 2001, the AAC&U and the Ford Foundation co-sponsored American Commitments, a vehicle by which to teach “diversity as a strand in civic preparation.”³³³ The AAC&U has also pushed for “global citizenship,” an idea it takes to involve “democracy, social responsibility, and civic engagement,” “critical thinking,” “collaborative practice and dialogue,” “diversity,” “justice-seeking and relational education,” and engagement with “questions that cut across national borders and require action from all citizens, thus complicating the relationship between citizenship and nationality.”

The AAC&U’s “global citizenship” takes as its central aims “strategies that would avoid naive or hegemonic attempts to export the American political system.” Instead it advocates “the goal of becoming justice-centered communities in which learning fosters new capacities for engaged citizenship and aspirational or justice-seeking democracy.” The required pedagogy is “dialogical, deliberative, [and] confrontational.” Within the United States, the AAC&U’s concept of

The VALUE Rubrics of the Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) insert the New Civics into every activity colleges and universities undertake as they seek accreditation.

330 Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U), <https://www.AAC&U.org/>.

331 Holland, “Strategies for Understanding the Impact of Civic Learning and Teaching,” p. 25.

332 Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U), VALUE Rubrics, <https://www.AAC&U.org/value-rubrics>.

333 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, p. 3.

global citizenship calls for affirmative action and “the creation of truly diverse institutions.” In the discipline of global learning, it calls for “study abroad and global service-learning experiences.”³³⁴

The AAC&U, as noted above, is also the author of *A Crucible Moment*.



American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU)

The American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU)³³⁵

has been an especially dedicated advocate “for civic engagement since its 2002 report *Stepping Forward as Stewards of Place*, which summarized a national survey of its members that captured data on civic learning and engagement activities.” AASCU also funds the American Democracy Project, which “has also funded civic learning activities at many institutions, organized national conferences on civic learning, and encouraged measurement of civic learning outcomes.”³³⁶ AASCU’s Civic Engagement Program Partners include The Democracy Commitment (TDC), Educational Testing Service (ETS), GivePulse, icitizen, the Kettering Foundation, the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA), the National Conference on Citizenship (NCOC), TurboVote, and the Yellowstone Association.³³⁷ Its specific initiatives include Civic Agency, Deliberative Polling, Economic Inequality, Global Engagement, and Stewardship of Public Lands.³³⁸



The Democracy Commitment

The Democracy Commitment (TDC),³³⁹ founded in 2010, devotes itself to installing the New Civics in community colleges. TDC “now has more than 130 community college campuses in its national network, enrolling over 2,300,000 students.” The substance of TDC is “a

commitment by community colleges that their students will receive an education in the practical skills of democracy, and the civic knowledge with which citizens (and non-citizens) can navigate the institutions of public life. These practical skills “can range from community service learning

334 Hovland, *Shared Futures*, pp. 4-6.

335 American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), <http://www.aascu.org/>.

336 Holland, “Strategies for Understanding the Impact of Civic Learning and Teaching,” p. 26.

337 American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), Civic Engagement Program Partners, <http://www.aascu.org/programs/adp/partnersandfriends/>.

338 American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU): Political Engagement Project (PEP), <http://www.aascu.org/programs/adp/PEP/>; Civic Agency, <http://www.aascu.org/programs/adp/civicagency/>; Deliberative Polling, <http://www.aascu.org/programs/adp/dpolling/>; Economic Inequality, <http://www.aascu.org/programs/adp/EconomicInequality/>; Global Engagement, <http://www.aascu.org/programs/adp/GlobalEngagement/>; Stewardship of Public Lands, <http://www.aascu.org/programs/adp/SPL/>.

339 The Democracy Commitment, <http://thedemocracycommitment.org/>.

to the civic activism of community organizing. ... It can mean partnerships between colleges and local nonprofit and community groups.”³⁴⁰ The Democracy Commitment endorses progressive causes as “civic”: in 2014, the Democracy Commitment’s Student Action Award went to students at De Anza College who organized the campaign that prompted De Anza’s divestment from fossil fuel companies.³⁴¹ The Democracy Commitment ensures that the New Civics does not confine itself to students at elite colleges, but inserts itself into the education of the entire range of America’s college students.

The Democracy Commitment devotes itself to installing the New Civics in community colleges.



The Carnegie Foundation

The Carnegie Foundation provides organizing standards for Community-Engaged Colleges—the Carnegie Classification,³⁴² which provides a detailed bureaucratic benchmark for universities to use to reshape their administration. In so doing, they put into practice Troy Duster’s insight into the academic-administrative mind: “Few things animate university administrators and their public relations offices more than rankings with other institutions. So why not have a ‘civic engagement ranking’ of higher education institutions?”³⁴³ The Carnegie Classification serves precisely this purpose: as Barbara Holland notes, “Though the classification is not framed as an award, some institutions see it as such, and those institutions that have achieved classification are eager to retain it.”³⁴⁴ The President’s Higher Education Community Service Honor Roll serves a similar function.³⁴⁵

The creation of such rankings by itself encourages universities to strive to succeed at them. Such benchmarks serve as an incentive for universities to set up information-gathering procedures about their civic engagement efforts, which are then used to forward the institution’s civic engagement campaign. They also aid in fundraising.³⁴⁶

340 Bernie Ronan, “Community Colleges and the Work of Democracy,” The Democracy Commitment, <http://thedemocracycommitment.org/co-founder-of-the-democracy-commitment-bernie-ronan-writes-about-tdc-and-community-colleges-and-the-work-of-democracy/>; Murphy, “Civic Learning in Community Colleges,” p. 23.

341 “Students Win National Democracy Award,” De Anza College, <https://www.deanza.edu/news/2014democracyaward.html>.

342 New England Resource Center for Higher Education, Carnegie Community Engagement Classification, http://nerche.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=341&Itemid=92.

343 Duster, “Engaged Learning as a Bridge to Civic Engagement,” p. 46.

344 Holland, “Strategies for Understanding the Impact of Civic Learning and Teaching,” p. 25.

345 Holland, “Strategies for Understanding the Impact of Civic Learning and Teaching,” p. 24; Corporation for National & Community Service, President’s Higher Education Community Service Honor Roll, <http://www.nationalservice.gov/special-initiatives/honor-roll>.

346 Holland, “Strategies for Understanding the Impact of Civic Learning and Teaching,” pp. 24-25, 29.



Imagining America

Imagining America (IA)³⁴⁷ dedicates itself to encouraging civic engagement and service learning among “artists, humanists, designers, and other scholars in the cultural disciplines who passionately wanted to claim engagement at the core of their identities as intellectuals and artists.” IA currently includes more than 100 college and university members and community partners.

Annual programming includes sponsorship of a national conference, and support for “collaborative research and action projects.” IA also “contributes resources to an expanding membership, offers opportunities [to] undergraduate and graduate student leaders, and provides significant leadership to the field of engaged scholarship in higher education.”³⁴⁸ IA’s programs include Page Fellows, which organizes and supports graduate students interested in civic engagement,³⁴⁹ and initiatives include Cultural Organizing Institutes, The Publicly Engaged Scholars (PES) Study, and The Tenure Team Initiative on Public Scholarship (TTI).³⁵⁰



Alternative Breaks

Alternative Breaks³⁵¹—also known as Alternative Spring Breaks, Alternative Semester Breaks, and Break Away—is service-learning on spring break: “Through Alternative Spring Breaks, students spend their spring vacations on intensive projects focused on topical issues or policy areas (for example, homelessness, hunger, or literacy), providing direct service and meeting with policymakers and activists. Projects take place both far from and adjacent to campuses.”³⁵²

Alternative Breaks embeds these breaks in an educational process that is meant to create “lifelong active citizens through these intensive service-learning programs.” Alternative Breaks are intended to be life-changing, educational episodes of direct service that transform participants from Members (“Not concerned with their role in social problems.”) to Volunteers (“Well-intentioned but not well-educated about social issues.”) to Conscientious Citizens (“Concerned with discovering root causes; asks why?”) and finally to Active Citizens for whom “Community becomes a priority in values and life choices.”

347 Imagining America, <http://imaginingamerica.org/>.

348 Imagining America, “History,” <http://imaginingamerica.org/about/history/>.

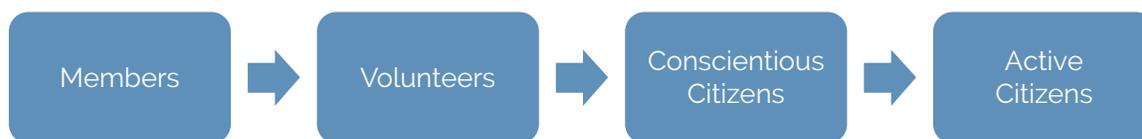
349 Imagining America, “History of Page,” <http://imaginingamerica.org/student-engagement/history-of-page/>.

350 Imagining America, “Initiatives,” <http://imaginingamerica.org/initiatives/>.

351 Break Away, [“Home,”] <http://alternativebreaks.org/>.

352 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 142 (note 2).

Active citizens, who have learned during their Break “to look critically at the root causes of social issues,” now “find avenues for continued community involvement and support their efforts to take action locally,” “Organize or join small groups of thoughtful committed citizens,” undertake “Post-break direct service, advocacy, and philanthropy,” and make “Life choices that benefit the community.”³⁵³



Alternative Breaks' intended transformation of college students

Alternative Breaks, in other words, provides intensive sessions of advertisements for progressive causes, so as to form progressive activists, and it presents the experience as a sort of mission trip.



**The International Association for
Research on Service-Learning and
Community Engagement**

The International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement (IARSLCE) provides the New Civics a professional home. IARSLCE “has created a global platform for disseminating peer-reviewed research on all dimensions and interpretations of civic and community engagement across the spectrum of higher education. IARSLCE has attracted more than four hundred individual members from more than thirty nations and is deeply committed to the mentoring of graduate students as future engaged scholars and civic teachers.”

IARSLCE’s journals, in particular, play a crucial role: professors are supposed to publish, both for tenure and for their professional self-esteem. Journals such as *The International Journal of Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement* encourage professors to write up after-action reports of civic engagement and service-learning classes and call it research. These journals allow civically engaged professors to tell tenure committees, and themselves, that they publish academic research.

These journals allow civically engaged professors to tell tenure committees, and themselves, that they publish academic research.

353 University of Colorado, Boulder, Volunteer Resource Center, “About CU Alternative Breaks,” <http://www.colorado.edu/volunteer/ab/about>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Volunteer Resource Center, “Posters,” <http://www.colorado.edu/volunteer/posters>; Break Away, [“Home,”] <http://alternativebreaks.org/>.

SERVICE-LEARNING RESEARCH: A SAMPLE FROM CSU

Toni S. Zimmerman (Colorado State University), Jennifer L. Krafchik (Colorado State University), and Jennifer T. Aberle (Colorado State University), “A university service-learning assignment: Delivering the FAIR curriculum to K-12 students to promote social justice,” *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 4, 3 (November 2009), pp. 195-210: <http://esj.sagepub.com/content/4/3/195.short>.

ABSTRACT

A wide variety of universities are engaged in service-learning activities that create opportunities for K-12 students to interact with university students. Engaging students in their communities and working toward social justice in a variety of settings provides positive outcomes for communities, university students and the K-12 students involved. At Colorado State University in Fort Collins, Colorado, USA, college students have been working in K-12 school settings facilitating FAIR, a social justice and diversity curriculum. The FAIR curriculum is outlined and suggestions for how to utilize the curriculum as a service-learning assignment are provided. As a service-learning assignment, FAIR, is beneficial to the K-12 students and schools while engaging university students in social justice action in an experiential and meaningful way. Outcomes are presented from our use of this service-learning curriculum. Finally, we provide instructions and plans for implementation.

**IMPACT National Conference**

The IMPACT National Conference³⁵⁴ traces its roots to the Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL), which in turn grew out of an earlier generation of service-learning. COOL was “founded in 1984 to galvanize college students into public and community service in their communities. Staffed by students and recent graduates, COOL’s philosophy is to work with community leaders to identify issues, train student volunteers to accomplish meaningful activities, and reflect on and evaluate the effect of their actions.”³⁵⁵ COOL’s activities included hosting the national COOL conference. In 2003, COOL was acquired by Action Without Borders/Idealist.org, and transformed into the Idealist On Campus program. Since 2007, it has become independent again, under the name IMPACT, and now hosts the annual IMPACT National Conference.³⁵⁶

354 Impact National Conference, <http://www.impactconference.org/>.

355 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 142 (note 1).

356 Impact National Conference, “History,” <https://www.impactconference.org/about-the-conference/history/>.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The New Civics acts within America’s colleges and universities via a large variety of mechanisms. Here we describe three of them: University Administrations; Interdisciplinary Centers and Programs; and Required Courses.

Administrations

Colleges and universities now possess a great many offices of Civic Engagement, Service Learning, and so on—each staffed with full-time and part-time bureaucrats, often recruited from the graduates of disciplines affiliated with civic engagement and service learning. These offices overlap with the colleges’ and universities’ diversity, sustainability, and social justice bureaucracies. The administrators in these offices provide the administrative backbone behind such programs, and disburse money to support them—often to different components of the broader campus civic engagement establishment, but also to affiliated professors. These administrators insert civic engagement and service learning into hundreds of classes a semester at each university. In so doing, they choose default community partners, head committees, and generally provide the execution of such programs to ensure that they tilt in a progressive fashion, whether or not they are explicitly written to do so. Since such administrators follow career paths that take them from college to college, they spread New Civics from college to college as part of a national professional culture.

These administrators insert civic engagement and service learning into hundreds of classes a semester at each university. In so doing, they choose default community partners, head committees, and generally provide the execution of such programs to ensure that they tilt in a progressive fashion.

Student Affairs professionals play a notable role among academic administrators who forward the New Civics.³⁵⁷ Student affairs administrators forward the New Civics partly by integrating affiliated pedagogies into their other activities, such as in freshman orientation and residential assistant training.³⁵⁸ The New Civics advocates expect these professionals to “provide more arenas for students to develop their public-oriented leadership.” Student affairs staff are charged with boosting the college’s image by training cohorts of students who “can be publicly upheld as contributing to a campus civic ethos, just as athletes are praised for sustaining school spirit.”³⁵⁹

357 *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 47-48.

358 *A Crucible Moment*, p 57.

359 *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 33, 48.

Academic administrators in and out of the student affairs sub-bureaucracy also are often the ones coordinating student government; this conflation of roles tends to insert the New Civics into student government. Furthermore, specialized residence halls often also end up subordinated to the New Civics.

Interdisciplinary Centers and Programs

The New Civics movement has faced significant resistance from faculty in traditional departments. These professors are generally liberal-to-left in their political orientations, and therefore not unfriendly to the progressive agenda, but they have retained a significant portion of the traditional academic vocation toward disengaged scholarship. As the frustrated advocates of the New Civics put it, “faculty are shaped by an academic culture that runs contrary to engagement. They are trained in graduate schools whose courses ignore civic content, and they enter careers whose gatekeepers dissuade them from public work.”³⁶⁰

The New Civics therefore has bypassed the departments by creating centers and interdisciplinary programs free of traditional disciplinary constraints.³⁶¹ Bates College professor of civic engagement Darby Ray sees these as a measure of progress: “One sign of the putative success of the higher education civic engagement movement ... is the presence on many campuses of a center, institute, or office dedicated to service learning, community partnerships, public engagement, social change, and/or engaged democracy.” These are widely understood to signal serious institutional commitment to civic learning and action.³⁶²

Civic engagement advocates acknowledge the progressive agenda of these centers. BTtoP contributor Nigel Boyle writes that these centers “are underpinned by a range of ethical/political missions that runs along a spectrum of benevolence, from service to social justice.”³⁶³ *A Crucible*

A Crucible Moment emphasizes the importance for civic engagement of centers such as “Center for Collaborative Learning; Women’s Studies; African American Studies; Environmental Studies; American Indian Studies; Interdisciplinary Studies; Deaf Studies; Institute for Technology and Values; Multicultural Studies; Science and the Humanities Programs; Center for Research on Teaching and Learning; [and] Continuing Education Center.”

360 Checkoway, “Civic Engagement,” p. 26.

361 Checkoway, “Civic Engagement,” p. 27.

362 Darby K. Ray, “Civic Diffusion: Moving the Center to the Center,” in Reich, ed., *Civic Engagement*, p. 55.

363 Nigel Boyle, “Integrating Global and Local Civic Learning (Early and Often),” in Reich, ed., *Civic Engagement*, p. 73.

Moment likewise emphasizes the importance of centers such as “Center for Collaborative Learning; Women’s Studies; African American Studies; Environmental Studies; American Indian Studies; Interdisciplinary Studies; Deaf Studies; Institute for Technology and Values; Multicultural Studies; Science and the Humanities Programs; Center for Research on Teaching and Learning; [and] Continuing Education Center.”³⁶⁴

These programs are the administrative bastions from which the New Civics now seeks to insert itself, pervasively, into every component of the university.

For example, Northern Arizona University’s interdisciplinary Sustainability Program supports “Action Research Teams” devoted to “Community Engagement, Engaged Pedagogy, and Democratic Activism.”³⁶⁵

Duke University’s Service Opportunities in Leadership program channels students into “a two-semester interdisciplinary program: first, a course on service leadership and social change, then a summer internship where students work ‘on social and political change projects for organizations across the country and abroad.’”³⁶⁶

In California, De Anza College’s Institute for Community and Civic Engagement (ICCE) “sponsors a robust and ongoing conversation among faculty, staff, and students about how to engage more students in community-based work, political and social movements, and course projects that integrate current economic and social issues.”³⁶⁷

The University of Maryland, College Park, offers the immersive two-year CIVICUS program: “Students become CIVICUS associates and live, study, and plan service activities together; take five courses, including Leadership in a Multicultural Society; and complete a capstone course that involves an internship or a “discovery”/research project.”³⁶⁸

California State University Monterey Bay’s Service Learning Institute works “with faculty to help them examine how issues of privilege and oppression have affected their own lives and career paths—a reflective process that is an essential prerequisite to teaching critical civic literacy.”

364 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 46. We have replaced the commas with semi-colons in this list, for clarity.

365 Musil, “National Call to Action,” p. 73; Boyte and Scarnati, “Transforming Higher Education,” pp. 83-85; Northern Arizona University, Sustainable Communities: “Programs,” <http://www.nau.edu/SBS/SUS/Program/>; “Community Engagement, Engaged Pedagogy, and Democratic Activism,” <http://www.nau.edu/SBS/SUS/Program/Community-Engagement/>.

366 *A Crucible Moment*, p 62.

367 Murphy, “Civic Learning in Community Colleges,” p. 21.

368 *A Crucible Moment*, p 62.

At Tufts University, the Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service generally “serves as a catalyst and a resource to all parts of the university in order to help faculty and students in all disciplines integrate active citizenship into curricular, extracurricular, and other programs.” More particularly, it directs university resources to pay faculty to redesign their courses to be civically engaged.³⁶⁹

California State University Monterey Bay’s Service Learning Institute provides “professional development activities to strengthen faculty members’ knowledge and skills related to critical civic literacy.” These activities include “working with faculty to help them examine how issues of privilege and oppression have affected their own lives and career paths—a reflective process that is an essential prerequisite to teaching critical civic literacy.”³⁷⁰

These programs (often working with national organizations) also provide career support for student recruits into the civic engagement movement, as they move into graduate school, academic administration, and/or parallel progressive organizations. At Syracuse University, the Engagement Scholars program pays “recent graduates for at least a year after graduation so they can develop careers as civic professionals in central New York State.”³⁷¹

Finally, these centers function as a sort of “safe space” for faculty members. The Brooklyn Public Scholars Faculty Civic Seminar is “a kind of sanctuary, holding the neoliberal forces at bay that impinge upon community colleges across the country” where “Faculty members discuss their students and their own ‘aha’ moments, their research findings, the institutional battles over civic engagement, and the ongoing efforts to gain institutional recognition for their pathbreaking work.”³⁷²

Traditional civics did not concern itself with such matters.

Required Courses

The New Civics now puts significant effort into making civic engagement courses required for all undergraduates—a new core curriculum. Turning civic engagement into a general requirement

“If global and local initiatives can be infused early in [a] student’s college career, then such learning can become central to the formative intellectual and personal experience of all students, rather than the marginal experience of a few.”
– Nigel Boyle

369 Hollister, “Building a University-Wide College of Citizenship and Public Service,” pp. 51-53.

370 Pollack, “(Social) Justice for All (Undergraduate Degree Programs),” p. 16.

371 Eatman, “Afterword,” pp. 72-73.

372 Caitlin Cahill and Michelle Fine, “Living the Civic: Brooklyn’s Public Scholars,” in Reich, ed., *Civic Engagement*, p. 69.

advertises progressive causes to students earlier in their careers, and with correspondingly greater effect. As Nigel Boyle says of global civics, with wider application, “It would be better for students to become engaged in local civic engagement and study abroad early in their academic careers, before they are ‘branded’ by their disciplines. These practices should be a part of general education, rather than boutique experiences for a select few in certain disciplines.”³⁷³

We estimate that the total expenditure on New Civics in American higher education is at least \$40 billion per year.

General civics requirements are intended to mold students at the root of their education. Boyle describes a pilot program at Pitzer College’s Institute for Global-Local Action and Study with the aim of “getting students civically engaged as *early* as possible in their academic careers.” This pilot program ensured that “students are ‘fast tracked’ into early—and repeated—participation in civic engagement courses and projects.”³⁷⁴

Boyle takes global civics in particular to promise massive influence in promoting progressive advocacy: “If global and local initiatives can be infused early in [a] student’s college career, then such learning can become central to the formative intellectual and personal experience of all students, rather than the marginal experience of a few.”³⁷⁵

Some colleges have already begun the transformation. Tulane University in New Orleans requires a basic service-learning course and an advanced service-learning/public service course of all undergraduates,³⁷⁶ and Kingsborough Community College in New York requires students to have “two civic engagement experiences.”³⁷⁷

California State University Monterey Bay (CSUMB) requires that its students all “complete two service-learning courses as part of their graduation requirements, both of which teach to what we call ‘critical civic literacy.’” CSUMB defines “critical civic literacy” as education in “the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to become aware of and bring about change in these oppressive social structures.” The first critical civic literacy course is “a general education course in the lower division that introduces them to concepts of service, diversity, identity, social justice, and community building.” The second course covers these same subjects through the lens of students’ majors.³⁷⁸

373 Boyle, “Integrating Global and Local Civic Learning,” p. 74.

374 Boyle, “Integrating Global and Local Civic Learning,” pp. 74-75.

375 Boyle, “Integrating Global and Local Civic Learning,” p. 75.

376 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 52; Tulane University, Newcomb-Tulane College, “Undergraduate Core Curriculum 2015-2016,” <http://tulane.edu/advising/upload/CURRICULUM-GUIDE-2015-16.pdf>, pp. 7-8.

377 Cahill and Fine, “Living the Civic,” p. 68; Kingsborough Community College, “Civic Engagement,” http://www.kbcc.cuny.edu/academicdepartments/behscience/behsci_index/Pages/CivicEngagement.aspx.

378 Pollack, “(Social) Justice for All (Undergraduate Degree Programs),” p. 17 (note 1).

The Old Civics sought to inculcate basic civic literacy and love of country via its core curriculum; the New Civics instead wants “to develop in students the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to become aware of and bring about change in these oppressive social structures.” California State University Monterey Bay’s required courses epitomize the revolution sought by the New Civics.

FINANCES

We estimate that the total expenditure on New Civics in American higher education is at least \$40 billion per year.

There are no numbers available to say exactly how much money is being spent nationwide on the New Civics. Our estimate is based on publicly available data.

Dozens of states and hundreds or thousands of colleges and universities spend money on New Civics, and so do a wide network of nonprofit organizations. In 2011, the U.S. House did reduce federal support for service-learning, by eliminating Learn and Serve America from the federal budget—and thus reduced total American expenditure on service-learning by \$39.5 million a year.³⁷⁹ On the other hand, the regulatory changes mentioned above now steer a great deal of federal grant money towards the New Civics: net federal support for the New Civics is probably at least level to what it was in 2011. The direct support provided by the Federal Government in any case is fairly small compared to that provided just by private foundations. According to the Foundation Center, these foundations provided more than \$853 million dollars for “Civic Participation” between 2011 and 2015—and \$225 million for the subcategory of Public Participation, which appears to map most closely to the New Civics.³⁸⁰

At 419 institutions of higher education, 1,382,145 graduate and undergraduate students served an average of 3.5 hours a week, their total number of service hours in the 2013-2014 academic year was 154,800,240, and their service was valued at almost 3.5 billion dollars.

The 2014 Campus Compact survey noted above does provide some national information—but only about the 434 Campus Compact member institutions who answered the survey. Of these colleges and universities, “nearly half are private four-year institutions, 37% are public four-year institutions and 15% are public two-year institutions. Thirty-one percent identify as commuter institutions and 20% as minority serving, HBCU, or tribal institutions.”³⁸¹ The information the survey provides is

379 J. B. Wogan, “After an initial boost, service learning lost federal support,” *Politifact*, November 21, 2012, <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/promises/obameter/promise/374/expand-service-learning-in-schools/>.

380 Cynthia Gibson, “Taking Civic Engagement to the Next Level,” *Philantopic*, November 17, 2015, <http://pndblog.typepad.com/pndblog/2015/11/taking-civic-engagement-to-the-next-level.html>.

381 Campus Compact, *Three Decades of Institutionalizing Change: 2014 Annual Member Survey*, p. 2.

not comprehensive for the 4,726 institutions of American higher education,³⁸² but it does provide information for an unusually broad sample of American colleges and universities.

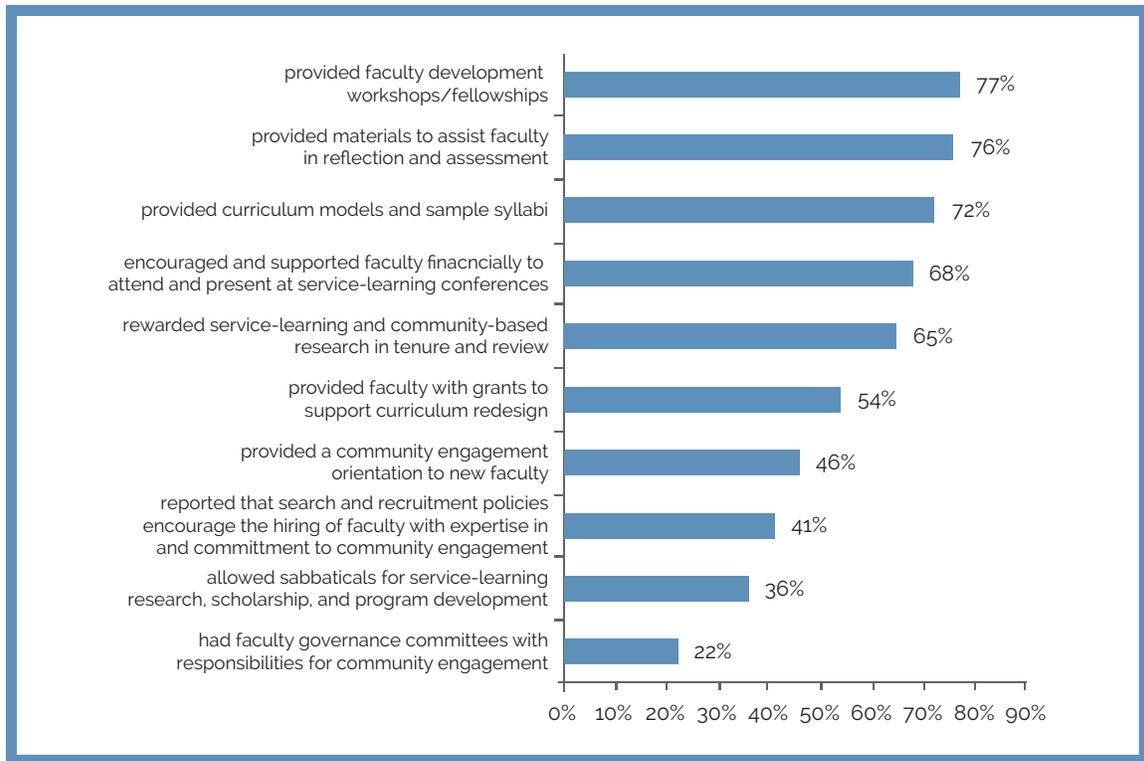
At 419 of these 434 institutions, 1,382,145 graduate and undergraduate students served an average of 3.5 hours a week, their total number of service hours in the 2013-2014 academic year was 154,800,240, and their service was valued at almost 3.5 billion dollars. There were service-learning courses on 395 of the 434 responding institutions, with an average of 43 faculty members per campus teaching an average of 69 service-learning courses. 64% of responding institutions required “academic service-learning as part of the core curriculum in at least one major.”

In that same year, community engagement staff were reported to include 2,376 full time staff, 1,184 part-time staff, and 7,027 paid students. 62% of community engagement center directors earned more than \$50,000 a year, and 11% earned more than \$100,000. Every single institution “reported staffing for community engagement.” Engagement Office/Center budgets were becoming quite large: 32% had annual budgets of more than \$250,000, 27% had budgets between \$100,000 and \$250,000, 16% had budgets between \$50,000 and \$100,000, 9% had budgets between \$20,000 and \$50,000, and 12% had budgets of less than \$20,000.³⁸³

382 National Center for Education Statistics, Fast Facts, <http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=84>.

383 Campus Compact, *Three Decades of Institutionalizing Change: 2014 Annual Member Survey*, pp. 3-6.

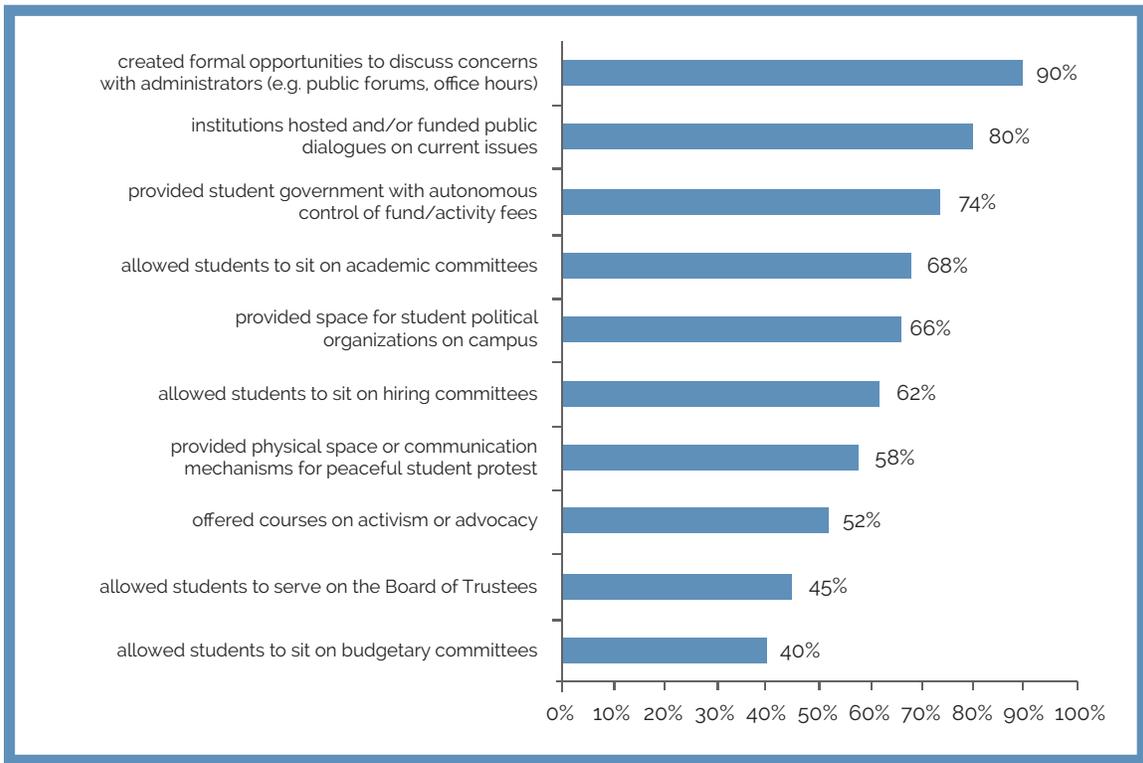
*CAMPUS COMPACT RESPONDENTS: SUPPORT FOR FACULTY CIVIC ENGAGEMENT
AND SERVICE-LEARNING*



Campus Compact, Three Decades of Institutionalizing Change: 2014 Annual Member Survey, p. 3.

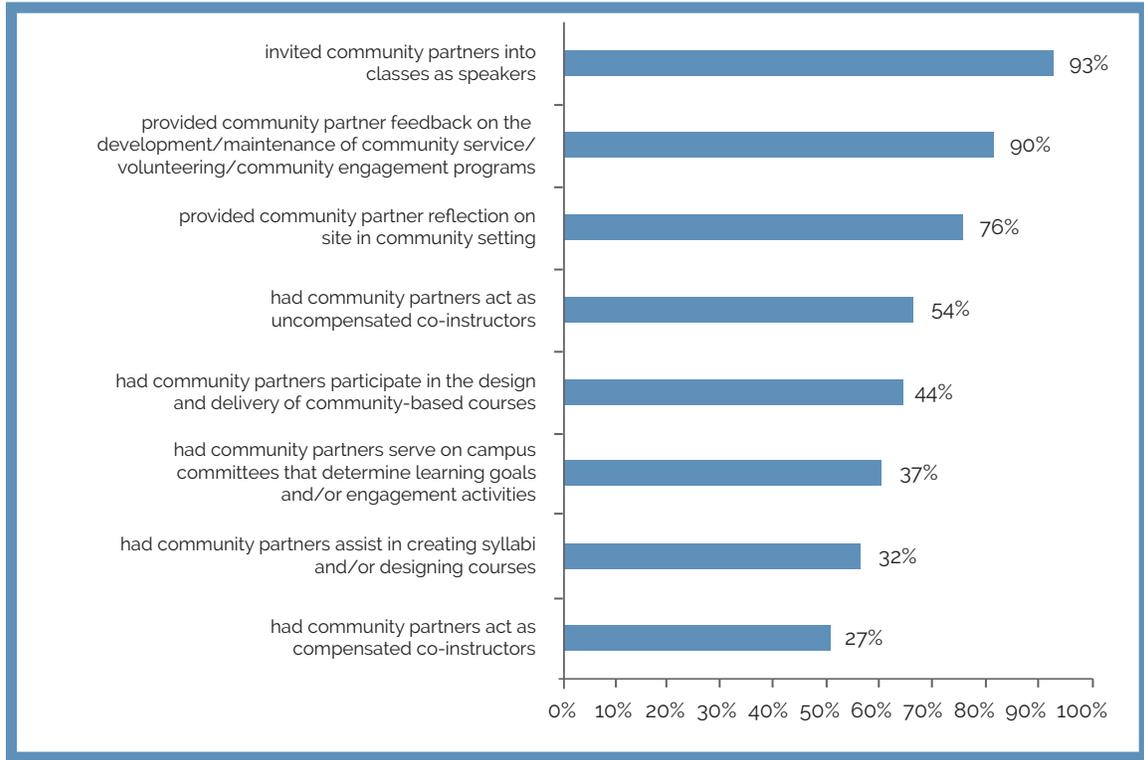
Students played an important role in civic engagement—at least some of it presumably paid work. Students had a leading role “in setting the direction of the offices associated with curricular or co-curricular engagement” in 49% of responding institutions. Students also recruited peers in 93% of institutions, helped staff curricular and/or co-curricular engagement offices at 84% of institutions, acted as liaisons to community sites at 72% of institutions, and served on campus service, community engagement and/or service-learning committees at 69% of institutions.

CAMPUS COMPACT RESPONDENTS: SUPPORT FOR “STUDENT CIVIC LEADERSHIP AND SKILL BUILDING”



Campus Compact, *Three Decades of Institutionalizing Change: 2014 Annual Member Survey*, pp. 4-5.

97% of responding institutions had partnerships with non-profit/community based organizations, 96% with K-12 schools, 75% with some part of the government, and 72% with international communities or organizations.

CAMPUS COMPACT RESPONDENTS: COMMUNITY PARTNER CONTRIBUTIONS

Campus Compact, Three Decades of Institutionalizing Change: 2014 Annual Member Survey, pp. 7-8.

Campus Compact's survey not only provides a sketch of the New Civics nationwide but also allows us to hazard a rough estimate of how much the New Civics costs. At these roughly 400 institutions alone, at least some hundreds of millions are being directed annually toward direct support of the New Civics programs, in addition to the billions of dollars of student labor hours being diverted toward progressive causes and organizations. We may add to this the opportunity cost of the New Civics: students at these institutions spent 155 million hours on service rather than on studying just in 2013-14, and the losses to their lifetime knowledge and earning potential must be measured in further billions.

These numbers are for only about 400 institutions out of 4,726 total American institutions of higher education, and these Campus Compact member institutions presumably have invested more money in civic engagement than the

Students at these 419 institutions alone spent 155 million hours on service rather than on studying just in 2013-14, and the losses to their lifetime knowledge and earning potential must be measured in further billions.

average institution. Nevertheless, we may cautiously estimate the total expenditures in America on civic engagement as an order of magnitude greater than is reported in Campus Compact's 2014 survey. Total direct expenditures and diversion of free student labor should be valued at no less than \$40 billion dollars in 2014 alone. The actual total is probably much higher: we have not included the cost of tuition in this calculation, nor the opportunity cost of wasted educational hours.

Even our estimate of the direct costs of civic engagement may be significantly understated—not least because colleges and universities provide no fiscal transparency, and they distribute the costs of civic engagement throughout their administrative structures. At CU-Boulder, for example, INVST Community Studies receives a commitment of \$100,000 a year from the College of Arts and Sciences—but that amounts to less than one half of their annual budget.³⁸⁴ In addition, Faculty Director Ben Kirshner is employed by the School of Education, and it appears that his salary is not included in the INVST budget. Grant moneys to forward INVST may not appear in the budget either—and neither do the government grants and loans provided to subsidize the tuition students spend to take INVST classes. The \$100,000 a year from the College of Arts and Sciences indicates expenditures that very likely mount to several hundred thousand dollars—and this is only one program, in one university, in one state. Unless state legislators mandate full and detailed fiscal transparency by all public universities, it will not be possible to make a proper accounting of New Civics expenditures.

The advocates of the New Civics want to take over the entire university, as shown below, so they wish to make sure that every dollar in higher education forwards the New Civics. If they succeed in this ambition, then the current amounts devoted to the New Civics will seem trivial by comparison. What we can say with fair certainty is that every year tens of billions of dollars of direct funding and student labor are already being diverted to the New Civics, as well as billions of hours of time that should have been dedicated to education.

America is not so rich that it can ignore the squandering of such vast sums.

The advocates of the New Civics want to take over the entire university, so they wish to make sure that every dollar in higher education forwards the New Civics. If they succeed in this ambition, then the current amounts devoted to the New Civics will seem trivial by comparison.

America is not so rich that it can ignore the squandering of such vast sums.

384 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, INVST Community Studies, "Our History," http://www.colorado.edu/invst/sites/default/files/attached-files/invst_history-long_version.pdf.

Ambitions

INTRODUCTION

Currently, many undergraduates can still avoid service-learning and civic engagement. Where such classes are optional, students can take traditional academic classes instead. Where such classes are requirements, they only delay the student's entry into traditional courses of study. The civic centers, the multicultural centers, the interdisciplinary centers—students can stay away from them. Indeed, Darby Ray laments that “in centering the civic in a center, we unwittingly marginalize the civic and undermine its full emancipatory potential.”³⁸⁵ As one enthusiast of the New Civics notes, students use the civic label as a shorthand for what to avoid: “These sorts of demarcations (often an asterisk in the course listing) help some students find similar offerings, but they might offer clues to other students that they should steer clear of ‘those’ offerings.”³⁸⁶

Yet if the New Civics advocates have their way, students will no longer be able to avoid the New Civics. The New Civics advocates aim at no small goal: the total transformation of the university. *A Crucible Moment*, and companion pieces from the AAC&U and kindred organizations, lay out a vision of how the entire university is to be integrated toward “civic ends.” *A Crucible Moment* takes many pages to lay out the plan.³⁸⁷ Barry Checkoway, however, summarizes the program compactly: “Every single course—from anthropology to zoology—has potential for civic learning,” he writes. “There is a need to infuse the civic into all curricular and cocurricular activities and into all disciplines and fields.”³⁸⁸

The New Civics advocates aim at no small goal: the total transformation of the university.

This goal may seem unrealistically ambitious—but the New Civics advocates are well entrenched in governmental and academic bureaucracies, and they have already achieved much. Their aims should be taken seriously. We describe the following aspects of the ambitions of the New Civics advocates:

1. Mission Statements
2. The Disciplines
3. Faculty

385 Ray, “Civic Diffusion,” p. 55.

386 Daniel M. Shea, “Civility In and Out of the Academy,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, p. 45.

387 *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 14-15, 31-38, 52-55.

388 Checkoway, “Civic Engagement,” pp. 26-27. See also Harward, “Introduction and Framing Essay,” p. xix; Eatman, “Afterword,” p. 71.

4. Students
5. The World Beyond
6. Summary

MISSION STATEMENTS

College and university mission statements, general affirmations of civic purpose, will be used as a tool by which to pervade the university with the New Civics: “since institutional mission statements increasingly claim civic intentions, such statements can be used strategically to encourage civic buy-in from a wide range of institutional players—especially senior staff members and trustees, who are accustomed to thinking in terms of broad institutional goals and claims.”³⁸⁹

The New Civics aims to assimilate every discipline.

The New Civics advocates regard those members of the university who actually cherish the university in its own right as objects of manipulation.

THE DISCIPLINES

The New Civics aims to assimilate every discipline. Checkoway lists ways that faculty members in different disciplines “can integrate the civic into their normal professional work,” and provides examples for professors in psychology, English, physics, and mathematics. The hypothetical psychology professor, for example, “studies the effects of intergroup dialogue on students of diverse social identities. She engages students in courses that affect their understanding of themselves and their commitment to civic action. She appears in the media and makes the case for diversity to the state board of education, a source of great pride to the institution.”³⁹⁰

In all such civically engaged classes, external progressive activists are to insert themselves into the classroom as “civic-learning associates,” with whom the professor must share authority: Donald Harward writes in favor of “developing a cadre of ‘civic-learning associates,’ many of whom might be practitioners in the community or beyond.”³⁹¹

Even a discipline such as mathematics, whose purely abstract subject matter is proverbially disengaged from the world, is to be subsumed to civic engagement: “A mathematics course could imbue civic topics into the syllabus and into student research projects, using quantitative analysis

389 Ray, “Civic Diffusion,” p. 56.

390 Barry Checkoway, “Civic-Minded Professors,” in Reich, ed., *Civic Engagement*, pp. 77-78.

391 Harward, “Introduction and Framing Essay,” p. xix. See also *A Crucible Moment*, p. 39.

to explore disparities in public school funding, loan structure variations for low-income home purchasers, and the injustices in court decisions made due to misunderstanding or ignorance of probability and probabilistic evidence.”³⁹²

Science, comparatively real-worldly, is to be transformed into “citizen science”: “The ultimate goal of civic engagement and service learning in the sciences is not only to increase all students’ scientific literacy, but also to empower students to be socially effective change agents ... everyone can and should participate in science-based activities and activism as engaged members of their communities.”³⁹³

The fine arts will not escape either. Carole Lung writes of her preferred best practices: “The retooled university would encourage activist projects like the Yes Men, which couples critical thinking with humor and thrift-store suits.” A complement to humorous critical thinking is participation in a “Complaints Choir,” in which “community members sing their complaints about the cities in which they live.” Lung believes that “Complaints Choirs’ civic participation and emphasis on collaboration have helped to facilitate lasting changes in their respective cities.”³⁹⁴

FACULTY

The New Civics will complement its takeover of the disciplines by transforming faculty into “civic scholars.” Checkoway writes that “faculty members, in their roles as “civic scholars,” can conduct research or teach courses that draw upon their disciplines or fields for the benefit of society. Students can learn about issues of public concern through courses that develop civic competencies, or through co-curricular activities that have a strong civic

“The retooled university would encourage activist projects like the Yes Men, which couples critical thinking with humor and thrift-store suits.”

– Carole Lung

The New Civics will complement its takeover of the disciplines by transforming faculty into “civic scholars.”

392 Harward, “Introduction and Framing Essay,” p. xviii.

393 Christina P. Colon and John Rowden, “Blurring the Roles of Scientist and Activist through Citizen Science,” in Finley, ed. *Civic Learning and Teaching*, p. 45.

394 Carole Frances Lung, “Retooling the University: Critical Thinking, Creative Play, Collaboration and Participatory Public Art,” in Finley, ed. *Civic Learning and Teaching*, pp. 63, 66-67.

purpose.”³⁹⁵ The assimilation of the faculty will work all the more easily because the incoming generation of professors has already been subject to the New Civics since high school: “Many newer faculty members participated in service learning or other civic learning activities in their own high school or undergraduate development.”

As a result, “As more of these Gen X and Y faculty enter the academy and move into leadership and governance roles, we will see growing support for an intentional, integrated, strategic agenda that frames community and civic engagement as a force for integrating the forms of scholarship.”³⁹⁶

The assimilation of the faculty will work all the more easily because the incoming generation of professors has already been subject to the New Civics since high school.

A CIVIC SCHOLAR IN DENVER

Janiece Mackey, Executive Director, Young Aspiring Americans for Social and Political Activism; Political Science Adjunct, University of Colorado Denver

Due to being one of the few African Americans within academic, political, and professional spaces, she created an organization entitled Young Aspiring Americans for Social and Political Activism (YAASPA) to provide a conduit for youth of color to become civically engaged in community and career. For YAASPA, she is the co-founder, Executive Director, aka teacher-preneur who maintains the following programming: scholarship fairs, social sciences institutes, and a course entitled civic engagement in community and career.

“Meet the 2016 Denver Fellows,” New Leaders Council, http://www.newleaderscouncil.org/denver_2016_fellows.

Graduate students, the future professors of America, are the particular targets of efforts to transform them into supporters of and participants in the New Civics. Nancy Cantor and Peter Englot write that “the Imagining America Publicly Active Graduate Education [PAGE] collaborative seeks to inspire and orient the next generation of graduate students differently, with all that portends, and they’re getting the message.

Cantor and Englot quote graduate student Janeane Anderson to illustrate the point of view of such civically engaged graduate students: “Mindsets that consider community-based knowledge

³⁹⁵ Checkoway, “Civic Engagement,” p. 26.

³⁹⁶ Holland, “Strategies for Understanding the Impact of Civic Learning and Teaching,” pp. 20-21.

as an addendum to scholarly work rather than something that stands alone must be changed in order to effectively integrate community-based expertise within the academy. New generations of academicians must fully embrace their dual citizenship within the academy and the community that surrounds the institution.”Those remaining young professors who still decline the imperative to be civically engaged need not expect a successful career, for tenure and promotion standards will require faculty to engage in “civic” work. Checkoway suggests that “If faculty members were asked to report on an annual basis about the civic effects of their research and teaching, and this were to become an expectation for performance evaluation, then the outcomes would be extraordinary, for both the individual and the institution.”³⁹⁷

A Crucible Moment states explicitly that “institutions need systematically to reward faculty for such new forms of public scholarship and learning. ... academic administrators and faculty should adopt promotion and tenure criteria that recognize the scholarly and pedagogical value of investments in service learning and other pedagogies that foster civic development”³⁹⁸

California State University Monterey Bay (CSUMB) has already started this transformation, and participation in progressive activism has become a tenure requirement at CSUMB.³⁹⁹

Faculty will also operate in a regime that has enacted what Nancy Cantor and Peter Englot call “a somewhat different version of academic freedom (a luxury perhaps more fitting when everyone is more or less alike on campus), and even bucking mainstream renditions of meritocracy.”⁴⁰⁰ (Parenthetical comment in original quotation.) A “different version of academic freedom” presumably translates to “conformity to progressive beliefs”; “bucking mainstream renditions of meritocracy” also should be translated as “hiring for conformity to progressive beliefs instead of

“If faculty members were asked to report on an annual basis about the civic effects of their research and teaching, and this were to become an expectation for performance evaluation, then the outcomes would be extraordinary, for both the individual and the institution.”

– Barry Checkoway

397 Nancy Cantor and Peter Englot, “Civic Renewal of Higher Education through Renewed Commitment to the Public Good,” in Reich, ed., *Civic Engagement*, p. 7.

398 Checkoway, “Civic-Minded Professors,” pp. 78-79.

399 *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 47, 61.

400 Cantor and Englot, “Civic Renewal of Higher Education,” p. 9.

for professional competence.” “Civic learning” will be used to staff the university exclusively with progressive activists.

STUDENTS

Civically engaged students are to act as “allies” ready to assist civically engaged faculty in their efforts to elicit support from their colleagues. Should a civically engaged faculty group “organize a workshop on how to integrate civic-mindedness into research and teaching, and then convene a faculty conference,” they can expect support “from allies such as presidents who have platforms on which to campaign, provosts who manage institutional procedures, faculty leaders who are civic-minded already, and students who have more power than they realize.”⁴⁰¹ How precisely students are to use their “power” to encourage faculty to be “civic minded” is not spelled out, but the word “power” would seem to imply organized protest more than gentle persuasion.

Civically engaged students are also meant to “educate” both the professors and their fellow students in the classroom. Seth Pollack provides an extensive explanation.

SETH POLLACK: THE ROLE OF CIVICALLY ENGAGED STUDENTS

Finally, by serving as peer educators, CSUMB students have played an important role in supporting faculty in the challenging task of teaching about power, privilege, and social inequality. As peers, trained student leaders can provide a powerful starting point for students to talk authentically about their own experiences with issues of power, privilege, and oppression. Working as co-educators with faculty, student leaders can reinforce the validity of their peers’ life experiences as valuable sources of knowledge. These leaders can also blur traditional boundaries around who has knowledge and how knowledge is acquired, strengthening students’ sense of efficacy and their capacity for meaningful engagement. Supported by peer educators, students begin to experience a powerful process of meaning-making. They begin to build on their own life experiences to plot new ways of acting that undermine the systems of oppression and privilege that continue to separate people and limit opportunities for diverse community members.

Pollack, “(Social) Justice for All (Undergraduate Degree Programs),” pp. 15-17.

*“Civic learning”
will be used to
staff the university
exclusively with
progressive activists.*

401 Checkoway, “Civic-Minded Professors,” p. 79.

Civically engaged students are also to work to make their fellow students more civically engaged by way of “student-directed reflection.” Lung writes that “Students should review their own and each other’s work frequently. This practice encourages knowledge transfer from student to student, thus allowing works to develop and evolve. ... By engaging in critiques, students learn to implement vocabulary, analyze what they are experiencing, and speak publicly.”⁴⁰²

Civically engaged students thus are to take over the classroom from professors, judge their fellow students’ work, assume responsibility for advocating progressive causes to their fellow students, and maintain student conformity to progressive beliefs.

THE WORLD BEYOND

The New Civics advocates want to extend civic engagement to the workforce as a whole. *A Crucible Moment* recommends that employers “Include key civic and ethical competencies as requirements for hiring” and “Offer ongoing educational opportunities in work environments to continue to develop and practice civic democratic skills.”⁴⁰³ As much as in the university, employment is to be conditioned on conformity to progressive beliefs, and employers are to subsidize progressive political activism.

“Civic partnerships” are meant to be even more ambitious. “Generative partnership” appears only to denote more explicitly ambitious and progressive exemplars of the New Civics. It may, however, be significant that *A Crucible Moment* cites the Anchor Institutions Task Force as a generative partnership: “Anchor Institutions [institutions committed to transferring their resources to the local communities] describe themselves as being driven by the core values of collaboration and partnership, equity and social justice, democracy and democratic practice, and commitment to place and community. They work

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⁴⁰² Lung, “Retooling the University,” p. 64.

⁴⁰³ *A Crucible Moment*, p. 40.

closely with the Department of Housing and Urban Development, other government entities, businesses, and private philanthropists.”⁴⁰⁴ Other *generative partnerships* emphasize integration of the New Civics with local government and K-12 education.⁴⁰⁵ “Generative partnership” appears to denominate the alignment of the New Civics not only with the university and nongovernmental organizations but also with the government itself.

The creation of *A Crucible Moment*, melding nongovernmental organizations, the government, and the university, and forwarding progressive politics in the guise of civic effort, is to be the model for how America is to be governed.

SUMMARY

In sum, the New Civics advocates’ vision for the future is:

1. civic mission statements will leverage a total transformation of the universities
2. every class will have civic content
3. professors will be judged for tenure based on their civic engagement
4. civically engaged students will be given authority to forward the New Civics
5. the New Civics ultimately will assimilate the workplace and the government

Explicit politicization may be added to this wish list. Peter Levine notes with regret that civically engaged students aren’t “joining an organized political movement of any size,” and notes further that “it’s much easier to participate in politics and civil society if you can employ ideology’s heuristic and if you can join a large movement

“Generative partnership” appears to denominate the alignment of the New Civics not only with the university and nongovernmental organizations but also with the government itself.

The creation of A Crucible Moment, melding nongovernmental organizations, the government, and the university, and forwarding progressive politics in the guise of civic effort, is to be the model for how America is to be governed.

404 *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 65-66.

405 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 66.

that has already developed both theory and practice.” He says that “ideology is a resource that can compensate for a lot of time and education.”⁴⁰⁶

The unstated corollary is that civic engagement should promote a particular political ideology—purely as a matter of making civics education more efficient. Levine’s examples of such agendas include Marxism, liberalism, environmentalism, feminism, and, as the designated opposition, libertarianism and Friedmanite economics.⁴⁰⁷ The New Civics advocates have already identified ideological commitment as a useful educational resource: a rationale for exploiting that resource surely cannot be far away.

Another item on the New Civics wish list may be to redefine it, under the guise of education, as a human right: “In 2008, six hundred attendees at an international GACER [Global Alliance on Community-Engaged Research] conference endorsed a *Declaration of the Global Alliance* that states that engagement in civically engaged research is an issue of human rights.”⁴⁰⁸ Should this proposal gain traction, no college or university would ever be allowed to end support for the New Civics—in the name of human rights.

The New Civics reorganization of higher education will be achieved via its advocates who have already entered the university—younger professors, who are themselves the true-believing products of the first generations of civic engagement advocacy, student affairs professionals, and civically engaged students themselves. These New Civics advocates will direct their civic engagement efforts to the transformation of the university.

Organizations of college presidents will provide a tool for transformation from above,⁴⁰⁹ and national associations and “local allies”—progressive activists outside the university—will provide assistance.

Finally, federal regulations to require civics education will secure New Civic control. *A Crucible Moment* has called for that intervention already: “We turn now to the US Department of Education, which initiated the National Call to Action, to the Federal Government as a whole, and to state

The New Civics advocates have already identified ideological commitment as a useful educational resource: a rationale for exploiting that resource surely cannot be far away.

406 Peter Levine, “Civic Studies as an Academic Discipline,” in Harward, ed., *Civic Provocations*, pp. 31, 33.

407 Levine, “Civic Studies as an Academic Discipline,” p. 32.

408 Nyden, “Public Sociology, Engaged Research, and Civic Education,” p. 111.

409 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 48. Note that as far back as 1966, the hijack of funds from the College Work Study Program to fund the New York City Urban Corps relied on college and university presidents forcing an initiative on their reluctant academic bureaucracies. Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, pp. 72-73. College and university presidents have played a formidable role in this process for half a century.

and local governments that collectively wield power to make civic learning a national priority and a catalytic commitment across all parts of higher education—and beyond.”⁴¹⁰ Federal intervention will “Strategically refocus existing funding streams [so as] to spur—from school through college and beyond—civic learning and practice in the curriculum, co-curriculum, and experiential education.”⁴¹¹ Such funding streams will include financial aid for students, subsidized curriculum development, research support, and perhaps the establishment of “a Civic Action Corps”—government funding for the institutionalization of the progressive advocates on a national scale.⁴¹²

We are not there yet. The New Civics advocates lament how much work is still to be done. They remain cautious about revealing the full extent of their project to the public in plain English: Michelle Fine illustrates the general tactics of the New Civics advocates when she requests that “quiet, down-low, community-based participatory action research needs to be designed in ways that lift up conversations that need to be had locally, intimately, and delicately, not broadcast for policy or systems change—at least not yet.”⁴¹³

The New Civics advocates and their progressive allies are already entrenched within American universities. The national organizations, the alliance of college presidents, the sympathetic bureaucrats in the Department of Education—they have already begun their work, by means of projects such as A Crucible Moment, and their success provides a model for further campaigns. The New Civics advocates are not ineffective dreamers, but serious and successful tacticians.

410 *A Crucible Moment*, pp. 35-36.

411 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 36.

412 *A Crucible Moment*, p. 37.

413 Fine, “Critical Civic Research,” p. 37.

But many of the building blocks are in place. The New Civics advocates and their progressive allies are already entrenched within American universities. The national organizations, the alliance of college presidents, the sympathetic bureaucrats in the Department of Education—they have already begun their work, by means of projects such as *A Crucible Moment*, and their success provides a model for further campaigns. The New Civics advocates are not ineffective dreamers, but serious and successful tacticians. They are not all-powerful figures—but they are a real force, who must be taken seriously.

We turn now to our case studies of the New Civics in Colorado and Wyoming, to examine in detail the current progress of the New Civics revolution.

PART TWO: CASE STUDIES: COLORADO AND WYOMING

Introduction

WHY HAVE CASE STUDIES?

The takeover of civics education is a national phenomenon, but much of its work is at the local level, in particular institutions. In this section we examine four institutions in Colorado and Wyoming: the University of Colorado, Boulder (CU-Boulder), Colorado State University (CSU), the University of Northern Colorado (UNC), and the University of Wyoming (UW). We assess the fate of the traditional civics literacy curriculum in each university, and the extent to which it has been replaced by the New Civics. We offer institutional portraits, made up of classes, programs, and professors. Our report details what is now taught in the name of “civics.”

WHY STUDY THESE UNIVERSITIES?

We chose these four universities in the first place because they are public institutions. The insertion of the New Civics is just as extensive in private universities, but the New Civics takeover of public universities is more at issue. They are funded by taxpayer dollars so as to educate a broad spectrum of Americans. If any universities in the country should have a democratic and a civic mission, it is public universities such as those we have studied.

We have also chosen schools that are a rough proxy for the typical American university: neither Ivy League schools nor community colleges, but universities ranging from state flagships to somewhat less prestigious institutions. We have also chosen to study universities in Colorado and Wyoming precisely because they are not in liberal states such as California or Massachusetts. Colorado is a political swing state that is broadly typical of the country as a whole, and Wyoming is a conservative state (with a libertarian streak)—and in both of these states, moderate and conservative, a progressive political movement has made extraordinary headway in the public universities. Our case studies illustrate that the New Civics has permeated America’s entire system of higher education, and not just its radical fringe.

We also chose these universities because they exhibit different stages of the growth of the New Civics. CU-Boulder has been a pioneer in the New Civics, and it demonstrates the broad reach of a mature New Civics program. Colorado State University, the University of Northern Colorado, and

The combined portrait illustrates how New Civics progresses, how a small New Civics program such as exists at the University of Wyoming will develop in time to the sprawling New Civics programs of CU-Boulder.

the University of Wyoming show how the New Civics appears at an earlier stage of development. Less deep-rooted programs of civic engagement and service-learning, tacked on to more traditional forms of volunteerism, are already at work to subsume traditional volunteerism within the New Civics framework. The combined portrait illustrates how New Civics progresses, how a small New Civics program such as exists at the University of Wyoming will develop in time to the sprawling New Civics programs of CU-Boulder.

BIOGRAPHIES: CAMPUS COMPACT OF THE MOUNTAIN WEST

We append to these four case studies a biographical study of the leaders of Campus Compact of the Mountain West (CCMW), the most important regional New Civics organization in Colorado and Wyoming. CCMW coordinates the progress of the New Civics throughout Colorado and Wyoming; we describe the individual professors, administrators and university presidents who make up CCMW, and who are the faces of the New Civics. Learning something about the people who lead a movement is an important part of understanding the ideals and ambitions that shape it.

SOURCES

Our portrait draws heavily on the materials produced by the universities themselves—their administrative policies, their syllabi, the materials that state what they mean to do. These illustrate with their own words the New Civics advocates' ambitions, pedagogies, and practices. We follow our discussion of the four universities with a short section on the classroom experience at all four universities. We place limited weight here on consideration of how individual classes are taught. Tendentious texts and discussion assignments do play their role in eliminating traditional civic literacy: an American history text that ignores the Founding Fathers is not performing a particularly civic function, and neither are discussion sections on civil rights that silently pass by the Second Amendment right to bear arms. Yet to focus on individual classes is to risk descending to the level of the non-probative anecdote—and to extend unduly a lengthy report. We sketch the classroom experience, but as an adjunct to this report's central focus on the administrative structure of the New Civics.

We are keenly aware that this limits our ability to judge how effectively the New Civics advocates have transformed the student body. We presume that some students shrug off the New Civics' progressive advocacy, and some consciously reject it. Yet we take the progressive activists' own estimation of the New Civics' effect at face value: they have had real success in molding their students and capturing university resources, even if their triumphs are as yet only partial. The burgeoning numbers of progressive activists formed by such civics education are an imprecise but sufficient measure that the New Civics has been effective enough. When students emerge unchanged from a class in New Civics, it is by dint of a vigorously free mind—for which we may be thankful.

METHOD

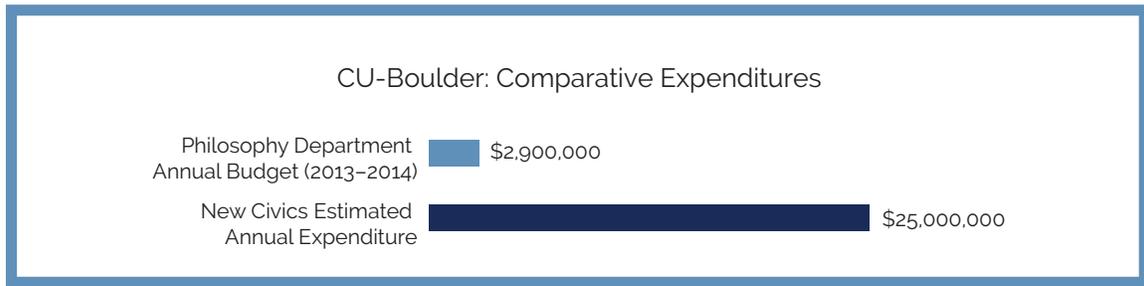
These case studies are thorough descriptions of the administrative structure of the New Civics programs. Because it is easy to get lost in the details, the reader might wish to start by skimming the whole of each section before zeroing in on the particular programs. The sheer abundance of programs, which often overlap, testifies to the lavish resources devoted to the New Civics, the burgeoning lists of staff positions, and the ambitions of the movement's bureaucratic leaders.

Our preceding analysis of the New Civics as a national phenomenon should inform the reader's understanding of these case studies.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, BOULDER

The University of Colorado, Boulder (CU-Boulder), is the flagship campus of the flagship university in Colorado’s system of public higher education. Founded in 1876, the year Colorado was granted statehood, the university admitted its first students the next year.⁴¹⁴ It established its Colorado Springs campus in 1965, a Denver campus in 1973, and the Anschutz Medical Campus in Aurora in 2006.⁴¹⁵ By 2015-16, CU-Boulder enrolled nearly 33,000 students, of whom 27,000 were undergraduates.⁴¹⁶ In 2016, U.S. News and World Report listed it in a tie for #89 in its ranking of “national universities.”⁴¹⁷

CU-Boulder’s total expenditures for its FY 2016-17 annual budget is \$1.58 billion, with \$69.4 million of the total in Direct State Funding.⁴¹⁸ We have tried unsuccessfully to get the university to disclose what the university spends on New Civics, especially in the extra-curricular domain. In the absence of reliable official figures, we have developed a lowball estimate of **\$25 million per year**, more than one third of CU-Boulder’s direct subsidy from the Colorado state legislature. By contrast, that is almost ten times the Philosophy Department’s budget in 2013-2014 of \$2.9 million.⁴¹⁹ This chapter concludes with our financial analysis of CU-Boulder’s expenditures on the New Civics.



Our study of the New Civics emphasizes that much of this campus movement is to be found outside the classroom in what used to be called extracurricular activities. But important parts of the new civics are embodied in the curriculum too. Moreover, what little is left of the old civics

414 University of Colorado Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “General Information,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/information/intro>.

415 University of Colorado Boulder, “About the CU System,” <http://www.cu.edu/about-cu-system>.

416 University of Colorado Boulder, Office of Data Analytics, “B. Enrollment and Persistence: Common Data Set 2015-16,” <http://www.colorado.edu/oda/cds/cds16/index.htm>.

417 “National Universities Rankings,” *U.S. News and World Report*, <http://colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/rankings/national-universities/data/page+4>.

418 University of Colorado Boulder, FY 2016-17 Operating Budget, <https://www.cu.edu/doc/fy2016-17operatingbudget.pdf>, pp. 10-11.

419 Sarah Kuta, “CU-Boulder reports pervasive sexual harassment within philosophy department,” *Daily Camera*, January 31, 2014, http://www.dailycamera.com/cu-news/ci_25035043/cu-sexual-harassment-philosophy-department.

is to be found in a handful of courses. Before we turn to CU-Boulder’s metastasizing empire of New Civics-style “service learning,” we will examine the remnants of the academic study of old civics, and the contrast between these remnants and other courses that meet the same distribution requirements.

THE HOLLOWED-OUT CORE CURRICULUM

The **Old Civics** ought to be taught as part of a core curriculum— a set of specific courses that all students must take—but CU-Boulder no longer has one. Instead, like many other colleges and universities, it disguises its abandonment of traditional education by calling its distribution requirements a “Core Curriculum.”⁴²⁰ This deception is now so common in higher education that hardly anyone in higher education remembers what a true core curriculum really is—not the academic administrators, not the faculty, and (through no fault of their own) not the students who arrive at college expecting to be educated.

Because they are not required to take even one course in common, CU-Boulder students as a whole do not have any body of knowledge acquired by reading the same books or working from the same syllabi. They *do* share such things as their knowledge of American popular culture, their saturation with social media, and their experience of spending time together on the Boulder campus—but pleasant as these things are, no one expects them to function as a shared view of America as a self-governing republic. This much we can say from the outset: CU-Boulder students share no academic preparation of any sort, much less one of civics in the traditional sense.

CU-Boulder’s distribution requirements oblige undergraduates to take courses in ten different curricular areas. Each area is represented by dozens of courses from which students can choose. Undergraduates can fulfill these requirements by choosing courses scattered through several academic departments that preserve the remnants of CU-Boulder’s Old Civics—but only if they choose to, as one of hundreds of alternatives.

THERE’S NO CIVICS BUT NEW CIVICS

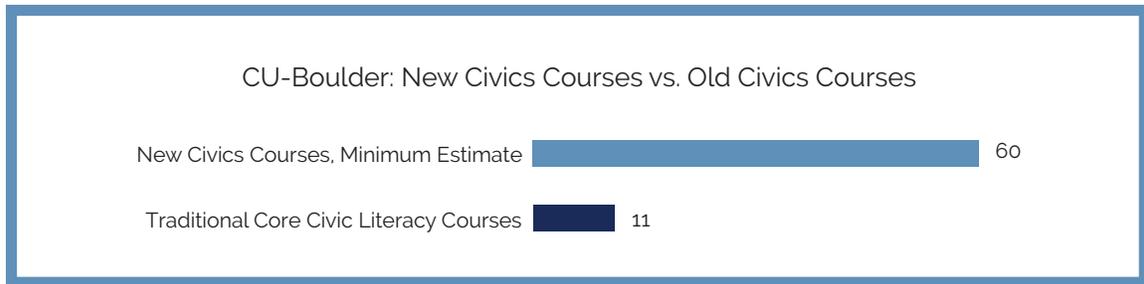
CU-Boulder may not provide its students a traditional education, but it does give them no end of classes to take. The university offers thousands of different courses every semester, including lectures, seminars, internships, studios, and so on. Based on the information provided by the University’s Office of Data Analytics, we calculate that in Spring 2016 the College of Arts and

CU-Boulder students share no academic preparation of any sort, much less one of civics in the traditional sense.

420 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Undergraduate Degree Requirements,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/ugradrequirements#Core-Curriculum>.

Sciences alone offered some 3,800 Primary Sections of Lectures and Seminars.⁴²¹ Within these thousands of courses, CU-Boulder supposedly labels civic engagement or service-learning courses as “CE/SL”⁴²²—but it does not actually keep a list of the total number of CE/SL⁴²³ courses. Only four courses in 15 sections in Fall 2015 and Spring 2016 were explicitly tagged as service-learning: FARR 1000 *Farrand Service-Learning Practicum: Special Topics*, INVS 1523 *Civic Engagement: Democracy as a Tool for Social Change*, LING 1900 *Service Learning Practicum: Adult Literacy*, and SEWL 2020 *Civic Engagement*. But as Vice-Chancellor Kelly Fox noted, “Service learning is an important aspect of the student experience at CU Boulder and these activities are incorporated into broader course objectives. Service learning activities and are not separately tracked or budgeted.”⁴²⁴

A few of CU-Boulder’s classes provide a traditional civics education; far more educate undergraduates in the New Civics. By our count **a minimum of 60 courses have civic-engagement or service-learning components**⁴²⁵—but since there appear to be at least 132 service learning courses taught each year at Colorado State University,⁴²⁶ which has a much smaller New Civics complex than CU-Boulder’s, we strongly suspect that a full count of service-learning courses at CU-Boulder would number in the hundreds. CU-Boulder has no designation that marks off traditional civics courses, but by our count, **the university has only 11 courses that meet a strict definition of traditional civics**—that is, survey courses on the core knowledge about the history of our country, the nature of its ideals, and the structure of its government. (See “What Civics Education Should Be,” above.) For every Old Civics course in the curriculum there are at least 5 New Civics courses—and perhaps 10 or more.



⁴²¹ University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2016-2017, <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2016-17/>.

⁴²² Catherine E. Hicks (CU-Boulder, Office of the Registrar) to David Randall, September 6, 2016; Melissa Rubin (CU-Boulder, CU Engage) to David Randall, September 7, 2016.

⁴²³ Kelly L. Fox (Senior Vice Chancellor and Chief Financial Officer, University of Colorado Boulder) to Ashley Thorne, October 3, 2016.

⁴²⁴ Kelly L. Fox (Senior Vice Chancellor and Chief Financial Officer, University of Colorado Boulder) to Ashley Thorne, October 3, 2016.

⁴²⁵ University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Data Analytics, “Courses,” <http://www.colorado.edu/oda/course/>.

⁴²⁶ Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Service-Learning Course,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/facultyInfo/courses.cfm>.

SPLINTERS OF THE OLD CORE

Our best approximation is that no more than one third of CU-Boulder students end up taking a course with significant Old Civics content over their entire undergraduate career—and we would not be surprised if the total proportion of students taking such courses was less than one fifth.

Students can take traditional civics courses at CU-Boulder, as well as a penumbra of courses in the humanities and social sciences that offer *fractions* of the broad knowledge of Western Civilization in general, and traditional civic literacy more narrowly. But these are only a small number of the possibilities available.

Within the *Historical Context* requirement, there are four proper introductory survey courses that could be part of a civics core curriculum: CLAS 1030/PHIL 1010-3 *Introduction to Western Philosophy: Ancient*; PHIL 1020-3 *Introduction to Western Philosophy: Modern*; HIST 1011-3 *Greeks Romans, Kings and Crusaders: European History to 1600*; and HIST 1012-3 *Empire, Revolution, and Global War: European History since 1600*. Courses such as ENGL 3164-3 *History and Literature of Georgian Britain* and HIST 1123-3 *Introduction to British History since 1660* also fulfill the *Historical Context* requirement, and students can learn a significant amount of the civics curriculum by taking such courses. But students only have to take one such course, from a list of 57 options.⁴²⁷

Likewise, the *United States Context* requirement gives students a choice from 45 courses. Some of these are indeed useful, such as ECON 4524-3 *Economic History of the U.S.* and PSCI 3163-3 *American Foreign Policy*. Only four, however, could belong in a civics core curriculum: HIST 1015-3 *American History to 1865*; HIST 1025-3 *American History since 1865*; PSCI 1101-3 *Introduction to American Politics*; and PSCI 3054-3 *American Political Thought*.⁴²⁸

The *Ideals and Values* requirement lets students choose from 55 courses, some of which contain solid courses such as ENGL/HUMN/JWST-3 3310 *The Bible as Literature* and GRMN/

Our best approximation is that no more than one third of CU-Boulder students end up taking a course with significant Old Civics content over their entire undergraduate career—and we would not be surprised if the total proportion of students taking such courses was less than one fifth.

427 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “Historical Context,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/historical-context>.

428 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “United States Context,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/united-states-context>.

HUMN 3505-3 *The Enlightenment: Tolerance and Emancipation*. Only 3 courses could be in a civics common core: CWCV 2000-3 *The Western Tradition*; PSCI 2004-3 *Survey of Western Political Thought*; and (cross-listed with *United States Context*⁴²⁹) PSCI 3054-3 *American Political Thought*.⁴³⁰

The *Literature and the Arts* requirement provides students a choice from 100 courses. None are part of tightly defined civics core curriculum, but a study of literature and the arts is meant to complement the study of civics by teaching students the stories of free men. CU-Boulder offers many good courses that can fulfill this requirement, but only 6 should appear in a liberal arts core curriculum: ENGL 1500-3 *Masterpieces of British Literature*; ENGL 1600-3 *Masterpieces of American Literature*; HUMN 1110-3 *Introduction to Humanities: Literature 1*; HUMN 1120-3 *Introduction to Humanities: Literature 2*; HUMN 1210-3 *Introduction to Humanities: Art and Music 1*; and HUMN 1220-3 *Introduction to Humanities: Art and Music 2*.⁴³¹

THE EFFECT OF DISTRIBUTION REQUIREMENTS: NO ONE NEEDS TO TAKE A CIVICS COURSE

It isn't impossible to take an Old Civics course within CU-Boulder's system of distribution requirements. As noted above, Old Civics courses satisfy three of the university's ten distribution requirements—*Historical Context*; *United States Context*; and *Ideals and Values*.⁴³² The *Historical Context* requirement can be fulfilled by taking HIST 1010-3 *Western Civilization 1: Antiquity to the 16th Century*;⁴³³ the *United States Context* requirement can be met by taking HIST 1015-3 *History of the United States to 1865*;⁴³⁴ and the *Ideals and Values* requirement can be met by taking PSCI 3054-3 *American Political Thought*.⁴³⁵

But these three requirements can also be met by taking courses remote from any traditional understanding of civics. The *Historical Context* requirement, for example, can be fulfilled instead by taking LIBB 1700-3 *The History of Communication from Caves to Cyberspace*.⁴³⁶ The *United*

429 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "United States Context," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/united-states-context>.

430 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Ideals and Values," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/current-students/core-curriculum/ideals-and-values>.

431 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Literature and the Arts," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/literature-and-arts>.

432 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, "Undergraduate Degree Requirements," <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/ugradrequirements#Core-Curriculum>.

433 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Historical Context," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/historical-context>.

434 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "United States Context," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/united-states-context>.

435 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Ideals and Values," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/current-students/core-curriculum/ideals-and-values>.

436 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Historical Context," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/historical-context>.

States Context requirement can be met by taking INVS 1523-3 *Civic Engagement: Democracy as a Tool for Social Change*.⁴³⁷ The *Ideals and Values* requirement can be met by taking SOCY 1004-3 *Deviance in U.S. Society*.⁴³⁸ CU-Boulder's distribution requirements retain the traditional civics curriculum only as one option among a myriad of competitors.

CROWDING OUT THE OLD CIVICS

Many CU-Boulder students do still prefer to take Old Civics courses to meet their distribution requirements, rather than some more outré option. In Fall 2015, 322 students fulfilled their *Historical Context* requirement by enrolling in the revised form of *Western Civilization 1: Antiquity to the 16th Century*. By comparison, only 19 students enrolled in *The History of Communication from Caves to Cyberspace*.⁴³⁹ But students could also meet their *Historical Context* requirement by choosing among 55 other options besides *Caves to Cyberspace*, including HIST 1218-3 *Introduction to Sub-Saharan African History to 1800*; HIST 1438-3 *Introduction to Korean History*; and RUSS 2471-3 *Women in Russian Culture: From Folklore to the 19th Century*.⁴⁴⁰

Likewise, 277 students in Fall 2015 fulfilled their *United States Context* requirement by taking *History of the United States to 1865*, while only 25 took *Civic Engagement: Democracy as a Tool for Social Change* when it was offered in Spring 2016.⁴⁴¹ Yet students could also meet their *United States Context* requirement by choosing among 43 other options besides *Civic Engagement*, including ETHN

The Historical Context requirement can be fulfilled instead by taking LIBB 1700-3 The History of Communication from Caves to Cyberspace. The United States Context requirement can be met by taking INVS 1523-3 Civic Engagement: Democracy as a Tool for Social Change. The Ideals and Values requirement can be met by taking SOCY 1004-3 Deviance in U.S. Society.

437 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "United States Context," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/united-states-context>.

438 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Ideals and Values," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/current-students/core-curriculum/ideals-and-values>.

439 University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Data Analytics, "Courses," <http://www.colorado.edu/oda/course/>.

440 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Historical Context," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/historical-context>.

441 University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Data Analytics, "Courses," <http://www.colorado.edu/oda/course/>.

4504-3 *Ethnic-American Autobiography*; HIST 2516-3 *America Through Baseball*; and HIST 2636/WMST 2400-3 *Women of Color and Activism*.⁴⁴²

In Fall 2015, 51 students fulfilled their *Ideals and Values* requirement by enrolling in *American Political Thought*, while 291 enrolled instead in *Deviance in U.S. Society*.⁴⁴³ Students could also choose among 53 other courses to meet their *Ideals and Values* requirement, including PHIL/WMST 3110-3 *Feminist Practical Ethics*, INVS 1000-4 *Responding to Social and Environmental Problems Through Service Learning*, FARR 2820-3 *The Future of Spaceship Earth*, and SSIR 1010-3 *Social Entrepreneurship and Sustainability*.⁴⁴⁴ The smallish enrollment in *American Political Thought* may reflect its status as an advanced course—but it is striking that CU-Boulder regards *Deviance* as basic, and *American Political Thought* as advanced.

A better comparison might be PSCI 1101 *Introduction to American Politics*, CU-Boulder’s basic government course, which enrolled 319 students in Spring 2016—301 in an enormous lecture, and 18 in a smaller class.⁴⁴⁵ But although it does satisfy the *United States Context* requirement,⁴⁴⁶ *Introduction to American Politics* does not meet the *Ideals and Values* requirement. Its absence is the more striking because an advanced political science course such as PSCI 3064-3 *Environmental Political Theory* does fulfill the *Ideals and Values* requirement.⁴⁴⁷ Environmentalism is an ideal at CU-Boulder; America’s government is not.

HARDLY ANYONE GETS A CIVICS EDUCATION

The comparisons sketched above suggest that a traditional civics course fares reasonably well when students are cast into something resembling a free market of choices. Those choices at CU-Boulder include a large number of courses that are frivolous, trendy, or overtly ideological, but enrollment in a traditional civics course exceeds those of most of its rivals within the university’s distribution requirements.

Yet if many CU-Boulder students do take Old Civics courses, far more do not. Total enrollment in traditional civics courses is far lower than the total enrollment in all their competitors. As noted above, we estimate that a maximum of one third of CU-Boulder students take Old Civics content courses during their entire undergraduate career—and one fifth is a more likely estimate.

442 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “United States Context,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/united-states-context>.

443 University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Data Analytics, “Courses,” <http://www.colorado.edu/oda/course/>.

444 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “Ideals and Values,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/current-students/core-curriculum/ideals-and-values>.

445 University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Data Analytics, “Courses,” <http://www.colorado.edu/oda/course/>.

446 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “United States Context,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/united-states-context>.

447 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “Ideals and Values,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/current-students/core-curriculum/ideals-and-values>.

Even fewer take the basic American government course, *Introduction to American Politics*. In the eight semesters and three summer sessions between Fall 2013 and Spring 2016, 2,830 students took *Introduction to American Politics* or its successor *The American Political System*.⁴⁴⁸ That is barely more than ten percent of CU-Boulder's total undergraduate enrollment of 27,000.

We surmise that still fewer students at CU-Boulder take two or more of the courses that comprise the traditional curriculum in civic literacy. The university's policy of loose distribution requirements ensure that only a small fraction of CU-Boulder undergraduates receive a traditional civics education.

SNEAKING IN A NEW CORE

At the same time, CU-Boulder's distribution requirements conceal the insertion of **a new core curriculum formed around progressive advocacy** rather than around Western civilization or civic literacy. There are progressive courses marbled throughout *Historical Context* (LIBB 1700-3 *The History of Communication from Caves to Cyberspace*);⁴⁴⁹ *United States Context* (HIST 2636/WMST 2400-3 *Women of Color and Activism*);⁴⁵⁰ *Literature and the Arts* (ENGL 1230-3 *Environmental Literature*);⁴⁵¹ and *Ideals and Values* (SOCY 1004-3 *Deviance in U.S. Society*).⁴⁵²

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448 University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Data Analytics, "Courses," <http://www.colorado.edu/oda/course/>.

449 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Historical Context," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/historical-context>.

450 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "United States Context," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/united-states-context>.

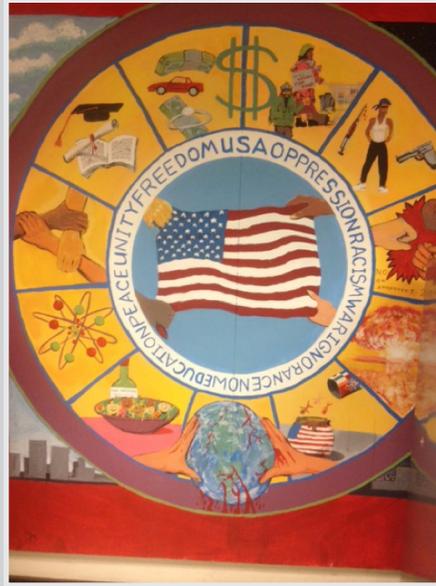
451 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Literature and the Arts," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/literature-and-arts>.

452 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Ideals and Values," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/current-students/core-curriculum/ideals-and-values>.

ARTWORK, POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT, KETCHUM ARTS AND SCIENCE BUILDING, CU-BOULDER

The artwork of progressive advocacy decorates the Political Science department's hallway. Examples include:

- A mixed-media collage depicting a tree with newspaper clippings as the leaves. The label at the top states, "If there is no struggle, there is no progress." In the corner is a red clenched fist.
- Another collage portraying Christopher Columbus in the center of a large Wheel-of-Fortune. Around Columbus are the words, "CULTURE MEETING NEW OLD GENOCIDE DESTRUCTION GOLD RAPE THE MESTIZO TREASURE."
- A second wheel-collage depicting an American flag held at the corners by four hands of different skin colors. A montage of smaller images surrounds the words, most prominently two hands holding a bleeding planet Earth. Around this central image are the words, "USA OPPRESSION RACISM WAR IGNORANCE NOW EDUCATION PEACE UNITY FREEDOM."



In addition, virtually all 97 courses of the *Human Diversity* requirement are tailored to subject CU-Boulder students to progressive advocacy. The choices in the *Human Diversity* requirement include subjects such as COMM 3410-3 *Intercultural Communication*; ECON 4626-3 *Economics of Inequality and Discrimination*; ETHN 3136 /WMST 3135-3 *Chicana Feminisms and Knowledges*; HONR 1810-3 *Honors Diversity Seminar*; LGBT 2000/WMST 2030-3 *Introduction to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Studies*; and WMST 3670-3 *Gender, Race, Sexuality and Global Migration*.⁴⁵³

The *Contemporary Societies* requirement is also partly a way to require students to take courses in progressive advocacy. Of its 51 courses, only PSCI 1101-3 *Introduction to American Politics*, cross-listed with *United States Context*, belongs in a civics core curriculum. Some are innocuous, like PSCI 3022-3

453 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, "Human Diversity," <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/human-diversity>.

Russian Politics, but many are courses designed to forward the progressive agenda, such as BAKR 1600-3 *Creating a Sustainable Future*; ETHN 2232-3 *Contemporary African American Social Movements*; and WMST 2600-3 *Gender, Race, and Class in a Global Context*.⁴⁵⁴

In addition, a great many New Civics courses satisfy distribution requirements. Students can fulfill *Contemporary Societies* with INVS 3000-(3-4) *Innovative Approaches to Contemporary Issues Through Service Learning*, INVS 4302/PSCI 4732-3 *Critical Thinking in Development*, or PRLC 1820-3 *Community Issues in Leadership*;⁴⁵⁵ *Human Diversity* with ETHN 3201/INVS/LDSP 3100-3-4 *Multicultural Leadership: Theories, Principles and Practices* or INVS/EDUC 2919-3 *Renewing Democracy in Communities and Schools*;⁴⁵⁶ *Ideals and Values* with INVS 1000-4 *Responding to Social and Environmental Problems Through Service Learning* or LDSP 1000-3 *The Foundations of 21st Century Leadership*;⁴⁵⁷ *United States Context* with INVS 1523-3 *Civic Engagement: Democracy as a Tool for Social Change*;⁴⁵⁸ and *Literature and the Arts* with FARR 2002-3 *Literature of Lifewriting*.⁴⁵⁹

CU-Boulder just makes these courses one option among many now. When they decide to make progressive advocacy and New Civics courses mandatory, they can simply change the courses they have already put into the distribution requirements into a new, required core.

454 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “Contemporary Societies,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/contemporary-societies>.

455 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “Contemporary Societies,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/contemporary-societies>.

456 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “Human Diversity,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/human-diversity>.

457 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “Ideals and Values,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/current-students/core-curriculum/ideals-and-values>.

458 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “United States Context,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/united-states-context>.

459 University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Arts & Sciences, “Literature and the Arts,” <http://www.colorado.edu/artsandsciences/student-resources/core-curriculum/literature-and-arts>.

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“CU ENGAGE,” HOW CU-BOULDER ORGANIZES LEFTIST ACTIVISM

The marginalization of the Old Civics comes into even stronger relief when we turn to CU-Boulder’s elevation of the ideal of “civic engagement.” Again, the term “civic engagement” sounds like a commitment to the ideals and values that the Old Civics seeks to uphold. But the resemblance is superficial.

CU-Boulder has replaced the Old Civics with an enormous New Civics infrastructure, dedicated to 1) training a core of committed progressive activists; 2) extending the New Civics into every corner of CU-Boulder, both inside and outside the classroom; and 3) working to sustain itself by securing money and personnel.

CU Engage is the administrative heart of the New Civics, and contains those programs devoted exclusively to propagating the New Civics throughout CU-Boulder—including **INVST**, the **Leadership Studies Minor**, **Public Achievement**, and **CU Dialogues**. Yet CU Engage does not include all of CU-Boulder’s New Civics initiatives. The New Civics advocates have marbled **service-learning** classes throughout CU-Boulder’s offices and disciplines, in addition to CU Engage franchises such as INVS 1523-3 *Civic Engagement: Democracy as a Tool for Social Change*. The New Civics advocates have also incorporated service-learning into CU-Boulder students’ residential life, via the **Residential Academic Programs**. Finally, CU-Boulder’s **Office of Outreach and Engagement** labels 16 further miscellaneous New Civics initiatives.⁴⁶⁰

Together these programs ensure that “More than 13,000 [out of more than 30,000] CU students participate in some form of community service and more than 3,500 are engaged in academic service learning.”⁴⁶¹ At the financial expense of tens of millions of dollars and at the educational expense of its undergraduate students, CU-Boulder has committed itself to building a giant infrastructure aimed at turning students into political activists for the radical left.

When CU-Boulder decides to make progressive advocacy and New Civics courses mandatory, they can simply change the courses they have already put into the distribution requirements into a new, required core.



Roudy Hildreth,
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⁴⁶⁰ University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Civic Engagement,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/civic-engagement>.

⁴⁶¹ University of Colorado, Boulder, News Center, “Civic Engagement,” <http://www.colorado.edu/news/series/civic-engagement>.

INVESTING IN PERSONNEL: TRAINING RADICAL CADRES

The heart of the New Civics at CU-Boulder is the **INVST (International & National Voluntary Service Training) Community Studies Program**. This program is the equivalent of a major in progressive activism. INVST provides vocational training to a dedicated corps of New Civics advocates among the CU-Boulder student body—200 students each academic year.⁴⁶²



Sabrina Sideris,
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Studies

INVST was founded in 1990, as a two-year undergraduate “Peace ROTC” that combined “intergenerational activism with academics.” It was intended to produce *scholar activists*—“engaged citizens and leaders who work for the benefit of humanity and the environment.” The program aimed to instill a “lifetime commitment” to apply “direct service” and “social advocacy” so as “to analyze and solve community and global problems.”⁴⁶³

INVST’s enlarged descendant possesses the same mission: “develop community leaders” by using “service-learning to expose students to the root causes of problems[,] and to offer solution-based strategies for sustainable social and environmental change.”⁴⁶⁴ INVST also works to make sure its students receive financial aid,⁴⁶⁵ provides a scholarship for INVST students going on to graduate study at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, and provides career resources directing students to conferences, scholarships, awards, fellowships, graduate schools, internships, and jobs.⁴⁶⁶

INVST’s *Inclusion Commitment* and its declaration *Commitment to Anti-oppressive Education* both make clear that the program’s goals are radical.⁴⁶⁷ The *Commitment* sets out INVST’s determination to advance “anti-oppressive education” by attacking the “privileged,” demolishing the idea that “information is unbiased,” and “critiquing” whatever is thought to be “normal.” INVST’s radicalism is substantiated by the organizations it lists as Campus Allies (e.g., Ethnic Studies Department,

462 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Program Overview – INVST Community Studies,” <https://www.google.com/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#>.

463 Scott Myers-Lipton, “Policy Service-Learning: Fulfilling the Promise of Sociology,” in Kathleen Odell Korgen, Jonathan M. White, and Shelley K. White, *Sociologists in Action: Sociology, Social Change, and Social Justice* (Los Angeles, 2011), p. 112; INVST Community Studies, “Our History,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/INVST%20History-Long%20Version.pdf>.

464 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Welcome to INVST,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “History,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/history>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Our History,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/INVST%20History-Long%20Version.pdf>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “About,” <http://www.colorado.edu/invst/about>.

465 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Prospective Students,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/resources/prospective-students>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies: “Community Partners,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/community-partners/community-partners>.

466 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Social & Environmental Justice Opportunities,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/resources/social-environmental-justice-opportunities>.

467 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “About,” <http://www.colorado.edu/invst/about>.

Environmental Studies Department, Sociology Department, The Office of Diversity, Equity and Community Engagement)⁴⁶⁸ and Community Partners (e.g., 350.org, Fossil Free CU, Northern Colorado Dreamers United, OUT Boulder).⁴⁶⁹

In practice, INVST focuses on providing free student labor for progressive nonprofits, as students learn to “do campaign work, volunteer recruitment, coalition building, resource development, tutoring, tabling, social media ... meeting facilitation, consensus decision-making, conflict resolution, fundraising, grant proposal writing, grassroots organizing, lobbying and public speaking.”⁴⁷⁰

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP TRAINING: PROGRESSIVE ACTIVISM 101

INVST’s original core program is now the **INVST Community Leadership Program (CLP)**, a two-year program that trains 18 students each year in the theory and practice of “transformative service-learning for social and environmental justice.” In this program, students take two theoretical courses (INVS 3302/WGST3302 *Facilitating Peaceful Community Change* and INVS 4402 *Nonviolent Social Movements*) and four “skills-training classes.” The theoretical courses teach the political theory and the craft of progressive activism, encourage students “to examine themselves as potential change agents,” and “Focus on food justice, sustainability, activism and multicultural social justice.”⁴⁷¹

The first two skills-training classes (INVST 3391 *The Community Leadership Internship, Part 1*, INVST 3392 *The Community Leadership Internship, Part 2*) require students to “serve at least 6 hours per week as interns with community-based organizations” such as “Safehouse Progressive Alliance for Nonviolence (SPAN), Intercambio: Uniting Communities, Natural Capitalism Solutions, New

INVST's Inclusion Commitment sets out INVST's determination to advance "anti-oppressive education" by attacking the "privileged," demolishing the idea that "information is unbiased," and "critiquing" whatever is thought to be "normal."

468 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Campus Allies,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/community-partners/campus-allies>.

469 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Community Partners,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/community-partners/community-partners>.

470 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Highlights,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/highlights>.

471 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies: “The INVST Community Leadership Program,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/the-invst-community-leadership-program>; “Community Studies Electives,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/community-studies-electives>; “INVST Community Leadership Program Class of 2014-2016,” https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/2014_INVST_CLP_Application.pdf.

Era Colorado, the Philanthropiece Foundation and the Community Foundation of Boulder County.”⁴⁷²

Students in the next two classes (INVS 4931 *Community Leadership in Action, Part 1*, INVS 4932 *Community Leadership in Action, Part 2*) design their own “community service projects,” such as founding “the Student Worker Alliance Program (SWAP), a free English tutoring program for immigrant workers on campus” and fighting to pass “Colorado ASSET, state legislation that would help immigrant youth attend college.”⁴⁷³

Students are also required to take part in “two month-long summer service-learning experiences,” the Domestic Summer Service-Learning Experience and the International Summer Service Learning Experience. Recent examples of these summer experiences include volunteering “with the Black Mesa Water Coalition, a youth-led grassroots organization,” attending “Casa Taos, a retreat center for activists,” working in “Annunciation House ... a shelter for refugees seeking political asylum,” and learning about “alternative economic models” in Nicaragua.⁴⁷⁴ INVST CLP also sponsored a Sustainability Spring Break in March 2015, in which students returned to work for Black Mesa Water Coalition.⁴⁷⁵

INVST provides additional **Community Studies Electives for majors**. Notable among regularly offered courses is INVS 1523 *Civic Engagement: Using Democracy as a Tool for Social Change*, which “educates and inspires students for civic engagement.”⁴⁷⁶ One of INVST’s occasional electives, taught in Spring 2013, was INVS 3402 *Another City is Possible: Re-Inventing Detroit, Michigan*, “about sustainable activism in the twenty-first century, using Detroit as an example of a thriving community that is recreating itself through grassroots activism.”

INVST's core theoretical courses teach the political theory and the craft of progressive activism, encourage students “to examine themselves as potential change agents,” and “Focus on food justice, sustainability, activism and multicultural social justice.”

472 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, Community Leadership Program,” <http://www.colorado.edu/invst/programs/clp>.

473 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Community SOL Projects,” <http://www.colorado.edu/invst/community-partners/sol>.

474 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Summer Service-Learning Experiences,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/community-partners/summer-service-learning-experiences>.

475 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Sustainability Spring Break, March 22-28, 2015,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/resources/sustainability-spring-break-march-22-28-2015>.

476 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Opportunities for Undergraduate & Graduate Students,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/opportunities-undergraduate-graduate-students>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “CU Engage Announces 2016 Spring Courses,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/2015/10/30/CUEngage-announces-2016-spring-courses>.

ACTIVISM FOR EVERYONE

INVST also offers four **elective courses open to all students** at CU-Boulder— the introductory INVS 1000 *Responding to Social and Environmental Problems through Service-Learning*, the two theoretical courses at the beginning of the INVST CLP sequence (INVS 3302/WGST 3302 *Facilitating Peaceful Community Change* and INVS 4402 *Nonviolent Social Movements*), and the **Public Achievement** course INVS 2919/EDUC 2919 *Renewing Democracy in Communities and Schools*.⁴⁷⁷ These are gateway classes, structured to entice as many CU-Boulder undergraduates as possible into these New Civics programs.

INVST also sponsors a **Youth Council for Public Policy (YCPP)**, which allows high-school students to take two INVST classes, INVS 1513 *Civic Engagement: Using the Electoral Process as a Tool for Social Change* and INVS 1523 *Civic Engagement: Democracy as a Tool for Social Change*. YCPP is avowedly nonpartisan, but it focuses on educating “people as young as age 13 on the most pressing environmental and social justice concerns reflected in public policy,” and it “actively promote[s] environmental sustainability in the state of Colorado and around the world.” YCPP gives INVST a way to enmesh high school students in its campaign to recruit activists and advocate for progressive causes.⁴⁷⁸

INVS 3402 Another City is Possible: Re-Inventing Detroit, Michigan taught “about sustainable activism in the twenty-first century, using Detroit as an example of a thriving community that is recreating itself through grassroots activism.”

477 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies “The INVST Community Leadership Program,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/the-invst-community-leadership-program>; “INVST Community Leadership Program Class of 2014-2016,” https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/2014_INVST_CLP_Application.pdf.

478 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Youth Council for Public Policy,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/youth-council-for-public-policy>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Outreach and Engagement, “INVST’s Youth Council for Public Policy at CU-Boulder,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/165>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “INVS-1513 (3) Civic Engagement: Using the Electoral Process as a Tool for Social Change,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/courses/educ/b-educ/1513-civic-engagement-using-electoral-process-tool-social-change>; Learning Ace, “Low INVS 1523 Syllabus Spring 06,” <http://www.learningace.com/doc/2226490/b92170f54c631faf7271f63c618dc16e/lowe-invs-1523-syllabus-spring-06>; Association for the Advancement of Sustainability in Higher Education (AASHE), Sustainability Tracking, Assessment & Rating System (STARS), “University of Colorado Boulder, EN-14: Participation in Public Policy,” <https://stars.aashe.org/institutions/university-of-colorado-at-boulder-co/report/2014-09-22/EN/public-engagement/EN-14/>.

LEADING TO THE LEFT

The **Leadership Studies Minor (LSM)** also trains a cadre of progressive activists—although it includes non-progressive tracks, including one available for ROTC students. LSM students are supposed to take a Foundations Course (LEAD 1000 *Becoming a Leader*), a Capstone Course (LEAD 4000 *Capstone*), and three electives. The Capstone course requires students to “Complete a leadership challenge project”—unpaid labor—with partner organizations that include progressive options such as Boulder County Arts Alliance, Immigrant Legal Center of Boulder County, Watson University, and Women’s Wilderness.⁴⁷⁹



Kira Pasquesi,
Program Director,
Leadership Studies
Minor

LSM’s electives also include a great many courses that double as advocacy for progressive causes, such as HONR 1810 *Honors Diversity Seminar*, LDSP 2410 *Dynamics of Privilege and Oppression in Leadership*, ETHN 3201 *Multicultural Leadership: Theories, Practices & Principles*, LDSP 4932 *Community Leadership in Action*, ETHN 3671 *People of Color and Social Movements*, and INVS 4931 *Community Leadership in Action*. A CU-Boulder student can acquire a Leadership Studies Minor while taking electives solely drawn from the INVST program.⁴⁸⁰

A CU-Boulder student can acquire a Leadership Studies Minor while taking electives solely drawn from the INVST program.

The associated **Leadership Residential Academic Program (LRAP)** gives a clearer sense of what “leadership” means at CU-Boulder. LRAP states that “culturally competent, multicultural, social justice leadership” increases “students’ understanding of: power, privilege, oppression, empowerment and, therefore, the history and function of the social constructs of identity (race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and ability status) are studied.”⁴⁸¹ *Leadership* in this patch of Colorado is a fig leaf for *advocating for progressive dogma*.

479 University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Studies Minor: “Coursework,” <http://www.colorado.edu/lsm/coursework>; “Community Partners,” <http://www.colorado.edu/lsm/community-partners>.

480 University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Studies Minor, “Electives,” <http://www.colorado.edu/lsm/coursework/electives>.

481 University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Residential Academic Program, “Leadership RAP,” <https://leadershiprap.colorado.edu/leadership-rap>.

PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT: BOYTE-BOTS AT BOULDER

In addition to training progressive activists through INVST and LSM, CU Engage also oversees a local franchise of Public Achievement, Harry Boyte’s neo-Alinskyite hard core of the New Civics. **Public Achievement at CU-Boulder** (run jointly by INVST Community Studies, the Institute for Ethical & Civic Engagement, the School of Education, the Boulder Valley School District, the “I Have a Dream” Foundation of Boulder County, and other local organizations) is generally like every other Public Achievement program around the nation: a means of recruiting undergraduate students to organize K-12 students in support of progressive causes. Public Achievement teaches undergraduates to be community organizers and it softens up K-12 students to be malleable organizees. By channeling progressive activism toward community organizing in local K-12 schools, CU Engage’s Public Achievement program creates a Boulder-area synergy of unpaid New Civics advocacy at the K-12 and undergraduate levels.



Charla Agnoletti,
Program Director,
Public Achievement

CU-Boulder established the Public Achievement (PA) program in January 2008, in cooperation with the Boulder Valley School District. It currently operates at Angevine Middle School and Centaurus High School in Lafayette, as well as Creekside Elementary School and Columbine Elementary School in Boulder. As in all Public Achievement programs, CU-Boulder’s PA sends unpaid undergraduate “coaches” to apply neo-Alinskyite organizational techniques in the local high schools.⁴⁸² There the Coaches engage high school students in progressive activism—“undertake community-based projects that address social issues that express their values and beliefs.”

Public Achievement also provides vocational training for students who wish to make a career of mixing teaching with progressive activism. The program boasts that it has prepared students for graduate study, Teach for America, the Peace Corps, and “full-time or summer employment with youth leadership organizations.”⁴⁸³

Public Achievement offers a sequence of two practicum courses as the means for students to engage in progressive activism in school: INVS/EDUC 2919 *Renewing Democracy in Communities and Schools* and INVS 4999 *Teaching Social Justice*.⁴⁸⁴ *Renewing Democracy* introduces students to “the interplay between democracy, education, and social change,” and to “youth-focused civic

482 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Resources,” <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/resources>; University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf.

483 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “About,” <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/about>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Public Achievement,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/public-achievement>.

484 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Courses,” <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/courses-o>.

engagement, multiculturalism, classroom management, and facilitation techniques.”⁴⁸⁵ *Teaching Social Justice* educates students to “investigate progressive pedagogical and community organizing strategies,” not least to advance “the mission of Public Achievement” and to build “the infrastructure necessary to ensure civic engagement is a common experience on campus and in the Boulder County community,” and to focus on “issues of social justice and environmental sustainability.”⁴⁸⁶

Public Achievement also offers a **Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute (CCISI)**, which extends Public Achievement’s community-organizing efforts among high school students into the summer vacation. The CCISI “provides an opportunity for a select group of 8-12 students to develop advanced community organizing, research, and leadership skills.”⁴⁸⁷

Current Public Achievement projects focus on issues such as Immigration, “School Discipline & The School to Prison Pipeline,” Police Brutality, Racism and Stereotypes, and Global Education.⁴⁸⁸ Past initiatives include a 2014 march, chant (“What do we want? Peace! When do we want it? Now!”), and rally for Martin Luther King Day;⁴⁸⁹ a 2014 march, chant (“Si, se puede”), and rally to commemorate Cesar Chavez;⁴⁹⁰ and a 2015 march, chant (“Who’s

Renewing Democracy introduces students to “the interplay between democracy, education, and social change,” and to “youth-focused civic engagement, multiculturalism, classroom management, and facilitation techniques.”

485 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “INVS 2919/EDUC 2919: Renewing Democracy in Communities and Schools,” <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2015/06/03/invseduc-2919-renewing-democracy-communities-schools>.

486 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “INVS INVS 4999: Teaching Social Justice,” <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2015/06/03/invs-4999-teaching-social-justice>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Courses,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/courses/courses#overlay-context=courses>.

487 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Programs and Initiatives,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/programs-and-initiatives>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Outreach and Engagement, “Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/487>.

488 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Current Projects,” <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/current-projects>.

489 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Hundreds pace Public Road during Lafayette’s MLK march,” January 20, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2014/01/20/hundreds-pace-public-road-during-lafayettes-mlk-march>; Doug Pike, “Hundreds pace Public Road during Lafayette’s MLK march,” *Colorado Hometown Weekly*, January 20, 2014, http://www.coloradohometownweekly.com/ci_24952117/hundreds-pace-public-road-during-lafayettes-mlk-march; University of Colorado, Boulder, News Center, “CU-Boulder student leaders to co-host 9th annual MLK celebration,” January 16, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/news/features/CU-Boulder-student-leaders-co-host-9th-annual-mlk-celebration>.

490 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Lafayette Youth Plan Event to Celebrate Cesar Chavez,” March 31, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2014/03/31/lafayette-youth-plan-event-celebrate-cesar-chavez>; Amy Bounds, “Lafayette youth plan event to celebrate Cesar Chavez,” *Daily Camera News*, March 31, 2014, http://www.dailycamera.com/News/ci_25459222/Lafayette-youth-plan-event-to-celebrate; Joe Rubino, “Lafayette marks Cesar Chavez Day with ‘Seeds of Justice’ march, rally,” April 4, 2014, http://www.dailycamera.com/News/ci_25499724/Lafayette-marks-Cesar-Chavez-Day-with.

got the power? We've got the power! What kind of power? People power!"), and rally for Martin Luther King Day.⁴⁹¹

PUKSTA SUBSIDIZES PROGRESSIVE "SCHOLARS"

CU-Boulder's cadres in INVST, LSM, and PA need financial support, and CU Engage also houses and directs CU-Boulder's branch of **The Puksta Scholars Program** (PSP). PSP directs external funding from the Puksta Foundation so as to provide external scholarship support of \$4,500 a year, renewable for up to four years, to students specializing as progressive activists. In return, Puksta "scholars" are supposed to create a *civic engagement project*.⁴⁹² The Puksta Foundation suggests "Justice Issue Areas(s)" that include Affordable Housing; Community Organizing; Criminal Justice; Immigration; Peace; Political Process; Poverty; Racism; Refugees and Migration; Sexism; Sexuality, Gender, and LGBTIQA.⁴⁹³

The 2015-2016 Puksta Scholars at CU-Boulder have uniformly progressive interests;⁴⁹⁴ while attendees at the Puksta Foundation's 2015 Fall Inter-collegiate Retreat, they "formed working groups to share resources and explore collaboration in five broad issue areas: education, poverty / prisons / homelessness, public health, gender and LGBTQ, and immigration." The Puksta Scholars also received an Alinskyite community organizing PowerPoint, *Power-Mapping for Social Justice; or, Strategic*

Past Public

Achievement initiatives include a 2014 march, chant ("What do we want? Peace! When do we want it? Now!"), and rally for Martin Luther King Day; a 2014 march, chant ("Si, se puede"), and rally to commemorate Cesar Chavez; and a 2015 march, chant ("Who's got the power? We've got the power! What kind of power? People power!"), and rally for Martin Luther King Day.

491 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, "CU community, students, involved in peace march," January 16, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2015/01/16/cu-community-students-involved-peace-march>; University of Colorado, Boulder, News Center, "CU community, students, involved in peace march," January 16, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/news/features/cu-community-students-involved-peace-march>; Amy Bounds, "Biggest march yet: Lafayette's MLK commemoration marks 10th anniversary," *Daily Camera*, January 19, 2015, http://www.dailycamera.com/lafayette-news/ci_27351302/biggest-march-yet-lafayettes-mlk-commemoration-marks-10th.

492 University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, "Welcome to the CU-Boulder Puksta Scholars' Website," <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, "About," <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/about>; Puksta Foundation, "About Us," http://pukstafoundation.org/?page_id=348.

493 University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, "Puksta Application: Social Justice Issues and Essay Questions," <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/how-apply/puksta-application-social-justice-issues-and-essay-questions>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Be Boulder, "Puksta Scholars Program," <https://colorado.academicworks.com/opportunities/387>.

494 University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, "Current Scholars," <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/current-scholars>.

*Planning for Long-Term Civic Leadership. Advancing the Common Good Through Community Organizing.*⁴⁹⁵

Recent Puksta Scholar Chelsea Canada’s civic engagement project illustrates the nature of a Puksta-funded *civic engagement project*. In Canada’s two-part project, she first offered “free dance classes that were followed by facilitated dialogue surrounding women’s suffrage, and then voter registration,” and then created a video of “women leaders in the community,” so that “young women could reflect on the stories of these women within their own community to drive them to make change.”⁴⁹⁶



Roudy Hildreth,
Puksta Scholars,
Program Coordinator

SOMETHING IS MISSING FROM THIS PICTURE

What of CU-Boulder’s other efforts, parallel to INVST and Public Achievement, intended to support the substance and the spirit of Old Civics? As far as we can tell, CU-Boulder provides undergraduates none. The closest approximations are two programs in the Law School. **The Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project** has law students undertake service learning as Teaching Fellows who “are placed with civics and government teachers in underserved schools to spend a semester or a year teaching about the Constitution,” and also coach high school students for the Colorado Marshall-Brennan Moot Court Competition.⁴⁹⁷ The associated **Colorado Law Constitution Day Project** has law student volunteers visit high school classrooms for one day and teach a lesson on the First Amendment.⁴⁹⁸ But these are in the Law School, not the undergraduate colleges.



Jennifer Ciplet,
Puksta Scholars,
Manager of
Communications

At the undergraduate level, CU-Boulder’s **Center for Western Civilization, Thought & Policy (CWC)** identifies courses throughout CU-Boulder that count toward a certificate in Western Civilization, as well as offering a handful of in-program courses such as CWCV 2000

495 University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, “Puksta Foundation Inter-collegiate Retreat,” September 19, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/2015/09/19/puksta-foundation-inter-collegiate-retreat>; Stephen John Harnett, Roudy Hildreth, and Balkarn Shahi, *Power-Mapping for Social Justice; or, Strategic Planning for Long-Term Civic Leadership. Advancing the Common Good Through Community Organizing*, http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/sites/default/files/attached-files/revised-power-mapping_for_social_justice.pdf.

496 Chelsea Canada, “Women in leadership: breaking the glass ceiling,” *The Denver Post*, October 1, 2014, http://www.denverpost.com/ci_26642429/women-leadership-breaking-glass-ceiling.

497 University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado Law, “Constitutional Law,” <http://www.colorado.edu/law/academics/areas-study/constitutional-law>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado Law, “Marshall-Brennan Project,” <http://www.colorado.edu/law/research/byron-white-center/marshall-brennan-project>.

498 University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado Law, “Colorado Law Constitution Day Project,” <http://www.colorado.edu/law/research/byron-white-center/constitution>.

The Western Tradition. These courses approximate some aspects of a traditional civics education.⁴⁹⁹ And even though the CWC does aid civic literacy, CU-Boulder is not aware that it does. CU-Boulder trumpets a great many New Civics programs as contributing to its students civic development, but not the CWC.

CU-Boulder's Old Civics is nothing more than a small program not intended to provide a civics education as such, and two tiny programs run out of the law school. By comparison INVST and Public Achievement are giants—and they are only a portion of CU-Boulder's New Civics.

SERVICE LEARNING: HERE, THERE, AND EVERYWHERE

CU Engage focuses on training a cadre of progressive activists, but CU-Boulder also provides “service learning” across the curriculum, in courses hosted by a large number of departments and programs. **There is no one office that coordinates service-learning at CU-Boulder.** These courses enlist students to provide labor for progressive organizations while taking courses in Art History, Business, Education, Engineering, English, Environment, International English Center, Linguistics, The Program for Writing and Rhetoric, Spanish, and Women's Studies, among others. **The School of Engineering,**⁵⁰⁰ the programs concerned with the **Environment,**⁵⁰¹ the **Department**

What of CU-Boulder's other efforts, parallel to INVST and Public Achievement, intended to support the substance and the spirit of Old Civics? As far as we can tell, CU-Boulder provides undergraduates none.



Veronica House,
Director, Writing
Initiative for Service and
Engagement (WISE)

499 University of Colorado, Boulder, Center for Western Civilization, Thought & Policy: “Certificate in Western Civilization,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cwctp/student-resources/certificate-western-civilization>; “Conservative Thought & Policy Courses,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cwctp/student-resources/conservative-thought-policy-courses>.

500 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Active Learning Program,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Discovery Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/discovery>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Professional Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/professional>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Mortenson Center in Engineering for Developing Communities, “[Home,]” <http://www.colorado.edu/mcedc/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Mortenson Center in Engineering for Developing Communities, “About Us,” <http://www.colorado.edu/mcedc/about-us>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Civil, Environmental and Architectural Engineering, “Learning Through Service,” <http://www.colorado.edu/ceae/enrichment/service-learning>.

501 University of Colorado, Boulder, Community Engagement, Design and Research (CEDaR) Center, “Internships,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cye/internships>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Environmental Studies Program, “Internships,” <http://www.colorado.edu/envs/undergraduate-students/internships>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Program in Environmental Design, “Internships,” <http://www.colorado.edu/envd/student-services/advising-center/internships>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Environmental Design,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/content/environmental-design>.

of Spanish,⁵⁰² and the **Program for Writing and Rhetoric (PWR)** provide the largest concentrations of service-learning.

PWR's **Writing Initiative for Service and Engagement (WISE)** especially focuses on having students “research and produce written, spoken, digital, and/or multimedia projects about, with, and/or for university and non-profit agencies that deal with pressing social issues such as literacy, poverty, food security, and environmental justice.” WISE courses “that have contained a service learning/civic engagement component” include *Grant Writing; Rhetorics of Sustainability; Civic Engagement and New Media; Cross-Cultural Writing for International Students; Multi-Cultural Rhetorics; On the Border: U.S. and Mexico; Field Studies in Civic Engagement;* and *Composing a Civic Life*.⁵⁰³ At CU-Boulder, even learning to write a proper sentence has been suborned to progressive activism.

I'M FROM CU DIALOGUES AND WE NEED TO HAVE A CONVERSATION

The New Civics has taken over a great many programs entirely, as well as large numbers of individual courses—but other classes at CU-Boulder don't lend themselves so easily to vocational training in progressive activism. Nevertheless, CU Engage provides a way for instructors in these courses to inject a further dose of progressive advocacy.



Ellen Aiken,
Program Co-Director,
CU Dialogues



Karen Ramirez,
Program Co-Director,
CU Dialogues

CU Engage does this by persuading instructors to adopt **classroom dialogues**, which are part of the **CU Dialogues Program**. CU Dialogues was founded in 2007 as “a Civic Engagement course implemented in the Sewall Residential Academic Program (RAP),” and has grown from that beginning to a regular program within CU Engage, providing about 70 dialogues a year to classes in disciplines including History, English, Anthropology, Sociology, Communication, Writing, Economics, Business, Spanish, Women's Studies, and Film Studies.⁵⁰⁴ CU Dialogues “create experiential learning opportunities and generate open discussion of difficult or controversial topics in courses across a range of disciplines”—which is to say, in these “facilitated” dialogues,

502 University of Colorado, Boulder, Spanish and Portuguese, “Service Learning Opportunities,” <http://www.colorado.edu/spanish/undergraduate/service-learning/service-learning-opportunities>.

503 University of Colorado at Boulder, Program for Writing and Rhetoric: Veronica House, “What is Service Learning?,” http://www.colorado.edu/pwr/Documents/PWR_WISE_booklet_updated813.pdf, University of Colorado, Boulder, The Program for Writing & Rhetoric, “Service-Learning,” http://www.colorado.edu/pwr/service_learning.html.

504 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “About Us,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/about-us>; Ellen S. Aiken and Karen E. Ramirez, “Scaling Up Dialogues to Boost Engaged Learning,” *Academic Exchange Quarterly* 18, 4 (Winter 2014), <http://rapidintellect.com/AEQweb/547814.pdf>, p. 2.

progressives are invited to speak at individual classes and extracurricular events at CU-Boulder.⁵⁰⁵

Topics suggested to faculty include *race, stereotypes and policing; immigration policy and immigrants' experiences; gender identity and perspectives on gender; income inequality; communication across social, cultural, or political differences, and diversity and experiences of inclusion/exclusion.*⁵⁰⁶ Dialogue guest specializations include *discrimination/profiling based on race; feeling excluded or targeted because of religion; transgender identity; living as an undocumented person in the US or elsewhere; experiences related to politics/political activism; and civic engagement or volunteer experiences.*⁵⁰⁷

Such dialogues taught one student to “understand and connect the issues of oppression and classism”; another “learned that gender issues are attached to or are [contributing] factors to many other injustices and problems our society faces ... everything is related somehow.”⁵⁰⁸ CU Dialogues also provides a course, EDUC 2800 *Dialogue Across Difference*, as a practicum so students may learn to become dialogue facilitators for CU Dialogues and other such programs.⁵⁰⁹

Dialogue topics suggested to faculty include race, stereotypes and policing; immigration policy and immigrants' experiences; gender identity and perspectives on gender; income inequality; communication across social, cultural, or political differences, and diversity and experiences of inclusion/exclusion.

I'M FROM CU DIALOGUES AND WE NEED TO HAVE ANOTHER CONVERSATION

CU Dialogues doesn't just persuade instructors to veer off topic so they can give progressive activists privileged access to for-credit classes. It also runs extracurricular programs called **community dialogues**. CU-Boulder students (Resident Advisors, Hall Councils, Student Government,

505 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Programs and Initiatives,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/programs-and-initiatives>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, [“Home Page,”] <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/>.

506 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Who Can Hold a Dialogue?,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/who-can-hold-dialogue>; Ellen S. Aiken and Karen E. Ramirez, “Scaling Up Dialogues to Boost Engaged Learning,” *Academic Exchange Quarterly* 18, 4 (Winter 2014), <http://rapidintellect.com/AEQweb/547814.pdf>, p. 2.

507 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “The CU Dialogues Program is seeking community members to serve as dialogue guests in CU classes,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/cu-dialogues-guest-participant-form>.

508 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Classroom Dialogues,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/>.

509 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues, “Dialogue Across Difference,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/dialogue-across-difference>.

International Students, Student Organizations, Student Resource Groups) and administrative units can all request “community dialogues.” Suggested topics **for students** include *sexual assault; campus climate; building a sense of community in residence halls; and relations between students and permanent University Hill residents*. Suggested topics **for administrative units** include *Cultural Conflict based on Race/Ethnicity; Power, Privilege and Policing; Diversity and Inclusive Excellence; Labeling based on Political Affiliation/Perspective; Gender-Based Stereotyping; and Economic/Social Inequality*.⁵¹⁰

The “dialogues” that result from these efforts appear to be both propagandistic and banal. For example, one student in a community dialogue reported his novel insight that students of color feel “uncomfortable being here at CU.” He concluded, “Talking about issues of race and racism is important.”⁵¹¹ CU Dialogues ensures that if students don’t come to this conclusion in class, they will come to it in the student lounge.

SERVICE-LEARNING WHERE YOU SLEEP

CU-Boulder’s New Civics advocates are not satisfied with spreading progressive advocacy in classes and club meetings; they also infiltrate their dogma into the dormitories. The **Residential Academic Programs**, in which (mostly first-year) students “live together in the same residence hall, share academic experiences by participating in seminar classes taught in the residence halls, have access to faculty offices within the residence halls, and engage in residence hall activities that reinforce the academic theme,” also frame student residential life around New Civics. The Communication and Society, Farrand, Global Studies, Leadership, Sewall, and Sustainability and Social Innovation RAPs all contain service-learning and civic engagement classes.⁵¹²

CU-Boulder’s New Civics advocates are not satisfied with spreading progressive advocacy in classes and club meetings; they also infiltrate their dogma into the dormitories.

Students at **Sewall RAP**, for example, are required to take SEWL 2020 *Civic Engagement*, a one-credit course that “Explores the concept of citizenship through readings, discussion, and service learning. Working with Sewall faculty mentors, students discuss citizenship and related

510 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Community Dialogues,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/community-dialogues>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Who Can Hold a Dialogue?,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/who-can-hold-dialogue>.

511 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Community Dialogues,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/community-dialogues>.

512 University of Colorado, Boulder, Housing & Dining Services, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <https://housing.colorado.edu/residences/residential-academic-communities/residential-academic-programs>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/raps>.

topics and learn concretely about aspects of the larger community by choosing a local community organization, becoming actively involved in its programs, and presenting their work at a culminating symposium.”⁵¹³

Farrand RAP “offers several service-learning classes each semester. Service learning gives students the chance to apply what they study in their classes to real-life situations, such as a homeless shelter, a humane society or a tutoring program. These classes include Gandhian Philosophy; Nutrition, Health and Performance; and Global Women Writers.”⁵¹⁴

The New Civics advocates are partly using the RAPs as a way to extend their propaganda into undergraduates’ residential life—and partly taking advantage of CU-Boulder’s academic structure to give students an incentive to take New Civics classes. Most CU-Boulder students have to take large lecture classes in their first years; students in RAPs are allowed special opportunities to take small classes, limited to RAP members. The New Civics advocates take advantage of undergraduates’ desire to take a class where they can get individual attention, and use it as a way to steer them into New Civics classes.

YOU CAN NEVER LEAVE

The New Civics advocates do their best to make sure that progressive advocacy is inescapable on-campus—and the **Study Abroad** program also channels students taking semesters away toward more New Civics activities. CU-Boulder students studying in London, for example, attend a program run by CAPA: The Global Education Network. There they take yet another service learning class, this time involving work for the Global Civic Engagement Institute. The Institute “teaches about community activism through observation and participation in important local, national, and trans-national agencies. ... as students connect ideas with action, they can explore potential pathways to a career in the civic or political sphere and related areas.”⁵¹⁵ CU-Boulder’s Study Abroad is really New Civics Abroad.

*CU-Boulder’s Study
Abroad is really New
Civics Abroad.*

513 University of Colorado, Boulder, Sewall Residential Academic Program, “About Sewall RAP,” <http://www.colorado.edu/srap/about>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2016-2017, “SEWL-2020 (1) Civic Engagement,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2016-17/courses/arsc/b-sewl/2020-civic-engagement>.

514 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/raps>.

515 University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of International Education, “Service-Learning Study Abroad programs Guide,” https://studyabroad.colorado.edu/index.cfm?FuseAction=Abroad.ViewDocument&File_ID=0405737C724F060171710D7C71051C730E010014050806006E040100757606710E7701077374770202; University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of International Education, “CAPA England: London,” https://studyabroad.colorado.edu/index.cfm?FuseAction=Programs.ViewProgram&Program_ID=739; CAPA, “Study Abroad in London, England,” https://www.capa.org/london?qt-london_page_qt=3#qt-london_page_qt; CAPA, “Global Civic Engagement Institute,” <https://www.capa.org/global-civic-engagement-institute>.

CU-Boulder's affiliation with **Alternative Breaks** also transforms student vacation time into New Civics sessions. In Spring 2016, 30 Alternative Breaks site leaders led 149 CU-Boulder participants to 13 locations, to perform 6,240 hours of service. They worked on Immigration, Indigenous Rights, LGBT Advocacy, Rebuilding Homes, Reproductive Justice, Youth Science Education, Mustang Rescue, E-Waste Recycling, Disability Advocacy, Environmental Conservation, HIV/AIDS, Homelessness and Poverty, and Human Trafficking.⁵¹⁶ Alternative Breaks, as much as Study Abroad, works to make sure that CU-Boulder students have no time off from New Civics.

RESEARCH FOR READY MONEY

The New Civics campaigns vigorously to extend progressive advocacy throughout every nook and cranny of CU-Boulder—but it also works to sustain itself financially. CU Engage funds **Participatory Action Research (PAR)**—research intended to affect policy, generally by offering a justification for funding a favored progressive organization—to secure more university funding both for itself and for allied New Civics programs on campus.

CU-Boulder's **Undergraduate Participatory Action Research** vividly illustrates this tactic as it uses its *research* as a rationale to ask for more money from CU-Boulder. In 2014-15, the first Undergraduate PAR produced a report entitled *Students of Color are motivated agents of change: Why aren't we joining your programs?* *Students of Color's* main conclusion was that Students of Color should get a financial subsidy so that they could participate in civic engagement and service-learning programs. CU Engage announced that the research would inform their strategic planning going forward, and called for more such PAR projects.⁵¹⁷

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CU Engage announced that the research would inform their strategic planning going forward, and called for more such PAR projects.⁵¹⁷

The **Graduate Fellowship in Community Based Research** also funds 3-5 doctoral students each year, “to train a generation of scholars in the practices and principles of community-based research”; 2015-2016 projects included Julia Daniel's *Community-Based Police Accountability*

516 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Alternative Breaks,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/312>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Volunteer Resource Center, “About CU Alternative Breaks,” <http://www.colorado.edu/volunteer/ab/about>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Volunteer Resource Center, “Posters,” <http://www.colorado.edu/volunteer/posters>.

517 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Opportunities for Undergraduate & Graduate Students,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/opportunities-undergraduate-graduate-students>; University of Colorado, Boulder, News Center, “First CU Engage research project examines campus experience for students of color,” July 1, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/news/features/first-CU-Engage-research-project-examines-campus-experience-students-color>; *Students of Color are motivated agents of change: Why aren't we joining your programs?*, http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/sites/default/files/attached-files/cuengage_color.pdf, esp. pp. 3, 5, 14.

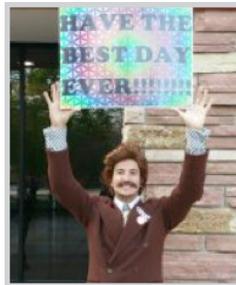
Research, done in partnership with Black Lives Matter 5280.⁵¹⁸ These fellowships take PAR to its logical conclusion, by getting the university to fund activists to learn how to request more money from the university.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT WITH A 401 (A) RETIREMENT PLAN

CU Engage complements its work in progressive advocacy and fundraising by **providing jobs for many graduates of its programs as staff or teachers**—and by doing so, also ensures the supply of a reliable, continuing source of recruits to staff the New Civics programs at CU-Boulder. Becca Kaplan (INVST Community Studies, Instructor) “graduated from the INVST CLP [in 2007],”⁵¹⁹ Trevor Moore (Public Achievement Coordinator, Public Achievement) “served as a coach, teaching assistant, and program coordinator for CU-Boulder’s Public Achievement program,”⁵²⁰ and Haley Sladek Squires (INVST Community Studies, Instructor) “is an INVST Community Leadership Program alumna, Class of 2009.”⁵²¹ A significant fraction of current students in INVST, the LSM, and PA presumably may also expect employment at CU Engage after they graduate.



Becca Kaplan,
INVST Community
Studies, Instructor



Trevor Moore,
Public Achievement,
Coordinator



Haley Sladek Squires,
INVST Community
Studies, Instructor

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- 518 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Opportunities for Undergraduate & Graduate Students,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/opportunities-undergraduate-graduate-students>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Graduate Fellowship in Community Based Research,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/graduate-fellowship-community-based-research-o>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “CU-Boulder Doctoral Students Invited to Apply for Graduate Fellowship in Community-Based Research,” February 25, 2016, <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/2016/02/25/CU-Boulder-doctoral-students-invited-apply-graduate-fellowship-community-based-research>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “CU Engage announces the inaugural cohort of Community Based Research Graduate Fellows,” August 5, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/2015/08/05/CU-Engage-announces-inaugural-cohort-community-based-research-graduate-fellows>.
- 519 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Who We Are,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/who-we-are>.
- 520 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Trevor Moore,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/trevor-moore>.
- 521 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Who We Are,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/who-we-are>.

CU Engage also **supports the careers of its program faculty by allowing them to publish after-action reports about civic engagement and call it research.** Ellen Aiken (Program Co-Director, CU Dialogues) writes on “the use of dialogue to build understanding across cultural differences in community settings,”⁵²² Roudy Hildreth (Associate Director, CU Engage) “is co-author of *Becoming Citizens: Deepening the Craft of Youth Civic Engagement* (Routledge, 2009),”⁵²³ and Ben Kirshner (Faculty Director, CU Engage) “examines youth organizing, participatory action research, and new forms of digital media as contexts for learning and social justice change.”⁵²⁴ The expectation that professors should produce useful research as a condition of their employment has been diverted toward producing tactical manuals of progressive activism for other New Civics advocates.

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CU Engage finally supports the New Civics by directing grant funds at its disposal, such as the **Faculty Fellows in Community-Based Learning Program**⁵²⁵ and the **Children, Youth and Environments (CYE) Award**,⁵²⁶ toward CU-Boulder staff and faculty engaged in the New Civics. CU Engage’s control of these funds augments the resources available to the New Civics significantly beyond CU Engage’s formal budget.

THE NEW CIVICS SUMMED UP: A PERPETUAL MONEY-GRABBING MACHINE

Civics at CU-Boulder has been fundamentally transformed. While the Old Civics at CU-Boulder has largely withered away, the New Civics complex has grown to an extraordinary size. CU Engage, the administrative heart of the New Civics at CU-Boulder, itself encompasses several sprawling programs, and service-learning is so pervasive that there is no longer a single office to co-ordinate it. The New Civics now includes large portions of campus residential life, and a dedicated office (CU Dialogues) capable of inserting the New Civics into any class. Perhaps most importantly, CU-Boulder’s New Civics complex now includes the means to lobby for more

522 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Ellen Aiken,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/ellen-aiken>.

523 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Roudy Hildreth,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/roudy-hildreth>.

524 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Ben Kirshner,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/ben-kirshner>.

525 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Faculty Fellows in Community-Based Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/faculty-fellows-community-based-learning>.

526 Office for Engagement and Outreach, *CU-Boulder Outreach and Community Engagement Awards 2015-2016*, http://outreachawards.colorado.edu/pdf/2015-2016_outreach_awards_booklet.pdf, p. 23.

money and to provide itself new staff. The New Civics at CU-Boulder is self-perpetuating and pervasive. CU-Boulder's New Civics is so successful that it has already approached the upper limits of what is possible for a nominally voluntary program.

NEXT WE TAKE OVER THE UNIVERSITY

The New Civics advocates at CU-Boulder therefore have decided that progressive advocacy on campus will no longer be a matter of free choice. Several years ago Peter Simons, then the director of the Institute for Ethical and Civic Engagement (CU Engage's institutional predecessor), stated that, "Our long-term goal is to have all of our 30,000 students civically engaged in one way or another."⁵²⁷ CU-Boulder will fulfill this goal by **making civic engagement mandatory**.

CU-Boulder's *Flagship 2030*, its strategic plan for the next generation at CU-Boulder, suggests how CU-Boulder will approach this goal. CU-Boulder's states that "By 2030, CU-Boulder ... will require at least two semester-long experiences tailored to complement academic coursework and cocurricular activities."⁵²⁸ CU-Boulder will also "create a new framework for promoting interdisciplinary degree programs and rewarding faculty success in interdisciplinary teaching, research, and creative work," as well as extending "our existing strengths in multi- and interdisciplinary engagement more fully into curriculum and degree offerings." In addition, CU-Boulder will "provide professional and financial incentives to recognize and reward interdisciplinary excellence and innovation."⁵²⁹ CU-Boulder also plans to create a Colorado Undergraduate Academy, where "each student will work with an advisor to construct a unified set of curricular and extracurricular activities, such as civic engagement and international experiences."⁵³⁰

Several years ago Peter Simons, then the director of the Institute for Ethical and Civic Engagement (CU Engage's institutional predecessor), stated that, "Our long-term goal is to have all of our 30,000 students civically engaged in one way or another." CU-Boulder will fulfill this goal by making civic engagement mandatory.

527 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Boulder Today, "CU-Boulder Striving to Produce Civically Engaged Graduates," March 11, 2009, <http://www.colorado.edu/today/2009/03/11/cu-boulder-striving-produce-civically-engaged-graduates>.

528 University of Colorado, Boulder, *Flagship 2030: Serving Colorado Engaged in the World*, p. 47, <http://www.colorado.edu/flagship2030/sites/default/files/attached-files/CUFlagship.pdf>.

529 University of Colorado, Boulder, *Flagship 2030: Serving Colorado Engaged in the World*, p. 51, <http://www.colorado.edu/flagship2030/sites/default/files/attached-files/CUFlagship.pdf>.

530 University of Colorado, Boulder, *Flagship 2030: Serving Colorado Engaged in the World*, p. 46, <http://www.colorado.edu/flagship2030/sites/default/files/attached-files/CUFlagship.pdf>.

Together, these initiatives sketch how CU-Boulder will transform the New Civics into a requirement for undergraduate education, remold faculty teaching and scholarship around the New Civics, and provide a model for an undergraduate education formed entirely around the New Civics.

HOW MUCH DOES IT COST?

The New Civics is already a significant drain on CU-Boulder’s resources—and therefore a significant burden to Colorado taxpayers.

As noted above, CU-Boulder’s total expenditures for its FY 2016-17 annual budget is \$1.58 billion, with \$69.4 million (4.4%) of the total in Direct State Funding.⁵³¹ \$7.6 million of that total was spent on Public Service in Fiscal Year 2016 (FY16),⁵³² significant amounts of which include New Civics activity—but this must be a small fraction of the New Civics expenditures, which are also folded into CU-Boulder’s spending on Instruction (\$463 million), Research (\$307 million), Academic Support (\$128 million), Student Services (\$93 million), Scholarships and Fellowships (\$126 million), and so on.⁵³³ We have tried to get the university to disclose what it spends on New Civics, especially in the extra-curricular domain, but we have had limited success. CU-Boulder may not be stonewalling us in particular, but it has organized its internal accounting to be as opaque as possible on matters like this. The university as a whole appears resistant to financial transparency.

In the absence of reliable official figures, we have developed a lowball estimate of **\$25 million per year spent on the New Civics.**

To arrive at this figure, we first look at the directly budgeted expenditures for CU Engage: **\$614,234** in FY15 and **\$915,179** in FY16.⁵³⁴ This number must refer to direct program costs rather than to “overhead” costs: CU Engage’s 13 staff salaries and pensions alone must cost more than CU Engage’s FY16 budget. Furthermore, CU-Boulder acknowledges that this expenditure is only a fraction of the total actually spent. Kelly L. Fox, Senior Vice Chancellor and Chief Financial Officer at CU-Boulder, writes that the budgets for civic engagement programs do not “account for significant civic engagement and public service activities that are part other programs,

“At CU Boulder we are committed to incorporating civic engagement and public service activities into our normal course of doing business.”

531 University of Colorado Boulder, FY 2016-17 Operating Budget, <https://www.cu.edu/doc/fy2016-17operatingbudget.pdf>, pp. 10-11.

532 Kelly L. Fox (Senior Vice Chancellor and Chief Financial Officer, University of Colorado Boulder) to Ashley Thorne, October 3, 2016.

533 University of Colorado Boulder, Budget & Fiscal Planning, Current Funds Budget, FY 2016-17, <http://www.colorado.edu/bfp/budget/currfundsbudget/FY17.pdf>.

534 Kelly L. Fox (Senior Vice Chancellor and Chief Financial Officer, University of Colorado Boulder) to Ashley Thorne, October 3, 2016.

courses, or student, faculty, and staff activities ... [in one program] we identify budgets that support civic engagement and public service activities, but more often than not those support costs don't account for the significant amounts of faculty, staff, or student time that is expended in sponsored outreach or service activities." Fox adds that "At CU Boulder we are committed to incorporating civic engagement and public service activities into our normal course of doing business."⁵³⁵

To account for these hidden costs, we use a proxy—data provided by the University of Delaware in its 2015 application to the Carnegie Foundation for classification as a Community-Engaged College.⁵³⁶ The University of Delaware provided hard financial data for one civic engagement administrative unit:

The Office of Service Learning annual budget for fiscal year 2013 was \$229,000, which supported one professional staff position and one graduate student, student stipends, supplies, and travel to participate in academic service learning, faculty support for community-based research, and an annual summer Service Learning Scholars program, in which 20–25 students spend 10 weeks immersed in a faculty and community partnered co-mentored project⁵³⁷

CU Engage alone includes 13 faculty and staff and 2 student assistants,⁵³⁸ and coordinates far more extensive programs than the University of Delaware's Office of Service Learning. If we multiply Delaware's budget by 13, simply to account for CU Engage's 13 paid staff positions, we arrive at a figure of about **\$3 million**. If CU-Boulder spends two "hidden" dollars in administrative expenses—including faculty time and staff salaries and pensions—for every one dollar it openly budgets to CU Engage, this would bring its total up to the \$3 million we arrive at by using the proxy data from the University of Delaware. This seems to us a cautious quantification of Senior Vice Chancellor Fox's somewhat imprecise statement that CU-Boulder incorporates "civic engagement and public service activities into our normal course of doing business."

There are further dedicated administrative personnel marbled throughout CU-Boulder, managing service learning, running RAPs, and so on. Assume there are no more than 13 further such positions, and use the same proxy data from the University of Delaware, and we add another **\$3 million (\$6 million total)** to CU-Boulder's real budget for civic engagement. Since CU-Boulder

535 Kelly L. Fox (Senior Vice Chancellor and Chief Financial Officer, University of Colorado Boulder) to Ashley Thorne, October 3, 2016.

536 New England Resource Center for Higher Education, Carnegie Community Engagement Classification, http://nerche.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=341&Itemid=92.

537 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>.

538 University of Colorado Boulder, CU Engage, "Who We Are," <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/about-us/who-we-are>.

spent \$3,651,446 in FY16 just for its Study Abroad Office, where “Service learning activities that are included as a part of the Study Abroad experience are not separately tracked or budgeted,” we believe this estimate is also cautious.⁵³⁹

There appear to be at least several dozen civic engagement and service learning courses taught each year at CU-Boulder: if we assume that the equivalent of no more than 13 instructors a year are teaching service-learning courses, we add another **\$3 million (\$9 million total)**. Add in administrative support throughout the university (Outreach, Advancement, Student Affairs, and so on), as well as miscellaneous financial awards whose moneys are not directly administered by CU Engage, and the costs should easily add another **\$1 million (\$10 million total)**. The direct administrative costs of the New Civics at CU-Boulder should be taken, at a very lowball estimate, at **\$10 million dollars**.

“Service learning activities that are included as a part of the Study Abroad experience are not separately tracked or budgeted.”

To this we may add the costs of tuition spent on New Civics courses. CU-Boulder states that each year “3,500 [students] are engaged in academic service learning.”⁵⁴⁰ One 3-credit course at CU-Boulder’s Arts and Sciences costs \$1,446 for an in-state student; the costs to students, government (by way of subsidy of student loans), and the university together should come to another **\$5 million (\$15 million total)**. Some of these courses are less than 3 credits—but some students, especially in INVST, Public Achievement, and the Leadership Studies Minor, take more than one New Civics course a semester. Direct administrative costs and tuition together should come to at least **\$15 million a year**.

We may add housing costs to this total. At least 1,000 students a year live in Residential Academic Programs organized around the New Civics. The surcharge to be in a RAP is generally \$850 a year⁵⁴¹—but the ordinary cost for room and board at CU-Boulder is already \$13,590.⁵⁴² Splitting the difference between \$850 a year and \$14,440 a year, we may call it \$7,500 a year for 1,000 students—another **\$7.5 million (\$22.5 million total)**. CU-Boulder budgeted \$5,714,128 for the 14 RAPS in FY16—and Vice Chancellor Kelly Fox writes that “Service learning and civic engagement are embedded within the Residential Academic Program experience. These activities are not separately

539 Kelly L. Fox (Senior Vice Chancellor and Chief Financial Officer, University of Colorado Boulder) to Ashley Thorne, October 3, 2016.

540 University of Colorado, Boulder, News Center, “Civic Engagement,” <http://www.colorado.edu/news/series/civic-engagement>.

541 E.g., University of Colorado, Boulder, Housing and Dining Services, “Sustainability and Social Innovation (SSI) RAP,” <https://housing.colorado.edu/residences/residential-academic-communities/residential-academic-programs/social-innovation.eq>.

542 University of Colorado, Boulder, Bursar’s Office, “Undergraduate College Resident,” <https://bursar.colorado.edu/tuition-fees/annual-cost-estimate/undergraduate-colorado-resident/>.

tracked or budgeted.”⁵⁴³ If we assign *ca.* 40% of those costs to the New Civics, we may add **\$2.5 million** and bring the total to **\$25 million**—more than one third of the state of Colorado’s direct subsidy of \$69.4 million to CU-Boulder in 2016-2017.

We would welcome hard figures from CU-Boulder that would allow us to make a precise accounting of the New Civics’ cost. We strongly suspect that those hard figures would give us a number substantially greater than \$25 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

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 **CU-Boulder’s expenditure on New Civics is more than one third of what CU-Boulder requests annually from the state of Colorado.**

We also know that these costs are rising rapidly: **CU Engage’s budget alone increased almost 50% between FY2015 and FY2016**, from \$614,234 to

We can say with fair confidence that CU-Boulder’s expenditure on New Civics is more than one third of what CU-Boulder requests annually from the state of Colorado.

New Civics advocates want to devote all of CU-Boulder’s \$1.58 billion a year to forwarding the New Civics.

543 Kelly L. Fox (Senior Vice Chancellor and Chief Financial Officer, University of Colorado Boulder) to Ashley Thorne, October 3, 2016.

\$915,179.⁵⁴⁴ Even if CU Engage's budgetary increase is significantly higher than the average cost increase for New Civics programs, the total cost of the New Civics is probably rising more than 10% a year.

And we can say with absolute certainty that the New Civics advocates want to devote all of CU-Boulder's \$1.58 billion a year to forwarding the New Civics.

544 Kelly L. Fox (Senior Vice Chancellor and Chief Financial Officer, University of Colorado Boulder) to Ashley Thorne, October 3, 2016.

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.

The New Civics at CSU substitutes progressive advocacy for education both inside and outside the classroom.

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.

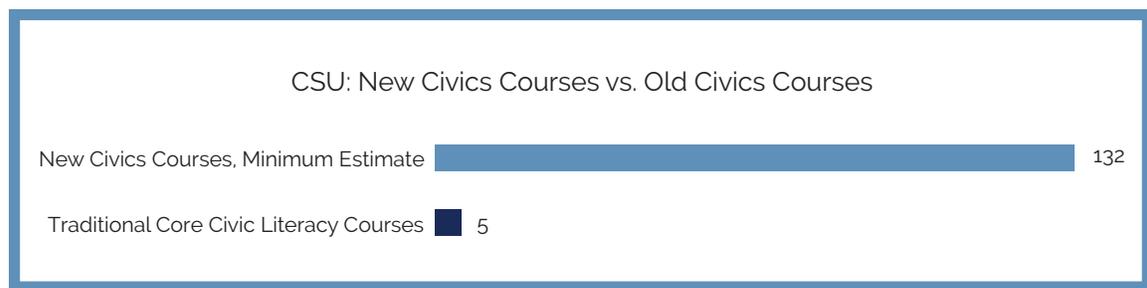
THE BORED-OUT CORE

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,
Involvement and
Community Engagement



Margit Henschel,
Director of
Service Learning



Jessica Dyr Dahl,
President’s Leadership
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.



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

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.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

The University of Northern Colorado (UNC) is a comprehensive university that continues to emphasize “its historical role in the preparation of educators.”⁶⁴⁰ UNC was founded in 1889 as the State Normal School of Colorado, dedicated to educating future teachers. It changed its name to the Colorado State Teachers College in 1911, the Colorado State College of Education in 1935, and Colorado State College in 1957. It assumed its present name in 1970.⁶⁴¹ As of Spring 2016, UNC enrolled about 11,400 students, including almost 8,800 undergraduates; 9,000 students are at UNC’s main campus in Greeley.⁶⁴²

UNC’s total expenditures for its FY 2016-17 annual budget is \$228 million, with \$39 million of the total in direct state funding.⁶⁴³ In the absence of reliable official figures for New Civics spending at UNC, we have developed a cautious estimate of **\$9 million per year**. This chapter concludes with our financial analysis.

At UNC as at CU-Boulder and CSU, the New Civics advocates for progressive causes both in the classroom and outside. In this chapter we will examine UNC’s New Civics network throughout the campus. We will also inspect what is left of UNC’s Old Civics, and compare its state with that of the rival New Civics.

UNC’s New Civics bureaucracy is roughly the size of CSU’s. UNC’s New Civics broadly resembles CU-Boulder’s and CSU’s, but its administrative structure varies significantly:

1. UNC administers much of its New Civics, including its service-learning classes, via the Center for Community and Civic Engagement—UNC’s equivalent of CU Engage at Boulder and SliCE at CSU.
2. UNC’s New Civics administrative structure nevertheless is far more diffuse than either CU-Boulder’s or CSU’s. UNC runs its New Civics via a large number of offices and programs, including the Student Activities Office, the Social Science Community Engagement major, and the Center for Honors, Scholars and Leadership.
3. UNC’s New Civics programs have a far more modest presence outside the classroom than at either CU-Boulder or CSU. Unlike the other two universities, it appears to have no residential halls explicitly yoked to the New Civics.

640 University of Northern Colorado, Office of the President, “Mission Statement,” <http://www.unco.edu/pres/mission.html>.

641 University of Northern Colorado, Office of the President, “A Short History of UNC,” <http://www.unco.edu/pres/sh.htm>.

642 University of Northern Colorado, Institutional Reporting and Analysis Services, “2016 Spring Final Enrollment Profile – June 2, 2016,” <http://www.unco.edu/iras/PDFs/Spring16FinalEnrollmentReport.pdf>.

643 University of Northern Colorado, Budget Office, “Recommended Budget Fiscal Year 2016-17,” http://www.unco.edu/Budget/Budget/pdf_Budget%20documents/JuneBooks/FY17%20June%20Book.pdf, p. 2.

4. UNC's New Civics has even deeper control of the University's Honors Program than has its counterpart at CSU.
5. UNC plans to create a Global Leadership Program as part of its New Civics complex.

CORELESS IN COLORADO

UNC is as ill-prepared to teach the **Old Civics** as CU-Boulder or CSU, since it too eliminated its core curriculum. It too has also disguised this abolition by calling its distribution requirements a "Liberal Arts Core."⁶⁴⁴ UNC students take no courses in common, possess no academic knowledge in common—and share no civic knowledge in common.

UNC's "Liberal Arts Core" requires students to take courses in eight different curricular areas, and provides students dozens of alternatives in each area. Students may take some of the few remaining Old Civics classes to fulfill these requirements—but there are hundreds of alternatives in total that they may choose instead.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO, UNIVERSITY OF NEW CIVICS

UNC offers students a wide course selection rather than a traditional education; it is not so rich a choice as CU-Boulder and CSU provide, but those universities each have triple the enrollment of UNC. In Fall 2016, UNC offered 944 different undergraduate classes, many divided into multiple sections.⁶⁴⁵ New Civics classes far outnumber their Old Civics rivals: we count a minimum of **100 service-learning courses** taught each year at UNC—more than 10% of the total number of courses offered at UNC.⁶⁴⁶ UNC offers only **7 courses** that meet a strict definition of traditional civics. There are more than 14 New Civics courses at UNC for every Old Civics course.

We count a minimum of 100 service-learning courses taught each year at UNC—more than 10% of the total number of courses offered at UNC.

644 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "The Liberal Arts Core," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core>.

645 University of Northern Colorado, Schedule of Classes, <http://www.unco.edu/sched/>.

646 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, "Academic & Curricular Engagement," http://www.unco.edu/cce/academic_curricular_engagement.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, "Engagement by the Numbers," <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Engagement%20oby%20the%20Numbers.pdf>.

THE OLD CORE FADES AWAY

Our best approximation is that two-thirds of UNC students take at least one of the seven UNC Old Civics survey courses over their entire undergraduate career—but we doubt that more than 75 percent take even two such courses.

UNC offers a few courses that make up a traditional core curriculum, but it offers far more numerous alternatives. These include both slices of the broad knowledge of Western Civilization and civic literacy (like CU-Boulder) and broad alternatives to such knowledge (like CSU).

Within UNC's *History* requirement, there are four proper introductory survey courses that ought to be part of a civics core curriculum: HIST 100 *Survey of American History from Its Beginnings to 1877*, HIST 101 *Survey of American History from 1877 to the Present*, HIST 120 *Western Civilization from Ancient Greece to 1689*, and HIST 121 *Western Civilization from 1689 to the present*.⁶⁴⁷ Students who didn't want to take one of these four options had 8 other choices.⁶⁴⁸ The alternatives to *Western Civilization* include *African Civilization* and *History of Mexico*.

Likewise, the *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement can be met by taking PSCI 100 *United States National Government* or PSCI 105 *Fundamentals of Politics*—but students can also take one of 33 alternatives.⁶⁴⁹ The alternatives to *United States National Government* include *Contemporary France* or *World Geography*.

The *Arts and Humanities* requirement can be fulfilled by taking MIND 180 *Great Ideas of the Western Tradition*—but UNC students can instead take one of 55 alternatives.⁶⁵⁰ The alternatives to *Great Ideas of the Western Tradition* include ENG 213 *Survey of British Literature I* and CHIN 201 *Intermediate Chinese I*. Many of these courses have some value—but they are fragments of or alternatives to a traditional core curriculum.

The Arts and Humanities requirement can be fulfilled by taking MUS 150 History of Rock and Roll

647 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "Area 4. History—3 hours," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-4-History-3-hours>.

648 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "Area 4. History—3 hours," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-4-History-3-hours>.

649 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "Area 5. Social and Behavioral Sciences—3-6 hours," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-5-Social-and-Behavioral-Sciences-3-6-hours>.

650 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "Area 3. Arts and Humanities—6-9 hours," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-3-Arts-and-Humanities-6-9-hours>.

DISMANTLED CIVICS IN THE DISTRIBUTED CURRICULUM

UNC students may satisfy three of the eight distribution requirements in the “Liberal Arts Core” by taking Old Civics courses—*Arts and Humanities*, *History* and *Social and Behavioral Sciences*.⁶⁵¹ But students may also satisfy these three requirements by selecting courses that are scarcely civic, or not at all. The *Arts and Humanities* requirement can alternatively be fulfilled by taking MUS 150 *History of Rock and Roll* or MAS 110 *Contemporary Chicano Literature*.⁶⁵² The *History* requirement can be met by taking AFS 101 *Development of Black Identity* or HIS 118 *History of Mexico*.⁶⁵³ The *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement can be met by taking ANT 212 *North American Indians* or SOC 221 *Sociology of Gender*.⁶⁵⁴ UNC’s distribution requirements do retain the traditional civics curriculum—as an unmarked path among a hundred roads.

CIVICS, INTERRUPTED

Many UNC students do still choose to take Old Civics courses so as to fulfill their distribution requirements. In Fall 2016, 760 students fulfilled their *History* requirement by taking one of four equivalents of a civics course: HIST 100 *Survey of American History from Its Beginnings to 1877* (398 students), HIST 101 *Survey of American History from 1877 to the Present* (128 students), HIST 120 *Western Civilization from Ancient Greece to 1689* (174 students), or HIST 121 *Western Civilization from 1689 to the present* (60 students).⁶⁵⁵

Of course, students who didn’t want to take one of these four options had 8 other choices.⁶⁵⁶ In Fall 2016, 445 students fulfilled their *History* requirement with five alternatives: AFS 100 *Introduction to Africana Studies* (166 students), AFS 101 *Development of Black Identity* (89 students), HIST 110 *African Civilization* (62 students), HIST 112 *Asian Civilization I: From Prehistory to 1500* (64 students), and HIST 118 *History of Mexico* (64 students).⁶⁵⁷

That same semester, just 271 students fulfilled their *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement by taking PSCI 100 *United States National Government* (138 students) or PSCI 105 *Fundamentals of*

651 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, “The Liberal Arts Core,” <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core>.

652 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, “Area 3. Arts and Humanities—6-9 hours,” <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-3-Arts-and-Humanities-6-9-hours>.

653 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, “Area 4. History—3 hours,” <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-4-History-3-hours>.

654 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, “Area 5. Social and Behavioral Sciences—3-6 hours,” <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-5-Social-and-Behavioral-Sciences-3-6-hours>.

655 University of Northern Colorado, Class Schedule, <https://insight.unco.edu/aproot/unc/schedule.htm>.

656 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, “Area 4. History—3 hours,” <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-4-History-3-hours>.

657 University of Northern Colorado, Class Schedule, <https://insight.unco.edu/aproot/unc/schedule.htm>.

Politics (133 students).⁶⁵⁸ Most students took one of the 33 alternatives.⁶⁵⁹ In Fall 2016 1,923 students fulfilled their *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement by taking just 4 of those 33 other choices: ANT 110 *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (394 students); GEOG 100 *World Geography* (512 students), PSY 120 *Principles of Psychology* (628 students), and SOC 100 *Principles of Sociology* (389 students). Each of these courses enrolled more students than PSCI 100 *United States National Government* and PSCI 105 *Fundamentals of Politics* combined. More progressive choices included GNDR 101 *Gender and Society* (184 students) and SOC 237 *Sociology of Minorities* (91 students).⁶⁶⁰

In Fall 2016, just 23 students fulfilled their Arts and Humanities requirement by taking MIND 180 Great Ideas of the Western Tradition.

Also that same semester, just 23 students fulfilled their *Arts and Humanities* requirement by taking MIND 180 *Great Ideas of the Western Tradition*.⁶⁶¹ Most students took one of the 55 alternatives.⁶⁶² Among the alternatives that fulfilled the *Arts and Humanities* requirement, courses with greater enrollments included FILM 120 *Introduction to Film* (102 students), MAS 110 *Contemporary Chicano Literature* (38 students), MT 296 *Musical Theatre History* (32 students), and MUS 150 *History of Rock and Roll* (203 students).⁶⁶³

CIVICS FOR SOME

The traditional civics at UNC do moderately well in a regime of free student choice. Within the *History* requirement, perhaps five in eight UNC students (63%) voluntarily take one of the four history courses that together would form the comprehensive knowledge of Western and American history needed for a civics education. Within the *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement, PSCI 100 *United States National Government* and PSCI 105 *Fundamentals of Politics* are overwhelmed by courses such as GEOG 100 *World Geography* and GEOG 100 *World Geography*. Within the *Arts and Humanities* requirement, a trivially small number of UNC students took MIND 180 *Great Ideas of the Western Tradition*; more took MAS 110 *Contemporary Chicano Literature* or MT 296 *Musical Theatre History*, and more than eight times as many students took MUS 150 *History of Rock and Roll*.

658 University of Northern Colorado, Class Schedule, <https://insight.unco.edu/aproot/unc/schedule.htm>.

659 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "Area 5. Social and Behavioral Sciences—3-6 hours," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-5-Social-and-Behavioral-Sciences-3-6-hours>.

660 University of Northern Colorado, Class Schedule, <https://insight.unco.edu/aproot/unc/schedule.htm>.

661 University of Northern Colorado, Class Schedule, <https://insight.unco.edu/aproot/unc/schedule.htm>.

662 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "Area 3. Arts and Humanities—6-9 hours," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-3-Arts-and-Humanities-6-9-hours>.

663 University of Northern Colorado, Class Schedule, <https://insight.unco.edu/aproot/unc/schedule.htm>.

Many of the alternatives that UNC students take are not frivolous, trendy, or overtly ideological—although many are—but even the solid courses do not provide an education in civics. We estimate that two-thirds of UNC students take at least one UNC Old Civics survey course—but we doubt that more than three quarters take two.

UNC's basic American government courses, PSCI 100 *United States National Government* and PSCI 105 *Fundamentals of Politics*, reach only a small fraction of UNC students. Even if students want to study the civics curriculum, UNC has a limited capacity to provide it. In Fall 2016, UNC's two basic government courses had a capacity to seat 280 students; at that rate, a total of 2,240 of UNC's 8,800 undergraduates could take these courses during their 4 years at UNC—a little more than 25% of all undergraduates.⁶⁶⁴

In Fall 2016, UNC's two basic government courses had a capacity to seat 280 students; at that rate, a total of 2,240 of UNC's 8,800 undergraduates could take these courses during their 4 years at CSU—a little more than 25% of all undergraduates.

THE NEW CORE CURRICULUM

While UNC's old core is fading away, a new one is rising in its place. UNC has progressed farther than CU-Boulder or CSU, for it has already begun to create this new core curriculum.

UNC requires all students to take 40 hours from its Liberal Arts Core (LAC). Within the LAC, UNC students must take courses in six Areas of Basic Core Courses, as well as at least one course apiece in *Multicultural Studies* and *International Studies*.⁶⁶⁵ These last two requirements make up the first building blocks of a new, progressive core at UNC.

International Studies requires students to take courses that aren't part of their national educational core. A few of the 44 courses are good (*Great Ideas of the Western Tradition*, cross-listed with the *Arts and Humanities* requirement), some are innocuous (JAPN 101 *Elementary Japanese I*), and many are sessions of progressive advocacy (COMM 223 *Intercultural Communication*, GNDR 285 *Gender in Global and Cross Cultural Perspectives*, SOC 235 *Social Change in a Global Context*).⁶⁶⁶

While *International Studies* includes some alternatives to the new core, *Multicultural Studies* is more straightforwardly a requirement to take courses in progressive advocacy. Most of the 20 courses are along the lines of AFS 100 *Introduction to Africana Studies*, HISP 102 *Hispanic*

664 University of Northern Colorado, Class Schedule, <https://insight.unco.edu/approot/unc/schedule.htm>.

665 "University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "The Liberal Arts Core," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core>."

666 "University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "Area 7. International Studies," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-7-International-Studies>."

Cultures in the United States, and SOC 240 *Gender, Race, Class, and Sexuality*. Both requirements serve together to make progressive advocacy a substantial part of the UNC core.

UNC greatly magnifies the effect of these two requirements by an ingenious stipulation: **the university allows students to double-count courses to fulfill both its Basic Core Courses requirements and its Multicultural Studies and International Studies requirements.**⁶⁶⁷ Students, therefore, have an incentive to choose cross-listed courses—not least because taking such double-counted courses frees them to take more Elective courses so as to complete their 40-hour Liberal Arts Core requirement.

Students seeking to fulfill their *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement can choose PSCI 100 *United States National Government* or PSCI 105 *Fundamentals of Politics*—but they will also fulfill their *International Studies* requirements if they choose PSCI 110 *Global Issues*, FR 116 *Contemporary France*, GER 116 *Contemporary Germany*, ANT 110 *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, or MUS 245 *Introduction to Ethnomusicology*.⁶⁶⁸ They will also fulfill their *Multicultural Studies* requirement if they take ANT 212 *North American Indians*, HISP 102 *Hispanic Cultures in the United States*, GNDR 101 *Gender and Society*, MAS 100 *Introduction to Mexican American Studies*, SOC 221 *Sociology of Gender*, or SOC 237 *Sociology of Minorities*.⁶⁶⁹

Students seeking to fulfill their *History* requirement can take courses in the Western Civilization and American History surveys—but they will also fulfill their *Multicultural Studies* requirement if they take AFS 100 *Introduction to Africana Studies* or AFS 101 *Development of Black Identity*.⁶⁷⁰

UNC's decision to allow *International Studies* and *Multicultural Studies* to satisfy its other requirements in its Liberal Arts Core makes such cross-listed courses the default choice for students. Indeed, it means that UNC has placed *International Studies* and *Multicultural Studies* at the center of its Liberal Arts Core—a half-formed replacement core curriculum, which puts a progressive stamp on UNC students' common knowledge.

UNC allows students to double-count courses to fulfill both its Basic Core Courses requirements and its Multicultural Studies and International Studies requirements. Students therefore have an incentive to choose cross-listed courses.

667 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "The Liberal Arts Core," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core>.

668 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "Area 7. International Studies," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-7-International-Studies>.

669 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "The Liberal Arts Core," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core>.

670 University of Northern Colorado, 2016-2017 Undergraduate Catalog, "Area 8. Multicultural Studies," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/The-Liberal-Arts-Core/Area-8-Multicultural-Studies>.

And the old core curriculum has been replaced. In Fall 2016, 138 students took PSCI 100 *United States National Government*.⁶⁷¹ At that rate, 1,104 of 8,800 UNC undergraduates will take the course during their four years at UNC—not quite 12% of the student body, although summer school enrollments, up to 50 a summer,⁶⁷² might push the total number to 15% of UNC undergraduates. By way of comparison, we may note that GNDR 101 *Gender and Society*, a rival to PSCI 100 *United States National Government* that fulfills both the *Social and Behavioral Sciences* requirement and the *Multicultural Studies* requirement, enrolled 184 students in Fall 2016;⁶⁷³ at that rate, 1,472 UNC undergraduates (17%) will take *Gender and Society* during their time at UNC.⁶⁷⁴

UNC's structuring of its course requirements has some role in encouraging more students to decide to take GNDR 101 *Gender and Society* than PSCI 100 *United States National Government*. As UNC's new core solidifies, we may expect ever more students to take *Gender and Society* and ever fewer to take *United States National Government*.

UNC has placed International Studies and Multicultural Studies at the center of its Liberal Arts Core—a half-formed replacement core curriculum, which puts a progressive stamp on UNC students' common knowledge.

671 University of Northern Colorado, Class Schedule, <https://insight.unco.edu/approot/unc/schedule.htm>.

672 University of Northern Colorado, Registrar, "Schedule of Classes: Summer 2016. PSCI-Political Science," https://insight.unco.edu/ibi_apps/WFServlet.ibfs.

673 University of Northern Colorado, Class Schedule, <https://insight.unco.edu/approot/unc/schedule.htm>.

674 University of Northern Colorado, Registrar, "Schedule of Classes: Fall 2016. GNDR-Gender Studies," https://insight.unco.edu/ibi_apps/WFServlet.ibfs.

UNC'S NEW CIVIC HYDRA: A BODY WITH MANY HEADS

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As at CU-Boulder and CSU, UNC has established a large number of New Civics programs at the same time as it has dismantled its Old Civics. UNC's **Center for Community and Civic Engagement** runs much of the New Civics, including its **service-learning** and **engaged classes**, and the **Student Activities Office** (renamed the **Office of Student Life** during 2016) runs a significant additional portion.

The New Civics at UNC, however, are disjointed. There is no encompassing administrative authority or organized coordination. The programs collectively are a hydra, where each separately pursues the same radical goals via the same New Civics techniques. One major node of the New Civics at UNC is the **Social Science Community Engagement** major, which allows UNC students to major in progressive activism. Students specializing as progressive activists receive university recognition via the **Engaged Scholar Awards**. A second node is the **Center for Honors, Scholars and Leadership**, which educates cadres of progressive activists via the **Honors Program**, the **Leadership Studies Minor**, and the **Stryker Institute for Leadership Development**.

Beyond this academic core, students provide labor for progressive organizations in **service-learning** and **engaged classes** in a wide variety of disciplines. These are run by the **Center for Community and Civic Engagement**. The New Civics also extends beyond the classroom into different extracurricular aspects of student life. **Alternative Spring Break** transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions, and the New Civics extends into UNC students' extracurricular life via programs that include **Community Engaged Scholars Symposium** and **Catalyst: A Social Justice Retreat**.

The programs collectively work to make the New Civics present in much of student life at UNC.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT IS A SOCIAL SCIENCE

The first head of the New Civics hydra at UNC is the **Social Science Community Engagement** major, which allows UNC students to major in progressive activism: “Through research and civic engagement assignments and activities, students will be introduced to a variety of community-related careers and opportunities.” Community Engagement majors are required to take courses including ANT 100 *Introduction to Anthropology*, SOC 100 *Principles of Sociology*, and one of AFS 100 *Introduction to Africana Studies*, WS 101 *Women in Contemporary Society*, or MAS 100 *Introduction to Mexican American Studies*. Community Engagement majors must also take SOSC 350 *Community Research and Engagement* (“Participation in the Greeley community through service learning and research. Students will learn social science research methods and conduct their own community-based research projects.”)



David Aske,
Social Science
Community
Engagement major,
Program Coordinator

Community Engagement majors must also take 6 courses (18 credits) in at least 3 departments, from a list of courses apparently selected to contribute to a knowledge of community engagement. Examples of these Community Engagement Electives include AFS 340 *The Black Family*; AFS 399 *Community Study Project*; ANT 355 *Medical Anthropology*; ECON 365 *Urban and Housing Economics*; ENST 291 *Sustainability and Capitalism*; GEOG 310 *Urban and Regional Planning*; ENST 355 *Introduction to Environmental Health*; PSCI 203 *Colorado Politics*; PSY 323 *Health Psychology*; SOC 333 *Social Class and Inequality*; and SOC 340 *Juvenile Delinquency*.⁶⁷⁵

The Social Science Community Engagement major works to create a cadre of radical activists.

PROGRESSIVES DO THE HONORS

The second head of UNC’s New Civics hydra is the **Center for Honors, Scholars and Leadership**, which runs both the Honors and Leadership programs. UNC’s Center has been colonized by the New Civics for more heavily than has CSU’s University Honors Program.⁶⁷⁶

The **Honors Program** requires applying students to have a minimum GPA, but it also screens them via essay questions in their admissions packet. Students applying to the Lower Division Honors Program must answer one essay asking for lists of interests including *community service*, *leadership activities*, and *co-curricular activity*, and another essay asking the student to “identify

675 University of Northern Colorado, 2015-2016 Spring Supplemental Undergraduate Catalog, “Social Science B.A. – Community Engagement Emphasis,” <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-atatalog/Undergraduate-Programs/Bachelors-Degrees/Social-Science-BA-Community-Engagement-Emphasis>; University of Northern Colorado, 2015-2016 Spring Supplemental Undergraduate Catalog, “SOSC 350 Community Research and Engagement,” <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/Current/Undergraduate-Catalog/Course-Descriptions/SOSC-Social-Science/300/SOSC-350>.

676 University of Northern Colorado, Center for Honors, Scholars, and Leadership, “Staff,” <http://www.unco.edu/honors-scholars-leadership/connect/staff.aspx>.

an issue or problem in the world that you would potentially be interested in working on.”⁶⁷⁷

The Lower Division Honors Curriculum requires students to take HON 101 *Introduction to Honors & Critical Thinking*, a LIB-prefix Research Skills course, and four courses from a list that includes HON 100 *Connections Seminar*, HON 200 *Connections Seminar*, LEAD 100 *Contemporary Leadership Theory*, LEAD 200 *Risk and Change in Leadership*, HON 395 *Special Topics*, HON 492 *Study Abroad*, and HON 492 *International Student Exchange*.⁶⁷⁸

The content of these courses is mostly New Civics. HON 101 *Introduction to Honors & Critical Thinking*, required of all Honors students, includes “intercultural competencies,” “engaged learning opportunities,” and “community-based projects.” HON 200 *Connections Seminar* is also “Civic & Community Engagement – an Engaged Course.” The class “provides an engaged learning approach to active citizenry.” LEAD 100 *Contemporary Leadership Theory* focuses “on the Social Change Model through engaged leadership opportunities.” LEAD 200 *Risk and Change in Leadership* “provides experiential learning opportunities” and explores “the complex nature of engaged leadership.”⁶⁷⁹

Students in the Upper Division Honors Program may take Experiential Learning Options to fulfill up to 6 course credits.⁶⁸⁰ Students may fulfill an Honors Elective with a Service Learning course, and the Upper Division Honors Curriculum’s In-Depth Study may include “an applied or civically engaged project.”⁶⁸¹

The Honors Program also works to create a cadre of progressive activists.

LEADERSHIP AT UNC: STRAIGHT-UP LEFT ACTIVISM

The third head of UNC’s New Civics hydra is the **Leadership Studies Minor (LSM)**. LSM is “firmly committed to the teaching and practice of social justice.” The LSM asks “students to



Loree Crow,
Director,
Center for Honors,
Scholars and Leadership



Evan Welch,
Interim Director,
Leadership Studies

677 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program: “Lower Division Honors Program Application,” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/hip/apply-hip.aspx>.

678 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, “Lower Division Honors Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/hip/curriculum.aspx>.

679 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, “Lower Division Course Offerings (Fall 2016),” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/hip/course-offerings.aspx>.

680 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, “Experiential Learning through HIP,” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/hip/experiential-learning.aspx>.

681 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, “Upper Division Honors Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/uhp/curriculum.aspx>.

practice advocacy through experiential learning,” so as to “promote a just society by cultivating a program and community that fosters inclusivity and challenges injustice.” The purpose of the minor “is to develop students to become socially just and ethical leaders,” who “apply social and ecological justice” and have demonstrated “engaged leadership practice within a systemic and global framework.” Students can engage in applied course work that includes leading “a community awareness campaign.”⁶⁸²

The LSM requires students to take 9 credit hours of Core Leadership Classes. The four Core classes are LEAD 100 *Introduction to Leadership* (“engaged leadership opportunities”); LEAD 200 *Risk and Change in Leadership* (“experiential learning opportunities”); LEAD 492 *Leadership Internship*; and LEAD 497 *Senior Leadership Seminar: Global Justice and Responsiveness* (“focusing on application in a global justice and responsiveness context”).⁶⁸³

Students must then take one of three Elective Courses to fulfill their Ethics Foundation requirements, and two further Electives chosen from a list of 34 Global & Cross Cultural Foundation (GCCF) courses. GCCF courses include AFS 420 *African American Leadership and Politics*; ECON 335 *Environmental and Resource Economics*; GNDR 285 *Global and Cross Cultural Perspectives of Women*; HESAL 301 *Foundations and Praxis of Higher Education and Student Affairs Leadership*; LEAD 250 *Leadership in a Global Community: Living Global*; MCS 101 *Multiculturalism in the United States*; and SOSC 350 *Community Research and Engagement*.⁶⁸⁴

The Leadership Studies Minor provides a third channel by which to transform a cadre of UNC students into radical activists.

The purpose of the Leadership Studies Minor “is to develop students to become socially just and ethical leaders,” who “apply social and ecological justice” and have demonstrated “engaged leadership practice within a systemic and global framework.” Students can engage in applied course work that includes leading “a community awareness campaign.”

682 University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Leadership Studies Minor,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/leadership-minor/index.aspx>.

683 University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Leadership Studies Minor Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/leadership-minor/curriculum.aspx>.

684 University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Leadership Studies Minor Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/leadership-minor/curriculum.aspx>.

WHAT'S STUDIED ABROAD WON'T STAY ABROAD

UNC's New Civics advocates are preparing a fourth head of the hydra. Starting in Fall 2018, the **Global Leadership Program (GLP)** will provide a scholarship for Leadership Studies Minor students to study abroad in the summer after their Sophomore year, by way of preparation for a “synthesis presentation” at the end of their Senior year.⁶⁸⁵ The GLP will direct students from a foundation in the LSM toward “furthering their education and experience as a global citizen,” and acquiring “the opportunity to further question their assumptions about the world and incorporate a broader perspective into their leadership development.”⁶⁸⁶

The tentative plan for the GLP curriculum is that it will require

1. prerequisite courses *Introduction to Leadership* and *Risk and Change in Leadership*;
2. Faculty-led Study Abroad Experience in the summer after Sophomore Year;
3. a Fall Junior Year presentation about the student's GLP experience;
4. further work on “global topics and issues” in Spring Junior Year;
5. an “engaged experience/project” on a related local issue the summer after Junior Year;
6. a Fall Senior Year interview of “a GLP alumni or a leader in their field of study”;
7. continued “work with GLP cohort” during Fall Senior Year; and
8. a Spring Senior Year presentation on the student's entire GLP experience.

Students will receive 6 credits in *Advanced Leadership Lab* for this program, 1 credit for each semester (Fall, Spring, Summer).⁶⁸⁷

HARRY BOYTE LECTURE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Robyn Keller

Harry Boyte, the founder of Public Achievement, came to speak at the University of Northern Colorado on November 11, 2014, as a contributor to the University's annual Schulze's Interdisciplinary Speaker Series.⁶⁸⁸ His speech, “Reframing Democracy as

685 University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Global Leadership Program,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/glp/index.aspx>.

686 University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies: “Global Leadership Program,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/glp/index.aspx>; “Global Leadership Program Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/glp/curriculum.aspx>.

687 University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Global Leadership Program Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/glp/curriculum.aspx>.

688 University of Northern Colorado, News Central, “Fall Schulze Speaker Series Concludes Nov. 11 with Harry Boyte,” <http://www.unco.edu/news/releases.aspx?id=7048>.

the Work of the People,” was co-sponsored by the Community Engaged Scholars Symposium, which was held that same weekend.⁶⁸⁹ The Symposium is an annual event directed towards students and faculty alike, and provides an opportunity to share information on “community issues” and “community engaged teaching.”⁶⁹⁰ Although most attendees at the Symposium were students, few attended the speech. The audience consisted of about 60 faculty members, administrators, and staff, including UNC president Kay Norton and an assortment of vice presidents and deans.

Boyte was introduced in glowing terms by Deborah Romero, Director of Engagement at UNC, and received with loud applause by the audience. The theme of Boyte’s speech was “community”—or, as he frequently called it, “togetherness.” The question he posed was “How do we bring community into civic education?” Boyte’s answer: “By finding a connection between community and the universities.” A good example of this, he stated, was to use service-learning as a means to achieve this “connectedness.” Achieving “individual success” in higher education was wrong: rather, there needed to be an ethos of contributing to democracy and a good society. Boyte also argued that freedom in America shouldn’t always default into “individual freedom.” People ought to think of themselves more as one unified community and less as individuals. A partnership between the government and its citizens was necessary to attain this “community”—and education could play a key role in creating this partnership.

Boyte then stated that America’s individualistic society has caused people to think only about themselves rather than thinking as a “community.” In order to combat this tendency, Boyte encouraged professors to train students as “citizen professionals”—people who treat a worksite as a “citizen-site,” a place where they have a responsibility to be good neighbors. To do this properly, citizen-sites have to be created in every sort of workplace setting. If, for example, a student sets up a business, he must also help the poor and find ways to empower them—Boyte at this point showed the audience a picture of George Segal’s *Depression Bread Line* (1991), a sculpture of five men queuing for food during the Great Depression. He then repeated comments about the statue, and its relationship to the idea of the “citizen-professional,” that he had made at greater length in a 2008 article:

“The Breadline” portrays citizens in an urban environment ... the figures are drained of energy. Their faces are vacant; their posture droops. They are “the masses,” anonymous and miserable. The message, I realized, is that Roosevelt saved a helpless people and that professionals’ role is to rescue people and solve problems.

689 University of Northern Colorado, UNC Community Engaged Partners Workshop Luncheon, “Reframing Democracy as the Work of the People,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Boyte_WS%20Flyer.pdf.

690 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, Signature Engagement Activities, “Community Engaged Scholars Symposium,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/signature_events.html.

The professionals who do this are not in the least malevolent but are rather infused with good intentions. When I talk with students about the possibility that their efforts to help the poor and oppressed might disempower people, they react with shocked disbelief. But disempowerment invariably results from interventions that erode the capacities and confidence of those without credentialed expertise.⁶⁹¹

Boyte said that a student who acts as a “citizen-professional” should find a way to help the community he is in and “empower” those less fortunate. If he did, he could turn a worksite into the citizen-site it was supposed to be.

Boyte’s audience greeted his argument with approving nods.

ENGAGING MONEY

UNC’s New Civics advocates and student cadres have to be paid, and faculty and students specializing in civic engagement receive university recognition via several **financial awards**. UNC reserves one category of its **Summer Support Initiative** to provide faculty up to \$3,000 toward summertime work on “projects in the area of engaged research, scholarship, or creative works. Projects in this category involve the applicant in partnership with groups or communities in a reciprocal and mutually beneficial relationship in which the needs, assets, knowledge and active participation of all parties are incorporated into the project.”⁶⁹² The **Award for Excellence in Social Science Engaged Research** provides \$1,000 “to a faculty member [in the social sciences] who has demonstrated exemplary scholarship in engaged research and civic engagement.”⁶⁹³

The **Bob & Bonnie Phelps Family CAP (Contribute, Achieve, Pay it Forward) Awards** give up to \$5,000 of tuition, fees, housing costs, and/or student loan debt repayment to three students annually, “whose lives demonstrate an *exceptional* and *exemplary* personal commitment” to *contributing* (“by volunteering time and personal skills, talents, abilities, experience and passion around issues in service to the community”), *achieving* (“by displaying a bias toward action and performance, overcoming obstacles and setbacks, and accomplishing goals”), and *paying-it-forward* (“by impacting the lives of others in meaningful and positive ways through random and planned acts of kindness, caring, and ‘giving back.’”)⁶⁹⁴

691 Harry C. Boyte, “Against the Current: Developing the Civic Agency of Students,” *Change* (May-June 2008), <http://www.changemag.org/Archives/Back%20Issues/May-June%202008/full-against-the-current.html>.

692 University of Northern Colorado, “2014 Summer Support Initiative (SSI) for Grant Writing, Research, Scholarship, and Creative Works: Call for Proposals,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/resources.html>; <http://www.unco.edu/osp/news/archive/SSI2014.pdf>.

693 University of Northern Colorado, “Nominations Sought for the 2016 Award for Excellence in Social Science Engaged Research,” <http://www.unco.edu/research/nominations/pdf/2016%20SocSci%20Engaged%20Research.pdf>.

694 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “The Bob & Bonnie Phelps Family CAP Awards,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/CAP%20Awards%20page.html>.

UNC also distributes **Engaged Scholar Awards** “to recognize and honor outstanding efforts and achievements made toward the development and practice in the field of community engagement between UNC constituents and community partners.” There are three categories of awards: *community-based learning*; *community-based research*; and *community partner building*.⁶⁹⁵

2014 ENGAGED SCHOLAR AWARDS

The **Engaged Undergraduate Student Award** went to Emily Doerner, a “Double major in Environmental and sustainability studies and Asian Studies. Emily is community outreach coordinator for UNC’s Asian/Pacific American Student Services, and is keenly interested in working to help resolve conflict between culturally diverse peoples, whether in India, Israel, or here at home in Greeley.”

The **Engaged Graduate Student Award** went to Meagan M. Cain, who showed that she was “active in the community by planning the 2014 International Women’s Day, working with the Global Refugee Center, as well as Color Our World in collaboration with Weld County Project Connect.”

The **Engaged Faculty Award** went to Dr. Joyce Weil, Associate Professor of Gerontology, for designing a course that took her Gerontology students to a local senior center to hear the residents reminisce about their lives.

University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Community Engaged Scholars Symposium,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/Community%20Engaged%20Symposium%20page.html>.

The **Stryker Institute for Leadership Development** also provides support for women from “underrepresented groups.”⁶⁹⁶ These underrepresented groups include “person of color, trans-woman, GLBTQI, person with undocumented status, first-generation college student, has dependents, non-traditionally aged, has a disability.”⁶⁹⁷

Stryker provides an annual educational scholarship of \$7,500 and an iPad, which also allows recipients to participate in Social Justice and Identity workshops (“discussions about oppression, privilege, race, class, gender, sexuality, and activism,” Leadership Development Seminars, Community



Yvette Lucero-Nguyen,
Director, Women’s
Resource Center &
Stryker Institute for
Leadership Development

⁶⁹⁵ University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Signature Engagement Activities,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/signature_events.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Community Engaged Scholars Symposium,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/Community%20Engaged%20Symposium%20page.html>.

⁶⁹⁶ University of Northern Colorado, Stryker Institute for Leadership Development, “About Us,” <http://www.unco.edu/stryker/About%20Us.html>.

⁶⁹⁷ University of Northern Colorado, Stryker Institute for Leadership Development, “Frequently Asked Questions,” http://www.unco.edu/stryker/Applicant_FAQ.html.

Engagement (“mentor youth from local middle schools”), and listening to Special Guests (“Outstanding leaders who make a difference share their stories”).⁶⁹⁸

SCADS OF SERVICE-LEARNING AT UNC

Beyond this academic core, UNC New Civics advocates in the **Center for Community and Civic Engagement** arrange for students to provide labor for progressive organizations in **service-learning** and **engaged classes**.⁶⁹⁹ CCCE coordinates “engaged learning opportunities” in more than 62 departments—more than 250 engaged courses, of which 108 are undergraduate and 148 are graduate. Of these courses, 40% (ca. 100 courses) are service-learning, field or community-based, 25% (ca. 62 courses) are practica courses, and 35% (ca. 88 courses) are internships. 15% of all courses at the University of Northern Colorado are Engaged, 33% of the University’s faculty use service-learning in at least one course, and 20% of the faculty “incorporate community-based research into their courses and scholarship.”⁷⁰⁰ The university cites as subject matter that “engaged courses address: Cultural & Linguistic Awareness, Education and/or Literacy, Immigration/Refugee Assistance, Senior Citizens, Vulnerable Youth.”⁷⁰¹

The Center for Community and Civic Engagement coordinates “engaged learning opportunities” in more than 62 departments—more than 250 engaged courses, of which 108 are undergraduate and 148 are graduate.

Service-learning and Community-based learning Courses include SOSC 350 *Community Research and Engagement* (“students work to conduct interviews with participants at the Global Refugee Center (GRC) on their migration histories and on their level of self-sufficiency[, which] are used by the GRC in their grant reporting activities”) and THEA 255 *Creative Drama* (“students explore a social issue relevant to the campus community and create an interactive theatre piece and perform these in the residence halls”).⁷⁰²

698 University of Northern Colorado, Stryker Institute for Leadership Development, “Scholarship Information,” <http://www.unco.edu/stryker/scholarship.html>.

699 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Mission and Vision,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/mission.html>.

700 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Academic & Curricular Engagement,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/academic_curricular_engagement.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Engagement by the Numbers,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Engagement%20by%20the%20Numbers.pdf>.

701 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Academic & Curricular Engagement,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/academic_curricular_engagement.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Engagement by the Numbers,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Engagement%20by%20the%20Numbers.pdf>.

702 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Academic and Curricular Engagement,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/academic_curricular_engagement.html.

CO-CURRICULAR CATALYST

UNC's New Civics also extend beyond the classroom into the extracurricular aspects of student life. **Alternative Spring Break** transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions,⁷⁰³ and the New Civics extends into UNC students' extracurricular life via programs that include **Community Engaged Scholars Symposium** and **Catalyst: A Social Justice Retreat**.

Community Engaged Scholars Symposium (CESS) brings together faculty, students, and other "members of the university community to share information about community issues and community engaged teaching, learning and research." Students (presumably in "engaged courses") are required to attend the Symposium, students and faculty give presentations on engaged class projects and engaged research, and attendees take part in "mini round table sessions about pressing community issues."⁷⁰⁴

In **Catalyst**, UNC "pays faculty, students, and staff to listen to progressive advocacy and learn activism techniques: "Participants and facilitators will examine their personal identities; the dynamics of oppression on an individual, systemic, and institutional level; and be introduced to concepts of advocacy for oneself and others. Catalyst's ultimate goal is to give participants the skills to act on the issues and causes that they are most passionate about."⁷⁰⁵

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

ALL YOUR CAMPUS IS BELONG TO US

UNC plans to enlarge its New Civics complex, and has devoted an entire administrative document to outline its strategy: *UNC Community and Civic Engagement Plan: Institutionalizing Public*

"Participants and facilitators will examine their personal identities; the dynamics of oppression on an individual, systemic, and institutional level; and be introduced to concepts of advocacy for oneself and others. Catalyst's ultimate goal is to give participants the skills to act on the issues and causes that they are most passionate about."

703 University of Northern Colorado, Student Activities Office, "Alternative Spring Break--Welcome," <http://www.unco.edu/studentactivities/asb/>.

704 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, "Signature Engagement Activities," http://www.unco.edu/cce/signature_events.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, "Community Engaged Scholars Symposium," <http://www.unco.edu/cce/Community%20Engaged%20Symposium%20page.html>.

705 University of Northern Colorado, Student Activities Office, "Catalyst: A Social Justice Retreat," <http://www.unco.edu/studentactivities/catalyst/>.

Engagement. This plan was originally scheduled to go into effect during the years 2013-2016, but many of its ambitions are as yet unfulfilled. UNC's goals and strategies include:

- “develop clarity, expectations and criteria for recognizing engaged scholarship as it pertains to the annual review, and promotion and tenure guidelines. Research and design this with reference to Carnegie Classification criteria for an Engaged Campus, as well as models from other institutions”
- “collaborate with Student Support Services and Student Affairs Professionals to identify ways to support and infuse community and civic engagement to further enrich students’ academic, social, cultural, ethical, and intellectual growth”
- “Collaborate with Housing and Residential Education, especially with Diversity Mentors, to support leadership and engagement opportunities on main and extended campus and beyond”
- “collaborate and support UNC’s Sustainability Plan and the council’s work, to educate, research and implement new sustainable practices through university engagement or in partnerships with community engagement initiatives”
- “Work with deans, directors, chairs, and personnel hiring authorities and review committees to determine current practices and to develop plans to intentionally infuse engagement criteria into new hiring plans”⁷⁰⁶

UNC is officially committed to integrating the New Civics into its entire academic and administrative structure.

In short, **UNC is officially committed to integrating the New Civics into its entire academic and administrative structure.** UNC’s New Civics advocates aim to make progressive advocacy pervasive—required and inescapable.

THE NEW CIVICS: WHAT’S IN YOUR WALLET?

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

706 University of Northern Colorado, *UNC Community and Civic Engagement Plan: Institutionalizing Public Engagement* (Spring 2013?), pp. 18-39, <http://www.unco.edu/provost/pdf/plans/Community-Civic-Engagement.pdf>.

As noted above, UNC’s total expenditures for its FY 2016-17 annual budget is \$228 million, with \$39 million (17.1%) of the total in direct state funding.⁷⁰⁷ UNC does not provide a detailed breakdown of its New Civics expenditures either, so here too we must estimate the numbers. UNC’s Center for Community and Civic Engagement (CCCE) is the center of the university’s New Civics complex: the CCCE has two full-time staff members, one part-time staff member, and two graduate students.⁷⁰⁸ Using the University of Delaware as a proxy,⁷⁰⁹ we calculate that the CCCE directs about **\$600 thousand** in expenditures.

There are further dedicated administrative personnel marbled throughout UNC—for example, the Director of CCCE, Deborah Romero, is a faculty member in the Department of Hispanic Studies, although she spends most of her working time as a CCCE administrator,⁷¹⁰ while the faculty for the Social Science Community Engagement major are employed by the Economics and Africana Studies departments.⁷¹¹ If we assume there are at least 8 further such positions, including the Center for Honors, Scholars, and Leadership, we add another **\$1.9 million (\$2.5 million total)**.

There are about 100 service-learning courses taught each year at UNC:⁷¹² assume that the equivalent of no more than 15 instructors a year are teaching these courses, and we add another **\$3 million (\$5.5 million total)**. If we add in administrative support throughout the university (Study Abroad, Student Affairs, and so on), as well as miscellaneous financial awards whose moneys are not directly administered by CU Engage, the costs should easily add another **\$500 thousand (\$6 million total)**. The direct administrative costs of the New Civics at CU-Boulder should be taken, very cautiously, at **\$6 million dollars**.

The Director of the Center for Community and Civic Engagement (CCCE), Deborah Romero, is a faculty member in the Department of Hispanic Studies, although she spends most of her working time as a CCCE administrator.

707 University of Northern Colorado, Budget Office, “Recommended Budget Fiscal Year 2016-17,” http://www.unco.edu/Budget/Budget/pdf_Budget%20documents/JuneBooks/FY17%20June%20Book.pdf, p. 2.

708 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “About Us,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/about_us.html.

709 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>.

710 Tyler Silvy, “University of Northern Colorado trustees side with administrators in promotion dispute,” *The Greeley Tribune*, June 17, 2016, <http://www.greeleytribune.com/news/ticker/22520502-113/university-of-northern-colorado-trustees-side-with-administrators#>.

711 University of Northern Colorado, Social Science—Community Engagement, “Faculty and Staff,” http://www.unco.edu/social_sciences/faestaff.html.

712 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Academic & Curricular Engagement,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/academic_curricular_engagement.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Engagement by the Numbers,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Engagement%20by%20the%20Numbers.pdf>.

To this number we may add tuition and fees. CCCE coordinates about 100 service-learning courses;⁷¹³ average class size at UNC is 23;⁷¹⁴ and in-state tuition and fees for a three-credit course is \$1,325.⁷¹⁵ If we multiply these numbers together, the costs to students, government (by way of subsidy of student loans), and the university together should come to another **\$3 million (\$9 million total)**. Some of these courses may be less than 3 credits—but some students, especially in the Social Science Community Engagement major, the Honors Program, and the Leadership Studies Minor, take more than one New Civics course a semester. Direct administrative costs and tuition should come to at least **\$9 million** a year.

We do not add housing costs to this total, since there appear to be no residence halls dedicated to the New Civics. This is a lowball estimate, however, since UNC's Department of Housing & Residential Education states that its values include "Social Justice" and "Civic Engagement."⁷¹⁶ By a slightly looser definition, we could add to our estimate the entire UNC Housing budget, as well as all student expenditures for on-campus room and board.

We cautiously estimate total New Civics expenditures at UNC at \$9 million, more than one fifth of the state of Colorado's direct subsidy of \$39 million to UNC in 2016-2017.

We would welcome hard figures from UNC that would allow us to make a more precise estimate of the cost of the New Civics. We strongly suspect that those hard figures would give us a number substantially greater than \$9 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

713 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, "Academic & Curricular Engagement," http://www.unco.edu/cce/academic_curricular_engagement.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, "Engagement by the Numbers," <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Engagement%20oby%20the%20Numbers.pdf>.

714 University of Northern Colorado, Facts & Figures 2016, http://www.unco.edu/about/pdf/facts_and_figures.pdf.

715 University of Northern Colorado, University of Northern Colorado Costs 2016-17 Academic Year, "Fall 2016/Spring 2017 Resident Undergraduate per semester," <http://www.unco.edu/costs/undergraduate/resident.aspx>.

716 University of Northern Colorado, Housing & Residential Education, "2015-16 Handbook," <http://www.unco.edu/housing/images/PDF%20docs/HRE%20Handbook-AY2015-2016.pdf>.

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 UNC’s expenditure on New Civics is at least one fifth of what UNC requests annually from the state of Colorado. And we can say with absolute certainty that the New Civics advocates want to devote all of UNC’s \$228 million a year to forwarding the New Civics.

We can say with fair confidence that UNC’s expenditure on New Civics is at least one fifth of what UNC requests annually from the state of Colorado. And we can say with absolute certainty that the New Civics advocates want to devote all of UNC’s \$228 million a year to forwarding the New Civics.

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

Wyoming established its University in 1887, as a land-grant institution. The main campus is in Laramie, and there is an additional campus at Casper. The University of Wyoming (UW) has almost 14,000 students, some 10,200 of whom are undergraduates. Most of UW's students (74 percent) are state residents.⁷¹⁷ The state government has close ties with the University, which is the only university in the state.

UW's total expenditures for its FY 2016-17 annual budget was first planned at \$270 million, but a state funding crisis in the summer of 2016 reduced its budget by at least \$30 million for that fiscal year, to less than \$240 million.⁷¹⁸ UW received \$187 million in direct state funding in FY2015-16;⁷¹⁹ as of this writing the numbers are not yet final for FY2016-2017, but should be no greater than \$157 million. In the absence of reliable official figures, we have developed a cautious estimate of **\$2.5 million per year for UW's spending on New Civics**. This chapter concludes with our financial analysis.

As in CU-Boulder, CSU, and UNC, the New Civics at UW directs itself at students both inside and outside the classroom. In this chapter we will examine UW's Old Civics, and contrast it with the campus' burgeoning New Civics.

UW's New Civics bureaucracy is much smaller than CU-Boulder's, CSU's, or UNC's. It is embryonic—but it contains all the parts needed for expansion.

1. UW's Office of Service, Leadership & Community Engagement (SLCE), the equivalent of CU-Boulder's CUEngage, CSU's Slice, and UNC's Center for Community and Civic Engagement, runs much of UW's New Civics complex, including its service-learning classes.
2. UW's lacks most of the New Civics programs present at CU-Boulder, CSU, and UNC, but its service-learning classes are the kernels of New Civics programs to come.
3. UW's Honors Program is being prepared for takeover by the New Civics.

UW's New Civics bureaucracy is much smaller than CU-Boulder's, CSU's, or UNC's. It is embryonic—but it contains all the parts needed for expansion.

717 University of Wyoming, UW Quick Facts. <http://www.uwyo.edu/profiles/extras/quick-facts.html>.

718 University of Wyoming, Budget Planning: "A Plan for Budget Reduction at the University of Wyoming," http://www.uwyo.edu/president/_files/docs/2016budgetreduction/budget_reduction_document_062016.pdf; "Fiscal Year 2017 \$7 Million Budget Reduction Schedule," http://www.uwyo.edu/president/_files/docs/2016budgetreduction/fy2017_7m_budget_reduction_schedule_by_division.pdf.

719 University of Wyoming, Operating Budget, Fiscal Year July 1, 2015 to June 30, 2016, http://www.uwyo.edu/administration/_files/docs/budget/fy2016%20operating%20budget%209.4.2015%20web%20final%20.pdf, p. 10.

4. UW has a smaller number of extracurricular New Civics programs than do CU-Boulder, CSU, and UNC.

UW has more Old Civics remaining than its peers in Colorado—and less of the New Civics. UW’s New Civics complex is limited in extent—smaller than UNC’s or CSU’s, and far more rudimentary than CU-Boulder’s. **Service, Leadership & Community Engagement (SLCE)**, the New Civics’ administrative kernel at UW, runs much of the New Civics complex, including its **service-learning classes**. Several **New Civics courses** are the kernels of future New Civics programs. **Alternative Breaks** transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions, **Study Abroad** provides opportunities to extend service-learning to semesters away from UW, and the New Civics extends into UW students’ extracurricular life via programs that include the **Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative**, the **Rainbow Leadership Series**, and the **Good Mule Project**. The programs collectively work to make the New Civics present in significant portions of student life at UW.

The New Civics programs at UW extend the New Civics throughout UW, both inside and outside the classroom. They are limited in extent, not yet as pervasive as at CU-Boulder, CSU, or UNC.

A REMNANT CORE

The University of Wyoming retains the core of the **Old Civics**: it is the sole university in this study that requires all students to take one course in civics. The university does not do so of its own volition, but rather to obey a 1925 mandate by the state legislature.⁷²⁰ UW’s rationale for the course is: “In order to prepare students to be active citizens, a university education should provide graduates with an understanding of the history, cultural context, and principles of the institutions by which they are governed. Wyoming state statutes require this study, [and] the USP endorses its importance for developing responsible citizenry.”⁷²¹

UW used to require students to take (or test out of) just one course: POLS 1000 *American and Wyoming Government*. The university has begun to loosen the rigor of this requirement, and has turned it into a *U.S. & Wyoming Constitutions* distribution requirement.

The University of Wyoming is the sole university in this study that requires all students to take one course in civics. The university does not do so of its own volition, but rather to obey a 1925 mandate by the state legislature.

⁷²⁰ Wyoming Statute §21-9-102 (2010), *Justia*, <http://law.justia.com/codes/wyoming/2010/Title21/chapter9.html>.

⁷²¹ University of Wyoming, University Studies Program, “U.S. and Wyoming Constitutions (V),” <http://www.uwyo.edu/unst/usp-2003/v-requirement/index.html>.

Students now have a choice from six courses that satisfy the civics requirement: ECON 1200 *Economics, Law, and Government*; HIST 1211 *US to 1865*; HIST 1221 *US from 1865*; HIST 1251 *History of Wyoming*; POLS 1000 *American and Wyoming Government*; and POLS 1100 *Wyoming Government*.⁷²²

Students are now allowed to satisfy *U.S. & Wyoming Constitutions* with ECON 1200 *Economics, Law, and Government*; HIST 1211 *US to 1865*; or HIST 1221 *US from 1865*—a course on national government—so long as they can pass a Wyoming Government Exam (1 credit hour), and satisfy that aspect of the civics requirement by scoring at least 70 percent in a one-hour exam with 10 true/false questions and 40 multiple-choice questions. Students also have two opportunities to take a “Challenge Exam” on *American and Wyoming Government*—140 multiple-choice questions and 10 true/false questions—and will satisfy UW’s civics requirement by receiving a score of at least 70 percent. Students who fail this exam twice must take a course on Wyoming government.⁷²³

The requirement frames UW’s core civics education as an unpleasant obligation, to be avoided if possible—but at least the university still requires students to acquire a minimum of traditional civic knowledge.

UW structures its requirement so that students who study hard can get out of taking a class on *American and Wyoming Government* or *Wyoming Government*; their reward is the chance to fulfill their requirement instead by taking *Economics, Law, and Government*; *US to 1865*; or *US from 1865*. The requirement frames UW’s core civics education as an unpleasant obligation, to be avoided if possible—but at least the university still requires students to acquire a minimum of traditional civic knowledge.

In Fall 2016, 149 students were enrolled in ECON 1200 *Economics, Law, and Government*;⁷²⁴ 115 in HIST 1211 *US to 1865*; 119 in HIST 1251 *History of Wyoming*;⁷²⁵ 674 in POLS 1000 *American and Wyoming Government* (455 in 3 on-campus classes; 219 online); and 39 in POLS 1100 *Wyoming Government*.⁷²⁶ 1,096 students were enrolled in total. If we multiply the 674 students in

722 University of Wyoming, University Studies, “USP 2015 Approved Courses - Updated 6/3/16,” http://www.uwyo.edu/unst/usp2015/_files/usp_2015_approved_courses.pdf.

723 University of Wyoming, Political Science Department, “Challenge Exam,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/pols/challenge-exam/>.

724 University of Wyoming, Registrar, Fall 2016, “Economics 766-2175,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/econ.html.

725 University of Wyoming, Registrar, Fall 2016, “History 766-5101,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/hist.html.

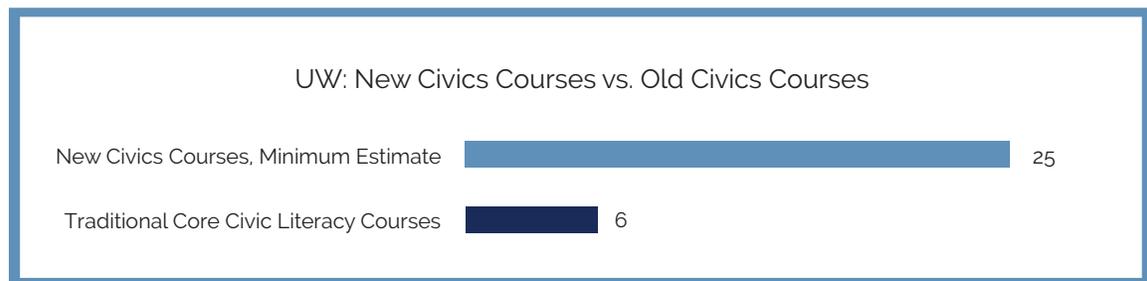
726 University of Wyoming, Registrar, Fall 2016, “Political science 766-6484,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/pols.html.

American and Wyoming Government, by 8, then 5,392 out of 10,200 undergraduates at UW take the university’s basic civics course in the course of four years, almost 53%. The remaining 47% of UW undergraduates presumably take the multiple choice examination instead.

UW obeys its legal mandate to provide a civics education for its students, but it attempts to minimize its commitment. The message that this is a chore for the university to complete rather than an ideal it cherishes is amply communicated to UW faculty and students.

OLD CIVICS VS. NEW CIVICS

UW retains a civics requirement, but it still prizes the number of course choices it can provide above providing a solid traditional education. The university offered several thousand courses in Fall 2016, many divided into multiple sections.⁷²⁷ UW provides no overall list of New Civics courses, but in 2010 alone SLCE awarded 11 Community Engagement Mini-Grant Awards to implement community engagement or service-learning courses.⁷²⁸ We believe that by a lowball estimate there are at least **25 service-learning courses a year** at UW. UW lists 6 courses for its *U.S. & Wyoming Constitutions* requirement. New Civics courses probably outnumber Old Civics courses by at least four to one.



THE DEAD WEIGHT OF THE DISTRIBUTION REQUIREMENTS

The University of Wyoming integrates its civics requirement into a standard set of distribution requirements, the University Studies Program (USP). The USP includes *Communications* courses in any of a wide number of disciplines, a *First Year Seminar* in any of a similarly broad number of departments, and courses in *Quantitative Reasoning, Physics and the Natural World, Human Culture*—and the civics requirement, *U.S. and Wyoming Constitutions*.⁷²⁹ A few of the hundreds of courses (129 alternatives for *Human Culture* alone) that can satisfy these distribution requirements can contribute to a traditional civics education, such as CLAS 2020 *Classical Greek Civilization*

727 University of Wyoming, Office of the Registrar, “Main Campus Course Listings,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/fa16main.pdf.

728 University of Wyoming, News, “UW Faculty Members Awarded Service-Learning Project Grants,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/uw/news/2010/12/uw-faculty-members-awarded-service-learning-project-grants.html>.

729 University of Wyoming, Office of the Registrar, University Catalog, “The University Studies Program 2015,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/university_catalog/usp.html.

or POLS 4810 *Seminar in Political Philosophy*.⁷³⁰ On the whole, however, UW's distribution requirements do nothing to forward the civics education of its students.

Oddly, neither HIST 1110 *Western Civilization I* nor HIST 1120 *Western Civilization II* can fulfill USP requirements.⁷³¹ Perhaps as a result of that neglect, only 39 students out of UW's 10,200 undergraduates enrolled in HIST 1110 *Western Civilization I* at UW in Fall 2016.⁷³²

Yet many progressive courses do satisfy USP requirements. Courses that fulfill the *Communications* requirement include AAST 4233 *Race, Ethnicity, Gender and Media*, COJO 4260 *Rhetoric and Social Justice*, and WMST 4700 *Feminist Theories. First Year Seminars* include EDST 1101 *Fight the Power: Diversity and Social Justice*, ENR 1101 *Climate Change: Thinking Like a Planet*, and UWYO 1101 *The Challenge of Sustainability: Project Based Learning*. Courses that fulfill the *Human Culture* requirement include CHST 4470 *Chicano Folklore*, HP 3152 *Race and Racism*, WIND 2700 *Gender and Disability*, and WMST 2000 *Intro to LGBTQ/NS Studies*. The *Physics and the Natural World* requirement can also be satisfied by ATSC 2100 *Global Warming: The Science of Humankind's Energy Consumption*.⁷³³ UW's USP distribution requirements skew toward providing education with a progressive stamp.

Neither HIST 1110 Western Civilization I nor HIST 1120 Western Civilization II fulfill UW's University Studies Program requirements.

Courses that fulfill the Human Culture requirement include CHST 4470 Chicano Folklore, HP 3152 Race and Racism, WIND 2700 Gender and Disability, and WMST 2000 Intro to LGBTQ/NS Studies.

MEET THE NEW CORE, IT AIN'T LIKE THE OLD CORE

UW's College of Arts and Sciences adds further distribution requirements for its students in *Science, Foreign Language, Non-Western Perspectives*, and *Upper Division Courses Outside Your Major*.⁷³⁴ The *Non-Western Perspectives* requirement is a way to insert the new progressive core

730 University of Wyoming, University Studies, "USP 2015 Approved Courses - Updated 6/3/16," http://www.uwyo.edu/unst/usp2015/_files/usp_2015_approved_courses.pdf.

731 University of Wyoming, University Studies, "USP 2015 Approved Courses - Updated 6/3/16," http://www.uwyo.edu/unst/usp2015/_files/usp_2015_approved_courses.pdf.

732 University of Wyoming, Registrar, Fall 2016, "History 766-5101," http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/hist.html.

733 University of Wyoming, University Studies, "USP 2015 Approved Courses - Updated 6/3/16," http://www.uwyo.edu/unst/usp2015/_files/usp_2015_approved_courses.pdf.

734 University of Wyoming, "Information about Degree Requirements," http://www.uwyo.edu/relstds/_files/major-minor/as_core_reqs.pdf.

curriculum. Fall 2016 courses that fulfilled the *Non-Western Perspectives* requirement included AAST 3670 *African Diaspora*; AIST 2340 *Native American Literature*; ANTH 3420 *The Anthropology of Global Issues*, and ENGL 4600 *Studies: Feminist Theories*.⁷³⁵ Other courses that have satisfied the *Non-Western Perspectives* requirement (under the name *Global Awareness*) have included COJO 4231 *Minority Media Ownership*, PHIL 3520 *Global Justice*, and WNST 4520 *Gender and Sexuality in Postcolonial Writing*.⁷³⁶

The College of Arts and Sciences may also still have a *Diversity in the US* requirement for its students, which forces them to take further progressive courses. The College certainly had the requirement until the introduction of the new USP distribution requirements in 2015. The Arts and Sciences faculty apparently voted in Fall 2014 to eliminate both the *Diversity in the US* and the *Global Awareness* requirements,⁷³⁷ and neither requirement appears in the College's current list of requirements—although the new *Non-Western Perspectives* requirements appears to have replaced *Global Awareness*.⁷³⁸ Yet although the *Diversity in the US* requirement appears to have disappeared, the Fall 2016 UW class schedule still lists which classes meet the “A&S Core Diversity in US” requirement. Examples include AST 1000 *Introduction to African-American Studies*, AMST 3400 *Popular Music and Sexualities*, EDST 2480 *Diversity and the Politics of Schooling*, NURS 3020 *Cultural Diversity in Family Health Care*, and SOWK 4060 *Diversity and Difference in Social Work*.⁷³⁹ The shadow of the Diversity requirement certainly still exists, and perhaps the requirement itself.

The new, progressive core is forming in UW via the College of Arts and Sciences—with some assistance from the University-wide requirements to take courses, especially First Year Seminars,

Other courses that have satisfied the Non-Western Perspectives requirement (under the name Global Awareness) have included COJO 4231 Minority Media Ownership, PHIL 3520 Global Justice, and WNST 4520 Gender and Sexuality in Postcolonial Writing.

735 University of Wyoming, Office of the Registrar, “Main Campus Course Listings,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/fa16main.pdf.

736 University of Wyoming, “Global Awareness ASG Course List,” http://www.uwyo.edu/as/_files/current/global-awareness.pdf#global-awareness.

737 Tim Steere, “Arts and Sciences eliminates course requirements,” *Laramie Boomerang*, September 21, 2014, http://www.laramieboomerang.com/news/arts-and-sciences-eliminates-course-requirements/article_0858b55f-29fb-541d-b841-f928acb1eb98.html.

738 University of Wyoming, “Information about Degree Requirements,” http://www.uwyo.edu/relstds/_files/major-minor/as_core_reqs.pdf.

739 University of Wyoming, Office of the Registrar, “Main Campus Course Listings,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/fa16main.pdf. Also see University of Wyoming, “Diversity in the US ASD Course List,” http://www.uwyo.edu/as/_files/current/diversity.pdf#diversity.

which skew toward progressive advocacy. Moreover, the language of the mission statement of the University Studies Program, which articulates the rationale of UW's distribution requirements, already uses the language of the New Civics: "University Studies encourages students to become active citizens in a diverse democracy. Through multi- and inter-disciplinary inquiry, students gain the perspectives necessary to deal with complex issues, appreciate the viewpoints of others, function effectively in multicultural communities, understand the responsibility to participate in democratic society, and communicate clearly in a civic environment."⁷⁴⁰ This language prepares the way to insert a progressive, New Civics core into UW's all-university course requirements.

The mission statement of the University Studies Program, which articulates the rationale of UW's distribution requirements, already uses the language of the New Civics.

*ARTWORK, WYOMING STUDENT UNION
[STUDENT CENTER], UW*

A mural on immigration adorns the UW student center, the Wyoming Union. The mural depicts a mustachioed white man wearing a cross necklace, a dagger, and a conquistador helmet facing a pregnant Native American woman. Behind her are people in modern clothing holding signs that say "What's wrong with amnesty?" "Give us your poor, your tired, but NO Mexicans!" "WE ARE WORKERS NOT CRIMINALS," "A FENCE WON'T STOP US," "We value humanity and cultural diversity," and "THIS COUNTRY WAS BUILT ON OUR BACKS."



740 University of Wyoming, University Studies Program, "What is the University Studies Program?," <http://www.uwyo.edu/unst/>.

NEW CIVICS AT UW: SMALL, BUT GROWING

UW has more Old Civics remaining than its peers in Colorado—and less of the New Civics. UW’s New Civics complex is limited in extent—smaller than UNC’s or CSU’s, and far more rudimentary than CU-Boulder’s. **Service, Leadership & Community Engagement (SLCE)**, the New Civics’ administrative kernel at UW, runs much of the New Civics complex, including its **service-learning classes**. Several **New Civics courses** are the kernels of future New Civics programs. **Alternative Breaks** transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions, **Study Abroad** provides opportunities to extend service-learning to semesters away from UW, and the New Civics extends into UW students’ extracurricular life via programs that include the **Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative**, the **Rainbow Leadership Series**, and the **Good Mule Project**. The programs collectively work to make the New Civics present in significant portions of student life at UW.

The New Civics programs at UW extend the New Civics throughout UW, both inside and outside the classroom. They are limited in extent, not yet as pervasive as at CU-Boulder, CSU, or UNC.

Still, they are growing.

SLCE OF WYOMING

UW’s **Office of Service, Leadership & Community Engagement (SLCE)** is the New Civics’ administrative kernel at UW; SLCE runs much of the New Civics complex, including its **service-learning classes**. SLCE’s Service-Learning also provides Community Engagement Mini-Grant Awards, usually “between \$200 and \$700, [which] are available to fund the implementation of new community engagement or service-learning projects as well as the continuation of established projects in existing courses.” In 2010, eleven grants ranging from \$500 to \$1,500 were awarded to courses including *Communities of Story Tellers*; *Partnering with the Community through Grant Writing*; *Campus Sustainability*; *Professional Writing in the Community*; and *Environmental Stewardship: First Year Experience*.



Erin Olsen,
Assistant Director,
Service, Leadership &
Community Engagement

SLCE has worked in the past with Colorado Campus Compact’s Engaged Faculty Institute (EFI), which provides “training and support for faculty who are currently, or hope to, implement service learning into their curriculum.” SLCE now supports its own on-campus Engaged Faculty Learning Community, in collaboration with the Ellbogen Center for Teaching and Learning.⁷⁴¹ The faculty

741 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Service Learning,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/community-engagement/service-learning.html>; University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Community Engagement Mini-Grants,” http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/_files/community-engaged-scholars/community_engagement_mini-grant_2015_2016.pdf; University of Wyoming, News, “UW Faculty Members Awarded Service-Learning Project Grants,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/uw/news/2010/12/uw-faculty-members-awarded-service-learning-project-grants.html>.

participants do not appear to be recompensed, but they no longer have to travel to Colorado to learn how to incorporate service-learning into their courses.

CIVIC HONORS

UW's Honor's Program has also begun to integrate itself into the New Civics. The Honors Program advertises itself as providing "co-curricular opportunities," "the breadth of knowledge needed by citizens," and instruction in "how to become engaged citizens and to understand the ethnic and cultural diversity of America and the world."⁷⁴² The 2014 External Review Report of the Honors Program also stated that "With the WHO [Wyoming Honors Organization] community service activities and study abroad programs, the Honors Program has embraced the concept of participatory, experiential honors education. In addition, several honors courses incorporate hands-on, experiential elements."⁷⁴³ The Honors Programs has not yet been formally restructured as a vessel for the New Civics, as its counterparts have been at CSU and UNC, but that change presumably will come soon enough.

"The Honors Program has embraced the concept of participatory, experiential honors education."

COURSES IN NEW CIVICS: KERNELS OF PROGRAMS TO COME

Just as the UW Honors Program has been prepared to turn into a full-blown New Civics program, so other New Civics programs are present in embryo—as **service-learning or civic engagement courses**. Several service-learning courses offered in Fall 2016 appear by their titles and descriptions to be exercises in New Civics that are also intended to lay the groundwork for the formation of permanent New Civics bureaucracies.

EDST 1101 FYS: *Citizen Factory* (24 students enrolled) introduces students "to active learning, inquiry of pressing issues, and individual and collaborative processing of ideas. Open to all, the course will appeal to any student with an interest in the public schools or schooling for democracy."⁷⁴⁴ *Citizen Factory*

Several service-learning courses offered in Fall 2016 appear to be exercises in New Civics that are also intended to lay the groundwork for the formation of permanent New Civics bureaucracies.

742 University of Wyoming, Office of the Registrar, "University Honors Program," http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/university_catalog/7mischnr.html.

743 University of Wyoming, University of Wyoming Honors Program, "External Review Report, November 3-4, 2014," https://www.uwyo.edu/acadaffairs/_files/docs/honors_external_review-2014.pdf.

744 University of Wyoming, Registrar, Fall 2016, "Educational Studies 766-3130," http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/edst.html.

presumably is the seed of a Public Achievement franchise at UW.

CNSL 1101 FYS: *EPIC Leadership* (24 students enrolled) “is an innovative survey course providing students with a basic understanding of what it means to think and act like a leader no matter what their role is in an organization, group or community. It covers eighteen fundamental and timeless leadership principles that every effective leader should understand.”⁷⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the Wyoming Leadership program offers the course CNSL 2000 *Intro to Student Leadership*,⁷⁴⁶ while UWYO 3000 *Student Leadership in Supplemental Instruction* teaches students “peer leadership, best practices in supplemental instruction, and student reflection. Will strengthen leadership knowledge and skills and introduce effective methods for group facilitation and SI curriculum.”⁷⁴⁷ These two courses appear to be the core of a forthcoming Leadership Studies Minor.

New Civics classes at UW appear to be concentrated in the First Year Seminars and the University of Wyoming (UWYO) classes. These programs should be taken to be components of the New Civics bureaucracy at UW.

In Fall 2015, students could take UWYO 1101 *Ignite Your Passion: Creating Change Through Service and Action*, in which students provided “service in the local Laramie community,” acquired “a foundation for understanding the role of public scholarship, community engagement, and social action,” and learned to “examine and critique strategies for social and environmental change, while becoming familiar with the expectations and responsibilities for successful community engagement.”⁷⁴⁸ This course will be the core of a Wyoming INVST.

UW’s New Civics advocates will build their administrative infrastructure out of such classes.

745 University of Wyoming, Registrar, Fall 2016, “Counselor Education 766-5649,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/cnsl.html.

746 University of Wyoming, Service, Leadership, and Community Engagement, “Leadership Courses,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/leadership/leadership-courses.html>.

747 University of Wyoming, University Catalog, “University of Wyoming (UWYO),” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/university_catalog/uwyo.html#UWYO3000.

748 University of Wyoming, “First-Year Seminar Fall 2015 Course Offerings,” http://www.uwyo.edu/cacs/_files/documents/fys%20fall%202015%20course%20descriptions.pdf.

New Civics classes at UW appear to be concentrated in the First Year Seminars⁷⁴⁹ and the University of Wyoming (UWYO)⁷⁵⁰ classes. These programs should be taken to be components of the New Civics bureaucracy at UW.

NEW CIVICS HERE, NEW CIVICS THERE

The New Civics also extends into UW students' extracurricular life via several programs, including the **Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative**, the **Rainbow Leadership Series**, and the **Good Mule Project**.

The **Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative (MSLI)** “is an involvement opportunity for students who support diversity and want to make a difference during their time at UW. MSLI is dedicated to supporting students in their first year on campus by developing their leadership skills and building a supportive social network through mentoring.” MSLI includes Mentoring and Leadership Development, the latter of which includes “leadership development workshops and special community building activities.”⁷⁵¹

The **Rainbow Leadership Series (RLS)** coordinates the community organizing of gay (“LGBTQ”) students by way of “leadership development opportunities.” The RLS calls on participating students to *commit to involvement in one of the opportunities on campus; better understand the role collaboration plays in social change; develop an individual call to action, encouraging others to collaborate in their cause; find a common leadership purpose with other participants in the series; and take part in a leadership activity that promotes social change.*⁷⁵²

The **Good Mule Project (GMP)** is a conference promoting progressive advocacy and activism: “a student-led initiative at the University of Wyoming fostering a community of dialogue and action around issues of multiculturalism and diversity through the lens of social

*Good Mule Project
Consciousness
Workshops include
Identity Windows,
Privilege, Roots
and Shoots:
Deconstructing the
Cycle of Oppression,
and Subordinate and
Dominant Groups.*

749 University of Wyoming, University Catalog, “First-year Seminars,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/unst/usp2015/fys-courses/#inline12>.

750 University of Wyoming, University Catalog, “University of Wyoming (UWYO),” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/university_catalog/uwyo.html#UWYO3000.

751 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/leadership/msli.html> ; University of Wyoming, Multicultural Affairs, “Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative (MSLI),” <http://www.uwyo.edu/oma/msli/>.

752 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Rainbow Leadership Series,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/leadership/rainbow-leadership.html>.

justice activism.” At one Toolbox Workshop, participants learn about “**Lobbying!**” from Melanie Vigil, who “is the Graduate Assistant for Community Engagement in the SLCE Office. Having a strong passion for LGBT advocacy, Melanie has lobbied, testified, and organized for important LGBT legislation both in the State of Wyoming and on a national level.” Ms. Vigil instructs participants “how to be an effective social justice advocate by learning how to write strategic letters/emails to elected officials, how to testify, and how to navigate difficult conversations with adversaries.” GMP Consciousness Workshops include *Identity Windows*, *Privilege*, *Roots and Shoots: Deconstructing the Cycle of Oppression*, and *Subordinate and Dominant Groups*.⁷⁵³

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

YOU’LL FIND NEW CIVICS EVERYWHERE

UW’s New Civics advocates, following the playbook of their peers in Colorado, also extend progressive advocacy into time away from the campus. They have made sure that UW’s **Study Abroad** provides service-learning in semesters away from UW, notably by way of a service-learning program in Kenya that has been run out of UW-Casper since 2004.⁷⁵⁴ In the summer of 2016, the University offered the latest iteration of this service-learning study-abroad course, EDEL 4975/EDCI 5480

International Cultural Immersion & Service Learning in Kenya. Participating students “will make an impact during tree-planting activities in Karura Forest, an ‘urban forest’ and environmental jewel under threat from developers. By planting trees, you will stand in solidarity with Kenya’s Green Belt Movement.” The course syllabus added that students “will also examine ways in which the course will have influenced them as citizens of a “globalized” world.”⁷⁵⁵

“By planting trees, you will stand in solidarity with Kenya’s Green Belt Movement.”

The **Alternative Breaks** franchise at UW also transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions. The Summer 2016 trip “will focus on environmental sustainability, education and maintenance of

753 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “The Good Mule Project,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/community-engagement/good-mule-project.html>; University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Keynote Speakers,” http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/community-engagement/speaker_bios.html#Good Mule Speakers.

754 University of Wyoming, Kenya Service Learning Study Abroad Summer 2015, “Kenya Service Learning Study Abroad Summer 2015,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/edstudies/faculty-research-community-involvement/kenya-service-learning-study-abroad-summer-2015/>.

755 University of Wyoming, International Studies: Kenya, “Summer 2016 Learning Through Service,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/outreach/uwcasper/study-abroad-kenya/>; University of Wyoming, International Studies: Kenya, “2016 Kenya International Service Learning,” http://www.uwyo.edu/outreach/uwcasper/_files/documents/2016-kenya-summary.docx; University of Wyoming, International Studies: Kenya, “2016 Kenya Summer Session Course Syllabus,” http://www.uwyo.edu/outreach/uwcasper/_files/documents/2016_Kenya%20Syllabus.docx.

Glacier National Park, with stops in Jackson, WY and Yellowstone National Park.” At the University of Wyoming, the program is advertised as providing “a sharpened sense of civic duty.”⁷⁵⁶

I’M GROWING BIGGER AND BETTER IN EVERY WAY

UW’s plans to expand civic engagement are as yet modest. In its draft *Strategic Plan 2015-2020*, UW states as one goal among many that it wishes to “Expand the engagement of undergraduates in faculty scholarship and service learning experiences.” This is to be done by expanding “the funding opportunities for research and creative activity internships,” considering “the inclusion of undergraduate research in majors as a capstone experience” and creating “a budget line-item of \$250,000 per biennium supporting undergraduate research,” and by expanding “the funding and credit-bearing opportunities for service learning and community engagement.”⁷⁵⁷

These goals will leave UW’s New Civics complex substantially smaller than its Colorado rivals. Still, **in Wyoming as in Colorado, the New Civics is growing.**

UW STILL SPENDS ON NEW CIVICS, EVEN AS IT TIGHTENS ITS BELT

As noted above, UW’s total expenditures for its FY 2016-17 annual budget was first planned at \$270 million, but a state funding crisis in the summer of 2016 reduced its budget by at least \$30 million for that fiscal year, to less than \$240 million.⁷⁵⁸ UW received \$187 million in direct state funding in FY2015-16;⁷⁵⁹ as of this writing the numbers are not yet final for FY2016-2017, but direct state funding should be no greater than \$157 million (65%).

UW’s Office of Service, Leadership & Community Engagement (SLCE), the core of its New Civics, has one full-time position, two graduate student employees, and two undergraduate employees;⁷⁶⁰ judging by the University of Delaware proxy information,⁷⁶¹ it probably disposes of **\$500 thousand**. Further support to the New Civics from administrative personnel marbled throughout UW should amount to at least as many personnel: we may add another **\$500 thousand (\$1 million total)**.

756 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Alternative Breaks,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/service/ab.html>.

757 University of Wyoming, *UP4 Strategic Plan 2015-2020, Executive Level Summary* (2014), p. 10, http://www.uwyo.edu/acadaffairs/plans/14-20/up4_draft.pdf.

758 University of Wyoming, Budget Planning: “A Plan for Budget Reduction at the University of Wyoming,” http://www.uwyo.edu/president/_files/docs/2016budgetreduction/budget_reduction_document_062016.pdf; “Fiscal Year 2017 \$7 Million Budget Reduction Schedule,” http://www.uwyo.edu/president/_files/docs/2016budgetreduction/fy2017_7m_budget_reduction_schedule_by_division.pdf.

759 University of Wyoming, Operating Budget, Fiscal Year July 1, 2015 to June 30, 2016, http://www.uwyo.edu/administration/_files/docs/budget/fy2016%20operating%20budget%209.4.2015%20web%20final%20.pdf, p. 10.

760 University of Wyoming, Service, Leadership & Community Engagement, “Meet Our Staff,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/staff/>.

761 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>.

UW provides no list of service-learning courses, but in 2010 alone SLCE awarded 11 Community Engagement Mini-Grant Awards to implement community engagement or service-learning courses.⁷⁶² We believe that by a lowball estimate there are at least 25 service-learning courses a year at UW, taught by the equivalent of 4 instructors; this would add another **\$1 million (\$2 million)**. If we multiply 25 classes by an average undergraduate class size of 29,⁷⁶³ and multiply that number in turn by in-state undergraduate tuition and fees for a three-credit class of \$505, we get a figure of **\$366 thousand (\$2.366 million)**. Miscellaneous administrative costs should probably add **\$150 thousand**; cautiously, we may put that total at **\$2.5 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

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.

\$2.5 million is a much smaller figure than at CU-Boulder, CSU, or UNC—but it is \$2.5 million spent in a year when UW has had to cut more than \$30 million dollars from a budget of \$270 million. It is \$2.5 million spent at a time when UW may eliminate 85 salaried positions, and is considering eliminating the entire department of Philosophy. It is \$2.5 million that the University of Wyoming can ill afford.

762 University of Wyoming, News, “UW Faculty Members Awarded Service-Learning Project Grants,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/uw/news/2010/12/uw-faculty-members-awarded-service-learning-project-grants.html>.

763 University of Wyoming, UW Profiles, UW Quick Facts, <http://www.uwyo.edu/profiles/extras/quick-facts.html>.

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764 “University of Wyoming may have to eliminate 85 positions,” KGWN, July 14, 2016, <http://www.kgwn.tv/content/news/University-of-Wyoming-may-have-to-eliminate-85-jobs-386816001.html>.

765 Justin W., *Daily Nous*, “Philosophy at University of Wyoming Threatened,” May 26, 2016, <http://dailynous.com/2016/05/26/philosophy-at-university-of-wyoming-threatened/>.

THE CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE

Our four case studies examined the administrative structure of civics education, and the self-understanding by administrators and faculty of what they intend to teach in these classes. Student experiences, however, are an essential component of civics education. What follows is a sketch of the classroom civics experience at CU-Boulder, Colorado State University, the University of Northern Colorado, and the University of Wyoming. We focus on the introductory course to American government at each.

University of Colorado, Boulder

Although only a small fraction of CU-Boulder students take the class, PSCI 1101: *Introduction to American Politics* is the closest equivalent at CU-Boulder to a standard civics course. The syllabus for Dr. Vincent McGuire’s section, for example, states that “The purpose of this class is to create better citizens.”⁷⁶⁶ Dr. John Griffin listed his goals in more detail: “I hope that students would gain a sense of their opportunities to impact their community, whether it be voting, making contributions, participation in campaigns, valuing their opinions, understanding how opinions are shaped, and how opinions affect decision-making.”⁷⁶⁷ PSCI 1101 is required for all Political Science majors at CU-Boulder. According to Griffin, increased interest in public policy among incoming freshmen has also increased enrollment in the course.⁷⁶⁸ On the other hand, Dr. Vanessa Baird believes that many students take this course under the mistaken belief that PSCI 1101 is a required course for their major, when it is really only required for political science majors and minors.⁷⁶⁹

Introduction to American Politics is generally taught as a massive lecture of up to 360 students, with far more students than even the most overcrowded high school class.

PSCI 1101, like many freshmen surveys at CU-Boulder, repeats a good deal of high school material. Baird states, and many students agree, that PSCI 1101 is taught at so basic a level that it bores students who are itching to move on to advanced material in their chosen majors.⁷⁷⁰ The difference in how the material is treated at the college level emerges in the course of the semester—but the most distinctive aspect of the course, unfortunately, is immediately apparent: the class size. PSCI 1101 is generally taught as a massive lecture of up to 360 students, with far more students than

⁷⁶⁶ Vincent McGuire, American Political Systems 1101, Fall 2015 Syllabus, p. 1.

⁷⁶⁷ John Griffin, Interview by Craig Keller, November 11, 2015.

⁷⁶⁸ John Griffin, Interview by Craig Keller, November 11, 2015.

⁷⁶⁹ Vanessa A. Baird, Interview by Craig Keller, November 4, 2015.

⁷⁷⁰ Vanessa A. Baird, Interview by Craig Keller, November 4, 2015.

even the most overcrowded high school class—although a student enrolled in a Residential Academic Program (RAP) will take a section of the class whose enrollment is no greater than 45. In the larger lectures, iClickers allow for instant polling and quizzes during the lecture: Griffin says that these allow him to interact with students beyond the first few rows, and to gauge in real time the effectiveness of the lectures.⁷⁷¹ Discussion sections of 30 students apiece provide further limited opportunities for students to do more than listen to a lecture.

PSCI 1101's different sections share large similarities in focus and structure. The professors concentrate on giving students 1) increased knowledge about the structure of American Government; 2) improved critical thinking skills; and 3) improved communication skills. Of these, only the first is easily identified in each syllabus, but the latter goals are nevertheless essential.

Since professors want students to focus on learning the structure of American government and the philosophy underlying it, many avoid discussing current events. This allows for a cool examination of the relevant evidence, where discussion proceeds unimpeded by contemporary partisan passions. Professors also want students to understand basic aspects of political science as a way to understand the way government works.⁷⁷²

Most sections use a broadly similar civics textbook: Samuel Kernell's *The Logic of American Politics* is the most common. Professors usually supplement the textbooks with reference charts providing basic facts about the Constitution and the structure of the Federal Government.⁷⁷³ Baird uses a textbook to supplement her use of William Riker's *The Art of Political Manipulation* and several shorter texts, including FDR's Fireside Chats. Riker's book provides a series of historical case studies to demonstrate that politicians often frame choices for voters as a way to make

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771 John Griffin, Interview by Craig Keller, November 11, 2015. For the use of clickers to increase student exam performance at a comparable class at Colorado State University, see Marcela Velasco and Gamze Çavdar, "Teaching Large Classes with Clickers: Results from a Teaching Experiment in Comparative Politics," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 46, 4 (2013), pp. 823-39.

772 Vanessa A. Baird, Interview by Craig Keller, November 4, 2015; Vincent McGuire, Interview by Craig Keller, March 29, 2016.

773 Over half of surveyed syllabi (2006-2015) included textbooks by Samuel Kernell. University of Colorado Boulder, Syllabus Archive, "PSCI 1101 - Intro to Political Science," <https://syllabus.colorado.edu/course?prefix=PSCI&num=1101>.

sure that their “free choices” arrive at outcomes that politicians prefer.⁷⁷⁴

Baird and Griffin stated that they needed to assign textbooks because incoming students lacked basic knowledge about the structure of the Federal Government.⁷⁷⁵ Griffin, who recently taught the largest section of this class, added that the textbooks were valuable because he could use them to explain the basics of the Federal Government without wasting valuable lecture time.⁷⁷⁶ Baird, who taught a much smaller section, also stated that students needed basic textbooks to provide the foundation of factual knowledge necessary to understand the in-class discussions—although textbooks also encouraged students to believe, erroneously, that they had mastered the subject when they had finished the book.⁷⁷⁷ Many professors noted that their students had an overconfident and uncritical estimate of both their factual knowledge and their ability to grapple intelligently with course material.

Most of the textbooks' agendas are written tendentiously, with the Democrats as the designated White Hats.

The textbooks militate against the discussion-based pedagogy outlined by Baird. Most of the textbooks' agendas are written tendentiously, with the Democrats as the designated White Hats. Kernell, for example, illustrates his discussion of Civil Rights purely from the identitarian coalition of the present-day Democratic party—African Americans, feminists, Hispanics, and gays—and soft-pedals worries that coercive and arbitrary governmental action done in the name of identitarian civil rights may abrogate individual civil rights, equality under the law, and the rule of law itself. In so doing, Kernell gives short shrift to arguments for limiting the Federal Government's power for good or ill: he takes the constitutional revolution during and after the Civil War to have superseded Madison's argument that strong state governments are necessary to check central tyranny.⁷⁷⁸ Kernell also glides over complications in the modern partisan landscape, such as the inspiration that pro-life activists take from the Dred Scott decision, which they take as a model for protection of the rights of the unborn.⁷⁷⁹

McGuire differs from most professors who teach the course, as he uses Hamilton, Jay, and Madison's *The Federalist* rather than a textbook. He believes that *The Federalist* engages students with the Constitution at a more rigorous level than a textbook, and that it helps students give proper weight to the importance of state governments in the constitutional framework. For McGuire, *The*

774 Jennifer Fitzgerald and Vanessa A. Baird, “Taking a Step Back: Teaching Critical Thinking by Distinguishing Appropriate Types of Evidence,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44, 3 (2011), pp. 619-24.

775 Vanessa A. Baird, Interview by Craig Keller, November 4, 2015; John Griffin, Interview by Craig Keller, November 11, 2015.

776 Vanessa A. Baird, Interview by Craig Keller, November 4, 2015.

777 Vanessa A. Baird, Interview by Craig Keller, November 4, 2015.

778 Samuel Kernell, et al. *The Logic of American Politics* (Los Angeles, 2014), pp. 91-95, 159-179.

779 Kernell, *Logic of American Politics*, p. 162.

Federalist more than fulfills the remedial tasks allotted to textbooks, for it acts as an authoritative commentary upon the Constitution. It invites students to engage with the thoughts and voices behind the Constitution's composition, and it piques interest without resorting to controversies ripped from the headlines.

Like Baird, McGuire also uses an alternative to a textbook: Murray Edelman's *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*. McGuire considers Edelman's work to be a valuable counterweight to the data-driven social scientific analysis so prevalent in the academy's approach to politics, since Edelman argues that many of the most important drivers of political life are symbolic and unquantifiable. McGuire hopes that students will learn that there is more to Political Science than polling.⁷⁸⁰ Books such as Edelman's and Riker's provide excellent material for discussion within these smaller courses, and the actual class discussions do justice to the books. Students learn so much more civics in small classes that it suggests that all civics classes should be capped with enrollments that allow significant class discussion.

Professors generally intend their lectures to help students learn how to communicate and to think critically (in the original sense, rather than as a euphemism for "assent to progressive beliefs") and independently. Baird requires students to write short arguments, in order to teach them how to gather appropriate evidence from their readings. She also directs in-class discussion to this same end: "If the students cannot connect the appropriate logical dots for their own thoughts and assertions, how can they be expected to hold others – educators, reporters, politicians, even acquaintances – accountable for their arguments?"⁷⁸¹ McGuire urges students to "create your own personal set of ideas." These ideas "may be the same as your friends or your parents but they must be yours, not theirs."⁷⁸²

These invitations to discussion provide the college-level material that distinguishes PSCI 1101 from high school civics classes, but there are clear limitations. Massive lectures tend to rely on

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Massive lectures tend to rely on expensive textbooks which provide a shallow and partisan treatment of the material, rather than on focused works that can spark thought and discussion.

780 Vincent McGuire, Interview by Craig Keller, March 29, 2016.

781 Fitzgerald and Baird, "Taking a Step Back," p. 620.

782 Vincent McGuire, *American Political Systems 1101*, Fall 2015 Syllabus, p. 2.

expensive textbooks which provide a shallow and partisan treatment of the material, rather than on focused works that can spark thought and discussion. If it is impossible to reduce the size of these lecture sections, perhaps it would be wise to adopt the use of *The Federalist*. The *Federalist*'s essays, which are free online, foster knowledge of American Government, critical thinking, and clear communication. They do so without relying on arguments about divisive current events—and the *Federalist* certainly counts as a text that educates students at the college level.

Colorado State University

POLS 101 *American Government and Politics* is generally taught by instructors at CSU—in Fall 2016, the only sections were taught by two instructors, Holly Boux and Pamela Duncan, and an assistant professor, Matthew Hitt, who began teaching at CSU that semester.⁷⁸³ The relegation of the course to the junior and untenured members of the department suggests that the Political Science department considers it to be a low priority. So too does the Political Science department's decision to offer only three large lectures of the course a semester. *American Government and Politics* classes are too large to allow for the intimate discussion that provides a proper education, and they are too few to serve much more than political science majors. CSU's basic class in American government is only offered to a few students, and the Political Science department does not make it a priority.

We have had limited success in persuading instructors at CSU to provide information about their courses. We have some information about the instructors. Students regard Pamela Duncan as a liberal who allows her political views to slip into her teaching: “you can easily pick up on the fact that she leans on the liberal side of politics ... she hates Bush, which she makes clear during every lecture, no matter what we're supposed to be talking about.”⁷⁸⁴ Holly Boux “is not an awful teacher if you buy into the

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“Just don't be too far right on the political spectrum if you want to get a good grade.”

783 Colorado State University, Class Schedule Listing, POLS 101 - American Government and Politics (GT-SS1), 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_level=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_level=%25&sel_ptrm=%25&sel_instr=%25&sel_attr=%25&begin_hh=o&begin_mi=o&begin_ap=a&end_hh=o&end_mi=o&end_ap=a.

784 Koofers, Pamela Duncan, <https://www.koofers.com/colorado-state-university-csu/instructors/duncan-979575/>.

classic liberal college political class. Basically all she cares about is feminism and the social system ... just don't be too far right on the political spectrum if you want to get a good grade."⁷⁸⁵ While an instructor's political affiliation has no necessary connection with how they teach, CSU's *American Government and Politics* apparently is taught with a liberal skew.

The textbook choice for the course reinforces that skew. Pamela Duncan uses Edward Greenberg and Benjamin Page's *The Struggle for Democracy*⁷⁸⁶—a generally solid textbook, but one with a liberal skew. *Struggle*'s Introduction, for example, emphasizes American democracy rather than its status as a republic, and states that “it should be easy to see how and why the democratic ideal can be used as a measuring rod with which to evaluate American politics.”⁷⁸⁷ Greenberg and Page also write about “anti-communist hysteria”⁷⁸⁸ without mentioning the existence of Communist spies such as Lauchlin Currie, Laurence Duggan, David Greenglass, Alger Hiss, and Harry Dexter White. Greenberg and Page's catalog of minorities threatened by unbridled majority rule conforms with the progressive identitarian coalition;⁷⁸⁹ it does not include, for example, the progressive state's majoritarian suppression of freedom of conscience by the traditionally faithful. Duncan's choice of textbook is not grossly slanted in its politics, but neither is it entirely impartial.

CSU's *American Government and Politics* course appears to be taught with professional competence. For example, although we have cited Pamela Duncan for liberal textbook selection and for student comment that emphasizes how she teaches with a liberal slant, Duncan also assigns the Constitution.⁷⁹⁰ Duncan may skew toward the left, both in her teaching and her text selection—but she also teaches the nuts and bolts of how our country works. Her students should leave her course with a solid knowledge of American government.

University of Northern Colorado

We have failed to persuade professors at UNC to agree to be interviewed about their courses; we therefore possess less direct information about UNC than we would like. What information we have is about Dr. Gregory Williams, who will teach the only two sections of *United States National Government* at UNC in Fall 2016. A recent news article provides some insight into Williams' political beliefs.

785 Rate My Professors, Holly Boux, <http://www.ratemyprofessors.com/ShowRatings.jsp?tid=1785021>.

786 Colorado State University Online, POLS 101 - American Government and Politics (GT-SS1), <http://www.online.colostate.edu/courses/POLS/POLS101.dot>.

787 Edward S. Greenberg and Benjamin I. Page, *The Struggle for Democracy*, 10th Edition (Pearson, 2011), pp. 1-24, esp. p. 14.

788 Greenberg and Page, *Struggle for Democracy*, p. 13.

789 Greenberg and Page, *Struggle for Democracy*, p. 14.

790 Pamela Duncan, *American Government Syllabus*, Fall 2014.

UNC NEWS ARTICLE: PROFILE OF GREGORY WILLIAMS

Lecturer Gregory Williams of the political science department recently gave a presentation called “The Last Lecture.” The topic: What knowledge would you impart upon the world if it were your last chance? ... Williams said the knowledge he would want to give to the world had less to do with his own mortality and more to do with the lives of social systems.

Williams explained that the best system would be one where people are not forced to live in destitution and exploit the environment. He said society would be better off if it believed it could make that change. ... Remaining on the topic of how society functions as a way to address resource scarcity, Williams said the environment and economy are not separate entities, and instead, capitalism functions as a way to divide nature.

“Capitalism is driven by the need for endless capital accumulation,” Williams said.

Capitalism must have resources to expand, Williams said, and the world is running out of those resources. Peak production has been passed.

Williams said he had three thoughts he wanted to make clear about social systems: First, systems do not last forever, whether or not they are disliked; second, despite newfound scarcity, society has no idea how long capitalism will last; and third, scarcity does not always lead to the same outcomes.

Drew Heiderscheidt, “University of Northern Colorado professor’s last chance to impart knowledge,” *The Mirror*, <http://www.uncmirror.com/news/view.php/1014540/University-of-Northern-Colorado-professo>.

We note the possibility that dislike of capitalism could inform Williams’ pedagogy.

Williams’ text selection for the Fall 2014 rendition of *United States National Government* adds some weight to this suspicion.⁷⁹¹ Williams assigns a subscription to *The New York Times* and four main texts. These texts are:

1. William Hudson’s *American Democracy in Peril*—which takes one of the perils to be big business: “Ways must be found to provide workers and other citizens with a more direct voice in corporate decision making. Just as the abolition of aristocratic privilege was a

791 Gregory Williams, “United States National Government,” Fall 2014 Syllabus, [http://www.unco.edu/psi/assets/syllabi/Williams%20PSCI%20100-%20US%20National%20Govt%20002-%20Syllabus%20\(2014%20Fall\).pdf](http://www.unco.edu/psi/assets/syllabi/Williams%20PSCI%20100-%20US%20National%20Govt%20002-%20Syllabus%20(2014%20Fall).pdf).

prerequisite for democracy in the eighteenth century, twenty-first century democracy may require the abolition of business privilege.”⁷⁹²

2. Chuck Collins and Felice Yeskel’s *Economic Apartheid in America*, co-authored with the organization United for a Fair Economy and Class Action, which is very dour about free markets: “Capitalism has been concerned with the project of extracting value from the earth and human laborers for the owners of capital. Capital accumulation (great wealth) comes from successfully getting more work out of people than you pay them and consuming more of the earth’s resources than you put back. Obviously this leads to human impoverishment and environmental ruin, which is why we are in this predicament.”⁷⁹³ Collins and Yeskel’s textbook concludes with a peroration toward anti-free-market activism: “We encourage you to think of yourself as part of a fair-economy movement, to become involved in building a fairer economy for all. ... Social movement rely on such messengers ... Speak out. Take action from the values that you know to be true. Expect change. Prepare to make history.”⁷⁹⁴
3. Stephen E. Ambrose and Douglas G. Brinkley’s *Rise to Globalism*, which colors its narrative of American foreign policy with a soft spot for Democratic presidents and sustained disdain for Republican ones. The description of George W. Bush’s administration is typical: “Fear dominated our collective emotional life from 2001 to 2008, and the Bush administration sought to capitalize on it: WMD, anthrax, Gitmo, Abu Ghraib, Homeland Security, the never-ending war on terror. During the Bush years, there was a repressive aura about life in Washington that unfortunately demoted our most cherished civil liberties to luxuries of the past.”⁷⁹⁵ Ambrose and Brinkley’s recapitulation of contemporaneous anti-Bush polemics,

Collins and Yeskel's textbook concludes with a peroration toward anti-free-market activism: "We encourage you to think of yourself as part of a fair-economy movement, to become involved in building a fairer economy for all. ... Speak out. Take action from the values that you know to be true. Expect change. Prepare to make history."

792 William E. Hudson, *American Democracy in Peril: Eight Challenges to America's Future, 7th Edition* (Thousand Oaks, CA, 2013), p. 258.

793 Chuck Collins and Felice Yeskel with United for a Fair Economy and Class Action, *Economic Apartheid in America: A Primer on Economic Inequality and Insecurity, 2nd Edition* (New York, 2005), p. 218.

794 Collins, Yeskel, et al., *Economic Apartheid in America*, p. 224.

795 Stephen E. Ambrose and Douglas G. Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism, 9th Edition* (New York, 2010), p. 511.

and equivalent passages about earlier incidents in American foreign policy, are not ideally suited for an introduction to American foreign policy.

4. Glenn Greenwald's *No Place To Hide*, a memoir of Greenwald's role in the Edward Snowden affair and polemic against America's intelligence agencies.⁷⁹⁶

These politically partisan writings are odd choices for texts in an introduction to *United States National Government*. While we hope that Dr. Williams teaches the only *United States National Government* classes at UNC with scrupulous impartiality, the circumstantial evidence does not reassure us.

University of Wyoming

Although students now may choose from 6 courses to fulfill their Civics ("V") requirement, most schools and departments still recommend that students take POLS 1000 *American and Wyoming Government*.⁷⁹⁷ Yet UW has now entered upon CU-Boulder's path, where the list of courses that meet the "V" requirement will probably lengthen until a course on the Constitution is only one of a large number of options. Departmental recommendations to take a traditional course on the Constitution therefore will have diminishing effect. In any case, UW already gives conflicting recommendations to its students, who are encouraged to take a Challenge Exam (\$80 sitting fee, students are allowed to take the test twice before being required to take the class) rather than a full course on the Constitution.⁷⁹⁸ According to Dr. Oliver Walter, these exams already exempt around 100 students from the course per year.⁷⁹⁹

UW's cost-cutting also leads it to cram large numbers of students into each POLS 1000 course. In the upcoming semester (Fall 2016), UW will offer two lecture sections, which have enrollments limited to 200 and 252 students. 5 sections of the class will be taught online, with enrollments capped between 40-50 students each. In addition, a special section taught by Dr. Maggi Murdock is limited to 15 international students. Those students who already have received an American Government credit may take the 1-credit course POLS 1100 *Wyoming Government*, whose enrollment is limited to 40. This course is also online. UW's cost-cutting puts students into mammoth lectures and on-line classes works, and thus severely limits students' ability to benefit from civics education.

The overwhelming majority of UW students still take POLS 1000, despite UW's efforts to trim their numbers, relegate them to online courses, and stuff them into overcrowded lectures. What do they experience in class? While a few students say that they do find the class better than the high-school equivalent, and useful for getting them used to college-level study, most say that it is an almost exact

796 Glenn Greenwald, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the U.S. Surveillance State* (New York, 2014).

797 University of Wyoming, Office of the Registrar, "University Catalog 2015-2016," http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/university_catalog/.

798 University of Wyoming, Political Science Department, "Challenge Exam," <http://www.uwyo.edu/pols/challenge-exam/>.

799 Dr. Oliver Walter, Interview by Craig Keller, June 7, 2016.

reproduction of their high school course in *American and Wyoming Government*, and they leave the class feeling that they have wasted their time.⁸⁰⁰ Professors, for their part, say that students feel the course is a useless requirement, and so are almost impossible to motivate. Moreover, the professors affirm that the course as it now stands indeed is a useless requirement—that it is required by law, and there is no other reason to teach it.⁸⁰¹ Since the professors share their students’ lack of enthusiasm, they make no attempt to make the course challenging, exciting, or even minimally rigorous. A typical syllabus has no attendance requirements, no aspiration to make students into better citizens, and few texts aside from *The Challenge of Democracy*, a universally required,⁸⁰² confusing,⁸⁰³ and expensive textbook. *The Challenge of Democracy* tends to judge the Constitution by whether it lives up to left-egalitarian standards that emphasize equality of economic outcomes rather than equality of opportunity; where it is not simply factual, it provides a soft-left skew to civics education.⁸⁰⁴

UW’s dereliction is longstanding. According to Dr. Oliver Walter, who has been teaching for the UW Political Science department since 1970, POLS 1000 used to be taught through recorded lectures. When these were found to be unsuitable, POLS 1000 became an on-campus correspondence course.⁸⁰⁵ The online sections of POLS 1000 essentially update the correspondence course to the digital age, and they require social-media style discussion posts by the students. The 200- and 250-person lectures actually are an improvement on the older system—especially because they at least have weekly discussion sections limited to 30 students

The professors affirm that American and Wyoming Government as it now stands indeed is a useless requirement—that it is required by law, and there is no other reason to teach it.

If a student wants a solid education in American and Wyoming Government at the University of Wyoming, it's better to be born in Lagos than in Laramie.

800 Matt Cook, Interview by Craig Keller, May 5, 2015; Rasha Tejada, Interview by Craig Keller, May 5, 2015; Tyler Miller, Interview by Craig Keller, May 5, 2015; Dr. Maggi Murdock, Interview by Craig Keller, May 5, 2015.

801 Dr. Andrew Garner, Interview by Craig Keller, May 5, 2015; Dr. Oliver Walter, Interview by Craig Keller, June 7, 2016.

802 Dr. Jason McConnell, Interview by Craig Keller, June 16, 2016.

803 Dr. Oliver Walter, Interview by Craig Keller, June 7, 2016.

804 E.g., “In short, the Constitution provided a judicious balance between order and freedom. It paid virtually no attention to equality.” Kenneth Janda, et al. *The Challenge of Democracy 9th Edition*. (Boston, 2014), p. 73.

805 Dr. Oliver Walter, Interview by Craig Keller, June 7, 2016.

apiece.⁸⁰⁶ Still, the only decently sized POLS 1000 section at UW is the 15-person international section. If a student wants a solid education in American and Wyoming Government at UW, it's better to be born in Lagos than in Laramie. As civics instruction in UW now stands, students may actually be better off fulfilling their Civics "V" requirement with the proffered alternatives in Economics and American History, if only because they will be able to take slightly smaller classes.

Professors teaching POLS 1000 insert new topics into the syllabus partly because they think it is genuinely useful for civics education, but partly to provide students something more interesting than a repetition of their high school civics classes. Dr. Andrew Garner teaches students basic statistical principles and their use for surveying mass opinion, so that students can learn how to analyze the effect of structural forces on voting behavior. The example he offers is that of the 2012 presidential election, where he takes the average voter's perception that the economy was doing well to have been the decisive factor in President Obama's re-election. Garner uses John Zaller's *The Nature and Origin of Mass Opinion* to teach this subject matter.⁸⁰⁷ Dr. Murdock assigns her international students a constitution-writing exercise in order to show them what concerns guided the writing of the US and other constitutions.⁸⁰⁸ Other professors, unfortunately, decide to liven up the course by assigning newspapers and online news sources.⁸⁰⁹ The result tends to be sterile wrangling about current events.

As Garner notes, it is difficult to get American students interested in any required class at any university, and universities have generally given up the effort to do more than cater to their students' fleeting desires. The student-as-imperial-customer simply does not want to take required courses.⁸¹⁰ Given this general attitude, a required civics class will always have one strike against it. But the way civics is taught at UW exacerbates this general difficulty, despite the efforts of some teachers to provide interesting material or to teach smaller course sections.

UW has a chance to use American and Wyoming Government to offer a consistent, thought-provoking introduction to civic knowledge for the benefit of all residents. If UW does not take up the challenge to provide this introduction, who will?

806 University of Wyoming, Registrar, "Political Science 766-4854," http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/pols.html.

807 Dr. Andrew Garner, Interview by Craig Keller, May 5, 2015.

808 Dr. Maggi Murdock, Interview by Craig Keller, May 5, 2015.

809 Oliver Walter, "Political Science 1000" (Spring 2016) www.uwyo.edu/pols/syllabus/1000-01-walter.docx.

810 Dr. Andrew Garner, Interview by Craig Keller, May 5, 2015.

Dr. Jason McConnell states why UW’s failure matters. It is imperative for all UW students to understand Wyoming’s government, both to act properly in civic affairs themselves and because Wyoming citizens without a college education inevitably will look to UW graduates for guidance in civic matters.⁸¹¹ UW has a chance to use POLS 1000 to offer a consistent, thought-provoking introduction to civic knowledge for the benefit of all residents. If UW does not take up the challenge to provide this introduction, who will?

BIOGRAPHIES: CAMPUS COMPACT OF THE MOUNTAIN WEST

Since this report makes a close study of four colleges in those two states, it will help to know who are Colorado and Wyoming’s local New Civics leaders. We cannot describe them all. We will instead give a brief account of **the leaders of Campus Compact of the Mountain West**, since this is the most influential regional New Civics organization in Colorado and Wyoming. It is also a way by which the different New Civics advocates at each university can coordinate their efforts.

Campus Compact of the Mountain West (CCMW) is the regional associate of Campus Compact for Colorado and Wyoming; it includes 22 university and college presidents from those two states. While it is formally a coalition of college and university presidents, it acts as a general sponsor and coordinator of the New Civics throughout those two states. CCMW’s Board of Directors, staff, and advisory committee double as the central promoters of the New Civics in these two states.⁸¹²

It is worth emphasizing that New Civics advocates in almost every college and university in Colorado and Wyoming know each other personally through their common membership in CCMW, and their attendance of CCMW meetings and CCMW-sponsored events. The New Civics’ effectiveness in Colorado and Wyoming depends upon the common membership and personal acquaintance built upon membership in CCMW, as well as in other regional organizations such as the Puksta Foundation.

Board of Directors



Paul Alexander is the Director of the Institute on the Common Good at Regis University—Regis University’s administrative center for New Civics. Alexander has degrees in Economics and Community Dialogue. Alexander represents the connection between the New Civics and progressive nonprofit organizations: he worked for more than twenty years in such nonprofits, and has spent eight years as Degree Chair for Regis University’s Master of Nonprofit Management Program.⁸¹³ **Alexander exemplifies the use of the New Civics as a staffing tool for progressive nonprofit organizations.**

811 Dr. Jason McConnell, Interview by Craig Keller, June 16, 2016.

812 Campus Compact of the Mountain West: “About”, <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/about>; “Our Members,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/members>.

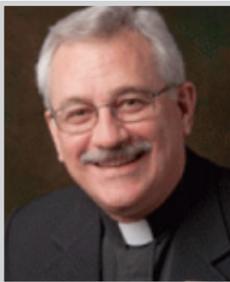
813 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Paul Alexander,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/paul-alexander>; “Paul . K. Alexander,” <http://academic.regis.edu/palexand/PKA%20Bio.htm>.



Paul Baumann is the Director of the National Center for Learning and Civic Engagement (NCLCE) at Education Commission of the States (ECS). Baumann's first career was as a music teacher, and he received his doctorate in Education Policy. ECS is a national organization advocating for state-level changes in education policy; NCLCE, based out of Denver, works to have state legislators pass laws to insert the New Civics into all levels of education.⁸¹⁴ **Baumann is the bureaucrat working to make the New Civics mandatory by way of legislation in every one of the fifty states.**



Andrew Dorsey has been the President of Front Range Community College since 2009. Dorsey has degrees in economics, business administration, and counseling psychology. He spent his career as a legislative director, in nonprofit administration, and as a professor, before moving into academic administration. Dorsey has provided his imprimatur for the New Civics, but he does not appear to have forwarded New Civics activities himself, other than by joining the Board of Directors of CCMW.⁸¹⁵ **Dorsey is the president who provides the New Civics access to a community college system, but appears to be interested in the New Civics for the utilitarian purpose of providing internships and jobs for his students.**



John Fitzgibbons, S.J., is the President of Regis University. He was ordained in 1985, and has received degrees in philosophy, English, Divinity, and moral theology. He has served in both church and academic administration, and has been president of Regis since 2012. Fitzgibbons appears to have no personal commitment to the New Civics, but as Regis' president has adopted the university's longstanding institutional commitment to the New Civics.⁸¹⁶ **Fitzgibbons' presence registers the extension of the New Civics into America's system of Catholic higher education.**

814 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Paul Baumann, <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/paul-baumann>; Education Commission of the States, <http://www.ecs.org/>; Education Commission of the States, National Center for Learning & Civic Engagement, <http://www.ecs.org/initiatives/national-center-for-learning-civic-engagement/>.

815 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Andrew Dorsey," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/andrew-dorsey>.

816 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "John Fitzgibbons, S.J.," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/john-fitzgibbons-sj>.



Michele Haney has been the President of Red Rocks Community College since 2008. Haney received degrees in political science and counseling, and worked as a professor before moving into academic administration. While Red Rocks has a service-learning program, there does not appear to be a major institutional commitment by Red Rocks to the New Civics.⁸¹⁷ **Haney, like Dorsey, provides the New Civics access to a community college system, but appears to be interested in the New Civics for the utilitarian purpose of providing internships and jobs for her students.**



John Trujillo is the Vice President & Senior Portfolio Manager Private Wealth Management at UMB Bank. Trujillo received his degrees in finance and business administration, has made a career in finance, and serves on the boards of several philanthropic organizations. One of these organizations, INROADS, works to provide internships and jobs for racial minorities—but includes “community service and leadership projects.”⁸¹⁸ **Trujillo represents the financial class that supports the New Civics, under the misapprehension that it is engaged in genuinely philanthropic activities.**

Staff



Stephanie Schooley has been Executive Director of CCMW since 2010. She received her degrees in History and Conflict Resolution, and she has served as an AmeriCorps VISTA member. She has made her career at Campus Compact, where she has worked to develop and implement the New Civics.⁸¹⁹ **Schooley is the mid-level bureaucrat who is devoting her career to spreading the New Civics throughout Colorado and Wyoming.**

817 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Michele Haney,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/michele-haney>; Red Rocks Community College, Meet the President and Leadership Team, <http://www.rrcc.edu/about-us/leadership>; Red Rocks Community College, Service Learning, <http://www.rrcc.edu/catalogs/14-15/service-learning.htm>.

818 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “John Trujillo,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/john-trujillo>; Inroads, Are You Ready for INROADS?, <https://www.inroads.org/students/are-you-ready-inroads>.

819 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Stephanie Schooley,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/stephanie-schooley>.



Jami Hiyakumoto is AmeriCorps Program Director. She received degrees in education and nonprofit management, and has worked in nonprofits and public service for more than twenty years.⁸²⁰ Hiyakumoto, like Schooley, **is a mid-level bureaucrat who is devoting her career to spreading the New Civics throughout Colorado and Wyoming.**



Amy Ezhaya is SECond Mission AmeriCorps VISTA Leader. Ezhaya received her degrees in International Relations and Education. She has worked with AmeriCorps VISTA for several years, focusing on student veterans.⁸²¹ **Ezhaya is a junior bureaucrat devoted to spreading the New Civics; she represents the capture by the New Civics of patriotic devotion to America's veterans.**



Katie Kleinhesselink is Director of Members Services. She has a degree in Public Administration. She was introduced to “community engagement” as an AmeriCorps member, and has since worked in community organizing, service learning, and community engagement throughout the Mountain West.⁸²² **Kleinhesselink is the professional progressive activist the New Civics seeks to create, now early in her career.**

820 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Jami Hiyakumoto,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/jami-hiyakumoto>.

821 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Kate Kleinhesselink,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/katie-kleinhesselink>.

822 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Amy Ezhaya,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/amy-ezhaya>.



Ashley Edinger is Campus Vote Coordinator. Edinger, currently an undergraduate at the University of Denver working on a BA in Socio-legal Studies and Political Science, has worked as a Public Achievement Coach, where “she has introduced over 150 high school students to civic engagement, and has coached them through public work initiatives built around social justice issues they are passionate about.” She has also worked as a Democracy Fellow at New Era Colorado, “participating in and leading grassroots field campaigns surrounding voter registration, ballot measures, and other local issues.”⁸²³ **Edinger is another example of the professional progressive activist the New Civics seeks to create, now preparing for her career.**

Advisory Committee



Ryan Campbell is the Compact Service Corps and Student Programs Coordinator, Metropolitan State University. His background is in outdoor education and recreation professions.⁸²⁴ **Campbell coordinates the New Civics program at Metropolitan State University.**



Loree Crow is the Associate Director for Honors, University of Northern Colorado. Her degrees are in Social Science, Business Administration, and Educational Leadership.⁸²⁵ **Crow coordinates a major New Civics program at the University of Northern Colorado; she represents the New Civics infiltration of the academy via “Honors Programs.”**

823 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Ashley Edinger,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/ashley-edinger>.

824 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Ryan Campbell,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/ryan-campbell>.

825 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Loree Crow,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/loree-crow>.



Anne DePrince is the Director of the Center for Community Engagement and Service Learning, University of Denver. She has received a doctorate in psychology.⁸²⁶ **DePrince coordinates the New Civics program at the University of Denver.**



Cara DiEnno is the Associate Director, CCESL, University of Denver. She has received degrees in environmental studies, biomedical sciences, and environmental communications. DiEnno manages DU's Public Achievement program; her work "is grounded in her own commitment to social justice and engagement."⁸²⁷ **DiEnno helps DePrince coordinate the New Civics program at the University of Denver; her presence in the CCMW Advisory Committee registers the regional importance of Harry Boyte's neo-Alinskyite community organizing.**



Rena Dulberg is the Director of Community Service, Academic Affairs, Johnson & Wales University. She has received degree in Psychology and Conflict Resolution; she led the New Civics ("Community Leadership Institute") unit within Johnson & Wales, and now is rising to higher administrative positions as Director of Campus Academic Initiatives.⁸²⁸ **Dulberg has coordinated the New Civics program at Johnson & Wales, and is ascending to a position where she can promote the New Civics throughout her university.**

826 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Anne DePrince," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/anne-deprince>.

827 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Cara DiEnno," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/cara-dienno>.

828 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Rena Dulberg," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/rena-dulberg>; Rena Dulberg, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/renadulberg>.



Shanna Farmer is the Community-Based Research Coordinator, Colorado State University Pueblo. Farmer has received degrees in Political Science and Organizational Leadership. Farmer runs the Regional Access to Graduate Education (RAGE) Program at Colorado State University-Pueblo.⁸²⁹ **Farmer coordinates the New Civics program at CSU-Pueblo; the name of the program she runs, RAGE, registers the cult of anger that the New Civics promotes.**



Jane Fraser is the Professor and the Chair of the Department of Engineering, Colorado State University-Pueblo. Fraser has received degrees in mathematics and Industrial Engineering & Operations Research. She has spent part of her professional career promoting STEM education, including via the Colorado Alliance for Minority Participation.⁸³⁰ **Fraser represents the capture by the New Civics of the desire to increase solid technical education among America's student body.**



Margit Hentschel is the Director of the Office of Service-Learning, Colorado State University. Hentschel is working on her doctorate in Peace Education.⁸³¹ **Hentschel coordinates a major New Civics program at Colorado State University.**



Veronica House is the Associate Faculty Director for Service-Learning and Outreach in the Program for Writing and Rhetoric, University of Colorado Boulder. She has received degrees, in English, French, and Poetry.⁸³² **House coordinates a major New Civics program at CU-Boulder; her presence registers the New Civics' infiltration of introductory and remedial writing programs.**

829 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Shanna Farmer," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/shanna-farmer>.

830 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Jane Fraser," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/jane-fraser>.

831 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Margrit Hentschel," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/margit-hentschel>.

832 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Veronica House," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/veronica-house>; Veronica House, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/veronica-house-a775914>.



Brandon Kosine is currently a Psychology Instructor at Casper College and Interim Dean of the School of Social and Behavioral Science. He was formerly was Associate Director in the Wyoming Union at the University of Wyoming, where he ran the Service, Leadership & Community Engagement Office and the Campus Activities Center. He has received degrees in Psychology, Clinical Psychology, and Counselor Education & Supervision. Among his initiatives are the institutionalization of service-learning at the University of Wyoming, and leadership of the UW Safe Zone program, “a program designed to increase the overall campus community’s understanding and awareness of issues faced by lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning (LGBTQ) and other marginalized persons.”⁸³³ **Kosine has planted the New Civics in Wyoming; he also registers the alignment of the New Civics with gay activism.**



Brittany McGarry is the Student Activities Coordinator, Johnson & Wales University. McGarry received her BA in Communications, and her Masters in College Student Development. McGarry did a year of service at AmeriCorps VISTA/Maine Campus Compact, and has also engaged in New Civics and sustainability activities during her time in graduate school.⁸³⁴ **McGarry registers the New Civics takeover of Student Affairs; she also registers the New Civics’ success in placing progressive activists into academic administration.**



Erin Olsen is the Coordinator of the Office for Service, Leadership, and Community Engagement, University of Wyoming. She has received degrees in International Business, Spanish, and Counselor Education.⁸³⁵ **Olsen, the successor of Brandon Kosine, represents the second-generation New Civics bureaucrat, who transforms a small New Civics program into a large one.**

833 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Brandon Kosine,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/brandon-kosine>; Casper College, “Brandon Kosine,” <http://www.caspercollege.edu/brandon-kosine>.

834 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Brittany McGarry,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/brittany-mcgarry>.

835 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Erin Olsen,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/erin-olsen>.



Deborah Romero is the Director of Engagement, University of Northern Colorado. She has received degrees in applied languages, educational psychology, and education.⁸³⁶ **Romero coordinates the New Civics program at the University of Northern Colorado.**



Peter Simons is the emeritus Director of the Institute for Ethical and Civic Engagement, University of Colorado Boulder, now renamed as CU Engage. Simons has received degrees in Psychology, Public Administration, Liberal Studies. Simons made CU-Boulder into the foremost center of the New Civics in Colorado and Wyoming.⁸³⁷ **Simons represents the now-retired New Civics advocate who successfully implanted New Civics into higher education during the course of his career.**



Sarah Steward is the Career and Community Engagement Coordinator, Naropa University. She received a BA in Sociology and Management and an MS in College Student Personnel.⁸³⁸ **Steward coordinates a New Civics program at Naropa University.**



Candace Walworth is the Chair of Peace Studies at Naropa University. Walworth states that she teaches and researches “socially engaged spirituality, the socially engaged imagination, and the practice of dialogue in conflict transformation”; she works via Naropa’s Interdisciplinary Studies on “peace, social justice, and sustainability.”⁸³⁹ **Walworth registers the New Civics infiltration of interdisciplinary programs.**

836 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Deborah Romero,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/deborah-romero>; University of Northern Colorado, “Deborah Romero,” http://www.unco.edu/provost/about_us/deborah_romero.aspx.

837 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Peter Simons,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/peter-simons>.

838 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Sarah Steward,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/sarah-steward>; Sarah Steward, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/sarahsteward>.

839 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Candace Walworth,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/candace-walworth>; Naropa University, “Candace Walworth,” <http://www.naropa.edu/faculty/candace-walworth.php>.



Gretchen Wheeler is the Director of the Center for Learning through Service, Casper College. She has received an MA in communication and performance. Wheeler institutionalized service-learning at Casper College, by creating the Center that she now directs.⁸⁴⁰ **Wheeler coordinates and promotes the New Civics program at Casper College.**



Sandy Wurtele is the Associate Dean for Community Partnerships & Programs, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs. She has received degrees in psychology and clinical psychology.⁸⁴¹ **Wurtele is head of UCCS's Service-Learning Internship and Community Engagement Center (SLICE), the major New Civics program at UCCS.**

840 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Gretchen Wheeler," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/gretchen-wheeler>.

841 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, "Sandy Wurtele," <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/sandy-wurtele>; University of Colorado, Colorado Springs, Psychology Department, "Sandy K. Wurtele, PhD," http://www.uccs.edu/psych/sandy_wurtele.html.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Good civics instruction is necessarily historical in character. It must describe institutions that developed in time for specific reasons. But good civics instruction must also teach civic virtues. We teach civics to make students into competent, confident, and patriotic participants in our nation’s public life. Civics courses and programs should not aim to sow disaffection and foster resentment. Above all, they should not aim to recruit students to political causes, create partisan sentiments, or treat the ideals of any political movements as though they are the civic virtues themselves.

In enunciating these goals, we recognize a high hurdle. Many administrators, faculty members, staff, students, and others have abandoned the principle of impartiality in education. Others no longer even recognize when they abandon impartiality. As a result we have reached a situation in which many people no longer see the value of teaching civics, except as a means of advancing their own political agendas.

The current emphasis on “civic engagement” is an enticing diversion. We call on the public high schools and universities in Colorado, Wyoming, and across the country to reassess this commitment, and for legislators and governors to take a hard, critical look at what really transpires under this seemingly positive rubric. This report is a good place to start. Do we really want to marginalize most of the content of the Old Civics? Is the New Civics a worthwhile replacement? Teaching students to become political activists and community organizers no doubt has its attractions. But teaching them to become activists and organizers who are ignorant of how their governing institutions actually work has no merit.

Colorado and Wyoming, no less than the other states, need a citizenry that understands how their government works. That means understanding elections, juries, grand juries, the courts, the police, legislative bodies, the division of powers, checks and balances, the Constitution, federalism—and the many other components of what used to be recognized as the substance of civic competence. It also means understanding the legitimate avenues of dissent and protest. All of this can and should be taught without favoring any political party or cause, except the cause of fostering the integrity of our free and self-governing republic. Civics education should teach students how and why to love America, with both head and heart.

Civics can and should be taught without favoring any political party or cause, except the cause of fostering the integrity of our free and self-governing republic. Civics education should teach students how and why to love America, with both head and heart.

Declare Principles

Reform of civics education will go nowhere without first finding clarity of purpose. The post-national, progressive left accomplished that for the New Civics with the publication of *A Crucible Moment*. The enthusiasm among campus activists for New Civics deeply complicates the effort to return to non-partisan ground. Some on the political right would prefer to respond with yet another version of politicized civics instead of championing educational ideals that are above politics. What we need, however, is a powerful summons to those national ideals. The place to begin is for each state to forge a declaration of those principles that can attract support from across the political spectrum and that does not use coded language to smuggle back in the partisanship that has undermined real civics education.

MODEL DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES: CIVICS EDUCATION

Because self-government is based on citizens who know what is best about their country and seek to preserve it, students at all levels need to be educated in civics. Civics education in America should teach the history, the ideals, and the structure of government of the United States. Civics education should, in the first instance, aim to create Americans: American citizens who have affection for their country as well as knowledge of how its public institutions work, including the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government; the divisions of power and responsibility among federal, state, and local authorities; and the rights and responsibilities of individuals.

Because non-citizens also attend American schools and colleges, civics education must also teach those who may become citizens and those who simply seek an American education. These non-citizens benefit from learning about this country's history and ideals. Civics education should be a self-confident presentation of how Americans have sought to realize our country's commitment to liberty and justice.

Americans often vigorously disagree about political goals, but are united in love of their country. Civics education should respect differing interpretations of America's ideals, favoring none, and emphasizing what we hold in common: a free republic under the rule of law, and a political culture in which all sides accept compromise and the realization that their own views, no matter how cherished, will not always prevail.

Civics education does not seek to prepare "citizens of the world," but citizens of the United States. American students should know about other nations' governments, laws, and cultures, and about the roles of international bodies, but these are not the substance of civics education. Civics education should prepare Americans for the tasks of participating effectively in their own government. It is not a curriculum meant to provide the whole of a liberal education.

Civics education should prepare students for a life of civic action, which includes such things as voting, running for public office, serving on juries or grand juries, enlisting in the military or the National Guard, paying taxes, volunteering for public service such as fire departments, and demanding accountability from public officials. Preparing students for a life of civic action, however, should not be confused with forcing them to engage in such action. The habits of volunteering are valuable, but cannot take the place of acquiring the background knowledge and values necessary to participate in our form of self-government. Moreover, programs that marshal students into “voluntary” civic activities fail in the primary goal of civics education, the cultivation of independence of spirit.

America has been blessed with free and independent government—gained at no small cost by generations who sacrificed to preserve the ideals of our republic. Civics education is what we undertake to ensure that generations to come will continue to enjoy freedom and independence.

Restructure and Set Standards for the Civics Curriculum

We recommend that Colorado and Wyoming create as part of their public education a rigorous, civics curriculum designed to meet the needs of students today and in the decades to come. This would be a new curriculum, not a restoration of one from the past, but it would incorporate the best features of Old Civics courses. The new curriculum would coordinate what is taught at the high school and at the college levels. It would emphasize knowledge, not activism. Its premise would be that citizens in a self-governing republic need to be educated to understand the institutions of self-government.

Programs that marshal students into “voluntary” civic activities fail in the primary goal of civics education, the cultivation of independence of spirit.

The foundation of civics instruction should be restored to the middle school curriculum, but high school and college provide the capstones of civics education. This report and our recommendations focus on what should happen at the level of higher education.

College-level civics courses can only be taught properly in coordination with a high-school civics curriculum. The two parts of the coordinated civics curriculum should include a High School Civics Curriculum and a College Civics Curriculum.

HIGH SCHOOL CIVICS CURRICULUM

1. a one-year course on the history and structure of the American government. This course should include and test for knowledge on documents such as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, extracts from the Federalist Papers, and the Emancipation Proclamation.
2. a one-year course on American history from the *Mayflower* to the present. This sequence should include significant material on the Revolutionary War and the Constitutional Founding. Throughout, it should be designed to include significant biographical material on exemplary Americans—civic heroes—and to provide both our constitutional history and its historical context.
3. a culminating state-level examination on civic literacy. This test should require serious study—the current (2016) College Board Advanced Placement examination in United State Government and Politics offers a reasonable model for rigor,⁸⁴² although states should provide their own tests rather than rely on a monopoly provider of educational assessment. This test will provide a means of assessing civics instruction in the high school, and a tool that colleges can use to test whether incoming students possess sufficient civic literacy to take a college-level course.

The new civics curriculum would coordinate what is taught at the high school and at the college levels. It would emphasize knowledge, not activism. Its premise would be that citizens in a self-governing republic need to be educated to understand the institutions of self-government.

COLLEGE CIVICS CURRICULUM

1. a civics literacy test (for which the high school exit examination can substitute) to determine whether incoming students have basic civic literacy. Students who have not passed that test must take a remedial civics literacy course that will cover the material they should have learned in high school. Students who have completed this course must take the civics literacy test again; they will not be allowed to graduate, or progress to more advanced civics instruction, until they pass this test.
2. a college civics curriculum. This will be a sequence of required courses for all students.

⁸⁴² College Board, *AP Government and Politics United States Course Description*, <https://secure-media.collegeboard.org/digitalServices/pdf/ap/ap-us-government-and-politics-course-description.pdf>.

College Civics Curriculum: Structure and Content

THE BEST SOLUTION: CIVIC LITERACY IN A CORE CURRICULUM

We start with a recommendation that we realize is not now within practical reach for most public universities in the United States. In the short run, institutional commitments to the regime of “distribution requirements” is too strong to permit serious consideration of new required courses. But we sketch an alternative based on new required courses as an ideal that may help to guide curricular changes in the long term.

The larger idea of a core curriculum that teaches all students the core history, ideas, and literature of Western civilization is meant not least to be a civics education. Just as high-school civics is meant to be taught in complement with American history, college-level civics should be taught in complement with a broader core curriculum—a classical liberal education to furnish the mind of a well-educated free citizen. This broader core curriculum ought to include the following courses:

1. **a two-semester history of Europe** (“Western Civilization”), from Periclean Athens to the present, which highlights the historical development of republics and democracies, and the intellectual, social, and cultural developments that have sustained the birth of free government in Europe;
2. **a two-semester history of the United States**, repeating at the college level the history of the United States; and
3. **a two-semester civics sequence**, fostering students’ ability to engage in intelligent discussion and argument about the core political texts of our republic, and to integrate associated historical material as a supplement (but not a replacement) to close reading of these texts’ actual words.

The two courses in the civics sequence should consist of:

1. **The American Founding.** This course should focus on the texts and debates of the period between 1763 and 1796. It should include extracts from philosophical inspirations such as the works of Locke and Montesquieu; revolutionary polemics by figures such as John Adams and Thomas Paine; close discussion of the work of Thomas Jefferson, including the Declaration of Independence and the *Notes on the State of Virginia*; the Constitution; the

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- Federalist*; the Bill of Rights; and George Washington’s *Farewell Address* (1796), which signaled the establishment of stable government in America.
2. **The American Debate.** This course should focus on the political debate among the different heirs to the Founding Fathers, and the debate’s institutionalization in the party system. This course should include significant materials on the Jacksonian challenge to the remnants of social and political deference in America; the crisis of slavery and secession that led to the Civil War and reshaped America’s constitutional order; the Progressive and New Deal remodelings of the American constitution; a survey of contending philosophies of constitutional interpretation; and a parallel survey of notable judicial decisions from *Lochner v. New York* (1905) to *District of Columbia v. Heller* (2008).

In both courses, the curriculum should emphasize tensions among ideals within the constitutional system—how different liberties can come into conflict, how some may be irreconcilable, and how some are subject to compromise leaving mutual dissatisfaction among contending parties. The civics curriculum, in other words, should teach students to understand their opponents, to live with their political to-do lists unfulfilled, and, most importantly, to understand that true *civic engagement* includes an appreciation for the constitutional order, whose preservation should be deemed a virtue outweighing any substantive political goal.

THE SECOND-BEST SOLUTION: A CIVIC LITERACY DISTRIBUTION REQUIREMENT

In the short run, a more practical alternative to establishing new course requirements would be to adapt the distribution requirement system.

While a core curriculum would serve the purposes of civics education best, a civic literacy distribution requirement on the model of the University of Wyoming, where students select from a limited number of courses on history, government, and political theory, is a second-best option. Civics courses should be put into their own distribution requirement rather than in broader requirements such as “Social and Behavioral Sciences,” which encourage students to take courses in Psychology or Sociology rather than courses in specifically civic knowledge. Courses that contribute to civic literacy should also double-count against other distribution requirements, so as to encourage students to take these courses.

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THE CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLEGE-LEVEL CIVICS CLASSES

These classes should focus on educating students exclusively on the content of civics. They should not be exercises in partisanship or ventures in social activism. Students will study historical documents and read serious secondary books and articles in quantities appropriate for college-level courses. They will learn the tools of analysis and critique, and be able to converse and argue about any key idea in both oral and written forms. While these courses will go into depth on the topics of how our government works and why it is organized as it is, they will also help students to acquire some of the civic virtues that higher education is especially suited to provide:

- how to listen respectfully and tolerate differences of opinion;
- how to make truth claims of universal validity for which “opinions differ” is an insufficient answer;
- how to engage in rational argument rather than groundless assertion in support of one’s opinion;
- how to argue both sides of any question as a way of learning to take seriously opposing opinions and as a way to discover the truth; and
- how to engage in the life of the mind joyfully, fearing to say nothing and fearing to hear nothing.

Freeze Funding for Service-Learning and Civic Engagement

To restore civics education in the United States, boards of regents, trustees, other responsible authorities, and representatives of the public will have to take steps to correct the diversion of resources and institutional priorities into what we have called the New Civics. This diversion takes several forms, but is especially prominent in “service-learning” and what are often called “civic engagement” or “global civics” classes and activities.

We have made the case in this report that the New Civics is, in essence, a political movement. Its goals are to recruit students to become progressive activists; to provide free labor for progressive organizations; to crowd out (or discredit) other points of view; and to establish campus norms in which progressive ideals are treated as unquestionable. Generally the New Civics is planted in an attitude that anything un-Progressive is un-American.

Restoring civics education will require going against a campus culture in which the New Civics is already well-established and well-positioned to resist developments that threaten its dominance.

Responsible authorities should require good evidence that service-learning and civic engagement is anything more than a jobs program for progressive ideologues.

The first step towards challenging that dominance is to freeze the funding of the New Civics programs, starting with service-learning. Perhaps some of these service-learning programs have value for students, but that should not be assumed. The tables need to be turned: responsible authorities should require good evidence that service-learning is anything more than a jobs program for progressive ideologues.

Reforms within the system might include:

1. Service-learning ought to have lists of partner community organizations that span the political spectrum, and which make it as easy (for example) for service-learning to include teaching gun safety as an NRA instructor as it is to work in a shelter for illegal immigrants.
2. Civic engagement should be reformed in its ideological presumptions so as to prize work for pro-life organizations as much as work for environmental organizations.
3. Conflict-of-interest rules should be tightened, such that no civics or service-learning grant money disbursed by a university can be awarded to a university staff member.

These reforms will not happen without strong public pressure. The staff administering such programs are so thoroughly progressive that they cannot be relied upon to administer such programs impartially, or to recognize their own conflicts of interest. And we should recollect the power of any administrator, who is, after all, hired to make decisions.⁸⁴³ New Civics bureaucrats will always do what they think is best—radical politics disguised as education—until someone tells them that they can't.

Reformers will also have to anticipate that service-learning and civic engagement administrators will unleash a campaign of students eager to testify to the educational value of such programs. After all, the main skill-set of these administrators consists of organizing students to do their bidding. The students have been primed to demonstrate, exhort, occupy, and issue demands on behalf of the political causes favored by the public employees who run these programs.

Government oversight is impractical: the Education Committee of the Colorado House of Representatives (for example) cannot and should not be in the business of examining the content of every service-learning and civic engagement class in the state. Since the administrators of such programs cannot be relied upon to execute them

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843 Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 147.

impartially, and the regulatory bureaucrats of the federal and state education departments also have been captured by the institutions they are supposed to regulate, **all New Civics programs should have their funding frozen immediately**. In due time, these programs need to be de-funded and closed. Presumably attrition will thin the ranks of these supernumerary employees before their positions are finally eliminated. The public will support this effort when it learns that the cost savings will be substantial.

Legislative Initiatives: Containing and Eliminating the New Civics

A comprehensive campaign to halt the New Civics takeover of higher education should include as many as possible of the following legislative initiatives:

1. Legislators should freeze all Federal and state funding for the New Civics (service-learning, civic engagement, global civics, and so on), with no further adjustments for inflation.
2. Legislators should end hiring of new personnel for New Civics program, with the long-term goal of eliminating all New Civics personnel.
3. Legislators should mandate that no institution of higher education that receives public money can *require* students to take any New Civics class.
4. Legislators should mandate that no institution of higher education that receives public money can affiliate with Public Achievement, or any other organization devoted to community organizing.
5. Legislators should mandate that no institution of higher education that receives public money can insert New Civics into student residential life.
6. Legislators should mandate that no institution of higher education that receives public money may fund students or give them academic credit for participating in volunteer activities.

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7. Legislators should mandate that no institution of higher education that receives public money may make faculty participation in the New Civics a contributory factor toward receiving reappointment, tenure, promotion, eligibility for sabbatical leave, or other faculty appurtenances.
8. Legislators should mandate that no government money (grant, fellowship, loan) may be used toward tuition for any New Civics class.
9. Legislators should mandate that no Federal or state administrative regulation may promote the New Civics.
10. Legislators should mandate that no Federal or state administrative regulation may use New Civics activity as a plus-factor or requirement for awarding any public money.
11. Legislators should mandate that no institution of higher education that receives public money may support community organizing or political advocacy.

This containment of the New Civics must be carefully tailored to counter bureaucratic maneuvers such as renaming civic engagement programs and moving them into different sub-units of the university. When the Tennessee legislature voted in 2016 to defund the University of Tennessee, Knoxville’s Office of Diversity and Inclusion, the Chancellor of the University subverted the legislature’s intent by moving all the subprograms of the Office of Diversity and Inclusion into different administrative units.⁸⁴⁴ When legislatures do move to freeze the New Civics, the New Civics’ defenders presumably will use the same tactics so as to preserve its programs under different names. The campaign to freeze the New Civics must be carefully drafted and administered in good faith by watchdogs who are familiar with the subterfuges often employed in higher education.

Legislators must mandate full and detailed fiscal transparency by all public educational institutions.

To prevent such bureaucratic maneuvering to hide university expenditures on the New Civics, legislators must mandate full and detailed fiscal transparency by all public educational institutions.

It is worth repeating here that *A Crucible Moment* cites “student affairs professionals” among those engaged in “The central work of advancing civic learning and democratic engagement in

844 Jimmy Cheek, “Jimmy Cheek’s letter regarding the defunding of the Office of Diversity and Inclusion,” *University of Tennessee Daily Beacon*, http://www.utdailybeacon.com/jimmy-cheek-s-letter-regarding-the-defunding-of-the-office/article_21259bc6-1ebf-11e6-a596-db553c335025.html.

higher education.”⁸⁴⁵ The containment of the New Civics advocates in academic administration must be sure to include these student affairs professionals.

“Leadership” programs are usually shells for the New Civics.⁸⁴⁶ They also should be frozen, save in ROTC military science courses.

What about Academic Freedom?

By recommending that new required courses be created and that some current programs be eliminated, we raise issues that are sure to be debated in the rhetoric of academic freedom. We take these matters very seriously. Academic freedom is a foundational concept in higher education. In that sense, it is like civics education itself: an indispensable part of liberty and self-government. But also like civics education, the concept of academic freedom is susceptible to misuse by those who seek political advantage rather than truth.

Course requirements as part of college degree programs do not infringe academic freedom. There is no barrier on academic freedom grounds to requiring civics education courses.

Likewise, academic freedom does not wall off existing courses or non-academic programs from external review, de-funding, and possible elimination. Academic freedom arguments on these issues are red herrings, but reformers need to anticipate that they will come up.

A further point should be emphasized: academic freedom is justified on the grounds that university members have specialized training in their subject areas. The public defers to academics’ professional competence, and hence grants them the large autonomy of academic freedom. *But neither academics nor academic bureaucrats have special qualifications to judge the attributes of citizenship.* Citizens are the best judges of one another’s civic virtues. If they are going to delegate civics education, it can only be to their elected representatives, whose qualification is the only relevant one—a democratic mandate, articulated via an election. If universities are to be deputed to engage

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Neither academics nor academic bureaucrats have special qualifications to judge the attributes of citizenship.

⁸⁴⁵ A *Crucible Moment*, p. 31.

⁸⁴⁶ Stanton, Giles, and Cruz, *Service Learning*, p. 60.

in citizen-training, despite their lack of professional qualifications for the job, their personnel do so as agents of the citizenry and its elected representatives, and not as autonomous professionals. Academic freedom does not apply to civics education. Any publicly funded university should teach precisely the civics education the elected legislature requires. Indeed, if a state university is going to teach civics education at all, the legislature has a special obligation to oversee the content of that education, and *not* to defer to the university. A private university may teach whatever civics curriculum it likes, of course—but students would be advised to avoid colleges where the professors and staff have decided they know best what makes a good citizen.⁸⁴⁷

Fund Small Civic Literacy Classes

Some of the money that would have been used to fund the New Civics should be redirected toward funding the civics classes we have recommended. The cost of these courses will be far less than the current cost of the New Civics. In that sense, these are reforms that will more than pay for themselves.

This redirection of funding should be done both as a sign of the real importance our government assigns to civics, and as a way to make civics classes appealing to students. Public universities now tend to teach civics classes, when they teach them at all, as enormous lectures or as distance-learning classes. These two formats are uninspiring to teachers and students, and ensure that even a properly structured civics class will not have much effect. The civics literacy classes should:

1. **Be capped at 30 students per class.** This will improve the quality of civics education substantially. It will also distinguish these classes from the large lecture classes that constitute the bulk of freshman education at public universities.
2. **Be tuition-free.** Public subsidy of higher education ought to make its first priority be a proper civics education for students. Taking civics classes should cause no fiscal hardship.

Some of the money that would have been used to fund the New Civics should be redirected toward funding the civics classes we have recommended, both as a sign of the real importance our government assigns to civics, and as a way to make civics classes appealing to students.

⁸⁴⁷ I am grateful to K. C. Johnson for making this point in private communication—and for some of his eloquent wording, which I have pillaged without using quotation marks.

Provide a Supportive Professional Environment for Civic Literacy

The states should also fund an educational framework that encourages the teaching of civic literacy. Measures should include:

1. **Frame professorial career tracks to encourage the teaching of traditional civics.** Measures may include the creation of separate departments focused upon teaching the civics curriculum; giving due weight to teaching traditional civics in tenure decisions; and establishing a tenure track that relies more on teaching traditional civics than on research.
2. **Funding support for traditional civics.** Such measures may include teaching development funds, salaries for teaching assistants, and salary bonuses for good teachers of traditional civics.
3. **Fund journals and professional associations dedicated to traditional civics.** States should help traditional civics teachers to create and maintain a supportive national professional framework.
4. **Require K-12 history and social studies teachers to take advanced courses on traditional civics.** This will improve civics instruction at the K-12 level, and also give civics professors the incentive of the opportunity to teach advanced courses in their specialties.
5. **Fund graduate students who wish to specialize in traditional civics.** This will ensure a continuing supply of properly trained professors.

Foster a Genuine Culture of Volunteerism

Colleges and universities should foster real volunteerism by removing all subsidies and academic credit from volunteer activities. It should also return administrative support for such activities to the unpaid, volunteer level, so as to model what proper volunteer activity should look like. Schools may provide a minimum of administrative support, but all that volunteer groups really need are a bulletin board, paper, and thumb tacks.

No position dedicated to volunteer activity should receive any salary, whether full-time or part-time.

Colleges and universities should foster real volunteerism by removing all subsidies and academic credit from volunteer activities. All that volunteer groups really need are a bulletin board, paper, and thumb tacks.

Universities should provide non-remunerative awards to honor students who have been noteworthy volunteers. The selection panel for such awards should include members of local volunteer organizations whose partisan commitments are evenly distributed across the political spectrum.

Any worthwhile activity now done via service-learning or civic engagement, such as work for United Way or an animal shelter, should be done instead by volunteers.

Unite Non-Progressive Civics Organizations

The infrastructure of progressive civics education organizations exerts nationwide pressure on civics education in a leftist direction, and provides a professional environment for progressive activists employed in civics education. Non-progressive civics organizations should unite so as to form an equally capacious professional environment for civics education teachers and administrators. A great many people interested in civics education drift into the progressive organizations because there is no alternative to them. Give such people a choice—a nationwide alliance of civics education organizations large enough to rival the progressive network—and many of them will avoid the progressive network. This sort of institution building is a necessary component of the reform of civics education—in Colorado, in Wyoming, and nationwide.

Institutes such as the Jack Miller Center, which works to support traditional civic literacy programs on college campuses nationwide, do wonderful work.⁸⁴⁸ Much more, however, needs to be done—and that work needs to be coordinated. These united organizations should engage in activities that include:

1. **Establish a Traditional Civics Ranking Organization.** Universities love to compete; provide them a certificate that shows they are superior at traditional civics, and they will strive to win it. Frame this ranking so that the highest achievement is reserved for those institutions that have eliminated their New Civics programs root and branch.
2. **Market this Ranking to the Private Sector.** Colleges that give degrees to students who take New Civics courses are marketing uneducated students to employers. If employers begin to use the traditional civics ranking as a way to tell which college graduates have

Colleges that give degrees to students who take New Civics courses are marketing uneducated students to employers. If employers begin to use the traditional civics ranking as a way to tell which college graduates have actually taken real college courses, it will encourage universities to eliminate their New Civics programs.

848 Jack Miller Center, “About Us,” <http://www.jackmillercenter.org/about-us/>.

actually taken real college courses, it will encourage universities to eliminate their New Civics programs.

3. **Lobby states to adopt the Traditional Civics Ranking for their certification requirements.** The best way to ensure that universities teach traditional civics, and to eliminate the New Civics, is to adopt these criteria in state certification requirements.

Conclusion

Not every person involved in the New Civics is engaged exclusively in progressive advocacy. Thia Wolf at California State University, Chico went to some length to make CSU-Chico’s Great Debates (required for all first-year students) bipartisan.⁸⁴⁹ But this is a very rare exception indeed, in a sphere overwhelmingly dominated by forthright progressive advocacy.

Boyle and Scarnati cogently articulate the stakes: “Higher education is an ‘upstream’ institution that shapes the citizenship identities and practices of students throughout their lives. As colleges and universities discuss and practice the civic politics of public work, they will help recreate foundations for civic agency in multiple places.”⁸⁵⁰ These are the words of the advocates of the

New Civics, as they seek to take over civics education—indeed, higher education as a whole—and turn it into a device for progressive advocacy, a device to provide cheap labor for progressive non-profits, and, ultimately, an auxiliary to a progressive party-state. We should take them at their word: the content of civics education is the content of our children’s minds, and a progressive takeover of the colleges will end up as a progressive takeover of the country. We have been warned.

This takeover can and must be stopped—but only by the sustained attention of the American people to prevent it from happening. It will take, indeed, democratic civil engagement, by individuals, the institutions of civil society, and the government at all levels, to prevent the New Civics advocates’ exploitation of our universities. That sort of campaign will indeed be an educative experience, and we will be the better as citizens for having conducted it, and triumphed. We must only be careful to make sure that the elimination of civic engagement, service learning, and the other tools of progressive takeover in our schools does not itself become part of our education within the classroom: *organizing* our children would be to hand the New Civics advocates an ironic triumph.

The content of civics education is the content of our children's minds, and a progressive takeover of the colleges will end up as a progressive takeover of the country.

849 Thia Wolf, “Everyone’s a Participant: Large-Scale Civic Experiences in the First-Year Curriculum,” in Reich, ed., *Civic Engagement*, p. 65.

850 Boyle and Scarnati, “Transforming Higher Education,” p. 80.

In the meanwhile, a proper education to civic literacy will not only instill the knowledge necessary to act as a citizen, but also provide an alternative to the New Civics' progressive agenda. We must not cede the ideals of democracy and citizenship to misuse by leftist activists, and we must provide our own articulation of those ideals, in theory and in practice. It will be a long, hard campaign to triumph over the advocates of the New Civics—but we have models to imitate for such campaigns, in Washington, the soldiers at Valley Forge, and many other Americans who fought for the freedom of their posterity. As they fought to bequeath us a free republic, so we may fight to bequeath one to our children. We have the better cause; let us be worthy of it.

APPENDIX 1: THE NEW CIVICS INFRASTRUCTURE

This section is drawn largely, but not exclusively, from the list of Resources provided by the University of Wyoming's Office of Service Learning & Community Engagement.⁸⁵¹

National Organizations

Alternative Breaks (Break Away): “Break Away is a national nonprofit organization that promotes the development of quality alternative break programs through training, assisting, and connecting campuses and communities.”⁸⁵²

American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU): “AASCU is a Washington-based higher education association of nearly 420 public colleges, universities and systems whose members share a learning- and teaching-centered culture, a historic commitment to underserved student populations and a dedication to research and creativity that advances their regions’ economic progress and cultural development.”⁸⁵³

The American Democracy Project (ADP): “The American Democracy Project (ADP) is a multi-campus initiative focused on public higher education’s role in preparing the next generation of informed, engaged citizens for our democracy. The project began in 2003 as an initiative of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), in partnership with *The New York Times*.”⁸⁵⁴

American Educational Research Association, Service-Learning and Experiential Education Special Interest Group: “The purposes of the SIG are: 1. To support members in their research agendas by providing opportunities for scholars to share current studies through presentations at the annual conference and through our on-line journal. 2. To keep members informed about current research related to service-learning and experiential education. 3. To provide opportunities for members to collaborate through emails, list serves, and our web site. The SIG co-sponsors the *International Journal of Research on Service-Learning in Teacher Education*.”⁸⁵⁵

Association for Experiential Education: “The Association for Experiential Education (AEE) exists to connect a global community of educators and practitioners and expand their capacity to enrich lives through Experiential Education.”⁸⁵⁶

851 University of Wyoming, Service Learning & Community Engagement, “Resources,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slice/resources/index.html>.

852 Break Away, “About,” <http://alternativebreaks.org/about/>.

853 American Association of State Colleges and Universities, “Strategic Plan: Governing Ideas,” <http://www.aascu.org/strategic-plan/governing-ideas/>.

854 American Association of State Colleges and Universities, “About ADP,” <http://www.aascu.org/programs/ADP/>.

855 American Educational Research Association, “Message from SIG Chair,” <http://www.aera.net/SIG041/MessagefromSIGChair/tabid/13366/Default.aspx>.

856 Association for Experiential Education, “About AEE,” <http://www.aee.org/about-ae>.



Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U): “The mission of the Association of American Colleges & Universities is to make liberal education and inclusive excellence the foundation for institutional purpose and educational practice in higher education.”⁸⁵⁷

Campus Compact: “Campus Compact is a national coalition of nearly 1,100 colleges and universities committed to the public purposes of higher education. We are a network comprising a national office and 34 state and regional Campus Compacts. As the only national higher education association dedicated solely to campus-based civic engagement, Campus Compact enables campuses to develop students’ citizenship skills and forge effective community partnerships. Our resources support faculty and staff as they pursue community-based teaching and scholarship in the service of positive change.”⁸⁵⁸

Carnegie Community Engagement Classification: “The Carnegie Foundation’s Classification for Community Engagement is an elective classification, meaning that it is based on voluntary participation by institutions. The elective classification involves data collection and documentation of important aspects of institutional mission, identity and commitments, and requires substantial effort invested by participating institutions. It is an institutional classification; it is not for systems of multiple campuses or for part of an individual campus.”⁸⁵⁹

Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT): “The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching is committed to developing networks of ideas, individuals, and institutions to advance teaching and learning. We join together scholars, practitioners, and designers in new ways to solve problems of educational practice.”⁸⁶⁰

Clinton Global Initiative University: “Building on the successful model of the Clinton Global Initiative, which brings together world leaders to take action on global challenges, President Bill Clinton launched the Clinton Global Initiative University (CGI U) in 2007 to engage the next generation of leaders on college campuses around the world.”⁸⁶¹

Engagement Scholarship Consortium: “Our goal is to work collaboratively to build strong university-community partnerships anchored in the rigor of scholarship, and designed to help build community capacity.”⁸⁶²

857 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “Mission Statement,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/about/mission>.

858 Campus Compact, “Who We Are,” <http://compact.org/who-we-are/>.

859 New England Resource Center for Higher Education, “Carnegie Community Engagement Classification,” http://nerche.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=341&Itemid=618.

860 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, “Who We Are,” <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/who-we-are/>.

861 Clinton Global Initiative University, “About CGIU,” <https://www.clintonfoundation.org/clinton-global-initiative/meetings/cgi-university/about/about-cgiu>.

862 Engagement Scholarship Consortium, “About the ESC,” <https://engagementscholarship.org/about>.

GlobeChangers: “GlobeChangers identifies extraordinary young Americans, ages 5-25, with big ideas and big energy. Through training and mentorship, we help translate their big idea to change the world into national or global service projects.”⁸⁶³

Imagining America : “IA is currently comprised of more than 100 college and university members and community partners. Annual programming includes convening a national conference and cultural organizing institutes, and collaborative research and action projects. IA contributes resources to an expanding membership, offers opportunities undergraduate and graduate student leaders, and provides significant leadership to the field of engaged scholarship in higher education.”⁸⁶⁴

International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement (IARSLCE): “The International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement (IARSLCE) is an international non-profit organization devoted to promoting research and discussion about service-learning and community engagement.”⁸⁶⁵

International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement (IARSLCE) Graduate Student Network: “The Graduate Student Network is a community of graduate students from all over the world who are interested in advancing research on service-learning and community engagement from diverse backgrounds and perspectives.”⁸⁶⁶

Mobilize.org: “Mobilize.org believes that in order to create long-term, sustainable and community based solutions to the challenges facing our generation, Millennials (young adults born between the years 1976 and 1996) must authentically engage their peers in identifying problems, proposing solutions, and most importantly, must work together to implement these solutions on their campuses and in their communities.”⁸⁶⁷

National Center for Learning and Civic Engagement: “The National Center for Learning and Civic Engagement (NCLCE) is a center within the Education Commission of the States (ECS) committed to strengthening civic learning and engagement opportunities for students across the country. NCLCE supports state education leaders’ efforts to foster civic learning and engagement opportunities for all students.”⁸⁶⁸

863 Jefferson Awards Foundation, “What is GlobeChangers?,” <http://globechangers.jeffersonawards.org/>.

864 Imagining America, “History,” <http://imaginingamerica.org/about/history/>.

865 International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement, “About Use,” <http://www.researchslce.org/about/>.

866 International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement, “Graduate Student Network,” <http://www.researchslce.org/get-involved/graduate-student-network/#IARSLCE%20Graduate%20Student%20Network>.

867 Mobilize.org, “Our Mission” http://www.mobilize.org/#!about_us/csgz.

868 Education Commission of the States, “Who We Are,” <http://www.ecs.org/initiatives/national-center-for-learning-civic-engagement/#National%20Center%20for%20Learning%20and%20Civic%20Engagement>.

National Center for Science & Civic Engagement: “NCSCE is a national organization that supports a community of teachers and learners. Through grant funding, we help educators in and outside the classroom make connections between the content they teach and real world issues of civic importance.”⁸⁶⁹

National Collaborative for the Study of University Engagement: “The National Collaborative for the Study of University Engagement (NCSUE) strives to be a preeminent innovator within the scholarly movement of *engagement* in higher education. NCSUE deepens the study of and discussion about two key principles—engaged scholarship and the scholarship of engagement—to inform and advance the national agenda.”⁸⁷⁰

National Conference on Citizenship: “The National Conference on Citizenship (NCoC) is a congressionally chartered organization dedicated to strengthening civic life in America. We pursue our mission through a nationwide network of partners involved in a cutting-edge civic health initiative and our cross-sector conferences. At the core of our joint efforts is the belief that every person has the ability to help their community and country thrive.”⁸⁷¹

National Forum on Higher Education for the Public Good: “The National Forum exists to support higher education’s role as a public good. In this pursuit, the Forum utilizes research and other tools to create and disseminate knowledge that addresses higher education issues of public importance.”⁸⁷²

National Society for Experiential Education: “National Society for Experiential Education (NSEE) is a nonprofit membership association of educators, businesses, and community leaders. Founded in 1971, NSEE also serves as a national resource center for the development and improvement of experiential education programs nationwide.”⁸⁷³

National Youth Leadership Council: “The For more than 30 years, NYLC has transformed classrooms, empowered teachers, and captivated students by leading the way in providing high-quality, dynamic service-learning content to school districts, classrooms, out-of-school youth programs, and everything in between. Our programs and services develop young leaders, support educators, and advance the field of service-learning.”⁸⁷⁴

869 National Center Science & Civic Engagement, “About,” <http://ncsce.net/about/>.

870 Michigan State University, “National Collaborative for the Study of University Engagement,” <http://ncsue.msu.edu/Default.aspx#National%20Collaborative%20for%20the%20Study%20of%20University%20Engagement>.

871 National Conference on Citizenship, “NCOC: About Us,” <http://www.ncoc.net/about>.

872 National Forum on Higher Education for the Public Good, “About Us,” <http://thenationalforum.org/aboutus/>.

873 National Society for Experiential Education, “About NSEE,” <http://www.nsee.org/about-us>.

874 National Youth Leadership Council, [“Home,”] <https://nylc.org/#National%20Youth%20Leadership%20Counsel%20>.

New England Resource Center for Higher Education: “The New England Resource Center for Higher Education (NERCHE) is committed to collaborative change processes in higher education to address social justice in a diverse democracy.”⁸⁷⁵

Public Achievement: “Public Achievement is a youth civic engagement initiative focused on the most basic concepts of citizenship, democracy and public work. Public Achievement draws on the talents and desires of ordinary people to build a better world and to create a different kind of politics.”⁸⁷⁶

Publicly Active Graduate Education Program: “The program has used its funding from IA [Imagining America] to host monthly peer-designed webinars and virtual dinner parties, to support fellows as they visit one another’s campuses, to generate conference programming, and to fund the co-creation of scholarly artifacts.”⁸⁷⁷

Spencer Foundation, The New Civics Initiative: “The New Civics initiative starts with the assumption that a central aim of civic education is to prepare young people to act with civic purpose and to do so effectively and with good judgment. Like others, we presume that individuals must be educated for citizenship and that schools have a historic mandate to develop young people’s knowledge, skills, and dispositions for responsible citizenship. At the same time, we expand the scope of civic learning for civic action beyond the school; as community organizations, political parties, and many other groups have both the interest and the capacity to contribute to this critical aim. If the goal is to prepare young people to act in informed and mature ways, what civic knowledge, skills, dispositions, and attitudes do they need to learn or develop? How do young people learn these building blocks for civic participation? Broadly speaking, how can education, in whatever form it takes and wherever it occurs, contribute to more effective programs and practices to achieve this goal? The New Civics initiative area invites research proposals that ask critical questions about how education can more effectively contribute to the civic development of young people.”⁸⁷⁸

State Farm Youth Advisory Board: “Thirty students, ages 17-20, from across the United States comprise the State Farm Youth Advisory Board. They are charged with helping State Farm design and implement a \$5 million-a-year signature service-learning initiative to address issues important to State Farm and communities across the United States.”⁸⁷⁹

875 New England Resource Center for Higher Education, “Mission,” http://nerche.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2&Itemid=11.

876 Augsburg College, Public Achievement, “Background,” <http://inside.augsburg.edu/publicachievement/background/>.

877 Imagining America, “History of PAGE,” <http://imaginingamerica.org/student-engagement/history-of-page/>.

878 Spencer Foundation, “The New Civics Program Statement,” <http://www.spencer.org/new-civics-program-statement>.

879 State Farm Youth Advisory Board, “[“Home,”]” <http://www.statefarmyab.com/#State%20Farm%20Advisory%20Board>.

Yankelovich Center for Public Judgment: “The Yankelovich Center is rooted in both Dan’s [Daniel Yankelovich’s] thinking and philosophy and in the work of its predecessor, the Center for Advances in Public Engagement (CAPE). Via the Yankelovich Center, we conduct original research, create tools, convene practitioners and thought leaders and join public conversations relevant to public judgment, public engagement, public participation, deliberative democracy, civic education and governance.”⁸⁸⁰

Youth Service America: “YSA supports a global culture of engaged children and youth committed to a lifetime of meaningful service, learning, and leadership. With half the world’s population under age 25, our mission is to help all young people find their voice, take action, and make an impact on vital community issues.”⁸⁸¹

Regional Organizations

Campus Compact of the Mountain West (CCMW): “Campus Compact of the Mountain West is a membership organization of colleges and universities devoted to promoting civic learning and elevating higher education engagement in the region.”⁸⁸²

Center for Education in Law and Democracy: “The Center for Education in Law and Democracy is a Colorado non-profit non-partisan educational organization that promotes and supports the development of responsible citizens committed to democratic principles and active participation in representative government.”⁸⁸³

Colorado Leadership Alliance (CLA): “The Colorado Leadership Alliance (CLA) is a leadership program for college students. The program includes leadership education programs at 13 Colorado universities that equip students with skills for civic engagement and career success and connects students to Denver leaders through the annual CLA Summit.”⁸⁸⁴

Colorado Service Learning Council (CSLC): “The mission of the Colorado Service-Learning Council (CSLC) is to promote, advance, and institutionalize high quality service-learning through innovative collaboration among P-20 institutions, government agencies, nonprofit agencies, and the private sector throughout Colorado.”⁸⁸⁵

Puksta Foundation: “Founded in 2001, the Puksta Foundation provides scholarships, mentorship, and experiential community engagement training for undergraduate Colorado students. Each year, a new cohort of scholars who exhibit a strong commitment to service and civic responsibility are

880 Public Agenda, “The Yankelovich Center for Public Judgment,” <http://www.publicagenda.org/pages/yankelovich-center-for-public-judgment#Yankelovich%20Center%20for%20Public%20Judgment>.

881 Youth Service America, “About YSA,” <http://ysa.org/about/>.

882 Campus Compact of the Mountain West, [“Home,”] <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/>.

883 Center for Education in Law and Democracy, “Home,” <http://www.lawanddemocracy.org/>.

884 Colorado Leadership Alliance, <http://www.denverleadership.org/colorado-leadership-alliance/>.

885 Colorado Service-Learning, “CSLC Mission, Vision & Values,” <http://www.coloradoservicelearning.org/about-us/>.

selected to join the Puksta Scholar Program. Scholars participate in a rigorous and rewarding four-year program designed to equip students with the knowledge, skills, and experiences necessary to become catalysts for lasting positive change in the community.”⁸⁸⁶

Federal Government Programs

AmeriCorps: “AmeriCorps engages more than 75,000 Americans in intensive service each year at nonprofits, schools, public agencies, and community and faith-based groups across the country. ... AmeriCorps places thousands of young adults into intensive service positions where they learn valuable work skills, earn money for education, and develop an appreciation for citizenship.”⁸⁸⁷

Corporation for National and Community Service: “We are the Corporation for National and Community Service, a federal agency that helps more than 5 million Americans improve the lives of their fellow citizens through service. Working hand in hand with local partners, we tap the ingenuity and can-do spirit of the American people to tackle some of the most pressing challenges facing our nation. We invest in thousands of nonprofit and faith-based groups that are making a difference across the country. We are AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, the Social Innovation Fund, the Volunteer Generation Fund, and more. We serve, we build, and we make an impact that changes lives and communities.”⁸⁸⁸

Federal Government Internship Program: “This Program is designed to provide students enrolled in a wide variety of educational institutions, from high school to graduate level, with opportunities to work in agencies and explore Federal careers while still in school and while getting paid for the work performed. Students who successfully complete the program may be eligible for conversion to a permanent job in the civil service.”⁸⁸⁹

Peace Corps: “As the preeminent international service organization of the United States, the Peace Corps sends Americans abroad to tackle the most pressing needs of people around the world. Peace Corps Volunteers work at the grassroots level toward sustainable change that lives on long after their service—at the same time becoming global citizens and serving their country. When they return home, Volunteers bring their knowledge and experiences—and a global outlook—that enriches the lives of those around them.”⁸⁹⁰

886 Puksta Foundation, “About Us,” http://pukstafoundation.org/?page_id=348.

887 Corporation for National & Community Service, “AmeriCorps,” <http://www.nationalservice.gov/programs/ameri-corps#AmeriCorp>.

888 Corporation for National & Community Service, “About CNCS,” <http://www.nationalservice.gov/about>.

889 Office of Personnel and Management, “Internship Program,” <https://www.opm.gov/policy-data-oversight/hiring-authorities/students-recent-graduates/#url=intern>.

890 Peace Corps, “About Us,” <http://www.peacecorps.gov/about/>.

Presidential Management Fellows Program: “Bearing the Presidential moniker, the PMF Program is a flagship leadership development program at the entry level for advanced degree candidates. It was created more than three decades ago by Executive Order and has gone through many changes over the years. The Program attracts and selects the best candidates possible, but is really designed with a more narrow focus - developing a cadre of potential government leaders.”⁸⁹¹

United We Serve: “United We Serve, President Obama’s nationwide service initiative, is built on the belief that ordinary people can come together and achieve extraordinary things when given the proper tools. This initiative aims to both expand the impact of existing organizations by engaging new volunteers in their work and encourage volunteers to develop their own “do-it-yourself” projects.”⁸⁹²

Conferences

Academy for Civic Engagement: “The Academy for Civic Engagement is a 3-day workshop for faculty in the arts and humanities who are interested in incorporating civic engagement/service learning practices into their courses, outreach scholarship, and P & T documentation.”⁸⁹³

Association for Experiential Education International Conference: “At AEE, we aim to inspire collaboration among individuals with different backgrounds and perspectives, connect experiential education professionals around the world and build your professional knowledge and competency. With more than 700 practitioners, teachers, therapists, facilitators, trainers, students and administrators in attendance, the AEE International Conference is your #1 opportunity to connect, share and grow.”⁸⁹⁴

Engagement Academy for University Leaders: “This unique executive development program is designed for higher education leaders committed to developing institutional capacity for community engagement. Participants, preferably in teams, will design institutional plans for engagement that effectively link community engagement to the teaching, research, and service missions of their institution. They will return to their campuses with the ability to advance their plans”⁸⁹⁵

Experiential Education Academy: “The EEA supports and contributes to both the day-to-day work effectiveness and the long-term development of NSEE members through a series of

891 Presidential Management Fellows Program, “The Opportunity,” <https://www.pmf.gov/opportunity/index.aspx>.

892 Corporation for National & Community Service, “About United We Serve,” <http://www.serve.gov/site-page/about-united-we-serve>.

893 Academy for Civic Engagement, “About ACE,” <http://www.cla.auburn.edu/cla/cce/ace/about-ace/>.

894 Association for Experiential Education, “2016 AEE International Conference,” <http://www.aee.org/annual-conference-#Association%20for%20Experiential%20Education%20International%20Conference>.

895 Engagement Academy Programs, “Engagement Academy for University Leaders,” <http://www.cpe.vt.edu/engagementacademy/eaui/index.html#Engagement%20Academy%20for%20University%20Leaders>.

professional workshops leading to a Certificate of Achievement. The program is designed for all practitioners, regardless of specific experiential application.”⁸⁹⁶

IMPACT Conference: “The mission of IMPACT is to connect, educate, and mobilize college students, nonprofit professionals, and educators to strengthen their communities through service, action, and advocacy.”⁸⁹⁷

Points of Light’s Conference on Volunteering and Service: “Points of Light’s Conference on Volunteering and Service is the largest service-related convening of nonprofit, government, business and civic leaders in the world. Each year, thousands of people who really care about the future of volunteer service convene in one place - to learn from, share with and get inspired by one another- to work together to increase the number of volunteers in the world and the impact of the work they do.”⁸⁹⁸

National Service-Learning Conference: “The mission of the National Service-Learning Conference is to bring recognition to the contributions that young people are making to change the world and to help prepare them and their adult mentors in reaching their goals. The conference does this through learning, inspiration, and connection. Both youth and adults come out of the experience with the tools and resources, ideas and inspiration, to return home to improve their practice, their schools, and their communities.”⁸⁹⁹

Documents

A Crucible Moment: College Learning & Democracy’s Future: “This report from the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement calls on the nation to reclaim higher education’s civic mission. Commissioned by the Department of Education and released at a White House convening in January 2012, the report pushes back against a prevailing national dialogue that limits the mission of higher education to workforce preparation and training while marginalizing disciplines basic to democracy. This report from the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement calls on the nation to reclaim higher education’s civic mission. Commissioned by the Department of Education and released at a White House convening in January 2012, the report pushes back against a prevailing national dialogue that limits the mission of higher education to workforce preparation and training while marginalizing disciplines basic to democracy.”⁹⁰⁰

896 National Society for Experiential Education, “Experiential Education Academy,” <http://www.nsee.org/about-the-eea#Experiential%20education%20Academy>.

897 IMPACT National Conference, [“Home,”] <http://www.impactconference.org/#IMPACT%20Conference>.

898 Points of Light, “About the Conference,” <http://www.volunteeringandservice.org/general-information/about.cfm>.

899 Service Learning Conference, “About,” <http://servicelearningconference.org/2016/#The%20National%20Service-Learning%20Conference>.

900 Association of American Colleges & Universities, “A Crucible Moment: College Learning & Democracy’s Future,” <https://www.AAC&U.org/crucible>; *A Crucible Moment*, https://www.AAC&U.org/sites/default/files/files/crucible/Crucible_508F.pdf.

Civic Prompts: Making Civic Learning Routine across the Disciplines: “Designed for faculty members in particular, Civic Prompts offers in the fourth section of this publication a practical set of steps to use to infuse within majors, specialized studies, and interdisciplinary programs key civic and democratic concerns affecting the public good. It also takes to heart the Call to Action from a more recent publication, *A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy’s Future* (2012), released at the White House, in which higher education was urged to “define within departments, programs, and disciplines the public purposes of their respective fields, the civic inquiries most urgent to explore, and the best way to infuse civic learning outcomes progressively across the major” (32).”⁹⁰¹

Awards and Scholarships

American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS): AAAS Early Career Award for Public Engagement with Science: “The AAAS Early Career Award for Public Engagement with Science, established in 2010, recognizes early-career scientists and engineers who demonstrate excellence in their contribution to public engagement with science activities.”⁹⁰²

Campus Compact: Newman Civic Fellows Award: “The Newman Civic Fellows Award honors inspiring college student leaders who have demonstrated an investment in finding solutions for challenges facing communities throughout the country. Through service, research, and advocacy, Newman Civic Fellows are making the most of their college experiences to better understand themselves, the root causes of social issues, and effective mechanisms for creating lasting change.”⁹⁰³

Campus Compact: Thomas Ehrlich Civically Engaged Faculty Award: “The Thomas Ehrlich Civically Engaged Faculty Award recognizes one senior faculty member (post-tenure or middle-to-late career at institutions without tenure) each year. Honorees (who must be affiliated with a Campus Compact member institution) are recognized for exemplary engaged scholarship, including leadership in advancing students’ civic learning, conducting community-based research, fostering reciprocal community partnerships, building institutional commitments to service-learning and civic engagement, and other means of enhancing higher education’s contributions to the public good.”⁹⁰⁴

901 Caryn McTighe Musil, Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U), *Civic Prompts: Making Civic Learning Routine across the Disciplines* (2015), <http://www.AAC&U.org/sites/default/files/files/CLDE/CivicPrompts.pdf>.

902 American Association for the Advancement of Science, “AAAS Early Career Award for Public Engagement with Science,” <http://www.aaas.org/page/aaas-early-career-award-public-engagement-science#American%20Association%20for%20the%20Advancement%20of%20Science>.

903 Campus Compact, “Newman Civic Fellows Award,” <http://compact.org/initiatives/awards-programs/the-frank-newman-leadership-award/#Newman%20Civic%20Fellows%20Award>.

904 Campus Compact, “The Thomas Ehrlich Civically Engaged Faculty Award,” <http://compact.org/initiatives/awards-programs/the-thomas-ehrllich-civically-engaged-faculty-award/#Thomas%20Ehrllich%20Civilly%20engaged%20faculty%20award>.

International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement (IARSLCE): Dissertation Recognition Award: “The International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement recognizes individuals and teams whose research contributes significantly to understanding and advancing community engagement, across all approaches (e.g., service-learning, political engagement, field based internships, community-based research, community-engaged research) and all educational sectors (primary, secondary, and higher education as well as informal educational settings).”⁹⁰⁵

International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement (IARSLCE): Graduate Student Conference Scholarship: “Ten recipients will each receive \$500 to support their participation in the 2016 IARSLCE Conference in New Orleans, LA.”⁹⁰⁶

National Society for Experiential Education: Annual Awards: “One of the highlights of the annual conference is our awards luncheon, where we honor individuals and organizations that have made significant contributions to NSEE and to the field of experiential education. We encourage you to nominate your partners and colleagues for the awards.”⁹⁰⁷

National Society for Experiential Education Research/Dissertation Award: “Recognizes an individual who has published research or completed a doctoral dissertation within the past 2 years that makes important contributions to our understanding of experiential education.”⁹⁰⁸

National Youth Leadership Council: Annual Awards: “NYLC awards shine a spotlight on exemplary leaders from across the service-learning movement and nurture the leaders of the future. Most awards are presented annually at the National Service-Learning Conference.”⁹⁰⁹

New England Resource Center for Higher Education: Ernest A. Lynton Award: “The annual Ernest A. Lynton Award for the Scholarship of Engagement for Early Career Faculty recognizes a faculty member who connects his or her teaching, research, and service to community engagement.”⁹¹⁰

905 International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement, “Call for Nominations, Recognition of Exemplary Contributions through Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement,” <http://www.researchslce.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/2016-Dissertation.pdf>.

906 International Association for Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement, “Call for Applications, Graduate Student Scholarships,” <http://www.researchslce.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/2016-GSS.pdf>.

907 National Society for Experiential Education, “NSEE Awards Program,” <http://www.nsee.org/awards#National%20Society%20for%20Experiential%20Education>.

908 National Society for Experiential Education, “Outstanding Experiential Education Research/Dissertation Award,” <http://www.nsee.org/awards#NSEE%20Research/Dissertation%20Award>.

909 National Youth Leadership Council, “Awards,” <https://nylc.org/awards/#National%20Youth%20Leadership%20Council%20Awards>.

910 New England Resource Center for Higher Education, “Lynton Award for the Scholarship of Engagement for Early Career Faculty,” http://www.nerche.org/Lynton_Award/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=375&Itemid=68.

Resources

Designing an Effective Internship Program: “It is important that organizations take the time to carefully research and plan an effective internship program. We have highlighted several key elements that are crucial to a successful internship program.”⁹¹¹

Developing Cultural Mindedness Guidebook: “With increasing numbers of college students participating in international service programs and a growing demand for international voluntourism, this guidebook offers an accessible orientation for intercultural service that blends sociocultural psychology with evidence-based practices of service-learning. Useful for a wide-range of intercultural service participants, the text highlights how understanding oneself and others as cultural beings is the foundation for empathetic and respectful service.”⁹¹²

Energize, Inc.: “Energize, Inc. is an international training, consulting and publishing firm specializing in volunteerism. Founded by Susan J. Ellis in 1977, Energize has assisted organizations of all types to start, expand, or strengthen volunteer involvement — whether in nonprofit health and human service organizations, cultural arts groups, professional associations, schools, government agencies, businesses — anywhere volunteers are found.”⁹¹³

Engaged Faculty Institute Curriculum: “The Engaged Faculty Institute (EFI) Curriculum was originally authored by Community-Campus Partnerships for Health (CCPH) in 2007 and has been redesigned by California Campus Compact (CACC) and Campus Compact of the Mountain West (CCMW) in 2015, in collaboration with CCPH. Featuring case studies, reflection questions, suggested readings and resources, the EFI Curriculum provides a thorough, updated roadmap for faculty development specific to service-learning.”⁹¹⁴

Globalsl.org: “globalsl.org amasses evidence-based tools and peer-reviewed research to advance best practices in global learning, community-university partnership, & sustainable development.”⁹¹⁵

JFFixler Group: “JFFixler Group uses many tools to help organizations re-invent, re-engineer, and re-vitalize through strategic volunteer engagement. We are happy to share the following as free, downloadable PDFs.”⁹¹⁶

911 InternWeb.com, “Designing an Effective Internship Program,” <http://www.internweb.com/design-an-internship-program/#Designing%20an%20Effective%20inte>.

912 Developing Cultural Mindedness, “About the Guidebook,” <http://www.interculturalservice.org/about-the-guidebook/>.

913 Energize, Inc., “About Us,” <https://www.energizeinc.com/about-energize>.

914 Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, “Engaged Faculty Institute Curriculum,” <https://ccph.memberclicks.net/efi-units#Engaged%20Faculty%20Institute%20and%20Curriculum>.

915 Globalsl.org, “About,” <http://globalsl.org/founding-sponsors/>.

916 JFFixler Group, “Tools and Templates,” <https://jffixler.com/tools#JFFixler%20Group>.

National Service-Learning Clearinghouse: “The Clearinghouse is the Nation’s #1 library of service-learning resources. The Clearinghouse offers thousands of free online resources for K-12, higher education, community based organization, and tribal communities.”⁹¹⁷

Scholarships for Volunteering and Community Service: “This page provides information about scholarships and financial aid for volunteering and community service. These scholarships reward you for helping others. It’s a nice way of doing well by doing good.”⁹¹⁸

University of Minnesota, Office of Public Engagement, Publishing Outlets: “This database includes information on publications that will accept publicly-engaged scholarly activities.”⁹¹⁹

VolunteerMatch.org: “We believe everyone should have the chance to make a difference. That’s why we make it easy for good people and good causes to connect. We’ve connected millions of people with a great place to volunteer and helped tens of thousands of organizations better leverage volunteers to create real impact.”⁹²⁰

Data

Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *All Community Engagement Classified Institutions: 2010 and 2015*: “The Carnegie Foundation has selected 240 U.S. colleges and universities to receive its 2015 Community Engagement Classification. Of this number, 83 institutions are receiving the classification for the first time, while 157 are now re-classified, after being classified originally in 2006 or 2008. These 240 institutions join the 121 institutions that earned the classification during the 2010 selection process. Currently, a total of 361 campuses have the Community Engagement Classification.”⁹²¹

917 Generator School Network, “National Service-Learning Clearinghouse,” <https://gsn.nylc.org/clearinghouse#National%20Service-Learning%20Clearinghouse>.

918 FinAid, “Scholarships for Volunteering and Community Service,” <http://www.finaid.org/scholarships/service.phtml#Scholarships%20for%20Volunteering%20and%20Community%20Service>.

919 University of Minnesota, Public Engagement, “Publishing Outlets,” <http://engagement.umn.edu/how-connect/publishing-outlets#University%20of%20Minnesota>.

920 VolunteerMatch, “About Us,” <http://www.volunteermatch.org/about/>.

921 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, “All Community Engagement Classified Institutions: 2010 and 2015,” http://www.nerche.org/images/stories/projects/Carnegie/2015/2010_and_2015_CE_Classified_Institutions_revised_1_7_15.pdf; New England Resource Center for Higher Education, “Carnegie Community Engagement Classification,” http://nerche.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=341&Itemid=618.

APPENDIX 2: SAMPLE CIVICS SYLLABI

We do not have a single model of a civics syllabus that we wish to impose on classrooms around America. We do, however, think there are examples of good civics syllabi, which would be helpful for professors and interested citizens as they determine what ought to be in a civics curriculum. Here we include two by Dr. Bradley C. S. Watson of Saint Vincent College, Pennsylvania—the introductory *Politics 100 Principles of American Politics* and the advanced *Politics 336 American Political Thought*. Courses with this general approach and level of rigor ought to be the building blocks of American civic curricula.

Politics 100 Principles of American Politics

SAINT VINCENT COLLEGE

POLITICS 100 PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN POLITICS (AKA, THE AMERICAN FOUNDING)

Fall 2014

TR 11:30-12:45

This section is a “Freshman Seminar”

Professor: Bradley C. S. Watson

Aurl. 324

Office Hours: T R 11:00-11:30; 3:45-5:00; F 2:00-4:00

Phone: ext. 2145

bwatson@stvincent.edu

Please feel free to contact me any time you have a question about the course or your assignments. You can meet me during my regular office hours or by special arrangement. You should also note that I’m in my office or can be found around the departmental offices regularly (generally every day), so you have a good chance of finding me outside regular office hours. Don’t use email for a question that requires anything beyond a quick “yes” or “no” answer. I’m inundated with dozens of emails a day and won’t be able to get to it. Please see me or call me.

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

The study of politics raises fundamental questions. How ought we, as human beings, to live? Put another way, what is the nature of good and evil, right and wrong, justice and injustice? Implicit in these questions, at the practical level of government, are further questions as to how we *in fact* live, how we *should* organize ourselves in communities, and who ought to *govern* in the communities in which we, as political beings, dwell.



The American constitutional order represents one set of answers to these fundamental questions. This course examines the genesis of our constitutional order through a close study of the writings, speeches, and deeds of those who were responsible for its creation. Throughout, we will attempt to understand the American regime as its founders understood it, evaluate that understanding, and determine the extent to which that understanding might be both important and true today. We will pay some attention to the extent to which the regime as it currently operates either does or does not reflect the original understanding. We will also try to limn the relationship of the regime to the larger tradition of Western political thought. By doing these things, we will, with diligence, avoid injecting our 21st century biases and preconceptions into the American founding period. In short, we will understand the period on its own terms and thereby be in the best position to defend, or criticize, the regime that was its product.

This course is designed to contribute to a well-rounded liberal education, whether your major is politics or another social sciences, natural sciences, humanities, or business discipline.

FRESHMAN SEMINAR GOAL STATEMENT

This is a Freshman Seminar course. Freshman Seminars at Saint Vincent College are courses designed to make new students feel welcomed and integrated into the SVC learning community on academic, social, and cultural levels. First-year students have the opportunity to establish a sense of camaraderie with their teachers as well as with one another, and to focus on areas essential for success in the Saint Vincent curriculum: academic responsibility, critical thinking, and presentation of ideas. Freshman seminars enable students to be effective learners and thinkers both in their major fields of study and in other areas of the curriculum. To complement this experience, students participate in extracurricular events and learn to apply their academic skills both in the classroom and in the world beyond campus.

EXTRACURRICULAR EVENTS: THE “FOURTH HOUR”

Students in this freshman seminar should plan on attending the following events (*those in the fourth hour time slot are required*; the starred events are highly recommended for everyone interested in politics and public affairs, and bonus points will be given for attendance at these recommended events!) We will not meet *every* week at the regularly scheduled time for the “fourth hour.” We will use the scheduled fourth hour toward the end of the semester for student presentations.

Wednesday September 3, 2014, 3:00-3:50, Alf 33, library orientation seminar with research librarian.

***Thursday September 4, 2014, 7:30, Rogers Center**, “Pennsylvania-Canada Connections: The Economic Relationship, a Shared Border, and a Common Culture,” John Prato, Consul General of Canada

Wednesday September 17, 2014, 3:00-3:50, location TBA, meeting with Academic Affairs staff on “Being a Professional Student: Academic Responsibilities and Expectations of the Saint Vincent College Undergraduate”

***Wednesday September 17, 2014, 7:30 p.m.**, Constitution Day Address, Carey Hall Performing Arts Center, “What the Framers Can Teach Us About Political Compromise and Political Persuasion,” Michael Meyerson, University of Baltimore Law School

***Wednesday, October 8, 2014, 8:30, 9:30, 10:30, 11:30 a.m.**, Fred Rogers Center (four sessions coinciding with class periods), annual **Civitas Forum on Principles and Policies for Public Life**. This year’s topic is *Making Americans: Immigration and Assimilation in the Twenty-First Century*. Lectures include “Immigrant Assimilation: It’s Not 1914 Anymore,” Mark Krikorian, Center for Immigration Studies, “Breaking the Liberal Monopoly on Hispanic Americans,” Mike Gonzalez, Heritage Foundation, “Immigration in the Age of Jihad: The Challenge of Muslim Immigration in the United States,” Brian Kennedy, Claremont Institute.

Wednesday, October 15, 2012, 3:00-3:50, Carey Hall Performing Arts Center, meeting with Registrar on Registration and use of SVC Portal.

***Wednesday October 22, 2014, 7:30 pm, Rogers Center**, “The Ethics of the Fashion Industry: Lorde v. Jay-Z: What’s the Best Way to Think About Fashion?” Graham McAleer, Loyola University

***Wednesday November 12, 2014, 7:30 p.m., Rogers Center**, “A Moral Economy: Can Capitalism and Christianity Coexist?” Jim Hartley, Mount Holyoke College

The last four Wednesdays of the semester we will meet during the scheduled fourth hour (Wednesday at 3:00 p.m.) for student presentations.

*Starred events are talks by guest speakers invited to campus by Saint Vincent’s nationally recognized Center for Political and Economic Thought. Through the Center’s Government and Political Education lecture series, its Alex G. McKenna Economic Education lecture series, its Civitas Forum on Principles and Policies for Public Life, and its Biennial Culture and Policy Conferences, the Center hosts some of the most active lecture and conference series of their kind in the nation. Each lecture or conference addresses in some way the conditions of freedom and order

necessary for the flourishing of a free and decent society. Participants include some of the leading scholars, intellectuals, and public figures from America and around the world. All lectures or conferences are of particular relevance to students interested in American politics and institutions. Course bonus points will be given for attendance at these events!

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

This course will be examined primarily through in-class essays. Class participation and attendance are also important. There are five course requirements:

I., and II. **Two mid-term essay exams**, each worth 25% of the course grade. The midterms will be **closed book** and consist of questions requiring **extended essay answers**. Midterms will be given on **October 2** and **November 4**. The first midterm will cover all course material up to the exam date. The second will cover all material since the first exam. **Style** will count as well as substance in the grading of the midterms. The midterms are designed to ensure that you are progressing well in your acquisition of basic knowledge of the principles of American politics.

III. One **final essay exam**. The **final** will be worth 40% of the course grade. The final will be **closed book** and consist of questions requiring **extended essay answers**. This course is designed to lead up to this final exam, which will test your ability to write essays covering fundamental principles of American politics, and particularly the American founding era. **Style** will count as well as substance in the grading of the final exam. The final will cover the **entire course**, with emphasis on subjects covered since the second midterm.

Questions/study guides will be handed out early to ensure students have every opportunity to prepare and consult with the instructor, and little cause for complaint! If you can answer *all* the questions on your study guide well, you *will* understand the “fundamental principles of American politics” better than most people!

All examinations in this course, including the final, will require a grasp of the assigned readings **and** of the class lectures and discussions. Please note that examinations will not be given early, and **written makeup exams will not be given**. Makeup exams will be given only in rare circumstances (major illness, death in the family, or required attendance at an officially scheduled college event—in which case advance notice must be given, and the student must present an official written excuse from the College administration). All makeup exams will be **orals**. There are **no** other valid reasons for missing an exam; if an exam is missed, it will be assigned a grade of zero.

IV. **Class participation and regular attendance**, is worth 5% of the course grade. You should keep up with the required readings and be prepared to answer questions I might ask you in class. In addition, knowledge of what has been

discussed in class is **essential** for success on the exams. It will be difficult to get an 'A' in this course unless you keep up with the assigned readings and are prepared to discuss them in class. Indeed, it will be more difficult to manage even a 'B' range grade if this is not done. **Mere attendance is insufficient to garner a top class participation grade.** If you do not participate in class discussions, **you will not do well** on the class participation grade. As with all my courses, this course is very reading-intensive; **we will cover a lot of material.** It is not for the faint of heart. Unreasonable absences will affect this part of the course grade.

V. Presentation on a topic of interest to the student, worth 5% of the course grade. Students should plan to give a 5-10 minute oral presentation on how a *contemporary* topic in American politics relates to or is illuminated by the ideas of the American founding period. Students should rely directly on the materials we have read in class, as well as other materials that might be relevant. Topics should be cleared with the instructor at least a week in advance of your presentation. As the semester progresses, I will hand out a sign-up sheet for specific presentation times.

A note on grade expectations: a "normal" grade in my courses is a "B" or a "C"; based on experience, most students in this course will receive one of these grades (and their variants, such as B-, C+, etc.) Less than average work will receive a "D" or less. Only students who do **exceptional** work can expect an "A." I define exceptional work as clear evidence that a student has read the course materials and understood the class lectures and discussions, conjoined with an ability to present this evidence with precision in written prose and, to a lesser extent, orally. Students looking for an "easy 'A'" should definitely look elsewhere.

No "incompletes" will be given in this course in the absence of serious illness.

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"Fundamental to the principle of independent learning and professional growth is the requirement of honesty and integrity in the performance of academic assignments, both in the classroom and outside, and in the conduct of personal life. Accordingly, Saint Vincent College holds its students to the highest standards



of intellectual integrity and thus the attempt of any student to present as his or her own any work which he or she has not performed or to pass any examinations by improper means is regarded by the faculty as a most serious offense.”

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TECHNOLOGY POLICY

No electronic devices of any kind—mobile phones, iPhones, Blackberries, laptops, iPads, etc.—may be used in class. Please turn them off.

CLASS CANCELLATIONS AND WEATHER

I rarely if ever cancel classes due to weather (assuming the College itself is open). In the unlikely event I have to cancel class on short notice for weather or other reasons, I will send an email notification to your Saint Vincent account from the course list in the Portal.

DISABILITIES

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodations and support services should please consult Mrs. Sandy Quinlivan. You may contact her by telephone (724-805-2371), SVC email or by scheduling an appointment in Academic Affairs (located directly above the Post Office). Reasonable accommodations do not alter the essential elements of any courses, programs or activities.

REQUIRED TEXTS AND COURSE OUTLINE

The following are your reading assignments. **You will of course be responsible for what I say in class as well as what you read from the assigned readings.** You should therefore take **good notes**.

All readings on the syllabus are required. You should commence reading immediately, and try to keep ahead of where we are in class. The readings in this course consist entirely of primary sources; there are no “textbooks.” The readings are therefore challenging, but worth the effort (unlike most textbooks). Leave yourself extra time! Those readings not found in the books will be made available through photocopies. This outline is subject to revision as the course progresses.

- *Two Treatises of Government*, John Locke
- *The Portable Thomas Jefferson* (referred to as “Jefferson”), ed. Merrill D. Peterson
- *The Federalist*, ed. Clinton Rossiter
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (referred to as “Tocqueville”), ed. J.P. Mayer, tr. G. Lawrence

- *American Political Writing During the Founding Era*, vol. 1 (referred to as “APW I”), ed. Hyneman and Lutz
- *George Washington: A Collection* (referred to as “Washington”), ed. W.B. Allen
- *The Anti-Federalist* (referred to as “AF”), ed. Herbert J. Storing

1. Introduction

- Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, chs. 2, 3, 5, 9

2. Principles of the Revolution

- James Otis, “Introduction” from *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (photocopy; 1st item in packet)
- John Adams, “A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law” (photocopy; 2nd item in packet after Otis)
- Richard Bland, “An Inquiry Into the Rights of the British Colonies” (APW I: 67-75)
- James Wilson, “Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of Parliament” (photocopy; 3rd item in packet after Adams)
- Simeon Howard, “A Sermon Preached to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston” (APW I:185-195)
- Samuel West, “On the Right to Rebel Against Governors” (APW I: 410-48)
- Jefferson, “A Summary View of the Rights of British America” (3-21)
- Jefferson, Declaration of Independence
- Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, “Manners” (214-15)
- Jefferson, “To William Ludlow” (583-84)
- Jefferson, “To Roger Weightman” (584-85)

3. Early Institutions

- John Adams, “Thoughts on Government” (APW I: 401-409)
- Excerpts from founding era state constitutions (photocopy; VA, PA, and MA constitutions; 4th item in packet, after Adams)
- Articles of Confederation (photocopy; last item in packet after MA constitution)
- Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Constitution, 162-76)
- Washington, “Circular Letters to the States” (133-35, 239-49); “To the Secretary for Foreign Affairs” (323-24); “To John Jay” (333-35); “To James Madison” (360-63);

4. The Constitution: Union, Federalism, and Centralization

The National Republic

- U.S. Constitution
- *The Federalist* 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 23, 37
- Washington—reconsider letter Madison, above

Doubts and Reconsiderations

- *AF*, Federal Farmer I, II
- *AF*, Brutus I, V
- *AF*, Agrippa IV
- Jefferson, “Opinion on the Constitutionality of the National Bank” (261-67)
- Jefferson, “Kentucky Resolutions” (281-89)
- Tocqueville on local government (56-77); on decentralization (82-84; 87-88); on small vs. large republics (149-61)

5. The Constitution: Separation of Powers and Institutions of Government

- *The Federalist*, reconsider 9, 10

Separation of Powers

- *The Federalist* 48, 49, 51

Congress

- You may skim *The Federalist* 52-54, 55, 57-58, 62-64
- *AF*, Federal Farmer VII
- *AF*, Brutus III

The Presidency

- *The Federalist* 68-69, 70-73

The Judiciary

- *The Federalist* 78, 80-81
- *AF*, Brutus XI-XII, XV

Rights and the Bill of Rights

- Bill of Rights
- *The Federalist*, 84

6. The Challenges of Democracy in America

- George Washington, Farewell Address
- Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, on mores (264-65, 274, 292-95); on religion and the family (275-82; 417-24); on equality (479-82, 639-45); on despotism (661-73)
- George Washington, “Letter to the Hebrew Congregation at Newport,” 547-48

Politics 336 American Political Thought

SAINT VINCENT COLLEGE

POLITICS 336 AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Fall 2014

TR 11:30-12:45

Professor: Bradley C. S. Watson

Aurl. 324

Office Hours: T R 11:00-11:30; 3:45-5:00; F 2:00-4:00

Phone: ext. 2145

bwatson@stvincent.edu

Please feel free to contact me any time you have a question about the course or your assignments. You can meet me during my regular office hours or by special arrangement. You should also note that I’m in my office or can be found around the departmental offices regularly (generally every day); you have a good chance of finding me outside regular office hours. Don’t use email for a question that requires anything beyond a quick “yes” or “no” answer. I’m inundated with dozens of emails a day and won’t be able to get to it. Please see me or call me.

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

The study of politics raises fundamental questions. How ought we, as human beings, to live? Put another way, what is the nature of good and evil, right and wrong, justice and injustice? Implicit in these questions, at the practical level of government, are further questions as to how we *in fact* live, how we *should* organize ourselves in communities, and who ought to *govern* in the communities in which we, as political beings, dwell. The American constitutional order represents one set of answers to these fundamental questions.

This course concentrates on American political thought subsequent to the founding period (from just prior to the Civil War to the present). The shift in political understanding in the United States—from Madisonian constitutionalism to twentieth



and twenty-first century liberalism—has been dramatic. Differing understandings of nature and natural rights have been central to this shift. In 1863 Abraham Lincoln declared that America “was conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.” The foundation of this proposition was laid in nature and its consequence was a body of natural rights in accordance with what the Declaration of Independence claimed to be the laws of nature and of nature’s God. This course will examine the nature of political equality and the transformation in the idea of natural rights under the influence of social Darwinism, progressivism, pragmatism, and contemporary liberalism. The course will bring to light the significance of these developments in their full philosophical and political contexts. Attention will also be paid to matters of constitutional interpretation and the “Reagan Revolution.”

This course is designed to contribute to a well-rounded liberal education, whether your major is Politics or another social sciences, natural sciences, humanities, or business discipline.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

There are **four** course requirements:

I. and II. **Two examinations—a midterm worth 20% of the course grade, and a final worth 40%.** The exams will be given on **October 2** and during the **final exam period**, respectively. The first will cover all course material up to the exam date. The final will cover the entire course, with emphasis on the materials covered since the midterm. All exams will be closed book, and will consist of questions requiring **extended essay answers**. Questions will be handed out well in advance of exams to ensure students have every opportunity to prepare, and little cause for complaint! All examinations in this course, including the final, will require a grasp of the assigned readings **and** of the class lectures and discussions. Please note that examinations will not be given early, and **written makeup exams will not be given**. Makeup exams will be given only in rare circumstances (major illness, death in the family, or required attendance at an officially scheduled college event—in which case advance notice must be given, and the student must present an official written excuse from the College administration). All makeup exams will be **orals**. There are **no** other valid reasons for missing an exam; if an exam is missed, it will be assigned a grade of zero.

III. An **interpretive essay**, worth 30% of the course grade. The essay will be **due on the last day of classes for the semester (Friday) at 2:00 pm**. This is the **outside deadline** for the paper—**earlier is better** from your point of view. I am happy to read drafts that you turn in early enough for me to give meaningful advice. The essay is graded out of 30—**1 point will be deducted** if it is not handed in at 2:00 pm on the last day of this class, **2 additional points** for each day it is late. After 3 days, a grade of zero will be assigned. The essay must be approximately 3,000

words in length. It will address a specific question arising from the course materials; it is not intended to be a research-intensive paper, although some library research might be required. **Style will count as much as substance** in the grading of the essay and the outline—please make sure they are well written! The final paper must be submitted in hard copy and to my email address, which is bwatson@stvincent.edu

IV. **Class participation and regular attendance**, worth 10% of the course grade, is expected. You should keep up with the required readings and be prepared to answer questions I might ask you in class. In addition, knowledge of what has been discussed in class is **essential** for success on the exams. It will be difficult to get an ‘A’ in this course unless you keep up with the assigned readings and are prepared to discuss them in class. Indeed, it will be more difficult to manage even a ‘B’ grade if this is not done. **Mere attendance is insufficient to garner a top class participation grade.** If you do not participate in class discussions, you **will not do well** on the class participation grade. As with all my courses, this course is very reading-intensive; **we will cover a lot of material.** It is not for the faint of heart. Unreasonable absences will affect this part of the course grade.

A note on grade expectations: a “normal” grade in my courses is a “B” or a “C;” based on experience, most students in this course will receive one of these grades (and their variants, such as B-, C+, etc.) Less than average work will receive a “D” or less. Only students who do exceptional work can expect an “A”. I define exceptional work as clear evidence that a student has read the course materials and understood the class lectures and discussions, conjoined with an ability to present this evidence with precision in written prose and, to a lesser extent, orally. Students looking for an “easy ‘A’” should definitely look elsewhere.

No “incompletes” will be given in this course in the absence of serious illness.

SIX PRINCIPLES OF GOOD WRITING APPLIED TO POLITICS PAPERS

This is a “writing-designated” course. As such, students will be expected to apply the “Six Principles of Good Writing” as enumerated below. I **will** read drafts of papers that are turned into me well in advance of the deadline.

PURPOSE

- Be sure your topic is concrete
- Potentially fruitful avenues of research for political science papers (depending on the course) include the following: Current public policy issues, historical questions with political ramifications, constitutional questions or controversies, analyses of a theme or work(s) in political thought
- In the opening paragraph or paragraphs, provide a very specific, narrow question or hypothesis that your paper seeks to address or prove/disprove

- Resist the temptation to undertake a topic that is too broad or vague. If you seek to answer the question, “What is justice?” you should first ask yourself if you are smarter than Plato, and can do in a term paper what he sought to do in many books written over the course of a lifetime
- Make a claim that is genuinely controversial or debated within the political science literature or the larger community of citizens who think seriously about political questions

ORGANIZATION

- Be sure your paper has a distinct and cogent introduction, followed by the argument and evidence, followed by a distinct and cogent conclusion
- In the introduction, be sure to make clear that you understand the full dimensions of the problem you seek to investigate
- Make sure your paper is logically organized, paying particular attention to opening and concluding sections, ensuring that they are carefully and logically linked to one another
- Judiciously deployed subheadings are almost always useful in a long political science paper

SUPPORT

- It is very important for you to state your question or thesis in the opening paragraph or paragraphs of your paper, and to support your argument with concrete evidence including citations to scholarship squarely within the discipline of political science
- It is insufficient for you merely to opine
- Be sure that the argument of the paper is consistent in its concentration on the paper’s question or thesis and how that question or thesis is being proved or disproved
- All textual evidence must be fully and accurately cited according to the Chicago method of citation detailed in Kate Turabian’s *Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*.

COHERENCE

- Stick to one topic within each paragraph
- Keep directing the reader to the relationship of each paragraph and/or section of the paper to the question or thesis that the paper seeks to address

CLARITY

- Submit only error-free work

- “Style”—grammar, spelling, syntax—are indivisible from “content.” If you cannot write properly, you cannot convey your arguments with the precision that is required for this paper
- It is a good idea to read both your draft and your final paper aloud. If it doesn’t sound smooth or technically proper to you, chances are it won’t to a third party reader
- Writing should be clear, concise, and emphatic

INSIGHT

- Remember that your paper should be designed to make a claim that is genuinely controversial or debated within the political science literature or the larger community of citizens who think seriously about political questions
- Both the draft and your final paper should integrate and synthesize all evidence in creative ways that give the reader insight into something new, and convince the reader that you have adequately dealt with the central question posed by your paper or proved or disproved your thesis

SPECIAL EVENTS

Saint Vincent College is home to the nationally recognized Center for Political and Economic Thought. Through the Center’s Government and Political Education lecture series, its Alex G. McKenna Economic Education lecture series, its Civitas Forum on Principles and Policies for Public Life, and its Biennial Culture and Policy Conferences, the Center hosts some of the most active lecture and conference series of their kind in the nation. Each lecture or conference addresses in some way the conditions of freedom and order necessary for the flourishing of a decent society. Participants include some of the leading scholars, intellectuals, and public figures from America and around the world. All lectures or conferences are of particular relevance to students interested in American Political Thought, including especially the ones that follow. Course bonus credit will given for attendance at the following events sponsored by the Center for Political and Economic Thought (keep your eyes open for other Center events that I haven’t listed here—bonus points will be given for attendance!):

***Thursday September 4, 2014, 7:30, Rogers Center**, “Pennsylvania-Canada Connections: The Economic Relationship, a Shared Border, and a Common Culture,” John Prato, Consul General of Canada

***Wednesday September 17, 2014, 7:30 p.m., Constitution Day Address**, Carey Hall Performing Arts Center, “What the Framers Can Teach Us About Political Compromise and Political Persuasion,” Michael Meyerson, University of Baltimore Law School



***Wednesday, October 8, 2014, 8:30, 9:30, 10:30, 11:30 a.m.,** Fred Rogers Center (four sessions coinciding with class periods), annual **Civitas Forum on Principles and Policies for Public Life**. This year’s topic is *Making Americans: Immigration and Assimilation in the Twenty-First Century*. Lectures include “Immigrant Assimilation: It’s Not 1914 Anymore,” Mark Krikorian, Center for Immigration Studies, “Breaking the Liberal Monopoly on Hispanic Americans,” Mike Gonzalez, Heritage Foundation, “Immigration in the Age of Jihad: The Challenge of Muslim Immigration in the United States,” Brian Kennedy, Claremont Institute.

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It is McKenna School policy that instances of academic dishonesty will result in an automatic course failure. **There will be no exceptions.**

A primary form—but not the only form—of academic dishonesty is plagiarism. It is *your* responsibility to know and follow the rules of academic honesty. There are a number of forms of plagiarism, and some of them might surprise you. Please be sure you understand this matter fully before writing, as no excuse will be accepted after the fact, not even ignorance of the rules. You may of course discuss your paper topic amongst yourselves if you wish, but **all writing must be your own**. Plagiarism—



particularly electronic plagiarism—is a serious problem requiring a serious remedy. Students who plagiarize their essays, or any part thereof, will fail the course and be referred to the college administration for further sanctions. If you are in doubt about what constitutes plagiarism, consult the instructor or a well-recognized source book on academic writing. A good rule of thumb is this: if you are **quoting** 3 or more words in a row, **use quotation marks and cite your source**. Even if you are not quoting, but just “borrowing” an idea, fact, argument, etc., by **paraphrasing** it, **a citation is necessary** (though not quotation marks if yours is a paraphrase.) If you think I won’t fail you for plagiarism (on the paper and in the course)—even if this is your senior year—you’re wrong! The “easy” way is hard. I’ve failed seniors before (even second semester ones), and I haven’t gotten any less grumpy about plagiarism lately. It’s better to write something yourself—even if you don’t think it’s that good—than to steal somebody else’s work. It’s not only better because it’s honest, it’s better because you will actually *learn* something, which is the whole point of the exercise!

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photocopies. **This outline is subject to revision as the course progresses.**

Books available for purchase are as follows:

- *The Federalist Papers* (“Federalist”), eds. Kesler/Rossiter
- *Lincoln: Selected Speeches and Writings* (Library of America edition, int. Gore Vidal)
- John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action* (“Dewey”)
- William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*
- Bradley C. S. Watson, *Living Constitution, Dying Faith*
- Woodrow Wilson, *Essential Political Writings*, ed. Pestritto (“Wilson”)
- Various photocopied materials, to be handed out by instructor

1. Introduction

- Declaration of Independence (if you don’t already have one, obtain a copy from just about anywhere)
- Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, Query XIII (Constitution) (photocopy)
- *Federalist* 9-10, 51, 63 (these are paper numbers, not page numbers!)

2. Equality and the Slavery Crisis

- Frederick Douglass, Fourth of July Oration (photocopy)
- Abraham Lincoln, Lyceum Address (13-21)
- Lincoln, Temperance Address (34-43)
- Lincoln, Speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act (93-99)
- *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (photocopy)
- Lincoln, speech on Dred Scott (117-22)
- Lincoln, Second Inaugural (449-50)
- Lincoln, Fragment on Slavery (91-92)
- Lincoln, House Divided speech (131-39)
- Lincoln, Debates with Douglas (149-59; 164-72; 177-96)
- Willmoore Kendall, “Equality and the American Political Tradition” (photocopy)
- Harry V. Jaffa, “Equality as a Conservative Principle” (photocopy)
- Lincoln, Gettysburg Address (405)

3. Social Darwinism

- Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, selections (photocopy).
- John Dewey, “The Influence of Darwinism on Philosophy” (photocopy)
- William Graham Sumner, *Essays* (photocopy)
- Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*
- Lester Frank Ward, “Mind as a Social Factor” (photocopy)
- W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Evolution of the Race Problem” (photocopy)

4. Pragmatism

- William James, “What Pragmatism Means” (photocopy)
- John Dewey, “Liberalism and Social Action”

5. Progressivism and Its Critics

- Theodore Roosevelt, “The Strenuous Life” (photocopy)
- Roosevelt, “True Americanism” (photocopy)
- Roosevelt, “The Spoils System in Operation (photocopy)
- Roosevelt, “The Merit System versus the Patronage System” (photocopy)
- Roosevelt, “The Commission Ideal” (photocopy)
- Roosevelt, “The New Nationalism” (photocopy)
- Woodrow Wilson, *The State*, chs. 1, 16
- Wilson, “Leaders of Men”
- Wilson, “The Study of Administration”
- Wilson, “Cabinet Government in the United States”
- Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States*, ch. 3
- Wilson, selections from *The New Freedom*
- Tocqueville, on soft despotism (photocopy)
- Herbert Croly, selections from *The Promise of American Life* (photocopy?)
- Calvin Coolidge, “The Inspiration of the Declaration” (photocopy)
- Herbert Hoover, “The Consequences of the Proposed New Deal” (photocopy)
- Franklin D. Roosevelt, selected speeches (photocopy)
- Martin Luther King, Jr., “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” “I have a Dream” (photocopy).” These are **Common Text (CT)** readings. See Darwin entry above.

In reading King, we will concentrate on his understanding of the grounding of the equality principle in unchanging moral law, and the relationship of this view to Lincoln's and the founders'.

- Ronald Reagan, selected speeches (photocopy)
6. Constitutional Interpretation
- Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Path of the Law"
 - Holmes, "Ideals and Doubts"
 - Holmes, "Natural Law"
 - Watson, *Living Constitution, Dying Faith*, selections

Selections may include photocopied readings from:

- Thurgood Marshall
- William Brennan
- William Rehnquist
- Clarence Thomas

APPENDIX 3: CIVIC LITERACY

We offer below a sample list of facts and topics that ought to be included in high school and college civics courses, so as to provide readers a more concrete sense of what we mean by civic literacy. Other organizations are also working to revive civic literacy: their efforts include the Joe Foss Institute's Civics Education Initiative, which works to have all 50 states require that high school students pass a version of the United States Citizenship Civics Test;⁹²² and the Intercollegiate Institute's efforts embodied in its Civic Literacy Exam.⁹²³ We endorse their efforts—and we are very glad to note that the Joe Foss Institute's Civics Education Initiative has already (2016) passed into law in Arizona, Idaho, Louisiana, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, and Wisconsin.⁹²⁴ We add this list in a collegial spirit.

CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

1. Legislative: powers, numbers, methods of selection, terms of service
2. Legislative: apportionment of Senators and Representatives among the states
3. Judiciary: powers, numbers, methods of selection, terms of service
4. Executive: powers, numbers, methods of selection, terms of service
5. Executive: Order of Succession to the presidency
6. High crimes, misdemeanors, and removal from office
7. Federal powers
8. State powers
9. Individual citizens: Enumerated and unenumerated rights
10. Individual citizens: Enumerated and unenumerated responsibilities

AMERICAN GOVERNANCE

1. The Cabinet
2. Political Parties
3. Judicial interpretation

922 Joe Foss Institute, Civics Education Initiative, http://chiesman.org/images/uploads/Civics_initiative_slideshow.pdf.

923 Intercollegiate Studies Institute, Civic Literacy Exam, <http://www.isi.org/quiz.aspx?q=FE5C3B47-9675-41E0-9CF3-072BB31E2692>.

924 Joe Foss Institute, The Civics Education Initiative, <http://joefossinstitute.org/civics-education-initiative/>.

4. Military Service
5. Administrative law
6. Taxation
7. Local Government
8. Law codes: Federal, State, civil, common
9. Media
10. Juries

AMERICAN CONCEPTS

1. Civilian control over the military
2. Civil rights
3. Free-market economy
4. Legislative supremacy
5. Limited government
6. Property
7. Representative government
8. Republic and democracy
9. Rule of law
10. Separation of powers

FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS

1. Mayflower Compact (1620)
2. English Bill of Rights (1689)
3. The Declaration of Independence (1776)
4. The Constitution (1787; additions 1791-)
5. *The Federalist* (1787-1788)
6. Northwest Ordinance (1787)

7. George Washington, *Farewell Address* (1796)
8. Andrew Jackson, Bank Veto Message (1832)
9. Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls (1848)
10. Abraham Lincoln, The Gettysburg Address (1863)

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL FACTS

1. 50 States: names, locations, capitals
2. 13 original states
3. Slave states and free states
4. Borders: Neighboring countries and oceans
5. Major Rivers: location
6. Religious denominations: historical geography
7. Settlement and Immigration: historical geography
8. Flag: appearance, iconography
9. Holidays: names, dates, origins
10. National Anthem: name, lyrics, origin

HISTORICAL ERAS

1. Settling of Colonial America
2. American Revolution
3. Jacksonian Era
4. Civil War
5. Progressive Era
6. World War I
7. World War II
8. Cold War

9. Civil Rights
10. 9/11: War on Terror

BIOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

1. Benjamin Franklin
2. George Washington
3. Thomas Jefferson
4. James Madison
5. Andrew Jackson
6. Abraham Lincoln
7. Woodrow Wilson
8. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
9. Martin Luther King, Jr.
10. Ronald Reagan

FOREIGN POLICY KNOWLEDGE

1. Monroe Doctrine (1823)
2. Mexican-American War (1845-48)
3. John Hays, Open Door Note (1899)
4. Roosevelt Corollary (1904)
5. Woodrow Wilson, Fourteen Points (1918)
6. Lend Lease (1941); The Atlantic Charter (1941)
7. Long Telegram (1946), Truman Doctrine (1947), Marshall Plan (1948), NATO (1949)
8. John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address (1961)
9. Ronald Reagan, The Evil Empire (1983)
10. NAFTA (1994), World Trade Organization (1995)

11. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

1. *Marbury v. Madison* (1803)
2. *McCullough v. Maryland* (1819)
3. *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857)
4. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)
5. *Lochner v. New York* (1905)
6. *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)
7. *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966)
8. *Roe v. Wade* (1973)
9. *District of Columbia v. Heller* (2008)
10. *Obergefell v. Hedges* (2015)

CURRENT KNOWLEDGE

1. Name and Party of the President
2. Name and Party of the Vice President
3. Name and Party of the Speaker of the House
4. Name and Party of the Senate Majority Leader
5. Name and Party of Governor
6. Name and Party of Senators
7. Name and Party of Representative
8. Name and Party of Mayor, Selectmen, or County Administrator
9. Location of City Hall or County Administration Building
10. Procedures to Attend Meeting of City Council (or equivalent)

APPENDIX 4: ALTERNATE CIVIC ACTIVITY AND COMMUNITY PARTNERS

The New Civics tilts its list of civic activity and community partners toward a list of activist organizations engaged in progressive advocacy. We provide an alternate list of civic activities and community partners, both to illustrate the gaps in the New Civics and (so long as the New Civics exists) to encourage local citizens to make sure that these activities and organizations are placed on the list of New Civics activities and community partners. We include a significant number of local organizations in Colorado and Wyoming. We do not endorse any of these organizations; we simply note that the New Civics includes few if any of these organizations among its community partners, and that they represent a spectrum of core civic activities, as well as groups in favor of nonpartisan advocacy and religious organizations devoted to communal welfare. The New Civics advocates' preference for progressive nonprofit organizations comes at the expense of organizations such as these.

ADVOCACY

Independence Institute: <https://www.i2i.org/>

National Organization for Marriage: <https://www.nationformarriage.org/>

Students for Concealed Carry: <http://concealedcampus.org/>

Students for Liberty: <http://studentsforliberty.org/>

DISASTER RELIEF

American Red Cross of Colorado: <http://www.redcross.org/local/colorado/about-us>

American Red Cross of Wyoming: <http://www.redcross.org/local/wyoming/volunteer>

Colorado Volunteer Center Network: <http://cvcnetwork.org/>

Volunteer Wyoming: Disaster Response: <http://www.volunteerwyoming.org/drm/info/>

EMERGENCY MEDICAL SERVICES

Boulder Emergency Squad: <http://www.boulderrescue.org/>

Poudre Valley Hospital, Emergency Medical Services, Emergency Medical Technicians Reserve Team: <http://www.emsnoco.net/home>



Rocky Mountain Rescue Group: <http://www.rockymountainrescue.org/get-involved-1/>

Wyoming Office of Emergency Medical Services: <https://health.wyo.gov/publichealth/ems/volunteerregistry/>

FIREARMS INSTRUCTION

Colorado Hand Gun Safety: <http://www.coloradohandgunsafety.com/>

Laramie County Shooting Sports Complex: http://www.laramiecounty.com/_departments/_shooting_complex/volunteers.asp

National Rifle Association: Youth Programs: <http://youth.nra.org/>

Wyoming Antelope Club: http://www.wyomingantelopeclub.org/?page_id=55

FIRE DEPARTMENT

Boulder Rural Fire Rescue: <http://brfd.org/>

Community Advancing Public Safety: <http://springscaps.org/>

Laramie County Fire District #1 Volunteering Program: <http://www.lcfd1.com/>

Poudre Fire Authority Volunteer Program: <http://www.poudre-fire.org/residents/volunteer>

HOSPICE

Hospice of Laramie: <http://www.hospiceoflaramie.com/volunteers.html>

Pathways Hospice: <http://pathways-care.org/giving/volunteering/>

Pike's Peak Hospice and Palliative Care: <http://www.pikespeakhospice.org/volunteer>

TRU Community Care: <http://www.trucare.org/careers-volunteers/volunteer-overview/volunteer-opportunities-in-boulder-county-and-beyond/>

LAND MANAGEMENT

Bureau of Land Management, Colorado: http://www.blm.gov/co/st/en/BLM_Resources/volunteers.html

Bureau of Land Management, Wyoming: <http://www.blm.gov/wy/st/en/resources/volunteers.html>

Colorado State Forest Service: <http://csfs.colostate.edu/volunteer/>

United States Forest Service, Intermountain Region: <http://www.fs.usda.gov/main/ctnf/workingtogether/volunteering>

MILITARY SERVICE

Colorado Air National Guard (140th Wing): <http://www.140wg.ang.af.mil/>

Colorado Army National Guard: <https://co.ng.mil/ARMY/Pages/default.aspx>

Wyoming Air National Guard (153rd Airlift Wing): <http://www.153aw.ang.af.mil/>

Wyoming Army National Guard: <http://www.wyoguard.com/>

POLICE DEPARTMENT

Boulder County Sheriff's Volunteers: <http://www.bouldercounty.org/dept/sheriff/pages/reserve.aspx>

Community Advancing Public Safety: <http://springscaps.org/>

Denver Police Department: <https://www.denvergov.org/content/denvergov/en/police-department/programs-services/volunteer-program.html>

El Paso County Sheriff's Office, Volunteer Program: <http://shr.elpasoco.com/sections-support-services-bureau/operations-division/volunteer-program>

Fort Collins Auxiliary Police Unit: <http://www.fcgov.com/police/auxiliary.php>

Laramie County Sheriffs' Office Reserves: http://www.laramiecounty.com/_departments/_sheriff/reserve.asp

PRISONS

Colorado Department of Corrections: <https://www.colorado.gov/pacific/cdoc/volunteer-opportunities-o>

Jefferson County Sheriff's Office: <http://jeffco.us/sheriff/community/volunteer-opportunities/>

Larimer County Sheriff: <http://www.larimersheriff.org/site-page/jail-volunteers>

Wyoming Department of Corrections: <http://corrections.wy.gov/community/volunteerprisons.html>



PRO-LIFE

Alpha Center: <http://www.thealphacenter.org/>

Colorado Right to Life: <http://coloradorighttolife.org/>

Justice For All: <http://www.jfaweb.org/>

Right to Life of Laramie County: <http://www.prolifecheyenne.com/about.asp>

Right to Life of Wyoming: <http://www.wyomingrighttolife.com/>

Students for Life of America: <http://college.studentsforlife.org/>

RELIGIOUS

Ecumenical Social Ministries: <http://ecusocmin.org/volunteer/>

Jewish Family Service of Colorado: <http://www.jewishfamilyservice.org/Volunteer>

Salvation Army, Intermountain Division: <http://www.intermountain.salvationarmy.org/>

Solid Rock Outdoor Ministries: <http://home.srom.org/>

VICTIM ASSISTANCE

Albany County Crime Victim Witness Program: <http://www.albanycountycvw.org/#!/get-involved/trv2w>

Boulder County Sheriff's Office Victim Assistance Program: <http://www.bouldercounty.org/safety/victim/pages/vicprogram.aspx>

El Paso County Sheriff's Office, Victims' Assistance Program: <http://shr.elpasoco.com/sections-law-enforcement-bureau/investigations-division/victims-assistance-program>

Larimer County Sheriff, Victim Advocates: <http://larimersheriff.org/site-page/victim-advocates>

APPENDIX 5: GLOSSARY

The New Civics advocates use a specialized vocabulary, partly composed of the professional language of the education schools, partly composed of the political language of progressives, and partly an appropriation of everyday words as euphemisms for progressive causes. The University of Northern Colorado, for example, defines *community-engaged service* as “The application of one’s professional expertise that addresses a community-identified need and supports the goals and mission of the university and the community. Community-engaged service may entail the delivery of expertise, resources and services to the community.”⁹²⁵ A remarkably large amount of such language boils down to synonyms for progressive and progressive advocacy. Words used as synonyms for *progressive* or *progressive belief* include:

alternative, anti-oppressive, aware, challenging, citizen, civic, cognisant, community, community-based, compassion, comprehensive, conscientious, conscious, culture, egalitarian, emancipatory, ethical, genuine, grassroots, honest, impartial, meaningful, multicultural, natural, new, open, probing, public, questioning, real, reasoned, richness, rigorous, robust, sensitivity, think critically, unique, valuable, value, and vision.

Words used as synonyms for *progressive activism* and *progressive advocacy* include:

analysis, building a sense of community, citizen voice, civic engagement, community mediation, complex analysis, confidence, consciousness raising, conversation, creativity, critique, cross-denominational, encourage, engage, enrich, ensure, enthusiastic, envision, excellence, excited, expectation, explore, expose, facilitate, find out, giving back, guide, high-impact practices, immersion, inclusion, influence, inform, infuse, inspire, interfaith, intergroup dialogue, invited, leadership, organic collaboration, orient, paradigm, participatory, passionate, pervasive, policy recommendations, political activism, positive impact, service, sharing, social responsibility, strategic, structured, supporting, and voices.

These words generally are politically neutral in ordinary usage, but virtually every laudatory word in the New Civics vocabulary effectively translates to *progressive*, and every word relating to process or educational technique implies *progressive* as an unspoken modifier or goal.

Access – subsidies

Accountable – conforming to the progressive agenda. **Variant form:** *accountability*

Accurately – conforming to progressive belief

925 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “The Language of Community Engagement,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/CCE%20Terms%20Indicators%203.24.pdf>.

Acknowledge – support

Action – work to advance progressive causes

Active – working to advance progressive causes. **Variation forms:** *activism, activist*

Advancing the mission – working to advance progressive causes

Advocacy – speech or deeds to advance progressive causes

Advocacy education – polemic to advance progressive causes

Advocate – someone who advances progressive causes

Affordable – subsidized by the government. **Variation forms:** *affordable food, affordable housing*

Ally – 1) a member of a different progressive advocacy organization; 2) someone who fights for progressive grievance politics who isn't himself a member of the aggrieved group

Alternative – progressive

Analysis – 1) progressive advocacy; 2) a tactical study of how best to advance the progressive agenda

Anti-oppressive – progressive

Assessment – a way to measure the effectiveness of progressive advocacy

Assets – money, goods, expertise, or labor that can be used by progressive advocates

Assumption – pejorative description of non-progressive thought

Asylum – rationale to give illegal immigrants permission to live in the United States.

At-risk readers – unqualified students

Authentic – progressive. **Variation forms:** *authentically, authenticity*

Aware – progressive. **Variation form:** *awareness*

Basic – important to progressives

Basic care – health care that progressives wish to subsidize

Beliefs – progressive beliefs

Beneficial – advancing the progressive cause

Blur – add progressive advocacy

Bodies – people, inherently subject to power in all circumstances, and therefore justified in exerting power in all circumstances so as to forward progressive causes. The usage derives from the thought of Michel Foucault.

Building a sense of community – progressive advocacy

Building capacity – strengthening progressive organizations’ ability to sustain themselves.

Variation form: *building infrastructure*

Burning – a leading progressive cause of the moment

Campaigning – working to advance a progressive cause

Capacity – progressive organizations’ ability to sustain themselves

Capitalism – pejorative description of people buying and selling things freely

Care – progressive sentiments

Catalyze – set up a progressive organization that can sustain itself. **Variation form:** *catalyst*

Cause – progressive goal

Challenging – progressive

Change – 1) (noun) enactment of the progressive agenda; 2) (verb) enact the progressive agenda

Change agents – progressive activists. **Variation form:** *change makers*

Circle – progressive organizational structure that substitutes ideological intensity for accountable authority

Citizen – progressive. **Variation forms:** *citizen activist, citizen science, citizenship*

Citizen voice – uninterrupted progressive advocacy

Civic – progressive. **Variation forms:** *civic achievement, civic action, civic center, civic competencies, civic ends, civic ethos, civic learning, civic-mindedness, civic purpose, civic sensitivity, civic scholars*

Civic engagement – progressive advocacy

Civic-learning associates – progressives from outside the university brought in to subject students to progressive advocacy within the classroom

Civic partnership – diverting university resources to external progressive organizations

Civic professionals – career progressive activists

Civic responsibility – duty to forward progressive causes

Civic studies – progressive advocacy given pseudo-disciplinary form

Civility – deference to progressive advocacy

Classism – Marxian pejorative used to demand conformity to progressive advocacy.

Co- – a prefix that undermines the substance and value of what it modifies. **Variant forms:** *co-curricular, co-educator, co-learner*

Coach – progressive advocate, usually specializing in advocacy directed at minors

Cognisant – progressive

Collaboration – direction by a progressive organization

College readiness – aspirational denomination of an above-average high-school education

Commitment – progressive belief that inspires progressive advocacy

Common good – the progressive agenda. **Variant form:** *common solutions*

Common ground – progressive beliefs

Community – the subset of American citizens on whose behalf progressives claim to speak and act, or progressives claiming to act on behalf of this subset of the American citizenry. **Variant forms:** *community-identified, community-identified needs, community action, community leadership*

Community asset mapping – information gathering to forward a campaign of progressive advocacy.

Community-based – progressive . **Variant forms:** *Community-based agencies, community-based expertise, community-based knowledge, community-based organizations, community-based research*

Community-owned – owned by a progressive organization

Community building – strengthening progressive organizations' ability to sustain themselves

Community mediation – progressive advocacy

Community organization –1) tactics developed by Saul Alinsky to propagandize and mobilize on behalf of radical causes; 2) a progressive organization that uses Alinskyite tactics.

Compassion – progressive beliefs

Competent – ability to forward progressive causes. **Variant form:** *competencies*

Complex analysis – progressive advocacy

Complexities – rationales for applying a progressive belief to an unrelated issue

Comprehensive – progressive

Concern – progressive sentiments intended to justify progressive action

Confidence – bold progressive advocacy

Conflict resolution – victory by progressives, and assent to their victory by their defeated opponents

Conform – pejorative description of assenting to non-progressive virtues

Connection – rationale for applying a progressive belief to an unrelated issue

Conscientious – progressive

Conscious – progressive. **Variant form:** *consciousness*

Consciousness raising – progressive advocacy, aimed at creating new progressives

Consensus – victory by progressives, and assent to their victory by their defeated opponents

Consequences – vague pejorative description of non-progressive action

Construction – pejorative description of non-progressive belief

Constructive – forwarding the progressive agenda

Consumerism – pejorative description of people buying and selling things freely

Content expertise – expertise

Contextualize – apply a progressive belief to an unrelated issue

Contradictions – supposed internal weaknesses in non-progressive aspects of human life, which justify their destruction by progressives.

Convene – bring together to endorse a predetermined progressive agenda

Conversation – progressive advocacy

Coordinate – prearrange a progressive outcome

Creativity – voluntary progressive advocacy, often applied to advocacy via the written word or the fine arts

Criminal justice – progressive advocacy to release criminals from jails and to decriminalize criminal acts

Critical – progressive. **Variant forms:** *critical analysis, critical civic literacy, critical consciousness, critical thinking*

Critical reflexivity – a means of intensifying progressive belief, so as to become a progressive activist

Critique – progressive advocacy. **Variation form:** *critiques*

Cross-cultural – progressive advocacy focused upon disaffecting Americans from Western civilization

Cross-denominational – progressive advocacy. **Variation form:** *interfaith*

Crossing the border into the US – illegal immigration

Cultural conflict – assaults upon Western civilization

Cultural wealth – progressive customs

Culturally responsive – deference to progressive beliefs

Culture – 1) progressive beliefs; 2) non-progressive virtues

Decentralized – progressive organizational structure that substitutes ideological intensity for accountable authority

Decision making – arbitrary imposition of the progressive agenda

Dedicated – extreme commitment to progressive beliefs and/or advocacy

Deepen – become more progressive

Deficit – lack of progressive commitment and/or tactical skill

Deliberation – discussion about a matter that ends with progressive policy recommendations.
Variation form: *deliberative*

Deliberative democracy – a government where all discussions about policy end up endorsing the recommendations of progressive activists

Democracy – a government that carries out progressive policy

Democratic – progressive. **Variation forms:** *democratic education, democratic practice*

Develop opinions – become more progressive

Development – 1) subsidy of progressive causes; 2) acquisition of progressive belief

Dialogue – discussion about a matter that ends with progressive policy recommendations

Difference – the occasion to defer and assent to progressive policies

Direct – action that bypasses the normal procedures of representative government, frequently illegal. **Variation form:** *direct advocacy*

Disadvantage – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Discourses – non-progressive beliefs

Discover – learn progressive beliefs

Discrimination – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Discuss – discussion about a matter that ends with progressive policy recommendations

Disempowering – inability by progressives to set policy

Disenfranchised – inability by progressives to set policy

Disparity – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Diverse – contains members of groups favored by progressives. Non-progressives are not diverse.

Variant form: *diversity*

Dominant – pejorative applied to generally accepted non-progressive belief

Dynamics – applied to suggest the irreversibility of a change resulting from progressive policy, hence the need to cease opposing it. **Variant form:** *border dynamics*.

Ecological – an occasion for progressive action to restrict human liberty, claiming to act on behalf of the natural world

Effective – supporting progressive organizations' ability to sustain themselves

Egalitarian – progressive

Emancipatory – progressive

Embrace – support

Empathize – support

Empower – strengthen progressive advocacy. **Variant form:** *empowerment*

Enable – support, frequently by subsidy and/or requirement

Encourage – progressive advocacy, sometimes mandatory

Energy justice – a rationale for progressive action to limit fuel consumption

Energy poor – people who consume limited amounts of fuel, and provide a benchmark of desired fuel consumption that progressives can apply to everyone else

Engage – progressive advocacy. **Variant form:** *engagement*

Enhanced academic curriculum – smaller and more rigorous classes, often blended with progressive advocacy

Enrich – incorporate progressive advocacy

Ensure – guarantee the success of progressive advocacy

Enthusiastic – extreme commitment to progressive beliefs and/or advocacy

Entrepreneurial – intelligent action to acquire subsidies for progressive causes

Environmental – an occasion for progressive action to restrict human liberty, claiming to act on behalf of the natural world

Envision – progressive advocacy

Equity – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Ethical – progressive

Evidence-based – supported by one “study,” which does need to be rigorous or reproducible

Excellence – 1) effective progressive advocacy; 2) educational adequacy

Excited – extreme commitment to progressive beliefs and/or advocacy

Exclusion – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Expectation – mandated progressive advocacy

Experience – 1) job skills for which college education is irrelevant; 2) work doing progressive advocacy

Experiential education – the substitution of internships and progressive advocacy for a college education

Exploitative – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Explore – progressive advocacy

Expose – progressive advocacy

Express – the statement of unsubstantiated progressive opinion, which may not be contradicted

Extractive studies – scholarly research

Facilitate – progressive advocacy. **VARIANT FORM:** *facilitator*

Fair trade – progressive abrogation of free trade

Fairly – resulting in progressive ends

Feeling – the statement of unsubstantiated progressive opinion, which may not be contradicted

Find out – progressive advocacy

Food movement – 1) movement to subsidize food costs; 2) movement to increase food costs by banning chemical insecticides and genetically-modified organisms

Food security – universal subsidy of food costs

Fundamental – important to progressives

Gap – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Gender issues – rationales for progressive policy

Generation – a word used to intensify commitment among younger progressives

Generative partnership – direction by a progressive organization, with especially productive results for the progressive organization

Genuine – progressive

Giving back – progressive activism

Global – pertaining to disaffection from loyalty to or primary concern about the United States.
Variation forms: *global citizenship, global community, global learning*

Globalization – pejorative description of free trade of goods and services between countries

Grant proposal – a bureaucratic procedure by which to acquire more money for progressive organizations

Grassroots – local progressives. **Variation form:** *grassroots activism, grassroots organizing*

Guide – progressive advocacy

Gun violence – an occasion to abrogate Second Amendment rights

Hear – support

High-impact practices – especially effective progressive advocacy

Honest – progressive

Honor – support progressive causes

Human right – progressive goal unattainable via the political process, and therefore to be achieved by bureaucratic or judicial action

Humanity – vague rationale for progressive action

Identity – attribute that progressives deem to have more importance than common humanity or individual character. Frequently includes race, gender, and class.

Ignorance – disagreement with progressive beliefs

Ignored – not given as much attention as progressives desire

Immersion – inescapable progressive advocacy

Immigrant – usually an *illegal immigrant*. **See below:** *undocumented immigrant*

Impact – pejorative and vague description of non-progressive action

Impartial – progressive

Inclusion – progressive advocacy

Income inequities – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Indigenous – conquerors of a set piece of land, given moral support by progressives against rival conquerors of an earlier or later date

Inequality – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives.
Variation form: *inequities*

Influence – progressive advocacy

Inform – progressive advocacy

Infrastructure – materiel, money, and personnel necessary for progressive organizations to sustain themselves

Infuse – progressive advocacy

Initiative – progressive campaign

Injustice – pejorative description of those aspects of the world not yet controlled by progressives

Innovative – the application of the service-learning model

Inspire – progressive advocacy

Instability – the “downs” part in the ups-and-downs of life

Institutionalize – transform a progressive campaign into a self-sustaining progressive organization

Integrate – subordinate to progressive goals

Integrity – commitment to progressive causes

Intentional – prearrangement to achieve progressive ends

Interdependence – rationale to restrain action opposed to the progressive agenda

Interdisciplinary – pseudo-academic study, located outside of the traditional disciplines, and devoted to progressive ends. **Variation forms:** *interdisciplinary academic program, interdisciplinary centers*

Intergroup dialogue – progressive advocacy. **Variation form:** *intergroup relations*

Interlocking – subject to applying a progressive belief to an unrelated issue

Intern – unpaid laborer, frequently serving progressive organizations.

Intersectionality – requiring assent to all progressive beliefs

Intervention – progressive action

Invited – pre-arranged progressive advocacy

Involved in the criminal justice system – arrested for committing a crime

Issues – occasions for progressive advocacy

Judge – progressive expression of disdain for an opinion thought to be based on unwarranted attitude of superiority. **Variation forms:** *judgment, judgmental*

Just – progressive results. Usually applied in circumstances where the law is not progressive. It is used to delegitimize the law. **Variation form:** *justice*

Just lawyering – the use of the legal system to achieve progressive results

Justice gap – a rationale to release criminals from jails and to decriminalize criminal acts

Justice issue – progressive advocacy to release criminals from jails and to decriminalize criminal acts

Labeling – pejorative description of non-progressive belief

Leadership – progressive activism

Learn – acquire progressive beliefs

Learning outcomes – 1) bureaucratic assessment of education, which reduces it to the quantifiable; 2) successful progressive advocacy

Like-minded – shared progressive belief

Lines of difference – divisions between human beings according to attributes that progressives deem to have more importance than common humanity or individual character. These lines frequently include *race, gender, and class*.

Listen – support

Low-income – poor

Luxury – something that should be taken away

Manage – direction by a progressive organization

Marginalize – regard as less important than progressives do. **Variant form:** *marginalization*

Meaningful – progressive

Meaning-making – progressive interpretation

Meritocracy – pejorative description of having the best person for a job

Mobilization – enlistment for progressive advocacy

Movement – progressive campaign

Multicultural – progressive. **Variant forms:** *multicultural center, multicultural social justice*

Multiple – adjective used to disaffect Americans from primary loyalty to America, Western civilization, or other non-progressive ideals. **Variant form:** *multiple identities.*

Mutually beneficial – beneficial to progressive organizations

Natural – progressive

Negotiating – political demands. Progressive organizations often arrange to “negotiate” with progressive politicians so as to provide an occasion for the imposition of progressive policy

Networks – unaffiliated but cooperating progressive organizations

New – progressive

Non-hierarchical – progressive organizational structure that substitutes ideological intensity for accountable authority

Non-polarized – the suppression of opposition to progressive belief

Non-violent – a range of activities up to and including illegal intimidation that stops just short of physical violence.

Normal – pejorative description of ordinary behavior and belief; something to be dismantled by progressive advocacy

Nuanced – subject to applying a progressive belief to an unrelated issue

Nurture – support progressive advocacy

Obligation – requirement to take part in progressive advocacy

Of color – non-white. Asserts a political unity among all non-whites, harnessed toward progressive ends.

Open – progressive

Organic collaboration – prearranged progressive advocacy

Organize – tactics to mobilize people toward radical ends

Oppression – non-progressive policy

Orient – progressive advocacy

Overcome – suppress

Paradigm – 1) expression of non-progressive belief; 2) progressive advocacy

Participatory – progressive advocacy with the input of progressive organizations. **Variation form:** *participatory education*

Participatory action research – a simulation of research, in which progressive organizations write up a rationale for receiving subsidies

Partner organization – progressive organization

Partnership – direction by a progressive organization

Passionate – extreme commitment to progressive beliefs and/or advocacy

Paternalistic – not run by progressives

Pedagogy – 1) a theoretical approach to the method and practice of teaching; 2) progressive advocacy in the guise of education

Peer educator – student progressive who subjects his fellow students to progressive advocacy.

Permaculture – permanent progressive control of the economy

Perpetuate – create self-sustaining progressive advocacy

Pervasive – inescapable progressive advocacy. **Variation form:** *pervasiveness*

Polarized topic – a subject where progressive beliefs are widely unpopular

Policing – pejorative description of the maintenance of law and order by the police

Policy recommendations – progressive advocacy

Political activism – progressive advocacy

Positive impact – successful progressive advocacy. **Variation form:** *positive social change*



Potential – a likely candidate to become a progressive activist or cause

Poverty – a rationale for government to spend more money to forward the progressive agenda

Power – the exercise of political force against enemies

Power mapping – a memorandum outlining the political actors in a locality, written to prepare radicals to exercise political force against their enemies

Powerful – 1) something approved of; 2) very progressive

Pressing – a leading progressive cause of the moment

Preference – priority for progressive causes, campaigns, and classes

Preventive – progressive action to solve a problem that does not yet exist

Privilege – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Proactive – bold progressive action

Probing – progressive

Problem solving – applying progressive answers to a question

Process – an artificial separation of the means from the ends, where the means become subject matters in themselves. These new subject matters can then be diverted toward progressive advocacy, which allows progressive advocacy to be applied to every actual subject matter, as an aid to “process.”

Problem – an occasion to advocate progressive policy

Progressive – radical left

Project – 1) a progressive campaign; 2) a pejorative description of a non-progressive object of loyalty, such as the United States of America

Promote – aid a progressive cause

Protest – public demonstration by progressives intended to intimidate political representatives into enacting progressive policy, or to provide progressive politicians with an excuse to enact progressive policy.

Public deliberation – discussion about a matter that ends with progressive policy recommendations.

Public – progressive. **Variation form:** *public engagement, public impact, public judgment, public scholarship*

Public work – soft-edged Alinskyite community organizing

Purpose – progressive goals

Qualitative – Anecdotes used to forward the progressive agenda. **Variation form:** *qualitative research, qualitative interviews*

Questioning – progressive

Rally – public demonstration by progressives intended to intimidate political representatives into enacting progressive policy, or to provide progressive politicians with an excuse to enact progressive policy.

Real – progressive. **Variation form:** *real-world, real-world experiences*

Reasoned – progressive

Reciprocity – subject to control by a progressive organization

Reclaim – subject to the progressive agenda

Recreating – subjecting to the progressive agenda

Redistributive justice – transferring wealth to the designated beneficiaries of the progressive movement

Reflection – mental activity designed to intensify progressive belief. **Variation form:** *reflection activities*

Refugee – illegal immigrant

Related – a progressive belief applied to an unrelated issue

Relevant – a progressive belief applied to an unrelated issue

Renew – subject to the progressive agenda

Resist – oppose non-progressive beliefs

Resilience – a term of praise for enduring the ordinary knocks of life. The term recasts ordinary life as an ordeal suffered by victims, and is used to recruit members of the progressive coalition.

Resolution – victory of a progressive campaign

Resources – materiel, money, and personnel used by progressive organizations

Respect – support

Respond – initiate a progressive campaign

Restorative – progressive

Retention – policies designed to keep unqualified or marginally qualified students in college, frequently by subsidy and/or by lowering academic standards

Retreat center – site devoted to uninterrupted progressive advocacy

Rhetoric – 1) art of using words persuasively; 2) philosophy derived from conceiving of human beings as capable of persuasion and capable of being persuaded; 3) rationale to turn classes of remedial and introductory writing instruction (rhetoric, speech communication, communication studies, and so on) into classes of progressive advocacy. **Variation form:** *rhetorical*

Richness – progressive

Rigorous – progressive

Rights – progressive objectives that cannot be secured via the ballot box

Robust – progressive

Root causes – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Safe place – location where only progressive advocacy is allowed

Safe space – location where only progressive advocacy is allowed

Scholar activists – progressive activists employed as professors, who devote their scholarship and teaching to progressive advocacy

Self-reflection – mental activity designed to deepen progressive belief

Sensitivity – progressive belief

Service – progressive activism

Service-learning – free student labor for progressive organizations, for which students pay tuition and receive college credit.

Shared – run by progressives

Sharing – progressive advocacy

Shyness – disagreement with progressives, often silent

Skill set – ignorance of any body of factual knowledge. **Variation forms:** *skills, skillfulness*

Social – progressive. **Variation forms:** *social advocacy, social change, social entrepreneurship, social identity, social knowledge, social power, socially effective, socially engaged*

Social construct – ordinary non-progressive belief

Social inequality – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives. **Variation form:** *social structures*

Social justice – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Social responsibility – required progressive advocacy. **Variant form:** *socially responsible*

Society – vague rationale for progressive action

Sociology – 1) academic discipline devoted to the study of the development and structure of human societies; 2) pseudo-academic discipline devoted to progressive advocacy

Solidarity – support for progressive organizations

Solution-based strategies – tactics to advance progressive causes. **Variant forms:** *solution-oriented research, solutions-based dialogue*

Spirituality – quasi-religious rationale for progressive advocacy

Stereotypes – pejorative description of non-progressive beliefs

Storytelling – anecdotes selected to support progressive policy measures

Strategic – long-term progressive advocacy

Structured – progressive advocacy

Subordination – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Supervised – controlled by progressives, so as to forward progressive goals. **Variant form:** *supervisor*

Supporting – progressive advocacy, often obligatory

Sustainability – progressive control over the economy so as to restrict human liberty, claiming to act on behalf of the natural world. **Variant form:** *sustainable*

System – 1) conception of the natural functioning of the world as the result of conspiracy by progressives' enemies; 2) coordinated effort by progressives to impose progressive policy. **Variant forms:** *systematically, systemic, systemic change, systemic inequality*

Targeted – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Technocracy – pejorative description of assigning experts to run the parts of the world best run by experts.

Tension – anger that inspires progressive activism

Think critically – progressive beliefs

Timely – keyed to the most recent progressive causes

Together – progressive direction

Trailblazers – the first progressives in a particular field or locality

Trained student leaders – progressive advocates among the student body

Transformative – a sudden and radical embrace of progressive beliefs

Transition – 1) the slow imposition of progressive policy; 2) the slow acquisition of progressive beliefs

Trust – the knowledge that you are talking to another progressive

Unbiased – 1) a pejorative description of non-progressives; 2) a positive description of progressives

Unbundling – disassembling a non-progressive belief

Underrepresented – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Underserved – a rationale for transferring university admission slots, jobs, and wealth to progressives

Understand – support

Undocumented immigrant – illegal immigrant. **Variation form:** *undocumented person*

Unique – progressive

Uniting – putting under progressive direction

Urban – pertaining to poor blacks and Hispanics in cities

Urgent – a leading progressive cause of the moment. **Variation form:** *urgency*

Validation – assent to progressive beliefs

Valid – unsubstantiated progressive opinion, which may not be contradicted. **Variation form:** *validity*

Valuable – progressive

Value – progressive belief

Vision – progressive belief

Voices – progressive advocacy

Volunteer – provider of free labor for progressive organizations. Sometimes required to provide this free labor.

Wicked problems – political issues with widespread opposition to progressive solutions

Worker rights – demands labor unions wish to impose on businesses

Young adults – an infantilizing description of teenagers and people in their twenties

Youth – a supposedly laudatory but infantilizing description of teenagers and people in their twenties

APPENDIX 6: UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, BOULDER

Introduction

The University of Colorado, Boulder (CU-Boulder), is the flagship campus of the flagship university in Colorado's system of public higher education. Founded in 1876, the same year that Colorado became a state, the university opened the next year.⁹²⁶ The University established a Colorado Springs campus in 1965, a Denver campus in 1973, and the Anschutz Medical Campus in Aurora in 2006.⁹²⁷ By 2015-16, CU-Boulder enrolled nearly 33,000 students, of whom 27,000 were undergraduates.⁹²⁸ In 2016, U.S. News and World Report lists it in a tie for #89 in its ranking of national universities.⁹²⁹

CU-Boulder retains only scattered remnants of the Old Civics, and has acquired in its stead an enormous New Civics infrastructure. Our description of CU-Boulder explores the New Civics architecture, administrative structure by administrative structure. This appendix contains four sections:

1. CU Engage – Center for Community-Based Learning and Research;
2. Service-learning;
3. Residential Academic Programs; and
4. Outreach and Engagement.

The New Civics complex at CU-Boulder is an enormous, sprawling labyrinth. CU Engage is the administrative heart of the New Civics, and contains those programs devoted exclusively to propagating the New Civics throughout CU-Boulder. Yet it by no means includes all of CU-Boulder's New Civics initiatives. The New Civics advocates have marbled service-learning classes throughout CU-Boulder: we provide a partial catalogue of these classes, to sketch how service-learning extends the New Civics throughout CU-Boulder's offices and disciplines. The New Civics advocates have also incorporated service-learning into CU-Boulder students' residential life, via the Residential Academic Programs; we discuss these initiatives separately. Finally, we describe the miscellaneous New Civics initiatives labeled by CU-Boulder's Office of Outreach and Engagement. Administrative heart, wide-ranging service-learning, residential life, miscellaneous efforts—together these provide a portrait in full of the New Civics at CU-Boulder.

While we describe these programs below in terms of administrative structure, first we should understand how they function as a whole. The core of the New Civics at CU-Boulder is the **INVST**

⁹²⁶ University of Colorado Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, "General Information," <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/information/intro>.

⁹²⁷ University of Colorado Boulder, "About the CU System," <http://www.cu.edu/about-cu-system>.

⁹²⁸ University of Colorado Boulder, Office of Data Analytics, "B. Enrollment and Persistence: Common Data Set 2015-16," <http://www.colorado.edu/oda/cds/cds16/index.htm>.

⁹²⁹ "National Universities Rankings," *U.S. News and World Report*, <http://colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/rankings/national-universities/data/page+4>.

Community Studies Program: this program, the equivalent of a major in progressive activism, provides vocational training to a dedicated corps of New Civics advocates among the CU-Boulder student body. The **Leadership Studies Minor** allows a larger body of CU-Boulder students to minor in progressive activism, as an adjunct to a major in another discipline. **Public Achievement** directs this progressive activism to community organizing in local K-12 schools, allowing for a synergy of New Civics advocacy at the K-12 and undergraduate levels. Students specializing as progressive activists receive external scholarship support from the **Puksta Scholars Program**.

Beyond these academic cores, students provide labor for progressive organizations in **service-learning classes** in a wide variety of disciplines. Although there is extensive service-learning in the **School of Engineering** and the **Department of Spanish**, the largest single node of service-learning at CU-Boulder is in the **Program for Writing and Rhetoric**—the center for introductory and/or remedial writing instruction at CU-Boulder, which provides classes for all CU-Boulder students who need to acquire adequate facility in college-level writing. CU Engage then inserts further progressive advocacy into individual classes via the **classroom dialogues** of the **CU Dialogues Program**.

The New Civics also extends beyond the classroom into different extracurricular aspects of student life. The **CU Dialogues Program** also funds **community dialogues**, to insert progressive advocacy into extracurricular and residential events. The **Study Abroad** program channels semesters away toward more New Civics activities, and **Alternative Breaks** transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions. The **Residential Academic Programs** also frame student residential life around New Civics. The programs collectively work to make the New Civics inescapable in student life at CU-Boulder.

The New Civics also works to sustain itself at CU-Boulder. CU Engage works to secure more funding for itself, and for allied New Civics programs, by funding **Participatory Action Research**. The New Civics also sustains itself by embedding itself in, and receiving financing from, components of CU-Boulder such as the **School of Education**. **CU Engage** also supports the careers of several graduates from its programs by employing them as staff or teachers—and by doing so, ensures the supply of a reliable, continuing source of recruits to staff the New Civics programs at CU-Boulder.

Collectively, the New Civics programs at CU-Boulder engage in three categories of activity. These programs 1) train a core of committed progressive activists; 2) extend the New Civics into every corner of CU-Boulder, both inside and outside the classroom; and 3) work to sustain themselves by securing money and personnel.

CU Engage – Center for Community-Based Learning and Research

CU ENGAGE: INTRODUCTION

CU-Boulder's individual civic engagement programs are several decades old; INVST Community Studies, for example, was founded in 1990. In 2005, CU-Boulder gathered these programs within



a single umbrella organization, the Institute for Ethical and Civic Engagement (IECE). The IECE did a great deal to spread civic engagement yet further through the university, in good measure by distributing course development money linked to developing civic engagement curricula. In its first three years, from 2005 to 2008, IECE “provided \$146,200 for the development of 33 courses and projects.” IECE-funded courses included *Business Applications of Social Responsibility*, *Service Learning in Grant Writing*, and *Theatre for Social Change*.⁹³⁰

In 2014, CU-Boulder reorganized the IECE as CU Engage. CU Engage, which is based in the School of Education, incorporates CU Dialogues, INVST Community Studies, Public Achievement, Puksta Scholars, and Student Worker Alliance Program; it also coordinates with the Office of Outreach and Engagement on joint initiatives. CU Engage connects these programs to one another, to the broader CU-Boulder community, and with outside “community partners.”⁹³¹

There are no current statistics about the current number of CU-Boulder students who participate in civic engagement, but several years ago CU-Boulder stated that “More than 13,000 [out of more than 30,000] CU students participate in some form of community service and more than 3,500 are engaged in academic service learning.” The then-director of the Institute for Ethical and Civic Engagement, Peter Simons, stated that, “Our long-term goal is to have all of our 30,000 students civically engaged in one way or another.”⁹³² This goal presumably is still operative, although the director of CU Engage is now (2016) Ben Kirshner.⁹³³

Our description of CU Engage includes 4 sections:

1. Program Framework;
2. Faculty and Staff Resources;
3. Programs and Initiatives; and
4. Staff

These sections tell first about CU Engage’s organizing principles, next about the services it provides for CU-Boulder personnel, third (and most importantly) the particular programs it coordinates, and finally about the people who run CU Engage and decide exactly what it should do.

930 Corey H. Jones, “Institute Spotlight: Institute for Ethical and Civic Engagement,” *Inside CU: The CU-Boulder Faculty/Staff E-Newsletter*, April 22, 2008, <http://www.colorado.edu/insidecu/editions/2008/4-22/story1.html>.

931 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Overview,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/overview>.

932 University of Colorado, Boulder, News Center, “Civic Engagement,” <http://www.colorado.edu/news/series/civic-engagement>.

933 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Education, “Ben Kirshner,” <http://www.colorado.edu/education/people/ben-kirshner>.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAM FRAMEWORK

CU Engage runs its programs with overarching goals and methods in mind. Its goals we discuss in “Values”; its methods we discuss in “Community-Based Learning” and “Community-Based Research.” These goals and methods govern how CU Engage distributes resources and executes its programs and initiatives.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAM FRAMEWORK: VALUES

CU Engage pursues four values: “Equity and Inclusion,” “Reciprocity,” “Public Impact,” and “Democracy.” We reproduce CU Engage’s articulation of these goals in their entirety.

CU ENGAGE VALUES

Equity and Inclusion: Our programs emphasize inclusive practices that foster the intellectual and collaborative engagement of every person, regardless of national origin, age, race, ethnicity, religion, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation, ability, socioeconomic status, veteran status, or political affiliation. We adopt a “cultural wealth” perspective that recognizes and showcases the collective knowledge and resources of underserved communities.

Reciprocity: We seek to build relationships with community partners that are mutually beneficial and collaborative (“doing with”), rather than exploitative (“doing to”) or paternalistic (“doing for”). Reciprocal relationships like this begin when both partners can articulate their self interests and, over time, work together towards common goals. This working together acknowledges and respects different forms of culture, knowledge, expertise, and capacity.

Public impact: We seek to contribute to projects that define the public in a broad, and inclusive way and strive to build, strengthen, or reclaim “public goods,” such as access to quality education, health and well-being, or clean environments. Our focus on public impact is consistent with CU-Boulder’s mission “to serve Colorado, the nation, and the world.”

Democracy: For the purposes of CU Engage, denotes a broad set of practices in which people collectively engage the public world to bring about change. Democracy refers to a quality of participation that involves working with others, across differences, with full inclusion, towards common solutions.

University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Overview,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/overview>.

While these goals largely speak for themselves as examples of progressive advocacy, the reader should particularly note the section on Reciprocity. The language here—*community partners, collaborative, self-interests*—is the language of service-learning and of Alinskyite Public Action. The vocabulary CU Engage uses here by itself strongly suggests that CU Engage shares these national movements’ theoretical frameworks and practical goals.

CU Engage applies these values to two favored methodologies: *community-based learning* and *community-based research*.⁹³⁴

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAM FRAMEWORK: COMMUNITY-BASED LEARNING

CU Engage describes community-based learning in the language of service-learning and civil engagement. CU Engage formally defines this method as “an intentional pedagogical strategy to integrate student learning in academic courses with community engagement. This work is based on reciprocal and mutually beneficial partnerships between instructors, students, and community groups. The goal is to address community-identified needs and ultimately create positive social change.” CU Engage’s examples of community-based learning include work “with teams of young people at area public schools on public work projects designed to make a positive impact on the lives of young people” (Public Achievement); “a range of engagement activities with community members in Boulder, Rio Grande City, Texas and internationally” (INVST Community Scholars); and the design and execution of “a yearlong civic engagement project through reciprocal partnerships with community-based agencies” (Puksta Scholars). Jane Addams’s work at Hull House in Chicago a century ago is intended as a role model for this community-based learning: “Hull House was not just about solving problems, it was intentional in creating rich learning opportunities for residents and making advances in social knowledge. Indeed, Addams came to see Hull House as a ‘sociology laboratory.’” CU Engage wishes its community-based learning programs to be updated sociology laboratories for the twenty-first century.⁹³⁵

CU Engage encourages undergraduates with a particular interest in community-based learning to apply for admission into the INVST Community Leadership Program, the Puksta Scholars Program, and the Leadership Studies Minor. CU Engage also cites several undergraduate courses particularly intended to foster community-based learning: these include *LEAD 1000: Becoming a Leader*, *EDUC 2800 – Dialogue Across Difference*, *INVS 2919/EDUC 2919: Renewing Democracy in Communities and Schools*, *INVS 1523 – Civic Engagement: Using Democracy as a Tool for Social Change*, *INVS 3302/WGST 3302: Facilitating Peaceful Community Change*, *INVS 4402: Nonviolent Social Movements*, and *LEAD 4000 - Leadership in Context and Emerging Challenges: A Capstone*. This list also serves to catalogue the academic spine of CU-Boulder’s New Civics.

934 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage. <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/overview>.

935 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “What is community-based learning?” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/about-us/what-community-based-learning>.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAM FRAMEWORK: COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH

CU Engage intends the methodology of community-based research to complement the methodology of community-based learning. CU Engage relies on CU-Boulder’s Office of University Outreach for its formal definition of this community-based research: “the ways faculty, staff, and students collaborate with external groups in mutually beneficial partnerships that are grounded in scholarship and consistent with our role and mission as a comprehensive, public research university.” CU Engage provides two examples: “In some cases community organizations invite a university researcher with particular content expertise, such as water quality or renewable energy, to contribute to studying an environmental resource issue. In other cases partners invite a researcher who has methodological expertise, such as carrying out ethnography or designing a survey, in order for community members to conduct locally focused participatory action research.”⁹³⁶ Community-based research, in other words, is another exercise in the national campaign to place progressive “community organizations” in charge of university resources.

CU Engage supports three different programs within Community-Based Research: Participatory Action Research (PAR) for undergraduates, Community-Based Research (CBR) for graduate students, and a Children, Youth and Environments (CYE) Award open to students, faculty, staff.⁹³⁷ CU Engage links these programs to the community-based research methodology as well as to its Programs and Initiatives; we will discuss these with CU Engage’s other programs, under the general heading of Participatory Action Research.

CU ENGAGE: FACULTY AND STAFF RESOURCES

To facilitate its larger mission to promote civic engagement, CU Engage provides a variety of resources for CU-Boulder’s faculty and staff. Some of these resources are simply informational: CU Engage posts useful web-links for faculty and staff, including lists of relevant speakers and workshops and information on the Faculty Fellows in Community-Based Learning Grant Program.⁹³⁸ The Speakers & Workshops and Faculty Fellow programs also act as direct support by CU Engage for CU-Boulder personnel, and we will discuss both of them below.

CU ENGAGE: FACULTY AND STAFF RESOURCES: SPEAKERS & WORKSHOPS

CU Engage’s speaker program provides its participants both publicity and career-building items for their résumés, while also publicizing other civic engagement efforts coordinated and funded by CU Engage. In February 2015, the speaker program publicized the Undergraduate Participatory Action Research (PAR) program by providing a venue for the authors of *Students of Color* (see

936 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “What is community-based research?” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/about-us/what-community-based-research>.

937 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Opportunities for Undergraduate & Graduate Students,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/opportunities-undergraduate-graduate-students>.

938 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Faculty & Staff,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/faculty-staff>.



below) to give a presentation on their work. Later that semester, it gave further publicity to civic engagement efforts by scheduling Professor Beth Osnes to speak on “Conversations on Ethical and Equitable Community Engagement.” Osnes, “an Assistant Professor in the Department of Theatre and Dance who has extensive experience collaborating with community groups,” used the speech as an autobiographically inflected exposition of “best practices for ethical and equitable community engagement,” with an eye toward engaging her audience to work together to devise “actions that can move us from the old model to the new model” of community engagement.

Osnes is the model of a progressive academic.

BETH OSNES: BRIEF RÉSUMÉ

As co-founder of Mothers Acting Up, she toured a program in partnership with Philanthropiece Foundation entitled, The (M)other Tour, to locations around the world to create a global community of mothers moving from concern to action on behalf of their most passionate concerns. In conjunction with this program she is developing a methodology specific to energy justice using theatre as a tool to include the voices of the energy poor in the planning and implementation of development projects in Panama, Guatemala, India and the Navajo Nation. She presented on that work at the World Renewable Energy Congress in Abu Dhabi in 2010. She has conducted field research as a Fulbright Scholar in Malaysia. She has published books and many articles on women’s vocal empowerment, mothering, activism, and the performing arts.

University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Speakers & Workshops,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/speakers-and-workshops>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Center of the American West, “Beth Osnes,” <https://centerwest.org/archives/7180>.

Osnes’ pedagogy matches her research: one student wrote that, “I felt like she should be teaching an Environmental Studies course instead of a theater one. We spent the majority of class talking about sustainability and the only way to get good grades on the exam was to compare clean energy and female empowerment to the current theatrical topic.”⁹³⁹

Osnes’ résumé and pedagogy allow us to see the progressive, politicized substance of *community engagement* that CU Engage supports, both specifically in its Speakers series and more broadly in its civic engagement efforts.

939 Rate My Professors, “Beth Osnes,” <http://www.ratemyprofessors.com/ShowRatings.jsp?tid=1484086>.

CU ENGAGE: FACULTY AND STAFF RESOURCES: FACULTY FELLOWS IN COMMUNITY-BASED LEARNING GRANT PROGRAM

CU Engage’s Faculty Fellows in Community-Based Learning Program (FFCBLGP) aims “to expand, deepen, and institutionalize community-based learning at CU-Boulder.” Towards that end, it provides assistance for professional development—“Fellows participate in a Community-Based Learning Institute that provides a dedicated process and structure to develop syllabi, assignments, and other tools needed to successfully implement a community-based learning course”—as well as \$4,000 to be applied toward “summer salary, teaching/research materials, or other appropriate uses.” Faculty Fellows in 2015-16 were Melissa Hart, Veronica House, Jill Litt, Victoria Derr, Beth Osnes (again), Colene Robinson, Samantha Strife, and Sona Dimidjian.⁹⁴⁰

Of these Faculty Fellows, three of them are also staff members of CU-Boulder programs focused on civic engagement: Melissa Hart is Director of the Byron R. White Center for the Study of American Constitutional Law at the University of Colorado Law School, which oversees programs including the Colorado Law Constitution Day Project and the Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project;⁹⁴¹ Veronica House is Associate Director for Service-Learning and Outreach in the Program for Writing and Rhetoric, where she directs the Writing Initiative for Service and Engagement (WISE);⁹⁴² and Victoria Derr is a program coordinator for Growing Up Boulder, a program partly run by CU-Boulder’s Office for Outreach and Engagement.⁹⁴³ FFCBLGP’s funding pattern works in good measure to steer more resources to other members of the CU-Boulder civic engagement complex. There is an appearance of conflict of interest in a program whereby civic engagement personnel award their colleagues the large majority of their grant funds.

FFCBLGP directs all its funds toward courses intended to forward progressive political action. The six awards in 2015-16 went to courses with the following self-descriptions:

1. Melissa Hart’s *LAWS 8785: Access to Justice: The Provision of Legal Services for Middle- and Low-Income People* frames a practicum in legal aid around readings “on the constitutional, ethical, economic, and social consequences of the significant justice gap in our nation.”

940 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Faculty Fellows in Community-Based Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/faculty-fellows-community-based-learning>.

941 University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado Law, “About the White Center,” <http://www.colorado.edu/law/research/byron-white-center/about-white-center>.

942 University of Colorado, Boulder, The Program for Writing & Rhetoric, “Meet Our People,” <http://www.colorado.edu/pwr/people>.

943 University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Outreach and Engagement, “Growing Up Boulder,” <http://www.growingupboulder.org/our-staff.html>.

2. Veronica House's *WRTG 3020: Food and Culture* "will focus on the communication strategies and genres the drive the food movement in particular, and ... consider how language is a mechanism for generating social change and how and why certain discourses gain collective status that represent communities while others are ignored."
3. Jill Litt's and Victoria Derr's *ENVS 3526: Healthy, Resilient Cities Praxis* focuses upon issues that "may include community parks, active transportation for children and adults, community resilience networks, income inequities, access to affordable housing, or access to health and affordable food."
4. Beth Osnes' *THTR 4073: Performing Voices of Women* intends "to explore the ways of examining, understanding, and embodying women's voices in performance as to enrich students' scholarly, creative and socially engaged work."
5. Colene Robinson's *LAWS 7115: Juvenile Justice* trains "students to grapple with the complexities of effective and just lawyering in the juvenile court" by working for LYRIC (Learn Your Rights in Colorado), which is devoted to "teaching young people about their rights after they became involved in the criminal justice system"—especially "immigrant youth and youth of color."
6. Samantha Strife and Sona Dimidjian's *PSYC 4931: Field Placement Internship Course* has students work with "the Body Project preventive intervention ... The Body Project is an evidence-based cognitive dissonance intervention that has been demonstrated to help adolescent girls and college-aged women increase body image confidence and prevent eating disorders."⁹⁴⁴

These FFCBLGP-funded courses all follow the New Civics pattern: advocacy for progressive causes in tandem with subsidies to the progressive nonprofit complex, where students receiving course credit provide "partner organizations" with unpaid labor.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES

CU Engage's central purpose is to provide an organizing structure for several distinct "civic engagement, democratic education, and dialogues programs on the CU-Boulder campus." These programs are the meat of CU Engage; they are, in alphabetical order,

1. CU Dialogues Program;
2. INVST Community Studies Program;
3. Leadership Studies Minor;

⁹⁴⁴ University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, "Faculty Fellows in Community-Based Learning," <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/faculty-fellows-community-based-learning>; LYRIC (Learn Your Rights In Colorado), "What We Do," <http://www.lyricolorado.com/what-we-do/>.

4. Participatory Action Research;
5. Public Achievement;
6. Puksta Scholars Program; and
7. Student Worker Alliance Program.

As noted above, we describe Participatory Action Research here because it acts essentially as a program, even though CU Engage also discusses it under Community-Based Research. CU Engage also administers two programs that we do not discuss separately: the Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute and the Peace Corps recruiting office at CU-Boulder.⁹⁴⁵ We have put our discussion of the Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute at the end of our discussion of Public Achievement, since it appears to be a summer-school extension of the Public Achievement program. As for the Peace Corps, the entire field of service-learning took the Peace Corps as one of its models, so it would be repetitious to detail how the practices of civic engagement and the Peace Corps dovetail.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: CU DIALOGUES PROGRAM

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: CU DIALOGUES PROGRAM: OVERVIEW

The CU Dialogues Program began in 2007, with “a Civic Engagement course implemented in the Sewall Residential Academic Program (RAP) by faculty members Dr. Ellen Aiken and Dr. Karen Ramirez.” The course began as Aiken and Ramirez sought out “an experiential learning activity that would promote complex analysis of the often-polarized topic of immigration.” The two professors then “discovered a Boulder County initiative that facilitated dialogues between immigrants and native-born residents in Boulder County. They arranged a dialogue for their RAP [Residential Academic Program] students and ... invited immigrant custodial staff members who worked in the residence hall.”

In 2009, the Institute for Ethical and Civic Engagement, began to fund CU Dialogues as a Model Project; in 2011 CU Dialogues “began receiving full seed funding from the Office of the Provost and became an established program under the Institute for Ethical and Civic Engagement.” At its founding in 2014, CU Engage incorporated CU Dialogues. CU Dialogues won the President’s Diversity Award in 2013 and the Chancellor’s Committee on Race and Ethnicity Diversity Service Recognition Award in 2015.⁹⁴⁶ As such awards suggest, past topics “have included gender and workplace (with female University employees from different age cohorts); immigration policy (with

⁹⁴⁵ University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Programs and Initiatives,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/programs-and-initiatives>.

⁹⁴⁶ University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “About Us,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/about-us>; Ellen S. Aiken and Karen E. Ramirez, “Scaling Up Dialogues to Boost Engaged Learning,” *Academic Exchange Quarterly* 18, 4 (Winter 2014), <http://rapidintellect.com/AEQweb/547814.pdf>, p. 2.

undocumented students); and perceptions of Muslim women (with self-identified Muslim students on campus).”⁹⁴⁷

CU Dialogues coordinates several kinds of “dialogues” throughout CU-Boulder.

CU DIALOGUES PROGRAM: BRIEF SELF-DESCRIPTION

The CU Dialogues Program facilitates dialogues that engage diverse members of the University community in honest conversation with one another across differences of all kinds. *Classroom dialogues* create experiential learning opportunities and generate open discussion of difficult or controversial topics in courses across a range of disciplines. *Community dialogues* in residence halls and other campus settings foster open sharing of experiences and perspectives among community members. The CU Dialogues Program serves all sectors of the University, including academic departments and units, RAPs and residence halls, and student organizations. The Program also offers a 3-credit undergraduate course, “*Dialogue Across Difference*,” which offers students the opportunity to learn what dialogue entails, practice dialogue, and be trained as dialogue facilitators. ... A dialogue raises awareness of others’ viewpoints and prompts self-reflection, enabling participants to bridge differences and identify common ground.

University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Programs and Initiatives,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/programs-and-initiatives>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, [“Home Page,”] <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/>.

CU-Boulder faculty, students (Resident Advisors, Hall Councils, Student Government, International Students, Student Organizations, Student Resource Groups) and Community (CU-Boulder “organizations and units” can all request dialogues. Suggested topics for the community include *sexual assault; campus climate; building a sense of community in residence halls; and relations between students & permanent University Hill residents*. Faculty topics include *race, stereotypes and policing; immigration policy and immigrants’ experiences; gender identity and perspectives on gender; income inequality; communication across social, cultural, or political differences, and diversity and experiences of inclusion/exclusion*.⁹⁴⁸ As of 2014, CU Dialogues arranged for “approximately 70 dialogues each academic year to provide experiential learning in undergraduate

947 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “About Us,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/about-us>; Ellen S. Aiken and Karen E. Ramirez, “Scaling Up Dialogues to Boost Engaged Learning,” *Academic Exchange Quarterly* 18, 4 (Winter 2014), <http://rapidintellect.com/AEQweb/547814.pdf>, p. 2.

948 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Who Can Hold a Dialogue?,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/who-can-hold-dialogue>.

courses across the curriculum. The Dialogues Program has tailored dialogues for classes in History, English, Anthropology, Sociology, Communication, Writing, Economics, Business, Spanish, Women’s Studies, and Film Studies”⁹⁴⁹

CU Dialogues’ lists of topics suggest “conversations” which have already reached their conclusions; *dialogue* should be taken to mean *progressive advocacy*. CU Dialogues, in other words, functions as a way to insert advocacy for progressive beliefs into different classes and extracurricular events at CU-Boulder.

CU Dialogues boasts several recent miscellaneous accomplishments, which register its broader influence upon CU-Boulder. These accomplishments include its joint participation with BoulderTalks (a center for “public deliberation” without an explicitly civic rationale⁹⁵⁰) in a “learning exchange” organized by the Kettering Centers for Public Life; “facilitating dialogues to support the Diversity, Inclusion and Academic Excellence Strategic Planning Process at CU-Boulder”; and convening “a series of dialogues in Farrand Hall on the issue of sexual assault” intended to serve as a model for future “facilitated dialogues on sexual assault.”⁹⁵¹

We will describe in detail the three programs of CU Dialogues: Classroom Dialogues, Community Dialogues, and the Dialogue Across Difference Course. We will also summarize CU Dialogues descriptions of the natures of its Dialogue Guests and of its Funding.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: CU DIALOGUES PROGRAM: CLASSROOM DIALOGUES

CU Dialogues defines *classroom dialogue* as “a single-session, facilitated conversation on an issue or topic related to course content. Facilitated dialogues enhance course content and provide experiential learning opportunities for students.” CU Dialogues offers to “help identify and invite dialogue guests whose experiences and perspectives will deepen students’ understanding of an issue or topic.” Yet CU Dialogues’ own rationale for classroom dialogue provides further evidence that such “dialogues” already have their conclusions in mind, and that *understanding* means “assent to progressive beliefs.”

949 Ellen S. Aiken and Karen E. Ramirez, “Scaling Up Dialogues to Boost Engaged Learning,” *Academic Exchange Quarterly* 18, 4 (Winter 2014), <http://rapidintellect.com/AEQweb/547814.pdf>, p. 2.

950 “BoulderTalks seeks to foster community and knowledge through democratic engagement. Through teaching, research and outreach we promote communication practices that embody democratic values, such as inclusion, participation and mutual benefit. BoulderTalks encourages thoughtfulness and reflection about how we communicate about cultural crises, conflicts and challenges through democratic practices like debate, dialogue, deliberation and performance.” University of Colorado, Boulder, of Media, Communication and Information, “Centers & Labs,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cmci/centers-labs>.

951 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “News and Events,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/current-initiatives-1>.

WHY HOLD A CLASSROOM DIALOGUE?

A facilitated classroom dialogue is an effective way to address complex and/or contentious issues within a classroom setting.

“Students who participated in a dialogue with immigrants in my American West class came to understand the complexity of the assimilation process. They empathized with immigrants who were trying to learn English, even when they felt strongly that immigrants *should* learn English.” – *faculty comment after a dialogue on the topic of immigration in an **American West** course*

A dialogue sparks engaged learning through an open exchange of perspectives that deepens students’ understanding of an issue or topic.

“[The dialogue] made me understand and connect the issues of oppression and classism...now I have a personal experience with seeing the impact of society’s standards and how that affects [real people].” – *student comment after a dialogue on the topic of classism in a **President’s Leadership Class** practicum*

The dialogue process promotes analysis of course content and encourages reflection.

“I learned that gender issues are attached to or are [contributing] factors to many other injustices and problems our society faces...everything is related somehow.” – *student comment after a dialogue on the topic of gender and culture in a **Women’s Literature** course*

Dialogues provide a means to encourage inclusive practices in the classroom.

I just wrote a paper on how in America there is a shyness around race and ethnicity. [The dialogue] allowed us to overcome this shyness and find out about other cultures.” – *student comment after a dialogue on the topic of diversity at CU in a **Multicultural Rhetorics** course*

University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Classroom Dialogues,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/>.

CU Dialogues also lessens faculty authority in the classroom by means of these classroom dialogues. While it encourages faculty preparation for these dialogues, teachers are meant to defer to other authorities during the classroom dialogue itself: “Keep in mind that the facilitator will guide the conversation during the dialogue. In a dialogue, faculty members drop the “teacher/expert” role. All dialogue participants act as co-learners/teachers.”⁹⁵² Classroom dialogues thus also forward the larger New Civics project to reduce professors’ apolitical authority in the classroom.

952 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Classroom Dialogues,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/>.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: CU DIALOGUES PROGRAM: COMMUNITY DIALOGUES

CU Dialogues defines a *community dialogue* as “a facilitated conversation held outside of a classroom in a residence hall, RAP, academic department, administrative unit or other campus setting on a topic of interest or concern to members of a particular University community.” During these dialogues, “participants are invited to speak from their own experiences, share their perspectives with one another and listen to the experiences and perspectives of others. While participants may have very different viewpoints on an issue, the dialogue process itself is deliberately non-polarized.” The purpose of such dialogues is “to broaden participants’ awareness and deepen their understanding of complex problems and issues through open communication across social and cultural differences and/or power differentials.”⁹⁵³

As with classroom dialogues, CU Dialogues’ own rationale for community dialogues adds further evidence that *conversation* signifies *advocacy for progressive causes*.

WHY HOLD A COMMUNITY DIALOGUE?

A facilitated dialogue is an effective way to address difficult or uncomfortable topics within specific campus communities. Dialogue facilitators create an inviting and supportive space for diverse members of a residence hall community, academic program or student group to address difficult or controversial topics across differences of all kinds. Through facilitated dialogues, the CU Dialogues Program aims to support the development of a more inclusive campus environment for all members of the University community.

Examples of Community Dialogue Topics

- Sexual Assault
- Cultural Conflict based on Race/Ethnicity
- Power, Privilege and Policing
- Diversity and Inclusive Excellence
- Labeling based on Political Affiliation/Perspective
- Gender-Based Stereotyping
- Economic/Social Inequality
- Student-Permanent Resident Relations in the University Hill Neighborhood

953 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Community Dialogues,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/community-dialogues>.



Participant Comments

“I’ve always thought about [sexual assault] but never really spoke with anyone about it.... This was very eye-opening.” *-Student who attended a series of dialogues on the topic of sexual assault*

“One story that stood out for me was students [of color] feeling uncomfortable being here at CU.... Talking about issues of race and racism is important.” *-Student who attended a dialogue on the topic of race and racism*

“The dialogue opened my eyes to the perspective of a permanent resident with small children [in the University Hill neighborhood].” *-Student who attended a University Hill Neighborhood dialogue*

University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “Community Dialogues,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/community-dialogues>.

In effect, community dialogues complement the in-class progressive advocacy of classroom dialogues with extramural and residential progressive advocacy. CU Dialogues works by these yoked means to make such advocacy inescapable at CU-Boulder.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: CU DIALOGUES PROGRAM: DIALOGUE ACROSS DIFFERENCE COURSE

CU Dialogues uses *EDUC 2800-002: Dialogue Across Difference* as a practicum in becoming a *dialogue facilitator*. It first provides some theory of dialogue: “In this course, students will examine models of dialogic communication and theories of intergroup relations and consider how the practice of dialogue can build deeper understanding of self and others, reinvigorate democratic values and foster a more just and equitable society.” It then teaches the craft of dialogue facilitation: “Through hands-on experience participating in, observing, and leading dialogues students will learn how to facilitate dialogues among their peers in a variety of campus and community settings. The course provides practical facilitation training that equips students to be change-makers in any setting — at CU, in their home communities, or in future workplace and community environments.”⁹⁵⁴ The course, in other words, trains student to become the paid and unpaid personnel of dialogue programs such as CU Dialogues—to apprentice in the craft of progressive advocacy. CU Dialogues by this means becomes self-perpetuating, as it incorporates the recruitment and training of its own personnel into a for-credit class.

954 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues, “Dialogue Across Difference,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/dialogue-across-difference>.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: CU DIALOGUES PROGRAM: DIALOGUE GUESTS

CU Dialogues provides *dialogue guests* as living *experiential learning opportunities* for students. CU Dialogues states that there are 3-5 dialogue guests in each *classroom dialogue*, but does not specify the number in a *community dialogue*. These dialogue guests receive minimal compensation: “We provide a \$15 CU Bookstore Certificate or a Center for Community Dining Hall Meal Card as a small token of appreciation for your participation.”⁹⁵⁵ CU Dialogue’s guests are provided a form that allows them to check off their areas of expertise; this presumably provides a taxonomy of CU Dialogue’s preferred specializations.

DIALOGUE GUEST SPECIALIZATIONS

- Gender stereotyping/profiling
- Veteran experience
- discrimination/profiling based on race
- discrimination/profiling based on social economic status
- feeling like a cultural outsider, either in the US or abroad
- feeling excluded or targeted because of religion
- living in a foreign country
- transgender identity
- sexuality
- bi-cultural identity
- crossing the border into the US
- living with anorexia, bulimia, or other eating disorders
- living with mental illness
- starting your own business
- living as an undocumented person in the US or elsewhere
- homelessness
- how conforming to or resisting gender expectations influence work/life decisions
- (dis)\abilities -- being or living with someone who is differently abled

955 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “The CU Dialogues Program is seeking community members to serve as dialogue guests in CU classes,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/cu-dialogues-program-seeking-community-members-serve-dialogue-guests-cu-classes>.

- cultural differences related to tribal or indigenous affiliation
- stereotyping/discrimination based on body size
- age, life stages, aged based discrimination
- experiences related to education
- experiences related to politics/political activism
- civic engagement or volunteer experiences
- Other (if other, please detail below)

University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “The CU Dialogues Program is seeking community members to serve as dialogue guests in CU classes,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/cu-dialogues-guest-participant-form>.

This list reveals much of CU Dialogues’ progressive political program.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: CU DIALOGUES PROGRAM: FUNDING

CU Dialogues places a price-tag on the talk it provides, and it is not cheap. The Request for Dialogues form provides the details of funding: “The charge for dialogue facilitation is \$125 for a 50 or 75 minute classroom dialogue and \$125/hour for a conference/event/program dialogue. The charge for simultaneous translation, if needed, is an additional \$65/hour. The CU Dialogues Program offers a limited number of grants to cover the costs of facilitation and/or translation in cases where a department or unit is unable to fund a dialogue.”⁹⁵⁶ Since each dialogue guest receives \$15, and there are 3-5 dialogue guests, all charges above the \$45-\$75 in books and food presumably go either to the dialogue facilitator or to the administrative overhead of CU Dialogues.

CU Dialogues has also been entrepreneurial in seeking out grants from a variety of foundations. In 2015-16, CU Dialogues received a grant from the Spencer Foundation’s *New Civics Initiative*, in which “15 classroom dialogues were observed by research teams who audio/video recorded the dialogues and took field notes. This research aims to produce tools for measuring the quality of interaction across difference, including differences of race, class, religious affiliation and political ideology.”⁹⁵⁷ In 2015, CU-Boulder’s Office of Diversity, Equity and Community Engagement also “awarded Dialogues Program Co-Directors Drs. Ellen Aiken and Karen Ramirez an IMPART (Implementation of Multicultural Perspectives and Approaches in Research and Teaching) Grant to develop an undergraduate course in *Dialogue Across Difference*. ... It will blend theoretical learning about social identity, power, privilege and oppression with intergroup dialogue

956 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “CU Dialogues Guest Participant Form,” http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/sites/default/files/attached-files/dialogue_request.pdf.

957 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “News and Events,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/current-initiatives-1>.

practices.”⁹⁵⁸ The Campus Compact of the Mountain West also awarded Aiken and Ramirez an Engaged Scholarship Grant to work with the University Hill Neighborhood Association. CU Dialogues was funded to “design a series of dialogues” between CU students and permanent residents in the Hill neighborhood community. The overarching goal of the project is to put in place durable social structures within the community that support ongoing dialogue between students living on the Hill and permanent Hill neighborhood residents. CU students will help design and facilitate the dialogues.”⁹⁵⁹

The University of Colorado’s Department of Advancement—“Advancement” has replaced “Development” as the label for “Fundraising”—also provides for dedicated gifts to CU Dialogues, via the CU Dialogues Program Fund.⁹⁶⁰ These varied sources of external funding cumulatively provide substantial support for CU Dialogues.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES PROGRAM

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES PROGRAM: OVERVIEW

The International & National Voluntary Service Training (INVST) Community Studies Program is the largest single program within the CU Engage umbrella. INVST was founded in 1990, as a two-year undergraduate program called the International and National Voluntary Service Training (INVST) Program. Scott Myers-Lipton, who cofounded the INVST program, recalls that, “After reading some of the sociological literature, and realizing that a major focus of the discipline was on social change, I decided to pursue a doctorate in sociology at the University of Colorado (CU) at Boulder. I chose CU-Boulder because it had an activist faculty who said they would help me create a ‘Peace ROTC’ program for undergraduates.” Myers-Lipton decided on “the name INVST, which stood for International and National Voluntary Service Training, since ‘Peace ROTC’ was disliked by both liberals and conservatives.” Myers-Lipton describes INVST as “a 1- to 2-year leadership program designed to develop ‘scholar activists’ who are trained to analyze and solve community and global problems as a lifetime commitment. INVST was designed as a developmental progression, challenging students to explore social justice issues in both direct service and social advocacy settings.”⁹⁶¹

958 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “News and Events,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/current-initiatives-1>.

959 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues Program, “News and Events,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/current-initiatives-1>; Campus Compact of the Mountain West, “Engaged Scholarship Grant,” <http://www.ccmountainwest.org/engaged-scholarship-grant>.

960 University of Colorado, Boulder, Advancement, “CU Dialogues Program,” <https://giving.cu.edu/fund/cu-dialogues-program>.

961 Scott Myers-Lipton, “Policy Service-Learning: Fulfilling the Promise of Sociology,” in Kathleen Odell Korgen, Jonathan M. White, and Shelley K. White, *Sociologists in Action: Sociology, Social Change, and Social Justice* (Los Angeles, 2011), p. 112.

INVST thus was founded with “the idea of combining intergenerational activism with academics,” and has worked since then to transform “University of Colorado-Boulder students into engaged citizens and leaders who work for the benefit of humanity and the environment.”⁹⁶² The original program continues to exist as the INVST Community Leadership Program (CLP); the Community Studies Electives, Youth Council for Public Policy, and Public Achievement Program have been added since to that original core.

In our description of INVST, we will examine:

1. INVST’s Framework: Mission and Method;
2. INVST Community Leadership Program;
3. Spring Break;
4. Youth Council for Public Policy;
5. Campus Allies and Community Partners;
6. Career Resources: Social & Environmental Justice Opportunities; and
7. Financial Aid and Finances.

INVST co-sponsors the Public Achievement program,⁹⁶³ but Public Achievement is now formally an independent program, which we will discuss separately below.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES PROGRAM: MISSION AND METHOD

INVST provides “Leadership training for young people who are passionate about social and environmental justice.” Its mission statement states that “We believe in the possibility of a just and sustainable world. We develop community leaders who engage in compassionate action as a lifetime commitment,” while its method is to “use participatory education to empower students, ... use service-learning to expose students to the root causes of problems[,] and to offer solution-based strategies for sustainable social and environmental change.”⁹⁶⁴ INVST details that such leadership training and service-learning involves student work “as unpaid staff with local groups across Boulder and Denver. In meaningful internships, students do campaign work, volunteer recruitment, coalition building, resource development, tutoring, tabling, social media and

962 INVST Community Studies, “Our History,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/INVST%20History-Long%20Version.pdf>.

963 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Public Achievement,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/public-achievement>.

964 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Welcome to INVST,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “History,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/history>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Our History,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/INVST%20History-Long%20Version.pdf>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “About,” <http://www.colorado.edu/invst/about>.

sometimes workshop instruction.” While engaged in these internships, students “learn practical skills such as meeting facilitation, consensus decision-making, conflict resolution, fundraising, grant proposal writing, grassroots organizing, lobbying and public speaking.” INVST thus joins in the national civic-engagement goal to subsidize progressive non-profits by giving college credit to students who provide them free labor. INVST likewise shares the national goal of preparing students to work after graduation as progressive activists: “Our graduates are engaged in meaningful community leadership in the state of Colorado, across the United States, and all over the world. ... Our alumni work in art, community mediation, education, farming, grassroots organizing, law, alternative healing and medicine, politics, social work and some of them run socially-responsible businesses.”⁹⁶⁵

INVST’s educational means are as progressive as its educational ends. INVST’s About page includes both an *Inclusion Commitment* and a *Commitment to Anti-oppressive Education*. The *Inclusion Commitment* incorporates the latest progressive commitments to illegal immigrants and sexual identity politics: “We actively seek and support the participation of individuals and communities that reflect diversity of ability status, age, color, documentation status, ethnicity, gender, gender variance, life experience, national origin, political affiliation, race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and veteran status.”⁹⁶⁶ The *Commitment to Anti-oppressive Education* explicitly commits a putatively civic program to the tenets of radical ideology and activism: “We acknowledge the importance of examining not only how groups are oppressed but also how groups are privileged and how these two processes maintain social structures. We are dedicated to challenging dominant ideologies and systems, centering traditionally underrepresented voices, questioning the assumption that information is unbiased, and critiquing what is thought of as normal.”⁹⁶⁷

INVST also identifies its standard pedagogy as service-learning: “Service-learning is a teaching and learning strategy that integrates meaningful community service with instruction and reflection to enrich the learning experience, teach civic responsibility, and strengthen communities. Since 1990, INVST has been weaving meaningful service together with the theory and practice of community leadership.”⁹⁶⁸ INVST defines service-learning around the three strands of *experiential immersion*, *reciprocity*, and *critical reflexivity*.

965 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Highlights,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/highlights>.

966 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “About,” <http://www.colorado.edu/invst/about>.

967 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “About,” <http://www.colorado.edu/invst/about>.

968 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Service-Learning for INVST Community Studies,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/Service-learning%20Definition.docx>.

INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES: DEFINITION OF SERVICE-LEARNING

1. *Experiential immersion*: student learning is most powerful when it is linked to real-world experiences. Encountering the complexities and the richness of real-world scenes first-hand tends to be motivating and transformative.
2. *Reciprocity*: Students can meaningfully participate in the elimination of the negative effects of political, social and environmental arrangements, while seeking to understand them. Members of the community, various organizations and institutions, and the natural environment all enrich student learning, while the students enrich *them*, through their contributions. Service-learning activities require close contact with both academic and community-based supervisors and coaches, to ensure that outcomes are mutually beneficial.
3. *Critical reflexivity*: Student learning occurs most powerfully when it combines text-based learning with real-world experiences through intentional reflection activities. Reflection, many say, is the *hyphen* in “service-learning.”

University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Service-Learning for INVST Community Studies,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/Service-learning%20Definition.docx>.

INVST’s definition aligns with the national service-learning movement’s definition.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES PROGRAM: COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

The INVST Community Leadership Program (CLP) is a two-year program that trains 18 students each year in the theory and practice of “transformative service-learning for social and environmental justice.” Students are required to take two “theoretical” courses, *INVS 3302/WGST 3302 Facilitating Peaceful Community Change* and *INVS 4402 Nonviolent Social Movements*. In *Facilitating Peaceful Community Change*, “Students gain knowledge and skills that enable them to become effective facilitators of community goals. Focuses on understanding the processes of community building with multicultural emphasis. Students are encouraged to apply concepts of life experiences and to examine themselves as potential change agents. Focus on food justice, sustainability, activism and multicultural social justice.” *Facilitating Peaceful Community Change*, in other words, is a primer on the craft of progressive activism. *Nonviolent Social Movements* has a more theoretical focus: “Explores theories of democracy and development in relation to movements for nonviolent social change. Focuses on means and ends, spirituality, leadership, decision-making, civil society and decentralized power.” These two core courses together provide the craft and theory of progressive activism.

In addition to these two core courses, students are also supposed to take four “skills-training classes”—the sequence of *INVS 3931 The Community Leadership Internship, Part 1*, *INVS 3932 The Community Leadership Internship, Part 2*, *INVS 4931 Community Leadership in Action, Part 1*, and *INVS 4932 Community Leadership in Action, Part 2*.⁹⁶⁹ In the first year of this sequence, “INVST students serve at least 6 hours per week as interns with community-based organizations during their first year.” The beneficiaries of the students unpaid labor “include the Safehouse Progressive Alliance for Nonviolence (SPAN), Intercambio: Uniting Communities, Natural Capitalism Solutions, New Era Colorado, the Philanthropiece Foundation and the Community Foundation of Boulder County.”⁹⁷⁰ In the second year of this sequence, students “research, design and implement their own community service projects.” Such projects have included “Community SOL Projects by INVST students [that] have also strengthened the capacity of Boulder Food Rescue; helped start the Student Worker Alliance Program (SWAP), a free English tutoring program for immigrant workers on campus; and fought for passage of Colorado ASSET, state legislation that would help immigrant youth attend college.” In one Community SOL Project, “15 visual artists and 17 performers came together to increase awareness about sexual assault. The INVST student leaders held an event that drew a crowd of over 200. In addition, an estimated 6,000 people saw the visual art displayed during their four-week exhibit. The students practiced skills like event planning, public speaking and media relations while implementing their Community SOL Project.”⁹⁷¹

Students are also required to take part in “two month-long summer service-learning experiences.” In the first year, students take the Domestic Summer Service-Learning Experience.

THE DOMESTIC SUMMER SERVICE-LEARNING EXPERIENCE

Our DSSLE offers students a unique opportunity to travel together for one uninterrupted month and learn first-hand about environmental justice.

The DSSLE always begins with a wilderness adventure in Colorado’s Rocky Mountains, where students develop a connection with the natural world. From there, activities and destinations vary from year-to-year, because the INVST staff create a timely and innovative learning journey for CU students who are destined to become change-makers. In 2015, students spent time in Paonia, Colorado with INVST grad Jeff Schwartz and his family at Delicious Orchards, and then they learned and served at Thistle Whistle Farm, an organic farm. They also heard the industry perspective on

969 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies: “The INVST Community Leadership Program,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/the-invst-community-leadership-program>; “Community Studies Electives,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/community-studies-electives>; “INVST Community Leadership Program Class of 2014-2016,” https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/2014_INVST_CLP_Application.pdf.

970 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, Community Leadership Program,” <http://www.colorado.edu/invst/programs/clp>.

971 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Community SOL Projects,” <http://www.colorado.edu/invst/community-partners/sol>.

energy production, visiting the Oxbow Coal Mine, and they heard about the economic benefits of extraction for certain rural communities.

Exploring energy issues contextualized their visit to the Diné (or Navajo) Nation in Northeastern Arizona. On the reservation, INVST students learned about the social and environmental impacts of the coal mining industry on indigenous people and places. They volunteered with the Black Mesa Water Coalition, a youth-led grassroots organization. They also visited a generating station in Page, Arizona where they had the opportunity to see how energy and power are produced from coal. In Northern New Mexico, students stayed at Casa Taos, a retreat center for activists, and then met the co-founder of INVST, Gaia Mika, while experiencing first-hand some more sustainable ways of living and working the earth. They also learned about water issues and fracking.

Finally, the month ended in Colorado's capitol city, where INVST students had the opportunity to engage Jessie Ulibarri, a political official, and speak with coal industry lobbyists. Throughout the month, the INVST students considered how energy and the US economy interact. Students looked for innovative solutions to complex environmental problems.

University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, "Summer Service-Learning Experiences," <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/community-partners/summer-service-learning-experiences>.

In the second year, students take the International Summer Service Learning Experience.

THE INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SERVICE LEARNING EXPERIENCE

After training in intercultural communication, Orientation and extensive reading, students spend time at the United States/Mexico border where they volunteer with Annunciation House in El Paso, Texas. Annunciation House, our partner since 1993, is a shelter for refugees seeking political asylum. Students serve with recent immigrants from Central America and political refugees from all over the world. A shelter for human beings in desperate need of basic care, Annunciation House approaches guests with compassion. INVST students learn for one week about border dynamics and immigration issues, encountering individuals and families and hearing their stories, as well as meeting with legal clinics, women's rights and worker rights centers, in addition to the Border Patrol. INVST students develop a nuanced understanding of the complex situation on our border with Mexico.

In 2016, after their week on the border, INVST students will travel to Managua, Nicaragua with the School for International Training (SIT). In Nicaragua, INVST



students will learn about Fair Trade, Free Trade and economic relationships and models that connect the United States with this developing country. Students will meet with various individuals and organizations to discuss the maquiladoras (factories) in Free Trade Zones. As well, they will become informed about alternative economic models, and meet community leaders in both urban and rural Nicaragua. INVST students will explore how women are affected by globalization, and they will examine projects in Nicaraguan communities that attempt to follow a different development path.

University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Summer Service-Learning Experiences,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/community-partners/summer-service-learning-experiences>.

The INVST program also offers a variety of elective courses. Notable among regularly offered courses is *INVS 1523 – Civic Engagement: Using Democracy as a Tool for Social Change*: “This course educates and inspires students for civic engagement. ... Students will develop theoretical knowledge and practical skills to participate successfully in a diverse democratic society, primarily at the state level in Colorado. They will gain first-hand experiences critically analyzing legislative issues, developing policy recommendations, and learning to advocate for change for their generation.”⁹⁷² In Spring 2016, the course was taught by Dorothy Rupert, a former Colorado State Senator noted for her career as a liberal Democrat devoted to progressive causes, and by Alison Wisneski, “the Program Coordinator for the Office of Professional Formation and Chapel at the Iliff School of Theology in Denver, CO ... [who] holds an MA in Social Change from the Iliff School of Theology, where she focused on radical LGBTQ inclusion in church- and social-based settings.”⁹⁷³ The choice of faculty for this course suggests that it provides a progressive interpretation of its content.

INVST offers other electives more rarely. One such, taught in Spring 2013, is *INVS 3402 Another City is Possible: Re-Inventing Detroit, Michigan*: “For the first time, INVST is offering an elective course about sustainable activism in the twenty-first century, using Detroit as an example of a thriving community that is recreating itself through grassroots activism. We will be exploring the life of Grace Lee Boggs, who at ninety seven is a living American hero who has spent the last five

972 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Opportunities for Undergraduate & Graduate Students,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/opportunities-undergraduate-graduate-students>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “CU Engage Announces 2016 Spring Courses,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/2015/10/30/CU-Engage-announces-2016-spring-courses>.

973 Raquel Lazar, “Former Senator Dorothy Rupert,” November 3, 2008, <http://consciouswoman.org/senator-dorothy-rupert/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Courses,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/courses/courses>.

decades as a movement activist.” Since it was taught during the regular semester, it was not possible for *Another City is Possible* to include a trip to Detroit as part of the learning experience.⁹⁷⁴

INVST currently offers four elective courses that are open to all students at CU-Boulder, and intended to “foster civic responsibility and leadership potential ... [and] educate, equip and inspire students for careers serving humanity and the environment.” These courses are *INVS 1000: Responding to Social and Environmental Problems through Service-Learning*, *INVS 2919/EDUC 2919: Renewing Democracy in Communities and Schools*, *INVS 3302/WGST 3302: Facilitating Peaceful Community Change*, and *INVS 4402: Nonviolent Social Movements*. The last two courses on this list, *Facilitating Peaceful Community Change* and *Nonviolent Social Movements*, are the core “theoretical” courses for the INVST Community Leadership Program, and *Renewing Democracy in Communities and Schools* is one of the two courses associated with Public Achievement (see below). Responding to *Social and Environmental Problems through Service-Learning*, since it has the number “1000” as a prefix, is INVST’s introductory course, in which “By integrating theory with required community service, students explore how problems are shaped by cultural values and how alternative value paradigms affect the definition of problems in areas such as education, food justice and the environment. Students examine different approaches to solving problems and begin to envision new possibilities.” Presumably, one of the new possibilities this gateway course offers is to sign up for the INVST CLP.

The INVST CLP makes a theoretical commitment to having the students participate in designing their own education: “Together, students and staff determine curriculum design, hire and evaluate staff, and manage relationships with donors. INVST offers CU students the unique opportunity to learn by doing in a non-hierarchical organization.” CLP students are also expected throughout to “critically reflect on concepts of leadership, democracy, nonviolence, community organizing and sustainable community development, while also learning skills such as meeting facilitation, consensus decision-making, conflict resolution, fundraising, grant proposal writing, project planning and management, lobbying and public speaking.” They graduate from the program with either a Leadership Studies Minor or a Certificate in the Study and Practice of Leadership.⁹⁷⁵

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES PROGRAM: SPRING BREAK

INVST provides additional time to conduct sustainable activities for those students unsatisfied by what is provided during classes and summer programs. In March 2015, INVST sponsored its first Sustainability Spring Break:

974 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “About INVST,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/about-invst>; “Community Studies Electives,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/community-studies-electives>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Ethnic Studies Advising Blog, “Great Spring Course OPEN—Re-Inventing Detroit, Michigan (INVS 3402),” <https://cuadvising.wordpress.com/2013/01/14/great-spring-course-open-re-inventing-detroit-michigan-invs-3402/>.

975 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies “The INVST Community Leadership Program,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/the-invst-community-leadership-program>; “INVST Community Leadership Program Class of 2014-2016,” https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/2014_INVST_CLP_Application.pdf.

SUSTAINABILITY SPRING BREAK

We thank Roberto Nutlouis and the Black Mesa Water Coalition for hosting us and making this a memorable and meaningful experience! ... We engaged in community service, cultural exchange and sustainability studies in Pinon, AZ. ...

- We built community with like-minded students
- We found our passion in environmentalism
- We learned indigenous history
- We experienced the beauty of the U.S. Southwest
- We explored a social justice struggle first-hand

Participants had the following opportunities:

- Learning about Navajo culture, dry land subsistence farming and permaculture
- Preparing fields for the planting and harvesting of food
- Reclaiming the ways we live on the land and regard the air and water that sustain us with honor and respect

Black Mesa Water Coalition is dedicated to preserving and protecting Mother Earth and the integrity of Indigenous Peoples' cultures, with the vision of building sustainable and healthy communities. BMWC strives to empower young people while building sustainable communities. BMWC utilizes proactive strategies such as green economic development and permaculture. Led by young adults, their programs encourage a transition away from the fossil fuel economy, put in place a green economy, and ensure long-term support for a community-owned and sustainable way of life.

University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, "Sustainability Spring Break, March 22-28, 2015," <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/resources/sustainability-spring-break-march-22-28-2015>.

It appears that enthusiasm for the Sustainability Spring Break could not be sustained, since it does not seem to have been repeated in 2016.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES PROGRAM: YOUTH COUNCIL FOR PUBLIC POLICY

Youth Council for Public Policy (YCPP) gives high-school students the opportunity "to use the democratic process as a tool for positive social change. It uniquely offers high school students from Boulder Valley and Saint Vrain school districts the chance to attend classes on the CU-Boulder campus and participate with college students, earning CU credit" In other words, it allows high



school students to take *INVS 1513 Civic Engagement: Using the Electoral Process as a Tool for Social Change* and *INVS 1523 Civic Engagement: Democracy as a Tool for Social Change*. These courses are avowedly intended to provide non-partisan civics education: “Different from INVST’s Community Leadership Program, which selects a small cluster of youth who are already devoted to working for social justice and environmental sustainability, the Youth Council offers students a chance to explore who they are socially and politically and discover their own opinions and beliefs. A non-partisan program, the Youth Council has always exposed learners to Democrats, Republicans, et cetera.” We may note that this language confirms that the INVST CLP is *not* non-partisan, despite justifying itself in civic language. Yet other language in YCPP’s self-description indicates that the YPP is as partisan—and progressive—as the CLP: “The Youth Council empowers learners to develop opinions on local political topics, and educates people as young as age 13 on the most pressing environmental and social justice concerns reflected in public policy.” The YCPP also directs this progressive partisanship into political action: “Perhaps most importantly, the program attempts to get young people excited, inspired and enthusiastic about politics, and hopes to foment a culture of political engagement and enthusiasm.”⁹⁷⁶

This aspect of YCPP suggests that the program, despite its stated ambition to be nonpartisan, is an exercise in extending advocacy for progressive causes and recruiting activists to the high-school level. CU-Boulder’s self-reporting to the Association for the Advancement of Sustainability in Higher Education (AASHE) corroborates this impression. CU-Boulder cites the YCPP, along with the INVST Community Leadership Program and the Conference on World Affairs, among the programs that support CU-Boulder’s contention that it “actively promote[s] environmental sustainability in the state of Colorado and around the world. Through a combination of student activism, academic programming, and faculty service, we reach out to the world in ways that enrich both the Boulder campus and the communities we serve around the globe.”⁹⁷⁷ CU-Boulder’s own self-assessment contradicts YCPP’s claim to provide nonpartisan education.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES PROGRAM: CAMPUS ALLIES AND COMMUNITY PARTNERS

INVST provides lists of Campus Allies and Community Partners. INVST lists the following groups on campus as allies.

⁹⁷⁶ University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Youth Council for Public Policy,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/youth-council-for-public-policy>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Outreach and Engagement, “INVST’s Youth Council for Public Policy at CU-Boulder,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/165>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “INVS-1513 (3) Civic Engagement: Using the Electoral Process as a Tool for Social Change,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/courses/educ/b-educ/1513-civic-engagement-using-electoral-process-tool-social-change>; Learning Ace, “Lowe INVS 1523 Syllabus Spring 06,” <http://www.learningace.com/doc/2226490/b92170f54c631faf7271f63c618dc16e/lowe-invs-1523-syllabus-spring-06>.

⁹⁷⁷ Association for the Advancement of Sustainability in Higher Education (AASHE), Sustainability Tracking, Assessment & Rating System (STARS), “University of Colorado Boulder, EN-14: Participation in Public Policy,” <https://stars.aashe.org/institutions/university-of-colorado-at-boulder-co/report/2014-09-22/EN/public-engagement/EN-14/>.

INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES: CAMPUS ALLIES

Ethnic Studies Department, Engineers Without Borders, Environmental Studies Department, Farrand Residential Academic Program, Miramontes Arts & Sciences Program, Peace & Conflict Studies, Political Science Department, Sociology Department, Student Academic Services Center, Student Outreach & Retention Center For Equity (SORCE), The Center for Unity and Equity, The Office of Diversity, Equity and Community Engagement, The Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program, and Women and Gender Studies Department.

University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Campus Allies,”
<https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/community-partners/campus-allies>.

INVST’s community partners, “who share our vision of a just and sustainable world,” are the beneficiaries of the unpaid labor of CU-Boulder’s civically engaged students. INVST lists several dozen of these community partners.

INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES: COMMUNITY PARTNERS

350.org, Attention Homes, Boulder Community Housing Association, Boulder Housing Coalition, Boulder Citizens Climate Lobby, Boulder Food Rescue, Bridge House, The Community Foundation Serving Boulder County, CU Environmental Center, CUE at CU (Cultural Unity & Engagement Center), Emergency Family Assistance Association (EFAA), E-Town, Fossil Free CU, GrowHaus, “I Have a Dream” Foundation, Intercambio Uniting Communities, KGNU Community Radio, Latino Task Force, LGBTQ Resource Center at CU, Motus Theater, Moving to End Sexual Assault (MESA), New Era Colorado, Northern Colorado Dreamers United, OUT Boulder, Padres y Jovenes Unidos, Philanthropiece Foundation, Project YES! (Youth Envisioning Social change), Rocky Mountain Peace & Justice Center, Safehouse Progressive Alliance for Nonviolence (SPAN), School Readiness Initiative, Student Outreach & Retention Center for Equity (SORCE) at CU, and Women’s Resource Center at CU.

University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Community Partners,”
<https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/community-partners/community-partners>.

These lists provide a useful schematic of the core nodes of the progressive complex at Boulder, both on and off campus. They also provide a good sketch of progressive intellectual priorities in the mid-2010s.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES PROGRAM: CAREER RESOURCES

INVST provides a long list of resources to help their students find jobs, get internships, attend conferences receive scholarships, awards, and postgraduate fellowships, proceed to graduate school, and learn more generally about Service Learning and Community Based Solutions. These also provide a map of further parts of the progressive network: the four postgraduate fellowship programs, for example, are The Urban Fellows Program (The City of New York), Emerson National Hunger Fellows Program (Congressional Hunger Center), Spiritual Ecology Youth Fellowship, and Rocky Mountain Farmers Union Fellows.

INVST has a pipeline to send its graduates to the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, the CU-Boulder Masters of Science in Information Technology and Development, the CU Denver School of Public Administration, and the School of Public Affairs at CU Denver. The pipeline to the Middlebury Institute is particularly well endowed: “We’re excited to offer INVST alumni a guaranteed scholarship of \$14,000 for each year of your graduate program at the Middlebury Institute.” The Middlebury Institute’s self-description indeed echoes INVST’s: Middlebury “is creating the next generation of global change makers. Their graduate degrees emphasize collaborative learning, immersing you in culture and language and giving you the opportunity to acquire and apply practical, professional skills.”⁹⁷⁸

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: INVST COMMUNITY STUDIES PROGRAM: FINANCIAL AID AND FINANCES

INVST requires two expenditures above and beyond CU-Boulder’s standard tuition: \$1,500 apiece in Summer Program Activity Fees for the Domestic Summer Service-Learning Experience and the International Summer Service-Learning Experience. However, “NO ONE WILL BE TURNED AWAY FROM THE INVST COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP PROGRAM FOR LACK OF FUNDS. ... FINANCIAL AID IS AVAILABLE FOR ALL STUDENTS WHO DEMONSTRATE NEED!” INVST provides “multiple scholarship opportunities, including TWO tuition scholarships for which only INVST Community Leadership Program students are eligible,” and Summer Program Activity Fees “will be waived or decreased if you and your family are unable to pay in full.” Furthermore, “INVST Community Leadership Program students with financial need have the opportunity to earn a stipend for their required internships.”⁹⁷⁹

INVST encourages donations, whether online or by check. It has a formal Fundraising & Advisory Board, and corporate funders include Boulder Strategies LLC and Raw Rev. The University of Colorado Foundation, which coordinates donations to CU-Boulder, hosts three separate funds

978 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Social & Environmental Justice Opportunities,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/resources/social-environmental-justice-opportunities>.

979 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Prospective Students,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/resources/prospective-students>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies: “Community Partners,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/community-partners/community-partners>.

dedicated to INVST: *INVST Community Leadership Program – Summer, INVST Community Studies Academic Year Fund, and INVST Forever Capital Campaign Fund*.⁹⁸⁰

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: LEADERSHIP STUDIES MINOR (LSM)

CU Engage houses the Leadership Studies Minor (LSM), which is in turn connected to a large number of related leadership programs, including not only the INVST Community Leadership Program but also the Newton Chair of Leadership, CU Athletics Leadership Development Program, CU Gold (Gaining Opportunities through Leadership Development), Center of Education on Social Responsibility (CESR), Certificate in the Study and Practice of Leadership, Engineering Leadership Program, Leadership Residential Academic Programs (RAP), Leeds [School of Business] Scholars Program, Presidents Leadership Class (PLC), Air Force ROTC, Army ROTC, and Naval (Navy and Marines) ROTC.⁹⁸¹ The inclusion of the three ROTC programs suggests that the Leadership Studies Minor is not exclusively a matter of progressive advocacy.

However, the entire field of Leadership appears devoid of intellectual content, save for the courses offered by the Department of Military Science. Consider, for example, the course description of *EMEN 5050: Authentic Leadership in the Engineering Management Program*: “This course is designed to develop the student’s ability to lead-through-influence by cultivating authenticity and skillfulness. Topics covered include: authentic leadership, motivating self and others, cultivating emotional intelligence, maximizing human performance, personal mastery, creating accountability, conflict resolution, leading change, and organizational culture.”⁹⁸² A class, and a discipline, devoted to “cultivating authenticity and skillfulness” may be taken as academically null.

CU-Boulder’s Leadership program, moreover, doubles as a position reserved for emeritus CU-Boulder administrators: the Newton Chair in Leadership, which coordinates many of the individual leadership programs, so far has been monopolized by retired presidents of CU-Boulder (Hank Brown and Alexander Bracken).⁹⁸³ The Leadership program’s choice of leaders lends the unfortunate impression that the program is a sinecure.

The Leadership Studies Minor (LSM) shares in the general hollowness of Leadership studies at CU-Boulder: “The Leadership Studies Minor (LSM) enables you to develop as a leader. Whether you plan to lead a start-up, be a community organizer, found a non-profit, serve in the military, or run

980 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Donate to INVST Community Studies,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/uncategorized/donate-to-invst-community-studies>; University of Colorado Foundation, “International & National Voluntary Service Training (INVST) ,” <http://www.cufund.org/communitystudies/>.

981 University of Colorado, Boulder, Newton Chair in Leadership, “Leadership Programs,” <http://www.colorado.edu/newtonleadershipchair/leadership-programs>.

982 University of Colorado, Boulder, Engineering Management Program, “EMEN 5050: Authentic Leadership,” <http://www.colorado.edu/emp/emen-5050>.

983 University of Colorado, Boulder, Newton Chair in Leadership, “Newton Chairs,” <http://www.colorado.edu/newtonleadershipchair/about/newton-chairs>.

for office, one common ingredient is leadership. ... We seek students who are curious about what the academic research says about leadership and who want to practice leadership as a CU student.”⁹⁸⁴ In pursuit of the LSM, students are supposed to take a Foundations Course (*LEAD 1000 – Becoming a Leader*), a Capstone Course (*LEAD 4000 – Capstone*), and three electives. The Capstone course requires students to “Complete a leadership challenge project;” partner organizations include Boulder Outreach for Homeless Overflow (BOHO), Boulder Community Health, Boulder County Arts Alliance, City of Boulder, City of Boulder, Family Resource Schools, Emergency Family Assistance Association, “I Have a Dream” Foundation of Boulder County, Imagine!, Immigrant Legal Center of Boulder County, Realities for Children Boulder County, Thorne, Watson University, and Women’s Wilderness.⁹⁸⁵ LSM’s *Capstone*, in other words, also provides unpaid labor for a variety of progressive organizations. *Leadership* here, as at the national level, appears to be another term for *service-learning*.

The list of Leadership electives also registers the partial progressive takeover of the LSM. While students can take substantive courses such as *PSCI 2004 Survey of Western Political Thought*, *MILR 3052 Military Operations & Training*, and *PSCI American Foreign Policy*, a great many electives double as advocacy for progressive causes. A partial list includes *HONR 1810 Honors Diversity Seminar*, *LDSP 2410 Dynamics of Privilege and Oppression in Leadership*, *ETHN 3201 Multicultural Leadership: Theories, Practices & Principles*, *LDSP Community Leadership in Action*, *ETHN 3671 People of Color and Social Movements*, and *INVS 4931 Community Leadership in Action*. A CU-Boulder student can acquire a Leadership Studies Minor while taking electives solely drawn from the INVST program.⁹⁸⁶

Other aspects of the Leadership complex have also been co-opted by progressives. The Leadership Residential Academic Program (RAP) states that “we believe that integral to the study and practice of culturally competent, multicultural, social justice leadership is increasing students’ understanding of: power, privilege, oppression, empowerment and, therefore, the history and function of the social constructs of identity (race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and ability status) are studied.”⁹⁸⁷ Where CU-Boulder’s Leadership programs are not intellectual nullities, they are usually components of the New Civics.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

CU Engage’s supports three different programs related to Participatory Action Research (PAR)—research intended to affect policy, generally by offering a justification for funding a favored progressive organization. These three programs are Undergraduate Participatory Action Research,

984 University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Studies Minor, “Be a leader,” <http://www.colorado.edu/lsm/>.

985 University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Studies Minor: “Coursework,” <http://www.colorado.edu/lsm/coursework/>; “Community Partners,” <http://www.colorado.edu/lsm/community-partners>.

986 University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Studies Minor, “Electives,” <http://www.colorado.edu/lsm/coursework/electives>.

987 University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Residential Academic Program, “Leadership RAP,” <https://leadershiprap.colorado.edu/leadership-rap>.

Community-Based Research for Graduate Students, and the Children, Youth and Environments (CYE) Award.

CUENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH: UNDERGRADUATE PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH (PAR)

CU-Boulder’s Undergraduate Participatory Action Research uses its research as a rationale to ask for more money from CU-Boulder. In 2014-15, the first Undergraduate PAR produced a report entitled *Students of Color are motivated agents of change: Why aren’t we joining your programs?* This community-based research consisted of analysis of “15 qualitative interviews with undergraduate Students of Color” at CU-Boulder, so as to determine how the University as a whole, and CU Engage in particular, could be more diverse and inclusive. *Students of Color’s* main conclusion was that Students of Color should get a financial subsidy so that they could participate in civic engagement and service-learning programs. CU Engage announced that the research would inform their strategic planning going forward, and called for more such PAR projects.⁹⁸⁸

The reader should note the self-perpetuating nature of this “research.” CU Engage funded this undergraduate example of participatory action research so as to find out why more students weren’t taking part in CU Engage, and came up with conclusion that CU Engage should receive more funding—not least, presumably, to engage in more such community-based research. CU Engage sponsored *research* whose results it then used to justify a request for more funds to the CU-Boulder administration—and which the CU-Boulder administration could then use to justify a request to the Colorado State Legislature for more funds for CU Engage. While PAR certainly trains students in the craft of securing government money, this is not *research* in any ordinary sense of the word.

Students of Color is composed almost entirely in the progressive language of diversity. Author Rebecca Kaplan is identified as “another team member who benefits from white privilege”; interviewed “students described safe spaces as environments where students can go and there would not be any ‘haters;’ they would not feel judged nor be fearful of being judged”; and “A Note For Those Trying to Be Allies” notes that “sometimes people who want to be allies but lack cultural responsiveness and awareness become involved in programs and spaces that were created with Students of Color in mind. This can make the space that had been safe feel frustrating for Students of Color.”⁹⁸⁹ CU Engage’s decision to incorporate this report into its strategic planning therefore translates *civic engagement* into an institutional policy of *acknowledgment of white privilege, safe spaces, and racial self-segregation*. This report illustrates particularly well how the New Civics

988 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Opportunities for Undergraduate & Graduate Students,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/opportunities-undergraduate-graduate-students>; University of Colorado, Boulder, News Center, “First CU Engage research project examines campus experience for students of color,” July 1, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/news/features/first-CU-Engage-research-project-examines-campus-experience-students-color>; *Students of Color are motivated agents of change: Why aren’t we joining your programs?*, http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/sites/default/files/attached-files/cuengage_color.pdf, esp. pp. 3, 5, 14.

989 *Students of Color are motivated agents of change: Why aren’t we joining your programs?*, http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/sites/default/files/attached-files/cuengage_color.pdf, pp. 9, 12, 15.

identifies America’s civic ideals with the most extreme and indefensible aspects of the modern progressive movement.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH: COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS

CU Engage works with the Office of Outreach and Engagement to provide fellowships for second-through fifth-year graduate students via its Graduate Fellowship in Community Based Research. These fellowships are intended for 3-5⁹⁹⁰ doctoral students each year, “to train a generation of scholars in the practices and principles of community-based research.” CU Engage’s summary description states that “CBR emphasizes the rigorous pursuit of knowledge in the context of mutually beneficial university-community partnerships. CBR projects aspire to combine the resources and expertise located in communities outside of the university (sometimes called community or cultural wealth) with academic expertise.” Benefits in 2015-16 amounted to roughly “.25 Graduate RAship for Fall and Spring semesters ... including 10 hours/week living stipend, tuition reimbursement for up to 9 units, and benefits,” as well as the option to apply for up to \$1,000 toward project expenses.⁹⁹¹

The first 6 fellows⁹⁹² engaged in the following projects⁹⁹³ during the 2015-16 academic year:

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP IN COMMUNITY BASED RESEARCH: PROJECTS, 2015-2016

Name	Department	Project	Community Partners
Ashley Collier	Civil Engineering	Taking Neighborhood Health to Heart Indoor Air Quality Pilot	Taking Neighborhood Health to Heart (Denver)

990 One webpage says 3-5 students; another says 4-5. University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Graduate Fellowship in Community Based Research,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/graduate-fellowship-community-based-research-0>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “CU-Boulder Doctoral Students Invited to Apply for Graduate Fellowship in Community-Based Research,” February 25, 2016, <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/2016/02/25/CU-Boulder-doctoral-students-invited-apply-graduate-fellowship-community-based-research>.

991 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Opportunities for Undergraduate & Graduate Students,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/opportunities-undergraduate-graduate-students>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Graduate Fellowship in Community Based Research,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/graduate-fellowship-community-based-research-0>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “CU-Boulder Doctoral Students Invited to Apply for Graduate Fellowship in Community-Based Research,” February 25, 2016, <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/2016/02/25/CU-Boulder-doctoral-students-invited-apply-graduate-fellowship-community-based-research>.

992 The guidelines state that the program is intended for up to 5 students; where the funding for the 6th student came from is unclear.

993 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “CU Engage announces the inaugural cohort of Community Based Research Graduate Fellows,” August 5, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/2015/08/05/CU-Engage-announces-inaugural-cohort-community-based-research-graduate-fellows>.

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP IN COMMUNITY BASED RESEARCH: PROJECTS, 2015-2016

Name	Department	Project	Community Partners
Quana Madison	Education	Refugee Education Advocacy Project	Place Bridge Academy, Goodwill Industries, Colorado African Organization
Christopher Schaeftbauer	Computer Science	Participatory development of technology addressing community food insecurity	Boulder Food Rescue
Julia Daniel	Education	Community-Based Police Accountability Research	Black Lives Matter 5280
Katherine Clifford	Geography	Social dimensions of dust and dust-on-snow	Ecological Resilience Network
Leah Anne Teeters	Education	Developing an evaluation framework for community-based research partnerships	Local Food Movement

CU Engage's funding priorities for graduate student research exclusively supported progressive causes and organizations.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH: CHILDREN, YOUTH AND ENVIRONMENTS AWARD

CU Engage also gives an annual Children, Youth and Environments (CYE) Award of up to \$4,500; faculty, staff, and students are eligible to apply for funding for “a place-based Participatory Action Research (PAR) project focused on young people aged 18 or younger. PAR in this context refers to participatory approaches that work with young people, in partnership, to carry out research and action. It specifically excludes traditional extractive studies that gather information about young people without their direct involvement.” CU Engage further stipulated that “Preference will be

given to projects that engage young people growing up in low-income neighborhoods and/or other circumstances of disadvantage.”⁹⁹⁴

In 2015, the CYE Award went to Victoria Derr, Senior Instructor, Program in Environmental Design, for *Children’s Perceptions of Resilience: A Boulder-Mexico City Exchange*.⁹⁹⁵ Derr is also a program coordinator for Growing Up Boulder, a program partly run by CU-Boulder’s Office for Outreach and Engagement—another component of CU-Boulder’s civic engagement complex. CU Engage once more funded a staff member in a closely allied program: here as elsewhere, CU Engage’s funding priorities are insensitive to the appearance of conflict of interest.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT

In our discussion of Public Achievement, we will detail:

1. Overview;
2. Courses;
3. Curriculum;
4. Current Projects;
5. Achievements; and
6. Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT: OVERVIEW

CU-Boulder established the Public Achievement (PA) program in January 2008, in cooperation with the Boulder Valley School District. Public Achievement currently operates “at Angevine Middle School and Centaurus High School in Lafayette, as well as Creekside Elementary School and Columbine Elementary School in Boulder, where more than 250 K-12 students and 80 CU undergraduates will collectively participate in the program.” Public Achievement, which models itself upon Harry Boyte’s Public Achievement program at the Sabo Center for Democracy and Citizenship, “seeks to promote K-12 student retention, academic excellence, and access to post-secondary education through year-long, service-learning programs. CU-Boulder undergraduates

994 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Opportunities for Undergraduate & Graduate Students,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/opportunities-undergraduate-graduate-students>; . University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “CU Engage Announces Call for Applications to the Children, Youth and Environments Award,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/2016/03/04/CU-Engage-announces-call-applications-children-youth-and-environments-award>. The CYE Award is “Sponsored by CU Engage in partnership with the former Children, Youth Environments Center for Environmental Design.” The CYE Center moved to the University of Cincinnati on January 1, 2016. It isn’t clear who now sponsors the CYE Award. University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Children, Youth and Environments Award,” <http://outreachawards.colorado.edu/funding-opportunities#eye-participatory-research-award>; Community Engagement, Design and Research (CEDaR) Resource Center, “Children, Youth and Environment (CYE) Center,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cye/children-youth-and-environment-eye-center>.

995 Office for Engagement and Outreach, *CU-Boulder Outreach and Community Engagement Awards 2015-2016*, http://outreachawards.colorado.edu/pdf/2015-2016_outreach_awards_booklet.pdf, p. 23.

serve as PA coaches and thereby work alongside underserved K-12 students in Boulder County schools.” In these service-learning programs, “PA students collaborate with CU-Boulder student “coaches” to design, implement, and undertake community-based projects that address social issues that express their values and beliefs. In addition to its youth leadership and civic engagement goals for K-12 students, PA provides CU-Boulder undergraduates with a meaningful and structured opportunity to develop facilitation and instruction skills and apply political theory to democratic projects in school-based settings.”

As in all Public Achievement programs, CU-Boulder’s Public Achievement uses unpaid college students to organize unpaid high-school students to engage in further progressive activism. Public Achievement provides synergy by thus melding complementary unpaid labor forces. Public Achievement also provides vocational training for students who wish to make a career of mixing teaching with progressive activism: “several INVS/EDUC 2919 students have been accepted to CU’s teaching licensure program, admitted to the INVST Community Leadership Program, invited to serve as Teach For America and Peace Corps members, accepted to graduate programs in relevant fields, and obtained full-time or summer employment with youth leadership organizations in response to their involvement in the program.”

Public Achievement is run jointly by several organizations in CU-Boulder and the surrounding communities, among them “INVST Community Studies, the Institute for Ethical & Civic Engagement, the School of Education, the Boulder Valley School District and the “I Have a Dream” Foundation of Boulder County.”⁹⁹⁶

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT: COURSES

Public Achievement offers two practicum courses as the means for students to engage in progressive activism in school: *INVS 2919/EDUC 2919: Renewing Democracy in Communities and Schools* and *INVS 4999: Teaching Social Justice*.⁹⁹⁷ *Renewing Democracy* combines a weekly seminar on campus and a weekly meeting off campus at an elementary or high school. In this class, “students are invited to consider the interplay between democracy, education, and social change, and specifically reflect on the responsibility society and schools have to promote democracy and equality.” Furthermore, “In addition to exploring empowering or critical democratic theory, students are introduced to adolescent and childhood development, youth-focused civic engagement, multiculturalism, classroom management, and facilitation techniques during the fall semester.” *Renewing Democracy* also receives funding from an allied component of the New Civics in the

996 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “About,” <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/about>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Public Achievement,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/programs/public-achievement>.

997 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Courses,” <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/courses-o>.

Federal Government: "INVS/EDUC 2919 students may receive a \$1,175 AmeriCorps Education Award in exchange for their participation in two semesters of the course."⁹⁹⁸

Teaching Social Justice is another practicum, "designed to explore participatory and service-learning pedagogical practices." In this course, "INVS4999 students investigate progressive pedagogical and community organizing strategies to encourage higher levels of creativity and analysis among their peers." They do so by serving "as 'mentors to INVS/EDUC 2919 students, program advisors, and program ambassadors, and are thereby responsible for not only advancing the mission of Public Achievement, but also for building the infrastructure necessary to ensure civic engagement is a common experience on campus and in the Boulder County community." They are also supposed to advocate for related progressive causes: "Focusing on issues of social justice and environmental sustainability, teaching assistants learn how to encourage higher levels of creativity and analysis among students."⁹⁹⁹

Neither course includes material on how to teach K-12 students, save for *Renewing Democracy's* nod to "classroom management" and *Teaching Social Justice's* phrase that it seeks "to encourage higher levels of creativity and analysis among students." *Teaching Social Justice* ties the class to "advancing the mission of Public Achievement"—thereby defining the goal of the class explicitly to perpetuating a neo-Alinskyite organization.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT: CURRICULUM

Public Achievement includes in its Resources Page¹⁰⁰⁰ a link to the University of Denver's *Public Achievement Curriculum*. The *Curriculum* fleshes out the substance of what CU-Boulder's Public Achievement program teaches in the K-12 schools. Here the reader learns explicitly that "Unique from other youth civic engagement programs, PA moves past apolitical forms of service learning and emphasizes the role youth possess in public work and democracy. PA participants learn to create change through concrete, team-driven projects."¹⁰⁰¹

These political goals for the PA Coach (the college student) are:

998 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, "INVS 2919/EDUC 2919: Renewing Democracy in Communities and Schools," <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2015/06/03/invseduc-2919-renewing-democracy-communities-schools>.

999 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, "INVS INVS 4999: Teaching Social Justice," <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2015/06/03/invs-4999-teaching-social-justice>; University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, "Courses," <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/courses/courses#overlay-context=courses>.

1000 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, "Resources," <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/resources>.

1001 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 4

GOALS AND OUTCOMES FOR PA COACHES

1. Be able to identify the steps in and apply the community organizing model in your PA group including the ability to:
 - Identify community/social justice issues and their root causes.
 - Dialogue with and learn from others about an issue through understanding self-interest.
 - Conduct one2ones, power mapping, community asset mapping, community-based research and more.
 - Develop and participate in public action(s).
2. Apply facilitation skills in your PA group by:
 - Developing lesson plans
 - Leading students in discussions and developing probing questions
 - Organizing democratic decision-making through open discussion and structured voting
 - Comfortably speaking in public
 - Leading reflection and apply feedback
3. Critically reflect on your own social and cultural identities including:
 - Describing intersectionality in relation to your own identities
 - Understanding the changing influence of identities on experiences of privilege and oppression in various settings
4. Identify the inequalities and injustices related to the issue(s) chosen by the K-12 participants in your PA group.

These goals will be measured using the following outcomes:

1. Enhanced understanding of social justice
2. Increased interpersonal and problem solving skills relevant to community organizing
3. Enhanced civic identity
4. A stronger commitment to civic action
5. An ability to connect your experience to your academic learning
6. An ability to connect your experience to career and/or long term goals

University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 7.



The *Curriculum* provides a parallel list of goals for PA Participants (the high school or elementary students), where academic engagement and college readiness substitute for academic learning and career and/or long term goals.¹⁰⁰²

The *Curriculum* then specifies the nature of the desired political actions by supplying a list of Issue Briefs, as a starting point for possible topics in a Public Achievement class. These topics include Arts Education, Body Image, Bullying, Coping, Discrimination, Domestic Abuse, Dropout, Environmental, Gangs, Healthcare, Homelessness, Hunger, Immigration, Incarceration, Poverty, Queer/Straight Alliance, Substance Use, and Teen Pregnancy.¹⁰⁰³ Here as elsewhere, the topic choice reinforces the curriculum’s focus on the modern progressive agenda.

The meat of the *Curriculum*, however, is a detailed guide to community organization, focusing upon the community’s youth. The *Curriculum* directs the PA Coach

1. to engage in team building: “while team building can be fun, its purpose is to build relationships that are meaningful and authentic to the process of PA”¹⁰⁰⁴
2. to research the issue to be tackled: “Students begin to identify public issues that interest them. Coaches conduct a “World as it is, World as it should be” exercise with students to see what types of issues are important to students in their community and/or school. Students should begin to explore their community and note which issues they are most passionate about.”¹⁰⁰⁵
3. to select an issue and begin to research the nature of the community to be organized: “In this section, coaches will introduce power mapping to students, so students understand how we think about power in community organizing, how we build power, why we use a power map and why it is effective. Students will also begin mapping the assets in their community regarding their issue. The asset map should help students begin to identify and contact potential community partners with the help of coaches.”

Although not explicitly stated, these “community partners” presumably are local progressive organizations, whose agenda the students will serve as they seek out “support” for their “class project.”¹⁰⁰⁶

1002 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, pp. 7-8.

1003 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. v.

1004 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 42.

1005 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 58.

1006 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 72.

4. to help students to identify “root causes” of their chosen issue, and identify relevant “stakeholders”: “Coaches should guide students in thinking about how they might develop projects that address root causes rather than simple “band aid” or topical approaches that don’t change underlying systems of inequality. ... Students should identify who is impacted by their issue, who has power regarding their issue, etc.”¹⁰⁰⁷
5. to get students to plan for action: “Coaches should draw students back to the mission of PA in order to encourage growth. Students should begin forming their own mission statements and goals for their projects with help from their coaches. These planning activities will help students to identify potential projects, narrow the scope and think about what would address root causes and be sustainable.”¹⁰⁰⁸
6. have students choose a project “and complete an action plan that outlines how they intend to implement their project. Groups should prepare to present school officials with a proposal in order to gain approval for their projects. Where possible, students should practice their public skills by requesting a meeting with the appropriate school authority who can approve their proposal.”

Public Achievement will also provide seed money for this progressive agitation: “Students will also submit this proposal, along with the PA Mini-Grant funding application, to the PA Program Coordinator with assistance from coaches and team leads.”¹⁰⁰⁹

7. have students are to put the project into action—by the end of April, so there will be time for reflection before the end of the school year.¹⁰¹⁰ This reflection is meant to allow students to learn from their experience how to organize the community more effectively in the future, and to help them continue their agitation even when the class is over. “The relationships that students develop with their college coaches along with these community partners helps encourage their continued engagement with the issue selected long after the program is completed. ... provide students with a resources sheet that shares upcoming events, opportunities, [and] contact information for community partners ... so that student may discover ways in which they can stay involved in the issue and projects they worked on.”¹⁰¹¹

1007 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 93.

1008 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 106.

1009 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 118.

1010 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 135.

1011 University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 137.

Year-end celebrations and a year-end visit to share experiences at the college campus will help “to ensure that others understand their process and could replicate or build upon their work – the first step in making their work sustainable.”¹⁰¹²

8. Finally, the PA Coach ensures that “Students will not only assess their work, but will also share their successes and challenges along with their ideas for keeping the project going in the future.”¹⁰¹³

The use of this curriculum strongly suggests that Public Achievement at CU-Boulder is as much an exercise in neo-Alinskyite community organization as is Public Achievement nationwide.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT: CURRENT PROJECTS

Public Achievement currently operates at Creekside Elementary School, Columbine Elementary School, Angevine Middle School, and Centaurus Middle School. The schools, students, community partner, and issues are summarized in the follow table:

PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT CURRENT PROJECTS

School	Students	Community Partner	Issues
Creekside Elementary School	20 3-5th graders	Family Resource Schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cigarette Smoking and Second-Hand Smoke • Animal Abuse
Columbine Elementary School	80 third grade Dreamers	I Have a Dream Foundation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration • Bullying • Substance Abuse • Movement During the School Day • School Discipline & The School to Prison Pipeline • Animal Abuse
Angevine Middle School	Seventh graders	Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration • Student Poverty and Homelessness

¹⁰¹² University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 142.

¹⁰¹³ University of Denver, *Public Achievement Curriculum*, http://www.du.edu/ccesl/media/documents/2014-2015_pa_curriculum.pdf, p. 145.

Centaurus Middle School	150 9-12 th graders	Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID)	<p>9th Grade A.V.I.D</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single Parent Challenges • Suicide Prevention • People In Need • School Garden • Police Brutality • Racism and Stereotypes <p>10th Grade A.V.I.D</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration • Human Trafficking • School to Prison Pipeline <p>11th Grade A.V.I.D</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mental Health Awareness • School Resource Center (Student Poverty and Homelessness) <p>12th Grade A.V.I.D</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global Education • School Garden • Mental Health Awareness • Poverty
University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Current Projects,” http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/current-projects .			

The catalogue of projects further corroborates Public Achievement’s strong tendency to support progressive causes.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT: ACHIEVEMENTS

Public Achievement (PA) celebrates a variety of its past achievements. All the events that have a political inflection forward the progressive agenda. Those that do not have an explicit political end serve instead to induct students into the practice and mindset of community organization. The skills necessary to clean up a trail are the skills necessary to advocate for illegal immigrants.¹⁰¹⁴ PA’s achievements include:

- January 20, 2014: “Lafayette Youth Advisory Committee, CU Public Achievement team up for 9th annual event. Hundreds marched for social awareness under sunny skies in Old Town Lafayette on Monday as residents turned out in record numbers for the annual Martin Luther King, Jr. March for Peace. The student-led procession, in its ninth year, hit Public Road on Monday afternoon with the now familiar chorus of, “What do we want? Peace! When do we want it? Now!” The March for Peace itself was “Originally conceived by service-learning

¹⁰¹⁴ University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “News,” <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/news>.

students at Escuela Bilingüe Pioneer in November 2004.” It continues to thrive by means of incentives: “The first 250 individuals to arrive will receive a free event t-shirt.”¹⁰¹⁵

- March 31, 2014: “Lafayette students helping plan the 10th annual Cesar Chavez march are adding a second, concurrent march to encourage more participation. On Friday, community members will pay tribute to the legacy of civil rights leader with the “Seeds of Justice” marches and a rally. The event is planned by the Lafayette Youth Advisory Committee, Latino Advisory Board and the University of Colorado’s Public Achievement program.” At the march, “Chanting the United Farm Workers motto “Si, se puede,” about 100 students, parents, teachers and community members marched Friday afternoon down South Boulder Road, loudly and visibly displaying their support for the legacy of Cesar Chavez.” Public Achievement folded several subordinate projects into the festivities: “Public Achievement elementary, middle and high school students also will host activities based on their projects on social issues, including distributing reusable grocery bags and painting people’s “texting thumbs” to remind them not to text and drive.” Cesar Chavez, long an opponent to illegal immigration,¹⁰¹⁶ is commemorated by a performance of “Do You Know Who I Am?” is a Motus Theater production that weaves together the stories of five undocumented young adults living in Boulder County.”¹⁰¹⁷
- April 4, 2014: “Lafayette’s Centaurus Students Help Build Sculpture out of Surrendered Guns. ... Seniors at Centaurus High School in Lafayette decided to research gun violence for their political action class not long after the December 2012 Sandy Hook shootings.”¹⁰¹⁸

1015 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Hundreds pace Public Road during Lafayette’s MLK march,” January 20, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2014/01/20/hundreds-pace-public-road-during-lafayettes-mlk-march>; Doug Pike, “Hundreds pace Public Road during Lafayette’s MLK march,” *Colorado Hometown Weekly*, January 20, 2014, http://www.coloradohometownweekly.com/ci_24952117/hundreds-pace-public-road-during-lafayettes-mlk-march; University of Colorado, Boulder, News Center, “CU-Boulder student leaders to co-host 9th annual MLK celebration,” January 16, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/news/features/CU-Boulder-student-leaders-co-host-9th-annual-mlk-celebration>.

1016 David Iaconangelo, “Cesar Chavez Legacy: From ‘Wet Lines’ To An ‘Illegals Campaign,’ A Dark Side In Latino Icon’s Opposition To Undocumented Immigrants,” *Latin Times*, March 30, 2015, <http://www.latintimes.com/cesar-chavez-legacy-wet-lines-illegals-campaign-dark-side-latino-icons-opposition-162528>.

1017 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Lafayette Youth Plan Event to Celebrate Cesar Chavez,” March 31, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2014/03/31/lafayette-youth-plan-event-celebrate-cesar-chavez>; Amy Bounds, “Lafayette youth plan event to celebrate Cesar Chavez,” *Daily Camera News*, March 31, 2014, http://www.dailycamera.com/News/ci_25459222/Lafayette-youth-plan-event-to-celebrate; Joe Rubino, “Lafayette marks Cesar Chavez Day with ‘Seeds of Justice’ march, rally,” April 4, 2014, http://www.dailycamera.com/News/ci_25499724/Lafayette-marks-Cesar-Chavez-Day-with.

1018 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Lafayette’s Centaurus Students Help Build Sculpture out of Surrendered Guns,” April 4, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2014/04/04/lafayettes-centaurus-students-help-build-sculpture-out-surrendered-guns>; Elizabeth Hernandez, “Lafayette’s Centaurus Students Help Build Sculpture out of Surrendered Guns,” *Daily Camera*, April 4, 2014, http://www.dailycamera.com/boulder-county-schools/ci_25499022/centaurus-students-help-build-sculpture-out-surrendered-guns.

- April 17, 2014: “Centaurus Students Aim to Raise Poverty Awareness.”¹⁰¹⁹
- April 22, 2014: “Spring Cleanup Efforts Expand in Lafayette.”¹⁰²⁰
- January 16-19, 2015: “CU community, students, involved in peace march ... Monday’s [MLK] march marked a decade of civic involvement from undergraduate leaders in the University of Colorado Boulder’s Public Achievement (PA) program.” Chanting once again was a feature of the march: “In Lafayette, the marchers chanted, “Who’s got the power? We’ve got the power! What kind of power? People power!” and “What do we want? Peace! When do we want it? Now!” as they made their way from Baseline Road to South Boulder Road’s LaMont Does Park.” Public Achievement again provided the manpower for the march: “Student groups, including the Lafayette Youth Advisory Committee, the University of Colorado at Boulder’s Public Achievement program and various clubs at Centaurus High, planned and organized the event and turned out in force to march.”¹⁰²¹
- April 3, 2015: “Lafayette’s ‘Seeds of Justice’ celebration honors Cesar Chavez. ... In addition to celebrating the contributions of Cesar Chavez and other civil rights leaders, the event was designed to provide a platform for student leaders to generate awareness about the prevalence of social issues including animal abuse, bullying, domestic violence, teen depression and suicide, according to a news release.”¹⁰²²
- April 21, 2015: “Poverty awareness event Friday in Lafayette.”¹⁰²³
- May 3, 2015: “Paying it Forward in the Public Achievement Program .” When Balkarn Singh Shahi looks back on his high school experience, one activity stands out – the University of Colorado Boulder’s Public Achievement program. As a student at Centaurus High School

1019 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Centaurus Students Aim to Raise Poverty Awareness” April 17, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2014/04/17/centaurus-students-aim-raise-poverty-awareness>; Doug Pike, “Centaurus students to host poverty-awareness program tonight,” *Colorado Hometown Weekly News*, April 25, 2014, http://www.coloradohometownweekly.com/News/ci_25615429/Centaurus-students-to-host-povertyawareness-program.

1020 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Spring Cleanup Efforts Expand in Lafayette” April 22, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2014/04/22/spring-cleanup-efforts-expand-lafayette>.

1021 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “CU community, students, involved in peace march,” January 16, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2015/01/16/cu-community-students-involved-peace-march>; University of Colorado, Boulder, News Center, “CU community, students, involved in peace march,” January 16, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/news/features/cu-community-students-involved-peace-march>; Amy Bounds, “Biggest march yet’: Lafayette’s MLK commemoration marks 10th anniversary,” *Daily Camera*, January 19, 2015, http://www.dailycamera.com/lafayette-news/ci_27351302/biggest-march-yet-lafayettes-mlk-commemoration-marks-10th.

1022 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Lafayette’s ‘Seeds of Justice’ celebration honors Cesar Chavez,” April 3, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2015/04/03/lafayettes-seeds-justice-celebration-honors-cesar-chavez>; “Lafayette’s ‘Seeds of Justice’ celebration honors Cesar Chavez,” *Colorado Hometown Weekly*, April 3, 2015, http://www.coloradohometownweekly.com/news/lafayette/ci_27845002/lafayettes-seeds-justice-celebration-honors-cesar-chavez.

1023 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, “Poverty awareness event Friday in Lafayette,” April 21, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2015/04/21/poverty-awareness-event-friday-lafayette>; “Poverty awareness event Friday in Lafayette,” *Colorado Hometown Weekly*, April 21, 2015, http://www.coloradohometownweekly.com/news/ci_27958023/poverty-awareness-event-friday-in-lafayette.

participating in the program, Shahi and peers responded to national public shootings by spearheading a public campaign to prevent gun violence with support from the faith-based community, the City of Lafayette, the Boulder County Sheriff's Office, and other influential organizations. ... Now a sophomore at CU-Boulder, Shahi could not resist the opportunity to give back to the Public Achievement program, which pairs CU-Boulder students as coaches with groups of underrepresented K-12 students seeking solutions to their identified salient social issues. Shahi has been a Public Achievement coach, and this year he served as a teaching assistant for the corresponding civic engagement course and new class of coaches."¹⁰²⁴

- July 8, 2015: "Lafayette Peer Empowerment Project aims to prep teens for their own success. ... A group of low-income Lafayette teens are finding their voice this summer. The Lafayette Peer Empowerment Project and has started a discussion with 49 seventh- through 10th-grade students to hear what they think are their obstacles in the education system and to finding a career. ... Centaurus High School seniors and University of Colorado-Boulder undergraduates serve as mentors and program facilitators for the program developed by CU faculty and teachers from Angevine Centaurus teachers and administrators. ... "The [Lafayette City] council will use this report for city funding," [program director Elaina] Verveer said."¹⁰²⁵

The publicity attendant on these events is another success of the program: to be mentioned by the *Daily Camera* and the *Colorado Hometown Weekly* fulfils an important goal of the program.

This list of achievements reveals that a significant portion of "spontaneous" progressive political activity in the Boulder region is actually organized by Public Achievement. This is a fact of considerable political importance. But for the purposes of this report, we wish to underline that this partisan political agitation is subsidized by CU-Boulder, and justified as an exercise in civics education.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT: CRITICAL CIVIC INQUIRY SUMMER INSTITUTE

The Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute (CCISI) extends Public Achievement's community-organizing efforts among high school students into the summer vacation, under the name of "participatory action research." The CCISI "provides an opportunity for a select group of 8-12 students to develop advanced community organizing, research, and leadership skills. ... The Summer Institute is consistent with the School of Education's priorities of performing outreach and research that emphasizes the promotion of 'democracy, diversity, and social justice.'" College student participants are recruited "from traditionally underrepresented groups, including first

1024 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, "Paying it Forward in the Public Achievement Program," May 3, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/2015/05/03/paying-it-forward-public-achievement-program>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Outreach and Engagement, "Paying it Forward in the Public Achievement Program," <http://outreach.colorado.edu/highlights/view/id/98>.

1025 Jared Funk-Breay, "Lafayette Peer Empowerment Project aims to prep teens for their own success," *Colorado Hometown Weekly*, July 8, 2015, http://www.coloradohometownweekly.com/news/ci_28447352/lafayette-peer-empowerment-project-aims-to-prep-teens-for-their-own-success.

generation college students, students of color, and students from low-income families, but are open to working students of any background.” This program focuses community organization on the schools themselves: “Through the documentation of our own practices as researchers, we try to influence the field of higher education in how to organize college access programs with an empowering, culturally responsive focus.”¹⁰²⁶ In other words, just as the New Civics aims to divert university resources to its own purposes, so the CCISI aims to divert high school resources.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUKSTA SCHOLARS PROGRAM

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUKSTA SCHOLARS PROGRAM: OVERVIEW

The Puksta Scholars Program administers grants from the Puksta Foundation, which funds scholarships to undergraduates at several different Colorado universities.

THE PUKSTA FOUNDATION AND ITS SCHOLARS PROGRAM

Founded in 2001, the Puksta Foundation provides scholarships, mentorship, and experiential community engagement training for undergraduate Colorado students. Each year, a new cohort of scholars who exhibit a strong commitment to service and civic responsibility are selected to join the Puksta Scholar Program. Scholars participate in a rigorous and rewarding four-year program designed to equip students with the knowledge, skills, and experiences necessary to become catalysts for lasting positive change in the community.

Scholars receive a scholarship renewable for up to four years. Each scholar is asked to identify an issue or need in the community and develop a social change project to address the root cause of that issue. Scholars are responsible for implementing their projects and developing long-term sustainability plans. The Foundation provides mentorship, training, team building, and financial resources to assist students with their social change projects.

There are currently 55 Puksta Scholars in five distinct programs at Universities throughout Colorado.

Puksta Foundation, “About Us,” http://pukstafoundation.org/?page_id=348.

CU-Boulder notes that Puksta Scholars at their university have initiated projects that “included working with Engineers without Borders to develop a water collection system for a village in Nepal, creating a new youth organization—Impact the Youth – to mentor underserved youth towards going

¹⁰²⁶ University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Programs and Initiatives,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/programs-and-initiatives>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Outreach and Engagement, “Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/487>.

to college, developing strategies to close the digital divide in Lafayette and organizing a Women In Leadership Conference.”

Puksta scholars receive \$4,500 a year. Thus funded, they are supposed to create a *civic engagement project*. The Puksta Foundation draws on the Pew Charitable Trusts for its avowedly nonpartisan definition of *civic engagement*: “Civic engagement is individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern. Civic Engagement can take many forms, from individual volunteerism to organizational involvement to electoral participation. It can include efforts to directly address an issue, work with others in a community to solve a problem or interact with the institutions of representative democracy.”¹⁰²⁷

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: PUKSTA SCHOLARS PROGRAM: PROGRESSIVE DIVERSION

Whatever the original intention of Harry and Eva Puksta when they set up the Puksta Foundation, the work of the Puksta Scholars Program has been diverted toward progressive ends. The application for the Fellowship includes Supplemental Questions, which delineate that diversion.

PUKSTA APPLICATION: SOCIAL JUSTICE ISSUES AND ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Justice Issue Area(s): Please select from the list below the justice area(s) or other community issue(s) you are interested in being actively involved with as a Puksta Scholar. The following is a list of suggested areas, or you may identify your own. ...

Affordable Housing; Community Organizing; Criminal Justice; Disabilities; Discrimination; Economic Development; Education; Environment; Food, Nutrition, and Hunger; Health Care; Homelessness; Human / Civil Rights; Immigration; Labor; Music, Theatre, and the Arts; Peace; Political Process; Poverty; Racism; Refugees and Migration; Religion and Culture; Senior Services; Sexism; Sexuality, Gender, and LGBTIQA; Violence; Youth ...

2. Other justice issue area(s) or community issue area(s) of interest not previously selected.
3. One form of motivation used in community organizing is testimonio, or personal testimonial narratives. Tell us a story that explains your motivation for participating in your community. What is your personal connection to the justice issue area(s) that you identified? (300 word limit)

¹⁰²⁷ University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, “Welcome to the CU-Boulder Puksta Scholars’ Website,” <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, “About,” <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/about>.

4. An essential part of the Puksta Scholars program is translating ideas into action. Please narrow your broad social justice issue into a statement of a problem and proposed project that would address this problem. Make sure to include a discussion of the root causes of the problem as well as the anticipated impact of your project. (300 word limit)
5. What are your academic interests? How might your participation in Puksta Scholars enhance your academic and even professional interests and how might your academic interests enhance your Puksta Scholar work? Please note that many Puksta scholars pursue projects that are seemingly disconnected from their majors (e.g. a pre-med student is working on immigration reform). Successful applicants are able to relate their project and academic interests by discussing such things as target populations, content, skills, knowledge sets, or orientations towards social justice. (300 word limit)
6. The Puksta Scholars Program is an inclusive and intentionally diverse community, broadly defined. Please describe one experience or project where you worked with people across lines of difference. That is, when have you worked with individuals, groups, or organizations that are comprised of social identities different from you? What did you learn about diversity, your social identity, and privilege from this experience and/or project? (300 word limit)

University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, “Puksta Application: Social Justice Issues and Essay Questions,” <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/how-apply/puksta-application-social-justice-issues-and-essay-questions>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Be Boulder, “Puksta Scholars Program,” <https://colorado.academicworks.com/opportunities/387>.

The progressive results may be measured in part by the descriptions of the various Puksta Retreats. At the Fall 2015 Retreat for CU-Boulder Puksta Scholars, “new and returning scholars spent the day at NCAR to reunite, team build, and most importantly talk and plan their projects to bring about social change.”¹⁰²⁸ Later that month, at the Puksta Foundation’s 2015 Fall Inter-collegiate Retreat, attendees “formed working groups to share resources and explore collaboration in five broad issue areas: education, poverty / prisons / homelessness, public health, gender and LGBTQ, and immigration.” There they received an Alinskyite community organizing PowerPoint, *Power-Mapping for Social Justice; or, Strategic Planning for Long-Term Civic Leadership. Advancing the Common Good Through Community Organizing*. This PowerPoint was composed by Stephen Hartnett, Chair of the Department of Communication at CU Denver; Roudy Hildreth, Associate

¹⁰²⁸ University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, “Puksta Fall Retreat,” August 29, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/2015/08/29/puksta-fall-retreat>.

Director of CU Engage at CU-Boulder; and Balkarn Shahi, Puksta Scholar.¹⁰²⁹ At the 2016 Winter Inter-collegiate Retreat, “scholars were inspired by Zach Mercurio’s session ‘Living and Leading with Authentic Purpose’ and pushed to think critically about privilege and oppression in Dara Burwell’s ‘Anti-Oppression and Equity Workshop’.” Among the speakers were “a panel of outstanding activists who discussed ‘Overcoming Barriers in Translating Passion into Action.’ ... Cody Wiggs, DU Puksta 2011, Empowering Education Executive Director, Aminta Menjivar, DU Puksta 2014, Libby Birky, So All May Eat Inc. - SAME Cafe Co-Founder, and Alex Landau, UCD Puksta 2015, Colorado Progressive Commission.”¹⁰³⁰

The interests of the Puksta Scholars further demonstrates the progressive takeover of the Puksta Scholars Program. The current Puksta Scholars interests are listed briefly on the Puksta Scholars Program’s website:

PUKSTA SCHOLARS, CU-BOULDER, 2015-2016

- **Danait Aregay:** Danait is working to help the African Community Center with their media and outreach strategies.
- **Aria Dellapiane:** Aria is a new scholar for the 2015-2016 academic year. She is a sophomore majoring in Environmental Design. Her Puksta work will focus on combating sexual assault on campus.
- **Jamal Gamal:** Jamal is working to create a documentary film that explores contemporary issues and challenges in public education.
- **Chris Klene:** Chris is creating a report that analyzes issues of health equity with Boulder County Public Health. This report will be released to the general public and relevant agencies in Boulder County.
- **Nicollette Laroco:** Nicollette is working with Society of Environmental Engineers and several community partners to establish structures and opportunities for engineering students to become civically engaged and help community partners in the design and execution of projects that require engineering expertise.
- **Leonardo Munoz:** Leonardo works with the City of Boulder’s Family Resource Schools program. He has developed and is now teaching after-school classes at Columbine Elementary School that focus on songs and stories of Mexico.

1029 University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, “Puksta Foundation Inter-collegiate Retreat,” September 19, 2015, <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/2015/09/19/puksta-foundation-inter-collegiate-retreat>; Stephen John Harnett, Roudy Hildreth, and Balkarn Shahi, *Power-Mapping for Social Justice; or, Strategic Planning for Long-Term Civic Leadership. Advancing the Common Good Through Community Organizing*, http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/sites/default/files/attached-files/revise-power-mapping_for_social_justice.pdf.

1030 University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, “CU Puksta Scholars Energized at 2016 Winter Puksta Foundation Inter-Collegiate Retreat,” January 27, 2016, <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/2016/01/27/cu-puksta-scholars-energized-2016-winter-puksta-foundation-inter-collegiate-retreat>.

- **Dara Oloyede:** Dara has developed a health and nutrition course for low income students Creekside Elementary School.
- **Alondra Palomino:** Alondra is a new scholar for the 2015-2016 academic year. She is a sophomore majoring in Integrative Physiology. Her Puksta work will focus on immigration.
- **Emma Piller:** Emma is a new scholar for the 2015-2016 academic year. She is an incoming freshman and English Major from Lafayette. Her Puksta work will address immigration.
- **Maria Ronauli:** Maria is working to help the African Community Center with their media and outreach strategies.
- **Balkarn Shahi:** Balkarn is developing strategies to close the digital divide in Lafayette.
- **Angelica Swanson:** Angelica is a new scholar for the 2015-2016 academic year. She is an incoming freshman from Thornton. She plans to double major in Chemistry and Theatre. Her Puksta work will focus on issues of education and diverse learning styles.
- **Selyne Tibbetts-Pagan:** Selyne is developing strategies to close the digital divide in Lafayette.
- **Vincent Torres:** Vincent mentors youth in his home town of Commerce City towards accessing higher education.
- **Dylan Whitman:** Dylan works with the I Have a Dream Foundation to establish an alumni network and expand services to additional low-income youth.

University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, “Current Scholars,”
[http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/current-scholars.](http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/current-scholars)

Two longer accounts of previous Puksta Scholars provide a more in-depth account of the progressive nature of Puksta scholarship.

TWO PUKSTA SCHOLARS

KATIE RAITZ

Katie Raitz, 20, is a junior at CU-Boulder pursuing a bachelor’s degree in ethnic and women and gender studies with an emphasis on education. As a Puksta Scholar, she organizes youth in her community to create peer-to-peer sexual health classes and teaching materials, through the organization Sex Eq (formerly



called Relation Education By Teens For Teens). She plans to continue her work with Sex Eq while at Watson, where she'll be exploring models for sustaining and growing the organization. Katie is passionate about empowering young people to advocate for their community's sexual rights because she understands that people alienated from their bodies are disenfranchised. To challenge and transform the disempowering way sex education is often taught, Sex Eq utilizes a peer-to-peer teaching model to reestablish young people as the experts of their own experiences.

Additionally, while at Watson, Katie will be working on her campus to help advocate for the majority of CU students who voted to divest from the fossil fuel industry. As a member of Arts and Sciences student government, Katie embraces her duty to support the student voice, and will therefore be mobilizing students and administrators on her campus to achieve the goal of a sustainable and locally invested CU.

Katie is passionate about empowering young people to advocate for their community's sexual rights. She founded and leads Sex Eq, an initiative to re-think sex ed in the state of Colorado. ...

Sex Eq. is a grassroots peer-to-peer sexual equity education organization that mobilizes youth in Colorado Springs and Lafayette, Colorado to create their own month-long curriculum based on values of inclusion, equity and sexual/ emotional health. Sex Eq. offers folks whose identities are absent from traditional sex education classes an opportunity to learn about sexuality from trusted and knowledgeable peers, in safe, community-oriented settings.

Watson University, "Katie Raitz," <http://www.watsonuniversity.org/portfolio/katie-raitz/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, "Puksta Scholars 2013-14," http://www.colorado.edu/AcademicAffairs/UE/pukstaweb/scholars/katie_raitz.html.

CHELSEA CANADA

As part of the Puksta Scholars program, I had to work on a civic engagement project throughout my freshman year. After having worked on voter registration in high school, I wanted to focus on the same issue at CU-Boulder. A U.S. Women's History class that I took my first semester reminded me of women's suffrage and how hard the women before us worked to grant other women the opportunity to vote. I didn't want their struggle and hard work to be in vain, so I vowed to both register women to vote and empower them to reflect on the stories of suffragettes.

To do this, I started offering free dance classes that were followed by facilitated dialogue surrounding women's suffrage, and then voter registration, I started

creating the mark I wanted to have on campus: to empower women in creative ways. But this was just the start. The next two years, I approached my push for women's empowerment differently.

Storytelling is a crucial component of empowerment. When I am inspired by powerful women, I want to know their story. I look to see where they came from and what obstacles they overcame. The idea of the exchange of stories started last year when I decided to interview women leaders in the community and created videos of the stories of these women from all different sectors. My hope is that young women could reflect on the stories of these women within their own community to drive them to make change.

The momentum from the past three years have led up to the development of the most recent event that is a part of my project. On Oct. 5, the Women In Leadership Conference: Breaking the Glass Ceiling will take place from 12 to 4:30 p.m. in the CU-Boulder Rec Center. This is a unique opportunity to forge relationships with local women leaders.

The event, which is sponsored by Teach For America and the University of Colorado Boulder's Student Government and Puksta Scholars Program, will commence with a public talk by Ambassador Melanne Verveer, the executive director of the Institute for Women, Peace and Security at Georgetown University and the first U.S. ambassador-at-large for Global Women's Issues.

Immediately following the address, guests will engage in solutions-based dialogue and networking. Local trailblazers will be paired with CU-Boulder students as a means to build community, forge connections, and inspire the next generation of women leaders. This will act as a space for an exchange of stories. I will be gathering other women's stories during this event and hope to compile a short documentary about women empowerment specific to the Boulder community by the end of the year.

Chelsea Canada, "Women in leadership: breaking the glass ceiling," *The Denver Post*, October 1, 2014, http://www.denverpost.com/ci_26642429/women-leadership-breaking-glass-ceiling.

The progressive activism of Katie Raitz and Chelsea Canada may be taken as typical of the "civic" activities of Puksta Scholars at CU-Boulder.

CU ENGAGE: PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES: STUDENT WORKER ALLIANCE PROGRAM

The Student Worker Alliance Program (SWAP) allows students to volunteer to teach English to CU-Boulder employees, either in individual tutoring sessions or in small classes. As the program title is phrased in old Marxist vocabulary, so its mission statement uses new progressive vocabulary: "The



Student Worker Alliance Program (SWAP) is a grassroots, student-run, and dynamic program that is committed to cross-cultural engagement, mutual empowerment, skills acquisition, and solidarity in addressing inequality. SWAP seeks to convene systematically divided campus sectors to share a common learning and cultural experience.¹⁰³¹ The program steers money toward program coordinators' salaries, and steers the jobs toward progressives: "All CU-Boulder undergraduates who demonstrate a commitment to, or interest in, social justice, civic engagement, and/or pluralism, are encouraged to apply."¹⁰³²

It is remarkable, and telling, that even something so straightforward as volunteering to teach English as a second language has acquired the New Civics' progressive vocabulary and activist commitment.

CU ENGAGE: STAFF

A list of the staff at CU Engage¹⁰³³ and its subordinate units of CU Dialogues,¹⁰³⁴ INVST Community Studies,¹⁰³⁵ Public Achievement,¹⁰³⁶ Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute,¹⁰³⁷ Puksta Scholars Program,¹⁰³⁸ Leadership Studies Minor,¹⁰³⁹ and the Peace Corps,¹⁰⁴⁰ reveals that several staff members wear several hats. Roudy Hildreth, for example, works for CU Engage, Public Achievement, and the Puksta Scholars Program, while Ben Kirshner is associated with CU Engage, the Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute, and the Leadership Studies Minor. An examination of their biographies reveals a general tilt toward progressive interests: Jacob Williams in INVST, for example, "is committed to breaking down the gender binary, [and] creating livable spaces in public education,"¹⁰⁴¹ while Jennifer Ciplet came to her job at CU Engage after a career in which she "directed environmental justice, human rights, experiential education and policy advocacy work with international

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- 1031 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, "Programs and Initiatives," <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/programs-and-initiatives>; University of Colorado, Boulder, "The Student Worker Alliance Program (SWAP)," <http://www.colorado.edu/studentgroups/swap/>.
- 1032 University of Colorado, Boulder, President's Leadership Class, "SWAP Coordinator Application 2016-2017," <http://presidentsleadershipclass.org/images/uploads/general/SWAPCoordinatorApplication2016.pdf>.
- 1033 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, "Who We Are," <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/about-us/who-we-are>.
- 1034 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Dialogues, "Contact Us," <http://www.colorado.edu/cudialogues/contact-us>.
- 1035 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, "Who We Are," <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/who-we-are>.
- 1036 University of Colorado, Boulder, Public Achievement, "Staff," <http://www.colorado.edu/publicachievement/staff>.
- 1037 University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Outreach and Engagement, "Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute," <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/487>.
- 1038 University of Colorado, Boulder, Puksta Scholars Program, "Puksta Program Facilitators," <http://www.colorado.edu/puksta/puksta-program-facilitators>.
- 1039 University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Studies Minor, "Contact Us," <http://www.colorado.edu/lsm/contact-us>.
- 1040 University of Colorado, Boulder, Peace Corps, "About Us," <http://www.colorado.edu/peacecorps/about-us-o>.
- 1041 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, "Who We Are," <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/who-we-are>.

non-profit organizations focused in the U.S. and Latin America.”¹⁰⁴² While CU Engage’s staff members doubtless have the highest professional standards, we may note that their personal predilections may lead them to interpret *civic engagement* in a progressive direction. Their predilections are in any case a register of the success of the national New Civics movement’s ambition to staff the universities’ civic engagement programs with progressives.

The CU Engage staff’s educational background and research interests also reveal how civic engagement, at CU-Boulder and elsewhere, works 1) to produce graduates who then go on to careers in civic engagement programs; 2) to create academics whose research is on civic engagement itself, and who redefine that research as itself an exercise in and an after-action report upon civic engagement.

The first category—people whose degrees in civic engagement and affiliated specialties has steered them to careers in civic engagement—includes the following staff members:

- **Charla Agnoletti** (Program Director, Public Achievement) “was a Public Achievement coach and a Puksta Scholar during her undergrad at the University of Denver and went on to work as a Language Arts teacher and Restorative Justice Coordinator in Denver Public Schools until joining the CU Engage staff in fall of 2015. Charla has a Masters in Education in Curriculum and Instruction with a focus in Critical Civic Inquiry and Urban Pedagogy.”¹⁰⁴³
- **Jennifer Ciplet** (Manager of Communications and International Partnerships, CU Engage) “holds a M.A. degree in Social Justice in Intercultural Relations from the School for International Training in Brattleboro, VT.”¹⁰⁴⁴
- **Becca Kaplan** (INVST Community Studies, Instructor) “graduated from the INVST CLP [in 2007].”¹⁰⁴⁵
- **Ben Kirshner** (Faculty Director, CU Engage) was motivated by “His experiences working with young people at a community center in San Francisco’s Mission District ... to study educational equity and the design of learning environments ... at Stanford’s Graduate School of Education.”¹⁰⁴⁶
- **Jacob McWilliams** (INVST Community Studies, Instructor) “earned his Ph.D. in education at Indiana University; his dissertation explored the challenges and joys of teaching elementary school kids about gender diversity.”¹⁰⁴⁷

1042 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Jennifer Ciplet,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/jennifer-ciplet>.

1043 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Charla Agnoletti,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/charla-agnoletti>.

1044 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Jennifer Ciplet,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/jennifer-ciplet>.

1045 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Who We Are,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/who-we-are>.

1046 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Ben Kirshner,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/ben-kirshner>.

1047 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Who We Are,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/who-we-are>.

- **Trevor Moore** (Public Achievement Coordinator, Public Achievement) “served as a coach, teaching assistant, and program coordinator for CU-Boulder’s Public Achievement program. He is currently completing a second full-time AmeriCorps term of service via the “I Have a Dream” Foundation of Boulder County, which serves as a partner site for Public Achievement.”¹⁰⁴⁸
- **Melissa Rubin** (Administrative Assistant, CU Engage) “graduated from CU and the INVST Community Leadership Program [in 2006]. As the Administrative Assistant with INVST Community Studies, she often pulls from her experience as a student in the CLP to guide her work.”¹⁰⁴⁹
- **Sabrina Sideris** (Program Director, INVST Community Studies) “has a Masters Degree in Peace Education from the United Nations-mandated University for Peace in Costa Rica, and she is currently pursuing a Doctoral Degree in Higher Education and Diversity at the University of Denver.”¹⁰⁵⁰
- **Haley Sladek Squires** (INVST Community Studies, Instructor) “is an INVST Community Leadership Program alumna, Class of 2009.”¹⁰⁵¹
- **Alison Wisnecki** (INVST Community Studies, Instructor) “holds an MA in Social Change from the Iliff School of Theology, where she focused on radical LGBTQ inclusion in church- and social-based settings.”¹⁰⁵²

The second category—people whose research is on civic engagement itself, and who redefine that research as itself an exercise in and an after-action report upon civic engagement —includes the following staff members:

- **Ellen Aiken** (Program Co-Director, CU Dialogues), who has shifted her research from “immigration, cross-cultural interaction and the American West” to “the use of dialogue to build understanding across cultural differences in community settings.”¹⁰⁵³
- **Roudy Hildreth** (Associate Director, CU Engage) “is co-author of *Becoming Citizens: Deepening the Craft of Youth Civic Engagement* (Routledge, 2009) and co-editor of *Civic Youth Work: Co-creating Democratic Youth Spaces* (Lyceum 2012). Roudy has also published numerous scholarly articles and book chapters on topics areas such as

1048 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Trevor Moore,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/trevor-moore>.

1049 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Melissa Rubin,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/melissa-rubin>.

1050 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Sabrina Sideris,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/sabrina-sideris>.

1051 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Who We Are,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/who-we-are>.

1052 University of Colorado, Boulder, INVST Community Studies, “Who We Are,” <https://communitystudies.colorado.edu/about-invst/who-we-are>.

1053 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Ellen Aiken,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/ellen-aiken>.

community-based pedagogy, democratic theory, the political philosophy of John Dewey, youth civic engagement, and qualitative research.”¹⁰⁵⁴

- **Ben Kirshner** (Faculty Director, CU Engage), whose “current research examines youth organizing, participatory action research, and new forms of digital media as contexts for learning and social justice change. He recently published *Youth Activism in an Era of Education Inequality* (2015, NYU Press). His new project, in collaboration with colleagues at UC Denver and funded by the Spencer Foundation, involves the study of young people’s policy arguments in public settings.”¹⁰⁵⁵
- **Jen Pacheco** (Graduate Research Assistant, CU Engage) “is a PhD student in the Learning Sciences and Human Development Program at the University of Colorado Boulder. She is dedicated to addressing educational inequities and working with communities on health disparities.”¹⁰⁵⁶

(The Learning Sciences and Human Development Program, where CU Engage Faculty Director Ben Kirshner is also a professor, appears to be a community organizing unit within CU-Boulder’s School of Education: “The CU-Boulder Learning Sciences and Human Development program is on the leading edge of the field in its theoretical and practical explorations of issues of social and spatial justice, culture, and diversity in learning. We are also leaders in theorizing and building partnerships with schools, districts, and state agencies, as well as youth and community organizations.”¹⁰⁵⁷)

- **Karen Ramirez** (Program Co-Director, CU Dialogues), who has shifted her research from “narrative mappings of place in 19th/20th C. western American literature and how these narrative mappings dialogically intersect with contemporary public memory of western places” to drawing “on her foundation in dialogism and narrative study to develop, theorize and study dialogue experiences as a form of engaged learning about cross-cultural perspectives.”¹⁰⁵⁸

Collectively, the career paths of the CU Engage staff demonstrate that civic engagement education provides a good preparation for a career in the field of civic engagement education administration. Their collective research interests likewise demonstrate the self-referential intellectual nullity of the “academic inquiry” organized around civic engagement.

1054 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Roudy Hildreth,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/roudy-hildreth>.

1055 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Ben Kirshner,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/ben-kirshner>.

1056 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Jen Pacheco,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/jen-pacheco>.

1057 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Education, “Learning Sciences and Human Development,” <http://www.colorado.edu/education/graduate-programs/learning-sciences-and-human-development>.

1058 University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Karen Ramirez,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/karen-ramirez>.

Service-Learning

SERVICE-LEARNING: OVERVIEW

Service learning classes are marbled throughout CU-Boulder’s departments and administrative programs, and are so widespread that there is no longer a coordinating institutional base, or a global rationale. The Program for Writing and Rhetoric briefly defines service learning as “a form of experiential education that integrates academic instruction with educationally meaningful community-centered work that is appropriate to curricular goals in order to enrich and enhance the learning experience, teach civic engagement, and meet community-defined needs.”¹⁰⁵⁹ In so doing, it follows the definition of service-learning that has applied since the foundation of the field.

We list below examples of service learning at CU-Boulder not previously described in our description of CU Engage. These examples are categorized alphabetically, by department, school, and program, and include:

1. Art History
2. Business
3. Education
4. Engineering
5. English
6. Environment
7. International English Center
8. Law
9. Linguistics
10. The Program for Writing and Rhetoric
11. Spanish
12. Study Abroad
13. Volunteer Resource Center/Alternative Breaks Center
14. Women’s Studies

¹⁰⁵⁹ University of Colorado at Boulder, Program for Writing and Rhetoric, Service-Learning. http://www.colorado.edu/pwr/service_learning.html. Also see the definition in Robyn E. Sandekian, “Course-Based Service Learning within the CU-Boulder College of Engineering and Applied Science, February 2007, <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/sites/default/files/CourseBasedSL.pdf>.”

These examples are not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to illustrate the extension of service-learning classes into all the academic nooks and crannies of CU-Boulder. They are also intended to illustrate precisely how service-learning affects instruction in each of these types of education.

We describe service learning at CU-Boulder’s Residential Academic Programs (RAPs) in a separate section below.

SERVICE-LEARNING: ART AND ART HISTORY

The Department of Art and Art History supports ArtsBridge, “a community service learning project that engages public school students in hands-on arts education within the framework of the classroom. High performing undergraduate and graduate art students provide exemplary models of arts teaching while focusing on integrating arts across the curricula.” Local partners include the Boulder Valley School District, St. Vrain School District, and the Denver Public School District.¹⁰⁶⁰

SERVICE-LEARNING: BUSINESS

The Center for Education on Social Responsibility (CESR) in the Leeds School of Business is the component of the CU-Boulder Business School dedicated to “undergraduate business students wishing to focus on social responsibility and sustainability.” Students may participate in “outreach and extracurricular initiatives,” which include the annual Conscious Capitalism Conference and “an annual Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Career Trek to San Francisco where students meet sustainability leaders at well-known companies.”¹⁰⁶¹

CESR’s Socially Responsible Enterprise (SRE) Certificate program requires Experiential Learning “working in a field of social responsibility of particular interest”: options include interning for a profit or non-profit organization, and a study-abroad service learning program. *CESR 4005 Business Solutions for the Developing World: Learning Through Service* and *MGMT 4140: Project Management can both apply toward Experiential Learning*.¹⁰⁶²

SERVICE-LEARNING: EDUCATION

CU Engage is hosted in the School of Education (SoE), and a great deal of service learning in the sub-units of CU Engage (notably INVST Community Studies and Public Achievement) properly should be ascribed to the School of Education. The School of Education also includes Outreach

1060 University of Colorado, Boulder, Department of Art & Art History, “Programs,” <http://cuart.colorado.edu/programs/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “ArtsBridge,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/111>.

1061 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “CESR (Center for Education on Social Responsibility) in the Leeds School of Business,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/191>.

1062 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “CESR’s Socially Responsible Enterprise (SRE) Certificate,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/192>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Leeds School of Business, “Certificate in Socially Responsible Enterprise,” http://www.colorado.edu/business/sites/default/files/attached-files/sre_certificate_brochure_mar_2015.pdf.

among its institutional commitments, and Outreach has “service goals.”¹⁰⁶³ Outreach especially includes Community Engagement, with several initiatives that involve student teaching in K-12 classrooms.¹⁰⁶⁴ These broader initiatives align with service learning and civic engagement—but when Education students intern in K-12 classrooms, their work is also vocational training. We have therefore omitted discussion of these programs, as ambiguous cases.

SERVICE-LEARNING: ENGINEERING

The School of Engineering & Applied Science has a large program devoted to service learning, housed within the Active Learning Program, which coordinates *discovery learning* (research apprenticeships with faculty, graduate students, government agencies, and private companies), *professional learning* (regular internships with companies or “cooperative” programs run by CU-Boulder), and *service learning*—which “allows you to learn while applying your skills to help others through service to the college, the community, or the world.” The School of Engineering lists among its service learning partners The Institute for Ethical and Civic Engagement (the predecessor to CU Engage), the INVST Community Studies Program, and the Peace Corps.¹⁰⁶⁵ In addition, it includes the following programs:

Colorado Space Grant: Students teach space-related science and engineering classes to K-12 students.¹⁰⁶⁶

CU Environmental Center: Students work for the CU Environmental Center. No engineering focus to this service-learning seems to be required.¹⁰⁶⁷

Earn-Learn Apprenticeship Program: CU-Boulders subsidizes students working within the university, on assignments such as “assisting faculty members with teaching courses, developing new courses or new curriculum, and making improvements to a lab or providing expertise to local K-12 schools.”¹⁰⁶⁸

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- 1063 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Education, “Outreach,” <http://www.colorado.edu/education/outreach>.
- 1064 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Education, “Community Engagement,” <http://www.colorado.edu/education/outreach/community-engagement>.
- 1065 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Active Learning Program,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Discovery Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/discovery>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Professional Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/professional>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>.
- 1066 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; Colorado Space Grant Consortium, “COSGC Outreach,” http://spacegrant.colorado.edu/COSGC_Projects/outreach/index.html.
- 1067 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Environmental Center, “Welcome CU Environmental Center,” <http://www.colorado.edu/ecenter/>.
- 1068 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Earn-Learn Apprenticeship Program,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/node/236813>.

Engineering Ambassador Program: Students engage in recruitment, advisement, and mentoring for prospective engineering students and fellow engineering students.¹⁰⁶⁹

Engineers Without Borders – CU Chapter: Students in the College of Engineering & Applied Science work to provide better water systems for rural Peruvians.¹⁰⁷⁰

ITL K-12 Engineering Education Program (TEAMS Program): Students teach engineering to “underrepresented students” and their teachers in K-12 classrooms, summer camps, and summer workshops, partly as a form of recruitment outreach. The TEAMS Program supports this larger program: Each year 10 graduate engineering students in the Integrated Teaching & Learning Program and Laboratory receive a fellowship with tuition, medical benefits, and a partial stipend; in return they teach engineering part-time in local K-12 classrooms.¹⁰⁷¹

Mortenson Center in Engineering for Developing Communities: Students do research, outreach, and service activities that forward the Mortenson Center’s goal “to provide sustainable and appropriate solutions to the endemic problems faced by the people on our planet who are most in need. ... sustainable, scalable, evidence-based and multidisciplinary solutions to international development problems.”¹⁰⁷²

Professional Engineering Society, CU Chapter, Participation: Students work for the CU Chapter of a professional engineering society, including work as an officer of the chapter. Societies include the professional (American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, American Institute of Chemical Engineers, American Society of Civil Engineers, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Architectural Engineering Institute, Associated General Contractors, Association for Computing Machinery, Biomedical Engineering Society, Illuminating Engineering Society, Society of Automotive Engineers, Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics, Society of Environmental Engineers, Society of Physics Students, Society of Venture Engineer), the identitarian (American Indian Science and Engineering Society, National Society of Black Engineers, Society of Hispanic

1069 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Engineering Ambassador Program,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/students/first-year/engineering-ambassador-program>.

1070 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Engineers Without Borders – CU,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/ewb>; University of Colorado, Boulder, College of Engineering & Applied Science, “Engineers Without Borders-CU,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/ewb/peru>.

1071 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; ; University of Colorado, Boulder, Integrated Teaching & Learning Program and Laboratory, “K-12 Engineering,” https://itll.colorado.edu/index.php/k-12_engineering/; University of Colorado, Boulder, Integrated Teaching & Learning Program and Laboratory, “NSF GK-12 Fellows Program,” https://itll.colorado.edu/k-12_engineering/nsf_gk_12_fellows_program/fellowships/.

1072 University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Mortenson Center in Engineering for Developing Communities, “[Home,]” <http://www.colorado.edu/mcedc/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Mortenson Center in Engineering for Developing Communities, “About Us,” <http://www.colorado.edu/mcedc/about-us>.

Professional Engineers, Society of Mexican American Engineers and Scientists, Society of Women Engineers), and the fraternal (Theta Tau).¹⁰⁷³

University of Colorado Engineering Council: Students participate in the School of Engineering’s student government.¹⁰⁷⁴

Volunteer Resource Center/Alternative Breaks Program: See the separate section below.¹⁰⁷⁵

The School of Engineering’s Department of Civil, Environmental and Architectural Engineering, which houses the Mortenson Center in Engineering for Developing Communities, also supports service learning partnerships¹⁰⁷⁶ with Engineers Without Borders (mentioned above), Bridges to Prosperity (which builds pedestrian footbridges in rural Bolivia),¹⁰⁷⁷ and the Habitat for Humanity CU Campus Chapter (which helps build sustainable, affordable houses in Flatirons near Boulder, and abroad).¹⁰⁷⁸

Several articles co-authored by Angela Bielefeldt, a professor of engineering at CU-Boulder, provide insight into the actual rationales and purposes of service-learning in Engineering. Bielefeldt and Joshua Pearce articulate the benefits of engineering service learning in progressive vocabulary: “For the future, the entire world population needs ways to achieve economic, social, and environmental objectives simultaneously. There is thus a need for just sustainability, which is ‘the egalitarian conception of sustainable development’ ... This new form of sustainable development prioritizes justice and equity, while maintaining the importance of the environment and the global life support system.” They also note how an entire academic apparatus has grown up to give service learning the appearance of academic respectability, and to provide tips for how to implement service learning programs as research: “The creation of the *International Journal for Service Learning in Engineering: Humanitarian Engineering and Social Entrepreneurship (IJSLE)* in 2006 provided opportunities for students to contribute directly to sustainable development and have their work published in a peer-reviewed journal and disseminated internationally.”¹⁰⁷⁹

¹⁰⁷³ University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Student Organizations,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/node/201>.

¹⁰⁷⁴ University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “University of Colorado Engineering Council,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/ucec>.

¹⁰⁷⁵ University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Engineering & Applied Science, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/engineering/activelearning/service>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Alternative Breaks,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/312>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Volunteer Resource Center, “Posters,” <http://www.colorado.edu/volunteer/posters>.

¹⁰⁷⁶ University of Colorado, Boulder, Civil, Environmental and Architectural Engineering, “Learning Through Service,” <http://www.colorado.edu/ceae/enrichment/service-learning>.

¹⁰⁷⁷ University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Bridges to Prosperity, [“About Us,”] <http://www.colorado.edu/cub2p/>.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Habitat for Humanity CU Campus Chapter, [“Home,”] <https://cuhabitat.wordpress.com/>.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Angela R. Bielefeldt and Joshua M. Pearce, “Service Learning in Engineering,” in T. H. Colledge, ed., *Convergence: Philosophies and Pedagogies for Developing the Next Generation of Humanitarian Engineers and Social Entrepreneurs (International Journal for Service learning in engineering, 2012)*, pp. 24-52, http://digitalcommons.mtu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1053&context=materials_fp, pp. 38-40, 43-44.

In a different article, co-authored with Kurtis G. Paterson and Christopher W. Swan, Bielefeldt again emphasizes that the success of service learning is measured in good part by changes in attitudes and identity: “There are significant increases in perceptions of an obligation and personal empowerment to make changes in society. Students and faculty engaged in the SLICE program experienced increased sensitivity to the social, cultural, and environmental consequences of engineering decision making.” Its success should also be measured by an increase in recruiting, retention, and diversity. However, “There is virtually no quantitative assessment of the benefits of PBSL experiences to professional trajectory.”¹⁰⁸⁰ The measure of success for engineering service learning, in other words, is the effectiveness of sustainability advocacy and the recruitment of “diverse” engineering students. It is not intended to produce better engineers, and there is no evidence that it does.

SERVICE-LEARNING: ENGLISH

The English Department offers *ENGL-3940 Service Learning Practicum*, whose content is unspecified.¹⁰⁸¹

SERVICE-LEARNING: ENVIRONMENT

The Community Engagement, Design and Research (CEDaR) Center, the Environmental Studies Program, and the Program in Environmental Design all facilitate student internships for course credit with overlapping lists of local environmental organizations and projects.¹⁰⁸² The Program in Environmental Design hosts courses explicitly designated as service learning: “During the final two years of study, students may earn opportunities to engage in service learning in the community or in design-build, they may study abroad, or they may have opportunities for more individualized research.”¹⁰⁸³

In spring 2010, “CYE doctoral student, Corrie Williams developed and taught an undergraduate Environmental Design (ENVD) service-learning course, Integrating Community Preferences in

1080 Angela R. Bielefeldt, Kurtis G. Paterson, and Christopher W. Swan, “Measuring the Impacts of Project-Based Service Learning,” pp. 1-14, http://www.mtu.edu/d80/research/PBSL/Findings_files/Measuring%20the%20Impacts%20of%20PBSL.pdf, pp. 10-11.

1081 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2016-1017, “ENGL-3940 (1-3) Service Learning Practicum,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2016-17/courses/arsc/b-engl/3940-service-learning-practicum>.

1082 University of Colorado, Boulder, Community Engagement, Design and Research (CEDaR) Center, “Internships,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cye/internships>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Environmental Studies Program, “Internships,” <http://www.colorado.edu/envs/undergraduate-students/internships>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Program in Environmental Design, “Internships,” <http://www.colorado.edu/envd/student-services/advising-center/internships>.

1083 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Environmental Design,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/content/environmental-design>.

Environmental Design.”¹⁰⁸⁴ Rob Pyatt, Senior Instructor of Environmental Design, has received a Scholarship in Action Award from Campus Compact of the American West for his work on the Native American Sustainable Housing Initiative; Pyatt’s “employment of service learning pedagogy concretely impacts students’ comprehension of course material, enhances students’ awareness and understanding of current social issues, and addresses a pressing, community-identified need or challenge.”¹⁰⁸⁵

SERVICE-LEARNING: INTERNATIONAL ENGLISH CENTER

The International English Center (IEC) offers intensive English language courses to foreign students, paired with introductions to American culture. *Volunteering* is a service-learning course.¹⁰⁸⁶

SERVICE-LEARNING: LAW

The Law School currently offers *LAWS-8011 Seminar: Humanizing Contracts: Service Learning*, which combines contract law and service learning.¹⁰⁸⁷ As recently as 2014-2015, *LAWS-7545 (2) Poverty, Health and Law Practicum* was identified as a “service learning course.” Its successor course may still be a service-learning course in fact, although it is no longer described as one.¹⁰⁸⁸

The Law School’s Constitutional Literacy in Colorado High Schools project provides both service-learning and more traditional education in civic literacy via its two components, the Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project and the Colorado Law Constitution Day Project.¹⁰⁸⁹

The Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project of the Byron R. White Center for the Study of American Constitutional Law has law students undertake service learning as Teaching Fellows who “are placed with civics and government teachers in underserved schools to spend a semester or a year teaching about the Constitution,” and also coach high school students for the Colorado Marshall-

1084 University of Colorado, Boulder, Community Engagement, Design and Research (CEDaR) Center, “Community Preferences at The Family Learning center,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cye/2010/community-preferences-family-learning-center>.

1085 University of Colorado, Boulder, Community Engagement, Design and Research (CEDaR) Center, “CEDaR Faculty Affiliate Rob Pyatt Receives Campus Compact Scholarship in Action Award,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cye/2014/07/07/cedar-faculty-affiliate-rob-pyatt-recvies-campus-compact-scholarship-action-award>.

1086 University of Colorado, Boulder, International English Center, “Elective Course,” <http://iec.colorado.edu/intensive-english/elective-courses>.

1087 University of Colorado, Boulder, Spanish and Portuguese, “Service Learning Opportunities,” <http://www.colorado.edu/spanish/undergraduate/service-learning/service-learning-opportunities>.

1088 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Colorado Health Equity Project,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/678>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2014-2015, “LAWS-7545 (2) Poverty, Health and Law Practicum,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2014-15/courses/laws/b-laws/7545-poverty-health-and-law-practicum>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2016-2017, “LAWS-7555 (25) Poverty, Health and Law Practicum,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2016-17/courses/laws/b-laws/7555-poverty-health-and-law-practicum>; The Colorado Health Equity Project, Three Year Strategic Plan 2013-2016, <http://chep.colorado.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Strategic-Plan.pdf>, p. 9.

1089 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement “Constitutional Literacy in Colorado High Schools,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/461>.

Brennan Moot Court Competition, with the chance to advance to compete in the National Marshall-Brennan Moot Court Competition in Washington, D.C.¹⁰⁹⁰ In the 2015-16 academic year, the Project placed law students in “Mapleton School District (Academy, North Valley, Mapleton Early College), Longmont High School, Strive PREP Excel (Denver), and Rangeview High School (Aurora).”¹⁰⁹¹

The associated Colorado Law Constitution Day Project has law student volunteers visit high school classrooms for one day and teach a lesson on the First Amendment.¹⁰⁹² This does not seem to be labeled as either service learning or civic engagement, and appears, almost uniquely within CU-Boulder, to be an exercise in fostering traditional civic literacy. In the 2015-16 academic year, the Project placed law students in high schools in locations including Avon, Colorado Springs, Eagle, Ft. Collins Glenwood Springs, Grand County, and Wray.¹⁰⁹³

It would not hurt to have Constitution Day lessons on other Amendments—above all the Second (the right to bear arms), the Ninth (protecting rights not enumerated in the Constitution) and the Tenth (limiting federal powers to those specifically delegated to it)—or to provide a lesson plan on First Amendment guarantees to the free exercise of religion. But these changes would improve what appears to be an already admirable program.

We have stretched the scope of our report to include the Law School, which is not a component of CU-Boulder’s undergraduate education. We do this because the Law School includes one of the few programs at CU-Boulder devoted to traditional civic literacy, and we thought it would over-argue our case to omit mention of it.

SERVICE-LEARNING: LINGUISTICS

The Linguistics Department offers the *LING-1900 Service Learning Practicum: Adult Literacy*. This course “is an outreach program that works with at-risk readers in the Colorado Front Range community to provide resources and support to improve literacy skills. ... LING 1900 participants visit one of our community partners on a weekly basis to volunteer as a ‘reading buddy’ for children or adults within the Boulder area.” In addition, “CU students enrolled in LING 1000 (Language in US Society) have the opportunity to earn an extra credit hour while helping these at-risk readers, many from immigrant families where English is not spoken as the native language.”

1090 University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado Law, “Constitutional Law,” <http://www.colorado.edu/law/academics/areas-study/constitutional-law>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado Law, “Marshall-Brennan Project,” <http://www.colorado.edu/law/research/byron-white-center/marshall-brennan-project>.

1091 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement “Constitutional Literacy in Colorado High Schools,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/461>.

1092 University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado Law, “Colorado Law Constitution Day Project,” <http://www.colorado.edu/law/research/byron-white-center/constitution>.

1093 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement “Constitutional Literacy in Colorado High Schools,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/461>.

Community partners include Boulder Reads!, the Student-Worker Alliance Program (SWAP), Family Learning Center (FLC), Columbine Elementary School, and Whittier International School.¹⁰⁹⁴

SERVICE-LEARNING: THE PROGRAM FOR WRITING AND RHETORIC

The Program for Writing and Rhetoric (PWR) oversees all writing instruction in the College of Arts and Sciences.¹⁰⁹⁵ The Program contains a major service-learning component called The Writing Initiative for Service and Engagement (WISE): “Students in WISE course sections research and produce written, spoken, digital, and/or multimedia projects about, with, and/or for university and non-profit agencies that deal with pressing social issues such as literacy, poverty, food security, and environmental justice.” WISE classes “combine traditional academic research and readings with community-based work to enrich the educational experience and encourage students to understand real world applications of rhetorical situations and theories.”

WISE provides a long list of courses “that have contained a service learning/civic engagement component,” including *First-Year Writing and Rhetoric; Grant Writing; Business Writing; Professional Writing; Environmental Writing; Rhetorics of Sustainability; Travel Writing; Civic Engagement and New Media; Conversations on the Law; Cross-Cultural Writing for International Students; Food and Culture; Multi-Cultural Rhetorics; On the Border: U.S. and Mexico; Field Studies in Civic Engagement; Then and Now: The West; and Composing a Civic Life*.¹⁰⁹⁶

Program Director Veronica House’s pamphlet on the WISE Project emphasizes that “Service-learning activities are designed in collaboration with community representatives, serve genuine community needs, and are reciprocal in nature.” The section on course design asks “How can the instructor create assignments that connect students’ burgeoning knowledge with community partners’ depth of local knowledge to generate new knowledge together, particularly to benefit disenfranchised members of the community to work toward social justice?” The list of community partners provided are a list of progressive nonprofits, focused on Health/Sexuality, Animals/Environment, Youth, Poverty/Family Assistance/Immigration, Intellectual and Physical Disabilities, and Politics (the progressive New Era Colorado is the organization listed under Politics). House also provides two pages of Resources for Promoting Sustainability Through Service Learning.¹⁰⁹⁷

A recent press release illustrates the Program for Writing and Rhetoric’s priorities.

1094 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2016-1017, “LING-1900 (1) Service Learning Practicum: Adult Literacy,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2016-17/courses/arsc/b-ling/1900-service-learning-practicum-adult-literacy>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Department of Linguistics, “Ling 1900 Literacy Practicum,” <http://www.colorado.edu/linguistics/ling1900/partners.html>.

1095 University of Colorado, Boulder, The Program for Writing & Rhetoric, “Welcome,” <http://www.colorado.edu/pwr/>.

1096 University of Colorado, Boulder, The Program for Writing & Rhetoric, “Service-Learning,” http://www.colorado.edu/pwr/service_learning.html.

1097 University of Colorado at Boulder, Program for Writing and Rhetoric: Veronica House “What is Service Learning?,” http://www.colorado.edu/pwr/Documents/PWR_WISE_booklet_updated813.pdf, pp. 2-3, 9, 12-13.

CU-BOULDER NEWS RELEASE: “DOZENS OF CU STUDENTS TO DISPLAY SERVICE LEARNING PROJECTS ON APRIL 25”

Each semester about 350 CU-Boulder students participate in community-based writing courses through the Program for Writing and Rhetoric, contributing well over 5,000 hours of their time to local community and nonprofit organizations ... In [Senior Instructor Sally] Green’s service learning class, “Writing on Science and Society,” her students tutor Boulder at-risk high school students in math and science for a total of 15 hours throughout the semester. ...Students who take Program for Writing and Rhetoric service-learning courses learn about a number of issues including sustainability, food, education, the elderly, poverty and hunger while gaining practical experience in grant writing and document design. They also work with an array of organizations: schools and afterschool programs, community gardens, homeless shelters, organic farms, food banks and Boulder Parks and Recreation.

“Through the coursework, we want students to gain an understanding of a social issue, community dynamics, problem solving and written advocacy,” Green said.

University of Colorado at Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Dozens of CU Students to Display Service Learning Projects on April 25,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/news-and-events/view-press-release/id/44>.

Among the WISE courses, *Writing 3020 - “On the Border: Mexico and the U.S.”* has been given a separate listing by CU-Boulder’s Office of Outreach and Engagement as an example of a Service Learning Course that is Civically Engaged; it presumably illustrates well what WISE does. Students who take *Writing 3020 - “On the Border: Mexico and the U.S.”* learn advocacy in favor of illegal immigrants—the class discussion guidelines specify that students should “Avoid the term ‘illegals’ or ‘illegal immigrants’ when talking about individuals. The term ‘undocumented’ is more respectful.”—and “complete a minimum of 16 hours of service learning work with the local Mexican immigrant community. Students can choose to volunteer with one of five organizations: Youth Services Initiative (Boulder Parks and Open Space), the Family Learning Center, Arapahoe Ridge Campus, SWAP or University Hill Elementary School.”¹⁰⁹⁸

In brief, WISE channels yet more unpaid labor to progressive organizations, loosely justified by the rationale that students will learn composition skills and “rhetorical awareness.” Sally Green’s mention of grant writing and “written advocacy” signal what appears to be the main point of

1098 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Program for Writing & Rhetoric: Writing 3020 - “On the Border: Mexico and the U.S.”,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/362>; Tracy Ferrell, *Writing 3020 - “On the Border: Mexico and the U.S.”*, “Discussion Guidelines,” <http://www.colorado.edu/pwr/courses/ferrell/discussion%20guidelines.html>; Tracy Ferrell, “Service Learning Contract,” <http://www.colorado.edu/pwr/courses/ferrell/contract.html>.

service-learning in WISE: to practice how to write fundraising appeals and persuasive advocacy for progressive nonprofits.

SERVICE-LEARNING: SPANISH

The Spanish Department includes Service Learning in *SPAN 1020 Beginning Spanish 2*, *SPAN 2110 Second Year Spanish 1*, *SPAN 2120 Second Year Spanish 2*, *SPAN 2150 Intensive Second Year Spanish*, *SPAN 3000 Advanced Spanish Language Skills*, and all courses *SPAN 3001* and above—advanced language, culture, and literature classes. This service apparently focuses upon tutoring K-12 students whose first language is Spanish, but the remit is broad: “Students who participate in the Service Learning program (SL) will engage in 22 hours of volunteer work during the semester (usually 2 hours of service per week for 11 weeks). Their duties vary from homework help, tutoring in reading, writing, computers, math, arts, and music, to organization of field trips, games, sports and recreation.” Service learning in *SPAN 1020*, *2110*, *2120*, and *2150* “will substitute for one-half of the participation grade,” while in *SPAN 3000* students may substitute participation in the Service Learning program for 3 quiz scores.”¹⁰⁹⁹ The Spanish Department’s partner organizations largely include local schools and associated literacy organizations aimed at Spanish-speakers, but also include the Immigrant Legal Center of Boulder County and Moving to End Sexual Assault (MESA).¹¹⁰⁰

Progressivism informs the entire project of making it easier for immigrants and their children to continue to use a foreign language, rather than expecting that they learn English as soon as possible. The very use of Spanish in service learning has the uncivic result of retarding assimilation.

SERVICE-LEARNING: STUDY ABROAD

CU-Boulder’s Study Abroad Program directs students to Service-Learning Study Abroad programs around the world. A significant number of these programs involve providing unpaid labor for progressive organizations abroad. CU-Boulder students studying in London, for example, attend a program run by CAPA: The Global Education Network. Service learning there involves work for the Global Civic Engagement Institute, which “teaches about community activism through observation and participation in important local, national, and trans-national agencies. ...The program combines the discussion of theory in the classroom with research and practical experiences outside the classroom so that students develop the skills needed for active and engaged citizenship.

1099 University of Colorado, Boulder, Spanish and Portuguese, “Service Learning,” <http://www.colorado.edu/spanish/undergraduate/service-learning/service-learning>.

1100 University of Colorado, Boulder, Spanish and Portuguese, “Service Learning Opportunities,” <http://www.colorado.edu/spanish/undergraduate/service-learning/service-learning-opportunities>.

Additionally, as students connect ideas with action, they can explore potential pathways to a career in the civic or political sphere and related areas.”¹¹⁰¹

Study Abroad Service Learning allows CU-Boulder students to acquire training in progressive community anywhere in the world.

SERVICE-LEARNING: VOLUNTEER RESOURCE CENTER/ALTERNATIVE BREAKS PROGRAM

CU-Boulder’s Alternative Breaks Program is an affiliate of the national Alternative Breaks program, described above—an exercise in transforming students into progressive activists.

The Volunteer Resource Center describes its Alternative Breaks programs—Spring Break, Summer Break, Weekend Breaks—as “service learning.”¹¹⁰² These are not done for course credit, but are purely volunteer activities. In these programs, the Volunteer Resource Center “sends teams of college students to engage in community-based service projects during academic breaks.” In Spring 2016, 30 site leaders led 149 participants to 13 locations, to perform 6,240 hours of service. They worked on Immigration, Indigenous Rights, LGBT Advocacy, Rebuilding Homes, Reproductive Justice, Youth Science Education, Mustang Rescue, E-Waste Recycling, Disability Advocacy, Environmental Conservation, HIV/AIDS, Homelessness and Poverty, and Human Trafficking.¹¹⁰³

Since Alternative Breaks presents itself as a vacation, students are expected to pay for the experience themselves, although the Volunteer Resource Center solicits scholarships for students unable to pay for their transformation into progressive activists. CU Student Government funds these scholarships; it is unclear how much more of the Volunteer Resource Center’s normal operation is subsidized by CU-Boulder.¹¹⁰⁴

SERVICE-LEARNING: WOMEN’S STUDIES

The Department of Women and Gender Studies offers the *WMST-3919 Service Learning Practicum*.¹¹⁰⁵ The content of this course is not specified.

1101 University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of International Education, “Service-Learning Study Abroad programs Guide,” https://studyabroad.colorado.edu/index.cfm?FuseAction=Abroad.ViewDocument&File_ID=0405737C724F060171710D7C71051C730E010014050806006E040100757606710E7701077374770202; University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of International Education, “CAPA England: London,” https://studyabroad.colorado.edu/index.cfm?FuseAction=Programs.ViewProgram&Program_ID=739; CAPA, “Study Abroad in London, England,” https://www.capa.org/london?qt-london_page_qt=3#qt-london_page_qt; CAPA, “Global Civic Engagement Institute,” <https://www.capa.org/global-civic-engagement-institute>.

1102 University of Colorado, Boulder, <http://outreach.colorado.edu/press-releases/view/id/5>.

1103 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Alternative Breaks,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/312>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Volunteer Resource Center, “About CU Alternative Breaks,” <http://www.colorado.edu/volunteer/ab/about>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Volunteer Resource Center, “Posters,” <http://www.colorado.edu/volunteer/posters>.

1104 University of Colorado, Boulder, Volunteer Resource Center, “Trip Scholarships,” <http://www.colorado.edu/volunteer/ab/scholarships>.

1105 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2016-1017, “WMST-3919 (1-3) Service Learning Practicum,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/courses/arsc/b-wmst/3919-service-learning-practicum>.

Residential Academic Programs (RAPs)

RESIDENTIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAMS: OVERVIEW

CU-Boulder hosts a number of Residential Academic Programs (RAPs), in which “Students live together in the same residence hall, share academic experiences by participating in seminar classes taught in the residence halls, have access to faculty offices within the residence halls, and engage in residence hall activities that reinforce the academic theme. The program is coordinated by a faculty director, and is generally focused on first-year students.” RAPs are supposed to have an “Enhanced academic curriculum,” and the Baker RAP may stand for all the RAPs in its character: “The combination of small classes, a group of students who take many of the same classes together and frequent field trips and special lectures creates a small-college atmosphere while offering the advantages of studying at a major research university.”¹¹⁰⁶ The different RAPs have different focuses, to appeal to different sorts of students; many of them have associated service-learning courses.

We discuss the RAPs separately because they demonstrate the ambition of the New Civics to extend itself to all parts of student life—to make the New Civics inescapable. They also show how financial and academic incentives can be used to forward the New Civics. The RAPs provide a better education for students, by way of smaller classes—and the New Civics inserts into that understandable allure their own educational program. The New Civics’ ambition to take over the entire university will be achieved by imitating its ‘advocates’ tactics to insert service-learning into CU-Boulder’s RAPs.

In this section, we discuss the Communication and Society, Farrand, Global Studies, Leadership, Sewall, and Sustainability and Social Innovation RAPs.

RESIDENTIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAMS: COMMUNICATION AND SOCIETY

The Communication and Society RAP offers students “opportunities to participate in co-curricular activities that stress civic engagement. The many opportunities for outreach and collaboration with the Boulder community provide an excellent venue for learning by doing.”¹¹⁰⁷ A 2011 example of such outreach was *JOUR 1871-720: Media, Self and Society*: “Using a model of service-learning, you’ll have the opportunity to partner with local community organizations to engage with a broader community and learn to tell the stories of others.” The course description further explained that “Working with and providing service to people who are different from our own background helps

1106 University of Colorado, Boulder, Housing & Dining Services, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <https://housing.colorado.edu/residences/residential-academic-communities/residential-academic-programs>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/raps>.

1107 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/raps>.

each of us get clear about the causes we believe in, the how and whys of inequality, and how to tell the story of difference fairly and accurately based on personal observations and encounters’.”

No list of community partners was provided.¹¹⁰⁸

RESIDENTIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAMS: FARRAND

Farrand RAP focuses on the humanities and cultural studies: “Farrand offers several service-learning classes each semester. Service learning gives students the chance to apply what they study in their classes to real-life situations, such as a homeless shelter, a humane society or a tutoring program. These classes include Gandhian Philosophy; Nutrition, Health and Performance; and Global Women Writers.”¹¹⁰⁹ The Farrand RAP generally “has received national recognition for its co-curricular/service learning courses delivered via a one-credit service learning practicum attached to each service learning course. On average, eight service-learning courses are offered each year. Instructors receive a \$1000 stipend for the additional work required to set-up this practicum. Farrand’s service learning courses have been recognized for promoting multicultural understanding via various local and international projects.”¹¹¹⁰

Farrand offers *FARR-1000 Farrand Service-Learning Practicum: Special Topics*,¹¹¹¹ and (as indicated) a variety of more specialized service learning classes. *FARR-2002 Literature of Lifewriting* involves a service learning component where students partner with The Memory Box Project and “pair with local seniors to create a personal narrative or ‘memory story.’” The Memory Box Project, not incidentally, also hosts the Activist Archive Digital Storytelling Project: “The Activist Archive was the service learning project of Dr. Kayann Short’s INVS 3000 course, *Innovative Approaches to Contemporary Issues through Service*. For this project, students worked with long-time community leaders to create digital stories about an experience that influenced their commitment to social change.” In particular, “Students not only learned about important campaigns like Rocky Flats Nuclear Disarmament, The Dinner Party, and Peace Brigades International, but also were inspired by these activists’ life-long dedication to social justice.”¹¹¹²

Somewhat farther back, in 2000 Professor Kayann Short used the service-learning component of her Farrand course on *Women and Society* to acquire free student labor for a feminist advocacy

1108 University of Colorado, Boulder, Communication & Society Residential Academic Program, *Jour 1871-720: Media, Self and Society*, <http://commrap.colorado.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/JOUR-1871-720.pdf>.

1109 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/raps>.

1110 University of Colorado, Boulder, Academic Review and Planning Advisory Committee, *Final Report for the Residential Academic Programs*, March 12, 2015, http://arp.colorado.edu/past-final-reports/2014_RAPS_ARPAC_Final_Report_.pdf, p. 4.

1111 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2016-2017, “FARR-1000 (1) Farrand Service-Learning Practicum: Special Topics,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2016-17/courses/arsc/b-farr/1000-farrand-service-learning-practicum-special-topics>.

1112 The Memory Box Project, [“Home,”] <http://www.colorado.edu/memorybox/>.

event: “Why Shop? Week is a service-learning practicum developed by students in the Farrand Academic Program at the University of Colorado-Boulder. Each fall, first- and second-year students in my Women and Society course organize a community event and media campaign to raise awareness regarding the link between consumption practices and the transnational exploitation of women’s labor and resources.” Short specified the activist ambitions of this event: “By examining how consumerism affects women specifically, Why Shop? Week initiates an international call to action for women’s rights within a global framework.” Short also established that even “optional” service-learning embraces most students: “Although the practicum for my class is optional, most of the 20 students enrolled in the class choose to participate.” Short finally noted that “students remark on how the project helps them turn knowledge into activism,” and in her own voice judged that “The project [Why Shop? Week] helps students confront their own positions in a system that depends upon interlocking inequities and subordination, while gaining practical organizing skills that help them challenge such injustices.”¹¹¹³

RESIDENTIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAMS: GLOBAL STUDIES

The Global Studies RAP “explores global interdependencies through a diverse selection of interdisciplinary courses and unique co-curricular activities,” and includes “cocurricular activities, service learning opportunities and short term study abroad programs.” The program “sponsors an annual service learning trip to Peru each May,” and “has been able to provide scholarship support to the 15-20 most promising students wishing to cap their year in the RAP with the service learning experience.”¹¹¹⁴

RESIDENTIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAMS: LEADERSHIP

The Leadership RAP allows students to enroll in either the Ethnic Living and Learning Community (ELLC) Leadership Studies Program or the Chancellor’s Leadership Studies Program (CLSP), both of which lead toward a Certificate in the Study and Practice of Leadership.¹¹¹⁵ The certificate requires two successive enrollments in *LDSP 2910—Field Practicum*, which “offers supervised campus and off-campus experiences tied to course work in the Leadership RAP or the INVST

1113 Kayann Short, “Global Feminism and Activism in a Women’s Studies Practicum,” in Nancy A. Naples and Karen Bojar, eds., *Teaching Feminist Activism: Strategies from the Field* (New York, 2002), pp. 123-24, 136; Why Shop? Week November 19-25, 2000, <http://spot.colorado.edu/~shortk/about.html> .

1114 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/raps>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Housing & Dining Services, “Global Studies RAP,” <https://housing.colorado.edu/residences/residential-academic-communities/residential-academic-programs/global-studies-rap>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Academic Review and Planning Advisory Committee, *Final Report for the Residential Academic Programs*, March 12, 2015, http://arp.colorado.edu/past-final-reports/2014_RAPS_ARPAC_Final_Report_.pdf, p. 4.

1115 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/raps>.

program.” It also requires an internship.¹¹¹⁶ The internship location possibilities are supposed to be tailored to the student’s own interests; however, the Internship does allow students to write the course paper on questions such as “How does class, race, gender and or sexuality shape or influence the leadership process or practice in the organization?” and “What social justice issues exist within the organization? How are social justice issues addressed in the organization?”¹¹¹⁷

RESIDENTIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAMS: SEWALL

The Sewall RAP is for students interested in history and culture; the rationale includes preparation for “Citizenship in the 21st century,” which “requires the ability to engage complex connections between the present and past, between local places and our global society, and between the arts and sciences.” Sewall students are required to take *SEWL 2020: Civic Engagement*, a one-credit course that “Explores the concept of citizenship through readings, discussion, and service learning. Working with Sewall faculty mentors, students discuss citizenship and related topics and learn concretely about aspects of the larger community by choosing a local community organization, becoming actively involved in its programs, and presenting their work at a culminating symposium.”¹¹¹⁸

RESIDENTIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAMS: SUSTAINABILITY AND SOCIAL INNOVATION

The Sustainability and Social Innovation RAP aims to provide students “service learning opportunities.”¹¹¹⁹ The exact nature of these opportunities is left undefined.

1116 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2013-14, “LDSP-2910 (1-3) Field Practicum 1,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2013-14/courses/arsc/b-ldsp/2910-field-practicum-1>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Residential Academic Program, “Leadership RAP’s Four-Year Program Description,” <https://leadershiprap.colorado.edu/certificate-study-practice-leadership/four-year-program-description>.

1117 University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Residential Academic Program, “Internships,” <https://leadershiprap.colorado.edu/certificate-study-practice-leadership/internships>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Leadership Residential Academic Program, “Leadership RAP Internship objectives,” <https://leadershiprap.colorado.edu/sites/default/files/Leadership%20RAP%20Internship%20objectives.docx>.

1118 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2015-2016, “Residential Academic Programs (RAPs),” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2015-16/artssciences/raps>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Sewall Residential Academic Program, “About Sewall RAP,” <http://www.colorado.edu/srap/about>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2016-2017, “SEWL-2020 (1) Civic Engagement,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2016-17/courses/arsc/b-sewl/2020-civic-engagement>.

1119 University of Colorado, Boulder, Sustainability & Social Innovation RAP, “History of SSI RAP (formerly SEEDS): SEED@CU,” <https://ssirap.colorado.edu/seeds-social-entrepreneurship-for-equitable-development-sustainability/>.

Outreach and Engagement

CU-Boulder’s Office of Outreach and Engagement concerns itself with all interactions between CU-Boulder and the outside world; among them are those programs labeled as “Civic Engagement.” Outreach and Engagement does not run these programs; however, it does identify them, and serves as an institutional imprimatur for what is defined as civic engagement—which it also characterizes as “service and learning programs.”¹¹²⁰

We omit mention of several programs discussed above.¹¹²¹ We also omit mention of 12 further programs which 1) do not apparently provide opportunities for student participation; 2) no longer appear to be in operation, although they are still listed on the Outreach website; and 3) no longer are located at CU-Boulder, although they are still listed on the Outreach website. Some of the programs we do describe may actually be defunct as sites for service learning; e.g., Center for Asian Studies K-12 Outreach. The Office of Outreach and Engagement does not appear to have updated its website recently.

Below, we will briefly describe 16 miscellaneous projects that CU-Boulder describes as civic. They usually serve progressive ends.

Acequia Assistance Project: The Getches-Wilkinson Center for Natural Resources, Energy, and the Environment, located within the University of Colorado Law School, provides legal assistance to acequias—a cooperative irrigation system used in portions of rural Colorado and New Mexico. “Law students are drafting a Legal Handbook for Colorado Acequias, assisting acequias that wish to incorporate or amend their by-laws to enable them to protect their rights, and assisting acequias and irrigators to document their water rights and establish their priority rights to water under Colorado law.” The prospectus for the Project described it as providing “a unique experiential and service learning opportunity for law students.”¹¹²²

1120 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Civic Engagement,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/civic-engagement>.

1121 Alternative Breaks; CESR (Center for Education on Social Responsibility) in the Leeds School of Business; CESR’s Socially Responsible Enterprise (SRE) Certificate; Engineers Without Borders – Peru; INVST Community Leadership Program; Program for Writing & Rhetoric: Writing 3020 - “On the Border: Mexico and the U.S.”; Program for Writing & Rhetoric: Writing Initiative for Service and Engagement (WISE Project); Public Achievement; Puksta Scholars; Student Worker Alliance Program (SWAP); Study Abroad; TEAMS Program; and The Literacy Practicum.

1122 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Acequia Assistance Project,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/622>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado Law, “Acequia Assistance Project,” <http://www.colorado.edu/law/research/getches-wilkinson-center/about-center/acequia-assistance-project>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach Awards, “The Acequia Project: Assisting Low-Income Farmers in the San Luis Valley,” http://outreachawards.colorado.edu/pdf/examples/2013-2014_Acequia_Project.pdf.

AVID Tutoring: Students in the School of Education enrolled in *EDUC 4050 Knowing and Learning in Mathematics and Science* tutor middle and high school students in the Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) organization. AVID is a partner organization with Public Achievement; and the professor who teaches *Knowing and Learning*, Victoria Hand, organizes the course around “a framework that focuses on “engagement” and “justice” as the central concerns of education.”¹¹²³

BOLD Center: Students in the College of Engineering and Applied Science’s Broadening Opportunity through Leadership and Diversity (BOLD) Center, which “is committed to graduating an innovative and competitive engineering work force that is diverse in gender, ethnicity and socio-economic representation,” volunteer to participate in recruitment and outreach events for the BOLD Center.¹¹²⁴

Boulder County Latino History Project: Students in the School of Education work as interns for the Boulder County Latino History Project.¹¹²⁵

Center for Asian Studies K-12 Outreach: Undergraduate students enroll in a service learning course that allows them to teach on Asian subjects to local K-12 students.¹¹²⁶

Colorado Health Equity Project: CU-Boulder law and public health students contribute to a broader project “to improve the health of low-income patients,” by health care, political advocacy, and lawsuits. Students may volunteer, but CHEP appears to be associated with *LAWS-7555 (4) Poverty, Health and Law Practicum*—in a previous incarnation in 2014-2015, as *LAWS-7545 (2) Poverty, Health and Law Practicum*, this was identified as a “service learning course.”¹¹²⁷

1123 University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2014-2015, “EDUC-4050 (3) Knowing and Learning in Mathematics and Science,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2014-15/courses/educ/b-educ/4050-knowing-and-learning-mathematics-and-science>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “AVID Tutoring,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/179>; Victoria Hand, *Knowing and Learning in Mathematics Course Syllabus*, <http://www.colorado.edu/education/sites/default/files/attached-files/151%20EDUC%204050%20Hand.pdf>.

1124 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “BOLD Center,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/228>.

1125 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Boulder County Latino History Project,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/586>; University of Colorado, Boulder, School of Education, “Boulder County Latino History Project Transforms Curriculum and Instruction in Schools,” December 11, 2014, <http://www.colorado.edu/education/2014/12/11/boulder-county-latino-history-project-transforms-curriculum-and-instruction-schools>.

1126 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Center for Asian Studies K-12 Outreach,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/201>.

1127 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Colorado Health Equity Project,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/678>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2014-2015, “LAWS-7545 (2) Poverty, Health and Law Practicum,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2014-15/courses/laws/b-laws/7545-poverty-health-and-law-practicum>; University of Colorado, Boulder, University Catalog 2016-2017, “LAWS-7555 (25) Poverty, Health and Law Practicum,” <http://www.colorado.edu/catalog/2016-17/courses/laws/b-laws/7555-poverty-health-and-law-practicum>; The Colorado Health Equity Project, *Three Year Strategic Plan 2013-2016*, <http://chep.colorado.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Strategic-Plan.pdf>, p. 9.

Communication And Social Engagement (CASE) for Sustainability: The Communication Department coordinates student internships with “local organizational partners with sustainability efforts.” Student interns do unpaid public relations for environmental organizations, but they can “apply for paid fellowships” and “internships may also count toward course credit for Communication majors.” Current internships are with organizations that include BoulderPath Sustainability, Boulder Open Space and Mountain Parks Education and Outreach, Colorado Green Building Build, Eco-Cycle Inc., International Mountain Bicycling Association, and MM Local.¹¹²⁸

Critical Civic Inquiry: Community organization among high-school students. Undergraduates do community organization in the CCC Summer Institute, and graduate students help execute the CCC “research” project.¹¹²⁹

CU Builds the Geometry Park: The Program in Environmental Design and the Center for STEM learning organized students to help design a Geometry Park in Romero Park, Lafayette, which was installed in spring 2016. The Program in Environmental Design has several Studio and Practicum courses (2120, 2130, 3100, 3300); the students probably were enrolled in one of these courses.¹¹³⁰

CU Going Local: Students support the “local and sustainable food on campus and in the Boulder community” by advocacy and gardening. Students do not appear to receive course credit or subsidy.¹¹³¹

CU GOLD – Gaining Opportunities through Leadership Development: The Center for Student Involvement (CSI) provides leadership programs through CU GOLD. The Core Leadership Program requires participation in a Community Service Project. CU-Boulder subsidizes this free program, but students do not receive course credit.¹¹³²

Growing Up Boulder: Growing Up Boulder is run jointly by the Office for University Outreach, the City of Boulder, the Boulder Valley School District, and “youth-serving organizations.” It is the community organization hub aimed at mobilizing K-12 students, largely around environmental

1128 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Communication And Social Engagement (CASE) for Sustainability,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/264>; CASE for Sustainability, “Internships,” <https://caseforsustainability.wordpress.com/get-involved/internships/>.

1129 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Critical Civic Inquiry,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/244>; University of Colorado, Boulder, CU Engage, “Programs and Initiatives,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cuengage/programs-and-initiatives>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Office of Outreach and Engagement, “Critical Civic Inquiry Summer Institute,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/487>; Ben Kirshner, *Youth Activism in an Era of Education Inequality* (New York and London: New York University Press), p. 199.

1130 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “CU Builds the Geometry Park,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/691>; Anthony Hahn, “Geometry Park exhibit in Lafayette’s Romero Park takes shape,” March 10, 2016, *Colorado Hometown Weekly*, http://www.coloradohometownweekly.com/news/lafayette/ci_29622804/geometry-park-exhibit-lafayettes-romero-park-takes-shape; University of Colorado, Boulder, Program in Environmental Design, “Course Sequence,” <http://www.colorado.edu/envd/program-information/curriculum/course-sequence>.

1131 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “CU Going Local,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/86>.

1132 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “CU GOLD – Gaining Opportunities Through Leadership Development,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/380>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Center for Student Involvement (CSI), “Core Leadership Program,” <http://www.colorado.edu/involvement/training/clp>.

(“sustainability”) issues, but also to advocate “diversity“. Students in the Program of Environmental Design and the Community Engagement, Design and Research (CEDaR) Resource Center can intern at Growing up Boulder, as a form of service-learning.¹¹³³

Leeds School of Business Professional Mentorship Program: Students at the Leeds School of Business interact with mentors in the business world.¹¹³⁴ This does not appear to be taken over by progressives, but neither does it appear civic in nature.

Performers Without Borders: Theatre students advocate progressive causes: “safe and clean energy,” “energy justice,” “empowerment,” and so on. They do not appear to receive subsidy or course credit.¹¹³⁵

Students for Education, Medicine & Service (SEMS): Students learn how to respond in medical emergencies—cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR), first aid, basic life support—and are trained about alcohol abuse. They do not appear to receive course credit, although the sessions are free.¹¹³⁶

Sustainable Practices Program: The Environmental Center’s Sustainable Practices Program offers non-credit on-line management training for “sustainable” businesses and environmental nonprofits: “Currently enrolled CU-Boulder students receive a 50% discount.”¹¹³⁷

1133 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Growing Up Boulder,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/123>; Growing Up Boulder, “[Home Page,]” <http://www.growingupboulder.org/>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Program in Environmental Design, “Growing Up Boulder,” <http://www.colorado.edu/envd/program-information/community-engagement/growing-boulder>; University of Colorado, Boulder, Community Engagement, Design and Research (CEDaR) Resource Center, “Growing Up Boulder,” <http://www.colorado.edu/cye/current-projects/growing-boulder>.

1134 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Leeds School of Business Professional Mentorship Program,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/189>.

1135 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Performers Without Borders,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/265>.

1136 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Students for Education, Medicine & Service (SEMS),” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/631>.

1137 University of Colorado, Boulder, Outreach and Engagement, “Sustainable Practices Program,” <http://outreach.colorado.edu/programs/details/id/239>; Sustainable Practices Program, “University of Colorado Online Sustainability Program,” <http://www.colorado.edu/sustainablepractices/>.

APPENDIX 7: COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

Introduction

Colorado State University (CSU), located in Fort Collins, was established in 1870 as Colorado Agricultural College, a land grant institution. The first students enrolled at Colorado Agricultural College in 1879. In 1935, its name was changed to Colorado State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and in 1957 the name was changed to Colorado State University. Today, Colorado State University remains focused on the more technical fields, including science, technology, engineering, veterinary medicine, and agriculture. Its current enrollment is about 32,000 students.¹¹³⁸

CSU, like CU-Boulder, has largely abandoned its traditional mission to provide an education in civic literacy. In this Appendix, we will describe Colorado State University's mid-sized civic engagement complex. The sections below are:

1. Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement;
2. Office for Service Learning and Volunteer Programs;
3. University Honors Program;
4. Department of Communication; and
5. Miscellaneous Initiatives.

Department of Communication gathers together Rhetoric and Civic Engagement and the Center for Public Deliberation; the Department of Communication sponsors both of these, but CSU discusses them separately. Miscellaneous Initiatives gathers together Engagement Scholarships, Key Service Community, and CYFAR Sustainable Community Project, which are administered separately by CSU.

Colorado State University's New Civics complex is moderately extensive, although not as large as CU-Boulder's. Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement (SLiCE) acts as the equivalent of CU Engage, the administrative heart of the New Civics at CSU. CSU differs from CU-Boulder, because it 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, but they are much smaller in scope. The Department of Communication Studies manages a much larger portion of the New Civics at CSU than the equivalent department does at CU-Boulder. Administrative heart, wide-ranging service-learning, activities run by the Department of Communication Studies, and miscellaneous efforts including residential life—together these provide a portrait in full of the New Civics at CSU.

¹¹³⁸ "Colorado State University," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colorado_State_University.

The core of the New Civics at CSU is the **Community Engagement Leaders (CELS)** program and the **Interdisciplinary Minor in Leadership Studies**. Both of these programs are run out of SliCE, and both allow CSU students to minor in progressive activism, as an adjunct to a major in another discipline. The **University Honors Program** also provides opportunities for “community service.” The Department of Communication also provides a specialization track in **Rhetoric and Civic Engagement**, which channels students toward progressive advocacy in the guise of *public deliberation*. **Public Achievement for Community Transformation (PACT)** directs progressive activism to community organizing in local K-12 schools, allowing for a synergy of New Civics advocacy at the K-12 and undergraduate levels. Students specializing as progressive activists receive scholarship support within SliCE from **PRAXIS**, as well as from several **Civic Engagement Scholarships**, including the **Puksta Scholars Program**.

Beyond these academic cores, students provide labor for progressive organizations in **service-learning classes** in a wide variety of disciplines. These are run from the **TILT Service Learning Program** within SliCE, and the administratively separate **Office for Service Learning and Volunteer Programs**. The **Center for Public Deliberation** gives undergraduates further opportunities to engage in progressive advocacy for course credit, by way of supporting *public deliberation* initiatives.

The New Civics also extends beyond the classroom into different extracurricular aspects of student life. **Key Service Community (KSC)** and **Leadership Development Community (LDC)** frame student residential life around New Civics, **CSU/UADY Leadership Experience** applies service-learning to a study-abroad program in Mexico, while **Alternative Breaks** transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions. The New Civics extends into CSU students’ extracurricular life via programs that include the **Campus Step Up** and **LeaderShape** retreats. The programs collectively work to make the New Civics present throughout student life at CSU.

Collectively, the New Civics programs at CSU engage in two categories of activity. These programs 1) train a core of committed progressive activists; and 2) extend the New Civics throughout CSU, both inside and outside the classroom. Although considerable in extent, they are not as pervasive as at CU-Boulder.



Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement (SLiCE)

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): OVERVIEW

Colorado State University's Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement (SLiCE) complex has grown enormously over the last generation: "In 1986 the Office of Community Services (OCS), which has now grown into the office of Student Leadership, Involvement & Community Engagement (SLiCE), consisted of one graduate student and three work-study undergraduate students."¹¹³⁹ Now, operating out of the Lory Student Center, SLiCE coordinates most civic engagement and service-learning at Colorado State University, via its Community Engagement and Volunteer Programs.¹¹⁴⁰

Below we will discuss:

1. SLiCE Engagement Programs;
2. TILT Service Learning Program; and
3. SLiCE Leadership Programs.

TILT Service Learning Program is actually listed under the SLiCE Engagement Programs, but it is a large enough organization that we discuss it separately. Its subject matter overlaps with that of the Office for Service Learning and Volunteer Programs (SLVP), but we follow CSU in treating TILT and SLVP separately.

SLiCE also encourages and coordinates the foundation of new Recognized Student Organizations, which can receive funding from Colorado State.¹¹⁴¹ This seems tangential to civic engagement, so we omit discussion of this aspect of SLiCE.

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS

Besides the TILT Service Learning Program, SLiCE oversees 13 different programs: 30 Days; Adaptive Swim; Alternative Break; Cans Around the Oval; CSU Serves – Service Saturdays; CSUnity; Involvement Expo; Public Achievement for Community Transformation; PRAXIS; Project Homeless Connect; RAMS Against Hunger; T.G.I.F.; and To Give or Receive Help. These

1139 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, "History of Cans," <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/cans-around-the-oval/history-of-cans/>.

1140 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, "Student Leadership, Involvement and Community Engagement (SLiCE)," <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, "Engagement Programs at SLiCE," <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/>.

1141 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, "Student Involvement," <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/student-involvement/>.

programs mix traditionally volunteering activities with programs of the New Civics. We discuss these 13 programs below, in alphabetical order.

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: 30 DAYS**

30 Days encourages students to challenge themselves to make a “lifestyle change” for 30 days—a month buying nothing new, a month without television, a month trying one new thing each day, a month of exercise, meditation, or a vegan diet.¹¹⁴²

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: ADAPTIVE SWIM**

SLiCE Adaptive Swim (SAS) coordinates student volunteers to help disabled members of the community during swimming sessions.¹¹⁴³

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: ALTERNATIVE BREAK**

Colorado State University also hosts the Alternative Break program; SLiCE handles the financial and logistical details. 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, during the winter and spring breaks; “group meetings” bracket the 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.” Students can apply for an Alternative Spring Grant, and “receive up to \$500 off the cost of your trip.”

Listed Alternative Break destinations include:

- Achioté, Panama: “participants will work with a local community center focusing on environmental conservation and ecotourism”
- Atlanta, Georgia: “Partnering with the International Rescue Committee (IRC), this trip focuses on providing opportunities for refugees to thrive in America”

1142 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: 30 Days,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/30-days/>.

1143 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: Adaptive Swim,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/slice-adaptive-swim/>.



- Austin, Texas: “This trip focuses on social justice issues within the education system. Participants will be examining the intersectionality of race and poverty and how that impacts the education and lives of youth in an urban setting”
- 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 by the possibility of partnering with a wide variety of incredible organizations like the Ruth Ellis Center and Alternatives For Girls”
- Kansas City, Missouri: “The Kansas City trip focuses on urban youth, poverty, and also explores issues of race in the United States. ... To create a safe and caring environment, The Children’s Place focuses on nurturing youngsters while keeping cultural competency and diversity in mind at all times. ... you’ll get to hang out with some REALLY cute little kids!”
- Los Angeles, California: “This trip will explore the topic of gender and many intersecting identities such as class, race, ability, and LGBTQIA+ issues. The primary partnering agency for this trip is the Downtown Women’s Center. Supporting agencies could include, but are not limited to, the AIDS Project Los Angeles, GSA Network, LA LGBT Center, and the Asian Pacific Women’s Center. Participants will have the opportunity to sort donations, assist with beautification projects, deliver lunch, and generally supports these organizations in their mission to empowering women of all identities and backgrounds as well as fight for LGBTQIA+ rights! This is a flying trip.”
- Nogales, Arizona: “partnering with both No More Deaths and Humane Borders, participants will gain insight into the perspective of an immigrant crossing the border. While promoting humanitarian projects such as water aid stations in the Arizona desert, students ... learn about immigration from observation, conversation, and solidarity with the surrounding community”
- Portland, Oregon: “This trip will give participants a better understanding about the importance of sustainability, urban farming, environmental justice and food security. In addition, volunteers will have the chance to explore waterfalls, the Pacific Ocean, food trucks and so much more!”
- San Francisco, California: “peek inside the systems of incarceration and the process of reentry to society for former inmates. ... This trip will challenge the concept of justice in our country. ... In addition, we will also explore activism, art, and other forms of expression.”

- Washington, D.C.: “After 48 hours of the homeless challenge, participants will volunteer at with Community for Creative Non-Violence (CCNV), the nation’s largest transitional homeless shelter, and other agencies in Washington D.C. that support individuals experiencing homelessness.”¹¹⁴⁴

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: CANS AROUND THE OVAL**

Cans Around the Oval organizes students in a food drive to collect food—especially cans of food—and money for The Food Bank for Larimer County. It also aims to raise awareness about hunger, as an example of “activism in action”:

*COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY, CANS AROUND THE OVAL:
“UNDERSTANDING HUNGER”*

To understand the issue of hunger is to understand the root causes of poverty and oppression. Cans Around the Oval merely scratches the surface of the scope of the global problem of hunger. Fighting hunger occurs on many levels; only with combining awareness and action opportunities, along with the grassroots action of Cans Around the Oval can we truly be effective in fighting hunger and poverty. Poverty is systemic, so here we have provided links and synopses of featured organizations working on each level of systemic change, local, national and international, in order to put the issue into perspective. As we are gathering together as a community to assist those of us in the most need, we ask that we stay cognizant of every aspect of this issue. Simply by staying aware we are making a difference in the fight against poverty and oppression on many levels.

Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Understanding Hunger,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/cans-around-the-oval/understanding-hunger/#1445629666373-b5fedb65-1577>.

Cans Around the Oval fuses charitable action to progressive vocabulary, belief, and activism.¹¹⁴⁵

¹¹⁴⁴ 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/>.

¹¹⁴⁵ Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: Cans Around the Oval,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/cans-around-the-oval/>.

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: CSU SERVES - SERVICE SATURDAYS**

CSU Serves allows “Registered Student Organizations to participate in community service on weekends throughout the academic year in exchange for funding for their organization. Organizations will be provided with a service opportunity and will earn \$10/volunteer that they provide.”¹¹⁴⁶

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: CSUNITY**

CSUnity is an annual all-day volunteering event, in which more than 2,000 students engage “in planting trees, painting houses, visiting with senior citizens, sorting food, and much more. Services are provided to neighbors in the community, the City of Fort Collins, state, county and federal agencies; and local non-profits.” CSUnity sponsors within the Colorado State administrative complex include Off-Campus Life, Associated Students of Colorado State University (ASCSU; the student government), the Residence Hall Association (RHA), and Fraternity and Sorority Life. CSU alumni participate in similar work nationwide, including City of Plano Cleanup (Dallas, Texas), Food Bank of the Rockies Garden Bed (Denver, Colorado), Hope Faith Ministries Client Assistance (Kansas City, Missouri), PetSmart Kitten Shower and Bake Sale (Las Vegas, Nevada), and MS Walk DC (Washington, D.C.).¹¹⁴⁷

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: INVOLVEMENT EXPO**

Student organizations, community agencies and CSU departments participate in an exposition at the beginning of each semester, to inform students about the different sorts of campus service activities.¹¹⁴⁸

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENT FOR COMMUNITY TRANSFORMATION**

Public Achievement for Community Transformation (PACT) is the CSU branch of Public Achievement’s community organization project. PACT is co-sponsored by SLiCE, the School of Education, and the School of Social Work. In PACT, “youth are empowered to make a difference within their community through service-learning projects and community action with the support of college student coaches.” As at CU-Boulder, “PACT coaches ... guide the youth through the six

¹¹⁴⁶ Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: CSU Serves - Service Saturdays,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/csu-serves-service-saturdays/>.

¹¹⁴⁷ Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: CSUnity,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/csunity/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: CSUnity Alumni,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/csunity/csunity-alumni/>.

¹¹⁴⁸ Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: Involvement Expo,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/involvement-expo/>.

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.”

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.” The End Racism Now event receives further mention as a PACT Success Story: “Public Achievement for Community Transformation (PACT) youth and staff were invited to facilitate an “End Racism Now” workshop at the High School Diversity Conference this October held at Colorado State University. PACT offered two one-hour sessions about healing racism and ending discrimination. Six PACT youth co-facilitated the workshop with three staff members and PACT college student coaches.”

PACT explicitly contrasts its activities with ordinary community service, such as “tutoring, picking up trash, or making holiday cards for troops.”¹¹⁴⁹

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: PRAXIS

PRAXIS 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.¹¹⁵⁰ 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”).¹¹⁵¹

1149 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>.

1150 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: PRAXIS,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/>.

1151 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “PRAXIS Requirements,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/praxis-rquirements/>.

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 also provides a sample list of projects:

- A youth community garden project aimed at promoting environmental sustainability
- A financial literacy program for high school seniors
- Cross-denominational dialogue groups
- Construction projects that increase access for the disabled
- Educational campaigns about alcohol and drugs
- Conflict-resolution training programs for disadvantaged youth

SLiCE prefers “projects that are structured, sustainable and specific.” It will not support “Fundraisers, political campaigns, and projects that have the potential to cause harm.”¹¹⁵² A quote from Paulo Freire’s *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is the motto on the PRAXIS webpage: “PRAXIS’ is defined as reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it.” This may be taken as the keynote of CSU’s PRAXIS.¹¹⁵³

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”;
- “RamCycle ... providing education to first-year CSU students on safe bicycling practices in order to reduce the number of bicycle crashes and injuries on campus and in the community and to create a safer and more conscientious transportation environment”; and
- the creation of “T.G.I.F. (Thank Golly it’s Friday!) ... created to provide youth with disabilities the opportunity to connect with other youth and CSU students for fun and friendship. This program benefits the community by raising awareness regarding issues of ability and disability.”¹¹⁵⁴

1152 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “PRAXIS Proposals,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/praxis-proposals/>.

1153 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: PRAXIS,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/>.

1154 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “PRAXIS Highlights,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/praxis/praxis-highlights/>.

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: PROJECT HOMELESS CONNECT**

Project Homeless Connect coordinates student volunteers to spend one day helping local homeless “with access to vital services such as: rapid re-housing, basic medical exams, legal advice and much more. ... The role of the volunteer is to guide the client through services, schedule appointments, etc.”¹¹⁵⁵

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: RAMS AGAINST HUNGER**

Some eligible poor students receive 75 free meals at the residence hall dining centers.¹¹⁵⁶

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: T.G.I.F.**

TGIF (Thank Golly it’s Friday!) coordinates student volunteers to aid disabled local teenagers, with an emphasis on “social activities including scavenger hunts, bowling, Halloween fun, CSU athletic events, swimming, movie nights, crafting, fun at Inspiration Park, and, everyone’s favorite – Prom!”¹¹⁵⁷

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS: TO GIVE OR RECEIVE HELP**

Slice coordinates student volunteering “with local community organizations, non-profits and local government agencies.” SLiCE directs students to United Way of Larimer County for information on local volunteering, and also lists as Immediate Volunteer Opportunities organizations including Kids at Heart Fundango Event; Loveland Habitat for Humanity; Mentor/Tutor for elementary/middle school students; Volunteer Planning Committee for HPI Basketball Tournament; Down Syndrome Support Group; Colorado Achieve With Us Film Festival; and NoCo is Slammin’ Famine!¹¹⁵⁸

1155 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: Project Homeless Connect,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/project-homeless-connect/>.

1156 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “RAMS Against Hunger,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/rams-against-hunger/>.

1157 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: T.G.I.F.,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/tgif/>.

1158 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Engagement Programs: To Give or Receive Help,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-engagement/to-give-or-receive-help/>; Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Immediate Volunteer Opportunities,” <https://sliceservicecentral.wordpress.com/category/immediate-volunteer-opportunities/>.

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): TILT SERVICE LEARNING PROGRAM

OVERVIEW

The Institute for Learning and Teaching (TILT) hosts Colorado State’s Service-Learning Program.¹¹⁵⁹ 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*.¹¹⁶⁰ The list is incomplete: it does not mention courses such as *AGRI270/IE270 World Interdependence: Population and Food*, which (at least in its Spring 2014 iteration) included a service-learning option.¹¹⁶¹

Below we will discuss TILT’s Service-Learning Faculty Manual, Programs, and Funding.

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): TILT SERVICE LEARNING PROGRAM: SERVICE-LEARNING FACULTY MANUAL

CSU’s *Service-Learning Faculty Manual, Fourth Edition (2007)* allows us to examine the principles that lie behind the program as a whole.¹¹⁶² The types of service-learning include *direct service*, *indirect service*, *community-based research*, and *advocacy*. *Community-based research* is defined as “a partnership of students, faculty, and community partners who collaboratively engage in research with the purpose of solving a pressing community problem or effecting social change.” *Advocacy* “requires students to lend their voices and talents to the effort of eliminating the causes of a specific problem and to making the public aware of the problem.”¹¹⁶³ The *Manual* presents “Grassroots Community Action” as one of the models for a service-learning course, presumably as an example of advocacy. In this sort of course, “Students work on pressing social issues along with or independent from a community agency.” The *Manual* provides two examples. *S205: Contemporary Race and Ethnic Relations* “involves students in research and action on topics of racial injustice, including sweatshops, police brutality, third world debt, immigration and educational retention of people of color.” *SP420: Political Communication* “involves students in creating written materials and campaign

1159 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Explore the Service-Learning Program,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/>.

1160 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Service-Learning Courses,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/facultyInfo/courses.cfm>.

1161 *AGRI270/IE270 World Interdependence: Population and Food*, <http://webdoc.agsci.colostate.edu/DARE/Syllabi/AGRI270%20Graff%20SP14.pdf>.

1162 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “CSU Service-Learning Faculty Manual, Fourth Edition – 2007,” <http://teaching.colostate.edu/guides/servicelearning/>.

1163 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Types of Service-Learning,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/news/typesOfSL.cfm>.

literature for politically charged topics such as human rights, bilingual education, family planning, housing, environment or public servant elections.”¹¹⁶⁴

The benefits of service-learning are partly the training they provide students in becoming community activists: “Service-learning projects help students develop the tools that will help them become effective and knowledgeable leaders in the diverse community where they will work and live. ... Developing relationships with community members and a deeper understanding of the root causes and broader social issues that contribute to community problems, students develop an understanding of specific issues, assets, and the processes for making change happen.” Broken down into the different components of the community-activist job description, service-learning,

Develops research, critical thinking, and interpersonal skills.

Provides understanding of how to access the larger community as a resource for skill-building and learning.

Helps students identify multiple stakeholders and their interests and to see multiple viewpoints.

Allows interaction with diverse populations.

Provides career experience.

Engages students in community problem solving at local, national, and international levels.

Allows for commitment and service to the community.

Service-learning also allows students to contribute to progressive non-profits immediately: “Working with community organizations, students engage in real-world issues and social problems, becoming part of the solution.” In short, “service learning helps students learn, understand and engage with others, while developing the necessary skills and attitudes to become multicultural community builders in a rapidly changing, diverse world.”¹¹⁶⁵

The *Manual* also addresses an important issue for faculty: will their work in service-learning contribute to their professional career? The *Manual* assures them of this. They can do research on service-learning with the knowledge that there are many journals that accept articles on the subject: the *Manual* lists 6 journals on Service-Learning and Experiential Education; 30 journals on Education and Higher Education; 22 Discipline Specific journals; and 5 Miscellaneous journals.¹¹⁶⁶

1164 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Grassroots Community Action,” http://teaching.colostate.edu/guides/servicelearning/programs_models_grassroots.cfm.

1165 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Benefits of Service-Learning,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/news/benefits.cfm>.

1166 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Appendices: Publications which have Accepted Articles Related to Service-Learning,” http://teaching.colostate.edu/guides/servicelearning/appendices_pubarticles.cfm.

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): TILT SERVICE LEARNING PROGRAM: PROGRAMS

TILT sponsors Community Engagements Leaders (CELS), “an interdisciplinary academic program that 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. ... CELS fosters building a more peaceful, compassionate, and sustainable world through local and global community initiatives.” CELS students “engage intellectually and experientially with significant community issues (education, environmental stewardship, public health, civility, justice, youth development, poverty, sustainable development, elder care, etc.)”; they also “participate in a community-based service experience with a non-profit or nongovernmental organization of their choice.” This program provides activism training: “Through an integration of academic, experiential, and public service components, 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 “a one-credit introductory seminar” and “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,” as well as “a final service-learning project report.” The CELS webpage notes that Campus Connections Learning Community course *HDFS 497 Special Projects Assistants* “allows you to complete your service hour requirements and earn academic credit.”¹¹⁶⁷

TILT also recommends the following programs as ways to get involved in service-learning: United Way, AmeriCorps, Student Leadership, involvement & Community Engagement (SLiCE), PRAXIS, Key Service Community, Alternative Semester Breaks, and Service@CSU.¹¹⁶⁸

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): TILT SERVICE LEARNING PROGRAM: FUNDING

TILT 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

1167 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>.

1168 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Get Involved,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/studentOps/getInvolved.cfm>.



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*.¹¹⁶⁹

Colorado State provides several awards for undergraduates, including one \$250 CSU Bookstore Gift Card for excellence in service-learning. (The Graduate School also provides two \$250 RamCash Express Cards as Diversity and Social Justice Awards, “For top scholarship in the area of diversity and social justice.”)¹¹⁷⁰ TILT itself also “presents one CSU student or student group with a \$200 award and plaque in recognition of their remarkable social or environmental contributions achieved through an academic service-learning course, a supervised internship or professional project, or community-engaged research.”¹¹⁷¹

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS: OVERVIEW

SLiCE coordinates a variety of campus leadership programs.¹¹⁷² These include:

1. Campus Step Up
2. CSU/UADY Leadership Experience
3. LeaderShape
4. The REAL Experience
5. Leadership Development Community
6. President’s Leadership Program

1169 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>.

1170 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Celebrate Undergraduate Research and Creativity,” <http://curc.colostate.edu/>.

1171 Colorado State University, TILT Service-Learning Program, “Exceptional Achievement in Service-Learning Student Awards,” <http://tilt.colostate.edu/service/studentOps/awards.cfm>.

1172 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “SLiCE Leadership Programs,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/>.

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS: CAMPUS STEP UP**

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

In other words, Campus Step Up uses CSU money to fund a weekend of progressive advocacy and activism training.¹¹⁷³

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS: CSU/UADY LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCE**

CSU/UADY Leadership Experience is a service-learning collaboration with the Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán (UADY). Goals include “Engaging students in experiences of domestic and international diversity,” “Exploring and applying the concepts of leadership and service to practical projects,” “Strengthening Spanish language skills,” “Learning about community needs in Fort Collins and Yucatan,” and “Creating a sustainable, long-term student exchange between CSU and UADY students.”¹¹⁷⁴

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS: LEADERSHAPE**

Colorado State collaborates with LeaderShape, a national organization that hosts six-day conferences for college students nationwide. The national LeaderShape organization has some progressive affiliations: one of its Community Partners is the Social Justice Training Institute. Colorado State’s LeaderShape affiliate pays all food and transportation costs for students to attend a six-day session at the YMCA of the Rockies; 550 students have taken one of these sessions in the last 12 years.

LeaderShape largely advertises itself in the intellectually null vocabulary of the Leadership discipline, inflected with progressive phraseology: “You’ll begin the second day in an experiential team building activity. By working your way through a series of initiatives and discussions, you’ll discover how relationships, trust, and problem solving can be enhanced in a supportive group setting. ...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.”

1173 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Campus Step Up,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/campus-step-up/>.

1174 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “CSU/UADY Leadership Experience,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/csu-uady-leadership-experience/>.

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. During the afternoon, you’ll have open time to discuss ‘burning issues’ before you prepare for a creative Family Cluster LeaderShape® Revue in the evening.” Where LeaderShape is not devoted to progressive advocacy, it is devoid of intellectual content.¹¹⁷⁵

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS: THE REAL EXPERIENCE**

REAL provides eleven leadership workshops for students, twice a semester; in Spring 2016 these workshops were *What is Leadership?; Branding Yourself; Being A Person of Integrity; Resiliency and Grit: You’re Stronger than You Think; Ethics for the End of the World; Power, Privilege, & Leadership; Leading Through Service; Leading Through Conflict; Don’t Be Scared: Giving and Receiving Feedback; Situational Leadership; and Teamwork Makes the Dream Work.*

Students can earn a Leadership Preparation Certificate, by attending 10 core workshops from the list of 11 workshops above, as well as “two leadership coaching meetings.” The Leadership Preparation Certification provides students a variety of Leadership Competencies, including *Community Engagement* and *Multicultural Competence*.¹¹⁷⁶

**STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE):
LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS: LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY**

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. ... Students have an opportunity to strengthen and expand their own knowledge of ethical

1175 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “LeaderShape,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/leadershape/>; LeaderShape, “Community Partners,” <https://www.leadershape.org/Community/Partners>.

1176 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “The REAL Experience,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/the-real-experience/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “REAL Experience Workshop Schedule,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/the-real-experience/real-experience-workshop-schedule/>; Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Leadership Preparation Certificate,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/the-real-experience/leadership-preparation-certification/>.

leadership and civic engagement.” The LDC is associated with the REAL Experience leadership program and the Leadership Preparation Certification. LDC students gain competences that include *Multicultural and Intercultural Competence*.¹¹⁷⁷

LDC students are supposed to “Complete a REAL Leadership Preparation Certification,” “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,” and “Lead one ‘leadership facilitation’ each semester.”¹¹⁷⁸

STUDENT LEADERSHIP, INVOLVEMENT AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLICE): LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS: PRESIDENT’S LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

The President’s Leadership Program (PLP) is “a three year, fourteen credit leadership development experience for undergraduate students. In addition to traditional classroom learning, students participate in retreats, service projects, and internships that allow them to apply their knowledge and training.”¹¹⁷⁹

Students take six courses worth 14 credits: *IU 170* – A Call to Lead: Theories and Foundations (2 credits)*; *IU 171 – A 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)*. *IU 470* and *IU 471* require “collaboration with Homeward 2020-Fort Collins’ ten year plan to end homelessness.”

Students may also take the Leadership Minor—the *Interdisciplinary Minor in Leadership Studies*—which 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 “reflects a modern interpretation of 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 has a significant service-learning component that addresses pressing societal issues such as poverty and sustainability. ... , both experiences in, and commitments to, civic engagement and multicultural competence are required.” Students who complete the Minor have skills that include the ability

1177 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/>.

1178 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “Responsibilities,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/leadership-development-community/responsibilities/>.

1179 Colorado State University, Lory Student Center, “President’s Leadership Program,” <http://lsc.colostate.edu/slice/slice-leadership/presidents-leadership-program/>.

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.”¹¹⁸⁰

PLP provides several scholarships to incoming first-year students to help them to minor in leadership studies. Students who apply for these scholarships “must be high school seniors identified as finalists for one of the following scholarships: Anschutz, Boettcher, Daniels, Monfort, Puksta, National Achievement, National Hispanic Recognition, or National Merit,” and must also have “significant participation in high school leadership and service activities, and a commitment to leadership, service, and scholarship in college.” These scholarships include 5 Albert C. and Ann E. Yates Scholarships “for “students who strive to embody integrity and leadership” (\$1,000 at \$500 per semester), 1 Bill Neal Scholarship for “students who demonstrate compassion, vision, and a commitment to service through leadership” (\$1,000 at \$500 per semester), and 2 El Pomar Foundation Scholarships for “students interested in non-profit and community development through extended leadership training throughout the year” (up to \$4,000 at \$1000 per semester for up to two years completion).¹¹⁸¹

1180 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/>.

1181 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/>.

Office for Service-Learning and Volunteer Programs

OFFICE FOR SERVICE-LEARNING AND VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS: OVERVIEW

The Office for Service-Learning and Volunteer Programs (SLVP) coordinates service-learning classes and volunteer programs; it operates out of the Lory Student Center, where it also maintains a database and resource library.¹¹⁸²

SLVP also supplies a Teaching Guide, focused on writing-intensive courses,¹¹⁸³ with extensive background information on the nature of service-learning and practical guidance on how faculty should integrate service-learning into their classes and careers.¹¹⁸⁴ This guide first defines service-learning, then justifies it, and finally lists the benefits to participants.¹¹⁸⁵ While a detailed examination of the guide would be redundant at this point, the reader should note that the Teaching Guide uses the national definition¹¹⁸⁶ and pedagogical justification¹¹⁸⁷ of service-learning. It also echoes the national conception of service-learning's benefits for students,¹¹⁸⁸ faculty,¹¹⁸⁹ the community,¹¹⁹⁰ and academic institutions.¹¹⁹¹ In addition, the Guide lists progressive beneficiaries for service-learning.¹¹⁹² The SLVP's Teaching Guide confirms that service-learning at CSU conforms to the progressive characteristics of service-learning nationwide.

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- 1182 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Office for Service-Learning and Volunteer Programs," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/slvp.cfm.
- 1183 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; Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Benefits of Service-Learning in Writing Courses," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/comben.cfm.
- 1184 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Teaching Guide: Using Service Learning in Writing Courses," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/index.cfm.
- 1185 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Introduction to Service-Learning," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/intro.cfm.
- 1186 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Definition of Service-Learning," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/definition.cfm.
- 1187 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Pedagogical Implications of Service-Learning," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/pedagog.cfm.
- 1188 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Benefits to Students," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/stuben.cfm; Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Benefits of Reflection," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/refben.cfm.
- 1189 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Benefits to Faculty," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/facben.cfm.
- 1190 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Benefits to Community," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/communben.cfm.
- 1191 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Benefits to Community [sic]," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/acadben.cfm.
- 1192 Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, "Sample Service-Learning Assignments for Writing Courses," http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/sample.cfm.

We discuss the following SLVP programs below:

1. Service Integration Project
2. CM Cares (Service Learning)
3. Service-Learning or Volunteer Abroad

OFFICE FOR SERVICE-LEARNING AND VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS: SERVICE INTEGRATION PROJECT

The Service Integration Project (SIP) coordinates service-learning for the SLVP. Its components include 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.¹¹⁹³

OFFICE FOR SERVICE-LEARNING AND VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS: CM CARES (SERVICE LEARNING)

The Department of Construction Management hosts the CM CARES service-learning initiative. In the CM Leadership Course (CON464), “Student project leaders complete a Construction Leadership course and serve as leaders for the service projects.” In the graduate-level Leadership of Sustainable Community Projects (CON577), students manage “a small community-based construction project through the engagement of local at-risk youth to complete the hands-on construction projects.” Industry partners are asked to sponsor CM Cares projects by providing “a minimum \$5000.00 financial contribution toward the project start-up fund and/or an in-kind materials equivalent,” a “designated mentor,” administrative and technical assistance, and volunteers.¹¹⁹⁴

OFFICE FOR SERVICE-LEARNING AND VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS: SERVICE-LEARNING OR VOLUNTEER ABROAD

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

¹¹⁹³ Colorado State University, Writing@CSU, “Service Integration Project,” http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/teaching/service_learning/sip.cfm.

¹¹⁹⁴ Colorado State University, Construction Management, “CM Cares (Service Learning),” <http://www.cm.chhs.colostate.edu/cm-cares/>; Colorado State University, Construction Management, “Industry Involvement,” <http://www.cm.chhs.colostate.edu/cm-cares/industry-involvement.aspx>.



Ecological Field Methods in Kenya, Learn and Serve in Ghana, West Africa, Peace Corps, and SLICE Alternative Breaks. Unaffiliated programs mentioned on the Education Abroad website include Transitions Abroad, World Volunteer Web, Community Development in Uganda, Aid Workers Network, Volunteers for Prosperity, Idealist, Volunteer Abroad, Go Overseas: Volunteer Abroad, International Volunteer Programs Association (IVPA), United Planet, United Nations, Winrock International, ACDI/VOCA, Geekcorps, Concern America, Sage Program, Africa Impact, Bridges to Community, and International Service Learning Alliance (ISLA).¹¹⁹⁵

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.¹¹⁹⁶ 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.¹¹⁹⁷

1195 Colorado State University, Office of International Programs, "Service-Learning or Volunteer Abroad," <http://educationabroad.colostate.edu/service-learning-or-volunteer-abroad/>.

1196 Colorado State University, Source, "Veterinary program offers service learning at Todos Santos," <http://source.colostate.edu/veterinary-program-offers-service-learning-todos-santos-center/>.

1197 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/>.

University Honors Program

CSU's University Honors Program (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.¹¹⁹⁸

The New Civics bureaucracy has infiltrated this program, and made *leadership* and *community service* part of the UHP.¹¹⁹⁹ Honors students can add an Enriched Academic Experience to a regular course by means that include a “service-learning activity.”¹²⁰⁰ 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.”¹²⁰¹ 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.¹²⁰² The UHP's Gladys S. Eddy Scholarship goes to a student who has “demonstrated leadership, citizenship, and service to the community and the University,” while the Students First Scholarship “recognizes the active participation of an Honors senior in campus and/or community service organizations.”¹²⁰³ The Honors Student Association's goals “include organizing and participating community service projects.”¹²⁰⁴ As a result of all these efforts, CSU judges that Honors students are more likely than their peers to “Perform volunteer work or community service as part of a class.”¹²⁰⁵

Honors courses are frequently exercises in progressive advocacy—for example, *HONR 192 Lannea's Puzzle: Understanding Human Sustainability*; *HONR 192 The Global Environment*; *HONR 192 Peacemaking: Skills for Negotiating Life*; *HONR 192 You Are What You Eat*; *HONR 392 If You Are So Smart...? Economic and Social Class in Contemporary America*; and *HONR 392 Why Do They Hate Us? Understanding the Myths, Realities and Limits of the American Empire*.¹²⁰⁶ Some are also vehicles for the New Civics. *HONR 492-001 Philanthropy in Action – Passion to Service*

1198 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>.

1199 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Home,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/>.

1200 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Honors Option,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/honors-option>.

1201 Colorado State University, Honors Program, <http://www.unco.edu/honors/>.

1202 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Enrichment Award,” <http://honors.colostate.edu/enrichment-award>.

1203 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, Honors Student Handbook,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/studenthandbook>.

1204 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, Honors Student Handbook,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/studenthandbook>.

1205 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Student Life,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/student-life>.

1206 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Honors Courses (Fall),” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/honors-fall-courses>.

“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.”¹²⁰⁷ 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.”¹²⁰⁸

CSU’s Honor’s 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.”¹²⁰⁹

1207 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Honors Courses (Summer),” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/honors-courses-summer>.

1208 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, “Peer Mentors,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/peer-mentors>.

1209 Colorado State University, University Honors Program, Honors Student Handbook,” <http://www.honors.colostate.edu/studenthandbook>.

Department of Communication Studies

The Department of Communication Studies sponsors two programs associated with civic engagement: the Rhetoric and Civic Engagement track, and the Center for Public Deliberation.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES: RHETORIC AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The Department of Communication Studies includes a track of Rhetoric and Civic Engagement, which focuses upon “the ways that public discourse is used to persuade and influence others. Faculty and students in this area explore a wide array of communication practices, ranging from political speeches to social movements.” Courses include *SPCM201 Rhetoric in Western Thought*, *SPCM300 Advanced Public Speaking*, *SPCM311 Historical Speeches on American Issues*, *SPCM Freedom of Speech*, *SPCM401 Rhetoric in Contemporary Social Movements*, *SPCM407 Public Deliberation*, *SPCM408 Applied Deliberative Techniques*, *SPCM411 Contemporary Speeches on American Issues*, *SPCM415 Rhetoric and Civility*, *SPCM520 Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, and *SPCM601 History of Rhetorical Theory*.¹²¹⁰

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES: CENTER FOR PUBLIC DELIBERATION

Our discussion of the Center for Public deliberation will include:

1. Overview
2. Theoretical Background
3. Deliberative Practices Specialization
4. Student Associate Program
5. Current Initiatives
6. Deliberative Resources

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES: CENTER FOR PUBLIC DELIBERATION: OVERVIEW

The Department of Communication Studies founded the Center for Public Deliberation (CPD) in 2006. The CPD is “Dedicated to enhancing local democracy through improved public communication and community problem solving.” It serves as an impartial resource for the northern Colorado community to assist in community problem-solving. We analyze issues, design public participation events, host forums that students facilitate, and write reports on key issues while working with a wide variety of local institutions, including city, county, and state government, school districts, and

¹²¹⁰ Colorado State University, Communication Studies, “Rhetoric and Civic Engagement,” <http://communicationstudies.colostate.edu/rhetoric-civic-engagement/>.



campus and community organizations.” The CPD further specifies that “Deliberation requires safe places for citizens to come together, good and fair information to help structure the conversation, and skilled facilitators to guide the process, and the CPD is dedicated to providing these three key ingredients to Northern Colorado.”¹²¹¹

The CPD defines *public deliberation* as “an approach to politics in which citizens, not just experts or politicians, are deeply involved in community problem solving and public decision making.” In public deliberation, “Working with trained facilitators who utilize a variety of deliberative techniques, citizens come together and consider relevant facts and values from multiple points of view; listen to one another in order to think critically about the various options before them and consider the underlying tensions and tough choices inherent to most public issues; and ultimately seek to come to some conclusion for action in the form of a reasoned public judgment.”¹²¹²

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES: CENTER FOR PUBLIC DELIBERATION: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The CPD’s self-description above is not entirely revealing. Since CPD is essentially a one-man project by Professor Martín Carcasson, we may deepen our understanding of CPD by examining Carcasson’s writings, posted to the CPD website as *CPD Publications*. These writings have received the CPD’s official imprimatur, and they provide insight as to what Carcasson intends by *public deliberation*.¹²¹³

Most relevant is Carcasson’s *Beginning with the End in Mind: A Call for Goal-Driven Deliberative Practice*.¹²¹⁴ 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.”¹²¹⁵ 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 only lead to more individual and community action on common problem, but also to a more collaborative*

1211 Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “Welcome,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/>.

1212 Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “What Is Public Deliberation?,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/about-us/what-is-public-deliberation/>.

1213 Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “CPD Publications,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/resources/cpd-publications/>.

1214 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.

1215 Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind*, p. 11.

*and inclusive kind of individual and community action.*¹²¹⁶ Public deliberation is more theoretical than community organization: “Action is not the ultimate goal of deliberative practice; the ultimate goal is increasing the community’s capacity to solve problems.”¹²¹⁷ Nevertheless, it is supposed to work as a complement: “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.”¹²¹⁸

Carcasson’s conclusion re-emphasizes the complementary roles of public deliberation as process and the progressive ends of community organization: “improving community problem solving, as well as the concepts of democratic or collaborative governance, transcend the distinction between community action and institutional decision making, making them less relevant. ... part of the long-term goal for our field is to bring them together and erase the distinction.”¹²¹⁹

The vision behind public deliberation is progressive political action.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES: CENTER FOR PUBLIC DELIBERATION: DELIBERATIVE PRACTICES SPECIALIZATION

Undergraduates who take *SPCM407 Public Deliberation* learn the theory behind public deliberation; those who take *SPCM408 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 with the applied research project, *SPCM 695 Independent Study*; *SPCM 686 Practicum*; and “an applied research project supervised by faculty experts in public deliberation.”¹²²⁰

1216 Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind*, pp. 10-11.

1217 Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind*, p. 11.

1218 Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind*, p. 11.

1219 Carcasson, *Beginning with the End in Mind*, p. 14.

1220 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/>.

**DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES: CENTER FOR PUBLIC DELIBERATION:
STUDENT ASSOCIATE PROGRAM**

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.” 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*.¹²²¹

**DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES: CENTER FOR PUBLIC DELIBERATION:
CURRENT INITIATIVES**

The CPD works on 5-10 projects every semester. Current projects as of the fall 2015 semester were:

CSU Employee Housing: “CSU has formed a task force to examine the issue of affordable housing for CSU employees. The CPD is assisting the Affordable Housing Initiative.”

Fort Collins Community Issues Forum: CPD and the city of Fort Collins jointly hosted a Community Issues Forum. In Fall 2015, the Forum focused “on the issue of behavioral issues downtown and building upon the work on Neighborhood Leadership issues over the last year.”

Larimer County Waste Removal and Resource Recovery: CPD, Larimer County, Fort Collins, Loveland, and Estes Park, and the Larimer County Facilitation jointly organized “an all-day stakeholder event ... focused on future planning as the current Larimer County landfill reaches capacity in 10 years.”

Partnership for Age-Friendly Community/Senior Transportation Coalition: CPD co-founded and helps run the Senior Transportation Coalition. CPD and the Coalition are now co-sponsoring “a candidate forum focused on aging issues,” the 2015 Aging Summit, and further events associated with policies that will facilitate transportation of the elderly in the Fort Collins area.

Community Issues Forum with the City of Fort Collins: CPD and the city of Fort Collins jointly hosted a Community Issues Forum “focused on the concept of “tackling wicked problems,” and applying those concepts to three current issues the city is working on: downtown behaviors, short term rentals, and community engagement at the neighborhood level.”

1221 Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “Student Associate Program,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/student-associate-program/>.

United Way of Larimer County – Community Forum for Change: CPD, United Way, and Bill Fulton of Colorado Civic Canopy jointly hosted the Community Forum for Change at the FC Senior Center.

K-12 Education: CPD trains high school students in Poudre School District in a Think Tank, which “helps shape school policy decisions, serving as a voice of students and acting as a liaison to leadership groups like the PSD Board of Education, Superintendent’s Cabinet and City of Fort Collins.” Most recently, “Think Tank students assisted with the National Conversation on Mental Health projects.”

Parent Engagement in the 21st Century: CPD Director Martin Carcasson work with the St. Vrain Valley School District, the 27J School District in Brighton, and the Adams 12 School District in Thornton on parent engagement training programs. “CPD students have also assisted with numerous projects over the years with the St. Vrain school district, including a process on classroom technology in spring 2015, and forums on school safety in spring 2014.”

Higher Education: CPD works with CSU students on how to improve the Communication Studies major. In fall 2015, students received credit for this project by working on it in their capstone class.

SPCM 207 Forums: “Every semester CPD run forums in all sections of *SPCM 207: Public Argumentation*.” In Fall 2015, the forum discussed “the new NIF discussion guide on substance abuse: Over the Edge.”

ASCSU processes: CPD and ASCSU (Colorado State’s student government) jointly work “to engage the city council and other city leaders on issues of relevance to both the students and the city.”¹²²²

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES: CENTER FOR PUBLIC DELIBERATION: DELIBERATIVE RESOURCES

CPD notes that the following national groups provide resources for public deliberation.

*COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY, CENTER FOR PUBLIC DECLARATION,
“DELIBERATIVE RESOURCES”*

The National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation (NCDD) serves as the primary umbrella group that brings together multiple perspectives on dialogue and deliberation (CPD Director Martin Carcasson serves on the Board of Directors for NCDD). ...

¹²²² Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “Current Initiatives,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/current-initiatives/>.

One of the most useful resources developed by NCDD is their Resource Guide on Public Engagement, which provides information and links to numerous other key resources and organizations.

The Kettering Foundation is a research foundation focused on the question of “What does it take to make democracy work as it should?” They serve as a key convener to bring together groups working on many different aspects of deliberation, and support numerous research projects on improving deliberation.

The National Issues Forum Institute supports deliberation on multiple topics by providing discussion guides on key issues, serving as a hub for the NIF network (of which the CPD is a part), and providing training for moderators and issue framers.

Public Agenda is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that helps diverse leaders and citizens navigate divisive, complex issues and work together to find solutions. CPD Director Martin Carcasson has served as a “senior engagement fellow” for Public Agenda since 2010.

Everyday Democracy is an organization that supports extended processes, with a particular focus on issues related to race and social justice. Formerly known as Study Circles, their website includes numerous case studies and wonderful discussion guides on tough issues.

Colorado State University, Center for Public Declaration, “Deliberative Resources,” <http://cpd.colostate.edu/resources/deliberative-resources/>.

Miscellaneous Initiatives

MISCELLANEOUS INITIATIVES: CIVIC ENGAGEMENT SCHOLARSHIPS

Colorado State University offers several citizenship-related scholarships. It sponsors the Puksta Scholar Program, designed to “provide financial resources to upstanding, civic and socially minded Colorado students attending college in the state of Colorado.” The Program trains students “to become change agents and active leaders in the global community.”¹²²³ The Julia Klug Scholarship provides several \$2,400 awards for students who, among other qualifications, demonstrate “involvement in volunteer civic activities.”¹²²⁴ The Gladys S. Eddy Scholarship makes awards of \$3,000 and up to Colorado State University upperclassmen with good grades who have “demonstrated leadership, citizenship (*very important*), and service to the community and the University” [emphasis in the original].¹²²⁵ Colorado State University also offers the Bedell World Citizenship Fund to students who have “demonstrated interest or contribution in diversity and cultural awareness.”¹²²⁶

MISCELLANEOUS INITIATIVES: KEY SERVICE COMMUNITY

Key Service Community (KSC) is an equivalent to the Residential Academic Programs at CU-Boulder: “The Key Service Community is a first-year residential learning community developed around the theme of ‘student leadership and civic engagement.’” The Key Service Community is comprised of 76 students who live together in Braiden Hall and co-enroll in linked courses in groups of 19. In this community, students take advantage of year-long service opportunities while building connections with faculty and community organizations.” In KSC, “Through discussion, service, and reflection, students develop a personal philosophy about their role in our world. Students also assess how they can contribute to a more civil society while becoming more active and positive role models within university life and beyond.” Key Service Values include *Student Leadership through Civic Engagement, Active Campus and Community Involvement, Appreciation of Diversity, and Academic Success*.¹²²⁷

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, and meets requirements for the All-University Core Curriculum.” Students may choose from 4 possible Service Clusters. All KSC students also take “a 3-credit introduction to

¹²²³ Colorado State University, Opportunity Scholar Programs, Puksta Scholarship. <http://osp.casa.colostate.edu/puksta-scholarship.aspx>.

¹²²⁴ Colorado State University, Student Financial Services Scholarships. http://sfs.colostate.edu/data/sites/1/pdf/csusa_sfs_scholarships1314.pdf.

¹²²⁵ Colorado State University, University Honors Program, Continuing Students Scholarships. <http://honors.colostate.edu/continuing-students-scholarships>.

¹²²⁶ Colorado State University, Bedell World Citizenship Foundation (BWCF) Scholarship <http://central.colostate.edu/scholarships/bedell-world-citizen-foundation-bwcf-scholarship/>.

¹²²⁷ Colorado State University, Key Service Community, “Home,” <http://keyservice.lc.colostate.edu/home.aspx>.



service-learning course: *KEY 192 Public Problem Solving through Service-Learning*.” KSC students generally “become involved not just in social issues but in relationships with others across the service-learning partnership. Ideally, a student serving in a community develops a relationship with community members and at the same time develops 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” in our rapidly changing, diverse world.

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.”¹²²⁸ During the fall 2013 semester, for example, students in the Education and Diversity cluster took *KEY192: Public Problem-Solving Through Service-Learning* and *ETST205 Ethnicity and the Media*.¹²²⁹

KSC states that service-learning, in addition to its purely academic benefits, “Enhances students’ beliefs in their ability to work for the public good,” “Addresses a vast variety of social problems,” “Creates and strengthens connections between people,” “Serves the needs of the community as a whole,” and “Serves as an important part of a student’s civic education, including development of political action skills, communication skills, critical thinking skills and tolerance.” 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.¹²³⁰

MISCELLANEOUS INITIATIVES: CYFAR SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY PROJECT

Colorado State University Extension’s Children, Youth, and Families at Risk (CYFAR) initiative has a variety of goals, including to “Support comprehensive, intensive, community based programs developed with active citizen participation in all phases.” Colorado State’s component of the national CYFAR initiative, which is funded by the United States Department of Agriculture – National Institute for Food and Agriculture (USDA-NIFA), has one current project: The Colorado Family Leadership Training Institute (FLTI). FLTI “is a family civics program designed to help parents, youth, and community members develop skills to become effective leaders in their communities on behalf of children, youth and families.” CO-FLTI aims to *provide leadership/civics training for parents and family members, deliver a complementary youth training, provide continued program connections for FLTI alumni, and build a network of partners ready to provide opportunities to engage family and youth voices*. A 20-week program aims “to bolster family

1228 Colorado State University, Key Service Community, “Academics,” <http://keyservice.lc.colostate.edu/academics.aspx>.

1229 Colorado State University, Key Service Community, “Service Opportunities,” <http://keyservice.lc.colostate.edu/serviceopportunities.aspx>.

1230 Colorado State University, Key Service Community, “Service Opportunities,” <http://keyservice.lc.colostate.edu/serviceopportunities.aspx>.

involvement and leadership skills. The cornerstones of the program are respect, validation, and a belief that when the tools of democracy are understood, the public will become active participants in communities.” FLTI does this by facilitating “learning environments for youth and adults to explore leadership and civics within their own peer group and additionally through joint learning opportunities to develop youth/adult partnerships. Together in community they become leading advocates for children, youth and families.”¹²³¹

The Colorado Family Leadership Training Institute’s website states that FLTI “prepares families to become leading advocates for children. Families’ opinions are often unheard. Although families may lack advocacy skills, their strong motivation and will to change their children’s lives are apparent. The FLTI teaches families, who wish to improve the lifelong health, safety and learning of children, how to become practiced change agents for the next generation.”¹²³²

1231 Colorado State University, Online, “Children, Youth, and Families at Risk (CYFAR),” <http://cyfar.colostate.edu/index.php>; Colorado State University, Online, “Projects,” <http://cyfar.colostate.edu/projects.php>.

1232 Colorado Family Leadership Training Institute, “The FLTI Story,” <https://fti.wordpress.com/fti/the-fti-story/>.

APPENDIX 8: UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Overview

The University of Northern Colorado (UNC) was founded in 1889 as the State Normal School of Colorado, dedicated to educating future teachers. It changed its name to the Colorado State Teachers College in 1911, the Colorado State College of Education in 1935, and Colorado State College in 1957. It assumed its present name in 1970.¹²³³ As of Spring 2016, UNC enrolled about 11,400 students, including almost 8,800 undergraduates; 9,000 students are at the main campus at Greeley.¹²³⁴ It continues to emphasize “its historical role in the preparation of educators,” but it is now a comprehensive university.¹²³⁵

This Appendix will describe UNC’s panoply of civic programs, not yet gathered into one administrative structure. The New Civics does not yet permeate UNC’s civic efforts. In general, the New Civics complex at UNC is about as large at UNC as it is at CSU, although less developed than at CU-Boulder. Nevertheless, the New Civics is established here as well.

The programs we will describe here are

1. The Center for Community and Civic Engagement;
2. The Center for Honors, Scholars, and Leadership;
3. The Social Science Community Engagement Major;
4. Co-Curricular Engagement;
5. Outreach and Partnerships;
6. Community Engaged Scholarship Symposium;
7. Scholarships and Awards;
8. Student Activities Office; and
9. The Institute for Civic Education.

The University of Northern Colorado’s **Center for Community and Civic Engagement** runs much of the New Civics, including its **service-learning** and **engaged classes**, the **Center for Honors, Scholars and Leadership** organizes another substantial section of the New Civics,

1233 University of Northern Colorado, Office of the President, “A Short History of UNC,” <http://www.unco.edu/pres/sh.htm>.

1234 University of Northern Colorado, Institutional Reporting and Analysis Services, “2016 Spring Final Enrollment Profile – June 2, 2016,” <http://www.unco.edu/iras/PDFs/Spring16FinalEnrollmentReport.pdf>.

1235 University of Northern Colorado, Office of the President, “Mission Statement,” <http://www.unco.edu/pres/mission.html>.

and the **Student Activities Office** runs a significant additional portion. A great deal of the New Civics at UNC, however, consists of disjointed administrative programs.

One core of the New Civics at UNC is the **Social Science Community Engagement** major, which allows UNC students to major in progressive activism. Students specializing as progressive activists receive university recognition via the **Engaged Scholar Awards**. A second core is the **Center for Honors, Scholars and Leadership**, which educates cadres of progressive activists via the **Honors Program**, the **Leadership Studies Minor**, and the **Stryker Institute for Leadership Development**.

Beyond this academic core, students provide labor for progressive organizations in **service-learning** and **engaged classes** in a wide variety of disciplines. These are run by the **Center for Community and Civic Engagement**. The New Civics also extends beyond the classroom into different extracurricular aspects of student life. **Alternative Spring Break** transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions, and the New Civics extends into UNC students' extracurricular life via programs that include **Community Engaged Scholars Symposium and Catalyst: A Social Justice Retreat**. The programs collectively work to make the New Civics present in much of student life at UNC.

Collectively, the New Civics programs at UNC engage in two categories of activity. These programs 1) train a core of committed progressive activists; and 2) extend the New Civics throughout UNC, both inside and outside the classroom. Although considerable in extent, they are not as pervasive as at either CU-Boulder or CSU.

The Center for Community and Civic Engagement

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: OVERVIEW

The Center for Community and Civic Engagement (CCCE) is in charge of volunteering, service-learning, and associated activities. CCCE resorts uses standard New Civics vocabulary to articulate its mission statement: “UNC is “Bringing Education to Life” by promoting transformative education that infuses, supports, and values reciprocal public engagement throughout our academic enterprise. In so doing, we nurture the interconnections among teaching-learning, research, scholarship, creative works, and practice situated in local and global communities.”¹²³⁶ They rely on the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to define *community engagement*.

CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING: DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Community engagement describes the collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity.

The purpose of community engagement is the partnership of college and university knowledge and resources with those of the public and private sectors to enrich scholarship, research, and creative activity; enhance curriculum, teaching and learning; prepare educated, engaged citizens; strengthen democratic values and civic responsibility; address critical societal issues; and contribute to the public good.

University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Definition of Engagement,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/definition.html>.

The University of Northern Colorado divides such engagement into four categories: Academic Engagement, Co-Curricular Engagement, Community Relations, and Outreach and Development. All engagement is meant to uphold Guiding Principles for Engaged Student Learning Outcomes: *Academic & Professional Agency*, *Social & Ecological Justice*, and *Engaged Citizenship & Civic Responsibility*. Of these three principles, *Social & Ecological Justice* indicates most clearly how CCCE serves to advance a progressive agenda: “Social & Ecological Justice Students ... will contribute to the construction of socially just, sustainable, and equitable communities by showing

¹²³⁶ University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Mission and Vision,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/mission.html>.

evidence of an equity mindset and applying central tenets of social and global justice learned from curricular, co-curricular and community-based learning.”¹²³⁷

The CCCE supplements these Guiding Principles with Extended Definitions drawn from several outside sources. For example, the Equity Mindset, as defined by Keith Witham et al. in *America’s Unmet Promise: The Imperative for Equity in Higher Education* (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges & Universities), is possessed by “individuals are aware of the sociohistorical context of exclusionary practices and racism in higher education and the effect of power asymmetries on opportunities and outcomes for students of color and students of low socioeconomic status.” Being equity-minded also “involves being conscious of the ways that higher education—through its practices, policies, expectations, and unspoken rules—places responsibility for student success on the very groups that have experienced marginalization, rather than on the individuals and institutions whose responsibility it is to remedy that marginalization.”¹²³⁸ These beliefs are the Learning Outcome for civic engagement at UNC.

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: ACADEMIC & CURRICULAR ENGAGEMENT

CCCE’s Academic & Curricular Engagement coordinates the University of Northern Colorado’s “engaged” courses and scholarship. There are “engaged learning opportunities” in more than 62 departments—more than 250 engaged courses, of which 108 are undergraduate and 148 are graduate. Of these courses, 40% (ca. 100 courses) are service-learning, field or community-based, 25% (ca. 62 courses) are practica courses, and 35% (ca. 88 courses) are internships. 15% of all courses at the University of Northern Colorado are Engaged, 33% of the University’s faculty use service-learning in at least one course, and 20% of the faculty “incorporate community-based research into their courses and scholarship.”¹²³⁹ The university cites as subject matter that “engaged courses address: Cultural & Linguistic Awareness, Education and/or Literacy, Immigration/Refugee Assistance, Senior Citizens, Vulnerable Youth.”¹²⁴⁰ The University’s citation of individual examples of “Research, Scholarship & Creative Works in the Public Interest”, and their Impact, includes:

1237 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Guiding Principles for Engaged Student Learning Outcomes,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Guiding%20Principles.pdf>.

1238 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Extended Definitions from the Guiding Principles for Engaged Student Learning Outcomes,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Definitions%20Guiding%20Principles.pdf>.

1239 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Academic & Curricular Engagement,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/academic_curricular_engagement.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Engagement by the Numbers,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Engagement%20by%20the%20Numbers.pdf>.

1240 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Academic & Curricular Engagement,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/academic_curricular_engagement.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Engagement by the Numbers,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Engagement%20by%20the%20Numbers.pdf>.

RESEARCH, SCHOLARSHIP & CREATIVE WORKS IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

- Works with local educators to help beginning elementary teachers deliver high-quality mathematics and science instruction in high-need districts
- Builds multi-state networks in academic, governmental, and community settings to support people with disabilities
- University Libraries partners with public and school libraries in the local community and region, and works closely with rural high schools to promote college readiness
- Delivers a research-based, baccalaureate degree program in American Sign Language-English Interpretation
- Improved environmental conditions for long-term preservation of archival and artifact collections in University Libraries
- Has faculty researching topics that address public issues, ranging from snake venom for possible cancer treatments and noise-induced hearing loss and prevention, to helmet safety and West Nile virus.
- Examined infectious agents and viruses carried by bats and deer mice that cause human disease
- Conducts research into schizophrenia, a debilitating mental disorder
- Operates an 11-state regional center to train interpreters for individuals who are deaf, hard of hearing or deaf-blind
- Annually produces 250+ recitals, concerts, operas, musicals, plays, exhibits, festivals, symposia, workshops and clinics engaging students and community members with the arts

IMPACT

- \$ 4 million contributed to the local economy from UNC related events.
- 1000+ Hours spent by UNC nursing students in primary care health settings.
- 15,000 Hours of community service given by UNC psychology majors
- 400,000+ Hours UNC teacher candidates engage in K-12 schools each year.
- 50+ Hours from all students at Monfort College of Business for professional internship experience before graduation.
- 750+ Teacher candidates engage in some 500 schools locally, nationally and globally each year.

- UNC’s Center for Integrated Arts Education successfully supports and improves K-12 arts education.

University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Engagement by the Numbers,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/docs/Engagement%20by%20the%20Numbers.pdf>.

This list includes material that is not particularly New-Civic in nature—or, indeed, particularly civic. Items such as *Improved environmental conditions for long-term preservation of archival and artifact collections in University Libraries* or *Examined infectious agents and viruses carried by bats and deer mice that cause human disease*, for example, register resume padding more than any civic agenda. Yet the individual courses CCCE cites as examples of service-learning or community-based learning courses do exhibit more of the New Civic imprint.

UNC: SELECTED SERVICE-LEARNING AND COMMUNITY-BASED LEARNING COURSES

MONFORT COLLEGE OF BUSINESS

BAMC 350, *The Intermediate Web Development* class, students work on designing websites for local community organizations and small businesses.

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SOSC 350 *Community Research and Engagement* course, students work to conduct interviews with participants at the Global Refugee Center (GRC) on their migration histories and on their level of self-sufficiency are used by the GRC in their grant reporting activities. Upon completion of the interviews, students write a reflection paper relating their engaged activities to course content.

COLLEGE OF PERFORMING AND VISUAL ARTS

THEA 255: *Creative Drama*. In this course, students learn creative drama strategies that can be used to explore social issue or curricular topics in a school or community setting. Each semester, students explore a social issue relevant to the campus community and create an interactive theatre piece and perform these in the residence halls.

GLOBAL ENGAGED LEARNING

Geography and African studies departments now partner with the Arab American Foundation for Multicultural Education and Students' Understanding to improve relations and ties between countries and to promote multicultural education and understanding. In GEOG 392 *Field Studies in Morocco* students gain an appreciation for the dynamic people and places of Morocco through intensive classroom and field study.

University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, "Academic and Curricular Engagement," http://www.unco.edu/cce/academic_curricular_engagement.html.

Not everything CCCE sponsors is New Civic, but a substantial amount is.

Social Science B.A. – Community Engagement Emphasis

The University of Northern Colorado offers a Social Science Community Engagement major. This is the service-learning and civic engagement major, apparently intended to train students to become community activists: "Key courses in the emphasis will provide opportunities for students to become actively engaged in community affairs. Through research and civic engagement assignments and activities, students will be introduced to a variety of community-related careers and opportunities."

Community Engagement majors are required to take the University's Liberal Arts Core, as well as nine specified courses: *HIST 100 Survey of American History from Its Beginnings to 1877*; *HIST 101 Survey of American History from 1877 to the Present*; *ECON 203 Principles of Macroeconomics*; *ECON 205 Principles of Microeconomics*; *PSCI 100 United States National Government*; *GEOG 100 World Geography*; *ANT 100 Introduction to Anthropology*, *SOC 100 Principles of Sociology*, and one of *AFS Introduction to Africana Studies*, *GNDER 101 Gender and Society*, or *MAS 100 Introduction to Mexican American Studies*. This series of requirements actually includes more of the traditional Old Civics core curriculum (*HIST 100*, *HIST 101*, *PSCI 100*) than does UNC as a whole. At UNC, the greatest institutional interest in American history and government is taken by those with a professional interest in re-organizing the nation.

Community Engagement majors must also take *SOSC 350 Community Research and Engagement* ("Participation in the Greeley community through service learning and research. Students will learn social science research methods and conduct their own community-based research projects."), 6 credits apiece of upper-level 300-400 level courses in Economics, Geography, History, and Political Science, and 6 courses (18 credits) in at least 3 departments apparently selected to contribute to community engagement. Examples of this last category of courses include *AFS 340 The Black Family*; *AFS 399 Community Study Project*; *ANT 355*



*Medical Anthropology; ECON 365 Urban and Housing Economics; ENST 291 Sustainability and Capitalism; GEOG 310 Urban and Regional Planning; HUSR 350 Introduction to Environmental Health; PSCI 203 Colorado Politics; PSY 323 Health Psychology; SOC 333 Social Class and Inequality; and SOC 340 Juvenile Delinquency.*¹²⁴¹

The Center for Honors, Scholars, and Leadership

UNC's Center for Honors, Scholars and Leadership, which runs both the Honors and Leadership programs, has been heavily colonized by the New Civics. The Center's mission statement bundles together *academic opportunity* and *scholarship* with *civic engagement*, *community service*, and *leadership*.¹²⁴² The Director for Honors and Scholars, Loree Crow, lists her academic interests as "developing innovative honors curriculum [sic] and integrating civic engagement into learning."¹²⁴³

HONORS PROGRAM

The Honors Program requires applying students to have a minimum GPA, but it also screens them via essay questions in their admissions packet. Students applying to the Lower Division Honors Program must answer one essay asking for lists of interests including *community service*, *leadership activities*, and *co-curricular activity*, and another essay asking the student to "identify an issue or problem in the world that you would potentially be interested in working on."¹²⁴⁴

The Lower Division Honors Curriculum requires students to take HON 101 *Introduction to Honors & Critical Thinking*, a LIB-prefix Research Skills course, and four courses from a list that includes HON 100 *Connections Seminar*, HON 200 *Connections Seminar*, LEAD 100 *Contemporary Leadership Theory*, LEAD 200 *Risk and Change in Leadership*, HON 395 *Special Topics*, HON 492 *Study Abroad*, and HON 492 *International Student Exchange*.¹²⁴⁵

The content of these courses is very largely New Civics. HON 101 *Introduction to Honors & Critical Thinking*, required of all Honors students, includes "intercultural competencies," "engaged learning

1241 University of Northern Colorado, 2015-2016 Spring Supplemental Undergraduate Catalog, "Social Science B.A. – Community Engagement Emphasis," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-atatalog/Undergraduate-Programs/Bachelors-Degrees/Social-Science-BA-Community-Engagement-Emphasis>; University of Northern Colorado, 2011-2012 Undergraduate Catalog, "The Liberal Arts Core," http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/current/Undergraduate-Catalog/Undergraduate-Programs/Bachelors-Degrees/~/link.aspx?_id=E2BD944C72D84C4CA60AC99F9C43D29B&_z=z; University of Northern Colorado, 2015-2016 Spring Supplemental Undergraduate Catalog, "SOSC 350 Community Research and Engagement," <http://unco.smartcatalogiq.com/en/Current/Undergraduate-Catalog/Course-Descriptions/SOSC-Social-Science/300/SOSC-350>.

1242 University of Northern Colorado, Center for Honors, Scholars, and Leadership, "Welcome!," <http://www.unco.edu/honors-scholars-leadership/index.aspx>.

1243 University of Northern Colorado, Center for Honors, Scholars, and Leadership, "Staff," <http://www.unco.edu/honors-scholars-leadership/connect/staff.aspx>.

1244 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program: "Lower Division Honors Program Application," <http://www.unco.edu/honors/hip/apply-hip.aspx>.

1245 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, "Lower Division Honors Curriculum," <http://www.unco.edu/honors/hip/curriculum.aspx>.

opportunities,” and “community-based projects.” HON 200 *Connections Seminar* (or HON 200 *Honors Connections II*) is also “Civic & Community Engagement – an Engaged Course.” The class “provides an engaged learning approach to active citizenry,” and answers the questions “What is Civic & Community Engagement? How does engagement affect our connectedness to society and our own social capital?” It also features “field trips, guest speakers and applied projects.” LEAD 100 *Contemporary Leadership Theory* focuses “on the Social Change Model through engaged leadership opportunities.” LEAD 200 *Risk and Change in Leadership* “provides experiential learning opportunities” and explores “the complex nature of engaged leadership.”¹²⁴⁶

The Lower Division Honors Portfolio requires students to demonstrate progress in “Intercultural Competence and Global Learning” and “Community/Civic Engagement and Problem-Solving.”¹²⁴⁷

The Upper Division Honors Programs’ three curricular Paths include Research, Creative, and Applied—where “Applied” is meant to produce “an actual implemented program, event, curricular method, initiative, business plan, non-profit endeavor, or other approved projects that fall ‘outside the box.’”¹²⁴⁸

Students in the Upper Division Honors Program may take Experiential Learning Options to fulfill up to 6 course credits in Research Methodology Courses, Honors Upper Division Courses, Graduate Courses, Internships/Field Experiences/Student Teaching, and Study Abroad/National Student Exchange.¹²⁴⁹ Students may fulfill an Honors Elective with a Service Learning course, and the Upper Division Honors Curriculum’s In-Depth Study may include “an applied or civically engaged project.”¹²⁵⁰

LEADERSHIP STUDIES MINOR

The Leadership Studies Minor (LSM) is “firmly committed to the teaching and practice of social justice- the view that everyone deserves equitable economic, political, environmental and social rights and opportunities.” The LSM asks “students to practice advocacy through experiential learning,” so as to “promote a just society by cultivating a program and community that fosters inclusivity and challenges injustice,” and join an “active community of leader-scholars” that is working “to generate positive change in local and global communities.” The purpose of the minor “is to develop students to become socially just and ethical leaders,” who “apply social and

1246 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, “Lower Division Course Offerings (Fall 2016),” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/hip/course-offerings.aspx>.

1247 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, “Lower Division Honors Portfolio,” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/hip/honors-portfolio.aspx>.

1248 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, “Upper Division Honors Program,” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/uhp/>.

1249 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, “Experiential Learning through HIP,” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/hip/experiential-learning.aspx>.

1250 University of Northern Colorado, Honors Program, “Upper Division Honors Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/honors/uhp/curriculum.aspx>.

ecological justice” and have demonstrated “engaged leadership practice within a systemic and global framework.” Students can engage in applied course work that includes leading “a community awareness campaign.”¹²⁵¹

The LSM requires students to take 9 credit hours of Core Leadership Classes and 9 credit hours of Elective Credits. The four Core classes are LEAD 100 *Introduction to Leadership* (“engaged leadership opportunities”); LEAD 200 *Risk and Change in Leadership* (“experiential learning opportunities”; “engaged leadership”); LEAD 492 *Leadership Internship* (“Must include a leadership component”; “in an approved study abroad and/or internship”); and LEAD 497 *Senior Leadership Seminar: Global Justice and Responsiveness* (“culminating experience”; “focusing on application in a global justice and responsiveness context”).¹²⁵²

Students must then take one of three Elective Courses to fulfill their Ethics Foundation requirements (PHIL 150 *Ethics in Theory and Practice*, PHIL 350 *Ethics*, LEAD 320 *Globalization of Ethics*), and two further Electives chosen from a list of 34 Global & Cross Cultural Foundation (GCCF) courses. GCCF courses include AFS 420 *African American Leadership and Politics*; ANT 331 *Global Population and Human Needs*; COMM 431 *Communication and Leadership*; ECON 335 *Environmental and Resource Economics*; EDF *Social Foundations in Education*; ENST 315 *Nature and Society*; GNDER 285 *Global and Cross Cultural Perspectives of Women*; HESAL 301 *Foundations and Praxis of Higher Education and Student Affairs Leadership*; LEAD 250 *Leadership in a Global Community: Living Glocal*; MCS 101 *Multiculturalism in the United States*; SOC 235 *Social Change in a Global Context*; and SOSC 350 *Community Research and Engagement*.¹²⁵³ An additional Leadership elective offered in Fall 2016 is LEAD 364 *Leadership and Community Building*.¹²⁵⁴

GLOBAL LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

Starting in Fall 2018, the Global Leadership Program (GLP) will provide a scholarship for Leadership Studies Minor students to study abroad in the summer after their Sophomore year, by way of preparation for a “synthesis presentation” at the end of their Senior year.¹²⁵⁵ The GLP will direct students from a foundation in the LSM toward “furthering their education and experience

¹²⁵¹ University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Leadership Studies Minor,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/leadership-minor/index.aspx>.

¹²⁵² University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Leadership Studies Minor Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/leadership-minor/curriculum.aspx>.

¹²⁵³ University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Leadership Studies Minor Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/leadership-minor/curriculum.aspx>.

¹²⁵⁴ University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Leadership Studies Minor Course Offerings – Fall 2016,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/leadership-minor/course-offerings.aspx>.

¹²⁵⁵ University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Global Leadership Program,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/glp/index.aspx>.



as a global citizen,” and acquiring “the opportunity to further question their assumptions about the world and incorporate a broader perspective into their leadership development.”¹²⁵⁶

The tentative plan for the GLP curriculum is that it will require 1) prerequisite courses LEAD 100 *Introduction to Leadership* and LEAD 200 *Risk and Change in Leadership*; 2) Faculty-led Study Abroad Experience in the summer between Sophomore and Junior Year; 3) a Fall Junior Year presentation about the student’s GLP experience at the Community Engaged Scholar Symposium; 4) further work on “global topics and issues” in Spring Junior Year; 5) an “engaged experience/project” on a local issue in the summer between Junior and Senior Year, tied to the Study Abroad Experience; 6) a Fall Senior Year interview of “a GLOP alumni or a leader in their field of study” and continued “work with GLP cohort”; and 7) a Spring Senior Year comprehensive presentation on the students entire experience in the GLOP. Students will receive 6 credits in *Advanced Leadership Lab* for this program, 1 credit for each semester (Fall, Spring, Summer).¹²⁵⁷

STRYKER INSTITUTE FOR LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

The Stryker Institute for Leadership Development provides support for women from “underrepresented groups.”¹²⁵⁸ These underrepresented groups include “person of color, trans-woman, GLBTQI, person with undocumented status, first-generation college student, has dependents, non-traditionally aged, has a disability.” Stryker especially emphasizes that “transwomen” are eligible; although the “genderqueer, genderfluid, nonbinary, or agender” must “identify as women or transwomen” to apply for the Stryker scholarship.¹²⁵⁹

Stryker provides an annual educational scholarship of \$7,500 and an iPad, which also allows recipients to participate in Social Justice and Identity workshops (“discussions about oppression, privilege, race, class, gender, sexuality, and activism,” Leadership Development Seminars, Community Engagement (“mentor youth from local middle schools”), and listening to Special Guests (“Outstanding leaders who make a difference share their stories”).¹²⁶⁰

Co-Curricular Engagement

Co-curricular engagement includes all student volunteer and “engagement” activities done outside of class. These activities include Alternative Spring Break, Bears Career Connection Program

1256 University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies: “Global Leadership Program,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/glp/index.aspx>; “Global Leadership Program Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/glp/curriculum.aspx>.

1257 University of Northern Colorado, Leadership Studies, “Global Leadership Program Curriculum,” <http://www.unco.edu/leadership-studies/glp/curriculum.aspx>.

1258 University of Northern Colorado, Stryker Institute for Leadership Development, “About Us,” <http://www.unco.edu/stryker/About%20Us.html>.

1259 University of Northern Colorado, Stryker Institute for Leadership Development, “Frequently Asked Questions,” http://www.unco.edu/stryker/Applicant_FAQ.html.

1260 University of Northern Colorado, Stryker Institute for Leadership Development, “Scholarship Information,” <http://www.unco.edu/stryker/scholarship.html>.

(coordinating local volunteer work), Bears P.A.Y It Forward, Bear Welcome, Best Buddies, Comedy Club, cultural events (Black History Month, Chicano Arts festival, Día de la Independencia, Cinco de Mayo, Mexicana, Chinese New Year, NAKLand Children’s Festival, MLK march), Family and Friends Weekend, Homecoming, outreach arts events (concerts, lectures, readings), outreach athletic events (local citizens can come watch college games), outreach library services “to support fair and equal access to information,” outreach technology access (local organizations can use campus computers and computing services, and the university donates used computers to local schools), Retired and Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), Soccer Without Borders (“UNC football players engage immigrant and refugees in soccer and sports on campus”), Student Involvement Fair, and Weld Project Connect.¹²⁶¹

Outreach & Partnerships

The University of Northern Colorado cooperates with and supports local organizations, by way of being a good neighbor. The Universities’ academic departments, student clubs, and local businesses and organizations put on a Community Fest together; a Health Fair “provides free and low-cost health screenings to community members”; faculty are available for consultation and lectures on a variety of subject, as listed on an Online Experts Directory; faculty provide commentary on current events in Community Conversations; and the “Business Incubator Program, BizHub ... provides educational and entrepreneurial services to high impact Colorado companies.”¹²⁶²

Individual projects that “provide a glimpse into ongoing or recently completed engaged scholarly activities undertaken by faculty and students at the University of Northern Colorado” include: *Mathematics and Science Teaching for English Learners (MAST-EL)*; *Navajo Nation Teacher Education Consortium*; *Title II Grant: Improving Teacher Quality (ITQ): Building Teacher Skills to work with English Language Learners (ELL) and Special Education Students*; *Scholarships for Education and Economic Development (SEED)* (“a professional development program for elementary teachers from Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic”); *Teaching Excellence and Achievement Program-Pakistan (TEA)* (“professional development opportunities for secondary English teachers from Pakistan”); *The ROOTS Project* (“community engaged teaching, learning, and research through a collaborative ethnography project”); *Expedition Yucatán* (“multicultural service learning abroad”); *Before School Physical Activity Programming at Elementary Schools in Greeley and Aurora, CO*; *Rocky Mountain Cancer Rehabilitation Institute*; *Creating Community: Connecting Northeastern Colorado Libraries*; *Greeley Young Authors*; *Center for Integrated Arts Education*; and *Partnership Project: Realizing Our Community (ROC)* (“To facilitate the integration of immigrants and refugees into the Greeley and Evans community.”¹²⁶³

1261 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Co-Curricular Engagement,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/co_curricular_engagement.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Definition of Engagement,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/definition.html>.

1262 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Outreach & Partnerships,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/outreach_partnerships.html.

1263 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “What does it mean to engage at UNC?,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/partnership_portal.html.

Community Engaged Scholars Symposium

The University of Northern Colorado hosts an annual Community Engaged Scholars Symposium for faculty, students, and other “members of the university community to share information about community issues and community engaged teaching, learning and research.” Students (presumably in “engaged courses” are required to attend the Symposium, students and faculty give presentations on engaged class projects and engaged research, and attendees take part in “mini round table sessions about pressing community issues.”

The University also distributes Engaged Scholar Awards at the Symposium, “to recognize and honor outstanding efforts and achievements made toward the development and practice in the field of community engagement between UNC constituents and community partners.” There are three categories of awards: *community-based learning*; *community-based research*; and *community partner building*. In 2014, the Engaged Undergraduate Student Award went to Emily Doerner, a “Double major in Environmental and sustainability studies and Asian Studies. Emily is community outreach coordinator for UNC’s Asian/Pacific American Student Services, and is keenly interested in working to help resolve conflict between culturally diverse peoples, whether in India, Israel, or here at home in Greeley.” The Engaged Graduate Student Award went to Meagan M. Cain, who showed that she was “active in the community by planning the 2014 International Women’s Day, working with the Global Refugee Center, as well as Color Our World in collaboration with Weld County Project Connect.” The Engaged Faculty Award went to Dr. Joyce Weil, Associate Professor of Gerontology, for designing a course that took her Gerontology students to a local senior center to hear the residents reminisce about their lives.¹²⁶⁴

Scholarships and Awards

The University of Northern Colorado reserves one category of its Summer Support Initiative to provide faculty up to \$3,000 toward summertime work on “projects in the area of engaged research, scholarship, or creative works. Projects in this category involve the applicant in partnership with groups or communities in a reciprocal and mutually beneficial relationship in which the needs, assets, knowledge and active participation of all parties are incorporated into the project.”¹²⁶⁵

The Award for Excellence in Social Science Engaged Research provides \$1,000 “to a faculty member [in the social sciences] who has demonstrated exemplary scholarship in engaged research and civic engagement.”¹²⁶⁶ In 2013, the award went to Kyle Anne Nelson, assistant professor of

1264 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Signature Engagement Activities,” http://www.unco.edu/cce/signature_events.html; University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “Community Engaged Scholars Symposium,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/Community%20Engaged%20Symposium%20page.html>.

1265 University of Northern Colorado, “2014 Summer Support Initiative (SSI) for Grant Writing, Research, Scholarship, and Creative Works: Call for Proposals,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/resources.html>; <http://www.unco.edu/osp/news/archive/SSI2014.pdf>.

1266 University of Northern Colorado, “Nominations Sought for the 2016 Award for Excellence in Social Science Engaged Research,” <http://www.unco.edu/research/nominations/pdf/2016%20SocSci%20Engaged%20Research.pdf>.



Sociology, who “worked closely with the Global Refugee Center (GRC) to gather information about the growing refugee population in Greeley. She applied her work to her classroom and gave her students an opportunity to learn by doing.”¹²⁶⁷

The Bob & Bonnie Phelps Family CAP (Contribute, Achieve, Pay it Forward) Awards give up to \$5,000 of tuition, fees, housing costs, and/or student loan debt repayment to three students annually. Awards are given to “students whose lives demonstrate an *exceptional* and *exemplary* personal commitment” to *contributing* (“by volunteering time and personal skills, talents, abilities, experience and passion around issues in service to the community”), *achieving* (“by displaying a bias toward action and performance, overcoming obstacles and setbacks, and accomplishing goals”), and *paying-it-forward* (“by impacting the lives of others in meaningful and positive ways through random and planned acts of kindness, caring, and ‘giving back.’”)¹²⁶⁸

In 2015, the three winners were Amber Lemmon, Cayden Osley, and Azanet Rodriguez.

THE BOB & BONNIE PHELPS FAMILY CAP AWARDS: 2015 AWARD WINNERS

Amber Lemmon is double majoring in finance and accounting and plans on graduating in the summer semester, 2016. She has been a volunteer for Longmont VITA for three years, preparing tax returns for low-income families. She saved taxpayers well over \$10,000 in tax preparation fees, and plans to continue for years to come. She recently became a volunteer Board Member for Northern Colorado Credit Union in Greeley. Amber is currently a student tutor for the finance department, and is excited to add personal finance to the list of classes she will tutor. She has overcome much in my [sic] life and have [sic] worked hard to graduate without student loan debt.

Cayden Osley is studying the Social Sciences which includes economics, history, political science, and geography. Another important part of her degree is Secondary Education. She also has an English as a Second Language endorsement for teaching. Cayden is originally from Florida but grew up in Aurora, CO. She enjoys music and art in her free time and love home improvement projects. Cayden loves going to school at UNC and has really come to love Greeley and its incredibly diverse community. She is entering her senior year, has been incredibly inspired by her education and looks forward to graduation and post grad exploration.

Azanet Rodriguez is the fifth of eight siblings, the first one to have graduated high school and the only one to graduate from college and transfer to a university.

1267 Anna Evans, “University of Northern Colorado recognizes professor Kyle Anne Nelson,” *The Mirror*, April 29, 2013, <http://www.uncmirror.com/news/view.php/113790/University-of-Northern-Colorado-recogniz>.

1268 University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “The Bob & Bonnie Phelps Family CAP Awards,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/CAP%20Awards%20page.html>.



When she envisions her life, she sees steps; those steps are the people, programs and scholarships that have allowed her to be successful in life and higher education. The honor and privilege of being selected for this prestigious award is one which she will not take lightly. This award will allow her to continue her educational path in the Human Services field. Azanet feels that she can be of service to the human services field and can help fellow man pay-it-forward by helping those in need. Her contribution to society will advance as she continues to achieve her educational goals.

University of Northern Colorado, Community and Civic Engagement, “The Bob & Bonnie Phelps Family CAP Awards,” <http://www.unco.edu/cce/CAP%20Awards%20page.html>.

The description of these three awardees suggests that this aspect of UNC’s civics complex has not yet been taken over by the New Civics.

Student Activities Office

The Student Activities Office coordinates volunteer work at the University of Northern Colorado.¹²⁶⁹ The programs include Alternative Spring Break, Bears P.A.Y. It Forward, Weld Project Connect, Ongoing Community Service Opportunities, and Catalyst: A Social Justice Retreat.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES OFFICE: ALTERNATIVE SPRING BREAK

This web site was empty at the time this report was written.¹²⁷⁰ Presumably the University of Northern Colorado selects from options provided by the national Alternative Spring Break organization.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES OFFICE: BEARS P.A.Y. IT FORWARD

Student volunteers spend a fall day cleaning up around the neighborhood—raking leaves, and so on.¹²⁷¹

STUDENT ACTIVITIES OFFICE: WELD PROJECT CONNECT

Student volunteers spend a day “providing numerous on-site services directly to individuals and households struggling and in need due to housing instability, job loss, age, health problems and other issues that can interrupt a life.” The target population, in other words, is the homeless. Assistance can include *Women’s wellness and mammograms, Chiropractic & Acupuncture*,

1269 University of Northern Colorado, Student Activities Office, “Our Mission,” <http://www.unco.edu/studentactivities/mission.html>.

1270 University of Northern Colorado, Student Activities Office, “Alternative Spring Break--Welcome,” <http://www.unco.edu/studentactivities/ash/>.

1271 University of Northern Colorado, Student Activities Office, “Bears P.A.Y. It Forward,” <http://www.unco.edu/studentactivities/payforward.html>.

*Documentation assistance, Education and career counseling, Employment Services, Flu shots, Haircuts, Legal services, Financial Counseling, Pet licenses, and Veterans services. A large number of students participate: “In 2011, Weld Project Connect hosted and helped 1,100 residents of all ages from around Weld County utilizing over 600 volunteers. In 2012 more than 900 guests and 800 volunteers were engaged.”*¹²⁷²

STUDENT ACTIVITIES OFFICE: ONGOING COMMUNITY SERVICE OPPORTUNITIES

The Student Activities Office provides a list of several dozen organizations that would welcome students interested in volunteering and/or “community service.” This appears to be a broadly representative list of nonprofit causes, including Boys & Girls Clubs, Catholic Charities, Parks Department, The United Way, and the City of Greeley Museums Office.¹²⁷³

STUDENT ACTIVITIES OFFICE: CATALYST: A SOCIAL JUSTICE RETREAT

The University pays faculty, students, and staff to listen to progressive advocacy and learn activism techniques: “Participants and facilitators will examine their personal identities; the dynamics of oppression on an individual, systemic, and institutional level; and be introduced to concepts of advocacy for oneself and others. Catalyst’s ultimate goal is to give participants the skills to act on the issues and causes that they are most passionate about.”¹²⁷⁴

Institute for Civic Education

The Institute for Civic Education (ICE), run by the Department of Political Science and International Affairs, “offers content-related professional development opportunities for K-12 teachers in many aspects of American and comparative government, civics, political philosophy and history. Our mission is to advance civic education at all grade levels in the state of Colorado and throughout the country.” ICE collaborates “with school districts, superintendents, principals, teachers and other professional organizations” so as to provide K-12 teachers with half-day or full-day workshops, and weekend and summer seminars. ICE also works to “provide college credit through the University of Northern Colorado for many of these programs.”¹²⁷⁵

1272 Weld Project Connect, “Event Overview,” <http://weldprojectconnect.webnode.com/event-overview/>.

1273 University of Northern Colorado, Student Activities Office, “Ongoing Community Service Opportunities,” <http://www.unco.edu/volunteer/ongoingservice.html>; University of Northern Colorado, Student Activities Office, “Volunteers Needed,” <http://www.unco.edu/volunteer/volunteersneeded.html>.

1274 University of Northern Colorado, Student Activities Office, “Catalyst: A Social Justice Retreat,” <http://www.unco.edu/studentactivities/catalyst/>.

1275 University of Northern Colorado, Political Science and International Affairs, “Institute for Civic Education,” <http://www.unco.edu/psci/ice/>; University of Northern Colorado, Political Science and International Affairs, “Professional Development,” http://www.unco.edu/psci/ice/professional_development.html.

ICE's lesson plans conform to the Colorado Department of Education's content standards for civics. Topics include *Foundations of the Constitution*, *African-American political thought*, *Money and politics*, *Lobbying and political influence*, *Women and politics*, *Comparative democracies*, *Fall of communism*, *What does government do?*, *Theories of democracy*, *Morality and Politics*, *Civil liberties and civil rights*, *Social movements and political change*, *Globalization*, *Environmental politics and policy*, *Understanding the modern presidency*, *Congressional politics*, *Policymaking and the federal bureaucracy*, *How is the United States different from other countries?*, *Voting*, *How public policy is made*, *The Iraq War*, *Election of 2008*, *Citizenship*, and *Inequality and American democracy*.¹²⁷⁶

¹²⁷⁶ University of Northern Colorado, Political Science and International Affairs, "Professional Development," http://www.unco.edu/psci/ice/professional_development.html; Colorado Department of Education, "Standards and Instructional Support," <http://www.cde.state.co.us/standardsandinstruction>.

APPENDIX 9: UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

Overview

Wyoming established its University in 1887, as a land-grant institution. The University of Wyoming (UW) has almost 14,000 students, some 10,200 of whom are undergraduates. Most of UW's students (74 percent) are state residents.¹²⁷⁷ The state government has close ties with the University, which is the only university in the state. The main campus is in Laramie, and there is an additional campus at Casper.

The University of Wyoming's New Civics complex is still small. This Appendix describes:

1. Service, Leadership & Community Engagement;
2. New Civics Courses;
3. Honors Program
4. Study Abroad; and
5. Social Justice Research Center.

The University of Wyoming's New Civics complex is limited in extent—less than UNC's, significantly smaller than CSU's, and far more rudimentary than CU-Boulder's. **Service, Leadership & Community Engagement (SLCE)**, the New Civics' administrative kernel at UW, runs much of the New Civics complex, including its **service-learning classes**. Several **New Civics courses** are the kernels of future New Civics programs. **Alternative Breaks** transforms vacation time into New Civics sessions, **Study Abroad** provides opportunities to extend service-learning to semesters away from UW, and the New Civics extends into UW students' extracurricular life via programs that include the **Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative**, the **Rainbow Leadership Series**, and the **Good Mule Project**. The programs collectively work to make the New Civics present in significant portions of student life at UW.

The New Civics programs at UW extend the New Civics throughout UW, both inside and outside the classroom. They are limited in extent, not yet as pervasive as at CU-Boulder, CSU, or UNC.

¹²⁷⁷ University of Wyoming, UW Quick Facts. <http://www.uwyo.edu/profiles/extras/quick-facts.html>.



Service, Leadership & Community Engagement (SLCE)

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): OVERVIEW

The University of Wyoming’s Office of Service, Leadership & Community Engagement (SLCE), operating out of the Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), coordinates volunteering, service-learning, and community engagement at the University.¹²⁷⁸ We will describe:

1. Street Team;
2. Service;
3. Leadership;
4. Community Engagement;
5. Service Learning; and
6. Resources.

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): STREET TEAM

The Street Team consists of students volunteering to work for SLCE itself—assisting at events, doing committee work, doing public relations, and planning. Two internships at SLCE are available each semester. Street Team students receive “a Street Team baseball t-shirt, a 500 ml Nalgene water bottle, portable phone charger, Street Team pull-over sweatshirt and potential internship credit!”¹²⁷⁹

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): SERVICE

SLCE’s Service includes Alternative Breaks, The Big Event, Community Volunteering, National Days of Service, and Volunteer of the Year Award.

¹²⁷⁸ University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Service, Leadership & Community Engagement,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/>.

¹²⁷⁹ University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Join the SLCE Street Team,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/street-team/index.html>.

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): SERVICE: ALTERNATIVE BREAKS

UW also works with the national Alternative Breaks Program. The Summer 2016 trip “will focus on environmental sustainability, education and maintenance of Glacier National Park, with stops in Jackson, WY and Yellowstone National Park. We will also be camping and exploring nature!” At the University of Wyoming, the program is advertised as providing “a sharpened sense of civic duty.”¹²⁸⁰

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): SERVICE: THE BIG EVENT

Students spend three hours one day each year doing service work around Laramie: “raking, painting, window washing, yard work and much more.”¹²⁸¹

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): SERVICE: COMMUNITY VOLUNTEERING

SLCE coordinates student volunteering with local organizations, which do not appear to be screened for progressive affiliations. Organizations include Black Dog Animal Rescue, University of Wyoming Art Museum, St. Lawrence School, Special Olympics of Wyoming, Albany County Public Library, Salvation Army Food Pantry, American Red Cross of Wyoming, Biodiversity Conservation Alliance, Laramie Reproductive Health (which does not provide abortions), and Hospice of Laramie.¹²⁸²

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): SERVICE: NATIONAL DAYS OF SERVICE

SLCE facilitates four dedicated volunteering days a year: Martin Luther King Jr. Day (January 19), Earth Day (April 22), 9/11 National Day of Service and Remembrance (September 11), and Make A Difference Day (October 24). On MLK Day, “We will have multiple stations that Students will be able to do different service activities such as making blankets to give to the hospital or SAFE Project, making scarves to give to Interfaith Good Samaritan, making coffee sleeves with inspirational quotes that local coffee shops will use, and various other activities. We will also be partnering with WASA (Wyoming African Student Association) to incorporate African Heritage.” On Earth Day, students recycle used goods at the Earth Day Rummage Swap, do Bike Safety Inspections and Minor Repairs, participate in an Upcycling (=creating something useful from recycled goods) Competition, and help out on City Cleanup on the streets of Laramie. On 9/11, students take part in a Flag Ceremony, a Memorial Stair Climb at the War Memorial Stadium, and “The Good Deed

¹²⁸⁰ University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Alternative Breaks,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/service/ab.html>.

¹²⁸¹ University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “The Big Event,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/service/the-big-event.html>.

¹²⁸² University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Community Volunteering,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/service/community-volunteering.html>.



Challenge”—a commitment to perform some act of service. On Make a Difference Day, students dress up in costumes and take part in a food drive for canned goods.¹²⁸³

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): SERVICE: VOLUNTEER OF THE YEAR AWARD

“The Volunteer of the Year Award was established to recognize a student who has exemplified the spirit of volunteerism and service within the campus or the community.”¹²⁸⁴

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): LEADERSHIP

SLCE’s Leadership includes First Year Institute, Leadership Courses, Multicultural Student Leadership Institute, Rainbow Leadership Series, and Women’s Leadership Program. Leadership programs appear as intellectually null at UW as at any other university.

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): LEADERSHIP: FIRST YEAR INSTITUTE

Freshmen spend a free weekend away from Laramie in September “to learn more about themselves as leaders, the vast involvement opportunities at UW, and meet other first-year students at UW.”¹²⁸⁵

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): LEADERSHIP: LEADERSHIP COURSES

Students can take *CNSL 3010 Student Leadership Strategies*: “Students will develop and practice the leadership skills they need to make a difference in their lives and the lives of others.”¹²⁸⁶

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): LEADERSHIP: MULTICULTURAL STUDENT LEADERSHIP INITIATIVE

The Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative (MSLI) “is an involvement opportunity for students who support diversity and want to make a difference during their time at UW. MSLI is dedicated to supporting students in their first year on campus by developing their leadership skills and building a supportive social network through mentoring. MSLI promotes an environment where students can prepare for future leadership roles in campus organizations while also enhancing their overall

1283 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “National Days of Service,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/service/national-days-service.html>.

1284 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Volunteer of the Year Award,” http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/service/volunteer_oftheyear2016.html.

1285 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “First Year Institute,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/leadership/fyi.html>.

1286 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Leadership Courses,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/leadership/leadership-courses.html>.

academic success.” MSLI includes Mentoring and Leadership Development, the latter of which includes “leadership development workshops and special community building activities.” It is unclear if this is more than a retention program for minority students.¹²⁸⁷

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): LEADERSHIP: RAINBOW LEADERSHIP SERIES

The Rainbow Leadership Series (RLS) coordinates the community organizing of gay (=“LGBTQ”) students by way of “leadership development opportunities.” The RLS calls on participating students to *commit to involvement in one of the opportunities on campus; better understand the role collaboration plays in social change; develop an individual call to action, encouraging others to collaborate in their cause; find a common leadership purpose with other participants in the series; and take part in a leadership activity that promotes social change.*

The RLS awards a Rainbow Leadership Award each year to honor “one student, one faculty/staff member, and one community member for their leadership on LGBTQ issues.” There does not appear to be cash or other goods and services associated with the award.¹²⁸⁸

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): LEADERSHIP: WOMEN’S LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

The Women’s Leadership Program appears to consist entirely of a one-weekend Women’s Leadership Conference. Participants “meet each other and engage in rich dialogue” before they switch over to “dynamic educational programming.”¹²⁸⁹

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

SLCE’s Community Engagement includes Alternative Breaks (discussed above), Community Volunteering (discussed above), and Community Engaged Scholars (for which the webpage is empty).¹²⁹⁰ We discuss below the remaining two programs: the Good Mule Project and Pokes Vote.

1287 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/leadership/msli.html> ; University of Wyoming, Multicultural Affairs, “Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative (MSLI),” <http://www.uwyo.edu/oma/msli/>.

1288 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Rainbow Leadership Series,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/leadership/rainbow-leadership.html>.

1289 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Women’s Leadership,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/leadership/womensleadership.html>.

1290 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Community Engaged Scholars,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/community-engagement/community-engaged-scholars.html>.

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT: THE GOOD MULE PROJECT

The Good Mule Project (GMP) is a conference promoting progressive advocacy and activism: “a student-led initiative at the University of Wyoming fostering a community of dialogue and action around issues of multiculturalism and diversity through the lens of social justice activism.” At one Toolbox Workshop, participants learn “**Lobbying!** Melanie Vigil is the Graduate Assistant for Community Engagement in the SLCE Office. Having a strong passion for LGBT advocacy, Melanie has lobbied, testified, and organized for important LGBT legislation both in the State of Wyoming and on a national level.” Ms. Vigil instructs participants “how to be an effective social justice advocate by learning how to write strategic letters/emails to elected officials, how to testify, and how to navigate difficult conversations with adversaries.” A second Toolbox Workshop is run by “LeeAnn Grapes[, who] is the Executive Director of the Laramie-based nonprofit Forward Wyoming. Forward Wyoming’s mission is to advocate for a better, stronger, and fairer state for all, and to give young people the tools they need to make a positive impact in their communities via grassroots organizing.” Ms. Grapes “co-founded Forward Wyoming [in 2014] to increase civic participation and voter turnout. She organized a successful ‘commit to vote’ campaign that produced over 1,000 pledges from community members, and her internship program, the Grassroots Institute, has educated more than 50 young people about effective activism.”

GMP Consciousness Workshops include *Identity Windows*, *Privilege*, *Roots and Shoots: Deconstructing the Cycle of Oppression*, and *Subordinate and Dominant Groups*.¹²⁹¹

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT: POKES VOTE

Pokes Votes registers students to vote, and follows up by bringing them to the voting booth.¹²⁹²

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): SERVICE LEARNING

SLCE’s Service-Learning provides Community Engagement Mini-Grant Awards, usually “between \$200 and \$700, [which] are available to fund the implementation of new community engagement or service-learning projects as well as the continuation of established projects in existing courses.” In 2010, eleven grants ranging from \$500 to \$1,500 were awarded to *Exploring Laramie’s Cultural and Natural History*; *Communities of Story Tellers*; *Partnering with the Community through Grant Writing*; *Campus Sustainability*; *The Keep Girls in School Project*; *Professional Writing in*

1291 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “The Good Mule Project,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/community-engagement/good-mule-project.html> ; University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Keynote Speakers,” http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/community-engagement/speaker_bios.html#Good Mule Speakers.

1292 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Pokes Vote,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/community-engagement/pokes-vote.html>.

the Community; Cultural Landscape Management on the Wind River Reservation; Pre-service Teachers as Resources to Families; Life Science Lessons for All; Emergency Preparedness at UW: Not Just an Academic Exercise; and Environmental Stewardship: First Year Experience.

SLCE also has worked with Colorado Campus Compact’s Engaged Faculty Institute (EFI), which provides “training and support for faculty who are currently, or hope to, implement service learning into their curriculum.” The EFI training program “provides an opportunity for cohorts of faculty and instructors to engage in dialogue about student-centered, experiential education that enhances classroom learning while addressing community needs. The seminar series is designed to introduce and provide best practices for service learning, and to guide participants as they integrate it into their classroom curriculum and pedagogy.”

SLCE now supports its own on-campus Engaged Faculty Learning Community: “SLCE and the Ellbogen Center for Teaching and Learning are teaming up to offer an exciting opportunity for 10 faculty members to participate in a faculty learning community (FLC) on service-learning.”¹²⁹³ The faculty participants do not appear to be recompensed, but they no longer have to travel to Colorado to learn how to incorporate service-learning into their courses.

SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT (SLCE): RESOURCES

SLCE provides long lists of resources—organizations, conferences, awards, and professional development—for Students, Faculty, and Community Partners. These associate the University of Wyoming with the national programs that promote the New Civics—Campus Compact, The National Service Learning Conference, Mobilize.org, and so on.¹²⁹⁴

New Civics Courses

UW doesn’t itemize its service-learning or civic engagement courses, but several courses offered in Fall 2016 appear by their titles and descriptions to be exercises in New Civics. EDST 1101 *FYS: Citizen Factory* (24 students enrolled) introduces students “to active learning, inquiry of pressing issues, and individual and collaborative processing of ideas. Open to all, the course will appeal to any student with an interest in the public schools or schooling for democracy.”¹²⁹⁵

1293 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Service Learning,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/community-engagement/service-learning.html>; University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Community Engagement Mini-Grants,” http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/_files/community-engaged-scholars/community_engagement_mini-grant_2015_2016.pdf; University of Wyoming, News, “UW Faculty Members Awarded Service-Learning Project Grants,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/uw/news/2010/12/uw-faculty-members-awarded-service-learning-project-grants.html>.

1294 University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Student Resources,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/resources/student%20resources.html>; University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Faculty/Staff Resources,” http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/resources/faculty_staff%20resources.html; University of Wyoming, Wyoming Union (Division of Student Affairs), “Community Partners Resources,” http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/resources/community_partners.html.

1295 University of Wyoming, Registrar, Fall 2016, “Educational Studies 766-3130,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/edst.html.



Citizen Factory presumably is the seed of a Public Achievement franchise at UW. CNSL 1101 *FYS: EPIC Leadership* (24 students enrolled) “is an innovative survey course providing students with a basic understanding of what it means to think and act like a leader no matter what their role is in an organization, group or community. It covers eighteen fundamental and timeless leadership principles that every effective leader should understand.”¹²⁹⁶ The Wyoming Leadership program offers the course CNSL 2000 *Intro to Student Leadership*.¹²⁹⁷ UWYO 3000 *Student Leadership in Supplemental Instruction* teaches students “peer leadership, best practices in supplemental instruction, and student reflection. Will strengthen leadership knowledge and skills and introduce effective methods for group facilitation and SI curriculum.”¹²⁹⁸ In Fall 2015, students could take UWYO 1101 *Ignite Your Passion: Creating Change Through Service and Action*, in which students provided “service in the local Laramie community,” acquired “a foundation for understanding the role of public scholarship, community engagement, and social action,” and learned to “examine and critique strategies for social and environmental change, while becoming familiar with the expectations and responsibilities for successful community engagement.”¹²⁹⁹

Such courses are the kernels for future New Civics programs. These four courses, for example, are framed to become the equivalent of CU-Boulder’s Public Achievement, INVST, Dialogues, and Leadership programs. UW’s New Civics advocates will build their bureaucratic infrastructure out of such classes.

New Civics classes at UW appear to be concentrated in the First Year Seminars¹³⁰⁰ and the University of Wyoming (UWYO)¹³⁰¹ classes. These programs should be taken to be components of the New Civics bureaucracy at UW.

Honors Program

UW’s Honors Program advertizes itself as providing “co-curricular opportunities,” “the breadth of knowledge needed by citizens,” and instruction in “how to become engaged citizens and to understand the ethnic and cultural diversity of America and the world.”¹³⁰² The 2014 External Review Report of the Honors Program also stated that “With the WHO [Wyoming Honors Organization]

1296 University of Wyoming, Registrar, Fall 2016, “Counselor Education 766-5649,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/class_schedules/fall2016/cnsl.html.

1297 University of Wyoming, Service, Leadership, and Community Engagement, “Leadership Courses,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/union/slce/leadership/leadership-courses.html>.

1298 University of Wyoming, University Catalog, “University of Wyoming (UWYO),” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/university_catalog/uwyo.html#UWYO3000.

1299 University of Wyoming, “First-Year Seminar Fall 2015 Course Offerings,” http://www.uwyo.edu/cacs/_files/documents/fys%20fall%202015%20course%20descriptions.pdf.

1300 University of Wyoming, University Catalog, “First-year Seminars,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/unst/usp2015/fys-courses/#inline12>.

1301 University of Wyoming, University Catalog, “University of Wyoming (UWYO),” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/university_catalog/uwyo.html#UWYO3000.

1302 University of Wyoming, Office of the Registrar, “University Honors Program,” http://www.uwyo.edu/registrar/university_catalog/7mischnr.html.

community service activities and study abroad programs, the Honors Program has embraced the concept of participatory, experiential honors education. In addition, several honors courses incorporate hands-on, experiential elements.¹³⁰³ UW's Honor's Program has begun to integrate itself into the New Civics.

Study Abroad

UW's Study Abroad program includes a service-learning program in Kenya, which has been run out of UW-Casper since 2004.¹³⁰⁴ In the summer of 2016, the University offered the latest iteration of this service-learning study-abroad course, EDEL 4975/EDCI 5480: *International Cultural Immersion & Service Learning in Kenya*. Participating students "Help renovate Joy Children's Home, a residence and school to 210 children from very needy families. While there, you will interact with local families and cultures. Then you will make an impact during tree-planting activities in Karura Forest, an 'urban forest' and environmental jewel under threat from developers. By planting trees, you will stand in solidarity with Kenya's Green Belt Movement." The course syllabus added that students "will also examine ways in which the course will have influenced them as citizens of a "globalized" world."¹³⁰⁵

Previous service-learning study abroad classes in Kenya have included the 2013 Hillside Water Project (with some scholarships partly funded by the University of Wyoming's Dick and Lynne Cheney Study Abroad grant program),¹³⁰⁶ and the 2014 and 2015 Kenya Karati School Service Project.¹³⁰⁷

Social Justice Research Center

The University of Wyoming's Social Justice Research Center (SJRC) is not formally devoted to civics education, although its organizational rationale does include the claim that "that when any segment or community experiences injustice, democratic ideals are at risk. ... Social justice research attends to problems of oppression and generates strategies for working toward their resolution. " It is useful to look at it briefly, however, as a way of registering how much of what the University

1303 University of Wyoming, University of Wyoming Honors Program, "External Review Report, November 3-4, 2014," https://www.uwyo.edu/acadaffairs/_files/docs/honors_external_review-2014.pdf.

1304 University of Wyoming, Kenya Service Learning Study Abroad Summer 2015, "Kenya Service Learning Study Abroad Summer 2015," <http://www.uwyo.edu/edstudies/faculty-research-community-involvement/kenya-service-learning-study-abroad-summer-2015/>.

1305 University of Wyoming, International Studies: Kenya, "Summer 2016 Learning Through Service," <http://www.uwyo.edu/outreach/uwcasper/study-abroad-kenya/>; University of Wyoming, International Studies: Kenya, "2016 Kenya International Service Learning," http://www.uwyo.edu/outreach/uwcasper/_files/documents/2016-kenya-summary.docx; University of Wyoming, International Studies: Kenya, "2016 Kenya Summer Session Course Syllabus," http://www.uwyo.edu/outreach/uwcasper/_files/documents/2016_Kenya%20Syllabus.docx.

1306 University of Wyoming, News, "UW-Led Group Brings Water to Community in Kenya," <http://www.uwyo.edu/uw/news/2013/08/uw-led-group-brings-water-to-community-in-kenya.html>.

1307 University of Wyoming, College of Education, "Education faculty visit to Kenya continues existing projects, creates new international connections for UW students," <http://www.uwyo.edu/education/deans-office/college-news/2014/2014%20kenya%20trip.html>; University of Wyoming, Kenya Service Learning Study Abroad Summer 2015, "Kenya Service Learning Study Abroad Summer 2015," <http://www.uwyo.edu/edstudies/faculty-research-community-involvement/kenya-service-learning-study-abroad-summer-2015/>.

of Wyoming claims under its civics umbrella is also claimed by the SJRC as a means of forwarding social justice. The SJRC lists the Good Mule Project, the Office of Multicultural Affairs (which hosts the Multicultural Student Leadership Initiative), the Rainbow Resource Center (which hosts the Rainbow Leadership Series), and the Women’s Center (which co-sponsors the Women’s Leadership Conference).¹³⁰⁸ The University of Wyoming’s organizational overlap registers the nationwide conflation of *civics* and *social justice*.

1308 University of Wyoming, Social Justice Research Center, “UW Organizations,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/sjrc/uworganizations/index.html>; University of Wyoming, Social Justice Research Center, [“Home,”] <http://www.uwyo.edu/sjrc/index.html>; University of Wyoming, Social Justice Research Center, “What is Social Justice,” <http://www.uwyo.edu/sjrc/whatisocialjustice/>.

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