

THESIS

COLORADO STATE INCORPORATED: A CRITICAL UNIVERSITY STUDY

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

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This critical university study examines the neo-liberal agenda's influence on Colorado State University. This study challenges the policies and decisions made by Colorado's legislation that have brought forth the need for outside interest like private corporations to cover the state's financial short comings. This study seeks to scrutinize the actions that institutions of higher learning like Colorado State make in order to administer public, non-profit universities like a privatized for-profit business. Furthermore, this thesis looks at the privatization of services, commoditization of students, the dismantling of tenured faculty and how neo-liberalism and market forces affect Colorado State University's students, faculty, and state-classified employees.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
The Mission of the Land Grant University	1
Welfare Capitalism to Neo-liberalism	4
Neo-liberalism Defined	9
Key Neo-liberal Effects.....	10
Thesis/Hypothesis Question.....	12
CHAPTER 2.....	13
REFLEXIVE STATEMENT.....	13
The Purpose	13
Corporate Media and the Purpose.....	14
Politics and the Purpose.....	16
The Academe and The Purpose.....	17
Truths verses Purposes	17
CHAPTER 3.....	20
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	20
Critical University Studies.....	20
Welfare Capitalism’s affects on race and class.....	22
Neo-liberal Attack on Higher Education	25
Neo-liberal Commoditization of the Academe.....	26
The White Architects of Radicalized Higher Education.....	29
Corporate Influence on the American Public University System.....	30
The cost of corporate influence and the modern university	31
CHAPTER 4.....	34
RESEARCH METHODS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	34
Method.....	34
CHAPTER 5.....	40
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	40
Colorado State University: A Historical Timeline of Corporate Involvement	40
Beginnings	40
The Great Depression	43
The Tumultuous 1960s.....	45
The 70s: A Decade of Change?.....	47
Money Troubles and Debt to Privatization.....	50
TABOR.....	52
Contemporary Findings, 2010-2012	53
Raising Tuition in Colorado.....	54
Hiring Part-Time Faculty.....	55
The Privatization of Services at Colorado State University	55
The Board of Governors	58
Who They Are.....	59
The Numbers	62
The Presidents Honor Roll	64

INTO State University.....	66
CHAPTER 6.....	70
CONCLUSIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE STUDY.....	70
Areas of Future Study.....	71
REFERENCES.....	74

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Mission of the Land Grant University

Land-grant universities are public learning institutions that have been designated by their state legislature or the United States Congress to receive the benefits of the Morrill Act of 1862 (Barrow, 1990). A second Morrill Act was passed in 1890 specifically to support African American Land-Grant institutions. The original mission of these institutions, as set forth in the first Morrill Act, was to teach agriculture, military tactics, and the mechanic arts as well as classical studies so that members of the working classes could obtain a liberal, practical education (Barrow, 1990). The Land-Grant mission did not stop there.

According to a *Denver Post* guest commentary article written by Colorado State University Chancellor Joe Blake and the University's President Dr. Tony Frank (2010),

Morrill believed the best way to confront the complex challenges facing this still-new nation was to have a steady supply of educated women and men who could rise up with confidence to meet them. He saw that the old, European model—in which education was largely the province of the upper classes—wouldn't work for long in a democratic society

Blake and Frank's (2010) assessment of the Morrill Act suggests that the Land-Grant model has given several generations of middle and lower class or non-traditional students the tools and knowledge necessary to achieve a better understanding of our world. Blake and Frank (2010) also suggest that the land-grant Model allowed non-traditional students a chance to compete with their traditional upper-class counterparts thus creating social equity amongst the masses.

Throughout the history of the land-grant model private entities, corporations politicians, the military and special interest have used the public universities to further their own agendas; whether they were financial, political or personal (Barrow, 1990). In essence the land-grant ideology that sprang forth from the Morrill act was quickly seen by outside corporate interest as a way to profit from knowledge (Barrow, 1990).

Corporations met little resistance from academic scholars and American institutions of higher learning when they unleashed forms of Welfare Capitalism onto the American public (Barrow, 1990). One might argue that the land-grant university is the form welfare capitalism. It was not until the beginning of the Great Depression that the American university system moved away from the welfare capitalism model and began to adopt the ideology of President Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal" policies (Barrow, 1990).

Barrow argues that the Great Depression and the events that led the United States into World War II helped to spark a left wing academic uprising. Authors such as Robert S. Lynd, James Wechsler and Hubert Park Beck criticized the influence of capitalism on the academe (Barrow, 1990). These authors' criticisms of the academy and capitalism were reminiscent of the writings of Sociology professor Thorstein Veblen's 1918 *Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men*. Veblen's book was a searing analysis of the effects of financial influence upon the American university organization, administration, teaching, and research structure (Veblen, 1918). By criticizing the academe, the authors of the "academic rebellion" of the late 1930's were saying that the academy shared the sentiment of mistrust of large corporations and welfare capitalists with the rest of the country (Barrow, 1990). In turn

and largely due a national distrust of big business welfare capitalist were forced to relinquish their positions of power within the academy and return control to university faculty and staff (Barrow, 1990).

The New Deal era programs like, Social Security, and Public Works programs took the power away from the private sector and gave it back to the American public (Barrow, 1990). Under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations “The Great Society” programs such as Head Start, the Civil Rights Act, Food Stamp Act, and other initiatives were all formed to give back to the American public so they could achieve the American Dream (Cuciti & Kaplan, 1986). The Great Society programs also helped to pull millions of people out from underneath the guise of poverty (Cuciti & Kaplan, 1986). The Great Society legislation gave government assistance to the poor in regards to education (Cuciti & Kaplan, 1986).

Public colleges, flagship universities and Land-Grant universities benefitted from programs like the “Higher Education Act of 1965”. The HEA was intended to strengthen financial resources of America’s colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education. The HEA increased federal money given to universities, created scholarships, gave low-interest loans for students, and established a National Teachers Corps. The programs that the New Deal and Great Society legislation created are still being utilized.

Over the last one hundred and fifty years Colorado State University has been subjected to the influence of outside private entities. Colorado State University like so many other institutions has weathered corporatization, the Great Depression, and several other economic strains. Regrettably, due to state and federal funding cutbacks to higher

education Colorado State University has had to turn to private corporations and private donors to make up for lost funding. This creates a conundrum for CSU and the university's student body.

Public Higher Education is just that, education for the public supplied and paid for by the American tax payer (Soley, 1995). In theory the American taxpayer should have the final say in all aspects of a Land-Grant university this includes financial and administrative operations of the university. Unfortunately this is not the case (Soley, 1995). The majority if not all public universities have boards of governors or regents that make these all-important decisions. For example, the Colorado State University board of governors is appointed by the governor of Colorado to serve four-year terms as voting members (System, 2012).

Does the Board of Governors and administration run Colorado State University more like a "for profit" business and less like a "nonprofit" institution of higher learning? It is a well known fact that an entity like Colorado State University needs the appropriate amount of funds to operate but, due to several federal and state financial cuts to higher education, Colorado State has had to turn to outside sources to obtain the funds necessary to function. When a public university starts to depend on private sources to make up for its existence and subsistence does the public lose control over the establishment? In other words who owns Colorado's land-grant university?

Welfare Capitalism to Neo-liberalism

Before the turn of the 19th century, welfare capitalism was a major market force that affected every aspect of American culture. Institutions of higher learning were not immune to the influence of such a strong market force. Gross (2004) defines welfare

capitalism as the policies of large, usually non-unionized, companies that have developed internal welfare systems for their employees. The practice gained prominence in the United States from the 1880s through the 1920s (Gross, 2004).

Welfare capitalist ideology was endorsed by business leaders during an era marked by social reform, extensive economic insecurity, social activism, and labor unrest (Gross, 2004). Corporate leaders based the idea on a notion that Americans should not depend on the government or labor unions but look to the workplace for private benefits such as healthcare, retirement plans, exercise, and leisure time (Gross, 2004). These benefits would and should be provided by private-sector employers for protection against the fluctuations of the market economy (Gross, 2004). By doing so, companies who supported such forms of welfare policies would encourage worker loyalty, productivity and dedication (Gross, 2004).

Benefits offered by employers who practiced welfare capitalism were often conflicting and varied widely from company to company (Gross, 2004). The packages often included minimal benefits such as meal plans and company-sponsored sports teams (Gross, 2004). Some firms offered more extensive plans that provided retirement benefits, health care, and employee profit-sharing (Gross, 2004). Examples of companies that practiced Welfare Capitalism included Ford Motor Company, Kodak, Sears, General Motors and IBM (Gross, 2004). All of these corporations' main elements of employment have included permanent employment, internal labor markets, employee involvement and educational programs (Gross, 2004).

Welfare capitalists were staunch anti-unionist (Jacoby, 1995). They used the policy as a way to resist government regulation of markets, independent labor union

organizing, and the emergence of a welfare state (Jacoby, 1997). Welfare capitalists went to great lengths to quash independent union organizing, strikes, and other expressions of labor collectivism through a combination of violent suppression, worker sanctions, and benefits in exchange for loyalty (Jacoby, 1997).

During the height of the era of welfare capitalism corporate leaders from businesses such as Ford Motor Company, U.S. Steele and Standard Oil all had ties to top positions on several university governing boards (Barrow, 1990). By 1890 the first generation of manufacturing, railroad men and financier millionaires often made large monetary contributions to higher education institutions in exchange for positions on university governing boards (Barrow, 1990). According to a 1936 study conducted by Earl J. McGrath bankers and businessmen went from approximately one quarter of universities total governing board membership in 1860 to one half by 1930 (Barrow, 1990). McGrath also reported that lawyers were the next largest group to sit on governing boards. These lawyers were usually engaged in corporate law and were officers or directors for various business enterprises (McGrath, 1936). McGrath argues that by occupying all the top positions within the American university system lawyers, bankers and businessmen were allowed to make management decisions that benefitted outside interests to which these very board members maintained connections and not the interest of the institutions of higher education that they represented (McGrath, 1936).

A new kind of educational system sprang forth from businessmen, lawyers and financiers acquiring the institutional capacity to reconstitute the intellectual labor process (Barrow, 1990). By doing so welfare capitalists created new forms of class in which American professors became scholars and researchers rather than teachers (Barrow,

1990). Furthermore those who made up the new social class can be credited with the formation of private educational foundations. The private educational foundation first linked conceptions of class structure and class interest to the disparate actions of the university administrations (Barrow, 1990).

Foundations such as the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT) and the General Education Board (GEB) were instrumental in the formation of corporate class interests in higher education. Both foundations were key components in promoting the need for monopoly moneys into the structure of higher education (Barrow, 1990). Early corporate America established a foothold within the university system thus taking control away from faculty and putting it in the hands of businessmen (Barrow, 1990; Sinclair, 1923; Veblen, 1918). As more universities adopted the welfare capitalist agenda attacks on academic freedom were on the rise (Barrow, 1990).

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries several public institutions of higher learning adopted a conservative anti academic radical stance (Barrow, 1990). A number of public universities terminated several members of their faculty for taking critical economic stances against their businessmen administrators and challenging the basic assumptions of classical economics, political thought and there affects on class dynamics (Barrow, 1990). Barrows (1990) states:

It was obvious to everyone that businessmen had a direct interest in regulating economic thought in the universities. However, their intrusions into other fields such as philosophy, psychology, anthropology and political science now indicated a much deeper comprehension of their long-term class interests in the regulation of ideology and curriculum (p. 205).

As a result of the intrusions by businessmen, some of America's top public universities had created a volatile dynamic between their faculty, administrators and the newly formed American Association of University Professors (Schrecker, 1986; Barrow, 1990).

During the early 20th century the AAUP challenged several cases of faculty being fired for "radical" behavior (Schrecker, 1986; Barrow, 1990). The AAUP challenged the actions of several university administrations. They based their challenges on the ideology that the academic freedom of faculty was under attack (Barrow, 1990). From 1915 until today, the AAUP has continued to take up this fight and could be considered one of the driving forces behind the concept that public universities belong to the people.

Welfare capitalism prevailed in the United States through the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Due to the Great Depression of the 1930s, a new ideology was formed by an economist named John Maynard Keynes and welfare capitalism diminished during the New Deal era in part in response to student protest and activism (Brax, 1980; Cohen, 1997). Keynes suggested a theory that confronted liberalism as the best policy for capitalists. He argued "in essence, that full employment is necessary for capitalism to grow and it can be achieved only if governments and central banks intervene to increase employment" (Jacoby, 1997, p. 345). Keynes ideas influenced New Deal policies. The concept that government should advance the common good became widely accepted. Keynes and the New Deal ideology pushed well into the mid-1970s, but the capitalist crisis over the last 25 years has inspired the corporate elite to revive economic liberalism. Now, with the rapid globalization of the capitalist economy, we are seeing neo-liberalism on a global scale which has coincided with the corporate takeover of the American university system (Martinez & Garcia, 2000).

Neo-liberalism Defined

Neo-liberalism is a term used to describe a certain set of economic policies that have become prevalent over the last 25 years (Martinez & Garcia, 2000). The term is rarely heard in the United States, but we can see the effects of neo-liberalism in the United States as the top 1% of the United States citizens grow richer and 99% of poor citizens grow poorer (Martinez & Garcia, 2000). To further understand neo-liberalism the term itself needs to be defined. The term liberalism has several different meanings and uses. For the sake of this paper I will briefly explore how American conservatives use the term to damn social programs and praise economic concepts.

The term liberalism has been presented to lower-class working populations by conservatives as a progressive agenda that denounces the conservative or right-wing political, economic, and religious agenda (Martinez & Garcia, 2000). Some conservatives go as far to use the word liberalism as a strategy to prevent social divergence. In other words conservatives use the term as an ideological wall that segregates certain populations based on their political affiliation and social views (Martinez & Garcia, 2000).

Conservative politicians who claim that they despise the “liberal agenda” seem to have no problem with economic liberalism, including neo-liberalism (Martinez & Garcia, 2000). Economic liberalism on the other hand is different in that it is the ideological belief that all people deserve economic freedom. It also supports and promotes individual liberty and choice in economic matters and private property (Martinez & Garcia, 2000). Economic liberalism rarely supports government regulation and it tends to oppose government intervention in the free market when it inhibits free trade and open competition (Martinez & Garcia, 2000).

When the prefix Neo is added to liberalism it creates a new kind of liberalism. This naturally leads to the question: what is the old kind of liberalism? In 1776 Adam Smith, a Scottish economist, published a book called, *The Wealth of Nations*. By doing so the liberal school of economics became famous. Smith and his contemporaries advocated the abolition of government intervention in economic matters (Martinez & Garcia, 2000). Smith argues for little or no restrictions on manufacturing, no barriers to commerce, and no taxes (Martinez & Garcia, 2000). Smith believed that free trade was the best way for a nation's economy to develop and that such ideas were "liberal" in the sense of no controls (Martinez & Garcia, 2000). This application of individualism encouraged "free enterprise" and "free" competition which came to mean: free for the capitalists to make huge profits as they wished (Martinez & Garcia, 2000).

Key Neo-liberal Effects

Neo-liberalism thrives on several points but two stand out: it is the rule of the market and it is the driving force behind privatization (i.e. cutting) of public expenditures for social services.

The Rule of the Market: Liberating "free" enterprise or private enterprise from any bonds imposed by the state regardless of how much social damage this causes. Neo-liberals push for greater openness to international trade and investment in organizations like NAFTA. Neo-liberals achieve this by reducing wages by de-unionizing workers and eliminating workers' rights that had been won over many years of struggle. No more price controls. All in all, total freedom of movement for capital, goods and services. To convince the public that this is good for them Neo-liberals rely on the ideology that an unregulated market is the best way to increase economic growth, which will ultimately benefit everyone. President Ronald Reagan's "supply-side" and "trickle-down" economics are great examples of this (Martinez, Garcia, 2000 p.1).

The rule of the market skews wealth distribution which makes it difficult for lower class students to pay for higher education. This is accomplished through trickle down

economics that keeps the money within the hands of the social elite (Lauerme n, 2011). Neo-liberalism influences universities' alumni, faculty and students in a number of ways. Students who fall into the lower class category are left to search for alternative ways of paying for college. All United States students qualify for federally subsidized loans and or grants but unfortunately there is only so much money that the federal government can lend (Hersh, Merrow, and Wolfe, 2005; Lauerme n, 2011). Additionally, Federal loans and grants are subject to the ebb and flow of United States Government's "sound" financial system (Lauerme n, 2011). This leads to some students having to borrow money from private banks (Soley, 1995).

Privatization/Cutting Public Expenditures for Social Services: Like education and health care as well as other goods and services to private investors. This includes banks, key industries, railroads, toll highways, electricity, schools, hospitals and even fresh water. Although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, which is often needed, privatization has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth even more in a few hands and making the public pay even more for its needs (Martinez & Garcia, 2000 p.2).

According to findaid.org (2011) the largest contributors of loans are secondary markets. These banks ensure the liquidity of the Federal Family Education Loan Program (FFELP) by buying student loans from education lenders. This provides education lenders with fresh capital they can use to originate new student loans (Hersh, Merrow, and Wolfe, 2005; Lauerme n, 2011) As a result; secondary markets are among the largest holders of student loans. In short the federal government sells its stake in education to private banks who have representatives within college governing boards thus privatizing a crucial part of higher education (Lauerme n, 2011) When the government sells loans to private banks it is selling the students ownership of their education to the highest bidder. (Lauerme n, 2011)

The Obama Administration has felt the affects of Neo-liberalism and has proposed budget cuts in higher education. Their proposed plan would reduce federal support for higher education by \$89 billion over 10 years (Lauermen, 2011). By doing so present and past federal and state legislations have forced the American university system into finding creative ways to keep university campuses socially and financially diverse. Neo-liberalism does not always focus on economics.

Thesis/Hypothesis Question

Barrow (1990) argues that during the height of welfare capitalism, board members of several universities, along with private corporate interests, used universities to create class and race/class hierarchies. Class and race/class hierarchies were perpetuated by stacking the deck for those who could afford to attend college, basically keeping the benefits of a college degree in the hands of those in power (Anderson, 1988; Spivey, 1978; Barrow, 1990). Neo-liberal policies are working toward the exact same goals as welfare capitalist.

Over the last twenty-five years, neo-liberals have pushed their agenda of privatization of public entities onto the American public (Maggio & Smith, 2010; Soley, 1995). This can be attributed to public financial cutbacks that force state institutions to borrow monies from outside sources, thus they are compelled to raise tuition, hire part time faculty and privatize services. The question posed here is to what extent has Colorado State University been pushed in a neo-liberal direction and what have been the consequences for students, faculty state-classified employees?

CHAPTER 2

REFLEXIVE STATEMENT

The Purpose

Being a child of Generation X, I was expected to follow in the footsteps of the sixties generation that fought so hard for freedoms that previous generations were denied. The expectation was easy to accomplish as all I had to do was three simple things. First, I had to assimilate to the ideology that even though conformity was a bad thing. I was expected to question our government but never was I to rise up against it. Second, if I worked hard and gave 100% all of the time, I would be rewarded with all the amenities and compensation that society had to offer. This idea was open to all regardless of race, religious views, gender or social class. Third, I was expected to go to college and pick up where our parents and the previous generations had left off. If I followed these three steps, then I could accomplish anything and if I attended college the other two would be that much easier to accomplish.

Through out my life I have been subjected to what I call The Purpose of the American university system. This was accomplished by an unyielding barrage from corporate media, political campaigns and the academy itself. This Purpose, as far as I could deduce, was to educate young men and women. The rationale of doing so was simple. Those who attended college would have the chance to become leaders in several different political, academic and industrial fields and to get arguably higher paying less physically rigorous jobs. In turn America would be the leaders in technology, academia and industry thus creating a more balanced, stable and equitable country for all of its citizens.

Corporate Media and the Purpose

The Purpose was sold to me through the media, politics, friends, family and as well as the academe. The media utilized motion picture's to create a surreal reality about the experiences of college students. Since the nineteen seventies, movies like *Animal House*, *How High?*, National Lampoon's *Van Wilder Back to School*, *House Party 2* and *Revenge of the Nerds* portrayed the university experience as a drunken, sex fest with only a tangential or comedic connection to race, class, gender, sexuality or academia. Young people from all walks of life were sold the idea that once they were admitted to college all bets were off and it was their duty to make the grade and get alcohol poisoning all in the same semester.

On the other hand movies like *The Paper Chase*, *Love Story*, *School Daze*, and *Wonder Boys* tackled more of the social and academic complexities that college students face. These feel good movies, unlike the genre mentioned earlier, also portrayed students as unbridled free spirits. Despite how the movies portray the American college experience the underlying tone was the same. They all represented the idea that the academy enabled people to gain the necessary tools to deal with whatever situation society dealt them. In my opinion these movies were used by the academy as marketing campaigns to attract partially or fully-paying customers to the American university system.

In 1995, John Singleton's *Higher Learning* (Hall, Producer 1995) was one of the few films to take on the serious issues of campus racism, classism, homophobia, and sexism. This rare gem follows the life of three first-year students: a heterosexual African American male athlete, a white bi-sexual female, and a working-class turned neo-Nazi white male. Two particular scenes in this film make important connection between the

corporatization of universities and their exploitation of poor black students. In one segment, the socially-conscious student named Fudge White (played by rapper O'shae 'Ice-Cube' Jackson) explains:

“Nawh man, governments ain't running thing no more. Financial institution, they controlin' the whole scene. Ya'll ever hear of the World Bank or the IMF? Nawh-huh, ya'll probably don't even have checking accounts, but ya'll got them credit cards though. Buying things out your means and wonder while you're still a slave (Hall, & Singleton, 1995).

In another scene after black students have finished playing a game of Monopoly in their dormitory room the following conversations takes place:

Fudge: Boy. I done mastered Monopoly. That's right...ah you're bankrupt chief. Should've bought them bonds man I told you. Hey why you going to this school.

Malik: Well because that's what they say you need to do to make it in this country.

Fudge: What's make it?

Malik: You know getting a degree, you know, making the long dough.

Fudge: That right? So you in it for the money or the knowledge....

Fudge: So they got you running for the school, huh?

Malik: Yeah, partial scholarship.

Fudge: And if you don't run you don't get no tuition, right?

Malik: That's how the system goes.

Fudge: Run, Nigger, Run.

(Hall, & Singleton, 1995).

Both scenes speak to the particular student's financial savvy, knowledge of world financial markets, and his sense that student-athletes bodies are undervalued, bought, sold, and traded for a university's and sponsoring corporations' economic gain. It should not be surprising that *Higher Learning* did not become a cult classic like *Paper Chase*, *Animal House*, or *Revenge of the Nerds* which reduced college to a battle of personal identities rather than power relationships connected to economic, racial, or political power.

Politics and the Purpose

Politics have played a crucial part in the selling of the purpose. During general election years candidates' campaign platforms are usually based in three main themes: economics, foreign policy and education. Education has played a role in many if not all the presidential campaigns since the 1976 general election. For example, during his 1976 presidential campaign, Jimmy Carter promised to create a Department of Education (Edwards, 2009). Ronald Reagan's campaign promises included abolishing the Department of Education and passing a school prayer amendment (Hoenisch, 2004). George W. Bush introduced "No Child Left Behind" during his 2000 presidential campaign. All the policies and campaign promises for better or worse helped to shape the future of American higher education. They also were shaping impressionable minds, like mine, into believing that education was so important that presidential candidates were willing to use it as a reason for why they should get the job.

The Academe and The Purpose

The academe itself was not above selling The Purpose to the American people. Through out my childhood college and higher education was discussed in the class room. I can not remember how many times a teacher during class time made statements like “Are you planning to go to college?” or “Do you think any college is going to consider that kind of grade acceptable?” and my all time favorite “Your actions will be recorded in your college file.”

My teachers and guidance counselors implied that college admissions officials were somewhat of a Big Brother organization. School sponsored events also were not immune to Big Brother’s gaze. There seemed to be college recruiters at sporting events, fund raising occasions and at school dances. Every time I would speak to one of the people at an event they would ask me if I wanted the best future I needed to attend their institution and by doing so I would be fulfilling my duty to myself and become the best American I could be.

I realize now this was just part of The Purpose. I would become educated in the ways of technology, academia and industry and in turn my actions would help to create a more balanced, stable and socially equitable country.

Truths verses Purposes

As I worked my way through high school, I started to realize that the American university system was not the shining example of opportunity that it claimed to be. I began to notice that on-campus recruiters were more interested in students who could either afford to go to college, or students who were athletes. I recall one guidance counselor handing me a flier, and saying have you ever considered a “career in the armed forces?”

Other instances stand out as well such as my friends who lived in upscale neighborhoods receiving a plethora of college recruitment fliers whereas the kids who

lived in my neighborhood received considerably less college information. Instances like these made me realize that The Purpose only pertained to those select few who could afford it. I also started to realize that the people who were being groomed to attend college had parents and grandparents who also had attended college. I found this very discouraging and used this as well as other reasons to drop out of high school and obtain my G.E.D. I chose to follow a career in the culinary arts and pursued that course of action for the next 16 years.

I then decided to give academia another try and enrolled at Front Range Community College. Since then I have completed two degrees (AA and BA), and I found out The Purpose is unattainable. This has not changed my opinion that the American university system is geared toward a certain class and is largely made up of those who have benefitted from being legacy students. This raises several issues for a non-legacy or underprivileged student like me.

First, I found that institutional structural resources for non-traditional students are lacking. Those of us who are considered adult learners have very few resources at our disposal. I believe that the reason the lack of recourses is due to the American university's presumption that, over time, "adult learners" should have acquired "real world" experience which would allow them to better navigate the university system. While I agree with this to a point, if I personally had not acquired basic computer skills elsewhere, and had not been afraid to ask for help, I would have been at a much greater disadvantage.

Second, the college system is geared toward young adults by bending to their intellectual needs. Rarely have I found, with a few exceptions, college professors that

expect students to think critically. Instead, I and many others have been subjected to the regurgitation of information system which lends itself to the standardized test format. I feel that this approach accommodates those students that have been subjected to the “No Child Left Behind” education model. I have personally witnessed on several occasions that students are capable and ready to answer what a subject is about but rarely can they discuss *why* the subject is important or give their own opinion about the subject.

Third, for quite some time I was under the impression that the purpose of the American university system was to teach or impart knowledge. I have found throughout my collegiate experience that the American university system has become less about teaching and more about credentialing for-profit business practices. I understand it takes a great deal of money to operate an institution the size of Colorado State University. Every week of the 2011-2012 school years seemed to bring news from the university’s administration about how much money we have received and what new corporate partnerships CSU had procured. What I hear less about is what new academic leaps our institution has made.

I also understand that with declining public funding Colorado State University needs to look to other sources for money. I have no problem with private and corporate monetary donations but those entities should not be able to put their agendas ahead of the purpose of the American university system which is to teach women and men. With this education, they may have the chance to become leaders in political, academic and industrial fields and to get arguably higher paying less physically rigorous jobs. In turn, Americans would be the leaders in technology, academia and industry thus creating a more balanced, stable and socially equitable country for all of its citizens.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

The intended purpose of this literature review is to get a firm grasp on the emerging field of critical university studies and the history and debates surrounding how race and class issues on college campus are skewed by market forces. This review will look at market forces and how they help to further the neo-liberal agenda, the affects of those agendas, and who is the driving force behind these agendas. This literature review examines how welfare capitalism and neo-liberalism helped to shape the current university systems.

Critical University Studies

The latter years of the 1910's helped to usher in a new era of examining America's university system. In 1918 Thorstein Veblen, the well-known author of *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, published the lesser known *The Higher Education in America*. Veblin (1918) argued:

...businessmen had been allowed to take control of the academy and “the American university in almost every detail functions under the principles that guide accounting and marketing. As a consequence the true purposes of learning have been subverted by the very institutions of higher learning charged with the responsibility to uphold them (p. 34).

It was also Veblen who created the term “Captains of Erudition,” a play on the term “Captains of Industry” used to describe turn-of-the –twentieth century robber barons (Thelin, 2004).

In 1923 American author Upton Sinclair wrote, *The Goose Step: A study of American Education*. Sinclair investigates the consequences of capitalist control of

American colleges and universities. English professor Jeffery Williams argues that Sinclair's book may be one of the first American pieces of literature to look into the corporatization of the American university system and the first critical university study's (Williams, 2012). Williams acknowledges Sinclair's muckraking "*Goose Step*" as the first of its kind but he contests that the emergence of critical university studies did not happen in the early 1990's (Williams, 2012).

Williams contends that CUS was explored by several authors works including Clyde Barrows, *Universities and the Capitalist State: Corporate Liberalism and the reconstruction of American Higher education, 1894-1928*, Lawrence C. Soley', *Leasing the Ivory Tower: The Corporate Takeover of Academia*, and Sheila Slaughter and Larry L. Leslie's *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University*. Williams argues that all of these authors critically examined the consequences of the rise of corporate managerial policies in place of traditional faculty governance (Williams, 2012).

Williams concludes that CUS has been passed from the 1990's and into the 21st century by concerned scholars and authors. Books like Jennifer Washburn's *University, Inc.: The Corporate Corruption of Higher Education*, Marc Bousquet's, *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low-Wage Nation* and Joe Berry's *Reclaiming the Ivory Tower: Organizing Adjuncts to Change Higher Education* focus on how corporations corrupt research and take university control away from faculty and have privatized managerial practices. Williams goes on to argue that new millennium CUS authors contend that students have now become commoditized by raising tuition and making students take on more debt (Williams, 2012). He also states

that the authors contest that universities have a benevolent relationship with students, graduate students are used as free and or cheap labor and undergraduates are seen as means to raise profits.

William's summary of scholarly works pertaining to the field of critical university studies allows his audience to wrap their minds around the importance of the discipline. His explanation and reasoning behind such studies are rationalized by the public's need to better understand the path that their public institutions of higher learning have taken: privatization of public institutions, changing America's public universities from nonprofit to for profit, the commoditization of students and the undoing of faculty ran universities. The only critiques of William's article are the other authors and scholars that he did not include Henry Giroux, Lisa Duggan and James Anderson; otherwise Williams's piece is sound and gives a clear and concise definition of Critical University Studies.

Welfare Capitalism's affects on race and class

Clyde Barrow's (1990) look into social class as the driving force behind welfare capitalism sums up how students were segregated into three social groups: upper, middle and lower class. Barrow (1990) discusses the takeover of several universities governing boards, regents and trustees by corporate America from about 1860 until the 1920s. His analysis includes precise data which is provided to show the takeover step by step. Barrow (1990) discusses how universities were formerly controlled by religious leaders and teachers. With the beginning and rise of the industrial revolution universities became the servants of corporations and to the detriment of labor and laborers. Barrow does more than give the reader a historical timeline. He explains how corporations utilized

universities and changed America from a two class system to a new class system that was three fold (Barrow, 1990).

Educated upper class citizens held the top spot in American private and flagship universities and would become America's social elites, heads of state, and the "real" owners of the university (Barrow, 1990). The middle class consisted of those who could see themselves as persons who could use the university system and achieve, through school, "upper class" status (Barrow, 1990). The lower class consisted of blue collar Americans who made up the majority of citizens and were always trying to claw their way up the structure (Barrow, 1990).

Through archival research and historical analysis, Barrow (1990) explains how universities were corporatized with faculty salaries dramatically reduced over time and with most profit going to the university "corporation." Universities then became research factories created to aid big business in development of corporate products (Barrow, 1990). This, in turn, took the power away from the liberal arts, traditional purposes of the university and allowed for the corporations to dictate what the universities' curriculum would be (Barrow, 1990). By utilizing the "class" system the welfare capitalists were able to keep their own people in power at the universities (Barrow, 1990).

Barrow's (1990) introduces the beginnings of how neo-liberal philosophy may have come to be. He accomplishes this by examining welfare capitalists' ideology as it pertained to intellectuals. Barrow's (1990) states,

...that a rightest segment of American businessmen have always been critical of intellectuals because they trace the dangerous influence of labor disturbances, popular rebellion, reds, pinks, and fellow travelers to a few fuzzy minded but still harmful college professors (p.46).

Barrow's (1990) assessment explains why classic liberal ideology was and still is dangerous to commercial principles. He opens the minds of his audience and exposes them to the rigid structure of how capitalist regimes view class and how they have used this to manipulate students during the height of the welfare capitalism era.

During the welfare capitalist era, the capitalist owners and managers of industry played a crucial role in the subordination of people of color (Aruirre & Turner, 2007). This was accomplished through Split-labor Market theory which emphasizes that labor markets become segregated with members of certain racial groups stuck in certain jobs and not allowed to move freely through the market (Aruirre & Turner, 2007). Additionally, Split-class theory emphasized economic exploitation of the lower class by higher classes (Aruirre & Turner, 2007). Both theories create a caste system that prevented people from climbing up the social ladder.

According to James Anderson (2002) prior to 1939 roughly 30,000 African Americans had graduated from colleges and professional schools, yet most schools attended by African Americans still emphasized manual and industrial education. Similarly Donald Spivey (1978) maintains such institutions were "schooling for the new slavery". This suggests that race played a major role in college admissions and the curriculum's content during the era of welfare capitalism (Anderson, ASHE Reader, 2002).

Class and race are intertwined when dealing with a group's social standing and historically marginalized groups have suffered from poverty and social misrepresentation. Legalized racial segregation, stereotyping, and hate were just some of the institutional barriers that were in place that kept groups separated not only by race but by social

standing or class. A person's racial identity can dictate with which class society associates that person or group into. In turn, marginalized and dominant culture relations creates a caste system (Aguirre & Turner, 2007) in which ones race confines a person or group to a lower socioeconomic standing and removes them from access of power (Warner & Strole, 1945) thus, certain groups constituted a distinctive caste that the dominant group maintained for their own privileges.

Welfare capitalists were able to make power, money, and social movement available only to those who identified within their same circles. In essence welfare capitalist created a caste system within the United States. This was achieved by infiltrating and eventually taking over every aspect of their employee's lives. Education was not immune to the caste system (Aruirre & Turner, 2007). For example, a person of color would still be caste in lower socioeconomic class based on his or her racial identity not on how much wealth they posses (Aruirre & Turner, 2007). Welfare capitalist accomplished segregation through state laws and anti-equal rights legislation or "Jim Crow" laws that kept people of color at a perpetual disadvantage (Aruirre & Turner, 2007). Laws like "Jim Crow" would bar blacks from being upwardly mobile and influence African Americans chances of obtaining tools like an education. Even if a person broke through the color barrier and was accepted into a university they still were not offered the same education as their white counter parts (Aruirre & Turner, 2007).

Neo-liberal Attack on Higher Education

Henry Giroux argues that over the past twenty five years corporations and institutions of higher education have formed a stronger relationship (Giroux, 2011). The merger between the two has turned higher education into accessories of corporate values

and interests (Giroux, 2011). He also argues the need for people to be more employable has turned faculty into entrepreneurs and students into clients. The notion that the university system was a democratic public sphere that was based in knowledge and life skills that furthered democratic polity is under attack and has been warped into a marketing tool that helps to push the neo-liberal agenda (Giroux, 2011). Giroux states

Higher education, in particular, is wedded to the presupposition that literacy in its various economic, political, cultural and social forms is essential to the development of a formative culture that provides the foundation for producing critically engaged and informed citizens. Clearly, any institution that makes a claim to literacy, critical dialogue, informed debate, and reason is now a threat to a political culture in which ignorance; stupidity, lies, misinformation, and appeals to the common sense have become the only currency of exchange (Giroux, 2011 p. 10).

The idea that the American university system is under attack is a direct consequence of the commoditization of higher education.

Neo-liberal Commoditization of the Academe

The idea that the American university is becoming commoditized is part of higher education's lexicon. The increased focus on the commercial relevance of the academy is nothing new. Welfare capitalists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries used socioeconomic class to stack the deck in their favor. They manipulated the university system to achieve a strangle hold on who benefitted from the academy and ultimately how their corporations businesses and pocket books would benefit (Barrow, 1990). Neo-liberals have taken the idea of controlling the academy to a new level of profitability. They have accomplished this by financially backing politicians who do not believe in publicly funding education. The result of these action forces American public universities to look to the private sector for funding (Miller, 2010). Universities are forced to partner

with the same corporations that financially backed the politicians that killed funding in the first place (Miller, 2010).

The mounting influence of markets has suggested that capital worth is the new values of the higher education system (Miller, 2010). This is strengthened by the idea that education, thoughts, and solutions have been warped into the design that they can generate cash. This creates the view that the needs of the market are not compatible with the mission of the academy which created the ideology that the dissemination of knowledge comes first (Miller, 2010). Students also have embraced the Neo-liberal view of higher education. According to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization college admissions have jumped 53% in last 12 years (UNESCO, 2009). High university admissions rates demonstrate a demand for a college education and the base for any financial model is supply and demand (Miller, 2010).

Miller (2010) argues that there are three commodities that the neo-liberal university model sell to fill market needs. First is the credentials model. The credential model "...suggests that universities sell certificates of learning" (Miller, 2010, pg. 200) which can be utilized in the world economy. Students can use the certificate to gain access into job markets. The unfortunate reality of the credential model is that the student does not receive any special skill set or trade but a pass into job market (Miller, 2010). Under this model higher education has become nothing, but a "sorting machine" (Spring, 1988) for large corporations with a market need to hire able bodied young adults (Miller, 2010).

Second, the "skills model" creates a set of skills for the student. The skills model differs from the credentials model by articulating that students have earned a skill and in

essence is what the credential model lacks (Miller, 2010). The problem with this model is it creates a standardized product that meets pre-specified mundane quality and numerical commodities. The model degrades the university into a pseudo institution of higher learning that dabbles in utilitarian techno-science to gain private contracts which in turns creates opportunities for the university to raise its monetary profits (Miller, 2010).

Thirdly the model argues that the university sells consumption (Miller, 2010). This is the idea that consumption is the driving force behind the lives of everyone. Those who believe in this model claim that the university is no longer designed to teach students the skills to lead the country toward self emancipation but to supply the system with players who will fill their posts within the system (Miller, 2010).

The explicit problem with all of these models is that neo-liberals are the ones who are writing the scripts (Miller, 2010). Miller argues that they have achieved infiltrating the academy by using political and financial influence to sway university administrations. When a university allows shoe and athletic apparel companies to supply its sports teams with gear they have given way to Neo-liberal ideology (Miller, 2010). Another example is that banks lend students the necessary funds to attend college and the universities with the provision that the students repay the loans with interest while the private banks make a profit (Giroux, 2002).

Giroux (2002) states,

The new corporate university values profit, control and efficiency all hallmarks of the neo-liberal corporate ethic. These ideas outweigh the need for pedagogy or the role of the faculty in maintaining some control over what the university is teaching (p. 434).

Giroux statement sums up what in his view the university has become which is a corporation within itself that is at the mercy of the market that does not take into account the needs of its employees.

The White Architects of Radicalized Higher Education

Almost all of the literature on race and the corporate connections to higher education focus on Native American Indian education and African American education. The work of the late Bobby Wright explored the idea that America's colonial colleges such as William & Mary, Harvard, and Dartmouth used the ideal of Christianizing Native American Indians in an effort to gain private church-based funding and funding from the English Crown. More recent studies have explored the connection between Brown University, Yale, Harvard, Dartmouth and William & Mary in African and Native American Indian slavery as beneficiaries of private shipping and insurance corporations. The majority of this literature now focuses on the funding of African American education in the post-Emancipation South and the white power brokers such as the Anna T. Jeannes Fund, Peabody, Carnegie, Rockefellers, Phelps-Stocks and others who according to James Anderson, William Watkins, and Donald Spivey sought to make African Americans into a permanent class of laborers by supporting colleges and universities that advocated manual and industrial education.

Donald Spivey examined racial issues during the height of the welfare capitalist era. Author Donald Spivey book *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education 1868 -1915* examined how industrial education served as a major force in the subjugation of black labor in the post civil war United States especially in the "New South" (Spivey, 1978). Spivey focuses on the influence of Northern industrialists turned

philanthropists who guided the process (Spivey, 1978). Spivey states that the ruling class philanthropist of the post civil war era maintained a long history of subsuming educational needs to capitalist growth prerogatives. Spivey also argues that the creation of the “Black Colleges” which was designed to educate and protect freedmen, was no more than a political front that in essence kept freemen from gaining black self-assertion (Spivey, 1978). Spivey’s work also brought to light the ways the bourgeoisie class had used higher education as a means to exploit African Americans for their own financial gains. In essence Spivey’s book explores the effects that welfare capitalism and neo-liberalism use of race as factor in whom is allowed to attend what institutions.

Corporate Influence on the American Public University System

Henry Giroux argues that the idea of the university as a sanctuary of democratic learning has become all but a memory. Giroux continues with the notion that universities define themselves in economic terms, the focus of public universities is moving away from the humanities and that university administrators ignore most important social issues and problems. Giroux (2011) states,

Instead, such administrators now display corporate affiliations like a badge of honor, sit on corporate boards and pull in huge salaries. A survey conducted by “The Chronicle of Higher Education reported” that “19 out of 40 presidents from the top 40 research universities sat on at least one company board.” Rather than treated as a social investment in the future, students are now viewed by university administrators as a major source of revenue for banks and other financial institutions that provide funds for them to meet escalating tuition payments (para. 4)

I believe that Giroux’s statement is a great testament to the culture that corporatization creates within a public university.

According to Lawrence Soley corporations have a holistic hold on the American university system. They influence administration, research, university think tanks, as well

as the university's colleges, departments and its curriculum (Soley, 1995). Soley argues that due to a lack of public funding, public universities have shifted away from traditional not-for-profit business models and adopted corporate for profit business models (Soley, 1995). Soley continues to debate that by doing so corporations have been able to influence public universities with their large monetary prowess. Soley also claims that in essence corporate influence diminishes a university's ability to operate the institution democratically (Soley, 1995).

Henry Giroux (2011) takes a similar stance

What is new about the current threat to higher education and the humanities in particular is the increasing pace of the corporatization and militarization of the university, the squelching of academic freedom, the rise of an ever increasing contingent of part-time faculty and the view that students are basically consumers and faculty providers of a salable commodity such as a credential or a set of workplace skills. More strikingly still is the slow death of the university as a center of critique, vital source of civic education and crucial public good. Or, to put it more specifically, the consequence of such dramatic transformations has resulted in the near death of the university as a democratic public sphere (para. 8)

Giroux and Soley's summaries of corporate influence on American public universities suggests that America is moving away from the public not for profit university model and adopting the for profit and privatization model for all institutions of higher learning.

The cost of corporate influence and the modern university

According to author of *Leasing the Ivory Tower* Lawrence Soley, corporate money has had a negative impact on universities. Soley states, "Financial considerations have altered academic priorities, reduced the importance of teaching, degraded the integrity of academic journals, and determined what research is conducted at universities" (Soley, 1995 p.144). The cost of such corporate influence creates a culture of lower-quality educational programs, jeopardizes academic freedom, and allows for the transfer

of resources from the public to the private sector (Soley, 1995). Corporate influence in short allows the neo-liberal agenda to be achieved.

Corporate influence also encourages professor to leave the classroom for research institutions and corporate laboratories (Soley, 1995). When professors leave institutions of higher learning for research centers and laboratories the university's priorities change dramatically. Soley (1995) argues,

Universities use research, grant-getting, and corporate contracts, not classroom teaching, as measures of academic performance. Today, successful professors are those who bring in contract and grant money; they are not necessarily good teachers, "nor" do they necessarily need to even step into the classroom (Soley p.145).

Soley keeps his analysis of corporate influence directed at the classroom and research.

Henry Giroux on the other hand examines how corporate influence has damaged the integrity of Pennsylvania State University.

On November 5, 2011 Jerry Sandusky a long time Penn State football coach was arrested and released on \$100,000 bail after being arraigned on 40 criminal counts of child sexual assault. The university president Graham Spanier, athletic director Tim Curley and Senior Vice President for Finance and Business Gary Schultz; also were arrested on charges that they failed to alert police to complaints against Sandusky (Red, 2010). Long, time Head football coach Joe Paterno was not arrested but was under scrutiny for failure to report claims of abuse to police. Paterno was fired from his post as the head coach. The scandal has continued to make headlines. The major question at hand is why was the supposed sexual assault on several young boys was kept quiet for so long (Red, 2011). Giroux accredits the culture of silence to the influence corporations have on the American university system. In a 2011 radio interview Henry Giroux states,

There is a lot of talk about the culture of silence as if it is simply an offshoot of the need to protect the wealth and power of those in control of Penn State's football empire, but the fact of the matter is the real issue is that higher education has been corrupted by big money, big sports, corporate power, and the search for profits for some time (Giroux, 2011).

Giroux's comments on the Penn State scandal are in line with Soley's and both scholars see corporate influence as a negative attribute that has broken the very ideology that have help to create the need for higher education.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Method

This is a qualitative study that seeks to apply critical social theory to existing institutional histories of American colleges and universities to understand, or shed light on, past and current relationships between so-called not-for-profit universities and for-profit corporations. Initially, I was interested in how these relationships or partnerships influenced the use of Affirmative Action policies to add to campuses' racial and class diversity amongst students, and chose Colorado State as case study. When I began my study, I originally had planned to get Institutional Review Board approval to interview six people in key positions at Colorado State University: two administrators, three Board of Governors members, and one private monetary donor.

I made preliminary contact with all six of the potential interviewees either by telephone or e-mail. Each of these people requested a list of potential questions. I sent all six prospective interviewees my questions and all six either refused to be interviewed after multiple telephone calls or e-mail requests. Eventually none of my potential subjects responded. Due to tight time and financial constraints I was forced to come up with another way to conduct my study so I turned to the institutional history of Colorado State University and public documents such as official university press releases, news feeds- like Today @ CSU, and institutional public relations and marketing documents such as the CSU Fact Book and CSU's Institutional Profile.

Critical social theory assumes our social reality is historically situated and these people construct or reconstruct their social reality through their relationship with

political, cultural, and economic forces of domination. While most people can consciously work to transform their social and economic realities, critical social theory contends that people are also constrained by these forces of domination. The main task of critical social theory is seen as being one of social critique, whereby the limiting and marginalizing conditions of the status quo are brought to light in an effort to liberate people from this domination.

Critical social theory utilizes the ideology of several generations of philosophers and social theorists who were versed in the Western European Marxist tradition known as the Frankfurt School. According to these theorists, a “critical” theory may be distinguished from a “traditional” theory according to a specific practical purpose: a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation, “to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them” (Horkheimer, 1972, p. 244).

Because critical theories aim to clarify and convert the circumstances that enslave human beings, many “critical theories” have been developed. They have emerged in connection with the many social movements that identify varied dimensions of the domination of human beings in modern societies. Critical theories provide the explanatory and normative bases for social inquiry that helps to decrease domination and increasing freedom in all their forms (Horkheimer, 1972). Horkheimer argued that critical theory is sufficient if it meets three criteria: it must be explanatory, practical, and normative (Horkheimer, 1972). This thesis meets all three criteria.

First this thesis explains what is wrong with the current social reality, clarifying the effects of neo-liberalism have on the academe. Second, this study is practical because it identifies the actors who need to take up fight against the neo-liberal agenda so that

they can change its affects. Thirdly, by bringing to light the flaws within Colorado State University's master narrative my study provides both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation.

Critical university studies are a new and fresh way of critiquing the inner workings and policies of the modern public university. Professor Jeffery J. Williams states:

...this new wave in higher education looks beyond the confines of particular specializations and takes a resolutely critical perspective. Part of its task is scholarly, reporting on and analyzing changes besetting higher education, but it goes a step further and takes a stand against some of those changes, notably those contributing to the unmaking of the public university (Williams, 2012, para. 7)

Williams also defines the critical university study method. Williams (2012) states:

Critical indicates the new work's oppositional stance, similar to approaches like critical legal studies, critical race studies, critical development studies, critical food studies, and so on, that focuses on the ways in which current practices serve power or wealth and contribute to injustice or inequality rather than social hope. "Studies" picks up its cross-disciplinary character, focused on a particular issue and drawing on research from any relevant area to approach the problem. "University" outlines its field of reference, which includes the discourse of "the idea of the university" as well as the actual practices and diverse institutions of contemporary higher education (Williams, 2012, para. 8)

The critical university study model works well for this thesis. First my thesis takes an oppositional stance to the privatization of Colorado State University. Second, the study draws from several relevant areas of research such as the effects of privatization on student socio-economic class, the neo-liberal agenda and the corporatization of the public university (Williams, 2012).

I chose to conduct this critical university study first by analyzing Colorado State University's official publicly published history. Over two volumes, James Hansen examines the history of the university. Hansen's work is considered to be Colorado state

universities master narrative. In critical theory a metanarrative or a master narrative is an abstract idea that is thought to be a complete explanation of historical experience or knowledge (Stevens, 1998). Hansen's work is considered to be just that, the complete historical knowledge of Colorado State University.

Using critical social theory and critical university studies as theoretical and conceptual frameworks, I re-examined Hansen's work carefully. I focused on several points that related to outside political, corporate or special interests groups influence on Colorado State University. My examination of Hansen's work spanned from 1865-2003.

Although I focus on critical and important historical moments in Hansen's work, I felt it important to reinterpret some of these flashpoints with an emphasis on corporate, government, and universities' ties during these periods and the explosion in similar relationships between corporations, the federal and state governments, and Colorado State University from 2011 to 2012. My intention was not to challenge Hansen's master narrative but to analyze his work through a critical lens.

Second, I analyzed current university documents, news articles, daily online websites, periodicals and scholarly articles that examine and report on Colorado State University's financial and corporate partnerships. I chose to do so based on the fact that I was not able to conduct interviews and I wanted my study to be based on actual data even if I had to obtain it through scouring several credible news and data base sources.

The area of critical university studies also lends itself to the Colorado State University Ethnic Studies department's mission. As a discipline, Ethnic Studies emerged out of the anti-racist and anti-colonial Third World Liberation Front and an alliance between the already existing fields of African American studies, Raza & Chicano

Studies, Asian American Studies, and Native American studies at San Francisco State Colleges in 1968. Ethnic Studies rose to an important place in the Civil Rights Movement and Anti-Vietnam War protests and as it interacted with the Women's Movement, white student left groups like Students for a Democratic Society and the Gay Rights Movement demanded study of populations marginalized by the race, class, gender, sexual, able-bodied and other identities. CSU's Ethnic Studies department's mission statement declares:

The Ethnic Studies Department critically examines the interlocking forces of domination that are rooted in socially constructed categories of gender, sexuality, class, and race. Our faculty and researchers are committed to theoretical, empirical, qualitative, textual, and community-based research, pedagogy, service, and outreach. Utilizing interdisciplinary, international, and comparative approaches, we challenge paradigms that systematically marginalize the experiences of diverse populations. In doing so, we bring to bear issues of power, privilege, and social justice pertinent to aggrieved groups in the United States and abroad. We are especially committed to nurturing civic-minded and culturally informed students who strive to strengthen the communities in which they reside. In support of the land-grant mission of Colorado State University, Ethnic Studies engages with communities on and off campus in order to effect meaningful change in public policy and social life.

In short, Ethnic Studies scholars examine history and challenge the dominant group's version of this historical phenomenon (Mission Statement, 2012). Colorado State University's Ethnic Studies scholars' goals are to show that all groups who were affected by history are accounted for regardless if certain group's version of history differs or coincides with the popular version (Mission Statement, 2012). The critical university study method lends itself to this kind of work by allowing the researcher to utilize historical sources and other evidence to critically analyze a phenomenon or in this case conduct a study that examines the history of Colorado State University and the influence

outside corporate or corporate-backed government interests have on Colorado's land-grant university.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Colorado State University: A Historical Timeline of Corporate Involvement

The historical explores the historic involvement of corporations, politicians and outside interests on Colorado State University and its student body. Chapter five also examines important moments in the university's history that deal with social issues. This is accomplished through analyses of public historic records and current university records. The timeline also examines the business deals and agreements made by key school leaders, as well as corporations, foundations and other outside interests groups. The information supplied is only a glimpse into the financial and social history of Colorado State University.

Beginnings

In the late 1860s, a prominent Fort Collins politician by the name of Harris Stratton considered introducing legislation that would establish a land-grant agriculture college in the Colorado Territory (Hansen, 1977). Stratton and other politicians nationwide shared the notion that the existence of a college within a community promoted and enhanced prestige as a center of culture. They also saw how a college could refine the local population and would improve the local economy (Hansen, 1977).

In the 1870s, a Fort Collins attorney named Mathew S. Taylor acted upon Stratton's idea (Hansen, 1977). Taylor proposed to the territorial legislature a bill that would establish an agricultural college in Larimer County, near the city of Fort Collins (Hansen, 1977). Taylor was gambling that Colorado would most likely achieve statehood and that the college would then benefit from federal land-grant support (Hansen, 1977).

Taylor's plan worked and on February 11, 1870, Governor Edward McCook signed the bill into law creating The Colorado Territory Agricultural College (Hansen, 1977).

The 1870 act did more than set the Agriculture College plan into action. It also created the college's first board of trustees. The trustees were authorized to, "...purchase and manage property, erect buildings, establish basic rules for governing the institution and employ personnel" (Hansen, 1977, pg. 23). For the first four years following the mandate, the board of trustees' plan to move forward on the physical creation of the college were bogged down by the apparent lack of actual power the board possessed (Hansen, 1977). The trustees' lack of power stemmed from an absence of funds. Both private and public organizations took steps to help jump start the genesis of the college, but by late 1873 the college was no closer to being in existence than it was in 1870 (Hansen, 1977).

In 1874, the territorial legislature granted monies to the colleges in several Colorado towns; Boulder, Golden, and Fort Collins. A great deal of high profile political wrangling between Norman H. Meldrum a prominent Fort Collins citizen and the territorial legislature freed up funds for each of the colleges (Hansen, 1977). The monies granted to each school could only be obtained if each of the respective institutions' trustees could match the dollar amount allotted. The trustees bought the necessary land to build the first structure of the Agricultural College but it would take more outside financial support to actually construct the first buildings (Hansen, 1977). The land that the trustees had acquired did not sit idle for long.

The Patrons of Husbandry otherwise known as The Grange, "...a fraternal society devoted to alleviating the tedium of farm life and instructing farmers in better agricultural

techniques...” (Hansen, 1977, pg. 25) established itself in Colorado in 1873. The Grangers matched the funds that the territorial government had allotted for the Agricultural College thus allowing for the first building to be erected at the corner of College Avenue and Laurel Street in Fort Collins (Hansen, 1977). This was the first documented case of non-public funds being used to help what is now known as Colorado State University. As Harris and Taylor had hoped it was not long until the Colorado territory would be recognized by the United States federal government as a state (Hansen, 1977).

In 1876, Colorado was granted statehood. This meant that a territorial institution like the Agricultural College in Fort Collins could become a state institution. As in other states, the idea of the land-grant university was catching on in Colorado (Hansen, 1977). The Agricultural College of Colorado Trustees decided that the best way to transition from a territorial college to a state institution was to use the land-grant model (Hansen, 1977). They also needed to be able to sell their vision to the state itself (Hansen, 1977).

The Board of Trustees turned to Harris Stratton to help push their agenda (Hansen, 1977). Stratton felt that the laws that Michigan used to establish its college system were the best fit for Colorado. Harris interpreted the Michigan laws, “...as a way to give the sons and daughters of the farmers of Colorado an opportunity to attend college in which they would be taught scientific farming, the mechanic arts, and domestic economy” (Hansen, 1977, pg. 25). Stratton introduced the bill and his interpretation of the law to state legislators and the bill was passed in 1877 (Hansen, 1977).

The 1877 Colorado law followed the Michigan law to the word but most importantly it created a governing board for the Agricultural College of Colorado. The

eight member State Board of Agriculture was established to govern the college. One of the Board's duties was to select a secretary. The secretary's duties included an "... expectation to gather and disseminate agricultural information, encourage the formation of agrarian organizations, promote 'domestic industry and household arts' and assist in the furtherance of experimental work" (Hansen, 1977, pg. 25-26). Governor L. Rout picked the first members of the board and appointed Harris Stratton as the secretary. The State Board of Agriculture's genesis created the first governing entity that oversaw every aspect of the College from 1877 until Colorado House Bill 02-1260 renamed the State Board of Agriculture the Colorado State University Board of Governors in 2002 (Colorado General Assembly, 2002).

The Great Depression

During the late 1920s Colorado's state-funded colleges had not felt the full brunt of the Great Depression, enrollment was at an all time high and the university's President Charles A. Lory had staved off attempts by the state legislature to end financial appropriations for higher education (Hansen, 1977). However by the early 1930s, Colorado's land-grant college was under full financial attack.

Due to pressure from politicians and the issues that were created by the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl faculty and staff were asked to take pay cuts, and administrators were forced to take on overwhelming amounts of extra duties (Hansen, 1977). In April of 1933 Colorado's state legislature passed an Administrative Code Bill, which was designed to streamline the operations of the states institutions of higher learning thus taking the power from educators and giving it to politicians. The bill in essence gave politicians not educators the final say over the schools operations (Hansen,

1977). Luckily for Colorado's land-grant University the advent of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" helped to put a virtual end to the welfare capitalist system that had infiltrated the nation's university system (Barrow, 1990). Faculty and staff were not the only people on campus who partook in social movements. CSU's student body played a roll in the anti-war movements of the mid 1930's (Hansen, 1977).

By the early 1930s, the R.O.T.C had a firm establishment at CSU. Hansen states that all freshman and sophomore men were required to participate in military sciences department courses (Hansen, 1977). The fact that enrollment was mandatory was the main point that undergraduate males focused upon. Students were also weary of allegations that United States was coerced into World War I by the munitions lobby, thus suggesting that America's reasons to participate in World War I were financial and not to restore peace to Europe (Hansen, 1977). Still students maintained a moderate view toward the United States government and its involvement in the crisis in Europe and Asia. It was not until 1937 when students decided to protest the United States involvement in the world conflicts and the ties between CSU and the military industrial complex (Hansen, 1977).

In April of 1937 some of CSU's student body and faculty joined other colleges and universities in a peace strike. The strike labeled piece day was not radical by any terms but a subtle gesture by students and faculty that was to stimulate the student body's ideas in constructive thinking about the subjects of war and peace which included the reasons why nations go to war (Hansen, 1977). Hansen suggests that the moderate nature of the students that attended CSU may have been the reason why the students never truly embraced anti-war sentiment. Also Hansen contends that CSU students like the majority

of America's college students opposed involvement in the war but did very little to express their anti-war sentiment (Hansen, 1977).

Despite the presence of a peace strike on campus Colorado State University did not witness the rise of old left antiwar or anti-capitalist students' organizations, like the American Student Union or the National Student League, in the 1930s. The work of Ralph Brax and Robert Cohen both highlight the rise of anti-war and anti-capitalist sentiment on US college campuses. Many students moved politically to the left as the nation moved to the left with its New Deal programs. Anti-racist work came to play a central role in the influence of the old left on 1930s campuses and invited the presence of on-campus informants for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1940 to 1943. More liberal to moderate groups like the National Student Federation, a national body of college student governments had a presence at Colorado State (Hansen, 1977; Cohen, 1993). The National Student Federation, while critical of the culture of leisure and the culture of aspiration, "never adopted a formal stand against R.O.T.C." or capitalism. This changed, of course, in the 1960s.

The Tumultuous 1960s

During the years after the Great Depression Colorado State University faced political, social and monetary issues (Hansen, 1977). Colorado State University, like most of America, believed in the ideology introduced during World War II and throughout the Cold War era that the United States was a "Champion of democracy resisting dangerous forces of totalitarianism and injustice" (Hansen, 1977, pg. 439). This sentiment went unquestioned throughout most of the 1950s (Hansen, 1977). However, the

Civil Rights movement which was gaining momentum on a national scale challenged the viability of America's "ethical" situation (Hansen, 1977).

As discussed earlier, land-grant universities were legally required to provide military training. Colorado State was no exception as all freshman and sophomores were required to participate in R.O.T.C training (Hansen, 1977). Students objected to the law and a campus wide spirited debate ensued. One argument opposed the mandatory R.O.T.C involvement on the grounds that it strengthened CSU's ties to the United States massive military industrial complex, thus creating an immoral climate that took away a students right to choose (Hansen, 1977). After much debate on the issue CSU President Morgan decided that it was not up to him to choose if the compulsory provision should be upheld and ultimately the issue should be decided by the department of defense. In 1962 the Department of Defense (DOD) decided that they did not need as many reserve officers as they did in the past and eliminated the compulsory provision (Hansen, 1977). CSU followed suit and the students won the reform that they so desperately wanted (Hansen, 1977).

Growing protests against the for-profit role of the military industrial complex, the fact that college students could be drafted into the military at eighteen, but couldn't vote until age twenty-one, and the US presence in Southeast Asia came to many campuses between 1963 and 1965, arrived at CSU fairly late, yet it arrived. On November 14, 1968, 15 student and local citizens broke into the CSU's Agricultural Building and proceeded to barricade themselves on the upper floor. The protestors were challenging the on-campus recruitment of students by the Dow Chemical Corporation. Dow Chemical manufactured chemicals for military use such as Agent Orange, which was used in the

conflict in Vietnam as a defoliant. The medical and biological side effects of Agent Orange were not known yet. The protestor intentions were revealed by leaflets that were handed out by the dissident's collaborators (Hansen, 1977). Hansen states that the leaflet read:

We will not allow interviews for Dow Chemical to take place in our building. We are totally repulsed by the idea of studying and working in an institution which allows companies like Dow to recruit on campus, and by so doing gives tacit support and approval to the existence of war for profit. In order to show our disgust with an economy based on the military enforced economic exploitation of the people of other nations, we have taken and will hold indefinitely the Agriculture Building and the placement office until the university agrees to stop acting as an agent for the war mongers (p 456).

At 8:20 am the next morning, officers of the CSUPD and Fort Collins PD moved in, ceased the protestors and forcibly removed them from the premises. This is just one of several examples of student protest that happened during the 1960s. Student activism continued into the 1970s but the end of the conflict in Vietnam activism and student protest took on a far more subdued approach and the university community could devote greater attention to teaching, research and outreach. During the 1960s social problems such as race discrimination, women's rights, the military industrial complex and campus prohibition were just some of the issues that students, faculty and non-student groups challenged (Hansen, 1977). Challenges to the wide range of moral issues that protestors challenged were not just isolated to "progressive" private east coast universities and or northern California public institutions of higher learning. Colorado's land-grant university contributed to the fight (Hansen, 1977).

The 70s: A Decade of Change?

The 1970s were a transitional period for Colorado's land-grant university. The Great Society programs of the 1960s had picked up enormous public support in several of

America's institutions of higher learning (Hansen, 2007). Colorado State University was not one of them (Hansen, 2007). The student unrest of the 1960s had carried over into the early 1970s. CSU's "minority" student population still deemed the university as a racist institution (Hansen, 2007). Hansen states, "the Project Generating Opportunities (Project Go) program, for example, launched in 1968-1969 to recruit minority students and promote ethnic studies programs, was perceived by student activists as "a dismal failure" (Hansen, pg. 58). The new university President Ray Chamberlain claimed otherwise but a university assessment conducted by the regional office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) asserted a different story (Hansen, 2007).

The HEW assessment found that CSU was deficient in several areas but the most concerning was the universities lack of an Affirmative Action plan and a nondiscriminatory statement in the official university documents (Hansen, 2007). The HEW evaluation also found that only 7.5% of CSU's employees were people of color and women only made up 33% of those employed by the university (Hansen, 2007). These numbers and apparent lack of an Affirmative Action plan forced CSU to act.

During the 1070s CSU pushed forth Affirmative Action programs a Human Relations Committee that handled complaints pertaining to discrimination (Hansen, 2007). It took over six years for CSU to obtain HEW approval of its efforts to change campus race discrepancies. As CSU was adapting to its world the university added more programs for women and upped its efforts to reach out and recruit people of color (Hansen, 2007). Due to a shift in money there was an underlying discontent amongst the schools faculty and administration (Hansen, 2007).

The financial woes of the state and Federal governments made it hard for land-grant universities to procure the necessary funds to operate. University president Ray Chamberlain blamed all the new federal regulation and Civil Rights programs as the reason for the university's financial short comings (Hansen, 2007). Competition to acquire grants for research added to the problem and in some scholar's views was detrimental to the teaching mission of CSU (Hansen, 2007).

Hansen never really looks at outside or corporate money issues that pertain to the 1970s. Although he briefly touches on the dangers of outside non-public funds, his assessment only pertained to collegiate sports. Hansen (2007) states,

Money from individual donors or corporate sponsors may come with stings attached, thereby compromising a schools independence and integrity. An obvious symbol of CSU's accommodation to commercial influences occurred in the 1990's with the erection of a garish concrete Pepsi sign just west of Moby Gym (Hansen pg. 62)

Hansen's detailed summary of the 1970s focuses on some important issues and shows his audience the transition the university was going through. Hansen fleshes out his transitional period for the university by using individual stories of the non-dominant group breaking through racial and class barriers. Hansen's assessment demonstrates to his audience that CSU did their part to comply with federal Civil Rights legislation, but students' knew differently. In other words, Hansen's assessment of CSU during the 1970s is more to appease his audience than to critically look at how the goals or principles of the university may have been compromised by its corporate and government connections and contracts. Students, however, felt that even if CSU was not wholly responsible for the actions of the companies or entities with which they entered into agreements, they were as John R. Thelin suggests "guilty by association" (Thelin, 2004).

Money Troubles and Debt to Privatization

Since the 1970s federal and state policies have affected Colorado State University; few of these were more influential than the Bayh-Dole or Patent and Trademark Law Amendments Act of 1980. The Bayh-Dole Act championed by former senators Birch Bayh of Indiana and Robert “Bob” Dole of Kansas gave universities, small businesses, not-for-profits control or property rights of their inventions or intellectual property even if this property was funded all or in part by government grants and/or contracts.

First we must define what the privatization of institutions means. In its most basic meaning, privatization implies that public institutions move away from public financing and in turn move toward the direction of private financing (NEA, 2004). To better understand how privatization influences Colorado State University this section explores the reasons why such actions are taken and how institutions of higher learning adopt the neo-liberal agenda. According to the National Education Association the top three reasons for universities to push for privatization are cost savings, increased support from conservative politicians for privatization and greater flexibility (NEA, 2004). For the sake of this study I will focus only on cost savings and increased support from politicians.

The NEA describes it this way: For institutions of higher learning privatization includes changes to several on-campus amenities (NEA, 2004). These changes are implemented by outsourcing services, cutting back on tenured teaching opportunities, and tuition increases (NEA, 2004). The NEA (2004) states “ Privatization includes more centralized decision making, declining acceptance of academic norms, loss of faculty autonomy, and developing private funding sources.” The NEA also argues that the movement toward privatization has been fueled by shifts in the populations that attend

universities (NEA, 2004). The NEA writes that traditional universities were institutions set aside for “elites” but now have become a normalized part of the educational experience of the masses thus changing higher education from an elitist experience into a “public utility” (NEA, 2004).

The NEA argues that the change from an elitist to a mass experience has caused lawmakers to treat higher education like any other public service (NEA, 2004). In essence the more people that enroll in college the greater the public interest becomes; thus state and federal legislators have become inclined to treat higher education like a “for profit” business (NEA, 2004). Like any other business law makers “demand the most effective service at the most affordable price (NEA, 2001). The NEA (2004) states:

...the language used to define “effective” and “affordable” derives from a business model for generating value, where value is linked directly to short-term monetary gain. This redefines the traditional understanding of higher education's value, where value is linked directly to the long-term welfare of communities made up of informed citizens actively participating in the democratic process (NEA, pg. 2)

By redefining the traditional understanding of nonprofit knowledge-driven academics to that of for profit business model, law makers have adopted the neo-liberal agenda of market based politics (NEA, 2004).

Some legislators argue that goals must be set for higher education institutions. According to the NEA, several state legislatures have begun tying public funding directly to an institution’s performance in measuring up to prescribed goals (NEA, 2004). Economically fueled visions of higher education have pushed some state legislators to want public universities to demonstrate accountability in response to state fiscal needs (NEA, 2004). According to the NEA (2004):

The number of states that link funding to performance has declined from 18 to 15 due largely to recent state declines in support. The 15 states with performance funding in 2003 were: Colorado, Ohio, Connecticut, Oklahoma, Florida, Oregon, Idaho Pennsylvania, Kansas, South Carolina, Louisiana, South Dakota, New York Tennessee (NEA, pg. 3).

As an example on May 9, 2011 Colorado passed Senate Bill 11-052, the higher education performance-funding proposal which will not go into affect until 2016 but the bill in essence follows earlier legislation to link funding to performance (Colorado General Assembly, 2011). To better understand why Colorado would pass legislation like SB 11-052, this study must examine the forces behind the states financial short comings.

TABOR

In 1992 Colorado adopted the Tax payer bill of rights or TABOR constitutional amendment; this law limits the growth of state and local revenues to a highly restrictive formula of inflation plus the annual change in population or growth in K-12 student membership (Lav, and Williams, 2010). This formula is insufficient to fund the ongoing cost of government and has essentially sent the state into bankruptcy (Lav & Williams, 2010). This has contributed to a permanent revenue shortage, by pitting state programs and services against each other for survival each year. The only way to change the amendment is for the people of Colorado to vote it out; this is yet to happen (Lav, & Williams, 2010).

The TABOR amendment has affected every aspect of Colorado public service. This includes K-12 education, public health programs and higher education. According to the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, between the years of 1992 and 2004, Colorado higher education funding declined from 35th to 48th in the nation and continued this ranking as of the fiscal year 2008 (Lav, & Williams 2010). Lav and Williams argue

“In 1992, Colorado spent close to the national average on higher education by this measure but declined to just 57 percent of the average in 2004 and 59 percent in 2008”(Lav & Williams, 2010 para. 16).

The CBPP also states that:

Between 1995 and 2005, higher education funding per resident student in Colorado dropped by 31 percent (from \$5,765 to \$3,961) after adjusting for inflation. In FY2009, system-wide higher education funding per resident student in Colorado reached a 15-year low, after adjusting for inflation. The decline in funding per resident student during the 1995 to 2005 period affected all schools in the state higher education system. Funding declines ranged from 41 percent at the University of Colorado system to 21 percent at the community college system. After suspension of the TABOR formula in 2005 through Referendum C, the state support for higher education continued to decline, but at a much less rapid rate of 3 percent system-wide (CBPP, p. 1).

Contemporary Findings, 2010-2012

My findings are based in three moves that universities and institution make when dealing with financial difficulties each connects with the neo-liberal agenda. First, by raising tuition, in effect universities pass the burden of costs onto the student body. The students become consumers and debt-holders rather than beneficiary of an enlightened education (Fish, 2010). Second, institutions of higher learning hire larger numbers of short-term, part-time adjunct faculty (NEA, 2004). These faculty members are not affixed to the university as one tenured faculty and are a transient and disposable workforce (Fish, 2010). They also are week to challenge the university’s practices or agitate for an academy more committed to the realization of democratic rather than monetary goals (Soley, 1995). Third, universities build partnerships with industry and outsource services to corporations Fish sees this as courting the danger of turning the pursuit of truth into the pursuit of profits (Fish, 2010).

Raising Tuition in Colorado

To make up for lost state funding, Colorado’s public institutions of higher education have been forced to raise tuition (Lav, & Williams, 2010). Between the fiscal years of 2002 and 2005, resident tuition has increased by 21 percent. However, at some schools, tuition increases were much greater. For instance, during this same time period, tuition increased 31 percent at the University of Colorado. Table 5.1 shows the state wide decreases in higher education funding.

TABLE 5.1 HIGHER EDUCATION FUNDING HAS PLUMMETED General Fund Appropriations per Resident Student (adjusted for inflation)						
	FY1994-95	FY2004-05	FY2008-09	Percent Change		
				FY95-FY05	FY05-FY09	FY95-FY09
University of Colorado System	\$8,139	\$4,820	\$4,458	-41%	-8%	-45%
Colorado State University System	\$8,088	\$5,683	\$5,334	-30%	-6%	-34%
University of Northern Colorado	\$5,291	\$3,794	\$4,073	-28%	7%	-23%
Colorado School of Mines	\$9,377	\$7,103	\$7,121	-24%	0%	-24%
State Colleges (Adams, Mesa, Western, Metro)	\$4,301	\$3,301	\$3,513	-23%	6%	-18%
Fort Lewis College	\$4,052	\$3,178	\$3,610	-22%	14%	-11%
Community Colleges	\$3,369	\$2,678	\$2,605	-21%	-3%	-23%
System Wide	\$5,765	\$3,961	\$3,833	-31%	-3%	-34%

Source: CBPP Analysis of Colorado Joint Budget Committee Appropriations data and Legislative Council Staff enroll

As state funding has plummeted the increases in tuition at Colorado State University have continued to rise. According to the *Colorado State University 2011/2012 Fact Book* the fulltime resident undergraduate yearly tuition rate in 2000-01 was \$2408. Tuition for the same fulltime undergraduate student in 2011-12 is \$6307.20 per year. This is a \$3899.20 tuition increase or a 162% rate increase over the last 12 years (Fact Book, 2011-12). Table 5.1 and the information provided by the CSU Fact Book makes a strong argument that there is a correlation between a lack of state funding and tuition hikes. The TABOR amendment impact on higher education in Colorado does not

stop with tuition hikes. The legislation also has affected Colorado State University's faculty.

Hiring Part-Time Faculty

Even with tuition hikes, Colorado's public institutions of higher learning are still underfunded. The effects of state funding cutbacks have taken its toll not only on student but on faculty. CSU reported losing 32 tenured faculty members in 2002 because it could not match offers from peer institutions. According to Lav and Williams, (2010)

Colorado State University (CSU), 54 faculties were lost in 2004 to budget cuts. Between 1990 and 2005, a total of 80 faculty positions went unfilled; even other colleges have been affected. CU lost 16 tenured professors in 2004, twice the usual number, because they were recruited by colleges offering higher salaries (para, 17)

The negative affects of legislation like TABOR have forced Colorado's public university system to look to outside of public funding to maintain its complete edge and student body numbers (Lav & Williams, 2010).

According to the *Colorado State University 2008-09 Fact Book* the number of Colorado State University temporary faculty members was at 196 the 2011-12 *Fact Book* has the number at 225 (Fact Book 2008-09, 2011-12). This is a 17% rise in temporary faculty over a three year period. The universities response to economic stress has forced CSU to hire temporary faculty. This supports the staunch anti-unionist stance of the neo-liberal agenda. One could argue that Colorado State is taking away its workforce's ability to unionize against privatization.

The Privatization of Services at Colorado State University

Universities utilize outside vendors and companies to provide a plethora of services and products. Outsourcing services and products is nothing new to Colorado

State University. On June 2nd 2011 Colorado State University announced its strategic partnership with Coca-Cola (Partnership, 2011).

According to the website today@ColoradoState, Colorado State University has made a \$5.2 million 10-year strategic partnership with Coca-Cola refreshments (Partnership, 2011). This is an aggressive way for the university to pursue much needed funds that have been lost due to recent state budgets cuts.

We are pleased to enter this long-term partnership with Coca-Cola. Extending well beyond typical beverage contracts, the originality and comprehensiveness of this agreement make it different from any beverage partnership in the country,” said Amy Parsons, CSU’s vice president for operations. “Coca-Cola’s support will benefit nearly all aspects of the university – from academics to athletics – and provide CSU a variety of new marketing opportunities (Partnership, 2011, para. 3).

First, Coca-Cola will be CSU’s only beverage supplier. According to the article:

As part of the contract, scholarships will be provided aimed primarily at Colorado State’s academic and research strengths in the areas of water stewardship and conservation. Funds also will go to support scholarships and programming for the Division of Student Affairs, the Alumni Association and CSU Athletics (Partnership, 2011, par. 5).

Second, some of the annual funds raised by Coke will be invested directly into a new program designed to establish the program of beverage operations and management education, training and research in the Rocky Mountain Region. The program will be called the academic programming for the Beverage Business Institute in CSU’s College of Business (Partnership, 2011).

According to *The Difference* magazine, students from several Chinese universities will be invited to visit Colorado State University to take advantage of CSU’s storied international water expertise program (The Difference, 2011). This will be achieved through the CSU Coca-Cola Water Scholars Program. The partnership was recently

announced in China in concurrence with East China Normal University's 60th anniversary celebration (The Difference, 2011). *The Difference* (2011) states:

CSU and Coca-Cola aim to inspire the next generation of scholars and leaders to address worldwide issues surrounding water sustainability. CSU, a global leader among academic and research universities in water, and Coca-Cola will sponsor promising college students from China to study and conduct research in CSU's water programs and apply their knowledge to create a sustainable future for international communities. In 2012, CSU will select one student from East China Normal University and one from Anhui Agricultural University to participate in the Water Scholars Program. In 2013, the program will expand to include one student from China Agricultural University and one from Guizhou University (page 4, para. 3)

The program will be funded jointly by Colorado State University and Coca-Cola. Coca-Cola is committing \$1 million over a 10 year period that will directly support the program (The Difference 2011). The funds donated by Coca-Cola will benefit undergraduate students (The Difference, 2011).

According to the regional sales vice president for food service for Coca-Cola in the northwest region of the United States Amr Kora "the program brings talented, dedicated students together to further water education" (The Difference, 2011). President Tony Frank stated, "ECNU students are outstanding, and the Joint Research Institute is a unique opportunity for our faculty to work with Chinese faculty colleagues. Our link to Coca-Cola takes us to a new level in China (The Difference, 2011)." "Sustainability is part of everything we do, every day," stated Kora (The Difference, 2011). Kora continued with "We are proud to partner with these leading education institutions helping to build tomorrow's leaders in environmental sustainability and water stewardship (The Difference, 2011)."

"Coca-Cola will be a Premier Corporate Level Sponsor for CSU Athletics, providing Coke sideline rights for sports beverages, coolers, cups and towels"

(Partnership, 2011, para, 6). Forth, Coca-Cola will assist Colorado State University with its ongoing efforts to collaborate with universities in China that share academic and research interests with Colorado State University. Coke is willing to facilitate faculty and student exchanges between the universities (Partnership, 2011). Finally, by keeping CSU green Coke claims to be inline with green initiatives at Colorado State University through the use of compostable bottles, containers and cups that are made from up to 30 percent of organic material that is 100 percent recyclable. The company also will use hybrid vehicles to make product deliveries on campus (Partnership, 2011). CSU gets all the tools that are needed to better the college experience for its student body and Coke gets exclusive products rights to CSU.

The Board of Governors

According to the Colorado State University System website (2011), the Colorado State Board of Governors or (CSBG) consists of 15 members, nine of whom are voting members. The remaining members represent the component universities of the Colorado State University System with one faculty member and one student leader from each campus. The 2010 CSBG Mission statement reads as follows:

It is the intent of the Board of Governors of the CSU System to foster development of Colorado State University and Colorado State University-Pueblo as identified in Colorado Revised Statute 23-31-107 et. seq. and 23-31.5-101 et. Seq. It is the intent of the Board to support the institutions in their development as separate and distinct institutions through planning and resource development. It is the intent of the Board to maintain each institution's flexibility to address challenges and opportunities that arise as the institutions seek to fulfill their statutory missions. It is the intent of the Board to support opportunities for cooperation in program and resource sharing between the institutions. It is the intent of the Board to facilitate system-wide financial accountability through annual financial audits as well as the program of the internal auditing unit within the CSU System structure. It is the intent of the Board to promote administrative efficiency through a small central system staff, relying upon the expertise of institutional personnel where necessary and appropriate. It is the further intent of

the Board to measure and promote administrative efficiency consistent with the policies of the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (System, 2011)

What the Mission statement does not address is who the board members are, and what outside companies and organizations they work for and or represent.

Who They Are

Colorado State University's Board of Governors consists of people who have leadership backgrounds in several different areas. The members' connections range from big oil, sports conglomerates, banks and agribusinesses, among others. According to the Colorado State University System website (2011), only one of the nine voting members has a background in education leadership. This raises ethical questions about the affiliations of the board members and if the companies and organizations they represent are in violation of the Board of Governors Conflict of Interest by-law Article IX (System, 2011). The article states:

All decisions of the Board, Board Officers, System personnel and the Institutions must be made solely on the basis of a desire to promote the best interests of the System and its Institutions. A conflict of interest exists when a Board member or employee has or represents interests that may compete with or be adverse to those of the Board and the System. A conflict of interest exists not only when there is any benefit, direct or indirect, received by such individuals or those with whom such person has an affiliation in connection with the official actions of the Board and System, but also when the Board or System interests are, or could be, adversely affected by a conflict of interest or perception or appearance of a conflict. Although members of the Board may have allegiances to and associations with a particular System Institution and/or community, as well as other outside interests, their paramount fiduciary obligation is to serve the best interests of the Board and the System. All conflicts of interest must be fully disclosed and the interested person shall refrain from participation in and consideration of the proposed transaction per the policies more fully described in the Board of Governors Policy manual (System, 2011).

To draw any conclusions whether or not there is a conflict of interest, an examination of the outside interests the board members represent is in order.

According to the Colorado State University System website (2011), six of nine voting members hold top executive positions. The board chair, Joseph C. Zimlich, is the Chief Executive Officer of Bohemian Foundation and the board Secretary, Ed Haselden, is the CEO of Haselden Construction in Denver (System, 2011). Dennis E. Flores is an insurance executive and a member and the current treasurer of the Latino Chamber Development Corporation, where he also served as the past chairman (System, 2011). Scott Johnson is the owner and operator of Flying Diamond Ranch and serves on the Board of Directors of the National Cattlemen's Beef Association. He also serves as a member of the National Western Stock Show and Colorado Farm Bureau (System, 2011). Patrick McConathy has spent most of his career in the oil and gas industry and is the CEO of Phoenix Gas and Oil which is a subsidiary of Exxon Mobile Oil. Penfield W. Tate, III is a shareholder of Greenberg Traurig LLP, where he has practiced law since 2007 and he is CSU alum and has served as a Colorado State Senator and State Representative (System, 2011).

Five of the six board members' corporations and organizations have donated and continue to donate substantial amounts of money to Colorado State University. The Bohemian Foundation, Colorado Cattlemen's Association and the National Western Stock Show are all Lory Society donators, meaning they have donated at least \$1,000,000. The fact that the board members have ties to generous companies that participate in philanthropy is not in question. What is in question is the impacts these entities have on the programs and colleges that they donate monies to and, if by donating funds to a particular college, are they putting the company's interest ahead of CSU's official university mission?

According to author Jennifer Dimas (2009), The Bohemian Foundation donated \$20.1 million in 2003. The contribution funded the restoration of Sonny Lubick Field at Hughes Stadium (Dimas, 2009). The donation also helped build and restore the University Center for the Arts. The foundation also funded the Albert C. Yates Chair in Mathematics and helped fund the William E. Morgan Chair in Liberal Arts, and has supported such diverse University programs as *School is Cool* and *The Little Shop of Physics* (Dimas, 2009). The foundation also donated \$3 million to support the College of Business's Rockwell Hall expansion (Dimas, 2009).

The Colorado Cattlemen's Association (CCA) has contributed substantial amounts of funds to CSU as well. Over the past 140 years, the CCA has given the Departments of Agricultural Sciences and the Departments of Veterinary Medicine and Biomedical Sciences over 500 million dollars (CCA, 2011). ExxonMobil also contributed significant amounts of money to the Departments of Agriculture and Natural Science (Campaign, 2011). Local firms, and businesses, like Haselden Construction not only have given hundreds of thousands of dollars to CSU; it has led construction efforts on campus. In 2008, Haselden Construction, LLC spearheaded the revitalization and restoration of the Industrial Sciences Building at Colorado State University. From the company's web site:

The \$4.2 million project is being funded 100% by donations. The fundraising effort was spearheaded by Ed Haselden, President of Haselden Construction and a member of the Board of Governors of the CSU System. This collaboration is the solution to raise funds in support of higher education. These donations will provide improved academic learning spaces that support the built industry and show construction management students how projects can be completed in a collaborative environment. (Haseldon, par. 1. 2008)

The website continues by stating:

This approach is a first of its kind multi-joint venture of general contractors including Haselden Construction. All 6 firms are involved jointly in the preconstruction effort. Haselden Construction is providing the project manager and project engineer. (Haselden, par. 2. 2008)

Hasleden Construction not only funded the project, it was allowed to participate in the construction of the building by being the winning bid. Hasleden Construction's involvement in the project permitted the company to reap the public benefits of being both a financial supporter of the university and increased exposure of the company's name to both CSU's student body and the greater Ft Collins community.

The Numbers

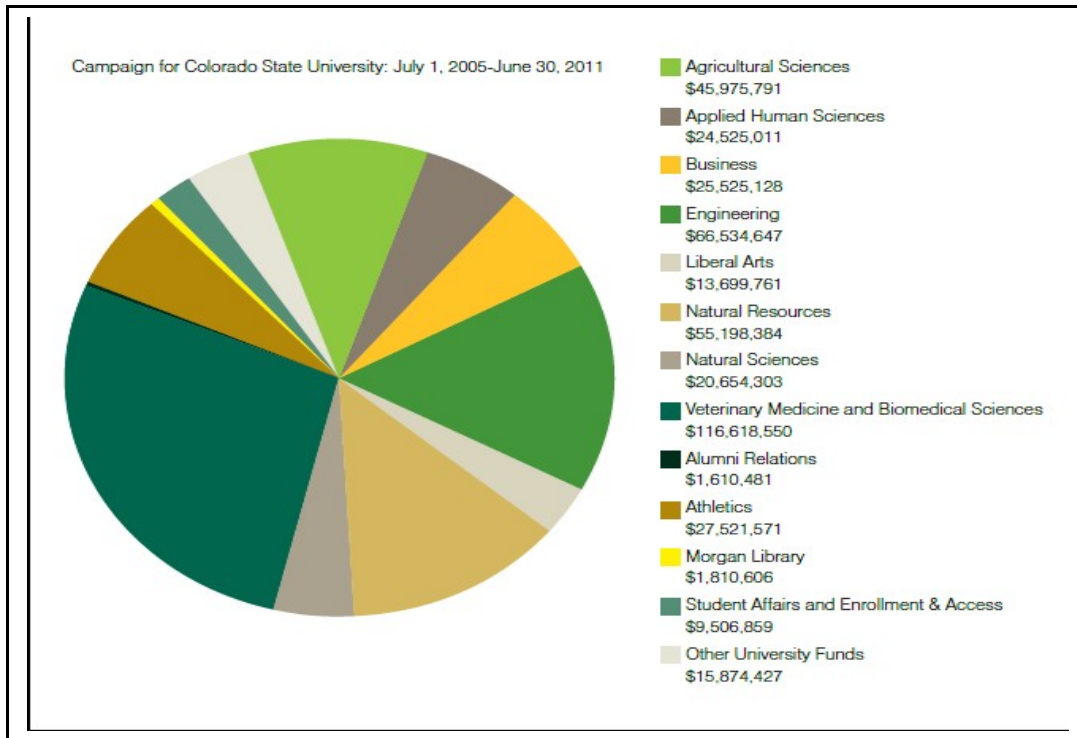
According to the Campaign for Colorado State University website in the last fiscal year the University has received over \$85,000,000 in donations from private donors and over \$450,000,000 since 2005 (Campaign, 2011). The amount of funds donated every year is distributed to the different colleges and departments.

According to the *Colorado State University Fact Book*, the College of Liberal Arts enrolls the most students 5,419 with the College of Applied Human Sciences coming in second with 4,936 students. The colleges that have the least amount of students enrolled are Veterinary Medicine and Biomedical Sciences with 1,546 students, Agricultural Sciences with 1,514 students, and the Warner College of Natural Resources with 1,411 students enrolled (all numbers include undergraduate and graduate enrollment) (CSU Fact Book, 2011).

Based on the enrollment numbers it would be easy to assume that the Colleges of Liberal Arts and Applied Human Sciences would receive the largest amounts of donated funds. This could not be further from the truth. The funds donated to the Liberal Arts and Applied Human Sciences do not even account for one third of the monetary donations to

the College of Veterinary Medicine and Biomedical Sciences. Figure 5.2 gives a six year breakdown of what colleges and programs receive what donated funds.

Table 5.2



*Campaign for Colorado State University Annual 2010-2011 Report 2010-2011
Modern corporate ties to CSU

Over the last six years, CSU has seen a 34% per year increase in donated funds.

This is due to The Campaign for Colorado State University. According to the Campaign's mission statement:

The Campaign for Colorado State University will provide greatly expanded support for students and faculty, transforms campus learning to meet the needs of a more competitive age, strengthen academic achievements, and provide a solid foundation for the future of the University. It is the first comprehensive campaign in the University's 140-year history. No great university can continue to be great without looking ahead. Colorado State has a bold agenda - to set the standard for a 21st-century land-grant university. This campaign will reach a new tier of excellence and achievements that will solidify Colorado State's reputation for generations to come. Colorado State faculty and students have talent. The University's programs and research efforts change the world. Now, Colorado

State University needs the resources to leverage those strengths to make it the premier system of public higher education in the nation. The seven-year campaign will end June 30, 2012, and the goal is to raise \$500 million (Campaign 2011).

The campaign's goal to reach \$500 million in seven years is a bold and daunting task, and as of October 04, 2011, the Campaign has accumulated \$485 million. The undertaking of raising these large amounts of capital was assigned to outside groups.

The Presidents Honor Roll

According to the Campaign for Colorado State University website the President's Honor Roll is a special tribute to CSU's donors which consists of alumni, parents, and friends. The President's Honor Roll consists of four substantial donation levels. They are: the President's Society which gives cumulative gifts of \$25,000 - \$99,999,

- The Morgan Society – cumulative gifts of \$100,000 - \$999,999,
- The Lory Society – cumulative gifts of \$1 million and above,
- The Frontier Society – planned gifts of any size.

Each of the four societies consist of a diverse membership group and boast hundreds of individuals, corporations and foundations that have donated \$425,055,510 in the last five fiscal years to the university.

One such donor is the Hill's Pet Food Corporation. The university's prestigious School of Veterinary Medicine is not immune to corporate influence. The vet school has had close ties with the Hill's Pet Food Corporation for more that 70 years. The company's founder, Mark Morris, Jr., was a student at CSU in the 1940s. Since Hill's modest beginnings in the late 1940s the company has grown into a leading pet food giant. In the 1970s, the company was incorporated into the mega-corporation Palmolive-Colgate family (Hills Corporation, 2011).

According to Susan Thixton:

...a quick search of all the U.S. Veterinary School websites shows that about 50% are provided with donations from Hill's Science Diet; this was only with a very quick search, more than likely far more vet schools receive donations from Hills. Colorado State University and the University of Minnesota have "Feeding Programs" sponsored by Science Diet. The Colorado State University Science Diet Feeding program involves selling donated Science Diet Pet Food as a fund raiser for student and university programs (Thixton, para 1, 2009).

Thixton's analysis acknowledges two crucial points. First, many universities are strapped for cash, and donations by such corporations like Colgate-Palmolive are welcome by universities to shore up financial shortcomings. Second, corporate donations influence the opinions of the veterinarians. Thixton argues that by influencing the veterinarian's opinions, the vets themselves are unethically influencing their customer base to buy Science Diet brands, ultimately making the customer dependent on the brand and not on the veterinarian's expert opinion (Thixton, 2009). The Hill's Pet Food Corporation also employs several veterinarians as the company website states,

Hill's has more than 150 veterinarians on staff worldwide, making us one of the largest employers of veterinarians in the world. Our veterinarians' expertise and commitment are important to our partnership with veterinary professionals and the unsurpassed quality of our pet foods (Hill's Corporation, 2011).

The campus feeding program and the fact that the Hill's Corporation admits that it employs and recruits veterinarians raises important ethical questions. By being involved in every aspect of a veterinarian's schooling, financial needs and employment bring the company's connection to the greater community full circle. The student becomes a corporate representative that plays a crucial role within the community (Washburn,

2005). In other words, the company has a direct link to its customer base through an indispensable and trusted community member whose social and financial fitness are dependent on the good fortune of the corporation, and in turn, the community then becomes dependent on the corporation (Washburn, 2005).

INTO State University

On February 10th 2012 Colorado State University and INTO University Partnerships announced a joint partnership to increase the university's international student enrollment (Henley, 2012). According to Kyle Henley (2012):

INTO is a private company that partners with universities to attract and recruit international undergraduate and graduate students. Since 2006, the company has successfully launched partnerships with 14 universities in the United Kingdom, United States and Asia. CSU enters the endeavor with INTO as part of a strategic initiative to boost international enrollment and create a culturally rich student experience that is reflective of today's global marketplace (para.1).

The partnership was sold to the faculty, students and staff, as a means to benefit Colorado State University in several ways. Henley (2012) quotes the University President Dr. Tony Frank stating:

CSU has a long-standing tradition of attracting international students to its world-class academic and research programs, and I'm very excited about the opportunity to expand that through our new relationship with INTO. This initiative will enable us to grow CSU's footprint in parts of the planet that were previously beyond our reach, to create unprecedented opportunities for globally competitive programs and initiatives, and to increase international literacy among CSU students, faculty and staff (para. 2)

Dr. Franks explanation of Colorado State University's partnership with INTO covers the basic details of the initiative. His statement also says the venture will have a positive affect on the university and the students that the program recruits.

The initiative boasts an innovated curriculum will be used. The program called *Pathway* programs helps international students adapt to an American university

environment (Henley, 2012). The programs will be taught by university instructors. Both undergraduate and graduate will use the *Pathway* program (Henley, 2012). The programs are designed to instruct students two fold (Henley, 2012). First the *Pathway* programs provide international students with a combination of academic coursework. Second, the programs assist with English language training (Henley, 2012). The goal is to prepare them to transition to standard undergraduate and graduate degree programs at CSU (Henley, 2012). Henley quoted (2012) Jim Cooney, the university's vice provost for International Affairs as stating:

We've worked closely with INTO in recent months to create an innovative curriculum that will help assimilate international students into the fabric of Colorado State. The partnership with INTO will augment and work in concert with the university's other established international initiatives and truly enhance the international experience for all CSU students, faculty and staff (para. 7).

The initiative also will boost the universities international student population but without affecting Colorado State Universities Colorado residency enrollment numbers (Henley, 2012). By boosting international student's numbers the university has essentially found new avenues of much needed funding. Henley (2012) quotes Provost Rick Miranda as stating:

With the INTO initiative, we have an outstanding opportunity to make significant progress on the internationalization of our campus, which will provide additional access to our world-class academic programs to students from around the world. This is completely in line with our overall mission and our desire to offer a broad globally oriented curriculum to all of our students, especially including our own Colorado residents. The INTO initiative will broaden and diversify the university's revenue streams and will position CSU financially to continue to fulfill our land-grant mission, provide access to great numbers of capable students, and to meet the academic needs of students throughout Colorado and the world (para. 9).

The last sentence in Mr. Miranda statement raises the question of why the university really decided to partner with INTO. What Mr. Miranda did not state is the fact that

INTO is recruiting from Asia which boasts the largest concentration of human capital on the planet.

According to the website edupass.org, the monetary costs for international students trying to obtain a United States education are very high. Depending on the institution tuition, books room and board an undergraduate institution will cost from \$15,000 to \$40,000 a year. A graduate education can be even more expensive. The edupass.org (2012) website states:

There is very little financial aid for foreign nationals to study in the US, with the possible exception of citizens of Canada and Mexico. Most grants, scholarships, and loans from public and private sources are restricted to US citizens (para. 2).

If financial aid is not offered to international students, how are they footing the \$40,000 bill? The cost brings up the ethical issue of whom INTO is recruiting to Colorado's land-grant university. Is it economically challenged populations, or the bourgeois class? Is it the middle class or those who hold ties to the political leadership of the countries that INTO and CSU are recruiting from? Based on the cost and the above questions one could argue that INTO and CSU partnership are creating monetary ties to the countries that they are recruiting from and are they perpetuating global poverty. The full implications of this have not been determined.

Colorado State University's administration argues that the partnership with INTO will boost the university's international student population thus enriching the mission of the university and the lives of its students, faculty and staff (Henley, 2012). The issue with the partnership between CSU and INTO is not with the mission of the initiative. Having a diverse student population and globally oriented curriculum are great attributes

that can only enrich all the lives of those involved. Image 5.1 constructs whom INTO is recruiting and the power dynamic created by the partnership.

Image 5.1



Image 5.1 raises several important questions' s about whom INTO is recruiting. First, the power dynamic between the male and female: here we have a white male in the forefront of the image, while his counterpart, a female of color is in the back ground of the image. This suggests that the male is somehow more important than his female counterpart. Second, the woman is clearly of Asian descent thus suggesting that INTO is recruiting or targeting a particular race or ethnicity to its client Colorado State University. Third, INTO and Colorado State chose a white male to represent the university thus suggesting that there are no other people of color or genders and perpetuates the ideology that Colorado State University is a white university. Again, at issue is how the partnership, "...will broaden and diversify the university's revenue streams" (Henley, 2012).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE STUDY

The purpose of this critical university study was to examine if Colorado State University has adopted the neo-liberal agenda. Through the application of critical university studies of historical documentation and other primary and scholarly sources I was exploring if Colorado State has adopted the neo-liberal agenda. My analysis of the literature has concluded that Colorado State University has indeed adopted the neo-liberal agenda.

Stanley Fish argues this is accomplished by first raising tuition, in effect universities pass the burden of costs onto the student body. The students become consumers and debt-holders rather than beneficiaries of an enlightened education (Fish, 2010). Second, institutions of higher learning hire larger numbers of short-term, part-time adjunct faculty (NEA, 2004). These faculty members are not affixed to the university and are a transient and disposable workforce (Fish, 2010). Non-tenured faculty are in no position to challenge the university's practices or agitate for an academy more committed to the realization of democratic rather than monetary goals (Soley, 1995). Third, universities build partnerships with private corporations and outsource services to them thus courting the danger of turning the pursuit of fact into the pursuit of profits (Fish, 2010).

The information examined in this paper constructs Colorado State University not as a nonprofit institution of higher education but as a for profit business whose future and past has been and continues to be partly dependent on large corporations. The

university's focus on raising money to remain competitive is not a new idea. Higher education in the United States has long been financially stressed. Legislation that takes money away from higher education has pushed public universities like Colorado State University to look for funds in other places.

As Colorado State University moves forth with its plans to diversify its campus, it needs to recognize the role corporations, foundations and other influential entities play within the University system. CSU also should consider how much the Board of Governors' outside interests benefit from student recognition. By strengthening outside interests brands and ultimately making them more money, Colorado State University is taking away what its founding members envisioned, "...as a way to give the sons and daughters of the farmers of Colorado an opportunity to attend college in which they would be taught scientific farming, the mechanic arts, and domestic economy"(Hansen, 1977). Now that the university has passed into a new millennium, we can assume that the new vision of the institution is a way to give the sons and daughters of the people of the world an opportunity to attend college in which they would be taught sciences, economics, civics arts and the workings of the world in which they exist.

Areas of Future Study

The intersection of class and race could have been more central to this study. Due to the lack of outside participation, I found it difficult to include how the neo-liberal agenda affected class and race diversity at Colorado State University. As I pushed forward I was subjected to resistance from my potential interviewees. Regardless of the lack of participation from my intended subjects, I believe that this study sets up the necessary background for future researchers to include the intersection of race and class

in a critical university study. This could be accomplished if CSU's ethnic studies program offered a class that focuses on critical university studies; thus empowering students to conduct studies that are critical of race and class issues at CSU that examine university policies, trends, and partnerships.

Issues of faculty and staff employment could have been fleshed out more. The neo-liberal agenda curtails any and all forms of unionization. As I understand it, CSU's faculty and administrative professionals are not unionized. This is due to the salary discrepancies between departments. In other words, professors in the college of veterinary sciences are not going to give up their salary so that professors from the college of liberal arts can make the same salary that they do. This issue could be studied more thoroughly by examining outside interests and the role that they play in keeping CSU's faculty from unionizing.

The student loan program at CSU was examined but the program was only used as an example of how banks help to solidify the neo-liberal agenda by commoditizing students. The example could have been taken a step further by examining how the university's partnership with banks affects the financial wellbeing of students. This plays into the fact that due to decreases in university funding and students' need for money, it has become mutually profitable for banks to partner with colleges. By doing so banks have free access to students which creates lucrative market and the banks reap a profit from the students. All this comes at a time when public funding is extremely limited. Future scholars could study the partnership between banks and universities to see if the partnerships help or hurt the financial upward movement of students and how it affects their social class.

I have personally witnessed at CSU sporting events the more I have noticed how many corporate sponsors the university has. Coke-a-cola, Nike, and Reebok are just a few of these corporate sponsors that “donate” apparel and goods to CSU’s athletic department. Future research can be done that focuses on brand association and examine whether or not these corporations are supporting and promoting stereotypes based in hyper sexuality, religious intolerance, hyper-masculinity, racism, classism and the persecution of LGBTQ communities. Furthermore this kind of critical university study would also scrutinize if CSU partnership with such corporations ties the university mission to that of whichever corporation is funding the institutions athletic department. In other words, has CSU become the marketing vehicle of corporations that has ties to millions of people?

The most important area of further research that should be explored is how CSU combats the neo-liberal agenda. This is an important question because most people have no idea what neo-liberalism is and who the ideology serves. This thesis addresses these questions but unless someone is researching the neo-liberal affects on class and race at Colorado State University they probably will not be familiar with the term or the ideology that it represents. I believe that to combat neo-liberalism, an institution must be privy to the nature of the beast. In the past it was the academe itself that educated the masses of the dangers of privatizing the public sphere. Now it seems that the academe can not or chooses not to see the line that separates public institutions from private entities. This is the conundrum that the academe faces they need corporations to survive but in my opinion it is the academy’s duty to stand up against such forces by educating the masses about the consequences of dancing with the devil.

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