

From Plan to Market...  
Marketizing the Non-Economic

*The economy of higher education: markets and marketization of  
Canadian post-secondary education*

By

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation examines post-secondary education (PSE) through six case studies of criminal justice departments found in Canadian universities. It argues that post-secondary education is highly marketized in terms of demand but is more immune to market influences at the level of the state. The dissertation uses a relational analysis to examine relations between the state and post-secondary institutions. It identifies three primary markets in post-secondary education including academic labour and research markets, institutional finance markets, and student /labour and credential markets. Utilizing the concept of marketization, defined as a host of policy changes which seek to make institutions more accountable, the study assesses the shift of post-secondary education toward a commercial and corporate form. I consider the institutions of post-secondary education as a constellation of power relationships between the state and institution, between institutions themselves, between professors and institutions, between professors and students, between institutions and students and between external forces such as markets and states, markets and institutions, markets and students, and markets and professors. The content of these relationships is determined by the intensity, character, and nature of their interdependences. This work seeks to reveal these relationships by examining the role of the state and various markets that constitute post-secondary education, what this looks like and its effect on the constitution of liberal arts education. This thesis argues that the current post-secondary academic form in Canada may be considered as a reflection of market practices and the operation of the state in a relational manner.

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## **Introduction:**

Post-secondary education (PSE) is a commonplace institution of contemporary society. In numerous ways, it is woven into our everyday lives. Many of us plan for our children's education from birth, seek the required credential to gain employment, and view post-secondary education as a vital source of knowledge. It is the routinized path in the life trajectory of middle and upper classes, a dream sought to be achieved by the lower classes, and a cultural significance that is ubiquitous. A university degree is considered essential to a better way of life. It gives one earning potential, symbolic, and cultural status. For those, like myself, who have made a career out of post-secondary education, it has a different set of meanings. It is a workplace, an agency, and an industry.

Post-secondary education is the soil in which ideas can grow and be nourished. It is the repository of information used in everything from public service to private industry. Its importance cannot be underestimated. Debates on the nature, access and importance of post-secondary education to the nation and global economy are found in newspapers, magazines, academic journals, and political debate. At a basic level, there is an unspoken agreement that institutions of higher learning be objective, free from influence, a place that somehow protects the ability to produce pure, unencumbered knowledge growth. The public, perhaps naively, assumes universities to be free from influence, while those on the inside feel the realities of outside forces at work. We have witnessed considerable change in post-secondary

education in the past decade and there are varying debates regarding why and how these changes have taken place. In this thesis, I argue that the current post-secondary academic form in Canada can be considered as a reflection of market practices and the operation of the state in a relational manner. While post-secondary education was traditionally progressive, a plan on the part of the state to better the nation, many claim it is now dominated by market forces and characterized by neo-liberal elements of privatization, marketization, and deregulation.

At the broadest level, this study concerns itself with how contemporary institutions operate. In post-industrial, globalized societies, can government funded institutions be wholly directed and determined by state interest? What are the connections between the economy and the political? I claim there is not one driving force (profit maximization or deregulation, etc.) that determines the operation of an institution. It is complex. An analysis needs to unravel those complexities and begin to identify connections between these processes and how those relationships are structured. Dill (1997a & b) claims that stimulating market-like behaviours through competition is at the heart of current post-secondary education policy debates. I seek to understand how market logics prevail or work with governmental logics in the constitution of Canadian post secondary education. Therefore, this research questions the tension between traditional academic markets and capitalist neo-liberal markets through examining degrees of marketization found in provincial and institutional policy.

The thrust of this work is to examine the role of the state in post-secondary education, a discussion of the various markets that constitute post-secondary education, what this looks like and its effects for the constitution of liberal arts education. For this study, I use Dill's (1997a&b) articulation of post-secondary education markets as professor, student, and research funds and Clark's (1983) triangle of state authority, the market, and the academic oligarchy as three forces that determine the co-ordination of post-secondary education. Marketization, defined as a host of policy changes which ostensibly seek to make institutions more accountable to their truly vast array of stakeholders, students, employers and the taxpaying public at large (Young 2002:80), are central to understanding the influence and creation of these spaces as market relations and the degree to which they are marketized. According to Teixeira (2006) it remains to be seen if higher education markets have really been implemented or, if instead, markets are only a rhetorical device (2).

This research assesses post-secondary education markets through examining the establishment of criminal justice departments in Canada. A strong critical literature has developed appraising these programs as representative of a shift in post-secondary education away from academics toward applied, managerial and practice-based studies. These critiques claim post-secondary education is now characterized by high degrees of marketization, privatization, and deregulation, and programs such as criminal justice are examples of this neo-liberal trend. In this

literature, criminal justice programs/departments are characterized as applied study, devoid of traditional disciplinary ontologies, and instead of being an academic discipline, is a non-theoretical training ground for agents of the state, providing governments and companies with research knowledge to feed its status quo practices. It is claimed that these programs are evidence of a shift in liberal arts away from its traditional disciplinary basis into boutique, niche and market-based programs, and are evidence of the effect of neo-liberal practices on post-secondary education.

The literature describes marketization, privatization and deregulation at work in various sectors of post-secondary education. I seek to add depth to that literature by examining the role of government and market influences in the development of criminal justice. Can the critiques be verified? If so, what does this mean for the future direction of post-secondary education? What role does the state play in mediating, or supporting and encouraging this process? How much have markets penetrated post-secondary education? Where have they had the most impact? Have mechanisms of resistance modified the effect? I conclude that the role of government has not been eradicated by market influences, although the role of the state in post-secondary education has been redefined. I discuss the nature of this redefinition using Jessop's (2002, 2005, 2008) concept of societalization, and what it may mean for future of post-secondary education and other state institutions.

As a researcher studying this topic, it is important to note that I study, teach, and research in the field of criminal justice. I have been involved in research as a research associate with a government-funded center for excellence, worked on several government-funded program evaluations, had contract research with federal and provincial governments, and am currently a faculty member in the University of Winnipeg's criminal justice department. I sit on university committees, work with our local faculty association on issues of intellectual freedom and property, am involved in curriculum decisions at the departmental and university level, as well as related activities. This is both a benefit and a possible barrier to objective research. Indeed, as is evident in much research, I cannot claim objectivity. Yet, this is not a piece of research that I would declare as standpoint. I am cognizant of my lack of objectivity and my experience has helped form some of my questions, concerns, and future hopes for Canadian post-secondary education.

Chapter One examines the shifting post-secondary education landscape and discusses the state and capitalist accumulation and its effect on post-secondary education markets. It also outlines the strategic relational approach, identifying key concepts of the argument, which develops in the rest of the thesis. Chapter Two reviews the debates in Canadian post-secondary education, its purpose and its critique. It questions the goal of post-secondary education away from intellectual formation toward marketized and corporatized, demand-driven knowledge transfer. Chapter Three outlines the development of the criminal justice discipline in Canada. It discusses its origins in criminology, the current criticisms of its development and

the resulting tensions in which it operates. Chapter Four, States, Markets, and Criminal Justice: the complicated state and the role of markets in post-secondary education, makes connections between the history of shifts in post-secondary education and the development of criminal justice as a discipline, going on to identify and discuss the concepts that can be used to operationalize and gain evidence to assess the extent of corporatized, neo-liberal post-secondary education. Chapter Five examines the state and its relation to capital along four relational processes. Chapter Six discusses methodology and method, and case studies of Canadian Criminal Justice in higher education. Research questions and an identification of market indicators and markets of post-secondary education are discussed. Chapter Seven details the narratives and major themes of the case studies of The University of the Fraser Valley in British Columbia, University of Regina in Saskatchewan, The University of Winnipeg in Manitoba, Ryerson University and Nipissing University in Ontario, and St. Thomas University in New Brunswick. This chapter reveals the provincial, university, and departmental information gathered through content analysis of documents and interviews. It develops the major themes found in the case studies including access and degree authorization, specialized access, and orientation of universities toward governmental and labour market objectives, and financial changes and university governance. This chapter also outlines a review of the sampled criminal justice departments, discussing the impetus for the program, the description and goals of the program, course offerings, the tension with other programs, and faculty research. Chapter Eight examines three markets (student, academic, regulatory) utilizing findings in Chapter Six, to assess

levels of marketization in universities in Canada. It reveals the demand side to be highly marketized but the supply side still heavily governed by state regulation and academic oligarchy. The thesis concludes in Chapter Nine with a variety of statements about the redefined role of the state in post-secondary education and the use of marketization as a conceptual tool to assist us in understanding how governments, as a site of control, employ market mechanisms to assist in the allocation of resources.

## **Chapter 1 –Examining the Shifting Post-secondary Education Landscape: The state and capitalist accumulation and its effect on Post-secondary Education markets**

This chapter sets up the thesis by examining the basic claim that post-secondary education has shifted toward one of academic capitalism. It then examines in depth the analytical categories that will be used throughout the thesis to understand states, markets, and post-secondary education.

Kurasawa (2002) claims we are in a phase of post-secondary education he calls the solidification of market models. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) and Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) theory of academic capitalism, focuses on how American universities are integrated into the new economy. Marginson (1997) places changes in the university to the power of capital to universalize commodity production and market forms. He states market relations are a normalizing system in which everything and everyone has a price, and all difference, all the heterogeneous kinds of value are reworked as standardized exchange values, strung out on a standard grid according to different quantities of money they represent (1997:30). He and others including Slaughter and Leslie understand the knowledge society as an extension of capitalist production, consumption and exchange into education (Chan and Fisher 2008:5).

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) map academic capitalism as occurring in four main networking arrangements: circuits of knowledge, its interstitial organizational

emergence, inter-mediating (between public and private sectors) organization activity, and expanded managerial capacity. These are the arrangements where the new economy and actors of post-secondary education (students, administrators, and faculty) are linked. They focus on the development and marketing of particular educational programs vital to the new economy (such as business, communications, criminal justice, health, etc.) and managerial regimes (neo-liberal social and economic policy) that accompany this. These indicators have been variously adopted to discuss the rise of criminal justice departments (Frauley 2005, Huey 2011, Chunn and Menzies 2006). They are powerful conceptual tools to assist us in explaining the lure of specialized programs, particularly in terms of attracting students (interesting areas of study, and a degree that could equal a job) and how universities come to rely on markets outside of the state to sustain themselves. These studies also represent a good description of the commodification of knowledge and the use of corporate management within universities. This study follows that line of thinking, but seeks to deepen the analytical categories. I contend that while academic capitalism is informative and useful, it draws on a fairly instrumental concept of the state. Generally speaking, the literature on the rise of neo-liberal, market forms in university governance and structure is quite narrow and descriptive. While Slaughter and Rhoades make a strong set of claims, as do many of the other scholars, it could be strengthened considerably by grounding itself in a relational concept of the state. While Young calls their work reductionist (2002:90), I claim there is a need to nuance the literature and develop a stronger analytical model to study changing post-secondary education in Canada. Young

makes the claim that the dichotomy in the literature between state control versus market control is problematic because it makes it an either/or proposition. Using Dill (1995, 1997a), she claims a better way to analyze post-secondary education is to think about how market mechanisms are used to enhance state control. This is important in Canada given that at least half of post-secondary education funding comes from governments and governments play a particular role in steering state institutions toward goals of provincial/national prosperity. An engagement with state theory from a relational perspective and a specific study of post-secondary education markets and marketization will be fruitful to unpack linkages between the state, post-secondary education, and capital. This requires us to examine more deeply the markets of post-secondary education and how they interact with the state. What are the economic, political, and cultural processes that make up an institution in a post-structuralist society? In advanced capitalist societies, how does capital reproduce itself? How does the state and capital relate to constitute new forms and ensure conditions for its own reproduction?

*The State and Capital Accumulation:*

An age-old sociological question asks 'what is the nature of the state and its relationship with capital?' While a general Marxist orientation suggests the state protects itself by generally promoting capitalist interests, other Marxist positions vary in the how the state promotes capitalist interests. More instrumental perspectives suggest that the state is an arm of capital (Miliband), while others view the connection in a relational context (Poulantzas). I use Jessop's conception of the

state as relational which essentially means understanding the state, and its changes, via its location in relations with markets, economy, and the citizenry. In The Future of the Capitalist State (2002), Jessop outlines changes in the state's role in capitalist reproduction and its institutional, social, and discursive mediation. Jessop allows us to use the concept of the state, which some claim is dead, or has been pushed out, as a core part of this analysis. It also helps us avoid Marxist reductionism by using concept of societalization. Societalization is a conceptual tool whereby society is thought to be produced through complex social processes operating in and through institutional orders. This allows us to bring the state back into an analysis because it replaces reductionism with a focus on how the state operates, not on society, but on a complex field of social relations.

The state is important when discussing post-secondary education because the state governs post-secondary education. Governments stimulate, shape and create markets of post-secondary education. While universities are given some autonomy, the state decides on the boundaries via social policy on accreditation, regulation, and funding. But, the state is not a separate entity that has gone away, nor has the state distanced itself from major societal institutions. There is no boundary between the economy and state. As Jessop (2002) suggests

(states) typically undergo major shifts when accumulation regimes and modes of regulation change. For example the changing forms of competitiveness associated with globalizing, knowledge-based economies lead to a major rearticulating of the economic and extra-economic. More generally, this is inked to changing forms of state intervention that affect the definition, regulation, and operation of market forces narrowly conceived as well as to the broader restructuring, rescaling, and temporalizing of market-state-civil society relations (36).

Albo (1997) argues that instead, the state has interacted differently with emerging markets to create, stimulate, and constitute social forms. I want to make visible the role of the state and argue a neo-liberal state is as interventionist as a social democratic one. I pursue the idea of marketization as opposed to privatization, as it gives more power to analyze state operations in neo-liberal times. I specifically want to draw on Jessop's consideration of capitalist accumulation as a principle of societalization as it allows the concepts through which to discuss marketization (Jessop 1990, 2002).

As Jessop argues in Future of the Capitalist State (2002), capitalism cannot through market forces alone secure the conditions needed for its own reproduction, it cannot exercise any sort of economic determination in the last instance over the rest of the social formation. Instead he configures the state in terms of societalization in which a stable state orients its activities toward capital accumulation, whether it is fully immersed in the market or not. Societalization is the process whereby the social environment is stable enough that it allows capital to orient its activities to opportunities for profit. Jessop suggests we pay close attention to the constitution of capital accumulation through the interaction of market-mediated and non-market social relations by claiming there is wide variation in how far capitalist market forces dominate organizational and the dynamic of social formations. He claims that in order for capitalism to accumulate, capitalist markets need not dominate social institutions. Instead, he argues that accumulation can take place in environments where capital is able to orient its activities to opportunities for exchange and

eventually, profit. He suggests that this does not require all social relations to be subsumed under the commodity form and entirely subordinated to market forces (2002:22). Commodities may take different forms (including what Haiven, 2010, calls imaginary commodities) and may articulate themselves differently in different social circumstances. What bourgeois societalization involves is the *relative* subordination of an entire social order to the logic and reproduction requirements of capital accumulation (Jessop 2002:23).

### *The relational state*

This study uses Jessop's critical political economy and strategic relational approach (SRA) to examine practices of the modern state. Essentially a Marxist historical materialist approach, this methodology examines how the state works by assessing its relational manner, opposed to a purely structural or essentialist one (Jessop 1990, 2002, 2008). This perspective contends that we think of capitalism as a social relation and how it is embedded in economic and non-economic relationships. Here we can identify the path dependent structural coupling and co-evolution of differently operationally closed systems (Jessop 2008). It is concerned with how political strategies merge, and how power is not necessarily determinative, but not either constructive in the Foucaultian sense but rather is bounded and mutually constitutive. Essentially Jessop's work, like Poulantzas, is about recognizing the state as somewhat autonomous yet at the same time related to other systems. The strategical relational approach is based in a materialist contention claiming states do not exist outside of the specific spatial and temporal actions pursued by specific

actors acting alone or together. Drawing on Poulantzas (1978) conception that states are both relational and selective and his consideration of the state as a strategic terrain of class struggle, Jessop argues that all types of struggles and strategies (not just class and capital) influence state policies. Further, the state will choose some struggles over others. This view displaces our focus from the guarantee that the state operates in capitalist interests to a concern with the many and varied contingent effects of state power on accumulation in specific conjunctures (Jessop 1990:354). The idea of strategic selectivity is predicated on the idea that state is a strategic terrain (Jessop 2005). Relational approaches understand social problems through an examination of the social relations involved. A relational approach does not take a concept, like the state or a system, as primary. Instead, it prioritizes the relation. Class, gender, and generation are themselves relational concepts that are given meaning in terms of how they unfold in the intricacies of these fundamental relations (Clement 2007:43). The matrix of relations between states, post-secondary education, students, professors, yields our understanding of them. Said otherwise, relations are revealed in any account of them.

Kelly claims that this allows us to study state policy as moulded around particular hegemonic projects expressed by political parties or other groups relation to the dominant regime of accumulation (1999:112). What this means for studies of the state, such as this one, is we cannot assume the state has particular interests that will work in particular ways. Instead, the state is fluid and although a strategic site,

is autonomous in its decision-making. Jessop claims the state is more open to some types of political strategy than others and a given type of state, a given form of regime, will be more accessible to some forces than others according to the strategies they adopt to gain state power (1990).

Jessop's consideration of capital accumulation as a principle of societalization (determined by economic determination, ecological dominance, economic domination, and bourgeoisie hegemony) can be used to help us understand how post-secondary education is situationally related to capitalist accumulation. Our task then becomes understanding how marketization, as an outcome of societalization, occurs. I am interested in how these markets variously relate, constitute, and govern post-secondary education. In order to reveal how markets are embedded in state regulation and how institutions develop rules in accordance with various markets, I turn to an examination of Schumpeterian markets of post-secondary education.

### *Schumpeterian Markets of Post-Secondary Education*

There is not one driving force that determines the operation of an institution. Most post-modern institutions are complex and, as discussed above, have interactions with multiple markets. An analysis needs to unravel those complexities and begin to identify connections between these processes and how those relationships are structured. Typically, post-secondary education is considered extra-economic because it is heavily government regulated. Governments have paid the greatest

share of educational costs and issued a large number of rules and regulations about degrees, funding, access, quality, institutional management, and personnel matters and other areas (Jongbloed 2003:113). As governments shift in form, how does it affect its relation with post-secondary education? And are some state forms more open to market forces? The Schumpeterian state is characterized by ideas of Joseph Schumpeter who suggested competitiveness in a global economy depends on developing the individual and collective capacities to engage in permanent innovation. This is set against the Keynesian collective idea of economic management. Is a Schumpeterian state more open to market forces than a Keynesian one? Although it may be difficult to use a pure economic/market model to understand the institution, we must balance government and markets and discuss the relations between the two. Clark (1983) offers a triangle of coordination that discuss how three forces shape higher education – these include forces of market, forces of academic control, and the role of the state in regulation and control.

One can claim that post-secondary education is not a market because it does not consist of a typical economic exchange where parties voluntarily contract to exchange a good or service for a recognized currency. This type of knowledge exchange is not about profit or value of a credential or research because these things are not considered a result of free market competition, but of regulation by the state and the acts of scholars. Generally speaking, post-secondary education is made up of the relations between the state and the academic community. Collins

(1979) and Bourdieu (1977) claimed knowledge was a form of cultural capital, status, and prestige, but was not firmly economic. Indeed Regini claims that a market can only operate where the supply of goods and services is oriented towards a demand, and exchanges are based on prices determined by the interaction of such supply and demand (2012:94).

However, others claim that post-secondary education can be considered a market because increasingly it is characterized by competition, price exchange, and service. At its most basic level, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) claim that the sale of educational services and products (such as a degree, diploma, or certificate) is an indicator of a market of post-secondary education. Indeed, we can make the claim that the credential is a fictitious commodity because it is not produced in order to be sold, but it can, and does, take the form of an exchange value in particular circumstances.

Marketization represents a neo-liberal, late 20th Century compromise between privatization, the autonomous university, and blatant governmental control (Young 2002:82). Higher-education policy in many countries is increasingly driven by the belief that freeing, facilitating, and simulating markets in higher education will provide academic institutions with incentives to improve the quality of teaching and research, to enhance academic productivity, and to stimulate innovations in academic programs, research, and services of benefit to the larger society (Dill 1997b: 170). The literature reveals numerous examples of marketization in higher education (see Chapter 2), although it is suggested that a market logic can only

become important if the state and the academic community recognize the logic as legitimate, thus embracing it. Many claim the academic community and the state have increasingly, through choice and government coercion, accepted market logics. Indicators of this include implementation of competitive based bidding schemes for public funds, spending large parts of budgets on marketing campaigns, separating teaching from research, growing competition for research grants and professor jobs, use of a variety of funds including endowment, industry and foundation funds, administration increasingly focused on finances not programs, increasing branding of credentials, and universities seeking alternative revenues to name a few (see Jongbloed 2003). Dill (1997a&b) recognizes four examples of public policy trends in global higher education financing patterns that exhibit reliance on and derive coherence from the logic of markets. First is leveling the playing field between public and private institutions and funding. This policy move includes increasing subsidies to users in the form of loans, not grants (Young 2002:88). Second is the development of quasi-markets where strategic funds are part of competition between public institutions (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004, Jessop 2002). Third is increasingly tying government funding to government accountability mechanisms. And fourth is the tendency for universities to increase tuition, decrease operating costs, and increase funds for students. These social policies can be said to cluster in quasi-markets such as knowledge, credential, research, and labour markets, which taken together constitute a post-secondary education market or a higher education economy. Instructive for this study, I identify three areas of post-secondary education where market logics are imprinting themselves and are characterized by

marketization: (1.) student, labour, and the credential market; (2.) academic labour and research markets and (3.) institutional financing. To assist in filling out these market categories I now turn to a review of the post-secondary education literature and discuss the rise of criminal justice studies.

## **Chapter 2: Debating post-secondary education**

Historically, the liberal arts and humanities have been the core of a university education. Demers (2002) claims that in recent decades, universities have strayed from what used to be their core mission and acceded to outside pressure to serve the needs of the economy, focusing curricula on whatever highly specialized skill the marketplace requires (14). We see this in a host of interdisciplinary or newly formed degrees in specialized areas. Some Canadian examples include bachelor degrees such as disaster and emergency management, sport management, business and society, children's studies, international development studies, health and society, global citizenship, and sexuality studies. Criminal justice has been placed in the category of a specialized degree. Jacobs (2012) claims the preoccupation with credential-oriented, narrowly specialized learning is problematic. He suggests it results in graduates thinking too specifically about certain tasks and types of information what is claimed to be preparation effectively disables students for intellectual versatility and for engaging issues and problems of new or unfamiliar kinds (208). It is claimed that specialized programs subvert the core mission of universities.

### Post-secondary education and themes of societal progression

Parker, Chambers, and Gregory (2006) ask "Is there a future for liberal education?" and "What place do the arts and humanities have in the new global (professional and employment skill-providing) university?" The answer depends on the contemporary goals (and curriculum) of a liberal arts education. Are the goals of

education to provide students with practice-based, specialized skills, or impart a broad based set of skills or generalized learning? John Henry Newman's 1947 book titled The Idea of a University suggested the core feature of a liberal arts education is intellectual formation. Intellectual formation is considered growth in theoretical knowledge and development of intellectual and analytical skills and is distinct from knowledge and skills of a practical kind (Mulcahy 2012:306). Mulcahy (2008, 2012) claims that in recent years there has been a willingness to consider practical knowledge and skills as desirable elements of a liberal arts education. Martin (1994, 1996) critiques traditional liberal arts education and its focus on intellectual formation claiming this results in a separation from the mind and body, and a gap between thinking and doing creating people who can think, but who cannot act. Martin (1994, 1996) calling for a revision in the liberal arts, aligns the idea of learning to act with creating a caring society, or as she calls it 'the notion of education for caring.' Martin's (1994, 1996) notion emphasizes the functional or utilitarian policy direction of university education. This is educational progressivism<sup>1</sup>. Generally speaking there exists optimism that education, and its relationship to work, holds a particular promise for, and is an integral component of, social equality and development. Under progressivism, education is a key component of social change, social growth, and social transformation.

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<sup>1</sup> Wotherspoon argues that although early on schools were affected by a more traditional industrial logic (i.e. they were governed using industry models of organization and classroom management oriented to educational efficiency) the goal of schooling under this industry logic and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century progressive reformists (which incorporated science and humanism), had the similar goals of cultivating public interest and creating a better society.

Wotherspoon (1998) argues that educational progressives view schools as institutions contributing to the realization of social progress by allowing students to develop their full human potential. Under progressivism, the primary goal of education is to develop and direct an adequately socialized majority so as to create a true meritocracy, to help solve social problems, and to produce citizens with developed intellectual skills (see Hirst 1993). Wotherspoon (1998) suggests that since 1960, this progressive theme has led to increased post-secondary enrolments, the development of new technical institutes and community colleges, and an increase in government expenditures on post-secondary education. Although post-secondary education has experienced a contraction of funding, the progressive discourse is alive and well.

We see this progressive discourse in contemporary post-secondary education policies, practices, and culture. Whereas Martin defined progress as a caring society, others define it as economic. Human capital theory<sup>2</sup> and human resource development models<sup>3</sup> have increasingly penetrated progressive educational discourse and policy. The pragmatism of educational progressivism and human capital theory is increasingly reflected in contemporary post-secondary education policy and course offerings. Many claim this shift toward human resource development models of post-secondary education relates to the corporatization of

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<sup>2</sup> Human capital theory is an economic model based in the idea that investment in training will produce productive workers necessary for economic growth.

<sup>3</sup> Human resource development models are concerned with innovative learning styles that will allow students to develop and acquire skills necessary to contribute to the economy and society.

post-secondary education prevalent since the 1980s.<sup>4</sup> This general progressive theme is well documented as the assessment of fit between education and employment outcomes. Contemporarily, there is an ever-increasing alignment of education and training with knowledge creation and knowledge transfer along with its specific utilitarian focus of benefiting the educated person and society at large. This discourse is reflected in claims made by the Canadian Council on Learning (CCL)<sup>5</sup> who maintain there is a pressing need in Canada to adequately assess post-secondary education in order to deal with the demands of the new economy. Paul Cappon, the CEO of the CCL argues that there is a need for Canada's post-secondary educational facilities, despite provincial jurisdiction, to develop a national roadmap or risk the erosion of our competitive advantage. He claims "stronger links between workplaces and post-secondary institutions have the twin benefit of keeping post-secondary education relevant to the labour market and to prepare students for the transition to the labour force." There are numerous examples of directed labour market driven university programs including those aimed at gaps in the labour market. Some examples are business degree programs in risk management, organizational behavior, and very specific programs such as project management, network security, and internet system analysis, to name a few. Social welfare/justice concerns are also embedded in the CCL's discourse, for example "we can develop programs that expand the number of people who benefit from post-secondary

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<sup>4</sup> Chan and Fisher (eds) 2008 The Exchange University: corporatization of Academic Culture. University of British Columbia Press and Turk J. (ed) Universities at Risk: How politics, special interests and corporatization threaten academic integrity. Lorimer.

<sup>5</sup> I am referring only to the CCL here but this discourse is evident in numerous organizations linked to PSE in Canada including government bodies such as the Federal Government Human Resources and Skill Development Ministry and numerous provincial government departments as well as educational advocacy groups.

education programs and in doing so, broaden our workforce pool.” The CCL encourages links between post-secondary education and wider social and economic goals and values held by Canadians including health, a rising standard of living, tolerance, accessibility and social engagement. They claim more educated people contribute more and are better for society than less educated peers. In terms of wider social and economic goals, curriculum changes aim to develop educated citizens to help alleviate poverty, global inequality, and deal with matters of social justice. Hence we see a rise in very specific programs in liberal arts that seek to speak to particular social reformist goals such as international development, global politics, and criminal justice. Undercutting this clear social sentiment is a strong economic concern that post-secondary education focus on managerial issues such as quality assurance and accreditation, student mobility, skills shortages, knowledge creation and knowledge transfer so as not to “hold us back from greater success in the knowledge economy and damage Canada’s prosperity and international competitiveness.”

To achieve this new goal of education some of the solutions offered are to “restructure education to accommodate young people getting secure jobs in the labour market, and to reduce and improve employability which inevitably leads to national economic prosperity.” For the student it offers the chance to reduce the chances of unemployment, part-time and temporary work, low wages, and other forms of labour market insecurity (Lowe 2001:33). Specialized program development aimed at specific markets, are created with this goal in mind. It is

apparent that this human resource model is a turn away from Newman's claim that a university degree is about intellectual formation.

Jacobs (2009) and Kent (2012) claim these specific, human resource based degrees are problematic and argue an undergraduate liberal arts degree should remain holistic and multi-faceted, remaining avocational. Kent (2012) claims while utilitarian goals (labour market success and social reformist goals) are marketable to the very competitive student market and may allow universities to recruit students, a student who has a specialized degree in a volatile economy where people will be changing jobs every ten years, is at a disadvantage from those with a broad liberal arts education that teaches writing, communication and critical thinking skills (276). He claims degrees with the goal of intellectual formation, have the most long-term value.

#### Criticizing the progressive theme: the corporate, neo-liberal university

In recent years a wealth of scholars have criticized contemporary post-secondary education. They argue changes in post-secondary policies and practices represent a neo-liberal assault on post-secondary education. These critiques vary in scope and content with some focusing on the loss of the democratic potential of education, conceptualizing this 'new post-secondary education' as a neo-liberal war on the young (Giroux 2002, 2007). Others examine the restructuring of academic work taking aim at the unraveling of academic integrity of scholarly work (Turk 2008). Others examine the role of universities as the expansion of neo-liberal governance

of youth (Mizen 2003). And others center on the shift in the culture of universities (Cote and Allahar 2007). The new post-secondary education and its resulting changes have been termed academic capitalist regimes (Slaughter and Rhoades 2007), the marketization and buisnefication of universities (Marginson 1997), the exchange university (Chan and Fisher 2008) and the enterprise university (Marginson and Considine 2000).

While these critiques differ in their analytic scope and content, all are centered on an exploration of the corporatization of universities, the commodification of education, and the resultant conceptualization of students as consumers of knowledge as a commodified product. In addition, they interrogate the management and organization of post-secondary education as increasingly managed through corporate arrangements. While corporatization is the linchpin of most critical critique, it is important to note that these terms have been used in various, sometimes conflicting, ways.<sup>6</sup> Some identify corporatization, commercialization, and commodification in policy and program changes, such as curriculum changes, while others refer to administration operations while still others submit to broader shifts in the for-profit market of universities and how post-secondary education reproduces class relations (see Stiglitz 1999, Tudiver 1999, Turk 2000, Washburn 2005). Generally, most of these critical analytics argue proposed and enacted changes to post-secondary education is evidence of a neo-liberal shift in state policy

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<sup>6</sup> See Bok, D. (2003) *Universities in the Marketplace: The Commercialization of higher education*. Princeton University Press, Chapter one for a discussion about the different uses of the term commercialization and PSE.

that prioritizes market concerns over academic ones, making educational choices a simplified economic exchange. These scholars suggest that since the late 1980s we have witnessed a corporatization of post-secondary education in most western countries. In the following I explore the corporatization of post-secondary education literature, the major effect of this and then identify concepts to be used in an analysis of criminal justice programs in Canada. These will become the foundation for the analytical model discussed later in the thesis. The remainder of this chapter will examine five primary themes:

- (a.) neo-liberal state funding of Canadian post-secondary education
- (b.) corporate management indicators and practices
- (c.) cultural life in the neo-liberal university
- (d.) the neo-liberal credential
- (e.) resistance

*a. The neo-liberal state funding of Canadian post-secondary education*

Neo-liberalism has become the big story of our time, dominating reform agendas around the Western world (Roberts and Peters 2008:1). This dominant narrative and policy direction came to the forefront as a solution to the recession, inflation, stagflation, and falling profits experienced in the late 1970s and 1980s and into the 1990s. Snowdon (2005) claims that the funding and regulatory environments of universities were greatly affected by a neo-liberal market-based philosophy which is characterized by a reliance on the market, reductions in the size of government, tax reductions, government deregulation, privatization of government

services/assets, a greater emphasis on individual responsibility and more importance placed on private benefit than the public good. He claims the shift to neo-liberal policies in Canadian post-secondary education in the 1980-90s resulted in more, albeit different, government regulation.

The implications of government action are still being felt; attempts to rely on the market were often quickly replaced with greater government controls (i.e., tuition), efforts to deregulate and eliminate 'red-tape' in some sectors were replaced with more regulation and 'red-tape' in other sectors – often under the banner of accountability. Attempts to move to greater individual responsibility translated into more student debt, a need to revamp programs and regulations to address student debt loads, and a student assistance environment that is referred to as a “hodge podge of programs” and characterized as “dauntingly complex.” The point is a general change in philosophy led to an extended period of experimentation, in a host of post-secondary policy areas, that simply added more complexity (and in some instances, chaos) to the higher education environment, along with, ironically, considerably more government intervention (Snowdon 2005:4-5).

The golden age of controlled capitalism (1945-1975) characterized by national governments controlling the flow of money, rising wages, increased social services, mass production economy, high taxes, broad economic benefits through subsidies and regulation, and dominated by Keynesian economics was held responsible for the economic crisis in the 1980s because it failed to promote open exchange and wealth generation (Steger, Manfred, and Roy 2010). Neo-liberalism is generally defined as re-asserting market dominance over state dominance. Its policy package includes the D-L-P formula – deregulation (of the economy), liberalization (of trade and industry) and privatization (of state owned enterprises). Canada has witnessed several waves of federal deregulation since the 1980s. It had a particular impact on Canadian universities.

Kurasawa (2002) claims there was a colonization of the academy by the state between 1940-1950. During this time, he claimed that the state dominated post-secondary education, and civil society and the market played a subordinate role (326). He claims that the government recruited academic scientists to help advance their causes. He cites the United States Manhattan Project as a prototype of this phase of post-secondary education restructuring and in Canada the creation of the National Research Council emblemized the state's new activist role in higher education (328). He further suggests there is significant evidence that the government used universities for military and security research in an attempt to maintain its strength and global position. This gave universities a great deal of power to shape the nation state. It is not surprising we see an expansion of post-secondary education in Canada during this time. Buchbinder and Newson (1988) maintain that the expansion phase of Canadian universities in the 1950s through the 1970s was part of a governmental vision to increase citizen's mobility via access to education, and was consistent with demand management characteristic of the Keynesian formula. This university expansion was well supported by government<sup>7</sup> and allowed academic experts to gain control of, and direction over, university institutions. From 1960-1975, sixteen new universities were established and numerous graduate programs developed. Snowdon (2005) suggests that administrators were usually faculty members, and research was core funded, often driven almost entirely by academic interest (see also Newson and Buchbinder 1988,

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<sup>7</sup> The Federal Provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act of 1967 gave provinces constitutional jurisdiction over PSE which gave them the power over university policy and could establish an integrated PSE within their provinces.

Polster 2002, Fisher and Rubenson 2006). Universities were characterized as collegial institutions.

Kurasawa (2002) agrees, but highlights the debate in academia as one of democratic contestation. At this time the market begins to blossom and at the same time, there is an opening up of civil society in terms of calls for gender and racial equity, peace movements, and diversity and identity politics begin to take shape. This is associated with rise of leftist nationalism in Canada. Kurasawa claims this significantly impacts post-secondary education and there is a pluralization and diversification of academic knowledge in the humanities and the social sciences (328-9). During this time, we witness the incorporation of previously marginalized viewpoints into existing disciplinary fields. We also see the creation of centers specializing in the study of neglected and marginalized groups, including women's studies, racial studies, and critiques of social class. This is also referred to as the Canadianization of academic programs and research activities to ward off American imperialism.<sup>8</sup> Kurasawa claims that this is a moment when civil society comes to penetrate the university and challenges the status quo relations previously embedded in universities.

What Newson and Buchbinder call the contraction or restraint phase began in the mid 1970s. Kurasawa calls this the colonization by the market phase. He argues this contraction and market-colonization phase is triggered by what he calls the culture wars. The culture wars were centred on the argument that the pluralization and

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<sup>8</sup> Kurasawa cites the first program in Canadian Studies at Carleton in 1957.

diversification of academia resulted in a political correctness, and precarious freedoms and tolerances, which stifled an objective social science. Although not as prevalent in Canada as in the United States, Kurasawa shows how feminists and race scholars were painted as highly politicized, as acting like multi-cultural thought police. Essentially this can be considered a backlash against leftist nationalism. The calls to depoliticize the university and were accompanied by an assertion of neo-liberalism, which was considered to be non-partisan and a moderate third way (Kurasawa 2002:334).

During the 1980s, Newson and Buchbinder argue that under the pressure of fiscal changes, universities begin a phase of contraction. Nineteen seventy-seven (1977) marks an important year in Canadian post-secondary education funding. Fisher and Rubenson (2006) explain that the federal government took two gigantic steps that set the course for post-secondary education policy that is still being followed today. Both of these steps can be characterized as neo-liberal. First was ending the 50/50 cost sharing arrangement with provinces and the creation of the Established Programs Financing Act (EPF). The Act provided funds to provinces for both healthcare and post-secondary education. This put provinces on the hook for funding a greater share of post-secondary education.<sup>9</sup> The second step important at this stage was the federal governments creation of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) in 1977 and Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC) in 1978. This is pivotal because it develops

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<sup>9</sup> The feds did cut federal personal tax rates by 9 points which allowed the provinces to raise taxes on their own

an infrastructure where the federal government establishes individualized relationships with universities through research and student funding. Therefore, as the federal government withdraws from core institutional operating funding, it expands itself in individualized research funding. With less money to spend on staffing and research, universities found themselves in trying times. It is at this point in time that academia changes from a collegial model to a more hierarchal and divided organization. To guard against changes, staff organized in faculty unions/associations, and engaged in collective bargaining. This drew a firm line between management and faculty. Newson (1998) and Polster (2002) refer to this as the 'displacement of collegial self-governance by managerialism in universities.'

This is followed in 1990 by what Snowdon calls a retrenchment phase. Leys (2001) suggests that beginning in the mid-1990s, tax cuts have become a favoured policy of almost all federal and provincial governments and there is a shift away from income taxes (progressive) to consumption taxes (regressive) and numerous calls for financial accountability. He suggests these tax cuts resulted in a reduction in publicly funded services and a modification of funding formulas in public organizations causing universities to significantly alter costs. In 1996, the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST), bundling welfare, healthcare and post-secondary education, replaced the Established Programs Financing (EPF) in transfer payments to the provinces. With rising costs of health care, it followed that less federal money was directed toward post-secondary education, Fisher and Rubenson (1998) report that this funding formula resulted in a massive reduction in federal spending in real

numbers. In 1975, post-secondary education funding per student was \$12,011 and by 1996 it was \$9,190. On average in Canada, tuition increases become 16% of the overall operating budgets of universities in 1990 (Fisher and Rubenson 1998).

Snowdon (2005) identifies a phase of re-investment from 1999 onward. But this re-investment is not in the form of core or direct funding, but in an expansion of sources of revenue for universities including donations, endowment funds, and third party networks. It is clear that universities are being funded in a neo-liberal framework. Evidence of this is an increasing cost to the consumer (tuition as part of the operating budgets doubles to 32% between 1990 & 2004), accountability of funding through performance indicators and changes in provincial funding (formula funding and strategic funds), and the development of alternative, third party funding sources (endowments and partnerships). Funding sources for the neo-liberal university include federal and provincial money, highly accountable and directed research funding, tuition, capital funds, endowment funding, and third party partnerships.

Federal government funds are predominantly in the form of research funding with a significant decrease in core or base funding. Horry and Walker (2004) argue that federal funding to post-secondary education has dropped 46.6% per capita between 1994 and 2004 (see Fisher et al 2004: 53) but research investment rose from \$720.5 million in 1988 to \$1.74 billion in 2003. In terms of federal funds, in the late 1990s the federal government began giving funds directly to the researcher and student.

These included programs such as the Canadian Foundation of Innovation (CFI), The Canada Millennium Scholarship Fund (CMSF),<sup>10</sup> Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), and Canada Research Chairs (CRC) (see Junor and Usher 2004). In some sense this shows how the government, operating in a neo-liberal, neo-conservative economic model, can direct research toward desired outcomes including global competitiveness and industry development. Leys (2001) suggests governance is aimed at favouring capitalist accumulation, as well as the training of citizens to become productive knowledge workers and consumers. These funds have appeal through a populist conception as a force of innovation and modernization, which will help the academy become more relevant to societies needs.

In 2004, federal funding to provinces appears to stabilize, albeit at a low level. Health and social funding from the feds to the provinces from CHST was split into the Canada Social transfer payment (CST) and Canada health transfer (CHT). The CST included funds for post-secondary education, social assistance and social services. Table 1 shows that between 2008-13, provinces spend only 31% of the CST on post-secondary education.

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<sup>10</sup> In 2008, the federal government did not renew the CMSF and instead replaced the foundation with a new student grant program that distributes the same amount of money, about \$350 million, but to more students. While the CMSF was given to 100,000 students, the CSGP is spread among 350,000 students.

**Table 1 Canada Social Transfer**

	<b>2007-8</b>	<b>2008-9</b>	<b>2009-10</b>	<b>2010-11</b>	<b>2011-12</b>	<b>2012-13</b>
Childhood development	861	1,102	1,133	1,167	1,202	1,238
Pse	2,466	3,240	3,333	3,432	3,535	3,641
Social pgms	6,280	6,211	6,390	6,580	6,777	6,980
<b>TOT</b>	<b>9,607</b>	<b>10,552</b>	<b>10,857</b>	<b>11,179</b>	<b>11,514</b>	<b>11,859</b>

accessed on August 8, 2012 <http://www.fin.gc.ca/fedprov/cst-eng.asp>

Fisher claims that this funding formula has resulted in what can be considered the move from universal to piecemeal funding. Andrey, Breznik, Martin and Williams (2010) claim provincial governments are the primary source of income for universities and colleges. They also report that the contribution from provinces has declined as a percentage of university income since the late 1980s, which, coupled with significant increases in enrolment and costs,<sup>11</sup> has placed strain on the systems ability to be provide both an accessible and a quality education (4). Given regional diversity, and the fact that Canada's post-secondary landscape differs markedly from province to province reflecting history, local circumstances and different approaches to the provision of post-secondary opportunities (Jones 1997), not all provinces fund post-secondary education similarly. There are four types of operating grants at the provincial level. The first is incremental funding. This is base funding that changes little from year to year. Second is corridor or formula funding that provides money to universities relative to its resources. Resources include program type, enrollment, size of institution, and expansion of programs. While this is supposed to be an objective measure of non-competitive funding, some argue that

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<sup>11</sup> The increase in is attributed to an increase in enrollment, and hence space and staffing and agendas of accessibility, but also the need for technology services

smaller universities with fewer programs and without graduate and professional programs do not benefit from this type of funding (see Snowdon 2005, Junor and Usher 2004). In fact, corridor funding is a reason we see an increase in specialized, professional programming. These programs attract students, have different designations, and can help increase provincial funding. This type of funding represents the dominant model of university funding. Third is strategic funding which are usually special grants that are given to universities who prove their institution is adhering to the strategic plan of the ministry of education. These funds are distributed competitively through funding proposals on provincially identified issues of importance. And last is performance-based funding. This type of funding determines allocation of money based on the performance of a university including time to completion rates, job success of graduates, and other temporal indicators. Although only Alberta, Ontario and Quebec use these measures, other provinces are moving in that direction (i.e. British Columbia). Snowdon (2005) argues that provincial funding mechanism have evolved toward greater emphasis on outcomes as delineated in performance contracts, service plans and various agreements between the provinces and its post secondary partners and appear quite interventionist, attempting to re-structure post-secondary education and force efficiencies (26).

Much of the shortfall for universities due to decreased federal funding and lowered and changing provincial funding, is made up in student tuition. Statistics Canada report that between 1991 and 2005, undergrad arts tuition increased by 135% from

\$1,714 a year to \$5,366 a year (FTE). For 2011/12, undergrad tuition fees went up 4.3% while inflation was up only 2.7% in the same period. With the increase in tuition, and the decrease in grants at a university level, more students than ever are relying on student loans. Although the student loan program began in 1964 and was guaranteed by the federal government, in 1994 the federal government deregulated and privatized student loans. They adopted a risk-sharing model by contracting out the financing of the loan where the lender took on the risk. This resulted in them getting a 5% risk premium of the face value of the loan when a student repaid.

Ancillary and capital funds are another stream of university revenue. Most universities use fund accounting, with a variety of funds such as operating, trust, research, ancillary, and capital. While operating funds are usually made up of provincial funding and tuition, there is a decrease in discretion and hence more regulation, of how funds are to be used. For example, provincial strategic funding cannot be used for purposes other than the proposed project. Research grants are to be used specifically for research purposes, although some institutions take a percentage of the total amount, have separate accountability requirements. Ear-marking money for specific programs leaves universities little wiggle room in operating budgets. Snowden (2005) makes the claim that funding over time has changed from more discretion in use of funding and support to considerably less discretion in use of funds. Therefore, liberal arts programs, unless they can make creative use of directed or strategic funding, run solely out of operating budgets.

Suffice to say that traditional liberal arts programs do not provide an increase in revenue for universities.

Canadian post-secondary education is an annual \$34 billion investment (Andrey, Breznik, Martin and Williams 2010). As discussed, the landscape of post-secondary education funding is a mix of provincial governments, the federal government, and students. Provincial governments continue to be the primary contributor to post-secondary education. There is no standard model, and provinces continue to change funding formulas. Overall, their contribution as a proportion of total post-secondary education funding has declined since the late 1980s. The federal government rates of support have also declined. Federal funding has also diversified and although continues in the form of transfers to the provinces, it has increased its share in terms of research grants and student aid. The declines in funding at both the provincial and federal level have been made up by students. Average tuition has doubled over the past decade and continues to increase in many provinces (Andrey, Breznik, Martin and Williams 2010). Institutions have turned to other revenue streams including endowment funds, private donations, sale of goods and services, and private research grants to increase revenue. Funding requirements increasingly regulates all of these areas. The system remains under pressure to continue to expand to meet the demands of a changing economy. Governments from coast-to-coast are under budgetary pressure and institutional costs are rising faster than the revenue to support them. Tuition and debt loads are growing as the cost burden shifts to the user, namely students.

*b. Corporate management indicators of the neo-liberal university*

Steger, Manfred, and Roy (2010) indicate governance is an important manifestation of neo-liberalism. Neo-liberal governance is a mode of government with a distinct set of premises, logics, and power relations. Typically, neo-liberal governance mechanisms are those that develop entrepreneurial values and competitiveness, self-interest, celebrate individual empowerment, and devolution of state power to smaller units. Institutions that are said to be neo-liberal are characterized by new public management strategies which include redefining users as consumers or clients, steering but not rowing, are customer driven not bureaucratically driven, encourage enterprise (earning not spending), are decentralized and market driven (see Osborne and Gaebler 1992). Typically, neo-liberal management strategies are those that adopt the self-regulating free market as the model for proper governance and operate using technologies from business and commerce, not traditional lines of pursuing the public good by enhancing civil society (Steger, Manfred and Roy 2010). These examples of neo-liberal governance characterize changes in university managerial structures over the past three decades. The remainder of this section examines three indicators of neo-liberal governance: (i.) privatized techniques of management; (ii.) skills market penetration (knowledge generation and transmission) and (iii.) service orientation of program delivery including marketing.

(i.) Privatizing techniques of management

Osborne and Gaebler (1992) and others (see Soley 1995; Newson and Buchbinder 1988, 1990), call the time from contraction phase forward as the management

revolution in the academy. The management revolution is characterized by the ascendancy of administration where there is a flurry of solutions focused on how to maintain the existing post-secondary education infrastructure in a tough economy. The administrative stance can be characterized as private in that its aim is to promote the (private) growth of the institution, which may or may not be in the public interest. Numerous authors suggest that university management changed from a Keynesian demand management style to a supply side analytic. This is characterized by the rise of the strategic plan and risk management schemes oriented for the creation of surpluses, the setting of quantitative targets, close monitoring of outcomes, and where rational choice models internalize and normalize university policy. These strategic plans, often required by provincial governments, delineate long term planning, multi-year budgeting and target planning strategies. Management focuses on efficiency and accountability forcing universities to become tied to productivity. Corporate models of governance are concerned with cost and outcome, between original purposes and activities. A corporate model determines efficiency through accounting mechanisms of cost per student credit hour to learn what can easily be counted as product. Thus the whole university is governed toward finance. Everything from knowledge generation and research to credentials to capital projects and are increasingly interdependent with external forces (markets, funding bodies such as government, business and corporate relationships). Bok (2003) draws our attention to the fact that although universities have, at various historical moments, faced monetary cutbacks, they have not responded with the burst of profit seeking ventures as they now do (8).

Many universities rely on existing (and enhancing) endowment funds, establishing finance and developing corporations that focus on transforming property into revenue generating business and developments, and develop and market specialized programs to draw in students. With more provincial funding being tied into strategic and formula funding, universities must pursue projects and plans that are tied to specific funding projects. Lang (2005) discusses this political economy of performance funding as steering universities in particular directions not of their own choosing nor in the name of academic pursuit, but in financial pursuit. Snowden (2005) suggests that some funding is tied to matching or leveraging processes where governments will match funds or contributions by the private sector. This mechanism is market driven and once again, guides the university via market and financial concerns. Fastenfest (2010) calls this a shift from vertical to horizontal integration of politics, economics, and universities. Post-secondary education institutions are constituted by broader political economic changes and are increasingly interdependent with external forces such as provincial and federal government and business and corporate relationships.

This fiscal management strategy takes a particular managerial form in the university hierarchy. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) suggest that presidents of higher education institutions are seeing themselves (and being labeled) as CEO's who increasingly engage in top-down styles of decision-making and management. Management is increasingly complex and administratively heavy with an increasingly networked appearance making universities less collegially managed,

and more administratively managed. Governance is multi-leveled with various internal and external relationships and decision-making mechanisms. Most universities have a bicameral structure with a governing board<sup>12</sup> and senate or a university/educational council.<sup>13</sup> There also exist other bodies of importance including student representation and faculty associations.

The fiscal management strategy permeates all aspects of the university. Turk (2000) identifies universities use of corporate language from quality control and customer satisfaction, user-pay approaches, and labour replacing technologies. McLaren (2003) and Aronowitz (2000) refer to the businessification of education seen in university policies urging efficiency and production, managerialism, accountability and development of performance indicators, the commercialization of research, universalizing access, and economy centered vocational training. Chan and Fisher (2008) suggest market relations and knowledge economies have become key phrases in university debates over research and academic priorities.

Corporate governance reduces students to consumers and the point of production. These managers also spend a lot of time recruiting students and marketing educational services (i.e. programs offering credentials like diplomas, certificates, other qualifications) to potential customers (students). Strategic reports focus on less expensive ways to get knowledge to product, which includes seeking ways to reduce teaching costs. This is achieved through aggressive pursuit of online courses

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<sup>12</sup> A governing board appoints the president and is responsible for the administrative and financial elements of the university areas of property, revenue, expenditure, business, etc.

<sup>13</sup> The senate is usually responsible for academic or educational matters.

and casualization of labour and use of contingent faculty (Gappa and Leslie 1993; Turk 2008; Muzzin 2001, 2008; Mysyk 2001; Rajagopal 2002).

(ii.) Skills Market Penetration (knowledge generation and transmission)

Arshad-Ayaz (2007) argues that in addition to governance mechanisms, corporatization also manifests itself in changes in curriculum and program offerings. This is evidenced by reduced government spending and more use of endowment and private partnership financing more profitable and market oriented fields of study and research. Arshad-Ayaz (2007) suggests this is an example of a shift in the goals of universities from scholarship to the product of credentials and is an example of market penetration into universities. Use of partnership or leveraged funds have better cost outcome ratio (cost recovery). Taylor (2001) argues that privatization and corporatization are manifested in the notable alliances and partnerships between multi-stakeholders with the goal of achieving economic prosperity.<sup>14</sup>

An effect of this, argue Keel and Nickman (1999), is that universities shift resources away from liberal arts to revenue producing programs like engineering, the hard sciences, and professional programs where cost outcomes are more readily seen.

While much has been written about the connection between corporatizing research and knowledge development in the hard sciences,<sup>15</sup> there has been less written

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<sup>14</sup> See Thompson 2008 for examples

<sup>15</sup> Thompson 2008, Chan and Fisher 2008, Rhoades 2000, James 1994, 1990, Metcalf 2004, Slaughter 1990, Fisher and Atkinson-Grosjean 2002

about the social sciences and liberal arts. Liberal arts programs are viewed as generic and common and are often accompanied by the refrain “what are you going to do with a degree like that?” Indeed, the usual conclusion is that liberal arts has suffered a reduction in programming due to increasing corporate connections in the hard sciences and the commodification of knowledge, to which much liberal arts are immune. Although it is claimed that liberal arts is withering, others suggest that liberal arts programs are diversifying and specializing (see James 1990). There is ample evidence that the curriculums of liberal arts programs have shifted to boutique, narrow, and specialized programs that will be readily marketable to the massive student market. Further, many of these programs have developed (or are ripe to develop) partnerships within and outside of universities. Canadian universities have witnessed an increase in social justice programs as well as targeted research, many funded by government departments and interested community activist groups. For instance, urban studies programs (in some cases supported by civic and government money), violence against women centers (initially supported by Status of Women Canada, CIHR and SSHRC, now by private foundations such as Prairieaction), and criminal justice departments (initially sponsored by the federal government in hopes to train corrections workers and implement a reformist agenda, and later supported by foundations such as the Ford Foundation).

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) call these interstitial and intermediating organizations. These have the primary purpose of allowing private market interests

to penetrate the public domain of universities. Institutional growth is more likely when corporate partnerships can bring funding to the university. Corporate relationships are preferred because they are efficient (often managed by existing structures) and are easily marketed in interesting ways. Newson and Buchbinder (1990) argue there are inside-out and an outside-in characters of corporate university linkages. The inside-out character of a corporate-university linkage means universities are in a position to seek outside profitable markets and to sell products in a market. Outside-in characters are indicated by corporate utilization of university research. Turk (2000, 2008) and Thompson (2008) suggest that an effect of this is an aligning of industry and university goals where there is a channeling of research into the service of industry and the leveraging aspects of funding allows for industry agendas to be systematically inserted into universities through a variety of mechanisms including support positions, research chairs, and research centers. Turk (2008) further argues that there is little interest in fields that hold no promise of generating profit, including things like antecedents of Shakespeare's tragedies, histories of specific events, and critical research. Indeed funding opportunities often pre-frame issues, disallowing alternative contexts to view a social problematic (see also Cohen 2008, Shafer 2008, and Krinsky 2008). Funding of alternative or critical views of social problems is more difficult to find. The goals of funding bodies such as SSHRC or the CFI are often equated with commercial relevance. Fisher and Rubenson (2006) argue these funding bodies tend to support projects in key areas deemed strategically important to Canada's prosperity and international

competitiveness. For instance, the Canadian Foundation of Innovation (CFI)<sup>16</sup> claims “Canada’s prosperity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century depends increasingly on our ability to innovate, to generate knowledge and ideas from which we derive new products, services and policies that create economic wealth, enhance social foundations, sustain the environment and improve the quality of life,” therefore prioritizing, and aligning, goals of research with this agenda.

(iii.) Service orientation of program delivery including marketing the credential

The third neo-liberal management indicator is the service orientation of program delivery including marketing. Given the progressive market direction of universities described above, another indicator of the corporate university is its service orientation. With tuition being an ever increasing part of the university budget, it is increasingly necessary to keep enrollments flush, thereby helping keep the university viable. With funding increasingly tied to performance indicators, including student enrolment, there is a financial need to attract more students. University enrolment in Canada is up around 1.2 million. While recruitment and retention have always been important issues for universities, they take on new significance in the corporate, commercial era. Universities have turned to the study of marketing. While the image or brand of the university is not new (they have always had unique nick-names, color combinations, school songs, symbols, and university names are coveted property, a mark of distinction, cultural capital as Bourdieu claimed) these marks of distinction take on a different significance in the commercial phase.

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<sup>16</sup> see <http://www.innovation.ca/en/Media/News/HelpingconnectbusinessCanadianresearch>

Strategic plans, the cornerstone of the neo-liberal university, are the first step in positioning the university as a brand. These visions mark the spot of the university on the higher education landscape. Ries and Trout (2001) explain that a brand needs to be compelling and valued by prospects. Marketing is not just about the logo, sweatshirt or team song, it is about the essence of the product. To build a meaningful brand, universities must translate their vision to prospects and market themselves in service to the prospective student. As Nurko (2010) argues, marketing should reflect unique specialties and capabilities, which means the brand architecture (or naming) clearly helps position capabilities and credentials. Marketing needs to take the risk out of buying that rather expensive credential. Brands are seen as reassurance because emotional drivers guide purchasing decisions. Steele (2009) claims marketing that is focused on academic programming alone contributes to the building of ramparts. To avoid this isolation, universities instead need to project themselves as the place to engage with leading ideas, be a place where one can grow, be part of a university life culture, benefits to their social lives, and how the education will pay off in terms a job. In other words, they need a style. In the post secondary education market, style and status often outweigh program details. Steele (2009) suggests these visions are generally divided into five categories, which can be combined to meet the strategic vision and position the university against competitors. The first category is elite universities, brands of academic quality. Queens is summed up in one word "Tradition." University of Toronto holds "true minds" and "great minds for a great future."

Carleton suggests students can “take knowledge to the furthest possible limits.” For those universities not steeped in academic tradition, brands focus on outcomes such as jobs, placements, and develop and advertise relevant labour market driven programs. Utilizing its growing co-op program, Waterloo students can “learn from experience.” Ryerson will give you “Wisdom. Applied.” Medicine Hat College tells you “yes, you can..... get a life.....” The Kings University College ensures “prepared for life, inspired to serve.” The third are universities that offer the campus experience which focus on atmosphere, attractive spaces and recruit students who desire the full university experience. The University of Western Ontario recently changed its name to Western University. The branding executives suggested this would make the university seem less regional and more modern and stylized. It markets itself through student organizations and student life. Not to be outdone, at Dalhousie you will “engage with inspiring minds.” The University of Alberta will “uplift the whole person” utilizing a campaign around fostering growth of students, research, faculty, community and alumni. The fourth style, the nurturing university sets itself apart as a homey place, one that has small classes, is safe and comfortable, and gives you good student to professor ratios. “You of Winnipeg – where you matter most.” “BE you at BU” (Brandon University) but “U can be More” at University of Manitoba. Memorial markets itself with the word “become.” Finally, there is the affordable brand. These focus on financial accessibility, where one can get the credential and not have to change much else. Nippising markets itself as “affordable and responsible.”

The impact of this marketing is that the branded university experience is presented to prospects and student identities are defined and redefined by institutional market behaviours. Successful branding is more than a marketing slogan. It must be a concept supported by fact, embraced by alumni, students, senior administration and faculty. Budgets and strategic plans must focus and reinforce this positioning. Universities must put their money where their brand is. Universities must become a branded culture. Critics claim that the impact of branding puts the integrity of university based knowledge generation at risk. The brand has undoubtedly modified academic freedom, and academics mightily resist. It is not easy to think that years of study, teaching, and research boil down to strategic use in a Pepsi versus Coca-Cola like battle. This branding also restricts the possibilities of knowledge generation by forcing it into a pre-determined set of boundaries. For universities that brand themselves as outcome, labor market and credential oriented, we see the shifting of traditional liberal arts programming to boutique and specialized degrees and certificates aimed at employment in specific sectors of the labour market. Similarly, the value for the money brand forces universities to become what Cote and Allahar (2007) term as credential marts. Polster and Newson (2009) suggest the branded university encourages head hunting and talent raiding, effectively reducing collaborative research, encourages legal battles around intellectual property rights and wastes resources on branding exercises and advertising campaigns.

The corporate, commercial agenda of universities appears to be an important component of the re-investment phase in Canadian universities. As indicated by

funding mechanisms, forms of managerial structure, and policy direction including marketing to students, universities can quite rightly be defined as commercial entities. The cultural effect of this will be discussed in the third theme, cultural impact of neo-liberal university.

*c. Life in the neo-liberal university: cultural concerns*

Critical scholars also discuss the cultural ramifications of neo-liberal policy on university life itself. Fergusson, Pye, Esland, McLaughlin and Muncie (2000) suggest that the markets and choice, consumer discourse of post-secondary education combined with the individual loan financing, shifts responsibility of transition away from state guidance toward the individual mapping out their own education and training. Pushed by credentialism and the unavailability of secure jobs, Cote and Allahar (2007) claim young people simply enter university to get a degree so as to be employable, while few actually seek an education. This results in universities populated by disengaged and reluctant intellectuals ill prepared for the rigors of academic teaching. Paired with what Miliband (1978) referred to as desubordination,<sup>17</sup> students increasingly interact with the university as a consumer armed with rights and expectations.

Cote and Allahar's Ivory Tower Blues (2007) focuses on the Canadian academic culture arising from these policy shifts. They liken universities to credential marts

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<sup>17</sup> Miliband (1978:401) defined this as 'a decline in the levels of deference and respect for social superiors that previously reinforced social stratification' and was characteristic of shift to rights and social inclusion and identity politics.

much like large supermarkets where students shop using a list of needs and wants (65-6). Further, they suggest that professors become gatekeepers of a system that encourages grade inflation, students become reluctant academics seeking credentials, and the cost of the education is borne by parents and incredible student debt. Newson and Buchbinder (1988) discuss the reorganization of academic work accompanying the consolidation of the contraction of public spending on post-secondary education. They suggest that teaching, research, and service elements of the university professor are increasingly separating. Teaching becomes the primary responsibility for part-time and term instructors, research is aligned with productivity, granting teaching leave to those who have research contracts and service has diminished, shifting from an exercise in collegial control to advisory or consultative roles in governing structures of universities (1988:27). Scarce funds and shifts in programming toward boutique and multi-disciplinary programs of study pit professors against one other in a territorial fight for students and disciplinary territory (Polster and Newson, 2009)

A major effect on the university is the loss of democratic potential<sup>18</sup> once thought to be the domain of universities, namely the production of well-informed citizens. In 1976, Bowles and Gintis critiqued the failure of liberal educational reform to deliver on its promise of a more egalitarian and democratic society. They suggest that insofar as inequality is rooted in the class structure of a capitalist society, societal institutions themselves work to maintain material and ideological conditions to

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<sup>18</sup> The loss of democratic potential is inextricably linked to, and often seen as a consequence of, neo liberal policy discussed in the first point.

generate profit and ensure a productive labor force. Though instrumental in its focus, this idea is used by those who seek to develop a critical pedagogy. Giroux (the most influential in the critical pedagogy perspective) suggests that all schools (including post-secondary education) hold the promise of overcoming oppression and transforming social structures. This perspective takes particular aim at the recent neo-liberal corporate shift in post-secondary education discourse and policy. Specifically, they ask “What is lost in this process?” Aronowitz and Giroux (2000) suggest that the ascendancy of corporate culture in post-secondary education has had the effect of stifling critical pedagogy. They argue this because as resources are aligned with corporate and capital needs of the market place and post-secondary education institutions are pushed toward techno-science (and fields closely involved in the markets) and the humanities (particularly critical studies) are downsized, or modified, in curriculum, the potentialities of democratic education and reform are compromised. They suggest that this overshadows the civilizing mission of higher education. They suggest that corporate planning replaces social planning, management becomes a substitute for leadership, and the private domain of individual achievement replaces the discourse of public politics and social responsibility (334).

With the world seen as a competitive marketplace and students primarily perceived as human capital. This view has led to a shift in the focus of education from social justice, inclusion, empowerment, equality, and production of democratic citizens to managerialism, accountability, efficiently, privatization, and profit making (Arashad-Ayaz 2007: 78).

Taken together, the current culture of post secondary education encompasses of viewing education as a means to a job, taught by reluctant and entrepreneurial

professors, views students as basic income units, and a consumerist ideology has taken over a civilizing mission. This post-secondary ideology and discourse of post-secondary education ends up reinforcing and legitimating certain political interests and defends existing power structures, feeding into the idealized image of a consumerist, free market world. The role of the credential in this picture is the product of post-secondary education and becomes the next important and pivotal point of discussion.

*d. The neo-liberal credential*

We cannot discuss neo-liberal post secondary education without discussing the credential. Drawing on the corporatization analysis of universities, Slaughter (1990) and Margison (1997) argue that similar to corporations whose focus is on the manipulation of raw materials, neo-liberal universities increasingly treat knowledge as a raw material. As the new economy begins to rely on knowledge as its primary raw material, it automatically make the provider and distributor of knowledge (post-secondary education) into a marketer of that commodity (education/knowledge). Thus they understand the knowledge society/economy as an extension of capitalist production, consumption, and exchange into education. Increasingly, the credential becomes a commodity valued for its exchange value rather than its use value (Chan and Fisher 2008: 5). Fastenfest (2010) claims there is no surprise in pointing out how knowledge, on one hand, and credentials bestowed by institutions of higher education on the other, characterize much of the discussion of the future of economic activity (484). The credential is the

manifestation of knowledge the market demands and therefore, the credential reflects the market need for a particular type of knowledge. Margison (1997) and Fergusson, Pye, Esland, McLaughlin and Muncie (2000) suggest the narrowing and professionalization of educational options (i.e. programs, degrees, diplomas) which prepare students for employment in particular specialized fields, regulate students' choices and relegates education a product of consumption. They suggest credentials are bundles of employable knowledge in a neat little package with a money value attached to it. The connection between market and university program is located in the credential.

Most claims about the reproduction of capitalism through education and the credential, focus on education as culturally reproducing capital by providing the credentials necessary for status competition and class division (Collins 1979, Bourdieu 1977, Bowles and Gintis 1976). Morrow and Torres (2000) extend these by arguing that credentialization and professional technological knowledge is a form of ideology and domination perpetrated through educational institutions. As post-secondary education becomes a more globalized, corporatized market, the credential is not just a status and class form of power, but is increasingly a form of capitalist power. The credential reproduces capital in the ways Bourdieu, Collins, and Morrow and Torres argue as well as aiding in social cohesion and social reproduction, and legitimation and accumulation functions of the state.

Marxist scholars suggest that education is part of the ideological state apparatus (Althusser 1971). This highlights post-secondary education among capitalist

accumulation strategies. Wotherspoon (1998) suggests that under capitalism, schooling is a vehicle for the production of a compliant workforce providing enough knowledge to ensure a supply of workers ready for monotonous jobs while advancing ideologies that serve capitalist interests. Marxist-based critiques of neo-liberal post-secondary education discourse suggest that the expansion and increasing accessibility to post-secondary education and the development of more targeted programs have created the situation where the number of qualified workers out-number the available jobs. That is, the development and funding of professional, highly-skilled and directed programs assumes an occupational context, which may not exist (see Jacob's critique above). Given shifts in the labour market in the new economy, and the bipolar skills market (high-skilled service sector and low level skilled employment), many credentialed or graduated students report significant underemployment or employment similar to those who do not have credentials (Lowe 2001, Cote and Allahar 2007). McLaren (2003:52) uses Marxist labour theory of value to suggest that education and training are processes of labour power production. Education adds value to what graduates bring to the market and in competition for wages. Therefore, the credential is a commodity that is bought and sold, and training becomes a way to get optimum value for money spent. Engagement thus produces a flexible and adaptable workforce for the new economy, or read through a Marxist lens, the creation of a reserve army of labour, a drifting credentialed workforce that can be drawn upon as capital needs. Ideologically, the credential itself is can be considered a process of commodity fetishism where the credential itself is said to have intrinsic value, which is largely

imaginative. But when traded for income, the economic value of the credential is realized. The value is regarded as coming from the credential itself, not from the multiplicity of processes involved in acquiring or creating the credential. On some level this may explain why students flock to post-secondary institutions. Haiven (2010) discusses this as a way capital imposes economic value as the singular hegemonic measure of all social values. Indeed it is through money that social actors in a capitalist system exert agency. Under neo-liberal individualization, students leverage their financial future (through debt, loans) on the chance the credential will pay off, and they will have agency. Individualized programs of study and focused degrees are meant to reduce the risk by being able to better corner the market. Finance capital, or financialization (in the form of student debt) becomes a way to reproduce capital and ensure accumulation via privatizing its own crisis on students (see Williams 2006, 2008). Therefore capital, and its logic, reconfigures political, social, moral, and community values (Haiven 2010:7). The credential is the mechanism through which this is achieved. As Jessop argues in Future of the Capitalist State (2002), capitalism cannot through market forces alone, secure the conditions needed for its own reproduction, it cannot exercise any sort of economic determination in the last instance over the rest of the social formation. As discussed in Chapter One, he suggests we pay close attention to the constitution of capital accumulation through the interaction of market mediated and non-market social relations and in turn to the complex and over determined nature of its impact on the overall development of social relations.

### e. Resistance

It is important to note that the forces impacting post-secondary education have been actively resisted. Although the influence of capital on post-secondary education through mechanisms of the shifting state, have significantly impacted the nature of working life in the academy, we must heed Dill (1997a&b) and Clarke's (1983) mention of academic control and Newson and Buchbinder's (1988) discussion of academic oligarchy. As with all forms of power, these markets alone do not determine effect. There are three sources of resistance, which can be identified. These include (i) the academic oligarchy; (ii) student movements; and (iii) broader social movements aimed at questioning state and corporate power.

#### (i) academic oligarchy

Many members of the academy are concerned with breaches on their autonomy. The concerns are often manifested at the level of university administration, which is increasingly dominated by managerial models at the behest of collegial self-governance. Academy members have power via the bilateral organization of university administration. Polster and Newson (2009, 2010) claim that although academic profession does not have a codified agreement with the state, it expresses its power at the level of the institution. Faculty associations, CAUT, and other academic bodies actively resist moves to managerialism through debating policy, debating proposed modes of pedagogy (i.e. online courses, MOOCs etc) as well as bringing legal cases against administrators where they feel academic freedom or intellectual property is being infringed (see Turk 2000; Thompson 2008, Tudiver

1999). While Newson and Polster (2009) suggest that many forms of resistance are occurring at the level of the individual vis-a-vis lawsuits, grievances etc., they suggest activism must become more collegial with a need to collectively revitalize the conception of academic autonomy and to move to a more robust conception to resist the multiple incursions being made into it (2008: 143). Sumner (2008) discusses the development of knowledge commons to resist the privatization of knowledge for commodified purposes. Intellectual property and academic freedom remain issues in the forefront of academic concern.

(ii) student movements

In Canada and around the world, student movements are not uncommon. Quebec's mass student protests in 2012, known colloquially as the printemps érable, or maple spring, began as a protest against the then Liberal government's plan to raise tuition fees by \$325 a year for five years, which would have brought tuition to \$3,800 a year when fully implemented by fall 2016 – a rise of roughly 75 per cent (Charbonneau 2013). This movement was a success and the tuition hike was stopped. This protest against provincial regulation, while unique in its breadth, is not common. That said numerous student unions are increasingly engaged in resistance against tuition hikes, although at the level of federal student organization, there remains a difference of opinion regarding strategies of resistance. The Canadian Federation of Students and the Canadian Alliance of Student Associations differ on their activism regarding student debt and loans.

(iii) broader social movements: questioning state and corporate power

Another area of resistance can be found in the recent increase in social movements such as Occupy, Idle no More, G-20 and G-8 protests and general protests against the state and other forms of corporate power. Lafrance and Sears (2013) and Kennelly (2009) suggest that direct democratic action, and calling into question the dominant form of corporate power, is gaining momentum. Movements such as these offer a genuine moment of democratic engagement not mediated through the interests of pre-existing political parties or NGOs or even unions. It represents a chance to experience the actual human relationships that lie at the root of democracy and call into question hegemonic processes of governance. This counter hegemony represents an active dialogue on questioning hegemonic practices.

This chapter has outlined the neo-liberal, marketized, and exchange based credential in Canadian post-secondary education. It reviewed several authors claims about the texture of funding, including government, consumer and increasingly third-party funding sources, its regulatory framework which is increasingly corporatist, the cultural effect of this, and how we can look at the credential as the outcome of intersecting markets. The chapter also recognized forces of resistance, which question the dominant exertion of power. To exemplify the argument of the neo-liberal corporate university, rise of credential and service orientation of post-secondary education, I now turn to the case study of criminal justice in Canadian post-secondary education.

### Chapter 3: The problematic: Canadian criminal justice studies

*The criminal produces not only crimes but criminal law, and with this also the professor who gives lectures on criminal law and in addition to this the inevitable compendium in which this same professor throws his lectures onto the general market as 'commodities'. This brings with it augmentation of national wealth..... The criminal moreover produces the whole of the police and of criminal justice, constables, judges, hangmen, juries etc.,; and all these different lines of business, which form equally many categories of the social division of labour, develop different capacities of the human spirit, create new needs and new ways of satisfying them. Torture alone has given rise to the most ingenious mechanical inventions, and employed many honorable craftsmen in the production of its instruments....The criminal produces.... Also art, belles-lettres, novels...the effects of the criminal on the development of productive power can be shown in detail. Would locks have reached their present state of excellence had there been no thieves? ... Doesn't practical chemistry owe just as much to adulteration of commodities and the efforts to show it up as to the honest zeal for production? (Marx 1969:387-8).*

(Marx, K. (1969) *Theories of Surplus Values*, vol 1., London: Lawrence and Wishart).

Much ink has been spilt documenting the rise of criminology/criminal justice studies in the United States (Remington 1990, Cullen 1995, Farrell and Koch 1995, Deflem 2002, Hemmens 2002, Crank 2003, Zaman 2007, Wellford 2007, Angelique, Nolasco, Vaughn and del Carmen 2010), Canada (Potts 1963, Szabo 1963, Grygier 1963, Hendry 1963, Markson and Hartman 1963, Edwards 1982, Halsted 1985, Ericson and Carriere 1994, Hackler 1994, Menzies and Chunn 1999, Wood and Shearing 1999, Woods 1999, Stenning and Murphy 1999, Brouder 1999, Haggerty 2001, Kurasawa 2002, Frauley 2005, Parkinson 2008, Doyle and Moore 2011, Huey 2011, Hogeveen 2011, Jochelson and Kohm 2013), and Great Britain (Bottoms 1995, Sparks 1997, Zahn 1999, Garland and Sparks 2000, Braithwaite 2000, Walters 2003). This chapter examines the origins of criminal justice in post-secondary spaces in Canada, its connection to criminology, and outlines the widespread

critique of these programs, claiming criminal justice is a protective service, not a social science.

### Origins of Criminology in Canada

In the Canadian context, the literature overwhelmingly suggests that studies of criminal justice in Canada are an offshoot of criminology. Criminology itself is a fairly new discipline, which although diversely characterized, tends to be the study of crime in society. In its broadest sense, it consists of ways of thinking and talking about crime, criminals, and crime control and is primarily, although not exclusively, associated with sociology. However, it is further characterized as having a strong connection to the practice of crime control by government and community agencies. Garland and Sparks (2000) suggest criminology to be unique in that it is located in the academy as a social science, but is also connected the world of government and the world of culture (6).

In Canada, the first criminology department appeared at the University of British Columbia in 1954 nestled among sociology, politics, and economics. It was abolished in 1958. Although it was short lived, its history is important. Parkinson (2008) claims it had a major impact stating that the development of criminology at University of British Columbia could not be separated from the emergence of a government strongly interested in prison reform (595). The Archambault report in

1938 and the Fauteux report in 1956<sup>19</sup> suggested universities become more involved in the education and training of persons in the field of corrections. The Archambault report in particular suggested that penal reform required scientific knowledge of the causes of crime. Paired with strong external pressure from successes of such programs in the United States (California in particular), the University of British Columbia program offered Bachelor and Master degrees in criminology. However, the department itself was never stable and had difficulty finding an identity amongst the traditional disciplines at the university. It was not considered a philosophical social science, characteristic of most liberal arts fields, nor did it fit the practice orientation of the social work field. It was a social science attempting to isolate programs of rehabilitation in a neutral, objective manner. Due to internal tensions, the dream of a stand-alone criminology department at University of British Columbia ended in 1958. But the government's need for scientifically based corrections programming and workers remained and crime control became an important topic in the establishment of modern society. The call for humane treatment, the adoption of international treaties on prisoners rights, the explosion of expert knowledge of a modern corrections system made the study of crime a hot topic. With significant government support, the Centers of Criminology were established. It is safe to say that within these centers, modern Canadian criminology was born.

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<sup>19</sup> The Archambault report (the Royal Commission report on Penal Reform in Canada) released in 1938 detailed problems in Canadian penitentiaries and was the first report to suggest a shift from retributive correctional philosophies toward rehabilitation. Implementation of many of Archambault recommendations were interrupted by WWII and The Fauteux Committee, in 1953, reiterated many of these recommendations.

Potts (1963), Szabo (1963), Grygier (1963), Hendry (1963), and Markson and Hartman (1963) in a special issue of the Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, detail the rise of Criminology as a discipline. Throughout these articles, there is a clear indication of the need for a science of the criminal and of scientifically generated crime responses. The argument they make is a utilitarian one focused on developing sound programming based in scientific knowledge instead of anecdotal, politically motivated policy. Embedding criminology within a scientific aesthetic can certainly be taken as a proactive attempt to establish the budding discipline on secure footing (Hogeveen 2011: 57). Although there were debates about the scientific status of criminology it did find its home among the social sciences. As Hogeveen (2011) claims, criminologists labored within an ontological framework wherein demonstrating the linkages between their scholarship and the criminological promise of relevance to governments and the criminal justice state, rebuffed charges of epistemological irrelevance (58). Potts (1963) claims that the point of establishing centers of research is to conduct research, to teach, and to act in a consultant capacity to legislators and administrators (7). Edwards (1982) recounts the development of the criminology centers of research as uniquely focused on empirical research and a commitment to social progress and social reform. Crime was a problem that could be solved if there was enough information and expert knowledge used to effect social change. Thus, criminology had its faith in instrumental reason, its vision of the technocratic state, and its commitment to social progress and social engineering (Garland and Sparks 2000:8).

The development of criminology was startlingly utilitarian, welfarist, and modernist characterized by positivism and expert research. Crime policy was to be detached from politics and the will of the public, and be based instead on what was considered to be objective knowledge. Crime was a social problem with causes that could be identified and when known, resulted in programs and policies aimed at eradicating the crime problem. There was little documented critique of these centers of research and their approach, likely because they fit well with the left and center left, and progressive discourse in a welfare-oriented social democracy. As Garland claims, what allowed criminology to develop a degree of professionalization and self containment was precisely because its assumptions were so closely in-tune with the prevailing political culture (2000:10). In comparison to previous crime knowledge and practice which was often archaic, uninformed, and abusive, the interventions and correctional program changes such as abolishing the death penalty, creation of parole boards, training of system workers were welcomed by the majority of the population.

The development of the Canadian centers of criminology research began with a French center at Universite de Montreal, an interdisciplinary center eventually offering an MA and PhD. The Centre of Criminology at University of Toronto began in 1963 and was inherently multi-disciplinary and began as research-based eventually moving into undergraduate, and graduate (both MA and PhD). Next, a department of Criminology was established at University of Ottawa offering an MA program and stressing applied criminology. Simon Fraser established its

department in 1973, heavily supported by the provincial government. The MA and PhD in criminology offered at University of Alberta (under auspices of sociology) are recognized as the only applied program in the faculty of arts. And finally fourteen years later, the human justice program was established at the University of Regina with a grant from the Solicitor General. The influence of criminology grew in Canadian academia, and there are now approximately forty-seven universities offering a bachelor in criminology.<sup>20</sup> The majority of criminology programs are housed within the social science of sociology. As Table 2 shows, the majority of criminology programs are housed in universities, while a few are found in community colleges.

**Table 2**  
**Criminology programs in Canada by province and type of PSE<sup>21</sup> 2012**

<b>PLACE</b>	<b>UNIVERSITY (all BA degrees)</b>	<b>COMMUNITY AND UNIVERSITY COLLEGES (certificates)</b>
BRITISH COLUMBIA	10	12
Alberta	12	1
Saskatchewan	2	0
Manitoba	1	0
Ontario	14	0
Quebec	3	1
Atlantic	5	0
North	0	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>17</b>

<sup>20</sup> These criminology bachelors are not all in stand-alone criminology departments. Some universities offer criminology streams in traditional liberal arts departments such as sociology or legal studies.

<sup>21</sup> These are degree and certificate program that identify as criminology. Some programs have multiple word identifiers such as criminology and social justice. For example, Simon Fraser's Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies offers a bachelor of arts in Women's Studies and Criminology. Those are included. Programs identified without criminology in the name were excluded. This would include programs such as Citizenship, Identity, Justice and Governance offered in the Department of Geography at Queens University.

In terms of graduate programs in criminology, there are ten masters programs. Most of these are in departments of criminology although a few are streams of Department of Sociology and anthropology (University of Guelph), Sociology and Criminology (St. Mary) and Anthropology, Sociology and Criminology (Windsor). There are three PhD programs dedicated to criminology all of which reside in the Criminology departments in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at their respective universities.

Although the legacy and long standing promise made by early scholars to impact the occurrence of crime continues in today's practice of criminology, it is questionable if it remains as clear. Robert Martinson's influential 1974 essay, What Works (colloquially known as *Nothing Works*) argued rehabilitation programs based in scientific knowledge did not reduce crime as promised. Alongside the pending political shift to the third way and the ushering in of neo-liberalism (see Braithwaite 2000), we begin to see a change in the field of criminology. Although still a reformist discipline, it is claimed to have fragmented into critical and traditional divides (Hogeveen 2011, Garland 1997, Walters 2003). Hogeveen (2011) describes this as on one hand, the field opening up and welcoming an increasingly interdisciplinary framework of criminology (including psychologists, sociologists, legal scholars, geographers) leading to the internal specialization of criminology (social justice, restorative justice, policing, corrections) and, on the other hand, those claiming the discipline was increasingly myopic thus forcing the critical scholarship to migrate home to more traditional disciplines like legal studies, law, sociology, politics,

history etcetera.<sup>22</sup> O'Malley (1992), Hughes (1998), Garland (1997) among others claim that shifts in criminological research were deeply affected by a rise of neo-conservatism which created a disjuncture between the previous alignment of criminological research and government. Research that does not fall into line with developing governing discourses such as risk and responsabilization is generally unsupported. Feeley and Simon (1992) and Pavlich (2000) argue in order to realign itself to governmental objectives, criminological research and teaching modifies itself to processes of prediction and measurement, and the development of recommendations based on actuarial calculations of crime. Walters (2003) claims neo-liberalism colonized discourses on crime as identified in two important outcomes of this changing governing ethos on criminological researchers (8). The first is a scholarly shift from crime as the object of study to a focus on regulation, governing rationalities, and risk management strategies. And second is a significant shift in how research is funded for criminologists. Edwards, writing in 1983, discusses the funding plight of the Centre of Criminology at Toronto. He reports that the center's annual sustaining grants grew from \$58,000 in 1963 to \$493,000 in 1975. He details the major shift in governmental funding beginning in 1972 which effectively changed funding from general grant support to contractual funding of individual research projects (860). He laments about the subsequent difficulties in obtaining funding, obtaining support grants from the Ford Foundation, and the general shift toward granting funds being directed toward individual researchers.

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<sup>22</sup> Hogeveen himself calls for a third way, a post-disciplinary, open scholarship that recognizes the (problematic) weight of the founders promises, and learns a lesson from the problematic effects of Othering the criminal.

He warns future researchers about the dangers of this type of granting system in terms of maintaining confident that both parties share the same ideals with respect to the freedom to publish the results' and asserts vigilance should be the researchers' persistent motto (868). It is important to note this shift in funding mechanisms in Canada coincides with the Federal Programs Financing Act which ended the 50/50 cost sharing federal program and allowed provinces to raise education taxes as well as the establishment of NSERC and SSHRC funding bodies federally, points I will return to later.

### **Criminal Justice....its relation to Criminology?**

The origin of an academic study of criminal justice in Canada is not as clear as the origin of criminology. The literature overwhelmingly suggests criminal justice is an example of applied, managerial, and market-led criminology; protective studies; or praxis oriented study. Frauley claims it is the splitting off of a part of the criminological enterprise, which is concerned predominately with administration and questions of efficiency (2005: 254). The descriptions and critiques of criminal justice tend to be quite narrowly focused on its development vis-à-vis criminology. I found no Canadian research discussing the origin of criminal justice studies apart from its connection with criminology. It is clear that the development of post-secondary criminal justice programs in Canada is a relatively under-studied phenomenon (Jochelson, Kohm, and Weinrath 2013). So what exactly is the academic study of criminal justice? Let's start with a review of the number and type

of programs in Canada, a brief description of them, and present some debates in the literature regarding these programs.

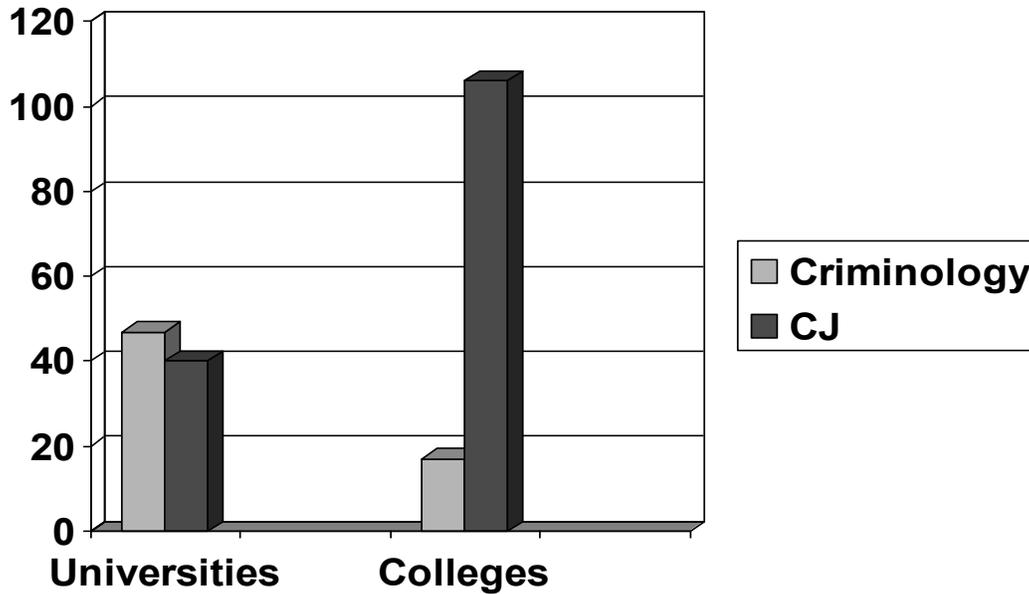
An examination of the variety of criminal justice programs in Canada is diverse, and often difficult to assess. There are numerous programs that include criminal justice topics, but are not found in stand-alone departments. This makes it confusing and problematic to isolate criminal justice as a discipline distinct from criminology, sociology, political science, or geography. This is in fact, part of the problematizing of this issue, its permeable boundaries.

Table 3 shows there are 81 diploma/certificate programs relating to criminal justice offered at the community college level. Canadian universities offer 28 bachelor degrees (this includes regular 3 year degree, 4 year degrees), 11 honours degrees and three masters degrees in Criminal Justice<sup>23</sup>. Table 4 shows the diverse types of programs offered in Canada, in both community colleges and universities. These include programs in criminal justice, criminology and criminal justice, police studies, law and security, indigenous people and law, management, human justice, youth justice etc. There appear many more criminal justice programs at community colleges than in universities, the reverse of Criminology (see Figure 1).

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<sup>23</sup> While University of Alberta offers a Masters in Criminal Justice it is a stream in the Department of Sociology. I exclude it here because if I included it, I'd be compelled to include other such degree offerings in departments not designated as Criminal Justice such as Queens University's Citizenship, Identity, and Governance through the Department of Geography that offers a BA, MA, and PhD, Criminal Justice Administration in the School of Business at York. Similarly, Brock University also offers an MA in Social Justice and Equity Studies in the Department of Sociology. For this reason, I've excluded it.

**Figure 1: Criminology and CJ programs by type of PSE 2012**



Parkinson (2008) claims the first criminal justice specific programs began in British Columbia at Douglas College (Law Enforcement) and Kwantlen, Malaspina, and Caribou Colleges offered diplomas and courses in criminal justice that could be used for university transfer (606). This is perhaps not surprising given that community college programs tend to be much more practice-based than university programs, and are not often accredited to offer bachelor degrees. However, it appears the line dividing university and community colleges are blurring in Canada as colleges are increasingly gaining accreditation of confer bachelor degrees.

**Table 3: Criminal Justice Credential by type of institution 2012**

<b>CREDENTIAL</b>	<b>UNIVERSITY</b>	<b>COMMUNITY COLLEGE</b>
Masters	3	0
Honors	11	0
Bachelor	28	4
Diploma	4	81
Certificate (and advanced certificate)	11	19
Other	0	2

**Table 4: Type of criminal justice program by credential and type of PSE 2012**

		<b>UNIVERSITIES</b>	<b>COMMUNITY COLLEGES</b>
<b>TYPE OF PROGRAM</b>	<b>CREDENTIAL OFFERED</b>		
Criminal Justice	Masters	1	0
	Honors degree	7	0
	Bachelor degree	14	3
	Diploma	1	4
	Certificate	1	2
	Associate degree	0	1
Justice Studies	University transfer	0	1
	Masters degree	1	0
	Bachelor	1	0
Criminology and criminal justice	Advanced certificate	1	0
	Masters	1 (joint)	0
	Honors degree	2	0
	bachelor	3	0
Community & Justice Services	certificate	1	0
	Diploma	0	9
Community, Crime & Social Justice	Certificate	0	1
Justice & Public Safety	Certificate	0	2
Youth Justice	Diploma	0	1
Criminal & Restorative Justice	Advanced certificate	1	0
Indigenous Peoples & Justice	Honors degree	1	0
	Bachelor	1	0
Crime Prevention	Certificate	1	0

thru Social Development			
Community Studies And Policing	Bachelor	2	0
Law And Justice	Honors degree	1	0
	Bachelor degree	2	0
	Certificate	1	0
Crime & Criminal Justice For Practitioners	Certificate	1	0
Police Studies	Masters degree	1 (concentration of justice studies)	0
	Bachelor	1	0
	Diploma	1	1
	Certificate	2	2
Police Foundations	Diploma	0	23
Techniques Policieres	Diploma	0	10
Law Enforcement Preparation	Certificate	0	2
Advanced Investigation & Enforcement	Certificate	0	2
Aboriginal Policing And Security	Certificate	0	2
Police And Law Enforcement	Certificate	0	1
Police And Security	Diploma	0	1
Police Investigation	Diploma	1	1
Human Justice And Police Studies	Certificate	0	1
Forensics	Bachelor	1	0
	Certificate	0	1
Emergency And Security Management	Diploma	0	1
Law And Security Administration	Diploma	0	12
Public Safety Communications	Certificate	2	0
Policing And Criminal Justice	Collaborative bachelor	1	0
Law Clerk	Collaborative bachelor	1	0
	Diploma	0	3
Paralegal	Collaborative bachelor	1	0

	Diploma	0	3
Adjoint Juridique	Diploma	0	1
Techniques Juridiques	Diploma	0	4
Correctional Studies	Bachelor	0	1
	Diploma	1	5
	Certificate	0	2
Youth Correction And Intervention	Certificate	0	1

There are 14 universities offering criminal justice programs in Canada, all of which have a variety of degree offerings.<sup>24</sup> It is important to note that of the sample below, there are only three stand alone Departments of Criminal Justice, one Criminal Justice and Policing, six identify with Criminology, two with Justice, and two as collaborative between several existing departments. They are as follows:

1. **St. Thomas University**, New Brunswick – *Criminology and Criminal Justice*. Bachelor of Applied Arts, & Honours. Faculty of Social Sciences
2. **University of New Brunswick**, New Brunswick – *Criminal Justice minor* – bachelor. (collaborative in the sense that psychology or sociology students can specialize in this minor) Faculty of Arts
3. **Nipissing University**, Ontario – *Criminology and Criminal Justice*–bachelor and honours degrees. Faculty of Applied and Professional Studies.
4. **University of Guelph**, Ontario – *Criminal Justice and Public Policy* – Bachelor of Arts and collaborative MA program. Department of Sociology and

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<sup>24</sup> It is important to note that Laurentian, Ottawa, and Algoma also offer Law and Justice degrees, but they appear to be more legal studies based. I am trying to keep this study confined to programs offered utilizing the term criminal justice or justice studies in some form, not legal or socio-legal studies. Similarly, while Kwantlen offers a BA in Community Criminal Justice, it is in their Criminology Department.

- Anthropology, and the Department of Political Science, College of Social and Applied Human Sciences
5. **Carleton University**, Ontario – *Criminology and Criminal Justice* – bachelor and honors. Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.
  6. **Ryerson**, Ontario – *Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology* – Bachelor. Faculty of Arts
  7. **University of Ontario Institute of Technology (UOIT)** *Criminology and Justice* – Bachelor of Arts
  8. **Brock University**, Ontario – *Policing and Criminal Justice* (collaborative BA), Faculty of Social Sciences
  9. **University of Winnipeg**, Manitoba – *Department of Criminal Justice* – bachelor and honours degree. Faculty of Arts.
  10. **University of Regina**, Saskatchewan – *Justice Studies* – advanced certificate, Bachelor of Justice or Police Studies, Masters. Faculty of Arts.
  11. **Athabasca University**, Alberta – *Criminal Justice* – bachelor online. Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.
  12. **Mount Royal University**, Alberta – *Criminal Justice* – bachelor and honours degree. Faculty of Health and Community Studies.
  13. **Royal Rhodes University**, BRITISH COLUMBIA – *Justice Studies* – bachelor of Arts. Faculty of Social and Applied Science.
  14. **University of the Fraser Valley**, BRITISH COLUMBIA – *Criminology and Criminal Justice* – bachelor, Masters. Faculty of Social Sciences.

A review of these departmental/program descriptions reveals two major themes. The first theme is that of career preparation. The programs promise to prepare graduates for a degree in the varied field of criminal justice practice. Programs also claim to be suitable for those wishing to advance one's position in the field of criminal justice. Claims include "The program prepares students for careers in the public sector and non-profit agencies as well as non-government organizations, criminal justice agencies and other agencies dealing with justice-related issues" (Royal Rhoades). Mount Royal similarly states "Criminal Justice will prepare you for a career in fields such as social justice, criminology, law, police services and more." The University of Guelph claims their "graduates may choose law enforcement, probation/parole and corrections work." University of New Brunswick tells graduates "you can choose from a variety of community and institutional settings like mental health clinics, forensic psychiatric hospitals, prisons, homeless shelters, group homes and schools." Carleton University claims "The insights you will gain in studying criminology and criminal justice will prepare you for a diverse range of future employment opportunities in criminal justice." Although all the departments discuss employment readiness, many also discuss an academic basis by discussing preparation for social science research and advanced academic study. University of the Fraser Valley says "Criminal Justice/Criminology is an exciting and diverse field that offers a variety of challenging career avenues and opportunities for specialized research and study. At the University of the Fraser Valley we can help you prepare to launch or advance your career, or to go on to further studies in criminology or a related field." The University of Winnipeg states "You will also gain insight into

enduring debates in the justice system such as crime control versus due process, rehabilitation versus punishment, limits of state powers, wrongful convictions, difficulties confronting our Aboriginal peoples, victims rights, and how best to manage youth crime.” Yet goes on to re-introduce the employment theme of the degree “Our students typically obtain work in the criminal justice field. Many go into law enforcement careers with Canada Customs, the RCMP, Ontario Provincial Police, Winnipeg Police Service and other municipal forces such as those in Calgary, Edmonton and Toronto. Another large employer is Corrections, with work available in federal and provincial governments and private sector non-profit groups for Correctional Officers, Youth Workers, Parole Officers, Probation Officers, Caseworkers or general Counselors. Some work for private, non-profit human service agencies involving youth, addictions, crime prevention or general social services.” Similarly Athabasca and St. Thomas claim their programs are both practical and academic “Students receive academic training that prepares them for career advancement in the field of criminal justice as well as graduate studies” (Athabasca) and “The programme provides an appropriate background for entry-level positions in the field of criminal justice as well as for admission to professional and graduate programme in criminology and related fields.”

The second theme is the multi-disciplinary nature of criminal justice. Royal Rhoades states “The BA in Justice Studies is a broad-based, multi-disciplinary program that draws knowledge from academic disciplines including law,

criminology, sociology, philosophy, political science, computer science, social work and public administration.” Regina Justice Studies' courses “draw upon various academic disciplines such as anthropology, criminology, economics, geography, history, law, psychology, religious studies, and sociology integrating criminal, restorative and legal justice, and importantly social justice and human rights.” Ryerson University suggests “Our professors have backgrounds in fields as diverse as law, social anthropology, criminology, and sociology.” The University of Winnipeg states “Criminal Justice is an interdisciplinary degree that provides our students with a strong social science degree developing critical thinking, writing, and research skills.”

As it appears, criminal justice is multi-disciplinary, is both academic and practical, and, although it has been a part of community college education, it is increasingly present in Canadian universities. Its purpose does not seem far removed from criminology as it seems to fulfill the purposes of criminology identified by Potts (1968), to teach, research, and inform government policy makers.

In the United States, the rise of Criminal Justice is differently situated and has a long history compared to Canada where criminal justice programs are few, relatively new (most established in the last 5-10 years) and remain attached in some way to Criminology. In the United States, criminal justice is long standing but has some similarities historically to Canadian research centers on criminology. Wellford (2007) tells us that Michael and Adler in 1933 concluded that there could be a

science of crime and justice and it could be focused on a scientific understanding of why and how we make laws, why some break those laws, and how society does and should respond to law breaking (2). They developed two divisions within the institute associated with the law school at Columbia University. The first division was a criminological one, staffed by psychologists and sociologists and assisted by a mathematical economist. They asserted that research would indeed be scientific because the psychologist and sociologist were considered to have all the scientific skills of the mathematician, and both an experimental and theoretical physicist (Wellford 2007). The second division was a criminal justice division staffed by four lawyers and someone familiar with the administration of justice (Wellford 2007:2). Criminology would be interdisciplinary and scientific focusing on why some break those laws, and criminal justice would be more descriptive and evaluative examining how society does and should respond to law breaking while both focus on how and why we make laws. Therefore, criminal justice is responsible for studying how one can make practices of justice better, and criminology studies crime and its etiologies. Remington (1990) claims that up until the 1950s in the US, there was little effort to look in detail at how the criminal justice system really functioned in day-to-day practice (10). He says there were scattered research documents including crime surveys in the 1920s, the conceptualization of police as a part of urban government in the 1930s, research examining law-in-action in the 50s. This research cumulated in the American Bar Foundation (ABF) asking and the Ford Foundation to finance, a major study of criminal justice administration in the United States in 1960. This was The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and

Administration of Justice. In 1968 the ABF released a series of five volumes of research said to be the intellectual foundation of the criminal justice discipline (Walker 1992, 1998). Remington (1990) claims this was the impetus for the development of criminal justice programs in universities and was intended to bring together law and the behavioral and social sciences.<sup>25</sup> Overall these volumes found existing approaches to criminal justice administration inadequate (LaFave 1965, Goldstein 1960, Packer 1963) and there was a call to develop a discipline of criminal justice to study better forms of administration. Although there was considerable debate on the core of the discipline, criminology or public administration (Dawson 1969), the School of Criminal Justice was established at State University of New York (SUNY) –Albany.<sup>26</sup> Numerous schools of criminal justice were established in the United States and Wellford (2007) claims that no major reform in criminal justice in the last forty years occurred without substantial research as a major part of its justification (3).

The development of criminal justice was not without its critics. Farrell and Koch (1995) argue the study of social problems have been replaced by a commodified, career oriented approach which ultimately undermines theoretical diversity and any humanism in the sociological treatment of crime and deviance (52). They

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<sup>25</sup> He claimed universities were ignoring important public policy issues that if dealt with could impact the quality of life of citizens, issues could be best understood if the system was studied as a unit, that these issues needed continued, ongoing attention, and universities were the place to attract high quality research personnel (1990:15)

<sup>26</sup> Although some consider the center at University of California at Berkley to be the first school of criminal justice in the USA, its focus on corrections is thought to be criminological because it did not focus on the entire field of criminal justice. This concern is telling when it comes to understanding and defining the field of criminal justice. The separation of criminology and criminal justice is more apparent in the USA than in Canada.

further claim that criminal justice is a champion of the bureaucracy at the expense of the client and takes an uncritical view of institutions in general and criminal justice systems in particular (59). They further claim that the division allows research to be defined by the needs of the industry (59) and maintains its commitment to the bureaucracy of social control (60). Cullen (1995) responded arguing that “these academic misunderstandings are in need of revision.... criminal justice has achieved recognition as a distinct discipline”(3). He discusses PhD programs dedicated to criminal justice knowledge, numerous scholarly journals dedicated to publication and transmission of CJ knowledge, a rapidly expanding knowledge base as evidence. In 2002 there was a heated debate in the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences magazine between two academics about whether criminal justice is education or training (see Deflem and Hemmings 2002).

Similar critiques have been made of Canadian criminal justice although these critiques tend to stem from a critique of applied criminology, of which criminal justice is assumed analogous. Menzies and Chunn (1999) refer to this as managerial criminology, charging it as a hegemonic fusion of the most conservative strands of neo-classical and positivist thought (287). Haggerty (2001) cautions how the use of official statistics generated by criminal justice academics play a prominent role in practices of liberal government. Menzies and Chunn (2006) further critique academic criminology, regarding it as an appendage of the state’s carceral apparatus and discounting the voices of critical scholars as mere ideological chatter (292).

Huey (2011) describes applied criminology as concerned with the transmission of

practical knowledge (81). Frauley (2005) and Huey (2011) charge that applied criminology is frequently conceptualized as a form of protective service, which is clearly a set of practical, non-academic concerns. Both Menzies and Chunn (1999) and Huey (2011) relate this to shifts in universities as credential marts and the translation of marketable skills to students at the loss of critical thinking. Huey (2011) concludes that the proliferation of applied criminology means that its future is rather grim (94). It is important to note that Menzies and Chunn (1999) wrote before the majority of criminal justice departments were established and Huey's criticism seems to be directed at applied criminology versus academic criminology, which she defines as a category of sociology and thus a social science with both theoretical and grounded concerns (81). Frauley's (2005) critique is much more precisely related to criminal justice studies, although it is clear that his concerns about theorizing are pertinent to liberal arts generally. He boils down the debate to one between applied sciences and theory. Frauley (2005) suggests the field does not capitalize on its rich subject matter to develop itself into a craft or vocation. He suggests the lack of theory renders research devoid of academic merit. He identifies three things as evidence: First, there are few philosophy of science courses in criminal justice, which reinforces a content approach to the discipline. Second, he critiques the use of stand alone theory courses, which he claims are problematic in that they separate themselves from substantive content instead of using theory as a vehicle to explore epistemological and ontological issues pertaining to the relatively enduring features of social problems (247). And third, claims the publications in the field foreclose theoretically engaged accounts of criminal justice policy and practice.

He charges that these three things render the field as non-imaginative, non-reflective, nor theoretically engaged (248). While other scholars regard the primacy of practice in criminal justice as an outgrowth of managerialism and vocationalism, he suggests it seems more apt to posit that a primacy of practice is the ontological condition of managerialism and vocationalism, and that this condition and mode of enquiry arises from taking social problems as problems of control, as its object of enquiry (260). This point is important because his charge forces us to think about disciplinary boundaries and objects of inquiry. The criticism of lack of theory remains one of the most often discussed. Marenin and Worrall (1998) claim that criminal justice is an academic discipline in practice, but not yet in theory (465). If a discipline's theories grow out of the research of its practitioners, as Marenin and Worrall (1998) claim, then what can we make out of the interdisciplinary nature of criminal justice? Zalman (2010) suggests that due to the multi-disciplinary nature of departments like the one in SUNY, students did not build on their previously acquired skills and instead learned entirely new subjects (166). Similar criticisms are made of Canadian criminal justice. Jochelson et al (2013) discuss the tension between sociology and criminal justice at University of Winnipeg when the law and justice program became a criminal justice department. A review of the newly formed department suggested that it should draw on the theoretical strengths of sociology while building its own curriculum independent of the parent discipline (17). They argue that the dearth of theorizing is well known among scholars in the field and there has been a significant shift to recognize that (Jochelson et al 2013).

Numerous scholars have debated the role of theory in criminal justice as far back as Remington in 1968, who asked, "Can law be a social science?" Crank (2003) ponders if criminal justice is best approached as a multi-disciplinary science adopting models from many fields (17)? And there have been numerous attempts to figure out the ontological basis of criminal justice. Crank locates criminal justice among several types of justice. He ponders that justice studies began its academic ascent in an era in which traditional scholarly boundaries among the social sciences are weakening...and the sheer variety of fields available for the study of human problems is astonishing (2003:17). In 1980, Duffee made an attempt to articulate a community theory of justice, as did Zalman (1981). Bernard and Engel (2001), similar to Crank, questioned how to approach a multi-disciplinary field of study. They proposed to explore criminal justice theories first on their dependent variables (identified as individual, organizational and overall system behavior) and then according to their independent variable that they identified as conflict versus consensus theories). Their hope was to facilitate theory building through generalization (21). These attempts appear to be what Frauley is calling for and what Hogeveen describes as a post-disciplinary, open scholarship. Kraska's (2004) Theorizing Criminal Justice is an attempt to approach the dearth of theory by discussing several orientations of criminal justice from legalism, to a social construction of knowledge, to forms of governing in late modern society. Kraska and Newman (2011) offer a detailed discussion of the philosophical and theoretical foundations of criminal justice. So it appears that Braithwaite's (2000) argument that applied criminology is an art form that affords the criminologist the ability to

use multiple theoretical significances in examining practical problems, thus bringing the practitioner to a differentiated understanding, could indeed be possible.

There are several questions that arise from this discussion. What do we actually know about criminal justice in Canada? Do all departments of criminal justice reflect the tensions discussed above? Are they actually, in practice, professional training grounds? What do they teach? How does criminal justice intersect with criminology in Canada? Are they antithetical or as Pavlich (2000) argues, do they partially sustain one another? Is criminal justice simply a response to the governmental market? If so, how can we verify that? Other questions are about the field of liberal arts. What is a liberal arts degree? And what is an academic discipline? The development of departments focusing on specific issues may indeed be on the rise in Canadian universities (Demers 2002). If this is the case, this may call for a host of changes to the field of liberal arts and a removal of the boundaries as Hogeveen (2011) suggests, and what Wallerstien discussed (1996) in Opening the Social Sciences. How do disciplines change in the face of the changing cultural role of universities and knowledge? How are they affected by changing economic and social conditions? How do these programs develop out of markets? How are universities themselves affected by cultural, economic, and social conditions?

The next chapter will link together the review of post-secondary education from chapter two and the discussion of criminal justice in Chapter Three by connecting it with Chapter One's discussion of states and markets to flush out a model to make sense of shifts and test the boundaries of the critique.

## **Chapter 4: States, Markets, and Criminal Justice**

The previous chapter reviewed the history and development of criminal justice programs in Canada and their connection with criminology, as well as a brief overview of the programs as career oriented and multi-disciplinary. The critiques of these programs typified criminal justice as applied, labour market driven and practice-based, and lacking a true academic, social science basis. The second chapter examined the increasing progressive, human capital, and human resource models that have come to dominate the post-secondary landscape since the 1980s. The chapter also reviewed the assessments of this turn in post-secondary education by focusing on the literature describing post-secondary education as an increasingly corporatized and neo-liberally regulated institution, although one that is resisted. This chapter seeks to make connections between the historical shifts in post-secondary education and the development of criminal justice as a discipline. The chapter also identifies various post-secondary markets which will be operationalized to gain evidence to assess the extent of corporatized, neo-liberal post-secondary education.

### **The place of criminal justice in a history of post-secondary education**

I use Kurasawa (2002), Newson and Buchbinder (1988), Newson (1998), and Snowden's (2005) discussion of shifts in the post-secondary education landscape to situate the development of criminal justice departments. This allows us to locate the development of criminal justice departments in broader shifts in post-secondary

education, which are representative of changes in the broader political economy. These authors can be used to outline a four-stage model of Canadian post-secondary education in which I insert changes in criminology and criminal justice, and its research orientations. Based on that discussion, I will turn to understanding markets in the current phase of post-secondary education.

(1.) Colonization of the academy by the state (1940s-50s).

The 1940s and 50s is characterized by the state's increased use of academic knowledge to assist the state in its development. This time period is characterized by university expansion, strong funding models, and a variety of federally-based post-secondary programs. These included the creation of the National Research Centre (NRC), development of grants for expanding industrial education, the Massey Commission, the Dominion Student Aid program, and educational/training grants for veterans. Thus, academia plays an important role in assisting the state in its nationalism. The relationship can be characterized as one of vertical integration between the state and post-secondary education.

The establishment of criminology departments fits neatly in this first phase. Parkinson's (2008) discussion of the University of British Columbia experience where the development of criminology could not be separated from the emergence of a government strongly interested in prison reform (595) is evidence of this vertical relationship between the state and academia. Both major federal correctional reports, Archambault and Fauteaux, identified the need to engage with universities to develop scientific knowledge of the causes of crime. In a special issue of the Journal of Criminology and Corrections in 1963, the founders of the Canadian

Centres of Criminology outline the expressed need for a science of the criminal and of scientifically generated crime responses. Although most of this was research-based, teaching followed closely behind. Valier (2002) suggests the reformist orientation of criminological research was best exemplified by the Chicago School of Criminology, which dominated the discipline between 1915-1940, and Merton's strain theory, which was popular up till the 1960s.

## (2.) Expanding and democratizing academia (late 1950s-late 1970ss)

Kurasawa (2002) and Newson (1999) describe this period as one of expanded academia and recognize universities as a site of democratic contestation. Described in more detail in the previous chapter, this era is evidenced by an increase in the number of Canadian universities and a pluralization and diversification of the social sciences. At this time, the New Left in Canada, with countercultural social movements, civil rights, feminism etc., becomes prominent and develops a strong connection with academia. In this diversified time period, post-secondary education is lush, universities are expanding, states are wealthy, and universities are incorporating difference and diversity into its research and teaching. Policies include funding changes and the establishment of research bodies like the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC) and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

The expansion and democratization phase can be seen in criminology in a variety of ways. Criminological research in this period strongly recognizes social difference in the realm of crime and deviance. It is focused on various intervention suggestions

including rehabilitating the criminal and democratizing systems of criminal justice. Criminology views crime as a social problem manifesting itself in an individual act and much of its work is on etiologies of crime. Academic criminologists suggested that the criminal justice system shouldn't be a force of oppression, but an institution promoting equality and fairness. Criminologists suggest poorly socialized or maladjusted individuals needed correction and broader social policy could deal with social causes of maladjustion. In this time period, criminological research generated policy recommendations centered on identity politics and the welfare state responded with reformist ideas to encourage fair and democratic distribution of resources. The national penal culture was one that encouraged a reintegrative and rehabilitative approach. Correctional practice is seen as a solution to social problems and the discourse of human rights and equality played a major role in political life. It is also here we see an expansion and professionalization of labour in the field of corrections and policing. Correctional officers are not just prison guards, they are case managers who ensure prison programs are aimed at reintegration. But this framework does not go unchallenged for long. In the 1970s-80s and a rising crime rate, Garland (2001) suggests this liberal welfarist criminological research and policy perspective suffers a critique from two perspectives – a right-wing and critical criminological critique.

The right wing claims there is an increase in crime where crime is not seen as the actions of the marginalized and maladjusted, but of the idle and disrespectful.<sup>27</sup> This critique derives from disillusionment with welfarist programs and claims correctional policies are too soft on crime, and people have come to rely on the social welfare net to the detriment of the law-abiding society. Correctionalism is critiqued as 'not working' and victims began to support tougher sentences for those who harmed hard-working and respectable middle-class citizens. Garland describes this set of critiques as hostile to welfarism and big government, to the permissive culture of the 1960s, and to the consensus politics of social democracy (2001:97). Accompanying this critique is a general critique of academia as overspending, as being extravagant and unrealistic, out of touch with the regular public.

On the left, a critical criminology as a type of scientific, or academic criminology, begins to question the actions of the government and methods of rehabilitation on several grounds. Although not completely separate from welfarist criminology, critical criminologists begin to question what Pavlich (1999) calls left-wing managerialism. Labeling theory gains prominence as seen in Howard Becker's The Outsiders (1963), which claimed the process of labeling someone a criminal is the result of political and economic power. Jock Young's The Drugtakers (1971) examined the impact of criminalization of marijuana on young people. Stanley Cohen's Folk Devils and Moral Panics: the Mods and the Rockers (1967) similarly

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<sup>27</sup> Garland suggests the increase in crime is the result of many social changes including increased opportunities for crime, reduced situational controls, an increase in the population at risk, and a reduction in the efficacy of social and self controls due to changing cultural norms (2001:90)

asked questions about the use of power in the construction of the deviant and the use of state power against those groups. Studies of deviance and etiologies of crime are criticized by critical criminologists whose focus is on links between social inequalities and criminalization practices of the state. Instead of simply combating the crime problem, critical criminology focused on understanding and redefining the problem.

Canadian critical criminology was heavily influenced by European work and appears to be strongly associated with struggles for social justice and restorative justice (Shank 1999, Doyle and Moore 2011). McMullan and Ratner (1982) wrote a piece discussing Stuart Hall's work Policing the Crisis asking questions about structural Marxism and the incorporation of difference in Canadian criminology. Ratner's 1984 Inside the Liberal Boot: The Criminological Enterprise in Canada critiqued the problems with liberal progressivism and suggested a turn toward a political economy of crime.<sup>28</sup>

Critical criminology policy suggestions were significantly different from welfarist ones and included minimizing the use of custody (Young 2011), humanizing or abolishing prisons (Walby 2011), and re-engaging with social theory (Rigakos and Frauley 2011). As Doyle and Moore (2011) discuss, the Canadian context is not so

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<sup>28</sup> But Ratner (2006) claims that critical criminology did not really take hold in Canada but is found scattered amongst feminist and race writings and despite concerted efforts never really took off. Doyle and Moore (2011) make a strong case for critical criminology in Canada in their 2011 edited collection, New voices, New Directions. Facing exceptionally conservative circumstances in Canada since 2006.

clear cut as it may be in the United States. They suggest that regional diversity is important. For instance, in British Columbia it is recognized that positivist criminology dominates research agendas, whereas in Toronto this break is less clear and there is a much more of a healthy co-existence and collegiality between criminologist of varying theoretical and methodological persuasions (Doyle and Moore 2011: 9).

### (3.) Colonization by the market (1980-late 1990s)

This time period represents the coming of late modernity, characterized by the globalizing of capitalist production and exchange, an increasingly insecure labour market, ecological and demographic changes (technology, birth rates, immigration), the ontologically insecure society, and the rise of the individual at the behest of governing authorities. Post-secondary educational institutions experience a contraction beginning in the 1980s. Kurasawa claims this contraction is part of the late modern society and is characteristic of numerous social, economic, and cultural changes. This period is characterized by a right-wing, neo-conservative attack on the left. He discusses the cultural attack on the left as one aimed at amoral permissiveness, misguided social programs, and the ease at which the lazy, undeserving underclass is given too much advantage. This attack on the left is accompanied by a shift in economic thinking. It is the move from the Keynesian welfare state to the Schumpeterian workfare state, and the rise of neo-liberal solutions to governing. As Chapter Two argued, Canadian post-secondary funding

experiences a contraction and the beginnings of a search for outside sources of funding.

This shift in post-secondary education accompanies what Kurasawa calls culture wars. As described above, the culture wars were strongly felt in the left, with the right-wing critique against criminology coupling with neo-liberal styles of government. Garland (2001) claims that from the 1990s onward, the right-wing captures the attention of the government and critical claims are primarily consigned to the world of academia. He also suggests we witness the emergence of new research supporting the neo-liberal correctionalist rationale for crime control exemplified by new criminologies, new philosophies of punishment, and new penological aims and objectives (2001:103). Roberts (2004) claims at the end of the 1990s the public concern about crime is pronounced. As crime rates reach an all-time high in 1994, the public begins to lose faith in the government system. In line with the culture wars, there are numerous groups vying the government for change. These groups range from feminist groups concerned with sexual assault, domestic violence and zero-tolerance policies, to aboriginal groups suggesting they are over-represented and discriminated by the system. Roberts (2004) outlines aboriginal justice, youth justice, conditional sentencing, mandatory sentencing, mediations and other alternatives to the criminal justice system, problem-solving courts and the role of the victim in the criminal process as the priorities for criminal justice in Canada during this time (12-15). This realist, almost practice-based turn in criminal justice in Canada is an interesting mix of left-wing, racialized and gendered

concerns, along with right-wing calls for efficiency and accountability. Traditional, positivist academic criminology is popular during this time. Although Ratner (2006) makes the claim that by the end of the 1990s critical criminology in Canada was at an organizational low point (655). Menzies and Chunn (1999, 2006) agree and suggest that the discipline's prospects for surviving as a bastion of critical thinking and praxis about crime, law, human justice and social order are less hopeful (2006:665). However, it is important to note that the culture wars, and neo-conservative and neo-liberal shifts in governance were less pronounced in a Canadian context. As such, although there is a turn away from traditionalist welfarist criminology practices of the state, they are not as clear in a Canadian context until the next phase.

#### 4. Re-investment phase (2000-current)

From 1999 onward Kurasawa claims post-secondary education is in a re-investment phase characterized by a stabilizing and expanding corporate model of funding. It is demonstrative of a strong horizontal integration between states, markets, and post-secondary educational institutions. The university continues to be seen as a place the state can leverage knowledge for national strength, albeit in a different way than the first stage. Post-secondary education is more intimately integrated into the knowledge economy, which is diversified and spread across markets that view knowledge in post-secondary education in an instrumental and commodified way. Universities themselves, as Kurasawa claims, are critiqued for being elitist and spending too much time in the ivory tower, detached from reality. Hacker and

Dreifus' (2010) popular book titled Higher Education? How Colleges are Wasting our Money and Failing our Kids and What we can do about it, was a familiar refrain in contemporary discourse which calls for education to be less about gender theory and literary criticism and more about skills that translate to economic dynamism (11). This is a clear example of the solidified Schumpeterian workfare state where redistributive welfare rights take a more permanent back seat to international competitiveness and the productivist reordering of social policy (Jessop 2002). Whether this is seen to a full extent in Canada until the Harper years, beginning in 2006, remains a debate. Regardless, it can be stated that Canada is currently in a neo-conservative governing mode.

Criminology follows suit with a shift in focus that Garland recognizes on six fronts: the rationalization of justice; the commercialization of justice; defining justice down; redefining success; concentrating on consequences; and relocating and re-distributing responsibility. He takes these together to represent a new style of criminological reasoning that characterizes criminological research. Garland suggests etiologies focus on those of the self, and those of the other. The criminologies of the self refer to the routine, preventable crime and there is a burgeoning of criminologies of everyday life, routine activities theory, crime as opportunity, lifestyle analysis, situational crime prevention, and rational choice theory. Criminologies of the other refers to the criminal as outcast, fearsome, and demonized. What these have in common is that the study of crime is about the normal, commonplace aspects of modern society. Policing, courts and corrections

are seen as commonplace, working in the interest of society and simply need to find ways to be more efficient and effective. In addition, since 9/11, Pavlich (2004) claims the ontological status of crime is diluted by governmental technologies that encapsulate crime and deviance within broad parameters of risk, security, and personal safety. The crime problem is not one of the state, but the state's role is to manage social problems in Schumpeterian fashion to ensure that the welfare state operates with flexibility but is ultimately concerned to secure efficiency. These are considered to be supply-side criminologies focusing on creating disincentives to crime, organizing social space, and focusing on criminogenic situations.

Up until this point, official criminology viewed the problem of crime from the perspective of the criminal justice system, insisted on seeing crime as a problem of individual offenders and tended to see offenders as typified by those in captivity. The new criminologies reject this institutional point of view seeing crime in a social and economic perspective that owes nothing to process of law enforcement. (Garland 2001:128).

Garland calls this crime complex a culture of control,<sup>29</sup> similar to Foucault's carceral city. The connection between the state's need for information about crime and its control hasn't changed, but the type of information it requires appears to have changed. Policy makers invite researchers to design evaluations to see how well programs are reducing crime, to see how crime can be prevented, and to assess the least costly practices. Arguably other types of criminology exist and have not been

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<sup>29</sup> Garland says the experience of high crime rates as a normal social fact has led to the formation of a distinctive culture that has grown up around crime – a culture that changes the condition in which criminology and criminal justice policy operate. This cultural formation is the crime complex of late modernity and is characterized by a distinctive cluster of attitudes, beliefs, practices. High crime rates are regarded as a normal social fact, and crime avoidance becomes an organizing principle of everyday life. Fear of crime is sufficiently widespread to become a political reference point (Garland 1997, Garland and Sparks 2000). These populist sentiments are reflected in Pratt's Penal Populism (2007).

discredited, however, they do not appear as well funded or as fluid. There is a prioritization of administrative criminology or correctionalism, while academic criminology is sidelined. Doyle and Moore (2011) suggest the marginalization of critical criminology from public policy questions in Canada is part of a neo-conservative turn. Canadian criminological research appears to be strongly focused on similar issues of efficient court processes, evaluation, and dealing with risk and victims' rights (Kramar 2011).

The critiques leveled against criminal justice studies, as a form of applied criminology, appear to be of this vein. Courses in criminal justice, particularly at the community college level, but increasingly at the university level, offer practice-based courses in risk assessment, program evaluation, as well as police preparation and justice foundations. That these practical, non-theoretical criminologies of the self and the other, and efficiency and effectiveness research that perpetuates neo-conservative ideologies and neo-liberal practices of crime control are said to dominate criminology and criminal justice departments (Frauley 2005, Huey 2011). However, some critics<sup>30</sup> note the outright rejection of criminological research in Canada in recent years. Indeed there has been a strong punitive, law and order turn in Canadian crime policy since 2006. Vold, Bernard and Snipes (2002) suggest this populist punitiveness drives the use of mandatory minimum sentences, yet it is at odds with the findings of criminological research on the deterrent value of imprisonment.

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<sup>30</sup> See the Canadian Bar Association concerns at <http://www.cba.org/cba/submissions/PDF/11-45-eng.pdf>

Arguably correctionalist or administrative criminology appears in the re-investment phase for a few reasons. It is focused on administrative efficiency, individual responsibility, and risk management. It is also a good example of the horizontal integration between government and university knowledge, or said otherwise, states and its institutions.

### *Post-Secondary Markets of the Re-investment Phase*

The re-investment phase is characterized by Schumpeterian re-ordering of social policy and social relations. As discussed, the university in this phase is characterized by the creation and exchange of knowledge between the university and the student, between the university and the government, between the university and other institutions, and between the student and the labour market. Typically a market is thought of as a site of exchange where two parties voluntarily contract to exchange a good or service for a socially or legally recognized currency (Young 2002:82). In what follows, I examine and describe student, research, and finance markets found in the re-investment phase of post-secondary education. I examine the boundaries of each of these markets, the way they are connected to other markets, the nature of their relations in terms of competitiveness, and other relevant issues.

#### *(1.) student markets, labour markets, and the credential market*

Market logics can be seen in university education regarding the student in two forms. First the credential is increasingly becoming market driven, and second, the

cost of education is being borne by the individual student through loans that are leveraged in the future exchange of the credential.

In times of Fordist production, the labour market did not need university-trained workers. In the labour market, companies were not competitive with professionals. Universities trained an elite, professionalized class. With the move to mass education, and the shift to knowledge economies, the separation between labour markets softened. As labour markets changed and the economy developed into a post-industrial service economy, the demands of labour widened. Walters (2004) suggests the impact of the new economy on work has been great, transforming many sectors and business operations into a global economy becoming heavily oriented towards the production and distribution of knowledge (4). The term knowledge capitalism emerged only recently to describe the transition to the knowledge economy, which can be characterized in terms of the economics of abundance, the annihilation of distance, the de-territorialisation of the state and investment in human capital (Roberts and Peters 2008:18). The shift to a knowledge economy invokes a re-thinking of the traditional relationships between education, learning and work, and a new coalition between education and industry. Stiglitz (1999) draws connections between knowledge and development, indicating universities have become a leading future service industry and continue to become integrated into the prevailing mode of production. The higher education system still does not seem to meet the expectations of many citizens, especially students, parents, and business (Jongbloed 2003:113). This puts pressure on universities to expand education away from the elite and make it accessible to all, including

developing credentials directly related to labour market and governmental needs and a service-oriented skill set. Roberts and Peters (2008) suggest state systems are struggling to release themselves from older industrial organizational forms of education to take advantage of more flexible and customized forms of delivery (26). Universities are inevitably connected to the needs of the labour market and as Slaughter and Rhoades suggest, universities have restructured their curriculum in these areas. The perceived need for highly skilled labourers affects what universities offer, and labour markets often determine what students study. University curriculums approach program development via a matching of supply to demand. Universities gear their supply of graduates to companies, or other market demands, based on skill (Regini 2012:90). This is said to be evident in the development of criminal justice departments to which students flock because of the cultural popularity of crime control, but also because of the professionalization in fields of corrections and policing. The need for skilled justice workers implicates post-secondary education. As governments become more accountable, they need trained workers to offer efficient programs and ensure accountability. As we saw in the previous chapter, one of the major descriptors for criminal justice programs is career preparation.

It appears there is a shift from intellectual formation to imparting intellectual skills. This is akin to the development of human capital. A justification for expansion of post-secondary education is based in governmental rational choice models of progression where a successful society is equated with an educated populace.

Universities take on the role of nurturing innovation and enhancing productivity. Jongbloed (2003) argues marketization policies in higher education are aimed at strengthening student choice and liberalizing markets in order to improve the quality and variety of services offered by the providers of higher education (113). Canadian post-secondary education is traditionally characterized by a binary system, divided between the vocational and the professional. If this divide remains is questionable. Cote and Allahar (2007) suggest professors are more involved in teaching, and are teaching in programs that are increasingly labour market driven and are those in demand by students.

Needham (2003) suggests under neo-liberalism there is a new relationship between citizen and state. She calls this the consumerisation of citizenship where people demand more and have become used to services that are characterized by greater flexibility, choice, and responsiveness. This is accompanied by what Rogers and Peters (2008) call a new logic of consumption in a service-based economy. This market of consumption entails a commodification of social rights and advances in the private sector model of the consumer as the basis for citizenship (Needham 2003, Rogers and Peters 2008). This results in a consumerist ethos in the public provision of things such as education. What this means for the student equating education with the status of a consumer. Through marketization policies, students are encouraged to make their own cost-benefit analysis based on which credential interests them or gives them the skill they desire. Competition is increasingly characteristic of post-secondary education in Canada with institutions marketing

themselves against each other in a bid to win students. Competition requires deregulation and provinces are increasingly developing high demand market-oriented programs. Curriculum is increasingly offering freedom to choose a provider, freedom to choose a product, demanding information about prices and quality of product, and given an opportunity to cover costs (Jongbloed 2003:115). Freedom to choose a provider and a product is limited by supply, by funding, and by social class (Stiglitz 2010, Chan and Fisher 2008, Dill 2003). Dill (2003) finds that place, distance, and culture matter as much as price and use value of product (i.e. will the credential get the student a job upon graduation) when students and parents decide which university to choose. Product choice is also limited by what providers offer. Jongbloed claims that most universities offer standardized products (i.e. three or four-year degrees in traditional subject areas). Some institutions offer specialized programs, but others also offer special configurations, different combinations including co-ops, practicums, and field experience. While specialized or personalized curricula is not available, it could be in the future. Access is also an issue, which is increasingly being addressed through mechanisms such as online courses, which are cost-saving measures but also a response to student demand.

Opening post-secondary education to the masses was facilitated by a changing student funding structure. Governments still subsidize education through direct grants to universities. Government subsidy cannot go too high and are usually dependent on the magnitude of the societal benefit following the investment. Public subsidies should equal the marginal value of these externalities (Jongbloed

2002:126). Thus we increasingly see performance indicators implemented to monitor grants (Lang 2005). The Canadian student loan program began in 1964 during the expansion phase of post-secondary education. It modified in 1995 when the program was replaced with the Student Financial Assistance Act and the federal government, not institutions, shared risk with banks. This changed in 2000 with the federal government directly financing loans. The student loan system is an important one because it shifted the burden of access away from the university onto government and the cost of education onto the consumer. In many ways, this funding method is cost effective for universities because they do not lose out if the student doesn't repay. Tuition costs are becoming a greater part of university operating budgets.<sup>31</sup> One can claim that the student loan system is a cash windfall for universities. However, tuition cannot be set at the level the institution wants, and is also an indicator of an imperfect market. Most provinces have legislation regarding tuition increases that are allowable by institutions each year. So while there appears to be a deregulation and off-loading of cost onto the student, the government regulates the ability of the institution to charge as much as it wants. A reason for this may be that a loan cannot go too high so as to prevent default. It can only be leveraged based on potential earnings. Student debt is a way to levering of the future and the credential is like imaginary capital (Havien 2010). And often

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<sup>31</sup>For instance, in 1990 tuition made up 16% of university operating budgets. Today it is on average 32% of budgets, and in some provinces upward of 50%. Thus the cost of education is increasingly privatized into the hands of students. The cost of the credential is increasing exponentially in Canada. For liberal arts, between 1991-2005, tuition climbed by 135% from an average of \$1,714 to \$4,028. Stats Canada reports that tuition fees went up 4.3% in 2011/12 while inflation was up only 2.7%. So if students are going to invest money in a degree, they must balance the risk with the future. The Canadian Federation of Students report that 55% of students graduate with debt: 15% owe between \$5-10,000 and 20% between \$10-30,000.

tuition is justified by the private benefit that higher education conveys on students in the form of higher lifetime earnings (Dill 1997b:175). Allowing students to acquire debt is dependent on how the credential can be exchanged in the labour market upon graduation. Therefore, student loans are intimately tied to benefit at the point of exchange. Livingstone and Scholtz (2007) found that there is a mismatch between Canadians' learning achievements and the requirements of their jobs. In this context, under-employment is more prevalent than under-qualification, especially for those in working-class positions (152).<sup>32</sup> These funding mechanisms are clear indicators of neo-liberal shifts discussed in Chapter Two.

*(2). academic labour and research markets*

The academic community and academic labour generally has two functions: to educate and to research. These two products of post-secondary education are increasingly becoming grounded in market-logic. The production of knowledge in universities was historically guided by norms and values shared by the research community. The academic community was indeed self-regulating outside of the

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<sup>32</sup> The actual skill set associated with a credential is unknown. The credentialized society in which it is argued that the better educated a population, the more prosperous the society (human capital theory) assumes a few things. As Livingstone and Scholtz discuss this perspective assumes the skill exists in the worker as a set of competencies that can be carried from job to job (p.137). This prevents any measure of skill increase or decrease in the labour process, misleadingly equating the rapid increase in workers educational attainments with a rising demand for job related skills. The concept of skill is not a flat one, it is multi dimensional and includes things like interaction skills, analytical skills, etc. There are different dimensions of skills in one skill set and their use is contingent upon the job they find themselves in – substantive complexity of skill is integration of mental, interpersonal and manipulative tasks in a job and autonomy control as how much room the worker has to initiate and conclude action, to control content, manner and speed at which they work. A candid recognition of the extent and increasing incidence of underemployment could expose the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system and stimulate thought and action about economic alternatives as responses to current employment problems than simply needed a better educated workforce.

bounds of market influences, prices, and outside of any apparent demand. Indeed, the demand for knowledge was not influenced by its trade in any other market than an academic one. We can ask how free research resources are for scholars.

Fastenfest (2010) says we are on the doorstep of a new transformation in knowledge production through changes in funding research, and innovation (484).

This is what he calls the horizontal integration of universities, politics, and economies. This knowledge market is increasingly commercialized and is thus an external process, driven by market forces in terms of the knowledge economy and how knowledge is to be used. Research and innovation are increasingly used as terms related to national progress and development. This is echoed in many statements of provincial ministries where knowledge is linked to revitalizing provinces and keeping them competitive (see Capon 2009, Snowdon 2005).

Research increasingly becomes part of revenue streams for universities, and is increasingly linked to outside markets such as medical fields, high-tech fields and other commercial activities. Universities can generate resources by engaging in a number of income generating activities such as fundraising, contract research, consultancies, contract teaching, soliciting donations, and numerous other ventures in public, semi-public, and private spheres (see Jongbloed 2003). Fastenfest (485) discusses how, over time, research dollars become a sought after revenue stream. Universities begin to shape its activities to better attract research dollars and support the ongoing operation of the institution. Fisher and Atkinson-Grosjean (2002) studied Canadian university industrial liaison offices and Fisher, Atkinson-

Grosjean and House (2001) traced the development of the federal government's Networks of Excellence program and revealed increasing linkages between the federal government, provinces, and industry. They claim research funds are increasingly earmarked for university-industry collaboration. For the hard sciences, research often becomes connected to other markets, commodified into product, thus strengthening the ties between the private and public. For social sciences, Arnove and Pinede (2007) discuss the expansion of foundation funding which plays a philanthropic role in support of positive social change. Cote and Allahar (2007) suggest this drastically changes the way professors engage in research, resulting in increased pressure on professors to be innovative and entrepreneurial. The entrepreneurial professor and graduate student is becoming a main feature of campuses (Gemme and Gingras 2008). Professors are successful when they are able to access research dollars in their fields and at the same time, enhance the marketable reputation and revenue stream of their universities. Intellectual property rights arrangements are a significant issue arising from this market arrangement.

Competition in the professorial research market is fierce. Although the federal government does not directly fund university operating grants, it has established a strong research infrastructure. These include a variety of funding bodies such as the development of the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC), Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Canadian Institute of Health Research (CIHR), Canadian Foundation of Innovation (CFI), and Canada

Research Chairs (CRC). The federal government increased its research funding from \$720 million in 1988 to \$1.74 billion in 2003. These funds are increasingly competitive and are steered by governmental and private market demands (see Chan and Fisher 2008: 49). Chan and Fisher (2008) suggest funding requirements of these grants are strongly associated with strengthening Canada's competitive position in the world economy (53). Polster (2002) discusses how these research bodies prioritize categories of research that fit particular governmental agendas. Therefore, there seems to be a significant steering of research toward economic imperatives. Foundation funding is also fiercely competitive and very popular and as Arnove and Pinede (2007) suggest, is tied closely with popular public issues. Universities themselves are increasing internal research funding options with president's funds and other strategic research money. Although Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) suggest a pushing research to the market, Chan and Fisher (2008) discuss a government steering evidenced by increased public funding. Regardless, one can understand this increase in competitive funding for researchers as the government stimulating a professorial research market (see Dill 1997a&b, Williams 1991, 1995).

The impact of research funding on criminology and criminal justice has been intense. As discussed in Chapter Three, government funding of Centres of Criminology were predicated on ideas of government success, and national security and prosperity. The federal government has a long history in establishing research centres associated with justice issues (i.e. centres for research and education on

violence against women and children) as well as specific projects of research.<sup>33</sup> Although there has been a reduction in core funded centres, centres of justice flourish. The requirements of research centre funding has changed. Many are associated with piecemeal funding, and many requirements of larger funding grants are research teams and partnerships, often with defined research outputs or deliverables. This style of research is characteristic of the re-investment phase and many of the indices of justice Garland discusses, including commercialization of justice, redefining success, and relocating and redistributing responsibility. The model is also associated with the entrepreneurial professor, who must be innovative and inventive, pioneering unique projects of study.

Polster (2002) suggests trends in funding opportunities are often associated with public populism around particular justice issues. This is evident in issues such as youth prostitution (see Gorkoff 2011) and child sexual abuse (see Bell 1993).

Currently, highly fundable research in justice areas concentrate on victims' rights<sup>34</sup>, access to justice,<sup>35</sup> and cyber bullying, to name but a few. And other significant area of criminal justice research is in program evaluation. The Department of Justice Canada, requires all projects to have a cost benefit, process and outcome evaluation as part of any of its justice projects. It is clear that there is a justice market, where information and research knowledge is exchanged for things such as promotion, university reputation, and success of post-secondary institutions.

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<sup>33</sup> Although I don't have specific references, the Solicitor General (now Department of Public Safety) was pivotal in funding research projects of public interest throughout the 1990s.

<sup>34</sup> see Crime victim Awareness project through Justice Canada

<sup>35</sup> see Canadian Forum on Civil Justice and its one million dollar SSHRC grant

### *(3.) institutional finance markets and governance*

With an expansion of universities, government pressure on universities to intensify relationships with the economic system is manifold (Regini 2011). Regini offers two reasons. First, governments cannot finance mass systems and need to externalize some of the costs pushing for partnership with enterprises, setting research agendas, and directing other funds to those with national interest. And the second reason for intensification is marketization. Governments have incorporated principles of neo-liberalism and diffuse general values of transparency, accountability and assessment. Universities are still considered attached to government and government steers universities through financial policies and funding requirements. Although universities have some degree of autonomy in which they can pursue their own future, they are involved in an exchange relationship with the state. This exchange relationship is characterized by agreement between institutions and the bureaucratic management of the funds that the government provides to the institution. Universities are increasingly given funds contingent on particular benchmarks. The new managerialism or catalytic government, and the move toward greater accountability, is being applied across the board, at the professor level and the institutional level. Polster and Newson (1998) suggest that performance indicators open up the routing evaluation of academic activities to other than academic considerations and make it possible to replace substantive judgment with formulaic and algorithmic representations (175). Performance funding (Lang 2005) include universities reporting to governments on accountability mechanisms such as how many students graduate, retention rates,

how many get jobs, how infrastructure funds are used, time to completion rates, developing programs in strategic areas, etc. (see also Saunders 2006). So, although there is a deregulation in terms of academic direction of an individual university, the government actually increases its control, albeit in marketized ways. Fiscal funding policies can be considered to be quasi-markets where strategic funds are part of the competition between publicly funded institutions. So even though there is some freeing or deregulating of higher education markets and a slight relaxing of existing regulation in the public sector governing financing, personnel, and curriculum, there is not a total devolution of control to institutions. In fact, Dill (1997a) suggests that as government deregulation occurs on one dimension, such as authority over finances and program approval, a need to regulate more stringently develops along another dimension, such as accountability on finances and academic quality control.

Provincial funding mechanisms are important because although block grants allow the autonomy of the university, when they decrease, or become more scarce or are replaced with strategic funding, this is sign of marketization. Additionally, funding based on full-time equivalents is about supply and demand regulation. Operating grants will increase or decrease based on number of students in the market. Also as universities become more dependent on student financing, and the greater degree to which universities rely on tuition dollars, the more aggressive their marketing campaigns will be (Slaughter and Rhoades 2008:36).

One innovation that provinces undertake is policy shifts toward differentiation advocating for a separation between research and teaching universities. There are strategic goals of universities to become research intensive (Chan and Fisher 2008) while others seek strength in teaching (Axelrod 2008). Universities themselves are engaging in cost-saving measures by making more and more use of contingent faculty to free up research capacities. To fill in for what is called research drift, contingent labour is cheaper for universities, is a very competitive market, and is characterized by insecure employment, poor salary and working conditions. Muzzin (2008) suggests this patterns the use of contingent labour in business as it allows an organization to downscale depending on fluctuations in the market. As universities experience a fluxuation and decline in the number of staff, contingent faculty can address the gap. The higher the proportion of non-tenured faculty, the easier hiring and firing becomes, thus writing in flexibility in labour costs (Muzzin 2008:106).

An increase in university administrative structures is also a sign of market logic. Newson and Buchbinder (1988) and Polster and Newson (2002, 2009) argue that administrators in charge of finances and ensuring the well-being of institutions including marketing campaigns, fundraising, endowment funds and renewal corporations are all evidence of market logic imprinting itself on university structures. This is what Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) refer to as expanded managerial capacity. They claim that managers increased their capacity to engage the market, redrawing the boundaries between universities and the corporate sector (2004:95). In the United States, they report that by the end of the 1990s

university managers were involved in the market in terms of licencing income, usually received in the form of royalties from sales which were made when particular research results were reached, and in material and intellectual property rights. They further cite the emergence of interstitial organizations that bring universities, corporations, and the state closer together (2004:23).

### Concluding Thoughts about Markets

There are two major conclusions to be made about post-secondary education markets. First, an indication of high marketization is a large amount of freedom given to institutions and consumers to engage in external relationships. The literature appears to indicate that universities are predominantly internally driven, often steered by government, not external markets. Similar to what Regini (2011) found that the intensification of the relationships between universities and economic systems appears to be largely the result of government's incentives or pressures. Indeed, we can make the claim that state deregulation, liberalization, and marketization are characterized as a change from state control to state supervision, and can be regarded as a new paradigm of governance (Jongbloed 2003).

Secondly, markets of post-secondary education are best characterized as quasi or non-economic markets. They are not perfectly competitive. Said otherwise, they are not 'economically' driven but instead are in the form of partnerships, with government and with other bodies of interest. This is evidenced in a lack of fit between credentials and jobs, between funding and markets, and between freedom of institutions to set their own prices and use resources the way they desire. They

do, however, increasingly engage in the production of value. This value can be seen in the credential as well as in research, each having value to be exchanged in labour markets, commercial venues, and the social.

This chapter intended to connect the information in chapters 2 and 3. It examined the phases of post-secondary education in Canada, focusing on the last phase of development and the markets it created. These markets were discussed in relation to criminal justice programs. The next chapter links the argument of markets with a deeper discussion of the concepts introduced in chapter one and develops a model of market indicators that will be used to assess levels of marketization in post-secondary education.

## **Chapter 5: The state and its relation to capitalism**

This chapter considers the state and its relationship with capitalism. If the role of the state, as suggested above, is about steering institutions such as post-secondary education, what are state goals? In whose interest does the state operate? What are the relations the state has with capital? How does the state work? Chapter One introduced marketization in post-secondary education as related to capital accumulation. To understand capital accumulation, I introduced Jessop's principle of societalization. Societalization represents the various processes whereby the social environment is stable enough that it allows capital to orient its activities toward opportunities for profit. In Chapter One, I introduced the relational state as a method allowing us to consider how existing relations (such as markets) illuminate changes in post-secondary education. In this chapter I deepen a discussion of the concepts discussed in chapter one, and use the conceptual discussion to create a model of market indicators of post-secondary education.

Economic determination, the basis of all Marxist perspectives, is systemic. It requires we consider relations of production not as wholly determinative, but that particular forms of capital are more important than others and are weaved differently into social formations. Jessop views relations of production (where capital is housed) as having political, economic, and ideological moments. Therefore they cannot be thought of as solely determinative but as embedded in social relations (see Jessop 1990). He identifies four different mechanisms of state

relations with capitalism: economic determination, ecological dominance, economic domination, and bourgeois hegemony.

These social relations can be thought to occur in numerous groupings. In fact he claims that the power of the state and capital is best understood through examining hegemonic social cohesion methods as a site of relations of production. Zelizer (1988) concurs, claiming economic processes should not be set in opposition to extra-economic cultural and social forces, but as a special category of social relations and are thus inter-dependent with a system of meanings and structures of social relations (619). She calls this a multiple-market model and claims its strength lies in the fact that it rejects one-dimensional idealist or instrumental interpretations and invites discussion of consumption, production, and exchange under a variety of cultural and structural settings (1988:618). Lie similarly argues that a traditional economic approach which disentangled markets from power considerations is problematic in that power is a crucial fact of economic and social life (1997:351).

Jessop argues the production of value, or productive capital, is the heart of the capitalist accumulation because rates of return (and profit) are all tied into the production of value. Products must be marketable because it is the exchange that allows capital to accumulate. The circuit of capital is money, production (which adds value), and then value exchange. This circuit, at each moment, has different functions. As the circuit continues, capital accumulates. Therefore, because of these

different functions and their connection to social relations, capital accumulation is implicated in the organization of social relations.

Under the idea of economic determination is the awareness that although value is achieved at the point of exchange, both the production of value and its exchange occurs in the multiple-market setting. Typically a market is thought of as a site of exchange where two parties voluntarily contract to exchange a good or service for a socially or legally recognized currency (Young 2002:82). A market is not the economy, rather an economy is an aggregate of all markets and their activity. The price of the exchange is a reflection of efficiency of the market or which group in the market offers the best rate of exchange. A market failure is evidence of inefficiency in a market. Market failures are often associated with non-competitive markets or public goods. A perfectly competitive market should be self-regulating in that competition should lessen the probability that society will over or under-invest relative to the social benefits produced (Young 2002). If it over-invests in demand, inflation can occur. Government intervention often attempts to correct market-failures, but can also produce inefficient solutions sometimes referred to as government or non-market failure (Weimer and Vining 2004). For instance, student loans, while an attempt to deal with the market failure of access to education, can be said to result in credential inflation because loans stimulate demand. When this increased demand for credentials is paired with a lack of opportunities to exchange the credential (i.e. lack of jobs), credential inflation has occurred. Therefore credential inflation is best theorized as market or government failure where the

exchange of value is stifled by inflation. This focus on accumulation strategies and exchange is fruitful for understanding post-secondary education because as the government deregulates and adopts market-based models of education in what is traditionally a non-market good (marketization), the relations of production and exchange are affected. A core point for this analysis is how markets of post-secondary education develop according to dominant economic models adopted by the state. Some of these models of post-secondary education were discussed in the previous chapter.

Jessop (1990, 2002) suggests that productive capital and its bourgeois economic relations are more important than other types of capital. Productive capital is often linked to knowledge production. Thus, related to connections between post-secondary education and work, this research explores how economic determination is linked with knowledge-based capitalism as its further link to use-value generated by knowledge production and acquisition as part of relations of production. How do market forces rationalize the production of knowledge in universities, and the granting of skill through the credential? Knowledge is typically considered a factor in production. But thinking about knowledge as a commodity outside of the relations that creates it (research and teaching), gives the impression that the value of knowledge comes from knowledge itself, not from the contingent and historically specific social relations. We can say that knowledge is a political, economic phenomenon that is produced, given value and exchanged in and through those relations. Knowledge itself is not scarce, and it comes in both commercial and non-

commercial forms (Jessop 2002, Dill 1997b). Knowledge gains a commercially commodified form when it is connected to various institutional forms, such as the credential (Dill 1997a&b, Young 2002, Teixeira 2006). Knowledge from research also becomes tied to payment in the form of grants (obtained through bodies of funding both private and public) and value is snaked through things like royalties, credentials, and research products. Schiller (1988) claims a profound social reorganization is required to transform knowledge into something that can be sold. Skills become intimately tied to markets of multiple types. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) discuss universities increasingly treating knowledge as a raw material (16) and discuss circuits of knowledge increasingly connected to revenue generation (316). For Jessop and others, economic determination emphasizing production, has explanatory power for understanding post-industrial capitalism.

I also use the concept of ecological dominance to understand the contingent nature and historically specific moments where the logic of productive capitalism imprints itself on (or couples with) post-secondary education practices. This concerns itself with the systemic relations between the economy and other systems. Ecological dominance refers to the structural and or strategic capacity for a given system in a self-organizing ecology of systems to imprint its developmental logic on other systems operations (Jessop 2002:25). This draws also on his third concept, economic domination, where capital has the power to steer the evolution of other institutional orders in line with the demand of capital accumulation through specific strategic capacities, in this case, and the development of post-secondary governing

policies. For post-secondary education, it may be possible that part of this strategic capacity includes getting non-commercial activities shaped by calculations about the economic profitability of applying commercial logics. Thus post-secondary education is steered toward economic considerations of a strong and healthy economy. This includes the development of university and corporate partnerships, research funding toward specific governmental purposes, marketing degrees to students, and the use of financial capital to sustain universities, all discussed in the previous chapter. The ecological dominance of capitalism depends on the extent to which monetized, profit and loss calculation penetrates the life-world at the expense of other modes of calculation and subjectivity (Jessop 2002:25). Jessop claims that neo-liberalism can enhance ecological dominance of capital by expanding the scope for accumulation to escape constraints of regulation. Economic dominance can be internal (imposition of interest of a firm on another) or external (steering non-economic institutions in line with demands of capital accumulation). The external type of dominance seems to be relevant to post-secondary education where a perhaps traditionally non-economic institution becomes subject to commodification and becomes oriented to profit. Jessop says neo-liberal education is intended to induce decision-makers to become more business-like (2002:29).

A challenge facing capitalist accumulation during the shift between Fordist and post-Fordist modes of production is the need for skilled labourers for the knowledge economy. This economic moment can be thought of as the commodification of the reproduction of labour power. The strength of Jessop's

approach is that we do not get stuck in a public versus private divide and it allows us to see this through a governance lens where actors become agents of the process. The entrepreneurial professor is a good example of an agent in the process of post-secondary education. While in the Keynesian welfare nation the state was collective, in a post-Fordist or the Schumpeterian state, the neo-liberal state is focused on enabling individuals as economic actors with a shift in resources away from social welfare functions toward production functions. Post-Fordism involves commitment to supply side innovation and flexibility as a form of regulation. Neo-liberal and corporate mechanisms of government are features of the Schumpeterian competition state, not the collective idea of Keynesian economic management. The Schumpeterian state is characterized by ideas of Joseph Schumpeter who suggested competitiveness in a global economy depends on developing the individual and collectives capacities to engage in permanent innovation. This requires the state to rescale and rearticulate its activities to address changing phases of capitalist accumulation. This undoubtedly includes post-secondary education as spaces of learning and research. Albo (1997) argues that entire state apparatuses have been internally restructured through processes of marketization, privatization, and deregulation. These practices can be considered governmental mechanisms through which security of the state, and capital, is achieved.

Numerous state scholars, economists, sociologists, political theorists discuss the shifts between the Fordist state and post-Fordist states. The major dynamic is the change in fluidity in capital and its penetration into non-economic areas. Essentially

this makes the economy, markets, and states a complex arrangement. Jessop claims this complexity breeds the attempt to develop new institutional boundaries in the desire to have a spatio-temporal fix (2002:120). This invites particular forms of economic management and governments to establish these boundaries. This spatio-temporal fix includes the economic and ecological dominance in what are traditionally considered extra-economic or non-economic areas, including post-secondary education. Fastenfest (2010) claims that universities are increasingly incorporated into systems of capitalist accumulation as generators of knowledge. There is no surprise in pointing out how knowledge, on one hand, and credentials on the other, characterize much of the discussion of the future of economic activity (Fastenfest 2010:484). If knowledge is a raw material, then education (as site of production and acquisition of knowledge) and its commodification, is a site of entrepreneurial innovation and the conquest of a new source of supply of raw materials. As unregulated funds to universities decrease, and the research market expands, universities find themselves in the position to extend into that market to sustain themselves, finding themselves accountable to funding regulation.

The dominance of market practices is best captured in the term marketization. As institutions become marketized, competition takes on an important function. Young claims that markets and government work in tandem, and the market paradigm simply adds another instrument to the state's already formidable toolbox that assists it in regulating and controlling higher education (Young 2002, 82). In other words, the introduction of market mechanisms does not exclude an increase in

government control, but rather a change in the nature of the inducements the state may offer to encourage universities to adopt government identified priorities and activities (82). This is Jessop's idea of ecological and economic domination in action. Marketization regulation is a way to make sure that institutions' use of government funds is accountable to all stakeholders – people in the institution from managers to workers, clients of the institution and the public taxpayer. The funds are thus put in a competitive position because if one group isn't accountable or using the funds properly, they can be usurped by another group/person in the same market (Young 2002, Dill 1997a&b).

Jessop's last mechanism of societalization is economic hegemony. This is best captured in the idea of cultivating a general economic interest. It can be thought about as the economic interest of capital becoming the economic interest of all. Therefore accumulation in the words progress, sustainability, and innovation are part of the general economic interest. While there can be dissent, economic hegemony exists where a given accumulation strategy is the basis for an institutionalized compromise between opposed social forces and across different institutional orders around the pursuit of a particular economic trajectory (Jessop 2002:30). The current general economic interest is the knowledge-economy, which is a guide for political and social re-structuring (Jessop 2002:97). Therefore, economic interest is relational and relative. In the post-secondary education landscape we see economic hegemony in the development of temporal indicators such as strategic plans, incremental funding and innovation, and in spatial context

such as provincial infrastructure funding, federal student and research funding, where the temporal and spatial aspects of monetary cycles dominate the framework of the institution. In other words, economic hegemony is seen in post-secondary education institutions that put the balance sheet and innovation ahead of principles like academic freedom and academic, not labour market-driven, credentials.

*Supply and Demand: Markets of higher education*

This chapter's discussion on mechanisms of societalization and its manifestation and structuring of relations between state, markets, and universities, gives us information to develop indicators of post-secondary education markets. The indicators presented below are also based the three markets of post-secondary education outlined in Chapter Four and based in its conclusions that post-secondary education markets are tied to government and are best characterized as non-economic markets. Using Jongbloed's (2003) division of post-secondary education markets into supply and demand sides, I outline eight market indicators of post-secondary education. These supply and demand side indicators are used to assess levels of marketization apparent in post-secondary education.

*Supply Side Market indicators:* The four indicators of supply side post-secondary education listed below are indications of how universities supply knowledge, information, and programs to students and how they interact with other markets.

(a.) Access to entry: Jongbloed defines access to entry as how providers of post-secondary education join the fray. I operationalize this in terms of who has the standing to grant a credential? What types of institutions can provide what types of degrees? One would hypothesize that the greater the freedom of institutions to offer degrees, the more competition there is, and the greater the marketization.

(b.) Freedom to specify the supply of programs: This indicator represents how programs are developed by institutions. This includes development of programs influenced by academic versus labour markets. Are programs developed in response to a need in the labour market versus a desire of academics to expand knowledge in a given area? It is also concerned with how much a student market drives the development and expansion of particular areas. Criminal justice programs are high enrolment and therefore could be favored by institutions if they have freedom to expand the program. I suggest that the greater the freedom of institutions to develop programs tied to labour and student markets, the higher the marketization.

(c.) Freedom to use ones available resources: This includes how free institutions are to:

(i.) hire personal and control their movement: this includes how encumbered they are by faculty associations and other restrictions on how they can use professors, teaching loads, types of grants professor seek and how research is used.

(ii.) how free institutions are to use block grant funds, how accountable they are for these funds, and the restrictions on accumulating financial capital.

(iii.) how free institutions are to interact with students including marketing, recruiting international students, enrolment targets. One can hypothesize that the greater the freedom to use professors in areas the institution needs, to be in charge of funds, and type and number of students (customers), the greater the degree of marketization.

(d.) Freedom to set price: This has to do with how institutions are able to develop tuition costs, if they are encumbered by regulation which sets caps on tuition for local and international students. It is hypothesized that the greater the ability of the institution to set its own price, the higher the marketization.

*Demand Side Market indicators:* The following four indicators of demand side of post-secondary education indicate how markets can be seen in pressures of demand leveled at the university.

(a.) Freedom to choose provider: This has to do with how accessible institutions are for students who qualify. The freedom to choose a university from a range of options and includes availability in programs at a reasonable cost. Access unencumbered by class, race, or gender is also important. Free and open choice should mirror a perfectly competitive system. Thus, the greater the freedom to choose a provider, the higher the level of marketization.

(b.) Freedom to choose product: This demand indicator is related to the freedom in having a degree meet student demand in terms of the type of credential desired. Of course this is limited by what is generally or traditionally offered, particularly in an undergraduate liberal arts degree. The most important issue here seems to be credit transfer. If an individual receives a full or partial degree, and wants to choose a different product, can they transfer credits already earned? When do credits expire? The ability to transfer credit is a clear indicator of freedom to choose a product. Barriers to transferring credits limit freedom and represent a blockage in the market. Expiry of credit is also important because it allows individuals to pick up and carry on with degrees at a later date. Lifelong learning options are also key to providing freedom of product choice. The more freedom to choose, the greater the marketization.

(c.) adequate information to make choice: Most Canadian universities market their product to encourage consumption, enabling them to bring in more revenue. University marketing campaigns often use information about employment, student satisfaction, but there are few guarantees about the product. The benefit of the consumption is delayed until graduation. However, a dominant feature of markets is the amount of information available to make an informed choice. I suggest that the more information available about the product, the higher the marketization.

(d.) Cost-covering prices: This determinate of the market has to do with how well the cost of obtaining the credential is covered by funders. A more perfect market has

a good cost/provision ratio. This means that the price cannot be out of line with the production cost. Factoring into this determinate is the benefit of the degree to both the individual and to society. If society benefits, the individual shouldn't have to bear the entire cost of the credential. In Canada, the government subsidizes at least half of the institutional costs, and the student pays a particular percentage. The government subsidy should flow from the type of benefit that follows from investment in universities. If the benefit is greater, the subsidy is working. If unemployment rates increase, that is a sign of market failure. A concern here is how valuable is the degree? If the degree is important, such as medical doctors, a high subsidy is justified because the marginal value is high. If the value is low, it is more difficult to subsidize the credential. This requires an examination of student fees and costs of running a program. Institutions are increasingly using measures such as consumer price indexes to control tuition fees, and increase fees according to some other economic measure such as rate of inflation. The higher the use of these measures, the higher the level of marketization.

Before we can put this model to work in a series of case studies, the next chapter discusses the methodology, research question and discusses particular method of the research.

## **Chapter 6 – Methodology and Method: PSE markets and case studies of Canadian Criminal Justice in higher education**

This chapter examines the methodological approach of this study and discusses the specific methods used in data collection.

As discussed in the first and fifth chapter, this study uses Jessop's critical political economy and strategic relational approach (SRA) to examine practices of the modern state. Essentially a Marxist historical materialist approach, this methodology examines how the state works by assessing its relational manner, opposed to a purely structural or essentialist one (Jessop 1990, 2002, 2008). It is based in the critical social science methodology which Kraska and Newman define as a process of inquiry that generate liberating knowledge so as to reveal structural and cultural inhibiting forces in an attempt to help people change their living conditions and build a better world for themselves (2011:55). The approaches roots are traced to Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud, and was elaborated by Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse (Kraska and Newman 2011). This contends we think of capitalism as a social relation and how it is embedded in several relationships, including those in post-secondary education. Here we can identify the path dependent structural coupling and co-evolution of differently operationally closed systems (Jessop 2008). This methodological approach is concerned with how political strategies merge, and how power is not necessarily determinative, but can only be understood through examining various relations. It is inherently dialectical in that it suggests two seemingly contradictory elements or process interact in a

mutually transformative manner, with each transforming one another (Kraska and Newman 2011;56).

Drawing on Poulantzas (1978) conception that states are both relational and selective and his consideration of the state as a strategic terrain of class struggle, Jessop argues that all types of struggles and strategies (not just class and capital) influence state policies. Further, the state will choose some struggles over others. This view displaces our focus from the guarantee that the state operates in capitalist interests to a concern with the many and varied contingent effects of state power on accumulation in specific conjunctures (Jessop 1990:354). Kelly claims that this allows us to study state policy as moulded around particular hegemonic projects expressed by political parties or other groups whose relation to the dominant regime of accumulation is crucial (1999:112). What this means for studies of the state, such as this one, is we cannot assume the state has particular interests that will work in particular ways. Jessop claims the state is more open to some types of political strategy than others and a given type of state, a given form of regime will be more accessible to some forces than others according to the strategies they adopt to gain state power (1990).

This makes it difficult to operationalize because it tends to be focused on examining state effects. If accumulation regimes do not promote particular state action, and if the state merely creates regulations that assist with societalization, how can the perspective be concretized? I think one way to do this is to look at regulatory

regimes and the development of markets such as those supply and demand ones discussed at the close of chapter five. Additionally, I use case studies to examine for themes of social policy that can be regarded as outcomes of particular processes. I consider the institutions of post-secondary education as a constellation of power relationships – between the state and institution, between institution and institution, between professors and institutions, between professors and students, between institutions and students, and between external forces like markets and states, markets and institutions, markets and students, and markets and professors. The content of these relationships are determined by the intensity, character, and nature of their interdependences. These relations determine state action and, accordingly, how actors relate to the state. Because states are a strategic terrain, their decisions (formulated in social policy, strategic reports, annual reports) represent effects of struggles/conflicts etc. found in those relationships. Strategic selectivity can be seen in decisions and directions of state policy as well as in critique leveled against policy and institutional decisions.

Therefore, we may hypothesize that provincial governments have been attentive to market/industry demands for knowledge and this bias toward market/industry largely explains the existing policy. This can be achieved through identifying how industry actors identify a problem with existing policy and how they are able to mobilize the state to act in this way. The narrative in the preceding chapters outlined the direction of market/industry relations with the state and the social policy re-structuring gearing post-secondary education toward market/industry

demands. What I do in this study is assess the strength of this coupling through assessing indicators of supply and demand markets, and identifying other relationships that occupy the strategic terrain.

**Research questions:**

Higher education policy in many countries is increasingly driven by the belief and guided by the policy, that freeing, facilitating, and simulating markets in higher education will provide academic institutions with incentives to improve the quality of teaching and research, to enhance academic productivity, and to stimulate innovations in academic programs, research, and services benefiting the larger society. The literature states there has been a shift away from collegial models of governing post-secondary education toward market driven ones. This research questions the tension between traditional academic markets and capitalist neo-liberal markets through examining degrees of marketization. This research examines the discourses and planning practices in relation to the dynamics of regulation of post-secondary education using criminal justice departments as a case study. Then, it assesses these in relation to themes in the literature about the neo-liberalization of post-secondary education, specifically, degrees of marketization. How much have markets penetrated post-secondary education? Where have they had the most impact? Where has mechanisms of resistance modified the effect?

### **Data Sources and Method:**

To address these questions, I compare six university criminal justice departments in five Canadian provinces. Information about these departments, universities, and provinces comes from a mixture of document content analysis and interviews.

#### *Content analysis:*

Content analyses are ways to study communications, messages, with an eye for key words and predominant discourses found in each document (Galal and McDonnell 1997). I reviewed documents and websites at the provincial ministry, the university, and the departmental level. I reviewed a variety of documents including departmental websites (which included examining descriptions of programs, degrees available, and faculty research), university calendars and course offerings, university strategic plans, budget reports, annual reports and other reports of interest, provincial ministries websites, provincial ministries annual reports and documents on procedures and rules for provincial institutions, ministers reports, and other relevant reports/research commissioned by departments of education. In total, I reviewed fifty-four documents. The content analysis was based on grounded reading of the dominant themes of the documents (Pettigrew 1985).

#### *Interviews:*

I conducted phone interviews with fifteen participants, including department heads, faculty who were deemed important to the development of the program, deans, and provosts/vice-president academic. The interviews were semi-structured. I emailed

a set of questions to each participant along with a request for interview. I sent twenty-two requests in total. The interviews, on average, lasted for an hour. There were standard questions asked of every one of equal position, and specific questions tailored for department heads, provosts, and deans. Also, I asked specific questions pertaining to the document review of each university and province to gain specific information about the themes derived from the document review.

*A note on reflexivity*

As mentioned in the introduction, I am a faculty member of one of the departments in the case study – the University of Winnipeg. I have been a permanent member of the department for two years, and taught sessionally in the department for seven years. As such, I have an insiders view of the operation of the University of Winnipeg. As a member of the criminal justice department, I have contributed to its curriculum development and been involved in conflict with other departments. Although some might conclude this would damage my objectivity, I note that most research is subjective and complete objectivity is a research myth (Sayer 2009, Morrow 1994). In fact, when we are engaged in any critical study, we know we are a part of what we study. Therefore, I use my position as a strength, to better understand the operations of the department and of the discipline of Criminal Justice in particular. However, I am aware that I cannot use my experience at the University of Winnipeg as the benchmark for other departments. Of this, I am aware and cognizant, and it has undoubtedly affected my analysis.

### *Areas/ levels of examination*

My research questions pertain to three main areas: provincial policy, university policy, and departmental constitution. The documents and interviews were structured around each of the following themes:

First, I addressed the provincial regulation of post-secondary education to examine how claims about a shift in post-secondary education in Canada from a collegial model to a neo-liberal model were found in Canadian universities. I looked for funding mechanisms offered to provinces, in particular use of block funding versus strategic funding, the role of student tuition in budgets, types of leveraged research and infrastructure funds, and accountability mechanisms including performance indicators. I was also interested in discourses relating to provincial and national prosperity. I considered internal and external forces that constituted provincial post-secondary education policy.

Second, I examined policy at the level of the university. Here I looked for fit between provincial goals and institutional ones. In examining these documents, I was interested in the nature of demands made between universities and provincial funding bodies, how universities structured their programs policy changes that were made in order to make themselves accountable to all stakeholders. I also assessed how university policy related to broader economic and political concerns. Again, I was interested in assessing the internal and external forces that construct post-secondary education policy. This is the space external forces affect how can be

free universities are to use resources, how free they are to set prices (tuition), how restricted they are in terms of curriculum development, etc. High levels of freedom would indicate a high level of marketization, as demands are not guided by institutions but are left to the whim of the market. I also examined the degree to which the institution focused on developing credentials and any reference to a market influence of the credential.

Third, I addressed criminal justice departments in Canada in terms of their origin, their current status including degrees offered, curriculum, and research orientations. I assessed whether these departments represented a shift toward a marketized program evidenced by the status of the curriculum, goals of the program, faculty make-up, research undertaken by faculty etc. I assessed this based on critiques arguing highly marketized programs would develop curriculum focused on labour market outcomes and engage in research that supports governmental regimes of control. I assessed if the critical claims and the ensuing debate about criminal justice departments could be verified.

These three areas of study will be woven with the discussion of three markets examined in chapter four. These include student, professor/research, and institutional financing and categorizes student market as demand side and professor/research and institutional as supply side. Marketization defined as a host of policy changes which ostensibly seek to make institutions more accountable to their truly vast array of stakeholders, students, employers and the taxpaying public

at large (Young 2002:80), is central to understanding the influence and creation of these spaces as markets and the degree to which they are marketized. Using Jongbloed's conditions for markets, which are divided into supply and demand, mixed with Clark's triangle of markets in post-secondary education, I use the following data to answer the questions posed above regarding shifts in Canadian post-secondary education, the nature of university policy, and the example of criminal justice departments. Any study of Canadian society must account for regional diversity. The role of each province in the Canadian economy in terms of both fiscal and social policy helps understand the role of markets and states. Resource rich provinces provide a different social and economic arena for market and state interaction. I was most interested in unpacking the nature of the curriculum, the goals of the program and whether they consider themselves applied or academic, or a mix of both, the type of student that takes the program and how these programs are marketed to students. Assessing the importance of the program to the broader goals of the university and the community is also key in unpacking these relationships.

The next chapter details research findings from the methods of data collection discussed above. The data is divided by provincial ministry level, university level, and departmental level. Major themes of the data are presented throughout the chapter.

## **Chapter 7: Case Studies and Research findings**

This chapter examines the predominant themes drawn from the document review, and interview data. It is organized according to provincial, university, and department levels. For each section, I present a narrative of each case then discuss the findings in accordance to the questions posed above. In addition to common themes, comparisons between the universities, provinces, and programs are made.

### **Provincial level:**

#### *British Columbia - Fraser Valley*

British Columbia governs 25 post secondary institutions (11 universities, 11 colleges, 3 institutes). Between 1989 and 2007, based in a concern about transferability of programs in British Columbia, and increasing numbers of students wanting to transfer from colleges to universities, the government expanded three of the university colleges, allowing them degree-granting status. Under the *Degree Authorization Act* and overseen by a Degree Quality Assessment Board, the government regulates institution and course applications. In 2008, the provincial government made a distinction between research and teaching universities, establishing five teaching universities. This recommendation, made in the *Campus 2020 – Thinking Ahead* report (to be discussed below) was part of a strategy of increasing post-secondary access and excellence by assuring quality of credentials received in various post-secondary institutions in British Columbia and to

incorporate an overall accreditation strategy and assurance of quality of a British Columbia education.<sup>36</sup> The governance structure of teaching universities is similar to research ones, a bicameral governance allowing faculty and administration to share responsibility. However, Fraser Valley faculty is not part of an association nor do they have academic status in terms of tenure, as research universities do. This change as a result of a Ministry document titled Campus 2020 – Thinking Ahead, was one of several recommendations outlining government goals of British Columbia education in the coming years. They set targets and made numerous recommendations in order to steer policy and programs toward those goals.

The targeted goals are access and excellence, calling the plan the British Columbia Access and Excellence Strategy. To be specific, they planned by 2010 to be one of the highest spending provinces in basic and applied research; by 2015 achieve the highest level of participation in post-secondary education, with a goal to achieve more post-secondary credentials per capita as well as rank top on quality measures focused on student achievement. By 2020 they seek to achieve two additional goals; to equalize participation and attainment rates across the region and to increase secondary school outcomes for aboriginal populations. As part of the recommendations, the province established a Higher Education President's Council and a public interest Higher Education Board. The first coordinates planning and the second evaluates the process.

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<sup>36</sup> See p. 68 of that report – Recommendation #35.

The documents recommendations suggest a level of deregulation, but the government remains in control. For example, the document allows each region to independently focus on its strengths but still be bound by provincial responsibilities and guidelines. The report suggests British Columbia higher education become more systematized. Access appears to be important and the report discusses learner-centered and community oriented objectives for teaching universities. To meet these needs, the report suggests the universities integrate a broad and diverse range of course and program options in developmental, vocational, university preparation, undergraduate and continuing education, and do so by working closely with, and becoming an inseparable part of, their communities (11); create flexible pathways, and engage with untraditional, diverse programming (33); direct programs specifically to the Aboriginal population (36) and first generation learners (41); attract international students (61); and develop integrated, online learning (49) and distance learning options (51). Much of the report discusses connections to the broader community in terms of 'embracing a wider set of institutions (12) including leading innovators in specific fields. In order to achieve these goals, the document discusses an orientation to output, outcomes, and impacts rather than inputs (13). These performance measures become the background of the report. They include measuring completion rates of students and comparing across the country (31-2), and measuring success of aboriginal students (39) and first generation learners (41). An interesting part of the report suggests that accreditation and branding of credentials learned in British Columbia be developed and researched thus exert the reputation of British Columbia in terms of knowledge-based innovation (78). They

also increased their contribution to research and research related innovation by a substantial amount to encourage industry and spin-off companies (78).

Saskatchewan: University of Regina

Saskatchewan governs 12 post-secondary institutions (two universities, one aboriginal university, one applied science and technology institute, and regional colleges). Originally a second campus of University of Saskatchewan, University of Regina became independent in 1974. The Ministry of Advanced Education aligns its vision of British Columbia with the overall vision for Saskatchewan including development of sustainable energy, health services, and economic development for individuals and community. As a part of this broader strategy, the Degree Authorization Act (October 2012) allows institutions other than the two universities to grant degrees. This Act establishes the Saskatchewan Higher Education Quality Assurance Board to oversee applications for institutions to get degree granting authority. The board was the result of a working group tasked to develop a governance model of post-secondary education in Saskatchewan. The work of this board, and the final report (the Usher Report) indicated a need to expand post-secondary education in Saskatchewan and give degree granting potential to institutions other than University of Regina and Saskatchewan. The quality assurance framework is being developed over the next few years. The framework will include cyclical audits, third party scrutiny, and adherence to particular principles including respecting institutional autonomy, primacy of peer review,

commitment to fairness and equality (7)<sup>37</sup>. The impact and importance of this move in advanced education is substantial as degree and credential granting authority has been isolated in two universities in Saskatchewan. How far, and in what capacity, colleges will be allowed to give degrees remains to be seen. The report cautions that due diligence be exercised in board member selection and models of quality assurance to make sure advanced education programs and organizations did not become 'degree mills' thus compromising the quality of education.<sup>38</sup>

The government is committed to accessibility of education, and in particular increasing participation and success of First Nations and Metis people in all levels of education, with the goal of increasing employment. Through access, it is hoped that Saskatchewan will experience greater growth. The provincial government is very interested in links between labour force and education (see The Saskatchewan Plan for Growth – Vision 2020 and Beyond). The Ministry of Advanced Education supports provincial growth by ensuring an educated and skilled workforce to meet labour market demand (see Advanced Education Plan for 2013-14). The strategy the department outlines for this is to provide an accessible, innovative, and accountable post-secondary education system that is responsive to the needs of the learner and contributes to an innovative economy.

The government gives advanced education strong financial support with supportive education policies such as a graduate retention program (64 million in tax credits),

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<sup>37</sup> See <http://www.aeei.gov.sk.ca/preferred-governance-model-quality-assurance-body>

<sup>38</sup> see <http://www.aeei.gov.sk.ca/what-is-a-university>

lots of investment in infrastructure and capital projects (approx. 80 million)<sup>39</sup>, as well as an advantage education savings program, and policy development of recommendations made by *the Joint Task Force on First Nations and Metis Education and Employment* (p. 3 of 2013-14 Plan), and have increased funding per student by 8% over the past two years.

### Manitoba - University of Winnipeg

Manitoba governs seven post-secondary institutions (three universities, one university college, and three colleges). The universities provide degrees while colleges supply certificate and diploma programs. Although the Oliver Commission, reporting in 1973, suggested closer articulation between Manitoba universities and community colleges, and despite the fact that there are some joint programs, this separation remains. The separation appears to guide policy at the Advanced Education and Literacy portfolio in that the department divides attention, strategic priorities, and funding into adult literacy, post-secondary education, apprenticeships, and international education. Originally established as a College of the University of Manitoba, The University of Winnipeg became independent in 1967. Manitoba Advanced Education and Literacy's mission is guided by values of quality, inclusiveness, innovation, and collaboration, and seeks to provide Manitobans with relevant, affordable, accessible and high quality learning opportunities, to provide assistance to Manitobans to overcome barriers of learning, and to provide leadership and facilitate the contribution of these learning systems

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<sup>39</sup> <http://www.gov.sk.ca/news?newsId=c0fdc15a-14fb-4686-9529-b100100652a7>

to Manitoba's economic and social goals.<sup>40</sup> A summary of the responsibilities of the department shows that in Manitoba the Ministry is concerned with setting a strategic direction and developing legislative and regulatory frameworks for post-secondary education in Manitoba. They are a hands on government who assists in coordinating in and setting the future direction of post-secondary education program development. The Council on Post-Secondary Education (COPSE) is the provincial government agency responsible for planning and coordinating the development of a post-secondary education system that promotes excellence and accessibility. In operation since 1997, COPSE acts as an intermediary between the postsecondary institutions and the government and facilitates the co-ordination and integration of postsecondary education. COPSE reviews and approves university and college programming, provides advice and policy direction to the government and promotes fiscal responsibility and accountability in the post secondary education system<sup>41</sup>. The mandate of the Council on Post-Secondary Education, as stated in The Council on Post- Secondary Education Act, is "... to plan and co-ordinate the development of a post-secondary education system in the Province that promotes excellence in and accessibility to education, supports the co-ordination and integration of services and facilities and promotes fiscal responsibility."

Some of the priorities identified in the goals of the Ministry are to fund bridging, labour market driven programs for immigrants and other forms of international education, and the college expansion initiative (CEI) which is focused on expanding

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<sup>40</sup> Manitoba's Annual Report 2010-11 p.2

<sup>41</sup> Manitoba's Annual Report 2010-11 p.3

programs to meet labour market needs, encouraging innovation in the college system, and improving access to programs. It identifies its main areas as support for students, support for institutions, and system enhancements with a goal of providing a continuum of accessible pathways that are synchronized with current labour market needs.

COPSE's strategic plan for 2010-2013, and its 2011-12 Annual report, indicates a lifelong learning and articulated and integrated post-secondary education system to be a key theme. Together with the system being cost effective, accessible, accountable, learner focused, transparent, and relevant.<sup>42</sup> The three primary priorities in the strategic plan are: (i.) strengthen accessibility to post secondary education which includes strengthening the capacity of institutions through capital and programming improvements; (ii) lead the system, in that the government is responsible for defining its role, its relationship to institutions, and (iii) improve system coordination by developing a coordinated system of transfer credit and by developing an accountability framework as well as performance measurement framework for the post-secondary education system. As part of this third priority, COPSE developed a memorandum of understanding between Manitoba's public universities and colleges for improving student mobility that was signed by all university and college presidents. In signing, they agree that greater collaboration and coordination among public universities and colleges are to foster, facilitate, promote, enhance and enable explicit life-long learning pathways. A task force was

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<sup>42</sup> Manitoba Council on Post-Secondary Education Annual Report 2011-13 p.2.

established to increase access to and transfer of credits across institutions in Manitoba while allowing institutions to maintain autonomy. The task force will develop a plan and implement it in coordination with articulation agreements and credit transfer arrangements among universities.

The Ministry itself has performance measures that it must meet. All post-secondary education institutions must submit indicators of the following, which is published in an annual statistical compendium. These include: (i.) *Maintaining access by measuring enrolment in universities.*<sup>43</sup> (ii.) *Keeping education affordable by measuring the cost of post-secondary education to students and measuring uptake of student loans.*<sup>44</sup> (iii.) *Measuring student success in education through measuring graduations/credentials received.*<sup>45</sup> (iv.) The capacity to meet the evolving skills requirements of the labour market by *measuring employment outcomes* of university and college graduates. And (v.) Keeping capacity at post secondary institutions by looking at funding (operating, capital, and strategic) provided with the goal of

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<sup>43</sup> Education and training is strongly connected to economic and social benefits for individuals and society. Participation in university, college, adult learning centres and literacy programming is one key measure of access to learning opportunities. Between 1990/00 and 2011/12, enrolment has increased 39.1%.

<sup>44</sup> . Following the release of the Levin Commission Report on Tuition Fees and Accessibility to Post-Secondary Education in April 2009, the Government announced that it would allow a 4.5% increase in university tuition fees, which would include any ancillary fees increase. This is the first tuition fee increase since a 10% tuition fee reduction and freeze was implemented in 1999/00 as part of a broader strategy to increase participation in post-secondary education<sup>44</sup>.

COPSE sponsored an important legislative change regarding funding. It changed the *Protecting Affordability for University Students Act* to establish multi-year funding schemes for universities, as well as linking university tuition fee increases to the 12-month rolling Manitoba consumer price index (which in 2011 was 1%), establishing controls over the other course related fees, and for identifying exceptions to the policy for professional programs at universities. The Council on PSE Annual Report 2011-12 p.15

<sup>45</sup> Between 1999 and 2011 the number of university credentials granted increased 31.2%.

making sure institutions do not incur operating deficits.<sup>46</sup>

*Ontario: Nippising and Ryerson*

Ontario governs 44 post secondary institutions (20 universities, 24 community colleges of applied arts and technology). The Rae Report in 2005 had a significant impact on the direction of post-secondary education in Ontario. It outlined seven strategies, with twenty-eight recommendations for action flowing from overarching reform goals of great education, opportunities for more people, and a secure future for higher education. Part of these goals were to be achieved in creating a new legislative framework, defining the college versus university mandate in order to clearly state the mission of higher education in Ontario. This reversed an effort made in 2000 when Ontario made a key policy change in effort to increase the choice of Ontarians wanting to earn a degree. The Post-Secondary Education Choice and Excellence Act (2000) (governed by the Postsecondary Education Quality Assessment Board (PEQAB) permitted both colleges and private postsecondary institutions in Ontario to offer baccalaureate-level degrees. For the most part, the new degrees were in applied areas of study and were meant have a “hands-on” focus in a field leading directly to employment. Cudmore (2005) claims there was a great deal of debate about the merits of extending degree-granting status to private institutions (4). One of the recommendations of the Rae Report was to reaffirm the

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<sup>46</sup> COPSE has made significant investments in funds directed toward Aboriginal students, nursing, community and health related professions, information technologies, accessibility initiatives, prior learning assessment, French language training, infrastructure, industry, and business administration. These strategic funds are meant to support development of new or expanded post-secondary programs that respond strategically to the needs of Manitoba’s social, cultural, economic or labour market situations and are complementary to existing programs. The Council on PSE Annual Report 2011-12 p.55

mandate of colleges to focus on education and labour market needs while continuing to allow applied degrees and institutions to evolve (Rae 2005:29). This remains and is reflected in a 2012 report Strengthening Ontario's Centres of Creativity, Innovation, and Knowledge which clearly delineates between universities as providing conceptual and field specific knowledge and graduate programs providing advanced analytical and research skills, and community colleges as providing occupationally oriented education and training.

Other recommendations of the Rae Report were to establish a new council (30 & 51), engage in academic renewal (p.30&53), and pursue quality assurance (30 & 54). The *Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO)* was established with the mandate of advising the Ontario Ministry with recommendations to improve quality, accessibility, inter-institutional transfer, system planning and effectiveness regarding higher education. This body, funded by the Ministry, operates as an independent body engaged in extensive research on the issue. The name and document appears repeatedly and has a significant impact on policy development in Ontario. It is tasked with assisting in improving system analysis by studying trends, and ensuring an ongoing maintenance and public reporting on system and quality and performance, leading to a new quality assurance framework for higher education in Ontario (54).

The fifth strategy of the Rae Report was to ensure the capacity of the system to meet Ontario's growth opportunities. This included an expansion of graduate education,

an investment in capital needs, and a coordination of research priorities (34 & 90). In terms of the goal of a secure future for higher education (92), the document recommends developing new revenue frameworks that includes federal government, provincial government and students as committed partners. A major concern was bringing up levels of funding to comparable Canadian levels, claiming expansion of colleges and university enrolment was not supported by funding resulting in a lag in per-student funding (94-5). Rae argues that federal funding, in terms of transfer payments to provinces used for post-secondary education are at rates lower than ten years prior (95). They suggest multi-year funding strategies so institutions can prepare multi-year plans that will help improve quality of programming, transfer of credits, and allow institutions to more easily fulfill their missions (104). Specifically, multi-year funding increases predictability and planning horizons for institutions and government (105) and this needs to be accompanied by ongoing, transparent public reporting of results, including a review of each institutions performance (105).

It appears that increases in funding recommended by the Rae Report were costly and in 2012, a report titled Strengthening Ontario's Centres of Creativity, Innovation, and Knowledge identified ways to improve productivity through innovation in the Ontario post-secondary education system. Some of the aims were improving student learning options, meeting the needs of lifelong learners, enhancing quality, and ensuring long term financial sustainability of the sector (7). It does this in recognition that credentials are becoming more and more important to success in new labour market and creative economy, heightened competition and

labour market demand for greater level of skills, diverse and mobile learners who expect ever-increasingly high quality in return for what they pay, and broader public calls for accountability of scarce public resources (4). The government is engaging in a consultation on how to streamline costs while enhancing productivity. Although seeming like a difficult task, they delineate between efficiency and innovation and productivity. Therefore opposed to increasing class size, one can use online courses (8). Areas listed as concern are compensation and pensions; technology enabled learning, outcome-based credentials, dealing with the mobility of credentials, and student transfer (particularly given that students often do not get a job after their first degree, but continue to improve and seek specialized skills) (8-13). They pose several questions about strengthening quality of education in Ontario including expanding credential options, credential supplements, credit transfer systems, resulting in flexible degree structures providing new learning options. The Ministry is examining the creation of a standard Ontario definition of a credit. Credits are the building blocks of degrees, so it would seem appropriate to begin attempts to look at learning outcomes on this basis. At the moment, there is no standard definition of the term “credit” in Ontario; indeed, not all institutions even have a definition of the term<sup>47</sup>. Those institutions that do have one tend to base it on hours of classroom time, but even here, standards can vary widely. In addition, there is discussion of experimenting with “Tuning.” While the Ontario Qualifications Framework has looked at degree content at a very high level, it might be interesting

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<sup>47</sup> This is outlined in the Higher Education Strategy Associates document. (2012). *Changing Times, Changing Places: The Global Evolution of the Bachelor’s Degree and the Implications for Ontario*. Toronto: Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario.

to also do as the Europeans have done and start talking about agreed upon outcomes at a disciplinary level. The report is also concerned with developing learning outcomes by discussing competencies. These are highly likely to become a part of performance indicators for funding through competency and student satisfaction surveys as well as graduate job attainment. These concerns are clearly outlined in the Ministry priorities for post secondary education.<sup>48</sup>

A major part of the *Strengthening Ontario* consultations was the submission of universities and colleges of a Strategic Mandate Agreement (SMA) in which they were asked to outline how each organization saw its role, its point of differentiation, its competitive advantage in the transformation of higher education in Ontario. The (SMA) process was one of a set of efforts by government to meet the challenge of sustaining the quality of its public higher education system in the face of increasing enrolments and diminishing resources.

This exercise is also about adapting Ontario's postsecondary institutions and higher education system to meet the needs of current learners and to seize opportunities offered by an increasingly digital, interconnected, and competitive environment. These challenges and opportunities require changes in the ways that the Ontario public postsecondary system is structured, managed and funded. Ontario is overdue for such changes. In the absence of changes, the quality of the Ontario student experience and its institutions will continue to diminish and lose competitiveness<sup>49</sup>.

These were completed in the summer of 2012, and a report issued in 2013<sup>50</sup> and

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<sup>48</sup> See report by Ministry as well as website where the visions and goals are outlined  
[http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/eng/about/annualreport/1112/2012RbP\\_En.pdf](http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/eng/about/annualreport/1112/2012RbP_En.pdf)

<sup>49</sup> Quality: Shifting the focus. A Report from the expert panel to assess the strategic mandate agreement submissions. (p.7) April 2013.

<http://www.heqco.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/FINAL%20SMA%20Report.pdf>

<sup>50</sup> <http://www.heqco.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/FINAL%20SMA%20Report.pdf>

indicated six themes: growth, collaboration, quality of learning, online and blended learning, differentiation, and redirecting funding formulas so as to ensure that Ministry goals are met. Overall, the report indicated that there is a need for government to be more active and assertive in making sure institutions are following intended outcomes (7-8 & 10). A way to do this is to ensure strategic or targeted funds are used to achieve the intended outcomes. A major priority of use of funds and outcome of extending enrolment and learning is to pursue online learning (8, 10 & 11). The concern of differentiation is familiar territory. In an effort to reduce overlap of programs, the report claims the Ministry should re-visit the distinction between colleges and universities. The government should consider using a differentiation framework that allows for a more realistic sorting of institutions into categories than that permitted by the simple college-university classification scheme that exists now (13). These new recommendations will be dealt with while attempting to adhere to existing governmental goals. Interview participants were in agreement that there is a structural problem with post-secondary education in Ontario. Some feared that strategic mandate agreement process would lead to differentiation policies such as specialization or a decision to differentiate between research and teaching universities. The report was also a source of confusion between its claim to give universities more autonomy while at the same time, increasing a top down approach.

The Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities supports the government's goal of strengthening Ontario's postsecondary education and training by working with

its partners to carry out the following core priorities: (1.) Transform the postsecondary education system to meet the needs of the innovation economy; (2.) Increase Ontario's skilled and knowledgeable workforce by expanding access and opportunity for education and training; and (3.) Foster a culture of training and continuous learning. The transformation of the system is predicated on linking education with jobs. The Ministry report states 'good jobs in the 21st century require a good education. In the coming years, with an estimated 70 per cent of Ontario jobs requiring postsecondary education, there will be a strong demand for university and college graduates and skilled-trades workers'.<sup>51</sup> One of the key performance indicators of the Ministry is job attainment post graduation. All institutions are to report on attainment at 6 months and 12 months post-graduation. The 2011 budget, Turning the Corner to a Better Tomorrow, announced more than \$64 million in 2011-12, growing to \$309 million in 2013-14, and additional operating grants to colleges and universities<sup>52</sup>. This will support more than 60,000 additional students by 2015-16. One of the priorities is to continue to support active learning to prepare students for the workforce. And others include continuing to address completion rates with hopes of raising attainment rate to 70%, increase quality and modernize the delivery of post-secondary education, as stated above, improve access to postsecondary education through a new credit transfer system, increasing number of graduate student spaces, and increasing international enrolment by 50 per cent while maintaining spaces for Ontario students. They also seek to improve accessibility by marginalized groups including

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<sup>51</sup> *ibid*

<sup>52</sup> p. 5 [http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/eng/about/annualreport/1112/2012RbP\\_En.pdf](http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/eng/about/annualreport/1112/2012RbP_En.pdf)

Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, low-income and at-risk youth all underrepresented in postsecondary institutions. Overall, the Ministry aims are 'Open Ontario investing in skills and knowledge to support jobs and growth.' And its key initiative is to 'have the most educated people and highly skilled workforce in the world in order to build the province's competitive advantage.'<sup>53</sup> Specifically related to universities, the year end report measures funding opportunities for post-secondary students. Funding is meant to make education affordable, showing that 1 in 4 students received a grant, showing students were not penalized in terms of their funding for working while in school and receiving grants/loans, and loans were being paid off at a higher rate (21 & 22).

Universities receive a BOG (Basic operating grant) based on enrolment levels. This is multiplied by program weight to determine the number of basic income units.

There are also mission related institutional specific grants – i.e. northern universities get a higher rate due to the difficulty of attracting full time students and demographic concerns. There are also target-operating grants, where universities get funding based on performance indicators. There are five key performance indicators (KPIs) for colleges: graduation rates, employment rates, student satisfaction rates, graduate satisfaction rates and employer satisfaction rates. Data collection began in the fall of 1998, and KPIs began to be factored into determining government transfer payments to institutions in 2000–01. Only three of the KPIs enter funding calculations: employment rates, graduate satisfaction rates and employer satisfaction rates. There are three KPIs for universities: graduation rates,

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<sup>53</sup> p.19 [http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/eng/about/annualreport/1112/2012RbP\\_En.pdf](http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/eng/about/annualreport/1112/2012RbP_En.pdf)

and employment rates six months and two years after graduation. The graduation rate is the percentage of first year students entering bachelors or first-degree professional programs that complete the requirements within seven years. The employment rate is the percentage of graduates of bachelor's or first-degree professional programs who were employed six months and two years after graduation. Each institution signs a multi-year accountability agreement (MYAA) which is used to monitor compliance of the university against the goals of success and accountability. The aggregate amount of performance funding currently is \$23 million, less than 1% of operating grants. In addition, both college and universities report OSAP default rates as part of the Ontario Student Assistance Program Performance Indicators requirement. In March 2013, the Ontario government budget indicated it would continue to provide funding for enrolment growth to support access in response to student demand, although there is no increase in university operating budgets. It also announced the cap of 5 per cent on overall increases to tuition fees at colleges and universities is being extended for one year. The government highlighted its intention to invest in innovation and to continue building its plan to have the world's best-educated workforce as a means to ensure future prosperity in the knowledge-based economy.

#### *New Brunswick – St. Thomas University*

New Brunswick governs seven post secondary institutions. The government does allow private universities degree-granting status. Under the degree-granting act of 2001, private universities also have degree granting status. Universities fall under

the Ministry of Post Secondary Education, Training, and Labour. University relations are one of seven branches of the department and the 2012 annual report reveals its responsibilities to be institutional funding, quality assurance, policy and research, legislation and agreements and post secondary education transformation.

And the New Brunswick Post Secondary Education Commission, which was established as an arms length research group in 2007, undertook an in-depth report on New Brunswick education. It was tasked with developing a strategy and recommendation list and released a report titled Advantage New Brunswick: A province reaches to fulfill its destiny<sup>54</sup>. It outlined six main themes. They are accessibility, relevant and responsive, comprehensive, efficient, high quality, and accountability, and the establishment of an arms length commission to oversee accountability and quality assurance. It also recommended several assertive changes to the structure of post-secondary education in New Brunswick, including massive reorganizing of university structure and a direct focus on making post-secondary education fit with industry and the changing economy. This report was met with a spirited response.<sup>55</sup> University of New Brunswick-St John, slated to be closed and transformed into a polytechnique, spearheaded a resistance. Most in contention was the idea of using post-secondary education to facilitate the training of workers for jobs in industry and business. To accomplish this it recommended, in part, that several community colleges and university campuses be abolished and that their remains be fashioned into three hybrid "polytechnics". At once, indignant

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<sup>54</sup>[http://www.gNew Brunswick.ca/cpse-ceps/EN/docs/CEPNEW BRUNSWICK\\_cahier\\_ang\\_LR.pdf](http://www.gNew Brunswick.ca/cpse-ceps/EN/docs/CEPNEW BRUNSWICK_cahier_ang_LR.pdf)

<sup>55</sup> see <http://www.thepetitionsite.com/1/keep-uNew Brunswicksj-independent/> and <http://livingininterestingtimes.wordpress.com> and <http://www.culturehub.ca/debut> and Marquis, G. and R. Moir Holding Strong: Perspectives on a fight to save a university.

New Brunswickers responded with the demonstrations in favour of access to liberal education. Through the fall of 2007 literally thousands of students, university workers and citizens took to the streets. Late in the fall of 2007 the Liberal government sought to defuse anger by a reconsideration process. The report was examined by a taskforce of the four university presidents and three community college principals (i.e., public servants). The recommendations of these Presidents and Principals, focused on the perceived training needs of industry filtered through the rhetoric of the "self-sufficiency" agenda. The new document was not what the protestors wanted and critics said they lost the principle of university autonomy.<sup>56</sup> The controversial report was followed by another report in 2008 titled Be Inspired. Be Ready. Be Better. The action plan to transform post-secondary education in New Brunswick. It was again, not well received but the government acted on it. The report stated a need to transform government, economy, relationships, and workforce in an effort to be better educated and positioned for success, to be more competitive and be more attractive for business, investment and people, to be partner with governments and communities, and to be accountable and responsive (5)<sup>57</sup>. The action plan stressed an urgent need for a change in an increasingly globalized, knowledge based economy. It identified the role of education is most important in ensuring a prosperous province. The government recognized some gaps; in particular the fact that there was a weak connection between post-secondary education and the labour market needs and there were too few applied

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<sup>56</sup> <http://auNewBrunswickt.caut.ca/psecrisis.html>

<sup>57</sup> The Action Plan to Transform Post Secondary Education in New Brunswick. <http://www2.gNewBrunswick.ca/content/dam/gNewBrunswick/Departments/petl-epft/PETLActionPlan.pdf>

or articulated education programs to meet the demand for specialized skilled workers. The action included plans to develop a student focused system through transforming participation and funding, to develop a modern college system, to enhance apprenticeship training, to increase collaboration and applied learning to establish a more efficient system of education delivery, to be more accountable and have greater measures of success. Under the accountability schema, it modernized funding formulas, required institutions to submit five-year strategic plans, and required each institution to appear before the legislature. The 2010 progress report<sup>58</sup> identified progress on four of these themes. Its themes included making post-secondary education: (1.) more affordable. Changes here included a three year freeze on tuition, a timely completion benefit for graduates finishing within the established time frame, a repayment assistance plan and tuition rebate. (2.) More accessibility. The report identified low-income earners and under-represented groups and made funds available to assist with access. This included over 9 million allocated to assist institutions with under-represented groups, and recruiting Aboriginal students as well as partnering with the provincial governments commitment made in a report titled Overcoming Poverty Together: The New Brunswick Economic and Social Inclusion Plan. The plan also went to enhancing the polytechnic established in 2008, and committed more training seats, faculty renewal, and creation of a new community college campus. (3.) Increasing number of apprentices and (4.) encouraged more collaboration, efficiency and better system coordination which included creating a post-secondary education president council

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<sup>58</sup> <http://www.gNew Brunswick.ca/promos/pse/ProgressReport.pdf>

titled the new Brunswick Post-Secondary Education Advisory Forum. In addition, it also funded a few projects to collaborate with instructions, business and industry (half million), developed a long term strategy for international education, invested funds to develop a credit transfer web portal, and funds to increase graduate programs and develop two virtual graduate schools. While the original report mentioned more accountability and outline modernizing and repealing post secondary education funding formulas, the funding is based on two methods: unrestricted operating assistance and restricted operating assistance. Unrestricted Operating Assistance represents approximately 95 percent of total operating assistance to New Brunswick's four public universities, with restricted operating assistance representing the balance. The Ministry is responsible for determining the final allocation of funding. Unrestricted grants are allocated as a flat grant (75 percent is based on historical funding) and enrollment grant 25 per cent - based on weighted full-time equivalent and three year rolling average. Restricted purpose grants are a small part of overall funding and generally are institution specific or allocated based on share of operating grant. Capital funding is project-based.<sup>59</sup>

The 2012 Ministry annual report reveals its responsibilities to be institutional funding, quality assurance, policy and research, legislation and agreements and post secondary education transformation. More specifically, it highlighted the development of student-centered initiatives relating to broadening access to post-secondary education, ensuring successful pathways to graduation and facilitating

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<sup>59</sup> [http://www.mphec.ca/resources/Unrestricted\\_Operating\\_Assistance\\_Policy\\_En.pdf](http://www.mphec.ca/resources/Unrestricted_Operating_Assistance_Policy_En.pdf)

credit transfers among public institutions. In addition it highlighted creating the conditions necessary for an increase of overall outcomes, investments, and commercial potential in provincial research and development activities, which also included increasing collaboration and fostering linkages between post-secondary education institutions and industry. Further, it suggested continued engagement on shared priorities with post-secondary institutions through the New Brunswick Post-Secondary Education Forum, comprising university and community college presidents, as well as the Deputy Minister of Post-Secondary Education, Training and Labour.

**Major themes in provincial documents:**

The review of documents at the provincial level revealed numerous themes. These include access and open-degree authorization, employment related programming, increasing importance placed on performance measurement both at the university to province pathway, but also overall concerns about performance of post-secondary education.

**(a) Access and open degree authorization.**

Regarding access and open degree authorization, there are two areas to be discussed; collapse between public and private institutions, and institutional accreditation process and credit transfer. These relate to student/labour markets, government/society markets.

Every province allows credentials to be granted by a variety of educational providers, including private ones. These degree granting assessment processes or quality assessment/assurance boards ensure that individuals seeking education can receive a credential in a variety of institutions. British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, and New Brunswick opened up access among public and private institutions between 1997 and 2001. Saskatchewan will develop its quality assurance framework over the next few years. This allows both public and private institutions to grant degrees thus increasing the number of educated persons in a given province. A Saskatchewan report expressed concern cautioning that the opening up of degree granting may cause an over-production of degrees and/or credential inflation and risk secondary institutions becoming degree mills. All the provinces reported regulatory bodies to oversee this process and are called Degree Quality Assessment Boards (British Columbia), Higher Education Quality Assurance Board (Saskatchewan), Council on Post-Secondary Education (Manitoba). The terms of reference for the process vary, but all include a review of programs to see how they fit with the bigger higher education picture in the given province. It would be highly unlikely new institutions would be established as the learning market is flooded with programs.

Access also concerns itself with credit transfer, a dominant theme of the documents and interviews. All provincial reports discuss the necessity of transferring credits among institutions in the province. The justification for opening up of credentials and access is meant to overcome isolation of post-secondary education institutions,

which characterized many provinces. Examples include New Brunswick's development of a web-portal for credit-transfer, Manitoba is also pursuing a credential recognition format, Ontario is developing several mechanisms of transfer and British Columbia has several joint programs where credit transfer is written into programming. Nipissing University and St. Thomas University have joint programs, which require institutional transfers of credit. Opening up credentials allow more individuals to attend post-secondary educational institutions identified as beneficial in terms of inclusiveness, in particular overcoming barriers to higher education by marginalized groups, such as aboriginal populations, first generation learners etc. It also has a more utilitarian function related to general provincial development. Here the rhetoric is clear, the more people are educated, the greater the economic development of the province. Numerous statements regarding connections between a well-educated populace and a strong economy were made in every provinces final report and/or strategic plan. Therefore investment in higher education is seen to affect the well being of others in a positive manner.

One noted concern with credit transfer (expressed during an interview in Ontario) is what constitutes a credit? Ontario is seeking to establish standard definition of 'credit' beyond simply hours spend in a classroom. By doing this, they are seeking to expand credential options, credential supplements, and credit transfer to provide flexible degree structures providing new learning options. They also address the ability to have Ontario credentials recognized more easily in a global context. British Columbia is pursuing a branded credential, attempting to make a credential

received from British Columbia become a brand. To do this they are inviting competition between provinces and aspire to be the best-educated province in the country as well as having the best recognizable credential in Canada.

Hand and hand with access, but not discussed by all provinces, is a need to restructure education systems. This already occurred in British Columbia where teaching and research universities were established, with different mandates, different faculty requirements, and different funding mechanisms. Ontario and New Brunswick indicate a need to re-examine their current structure and recommend ways to systematize higher education. This includes thinking about differentiation (universities/colleges will be specialists) and re-designing universities to be polytechniques. The SMA process in Ontario spearheaded by government, asked post-secondary education institutions input on differentiation and increasing competitiveness of higher education environments. The New Brunswick government attempts to reorganize its universities was thwarted by a protest against collapsing of university programs and contracting liberal arts in favor of polytechniques and applied labour market training. An overarching concern of all provinces is systematizing access to education.

**(b.) Specified access and employment related programming**

All the provincial reports discussed reaching out to specific pockets, populations, and untapped student markets, to be an important part of their strategic plans.

These groups include aboriginal populations, international students, first generation

learners, immigrants, and groups who were not typically university bound.

Administrators interviewed in all provinces voiced the need to recruit individuals not typically familiar with the benefits of a university education and to those who may not otherwise have access to education. This was expressed most firmly in Saskatchewan and New Brunswick. Saskatchewan's Ministry of Advanced Education suggested that through access, it is hoped Saskatchewan will experience growth.

Saskatchewan dedicated 64 million dollars to graduate retention programs and 'our people' represents the second theme of the strategic plan of 2009-2014. This is built around the idea of specified access including a statement of building long-term relationships with Aboriginal communities. This is paired with the identification of a marketing campaign and connecting with community groups and professional organizations.

Other common areas were lifelong learning, community oriented, and the use of technology to reach even further populations and student markets through online courses, which also assist in cost covering. Lifelong learning in particular is pursued in strategic plans for fostering a culture of training and continuous learning.

A sub-theme of this specified access found in the data was offering programs to meet desires/specific demands of (potential) students. Saskatchewan's strategic statement reads 'to affirm commitment to liberal arts and sciences, align array of program offerings to respond to the needs and interests of current and prospective students, think about how liberal arts can be integrated into pre-professional and

professional curricula.’ This integration was also discussed by many of the interviewees at Saskatchewan. Similarly Ontario said they would develop new degrees in applied areas of study to have a hands-on focus in a field directly leading to employment. Ontario argues there is a need to connect with labour market gaps to increase Ontario’s skilled and knowledge workforce by expanding access and opportunity for education and training.

These provincial reports also indicated a need to engage in developing programs aimed to satisfy labour market needs in given provinces. Manitoba discussed its expanding college initiative in terms of meeting gaps in Manitoba’s labour market. This is tied to the need for provincial industry growth by developing programs to satisfy particular skill shortages.

### **(c.) Assessing success and performance**

All the provinces discussed a need to quantify or measure performance of graduates. This can be considered a form of deregulation of fees. These included measurements on time to completion and jobs students go onto post graduation as well as how long it takes to find jobs in given fields. Each province also discussed the idea that there is an increasing need for governments to hold individual institutions accountable for operating grants. Although it is clear that this type of performance funding is newly developing, it appears to be a prominent goal of post-secondary education provincial policy. Measures include everything from student satisfaction surveys (at Nippising) through to funding being tied to job success post-graduation (British

Columbia). This puts institutions in a position where they are more likely to engage in consumer driven programs aimed at being learner centered and meeting the needs of clients.

### **University / Institutional Level:**

#### *University of the Fraser Valley*

University of the Fraser Valley became a university in 2008 when the government amended the university act to establish 5 teaching universities.<sup>60</sup> Its enrollment is 15,000 (9000 full-time equivalent) annually and it has experienced a 60% enrolment increase in the past 5 years. The university exceeds Ministry-funded student and the demand for enrolment is projected to increase. Given the freeze on funding and cap on tuition (which will change in 2020), interview participants suggested it would be a challenge to continue to provide students with education. The plan suggests that universities engage in 'cost recovery' models if they are to expand their programs, which could mean a variety of initiatives designed to recover costs of the program. The university tries to 'maintain a small classroom size and above average teacher student contact.'<sup>61</sup> The base funds of the province amounts to on average \$7,200 per FTE. The province is increasingly developing strategic funds, which are meant to assist the development of special programs that are directed to a labour market need. The *Campus 2020* plan says 'a key theme of the report is the need to re-direct the focus of public policy toward specific targets for post-secondary achievement levels (7). As such, the report suggests the

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<sup>60</sup> Fraser Valley was a college in 1974 and a university college in 1988

<sup>61</sup> Participant quotes

government introduce outcome and performance measurements as accountability measures, including providing funding based on completion, not enrolment. The province deregulated tuition fees in 2002 resulting in undergrad tuition doubling and graduate fees tripling. In 2005, the province re-regulated capping increases to rate of inflation and developing a Higher Education Price Index to guide the development of tuition fees. In addition, financial assistance is given out based on need, not universality, and there is an recommendation that dependent children rely on parents instead of being considered individuals. Staff at the university are hired on a two year probation period, after which they are assessed by students and faculty members, and reviewed by the Dean. If probation is successful, they are offered a three-year contract. During the third year a similar assessment process continues and the contract is extended for another three years. There is no faculty association and thus promotion and contract continuation is the result of successful assessments.

The revenue at University of the Fraser Valley in 2010/11 was \$110,968 million and its cost of operation was \$104,743. In terms of revenue, 30% is student fees, 51% government, 7% ancillary revenue, & 12% other. Faculty costs are the highest expenditure at 71% of all expenditures<sup>62</sup>. Data from interviews and the year-end report of the university reveals that the university is facing a budget cut, with no increase in provincial government base funds, yet an increase in demand for programs. In a tight space, the university strategic goals include encouraging

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<sup>62</sup> From Institutional Accountability Report and Plan. 2011-12 to 2013-14. University of Fraser Valley.

innovation, entrepreneurialism, and accountability across the university (19). The budget is aligned with these strategic directions. They point out that new initiatives must be self-sustaining which means setting tuition fees to cover the costs of the program (20). They note that in programs with high-income employment and market demand, tuition can be set higher. The encourages the university to develop programs to meet these needs. In addition, the university is bound by several financial accounting standards including no-deficit legislation and changes to the not-for-profit accounting mechanisms. The report (20) suggests that this is problematic because it will increase non-spendable revenues while decreasing operating costs thus having the effect of impeding delivery of accessible and affordable education. The university has received special grants for campus operations and capital projects including money from the provincial Ministry (\$10 million) and \$7.2 million from Industry Canada's Knowledge Infrastructure Program (KIP).<sup>63</sup>

University of the Fraser Valley's plan of action closely coincides with governmental guidelines and plans of action at the provincial level, including the two main themes of access and excellence, and several performance measures. For example, they report that access is 4% above Ministry targets (19 & 24), they continue to develop new programs to meet the needs of knowledge driven economy and society (26)

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<sup>63</sup> [http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/696.nsf/eng/h\\_00867.html](http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/696.nsf/eng/h_00867.html) This program, beginning in 2009 invests two billion dollars a year in funds to universities and colleges to improve quality of buildings and strengthen the ability of universities to do innovative research and support the 'transfer of new technologies from universities to the Canadian marketplace.' The funding through Industry Canada is leveraged to get funds from other stakeholders including provincial/territorial governments and private contributions.

through working with communities business, and industry (26), earns top scores in terms of quality education and training (22 & 24), have plans in place to increase Aboriginal access, and have significantly increased international enrolment (25). This research found that the university is planning on increasing the number of special programs offered, is developing cost recovery programs, and continues to pursue outside funding sources for research. This is evidenced at the departmental level in its continued acceptance of research contracts (community contact), continued use of graduate students from Simon Fraser University for teaching and research purposes (keeping British Columbia students employed), focus programs at developing community leaders and leaders in the field of criminal justice, and expansion of service in the community by faculty members. In terms of performance measures, these include enrolment issues such as student spaces, credentials awarded, aboriginal student headcount, and a host of consumer satisfaction measures including overall student satisfaction, student assessment of skill development, baccalaureate graduates assessment of skill development, student assessment of usefulness of knowledge and skills in performing jobs, and unemployment rates (27 & 28 & 29-40). They report that they exceeded or achieved well above targeted rates.

### University of Regina

The enrollment at University of Regina is 8,229 (FTE) annually and has increased enrolment significantly for a third year, and is up 8.2% for undergrads and 2.9% for

graduate programs.<sup>64</sup> Interview data indicate that the Ministry of Advanced Education continues to provide funds for the student increase. Government funds have increased by 4.1%. Student fees were also increased approximately 5% and with increase of 3% in enrolment and international student fee increases by .4% resulted in increased revenue. The base funds of the province amounts to on average \$9,377 per FTE. The province funding patterns remains simple – base funding and capital matching of knowledge infrastructure program funds. Goals of the government are to increase the number of people getting degrees as this translates to employment.<sup>65</sup> This is increasingly important for aboriginal populations and to recruit and retain international students. There are no plans to decrease funding to universities per enrollment. There are plans to develop accountability mechanisms for public funds as well as ‘continue transformation of the Ministry with a focus on improved integrated client service delivery and continuous improvement management practices’ (p. 26). The revenue at University of Regina in 2010/11 was \$159,125 million and its cost of operation was \$159,069 million. Although appearing to be in a deficit, they have a fund balance of \$229,460 million. In terms of revenues, 30% is tuition fees, 60% provincial funds, 2% transfers and 1% other income. Faculty costs were the highest of all expenditures at 75% of expenditures. The university has managed to minimize challenges characteristic of other universities such as operating deficits, pension fund shortfalls, and financial constraints through a combination of increased tuition

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<sup>64</sup> The University of Regina Operations Forecast 2012-2013 Working Together towards Common Goals, Nov 2011

<sup>65</sup> See Saskatchewan Annual Report 2010-11. P. 17-27.

revenue, careful control of expenditures, and government investment.<sup>66</sup> The university finds itself in sound financial position, claiming that newly created programs, such as the University of Regina Guarantee, together with investment in recruitment and retention have shown clear results. Interviewees suggested that universities have to do more with less and expectations about this are quite high. These expectations include high-quality teaching, groundbreaking research, powerful and effective community outreach, a range of student support and amenities that previous generations did not have. The university is facing a few challenges, in particular research funding. The university had planned for five million in grant money but did not qualify for strategic grants offered by the Ministry of Advanced Education to 'leverage the university's existing strengths and address provincial needs and priorities.'<sup>67</sup> Interviewees said the university's role in social transformation via labour market development and training of highly qualified personnel is on the mind of the government and the pressure on universities, and on students, to contribute in a very tangible and direct, perhaps even simplistic way, to the economy is intense.

The universities strategic plan (2009-2014) outlined three priority areas:

- a. Our work: teaching, research and public service.
- b. Our people: engagement, diversity, success, and esteem
- c. Our communities: presence and partnerships

These three priority areas align significantly with the provincial government's

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<sup>66</sup> University of Regina Annual Report 2010-2011 p. 20

<sup>67</sup> From University of Regina Comprehensive Budget Plan 2012-13 p.6 & interview data

vision of economic growth and labour market participation. This is seen in the university's goals to be a place of opportunity, of innovation, of fostering economic development of the individual and the community. Administrators in interviews said that a strong commitment to community service and social justice are embedded in the institutions DNA and, as such, all teaching and research reflect these historic roots. A different interview participant suggested that a major challenge facing the university is to persuade the public that a university degree is not just about training students to get jobs, but there is a benefit to teaching people critical thinking skills. He said this may be unique to Saskatchewan where there is low enrolment and making the value of an education known to the public, is a challenge.

In the area of Our Work, the plan desires to promote excellence, affirm commitment to liberal arts and sciences, align an array of program offerings to respond to the needs and interests of current and prospective students, and to enhance the profile of research. This basket discusses how liberal arts can be integrated into pre-professional and professional curricula, something the interview participants focused on. The focus on innovative professional and applied programs was discussed with much enthusiasm. To measure these goals, the university created a Strategic Teaching and Learning Plan which included measuring the percentage of students satisfied with the overall quality of education, creating an institutional marketing plan, developing a distance education strategy, and will begin to evaluate how programs respond to the needs and interests of current and prospective

students.

In the area of Our People, the university plans to build long-term relationships with First Nations and Metis communities, create transition to university program, make retention a priority, enhance productivity and image, and build a tolerant campus. Concerned with the demand on faculty and administrators from external funding agencies, the plan focuses on avoiding pressures in order to preserve the core mission of teaching, research, and public service. They will measure this by the number of aboriginal students attending the university, examine undergraduate retention rates between year one and two, and survey student satisfaction. The university also implemented an outcome measure of administration and faculty efficiencies. The university is undertaking full-scale academic program review to make sure resources are being used efficiently.

In the area of Our Communities, the plan promotes raising the profile through marketing, and engaging in human resource development with other universities, businesses, community groups and professional organizations. The university has developed a survey of public reputation, which will be used to develop a marketing plan. They also directed attention at fostering partnerships in a variety of areas including community outreach, partnerships with community and business sectors as well as establishing new research institutes. The Saskatchewan Justice Institute was established as a Tier 1 research centre for promoting research excellence in the investigation of complex justice issues occurring at the individual, institutional, and

systemic levels. The university also offers a Canadian Center of Policing and Public Safety center, also a Tier 1 research centre initiative. This centre has a three-fold mandate: first to engage in education and training; second research and development; and third is innovation and commercialization. This centre is hoping to sustain itself through grants and revenues from service agencies. Several reports and interviews claim this is an example of innovation desired by the provincial government vision.

### University of Winnipeg

The enrollment at University of Winnipeg is 7,864 (FTE) with a total of 10,104 students (undergrad, graduate, part-time, continuing education). The graduate student population has expanded with an 11.85% increase and an expansion of courses for adult learners in the Professional, Applied, and Continuing Education division by 20%. The government increased funding, but in Manitoba funding is tied into type of program and completion rates. The provincial grant is \$6,500 per student, which is low when compared to the other two provincial universities, which receive, on average \$12,000 per student. Those universities with professional programs receive greater funding per student. Therefore, because the University of Winnipeg is predominantly an undergraduate school, it does not generate the same base funding. The university is increasingly seeking provincial strategic funding. The revenue of the university is about \$113,292 in 2010/11 and its costs were \$111,230. In addition, the university has expanded. The campus footprint has grown by 24%. Twenty-eight per cent of revenues are tuition fees and

are provincial funding makes up 50% of revenue. Faculty costs were the highest of all expenditures at 57% of expenditures. The university also experienced a major shortfall in pension, when the faculty association took the university to court over pension issues and the court found in favor of faculty, making the university pay.

The president's 2012 state of the union address<sup>68</sup> outlined four objectives that the university will pursue in order to deal with a budgetary shortfall. First is academic development with more innovation (particularly use of online courses), with incentives for curriculum and program innovation and new partnerships. The university has increased PACE programs, which do not regulate tuition the way traditional liberal arts tuition is regulated. These professional programs can set tuition at a market rate, opening potential for increased income. Second, improving and integrating student services, which includes the expansion of media and technology. The university has partnered with CISCO, which is said to be skilled in innovated teaching capacity and student learning. The third objective is representative of a more entrepreneurial approach to funding. Much of this includes an increase in campus infrastructure in hopes of increasing enrolment. The campus footprint has increased by 24% with four new buildings, and one recreational complex in process. To oversee this expansion, the university established the Community Renewal Corporation which also manages profit making centres on campus such as book stores, food services, and housing as well as being involved in knowledge transfer projects to support the commercialization of research and

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<sup>68</sup> President's state of the union address: <http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/index/cms-file-system-action/pdfs/admin/axworthy-state-of-the-university-address-120907.pdf>

community development in the city and province. Further is the development of UWin, a new commercialization incubator on campus to allow for a more entrepreneurial approach to using campus resources. The president hopes this will allow the university to pursue commercial enterprises to generate revenue from third parties that may wish to use any organization on campus. The development of this third stream revenue is stated as essential.<sup>69</sup> And the final objective is a focus on administrative reorganizing leading to efficiencies and cost savings. So far this has meant a collapsing of departments, and establishing new faculties – e.g. Faculty of Kinesiology.

The university has set up a President’s task force to develop new strategic themes. The former strategic plan was in effect from 2004-2010 and the university is in consultation for the development of a new plan of action and is currently involved in consultations. The strategic priorities of the university are academic excellence, sustainable operations, student diversity/access, outstanding student experience, community learning, adequate infrastructure, outstanding staff and faculty, and accountability.

This traverses three themes. The first theme is the changing face of post secondary education. Indicators of this theme are the development of innovative teaching methods, support for research, dealing with issues of recruitment and retention, ensuring the university experience is a positive one, encouraging experimental

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<sup>69</sup> President’s state of the union address: <http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/index/cms-filessystem-action/pdfs/admin/axworthy-state-of-the-university-address-120907.pdf>

learning, and developing a healthy campus. These matters are expanded in the remaining themes, which include technology, internationalization, and external relations and partnerships. The last one is increasingly focused on developing partnerships with colleges, community learning, fundraising and development as well as nurturing business partnerships.

### Nipissing

Nipissing University, located in North Bay Ontario, became a university in 1992. It began as a northern teaching college in 1909, and became a university college in 1967, as an affiliate of Laurentian University. It is still recognized for its teacher education, winning a prestigious award and being renamed the Schulich School of Education. The university has three faculties - the Schulich School of Education, the Faculty of Arts and Science, and the Faculty of Applied and Professional Studies. The enrollment is 5,073 (FTE/BIU) annually and is focused on increasing enrolment as funding is intimately tied to enrolment<sup>70</sup>. Tuition was increased to the maximum allowable under provincial guidelines. The revenue at Nipissing University in 2011/12 was \$65,807,902 and its cost of operation was \$66,177,902. In terms of revenue, 46% comes from student fees, 48% from government, & 6% from other sources. Faculty costs are the highest expenditure at 78%<sup>71</sup>. The university budget includes a planned deficit of \$1.2 million dollars for 2012-13 and is seeing various

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<sup>70</sup> Nipissing University Budget Process and 2012-13 Final Budget Report p. vii.

<sup>71</sup> Nipissing University Budget Process and 2012-13 Final Budget Report p. xxv.

means of revenue generation and expenditure restructuring to overcome the deficit including enrolment growth opportunities and reengineering programs.<sup>72</sup>

The strategic plan for 2010-2015<sup>73</sup>, titled Academic Excellence<sup>74</sup>, is divided into four areas; programs, people, research, and resources. The program area highlights creating an enrolment management process to ensure controlled strategic growth (p.4). This is increasingly important given that there is a reduction in Ministry operating grants by \$28 million system wide, a decrease in international student funding, and a slowing down of graduate program expansion funding. Nipissing find themselves in a position where they will have to make changes to accommodate.<sup>75</sup> The program area also highlight developing online activities, development of aboriginal focused programs, and ensuring all courses have clearly articulated 'learning outcomes' as an important pedagogic component of program accreditation and assessment under Ontario's new Institutional Quality Assurance framework. This also requires reviewing achievements of individual academic programs and reviewing business plans of the university.

Under the people category of the strategic plan, the objectives are to increase enrolment, enhance recruitment and retention through to successful graduation.

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<sup>72</sup> Nipissing University Budget Process and 2012-13 Final Budget Report p. iii.

<sup>73</sup> Interviewees told me that a new president was taking over and the strategic plan would be changing quite significantly. Because that appointment doesn't take place until July, I present the material here as what was in place in fall of 2012.

<sup>74</sup> Academic Excellence the Strategic Plan 2010-2015

<http://www.nipissingu.ca/departments/presidents-office/strategic-plan/Pages/default.aspx>

<sup>75</sup> Nipissing University Budget Process and 2012-13 Final Budget Report p. ii.

Promotion of the university under new media and news releases of prominent research and researchers is prominently figured here. In terms of research, most of the objectives are aimed at innovation. Clearly in line with Ministry targets, Nipissing seeks to build further innovation that promotes economic and social development in Northern Ontario and beyond, to develop offerings that emphasize inter and multi-disciplinary to include cognate colleges, explore opportunities for research investment and development in collaboration with business and industry partners, and engage in commercialization of achievements. In terms of resources, the strategic plan focuses on human, physical, and financial resource enhancement to secure a strong infrastructure, which encourages accessibility and affordability. It also includes developing and redefining the university brand, to sharpen its singularity and highlight its distinctive. Administrative bodies such as the External Relations and Advancement office figure prominently in this arrangement. In terms of process and resources, the plan outlines a scorecard to benchmark progress against strategic goals, to track performance according to multi-year accountability agreements, and to develop an Institution Quality Assurance Process (IQAP) that is aligned with the new mandatory *Ontario Quality Assurance Framework* for degree programs.

The strategic plan fits almost perfectly with Ontario Ministry's document, especially its flexible degree structure, new options, improving enrolment, enhancing resource and research development and commercialization, retention and time to

completion. It is further enhancing linking credentials with local colleges and allowing students to develop their learning opportunities.

Ryerson:

Ryerson University began in 1852 as a teaching training school. The Ryerson Institute of Technology was founded in 1948 with an emphasis on engineering and business. In 1966 it changed its name to Ryerson Polytechnic Institute and became a university degree granting institution in 1971. In 1993 it was granted approval to grant graduate degrees and changed its name to Ryerson Polytechnic University. In 2001 it changed its name to Ryerson University and still boasts a strong engineering program as well as seven faculties. It also offers part time, distance education certificates with the Chang School of Continuing Education.

The enrollment of the university is 24,600 students (including 1,600 master's and PhD students but not including 6,700 students from Chang continuing education). The university is expanding, growing in terms of infrastructure (three new buildings opened last year and one is in the planning stages) and enrolment, which is a priority given that the government funds universities based on enrolments or basic income units.

The revenue at Ryerson University in 2011/12 was \$505,791,000 and its cost of operation was \$517,224,000. In terms of revenue, 40% comes from student fees, 50% from government, & 10% from other sources. Faculty costs are the highest

expenditure at 65% of all expenditures<sup>76</sup>. They also report having a \$70 million endowment fund. The government also granted them \$45 million for infrastructure projects.

The strategic plan for 2008-13, titled Shaping our Future<sup>77</sup>, is divided into eight strategic areas; programs, scholarly research and creating action, student engagement and retention, administration, faculty and staff, university advancement, partnership and collaboration, and reputation. Within those, they identify five principle priorities: (a.) High quality society relevant undergrad and graduate programs; (b.) Student engagement and success; (c.) Learning and teaching excellence; (d.) Scholarly research and creative activity, and (e.) Reputation.

They plan to meet these principles through recognizing a variety of strategies bringing together the eight areas with the five principles. Some highlights include the recognition that students deserve opportunities to choose educational pathways that give them breadth as well as depth, and that help to prepare them for the evolution of their own career changes and professional opportunities (p.10)<sup>78</sup>. This clearly aligns with the Ministry's desire to develop labor market relevant programs. Ryerson claims that as the education and skills required by their graduates evolve, then, so must Ryerson's curriculum model and the curricula of many academic

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<sup>76</sup> <http://www.ryerson.ca/content/dam/financialservices/about/services/statements/2011-12.pdf>

<sup>77</sup> <http://www.ryerson.ca/senate/academicplan.pdf>

<sup>78</sup> p. 10 of <http://www.ryerson.ca/senate/academicplan.pdf>

programs. New and innovative curricula and program structures, including both discipline-based and cross-disciplinary programs, double majors, and increased access to minors within a program of study, will be encouraged. New modes of program delivery, including hybrid models that blend face-to-face and other formats, require consideration. Ryerson is uniquely positioned to leverage and stimulate creative expression, innovation, and vision, drawing on its diverse urban, academic, and multicultural surroundings. This again meets the mandate of the Ministry for innovation and accessibility. Technological Innovation exemplifies the contributions made to Canada's economy and society from disciplines in engineering and the physical and life sciences (p.14)<sup>79</sup>. Ryerson sets its goals to attract resources and provide adequate infrastructure for scholarly, research and creative activities, and to explore the establishment of partnerships with other institutions for possible access to specialized facilities in order to grow funding, output, and impact. The stated goal has been to double externally funded research to \$25 million, which will facilitate the promotion of knowledge transfer, commercialization of research, and the management of intellectual property issues for maximum impact within the receptor community, (p.16)<sup>80</sup>. University advancement will take the lead in creating new university-level opportunities and pathways for alumni to become even more engaged in the life of the University, and will collaborate with faculties as appropriate (p. 23)<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> p. 14 of <http://www.ryerson.ca/senate/academicplan.pdf>

<sup>80</sup> p. 16 of <http://www.ryerson.ca/senate/academicplan.pdf>

<sup>81</sup> p. 23 of <http://www.ryerson.ca/senate/academicplan.pdf>

As post-secondary education itself becomes more global, and as government funding models in Ontario and Canada continue to encourage institutions to make meaningful partnerships in areas of research, partnerships will become substantially more consequential to the success of institutions than ever before. Performance indicators allow the board to track progress over time on issues central to the mission of the university. Where possible, the indicators provide comparisons against other universities. There are thirty-two Ryerson performance indicators<sup>82</sup> that are classified into four primary categories that correspond to oversight of: strategic direction (15 indicators), financial capacity (5 indicators), effective management (7 indicators), and university profile (5 indicators). The top three indicators are graduation, employment and OSAP (Ontario Student Assistance Program) defaults. These are indicators that are used in determining block funding by the Ministry. Ryerson shows their graduation rate to be 77.5%, employment rate to be 94.8% two years after graduation and 88.4% six months post graduation, and their OSAP default rate is 3%.<sup>83</sup> Interview participants said Ryerson was in a better position than other universities because they do not have a problem with pension solvency nor are they climbing out of a deficit. That said, it was indicated that costs were rising faster than revenues and this was not likely to change.

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<sup>82</sup> Ryerson performance indicators March 2013  
<http://www.ryerson.ca/upo/performance/index.html> and  
<http://www.ryerson.ca/upo/performance/kpi/KPI-Table.html>

<sup>83</sup> <http://www.ryerson.ca/upo/performance/kpi/KPI-Table.html>

*New Brunswick – St. Thomas University*

St. Thomas College was established in 1910 as a high school and junior college for men. In 1934 it got its university charter and began teaching university courses. It changed its name to St. Thomas University in 1960 and entered in to a federation with University of New Brunswick, where it remains. The enrollment is 2,475 (FTE) annually and has not experienced an enrolment increase. There was a 1% increase in funding for 2012/13<sup>84</sup> and an allowable capped tuition increase of \$175. Both the report and interview participants suggested it would be a challenge to make the budget work as they are facing a \$500,000 deficit. They report using their endowment fund wisely and in the area of scholarship funds, and capital expenditures are provided through a restricted grant by the province, but is quite modest and used to purchase equipment and furnishings with some grounds improvement. Because it is a small university, it is highly dependent on enrolment and residence costs, and a small change in the enrolment will disrupt their budget.

The revenue at St. Thomas University in 2011/12 was \$27,151,700 million and its cost of operation was \$27,150,700. In terms of revenue, 49% comes from student fees, 51% from government. Faculty costs are the highest expenditure at 54%.<sup>85</sup>

The last university wide strategic plan ended in 2010. It stated as its mission developing and offering a strong liberal arts education. They firmly state that the university seeks to achieve the right balance of institutional goals, objectives, and strategies with the required flexibility for appropriate emphasis and

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<sup>84</sup> St. Thomas University. Budget Summary. Fiscal Year 2012-2013. May 25, 2012.

<sup>85</sup> St. Thomas University. Budget Summary. Fiscal Year 2012-2013. May 25, 2012

implementation.<sup>86</sup> The key objectives outlined in the report were: (1.) to foster excellence in liberal arts; (2.) to nurture their roman catholic identity; (3.) develop strategic partnerships; (4.) to enhance the living and working environment for all members of the university; (5.) to enhance stewardship and public accountability, and (6.) to strengthen alumni support. The report ends with a discussion of the goals of a liberal education. The goals include an independent and inquiring mind, a breath of knowledge and depth of understanding, an awareness of the perennial questions and new challenges confronting humanity, a depth and consistency of moral judgment, an ability to write and speak with clarity and precision and a capacity and lifelong desire for learning. This coincided with an interview subject who indicated that a challenge to education in New Brunswick was getting university to be a priority for the population. This paired with the fact that there is a lower income per capita (making it difficult to afford a university education) makes it difficult to sustain an adequate student base.

The strategic research plan of 2009-2014 has as its mission statement the same statement as the university strategic plan of 2005-1010, 'we foster scholarship and research because we recognize their role in the advancement of knowledge and in sustaining the quality of teaching and the intellectual life of the university.' The plan discusses its intention to build on its expertise in liberal arts and to significantly expand its research and scholarship. They will tap into the government's expansion funding for graduate studies. The strategic plan has six focal areas of research

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<sup>86</sup> <http://w3.stu.ca/stu/about/strategic/pdfs/StrategicPlan2005-2010.pdf>

efforts: (1.) qualitative analysis, (2.) human rights and social justice, (3.) new Brunswick studies, (4.) narrative studies, (5.) global and international studies and (6.) scholarship on learning and teaching. There are two goals listed in the strategic plan. The first is to have faculty conduct high quality research, particularly in the focal areas in which we have existing expertise. This identifies a variety of focal areas including strengthening community partnerships, increasing university capacity and productivity in field of human rights and social justice, increase particular methodological areas of research. The second goal is to increase external and internal support for research at St. Thomas University. This includes increasing external resources for research and scholarship to assist researchers in obtaining grants from larger research bodies. As well using money to enhance internal research and to enhance use of student researchers. The report also discusses six major areas of research, three of which have Canada research chair appointed professors. Their long-term goal is to ensure that a Canada research chair or alternative source of external funding is in place to stimulate research developments in each of these focal areas (p.6), and to develop strategies to support research in each of these areas. They identify their performance issues to be measured at the end of the five year period as increase in internal mechanisms to support research, a growth of interdisciplinary and inter-institutional research partnership, a 30% increase in applications for external research funding, a 30% increase in externally funded projects, and more scholarly productivity in the form of peer-reviewed books, articles, and conference presentations (p.10). A participant suggested that the greatest challenge for New Brunswick's post-secondary

education is financial. She attributed this to inadequate funding from the provincial government, declining enrolment, competition for students with community colleges and the trades.

This strategic plan does not necessarily align with the provincial plan. It is much more in line with critiques of the Ministry plans advocating for a traditional academic path. Indeed, the university has been vocal in addressing the dangers of focusing university education on technical skills with the expectation of practical results.<sup>87</sup> And interview participant warned that such a focus risks promoting docility among the population in social and political affairs and reasserts the liberal arts education should provide a skill set in graduates which is comprised of critical thought that is vital to social well being and to maintain democratic freedoms. He suggests that these skills can help citizens of the globalizing world navigate the challenges associated with rapid technological change, and increasing mobility of people across international boundaries.<sup>88</sup>

### **Major themes from university level documents and interviews:**

The review of documents at the provincial level and interviews conducted with deans and provosts, revealed numerous themes. These included aligning of strategic plans with provincial economic goals, and financial concerns and changes in

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<sup>87</sup> Quote from M. Higgins in Saunders, R (2008) What's Next? Report on the forum on the future of higher education in Canada. CPRN Research report. P.3

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.* p. 3

university governance including the increasing importance placed on performance measurement.

**(a.) Education oriented to outcome of provincial economic goals and employment related programming**

Each province promoted their higher education institutions as connecting their programs with the goals of the government. Saskatchewan's goals include sustainable energy, health, and economic development. Its provincial statement that 'as one increases the number of degrees, it translates to better employment.' Manitoba identifies education as strongly related to social and economic goals. Ontario discusses education leading to provincial productivity and innovation. Saskatchewan highlighted the need to develop economically relevant systems of education, and that an increase of participation and success of First Nations and Metis people in education to increase employment. Nipissing seeks to build further innovation that promotes economic and social development in Northern Ontario and beyond. Nipissing's strategic plan and the Ministry targets of higher education are a perfect fit, with Nipissing focusing on flexible degree structure, improving enrolment, enhancing resource and research development and commercialization, retention and time to completion and linking credentials with local colleges to enhance learning and mobility of students. Ryerson also discussed strengthening labour market relevant programs, which will benefit Ontario's economy.

Not all universities fall into line with governmental goals. St. Thomas University in particular sets its objective as fostering excellence in liberal arts, nurturing Roman Catholic identity, enhancing working environment, all of which are far apart from the goals of the government to streamline education and focus on vocational programming with the hopes of systematizing post-secondary education toward employment outcomes. Similarly, many department members in criminal justice departments indicated the desire to pursue what an education in this climate of labour market-based credentials should look like. Many suggested it keep critical thinking skills as the base of any liberal arts degree but also focus on promoting how that skill set is beneficial in terms of the jobs they seek after graduation. All but one department suggested the degrees not be about applied training, but should focus on skill development as it relates to jobs they seek as well as broader issues of social concern such as social justice and ethical behaviour.

## **(b.) Financial changes & university governance**

The most important overall concern of everyone I spoke with, were financial. As table 5 indicates, most universities in this sample are having difficulty making ends meet evidenced with the very little room between revenues and expenditures.

**Table 5: Funding and Expenditures**

<b>University</b>	<b>University revenues &amp; expenditures</b>	<b>Revenue source: % Student tuition % Government funds % Ancillary, capital, endowment</b>	<b>Faculty cost as percent of expenditures</b>
Fraser Valley	110,986 104,743	30% 51% 19%	71%
Regina	159,125 159,069	30% 60% 10%	75%
Winnipeg	113,292 111,230	32% 54% 14%	57%
Nipissing	65,807 66,179	46% 48% 6%	78%
Ryerson	505,791 517,224	40% 50% 10%	65%
St. Thomas	27,151 27,150	49% 51%	54%

Some were more concerned than others, in particular Ontario and New Brunswick. British Columbia seemed to have found their niche, and its concerns were being able to balance access with cost and mechanisms for cost recovery. Fraser Valley, due to increasing demand of programs had to move to a more competitive entry system, which, although still pursuing cost-recovery mechanisms, means restricting access. Ryerson and Nipissing said similar things about restricting access due to demand

and low provincial funding. Ryerson in particular discussed concerns about the future funding of post-secondary education in Ontario, indicating concern about sustainability. Interviews with administrators echoed concerns found in documents and were skeptical about the future. Ontario has the lowest rate of funding per student in the country. Revenues coming from tuition in Ontario are higher than in the prairie provinces and British Columbia. Saskatchewan, currently in a good financial position, felt more comfortable, although not completely. Saskatchewan has the highest government income per student in this sample. The University of Winnipeg expressed considerable concerns regarding a recent 5% cut back of promised money from the province and has sought to pursue strategic funding pockets to assist in financial stability. Winnipeg also discussed pursuing academic development with more innovation, particularly the use of online courses, increasing class size so as to even cost of faculty per student, increasing support and incentive for curriculum and program innovation and new partnerships, such as recent ones with organizations such as Cisco. The University has eliminated programs, collapsed departments and increased class sizes to deal with shortfalls. All provinces discussed financial concerns in three areas; tuition regulation; strategic or restricted operating funds; and a move to outcome oriented measures of assessment and accountability required for funding. While all of the universities received strategic funds, they represented a small percentage of governmental funding with the majority of funding based on enrolment, either incremental or block funding.

It is clear from interview and content data, there is a shift toward output, outcomes, and impacts of universities, not on inputs. Every province and university reported an increase in accountability mechanisms. This form of regulation manifests itself slightly differently provincially. New Brunswick and Ontario have mandatory accountability agreements that universities must sign for up to five years. This is meant to align goals of universities to government outcomes. Performance indicators vary, and there are works proclaiming a need to standardize them. They include things like enrolment rates, retention rates, completion rates, employment post graduation (at different intervals) as well as student satisfaction and experience. Other performance indicators are not necessarily built into outcome measures but are increasingly tied to funding. Ryerson has 32 performance indicators that are classified into strategic direction, financial capacity, effective management and university profile, with graduation rates, employment, and student loan default rate topping the list. Many reports indicated a need to fund projects that seek the development of knowledge based innovations, economic development, and encourage of industry spin-offs. An Ontario report suggested universities attempt to 'enhance their own productivity.' Manitoba aggressively suggests third party partnerships be developed between universities and other agencies. Almost all universities indicated a need to connect with other institutions and promote third party partnerships. Saskatchewan states in their strategic plan to 'foster partnership in a variety of areas including community outreach, partnership with community and business sectors as well as establishing new research institutes.' Nipissing indicated a purposeful shift to accommodate Ministry goals,

which include changing programming to develop aboriginal specific programs, to ensure all courses have clearly articulated learning outcomes, and re-investment of individual programs according to the business plan of the university.

Tuition is also an area of considerable fiscal regulation. The government sets limits on the price of tuition. Ontario has limited allowable increases, similar to Manitoba who recently initiated another tuition freeze. British Columbia is increasingly using cost recovery methods, and New Brunswick is also experiencing a freeze.

Saskatchewan is the only province currently experiencing an increase in student funding. Ontario has the lowest rate of funding per student and also sets caps on the amount of tuition that can be charged by an institution. In addition to tuition regulation, cost of staff is a major concern. The greater the cost savings at the staffing level the greater the revenue for the university. This research showed that universities in this sample spent between a low of 54% and a high of 78% on staffing.

Related to managing fiscal changes, is style of management. It is clear from all of the reports, strategic plans, and interviews, universities are involved in service orientations and governance. For instance, in its annual report, the University of Fraser Valley plans to 'develop accountability mechanisms for public funds as well as continue transformation of the Ministry with a focus on improvement integrated client service delivery and continuous improvement management practices.'

## **Department Level: Canadian Criminal Justice Departments**

### *Fraser Valley – Department of Criminal Justice*

The criminal justice department is large with 650 undergrads. The department head indicated enrolment is increasing and they will soon have to use a competitive entry system to keep enrolment at funding and faculty levels. The department is able to have small classes, less than 35 at the introductory level and 27 in the upper year courses. The department has 13 full time staff, 9 with PhD's and 2 ABD. It is multi-disciplinary and while most are criminology PhDs, there is 1 PhD in education, 1 former police chief with an MA, and 1 LLB. They are a teaching university, and as such, instructors teach 4 and 3. All are unranked and untenured. The department hires in a non-traditional academic fashion by interviewing candidates without a research agenda, what they termed 'generalists.' All instructors must be able to do any type of research that comes their way. Because University of the Fraser Valley is a teaching university, they consider research to be a community service. The Criminal Justice Department conducts at least 106 research projects a year: 75% of the research is agency requests, community groups, and other like organizations and 25% is privately funded research. The information/data from the research remains the property of the agency, and the agency has complete control over the research. However, I was told that professors could use data for publishing and conference presentations, but with the support of the agency. Most of the research projects are vetted through The Centre for Public Safety and Criminal Justice Research, a Sun Centre of Excellence, and is coordinated by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) research chair. The centre is a state of the art crime analysis

laboratory that provides a high level of privacy and security for interoperability and criminal justice research.<sup>89</sup> The majority of the research appears to be in the field of what Garland (2001:137) termed (and is found in chapter three) criminology of the other. The projects are ones that attempt to improve system responses, keep the public safe, promote support for punishment and increase the effectiveness of system responses including compliance with regulations, research on clearance rates, grow-ops, domestic violence and recidivism, and security issues.

When asked about the idea of criminal justice as a university program, the response was that a social science is about practice and changing practice. Participants regarded the program as 'ahead of the curve' and that universities are moving in this direction. They asserted that 'criminology, and a study of social etiologies of crime is dead' and criminal justice is the way of the future in the study of crime control. Their courses are tailored to policy and human resources with the goal of developing leaders in the field. The masters program is tailored for full time field workers where they can attend classes three dedicated days, once a month. The program is designed to merge practice and academics so the two can benefit from the other. It is considered to be an instrumental, but creative program. The topic areas of justice are not just criminal, but they foray into animal protection, forestry, conservation, and shoplifting.

#### *University of Regina – Human Justice Program*

The Human Justice program began in the 1970s. The history of the program was

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<sup>89</sup> <http://www.ufv.ca/cjsr/about-cpscjr/>

described as a set of tensions between social work and human justice. Within social work, corrections officers were trained with the goal of professionalizing guards and probation officers. As social work became a profession, human justice students, although taking similar courses, did not become registered social workers. There was a proposal to leave the professional school, which was accepted, and they became part of faculty of arts. In arts, they also experienced tension because human justice was seen as a profession, not a liberal arts program. The program offered a bachelor of human justice or a bachelor of police science. The bachelor of police science was three years of a regular arts degree followed by one-year practicum at the police college. It became evident that offering three different degrees in a small department was not feasible. It took ten years, but eventually the program became Justice Studies. With much turnover in staff and department heads, there was little vision to guide the department. There are plans to eliminate the bachelor of human justice and transform the degree into a justice studies one with two tracks - a sworn member track and an academic track. There was much concern expressed about the importance of criminal justice to the university and the push by the university to establish innovative programs which may not be well thought out and in some sense, puts money ahead of academic integrity. Pandering to ideology was said to be problematic, and while its recognized that there is a need to make changes and train people, there is also a skill set of critical thinking that is not simply an abstract set of ideas, but a way to think. The department wants to promote a justice identity, which is a broad conception of justice where one can do advocacy as well as applied courses and critical thinking without the pressure of getting a job with the degree.

Interview participants suggested the department is not criminology in the sense of discovering causes of crime, but is one that promotes a humanities notion of approaches to crime. He argued this represented the social democratic and sympathetic Saskatchewan governments of the past. Currently, this sentiment is not the one of the university nor in line with the aims of the provincial Ministry. The department however, remains focused on this. The department feels tremendous pressure to manufacture justice workers so there is concern with maintaining integrity in pedagogy. Members of the department are involved with the Saskatchewan Justice institute, which receives funding from the university. This Institute is slow growing and is incorporating a broad notion of justice where it is set to coordinate justice responses to issues such as victimization, offenders, and to focus on health, diabetes, and other issues as ones of justice in order to have a holistic sense of justice. The CCPSP is different in that it is more about getting money for the university, and there is a push to be efficacious, and is attempting to build a more strong relationship with the marketplace. The department is one that appears to be balancing critical thinking about justice with the reality of the fact that 'liberal arts are changing and education must change with it.' But he contends that this must be well thought out, and not something that is pursued too quickly. He argues that there must be a balance between what the market wants (laborers) and what is genuinely academic and suggest that programs can meet market demands and then critically apply knowledge to them. When asked what criminal justice is, he said he did not know and was developing a way to think about that degree and field of study.

The program has 319 undergrads and 22 grad students, and has only 4.7 FTE. The courses are taught half by faculty and half by sessional who are professionals in the field but not academics, and he is concerned that there is a lack of pedagogical skills which are built into the process of getting a PhD. The program is regarded as one that has grown quickly to become one of the largest programs in the Faculty of Arts. Administration in the faculty suggest that the program is unique in that it blends liberal arts with professional programming for those involved in the administration of justice. It is said to be so popular because of its clear connection to employment prospects, which attracts students who may normally not attend university. The interviewee who said this followed with the statement that these students do not always get what they think they will get. By this he meant they are introduced to a much more holistic way of approaching crime which in his mind, is a form of education that leads to social justice. This is important because University of Regina is close to RCMP and they have a chance to influence and interact with national-level police programs rather than just local ones.

*University of Winnipeg – Department of Criminal Justice*

The Criminal Justice Department began as a Bachelor of Arts degree in Justice and Law Enforcement (JLE) in 1979. It was an interdisciplinary, distributed major with a mix of courses from six departments. Originally it was overseen by psychology but the coordinator was soon a hired position in the department of sociology. The courses were varied, and in some way related to criminal justice. They included courses in a variety of areas including forensics anthropology, sociology of deviance,

policing, corrections, and research methods. In the 2000s it began to develop criminal justice specific courses and in 2006, upon recommendation of a program review, became a stand-alone department. The history of the program is described in interviews and in an article<sup>90</sup> as one of tension between sociology and criminal justice. Jochelson, Kohm, and Weinrath describe this as a 'tale of divorce, or at least a trial separation between Sociology and Criminal Justice at the University of Winnipeg (2013:4). They contend that the development of the program was best characterized as an academic turf war and reflective of general concerns in foundational and ideological tensions generally in liberal arts giving way to more applied and labour market driven programs. The tension also reveals concerns about whether criminal justice as a discipline can be considered a social science or a profession. The concerns are that criminal justice personifies the descent of liberal arts into ruin. The department of sociology lost a large percentage of their majors to criminal justice and issued a memorandum to the Dean of Arts concerning what they titled the encroachment of criminal justice on sociological terrain and described criminal justice as unprepared to engage in serious academic study of these issues. My interviews and the authors of the article, suggest that criminal justice is in-between, in a position between traditional and new liberal arts studies. Described as a refined program in an interview, the department debated how one could develop a curriculum that was not attached to traditional criminology but instead began to develop a new field of criminal justice studies which included taking on issues of

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<sup>90</sup> See Jochelson, Kohm, and Weinrath (2013) Mitigating the Protective Services Orientation in Criminal Justice: An opening salvo at the university of Winnipeg in the Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice.

troubling the term justice as well as introducing new and relevant courses such as program evaluation and practicums. Jochelson, Kohm, and Weinrath suggest that the program is an example of broader changes in post-secondary education in Canada in that it is one that is increasingly connected to the community, and one that remains firmly planted in academia. The program is connected to a variety of community programs including the development of a legal help centre and a variety of organizations such as the Spence Neighborhood Safety Association, has assisted with an audit of university security. The department remains committed to face the concerns of becoming an applied department, head on and is proactive in determining the direction of criminal justice as a distinct discipline. The program offers a three, four-year bachelors as well as an honours program. Its plans to develop a masters program are on hold until there are enough faculty in place to offer such a program. There is pressure on the department to offer numerous online courses and a new proposal was brought to the department to pursue an arrangement, similar to an articulation program at University of Fredericton, which gives up to a year of university credit for those who have field experience such as RCMP training at Depot in Regina. The claim was that due to isolation, these professionals have missed an opportunity to gain academic experience. The department rejected the request saying it was not academic and the program does not give credit for fieldwork. The university offers a diploma in Security Studies as well as a Police Preparation Program through PACE (Professional, Applied, and Continuing Education). These are both one-year courses that have a steady enrollment at approximately 25 a year. The Police Preparation program was first

developed as an Indigenous police preparation program, but recently changed its mandate to allow non-aboriginal students to take the course. The Department of Criminal Justice assisted in the program development and has participated via guest lectures. Students used to be able to get equivalent introductory university credit for the Criminal Justice component of the program, but that was recently phased out.

The program has 361 undergrads (the third highest major rate in the university) and eight full time faculty members. Four of the faculty have PhDs, two hold a masters degree and two are ABD. The teaching load is 3 and 2 for faculty and 3 and 3 for instructors (3 faculty are permanent instructors). The department offers many courses taught by sessionals who are all criminal justice professionals working in policing, courts, or corrections. Seventy-seven per cent of the courses are taught by faculty and 23% by sessionals.

#### *Nippising University – Department of Criminal Justice*

The criminal justice department has been in the Applied and Professional studies faculty since 2010. Prior to that it was in Arts and Science Education. There was a condensing of departments and faculties in 2010, and criminal justice found itself in professional studies. The program itself grew out of sociology, where it was a criminal justice and social welfare stream. Currently, there are over 200 majors and the program is operating at capacity. Interviewees said they get around 105 high school applications a year. There are two streams, one is more academic, the Criminal

Justice/Criminology stream and the other more practical, the policing/corrections stream. Majors are split half and half. The policing/corrections stream students do one year at Canador College in the police or corrections foundation program after their third year at Nipissing. Those students get both a degree and diploma upon graduation. The Criminal Justice/Criminology majors take advanced honours and theory courses. They also allow transfer credit for students coming out of community colleges with a police foundations or corrections diploma for up to 45 credits. The department is able to have small classes, with introductory classes at 60 students at the most, and third and fourth year classes average about 30. The department has issued a cap on classes so as not to overload instructors. They have 5 full time faculty (3 PhD, 1 LLB and 1 Candidate) and two adjuncts or LTA (long term appointment). Faculty teach 3 and 2 and LTAs teach 3 and 3. They use the same six sessional to teach nine courses every year, and offer a video link course with instructor in the Pennsylvania. The sessional are professionals in the field, including lawyers, Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) investigators, and other supervisors of various Criminal Justice programs. They also plan to offer online courses linked with Ottawa University. Two of faculty have PhDs in sociology, one has a clinical psychology PhD, and one is a PhD candidate from University of Toronto Centre of Criminology. The adjunct is an OPP superintendent and the other is the videoconference class instructor. And they also make use of a LLB to teach law classes. The department head indicated that all of the faculty have worked extensively in some aspect of the criminal justice system, with some in corrections, with the Police College and other areas of the criminal justice system. Faculty

members are connected to the Institute of Applied Social Research (ISR), which they co-direct with sociology. They conduct research with community members and criminal justice organizations. They offer a field placement course as well as summer research assistant opportunities.

The program is a popular one among university administrators, and is given excellent support from the dean and faculty. While there exists a set of tensions between the department and sociology, the dynamics of the faculty organization and split between Applied and Arts faculties, is said to blame. There is concern on either side that the programs are similar and the split is negative for enrolments. The program is considered very academic by staff and the department head, but they say others in the university see them as applied, training police officers and corrections staff.

*Ryerson University – Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology*

The Criminal Justice and Criminology department is located in the Faculty of Arts. It became a stand-alone department in 2008. The program titled Justice Studies began in the department of psychology, and ended up in politics as a program. A proposal for the development of a stand-alone department came from the first PhD graduate from the Centre of Criminology. Participants told me that there is what was called a scattered animosity between departments because criminal justice has taken enrolments away from traditional disciplines. They do not cross list courses anymore but I was told the tension has eased. The program is very well subscribed

and was defined as a bread and butter department. Administrators said the program is considered an applied sociology and is multi-disciplinary. They claim its success is in attracting students as well as research productivity. Currently, there are over 500 majors and the program is operating at capacity. Interviewees said students with higher and higher averages are applying so the cut off is increasingly advanced. The department maintains a limited number of students. They would like to pursue a masters program but do not currently have the staffing to successfully run it. They offer a four-year degree, and are phasing out their part-time degree. The Chang School also offers a certificate program for people in the field who want to get upgrading. Practitioners and sessionals run it but none of their faculty teach in the program. They have 9 full time faculty (2 PhD in Law, 4 PhD in criminology, 1 PhD in women's studies, 1 in psychology and one hire was not yet confirmed). They have sessionals who are both criminal justice professionals and PhD candidates. They teach 3 and 2, and I was told they have reasonable financial support from the university. I was told about half their students go on to graduate school and about half go on to work in the field. There appears to be a strong connection between Ryerson and University of Toronto Criminology. They are strongly connected to mutual research and do work with Criminological Highlights<sup>91</sup> and collaborate with research data centres and policy centres. Some faculty research with community groups, and some have board participation with various organizations. The program

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<sup>91</sup> Criminological Highlights is a clearinghouse project through the centre of criminology at University of Toronto. The publication is meant to include summaries of findings that should be part of the "general education" of those interested in criminal justice policy. Issues are released approximately every 2-3 months with each volume consisting of six issues. It is funded by the attorney General of Ontario

was described as a multi-disciplinary academic one, one that has a mandate of 'experiential learning in an strong academic way.'<sup>92</sup> They strongly consider the work they do to be a social science, both because of the training of their faculty and also the curriculum and orientation of the department. Participants indicated that the department is one where research matters, but it is conducted in a theoretically driven way with a desire to provoke thought and change in the criminal justice system. Participants considered criminal justice to take on a particular significance in the 1990s exemplified by media fascination and conversations about security and crime. One participant considered criminal justice to be a cultural phenomena, with interest stemming from a romanticized vision and a heartfelt desire to help people. And another participant suggested the university itself is stronger as it provides more professional training at the undergraduate level significantly outnumbering the traditional liberal arts and sciences.

#### *New Brunswick – Department of Criminal Justice*

The criminal justice department has 130 majors and over 800 registered at anytime. The department head indicated the program is well respected and administrators said the program is one of the three largest departments on campus and consistently attracts a significant number of majors and honours students. The program began as a double major in 1997 and became a stand-alone department in 2001 so it could focus on developing a program specific to criminology and criminal justice without the added major. It offers a 4-year major, a 4 year honours and can

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<sup>92</sup> direct quote from a research participant

be taken as a minor. It resides in the Faculty of Social Science. The department also offers a 4-year degree through the Faculty of Applied Arts. St. Thomas University and the New Brunswick Community College (Miramichi), offer a unique articulated degree program. This program is a double certification, two-stage admission program. The first two years are taken at the college and the last two at the university. It provides students with a combination of practical training and liberal arts education that will prepare entry-level practitioners to work in various sectors of the criminal justice system (e.g. community correctional practice, policy analysis, program design, or private sector management). Through an integrated program design, a set of curriculum features embedded the technical aspects of the program into a humanistic and social science framework. The graduates of this program should enter the criminal justice field with solid occupational skills based on sound academic foundations so that they can better adapt to the changing nature of their field of practice. There are about 15 students in that program per year. The department also offers a certificate degree designed for practitioners with at least one year of experience in the area of criminal justice. It is intended as an opportunity to engage in a coordinated study of criminology on a part-time basis.<sup>93</sup> They have nine faculty (one unfilled and one on secondment, and usually one on sabbatical) leaving six working faculty. Of the faculty, two are lawyers (LLB), two sociologists (PhD), one historian (PhD), one psychologist (PhD), and a criminologist (PhD). Faculty teach 70% of the course offerings and sessionals, 30%. Class sizes are capped to 60 and most full time students average class size is 45.

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<sup>93</sup> see <http://w3.stu.ca/stu/academic/departments/criminology/baa.aspx>

Interview participants considered the program as a regular liberal arts program and consider themselves to be more like a criminology department than criminal justice one and consider criminal justice to be practice oriented protective services. They assert that they do not offer protective services because they have community colleges for that. Instead, they are academic. The program was said to have come about because there was an interest in expanding the social science program to include newer areas. The program is recognized as a large draw program and is well respected at the university. The program is discussed as one of the six focal areas for the universities research efforts. Specifically, the concern for social justice is said to pervade research efforts of the faculty across the disciplines.<sup>94</sup>

The Chair in Criminology and Criminal Justice was established in 1998 as a result of the generous contributions of the Solicitor General of Canada and the New Brunswick Department of the Solicitor General. This chair position is tasked to provide an impetus for academic and applied research on problems in criminal justice. The appointees under the Chair of Criminology and Criminal Justice are available to the federal and provincial departments of the Solicitor General and will be open to conduct community-based seminars and workshops throughout the Atlantic region and on a national basis. The program states that through the Chair of Criminology and Criminal Justice, the University and its partners will be responding to the criminology and criminal justice needs of Canadian society.<sup>95</sup> A faculty member of the department is the director of a centre for research on youth at risk.

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<sup>94</sup> see St. Thomas Strategic Plan 2009-14. P. 7.

<sup>95</sup> [http://w3.stu.ca/stu/administrative/registrar/services/documents/programg\\_000.pdf](http://w3.stu.ca/stu/administrative/registrar/services/documents/programg_000.pdf)

The primary mandate of the Centre is to engage in applied research on youth-at-risk. Research projects carried out at the Centre will either advance basic knowledge about youth-at-risk or disseminate knowledge across Canada. The Centre is overseen by a Board of Directors accountable to the President of St. Thomas and administered by a Director. Further, the centre has established some links with external partners including community organizations and other scholars at neighboring universities. In addition to the development and implementation of applied research, the Centre for Research on Youth at Risk develops research workshops and training sessions for community partners, host national and international conferences and summer institutes on subjects related to youth-at-risk and prepare and disseminate fact sheets and research reports to community partners and to the broader public on key issues related to youth-at-risk. The centre has been ongoing since 1998.<sup>96</sup>

### **The case study of Criminal Justice: Themes**

The in-depth examination of criminal justice departments revealed several themes. These themes are the development of applied credentials and the nature of the path the department took, what its future is, the demand for the credential and what that means for the university, as well as several questions regarding the critiques leveled against the departments in the literature.

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<sup>96</sup> <http://www.stthomasu.ca/research/youth/background.html>

Criminal justice was chosen as a case study for a variety of reasons. Primarily, there exists a debate in the literature on whether the program is representative of a shift away from traditional, collegial based social science to an applied program which is increasingly labour market driven. Table 6 shows an overview of the programs and their characteristics.

**Table 6: Features of Criminal Justice Programs:**

<b>University</b>	<b>University Enrolment</b>	<b># CJ majors</b>	<b>Degrees offered</b>	<b># Faculty</b>	<b>Faculty vs. sessional</b>
Fraser Valley	9,000	650 15 grad	4 year degree 2 year diploma Masters	13	60/40
Regina	8,229	319 22 grad	2 year certificate & 4 year bachelor in HJ / police	4.7 FTE	50/50
Winnipeg	7,864	361	3 year, 4 year, 4 year honours	7	75/25
Nipissing	5,073	200	4 year and 4 year honours	4.5 FTE	73/27
Ryerson	24,600	500	4 year	9	75/25
St. Thomas	2,475	150	4 year & 4 year honours in Faculty of Social Science AND 4 year articulated degree in Faculty of Applied Science	8	70/30

The interview and document information about the departments can be broken down into five areas.

(i.) Impetus for the program. There were three main impetuses discussed by departments. Two departments suggested the programs were started to engage in a more dedicated academic study of criminal justice as an area of study; two suggested it was a way to assist in training guards/corrections officers and to professionalize the service through a more academic training; three said it was a way to expand credential offerings by universities; and one suggested it is a progression of a field resulting from an inability of other departments to study criminal justice due to their focus on traditional areas like sociology and criminology. The field of criminal justice is often described as multi-disciplinary. We saw this in the diversity of fields faculty members were trained in. The multi-disciplinary basis of these departments is also reflected in curriculum, although the course offerings did not appear to be significantly different from those required in a regular arts degree. Some institutions offered more practice-based courses, Fraser Valley in particular, but all of the departments offered traditional theory, research methods, and special interest topics. There is no doubt that the lack of a disciplinary history in criminal justice meant that many departments borrowed from more traditional disciplines.

All the programs were spearheaded by academics that sought a way to create a niche for criminal justice and develop its multi-disciplinary basis and to be able to dedicate themselves to the focused study of criminal justice. All of the department heads suggested their departments and curriculums were works in progress. Most of the departments said they trained students who went on to work in the field of

criminal justice and other students went on to further university study, in either law or graduate work. These programs may be interesting evidence of a collapse between vocational training and traditional university study. Although most of the departments, except for Fraser Valley, suggested they seek to develop critical thinkers who have a skill set. The programs also appear to be more academic than vocational because they do not offer a professionally regulated curriculum. In fact there is no national standardization for police training in Canada. Police and correctional services provide their own training. In Ontario, curriculum for police foundations and correctional studies remains the domain of community colleges. There was little evidence found to support the claim that university criminal justice programs sole purpose is to provide workers in the field of criminal justice.

(ii.) Tension with other departments: All but one department indicated there was significant tension between their department and departments of origin. The tensions essentially boiled down to two concerns – first, criminal justice programs were taking majors away from their programs, and secondly, criminal justice departments were too applied and lacked a strong academic base. Two departments discussed concerns regarding the pressure to manufacture justice workers coming from administration, not from their actual curriculum or faculty members. The departments told me they rejected these advances in favour of pursuing academic-based programs. There was little evidence that faculty trained in traditional liberal arts social science disciplines were inclined to teach vocational programs.

(iii.) Program description: Three of the departments said they provide professional courses for those who will work in the field. Three described their programs as one that allows graduates to develop a unique skill set that matches solid occupational skills-based on sound academic foundations. Both of the Masters offerings suggested they bring a unique blend of professionals and academics into the classroom with one another. However one of the masters programs appeared much more academically based than the other.

Two departments described themselves as humanities based courses offering knowledge in an important subject area and promoting the development of professionals in the areas of social justice not traditional police/corrections practice. Indeed, they suggested their courses not only professionalized the service, but also brought a better humanities understanding to the field of justice and thus has an important positive and tangible impact on society.

(iv.) Goals of program: All of the departments said about half of graduates go onto work in the field while the other half go on to further their studies in either graduate work, research, or law school. Two of the departments declared their goal to be supplying good occupational skills, and four said to provide a thinking skill set that accounts for critical, analytical and knowledge-based skills. Four of the departments had clear links to policing and corrections and offered degrees in conjunction with programs such as police foundations and correctional service offered in community colleges.

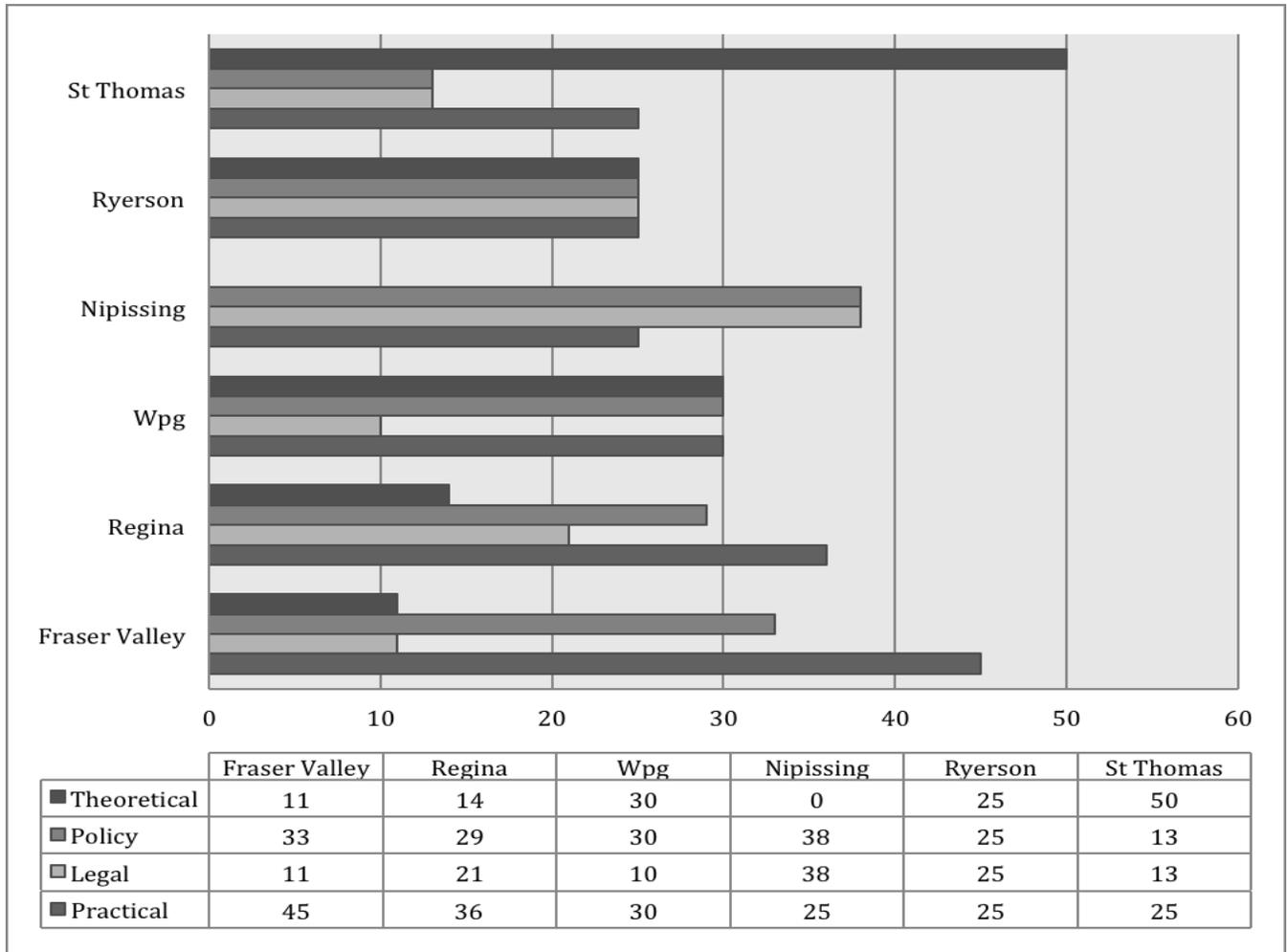
(v.) Research: Research in the criminal justice departments were quite strong as evidenced by publication records of faculty members. Three of the departments had a research chair, two were policing and the other a criminology chair. Five of the departments had significant ties to research centers. These included Youth at Risk Research Institute (St. Thomas), Centre for Public Safety and Criminal Justice (FV), Canadian centre of Policing and Public Safety (Regina), The Centre for Interdisciplinary Justice Studies (WPG), And Institute of Applied Social Research (Nipissing). All of the centres indicated significant work with community groups ranging from activist rights groups to corporate bodies. These included establishing legal help centres, working with community safety groups undertaking community audits, working with watch programs to assist in improving services as well as with government agencies to assist in traditional justice programming. Some centres may be more marketized than others. The University of Regina supports the Canadian Center of Policing and Public Safety center. It is a Tier 1 research centre initiative. This centre has a three-fold mandate – first to engage in education and training, second research and development and third is innovation and commercialization. This centre is hoping to sustain itself through grants and revenues form service agencies.

All departments indicated work with government agencies including conducting program evaluations. The departments also supported the community and justice

services through a practicum program. All but two departments had practicum as a part of their degree programs.

Regarding faculty research, a scan of the research publications of faculty members of each department details the type of work criminal justice faculty members engage in. This is meant to assess how often faculty engages in knowledge production that is related to policy concerns and how much is academic. I designed four categories – theoretical, policy, legal, and practical. Theoretical work is defined by journals that published work and were associated with theoretical concerns and analytics. Policy research was research addressing a particular criminal justice policy issue in a traditional academic fashion where empirical evidence was used to question the nature and origin of the policy. Legal work was akin to research regarding law such as constitutional and human rights legislation. Finally, practical research was research that was often done to address policy evaluation, program evaluation, and was generated in the form of reports for agencies.

**Figure 2: University department via research type (numbers are presented as percent of total research/publications surveyed for each department)**



This chart shows that there is a considerable difference regarding faculty research with some criminal justice departments engaging in more practical research while others engage in more theoretical work. All the universities engaged in practical agency work, but it did not represent the majority of the research conducted. In fact, on average, it represents about 25% of research conducted in the criminal justice departments in this sample.

With respect to third party partnerships, criminal justice departments vary. Some of the departments I spoke with actively sought, in varying capacities, connections with third parties. Many of these third party partnerships were community agencies, governmental agencies, or foundation funding. All of these partnerships brought both research dollars and prestige to the university. The extensive amount of research work Fraser Valley, Regina, and New Brunswick were all discussed in the university's strategic plan as core components of the university's mission. A program like criminal justice is said to be one that is desired in a university community, and as an interview participant said, 'a model for other types of programs.' It is important to note that although members of departments did engage in these partnerships, not all of them did. Many still focused on traditional academic studies including critical analytics of the system and questioning of larger more traditional conceptual foundations of the discipline. But as a review of research shows there is a large percentage of applied research conducted in these departments.

Research is of particular importance in terms of revenue. Research revenue is also increasingly tied to leveraged or matching funds. All the universities I surveyed have matching funding agreements at the level of capital development (such as KIP funding) or in terms of research (CFI specifies funds are to be matched by corporations/community or other interested groups). This is clearly evident of markets and university interaction and cooperation.

The departmental review showed that there is no one characterization of criminal justice that can be made in the Canadian context. There are three categories that can be used to describe criminal justice in Canadian universities. The first are programs that are applied. An indicator of an applied program would be a curriculum focused on practical skills, engaging in the degree to obtain a job in the field and research that tends to be uncritical and supportive of, status quo practices. Under this applied label, one department, and three streams of other programs, can be classified this way. The second categorization is programs that consider themselves to be fully academic. In this sample I found only one stream of a program that fits this category, although there are individual faculty who engage in this type of research and teaching. Third are departments occupying the middle-ground. These include those programs that are more justice based, that engage in thinking of how occupational skills are grounded in academic thought, but do not follow traditional disciplinary divides. These departments engage in research that instead of trying to reform status quo practices, are critical of them at a social policy and theoretical level. I can safely say there are three departments that fit firmly in this category.

### *Summary*

This detailed findings chapter outlined major themes of the case studies at the provincial government level, the university level, and the departmental level. They are as follows. At the provincial level were three themes including (a.) access and open degree authorization; (b.) specified access and employment related

programming; (c.) assessing success and performance. At the institutional level were two themes including (a.) education oriented to outcome of provincial economic goals and employment related programming and (b.) financial changes and university governance aimed at higher degrees of fiscal regulation, increasing top down management, and the development of third party partnerships. At the departmental level were five themes including (a.) impetus for program as mix of improving professional practice and changing of disciplinary boundaries; (b.) tension with other departments; (c.) programs were defined as providing students with critical academic skills; (d.) goals of the program were to supply occupational and knowledge-based skill and (e.) a varied mix of research including numerous centres of research and a diversity regarding practice-based and theoretical research.

The next chapter discusses these research findings in the context of the model of marketization and literature on corporatization of post-secondary education.

## **Chapter 8: Discussion and Application of Market Models Of PSE**

This chapter discusses the research findings of the previous chapter with the model of marketization, privatization, and deregulation and other concerns about the corporatization of post-secondary education as seen through the critiques of criminal justice programs as an applied and protective science. The discussion is meant to answer some of the originally posed research questions about the neo-liberalization of Canadian post-secondary education.

To guide this discussion, I will use the three markets discussed above, integrating both the concerns raised in the literature review (neo-liberal state, corporate management indicators, cultural concerns, neo-liberal credential, and resistance) as well as criticisms of criminal justice departments as applied and credentialist-based examples of the neo-liberal credential and privatized industry penetration into post-secondary education. Within each of the markets, I will use Jongloed's four demand and four supply-side determinants of markets and add indicators discussed in the literature. Because the research questions are focused on the level of privatized, marketized and deregulated neo-liberal mechanisms inside post-secondary education, for each of these determinants, the higher the evidence of the indicator, the higher the level of marketization and the more strongly the university can be considered corporate and neo-liberal.

## **1. Academic labour markets, research/knowledge generation markets**

This market concerns itself with the education and research of academic faculty and the creation of the knowledge constituting a post-secondary education market. It captures the role of universities as generators and imparters of knowledge. For the purposes of this study, I use Jongbloed's supply side indicators of marketization including access to entry, freedom to supply program, and the freedom to use available resources.

### **a. Access to entry:**

The first supply-side indicator, access to entry, is defined by Jongbloed as how providers/institutions of post-secondary education join the fray. I operationalize this in terms of who has the standing to grant a credential. This includes which institutions can provide what types of degrees. One would hypothesize that the greater the freedom of institutions to offer degrees, the more competition there is, and the greater the marketization and privatization. In fact, it is evidence of leveling the playing field between public and private academic institution.

The indicators of access to entry found in this research include all provincial policies aimed at opening access and degree authorization. British Columbia's Degree Authorization Act and overseen by a Degree Quality Assessment Board; Saskatchewan's Degree Authorization Act which allows institutions other than the two universities to grant degrees (overseen by the Saskatchewan Higher Education

Quality Assurance Board); and the Ontario Qualifications Framework are but three examples.

This theme represents a definite form of de-regulation and is a sign of accreditation expansion where public and private collapse. Essentially it is a deregulation of the credential, where regulation about place and content of a credential, is opened, freed up to the markets of students and labour. This process appears to be in response to demands of student and labour markets to make education more accessible and easier to move between institutions of ones' choice. In this case it is paired with a demand for plentiful skilled workers for the economy in order to enhance provincial productivity and innovation. It also responds to mobility in terms of students wanting to access different programs at different times in their academic careers (lifelong learning) as well as responding to global labour markets where there is significant movement of jobs, and individuals increasingly move to find employment. This requires a credential to be mobile and broadly recognized.

b. Freedom to specify supply of program:

The freedom of a university to specify the programs it delivers appears to be limited and steered by governmental objectives. The provincial plans reviewed show that institutions direct programming to specific areas that are congruent with governmental needs. These provincial level reports steer institutions via providing a frame of reference for institutional development of programs. For example, in Ontario, the Ministry reports discuss strengthening the quality of education by

having institutions expand credential options, credential supplements, credit transfer systems, resulting in flexible degree structures providing new learning options. It is suffice to say the more the university develops programs to satisfy outside labour and student demand, the higher the level of marketization. Governments are increasingly developing strategic areas of employment related programming. The research findings also indicated that post secondary programs are oriented to outcome of provincial economic goals and employment related programming. This is also connected to the governmental demand to develop programs aimed at addressing gaps in the labour market. The findings in the previous chapter indicated that numerous provinces post-secondary education plans included developing market-oriented degree programs to credentialize workers for gaps in the labour market. For instance, in Saskatchewan, the Ministry of Advanced Education wants to 'leverage the university's existing strengths and address provincial needs as a priority.'<sup>97</sup> Interviewees said the universities role in social transformation via labour-market development and training of highly-qualified personnel is on the mind of every government and the pressure on universities and on students to contribute in a very tangible and direct, perhaps even simplistic way, to the economy is intense. These statements are clear indications of governments steering post-secondary programs and policies toward pre-defined governmental goals and relates to Arshad-Ayaz (2007) concern of the shift of university goals to the product of labour ready credentials. While there was expressed concerns over this steering at the level of the university, overall it is clear

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<sup>97</sup> From University of Regina Comprehensive Budget Plan 2012-13 p.6 & interview data

that due to funding requirements placed upon universities, they tend to align their programming and strategic plans with governmental goals, with little freedom to do otherwise. It seems that the collegial model of university governance that prioritizes academic education is often at odds with governmental progressive discourses.

Most liberal arts programs have a long disciplinary tradition. However, this does not prevent other programs from developing. The data here suggested that these programs do develop (such as Criminal Justice), often at the request of academics and of institutions themselves. In this study, the development of the first Centres of Criminology were based on a call by government to increase knowledge of crime and train workers to implement research findings. However, all of the criminal justice programs were spearheaded by academics seeking a way to create a niche for criminal justice and develop its multi-disciplinary basis, enabling them to dedicate themselves to the focused study of criminal justice. It appears the days of such a specified set of goals are gone and the goals of these criminal justice programs are diverse.

In terms of all the programs, the freedom with which they can develop new programs is dependent on governmental regulatory bodies. Government steers the direction of programs an institution offers by, first, regulating a new programs (assurance boards) and second, by directing funding and identifying priority areas which encourage programs to develop in particular areas. These regulation mechanisms can impede institutional freedom to supply programs, but not

necessarily restrict them. Certainly programs that fit the governmental priority areas are likely to get funding. Perhaps this is similar to goals of liberal arts education being steered by provinces to guard the province against labour market insecurity. This was evidenced in the pressure felt by criminal justice departments in this study to manufacture justice workers, to encourage credential transfer, and to work with professional organizations on credential recognition (see Winnipeg example). And there are clear partnerships with community college programs as we saw in Nippising and St. Thomas.

With respect to limited funds to develop new programs, interviewees suggested the tension between criminal justice programs and other departments was based on financial resource allocation in addition to pedagogical concerns. The fight for students as majors is clearly palpable not only between universities but within universities and was the primary reason given for departmental tension. Scarce funds and shifts in programming toward boutique and multi-disciplinary programs of study pit professors against one other in a territorial fight for students and disciplinary territory (Polster and Newson, 2009)

The nature of the criminal justice program is an amalgamation of disciplines, and are described as multi-disciplinary. All the departments reported a range of faculty, including law degrees, sociology, geography, psychology, and history. In and of itself this does not mean permeable disciplinary boundaries, although it appears to be an indication of erosion of traditional scholarly boundaries, as Kurasawa (2005) claims

is characteristic of the colonizing of the academy in the third epoch of post-secondary education. Although the nature of the criminal justice discipline in this study appears to be driven by the criminal justice market, including educated workers, knowledge about best practices, and crime prevention, it is also evident that there is great diversity in the type of department. Three types of departments were identified and based on the research interests of faculty, not solely as responses to criminal justice market demands. In fact the critical turn in criminal justice is a rejection of the status quo criminal justice market demands and calls into question Pavlich's (2000) claim that the ontological status of crime is diluted by governmental technologies that encapsulate crime and deviance within broad parameters of risk, security, and personal safety. We saw this in the fifth theme of departmental analysis where research was not solely focused on criminal justice practice. As well, the research centres identified in this study are also evidence of social justice work, which has a long history in liberal arts education. Given the variety of research and types of criminal justice departments in the research sample, knowledge generated through criminal justice research does not always snake itself through products, as a skill, or in other commercial forms as Young (2002) and Teixeira (2006) claim. This research did not show that there is a consistent and permanent shift in knowledge away from social welfare functions toward product.

Another indicator of the limits of a university to develop their own programming is the systematizing of post-secondary education systems discussed at the provincial level in this sample. Policies like this determine which institutions teach which

programs/curriculums, significantly reducing freedom of institutions to decide what to offer. Additionally, it seems clear that the governments strategic program direction are often a response to market and student demand as well as fiscal efficiency concerns focused on getting the best product (educated populace) for the cost (funding). Ontario and New Brunswick discussed at length the policy to differentiate and separate research and teaching universities, as well as those that could be applied such as polytechnique and those more academic. Again, resistance is key in the New Brunswick case as movements against this trend were successful in stopping the policy, at least in the short term. In addition, research participants suggested they did not always change programming to meet the need of government or Ministry plans. Although the initial development of criminal justice programs appears to be heavily influenced by government need for knowledge, and were clearly an example of responding to this need for knowledgeable workers, the sample here did not suggest that criminal justice programs were anything other than regular liberal arts degrees with seemingly similar course requirements than any other major in a liberal arts discipline.

c. Freedom to use available resources:

This marketization determinant is about how free institutions are to use resources (fiscal and staffing) the way they want. The primary resources of universities are government student funds, strategic funds, research money brought in by professors, professors themselves, and outside resources such as fundraising, endowment funds, corporate sponsorship etc. Tuition funds and strategic funds are

dispersed based on varying indicators such as full-time equivalent enrolment, time to completion rates, retention rates and type of program. Therefore, These performance indicators limit use of resources by universities. Performance indicators will be discussed in greater length in the financial management and governance market.

Encouraging universities to develop alternate revenue streams is a strong indicator of institutional freedom where they encourage fiscal expansion. Regarding criminal justice, Fraser Valley aggressively pursues outside partnerships, the funds of which go on to support the department. In Saskatchewan, the connection of the department with centers such as Policing and Public Safety in Regina is a Canada research funded center. In Winnipeg, the Legal Help center is a partnership with the University of Manitoba Law School, and does not have funding but rather offers opportunities for volunteer credit and field experience. Thus, the push to seek outside, third party funding and interstitial relationships do not readily appear in criminal justice departments throughout the country, although there are clear regional differences. In addition to teaching and service work, research and publication is the cornerstone of academic markets. The nature of research funding has changed over the years and universities are increasingly nurturing conditions where professors are encouraged to be entrepreneurial. Polster (2002) suggests that the nature of funding through shifts in SSHRC priorities and CHIR requirements and the Innovation Fund, place significant boundaries on the type of research that is funded. Professors are also provided incentives to get research because promotion

is hinged on it, and because it offers course release and other perks. Research funds stand to bring revenue for universities as well as enhance university reputation. Universities are free to pursue research institutes, Canada Research Chairs and infrastructure funds and often use professors to obtain these.

Before I begin a discussion about finance markets, it is important to discuss something important in the Canadian political economic context, regional specificity. With regard to the academic market discussed above, it is important to note that provincial regulation over post-secondary education differs. As such, there is the concern of regionalism. This sample showed that in British Columbia, universities were granted more freedom, and more responsibility, to offer credentials and cover the costs of those programs. British Columbia also had broader degrees of access and degree granting authority than other provinces. Ontario government appeared to be putting much more restraint on freedom of institutions to develop as they desire, indeed attempting to orchestrate a post-secondary educational design for the province. The universities I spoke with felt very constrained by this process. And in New Brunswick, we see that although the government attempted to restructure education, it was faced with strong resistance.

## **2. Institutional Finance Market: Goals and governance**

The finance and governance market is concerned with how funds are transmitted to post-secondary education and the controls placed on them via various funding bodies. The concern is how these financial constraints play out in governance

relations and administration. We can evaluate the relationship between government ministries and universities through looking at governance requirements. Under this market, I will discuss two of Jongbloed's supply side indicators, freedom to use available resources and the freedom of institutions to set the price of their product.

a. Freedom to use available resources

Important indicators of an institutions freedom to use available resources are institutional goals and the use of resources to achieve those goals. Every institutional financial statement reviewed in this study indicated fund accounting to manage the books. The Ministries required each institution to report on use of funding to its proper unit. Fund accounting ends in greater regulation and stifles freedom of institutions to use funds as they wish. Funding mechanisms for universities in this sample are still based on enrolment and program. While strategic funding is developing, it is not as prevalent as core funding. However, even the formulas used to fund institutions have competitive market-based indicators built into them.

These provincial fiscal funding polices can be considered as quasi-markets where strategic funds are part of the competition between publicly funded institutions. Provincial funding mechanisms are important because although block grants allow autonomy of the university itself, when they decrease, or become scarce and are replaced with strategic funding, it limits the institutions ability to reach goals and is

thus a sign of marketization. Incremental and formula funding remain the dominant models of funding. In three provinces, formula funding is based on FTE students and expansion of programs. This supports Snowdon's point that formula fund accounting impacts liberal arts differently because it gives more money to specialized programming thus impeding the ability of universities to offer core, traditional discipline-based programs. In some ways, this funding model encourages the development of specialized, more focused or boutique programs. Further, funding-based on full-time equivalent enrolment is about supply and demand regulation. Operating grants will increase or decrease based on number of students in the market. And as universities become more dependent on student financing, and the greater degree to which universities rely on tuition dollars, the more aggressive their marketing campaigns will be (Slaughter and Rhoades 2008:36). Tuition regulation also removes ability of universities to determine an important revenue stream. That said, without regulation on tuition, it could skyrocket to the amount where access is compromised, thus promoting market failure.

All of the provincial governments' Ministry reports indicated the need to enhance performance-funding mechanisms. It is quite evident that governments control over financial stability of universities through performance indicators and the accountably agreements, as well as leveraged funding, removes freedom from universities to make their own decisions about programs (supply) and their ability to regulate prices. Some performance indicators that will increase funds to universities include programs that fill the labour market gaps defined by the

government, research innovation, time to completion rates, employment outcomes, etc. There are thirty-two Ryerson Performance Indicators<sup>98</sup> that are classified into four primary categories that correspond to oversight of: Strategic Direction (15 indicators), Financial Capacity (5 indicators), Effective Management (7 indicators), and University Profile (5 indicators). The top three indicators are graduation, employment, and OSAP (Ontario Student Assistance Program) default rates. However, its also important to note that although performance indicators are developing at a rapid rate, they are not currently a strong determinate of institutional funding. It is clear that performance is important and indicators are often used as a way to promote competition between universities. If markets are said to be more perfect when there is adequate information for consumer choice, performance indicators provide this type of information. Information given to prospective students will be used to make the decision on which institution and program to attend. This affects the bottom line of university funding, and as such, places universities in competition with each other. According to Lang (2005), performance funding steers universities in particular directions not of their own choosing, nor in the name of academic pursuit.

Another area of fiscal concern is the inability of universities to use funds to hire tenure track professors to teach every course offered by a department. This sample showed about a 25% use of contingent faculty to teach classes in criminal justice.

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<sup>98</sup> Ryerson performance indicators March 2013  
<http://www.ryerson.ca/upo/performance/index.html> and  
<http://www.ryerson.ca/upo/performance/kpi/KPI-Table.html>

The majority of contingent faculty are practitioners in the field, some in corrections who hold masters or doctorates, police who hold masters degrees, lawyers, and other field practitioners. The use of contingent faculty is documented as a trend in post-secondary education (Muzzin 2008) and was verified in this research.

In order to deal with changes in financing of universities, many corporate management indicators were seen in this research. All of the provosts and department heads discussed the financial difficulties facing their programs and discussed the ascendancy of administration focused on how to maintain the existing infrastructure in a tough economy. They discussed strategic plans with five year trajectories, risk management strategies, requirements to be efficient and accountable and begin to tie themselves to productivity and generate third party partnerships to bring in extra funding. These are clear indicators of corporate models of governance, which are focused on cost and outcome, between original purposes and activities. This is consistent with claims made by Turk (2000), McLaren (2003), Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) and numerous others who claim managerialism, accountability, and fiscal management strategies dominate university governance.

Overall, this research supports claims made about university finance markets that there is a leveling of the playing field between public and private institutional funding, students are being called on to privately fund their own education (Young 2002), strategic funds are becoming a part of competition between public

institutions (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Jessop 2002), government funding is tied to accountability mechanism which are often in line with governmental objectives.

#### b. Freedom to set price

In terms of institutions being free to set prices for services, the government allows some freedom, but tuition is set via provincial regulation. Although there are regulatory bodies all across Canada, there are provincial differences. Tuition regulation plays an important role in restricting freedom of universities to set their own price. That said, this sample showed an increase in tuition. In many ways, universities have little choice but to increase tuition to cover costs in the face of decreasing provincial funding. Although student loans are governed at the level of the federal government and institutions or provinces don't have to be concerned with recouping loans, the ability to set a price that is affordable will make a difference in enrolment. The fight against rising tuition fees is growing with each of the federal student associations and numerous university level associations actively protesting increases.<sup>99</sup> La Class demonstration in Quebec was clear evidence of combative unionism and direct democracy.

### **(3) Student/labour markets and credentials**

This market is concerned mostly with demand including where the demand derives and how it is addressed through policy and program development. Jongbloed's four

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<sup>99</sup> <http://www.cfsontario.ca> & <http://cfs-fcee.ca> & <http://www.casa-acae.com/about/what-we-do/>

indicators of demand include freedom to choose product, freedom to choose provider, adequate information, and cost recovery.

a. Freedom to choose a provider:

This indicator focuses on who gets to enter the market of higher education and how is it restricted. It also has to do with how accessible the product is between institutions. A measure of this is accessibility, specifically how accessible institutions are for students who are accepted. This includes availability aka adequate spaces in programs that are desirable. This is concerned with the freedom to choose a university from a range of options. Choice should mirror a perfectly competitive system. Therefore, the greater the freedom to choose a provider, the higher the level of marketization.

The indicators of freedom to choose a provider found in this research include access and open degree authorization. This theme represents a definite form of deregulation and is a sign of accreditation expansion where public and private collapse in institutional finance. Essentially it is a deregulation of the credential where regulation about place and content of a credential, is opened, freed up to the market of students and labour. This process appears to be in response to demands of student and labour markets to make education more accessible and easier to move between institutions of ones choice. This is strongly associated with the consumerist ethos in post-secondary education as discussed by Cote and Allahar. Competition has strongly increased and universities into his sample were all engaged in

marketing mechanisms to draw students in. This is increasingly important because provincial funding is tied to number of students but also given increases in tuition means more revenue for universities. All of the criminal justice programs in this sample were running at capacity and had an increasing number of majors. The demand for criminal justice programs, as one participant suggested, is highly cultural. It is also clear that career preparation focus of the departments, although not necessarily related to a labour-market demand, draws students who are culturally fascinated by crime, to the university.

In these case studies, freedom to choose a provider is paired with a demand for plentiful skilled workers for the economy in order to enhance provincial productivity and innovation. It also responds to mobility in terms of students wanting to access different programs at different times in their academic careers (lifelong learning) as well as responding to global labour markets where there is significant movement of jobs, and individuals increasingly move to find employment. This requires a credential to be mobile and broadly recognized. Regarding this determinant, I found there was a collapse in the distinction between public and private in terms of credential granting. This would be evidence of an opening up of markets away from the monopoly some institutions have had over the provision of degrees. All the case studies indicated a desire to expand credentials offered and increase the number of institutions in their provinces, which offer the degree.

In addition, credentials are increasingly deregulated, removed from their attachment to institutions and become mobile. Credit transfer is a response to market demand, but the regulation still clearly lay with government bodies that make final decisions regarding quality assurance. If government does not restrict the degree granting potential of universities, it could flood the market thus reducing the quality of the product. Targeting specific groups by allowing specialized entry systems and targeting marketing at particular groups (e.g. aboriginals, first generation learners) is also evidence of opening access.

b. Freedom to choose product: This demand indicator is related to the freedom in having a degree meet the students demand in terms of the type of credential desired. Of course this is limited by what is generally or traditionally offered, particularly in an undergraduate liberal arts degree. An important issue here seems to be credit transfer. If an individual receives a full or partial degree, and wants to choose a different product, can they transfer credits already earned? When do credits expire? The ability to transfer credit is a clear indicator of freedom to choose a product. The indicators of freedom to choose and enhancing freedom to choose, is found quite strongly in the research findings. Results show that provinces (particularly in Ontario and British Columbia, but also in Manitoba and Saskatchewan) are pursuing the transfer of credit between universities. Barriers to transferring credits limit freedom and represent a blockage in the market. Expiry of credit is also important because it allows individuals to pick up and carry on with degrees at a later date. Given the precariousness of labour markets, it is not unusual

for people to go back to school in later years. Lifelong learning options were also mentioned as parts of both strategic plans in Saskatchewan and Manitoba as well as provincial plans in all of the provinces. This would be considered highly marketized.

It certainly appears that students are unencumbered by regulation in terms of product choice. The only thing that may inhibit it is lack of programs from which to choose. But it appears universities are increasingly catering to market demand by developing programs that consumers desire. Credit transfer and lifelong learning programs are also increasingly a factor in growing freedom of choice of product because it allows consumers to change their mind regarding product choice and switch brands. Online courses also open up freedom of choice.

Its important to note that resistance is also present. Resistance here is seen in concerns expressed by Saskatchewan about universities becoming credential mills. Further, the freedom to transfer credits between professional experience and university credit as we saw in the case of University of Winnipeg being asked to pursue accreditation projects in their criminal justice program, calls into question the freedom of students to get a credential for what they wish. In addition, each of the department heads I spoke with were concerned about making sure students who attend criminal justice programs fulfilled credits required by their program. Therefore the ability to shop around and transfer credits is not as open as some in the literature may claim. While demand may be high, the credential market at the level of the university does not appear to be fully open and open access appears to

be resisted. Criminal justice remains a standard liberal arts degree. As such, the degree offered at universities does not meet the demand of the student in that they do not offer degrees that will 'get' students jobs in the labour market. However, as we see in Fraser Valley, it does offer the opportunity for students who are already working in the field, to further their studies with a flexible and demand driven Masters program.

c. Adequate information to make choice: This demand feature of higher education markets is concerned with where people decide to attend university, and why. Most Canadian universities market their product to encourage consumption thereby bringing in revenue. These marketing campaigns often use information about employment, student satisfaction, but there are no real guarantees about the product. All the universities in this research actively advertised their programs promoting a life style, a means to employment, and are essentially selling a particular product. This, aligning with Steele's (2009) claim, is the essence and meaning of a university education. Although the benefit of the credential is delayed until graduation, and is in many ways imaginary capital, the risk of the credential and cost of the degree is absorbed by the student. Enrolment in universities is at an all-time high and each of the institutions in this sample indicated increasing enrolments. And given the competition for students, this information becomes more important for university revenue. The explosion of marketing of post-secondary education is a clear indicator of marketization.

A university degree in criminal justice is not necessary to work as a police or corrections officer. Therefore the idea that most students take criminal justice programs to become police or corrections officers is unfounded. Participants in this research said half the graduates went on to work somewhere in the field, and they were unsure of the other half. Although there is no data from this research to clearly support this point, it is highly possible many students enroll in criminal justice because of the cultural fascination with crime and justice and simply want to learn more about it.

As the review indicated, there is an increasing amount of accountability mechanisms built into funding. These accountability mechanisms increasingly provide consumers with a great deal of information regarding the institution of their choice and more information with which to make a financial decision regarding their post-secondary education. Marketing has also increased the amount of information available. However, the reliability of this information is problematic. Based on the criminal justice departments sampled here, there appears to be a difference in terms of the type of product that is provided. Not all departments are the same, and a prospective student scan of the websites may or may not produce enough adequate information to make the decision.

#### d. Cost covering

This determinate of the market has to do with how well the cost of obtaining the credential is covered by funders. A more perfect market has a good cost/provision

ratio. This means that the price is not out of line with the production cost. Factoring into this determinate is the ancillary benefit of post-secondary education. Because there is a generalized benefit to post-secondary education, the individual should not have to bear the entire cost of the credential. In Canada, the government subsidizes at least half of the institutional costs we saw in the sample. However the reliance on student tuition is on average 30%, but upwards of 50% in two universities in the sample. The government subsidy should flow from the type of benefit that follows from investment in universities. A strong market is one where costs can be covered in comparison to the social benefit of the degree. If the benefit is greater, the subsidy is working. If unemployment rates increase, that is a sign of market failure. Of course, the benefit accrued by an educated population is difficult to measure. Therefore the value of the degree is intangible. If the degree is important, such as medical doctors, a high subsidy is justified because the marginal value is high. If the value is low, it is more difficult to subsidize the credential. On average, universities indicated that a credential is beneficial, but high student debt ratios may be an indicator of a market failure in the realm of student loans. With tuition rates regulated, student debt loads are controlled. However, with decrease in core funding to institutions, the quality and quantity of the product may suffer and may end up not covering costs. With the increasing reliance of universities on tuition, it is clear that tuition costs are increasingly privatizing into the hands of students.

**Assessing the level of marketization in each supply and demand indicator.**

The table below quantifies the above discussion by indicating the level of marketization. If the marketization is high, it is an indicator of a corporate post-secondary institution where the state and post-secondary education has opened itself up to market interests. This would mean that capitalist markets have infiltrated, marked, and dominated what was a previously existing non-economic domain.

**Table 7: Level of marketization by indicator**

<b>Type of Market</b>	<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Level of marketization*</b>
<i><b>Institution supply side</b></i>	<i><b>Access to entry:</b></i> Although there is a collapse between public and private institutions offering, the quality assessment boards control and regulation of credential granting institutions would limit freedom of any agency to become granters of degrees.	+ /- neutral
<i><b>Institution supply side</b></i>	<i><b>Freedom to specify supply of program:</b></i> although universities can develop programs, they need approval by government regulatory bodies. Government intervention in terms of restructuring PSE in Canada indicates low freedom. However, government's ability to steer programming toward objectives, which benefit the overall economy and justify costs of education, indicate a degree of marketization.	- moderately low marketization
<i><b>Institution supply side</b></i>	<i><b>Freedom to use available resources:</b></i> universities seem to be afforded a lot of room to use resources how they see fit and are encouraged to pursue outside relationships and increase revenue streams. The only mechanisms of control over use of funds is regulatory reporting mechanisms. The ability to use funds to finance programs or projects that are not inline with governmental objectives is limited.	+ neutral

<b>Institution supply side</b>	<b>Freedom to set price:</b> all universities have tuition boundaries or freezes and the ability to raise fees at will is not available.	-- low level of marketization
<b>Student demand side</b>	<b>Freedom to choose a provider:</b> access to different providers is increased through credit transfer. However, it is limited by differentiation policies.	+ moderately high level of marketization
<b>Student demand side</b>	<b>Freedom to choose the product:</b> barriers to product choice are increasingly being removed through the expansion of market directed programs and credit transfer.	++ high level of marketization
<b>Student demand side</b>	<b>Adequate information:</b> accountability and performance indicators suggest that there is plenty of information that can be used in making a decision.	++ high level of marketization
<b>Student demand side</b>	<b>Cost recovery:</b> Student loans and funding to institutions are often dependent on consumer price indexes, the type of degree obtained in terms of its exchange value	++ high level of marketization

- ++ = high level of marketization
- + = moderately high marketization
- +/- = neutral
- - = moderately low marketization
- -- = low level of marketization

The table shows that demand has been marketized to a greater degree than supply. That is, there is a greater choice in program and institution, strong cost covering mechanisms as well as information to make an adequate choice. In terms of supply, it appears governments regulate post-secondary education markets to a strong degree and that academic oligarchy or resistance to market measures is strongly present. Thus, institutions are not free to make choices that benefit themselves. Instead, they are significantly monitored through governmental design and

engineering. Of course its important to note that the government is not a neutral site, and it in fact often creates policies to favour freeing markets. Education and transfer of knowledge is important for the nation's states well-being, and is therefore not subjected to the freedom of the market and risk failure.

## **Chapter 9: Implications and conclusions:**

I argue that the current post-secondary academic form in Canada can be considered a reflection of market practices and the operation of the state in a relational manner. The data presented here supports the claims in the literature suggesting post-secondary education is characterized by corporate governance mechanisms including the organizing of universities away from the collegial model to administrative, market, governmental and political regulatory ones. It is also clear that relations of resistance, housed in previous academic oligarchies, exist and penetrate or mediate the ability of government and university administration, to steer post-secondary institutions.

This research clearly shows that the state directs and steers post-secondary education policy to a great degree at the institutional level. We saw this in terms of the strategic reports of institutions being increasingly guided toward outcome/output measures as dictated by reports commissioned by provincial governments, think tanks, and other research bodies. Much of this is associated with a turn to accountability and the need of taxpayers to have use of their money justified. A key indicator of neo-liberalism, this accountability structure, manifests itself as performance indicators and is a clear sign of a marketized system. The development and use of performance indicators are recognizable in every case study, even in New Brunswick where it could be argued the collegial governance model is strongest. These indicators include student outcome & income units, credentials awarded, aboriginal student headcount, and customer experience

including student satisfaction with educational experience, graduate assessment of skill development, student assessment of the quality of instruction, student assessment of usefulness of knowledge and skills in performing job, and (un)employment rates. This information is increasingly used in consumer decisions regarding product and provider. The culture of the credential, indicated by demand for programs, was found to be being highly marketized. The demand for providing consumers with knowledge in order to make free choices about providers and product, and the provision of cost covering clearly indicates the marketizing of demand.

A culture of innovation was also apparent in terms of government steering institutions to make programming decisions, and to direct attention toward labour market driven programs. This is also indicated by the financial steering of post-secondary education sector toward increasing revenue streams through partnerships and the development of interstitial organizations.

The development of criminal justice programs therefore, is found at the crosshairs of this turn to neo-liberal fiscal policy and marketization, and neo-conservative progressivism. These programs are recent, although existed in some form prior to their full establishment as independent multi-disciplinary programs. These programs are connected to shifts in government need for knowledge derived from universities. The initial penal welfare reform began in universities in the 1940& 50s when there was a call for a scientific turn to criminal justice intervention and that

the conditions in prisons were not reforming people. Penal welfarism suggested the state had an important role to play in making society a better place. Therefore, the connection between criminal justice administrative policy and universities was a strong horizontal connection between social welfare markets and knowledge markets. As penal welfarism changes toward expressive and punitive penal reform, the academic knowledge changes to accompany research funding possibilities, the massive rise of evaluating programs to overcome the concern that ‘nothing works’ characterized the field. Therefore, as these markets grow, government responds by encouraging universities to develop such programs. Indeed, the failure of the first criminology department in Canada at University of British Columbia is evidence of the lack of post-secondary markets to accommodate such a directly focused department.

Findings presented here are similar to what Fastenfest calls horizontal integration of societies institutions, and is a key example of Jessop’s strategic relational approach to understanding how the state operates. Governments have been reduced to laying out rules of the game instead of directly controlling knowledge production and transfer. Because the supply of post-secondary education is less marketized, I claim the state’s role in post-secondary education has not been eradicated by market forces. Instead, it has been redefined. It provides cost covering for students, it directs development of programs to fit with its progressive direction, it dedicates research funds in terms of increasingly using third party partnerships, and it

strategically directs its funds. The government thus deregulates at the same time as it creates situations for competition (in strategic funding, in research funds).

There is a shift in the state from being the entity that can control and engineer society to one that is more akin to a mechanism of keeping pace, progressing, and managing social problems so progress is likely to occur. As the economy expands, and labour markets globalize, nation states change their governance practices to management ones. We see this quite clearly in the data here regarding post-secondary education. States increasingly steer universities in particular directions bounded by outcomes and performance. We also see this in the de-regulation of the credential, placing it with the person, not the institution. This is evident in the explosion of criminal justice programs in the late 2000s corresponding to the expansion of the credential. And because these programs are in high demand, as evidenced by the data presented here, they will continue to flourish at the behest of programs who do not meet student market demand.

Therefore, we cannot understand the debate on the rise of criminal justice departments as an independent choice of scholars. Although each of the departments in this study were proposed by scholars who found themselves academically limited by their parent discipline, this alone does not appear enough to create a new academic department. The expansion of these departments is strongly related to the effect of markets on liberal arts in Canadian universities. The three types of criminal justice departments I detailed (academic, applied, and those in-

between) appear to be determined by the political economic and level of marketization found in the university and provincial policy. It is no surprise that the department with the least applied focus (St. Thomas) is the one found in the province experiencing the most resistance to the governmental steering of universities. It is also not surprising that the most characterized as practice-based (Fraser Valley), is found in the province with the least restrictive regulatory policies.

Marketization as a conceptual tool assists us in understanding how governments employ market mechanisms to assist in the allocation of resources while still maintaining itself as a site of control. In this sense, we see that the demand side of post-secondary education is most marketized and providers of education increasingly cater to this student demand as well as catering to research sectors, also highly marketized, as an external revenue source. These were both found to be highly marketized determinants in this study.

The markets of higher education are complex. And although the rhetoric of competition promoting greater effectiveness permeates universities, it is questionable whether it has produced greater efficiency or is in the midst of a market failure.

#### Relations of Post-Secondary Education and the Operation of the State

This study argues that dichotomous, determinist approaches to thinking about post-secondary education as dominated by markets and capital is not adequate. While

there is clearly a marketized turn, we can use Jessop to claim that societalization as a relational process is strongly evident in post-secondary education. This process is about maintaining conditions for capital and studying the relations that support or create a set of social occurrences or forms, such as institutions. To claim market forces and governmental control dominate post-secondary education is theoretically limiting. This does not mean that models of corporate management, markets of credentials, privatized relations do not exist – they do. However, this study shows it to be fruitful to explore other analytic models as they explain the nature of post-secondary education in a more full and robust fashion.

What does this study tell us with regard to the state and its relation to capitalism as occurring in post-secondary education? If we take Jessop's concept of economic determination, we can assess that the credential, which is becoming more and more tied to labour markets and provincial prosperity (as we've seen in program development encouraged by provinces and adopted by post-secondary educational institutions), post-secondary education becomes implicated in capital accumulation to a greater degree than before. The credential is thus commercialized via its exchange in the labour market. As the credential becomes more and more tied to labour markets, the relations between capitalism and post-secondary education become stronger. Post-secondary education becomes a stronger part of the circuit of capital and thus its accumulation. With respect to the study of criminal justice, it appears the credential, and the knowledge obtained with the credential, is not directly translated to the labour market. Participants in this study stated that only

50% of graduates go on to work in the field. And of those 50%, not all of them end up in formalized state systems of control (police or corrections).

Jessop's second concern is ecological dominance, focusing on how the ecology, network, or system of post-secondary education, is dominated by capitalist interests and methods. He claims the ecological dominance of capitalism depends on the extent to which monetized, profit and loss calculations penetrate the life-world at the expense of other modes of calculation and subjectivity (Jessop 2002:25). It appears in this study that neo-liberal, corporate financial models do dominate post-secondary education and restrict or steer the ability of academics to develop programs, engage in research, and use resources as they determine necessary. Therefore, it appears that relations of finance in post-secondary education are strong examples of ecological dominance. Post-secondary education, a traditionally non-economic institution, has become subject to commodification and become oriented to profit. Jessop says neo-liberal education is intended to induce decision-makers to become more business-like (2002:29).

We also see this ecological dominance in terms of the culture of post-secondary education. This study showed that the demand side of post-secondary education is highly marketized. What this means is the life world or culture and sets of relations of post-secondary education (particularly those between students and institutions and students and professors as well as professors and industry) are dominated by consumerist ideologies. Freedom to choose a product, making credentials fluid and

transferable, determining what a credential or a credit is, the extensive marketing campaigns of universities to students are all examples of the normalization of post-secondary education as a consumer based service. These are characteristic of Schumpeterian competition state. Other evidence of economic dominance found in this study is the relation developed between institutions for state funding, strategic funding, and academic funding. Marketization regulation is a way to make sure that government funded institutions are accountable to all stakeholders including people in the institution from managers to workers, clients of the institution and the public taxpayer.

Jessop's last mechanism of societalization is akin to economic hegemony. This is best captured in the idea of institutions cultivating a 'general economic interest.' In the post-secondary education landscape we see economic hegemony in the development of temporal indicators such as strategic plans, incremental funding, push toward innovation and third party partnerships, and in spatial contexts such as provincial infrastructure funding, federal student and research funding, where the temporal and spatial aspects of monetary cycles dominate the framework of the institution. Student debt is privatized, not a public responsibility, and the hegemonic practices that accompany this are individualized, not communalized and fall precisely in the hegemony of neo-liberal capitalist accumulation. In other words, economic hegemony is seen in post-secondary education institutions that put the balance sheet and innovation ahead of principles like academic freedom. It is important to note that this hegemonic dominance is actively resisted. Evidence of

this resistance was found in several examples in this study. For example, the resistance by universities to adopt credit transfer and the resistance to pursue rigid, calculated divisions between types of post-secondary education institutions (applied versus academic). It appears that there is a strong counter hegemony that the academic oligarchy encourages and pushes for in terms of policy and program content.

What is also interesting in terms of economic hegemony is how entrenched post-secondary education is in current social relations. In the introduction of this thesis, I claimed that post-secondary education and the credential are embedded in our daily thinking about the life course and how to navigate the world. Getting an education or achieving a credential is part of the regularized life path of the citizenry, alongside marriage, children, buying a house, retirement etc. As the hegemony of post-secondary education solidifies itself in the conscious and unconscious social relations that constitute our social world, the processes that accompany post-secondary education (such as the corporatized and marketized processes) also become embedded in our collective conscious. This, Jessop would claim, is the epitome of capitalist hegemony. Citizens' daily navigation in the world becomes inextricably linked to those relations that support capital and market accumulation.

#### *Future Studies of Post-Secondary Education*

This study contributes to the field of post-secondary education studies in a few ways. First, it nuances the dominant model of academic capitalism by distilling the

relationships involved in post-secondary education forms. It reveals the relationships involved in various markets (student/labour, academic, and fiscal) and perhaps lays a model for future studies of post-secondary education. As such, it adds depth to literature outlined in the first chapter, which was considered reductionist, narrow, and descriptive. By adding a strong relational methodological approach as well as use of marketization as a neo-liberal process, it allowed me to produce evidence to support claims made in the literature.

Second, through identifying the level of marketization found in supply and demand sides of post-secondary education, it allows further investigation into each of these markets. This is also a limit to the study. While this study used a particular model of supply and demand indicators, they are not perfect and are limited in particular ways. For instance, although I speculate on student demand, I did not produce data that verified the nature of demand. As such, the claims made here are limited. In addition because I only examined liberal arts programs, and did not have a comparator group in vocational schools, the claims made about liberal arts and vocational divide are restricted. I would suggest a fruitful future study would be to unpack many of these markets to assess other things that need to be considered to produce evidence on the nature of the marketization.

Third, I think this study can be used as a way to identify areas of resistance. We are currently in a climate of faculty resistance and concern about the future of post-secondary education. We see this in numerous areas from faculty strikes, debates about intellectual property, disputes about the collapsing and changing of traditional disciplinary boundaries, and a rise of administration control at the

behest of academic or collegial models of government. The model of examining supply and demand side levels of marketization of post-secondary education may provide a map of issues for those who resist the corporate and commercialized path of post-secondary education.

And finally, this analytical model adds depth to the applied versus academic debate on the rise of criminal justice departments. It removes it from a narrow focus on the tension between disciplinary departments and between scholars, into one that considers liberal arts education in an increasingly post-disciplinary liberal arts configuration, and one that can turn its goals toward intellectual formation, and redefine the goals of a liberal arts education. However, this study was not able to make definitive claims about the difference between Canadian criminology and Canadian criminal justice, or whether this divide exists and to what degree. Further, because there was not comparator group in other liberal arts disciplines. A future study could examine in more detail, the curriculum and student experience in criminology versus criminal justice departments.

## Conclusion

Using a relational analysis, and characterizing post-secondary education as a cultural and structural setting where consumption, production and exchange occur, this study examined the various markets of post-secondary education and the degree of marketization found in each market. It argues that post-secondary education is highly marketized in terms of demand but is more immune to market influences at the level of the state. As societies globalize and markets penetrate all

social forms, the changing nature of post-secondary education as a pivotal site of knowledge generation becomes increasingly important.

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