

Producing a Culture of Lemmings: The Corporatization of Post-Secondary Education in  
Quebec and the Dissolution of Quebec Culture and Identity

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## ABSTRACT

### Producing a Culture of Lemmings: The Corporatization of Post-Secondary Education in Quebec and the Dissolution of Quebec Culture and Identity

Joel Helayel

This study is an exploratory report into the educational structure of Quebec. The emphasis is placed on the impact neo-liberalism and its counterpart corporatization, have on post-secondary institutions as well as the political, economic and social constructs of Canadian identity and nationalism. Some of the issues to be addressed are: the origins of post-secondary institutions in Quebec and their subsequent evolution, the impact fiscal federalism has on funding mechanisms, the neo-liberalist culture and its vices, the corporatization of Concordia University, and the overall impact of corporatization on Quebec distinctiveness and Canadian nationality. Conclusions will be made as to the status of Quebec universities in an age of corporate control and some prescriptions will be presented to mend the existing system.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

There exists a legend about lemmings and their periodic march over a cliff into the sea resulting in their eventual demise. What is ignored, however, is that this legend of the rodents' deliberate suicidal journey is just that, a legend, holding no truth whatsoever. Rather, lemmings undertake these periodic migrations in search of a food supply, swimming across streams and rivers sacrificing their lives in an effort to maintain the ongoing survival of their species. The myth of their mass suicide stems from the occasional death of a great number of lemmings as they advance into unknown waters, sometimes too deep to swim in. In the current context of our existence, we have adopted some of these mythological suicidal tendencies of lemmings, following an economic drumbeat to our own eventual demise. The culture of neo-liberalism has reoriented the priorities of our society, making profit-making and self-acquisition our primary objectives. Not only has neo-liberalism crept into every sector of society, but it has also mandated itself as the sole alternative to economic and political ruin. This ideology has rendered us impotent. But like the legend of the lemmings, neo-liberalism is a myth within itself. It attempts to restructure and reinvent institutions in the corporate image. And in doing so, it manifests itself as the norm. To ensure the credibility of their ideology, neo-liberals embark on a slow yet destructive process of elimination-elimination of programs, thoughts and activities that have the potential to give birth to resistance and criticism of this market-based ideology.

But we should not and will not be silenced. Linda McQuaig, a renowned Canadian political critic and author, states that:

Governments have a greater capacity to defend our interests—to reduce unemployment and provide properly funded social programs—than we've been led to believe. It asserts that the notion of government powerlessness is part of a cult of impotence, which amounts to a celebration of the weakening of democracy, the transfer of power from popularly elected governments to powerful private interests<sup>2</sup>.

Humans, unlike lemmings, have the ability to learn from the mistakes of the present and create a greater standard of living for the future. We are not impotent as we have been led to believe. Our governments are not limp and lifeless. We have the option to turn away from our self-destructive disposition and return to a reality where community and solidarity override individualism and division. And in order to do so, we need to acquaint ourselves with the general themes of neo-liberalism and corporatization. Higher education is only one of many sectors affected by these two forces, but, nevertheless, its importance to cultural and social promotion make it a specifically important area of study and the central focus of this thesis. Therefore, it is equally important to familiarize ourselves with the basic structure of university institutions and its affiliated agencies, governmental departments and personnel in order to gain a better understanding of this corporatizing phenomenon and in order to formulize plans for the halting of its occurrence and from mitigating any attempts to further entrench the neo-liberal philosophy within our educational institutions and concurrently in all other sectors of society and public life.

This thesis will introduce Quebec as a unique nation with its own educational system, emphasizing that there indeed exist variations in post-secondary institutions across different provinces in Canada. It will address the question of how regionalism

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<sup>2</sup> McQuaig, Linda. *The Cult of Impotence: Selling the Myth of Powerlessness in the Global Economy*.

(Toronto: Penguin Books, 1998) xii.



resulting from differences in resource-based industries and consequently economic prosperity, resonates in the very educational institutions prided in developing the labour ethics as well as the societal values characteristic to each region. Quebec especially, stands out from the multitude of perspectives and systems. Its uniqueness, due in part to its Roman Catholic orientation and French origins has been manifested in its educational institutions. Due to the limits of space, this thesis will primarily concentrate on the evolution of post-secondary education and its significance to the conception of a Quebecois identity. It will then demonstrate how post-secondary institutions that adopted democratic educational ideals during the post-War World II years have experienced a direct attack as a result of the adoption of a neo-liberal ideology based on a market-oriented philosophy in the 80s. Through efforts to make neo-liberalism the norm, proponents of this school of thought, have targeted the very institutions responsible for creating critically independent citizens capable of overturning the trend of commodification in place. Professor of Sociology and author, Janice Newson, reiterates: "education policy is a particular favoured form of micro-economic revision because of the perceived role that it plays in restructuring the economy along the lines of macro-economic choices with an emphasis on efficiency, productivity, and global competitiveness"<sup>3</sup>.

In sum, I have decided to discuss the impact of corporatization on Quebec post-secondary institutions, with emphasis that this neo-liberal takeover, although not in full gear in Quebec as opposed to the rest of English speaking Canada, will have a direct

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<sup>3</sup> Doherty-Delrome, Denise and Erika Shaker (eds.). *Missing Pieces II: An Alternative Guide to Canadian Post-Secondary Education 2000/2001* (Canada: CCPA, 2001) 187.

impact on Quebec identity and its nationalist movement<sup>4</sup>. The new lingo is not French nor English, but corporatism; a language that leaves no space for distinctiveness and nationalist cries within a corporate agenda that erases borders and removes any safeguards to a nation's identity. It would be interesting to see how corporatization of post-secondary education can have a direct impact on Quebec culture and identity. With the erosion of democratic education we are left with a population that is oriented toward the idea of profit-making and that alone. When money rules, everything else, including cultural and national identity and their preservation are no longer important.

This thesis is separated into different sections, each dealing and contributing to the understanding of the main theme of corporatization of post-secondary education in Quebec and its impact on the structuring of society. The first section will provide a general overview of the ethical implications associated with education at the post-secondary level. Its analysis of the liberal ideals of equality, fairness, freedom and democracy will provide a general framework which post-secondary institutions can and should measure up to. Within that context, a historical background of the origins of federalism in Canada and the status Quebec maintains in such a federation will be provided in the next section. In analyzing federalism in general and fiscal federalism in particular, we will be able to explore post-secondary institutions in Quebec under two different ideologies, that of the welfare state and that of neo-liberalism. The two ideologies will be presented to help explain the impact of separate political doctrines on public policy issues relating to education. The welfare system section will explore the

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<sup>4</sup> This paper is under no circumstances advocating or supporting Quebec's separation from the rest of Canada. Nevertheless, it recognizes and points out the distinctiveness of Quebec culture and the subsequent uniqueness associated with the evolution of the post-secondary structure in that province.

benefits and costs of a socially democratic Keynesian state, paying particular attention to the devotion dedicated to social programs under such a political system. The neo-liberal section, on the other hand, will explore the culture of neo-liberalism, pointing to its origins, ideals and impacts. Like the previous section it will discuss the role fiscal federalism plays in the allocation of funds to post-secondary institutions. However, it will highlight the negative impact of neo-liberal tenets on these aforementioned institutions. This will lead us into the discussion of corporatization of post-secondary education. Corporatization and its different manifestations will be discussed. Concordia University will be used to provide a visual picture of corporatization at play. With this look at the destructive forces of neo-liberalism, the thesis will turn to an alternative form of governance, modeled after a socially democratic system. This section will present the true essence of education and its role in creating a critical, participatory and democratic citizenry; it will emphasize the need for greater funding for social programs, particularly education; and it will point out to possible sources of revenue for the maintenance of post-secondary education. The final section will call on people from all walks of life, including environmentalists, feminists, anti-globalist, educators, and students, to solidify their efforts and provide impetus for a social movement that can transform the current state of affairs and provide more hope for a better future.

## METHODOLOGY

Due to the exploratory nature of this work, there is a heavy reliance on secondary sources of reference. A number of books, academic journals and trustworthy internet sites were used in assessing the federal nature of the Canadian governmental structure and its impact on the corporatization of education. Acclaimed authors such as Linda McQuaig, George Grant, and Karl Polanyi, contributed greatly to the overall general understanding of the power of economics in dictating public policy matters. However, when it came down to assessing educational systems and the impact of corporatization on institutions of higher learning in Canada and Quebec, a number of more specialized and concise works were utilized. The different authors' assessment of these educational structures resulted in the generation of a personal understanding of corporatization of post-secondary education. A number of statistical facts are presented to substantiate the claims made in the paper. The Statistics Canada and the Federal-Provincial Tax Transfer websites and archival records, in particular, were used to substantiate some of the figures presented in this research endeavor. By looking at figures, charts and tables we are able to visualize the future of higher education if it were to continue on this route of privatization. Furthermore, newspapers and documentaries were effective in highlighting the displeasure of the Canadian population with globalism in general and corporatism in particular. In placing emphasis on the sentiments of the Canadian population concerning this issue, I am able to demonstrate that there indeed exists a resistance movement that is gaining ground and that is helping bring the issue into the forefront.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATION

*Principles of Higher Education and the Function of Universities:*

In discussing the commercialization of post-secondary education, it is important to first discuss our understanding of education as a theoretical conception. Education is “what the ancients called the *respublica*-the public’s thing-the common good”<sup>5</sup>. It “implies that something worthwhile is being or has been intentionally transmitted in a morally acceptable manner”<sup>6</sup>. As the definition indicates, there exists two important aspects related to education. One includes pedagogy being rewarding in its pursuit and the other refers to its moral overtones. Therefore, education is not merely the transmission of information but rather it incorporates two cognitive aspects, those of knowledge and understanding<sup>7</sup>. In other words, one must understand the ‘reason why’ of things and make sense of the facts provided. Therefore, “education involves getting people to grasp and possess for themselves those worth-while things which are essential to education and to care for them once they have mastered them”<sup>8</sup>.

The acquisition of knowledge and the ability to discern and interpret it creates what one might term an ‘educated’ individual. This individual’s pursuit of the truth cannot be impeded by any externalities. His journey into self-discovery must be altruistic in nature, undertaken with the aim of the common good of all. “Four main worlds of

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<sup>5</sup> Doherty-Delrome and Shaker, 143.

<sup>6</sup> Peters, R. S. *Ethics and Education* (London: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1967) 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

knowledge may be defined, which among them make up modern culture: the humanities, contemporary science, technology and popular culture”<sup>9</sup>. Free liberal education allows for this journey into self-discovery to take place by removing any obstacles that might hinder the conception of education discussed above. The ethical foundations of liberal education that remove the barriers to learning include equity, freedom, public accountability, accessibility, and quality.

Equity is a term that does not necessarily seek to incorporate everyone into one category. Rather it is a concept that ensures that all individuals have the right to attend or work at a school and program of their choice and that they are in turn “afforded every opportunity to thrive, teach, learn and work fully”<sup>10</sup>. It “is defined as those policies in place to ensure that all individuals and communities are able to attend or work at the school and program of their choice. It also ensures that all students, faculty and support staff are afforded every opportunity to thrive, teach, learn and work fully and that those opportunities are not just protected, but reinforced and thoroughly integrated into every aspect of higher education”<sup>11</sup>.

Equity in education is part of the cycle of democracy. Realizing the existent differences in the university allows for an unobstructed path to knowledge acquisition. Equity does not refer to the removal of differences, rather equity celebrates these differences that in turn create a politicized atmosphere on campus leading to the accumulation of different perspectives and the eventual establishment of one’s own

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<sup>9</sup> The Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (Parent Report)*. (Government of Quebec, 1965) 5.

<sup>10</sup> Doherty-Delrome and Shaker, 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

conception of that acquired knowledge. Equality in this sense calls for the recognition of differences, the dissemination of information, and the celebration of different perspectives with equal weight and fairness.

Certain criteria can be used to measure the level of equity a university or any other post-secondary institution exercises. These criteria depend on statistics gathered from a number of different sources. The first category of measurements depend on the differences found in tuition fees paid by international students as opposed to Canadian students. The lower the difference the better, because it demonstrates that different ethnicities have equal access to higher learning, irrelevant of cultural background, religious affiliation, or linguistic preference. The second category includes the total number of female faculty members employed in post-secondary education. An equal number of positions given to female and male faculty members suggests that the post-secondary institution does not discriminate against a specific sex. The third category measures the percentage of low-income households with degrees in post-secondary education. A high percentage of degrees awarded to students coming from low socio-economic backgrounds suggest that students have equal access to university regardless of financial standing. The last category, that of provincial unemployment rates, measure the provinces' ability to provide jobs for students graduating from post-secondary institutions regardless of their area of study. Therefore, high unemployment rates demonstrate partiality in the distribution of jobs.

Separate from, but related to equity is the concept of freedom. Freedom is a prerequisite for the existence of equality, therefore establishing the cycle discussed above. The topic of freedom can be addressed in two separate but interlinked

approaches. One approach allows for the personal practice of free inquiry, self-reflection, and provocative thought. This in turn creates an environment of openness in which all ideas, some of which are conflictual and contradictory, are considered, evaluated accordingly, and then used to perfect one's own ideas. This ongoing exchange of contrary views improves humanity by allowing discussions that recognize and attempt to address social inequalities encountered within the community at large. Freedom of inquiry, is essential "to our growth, our strength both as individuals and as a community"<sup>12</sup>. While this approach focuses more on the individual's personal freedom to obtain knowledge, the other approach focuses more on freedom of expression, the freedom to be heard. As stated previously, the exchange of ideas and views assists in creating a more humane environment because 'worth-while' knowledge plays an important role in eliminating social inequalities and injustices. Freedom promotes interests and "maximizes [peoples] opportunities for doing what is worthwhile"<sup>13</sup>. Participation in worth-while activities allows for the channeling of these beliefs and values. Student organizations on campus are a reflection of these university-sponsored activities which contribute to the quality of living and put to practice the overall cognitive abilities of its members. Freedom, whether it concerns expression or thought, "must be demanded by any rational being"<sup>14</sup>.

The third principle, that of public accountability, stipulates in a more maximalist interpretation that there should be a general requirement for some "kind of procedure for

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<sup>12</sup> Troy, Gil. "The Freedom to Speak." *The Gazette*. (Thursday, September 26) A31.

<sup>13</sup> Peters, 103.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 105.



consulting citizens of a state about state action and policy”<sup>15</sup>. Therefore, a more minimalist interpretation would argue that educational institutions should ensure consultation and transparency in their mandates and be held accountable to the public<sup>16</sup>. Furthermore, they must guarantee some form of teaching autonomy, that would allow for the pursuit of one’s own research interests. In short, educational institutions, should adopt democratic principles in order to develop “democratically minded citizens” who engulf the moral principles of fairness, liberty, and consideration of interests<sup>17</sup>. Universities, thus, should be havens, marketplaces for the free and safe exchange of ideas.

Accountability can be measured by taking a look at the percentage of post-secondary funding from the government as opposed to funding provided by student fees and the private sector. Public funding is transparent and therefore accountable to the population and government. After all, the government is using taxpayers’ money to fund social and educational programs. Private funding, however, cannot be held accountable for anything, since most of the agreements and transactions initiated between this sector and the post-secondary system are secretive and therefore unavailable for public scrutiny. Exclusivity deals, donor agreements, ad campaigns, as well as other methods of corporatization are all done behind closed doors and the details of the agreements are rarely revealed. Student fees are determined by taking into consideration, tuition freeze laws, tuition levels, student ranking, and the status of existing grant systems. They provide a sufficient analysis of accountability levels at the provincial level.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 198.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 208.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid 208.

Accessibility refers to the ability to raise the financial means to pursue a post-secondary education. It implies affordability and equality of opportunity ensured through the implementation of loans programs and decreased tuition fees. The Canadian Student Loan System, the Registered Education Savings Plan, tuition fees, job availability for graduates of higher learning, and the rate of participation in the post-secondary system amongst 18-24 year olds all help determine if post-secondary institutions are accessible and affordable. This concept also refers to equality of educational opportunity. Three meanings exist of "equal educational opportunity." The first, *equality of access*, contends that "all individuals regardless of sex, race, religion, or social class, should have equal opportunity of access to education"<sup>18</sup>. The second meaning, *equality of treatment*, claims that there is a need to use school programs and relevant teaching practices that respond to the needs of different cultures and thus different academic performances. The third meaning, *equality of results* states that "school systems should compensate for the physical, intellectual, and sociocultural handicaps that individuals may bring to their schooling"<sup>19</sup>. All three meanings take a more sociological approach to the understanding of accessibility and opportunity. By creating categories that target sociological and physical handicaps, they eliminate any loopholes for the exclusion of specific types of people.

The last principle of higher education is quality. Quality refers to receiving a "well-rounded educational experience" in all aspects of university life, starting with the financing of university infrastructure and finishing with the availability of non 'market

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<sup>18</sup> Lessard, Claude. "Equality and Inequality in the Canadian Educational System." In *Social Change and Education in Canada* by Ratina Gosh and Douglas Rays (ed.). (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1988) 178.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 178.

worthy' disciplines. Quality like the other principles, can be measured using a number of indicators. They include: the amount per capita spent on post-secondary education, provincial expenditure on post-secondary education, per capita university operating grants, percentage change in number of faculty, and student-to-faculty ratio. The first three are self-explanatory: The more money invested in the university the better the quality of education. The last two determine the dedication of the faculty and administration to the student population. The greater the amount of teachers available and the lower the student-to-teacher ratio the higher the dedication to pedagogy and instruction<sup>20</sup>.

These principles establish the ethical grounds for the transmission of knowledge through the means of pedagogy. Ethics, here, is defined as "the study of the specific moral choices to be made with others"<sup>21</sup>. It is a "concept of what is good, right and ought"<sup>22</sup>. It makes sense of the normative context in which morality, "what is perceived as right, just or virtuous, lies"<sup>23</sup>. In this sense, morality is established on the basis of what is defined as the norm which is itself established by a specific set of customs and modes of behavior<sup>24</sup>.

This brings us to the discussion of the university's role in the public dissemination of knowledge and truth, which are elements of a liberal education. According to Ursula Franklin, a renowned professor and humanitarian, a university is a "place or institution

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<sup>20</sup> View Appendix 3 to see provincial rankings in these areas. A ranking of ten implies the worst placement while a ranking of one implies the best placement.

<sup>21</sup> Berryman, Marie V. *Attending to the Ethical Principles in Canadian Universities* (A Thesis in the Department of Education: Concordia University, April 2001) 8.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 9.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

where the ruling apparatus of the time transfers to the next generation the attitudes, skills, and knowledge needed to cope with the future”<sup>25</sup>. Its five functions, the provision of instruction, research, community service, criticism of society, and a tool for cultural promotion are all necessary elements required for the survival of a democratic state.

First and foremost, a university is a public enterprise with social development as its main objective. Reconstructionists look at a “school as a place for the creation of democratic citizens capable of consensual deliberation with the potential for social transformation”<sup>26</sup>. A public university thus, must be accessible, communal, publicly funded and governed, and a hub for the exchange of ideas and the practice of democracy. It should employ a “staff with valuable expertise and skills” and conduct research that assesses ‘new knowledge’<sup>27</sup>. It should not only offer informative courses but it must also provide an atmosphere of openness where critical judgements can be made, assisting in the growth of an individual’s self-knowledge and their ability to overturn structures of oppression<sup>28</sup>. In essence it should help produce a “liberal, reasonable individual”<sup>29</sup>. In theory a university should operate as a cultural institution and should contribute to social cohesion by laying the “foundations for a democratic, egalitarian, just and humane society”<sup>30</sup>. That is why universities are designated public service institutions.

Universities provide for the overall well-being of a community as a whole and the personal growth of specific individuals. More importantly, however, is that they help

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<sup>25</sup> Turk, James L. (ed.). *The Corporate Campus: Commercialization and the Dangers to Canada’s Colleges and Universities*. (Halifax: James Lonmer and Company Ltd. and CAUT, 2000) 18.

<sup>26</sup> Saltman, Kenneth J. *Collateral Damage: Corporatizing Public Schools-A Threat to Democracy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000) 1.

<sup>27</sup> Turk, 18.

<sup>28</sup> Readings, Bill. *The University in Ruins*. (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996) 6.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>30</sup> Turk, 13.

students acquire critical thinking skills, a better capacity for problem-solving, a more liberalized social outlook and a greater ability to communicate and discuss. A university is a mechanism by which culture is preserved and transmitted in a way that produces an active citizenry. Its commitment to culture is further compounded with a commitment to citizenship education. Citizenship education in Canada entails educating the population on Canadian and cosmopolitan identity, respect for human rights, responsibility for maintaining citizenship rights, commitment to social values, participation in public life and behaving intelligently, and finally, taking all the afore-mentioned principles into consideration when making decisions<sup>31</sup>. In Quebec, in particular, university education must exalt "the ideals, the symbols, and the values of the French Canadians: the history of the race, the Mother country, the Roman Catholic Church, the language and folklore, and the cult of the soil"<sup>32</sup>.

Education, especially at the university level, can be used to train for citizenship and to espouse communal affiliations as well as to eliminate passivism, encourage activism, both characteristics of an active democracy. However, this function of post-secondary institutions, as will be demonstrated later, has been transformed with the advent of the current global economy. Universities are no longer available to us in the way described above. Instead, the university now revolves around a corporate ethos of profit-making. Its role as a cultural institution has been replaced with one of excellence. The cultured individual of the past, that is a knowledgeable well-developed character, is

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<sup>31</sup> The above-mentioned six elements to citizenship are borrowed from Bernie Froese Germain, a Canadian education writer and researcher, in *Missing Pieces II: An Alternative Guide to Canadian Post-secondary Education, 2000/2001*.

<sup>32</sup> Cook, Ramsay (ed.). *French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology*. (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1969) 23.

replaced with the market labourer, who seeks to maximize his profits at every cost. This transformation in university roles is due in part to the demise of the nation-state in the global era. Transnational corporations have taken on the role of the nation-state as controllers of capital, thereby influencing university mandates. They have stripped universities of their cultural missions and have transformed them into the “bureaucratic arms of the unipolar capitalist system”<sup>33</sup>. University mission statements now include innovation, “the process of bringing new goods and services to the market”, as a goal<sup>34</sup>. This has resulted in a shift from autonomy to accountability, from academic freedom to institutional planning and management, and from scholarship to entrepreneurship<sup>35</sup>. To understand this paradigm shift, we must examine the elements that have allowed universities to become such easy targets for corporatization by looking at the funding mechanisms that are installed in Canada’s federal governmental structure. But first, let us look at the evolution of the educational system in Quebec.

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<sup>33</sup> Readings, 46.

<sup>34</sup> Turk, 25.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 27-29.

## CHAPTER III

### THE EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION IN QUEBEC: THE BEGINNING

#### The Colonial Years:

To understand Quebec identity is to trace the origins and birth of Roman Catholicism and French culture in Lower Canada<sup>36</sup>, now known as Quebec. It is this existence within a predominantly Protestant English-speaking country and the Francophone population's will to survive that can explain the social values and traditions held by such a minority group. Only by understanding the social values of Quebeckers can we assess the importance of education, specifically post-secondary education, in the preservation of the French-speaking population in Canada and Quebec.

Quebec remained under direct Colonial rule until Confederation in 1867. What was then known as Lower Canada was characterized by a predominantly French-speaking majority of a Roman Catholic religious affiliation. That status alone placed the Quebecois population at a disadvantage. Despite the bestowal of a number of rights under the Quebec Act of 1774<sup>37</sup> and being granted a legislative assembly in 1791<sup>38</sup>, Roman Catholics were made subservient to the Anglophone community, present in

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<sup>36</sup> The area known as Quebec was formerly under French control until 1763. The victory of Great Britain in the Seven Year's War resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Paris which gave the British monarchy control over the St. Lawrence River region, then known as New France. After the conquest, the region was renamed Quebec, after the capital.

<sup>37</sup> The Quebec Act of 1774 fell under legislation also known as the Intolerable Acts. Besides recognizing the Roman Catholic Church, the Act entrenched French language rights and the French civil law. It was passed in an attempt to win the allegiance of French Canadians inhabiting the St. Lawrence River (Quebec) and quash any possibility of support for the rebels of the American Revolutionary War.

<sup>38</sup> The Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the Province of Quebec into two, Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec). It also installed a British parliamentary system in Quebec which resulted in the rise of a Patriot movement headed by Papineau. In 1837 with the issuance of an arrest warrant for Papineau and other nationalist leaders a revolt broke out. The revolt was quashed and instead plans for the unification of the two Canadas were made. In 1849 an Act of Union was passed by the British Parliament creating a jointly run government under Robert Baldwin of Upper Canada and Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine of Lower Canada. This union laid precedence for the eventual creation of the Dominion of Canada with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1867.

Lower Canada. Thus, institutions associated with the Anglican Church of Canada received preferential treatment and its subjects enjoyed great benefits such as publicly funded denominational schools and administrative positions in the government. The French-speaking population, on the other hand, funded their own denominational schools and stuck to a sufficient, yet difficult livelihood based on farming.

In light of such discrimination and oppression, the primarily agrarian society of Lower Canada looked to the Roman Catholic Church for guidance in areas dealing with religion, economics, politics, education and societal organization. "The most important principle of the philosophy of life which the Church in Quebec always held up as an ideal was the primacy of spiritual over material values"<sup>39</sup>. This central organizing principle of spirituality was to be accentuated through a patriarchal family system, a communal parish fellowship, and a denominational educational system. Truth and justice were to be upheld as the guiding principles of economics and politics. Rural living and sustenance through farming were encouraged as they increased the people's connection to the earth and therefore to God. All these 'spiritual' practices and beliefs, created a unique Quebecois identity that had its own distinct language, culture and set of values.

This unique culture and identity was reflected in the educational institutions established in Quebec at the time of its creation. No real educational system existed prior to the nineteenth century in Quebec. Lower Canada, did however, play host to a number of clergy-run institutions such as the Ursulines de Quebec and the Seminaire de Quebec. This all changed however in 1801 with the passage of the first legislation, under the Statutes of Lower Canada, with the aim of creating schools for the Francophone

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<sup>39</sup> Quinn, Herbert F. *The Union Nationale: A Study in Quebec Nationalism*. (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1963) 12.



population. Under this law, elementary schools were created under the administration of the Royal Institution for Advancement of Learning. These Royal schools, as they came to be known, did not attract a Catholic Francophone membership due to the British nature of the administrative standing committee in charge of supervising the established elementary schools. In order to deal with this French boycott of educational instruction, parish schools for Francophones were created with the help of the Fabriques Act of 1824. However, these parishes, run exclusively by local vestries, received no funding from the government. This conflict between denominational institutions, Catholic and Protestant, led to the enactment of the Syndics Act in 1829. This act created denominational commissioners in charge of running elementary schools. Therefore, the linguistic, religious and cultural cleavages dividing the Anglophones and Francophones were further entrenched with the passage of these laws.

An attempt was made in 1841 to pass a law that would dissolve the different educational structures and replace them with one universal system. The Common School Act of 1841 was passed in hopes of establishing an integrated and comprehensive school system that would be free from denominational and linguistic preconditions for membership. This attempt at bringing the population of Canada, from east to west, under the same system, however, failed miserably resulting in the return to the previous denominational structure. Nevertheless, this failure to unify the educational system under one administration brought about two separate but important developments in Canadian education. The first, was to create precedence for any future legislation dealing with education. Education had to be controlled by each of the respected provinces in accordance with their own policies and value systems. The second development, was to

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create a general understanding concerning provincial funding of denominational schools established by religious minorities. Regardless of religious affiliation, each religious minority had the right to set up their own school boards, open their own denominational schools, and still receive grants from the provincial government. That was a huge departure from the previous legislation that left Roman Catholic educational institutions at a disadvantage.

With the establishment of an elementary school structure, secondary institutions, classical colleges, and universities began to flourish. McGill University's founding in 1821 led to the creation of a number of post-secondary institutions with the creation of Laval University in 1852, Bishops in 1853, Loyola College in 1896, Universite de Montreal in 1920, and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales (HEC) in 1907, amongst other universities. Similar to schools at the elementary and secondary levels, post-secondary institutions took on a denominational direction and did not rely so much on research but mostly on the transmission of knowledge placing the arts over science and technology. They were run under either the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church or the Anglican Church. Thus, public funds to these institutions were contingent on the ties each of them maintained with members of society. Catholic post-secondary institutions, as opposed to Protestant ones, received less financial backing due to the nature of the domineering British presence in what was then Canada. As a result, Francophones were at a great disadvantage placing them in the lower socio-economic stratum. The post-secondary system that developed during this period of time, therefore, was reflective of an undemocratic, elitist social structure. The origins of post-secondary education and education as a whole in Canada, including Quebec, did not reflect the

ideals of a democratic society. As a matter of fact, since their inception, schools have been used to sort students into different social slots representative of their economic standing. Education was kept at a minimal level as to not threaten the ruling elite class, and even at that level, curriculum was used as a way to control the working class. "Schools and their curricula often serve to perpetuate and legitimize inequalities of social class, either by refusing to deal with them or by making them appear to be natural and inevitable"<sup>40</sup>. They were used as instruments, by the elite class, to adapt students to the status quo, preparing them for their status in life. The objective of universities, likewise, was to "cast in a single intellectual and moral mould those destined to be the nation's upper class"<sup>41</sup>. Philosophy, etiquette, history, languages were all taught at the higher levels of education because they promoted aristocratic qualities amongst the highly elitist student membership. As a matter of fact the origins of universities did not coincide with a social democratic vision but rather resembled the current philosophy of neo-liberalism infiltrating the educational system. Accessibility, equality of opportunity, universality, affordability and quality, hence, were non-existent terms. They did not become a reality until decades later under the Keynesian state adopted in the post-World War II years. Meanwhile the Francophone educational experience included attending classical colleges, secondary schools, baccalaureates and universities, as opposed to the anglophone system which merely comprised two levels, the secondary and university levels. Both structures, however, were similar in that their levels of higher education "trained the political, legal,

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<sup>40</sup> Osborne, Ken. *Educating Citizens: A Democratic Socialist Agenda for Canadian Education*. (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Education Foundation, 1988) 13.

<sup>41</sup> The Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, 5.

social, and religious elite, the senior civil servants of the Quebec movement, and many critics and reformers who were later to challenge this elite" class<sup>42</sup>.

Confederation in 1867 pushed the Quebec cultural and educational agenda further. Through the establishment of a federal structure under the British North America Act of 1867, Roman Catholics and Francophones were now capable of preserving some semblance of distinctiveness while at the same time extending the rights of Francophones nationally and protecting the legislative powers, educational rights and political leverage they possessed. Federalism seemed to be the best form of governance capable of maintaining a Quebecois identity. This brings us to a discussion of federalism.

#### Understanding Federalism:

According to Garth Stevenson federalism

is a political system in which most or all of the structural elements of the state (executive, legislative, bureaucratic, judiciary, army or police, and machinery for levying taxation) are duplicated at two levels, with both sets of structures exercising effective control over the same territory and population. Furthermore, neither set of structures (or level of government) should be able to abolish the other's jurisdiction over this territory or population<sup>43</sup>.

In Canada's case, two levels of jurisdiction, one on the federal level and the other on the provincial level, were created. Each jurisdictional level was given authority over specific responsibilities. Matters in which the majority of Canadians had a common stake were left under the authority of the national government. Some of the areas covered under this criterion include national defense, responsibility for the allocation of funds, and economic integration. The provincial governments, on the other hand, received authority

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<sup>42</sup> Jones, Glen A., ed. *Higher Education in Canada: Different Systems, Different Perspectives*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997).

<sup>43</sup> Stevenson, Garth. *Unfulfilled Union: Canadian Federalism and National Unity* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) (Gage Educational Publishing Company, 1989) 8.

over issues dealing with culture such as education, health, and social welfare; secured control over the solemnization of marriage and administration of hospitals and asylums; and were left in charge of property and civil rights.

This division of power, however, despite leaving the provinces with authority over local matters, left them reliant on the federal government for financial support. In turning to the federal government for financial resources, provinces allowed the national government to use their spending power to dictate provincial policies. In other words, it would act under the broader scope of its implicit spending power to use certain windows of opportunity to assume a more prominent role in higher education<sup>44</sup>. This dependence on federal financial resources had its greatest impact on Quebecers under the Liberal governments that ensued after confederation. But first let us discuss the implications of the BNA Act on post-secondary education in Canada.

Under Article 93 of the British North America Act, and the subsequent Constitution Act of 1982, education, particularly higher education, is delegated to the provinces. The legislation reads “In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education...”<sup>45</sup>. The BNA Act allowed individuals to choose between Protestant and Catholic educational systems. Therefore, a ministry of education was not created because it would have removed religious schooling from the equation.

At the post-secondary level, provinces “plan, organize, and finance the college and university systems, establish the framework within which institutions charge tuition

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<sup>44</sup> Jones, Glen A., ed. *Higher Education in Canada: Different Systems, Different Perspectives* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997) 10.

<sup>45</sup> Stevenson, 280.

fees, determine the overall policies regarding student admission and account to the voters for the effectiveness and efficiency with which they carry out these responsibilities”<sup>46</sup>. Despite provincial control of post-secondary education, the federal government’s role in the provision of funding in this area remains an important observation that must not be overlooked. According to the Government of Canada, financial support to the provinces allows for the manifestation of other goals and interests that lie elsewhere in the Constitution under federal jurisdiction. “These include fostering equity and equality of opportunity, supporting research and development, promoting the official languages, encouraging cultural development, and assisting the development of international trade and co-operation”<sup>47</sup>. However, the last federal interest, trade, is the most important in that it ensures economic growth and increased productivity based on a skilled and able workforce.

In the case of Quebec, federal intrusion on provincial jurisdiction, through its spending power, was met with resistance. As will be demonstrated below, Quebec managed to play the nationalist card in avoiding these federal transgressions on provincial autonomy. Its unique culture, resulting from its French and Roman Catholic origins, as well as its threat of separation, were used as leverage in the formulation of educational policy issues.

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<sup>46</sup> Miller, Henry D. R. *The Management of Change in Universities: Universities, State and Economy in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom* (Buckingham: SRHE and Open University Press, 1995) 15.

<sup>47</sup> Government of Canada. *Improving Social Security in Canada: Federal Support to Post-Secondary Education: A Supplementary Paper* (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994) 16.

### The Adoption of Liberalism and the Consequences Thereafter:

After juggling between Conservative and Liberal parties post-Confederation, Quebec finally settled for the latter in 1897. The Liberal party seemed to uphold the principles of truth and justice that the Roman Catholic Church and the Quebecois French population held dear and manifested in their educational system. This is demonstrated by the introduction in 1910 of a federal royal commission responsible for issuing grants for the support of technical and vocational programs proceeded by the 1912 grants for the support of agricultural training and the start of the first conditional shared cost program. Their supposed dedication to these principles, under this period of cooperative federalism, came under heavy scrutiny in the 1920s as they embarked on a set of policies that would place Quebec's economic viability in the hands of a small group of English-speaking elites.

Under L. A. Taschereau, premier<sup>48</sup> of Quebec between 1920 and 1936, the province experienced an Industrial Revolution of an unprecedented nature. By exploiting the province's natural resources, developing manufacturing industries and using private enterprise rather than government ownership to industrialize, the Liberal Party managed to destroy the foundations of Quebecois culture and identity. The party's encouragement of foreign capital investment succeeded in placing public utilities in select private English-Canadian, American and foreign hands. These monopolies combined with the promotion of individualism transformed Quebec society from an agrarian to an industrial one. Quebec became one of the largest producers of aluminum, ships, aircraft, asbestos, textiles, and boots and shoes. Furthermore, its production of pulp and paper far exceeded

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<sup>48</sup> Premiers in Quebec are also known as Prime Minister or Premiere Ministre.

any other province's output. Its proximity to the St. Lawrence River, served as an ideal spot for the establishment of chemical and electro-metallurgical industries. The province was rich in minerals such as copper, gold, and zinc. Moreover, the city of Montreal processed raw materials such as sugar, oil and tobacco as well as produced electrical and transportation equipment. Accompanying this trend of industrialization came population movements from rural to urban areas. In 1900, sixty percent of the population of Quebec lived in rural communities. By 1931 that number changed to thirty-seven percent leaving the majority of individuals now living in urban communities.

On the educational front, the value of competition was starting to become embedded in the social fabric of the university. The end of World War I placed Canada on the map exposing it to the international world. Thus in an effort to maintain a competitive edge in the international environment, the National Research Council was introduced in 1916. The Council was responsible for the distribution of grants and scholarships to universities. This federal council established a role for the federal government in university research. The Great Depression, in the 1930 resulted in an increased presence in educational affairs, creating employment and increased shared cost programs with the provinces. In 1939, the federal government introduced what they presented as a financial assistance program, the Dominion-Provincial Student Loan Program (the Canada Student Loan Program (CSLP) as of 1964). The program offered federal loans to students to be distributed by chartered banks and other designated lenders. It also paid the interest while students pursued their full-time studies and six months thereafter.

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Industrialization and economic liberalism, introduced in this period, were “both diametrically opposed to the traditional value system of this Roman Catholic Society”<sup>49</sup>. The industrialists, or the English-speaking investors, brought with them a secular, materialistic and anglophone value system that went against all the traditional set of values that the Francophone population were accustomed to. The self-sufficiency of the agrarian society that once predominated was replaced with a new dependency on world markets. French-Canadians were now known as “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” accepting low wage earning positions. Secularism, individualism, and materialism, replaced Roman Catholicism, the common good, and spirituality as the underlying doctrines. It is therefore, not surprising that this new-found emphasis on the market economy and all its vices was met with resistance amongst the Francophone population.

Two nationalist groups, La Ligue d'Action Francaise and the Catholic Action Organization, arose as a result of the increased dominance of the market. The former was formed in World War I by followers of Henri-Bourassa, a nationalist leader against the naval policies of former Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal Party<sup>50</sup>. Its objective was to encourage the use of the French language in commerce and industries, to promote the cultural distinctiveness of French Canadians, and to protect Francophone rights elsewhere in the country. These nationalists saw the “threat which industrialization presented to the maintenance of the traditional cultural system, and the subordinate role which the French Canadian played in the new economy”<sup>51</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Quinn, 35.

<sup>50</sup> PM Laurier held office from 1896 to 1911, a period of great economic change in Canada. His party's emphasis on industrialization and continentalism did not hold well with Quebec nationalists. His support of the British military during the Boer War of 1899 and the passage of his Naval Service Bill in 1911 resulted in his condemnation by Henri Bourassa and other nationalist leaders who wanted to establish some form of autonomy from the British colonial authority.

<sup>51</sup> Quinn, 38.

The Catholic Action Organization, similarly, found the urbanization and rapid industrialization of Quebec to be a threat to traditional Roman Catholic values. Spirituality, they argued, has been replaced by an evil obsession with materialism. Furthermore, the destruction of the rural agrarian society resulted in the removal of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church from the everyday lives of the Francophone parishioners. Communal living, self-sufficiency and spirituality were destroyed as the result of the movement into industrialism.

Together the Catholic Action Organization and La Ligue d'Action Francaise took on the task to warn the citizenry of the ensuing dangers of industrialization. At first, the nationalist movement met with complacency as a result of the inability of the population to see the negative impacts of industrialization on Quebecois life. That, however, changed with the onset of the Depression of the 1930s. High unemployment levels, wage cuts, poverty and inadequate relief measures demonstrated to the Quebec population the inadequacy of the English system in dealing with unforeseen market fluctuations. As a result, anti-English sentiments grew and antagonism towards foreign investors and the capitalist system surmounted<sup>52</sup>.

#### The Rise of the Union Nationale: A Social Democratic Nationalist Party

Dissatisfaction with the horrible economic conditions of the 1930s was not only expressed by the Roman Catholic Church and La Ligue d'Action Francaise, but also by a very unlikely source, L'Action Liberale Nationale (A.L.N.). The A.L.N. was composed of a number of left-wing Liberals who were dissatisfied with the policies of the ruling

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<sup>52</sup> An example of this antagonism towards foreign capital and markets is reflected in L'Achat Chez Nous movement which promoted the purchase of French-Canadian manufactured goods, a protectionist measure aimed at improving the Quebec economy.

Liberal party. Unable to shift Taschereau's governmental policies into a more nationalist orientation, these young Liberals, headed by Paul Gouin, severed ties with the Liberal party and became a separate, contending political party. The party's nationalist philosophy was applauded by the disgruntled populous and encouraged by the Roman Catholic Church. This applause and encouragement, however, did not make up for the lack of experience of the young nationalists. Thus, an alliance with a very unlikely party brought about the political experience needed to gain political credence.

The Quebec Conservative party had, for years, lived in the shadows of the Liberal party due to its association with its counterpart on the national level. In fact, its image was one of an enforcer of British imperialist policies. Maurice Duplessis, however, changed that. In attempting to dissociate himself from the federal Conservative party, Duplessis was able to secure an alliance with the A.L.N., gaining the acceptance of the masses. Thus, the alliance between the A.L.N. and the Conservative party, resulted in the formation and the rise to power of the Union Nationale in 1936.

The Union Nationale, in its campaign for election, promised a number of social and economic reforms<sup>53</sup>. They included: *agrarian reforms* where government sponsorship of agriculture was to be encouraged at a low interest rate, subsidies for farm products were to be provided, the electrification of rural areas granted, the development of small and medium-sized industries promoted, the establishment of farmer cooperatives to combat monopolies advocated and a back-to-the-land initiative installed; *labour and social reforms*, where minimum wage, shorter hours, and hygiene were legislated,

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<sup>53</sup> The encyclical letters of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, played an important role in the development of these suggested reforms. The Pope while against atheistic Marxist doctrines, still believed in a social democratic setup, where private ownership of property and

indemnities and compensation were insured and social legislation such as health insurance and pension plans proposed; *industrial and financial reforms*, where anti-trust laws would be created and nationalization of private companies undertaken; and finally, *governmental and electoral reforms*, where compulsory voting would be introduced, disassociation of the government from industry enforced, and the Legislative Council replaced with an economic council answerable to the Legislative Assembly<sup>54</sup>.

With the rise to power of the Union Nationale, some of these reforms came into being. The welfare state that developed at the national level was accompanied by a social democratic movement at the provincial level. Together, both political realities resulted in the greatest expansion of social programs in Canada and in Quebec. This explosion of social and welfare programs created a ripe environment for the furtherance of Quebec nationalism. However, as will be discussed later, internal struggles between the two ruling administrations of the A.L.N. and the Conservative party and the eventual demise of the Union Nationale in the 60s combined with the onset of a neo-liberal ideology amongst members of the federal government resulted in the end of the Keynesian state as we know it. Before we turn to the discussion of this downfall it is important to provide a discussion of the different policies and fiscal arrangements implemented by the Canadian and Quebecois government in the period proceeding World War II.

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industry was spread out and where state intervention in the economy and protection of labourers and wage earners as well as the lower classes was warranted.

<sup>54</sup> For more information on these suggested reforms please turn to the *Union Nationale: A Study in Quebec Nationalism*, by Herbert F. Quinn.

## CHAPTER IV

### FISCAL FEDERALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON PUBLIC POLICY DECISIONS CONCERNING POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

This chapter attempts to conceptualize Canada's movement into an integrated North American continental union that has undermined its very existence. It will explain how the world-wide trend of corporatism has finally hit Canada as a result of the intentional use, by the federal government, of neo-liberal fiscal and monetary policies. This trend, the section will argue, will have a colossal impact on Canada's very existence as an autonomous entity and Quebec's status as a distinct province. Capital Corporatism and neo-liberalism, a direct movement away from the Keynesian welfare state of the post-World War II period, has left Canada's future in the unfettered molding hands of the American corporatist elite. The chapter will attempt to justify this point by providing a somewhat conclusive summary of the ideologies of Keynesianism and neo-liberalism by tracking the evolution of fiscal policies post-World War II. In doing so, it will point out the distorted facts preached by neo-liberal practitioners that have been used to justifiably explain the transition to corporatism. It will argue that despite attempts by both the Conservative Mulroney government and the Liberal Chretien government to institutionalize neo-liberal ideals by entrenching them in constitutional and intra-governmental agreements, there still exists an underground resistance movement that draws its membership from the general public who prefer the active state of the past as opposed to the idle state of today. Notwithstanding this resistance, neo-liberal ideas have still managed to seep into the very economic and social constructions of the Canadian state, integrating the market into the national identity.

## The Different Fiscal Policies Since World War II:

Before beginning our discussion of the specific fiscal policies used by the government to understand public policy matters dealing with post-secondary education, it is important to note the importance of studying economics and thus fiscal federalism in understanding government spending and taxing policies in particular and public policy-making in general.

According to *Principles of Macroeconomics* by Karl E. Case, Ray Fair, J. Frank Strain, and Michael R. Veall, economics is “the study of how individuals and societies choose to use the scarce resources that nature and previous generations have provided”<sup>55</sup>. It is an analytical tool used to study and understand society and the physical environment we live in. Fiscal policies, which as mentioned above, deal with the government’s spending and taxing policies, is imperative to this understanding of society. It is a “convenient way of measuring the degree of ‘centralization’ in a federal system and the changing distribution of power and importance between the two levels of government”<sup>56</sup>.

Fiscal federalism dictates and is dictated by ideologies. It can either install and make the norm a specific ideology welcomed by the minority of elites that control government decision-making powers or it can be influenced by international phenomenon sweeping the world at that specific period in time. Either way, fiscal federalism can greatly help in the understanding of why governments choose to make certain decisions concerning public-policy matters whether it be to eliminate an accumulated debt, decrease unemployment, reduce inflation, or increase economic growth.

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<sup>55</sup> Case, Karl E., et al. *Principles of Macroeconomics* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2002) 2.

<sup>56</sup> Stevenson, 124.

### The Keynesian State, Fiscal Federalism and Post-secondary Education:

Both the Great Depression and World War II deemed the doctrine of laissez-faire inadequate to deal with the crisis of capitalism. Classical liberals had argued that "an excess supply of labour would drive down wages to a new equilibrium level; as a result, unemployment would not persist"<sup>57</sup>. However, unemployment persisted for a decade and the "natural built-in equilibrating forces" that classical liberals argued existed, were not strong enough to stop the Depression of 1929. Therefore, a need for a more active and interventionist state was realized. John Maynard Keynes, author of *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*<sup>58</sup> "provided the theoretical justification for state intervention within" this post World War II Canadian capitalist state.

Keynesianism has both economic and social components. At the economic level, the government is to put to "use countercyclical fiscal measures to produce high and stable levels of both income and employment"<sup>59</sup>. At the center of this economic program was the aggregation and stimulation of demand; that is using the level of aggregate demand to determine the level of employment and thus stimulating the economy accordingly. This was to be done through the federal government's taxing and spending powers as well as its control over the interest rates and the money supply. Under this formula, taxes were to be cut and spending raised in events where the economy was suffering from a slump, otherwise known as a recession. In other words, when the total

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<sup>57</sup> Case, 114.

<sup>58</sup> This work, published in 1936, is considered one of the most important works in the history of economics. Its publication during the years of the Great Depression, provided an alternative source of relief to the high levels of unemployment that characterized the decade of the 30s.

<sup>59</sup> McBride, Stephen and John Shields. *Dismantling a Nation: The Transition to Corporate Rule in Canada*. (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1997) 37.

quantity of goods and services produced in the economy drops, the availability of services and goods is limited, and the standard of living decreases, the government would increase its spending and funding of services and reduce tax levels. In opposition to this expansionary fiscal policy, governments would raise taxes and cut spending to bring the country out of episodes of inflation, an act that falls under a contractionary fiscal policy. In summary, Keynesianism was to ensure mass production balanced by mass consumption which was to be maintained by demand policies and an accord between business and labor.

On the social level, Keynes believed that by increasing spending and channeling funds to the provinces in the form of transfer payments, service programs would benefit greatly. This, consequently, results in the provision of superior and more universal health and social programs, ensuring a greater standard of living amongst the population of the state. As any study of Canadian history will show, the years between 1945 and 1970 saw the greatest state expansion and involvement in both economic and social sectors.

Before discussing the characteristics of the welfare state in Canada and its impact on post-secondary education, it is important to point out that Keynesianism encountered some structural complications brought about as a result of the federal nature of the Canadian state. The centralization needed for a simplified intervention by the federal government had disintegrated through the years since confederation. However, despite the increased power and jurisdiction of provinces in certain areas, the lack of fiscal capacity led to the collaborative efforts of both provincial and federal governments in the implementation of programs. These programs, according to McBride and Shields, fall under four main pillars. The first, that of full employment was launched by the 1945

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White Paper on Employment and Income. It was presented to Parliament by the minister of reconstruction, C.D. Howe. The paper's objective was to create "high and stable levels of employment" through the adoption of Keynesian economic policies<sup>60</sup>. The national debt would be increased at times when unemployment was dangerously high and then balanced when surpluses were created in periods of economic prosperity.

On the social and health care front, Keynesianism created an appropriate environment for addressing the problems experienced. Old age security, family allowances, the Canada Pension Plan, Unemployment Insurance, income supplements, and child tax credits were all enforced and therefore created a social safety net for Canadian citizens. Furthermore, a universal, comprehensive, portable, accessible, and publicly administered health care system was established under the Medical Care Act of 1966 to deal with the medical needs of the population. Funding for the health care system was ensured under the Established Programs Financing Act of 1977 and in 1984 under the Canada Health Act, the federal government initiated a program through which provinces could charge direct user costs thereby sidestepping funding from the federal government and subsequently the power that accompanied that spending. On the provincial level, Quebec also established a Public Income Security System. Under this system, Quebec Family Allowances, the Quebec Pension Plan, the Workers' Compensation insurance, social assistance, the Quebec supplement plans and numerous tax credits all came into effect to help alleviate the hardships of the unemployed, the disabled, the elderly, families, and injured workers. In 1971, the Unemployment Insurance Act was passed "expand(ing) coverage..., introduc(ing) more generous

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<sup>60</sup> McBride and Shields, 40.

income-maintenance provisions, relax(ing) entrance requirements and increas(ing) their sensitivity to regional disparities in unemployment, and offer(ing) coverage for maternity leave”<sup>61</sup>. These social and health benefits not only had beneficial social implications, but also helped equalize regional disparities. Through equalization payments to financially inferior provinces, regional development programs and regional transfer grants helped establish uniformity in wealth and ameliorate discrepancies in the distribution of national benefits.

The third pillar, that of labor commenced with PC 1003, Canada’s first national labour code, which allowed trade unionism and collective bargaining, in a somewhat restricted sense. Restricted, that is, due to the fact that certain conditions accompanied this new-found right to collective bargaining and trade unionism. For example, PC1003 did not allow strikes to take place unless mediation and conciliation were employed first. Furthermore, strikes could not occur during the establishment of collective agreements. These restrictions combined with certain constraints on union operation rendered PC1003 a symbolic yet highly ineffective labour document.

On a similar tone, federal support to post-secondary education evolved to suit the demands of the changing times. Federal support of higher education had existed since Confederation, although to a lesser degree. This began to change, however, after World War II, due to the increased enrollment of veterans as a result of a demobilization benefits program. However, this federal support to post-secondary institutions diminished after the veterans completed their degrees. Nonetheless, federal support was reinstated in 1951 following the recommendations of the Massey-Levesque Commission

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<sup>61</sup> McBride and Shields. 43.

on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences which maintained that federal grants to universities must continue since education is imperative to national unity and strength<sup>62</sup>. This federal support came in the form of direct unconditional grants equivalent to 50 cents per capita of provincial population, which over the next 15 years increased to \$5.00 per capita<sup>63</sup>. Quebec, however, refused to accept these grants and instead accepted a Federal Tax Abatement plan in which the federal government reduced its taxes in Quebec while the provincial government increased its own taxes<sup>64</sup>. This substitute for cash payments is usually deducted from federal transfer payments to the Quebec provincial government, "thereby ensuring that the Quebec government continued to enjoy the same overall level of cash-plus-tax transfers as it would have received in the absence of abatement"<sup>65</sup>.

The next few years were critical years for Canada, especially in the educational realm. The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s did so much for the liberalization of education in Quebec. With the death of Duplessis in 1959 and the installation of a liberal government in 1960, a sense of mistrust and skepticism grew amongst Quebec nationalists, thus starting the Quiet Revolution. The Revolution changed "the sense of identity, values, and aspirations of the [Quebec] province. Instead of engaging in the neo-liberal ideals that were beginning to be introduced under the liberal regime, Quebecers sought to assert themselves as a distinct community devoted to the principles of social solidarity, equity, and justice. Equal access and equal opportunity became a priority as demonstrated by the Magna Carta of Quebec Education, a set of laws ensuring

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<sup>62</sup> Government of Canada, 16.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 53.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 53.

accessibility. Furthermore, a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, otherwise known as the Parent Commission, was created in 1961 and was responsible for the revamping of the Quebec educational system and the change in its orientation. After conducting numerous inquiries into the educational system in Quebec, interviewing over 200 experts, visiting over 50 institutions and conducting public hearings the commission made recommendations concerning its restructuring. Two keywords in their report were “democratization” and “access”. The commission saw the need for the expansion in the number of university institutions and mass education programs as well as a need to train instructors in psychology in order to contribute to the personal development of future generations of students. Furthermore, the commission recognized the economic significance of both general and professional education and thus suggested the reconciliation of the humanities and the sciences in order to provide a worthwhile education. Lastly, the commission encouraged universities to increase student participation and critical expression through group discussions and seminars. Their recommendations included appointing a cabinet minister responsible for education; the formation of a Superior Council of Education as an advisory to the Minister; the creation of public CEGEPs (College d’Enseignement General et Professionnel) as links between “secondary and university levels, education and work, and school and community”; the expansion of enrollments and space at university campuses; opening centres of university studies that provide first and second year of university instruction in areas where limited charter universities can’t be established, specifically in rural areas; setting up research councils in Quebec; encouraging greater participation in administrative councils; facilitating coordination among universities by establishing the Conference des Recteur et

Principaux des Universites du Quebec (CREPUQ) made up of Quebec university rectors and principals; and, lastly, promoting more faculty and student involvement in university decision-making. The commission's recommendations and the province's concern with retaining its own powers and hindering any federal intrusion into provincial jurisdiction led to the creation of the Ministère de l'Éducation Québec (MEQ) and the Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation in 1964 under Bill 60. The Ministry, headed by reformer Paul-Gerain Lajoie, was created for the purpose of improving the Québécois position vis a vis education. Education, argued the commission, can be used as a tool for social and cultural promotion. It is the responsibility of the MEQ, therefore, to promote education and encourage pedagogy, especially at the post-secondary level. Only then, can Quebec nationalism, gain credibility as a viable and achievable ideal.

The creation of the Superior Council of Education as an advisory body to the Ministry highlighted the interest and the importance of the state in educational planning. According to the Council, "the administration of the plan for educational development, including the coordination of university education, requires guidance and control by the state. One of the latter's fundamental tasks consists in making provisions for drawing up the plan, accepting it and planning it into operation according to predetermined stages...Moreover, major decisions in the field of education have a political side. Education is at the centre of modern society. It engages the future of the nation as well as that of each citizen"<sup>66</sup>. Four commissions were created to study issues in elementary, secondary, technical and vocational, and higher education and two confessional committees (Protestant and Catholic, of course) were also established. The Commission

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<sup>66</sup> Superior Council of Education, *Participation in Educational Planning: Annual Report, 1964/65* (Quebec: Minister of Education, 1966) 46.

of Higher Education saw that problems in the Quebec educational system included lack of financial resources, a need for a second French university, and an inadequate supply of professors both in quantity and quality. The Commission suggested that a number of issues be looked into, including university autonomy and academic freedom, the relationship between the state and universities and the standards for admission in relation to other international universities.

Besides evoking interest into the educational system the Parent Commission resulted in more physical changes. The first twelve francophone CEGEPs were opened in 1967, eleven in the next year and the first English CEGEP, Dawson College, opened in 1969 proceeded by Vanier in 1970. Both the Université de Montréal and Laval University were secularized in 1965 and 1970 respectively. Democratization became evident with increased student representation on governing bodies of post-secondary institutions such as Senates and the Board of Governors. University access increased. Between 1962 and 1970 enrollments increased threefold in francophone universities and doubled in the anglophone universities. The University of Quebec established in 1969 campuses in Trois Rivières, Chicoutimi, Rimouski, and Montreal. Grants to universities increased, as well as student financial assistance. *Rattrapage* (catching up) was given to Francophone universities to catch up with the anglophone universities. Even research benefited from the recommendations of the Parent Commission with the establishment of the "Formation des Chercheurs et Action Concertée" (FCAC). The program funded research in the sciences, technologies, and humanities; encouraged cooperation between professors; called for the publication of research results; and advocated training for graduate students.

In 1959, the federal government introduced the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act that would assist in the establishment of market training as opposed to the already existent dependence on skilled immigrant workers. This cost-sharing program was a factor in the proliferation of post-secondary institutions, primarily at the college level, in the 1960s. Similarly, granting councils such as the Canada Council (1957), in charge of allocation of funds in the humanities and social sciences, and the Medical Research Council (1960), responsible for funding in the sectors of biomedics, social sciences, humanities, natural sciences, and engineering, and, known for its aim to increase partnerships between post-secondary institutions, hospitals and the private sector in the area of scientific and technological research and development flourished. The afore-mentioned granting councils, as well as numerous other institutes, are currently responsible for allocating funds in their respective fields, giving grants and scholarships to university students and academics, and "advancing knowledge as a matter of national interest"<sup>67</sup>. Accessibility, one of the aims of the granting councils was further made a priority on the national agenda through the implementation of student loan programs. In 1960, the federal government subsidized mortgage financing for student residences, helping in maintaining infrastructural integrity of university buildings. Furthermore, the CSLP, mentioned briefly above, took on a different form in 1964. It was to be administered by the provinces but, as in the case of Quebec and the North West Territories, provinces (or territories) were given the option to opt out. If chosen to be administered however, the federal government offered loans to students to help assist

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<sup>67</sup>Trotter, Bernard. *Planning for Planning-Relationships Between Universities and Government: Guidelines to Process*. (Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1974) 20.

them in the cost of education ensuring affordability and thus accessibility to institutions of higher education.

On the federal level, a more general and broad cost-sharing agreement, establishing the Post-Secondary Education Financing Program, was introduced in the late 60s. Under this new program of tax transfer (tax room left by the federal government allowing provinces to increase their own tax rates and collect the revenues “with no net effect on the taxpayer”) and cash payments (the difference between the value of tax transfers and the total entitlement), “50 per cent of eligible institutional operating costs for post-secondary education” was given to the provinces by the federal government<sup>68</sup>. However, because these payments were open-ended and as a result of continued increases in operation expenses by universities, in 1972 the federal government placed a 15 per cent annual limit on increases to these payments<sup>69</sup>. In October 1966, then Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, abandoned the cost-sharing programs in place for technical and vocational education and replaced them with programs initiated by the federal government that were responsible for “the training, counseling, placement, and financial support of unemployed adults” who were out of work for three years. Training for these individuals was to be provided by the Canada Manpower Centres. The Prime Minister claimed and justified this proposition by stating that training fell under “federal government constitutional responsibilities for economic growth and full employment”<sup>70</sup>. Despite the evident benefits of the financial support received such as increased university enrollments, the introduction of continuing education programs, increased financing of

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<sup>68</sup> Trotter, 17.

<sup>69</sup> Miller, 12.

<sup>70</sup> Jones, 14.



universities and new programs and faculties, the unionization of professors and staff members and the increase in the number of professors in the universities, the provinces came to realize the “distorting influence on provincial spending priorities” that these payments brought<sup>71</sup>. The end of the 60s then was the beginning of the federal intrusion into provincial jurisdiction over education. In 1966, the direct per capita grants to universities were dropped, instead the tax abatement formula of Quebec was applied to all provinces. Tax abatements including annual cash adjustments had a taxing capacity of 4.357 points of personal income tax and a one percent charge on the corporate income tax. Equalization payments were instituted and revenue adjustments were made with 50% of total operating expenditure of all universities subsidized and a \$15 per capita payment made out to Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland.

To combat that problem, in 1977 a new system of federal-provincial fiscal arrangements was created under the label of Established Programs Financing (EPF) to replace the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangement Act (FPFA). The EPF is “a block fund transfer in which the amount of federal assistance is unrelated to current provincial territorial spending” in the sectors of both post-secondary education and health care<sup>72</sup>. Basically the federal government decreases their tax rate while the provinces increase theirs. The taxpayer ends up paying the same amount but in different proportions to each level of government. EPF replaced three shared cost/conditional grant programs (Medicare, hospital insurance, and post-secondary). The base amount of transfer payments was equivalent to the average per capita level, paid to all provinces combined

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<sup>71</sup> Government of Canada. 15.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 17.

in 1975-76 and indexed annually in proportion to the GDP and multiplied by the population of each province. Half the amount was paid in cash and the rest by the provinces through and additional transfer of income tax room. The post-secondary portion (EPF-PSE), represents 32.1 per cent of the total transfer and is entirely unconditional<sup>73</sup>. The total amount of transfers, otherwise known as entitlements, is determined by the Gross National Product (GNP) and is equal per capita amongst all provinces<sup>74</sup>. This allowed for the future increase of transfer payments side-by-side with the economic growth experienced by the country as well as a calculated “three-year average of per capital GNP”<sup>75</sup>.

#### The End of the Keynesian State:

Keynesianism arose in Canada under the guise of an economic phenomenon capable of removing the country out of the depression it was experiencing. And for several decades, the welfare state was successful in accomplishing that feat. However the triumph of Keynesianism was short-lived. The 1970s rolled around showing the inability of Keynesian economics to deal with the sudden fluctuations in economic prices. The 1973 Arab oil embargo as well as the increased oil prices by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) created a sudden change in the carrying out of the international economy. Decline in profits, capital flight and “a process of deindustrialization- ‘a widespread, systematic disinvestment in the nation’s basic

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<sup>73</sup> Even though the EPF program was marketed as an unconditional fiscal transfer program, there exists skepticism amongst many as to its unconditionality. Critics argue that a ‘Big Lie’ exists that masks the truth behind such funds. In 1981 the federal government threatened to freeze the EPF payments if provinces didn’t start spending transfer money on labour market training. Just one of the few examples of the federal government using its spending powers to interfere into provincial jurisdiction.

<sup>74</sup> Miller, 12.

<sup>75</sup> Government of Canada. 18.

productive capacity,' was set in motion in the industrial core"<sup>76</sup>. At the same time, corporations were attempting to make up for the loss of investment by modernizing their companies. While increasing profits, this technological revolution resulted in a decrease in labour costs. This in turn, created unemployment. To the dissatisfaction of the population, unemployment was accompanied by a great increase in economic prices resulting in a phenomenon known as stagflation. Stagflation "occurs when the overall price level rises rapidly (inflation) during periods of recession or high and persistent unemployment (stagnation)"<sup>77</sup>. That combined with an increased government deficit and an enormous public debt resulted in the downfall of the Keynesian state, leaving a vacuum open for a neo-liberal take-over.

#### Neo-liberalism and the Corporate Take-over:

Neo-liberalism is defined as the rejection of the active state and its replacement with laissez-faire free market doctrines. In this sense, the state is to rely on market mechanisms and independent approaches to economic and social problems. This whole philosophy is to be driven by the corporate sector.

Monetarism, supply-side economics, and public choice theories are all used to explain neo-liberalism. In monetarist economics, alterations in the supply of money are made in order to stimulate or contract the economy. This, according to economists, would play a balancing role over inflation and recession. The aforementioned philosophy, neo-liberals argue, contends that deficit financing has negative effects because printing money will increase prices, lowering demand, and therefore creating inflation and unemployment. Instead, tax cuts directed at the wealthy as well as an

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<sup>76</sup> McBride and Shields. 47.

<sup>77</sup> Case, 481.

emphasis on stimulation of production should be used to create a stable economy. Furthermore, inflation can be avoided if the central bank does not expand the supply of money so rapidly. Rather, monetarists argue that the money supply should grow at a steady rate equal to real growth. This emphasis on accommodating real growth using a constant policy is not to be undermined with deliberate stimulation and contraction of the economy.

Supply-side economics, further expands on monetarism by placing emphasis on the stimulation of supply as a remedy for inflation. Supply-side economists argue that high rates of taxation lead to an idle discouraged labour force. Thus, by cutting taxes and allowing people and businesses to save money, the government can encourage and motivate employees to work harder and save and businesses to invest more. These savings combined with business investments lead to an increase in the supply of goods and services, in turn, reducing inflation and unemployment. These arguments combined with the idea that there is a natural rate of unemployment at which the level of inflation rests at zero, make up what is known as neo-classical economics.

Furthermore, neo-liberals use the Public choice theory to justify minimal state intervention. They argue that in order to reduce the deficit and restrain spending, government intervention in the economic and social order should be significantly reduced and the notion of a public sector should be delegitimized. This will eventually benefit market forces by restoring individualism and de-politicizing the masses.

“Neo-liberal governments are committed to expenditure restraint and deficit reduction”<sup>78</sup>. To ensure this restraint and reduction and to minimize state interference with markets, neo-liberals embarked on a series of health and social program slashing, the devolution of power to the provinces, and the deregulation and privatization of the state. Not only do these acts attack the very traditional emblem of national unity but they also have resulted in increased regionalism, through labor exploitation resulting from the removal of collective bargaining rights, and “increased social polarization” as the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. The activist state that had “been an instrument of nation-building and national identity, as well as of a compromise between social classes” has been dismantled<sup>79</sup>. In the process of doing so, neo-liberals have risked possible dismantling of Canada as an independent and sovereign state. This dismantling, however, has encountered two constraints that have already been mentioned before but that are worth mentioning again. They include increased public support for social programs and the very structure of the federal system. The discussion of these constraints help in demonstrating the fact that neo-liberalism was not a hegemonic ideal in Canada, instead it was primarily a view held by elitists, owners of corporations, and businessmen.

Neo-liberalism’s effects on Canada’s relations vis a vis the international community had drastic implications for its educational system. The seventies saw the promotion of labour market training as a priority. In 1976 the Department of Manpower and Immigration became the Employment and Immigration Commission dedicated to the

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<sup>78</sup> McBride and Shields, 55.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 75.

encouragement of relations with the private sector. In 1982, the Adult Occupational Training Act was replaced by the National Training Act. In 1985, the Canadian Job Strategy was introduced by the Conservatives. It combined training with work experience. This led to the creation of a Labour Force Development Strategy in 1989, the reformation of the Unemployment insurance in 1990 and the creation of the Canadian Labour Force Development Board (CLFDB) catering to the business community in 1991.

In 1982, the EPF program began to experience funding shortages with the federal government placing caps on the amount of cash grants for post-secondary education each province was entitled to. Research specifically suffered at the hands of corporate partnership requirements. In 1987 the National Advisory Board on Science and Technology chaired by the Prime Minister himself and made up of cabinet ministers, officials, and heads of granting councils recommended a 1.3 billion research initiative with most of the money going to granting councils responsible for the promotion of innovation, science and technology. The merger of the Ministry of State for Science and Technology with the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion and the establishment of the Department of Industry, Science, and Technology further associated research with competitiveness. All in all, however, federal support for university research went down by 15% between the years of 1990-1997 due to the cuts being made to the EPF program and the reduction in federal transfers to provinces and consequently, money devoted to post-secondary education. In 1994, Lloyd Axworthy, a very influential Cabinet Minister, conducted a review concerning the structure of the already existent federal social programs, including education, and looked into a number of amending formulas that could be implemented that would decrease the deficit to 3% of the GDP. The Axworthy

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Plan, as it came to be called, canceled EPF/PSE and replaced it with a loans program. In 1996 EPF was renamed the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST). Despite the change in name however, CHST continued to experience cutbacks.

The mid-90s brought Keynesianism to an end as a movement from incremental and slow erosion to complete and instant demolition of programs began<sup>80</sup>. With the dismantling of the Keynesian state, neo-liberals began to embed their ideals into the very structure of the state. Neo-liberals' underlying goal is to increase profit-making and ensure individual survival by removing the barriers to international trade and creating a free market economy. To ensure the attainment of this goal and the definite inability to reverse the effects of this initiative, the neo-liberal governments of Mulroney and Chretien attempted to constitutionalize and institutionalize these policies. In McBride and Shields' *Dismantling a Nation*, the authors argue that these leaders and their supporters attempted "to render the neo-liberal assault on the state's role permanent through constitutional change"<sup>81</sup>. The first attempt was taken by a very unlikely leader, Pierre Elliot Trudeau. His Charter of Rights and Freedoms placed individual rights over collective rights, a neo-liberal principle that benefits business over labor. Under a different leadership and with the realization that transfer of jurisdiction to the provinces had to be implemented to ensure "minimal government intervention and ... continental free trade", Mulroney undertook the initiative to entrench them into the constitution first through the Meech Lake Accord and, following the failure of that agreement, through the Charlottetown Accord. Both agreements involved "a substantial devolution of power to

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<sup>80</sup> McBride and Shields, 81.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 101.

the provinces and significant shift of political dynamism on matters of national importance away from the federal Parliament”<sup>82</sup>. The devolution of power and the decentralization that these legislations called for, received great support from neo-liberals, however, the two aforementioned constraints, stopped these proposals from becoming a reality.

Despite these failed attempts at reforming the constitution and embedding neo-liberal policies, Chretien was capable of using intra-governmental agreements and quasi-constitutional changes to accomplish a similar feat. Under his governance, Chretien was also capable of hampering any attempts made by the province of Quebec to secede. That reality became an important topic in the early 90s with Quebec losing any nationalistic ties with Canada as a result of the devolution of power that was taking place.

Because constitutional change was slightly ineffective in carrying out the neo-liberal agenda, leaders adopted more continental corporate constitutions such as the Free Trade Agreement and the North American Free Trade Agreement. These trade partnerships have succeeded at creating trade blocs that serve to increase competition in international trade and create instability in the global political economy. However, they have also forced Canada to harmonize its economic system with that of the United States. Furthermore, they have succeeded at fulfilling on an international level what the federal government could not do on a national level.

McBride and Shields effectively portray how neo-liberalism has seeped into the very construction of the Canadian state and has therefore been effective in its dismantling. Keynesianism’s inability to deal with the recession of the 1970s, discredited

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<sup>82</sup> McBride and Shields, 110.



it as an enduring philosophy that is capable of dealing with the competitive world of trade. Therefore, neo-liberalism was able to find its niche and implant its philosophy into the Canadian politico-economic structure.

The Effects of Neo-liberalism on Post-secondary Education:

“Education is that which liberates.” In an ideal world, that comment would hold some truth. However, we do not live in an ideal world and never have and therefore, education rather than being a democratizing force has been used by the elite, as a tool to reproduce and reinforce “existing social classes and basic social hierarchies”<sup>83</sup>. Post-secondary education, in particular, since its very installation has had an elitist air to it.

The keynesian state had offered the Canadian population an opportunity to experience the democratic elements of education but that experience was short-lived. Neo-liberalism is destroying what little democratic elements were installed under the welfare state. This section discusses how Neo-liberalism and its principles of “laissez-faire free market doctrines and practices” have transformed the role of the nation-state in formulating and instituting service programs necessary for the well-being of its constituents<sup>84</sup>. Instead transnational corporations, with overarching powers legislated to them by free trade agreements, have crept into the very educational and health care systems that once received governments’ undivided attention. Social goods, which are essential to the survival of every society, are now being mandated by selfish enterprises that seek to maximize their profits while creating an environment conducive to the further

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<sup>83</sup> Lessard, 179.

<sup>84</sup> McBride and Shields, 32.

corporatization of institutional structures and individual lifestyles. This corporate take-over has removed the ethics surrounding one of the basic rights of individuals worldwide: the freedom of inquiring and improving their self-knowledge. The foundations of liberal education have been rocked, resulting in a diminished capacity to understand, organize and act. This can be primarily seen in post-secondary institutions where accessibility has been confined to a specific group, where freedom of speech has been inhibited due to conflicting interests, where social organization and solidarity has been crushed, and where the principles of free democracy and righteousness that once made up the foundation of education are replaced with elitism and unethical market practices.

With the adoption of neo-liberal principles in the 1980s, Canada's post-secondary education system, under the EPF-PSE arrangement, experienced a number of financial restraints. The first restraint came in the years between 1983 and 1985 in the forms of a Six and Five restraint program, where the per capita value was subjected to a 5 and 6 per cent cap on transfers. In 1986-87, the federal government limited the growth of these transfer payments to 2 per cent below the rate of growth of the GNP<sup>85</sup>. Finally, in 1989-90 "the escalator was set at zero and the per capita amount was frozen at the 1989-90 level"<sup>86</sup>. Today, with the replacement of the EPF by the Canada Health and Social Transfer arrangement, these restraints do exist and they continue to take the gross domestic product, which measures real economic growth, into consideration, resulting in further decreases in the federal cash transfers to the provinces. Consequently, in the current global economy with rising national deficits, provinces are asked to seek corporate partners who are willing to contribute an equal amount of funds as the federal

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<sup>85</sup> Government of Canada, 18.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 18.

government, as a criteria for continued federal support. In other words, government funding requires that institutions seek private partners as a condition to receiving funds. According to David Bernans, a Concordia Student Union Researcher and former political science professor, these partnerships with the private sector are a result of the reductions in the amount of public transfers to the university structure<sup>87</sup>. Currently 20 per cent of funding comes from private donations and sale of goods and services. This privatization of universities accompanies increased tuition fees and performance-based contracts. As David Bernans so eloquently states “privatization breeds further privatization: tax revenue loss caused by privatization-oriented tax-deductible corporate donations, means further cuts to public education which creates a ‘need’ for further public-revenue-draining corporate involvement”<sup>88</sup>. This forces universities to seek further corporate partners as well as to hike up tuition fees. Therefore, tuition fees increase because affluent people, who are owners of these corporate industries, are the beneficiaries of tax cuts, creating a crisis in funding<sup>89</sup>. To complicate matters even more, institutional funding, whether it be from the corporate world or the government sector, will be tied to market-based performance indicators<sup>90</sup>.

Performance indicators (PIs) determine how much money should be given to university research programs<sup>91</sup>. PIs take into consideration “faculty workload and productivity (the more courses per year per faculty the higher the funding), job placement

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<sup>87</sup> Bernans, David. *Con U Inc.: Privatization, Marketization and Globalization at Concordia University (and beyond)*. (Montreal: CSU, 2001).

<sup>88</sup> Bernans, 42.

<sup>89</sup> Neufeld, Mark. “Welcome to the World of Higher Education After Tax Cuts,” *The Gazette*. (Friday, September 27) A27.

<sup>90</sup> Bernans, 18.

<sup>91</sup> Turk, 163.

data, external research funding, degree completion and time to degree, and the like<sup>92</sup>. They also take into consideration, the number of patents registered, and the number of matching grants found. In short, funding is determined according to corporate satisfaction with university production of an efficient, market-oriented, and commercially knowledgeable labour workforce. According to William Bruneau, these indicators are “wildly interventionist, and pose serious threat to academic freedom, university autonomy, and accessible, critically-minded, liberal education”<sup>93</sup>. They diminish the purpose of liberal education, result in business-like competition, and create a “culture of envy” amongst universities<sup>94</sup>.

Today, federal support comes in the three forms. The first method, includes the cash and tax transfers to provincial departments under the CHST, mentioned above. Block grants under the CHST program dropped significantly in 1995-1996 due to a decrease in public funding of social programs in general. As a matter of fact, federal funding for public programs fell by one quarter between 1993 and 1997. Between 1994 and 2000 CHST transfers were cut by 3 billion dollars even though in 1999 the government announced a 12.3 billion federal surplus.

Ironically, despite these cutbacks, government still managed to “find billions of dollars for a bizarre scheme to subsidize (the second method of funding of) university education through stock-market investments”, called the Registered Education Savings Plan (RESP)<sup>95</sup>. The Registered Education Savings Plan is formula by which parents place

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<sup>92</sup> Bernans, 20.

<sup>93</sup> Turk, 163.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 169.

<sup>95</sup> Doherty-Delrome and Shaker, 75.

\$1500 annually per child in a savings plan. They are still taxed on this payment but the income generated is sheltered from taxes even after students claim the savings (that is due to the fact that students are dependents and therefore do not fall under the taxable income bracket). In 1996 and 1997 RESP contribution went up from \$1500 to \$4000. This new increase in contribution, Ottawa decided, is to be accompanied by an annual cash grant equivalent to 20% of the RESP amount paid by the parents (equivalent to \$400). The money however, had to be paid to 'an authorized financial dealer' who invests the money for the family. The grant, although meant to help people who cannot afford university education, is only available to those who have money to put aside. Basically, the money is going to people that have money rather those that need it. Therefore, the federal government is paying up to 1.2 billion dollars (2002) in grant money, 100s of millions above budget, yet avoiding those who need the funding the most.

The third funding mechanism comes in the form of direct support from national research councils, such as the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Canada Research Chairs (CRC), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC) and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). These research councils are accompanied by research and consultancy for government departments<sup>96</sup>. However, due to cuts in funds granted to these research councils, and the concurrent explosion in other research councils such as Canada Foundation for Innovation, they have been unable to sponsor research endeavors in a plurality of sectors.

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<sup>96</sup> Miller, 12.

The deficiencies associated with these funding mechanisms as well as the negative impact neo-liberalism has had on the ethical foundations of education has resulted in the eradication of any semblance of a liberal education that might have existed under the welfare system. Instead neo-liberalism has resulted in the deregulation of capital and labour markets, in the decrease of taxation, in the lessening of spending on public programs and in the privatization and abatement of the welfare state. The characteristics of the new system are reflective of efficiency, productivity, profitability, flexibility, neo-Fordist managerialism<sup>97</sup>, and competitiveness.

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<sup>97</sup> This refers to corporate managerialism which is defined as “the retrenchment of existing practices that support a hierarchical management structure, strengthens a corporate bureaucratic model of governance, and encourages teaching and learning processes directed to the interests of business and industry” in

## CHAPTER V

### CORPORATIZATION OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

This section will help explain the commodification and commercialization of post-secondary education in Canada. The commodification of higher education is the “deliberate transformation of the educational process into commodity (something created, grown, produced, or manufactured for exchange on the market) form, for the purpose of commercial transaction”<sup>98</sup>. This is a movement away from the original form of education whose end result would be the attainment of self-knowledge and the ‘evolution of identity’ through the relationships undertaken by individuals. Instead, commodification has resulted in the decline in quality education and has therefore hindered the ability of individuals to gain knowledge and evolve their identity. Instead, economic efficiency is attained at the expense of ‘pedagogical promise’. Thus, commercial for-profit enterprises and universities have adopted market-based principles to increase revenue and profit. This has concentrated efforts on profit producing measures, resulting in the recruitment of part-time non-unionized faculty members, increased user fees, decreased contribution and funding of university infrastructures, the surrender of research autonomy, and the slashing of non-profitable programs (which primarily fall under the humanities, liberal arts, and the fine arts).

This section will explore different forms of corporatization adopted by universities in general. It will then discuss how such corporatization has purposely

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Doherty-Delrome, Denise and Erika Shaker (eds.). *Missing Pieces II: An Alternative Guide to Canadian Post-Secondary Education 200/2001*. Canada: CCPA, 2001, p. 190.

<sup>98</sup> Turk, 102.

diminished the very foundations that liberal education is based on in order to further embed corporate traditions into the structure of the educational system and to mitigate any forms of resistance that might arise in opposition to the pursuit of that goal.

Neo-liberalism entails the full “rejection of the active state... and its replacement with laissez-faire free-market doctrines and practices”<sup>99</sup>. The goals of neo-liberalism include the entrenchment of individualism, profit-making and selfishness. The university structure within a neo-liberal globalized economy is to compete internationally, produce a skilled labor force for capital, and embark on economically utilitarian research endeavors. “Neo-liberal hegemony has defined the university as similar to any other capital venture, the purpose of which is to sell a product, whether the product is research to be used for profit or teaching to shape and provide graduates within a competitive employment market”<sup>100</sup>. That includes the replacement of liberal principles of education with market oriented tenets. The neo-liberal take-over has forced schools, specifically post-secondary institutions to produce individuals who satisfy the needs of a capitalist society. Carnoy and Levin reiterate this claim by stating that schools must develop “workers with appropriate cognitive and vocational skills for existing jobs or on-the-job training and with behaviours, habits, and values predisposing them to the organization of capitalist production”<sup>101</sup>. However, this work ethic contradicts with the fundamental function of education which is to produce democratically active, socially mobile, culturally

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<sup>99</sup> McBride and Shields, 18.

<sup>100</sup> Shaker, Erika and Denise Doherty-Delorme. “Higher Education Limited: Private Money, Private Agendas.” *Education, Limited*. Vol. 1 No. 4, i-xix.

<sup>101</sup> Carnoy, Martin and Henry M. Levin. *Schooling and Work in the Democratic State*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985) 148.



developed, autonomous, and equal individuals. As a result, we have seen the restructuring of educational institutions in a manner more conducive to the capitalist mode of production. We will return to the discussion of the impact of corporatization on democratic and citizenship education later on in the essay. For now, however, we will discuss the corporatization of post-secondary education and its many forms.

In the case of education, corporate managerialism refers to “the retrenchment of existing practices that support a hierarchical management structure, strengthens a corporate bureaucratic model of governance and encourages teaching and learning processes directed to the interests of business and industry”<sup>102</sup>. According to James L. Turk, this commercialization of higher education comes in four forms. The first form includes the use of universities as marketing sites for brand name products, such as the exclusivity deals signed with Coca-Cola. The second form of commercialization involves the sale of goods and services to universities and colleges<sup>103</sup>. These goods and services can, for example, come in the form of computer hardware and software products. The third form concentrates on the increased privatization of public institutions. This privatization can be seen in the corporate language adopted by universities, in the movement to user-pay fees that limit accessibility, in the control of the “labour process”, in the choice of presidents and principals with managerial skills rather than expertise, in the use of casual labour rather than full-time unionized workers and finally in the introduction of “labour-replacing technologies”<sup>104</sup>. The fourth form of commercialization of post-secondary education sees universities serving the private interest. This comes in

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<sup>102</sup> Doherty-DeLrome and Shaker, 190.

<sup>103</sup> Turk, 4.

<sup>104</sup> Turk, 6.

the form of “private control over research ideas and pursuits due to funding input”<sup>105</sup>. Research control allows these corporations and private companies to override researcher rights, to force non-disclosure agreements on its researchers, to allow university patenting of discoveries, and finally to confiscate any data produced through research.

On a more global level, international trade treaties such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, the General Agreement on Trade and Services, and the future Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, are further creating an environment of dependence for the universities. Linda McQuaig defines this new phenomenon as “New Capitalism”. New Capitalism is the “attempt to establish legally binding international treaties [in an effort] to permanently install capitalism as the way of the world”<sup>106</sup>. Proponents of this New Capitalism, also referred to as triumphalists, seek to “permanently disembody the economy from society”<sup>107</sup>. In this sense, personal gain and individualism are placed on a pedestal. No longer is the common good the central organizing principle of society. What instead has developed is an obsession with the accumulation of wealth and material acquisitiveness at all costs, resulting in the preponderance of a small exclusive elite capable of extracting this wealth from the majority of individuals. New capitalism, therefore, is a system that is exclusionary and that calls for the submission of the majority to the dictates of the few elites, ‘fortunate’ enough to control the levers of the market. What makes this capitalism new is its emphasis on the use of international laws to entrench the principles of the market

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>106</sup> McQuaig, Linda. *All You Can Eat: Greed, Lust and the New Capitalism*. (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2001) 22.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, 22.

economy into the minds of the people in order to make it seem like it is a natural progression. "Ultimately, then the market economy exists because a legal system has been put in place to enforce it...this required a fundamental redesign of society and its laws- a process that involved a great deal of coercion by the state. For all the tossing of words and expressions like 'free', 'natural' and 'laissez-faire' the market economy exists purely because a set of man-made laws enforce it"<sup>108</sup>.

Trade agreements, more specifically, allow corporations to demand lower taxes in order to compete with lower-taxed regions. Furthermore, a section within these agreements allows foreign corporations to sue governments to get public funds designated for private universities. It "reduces our government's ability to tax corporations and their wealthy shareholders, thwarting the necessary redirection of this money toward universities"<sup>109</sup>. The Free Trade Agreement of the Americas which is currently being put together would further increase the privatization of post-secondary education. The FTAA, which is an extension of NAFTA and which will include all 34 nations in the Western Hemisphere, excluding Cuba, will manage to decrease, to a much greater level, government spending on education because as mentioned before, these subsidies could be ruled "an unfair trade advantage"<sup>110</sup>. If ratified in 2005, the FTAA could do what the General Agreement on Trade and Services could not due to its voluntary nature, which is allowing foreign education providers access to Canada's educational institutions<sup>111</sup>. International trade agreements and local corporate

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<sup>108</sup> McQuaig, 204.

<sup>109</sup> Engler, Yves. "Corporate Agenda in Universities." *The Gazette*. (Tuesday, Oct. 22, 2002) A25.

<sup>110</sup> Fidelman, Charlie. "Free Trade Faces Protest." *The Gazette*. (Tuesday, Oct. 29, 2002).

<sup>111</sup> Turk, 132.

privatization efforts have eroded the significance of post-secondary institutions as providers of knowledge and truth.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY: A CASE STUDY

#### University History:

Concordia University as it exists in its current context is an amalgamation of two separate institutions, the Sir George Williams and the Loyola Colleges. The former, named after the founder of the YMCA movement, had its origins in the 1873 evening classes offered by the YMCA, a centre designed to foster community service by establishing programs that help educate the populous on the benefits of education, volunteer work, philanthropy and self-empowerment through participation. By 1926 Sir George Williams came into being as a co-educational institution, allowing it to introduce university level courses in the years between 1929-1931. Its dedication to accessibility through its evening classes and part-time scholarship was further augmented in 1932 with the introduction of day classes. As the college proceeded to issue scholarly degrees and establish itself as a chartered institution, its commitment to education increased. Faculties of Arts, Science, Commerce and Engineering sprouted and masters and doctoral programs were initiated.

Loyola, on a similar level, grew out of an English program associated with a French-language Jesuit school established in 1848, College Ste. Marie. Separating in 1896 but remaining affiliated with the Universite de Montreal, Loyola began issuing its first degrees in 1903. Its reputation as a classical college, however, was replaced with a devotion to the liberal arts. As with Sir George Williams College, Loyola saw a growth in the number of faculties available. Faculties of Science, Commerce, and Engineering

were added to an already established liberal arts program. Furthermore, an Evening Division program, now known as Concordia's Centre for Continuing Education, was established in 1958 on a similar dedication to accessibility as the Sir George William campus. Part-time status and evening instruction were provided to help working students.

In 1968, the Quebec government asked both institutions to merge into an individual institution. After great deliberation over the next four years, the Sir George Williams and Loyola Colleges decided to merge, resulting in the creation of Concordia University. Faculties from both schools were merged resulting in the predominance of five faculties, the Faculty of Commerce, the Faculty of Engineering, the Faculty of Arts, the Faculty of Science, and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Over the years, these five faculties have been transformed to what now are the Faculty of Arts and Science, Faculty of Engineering and Computer Science, Faculty of Fine Arts, and the John Molson School of Business. All four faculties provide a combined number of 180 undergraduate programs as well as 70 programs under the School of Graduate Studies<sup>112</sup>.

It is important to note that Concordia University had its origins in denominational beginnings. Both Sir George Williams and Loyola were dependent on a Catholic fellowship for their structure. Therefore, as with other denominational institutions, accessibility was limited to a certain group of individuals. What is now Concordia University was and still is situated in French-speaking and Roman Catholic Quebec. By mimicking francophone culture in the educational institution setup, denominational leaders established schools and universities that were exclusionary. Furthermore, the

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<sup>112</sup> For more information about Concordia's past and present history consult the Concordia website at the following URL address: [www.concordia.ca](http://www.concordia.ca).

classical nature of the colleges and their emphasis on theology, Latin and philosophy made the system elitist in its structure. It was used as a form of societal stratification, reinforcing class cleavages and divisions. As a result of the lack of accessibility and the emphasis on religious indoctrination, universities and colleges in general and the Loyola and Sir George Williams institutions in particular, had a limited student population; one confined to a Roman Catholic upbringing and high socioeconomic antecedent. Both colleges, nevertheless, realized the importance of using education as a form of social advancement, thus the reasoning behind their introduction of part-time enrollment and evening instruction. With the establishment of Concordia University, therefore, the university structure that was in place reflected a more liberal form of pedagogy. Its emphasis on education as a means of social and economic advancement became evident as it attracted a diverse student body from the economically sound to the financially impecunious. However, the 1980s, with the advent of Thatcherism, changed this liberal approach to education.

Concordia University: Real Education for the Real World:

David Bernans, in his book, *Con U Inc.*, discusses in greater detail the link between universities and the industrial sector. He presents two phases of corporatization, one almost complete and the other in “full swing”<sup>113</sup>. Phase 1 involves the “direct involvement of the corporate sector in research and curriculum”, increased tuition fees and decreasing public funding, and privatization through exclusivity deals which are “payments by corporations to a university for exclusive access to a captive student

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<sup>113</sup> Bernans, 18.

market”<sup>114</sup>. Some of the corporations that are involved in the implementation of phase 1 and that have exclusivity deals with Concordia University include Zoom Media Inc., Pepsi, Laurentian Bank, Sodexo Marriot Inc., Clearnet and Bell Canada. A few will be discussed in greater detail in the next proceeding chapters.

The Sodexo Marriot Inc. exclusivity deals allows for the monopolization of food services at Conocordia’s campuses. Originally, the deal called for the exclusive sale of Sodexo food products to students even if organizations held their own events. However, in 1999, after a referendum and a 3-day strike, the university administration and Sodexo Marriot agreed to incorporate a special student exemption clause in their contract. This has allowed organizations such as the People’s Potato to cater non-Sodexo products to students on campus. Besides the poor quality and high prices that are associated with Sodexo-Marriott, it has also been discovered that they are involved with a US private prison industry, Prison Reality Trust/Corrections Corporation of America (CCA). However, again student activism was able to convince this corporation to give up its shares in the CCA. Nevertheless Sodexo-Marriott continues to have exclusive privileges on food services in Concordia.

Pepsi-cola Inc. is another company that has signed an exclusivity contract with Concordia University. However, its donation agreement cannot be disclosed as part of its contract. What is known is that Pepsi has been using its exclusivity contract as a method of evading tax payments. According to Bernans, exclusivity deals “ reduce the corporate tax-base that our education and healthcare systems need in order to continue as public

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<sup>114</sup> Bernans, .18, 26.



institutions” thereby contributing to the vicious cycle of tax deduction for corporations-cutbacks-and more privatization<sup>115</sup>.

Zoom Media Inc. has managed through its exclusivity deals to launch an ad panel campaign that has managed to cover all public wall spaces. However, again student activism has managed to challenge the existence of Zoom Media advertisements on school walls and succeeded in pulling the ads from university property<sup>116</sup>. Despite the success of student activism in challenging some of the exclusivity deals signed by the university, donation agreements, which are less visible yet more dangerous, have received little opposition due to their drafting behind closed doors. These donor agreements are actually supported and sometimes presented by the Board of Governors, which it itself is a corporate enterprise. “At Concordia University, a blatant example of corporate generosity’s influence over research agenda has been that of the pharmaceutical giant BioChem Pharma Inc. (now part of the Shire Pharmaceutical Group)”<sup>117</sup>. The company’s CEO, Francesco Bellini, who negotiated the agreement also sat on Concordia’s board of governors! BioChem’s donation of \$1 million to Concordia’s Campaign for a New Millennium, came at a price, that of research control. BioChem will not only have its own scientists collaborating with university scientists but it will also have access to the data produced and control over what can or cannot be disclosed. Furthermore, BioChem has “worked with other pharmaceutical giants to make sure that the world’s poor continue to die instead of allowing cheaper generic versions of its drugs

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<sup>115</sup> Bernans, 27.

<sup>116</sup> Bernans, 30-31.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, 35.

into the market”<sup>118</sup>. However, that fact is of no concern to the university administration. It continues to deal with this unethical corporation.

Corporations, such as Kenneth Woods, have managed not only to control research projects but have also shown their influence over class curriculum. With the assistance of the university administration, Kenneth Woods, was able to buy ‘a commerce program in portfolio management’ with a \$1million tax-deductible donation. Its influence lies in its requirement of donor satisfaction for further acquirement of donations. As Bernans states “ in other words, the private investor has a mechanism to ensure that curriculum design suits his private interests rather than the public interests that is the University’s official mandate”<sup>119</sup>.

An extension to donation agreements are corporate-university partnerships, in which the curriculum and the type of learning are dictated by corporate elites. Pratt and Whitney and the International Institute of Telecommunications (ITT) are two examples of this type of partnership. Pratt and Whitney’s partnership will be discussed later in the essay.

ITT constitutes a membership of 15 telecommunication multinationals including “Bell Canada, Bell Mobility, Ericsson Communications, Entourage Technology Solutions, EXFO, Hewlett-Packard-Informatique, Hewlett-Packard-Test et Mesures, Le Groupe Videotron, CISCO Systems of Canada, Telecommunications Microcell, Newbridge Networks Corporation, Nortel Networks, SPECTRA Telecom, Telebec, Teleglobe, and Telesystem International Wireless”<sup>120</sup>. These MNCs are partnered with

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid, 40.

<sup>119</sup> Bernans, 42.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, 50.

Concordia University's faculty of Computer Science and Engineering. ITT has managed to establish a telecommunications program at Concordia that would satisfy what they term as the "corporate learning requirement" and that would increase their own profitability in the future<sup>121</sup>. Therefore, business industries have managed to penetrate the university institution creating a curriculum and research programs conducive to their corporate interests. This infiltration of the corporate world into university walls has resulted in the amalgamation and in some cases the total removal of certain programs that produce no market value, primarily in the faculty of Arts and Science<sup>122</sup>. These cutbacks are ways in which the corporate world can remove any militant activism that might come in the way of the entrenchment of second phase performance-based funding.

#### The Middle East Moratorium: A Corporate Act?

We must now turn our attention to the middle-eastern moratorium case study to fully understand the penetration of the corporate world into the university establishment. On Monday September 9, 2002 clashes between riot police and demonstrators at the Sir George William campus of Concordia University, resulted in the prevention of former Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, from speaking at a campus-organized event sponsored and organized by the Hillel Montreal Organization. Protestors argued foremost that the Hillel Organization was discriminatory in its distribution of tickets by controlling who got tickets to the event. First, it reserved 50 seats of the 650 available ones for VIPs, security and the media. Then it advertised by e-mail to a primarily Jewish audience, using an exclusive Hillel membership database of about 300 to 400 students

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<sup>121</sup> Bernans, 50.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 65.

from CEGEPs and universities across Montreal<sup>123</sup>. Furthermore, protestors argued that the choice of Netanyahu as a speaker at the event was ludicrous. Netanyahu, it can be argued, is a very controversial leader, responsible, according to many, for flagrant human rights abuses in Israel, primarily directed at the Palestinian population. Furthermore, under his leadership as prime minister, the occupied territories experienced an increase in Jewish settlements, allowing for the further claim of unoccupied land. He has been quoted, in 1989, as saying Israel should have forced Palestinians out of the occupied territories when the world's focus was elsewhere, primarily on the massacre in China's Tiananmen Square<sup>124</sup>.

As a result of the clashes that occurred and the vandalism that transpired at the demonstration, Fredrick Lowy, the rector of Concordia University, in collaboration with the Board of Governors (BoGs), ordered a moratorium on all Middle Eastern activities in efforts, they claim, to restore peace to the campus. This moratorium suspended all activities related to the Middle East and barred public speeches, rallies, exhibits, and information tables dealing with the Middle Eastern conflict. The board of governors have taken an extra step to rescind "the right of all clubs to setup tables in the two most prominent and frequented areas of the university", the Mezzanine and the Lobby<sup>125</sup>. On September 18, the Board of Governors extended the moratorium three more months until it can be further reviewed on December 15. Furthermore, the BoG's granted the rector powers to circumvent the University Code of Rights and Responsibilities. The Code spells out the due process that is to transpire in the event of the occurrence of any of the

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<sup>123</sup> Carroll, Ann. "Finger-Pointing Starts After Clash," *The Gazette*. (Wednesday, September 11, 2002) A6.

<sup>124</sup> Montgomery, Sue. "Concordia Just Asking for Trouble." *The Gazette*. (Thursday, September 19, 2002) A7.

prohibited acts listed in the document. By circumventing this Code and adopting the Treatment of Student Disciplinary Matters in Exceptional Cases, the Rector has the authority to expel any student without due process if that student commits, what the rector perceives as an “act of serious nature that prevents members of the university from pursuing their work and studies in a safe and civil environment”<sup>126</sup>. On October 21, the Board of Governors voted against the rector’s request to fully lift the ban on Middle Eastern related activities but it did remove restrictions on the presence of information tables on the Mezzanine.

The Moratorium has caused a large amount of debate on the issue of freedom of speech. The principles of liberal education, some argue, have been jeopardized. The university has managed to prevent any informative discussion concerning the Middle Eastern conflict. Freedom of speech and democracy have been undermined in the name of campus security and order. The question to ask then is: Does the moratorium represent the Universities intention of peace and order, which happens to come at the expense of justice or is the ban a representation of the intentions of the Board of Governors and its corporate membership?

To answer that question it is important to first describe the structural breakdown of the board of governors corporate body. The BoG includes 23 self-appointed members representing the community at large. Nineteen of the 23 members are from the corporate community representing companies like Quebecor World Inc., Canderel Ltd., and Bell

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<sup>125</sup> Engler, A25.

<sup>126</sup> Montgomery, A7.

Helicopter Textron amongst others<sup>127</sup>. The exact break up of the board is as follows: one officer of Board (Eric Molson), three alumni representatives, six teaching staff representatives, one graduate student representative, four undergraduate representatives, and one administrative and support staff representative<sup>128</sup>. These individuals are chosen based on their capability to raise funds for the university. The membership of the Board of Governors is important for this discussion if we are to answer the question concerning the reasoning behind the moratorium.

As discussed previously, Pratt and Whitney has a long-standing relationship with Concordia University based “on hundreds of thousands of dollars in research contracts and donations that the company brings to the University”<sup>129</sup>. This corporate power has been associated with producing F100-PW-229 engines that have been used in the “Israeli military’s new fleet of F-16s”<sup>130</sup>. These F-16s, students argue, have been used indiscriminately in bombing campaigns against the Palestinian civilian population. Despite the student body’s stance against Israel’s use of force against civilians and its clear violation of resolution 242, the university continues to conduct business with Pratt and Whitney<sup>131</sup>. Maybe now we can come to the conclusion that in the case of the moratorium, Pratt and Whitney used its partnership ties with the university as a threat against any further protests directed at Israel and its backed allies in the business world. Furthermore, other corporate partners may feel that by issuing a moratorium, they are putting a stop to any militant activism that might hinder the interests and investments of

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<sup>127</sup> The Unabridged: *The Concordia Student Union Newsletter*. (Oct. 2002, 2:2) 8.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, 8. View Appendix 4 for more information concerning the membership of Concordia’s Board of Governors.

<sup>129</sup> Bernans, 48.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*, 48.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*, 48.

their representative corporations in the University. David Bernans further reiterates this point by stating that “many of Concordia’s donors and corporate partners are tied in various ways to international conflicts and human rights abuses that have been the object of Concordia-based student movements”<sup>132</sup>. Therefore, it is not surprising that many of Concordia’s donors and alumni threatened to pull funding if the Middle Eastern situation was not dealt with immediately. After all, they are not supporting “Gaza U”.

It is safe to assume, therefore, that the ban on Middle Eastern activities is related to more than just the university’s interest in creating a peaceful and secure environment for its students. Corporate interests unquestionably play an important part in dictating University policy in this area as in other areas. The moratorium is only one example of this corporatization of Concordia University. One can only imagine what other areas of student life are affected by corporate influence.

Concordia University has failed to adhere to its responsibilities as an institution of higher education. Yet, ironically, Concordia’s failure to satisfy its ethical obligations is minute in comparison with other post-secondary institutions out there. Despite evident corporate intrusion into all aspects of university instruction, Concordia still maintains a student body that is highly politicized and that has been highly successful, at certain times, in restoring some of the traditional characteristics of a liberal education. Corporatization of Concordia University is a reality! We can see its obvious intrusion in student life in examples such as the Middle East moratorium. However, as stated before, this trend towards commodification and commercialization can be stopped. All that is

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<sup>132</sup> Bernans, 30.

needed is some initiative on each of our parts. We can make a difference! We just have to realize it.



## CHAPTER VII

### A CALL FOR CHANGE

Linda McQuaig, in *All You Can Eat: Greed, Lust and the New Capitalism*, explores the triumph of the market economy and the emergence of Homo Economicus as a prototype of human identification. In giving new capitalism a face and personal traits and characteristics, McQuaig successfully demonstrates the manipulative stance this new economic structure has taken in entrenching its conception of human nature, that which is characterized by greed and material acquisitiveness, and of the goal of profit-making at any expense. One of the underlying themes in McQuaig's work is the ability of new capitalism to manifest itself as the universal norm. The author begins her work with this discussion of capitalism's manipulative forces, stating that "capitalism is so pervasive that it simply seems like the universal norm" yet its underlying principle of material acquisitiveness "isn't really rooted in our nature, but rather is an acquired habit, based on the institutions, attitudes and incentives that shape our society"<sup>133</sup>.

Keeping the picture of Homo Economicus in mind, each one of us must realize as individuals that the inevitability of neo-liberalism and corporatization is a myth. Therefore, people must realize to not advance an agenda while morally against it. According to Karl Polanyi, a renowned social anthropologist, "modern capitalist society is characterized by a 'double movement': on the one hand, the self-regulating market supported by the owning and trading classes and on the other, the safeguarding of society by social forces that seek to protect the people, their land and their culture"<sup>134</sup>. In other

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<sup>133</sup> McQuaig, 11-13.

<sup>134</sup> Baum, Gregory. *Karl Polanyi on Ethics and Economics*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996) 6.

words, there exists two movements occurring one of mobilization for society's own self-protection versus engaging in activities for economic improvement. By disembedding economic activities from social relations, proponents of the self-regulatory market system have managed to upset the natural construction of society and thus have triggered a counter-movement. We need to return to a welfare system but this time we need to avoid the mistakes that led to the downfall of that system in the 70s which included amongst others "providing material help without creating community" as well as the redistribution of wealth in a highly bureaucratized, depersonalized, and uncommunal fashion<sup>135</sup>. What needs to be emphasized is that markets are important institutions that are necessary for the survival of societies and this paper is under no circumstances undermining their importance or significance. Rather what it is trying to do is to demonstrate the importance of economy within a societal context. Its importance must not supercede that of the survival and evolution of communities. There must exist a balance between the social, economic and political sectors of society.

Quebec is better off than the rest of Canada, as it has more of a self-inclined need to survive as well as a strong religious attachment to the Roman Catholic faith. As a matter of fact, Catholic Social Teaching "believes in the usefulness of markets but it opposes the self-regulating market system and warns against the growing pervasiveness of the competitive mentality"<sup>136</sup>. This teaching advocates participation, some government intervention and planning, and the principle of subsidiarity, the protection of self-sufficient small communities.

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<sup>135</sup> Baum, 45.

<sup>136</sup> Baum, 52.

Therefore, we must as individuals embark on a journey of self-inquiry and adjust accordingly to our environment, making sure first and foremost to respect our surroundings and its inhabitants. That procedure of self-healing must begin with a better understanding of what we as humanity deserve in our educational institutions. That discovery must next lead to the adoption of a number of prescriptive measures that must be implemented to get rid of educational inequality which "is seen as but one manifestation of social inequality that must be 'attacked' or 'treated' in a global or total perspective"<sup>137</sup>.

First we need to rethink our goals and realize that "education isn't a cost but, its an investment"<sup>138</sup> and thus it should be a spending priority. Education should not suffer as a result of provincial cutbacks; other sectors should hold their share of the responsibilities. The current educational system advocates the expansion of programs that train and socialize rather than educate, slashing programs that create critical citizens. It forces students to accept the status quo and prepares them for a status in life based on uniformity, discipline, and passivity. It should be transformed to reflect the following: the common goal of the betterment of society and the production of critical and politically active citizens. It must promote economic independence (students and individuals financially capable of supporting themselves), intellectual autonomy (academics and students independent in their decision-making; making moral and conscientious decisions), and psychological autonomy (well-balanced/rounded individuals craving opportunities to explore different interests, and eager to become involved in local, provincial and national affairs).

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<sup>137</sup> Lessard, 180.

<sup>138</sup> Government of Quebec, 114.

The new system should espouse the following characteristics of a good citizen: the mastering of traditional academic skills of communication including research and critical thinking; the acquisition of behavioral skills necessary for discussion, analysis, organization, and cooperation; and finally the possession of interpersonal skills, primarily those reflective of a hardworking, tolerant, cooperative, moderate, rational, fair, and politically active individual<sup>139</sup>.

Curriculum must reflect emancipation, empowerment, and participation aspects of a democratic socialist society. It should be broad, accessible, common, and revisable. Educational goals must include academic goals. In other words pedagogy is needed in areas such as the languages, mathematics, the sciences, the humanities, the social sciences, the arts, and literature. Community service and involvement must become an underlying theme. Courses and instruction must encourage service and social responsibility. In sum "education [should be] the key to individual and social improvement"<sup>140</sup>. "What is envisaged here is not some hierarchical order in which people carry out their allotted responsibilities and do not speak out of turn, but rather a society in which there is the highest degree of participation at all levels and in which people feel entitled, equipped and empowered to participate"<sup>141</sup>.

In redefining educational responsibilities we must include a cultural dimension reflective of Canada's multicultural reality. We must review missions! They should read: "schools as communities" espousing communal sentiments, pluralism, and equality. Universities should create citizens rather than producing workers. They [universities],

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<sup>139</sup> Osborne, 23.

<sup>140</sup> Osborne, 21.

<sup>141</sup> Osborne, 30.

like elementary and secondary schooling, should promote democratic citizenship. Keeping in mind that citizenship is a constantly evolving concept, certain underlying elements should be taught to espouse a Canadian citizenship. First and foremost, post-secondary institutions should promote a Canadian and cosmopolitan identity. Respect for human rights and commitment to social values, should be advanced. Participation in public life and involvement in critical assessment of governmental affairs that will further abet the creation of a socially democratic citizenry should be promoted<sup>142</sup>. Citizenship must abide by the following criteria: “Citizenship education as social initiation”: passing on values to students that can enable them to live productive lives; “Citizenship education as social reformation”: empowerment of students giving them the ability to critique; “Citizenship education as personal development”: “fostering student’s personal competencies”; and “Citizenship education as academic understanding”: Using the social sciences to create critical individuals and understanding students<sup>143</sup>.

The strength of a democratic society is dependent on an informed and active community. And as things stand “we no longer see students as citizens but as workers. We value not citizenship and the society that sustains it, but economic success in the global economy<sup>144</sup>. Therefore, we need education for democratic equality with an emphasis on citizenship preparation and the public good rather than an education based on the promotion of social efficiency and social mobility with its emphasis on training

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<sup>142</sup> Doherty-Delrome and Shaker, 212.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, 212.

<sup>144</sup> Osborne, 16-19.

instead of knowledge. The goals of education should be three-dimensional: social, cultural, economic and we must establish a balance between all three.

To ensure all of the above, there needs to be a stronger relationship between universities and the government. Sound development and careful planning is needed which can be accomplished by defining purposes and identifying tools and resources needed to satisfy conditions. Educational practices must be relevant to provincial policies and regulations and policies that are not concurrent with provincial characteristics and policies should not be implemented. Accessibility must be ensured and quality education must be guaranteed through a systemic return and direction of funding opportunities towards the provinces.

The question *how?* comes up when discussing these necessary changes. And the answer is simple. Resistance! We need to self-organize against the destructive forces of multinational corporations as well as the neo-liberal ideology. We need to re-embed economic activity into social relations and renew the ethic necessary for the creation of a culture of solidarity dedicated to the promotion of the common good. The “future hasn’t been written yet and what it will be will largely depend on us, our actions, and our willingness to fight”<sup>145</sup>.

First, we must realize that we do not stand alone. According to Joel Harden, Chairperson of the Ontario office of the Canadian Federation of Students, “ample evidence exists to argue that we are witnessing the birth of a new broad-based social movement”<sup>146</sup>. Corporatization is not only a university problem. Because of the international scope of trade liberalization and because of the broad-based basis associated

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<sup>145</sup> Doherty-Delrome and Shaker, 29.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid, 12.

with globalization, all can rally against this neo-liberal intrusion. Environmentalists, trade unionists, teachers, labourers, farmers, student activists, the list goes on and on...all can participate in this movement. By solidifying with other grass-roots movements, we as students can change the direction post-secondary education is heading in. We should unite with others to combat the continued globalization of our economies and the continued erosion of our sovereignty. Opposition should start at the local level. Participating in student demonstrations, strengthening teacher and faculty associations and unions, and partaking in a number of social movements are only a few of the ways that we as a community can begin to halt the further corporatization of our service industries. Only then can we fight the globalization efforts that have been, or are attempting to be, entrenched in international trade agreements such as NAFTA and GATS, and the upcoming FTAA. Social movements at the local level can force governments to start taking initiatives that are in the interest of its citizens rather than in the interest of its corporate elite. We, as students, need to continue to oppose the existence of the corporate presence on our campuses. We must urge our professors to adhere to their ethical responsibilities as educators. Only then can we see some semblance of a just and equitable future. Canada, especially, still has hope<sup>147</sup>. We must Mobilize. We must Organize. We must Act.

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<sup>147</sup> Osborne, 12.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

“Educational inequality is seen as but one manifestation of social inequality that must be attacked or treated in a global or total perspective”<sup>148</sup>. Neo-liberalism has undermined the very existence and foundations that pedagogy is based on. Since its first inception in its classical form, liberalism has succeeded in increasing individualism at the expense of communalism. It has attempted to make materialism, profit-making, and corporatism the norm. Through its many manifestations, such as privatization and commodification, it has succeeded in accelerating the process of national self-destruction.

Neo-liberalism not only threatens Canada’s survival as an independent and sovereign entity but it also threatens the very existence of a nationalist identity. Since the colonization of Great Britain, Quebec has suffered from a constant and immediate threat to its very viability and sustainability as a unique and distinct province. Its Roman Catholic value system clearly separates it from the rest of Canada in both linguistic and cultural attributes. The invasion of neo-liberalism on the Canadian national entity not only threatens Canada’s survival in a globalized world but also the various structures that make Canada a uniquely distinct place to live in. By exposing the world of education to the vices of neo-liberalism, not only have we threatened Canada’s sovereign existence but we have done so at the expense of Quebec’s nationalist movement.

This thesis has attempted to conceptualize neo-liberalism in reference to an important sector of the service industry. Post-secondary education has been used to

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<sup>148</sup> Lessard, 180.



demonstrate how neo-liberalism has destroyed the nationalist awareness of the Canadian population. By making corporatization the norm, people have chosen to follow a path that they do not morally agree with. "Through a massive ideological campaign, post-secondary education is being returned to the realm of the wealthy elite, with courses, professors, and programs hand-picked by those corporations which have actively worked to privatize the system, making it less equitable, less tolerant of dissent, and less representative of the whole of society that contributes to it"<sup>149</sup>.

By discussing the elements of corporatization and their methods of manifestation into the post-secondary educational institutions of Quebec and Canada, and by investigating the negative impact of neo-liberalism on these institutions as well as the general framework of cultural identity, the thesis has demonstrated the volatility of the Canadian federalist structure and, thus, the ability to avoid what has been described as the "evil corporate empire". First and foremost "education must be meaningful to become critical to become transformative"<sup>150</sup>. It was said above and will be said again, that the disintegration of liberal pedagogy is not an issue of availability of funds, but rather priority. The federal government has to realize this and, in contributing funds towards post-secondary education, it will not be only ensuring economic prosperity for Canada but also will be furthering the social and cultural goals necessary to sustain an autonomous and independent entity. Author and political critic, Svedberg states:

Innovation and growth takes place in society and is deeply affected by cultural, moral, social, and of course linguistic conditions. An economy without a fundamental appreciation of social and cultural factors is an unbalanced economy.

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<sup>149</sup> Shaker, ix.

<sup>150</sup> Saltman, Kenneth J. *Collateral Damage: Corporatizing Public Schools-A Threat to Democracy*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000) 66.

Investments in hard sciences should not be financed by counter productive cuts in the humanities and social sciences<sup>151</sup>

Instead programs that formulate debate and encourage criticism while at the same time instilling democratic ideals must be held on to and expanded. The neo-liberal ideology and all its counterparts must be revealed as destructive forces-forces that have resulted in environmental degradation, poverty, and war. They have used the market as a mechanism for the entrenchment of vices such as competitiveness, selfishness, and individualism. But they have not succeeded! A broad-based social movement is in the works and will grow. Canada specifically has hope because it “represents a distinct society; whatever its faults, that has the potential to become a genuinely open, just and democratic community”<sup>152</sup>. Quebec, similarly, because of its dedication to its Francophone and Roman Catholic heritage as well its socialist orientation, make it an excellent candidate for change. Gregory Baum reiterates this claim stating that Quebec has a “long-standing tradition of cooperatism and social solidarity”<sup>153</sup>. Thus it is now a matter of awareness and action on our parts. We must organize and act. We must redirect our future existence to a more sustainable, communal and cordial actuality. We must fight for our survival as social beings.

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<sup>151</sup> Doherty-Delrome and Shaker, 124.

<sup>152</sup> Osborne, 12.

<sup>153</sup> Baum, 57.

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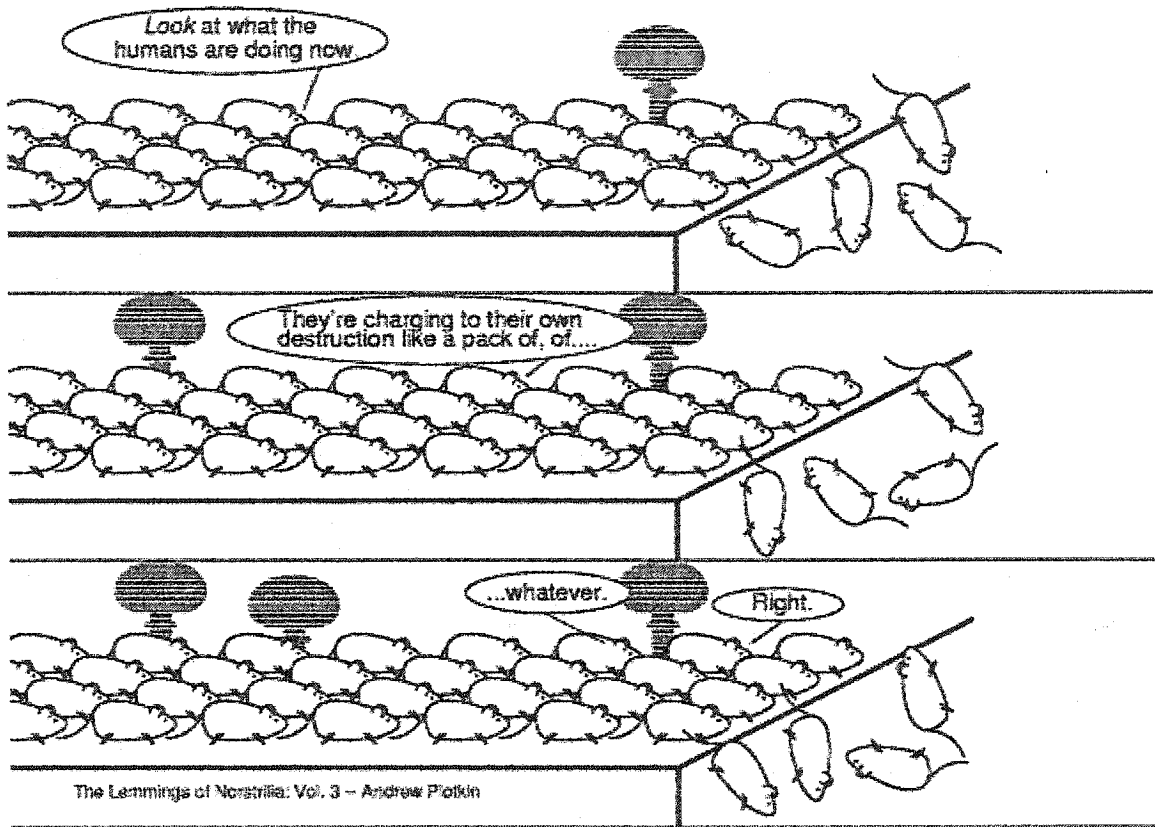
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## **APPENDICES**

APPENDIX 1



- borrowed from the Andrew Plotkin's *The Lemmings of Norstrilia*  
<http://www.eblong.com/zarf/lemmings/lem3.html>

## APPENDIX 2

### Constitution Act, 1867

#### Education

93. In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:

- (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with Respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union:
- (2) All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissident Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec:
- (3) Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissident Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education:
- (4) In case any such Provincial Law as from Time to Time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that Behalf, then and in every such Case, and as far only as the Circumstances of each Case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any Decision of the Governor General in Council under this Section.

### Constitution Act, 1982

#### Minority Language Educational Rights

23. (1) Citizens of Canada

- (a) whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside, or
- (b) who have received their primary school instruction in Canada in English or French and reside in a province where the language in which they received that instruction is the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province,

have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language in that province (not applicable to Quebec).

- (2) Citizens of Canada of whom any child has received or is receiving primary or secondary school instruction in English or French in Canada, have the right to

have all their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the same language.

(3) The right of citizens of Canada under subsections (1) and (2) to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of a province

- (a) applies wherever in the province the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision of them out of public funds of minority language instruction; and
- (b) includes, where the number of those children so warrants, the right to have them receive that instruction in minority language educational facilities provided out of public funds.

\* Borrowed from Garth Stevenson's *Unfulfilled Union*, pages 280-81, 288-89.

### APPENDIX 3

#### The Principles of Higher Education:

#### Overall Rankings

Province	Equity Rank	Quality Rank	Affordability, Access and Opportunity Rank	Accountability Rank	Overall Rank	Last Year's Overall Rank
NF	10	6	7	3	7	9
PEI	9	5	5	5	6	8
NS	3	8	3	9	4	3
NB	7	1	8	8	6	3
PQ	5	3	1	2	2	2
ON	6	10	7	10	10	10
MB	2	5	3	5	3	6
SK	8	9	9	6	9	7
AB	4	8	10	8	8	5
BC	1	2	4	1	1	1

#### Equity

Province	% of International Students (College 1995-1996)	% of International Students (University 1996-1997)	% of Women Faculty 1998	% Poor Households with PSE (1997)	Unemployment rate (1999)	Equity Rank	Last Year's Equity Rank
NF	10	9	10	9	10	10	10
PEI	9	10	3	7	9	9	9
NS	7	3	1	4	7	3	2
NB	6	8	2	6	8	7	6
PQ	8	1	9	1	6	5	4
ON	2	7	8	8	1	6	4
MB	4	4	6	2	2	2	8
SK	5	7	5	10	4	8	7
AB	3	5	7	5	3	4	3
BC	1	2	4	3	5	1	1

## Quality

Province	% University Faculty Change 92/93 - 98/99	% College Faculty Change 92/93 - 96/97	Change in Prov. Expenditure on PSE (99/00)	Avg. Student / Faculty Ratio (1996-1999)	Per Capita University Operating Grants (1999-2000)	Quality Rank	Last Year Quality Rank
NF	10	8	7	2	1	6	8
PEI	1	6	10	1	7	5	8
NS	5	9	9	4	4	8	5
NB	3	1	4	5	2	1	3
PQ	7	3	1	8	5	3	1
ON	8	5	8	10	10	10	10
MB	9	4	6	3	3	5	7
SK	6	10	5	7	6	9	4
AB	4	7	2	10	8	8	6
BC	2	2	3	6	9	2	1

## Affordability, Access, Opportunity

Province	Avg. Undergrad University Tuition (2000-2001)	Avg. College Tuition (1999-2000)	% Change in University Tuition (90/91-99/00)	% Change in College Tuition (90/91-99/00)	Avg. % 18-24 Year Olds' Participation Rate	Afford., Access & Opp. Rank	Last Year's Afford., Access & Opportunity Rank
NF	4	4	9	9	4	7	5
PEI	6	8	3	4	8	5	8
NS	10	2	7	2	1	3	3
NB	7	10	2	10	2	9	7
PQ	1	1	5	1	7	1	1
ON	9	5	8	5	3	7	6
MB	3	3	4	6	6	5	4
SK	5	9	6	7	5	9	8
AB	8	6	10	8	9	10	10
BC	2	7	1	3	10	4	2

## Accountability

Province	% of PSE funding from Gov't (1998-1999)	% of PSE funding from Student Fees (1998-1999)	% of PSE funding from Private Sources (1998-1999)	Needs Based Point System	Accountability Rank	Last Year's Accountability Rank
NF	2	6	1	8	3	7
PEI	3	7	2	6	5	4
NS	10	10	3	10	9	9
NB	8	8	5	6	8	3
PQ	1	1	8	6	2	1
ON	9	9	10	10	10	10
MB	4	4	9	1	5	6
SK	5	2	6	6	6	8
AB	7	5	7	8	8	5
BC	6	3	4	1	1	2

\*borrowed from Doherty-Delrome and Shaker's Missing Pieces

## APPENDIX 4

### Concordia University's Mission Statement:

Concordia is an urban university which is responsive to the needs of a diverse student population as well as to the bilingual and multicultural environment in which it resides. It is a welcoming community where values of equality, non-discrimination and tolerance of diversity are appreciated and actively promoted.

Furthermore, Concordia is committed to responsible and innovative leadership in fulfilling the mission of universities to develop and disseminate knowledge and values and to act as a social critic. The University seeks to achieve this end by offering its students inclusive and accessible academic programs which stress a broad-based, interdisciplinary approach to learning, by fostering an environment of academic and pedagogical freedom, as well as by a dedication to superior teaching supported by the best possible research, scholarship, creative activity and service to society. Through these means, the University prepares its graduates, at all levels, to live as informed and responsibly critical citizens who are committed to learning and to the spirit of enquiry.

\*Borrowed from The Concordia University Website <http://www.concordia.ca/about/fastfacts/mission.shtml>

### Concordia University's Board of Governors:

## Board of Governors 2003-2004

Officers of the Board:		Term Ends
Chair	Mr. Alain Benedetti Vice-Chairman Ernst & Young LLP	2004
Vice-Chair	Mr. Charles G. Cavell	2004
Vice-Chair	Me Rita Le de Santis Partner Davies Ward Phillips & Vineberg, LLP	2004
Vice-Chair	Mr. Peter Kruyt Vice-President Power Corporation of Canada	2004
Chancellor	Mr. Eric Molson Chairman of the Board Molson Inc.	2004
Rector and Vice-Chancellor	<u>Dr. Frederick Lowy</u>	ex-officio

## Representing the Community-at-Large:

Mr. Normand Beauchamp	President Capital N.D.S.L.	2005
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<b>Mr. Alain Benedetti</b>	Vice-Chairman Ernst & Young LLP	2005
<b>Mr. Charles G. Cavell</b>		2005
<b>Honorable Baljit Singh Chadha, P.C.</b>	President Balcorp Limited	2005
<b>Mr. Howard Davidson</b>	Treasurer R. Howard Webster Foundation	2004
<b>Me Rita Le de Santis</b>	Partner Davies Ward Phillips & Vineberg, LLP	2005
<b>Mr. Brian Edwards</b>	President & CEO Biotonix Inc	2006
<b>Ms. Suzanne Gouin</b>	President General Manager Ty-5	2005
<b>Mr. George Hanna</b>	President Intrafina Ltd.	2006
<b>Ms. Judith A. Kavanagh</b>	Consultant	2004
<b>Mr. Peter Kruyt</b>	Vice-President Power Corporation of Canada	2006
<b>Ms. Christine Lengvari</b>	President and CEO Lengvari Financial Inc.	2004
<b>Mr. John Parisella</b>	President BCP	2004
<b>Mr. Alex G. Potter</b>	Retired Director General Champlain Regional College	2006
<b>Mr. Richard Renaud</b>	Chairman and CEO TNG Corporation	2005
<b>Mrs. Miriam Roland</b>	Psychotherapist and President Tall-J Investments Ltd.	2004
<b>Ms. Suzanne Sévigny</b>	Global Resources Director, Military Simulation & Training CAE Inc.	2006
<b>Dr. Hani Shennib</b>	Professor, Department of Surgery McGill University Health Centre	2006
<b>Mr. Jacques St-Laurent</b>	President Bell Helicopter Textron Canada	2004
<b>Ms. Mackie I. Vadacchino de Massy</b>	Consultant	2004
<b>Mr. Ivan Velan</b>	Exec. Vice-President, North American Sales, Quality Assurance & MIS Velan Inc. (Montreal)	2006
<b>Mrs. Lillian Vineberg</b>	Artist	2006
<b>Mr. Jonathan Wener</b>	Chairman and C.E.O. Canderel Management Inc.	2004

## Representing the Alumni:

<b>Me Gerald C. Burke</b>	Attorney For the Sir George Williams Alumni Association	2005
<b>Mr. Alexander J. Carpini</b>	Managing Partner, Carpini & Associates Inc. For the Loyola Alumni Association	2005
<b>Ms. Patricia Lavoie</b>	Producer, Zone 3	2005

For the Concordia Alumni  
Association

## Representing the Teaching Staff:

<u>Dr. Steven H. Appelbaum</u>	Professor, Management	2004
<u>Dr. Rama Bhat</u>	Professor and Chair Mechanical/Industrial Engineering	2006
<u>Dr. June Chaikelson</u>	Professor and Chair CRDH Psychology	2004
<u>Dr. Sally Cole</u>	Professor, Sociology & Anthropology	2006
<u>Dr. Rhona Richman Kenneally</u>	Assistant Professor, Design Art	2004
<u>Dr. William Knitter</u>	Professor, Education	2005

## Representing Graduate Students:

<u>Mr. Kamal Fox</u>	Graduate Students' Association	2004
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## Representing Undergraduate Students:

<u>Mr. Noah Joseph</u>	Concordia Student Union	2004
<u>Ms. Natalie Pomerleau</u>	President Concordia Student Union (CSU)	2004
<u>Mr. Adam Slater</u>	Concordia Student Union (CSU)	2004
<u>TBA</u>	Concordia Student Union (CSU)	2004

## Representing the Administrative and Support Staff:

<u>Mr. Desmond O'Neill</u>	Supervisor Mail Services	2005
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## Officers of the University with speaking privileges at the Board:

<u>Prof. Marcel Danis</u>	Vice-Rector, Institutional Relations, and Secretary-General	ex-officio
<u>Mr. Michael Di Grappa</u>	Vice-Rector, Services	ex-officio
<u>Mr. Larry English</u>	Chief Financial Officer	ex-officio
<u>Dr. Jack Lightstone</u>	Provost	ex-officio

## Secretary of the Board of Governors:

<u>Ms. Danielle Tessier</u>	Director, Board and Senate Administration
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## Observers:

<u>Prof. John L. Hall</u>	Part-time Instructor, Management
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Me Pierre Frégeau

Member  
Concordia University Part-time  
Faculty Association (CUPFA)

\* Borrowed from Concordia University Web Site <<http://secretariat.concordia.ca/governors/list.shtml>>