

An Examination of the New Vocationalism and its Influence on College-University
Articulation Policies in Ontario: 1962-2000

by

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Abstract

This descriptive qualitative study examines how the ‘new vocationalism’ influenced the historical evolution of credit transfer policies between college and university institutions in Ontario. I used discourse analysis under the framework of interpretive policy analysis in order to critically analyze documents reflecting college-university articulation policies in Ontario, from 1962 to 2000. Interpretive policy analysis has been applied as a research method to provide: a) a chronological overview of the data, and b) an analysis of the new vocational discourse. Using a neo-Marxist lens, I investigate the larger political and economic influences that have shaped postsecondary policies under the ‘new vocationalism,’ including key concepts such as *capitalism*, *hegemony*, and *alienation*. I assert that articulation agreements - influenced by new vocational discourses - were deliberately implemented by the government of Ontario since the 1960s, in order to reorient post-secondary education to the marketplace and fulfill the needs of the ‘new knowledge economy.’

Keywords

new vocationalism, vocationalism, knowledge economy, post-secondary education, capitalism, hegemony, alienation, neo-liberalism, globalization, corporatization, student mobility, isomorphism, credentialism, privatization, articulation policies, credit transfer.

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Table of Contents

Faculty of Graduate Studies/Faculté des études supérieures	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Research Problematic	1
Historical Overview	3
Background to Problem	6
Organization of Study	13
Standpoint	15
Chapter 2: Methodology	20
<i>Interpretive Methods</i>	21
<i>Discourse Analysis</i>	22
<i>Interpretive Policy Analysis</i>	24
<i>Data Collection</i>	26
<i>Literature and Theoretical Components</i>	32
<i>Discussion</i>	33
<i>Limitations</i>	34
Chapter 3: Literature Review	36
<i>Neo-liberalism</i>	37
<i>Neo-liberalism and Post-Secondary Education</i>	39
<i>The ‘Knowledge Economy’</i>	42
<i>Cognitive Capitalism</i>	43
<i>Globalization</i>	45
<i>Globalization and the Corporatization of Post-secondary Education</i>	46
<i>Globalization and Human Capital Theory</i>	49
<i>Privatization of Higher Education through Market Initiatives</i>	53
<i>Isomorphism of Postsecondary Institutions and Programmes</i>	56
<i>Debates Among Critics: The University Response</i>	58
<i>Debates among Critics: The College Response</i>	59
Chapter 4: Theoretical Foundations	61
<i>Alienation</i>	62
<i>Alienation of Labour</i>	65
<i>Alienation in Education</i>	66
<i>Alienation and the ‘New Vocationalism’</i>	68
<i>Hegemony</i>	70
<i>Social Stratification and Post-secondary Education</i>	73
Chapter 5: Findings and Results	78
<i>1962: Deutsch Report</i>	79
<i>1965: Introduction to CAATs</i>	79
<i>1972: The Learning Society</i>	81
<i>1970s – 1980s: Examining the Relationship between Colleges and Universities</i>	82
<i>1981: The Task Force</i>	83

<i>1986: Pitman Report</i>	83
<i>1990: Vision 2000</i>	84
<i>1993: No Dead Ends</i>	86
<i>1995: Pan-Canadian Protocol on the Transferability of University Credits</i>	88
<i>1996: Future Goals for Ontario Colleges and Universities (Discussion Paper)</i>	90
<i>1996: The College-University Consortium Council</i>	91
<i>1996: Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility (Smith Report)</i>	93
<i>1999: College-University Degree Completion Accord</i>	94
<i>2000: Post-secondary Education Choice and Excellence Act</i>	96
Section II.....	98
<i>Vision 2000 Recommendations</i>	98
<i>Lifelong Learning</i>	98
<i>Student Mobility</i>	101
<i>Advanced Training</i>	103
<i>Task Force on Advanced Training Recommendations (No Dead Ends Report)</i>	105
<i>Inter-sectoral Transfer</i>	105
<i>Economic Renewal</i>	106
<i>Smith Report Recommendations</i>	107
<i>Privatization</i>	108
<i>International Training/Globalization</i>	109
<i>Partnerships/Collaborations</i>	110
Chapter 6: Discussion.....	113
<i>Summary of Findings</i>	113
<i>Future Research</i>	124
Conclusion.....	125
References.....	128
Appendix I – <i>Vision 2000 Recommendations</i>	147
Appendix II – <i>Task Force on Advanced Training Recommendations (No Dead Ends Report)</i>	158
Appendix III – <i>Smith Report Recommendations</i>	160

Chapter 1: Introduction

Research Problematic

In this study, I examine how the ‘new vocationalism’ influenced post-secondary reforms from 1962-2000 by analyzing fundamental articulation policies which have led to formal linkages between CAATs (Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology) and universities in the province of Ontario. I seek to determine whether college-university articulation agreements – surrounding the new vocational discourse – influenced the concept of a ‘cooperative’ relationship between the two sectors by the year 2000. Based on the evidence, I am interested in gaining an understanding of whether articulation policies influenced a ‘creeping vocationalism’ in post-secondary curricula, eventually leading to a ‘sectoral hegemony.’ Lastly, I seek to understand the role of the government in influencing college-university articulation policies so I can gain insight as to when and how these changes were implemented.

I assert that articulation agreements - influenced by new vocational discourses - were deliberately implemented by the government of Ontario since the 1960s, in order to reorient post-secondary education to the marketplace and fulfill the needs of the ‘new knowledge economy.’

The concept of a ‘cooperative relationship’ between colleges and universities in Ontario has been heavily debated in the last forty years (Levin, 2001; Marshall, 2008; Skolnik, 2003). This is due to the fact that colleges and universities have historically been considered *binary systems*, which according to the Canadian Council on Learning (2010) indicates,

... the presence of two separate institutional sectors: public universities offering academic and professional programming at the degree-level; and public colleges providing diplomas and certificates of programs of a more technical or vocational nature (p. 4).

Therefore, Ontario universities and colleges have historically worked in isolation of each other, with little or no movement between the two sectors. When the new binary system was implemented in the 1960s, community colleges were not considered a threat to universities in Ontario. Ontario CAATs were designed to perform a predominately economic role in preparing workers for the provincial economy (Skolnik, 2005, p. 7), whereas universities were designed to offer theoretical education and were given complete autonomy in deciding their overall mandate and purpose (Skolnik, 2005). As a result of these distinct systemic ideologies, the two sectors did not show any interest in cooperating to deliver a credit transfer system to students (Skolnik, 2005, p. 6).

Although each institution managed to maintain its own mandate, the provincial government attempted to gradually “reform” the post-secondary educational system. This meant that economically oriented discourses were implemented into educational policies. Articulation policies would ensure that community colleges and universities integrated in order to fully contribute to the economic adaptations required of the ‘new knowledge-economy’ (Bragg, 2001).¹ However, the debate among scholars has questioned the extent of these reforms and their consequences to blurring the former binary between the two sectors (Lehmann, 2009; Metcalfe & Fenwick, 2009; Marshall, 2004; Skolnik, 2011; Sears, 2003; Shanahan & Jones, 2007).

Articulation is defined as the arrangement of credit transfer between a CAAT and a university to enable a college graduate to pursue baccalaureate degree studies (Jones & Skolnik, 2009). Additionally, it may also refer to a reverse transfer, where a university graduate undertakes a college diploma or certificate. However, this study particularly focuses on the former.

¹ See Warhurst 2008, especially chapter 3, for an insightful analysis of the ‘new knowledge-economy.’

Historical Overview

Modeled after the English education system, university education in Ontario began shortly after the Constitutional Act of 1791 in what was Upper Canada (Cameron & Royce, 1996). During this time, universities faced an ongoing battle between church and government control. It was not until 1849 that King's College was stripped of its denominational character, becoming the University of Toronto. Furthermore, by 1868 the government led by then Premier Sandfield Macdonald, terminated all grants for denominational colleges. This move offered the province the opportunity to make a second start in shaping a workable public policy framework for post-secondary education in Ontario (Cameron & Royce, 1996, p. 69). By 1887, Ontario was part of an increasingly industrialized international economy. However, industrialization demanded more than classically trained scholars. This eventually led to the establishment of professional schools and/or colleges of medicine, science and law, where research began to gain great importance (Cameron & Royce, 1996).

During the late 1800s, public money funded Ontario schools influencing institutional structures. For instance, elementary schools became common schools, public secondary schools were considered collegiate institutes for university-bound students, and grammar schools became secondary schools offering vocational and science programs (Cameron & Royce, 1996). The new public secondary schools offered instruction through to grade thirteen, which meant that the first year of a university degree program could be completed in local high schools as well as in universities. Cameron and Royce (1996) contend that, “[W]hile this would later obviate the need for the development of community colleges along the American model as local feeder institutions for universities, it immediately confirmed the primacy of academic programs over

vocational or technical options at the secondary level” (p. 70). In response, Ryerson’s successor John Seath, developed a grand design for education in Ontario. He established two parallel lines in secondary education (vocational and academic) which later influenced two parallel lines in post-secondary education, reflecting the structure that remains today (Cameron & Royce, 1996).

For the first half of the twentieth century there was no college system. By the 1960s Ontario consisted of twelve publicly funded universities. The academic and vocational routes took effect in high schools where the “Roberts Plan” laid out three educational streams, which included: “science, technology and trades,” “business and commerce,” and “arts and science” programs, with the former leading to university education, and the latter to labour force or technical institutes (Cameron & Royce, 1996, p. 72). During the 1960s and 1970s the first great expansion occurred as the baby-boom and post-war veterans both contributed to the demand for post-secondary education. The provincial government decided to expand the system by establishing new universities. Then by 1964, all forms of postsecondary education, other than universities, were altered into one new system known as Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs) (Cameron & Royce, 1996).

The mission and role of the new college institutions varied considerably by province since they were designed to address specific needs within the distinct provincial systems (Dennison & Gallagher, 1986). For instance, British Columbia and Alberta decided to create community colleges that closely resembled the American institutional model. The colleges offered university transfer programs where students could obtain the first two years of university at a local college and then transfer into year three at a provincial university (Dennison & Gallagher, 1986). The Ontario post-secondary model differed significantly. Ontario created a provincial network of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology which operated in parallel to the

university sector. The new community colleges offered technical/vocational programs, including a range of three-year diploma programs. However, the colleges were not designed to have a university-transfer function. Colleges and universities were indifferent about the credit transfer system, especially since Ontario universities viewed colleges as competitors (Skolnik, 2008).

According to Cameron and Royce (1996), “Demand for university education in Ontario burgeoned to levels well beyond that predicted by expert forecasters” (p. 76). For instance, in 1963 experts projected that there would likely be 91,000 full-time undergraduate students by 1970 (Cameron & Royce, 1996). However, by 1975 actual full-time undergraduate enrollments rose to about 145,000 students, reaching over 203,000 in 1995. Therefore, between 1970 and 1995, full-time undergraduate enrollment increased by 93% in the province of Ontario (Cameron & Royce, 1996).

Additionally, colleges also experienced dramatic increases in full-time enrollments. When the colleges first opened in 1967 the enrolment rate was approximately 11,400 full-time students. By 1977, enrollments drastically increased to 61,000 students and by 1995 reached 135,880 (Cameron & Royce, 1996). The 1960s marked a turning point in public expectations of post-secondary education in Ontario with enormous growths in student demand. In an increasingly competitive global economy post-secondary education was the engine for economic growth. Both the provincial and federal government shared the costs of post-secondary education and accommodated funds where necessary to deal with the increasing enrollment rates. However, by the early 1970s the government began to withdraw their commitment to financing growth in post-secondary education even though both sectors continued to expand (Dennison & Gallagher, 1986).

Credit transfer and student mobility between university and college institutions was not initially on the radar for the province of Ontario. When CAATs were introduced in Ontario in 1965, then Minister William Davis, issued notice that colleges would only provide vocational and technical training and not encroach on universities (Kerr & McCloy et al., 2010, p. 4). However, the employment environment in the province gradually influenced a ‘creeping credentialism,’ in which a university degree became a requirement for more jobs and professions (Marshall, 2004). Marshall (2004) contends that:

In the “knowledge economy,” the increased knowledge expectations of many jobs and professions have resulted in a legitimate increase in the credentials required for various jobs ... A variation of this type of creeping credentialism has been the efforts of most provinces to provide access to the university level credential in non-traditional means (distance, private, university transfer) (p. 77).

Therefore, by the late 60s, this creeping credentialism caused students and employers to indicate that both a diploma and a degree were credentials required to obtain acceptable employment.

By 1967, Minister Davis changed his approach by confirming that students should not be prevented from going on from a CAAT to a university institution (Kerr & McCloy et al., 2010). It was at this point in time that a potential relationship would form between the two sectors, making critics skeptical that it would drastically change the former binary institutional divide in Ontario.

Background to Problem

Since the 1960s, the implementation of articulation policies has attempted to integrate the two post-secondary systems and introduced a ‘differentiating’ post-secondary landscape in Ontario (Levin, 2005; Marshall, 2008; Skolnik, 2003). However, the policies also concealed an ulterior motive, that is, to accommodate a ‘knowledge-based economy’ (Bragg, 2001). This

meant that education was used to foster economic prosperity by attempting to provide sufficient human capital (i.e. educated workers) to meet the changing demands of industry (Kirby, 2008). As a result, programmes in the social sciences and humanities have witnessed declining support from government policy initiatives. This surge of interest in the vocational role of education and training is labeled as the ‘new vocationalism’ and stems from neo-liberal ideologies of education and work (Apple, 2000; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1987; Ball, 2012; Livingstone & Sawchuk, 2004).

The new vocational discourse stems from the neo-liberal ideology, which according to Boud and Symes (2002),

... has been part of the broader policy agenda centering on economic reform that has focused on ... the need to intellectualize their labour forces ... if they are to take advantage of the emergent knowledge economy. Higher education, because it is a central player in human capital formation, has been regarded as a vital part of this reform (p. 16).

Additionally, educational reform under the *new vocationalism*, has placed great emphasis on making education more “relevant” (Sears, 2003). In this context, relevance is defined in terms of preparation for employment. As a result, increased market pressures have pushed higher education away from its traditional commitments, which include teaching and research, to serving public interests (Powell & Snellman, 2004).

Throughout the 1980s, several attempts were made to bridge the gap between vocational and academic education. Sears (2003) contends that this focus on “relevance” in terms of labour market preparation was central to the educational restructuring undertaken by Britain’s Thatcher government. He states that,

The “new vocationalism” was a central theme in Thatcherite education reform efforts by the middle of the 1980s. It combined specific concerns about the content of education with particular pedagogical approaches – the content was to become more job training-oriented, while the pedagogy was to shift in a behaviourist direction (Sears, 2003, p. 73).

Therefore, Thatcherism was an entirely destructive project. It set out to destroy ‘socialism,’ which included trade unions and the communities of the period. Thatcherism left nothing but the illusory ‘market mechanisms’ imposed on all public sector institutions including schools, colleges, and universities (Hayes, 2003). It reoriented emphasis on work habits, measurement, and identification, to accommodate the goals of employers. At the core of vocationalism remained the assumption that students and capitalists shared a common interest, which was to prepare for work in an evolving, yet uncertain, labour market (Sears, 2003, p. 73).

In Canada, similar forms of education reform took shape. The emphasis on training and higher education reform was particularly prominent in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Axelrod, 2002). In the latter part of the 1980s, the Mulroney government initiated reduced federal transfer payments to provinces. Funding was reduced for healthcare and higher education, with the objective of reducing government expenditures (CAUT, 2007). Within a few years, these cuts caused the reduction in university funding from a high of eighty percent of direct public funding to approximately sixty percent of the governments current operating budgets (CAUT, 2007). Consequently, the reduction in government funding for post-secondary education shifted some of the burden to the student through tuition fee hikes (Quirke & Davies, 2002).

The price increase in tuition should have lowered the demand for post-secondary education. However, Quirke and Davies (2002) contend that higher education enrolment was not affected because it was the “... condition for employment in the marketplace” (p. 88). This was because degrees remained a prime currency for access to good jobs. The value of credentials, such as the high school diploma, declined drastically over the years. The result of this devaluation generated further demand for university degrees, creating more competition to enter the postsecondary system (Quirke & Davies, 2002). Furthermore, the shift towards an

increasingly service-oriented labour market reduced traditional manual or blue-collar opportunities for those without postsecondary credentials, affecting job prospects for less affluent youth (Livingstone, 1999).

Increased student enrolments diminished the elitist nature of higher education institutions. Non-traditional students were part of the fastest growing population attending post-secondary institutions (Hayes, 2003). The pace in change continued to accelerate in the late 1980s as instrumentalist policy initiatives were designed to link higher education directly to the economy. Universities were concerned that they would have to take on new roles and lower their traditional standards if they were to meet the growing demand for post-secondary education (Axelrod, 2002).

New universities were created and older ones expanded. However, the major addition to post-secondary and adult training opportunity in this era was the expansion of community college systems in all provinces and territories (Dennison, 2006). As previously mentioned, the goal of community college institutions has traditionally been to service community development (Levin, 2005). During the 1980s, economic development blurred the 'access-for-all' mission which had originally been the main prerogative of community colleges. According to Levin (2005),

Today's community college students can be seen as economic entities in two ways: as consumers and as commodities, where commodity refers to "something of use, advantage or value." As consumers, students and their demands increasingly shape the curricular and organizational strategies that community colleges use to garner revenues; as commodities students garner skills of value to business and industry (p. 13).

Therefore, in adjusting to an increasingly competitive higher education market, community colleges have emphasized short-term investments in human capital over general education. The difference is that in the 1960s and 1970s, responsiveness was characterized as the democratizing

intent of community colleges. By the late 1990s, responsiveness was viewed as a service to markets and consumers rather than to citizens and communities (Levin, 2005).

Neo-liberalism is the driving ideology that has influenced educational restructuring under the new vocationalism (Apple, 2000; Hyslop-Margison & Leonard, 2012). According to Apple (2011),

Neo-liberals are the most powerful element within the alliance supporting conservative modernization. They are guided by the vision of the weak state. Thus, what is private is necessarily good and what is public is necessarily bad. Public institutions such as schools are “black holes” into which money is poured - and then seemingly disappears - but which do not provide anywhere near adequate results. For neo-liberals, one form of rationality is more powerful than any other – economic rationality (p. 196).

Therefore, neo-liberal policy initiatives have influenced the drastic massification of post-secondary sectors. Most initiatives have centered either on creating closer linkages between education and the economy, or on placing schools themselves into the market (Apple, 2011). The market ideology has transformed the student into a “consumer” and education is seen as simply one more product. Thus, democracy has been turned into consumption practices (Apple, 2011, p. 197).

This ‘creeping credentialism’ has created an environment in which substantial changes have occurred for students as well as employers (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). There is an increasing indication that both a diploma and a degree are credentials which are required to obtain acceptable employment (Symes & McIntyre, 2002). However, Livingstone and Scholtz (2007) argue that, “... it is increasingly clear that the cumulative employment-related knowledge and skills of the labour force now exceed the capacity of the current labour market to provide adequate numbers of corresponding sorts of jobs” (p. 149). Although one of the primary initiatives of post-secondary education is to help students make a successful transition to the ‘knowledge based economy,’ policy responses have predominately ignored the existence and

growth of underemployment (Livingstone & Scholtz, 2007). The premise of the new vocationalism centers on 'skill development' in order to prepare individuals for the labour market under the economic circumstances of underemployment. Thus, this premise becomes quite contradictory (Sears, 2003). There is an evident mismatch between Canadians' learning achievements and the availability of "good jobs" in the labour market (Livingstone, 2009). Livingstone and Scholtz (2007) stress that underemployment is more prevalent than underqualification, especially those in working-class positions (p. 154).

The new vocationalism has stressed complex collaborative relationships between educational sectors. It has influenced what is now referred to as a 'differentiating' post-secondary landscape (Marshall, 2004). Zha (2009) provides a general definition of 'diversity,' stating that it is the:

... existence of distinct forms of post-secondary education, of institutions and groups of institutions within a state or nation that have different and distinctive missions, educate and train for different lives and careers, have different styles of instruction, are organized and funded and operate under different laws and relationships to government" (p. 42).

However, the massification of post-secondary education under neo-liberalism has increased pressures on institutions to be more competitive. Post-secondary institutions exist in a highly market-driven environment in which public support has not kept pace with rising costs of education or with the pace of institutional needs (Zha, 2009). Consequently, a convergence of institutional function structures causes a homogenization of post-secondary institutions rather than a 'differentiating' landscape.

Additionally, increasing competition among post-secondary institutions has caused a mission homogenization (Zha, 2009). In order to create a "market responsive" sector, institutions have witnessed declining funding and value of courses in the social sciences and humanities. Students are encouraged to demand and select vocationally relevant courses of study such as

computer studies, business administration, and engineering (Altbach, 2000). Even in the case of sociology and/or psychology there is an increasing preference associated with market strategies. Forms of language development are oriented in corporate communication and technical report writing, not literature. This means that “academic drift” creates a tendency of moving away from diversity and towards uniformity (Zha, 2009).

Within neo-liberal ideology, post-secondary education is not consistent with the soul of democratic education (Apple, 2000). It has put aside the power of the humanities and social sciences in favor of privileging standardization and promoting empirical evidence to the exclusion of critical curricula. This new form of vocationalism has expanded university and community college curricula, while simultaneously stratifying programs (Hyslop-Margison & Leonard, 2012). Therefore, a domineering form of neo-liberalism has transformed the practical organization of schooling, determined to integrate higher education and vocational education as a direct instrument of economic design (Axelrod, 2002). Under the banner of efficiency, competition, and productivity, neo-liberal demands for adaptation have reshaped the original binary mandates of colleges and universities (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Fisher and Rubenson et al. (2009) contend that:

A trend toward vocationalism in the university sector has coincided with ‘academic drift’ in the community college sector, leading to convergences in programming and institutional functions across the system, as well as competition for resources, students, and external partners. Unprecedented demand has made education a viable industry, sustaining both a proliferation of private providers and a range of new entrepreneurial activities within public institutions (p. 550).

Therefore, a foundational argument throughout this study is that community colleges and universities integrated sectors to direct their collaborative operations in support of new vocational economic developments. They have done so at the expense of other missions, in order to maintain legitimacy in the broader political economy.

The new vocationalism – at the core of neo-liberal ideology – influenced the establishment of CAATs and articulation agreements by the Ontario government since the 1960s. Therefore, I will examine how Ontario articulation agreements - influenced by discourses of the new vocationalism – have been responsible for blurring the traditional university-college binary in Ontario. The study includes major themes associated with neo-liberal ideologies, such as, *capitalism, globalization, alienation, corporatization, and sectoral-hegemony*. Given the limited research available on the relationship between universities and colleges, the aim of this research is exploratory; in order to better understand the impacts the new vocationalism has had on the reformation of colleges and universities. It is hoped that my analysis will help to develop a better understanding of government responses to the needs of the market economy and the trend towards the vocationalism of higher education.

Organization of Study

This thesis is divided into six major chapters presented in the following order: “introduction,” “methodology,” “literature review,” “theoretical foundations,” “findings and results,” and “discussion.”

The **methodology** chapter provides an overview of the method used throughout this study – interpretive policy analysis – and an explanation as to how and why the method was chosen. Policy documents published by government representatives, committee members, and task forces, have been used as ‘primary’ sources of data. Whereas ‘secondary’ sources include scholarly articles and news reports which further inform about the implications of college-university articulation and collaborative relationships.

The **literature review** chapter consists of eleven subsections. The major ones include: *Neo-liberalism*, which defines how the ideology has influenced policies that have reshaped the post-secondary system in Canada, with an emphasis on Ontario. *Neo-liberalism and the 'New Knowledge Economy,'* examines how neoliberalism has increased the value of credentialization through the commodification of knowledge. *Globalization*, links post-secondary education to the global economy. The subsection relates to how post-secondary systems have responded to the demands of globalization by expanding and crossing traditional borders of higher education. Lastly, *Globalization and Human Capital Theory*, examines the literature involving the national economic benefit of having an educated and skilled workforce. *Human Capital Theory* (Bell & Stevenson, 2006) has been the driving force for recent research and policy-making related to both the expansion and integration of post-secondary sectors in Ontario.

The **theoretical foundations** chapter investigates the larger political and economic influences that have shaped post-secondary policies in Ontario. A neo-Marxist lens is used to investigate the new vocationalism. Additionally, special attention is devoted to theorists who share a common theoretical standpoint to a macro-level analysis of educational restructuring, including, Apple (2000), Bowles and Gintis (1988), Collins (2008), and Livingstone (1999). I speculate how their theoretical frameworks relate to my thesis regarding the new vocationalism and its influence on college-university reformation.

The **findings and results chapter** provides a chronological analysis of major reports that have influenced university-college articulation agreements in Ontario, since the 1960s. Using an interpretive policy analysis (Yanow, 2000), the first section focuses on specific government policy initiatives that propose articulation arrangements between CAATs and universities. In the second subsection, I use discourse analysis under the framework of interpretive policy analysis in

order to critically analyze recommendations of three major articulation policy initiatives. Both DA and IPA allowed me to identify and analyze the new vocational discourses surrounding the proposed articulation policies.

Finally, the **discussion** chapter highlights important insights that were developed in the **theoretical foundations** and **findings and results chapters**. This chapter will assess and determine whether articulation policies between university-college institutions have influenced a ‘creeping vocationalism’ leading to a ‘sectoral hegemony’ of post-secondary curricula in Ontario. Additionally, the discussion chapter includes concluding thoughts moving forward.

Standpoint

As a graduate student, my interest in researching post-secondary education has evolved over the years. I have taken an interest in researching the reformation of post-secondary education systems in Ontario. I am particularly interested in how vocationally-oriented reforms have influenced cooperative and collaborative relationships between university-college institutions, credentials, and degrees. The establishment of CAATs in 1965 introduced a binary postsecondary structure in Ontario; however universities maintained their autonomy, as they had no interest in partnering with colleges - and vice-versa. This arrangement was intentionally interrupted when creeping credentialism, labour market changes, and technological advances in the economy introduced the need for student mobility across colleges and universities. Eventually, articulation policies were introduced in order to establish transfer relationships between each sector. I pursued this study because I believe that the new vocationalism influenced the push for articulation arrangements between the sectors. It interrupted the former

binary postsecondary landscape in Ontario, and opened the door to continuous sectoral integrations over the years.

The rationale for this research stems from my personal experience as a university student who has witnessed the post-secondary (university-college) partnership system. During my transition into university studies, I thought it was quite convenient that Laurentian University offered undergraduate programs at Georgian College. The 'Laurentian at Georgian' programs provide students in Barrie and Orillia with the opportunity to begin (and in some cases complete) their university studies in Simcoe County, thus boosting Laurentian's student population numbers. Laurentian's Barrie programs have grown steadily since the introduction of a pilot program thirteen years ago. Presently, Laurentian offers eleven programs in social sciences, humanities, commerce, and social work, including an MBA (Bruineman, 2011).

The university partnership model is quite cost effective for the government because it builds upon a pre-existing infrastructure. In addition to Laurentian University, Georgian's University Partnership Centre offers programs from six other universities as well (Bruineman, 2011). However, over the years the exhaustion of space at Georgian's Barrie Campus has led to heated discussions between the college and university about their relationship. For instance, Laurentian University has cited a number of issues that need to be resolved at Georgian College which include: space constraints, student governance, academic governance, and accreditation requirements (Bruineman, 2011).

Given that I resided in the city of Barrie, I decided to attend the first three years of my undergraduate studies at Laurentian at Georgian College. During my fourth year of undergraduate studies, I transferred to the Laurentian University campus located in the city of Sudbury. While attending my final undergraduate year at a university campus, I was able to

compare the environments of each campus. I immediately noticed differences between Laurentian University and Laurentian at Georgian College. Such realizations presented a plethora of questions about university-college relations. The Laurentian at Georgian campus was/is missing many of the foundational characteristics that distinguish a university from a community college institution. For instance, the first realization was the lack of an intellectual student environment, which includes the absence of an adequate student library, and student clubs and/or organizations. Therefore, this interest escalated further, as I moved from the micro influences of university-college relations to the macro. It led me to question whether university-college relationships have influenced an “academic drift” in the college sector and a trend towards vocationalism in the university sector in Ontario.

Due to their increasing success, undergraduate programs offered through Georgian’s University Partnership Centre have expanded over the years. A number of bachelor degree programs offered by university partnerships now offer career-oriented education. The Georgian College Partnership Centre offers baccalaureate degrees in programs such as Golf Management, Police Studies, Business Administration, and Nursing. This indicates an altered institutional mission by both the college and university partnerships. Perhaps suitably, the programs are offered through Georgian College; however, such reorganization has further threatened the traditional academic orientation of the baccalaureate degree. Therefore, demands from business, industry and students have led to major alterations in programming with a focus on professional and career-oriented training for the local market. Such circumstances have led to question whether this creeping vocationalism has caused a sectoral hegemony in post-secondary programming, affecting traditional higher education programs in sectors such as social sciences and the humanities.

The partnership at Georgian College is but one example of postsecondary restructuring, but it is important to note that similar vocationally-oriented reforms have taken place throughout Ontario. The new vocationalism not only shapes curriculum to employment and careers for students but also shapes institutional responsiveness to the marketplace. The new vocationalism has influenced the expansion of postsecondary curriculum but at the same time it has stratified programs. Programs are added in high demand employment areas. Programs are restructured or even discarded in areas where employment needs are minimal or where there is no obvious connection to employment. As a result, academic fields in the liberal arts and social sciences are increasingly under pressure to conform to the practical values of communication and information technologies.

The original mandate of Ontario's College of Applied Arts and Technology (herein after referred to as colleges) was to concentrate on career education and meeting the needs of youths who did not go onto university. However, over the years, the career fields for which the colleges and universities historically have provided education have undergone considerable change. The new vocationalism requires higher levels of knowledge in various career fields and in many of them the baccalaureate degree has become important for entry or advancement. Therefore, what I am arguing here is that the new vocationalism – at the core of neo-liberalism – is not simply a technical change in the management of the delivery of educational services – it involves changes in the meaning and experience of education. For instance, within the present value system knowledge has become objectified, measurable, and transferable. When knowledge is seen as having different levels of economic value, and when the economic value becomes predominant, the complexities of defining the value of knowledge as a socially constructed phenomenon is lost (Patrick, 2013). Therefore, neoliberal discourse tends to devalue notions of individual good as an

aim of education, the result being that students are consumers and disciplinary knowledge is what is consumed (Patrick, 2013, p. 4).

Neo-liberalism is the underlining government ideology which has influenced the restructuring of postsecondary education since the 1960s, and will be echoed throughout this study. However, since I am focusing on how college-university relationships have “vocalized” postsecondary education, it is fitting that I examine the discourse of the new vocationalism.

Therefore, I feel as though it is important to analyze and critically examine the evolution of university-college relationships in Ontario. I want to determine whether college-university articulation agreements - beginning in the 1960s - influenced a ‘differentiating’ postsecondary landscape by the year 2000, causing a ‘sectoral hegemony.’ In order to do so, I will critically examine actual articulation agreements as evidence that the new vocationalism is responsible for blurring the traditional university-college binary in Ontario, to remind readers where the transformations and changes came from.

Chapter 2: Methodology

The objective of this chapter is to describe and discuss the research methodology that has been applied for this research. It will discuss the rationale in selecting policy tools including the theoretical framework applied throughout the study. In addition, an evaluation of primary and secondary sources will be presented which have been used to increase reliability and validity of the study. This chapter also defines the scope and limitations of the research.

I used *discourse analysis* (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002) under the framework of *interpretive policy analysis* (Yanow, 2000) in order to critically analyze documents reflecting college-university articulation policies in Ontario, from 1962 to 2000. The purpose of the analysis is to understand how the new vocational discourse influenced college-university relationships. IPA required me to select key policy instruments implemented by government representatives of Ontario, and assess the processes and language by which the policies were formulated and implemented (Yanow, 2000).

I conduct an analysis of the new vocational discourse surrounding college-university articulation policies, including concepts such as *lifelong learning*, *student mobility*, *economic renewal*, *globalization*, and *privatization*. Therefore, my research specifically uses a “descriptive” approach to discourse analysis. Gee (2005) contends that the goal of descriptive approaches to discourse analysis is to describe “how language works in order to understand it” (p. 9). The overarching goal of this research is to examine discourse surrounding the ‘new vocationalism’ under the framework of IPA to show the reader how articulation policies, implemented by the government, are intended to respond to the demands of the ‘new knowledge economy.’

Interpretive Methods

The research used discourse analysis under the framework of interpretive policy analysis. Both DA and IPA are considered to be interpretive methods of research (Hackley, 2003). Hackley (2003) contends that, “Interpretive approaches offer a way of researching a given topic in depth and sophistication without a statistically secure universalization of findings” (p. 8). Additionally, interpretive research often relies on qualitative data but also entails a critical engagement with these data in order to go beyond mere anecdote (Hackley, 2003). The research includes data that are crafted into a textual representation. This allowed me to engage with the text and draw meaning from it.

The theoretical framework of interpretive methods was developed against the positivist epistemology. According to Costley et al. (2010),

Post-positivistic approaches share many of the characteristics of positivism ... while they treat reality as objective, they regard it as not perfectly knowable. The emphasis therefore moves to testing rather than proving hypotheses ... Methodological approaches may be qualitative or quantitative ... value-based issues can contribute to how the focus of the research is decided (p. 84).

Therefore, in conducting analysis on value-based issues, the researcher cannot remain neutral. The study places discourse - surrounding the ‘new vocationalism’ - in a central analytic position. This means that it considers the language, the paradigms, and the ideas that guide and justify articulation policy initiatives. It also considers the way in which actors (government representatives) interpret action and how these interpretations influence social structures and institutions (colleges and universities).

According to Sidney (2010), “Researchers understand discourse as a dimension of power” (p. 31). In other words, the actors or groups who control discourse exercise a form of power over social and political outcomes which in this case take the form of policy initiatives

(Sidney, 2010). Therefore, for the purpose of this research it was decided that interpretivist research methods were to be used in order to fully understand the reformation of college and university institutions in Ontario. By doing so, I was able to determine whether the new vocational discourse influenced college-university articulation recommendations between the former binary post-secondary sectors.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is used to explore the new vocational discourse surrounding college-university articulation policies. This section summarizes the existing literature on discourse analysis and gives a brief description of the field.

According to Doherty (2007), *discourse* can be thought of as "... a body of ideas, concepts and beliefs that have become established as knowledge, or as an accepted way of looking at the world" (p. 193). For instance, texts could be thought of as expressing such discourses. One of the underlying approaches to discourse analysis is an intellectual commitment to understanding discourse as 'constructing' the social world, rejecting a realist perspective on language (Doherty, 2007).

There are variations in the definition of discourse analysis. Blommaert (2005) focuses on how language can offer a crucial understanding of wider aspects of power relations. He argues that, "... critical discourse analysis should specifically be an analysis of the *effects* of power, what power does to people, groups, and societies, and how this impact comes about" (p. 2). For the purpose of this study, discourse analysis has been used within a similar framework. The focus includes how language - identified in articulation policy initiatives - is an ingredient of

power processes initiated through the state. Within this context, discourse becomes crucial in understanding the wider aspects of power relations.

Theorists such as Foucault (1980) contend that power does not belong to particular agents such as individuals or the state; rather, power is a network that is spread across different social practices (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). In his genealogical work, Foucault developed a theory of power/knowledge. Instead of treating agents and structures as primary categories, Foucault focuses on power. Furthermore, Foucault states that power "... needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). In other words, power provides the conditions of possibility for the social (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 14). Rather than focusing on people making discursive statements, he emphasizes the ways in which discourses make people.

Discourses are the resources from which policy texts are produced (Doherty, 2007). This is why relations of power, language, ideology, and discourse mark out the territory of interest for interpretive policy analysis. The central work of DA tries to uncover the ideological influences of texts in order to identify the social relations of power and domination that they possess.

Doherty (2007) contends that:

... the discourses embedded in policy texts operate to constitute, position, make productive, regulate, moralize and govern the citizen. Such texts are also indelibly marked by hidden conceptions of government, the task of governing, and its associated technologies (p. 195).

Therefore, Foucault understood that the only way the activity of governing is possible is through the active employment of discourse. This is very different from the standard understanding of the subject as an autonomous entity. This is why Foucault's development of discourse has been a major inspiration to those who have extended discourse theory (Doherty, 2007).

Additionally, Foucault's professor, Louis Althusser (1971), developed structural Marxist approach which links the subject closely to ideology (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). According to Althusser, all aspects of the social are controlled by ideology, which functions through "the repressive state apparatus" (e.g. the police) and "the ideological state apparatus" (e.g. the mass media) (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). In other words, Althusser assumed that we always accept the subject positions allocated to us, and as a result, we become the subjects of ideology. Althusser believed that since we become the 'subjects of ideology' there is no chance of resistance (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002, p. 15).

Therefore, the different approaches have developed different concepts of the *subject*. Generally speaking, it can be interpreted that all the approaches see the subject as created in discourses; however, the approaches differ as to their position in the debate about the relationship between structure and agent (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). In discourse analysis, the primary exercise is not which of the statements about the world in the research material are right and which are wrong. The goal is to work with what has actually been written or said. The research explores patterns in and across statements (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Its focus is to identify the social consequences of different representations of reality. My research conducts the analysis of discourse surrounding the 'new vocationalism' under the framework of IPA to show the reader how college-university articulation polices, implemented by the government, have been intended to respond to the demands of the 'new knowledge economy.'

Interpretive Policy Analysis

Interpretive policy analysis derives from discourse theory. According to Yanow (2000) interpretive policy analysis is, "... designed to supply information about complex social and

economic problems and to assess the processes by which a policy or program is formulated and implemented” (p. 2). IPA includes an examination of not only what the policy means but how it is applied to specific situations. IPA helps to discover differences between the intended and actual meaning of policy (Yanow, 2000). For instance, in the study, government representatives express specific intentions through their policy recommendations. Their main intention is to expand college-university articulation based on “student demands” for higher education. However, within the IPA framework, the goal is to explore the multiple intentions of the policies by relating to the new vocational discourse.

The methodology develops from the hypothesis that articulation agreements - influenced by new vocational discourses - were deliberately implemented by the government of Ontario since the 1960s, in order to reorient post-secondary education to the marketplace and fulfill the needs of the ‘new knowledge economy.’ Furthermore, I have relied on the work by Dvora Yanow (2000) in her book titled *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*. The primary step in Yanow’s IPA method is to “access local knowledge” by immersing oneself in the local context (Yanow, 2000, p. 31). In this case, I traced and collected significant policy documents employed by the government of Ontario that date back to the 1960s. Although a binary post-secondary system was introduced in Ontario in 1965, articulation policies show how various government approved task forces attempt to establish a ‘cooperative’ relationship between the two sectors. The documents allowed me to: a) trace a chronological overview of the articulation policies, and b) to conduct an analysis of the new vocational discourse.

By engaging with documents I was able to find common threads and patterns that relate to the development of ‘cooperation’ between the two post-secondary sectors. This is actualized in the chronological overview where I outline the core arguments around each policy. I also

determine the position of government representatives concerning articulation between the two sectors, including how their decisions affect students, and college-university faculty. Using policy and text analysis, I began to find similar arguments being used over and over by the actors. As a result, their positions allowed me to understand the changing environment of postsecondary education and the economy in Ontario.

Data Collection

A major feature of the discourses surrounding the ‘new vocationalism’ suggests that new times generate new types of work and work organization (Edwards & Nicoll et al., 2013). This requires workers with new knowledge, skills and attitudes to meet the challenges of the ‘new knowledge economy’ and point to the importance of education and training to meet these new challenges. This ‘economic turn’ in educational policies produced by governments has been referred to as the ‘new vocationalism’ by a number of academics (Ball, 2012; Dovey, 2006; Grubb, 1996; Symes & McIntyre, 2002). Edwards and Nicoll et al. (2013) contend that:

The discourses of the ‘new vocationalism’ draw attention to significant changes in work and learning and also to workers and learners. They suggest that knowledge production and learning practices are now distributed across various work and learning sites and that there is a privileging of new kinds of workers who are able to ‘do things differently’ in their everyday work practices (p. 101).

Therefore, in the case of articulation policies featured in this study, new vocational discourses propose that the knowledge of the economy is different from that which has occupied traditional education programmes.

To understand the new vocational discourse surrounding college-university articulation policies in Ontario, data was collected from a variety of ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ sources. The ‘primary’ sources focus on articulation policies implemented by government appointed

committee representatives, as well as reports by critics relating to the evolution of these policies. The ‘secondary’ sources include reports and publications by theorists and academics that provide a critical outlook on *concepts* surrounding the new vocational discourse, such as, *neo-liberalism*, *human capital theory*, *sectoral hegemony* and *isomorphism*. These concepts are defined and analyzed more thoroughly in the *Literature Review* chapter of this study.

Articulation policies and reports written by committee representatives and critics came from such sources as the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO), Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (MTCU) (formerly, Ontario Ministry of Colleges and Universities), Council of Ontario Universities (COU), Council of Ministers of Education-Canada (CMEC), and College-University Consortium Council (CUCC). These documents provide articulation policies and reports that were used throughout the study, as well as a critical outlook of college-university articulation policy initiatives. The documents also address opposition to articulation agreements by university institutions, faculty members, and lobbying groups. It is important to note that universities maintained their autonomy after CAATs were introduced in Ontario. The documents provide insight as to how university autonomy was maintained in Ontario given that other provinces, such as British Columbia and Alberta, created community colleges that closely resembled the American institutional model (Monahan, 2004). Finally, the documents show how labour force needs and market interests continued to put pressure on universities to expand their mission and mandate in the province of Ontario.

I employed a mixed methodology - IPA and DA - to the study, which allowed me to both examine and critically analyze college-university articulation policies. IPA has been applied as a research method to provide: a) a chronological overview of the data, and b) an analysis of the new vocational discourse. Similarly, Jones and Skolnik (2009) used a mixed methodology

approach to critically analyze the differentiation and evolution of higher education systems. The goal in their study was to analyze the higher education system in the context of its historical evolution and in the context of broader changes and trends in higher education systems (Jones & Skolnik, 2009).

Additionally, Shanahan and Jones (2007) reviewed major policy initiatives revealing a shift in provincial and federal government roles concerning approaches to the coordination of post-secondary education. Their objective was to provide a critical analysis of changes to system-level governance in Canadian post-secondary education between 1995 and 2006 (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). They concluded that by 1995, provincial and federal government coordination in post-secondary education had shifted away from indirect funding through transfer payments, towards providing support for research-intensive institutions. A major consequence of the federal government's research policies have led to gender, disciplinary, institutional, and regional disparities across the country (Shanahan & Jones, 2007, p. 41). Therefore, as witnessed in this study, changing government roles and policies have resulted in new intrusions and innovations by both levels of government in the post-secondary domain, shifting post-secondary education a little closer towards the market.

Documents reflecting college-university articulation policies in Ontario include government commissioned studies and related discussion papers. Since the 1960s, numerous commissions, task forces, and committees have been created. The purpose of these groups has been to study, 'open' dialogue, and initiate reforms in the post-secondary sectors, especially since the introduction of CAATs in Ontario. Their task was to advise the government on tactics for handling demand and growth in postsecondary education. The committees produced reports which recommend formal articulations between colleges and universities. Therefore, in order to

better understand the context of each document used in the study, the data are presented in a chronological format. The format resembles a historical analysis in order to show how college-university relationships gradually developed since the 1960s, beginning from the basic document that introduced CAATs (Ontario Department of Education, 1967).

In order to select articulation policies deemed necessary for the chronological overview of data, I reviewed publications and reports that refer to the history of articulation patterns in Ontario. A major publication that helped target necessary reports for this study was written by Monahan (2004) titled, *Collective Autonomy: A History of the Council of Ontario Universities, 1962-2000*. Monahan primarily focuses on how student expansion affected Ontario universities in the 1980s. Additionally, he explores the introduction of CAATs as a major contributor to the market forces that eventually blurred the former binary and/or institutional autonomy of the two post-secondary systems. Using Monahan's historical analysis allowed me to trace a chronological order of fundamental college-university articulation policies that have been implemented in Ontario since the 1960s.

Three major articulation policies were used to analyze the new vocational discourse. These include the *Vision 2000 Report (1990)*, *No Dead Ends: The Report of the Task Force on Advanced Training (1993)*, and *Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility: Report of the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Post-secondary Education (1996)*. These policy initiatives include recommendations outlined by government appointed commissions and committee members (included in Appendix I, II, and III). These groups were authorized by the Ontario government to study the post-secondary system and to recommend procedures for handling student demand and growth. In order to better understand the agenda of the government-

affiliated committees and/or commissions, I will briefly situate the political and economic atmosphere of each era.

The *Vision 2000 Report (1990)* is based on a ‘sectoral approach’ to higher education policy. In other words, the report argues that the level of cooperative activities between the two post-secondary sectors should increase (Jones, 2012, p. 153). The report was designed to explore the role colleges played in the developing economy, specifically over increasing demands for technical education (Monahan, 2004). It presents recommendations that call to subtly expand and improve opportunities for students to move between the college and university sectors. However, when the report was released, there remained a very strong divide between the two sectors as each institution wanted to maintain its autonomy. This eventually led the government of Ontario to further contribute to research regarding the potential future of college-university cooperation (Boggs & Trick, 2009).

Former New Democratic Party leader, Bob Rae, rose to leadership in Ontario during the tough economic times of the 1990s, and took post-secondary education in a very different direction. From 1990-1995, Rae’s New Democratic Party had been elected on the basis of a social democratic agenda and for several years the government moved to strengthen social programs (Morton, 1999, p. 344). However, the Canadian economy was in midst of a recession with the increasing value of the Canadian dollar leading to declining Canadian exports and jobs. While government spending increased, the province experienced dramatic decreases in provincial tax revenues associated with the recession (Jones, 2012, p. 153). Accountability emerged as a major post-secondary education policy priority. This meant that guides and/or councils were organized as a mechanism to regulate post-secondary systems by spelling out what they did and how they did it (Morton, 1999). In 1991, the Rae government established the

Taskforce on Advanced Training to find ways of cost-containment, as well as to improve quality and provide access for under-represented groups to post-secondary education (Pitman, 1993).

The report conducted for the Rae government titled *No Dead Ends: The Report of the Task Force on Advanced Training (1993)*, focused on training the workforce for reviving the economy. The recommendations provided in the report call for recognition of both academic and vocational education, including the elimination of barriers to inter-sectoral credit-transfers (Pitman, 1993). Colleges and universities were targeted to be responsive to market demands in order to remain competitive and succeed in the higher education industry. Although government funding would allow new spaces for enrolment expansion, funding was not always sufficient. Despite the recession, the Rae government eventually increased operating grants to universities with no strings attached. By 1995, the Rae government had great plans for the post-secondary education sector but did not have the resources, time, nor support to implement them as the PC government of Mike Harris took over the reins (Monahan, 2004).

When Mike Harris came into power in 1995, he established what was known as the “common sense revolution” (Morton, 1999, p. 356). The focus was on cost-cutting and cost efficiency for the entire public sector. Post-secondary education was seen as beneficial to economic development. However, the conservatives focused on programmes that were relevant to the economy. The Harris government conducted two reviews on post-secondary education, which included the *Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility: Report of the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Post-secondary Education (1996)*. Led by David Smith, the report advised on how the post-secondary education sectors could be restructured to deal with funding reductions that took place between 1996-97 (Smith et al., 1996). The reports key recommendations proposed that post-secondary institutions needed room to establish a

complimentary relationship. The panel expressed their views in favor of increasing linkages between the two sectors; however, there remained differentiating views on how to proceed (Monahan, 2004).

Essentially, the recommendations advise the Ontario government to consider providing seamless student mobility between college and university institutions. Throughout the 1990s, governments in Ontario took steps to increase access to post-secondary education, which involved a rethinking of institutional roles and objectives. I decided to choose the three specific reports because they include formal recommendations for linking the two post-secondary systems. Using the policies, I conducted an analysis surrounding the ‘new vocational discourse’ to show how market-oriented language establishes the context for articulation between the two systems. Examples of language used in the recommendations surrounding the new vocational discourse, include terms, such as, ‘economic renewal,’ ‘privatization,’ and ‘advanced training.’ Therefore, this sample of discourses obtained from the recommendations implies that articulation reforms revolve around the concept of “vocation” in an increasingly ‘knowledge-based’ economy. This is an important observation as it conveys that the knowledge of the new economy is different from that which has occupied traditional university education and college training programs.

Literature and Theoretical Components

Publications and reports by various Canadian and American academics have been referenced in the literature. I obtained literature written by neo-Marxist scholars who refer to the ideology of neo-liberal concepts pertaining to the history of post-secondary education in Ontario. These include, Michael Apple (2000; 2001; 2006; 2011), Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux (1987; 2004; 2014), Alan Sears (2003), as well as, Glen Jones and Julian Weinrib (2011), Teresa

Dovey (2006), David W. Livingstone (2009), David W Livingstone and Antonie Scholtz (2007), Theresa Shanahan and Glen A. Jones (2007).

Interpretive policy analysis is used as a method to analyze Ontario articulation policies, as well as to identify concepts surrounding the new vocational discourse. However, influential works by academics allowed me to investigate and operationalize the larger political and economic discourses that have shaped post-secondary policies in Ontario. For instance, using a neo-Marxist lens I investigate concepts related to the new vocational discourse, such as, *capitalism, hegemony, class consciousness, and alienation*. Special attention is devoted to theorists who share a common theoretical standpoint to a macro-level analysis of post-secondary restructuring. Additionally, using Marx's classical historical materialist perspective, I review the effects capitalism has had on the formation of labour and class divisions. The purpose of the analysis is to introduce the reader to capitalism as a historically specific system of production which has influenced the development of class divisions and specific power relations through labour processes. The new vocationalism is an extension of capitalism in that it is used by the state to control functions of labour.

I investigate major political ideologies of neo-liberalism and globalization. I speculate how these hegemonic ideologies have changed the way the government operates post-secondary educational systems, influencing college-university integrations. Common themes related to the ideologies are presented, which include *human capital theory, corporatization, and isomorphism*. These themes have oriented postsecondary education into business-like functions, emphasizing market behaviours of efficiency and productivity.

Discussion

Finally, I highlight important insights that were developed in the *findings and results*, *literature*, and *theoretical components* chapters. I provide a summary of major themes that have been found surrounding the new vocational discourse, connecting them to the literature and theoretical components. Additionally, I determine how ‘creeping vocationalism’ - influenced by college-university integration - has caused a ‘sectoral hegemony’ produced by new institutions, degrees, and credentials. Articulation agreements, since the 1960s, have produced a ‘differentiating’ post-secondary landscape throughout Canada. However, I discuss how the concept of ‘differentiation’ has actually changed the meaning and experience of education through the homogenization of programming in vocationally oriented employment areas.

Limitations

There were a number of practical decisions that had to be made to manage the scope of the research. Most of them were as a result of the limited time and resources available for this research. For instance, I was able to locate the majority of the articulation policies used in the study through online databases. However, it was not always possible to find documents that reflected every historical fragment in the chronological overview of data. Accessibility was an issue at times, especially when it came to locating rare archival material. Due to these limitations, it is fitting to define the data analysis as a ‘provisional’ chronological overview of articulation policies.

A major means of collecting literature using secondary sources was through research and observation. However, a central limitation of secondary analysis is that data are collected with a particular purpose, and this purpose may present an unintentional bias. For instance, many of the journals that were obtained through various Laurentian University databases (EBSCOhost, Ebrary, JSTOR) contain relevant studies that have helped to operationalize various concepts.

However, this does not mean that the studies specifically relate to my research problematic. I made sure to effectively analyze the necessary articles so that they logically coincided with my research problematic and concepts pertaining to the new vocational discourse.

My personal experience attending Laurentian University at Georgian College is another unintentional form of bias reflected throughout this study. Attending a college-university partnership has given me a first-hand experience of the pros and cons associated with intersectoral cooperation. Although this study presents a macro-level analysis of post-secondary articulation policies, it is unavoidable that my experience at a college-university partnership has influenced a critical perception associated with the reformation of institutional roles.

Additionally, given that I have conducted an analysis of the new vocational discourse under the framework of interpretive policy analysis, I was restricted to written material. Questionnaires were not included in the analysis, which means that I did not interview key informants, such as, students, instructors, professors, policy commissioners, committee representatives, authors, and/or scholars. Although the application of secondary analysis may present traces of bias throughout the research, bias is generally considered an unavoidable component to any research study. Therefore, the general purpose of the documents chosen for this study is to support my analysis that the new vocational discourse influenced the implementation of college-university articulation policies since the introduction of CAATs in the 1960s.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the literature pertaining to the ideologies of neo-liberalism and globalization. In the first section I describe how these ideologies influence global forces, as well as the behaviours of the state, by increasing their operations in Canada's post-secondary affairs. Common themes presented throughout the section relate to market ideologies, which include *human capital theory*, *corporatization*, *commodification*, *isomorphism*, *productivity and efficiency*. These behavioural categories reflect the impacts of market forces upon post-secondary institutions and the reproduction of the "new vocational discourse." Finally, the second section of the literature provides a brief overview of university and college responses to neo-liberal pressures regarding college-university articulation policy initiatives, implemented in Ontario.

CAATs were introduced into the postsecondary sector in 1965 (Skolnik, 2005). Although CAATs maintained their own vocationally-oriented mandate during the 1960s, this quickly changed when external and economic concerns in the labour market continued to place emphasis on technical and general training. The new 'knowledge economy' stressed the importance of 'life-long learning' (Livingstone, 1999), changing the profile of students as they transferred from community colleges to universities, and vice-versa. Eventually, college-university credit transfers led to controversies surrounding articulation agreements (Skolnik, 2005). The post-secondary sectors have been altered to better align with *neo-liberal* practices and ideologies. These alterations have been increasingly researched by higher education scholars (Levin, 2001; Marshall, 2004; Skolnik, 2003) and widely discussed in higher education literature (Grubb, 1996; Shanahan & Jones, 2007; Slaughter & Rhodes, 2004), though only a few scholars attribute such changes to the rise of neo-liberal ideologies (i.e. Finn, 2007; Giroux & Giroux, 2006;

Hyslop-Marginson & Sears, 2007; Harvey, 2007; Livingstone & Sawchuk, 2004; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Smith, 2001).

Neo-liberalism

In order to attain a better understanding of the current market ideologies that are influencing education, such as neo-liberalism, the following historical review is required.

According to Finn (2007), the concept of liberalism traces back to the writings of Adam Smith in the mid-1770s. Smith called for minimal government regulation and intervention so that international commerce could expand (Finn, 2007, p. 14). For over two hundred years, the idea of a market driven economy had influenced politicians and business people alike (Finn, 2007). It was not until the 1930s to the 1970s, that these ideas were displaced by the pro-government intervention economics theories of John Maynard Keynes. During this 40-year period, there was a great deal of change, and these changes reflected the move from liberalism to a much more activist form of government (Finn, 2007, p. 14). The shift in policy orientation translated into constraints on corporate power and the expansion of public services and social programs.

However, in the 1970s corporations regained their dominance and control of political parties, and renewed demands for privatization and deregulation (Finn, 2007). Such calls led to the end of government intervention in the markets, and liberalism re-emerged as the dominant economic ideology. Therefore, the rebirth of market driven policy and intervention strategy is termed “neo-liberalism” (Finn, 2007, p. 15). The neoliberal ideology has a form of binary opposition in the way in which it constructs the various economic philosophies. The framework portrays the private sector as cost-effective and consumer friendly, and the public sector as wasteful and defective (Finn, 2007). The role of the government is, in essence, promoting the

interests of corporations, while making sure that any obstacles or barriers to their pursuit of profit are removed in the process (Finn, 2007).

According to Harvey (2007), there has been a widespread turn towards neoliberal practices in the political economy since the 1970s. Harvey (2007) states that,

The process of neoliberalism has ... entailed much 'creative destruction,' not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers (even challenging traditional forms of state sovereignty) but also of divisions of labour, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life and thought, reproductive activities, attachments to the land and habits of the heart (p. 3).

Thus neoliberalism values market exchange as an ethic that is capable of guiding all human action, and substituting this approach for all other previously held ethical beliefs and rationales. For instance, in order to attribute all human action to the market domain there is a growing emphasis on information technologies. With the emergence of new and growing information societies, one of the key goals of the neoliberal market ideology is to expand information technologies and the capacity to utilize market data (Harvey, 2007). Post-secondary institutions have been targeted to prepare a highly skilled workforce necessary to preserve the nation's competitiveness for technical innovation.

Given that neoliberal fiscal policies promote a competitive ethic among citizens of the state, education becomes an important component in the attainment of social status (Schofer & Meyer, 2005). This is intrinsically-tied to economic factors, as individuals and groups increasingly compete more intensively for success (Schofer & Meyer, 2005). According to Olssen and Peters (2005),

Whereas classical liberalism represents a negative conception of state power in that the individual was taken as an object to be freed from the interventions of the state, neoliberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state's role in creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation (p. 315).

In other words, classical liberalism allows the individual autonomous freedom from the state, whereas neoliberalism seeks to create the individual through the mechanism of the state. Competitive neoliberal reorganization has resulted in new approaches towards academia, especially through the paradigm which stresses the importance of knowledge as a capital entity (Olssen & Peters, 2005).

Neo-liberalism and Post-Secondary Education

By the end of the 1960s, there could be no doubt that provincial governments recognized the importance of post-secondary education (Smith, 2001). Democratic learning, or education that encourages the meaningful political participation of citizens, came under attack as labour market needs began to define ‘acceptable’ and ‘valued’ schooling objectives (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2007). In this context, schools were increasingly viewed as production facilities tasked with the production of knowledge as an intrinsically valuable commodity (Smith, 2001). This ‘new vocationalism’ did not consider what one knew but what one could do through one’s knowledge. Eventually, the primary goal of the postsecondary system was to provide industries with required human capital. According to Smith (2001),

This change is representative of the change in the expected relationship of Canadians to governments. No longer were Canadians expected to relate to government as democratic citizens; rather, they were perceived as customers. As democratic citizens we have the right to participate, to shape the decisions that affect us. As customers we are judged to be self-interested, atomistic customers of government services, the quality of which we judge by the information government provides (p. 121).

Part of the neoliberal approach to “treating citizens like customers” was accomplished by schooling the masses. As a result, education became the key component in creating economic human capital by raising national productivity (Smith, 2001).

The introduction of CAATs in the 1960s influenced vocationally oriented skills and knowledge that would eventually transfer into the workplace (Olssen & Peters, 2005). At the same time, the emergence of a more vocationalized university challenged the traditional identity of the academic committed to teaching and research. Olssen and Peters (2005) describe the shift in education from liberal governmentality to the neoliberal ideology of governmentality, stating that:

Under *liberal governmentality*, the ‘professions’ constituted a mode of institutional organization characterized by a principle of *autonomy* which characterized a form of power based on ‘delegation’ (i.e., delegated authority) and underpinned by relations of trust. Under *neoliberal governmentality*, principle-agent line management chains replace delegated power with hierarchal forms of authoritatively structured relation, which erode, and seek to prohibit, an autonomous space for emerging (p. 324).

In other words, the trend towards vocational career development is an integral part of the neoliberal influence on both Canadian and international schooling. The market economy was increasingly reflected through vocational homogenization of post-secondary institutions. This included changes in guiding philosophies, and pedagogies used in teaching.

The practice of pedagogy in liberal education provides the conditions of knowledge and skills necessary for creating politically conscious citizens (Giroux & Giroux, 2006). However, according to Giroux (2004), “... [w]ithin neoliberal market driven discourse, corporate power marks the space of a new kind of public pedagogy, one in which the production, dissemination, and circulation of ideas emerges from the educational force of the larger culture” (p. 74). Public and corporate focused pedagogy largely devalues class specific injustices, gender equality, and racial injustices by substituting current democratic practices with narrow economic relations (Giroux, 2004). One of the primary ways to increase public control has been through individual competition, which has resulted in a shift to the ways students approach academia.

One of the major objectives of the neoliberal ideology in post-secondary education has been through individual competition (Collins, 1971). Competition has been increasingly sustained by control, and represented as an improved quality of life within neoliberal values (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Competitive individualism has led to the production of inflationary credential expansion far beyond any original functional requirements (Collins, 1971). According to Lakes and Carter (2011),

In the neoliberal risk society, young people have to “chase credentials” to gain security in future education or workplaces. Failure to achieve is deemed one’s own fault, and “human beings are made accountable for their predicaments.” Anxieties are heightened by the rapid changes in neoliberal policies such as job outsourcing, corporate downsizing, and international trade agreements that benefit only a few (p. 107).

Due to the increasingly competitive labour markets, neoliberal policies have been accountable for the growing pressures of credentialization among students. Apple (2006), claims that the ultimate goal of neoliberal reformers is to convert educational systems into markets, and as much as possible, privatize educational services (p. 23). Therefore, since the 1970s, this political ideology has been long underway through the underfunding of education, deskilling of students, standardized testing, and the outsourcing of teachers and professors (Lakes & Carter, 2011).

The influences of neoliberal reformation have targeted community colleges to take one step further when it comes to providing a skilled workforce. One of the ways that this has occurred is by shifting away from the concept of “democracy’s college” and becoming narrowly focused and referred to as an ‘economic community’ with students as ‘economic entities’ (Levin, 2005). According to Walker (2001),

Community colleges are uniquely qualified to meet the demand for training and educating a workforce to the level necessary to meet the needs of the twenty-first century. Moreover, the community college, because of its history of serving the socioeconomically disadvantaged populace, can open the door to even greater numbers of people. (Availability, Affordability, and Convenience, para. 1).

As part of the elimination process, employers are increasingly being forced to hire employees that are at times overqualified with the credentials necessary to be considered for potential employment. Due to credential inflation in an over qualified labour market, employers will fill what are known as the 'highest' jobs with those who maintain the 'highest' qualifications (Werfhorst & Andersen, 2005, p. 322). If employees wish to avoid downward mobility, it is then necessary to achieve a higher level of education if the value decreases (Werfhorst & Andersen, 2005). This has influenced the development of what is known as the 'knowledge economy' (Warhurst, 2008) and reflects a mission shift within the culture of community colleges, from a curriculum that reflects student development and learning, towards an economically oriented focus (Levin, 2005).

The 'Knowledge Economy'

The term 'knowledge economy' is an extension of the 'new vocationalism' (Warhurst, 2008). During the 1960s and 1970s, the phrase 'the new vocationalism' was used to describe courses which sought to provide higher level applicable knowledge and skills (Taylor, 2012). This meant that there was a growing importance for the traditional understandings of higher education to be reconstructed within the context of the labour market. Although universities were never considered incarnations of the 'liberal ideal' because they have always represented a certain amount of vocationalism, they contributed to the vocational formation of the individual in an indirect way (Young, 2002, p. 55). The 'knowledge economy' introduced a more direct vocationalism, establishing closer linkages between knowledge and work (Young, 2002).

Post-secondary institutions in Ontario struggled to maintain the vocational-academic divide (Dougherty, 1994). CAATs and universities experienced a shift in organizational

behaviours by the late 1980s and early 1990s. Their curricula, instruction and mandates were gradually reoriented into the growing ‘knowledge economy’ (Dougherty, 1994). This ‘knowledge-oriented economy’ focused on employment characterized by international activity, cyberspace, ever-changing market demands and standards, rapid product life cycles, ever-increasingly sophisticated computers, and the need for more thorough knowledge of the holistic business environment, rather than just specific skills or narrow job tasks (Bragg, 2001, p. 8).

The ideology of the ‘knowledge society’ was first established in the late 1960s as student movements demanded the need for greater democratization of university institutions (Peters, 2004). However, contrary social demands surfaced during the 1970s when universities started becoming more vocationally oriented. The idea that knowledge has evolved and has been transformed by knowledge societies is heavily debated, and in contrast to what Innerarity (2013) terms as ‘ignorance societies.’ Innerarity (2013) states that, “...these are societies that are increasingly aware of their store of non-knowledge, and they may progress not by increasing their knowledge but by learning to manage various forms of ignorance: doubt, probability, risk, and uncertainty” (p. 5). In other words, the state is shaped by the way it uses knowledge to reproduce unequal power relations (Innerarity, 2013). Particular types of knowledge can be appropriated by the state to reflect social, economic, or political ideologies. Therefore, in this context, it is not possible to talk about knowledge without relating to its influential conceptions of power.

Cognitive Capitalism

There are critics who have had a negative response to college-university articulation and integration patterns due to the fact that the reformations have redefined the value of knowledge.

For instance, some critics suggest that it is important to consider the insertion of neoliberalism within *cognitive capitalism* (Kurasawa, 2007). According to Kurasawa (2007) cognitive capitalism is "... a stage of accumulation of capital structured around the production and commodification of knowledge" (p. 15). Post-secondary education is subjected to market mechanisms, especially since advanced economies obtain surplus through cognitive extraction (Kurasawa, 2007). For instance, within this framework, universities are valued by the amount of commercialized research they produce. Therefore, societal value is measured solely by the extent to which it contributes to corporate accumulation strategies (Kurasawa, 2007, p. 15). The integration of both knowledge intensive and vocational training becomes necessary in order to supply a highly skilled workforce to attain high productivity and maximum profitability. The focus on cognitive capitalism – especially by Canadian universities - has contributed to the drive for excessive professionalization and careerism (Kurasawa, 2007). Author Rhoades (2006) presents an accurate depiction of the neoliberal influence on the academy, stating that:

... [B]oth formal policies and underlying conceptions that in education involve reducing public sectors, decreasing public subsidies, increasing evaluation, monitoring and competition, and increasing tuition fees and privatization. In the neoliberal model, the private sector market is valorized and promoted ... Students are framed as consumers, and as flows of human capital to be productively processed. Public sector entities are encouraged to more closely intersect with and model themselves on private sector enterprises. (p. 12).

Additionally, greater emphasis of the corporate economy has reduced focus in concentrations such as the arts, humanities, and social sciences. Investments have increased in fields like biotechnology and information sciences in which the boundaries between fundamental and applied research are relatively blurred (Rhoades, 2006). Universities, coupled with community college and industry partnerships, have transformed knowledge into potentially profitable market commodities and are blurring these boundaries transnationally (Warhurst, 2008).

Globalization

At the economic level, *globalization* too, is linked to neoliberalism. The term *globalization* was first coined by economist Theodore Levitt in 1983 to describe changes in global economics affecting investment, consumption, and production (Stromquist, 2002). The process of globalization has also been connected to numerous alterations in post-secondary education (Olssen & Peters, 2005).

Globalization affects universities and colleges economically, politically, and culturally (Levin, 1999). Since the 1970s, community colleges have responded to the demands of globalization, while at the same time, trying to remain sensitive to local interests (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Globalization has caused challenges to the institutional identity of universities and community colleges especially through patterns of collaboration and articulation (Levin, 1999). Globalization is a particularly important ideology to consider throughout the study because it has impacted the mission, role expansion, and institutional identity of postsecondary institutions throughout Ontario.

On a global level, Skolnik (2003) questions the direction post-secondary education is headed in. Skolnik refers to global factors that have affected post-secondary education, specifically those associated with globalization. He contends that:

There have been two major types of impacts on post secondary education due to globalization. First it has caused both institutions and students to rely on the economic objectives, while simultaneously trying to enhance the educational purposes of post secondary education. The problem with such an objective is that it creates tensions, and globalization threatens to upset this balance as governments and policy representative's lever in ways to get universities to give the dominant emphasis to the economic objectives of their activities. The other way in which globalization has impacted post-secondary education is through marketization, or what some may refer to as the commodification of education (Skolnik, 2003, para 10).

The organizational behaviours of higher education institutions have increasingly come to resemble private businesses and industries. Post-secondary institutions are relying more on the private sector for revenues, increasing privatization of services, and allowing financial rationales take precedence over others (Levin, 2003, p. 452). Student learning priorities are reflecting a more apparent concentration on private sector interests by enlarging workforce training and by emphasizing skills development. This means that institutions have been forced to expand their traditional missions to be in closer proximity to the global market (Levin, 2003).

The 'crossing of borders' from traditional means of higher education to new providers of education is referred to as 'borderless higher education' (Middlehurst, 2001). This label means that there is a classification of relatively new providers of higher education that have the potential to cross traditional boundaries of higher education, which can occur through conceptual or geographical means (Middlehurst, 2001; Skolnik, 2003). Middlehurst (2001) states that, "The global dimensions of a knowledge economy will undoubtedly drive borderless education ... for business, 'globalization' is described as 'world-wide economic integration through trade, financial flows, technology spillovers, information networks and cross-cultural currents'" (p. 6). Therefore, multi-national businesses are choosing to partner with universities and seeking common curricula that can be delivered by different institutions in different countries. As a result, the dimensions of a 'borderless higher education' have serious implications for the authority of 'traditional' academic curricula, and for academics as experts (Middlehurst, 2001).

Globalization and the Corporatization of Post-secondary Education

It is questionable as to whether college-university articulation agreements were introduced in order to increase the opportunities for students that lack access to higher education,

or whether they were introduced to target the competitive aspects of national productivity (Levin, 1999).

The influence of globalization has strongly impacted the economic, cultural, and technological aspects of community college institutions (Levin, 1999). According to Levin (1999),

Both missions and structures of college alter as a consequence of globalization. Colleges are coerced by government policies and funding behaviors to become more efficient, less reliant on government funds, and more responsive to public tastes, and marketplace requirements. Global competitiveness stimulates governments to spend less on socially valued activities and more on economic activities. It requires competitors to strive on less expensive labour and higher productivity. Global competitiveness also means the training of workers to fit the international marketplace, and emphasizing service sector jobs as well as jobs with business and computer related tasks (p. 379).

Therefore, similarly to higher education institutions, Canadian colleges are participants and recipients of the globalization process. Colleges reflect the needs of the global market, especially given the neoliberal ideology which has contributed to the push to increase the levels of global competitiveness. Globalization theory argues that the globalization process produces diversity, whereas neo-institutionalism produces homogeneity and is a consequence of change within organizational sectors (Levin, 2004). However, this static binary does not always hold true, as extending or expanding community college programs has gradually caused changes in institutional identity. These changes, which have causal ties to the labour market, are creating homogeneity between post-secondary institutions, rather than producing diversity (Levin, 2004). The changing identity of community colleges cements their ability to quickly respond to the demands of the global market, causing the institutions to increasingly resemble the universities they seek to differentiate themselves from.

By a similar token, institutions of higher education are also facing intense pressures to change their educational approach as witnessed through the implementation of college-university

articulation agreements (Cote & Allahar, 2011). Universities are now expected to operate as businesses in a growing globalizing economy, resulting in the clash of expectations between market needs versus the core fundamental values of academia.

Universities have witnessed widespread institutional changes through embracing policies of 'economic liberalism' influenced by the forces of globalization (Cote & Allahar, 2011). The policy calls for reducing the economic roles of government in markets (MacEwan, 1999, p. 6). The problem with this definition is that it focuses on justification rather than practices. For instance, studies have shown that despite severe cutbacks in the public sector, government spending - as a percentage of gross domestic product - has actually continued to increase (MacEwan, 1999). Therefore, it can be argued that economic liberalism has not been about less government intervention but about shifting the priorities and focus of government. It is important to differentiate that while in liberalism 'knowledge' had come to occupy a central role in government by virtue of its ability to raise claims to truth and validity within higher education, the legitimacy of new knowledges in 'advanced liberalism' do not derive from their truth but from their ability to measure performance (Isin, 1998, p. 173).

Universities that traditionally educated and trained public sector professionals in law, administration and medicine are now pressured to shift to new occupations. As well, these new occupations shift their focus from the patient and the poor to the client and the consumer (Isin, 1998). Jan Currie (2004) identifies the challenges that universities face under neoliberal globalization, stating that:

Governments in liberal market economies are also beginning the move to privatize universities, essentially by reducing public funding. However, privatization of higher education takes many forms. It includes allowing more private universities to be developed in a country, creating spin-off companies as part of public universities, establishing for-profit universities, and developing for-profit arms of public universities. It may mean a movement to a user-pays system, where students pay increasing amounts

for their university education when previously it was an entitlement with no fees or very small tuition costs. This has increasingly led to the corporatization of universities, or treating universities like businesses (p. 45).

Global pressures are increasingly causing universities to be treated like business corporations, pressuring them to reorient their core mission, and overall educational strategies (Cote & Allahar, 2011). Institutions gradually accommodate consumer needs which in this case are the students, buying “educational capital.” Global market spaces are encouraging university institutions to promote programs that emphasize vocationalism, developing and enhancing market inspired courses and programs (Cote & Allahar, 2011).

Globalization and Human Capital Theory

The most dominant global theme that has deeply influenced postsecondary education is that of human capital theory (Bowles & Gintis, 1975; Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Gaskell & Rubenson, 2004). Capital is generally portrayed by economists as the resources available via ‘marketized’ networks to individuals, groups, firms and communities, within which people are believed to act rationally and function as equals (Bell & Stevenson, 2006). According to Bell and Stevenson (2006),

Human capital is the sum of education and skill that can be used to produce wealth. It helps to determine the earning capacity of individuals and their contribution to the economic performance of the state in which they work. It is usually measured by examining the level of skills and knowledge of the recipients such as members of a firm or a cohort of school pupils (p. 42).

The human capital approach to educational policy works on the assumption that there is a national economic benefit to be gained from education and from having an educated and skilled work force (Cote & Allahar, 2011). As a result, post-secondary institutions are pressured to respond to policy demands that produce specific forms of outputs, such as the implementation of

college-university articulation policies targeted by governments to enhance economic development (Bell & Stevenson, 2006).

As the prime means of knowledge and skill development, education is a key element of *human capital theory*, used as a way to quantify the quality of labour (Gaskell & Rubenson, 2004). Human capital theory has been the driving force for recent research and policy-making related to education, and has impacted the role of community colleges and universities through articulation policy agreements (Crocker, 2006). Gaskell and Rubenson (2004) explain the elements of human capital theory that have been most intriguing among politicians, stating that:

What made the first generation of human capital theory and research so influential was its appeal to all sectors of the political landscape ... Market processes were expected both to generate a more equal distribution of earnings and to modernize production through technological and organizational change ... Research indicated that education was a critical factor in predicting adult economic position, and one that was becoming more important over time. Implicit in this model is a competitive, meritocratic society where individual characteristics are recognized and rewarded by employers (p. 6).

Therefore, university institutions traditionally targeted the upper socioeconomic class of the white protestant male figure, who went beyond secondary education of schooling. The solution for further development of human capital was to create a more inclusive curriculum, and a government funded expansion of post-secondary education for all socio-economic levels. CAATs were developed in Ontario during the 1960s in order to maximize the accumulation of human capital while creating avenues for social mobility (Gaskell & Rubenson, 2004; Livingstone, 2004).

According to Bowles and Gintis (1975) the educational system does much more than produce human capital (p. 78). It has developed a meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal occupational positions by segmenting the workforce, and enhancing the development of class consciousness (Bowles & Gintis, 1975). For instance, the use of IQ and

cognitive performance measures are essential function methods of schooling; however, the purpose of such tests go far beyond their objective relevance to job adequacy. Bowles and Gintis (1975) state that, "... these social forces derive from a basic contradiction in capitalist development: the accumulation of capital, central to the expanded reproduction of the economic system, at the same time undermines the process of reproduction of the capitalist order through the creation of a large, potentially class-conscious body of wage-workers and through dramatic shifts in the class structure" (p. 78). As a result, schools are mediated by local school boards or investors that influence private educational services based on changing economic initiatives. Individual choice, even when relevant to educational change, is always influenced by economic constraints that are determined outside of the consumer's and citizen's control (Bowles & Gintis, 1975, p. 78).

Citizens and/or consumers face economic constraints that are usually outside of their control, especially since neo-liberal market logic dictates social structures (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2007). One cannot ignore the fact that knowledge and power are intimately related (Foucault, 1980); however, the reality that occupational uncertainty is an inevitable feature of contemporary working experience, is conveyed to students in a variety of ways (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2007). For instance, Hyslop-Margison and Sears (2007) state that,

Neo-liberal culture, with its unstable labour market conditions, is naturalized to students in public education as an unchangeable social reality rather than critiqued as an ideological movement imposed by special interests on citizens of democratic industrialized societies. Outside the structures of the global market, education in the neo-liberal order conveys to students there are simply no longer any meaningful choices to be made. Throughout contemporary career education curricula in particular, and in a variety of ideologically manipulative ways, students are expected to prepare for an uncertain occupational future and are discursively convinced that such conditions are beyond the scope of political agency (p. 15).

Students are therefore, unknowingly, yet willingly, controlled by unstable market conditions. Students are used as a consistent source of human capital that contributes to the further development of the neoliberal culture. As long as students are the main source of human capital and continue to feed the neoliberal culture then they are unknowingly giving into the knowledge and power produced through the dominant forces of the state (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2007).

Additionally, it is difficult for students to participate in what is known as the “new knowledge economy” even after graduating post secondary education (Cote & Allahar, 2011). Not everyone has the opportunity to do so, especially students from disadvantaged family backgrounds that have not obtained the detailed knowledge and understanding of prospective employment, financial gains, or loan repayment prospects (Sweet & Anisef, 2005). According to Sweet and Anisef (2005), “Human capital theory argues that students engage in university education as long as the benefits after graduation compensate for the cost of education. This view assumes that potential students make informed and rational decisions about their university career in view of educational cost and future employment” (p. 80). However, such views are misleading, especially since market demands consistently change the prospects for job opportunities and rates of employability. Growth in higher education enrolment rates do not necessarily imply that graduates are enriching the economy or society in ways that might be expected (Cote & Allahar, 2011).

Stakeholders point to studies that show that university graduates have lower unemployment rates and higher salaries than with other types of education (Cote & Allahar, 2011). Cote and Allahar (2011) contend that,

The appeal of human capital theory for these stakeholders is that if all educational credentials represent human capital, then the more credentials a person has the better. And, if no consideration is given to what these credentials really represent, then logics of efficiency can prevail: because academic streams in high schools and liberal programs in

universities are the cheapest to offer, it is more efficient to pile students into them than to offer the more expensive vocational and professional programs (p. 45-46).

Therefore, human capital theory works better in explaining employment outcomes for students that take the applied or vocational route designed to increase concrete skill building.

Contemporary research is confirming that earlier predictions of human capital theory were more accurate than current ones, especially due to limited research that is based specifically on vocational and professional education (Cote & Allahar, 2011). Consequently, policies based on the human capital theory that are increasingly related to the new vocationalism are creating problems for university graduates, especially those that have completed liberal arts majors, making it difficult to integrate the credentials into vocationally-oriented markets (Cote & Allahar, 2011).

Privatization of Higher Education through Market Initiatives

Canadian universities are for the most part supported in large measure through government funds that are derived from the taxes levied on citizens (Cote & Allahar, 2011). This means that Canadian universities are predominantly public, unlike those in the United States where there are both public and private universities. However, Canadian universities are becoming increasingly corporatized and persuaded to fulfill the needs of the market, and are beginning to respond to similar demands as private universities. According to Cote and Allahar (2011),

... private universities produce private goods. And as a result of this, they have a lesser compass of responsibility, a greater freedom to engage in commercial markets and otherwise pursue their own ends free of state intervention, but they must finance their own operations themselves. This is a simple and transparent symmetry (p. 17).

Decreased state funding has caused institutions to increasingly compete for faculty, students, and resources and emphasize a vocational thrust which stresses training over liberal education.

Consumed by the values of the marketplace, employers, governments, students, parents, and the media habitually assess schooling not for what it is but for what it can purchase on the labour market (Axelrod, 2002).

The corporatization of the academy has especially affected the liberal arts. This is due to the implementation of government policies that have privileged certain academic endeavours over others. For instance, subjects affiliated with business, applied sciences, selected professions, high technologies, and mission oriented research, have taken first priority over the social sciences and humanities (Axelrod, 2002, p. 86). Axelrod (2002) contends that,

... governments are increasingly exercising the universities' ability to provide broad and balanced academic programs, and the space for liberal education is shrinking. Marketplace jargon now accompanies these restrictive policies. So-called clients and customers (students) expect service providers (faculty) to enhance their economic worth in the labour market. The institutions themselves, now subjected to "performance indicators," are expected to "rationalize" their operations efficiently and, wherever possible, to "privatize" their functions. Subordinate to bureaucratic and political regulation designed to prepare students for the economy, universities may be losing the authority to fashion a future that includes liberal education (p. 87).

Therefore, universities throughout Canada have established relationships between both governments and industries. The globalized market ideology unleashed market forces on education which heightened competition and expanded the demand for postsecondary education. Axelrod (2002) emphasizes that this perspective is not limited to Canada and that other countries are facing similar economic pressures when it comes to commercially oriented schooling, and continue to privatize higher education further by significantly increasing tuition fees (p. 91).

Community colleges are also experiencing the effects of corporatization due to neoliberal demands that are shaping both their management and mission (Levin, 2005). Since the 1960s the community college mission has been associated as the 'access-for-all' mission with the community as its top priority (Levin, 2005). However, in the mid-1980s as global and economic

developments began to take shape towards technological innovations, a ‘mission drift’ occurred as a result and caused community colleges to narrowly focus on the ‘economic community’ with students categorized as economic entities (Levin, 2005, p. 13). According to Levin (2005),

Today’s community college students can be seen as economic entities in two ways: as consumers and as commodities, where commodity refers to “something of use, advantage or value.” As consumers, students and their demands increasingly shape the curricular and organizational strategies that community colleges use to garner revenues; as commodities, students garner skills of value to business and industry and help to redefine the global labor force (p. 13).

Community colleges have shaped their curricula based on labour market needs because their business strategy is to give students what they want. Resembling university corporatization, community colleges are also adapting to corporate and consumer demands at the expense of liberal arts programs, citizenship development, and transfer functions (Levin, 2005).

Both university and community college institutions are drifting away from their original missions in order to accommodate the needs of the market, serving to raise their economic profile as well as to increase their economic and political accountability (Cote & Allahar, 2011; Levin, 2005). According to Conlon (2000),

The widespread attack on public institutions has produced a kind of corporate nationalism, changing the very vocabulary of public discourse: “efficiency” is now defined by profit. Commercialization is the measure of innovation. Democracy is equated with an unfettered free market. Greater corporate presence in post-secondary education is equated with the very future of our country (p. 147).

Thus, the traditional idea of both the university and college is being run through the language of business while replacing non-instrumental decision making practices with rational business models (Cote & Allahar, 2011). Another consequence of postsecondary institutions serving the needs of the market involves *institutional isomorphism*, which will be discussed in the next section.

Isomorphism of Postsecondary Institutions and Programmes

As independent institutions, Canadian universities have been viewed as largely homogenous, meaning that they share a number of general characteristics. One of the most valued principles of universities has been *institutional autonomy* which has prevented the provincial government from interfering in day-to-day institutional operations (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). However, according to the Canadian Council on Learning (2010), the traditional perception of homogeneity among Canadian universities is being challenged by the articulation and collaboration between the university and non-university sectors, as evident in the increasing number of transfer agreements between the two sectors (p. 10). Articulation patterns between the two sectors have caused significant growth in sector collaborations (Canadian Council on Learning, p. 4). The result is collaborative programming and reorganization between the two sectors, causing the distinction between college and university institutions to blur.

Since the implementation of college-university articulation agreements, Canadian postsecondary institutions and programs are becoming difficult to identify despite their emerging diversity and means of access. In the report titled *Navigating Post-secondary Education in Canada: The Challenge of a Changing Landscape* (2010), the Canadian Council on Learning contends that:

Despite the emerging diversity, Canadians' understanding of this subject is still influenced by the traditional view of post-secondary education as a dichotomy between universities that grant degrees and colleges that do not. The continued application of the binary model in media, research, and popular discourse fosters the erroneous impression that Canada's post-secondary sector is less differentiated than it actually is, which can have deleterious consequences for uninformed students (p. 5).

The diverse initiatives at both the college and university levels are at various stages of assessment, and speak to one issue, which is to help address access challenges. As a result, there

are no longer two clearly defined sectors but a calibration of postsecondary institutions emerging to meet the growing spectrum of employer and student needs (Marshall, 2008).

A number of postsecondary education institutions in Canada are neither completely one type of institution nor another, despite their current label or name (Canadian Council on Learning, p. 11). According to the Canadian Council on Learning (2010),

Another phenomenon, known as isomorphism, often drives different types of institutions to emulate the same qualities. One type of isomorphism has been referred to as vocational drift, and is characterized by a “tendency towards enhanced practice orientation” in traditional academic and university programming, i.e., a shift toward a more practical curriculum that may enhance the labour-market competitiveness of graduates (p. 23).

Therefore, ever since the implementation of college-university articulation agreements, universities have gradually incorporated vocationally oriented programmes. This is of course also due to the growing labour market which has caused employers to demand vocationally focused credentials. The isomorphism of institutions has invaded new providers of higher education, resulting in the crossing of various institutional types.

Provincial governments in Canada have expanded post-secondary systems as a means to increase institutional diversity. However, since the 1960s, the state has been developing mechanisms for controlling and shaping the coordination of the two sectors (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). Although there may be a push towards diversity of postsecondary education at both the provincial and federal levels of government, the institutional environment is generally far more competitive, resulting in further stratification coupled with institutional isomorphism. Both research intensive universities and community colleges across Canada organize regulatory meetings to discuss common issues regarding organizational reform. They have developed lobbying strategies, however, such organization is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain at

the institutional level as the state continues to exert stronger influences on post-secondary education (Shanahan & Jones, 2007).

Debates Among Critics: The University Response

The literature concerning the university-transfer debate differs largely among university critics and post-secondary committee representatives (Arnold, 2011; Dennison, 1995). When former Ontario Minister of Education, William Davies, introduced an amendment to the Department of Education Act establishing CAATs in 1967, the university transfer concept was not yet on the radar (Arnold, 2011). The mandate of the new institutions was to offer occupationally oriented curriculum with admission based on grade twelve or grade thirteen completion and open admission for students over the age of nineteen (Dennison, 1995). According to Arnold (2011), from the beginning there was anticipation from the Committee of University Presidents that students who performed very well in CAATs might be able to transfer to Provincial Institutes of Technology or universities for further studies (p. 2). However, most critics continued to debate over the university-transfer course function. University presidents advocated that colleges should not serve the function of preparing students for university, but instead should function as a means in itself (Arnold, 2011).

It is interesting to note that during the period of institutional expansion in the 1960s, the government of British Columbia, Alberta, and Quebec, decided to take a different path in the creation of their college systems (Jones & Skolnik, 2009). Rather than create a division between the college and university sectors, these provinces were influenced by the American model. Since the 1960s, university institutions and administrators in Ontario have been determined to maintain their autonomy. However, over the last four decades, the educational climate has grown

more intent on promoting accessibility and student mobility in Ontario (Arnold, 2011). Critics of the university-transfer debate agree that articulation agreements can provide students with greater mobility to navigate through the post-secondary education system, which can be a good thing. However, critics are concerned about the fact that transfer agreements are a potential catalyst for economic development through skills broadening, causing changes in the higher education system (Levin, 1999; Sears, 2003; Taylor, 2010). Policy initiatives at the macro (government) level are designed to address skill shortages; however, critics are concerned about the consequences of these initiatives on a micro (institutional) level in the case of higher education institutions and their mandates.

Other critics (Kerr & McCloy et al., 2010; Skolnik, 2005) contend that mobility pathways that exist in Ontario need to be improved, as they have not kept pace with the modernization of post-secondary education systems.

Various initiatives have been put in place by universities to address the student demand for the establishment of a system wide credit transfer. However, in keeping with the focus of this study, I contend that the response to ‘modernization’ - at the macro level - refers to an orientation towards the new vocationalism, which is continuously reorienting post-secondary education to the marketplace in order to fulfill the needs of the ‘new knowledge economy.’

Debates among Critics: The College Response

Articulation policy agreements play an instrumental role in enabling students to navigate through the post-secondary system in Ontario. Academics have been proactive in introducing studies over the years that address the issues regarding the lack of credit transfers (Levin, 2001; Skolnik, 2003). However, it is important to note that community colleges started to reinvent

themselves after the introduction of CAATs to remain competitive with other sectors in post-secondary education (Monahan, 2004). When CAATs were first introduced in the 1960s their mandate focused solely on technical education and skill development.

It is arguably increasingly difficult for scholars to understand shifting education policies without reference to 'globalization.' Levin (2001), conducted a study on the ways in which globalization has affected the community college mission shift in institutions across the United States and Canada. Reviewing government policies from the 1990s, Levin found that community colleges - in both US and Canada - can be viewed as a euphemism for supporting the interest of a neo-liberal state with its devotion to private sector business and industry (Levin, 2001, p. 258). Levin concludes that the state favors markets over the community and defines its citizens as economic entities rather than as social citizens (Levin, 2001). Therefore, the common attachment to industry involves the idea of commodification and standardization of education.

Both colleges and universities are concerned about their roles in addressing credit transfer in the province of Ontario and throughout Canada. Opinions associated with articulation agreements, are evidently, divided among critics. In the case of Ontario, Skolnik (2009) notes that both political and institutional interests have played key roles in the development of articulation policies between the two sectors, and have expressed minor concern over how the decisions are blurring the binary between the two sectors (p. 136).

Chapter 4: Theoretical Foundations

This section investigates the larger political and economic influences that have shaped postsecondary policies in Ontario. Conflict theory is used to help provide an explanation regarding the rise of vocationally-oriented educational requirements for employment in Canada. Additionally, using a neo-Marxist lens, I investigate the ‘new vocationalism’ and with it key concepts such as *capitalism*, *hegemony*, and *alienation*. Special attention is devoted to theorists who share a neo-Marxist theoretical standpoint to macro-level influences of educational reform. They include, but are not limited to, Livingstone (1995), Collins (2008), Bowles and Gintis (1988), and Apple (2000). Finally, I speculate as to how their theoretical frameworks relate to post-secondary reformation in Ontario, specifically in regards to the implementation of college-university articulation policies.

I am going to begin by introducing a macro-level analysis using a Marxist critique of capitalism, relating to the ways in which the economic system has influenced the new vocational discourse (Dovey, 2006). In order to understand Marxist conflict theories related to educational crisis and change, it is important to outline Marx’s classical historical materialist perspective (Livingstone, 1995). In this context, historical materialism shows that changes in material conditions, such as technology, are the primary influence on how education and the labour market are organized. It is also important to note that Marx’s own work paid very little attention to the specifics of education, but his work in general presents empirically grounded theories that have been applied to the processes of educational crisis and change (Livingstone, 1995).

According to Livingstone (1995) there are at least three distinguishing assumptions of historical materialist social inquiry, which include:

... the view that the relationships between the owners of the means of production and the actual producers of goods and services provide a primary basis for the continuous

construction of historical societies. The second is that in capitalist societies, characterized by the exploitation of hired labour, it is among those dependent on selling their labour power that the primary historical agency for transformation of the mode of production may be found. The third assumption is that the analysis of these production relations can have strategic political relevance for human emancipation. In rougher terms then, production relations are crucial, the 'working class' is the main change agent, and inquiry is committed to aiding workers' liberation (p. 55).

In this regard, Marx presents the formation of an exchange economy which is the outcome of a historical process, and *capitalism* is a historically specific system of production (Giddens, 1971). Capitalism is founded upon class divisions between *proletariat*, or working class, on the one hand, and *bourgeoisie*, or capitalist class, on the other (Giddens, 1971, p. 10). These two classes are in direct conflict with one another in terms of the distribution of the means of production. Marx contends that workers' liberation can be aided through the elimination of these characteristic structures and dynamics of bourgeoisie society (Giddens, 1971, p. 36).

Alienation

Marx's theoretical framework of the 'alienated worker' within the capitalist state is a significant concept that will be applied throughout this study. The concept of alienation is specifically associated with the functions of labour processes and schooling, depriving individual's control of the conditions of their own existence (Gleeson, 2012).

Marx's analysis moves one step further when it comes to identifying the struggle between the capitalist and worker, as those who own capital are easily dominant. This 'dominance' - in the new vocationalism - is adopted as a form of *alienation* given that student involvement in post-secondary education is limited. Students are alienated because they identify with the perceived aims of education, instead of what the academic curriculum 'stands for.' Giddens (1971) explains Marx's analysis of alienation in capitalist production, stating that:

... the fact that the more capitalism advances, the more impoverished the workers become. The enormous wealth which the capitalist mode of production makes possible is appropriated by the owners of land and capital. This separation between the worker and the product of his labour is not, however, simply a matter of the expropriation of goods which rightfully belong to the worker. The main point in Marx's discussion is that, in capitalism, the material objects which are produced become treated on a par with the worker himself – just as they are, on a purely theoretical level, in the discipline of political economy (p. 11).

In this case, the worker in a capitalist economy is alienated or objectified because the product of labour is external to the worker, and what is embodied in the product of his labour is no longer his own (Giddens 1971). Since all economic relationships are also social relationships, human relationships in capitalism tend to become reduced to operations of the market particularly through the involvement of monetary exchanges.

Similar links can be traced to the discourse of the 'new vocationalism,' as it centers on the marginalization of the working class through public education (Lakes, 1997). This discursive change in thinking, during the 1960s, meant that the 'new vocationalism' referred to the change in view by the government that vocational training should also take place in schools and colleges (Lakes, 1997). Writing accounts of early 20th century history suggests that schooling youths for industry through vocational curricula perpetuated inequalities. It was assumed that students would be disadvantaged with limited economic advancements (Bowles & Gintis, 1975). Thus, vocational education was considered to lead to dead-end occupations, providing the ruling class with a steady stream of industrial drones. Additionally, trade training accommodated a new type of student who could readily adjust to the modern demands of industry (Bowles & Gintis, 1975). Therefore, Marxists contend that education for work has been historically linked to the material conditions of capitalist production. Consequently, students preparing for work remain deceived by changing structural issues of the political economy which affect their positions in the labour market (Lakes, 1997).

Among capitalists, competition for profits rises during the process where each tries to maximize his or her position in the market and to undercut potential competitors (Marx & Engels, 1963). Capitalists will attempt to innovate and gain market position, or will resort to suppressing wages and removing benefits given to the working class as a way to recoup potential drops in the ability to accumulate profits (Kimmel, 1990, p. 21). This process has had consequences for both classes, as the number of successful capitalists decreases while their accumulated wealth increases. As a result, capital is increasingly divided into fewer and fewer hands with those who are successful obtaining greater shares of society's wealth (Marx & Engels, 1963). This division is especially expressed through corporate downsizing, and business outsourcing, as the voice of organized labour has weakened considerably (Lakes, 1997). Capital's exploitation of labour – in the post-industrial era - has fractured the working class in a strategy to maintain ruling elite interests.

The number of proletariats, however, increases as capitalists and members of the middle classes lose out in the race for profits. In this case, proletariats are concentrated into ever-larger physical units as factory production increases and their wealth decreases (Marx & Engels, 1963). The outcome of these structural developments produces class consciousness. According to Marx, the proletariat must realize that it is a class of itself, in order to be capable of revolutionary transformation (Kimmel, 1990, p. 22). This form of alienation occurs under 'individualistic capitalism' where the proletariat becomes alienated from their own labour power (Marx & Engels, 1963).

There are new formations of post-industrial social classes. In this scenario, post-industrial society is characterized by the rise of professional and technical occupations (Bell, 2008). The result is the reduction of traditional blue collar occupations in industry. Thus, the new vocational

discourse has produced a knowledge-biased shift from industry to service. Employment in the new vocationalism constitutes an overall skill up-grading in the occupational structure (Bell, 2008). Post-industrial societies face the unpleasant trade-off between the expansion of unskilled low-wage occupations or a high level of unemployment. As a consequence, the person's inability to find work is equivalent to the individual's lack of ability and skill to compete successfully in the job market (Gleeson, 2012, p. 104). It is in this way that the unemployed are blamed – via the market economy - for having a “skills problem” at the individual level, actively contributing to their own *alienation* (Gleeson, 2012). Therefore, Marx's historical materialism helps shed light on how the development of the productive forces brings into existence different production relations, and different forms of class society (Bell, 2008).

Alienation of Labour

Marx's theory of *alienation* posits that the everyday existence and activities of most people are dictated through work, and the labour process is based on principles of how to efficiently control and manage the behaviour of people (Wennerlind, 2002). In this context, the labour process imposes a continuous imposition of discipline over the worker in order to ensure that each worker performs according to specification. A system as such asserts that the workers are always under control by the employers and that power always flows to the top (Marx & Engels, 1963). According to Marx, alienation imposes one-dimensionality on people and forces them to exist and act only insofar as they contribute to the valorization of capital, causing people to separate from each other as workers (Wennerlind, 2002, p. 8). Therefore, alienation entails a loss or weakening on the part of workers. The nature of alienation resides in the fact that it

establishes power relations in favor of capital to be able to impose more and more work and, consequently, continues the reproduction of class relations (Wennerlind, 2002).

The capitalist system of production relies on the labour of organized production processes; however, Marx believed that in the long-term the average rate of profit that the capitalist accumulates tends to decrease (Marx, 1894, p. 148). Marx anticipated that capitalist owners would not be willing to reinvest in productive activities. As a result, capitalists tend to reorganize the production process to take more surplus value from the labouring classes (Livingstone, 1995, p. 56). Livingstone provides a historical example of the ways in which capitalists' sustain accumulation of capital through the reorganization of production processes, stating that:

The crisis of the late 1800s and the 1930s were mitigated when capitalists regained profitability through major offensives to reorganize the production process to take more surplus value from the labouring classes. Methods included such measures as increasing the intensity of the labour process (through speed-ups and layoffs), drawing on reserve pools of labour to weaken the organized labour movement and depress wages, widening formal public ownership of stock, harnessing major untried technological innovations, and carving out entirely new commodity markets (p. 56).

Therefore, the division of labour is not linear and occurs in a dialectical process where workers resist new reorganizations and use their creativity to overcome the intensification of work (Marx & Engels, 1963). In response, capital introduces new commodity markets and/or technologies that replace labour and reorganize the labour process in a way that reestablishes social control (Wennerlind, 2002). In other words, all productive capitalist enterprises are impelled to invest in new technologies and new product lines, and to undertake an intensive reorganization of their workforces in order to survive (Livingstone, 1995).

Alienation in Education

School learning is considered to be a form of production (Bowles & Gintis, 1975) as people commonly assume that students “produce” skills, knowledge, and an ethic that can be converted into the labour market (Sidorkin, 2004, p. 253). Education alienates students from knowledge because most students detach themselves from the ethos of schoolwork they acquire during their long years of schooling. As a result, they learn how to function in the environment of the workplace (Sidorkin, 2004). The value of grades, credentials, and qualifications is symbolic as they signify the property of the owner, which in this case is the student. This notion of ‘symbolic capital’ includes ‘educational capital’ because the symbolic value, in practice, can be exchanged for economic capital (Sidorkin, 2004).

According to Bowles and Gintis (2002) schools simply function to serve the needs of capitalist production in nearly a one-to-one correspondence. They contend that,

... a major objective of capital, in its interventions into the formation and evolution of the educational system, was precisely the preparation of students to be future workers on the various levels in the hierarchy of capitalist production. Given the quite significant success of capital directly and indirectly structuring schools and in the face of the undemocratic nature of economic life, schools could not fulfill their egalitarian and developmental objectives ... the only means towards the achievement of progressive educational reform is the democratization of economic life, allowing for a democratic and emancipatory school system which does not conflict with the formation of adults capable of effective participation in the system of production (Bowles & Gintis, 1988, p. 17).

In other words, educational reformers help extend the capitalist order by preparing students to become future workers. Bowles and Gintis (1988) believe that the only way educational reformation could be successful is if it was not directly correlated to capitalist production or economic life. They believe that democratization of the economy is necessary in order for education to achieve its own autonomy separated from capitalist intervention (Bowles & Gintis, 1988).

According to neo-Marxist critical education theory (Lundahl, 2012) the capitalist system is not characterized by democratic participation, civil liberties, or guaranteed rights. It is characterized by rights vested in property rather than persons and the control of the production process by capitalists and managerial personnel, giving rise to class structure which is contradictory to democratic principles (Bowles & Gintis, 1988). The position of Bowles and Gintis sets the trajectory of a significant portion of the critical educational theory, within neo-Marxism. Neo-Marxists seek to analyze issues of culture, ideology, hegemony and relative autonomy (Fritzell, 1987) in education, while remaking educational common sense and pushing forward the privatization and deregulation agenda (Apple et al., 2011, p. 83). Bowles and Gintis (1988) state that,

[e]ducation prepares students to be workers through a correspondence between the social relations of production and the social relations of education. Like the division of labour in the capitalist enterprise, the educational system is a finely graded hierarchy of authority and control in which competition rather than co-operation governs the relations among participants, and an external reward system – wages in the case of the economy and grades in the case of schools – holds sway... the hierarchal order of the school system, admirably geared towards preparing students for their future positions in the hierarchy of production, limits the development of those personal capacities involving the exercise of reciprocal and mutual democratic participation and reinforces social inequality by legitimating the assignment of students to inherently unequal ‘slots’ in the social hierarchy (p. 18).

Therefore, education in advanced capitalism is positioned in its undemocratic structure of control over the process of production. In the case of college-university reformation in the new vocationalism, production becomes increasingly automated, efficient, and more rapid as the labour force is restructured and re-stratified (Levin, 1999).

Alienation and the ‘New Vocationalism’

Education assumes a much larger role as productive activity increasingly comes to mean the 'production of knowledge' (Gleeson, 2012). The new vocationalism has further alienated students from knowledge, as the very basis of schooling reflects the needs of the labour market. Since the 1960s, vocationalism has become more pronounced, reflecting the growth in knowledge-based employment, particularly in the service and financial sectors (Boud & Symes, 2002). This is because the new vocationalism favours competition and the marketplace, reducing goods, services, people, and organizational relationships to an economic value (Boud & Symes, 2002, p. 17).

According to Gleeson (2012), "While the framework of training is at present determined by state policy, it should be recognized, however, that it is predominately the institutional process of education itself which is currently legitimizing the new training enterprise" (p. 110). In this context, education is treated as a commodity, and as a use value that distorts the relationship between the student and his/her education. As the new vocational economy legitimizes more training-oriented curricula, institutions are struggling to maintain their autonomy. Education is seen not as an enriching or liberating process in and of itself, but rather as a means to an end (Gleeson, 2012). Additionally, in the new vocational economy, the government devalues the significance of the humanities and social sciences. They seek to legitimate concepts that have previously never existed. These include STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) disciplines associated with science and/or business, which are more 'marketable' than those associated with human experience. Therefore, under the new vocational discourse, education is neither for students nor the public. Instead, it is for corporations, the economy, and the financial system at large.

Hegemony

According to Apple et al. (2011), neo-Marxists have made fruitful use of concepts of hegemony (Gramsci, 1986) in their analysis of schools and school reproduction (p. 87). The concept of *hegemony* has been helpful for critical educational theorists in explaining how consent of the subordinate classes is essentially “won” by those in power (Apple et al., 2011). This can be demonstrated when dominant elites offer compromises with subordinate groups as in the case of college-university articulation policies implemented by Ontario’s government committee representatives (Jones, 1991). Critics opposed to articulation policies have argued that in order for each institution to maintain its autonomy and mandate, the topic of transfer has not been viewed as a valid option (Bell, 2006; Dunlop, 2004; Levin, 1999). Therefore, within the neo-Marxist theoretical framework, school policies play a major role, both in ideological domination or as a site for complex and contradictory forms of resistance (Apple et al. 2011, p. 87).

The *new vocationalism* also constitutes a significant role in the formation of college-university system integration, in both Ontario and Canada. According to Dovey (2006), “This ‘new vocationalism’ arises out of a shift in the world of work, and has led, in turn, to a shift in the orientation in higher education in certain contexts, such as, courses being developed to prepare students for contemporary workplaces in very specific ways” (p. 388). Therefore, one of the more prominent characteristics of the new vocationalism is its focus on the unity of knowledge and skill. The unity of knowledge and skill leading to professionalism in postsecondary education is making it a highly valued form of capital, hence the use of popular terms such as ‘*the new knowledge economy*,’ ‘*knowledge workers*,’ and ‘*the new capitalism*’ (Dovey, 2006).

Given that the federal governments rhetoric has been to focus on a more ‘progressive’ vocational education, the programs that have been developed within the framework of the new vocationalism focus largely on transferable skills such as critical thinking, literacy and teamwork, known in Canada as ‘employability skills’ (Lehman & Taylor, 2003). Lehmann and Taylor (2003) examine the purpose of reformation programs associated with the new vocationalism according to policy makers, stating that,

... vocational education should no longer be seen as a ‘dumping ground’ for low-achieving high school students. Instead, new vocationalism directs attention to the ‘neglected majority’ of students, arguing that university programs are not suitable for all students and that viable alternatives to traditional vocational education programs must be developed (p. 47).

Many of the articulation reforms that have taken place within the postsecondary system in Ontario are trying to improve student learning. However, these developments are also part of the hegemonic project facilitated by the state. Since the implementation of college-university articulation agreements in the 1960s, programs have been introduced or reformed as part of the new vocational agenda. This can be interpreted as part of the post-Fordist attempts to increase the employability and flexibility of students based on the needs of both the economy and employers (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). In most circumstances the key beneficiaries of these reforms are the employers who remove themselves from the financial responsibility of training their workforce while intervening in the educational domain (Lehmann & Taylor, 2003).

The ‘new vocationalism’ is now part of the orientation towards the market, as it attempts to restructure post-secondary institutions and the workforce to fit the present post-Fordist economic culture. Sears (2003) refers to Canada’s regime of social policies as the “lean state” which is a process of capitalist restructuring that began in the 1970s. According to Sears (2003),

The most important feature of this restructuring process has been the development of lean production methods in the workplace. Lean production is a set of management strategies

to eliminate the waste in work processes by increasing flexibility, reducing the core workforce to an absolute minimum by driving up productivity and contracting-out significant chunks of work (p. 2).

Part of the restructuring process and social policies of the “lean production state” have, for instance, caused a section of the population to work in service sectors with little or no security or benefits. This push towards the ‘lean state’ has initiated education reforms as encountered by articulation policies introduced in Ontario during the 1960s (Sears, 2003). The government’s agenda was aimed at developing a consumerist orientation throughout the education system, and shifted the focus of colleges and universities away from the development of citizenship, and towards the relations of the market (Shor, 1987).

There are contradictory aspects associated with educational restructuring centered on ‘skill development’ (Livingstone, 2004). The new vocationalism focuses on the development of skills that are allegedly relevant in the job market. However, the overall problem facing young people and students entering the labor market seems to be the lack of employment prospects (Sears, 2003). Sears (2003) states,

... there is an abundant supply of labor across Canada for the foreseeable future. In this view, young workers entering the labor force face a ‘demand deficit’ rather than a ‘skills deficit’: there is simply not enough demand for their labor irrespective of skills levels (p. 69).

Given that the root of the problem revolves around the lack of employment opportunities, educational restructuring around skill development seems questionable. Shor (1987) contends that a creative response to the problem of surplus labour under capitalism has been mass higher education (p. 5). He contends that a system which educates people for more than it can deliver is dangerously de-legitimizing itself, and that by encouraging people to deserve what they can never have, the society and its colleges are educating their own gravediggers (Shor, 1987, p. 10).

Therefore, the education-job gaps are not a temporary problem for young people, but the longer term product of labour market restructuring (Sears, 2003).

Since the 1970s, CAATs have altered their public role, changing from serving communities to serving a 'managerial economy' (Levin, 2005). However, university institutions have especially been affected by the constructs of the new vocationalism, particularly through the changing nature of knowledge production both in the academy, and in the case of economic prosperity (Symes & McIntyre, 2002). Symes and McIntyre (2002) state that:

In the last few years, capitalists have popularized the notion that learning can be profitable for business and that organizations which encourage their employees to educate themselves are likely to be more competitive ones. In conjunction with the fact that 'working knowledge' is more than ever being academicized through competency approaches to learning, the principles of Taylorism, which saw learning as inhibiting productivity, are being spurned. One of the more significant features of this change is the degree to which over the last decade universities have been vocationalized, and are now offering more occupationally specific credentials (p. 4).

Therefore, the notion of a 'liberal education' has been extended to work-based learning, and includes the development of closer alliances with businesses and commerce. University courses and programmes have been targeted to reflect the world of work, which has changed the nature of knowledge in the process (Olssen & Peters, 2005). The shift towards the new vocationalism has emerged forms of knowledge capitalism, and in the process has introduced new collaborative models of knowledge supply (Olssen & Peters, 2005).

Social Stratification and Post-secondary Education

Conflict theory explains the rise in educational requirements for employment throughout the last century; however, it is also important to consider one conflict theory of educational stratification which depicts that higher education is associated with high economic and status positions (Collins, 2008). According to Collins (2008),

This demand for education has not been for vocational education at the terminal or commercial level, short of full university certification; the demand has rather focused on education giving entry into the elite status culture, and usually only those technically oriented schools have prospered which have most closely associated themselves with the sequence of education leading to (or from) the classical Bachelor's degree (p. 38).

Therefore, in the case of college-university articulation, students are drawn to transferring from a CAAT to a university institution because higher education represents entry into the 'elite status culture.' The college-university transfer function can eventually lead students to pursue a classical bachelor's degree. According to the conflict theory of educational stratification, education is most important where the fit is greatest between the culture of status groups emerging from schools, and the status group doing the hiring; and it is least important where there is the greatest disparity between the culture of the school and of the employers (Collins, 1971, p. 1012).

Cote and Allahar (2011) insist that the outcomes for applied and professional degrees that are designed to increase concrete skills sought by employers, significantly vary (p. 46). For instance, in many circumstances the distinctions between concrete and abstract skills are not recognized by employers. Employers advocate general university education as if it had the same marketability as the applied education (Cote & Allahar, 2011, p. 46). They state that:

... if job marketability closely adhered to any type of education, then years of schooling would correlate with earnings and outcomes independently of whether a credential is attained, but this appears not to be the case. Instead, empirical studies, find a 'sheepskin' or 'signaling' effect of credentialism attainment. Hence, to the extent that a university education has become a prerequisite for just about any type of white-collar job, even where the skill levels are obviously mismatched, the impact of those credentials needs to be understood sociologically rather than just economically (Cote & Allahar, 2011, p. 46-47).

Considering that university and college institutions are different in a number of respects because they educate students for different positions, there are forces outside of postsecondary institutions that clearly continue to push towards hierarchization and standardization. As a result,

together with articulation patterns it seems that post-secondary administrators and employers are causing a homogenization that has impacted both degree attainment and employability within specific fields of study (Cote & Allahar, 2011).

There is an ongoing struggle over the definition and purpose of the baccalaureate degree (Levin, 2004; Lockwood, 1982; Marshall, 2004; Miller, 2003). Although it is associated with the opportunity to gain entry into the elite status culture, it is becoming increasingly difficult for students and scholars to explain the purpose and value of the baccalaureate degree (Miller, 2003). Miller (2003) outlines a core set of capacities that policy makers would like students to have, which include: critical thinking, problem solving, and communication skills (p. 4). However, the reality is that many majors today focus on providing their students with an education that prepares them for a specific job. Therefore, the reality is that when choosing which college graduates to hire, the captains of industry need information about which skills and abilities are certified by a given diploma, and which diplomas ensure that the bearer has the intellectual capabilities that the modern world requires (Miller, 2003). Miller (2003) believes that many academics today seem to want to recapture the coherence that their profession had during simpler times (p. 8). As a result, it is quite difficult to determine the value of the university baccalaureate degree especially within the changing labour markets of the new knowledge economy.

Given that it is impossible to eliminate the vocational significance of the bachelor's degree in the new knowledge economy; there is also great uncertainty about the content of the liberal education curriculum (Vanderleest, 1996). Liberal education, in theory, is designed to produce a fully educated student by providing knowledge that develops character and prepares individuals to be active citizens within their own societies (Vanderleest, 1996). However, the

new vocationalism has encroached upon both colleges and universities due to the active intervention of business foundations that are influencing governing boards. As a result, the liberal arts are being threatened by technological and capitalist interventions (Vanderleest, 1996).

Concerning the alienated worker, Marx and Engels et al. (1981) contend that:

Political economy conceals the alienation in the nature of labour insofar as it does not examine the direct relationship between the worker (work) and production. Labour certainly produces marvels for the rich but it produces privation for the worker. It produces palaces, but hovels for the worker. It produces beauty, but deformity for the worker. It replaces labour by machinery, but it casts some of the workers back into a barbarous kind of work and turns the others into machines. It produces intelligence, but also stupidity and cretinism for the workers (p. 138).

Therefore, the rapid growth of college-university articulation patterns has the potential to further alienate the student, especially when it comes to their relationship to liberal education. The new vocationalism focuses on a single minded curricular change designed to ensure that students have concrete skills that are demanded in the labour market (Strain, 1996). Technical training and professionalization have steadily eroded critical education, especially its emphasis on non-materialist values (Strain, 1996 p. 156).

Within the neo-Marxist tradition, I have outlined economic pressures regarding the new vocationalism, and how the discourse has affected post-secondary institutions, students, as well as credentialism in the province of Ontario. Collins (2008) states that,

The interaction between formal job requirements and informal status cultures has resulted in a spiral in which educational requirements and educational attainments become ever higher. As the struggle for mass educational opportunities enters new phases in universities of today and perhaps in the graduate schools of the future, we may expect a further upgrading of educational requirements for employment (p. 39).

Therefore, college-university articulation has introduced new phases of educational restructuring in both college and university institutions. Canadian postsecondary education suffers from a

constriction between the development of the mind and the ability to reason, on the one hand, and the acquisition of skills and practical knowledge, on the other (Skolnik, 2013, p. 136).

Chapter 5: Findings and Results

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I analyze policies, reports, and critical documents dating back as far as the 1960s, to provide a chronological overview surrounding the evolution of articulation policies in Ontario. The chronological overview reveals the pressures university institutions have experienced - by government approved task forces and committee members - to facilitate community college transfer credits. It clearly shows how the former *binary* between college and university institutions started to blur, resulting in the cooperative relationship that is presently in place. The ‘former binary’ of the post-secondary system clearly delineated colleges and universities as distinct and separate pathways to two credentials, the university degree and the college diploma.

In the second section, I focus on three fundamental documents (see Appendix I, II, and III below) that were written by various post-secondary committee and task force representatives. These include, *Vision 2000 Report (1990)*, *No Dead Ends: The Report of the Task Force on Advanced Training (1993)*, and *Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility: Report of the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Post-secondary Education (1996)*. The documents provide recommendations declaring that formal linkages be made between CAATs and university institutions. I decided to choose the three specific reports for my analysis because the formal recommendations urge the provincial government to develop a post-secondary education vision that provides the skilled and knowledgeable workforce necessary to advance in Ontario’s ‘new knowledge economy.’

I explore patterns in and across statements to conduct an analysis surrounding the ‘new vocational discourse’ to show how market-oriented language establishes the context and push for articulation and cooperation between the two post-secondary sectors.

Section I

1962: Deutsch Report

During the 1960s, Ontario's postsecondary system experienced rapid expansion. In response to student pressures for institutional expansion, an advisory committee was organized by Ontario's provincial government in order to discuss system planning and to reorganize the mandate of higher education institutions; it was known as the Committee on University Affairs (CUA) (Monahan, 2004). The CUA was eventually taken over by a subcommittee of university officials, who became known as the Deutsch Committee. Chaired by then Queen's University administrator, John Deutsch, the committee examined how to best expand educational opportunities for students. One of the major highlights in the report considers that junior colleges offer the first two years of university programming (Monahan, 2004, p. 18). However, the members withdrew the proposal, stating that,

The advantages of coordinating existing educational activities are evident. But the committee was dubious about the two-year colleges, believing that they would be regarded as an inferior substitute for degree-granting institutions and would fail to win public acceptance, or else that there would be an overwhelming demand to add a third year and grant a degree ... The committee could not recommend this alternative as the general solution to the problem (Deutsch Report, 1962, p. 15).

Therefore, in order to expand post-secondary education, the idea for university co-ordination with then junior colleges seemed like an appealing idea. The idea was revoked; however, the committee members continued to push solutions for the expansion of post-secondary education. The committee eventually recommended the introduction of community colleges which were later introduced as Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (Deutsch Report, 1962).

1965: Introduction to CAATs

The introduction of CAATs in the Deutsch report eventually led to the Bill that would provide legislation for the establishment of CAATs in Ontario. Then-Minister of Education, William G. Davis, created the framework for the system when he introduced the Bill on May 21st, 1965 (Ontario Department of Education, 1967). Some of the college's main values included the following: that no CAAT was authorized to offer university-level courses or programmes (Monahan, 2004). CAATs would serve their local communities, and finally that CAATs would specifically offer technical and skill-oriented programming (Dennison & Gallagher, 1986).

Davis (1967) highlights that in the new age of technological change and invention it was essential to continue the growth and expansion of the economy. Additionally, Davis contends that:

The world in which we live and must make our way is one which demands an ever-changing pattern of occupations and rising levels of skills. The occupations which are growing most rapidly are those which involve advancing levels of basic education and training. The occupations requiring the lowest levels of formal education are declining ... Much has already been done to meet the educational needs of our times, but there are significant deficiencies and gaps which remain to be overcome, especially in the respect of research, the retraining of workers and the development of highly skilled manpower (Ontario Department of Education, 1967, p. 5).

Therefore, CAATs were the government's answer to the growing demands and needs of the external economic environment present throughout Ontario at the time. The introduction of CAATs also led to the establishment of Canada's binary system consisting of distinct university and college sectors (Dennison, 1995).

It is important to note that Davis provides a review and evaluation of the developments in the world of work and education. These developments later contributed to the establishment of CAATs. According to Davis, there were three factors which made the creation of the new community college institutions essential; first, there is the matter of the "knowledge explosion" by which is meant that specific fields (such as science) were increasingly in demand. Secondly,

the new technological revolution had seen the disappearance of most of the unskilled, and a high proportion of the semi-skilled, jobs. Thirdly, they served as a means to respond to the “population explosion” (Ontario Department of Education, 1967, p. 8-9). Therefore, CAATs were specifically developed to offer programs of instruction in varying fields of vocational and technical education and training for full-time and part-time students.

1972: The Learning Society

Although CAATs were primarily introduced to address the need of technical skills in post-secondary education, tensions between the two sectors began to surface.

As a response to the Davis Report, a final report of the Commission on Post Secondary Education in Ontario (COPSE) was published. COPSE was appointed in 1969 to further advise Minister Davis on specific issues related to the development of post-secondary education (McLeod, 1973). The report titled *The Learning Society (1972)* contextualized the relationship between the new colleges and universities. According to Ross (1972), the report referenced the need for ‘diversity,’ because the commission was concerned about “the process of homogenization” in post-secondary education (Ross, 1972, p. 86). Additionally, Ross contends that,

Most authorities ... agree that the central problem of the university today is the lack of consensus about goals. The traditional goals of the university (the creation of new knowledge, the transmission of “the high culture,” ... are now in deep conflict with certain popular functions of the university (to provide universal higher education and to make available information and applied knowledge to organizations of all types). The great danger in North America today – acknowledged by all serious students of higher education – is that these popular functions will swamp the university and gradually push into oblivion the great traditional functions of that institution (1972, p. 86).

Evidently the commission expressed deep concerns over the mandate of higher education institutions, especially the growing orientation towards universal accessibility. The commission

also expressed student's concerns over the traditional function of university institutions.

Therefore, just five years after the introduction of CAATs, the traditional binary of college and university institutions was already being threatened.

Although the report (indirectly) highlights the commissions concerns over the changing mandate of college and university institutions, it simultaneously contradicts these concerns. For instance, the report concludes that universities and colleges both have equally important roles to play when it comes to educating students; however, changes in social attitudes are required so that colleges could be held in the same regard as universities by offering applied degrees (Ross, 1972, p. 89). As a result, the recommendations made by the commission were rejected by the provincial government, and regarded as "too radical" because they promoted access to open pathways between the two sectors (Ross, 1972).

1970s – 1980s: Examining the Relationship between Colleges and Universities

Although early attempts were made to establish a cooperative relationship between CAATs and universities in Ontario, formal linkages were not created. CAATs were occupied with the development of programming related to occupational training, while universities focused on their mandate of research and teaching (Skolnik, 2005). During the 1970s as the growth rate in the Canadian economy slowed down, unemployment rose and inflation became a serious problem (Curtis & Livingstone et al., 1992). As a result, Ontario's post-secondary institutions experienced a slow down in construction as the governments mindset shifted from growth to maintenance mode. Monahan (2004) contends that,

By the mid-'80s, recognition began to grow that the Ontario design of post-secondary education and training needed to be modified to meet the demands of an increasingly knowledge-based economy and the importance of life-long learning (p. 185).

Therefore, by the 1980s proposals for articulation arrangements resurfaced as a number of committees and commissions were established to review ‘future developments’ regarding the cooperation between university and college sectors.

1981: The Task Force

A task force was established in 1981 which specifically focused on the growth of CAATs (Monahan, 2004). The task force published a report titled *Growth in the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (1981)*, which questioned the original mandate of CAATs. In the report, the committee envisioned the future role and development of CAATs by establishing recommendations for future operations, funding, admissions policies, and governance (Task Force, 1981). This was one of the first serious studies of the CAAT system because it influenced further studies regarding the college’s mandate and governance (Monahan, 2004).

1986: Pitman Report

In 1986, the Ministry of Colleges and Universities (later known as Ministry of Colleges Training and Universities) appointed educator Walter Pitman to deal with governing structures of Ontario’s colleges (Dennison, 1995). Pitman published a report titled *The Report of the Advisor to the Minister of Colleges and Universities on the Governance of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (1986)*. The report of the committee criticized the mandate of CAATs, noting that colleges were following an “industrial model,” with an increasing emphasis upon bottom-line budgeting and bureaucratic management techniques (Pitman Report, 1986). According to Dennison (1995), Pitman stressed the need for a revitalized educational role for the colleges, with an emphasis upon the quality of teaching, decision making, and work relationships (p. 46).

Pitman was critical that colleges were being perceived as “industrial organizations” rather than as learning institutes (Dennison, 1995).

Furthermore, Pitman centered his report on a new college mandate which would allow CAATs to respond to an emerging industrial marketplace (Dennison, 1995). To succeed in this task, Pitman emphasized that the college sector must be organized in such a way that it emphasizes its educational role. Therefore, reports published during the mid-‘80s (such as the Pitman Report) influenced recommendations for articulation agreements between colleges and universities, but they were relatively low in number.

1990: Vision 2000

Pitman’s recommendations increased college-university interactions. As a result, in 1988, the Ministry of Colleges and Universities requested that the Council of Regents – the intermediary role between the CAATs and the government – review the system of CAATs in Ontario (Monahan, 2004). The report titled *Vision 2000: Quality and Opportunity: A Summary (1990)*, envisioned a future with a much greater collaboration between the college and university sectors (Monahan, 2004, p. 185). According to Monahan (2004), the Vision 2000 report recommended that colleges and universities enter into formal bilateral agreements regarding credit transfer and joint programming (p. 185). As outlined in the report,

One of the missions fundamental to colleges’ proposed renewed mandate is “to work together and with other educational institutions to offer students opportunities for educational mobility and lifelong learning” ... Offering opportunities for educational mobility means, in practical terms, providing avenues for students to transfer from one type of institution to another; granting credit for prior learning and experience; and creating opportunities for educational and career advancement across the entire educational spectrum (Vision 2000, 1990, p. 79).

Therefore, a new institute “without walls” was proposed to facilitate combined college-university facilities. The report proposed forty recommendations (see Appendix I below) with a strong emphasis for greater college-university programming articulation.

In my opinion, the blueprint that emerged from Vision 2000 proposed a revitalized college system managed in such a way as to accommodate the needs of the new market economy. For instance, the report highlights that,

In order for Ontario to undertake this restructuring, the supply of high-quality technologists and engineers will need to be increased. Compared with many other advanced economies, Ontario has relatively few engineers and technologists ... Increasing the ability of students to move between the college and university sectors, in both directions, is one measure which should help increase the supply. Increasing the academic level of technology training in the colleges may be another positive measure (Vision 2000, 1990, p. 92).

Although previous commissions and council representatives were concerned about the ‘homogenization’ of post-secondary education, it is clear that the council of Vision 2000 acknowledged a ‘sectoral hegemony.’ The commission stresses the importance of institutional restructuring under STEM oriented programming for both colleges and universities.

Additionally, there are many contradictions in the report. For instance, the report argued that colleges and universities should limit the types of agreements and programming that were established between the two sectors so that a binary distinction remained (Vision 2000, 1990). However, the report also highlighted the importance of developing strong ties between college and university institutions. Since previous publications and reports were labeled as “too radical,” the Vision 2000 report presented an economic analysis of Ontario, and enhanced the argument for college-university articulation. The recommendations made in the report may have been a clever move made by the colleges in terms of remaining competitive in an increasingly

corporatized higher education market (Dennison, 1995). However, the report did not establish a positive relationship with university institutions.

Universities in Ontario initially responded with silence as they remained critical of any policy implementation regarding college-university collaboration. Universities were worried that any collaboration between the sectors would encroach on their autonomy (Skolnik, 2005). As a result, the recommendations of the Vision 2000 report were not supported strongly by post-secondary institutions, especially the higher education sector (Skolnik, 2005). Although it is interesting to note that support for the report came from government and business representatives (Skolnik, 2005). The government continued to investigate issues presented in the Vision 2000 report by creating the Task Force on Advanced Training in 1991, headed again by educator Walter Pitman (Monahan, 2004, p. 185).

1993: No Dead Ends

A report titled *No Dead Ends (1993)*, once more stressed the need to eliminate barriers between college-university credit transfers (Monahan, 2004). Once again, the report recommended that clear links be made between colleges, universities, as well as with businesses (see Appendix II). Additionally, the report noted that, while an increasing number of college-university transfer arrangements had been put in place, there was neither a formal recognition of credentials nor coherent province-wide policies that would ensure equity of access to students seeking advanced learning (Dennison, 1995, p. 54). Thus, several arguments in favour of advanced training were consistently repeated.

Further recommendations made in the report stressed the importance of ‘lifelong learning’ as “essential if we are to keep pace with the constant change that is a characteristic of

the global economy” (Pitman, 1993, p. 79). This point was extremely critical, as it set the overall tone of the rapid requirements for new skills in the ‘knowledge-driven’ job market. Additionally, the report often made reference to on-the-job learning, part-time study, and cooperative programming between post-secondary institutions and the private sector (Dennison, 1995). Although each of the recommendations were specifically targeted to address the need for an effective transfer system between colleges and universities, it is also clear that the report implemented market oriented policy instruments.

Pitman also conducted a comparative analysis of Ontario’s system to other provinces, such as British Columbia, and other countries, such as the United Kingdom. This specific section paid close attention to the ‘new vocational curricula.’ For instance, Pitman states that:

There is a growing recognition of the need for the standardization of core curriculum and of vocational qualifications across a jurisdiction; for example, the national vocational qualifications in the U.K., a call for national competencies and standards in Australia, the investigation of a core business curriculum in B.C (Pitman, 1993, p. 74).

In other words, Pitman contends that college and university institutions needed to be responsive to global demands in order to remain competitive and succeed in the market economy. Pitman goes one step further in his analysis and identifies the baccalaureate degree as the most recognized credential among students, stating that, “In jurisdictions like Ontario – the U.K., Australia, California, B.C. – the degree continues to be the preferred and recognized credential” (Pitman, 1993, p. 75). Therefore, Pitman’s analysis promotes the homogenization of academic and vocational curricula. However, such integrations could only be achieved through the elimination of barriers to intersectoral transfers (Dennison, 1995).

The most controversial recommendation promoted by Pitman was the creation of an independent, provincial institute, named the Ontario Institute of Advanced Training (OIAT) (Dennison, 1995, p. 55). The institution was designed to promote partnerships between colleges

and universities, and break down the barriers between the two sectors. OIAT, with a widely representative governing board, would have designated degree-granting power (Dennison, 1995). The introduction of OIAT was a major step towards organizing collaborations between college and university institutions. Given its uniqueness in Canada, credibility would not be immediately bestowed upon OIAT, and its credibility among graduates would take time.

The recommendations made in both *Vision 2000 (1990)* and *No Dead Ends (1993)* experienced strong criticism from university faculty, especially in reference to increasing the pathways between college and university sectors (Skolnik, 1995). The literature surrounding the reaction to the recommendations is limited; however, the following reports provide a deeper analysis of the underlying perceptions between college and university institutions in terms of articulation.

1995: Pan-Canadian Protocol on the Transferability of University Credits

Ontario's choice to separate the college from the university sector was a decision which was vigorously discussed during the establishment of the system of post-secondary education (Hurlihey, 2012). The 1960s argument suggested that the population could be separated into two groups of people with distinct abilities and needs. It is interesting to note that during this period of educational expansion, the governments of British Columbia, Alberta, and Quebec chose quite a different path in the creation of their college system (Hurlihey, 2012). Dating back to their establishment in the 1960s, each of these college systems have had university transfer as part of their mandate.

The federal government continued to focus on the development of Canada's labour market in the mid-1990s. Rapid changes took place regarding the binary landscape of institutions

throughout Canada. Provinces had to respond to the dramatic increase in demands for undergraduate degrees, while simultaneously trying to promote greater entrepreneurial skills as well as develop new performative measures to enhance student outputs. Universities were also being identified as ‘evolving institutions,’ because they were responding to the diverse student backgrounds by increasing student mobility (Council of Ministers of Education, 1995). In order to attract growing numbers of students, the universities needed to ensure that they addressed the demands of ‘the new knowledge economy.’

Given that the university transfer function was already in place for British Columbia, Alberta, and Quebec, the *Pan-Canadian Protocol on the Transferability of University Credits (1995)* was signed and approved by the Provincial Ministers of Education (Council of Ministers of Education, 1995). Signed in 1995, the purpose of the protocol was to introduce a Canada wide agreement that ensured transferability of first and second year courses. It included the final year of college studies leading to a diploma - in the province of Quebec - and university transfer courses (courses explicitly designed for transfer) offered through community college and university colleges – in the provinces of British Columbia and Alberta (Council of Ministers of Education, 1995). Although the protocol outlined that it in no way infringed on the academic autonomy of universities, the post-secondary landscape across Canada was already quite differentiated when compared to that of Ontario (Council of Ministers of Education, 1995, p. 4).

Ontario was not included in the protocol because it was generally able to maintain a binary system, keeping colleges and universities two distinct sectors. Ontario’s universities were far from keen for the establishment of any more co-ordinating agencies; however, they were slowly beginning to give into the approaching end to the binary divide (Monahan, 2004).

1996: Future Goals for Ontario Colleges and Universities (Discussion Paper)

Shortly after the release of the Pan-Canadian Protocol on Transferability, the Ministry of Education and Training published a discussion paper titled, *Future Goals for Ontario Colleges and Universities (1996)*. Then Minister of Education, Conservative John Snobelen, introduced the discussion paper, stating that:

Although we have reason to be proud of our postsecondary educational institutions and their performance over the years, we must recognize that changes will have to be made if they are to continue to meet the educational needs of the province. The accelerated rate of technological change occurring throughout the world makes this a time of radical alteration and restructuring in business and industry. This is creating a critical need for knowledge and skills that differ from those required in the past (Ministry of Education and Training, 1996, A Message From the Minister).

Therefore, similarly to colleges, the government was concerned about the role higher education was going to take in order to accommodate to business and industry restructuring in the new knowledge economy. Additionally, the report refers to the higher education context dating back to the 1970s when the focus was on meeting the growing demands of the changing student body (Ministry of Education and Training, 1996). By the early 1980s, however, the focus of higher education shifted, from growth, to addressing the issue of articulation between the two sectors. The ministry referred to the *Vision 2000* report and the *Pitman Report* as primary examples of discussions that directly addressed the issue of articulation in Ontario (Ministry of Education and Training, 1996).

Furthermore, under the section titled *Excellence*, the ministry states that:

Achieving excellence in postsecondary education is essential to achieve the maximum possible benefits from the investment of time and money, both by the public and students, in postsecondary education; to help meet employer and workforce requirements for well-educated and well-trained graduates and high-quality research; and to help make Ontario more competitive internationally in all fields of endeavour (Ministry of Education and Training, 1996, p. 5).

Similarly to previous reports, the process of globalization had been connected to the alterations that were taking place in post-secondary education. The emphasis upon international competitiveness portrayed post-secondary institutions as business-oriented entities, with attendant behaviours of productivity and efficiency. The government's standard for 'excellence,' deemed 'training' and 'education' as synonymous concepts, much like the interchangeability of 'knowledge' and 'skills.' The report argued that university and college institutions needed to be responsive to the growing needs of students as employability depended on the type of education students received (Ministry of Education and Training, 1996). In other words, the report stressed that universities and colleges should work together in order to generate revenues and sustain new missions that were being influenced through the marketplace.

1996: The College-University Consortium Council

Shortly after the release of the discussion paper, the education ministry under John Snobelen established the College University Consortium Council (CUCC) (Monahan, 2004). The stated purpose of the CUCC was to, "... facilitate and co-ordinate joint education and training ventures that will: aid the transfer of students from sector to sector; facilitate the creation of joint programs between colleges and universities; and further the development of a more seamless continuum of postsecondary education in Ontario" (College-University Consortium Council, 2001, p. 2). Funded by the ministry, the establishment of the CUCC was a direct result of CAATs lobbying the government to increase college-university articulation agreements. The Council was comprised of three college representatives, three university representatives, and one representative from the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (College-University Consortium Council, 2001).

The overall mandate of the CUCC was to promote joint ventures involving education and training, to establish an electronic credit-transfer guide covering Ontario universities and CAATs, and to undertake research on post-secondary student mobility (Monahan, 2004, p. 186). In addition, the CUCC expanded the Ontario College-University Transfer Guide in order to provide students with an online resource regarding the transfer processes at different colleges and universities. A further enhancement, completed in September 1999, was a template which enabled participating institutions to enter data covering their out-of-province agreements (Monahan, 2004). Finally, an agreement signed in April 1999, established the Ontario College-University Degree-Completion Accord which set out a series of principles for developing degree-completion arrangements between CAATs and universities, and provided a matrix to guide its creation (Monahan, 2004, p. 186). The Accord is explained in further detail in following sections.

Another concern raised by the CUCC questioned the underlying hierarchy that existed between college and university institutions. Council representatives stressed that it was the presumed hierarchy that prevented system wide credit transfers from taking place in Ontario. However, it is important to note that universities throughout Ontario were also experiencing pressures. The governments increasing interest in university-based research oriented higher education into the “knowledge-based” economy (Metcalf & Fenwick, 2009). Historically, universities have offered a higher quality scholarly learning environment; however, the university’s mandate was gradually changing due to an orientation towards the new vocational economy. Therefore, with the introduction of the College-University Degree Completion Accord, universities in Ontario were concerned about what little autonomy they had left. Since

its inception, the CUCC continued to publish annual reports that outlined the push for transfer agreements between college-university institutions.

1996: Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility (Smith Report)

An advisory panel represented by the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities, submitted a report titled *Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility: Report of the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education (1996)* (see Appendix III below). The report explored the future directions for post-secondary education in Ontario. In the beginning of the report, the panel states that,

The Panel believes that the basic structure of Ontario's postsecondary sector is sound. There is no need to impose a grand new design. However, there are clear signs that the postsecondary sector is under pressure. The Panel is convinced that, without significant change in the way the sector is evolving and the way it is resourced, its quality and accessibility will be undermined, along with institutional capability to deliver the broad range of programs and the high calibre of research that will be needed in future. We must be careful to preserve existing strengths, but we must also recognize that change is necessary to meet the needs of learners and society in the twenty-first century (Smith et al. 1996, *Our Themes: Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility*).

It is interesting to note that the panel presented contradictory remarks concerning Ontario's postsecondary sector. For instance, the panel stated that there is no need to impose a grand new design for post-secondary education institutions, however, the panel gradually contends that "change is necessary to meet the needs of learners and society in the twenty-first century" (Smith et al., 1996, *Our Themes: Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility*).

Furthermore, the report carefully considers the mandate of colleges and universities in Ontario, comparing it to the differentiating post-secondary landscape across other provinces in Canada. Following the tenth recommendation the panel contends that:

... a parallel system of differentiated colleges and universities, it is important to remove unnecessary barriers to students wishing to transfer among them and also to the sharing

of services and facilities. We are encouraged by the degree of activity in recent years in developing linkages among the institutions and endorse the aims of the recently established consortium to further such linkages (Smith et al. 1996, Roles and Linkages Among Colleges and Universities).

Thus, Ontario's parallel system was considered a strength, however, there is a clear indication that the panel continued to further encourage the development of linkages between the two sectors. The report continued by highlighting the increasing importance of higher education, acknowledging that:

... the importance of higher education to the development of society and to economic prosperity has been recognized. Today, in the midst of global economic, social and political change, a strong and vibrant postsecondary education sector is more important than ever. In this so-called information age, support for knowledge generation in our society, preparation of knowledge workers for our economy, and support for lifelong learning and innovative research in our institutions are key to our collective future. The Panel is convinced that a strong, vital, and accessible university and college system is essential to Ontario's development and competitiveness (Smith et al. 1996, Purposes of Postsecondary Education).

Similar to previous reports, it is evident that the institutions were further pressured to achieve greater productivity in meeting student and employer demands. The panel mentioned the term "global economy" which oriented postsecondary education into the 'new vocationalism.' Additionally, the claim for "lifelong learning" indicated a heavier focus upon entrepreneurship and a means of more practical education, practical for employers and thus for students to obtain employment.

1999: College-University Degree Completion Accord

During the late 90s, the CUCC continued to publish reports on the development of college-university articulation patterns across Ontario. In 1999, universities and colleges signed the *Ontario College-University Degree Completion Accord*, known as the Port Hope Accord (College-University Consortium Council, 1999). The Accord provided a framework for the

development of articulation agreements and joint agreements between colleges and universities.

The goal of the Accord was to persuade colleges and universities to evaluate their credit arrangements, and to organize ways to facilitate credit transfers between the two sectors

(College-University Consortium Council, 1999). The Accord included the following articulation guidelines:

1. This framework is intended to facilitate expansion of degree completion programs in program areas where there is substantial academic affinity. In addition, universities will work to develop new post diploma degrees for college programs for which there are no apparent affinity degrees.
2. It is anticipated that many university and college agreements will involve institutions from all parts of the province. For example, where a university and college develop a program-specific agreement, this agreement could be extended to other interested colleges.
3. Program teams comprised of roughly equal representation by university and college partners will recommend degree completion agreements to their governing bodies through the normal approval processes.
4. To ensure that university admission and degree standards are met, while protecting the viability and broad appeal of college diploma-level studies, project teams should recommend the components of college program curricula which need to be revised or augmented to facilitate the transition from the college to the university degree completion program. Teams may also recommend necessary changes to university degree programs to facilitate direct entry by college graduates.
5. Admission standards to degree completion programs should be based on a specified grade-point average, related external accreditation requirements and workplace demands. Relevant non-academic admission requirements and the availability of space in a program will also be considered (College-University Consortium Council, 1999, p. 1).

The Accord presented how the government of Ontario continued to influence system regulation by addressing the challenges of expansion and differentiation. They had done so by continuing to promote transfer arrangements between the two sectors. Based on the five guidelines, it is evident that the government of Ontario implemented the Accord as a policy instrument to promote an official collaborative environment between the two sectors. For

instance, in the fourth guiding principle, the council suggested that program curricula be augmented to facilitate the needs of students transitioning to either a college or university institution. However, there are deep implications to such system organization as it calls for potential reformation of post-secondary curricula and programming.

A major implication of system reorganization is the process of homogenization, otherwise known as institutional isomorphism (Powell, 2004) which has been a major concept echoed throughout this study. Competition for scarce resources can cause institutions to become more similar because the uniform environmental conditions of competition bring forth similar responses (Zha, 2009, p. 460). In order to survive, institutions have to adapt to the existence of and pressures by other organizations in their environment (Zha, 2009). Institutional isomorphism is a constraining process that forces institutions to resemble other institutions that face the same set of environmental conditions (Zha, 2009, p. 462). Although the Accord encourages colleges and universities to break down pre-existing notions of institutional hierarchies, it simultaneously attempts to redefine the Ontario post-secondary system through the process of institutional isomorphism.

2000: Post-secondary Education Choice and Excellence Act

The year 2000 introduced major changes to the post-secondary education system. The Ontario government published a report, titled *Post-secondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000* which passed new legislation that would allow CAATs to offer degrees in applied areas of study, pending government approval (Government of Ontario, 2013). The Act permits Ontario colleges to offer applied degrees in certain areas subject to the approval of government

and upon the recommendation of a new advisory body established under the act called, The Postsecondary Education Quality Assessment Board (PQAB) (Marshall, 2004).

Originally, the Act of Legislature which established the CAATs back in the 1960s did not allow colleges to offer degrees. However, the 2000 legislation expanded pathways for the approval of college degree programs in applied areas (Fisher & Rubenson, et al., 2009). The underlying theme was that academic education had received most of the attention in previous decades and now it was time to rectify the unevenness and to better serve the interests of the labour market. There is a distinct shift in emphasis away from liberal education towards a vocational and technical education in Ontario. According to Fisher and Rubenson et al. (2009),

The technologically-dominated economy pushed governments to look for ways to increase the links between industry, colleges and universities. The Progressive Conservatives (1995–2003) favoured market principles in achieving these objectives. This government's post-secondary policy emphasized serving labour market needs—that is educational training was linked to the labour market to build industry infrastructure and to sustain industrial competitiveness. This was accomplished through vocationally-oriented programs and through market-oriented research (p. 560).

Therefore, since the year 2000, the government has used targeted funding mechanisms and matching funding programs to emphasize vocationalism and skill development. It has thereby introduced policies that embrace its priorities, such as the 2000 Excellence Act.

One of the most defining differences between the two sectors within Ontario's binary structure was the monopoly assigned to universities over degree-granting status. However, the emergence of applied degree programs signaled an important blurring of the boundaries between the two sectors (Jones, 2004, p. 47). The CAATs implementation of applied degrees further regulates post-secondary education under the ideology of the new vocationalism (Fisher & Rubenson et al., 2009). Reforms as such have caused distress to university institutions as they experience constant pressure to reorient the curriculum towards more practical and technical

skills, having less to do with the liberal arts, social sciences, and the humanities. An applied degree calls for a closer integration between education and the workplace. It has further blurred the distinction between an education pursued for the acquisition of knowledge versus training for the workplace.

Section II

Before I present the analysis surrounding the ‘new vocational discourse,’ it is important to note that CAATs were introduced in Ontario in the 60s in order to address the need of technical skills. Therefore, there is a blending of market discourses and social justice discourses embedded in the policy recommendations. However, it is my intention to identify representation of the new vocational discourse relating to the articulation of college and university institutions.

Vision 2000 Recommendations

In 1990, *Vision 2000* was struck to articulate what the college system should look like in the year 2000. As mentioned, the body concluded that there were concerns regarding the original mandate of CAATs versus their increasing role in the ‘new knowledge-economy.’ The *Vision 2000* report attempted to clarify the purpose of Ontario’s colleges; however, the report also produced recommendations maintaining that CAATs operate with greater responsiveness to the changing and emerging needs of employers, governments, industries, and communities. Additionally, the most controversial recommendations made in the report stressed the issue of college-university articulation which required further cooperation and flexibility between the post-secondary sectors.

Lifelong Learning

Over the last few decades, 'lifelong learning' has enjoyed a remarkable rise as one of the most significant strategic focuses for policy makers all over the world (Kristensson Ugglå, 2008). Among the forty recommendations of *Vision 2000*, the first recommendation introduced the policy theme of *lifelong learning*. According to Nicoll (2006), "Lifelong learning has been identified as a policy concept ... a policy ... a myth ... an object and strategy ... a rhetoric ... social control ... and a 'soft' policy objective" (p. 34). Additionally, lifelong learning has often been recognized as an integral part of a strong democratic commitment concerning the importance of equal opportunities. However, in the case of *Vision 2000*, lifelong learning is identified as a narrative for identity formation. In other words, under the discourse of the new vocationalism, lifelong learning is structured around the development of employment skills required for adapting to and accommodating the existing dynamics of paid workplaces (Livingstone & Mirchandani et al. 2008).

Lifelong learning is one of the core concepts in the strategy set out by the council in *Vision 2000* intended to integrate CAATs with other educational institutions. For instance, in the first recommendation the council noted that,

It is the mandate of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario ... To work together and with other educational institutions to offer students opportunities for educational mobility and lifelong learning (*Vision 2000*, 1990, p. 27).

Therefore, from a vocationalist perspective, the recommendation produced a growing sense that more knowledge than initial schooling was necessary to cope with the changes in advanced market economies. Schooling and adult education continued to be mutually reinforced, given that the more schooling students obtained, the more likely they were to participate in continuing education courses (Livingstone, 2008, p. 20). However, the concept and process of 'learning' was slowly becoming redefined. The key element of learning through knowledge acquisition was

being substituted for organizational learning under 'information processes' (Lambeir, 2005, p. 351). This meant that the concept of 'lifetime learning' would introduce new knowledge for the organizational renewal of colleges and universities.

When *Vision 2000* was released in 1990, universities were also experiencing institutional changes. There were demands to increase the numbers and diversity of students, as well as a crisis in the nature of knowledge for which universities previously stood for (Boud & Solomon et al., 2001). Boud and Solomon et al. (2001) contend that universities were developing programmes that were vocationally centered and departed substantially from the disciplinary framework of university study and which developed new pedagogies for learning (p. 4). College-university collaborations were being influenced by the government of Ontario in order to enable infrastructure that would support the needs of the workplace. As a result, the vision of lifelong learning attempted to gradually integrate work-based learning partnerships and formal arrangements between educational institutions and other organizations (Boud & Solomon et al., 2001).

Developed during the mid-1960s, the community college's original mandate maintained that education was to be closely associated with workforce preparation. However, *Vision 2000* introduced 'lifelong learning' as a strategy for changing working identities. Ontario institutions attempted to integrate vocational and academic curricula and instruction to prepare successful employees for an otherwise unstable economy. Livingstone (1999) contends that,

There are undoubtedly many motives associated with the popular demand for and engagement in adult education. But whether the major motivation is seen to be competition for scarce jobs, the desire to be an effective consumer or citizen, assertion of the democratic right to equal educational opportunity, a more generic quest for knowledge to cope with uncertain times, or even the joy of learning, there is now an almost universal general perception that more education is a fundamental imperative for adults in contemporary society (p. 178).

Therefore, under the imperative of lifelong learning, one of the most common responses to underemployment has been to seek more education and training. As a result, the actual scope of underemployment continues to be underestimated because, as Livingstone (1999) states, it "... remains hidden in the underground economy ... and in the largely invisible credential and performance gaps" (p. 181).

Lifelong learning policies and institutional practices, such as the integration of education and training provisions, reflect and reinforce a desire to respond to the economic challenges of change. In the case of college-university integration, the recommended reforms may seem admirable; however, they remain incapable of resolving the larger issues associated with underemployment. As Livingstone states, "... most political leaders continue to be preoccupied with shuffling education and training deck chairs on increasingly computerized workships while the sea of underemployment mounts" (Livingstone, 1999, p. 182).

Student Mobility

The changing nature of education is emphasized once again by the council in recommendation twenty three, which outlines that:

The Minister of Colleges and Universities should endeavour to expand and improve the opportunities for students to move between the college and university sectors, while maintaining the distinctiveness of each sector (Vision 2000, 1990, p. 96).

From a political point of view, the development of student mobility within postsecondary education systems had been a balancing act between diversity and convergence. This meant that on the one hand, a diversified community college system was essential to meet the varied demands required of students for a skilled labour force (Kyvik, 2008). However, on the other hand, student mobility through institutional diversity had the potential to lead to the convergence

of postsecondary sectors. For instance, although the council had stressed that distinctiveness should be maintained between the two sectors, *Vision 2000* simultaneously reflected the colleges push to increase student mobility between the two sectors.

The bid to increase student mobility between the two sectors influenced harmonization.

For instance, continued under the policy recommendation the council states that:

In addition to improving opportunities for college students to obtain advanced training at a university, we believe that, in some instances, the colleges themselves should provide advanced training ... In some instances it may be appropriate for colleges to share resources in providing these programs (*Vision 2000*, 1990, p. 98).

Therefore, in increasing student mobility, CAATs gradually sought to modify their programs in response to academic training provided by parent institutions, such as universities. This 'academic drift' typically occurs when community colleges and vocational schools creep into areas normally reserved for universities. Thus, rather than strengthen the mandate of CAATs, the policy recommendation attempted to integrate post-secondary resources to accommodate 'advanced training' for the new knowledge economy.

The attempt to imitate and/or integrate university curricula by CAATs is a central theme and reoccurring phenomenon throughout the study that DiMaggio and Powell (1983) term as 'institutional isomorphism' (p. 149). It contributes to the blurring of the system boundaries between university and non-university institutions - via the college's adoption of curriculum structures - similar to those of universities. In attempting to enhance student mobility, the isomorphic tendencies of colleges and universities have caused new tensions and/or dilemmas both between and within institutions (Pinheiro & Kyvik, 2011). According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983),

Once disparate organizations in the same line of business are structured into an actual field (as we shall argue, by competition, the state, or the professions), powerful forces emerge that lead them to become more similar to one another. Organizations may change

their goals or develop new practices, and new organizations enter the field ... Thus, organizations may try to change constantly; but, after a certain point in the structuration of an organizational field, the aggregate effect of individual change is to lessen the extent of diversity within the field (pp. 148-149).

Therefore, this is precisely what had occurred in the case of post-secondary institutions in Ontario. Based on the council's recommendation, the plan to accommodate student mobility between the two sectors went beyond searching for ways to enhance 'advanced training.' The council used 'advanced training' initiatives to redefine the ways students perceived their individual, social, and economic potentials if they were to participate in the 'new knowledge economy.'

Advanced Training

Another theme associated with the new vocational discourse included the council's notion of 'advanced training.' In recommendation twenty four the council suggests that,

The college system should develop comprehensive programs of advanced training, on a selective basis, to address student needs. Graduates of such programs should receive a unique credential at the post-diploma level (Vision 2000, 1990, p. 98).

Additionally, recommendation twenty five outlined how the government should implement advanced training into the curricula of CAAT institutions, stating that,

The government should establish a provincial institute "without walls" for advanced training to:

- Facilitate the development and co-ordination of arrangements between colleges and universities for combined college-university studies;
- Offer combined college-university degree programs, with instruction based at and provided by colleges and universities;
- Recommend, where appropriate, to the College Standards and Accreditation Council the development of college-based programs of advanced training with a unique credential at the post-diploma level (Vision 2000, 1990, p. 99).

Once again, it is clear that the council called for closer articulation between CAATs and university institutions and curricula. Additionally, the council called for vocational education to integrate with academic content in order to accommodate ‘school-based learning’ with ‘work-based learning’ (Grubb, 1996). The push for ‘advanced training’ further blurs the college-university binary divide. Furthermore, the council continues to redefine public perception about the role and mandate of each institution.

The concept ‘advanced training’ in the new vocational economy calls for the integration of academic and vocational education. It adds a work-based component to learning contrary to that of traditional higher education (Kolde, 1999). Kolde (1999) defines the integration of vocational and academic instruction as, “... the linking of academic skills instruction to vocational applications to enhance student learning” (p. 454). Thus, advanced training initiatives may seem like an appropriate direction for postsecondary institutions and students in the new vocational economy; however, it is also important to question whether the initiatives undermine education for the sake of knowledge acquisition.

Similar debates have been issued by university representatives who have been critical of policy initiatives surrounding college-university articulation agreements in Ontario (Arnold, 2011). They contend that smooth articulation requires collaborations among post-secondary education institutions which would eventually cause reformation of curricula. To further this debate, Marks (1999) suggests that:

Using education as a preparation for work is manifestly not the same as being educated for work. Framed as questions, do we want an education system which enhances the lives and intellects of those within (helping maximize their potential to become thoughtful, creative citizens) or do we want a ‘sausage factory’, moulding people into proscribed work-roles, crushing intellectual creativity as it does so? ... It is my contention that a healthy education system (and by definition a healthy society) can only be maintained when knowledge is an end *in itself* (p. 163).

Therefore, it cannot be ignored that universities have always trained people for the labour force, and in this sense 'academic capitalism' has its own history. However, it is important that 'advanced training' under the new vocationalism does not completely consume higher education institutions. Higher learning has broad cultural, humanistic, and social objectives that liberal education reflects and sustains (Axelrod, 2002, p. 93). To turn higher education into a mere market commodity is to betray the generations of students yet to be.

Task Force on Advanced Training Recommendations (No Dead Ends Report)

The *No Dead Ends Report* also recommended major structural changes to the post-secondary sector. The Task Force stated that, "... the lack of any agency in Ontario that might have bridged the gap between colleges and universities has made the work of this Task Force specifically challenging" (Pitman, 1993, p. 16). It was recognized by the Task Force that the nature of the student body in colleges and universities was changing, given that, "... it is older, more experienced, and comes from an increasingly differentiated community. It expects opportunities for lifelong learning from colleges and universities ... an expectation that is shared by the workforce" (Pitman, 1993, p. 17). Therefore, the task force uses language - specific to the new vocational discourse - that initiates long term strategies for post-secondary restructuring which would eventually benefit the economy.

Inter-sectoral Transfer

Three years after *Vision 2000* was released, the *No Dead Ends Report (1993)* took one step further to eliminate barriers to 'intersectoral transfer.' Recommendation two highlighted that:

... barriers to inter-sectoral transfer for postsecondary learners be eliminated. In order to achieve this goal, a mechanism must be developed to facilitate such transfer and to provide accessible, widely available, and comprehensive information on credit transfer opportunities in Ontario; membership on any body advising on transfer shall include equal representation from the colleges and universities as well as representation from the private sector and learners (Pitman, 1993, p. 86)

It is interesting to note that the language used in the report had changed significantly in comparison to the *Vision 2000* report. Pitman used a tone of language that was much more demanding in order to stress the complete elimination to barriers between the two sectors. Earlier reports, such as *Vision 2000*, stressed that, “The Minister of Colleges and Universities should endeavour to expand and improve the opportunities for students to move between the college and university sectors, while maintaining the *distinctiveness* of each sector” (Vision 2000, 1990, p. 96). Therefore, the council in *Vision 2000* maintained that each sector remain ‘distinctive,’ whereas Pitman merely stresses that he wanted to remove any barriers that prevented inter-sectoral transfers, which would eliminate the binary divide (Pitman, 1993).

Economic Renewal

In the third recommendation, Pitman contends that college and university institutions should form close partnerships to benefit the economy. The Task Force outlines that:

... the importance of the partnership of colleges, universities, and the employment sector be recognized in providing opportunities for individual development and in contributing to the economic renewal of the province through the provision of advanced training programs (Pitman, 1993, p. 86).

Therefore, economic renewal through collaborative motives became a central concept to the rise of capitalist knowledge (Levin, 2000). Corporations in the new economy treat advanced knowledge as a raw material that can be claimed as a product or service. According to Levin (2000), “...these behaviors suggest that in the 1990s, the mission of the community colleges had

less emphasis on education and more on training; less emphasis upon community social needs and more on the economic needs of business and industry; less upon individual development and more upon workforce preparation and re-training (p. 2). Therefore, it became evident that college-university articulation in the new economy was more suited to the rhetoric and demands of the global economy.

Additionally, in order to create a more seamless partnership between the two sectors, Pitman suggested the establishment of Ontario Institute for Advanced Training (OIAT). OIAT would "... initiate, negotiate, coordinate, promote and allocate funds for advanced training" additionally recommending that "the OIAT be granted specific designated degree-granting power" (Pitman, 1993, pp. 11-13). Once again, the council had taken steps to increase college-university articulation by expanding the range of institutions with an authority to award degrees. By establishing partnerships and institutes that led to a degree, the government reflected the push towards the privatization of post-secondary education. Inter-sectoral partnerships and collaborations were a convenient way to cut administration costs and share resources during a period of high student demands and decreased government funding (Levin, 2000).

Smith Report Recommendations

The panel representatives in the *Smith Report (1996)*, arrived at eighteen recommendations generally endorsing that, "... post-secondary education must evolve in a way which provides the opportunity for a high-quality learning experience to every Ontarian who is motivated to seek it and who has the ability to pursue it" (Smith et al., 1996, Our Approach to the Mandate). This operating framework guided the panel to produce several themes regarding college and university mandates, such as: adequacy of resources; performance; accountability;

differentiation in strengths; and a less regulated environment (Smith et al., 1996, *Our Approach to the Mandate*). The report endorsed further linkages between the two sectors, including the need to eliminate barriers to credit transfers which were supposedly limiting CAATs and its students.

Privatization

It is important to note that during the mid-1990s, Canada's economic situation was in rough shape with a federal deficit of more than 40 billion dollars in 1992-1993 (Kelly & Caputo, 2011). It was a bad time to be in poor fiscal shape given that the world economy had fallen into a sharp recession. In response to tough economic times, Ontario's Conservative government - led by then Conservative Premier Mike Harris - responded by cutting education funding.

Consequently, Ontario's post-secondary education funding fell by 21 percent while enrolment increased by 8 percent (Kelly & Caputo, 2011). Therefore, this restructuring increased pressure on the province to create a political and economic context that encouraged the development of public-private partnerships. Partnerships between the public and the private sectors became the central mechanism for the implementation of the privatization agenda (Kelly & Caputo, 2011).

Furthermore, one of the *Smith Report* panel's primary objectives was to highlight financial concerns in post-secondary education. The panel insisted that total financial support for colleges and universities from private and public sources was very inadequate (Smith et al., 1996). This assessment was based on a variety of measures the panel had examined, including total financial support available to public post-secondary institutions in other jurisdictions in North America. The panel recommended that:

... provincial government support of universities and colleges in Ontario be comparable to the average for other Canadian provinces and be reasonably in line with government

support of major public university and college systems in the United States. This goal should be achieved by arresting reductions in government grants now and by building towards this goal over several years in ways that strengthen excellence and accessibility (Smith et al., 1996, *The level of Government Support*).

Based on the cuts in education funding, it became quite evident why the government continued to push for further collaborations and partnerships between the two sectors. Post-secondary institutions were experiencing major cuts in operating budgets making it difficult to keep up with the demands for new higher education institutions. Universities alone were being placed in impossible situations as they had no choice but to raise student tuition fees, and increase reliance on private contracts and donations from wealthy individuals and corporations to fund their operations (Clark & Moran et al., 2009). Therefore, the government's tactic was to create collaborations between the two sectors which would generate more students through greater curricular accessibility and promote the new vocational vision for the "knowledge economy."

International Training/Globalization

Further recommendations by the panel identified the impact globalization was having on the function of community colleges in Ontario. Globalization had manifested in a scramble by colleges to attract international students to Canadian campuses through increased partnerships between CAATs and foreign educational institutions, and through increased public-private partnerships with domestic public colleges (MacKay, 2014). As outlined in recommendation nine:

We recommend that colleges explore more actively private and international training programs and that the provincial government's coordinating and regulatory role be supportive. The terms of centralized collective agreements in the colleges should take into account the need for flexibility to develop these programs. More broadly, there are growing opportunities for partnerships with private institutions on education and research programs. It is the responsibility of all colleges and universities to have guidelines that

preserve the integrity of their institutions in such partnerships (Smith et al., 1996, Private Sector Support).

Therefore, there was an evident drive by the panel to promote CAATs as competitors and profit generators in the “global-knowledge economy,” in which educational curricula was being transformed into intellectual capital that could be sold internationally (MacKay, 2014, p. 18).

The push for CAATs to forge international links was partly due to decreasing government funding and a desire for colleges to profit from higher international student tuitions. The panel’s motive to promote international training would direct post-secondary education into the new vocational economy, moving colleges further from their original mandate in serving local communities.

Partnerships/Collaborations

As proposed in previous recommendations, the panel suggested closer linkages be made between college and university institutions. However, previous reports stressed closer articulation patterns between the two sectors, whereas recommendation fourteen highlights that:

... in order for colleges and universities to meet expected enrolment increases, the government should encourage institutional initiatives and arrangements for expanding the geographic reach of programs and for using existing physical facilities more intensively, and should not plan at this time the construction of a new college or university (Smith et al., 1996, Meeting Future Needs).

Therefore, the panel proposed that CAATs and universities expand their programs without the construction of new institutions. A proposal as such insinuated that partnerships and/or collaborations would form between institutions to ensure that students had access to learning opportunities in a coordinated system. College-university programs would include students taking courses on both college and the university campuses (Floyd & Skolnik et al., 2005).

Efforts as such, further blurred the lines between the college and university mandates in Ontario, especially when it came to preparing the university population for entry into the workplace.

This form of the new vocational discourse is a reflection of ‘new public management’ processes which became hegemonic policy drivers (Wheelahan, 2012). Influenced through a neo-liberal ideology, the panel was led by the marketization - and eventually privatization - of education. Both education and training became subordinate to economic policy initiatives through the reforms of the mid-90s. Wheelahan (2012) argues that:

Everywhere, education was seen as crucial to economic competitiveness, mobilized for economic reconstruction, and embedded in micro-economic reform, corporatization and marketization. The formation of citizens in education was subordinated to its new economic mission ... this time the objective was not so much the broad development of the skills and talents of the nation ... but the development of those specific aspects of education and research that assisted national economic competitiveness (p. 102).

Wheelahan further explains that, “... the consequences of this went beyond *how* education was delivered, to what education was designed to do” (p. 102). This ideology was reflected through the panel’s policy initiative in recommendation fourteen. The new vocationalism was associated with valorizing education due to the contribution it made to ‘economic performance.’ The post-secondary education system, including the curriculum and institutional facilities, were being reformed to meet this goal.

Based on the analysis it is evident that the Ontario government had developed and used various intergovernmental bodies to implement articulation policies surrounding the ‘new vocational discourse.’ The Ontario government would have been bankrupt if it attempted to meet the growing demands for education by building additional universities during the 1960s. In 1965, William Davis, then Education Minister, announced that the introduction of CAATs would produce a “binary post-secondary education system” (Ontario Department of Education, 1967). However, as outlined in the policy recommendations, the government slowly changed

institutional mandates by trying to deviate away from the traditional binary model. The reports attempted to promote harmonized system-wide mandates that would eventually enhance student and economic performance in the province of Ontario.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This research presented a chronological analysis of articulation policies since the 1960s, in order to better understand how the ‘new vocationalism’ influenced formal linkages between CAAT and university institutions. When analyzing articulation policies between 1962 and 2000, it is apparent that the new vocational discourse is the driving force behind the decision to implement credit transfer functions between the two post-secondary sectors in Ontario. The introduction of CAATs has played an instrumental role in affecting institutional and curricular responsiveness to the marketplace, as well as influencing the current relationship that exists between college-university sectors.

Summary of Findings

As discussed, the ‘new vocationalism’ has resulted in the shift away from the broad welfare state. It is instead, driven by the imperative of STEM citizens for the emerging regime of ‘lean’ production (Sears, 2003). This ‘lean regime’ requires a population with highly differentiated expectations and capacities to meet the needs of an increasingly polarized labour market (Sears, 2003). As a result, vocational trades and disciplines have become increasingly sophisticated. They require higher order thinking with an emphasis on career pathways that extend from the entry level to the professional level in career fields integral to the new economy (Bragg, 2001). Work in the new vocationalism, requires an integration of academic and technical concepts to solve “real world problems.” Therefore, the integration of academic and vocational curricula has been crucial to the preparation of successful employees and lifelong learners (Bragg, 2001).

During the mid-1960s, the Ontario government increasingly supported corporate policy initiatives. The influence of neoliberal reforms addressed the need for technical skills and programming in both the labour market and higher education sectors. Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs) were introduced to provide relevant vocational training in order to create a 'skilled workforce' that could contribute to the province's changing economy (Jones, 1991). Colleges and universities were eventually challenged by governments, and businesses, to work together effectively to meet emerging higher education needs. As a result, proposals for formal articulation between the two sectors were introduced through the *Vision 2000* (1990) report. Among the forty recommendations of *Vision 2000* was a strong urging that greater college-university program articulation be a priority (Vision 2000, 1990). This was seen as an ironic turn of events since neither the college nor university sectors had demonstrated a particularly high degree of cooperation (Jones, 1991).

Articulation policies have been intended to improve student access, teaching, learning, and increase programme diversification. However, these developments have predominately been part of the hegemonic project facilitated by the state. In other words, part of the government's neoliberal approach has been to treat citizens and students like customers through schooling the masses (Shor, 1987). Education has been targeted as a key component in creating economic human capital (Smith, 2001). The government is therefore, promoting the interests of corporations whose main goal revolves around the pursuit of profit (Finn, 2007). Part of this neoliberal market ideology has been to develop and expand information technologies and industries. Consequently, the primary goal of the postsecondary system, since the 1960s, has been to provide industries with required human capital by influencing the trend for vocational and skills-oriented career development (Hyslop-Marginson & Sears, 2007).

Additionally, the relationship between the two sectors has further increased competition for resources. Marshall (2008) refers to the expansion of credit transfers and non-university degree-granting institutions, contending that:

... this expansion of degree types and degree-granting institutions continues to generate confusion about the meaning and value of new undergraduate degrees delivered by non-university institutions. More specifically, as the graduates of these degrees enter the workforce and seek further credentials, confusion is arising regarding the preparation of these graduates for further study (p. 2).

Therefore, when supply and demand does not meet the expectations of labour market needs, new suppliers of post-secondary education surface. Although both sectors have gradually adapted their organizations to meet credit transfer demands, they are each competing for the same resources. The expansion of post-secondary providers may include 'differentiated' and/or 'diversified' programming, however, their vocational nature suggests otherwise.

Increased pathways to credit transfers have produced 'diversified postsecondary programming.' This concept may sound democratizing as it broadens the possibility of student access to postsecondary education. However, the concept of 'diversified programming' has been limited specifically to vocationally oriented curricula. The crossing of vocational and academic programming has in many ways caused a 'sectoral hegemony,' otherwise known as 'institutional isomorphism' (Zha, 2009). This means that in order to survive, organizations have had to adapt to the existence of and pressures by other organizations. Since postsecondary institutions have been leaning towards curricula that respond to the demands of specific vocational occupations, adaptation processes tend to lead to homogenization. Therefore, Isomorphism is a constraining process that has forced organizations to resemble other organizations that face the same set of environmental conditions (Zha, 2009, p. 462).

The process of 'differentiation' and/or 'diversification' is intended to broaden student access to postsecondary education (Varghese & Puttman, 2011). However, the 'diversification' of post-secondary education is intended for a certain type of knowledge production. That is, to meet the immediate requirements of production sectors. With the emergence of the 'knowledge economy,' it is widely believed that the future growth potential of the economy depends on its capacity to produce knowledge. However, the immediate demand is, perhaps, more for the use of knowledge in production rather than for knowledge production per se. The new vocational market values the development of knowledge that is instrumental and operational (Varghese & Puttman, 2011). In other words, the emphasis appears to be more on competencies and skills rather than insight and reflection.

This shift in knowledge production represents the conception of 'knowledge,' from 'knowing as contemplation to knowing as operation' (Varghese & Puttman, 2011, p. 14). Varghese and Puttman (2011) contend that, "... the operationalism of knowledge implies producing operatives for managing the economy: it views knowledge as a commodity to be transacted in the marketplace and graduates as products to be used in the production process" (p. 14). Operational skills are therefore, defined and specified by labour markets, which are then developed by higher education institutions. These processes that have required close interaction with the productive sectors have reshaped postsecondary education curricula.

Government policies over the years have privileged certain academic endeavours over others. These namely include, applied science, high technology, business, selected professions, and mission-oriented research, all at the expense of social sciences, humanities, and basic scholarly inquiry (Axelrod, 2002, p. 86). Thus, as demonstrated throughout this study, articulation policies implemented in Ontario since the mid-1960s expanded access to a specific

type of knowledge that was being integrated into the market economy (Slaughter & Rhodes, 2004). Consequently, policies in support of vocationally oriented programming have created problems for students that complete liberal arts majors, making it difficult to integrate the credentials into the new vocationally oriented market economy (Cote & Allahar, 2011).

Based on the research and discussion presented thus far, it is evident that CAATs were introduced to the Ontario post-secondary landscape in order to re-orient post-secondary education to the marketplace and fulfill the needs of the ‘new knowledge economy.’ With the collapse of socialism in the 20th century, neoliberalism became the dominant ideological force for economic and social policy development. Its policies achieved consensus as the only “natural” or “rational” approach to manage the economy (Hyslop-Margison & Leonard, 2012). Neoliberals advocated for increased market dominance in all areas of public policy development (Hyslop-Margison & Leonard, 2012, p. 2). The push for the neoliberal agenda in higher education has resulted in postsecondary institutions existing in a highly market driven environment, in which public support has not kept pace with institutional needs nor the rising cost of education (Zha, 2009).

Additionally, neo-liberalism is associated with the politics of privatization which have provided the basis for strategies to reduce the size of the state, and to reduce accumulated national debt (Peters, 2004). This has been witnessed through the implementation of CAAT institutions, as well as the push for college-university articulation and collaboration. For instance, by 1996, the panel in the Smith Report recommended that the government should, “... expand the geographic reach of programs by using existing physical facilities more intensively, and should not plan the construction of new colleges and universities” (Smith et al. 1996, Meeting Future Needs). Therefore, formal collaborations between the two sectors prevented the

government from spending additional costs in building new institutions. This type of competitive ordering also resulted in a new type of approach to academia. It resulted in a state-engineered 'market-driven' programme, introduced to increase the responsiveness of universities to the market order and the market interests of their customers (Olssen & Peters, 2005).

The neoliberal economic agenda has weakened public control over education. It has encouraged the privatization of educational services through greater reliance on market forces (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Both university and college institutions have been dominated by managerial style administrations. As a result, students are considered clients and/or customers of postsecondary institutions, and are advised to prepare for an uncertain occupational future. At the same time, students are led to believe that such circumstances stand outside the scope of their own political agency (Hyslop-Margison & Leonard, 2012).

Neoliberalism has made it easier for individuals to accept that their fate is entirely in their hands, and not contingent on the neo-liberal system. Neo-liberalism as a political philosophy involves a return to a primitive form of *individualism*, which according to Peters (2004) consists of an individualism that is, "... "competitive," "possessive," and construed often in times of the doctrine of "consumer sovereignty" (p. 19). Therefore, neoliberalism favors individual rights over collective rights. As Giroux (2014) states, "... it construes profit-making as the essence of democracy, consuming as the only operable form of citizenship, and upholds the irrational belief that the market can both solve all problems and serve as a model for structuring all social relations" (Protesting Youth in an Age of Neoliberal Savagery, 2014, para, 2).

According to Marx (1981), the structure of capitalism alienates workers from the products of their labour and from themselves as labourers whose work is not free, spontaneous or even their own (Marx & Engels et al., 1981). Under the neo-liberal ideology, the new vocationalism

has further alienated students from knowledge as the very basis of schooling reflects the needs of the labour market. Education is not seen as an enriching or liberating process in and of itself, but rather as a means to an end (Gleeson, 2012). Although schools have always functioned to serve the needs of capitalist production, the integration of vocational and academic curricula reflects the growth of knowledge-based employment. As a result, labour cannot so easily be separated from life. In the emerging new economy, workers are being displaced rapidly by the introduction of new technologies (Sidorkin, 2004). Under such a system, people are defined by the external value of their labour rather than their intrinsic human worth and identity.

From its foundation, systematic, popular or public education has always had a vocational content and function, even if it has not been recognized as such (Axelrod et al., 2002). However, the purpose of the new vocationalism was intended to provide a more inclusive and general workforce preparation than existing models of vocationalism. For instance, enrolments in the liberal arts and humanities were relatively stable across Ontario during the 1970s and 1980s; however, a significant shift occurred at the end of the nineties (Axelrod et al., 2002). In the fall of 1998 the registrations in liberal arts programs in the province's universities declined by more than 17 percent, while enrolments in business, engineering, and computer science increased (Axelrod et al., 2002. p. 218). In this case, significant changes occurred in the early 1990s which prompted students and the public to place greater emphasis on the occupational rather than the intellectual value of higher education.

Neo-Marxist theorists, such as Apple (2000) and Ball (2012), contend that arriving at reform policy initiatives is the result of negotiations and trade-offs between those in position of power. Based on the issues raised in the articulation policies, it can be concluded that *elitism* characterized Ontario's policy processes (Pinto, 2012). Government representatives and

ministries were organized to apply, attend, or otherwise participate in the policy process. According to Pinto (2012), "... bureaucrats argued that all Ontarians had the opportunity to review draft documents and provide feedback in writing" (p. 173). However, one wonders how marginalized individuals and groups find themselves part of the process. Therefore, the hand-picked writers, panel representatives, and task-force committees, were expected to conform to a particular vision of post-secondary education. In this process, the government eliminated the possibility of perspectives that would address the importance of a binary division between the college and university sectors.

The issue of credit transfer has been a major topic of interest for the Ontario government, the institutions, as well as university and college students. From the government's perspective, the implementation of articulation policies has been a financial incentive. In other words, one way the government has dealt with the challenges of collaboration is to look at higher education institutions as economic producers (Boggs & Trick, 2009). The government of Ontario has used an economic policy agenda to, "... enter into agreement with another producer to jointly produce the good or service, with each of the producers having some control over venture, and each sharing in the costs and benefits" (Boggs & Trick, 2009, p. 2).

Additionally, from the perspective of colleges and universities, establishing articulation systems has facilitated further competition between the sectors. For instance, it has often been claimed that the purpose of articulation agreements and collaborative programs is to combine the benefits of applied education (provided by the colleges) and academic or theoretical education (provided by university). Boggs and Trick (2009) find this to be true in some cases but not others (p. 9). They contend that many collaborations and/or intersectoral transfers involve Business or Applied Science, where the difference between a college program and a university program

relates primarily to the depth of knowledge rather than the extent to which the education is “applied” or “hands-on” (Boggs & Trick, 2009, p. 9). Therefore, universities have expanded interest in applied learning – in forms of internships, co-op placements, research experiences, and community engagement – which suggests that the perception of university education as being purely theoretical is likely to be even less true in the future (Boggs & Trick, 2009). Therefore, the binary divide that was quite prominent forty years ago has blurred rapidly over the years.

Finally, from the student perspective, students are increasingly pressured by the new vocational economy to be equipped with both technical and applied skills, to be considered employable. Cote and Allahar (2011) assert that because students are competing within a vocationally oriented market, they are experiencing a difficult time when it comes to distinguishing *education* from *training* (p. 14). They believe that, “When considering higher education in terms of the personal/intellectual transformative potentials of the liberal arts and sciences and the competency-enhancing potentials of vocational-type programs, it is thus pedagogically crucial to distinguish *education* from *training*” (Cote & Allahar, 2011, p. 14). Personally, I agree with the analysis presented by Cote and Allahar’s as they further stress that, “... while one may be trained in engineering, one can only be educated in the liberal arts and sciences: education and training are not inimical to one another; they merely speak to different moments in the complex process of teaching, learning, and sharing information” (p. 15). Therefore, college-university integration policies over the years have influenced a ‘creeping vocationalism’ in the post-secondary system. This push towards the new vocational economy has caused a ‘sectoral hegemony’ in post-secondary curricula as students’ favor the pursuit of education and/or training that is directly tied to the labour market.

Recommendations

As presented in this study, college-university articulation policies in Ontario have blurred the former post-secondary binary. Influenced through a neoliberal ideology, the government's push towards the new vocationalism has caused a 'creeping vocationalism' in post-secondary curricula. Some of the consequences of the new vocationalism for post-secondary education include: increased student alienation caused by the integration of knowledge and skills learning; the neo-liberal influence on education which has led to cuts in post-secondary funding, causing college-university collaborations; increased privatization of post-secondary education; has decreased academic autonomy of university institutions; finally, the push towards the new vocationalism has neglected programs in the humanities, and social sciences while technical training and professionalization has steadily eroded higher education curricula. It is important to summarize the consequences of the new vocationalism on college and university institutions in order to suggest recommendations which can potentially foster the original mandate of each institution.

First of all, the university's academic autonomy is of great concern. Universities were designed for the preservation and dissemination of scholarship and education (Kyvik, 2008). Thus, it is concerning that the belief in the declining value of liberal arts has become a major part of the rhetoric of educational restructuring. As demonstrated through the chronological analysis of articulation policies, the authors gradually chose not to distinguish between 'education' and 'training.' They failed to acknowledge the pedagogical differences between liberal education and pseudo-vocational courses of study. Therefore, it is important that all stakeholders debate and discuss the future mission of the contemporary university and the role of liberal arts and sciences.

Additionally, across Canada, governments are less inclined than ever to allow universities to control their own academic futures. When governments cut back, they prioritize. When it comes to post-secondary education the STEM disciplines almost inevitably win out. Sears (2003) contemplates that, "... there is some tendency in the current educational regime to stratify cultural education, so that the elite has access to a more traditional liberal education while the mass of students are offered a more instrumental competency-oriented curriculum" (p. 102). Therefore, the liberal arts and sciences should be promoted as part of lifelong learning and made more accessible to those of all walks of life instead of being sold as status symbols and credentials primarily to young people from more affluent backgrounds (Cote & Allahar, 2011).

As well, Canadian universities and colleges have signed thousands of articulation agreements since the 1990s, outlining how credits can be transferred between the two sectors. Ontario boasts 14 collaborations to date, and the provincial government continues to press schools to partner in order to absorb growing demands without having to make costly expansions to existing institutions (Bradshaw, 2011). However, these collaborations can make for controversial relationships. For instance, in the case of two Ontario partnerships the mixing of mandates has generated friction. Eleven university degree programs in the social sciences, humanities, social work and commerce have grown exponentially since they were first housed at Georgian College since 2001 (Bradshaw, 2011). But Laurentian students at Georgian's campus in Barrie Ontario, state that even though they pay about \$800 more in tuition, they have no adequate library, and are starved for extracurricular options. Therefore, if new articulations and collaborations are to take effect between college and university institutions, it is important that adequate funding is distributed to the partnerships. This should be ensured so that the quality of

higher education programmes – which are located in partnership institutions - is consistent with those offered at university campuses.

Finally, given that Ontario's post-secondary system was initially created as a binary system, it comes as no surprise that university leaders have rarely viewed colleges as institutions that can benefit them. By addressing the various dimensions of post-secondary education, such as institutional relationships and structures, it becomes quite evident that post-secondary institutions are having a difficult time maintaining their original mandates in the new vocational economy. However, as credit transfer discussions continue to move forward, stakeholders need to review the type of education system that the province of Ontario needs while maintaining distinct boundaries between the concepts of 'training' and 'education.'

Future Research

For future research on the topic of post-secondary articulation patterns, it would be interesting to conduct a comparative analysis of Ontario's articulation policies with other provinces in Canada. This would determine whether higher education institutions in Ontario have been successful in maintaining their autonomy compared to institutions in other provinces. Additionally, it would be interesting to examine the implementation of Ontario's applied baccalaureate degree. Community colleges have blurred the binary divide even further, as some institutions that were specifically non-degree granting have begun to offer degrees and have taken on some of the characteristics of traditional degree-granting institutions. There have been ongoing arguments either for or against the applied baccalaureate degree. It would be useful to explore whether the applied degree has further oriented education and programming towards the needs of the marketplace.

Conclusion

In this study, I have examined how the ‘new vocationalism’ influenced post-secondary reforms since the 1960s which led to blurring the former college-university binary in Ontario. I used discourse analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002) under the framework of interpretive policy analysis (Yanow, 2000) in order to critically analyze documents reflecting college-university articulation policies in Ontario, from 1962 to 2000. Interpretive policy analysis has been applied as a research method to provide: a) a chronological overview of the data, and b) an analysis of the new vocational discourse. After analyzing the documents it can be concluded that articulation policies - influenced by new vocational discourses - have been deliberately implemented by the government of Ontario since the 1960s, in order to reorient post-secondary education to the marketplace and fulfill the needs of the ‘new knowledge economy.’ Although policy stakeholders called for a ‘differentiating’ post-secondary landscape by the year 2000, the research has found that articulation policies have indeed influenced a ‘creeping vocationalism’ in post-secondary curricula which has led to a ‘sectoral hegemony.’ In other words, the new vocational economy has reduced focus in concentrations such as arts, humanities, and social sciences. Government investments have increased in STEM related disciplines, transforming knowledge into a profitable market commodity.

Since the early 1980s, neoliberal policies have led to steady declines in tax and government revenues, and increases in income inequality. The neoliberal turn in national and Ontario politics has had direct impacts on the reformation of post-secondary education. In keeping with the neoliberal ideology of the Harris government during the mid-90s, changes were made which increased the competitive nature of the post-secondary environment. In order to reduce the county’s deficit, the conservative government of Ontario cut education funding.

Instead of building new universities, articulation policies were implemented to encourage credit transfers between CAATs and university institutions. Over the years, community colleges and universities have been pressured to collaborate and form inter-sectoral partnerships. The Ontario government's neoliberal vision has been to implement collaborations between the sectors in order to generate more students by increasing institutional and curricular accessibility.

Additionally, this new focus on postsecondary vocationalism has caused a 'creeping vocationalism' in higher education institutions. New pedagogical approaches that combine workplace-based experimental learning and classroom-based cognitive learning are offering instructional alternatives to deliver the skills needed in a knowledge-based economy (Sattler, 2011). As presented in this study, new vocational curricula have been problematic due to the concern that workplace learning has been privileged over theoretical learning. A feature of this system crisis is the confusion between 'education' and 'training.' As stated by Cote and Allahar (2011), "Education, as embodied in the liberal arts and sciences, involves a critical analysis of arguments and the ability to communicate ideas. In contrast, training involves a memorization of facts and procedures. To dismiss this distinction and embrace the confusion between education and training is analogous to confusing an apple with an orange" (p. 103). Therefore, rather than raising educational standards and encouraging the public involvement of students, the instrumental approach to education may actually lead to increased alienation within the post-secondary education system.

Task forces, commissions, and committees have been organized by the government of Ontario, since the 1960s, in order to recommend articulation policy initiatives that have reoriented college-university institutions to the new vocational economy. Sector coordination has indeed increased student mobility, influenced student participation rates, and has enabled

resource use between sectors. However, the reforms have ensured that the interest of the market economy is the primary focus of post-secondary education. As a result, the new vocationalism has shifted the balance between social, economic, and personal needs too far into the direction of the labour market, threatening the original mandate of university and college institutions in Ontario.

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Appendix I – *Vision 2000 Recommendations*

Recommendation 1 -

The Government of Ontario and the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology should adopt the following mandate for Ontario's colleges:

Preamble

Education has an essential role to play in the development of a world which is peaceful, environmentally sound, equitable and economically viable. Education should help to balance individual and community needs, and foster personal initiative and co-operation within human relationships based on mutual respect.

Education should give people the opportunity to develop the skills and knowledge they need to adapt to and make a constructive contribution to the world in which they live. Education should enhance students' choices and opportunities, and promote the development of individual potential. It should also assist learners in developing their commitment to social responsibility and care for the communities in which they live, and respect for cultural integrity and self-determination of those whose language and traditions may be different from their own.

It is the mandate of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario:

To provide high-quality career education that enhances students' ability to acquire information, reason clearly, think critically, communicate effectively, apply their knowledge and participate in society as informed and productive citizens. To make a college education as accessible as possible. Accessibility should include the opportunity to succeed, as well as the opportunity to enrol, and it must be provided in a way that achieves educational equity.

To be responsible, as a system, for quality assurance through system-wide standards and program review.

To work together and with other educational institutions to offer students opportunities for educational mobility and lifelong learning.

To create a dynamic, learner-driven system by anticipating and accommodating the diverse needs of students, both full-time and part-time: enrolled in credit and non-credit courses.

To forge partnerships in and with their communities, including employers, labour, community groups and governments.

To be participatory institutions in which decision-making involves both internal and external stakeholders.

To be model employers in the manner in which they invest in and manage human resource development, in their commitment to equity and in the creation of a positive, healthy and supportive working environment.

Recommendation 2

There should be a significant increase in the generic skills and general education content of programs leading to a college credential to ensure an equivalence of learning outcomes between these components and specific occupational skills.

Recommendation 3

There should be system-wide standards for all programs leading to a college credential. Such standards must focus on the learning outcomes expected of graduates from a program.

Recommendation 4

All programs leading to a college credential should be subject to regular, system-wide program review for the purposes of accreditation.

Recommendation 5

A College Standards and Accreditation Council (CSAC) should be established, with participation of internal and external stakeholders and with executive authority in the areas of system-wide program standards, review and accreditation.

Recommendation 6

Every college should have in place:

- educational equity policies and formally defined measures for implementing and monitoring those policies;
- race and ethnic relations policies to promote tolerance and understanding between peoples of different cultures and races;
- mechanisms to monitor employment equity policies to ensure that college personnel, boards and committees are representative of the diverse communities they serve; and
- mechanisms for building and maintaining effective partnerships with special communities and for advocating on their behalf on issues of educational equity.

Recommendation 7

The Ministry of Colleges and Universities should require every college board of governors to include in the college's annual report to the Minister a specific "Serving Communities" section outlining college activities in the areas of educational equity, race relations, employment equity and community outreach activities.

Recommendation 8

The Council of Regents should develop system-wide guidelines to assist colleges in developing educational equity policies. The Council should also produce and disseminate an annual report on college initiatives in serving communities.

Recommendation 9

Every college should, where necessary, conduct assessments of the literacy and numeracy levels of applicants to college credential programs for the purpose of appropriate placement. The need for assessment of an individual student should be at the discretion of the college.

Recommendation 10

Ontario's colleges should provide preparatory courses designed to meet the needs of those with a secondary school diploma or equivalent seeking admission to college credential programs. These courses may be offered in conjunction with local school boards.

Recommendation 11

The Ministry of Colleges and Universities should provide explicit funding to the colleges for preparatory courses in a manner consistent with the funding of college post-secondary programs.

Recommendation 12

The college system should continue to be a major provider of adult basic education.

Recommendation 13

The provincial government should accept responsibility for the co-ordination of policy, planning and increased funding of adult basic education programs in Ontario.

Recommendation 14

An ad hoc task force on fee-for-service training by colleges should be established by the Council of Regents to advise the Minister on policy guidelines which would foster the colleges' role in

meeting the training needs of the existing workforce in a manner consistent with public policy goals.

Recommendation 15

Beginning from the current collective agreement, the parties should seek ways to facilitate the colleges' ability to provide fee-for-service activities.

Recommendation 16

Each college, in conjunction with faculty and staff, should develop strategies for establishing long-term relationships with local fee-for-services clients such as employers and labour organizations.

Recommendation 17

The Ontario government should adopt the principle that public funds, aimed at covering the costs associated with skills training, should be used primarily to support programs provided by or in conjunction with public institutions, including colleges.

Recommendation 18

In order to assure public accountability, any provincial body designated to foster more skills training should include employer and labour representatives and educators, and should produce a public, bi-annual report which:

- describes the training activities receiving public funds;
- shows the distribution of public funds (including federal funds allocated in Ontario) among the providers of training, be they public, private or joint activities;
- evaluates the effectiveness of such training, including an assessment of both quality and cost; and
- identifies training needs which are not being met and which require greater investment.

Recommendation 19

To better support the needs of part-time learners:

- every college should provide a variety of flexible learning opportunities, though varying educational methods, greater use of customized instructional methods, off-campus teaching locations, variable course entrance and completion dates, and other innovative approaches to delivery of relevant and adult-based programming for part-time learners;
- each college should have an advisory committee on part-time learning; and
- provincial funding and the internal allocation of college revenues should explicitly recognize the nature and importance of programs and services required by part-time learners.

Recommendation 20

The government should establish the Prior Learning Assessment Network (PLAN), as recommended by the Task Force on Access to Professions and Trades in Ontario, with explicit inclusion of Ontario's colleges in the planning, implementation and operation of the system.

Recommendation 21

The Ministry of Education, possibly through the newly formed Teacher Education Council of Ontario, should ensure that all teacher education programs (both preservice and in-service) include components which furnish an in-depth knowledge of the educational services provided by the colleges. In particular, education about the colleges should be an explicit component of professional development for school guidance counselors, teachers and principals.

Recommendation 22

The Ministries of Education and Colleges and Universities should jointly establish a Provincial Schools/Colleges Co-ordinating Council, with representation of all relevant stakeholders from

the secondary school and college systems, to improve school-college links and foster initiatives at the local level.

Recommendation 23

The Minister of Colleges and Universities should endeavour to expand and improve the opportunities for students to move between the college and university sectors, while maintaining the distinctiveness of each sector.

Recommendation 24

The college system should develop comprehensive programs of advanced training, on a selective basis, to address student needs. Graduates of such programs should receive a unique credential at the post-diploma level.

Recommendation 25

The government should establish a provincial institute "without walls" for advanced training to:

- Facilitate the development and co-ordination of arrangements between colleges and universities for combined college-university studies;
- Offer combined college-university degree programs, with instruction based at and provided by colleges and universities;
- Recommend, where appropriate, to the College Standards and Accreditation Council the development of college-based programs of advanced training with a unique credential at the post-diploma level.

Recommendation 26

A formal agreement of association between the Institute and one or more Ontario universities should be established, providing for the associated universities to grant their degrees to graduates of programs conducted under the auspices of the Institute.

Recommendation 27

In the event that an agreement of association between the Institute and one or more universities cannot be reached within eighteen months, the government should vest degree-granting authority in the Institute itself.

Recommendation 28

A College System Strategic Planning committee should be established by the Council of Regents. This standing committee would:

- undertake research on the quality-access-funding trade-offs facing Ontario's colleges;
- disseminate analyses and information across the college system; and
- recommend strategies to the Minister of Colleges and Universities for addressing trade-offs between quality, access and funding.

Recommendation 29

The Ministry of Colleges and Universities should review the structure of its funding to the colleges in order to provide a funding mechanism which:

- explicitly considers both access and quality;
- reduces counter-productive enrolment competition among the colleges;
- provides greater stability in the funding provided to each college by dampening the effects of enrolment changes on a college's grant' and
- continues to provide predictability and promote efficiency while strengthening accountability in the use of public resources.

Recommendation 30

The Ontario government should introduce a more participatory and co-ordinated system for developing government policies, initiatives, and funding arrangements affecting skills training provided by the colleges.

Recommendation 31

The government should initiate a study, encompassing both the college and university sectors, to assess the impact of alternative tuition fee and student assistance policies on access and institutional revenues.

Recommendation 32

The Council of Regents, through its Strategic Planning Committee, should develop and recommend a mechanism to co-ordinate information and plans relevant to the sharing of specialized resources among the colleges.

Recommendation 33

Every college's board of governors should reinforce Vision 2000's major objectives through its human resources planning by undertaking initiatives such as:

- setting clear budgetary targets for increasing the share of funds devoted to human resource development (HRD);
- including a section on HRD in the annual report to the Minister, which summarizes the college's progress in developing and implementing HRD policies and practices designed to achieve the objectives of the renewed mandate; and
- developing policy guidelines (to complement existing professional development leave policies) which provide regular opportunities and direct encouragement for external work experience, job exchanges or international activity for faculty, support staff and administrators.

Recommendation 34

The Ontario Government should work with all college stakeholders to establish and fund:

- a permanent Professional Development Fund to reinforce and expand upon the professional development efforts of the HRD in the Third Decade project; and
- an Instructional Development Task Force to provide leadership in helping the colleges develop learner-centered curriculum and alternative delivery.

Recommendation 35

The Minister of Colleges and Universities should provide sufficient funding to enable an Ontario university (or several, working in a consortium) to develop graduate-level programs for community college personnel.

Recommendation 36

The colleges should work together to introduce effective means for fostering applied scholarship as a way of enhancing the primacy of the colleges' teaching function.

Recommendation 37

Each college should experiment in developing reciprocal methods of performance review which are formative in nature for all employees. The process for developing these procedures should itself be collaborative in nature.

Recommendation 38

Each college's board of governors should further develop its capacity for strategic planning, especially on issues related to quality, access and funding, and for working in partnership with a range of stakeholders to meet student needs.

Recommendation 39

The Council of Regents should conduct an operational review of its board appointment responsibilities, employing a third-party process.

Recommendation 40

The Minister of Colleges and Universities should establish a Vision 2000 Implementation Committee to co-ordinate evaluation and development of detailed plans for implementation of Vision 2000's recommendations. This committee should involve all of the major constituencies, both internal and external, that participated in Vision 2000.

Appendix II – *Task Force on Advanced Training Recommendations (No Dead Ends Report)*

Recommendation 1

That the equal value of vocational and academic education be recognized by all the partners engaged in Ontario's postsecondary system.

Recommendation 2

That barriers to inter-sectoral transfer for postsecondary learners be eliminated. In order to achieve this goal, a mechanism must be developed to facilitate such transfer and to provide accessible, widely available, and comprehensive information on credit transfer opportunities in Ontario; membership on any body advising on transfer shall include equal representation from the colleges and universities as well as representation from the private sector and learners.

Recommendation 3

That the importance of the partnership of colleges, universities, and the employment sector be recognized in providing opportunities for individual development and in contributing to the economic renewal of the province through the provision of advanced training programs.

Recommendation 4

That an Ontario Institute for Advanced Training be established.

- a) that the OIAT be created as an independent, provincial institute to initiate, negotiate, coordinate, promote, and allocate funds for advanced training programs at the first degree level;
- b) that the OIAT be granted specific designated degree-granting power;
- c) that membership on the governing structure of OIAT should be based on the principle of partnership and include equal representation from colleges, universities, employer and

employee groups, and fair representation from the broader community including the secondary school sector;

- d) that the new advanced training programs organized by OIAT should:
- a) be relevant to the workplace and timely to meet market needs;
 - b) have a balance of practical, generic, and theoretical study;
 - c) recognize for credit previous education and relevant work experience;
 - d) be provincially accessible on a part-time as well as full-time basis;
 - e) include a cooperative work experience component or supervised work project;
 - f) be subject to a regular sunset review;
 - g) be recognized for credit leading to a baccalaureate degree.

Recommendation 5

That the importance of faculty development in support of advanced training programs be acknowledged.

Recommendation 6

That the current funding arrangements for colleges and universities be adjusted in order to support college-university, university-college transfer agreements and new advanced training programs.

Recommendation 7

That in the implementation of advanced training and transfer initiatives, the needs of the francophone community must be identified and addressed.

*Appendix III – Smith Report Recommendations***Recommendation 1**

We recommend that Ontarians undertake to correct the current serious inadequacies in total financial resources available to postsecondary education. This undertaking is a shared responsibility that includes government, postsecondary institutions, students and their families, and the private sector.

Recommendation 2

We recommend that provincial government support of universities and colleges in Ontario be comparable to the average for other Canadian provinces and be reasonably in line with government support of major public university and college systems in the United States. This goal should be achieved by arresting reductions in government grants now and by building towards this goal over several years in ways that strengthen excellence and accessibility.

Recommendation 3

We recommend that the major features of the corridor system for distributing the government's core operating grants to universities be maintained with minor modifications to enhance flexibility.

Recommendation 4

We recommend that the method of distributing the government's core operating grants to colleges change to a form of corridor funding, reflective of circumstances faced by colleges, with attention to other issues such as the appropriate relationship of support for part-time and full-time students.

Recommendation 5

- i) We recommend that the Government of Ontario increase the size of the Research Overheads/Infrastructure Envelope from its current level of about \$23 million to about \$100 million annually.
- ii) We recommend that Ontario develop a research policy. This development is urgent in view of the growing concern about Ontario's competitive position on research. The policy should cover both basic and applied research and should encompass research in both the public and private sectors.

Recommendation 6

- i) We recommend that an institution should be free to set tuition fees at whatever level it regards as appropriate, program by program, on condition that if an institution chooses to set fees above the government-specified upper limit defined in (ii), it must distribute 30% of the incremental revenue as financial assistance to its students, based on need.
- ii) We recommend that the government set an upper limit on fees used to calculate the amount of government-provided student assistance for which a student would be eligible. There should be a single limit used for all institutions, both publicly- and privately-funded, participating in the public student assistance program.
- iii) We recommend that, with respect to compulsory ancillary fees, those initiated by student governments should continue to be determined by current processes, but all other ancillary fees should be incorporated in the overall tuition fee.
- iv) We recommend that, along with greater freedom in setting fees, institutions should be sensitive to the need to protect students from substantial, unanticipated increases in tuition fees for programs in which they are currently enrolled. Institutions are encouraged to set tuition fees on the basis of programs of study - rather than on the basis of courses or terms - wherever this

can reasonably be done. Moreover, institutions should make special efforts to allocate their financial assistance funds in a way that does not preclude a student, with the motivation and ability, from pursuing courses or programs with higher fees.

Recommendation 7

i) We recommend that the government introduce an income-contingent loan repayment plan (ICLRP) that would have a number of helpful features to students, including:

- postponement of interest payments until after the student's program of study is completed or after a fixed number of years (whichever comes first); and
- several options for the student to choose from regarding the repayment schedule, including an option to repay faster at any time without penalty.

ii) We recommend that the income-contingent loan repayment plan be delivered as a joint federal-provincial student assistance plan, administered through the tax system, but that, if the federal government is not prepared to cooperate with Ontario in this task, the provincial government should take whatever steps are necessary to implement an ICLRP on its own. In this latter case, we would urge the federal government to provide appropriate assistance and support to this effort, including administering the tax aspects of the Plan under the Federal-Provincial Tax Collection Agreements and, if necessary, providing full compensation to Ontario to allow it to withdraw from the Canada Student Loans Plan and offer an integrated ICLRP option to Ontario students.

iii) We recommend that, in place of the current approach on loan forgiveness under OSAP which creates uncertainties for students, a program of needs-based grants be introduced. Grants would be provided only to students in publicly-assisted colleges and universities.

iv) We recommend that the Ministry investigate the causes for high rates of default on student loans. It should explore the use of penalties that would make postsecondary institutions with unusually high rates of default more responsible for the loss, but that would not weaken access to postsecondary education.

v) We recommended that interest on money borrowed to pursue eligible postsecondary education programs should be deductible from income in calculating income tax. It is a clear principle of income taxation that interest paid on money borrowed to earn income should be tax deductible, and taking out a loan to make an investment in education is analogous to taking out a loan to make a business investment. This measure should be implemented by the Government of Canada, and we urge the Government of Ontario to indicate to the federal government that it supports such a change and is prepared to forego the provincial tax revenue involved.

vi) We recommend that the present Registered Education Savings Plans (RESP) be brought closer to Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSP) in order to encourage saving for postsecondary education. In particular, we urge that the federal government provide the same tax deductibility for RESP contributions that is available for RRSP contributions, and that it be possible to effect one-time transfers from RRSPs to RESPs within the total RESP limits. It should be possible to effect accumulated investment income in RESPs that is not used for postsecondary education into a RRSP. The Government of Ontario should urge the Government of Canada to implement such a change soon. If the federal government is not prepared to proceed with this change, the provincial government should provide at least a partial tax credit for RESP contributions and the federal government should administer such a credit for the province.

Recommendation 8

We recommend that donations of assets be exempt from the capital gains tax. This change would benefit all charitable organizations.

Recommendation 9

We recommend that colleges explore more actively private and international training programs and that the provincial government's coordinating and regulatory role be supportive. The terms of centralized collective agreements in the colleges should take into account the need for flexibility to develop these programs. More broadly, there are growing opportunities for partnerships with private institutions on education and research programs. It is the responsibility of all colleges and universities to have guidelines that preserve the integrity of their institutions in such partnerships.

Recommendation 10

We recommend that government-defined catchment areas for colleges be abandoned. At the same time, colleges must continue to fulfill their obligations for education and training of their local or linguistic communities.

Recommendation 11

We recommend that the arrangements for credit transfer and cooperative college-university programming, as well as for shared services and facilities, should develop further with government encouragement rather than with government direction. The advisory body we propose in this report should be responsible for stimulating and monitoring the evolving linkages.

Recommendation 12

i) We recommend that an Ontario College Diploma (OCD) be developed as a unique designation, backed by a review process on standards, and allowing for modifications to the

credential to recognize particular specializations and accomplishments. The continued development of standards should be treated as an urgent matter. At this time, the OCD should be confined to Ontario's Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology and to programs of these colleges that meet the established standards. We would not rule out the possibility that at a future date a private vocational school or career college might satisfy the standards for an OCD and be given authority to use this designation.

ii) We recommend that the awarding of secular degrees should continue to be a responsibility of universities at this time. It should be possible, however, for a college to transform to polytechnic degree-granting status and from there to a university.

Recommendation 13

We recommend the establishment of an advisory body to provide sustained, arms-length analysis of postsecondary education to help assure governments, students, private organizations and other groups that critical assessments, independent reviews and advice are an ongoing feature of Ontario's postsecondary system. It should be able to probe more deeply than the Panel has had time to do - and on a continuing basis - issues related to both colleges and universities. The body should be responsible for improving the publicly available information on postsecondary education and research. One of its responsibilities should be a regular report on the comparative strengths and weaknesses of Ontario's system relative to those in other jurisdictions. Another responsibility should be to monitor, assess and report upon the adequacy of quality assurance and accountability processes for both colleges and universities.

Recommendation 14

We recommend that in order for colleges and universities to meet expected enrolment increases, the government should encourage institutional initiatives and arrangements for expanding the

geographic reach of programs and for using existing physical facilities more intensively, and should not plan at this time the construction of a new college or university.

Recommendation 15

We recommend the establishment of a special matching trust fund for faculty renewal. For universities, the program should focus on special funding or endowments for hiring and retaining outstanding junior and senior scholars in areas of strength identified by governing boards. For colleges, the program should support academic development of existing faculty.

Recommendation 16

We recommend that governing boards of colleges and universities ensure that a high proportion of compensation increases is awarded in recognition of excellence in teaching and, in the case of universities, of research performance, and that, without becoming involved in individual cases, governing boards ensure that appropriate processes are in place to assess and reward performance.

Recommendation 17

We recommend that, with regard to the terms of academic appointments, governing boards must fulfill their responsibility for ensuring that processes are in place for the effective evaluation of performance in teaching and, in the case of universities, in research, and that processes are in place to respond appropriately to the results of such evaluation, including corrective measures where performance is less than satisfactory.

Recommendation 18

We recommend that Ontario's policy precluding the establishment of new, privately-financed universities be amended to permit, under strict conditions, the establishment of privately-financed, not-for-profit universities with the authority to grant degrees with a secular name.

Strict conditions and standards must apply to institutional mission and governance structures; institutional and academic quality, as determined by nationally or internationally recognized peer review; financial responsibility; and protection of students in the event of institutional failure. These conditions and standards should be developed by the advisory body on postsecondary education recommended in this report.

