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# Whose Voices Are Heard and How? Understanding Post-Secondary Policy and Agenda-Setting in Canadian Provinces: A Focus on Memorial University of Newfoundland

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UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Whose Voices Are Heard and How?

Understanding Post-Secondary Policy and Agenda-Setting in Canadian Provinces:

A Focus on Memorial University of Newfoundland

by

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A THESIS

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## Abstract

Universities and colleges are impacted by the changing nature of government interaction. Over the past 50 years, governments have moved from a liberal approach to neo-liberal resulting in deliberate involvement of government in the form and function of higher education institutions. From a neo-liberal perspective, this is the result of government's direct involvement in and manipulation of the market in an economy that has moved from a regional to a global context. Between 2004 and 2010, 8 Canadian provinces held reviews of their respective post-secondary systems. This dissertation examined the post-secondary review that took place in Newfoundland and Labrador in 2004–2005. Guided by the work of Foucault's notion of *governmentality* and using a policy archeology case-based methodology, this study investigated the role interest groups played in public policy development and agenda-setting and the impact that it had on the form and function of the university. From a post-structural perspective, this study used the notion of the deconstruction of text to determine a counter history of knowledge and expanded this notion through the influence of Foucault on how power comes to be exercised in the public policy process. An overview of 5 post-secondary reviews that happened in Canadian provinces between 2004 and 2007 is provided. The study sets the framework for the case location, Newfoundland and Labrador, and the case university, Memorial University, by examining how public policy formulation took place in the province, what has influenced the political culture in the province over the past 100 years, and what reviews have taken place impacting the university over the past 30 years. The case study presented provides a unique example of a university–government relationship. The 2005 *Foundations for Success: White Paper on Post-Secondary Education* (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador [GNL], 2005c) that focused on the public

college and university in Newfoundland and Labrador is reviewed, including all available submissions and consultation sessions and external documents from government, university, and the media around the same time period. Ultimately, the aim of the study was to provide an understanding of the dynamics of interest group behaviour and agenda-setting and its impact on the university.

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## Dedication

My father Augustus Vaughan (in memory) and my mother Nancy Vaughan nurtured in me, by demonstrating through example, a passion for learning.

To my daughter, Kathleen, I dedicate this work in the hopes that it inspires her, like my parents inspired me, to follow her dreams, be courageous, and never forget that learning is a lifetime journey.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **Global Context of Universities**

Over the past 20 years, universities have been undergoing fundamental change that has moved far beyond a trend or time-limited activity. In a globally competitive knowledge-based economy, universities are highly valued for their capacity to generate knowledge-workers and to create new knowledge. In such an environment, the social and economic prosperity of advanced nations is increasingly contingent upon creating new knowledge. The productivity of universities is challenged by the direct interest and investments of government, business, industry, and the general public, and this interest impinges upon the traditional independence of these institutions. Pressures of securing funding for research and accreditation of professional programs, changing demands in the labour force, managing private endowments, and addressing increased concern for fiscal accountability, among others, all combine to challenge the autonomy of the university.

Increased public demands have also contributed to governments' (both local and national) direct involvement in and influence on the role and purpose of the university. As this involvement is rooted, at least in part, in public policy formation, an examination of this process has the potential to make sense of this experience. Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry (1997) stated, "Public policies in education exist in order to ensure that education occurs in the public interest" (p. 2). According to Levin (1998), "Education policy is in a state of change across the industrialized countries" (p. 131). What is at the root of this change? If this change is occurring across all industrialized countries, as Levin said, why are governments both nationally and internationally, implementing policies that create the need for universities to change? Scholars and policy elites discuss the origins of this change primarily from two

similar perspectives: (a) the emergence of the knowledge economy (Levin, 1998; F. Newman, Couturier, & Scurry, 2004) to which government itself responds in order to remain globally competitive; and (b) the influence, on government, of the external community, creating a movement towards a market-driven orientation (Chan & Fisher, 2008; Marginson, 2006). According to Skrentny (2006), policy elites are defined as “state<sup>1</sup> actors with some influence over the shape, direction, and timing of policy making” (p. 1765). The shift to an increased emphasis on the knowledge economy and globalization has amplified the importance of post-secondary education in the preparation of knowledge workers, thereby permitting nations to remain competitive in the global economy. Through both research and development, universities play an increasingly significant role in regional development and revitalization of economies. In this environment, a central concern of universities is the encroachment by government and external forces on institutional autonomy. For nations who seek to develop their research and human capital in a global economy that values knowledge creation, universities are now increasingly being positioned as commodities.

Universities operate in a neo-liberal environment where accountability demands from the state and external valuation, primarily through economic outcomes, significantly challenge their form, function, and autonomy. The emergence of neo-liberal ideas is fueled further by competing interest groups and by changing values of the work of universities where economic outputs transcend all others. The result is a host of tensions for the university. Parents see universities as a credential vehicle that will provide their children with the education they need to succeed in the labour market. Students have adopted a consumer approach to interaction with the institution where, as purchasers of education, they seek

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, state refers to government and governing of an area a province or country.



increased value for their money. Urban and rural communities often see universities as regional economic generators, either through the research they perform, commercial spinoff generated, or the financial benefit of the presence of students in the community.

Governments see universities as the generators of knowledge in a time when knowledge is more than power: it is the key to competitiveness and economic success.

Within the university itself, there are also tensions. Legislative agency requirements resulted in the development of emergency and risk management offices, tax consultants, and health and safety offices, all of which are important, but which also subsequently expand the administrative obligations of the university. Such expansion further creates tensions for academic staff members who feel under-resourced as a result of these funding tradeoffs. The external financial emphasis on and support for science and technology research in preference to research in social sciences and the humanities creates inter-disciplinary tensions within the university. The emergence of entrepreneurial units, such as separately incorporated business entities, commercial relationships, and the management of private sector funding also challenge the traditional values of independence and autonomy within universities.

From the creation of full marketing departments, to attention to national and international rankings, to the documentation of research outputs and the quality of student inputs, universities have entered the arena of an internationally competitive environment. F. Newman et al. (2004) believed that the “main force for change flows from a new level of competition and market-orientation among higher education institutions” (p. 1). Marginson (2006), who writes extensively about the Australian experience, pointed to the global competitive nature of higher education where “global positional value is formed in the same manner as value is formed in national competition via a combination of degree/brand status

and research performance/reputation” (p. 21). Educational research is particularly vulnerable to public scrutiny and control because it is seen “increasingly as a public investment in social and economic development (increasingly under the rubric of ‘human resource’ development)” (Peters & Burbules, 2004, p. 51). The link between human capital and knowledge creation is evident in government interest in post-secondary education because of the perceived environment where “education produces new ideas, which in conjunction with physical capital and research and innovation, can increase the rate of economic growth” (Carrington, Meek, & Wood, 2007, p. 572).

Increasing government emphasis and impact on a global economy has driven the public policy context for the university in a more utilitarian direction, focusing on ensuring the economic viability and competitiveness of nations in a knowledge-driven and knowledge-valued society. Within this environment, multiple stakeholders, both internal and external to the university, provide competing interests that leaders must navigate, not only to be successful, but, one may argue, to survive and thrive in today’s world. Salmi (2007) summarized this notion stating, “University leaders are confronted with the challenge of satisfying multiple stakeholders while being more responsive to labor market needs and operating in an increasingly competitive environment” (p. 228).

### **Provincial Contexts**

Between 2005 and 2011, eight provincial governments in Canada conducted reviews of regional post-secondary systems that have affected, in some way, the form and function of the universities in these provinces. The provinces are British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland and Labrador. Since education is a provincial responsibility in Canada, and since provincial

economies and societies are governed by and become competitive through knowledge creation, post-secondary institutions are increasingly under review by local governments. These eight reviews have led to specific recommendations and directives having influences on universities where, theoretically, their academic culture is based on autonomy and their academic decision-making is free from outside interference; however, the political context in which these universities exist is not based on the same principles.

Upon analyzing the policy reviews in Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, and Newfoundland and Labrador, Kirby (2007) concluded,

These reviews reflect the dominance of economic-utilitarian discourse and represent some of the over-arching trends in modern post-secondary education including: the continuing and expanded influence of privatization and marketization in post-secondary systems; the growing role of governments in qualifying and monitoring the quality of post-secondary institutions and their programs; and the growing emphasis on internationalization as a mechanism for meeting national challenges in the areas of post-secondary education funding, workforce development and innovation. (p. 6)

### **Study Purpose**

The purpose of this doctoral study is to describe the role of interest groups in public policy formulation through a case study of the policy-making process in one post-secondary institution in Newfoundland and Labrador. In June 2004, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador launched a white paper process, at the time the Department of Education noted,

The 2004 Speech from the Throne [Newfoundland and Labrador] committed the province to commissioning a White Paper on Post-Secondary Education to examine post-secondary concerns, affordability and accessibility, and to identify initiatives

that will enhance the employment prospects of graduates. It further committed to examining whether Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic are meeting their potential. (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador [GNL], 2004c, “Minister launches” section, para. 2)

The news release issued on June 29, 2004, quoted the minister of Education as saying,

This review will examine all aspects of our public post-secondary system to ensure it is strong, vibrant and well positioned to contribute to the economic growth of our province and the employment prospects of our graduates, while preserving quality, accessibility and affordability. (GNL, 2004c, “Minister launches” section, para. 3)

This process resulted in two published documents. The first document, *What We Heard: A Report of Consultations on Public Post-Secondary Education in Newfoundland and Labrador*, was released in December 2004 (Ludlow & Farrell, 2004). This document contains highlights of the consultation sessions and written reports received during the consultation process. In total, there were 21 consultation sessions, 110 written submissions, and 62 pieces of correspondence received throughout the consultation process. The second document, *Foundations for Success: White Paper on Public Post-Secondary Education* released in July 2005, was the final policy document and detailed 28 directives from government affecting the post-secondary system in Newfoundland and Labrador (GNL, 2005c).

This research investigated the role interest groups have in shaping public policy by asking (a) Whose voices are represented in the consultation process and evidenced in the 2005 White Paper? (b) How did the recommendations inherent in the White Paper influence policy and regulations impacting the governance of the university? and (c) How has the White Paper influenced the form, function, and mission of Memorial University?

Alexander (2006) stated that “interest groups are a primary means by which various opinions, desires, and preferences are articulated to policy makers” (p. 9). However, he further noted, “Scholars have no consensus as to what constitutes an interest group (Alexander, 2006, p. 5). Instead, many of the definitions are left open or widened so that more groups can fit within them. This research used the following definition of interest groups drawn by Alexander (2006) from the work of two scholars Truman (1951) and Mahood (2000):

An interest group is “any group that is based on one or more shared attitudes and makes certain claims against the other groups or organizations in the society” (Truman, 1951, as cited in Alexander, 2006, p. 4). It is also, “an aggregation of citizens with shared interests and with common political aspirations or objectives, especially where public policy making is concerned” (Mahood, 2000, as cited in Alexander, 2006, p. 4).

Interest groups being defined in this study are those who are internal to the institutions (e.g., faculty, administration, senate, board of governors, and students) and those external to the institutions (e.g., economic agencies, health authorities, business leaders, provincial and national constituent organizations). The significance of this study is to render an understanding of how interest groups shape higher education policy in Newfoundland and Labrador and the impact of that policy on university autonomy and governance.

It is the expectation that insight gained from this analysis will be useful in understanding how the politics of power and influence of interest groups impact the development of policy and the ultimate effect of such policy on the role, purpose, and mission of the university. Current research on this issue appears to be dominated by an

examination of external forces such as private influence, funding, and market orientations, and not on who actually creates the agenda (whose interests are represented and have most influence?). This dissertation will highlight who influences the policy makers and how they do so, in an effort to understand how and why policy agendas, such as market orientation, economic development, student financing, accountability etc., are formulated in one Canadian province.

### **Research Setting**

Despite the fact that there are three main political parties in Newfoundland and Labrador, political power has always volleyed between the Liberal party and the Progressive Conservative party. In 2003, the governing party changed in Newfoundland and Labrador to Progressive Conservative following 14 years (1989–2003) of Liberal leadership in the province. Such a shift would inevitably bring about many changes and adjustments in policy directions. In addition, the leadership popularity of the premier at this time is important to acknowledge in the context of this study.

The government under Premier Danny Williams enjoyed a high degree of public support reported to have a support rating of 80%, according to an Angus Reid poll conducted in March 2010 (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC], 2010). This was the highest level of support of all provincial premiers in Canada at that time (Vision Critical, 2010). Under Premier Williams, the governing party held all but five of the 48 seats in the provincial legislature (with four Liberal and one New Democrat members). This level of popularity placed public institutions in the province, especially the university, in an interesting dilemma. Within a university, there is a tradition and expectation of autonomy from external forces

related to its governance, academic decision-making, and leadership, and that autonomy may sometimes require institutional leaders to be at odds with the government of the day.

In Newfoundland and Labrador there is one provincial university—Memorial University of Newfoundland—and one public college system—College of the North Atlantic. Memorial University has three campuses: one in Corner Brook on the west coast and two in St. John's (St. John's campus and Marine Institute), as well as an overseas campus in Harlow, England. The university exists and is governed under provincial jurisdiction through The Memorial University Act (Memorial University of Newfoundland [MUN], 2007a) and is a public institution largely funded by the provincial government. The College of the North Atlantic has 17 campuses in the province and operates an overseas campus in the State of Qatar. The College of the North Atlantic exists and is governed under the College Act (College of the North Atlantic [CNA], 1996). The focus of this study was limited to Memorial University and will not include the College of the North Atlantic.

A study of the impact of interest group dynamics on the university was chosen for two reasons: (1) the potential influence of interest groups or outside pressure on the form and function of universities that has the potential to affect their independence and autonomy, values central to the institution's history and culture; and, (2) my familiarity with the university as director of Distance Education and Learning Technologies at Memorial University. Universities have a history and long tradition that is distinctly different from colleges. Colleges have never had a mandate to do pure research or to be a watchdog on society by constructing a critical analysis of societal change and forces that affect that change. The college, which was also affected by policy change, is expected by its very nature to be affected by community—it is more connected and responsive to community needs,

more applied in its programming and research, and more dependent on government generally. However, in recent years, “There has been a trend towards vocationalism in the university sector . . . and ‘academic drift’ in the community college sector, leading to convergences in programming and institutional functions across the system” (Fisher, Rubenson, Jones, & Shanahan, 2009, p. 549). Nevertheless, the traditional value of independence of universities from government is an area worth exploring in and of itself because it threatens the autonomy and purpose of the university.

Investigating government policy changes in the Newfoundland and Labrador context further reveals the direct influence of government on one multi-campus institution as opposed to multiple institutions found in all other provinces or the one single campus institution in Prince Edward Island. It also provides a unique opportunity to investigate government and university relationship in a one-to-one setting. Yin (2009) outlined five conditions for which a single case study is appropriate. Here this research drew upon Yin’s reference to a “critical case in testing a well formulated theory [and] a unique case” (2009, p. 47). The premise of the study approach is that it provides an opportunity to study university and government in a one-to-one relationship, unique in Canada. The financial arrangement between the university and the provincial government further highlights this uniqueness. While many Canadian universities have recently witnessed escalating tuition and declining financial support from provincial governments, Newfoundland and Labrador has seen increases in the operating grant of the university, tuition roll-backs and freezes, giving it the second lowest tuition in the country (behind Quebec). As a single university structure, its budget is not based on full time equivalent (FTE) funding; rather, there is a total funding allocation from the government to the university as a direct grant-in-aid.



## **Theoretical Framework**

Researched and written from a post-structural perspective, this case study investigated “the *how* of policy production not just to understand the premise of rationality in policy making, but also to understand how particular individuals and groups are involved in various contexts as policy makers” (Gale, 2007, p. 220). As researcher, I sought to understand the power relation and dynamic between policy makers and groups that have influence over policy creation within the context of one policy document. Policy development and research can be challenging to post-structuralists because there is an element that is open to interpretation. The effectiveness of policy often depends on the interpretation by the public or affected segment of the population for whom the policy is intended. Ball (1990, 2007) has contributed research to expand understanding of policy development through a post-structural lens. In referencing Ball’s work on policy 1990 and 1994, Humes and Bryce (2003) pointed out that policy-making “is often a messy and confused affair, marked by shifts of emphasis, backtracking and redirections” (p. 182). According to Taylor et al. (1994), “Few, if any, policies are entirely new: most are shaped by the characteristics of previous policies” (p. 5). To understand this, policy agendas are often borrowed from one jurisdiction to another or from one department to another, thus contributing to the complexity of policy analysis.

This study reviewed previous policy documents affecting higher education in Newfoundland and Labrador to see if familiar patterns emerge that would suggest policy borrowing. This was used to construct an historical reference or knowledge previous to the current policy consultation process. Research drew on work by Foucault, in particular his post-structural approach to archeology in *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1972) and power in

*Power/Knowledge* (1980) both applied to policy creation, as well as on his writings on governmentality.

Policy archeology through case study comprised my methodology, while post-structuralism and, in particular governmentality formed the basis of the theoretical framework.

Post-structuralism views societal structure as discourse and text “where text and forms of knowledge exert tremendous power over every aspect of our lives, primarily through discourse” (Allan, 2006, p. 241). For post-structuralists, the formation of knowledge “and the value attached to it, cannot be separated from an understanding of the exercise of power” (Humes & Bryce, 2003, p. 179). Discourse is defined as “a body of ideas, concepts and beliefs that have become established as knowledge or as an accepted way of looking at the world” (Doherty, 2007, p. 193). A definition of discourse is provided here to form a basis of how Foucault understands it; he extends our thinking in describing discourses as a form of power (Doherty, 2007).

Post-structuralism is also useful for this study since it permits the deconstruction of text to determine a “counter-history of knowledge, which reveals the underlying and subtle political power found within all histories and discourses” (Allan, 2006, p. 241). It is at the point of counter-history where Foucault finds root in discussing the notion of counter-history within the context of “history told from a different point of view from the progressive, linear, memory model” (Allan, 2006, p. 291). For Foucault, the history of ideas “is the discipline of beginnings and ends, the description of obscure continuities and returns, the reconstitution of developments in the linear form of history” (1972, p. 137). According to Doherty (2007), “Commonly, the discourses embedded in policy texts operate to constitute, position, make

productive, regulate, moralise and govern the citizen” (p. 195). Foucault’s contribution to post-structuralism, which is useful to this research, is “his interest in the notion of how power comes to be exercised” (Peters & Burbules, 2004, p. 26). Foucault’s notion that power, defined by him as “actions on others’ actions” (Gordon, Miller, & Burchell, 1991, p. 5) is useful and grounded in his belief that it “also creates new knowledge . . . dispersed rather than located in any one center, like the state” (Peters & Burbules, 2004, p. 29). As the notions of power and text are brought together, post-structuralism sees the union of everything as text, whereas power is how individuals privilege one over the other or search for the multiple meanings in text.

Foucault sees the linkages between truth and power. He maintains that truth does not exist independent of power. According to Foucault (1980), truth “induces regular effects of power [where]

each society has its regime of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned: the techniques and procedures accorded value in acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (p. 131)

This is analogous to policy-making as a process of determining truth and the policy-makers who uncover and use many sources of evidence to determine that truth. Each policy-making process has its own techniques and procedures to understand the facts, and the policy-makers are the ones who are charged with understanding what counts as giving them power over citizens in this role.

Foucault's interest in power is not based on "a commodity that someone or some group uses or has over others, but as a system or network" (Bloland, 1995, p. 531). In this regard, the techniques and procedures are important. His interest is in the day-to-day or micro-political perspective of power, and not how it is wielded, but in the consequences of exercising it (Bloland, 1995, p. 531). Foucault is also interested in the tracing of historical periods to "expose their contingent historical basis, and to track the inter-relations between power and knowledge within a particular historical period" (Olssen, 2003, p. 195).

Foucault referenced the importance of archeology and genealogy, two terms normally discussed in tandem by him and those who write about and interpret his work. For Foucault, archeology was seen as important in determining a counter-history establishing "rules of formation" (1972, p. 207) and "uncovering the relationships among social institutions, practices and knowledge that come to produce a particular kind of discourse or structure of thought" (Allan, 2006, p. 291). Foucault's notion of archeology "seeks out the rules that designate what will be true or false in discourse and create the possibility of organizing a discipline" (Bloland, 1995, p. 530). According to Foucault (1980), genealogy

in contrast to the various projects which aim to inscribe knowledge in the hierarchical order of power associated with science . . . should be seen as a kind of attempt to emancipate historical knowledge from that subjection, to render them, that is capable of opposition and of struggle against the coercion of a theoretical, unitary, formal and scientific discourse. (p. 85)

In categorizing the terms archeology and genealogy, Foucault (1980) defined

archeology as the appropriate methodology of this analysis of local discursivities, and genealogy would be the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these local

discursivities, the subjected knowledge which were thus released would be brought into play. (p. 85)

Discursivity is defined in the dictionary as a writer having authority not only over the text, but the ideas which are encompassed within that text. Foucault noted, “The question of power means basically to ask whom does discourse serve?” (1980, p. 115).

Foucault (1980) stated the notion of power includes “the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse” (p. 119). Foucault asserted that in the 16th century, the “art of government emerged . . . motivated by diverse questions such as the government of oneself, the government of souls, and the government of children” (Peters & Burbules, 2004, p. 26). At the same time, according to Foucault, the “idea of economy was introduced into political practice as part of the governmentalization of the state” (Peters & Burbules, 2004, p. 26). Foucault called this a “new ‘economy’ of power” (1980, p. 119).

Foucault discussed the advent of a new form of power in the 17th and 18th century through “social production and social service” (1980, p. 125). Within this context, “Power had to be able to gain access to the bodies of individuals, to their acts, attitudes and modes of everyday behavior” (Foucault, 1980, p. 125). It was during this time that the linkage between “theory and practice” developed (Foucault, 1980, p. 126). Within this context, theorists such as Foucault were interested in how power is exercised (Peters & Burbules, 2004) in the formulation of these goals and policy directions. This is especially relevant to society dominated by knowledge-creation as Allan (2006) in his summary of Foucault stated, “Knowledge is nothing more and nothing less than the exercise of power” (p. 295).

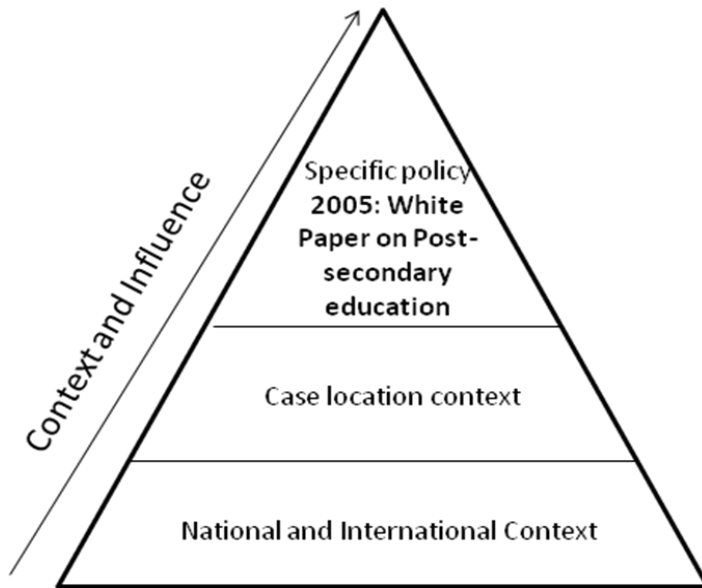
Three approaches outlined by Gale (2001) based on Foucault's writings, could be applied to policy formulation: "policy historiography, policy archeology and policy genealogy" (p. 379). While any of these three approaches could be utilized in this case study, a policy archeology approach was chosen to produce an understanding of the values and meanings underlining the creation of a policy document. Gale (2001) stated,

Critical policy archeology asks: (1) why are some items on the policy agenda (and not others)? (2) why are some policy actors involved in the production of policy (and not others)?, and, (3) what are the conditions that regulate the patterns of interaction of those involved? (pp. 387–388)

To study the dynamics of power and influence, the process of how policy is created needs to be deconstructed. How is truth formed in policy formulation? In other words, what constitutes evidence and how does that translate into practices, in this case, policy recommendations and directives for implementation? Who has power, and what is the nature of the power dynamic between interest group actors? How does that then influence the policy-makers? The answer to these questions assumes a post-structuralist approach to the investigation of policy formulation.

There are three components to this policy archeology study. The first, understanding the global and national context of policy-making in higher education. The second is to understand the case location, including the wider environment of how policy is created, the historical evolution of policy creation in the case location, and the roles of individuals and groups who shaped the policy agenda. The third is the specific policy development process particular to this study: the 2005 White Paper on post-secondary education in Newfoundland and Labrador. Policy archeology in this study was utilized to consider multiple forms of

evidence and context beginning with the widest context and narrowing to this particular policy exercise. This process served to determine who influenced agenda-setting in this particular policy. Further, it provided an integrated approach to policy research allowing multiple contexts to be used in order to reach conclusions. Figure 1 illustrates the three components of the study and how it is designed to understand policy agenda-setting.



*Figure 1.* Understanding policy agenda-setting.

### **Contribution to Research**

Driven by external realities (primarily economic), almost every aspect of the university is engaged in a discussion on change and transformation. This includes operational issues (informational technology and its impact on teaching and research; stable finance and donor relationships; millennial students and their parents; knowledge economy and knowledge mobilization; administrative practices in risk, environment, taxation etc.) and physical plant issues (building design structure, environment, funding). While these present challenges to Canadian universities, the primary change that affects the form, function, and financing of Canadian institutions is public policy and the relationships with the provincial

governments. The university as a public institution is increasingly scrutinized by governments to address its perceived need to be nationally and internationally competitive in a knowledge-valued society coupled with the need to be fiscally responsible in the use of taxpayers' dollars.

Current research indicates a shift away from a model of collegial academic governance to the adoption of corporate managerial practices. Additional research on university change also points to the transition within universities themselves that have become more business-like in their operations.

From this post-structural neo-liberal perspective, institutions are seeking to diversify sources of funds to make up for shortfalls and to reduce dependency on the state. This is causing a weakening of the state influence and control as institutions lower their dependence on state funds. To counteract that, the state, at the same time, is enhancing its control through "increased regulatory demands" (Bloland, 1995, p, 541). Universities are also increasingly beholden to larger stakeholder groups since the funding sources include various government department levels and private donors who make increasing and often conflicting demands. Within this context, the weakening of state influence has been complicated by "the explosion of interest groups with incompatible interests whose collective weight easily vetoes government decisions" (Bloland, 1995, p, 542). As students and parents contribute more to the overall cost of running institutions, they too are increasing in their influence. Furthermore, regional economic and social development agencies are also becoming interested in education policy, particularly as the economy shifts from manufacturing to knowledge generating and policy-makers are concerned about economic competitiveness.



Almost all provincial education reviews in Canada involved some form of public consultation. In this particular case study, it is useful to look at public consultation and influence in an environment where the state leader enjoyed such high levels of public support (80%), evidenced through public opinion polls (CBC, 2010).

Research reviewed in preparation for this dissertation highlights the ways corporatization has influenced universities and the impact of policies, and is not focused on how the external forces facing universities are created and how they influence the policy elite. One example of this focus is the book, *The Exchange University: Corporatization of Academic Culture*, edited by Chan and Donald Fisher (2008), which investigated the emergence of academic capitalism combined with commercialization and government intervention in higher education and its impact on the academy. The primary examples in this book are drawn from central and western Canada, with only one reference to the province that is the focus of this research, Newfoundland and Labrador. Further, Powell (2008) published an article focused on stakeholders' perceptions of who influences policy and decision-making in Ontario's post-secondary system. In this study, the stakeholders defined were internal to the institutions. Consequently, Powell's study assumes that the relationships with stakeholders are internal to the institution's formal governance. There were five constituencies studied: "board of governors, academic senate, administration, faculty/union association and student association" (Powell, 2008, p. 386). Powell's research considered these stakeholders to be highly informed on the form and functions of their institutions, and leaves the assumption that institutions remain masters of their own decision-making. This dissertation will look at whether, in fact, this is the case. Furthermore, this researcher wonders if the relationship with government is no longer a one-to-one relationship but rather

if it is muddled with competing interested groups who have expectations of universities, government, and society as a whole.

### **Research Questions**

The following questions guided the focus of this study:

1. What are the key or dominant external environmental factors influencing societal expectations of universities? How do they link to interest group agenda setting?
2. What role do interest groups play in shaping the public policy formulation and agendas for universities? Whose voices are heard and how? To what degree are their voices consistent with university needs? Is there a hierarchy within and amongst interest groups of who holds influence?
3. How do interest groups influence government expectations of universities?

### **Study Limitations**

There are three limitations to this study:

1. Participants' responses may have been impacted by the time that has elapsed since the formulation of the policy paper (2004–2005) and may also have been affected by the time, place, and current events as they recount an historical period in the past. Furthermore, leaders changed roles since the policy was formulated, causing difficulty in identifying the right sources to interview. Participants' recall may also be a limiting factor, as this will be a historical analysis of policy development albeit, fairly recent history. Participants were asked to recall events from a policy process that occurred 9 years ago. The effect of this time lag is unknown, possibly limiting an accurate recall of events, and the clarity of respondents answers to questions; however, the time lapse also has the potential to strengthen the research

by permitting respondents to recollect events with greater clarity now that they have had time to reflect on the process. This limitation was addressed by employing multiple sources of evidence both written and detailed in key informant interviews. To further ensure validity of this process, interviews were also analyzed in relation to written documents and submissions, and interview questions were developed to fill in gaps in information that were not available from the document analysis alone.

2. The second limitation relates to my familiarity with the policy being investigated and my direct participation in the consultation process for the policy being studied. It was important for me to ensure that an objective analysis was undertaken—benefiting from my personal insight—while also ensuring objectivity in analysis and reporting. To be specific, I was involved in developing two of the 28 directives in the policy document that pertain to distance education. I also participated in two consultation sessions and two written submissions. I am currently president and CEO of the College of the North Atlantic in Newfoundland and Labrador. It is for this reason that this dissertation focused on universities and the formulation of public policy instead of on colleges, in an effort to keep the independence of my work from the practitioner perspective. This was mitigated through triangulation of research evidence, including literature reviewed and scanned from other jurisdictions in Canada; written submissions and consultation reports from the participants in the consultation process; and key informant interviews with stakeholders and the commissioners of the policy

consultation process. To ensure accuracy, all interview transcriptions were sent to the participants for review.

3. The third limitation of this study was deciding what evidence was important to the research. There was a large volume of information available, including media articles, government documents, and participant submissions to the consultation process. In a policy archeology study, it is important to uncover as much evidence as possible to provide context. The limitation comes from deciding what is important to the study and to the reader and what is not.

### **Study Delimitations**

There are two delimitations to this study.

1. The first notes that this study is delimited to one institution. It is the interpretation of one case at one unique institution, Memorial University, and its relationship with stakeholders, primarily government. This case study is unique because it depicts an environment where there is one university, although three campuses, in one province and represents a one-to-one relationship with a provincial government. The study does not intend to generalize beyond this case; however, there are likely interesting findings that are useful to any higher education leader in the dynamics of public policy-making.
2. Second, this study is focused on the process of how policy-making happens and the power dynamics within that process. It is not focused on the merits of the policy itself or the outcomes of the policy.

## **Researcher Perspectives**

I was motivated to undertake this study because of my direct involvement in the policy creation and implementation of the 2005 White Paper on post-secondary education. From the beginning of the process development, I was curious about how various agendas and directives ended up in the policy document. Some of the policy directives included the addition of government funding to achieve a specific objective, and I was interested about how this was decided.

This curiosity ultimately led to the research questions in this study and to the undertaking of the research work. I brought many personal perspectives to this study. First, I had 20 years of service in leadership roles with Memorial University. My most recent role was as director of distance education and learning technologies. These roles had required interactions with government and interest groups and had also required policy development and strategic planning within the institution. Second, I have historically held leadership roles in interest groups that contributed to this policy development. I am a former president of the undergraduate student union of Memorial University and of the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Students, as well as having been a student member of the university's Board of Regents. I also previously chaired a regional economic development board in the province. In both my community and university capacity, I was part of the consultations for the policy document under review.

I argue that the combined insights strengthen the research and analysis in this dissertation; however, at the same time, they need to be acknowledged here for the readers of this research. My involvement in the planning process is what generated my research interest to understand who influenced the wider agenda present in the policy document. Now in my

current role as president and CEO of the public college system in Newfoundland and Labrador, it is important and, at the same time interesting, that I understand the interest group dynamics from a leadership perspective.

## **Chapter 2: Review of the Literature: Defining the Context**

### **Purpose of the Literature Review**

The literature review primarily focuses on the development of higher education policy and the landscape in which policy is created. It begins with a further examination of the evolving neo-liberal context affecting public policy in education, specifically higher education internationally. Within this section lies the notion of *governmentality*, the theoretical lens in which this study is explored further. The evolution of higher education from the idea of the university to current environment is summarized. The introduction focuses on how higher education is structured in Canada. Attention is then given to an external environmental scan of issues affecting universities in Canada. This encompasses much of question 1 as outlined in the identified research questions for this thesis: What are the key or dominant external environmental factors influencing societal expectations of universities, and how do they link to interest group agenda setting?

The scan highlights findings from policy documents written by government or non-governmental organizations and articles written by scholars identifying external issues and government intervention in universities. Here, the focus is on globalization and competition; corporatization, entrepreneurship, and marketing; and accountability as three themes that appear to be driving higher education policy. These issues have been identified by reviewing the literature encompassing the environment in which today's universities operate in Canada. Thus, this literature review both situates and provides the wider context for this case study.

### **Higher Education and the State**

Salmi (2007) set the context mirrored in this thesis and the evolving nature of the relationship between universities and the state:

Once upon a time, university leaders had a cozy life. They enjoyed a prestigious position, resources were forthcoming and their world was one of academic tradition and stability. Today, however, things are very different, not necessarily for the better. Less dignified preoccupations about competition to find resources and attract students increasingly interfere with the noble pursuit of scholarship and knowledge transition. Much to the chagrin of many members of the academic community, growing dependence on the market has become a fact of life. (p. 223)

### **Neo-liberalism Context**

There are two forms of liberalism discussed in the literature leading to an understanding of the role of government (Burchell, 1993; Dean, 2010; Olssen, 2003). The first, classical liberalism, refers to “how a necessary market freedom can be reconciled with the unlimited exercise of a political sovereignty” (Burchell, 1993, p. 270). The second is modern, advanced or neo-liberalism that also deals with the interaction of government in the market; however, it represents a more deliberate involvement of the state in that market (Burchell, 1993; Dean, 2010).

Larner (2000) categorized neo-liberalism as a “new form of political-economic governance premised on the extension of market relationships” (p. 5). The shift toward neo-liberalism is one in which the role of the state goes beyond a relationship with the market. This shift is categorized by Burchell (1993) as a movement away from liberalism, which regarded the market “as an already existing quasi-natural reality situated in a kind of economic nature reserve in a space marked off, secured and supervised by the State” (p. 270). Modern neo-liberalism, according to Burchell, maintains “the market exists and can only exist under certain political, legal and institutional conditions that must be actively



constructed by government” (1993, p. 271). Olssen (2003) furthered this notion by stating, “Rather than the market being a natural arena which the state must refrain from interfering with, it is rather constituted and kept going by the state’s political machine” (p. 198).

Within the context of individual freedom, classic liberalism is categorized by individuals as “having an autonomous human nature practicing [sic] freedom” (Olssen, 2003, p. 199). However, in neo-liberalism “the state seeks to create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur” (Olssen, 2003, p. 199). This has been evidenced in the education environment through the favouring of chains of command within organizations and the “de-professionalization of education labour” (Olssen, 2003, p. 200).

The period between the end of World War II and the 1960s in what Dean (2010) called “advanced liberal democracies, [categorized as the welfare state, was a time where] cradle to grave” (p. 176) dominated the purpose of government. This was a time

of social intervention – adjustments to fiscal and monetary policy, direct state investments . . . that established a form of security in which the health of society and the health of the economy became mutually reinforcing over the course of the economic cycle. (Dean, 2010, p. 176)

In Canada, this describes a time when universally affordable health care, income support, and other social assistance were created. Dean (2010) described the shift that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s within government and the “relationship between government and the notion of society” (p. 176). He described this as a time when the state went beyond the provision of services, instead becoming directly involved in the economy and the marketplace to create competitiveness. It is within this 10-year period that a shift took place from what is known as the welfare state to the neo-liberalist state.

Writings by Dean (2010), Foucault (1972, 1980, 1991) and others reinforced the finding of a neo-liberal approach to governance as governments respond to “economic globalization and the shift from Fordist to flexible forms of production . . . thus redefining the relationship between state and society” (Tikly, 2003, p. 164). “Fordist” here is defined as an era of industrial development and mass production, often manufacturing based, and named after Henry Ford. In this context neo-liberalism “denotes new forms of political-economic governance premised on the extension of market relationships” (Larner, 2000, p. 5). The interconnections and globalization of economies have resulted in government no longer being solely dedicated to national economies for national interests, “but also to affect economic performance in a way that will ensure global economic advantage” (Tikly, 2003, p. 164).

### **Governmentality Framework**

According to Olssen (2003), “Neo-liberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state’s role, seeing the state as the active agent which created the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its necessary operation” (p. 199). Gordon (1991) in his interpretation of Foucault’s work asserted that he had an interesting approach to neo-liberalism seeing it as “a novel set of notions about the art of government [and a] considerably more original and challenging phenomenon than the left’s critical culture has had the courage to acknowledge” (p. 6).

In Foucault’s (1978) lecture on governmentality, he traced a genealogy by focusing on societal shifts that took place from the middle of the 16th to the end of the 18th century. For him, this was a turning point when governing transformed from governing the family to governing a population. Key questions that emerged during this time included “how to

govern oneself, how to be governed, how to become the best possible governor” (Foucault, 1991, p. 87). As he probed further into the notion of the how of governing, Foucault explored the “art of government [and concluded that this art is] essentially concerned with answering the question of how to introduce economy – that is to say, the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family” (Foucault, 1991, p. 92). Dean (2010) stated, “To refer to the art of government is to suggest that governing is an activity that requires craft, imagination, shrewd fashioning, the use of tacit skills and practical know-how, the employment of intuition and so on” (p. 28). According to Gordon, (1991),

Foucault used the term “rationality of government” almost interchangeably with “art of government.” He is interested in government as an activity or practice, and in arts of government as ways of knowing what that activity consisted in, and how it might be carried on. A rationality of government will thus mean a way or system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern; what governing is; what or who is governed), capable of making some form of that activity thinkable and practicable both to its practitioners and those upon whom it is practiced. (p. 3)

This represents a critical shift for Foucault from liberalism to neo-liberalism, from the focus on the family and the individual, to a focus on the population and society in general. Throughout this shift, the apparatuses of government were created, and government grew from acknowledging the market to interfering in the market in order to ensure success. Within this context, governance changes, by highlighting the economy over the population.

Foucault developed the notion of governmentality in 1978, defining the notion to offer “a second horizon in relation to education policy scholarship” (Doherty, 2007, p. 195). This concept

is a prism that illuminates a particular stratum of enquiry, a perspective that examines, with a historical gaze, governing as a deliberate, purposeful, technicised activity, directed at the subject, the society, or some consciously categorized subdivision of the social body. (Doherty, 2007, pp. 195–196).

Governmentality blends “governing (gouverner) and mentality (mentalité) . . . stressing the interdependence between the exercise of government (practices) and mentalities that underpin these practices” (Fimyar, 2008, p. 4). Lemke (2001) claimed that there are two sides to governmentality: (1) “on the one hand, the term pinpoints a specific form of *representation*; government defines a discursive field in which exercising power is rationalized” (p. 191), and (2) “on the other hand, it also structures specific forms of *intervention*” (p. 191). Understanding the intervention role according to Lemke is important to the concept of government, “for a political rationality is not pure, neutral knowledge which simply ‘re-presents’ the governing reality; instead, it itself constitutes the intellectual processing of the reality which political technologies can then tackle” (p. 191). Central to this understanding of governmentality is the how of governing.

Two groups are said to have influenced a neo-liberal agenda and Foucault’s writings on governmentality (Burchell, 1993). In Europe, a group of German economists and legal scholars called the Ordoliberalens (because of their presence in the journal *Ordo*), influenced the early years of the Federal German Republic. These individuals saw

the problem [as] not one of how a space can be found within an existing State for a necessary market freedom, but how to create a State on the basis of an economic freedom which will secure the State’s legitimacy and self-limitation. (Burchell, 1993, p. 270)

The second group who influenced this agenda was human capital theorists with the Chicago School of Economics. This group was similar in thinking to the Ordoliberalens as “they opposed state intervention when it was bureaucratic and supported it when it fostered and protected economic liberty” (Olssen, 2003, p. 198). The issue for this group was based on concern for “uncontrolled growth of the bureaucratic apparatus as a threat to the freedom of the individual” (Olssen, 2003, p. 199). These theorists were particularly interested in extending “the market across into the social arena and political arenas, thus collapsing the distinction between the economic, social and political in what constitutes a marketization of the state” (Olssen, 2003, p. 199). What these two groups had in common “is a question concerning the extent to which competitive, optimizing market relations and behaviours can serve as a principle not only for limiting governmental intervention, but also for rationalizing government itself” (Burchell, 1993, p. 270).

While neo-liberalism “may mean less government, it does not follow that there is less governance. . . . It involves forms of governance that encourage both institutions and individuals to conform to the norms of the market” (Larner, 2000, p. 12). Neo-liberalism does promote “freedom and choice for individuals” (Fisher et al., 2009, p. 550). A shift towards an economic-driven model and function for universities provides evidence that the thinking of the state has become neo-liberal in defining its role and function. It is Foucault’s analysis of “neo-liberal government that has kindled interest” (Lemke, 2001, p. 192), and within this context, a new idea of governmentality or “government rationality” (Gordon, 1991, p. 1) emerges.

Besley and Peters (2007) summarized the influence of human capital theory that impacts neo-liberal governmentality in 12 ways. For the purpose of this dissertation, I have

chosen to highlight five of these, which I believe are relevant to the application of governmentality in the shifting environment for universities. In one case, Besley and Peters (2007) focused on a “*new relationship between government and management*” (p. 143). This gave rise to new managerialism and new public management approaches to governance as well as the “emulation of private sector management styles” of leadership (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 143). Within the university, there are numerous applications of private sector leadership, including the creation of risk-management offices, use of strategic planning as an approach to decision-making, and the emergence of general counsel offices suggesting that the university is now a large machine open to litigious acts.

A second application, according to Besley and Peters (2007), was the “*‘degovernmentalization’ of the State*” (p. 143), subsequent growth of the market, and a consumer-driven approach to the provision of social services such as education. This has manifested itself in the relationship between the student, government, and the institution, which is further muddled by the parent, who is likely the primary financer of the student. This leads to tensions between the institution and the student who now sees her or himself as a consumer, and between the aggrieved parents who see themselves as the payers and advocates for the student. The once singular relationship between faculty member and student has broadened in scope and complexity.

A third influence identified by Besley and Peters (2007) noted an “*economic theory of democracy* [from which emerges a] structural parallel between economic and political systems” (pp. 144). In this context, political parties sell themselves and their policies to a passive electorate that has subsequently opened up a whole new area of political marketing.

In this context, specific policies aimed at vote-getting can be seen as opposed to sound policy research developed to cater to a segment of the voting population.

A further extension of marketization is provided in a fourth influence identified by Besley and Peters (2007). In this case, they noted a “*cultural reconstruction as deliberate policy goal* [including within that] *the marketization of the social*” (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 144). In particular, this refers to the privatization and marketization of education. This is evident in the development of institutional brands, financial development offices, and selling of public goods and services.

Finally, a fifth example of the penetration of neo-liberalism in education is through the “*replacement of ‘community’ for the ‘social’*” (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 144). This indicates a move away from the welfare state as categorized by social policy, and from “cradle to grave [descriptions in public policy to] ‘devolution’ and delegation of power/authority/responsibility from the centre to the region, to the local institution, the ‘community’” (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 144). Therefore, central policy-making that often benefits the many, such as universal medical care, is replaced with community, where local persuasion emerges. It is within this context that the influence of interest groups, often created by community, is captured as an important source of influence on policy-making.

Political influence under leaders such as Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain, labeled Thatcherism, Ronald Regan’s administration in the United States, tagged Reaganomics, and, closer to home, Mike Harris’s leadership in Ontario, called the Common Sense Revolution, are periods within the context of the 1980s and 1990s, dominated by neo-liberal thinking. Critiques of government of the time were primarily based on a belief that there was too much government (Barnett, 2010). This is particularly true of conservative ideology such as the

influencers noted here. Government was seen as a “paternalist mechanism of social control, relying on a uniform provision that is bureaucratic, hierarchical, sometimes coercive and oppressive and often unresponsive to the needs and differences of individuals and communities” (Dean, 2010, p. 180). More recently, the emergence of groups like the G7 and the G20, and the perspective that these are the global economic powerhouses, are central to this thinking. These political actions and their organizations provide avenues for economic policy beyond the individual nation states, and their policies are primarily driven by economic needs of the state, rather than by individual social needs. This appears to be at odds with the categorization of governmentality as being more concerned with the community than society, although community can be refined to be interests that influence the economic growth, rather than the social needs of society. Fisher et al. (2009) noted that “neo-liberalism promotes free markets and unfettered free-trade and it prescribes a limited role for government and emphasizes the role of the private sector, encouraging deregulation, decentralization and privatization” (p. 550). Therefore, government directly intervenes to create deregulation and promote privatization.

Thatcherism, Reagonomics, and Harris’s so-called Commonsense Revolution often resulted in dividing communities between those engaged in publicly funded enterprises (e.g., social security, health care, and education) and those who see waste in public funding, and subsequently demand greater accountability of funds provided. Further, G7 and G20 protests, often confrontational in nature, focus on the dominant ideology of government entities driven by an economic agenda and a perceived absence of a social consciousness among wealthy nations. Even the most recent occupy movements, such as those that focus on the environmental policy required to govern industry, indicate public dissatisfaction that the



economic thrust (agenda) of government policy is widening the gap between rich and poor, and is emphasizing economic policy over social, cultural, and environmental policy.

### **Historical Context of Universities**

What is the impact of neo-liberalism and governmentality on the idea of the university? This section provides an overview of the evolution of our notion of the university highlighting the linkages between universities as institutions operating within a wider context of society.

In most societies, “Universities have a rather special place” (Kogan & Marton, 2006, p. 71). In fact, “Modern society is unthinkable without a university” (Pelikan, 1992, p. 13). However, in recent history, “University bashing seems to have become a favorite inside sport” (Pelikan, 1992, p. 12). Pelikan (1992) revisited Cardinal Newman’s historic and compelling idea of a university by extending Newman’s argument that “universities are not isolated from the societies in which they function” (Jones, 1998, p. 71). And, as Kogan and Marton (2006) noted, “Of all public institutions, the university has been subjected to [the] most analysis of its idiosyncratic nature” (p. 72).

If universities are indeed reflections of the society in which they operate, how can they be fully independent from the state? According to Jones (1998),

It should not come as any surprise that the idea of the university will take on indigenous characteristics related to the idea of the state, the role and value of education in a particular society, the existence of dominant culture, or other relevant factors. (p. 72)

There is a variety of relationships between the state and higher education institutions.

According to Kogan and Marton (2006), relationships go “through a range of self-regulation

and exchange relationships with sponsors, to sponsorship dependency, and hierarchical relationships with sponsors” (p. 72). This has generally led to two models of higher education: the classic model, referring to “the self-regulating higher education institution which sustains its own values and ways of working” (Kogan & Marton, 2006, p. 71), and the second, opposite a dependent institution “characterized by higher degrees of dependency and sponsorship whose objectives may be set externally” (Kogan & Marton, 2006, p. 71).

There have been many versions of the idea of the university written since J. H. Newman (1852) published *The Idea of a University*, which is a forceful and often referenced text about the foundational notion and values of a university. J. H. Newman provided a “vision of an institution dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, a community of individuals free to explore the great questions of humanity” (Jones, 1998, p. 70). J. H. Newman (as cited in Kerr, 2001) believed that “knowledge is capable of being its own end. Such is the constitution of the human mind, that any kind of knowledge, if it really be such, is its own reward” (p. 2).

Other later texts such as, *The Idea of a University: A Reexamination* by Pelikan in 1992, *The Uses of the University* written by Kerr in 1963, and perhaps less known and more narrow in focus, *The Idea of Higher Education*, written by Barnett in 1990, have shaped the understanding of the university over time. A common thread in these works is that they all reflect the time and society in which they are written. In the 2001 edition of his well-known book, Kerr noted that many of these works were outdated by the time they are printed, saying, “History often moves faster than the observer’s pen” (p. 5). The frequent comment that universities are as immune from change as the church implies that there has been relative stability over time in the form and function of the institution. However, recent times that are

reflected by more government intervention, less funding, and corporatization threaten the traditional foundation of the university perhaps more than anything in its past.

The context in which these works are written is further reflective of the world and society in which the university operates. Thus, the university doesn't exist in isolation of society and has, in fact, been influenced by society throughout its evolution. As Jones (1998) noted, "Universities throughout the world stand with one foot reaching back to establish a foundation in the 12th century, and one foot poised to find a step towards the 22nd" (p. 69). Taken together, these works show the evolution of the university in much the same way as Foucault (1978) has described governmentality. As the apparatuses of government grew in the late 1800s through early and mid-1900s (in the industrial era), so too did the universities shift to become large, complex entities of teaching, research, and service.

The modern university emerged under the influence of von Humboldt (1767–1835) and his authority over the University of Berlin, creating a research agenda for the university and transforming it from a teaching focus (faculty–student based) to a research focus (faculty–research driven). Von Humboldt (as cited in Baert & Shipman, 2005) articulated his vision of universities, particular German universities, before the work of Newman. Ironically, von Humboldt's ideals of the university reflected the function of universities later in the 19th and 20th centuries better than they did at the time he was living (as cited in Baert & Shipman, 2005). Von Humboldt envisioned "an institution that received state funding but conducted its affairs with no political interference" (as cited in Baert & Shipman, 2005, p. 162). It was von Humboldt who advanced the notion of research based on academic freedom and made the direct connection between teaching and research. He saw academic freedom "as a precondition for research that could generate productivity-enhancing knowledge and

technology, and teaching that could equip [a section of] the population to use it” (as cited in Baert & Shipman, 2005, p. 162).

Although there are several significant writers on the notion of the university, this research highlights Kerr’s *The Uses of the University*, originally written in 1963. Kerr’s work was chosen because that period, coincides more with writings on governmentality, and his text reflects a university that has grown in complexity. Kerr’s work emphasized several roles the institution has taken on for many people, roles which have made it a *multiversity*. Kerr’s multiversity is a “pluralistic entity that incorporates elements of British (undergraduate), German (research) and American land grant (service) models” (Pusser, 2002, p. 460). On this point, Kerr (2001) noted, “The university is so many things to so many different people that it must, of necessity, be partially at war with itself” (p.7). This certainly speaks to the tensions within the university, which emerge as the functions diversify: disciplines change and the relationships among internal stakeholders evolve. The institution has become complex, “bigger and more complex, more tensed with checks and balances” (Kerr, 2001, p. 26). The sources of power have shifted from within the university to those outside the relationship of faculty and student.

One role that expands significantly is the role of administrator. In this multiversity, the administration has become “by force of circumstance if not by choice, a more prominent feature of the university” (Kerr, 2001, p. 21). The role of the president in this multiversity is that of “leader, educator, creator, initiator, wielder of power, pump; he [sic] is *also* officeholder, care-taker, inheritor, consensus-seeker, persuader, bottleneck [sic]. But he [sic] is mostly a mediator” (Kerr, 2001, p. 27). Such designations all point to change and tensions within the university itself.

According to Kerr (2001), universities are a system of government like a city, or a state; the city state of the multiversity. It may be inconsistent but it must be governed – not as a guild it once was, but as a complex entity with greatly fractionalized power. (p. 15)

from which there are many groups (faculty, students, administration and the public) competing for that power. Over the past 200 years, and particularly in the last 50, research and service models of the university emerged, and administrative capacity and responsibilities grew, as did government's direct financial involvement in the institution. In response, the university has become a larger, more complex, and sophisticated operation.

Teaching, research, and service are the main focus of the modern Canadian university system, a predominantly public education system with significant percentages of income derived from government sources both federal and provincial. One of the unique aspects of the Canadian system is that it does not have a federal (national) ministry or department. Education, since the establishment of the Canadian Confederation in 1867, is an area of provincial jurisdiction. It is important to note, however, that since that time, the federal government has maintained some formal involvement in the institutions through funding areas such as national research granting councils and a national student loan program. The Canadian university, according to Jones (1998) does not view itself as a direct instrument of public policy:

The notion is one of a public, autonomous institution: an institution which is largely dependent on public purse while retaining a high level of independence over its own affairs. . . . This emphasis on institutional autonomy cannot be viewed as a universal

characteristic of the idea of the university, though it has clearly become a facet of the Canadian conception. (p. 75)

Marginson (2004) believed that all of the main points offered by Kerr are relevant today with the exception of two areas that have fundamentally realigned the university. The first is “globalization” (Marginson, 2004a, p. 2), wherein universities have not only become global themselves but they are operating in an environment and context that are global. Kinser and Hill (2011) noted, “Universities have moved from being embedded within a peculiar geographic location to being globally connected institutions that are both local and able to span continents” (p. v). The second exception noted by Marginson (2004) is “the Multiversity has become primarily an economic generator” (p. 4). In this environment, “Universities are managed by government, administered by their own leaders, and governed by their own governing bodies, as quasi business firms that are competing with each other in an economic market” (Marginson, 2004, p. 4). Bosetti and Walker (2010) argued, “The values and practices that have governed an elite university system are no longer sufficient to address the externally imposed measures of quality, value and good practice and demands for widened access to a university education” (p. 5).

In this environment, is it possible to pursue and value a liberal education? Kelly (2003) warned that with the loss of discussion on liberal education “goes an important instrument for the promotion of human freedom” (p. 102). According to Fallis (2005), universities

have always had core task and core ideals which persist and allow us to recognize them as universities, despite their transformation. Universities are committed to knowledge for its own sake, to the liberal education of undergraduates and to

disinterested free inquiry. They are autonomous institutions, independent of the state; yet paradoxically they undertake vital tasks for the state which place them at the heart of society. (p. 2)

Universities hold a special place in society, regardless of the current environment in which they operate. Fallis (2005) reminded us that “universities have become institutions of democracy, alongside political parties, parliaments and a free press” (p. 3). However, the freedom and democratic principles within the university are almost always in a tense relationship with both government and the public, who often see a utilitarian value measured by quantifiable outcomes of performance. These are very real tensions that move more and more to the forefront as neo-liberalism grows.

### **Higher Education in Canada**

Section 93 of the Constitution Act of 1867 provided for provincial jurisdiction over post-secondary education, with the federal government retaining an interest in numerous areas that affect the post-secondary system. More specifically, this act gave provinces the “direct and central control in developing legislation, regulating and coordinating post-secondary education, as well as providing operating support to post-secondary institutions” (Shanahan & Jones, 2007, p. 32). Despite its being provincial responsibility, the federal government has always played a role in higher education through its responsibility for issues of national concern. For example, Section 91 of the same act highlights federal government jurisdiction over “national defense, Indian affairs, national security (including crime and prisons), external affairs, economic development, the territories and any other areas of national interest” (Shanahan & Jones, 2007, p. 32). This split in jurisdictions has contributed to federal and provincial debates over areas of responsibility for policy-making.

This jurisdictional divide makes Canada unique among industrialized nations because it is “without a federal office or department of education[and, as such, with] no clear mechanism for national policy development” (Shanahan & Jones, 2007, p. 32). Instead, post-secondary education is financed through a series of transfer payments from the federal to provincial governments comprised of “cash transfers, tax point transfers, and equalization payments to the poorer provinces” (Shanahan & Jones, 2007, p. 32). Federal financial involvement includes more than these transfers as the diversity of federal presence would suggest. The federal government provides support for labour market and skills development, research and development, innovation, and student financial assistance, among other activities (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). Recently, decisions on labour market needs have devolved from the federal to provincial level.

It can be argued that the reduction in federal support for post-secondary education through reductions in Canadian health and social transfer since the 1990s imposed more of the financial burden on the provinces and thus has deepened the dependence of universities on provincial authorities. In 2004, this fund was split into “the Canada Health Transfer (CHT) and the Canada Social Transfer (CST) covering post-secondary education and welfare (Shanahan & Jones, 2007, p. 33). These funds are split 62% and 38%, respectively. According to Shanahan and Jones (2007), this legislative shift took place to create “greater accountability and transparency in federal health funding” (p. 33). When reduction in federal support is measured against growth in student enrollment, the “amount spent per student over the same period decreased . . . by almost 50 percent” (Fisher et al., 2006, p. 53). Instead, as Shanahan and Jones (2007) noted, the “federal government has taken a more direct approach in post-secondary education – getting funds directly into the hands of institutions, researchers



and students” (p. 36). Fisher et al. (2009) noted over the last two decades “public investments in PSE [post-secondary education], in the form of capital grants and tuition subsidies, have alternately expanded and contracted, being at some times applied across the board and at others targeted to specific social groups or economic sectors” (p. 550). This is evidenced through national research granting councils (Canadian Institutes of Health Research [CIHR], Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council [NSERC], Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council [SSHRC]), and regional funds such as the Atlantic Investment Fund (AIF) where the federal government targets funding in research areas it is interested in. It gets recognition by effectively bypassing provincial governments and providing direct support to researchers. By this means, the federal government has moved for greater recognition for financing in an environment where education is not under its jurisdiction, and the provinces have now followed suit, looking for more credit for the value of their public investment. This is contrary to a transfer payment, where the provinces get the transfer and pass it on to the post-secondary sector with little or no acknowledgement to the federal government. Provincial governments have each moved in a “different direction in terms of their approaches to regulation and control in higher education” (Shanahan & Jones, 2007, p 36).

Externally funded research support to Canadian institutions has grown substantially in the last decade (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada [AUCC], 2008, p. 5). Federal government investment has seen significant growth doubling “from \$1.2 billion in 1996-97 to \$2.4 billion in 2006-07 (over and above the large federal investments in research infrastructure through the Canada Foundation for Innovation)” (AUCC, 2008, p. 5). During this time of growth, the federal government also required that “universities find private sector

partners and commercialize research results” (National Graduate Caucus [NGC], 2007, p. 3). At the same time, there has been a growth in technology transfer offices at universities where “university research is licensed or patented and sold off to the private sector” (NGC, 2007, p. 1).

During the 1990s, universities turned to student tuition to make up for some of the shortfall in government funds. Since 2000–2001, provincial governments have been investing more in university operating and special purpose funds; however, a substantial portion of this is tied to freezes or tight controls on tuition (AUCC, 2008, p. 28).

The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) predicted in the years to come, the principal drivers of change in university finance will include growing demands from government, the private sector, communities and individual Canadians for the education, research and community services provided by universities, and increasing cost pressures resulting from global competition for faculty, the changing mix of students, the need to reach out to non-traditional students, and campus maintenance and renewal challenges. (2008, p. 5)

### **Policy-Making in Higher Education**

There are many scholars of policy-making in higher education, but this research focused on the work of Taylor (1994), Taylor et al. (1997), and Ball (1990, 1994, 2007) as it is developed within the context of post-structuralism. According to Taylor et al. (1997), policy-making in education initially served two main purposes: (1) “to provide an account of those cultural norms which were considered by the state as desirable in education,[and (2)] to institute a mechanism of accountability against which student and teacher performance could be measured” (p. 2). In the 1960s, policy-making assumed a third function, “that of

marshalling and managing public calls for change, giving them form and direction” (Taylor et. al., 1997, p. 3). Taylor et al. went on to observe a statement essential and central to this dissertation. The form, function, and complexity of policy-making have grown over time. As Taylor et al. stated, as “society has become more complex, and interest groups more assertive, governments have had to construct policies which attempt to respond effectively to their demands” (1997, p. 3). This statement points to the complexity of policy-making and the triggers for the various interest groups.

Ball’s (1990, 1994, 2007) contributions to educational research are written from the perspective of educational policy under Margaret Thatcher’s mandate as prime minister of Great Britain and are influenced, in part, by Foucault’s writings. Ball (as cited in White & Crump, 1993) referred to the context of “rapid educational change: the political shift to the Right in the 1980’s, and the resurgence of organizational theory and economic rationalization” (p. 420). Within the context of Thatcherism, Ball wrote, educational policies are “more clearly political in character” (1990, p. 8), noting that the influence of the New Right had significant impact on the Conservative party in power at the time in Great Britain. There is a debate whether policymaking is a rational or non-rational process. Ball (1990) is quite specific in his writings noting “policy making in a modern, complex, plural society like Britain is unwieldy and complex...often unscientific and irrational, whatever the claims of policy makers to the contrary” (p. 3). According to White and Crump (1993), Ball considers himself a “deconstructivist”; he is both an “educational policy sociologist and an ethnographer” (p. 417). What links Ball to Foucault is his interest in “power, participation, control and ideology” (White & Crump, 1993, p. 418). For Ball, policy developed “as a compromise of ideas, needs and interests” (White & Crump. 1993, p. 422); “it is not static, is

constantly shifting, it is not ever an end product” (White & Crump. 1993, p. 425). Ball’s interest is in “the practical nature of interaction and the reality of policy implementation” (White & Crump, 1993, p. 419). Ball’s belief is that “politics and policy making are not inseparable forces in any educational system” (White & Crump, 1993, p. 419).

Ball (1990) proposed “three levels or dimensions of education policy making, each portrayed and reported in terms of an appropriate theoretical perspective” (p. 9). These include the concept that, as Ball (1990) stated, education policy in “funding of education and/or education’s contribution to productivity and profit” (p. 10) occurs at the economic level and uses a structural strategy; education policy in the “form of governance of education, patterns of influence” (p. 10) occurs at the political level and uses a realist/interactionist strategy; and, educational policy in “ways of conceiving of and discussing policy and/or the transmission of an effective dominant culture, occurs at the ideological level and uses a discursive strategy” (p. 10).

Policy researchers Bowe, Ball, and Gold (1992) developed “three primary policy arenas: the context of influence (policy intentions); the context of policy text production (including actual policy); and the context of practice (policy in use)” (Bowe et al., 1992, p. 20). The context of influence refers to “policy intentions” (White & Crump, 1993, p. 423). The context of policy text production includes “actual policy” (White & Crump, 1993, p. 423). And the context of practice refers to “policy in use” (White & Crump, 1993, p. 423).

The politics of policy-making is captured in policy sociology where, according to Fisher et al. (2009), this approach “takes into account more fully the structural context and the social forces impinging on the system . . . where policies are housed in and help construct the socio-political-economic context” (p. 551). One of the central challenges in undertaking

research around the politics of higher education is that this research is in “a state of perceptual infancy, prone to periodic lurches but lacking in a sustained and systematic conceptualization and analysis” (McLendon & Hearn, 2003, p. 3).

### **The External Environment Influencing Policy Development**

There are many scholarly writers and government agencies/non-profits who postulate factors that affect the need and desire for policy-making in higher education (Canadian Council on Learning, 2009; Carrington et al. 2007; Fisher et al., 2009; Kogan & Marton, 2006; Lowry, 2001; F. Newman et al., 2004). While there is uniqueness among them (usually categorized by the context in which they write), there are some significant similarities centering on (1) inclusion of economic indicators as central to the post-secondary context and (2) inputs and outputs of higher education driven by competitiveness in a global society. According to F. Newman et al. (2004), “Around the world, the relationship between the state and public institutions is changing dramatically as universities and governments react to changes in their environment” (p. 107).

Organizations rarely exist in isolation of the societies which generated them. As noted by Gornitzka (1999), there is a “general agreement among social scientists that an organization does not and cannot exist in a vacuum but has to interact with its environment for achieving its basic objectives” (p. 6). Furthermore, there is “little debate about the fact that this interaction implies that organizations to an extent are dependent on their environment for so-called critical resources, being raw materials, personnel, monetary resources, and so on” (Gornitzka, 1999, p. 6).

According to Johnstone (1998), three types of higher education reforms have taken place internationally: “supplementation of public or governmental revenues with non-

governmental revenues; reform of public sector financing; and radical change (restructuring)” (p. 7). Ball (2007) identified five macro influences affecting post-secondary education: neo-liberalism, new institutional economics, performativity, public choice theory, and new managerialism (pp. 39–40). Fisher et al. (2009) a decade later identified five themes affecting post-secondary education in Canada: “accessibility, accountability, marketization, labour force development, and research and development” (Fisher et al., 2009, p. 551). There are some commonalities in these two articles and some uniqueness that may be explained by the local context of the writers and the lapse of time between their publications. Nevertheless, the shift toward economic and commercial approaches to post-secondary policy has occurred over the last two decades in particular.

In many ways, the shift away from liberalism towards neo-liberalism in government captures the overall changing landscape affecting universities. Fisher et al. (2009) claimed that over the last two decades the adoption of a neo-liberalist ideology “has brought about a fundamental transformation of PSE in Canada” (p. 550). A 2009 report by the Canadian Council on Learning entitled *Post-Secondary Education in Canada: Meeting our Needs?* reviewed the state of post-secondary education largely against economic indicators. Although factors such as attainment, equity, and health were measured, the primary emphasis was on economic indicators, including lifelong learning, affordability and sustainability, innovation and knowledge transfer, skilled workforce, and quality assurance.

Public universities are supported by many sources of income; however, “by far the most important sources of unrestricted revenues remain state governments and students” (Lowry, 2001, p. 105). This financial dependence relies on “available government resources and the political costs and benefits to legislatures and governors from allocating scarce

resources to public higher education” (Lowry, 2001, p. 105). Resource dependent organizations, like Canadian public universities, “must understand how organizations relate to social actors in the environment” (Gornitzka, 1999, p. 7). Furthermore, this resource dependence “denies the validity of viewing organizations as essentially self-directed and autonomously pursuing their ends undisturbed by their social context” (Gornitzka, 1999, p. 7).

Globalization and international competition have led to more neo-liberal approaches to higher education where entrepreneurship, economic outcomes, labour market linkages, and research and development outcomes have risen as primary or central to the expectations of universities. In many respects, this is led by “the increasing emphasis on the role of graduates in the economy [where] the very importance of universities to the economy favours a stronger degree of public policy influence” (Kogan & Marton, 2006, p. 76). In pure economic terms, “education produces new ideas, which in conjunction with physical capital and research and innovation, can increase the rate of economic growth,” according to economists (Carrington et al., 2007, p. 572).

As stated by Breneman (2005),

All sectors of higher (or postsecondary) education in recent years have been forced by economic pressures to become more entrepreneurial in style and substance. Whether public nonprofit, private nonprofit, or for profit, colleges and universities are being forced to behave ever more aggressively in the competition for financial resources and for students and faculty. (p. 3)

Furthermore, “as the competition heats up, nationally and internationally, more universities are encouraged to move toward an entrepreneurial state of mind” (Clark, 2004, p. 361).

Quirke and Davies (2002) pointed out that “universities have increasingly adopted entrepreneurial market-like traits” (p. 86). With the declining government investment, universities face a less certain climate of government funding; “they are seeking, with encouragement from politicians and business representatives, other sources of revenue” (Quirke & Davies, 2002, p. 86).

Being entrepreneurial is not new: “As long as they have existed universities have had consumer markets in which they find students, labour markets in which they find faculty, and institutional markets in which they amass reputation” (Clark, 2004, p. 364). However, “what has changed is that ever more complex universities have become enmeshed in many more market-type relationships than in the past, and have become greatly differentiated by the amount of self-control they are able to exercise” (Clark, 2004, p. 364).

Grudzinskii (2005) explained, “The term ‘entrepreneurial university’ has become firmly established, in the past few years, in the vocabulary of specialists who are dealing with issues of university management” (p. 15). The author specified that “entrepreneurship is constituted by three essential elements: organizational actions; initiation of changes; and monetary income as a goal and criterion of success” (Grudzinskii, 2005, p. 17).

Central to the capacity to be entrepreneurial is the approach to the organization. According to Clark (2004),

For a university to be appropriately and productively entrepreneurial, it needs to acquire the right kind of organization, one that allows the institution to be in a state of continuous change and adapt effectively to a changing society, and also one that allows its groups and individuals to become more effective than previously. (p. 357)



Clark (2004) advised that the best and most stable approach to entrepreneurship can be found in having diversified sources of funds:

- (a) other government sources (other than the core-support department)
- (b) private organized sources, particularly business firms, philanthropic foundations, and professional associations, and
- (c) university-generated income, for example, alumni fund-raising, garnered research contracts, profits from patents. (p. 17)

Schuetze and Bruneau (2004) expanded this list to include entrepreneurial activities, such as cooperating with industry in joint research, commercializing the results of academic research as “intellectual property” (that is, patents and copyrights), the “recruitment” of foreign students charged so-called “full-cost fees,” and the “out-sourcing” of so-called non-core services, such as food, parking, travel, housing, and the renting out of university facilities for conferences, film productions, or other such commercial operations” (pp. 4–5).

According to Schuetze and Bruneau (2004), “Continuing university education in North America which used to be a community service and thus a feature of the university’s core mission, has become not only a ‘cost-recovery’ activity, but also in many institutions a generator of revenues” (p. 5). As a long-time practitioner in continuing education, I have witnessed numerous restructurings of these activities at Canadian universities. The most recent trend has been to create continuing education units that are more responsive to external market forces and as a result generate income either as a cost-recovery venture or net contributor to the institution. These new models are challenged to realize their potential unless the institutional administrative practices change, or these units are structured to permit administrative flexibility.

In addition to the trend in continuing education, distance education has also been seen as an entrepreneurial activity at many universities, either as a part of continuing education or separate from it. The growth in distance education has opened up new student recruitment markets and reduced barriers of institution locations. It has also widened the possibility of attracting mature learners, a relatively new market for universities.

Not surprisingly, “Suggestions that universities could gain from being run more like (if not by) private enterprise have rung alarm bells in the academy” (Baert & Shipman, 2005, p. 158). Clark stated that universities are caught in a crossfire of demands: “In the face of increasing overload, universities find themselves limited in response capability” (1998, p. 6). This issue is compounded while “traditional funding sources limit their provision of university finance [and] governments indicate that they can pay only a decreasing share of present and future costs” (Clark, 1998, p. 6). In this environment, “underfunding becomes a constant” (Clark, 1998, p. 7).

According to Carrington et al. (2006), who write about the Australian context, “Universities essentially developed export markets in response to Commonwealth policies that: reduced university funding; capped local student fees; allowed the entry of full-fee paying overseas students into Australia; and required universities to diversify sources of income” (p. 563). Countries such as Australia have aggressively developed foreign student recruitment markets. This has not been limited to simply attracting foreign students but includes the export of e-learning programs and delivering programs offshore (Carrington et al., 2007).

Marginson (2007) noted that the development of marketization policies among commonwealth countries through an “increase in the element of market competition via

tuition fees, industry funding, international marketing and private universities would produce a more efficient system” (p. 132). In New Zealand, after “market forces were unleashed in the late 1980s,” the country “began cutting funding to higher education, introduced student fees, and based government funding on enrollments, making it demand-driven and competitive” (F. Newman et al., 2004, p. 121). F. Newman et al. (2004) stated, “These trends are amplified by a growing willingness on the part of political leaders to use market forces as a means of structuring higher education in order to increase the impact of competition” (p. 2). The key task for legislators, according to F. Newman et al. (2004) “is to determine where and how the government should intervene to make the market work effectively, without acceding to short-term trends to over regulate” (p. 5). However, F. Newman et al. (2004) further proposed that “every effective market needs strategic intervention by government in order to function fairly and efficiently” (p. 81).

Within this environment, “the demand for institutional accountability by political leaders has become a major issue” (F. Newman et al., 2004, p. 4). Once again, accountability requirements are based on the understanding that universities cannot exist in isolation from society. Ranson (2007) stated, “Public accountability articulates a theory of political authority grounded in the consent of society” (p. 213). The authority “resides with the public and its delegated representatives and officials on condition that they, in turn, account to the public (Ranson, 2007, p. 213). Within this context, “universities came under pressure to adopt the same forms of public accountability to which governments themselves were increasingly subjected” (Baert & Shipman, 2005, p. 164). F. Newman et al. (2004) focused on the perspective of political leaders stipulating that

they recognize that higher education is ever more central to their goals of economic development and civic renewal, while at the same time more frustrating to deal with and more set in its ways. The result has been a growing interest in and experimentation with market forces as a means of structuring higher education. If the current regulatory approach cannot encourage institutional responsiveness to public needs, the market can, or so theory goes. (p. 4)

According to Pelikan (1992), the university's "fiscal housekeeping must be beyond reproach, and that there must be within the community of higher education as a whole an atmosphere of accountability that will discourage fiscal abuses and if need be action taken against them" (p. 73).

It is interesting to note that increased autonomy often brings increased demands for accountability. As Larner (2000) has stated, neo-liberalism "may mean less government, [but] it does not follow that there is less governance. . . . It involves forms of governance that encourage both institutions and individuals to conform to the norms of the market" (p. 12). This is critical to the understanding of neo-liberalism and the viewpoint of institutions dependent on, but external, to the state. There are tradeoffs required by universities who decide that they are going to be more neo-liberal in their *modus operandi*. Kelly (2003) agreed that universities need to be accountable, but questions the limited view of accountability. Universities, according to Kelly "must be accountable for their processes as well as their products, and in particular for the degree to which they fulfill their roles as watchdogs of intellectual freedom on behalf of society" (2003, p. 108).

There is an abundance of measureable activities and functions to measure in universities, which qualify as performance indicators (PIs), including administrative,

teaching, and research outcomes. Measurements on a variety of levels in the institution also include individual faculty members, the department, the discipline, and the organization itself. Too often, according to Bruneau and Savage (2002), things are measured to fulfill a market-based need, rather than for quality improvement within the institution. Bruneau and Savage (2002) noted

too often the motive beyond PIs is to make teaching and learning into commodities for sale; to take post-secondary education out of the public sector; and to say that standards of due process and critical thinking are no more necessary in higher education than they are in the management of an ice cream factory. (p. 220)

There is also a need to strengthen governance in universities because “self-governing capability requires good governance, strong leadership and sound management” (Gallagher, 2001, p. 6). In addition, university leadership and management face increased demands of reporting and accountability to external stakeholders. According to Meyer (2007), this leads to “ongoing tension between upholding the values of collegial participation and meeting increased demands for accountability and effectiveness” (p. 231).

The bicameral system of board and senate governance of universities, combined with an academic culture of collegiality in decision-making, is tested by the growing need to be relevant to the market and to be accountable to government and other external stakeholders. These need not be mutually exclusive, but to reach a common ground of protecting the collegial form of governance in universities, and of meeting the needs of government on reporting and accountability, likely means that university leaders must navigate the two. University senates and committees must “ensure that financial issues are given appropriate attention within the process of academic decision-making” (Jones, Shanahan, & Goyan,

2004, p. 51). Government must ensure that its need for accountability does not devalue or threaten the important and independent role that universities play in society. And, to reach a common ground, university leaders must understand the need for both and articulate the values of each.

One of the main challenges to market orientation or entrepreneurship is the effect on a core value of Canadian higher education, that being, existing to serve the public good. As institutions make decisions based on market needs and revenue, this shift challenges that most specific of core values, serving the public. Wellman (2006) stated, “The new framing of the public agenda presents some challenges to traditional notions of institutional accountability. With declining public resources, institutions are being pushed to ensure their own survival in ways that may not mesh with the public agenda” (p. 114). Continuing education is a good example of this shift in mandate. As institutions have chosen to create units that are either cost recovery or net contributors, some programming aimed at serving local needs may be lost in favour of market-trendy programs and courses that generate profit.

Market-oriented programs have impacted accessibility to some institutions and programs. According to Quirke and Davies (2002), “The new academic entrepreneurship in the form of tuition increases, not only has profound implications for quality of access to higher education, but also for the sociological study of education” (p. 88). They cite changes in the gross family incomes of entering medical students at the University of Western Ontario, which rose from “\$80,000 to \$140,000 between 1998 and 2000, while the proportion of such students from families earning less than \$60,000 dropped from 36% to 15%” (Fine, 2001, as cited in Quirke & Davies, 2002, p. 88). In the quest to replace financial

resources with student tuition, institutions run the risk of serving more and more the financial elite, once again affecting the value and concept of public good.

The pressure to find industry and other private partners for university research has impinged on research areas that do not naturally lend themselves to these arrangements. The National Graduate Council of the Canadian Federation of Students (2007) reported that “even though over 60% of students study in the Social Sciences and Humanities, SSHRC receives significantly less funding than other granting councils” (p. 3). Furthermore, they question the impact of commercialization on universities, stating that these federal initiatives “create incentives for universities to meet the needs of business rather than broader social objectives upon which universities were founded” (NGC, 2007, p. 4).

The objective of this literature review was to establish the widest perspective, as well as theoretical underpinnings, in which contemporary higher education policy-making is taking place globally. As a practitioner of strategic planning over the past two decades, it appears that environmental comparisons can be made amongst many industrialized nations where external impacts on policy in one country lead to similar issues in another. This is particularly true of policy-making in Commonwealth countries such as, Australia, United Kingdom and Canada. Within this literature review, several examples and comparisons are made to each of these countries. What follows is a narrowing of this context to five Canadian provinces to provide a national comparison in selected provinces and to situate this case study, which occurs in one Canadian province.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

### **Public Policy Research – An Introduction**

According to Smith and Larimer (2009), “The study of public policy is concentrated in no single academic discipline, has no defining research question, is oriented toward no fundamental problem, has no unifying theory or conceptual framework, and has no unique methods or analytical tools” (p. 1). Jenkins (2007) noted, “Policy is a matter of defining means and ends and the relationship between them” (p. 24). This defining is further delineated by Smith and Larimer (2009): “Policy is a deliberate action (or non action) taken by government to achieve some desired end” (p. 75) and, is therefore “the study of decision making” (Smith & Larimer, 2009, p. 49).

In defining the difference between policy analysis and the policy process, Smith and Larimer (2009) stated, “Policy analysis asks questions about what should we do; policy process research is focused on the how and why of policy making” (p. 6). For them, the “central research question for policy process scholars revolves around how problems gain government attention, and who gets to define those problems and suggest solutions” (Smith & Larimer, 2009, p. 77). According to Taylor et al. (1997), “Policy is thus an instrument through which change is mapped onto existing policies, programmes, or organizations, and onto the demands made by particular interest groups” (p. 5).

### **Policy Archeology as a Method of Inquiry**

This dissertation is a qualitative research study and proposes using the case study method of inquiry. It highlights how policy gets developed within the context of understanding how the policy agendas, issues, and problems are generated. It specifically looks at interest group involvement and influence on policies affecting the university sector



in Newfoundland and Labrador. A qualitative approach was chosen in keeping with Creswell's (2009) definition as "a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (p. 4). An investigation in how policy forms is a good fit for exploring the research questions identified in this study.

A policy archeology approach was undertaken to understand the values and inputs involved in the policy-making process. For this review, policy archeology ought to provide a "different approach to policy studies, one that opens up an entire new territory, one that establishes a new problematic, and thus, one that substantially alters and expands the policy studies arena" (Scheurich, 1994, p. 297). This concept or approach to policy archeology is based on the work of Foucault and in particular on his writings on governmentality, discourse and method, published in 1991. In addition, in *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault defined archeology as "trying to establish rules of formation, in order to define the conditions of their realization" (1972, p. 207). In doing so, he sought to understand how the agendas or problems get identified. This represents a "radically different approach to policy studies in virtually all aspects, including definitions of problems and problem groups, discussions of policies and policy alternatives, and presumptions about the function of policy studies within the larger social order" (Scheurich, 1994, p. 209).

Policy archeology looks at how policy problems emerge, how they are defined, and what issues led to making them a problem. Critical to policy archeology as a methodology is the construction of a "grid of conditions, assumptions, [and] forces which make the emergence of a social problem, and its strands and traces possible – to understand how a social problem becomes visible as a social problem" (Scheurich, 1994, p. 300). The grid consists of "social regularities [that make up the problem definition and the] range of policy

solution” (Scheurich, 1994, p. 301). It should be noted that no examples of the use of policy archeology as a method of inquiry in Canadian higher education research were found.

### **Qualitative Case Study Research**

In order to understand how policy agendas are created and who influences it through the creation process, a case study approach was employed to understand the construction of the 2005 White Paper on post-secondary education in Newfoundland and Labrador. This was conducted based on Yin’s (1994) work in case study research from a constructivist approach. According to Yin (1994), case study research is an “empirical inquiry [that is useful to] investigate a contemporary phenomena within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13).

McKee (2004) stated, “Case studies are powerful tools for understanding human experience and learning from it” (p. 6). They also “take readers beyond their experiences” (McKee, 2004, p. 7), which, in McKee’s opinion, is particularly important for practitioners in gaining a wider perspective of situations and events that they face in professional practice. It is within this context that “case studies contribute to the building of professional repertoire [particularly when in] practice-oriented fields of research” (Johansson, 2003, p. 4) of which, it is argued, higher education is one. Building of professional repertoire increases the understanding of complex problems and contributes to the knowledge of professionals to be used as input into day-to-day or complex issues they encounter personally as leaders and which their organizations at large may face. This ought to be measured by the need to “resist standardization [or within this context readers will] recognize aspects of the case that resonate with their own experience” (McKee, 2004, p. 7), but they may not be fully generalized to their experience. In reading this case, there may be aspects that can be

immediately generalized to other, similar situations; however, the unique context of events may not be fully generalized. The expectation is that it does contribute to a wider understanding of how the policy agenda facing universities is developed outside of the institution, and the role of interest groups in shaping that agenda. It is the position of this research that, understanding the context and experience of one location is valuable in interpreting the wider context, especially for leaders who try to uncover the changing landscape of external influence on the agenda of universities. Ultimately, this case seeks to broaden and deepen the understanding of agenda-setting affecting universities.

One of the criticisms of case study research concerns generalizing because “one cannot generalize from a single case, therefore the single case study cannot contribute to scientific development” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 219). Flyvbjerg (2006) addressed this issue as a misunderstanding about case study, proposing two arguments to refute it. The first is simply that “formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas ‘the force of example’ is undervalued” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 231). In other words, there is value in research in understanding an example of a particular theory or hypothesis. Presumably, given the number of government-led reviews of higher education in Canadian provinces, there is value in understanding, through one example, how interest groups shaped the agenda or resulting policy decisions and directions.

Furthermore, Flyvbjerg (2006) proposed that the value of a critical case is in contributing to a general understanding. A critical case, according to Flyvbjerg (2006), is found by looking for “either [the] ‘most likely’ or ‘least likely’ cases, that is cases which are likely to either clearly confirm or irrefutably falsify propositions and hypotheses” (p. 233). It is argued that the case studied in this research is a critical case due to the volume of

information available for review and the key informant availability. Personal access to all of the documents and group consultant reports provides an opportunity to review thoroughly the inputs that were made to the policy development process. In addition, the availability of key informants provides additional evidence for understanding how the consultation process was designed, how the participants were chosen, and how the input was used in the policy development process.

For the purposes of this study, it is specifically intended to uncover the context of a particular policy process leading to a final policy document. The linkage between inputs into the policy process (correspondence, consultation sessions, and formal submissions) and the final product (document) and its ultimate effect on Memorial University is the essence of this research. This should provide readers with insight into how interest groups influence policy formulation through the investigation of a contemporary issue and policy process; it should also assist university leaders in understanding how the policy agenda-making is set and how agents external to the institution shape that agenda.

### **Policy Archeology Process**

In order to undertake critical policy analysis, the research started with a wide analysis of the issues and then gradually narrowed to the specific policy paper studied. In addition, the research considered all other available resources that were happening around the timeframe of the policy process in order to (1) understand the context for the review, and (2) understand the interest group dynamics between some of the main groups that would be involved in the policy development process. Policy archeology was intriguing because it permits the peeling away of layers in the policy development process and considers what is happening within and

external to the process to inform critical public policy research. Table 1 identifies the three components used in this case study.

Table 1

*Policy Archeology Process through Case Study Methodology*

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Part 1: The National context	<p>Policy reviews of post-secondary education in five provinces: Ontario, Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, and British Columbia</p> <p><i>Purpose:</i> Provide the context of public policy-making in other provinces during the same period</p>
Part 2: Case location and context	<p>General overview of case location (province), environmental scan of politics and decision-making, history of post-secondary policy, and historical evolution of Memorial University</p> <p><i>Purpose:</i> Provide background and context to understand landscape of post-secondary education in Newfoundland and Labrador</p>
Part 3: Specific policy process	<p>Examination of public policy consultation process, external circumstances around the process, and interest group dynamics</p> <p><i>Purpose:</i> Explore the 2005 White Paper on Post-Secondary Education and the dynamics between interest groups during that process</p>

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**Data Collection**

Data was collected for all three components of the case study.

**Part one.** The study started with gaining a broader understanding of what was happening nationally. Since post-secondary education is a provincial responsibility in Canada, the study started with understanding the dynamics of what was happening in other

Canadian provinces, including Ontario, Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, and British Columbia.

**Part two.** Once the broader Canadian context was understood, the study was narrowed to the case location by understanding the dynamics of government, the university, and how public agenda-setting and influence happens generally in the case location: Newfoundland and Labrador. This included:

- (a) an overview of the historical, economic and political landscape of Newfoundland and Labrador over the last 100 years and up to the 2003 Progressive Conservative party platform that resulted in a change of government from Liberal to Progressive Conservative.
- (b) a brief history of post-secondary policy formulation in Newfoundland and Labrador from 1996 to 2003
- (c) a brief history of Memorial University, its origin, and evolution.

**Part three.** The final part of the study was specific to the policy process being reviewed and external dynamics within government and the university just prior to and during the consultation process. Three sources of data were used in understanding the specific policy process.

First, this included a review of other government policy documents that had a direct or indirect influence on post-secondary education policy between 2004 and 2005. Such policy documents included throne speeches and budget speeches and other policy papers that reference post-secondary education. This text analysis relies on discourse theories and, according to Taylor (1994), “enhanced the scope of critical policy analysis” (p. 25). Discourse theories acknowledge the power and knowledge and speak to the importance of

language and meaning, “aspects which have often been taken for granted in policy making in the past” (Taylor, 1994, p. 25).

To understand what issues initially contributed to the need for the province’s White Paper, material external to the review process and available through the local media was examined. Documents created by Memorial University, including on-campus newspapers (*Gazette* and *The Muse*), Senate, and Board of Regents’ minutes during the period of the policy development were also reviewed. These were reviewed in order to understand internal university stakeholders’ views and whether they influenced the policy consultation exercise and ultimate agenda-setting.

Once that was understood, the research focused on the specific policy process under review. This included a review of all supporting information available through written consultations and consultation meeting notes that helped form an understanding of the issues that emerged from the groups who participated in the process. This information included 110 written submissions (102 were available) and written reports from 19 of the 21 consultation sessions held around the province. Written correspondence and notes from individual meetings held were unavailable from the government department housing the information. It is important to note that this study focused on the dynamics between interest groups to understand agenda-setting and not the actual content of submissions provided. The only reference to content of submissions was used to highlight issues of importance and positions of various interest groups and when there appeared to be disagreement between positions or differences in approaches to highlight the dynamics happening between interest groups at the time.

## **Document Analysis**

The consultation process had two main components. The first was written submissions and the second was consultation sessions. All original submissions available to the policy consultation process were read and reviewed. This included 102 submissions as noted previously. Written submissions were coded by government researchers against 12 guiding questions used in the consultation process. This coding, along with the current researcher's review, was used to determine key themes and to sort issues by interest group; a spreadsheet was developed in Microsoft Excel to create an effective and concise rendering of the important points raised and key themes that emerged.

Consultation sessions were guided using different questions than those used in the written submissions. Written reports captured by the government reporters were reviewed. Reports were available for 19 of the 21 sessions held. In the case of the two missing, written submissions from these groups were available. Analysis of the consultation reports relied on written accounts prepared by government analysts on each consultation session. This was identified as a potential risk to the integrity of data available. The risk of inaccurate data was mitigated by 11 of the consultation sessions also having prepared written submissions into the process that were prepared specifically by the interest group. Key themes were captured in a spreadsheet to determine major themes and variances of opinion and position between interest groups on each of the key questions.

## **Key Informant Interviews**

Policy analysis is more than an analysis of text. For Taylor et al. (1997), "Policies are [thus] dynamic and interactive, and not merely a set of instructions or intentions" (p. 15). To move beyond the text, key informant interviews were conducted with:



1. Dr. Wayne Ludlow, former dean of Student Affairs at Memorial University and commissioner for White Paper consultation process.
2. Mr. Cyril Farrell, former administrator at the College of the North Atlantic and advisor to the commissioner for the 2005 White Paper consultation process.
3. a department executive member who led the file for the Department of Education at the time. Note that the use of title here was developed with the interviewee. The title department executive member would be a deputy or assistant deputy minister level.
4. a policy researcher in the Department of Education who worked in the post-secondary education branch and was specially assigned to the 2005 White Paper process.
5. a learning development specialist who worked in Public Service Secretariat at the time of the consultation process and was called on to assist the commissioners and the departmental representatives in the design and implementation of the consultation process.

These interviews were interviewed to understand the design of the consultation process and the rationale for choosing the design that was implemented. Both of these variables were important to understanding the context for interest group dynamics that occurred.

The interview protocol as provided by Creswell (2009) was used “for asking questions and recording answers” (p. 183). This protocol advises researchers on how to begin an interview, how to create opportunities for probing questions, and the need to thank the participant. In this research, some questions were clearly identified in advance, while some of

the interviews were open-ended allowing the participant and researcher to engage in conversation based on the responses received.

The longest interviews were those conducted with the commissioner and his advisor appointed by the government to lead the process and write the policy consultation document. Interviews focused on (1) the role commissioners played in the process; (2) how interest groups were identified; (3) participants' perceptions on the quality of involvement and submissions received by stakeholders through the process; (4) any outside review of documents or research the participant had undertaken for the process; and (5) the participants' perceptions on whether the groups involved in the consultation were involved to deliberately inform the process, or whether they were bystanders contributing because they were asked to or who performed some other role.

The following questions were common in each of the five interviews conducted:

The internal and external environment

1. What external and internal (government) conditions existed in 2005 that prompted the need for a review of the post-secondary education system In Newfoundland and Labrador?
2. Who made the decision to undertake a review and white paper?
3. Why was there a need for a white paper on post-secondary education?
4. How were the two commissioners chosen to undertake the review?

The public consultation process

1. Why was public consultation chosen as a component of the white paper process?

2. What process was chosen? Can you comment on the design—was it intentionally designed, informal, or ad hoc in nature? Did this follow a general government approach and template?
3. How was consultation from the public requested?
4. Were individuals or groups identified by the government to participate, or was it an open process or combination thereof?
5. How would you describe the level of interest in the consultation process?
6. Who were the main contributors?
7. Were there groups or individuals that were missing?
8. Could the consultation process have been refined to enable their participation?
9. Who were the most effective contributors in the sense of whose voices dominated the consultation process and why? What approach did they take, was it different than others?
10. As policy elite/commissioners, did you get what you needed from the consultation process? If not, what was missing?

What was important to this research was the dynamic between the interest groups, how the interest groups behaved, and who ultimately shaped the agenda. Therefore, this research was primarily interested in how various groups positioned themselves and their issues within the process, who was in agreement, and who was at odds. This ultimately was captured to inform institutional leaders of the dynamics within policy agenda-setting.

## **Research Validity and Reliability**

Informants were invited to participate by formal letter, which included an overview of the study. They were advised that the interviews would be audiotaped and transcribed and they would be able to review the transcript once it was made available.

As a result of the limited number of interviews and the intention for interviewees to be specific individuals, it was not possible to provide informant anonymity. Individuals were identified because of the specific function they had represented at the time of the policy development and not in their formal or general role in the various government departments. Participants were informed of this in the consent form. How participants are identified was then discussed. Professional titles rather than names were used in the research since the individual's role and not the actual individual was critical to the research.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Records were gathered electronically and saved, along with the interview transcripts, in a password-protected storage system. Storing this information on a document management system was done to safeguard against loss of data through computer problems or theft of a specific computer. Transcripts and recordings were password protected to ensure further security. The researcher will retain all data for the period of 1 year following the completion and acceptance of the dissertation.

All of these understandings were included in the Research Ethics Approval (included in Appendix A).

Reliability of the findings was addressed in two ways. First, participants were directly involved in reviewing the interview transcripts. Validity of the study was strengthened and trust was created by inviting participants to review the transcription of their interviews. Second, reliability in the findings of the overall study was achieved through triangulating

evidence from the literature review, with inputs from the 2005 White Paper on post-secondary education and also with key informant interviews.

Validity and reliability was also achieved through triangulation. Triangulation of data, according to Creswell (2009), allowed the researcher to examine evidence to “build a coherent justification for themes” (p. 191). This was achieved by understanding the wider context and narrowing to the case location and specific policy process. It was also achieved by assembling multiple forms of evidence in reviewing the policy process. Triangulation, according to Ritchie and Lewis (2003), “involves the use of different methods and sources to check the integrity of, or extend, inferences drawn from the data” (p. 43). Within this policy process, these specific forms of evidence included written submissions, consultations, and key informant interviews.

### **Understanding Potential Case Study Limitations**

One of the complexities of this research was the necessity of validating my personal voice and perspective. As noted earlier, I had direct involvement in the policy consultation and in the implementation of the policy document being studied. Drawing on the stand point theory of Smith (as cited in Allan, 2006), my knowledge should be seen as a value to the study, rather than a deterrent. Smith, a feminist theorist, used lived experiences as an advantage to the interpretation of text. According to Allan (2006), “Stand point theory isn’t a theory per se; it’s a method of observation that privileges the point of view of actual people over theoretical, abstract knowledge” (p. 387). In fact, using Smith’s approach should strengthen the research. Allan (2006) noted, “Abstractions and ideological deconstruction, the critique by itself isn’t enough; it doesn’t tell the actual story” (p. 388). Theory in both forms, according to Allan, “plays itself out in the everyday, actual world of people” (2006, p.

388). I brought that perspective to the forefront in the development of questions and probing of participants in interviews and in the transcription of text. My experience, in this instance, strengthened the overall outcomes, and my ability to look in-depth at the case study.

According to Flyvbjerg (2006), “the most advanced form of understanding is achieved when researchers place themselves within the context being studied. Only this way can researchers understand the viewpoints and the behaviours, which characterizes social actors” (p. 239).

One of the criticisms of case study research is that it is open to bias on the part of the researcher. On this point, Flyvbjerg (2006) stated, “Case study contains no greater bias toward verification of the researcher’s preconceived notions than other methods of inquiry” (p. 240). Because I had direct involvement as a member of an interest group involved in the policy consultation process and as an employee of the university being studied, I did have a personal perspective of it. Flyvbjerg (2006) said case studies provide for this involvement, pointing out that “experience indicates that the case study contains a greater bias toward falsification of preconceived notion than towards verification” (p. 240). However, to minimize bias, my study focused primarily on documents, records, and print-based media. Interviews were used to provide context and to describe how the consultation process was established. Relying on available written documents allowed me to ensure that findings were both evidenced-based and reported, backing up observations and conclusions made.

## **Chapter 4: Policy Archeology Part 1: The Canadian Context**

### **Policy Reviews: Post-Secondary Education in Canada 2000–2010**

Provincial governments have been quite protective over their jurisdiction in education since the establishment of the Canadian Federation in 1867. As a result, the Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC) is the only functioning national body on education in Canada. It is comprised of ministers responsible for education across all Canadian provinces and territories. Their publications concerning post-secondary education over the past 10 years focus on four areas: accessibility, affordability, quality, and labour market.

From the period 2005 to 2007, post-secondary education in Canada was under scrutiny by numerous Canadian provinces when the advancement of knowledge accelerated the same as the source of economic growth. Numerous provincial governments commissioned reviews of their post-secondary education system during this period, including the location of this research, Newfoundland and Labrador. A review of five of these reports (Ontario, Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, and British Columbia) reveals common themes and concerns facing higher education in Canada and provides important context to the policy review in this research.

Kirby (2007), a faculty member at Memorial University and current member in the provincial legislature, conducted an analysis of the main themes in these provincial reviews. According to Kirby (2007), “Each review was conducted by external, independent commissions appointed by the governments in these provinces where comprehensive province-wide consultations were central to the work” (p. 2). Further, there were similar themes addressed in the reports, including “affordability, accessibility, accountability, institutional collaboration, diversity, funding and quality” (Kirby, 2007, p. 2).

**Ontario.** In 2005, the Province of Ontario appointed former premier, the Honourable Bob Rae, as an advisor to the premier and minister of training, colleges and universities to conduct a review of the Ontario system. The report, *Ontario: A Leader in Learning* (Rae, 2005), was mandated primarily to look at system design and funding, and, on a secondary level, international recruitment and marketing.

The mandate of the Ontario review was “to provide recommendations on the design and funding of Ontario’s postsecondary education system” (Rae, 2005, p. 107). Mr. Rae clearly stated in the report that he wanted the review to do three things: foster public debate, engage in consultations, and develop an electronic database of research reports that had been consulted (Rae, 2005). The review was announced in budget 2004 and was to conclude in time to provide recommendations for the 2005 budget cycle. The review was divided into three stages. The first stage was a review of research and past studies on higher education. The conclusion of the 2004 phase was marked by the release of a discussion paper entitled *Higher Expectations for Higher Education*.

The second stage was an extensive consultation strategy. According to the Rae report (2005), “The consultation phase was one of the most extensive undertaken on an important policy issue in recent years, fostering public awareness and debate in communities across the province” (p. 109). Electronic communications was a focus of the public presence in the consultation. A web site was available, which tracked the number of visitors at 56,000 (Rae, 2005). Members of the public, 2,000 in total, signed up for email updates from the secretariat supporting Mr. Rae’s work. Approximately 800 written submissions, both formal and informal, were submitted, including 502 from individuals and 311 from institutions, associations, and organizations (Rae, 2005). A work book was also available online which



“posed key questions about the future of post-secondary education system and outlined a series of approaches that could be implemented in Ontario to improve the current system” (Rae, 2005, p. 110). The public was given opportunity to answer these questions.

Consultations were presented in two formats and involved approximately 5,500 participants (Rae, 2005). The first was roundtable dialogues that were invitation-based and involved key stakeholders in the post-secondary system. The second was a series of 17 town hall meetings that were open to any member of the public or media (Rae, 2005). Specialized sessions were also held with “aboriginal leaders, persons with disabilities and financial aid administrators to focus on their specific experiences and perspectives” (Rae, 2005, p. 110).

Students organized their own form of input independent of the designed process. Student campaigns in the form of postcards, letters, and petitions resulted in over 7,000 students having their say in the process (Rae, 2005). Students’ strategies of inclusion included:

letter writing campaigns – Canadian Federation of Students post card campaign (5,400 postcards), Canadian Federation of Students email campaign (110 emails), and Midwifery students (108 letters and signatures) – and petitions – Helping to Advocate for Lower Tuition (HALT) (374 signatures), a petition presented at Centennial College (592 signatures), and a petition from the students at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology/Durham College (747 signatures). (Rae, 2005, p. 111)

It is interesting to note that the input from students did not follow the preplanned consultation framework. Rather, students chartered their own means of contributing to the process, independent of the one formally established by the commission.

**Alberta.** The premier of Alberta, in 2005, announced “that the Alberta government would make access to affordable and high quality advanced education its top priority” (Government of Alberta, Department of Innovation and Advanced Education [GoA, DoI&AE], 2006, p. 6). A steering committee formed to determine how to accomplish that goal was co-chaired by a representative from government and one from the private sector. The committee was comprised of stakeholders internal and external to the post- secondary institutions.

The context for the work of this committee was derived from the fact that “Alberta has the highest workforce participation rate in Canada; it also has among the lowest participation rate in post secondary studies” (GoA, DoI&AE, 2006, p. 1). This was linked to the Government of Alberta’s overall direction in recommending “that in order to maximize opportunities for Albertans to reach their full potential, the advanced education system must operate within a collaborative framework that expands opportunities, focuses on communities, and reaches out to underrepresented – disadvantaged groups” (GoA, DoI&AE, 2006, p. 2). According to Kirby (2009),

If we [Albertans] are to become a true learning society, whereby a larger segment of our population has access to and is continually engaged in learning throughout their lives, educators, institutions, and public policy makers must collaborate to increase participation levels amongst diverse and emerging group of learners. (p. 5)

The report entitled *A Learning Alberta* (GoA, DoI&AE, 2006) focused on improving access to and success for Aboriginal communities, adults with low literacy levels, people with disabilities, and immigrants. The final report set out a vision for advanced education in Alberta, outlining six targets or measurements that would define success, as well as policy

principles, outcomes, and directions. It also focused on affordability, and considered the expansion of research and innovation. The final report was supplemented by an earlier release of a document *What We Heard: A Learning Alberta Submissions and Consultations*. This report summarized input from approximately 3,000 Albertans through “an online public forum, regional meetings, and MLA meetings” (GoA, DoI&AE, 2005a, p. 5) and led to the creation of a draft policy framework. That framework was used as input into a minister’s forum on *A Learning Alberta*. This forum brought together “250 students, faculty members, advanced education institutions, Aboriginal representatives, community learning agencies, literacy groups, immigrant support groups, basic learning, business, and industry training and apprenticeship representatives” (GoA, DoI&AE, 2005b, p. i). The report arising out of the consultations was divided into seven themes. These were reviewed, comparing them against the final report, and there was a direct match between the summary of comments received and the final report.

**Saskatchewan.** In Saskatchewan, Warren McCall, as minister of Advanced Education and Employment served as the chair of the post-secondary education accessibility and affordability review that was completed in October 2007. The minister submitted the report to the premier. Following submission, however, the government changed from New Democratic to the Saskatchewan Party. While the document is available online, the appendix to the report is the only working link from the government web site.

The Saskatchewan review resembled a research undertaking, including a formal literature review prepared by officials in the Department of Advanced Education and Employment, 11 public consultations, and three regional stakeholder consultation forums, followed by an additional review of the literature. An interim report containing a summary of

the research and consultations was submitted in April, 2007. The final report was submitted to the premier in October, 2007.

The final document was identified as “a vision for the future of post-secondary education in Saskatchewan [and] key principles and overarching goals for the system, the key themes necessary to move forward on those goals and specific recommendations or priorities for the shorter term” (McCall, 2007, p. 2). The key principles identified were access, affordability, and quality. With the exception of one recommendation related to research, all recommendations addressed affordability for students and access for non-traditional groups, particularly citizens in rural areas and aboriginals.

**New Brunswick.** In the same year, 2007, the Commission on Post-Secondary Education New Brunswick (CoPSE-NB) released *Advantage New Brunswick: A Province Reaches to Fulfill its Destiny* (Commission on Post-Secondary Education New Brunswick [CoPSE-NB], 2007). The commission’s terms of reference as established by government noted five themes to guide the work: accessible, relevant, quality, competitive, and collaborative (Government of New Brunswick, 2007). The final report adjusted these themes accordingly, accessible, relevant and responsive, comprehensive, efficient, of high quality, and accountable (CoPSE-NB, 2007).

The policy development process was co-chaired by Rick Miner and Jacques L’Écuyer. As with many significant undertakings in New Brunswick, bilingualism is central and the choice of an English and a French speaking co-chairs is reflective of that practice. Both commissioners had distinguished careers in higher education. They were supported by a commission staff and held consultations that resulted in 100 formal briefs and “hundreds and hundreds of people during 12 public sessions” (CoPSE-NB, 2007, p. i). They also

acknowledged meetings with “scores of others who had particular interests in New Brunswick post-secondary education” (CoPSE-NB, 2007, p. i). The report appendix quantified these submissions as 105 briefs, 37 presentations, and 50 meetings (CoPSE-NB, 2007).

The New Brunswick report focused on increased access for students, research, and graduate studies, and the structure of the post-secondary system in the province. The primary recommendation of the report was “to transform post-secondary education from an institutional focus into a true post-secondary education system” (CoPSE-NB, 2007, p. 5). Within this context, the report focused on credit transfer from college to university, access to the first 2 years of university throughout the province, creation of polytechnical institutions in various regions of the province, and increased access to distance education.

An interesting focus of this report was the recommendations and commentary dedicated to the role of the provincial department of Post-secondary Education, Training and Labour. The report stated, “The provincial government needs to better clarify its own mission and purpose in the areas of postsecondary education” (CoPSE-NB, 2007, p. 5). The report went on to say, “Its institutional relations with universities are almost non-existent while it often plays a far too intrusive role vis-à-vis the colleges and apprenticeship program” (CoPSE-NB, 2007, p. 5). The commission reported that the role of the government department should focus “primarily on policy, not on administrative detail” (CoPSE-NB, 2007, p. 5).

The commissioners made special mention of the student leaders in the transmittal letter with the report. Here they stated,

Special recognition must be given to all the student leaders in the province. We were impressed with their insightfulness, thoughtfulness, and their willingness to look at issues from the basis of a problem rather than starting from a deeply entrenched position. (CoPSE-NB, 2007, p. ii)

**British Columbia.** Yet another province undertook a review of post-secondary education in 2007. British Columbia released its report *Campus 2020: Thinking Ahead* (Plant, 2007). This report was a vision document and blueprint of how the post-secondary education system in BC needed to be organized and focused to advance the government's goal to be "the best educated, most literate jurisdiction in North America by 2015" (Plant, 2007, p. 13). The report represented "the first comprehensive look at higher education in British Columbia in 45 years" (Plant, 2007, p. 3). The review and plan were led by special advisor Geoff Plant, QC, and former member of the legislative assembly of BC.

Similar to other reports, this document was developed as a result of significant consultations—with two significant differences. The first was the commissioning of "six think pieces – essays by leading scholars intended to stimulate debate on a range of issues [we] considered to be important to the future of post-secondary education" (Plant, 2007, p. 7). The second was the engagement of scholars from outside British Columbia to provide "advice and perspective" (Plant, 2007, p. 7).

Consultations followed a pattern similar to others, including (1) the use of websites where the number of visits to the site was recorded; (2) 200 comments and submissions by mail, fax or website; (3) a short video used to engage high school students and what they thought plus a survey of 400 recent high school graduates; and, (4) community consultations, roundtables, and speaker forums (Plant, 2007).

The report also differed in context from the others, suggesting a plan with goals and targets as opposed to employing qualitative terminology such as “excellence, accessibility and affordability” (Plant, 2007, p. 13). The report did contain 52 recommendations, but these recommendations were associated with measureable targets intended to advance the overall government goal of being the best educated jurisdiction in North America by 2015. Similar in theme to other provincial reviews, the report addressed issues of access and attainment for adults, Aboriginal learners, and immigrants. It also discussed changing demographics in British Columbia, which, similar to other Canadian provinces, is experiencing a decline in population, particularly in the northern and rural communities.

As a component to the discussion and recommendations on access, the *Campus 2020* report (Plant, 2007) addressed planning, coordination, and accountability. Within that context it noted,

one of the strengths of a system characterized by extensive institutional diversity is the relatively high degree of institutional autonomy. The potential weakness is the absence of any readily identifiable or properly accountable sense of collective purpose. (Plant, 2007, p. 25)

Much of the report discussed the need for coordination within the system of both public and private providers and the need for local accessibility to post-secondary education. This report was more structural in nature than others in that it recommended changes within the structure of the system. One of the main recommendations was the creation of regional universities that were formerly university colleges and, according to Plant (2007), that were not well understood. Plant recommended the creation of regional universities with four functions—primarily dedicated to teaching, a focus of research designed to advance teaching

and, the provision of regional access to education from adult education to undergraduate and master's degrees, and being relevant to the needs of the region (Plant, 2007, p. 67).

While some are more visionary and some more practical in their results, there is a startling similarity in the issues addressed in each of these provincial post-secondary reviews. A central theme in the studies is the focus on student access and participation particularly of non-traditional and often disadvantaged groups such as the rural, Aboriginal, disabled, and immigrant, populations, which are addressed in each of the reports. This is in keeping with Kirby (2009) who also wrote about the transition to universal post-secondary education in Canada stating, "Public policy must more directly address the impediments to post-secondary participation that have existed for those who have traditionally been excluded from this level of education" (p.2).

Another theme in these reports is funding and in particular, student funding. Thus issues that directly impact student participation and access appear to be at the forefront of these government and public agendas. Considering the massive expansion of post-secondary education that has taken place in Canada since the 1950s, the much-anticipated increased access and participation for disadvantaged, marginalized, and under-represented populations has not yet materialized (Kirby, 2009).

As much as these reviews appeared to be addressing the social agenda of post-secondary education through accessibility and attainable goals, "education remains the primary mechanism by which low income and disadvantaged groups can transcend the socioeconomic positions of their families" (Kirby, 2007, p. 13). Therefore, addressing post-secondary participation and access for disadvantaged groups correlates directly with better investment of public funds, more highly skilled people in the labour market, and ultimately



higher economic growth. However, in these reports there is a clear focus on social justice and equity for non-traditional and disadvantaged groups because it will lead to increased economic prosperity for Canada.

With the exception of Saskatchewan and Alberta, the provincial commissions were all chaired by examiners outside of the direct minister or Department of Advanced Education, although it is quite evident that the people in provincial departments played a significant role in these reviews. With the exception of Alberta and New Brunswick reports, current or former provincial politicians chaired them all, although the Alberta review had three current members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) as part of the steering committee. This implies that the agenda-setting was predicated by the political policies of the governing party, and choosing former political leaders ensured that the political lens was central to the policy review process.

Kirby (2007) revealed that, “taken together they [the provincial reviews] demonstrate the pervasive influence of economic globalization which is accompanied by an increasingly utilitarian, market-oriented ideological outlook on post-secondary education’s *raison d’être*” (p. 2). One of the limitations of governmentality as a theoretical or conceptual tool is that it is such a broad concept that almost anything related to the art of government can fall under it (Dean, 2010; Fimyar, 2008; Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991). Kirby (2007) noted, “This economic policy approach accentuates the contribution of post-secondary education to economic development and places lesser emphasis on traditional academic humanist perspectives on post-secondary education, which tend to emphasize education for citizenship and collective benefit of society” (p. 5).

## **Chapter 5: Policy Archeology Part 2: Case Study Location and Context**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the necessary background and context for understanding the landscape of post-secondary education in Newfoundland and Labrador to situate the case location and the context in which the study takes place. This is primarily afforded through a historical view of policy documents concerning post-secondary education in Newfoundland and Labrador between 1986 and 2003. The chapter sets the stage for the location: the province of Newfoundland and Labrador and Memorial University. A description and evolution of the public post-secondary system is provided to give the context leading to Chapter 6 that specifically discusses the 2005 White Paper on post-secondary education.

Understanding the province itself is important to this case study. Therefore, this chapter provides an overview of the historical, economic, and political context of the province over the past 100 years. Since the premise of this dissertation is the impact of policy-making on the university, a brief historical context of the evolution of Memorial University is also provided to explicate how the university developed within the framework of the province as a whole. In addition, this chapter provides a context for the organization of government in Newfoundland and Labrador and the political system in the province. Specific reference is made to the structure of government and the political system with detail provided on the Progressive Conservative Party platform in 2003, given that in the 2003 provincial election, government power changed from the Liberal party to Progressive Conservative party.

### **Case Location: Newfoundland and Labrador and Memorial University**

Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949. During WW I and II, the Royal Newfoundland Regiment fought as the army of an independent country within the British Empire. Many young men went into service and many lives were lost. The economic cost to the country for its participation left it financially devastated and is said to be one of the primary reasons why Newfoundland opted to join Canada in 1949.

Whether it was the financial hardship that burdened Newfoundland after World War I, or whether it was the significant number of young men lost and the subsequently huge human sacrifice that was made by many families, the impact of World War I on the psyche of the place cannot ever be underestimated. Almost every family experienced some impact, and everyone has a story to tell. My own great-grandmother is said to have been the most bereaved mother of ,World War I losing four sons to the conflict.

Rex Murphy, a Rhodes scholar, Memorial University alumnus, and national media commentator captured the essence of the impact of the war in his June 30, 2012 commentary in *The National Post*:

The greatest tragedy in Newfoundland's history occurred on July 1, 1916 the opening day of the Battle of the Somme, when nearly 800 men from the 1<sup>st</sup> Newfoundland Regiment went "over the top" at Beaumont Hamel, only to suffer close to 700 casualties within less than half an hour. It was the virtual annihilation of the entire Regiment. The shockwaves from Beaumont Hamel went through every town and village, city and outport of the time. There was not a place unmarked with grief. To this day, the memory of Beaumont Hamel commands deep respect and notice (Murphy, 2012, para. 2).

The deaths of these men in World War I were gripping. The mothers who lost so much desired a living memorial to commemorate the sacrifice of these young people. Largely because of their efforts, Memorial College was created in 1925. Central to its origin was the fact that “some educational leaders involved in schooling saw a college as a necessary adjunct to improve the teaching of teachers and hence upgrade the quality of schooling” (Johnston, 1990, p. 2). According to Johnston (1990), Newfoundlanders previously only had “two options – to take teacher training through one of the denominational Normal Schools, or . . . attend other post-secondary institutions off the island, in Canada, the United States or Great Britain” (p. 5). The creation of Memorial College provided 2 years of post-secondary education in general arts and science in addition to a pre-medical option. Students who wanted to complete a degree in the latter had to leave Newfoundland to do so.

The development of Memorial College from 1925 until 1949 was hampered by the financial circumstance of Newfoundland. In 1934, as a result of the significant costs of the World War I effort, construction costs of the Newfoundland railway, and declining fish prices, Newfoundland went bankrupt and entered into Commission of Government with the United Kingdom (Johnston, 1990). This meant that any effort to advance Memorial College into university status had to be agreed to by a government thousands of miles away. In essence, the Dominion of Newfoundland had lost its independent status and its affairs were governed by Great Britain (Johnston, 1990).

During this time, the Commission of Government wanted to “ensure efficiency of operations while permitting minimum change” (Johnston, 1990, p. 6). In 1946, when the global economy began growing again after World War II, national government returned to Newfoundland. As entry into the Canadian federation approached so too did the growth of

Memorial College from a college to a university. In 1949, when Newfoundland joined Confederation, one of the first legislative acts was the raising of Memorial College to the status of a university. The first degrees offered were in arts and education (Johnston, 1990). Thus it was that Memorial University became a living monument to those who fought in World War I and subsequent conflicts.

The Premier in 1949, Joseph R. Smallwood, firmly believed in the importance of the role of education in the long-term development of the province. Smallwood's liberal government "was determined to make [MUN] an integral part of the economic development policy for the Province" (Johnston, 1990, p. 6). He once said that the university should be the most distinguished institution for its size in the world (MUN, 2007b, p. 1). It is the only university in the province; because of this, and the circumstances in which it developed, it has always had a special responsibility to the citizens of Newfoundland and Labrador, and by virtue of these unique origins is intrinsically tied to the social, cultural, and economic development of the province.

The post-secondary system in Newfoundland and Labrador has evolved since the creation of Memorial College in 1925. When it became a full university in 1949, it evolved from a single-building campus into a newly located multi-building environment. In 1964, the College of Fisheries, Navigation, Marine Engineering, and Electronics was located in the old, original Memorial University building. This college was locally known as the College of Fisheries, and in 1986 became the Institute of Fisheries and Marine Technology (Marine Institute) moving into its own purpose-built facility. In 1992, the Marine Institute officially became part of Memorial University so that its programming could merit degree-granting status. Memorial University also expanded to include a location on the island's west coast in

the city of Corner Brook. Here, Sir Wilfred Grenfell College was created, first known as Western Regional College in 1975, before being renamed in 1979. Over time, Grenfell College (now known as Grenfell Campus, Memorial University) was enlarged from a 2-year transfer campus to one offering a variety of degrees, including Newfoundland's only degrees in visual arts and theatre. Memorial University also operates the Labrador Institute, based in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. Furthermore, Memorial University has operated a campus in Harlow, England, since 1969, which serves primarily as a student residence. At Harlow, various Memorial University faculties and schools offer semester-long programs or institutes. Memorial University is only one of two Canadian universities that operate campuses in England.

The college system, too, was evolved, beginning with a College of Trades and Technology in St. John's and a heavy equipment school in Stephenville Crossing in 1963. In that same year, 17 district vocation schools opened across the province, including two in Labrador. In 1977, the Bay St. George Community College was created, encompassing the existing college-based activities in the western region. The college system went through a series of restructurings over 40 years until 1996, when all 17 college campuses were organized under one provincial college system headquartered in Stephenville on the island of Newfoundland . Much of the reorganization of the college system happened as a result of educational reviews that were led by government. The merger of the provincial colleges into one system in 1996 arose due to budget reductions and reorganization within the province (CNA, n.d.).

Newfoundland and Labrador's culture and economy were significantly altered with the closure of the groundfish industry of the province announced on July 2, 1992, by the

federal fisheries minister due to dwindling available fish stock in the province's waters. The fishery, which had sustained the province through its 400 years of history, was the industry that supported many communities outside of the larger urban centres. In these communities, there were not only fish harvesters but also fish processing plants that employed a significant number of people. This moratorium meant that approximately 20,000 inshore fishery workers were immediately out of work, and many had to leave the province in order to gain employment.

On the 20th anniversary of this fisheries closure, Murphy (2012) said in his commentary to *The National Post* entitled *Watching the Outports of Newfoundland Vanish*:

The moratorium brought on a seismic alteration in Newfoundland. The outports have been drained of their most active people; the long chain of continuous living from the sea and living on its very borders has been broken beyond repair. Many of the famous towns and outports—names that have been in songs and stories almost forever—are now whittled to half their size and less. Some old people remain. The younger come back every little while to visit, see parents, or just savor a time close to the water. But the dynamic of life of the majority of outports is over with the fishery that gave birth to it. (para. 8)

At that time offshore oil development had been started but had not yet reached any potential or become the vision that could replenish the financial situation of the province. And so with the collapsed fishery and no new industry, the out-migration of people to chase employment began. In 1991, the total population of Newfoundland and Labrador according to Statistics Canada had been 568,475, 304,455 in urban areas and 264,023 in rural. By 2011, the total population was 514,536 with 305,566 in urban areas and 208,970 in rural. By 2011-

12 the population of school age children had reduced to 65,638 from 87,438 in 2000–2001 providing a clear indicator of the impact such an event had on the province as a whole (GNL, Department of Education [DoE], n.d.). It is important to note that the province’s population hit a low in 2006 but has been on a slight upswing since that time, though in urban areas only.

While the preceding has pictured a very brief snapshot of recent Newfoundland and Labrador history, these three events—the Great War, followed by eventual confederation with Canada in 1949, and the closure of the groundfish industry in 1992—combine to effect the most significant impact on the province’s evolution in the last 100 years. This combination provides context to explain why employment, rural development, and natural resource industries have dominated the public policy development in the province over the last 100 years and demonstrates that from its very beginning, Memorial University was seen to be of value to the economic development of the province.

### **Educational Policy Reviews**

In 1985, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (GNL) launched a Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment (RCEU) chaired by Memorial University sociology professor, Dr. Doug House. The mandate of this commission was “to investigate, report on and make recommendations about all aspects of the province’s labour market, unemployment problems, and related topics such as [our] income security system and federal and provincial job creation programmes” (Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment [RCEU], 1986, p. i). Furthermore, the commission was tasked “to evaluate the adequacy of education and training programmes and institutions in meeting the current



and future demands of the labour market” (RCEU, 1986, p. i). That work resulted in a report *Education for Self-Reliance* released in 1986 (RCEU, 1986).

As a result of public input that raised education as a critical link to employment, the RCEU published a report specific to education. Throughout the evolution of the post-secondary system in Newfoundland and Labrador, the fundamental link to employment and a vibrant economy is a continuing thread in policy reviews and developments.

The RCEU detailed the revolutionary development of education in the province post-confederation. The notion “you got to get your education” was paramount in families and communities throughout the province (RCEU, 1986, p. 3). Education was and is seen as the key to self-reliance. Memorial University became central to this development, as noted by the RCEU:

Memorial University was the pinnacle of this system. Those who could get a degree from Memorial made up a new middle class of professionals, politicians and public servants who took the lead in the growth of the new province. Memorial’s Faculty of Education came to play a key role as “the educator of the educators,” the place where thousands of Newfoundlanders, mostly from rural communities, went to train to be teachers. (RCEU, 1986, pp. 3–4)

The report detailed a perceived disconnect of education from the rural parts of the province, where the emphasis should be on relevant education based on the employment opportunities that exist in smaller communities. While focused on education for employment, the report did make the wider statement that “education should be viewed, not simply as a means for training people for specific jobs, but more fundamentally as a process for upgrading the human capital of the society in a way suited to local economic opportunities”

(RCEU, 1986, p. 11). However, references to the fundamental aspect of education appeared to be focused on early learning, K–12 and adult basic learning. Within the report, post-secondary education appeared to be strongly tied to employment and economic value within the report. To that end, one of the main conclusions of the RCEU report (RCEU, 1986) was “educational improvement should be viewed as an important foundation for economic development and employment enhancement” (p. 17).

As would be expected, the recommendations of the report were primarily related to linking outcomes and success of education to employment. Many of the themes covered in the recommendations remain current today. Issues such as support for career counseling and for growth in distance education have been included in the majority of policy reports and public dialogue in the province over the last 50 years. Specific to Memorial University, the report was strong on its recommendations linking university education and responsibility to the economic growth of the province. Three specific recommendations directed at Memorial University were:

Memorial University should be mandated to have economic development as one of its formal objectives. Memorial University should establish and operate a Science and Technology Council. Memorial University should consider establishing an Innovation Centre which would use faculty expertise and university facilities to develop and promote new ideas and technologies. (RCEU, 1986, p. 166)

Four years later, in 1990, Minister of Education, Dr. Philip Warren, issued a white paper for discussion. The paper was organized under a triple E policy framework: equality, excellence, and efficiency. In the 1990 White Paper, the minister set out the context:

increased demand for post-secondary education is a challenge which Government must meet as it prepares for the future. Meeting the challenge is particularly important if we are to improve our economic position in relation to other provinces and countries. The jurisdictions with the best education labour forces have a competitive advantage over those that lag behind. Economic advancement is becoming more reliant on endowments of knowledge and skills than on natural resources. Innovation and productivity are critical traits of a successful economy and are accomplished only with a significant investment in human capital. (GNL, 1990, p. 8)

The 1990 White Paper highlighted ongoing public policy issues in the province, the first being “a longstanding disparity in educational opportunity between people living in rural and urban areas” (GNL, 1990, p. 10). This was addressed by government’s commitments to expand university activity at Sir Wilfred Grenfell Campus in Corner Brook and to create a new campus of Memorial University in central Newfoundland. The expansion of activity in Corner Brook took place as a result of this policy; however, the needs in central Newfoundland were not addressed as advocated in the policy paper.

The White Paper also addressed a theme of excellence, the second “E,” with “whether graduates are meeting the needs of employers and the economy as a whole” (GNL, 1990, p. 16). Again this was to be achieved by maintaining a one-university umbrella for the province but creating a campus in central Newfoundland.

The third theme, efficiency, addressed the need for “a highly effective applied research and technology transfer function [as a way] to assist economic growth and make a contribution to the competitiveness of industries and firms” (GNL, 1990, p. 18). There were two initiatives recommended in response to this theme. The first was the affiliation of the

Marine Institute with Memorial University so that the institute could expand its marine-related research and initiate degree-level education in its areas of responsibility. To accomplish that, the Marine Institute's engineering programs, considered to be land and not marine-based, were transferred to the college structure in the area. The second major initiative was the merger of college-based institutes into the community college system, creating five regional colleges in the province. Both of these initiatives were achieved as a result of this policy paper by Dr. Warren.

Common themes emerged in both the 1986 and 1990 reports. Memorial University did develop an innovation centre called the Genesis Centre for the commercialization of technology, advancement of patents developed by university researchers, and to serve as an incubator for developing companies emerging from within or external to the university. The Marine Institute became affiliated with Memorial University in 1992 and has since developed undergraduate and graduate degrees in the marine-related areas. The engineering programs of the Marine Institute were transferred to the college system.

Sir Wilfred Grenfell College also grew as a result of the 1990 White Paper. Full degrees were added to the campus mandate as well as unique degrees in fine arts and theatre.

In 1996, the five colleges (Avalon, Eastern, Central, Western, and Labrador) were merged into one provincial college system similar to the university model for the province. This restructuring occurred as a result of budgetary decisions in the province and not—at least not publicly—a policy-driven decision.

There are common themes that emerge in all of these historical policy reviews that suggest the university in Newfoundland and Labrador has always manifested economic expectations associated with its development and success. The creation and development of

the university has always been advocated to address labour market needs, to advance sectors of the economy, and to be productive in its outputs. This suggests that the economic model is not new to post-secondary education; it has been there at least for the past 100 years.

### **Political Activity and Public Policy-Making in Newfoundland**

A brief overview of the political process in the province and the influence of public policy as provided by academics who study this field serve to provide the political context of decision-making.

**Organization of executive power.** Executive power in government formally rests with the lieutenant governor, although in recent times, that role is more ceremonial. However, two parties have always dominated politics in Newfoundland and Labrador: the Liberal Party and the Progressive Conservative Party. The third party, the New Democratic Party, has held a minority role in the provincial legislature. Elected members are known as members of the House of Assembly, which is different from the Legislative Assembly in most provinces and the National Assembly in Quebec. Historically, there has been little difference ideologically in policy between the two main political parties, and crossing of the floor within the legislature is often based on disagreement with the party leader or a particular policy position.

**Importance of personality of leadership and leaders.** In Newfoundland and Labrador, personality of leadership has always been a dominant trait underlying the successful party in power and has been responsible for the success and failures of political parties. Many of the party leaders holding the office of premier have been described as “charismatic populists who have themselves been likened to benevolent dictators” (Marland,

2011, p. 12). The charismatic nature of leadership was certainly true of Danny Williams, premier (2003–2010) during this 2005 white paper process.

There are two important points to be noted when discussing the political process in Newfoundland and Labrador as described by Marland (2011) in an overview of the House of Assembly. The first is the closeness of the political process to the bureaucratic process. Marland (2011) noted, “Situating the legislature amidst government departments was, and remains, convenient for most ministers but the lack of a free-standing structure is emblematic of the executive branch’s control over the legislative branch of government” (p. 12). This closeness has been the case since the 1960s, when the legislature was built holding the chamber and the main government departments in entirety. This situation is compounded by “extended one-party rule” (Marland, 2010, p. 4). Since confederation, the Liberals have held power for a combined 36 years and the Progressive Conservatives for a combined 28 years.

**Declining time spent debating policy in the legislature.** The second observation to be noted is the declining amount of time spent discussing and debating policy in the House of Assembly. According to Marland (2011), between 2000 and 2009, the legislature was open an average of 43.5 days annually, which was the second lowest in Canada after Prince Edward Island, by one day. Other Atlantic provinces were open an annual average of 50.7 days in Nova Scotia and 64.2 days in New Brunswick over the same period (Marland, 2011).

**Presence of talk-radio.** In a recent published book on the subject of post-secondary policy-making in Canada entitled *Making Policy in Turbulent Times: Challenges and Prospects for Higher Education*, a chapter by Weingarten (2013) argued that while governments consider evidence in policy-making, policies are also “influenced by stories, anecdotes, stereotypes, intuitions, ideologies, and personal experiences as much as they are

on evidence” (p. 88). This statement illustrates a linkage to the presence of talk-radio Newfoundland and Labrador as an agent for the discussion of policy in the province. Talk-radio, heard predominantly on the local VOCM radio network, exercises a significant presence through its three call-in shows daily—morning, afternoon, and evening. They thrive on stories from around the province. Sometimes the host will start a topic by discussing an item current in the news, but many times, a story starts to be revealed through personal stories from callers talking about their experiences.

Talk-radio has such influence that it sparked research by two political science academics at MUN, Alex Marland and Matthew Kerby. Marland and Kerby (2010) undertook research to determine how call-in shows impacted public policy development in Newfoundland and Labrador. They interviewed a total of 23 members of the House of Assembly, cabinet ministers, bureaucrats, policy advisors, and members of media to determine the impact of talk-radio on public policy.

**Importance of story-telling to provincial culture.** In essence, story-telling being an integral part of Newfoundland and Labrador culture, it would stand to reason the use of media to weave a continuing story would be highly relevant. While Marland and Kerby (2010) found that talk-radio “has little impact on the formulation of public policy, nevertheless, it does have a strong effect on government behavior; political actors pay considerable attention to talk radio in the province” (p. 998). For example, it is used so much by government and opposition members that it has been called “voice of the cabinet minister” in reference to the name of the radio station VOCM (Marland & Kerby, 2010, p. 999).

Today, politicians are using both social media and mainstream media together to deliver a message. It is not uncommon for a cabinet minister or opposition member to use Twitter or Facebook to notify followers that they are in the queue to be on a VOCM show to address a particular issue. These talk-shows have a “policy input function [through the] unfiltered calls from communities across the province” that provide information to politicians and bureaucrats (Marland & Kerby, 2010, p. 1011).

One of the most interesting findings of Marland and Kerby (2010) was the lack of use of polling as a form to gauge public reaction. In fact, they noted that only Corporate Research Associates (CRA) polling that releases data on satisfaction with the government and potential voting behaviour is relied upon. This finding is useful in the analysis of how people or groups influence public policy-making.

**Prominence of policy elite as alumni of Memorial University.** Weingarten (2013) offered another interesting observation stating “in contrast to the situation 40 years ago, many of the decision makers in government attended university” (p. 89). Of the current 15 members of the Newfoundland and Labrador Cabinet, at the time of this research, 12 have university degrees, and all 12 have at least one degree from Memorial University. While this represents the current cabinet in Newfoundland and Labrador, it is generally reflective of cabinets over the last 10 years. One minister noted his time on the executive of the student union at Memorial University in his biography. Further, given that Memorial University is the only university in the province, and given that most senior bureaucrats are university educated, it is safe to assume that most of these individuals also hold at least one degree from Memorial University. What this means for Memorial University is that a majority of the cabinet and policy elite are alumni of the institution. When story-telling is a dominant part of



the provincial culture and the majority of the policy elite (elected officials and senior bureaucrats) are alumni of the university, personal experience can influence public policy creation affecting the institution, which can have positive or negative results.

Six factors have been presented that influence the dynamics of policy-making and political agenda-setting in Newfoundland and Labrador. These include:

- 1) organization of executive power
- 2) importance of personality of leadership and leaders
- 3) declining time spent debating policy in the legislature
- 4) presence of talk-radio
- 5) importance of story-telling to provincial culture
- 6) prominence of policy elite as alumni of Memorial University

All of these factors suggest the importance of personal relationships and personal experiences to policy-making in this province. In addition, the strength of the political leader, combined with limited time debating policy in the legislature suggest that the traditional forms of dialogue that provide transparency and openness of discussion are changing. For the university, and those who aim to shape its agenda, this shifting landscape is important to who shapes the policy-agenda and how.

### **2003 Progressive Conservative Election Platform**

In 2003, the Progressive Conservative Party of Newfoundland and Labrador led by Danny Williams developed a policy platform entitled: *A Danny Williams Led Government. Real Leadership – the New Approach: Our Blueprint for the future* (commonly referred to as *The Blue Book*). First, it was quite clear in this policy platform that the election strategy was predicated on the leader, Danny Williams. Mr. Williams was a Memorial University

graduate, a Rhodes Scholar, a lawyer, and a successful entrepreneur. Marland (2010) described Danny Williams as someone who “brought a reputation of success, chiefly as a high-profile personal injury lawyer and as a cable TV magnate who had sold his share for over \$200 million” (p. 7). A review of *The Blue Book* for references to the post-secondary education system and, in particular, to Memorial University and the policy platform, indicates the specifics and depth of commitments contained within to be revealing. The document was clearly a strategic plan covering almost all areas of government and public policy.

The first references to the post-secondary system appear in section one, The Economy. In this section, the platform states an intention to enhance research and development activity at the university and the college level. There are general and specific intentions within the document dealing with such research and development activity. These included specific intentions to grow infrastructure at Grenfell College and the College of the North Atlantic headquarters operations and specific reference to growing marine technology in St. John’s. There is an entire section of the platform dedicated to improving the technology skills of graduates and citizens of the province. A specific intention is stated to create a film school at Grenfell College. The final post-secondary reference in the economy section is a desire to increase participation rates of aboriginal people in the province.

Given the dominance of natural resource-based economies in Newfoundland and Labrador, it is not surprising that a section of the party platform was dedicated to sustainable natural resource development. In this section, there are two references to post-secondary education. It is important to note here that these two references were for university-based, not college-based, activity. The first was establishing “a Fisheries Science and Management

Research Institute at Memorial University” (Progressive Conservative Party of Newfoundland Labrador [PCPoNL], 2003, p. 34). The second reference was a notation that the party would support a proposal to the federal government to establish a “Centre for Excellence for Environmental Research Development, Science and Technology” (PCPoNL, 2003, p. 38). This centre was to be based at SWGC. The reference did not imply placing SWGC as a part of MUN; rather the specific words are “Memorial University and Sir Wilfred Grenfell College” as if they were separate entities (PCPoNL, 2003, p. 38). This was an important subtle reference in the platform that has relevance in the 2005 White Paper review.

There was also a section of the platform specific to post-secondary education, detailing three main themes: affordability of and access to post-secondary, accountability, and adult learning.

Student tuition had emerged as a significant policy issue in 1999 when the Liberal Party served as government. At that time, and as part of an election strategy for the Liberal government of the day, tuition fees at Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic were frozen and continue to be frozen in 2014–15 budgets. The Progressive Conservative Party platform clearly expressed concern with post-secondary affordability for students and student debt loads. The theme of affordability and access also recognized the need of government to increase operating grants to Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic. References in the platform included increased operating grants to the two public institutions in order to keep fees low, and addressing overall cost to students through loan-remission business incentives to hiring graduates.

The second theme under post-secondary education was accountability. Here the first reference was made to the review of post-secondary education. The party's intention was very specific, to:

Review the Province's post-secondary education system to ensure that it provides the best possible instructional, research and community-oriented services for Newfoundland and Labrador in the twenty-first century. This will lead to an updating of the Memorial University Act to make sure the province's only University serves the interests of communities and people in all areas of the Province. (PCPoNL, 2003, p. 55)

This section also specifically referenced the intention to double the size of student representation on the Board of Regents of Memorial University from two to four members. Finally, with the third theme dealing with adult learning, the platform specifically stated its intention to provide greater access to distance education for people of the province at the home and community level.

This chapter has endeavored to provide a review of education in Newfoundland Labrador with a specific focus on Memorial University and the political process of decision-making. It is very interesting to note, therefore, the alignment of Memorial University with the economic needs of the province starting with employment and later an increased emphasis on research, which has been at the forefront of policy decisions since 1925. Suggestions that the economic merits and values of post-secondary education are recent developments are not evident in Newfoundland and Labrador. In fact, it is quite clear that, since its origin, Memorial College and Memorial University were established to meet employment and economic needs of Newfoundland and Labrador. It is not clear that this can

be replicated outside of this province since the economic context, plus the rural and urban divide in economic development here, have been strong threads of public concern over the last 100 years.

References to how the political process works and the importance of the party leader in Newfoundland and Labrador politics are not only relevant but lend insight to the archeology of the 2005 White Paper on post-secondary education that follows in Chapter 6. How interest groups behave in this context, and how effective they are as a result, is shown to be linked to how much influence they have on agenda-setting.

## **Chapter 6: Results – Policy Archeology Part 3: The 2005 White Paper on Post-Secondary Education**

Imagining what an archeologist would do when uncovering something suggests that each piece of evidence, the surrounding environment, and context need to be analyzed in order to uncover the truth, or at least, a picture of what happened in a particular situation or place at a particular time. The archeology of the 2005 White Paper presented in this chapter involves an examination how individuals and groups participated in the public policy consultation process and of the external circumstances around the process as it was unfolding. Interviews with key informants fill in the gaps and link what was happening externally, within government itself, and within the policy consultation process. Both the process and the available evidence surrounding that process are explored in the research presented in Chapter 4, Part 1, and in the historical, political, and economical context of the case location Newfoundland and Labrador as described in Chapter 5, Part 2 .

This research design and use of archeology through case student method includes the following components:

1. Part 1 – the context of public policy-making in other Canadian provinces
2. Part 2 – a description of the case location combined with analysis on how public policy is shaped in Newfoundland and Labrador
3. Part 3 — an exploration of the actual policy document itself and the dynamics between interests groups happening external to the process but during the timeframe of the policy development activity.

## **Issues External to the Consultation Process**

Prior to the reporting of results specific to the consultation process studied, references to higher education policy from key government documents produced in 2004 in the lead up to the policy process and 2005 during the consultation process are provided. This also includes information on the interest group dynamic between the university, university students, and government in power occurring in the same timeframe.

## **Higher Education Policy References 2004 and 2005**

**Policy references 2004.** This chapter starts with the confirmation of a Progressive Conservative government in the province; while the previous chapter detailed policy from the 2003 general election in Newfoundland and Labrador and specifically the policy platform of the Progressive Conservative Party entitled *A Danny Williams Led Government. Real Leadership – the New Approach: Our Blueprint for the Future* (commonly referred to as *The Blue Book*).

The 2004 Speech from the Throne was the first for a new Progressive Conservative government following the 2003 election, which ended 14 years of Liberal government. This speech highlighted a change in direction of the Province fueled by economic issues facing this new government. A Speech from the Throne, common in commonwealth nations, is given at the opening of a legislative session. While it is normally delivered by the lieutenant governor, it represents the policy objectives of the government usually referring to that sitting of the House of Assembly (known as Legislative Assembly in other provincial jurisdictions). Included are reviews of the 2004 and 2005 Throne speeches.

There were three references in this speech that were important to the shaping of public policy at the time. The first was related to the *new economy*, a knowledge economy, which included: “the time has come for Newfoundland and Labrador to set its sights on other opportunities in the knowledge economy [pointing out that] thousands of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are employed in high-knowledge, high-skills jobs across Canada and around the world” (GNL, 2004d, p. 5). This was at a time when the fishery had been significantly reduced as an employment contributor in the province. Although value added from secondary processing in the industry, economic worth remained high; at the same time, the province was becoming a player in the oil and gas industry globally. At this point, the economy can be described best as being in transition.

With reference to the policy “pillars” or focus for the government, the throne speech stated, “my Government is determined to help our young people to achieve their career goals here at home so that they can apply their talents in building a more prosperous province” (GNL, 2004d, p. 5). Career attainment is often directly correlated with education access and attainment. The government made known its intention to create a provincial innovation strategy and spoke directly of the role of MUN, saying the “University is already undertaking groundbreaking research and development in a wide range of disciplines and is opening doors to new kinds of careers” (GNL, 2004d p. 6).

References in the throne speech specific to post-secondary education revealed clear policy directions on the link between post-secondary education and economic development (GNL, 2004d). It contained the first reference to the White Paper on post-secondary education. Specifically, the speech read:



Higher levels of education mean higher incomes for graduates and stronger investment opportunities for the economy. My government will commission a White Paper on Post-secondary Education to examine post-secondary concerns, affordability and accessibility and to identify initiatives that will enhance the employment prospects of graduates. The White Paper will also examine whether our university and public college are meeting their potential to attract investment and generate economic development opportunities in Newfoundland and Labrador. (GNL, 2004d, p. 6)

On February 11, 2004, the government also stated its intention to continue with the tuition freeze in 2004–2005 (GNL, Youth Services and Post-Secondary Education [YS&PSE], 2004). There are two other references in the throne speech to highlight the White Paper on post-secondary education. The first was the stated reference that social and economic policy is linked, noting that “the province fares best when its government’s social and economic policies are designed to function in ways that complement each other” (GNL, 2004d, p. 8). The second mentioned an ongoing policy issue in the province—that of the division between urban and rural development

The provincial government’s release of its annual economy review, *The Economy 2004* (GNL, 2004b), described an economy in transition, positioned for growth, but transitioning from a fishery-dominated resource industry to mining and petroleum-based industries. This review also described the international and national economies and their impact on the economic base of the province. The document cited “moderate growth in 2004” followed by an expected decline in 2005 (GNL, 2004b, p. 7). It was expected,

however, that the provincial economy would grow in 2006 due to expansion of oil and gas and mining projects.

A final indicator of an economic focus of government policy at this time was the government's highlighting of labour markets as an indicator having direct correlation with education and training. In 2004, "Both urban and rural areas experienced employment growth; [however, urban areas outpaced rural areas, and some rural areas] have not seen employment levels restored to their previous peak in 1990" (GNL, 2004b, p. 12). This report provided further evidence of the attention that was being given to rural development in the province. As the economy shifted away from coastal-based fisheries to oil and gas and mining, the province itself saw urban growth outpacing rural development.

The first budget of the new government in 2004 was one that reflected economic uncertainty and blamed the previous government for "a serious problem with money management" (GNL, 2004a, p. 3). The budget implied that the economy appeared to be strong going forward, but that in the near future, attention had to be paid to restraining spending. With specific reference to Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic, the government asked "each to identify \$2 million in expenditure reduction" (GNL, 2004a, p. 12). Interestingly, that each institution was asked to contribute the same total amount even though the provincial operating budget of Memorial University (\$151 million) for 2004–2005 exceeded that of the College of the North Atlantic (\$49 million) by 300% percent.

The budget did provide \$250,000 to undertake the White Paper on post-secondary education, and it continued with the freeze in tuition as noted in the Speech from the Throne

earlier that year. It is noteworthy, even in a fiscally challenging time, that government was not prepared to increase tuition at the public post-secondary institutions.

**Policy references in 2005.** The same policy documents cited for the discussions of 2004 were reviewed for the year 2005. The Throne Speech of 2005 was remarkably more optimistic than that of the previous year. A new deal with the federal government for the sharing of offshore oil revenue, coupled with escalating oil costs beyond anything that was forecasted in 2004 resulted in an immediate revenue increase for the province. It is important to note that federal sharing of natural resources offshore is not the same as land-based resource development, and the province of Newfoundland and Labrador has had a long standing grievance with the federal government over the sharing of revenue from its offshore resources.

In this 2005 Speech from the Throne, the government talked about making investments in aging infrastructure as well as signaling its intentions to increase the capacity of graduates to find employment in the labour market. At this point, although the White Paper on post-secondary education was in progress, the Throne Speech was relatively silent on other matters related to post-secondary education.

*The Economic Review 2005* (GNL, 2005b) continued to speak about an economy in transition from being a traditional fishing industry to mining and oil and gas. In this year's report, the indicators started to show increasing evidence of rising exports, increasing labour market employment rates, and falling unemployment rates (expected to fall again, down 4% in 2 years). The real telling point in the review was the statement, "Newfoundland and Labrador is expected to lead the country in growth next year" (GNL, 2005b, p. 3). The new

industry growth was beginning to contribute to revenue for the province, and although the rate was slow, the indicators of growth were compelling.

The title of the 2005 budget speech, *A New Future . . . A Renewed Pride*, spoke of a better fiscal reality than was the case the previous year. Because the release of the 2005 White Paper on post-secondary education was pending, this budget did not say much about it, but it did allocate \$14.7 million to implement the recommendations that were said to be forthcoming in the White Paper.

The 2005 budget continued to freeze tuition, keeping these costs “the lowest in the country and 40% lower than the national average” (GNL, 2005a, p. 32). It also provided \$5 million to enhance the research efforts taking place at Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic.

### **Interest Groups Dynamics at MUN**

This section focuses on issues happening within Memorial University and involving its stakeholders in the lead up to and during the early stages of the development of the White Paper, notably from January to December 2004. To accomplish this, material available from the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at the Memorial University of Newfoundland library was reviewed. The Centre has a repository of media clippings specific to post-secondary education between 2004 and 2006. This collection contained media from print media in the province, government news releases, and articles in Memorial University papers: *The Gazette* (Memorial University’s newspaper) and *The Muse* (the students’ newspaper). To ensure completeness of the review, all copies of *The Muse* and *The Gazette* between 2004 and 2005, as well as minutes from Memorial University Senate and Board of Regents meetings were examined. All of these reports provided clues and context for the internal dynamics

happening at Memorial University at the time of the consultation process analyzed. In referencing articles, reports, and actions, titles of individuals are used rather than names of individuals throughout this section to avoid confusing the reader. In addition, the role of the individual is more important to this research than the individuals' names as the focus here is on the interest group they represent.

The analysis of issues at Memorial University is important to the study as the relationships between the university administration and one of its primary stakeholders—students—established a context that continued through the White Paper consultation process. The nature of this relationship, described as strained, spilled over into the consultation process, and the issues identified in advance of the process continued to be highlighted. Furthermore, these strained relations caused government to intervene and it did so, siding with the students. Thus, the interest group dynamics at the time highlighted relations between Memorial University administration and students and, from time to time, the government as well.

Three issues appeared dominant between stakeholders and Memorial University in advance of the White Paper process: tuition, student representation on governing boards, and graduate employment.

**Tuition.** In 1999, college and university tuition had been frozen as a political strategy of the Liberal government and remained frozen into a general election in 2003 when power shifted to the Progressive Conservatives. With the election of a Progressive Conservative government in 2003, the budget that followed in 2004 raised questions on whether this freeze would continue.

In a newspaper article that appeared in *The Express*, a St. John's weekly newspaper, in January 2004, the government stated that no tuition increase was planned. At that time, the representative from the Canadian Federation of Students in Newfoundland and Labrador stated, "The only commitments we're working with right now are from the *Blue Book* and the election and things change a lot after a party gets elected" (Welsh, 2004). The minister of education responded that no tuition increase had been planned at that time, but assuming there would be a continuation of tuition reductions [that] "may be somewhat optimistic from the students' point of view" (Welsh, 2004). On February 4, 2004, students occupied the premier's Corner Brook office to demand answers to their questions about student debt and tuition. They carried with them a mock cheque for \$220 million in student debt, which they said had escalated in the previous 4 years to an average of a debt of \$35 thousand per student (Hurley, 2004, p. 1 & 5). The students demanded to speak to the premier and eventually managed a phone conversation with the minister of education. One student leader said,

I know the state of the province is not great, the economy is not great, and there is a deficit, so we want to make sure that the province's books are not going to be balanced on the backs of post-secondary students. (Hurley, 2004, p. 1)

On February 11, 2004, the government issued a news release committing to the tuition freeze for 1 year, 2004–2005 (GNL, YS&PSE, 2004). However, as was noted earlier in this chapter, the 2004 provincial budget cut the funding to both Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic by \$2 million each.

At the July 2004 meeting of the Board of Regents of MUN, discussion took place on the affordability to the university of continuing with the tuition freeze. From the university's perspective, Board members noted they would be unable to continue with the freeze without

the additional funds to do so. The minutes also indicated that the annual cost of the tuition freeze to the university would be \$10 million. The Board of Regents therefore moved to “approve a recommendation that a plan be prepared for Government to remove the tuition freeze” (MUN, Board of Regents [BoR], 2004b, p. 18). Note that according to the minutes posted online, only 8 of the 21 members of the Board were in attendance at that meeting. As the story broke in the external media, the university’s vice-president academic stated that “we’ve had a hard time coping with a \$2 million cut from government this year” (Roberts, 2004). In a similar article in *The Muse*, the vice president academic stated, “Freezing tuition is bad public policy” (Bell, 2004b, p. 1), adding “Nationally and internationally low tuition has led to fewer student spaces and lower accessibility” (Bell, 2004b, p. 4).

At the same time, the Memorial University students’ union (MUNSU) requested that its association fees be increased by \$10 for the winter semester, 2005. This request was made directly to the Board of Regents. What made this interesting was that this was accomplished without holding a student referendum (Montes, 2004). The context for this request to the Board of Regents directly, bypassing a student referendum, challenged the relationship between MUNSU and university administration regarding MUNSU’s finances. This 2005 decision did not seem to fit with the overall doctrine stated by MUNSU on matters related to student fees. However, despite reservations raised by the dean of student affairs to the Board of Regents at its December 9, 2004 meeting, the Board approved MUNSU’s request to raise its membership fees without undertaking a referendum.

**Student representation on university governing bodies.** MUNSU found itself at odds with the dean of student affairs over the number and selection of student representatives for the Board of Regents. MUNSU sought a doubling of seats on the Board from two to four,

and wanted the dean of student affairs to not be involved in the process of selection. Up to that point, the dean was required to approve the representatives put forward by MUNSU, and the MUNSU did not approve of that situation. An article in *The Muse* said that “difficulties arose last year when MUNSU’s suggested names were not approved by” the dean of student affairs (Marshall, 2004, p. 4). MUNSU decided to make its own request of government to double the number of seats and to remove the involvement of the dean of student affairs in the selection of the individuals.

On November 29, 2004, MUNSU got what it requested from the provincial government, as the government amended the Memorial University Act (Cluett, 2004, p. 5). It is interesting to note that the government’s decision represented direct involvement in the internal affairs of MUN.

In March 2003, the Memorial University Senate established an ad hoc committee to consider a number of issues, including increasing student representation on Senate. The number of student senators at the time was 12, in accordance with the Memorial University Act. There was, as well, no provision for a student representative from Memorial’s Marine Institute campus. The students made a similar request to increase the number of student representatives on the Memorial University Senate. The ad hoc committee considered the request by reviewing the historical evolution of student representation on Senate. The Senate’s recommendation was threefold:

1. that a permanent seat be allocated to Marine Institute students from within existing students seats; 2. that the seat allocated from the nine undergraduate seats; 3. that based on student enrollment, the undergraduate seat be allocated to Marine Institute



students from the one currently allocated to Sir Wilfred Grenfell College. (MUN, 2004b, p. 10)

Although there was considerable discussion, it appears that MUNSU was unable to get the Senate to agree to an additional student seat instead of reallocating seats for the existing number of student representatives. The December 9, 2004, Board of Regents minutes captured the action of government, as reported by the board chair: “The [Memorial University] *Act* is also amended to increase the number of student members on Senate from 12 to 13” (MUN, BoR, 2004a, p. 2). This was the second successful demonstration that the students’ unions were aiming to increase their representation on governing boards of the university. It appears that the student action had the full support of government, which impacted the academic body of the university.

**Graduate employment.** The second significant issue that appeared to have been highlighted independent of the White Paper process was the release of *Career Search 2004* by the provincial government, a report developed from analysis of 2002 post-secondary graduates with regard to “job prospects, salaries and debt levels of recent graduates” (GNL, DoE, 2004a, para. 2). According to the news release issued by the Department of Education, out-migration of university graduates had dropped from “28 percent of graduates of 2000 to 22 percent of graduates of 2002, the out-migration of college graduates [had] fallen from 20 percent to 14 percent” over the same period (GNL, DoE, 2004a, para. 3). The release also highlighted that “75 percent of university graduates in most programs found their first full-time job prior to graduation or within three months of graduating” (GNL, DoE, 2004a, para. 5). Reducing out-migration is important to note here as a significant public issue in the province, and reversal of this trend would be welcomed by the public in general.

MUNSU was quick to respond to the report crediting “lower tuition fees and reduced student debt with slowing the out-migration of graduates from the province” (“Students’ union praises report,” 2004, p. A3). This article continued to show the divide between students and the university administration and stated, “MUN officials have publicly expressed a desire to raise tuition, a move the unions argue will reverse the positive numbers found in the report” (“Students’ union praises report,” 2004, p. A3). In response, the student spokesperson stated, “We must avoid letting [the tuition freeze be] derailed by a university administration which does not have the best interests of the province as a priority” (“Students’ union praises report,” 2004, p. A3). MUNSU appeared to be very astute regarding the important public issues, associating any reports from government with hot public debate, while continuing to keep students’ needs at the forefront of public opinion. It appeared that the visible strain over the finances and independence of MUNSU stressed the relationship between MUNSU and Memorial University administration and created further tension also presented in the external media.

These three issues—tuition, student representation on government boards, and graduate employment—all presented a dynamic between three important interest groups. This dynamic between the Memorial University administration, students, and the government should have sent signals to the university of the dissatisfaction by government with its approach and consequently the growing power of students in agenda-setting. These issues are important in answering the research question posed in this research specific to interest group dynamics outside of the public policy formulation and related to how interest groups influence government expectations of universities.

## **The 2005 White Paper on Post-Secondary Education in Newfoundland and Labrador: Description, Organization, Leadership, Process**

While plans for a review of the province's post-secondary system were released in previous statements starting with the Progressive Conservative Party platform and including subsequent budget and throne speeches, the White Paper was not formally launched until June 29, 2004, by the minister of education. That announcement came through a media release from the Department of Education. According to the release, the minister stated that the review would "examine all aspects of our public post-secondary system to ensure it is strong, vibrant and well positioned to contribute to the economic growth of our province and the employment prospects of our graduates, while preserving quality, access and affordability" (GNL, 2004c, "Minister launches" section, para. 3).

The release stated the purpose and terms of reference of the review and named a commissioner and advisor to the commissioner.

As stated in the government release and terms of reference, the 2005 White Paper review had three components. The first component was a review of the structure and governance of Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic. The second was a comprehensive review of funding: operating grants, tuition fees, student assistance, federal government funding, and tax incentives. The third component was an assessment of the "impacts of population changes including the aging adult population, the declining youth population and shift of population to urban centres" (GNL, 2004c, Review scope section, para. 3). This third component was important in light of other policy initiatives taking place at the same time (as noted in Chapter 5) as well as a reflection on the declining population of

the K–12 school age group, which would affect the traditional group entering post-secondary education.

The commissioner named was Dr. Wayne Ludlow, a retired senior leader at MUN, most notably as dean of student affairs. The news release issued by government stated the commissioner’s role was “to schedule consultations with key stakeholders including Memorial University, College of the North Atlantic, student groups and business and industry representatives” (GNL, 2004c, “Minister launches” section, para. 4). The release went on to state, “the Commissioner will then prepare a report which government will draw upon to set out its plans to ensure the public post-secondary education system is positioned to address the challenges and opportunities of today and into the future” (GNL, 2004c, “Minister launches” section, para. 4).

The minister of education also appointed an advisor to the commissioner, Mr. Cyril Farrell, who had previous leadership experience with the College of the North Atlantic and who was at the time of this review seconded from the college to work with the Atlantic Provinces Community College Consortium. The biographies detailed in the news release indicated that both appointees were graduates of Memorial University.

These appointments are different from those that had been made in other Canadian provinces referenced in Chapter 4 and Part 1 of this archeology study. Even though they had been appointed by the Minister of Education, both the commissioner and the advisor to the commissioner were known to the university and college community, whereas other provinces completing similar reviews at that time primarily appointed political leaders or persons who had significant direct political involvement in the system.

To remind the reader, for this research, five individuals were interviewed who played a role in the consultation process. The descriptions used to define each person's role were developed in consultation with the participant:

- Dr. Wayne Ludlow, former dean of student affairs at Memorial University and commissioner for 2005 White Paper consultation process. Hereafter referred to as commissioner.
- Mr. Cyril Farrell, former administrator at the College of the North Atlantic and advisor to the commissioner for the 2005 White Paper consultation process. Hereafter referred to as advisor to commissioner.
- department executive member<sup>2</sup> who led the file for the Department of Education at the time. The title department executive member would be a deputy or assistant deputy minister level. Hereafter referred to as department executive member.
- policy researcher in the Department of Education who worked in the post-secondary education branch and was specially assigned to the 2005 White Paper process. Hereafter referred to as policy researcher.
- A learning development specialist who worked in Public Service Secretariat at the time of the consultation process and was called on to assist the commissioners and the departmental representatives in the design and implementation of the consultation process. Hereafter referred to as learning development specialist as provided by the interviewee for this study.

According to the Department of Education executive member interviewed, the government wanted to ensure that collaboration between the two public institutions, along

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<sup>2</sup> The title department executive member was chosen by the participant and represents someone working as a deputy or assistant deputy minister in a government department.

with government, was at the forefront of the process. To ensure that was the case, the department executive member contacted the presidents of both institutions and asked each of them to put forward names who they felt could lead the review and would be acceptable to both parties. A department executive member explained:

There was a discussion on whether or not it was more appropriate to have an individual lead the process that was acceptable to the parties [university and college] in order to get their buy-in. And the discussion was that it was important they had involvement, we wanted their input, and for them to feel a part of the process. It was more important that we put somebody on it that was acceptable to them. (department executive member, personal communication, March 31, 2014)

It was also clear from the personal interviews that the Department of Education wanted people who were authentic and could facilitate the conversations required through a consultation process. The policy researcher interviewed identified two defining characteristics that were sought in the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner. The first was “to identify individuals who had a lot of legitimacy in the post-secondary world and who had respect and the authenticity” (policy researcher, personal communication, March 26, 2014). The second was

the ability to have facilitation skills, the ability to have conversations with people and be able to probe beyond the questions that they had listed in front of them. To be able to get to that second tier of discussion and get the underlying assumptions that people were making. (policy researcher, personal communication, March 26, 2014)

The commissioner and advisor to the commissioner, when interviewed, were not aware of how the selection was undertaken. The commissioner did note that what he brought

to the process was a non-partisan approach, never having been involved in the formal political process.

Despite the appointment of external commissioners, the Department of Education had significant involvement in the consultation process. Ultimately, the department representatives were the writers of the final report and according to the department executive member interviewed they couldn't "give or afford as an organization to hand over full autonomy to an individual without knowing that we are going to get a product that is acceptable to us as well" (personal communication, March 31, 2014).

Through the personal interview process, the key informants were asked about the context for the 2005 White Paper and, specifically, what they felt were the main issues precipitating the need for a post-secondary review. The commissioner, advisor to the commissioner, and the department executive member had similar responses. Their responses also mirror the evidence gathered through government documents impacting post-secondary education issues specifically and on the province generally during this time (e.g., Throne Speeches, Career Search, political party platforms, and budget speeches).

The commissioner identified five points in describing his understanding of the context prior to the start of the 2005 White Paper process. First, he noted the state of the province's finances at the time:

This [the review] emanated from the Speech from the Throne in 2004, and in consequence, the White Paper was commissioned, around June 2004. At that particular point in time, there was a comment made somewhere in the public commentary relative to government circumstances that the government was in *dire*

*straits*. The words *dire straits* were used. (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014)

The second observation, by the commissioner, centred around student tuition, a debate occurring publicly and highlighted earlier in this chapter in the lead up to the consultation process. The commissioner stated,

There was also significant dialogue at that time that the government was going to increase tuition, definitely at the university, and they were definitely going to close some of the campuses of the College of the North Atlantic. The public made many attempts through open line programs and otherwise to say that the whole notion of what a White Paper would do at this point in time would be to just simply rationalize the government's decision to exercise its options to increase tuition and close colleges. (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014)

The commissioner indicated, thirdly, that there was a need for discussion on whether the post-secondary education system in the province was meeting the social and economic needs of the province. The fourth point was concerned with the population changes occurring in the province. Specifically, the commissioner described it as out-migration. "There was significant unemployment among youth. The K-12 population, the high school graduates were dropping way down and nobody seemed to be doing anything about it" (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014). Finally the commissioner emphasized the importance of the issue of accountability. This was referenced in the Progressive Conservative Policy platform but did not appear to be acknowledged elsewhere in the discussion. However, given the statement of the commissioner, it was obviously at the forefront of the review:



The minister commissioned the White Paper based upon the necessity for accountability, accessibility and the challenges of the economics of the time. The internal forces in government were such that there was an interest in determining to what extent changes and improvements of the post-secondary system would reflect what the public was interested in, and the public certainly wanted a role to play in helping government to make informed decisions about the direction in post-secondary education in the province. (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014)

The department executive member who was interviewed shared the same observations on context as had the commissioner. This person identified the population shift and the need for the post-secondary education institutions to do more to address it and other issues facing the province. The department executive member stated:

The population was changing in the province and there was recognition of the need to engage the population more in the role of post-secondary, whether historically many people in the province would look at it as more of a social program. At the time, government was considering its role in economic development. In order to engage the public in understanding the role of the post-secondary system, government wanted to engage in a review. That was a big 10,000 foot discussion that was under way.

(department executive member, personal communication, March 31, 2014)

The department executive member referenced one point slightly differently from the commissioner, talking about accountability and responsiveness of the post-secondary education institutions this way:

We are a population of 500,000 people. We had two very large institutions, a university and only one, which is what we wanted; and we had a college, which had

multiple campuses. There was discussion on whether or not that was the economy of scale, better programming decisions, better collaboration that could occur between those two types of institutions to do things better. (department executive member, personal communication, March 31, 2014)

The advisor to the commissioner highlighted one additional issue that may provide the explanation as to why people with ties within the post-secondary system were selected to undertake the review. Highlighting the issue of governance, he noted that the Council on Higher Education that was comprised of representatives from both public institutions had “become dysfunctional” and there were elements of “distrust” and competition between the entities (advisor to the commissioner, personal communication, May 7, 2014). Given that the province has one university and one college both with multi-campus models, the feeling was that collaboration should be happening between the two.

It is clear from the interviews that there was agreement between the government official and the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner on the purpose of the process as well as the context in which it was happening. This is important to consider, especially in light of the time lapse between the policy process and this research, that there was still considerable agreement on these issues.

### **The White Paper Consultation Process: Those Consulted and How it was Managed**

**Initial design.** Public consultations were central to the White Paper process. The Minister of Education announced the call for public consultations on September 3, 2004. In that announcement the Minister noted, “We want to know how Newfoundlanders and Labradorians envision the future of our post-secondary system” (GNL, DoE, September 3, 2004b, “Minister encourages submission” section, para. 4).

The White Paper consultation process was constructed by the commissioner and advisor, the Department of Education, and a learning development specialist. The learning development specialist was also engaged by the Department of Education to assist with the design and implementation of the consultation process. This individual described in general the process that was used, indicating the way in which the process was designed. In this area, the specialist indicated that asking questions of the parties who wanted to get input was critical. The learning development specialist pragmatically described the process this way:

Okay, we want to do this, we want to look at this, and we want to do a White Paper on whatever, so we need to talk to people and get information. Then as a designer and facilitator you drill down and say, “Well, why do you want to know that?” If we ask them this question, what will this answer do for you, to help you to decide? You know the old saying: Eighty percent of the best of anything is in the planning. The more you drill down and ask questions, then there are other questions to be asked.  
(learning development specialist, personal communication, March 31, 2014)

At the time, according to both the Department of Education executive member and the learning development specialist interviewed for this study, there was no specific or official template for undertaking public consultations and certainly no template applicable to the post-secondary sector. The commissioner indicated that the process was “designed to maximize input from the public” (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014). The time frame of 3 to 4 months was known, however, as well as the budget allocated for the process. The commissioner indicated that they “started by looking at the terms of reference that emanated from the Speech from the Throne and the issues and the challenges in the

terms of reference. From that we devised a series of questions that we would use in the public consultation process” (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014).

A lot of attention was devoted to getting right the questions that would be asked. According to the learning development specialist interviewed, “They [Commissioners and Department] wanted a process that was structured enough to give them valuable information, but not so structured and formal that the right discussion, question and debate couldn’t take place” (personal communication, March 31, 2014).

The questions were designed and then tested with two focus groups comprised of stakeholders from Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic who would be involved in the process. The commissioner noted that testing of the questions was important to the process because “we wanted to get the right language in the questions so that we would make the people comfortable and to be able to respond to them” (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014). The participants could influence the questions that were being asked in the consultation process, thus having being somewhat able to drive the agenda.

All interviewees commented on the desire not only to have public consultations, but also to have them done well. A policy researcher in the Department of Education noted, “We saw this as a product for the province” and not just for the institutions themselves (personal communication, March 26, 2014). This was reinforced by the interview with the learning development specialist who said:

There was one big thing in terms of working with the department [Department of Education]: they were intent on doing this really well. In terms of design, I know there was meeting after meeting in terms of how should we do this and what should

be looked at? What are the questions we should ask? And what will this give us? And what ultimately do we want to come from this, not in terms of what's the ultimate outcome and then how do we orchestrate. What kinds of information do we need so that we will be able to make the decisions that will need to be made around post-secondary? (personal communication, March 31, 2014)

The advisor to the commissioner noted that the process was a “combination of informal and certainly formal because [we] wanted to take people through a process [so] that we got input on the issues and challenges that we were given” through the terms of reference (personal communication, May 7, 2014). While the commissioner and the advisor to the commissioner worked with the government to design the consultation process, both acknowledged a lot of freedom in how they went about doing it. Table 2 provides a list of issues that guided the White Paper process.

Table 2

*Issues Guiding the 2005 White Paper Process*

- 
1. What are the right tuition and student financial assistance policies? Are they consistent with alternative sources of student income, the financial health of the university/college and the expected future grants from the provincial government?
  2. What is reasonable access given the geographic disbursement and projections for future population shifts?
  3. Is there sufficient cooperation and collaboration within the public post-secondary system?
  4. Given the level of public investment in our post-secondary institutions, is the public system meeting its mandate in the most efficient and effective manner possible? For example, are there co-location or sharing opportunities within post-secondary institutions and the K-12 school system that can enhance and achieve effectiveness?
  5. Are there ways in which regional campuses of Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic could be used more innovatively and effectively so as to contribute more to social and economic development in rural Newfoundland and Labrador?
- 

continued

Table 2 (continued)

- 
6. Does the public system respond to the needs of individuals without the minimum academic requirements for post-secondary? To what extent is the system addressing the barriers to post-secondary participation for the adult population in support of lifelong learning?
  7. Are the university and college programs responsive to the needs of the labour market, the economy, and the province's economic development agenda? What are the employment prospects for graduates?
  8. How successful has the post-secondary system been in marketing its research outcomes and educational systems and products in an effort to attract investment and generate economic development opportunities in Newfoundland and Labrador?
  9. How effective have the post-secondary institutions been in partnership with industry and the community in conducting basic and applied research that has strong economic development opportunities?
  10. What are the infrastructure challenges facing the post-secondary system, and how might these challenges be addressed?
  11. Is the post-secondary system capitalizing appropriately on out-of-province and international student recruitment?
  12. Are the existing accountability measures sufficient to evaluate the public investments in post-secondary education? Is the public realizing an appropriate return on investment?
- 

Adapted from "What We Heard: A Report on the Consultations on Public Post-Secondary Education in Newfoundland and Labrador, December 2004," by W. Ludlow and C. Farrell, pp. 5–6, Copyright 2004 by Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

**Who and how consultation happened.** The White Paper consultation process was comprised of numerous components created by the group of five individuals interviewed and others in the Department of Education designing the process. Components identified by those interviewed included written submissions, consultation sessions, interviews, written correspondence (letters), and online commentary. Opportunities were given for submissions to be received, and consultation sessions were established throughout the province in order to engage many people in the process. Consultation sessions were identified by the commissioner, advisor to the commissioner, and the Department of Education. In addition, a

website was created that elicited approximately 2,300 hits and individual commentaries from interested citizens. The formal part of the process appeared to be designed with direct involvement from identified groups, including both public post-secondary institutions as well as stakeholders in the post-secondary system.

According to the consultation report, there were 21 consultation group sessions, as identified earlier, as well as 110 written submissions provided to the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner from various sources and constituencies. Both the written submissions and the consultations were structured, and there were established questions for both of these consultation formats, as well as a document prepared by the Department of Education for the sessions outlining issues and challenges for public post-secondary education. Three central components were (1) written submissions, (2) consultation sessions, and (3) student-defined engagement.

**Consultation sessions.** All groups consulted were identified by the commissioner, advisor to the commissioner, and department officials. Therefore, access to this part of the process was determined by the consultation leaders and was not open public consultations where people would self-identify their attendance. Consultation sessions included those directly impacted by the policy process, namely Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic. In addition, consultation sessions were held with groups specifically identified by the group designing the process, including health providers, private post-secondary, and the provincial apprenticeship board.

Community consultations were organized by the Regional Economic Development Board and Strategic Social Plan Committee in the region who were also selected by the group designing the process. There were also three specific sessions in health education. All

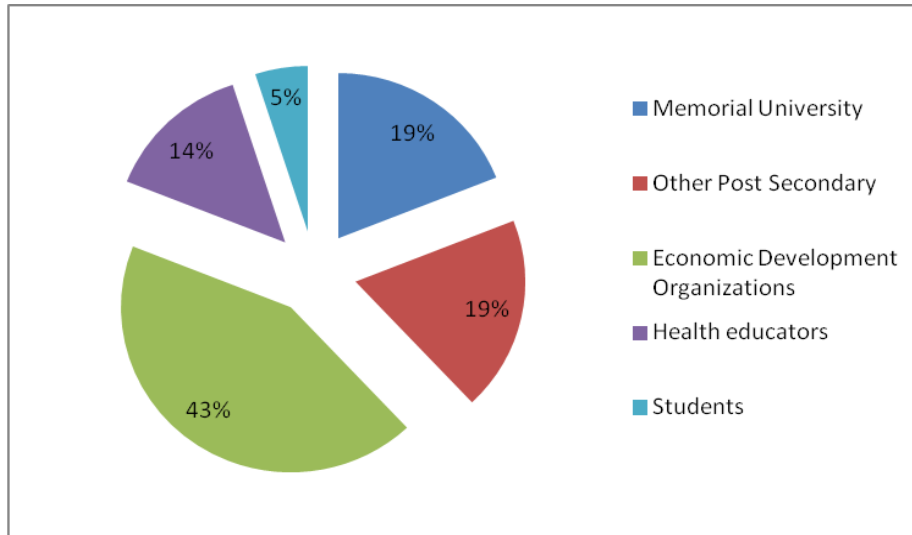
groups consulted were identified by the organizers, while individual attendees in these sessions were identified by the groups themselves.

The 21 consultation sessions comprised of four (19%) with groups from Memorial University, including Senate ad hoc committee, senior executive, and Grenfell and Marine Institute campuses. There were meetings, not formal consultations, with the executive committee of the College of the North Atlantic Board of Governors and a subcommittee of Memorial University's Board of Regents. Four consultations (19%) were held with groups other than post-secondary education entities, including the provincial apprenticeship board, association of career colleges (private colleges), and the College of the North Atlantic. Three consultations (14%) were held with health professionals and educators. One consultation (5%) session was held with the Canadian Federation of Students – Newfoundland and Labrador. The student consultation, involving 25 students, was the largest. Three sessions (14%) were held with regional economic-based organizations arranged by the regional economic development boards in the region. Six sessions were held (29%) with regional social-based organizations arranged by the strategic social plan committees operating in each region of the province. Therefore, 9 of the 21 sessions or 43% of the groups/individuals consulted were outside groups or individuals not directly associated with post-secondary education, although in all but one of these consultation sessions, at least one person attending was with the college or the university holding another volunteer role with one of the organizations consulted.

Consultation reports were prepared by the group who designed the process. Two consultation reports were not available to this study because they were missing from files available in the Department of Education. These consultation reports were the Senate Ad Hoc



Committee formed for the White Paper and the reports from senior executive of Memorial University. However, written submissions were available from both of these groups. Figure 2 illustrates the groups identified in the consultation process.



*Figure 2.* Interest groups involved in consultation process ( $n = 21$ ).

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The regional groups consulted were organized by two provincial regional organizations: the strategic social plan committees and the regional economic development boards. Created by the previous Liberal government, these were organizations operating in all regions and comprised of stakeholders and community leaders. According to the department executive member, the choice of social and economic development groups was deliberately designed “to identify. . . at a provincial and regional level, whether or not (1) there was consensus, or whether or not there was (2) a desire to have the institutions moved more towards the economic agenda opposed to the social agenda” (department executive member, personal communication, March 31, 2014). The commissioner noted,

We felt that the Regional Economic Development Boards [and the Strategic Social Plan] would capture the significant players in the province that had an input with respect to the social, economic and financial development of the areas in the province and the impact that education, post-secondary education, would have upon the areas. (personal communication, March 25, 2014)

In each session, the regional group organizing the session identified the participants. The level of interest and participation in the consultation process was high. The interview process revealed that the level of response surprised all of those interviewed in this research. The policy researcher interviewed hypothesized that the reason the interest was so high was because people “understood what this could achieve and people saw the opportunity to finally get to say what they wanted to be heard” (personal communication, March 26, 2014). The commissioner noted,

we were really treated with respect, and we were seen as a group of individuals who were taking this [consultation] seriously and that, for the most part, there was very little skepticism on the part of the participants that this is just something you’re doing so that the government can go ahead and do what they want to do anyway. (personal communication, March 25, 2014)

See Table 3 for a list of the number of attendees in the consultation sessions presented by interest group.

Table 3

*Number of Attendees in Interest Group Consultation Sessions*

Interest Group	Number of Attendees ( $N = 215$ )	Number of Sessions ( $N = 21$ )
Memorial University	38	4
College of the North Atlantic	23	2
Other post-secondary	14	2
Students <sup>a</sup>	25	1
Economic development organizations	92	9
Health organizations	23	3

<sup>a</sup> Student participants were not noted in Government report, information was gathered from consultation reports received from Department of Education, student names were not provided in the report.

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Consultation sessions were divided into three themes. The first theme considered the existing public post-secondary structure. The second dealt with questions around the funding of post-secondary education in the province. The third theme was related to the impacts of population changes. Table 4 that follows provides a list of questions that guided the consultation sessions.

Table 4

*Consultation Sessions Questions*

Thematic Area	Questions
Existing public post-secondary structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do you value about the current public post-secondary system?</li> <li>• What would you change to make it more effective for the social and economic growth of the province and for the employment prospects of our graduates?</li> <li>• What principles should guide the system?</li> <li>• In light of these principles, how should the programs and services be distributed at the local, regional, and provincial level to respond to the changes in demographics and the labour market?</li> </ul>

continued

Table 4 (continued)

Thematic Area	Questions
Funding of post-secondary education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Given that public post-secondary system is funded by tax dollars, what options should government pursue in addressing the financial pressure of the province's institutions?</li> <li>• How can public post-secondary institutions be more accountable for quality outcomes and effective spending?</li> <li>• Given the investment of research dollars in the province, what role should the public post-secondary system play in linking research to the economic development of the province?</li> <li>• How can the public post-secondary institutions market their programs and services and their research capability to attract investment and generate economic development?</li> </ul>
Impacts of population changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can the public post-secondary system respond, today and into the future, to the needs of individuals who experience barriers in participation in the public post-secondary system?</li> <li>• How can public post-secondary institutions help promote a culture of lifelong learning?</li> <li>• How can the public post-secondary institutions better position themselves nationally and globally to support the social and economic development of the province?</li> </ul>

Adapted from "What We Heard: A Report on the Consultations on Public Post-Secondary Education in Newfoundland and Labrador, December 2004," by W. Ludlow and C. Farrell, pp. 17–37. Copyright 2004 by Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The learning development specialist interviewed suggested that the value of the consultation process was due to the approach of the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner. S/he spoke about the openness throughout the process as the commissioner and advisor paid special attention to ensure that they maximized input from everyone at each session. According to the learning development specialist, "I can honestly say that at no point did I feel we were missing a certain voice. There was no interest group blocked from attending or, who was not invited to attend" (personal communication, March 31, 2014). The commissioner commented on the general tone of each session. According to the Commissioner, there "was very little negative reaction to Memorial University and the

College [of the North Atlantic]; they were positively recognized as influencing every nook and cranny of this province. There wasn't anywhere that we went that somebody had not been influenced by the university or the college" (personal communication, March 25, 2014). As the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner had hoped, "Every meeting . . . had a really good cross section of people, a really good cross section of views, ideas and suggestions" (advisor to the commissioner, personal communication, May, 7, 2014).

The Department of Education executive member interviewed was "excited about the results of the consultation" (personal communication, March 31, 2014). This individual also spoke about being surprised by the level of interest and the quality of discussion. On this point the executive member specifically noted:

I had not expected the public of the province and the communities of the province to understand quite as well as they did, the impact post-secondary was having on their communities. I had not anticipated that. I had anticipated that they had wanted to keep what they had, just to grow their communities and they didn't want to lose anything, but they were beyond that. They understood they needed the institutional collaboration. They know they needed it. They didn't want this university/college attitude continuing. That was alive and well. They wanted the institutions to get beyond that because their communities were suffering. I was surprised actually that there was that much awareness within the province of some of those challenges.

(Department of Education executive member, personal communication, March 31, 2014)

At the conclusion of each consultation session for the White Paper review, there was an evaluation carried out by the session facilitator to assess the value of the session, including

the format, clarity of questions asked, opportunity for discussion, and venue for the session. The results of these evaluations were included in the *What We Heard* (Ludlow & Farrell, 2004) document produced at the end of the consultation process. The results indicated that 156 individuals who attended the consultation sessions and responded to the evaluation, had a high level of satisfaction with the process. On the critical question of opportunity to participate in the discussion, 142 participants of 156, or 91%, indicated excellent as their response to the specific question when presented with three choices: excellent, good, or needs improvement (Ludlow & Farrell, 2004, p. 53).

**Written submissions.** In addition to the consultations, there were 110 written submissions received. These were submissions beyond written correspondence through letters that directly reflected the questions being asked to the public through the review. These submissions authors were organized by the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner into interest group categories and can be found in the appendix to the formal consultation report. Table 5 captures these submissions into a table format.

Table 5

*Written Submissions to White Paper Consultation*

Submissions	
Interest Group ( <i>n</i> =110)	
Post-secondary institutions (12)	<p>College of the North Atlantic had one formal submission</p> <p>Memorial University had nine of the 12 submissions: governing bodies of the institutions (Board of Regents and Senate),</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• campuses of Memorial (Marine Institute, Sir Wilfred Grenfell, two from Labrador),</li> <li>• faculties and schools at Memorial University (Faculty of Arts and School of Graduate Studies),</li> <li>• formal submission from Memorial University itself developed by the senior executive team.</li> </ul> <p>There were also two submissions from associations, one representing private colleges and one representing an adult education association.</p>

continued

Table 5 (continued)

Interest Group ( <i>n</i> =110)	
Students (12) and alumni (7)	Nine were from individual students and three were from student associations, including Sir Wilfred Grenfell, Graduate Students, and Canadian Federation of Students. Seven submissions came from alumni of the institutions.
College and university personnel (26)	Twenty of these were from faculty or instructors and six were from administrators. All 26 came from personnel from Memorial University or College of the North Atlantic.
Distance education departments (2)	One was from the college and one was from the university, and they were listed separately in the consultation report and not as part of the institutional submissions category noted.
Health care organizations (6)	Two came from institutions within or directly related to Memorial University. Three submissions came from health professional associations, and one submission came from a regional health authority
Economic development organizations (17)	Included regional economic development boards, chambers of commerce, and boards of trade
Municipalities (5)	Submissions were received from five towns of which one came from Labrador (Labrador City) and four from the island (Gander, Corner Brook, St. Anthony, and Burin.
Business Organizations (10)	
Other (13)	Included parents, non-profit organizations, and individual citizens.

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Of the 110 submissions, eight were unavailable for review. It is interesting to note that only nine of the 110 submissions were listed as anonymous or had no identifier of the organization or submitter, meaning that 91% were able to be reviewed through the lens of understanding who the proponents were as they contributed to the process. In addition, there were 52 (47%) of submissions that came from groups and/or individuals directly associated with the two public post-secondary institutions. Combining the consultations and written submissions together reveals that participants within the two public institutions comprised 50% of the entire consultation process, meaning that people within institutions themselves exercised tremendous impact on the policy development process. As well, only a summary of the submission from Memorial University’s Graduate Student Union was available.

In addition to the written submissions, coding data for the submissions, prepared by the government researchers, and aligned with the 12 issues identified (see Table 2) as the focus for the review was included.

**Written correspondence, meetings, and postcards.** There were 62 pieces of written correspondence received and 22 individual meetings held with the commissioner; however, the details of these meetings and content of written submissions were not available from the government department. This information was not available because it could not be found within the government department when requested. However, there was an overlap between organizations that sent correspondence and individual meetings held with the commission, with participants providing both formal consultation and written submissions. In addition, of the 21 consultation sessions, 11 groups made written submissions as well individual participants in some sessions who also made a written submission. There were 2,300 visits to the website, and there were 2,243 post cards received from students specifically directed to the commissioner. While some interviews were requested by the commissioner, other inputs noted here were unique in that they were created by participants themselves who had requested meetings, wrote letters, or in the case of students, sent postcards.

There was also representation from groups and individuals from outside the formal post-secondary communities who participated in the process. In contrast to the involvement of business and economic development groups, there appears to be an absence of involvement of social development groups, either as a result of self-selection through the public invitation to provide written submissions, or non-inclusion by the commissioners. It is noteworthy that constituency-based organizations such as unions, Aboriginal groups, and international groups were not invited to participate in the formal consultation process.



## What Was Said: Written Submissions

In reviewing all available submissions, this research sought to understand the general tone and major issues addressed. Throughout this process, how the interest group approached the submission was the primary objective, with lesser focus on the content of the submission. However, using the coding provided by the research team, the top three areas addressed by groups in the written submissions are provided. Data was provided in the form of written submissions and summaries. In some cases both were available, while in others only one was available. It is for this reason why there is a discrepancy between the number of submissions available for review ( $n = 102$ ) and the number of summaries available ( $n = 98$ ). Table 6 provides a list of the top three questions responded to by interest group.

Table 6

### *Written Responses: Frequencies of Responses by Interest Group*

Constituency	Number of Submissions	Number of Submission Summaries Available	Top three questions responded
All submissions	110	98	1. Labour Market (72), 73% 2. Infrastructure (59) 60% 3. Access (58) 59%
Post-secondary institutions	12	12	1. Infrastructure (12) 100% 2. Labour Market(10) 83% 3. Financial Access (10) 83%
Students	12	11	1. Financial Access (6) 54% 2. Access – participation (5) 45% 3. Student recruitment (3) 27%
College and university personnel	26	25	1. Labour Market (18) 72% 2. Infrastructure (16) 64% 3. Location Access (13) 52%

continued

Table 6 (continued)

Constituency	Number of Submissions	Number of Submission Summaries Available	Top three questions responded
Health educators	6	6	1. Location Access (5) 83% 2. Labour Market (5) 83% 3. Infrastructure (5) 83%
Alumni	7	6	1. Financial Access (5) 83% 2. Efficiency (3) 50% 3. Labour Market (3) 50%
Economic development organizations	17	15	1. Labour Market (14) 93% 2. Location Access (12) 80% 3. Infrastructure (12) 80% 4. Industry and Community partnership (11) 73%
Municipalities	5	3	Too few to analyze
Distance education	2	2	Too few to analyze
Business	10	8	1. Labour Market (5) 63% 2. Access - participation (3) 38% 3. Investment attraction and marketing (2) 25% 4. Industry and Community partnership (2) 25%
Other	13	10	1. Efficiency (9) 90% 2. Location Access (5) 50% 3. Labour Market (2) 20% 4. Infrastructure (2) 20%

Coded documents from GNL, Department of Education, White Paper Submissions

**Comparison of issues addressed.** There appeared to be a difference in issues addressed between those within (institutions, faculty/staff) or close (alumni) with the issues addressed as opposed to those external to the institutions. Overwhelmingly, all submissions focused on questions related to the labour market. Both groups also focused on the

infrastructure available to the university and the college. Those within the institution were more likely to focus on financial access. This reflects the discussion happening external to the process between the university and the students. Those external to the institutions were more likely to focus on location access, which could include physical access to programs and services as well as access to distance education opportunities. See Table 7 for a list of top three issues by those within or clearly associated with the institutions and external groups that participated in the process.

Table 7

*Comparison of Top Issues, Internal Versus External Groups*

Post-secondary institutions ( <i>n</i> = 54) (Post-secondary institutions, students, college/university personnel, alumni)	External Groups ( <i>n</i> = 39) (health educators, organizations, business, other)
Top Three Issues	Top Three Issues
1. Labour Market 57% (31)	1. Labour Market 66% (26)
2. Infrastructure 52% (28)	2. Location Access 64% (25)
3. Financial Access 39% (21)	3. Infrastructure 48% (19)

Coded documents from GNL, Department of Education, White Paper Submissions

In addition, when comparing the three issues that were predominant at the university in the lead up to the White Paper process—namely, tuition, representation on governing boards, and graduate employment—it appears that two of these issues continue to dominate throughout the consultation process. One can conclude that the representation on governing boards was resolved earlier and independent of this process and was a matter internal to the university, although resolved externally by government.

**Memorial University.** There were nine submissions from within the university out of the 12 submissions overall from post-secondary institutions. With the exception of the Marine Institute's submission, all university reports were factually based or internally focused and were not external or story-based. The Marine Institute was able to weave the facts or data that it wanted to convey with stories demonstrating what the data means. The Marine Institute also kept its focus on demonstrating the economic benefits of the Institute to the marine industries in the province. Given that the traditional marine industry, especially fishing-based activities, was paramount in rural communities, the Marine Institute also told a compelling rural development story. The written submission from the Marine Institute was full of examples of successful graduates, training activities, applied research projects, and international activities.

The remaining eight submissions from Memorial University and its campuses or faculties were devoted to university governance, finance, and student costs. All submissions from Memorial University addressed student costs. In all cases, they argued that a greater focus should be on student overall debt, rather than on tuition. The submissions highlighted the fact that the current policy, focusing on the reduction of student fees, does not benefit all students because rural students, who live away from the main campuses of Memorial University, still need to pay for accommodations that such fee reduction advantages local and higher-income students primarily and those students who come from other provinces. In a majority of incidences, a case was presented to increase tuition (even modestly) to deal with the perception of quality of institution and overall financing of the institution.

The institution (Memorial University) versus student disagreement on tuition fees continued to play out throughout the consultation process. In the report by an *Ad hoc*

*Committee of Senate* (MUN, 2004a) where it was argued that tuition fees were too low to sustain the attraction of quality faculty for quality programs, the students issued a minority report arguing that the tuition freeze had resulted in increased enrollment at Memorial University and dismissing the perception that low tuition impacts the people from highest-income families. They pointed out that the reverse would have generated a negative image of the university for students from low to middle class families, and international students as well. The Senate minority report argued

regardless of the funding structure and/or policies created to govern the public, post-secondary system, it is essential that Memorial is provided the resources necessary to appropriately serve the needs of the province while ensuring that no student is burdened with unmanageable debt upon graduation. (MUN, 2004a, p. 11)

The students who were central to the minority report remained consistent with messaging that supported the continuance of the tuition freeze and the increase in grants, not loans, to students to help finance their post-secondary education.

The majority report of the Senate Ad Hoc Committee argued that the province should be able to use all means of financing to ensure the system is adequately funded and affordable. A focus on overall debt was proposed as well as increased government investment in RESPs and tax incentives. The majority submission is captured in the following quotation:

The majority view is that the provincial government should employ all mechanisms at its disposal to ensure the post-secondary system is adequately funded while preserving the principle that is at the core of our mission: affordable access for the students of Newfoundland and Labrador. It would be desirable to develop a better

balance between government funding, tuition policy, tax policy and savings incentives. (MUN, 2004a, p. 10)

The Senate's minority report led by students kept the focus on student debt and continued to link that to out-migration from the province:

During the 1990s, the provincial government cut the University budget enormously; as a result tuition fees, and thus student debt, massively increased, which precipitated a decline in enrollment and also added to the out-migration suffered by the province. (MUN, 2004a, p. 11)

**Individual faculty and staff submissions.** There were 26 submissions from individual faculty and staff members of the two public institutions. These comprised of 14 from the College of the North Atlantic, 10 from Memorial University, one from a private college, and one from a hospital-managed school of nursing. Submissions from within Memorial University came from two units primarily: Sir Wilfred Grenfell College and the Department of Anthropology at the St. John's campus of Memorial University. For the most part, these submissions were single-issue-oriented based on the needs of the individual who was submitting. These submissions included interesting themes that did not seem to appear elsewhere. Individual submitters did not think there was enough collaboration between the university and the college. They called for the creation of a council on higher education in the province. Presentations from the college tended to be more negative about their institution than the university submitters were about theirs. Funding was a common theme in the submissions, and there was no consensus that low tuition was a good thing. There were those who felt that the student should be paying more. There were submissions that

referenced the need for greater autonomy of Sir Wilfred Grenfell within Memorial University and for greater autonomy of the College of the North Atlantic from government.

Individual submissions were shorter and tended to be based more on personal observation than on evidence or fact. While there was some harmony in responses, there were no specific common themes that emerged; rather a list of individual issues and thoughts predominated.

**Health educators.** There were six written submissions that were clustered under the heading of health educators. These included three related to nursing education, one from Memorial University's Faculty of Medicine, one from a regional health authority, and one from a professional association representing radiology. Three consultations related to health care were also organized: one with the medical school, one with Allied Health Professionals, and one with nursing education providers. Although part of Memorial University, the Faculty of Medicine is funded separately through the provincial government's Department of Health.

The submission from the Faculty of Medicine stood out in my view as similar to the Marine Institute; it combined fact with stories or examples of what the work of the Faculty of Medicine means to the province. The submission strongly emphasized the value of the faculty to the province, the number and presence of rural students who are in the medical programs, and the percentage who return to practice in rural areas. The Faculty of Medicine did not support an increase in tuition without a corresponding increase in scholarships and bursaries. The faculty noted that an increase in tuition could make the program more accessible to elite income students rather than attracting an equitable distribution of applicants based on merit. The faculty also focused on the overall debt levels of medical students, especially on rural students who already face high debt loads due to the cost

associated with their undergraduate degree prior to entering medical school. The submission started with a history of the Faculty of Medicine followed by key indicators and stories of how it fulfills provincial needs for rural access and patient care, and ended with very specific description of needs that were largely funding-based. There was also a consultation session with the Faculty of Medicine, and the report was similar to the submission.

Both the Marine Institute and the Faculty of Medicine understood the external environment in which they were presenting (or speaking); they wrote about their outcomes, including students, economic development and research, and they understood the overall issues as identified in the white paper process—structure, funding, and population.

There were three written submissions and two consultation sessions that focused on the structure of nursing education delivery in Newfoundland and Labrador. The three written submissions included one from a consortium of nursing education providers in the province and two from professional associations, all of whom were focused on one topic—consolidation of nursing education under one governance model with Memorial University’s School of Nursing. The two submissions from professional associations were also focused on the same theme of consolidation. The nursing educators were united on the need for a PhD program in nursing and were supportive of a small tuition increase to deal with funding issues for the university. Even though there were two consultation sessions, one dedicated to allied health professionals and to nursing, they were both dominated by the discussion of nursing education.

**Distance education.** There were two submissions specific to distance education: one from the College of the North Atlantic’s Distributed Learning Service and one from



Memorial University's Distance Education and Learning Technologies unit.<sup>3</sup> Both submissions were general in content describing the work of the units, with data on courses and students and examples of projects and/or activities. Memorial University's submission was specific with funding requests to invest in equipment and increased course development, and it highlighted partnerships within the university and with the K–12 system. Conversely, the College of the North Atlantic's submission highlighted external partnerships.

There is an email on file (from the documents received) with the College of the North Atlantic's submission that suggests the input was specifically requested by the commissioner as a result of a wider consultation session held with the College of the North Atlantic. While it is not clear why the commissioner made these requests, this could have transpired as a result of the session with the College of the North Atlantic, or it could have been in response to Memorial University making a formal submission in this area. Thus, the involvement of Memorial University may have triggered a requested submission from the College of the North Atlantic. In addition, the discussion of distance education as a means of post-secondary access was a frequent theme in the consultation sessions with regional groups.

### **Student-Defined Engagement**

**Students' Union (Canadian Federation of Students, Newfoundland and Labrador).** Formally organized student groups engaged in the consultation process in a very different and unique way (namely, Canadian Federation of Students' Newfoundland and Labrador). They took part in both informal activities outside of the policy development process, and they developed an approach that was unique from other interest groups to

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<sup>3</sup> In my capacity as director of Distance Education and Learning Technologies at MUN, I wrote the distance education submission from MUN.

defining their formal involvement in the policy development process as described in this section.

In both February 2004 and February 2005, students engaged in a National Day of Action organized by the Canadian Federation of Students and orchestrated to ensure activities happened at every member campus. Students sent 2,243 postcards to the commissioner calling for tuition reductions and better financial assistance for students and increases in operating grants to the public post-secondary institutions. According to the commissioner, “There were the students themselves who, if anybody can provide good public input to change government policy, it’s the students. They sent me personally 2,300 post cards telling me *make sure you don’t increase the tuition*” (personal communication, March 25, 2014).

An article in the student newspaper, *The Muse*, illustrated the hope of one student leader who was coordinating the postcard campaign “that the Department of Education will hear that ‘overwhelmingly, students support a publicly funded post-secondary education system’” (Jackson, 2004, p. 5).

The students also developed a consultation session that was different from other sessions held because they did not want to follow the same process as other groups. The provincial student federation was “not comfortable with the questions” (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014). They wanted a session that was focused on what they felt was important and they did not want to do the consultation at the university. They, according to the commissioner, preferred a “neutral location” (personal communication, March 25, 2014). The commissioner met a representative from the student leadership group for coffee, and they discussed a plan for consultation. An email exchange provided to me in

the consultation documents revealed a dialogue between the student leader and the commissioner in which students determined the agenda for the consultation session. The commissioner immediately agreed and noted in a personal interview that “they were very happy and pleased that they were allowed to control the input, but we were more interested in getting the input” (personal interview, March 25, 2014). The commissioner noted, “They followed their own format and it wasn’t that different from what we did but they wanted to control the process and that was fair enough, and they did it and did it well” (personal communication, March 25, 2014).

The consultation session occurred during the semi-annual general meeting of Canadian Federation of Students Newfoundland and Labrador meeting and was attended by approximately 25 representatives from various public post-secondary students’ associations in the province. This session was also unique because the students met with the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner, plus one researcher from the provincial Department of Education. All other consultation sessions had been held with a wider audience from the provincial government. The students covered five topics: institutional funding, tuition fees, student financial assistance, governance, and the post-secondary system, with a particular focus on the college system.

The consultation session followed a different format than the others. The following themes guided the session:

- funding for post-secondary institutions
- tuition fees
- student financial assistance
- the college system
- governance

The student federation provided a formal written submission and participated in a consultation session. Interwoven with enough facts and examples, plus marked by unique vision and insight, the students' submission was by far the most focused argument presented. It cited specific examples to support each position they took, using both national and international instances when appropriate, as well as existing government policy reports. For example, to support the argument of continuing with the tuition freeze, the students cited a government report released in 2003, *Beyond High School: Follow-up study of June 2001 High School Graduates*, and noted the report "examined the reasons why graduates chose to go or not to go to a post-secondary institution" noting "it found that of those who did not attend university or college, nearly 80 percent cited financial issues as the reason, and of these, more than 40 percent stated that their desired program was too expensive to consider (Canadian Federation of Students [CFS], 2004, p. 1).

The student submission addressed the same issues addressed in the consultation session and achieved, like no other, a balance between fact, example, and argument. The submission introduction summarized the report well: "Using both Canadian and international evidence, this brief will illustrate that the high tuition fees, high student debt, model of post-secondary education does not work, that it instead creates barriers to higher education and further exacerbates existing societal inequalities" (CFS, 2004, p. 2).

The report contained 12 recommendations, the first of which was "the federation recommends that the provincial government commit to a series of annual increases to core operating grants for the College of the North Atlantic and Memorial University" (CFS, 2004, p. 4). The specific recommendation to reduce tuition fees was number four. It is interesting to point out that the students understood that the post-secondary institutions needed more

funding to operate and chose to emphasize increased operating grants as they argued for lower tuition fees.

The students continued with the argument of reducing tuition fees by holding a Day of Action in February 2005. This day was normally acknowledged nationally and was coordinated by the Canadian Federation of Students. In 2005, the national federation opted not to hold a national day but “left it up to local student unions to decide whether or not to hold individual campaigns” (Hyslop & Jackson, 2005, p. 4). Only MUNSU opted to hold activities. Students who had academic leniency for 2 hours, granted by Senate, on Wednesday, February 2, 2005 rallied on campus at Memorial University and then moved to the provincial legislature.

In an interesting move, student members of the Memorial University Senate on both occasions requested academic leniency from class and examinations for students who were involved in this process and brought a formal motion to the Memorial University Senate to make such a request. However, the turn out for the Day of Action was “much less than usual, [according to] regular participants, who estimate over 100 protesters came out” (Goodyear, 2005, p. 1). According to Goodyear’s (2005) article, student union representatives accounted for the low turnout due to weather, exclaiming a “cold day” when asked about the low number of participants. The article did go on to quote a fourth year undergraduate student who noted displeasure with the students’ union. The student stated “to be quite frank, I totally disagree with the Day of Action this year. [MUNSU] complains about tuition fee increases, raises their own fees without a vote, and then holds events like these which undoubtedly cost money” (Goodyear, 2005, p. 4). This represented the first sign of dissatisfaction with MUNSU that could be found in the records available.

## **Actions of the University President During the Consultation Process**

During the White Paper process, the university president, Dr. Axel Meisen, engaged in various activities that included updating members of the Senate and Board of Regents at their regular meetings, holding a special meeting of Senate to review Memorial University's submission to the process, engaging in interviews with internal and provincial mainstream media, and developing positive reports about the role and value of Memorial University.

One of the regular public appearances of the president is an annual speech to the Rotary Club of St. John's. In 2004, Memorial University's president chose as his title *Memorial University's Successes*.

The president routinely updated the Senate and the Board of Regents on his activities as they directly related to the White Paper process and indirectly related by noting meetings with various ministers and members of the legislature. Typical of this reporting is an example found in the December 9, 2004, minutes of the Board of Regents, in which the president noted:

1. Meetings with the Minister of Education and other members of the department to provide an overview of the university; 2. Hosting a meeting of deputy ministers with a focus on rural development, 3. Being interviewed by local media about the White Paper. (MUN, BoR, 2004a, p. 3)

The February 8, 2005, minutes of the Senate also reveal the reporting the Memorial University president provided throughout the process. At that meeting he noted,

The government's White Paper document on Post-secondary Education is scheduled to be released before the end of March 2005. . . . [The president] emphasized the

importance of this document for the University and he encouraged all Senators to make their views known on this topic. (MUN, Senate, 2005, p. 208)

On that same occasion and at a special meeting of Senate held just before the regular meeting, there was a discussion about cost-recovery courses and programs at which time the Senate discussed the principles of such activity and the students members of the Senate provided their minority report noting “that undergraduate students believe that cost-recovery programs have, for the most part, no place in a public university” (MUN, Senate, 2005, p. 105).

The consistent reports from the president to the Board of Regents and Senate appeared as part of his regular reporting to the university governing bodies. This was particularly so between August and November of 2004. The president also denoted numerous meetings with the minister of Education or departmental staff during this phase of consultations.

Memorial University’s official written submission, *Transforming Aspirations into Reality* (Memorial University of Newfoundland Senior Executive Committee, [MUNSEC], 2004) was also the focus of the consultation session held with the senior executive of the university. The document itself presented a vision that was target-driven, full of references to enrollment size and research revenue. In an interview with *The Gazette*, Memorial University’s official paper, the president stated, “The White Paper will shape public policy regarding higher education in this province for the next decade and perhaps beyond” (MUN, 2004c, p. 1). In describing the submission the president pointed out,

Memorial University is recognized as an important institution, arguably the most important institution, through which ‘the aspirations of the people of Newfoundland

and Labrador have been and will continue to be realized. Our report builds on this notion and presents a case for the kind of university that we think is needed if the province and its citizens are to prosper. (MUN, 2004c, p. 1)

### **Measuring Community Relevance and Impact**

One other item worth acknowledging in this section is that the College of the North Atlantic and Memorial University each undertook reports on their institution to showcase the value of each institution. For the College of the North Atlantic, it was a return on investment study, which was conducted by CCBenefits Incorporated. The study essentially looked at the rate of return to the taxpayer for the public investment in the College of the North Atlantic. The company that conducted the study “applied a comprehensive economic model they developed . . . to capture and quantify the economic and social benefits of community and technical colleges” (CNA, 2003, p. 1). The writers of the study found the College of the North Atlantic accounts for “\$668.4 million of all annual earnings in the provincial economy” (CNA, 2003, p. 1). They also looked at rates of return for students, citing a “9.7% rate of return on their investments of time and money” (CNA, 2003, p. 1). The study concluded that “for every \$1 the student invests in CNA education, he or she will receive a cumulative of \$2.29 in higher future earnings over the next 30 years or so” (CNA, 2003 p. 1, 2). Ultimately, they found that “CNA provides a benefit/cost ratio of 11.5, i.e. every dollar of provincial tax money invested in CNA today returns a cumulative of \$11.5 over the next 30 years” (CNA, 2003, p. 3).

Memorial University undertook its own community relations study. It hired an external research firm whose job it was to survey people, to gather opinions that indicated



how Memorial University is perceived in the province. *The Muse* highlighted the following results:

- 61 percent think the school is operated in a cost effective manner
- 75 percent say public funding for the university should not be decreased
- 83 percent agreed that Memorial's programs are amongst the best in the world
- 40 percent knew that Memorial's tuition is the lowest in Atlantic Canada
- 44 percent knew that Memorial is the largest university in Atlantic Canada

(Bell, 2004a, p. 5)

MUNSU responded immediately, repeating its consistent message regarding tuition, asserting that “the administration believes people perceive the university as lower quality because it has lower tuition” (Bell, 2004a, p. 5). Other articles were printed on similar themes, and it appeared that MUNSU stayed consistently on message. Every time the Memorial University administration tried to raise the issue of the cost of a continued tuition-freeze, the students immediately expressed concern about what this would mean, indicated the increase in enrollment, and cited the economic value through employment and retaining young graduates in the province. It was evident that Memorial University could not advance its message without receiving the same contrary response from MUNSU.

### **External Stakeholder Submissions and Consultations**

Input from the regional economic development boards and from the strategic social plan committees was particularly strong, since both written submissions and consultation sessions were held with each group. There were 22 written submissions from regional economic development boards, municipalities, and economic development agencies, all focused on the economic development of their region or sector. The type of submissions

varied from formal written documents and letters to community consultation reports. In some cases, they referenced letters of support from businesses and communities. The letters were not available, but the notes from the sessions acknowledged these letters particularly validated the role of the college campus in various communities.

These submissions overwhelmingly focused on the value of the College of the North Atlantic campus to the region. The detail provided by the submissions and, in one case, a direct reference to a meeting with local college officials, gave evidence that the submissions were the result of a direct lobby by the College of the North Atlantic to the communities, and the communities to government about the vital need of the campus to the region. In background information on the White Paper process, media reports suggested that government opposition members feared that the process would result in fewer college campuses (“Opposition critic predicting,” 2004). When the university was mentioned in these submissions, it was usually in the context of need for collaboration between the College of the North Atlantic and Memorial University, so that the College of the North Atlantic could offer more programs in the regions thus allowing students to stay home longer, reducing the cost of post-secondary education. This suggested a greater attachment of the College of the North Atlantic to the regions than Memorial University exhibited.

There was one submission from one municipality that was specific to greater autonomy for Sir Wilfred Grenfell College located on the west coast of the island from the main campus of Memorial University located on the east coast. The municipality also saw a need for greater collaboration between the Grenfell College and Memorial University campus in the town. The municipality’s position mirrored that of Grenfell College itself on the desire for greater autonomy.

The regional economic development board and strategic social plan committees in each of the regions of the province played a significant role in the consultation sessions. These consultations were positive about the College of the North Atlantic. These consultations allowed the facilitators to ask specifically about Memorial University. The majority of discussion addressed the need a seamless movement for students between the College of the North Atlantic and Memorial University and vice versa, requiring greater collaboration between the two institutions. In some consultation sessions, this discussion was broadened to include K–12, but all groups mentioned the College of the North Atlantic and Memorial University. Block transfer agreements between programs was discussed several times as was the need for system (IT and administrative) integration with the two institutions.

Much of the discussion was about rural communities and the survival of these communities. Accessibility to post-secondary education in these communities, either through local delivery and/or distance education, was paramount to this conversation. Within this context, broadband access to provide for distance education was the most common infrastructure issue identified by the regional session. Flexibility through distance education and prior learning assessment and recognition (PLAR) was also highlighted.

There was a discussion on the perennial topic of tuition at every session with most groups agreeing that low tuition was favourable and positively affected access. In the rural consultations, and for that matter, even in the urban-based sessions, participants felt that the policy concentration should reflect the overall cost for post-secondary and student debt and not focus solely on tuition cost. Many consultation sessions implied that rural students should be compensated or supported at a higher rate than urban students, given that rural students

had higher costs of travel, accommodations, and other living expenses that urban students do not, typically, have to bear.

### **Consultation Report: What We Heard**

In December 2004, the Department of Education released the document by the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner on the results of the consultation process. The report, entitled *What We Heard: A Report on the Consultations on Public Post-Secondary Education in Newfoundland and Labrador* (Ludlow & Farrell, 2004), was a summary of the discussions, written submissions, and meetings held over the 5-month process. It was organized according to the questions asked during the consultation sessions and, further, under the three main focuses of the review—public post-secondary structure, funding of post-secondary education, and impacts of population changes. Structuring the *What We Heard* report this way facilitated organizing and synthesizing the results of significant public contribution to the consultation process. It appeared to emphasize the consultation sessions over other forms of input.

What the report did not do was prioritize issues that were raised in the consultation, nor did it recognize or give weight to the frequency with which an issue was raised. However, the commissioners did offer a summary of key themes that they heard throughout the process (Ludlow & Farrell, 2004). These themes were then carried through the document and were one of the three primary foci for the review.

From the review of all of the contributions available, including written submissions and consultation reports, it is clear that three issues were paramount in the entire process, so much so that it did not matter what questions were asked, the respondents would weave the question back to certain priorities. These three issues were predominant: operating budget for

the two institutions, student tuition and student debt, and system collaboration between the College of the North Atlantic and Memorial University. There were secondary issues of necessary infrastructure to support the institutions and provision of educational services throughout the province through distance education. There were, as well, two significant issues that were institution-specific but appeared in numerous reports: governance structures at Memorial University and number and location of college campuses at the College of the North Atlantic. There was also a list of issues raised by a minority or limited within a specific sector of participants. For example, the issue of health education and its delivery, particularly nursing education, was only raised by health care entities. The consultation report did not distinguish between the importance or the predominance of issues, but rather treated all issues with the same weight; however, the three predominant issues were in the final report and were provided specific funding to advance the policy directives.

The issue of tuition and student costs had garnered so much attention that it became the main lobby of some participants, particularly students, but it was the one with the least consensus, resulting in minority reports directed as institutional submissions. There was even debate within Memorial University between the administration, supporting an increase in fees, and the students and different faculty members supporting low fees. Two of the main dissenting from within Memorial University came from the Faculty of Medicine and the Marine Institute focused on rural students as well as overall student debt. Each of these two dissenting voices favoured no increases in tuition or offsetting of potential increases with more scholarships and bursaries. Of the 10 submissions from various units and governing bodies of Memorial University, there were seven submissions favouring tuition increases or focusing on the inability for the governing bodies to set tuition, even though the Memorial

University Act clearly states such authority. Two units were opposed to any increase (noted above), and one governing body (Senate) was split on the issue.

Conversely all three submissions from students' unions opposed any tuition increase. Of the eight individual students who submitted comments, four opposed tuition increases, one favoured a discussion on overall cost, and three made no reference to tuition. Of the 10 submissions from individual faculty and staff of Memorial University, three were opposed to tuition increases, one was in favour, and six made no reference to it.

Individual respondents, not connected to any group submitting, were focused on two issues: student finances and their overall debt level, and the possibility that college campuses might close. These are the two issues that also received external media attention from the students (tuition) and the legislature's opposition (college closures), and media attention gave them traction outside of the consultation process.

In February 2005, a report in the student newspaper referred to the length of time elapsed since the release of the consultation report and no subsequent policy paper forthcoming. This led to "rumours of impending tuition hikes, program cuts, and campus closures" (Freeman, 2005, p. 6). In the same article, the minister of Education noted, "[The White Paper] will deal primarily with revising funding grants and tuition freezing regulations for Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic, but will also affect student financial aid" (Freeman, 2005, p. 6).

Even if the consultation report did not prioritize issues, there is evidence that the government was aware of the predominance of certain issues as referenced in the minister's comments. This evidence comes in the form of announcements that were made prior to the release of the White Paper itself. Four months after the release of the consultation report, the

official White Paper policy document had not yet been released, and the government was about to go into a throne speech and provincial budget. Normally, that is where signals of policy directions from government would be evident, so the anticipation that the White Paper would be released was high.

The government acted in advance of both the throne speech and budget by announcing a tuition freeze for the coming year and the continuation of that freeze for 3 years until the conclusion of the current government's term of office. According to media reports, the announcement of the tuition freeze came just before the students planned another protest. The student newspaper reported, "As the Canadian Federation of Students prepared to protest the provincial government on March 15 [2005] it got exactly the announcement it wanted" (Bell, 2005, p. 1).

Both the chair of the Ad hoc Committee of Senate, which had made a submission to the White Paper, and Memorial University's president offered sobering commentary on the government's tuition freeze position. The senator noted that "the tuition freeze would present trouble for the university budget" (Bell, 2005, p. 1). Memorial University's president stated that even with the decision of government, it is the Board of Regents that "has the final say on setting tuition fees" (Bell, 2005, p. 1). The government decided to freeze tuition, thus pre-empting Memorial University's legislated right, which had empowered the Board of Regents with final say on tuition cost. And the government's announcement did not pertain only to regular tuition. The announcement was "across the board which mean[t] professional programs – such as medical school, engineering, nursing and business –also remain[ed] the same" (Welsh, 2005, p. 3).

## **Final Report**

Between 2004 and 2005, the financial situation of the province was changing because offshore oil revenues were on the rise due to rising energy costs and funds were available from oil to the province to invest in public services. With that shift, came significant expectations from the public that government could now invest in social services such as education and continue previous commitments such as the tuition freeze. At the very least, there was an expectation from the public and students in particular that available funding would not be the reason to discontinue this freeze.

The commissioner and advisor to the commissioner may have played an active and public role in the consultations, but, according to the Minister, “the government [had] the final say in advising the new policy direction (Goodyear, 2004, p. 1). In the end, the power was with the government to decide on the policy direction. The consultation report was valuable in the sense that it formally and publicly documented what stakeholders said providing transparency and accountability in the process and influencing the policy directions that government could make.

A key understanding by the government as a result of the White Paper consultation exercise was articulated by the department executive member who stated, the process put the post-secondary system on a different playing field within the government organization. [Government] couldn’t move on the economic agenda and that was huge. We were in the middle of trying to build our economy. Back then in 2004, we did not have many opportunities for economic development. The point was made during the consultations that economic development will not occur without these two systems functioning. (personal communication, March 31, 2014)



The *White Paper on Post-Secondary Education* was officially released on July 7, 2005 (GNL, 2005c). The document featured 28 strategies under four themes: strengthening the base, improving system capacity, helping students, and maintaining stable funding. It was very different from other policy documents of other Canadian provinces primarily because it identified funding to enable the implementation some of the main strategies. According to the news release issued on the launch date by the Department of Education “over the next three years, government will invest nearly \$90 million to implement White Paper strategies” (GNL, 2005d, par. 6). The largest investment was \$25.6 million to continue with the tuition freeze at both Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic. The second largest investment was \$22.7 million to increase the operating grants at both institutions. The third largest investment was \$22.5 million to establish a research fund available to both institutions (GNL, 2005d).

Not all recommendations were accompanied by implementation funding. Many espoused the need for Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic to work together for the benefit of the post-secondary system. The commissioner admitted that system collaboration was a significant theme emerging from the consultations. In capturing the essence of that theme he said

we have a unique situation in this province in that we have a post-secondary education system. We have one university and we have one college. Why in the name of heavens can't we get our act together and make sure it's a system. Let's take down the silos, let's make it more seamless so that if a young man or woman wants to go to college in Year 1, but because he or she is frightened to death about university or doesn't want to leave too far from home, let that person do that [go to a college] and

then let there be a way to be a transition or vice versa. (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014)

To accomplish that system collaboration, there were a number of strategies identified, one being to appoint three joint members to the Board of Governors of the College of the North Atlantic and the Board of Regents of Memorial University. Other strategies fostered collaboration between the two institutions in student housing, student recruitment, and career services.

There was one contentious suggestion and that was an increase in provincial loan limits on a weekly basis, seen by students as increasing student debt. While the White Paper was viewed favourably by students, the decision to increase weekly loan limits, as opposed to dealing with student debt, was not welcomed. The strategy allowed for debt reduction grants to be applied against these increases; however, students were still hoping for decisions that would address student debt levels.

**What contributors had most impact?** Three of the people interviewed pointed to the students as main contributors to the process. The Department of Education executive member expressed being impressed and surprised by the focus of the students. Specifically this person said,

in terms of their ability to articulate a business case, they were the strongest. It was amazing actually. Not only were they the strongest, but they were cohesive. When they spoke, they were on message. Corner Brook students didn't deviate from the St. John's students, didn't deviate from the Labrador students and didn't deviate from the [college] Ridge Road [campus] students. (department executive member, personal communication, March 31, 2014).

This commentary was consistent with the evidence available from media and other reports happening around the White Paper process. The students, regardless of location or institution, were on message. The department executive member went onto say, “They had a policy position for all the issues that were presented. I had a lot of respect for the students’ engagement in the process” (personal communication, March 31, 2014).

The commissioner and the advisor to the commissioner highlighted two groups: the students and the regional economic development boards. The commissioner was asked if he felt the students had out-maneuvered Memorial University in the process. The commissioner, who was also a former dean of student affairs, noted,

I couldn’t agree with you more, and I was happy to see it [happen]. Based on my own experience as a student services type then it looked good on them because I think the more input students have about their future and their destiny in post-secondary education [the better it will be]; I think they should be listened to and listened to positively at all times. (personal communication, March 25, 2014)

The commissioner also commented on the role of the regional economic development boards and regional strategic social planning committees, organizations that no longer exist in the province. The commissioner was impressed by their “genuine desire to see that post-secondary education really did help to sustain the regional and economic development in the province” (personal communication, March 25, 2014). The commissioner recognized the quality of people involved in these boards throughout the province on the subject of the college campuses in particular and felt that they were able to articulate the value of the college in the community. Through the participation of these people and their boards, the commissioner and those involved in the consultation process were able to realize “that the

college system especially was interwoven and intertwined into the whole fabric of the social and economic well-being of the province, especially ‘outside the overpass’” [meaning in communities outside the greater St. John’s capital city area] (personal interview, March 25, 2014).

The commissioner credited the value of personal story-telling as a contributor to policy development. Acknowledging this particular policy exercise, the commissioner commented,

When you get submissions that are based on pure facts, I don’t think they resonate to the same extent as they do with submissions that examine the realities of how changes can impact upon the sons and daughters of those who are going to help finance, promote, and encourage [it]. (personal communication, March 25, 2014)

**Were any voices missing?** Policy-making in Newfoundland and Labrador has always been influenced by geography. The significant land mass of the province, just over 400,000 square kilometers, and housing population, just over 500,000 scattered throughout that area, has always influenced the way decisions are made.

Therefore, the structure of the consultation process favoured geographic-based participation as the measurement to ensure public involvement. There was limited engagement, according to those interviewed, from constituency-based organizations. The involvement of unions, Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, international organizations, etc. was missed in a process that primarily sought geographic-based representation. Arguably, geographic-based representation is how democracy structure is based so it would stand to reason that this may be the perspective through which public policy takes shape. It is also how historically public policy consultation has been conducted

in Newfoundland and Labrador where discourse is dominated by the rural–urban divide, Labrador versus the island portion of the province and other such nuances shaped by the vast geographic mass of the province.

In choosing who was consulted, the report focused on program constituency-based issues (e.g., health education) as opposed to both designated minority groups and constituencies not directly linked to a program of study offered in the two post-secondary institutions. The deliberate decision by the facilitators to include health care educators and providers to participate in the process led that to be a captured theme in the reporting. This suggests perhaps prior influence or agenda-setting by health care groups with the government.

Related to the theme of Aboriginal people's involvement was the regret, in hindsight, of not having more consultation sessions in Labrador. Labrador is the largest part of the province geographically but the smallest in population. It is also where Aboriginal groups are predominant, although there are Aboriginal groups on the island as well.

One of the strengths of the process chosen in this consultation was that while the leading individuals indicated the groups they would like to meet with, they did not prescribe who should be attending the sessions. The organizers themselves brought the community representatives together accommodating an arm's length process and quite likely extending the credibility of the process to the participants.

Evidence in this study such as the role of students and rural-based populations could suggest the presence of interest groups who may normally be classified as marginalized, here defined as organizations and individuals lacking the economic power and physical location access to decision-makers by their being located in rural and remote regions. For example,

rural communities (often viewed as being marginalized with decreasing population) were granted high access to the consultation process. Based on a preliminary analysis of the policy, student associations appear to have influenced the policy direction. However, these marginalized groups were pre-selected to participate by the policy elite. There were many other groups that could also be considered marginalized such as Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, and international organizations that did not get access to the process. Thus it seems that marginalized groups can have influence, but their access must be pre-selected by the policy elite. Those who were not pre-selected did not show the same access or influence in the process. Their lack of involvement limited the policy development and could have expanded the process as well as the issues. Critical policy development would ensure inclusion of the marginalized and most disadvantaged who otherwise would not be represented.

### **General Observations**

Four general observations can be derived from this consultation process:

1. This process was similar to and different from those in other Canadian provinces.

It was similar in that other provinces designated someone to lead the policy process. In this case, the commissioner was external to government but known and well respected within the system. The presidents of the College of the North Atlantic and Memorial University were consulted in this selection process. This process also differed in that the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner were only engaged for the consultation component; the actual policy document itself was developed by the government department. The commissioner was

involved in the process throughout according to the department executive member interviewed.

2. The process was quasi transparent. Opportunities for engagement in the process were both public and closed. Written submissions and correspondence were driven by individuals and groups deciding to personally participate. Consultation sessions were identified by the core group designing the process. While those interest groups consulted could decide who attended each session, the interest groups that gained access to the process were identified by the group designing the process. Submissions were not posted for public review, which meant that the public had to trust that the consultation report was reflective of what was heard in the consultation process.
3. Unique to this process was the role Memorial University played throughout. It may be clearly evident here due to the one-to-one relationship between a university and a provincial government in this case study. This process emphasized the importance of not only listening to and understanding what is happening directly in the policy consultation exercise, but also understanding the importance of the dynamic between interest groups outside of the process. Memorial University administration had a strained relationship with students during this period and refused to compromise on numerous matters important to students. Even when Memorial University administration lost issues with the students due to government intervention, for some reason the institution did not appreciate what was happening around it. It is clear that the government of the day did not want controversy with students and, as a result, intervened in matters

affecting Memorial University governance. This intervention favoured the students' position challenging the Memorial University's autonomy. Memorial University's administration failed to acknowledge the politics of policy-making and the importance of relationships with interest groups to advance its agenda.

4. Conversely, the students understood the political nature of policy-making by using the external media to send clear messages to government throughout the process. They used this tool independent of any access provided to the formal consultation process. Within the formal consultation process, the students defined how they would engage, rather than it being defined for them.

### **Interest Group Behaviour**

Based on the analysis and findings, observations on how interest groups behave in policy-making can be made. The first groups are those with a direct role and vested interest in the policy-making. These were the students and Memorial University. Memorial University submissions and consultations were deliberately sought after by leaders of the policy development process. The student association, however, drove its own agenda. The students modified the consultation process to best fit their interests, they provided written submissions, they engaged in the external media as well they engaged in pressure group behaviour, typified by the submission of over 2,000 postcards to the commissioner. They were consistently on message. Memorial University's message, while displaying solidarity generally about the issue of funding, revealed some areas where disagreement arose. However, for the most part, the number of submissions and consultations from Memorial University and from the students resulted in their being the most active participants in the process.



These vested interest groups also led campaigns to influence the process. The university senior administration and Board of Regents shared similar themes as well as public opinion research that was also developed to show the impact of the institution in the community. As vested interest groups, they also had other contributing entities within the institution as well as individual faculty and staff who also made submissions or participated in consultation sessions. Here, the freedom of expression, central to Memorial University, caused the institution's message to lose effectiveness as disagreements with some of the major policy issues as well as airing of the some of the issues internal to Memorial University were addressed.

In contrast, the campaign organized by the students' associations was always on a consistent message with limited disagreement from individual students who also provided input. The strength was for Memorial University and the Canadian Federation of Students' Newfoundland and Labrador as opposed to the College of the North Atlantic's Students' Union (CNASU). CNASU had limited direct involvement and participation in the process, rather the campaign was led by Memorial University students and the College of the North Atlantic students benefited from their gains.

Then there were the *engaged influencers*. These were groups identified by the government and commissioners as people to consult with having the geographic reach and organizational legitimacy, and they themselves provided written submissions. Because they were selected by the commissioners and government as the best avenue to consult within the province, they had an identified legitimacy with the policy elite. In this study, the policy elite included the five individuals interviewed.

The two dominant groups here were the regional economic development boards and the strategic social plan committees, both of which were organized throughout the province. In addition, the health care sector can be added to this category. This group appeared to have more influence than any other professional/occupation-based group, and this group must have been known to the policy elite as they were identified in the design of the consultation process. These groups made 13 written submissions and organized 12 of the 21 consultation sessions.

The third group was *interested stakeholders* groups who sent in written submissions, but were not identified by the policy elite for consultations (with the exception of the Association of Career Colleges, i.e., private training institutions). Neither groups had significant impact on the policy direction. These groups acted alone. There was no one coordinating or facilitating their submissions, neither was there commonality in messaging. There were 17 submissions from these groups; however, no unifying theme was evident so that the number of submissions equated to policy influence.

Finally, there were single-issue participants, including interested members of the public, alumni, and students. Their input was collected through email, often lacking supporting evidence and predominantly opinion-driven; 32 submissions were received from this group. There was no one coordinating these submissions, and there appeared to be no unifying message between them.

Figure 3 serves to summarize these categories of interest group behaviour and how they exercise their influence in policy-making.

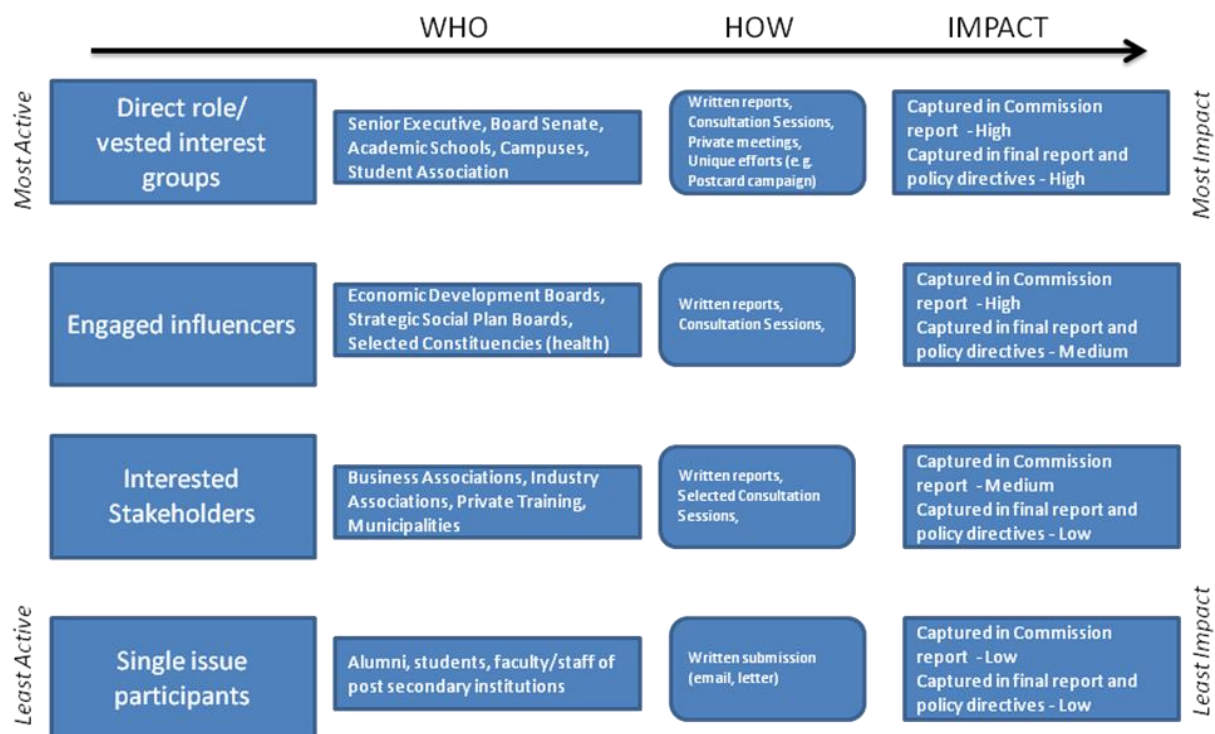


Figure 3. Interest group behaviour.

The level of participation and engagement correlated to access with the policy elite and ultimately to influencing the policy agenda. For the most part, those who exerted key influence were identified upfront as the most important to consult and whose consultation impacted the final policy paper. However, there were groups who made a conscious decision to increase their engagement in the process and thus increased their influence. Therefore, interest groups who have direct power in the policy process behave differently and can increase or decrease their impact by virtue of this participation.

## **Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations**

### **Who Held the Power and how was it Used?**

There are many answers to the fundamental questions posed at the beginning of this dissertation. Who ultimately held the power, and how did they use it? That is the essence of this study.

The following questions guided the focus of this study:

1. What are the key or dominant external environmental factors influencing societal expectations of universities? How do they link to interest group agenda-setting?
2. What role do interest groups play in shaping the public policy formulation and agendas for universities? Whose voices are heard and how? To what degree are their voices consistent with university needs? Is there a hierarchy within and amongst interest groups who hold influence?
3. How do interest groups influence government expectations of universities?

In the end, many people held the power, some achieving modest wins, and others more significantly, some with a deliberate strategy, while others more accidental. While this dissertation has not primarily focused on the outcomes of the policy process, it is important to note that fundamentally, it was getting the results or having influence on the policy agenda that was the ultimate prize for groups and individuals who engaged in and contributed to the policy-making process. In the conclusion to this study, six observations are provided of what really matters in influencing public policy. It should be acknowledged that these conclusions are specific to this study, and further research is warranted to determine if they can be generalized.

*Credibility matters: Commissioner and advisor to commissioner.* From the outset, the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner held power in the process. These two individuals were involved in the design and implementation of the consultation strategy. While the Department of Education “held the pen,” on the final document, according to the department executive member, the commissioner in particular was involved in the process throughout (personal communication, March 31, 2014).

The commissioner and advisor were both known and acceptable to the institutions as leaders of the consultation process, having distinguished careers as education leaders knowledgeable of local issues and context. They had history and respect within the institutions. They were able to use this to leverage a significant amount of good will, resulting in a high level of public engagement in the consultation process. Others held power based on their previous roles as well. The institutions felt that they had two people who were completely motivated to make the best decisions for their institutions. The government knew they had two people who were respected and who could bring the institutions to the table. So in essence, power was shared. Successful interest groups understood this dynamic: power invested in one (commissioner primarily) and used by others (government, institutions, students) to influence the policy review.

The commissioner and advisor to the commissioner had the necessary skills to ensure that the consultations were meaningful. The policy analyst involved in the process captured this point:

[The commissioner and advisor to the commissioner had] to have the ability to have the facilitation skills, the ability to actually have conversations with people and be able to probe beyond the questions that they had listed in front of them. To be able to

get to that second tier of discussion and get the underlying assumptions that people were making. (policy analyst, personal communication, March 26, 2014)

The background of the commissioner was particularly useful to the students who used it as a benefit to each other's objectives (commissioner and students). The students used the power of the commissioner and his background to influence the process cleverly. They were able to carve their own means of engaging in the process through a specially designed consultation process. The students knew what the commissioner freely acknowledged, that he

brought bias to the table and [I] made that known right from day one that you have to acknowledge that [I] am biased, and my bias favors the student. So that bias was evident. [I] believe that the first signal for the success of the White Paper was to say okay we are going to do what we can for the students. (commissioner, personal communication, March 25, 2014)

***Formal power matters.*** Department of Education representatives exerted significant impact on the entire process. The department identified and secured the commissioner and advisor to the commissioner; the department was involved in the design and implementation of the White Paper consultation exercise. They wrote the key issues and challenges document that was circulated to attendees prior to the sessions. They had a representative at consultation sessions. They did the research, wrote the report, and developed the policy. As drivers and architects of the policy exercise, they exercised tremendous influence. While they determined the questions to be asked, it becomes clearer when one reviews the report summaries that what they did or and what they wrote were true representations of what was said.

The policy elite therefore played an active role in the process and determined the outcomes of the process. An interesting observation evident in the interviews was the pride the policy elite had in the process and the sense of accomplishment they exhibit even today at having been involved in the development of policy for post-secondary education.

The department executive member captured this pride as the interview concluded:

I still consider it a highlight of my career. I've done this maybe 20 times for government, as an employee, that's about 20 reviews and 20 different things, planning and where we are going to be in 10 years' time. If I had to look at anything in all of the 20 files that I've carried, this was a highlight. I still feel and I have had people come up to me and say to me, you know 10 years later that had we not done that can you imagine where we would be. (personal communication, March 31, 2014)

***Strategy matters: University versus college approach.*** Because the focus of this study was on the architects of the policy-making process, it is not known whether the College of the North Atlantic and Memorial University had a formal strategy for the consultation and policy development process. In reviewing the evidence and analyzing it by sector group, it appears that the approaches were quite different.

For MUN, there were more internal reports from within the institution than there were external reports concerning the institution. Internal institution submissions came from the various campuses of Memorial University and from some key faculties and schools (Faculty of Medicine, School of Nursing, and Graduate Studies) as well as from distance education. The formal governing boards of the Senate and Board of Regents also participated in submissions and consultations.

Some of these submissions revealed tensions within Memorial University itself. Submissions from campuses tended to identify issues with the central institution as an impediment to their growth and requested policy changes such as obtaining budgets separately from government, rather than through the institutional budgeting process. These submissions also requested governance changes in the reporting dynamics within Memorial University. There was limited discussion about the university in the community consultations, except to acknowledge that more collaboration was needed between the institutions. Most discussion was about the cost for students to attend and, in particular, the costs of rural students who do not live adjacent to a university campus. Further to the geographic location topic, there was a desire in Labrador to have more of a physical presence of Memorial University in that region.

For the College of the North Atlantic, the approach was very different. There was only one formal written submission from the College of the North Atlantic as an institution. There were two formal consultations, one with the senior leadership team and one with the academic council. There was also a meeting with the executive committee of the Board of Governors.

Memorial University chose to challenge the government's policy on student fees as an institutional response from the governing entities and administration, and, in the end, they lost that battle. One may argue that in the quest to take on this issue from the governance and autonomy perspective as well as funding weakened their position. They chose to challenge the student associations publicly and did not see the potential impact from parents, communities, and others at the grassroots who favoured the student over the institution. The initial decision of Memorial University to challenge the policy on tuition did not appear from



the outside looking in to be a wise one. However, given that the university is sometimes seen as being removed from society generally, such removal could explain the error in strategy here.

The commissioner made an interesting observation on how Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic are perceived in the community that was reflected in how the institutions approached the process. The commissioner said,

If you look at public commentary generally throughout this province, very little is said about the university. Everybody knows it's up there, or it's in there, it's in St. John's, it's a bunch of big buildings and it's soaking up lots of money; but very little is said about it in terms, even though it is the only institution, the only university in the province, there is very little said about it in terms of public [commentary]. Now the college is not like that. The college is in everybody's face because it exists as part of the fabric of the whole province. If there was only one college [campus], you might get the same reaction as you had at the university. I think sometimes the university can just move along, move along, move along and not worry about stuff because nothing has been said or done. Whereas the college is always looking over its shoulder to see who is going to be saying this all the time. (personal communication, March 25, 2014)

The College of the North Atlantic does not have the autonomy of Memorial University. The College of the North Atlantic's strategy appeared to use its existing networks in communities to advocate on its behalf. The commissioner commented on the difference in the autonomy of the College of the North Atlantic as it pertains to this process:

I do know that while I was there, there were more phone calls made to the president of the college than there were to the president of the university. I think that was probably to some extent to the detriment of the college and I think if the college had more autonomy within the post-secondary system it might be able to do more than it does. That didn't come out to any great extent but it was evident. (personal communication, March 25, 2014)

Evidence to support this claim of inequitable autonomy distinguishing these institutions is found in the 28 strategies in the White Paper: strategies that pertained to Memorial University directly started with "request"; strategies that pertained to the College of the North Atlantic or government started with "require." This direct language speaks to the autonomy of Memorial University over the College of the North Atlantic in its relationship with government; that despite the policy-decisions of government, Memorial University still held the right to determine its own pathway. It is clearly evident that the government directions to create committees or facilitate collaboration between the entities all started with action words such as establish, increase, and provide.

***Engagement matters: Institutions (health, distance education, funding).*** Within the institutions, and Memorial University in particular, there were two constituency groups that were more actively engaged than others and who saw positive results from that engagement.

There were two consultations: one specific to nursing, but another for allied health professionals was also dominated by the nursing discussion.

Distance education was also represented by a direct submission into the consultation process. I was the author of that submission, and I had a deliberate strategy in mind. From my experience, I knew Memorial University would not be focusing on distance education

delivery and would be emphasizing the residential nature of its activities. I did count on the rural communities to raise this issue and subsequently thought that a written submission reflecting the vision and strategies of distance education at Memorial University would be useful. The strategy appeared to work because in the end it did result in direct investment into distance education at Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic.

***Persistence, authenticity, and consistency matters: Students.*** The student associations were very methodical in their strategy to raise awareness and lobby for issues that concerned them. They effectively used the student media, which found its way into mainstream media in articulating and disseminating their message. They consistently linked their messaging to important public policy issues in the province, such as graduate employment, out-migration, and rural community stability.

The students also worked in collaboration with the public sector unions in the province. According to the president of MUNSU at a council meeting, “We’re trying to keep the solidarity amongst us, so when hard times come around we all have each other’s back” (Bell, 2004c, p. 7).

The students had the freedom to protest against government decisions or the rumour that policy may be going in a direction counter to their beliefs, and they used this freedom effectively. They were not afraid to challenge the governing structures of Memorial University—the Board of Regents and Senate—offering minority reports and criticizing decisions of the board publicly through the media. They successfully utilized the background and affinity of the commissioner and his natural affinity to student issues as a unique opportunity to influence the process.

The leader of the opposition party recognized the strength of the students and acknowledged both the effectiveness of the students and the nature of the conflict between them and the Memorial University's governing board. An article in the student newspaper summarized the opposition leader's take on this conflict:

We do know for sure and certain [that] the Board of Regents at the university would raise tuition if given the okay to do so by government. The Board seems to think that there's something wrong almost a bit of a stigma attached to being a university with low tuitions. (Freeman, 2005, p. 6)

The students' approach did not seem to surprise the commissioner but certainly appeared to have surprised the policy elite from the Department of Education. The department executive member noted,

The student leaders at the time understood the way forward a little bit better than somebody like even myself who had worked in the system for quite a while but hadn't stepped aside from the front work and moved to the visionary piece. They had a vision, we could have disagreed on all kinds of components of it, but they had a vision on how to make the outcomes, the output from those institutions a part of the economic agenda. (personal communication, March 31, 2014)

Ultimately, it comes down to the fact that the students were self-aware and widely informed. They clearly developed a strategy and understood who would be their opponents. They organized research required to refute all claims in opposition to their position. They were wise enough to understand that the economic agenda was driving the consultation process, and they successfully linked all of their requests to economic measurements by balancing fact with examples. The students also knew how to speak to the strengths and

weaknesses of the commissioner, the senior executive of Memorial University, and the premier of the province. The students saw exactly the power they had, and in the end, they exercised this power quite effectively.

***Networks matter: Community.*** Networks and relationships with communities external to the institution are important in public policy agenda-setting. It is important to have groups support the objectives of the institution and understand the issues facing them. In this policy review, there were many prominent issues revolving around the question of finance.

Community helped the students who wanted a focus on fees and debt. Parents, alumni, and external community groups all raised the question of affordability—and not just the tuition costs but overall cost of post-secondary education. The support from outside groups on this issue left Memorial University, in particular, glaringly at odds with others who participated in the process. Perhaps the independence of Memorial University hurt the institution on this issue since the institutional proponents were not able to see the impact that outside groups have on public policy agenda-setting. As a result, the autonomy of Memorial University itself, not to mention the agenda-setting of the institution, was threatened. The institution does not set student fees, even though the Memorial University Act (MUN, 2007a) clearly states that it can; it is the government who controls this agenda through its budget priorities. On this matter, Memorial University would be in a significant clash with the government, who controls the legislation, if it chose to ignore the policy direction of government while exercising its autonomy.

The College of the North Atlantic was assisted by community groups in building the case for and value of a community college campus in each region. The compelling case for

such a stand was better articulated by the communities themselves, than by the institution. In this case, external validation helped.

At the same time, both institutions benefited from the level of interest and engagement of community. Community groups, articulating the benefit and need for strong public post-secondary institutions in the province supported the need for increased operating grants and infrastructure, which was also advanced in the final policy document. Community groups were more supportive of the economic agenda and value of post-secondary education, but this did not mean that they ignored the social agenda; rather, they saw elements of the social agenda such as access to and attainment of post-secondary through an economic lens. Therefore, participants who could link the social issues to economic were more successful in having external support from the communities and external constituencies.

### **Competing Interests**

There were many examples of competing interests in this study. The most obvious was between Memorial University and the students. This was evident both in the formal submissions and in the relationship between the two groups outside of the process. This led to competing interests between Memorial University and government over issues of governance and student cost.

There were competing interests within Memorial University itself between the senior leadership who argued the governance right and responsibility of the institution to set its own agenda and those within the institution who engaged in their own agenda-setting, trying to influence policy direction to support their activities and contradicting Memorial University's policy position on tuition fee setting among other agenda-setting responsibilities in a bicameral system.

There were also competing interests between Memorial University and the community, where the university focused on its internal workings and the community focused on local access to the institution, its programs, knowledge, and services. In this case, the design of the consultation process influenced the competition between these two groups. The consultation sessions were identified by the policy elite. These sessions were specifically organized to be regional or geographic in focus, with both economic and social development groups hosting and determining the attendance. The presence of municipalities, businesses, and other groups was only captured through written submissions that involved self-selection by these groups to participate. This leads to an observation that competing interests in policy-making can be designed by the policy elite.

Competing interests were also present in the formulation of economic and social agendas. This was evident in the choice of community organizations as regional economic development boards and strategic social plans. There were also competing interests in those who advocated for access both through geographic and financial accessibility and those who advocated for research, location proximity for economic gain, and financial accessibility to retain graduates.

### **Policy, Process, and Agenda Borrowing**

This study revealed examples of policy, process, and agenda borrowing throughout Canada. Policy borrowing was evident across Canadian provinces. In each example shown and the specific policy studied, public consultation was incorporated. Each study was chaired or facilitated, although they differed in the roles of these facilitators and whether they were internal or external to government, internal or external to higher education, and political or

non-political. The choice of process leader in this case was related to the specific context in this case study.

Some processes chose to use external papers and literature reviews to complement the policy consultation; this study chose to rely heavily on the policy consultation itself utilizing retired professionals in the field as the subject matter experts to inform the policy. The fact that eight provinces chose to undertake policy reviews was evidence that some form of national agenda-setting was happening among provincial ministries, albeit on a province-by-province basis. There appeared to be no wider environmental scanning involved in this process beyond what submissions and consultations provided. Having completed this review, the absence of external analysis to provide a wider context beyond the provincial review was a limitation to this process and allowed the participants to have greater influence on shaping the final agenda.

Table 8 illustrates the key themes that were discussed and emerged in each provincial review highlighted in this research. It is obvious that themes of access, quality, and affordability were common. Although there is a provincial responsibility for post-secondary education in Canada, it is quite clear from these reviews that common themes exist across the country.

There are also examples of process borrowing across Canadian provinces evidenced by similar approaches to the design and leadership of post-secondary reviews as well as the consistent timeline of these reviews. Table 9 highlights these similarities.



Table 8

*Policy Borrowing, Comparison of Provincial Post-Secondary Education Reviews*

Province	Key Themes
Ontario (2005)	Accessibility, quality, system design, funding, accountability
Alberta (2005)	Quality, accessibility, affordability, diversity, collaboration
British Columbia (2007)	Renewing mission, access and excellence, learner centred, quality, focused on regional needs, funding
Saskatchewan (2007)	Access, affordability and quality
New Brunswick (2007)	Accessible, relevant and responsive, comprehensive, efficient, of high quality, and accountable
Newfoundland and Labrador (2005)	Quality, affordable and accessible, connected to communities, student centred, accountable

*Note.* Years indicate date of final report release.

Table 9

*Process Borrowing, Comparison of Provincial Post-Secondary Education Reviews*

Province	Chair	Consultation Process Highlights
Ontario (2005)	Mr. Bob Rae, former premier. Appointed as advisor to premier to conduct the review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Written submissions (800 in total, 500 from individuals, 300 institutions)</li> <li>• Workbook with key questions around post-secondary education</li> <li>• Review of available literature of higher education</li> <li>• Website where people could access and sign up for ongoing updates</li> <li>• Consultation 5,500 people through               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Invitation based roundtables</li> <li>○ 17 town hall meetings (open to public)</li> <li>○ Specialized sessions with constituencies</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Students sent 7,000 postcards, letters, petitions</li> </ul>
Alberta (2005)	Co-Chair government and representative from private sector Included committee of stakeholders from institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3,000 participants</li> <li>• Online public forum</li> <li>• Regional meetings</li> <li>• Member of Legislature meetings</li> <li>• Minister's form 250 invited including students, faculty members, advanced education institutions and constituencies</li> <li>• Reports available on website</li> </ul>

continued

Table 9 (continued)

Province	Chair	Consultation Process Highlights
British Columbia (2007)	Mr. Geoff Plant, Q.C. for Member of the Legislature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Six think tank pieces by leading scholars</li> <li>• Engagement of scholars outside of British Columbia</li> <li>• Website developed where the number of visits to the site was recorded;</li> <li>• 200 comments and submissions by mail, fax or website;</li> <li>• a short video used to engage high school students and what they thought plus a survey of 400 recent high school graduates; and,</li> <li>• community consultations, roundtables, and speaker forums</li> </ul>
Saskatchewan (2007)	Minister of Advanced Education and Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Literature review prepared by government department</li> <li>• 11 public consultations</li> <li>• 3 regional stake-holder forums</li> </ul>
New Brunswick (2007)	Rick Miner and Jacques Écuyer, co-chairs. Commission on Post-secondary Education in New Brunswick	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 105 briefs</li> <li>• 37 presentations</li> <li>• 50 meetings</li> <li>• 12 public sessions</li> <li>• Supported by commission staff</li> </ul>

*Note.* Years indicate date of final report release.

Finally, in this study, there are examples of agenda borrowing, particularly among students. There are examples where students created their own means of interacting with the leaders of the policy consultation process. The use of postcards to influence the agenda by sending a clear and concise message to leaders was used in both Ontario and Newfoundland and Labrador. There were also similar opportunities to engage in the policy development process through submissions and consultation sessions that happened in all provinces. Notable again for Newfoundland and Labrador is the absence of a general public opportunity for dialogue on post-secondary issues.

### Study Significance

Governmentality, or the art of government, considers how “governmental technologies insert themselves into practical policy development and implementation at a

particular historical juncture” (Olssen, 2003, p. 197). This framework was useful in investigating the public policy landscape for higher education in Canada. According to Olssen (2003), “The concept of technologies of governance pertains at the level of operationalization and involves a consideration of the techniques and means through which practical policies are devised and inserted” (p. 197). In addition, Fimyar (2008) added, “The analytics of governmentality explore the practices of government in their complex relations to the various ways in which ‘truth’ is produced in social, cultural and political spheres” (p. 4).

The starting point for any analysis of government, according to Dean (2010), “is the identification and examination of specific situations in which the activity of governing comes to be called into question, the moment and the situations in which government becomes a problem” (p. 38). It was “an attempt to gain clarity about the conditions under which we think and act in the present” (Dean, 2010, p. 48). It was also, as referenced earlier, important to ask how questions and to probe the exercise of power within that context.

This research aimed to look specifically at policy formation through a post-structural perspective to identify if there is an impact this governmentality movement is having on universities in particular. This study contributes to knowledge of post-structuralism and its application to higher education. Furthermore, according to McLendon (2003), “Research on the politics of higher education remains scant and fragmented, limited in substantive scope, and loosely tethered to disciplinary insights of political science or other cognate fields” (p. 166). McLendon (2003) cited the need for scholarship “on a wide range of topics involving higher education’s interaction with macropolitical institutions of state government” (p. 171). There are, according to McLendon (2003), “relatively few systematic studies of the

involvement of governors, legislatures, interest groups, or executive branches in the higher education arena” (p. 171).

This study attempted to address this void in research by seeking to understand the role and function of the state in policy-making, who influences the state in this, and how. In the end, I hope this study provides useful advice to university leaders and public policy elites on the formation of policy and the impact of interest groups on that process. Finally, this study aimed to be specifically relevant and significant to my colleagues at Memorial University who are directly impacted by this research.

In concluding this study, this research reveals that governmentality really refers to the mentality of government, how it thinks and acts within the practice of responsibilities. Today, the government in Newfoundland and Labrador not only sets policy direction but also drives policy by determining what is funded at a micro level. What set this policy apart from others was earmarked funding for certain policy directives clearly impacting the independence of decision-making at Memorial University.

### **Current Status of Post-Secondary in Newfoundland and Labrador**

Following the White Paper release in 2005, certain policy objectives identified through that process were further strengthened in the subsequent years, between then and 2014. Data on Memorial University shows that between 2003 and 2004 and 2012 and 13, Memorial University’s operating grant from the provincial budget grew 157% to \$381 million. In 2003–04, the provincial operating grant for Memorial University was \$148.8 million, including \$144 million for operations and \$1.18 million for physical plant and equipment (GNL, Treasury Board, 2003, p. 246). In 2012–13, the provincial grant was \$381 million, including \$307.8 million in operating and \$73.6 million in physical plant and

equipment (GNL, Department of Finance, 2012, p. 8.14). In 2013, student tuition remained frozen at \$2,624 per student each semester, making it 57% lower than the national average of \$6,112 per student per semester (MUN, 2013).

In 2003, total full- and part-time enrollment at Memorial University was 17,722, comprised of 15,207 undergraduate students and 2,015 graduate students (MUN, 2003, p. 8). By 2012, enrollment had grown 2.9% to 18,236, comprised of 14,850 undergraduate students (2.3% decline) and 3,386 graduate students, a 68% increase (MUN, 2012, p. 5).

### **Recommendations for Further Research**

There are three recommendations for further research.

The first recommendation is to undertake the same research with a focus on the College of the North Atlantic. One of the advantages of the case location in Newfoundland and Labrador is that there is one public university and one public college. Therefore, the ability to understand and compare the relationship of the post-secondary institutions to government and to each other is one-to-one and very comprehensive.

The second recommendation is to carry out a longitudinal research post-white paper analysis of the policy directives identified. Such research could look at the status of each recommendation and whether the policy directives were measured over time within government and if the directives that had funding attached were more likely to be implemented; it could then look at the overall state of public policy in higher education today in this case location.

Finally, this study lends itself to a jurisdictional comparison across Canadian provinces and perhaps across sectors as well. Since, education is a provincial responsibility, undertaking a jurisdictional comparison would further identify whether the findings in this

research can be generalized to other jurisdictions. A further interesting study would be to compare this policy process to another in government aimed at a different area such as health, innovation, or K–12 education.

## **Conclusion**

Ultimately, in this process, it is the students who held the power in public policy-making affecting post-secondary education in Newfoundland and Labrador over the last decade. In theory, those in the practice think this is the way it should be, but it is not always the case. The public read about it and heard about it, but in practice, in this province at this time, the students were the biggest influencers of the policy agenda. They out-maneuvered the institutions, and they stayed consistently on message. The Department of Education executive member really captured what the students achieved:

The students were very well-organized, very business-like, and very professional.

They were well researched and they had research to provide evidence. They had [and used] academic research just as well as the university did, probably better in many instances. They were able to refute the arguments that were put forward in a professional [manner] based on data. . . . I was actually amazed, amazed at their ability to tackle [the issues] and understand where the institutions were coming from.

. . . That's a lesson for everybody and for all institutions. (department executive member, personal communication, March 31, 2014)

Despite the student success, Memorial University also held a significant amount of power over the last 10 years, as evidenced in the increased financial resources by the provincial government to the university and the size of that increase as compared to the increase Memorial University's enrollment. This case study revealed that Memorial

University's foundation was built on economic needs of employment and educational attainment for the purpose of economic gain in the province.

In this case study, there was a clear link between economic and social development. Governmentality existed at the creation of the university to ensure that Newfoundland and Labrador citizens had an avenue for post-secondary education without having to leave the province. The transition of Memorial University from a college to university status in 1949 was also a clear and deliberate vision of government to provide increased educational access for the purpose of employment and economic and social development.

As the decades progressed towards more recent times, the evidence of governmentality became more direct. The vision of government resulted in changes to the governance of Memorial University at a level that increased the representation and influence of students, directly set tuition fees, and funded specific objectives of government, including research, health, and distance education. The White Paper on post-secondary education in Newfoundland and Labrador was the only review in Canada where specific funds were provided to the institutions either directly or indirectly in the final report. While the linkages between social and economic continue to influence each other in this province, the evidence of government involvement to control how that happens has increased.

This case study revealed to university leaders the importance of understanding the issues happening outside of the policy-making process. Stories outside of the process can influence the objective and relationship between the university and government. This means that university leaders must be aware of the external environment in which they operate and the power of that external environment can and will affect the overall result.

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## Appendix A – Research Ethics Interview Consent Form

### **Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:**

Ann Marie Vaughan, Education Doctoral Student, Educational Studies, [telephone number], [email address]

### **Co-Supervisors:**

Dr. Peggy Patterson, Faculty of Education

Dr. Lynn Bosetti, Faculty of Education (adjunct)

### **Title of Project:**

Public policy setting affecting universities in Canada: Whose voices are heard and how? This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

### **Purpose of the Study:**

I am writing to invite you to participate in a study that investigates the role interest groups play in public policy making. The purpose of this case study is to examine how policy is created through the investigation of a public consultation process used to develop the 2005 White Paper on Post-Secondary Education in Newfoundland and Labrador. The study will specifically focus on the role of interest groups in policy making, whose voices were heard in that process, how and why.

This work is being undertaken as a component of my doctoral program in higher education leadership through the University of Calgary. My research is primarily document analysis; however, there is a strategically important role that you played in the aforementioned process.

I hope you will participate in this study. Over the last seven years eight Canadian provinces reviewed their post-secondary education system. This research is intended to shed light on how policy making happens, whose voices are heard and how. The findings of this study are intended to inform education leaders and policy makers on the policy making process.

### **What Will I Be Asked To Do?**

I am therefore requesting to interview you as a key informant for a period of ninety minutes. There may be a need for a short follow-up interview to clarify any points that are raised by others in this process.

The interviews will be recorded and transcribed. You will be provided with a copy of the transcription to review before it is used in the study. There are a limited number of interviews taking place, and given your role in the policy development process, anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

- Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to participate and to withdraw from participation at any time without prejudice. Furthermore, you may refuse to answer any question that you believe may compromise you personally and/or professionally.
- One interview will be required, approximately ninety minutes in length. A short follow-up interview may be requested.
- A copy of the draft interview questions is attached.

### **What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?**

- You agree to have your interview taped and transcribed. You will be provided a copy of the transcription to review.
- Professional titles, rather than your name will be used in the research.
- You have the right to refuse to participate and to withdraw from participation at any time without prejudice. Furthermore, you may refuse to answer any question that you believe may compromise you personally and/or professionally.

### **Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?**

There are no known risks for participation. You have the right to refuse to participate and to withdraw from participation at any time without prejudice. Furthermore, you may refuse to answer any question that you believe may compromise you personally and/or professionally.

### **What Happens to the Information I Provide?**

You will have the right to withdraw at anytime during the interview and none of the transcript data will be used if you withdraw. As a participant, you will be provided with a transcript of your interview for approval. At that time you will be given the opportunity to revise or expand on interview data to ensure it is an accurate account. You will have two weeks in which to review your transcript, with a failure to respond within that time period an indication of approval of the materials as is.

As this research is key informant based, it is not possible to ensure anonymity because as key informants you are chosen for the specific role you had in the policy development process. Once you sign off on the interview transcripts no further opportunities to withdraw will be provided.

Interview transcripts will be retained in a password protected file on a secure document management system hosted on a server based locally in Newfoundland and Labrador. These

interviews will be kept for three years after the dissertation is accepted in its final form. After this time the data will be permanently deleted.

***Signatures (written consent)***

Your signature on this form indicates that you 1) understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) agree to participate as a research subject.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's Name: (please print) \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**Questions/Concerns**

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

*Ann Marie Vaughan  
Department/Faculty of Educational Studies  
Telephone: [telephone number], email: [email address]*

*Dr. Peggy Patterson  
Faculty of Education, University of Calgary  
Telephone: [telephone number], email: [email address]  
or*

*Dr. Lynn Bosetti,  
Dean, Faculty of Education, UBC Okanagan.  
Telephone: [telephone number], email: [email address]*

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact the senior ethics resource officer, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at [telephone number], [email address].

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.