# University Autonomy and Higher Education Policy Development in Manitoba

by

# **Daniel William Smith**

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
The University of Manitoba
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

# **Doctor of Philosophy**

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University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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## THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

# FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree

Of

# **Doctor of Philosophy**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

For three academic years from 1993/94 to 1995/96, the Government of Manitoba restricted annual increases of tuition fees at universities to 5%. The research examined this 5% tuition fee cap as a case study of the role that university autonomy plays in the making of higher education public policy. The study investigated the nature and origins of university autonomy from government as well as specific linkages between autonomy and the development of the 5% tuition fee cap in Manitoba.

The central theme of the analysis is that tuition fee policy was a tool used by the government to bring universities into line with the government's goal of reducing or restraining public expenditures in response to the fiscal difficulties that government faced. A key aspect that was investigated in this theme was that university autonomy helped to shape the 5% tuition fee cap.

Neo-institutional thought provided the theoretical basis for the study, and it posits that both material and ideational institutions provide rule systems that create a context for decision-making. These rule systems create constraints and opportunities for decision-makers that can influence final decisions taken. The dissertation examined important factors considered by elected officials when tuition fee policy was being developed and implemented. The dissertation considered these factors in the light of neo-institutional thought.

The study relied on publicly available documents, as well as the perspectives of former ministers and senior civil servants involved in university education through personal interviews. The focus of the analysis was an attempt to identify and assess the importance of various factors in the development of the 5% tuition fee cap.

The research revealed that university autonomy plays a significant role in shaping higher education policy. When designing its tuition fee policy, the Progressive Conservative Government headed by Gary Filmon pursued a policy that fostered restructuring in the university sector with the ultimate goal of reducing the financial burden of the university sector on government revenues. The 5% tuition fee cap was designed in such a manner that government set a broad framework related to stabilizing the fiscal situation, and universities were expected to set their priorities and make decisions such that the broad framework was realized.

### **CHAPTER 1**

#### INTRODUCTION

One of the most discussed and debated subjects in Canadian education is that of rising post-secondary tuition costs.

Sean Junor and Alex Usher, The Price of Knowledge 20021

#### 1.1 Introduction

Tuition fees and tuition fee policies often make headlines,<sup>2</sup> and have generated and continue to generate considerable discussion and debate among students, parents, and governments.<sup>3</sup> While the effects of tuition, student loans, education-related tax benefits, grants, scholarships, and other such policies have been examined extensively,<sup>4</sup> scant attention has been given to the detail surrounding the establishment of these policies.<sup>5</sup> Tuition fee policies help in a limited but significant way to define the relationship between universities and government. They also reflect values and priorities within

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sean Junor and Alex Usher, *The Price of Knowledge: Access and Student Finance in Canada* (Montreal: Canadian Millennium Scholarship Foundation, 2002), 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kim Honey, "Higher Tuition Not a Barrier, Study Says," *Globe and Mail* (17 September 2002), A7; Nick Martin, "Enrolment, Tuition Linked, Manitoba Says," *Winnipeg Free Press* (23 September 2002), A4; Nick Martin, "Tories Would End Freeze on Tuition at Universities," *Winnipeg Free Press* (24 September 2002), A6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Junor and Usher, *Price of Knowledge*, 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Stuart L. Smith, Report: Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education (Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1991), 94-95; David A.A. Stager, Focus on Fees, (Toronto: Council of Ontario Universities, 1989), 53-54; Mareim Martinson, "University Enrolment and Tuition Fees," Education Quarterly Review 1, no. 4, Statistics Canada-Cat. No. 81-003, (Winter 1994), 36-43; Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission, Accessibility to Post-Secondary Education in the Maritimes (Halifax: MPHEC, 1997), various pages; Brigitte Bouchard and John Zhao, "University Education: Recent Trends in Participation, Accessibility and Returns, Education Quarterly Review, 6 No. 4, Statistics Canada Cat. No. 81-003-XPB (August 2000), 28; Don Anderson et al, The Effects of the Introduction of Fee-paying Post-Graduate Courses on Access for Designated Groups, (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1997), various pages; Alasdair Forsyth and Andy Furlong, Socioeconomic Disadvantage and Access to Higher Education, (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2000), various pages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Glen A. Jones, "University-Government Relations in Canada: A Brief Review of the 'Traditional Literature'," *The University and the State: Reflections on the Canadian Experience*, The Centre for Higher Education Research and Development Reader Series Number 4 (Winnipeg: The Canadian Society for the Study of Higher Education, 1998): 23; B. Guy Peters, "The Policy Process: An Institutional Perspective," *Canadian Public Administration* 35, No. 2 (Summer 1996), 180.

higher education, including the public versus the private contribution to a student's university education.<sup>6</sup> Tuition fee policies are thus very important public policy matters in higher education, and merit detailed examination.

The establishment of policies to govern tuition inevitably raises issues of university autonomy and the appropriate role of government in higher education affairs. While the situation varies in different provinces, Canadian generally universities enjoy greater autonomy than many public universities around the world; provinces tend to exercise control in areas of finance, accountability, and in some cases, tuition. Other sensitive areas of educational performance, such as faculty hiring, curriculum, academic standards and graduation requirements, are considered out of bounds in terms of government involvement. In provinces where universities traditionally have the authority to set tuition fees, any attempts by government to influence fees have raised controversy.

Jones states that university autonomy is "the central concept within the idea of the university." This dissertation examines the relationship between university autonomy and the development of higher education policy and looks at how government decision-making regarding tuition fee policies in the 1990s took university autonomy into account.

<sup>6</sup> Ben Jongbloed, "Tuition Fees in Europe and Australasia: Theory, Trends and Policies," in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research 19* (2004), 243.

<sup>9</sup> Glen A. Jones, "University-Government Relations in Canada," 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For example, at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), the board chair is appointed by government, and the government may remove any appointed or elected member of the board. Similarly, the Chancellor of MUN is appointed by the government, and the president is appointed by the Board of Regents with the approval of government. In contrast, in Manitoba, the board chair at universities is elected by the board from its membership, the government has no powers of removal, and the chancellor is elected by the university community. Presidents of universities in Manitoba are appointed by the university board with no requirement for government approval. In the University of Quebec system, the president presides over the board, is appointed by the government and has a salary that is determined by government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Michael Skolnik, "Higher Education Systems in Canada," in *Higher Education in Canada*, Alexander D. Gregor and Gilles Jasmin, eds (Ottawa: Secretary of State of Canada, 1992), 21.

## 1.2 Purpose of the Dissertation

University autonomy can involve relationships with institutions other than government, for example with corporate donors for capital projects and corporate-sponsored research. However, this study seeks to illuminate the role that the concept and associated behaviour related to university autonomy play in the formulation and implementation of public policy in the field of higher education. This will be accomplished through an in-depth case study of the five percent tuition fee policy in place in Manitoba between 1993/94 and 1995/96.

The central theme of the analysis is that tuition fee policy was a tool used by the government principally to bring universities into line with the government's goal of reducing or restraining public expenditures in response to the fiscal difficulties that government faced. University autonomy shaped the tuition fee policy in that government's perception of the importance of university autonomy encouraged government to pass on to the universities the responsibility for determining the details of implementing a program of cost containment. In effect, tuition policy became a proxy for budgetary control. By restricting the ability of universities to maximize their revenues through tuition fee increases, the government's policy created for universities an incentive to contain their costs.

This last point on its face appears to be counter-intuitive – how could restriction of a revenue source lead to a situation where universities would better be able to manage their costs? As will be discussed throughout the dissertation, government perceived there to be not a funding problem but a spending problem at universities. By reducing revenues available, government believed that internally the universities would reorder their

priorities and rationalize their spending. Evidence to support this proposition is presented later in the dissertation.

In order to pursue the central theme of the dissertation, three methodological approaches were used to help understand the impact of the concept of university autonomy on higher education policy-making. First, through the use of interviews with cabinet ministers, legislators and public servants, the dissertation sought to understand the perspectives of these officials relating to higher education and university autonomy. Secondly, using content analysis of statements of Cabinet ministers in *Hansard* relating to the 5% tuition fee cap, the dissertation sought to identify the factors that were considered important in the tuition fee policy and to the extent possible determine the priority given to those factors. Finally the dissertation sought to understand the philosophy of the government-of-the-day regarding the separation of policy and operations and the relevance of this separation for university autonomy and higher education policy.

The dissertation offers an analysis of how higher education policy is developed by means of an illustrative case study. The study is particularly concerned with the constraints on the freedom of policy-makers in formulating and implementing policy.

One such apparent constraint is university autonomy. Accordingly, the dissertation investigated a series of questions:

- Is university autonomy an institution?
- How do policy makers view the concept of university autonomy?
- What were the factors that accounted for the 5% tuition fee policy? Of these factors, what priority was given to university autonomy?
- Was university autonomy important to the design and execution of the policy?

In order to pursue these research questions in a structured way, the dissertation will conceptually frame the discussion using historical neo-institutional theory.

## 1.2.1 Key Concepts

Neo-institutionalism is a theory that considers the impact on thinking and behaviour in the policy process of formal structures such as laws, legislatures, political parties, cabinets, and other formal structures. However, and breaking from more traditional institutional approaches that focus on concrete structures such as legislatures or courts, referred to as 'old' institutionalism, heo-institutionalism also refers to a wide array of constructs that include "informal codes of behaviour, written contracts, or complex organizations," routines, symbols, conventions, customs, procedures, norms, and legal arrangements that help to structure interaction. Neo-institutional theory thus refers to both material and ideational institutions, and takes the stance that these institutions provide rule systems that create a context for decision-making.

"The central theoretical argument of new institutionalism is that institutions shape action." Neo-institutionalists approach the study of action by starting with the perspective that institutions are either independent or at least key intervening variables whose "weight is felt on action and outcomes... institutions themselves can have effects

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> G. Bruce Doern, "The Evolution of Canadian Policy as Art, Craft, and Science," in *Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art*, eds. Laurent Dobuzinskis, *et al* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996),
17; James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," *The American Political Science Review* 78 (1984), 738.

André Lecours, "New Institutionalism: Issues and Questions," *New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis*, André Lecours, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Rosa Mulé, "New Institutionalism: Distilling Some 'Hard Core' Propositions in the Works of Williamson and March and Olsen," *Politics* 19, no. 3 (1999), 146; Robert E. Goodin, "Institutions and Their Design," *The Theory of Institutional Design*, Robert E. Goodin, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 20; David D. Dill, "An Institutional Perspective on Higher Education Policy: The Case of Academic Quality Assurance," in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research 18*, ed. J. Smart (New York: Agathon Press, 2003), *passim*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Lecours, "Issues and Questions," 9.

on political outcomes."<sup>14</sup> In political analysis, historical neo-institutionalism's "objective is not to describe institutions and how they work but rather to explain political outcomes and make attempts towards generalization."<sup>15</sup>

Neo-institutionalism is a diverse theory, consisting of three main variants: rational choice, sociological and historical. This diversity adds confusion and controversy to neo-institutionalism's use in explaining events which are themselves complicated. Lecours writes that "the meaning of institutions was... contested from the very first days of the new institutionalist movement, and it still is." He continues:

Rational choice institutionalists ... [focus] more squarely on the 'rules of the game,' which tend to be associated with material structures but in themselves represent less tangible parameters. For many rational choice institutionalists, the important question is not so much what institutions are but what they represent: an equilibrium.

Following March and Olsen, sociological institutionalists go the furthest in defining institutions in a non-materialist fashion, when they speak of beliefs, values and cognitive scripts. From this perspective, institutions can be seen as 'mythic' in the sense that they internalize, as they are formed, elements of the cultural and normative contexts. Historical institutionalists are generally closer to the view that institutions are formal structures, although some have brought ideas into their framework. Typically, historical institutionalists tend to view ideas in terms of norms and values whose importance are a function of the material institutions from which they emanate, while sociological institutionalists conceptualize them as cognitive frameworks separate from formal structures. <sup>16</sup>

Because it includes the ideational as well as the concrete, studies of politics using neo-institutional theory are able to forge a closer linkage between formal institutions and society, which includes formal structures and rules, but also informal cognitive or ideational constructs.<sup>17</sup> Thus, in terms of public policy, neo-institutionalism facilitates the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 - 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

making of a link between government, the material structures and cognitive concepts that may be considered in the development and implementation of policy.

The dissertation will rely on the historical variant, a theory that is concerned with "contingency and the unintended consequences of strategic action... with a focus on the path dependency of institutional change." Path dependency is a key concept in historical neo-institutionalism.

Path dependency is the idea that once institutions are formed, they take on a life of their own and drive political processes. From this particular perspective, most often associated with historical institutionalism, when an event occurs is as important as what this event is. The concept of path dependency, more specifically, involves the idea that once a country or a region started down a track, the costs of reversal are very high. There will be other choice points, but the entrenchments of certain institutional arrangements obstruct an easy reversal of the initial choice. Path dependence, thus, involves not only an analytical focus on institutions but contingency and unpredictability as well. Indeed, institutions really have a logic of their own, and therefore, their creation and development result in consequences unplanned for and unforeseen by political actors. <sup>19</sup>

The basic element of this approach to neo-institutional theory is that past policy decisions will have a continuing impact over future policy; policy, or at least policy decision-making, is path dependent.<sup>20</sup> Path-dependence presents a context within which actors make decisions. From a political studies perspective, "when a government program or organization embarks upon a path there is an inertial tendency for those initial policy choices to persist. That path may be altered, but it requires a good deal of political pressure to produce that change."<sup>21</sup>

This discussion suggests that there may be a deterministic aspect to historical neoinstitutionalism. This suggests that history and tradition may provide context for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Colin Hay and Daniel Wincott, "Structure, Agency and Historical Institutionalism," *Political Studies* 46 (1998), 952.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Lecours, "Issues and Questions," 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Peters, *Institutional Theory*, 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

contemporary decision-making. This idea will be explored in greater depth later in the dissertation.

Historical neo-institutionalists tend to approach the study of institutions from a historical perspective, dividing the institution's history into periods and assessing why an outcome occurred at a certain point in time.<sup>22</sup> The methodological approaches suggested by historical neo-institutionalism will be further explored in Chapter 4.

Historical neo-institutional theory raises a number of other terms that need to be defined to ensure clarity throughout the dissertation. The terms structure, organization and institution are often used interchangeably. While the terms "structure" and "organization" will be used colloquially throughout the paper, the term "institution" will exclusively be used to refer to constructs related to the theory of neo-institutionalism, as outlined above. By way of example, a particular policy system, such as that for post-secondary education in Manitoba, is an institution – a series of interrelated offices, organizations, legislation, regulation, practices and conventions, written and unwritten, that guide action. Organizations may be part of that institution, including for example, the Office of the Minister of Advanced Education and Literacy, or universities and colleges. Neo-institutionalism and its historical variant are examined in detail in Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

<u>University autonomy</u> is a key concept in the dissertation. University autonomy is multi-dimensional, and among other things the concept can refer to institutional governance structures such as the board and/or the senate, or it can refer to the relationship between the universities and corporations who may benefit from, for example, the research conducted by the academy. The dissertation will approach

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Lecours, "Issues and Questions," 14 - 15.

university autonomy narrowly, examining only the dimension of university autonomy from the perspective of the relationship between the university and government.

It is important to note that university and government can have different types of relationships, such as that between an individual government department (e.g. Agriculture and Food Manitoba) and a university faculty (Faculty of Agriculture). This dissertation does not delve into this more specific relationship. Instead, the study focuses on the relationship between the government and the university at a general level. It should also be noted that for the purposes of the dissertation, the government and the university will be treated as unitary actors. It is recognized of course that there are divisions within both organizations.

Within this context, university autonomy is defined as "... the relative ability of a university's governing body to run the university without any outside controls." The dissertation will begin with this general definition and trace the historical development of university autonomy since the early 1800s through to 1999 in Canada, seeking to identify critical points and implications. This historical treatment facilitates the development of an operational definition of university autonomy that will be discussed within the context of neo-institutionalism so as to help identify university autonomy as an institution. This will be further discussed and explained in Chapter 3.

## 1.3 Tuition Fee Policies in Manitoba during the 1990s

The dissertation examines tuition fee policies that affect Manitoba universities only, and in particular, the five percent cap on annual tuition fee increases in place in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Rene Hurtubise and Donald C. Rowat, *The University, Society and Government*, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1970), 67.

Manitoba for three academic years from 1993/94 to 1995/96. The policy most commonly followed by government in the 1990s relating to university tuition fees was that of allowing the institution to set its own fees. Only one other time in the 1990s aside from the 5% tuition fee cap did government give direction regarding tuition fees. In the 1999/00 academic year, then Minister of Education and Training Jim McRae announced that "the province will consider imposing a cap on tuition fees in the event of unreasonable increases by the post-secondary institutions." While no percentage target was included in government's announcement, Mr. McRae stated to the Winnipeg Free Press that "double-digit hikes are unreasonable," and that "if the number reaches 10 percent, [Mr. McRae] will look at getting involved." In 1999/00, both the University of Winnipeg and the University of Manitoba increased fees by an average of 8%. 27

Whether or not the Progressive Conservative government believed that these increases were 'reasonable' was never determined as that government was defeated in Manitoba's general election of 1999. The present paper proposes to examine the 5% tuition fee policy precisely because it was the only clearly defined tuition fee policy articulated and enforced during the 1990s. A timeline of key events related to the 5% tuition fee cap is shown in Appendix A.

Tuition fee policy is developed within the larger policy and fiscal context of the province. Thus, because government during much of the early 1990s was engaged in 'deficit fighting,' rationalization, and reorganization of public services in order to control

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Manitoba, "4.3 Percent Funding Increase to Post-Secondary Institutions," *Press Release*, (April 22, 1999).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Nick Martin, "Tuition Hikes Expected at Universities, College," Winnipeg Free Press (April 24, 1999), A3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Kevin Rollason, "Spotlight on Tories as U of W Board Raises Tuition 8%," Winnipeg Free Press (May 11, 1999), A3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Rollason, "Spotlight on Tories," A3; Doug Nairne, "\$12M More for Colleges, Universities," Winnipeg Free Press (April 23, 1999), A1.

spending, it is argued that tuition fee policy was conceptualized as a mechanism to provide an avenue into a policy area that government might not otherwise venture.

#### 1.3.1 The Fiscal Situation

Governments in the 1990s found themselves in a challenging economic environment, and were forced to make difficult choices to address their budget pressures. Fiscal difficulties faced by governments in the 1990s can be summarized by stating that most provinces had large deficits, growing levels of debt, shrinking tax revenues and declines in transfer payments from the Federal government.<sup>28</sup> As described in a statement by Manitoba's Minister of Finance in the 1994 Provincial Budget address,

[w]hen our government took office in 1988, Manitoba was facing a serious challenge – the burden created by a long period of high deficits, high taxes, unchecked government spending and almost \$4 billion in new debt piled up from fiscal 1982 through fiscal 1988... in [this period], Manitoba's general purpose government debt increased by an average of 24 percent per year.<sup>29</sup>

While there is clearly a political dimension to Mr. Manness' statement, it is also clear that the deficit situation through the 1990s was significant and growing, especially in the first half of the 1990s. Indeed, it was only in 1995/96 when the deficit came under control and *The Balanced Budget, Debt Repayment and Taxpayer Protection Act* was proclaimed, mandating balanced budgets, debt repayment and establishing tax control measures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Walter Stewart, *Dismantling the State* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Ltd., 1998), 64; Susan D. Phillips, "The Canadian Health and Social Transfer: Fiscal Federalism in Search of a Vision," *Canada: The State of the Federation*, Douglas M. Brown and Jonathan W. Rose, eds (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1995), 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Manitoba, *Hansard* 43, no. 10 (April 20, 1994).

Table 1.1 Manitoba Government Deficit and Debt 1990/91 – 1998/99<sup>30</sup>

(in thousands of dollars)

Year	Manitoba Government Surplus/(Deficit)	Manitoba Government Debt
1990/91	(\$292,000.0)	\$4,711,000.0
1991/92	(\$334,000.0)	\$5,209,000.0
1992/93	(\$566,000.0)	\$6,159,000.0
1993/94	(\$431,000.0)	\$7,009,000.0
1994/95	(\$196,000.0)	\$7,125,000.0
1995/96	\$49,000.0	\$6,855,000.0
1996/97	\$360,000.0	\$6,474,000.0
1997/98	\$64,000.0	\$6,415,000.0
1998/99	\$17,000.0	\$6,495,000.0

Beyond the fiscal challenges, there were larger economic problems perceived by government. During the early 1990s, the provincial economy was growing more slowly than in the 1980s and unemployment was also an issue. Saunders explores the importance of the economic situation to the Filmon government. According to a senior policy advisor interviewed by Saunders:

The economy was the number one issue. The generation of jobs, job creation, was what we were most concerned about. The motive behind everything was job creation.' ... As Jim Downey [former Deputy Premier] explained... it was assumed that by creating an economic climate that was conducive to growth, reducing taxes and bringing down the public deficit, business leaders would favourably respond by creating more jobs. In this way, 'the other things that we had to do (i.e. on the economic front) would produce the revenues to do all the other social things we wanted to do.<sup>31</sup>

Former Education and Training Minister Clayton Manness added in another interview that "cuts in federal transfer payments, the provincial deficit and government debt had all produced huge 'challenges' for the Conservative administration. These challenges were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Manitoba Finance, *Public Accounts: Volume 1 – Financial Statements for the Consolidated Fund 1991-92 – 1998/99* (Winnipeg: Author, various years), various pages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Kelly L. Saunders, "The Dynamics of Agenda-Setting: The Case of Post-Secondary Education in Manitoba," (Ph.D. diss.), 250-251.

so significant that, at the end of the day, 'it (university reform) became a funding issue with us, he added."<sup>32</sup>

Government believed that it had little choice in pursuing a strategy of reduced funding in post-secondary education, and indeed throughout government. Former education minister Len Derkach noted that "we were fairly cruel in how we dealt out the money... not because we wanted to be but because there was no money in the system."<sup>33</sup>

Choices made by the Government of Manitoba regarding funding in postsecondary education and other sectors of government expenditure were in part guided by budgetary decisions taken by the Government of Canada. A key budgetary action was the federal government's Program Review, which was

a fundamental review of the government's responsibilities and roles, as announced in the 1994 budget. This initiative sought to review government's responsibility to ensure the provision, as opposed to production, of goods and services and then to roll back the state accordingly to its "core" functions... this initiative is expected to result in a reduction in the size of the federal government by approximately twenty-two per cent by 1998-1999.<sup>34</sup>

While the Government of Canada noted that the Program Review process was an opportunity to change the nature of how government operates, its primary purpose was to reduce government expenditure and manage the debt and annual deficit.<sup>35</sup> A principal impact on provinces of Program Review was the reduction of transfer payments earmarked for health, education and social services.

As pointed out in his interview for this dissertation on 08 January 2008, Mr. Don Leitch, Clerk of the Executive Council and Secretary to Cabinet in Manitoba in the 1990s, noted that the funding reductions in transfer payments meant for post-secondary

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 251-252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Geoff Dinsdale, "The New Public Management and the Future Public Service: Push, Pull, Balance, and Beyond," *Canadian Public Administration* 40, no. 2 (June, 1997), 372

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Andrew Pateman, "Book Reviews," Canadian Public Administration 39, no. 4 (December, 1995), 626.

education were significant. Federal government decisions had a significant impact on the budgetary decisions of the Government of Manitoba at the time.

The Manitoba government's choices regarding the fiscal situation were also in part guided by government's interest in implementing new ideas pertaining to public management. Speaking about the general direction that he believed government should take throughout all policy sectors, Premier Gary Filmon underscored his commitment to changing the delivery of public services, stating that,

[i]n every respect, we are going to have to continue to do what is being done worldwide, which is to do more, because people continue to have greater and greater expectations of their government... more without spending more money... It is a process of reinventing government. It is a process of ensuring that we can do a better job for the taxpayers of this province. In that, there is the matter of efficiency, and in that there is the matter of always evaluating how we do things and striving to do them better.<sup>36</sup>

The evidence is clear that the Filmon government was interested in effecting change in higher education in the early 1990s to respond to both the fiscal pressures and to changing values related to public management in all sectors of government. In 1994, the Minister of Education and Training, Mr. Clayton Manness, stated that "...university funding... [was] made in the context of the fiscal framework of the province."<sup>37</sup>

On another occasion, the government spoke more directly to the implications of the economic and fiscal consequences for the future of the higher education sector.

[t]o meet the fiscal challenge and simultaneously respond to the demands of the community will require nothing short of re-engineering and redesigning the education enterprise so that universities and community colleges can improve their contribution to the social, cultural and economic development of the province.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Manitoba, *Hansard* 42, no. 2 (November 27, 1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Manitoba, *Hansard* 43, no. 36A (May 30, 1994)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Hon. Clayton Manness, *Doing Things Differently: Response of the Government of Manitoba to the Report of the University Education Review Commission*, (Winnipeg: Manitoba Education and Training, 1994), 1.

In the 1994 Provincial Budget address, government indicated that universities would be asked to be more effective in terms of their activities.<sup>39</sup> It is clear that the government of the day intended that the university education sector would be a part of the solution to the province's difficult fiscal situation. In 1994, Premier Filmon indicated that universities have a responsibility to control their spending:

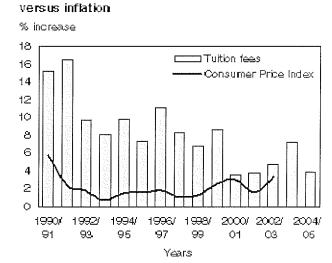
...this government has attempted over all of the years in government to let the universities know that there is a responsibility on their part to keep their costs under control, to talk to them about spending the money that is in their control as wisely and effectively as we are attempting to do...<sup>40</sup>

While the fiscal situation was not the sole reason for the creation of the University Education Review Commission<sup>41</sup> or for subsequent government policy action, it was certainly a very important reason.

#### 1.3.2 Tuition Fees in Manitoba

Prior to the 1990s, the level of tuition was criticized by student groups, but for the most part was considered reasonable. However, throughout the 1990s, undergraduate Arts and Science university tuition in Manitoba increased 115.7%, from \$1,482 in 1990-91 to \$3,192 in 1999-00.<sup>42</sup> At the time that the University Education Review

Figure 1.1 (See footnote 44)



Rates of increase in undergraduate tuition fees

**Note.** Consumer Price Index annualized by taking averages from September to August.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> *Hansard*, April 20, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Manitoba, *Handard* 43, no.17 (April 29, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> *Hansard*, December 14, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Council on Post-Secondary Education, "Weighted Average Domestic Tuition Fee for ARTS & SCIENCE, Canada by Province," <u>www.copse.mb.ca</u>, accessed 25 August 2004.

Commission was created, the one-year growth (1992 to 1993) in tuition at the University of Manitoba was 16%, <sup>43</sup> well above the national rate of inflation. <sup>44</sup> Other data reveal that, throughout the 1990s, tuition fees were increasing at the same time that personal income growth was flat, savings rates declined, <sup>45</sup> debt levels increased, <sup>46</sup> and provincial post-secondary funding had fallen. <sup>47</sup> Thus, throughout the 1990s, tuition grew as a more important revenue source for universities, and it also grew in profile as a public issue in higher education.

### 1.3.2.1 The Legal Framework

A review of post-secondary legislation in Manitoba, *The Education*Administration Act<sup>48</sup> and *The Universities Grants Commission Act*, reveals that before 1997, no powers were granted to either the Minister or to the arm's length Universities Grants Commission pertaining to tuition fees. In fact, the legislation establishing universities in Manitoba gives sole authority to set fees to the governing boards of each university. For example, *The University of Manitoba Act*, Section 16(c), states:

#### Powers of the Board

16(1) The board may exercise in the name of, and on behalf of, the university, and as the act and deed of the university, any or all powers, authorities and privileges, by this Act conferred on the university as a body corporate; and, without in any manner limiting its full power and authority, the board may

(c) fix and determine all fees and charges to be paid to the university; ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> University of Manitoba, *Annual Report 1993* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba, 1993), 25.

See Figure 1. Statistics Canada. "University Tuition Fees." *The Daily*. September 4, 2004. Available: <a href="http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/040902/d040902a.htm">http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/040902/d040902a.htm</a>.
 Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, February 28 2000; International Monetary Fund, *Canada, Selected Issues*,

Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, February 28 2000; International Monetary Fund, *Canada, Selected Issues* IMF Staff Country Report No. 98/55 (June 1998), 18.

Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, March 26, 1996, March 24, 1997, April 3, 1998, and April 1, 1999.
 University Education Review Commission, *Post-Secondary Education in Manitoba: Doing Things*

Differently, by Duff Roblin, Chair, (Winnipeg: University Education Review Commission, 1993), 1, 8.

This legislation provided the Minister of Education and Training with specific powers regarding tuition fees for community colleges, but not for universities. When the Education and Training Department was broken up and the Department of Advanced Education was created, these powers were repealed.

Similar wording appeared in the Orders in Council establishing the University of Winnipeg and Brandon University under *The Universities Establishment Act*. These provisions were again included in 1998 when separate legislation was granted to these two universities.

At the time of the 5% fee cap, however, the legislative framework did not provide clear direction in terms of where the government's authority lay with respect to tuition fees. This does not mean, however, that government had no authority in the matter – a fact that has been explored in legal and scholarly work. A court case in Ontario, referring to an earlier decision in British Columbia, provides some clarity to this question.

The essential connection between the university and the provincial government is that the province provides 80% of the university's operating budget. In its institutional arrangements, however, the university is designed as an autonomous entity... The government has no part in the decisions of the senate, it does not determine curriculum, examinations or fees charged to students... <sup>49</sup> (emphasis added).

Anderson and Johnson write that government influence on universities may be derived from legislative authority, "or executive suasion related to financial power," primarily through spoken or suggested threats of withholding funding – a reality that Anderson and Johnson suggest is common internationally, <sup>50</sup> and that Clark acknowledges is consistent with the Canadian experience. <sup>51</sup> The interpretation by the Ontario Court appears to support Anderson's and Johnson's contention that the 'power of the purse' is a significant influence on universities.

<sup>50</sup> Don Anderson and Richard Johnson, *University Autonomy in Twenty Countries* (Canberra: Department of Employment, Education Training and Youth Affairs, 1988), 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Re McKinney and Board of Governors of the University of Guelph (1986), 32 D.L.R. (4<sup>th</sup>) 65 at 84-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Howard C. Clark, *Growth and Governance of Canadian Universities: An Insider's View* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2003), 189.

The experience in Manitoba during the early to mid 1990s suggests that the use of the funding power figured centrally in the government's approach to tuition, as outlined by the University Education Review Commission.

Traditionally in Manitoba tuition fees have been set by the universities. At present, as part of its fiscal policy, the Province has issued superseding instructions [i.e. the 5% fee cap]. It is our view that, pending decisions on the financial recommendations of this report, the present level of tuition fees should be maintained. We recommend, however, that in due course universities should set their own fees, but it is important that, in so doing, well understood guidelines should be respected. ... Further, general across-the-board increases will only exacerbate this inequality. They should not be considered. Instead, when further increases are called for, the principle should be adopted that tuition fees in the other faculties be increased over time to carry the same proportion of faculty program costs as students in the Faculty of Arts. We recommend the application of this principle. However, increases should be limited by practical considerations and good judgment (emphasis from source). 52

The Commission appeared to be interested in maintaining university autonomy in the realm of fee setting. However, its report did not consider this autonomy to be absolute, and suggested that the universities be subject to guidelines that would have fees set on the basis of the costs of delivering individual programs. Ambiguity exists, however, in that there is no sense of who has the final say – government or the university – nor is it clear how disputes would be resolved.

The 1997 proclamation of *The Council on Post-Secondary Education Act*, itself a key recommendation of the Roblin Report, provided a more explicit role for government in setting tuition fees. Section 12 of that Act stated:

#### Powers

The council [sic] may

(e) in consultation with the universities and colleges and with students, establish policies for tuition fees charged by universities and colleges;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Education Review Commission, *Doing Things Differently*, 78.

This clause added clarity to the issue of tuition fee policy, and speaks to the Roblin Report's desire that government be able to establish guidelines for tuition fees in Manitoba. However, it is important to note that this provision came into being in 1997, after the 5% cap on tuition fees at universities had been lifted.

The fact that a cap was imposed in the early to mid 1990s suggests that government felt it had the authority to impose a policy. While it was also the case that the universities acquiesced, the legal authority to impose a tuition cap was unclear at the time. The government essentially used its power of the purse to force the universities to accede to direction with respect to tuition fees. In the Legislative Assembly in 1993, then Minister of Education and Training Mrs. Rosemary Vodrey referred to a letter sent to universities regarding tuition fee policy. She told the Legislature "where universities exceed the 5 percent cap on tuition, then universities have been told that money would be deducted from their grant."53 The next day, Mrs. Vodrey again referred to the letter, and referenced the threat to reduce the grant as a "penalty." Thus was resolved the issue of the government's legal authority to impose a tuition fee cap.

### 1.3.2.2 Tuition Fees as a Revenue Source

Universities in Manitoba and across Canada entered the 1990s highly dependent on government grants to support their operations, making them particularly vulnerable to the funding reductions that occurred throughout that decade. 55 As both the federal and provincial governments reduced funding for post-secondary education, universities became increasingly dependent on tuition as a source of revenue. Statistics Canada demonstrated that universities increased tuition to compensate for lost government

Manitoba, *Hansard* 42, no. 33 (March 24, 1993).
 Manitoba, *Hansard* 42, no. 34 (March 25, 1993).
 Junor and Usher, *Price of Knowledge*, 75.

funding.<sup>56</sup> From 1990 to 1995, tuition fees as a percent of university operating revenues grew from 16.7% to 24.3% across Canada.<sup>57</sup> Looking at the numbers another way, the ratio of government grants to every one dollar of tuition fees collected in Canada fell from \$4.78 in 1990 to \$2.97 in 1995, suggesting that the costs of higher education shifted in the 1990s from taxpayers to students.<sup>58</sup>

These trends were also evident in Manitoba. Tuition grew in importance as a source of revenue for universities in Manitoba, growing from 18.8% of general operating revenue in 1990/91, to 26.0% in 1995/96, and to 27.6% in 1998/99, the highest in the period under study. These trends are shown in Table 1.2, below.

Table 1.2: Tuition as a Percent of General Operating Revenue<sup>59</sup> Manitoba Universities 1990/91 – 1999/00 (\$'000s)

Year	General Operating	Tuition Fee	Tuition Fee Revenue as a Percent
	Revenue	Revenue	of General Operating Revenue
1990/91	\$253,883	\$47,619	18.8%
1991/92	\$271,090	\$58,273	21.5%
1992/93	\$280,502	\$67,290	24.0%
1993/94	\$282,496	\$71,631	25.3%
1994/95	\$278,528	\$74,381	26.7%
1995/96	\$283,261	\$73,685	26.0%
1996/97	\$290,358	\$76,029	26.2%
1997/98	\$292,347	\$79,839	27.3%
1998/99	\$305,216	\$84,335	27.6%
1999/00	\$349,967	\$94,867	27.1%

As noted above, much of the research on tuition centres on accessibility, affordability and participation rates of students in universities. Less attention was paid to

Todd Robertson, "Changing Patterns of University Finance," Education Quarterly Review 9, No. 2 (2003), 11, 12, passim.
 Fred Hemingway Consulting, Report on Financial Barriers to Post-Secondary Education (Ottawa:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Fred Hemingway Consulting, *Report on Financial Barriers to Post-Secondary Education* (Ottawa Council of Ministers of Education Canada, 2001), 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Canadian Association of University Business Officers (CAUBO), *Financial Statistics of Universities and Colleges* (Ottawa: CAUBO and Statistics Canada, various years) Table 2.1A. General Operating Revenue includes operating income such as federal and provincial government grants, student fees, directly related investment income and miscellaneous income. This fund accounts for the costs of instruction, academic support services, administrative services, plant maintenance and other operating expenses of the university. Fees include all mandatory student fees (with the exception of residence fees) that become income to the institution. Money collected by the university on behalf of another agency are excluded.

the increasing importance of tuition fees as a revenue stream for universities. The growing reliance on fee revenue meant that government policy pertaining to tuition fees would have significant impact on the capacity of a university to continue to offer academic programming, services and to conduct its other operations.<sup>60</sup>

## 1.3.2.3 Government Policy in the 1990s

Reflecting on the legal framework for tuition fees in Manitoba, the University

Education Review Commission stated in its 1993 report that there was "... no... public

policy offering clear, longer term guidance for post-secondary management in developing
tuition fee policy." In response to this observation, the Government of Manitoba

declared in 1994 that it would "through a process of consultation... develop a tuition fee
policy for post-secondary education in the province within the next twelve months." However, when this year-long timeline expired in June of 1995, no such policy had been
developed with the result that tuition fees in the province continued to grow through the
rest of the decade without benefit of any guidelines from the province, even though there
were several attempts within government to do so. 63

The absence of clear policy statements on tuition does not necessarily mean the absence of policy. Public policy scholars agree that "public policies result from decisions made by governments and that decisions by government to do nothing are just as much policy as are decisions to do something." Therefore, one might infer that government's policy was not to have a long-term policy regulating tuition, preferring to follow the

<sup>64</sup> Michael Howlett and M. Ramesh, Studying Public Policy (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995), 4.

<sup>60</sup> Robertson, "Changing Patterns," 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Education Review Commission, Doing Things Differently, 77.

<sup>62</sup> Manness, Response, 6.

Gai Interim Transition Committee, Sub Committee on Tuition Policy Consultation Paper (Winnipeg: Universities Grants Commission, 15 July 1996); Council on Post-Secondary Education, Draft Post-Secondary Policy on Tuition Fees (Winnipeg: Council on Post-Secondary Education, June 25, 1998); Nick Martin, "Do Students Pay Their Share?" Winnipeg Free Press (August 12, 1998), A4.

prevailing post-secondary legislation in the province which authorized Boards of Governors/Regents at the universities to set fees for their individual institutions.

As an interim measure lasting three years beginning in 1993/94, government imposed a cap on tuition fee increases. For 1993/94, universities were required to restrict tuition fee increases to 5% at the same time that grants to universities fell by 2%. The following year, during the 1994/95 Budget Address, Minister of Finance Eric Stefanson told the Legislature that

Universities will be asked to focus their activities more effectively. University operating funding will be reduced by 2.7 percent this year, while capital funding will be increased by two-thirds – from \$6 million to \$10 million. Once again, tuition fee increases will be limited to five per cent. 66

In the 1995/96 Budget Address, Minister Stefanson announced the continuation of the cap: "... I am pleased to announce that a firm cap has been imposed on universities and colleges to limit tuition increases to a maximum of 5% this year." 67

It was clear that the tuition fee increase was not designed to compensate for operating grant reductions. Operating grants and tuition fees are calculated on a different base amount (i.e. the previous years operating grant and the previous year's tuition fee revenue respectively). Thus percentage changes in both yield different amounts – a 5% tuition increase did not make up for a 2.7% grant reduction.

Table 1.3 shows the operating funding provided by government to universities for the decade of the 1990s. It is interesting to note that between 1993/94 and 1995/96, the three years where the tuition fee cap was in place, there were grant reductions for two of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Government of Manitoba, "Two Per Cent Reduction in Universities Support," *Press Release* (March 2, 1993), <a href="http://leg.internal.81/ISYSquery/IRLA34D.tmp/1/doc#hit1">http://leg.internal.81/ISYSquery/IRLA34D.tmp/1/doc#hit1</a>, accessed February 12, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Honourable Eric Stefanson, *Manitoba Budget* (Winnipeg: The Province of Manitoba, April 20, 1994),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Honourable Eric Stefanson, *Manitoba Budget* (Winnipeg: The Province of Manitoba, March 9, 1995), 19. The "firm cap" referred to other fees as well as to tuition fees.

the years (1993/94 and 1994/95), and less than a 1% operating grant increase in 1995/96. Chapters 5 and 6 will discuss in greater detail the reasoning behind the limitations provided to universities in terms of both operating grant and tuition fee revenue.

Table 1.3 University Operating Funding 1989/90 – 1998/9968

Fiscal Year	Operating Grant	Percent Change from Previous Year	
1989/90	\$187,370,912	5.7%	
1990/91	\$193,391,425	3.2%	
1991/92	\$199,104,682	3.0%	
1992/93	\$202,561,082	1.7%	
1993/94	\$200,599,428	-1.0%	
1994/95	\$194,949,264	-2.7%	
1995/96	\$214,608,870	10.0%*	
1996/97	\$210,224,703	-2.0%	
1997/98	\$206,672,378	-1.7%	
1998/99	\$225,905,346	9.3%	

<sup>\*</sup> Reflects the transfer of \$17,896,063 of funding to universities to pay grants in lieu of taxes that were previously paid by the Department of Rural Development of the Government of Manitoba. These grants were transferred to universities in 1995/96, and are reflected in the grants in 1996/97 and each year thereafter. This funding does not represent a grant increase, but a new expenditure assumed by universities. Without the grant in lieu of taxes in 1995/96, the operating grant was \$196,712,807, a 0.9% increase.

The budgetary actions in Manitoba related to higher education did not occur in a vacuum. The next section looks at the policy context for post-secondary education in Manitoba and in Canada.

## 1.4 Post-Secondary Policy Review

In the 1990s, two reviews were to influence post-secondary education in Manitoba, the national Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education (the Smith Report) and Manitoba's University Education Review Commission (the Roblin Report).

Dr. Stuart Smith was appointed by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) to conduct a national examination of the state of higher education in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Universities Grants Commission, Annual Report, (Winnipeg: Author, various years), various pages.

Canada. The opening paragraphs in that report referred to the significant growth in enrolment at universities, and the related costs associated with that growth. Smith stated that the difficult fiscal situation faced by governments at that time "led to a number of vital questions about the health of Canada's Universities."

While a significant portion of the Smith Report was focused on university teaching and its importance to society, the opening pages emphasized the financial challenges facing universities. "To secure the long term financial future of Canada's universities," Smith wrote, "there needs to be a better relationship between universities and governments."

The Smith Report had a limited impact at the provincial level where the main responsibility for higher education resides. Some of the issues covered by Smith were subsequently covered in Manitoba by the University Education Review Commission established by the Government of Manitoba and chaired by former Premier Duff Roblin to review Manitoba's post-secondary system in general, and to review the funding and resource allocation mechanisms for higher education.<sup>71</sup>

The 1993 Roblin Report examined a broad range of issues relating to post-secondary education in Manitoba, including the mission and mandate of institutions, accountability, internal and external governance structures, accessibility, northern and Aboriginal education, relevance to provincial priorities, and financial matters. The Roblin Report, however, presented these broad issues in the context of the province's fiscal situation. Its Executive Summary reads:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Smith, Commission of Inquiry, 3.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;' *Ibid*., 14.

<sup>71</sup> Education Review Commission, Doing Things Differently, 149.

It is wise therefore to accept the evident problem that public financial constraints will continue for the medium term planning horizon. Universities must therefore so order their affairs as to make the best use of present resources in discharging their responsibilities to the Manitoba community. <sup>72</sup>

Addressing the fiscal situation was to be one of the Roblin Commission's more important tasks. In its report, the Commission acknowledged that the fiscal situation was "bleak" and would have a lasting impact on higher education in Manitoba. In reflecting on its mandate, the Commission wrote: "[s]ome of our recommendations respond to the financial constraints of the present day. But beyond that we intend other recommendations to promote the long term health of our post-secondary education system and to reinforce its capacity to serve our society." "<sup>74</sup>

The Roblin Report laid out a blueprint for higher education and training that ultimately contributed to the reshaping of the post-secondary system in Manitoba. Thus, the work of the Commission is important to understanding the post-secondary environment in the 1990s. Part of this blueprint included an assessment of the current policy framework around tuition fees in Manitoba.

Government agreed with Roblin's findings. The direction taken by government is essential context for the proposed dissertation, and a fuller exposition is thus warranted. In its 1994 response to the Roblin Report, the provincial government noted:

The fiscal reality before the citizens of Manitoba is that there will be very little new money added to the [post-secondary] system...

The challenge, therefore, is for our institutions to change the way they do business: establishing program priorities, transforming the learning and research environments by emphasizing multi-disciplinary approaches, redefining scholarship, using information technologies, creating active partnerships with the public and private sectors of our society, cooperating with other post-secondary institutions and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

providing quality education on campus, at home and in the workplace to full- and part-time students. To meet the fiscal challenge and simultaneously respond to the demands of the community will require nothing short of re-engineering and redesigning the education enterprise so that universities and community colleges can improve their contribution to the social, cultural and economic development of the province...

One of the critical issues confronting universities is the setting of priorities. Priorities relate directly to the strategic direction of our universities. In today's world, universities cannot be all things to all people: choices must be made. This translates into the establishment of university program priorities for the province. It means choosing programs which will be either enhanced or terminated. As an allocation strategy across-the-board reductions will merely impair the long-term health of our institutions and is not in the best interest of the province.

It is the role of the boards of governors/regents to assist in identifying areas for growth, reduction and elimination and to insist that choices be confronted and made.<sup>75</sup>

Government took the strong stance that universities had to contribute to alleviating the fiscal pressures on the provincial government. The quotation makes clear the government's view that this would require fundamental changes to all aspects of university operations, including educational programming research, governance and the relationship with the community. Greater effectiveness and efficiency in the spending of scarce tax dollars was the aim.

## 1.5 Chapter Summary

#### 1.5.1 Significance of the Dissertation

This dissertation adds to the body of knowledge regarding how higher education policy is determined. This is a useful addition to the public policy discussion. In his review of literature pertaining to the relationships between universities and governments, Glen A. Jones states "surprising little attention has been given to how provincial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Manness, Response, 1-2.

governments make policy decisions concerning higher education."<sup>76</sup> This situation is not unique to Canada. McLendon writes that

While scholars of K-12 education have derived and adapted from political science a variety of theoretical frameworks to help explain state policymaking in their own arena of activity, higher education researchers have made little effort to systematically identify, simplify, and arrange the complex of interactions and relationships attending higher education policy making... Indeed, only a handful of studies have explicitly examined state policymaking as it involves higher education.<sup>77</sup>

Additionally, the paper contributes to scholarship in higher education. In Canada, the numbers of scholars focusing on higher education is low. In 1992, Dennison noted that despite the huge resources provided to universities and colleges, there were only 300 or so academics, including graduate students, engaged in active work to understand post-secondary education in this country. These numbers are probably higher today. Still, critical mass remains an issue. Relatively few academics publish in the field on a regular basis. In fact, many of the most prominent scholars on higher education in 1992, including Cameron, Dennison, Jones, and Skolnik, continue to do much of the publishing today.

#### 1.5.2 Plan for the Dissertation

### 1.5.2.1 Methodology

This is a qualitative study that has been conducted in three different stages. First, semi-structured interviews with selected individuals involved in the development and implementation of the 5% tuition fee cap were undertaken. Second, document analysis was undertaken to examine the perspectives of policy-makers with respect to tuition fees

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Jones, "University-Government Relations in Canada," 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Michael K. McLendon, "State Governance Reform of Higher Education: Patterns, Trends and Theories of the Public Policy Process," in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research 18*, ed. J. Smart (New York: Agathon Press, 2003), 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> John D. Dennison, "Higher Education as a Field of Inquiry in Canada," in *Higher Education in Canada*, Alexander D. Gregor and Gilles Jasmin, eds (Ottawa: Secretary of State of Canada, 1992), 90.

and university autonomy. Finally, the conceptual approach to governing used by the Government of Manitoba at the time was examined in relation to the themes of the dissertation, providing descriptive evidence. The methodology for the study is laid out in detail in Chapter 4 of the dissertation.

#### 1.5.2.2 Scope

Referring to Canada's system of post-secondary education as Balkanized, Symons said that Canada has "probably gone further in the decentralization of higher education than just about any other nation in the world." The structure of higher education in Canada, governed by the allocation of powers in the Constitution Act 1867, means that the jurisdiction for higher education rests with the provinces. It is true that throughout the post-war era the federal government has contributed dollars. Today that contribution is through 'no-strings attached' transfer payments, research funding and student financial assistance. However, operating and capital funding, as well as primary policy authority rests with the individual provincial governments. It is this fact that requires the analyst of higher education in Canada to examine matters on a provincial basis. Accordingly, it has been said that "any attempt to generalize about higher education in Canada must begin with a disclaimer: there will be at least one exception to almost every statement that can be made."

Accordingly, this study is restricted to the university system in the Province of Manitoba. It examines in depth the case of one higher education policy, namely the

<sup>79</sup> Thomas H.B. Symons, "Ontario Universities in a Broader Context: The need for a National Strategy in Canadian Higher Education and Research," in *Ontario Universities: Access, Operations and Funding,* Conference Proceedings (Toronto: Ontario Economic Council, 1985), 258.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Jeffrey Holmes, "Programs," in *Higher Education in Canada*, Alexander D. Gregor and Gilles Jasmin, eds (Ottawa: Secretary of State of Canada, 1992), 59.

imposition by the provincial government of a 5% cap on tuition fees during the three-year period between 1993/94 and 1995/96 when the cap was in place.

In order to understand and interpret the origins, formulation and adoption of the cap on tuition, the dissertation employs an historical neo-institutional model of the policy process. This theoretical approach highlights the role played by tradition and values that persist over time, and thus historical data are collected over a much longer period of time, beginning early in the history of the development of higher education in Canada, and ending in 1999.

#### 1.5.2.3 Limitations

Policies related to different aspects of higher education will usually have different implications for government-university relationships. What is at stake in policy terms can have a greater or lesser, positive or negative impact on university autonomy. Each type of policy may involve a somewhat different policy process, including the intensity of the debate, the range of actors involved, and the dynamics of their interaction. Therefore, the findings of a case study of tuition fee policy in one province may not be applicable to other kinds of higher education policy. The results of the study are thus considered to represent a small step towards generalization, allowing the reader to gain "propositional and experiential knowledge."<sup>81</sup>

Secondly, the dissertation relies in part on public statements made by policy-makers (i.e. ministers) as part of the study's evidentiary framework. Caution must be exercised when using political statements, and in particular attention must be paid to the potential for the rhetoric to outstrip the reality of such statements. These and other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Robert E. Stake, "Qualitative Case Studies," *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincon, eds. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005), 454.

limitations are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, including strategies to mitigate the effect of these limitations.

### 1.5.2.4 Outline of the Chapters

This dissertation is comprised of eight chapters, the first being this introduction, and the next three of which capture the conceptual framework, literature review and the methodology. Data are presented in the subsequent three chapters, and the final chapter discusses these data and draws conclusions.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework. Historical neo-institutional theory provides the conceptual basis for the dissertation. Chapter 2 will outline the basic tenets of the theory and its relevance to the present work. The constraining and enabling effects of neo institutional constructs on decision-makers will be examined as they relate to the development of public policy.

Chapter Three: Literature Review. The Literature Review draws on qualitative and quantitative literature to present a description of the relationship of government with university autonomy in an historical timeline, tracing the relationship's development from early in Confederation to contemporary times. In keeping with the analytical framework provided by historical neo institutionalism, attention will be paid to defining moments in the history of this relationship, paying particular attention to the impact of any significant changes. As part of this analysis, Chapter 3 will also demonstrate that university autonomy can be conceptualized as a neo-institutional construct.

**Chapter Four: Methodology.** The methodology chapter outlines the research processes used in the creation and analysis of data. Additionally, reliability, validity, and

limitations will be discussed. An interview schedule and coding agenda are included in appendices to the dissertation.

Chapter Five: Document Analysis. This Chapter examines the perspectives held by policy-makers as they developed tuition fee policy in the 1990s. The Chapter examines statements made by key ministers in Hansard, including responses to questions in Question Period and during the annual Committee of Supply stage in the budget process, budget speeches and ministerial statements. A standard coding agenda was established, shown in Appendix B, and a content analysis was performed in order to identify factors that policy-makers considered when formulating tuition fee policy.

Accordingly, the purpose of this Chapter is to understand the factors that decision-makers considered as they pursued the development and implementation of the tuition fee policy and also sought to justify and to gain political support for their actions. The Chapter focuses on answering the question 'what did government want to accomplish with the tuition fee policy?'

Chapter Six: Interview Analysis. Chapter 6 reports on elite interviews held with key elected officials, and senior civil servants who were either involved with the development of, or were affected by the 5% tuition fee cap. The purpose of the Chapter will be to further demonstrate the linkage in the thinking of policy-makers between the alleviation of the fiscal stress on the provincial government and future levels of university spending.

Interviewees included former ministers of education and training, former senior civil servants in the Government of Manitoba and others, per Table 1.4, below.

**Table 1.4: Interview Participants** 

Category A	Category B
Hon. Rosemary Vodrey	Hon. Jean Friesen
Hon. Clayton Manness	Dr. Arnold Naimark
Hon. Linda McIntosh	
Mr. Don Leitch	
Mr. John Carlyle	
Dr. Leo LeTourneau	

Interview candidates are categorized based on different questions asked of each category in the interview schedule. Interview questions are shown in Appendix C. Prior to commencing this data collection, ethical approval was received from the appropriate ethics review committee at the University of Manitoba. The ethics approval certificate is included in Appendix D.

Chapter Seven: The Filmon Government's Approach to Governing. Using description, Chapter 7 is the last of three chapters to present evidence related to the integrating theme of the dissertation. It is suggested that the Government of Manitoba followed a general governing philosophy of 'steering' versus 'rowing'. In more concrete terms, this involved governments making the value judgments and setting the general policy framework (steering) whereas other organizations would be responsible for giving such policies operational meaning and carrying them out (rowing). The purpose of this Chapter is to determine whether or not government adhered to a consistent governing philosophy and, if so, to determine how that philosophy was related to a neo-institutional conceptualization of university autonomy.

Chapter Eight: Discussion and Conclusion. The final Chapter in the dissertation summarizes and presents findings and conclusions. Conclusions are then presented. One conclusion points to the fact that higher education policy intersects with other policy areas – education policy, while having social aims, could be seen primarily

as economic. The main conclusion is that tuition fee policy in place in Manitoba during the 1990s was not principally geared towards issues in higher education itself, but rather towards a problem that was external to the higher education policy environment – that of the fiscal crisis of the day.

#### **CHAPTER 2**

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1 Chapter Purpose

This chapter presents the conceptual basis for the dissertation. It outlines the basic tenets of neo-institutionalism and focuses on the historical variant of the theory. The central purpose of the chapter is to identify criteria for determining whether a concept like university autonomy qualifies as an historical neo-institutional construct. As will be discussed below, historical neo-institutionalism involves both tangible and intangible aspects, which will both be explored.

#### 2.2 Neo-Institutionalism: An Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War policy analysis has witnessed a declining emphasis on descriptive analysis and the formal roles of institutions like legislatures, cabinets, and political parties in favour of a new approach, <sup>82</sup> termed 'neo-institutionalism.' This newer approach does not dismiss the formal role of institutions, but it also examines the impacts of rules, cognitive structures, routines, conventions, customs, procedures, norms, ideas and symbolic action on how institutions and actors interact in the policy process.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Richard W. Phidd, "Public Administration and the Study of Public Policy Making in Canada," *Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art*, Laurent Dobuzinskis, *et al* eds., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 27, 28; Doern, "Art, Craft, and Science," 17; March and Olsen, "The New Institutionalism," 734.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Doern, "Art, Craft, and Science," 17; March and Olsen, "The New Institutionalism," 738; Mulé, "Hard Core Propositions," 146; Goodin, "Institutions and Their Design," 20; Dill, "Institutional Perspective, passim.

Dill argues, "higher education offers a rich and varied landscape for the application of institutional analysis. Universities themselves have traditionally been defined as 'institutions.""<sup>84</sup> The application of neo-institutionalism to higher education, and to the dissertation, will be discussed throughout this chapter and the next, beginning with a detailed examination of neo-institutionalism and its historical variant.

Given the number of phenomena attributed to the theory, neo-institutionalism has been called "a slippery term." Dill writes that a

...very broad definition of institutions is helpful in clarifying that an institution is not the equivalent of an organization. Formal organizations such as business corporations or nonprofit entities can be understood as institutions because they also structure human interaction. But human behaviour within formal organizations is also affected by the more basic institutional framework of society such as the legal context... the nature of market competition, as well as prevailing social beliefs... <sup>86</sup>

Accordingly, neo-institutionalists perceive institutions as rules, obligations or norms that may be based in organizational structures (e.g. Parliament), civil or religious arrangements (e.g. marriage) or cognitive constructs (e.g. social class), each of which provide a context for action, constrain behaviour, and/or favour some patterns of action over others. For the neo-institutionalist, institutions assist in understanding why actors make the choices that they make. Further, institutions not only help people to develop

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Dill, "Institutional Perspective," 670.

<sup>85</sup> Mulé, "Hard Core Propositions," 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Dill, "Institutional Perspective," 669.

Michael M. Atkinson and William D. Coleman, "Policy Networks, Policy Communities and the Problem of Governance," in *Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art*, eds. Laurent Dobuzinskis, *et al* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 204-205; Peter A. Hall and Rosemary C.R. Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," *Political Studies* 44 (1996), 947; Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell. "Introduction" in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* eds. Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 10; Goodin, "Institutions and Their Design," 19,20; Ellen M. Immergut, "The Theoretical Core of the New Institutionalism," *Politics and Society* 26, no. 1 (March 1998), 6.

strategies of action, they also shape, to some not easily specified degree, the goals which they pursue.<sup>89</sup>

It may be useful at this point to pause to discuss an example of an institution to help clarify the concepts being discussed. One phenomenon commonly identified as an institution is marriage. As an institution, marriage helps the married individuals to make choices and structure their lives – sharing a home, having children, having joint bank accounts, socializing and vacationing together as a couple, and shaping their relationships with other people, to name a few choices a married couple may make. While it is not always the case that a couple who makes these choices are married, it is interesting to note that after a specified period of time, laws treat a couple as if they were married, often for purposes relating to a break up of the relationship, child support, or other rights such as insurance benefits. Marriage as an institution structures the lives of married couples, creates some choices, and limits others. The concept of marriage will be revisited later in this chapter in relation to specific criteria that will be developed related to institutional theory.

In the study of public policy, neo-institutional theory suggests that institutions "provide the general contours of policy and behaviour..." thus helping to inform the behaviour of policy-makers, and helping to focus patterns of action within agreed-to norms. The neo-institutional approach provides a framework for understanding how

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Kathleen Thelen and Sven Steinmo, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics," in *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, eds. Sven Steinmo *et al.* (Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Atkinson and Coleman, "Policy Networks," 204 – 205.

political action is channeled, how possibilities are framed, and how behaviour is constrained. 91 Howlett goes further, stating that:

Rules, norms and symbols affect political behaviour... the neo institutional argument is not that institutions cause action but rather that they affect actions by shaping actors' interpretation of problems and possible solutions, both by constraining and facilitating the choice of solutions and by affecting the way and extent to which they can be implemented. While individuals, groups, classes and states have their specific interests, they pursue them in the context of existing formal organizations and rules and norms that shape expectations and affect the possibilities of their realization.<sup>92</sup>

This perspective differs from the rational approach because it does not explain the behaviour of individual actors as based on narrow calculations of self-interest. History and context help to define the interests of individuals and to guide their actions.

Neo-institutionalism helps analysts to understand the context and pressures that governments face when they consider their policy options. By establishing a general framework of rules and procedures, norms, and values, neo-institutionalism allows for a measure of prediction about the choices actions will make given the wider context for policy-making.

The literature on neo-institutionalism is voluminous, diverse and still growing which causes confusion when the term is used. Neo-institutionalism is neither a clearly defined theory, 93 nor a single body of thought. 94 Three main branches of neo-institutionalism exist: rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, and historical institutionalism. These were briefly defined in the introduction. In summary,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Leslie A. Pal, "Missed Opportunities or Comparative Advantage? Canadian Contributions to the Study of Public Policy," *Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art*, Laurent Dobuzinskis, *et al* eds, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 366, 367.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Michael Howlett, "Administrative Styles and the Limits of Administrative Reform: A Neo Institutional Analysis of Administrative Culture," *Canadian Public Administration* 46, no. 4 (Winter 2003), 475-476.
 <sup>93</sup> Carolyn Hughes Tuohy, "National Policy Studies in Comparative Perspective: An Organizing Framework Applied to the Canadian Case," in *Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art*, eds. Laurent Dobuzinskis, *et al* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 321; Mulé, "Hard Core Propositions,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Hall and Taylor, "Three New Institutionalisms," 936.

Kato notes that a key difference between the three species of the theory is the role that individual rationality plays in analysis. <sup>95</sup> He goes on to say:

A deep chasm divides those who consider the assumption of individual rationality an important component of institutional analysis and those who see it as a misperceived postulate diverting our attention from institutions. Scholars relying on the historical method and qualitative... analysis... regard the assumption of individual rationality as incompatible with an institutional focus, and thus are sceptical [sic] of the other approaches. By contrast, rational choice theorists in the second group stress that retaining the economic rationality assumption is the best way to maintain an unified and cohesive analytical scheme of institutional analysis. The third approach, based upon bounded rationality, seeks a middle ground between the [historical] approach and the rational choice approach. Its assumption of human rationality enables one to regard institutions ... as possible environments in which rational behaviour of individual actors is promoted.<sup>96</sup>

Historical neo-institutionalists, Kato continues, "try to identify the institutional influences that political actors are likely to follow, such as the organizational interests, ideologies or value orientations peculiar to certain institutions, rather than to define them as aggregations of individual interests and preferences." Furthermore, interests are not defined independently of institutions, nor is political behaviour associated with preferences or interests of individuals. <sup>98</sup>

Generally speaking, all three types of neo-institutionalism take the perspective that "rules and norms constrain behaviour by establishing what is 'appropriate and customary in given realms of action.' While it is essential to remember that individuals have to interpret those rules and often have wide capacities for action, their action is still

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Junko Kato, "Institutions and Rationality in Politics – Three Varieties of Neo-Institutionalists," *British Journal of Higher Education 26*, no. 4 (October, 2004), 555.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 555.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 560.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 560.

oriented to those rule systems." "Actors pursue their interests by making choices within constraints" defined by institutions. 100

Archer explores further the constraining or enabling capacities of institutions. She argues that an institution is constraining or enabling only insofar as there is something to constrain or enable, and that institutions have only potential and not intrinsic causal powers.<sup>101</sup> Institutional properties of constraint and enablement can only stand in relation to "specific agential enterprises" which she styles 'projects.' Archer maintains that

it is essential to distinguish between the existence of structural properties and the exercise of their causal powers... whether constraints and enablements are exercised as causal powers is contingent upon agency embracing the kinds of projects upon which they can impact... In sum, the activation of the causal powers associated with constraints and enablements depends upon the use made of ... emergent properties to formulate agential projects... Whether or not their causal power is to constrain or to enable is realized, and for whom they constitute constraints or enablements, depends on the nature of the relationship between them and agential projects. 103

In the context of the present work, Archer would agree that government is only constrained in the area of higher education policy if it is actually looking at changing a particular policy [i.e. a project] in that field. Put another way, constraints and enablements only operate when decision-makers are contemplating or actually undertaking action; if there is nothing that is being done, then constraints or enablements are not a problem.

Archer argues that the power of institutions to guide action rests with the nature of the activity undertaken – an institution influences decisions within the context of that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Leslie A. Pal, "State and Society: Conceptualizing the Relationship," *Canadian Politics*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. James Bickerton and Alain G. Gagnon, eds (Peterborough: Broadview Press, Ltd, 1999), 495.

Paul Ingram and Karen Clay, "The Choice-Within-Constraints New Institutionalism and Implications for Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology*, (Annual 2000), p.525, <a href="https://web5.infotrac-college.com/wadsworth/session/42/487/25623765/5!xrn">http://web5.infotrac-college.com/wadsworth/session/42/487/25623765/5!xrn</a> 5 0 A67051619, accessed 23 July 2002.

Archer, Structure, Agency, 4-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-8, *passim*, emphasis in original.

decision. Accordingly, and within the context of the present work, there is a dynamic between institutions and public policy. This dynamic can be further elaborated on by looking at historical neo-institutionalism.

### 2.3 Neo-Institutionalism from the Historical Perspective

Both rational choice and sociological institutionalism are meant to explain and to prescribe how decisions are made. <sup>104</sup> In contrast, historical neo-institutionalism is less prescriptive and refers to how institutions have developed over time and how that development affects action. Historical institutionalists define an institution broadly, including formal organizations, ideas or abstract structures. <sup>105</sup> A basic tenet of historical institutionalism is that past decisions will have an impact on future decisions. Public policy is said to be path dependent: where policies have been will determine to a large measure where they go in the future. <sup>106</sup> The degree of impact of the past on the future depends significantly on the historical context within which an institution has developed.

The development of institutions is of particular import. Historical contingency, the fact that unanticipated and unpredictable events occur that may change the trajectory of an institution, must be considered. Public policy scholars adopting an historical institutional approach seek to identify critical junctures to help understand how an institution has changed over time to assess better its influence on public policy.

Thelen and Steinmo explore the idea of critical junctures in the history of an institution, arguing that these formative events represent 'punctuated equilibrium,' which

<sup>106</sup> Peters, *Institutional Theory*, 63.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Hay and Wincott, "Structure, Agency." 952.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> B. Guy Peters, *Institutional Theory in Political Science: The New Institutionalism*, (London, New York: Pinter, 1999), 65, 66; Peter A. Hall and Rosemary C.R. Taylor, "The Potential of Historical Institutionalism: A Response to Hay and Wincott," *Political Studies* 46 (1998), 961.

...posits that institutions are characterized by long periods of stability, periodically 'punctuated' by crises that bring about relatively abrupt institutional change, after which institutional stasis again sets in. Institutional arrangements help explain policy outcomes during periods of institutional stability, since those arrangements structure political conflicts in distinctive ways... institutional crises usually emanate from changes in the external environment. Such crises can cause breakdowns in the old institutions, and this breakdown precipitates intense political conflict over the shape of the new institutional arrangements. 107

Unlike the other two approaches to institutionalism, historical institutionalism requires the analyst to examine the historical development of the institution in question as an important precursor to understanding how an institution operates today. In short, for the historical institutionalist, history matters because it influences decisions today.

For historical neo-intuitionalists, path dependency is contextualized by history and historical contingency; an institutions' functionality is an open question that is answered empirically through historical examination. In comparison, rational choice and sociological institutionalism endorse a more prescriptive and deterministic view of institutions on actors. There is less room for contingency and uncertainty regarding consequences and their interpretations of how institutions shape behaviour.

Understanding such consequences is important to the neo-institutional approach. While behaviouralists such as those ascribing to rational actor models seek to understand actors' expressed preferences, generally speaking, neo-institutionalists seek to learn the difference between expressed preferences and real action. Institutional analysis focuses on showing how preferences (agential outcomes) and decisions (actors'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Thelen and Steinmo, "Historical Institutionalism," 15.

<sup>108</sup> Hay and Wincott, "Structure, Agency," 954.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 952; Immergut, "Theoretical Core," 18-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Immergut, "Theoretical Core," 7.

outcomes) are artifacts of institutions."<sup>111</sup> March and Olsen use the metaphor of 'choice' and 'duty' to explain this further. They write,

[i]n choice metaphor, we assume that political actors consult personal preferences and subjective expectations, then select actions that are as consistent as possible with those preferences and expectations. In a duty metaphor, we assume that political actors associate certain actions with certain situations by rules of appropriateness. What is appropriate for a particular person in a particular situation is defined by the political and social system and transmitted through socialization. 112

Historical institutionalists focus on the aspect of duty, seeking to understand decision makers' action within a context arising over time. This relationship between institution, history and the actor is important; historical institutionalism focuses not so much on institutional creation as it does on understanding how earlier policy decisions affect current ones.<sup>113</sup>

Hay and Wincott agree with Immergut, arguing that actors monitor the consequences of their actions to assess the impact, immediate and longer-term, of their strategies in the light of expected outcomes and intentions within the context of others' actions. Thus, actions yield (1) direct effects on institutions and their contexts, transforming the institution in the process, and (2) "strategic learning on the part of the actors involved – as they revise their perceptions of what is feasible, possible and indeed desirable in the light of their assessments of their own ability to realize prior goals, as they assimilate new information, and as they reorient future strategies in the light of such 'empirical' and mediated knowledge of the context as a structured terrain of opportunity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," *The American Political Science Review* 78 (1984), 741.

<sup>113</sup> Peters, "Institutional Theory," 19, 67.

and constraint."<sup>114</sup> This quotation introduces the concept of 'structure' which is key to neo-institutional analysis. A full discussion of the concept follows shortly.

For now, it should be noted that as structure informs agents' actions, the outcome of that action then remakes structure, which in turn will inform future action. It is the relationship between structure and agency that differentiates historical institutionalism from the other approaches to neo institutional theory. 115

### Hay and Wincott write:

Actors are strategic, seeking to realize complex, contingent and oftenchanging goals. They do so in a context which favours certain strategies over others and must rely upon perceptions of that context which are at best incomplete and which may very often reveal themselves inaccurate after the event.

institutional analysis... allows us to examine the relationship between political actors as objects and as agents of history. The institutions that are at the center of historical institutionalist analysis... can shape and constrain political strategies in important ways, but they themselves are also the outcome (conscious or unintended) of deliberate political strategies of political conflict and of choice. 116

Thus, as "politics creates policies, policies also remake politics." From the historical approach, the constraining or enabling function of rules as interpreted within history is present and has a real impact on decisions taken.

The key steps in terms of policy development occur when decision makers "appropriate a structured institutional context which favours certain strategies over others... Such strategies are, in turn, selected on the basis of an always partial knowledge of the structures (the institutional context) within which the actors find themselves..."

Hay and Wincott remark:

Hay and Wincott, "Structure, Agency," 956.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 951.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 954-955, emphasis by Hay and Wincott.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 955.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 955-956.

Change is seen to reside in the relationship between actors and the context within which they find themselves, between institutional 'architects,' institutionalized subjects and institutional environments. More specifically, change occurs in (and through) the *same time* interrelationship between strategic action and the strategic context within which it is conceived and instantiated, and in the *later* unfolding of its intended and unintended consequences. Such a formulation is *pathdependent*: the order in which things happen affects how they happen; the trajectory of change up to a certain point constrains the trajectory after that point; and the strategic choices made at a particular moment eliminate whole ranges of possibilities from later choices while serving as the very condition of the existence of others.

The relationship between institutions and individuals is mediated by the concept of 'actors,' defined as authentic people ('agents') who are informed by and interact with institutions ('structures'). The actions of actors can then transform those structures, which in turn has an impact on agency. This dynamic is better understood with a more detailed examination of the concepts of structure and agency.

## 2.3.1 Structure and Agency

Archer describes structure and agency as 'parts' and 'people,' arguing that the challenge is to link the parts and the people together such that one can understand when the parts dominate the people, or the people direct the parts. Structure and agency are not a dualism, but rather a complex duality that are linked together. In institutionalist [sic] terms this implies a dynamic understanding of the relationship between institutions on the one hand, and the individuals and groups who comprise them... on the other. With structure and agency,

what we are concerned with here is the relationship between the political actors we identify (having decided upon our specification of the sphere of the political) and the environment in which they find themselves, with the extent to which political conduct shapes and is shaped by political context.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 955.

<sup>120</sup> Archer, Being Human, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Hay and Wincott, "Structure, Agency," 956.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Hav. Colin. Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction. (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 89.

While some emphasize the ability of decision-makers to shape events, others focus on how decision-makers' actions are shaped by the structure, form and function of the state – the apparatus of government, courts, legislature, etc. – itself. 123

Structure and agency are "mutually constitutive and cannot be separated;" they are one concept. 124 Nevertheless, for purposes of analytical description, it is useful to separate the two to examine better their interconnectedness.

#### 2.3.1.1 Structure

Within the neo-institutional framework, and as suggested above, *institutions* provide structure. Hay defines structure as context, pointing out that structure

refers to the setting within which social, political and economic events occur and acquire meaning. Yet by appealing to a notion of structure to describe context or setting, political scientists are implying something more. In particular, they are referring to the ordered nature of social and political relations – to the fact that political institutions, practices, routines and conventions appear to exhibit some regularity or *structure* over time... political behaviour tends to be ordered... [which] is not necessarily to imply that such behaviour is, consequently, predictable... the reason for this, quite simply, is agency...

From a neo-institutional perspective, institutions "are not only neutral devices for the accommodation of different interests in the pursuit of common policies, but also provide symbolic guidance for society." The symbolic nature of institutions motivates individuals in specific ways and "creates links and obligations with regard to the specific order it incorporates... [and] they serve as the cognitive instruments of actors in order to select and to interpret events, facts, symbols, etc." <sup>127</sup>

124 Archer, Being Human, 6.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 116, 119, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Hay, *Political Analysis*, 94, (emphasis in original).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Markus Jachtenfuchs, "Theoretical Perspectives on European Governance," *European Law Journal* 1 no. 2 (July, 1995), 116, emphasis in original.

Immergut provides additional clarity, explaining that institutions do not determine behaviour as suggested by the rational choice and sociological approaches to institutional analysis. Rather, institutions provide a context for action that helps us to understand why actors make the decisions that they make. Such structures are dynamic, neither molding actors' perceptions nor forcing action along a specific track. "Facing the same sets of institutional hurdles, self-reflective actors can make creative decisions about how to proceed." 128

### 2.3.1.2 Agency

Agency, Hay argues, "refers to action, in our case, political *conduct*." Agency can be defined as:

the ability or capacity of an actor to act consciously and, in so doing, to attempt to realize his or her intentions. In the same way that the notion of structure is not an entirely neutral synonym for context, however, the notion of agency implies more than mere political action or conduct. In particular, it implies a sense of free will, choice or autonomy – that the actor could have behaved differently and that this choice between potential courses of action was, or at least could have been, subject to the actor's conscious deliberation. In this sense, the term agency tends to be associated with a range of other concepts, notably reflexivity (the ability of the actor to monitor consciously and to reflect upon the consequences of previous action), rationality (the capacity of the actor to select modes of conduct best likely to realize a given set of preferences) and motivation (the desire and passion with which an actor approaches the attempt to realize a particular intention or preference). 130

Accordingly, whether it be an individual or a 'corporate person,' an agent can be defined as having a 'sense of the self,' or a self-awareness or consciousness outside of institutional structures. <sup>131</sup> Agency exists prior to society's influence, and is a result of the individual's encounters with the world. Archer states:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Immergut, "Theoretical Core," 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Hay, *Political Analysis*, 94, (emphasis in original).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Archer, Being Human, 2-3.

One of the most important properties that we have, the power to know ourselves to be the same being over time, depends upon practice in the environment rather than conversation in society. Instead, the sequence which leads to the emergence of our selfhood derives from how our species-being interacts with the way the world is, which is independent of how we take it to be, or the constructions we put upon it. Each one of us has to discover, through embodied practice, the distinctions between self and otherness, than between subject and object, before finally arriving at the distinction between the self and other people. <sup>132</sup>

## 2.3.1.3 The Relationship between Structure and Agency

Much has been written on the relationship between the two concepts of structure and agency. Archer maintains that the relationship must be dynamic and multidirectional, arguing that there is a danger of conflation of the two concepts. This would involve seeing the people (agents) directed by the parts/structures (downwards conflation) and, similarly, seeing the parts directed by the people (upwards conflation). Rejecting both these forms of conflation, Archer argues that neither the 'parts' on their own, nor the 'people' on their own can be said to have causal powers. There is a requirement to "link the 'parts' and the 'people,' without conceding for a moment that their respective properties and powers can be reduced to one another." Instead, there is a complex interplay between structure and agency in any given situation.

Archer argues that "structure and agency can only be linked by explaining the interplay between them over time... without the proper incorporation of time the problem of structure and agency can never be satisfactorily resolved." <sup>136</sup>

... structure and agency reside in different temporal domains, such that the pre-existence of structure is a condition of individual action: 'structures (as emergent entities) are not only irreducible to people, they pre-exist them, and people are not puppets of structures because they have their own emergent properties which mean they either reproduce or transform social structure...'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Hay, Political Analysis, 101-134, passim.

<sup>134</sup> Archer, Being Human., 5.

<sup>135</sup> Hay, Political Analysis, 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

Archer continues that agents are "agents of the socio-cultural system into which they are born (groups or collectivities in the same position or situations) and equally they are agents of the systemic features they transform, since groups or collectivities are modified in the process." This modification process can be further explained through an examination of *actors*.

### 2.3.1.4 Actors: Agents' Internalization of Structure

Key to the above discussion is understanding how structure impacts on agency, that is, how structure is internalized by agents. Also important is the influence that agency has on structure. Both of these relationships will be discussed below.

While the concept of agency focuses on *personal identity* (the sense of the self), the actor concept is concerned with *social identity*; agents assume roles when faced with situations that are contextualized within institutions/structure, thus transforming those agents into *actors*. An actor becomes different from an agent when structure becomes internalized during the social development process such that, Archer maintains, it is not a voluntary process; rather, people feel obligated to integrate these norms into the everyday living of their lives. Internalization does not take place at a single point in time, but takes place over time.

Whereas the agent is the self, actors' sense of themselves includes their relationship with norms, rules, and practice. Structure (such as an institution) helps agents to understand what is expected of them in society; agents become actors when they make decisions that are influenced by structure. Furthermore, structures capture past decisions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Archer, Being Human, 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 257, 258, *passim*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 257; James E. Anderson, *Public Policy-Making* (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1975); Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 47.

and help to define expectations and precedents that are useful to present and future decision making.<sup>140</sup>

Archer describes the relationship between agents and actors as reflexivity – "namely, our power to deliberate internally upon what to do in situations that were not of our making." This internal deliberation takes on the nature of a dialogue with society; the structures or institutions that form part of an individual's context informs action.

Archer continues:

[Agential] powers are exercised through reflexive interior dialogue and are causally accountable for the delineation of our concerns, the definition of our projects, the diagnosis of our circumstances and, ultimately, the determination of our practices in society. Reflexive deliberations constitute the mediatory element which is always in interplay with the causal powers of objective social forms. 142

Thus, agency is informed by structure, leading to action; actors mediate structure and agency.

There is clearly a reciprocal relationship between structure and agency. As Archer puts it:

One can focus upon the actions responsible for remodeling structure and culture but it is equally important to recognize that the self-same sequence of interaction, which brings about social and cultural transformation, is simultaneously responsible for the systematic transforming of 'agency' itself. 143

It is this distinction between agent and actor that allows the observer of politics to understand, for instance, that a policy-maker may take an action when the preferences, political orientation and past action of that decision maker may suggest some other course of action. That policy-maker, as an actor, must consider relevant institutional structures and historical contingency in formulating a decision. Such a decision may be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Douglas, How Institutions Think, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Archer, Structure, Agency, 342.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> *Ibid*,. 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Archer, Human Agency, 258.

antithetical to the agent, but an absolute necessity to the actor. Further elaboration in concrete terms helps to clarify these general ideas.

An examination of Canadian constitutional history reveals that unwritten conventions (structures) form an important part of the Canadian policy landscape. It is on the basis of these unwritten conventions, and not written law, for example, that many operational features of Cabinet government are established. Similarly, ministerial responsibility and the independence of the courts from the other branches of government are other components of the constitutional order which are based on long-standing established practices.

Politicians perceive a moral obligation to conform to these conventions, despite the absence of a legislative requirement. Indeed, while the courts may recognize them, conventions are not, according to legal scholars, enforceable by the courts. Not all constitutional conventions trigger obligations, however. Heard argues that conventions operate along a continuum, where some are traditions that are not binding, and others are fundamental, and "must always be obeyed." Political decision-makers' actions are informed and shaped by such rules. Quoting Egeberg, Howlett explains that such structures focus

a decision-maker's attention on certain problems and solutions, while others are excluded from consideration. The structure thus constrains choices, but at the same time creates and increases action capacity in certain directions. The organizational context surrounding individuals thus serves to simplify decisions that might otherwise have been complex and incomprehensible. 145

Unwritten rules, conventions and traditions can be formidable forces in decisionmaking in terms of how those traditions shape the agendas of government and ultimately

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Andrew Heard, *Canadian Constitutional Conventions: The Marriage of Law and Politics* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991), 10,15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Howlett, "Administrative Culture," 476.

the policies they adopt. Indeed, many such norms of behaviour, whether they are derived from written documents, such as legislation, or are unwritten, have a powerful impact because they constitute the 'way things are done.' Thus political actors integrate structures, such as laws and conventions, into their decision-making processes. These structures provide actors with the conceptual tools to help them to understand context, and provide clues for appropriate action.

### 2.3.2 Structure, Agency and Historical Neo Institutionalism

Structure and agency are related to historical neo institutionalism through the concept of 'projects.' Archer argues that "we cannot account for any outcome unless we understand the agent's project in relation to her social context. And we cannot understand her project without entering into her reflexive deliberations about her personal concerns in conjunction with the objective social context that she confronts."146

Another dimension to the relationship between structure, agency and historical neo-institutionalism is time.

> Structure, here understood as ontologically separate from agency, necessarily pre-dates the actions which either serve to transform or to reproduce it... That action or interaction occurs over a particular (and finite) period of time. Its consequences, both intended and unintended, necessarily post-date such action...<sup>147</sup>

At the same time, it is important to note that the relationship between structure and agency is not one where structure can be reduced to the actions of an agent. "The relationship between actors and their environment is an organic one." 148 If structure preexists people, then an understanding of a particular outcome (a decision, for example)

Archer, Structure, Agency, 131.Hay, Political Analysis, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

must be understood within the context of the individual *and* the influence of the structure, which developed over time.

For the historical neo institutionalist, context would include an historical appreciation of where the institution has been and the historical circumstances at the time that action is taken. Thus, the path ahead is dynamic:

Once an agential project has activated a constraint or an enablement, there is no single answer about what is to be done, and therefore no one predictable outcome. Conditional influences may be agentially evaded, endorsed, repudiated or contravened. Which will be the case and what will be the outcome only become intelligible by reference to the agent's own reflexive and therefore internal deliberations. 149

This dynamism suggests methodological approaches to examining policy development issues, including an identification of historical events important to the institution, interviews of decision makers and references to decisions taken.

#### 2.4 Deriving Criteria for Historical Neo Institutionalism

To further explore historical neo institutionalism, it is helpful to look at some of its elements. Some key elements are rules, grounding conventions, constraint and enablement. Each of these elements is discussed below. Together, the elements constitute a 'check list' for assessing whether or not a phenomenon is an 'institution' in the historical neo-institutional meaning of that term.

#### 2.4.1 Unwritten and Written Rules

A better understanding of *rules* in neo-institutional thought helps to further clarify the theory. Meyer and Rowan write that

[i]nstitutionalized rules are classifications built into society as reciprocated typifications or interpretations. Such rules may be simply taken-for-granted or may be supported by public opinion or force of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Archer, Structure, Agency, 131.

law. Institutions inevitably involve normative obligations but often enter into social life primarily as facts which must be taken into account by actors. Institutionalization involves the processes by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rule-like status in social thought and action. <sup>150</sup>

In this sense, rules represent regularized patterns that help to encode information and contribute to the making of routine decisions and organizing information.<sup>151</sup> Douglas argues that rules capture past decisions and help to define expectations; they help to set precedents that are useful to present and future decision making.<sup>152</sup>

# 2.4.2 Parallel Cognitive Constructs

The preceding discussion raises the question 'are all rules institutions?' Mary Douglas discusses this question in *How Institutions Think*, and concludes that in order for a rule to be an institution, it must be grounded in something 'real.' She goes on to assert that rules become institutions when they are rooted in a parallel cognitive construct that is acceptable to society through a physical, intellectual, supernatural or some other connection. For a rule to be considered an institution, society must agree that that rule is indeed the natural way that the activity in question should be done. This is the sense in which an institution must be grounded in something real.

For example, the institution of marriage, a convention held throughout many different cultures, is grounded in a number of perspectives. In the western world, marriage is (or historically has been) believed to be the appropriate context for child-rearing, and the morally appropriate basis for sexual intercourse between a man and a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, eds. Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 42.

<sup>151</sup> Douglas, How Institutions Think, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-47.

woman. Indeed, these elements have been intertwined with religion and concerns regarding the final destination of one's immortal soul.

Beliefs surrounding family life help to underpin the institution of marriage, linking marriage to something physical (i.e. children), and religious beliefs help to link marriage to supernatural beliefs regarding sin (i.e. fornication) once nearly universally held in western society, and still common today. Thus, marriage is an institution that is based on parallel conventions that have been and/or continue to be held that pertain to family life and religion, among other constructs.

Institutions have a purpose; they help to realize deeper cognitive constructs. In this regard, marriage is in part a way to ensure stability for child rearing, as well as a mechanism to avoid eternal damnation. Institutions have intended functionality, and can be rooted in a fundamental belief.

# 2.4.3 Institutions Influence, Shape, Constrain and Enable Behaviour

Flowing from above, institutions play an important role in terms of *constraint* and the related concept, *enablement*. Because they represent rules grounded in something real, institutions are taken as facts that must be taken into account during decision-making. Institutions present parameters and options that are available to individuals which reflect and satisfy rules. March and Olsen write

[i]t is a commonplace observation in empirical social science that behaviour is constrained and dictated by cultural dicta and social norms. Although self-interest undoubtedly permeates politics, action is often based more on discovering the normatively appropriate behaviour than on calculating the return expected from alternative choices. [155]

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> March and Olsen, "The New Institutionalism," 744.

Integrating Archer's concept of enablement to Goodin's work on the design of institutions, it is possible to identify seven propositions that serve to clarify the constraining and enabling role of institutions:<sup>156</sup>

- 1. Individuals and groups pursue projects in a collectively constrained context;
- 2. Constraints and enablements take the form of institutions organized patterns of socially constructed norms and roles, and socially prescribed behaviours expected of occupants of those roles;
- 3. These constraints and enablements are in various other respects advantageous to individuals and groups in the pursuit of their own more particular projects;
- 4. The same contextual factors that constrain or enable individual and group actions also shape the desires, preferences, and motives of those individuals and groups;
- 5. Constraints and enablements have historical roots as residuals of past actions and choices;
- 6. Constraints and enablements embody, preserve, and impart differential power resources with respect to different individuals and groups;
- 7. Individual and group action, contextually constrained or enabled and socially shaped though it may be, is the engine that drives social life.

To continue with the earlier example, marriage as an institution creates patterns of behaviour limiting the options of the marriage partners. One such pattern includes, for example, the appropriate behaviour and relationship with members of the opposite sex to whom the married person is not married. Further, the institution of marriage encourages other behaviour such joint activity (e.g. meals, recreation, having and raising children), or a common lifestyle (e.g. sharing a home, vehicles and other possessions). The married individual is constrained in his or her interactions with others, and has choices defined through the context of the institution of marriage. In this sense, constraint is not perceived

<sup>156</sup> Goodin, "Institutions and Their Design," 19, 20.

as a negative – based in the parallel convention, the institution of marriage fosters behaviour perceived to be appropriate, acceptable and 'normal.'

An interesting and recent development regarding the institution of marriage relates to the advent of legislation and greater social acceptance of marriage between people of the same gender. While a full discussion of the implications of same-sex marriage on the institution of marriage is beyond the scope of this research, and in any event, the full impact of same-sex marriage on the institution of marriage may not be fully understood at this early point. It is nevertheless interesting to note that the adoption of marriage by homosexual couples may mean that the institution will also influence, shape and constrain the behaviour of same-sex couples who get married.

Criteria can be derived to help identify a formal construct such as a law, cultural construct such as marriage, or cognitive construct such as an idea, as a neo-institutional phenomenon. Drawing generally on the various theorists' perspectives discussed above, criteria for historical neo-institutionalism suggest that institutions:

- will be grounded in a parallel cognitive structure generally acceptable to society such that the institution appears to be the natural way to take action;
- influence and shape behaviour by precluding or making untenable some choices and/or enabling others;
- have rule-like status that may have a written and/or an unwritten basis;
- are based in past action; and,
- experience 'critical junctures' throughout their history, representing points of change for the institution.

The next chapter will examine university autonomy in the light of these criteria.

### 2.5 Chapter Summary

### 2.5.1 Theoretical Framework in Brief

This chapter explored the ideas associated with neo-institutionalism, and in particular examined historical neo-institutionalism. The chapter began with a general discussion of neo-institutionalism as a theory that considers the impact of formal structures such as laws, legislatures, political parties, cabinets and other formal structures. 157 Breaking from more traditional institutional approaches that focus on material structures referred to as 'old' institutionalism, <sup>158</sup> neo-institutionalism also refers to a wide array of constructs that include "informal codes of behaviour, written contracts, or complex organizations," routines, symbols, conventions, customs, procedures, norms, and legal arrangements that help to structure interaction. 159 Neo-institutional theory thus refers to both material and ideational institutions, and takes the stance that these institutions provide rule systems that create a context for decision-making.

"The central theoretical argument of new institutionalism is that institutions shape action." 160 Neo-institutionalists approach the study of action by starting with the perspective that institutions are autonomous forces rather than instruments that can be manipulated; they are either independent or at least key intervening variables whose "weight is felt on action and outcomes... institutions themselves can have effects on political outcomes." Their impact on decision-making is, essentially, to offer opportunities for, or to create constraints on action. 162

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Doern, "Art, Craft, and Science," 17; March and Olsen, "The New Institutionalism," 738.

<sup>158</sup> Lecours, "New Institutionalism," 6. <sup>159</sup> Mulé, "Hard Core Propositions," 146; Goodin, "Institutions and Their Design," 20; Dill, "An Institutional Perspective," passim.

<sup>160</sup> Lecours, "Issues and Questions," 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

The dissertation draws on the historical variant of neo-institutionalism which is concerned with "contingency and the unintended consequences of strategic action... with a focus on the path dependency of institutional change." The basic element of this approach to neo-institutional theory is that past policy decisions will have a continuing and determinant impact over future policy; policy, or at least policy decision-making, is path dependent. Path-dependence suggests that the costs of reversing a decision already taken can be high, and thus presents a context within which actors make decisions.

Pierson and Skocpol summarize the methodological implications of the historical neo-institutional approach:

historical-institutional Three important features characterize in contemporary political science. institutionalists address big, substantive questions that are inherently of interest to broad publics as well as to fellow scholars. To develop explanatory arguments about important outcomes or puzzles, historical institutionalists take time seriously, specifying sequences and tracing transformations and processes of varying scale and temporality. Historical institutionalists likewise analyze macro contents and hypothesize about the combined effects of institutions and processes rather than examining just one institution or process at a time. Taken together, these three features - substantive agendas, temporal arguments, and attention to contexts and configurations - add up to a recognizable historical-institutional approach that makes powerful contributions to our discipline's understandings of government, politics and public policies. 165

### 2.5.2 Significance for the Dissertation

Neo-institutionalism is a useful theory in the study of politics, because its "objective is not to describe institutions and how they work but rather to explain political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Hay and Wincott, "Structure, Agency" 952.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Peters, Institutional Theory, 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, "Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science," in *Political Science: State of the Discipline*, eds. Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2002), 695 – 696. Emphasis in original.

outcomes and make attempts towards generalization."<sup>166</sup> The neo-institutional approach adds to the discussion of policy through attempting to bring normative factors into the policy-making process, focusing on institutions as central players in the process.<sup>167</sup>

By recognizing the constraining and enabling nature of rules and norms, neo-institutionalism provides analysts with three tools. These are: (1) the ability to consider the development of a single policy within a larger policy and institutional framework; (2) helping to explain policy changes as being related to value changes in society, and not just calculations of individuals; and (3) allowing the analyst to understand policy making in non-linear terms. That is to say, neo-institutionalism provides a model for policy development that is loosely structured. <sup>168</sup>

The historical approach focuses less on the creation of institutions than it does on understanding how those early decisions impact current policy. <sup>169</sup> Methodologically, then, historical institutionalists seek to identify the 'critical junctures' of an institution to help understand that institution's affect on policy.

The theoretical tenets of historical neo-institutionalism fit well with the present work. Not only are actors guided by rules in making their choices, they make the choices they do after "verifying whether [those choices] match the prevailing norms in their institutional environment." Montpetit goes on to say

Socialized in particular institutional environments, actors tend to be satisfied when they see a good fit between proposed solutions and the institutional norms to which they are accustomed. In other words, rule

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Lecours, "Issues and Questions," 14; Pierson and Skocpol, "Contemporary Political Science," 699 – 701.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Peters, "The Policy Process," 162, 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Peters, *Institutional Theory*, 19, 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> Eric Monpetit, "Westminster Parliamentarianism, Policy Networks and the Behaviour of Political Actors," in *New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis*, André Lecours, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 234.

guidance functions in accordance to a logic of appropriateness that is largely defined by institutions. This conception of actors' behaviour departs from dominant rational choice analysis, which conceives individuals as making decisions based on careful assessments of the consequences of various alternatives offered to them. <sup>171</sup>

Accordingly, the dissertation will present information and evidence to suggest that the government of the day considered university autonomy in the decision-making process surrounding the 5% tuition fee cap.

Historical neo-institutional theory presents a useful framework within which to understand the impact of university autonomy on higher education public policy – if university autonomy is an institution (a proposition that will be demonstrated in the next chapter), then the theoretical approach offered by neo-institutionalism is well suited to shedding light on how autonomy influences policy choices. Historical neo-institutionalism is important because it helps to explain the constraining and enabling power of university autonomy. The concept provides a theoretical basis for understanding why government made decisions that it made with respect to tuition fee policy. In the light of historical neo-institutionalism, the dissertation focuses on how university autonomy helped to define the approach government took with respect to university tuition fee policy.

### 2.5.3 The Next Chapter

Drawing on the methodological implications of historical neo-institutionalism, the next chapter examines the development of university autonomy in Canada. University autonomy will be defined and its history discussed in some detail. The chapter concludes with the argument that university autonomy fits the criteria and is indeed a neo-institutional phenomenon.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

## **CHAPTER 3**

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

The relation between the universities and the government resembles... that between artist and patron... the greatest achievements in painting, or music or poetry, are likely to occur when the artist chooses his own subject and is not harassed by a demand for quick results, easily appreciable by the layman.

Sir Walter Moberly 172

# 3.1 Chapter Purpose

Any discussion of higher education public policy must examine the relationship between governments and universities. At the centre of that relationship is the concept of university autonomy. Glen A. Jones writes:

> [t]he notion of [university] autonomy is generally regarded as a central concept within the idea of the university. If the university is to fulfill its basic objectives in terms of the dissemination of knowledge and the development of new knowledge, then the [university] must be free to act without interference from external authority. 173

This literature review traces the history of university autonomy in Canada from the early days in Canadian history. The objective is to interpret the notion of university autonomy from a neo-institutional perspective. Neo-institutional theory presumes that the future impact of an institution is to some extent predicated by its past. 174 An understanding of that institution's past therefore becomes conceptually and methodologically important to understanding how that institution might influence contemporary decisions. For the purposes of the present work, then, it is important to understand the key historical junctures and developments which have shaped the contemporary meaning and practices

<sup>172</sup> Ouoted in Hon. William G. Davis, "The Government of Ontario and the Universities of the Province," Governments and the University, Toronto: York University, (1966), 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Jones, "University-Government Relations," 6.

<sup>174</sup> Peters, Institutional Theory, 63.

of university autonomy. Accordingly, the literature review serves in part the purpose of setting the historical context for the study.

This chapter proceeds in three different sections. First, the chapter will generally discuss university autonomy in the Canadian context, and provide a definition. The chapter will then move to a more detailed examination of the history of university autonomy in Canada, seeking to identify critical formative moments and their implications for the evolution of the concept. Finally, the chapter concludes with an examination of university autonomy within the context of historical neo-institutionalism.

## 3.2 University Autonomy in Higher Education

The nature of the relationship between governments and universities has always been controversial. The Lorne Sossin writes about university autonomy, saying that university autonomy is defined in relation to government intervention in academic programs... [and] interference with universities may be seen as motivated by short-term horizons and partisan inclinations or demonstrating insensitivity to the unique context of universities. The Governments today purport to set general direction to improve the lives of their citizens. Given the increasingly important role of universities in meeting public policy objectives, particularly economic objectives, Total governments will be tempted to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Lee Southern and John D. Dennison, "Government-University Relations: IBM or No IBM? A Comparative View of Alberta and British Columbia," *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 15, no.2 (1985), 76.

Lorne Sossin, "Public Universities and the Public Interest: The Compelling Cae for a Buffer between Universities and Government," *Taking Public Universities Seriously*, eds. Frank Iacobucci and Carolyn Tuohy (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2005), 418.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Lee Southern, "Politics and its Limits on Government Intermediaries and Universities," *Governments and Higher Education – The Legitimacy of Intervention*, (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1987), 45; Skolnik, *Post-Secondary Education in Canada: Thinking Ten Years into the Future*, available: <a href="http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/~mskolnik/HRDC.htm">http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/~mskolnik/HRDC.htm</a>.

intervene in university affairs with the effect of creating tension in the relationship between government and the university.

This section will examine university autonomy from the perspective of the relationship of the government to a university. As Jones points out, both governments and universities are complex organizations with a diversity of roles and responsibilities.<sup>178</sup> For instance, while universities are protective of their autonomy in some spheres, discussed in more detail throughout this Chapter, in other spheres, such as the working conditions, building and safety codes or the management of daycare facilities, for example, the issue of institutional autonomy is simply not relevant. Many university activities are "outside the boundaries of what is normally thought of as higher education policy." Jones writes that:

> However we understand and define higher education policy, it is important to recognize that there are a plethora of other interactions between universities and governments that involve other component parts of government in intersection with specific programs and expertise operating at the understructure level of the institution. 180

This dissertation focuses on a case study of tuition fee policy, and the role that university autonomy played in shaping that policy. In order to pursue this goal, this Chapter will first develop a working definition of university autonomy based on work that has occurred within the last 30 to 40 years. With a definition in hand, the Chapter will turn to a history of university autonomy in Canada. This history will focus on the key junctures in the development of university autonomy that have over time added to the definition and uses of university autonomy.

<sup>178</sup> Glen A. Jones, "On Complex Intersections: Ontario Universities and Governments," Taking Public Universities Seriously, eds. Frank Iacobucci and Carolyn Tuohy (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2005), 175-179, passim. <sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

## 3.2.1 University Autonomy Defined

University autonomy has many definitions and interpretations.<sup>181</sup> Hurtubise and Rowat's seminal work on the relationship between government and the university defines university autonomy as "... the relative ability of a university's governing body to run the university without any outside controls."<sup>182</sup> They expanded upon this definition by outlining the limits and extent of autonomy:

[i]t is generally agreed that, while the state has some rights in the sphere of higher education, the universities should possess autonomy in certain key areas. Control over admissions, academic staff and instructional programs are most frequently cited as the essential ingredients of genuine university autonomy. Indeed, in Manitoba the Universities Grants Commission is specifically forbidden to deal with admissions – an exclusion specified in its Act... <sup>183</sup>

The *Universities Grants Commission Act*, repealed in 1997<sup>184</sup>, excluded the Commission from all three 'key areas' of autonomy identified by Hurtubise and Rowat. Section 3 of the *Act* stated:

#### Intent of Act.

- 3 It is the intention of this Act that the commission should restrict its activities to the fiscal arrangements of universities and should not interfere
  - (a) with the basic right of a university to formulate academic policies and standards;
  - (b) with the independence of a university in fixing standards of admission or of graduation; or
  - (c) with the independence of a university in the appointment of staff.

Reference to this clause in earlier legislation in Manitoba provides a useful starting point for understanding university autonomy in that province.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Hurtubise and Rowat, *The University, Society and Government*, 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> The *UGC Act* was repealed in 1997 and replaced with *The Council on Post-Secondary Education Act*. As will be discussed later in the literature review, similar provisions relating to the three key areas are also included in *The Council on Post-Secondary Education Act*.

A definition of university autonomy that focuses on the ability of an institution to make independent, unilateral decisions that will not be constrained or prescribed by government in the key areas of admissions, the setting of academic standards, and hiring practices has been examined, understood and accepted by scholars and universities since the 1960s and indeed has been implemented by most provincial governments through legislation. <sup>185</sup>

What are the origins of university autonomy as it is known today? As stated previously, the historical institutionalist looks to the past to determine better the functionality (or dysfunctionality) of an institution. An examination of the early history of university autonomy in Canada reveals two critical junctures when the notion shaped the orientation of governments towards universities. The first of these historical moments was the restructuring of university governance in the early 1900s, and the second was the post-war growth of universities in Canada. The analysis to follow will show how these two junctures help to clarify the relationship between policy and institution. Institutions shaped policies, but policies also helped to shape institutions.

## 3.3 A History of University Autonomy in Canada

In the very early history of universities in Canada, autonomy was extremely limited. For example, the Collège de Québec, established in 1635 was run by the Society

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Robert O. Berdahl, "Universities and Society: Mutual Obligations," in *Ontario Universities: Access, Operations and Funding, Conference Proceedings*, eds. David W. Conklin and Thomas J. Courchene (Toronto: Ontario Economic Council, 1985), 6; Jerry N. Boone, *et al*, "University Autonomy: Perceived and Preferred Location of Authority," *The Review of Higher Education* 14, no.2 (Winter 1991), 135.

<sup>186</sup> Adam Spence, *Facilitating Effective Change to Improve Access and Quality,* Toronto: OUSA, 2004, 5.

<sup>187</sup> Thelen and Steinmo, "Historical Institutionalism," 15.

of Jesus based on the classical program taught in France. 188 Governance patterns did not change significantly over the next hundred or so years. For instance, King's College in Nova Scotia, created in 1802, had a governing board composed of the Executive Council (i.e. Cabinet), the governor serving as the Chair, and all internal regulations subject to approval by the Archbishop of Canterbury. 189 Similarly, Laval University, founded as a university in 1852, <sup>190</sup> was subject to the control of the Archbishop of Quebec. Indeed, "[t]he early history of Canadian universities is the story of institutions established and controlled by state or church, or both."191

Such a strong level of external control was the norm for university governance in much of the early to mid 1800s – indeed denominational control of post-secondary education dominated the higher education public policy debate until the mid 1800s. 192 This was not to last, however. By the last half of the 1800s, universities started to gain more independence from external control. For example, in 1863, Dalhousie gained for the first time since its establishment in 1818 a charter that established an academic senate, 193 and gave it a "substantial measure of independence." 194

Approaching the end of the 1800s, governments and institutions of higher education began to establish more workable relationships. For instance,

188 David M. Cameron, More Than an Academic Ouestion: Universities, Government, and Public Policy in

Canada, (Halifax: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1991), 6.

189 David M. Cameron, "Institutional Management: How Should the Governance and Management of Universities in Canada Accommodate Changing Circumstances?" Public Purse, Public Purpose: Autonomy and Accountability in the Groves of Academe, James Cutt and Rodney Dobell, eds, Halifax: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1992, 168, 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> The Royal charter for Laval University was granted in 1852. The seminary that the university was created from was established in 1663 by Bishop Laval. For purposes of the present work, the date of the establishment of the university is more relevant. It is interesting to note that the influence of the Catholic Church continues, and ecclesiastical faculty is still not completely autonomous from the Vatican and its Congregation for Catholic Education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Cameron, "Institutional Management," 169.

<sup>192</sup> Cameron, More Than an Academic Question, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Cameron, "Institutional Management," 171.

The establishment of the University of Manitoba was an important landmark in the history of church colleges in Canada. It meant that the component colleges were able to continue the liberal arts course in a church atmosphere, while sharing in the benefits of membership in a larger body. The unique Canadian achievement in higher education, the working out of a relationship between church colleges and secular universities, had begun. 195

Ten years later, the model used by the University of Manitoba was applied to the University of Toronto in order to accommodate the church colleges within that provincial university. 196 Unfortunately, however, other amendments also made at the same time established confusion with respect to the relationship between the government, the University of Toronto Board of Trustees, and the University's senate. 197 This ultimately caused government to act to review the matter.

# 3.3.1 Crisis in Ontario and The Flavelle Report

In this time period, the University of Toronto and government became heavily intertwined in matters such as university expansion and the appointment of staff.<sup>198</sup> In 1903, University of Toronto President Sir Daniel Wilson wrote in his diary regarding the expansion that "[t]his everlasting tinkering with Univ. [sic] matters by the Legislature is most distracting and mischievous..." 199 Matters progressed, and accusations were made that the Government of Ontario was using the University of Toronto as a vehicle for patronage, adding substance to concerns regarding the lack of clarity about the relationships between university officials and members of the government. 200 The

<sup>195</sup> Cameron, More Than an Academic Question, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>198</sup> Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Post-Secondary Education, Report: Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility, Toronto (Ministry of Education and Training, December 1996), 71.

199 Davis, "Ontario and the Universities," 26.

Glen A. Jones and Michael Skolnik, "Governing Boards of Canada," The Review of Higher Education 20, no. 3 (Spring, 1997), 278.

resulting controversy led to the appointment of a royal commission to examine the relationship between the university and government.

The 1906 report of the Ontario Royal Commission Re: The University of Toronto (the Flavelle Report) was "probably the most influential report ever commissioned in the field of higher education in Canada." The report recommended the establishment of a board of governors to run the university, a senate to address the academic needs, and a president to oversee the administration. The Commission's conclusions pertaining to these issues included:

- The powers of the Crown in respect to the control and management of the University should be vested in a Board of Governors, chosen by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, and subject by the method of appointment and by the regulation of their proceedings, to the perpetual authority of the state;
- The Senate, with its legislative and executive powers and based upon the principle of representation of the federated and affiliated institutions and the faculties and graduates, should direct the academic interests of the University
- The Office of President should be clothed with additional powers, making its occupant in fact as well as name the chief executive officer of the University. 202

On the basis of legislation passed as a result of the Commission's report (*The University of Toronto Act*)<sup>203</sup>, government's authority over the university was vested in the Board of Governors, with the Cabinet exercising only indirect authority through the appointment of board members. This quickly became the model for all universities across Canada,<sup>204</sup> and has remained so to this day.

Decades later, speaking in 1966, Ontario Minister of University Affairs William G. Davis described the Flavelle report as being perhaps "...the most significant document in the history of higher education in this province. For, indeed, the result marked the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Cameron, *More Than an Academic Question*, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791 – 1951*, (Toronto: Government of Ontario, 1994), 165-166.
<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

Advisory Panel, *Report*, 91; Jones and Skolnik, "Canadian Governing Boards," 278; Cameron, "Institutional Management," 172; Alex Usher and Andrew Potter, *A State of the Field Review of Post-Secondary Education*, (Ottawa and Vancouver: Canadian Council on Learning, October, 2006), 12.

beginning of the era of the independent, non-denominational institution in receipt of government assistance..."<sup>205</sup>

The outcomes of the Flavelle Commission represent a key turning point in university autonomy. Universities were no longer to be directly controlled by the state or the church. Indeed, the development of a bicameral governance structure at the University of Toronto that came as a result of the Flavelle Commission laid the foundation for university independence from government as it is known today. The "development of bicameral governance structures can… be viewed as a response to demands for external accountability within the context of reaffirming the importance of institutional autonomy."<sup>206</sup>

In Manitoba, the Flavelle Commission report recommendations were reflected in the 1917 amendment to *The University Act*, whereby "a Board of Governors was created... in which was vested the general management and control of the University, including appointments; the University Council was continued 'in general charge of the academic work,'" and was ultimately replaced by a senate in 1936 when *The University Act* was replaced by *The University of Manitoba Act*. In 1917, eleven years after his report, Flavelle's recommendations regarding the establishment of a bicameral governance structure were implemented in Manitoba. The delay in implementation of a bicameral structure in Manitoba as recommended by Flavelle also served as the model for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Davis, "Ontario and the Universities," 26; Cameron, *More Than an Academic Question*, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Jones and Skolnik, "Canadian Governing Boards," 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Universities Grants Commission – Management Committee of Cabinet, *Program and Operational Review* (Winnipeg: Government of Manitoba, October 1975), 6.

the University of Saskatchewan, the University of Alberta, and the University of British Columbia.<sup>208</sup>

It is interesting to note that the adoption of the bicameral model was based primarily on the internal struggles faces by the University of Manitoba between 1912 and 1917 which were resolved by abandoning the University of London model and adopting the University of Toronto model. <sup>209</sup> Additionally, Morton points out that the creation of the University of Manitoba as the provincial university required a different governance structure. Morton states: "the province could not be expected to grant money on the necessary scale to a university controlled by the denominational colleges." This underscores the caution given earlier that educational systems in Canadian provinces develop in accordance with local circumstances.

After the implementation of the Flavelle Commission recommendations across Canada, university governance and autonomy enjoyed a period of stability,<sup>211</sup> and the relationship between universities and government for the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century remained harmonious.<sup>212</sup> This harmony, Neatby argues, was the result of a basic agreement about the role of universities to education the elite of society, and the relative financial independence of the universities at the time.<sup>213</sup>

During the Second World War, there was a continuation of the comfortable relationship between government and universities that had developed in the years since

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> W.L. Morton, *One University: A History of the University of Manitoba 1877 – 1952* (London: McMclelland and Stewart Limited, 1957), 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Cameron, "Institutional Management," 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> H. Blair Neatby, "The Historical Perspective," *Governments and Higher Education – the Legitimacy of Intervention*, Toronto (The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1987), 34.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 34, 35.

the Flavelle Report. This may have also reflected the general perception for a unified effort in the light of the war emergency.

During the war, the federal government intervened in various ways, including offering financial support to science students, and making rules about when and under what circumstance university students could leave a university. Not only did universities not complain about such 'intrusions,' they were in fact active partners with government. During the war, "[m]ilitary training became compulsory at many universities; at McGill two students who refused to participate in this training were suspended from the university by the Senate." In fact, "the most direct impact of the war on universities was undoubtedly in the control of enrolment under the selective service regime."

Indeed, in 1942, the presidents of Queen's and McGill proposed that all teaching in arts, commerce, law and education be suspended for the duration of the war. A number of scholars in the social sciences and humanities objected strongly, and a special meeting of the NCCU in January 1943 rejected the proposal. In the event, all science students as well as those in a variety of professional programs were deemed to be '... contributing to the prosecution of the war,' and consequently were exempt from active military service. Arts students, on the other hand, were exempt only if their marks placed them in the top half of their class.<sup>217</sup>

The National Conference of Colleges and Universities (NCCU), the precursor to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) worked closely with the federal government on war-related policies.

These policies were related to joint decisions made by the government and the NCCU Executive Committee concerning the first mobilization of students and later the demobilization of veteran students and former faculty... involvement of the universities and their Conference on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Cameron, More Than an Academic Question, 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

Canada's war effort began almost immediately upon the declaration of war.<sup>218</sup>

Thus, governments were seen as being able to intervene in decisions regarding both admission to and graduation from a university for the public good and the war effort.

In summary, "for half a century the consensus on the role of the universities made overt government intervention unnecessary." Universities enjoyed a significant amount of independence from government, fostered and cemented by a shared philosophy of the role of universities and agreement on the more immediate goals of higher education. Governments, so the argument goes, were composed of society's elite, and universities were there to educate them. Generally speaking, before the period of rapid expansion of universities in the 1960s, the main concern regarding autonomy was internal to the university, relating to the relationship between the board, the administration, and the faculty and senate. 220

## 3.3.2 'From Nobody's Business to Everybody's Business': The Post-war University

Part of the difficulty with government-university relations... can be traced to money.

René Hurtusbise and Donald C. Rowat<sup>221</sup>

After the Second World War, Canadian universities grew significantly, fostered in part by the federal government's support of veteran's education, and by federal and provincial governments' increasing focus on universities as agents of economic development. This section seeks to examine the changes that occurred in university

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Gwendoline Evans Pilkington, *Speaking with One Voice: Universities in Dialogue with Government* (Montreal: History of McGill Project, 1983), 23.
<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Kenneth Hare, On University Freedom in the Canadian Context, Toronto (University of Toronto Press, 1968), 13.

Hurtubise and Rowat, *University, Society and Government*, 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup>Max von Zur-Muehlen, *The Canadian Universities in a Crisis* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1977), 10.

autonomy resulting from a number of post-war events related to the expansion of the university system.

Post-war expansion and internal differentiation which reflected the changing external environment saw universities transform from private organizations to public entities; universities went from being "nobody's business" to being "everybody's business." The fundamental changes involved the emergence of more complex post-secondary systems within the provinces and larger, more specialized universities.

Whereas in the pre-war period, structural change was represented by changes in the governance systems at universities (principally the adoption of bicameral governance structures), the post-war situation was more complex. The post-war period saw enrolment increase, greater government funding, growth of university systems, increased university stakeholder organization and the creation of community colleges. In short, post-war years saw the rapid development of the modern post-secondary system in Canada.

The post-war era was characterized by structural change in Canada's post-secondary system, including (1) enrolment increases that have persisted; (2) increases in government funding; (3) the expansion of the university system; (4) the creation of university stakeholder organizations; and, (5) the creation of community colleges. These changes are discussed in turn below.

## 3.3.2.1 Enrolment Increases

The most obvious change to Canada's universities after the war was an increase in the numbers of students attending. Enrolment increases in Canadian post-secondary education has occurred in various waves since the end of the Second World War: (1) veterans entering universities after the Second World War; (2) the 'Baby Boomers' from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Jones, "University-Government Relations," 8.

the late 1950s through the 1960s; and, (3) growth during the 1980s and beyond. Each of these increases in enrolment will be described briefly to demonstrate how they represented formative events in the evolution of universities and how they were critical junctures that shaped the institutional notion of university autonomy.

**Veterans:** The federal *Veterans Rehabilitation Act* of 1945 was enacted to assist returning veterans to reintegrate into life in Canada after six years of war. The Act provided 50,000 veterans with tuition costs and a monthly living allowance for university education. In addition to providing grants to support capital infrastructure development at universities, the federal government provided universities with \$150 per veteran per year to assist with operating costs related to the enrolment increase. "The results were little short of staggering. In 1945-46, over 20,000 demobilized servicemen invaded the campuses, increasing the total enrolment by 46 percent in one year. The number peaked at 35,000 the next year, representing fully 44 percent of all university students that year.",224

In Manitoba, enrolment in 1945/46 was 5,456 students, of whom 1,106 were veterans, a total enrolment increase of 103% over enrolment in 1944/45 which stood at 2,693. 225 Veteran enrolment across Canada began to decline by the early 1950s, 226 when many of the veterans had completed their programs. <sup>227</sup> Enrolment growth in universities caused by veterans only foreshadowed the impact that their children would have on the system.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Cameron, More Than an Academic Question, 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Universities Grants Commission – Management Committee of Cabinet, *Review*, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Summarized from: Canada, Federal and Provincial Support to Post-Secondary Education in Canada: A Report to Parliament 1984-85 (Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State of Canada), 3. <sup>227</sup> Universities Grants Commission – Management Committee of Cabinet, Review, 19.

**Baby Boomers:** In 1951/52, there were approximately 91,000 full-time students enrolled in post-secondary institutions in Canada, <sup>228</sup> as compared to 253,500 in 1967/68, <sup>229</sup> a 178.6% increase. These increases were primarily a result of the "exceptionally large numbers of babies born in the late 1940s and 1950s, the so-called 'baby boomers' [who came] of age and entered college and university." <sup>230</sup> In Manitoba during the 1960s, enrolment increased significantly, shown in Table 3.1, below.

Table 3.1: University Enrolment Growth in Manitoba  $1958/59 - 1967/68^{231}$ 

Year	Full-time Enrolment	Percent Increase from Previous Year
1958/59	5,256	
1959/60	5,738	9.2%
1960/61	6,232	8.6%
1961/62	6,880	10.4%
1962/63	7,607	10.6%
1963/64	8,627	13.4%
1964/65	8,984	4.1%
1965/66	10,834	20.6%
1966/67	12,193	12.5%
1967/68	13,353	9.5%
10 year increase (1958/59-1967/68)		154.1%

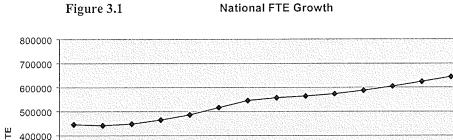
The 1980s and Early 1990s: Despite the fact that the Baby Boom generation started to graduate from universities beginning in the early 1970s, enrolment continued to increase, with full-time equivalent enrolment growing nationally by 53% from 1977 to 1993, as shown in Figure 3.1, below.<sup>232</sup>

<sup>228</sup> Norman Uhl and Anne Marie MacKinnon, "Students," in *Higher Education in Canada*, Alexander D. Gregor and Gilles Jasmin, eds. (Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1992), 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Max von Zur-Muehlen, The Development of Canadian Education in the Sixties and Sevenites, 2<sup>nd</sup> Draft (Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1975), 25. <sup>230</sup> Uhl and MacKinnon, "Students," 47.

Universities Grants Commission, The Annual Report of the Universities Grants Commission for the Year Ending March 31, 1968 (Winnipeg: Universities Grants Commission, 1968), 6, calculations by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Drawn from Canadian Education Statistics Council, A Statistical Portrait of Education at the University Level in Canada, Statistics Canada, first edition, September 1996, 116.



During the 1980s,

300000 200000 100000

The [national] enrolment increase... was not at all anticipated and was caused by a combination of economic and social influences: a serious economic recession, the increased educational requirements of a highly technological world, an ever-growing recognition of the role of women in all aspects of society, and a dramatic increase in the number and diversity of new institutions in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>233</sup>

1977 1978 1979 1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 Year

Manitoba also experienced growth in enrolment in this time period, although at a rate lower than the national average. Between 1977/78 and 1992/93, total enrolment in Manitoba increased from 28,996 to 36,734,<sup>234</sup> a 26.7% increase. Such growth was supported by increased government funding.

## 3.3.2.2 Increased Government Funding of Universities

A defining characteristic of the government-university relationship today is that government provides a significant share of the revenue needed to operate the university. The discussion of the potential implications of this financial dependence on governments for university autonomy only began to take place in the late 1960s. Funding increases

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Uhl and MacKinnon, "Students," 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Universities Grants Commission, *Annual Report 1992-1993* (Winnipeg: Universities Grants Commission, 1993), 44 & 46; Universities Grants Commission, *Annual Report 1977-1978* (Winnipeg: Universities Grants Commission, 1978), 8 & 10. Calculations by author. Total enrolment is calculated by adding together full-time and part-time graduate and undergraduate enrolment.

flowed from both the Government of Canada and the individual provincial governments.<sup>235</sup> Beginning in the 1950s, first through per capita grants based on enrolment and then through more general transfers, the national government provided growing financial support to higher education. As the order of government responsible for education in all forms, the provincial governments also increased their grants to universities from the 1950s onwards.

Increased governmental involvement in university funding came partially as a result of enrolment increases, and partly a result of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (the Massey Commission). The Massey Commission, whose primary focus was on the growing sense of Canadian identity and nationalism, recommended a federal role in universities funding to ensure improved equity in terms of university access. "The federal government responded to this need by instituting a system of regular direct grants to universities on a per-capita basis" that did not require, unlike other federal transfers, the provinces to match the grants. Since the 1950s, government funding for universities can be divided into two different categories: (1) operating & capital, and (2) research at universities.

(1) Operating & Capital Grants: The growth of expenditures by federal, provincial and municipal governments between 1960 and 1975 was nothing short of staggering. Total university per student operating expenditures by these governments grew from \$1,603 in 1960 to \$5,786 in 1975, 237 fully 260.9%. The growth of funding from government sources for post-secondary education relative to other funding sources is shown in Table 3.2, below.

<sup>235</sup> Neatby, "Historical Perspective," 24-30, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support 1984-85, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> von Zur-Muehlen, Development of Canadian Education, 17.

Table 3.2: Post-Secondary\* Expenditure by Source, Canada 1960-1975 (\$000's and Percent of Total)<sup>238</sup>

Source	1960	1965	1970	1975	% Growth 1960-1975
Federal	\$74,558	\$157,092	\$1,056,213	\$1,788,905	2,299.3%
	22.6%	18.8%	47.6%	50.6%	_,
Provincial	152,606	416,015	696,042	1,210,309	693.1%
	46.2%	49.8%	31.3%	34.3%	093.170
Municipal	704	1,174	4,426	11,545	1.540.00/
•	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.3%	1,540.0%
Fees	48,458	114,628	219,894	339,206	600.00/
	14.7%	13.7%	9.9%	9.6%	600.0%
Other	54,214	146,437	244,232	183,308	220 10/
	16.4%	17.5%	11.0%	5.2%	238.1%
Total	330,540	835,346	2,220,807	3,533,273	0.69.00/
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	968.9%

<sup>\*</sup> Includes university, post-secondary non-university, but excludes vocational and occupational training.

In the time period shown, federal and provincial funding for post-secondary education, including universities, grew from 68.8% of total annual funding in 1960 to 84.9% of total funding in 1975.

In 1977, the federal financing mechanism of per capita grants to universities was replaced by an arrangement that came to be known as Established Programs Financing (EPF). This change saw the cost sharing arrangement shift from one where the federal government provided 50% of universities' operating costs to that of a block grant provided to provinces for use in health or education as determined by the receiving province's priorities. Similar to the previous system, the new EPF model continued to use a combination of cash and tax-point transfers to support post-secondary education.<sup>239</sup>

While many provinces, including Manitoba, raised concerns about this shift, overall funding for universities and for post-secondary education in general continued to increase. In 1982/83, total cash and tax EPF entitlements<sup>240</sup> for post-secondary education

<sup>239</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support 1984-85, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Adapted from *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> While the EPF funding system allowed provinces to allocate transfers to health or education based on provincial priorities, entitlements were calculated for each sector.

in Canada were \$3,716,009,000,<sup>241</sup> growing to \$6,272,019,000<sup>242</sup> in 1995/96, a 68.8% increase. Federal government contributions to post-secondary education in Manitoba grew from \$156,067,000 in 1982/83<sup>243</sup> to \$240,825,000 in 1995/96,<sup>244</sup> a 54.3% increase.

Similarly, provincial expenditures on post-secondary education were increasing. Overall in 1982/83, the provinces spent \$5,808,078,000 on post-secondary education.<sup>245</sup> This amount grew to \$9,965,652,000 in 1995/96,<sup>246</sup> a 71.6% increase. In the same timeframe, expenditure in Manitoba grew from \$193,195,000<sup>247</sup> to \$320,615,000,<sup>248</sup> a 66.0% increase.

An important consideration in regarding the issue of the EPF model is its unconditional nature. That is to say, while the Federal government continued to increase funding for post-secondary education, there was no requirement on the part of the provinces to dedicate that money to post-secondary education; the funding came with few strings attached such that Federal dollars notionally allocated to support post-secondary education could be spent on other provincial priorities.

Since the 1970s, there has been concern from the provinces and institutions regarding the adequacy of federal funding.<sup>249</sup> However, it is important to note that throughout this period, the availability of funding, be it in tax points or cash, continued to increase for post-secondary education, including universities (this is not to say that strains

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support 1984-85, 14, Table 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support to Post-Secondary Education in Canada: A Report to Parliament 1995-96, (Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada, 1996), 11, Table 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support 1984-85, 14, Table 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support 1995-96, 11, Table 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support 1984-85, 42, Table 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support 1995-96, 8, Table 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support 1984-85, 50, Table 14(g).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Canada, Federal and Provincial Support 1995-96, 8, Table 1.

See for example: Manitoba, Setting Priorities Straight: Manitoba's Position on Federal Reductions in Funding Health and Higher Education (Winnipeg: Government of Manitoba, 1986).

have not been created. Caps on the EPF growth rate, and provincial reductions in allocations to post-secondary education have meant that funding has not kept pace with enrolment increases<sup>250</sup>). Rapid expansion during the 1960s and 1970s followed by fiscal restraint during the 1980s and early 1990s created strains on universities across Canada.<sup>251</sup>

(2) Research: Since the early 1970s, the governments have had a growing presence in terms of being a contributor to research in Canadian universities. Provinces have contributed to this through strategic grants, and the federal government has contributed through the three research councils, the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC), the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and the Medical Research Council (MRC).<sup>252</sup>

Table 3.3 sets forth the growth of government and other sources of support for university-based research over the decades of the 1970s and 1980s. Research and the advancement of knowledge are usually seen as central to the purpose of a university. Depending upon the level of financial support from governments and how research funding is distributed, there can be varying degrees of real of perceived threats to university autonomy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Skolnik, "Higher Education Systems in Canada," 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Ibid 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> Charles H. Bélanger and Robert Lacroix, "Research," in *Higher Education in Canada*, Alexander D. Gregor and Gilles Jasmin, eds. (Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1992), 67-68.

Table 3.3: Research Funding for University Research by Source<sup>253</sup> (\$000's)

Year	Federal	Provinces	Universities	Others	Total
1971/72	\$134,000	\$30,000	\$226,000	\$46,000	\$436,000
1975/76	156,000	50,000	294,000	68,000	568,000
1980/81	288,000	96,000	473,000	113,000	970,000
1985/86	515,000	178,000	642,000	190,000	1,525,000
1989/90	629,000	244,000	780,000	278,000	1,931,000
% Growth 71/72 – 89/90	369.4%	713.4%	245.1%	504.3%	342.9%

The significant funding increases of the 1970s and 1980s were perceived by informed commentators as changing the relationship between governments and universities in profound ways. Funding has an impact on university autonomy; however, its specific impact is not easy to discern. Indeed, throughout the post-war era, the increase of government funding along with the growth of enrolment helped to frame the debate over the relative authority of the government and the university. This impact is explained well by Hare when he asked "[c]an Canadian politicians, or indeed politicians anywhere, face expenditure on this scale without claiming detailed control over its use?" Indeed, the 'power of the purse' is the mechanism through which governments can exercise the most control over universities. It is through funding "that governmental policies, procedures and structures affecting education have an immediate relationship to the universities..."

# 3.3.2.3 Expansion of University Systems in Canada

In 1940, membership in the National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU), the precursor to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) was 29. Twenty years later, membership in the organization was up to 38, with a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Bélanger and Lacroix, "Research," 69.

Neatby, "Historical Perspective," 24-30, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Hare, On University Freedom, 16, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Hurtubise and Rowat, *University, Society and Government*, 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

further four ready for membership. This increase in the numbers of universities, a reaction to the astounding growth of enrolment arose primarily through the 'elevation' of existing colleges to universities, or to at least degree-granting status.<sup>258</sup>

During the 1960s, the number of universities continued to increase. One notable aspect of this period was 'deconfessionalization,' or the conversion of religious colleges into secular universities. Cameron notes that this trend was "one of the strongest pillars supporting the structure of post-secondary policy at the dawn of the second half of the twentieth century."<sup>259</sup>

The relationship between this phenomenon and the increase in both enrolment and government funding was not coincidental. Rae states that the

[e]xponential growth in the scope and capacity of higher education saw an increasing demand for and reliance on public finance, and private, denominational universities were unable to generate the funds required to facilitate such development... The lure of public funding was a factor in the secularization of many institutions: McMaster reorganized as a non-denominational institution in 1957; Waterloo Lutheran (now Wilfred Laurier) in 1973; Bishop's in 1947... Public funding, though not always explicitly tied to secularization, nevertheless swiftly eroded the denominational or sectarian character of many church-related universities.<sup>260</sup>

In Manitoba, *The Universities Establishment Act*, assented to in 1967, created the University of Winnipeg and Brandon University from United College and Brandon College respectively. Additionally, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Role of St. Boniface College in Higher Education in Manitoba, established by the government commission the Manitoba Council on Higher Learning, recommended that St. Boniface College (today known as Collége universitaire de Saint-Boniface, or CUSB), while remaining an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada 1663 – 1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 468-469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Cameron, More Than an Academic Question, 75-76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Peter S. Rae, "Unholy Alliance? The Church and Higher Education in Canada" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 1998),13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> Universities Grants Commission, Annual Report 1968, 4.

affiliated college to the University of Manitoba, deal directly with the Universities Grants Commission, and that CUSB's administration, finances and staffing be separate from the University of Manitoba.<sup>262</sup> In short, in 1967, three new universities were created, bringing the total from one university to four.

The emergence of university systems in the provinces with multiple universities further complicated the relationship between government and universities. In part to address this emerging complication, most provinces in Canada established new intermediary agencies during the 1960s and 1970s. These agencies were generally based on the Universities Grants Committee in England, and were established to coordinate university systems and to plan for post-secondary education in their respective jurisdictions. During the 1960s and into the 1970s, all provinces except for Newfoundland created intermediary agencies to manage the expanded system of universities.<sup>263</sup>

## 3.3.2.4 University Stakeholder Organizations

Concomitant with the expansion of the numbers of universities was the creation or reorganization of a number of lobby organizations or associations. In 1951, the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) was created with a primary mandate to improve the voice of faculty in the governance of universities.<sup>264</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s, CAUT turned its attentions to unionizing faculties across Canada.<sup>265</sup> While internal to the university, the governance and autonomy implications for the university were related to,

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Pilkington, *Speaking with One Voice*, 141-142; Hurtubise and Rowat, *University, Society and Government*, 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Harris, A History of Higher Education, 467.

Donald C. Savage, "Higher Education Organizations," in *Higher Education in Canada*. Alexander D. Gregor and Gilles Jasmin, eds. (Ottawa: Secretary of State of Canada, 1992), 30-31.

first, the increased representation of faculty and non-faculty staff in the governance bodies of the university (shared governance). Second, the union took over functions that were formally within the purview of faculty, such as grievance procedures.<sup>266</sup> Third, and implied from the other two, there was a loss in terms of the collegiality model of shared authority in that collective bargaining can be an adversarial relationship, with the parties sharing some goals, but also having distinct interests which are negotiated in a structured and often polarized process.<sup>267</sup>

As faculties began operating in a more structured collective, so to did the universities and colleges. In 1965, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) was created out of a reconstituted national organization that had been established in 1911 as the National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU). The increase in the numbers of universities in Canada is reflected in the growth in the institutional membership of the NCCU/AUCC.

As shown in Table 3.4, below, the second largest period of growth for the NCCU/AUCC occurred between 1960 and 1969, when 19 new universities or colleges joined the organization. The only larger period of growth was seen in the first years of the NCCU, when the body was first established. Additionally, the growth between 1970 and 1999 was consistent and steady. Membership slowed only beginning around 2000, in part because of a self imposed moratorium on membership by AUCC as it reviewed its membership criteria in the early years of the new millennium.

Table 3.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Royster C. Hedgepeth, "Consequences of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education: An Exploratory Analysis," *The Journal of Higher Education 45*, no. 9 (December, 1974), 699.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Jack C. Blanton and Collins W. Burnett, "Collective Bargaining and Five Key Higher Education Issues," *Peabody Journal of Education 56*, no. 2 (January, 1979), 94-95.

Growth in the NCCU/AUCC\* Institutional Membership\*\* Category  $1911-2008^{268}$ 

Timeframe	Number of New Members in the Ordinary/Institutional Membership Category	Proportion of Current Membership†
1911 – 1919	21	22.8%
1920 – 1929	0	0.0%
1930 – 1939	3	3.3%
1940 – 1949	3	3.3%
1950 – 1959	4	4.3%
1960 – 1969	19	20.7%
1970 – 1979	12	13.0%
1980 – 1989	13	14.1%
1990 – 1999	11	12.0%
2000 - Present	6	6.5%
Total	92	100%††

Source: AUCC. Compilation and calculations by author.

#### Notes:

Just as the faculty and universities organized and reorganized themselves, so to were a number of student organizations were founded, floundered and reconstituted in the 1960s and 1970s. <sup>269</sup> Today, the Canadian Alliance of Student Associations (CASA) and the Canadian Federation of Students (CFS) are the main national bodies representing university (and increasingly college) students. As with the faculties, shared governance at universities also included students and student unions being represented on university boards and senates.

# 3.3.2.5 Creation of Community Colleges

<sup>\*</sup> The National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU) was established in 1911, and changed its name to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) in 1965.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Prior to 1994, institutions could be either "Provisional" or "Ordinary" members in AUCC. Effective in 1994, the "provisional" member category was eliminated and institutions are admitted only as "Institutional Members." Note that there is an "associate membership" category; however membership includes university-related associations such as Canadian Interuniversity Sport or the Canadian Association of Research Libraries. The associate member category is not a "junior category" for prospective post-secondary institutions.

<sup>†</sup> Membership as of 02 April 2008 stood at 92 institutions

<sup>††</sup> Totals may not add due to rounding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> AUCC. Founding and Joining Year of AUCC Member Institutions. Available: <a href="https://www.aucc.ca/\_pdf/english/aboutaucc/joinaucc\_e.pdf">www.aucc.ca/\_pdf/english/aboutaucc/joinaucc\_e.pdf</a>, accessed 12 July 2008. <sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

During the 1960s, community colleges were created as non-degree granting institutions in order to offer additional options to the large numbers of new students entering post-secondary education.<sup>270</sup> Harris says that

In 1940 one of the most striking features of the Canadian post-secondary education scene was the very few institutions devoted to technical and vocational training... Over the next 20 years considerable development of such institutions took place, although it was not until 1960 that any Canadian province could claim to have made adequate provision for technical and technological training as opposed to professional education.<sup>271</sup>

In Manitoba, the Manitoba Technical Institute was first established in 1948,<sup>272</sup> the Brandon Vocational Training Centre was established in 1961, and the Northern Manitoba Vocational Centre was established in 1966.<sup>273</sup> In 1969, these three institutions became Red River Community College, Assiniboine Community College and Keewatin Community College in 1969.<sup>274</sup>

The community college system in Manitoba saw itself as having a role in the regions of the province.

Red River Community College, for example, offers courses in a number of locations in southeastern Manitoba and operates permanent regional centres in three of the larger population concentrations in the area. Assiniboine Community College, like Brandon University, has its field of responsibility in southwestern Manitoba, with a permanent Parkland Campus in Dauphin... Keewatin Community College, or course, attends to northern Manitoba had has its own regional centres... <sup>275</sup>

While the community college sector is outside of the scope of the present work, it represents an important structural change to the post-secondary system in each province that came about as a result of changes in the post-war era. Perhaps most important to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> Harris, A History of Higher Education, 603.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, 492.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 492.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Alexander D. Gregor, "Higher Education in Manitoba." *Higher Education in Manitoba: Different Systems, Different Perspectives, Glen A. Jones, ed., New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.,* 1997, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 126 – 127.

present work, the advent of community colleges represented the growth of government influence in post-secondary education, suggesting that institutional autonomy continued to be an important issue in the system.

# 3.3.2.6 Summary of Critical Junctures

University autonomy in Canada has been defined in practical terms at two critical historical junctures. First, the situation in Ontario in the early 1900s led to the creation of a bicameral governance system that provided a measure of independence from government. Second, since the end of the Second World War, university autonomy has been affected by the dramatic and sustained increase in student numbers. <sup>276</sup> With that enrolment increase, societal expectations have changed, government funding has increased, the number of universities have increased, university stakeholders formed organizations and community colleges have been created.

The significant changes that took place in the 1950s and 1960s are cogently summed up by Harris in his conclusion to A History of Higher Education in Canada 1663 *- 1960:* 

> By 1960, Canadian higher education was a well-organized system with all the facilities needed to fulfil its national, regional, provincial and community roles, a statement that could not have been made 10 years earlier. During the 1960s it faced a series of crises: dramatic increases of enrolment; the need to expand into new areas of instruction and research; a radical change in the mood of professors and students with respect not only to the details of courses of study and the relative importance of instruction and research but also the whole question of how universities should be governed internally; the creation of literally dozens of non-degree-granting institutions resulting in the establishment at the post-secondary level of an alternative system to that represented by the universities [i.e. community colleges]; and the consequences of the decision of the provincial governments to assume financial responsibility for all forms of post-secondary education.<sup>277</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Savage, "Higher Education Organizations," 33. <sup>277</sup> Harris, *A History of Higher Education*, 603.

The Flavelle Report in Ontario, enrolment increases, increased government funding, changes in the roles of stakeholder organizations, and the expansion of postsecondary education systems have changed the relationship of universities with governments. The next section of the chapter will discuss this new relationship in the context of university autonomy.

# 3.3.3 The Appropriate Role of Government in Universities' Affairs

Throughout the post-war era, institutions and governments were adapting to these structural changes, including undertaking a re-examination of university autonomy. By the 1960s and 1970s, scholars, public and private commissions, and governments were all examining what university autonomy meant in terms of the appropriate levels of independence for universities where governments were investing heavily and where the public was showing more interest and involvement. Universities were becoming more fully public than in the past. As Bozeman writes, "publicness refers to the degree to which the organization is affected by political authority... whatever the legal status or institutional context of an organization, publicness leaves an indelible stamp on it and affects its behaviour in important ways."278

In reaction to the addition of eight funded public universities in Ontario from 1959 to 1968, <sup>279</sup> then minister responsible for universities, Honourable William G. Davis, later Premier of Ontario, described the three key areas of autonomy [formulating academic policies, fixing standards of admissions and graduation, appointing staff] as

88

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> Barry Bozeman, All Organizations are Public, (San Francisco, London: Jossey-Boss Publishers, 1987), xi, emphasis in original.

279 Hare, *University Freedom*, 5.

'traditions' that must, if they are to be maintained, continue to serve the public good. <sup>280</sup> He said:

Society, which to a large extent has created our universities and which supports them, must in turn be adequately served by them. Therefore, it is only if academic freedom and university autonomy are consistent with the premise that society is better served because of them that they deserve, in my opinion, to be preserved.<sup>281</sup>

Despite going on to say that society is well served by university autonomy, <sup>282</sup> his statement quoted above would suggest that there existed some hesitation on the part of government as the primary funding agent to let the universities have complete or absolute autonomy.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the debate over the relative authority of government and universities in higher education was ultimately resolved through a delicate, yet workable solution.

Governments which paid for the expansion of institutions and programs generally appeared to accept the view, held by universities, that peer and professional control coupled with the control exercised by boards of governors provided a sufficient framework of indirect control. The governments took the view that government control should be limited to prior approval of university budgets in the aggregate (either for individual institutions or, where an intermediary body had been established, for the university sector as a whole) to occasional short-term earmarking of funds for new programs and to auditing of the financial statements prepared by universities. <sup>283</sup>

The 1966 report by Duff and Berdahl, *University Government in Canada*, cautioned that university autonomy "... must not be stretched so far as to rule out the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Davis, "Ontario and the Universities," 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> James Cutt and Rodney Dobell, "Accountability and Autonomy in Canada's University Sector: Business as Usual or the Lull Before the Storm?" *Public Purse, Public Purpose: Autonomy and Accountability in the Groves of Academe*, James Cutt and Rodney Dobell, eds, Halifax: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1992, 12.

government's need to ensure a policy of coordination among universities."<sup>284</sup> Indeed,

Duff and Berdahl believe a government has the right to be involved in university affairs.

The report continues: "provincial governments charged with pursuing the public interest and asked to supply increasing proportions of university income, will legitimately want to be consulted on the development of higher education in their jurisdictions."<sup>285</sup> Berdahl continues to hold this perspective.<sup>286</sup>

Early in the tenure of the Universities Grants Commission in Manitoba, it was clear that that body was going to exercise its authority with respect to managing the expenditure function. In his *President's Report 1970-71*, President Sirluck reported on the 'pension crisis' of October 1970. The University of Manitoba revised the faculty pension arrangements after a number of years of dissatisfaction with the faculty pension plan. Coincidentally, at the same time the Universities Grants Commission was studying pension arrangements in the post-secondary system, and upon learning about the University of Manitoba's plan to revise the pension, "it asked that [the plan] not be proceeded with until the Commission was able to study and comment on it." Knowing that the university community felt the situation was urgent, and that the University had the legal authority to act in this matter, the pension plan was implemented.

Reaction in the UGC and government was swift and stern, although knowledge of what was contemplated did not reach the University until October, when the Chairman of the UGC indicated that the Plan was not acceptable to the [University Grants] Commission and that it would not be accepted by the Government.<sup>289</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Sir James Duff and Robert O. Berdahl, *University Government in Canada: Report of a Commission Sponsored by the Canadian Association of University Teachers and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada*, Toronto (University of Toronto Press, 1966), 72.
<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 72,73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Berdahl, "Universities and Society," 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> University of Manitoba, *President's Report 1970-71* (Winnipeg: Author, 1972), 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

The University received unspecified threats regarding funding, and President Sirluck worked with the University's pension committee and the UGC to negotiate an acceptable pension arrangement, an process that was to prove successful. The new pension plan was implemented in 1971, "the UGC having assured the University that the Plan was now acceptable to it and to the Government."

The 1970 pension crisis at the University is worthy of note for a number of reasons. First, it is clearly an issue that is between the faculty and the university, and it is clearly an issue of university autonomy. This is plain through the admission of President Sirluck that the University "ascertained that it was acting within its statutory authority." However, the University also noted that the University receives its funds through the UGC, and it is through these funds that the University meets its pension contribution obligations, thus there was a role for government in the process. This understanding is reflected in the Universities Grants Commission's own annual reports for the 1969/70, 1970/71 and 1971/72 fiscal years which focused on the financial aspects of the pension issue. Thus, the UGC perceived the pension issue as a legitimate area for intervention in its role as the funding agency and shepherd of public resources dedicated to higher education.

At a 1987 conference about government intervention in higher education, the President of York University Harry W. Arthurs defined 'government intervention' as "attempts by the democratic state to persuade universities to adopt a course of conduct

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> Universities Grants Commission, *Annual Report*, 1969/70, 1970/71, 1971/72, (Winnipeg: Author, various years), various pages.

which is, or seems to be, consistent with their historic mission of research and teaching."<sup>293</sup> Arthurs said:

[i]t is conventionally argued that governmental action is 'legitimate' if it is understood to conform to the fundamental norms of a society. Sometimes those norms are procedural, sometimes substantive; but the perception that fundamental norms have been respected is thought to be what induces people to acquiesce willingly in official action which they might not otherwise support.<sup>294</sup>

In 2005, Daniels and Trebilcock presented three justifications for government intervention in university affairs:

First, the positive externalities associated with post-secondary education, emanating from the civic virtue and citizenship values that are nurtured in students, ground a case for public subsidization. So, too, do the positive externalities associated with various types of research activities. Second, there may be a weak paternalism role for government insofar as students may suffer from informational deficiencies when determining which program of study to pursue at which institution. Third, given the human-capital market limitations that constrain private capital available to students, there is a strong case for government intervention based on equality of opportunity.<sup>295</sup>

In a very real sense, Daniels and Trebilcock suggest, government is interested in monitoring and steering higher education because of the role that it plays in society – improving civic mindedness, employability, earnings and equity. Accordingly, governments become interesting in program expansion, facilities development and capital construction at universities, program and institutional quality, and funding issues. <sup>296</sup> In involving itself in these matters, government inevitably involves itself in managing and regulating higher education issues that lie at the heart of the academy. This will inevitably raise controversy and conflict.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> Harry W. Arthurs, "Keynote Address: The Question of Legitimacy," Governments and Higher Education – the Legitimacy of Intervention, Toronto (The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1987), 8,9.
 <sup>294</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> Ronald J. Daniels and Michael J. Trebilcock, "Towards a New Compact in University Education in Ontario," *Taking Public Universities Seriously, eds. Frank Iacobucci and Carolyn Tuohy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 89-90.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*. 92-96, *passim*.

To summarize Arthurs, Daniels and Trebilcock, these scholars suggest that government may seek to exert its influence and provide policy direction in an area where it would expect a university to act in the best interests of the citizenry in accordance with established and accepted norms of society. Arthurs further argued that "government intervention is inevitable once we accept the basic premise of government funding,"297 something that governments have been arguing for years, and a perspective that appears to be reflected in the actions of the UGC in 1970.

The reports by Duff-Berdahl and Hurtubise-Rowat, and statements such as those made by Arthurs, Daniels and Trebilcock create a framework for understanding the relations between universities and governments that remains relevant. <sup>298</sup> For instance, the 1993 Manitoba University Education Review (Roblin) Commission wrote that "institutional autonomy does not mean a university or a college is an off-shore island. The society which provides most of the money has something to say about what goes on at our... universities..."<sup>299</sup>

The literature reveals a major theme regarding the relationship between government and universities in the post-war era. This theme, consistent with Arthurs' statement, is that universities have duties and obligations to the societies that they serve, 300 and similarly, "... it is the responsibility of the government to provide the necessary policies for the achievement of society's goals in so far as they affect higher education."301 In short, the argument in favour of government involvement suggests that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> Arthurs, "Keynote Address," 14.
<sup>298</sup> See *The Council on Post-Secondary Education Act*, Section 3(2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Education Review Commission, *Doing Things Differently*, 8.

Alphonse-Marie Parent, "Patterns of Collaboration," Governments and the University, Toronto (York University, 1966), 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> Hurtubise and Rowat, *University, Society and Government*, 107.

as university systems grew in the 1960s and 1970s, they became part of the social and economic fabric – to use Bozeman's terminology, their degree of publicness increased – and thus universities must at least in part be directed to the proper ends of the society they serve. Thus, government has a right to become involved insofar as it is required to direct the universities to those proper ends. As will be seen later in the dissertation, this perspective is consistent with the perspective held by the Filmon government in the 1990s.

Perceived as part of the economic and social fabric of society, "universities have moved into the public domain." Hurtubise and Rowat states that "it is the responsibility of the government to provide the necessary policies for the achievement of society's goals insofar as they affect higher education." They go on to cite examples of priorities such as providing opportunities for all to attend higher education, and planning to meet labour market requirements. In short, "the public interest requires that… universities… enjoy important freedoms and bear significant public responsibilities."

The experience related to university autonomy in the first 80 years of the 20<sup>th</sup>

Century would lead one to believe that government does indeed have a role in setting policies and providing directions for universities outside the three key areas of autonomy. Is it permissible for a government to intervene in the three key areas of university autonomy – admissions, hiring of staff, and the setting of academic standards? Has this

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Paul E. Lingenfelter, "The State and Higher Education: An Essential Partnership," New Directions for Higher Education 127, (Fall, 2004), 51.

happened in the past? A review of the experience with university legislation suggests that the Government of Manitoba has intervened in these three areas.

In its post-secondary legislative framework, the Government of Manitoba set clear boundaries for itself in terms of interference in the setting of academic standards, admissions, and hiring practices at universities. However, there is evidence to suggest that these boundaries have been crossed from time-to-time. Perhaps the significant questions are whether or not the universities were consulted and agreed, and whether or not the nature of the intervention was minor or major.

The *Universities Establishment Act*<sup>307</sup>, which applied to the University of Winnipeg and Brandon University, Sections 14 and 15 said:

## Restriction on compulsory religious examinations

A university established under this Act shall not impose on any person any compulsory religious examination or test, or cause or suffer to be done anything that would render it necessary or advisable, with a view to academical [sic] success or distinction, that any person should pursue the study of any materialistic or sceptical [sic] system of logic or mental or moral philosophy.

#### Examinations either in English or French

The examination for any degree to be conferred by a university established under this Act may be answered by the candidate in either the English or French language.

These examples clearly show that the Government of Manitoba has intervened in the right of a university to formulate academic standards. For example Section 14 prohibited a university from forcing religious tests on students, or forcing a student into a particular path of study. Further, Section 15 advised the university that it could not require an examination to be taken in only one of Canada's official languages.

Additionally, the *University of Manitoba Act*, Section 64 included identical wording to the *Universities Establishment* Act relating to official languages. Further, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Repealed in 1998 in favour of individual acts for the University of Winnipeg and Brandon University.

University of Manitoba Act contained a similar provision as Section 14 of the Universities Establishment Act that limited the University of Manitoba's ability to set academic standards, as well as limiting practices relating to the hiring of staff. Section 62(1) of the University of Manitoba Act states that:

Discriminatory practices restricted

62(1) Subject to section 60, no test or qualification based on race, ethnic or national origin, colour, religion, or political beliefs shall be required of any officer, member of the academic staff, employee, or student of the university or any affiliated or associated college, nor shall religious observances of any kind be imposed on any of them. 308

Based on the Manitoba legislation, one notes that government had intervened even in what the literature indicates are key areas of university autonomy (i.e. academic policies and standards; standards of admission and graduation; appointment of staff). In taking these actions, governments has exercised its responsibility to ensure certain standards and norms of society are upheld, such as ensuring fairness and equity in hiring practices, or ensuring that national policy objectives such as official bilingualism are implemented throughout society. Discussing similar matters, Arthurs suggests that "in none of these instances would [universities] argue that it is 'illegitimate' for government to disregard [universities'] autonomy…"<sup>309</sup>

Thus, it appears that there are legitimate reasons for governments to intrude into even the most cherished areas of university autonomy. However, while the issue of human rights may be considered one of Arthurs' "fundamental norms of society," that does not engender debate about autonomy, it must be noted that every time a government moves towards enforcing a 'new' priority or norm of society, controversy may arise. 311

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> This section has been repealed as it is covered in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

<sup>309</sup> Arthurs, "Keynote Address," 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

Consider, for example, the controversy regarding the insertion of mandatory retirement provisions in universities' legislation in the 1990s in Manitoba. See the discussion below in section 3.4.3.

Indeed, concerns raised about government intervention in a particular area of autonomy may be nothing more than a thinly veiled discussion about the appropriateness of the particular policy in question.<sup>312</sup>

To this point, this chapter has discussed the history of university autonomy, and in particular from the perspective of two key points in the history of autonomy in Canada. After the Flavelle report of 1906, the governance of universities shifted from state/church control to board governance, creating greater autonomy. This move created universities as organizations that are separate from government, with essentially private agendas. At the next critical juncture, the post-war period, the growth of enrolment, public funding and the attachment of public purpose to universities created greater government interest in universities and draw them more into the public sphere.

# 3.4 University Autonomy as a Neo-Institutional Construct

Historical analysis helps to support an understanding of university autonomy as an institution. The following section examines university autonomy in the light of the criteria established for neo-institutionalism in the previous chapter setting forth the theoretical framework to make the link between autonomy and neo-institutionalism explicit. In Chapter 2, five criteria were derived from the literature on historical neo-institutionalism. Two of the criteria were outlined earlier in Chapter 3 – university autonomy is based on past action. Additionally, Chapter 3 also identified critical junctures throughout the history of university autonomy, representing points of change for the institution. The other three criteria are explored in detail below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> Arthurs, "Keynote Address," 12.

#### 3.4.1 Unwritten as well as Written Rules

Legislation such as *The Universities Grants Commission Act* represents a written or codified aspect of university autonomy as an institution. Indeed, Section 3 of *The Council on Post-Secondary Education Act*, which came into force in 1997, contains similar provisions as did the *Universities Grants Commission Act* related to academic policies, enrolment of students and the appointment of staff quoted earlier in this chapter, maintaining the codified nature of university autonomy in Manitoba. These legislative provisions provide written rules which constrain government's behaviour.

However, there is some evidence that suggests that university autonomy has been interpreted as going beyond the three key areas identified above. Dr. William Sibley, who served as the Executive Director of the Commission on the Future Development of the Universities of Ontario (the Bovey Commission), stated in a deposition for a *Charter* challenge of mandatory retirement that

[t]he university is characterized by a high degree of autonomy from the state. Although in Ontario the province may provide operating and capital funding, it takes no part in determining the standards of admission, the nature of the curriculum, the qualifications of instructors, the hiring and termination of personnel, the requirements for graduation or the prosecution of basic research. All of these important decisions are made by the university itself, either alone or in concert with other universities or professional bodies.

So too, is the internal governance of the university characterized by an emphasis on autonomy. The university operates to a very considerable extent on the basis of collegiality. 313

Dr. Sibley's comments reflect perspectives on university autonomy that are not represented in legislation. That is, in addition to Hurtubise and Rowat's three key areas (control over admissions, academic staff and instructional programs), Dr. Sibley observes that "the prosecution of basic research", and the collegial nature of universities'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> <u>Re: McKinney and Board of Governors of the University of Guelph</u>, (1986), 32 D.L.R. (4<sup>th</sup>) 65 at 78 (Ont H.C.).

operations are also important elements of university autonomy. Thus, there are both written and unwritten aspects of university autonomy.

There is some evidence to suggest that government has considered university autonomy in its decisions. For instance, in its brief to the Roblin Commission, the University of Manitoba reported a general satisfaction with the level of commitment to university autonomy on the part of the government. The brief stated "... government has respected university autonomy."<sup>314</sup>

Perhaps more convincing are statements from the government itself. In response to a question on tuition fees in the Manitoba Legislature on May 4, 1994, Minister of Finance Eric Stefanson, stated:

It is interesting, the views of the Liberal Party, Mr. Speaker. On the one hand, in a question earlier today, the Leader of the Liberal Party is expressing concern about government direct involvement in an independent Crown agency; on the other hand, a question two minutes later, we now get a member wanting us to directly intervene with an independent [university] board. I wish they could become consistent in terms of what they view a government's role as being, or what they view the roles of independent board [sic] and Crown corporations being. 315

Such a statement reveals that government believed universities to be independent from government. Other statements by senior ministers<sup>316</sup> further suggest that government respected autonomy. Such statements will be examined in detail later in the dissertation.

## 3.4.2 Parallel Cognitive Constructs

Discussed in greater detail in the theoretical framework, Douglas argues that in order to be an institution, a convention must be grounded in something 'real.' Academic work and practical experience have shown that university autonomy is grounded in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> University of Manitoba, *University Education Review Commission: an Executive Brief from the University of Manitoba* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1993), 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> Government of Manitoba, *Hansard* 43, no. 20 (May 4, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> Government of Manitoba, *Hansard* 43, no. 33A (May 25, 1994) and 43, no. 17 (April 29, 1994).

need for a university to be independent in order to fulfill its functions in terms of fuller exploration of society.<sup>317</sup>

Indeed, Southern grounds the 'convention' of university autonomy in the fundamental role of the university. His somewhat lengthy observation warrants full exposition here:

The argument is that universities should be shielded from bureaucratic control and political interference because of what they do. The main activities of universities are teaching, research and public interest. The argument that those who perform these activities should be shielded from bureaucratic control rests on the fact that these activities can only be done by professional academics who have mastered a complex body of knowledge through extensive formal training and apprenticeship. The complexity of the work and the high degree of specialization means that their work can be neither directly supervised nor effectively regulated by conventional hierarchical controls; instead, control comes from professional norms and peer controls. Attempts to apply conventional hierarchical administrative techniques dysfunctional in that they tend to drive out competent professionals causing those who remain to become discouraged or to take collective action to vent their frustration.

The argument that those who perform the activities should be shielded from political interference rests on the fact that the activities of universities involve ideas and, to quote Sibley, "... the university, at its best, seeks to hold in balance two equally important forces, on which all progress depends: orthodoxy and dissent. It cannot succeed in this task except in the presence of a reasonable, though far from absolute, autonomy."<sup>318</sup>

More recently, George Fallis noted when writing for Ontario's Post-secondary Review: Higher Expectations for Higher Education (the Rae Commission) that

Institutional autonomy is required for the mission of the university. Autonomy is required for free inquiry – the raison d'etre of the modern university. It is integral to all the responsibilities of the university. Free inquiry is the essence of the tradition of liberal education. The theory of knowledge inherent in the research mission of the university assumes free inquiry: knowledge is best advanced when it is subjected to tests based in free inquiry. Free inquiry encourages a diversity of opinions and allows the university to fulfill its responsibility for preparing future citizens. Free inquiry values knowledge for its own sake, escaping the distortions which can arise when there is concern with how the

Southern, "Politics and Its Limitations," 43-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> Independent Study Group on University Governance, *Governance and Accountability* (Ottawa: Canadian Association of University Teachers, 1993), 61.

knowledge will be applied, or who paid for the inquiry, or what the government wants to hear.<sup>319</sup>

The parallel cognitive construct that supports university autonomy relates to the ability of highly educated specialists to pursue inquiry without consideration of the priorities and/or desires of others who might seek to influence the direction of that inquiry. Scholars argue that the value of autonomy is the ability to pursue truth and understanding.

There is evidence to suggest that this perspective holds currency in the Province of Manitoba. In its brief to the Roblin Commission, the University of Manitoba recommended "the continuation of a commission (analogous to the [Universities Grants Commission]) to provide apolitical, objective assessments on an on-going basis of the status of the post-secondary sector…"<sup>320</sup>. The brief goes on to say

In a liberal democracy there is an inherent social good in having centres separate from the state, whose essential purpose is to search for and apply objective knowledge without regard to considerations of political or religious dogma, transient fashion or private interests. Some will be displeased or offended by the university's role as social critic, by its challenges to current concepts, beliefs, values or behaviour; but where institutions that serve this purpose are absent, authoritarianism and repression prevail. 321

While perhaps overdramatic, the University of Manitoba cogently sums up the rationale, commonly accepted, that universities should be autonomous. The case is thus made that independence is the only way that a university as it is known today can function.

To this point in the discussion, it has been learned that university autonomy effectively presents a set of rules that govern the relations between universities and

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> George Fallis, *The Mission of the University* (Toronto: Post-secondary Review: Higher Expectations for Higher Education, 2004), 33.

University of Manitoba, *Executive Brief*, 37, emphasis in original.

governments. Further, those rules are based in a cognitive notion about the requirement for independence so that a university can effectively perform its functions.

## 3.4.3 Institutions Influence, Shape, Constrain and Enable Behaviour

In order to be a neo-institutional construct, university autonomy must also influence behaviour. This section looks to examine the role of university autonomy in shaping and constraining the behaviour of government with respect to institutions of higher education. This section seeks to demonstrate, by way of example, that university autonomy constrains government's behaviour.

In the context of the fiscal situation in the 1990s, government began looking at older faculty members and the fact that they were continuing on past retirement age to the point where pension rules required employers to pay out a full pension. Government noted that such faculty members were also collecting a full salary as well, a situation referred to as 'double dipping,' meaning that a university was supporting instructional staff at the highest increments of pay, and losing an opportunity to hire more junior – and cheaper – faculty and redirect excess salary dollars towards other priorities, relieving pressure on the operating grant to fund those other priorities.

Government looked to what actions it could undertake. However, options were limited through Section 3 of *The Universities Grants Commission Act*, quoted above, which prohibited government from interfering in staffing issues. Government did act, however, and the manner in which government addressed the issue is reflective of the limitations imposed by university autonomy.

Government took steps to amend *The University of Manitoba Act* to address the issue of mandatory retirement. Subsection 61.1(2) was added to that *Act*, stating:

Mandatory retirement under a collective agreement

61.1(2) The university and a union or bargaining agent representing the academic, managerial or professional staff of the university may enter into a collective agreement that imposes or has the effect of imposing a mandatory retirement age of 65 years or over on that staff.

The University of Manitoba provided an explanation to faculty on its website

during a set of contract negotiations:

A 1996 amendment to *The University of Manitoba Act* permits the negotiation of a mandatory retirement age of 65 or greater in collective agreements between the unions representing academic staff and the University. It should be noted that the wording of the amendment is permissive only; if agreement is not reached in bargaining, mandatory retirement cannot be imposed on unionized staff. <sup>322</sup>

This permissive amendment, and similar clauses in *The University of Winnipeg*Act and Brandon University Act reflect a desire of government to stay out of difficult staffing issues at the universities in Manitoba while creating an environment that would facilitate the realization of its policy preference of mandatory retirement. <sup>323</sup>

Mandatory retirement demonstrates the effect of university autonomy on government decision-making. Government changed legislation, but only in such a way as to be permissive, and not directive. University autonomy applied in this manner, government forced the university to confront a highly sensitive issue by acting in a particular way: government's range of action was constrained.

Michael W. McAdam, *Mandatory Retirement Briefing Notes*, the University of Manitoba, <a href="http://www.umanitoba.ca/admin/human">http://www.umanitoba.ca/admin/human</a> resources/retirement.shtml, accessed 09 November 1998.

<sup>323</sup> It is interesting to note that a 1995 faculty strike that lasted 17 days was in part based on the negotiations surrounding mandatory retirement which were enabled by the amendment. It is also interesting to note the nearly a decade later when the University of Winnipeg negotiated a provision related to mandatory retirement, there was no job action and the collective agreement passed with more than 90% approval of the faculty.

#### 3.5 Chapter Summary

# 3.5.1 Literature Review in Brief

The above discussion suggests strongly that university autonomy is a neo-institutional construct. University autonomy is a set of written and unwritten rules that help to define the relationship between a government and a university. University autonomy is rooted in the belief that "...to be strong a university must be free." While government must continue to pursue the greater ends of society, it will feel pressure to respect the changing parameters of the concept of university autonomy. Thus, governments are constrained by the requirement to ensure that universities remain free, perhaps if only because to do otherwise may be politically risky.

This chapter began with the development of a definition of university autonomy. That definition was framed from the perspective of the university, suggesting that the university can make decisions without interference from government in the three key areas of admissions, academic policies, and staffing. The subsequent historical and contemporary analysis revealed that university autonomy is an evolving and complicated notion which includes the structural features of governance as well as informal norms of behaviours. The expansion of the notion over time reflects the changing context and the interplay between ideas, institutions and interests.

However, university autonomy was not to be interpreted in absolute terms.

Arthurs, Davis, Hurtubise and Rowat, among others, have noted that the state has the right and obligation to intervene on behalf of the public where that intervention helps to achieve objectives important to society and in line with social norms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> Hurtubise and Rowat, *University, Society and Government*, 77.

### 3.5.2 Significance for the Dissertation

This neo-institutional treatment allows university autonomy to be conceptualized as a constraining force for governments by limiting their range of options, but also enabling for governments through allowing them to practice "non-decision-making". This establishes the theoretical base for an argument suggesting that university autonomy sets parameters for how policies towards universities are designed and implemented; concerns for and respect of university autonomy limit the policy options that are available to government in the area of higher education. As such, it acts as a constraint to government as it develops and implements higher education public policy. University autonomy is composed of a series of codified and uncodified precepts to which government attends, thereby helping to define and limit the avenues open to government when considering higher education policy options. These themes will be explored in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

University autonomy can be understood as an institution that serves to limit government action in a number of areas, including internal governance, academic policies such as programming and research, human resource policy (i.e. beyond mere staffing). However, as clearly shown by its development since the end of the Second World War, university autonomy does not confer absolute independence. Governments can and do involve themselves in a university's affairs.

#### 3.5.3 The Next Chapter

To this point, the paper has outlined an argument pertaining to the theory that university autonomy is a neo-institutional construct, and, as such, it creates a theoretical basis to understand how university autonomy constrains and/or enables government as it

develops higher education policy. The following chapter outlines methodological considerations used in pursing an understanding of how university autonomy has both hindered and been employed by government in the development of tuition fee policy in Manitoba using the specific case of the 5% tuition fee cap.

#### **CHAPTER 4**

#### **METHODOLOGY**

## 4.1 Chapter Purpose

The purpose of Chapter 4 is to outline the methodological approach used in the dissertation. The author's interest in the dissertation grew out of his involvement with post-secondary policy since 1994, and his direct involvement in the administration of the post-secondary system in Manitoba since 1996. The author is currently Senior Policy Analyst with the Council on Post-Secondary Education, the arm's-length agency responsible for coordinating post-secondary education in the province. The responsibilities of the Senior Policy Analyst include developing and managing policies that are related to accessibility and affordability, as well as issues relating to legislation and governance. Thus, both tuition fee policy and issues of university autonomy fit squarely within the author's job description.

Additionally, interest in the topic arose as a result of the fact that the author served as a political advisor in Executive Council (Policy Management Secretariat) with responsibilities that included the post-secondary education portfolio during the time period at the end of the 5% tuition fee policy. These experiences and the implications for the present research are discussed more extensively later in the Chapter. The remainder of this chapter outlines the research design in detail, beginning with a broad overview of the methodological approach.

# 4.2 Research Design

The dissertation is a qualitative case study of tuition fee policy in Manitoba. The use of tuition fee policy is helpful in that the legislative authority for setting tuition was clearly given to universities and is related to budgeting. Nevertheless, and knowing the political value of controlling tuition, governments have often intervened in this policy area, raising the issue of university autonomy. Tuition is therefore a useful policy example to help define the relationship between autonomy and public policy.

The research design gains direction and insight from historical neoinstitutionalism. The research therefore asks questions from a real-world perspective, "perhaps posing a puzzle about why something important happened, or did not happen, or asking why certain structures or patterns take shape in some times and places but not in others."325 Indeed, researchers in the historical neo institutional tradition tend to look to patterns, events or arrangements rather than looking to individual behaviour, or modeling general processes that are presumed to apply in all conditions. <sup>326</sup> Given the focus on real events favoured by these researchers, case study is particularly useful to the historical neo-institutionalist.<sup>327</sup>

Historical neo-institutionalists tend to approach research from a historical perspective, dividing an institution's history into periods and assessing why an outcome occurred at a certain point in time. 328 Researchers in this genre "take history seriously... to understand an interesting outcome or set of arrangements usually means to analyze

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> Pierson and Skocpol, "Contemporary Political Science," 696.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, 696 – 697.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, 714 – 715, *passim.*328 Lecours, "Issues and Questions," 14 – 15.

processes over a substantial stretch of years."<sup>329</sup> This historical analysis is key to understanding the role of institutions in political processes. Pierson and Skocpol argue that "once established, patterns of political mobilization, the institutional rules of the game, and even citizens' basic ways of thinking about the political world will often generate self-reinforcing dynamics... [helping to] understand the powerful inertial 'stickiness' that characterizes many aspects of political development."<sup>330</sup> Identifying the history or paths an institution has followed provides a powerful analytic tool for understanding why things are as they are.

Historical neo-institutionalism also provides theoretical perspectives which lead to methodological approaches to examine how separate macro processes interrelate through examining timing and sequencing. Through examining conjunctions of separate sequences of events, it is possible to understand how those events relate to one another.<sup>331</sup>

This view of history as process<sup>332</sup> that characterizes historical neo-institutionalism has implications for research strategies:

Evan Lieberman has usefully distinguished between four such strategies: With the institutional origins strategy scholars compare periods before and after the creation of an institution. With the institutional change strategy the focus is on the moments that correspond to substantial and discrete changes in the institutions. The exogenous shock strategy involves comparing periods before and after the occurrence of a major international event. The rival cause strategy examines continuity in the context of non-institutional change. 333

As noted above, the proposed dissertation examines the impact of an institution on higher education public policy, rather than examining the institution itself. This approach calls for a modification of strategies typically employed by historical neo-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup> Pierson and Skocpol, "Contemporary Political Science," 698.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, 700.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, 703.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, 705.

<sup>333</sup> Lecours, "Issues and Questions," 15.

institutionalists as outlined by Lieberman. The strategy used in the dissertation and appearing in the Literature Review examines key historical events in the 'life' of university autonomy in Canada and implications of those events not so much on the institution of university autonomy, but on the relationship of the institution to government. Thus, change in the institution itself is not considered material to the study; rather, it is the impact of the institution on policy that is the focus of the research.

In the study of Canadian politics, the historical variant of neo-institutionalism is dominant. 334 and it has been used elsewhere in the study of both educational activity and public policy, and is commonly used in political scholarship in qualitative analysis.<sup>335</sup>

Examples of historical neo-institutionalism in Canadian scholarship include John S. Levin's study<sup>336</sup> of the growth of the community college baccalaureate degree. Levin relies on neo-institutional theory in part to explain changes in the community college that supports the implementation of degree programming in an educational organization that traditionally operates below the baccalaureate level. Levin's approach is similar to that proposed for the present study in that he examines the tensions within the existing culture of the community college in the light of external forces buffeting colleges towards a new course (i.e. globalization).

Levin's study is also different from the proposed dissertation in that he examines changes in the institutions of the community college, which he does not define in great depth. However, Levin's investigation of the impact of external forces as well as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

Junko Kato, "Institutions and Rationality in Politics, 553.

John S. Levin, "The Community College and a Baccalaureate-Granting Institution," The Review of Higher Education 28, no. 1 (Fall 2004), 2-3.

importance of the internal characteristics of the institution itself on the community college is a useful precedent for the proposed dissertation.

Éric Montpetit's examination of Canada's political system "Westminster Parliamentarism, Policy Networks, and the Behaviour of Political Actors" uses an historical neo-institutional approach in the study of public policy in Canada.<sup>337</sup> Montpetit argues that "assessing the precise impact of institutions on policy choices... remains a difficult task."338 Montpetit's article goes on to examine the various different institutions in Canadian federalism and describes how these institutions guide and structure the processes used by and the choices of policy makers and others when developing policy. This study and that of Levin provide useful precedents for a neo-institutional study of public policy, and help to make clear the fact that historical neo-institutionalism is a reasonable conceptual approach to take in the dissertation.

## 4.2.1 Rationale for a Case Study Approach

The dissertation is a case study of the 5% tuition fee policy that was in place in Manitoba for the three years from 1993/94 to 1995/96. 339 This policy ensured that Manitoba universities could not increase tuition by any more than 5% above the previous year's tuition levels. The reasons for using a case study approach, and this particular case, are three-fold and are discussed below.

First, the fact that this dissertation examines a public policy places the study within the realm of political science. It is interesting to note that intensive case studies are so common within political science that, in Eckstein's words, "it is not much of an exaggeration to say that the case study literature in the field comes close to being

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> Montpetit, "Westminster Parliamentarism," 225. <sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> Government of Manitoba, *Hansard* 43, no. 10 (April 20,1994).

coterminous with its literature as such." This presents at least a prima facia justification for the use of a case study approach in that, with a study falling within political science, it is a natural and an expected approach to take.

Second, the author is interested in the factors that were important in developing this particular policy. As identified in the Introduction to the dissertation, the 5% tuition fee cap was the only tuition fee policy introduced and enforced in the 1990s that differed from the general practice, outlined in legislation, allowing institutions to set the fees. That is to say, there were not enough clearly articulated tuition fee policies in the 1990s to allow for a quantitative study of the subject. This is not to say that the selected approach is "a second best strategy to be followed when circumstances do not allow for the use of quantitative methods."341 Bennett and Elman continue: "Even when there are enough observations to allow statistical analysis, conducting in-depth case studies can still offer separate inferential advantages."<sup>342</sup>

The use of a case study is valid, Bennett and Elman argue, if it meets four criteria. The first criterion relates to the boundaries of the case, and in particular takes the perspective that a case study is more convincing if the examination runs from a reasonably argued beginning of the 'story' to a logical end. 343 In the case examined in this dissertation, this criterion is met given that the 'story' begins when the tuition fee policy is established and ends when the policy is terminated.

<sup>340</sup> Harry Eckstein, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," Handbook of Political Science, vol. 7

Andres Bennett and Colin Elman. "Qualitative Research: Recent Developments in Case Study Methods," Annual Review of Political Science 9 (2006), 458. <sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, 458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, 459.

In terms of the second criterion, Bennett and Elman suggest that cases that have fewer, and preferably no, breaks in the 'storyline' are stronger than those that have breaks. That is to say, the case study is stronger if there is "insistence on providing [a] continuous and theoretically based historical explanation of a case, in which each significant step toward the outcome is explained by reference to a theory..."344 The present study explains the development of tuition fee policy with reference to the theoretical tenets of historical neo-institutionalism. In this way, the study has a strong theoretical base.

Bennett and Elman's third criterion related to case study is that each stage of the study "should suggest evidence that should be found if the account is true." <sup>345</sup> In relation to the case study, if it is true that, for instance, government's perspective on tuition fees was primarily related to financial and fiscal factors, statements made by members of the government should suggest that is the case. Such evidence is presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

A fourth and final criterion established by Bennett and Elman is that "confidence in the suggested explanation will be increased if [analysis] finds evidence of observable implications that are inconsistent with alternative explanations." That is to say, in addition to demonstrating that the suggested explanation is true, the case study would be stronger if it also demonstrated that alternative explanations are false. The present case study inherently achieves this purpose by including as factors in the analysis those things that could be seen as alternative explanations. This will be particularly evident in Chapter 5, where an analysis of factors is undertaken which includes a fair assessment of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>344</sup> *Ibid., 459-460.* <sup>345</sup> *Ibid., 460.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*, 460.

plausible alternative explanations, and further examined in Chapter 6 where the factors will be assessed by interview participants.

Accordingly, the selection of this specific case has been purposive.<sup>347</sup> This case selection is what Denzin has termed "idiographic,"<sup>348</sup> and what other sociologists have termed an intrinsic case study.<sup>349</sup> The 'sample' has been selected by virtue of the selection of the specific topic of the study.<sup>350</sup> Furthermore, and in reference to Bennett and Elman, the adherence to a set of principles related to case study helps to ensure the rigor of the process.

Finally, while it is acknowledged that a case study may not allow for absolute generalizations, Stake argues that case studies nevertheless represent small steps toward generalization, and, as such, allows for the researcher to gain experiential knowledge.<sup>351</sup> Similarly, Eckstein argues that the case study can be used for the development, refinement and testing of theory.<sup>352</sup>

The use of case studies is well suited to the theoretical approach of historical neo-institutionalism. Indeed, it has been argued that "case studies are the foundation of historical neo institutionalism." Pierson and Skocpol note that the single case study allows the historical neo-institutional researcher to assess the mechanisms that connect cause and effect. They say

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> A. Michael Huberman and Matthew B. Miles, "Data Management and Analysis Methods," *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincon (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994), 441.

Norman K. Denzin, *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970), 238.

<sup>349</sup> Stake, "Case Studies," 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, 244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>352</sup> Eckstein, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," 79-132, passim

Montpetit, "Westminster Parliamentarism," 240; Pierson and Skocpol, "Contemporary Political Science," 714.

No matter what theories or research methods are employed, individual studies in isolation never do more than move the scholarly enterprise a step or two forward. Here is where historical institutionalists do quite well... because substantively compelling, problem-driven research facilitates exactly the sort of intellectual cumulation [sic] that allows a community of researchers to make progress over time. 35

So while the use of a single case in the dissertation presents limitations in terms of generalizability, it allows for a deeper examination of the topic at hand, leading perhaps to greater understanding of the phenomenon under study, allowing the researcher insight into meanings beyond the natural boundaries of the case. 355

### 4.2.2 Sampling Methodology

Interview participants were selected based on their contribution to the development of the tuition fee policy; a non-probability sampling technique was used to select the participants. Participants were selected because of the specific roles they played in the government of the day. Aberbach and Rockman argue that in elite interviewing, "respondents are selected on the basis of what they might know to help the investigator fill in pieces of a puzzle or confirm the proper alignment of pieces already in place."356

Among the participants are included those directly involved in the formation and implementation of the tuition policy: former ministers of education and training Hon. Ms. Rosemary Vodrey, Hon. Mr. Clayton Manness, and Hon. Mrs. Linda McIntosh. Mr. Don Leitch, former Clerk of the Executive Council and Secretary to Cabinet, Dr. John Carlyle, former Deputy Minister of Manitoba Education and Training, and Dr. Leo LeTourneau, former Executive Director of the Universities Grants Commission, were selected as interview participants based on their roles as senior civil servants at the time that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup> Pierson and Skopcol, "Contemporary Political Science," 715.

<sup>355</sup> Michel Wieviorka, "Case Studies: History or Sociology?" What is a Case: Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry, Charles C. Ragin and Howard S. Becker, eds (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 160, passim; Eckstein, Case Study and Theory in Political Science, 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> Joel D. Aberbach and Bert A. Rockman, "Conducting and Coding Elite Interviews," PS: Political Science and Politics 35, No. 4 (December 2002), 673.

tuition fee cap was implemented. Hon. Dr. Jean Friesen was also interviewed to provide an informed perspective from outside of government during the 1990s, and former University of Manitoba president Dr. Arnold Naimark was interviewed to provide a university perspective.

## 4.2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The approach to data collection in this dissertation used mixed methods.

Specifically, these methods included elite interviews, content analysis, and the use of descriptive analysis. Additionally, while participant observation is not a research method used in the dissertation, the author has direct experience with the topic at hand, as outlined below. The use of mixed methods served as an effective triangulation strategy, discussed in more details, below.

#### 4.2.3.1 Elite Interviews

The dissertation used elite interviews as one method of collecting data. This section of Chapter 4 will define elite interviews, identify the uses to which elite interviews are typically put in research, methodology considerations, as well look at the strengths and weaknesses of the interview method.

**Definition:** A principle source on elite interviewing is Dexter, who defines elite interviews as interviews

with *any* interviewee – and stress should be placed on the word "any" – who in terms of the current purposes of the interviewer is given special, non-standardized treatment. By special, non-standardized treatment I mean

- 1. stressing the interviewee's definition of the situation,
- 2. encouraging the interviewee to structure the account of the situation,
- 3. letting the interviewee introduce to a considerable extent (an extent which will of course vary from project to project and interviewer to interviewer) his notions of what he regards as relevant, instead of relying upon the investigator's notions of relevance.

Put another way, in standardized interviewing – and in much seemingly non-standardized interviewing, too... the investigator defines the question and the problem; he is only looking for answers within the bounds set by his presuppositions. In elite interviewing, as here defined, however, the investigator is willing, and often eager to let the interviewee teach him what the problem, the question, the situation, is...

In the standardized interview, the typical survey, a deviation is ordinarily handled statistically; but in an elite interview, an exception, a deviation, an unusual interpretation may suggest a revision, a reinterpretation, an extension, a new approach. In an elite interview it cannot be all assumed – as it is in the typical survey – that persons or categories of persons are equally important. In interviewing members of state legislatures... most of the members may give this or that answer; but it may well be that only a few members give the insightful answers because they are the ones who both know and can articulate how things are actually done. 357

The definition of elite interviewing is better understood in the context of its uses, considerations regarding analysis of interview data, and strengths and weaknesses.

Uses of Elite Interviewing: Tansey cogently summarizes the uses of elite interviews, arguing that there are four principle reasons why a researcher would use this interview approach.<sup>358</sup> These are explored below in turn.

1. "To corroborate what has been established from other sources:" Elite interviewing data, which Tansey argues is rarely used in isolation, can be used to verify the accuracy of data that has already been collected, thereby cross-checking in order to enhance the reliability and validity of the study, and establishing or strengthening a triangulation strategy. 359

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> Lewis Anthony Dexter, *Elite and Specialized Interviewing* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), 6-7.

- 2. "To establish what a set of people think:" Thus, elite interviewing can provide new data through providing new information, as well as the beliefs and attitudes of the participants on a particular subject. 360
- 3. "To make inferences about a larger population's characteristics and decisions:" When using probability sampling, elite interviews can be employed to understand the beliefs or activities of a larger group, such as Members of Parliament, senior civil servants, etc. without interviewing all of them. <sup>361</sup>
- 4. "To help reconstruct an event or a set of events:" Elite interviewing can help to establish the actions and the decisions surrounding an event or set of events, providing "first hand testimony" that might not be documented in other sources or official accounts. 362

Using Tansey's four purposes as a framework, elite interviewing contributes to the present dissertation through the first, second and fourth uses of elite interviewing. That is, elite interviewing allowed the author to corroborate information gleaned from other sources, to establish the perspectives of the participants regarding tuition fee policy, and help to reconstruct the events surrounding tuition fees at the time. Elite interviewing was a helpful method in completing the research for the dissertation.

Questionnaire Design: In order to ensure the maximization of the uses of elite interviewing in the present work, the construction of the questionnaire, shown in Appendix C, employed open-ended questions which allowed participants increased latitude to define the direction and the interpretation of the subject matter. This is in keeping with Dexter's definition of elite interviews.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, 766. <sup>361</sup> *Ibid*, 766.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 766 – 767.

While an open-ended approach to interviewing has a cost in terms of interview time and transcription, Alberbach and Rockman argue that open-ended questions may be more palatable to elites and the highly education as these individuals may "prefer to articulate their views, explaining why they think what they think." Rivera *et al* argue that open-ended questions are best used with politicians as they tend to resist the imposition of categories or pre-determined answers, as they learned interviewing political leaders in Russia:

One Duma deputy remarked that 'sociologists aren't inclined to understand that it's impossible to answer some questions in the way that they've instructed us to. They are not inclined to make a notation to the effect that a certain answer is not precisely as stated but is rather slightly different.'

Analysis of Elite Interview Data: Abberbach and Rockman note that the researcher may identify different categories or types of coding schemes for interview data depending on the purpose of the research. Noting their own experiences and preferences as an example, they identify three different coding categories:

"Manifest coding items," that include the direct responses to particular questions, and note whether or not differences in responses were great, moderate, or few. "Latent coding items" were where characteristics of the responses coded were not explicitly called for by the questions themselves (e.g. positive or negative references to the subject). Finally, global coding items were where "coders formed judgments from the interview transcripts about general traits of styles (e.g. coding whether respondents employed a coherent political framework in responding to political questions)."<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> Aberbach & Rockman, Conduction and Coding Elite Interviews, 674.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> S.W. Rivera, *et al*, "Interviewing Political Elites: Lessons from Russia," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35, No. 4 (December 2002), 686.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> Aberbach & Rockman, Conducting and Coding Elite Interviews, 675.

Beyond coding, Tansey provides tips as to how the researcher can consider the weight given to a particular interview. Tansay establishes criteria against which the researcher can assess the responses of the interview participant:

- 1. that the information obtained should be from a first-hand witness, and not based on hearsay;
- 2. that the level of access of the interviewee to the events in question should be known, with senior-level elites to be viewed as more reliable; and,
- 3. if possible, the interviewee's track record of reliability should be established, with a proven record of reliability ideally established before recollections are taken at face value. 366

Drawing on Tansey as a framework to describe the analysis of interview data in the dissertation, analysis was strongly related to 'manifest coding items,' discussed above. The responses from all interview participants were remarkably consistent and tended to reinforce each other. No contradictions were observed. Coding was therefore done on the basis of themes that arose from transcripts. Four themes emerged from the transcripts: (1) accessibility; (2) perspectives on autonomy; (3) the political dimension, and (4) a fiscal dimension. It is interesting to note that discussions of accessibility and affordability to university were clearly placed in the fiscal dimension by interview participants. The themes that arose from the interview transcripts are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Dr. Friesen's interview was different in that it tended to relate more to political considerations.<sup>367</sup> This is not surprising in that her perspectives were drawn from a broader perspective that did not include either the specific rationale for a policy discussed at the Cabinet table, nor the detailed technical knowledge that a minister would have coming from the day-to-day interaction with civil servants on a particular topic. Dr.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> Tansey, Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing, 767.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> Dr. Friesen served in the NDP government that was elected in 1999. For the purposes if this research, however, it was her experience as Education and Training Critic that was the focus of the interview.

Friesen's interview therefore provided additional depth to an important political dimension to the dissertation that was not as prominent in the other interviews.

Strengths of Elite Interviewing: Tansey identifies four strengths of elite interviewing. These are reviewed in turn below.

First, "one of the strongest advantages of elite interviews is that researchers can interview first-hand participants of the processes they are investigating and obtain accounts from direct witnesses to the events in question."368 Thus, the researcher is able to move beyond the information that may be contained in documents by talking to those who were there, or, as suggested by Dexter above<sup>369</sup>, the interview may be the only source of data on a particular dimension of a given phenomenon. Second, and related to the first, through interviewing those involved, it is possible to overcome the fact that not all aspects of a phenomenon are documented, either because they are not deemed relevant, or they are deemed to be too sensitive. For instance, "government secrecy rules can also ensure that key documents are withheld from public analysis," such as cabinet confidences.<sup>370</sup>

Additionally, a third strength of elite interviewing is that it can help to overcome inherent weaknesses in official accounts and documents, such as, for example, incomplete documents, or documents that do not capture informal processes and other considerations that were pertinent to a phenomenon. Additionally, official documents may "imply consensus and agreement with a decision, when in reality disagreements may have been widespread and that other, undocumented, decisions may have been

Tansey, Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing, 767.
 See above, Dexter, *Elite and Specialized Interviewing*, 6-7.
 *Ibid.*, 767.

considered extensively."<sup>371</sup> Finally, elite interviews can assist the researcher where there exists too much documentation. The elite interview can provide the researcher with information to help establish priorities in terms of where to look and what to look at, helping to identify the most relevant evidence to examine.<sup>372</sup> In summary, elite interviews assist the researcher in clarifying what happened in a given event, and can provide richer details than may be possible or available in other sources, such as documentary evidence. Elite interviewing has the potential to contribute greatly to understanding a given phenomenon.

Weaknesses and Mitigating Strategies: Elite interviewing may also present problems that must be considered during data analysis. A first issue that might have arisen is that the respondent may not be objective, and may be untruthful. Berry suggests three strategies for addressing this potential problem. (1) use multiple sources. This could refer to relying on more than one interview respondent, and it could also refer to different types of data to allow for a better assessment of the truth. (2) Challenge the respondent subtly through referring to a third party ('why didn't the Opposition believe you?' or 'The Globe and Mail took a different perspective'). This allows the interviewer to refocus the respondent away from his or her perspective without the interviewer directly challenging the respondent. (3) Accept the interview data for what it is. If one area of inquiry does not appear to be fruitful because of a suspected bias, move to another area that might be more useful.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*, 767.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, 767.

Jeffrey M. Berry, "Validity and Reliability Issues in Elite Interviewing," *PSOnline* (December 2002), 680; John P. Dean and William Foot Whyte, "How Do You Know if the Informant is Telling the Truth," in *Elite and Specialized Interviewing*, Lewis Anthony Dexter, ed. (Evanston, Northwest University Press, 1970), 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> Berry, "Validity and Reliability," 680.

Dean and Foote Whyte provide guidance regarding the truthfulness of respondent's answers and counsel the interview to focus not on the truth but on attitude or sentiment. Instead of the interviewer asking "How do I know if the informant is telling the truth?' instead the researcher will ask, 'What do the informant's statements reveal about his feelings and perceptions and what inferences can be made from them about the actual environment or events he has experienced?"<sup>375</sup> Information gleaned from interviews can be about facts, or they can be about how facts are perceived. Both are important.

Truthfulness in the present dissertation was not a concern. Interview participants tended to report mutually reinforcing items with little contradiction. Additionally, themes emphasized in each interview were also generally consistent. This consistency helped to confirm truthfulness and, perhaps more relevant to the interview participants, ensures that interview participants' memories of events and facts are generally strong.

A second potential problem that Berry identifies is the possibility of respondents exaggerating their role in a particular event. 376 When faced with the possibility of exaggeration, the interviewer should be aware of what is not being explained – information is being left out. Additionally, when faced with exaggeration, an issue of credibility arises generally with the respondent.

Berry again identifies three remedies for the problem of exaggeration. (1) Be very knowledgeable about the subject. This normally is not a problem, especially where the research is focused on one case. (2) Ask about other participants and organizations – this allows the pressure to be taken on the respondent to demonstrate his or her effectiveness,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Dean and Foote Whyte. "How Do You Know?," 131. <sup>376</sup> Berry, "Validity and Reliability," 681-682.

and can allow for useful information to be gathered. (3) Move away from areas that deal with the individual's role in the event and focus on another part of the interview protocol that may be more helpful to the research.<sup>377</sup>

Similar to the issue of truthfulness, the mutually reinforcing and consistent responses from interview participants in the present research helps to assure the researcher and the reader that there has been little to no exaggeration in the role each participant played in the process. Quite the contrary, there was considerable humility expressed in the interviews, with many participants emphasizing their role in activities through references to time in office, limitations faced and/or scope of responsibilities.

A third potential limitation to elite interviewing is the possibility that an interview would be declined. Goldstein notes that "when all is said and done, no matter how good a job you do and how lucky you are, you will not be able to interview a portion of your target sample." The implications of this on the research must be taken into consideration. Goldstein notes that the implications on the research of failing to get an interview will depend on the goals of the research.

There were three interviews declined in the present research. Two potential participants indicated that they did not have the time to participate given their other responsibilities and commitments. The remaining potential participant indicated that based on his position held in government at the time, he played no role in development or implementation of the 5% tuition fee policy.

The dissertation used elite interviewing to fill gaps in knowledge (i.e. ascertain facts) and to better align other data and inform analysis. Goldstein states that "if your

 <sup>377</sup> Ibid., 681.
 378 Kenneth Goldstein, "Getting In the Door: Sampling and Completing Elite Interviews," PSOnline

goals is to gather particular factual information or to inform your work and write with a little real color [sic], then confirming that you heard from different sides and different types of organizations can confirm that you do not have unbalanced or biased information."<sup>379</sup>

### 4.2.3.2 Content Analysis

As a second data gathering technique, document analysis was used to examine the perspectives of policy-makers with respect to tuition fees and university autonomy. Specifically, the dissertation analyzed statements regarding tuition fees made by policy-makers in *Hansard* transcripts of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. 'Policy-makers' were defined as Ministers of the Crown in Manitoba exactly because ministers are in a position to set policy direction. The content analysis seeks to categorize policy-maker's statements to understand the factors that were important to the 5% tuition fee policy.

In terms of process, using a search engine available to employees of the Manitoba civil service, <sup>380</sup> the author identified all instances in *Hansard* where "tuition" or its equivalent <sup>381</sup> was used by policy-makers with specific reference to universities. The purpose of this process is to assist in the task of identifying factors that were considered important to policy-makers regarding the 5% tuition fee policy. Of particular interest were references to the autonomy of universities in any instances where tuition or its equivalent is used in *Hansard*.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, 671-672.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> Note that the internal search engine is nearly identical to that available to the public with the chief difference being the ability to narrow the search parameters to a specific session, or a range of sessions, of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> Equivalents included 'tuition,' 'university fees,' 'student fees,' 'post-secondary fees,' and 'student service fees.'

Thus, the dissertation conducted a census of policy-makers' statements recorded in *Hansard* from April 1992 to March 1996. This time period allows for a full assessment of the policy direction for tuition in the just before and during the period where the 5% tuition fee policy was operative.

The boundaries of analytical units, the actual blocks of text from *Hansard* that were subjected to analysis, were selected and defined depending on the type of statement recorded in *Hansard*. Given that *Hansard* is a transcript of the daily proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, it was important to define the boundaries of the analytical units to ensure that the most relevant selections of *Hansard* were examined and analyzed. There were three different types of analytical units examined, as follows:

- *Oral Questions:* up to three ministerial responses were included in the analytical unit based on the fact that for a given topic, an opposition member is able to ask one question and two supplemental questions. Often, a minister's perspective on a given topic may be discovered only by looking at all answers to questions posed for a single question. Soroka argues that question period is the most flexible type of statement that occurs in legislatures; "question period is a freewheeling affair, with tremendous spontaneity and vitality." 382
- Committee of Supply: this analytical unit was limited to the question posed during the discussion regarding government's estimates of expenditures (estimates), and the minister's response to that one question. This is because the rules for the estimates process have fewer restrictions with respect to time, and the minister may take his or her time to present an answer and is thus more likely to present a full answer. Thus, a more focused definition of the analytical unit is appropriate.
- Other Statements: ministerial statements, speeches/debates in support of the budget or draft legislation were analyzed in their entirety as a single analytical unit. This is because the content of such statements can be broad.

These types of analytical units are examined in Chapter 5. While no attempt is made to apply a weighting to each of the categories, Chapter 5 does consider the

<sup>382</sup> Stuart N. Soroka, Agenda-Setting Dynamics In Canada (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 69.

strengths and weaknesses of each category, as well as considering the consistency of the findings from the analysis of the three analytical unit types.

The purpose of the analysis in Chapter 5 was to identify a number of factors that were important when policy makers were considering issues related to tuition fees at universities. These factors emerged from the review of the analytical units. A coding agenda was established (see Appendix B, Part 1) that helped to ensure consistency in identifying factors in the various categories of analytical units.

The process for actually selecting the analytical units to be used in the analysis is detailed in Appendix B, Parts 2 and 3. Using the search engine described above, all instances of the use of the term 'tuition,' 'university fees,' and 'student fees' (the search terms) were identified in *Hansard*. Because the focus of the analysis was on the factors important to policy makers with regard to university tuition, all instances of the use of the search terms by opposition MLAs, or government backbenchers (i.e. non-ministers) were discounted. There were a total of 157 uses of the search terms by ministers.

The analysis then turned to a process of eliminating the references to the search terms that were not to universities. This yielded a total of 66 references to the search terms made by ministers.

Each of these 66 references were then slotted into a category of analytical unit.

Some ministers used one or more of the search terms more than once within the defined boundaries of an analytical unit, meaning that the number of analytical units is actually lower than the number of references. In the present analysis, the 66 eligible references fell into 43 analytical units that were then used as the basis for the analysis that appears in Chapter 5.

Thus, Chapter 5 represents a process of identifying references to tuition or its equivalent search terms, and narrowing the selection parameters to ministerial references to tuition or equivalent in defined settings in the Legislature (i.e. Oral Questions, Committee of Supply or Other Statements) as that usage relates to universities in Manitoba. This provides a basis for identifying factors important to ministers as they considered university tuition fee policy in Manitoba.

A key weakness to consider in the content analysis approach used in Chapter 5 is that it relies in part on public statements made by politicians. Edelman speaks of 'public language' as the use of words that presuppose premises and meanings such that the shared understandings of the term in the context of politics limit the ability for those words to be reinterpreted. Thus, there is always the potential for the rhetoric of 'public language' to outstrip reality, by, for example, the use of either understatement or overstatement. Below the statement of the stateme

Rather than abstracting formal elements that can be reordered to yield new possibilities, public language validates established beliefs and strengthens the authority structure of the polity or organization in which it is used. It is therefore preeminently the language form supporters of regimes or organizations rely on to demonstrate to others and to themselves that they deserve support, to minimize guilt, to evoke feelings of support of the polity, and to engender suspicion of alternatives and of people identified as hostile.<sup>384</sup>

As suggested in the previous discussion above, the use of elite interviews serves to help corroborate findings from other methods, and served as part of the research strategy that helped to identify rhetoric in the official record of legislative sessions.

Additionally descriptive evidence presented in Chapter 7 helped to provide additional context that can help to further identify under and/or over statement or 'spin' that may be

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> Murray Edelman, *Political Language: Words that Succeed and Policies that Fail* (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1977), 109.

included in *Hansard*. In this sense, consistency of the evidence was an important element in ensuring that the use of public language is consistent with observed facts.

## 4.2.3.3 Descriptive Analysis

Chapter 7 describes a key governing philosophy of the Government of Manitoba in the 1990s – that of 'new public management' (NPM). Chapter 7 defines new public management, and demonstrates that it was an approach favoured by the Filmon government. The principle mechanism for this analysis is document analysis, examining *Hansard*, press releases, public statements of politicians in the media, as well as scholarly articles and other research.

The chapter then turns turn to examining the congruency between university autonomy and NPM and demonstrates that university autonomy may have been a logical consideration for the implementation of the 5% tuition fee policy. The congruency between university autonomy and NPM establishes a practical application of government's understanding of the importance of university autonomy in the development of the tuition fee policy.

A potential weakness in this approach is that descriptive analysis relies on relatively clear and strong definitions of the phenomenon being described. Stark writes that "after more than a decade of spirited debate, neither its supporters nor its critics can quite get a handle on what the new public management is..." NPM is a series of loosely connected ideas that center on addressing a series of problems commonly associated with government operations and bureaucracy. 386

<sup>386</sup> Kenneth Kernaghan and David Siegel, *Public Administration in Canada*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995), 662.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> Andrew Stark, "What *Is* the New Public Management?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 12, no. 1 (January 2002), 137.

<sup>386</sup> Kenneth Kernaghan and David Siegel, *Public Administration in Canada*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (Toronto: Nelson

While NPM's definition may be unclear, what is clear are the various different components of the new public management that have been extensively discussed. <sup>387</sup> The approach taken in Chapter 7 is that of identifying congruency. 'Congruency' refers to the fact that university autonomy and the new public management are in harmony with each other. The fact that the components of new public management are well established was precise enough to allow for the establishment of congruency or 'fit' between new public management and university autonomy.

# 4.2.3.4 A Limited Role for Participant Observation

The author has had a professional relationship with most of the interview participants. This includes serving as professional staff in Executive Council from January 1994 to December 1996. In that capacity, the author, as a policy analyst responsible for education matters, developed briefing materials to assist in the preparation of the Premier for Question Period, and worked directly with Hon. Clayton Manness and Hon. Linda McIntosh on various projects. Additionally, the author reported to another interview participant, Dr. Leo LeTourneau, who was from 1996 through to 2000 Executive Director of the Universities Grants Commission (until March 31, 1997) and the Council on Post-Secondary Education until his retirement in 2000.

These prior relationships assisted the author in gaining access and establishing trust with the interview participants. Additionally, the author worked for both Executive

Bureaucracy (Reading, Mass: Addison Wesley Publishing Co., 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> Some leading examples include: Stark, "What is NPM?"; Daniel W. Williams, "Reinventing the Proverbs of Government," *Public Administration Review* 60, no. 6 (November 2000), <a href="http://web5.infotraccollege.com/wadsworth/session/487/94/50359168/3!xrn\_1\_0\_A67630647">http://web5.infotraccollege.com/wadsworth/session/487/94/50359168/3!xrn\_1\_0\_A67630647</a>, accessed 22 July 2002; Bryan T. Downes, "Banishing Bureaucracy: The Five Strategies for Reinventing Government," *The Social Science Journal* 35, no. 4 (Oct 1998), <a href="http://web5.infotraccollege.com/wadsworth/session/487/94/50359168/3!xrn\_3\_0\_A53392169">http://web5.infotraccollege.com/wadsworth/session/487/94/50359168/3!xrn\_3\_0\_A53392169</a>, accessed 22 July 2002; David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*, (New York: Penguin Group, 1993); David Osborne and Peter Plastrik, *Banishing* 

Council and the Universities Grants Commission for a period that encompassed the last 22 months when the 5% tuition fee cap was in place. These experiences give the author insight into aspects of higher education policy development and the priorities of the government of the day, including related to tuition fee policy.

While these experiences did not include direct observation relating to activities that will be presented in the dissertation as evidence, they did provide the author with direction as to where to look for useful evidence, plus providing clues as to what factors were important to the government of the day in terms of higher education policy development.

### 4.2.4 Triangulation Strategy

Triangulation, a multi-method approach to research to help cross-check data and assist in interpretation, <sup>388</sup> was utilized as a way to strengthen confidence in the findings of the paper. <sup>389</sup> Adapting Janesick's approach to data triangulation, <sup>390</sup> the dissertation employed data triangulation. Various different sources of data were used in the pursuit of a practical exploration of the theory developed in the present paper. This includes documents such as academic research, legislation, public policy documents, media releases, as well as *Hansard*. Additionally, interviews were conducted to help strengthen the findings from the document analysis.

In addition, an attempt was made to establish a synthesis of various theories.

Specifically, the dissertation developed a theory pertaining to neo-institutionalism and related it to university autonomy as a neo-institutional construct. Additionally, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> Raymond L. Gordon, *Interviewing: Strategy, Techniques and Tactics*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1980), 12.

<sup>389</sup> Huberman and Miles, "Data Management," 438.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> Valerie J. Janesick, "The Dance of Qualitative Research Design," *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincon (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994), 214-215.

dissertation examined the concept of new public management as an important feature in the implementation of tuition fee policy in Manitoba in the 1990s and noted that new public management and university autonomy compliment each other. In so doing, the study drew on concepts that have had their origin in research into higher education, as well as work in the area of public administration, public policy and political science. These approaches help to unite the concepts in the paper, and contribute to solidifying the interpretation of the data in the dissertation.

## 4.2.5 Validity and Reliability

"Validity in qualitative research has to do with description and explanation, and whether or not a given explanation fits a given description. In other words, is the explanation credible?"<sup>391</sup> or do the empirical measures adequately reflect the real meaning of the concept under consideration?<sup>392</sup>

The chief strategy pertaining to the validity of the measures employed in the dissertation is the use of data that refer directly to issues of university autonomy, the 5% tuition fee cap, or both. Thus, the data used in testing the theory will have a high degree of content validity: <sup>393</sup> measures of government perspectives on tuition policy and autonomy covered much of the range of meanings within the chief concept to be measured – that of constraint in higher education policy development.

In a similar vein, the dissertation relied on face validity as the research examines what political actors said about university autonomy and the extent to which they agree that government was constrained as it pursued the development of tuition fee policy. This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, 124. <sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

analysis was done through the examination of transcripts of official proceedings from the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba as well as interviews with key former ministers and former senior civil servants.

Reliability refers to the ability of a particular measurement technique to get the same results if applied repeatedly to the same object.<sup>394</sup> That is to say, can the measurements chosen actually measure what they purport to measure if applied more than once. The primary strategy with respect to reliability has to do with the use of multiple methods which will help to ensure that the study presents reliable conclusions.

#### 4.3 Limitations

The dissertation focuses on one particular higher education policy – that of tuition fee policy. It is acknowledged that different higher education policies may have different implications for the relationship between university autonomy and higher education policy. Findings may not apply to other kinds of higher education policy.

Documentary evidence for the review consisted of reviewing *Hansard* transcripts. Other supporting documentation which may have proven useful to the research such as Cabinet and briefing documents were not available to the author. It is expected that the interviews conducted will help to mitigate the absence of these key documents, although it must also be considered that interview participants acknowledged that they continued to be limited by Cabinet confidentiality.

Interview participants were former elected officials and former senior civil servants and others related closely to higher education in Manitoba at the time of the 5% tuition fee cap. Given the passage of time and perspective may create a tendency for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

these individuals to present the best possible face on decisions taken regarding tuition more than a decade ago. It is also possible that various details may have been forgotten. Additionally, an interview with former Premier Gary Filmon and former Minister of Finance Eric Stefanson were not possible. The triangulation strategy, which included analytical elements in Chapter 5 and descriptive elements throughout the dissertation regarding the statements of Premier Filmon and Mr. Stefanson, helped to mitigate the fact that interviews were not conducted with these individuals.

#### 4.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations centred primarily on the fact that interviews were conducted as a key part of the data collection in support of the dissertation. Prior to the collection of data, a summary of the proposed project and its related interview schedule were reviewed and approved by the appropriate research ethics board of the University of Manitoba. The ethics certificate is included at Appendix D.

Interview participants were given the opportunity to ask the author (and the author's advisor) questions about the project, and an introductory letter was transmitted to participants when they were first solicited for the interview. Further, informed consent was obtained from the participants in writing prior to conducting the interview. <sup>395</sup>

Interview participants were briefed verbally and in writing that their contributions to the dissertation would *not* be anonymous. Participants had the opportunity to review transcripts of their interviews and provide updates and corrections, and some took advantage of the opportunity.

<sup>395</sup> Note that the interviews with Don Leitch, Linda McIntosh and Arnold Naimark were conducted by telephone. In these cases, informed consent was obtained verbally, and included in the transcription of the interviews.

# 4.5 Chapter Summary

# 4.5.1 Methodology in Brief

The dissertation will use a case study of a tuition fee policy that was in place in Manitoba in the mid 1990s. The dissertation employs three different qualitative methods – interviews of key individuals, content analysis of *Hansard* and descriptive analysis of the governing philosophies of the day – to examine the perspectives of government regarding the development of higher education policy. These processes that should help the author to determine in a valid and reliable way the relationship between university autonomy and higher education policy set by government.

The methodological approach used in this dissertation is justifiable. As was discussed above, case study is a typical approach used in research pertaining to political science. Further, the selection of the elite style of interview is common and appropriate for a dissertation that is investigating considerations relating to policy. Finally, content analysis and descriptive analysis are commonly used methodological tools. The research design in the present study provides a valid and useful framework with which to pursue answers to the research questions posed in the dissertation's introduction.

### 4.5.2 Significance for the Dissertation

The methodology presented in this chapter demonstrates the tools that will be used in the dissertation. The present chapter attempts to synthesize all aspects of the methodology in one place. However, throughout the remaining chapters, additional detail may be provided in order to provide the reader with appropriate methodological context.

# 4.5.3 The Next Chapter

The next chapter is the first of three chapters that present evidence to support the main research topic of the dissertation. Chapter 5 presents evidence from *Hansard* that looks to identify factors important in the implementation of the 5% tuition fee policy.

#### **CHAPTER 5**

#### PERSPECTIVES ON TUITION: EVIDENCE FROM HANSARD

Of the various costs associated with education, the direct cost of tuition is the most visible and the most talked about.

Sean Junor and Alex Usher, The Price of Knowledge 2002<sup>396</sup>

# 5.1 Chapter Purpose

The academic research, political debate and media coverage demonstrate a strong tendency to link tuition fee levels to issues of access to post-secondary education. This chapter presents evidence to support the argument that concerns about higher fees limiting accessibility for lower income students was not the main focus on which the Filmon government set its policies on tuition fees. Financial constraints and budgetary objectives were a stronger force shaping tuition policy than the more strictly educational issues of accessibility.

Context is important. Earlier in the dissertation it was noted that of many policy pressures faced by the Government of Manitoba in the 1990s, perhaps none were as pressing or all pervasive as that of the fiscal situation. Government action to address this pressure touched all policy areas, including education. In 1994, Minister of Education and Training Clayton Manness, stated that "...university funding... [was] made in the context of the fiscal framework of the province." An important part of the main argument of the dissertation requires an investigation into such statements, seeking to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> Junor and Usher, *The Price of Knowledge 2002*, 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> Manitoba Legislative Assembly, *Hansard* 43, no. 36A (May 30, 1994). Here the term 'fiscal framework' refers to directions on total spending, revenue raising requirements, borrowing and perhaps the political ability for the government to raise taxes.

find evidence of the role that the fiscal difficulties of the province played in higher education policy of the early to mid 1990s.

This chapter contributes to the dissertation through identifying the key factors that were important with the implementation of the tuition fee policy. In order to pursue this objective, this chapter examines statements of ministers made in *Hansard*, the official record of debates and speeches which took place in the floor of the Manitoba Legislature. As discussed in Chapter 4, debates represented in Question Period, Estimates debates (i.e. Committee of Supply) and all other pronouncements in the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba were examined.

A chief objective of this chapter will be to identify the factors that were important to government as it implemented its tuition fee policy. A secondary objective of the chapter will be to begin to understand the importance of each of the factors identified to the development of the tuition fee policy. The work on these objectives that begins in the present chapter will continue in subsequent chapters.

### 5.2 Findings

The data examined in *Hansard* covers a period from April 1992 to June 1996, encompassing six full or partial sessions of the legislature, and four full or partial fiscal years. This examination focuses on statements by policy-makers (i.e. ministers) related specifically to tuition at universities in Manitoba. The process for analyzing the data was explained in Chapter 4 and displayed in additional detail in Appendix B.

The first observation to be made about this time period is that, given the length of time, there were surprisingly few references to 'tuition' or its synonym related to

universities by ministers in the years in question. While other research assumes that tuition is related to accessibility, ministers in Manitoba *did not* view tuition primarily in terms of accessibility and in fact had a much broader view of tuition as it related to universities.

As explained in Chapter 4, the use of the term "tuition" or its equivalent by ministers was identified in accordance with the coding agenda identified in Appendix B. Five factors emerged from the data, shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Factors Emerging From the Data

Factor	Definition
1. Accessibility	Relates to increasing participation in university, or making the cost within the range of more people.
2. Student-	Relates to supporting students in terms other then accessibility.
Focused	
3. Autonomy	Relates to allowing universities to make their own decisions relate to tuition fee
	levels.
4. Financial/	Relates to improving the budgetary position of the province and/or reducing the
Fiscal	expenditures related to university education.
5. Other	Does not fall under the other categories.

These five factors were emphasized by ministers as they addressed the issue of university tuition fees in the Manitoba context.

### 5.2.1 Overall Analysis

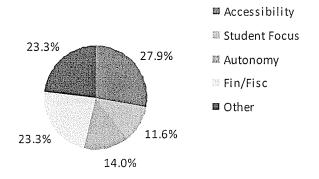
The analysis covers a four-year period as indicated above. Table 5.2 shows the breakdown in terms of time, and identifies important events that occurred along the way. Note that throughout Chapter 5, Legislative sessions are abbreviated by the session number and the Legislature in question. For example, the 3<sup>rd</sup> session of the 35<sup>th</sup> Legislature is abbreviated '3-35.' See Appendix A for a detailed timeline.

Timelines in th	e Life of the Tui	tion Fee Policy	7			
3-35	4-35	5-35	6-35	1-36	2-36	
Apr-92 - June	Dec 92 - June	Apr 94 -	Dec 94 - Mar	June 95 - Dec	Jun-96	
92	93	June 94	95	95		
Fee Policy Imp	lemented ——			<b>──</b>	Ends	
Budget Balanced (Mar 95)						
Election (Mar-Apr 95)						
Vodrey Manness		ness	M			
(Jan '92) (Sept '93)		(N				
	3-35  Apr-92 - June 92  Fee Policy Imp	3-35 4-35  Apr-92 - June Dec 92 - June 92 93  Fee Policy Implemented —  Vodrey Man	3-35	Apr-92 - June Dec 92 - June Apr 94 - Dec 94 - Mar 92 93 June 94 95  Fee Policy Implemented Budget Balance Election (Mar Vodrey Manness M.	3-35	

Figure 5.1, below, shows the percentage of times the five factors were discussed by ministers throughout the entire period examined. Thus, 'Accessibility' was identified as a factor 23.3% of the time when a minister was discussing university tuition in the Legislative Assembly. Between April 1992 and June 1996, the factor that arose most often was Accessibility (27.9%), followed by Financial/Fiscal (23.3%), Autonomy (14.0%), Student Focus (11.6%) with all Other contexts representing 23.3%.

Figure 5.1

Percentage of Times Factors Were Mentioned in *Hansard* Between April 1992 and June 1996



From the earliest points in the life of the 5% tuition fee cap, the government espoused support for student accessibility. In 1993, Mrs. Vodrey told the Legislature that government was

very interested in that whole post-secondary range of education... If we are talking about universities... we did direct universities to cap tuition fees at a 5 percent increase this year. On behalf of students, we wanted to make sure that university education continued to be as accessible as possible and that students were not the ones who had to continually bear an increased tuition fee. We took that action on behalf of students...<sup>398</sup>

The findings of the overall analysis confirm observations that the literature has on how tuition fees relate to accessibility. Yet at less than one-third, the emphasis on accessibility is perhaps less than one might expect given the focus of the research given to accessibility. Indeed, as suggested on the first page of Chapter 1 of this dissertation, most of the public discourse on tuition has to do with access. The overall findings suggest that during the time period in question there was a healthy emphasis on fiscal issues, as well as on other areas – perhaps not surprising given the pressures placed on the provincial budget at the time.

Challenges exist in interpreting the findings for the entire period under study. In the absence of a benchmark or other reference point, it is important that the data be further analyzed in order to understand better the factors that were at play as ministers discussed the issue of tuition publicly. Using a session-by-session analysis, trends over time will be examined, followed by an analysis by type of statement (Oral Questions, Committee of Supply, Other Statements). Finally, factors were analyzed based on the minister who made the reference to tuition.

These analyses revealed trends that question whether or not accessibility was the most important factor. The following discussion hypothesizes that there is a changing pattern of focus for ministers on the issue of tuition fees over time. At the outset, the focus appeared to be on financial and fiscal matters, and this trend appeared to be deepest

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup> Manitoba, *Hansard* 42, no. 59A (May 10, 1993).

at the point where the budgetary pressures on the province seemed greatest. The data suggest that these trends changed once the budget was balanced. The following pages present data to test this hypothesis.

# 5.2.2 Session-by-Session Analysis

A total of six full and partial sessions of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly are captured in the time-period in question, from the third to the sixth sessions of the 35<sup>th</sup> Legislature (3-35 to 635) to the second session of the 36<sup>th</sup> Legislature (2-36).

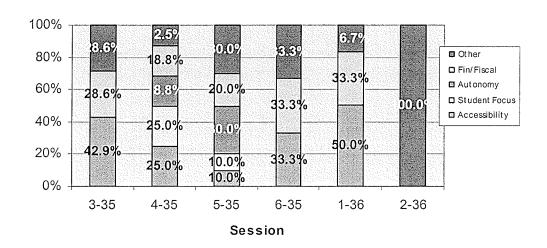
Figure 5.2 shows that in 3-35 accessibility was a key factor when referring to tuition fees. Indeed, fully 42.9% of the references to tuition or equivalents in this session referred to the "Accessibility" factor, as compared to the "Fiscal/Financial" factor (28.6%), and the "Other" factor (28.6%).

However, during the following session, 4-35, there was a decline in references to accessibility (25.0%). In the following session (5-35), references to the "Accessibility" factor fell to 10.0%, rising again in session 6-35 to 33.3%. Only in the first session of the 36<sup>th</sup> Legislature (1-36), the first session after the 1995 general election, did references to accessibility return in any significant way (50.0%).

The change in the 'Student Focus' factor is also instructive. In the sessions 4-35 and 5-35, as ministerial references to accessibility declined and there was the appearance of references to expressions of generic student support (i.e. the Student Focus factor) that did not include references to accessibility or affordability. That is to say, ministers continued to reference students in their discussion of tuition, but appeared to be less inclined to refer to accessibility and affordability.

Figure 5.2

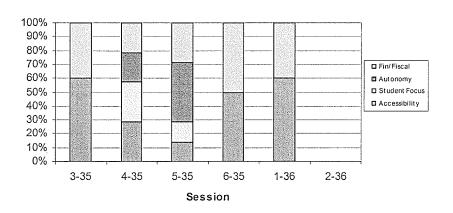
Factor Related to Tuition Fee Policy by Session



In contrast, references to fiscal matters and tuition remain relatively constant. While these references decline from 28.6% in 3-35 to 18.8% in 4-35, they increase slightly to 20.0% in 5-35, to 33.3% in 6-35. The chart also shows that autonomy was a consideration during 4-35 and 5-35 (18.8% and 30.0% respectively). The trends become clearer when the "Other" factor is excluded as is the case in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3

Factor Related to Tuition Fee Policy by Session (excluding "Other")



When examined excluding the 'Other' factor, the trend away from 'Accessibility' and 'Student Focus' between sessions 3-35 and 5-35 is clearly shown. Similarly, during the same time frame there was an increase in references to 'Financial/Fiscal' and 'Autonomy' factors when ministers discussed tuition in the Legislative Assembly in Manitoba.

### 5.2.3 Secondary Factors

Interpretation of these data would be easier if it could be predicated on the idea that each analytical unit neatly falls into one, and only one, factor (i.e. Accessibility, Student Focus, Autonomy, Financial/Fiscal, and Other). However, reality is rarely so tidy. With most of the analytical units it is possible to identify a second occurrence of one of the five factors. That is to say, for most of the analytical units included in the study, the minister references more than one factor in their statement.

To capture secondary factors, additional analysis was performed on data from all sessions. In this analysis, each analytical unit was reassessed with the initial reasons for associating the analytical unit with its primary factor being disregarded. This allowed for a secondary factor to emerge from the analytical unit. Thus, a particular analytical unit that was slotted in the 'Accessibility' may have a secondary factor of 'Financial/Fiscal.' Secondary analysis is valuable because it helps to understand more fully the context within which ministers discussed tuition and therefore deepen the understanding of the meaning of the analytical units.

Table 5.3 shows the relationship between primary and secondary factors for the use of the term tuition or equivalent. While the overall analysis above demonstrates that during all sessions examined there was significant reference to the 'Accessibility' factor,

ministerial use of the term tuition in this context also included the secondary factor of 'Financial/Fiscal.'

Table 5.3: Primary Factors and Related Secondary Factors Related to the Tuition Fee Policy

	Secondary Factor						
	Accessibility	Student Focus	Autonomy	Financial /	Other		
Primary Factor				Fiscal			
Accessibility		8.3%	0.0%	58.3%	0.0%		
Student Focus	0.0%		20.0%	60.0%	0.0%		
Autonomy	16.7%	0.0%		33.3%	0.0%		
Financial/Fiscal	10.0%	30.0%	10.0%		0.0%		
Other	10.0%	30.0%	0.0%	0.0%			

Table 5.3 shows that when a minister's statement was coded primarily as being related to the 'Accessibility' factor, 58.3% of the time the minister also discussed tuition referring to the "Financial/Fiscal" factor. Similarly, when discussing tuition as a 'Student Focus' factor, 60% of the time ministers were also discussing it as 'Financial/Fiscal' factor as well. Interestingly, when discussing tuition in the context of the 'Autonomy' factor, ministers also made a connection to the 'Financial/Fiscal' factor. For example, Premier Filmon told the Legislative Assembly that

this government has attempted over all of the years in government to let the universities know that there is a responsibility on their part to keep their costs under control, to talk to them about spending the money that is in their control as wisely and effectively as we are attempting to do with all of the money that is under our control directly as a provincial government.<sup>399</sup>

Here Premier Filmon refers to both the autonomy of the universities ("responsibility on their part") and to financial issues (spending money) in a single analytical unit, in this case, the budget debate (Other Statement).

The secondary analysis of the analytical units suggests that when discussing tuition in the Legislative Assembly, ministers also placed the topic in the budgetary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> Manitoba, *Hansard* 43, no.17 (April 29, 1994).

context, even if their statements can primarily be interpreted as relating to accessibility to post-secondary education.

Analyzing ministerial references to tuition or equivalent by legislative session helps to identify trends over time. The data suggest that the 4-35 and 5-35 sessions focused primarily on the relationship between fiscal issues and tuition fees. The session-by-session analysis also shows that accessibility and student concerns did not resurface as the major theme when discussing tuition until after the 1995 election, once the budget was balanced. Finally, it is clear that, in all the data examined, even when ministers were addressing tuition within the context of accessibility and a focus on students, they linked the discussion to fiscal issues.

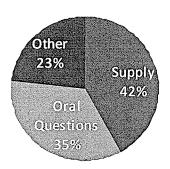
## 5.2.4 Analysis by Statement Type

Analysis of the data by the type of statement made by ministers provides a window into the relative importance of the subject in the various different public venues within the Legislative Assembly (i.e. Question Period, Committee of Supply (Estimates), Other). Given that Question Period is the most public of the statement types, it is reasonable to assume that legislators would emphasize those elements that are deemed to be of particular interest to the general public. This may be particularly true of the Official Opposition who may be seeking ways to highlight errors of government, or to focus on the Opposition's agenda rather than that of the government.

Figure 5.4 shows that the majority of the use of the term 'tuition' or equivalent in the Legislative Assembly took place during the Committee of Supply debates (42%), followed by Oral Questions (35%) and then Other Statement types (23%).

Figure 5.4

# Use of Tuition or Equivalent In the Hansard by Statement Type



It is useful to revisit briefly the three statement types used in the analysis, defined in more detail in Chapter 4 of the dissertation. Oral Questions encompasses the questions asked of ministers in the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, and occurs each day the Legislature is in session, lasting for 40 minutes. 400 Oral Question period is an important, if sometimes superficial and often partisan, 401 aspect of the accountability process in the Westminster model of government, where members of the Legislative Assembly are able to ask government ministers questions about government activity.

Fletcher and Gottlieb Taras quote Anthony Westell, saying that "question period... is almost a perfect media event. Public personalities come into Conflict over

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>400</sup> Andy Anstett and Paul G. Thomas, "Manitoba: The Role of the Legislature in a Polarized Political System," in *Provincial and Territorial Legislatures in Canada*, Gary Levy and Graham White, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 102.

401 Graham White, "Ontario: A Legislature in Adolescence," in *Provincial and Territorial Legislatures in* 

Canada, Gary Levy and Graham White, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 42.

current *Controversies*, providing in one neat package the basic ingredients of a news story."<sup>402</sup> Thus, Oral Question period can be viewed as a forum for partisan combat, as well as a media event where an opposition or government politician can gain greater profile. <sup>403</sup> As an accountability mechanism, it provides "a useful spot-check on executive performance."<sup>404</sup>

Because of the fact that Oral Questions period is led by members of the opposition, categorizations of ministerial responses may in large measure depend on the question asked; ministers may not have the ability to directly control the content of their remarks because, in principle, they have to respond to the question asked. However, they have the ability to incorporate into their response statements that reflect the general policy direction of government, and thus can serve as a valuable source of data regarding the perspectives policy makers had on tuition fee policy.

The Committee of Supply type of statement (also known as 'Estimates)), although still responsive to questions asked by members of the opposition, reflects a broader ability of ministers to incorporate different perspectives into their responses. This is principally because there are fewer limits on answers provided by ministers as compared to Oral Question period in terms of the length of the response. Committee of Supply debates allow the Legislature to scrutinize the government's fiscal plans, 405 and are thus important reflections of the political direction as well. Accordingly, questions and

<sup>402</sup> Frederick J. Fletcher and Daphne Gottlieb Taras, "Images and Issues: The Mass Media and Politics in Canada," in *Canadian Politics in the 1990s*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Michael S. Whittington and Glen Williams, eds. (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1990), 235. Emphasis in original.

<sup>404</sup> Anstett and. Thomas, "Manitoba," 104.

405 *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> Michael M. Atkinson, "Parliamentary Government in Canada," in *Canadian Politics in the 1990s*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Michael S. Whittington and Glen Williams, eds. (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1990), 347.

responses in Committee of Supply debates can be expected to focus on financial and fiscal considerations.

The final categorization, 'Other,' serves as a catch-all category for statements made by ministers, including speeches in support of legislative amendments, and motions. These other statements are for the most part not in response to a question by the opposition, although may be in response to a motion. Accordingly, a minister has more freedom in terms of the content and tone of the statement.

An important inclusion in the 'Other' category is that of the budget speeches made in the period. While obviously more fiscal in their orientation, budget speeches fit into the "Other" category better than the others because of the fact that the other two categories are in response to issues raised by the members of the Opposition in the form of questions. Budget speeches represent, similar to the other statement types included in this category, the opportunity for the Minister of Finance to make statements that reflect the political and fiscal priorities of the government of the day. Further, while important statements of policy, budget speeches only generally outline the parameters of budgetary policy. More detailed discussion of such policy is reflected in the Estimates debates.

Edelman's observation that political language is often used to generate support for policies<sup>406</sup> suggests that weighting of the three statement types could be tricky. All three types of statements have their own considerations. For Oral Questions, the higher profile nature of the venue must be considered, as must the fact that the themes of the ministerial responses are often set by the opposition member asking the question. Thus, a response more in keeping with the themes set by the questioner can be expected. Similarly, one can expect a greater sensitivity on the part of ministers to public reaction to the response.

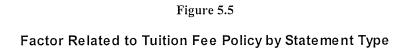
<sup>406</sup> Edelman, Political Language, 109.

In the Committee of Supply, similar to Question Period, the opposition member can set the theme of the exchange, but the looser restrictions in terms of the length of the response of the minister, as well as the lower profile nature of Committee of Supply debates in general, means that the dynamic in the Committee of Supply is different than with Oral Questions. Further, the purpose of the Committee of Supply is to debate the details of the government's budget. A greater focus on fiscal matters can be expected.

Finally, 'Other' statement types, discussed above, suggest far greater freedom for the minister in terms of the content. However, context is important. For instance, a debate on a particular piece of legislation may be circumscribed by the content and scope of the legislation itself. Within such context, the minister has additional freedom in that he or she is not responding to a question posed by a member of the opposition.

Captured in the analysis under the 'Other' statement type, budget speeches present other considerations. Despite greater freedom in terms of content, the Minister of Finance is nonetheless limited in terms of the detail that can be expounded upon given the general length and breadth of typical budget speeches.

This discussion speaks to considerations of the weight of each of the statement types when considered together. Given the different considerations with each statement type used, their similarities and differences, it is a difficult and perhaps meaningless exercise to attempt to mathematically weight the statement types. Accordingly, this dissertation does not attempt to provide a formalized weighting of the three statement types examined. Each statement type is accordingly examined separately. The character of each statement type is then considered in the interpretation – no formal weighting is done, but the nature of each type is considered in the discussion.



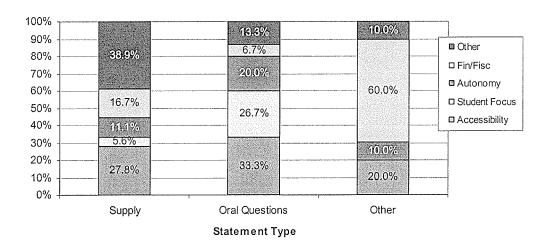


Figure 5.5, above, shows that during Oral Questions, 33.3% of statements referring to tuition referred to the 'Accessibility' factor and 26.7% referred the 'Student Focus' factor. This may not be surprising given that most of the questions were raised by the Official Opposition (then the NDP) who may have been more focused on issues of accessibility. Only 6.7% of statements referred the 'Fiscal/Financial' factor, 20% Autonomy, and the remaining 13.3% to the 'Other' factor. A limitation that has been noted is that responses are tempered by the questions that are asked by the members of the opposition, which may guide the themes of the minister's response. Accordingly, if the question asked by the member of the opposition was within the context of, for example, accessibility, then the ministerial response tended to be as well.

Compared to Oral Questions, statements during the Committee of Supply debates were more likely to focus on technical detail relating to budget matters given that this statement type is directly related to the debate on the annual Provincial Budget.

During Committee of Supply statements, ministers' conceptualizations of tuition most often referred to the 'Other' factor (38.9%) compared to the remaining four factors (i.e. Accessibility, Student Focus, Financial/Fiscal, Autonomy). Ministers made statements regarding tuition referring to the 'Accessibility' factor 27.8% of the time, 'Financial/Fiscal' 16.7% of the time, followed by 'Autonomy' (11.1%) and 'Student Focus' (5.6%).

Because of their catch-all nature, 'Other' statement types need particular attention during analysis. The annual Budget Address, captured in 'Other' statement types, may generate the most interest of all ministerial statement types in the Legislature regardless. However, generally speaking 'Other' statement types, including statements on legislation, and other ministerial statements, may not generate the same level of interest by the public/media as does, for example, Oral Questions. Further, 'Other' statement types are not subject to direct cross examination as is the case with Committee of Supply statements. Thus, policy makers may see Other Statement types as having a lower potential to generate problems for the government as they tend not to be analyzed as a whole. When looking at the 'Other' statement types, analysis revealed a much stronger focus on the 'Financial/Fiscal' factor (60.0%), 'Accessibility' (20.0%), 'Autonomy' and 'Other' both the same (10.0%), with no reference at all to the 'Student Focus' factor.

On balance, the analysis by statement type could suggest that ministers may have been generally aware of the public profile of each statement type, and responded accordingly (admittedly an untested proposition in this dissertation). Analysis shows that during Oral Questions, ministers tended to focus more on the aspects of tuition that emphasized accessibility and support for students, and less on financial/fiscal, or

autonomy or other matters. This might reflect a belief on the part of the ministers that the external, informal societal agenda is more student-centered than the more limited, narrowly-focused agenda within government and which must take account of fiscal realities. It may also reflect the fact that members of the opposition may help to set the direction of the minister's statement based on the question asked.

In the Committee of Supply, there was a greater tendency than with Oral Questions to focus on financial/fiscal matters, as might be expected. Finally, in Other Statements that are less likely to be regarded collectively, policy makers were far more likely to focus on tuition in a financial/fiscal context than in the other categories.

### 5.2.5 Analysis by Minister

This section of the chapter will examine the data by minister. This allows for the development of a different perspective on the data, expanding the understanding of who may have had what preferences, as well as generally confirming trends over time.

Two approaches were taken in the analysis. First, an examination of the statements made by minister in the Education and Training portfolio was undertaken to help establish which ministers may have held which priorities for the education cabinet post. Second, the analysis will turn to an assessment of the statements made by Premier Filmon and Minister of Finance Eric Stefanson in an attempt to gain an understanding on the perspective held by those at the most senior levels of government.

Analysis of the data by specific education minister helps to reveal if a particular policy priority was related to a particular minister. Rosemary Vodrey, Clayton Manness and Linda McIntosh emphasized the 'Fiscal/Financial' factor (26.3%, 20.0% and 28.6% respectively). Given that he was a former Minister of Finance, it is perhaps surprising that

Mr. Manness accounted for the lowest reference the 'Financial/Fiscal' factor at 20.0%, in fact the same rate as his reference to 'Accessibility' or to 'Student Focus.' Interestingly, Mr. Manness also accounted for the lowest reference to 'Accessibility' of any of the ministers examined.

Figure 5.6

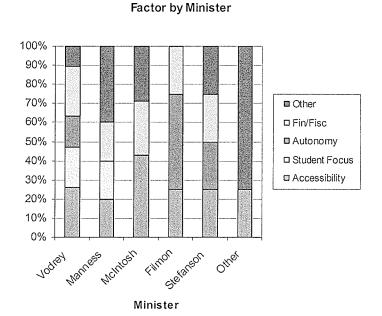


Table 5.4: Ministers' References to Factors Important to the Tuition Fee Policy

Factor	Vodrey	Manness	McIntosh	Filmon	Stefanson	Other
Other	10.5%	40.0%	28.6%	0.0%	25.0%	75.0%
Fin/Fisc	26.3%	20.0%	28.6%	25.0%	25.0%	0.0%
Autonomy	15.8%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	25.0%	0.0%
Student Focus	21.1%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Accessibility	26.3%	20.0%	42.9%	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%

By comparison, during Mrs. Vodrey's tenure as education minister, there was a greater reference to the 'Accessibility' factor (26.3%), 'Student Focus' (21.1%) and 'Financial/Fiscal' (26.3%). In contrast, however, was Mrs. McIntosh's tenure as education minister. Mrs. McIntosh became Minister of Education and Training after the 1995 general election in Manitoba, an election that was called the day after the province

announced that its budget (both operating and capital) would be balanced for 1995/96, the first time this had occurred in decades.<sup>407</sup>

While the 'Financial/Fiscal' factor was referenced in *Hansard* discussions regarding tuition fees during Mrs. McIntosh's tenure as minister, at 42.9%, the percentage of analytical units referring to 'Accessibility' was higher than it had been under the previous two ministers. This suggests a possible shift in policy focus after the 1995 provincial election. Tuition fee policy may have shifted away from tuition related to financial issues and towards the more traditional context for tuition fees – that of accessibility – once the deficit was resolved.

While examining the data by education minister helps to identify the trends over time, and provides a greater sense of who held what priorities, it is also interesting to look at the results for the premier and the Minister of Finance, Eric Stefanson. This allows for an assessment of the data from the perspective of those occupying among the most influential portfolios in government.

Both reported the same rate in terms of statements related to 'Accessibility' (25.0%), but much higher rates of reference to 'Autonomy' (50.0% for Filmon, 25.0% for Stefanson) as compared to the other ministers. This may suggest that overall, government's perspective was focused elsewhere than on the aspect of tuition most expected – that of accessibility. Indeed, when returning to the overall assessment shown in section 5.2.1 above, it is instructive to note that the overall reference rate to the Accessibility factor was below 30.0%, and no one minister referenced the factor higher than 42.9% (McIntosh), and then only after the budget was balanced. If one combines the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup> In 1987, the NDP government under Howard Pawley presented a balanced operating budget, but a capital budget that was in deficit.

two related factors of "Student Focus" with "Accessibility," the reference rate does not climb higher than 47.4% (Vodrey).

#### 5.3 Discussion

This chapter has focused on activities in the Legislative Assembly in Manitoba not to come to specific conclusions about legislative processes, but specifically to identify factors that were important to ministers as they discussed tuition fees publicly. The discussion of tuition that took place in the Manitoba Legislature revealed four specific factors related to tuition fees: accessibility, support for students, university autonomy, and financial/fiscal matters. It is clear from the data that of the four specific factors the financial/fiscal context was prominent throughout the six legislative sessions examined.

Important also is the established relationship between the 'Financial/Fiscal' factor and the 'Autonomy' factor – when ministers were referring to tuition in its accessibility and/or student focus contexts, they referred to 'Financial/Fiscal' factor as well.

Starting with an observation that there were not many references to tuition to begin with (66 references in 43 analytical units), the overall analysis noted that the "Accessibility" factor was the most prevalent (27.9%). Second to this was the 'Financial/Fiscal' factor (23.3%), followed by 'Autonomy' (14.0%), and 'Student Focus' (11.6%) with the balance captured in "Other" (23.3%).

Additional analysis shows that the trends in the factors change over time, as reflected in the findings by legislative session. A secondary analysis on the statements

suggests that the 'Accessibility' and 'Student Focus' factors were also placed in the context of the 'Financial/Fiscal' factor – a finding that is confirmed in Chapter 6.

Analysis by statement type suggests that the factors referenced by ministers when using the term tuition or equivalent was at least in part a reflection of the type of statement used. That is, there may have been consideration given to the possibility that a given statement would become part of the public discussion on tuition. Further, categorization may also be in part affected by the particular statement type – e.g. statements made during Oral Questions may be disproportionately reflective of the priorities of the opposition and not the government, while statements made during the Committee of Supply debates may be more reflective of the context of the budget process.

Analysis of the data by minister confirms the trends over time, and suggests the priorities of each individual minister. An assessment of those occupying the most prominent of Cabinet positions helps to identify some overall priorities of government with respect to tuition fees at universities.

The focus on the province's fiscal situation confirms Mr. Manness' statement in the Legislative Assembly that fiscal policy was an important element in shaping university policy. The Filmon government was concerned about spending at universities, and it is within this context that the 5% tuition fee cap can be seen as part of government's fiscal policy. 408

The data also suggest that there was more than one focus to the tuition fee policy, and how a government profiles a particular focus may be based on the policy priorities of the moment. Thus, government tended to focus on the financial and fiscal aspects of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup> University Education Review Commission, *Doing Things Differently*, 78.

tuition fee policy when the budgetary situation was more pressing. Once the budget situation was resolved, however, there appeared to be a return to a focus on access.

Based on the evidence presented above, it is reasonable to conclude that government's focus was broader than accessibility. While the overall reference rate to accessibility was the highest, it was still surprisingly low given what could reasonably have been expected. This was seen especially during the 5<sup>th</sup> Session of the 35<sup>th</sup> Legislature, when 80% of the statements were related to Factors other than 'Accessibility' or 'Student Focus'.

This analysis has helped to identify the factors that were important to government ministers as they discussed tuition fees in the Legislative Assembly, and suggests that fiscal and financial matters were important factors with respect to university tuition fees and tuition fee policies in the mid 1990s. This finding is explored in more detail in Chapter 6.

#### 5.3.1 Accounting for Political Dynamics

When interpreting these findings, it is important to remember that *Hansard* represents "*language* about political events rather than the events themselves." Thus, the data collected may be multidimensional. One challenge in interpreting statements made in *Hansard* is the partisan dynamics that may have been at play in the Legislative Assembly at the time. Speaking of former minister's statements critical of Manitoba universities in the Legislature at the time of the 5% fee cap, Hon. Jean Friesen, the (NDP) official opposition education critic during the 1990s, stated that "it may have been that I was the opposition critic and it was a way of needling me. And sometimes it [i.e. criticizing universities] was, and sometimes I think I rose to the occasion." Dr. Friesen's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>409</sup> Edelman, *Political Language*, 142, emphasis in original.

recollection suggests that at times ministers may be making statements that more accurately reflect government's perspective on issues of public policy, while at other times such statements may be exaggerated due to political dynamics in the Legislature.

The fact that there is a mix of rhetoric and reality in the Legislature, which in turn is reflected in *Hansard*, must be considered in the interpretation of the data. Edelman argues persuasively that the language used in political contexts can in fact establish an "image" of the issue at hand, and that image in fact helps to create and/or maintain beliefs about the nature of a problem, its causes, and may also suggest options for solutions. <sup>410</sup>

How ministers chose to express themselves regarding an issue in the Legislature can be used to further understand their perspectives on issues. Thus, Edelman would suggest that it is significant were decision-makers to discuss tuition fees in a specific context (such as financial/fiscal). Edelman says:

The consequence of perceiving typifications that are evoked unconsciously is that political beliefs normally reinforce one or another pre-established social consensus. They are unlikely to take account of the unique and critical features of an issue, though it is exactly those features that render the issue susceptible to effective resolution.<sup>411</sup>

References to the province's fiscal situation, responsibility and budgetary policy at the universities, represents how the issue was discussed, and, Edelman would argue, guided the understanding of the problem and inform expectations in terms of resolutions. Thus, statements regarding tuition fees, combined with references to the province's fiscal difficulties and the responsibility of the university to better manage their affairs creates an image of universities as being unresponsive and financially wasteful at a time when all parts of the public sector were being asked to reduce their spending, all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

images that reinforce the government's message of the need for action on the fiscal situation, and the requirement that all facets of the economy contribute to resolving the situation. Thus, Edelman argues, politicians are able to build support for their perspectives, 413 in this case by referring to an image of the university – the ivory tower – disconnected from and unresponsive to the realities of the day; universities must therefore be brought to heel.

Edelman acknowledges that there are limitations to this type of analysis. He says that the symbolic use of language is not "omnipotent, [but] they go far toward defining the geography and the topography of everyone's political world."414 Thus *Hansard* is useful in that it can help to explain not only what government's priorities were with respect to, in this case, the 5% tuition fee cap, but also the images government's attempt to create to further their message and gain support for their policies and programs.

### 5.4 Chapter Summary

### 5.4.1 The Findings in Brief

This chapter identified factors that ministers referenced when discussing tuition fee policy in the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. The chapter notes that while "Accessibility" was the most frequent factor referenced by ministers, there was in fact a broadening of the focus from accessibility to other factors, such as fiscal issues, and a minor focus on autonomy before returning back to a focus on accessibility once the fiscal situation of the province was addressed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> *Ibid.*, 29. <sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

The evidence gathered through *Hansard* revealed that there were consistent patterns in terms of the perspectives taken by ministers in the Filmon government. This suggests that the message conveyed in the various different venues in the Legislature represented the policy perspectives of the government of the day. Further, the language used appeared to create an image of university education that would support the general policy thrust of the government regarding tuition fees.

# 5.4.2 Significance for the Dissertation

These findings suggest that fiscal matters were an important consideration regarding the tuition fee policy. Accordingly, this chapter contributes to the dissertation by establishing an empirical base from which to conduct further research in the form of interviews with ministers and senior government officials.

This chapter presents evidence that helps to confirm the central thesis of the dissertation that the government perceived tuition as a tool to help bring universities into line with the goal of getting public spending under control. In the period of time examined, tuition was framed primarily in the context of the financial situation of the province – a shift from the perspective often taken by researchers and policy makers that sees tuition focused on accessibility and student-support. This may have reflected a conceptual shift, possibly temporary, of how tuition fees were viewed within the larger government policy agenda. Instead of focusing on accessibility, during the 1990s the government saw tuition as a mechanism to help foster change and therefore reduce expenditures in Manitoba higher education and thereby help contribute to eliminating the deficit.

# 5.4.3 The Next Chapter

This chapter began the process of introducing evidence to demonstrate the central thesis of the dissertation. The next chapter continues the examination of evidence, presenting interview data which help to confirm and broaden the findings of the present chapter. The interview data also introduce new information with respect to the role that autonomy played in tuition fee policy.

#### **CHAPTER 6**

#### **INTERVIEW FINDINGS**

## 6.1 Chapter Purpose

Chapter 6 presents the findings from interviews conducted with those individuals who were closely involved with the tuition fee policy – either through being a decision-maker (such as a minister), an advisor (such as a senior civil servant) or an interested observer (such as a member of the opposition or a university president).

# 6.1.1 Interview Participants Categorized

A total of three <u>senior civil servants</u> who were directly involved in the tuition fee policy were interviewed for the dissertation. Shown by their positions and titles at the time of the 5% tuition fee cap, the participants were:

- Don Leitch, Clerk of the Executive Council and Secretary to Cabinet
- John Carlyle, Deputy Minister of Education and Training
- Leo LeTourneau, Executive Director, Universities Grants Commission

Three former ministers of Manitoba's Department of Education and Training, the department with responsibility for universities, were interviewed. While the Cabinet government system suggests that perhaps all ministers of the day would have insights into the issue, those selected are considered to have specific insight based on their specific portfolios. The interview participants were:

- Hon. Clayton Manness
- Hon. Linda McIntosh
- Hon. Rosmary Vodrey

Another individual, Dr. Arnold Naimark, former president of the University of Manitoba was interviewed to get a perspective from the university system. Additionally, Hon. Jean Friesen, Opposition Critic, Education and Training at the time of the tuition fee cap, was interviewed to provide a perspective from the opposition.

The integration of these two additional interviews into the chapter is limited to commentary throughout as these two other interviews are not appropriately grouped together, such as with the ministers or the senior civil servants. The perspectives offered by both Dr. Naimark and Dr. Friesen provide important perspectives that did not come out in the other interviews and thus are valuable to the analysis.

## 6.1.2 Chapter Organization

The second section of the chapter examines perspectives held by interview participants regarding the 5% tuition fee policy itself. This examination helps to expand the understanding of the policy and provides important perspectives of those involved in developing and implementing the policy.

The remainder of the chapter is organized by theme and by participant type (i.e. former minister and former senior civil servant). The four themes in which the data are reviewed arose from the transcripts. In order to allow for consistency in interpretation, where appropriate the themes have been given the same names as the themes that arose in Chapter 5. Altogether, the four themes areas presented in this chapter are:

- Accessibility
- Financial/Fiscal
- Autonomy
- Political Dimension

# 6.2 The 5% Tuition Fee Policy

The following discussion draws on all interviews to identify additional details about the reasons the cap was established, why the cap was set at 5%, and why the cap was removed. This discussion helps to create a more complete understanding of the cap.

All former ministers and all former civil servants confirmed that the tuition fee cap was put in place primarily to influence the universities to reconsider their costs and reorder their priorities internally by restricting tuition revenues at a time period when government was also limiting grants. This perspective was reinforced by Dr. Naimark, suggesting that this was well understood from the university perspective. In summary, government hoped that by restricting revenues, universities would make decisions and establish priorities that would restructure and reduce their costs.

According to interview participants, an additional but a secondary reason for the 5% tuition fee cap was to ensure that universities, when faced by insufficient operating grants, would not increase tuition to compensate. This perspective on the cap can be seen as supporting affordability and accessibility to university in Manitoba, but was cast in the light of the fiscal objectives of the cap so as to keep universities from increasing their revenues so as to ensure pressure is brought to bear to influence decision-making and priority-setting at the universities.

There was also a strong belief at the time that students should contribute some amount to the costs of their education. This belief was placed in the context of the long-term economic benefits of university education that accrue to the individual.

One question not easily answered through other research has been the question of why the cap was set at 5% versus some other figure, or versus a freeze. There appeared to

be no formulaic or empirical basis to the selection of the 5% level. Rather, the level was a product of discussion internally to government that considered at least the average tuition levels charged in other provinces, as well as a general assessment of what Manitobans could bear in terms of fee increases.

Interestingly, the use of a cap rather than a freeze was placed in the context of university autonomy. A cap provides universities with some flexibility to raise revenues in recognition of the fact that universities did face some real operating and capital cost pressures. A freeze, in Mrs. McIntosh's words, "absolutely and totally ignores the autonomy of the university." It is accurate to say that a cap limits autonomy to some extent, but interview participants noted that a cap provides some room to maneuver and is less intrusive than a freeze.

While not announcing a time horizon for the cap, government never intended the cap to be permanent. By 1996/97, there was a sense that progress had been made regarding the fiscal situation: the deficit had been eliminated and the budget had been balanced, and additional revenues were available to government. Furthermore, it was known that universities continued to face real cost pressures, and that additional revenue raised through tuition beyond 5% increases would be required. Government also sensed that universities were more willing to cooperate with respect to issues such as relevance, effectiveness and efficiency. While it was not believed that the universities had restructured their operations, there was a sense that the universities 'got the point' being made by government.

This discussion adds to the understanding of the 5% tuition fee cap implemented by government that has been developing since the beginning of the dissertation.

Government was interested in restructuring university operations in order to reduce the costs to the treasury, but was not interested in directly involving themselves in the university affairs to do so. It is within this context that student affordability was placed. Government did not want universities replacing reduced government grants with increased tuition fee revenue, a move that would have run counter to the government's initial objective for establishing the tuition fee cap. Once government had a sense that the province's finances were recovering, and that universities had started to respond, the cap was lifted. These perspectives and supporting evidence are examined in greater detail below.

### 6.3 Findings

This section presents the interview findings in the four themes noted above and considers the opinions of the categories of respondents. The 'Accessibility' theme is examined first, followed by the 'Financial/Fiscal' theme, reflecting the close connection between the two themes identified by interview participants. 'University Autonomy' is then examined as a separate theme, followed by a discussion of the perspectives of interview participants on the 'Political Dimension'.

#### 6.3.1 Accessibility

Senior Civil Servants all reported that accessibility, while not ignored, was not the most important consideration then tuition fee policy was being discussed. Dr. LeTourneau noted that it was not a major issue. He said:

You know, during the Filmon years, I don't get the sense that it was a great issue. I think that the tuition policy was never instituted with that in mind. At least I don't remember any discussion related to that. It was more in keeping with fiscal issues.

Don Leitch also articulates this sentiment. When asked specifically about the key driver behind the tuition fee policy, Mr. Leitch noted that "the first and most obvious driver, the one that jumps up right in front of you, was the fiscal situation." Carlyle's interview also reveals his perspective that the issue was related to the fiscal circumstances of the province.

While each noted that the government's priorities surrounding the tuition fee policy were principally related to the province's fiscal situation, it is clear that accessibility was not ignored. LeTourneau notes that in terms of tuition, accessibility became a more important factor towards the end of the Filmon government, when the fiscal situation had improved and there was more money in the system.

The senior civil servants interviewed suggested that there was consideration given to accessibility throughout the years of the Filmon government, including when the tuition fee policy was being developed and implemented. As former Deputy Minister John Carlyle said:

I don't think the government obviously was looking to cause undue hardship. In fact, that they would say we want to make a freeze on tuition fees was an example of paying importance to access ... it is not that they were opposed to access to university in the sense of wanting to put up barriers – that is not true.

 $\dots$  the government – a government – does not want to be seen, in my view, in this province, because we all support university education, they did not to be seen as being accused of allowing tuition fees to rise through the roof.

However, it is also clear that concerns for accessibility were viewed through the prism of the fiscal situation. Mr. Carlyle goes on to say:

There was a "get you house in order," "straighten up and fly right" and at the same time, the province is going to be politically responsible to the students and the parents by saying we're putting a cap on it. But I guess in some senses it is also a signal to the universities that we are so intent on seeing that you get your house in order that we would prevent you from offloading onto the students.

The priority was the fiscal situation, and government was focused on that priority, wanting to ensure that universities took appropriate action to 'get their house in order' and not solve their budgetary shortfalls through increases in tuition.

Mr. Leitch provides perhaps the clearest articulation of the relationship between tuition fee policy and fiscal considerations, a discussion that is worth repeating more completely. When discussing the tuition fee cap and its relationship to accessibility, Mr. Leitch said that the government was:

trying to run a provincial administration that is reducing a deficit and at the same time putting in place a more competitive taxation structure, because remember at that time some provinces, the Harris government, the Alberta government, were cutting personal and corporate income taxes, and if you are wanting to attract investment economically in order to provide you with revenue to fund your universities and your hospitals, you can't have your tax system totally out of whack with others in Canada.

So the provincial government said, look, let's have a balanced approach to what we are going to do on tuition fees. The option they settled on was the cap. And that's one of the arguments for settling on a cap after the universities had gone a little hog wild, was to say, you know, if universities were allowed to increase of their own will, they are going to drive up tuition fees, Manitoba students aren't the wealthiest in the country – they are middle of the pack – it's going to impact on them to the extent that some may not be able to go to university.

We want to make sure that we have, as close to universal accessibility to universities as we can get. You know, any student coming out of high school with sufficient and adequate grades should be able to pursue a post-secondary education, whether it was at university or college, should be able to do that. And if tuition fees escalate too fast – too high too fast – we're not going to be able to do that.

So that is where the accessibility argument came in. But the real driver was that fiscal situation, compounded by the tax competitiveness, compounded by the universities when the freeze came off jumping ahead too far.

In addition to the fiscal perspective, there was also a political dimension to the discussion surrounding tuition fee policy. Mr. Carlyle specifically notes concerns regarding the electoral impact of tuition fee policy. He said that the tuition fee policy "is

also a public policy to get votes. For sure – of course it is, you don't want to get unelected because of some silly policy."

Dr. LeTourneau noted that accessibility "acquired a Hell of a lot more importance with the NDP. You'll remember that one [referring to the 10% tuition fee reduction/freeze]. And it was an issue that was more in keeping with the philosophy of the [NDP] government too... it was a critical issue..." LeTourneau's remarks suggest that, in comparison, the NDP were much more apt to see tuition as an accessibility issue than were the Progressive Conservatives on the basis of electoral support of specific groups.

The political dimension identified by participants is connected to accessibility through the pressure that is placed on government by students and their families as they face rapidly increasing tuition fees. In order to fully explore this dimension of accessibility, it is useful to show the tuition fee increases during the 1990s, and in particular look at the tuition fee increases that took place immediately prior to the imposition of the 5% tuition fee cap in 1993/94, shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Average Arts & Science Tuition Fee Increases 1990/91 – 1999/00

Academic Year	Unadjusted University	Percentage Change	Adjusted* University	Percentage Change
1990/91	\$1,482	8.1%	\$1,763	3.3%
1991/92	\$1,819	22.7%	\$2,059	16.8%
1992/93	\$2,120	16.5%	\$2,366	14.9%
1993/94	\$2,226	5.0%	\$2,419	2.2%
1994/95	\$2,342	5.2%	\$2,511	3.8%
1995/96	\$2,459	5.0%	\$2,567	2.2%
1996/97	\$2,598	5.7%	\$2,655	3.4%
1997/98	\$2,820	8.5%	\$2,820	6.2%
1998/99	\$2,886	2.3%	\$2,850	1.1%
1999/00	\$3,117	8.0%	\$3,020	6.0%

Source: Statistics Canada. Calculations by Author

Notes

<sup>\*</sup>Adjusted to constant 1997 dollars (1992 = 100)

In the years immediately prior to the imposition of the 5% tuition cap, universities had significantly raised tuition fees. Table 6.1 shows that in 1991 and 1992, unadjusted tuition fees increased by 22.7% and 16.5% respectively. Mr. Leitch notes that the government 'took the heat' for these fee increases in 1991/92 and 1992/93, leading the government to reconsider their policy of allowing universities to set the fees as they see fit. Mr. Leitch said:

The universities put in place a number of fee increases and some of them in fact put in place some significant increases, and there was a bit of a backlash from students and from others that, gee whiz, maybe they have gone too far. Government took a look at that, and said, gee whiz, maybe we gave them too much freedom to universities to just go out and raise fees, and governments were seen as being politically accountable for that, even though it was the universities themselves and their boards, etc, that were putting in place those increases.

And you know, when information came back to government, there were people in the universities, in the senior administration, who were of the view that, well, we can raise fees because, at the end of the day, we may get some grumbling from students, but the big political push is going to be against the government, so we at the university are a little bit immune. This, as a public sector, as a public debate, the argument will go to the government and not first of all to the universities, so we will, we've got a bit more room to move more than we otherwise would have.

Government said, well, if we are going to take the pain of the tuition fee increases, maybe we should be circumscribing a little bit, and proscribing, in a more prescriptive basis, what the fee increases should be. So that is when they started to look at say, well, maybe we should be looking at addressing the university's demands, requirements for more cash through tuition fees, but maybe we should be proscribing, and considering what a cap could look like, what a cap should be, what's the appropriate level.

This 'heat,' according to Dr. Naimark, is part of the landscape of post-secondary education. When asked whether or not students exerted any pressure regarding tuition, Dr. Naimark replied "It always has been, at the time, 10 years before, and 10 years after."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> While adjusted tuition fees are shown, it is important to note that government uses unadjusted figures to make comparisons to other jurisdictions and to other years. Thus, a better understanding of government's perspective and reaction to fee increases is gained by focusing on unadjusted university tuition fees.

There is reason to believe that this is true. In the mid 1960s, the University of Manitoba considered increasing tuition by \$50.00 per year, and the University of Manitoba Students' Union objected on the grounds that the increase would make it more difficult for students to continue their education. The students took their protest to the government, organizing a demonstration and a march on the Legislature that was, ultimately, not very effective: "the Premier refused to meet the parade leaders, asking them to meet with the Minister of Education", who made no offer of government assistance. The students are university of the University of Manitoba Consideration of the University of Consideration of Consi

More than 30 years later, in 1999, university students reacted to an 8% increase in tuition fees. "The University of Winnipeg Students Association has already called the eight percent hike unreasonable and is calling for the provincial government to step in and freeze tuition increases…" <sup>418</sup>, a position that was not accepted by the Progressive Conservative government of Gary Filmon.

While governments do not always respond, political pressure from students relating to tuition is to be expected. In his 2008 interview, Dr. Naimark continued:

There always is pressure from students to minimize and if possible to prevent tuition fee increases. When I say students I mean the organized student body ... [tuition is] one of the most visible issues that affects every student, so its bound to be a top item on the quote political list of the things that university student union presidents are supposed to fight for. So it is a kind of political reality.

The 'heat', according to Dr. Naimark, is part of the landscape with which politicians must routinely deal.

Accessibility for students was viewed as important by the provincial government as it considered its tuition fee policy. However, senior civil servants shared the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup> Hugh H. Saunderson, *The Saunderson Years* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1981), 127. <sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-128.

<sup>418</sup> Rollason, "Spotlight on Tories," A3.

perspective that accessibility was viewed through the prism of the province's fiscal situation. The vehicle selected – a 5% tuition fee cap – appears to be at least in part the result of political considerations regarding government taking political 'heat' for dramatic increases in tuition fees.

Indeed, it is possible that absent the dramatic increases in tuition in 1991/92 and 1992/93, there might not have been a cap. Mr. Leitch said:

I think that this is one example, where, in retrospect, the university administrators misjudged the situation by pushing the fees as far ahead as they did as fast as they did, and really led to a bit of a political push back from students, leading to he government to have to say, look, we wanted to be able to accommodate the need for revenue. One way to do that was through adjusting tuition fees upwards, but double digit numbers were not in the cards. So, they then settled on a cap.

The cap appears to have been put in place by government as a response to a number of situations. Senior civil servants suggest that the key driver was the province's fiscal situation, including economic factors (e.g. competitive tax policy). The use of a cap appears to have been driven by the fact that universities were perceived as not being in league with government with respect to deficit fighting.

However, one cannot conclude from the senior civil servants' observations that the government was insensitive to the needs of students. While the fiscal situation was the greater problem, senior civil servants also pointed out the political pressures placed on government resulting from increased tuition. Indeed, Mr. Leitch suggested that the cap may have not been seen as necessary absent the significant tuition fee increases in the early 1990s.

Former ministers of education and training also expressed opinions about accessibility – opinions that coincide with the perspectives expressed above by senior civil servants. Accessibility was important to the government, as noted by Dr. Friesen:

I think there was a general recognition, particularly among the rural members, of the difficulties of sending rural students to university, or to any kind of post-secondary education, and of the additional burden of sending students away from home. And so I think there were, in terms of their ... individual constituencies as well as their political constituencies, [accessibility] was certainly one factor that they were aware of.

Yet, they never really developed any policies to assist in that.

Dr. Friesen's observations suggest a view, generally held about the government in the 1990s, that while the government was concerned about access to post-secondary education, it took few steps to address the financial burdens associated with university participation. In some instances, for instance the elimination of student bursaries and the reduction in support to ACCESS programs, it could be argued that the government of the day reduced financial support to students.

Tuition in Manitoba was not perceived in the early 1990s as being a significant barrier to post-secondary education. Mrs. Rosemary Vodrey, Minister of Education and Training from 1992 to 1993, noted that "across the country our fees, university tuition, certainly was not the highest, it was certainly very affordable." The opinions of former Filmon cabinet ministers suggest that government took a broad perspective regarding accessibility, considering both financial and non-financial dimensions. This helps in understanding government's willingness to regard tuition fees as more of a fiscal consideration as opposed to an accessibility consideration; accessibility was conceptualized as being beyond financial considerations. This allowed for increased consideration of different kinds of policy options.

While there was acknowledgement of the financing issue that students faced when attending university, former ministers also knew that accessibility was more than a financial matter. Linda McIntosh elaborated, noting that barriers to access included

preparation to attend university. She noted that *completion* rather than simple participation was particularly important if a student is to reap the full benefits of a university education. To this end, she cited policy efforts of government in the K-12 sector, in particular standards exams in Grade 12, and curricular innovations such as University One at the University of Manitoba (a common first year with increased student supports instigated at the initiative of the University of Manitoba and supported financially by the Council on Post-Secondary Education in the late 1990s).

Mrs. McIntosh's remarks are insightful for a number of reasons. First, other research has demonstrated that a significant reason why people do not participate in post-secondary education is because of poor high school marks. Second, as discussed in the opening paragraphs of Chapter 1, barriers to access have been often conceptualized as being financial in nature. However, research has suggested that financial barriers are not the only barriers students face, nor are they the most significant. Finally, Mrs. McIntosh's comments provide evidence that the government was taking a broad view of accessibility. The concept of access includes a number of dimensions, including financial and academic preparation discussed by Mrs. McIntosh, as well as family and parental factors, peer influence, among others.

Government was not insensitive to financial barriers, however. Mrs. Vodrey outlined some of the policy actions government took in this area. She notes that government undertook a review of its student loan program and made changes within the

<sup>419</sup> Joseph Berger, et al, "Barriers to Post-Secondary Education," In *The Price of Knowledge 2006-07* (Montreal: Canadian Millennium Scholarship Foundation, 2007), 6.

<sup>(</sup>Montreal: Canadian Millennium Scholarship Foundation, 2007), 6.

420 Danielle Shaienks and Tomasz Gluszynski, *Participation in Postsecondary Education: Graduates, Continuers and Drop Outs, Results from YITS Cycle 4* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2007), *passim*; Julie Dubois, *What Influences Young Canadians to Pursue Post-Secondary Studies* (Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada, 2002), *passim*.

<sup>421</sup> Shaienks and Gluszynski, Participation in Postsecondary Education, passim.

ambit of its responsibilities in this area. Additionally, Mrs. Vodrey noted that the federal government reduced funding for the ACCESS program, a program designed to improve accessibility for selected groups underrepresented in post-secondary education. She noted that the federal government unilaterally eliminated funding for its portion of this program, and

I had to go to Treasury Board and beg for the money and we walked in and made the announcement in the Legislature that we would be providing that million or whatever it was that year – we would assume it, the responsibility for the ACCESS program to prevent an interruption of studies. And I always thought that our government did not get credit for that.

Thus while the government took a broader view of accessibility, they did not ignore the impact financial barriers had on students.

Despite the actions of government regarding financial barriers to post-secondary education, one cannot reasonably state that the tuition fee cap was part of an accessibility strategy. Mrs. Vodrey pointed out that the tuition fee cap was consistent with other actions being taken by government at the time, including a cap on tax increases by school divisions. Indeed, in 1993, Mrs. Vodrey, then Minister of Education and Training, told the Legislative Assembly:

As the government searches for ways to trim costs instead of asking for more an more from Manitoba taxpayers, so must the [school] divisions. We all realize controlled taxation is fundamental to our economic recovery. Our government is committed to reducing the burden on taxpayers. Our 5 percent cap on the tuition fee is an example of this commitment. As this government makes tough, but what we believe to be fair decisions, so must the divisions. As government faces the challenge of today's economic reality, so must the divisions. This government maintains its commitment to education and its commitment to students. We also maintain our commitment to the taxpayers of this province who have clearly said to us, they cannot afford tax increases year after year. 423

<sup>423</sup> Manitoba, *Hansard* 42, no.22 (March 9, 1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup> Government student loans in Canada are a joint federal-provincial program. Canada has significant policy responsibility for setting the process.

Thus in *Hansard* in 1993 and confirmed in her interview in 2008, Mrs. Vodrey equated the student with the taxpayer – limits were placed on increases in taxes (school boards) and tuition (university). However, while the cap may or may not have had a salutary effect on student affordability (this was not assessed by government and is not assessed by this dissertation), the central purpose of the tuition fee cap, just like the cap on school board taxation, was the internal reordering of priorities within the institutions, rather than a concern for student access. As she noted in her interview, the fiscal "environment was similar for everybody."

At the University of Manitoba, the government's concern regarding accessibility was noted, but also was seen as being a secondary consideration. Referring to the Progressive Conservative government, Dr. Naimark noted that

they may have had a particular concern about tuition fees not rising too much thereby potentially affecting accessibility. But that was just a general consideration. I think that the more specific outcome as far as the funding letter to universities each year was essentially a financial calculus.

Government was concerned about students, and this concern was framed within financial considerations. It also appears that ministers felt government was restricted in its ability to address financial accessibility for students in that the greater priority was managing the province's debt and deficit. Clayton Manness acknowledged that as a result of government's university funding policy of the day, government

knew that there would be ... some diminishing of opportunity [for students]. We never spoke about it, there's no where you'll see that written down, we didn't want to do it, we got no great joy out of doing it, but the fact was, [diminishing opportunity] was going to be one of the outcomes.

Mr. Manness noted that despite the knowledge that there may be a negative impact on access to post-secondary education for students, government continued with funding reductions and allowing tuition increases due to the fiscal situation.

Former ministers' recollections confirm that the fiscal situation was a key factor in the policy-making framework for higher education, and certainly for tuition fee policy. The next section examines more closely the perspectives of senior civil servants and former ministers regarding the province's fiscal situation.

### 6.3.2 Financial/Fiscal

This section examines the perspectives of the different types of interview participants as they saw the issue from the financial/fiscal perspective. There was a significant fiscal dimension to the 5% tuition fee cap. Mr. Manness stated in his interview that "the fiscal situation really did rule the day." This section will first provide a broad overview of the interview findings in this theme, and then turn to a more detailed examination.

Interview participants themselves defined the province's fiscal situation and related this to the 5% tuition fee cap. Interview participants noted that the province's fiscal woes were defined by large debts, persistent deficits and beginning in the early 1990s, the reduction in federal transfer payments to the provinces for health, social services and education. The implications of the province's budgetary issues on universities meant that the universities were faced with budget shortfalls for operations, research and capital. Furthermore, government was unable to provide additional revenues to address universities' shortfalls. Through this discussion interview participants made it

clear that the fiscal environment in the province was a key motivation behind the establishment of the 5% tuition fee cap.

This is not to say that accessibility and affordability were unimportant.

Government also agreed that accessibility to and affordability of university education in Manitoba was an important factor. However, as discussed above, accessibility was not a policy priority for government. While considerations relating to accessibility and affordability were important, the fiscal dimension of the cap – to get universities to restructure and reduce their costs – was government's priority in establishing the cap.

The role that universities were to play given the fiscal situation of the province was not seen as singling out the higher education sector. Indeed, as seen in the above example with school divisions, it was emphasized by several interview participants that all publicly funded entities had a role to play in reducing public expenditures in order to address the deficit. As Mrs. Vodrey put it, "universities were only in the same environment as everybody else."

With these general findings in this theme established, specific interview findings relating to the Financial/Fiscal theme were organized under two broad headings: government's concerns with respect to universities, and the relationship between tuition fees, the universities and deficit reduction. These two headings are examined below.

# 6.3.2.1 The Government's Concerns With Respect to Universities

Senior Civil Servants each addressed the question of the government's main concern with respect to universities during the 1990s in different ways. Dr. LeTourneau noted that governance and accountability were the government's main concern. Mr. Carlyle pointed to infrastructure, whereas Mr. Leitch also pointed to funding for

infrastructure, but also included funding for operations and for research, pointing out the fact that the government's concern was how to finance it in such as way as to address "the needs of the universities, and didn't unduly burden the students..." The central integrating theme of each of the respondents' answers to the question "what is the government's main concern with the universities in the 1990s" was related to funding and finance.

Speaking about accountability for public dollars, Dr. LeTourneau noted that

There was a lot of concern about how the universities were spending their money, whether they were spending it well, and for good purposes... but it was also quite nebulous as to what [government] meant by accountability. They weren't sure how to really express it, but there was a tremendous desire on their part to get a better sense about how they were spending their money – and that was a trend across the country at the time, too.

Dr. LeTourneau's conversation focuses on the use of funding and referred throughout his interview on the issue of relevance, and the importance of the university contributing to the Manitoba economy. He continues,

I don't think that we wanted to turn the universities into community colleges, but surely there must be some sense in which what happens in society and in the immediate society, is of interest to those inside the university, and they can contribute somehow...

Whereas Dr. LeTourneau's perspective, being closer to the universities, focused on accountability and relevance, former Deputy Minister John Carlyle focused on infrastructure and the significant costs associated with new and updated capital requirements. He said

I think that aging infrastructure was definitely [a concern] both from the point of view of the university itself requesting funds, and the province hearing about it from citizens, and also that coupled with universities asking for funds for infrastructure renewal juxtaposed with at the same time saying that they wanted new buildings... so that used to cost the government a bit of money...

The three senior civil servants' responses strongly suggest that government's major concerns regarding universities related to funding issues. This is perhaps not surprising given the fiscal situation that the province faced in the 1990s. Mr. Leitch provides a detailed explanation:

As we got into the early 1990s, you know, post-secondary education transfers from the federal government were a very hot topic. There was considerable debate going on. And certainly commencing in 1993, the Government of Canada put in place some very very significant and drastic reductions in terms of post-secondary education transfers to the provinces as part of their efforts, the Government of Canada's efforts, to curtail and fight a very significant deficit.

Certainly the Manitoba Government had inherited a large deficit, and the Filmon government from that era, from 1988 onwards, had set as a very high priority achieving balanced budgets. They brought forward balanced budget legislation in the 1990s. But they clearly expected everybody to try and contribute, and no sector was immune from some pretty significant and exhaustive reviews. And so, the government's... priorities were to see a strong and thriving post-secondary education sector, but the challenge was how do you finance it? And you know there were lots of arguments about the proportion of university costs that were provided by government, by grants, through tuition fees, etc.

The impact of the fiscal situation will be addressed further below when the chapter turns to examining the relationship between university tuition fees and government's efforts to reduce the deficit.

It would be inappropriate, however, to conclude that the government viewed universities only through the prism of funding. Government viewed university education as an important part of the infrastructure of a vibrant and prosperous province. Mr. Leitch explains:

provincial governments, and the Manitoba government was no different, had to be very very sensitive to the need for that funding. They did not want to see the integrity of the institutions diminished. They wanted to see them prospering. And universities – post-secondary education institutions – are recognized as an integral part of the economic engine of a province. You do not have the same status as a provincial jurisdiction if you don't have good, credible universities within your province. That they have to be seen as and regarded as credible, and if universities cannot operate, if the infrastructure is

crumbling, if you can't attract quality instructors and researchers, that is going to impact on your whole economic scenario as well.

Mr. Leitch returned to this theme on more than one occasion during his interview.

Thus, while it may be tempting to view the government as being single-mindedly focused on eliminating the deficit, from the perspectives of senior civil servants it can be ascertained that government believed that Manitoba's post-secondary system would be strengthened if the fiscal situation was improved. Thus, one can conclude that the government's approach to university education and funding was intended to ensure the long-term sustainability of the higher education system.

Like their senior civil servants, former ministers of education and training also viewed as the chief concern with universities being their financial sustainability. Like the senior civil servants, funding issues were expressed as being related to operating and capital costs at universities.

Mrs. Vodrey noted plainly that the funding of post-secondary education was government's central concern. She related these concerns to the fact that governments had to examine their operations:

across the country, and in all areas, governments were having to look at their budgets. It was... with the reduced transfer payments, governments were really having to deal with changes. And it doesn't matter if you look at it in Health, Labour, in anything, we were having to in our departments examine the best way to spend dollars. And that was kind of what we had to go through every budget time. And in those years, it wasn't really a wish list anymore, which in the good years you had — what would you like to add to your department — it was assess everything your department does and try to see how efficiently that is working, and how you are going to deal with the money you had, because you know there was a lot of reductions in that time.

She continued that the university sector was not exempt from government's consideration of spending: "we were dealing in a time when there [weren't] unlimited funds", She stated.

Relating the pressures that government faced from the universities with respect to the need for funding, Mr. Manness discussed government's concerns relating to capital costs:

Universities came at us very hard with respect to... infrastructure. That hit us early on as a new government and I can tell you that we were expected to walk in... the tunnels underneath looking at the infrastructure and how they were falling apart and how if as a new government we didn't deal with this, that we'd be derelict in our responsibility.

That was very disconcerting because, one, it was obvious that there was a requirement... Secondly, we had absolutely no additional money to direct to university grants, let along university grants specific to capital.

Mrs. McIntosh, who became minister in 1995, cited funding concerns, but related to operating costs of the institutions. She said that at the time "our concern was the ability to fund the university because our transfer payments for health and post-secondary education had been cut", referring to the federal government's reductions in funding to the provinces, introduced in the mid 1990s.

Mrs. McIntosh elaborates on government funding concerns, speaking at length about the issue of relevance of university programs to societal needs, and allocating the dollars that were received strategically. Similar to Dr. LeTouneau, she also made the connection between funding and program priority setting. She said that government "wanted to give money... and have it spent wisely." It is clear from Mrs. McIntosh's remarks that government was hoping that the tuition cap would encourage the university to allocate its resources more strategically. With the fee cap, Mrs. McIntosh noted that government was "trying to build awareness with decision-makers at the university that the dollars were not limitless."

Dr. Naimark noted that he had the impression that government wanted to foster a reordering of priorities and internal affairs at the universities along the lines suggested by

the former ministers above, but there was no clear sense on the part of government what this 'reordering' would look like when completed. He said in his interview that:

my impression was that this notion that the universities needed reordering had nothing to do ... well, this is my personal opinion, had less to do with any objective assessment of what actually went on in the universities, but rather had to do with such issues as the compensation of the professors, tenure, the ostensible lack of responses of the universities to changing economic and social factors, etc.

But when you actually pressed people to say what is it that needs reordering and why, you found, what I concluded was pretty fuzzy thinking. So it was an attitude I think largely based on incomplete understanding of the nature of the universities, and a sort of wishful thinking about why can't it be done differently and cost less.

Indeed, Dr. Naimark's observations suggest that there was no programmatic plan for university education in Manitoba. He continued:

They didn't come with any programmatic instruction or any other indication of a policy or plan from the government. Our impression was that, what they did with respect to support of universities either by allowing for tuition fee increases, or by determining the size of the grant, was based on fiscal considerations rather than any specific programmatic plan that the government had for universities.

Former ministers of education and training noted that government was focused on the funding issues – capital and operating – in the university sector throughout the 1990s. These perspectives are consistent with the perspectives held by the senior civil servants in the university policy sector. However, as highlighted by Dr. Naimark, government appeared to have, on the one hand, a sense of where the inefficiencies were, but little sense as to how the universities should reorder their priorities and internal affairs to restructure themselves. While government had identified a problem, it did not set a direction.

## 6.3.2.2 Tuition Fees, Universities, and Deficit Reduction

**Senior civil servants** each had perspectives on the issue of universities and their role in terms of deficit reduction. Perspectives that centre on the appropriate role of

government in setting direction are examined in the autonomy section. This section will look at how and why universities were expected to contribute to deficit reduction, and the role that the 5% tuition fee cap was intended to play.

The previous discussion noted the priority that deficit reduction had for the government of the day. While Mr. Carlyle noted that was no 'manic' activity around the issue of cost containment at universities, it nonetheless was an important feature of university policy development.

Mr. Leitch noted that the government's intention was to bring the universities into the fight against the deficit by restricting their revenues – not only through grants, but also through tuition fees as a way to look at the universities own internal costs. He said:

by constraining what the annual tuition fee increase could be, it wouldn't give the universities all they wanted, and the argument to the universities was you are not getting all you want, but you have got to find some of it internally – you know – look from within and see what you can come up with.

There is evidence that suggests government's intent with their funding policy, including tuition, was to force change within the institution. Dr. LeTourneau said in his interview that "Clayton Manness told me when I was in his office one day 'I brought the college people to their knees, if I had had more time, I would have done the same thing to the universities." This rather dramatic statement refers to the perceived need by government that the universities restructure themselves internally in order to find cost savings. LeTourneau's observation is consistent with public statements made by the Mr. Manness in the Legislative Assembly regarding tuition and funding:

 $\dots$  I have always said generally that until institutions, whether they are health or whether indeed they are educational, before they reach to the user in a big fashion, there still has to be some rationalization done internally...  $^{424}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>424</sup> Hansard 43, no. 33B

All the senior civil servants agreed that, while there may have been other policy objectives, the main purpose of the tuition fee cap was to provide universities with motivation to reduce their spending internally as a mechanism to relieve the pressure that was being placed on government to provide higher levels of funding each year. It was hoped that restrictions in revenue would provide the impetus for internal rationalization and reallocation, reducing annual request to government for funding increases.

Former ministers of education and training perspectives on tuition and the fiscal situation agree with the perspectives of the senior civil servants. The tuition fee cap was perceived as part of the contribution of universities to alleviating the fiscal situation. It is important to remember in the analysis that follows that government was aware that universities were sensitive to the fiscal problems facing the government. Mrs. Vodrey noted that "universities were not unaware of the situation in the country and the situation in the province. ... this fiscal environment wasn't a surprise to universities...."

One gets the clear sense that government perceived universities as a potential part of the solution for the fiscal situation of the day. Mrs. Vodrey noted that "everybody else [had] to reach down to really say what can we hold onto, what do we have to use, universities were only in the same environment as everybody else."

Mrs. Vodrey's successor, Mr. Manness, agreed, stating that universities:

were expected to do no more or no less than anybody else... the government, we had frozen salaries, we brought Filmon Fridays in, we had done everything we could do to hold back the labour component. We took, as politicians we took decreases. I went after judges... I mean we did everything and expected everybody, everybody to pull their weight here... we told [university] administrators... we don't want to hear arguments of 'tenure this, and tenure that' ... we don't want to hear that stuff. We're in quasi-crisis here, and you know, do your part.

The universities, Manness continued, were expected to make difficult decisions within their sphere of influence with the purpose of reducing their overall expenditures. It is within this context that the tuition fee policy was made. Indeed, Mr. Manness confirmed that the tuition fee cap was designed to address the rising costs of universities.

Mrs. McIntosh agreed with this perspective, noting that

there was the desire to try to encourage the university to seek other ways as well, rather than just raising tuition fees, to contain costs and, you know, be a little more prudent with the spending of the money. [Government said] you can raise fees, but not beyond this level. So we weren't taking away their ability to raise money to ask students to make a bigger contribution, but we were saying you can't bleed them dry... you have to look for other ways as well, without specifying what those other ways were because that would be up to the university.

... at the time it was felt 'let's just encourage the university to find other ways by putting this cap on tuition and forcing them to look at other ways to use money.

The discussion of the imposition of the cap as a mechanism to control university costs begs the question as to whether or not this goal was achieved when the cap was lifted for the 1996/97 academic year. When asked directly as to whether or not the cap was lifted because the universities had achieved cost control, Mrs. McIntosh, who was the Minister of Education and Training at the time the cap was lifted, clearly stated "no." This sentiment is reflected in the 1996 Budget Address by Finance Minister Eric Stefanson, who said "we are not imposing a cap on post-secondary tuition fees this year... However, our clear preference is for universities and colleges to reform their operations to deliver top quality education on a more cost-effective basis." The comments by both Mr. Stefanson in the 1996 Budget Address and Mrs. McIntosh in her 2008 interview suggest that the universities had *not* achieved the level of efficiency that was hoped for with the tuition fee cap.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>425</sup> Hon. Eric Stefanson, 1996 Budget Address. Available: http://www.gov.mb.ca/finance/budget96/addrp1.html, accessed 12 April 2008.

However, Mrs. McIntosh indicated that there was never an intention to keep the cap indefinitely. She identified three reasons why the cap was lifted, summarized below:

- 1. The government had through the cap built awareness among the universities that there was a requirement to make difficult choices when allocating dollars rather than simply going to get more money.
- 2. Government was looking to other ways to address efficiency and coordination, one of the key elements of which was the establishment of the Council on Post-Secondary Education in 1997.
- 3. There was a belief by government that students needed to recognize that there was a significant benefit to students of getting a university education, and it was therefore considered reasonable that they contribute to the increasing costs of their education.

While no longer in office at the time the cap was lifted, Mr. Manness agreed that the cap was never intended to be permanent. He stated that "I think we believed more in autonomy than most... [tuition levels] should be a policy made at the university, taking into account their tugs and pushes with respect to balancing finances." In other words, the independence of universities as decision-makers in was important to government. This connection between university autonomy and the tuition fee cap is explored in greater detail, below.

## 6.3.3 University Autonomy

University autonomy was identified by all participants as being important to government with respect to the development of the tuition fee cap during the 1990s.

Additionally, there was broad agreement about the limits of university autonomy among the interview participants. The interview participants provided insights into how this concept was not only understood, but also implemented operationally in government policy. This section of the chapter will first examine findings related to how government

understood university autonomy before examining detailed findings as to how government operationalized that understanding.

In the 1990s, government's chief understanding of university autonomy was that it meant that the academy had the ability to set priorities and to make decisions, and in particular, difficult decisions. Interviews revealed some frustration with universities because it appeared that the universities were not setting priorities, and instead were either coming to government for additional resources, increasing tuition fees, or both, rather than making difficult decisions regarding program offerings, human resources, or capital construction projects. More than one interview participant reported their perception that small classes continued to be offered in areas of low demand, despite demands for other kinds of programming, and despite a lack of resources.

Relevance was part of government's overall understanding of university autonomy. When developing their budget priorities, funding requests and tuition fee levels, universities should consider factors such as the ability of students to pay, the fiscal situation of the province, and the ability of the province to raise tax revenues relative to the other provinces, as well as comparative tuition levels across Canada.

Relevance also was related to decisions surrounding university research and programming and how those related to the social and economic needs of the province. Where universities do not, in the eyes of government, adequately address issues of relevance, government believed that it was justified to take independent action. An example that was given in more than one interview was the Management Development Program, a program of funding provided to the Faculty of Management in the 1990s to

improve and expand programming that was cost-shared between students, alumni and government.

Government's understanding of university autonomy also included an understanding of the fact that universities were self-governed and that this was established in legislation. Interestingly, Dr. LeTourneau emphasized that the authority to set tuition fees was established in legislation, and noted that government could change that legislation, such as it did when it reduced the number of Senate representatives on the University of Manitoba Board of Governors and replaced them with students.

Government believed, however, that it still had both the ability and the obligation to act in the higher education policy arena, contextualized by Mr. Carlyle as 'macro management,' discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7. In brief, government acted to create policy frameworks and set direction, and others, such as universities, were expected to consider these frameworks when making decisions and setting priorities.

Mr. Carlyle noted that legislative amendments were an option but were slow. In the fiscal context of the day, government was interested in faster action. Dr. LeTourneau noted that in order to influence the academy, government could convey the message to recalcitrant universities that "we'll simply not flow the money in. It is as simple as that. I mean, you can always control the universities in those ways. It is as simple as that."

The government's ability to influence universities through its funding is well understood, and was acknowledged by Dr. Naimark as a dynamic that was occurring at the time of the 5% tuition fee cap:

The university's autonomy was always qualified – it wasn't absolute autonomy. So, for example, they would say things like 'well the university sets tuition fees.' On the other hand, they would also indicate that if tuition fees were increased or were increased beyond a certain

cap, that the university's operating grant would be reduced by an equivalent amount.

So, although technically speaking, the university had the autonomy to set fees, it could only do so at a significant potential financial penalty.

In summary, government's understanding of university autonomy included the belief that government was to set the general direction, and universities were to consider that general direction as well as the overall environment that the universities are operating in, and make decisions and set priorities on those bases. Government also believed that it had an obligation to act on behalf of society where it thought action was warranted. In addition, government knew that it could change legislation to achieve its policy objectives, and in a limited way such action did occur. Government also believed that it could influence the academy through funding – through restricting grants, and capping tuition – to foster change.

This general discussion helps to identify how government understood university autonomy. The following detailed discussion helps to explain how government was limited by university autonomy, and the extent to which government actively considered university autonomy as it considered higher education policy.

Senior civil servants spoke about university autonomy, and clearly linked it with the ability of a university to make decisions within its own sphere of influence and the reluctance of government to intervene in university affairs. Explaining why government would not take more direct action regarding the regulation of tuition fees, Mr. Carlyle stated that:

... governments are guided by, if not ordered by, some of the existing laws. And one thing I think that all governments have to remember is that you are not just in power today, you're in power for yesterday and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>426</sup> Such as the 1996 amendment to *The University of Manitoba Act* changing the composition of the Board of Governors, adding student union representatives as voting members.

tomorrow, because even though governments can change in terms of the players and the political stripe, you are still government through the ages.

And, so, *The Public Schools Act* in the K-12 side has been around for, you know, 100 years. So you can't ignore what's in it. Similarly... I mean if you do, you do at your peril and you could end up in court, or you look like a fool if you change it and then you appear to be meddling.

Well the same thing is in the university side of things. There's *The University of Manitoba Act, The University of Winnipeg Act,* you know, they have an act – an act of the Manitoba Legislature, whoever passed it. You have to read that Act to realize that the wisdom of the act is there are delegated authorities through the act to the people who govern that institution.

That is what board governance means. And if you begin to take over the functions of that governance function through fiat – "just do it" – a. you could end up in court; b. as I said earlier, you better be careful what you wish for because it's really cool, perhaps, as a politician perhaps to sit back and think 'well you know it's time we straightened these guys out – you know, they're not graduating enough doctors, or they are graduating too many doctors, or you know, there are these silly courses out there – so we'd better straighten that out for them.'

Well, I can promise what would happen. Universities would say 'fine, you want to run this, take us over then, here's the keys, do it.' And the government's going to be sitting here saying, 'well we don't have the staff to do it, these people are not our employees, there's labour relations issues, there's collective bargaining issues. The next thing you know, they are saying 'what have we got ourselves into? We don't want to run this place, we want to steer you to run it.'

This is particularly revealing in terms of the approach to governing held by the government of the day, a subject discussed at length in the following chapter.

Mr. Leitch underscored this focus on internal decision making at the university, and noted the role that should be played by government regarding funding and broad policy direction-setting. He said:

... the autonomy of universities to govern themselves, to set their budgets and do all of that, I think was largely if not fully respected by the provincial government. But where the provincial government did say some things to the universities was on this whole deficit cutting thing. You know, we're attempting to cut a deficit and we are attempting to balance a budget, because in our view it's for the long term benefit of the province. You know, if you have a balanced budget, you have a stronger, more stable economy. If you have a stronger, more stable economy, you have more tax revenue, and that benefits all of society, including universities.

We happen to think as a provincial government that as very large organizations with very large budgets with hundreds of millions of dollars, you should be looking internally at your cost structure. You've got to do some things – whether its your staffing levels, or the amount of money you spend, or other efficiencies you can capture through shared services, or you know even consolidating within the university. You know, some departments may be replicating other activities that maybe others are doing. There were loads of things that were being looked at in government – shared human resources and procurement and everything.

So they were saying to them, we respect your autonomy, but trying to drive home the message that they, in running their own affairs, had to give budget efficiency much greater and much stronger look. That you really had to look at the way in which you were setting your budget and where you were spending your money and how you were spending your money because if you are better at that, the advantages flow immediately to the university because if you are saving money, the government wasn't about to start clawing it all back. But we were saying – the provincial government was saying 'you guys looks at your expenditure, your costs centers, and if you can find savings you reapply them elsewhere in the university. And that is to your benefit, and it takes, incidentally, some of the pressure off us to because you are not going to be coming back requesting as much in terms of an annual increase every year.

Dr. LeTourneau suggests that government had a specific idea of the decisions that government wanted the universities to make. He said:

What the minister wanted to do is prevent the university form using their tuition – the tuition fee policy, the tuition fee revenue as a means of counterbalancing what they were not getting from the government. In other words, they would be boosting their fees enormously. He said 'put a cap on it and they won't be able to do that.'

At the other side, [universities] were not getting a lot of resources from the government. But [Minister Manness] had something else in mind, I think. He wanted to address the whole question of, what he felt was... there was a sense on the minister's part that they were not frugal, that they were not handling their money correctly, that they were poor spenders, and by imposing this kind of fiscal regime on them, he would bring them to think more seriously about how to spend their money. Perhaps even establish priorities, which they never did, in fact ... in a regular way. But he wanted them to look at priorities, and deal with their fiscal environment in a manner that would have been more in keeping with the resources they were getting.

The government was interested in universities establishing priorities and improving the efficiency of their operations commensurate with their resources.

Dr. LeTourneau identifies a primary consideration – that of restructuring to address the fiscal challenges of the day – something, incidentally, that Mr. Carlyle also stated. Mr. Carlyle adds explanation to Dr. LeTourneau's statement regarding the cost of the university enterprise, suggesting that while government wanted action, there were significant institutional considerations – specifically legislation and the concept of university autonomy – that suggested that direct intervention would have been a mistake.

Mr. Carlyle goes on to discuss the issue of the 5% tuition fee cap and how it relates to university autonomy. Mr. Carlyle indicates his belief that the tuition fee cap was, in his terms, an instance of "macro management," whereby the government is attempting to steer the universities. Summing up, Mr. Carlyle states:

They are saying on a day to day basis, on an operating basis from year to year to year, we respect that you have a piece of legislation, and a mandate and a public support to do your job. But sometimes we have got to come in and say, just a second now, operating within this envelope, we have to move you back a little bit, or forward a little bit. That to me is, you can call it 'steering,' you can call it 'tweaking,' you can call it 'pushing.' It's necessary. Governments that don't do that to me are not doing their job.

The senior civil servants agree that university autonomy was important to government and in the decision-making process. However, from their perspective, university autonomy means that the universities make their own decisions.

Former ministers of education and training all acknowledged the importance of university autonomy, and did so by directly addressing it as a concept. It is clear from the interviews that of university autonomy was actively held as being an important concept to government.

Linda McIntosh expressed best the importance of university autonomy to the government from the more traditional philosophical perspective by focusing on the importance of freedom in the context of exploring new ideas.

All of us in government felt that the university needed to be places where people could explore thoughts and ideas and theories and opinions free from fear... They should be able to learn and explore without being nervous about governments or judges or other people interfering in their ability to expand their brains and explore all areas of thought. That we felt was important.

It is clear that government understood that, in the words of Hurtubise and Rowat, "to be strong a university must be free." However, government also had key practical reasons for supporting university autonomy that are relevant for the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Clayton Manness identified specific implications for government of university autonomy, noting that

there's no institution in our land that is more autonomous nor has greater pull and tug on the premier's office or at the highest levels of the land. You name all the big names in our community and they all have direct access to a premier, and indeed if they decided that you are not treating universities well, they let you know.

Similarly, above John Carlyle noted two key implications should government ignore university autonomy. First, government will find itself running afoul of the legislation that establishes the responsibilities of self-governing entities with potential financial and political implications should the matter go before the courts. Secondly, universities, like colleges, hospitals, and municipalities are large, complex operations and government simply does not have the expertise or other resources to manage their operations.

Observations such as those by Manness and Carlyle are interesting from the perspective of university autonomy being an historical neo-institutional construct.

Manness' statement in that it grounds the concept of university autonomy as something real; for government, the autonomy of a university can be expressed in political terms – all the "big names" in a community have direct access to the first minister, and "let you

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup> Hurtubise and Rowat, *University, Society and Government*, 77.

know" when government oversteps its bounds. Similarly, Mr. Carlyle points out practical reasons such as court challenges and resource limitations that give governments pause when considering more direct intervention in university affairs.

These very practical considerations ground university autonomy as an institution in a 'parallel cognitive construct.' That is to say, university autonomy as a concept is grounded in real terms – the negative implications of violating existing legislation, and the practicalities of managing a complex function with too few resources. University autonomy is a real consideration for government not only because intrusion could eliminate the ability of the academy to fulfill its functions of teaching, research and service, but because there are practical consequences for government for ignoring university autonomy.

University autonomy has an importance that includes the more philosophical perspective that universities must have freedom in order to achieve their missions related to knowledge creation and transmission. The importance of autonomy to government goes beyond this more traditional perspective, however. The university itself has its champions, and those champions have influence at the highest levels of government.

Former ministers were also asked about the relationship between university autonomy and the tuition fee cap. This helps to illuminate the government's understanding of university autonomy in its application. Echoing the observations of the three senior civil servants, former ministers confirmed that university autonomy implies decision-making within the universities' own spheres of influence – particularly in the area of difficult decision-making.

Clayton Manness stated that "the arguments come on autonomy and your job was just to fund us and all of that... it doesn't work that way. And if you really want autonomy, autonomy means you have to make hard decisions when you have got to make hard decisions."

Linda McIntosh acknowledged that a tuition fee cap does interfere in an institution's autonomy, but argued that "it still gives them some discretion." When asked why a cap instead of a freeze, Mrs. McIntosh responded that "a freeze absolutely ignores the autonomy of the university." She continues:

A cap interferes with the autonomy of the university, but it still gives them some discretion and we were aware that the universities have great difficulty meeting their financial obligations – we weren't blind to that. We just felt that, whether it was easy or likable, to the university, it wasn't easy or likable to anybody else involved in the whole government system to stretch the dollars in a time when the dollars just weren't flowing. And, so while we restricted them, we restricted their ability to raise fees, we didn't wish to eliminate their ability to raise fees because we still felt that they needed the right to be able to have some movement there.

That would be too drastic an interference with their autonomy, we felt, to freeze things.

Mrs. McIntosh acknowledges that a tuition fee cap does interfere with institutional autonomy. However, her interpretation is consistent with the overall perspective, suggested by the observations of the senior civil servants, that decision-making, 'rowing,' is the province of an autonomous institution.

Nevertheless, there are indications of ambivalence with respect to the tuition fee cap, an ambivalence that is related to the government's support of university autonomy. Mr. Manness indicated that the "imposition of that cap put kind of an off taste in our own mouths... because we believed more in autonomy of universities than most." It is possible that this ambivalence is related to the government's general philosophical approach to governing, a proposition that is explored in greater detail in Chapter 7.

#### 6.3.4 The Political Dimension

Analysis in Chapter 5 identified the more partisan political dynamics in the Legislative Assembly that affect the interpretation of data presented in that chapter. From the interview data it is possible to identify the political dimension as another factor that must be accounted for in the development of the 5% tuition fee cap. The political dimension to the 5% tuition fee cap can be summarized generally as being related to the populist appeal of controlling tuition fees, exerting government control over the academy, as well as broad ideological considerations.

The first aspect of the political dimension that arose from the interview data is that of the government's concern regarding popular support of its university policies, and in particular concerns that voters may have regarding increases in tuition. Discussing the rising costs of university in the 1990s, John Carlyle stated:

One of the biggest political realities that faced the province is that the parents of the students who are at university and how they feel towards having to pay higher tuition, and the students themselves, many of whom are voters, and if they aren't, they are going to be voters soon enough. They may be the younger brothers and sisters of somebody who is at university, so they are sitting there at 16, 17 saying well hang on a minute, I am going to be in university next year and I am going to be 18 by then and I don't want to have to pay that kind of money.

Mr. Carlyle suggests that this populist aspect was considered at the same time as were other factors, such as university autonomy. Speaking directly of the 5% tuition fee policy, and consistent with his statements regarding university autonomy, Mr. Carlyle stated that the tuition fee policy was "an attempt to steer [universities] towards getting their house in order. But I will be honest, it is also a public policy to get votes... you don't want to get unelected because of some silly policy."

Mr. Carlyle's observations are reinforced by Don Leitch, who emphasized the "political heat" that tuition created for government. Noting the significant tuition fee increases that took place at Manitoba universities in the 1990s, Mr. Leitch stated that

governments were seen as being politically accountable for [fee increases], even though it was the universities themselves and their boards, etc, that were putting in place those increases.

And you know, when information came back to government, there were people in the universities, in the senior administration, who were of the view that, well, we can raise fees because, at the end of the day, we may get some grumbling from students, but the big political push is going to be against the government, so we at the university are a little bit immune. This, as a public sector, as a public debate, the argument will go to the government and not first of all to the universities, so we will, we've got a bit more room to move more than we otherwise would have.

Government said, well, if we are going to take the pain of the tuition fee increases, maybe we should be circumscribing a little bit, and proscribing, in a more prescriptive basis, what the fee increases should be. So that is when they started to look at say, well, maybe we should be looking at addressing the university's demands, requirements for more cash through tuition fees, but maybe we should be proscribing, and considering what a cap could look like, what a cap should be, what's the appropriate level.

And that was part of the whole backdrop leading up to [the 5% cap].

Mr. Leitch also noted that populist concerns were a factor in the fee policy issue. He stated that "there was a significant policy debate going on, and the politics were significant in terms of the student population..."

However, populist considerations such as voter support and 'political heat' were not the only aspects to the political dimension. In her interview, Dr. Friesen noted one aspect of the political dimension was the right-wing orientation of the times. This is a generally accurate portrayal of the times, often denoted by scholars by the election of Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom.<sup>428</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>428</sup> W. Christian and C. Campbell, *Political Parties and Ideologies in Canada*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1983), 128-130, *passim*.

Indeed, a good portion of the two decades beginning in 1980 were, ideologically speaking, neo-conservative in their orientation.

Dr. Friesen justifies her observation about the political environment in Manitoba by pointing to the focus on reducing government expenditures, increasing reliance on the user to support public services, and greater privatization as exemplified by an increased reliance on private vocational institutions to deliver education rather than community colleges, and the adherence to a set of practices which, though Dr. Friesen does not use this term, reflect the practices often associated with new public management, explored in greater detail in Chapter 7.

It was clear that public policy in the 1990s had a neo-conservative flavour. A number of participants speak about changes in how governments operate – new models of operating, such as the Fleet Vehicles Agency, a special operating agency, in the Government of Manitoba. Additionally, there was an increasing focus on accountability and ensuring that Manitobans got value-for-money in areas of public service, all concepts associated with neo-conservative thought.

The political dimension is not insignificant. In terms of the direct electoral impact, it is useful to note that today, upwards of 60,000 people attend colleges and universities in Manitoba. These students vote, they have parents, grandparents and extended family members who vote, and they have siblings who do or will vote. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to more precisely define the impact of students on provincial elections in Manitoba, it is reasonable to assume that electoral factors would at least be considered in the development of higher education policy.

On a more technical and methodological note, although no questions were asked of interview participants regarding political considerations as a factor important to the 5% tuition fee policy, interview participants themselves raised the issue as part of their discussion of the cap. As discussed in Chapter 4, one of the strengths of elite interviewing is that the participants define the subject. Clearly the emergence of the political dimension is an example of just that. The discussion of the political dimension is useful in gaining a fuller understanding of the factors that were considered important relating to the 5% tuition fee cap.

#### 6.4 Discussion

The examination of interview data reveals six major findings that are relevant to the present work. First, government's main concern regarding universities in the 1990s was related to sustainable funding, both operating and capital, for universities. This concern, however, was related to helping to control the province's fiscal problems, dominated by the cost of servicing a growing debt, a focus on eliminating deficit budgets and reduced federal transfer payments. It is clear from the interviews with senior civil servants and former ministers under the Progressive Conservative government in the 1990s that university funding policy was set within the context of the fiscal situation of the day – something that Mr. Manness told the Legislative Assembly in 1994.

A second major finding is that, although well aware of the fiscal situation faced by the province, universities were not seen, by government at least, as setting priorities within a framework of limited resources. Government felt that there was a need to take

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>429</sup> Manitoba, *Hansard* 43, no. 36A. Manness' quote in this regard is found in Section 1.3.1 in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

action to, in Mrs. Vodrey's words, "set the context" for university operations at the macro level. Mr. Carlyle suggested that governments are responsible for "macro-management," and if they do not set the broad context for university operations, those in government "are not doing their job." In defining the fiscal problem, and in identifying that the solution included "everybody doing their part", government believed it was justified, if not obligated, to take steps at the macro level to ensure that operational decisions made by autonomous entities – for example, universities and school divisions – were appropriate to the fiscal context of the day. Accordingly, the pressures faced by government were passed on to universities through restricted or reduced grants, and through restricting the other principal revenue source, tuition, in order to force universities to choose priorities.

A third major finding is that there was genuine concern on the part of the government for student accessibility to post-secondary education. Government viewed accessibility broadly, including non-financial as well as financial dimensions to accessibility. Actions such as reforms in the K-12 system, and standards exams in particular, were noted by former ministers as in part helping to address non-financial barriers to accessibility. Action was taken regarding financial barriers through reforms to the student loans portfolio, as well as backfilling lost federal revenue for the ACCESS programs.

It is worth noting that criticisms have been leveled at the Filmon government for its record regarding access to post-secondary education. From the present research it could be speculated that the fiscal situation restricted the government's room to maneuver with respect to other more costly accessibility initiatives. Additional work would have to

be done on this point to provide additional illumination. An assessment of the accessibility initiatives or the development of broad accessibility initiatives of the Filmon government is beyond the scope of the present research.

It does seem clear, however, that during the 1990s, tuition fee policy was *not* viewed primarily as a policy tool to address accessibility, and in fact tuition fee policy was viewed through the prism of the fiscal situation. Former senior civil servants and former ministers have directly said as much, and this conclusion is also supported by the parallel drawn by Mrs. Vodrey between the tuition fee cap and the actions taken to limit school board tax increases.

This leads to the fourth major finding from Chapter 6 – and a key one for the dissertation – the tuition fee policy was primarily a vehicle used by government to pursue its budgetary policy of containing costs and restructuring activity at the universities. The 5% tuition fee cap was conceptualized as a way to further limit the resources available to the university, and to foster prioritization and restructuring of costs to minimize the burden on public finances of the university enterprise in the province. All respondents agree that the 5% tuition fee cap was part of the fiscal strategy of the government of the day.

The fifth major finding relates to the role that university autonomy played in the development of the tuition fee cap. Interview respondents displayed complete and sophisticated knowledge of the importance and value of university autonomy to a society and to a government, and suggested that this knowledge was actively considered when developing tuition fee policy in the 1990s. In fact, some respondents suggested that government used a tuition fee cap as opposed to a freeze in order to provide safeguards to

university autonomy while still ensuring that universities had incentives to reconsider priorities and address costs.

In establishing the cap, government believed that it was giving the universities some flexibility regarding tuition, and not directly intervening in the affairs of the university. The findings in the interviews are consistent with public statements made in the 1990s. For instance, Mr. Manness told the Legislative Assembly, "... we did not dictate that the universities should impose a 5% increase on tuition. We capped it... We were hoping that [the universities] would freeze [tuition] at zero..."<sup>430</sup>

The interviews also revealed that government was uncomfortable with the cap because it clearly did represent interference with the autonomy of the institution – something expressed by both Mr. Manness and Mrs. McIntosh. This discomfort is interesting in light of the theoretical framework of the dissertation.

In neo institutional terms, the fiscal situation represented 'punctuated equilibrium' in the trajectory of the institution of university autonomy, especially with respect to the authority to set fees. The fiscal situation created conditions that justified government action in an area where they clearly believed the university was autonomous. It is possible that the experience in the 1990s had the effect of helping to redefine the parameters of university autonomy for the Government of Manitoba. At least in the sense of legislated protection for university autonomy, the inclusion of Section 12(e) of *The Council on Post-Secondary Education Act* provides the Council on Post-Secondary Education the ability to establish policies for tuition fees means that universities have less

<sup>430</sup> Manitoba, Hansard 43, no. 17.

legislative autonomy after 1996 than before, when there was no such legislated ability for government.<sup>431</sup>

The sixth and final finding that arises from the interview data is that there is an additional factor that influenced decisions around the 5% tuition fee policy – a political factor. This political dimension to the 5% tuition fee cap includes both a populist aspect where government was concerned about the electoral impact that tuition fee policy would have. This finding adds to the list of factors identified in Chapter 5 and confirmed in Chapter 6.

### 6.5 Chapter Summary

## 6.5.1 The Findings in Brief

The findings in this chapter demonstrate that the government was principally concerned about sustainable funding to universities within the context of the overall fiscal situation in the province. Government was interested in the universities setting priorities and restructuring their operations to become more efficient and responsive in light of the environment of limited resources.

While there was genuine concern for accessibility broadly defined, financial barriers to access were viewed through the fiscal situation of the day, and indeed tuition was not generally seen as a significant barrier to accessibility. Instead, government saw tuition fee policy as a tool to be used in the effort to reduce public spending and address fiscal issues such as the deficit and the debt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup> Refer to Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2.1, 'The Legal Framework' in this dissertation for a discussion of legislative and legal issues relating to tuition fee policy in Manitoba.

University autonomy was important to the government of the day, and government felt generally that its policy initiatives with respect to tuition respected university autonomy to the extent that was possible given the priorities of the government. A cap was used instead of a freeze to help ensure that institutions retained maximum autonomy in the circumstances. Nevertheless, there was discomfort with the cap in that it was recognized as limiting university autonomy.

## 6.5.2 Significance for the Dissertation

Chapter 6 presents important evidence that supports the central theme of the dissertation that the tuition fee policy was a fiscal tool of the government to get universities to participate in the resolution of fiscal problems faced by Manitoba in the 1990s. Former senior civil servants and former ministers in the Filmon government provide information that addresses this central theme and provides some direct substantiation of the central theme of the dissertation. The chapter also presents evidence that suggests that university autonomy was an important consideration for government as it developed the tuition fee cap. The evidence presented in the chapter shows that the 5% tuition fee cap was be conceptualized in the light of the fiscal situation of the day, and its development and implementation was undertaken within the principles of university autonomy.

## 6.5.3 The Next Chapter

This chapter has explored the government's perspectives regarding university autonomy, and identified several reasons why government may be supportive of autonomy, and related that support to the development of the tuition fee cap. However, there are also other dynamics that are worth exploring to help round out the

understanding of the 5% tuition fee cap, and of how university autonomy influenced higher education policy in general.

Dr. Friesen noted that an ideological approach of the Filmon government that included support for small government: "reduce the public sector wherever you can, introduce the private sector, introduce the principles of private sector management wherever you can." These ideas represent some of the concepts known as 'new public management.' This is underscored when John Carlyle noted

You know the old expression – in fact it is not old, it was in a book back then – called *Reinventing Government* – the notion of steering rather than rowing. I think that the government wanted to steer ... and I think that is good policy. Steer them in the right direction, but let them do the rowing.

Government wanted the university to make difficult decisions within its sphere of influence in order to help meet the broad public policy goals of eliminating the deficit and bringing the government's budget under control. Mr. Carlyle's observation suggests that this was more a philosophical approach to government than just pragmatism. The next chapter explores the philosophical approach of the Filmon government to the task of governing.

#### **CHAPTER 7**

#### THE FILMON GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO GOVERNING

#### 7.1 Chapter Purpose

Chapter 7 seeks to make the connection between university autonomy and higher education policy in the 1990s by using New Public Management (NPM) as a linking concept. In this regard, it was interesting that in his interview, Mr. Carlyle, Deputy Minister of Education and Training throughout the 1990s, identified key concepts associated with NPM thinking of 'steering' versus 'rowing' when discussing university autonomy. In relation to universities, he suggested that it was the responsibility of government to 'steer' while others would 'row.'

The specific purpose of this chapter is to identify the more important perspectives held by the government of the day regarding general governing principles, and examine how these related to and reinforced for government the value of university autonomy.

The chapter argues that NPM represented a set of key governing principles for the Filmon government, and that the tenets of NPM helped reinforce for government the importance of university autonomy when developing higher education policy.

In order to elaborate on this proposition, the chapter proceeds as follows. First, new public management will be briefly outlined. Second, the chapter will examine the influence that new public management had on the government of the day. The chapter will then turn to an examination of how university autonomy was perceived by government, taking the perspective that the government acted as if university autonomy

was congruent with the key governance philosophy represented by NPM. A summary of the findings of the chapter will then be presented.

## 7.2 New Public Management

Writing in 2002, Stark observed that "after more than a decade of spirited debate, neither its supporters nor its critics can quite get a handle on what the new public management is..." New public management is a series of loosely connected ideas that center on addressing a series of problems commonly associated with government operations and bureaucracy. 433

It is not the intent of this chapter to assess the overall impact or the long-term fate of NPM. Instead, the chapter will first investigate the major tenets of NPM thinking, then focus on other implications for policy development. Once this work has been done, the principles of autonomy can then be assessed against NPM principles, laying important groundwork for the overall discussion and conclusions of the dissertation.

#### 7.2.1 The Origins and Basic Tenets of NPM

The various ideas that make up NPM coalesced at a time when governments were looking for strategies to address the growing fiscal crisis. Charih and Rouillard argue that the traditional public sector developed at a time of expanding government resources, and, in part due to an attempt to maintain these structures, government lost control of public expenditures, leading to a massive public debt. 434 McInnes argues that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup> Andrew Stark, "What *Is* the New Public Management?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 12, no. 1 (January 2002), 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>433</sup> Kenneth Kernaghan and David Siegel, *Public Administration in Canada*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995), 662.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>434</sup> Mohamed Charih and Lucie Rouillard, "The New Public Management," in *New Public Management and Public Administration in Canada*, eds. Mohamed Charih and Arthur Daniels (Toronto: Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1997), 29.

New public management attempts to address the government sclerosis arising from the post-WWII expansion of government services and responsibilities. That expansion was due to the belief that the state's intervention was required to correct or mitigate the failure of imperfect markets. The point of departure for NPM is that the state's overintervention has restricted freedoms, thwarted self-reliance, and led to the state taking on too many responsibilities – not all of them executed effectively or efficiently. New public management is also associated with the scarcity of financial resources and the limited options available to the state to harness resources. 435

Indeed, Pal states that "in the first half of the 1990s, management reform, while defended in terms of higher standards of service to the public, was largely driven by fiscal constraints at both the federal and provincial levels of government."

While Stark cannot find a clear and consistent definition of NPM, he is able to identify some of its components: increased competition, delayering of bureaucracy, citizen-centred government, a focus on accountability benchmarks or outcome measures, and alternative service delivery mechanisms, among others. These components were first examined and presented in Osborne and Gaebler's *Reinventing Government*, and further elucidated in *Banishing Bureaucracy* by Osborne and Plastrik. Indeed, "... the new public management movement is closely linked to [Osborne and Gaebler/Plastrik's work]" work"

In *Reinventing Government*, Osborne and Gaebler present ten basic characteristics of entrepreneurial government that form part of the suite of options that are associated with NPM:

1. Promote competition between service providers, injecting competition into service delivery;

437 Stark, "What is NPM?" 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>435</sup> Simon McInnis, "New Public Management: Just a 'Fashion Model on the Runway"? in *Canadian Public Administration* 44, no.4 (Winter 2001), 492.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>436</sup> Pal, Beyond Analysis, 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup> Daniel W. Williams, "Reinventing the Proverbs of Government," *Public Administration Review* 60, no. 6 (November 2000), <a href="https://web5.infotrac-college.com/wadsworth/session/487/94/50359168/3!xrn">http://web5.infotrac-college.com/wadsworth/session/487/94/50359168/3!xrn</a> 1 0 A67630647, accessed 22 July 2002.

- 2. Empower citizens by pushing control out of the bureaucracy and into the community, empowering rather than simply serving;
- 3. Measure the performance of public agencies, focusing on outcomes (not on inputs) and funding based those outcomes or results;
- 4. Focus on government's mission and goals, not on rules and regulations, transforming rule-driven organizations into mission driven ones;
- 5. Redefine clients as customers and offer them choices, meeting the needs of the customer;
- 6. Prevent problems before they emerge, rather than simply offering services afterwards, prevention rather than only crisis intervention;
- 7. Put energies into earning money, not simply spending it;
- 8. Decentralize authority, embracing participatory management, encouraging participation and teamwork;
- 9. Prefer market mechanisms to bureaucratic mechanisms, leveraging change through the market; and
- 10. Focus not simply on providing services but on catalyzing all sectors, public, private, voluntary, into action to solve community problems, steering as well as rowing. (The concepts of 'steering' and 'rowing' will be addressed below].

Osborne and Gaebler's work has spawned a great deal of scholarly analysis relating to the organization of government. While theoretical concepts such as neoconservatism and managerialism have been attributed to it, NPM itself is less of a theory and more of a set of practices that have been used by governments to both reduce the costs of the delivery of government services as well as to improve how those services are delivered.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>439</sup> Bryan T. Downes, "Banishing Bureaucracy: The Five Strategies for Reinventing Government," *The Social Science Journal* 35, no. 4 (Oct 1998), <a href="http://web5.infotrac-college.com/wadsworth/session/487/94/50359168/3!xrn">http://web5.infotrac-college.com/wadsworth/session/487/94/50359168/3!xrn</a> 3 0 A53392169, accessed 22 July 2002.

NPM involves a search for alternative and more efficient ways to deliver services, such as the use of special operating agencies, service agencies, and privatization. It is useful to examine these examples of NPM-inspired practices in order to develop a fuller understanding of NPM.

Special Operating Agencies (SOAs) at the federal level are created through agreements between Treasury Board and the home department. While they are not independent of their home departments, SOAs are expected to operate more entrepreneurially, are provided additional independence than is a traditional government unit through the ability to opt out of standard hiring or purchasing processes, are able to generate revenues through charging fees for service and often are able to carry over unexpended funds from one fiscal year to the next.

The rationale for SOA status is to improve the service delivery and cost-effectiveness of certain government services through increased management flexibility, in return for agreed-upon levels of performance and results.

The SOA model separates the policy role of the Minister and supporting bureaucracy from the managerial role of the SOA, usually under a Chief Executive Officer (CEO). An SOA differs from past reform movements and other innovative models in that it introduces extensive structural and operational changes in the rules aimed at moving the agency toward management practices more consistent with those of the private sector. 442 (Emphasis in original).

An example of special operating agencies in Manitoba is the Fleet Vehicles Agency which manages the fleet of cars owned by the government, and which are rented to government clients on a fee-for service basis.

<sup>441</sup> Kenneth Kernaghan and David Siegel, *Public Administration in Canada*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1999), 306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>440</sup> This is not the case for all jurisdictions. For example, in Manitoba SOAs exist outside the departmental structure, reporting directly to the minister.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>442</sup> *Ibid.*, 306, quoting Consulting and Audit Canada, *The Historical and International Background of Special Operating Agencies* (Ottawa: October 1992), 6.

Unlike SOAs, at the national level Service Agencies exist outside the boundaries of the traditional structures of bureaucratic entities. Service Agencies are created through legislation as entities that, while still reporting to a minister, are removed from operating departments. Agency status provides authority to create separate administrative policies, such as hiring and other human resource practices, financial management as well as the ability to develop agreements with other departments and other governments.<sup>443</sup> Examples of federal service agencies include the Canada Revenue Agency, the Canada Food Inspection Agency, and Parks Canada.

Privatization, the last of the examples of alternative service delivery to be examined, is, within the context of NPM and government reform, "the whole or partial sale of state-owned companies,"444 but can also include the 'hiving off' of parts of government activity into separate and sometimes privately owned businesses. Privatization is pursued by governments for various reasons, including a value-based desire to reduce the size of the civil service, reduction in public expenditure, or to restructure the civil service so as to adjust the bureaucracy where some public activity may no longer serve a public purpose. 445

There are a number of different reasons why a government would want to restructure a particular service, an action that would be highly dependent on the service in question. A unifying theme in the above examples is the extent to which each alternative service delivery mechanism separates aspects of implementation from aspects of policy direction. While some bureaucratic units were selected for SOA status due to the absence

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid., 245, quoting Allan Tupper and G. Bruce Doern, "Canadian Public Enterprise and Privatization," in Allan Tupper and G. Bruce Doern, eds., Privatization Public Policy and Public Corporations in Canada (Halifax: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1988), 1. 445 *Ibid.*, 246, *passim*.

of a policy component (e.g. the Manitoba Fleet Vehicles Agency), a common practice in governments employing NPM strategies is to separate implementation from policy formulation, allowing for a clearer identification of the implementer's role, allowing that agency to perform its task more effectively. 446 This idea, arising from public administration ideas that have existed since Wilson first wrote about the topic, 447 was revitalized and popularized by Osborne and Gaebler, and is characterized by the analogy of government steering while others row. 448

Osborne and Plastrik argue that governments must separate the functions of policy and implementation; governments must uncouple steering from rowing. Government's proper role, Osborne and Plastrik assert, is policy development and regulation, not implementation. 449 By focusing on general direction setting – steering – governments can employ alternative methods of implementation – rowing – without having a bias towards an established 'in-house' implementation function. 450 This approach allows government to focus on the 'what' rather than the 'how' which, according to Osborne and Plastrick, can lead to innovation, increased efficiency, and better public service generally.

<sup>446</sup> B. Guy Peters and Donald J. Savoie, "Managing Incoherence: The Coordination and Empowerment Conundrum," Public Administration Review 56, no. 3 (May-June 1996): 281-290, http://web5.infotraccollege.com/wadsworth/session/87/740/24614679/47!xrn\_31\_0\_A184269, accessed 27 May 02. 447 Woodrow Wilson, "The Study of Administration," 1886.

http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=465, accessed 08 December 2006; Paul G. Thomas, Change, Governance and Public Management: Alternative Service Delivery and Information Technology (Ottawa: KPMG/PPF, 2000), 31.

<sup>448</sup> David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector, (New York: Penguin Group, 1993), 34-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>449</sup> David Osborne and Peter Plastrik, *Banishing Bureaucracy* (Reading, Mass: Addison Wesley Publishing Co., 1997), 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

## 7.2.2 Criticisms of New Public Management

The present dissertation identifies and does not debate the soundness of the tenets of NPM. It is useful, however, to examine briefly the chief criticisms of NPM so as to help develop an understanding of the related concepts. Boston identifies some of the more common criticisms of NPM, which are that it:

- is not a theory, nor does it have a strong empirical base;
- is insensitive to different organizational cultures, and to due process;
- creates difficulty for government dealing with crises because of a loss of capacity through staff reductions, and fragmentation of service and functions;
- creates tensions between the different NPM tenets. For instance, NPM espouses both centralization and devolution of powers; and,
- lets managers manage, which comes into conflict with politicians asserting their control.<sup>451</sup>

## 7.3 New Public Management and the Filmon Government

This section focuses on presenting evidence that new public management was an important governance philosophy to the Filmon government, if not the key governance philosophy. Further, the role of political ideology is examined to determine the extent to which such considerations factored into government decision-making.

#### 7.3.1 Direct Evidence: What the Government Said

There is a reasonable basis to believe that the Filmon government was committed to NPM. Perhaps the most overt evidence of this is the fact that Premier Filmon himself "was an early fan of the Osborne and Gaebler bestseller, *Reinventing Government*, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> Jonathan Boston, "The Theoretical Underpinning of Public Sector Restructuring in New Zealand," in *Reshaping the State: New Zealand's Bureaucratic Revolution*, Jonathan Boston *et al.*, eds. (Aukland: Oxford University Press, 1991), 20-21.

urged his ministers to read it."<sup>452</sup> Additionally, in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Filmon stated

Through internal reform, we will move to a results-based government. We have to find new and better ways to deliver services to Manitobans so that every dollar is used to its greatest effect. That will involve looking for ways to reduce overhead and administration. It means reducing duplication of related programs in different branches of government. It means developing new delivery mechanisms and innovative management approaches. 453

Statements by the Minister of Education and Training, Mr. Clayton Manness, M.L.A. suggest that this approach was to be applied to post-secondary education: "the same rationalization, the same hard decisions that are happening in every entity today in the public and, indeed the private sector, are going to have to occur even in a greater fashion" in higher education. <sup>454</sup> Government was attempting to identify broad frameworks related to the fiscal situation, and expected universities to set priorities and make decisions relating to those broad frameworks.

There is evidence that the NPM perspective was well integrated into the thinking processes in Manitoba Education and Training. Former Deputy Minister John Carlyle noted in his interview that

You know the old expression – in fact it is not old, it was in a book back then – called *Reinventing Government* – the notion of steering rather than rowing. I think the government wanted to steer and I think that is good policy. Steer them in the right direction, but let them do the rowing... I call it macro management and I think that is necessary... that is the job of government...

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>452</sup> Paul Thomas and John Wilkins, "Special Operating Agencies: A Culture Change in the Manitoba Government," in Robin Ford and David Zussman, eds., *Alternative Service Delivery: Sharing Governance in Canada* (Ottawa: KMPG and IPAC, 1997), 115.

<sup>453</sup> Government of Manitoba, *Hansard*, (March 7, 1991), 4. 454 Quoted in Saunders, "Dynamics of Agenda Setting," 264.

#### 7.3.2 Indirect Evidence: What Others Said

Indirect evidence of the impact of NPM could be seen in the 1996 debate regarding the privatization of the Manitoba Telephone System. In that debate, a member of the public accused the Filmon government of following Osborne and Gaebler's script:

I know that members of the Conservative government have taken quite a liking to a rather, in my opinion, misguided book called *Reinventing Government* by Osborne and Gaebler, two American authors. This is evident because of the way they have proceeded with the privatization of MTS. It has been quite similar, in fact, to the method outlined by the authors in their book, but I suggest they take another close look at a paragraph on page 45 where the authors write, and I quote: "Privatization is one arrow in the government's quiver..."

Later, in 1997, NDP MLA Tim Sale made an indirect reference to the government's commitment to the ideas contained in Osborne and Gaebler's book. Mr. Sale told the Legislature that:

This government has a fixation with management gurus. The Premier (Mr. Filmon) was so impressed with the Seven Habits of Highly Effective People that he got copies for everybody. I am sure everybody has been told to read Gaebler's book, Reinventing Government, and the language of those soothsayers that the government loves is all the language of the consumer, all the language of the corporate culture-you are my client; I am your customer.

They want to recast all government departments into having business plans. In fact, all government departments have been told to have business plans for this current fiscal year, one of their new initiatives, and all government departments are going to identify their customers, their clients. <sup>456</sup>

These observations from critics of the Filmon government, when combined with the actual words of the Premier, provide convincing evidence of the government's acceptance of Osborne and Gaebler's work. Early in the 11-year history of the Filmon government, the Premier expressed his desire to reform government, as shown through the quotes cited in the introduction to the dissertation.

<sup>455</sup> Government of Manitoba, Hansard 46, no. 11 (November 4, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>456</sup> Government of Manitoba, *Hansard* 47, no. 9 (March 13, 1997).

## 7.3.3 Does Political Ideology Matter?

Comments such as Mr. Sale's in 1997 represent attempts to place NPM-style reforms within a right-wing conservative (and, in Manitoba at least, a Progressive Conservative) agenda. However, it is not clear that the policies of reform are limited to a particular political perspective. To investigate this, it is necessary to look at work that has addressed the relationship between policy and politics.

Research into public policy over the years suggests "that the political variables exact very little independent influence on policy outputs" and suggests that policy outcomes are primarily determined by socio-economic variables. 458 However, other research has pointed to the fact that, for the period between 1956 and 1974 in western Canada, NDP governments tended to spend more on social welfare policies than other governments, suggesting that politics do matter. 459

In Manitoba, experience appears to support the contention that party affiliation has little impact on policy. Nelson Wiseman's study of Edward Schreyer's New Democratic Party government (1969 – 1977) suggests that the government's performance and policy perspectives were similar to that of other governments, including those led by parties other than the NDP. 460 Wiseman summarizes "[a]lthough the Manitoba of the 1970s was certainly transformed from the Manitoba of earlier decades, the changes were not so much the result of NDP government as of broader, national, economic and social trends.",461

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> J.A. McAllister, *The Government of Edward Schreyer* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 8.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.
459 *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>460</sup> Nelson Wiseman, Social Democracy in Manitoba: A History of the CCF-NDP (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1983), 139. <sup>461</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

Similarly, the period of the 1990s was considerably different than that of the Schreyer government, especially in relation to the fiscal situation. The decades ending in the 1970s witnessed governments operating with an expanding revenue base, a bureaucracy increasing in size and scope, with few deficits, and a generally positive view of government held by citizens. By the 1990s, each of these factors had reversed themselves; government in general was mistrusted, regularly operating in deficit, facing shrinking resources, and looking for ways to reduce the size and scope of government.

Changes in the socio-economic situation in Manitoba and elsewhere suggest that the link between NPM and partisan politics is tenuous. The well-known experience in New Zealand is instructive in this respect. In office from 1984 – 1990, the Labour government began to implement significant and profound changes to the structure of government and its policies. These actions came about as the result of a dire fiscal situation that threatened to force the island nation into bankruptcy rather than being born of political ideology. These reforms, which were far reaching in that they touched nearly every aspect of public life and were implemented with vigour, and at breathtaking speed. Indeed, the reforms in New Zealand went far beyond the reforms adopted by any Canadian government. It is interesting to note that the reforms in New Zealand were initiated by a left-of-centre political party, and not the right wing party.

Boston *et al* note that the actions taken in New Zealand by the government in place between 1984 and 1990 were not random, nor were they a series of one-off actions designed to meet the immediate requirements of a reluctant government. Boston *et al* continue:

462 McAllister, Edward Schreyer, 32.

Jonathan Boston, "Conclusion," in in Reshaping the State: New Zealand's Bureaucratic Revolution, Jonathan Boston et al., eds. (Aukland: Oxford University Press, 1991), 388.

A striking feature of the public sector reforms between 1984 and 1990 was their consistency. In general, each new policy initiative built on and supported the previous policy shift... This is not to say that Labour or its advisors had a grand strategy in 1984 which was subsequently implemented with little deviation during the following six years. However, all the major reforms were guided by a similar body of theory and a common analytical framework... [and] the country's adverse economic situation and popular demands for a more responsive and culturally sensitive public service. 464

A fuller exploration of the 'third way' movement in politics in the closing decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century is beyond the scope of the present work. However, the experience in New Zealand, plus other experiences such as "new Labour" in the UK, and even "Today's NDP" in Manitoba after 1999 suggest that that arguments to the effect that 'political ideology does not matter in policy' are relevant, at least insofar as it pertains to the adoption of NPM-type reforms. It appears that political ideology does not have the same degree of impact as do socio-economic factors and larger trends in the overall political environment. In terms of the present work, one can conclude that NPM is not an approach to government that is solely used by right-of-centre political parties.

## 7.4 University Autonomy and the Filmon Government

It is within a period of fiscal restraint that the Filmon government found itself addressing structural reforms at the post-secondary level. In reacting to the fiscal situation in the post-secondary sphere, it has been demonstrated that the Manitoba government understood university autonomy and actively supported it. Further, government linked university autonomy to principles of NPM. On April 29, 1994, Premier Filmon addressed the Manitoba Legislature on the issue of the role of the university in controlling their budgets. He said:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*, 392.

...this government has attempted over all of the years in government to let the universities know that there is a responsibility on their part to keep their costs under control, to talk to them about spending money that is in their control as wisely and effectively as we are attempting to do with all the money that is under our control directly as a provincial government... The real issues are not just blindly throwing more money. They are trying to ensure that the university takes responsibility in management and administration for managing the resources at their disposal. 465

This reinforces findings from the previous chapter that suggest that part of government's understanding of university autonomy is that university boards should set priorities and make decisions.

Mr. Filmon separated the universities from government, and again separated the universities' money from that of the provincial government, highlighting the fact that activities such as university budgeting are the responsibility of the university, and not the government. Here, Mr. Filmon upholds the principle of university autonomy identified above as 'while governments provide funding to universities, they should not be involved in detailed budgeting within the university.' In the Manitoba government's view, government and universities have separate and distinct roles related to funding and budgeting.

The perspective of government regarding university autonomy is reflected in the government's decisions regarding the structure of post-secondary education in Manitoba. In the 1996 debates in the Legislative Assembly surrounding the creation of legislation establishing the Council on Post-Secondary Education, there was included some discussion regarding the establishment of a new way of managing post-secondary affairs within the province. The decision to reject a more direct relationship with the system

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>465</sup> Government of Manitoba, *Hansard* 43, no. 17 (April 29, 1994).

such as through a government department was based on the respect for institutional autonomy. Manness stated that

the creation of a whole separate ministry was seen as too costly and politically explosive for an administration intent on reducing the size of government. At the same time, they felt that if they abandoned the buffer agency idea altogether this would lead to an open war with the academic community. 'We knew that we could not open that front up and possibly win that.'

Leo LeTourneau, former Executive Director of the Universities Grants

Commission and past Executive Director of the successor body, the Council on PostSecondary Education, explained this by saying "I think that people were generally
uncomfortable with a direct relationship of government and university. It had never been
done in Manitoba since the creation of the UGC [in 1967]... it was a sort of tradition and I
think politicians respected that." This suggests that university autonomy was a well
understood concept that was readily referred to in the development of post-secondary
policy during the 1990s.

## 7.5 University Autonomy and New Public Management

With its support for university autonomy, it could be argued that the Filmon government was trying to respect and promote a set of values that are embodied in NPM thinking. Addressing a question about a 5% cap on tuition fees, the Premier focused on the role of universities in implementing government policies, telling members of the Legislative Assembly in May 1995 that:

In the course of [trying to keep university operating costs and tuition under control], we obviously need the cooperation and the assistance of those who run the institutions on a decentralized authority basis, and that includes, obviously, those who operate the ... universities of Manitoba through their management system.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>466</sup> Saunders, "Dynamics of Agenda Setting," 315-316.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*, 358.

[Government] can only go so far, because [Ms. Jean Friesen, member of the Official Opposition] would be the first one to stand up and accuse us of interfering... with the universities and intervening in their right to manage their own affairs.

We have done everything we can to show the way, that we would like them to keep their costs of operation down, and we would like them to keep their tuition fee increases down. We can only go so far as long as we want to retain that authority within the hands of the universities themselves to govern themselves.<sup>468</sup>

By 'showing them the way,' the Premier was referring to the concept of government 'steering' and the universities 'rowing.' Government understood its role regarding its right to lay out general policy priorities with respect to the principle of university autonomy that was identified above, allowing the universities to set their own priorities and make decisions within the larger framework set by government.

For example, government attempted to set broad direction in its *Framework for Economic Growth*, laying out key research and development priorities for the province.

On May 25, 1994, Education and Training Minister Clayton Manness told the Legislature that:

...governments everywhere have been pretty timid to impose, some would say other areas upon university. I mean, that is the nature of the beast at this point in time. Yet universities are as well aware, hopefully, as anybody that, when the government of the day lays out a framework for economic growth which sets aside, within all the sectors of our wealth creation, those which should be favoured with respect to provincial programming and, indeed, provincial focus, one would think that universities would also understand where the leadership of the province was trying to take the province and would want to fit into that.<sup>469</sup>

Manitoba's government in the 1990s interpreted university autonomy within the framework of the new public management. Through the 5% tuition fee cap, government emphasized the role of non-government actors in post-secondary education (in autonomy

<sup>468</sup> Government of Manitoba, Hansard 43, no. 33A (May 25, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>469</sup> Government of Manitoba, Hansard 43, no. 33B (May 25, 1994).

terms, the universities manage their budgets). Second, government focused its implementation strategies on the universities' boards as the main agents of delivering on fiscal policy direction in higher education (autonomous universities are governed collegially and manage their own affairs). This is explored in greater detail below.

### 7.5.1 A 5% Cap on Tuition

As discussed in detail in the introduction to this dissertation, the Filmon government introduced a 5% cap on tuition fee growth at universities in the budget for the 1993/94 fiscal year, ensuring that universities in Manitoba could not raise tuition 5% above the previous year's tuition fee levels. This policy was introduced despite the fact that universities' legislation gives the exclusive power to set fees to the Boards of Governors/Regents of each of Manitoba's universities.

Thus it appeared that the government was involving itself in the internal management of the universities, self-governed agencies. This action could be interpreted as invalidating the reasoning outlined above that suggests that the Filmon government supported university autonomy and NPM. However, closer inspection reveals that government was in fact acting in accordance with the principles of both autonomy and NPM.

The fiscal situation of the province was discussed in the introduction to this dissertation. That discussion revealed that the Filmon government was concerned about spending at universities within the context of the deficit and economic conditions in the province. It is within this context that the 5% tuition fee cap can be seen as part of government's fiscal policy. <sup>470</sup> The 5% cap was employed by government in an attempt to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup> University Education Review Commission, *Doing Things Differently*, 78.

persuade the university to exercise its authority as an autonomous agency to force the university to make decisions about its internal management and operating expenditures.

Government felt that restricting universities' revenues through reduced grants and a cap on tuition could help to foster internal changes. In May of 1994, Education and Training Minister Clayton Manness told the Legislature that:

...I have always said generally that until institutions, whether they are health or whether indeed they are educational, before they reach to the user in a big fashion, there still has to be some rationalization done internally...

I know some universities claim they have already gone a long way to that end. I am saying that, in spite of your best efforts, there is more to do, and I would think that only after the government of the day senses that enough of the questions around the issues we have been discussing earlier tonight have been answered, and, indeed change implemented at that time, would [the government of the day] be accepting of a significant increase in tuition fees. <sup>471</sup>

Mr. Manness clearly thought that the universities would, in the absence of guidelines for tuition, increase tuition in response to provincial funding reductions to post-secondary education. He told the Legislature that "we sensed exactly what would happen... that indeed if we did not put these caps in place then, in these times of reduced funding... the administration would just go and rip it away from the students."

Manitoba's perspective on how to address university expenditures was consistent with the national perspective. A 1991 anonymous survey of all provincial government ministers and senior officials by the Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education reported that most governments

Saw a clear role for governments in encouraging, if not forcing, the streamlining process through the power of the public purse. The lengths to which some officials seem prepared to go varied. Two senior officials in one province put the case most strongly. According to one: 'our approach is just to starve the buggers to death and hope they'll react as we'd like. Of course, the patient might die before he gets the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> *Hansard* 43, no. 33B.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>472</sup> Hansard 43, no. 17.

message.' The other official said 'our unstated strategy is to squeeze (university budgets) and to let them know that their destiny is in their hands.' 473

This statement is consistent with the findings outlined in Chapter 6.

Thus, government felt it necessary to restrict the tuition revenue stream at the same time that it was restricting the operating grant revenue stream to the universities. In this way, universities would be forced to exercise their statutory authority and examine their internal activities and prioritize programs and spending. Thus, as suggested by Mr. Carlyle in his interview, government was steering the universities towards prioritization in operations and spending, forcing the universities to row through their internal budgeting process.

This approach is consistent with policy instruments literature, a body of theory that helps to explain why government chooses the policy instruments that they choose. Policy instruments are the tools, such as legislation or funding, used to implement a government's policies. Howlett argues that a governments desire to change a policy process is "intimately linked to the extent to which existing processes and procedures are considered credible," and accordingly governments use less coercive measures where there is a risk to future activities in a particular policy area. 474 Howlett goes on to state:

Democratic states require the attainment of a minimum level of societal consensus supporting their actions. When a serious loss of legitimacy of trust occurs, the subject of political conflict often shifts from the actual substantive content of government actions towards a critique of the processes by which those actions are determined.<sup>475</sup>

Based on its understanding of university autonomy, the Filmon government could not intervene directly in the affairs of the universities in order to affect the budgetary

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*, 422.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>473</sup> Public Affairs Management, Inc., Survey of the Perception of Universities among Provincial Government Officials, (Ottawa: Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education, 1991), 15.
 <sup>474</sup> Michael Howlett, "Managing the 'Hollow State': Procedural Policy Instruments and Modern Governance," Canadian Public Administration 43, No. 4 (Winter, 2000), 421.

changes it wanted without violating the general approach to governance that it had developed throughout its years of office.

The specific policy instrument chosen, then, is a political choice, "bound by political institutions, and made by political actors often responding to political pressures." In the case of the 5% tuition fee cap, the pressures placed on government included the realities of the fiscal situation, the desire to eliminate the deficit, as well as the pressure to act within a defined approach to governance.

The 5% cap can thus be interpreted within the framework of the principles of university autonomy, outlined in Chapter 3. In taking action in the area of tuition fee levels, combined with operating grant reductions, government used the funding tools at its disposal, and refrained from acting directly in internal university management related to budgeting or the setting of program or other academic priorities. Further, the government believed that it was giving the universities some flexibility regarding tuition, and not directly intervening in the affairs of the university. Mr. Manness said, "... we did not dictate that the universities should impose a 5% increase on tuition. We capped it... We were hoping that [the universities] would freeze [tuition] at zero..."<sup>477</sup>

In establishing the 5% fee cap, government was in fact taking active steps to ensure that universities exercised their statutory obligations in terms of budgeting and generally managing the affairs of the university, while giving the universities room to maneuver (i.e. between 0% and 5%). In essence, through initiatives like the Roblin Commission and *The Framework for Economic Growth*, government was steering – setting policy direction. Budget reductions and the 5% tuition fee cap was part of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>476</sup> Michael Howlett and M. Ramesh, "Patterns of Policy Instrument Choice: Policy Styles, Policy Learning and the Privatization Experience," *Policy Studies Review* 12, Nos. 1 / 2 (Spring/Summer 1993), 5.

<sup>477</sup> Hansard 43, no. 17.

direction government was setting, representing measures to induce the universities to 'row.' The actions with respect to tuition represent a post-secondary policy that reflects government's commitment to autonomy and NPM.

## 7.6 Chapter Summary

# 7.6.1 Findings in Brief

The discussion above suggests that the government of the day understood university autonomy within the context of the new public management. Government was predisposed to believe that the principle of university autonomy must be respected in the development of post-secondary policy.

Based upon NPM thinking, the Filmon government emphasized the responsibility of the universities to manage their own affairs, taking into account the changing fiscal situation in Manitoba. 478 Government identified the priorities for post-secondary education for research, for funding and fiscal management, and for future directions in part through its response to the Roblin Report and the *Framework for Economic Growth*. These and other documents charted the path that, as made clear by various senior ministers of government, was to be implemented by the universities.

## 7.6.2 Significance for the Dissertation

This chapter has demonstrated how university autonomy came to be conceptualized by the Government of Manitoba through the rubric of NPM. From the perspective of NPM, universities represent board (i.e. community) governed agencies that operated at arm's length from government, 'rowing' while government provides broad policy direction ('steering').

<sup>478</sup> Manness, Response, 1, 2.

The linkage between autonomy and policy implementation from a NPM perspective provides a useful framework within which to understand how government approached university policy in the 1990s. Rather than use direct policy intervention, government chose to modify the policy environment through the use of its spending role, creating a policy framework and then turning to the universities to implement those policies. Government's general policy direction to address the fiscal crisis of the day was, in part, implemented through a series of actions that restricted university revenues in order to influence internal change, and gave universities a tool to negotiate with its unions to help control spending. Government chose to 'steer' the universities rather than take more intrusive action such as directly setting the fees (i.e. 'row').

# 7.6.3 The Next Chapter

The final chapter of the dissertation summarizes and discusses the findings of this and the previous chapters. Conclusions and areas for further research are presented.

#### **CHAPTER 8**

# **DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION**

## 8.1 Chapter Purpose

The central theme of the dissertation was that tuition fee policy was a tool used by the government principally to bring universities into line with the government's goal of reducing or restraining public expenditures in response to the deficit and debt that it faced. The role of university autonomy in influencing the shape of tuition fee policy selected was examined throughout the dissertation. Evidence to support this proposition was organized into three chapters – Chapters 5, 6, and 7. This evidence is summarized below and, the research questions identified in the introduction are revisited, answered and discussed. Concluding thoughts are then presented.

## 8.2 Findings

## 8.2.1 Summarizing the Evidence

The discussion that follows presents a brief summary of the findings by chapter. Chapter 5 identified different factors that were important to ministers in the 1990s as they publicly discussed tuition fee policy in the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. The factors identified in Chapter 5 were 'Accessibility,' 'Student Support,' 'University Autonomy,' and 'Financial/Fiscal.' The analysis in Chapter 5 demonstrates that the most consistent and important factor referenced by ministers between April 1992 and June 1996 was the 'Financial/Fiscal' factor.

Chapter 6 demonstrated that the government was principally concerned about sustainable funding to universities within the context of the overall fiscal situation in the province. Government was interested in the universities setting priorities and restructuring their operations to become more efficient and responsive in light of the environment of limited resources.

While there was genuine concern for accessibility (broadly defined), financial barriers to access such as tuition were viewed through the fiscal situation of the day, and indeed tuition was not generally seen as a significant barrier to accessibility. Instead, government saw tuition fee policy as a tool to be used in the effort to reduce public spending and address fiscal issues such as the deficit and the debt.

University autonomy was important to the government of the day, and government felt that its policy initiatives with respect to tuition generally respected university autonomy. A cap was used instead of a freeze to help ensure that institutions retained maximum autonomy. Nevertheless, there was discomfort on the part of the government with the cap in that it was recognized as limiting university autonomy.

The analysis in Chapter 6 confirms the factors that were identified in Chapter 5. Further, an additional factor – the 'Political Dimension' – was identified as an important consideration relating to the 5% tuition fee cap.

Chapter 7 suggested that the government of the day understood university autonomy within the context of New Public Management (NPM). Accordingly, it is concluded that government was predisposed to believe that the principle of university autonomy must be respected in the development of higher education policy.

Based upon NPM ideas, the Filmon government emphasized the responsibility of the universities to manage their own affairs taking into account the changing fiscal situation in Manitoba. As discussed in Chapter 1 of the dissertation, government identified its priorities for post-secondary education, research, funding, fiscal management, and for future directions in part through its response to the Roblin Report and in documents such as the *Framework for Economic Growth*. Such documents charted a path that, as made clear by senior government ministers in the Legislative Assembly, was expected to be interpreted and implemented by universities to the extent possible. It is interesting to recall here Dr. Naimark's observation that there was no clear program for universities articulated by the government that was not related to the fiscal situation.

### 8.2.2 Answering the Research Questions

It is useful to revisit the research questions identified in Chapter 1 and discuss the answers identified through the course of the dissertation. This approach presents the findings of the dissertation in a different light. The questions identified in Chapter 1 are reproduced for ease of reference, and are answered below.

- Is university autonomy an institution?
- How do policy makers view the concept of university autonomy?
- What were the factors that accounted for the 5% tuition fee policy? Of these factors, what weight has been given to university autonomy?
- Was university autonomy important to the design and execution of the policy?

# 8.2.2.1 University Autonomy as an Institution

Using neo-institutional concepts, university autonomy was conceptualized as an institution in Chapters 2 and 3. The argument developed in these chapters demonstrates that university autonomy can be conceptualized as being composed of a series of codified

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>479</sup> Manness, Response, 1, 2.

and uncodified precepts to which government attends, defining and limiting the avenues available when considering higher education policy options. Accordingly, university autonomy sets theoretical parameters for how policies towards universities are designed and implemented. As such, autonomy acts as a constraint to government as it develops and implements higher education public policy. Chapter 3 demonstrated that the concept of university autonomy limits government action in a number of areas, including internal governance, academic policies such as programming and research, and human resource policy.

The observations of senior civil servants and former ministers confirmed that the theoretical reasons for institutions to be autonomous – the need to be free of undue influence in the pursuit of knowledge – were in fact real considerations for governments generally, and for the Government of Manitoba during the 1990s specifically.

Government's concern with autonomy was grounded in the desire that universities are able to generate knowledge in support of economic development and innovation, and play an important role supporting the reputation of the province.

Taking a different tack on the theme of the importance of autonomy, Clayton Manness noted its political dimensions by referencing the influence that "big names in our community" have on a premier. Mr. Manness' observation grounds university autonomy as a neo institutional construct in something very real to a government — political influence of powerful individuals in the community. This grounding in something real is expanded upon, below.

## 8.2.2.2. Policy Maker's Views on University Autonomy

Former ministers of Education and Training and former senior civil servants had well articulated and well argued perspectives on university autonomy. In summary, they tended to view university autonomy as the requirement of the university to make decisions and set priorities that are relevant to the environment in which the university is operating.

In terms of the specifics of the present work, former ministers expressed the view that universities were not sufficiently taking into consideration the difficult fiscal situation of the province when they continued to come to government for additional funding to support capital construction and/or operating requirements. Additionally, interview participants noted with some frustration that the universities did not appear to be setting priorities in terms of the changing economic dynamics of the 'new economy.' The phrase used in the 1993 Roblin Report that captures this thought well was that 'universities cannot be all things to all people,' which appeared again in the government's 1994 response to the Roblin Report in the specific context of prioritization of programming in the face of changing circumstances:

[o]ne of the critical issues confronting universities is the setting of priorities. Priorities relate directly to the strategic direction of our universities. In today's world, universities cannot be all things to all people: choices must be made. This translates into the establishment of university program priorities for the province. It means choosing programs which will be either enhanced or terminated. 480

Some participants noted that programs that appeared to be in demand by larger numbers of students (computer science was cited as an example by an interview participant) were not prioritized over existing programming in more abstract subjects that were offered to small numbers of students (Sanskrit was cited as an example by an interview participant).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup> Manness, *Response*, p. 2.

All interview participants believed that autonomy was an important concept, and, consistent with the literature on the subject, referred to the importance of the freedom to think, teach and pursue research in an atmosphere that is free of any fear of reprisal. Additionally, participants indicated that governments were loathe to violate university autonomy based on the political difficulties that it may create, including hearing from influential individuals, court challenges, as well as the realities that government does not itself have the resources required for detailed management of large organizations like a university. The importance of university autonomy for government is therefore both abstract and very practically grounded.

However, this is not to say that the Filmon government believed that it could not act. Actions taken by government, and observations by interview participants, suggested that government felt it had the obligation to act in areas that are important to society – a finding that is consistent with the literature. The societal priority most emphasized in the research was that of the fiscal situation of the province. However, government's concern for the sustainability of universities and the ability of students to pay also were considered.

The empirical observations made during the research for the dissertation reflect well the literature on the subject of university autonomy and government. Former ministers suggested, as did the senior civil servants, that university autonomy was related to decision-making within the jurisdiction of the university – and in particular autonomy is related to making difficult decisions and setting priorities. They all agreed that it was government's role to 'set the context' – primarily the fiscal context – within which the universities would make their own decisions.

## 8.2.2.3 Factors Important in the 5% Tuition Fee Cap Policy

The work done in Chapters 5 and 6 helped to identify the factors that were important to decision-makers as they considered the 5% tuition fee policy. Overall, there were four principal factors identified, presented in order of priority: (1) Financial/Fiscal; (2) University Autonomy; (3) Accessibility/Student Support<sup>481</sup> and (4) Political. These four factors are each discussed below, followed by a discussion of the prioritization of these factors.

Factor 1: Financial/Fiscal. This factor was identified by all interview participants as *the* key factor in the development of the 5% tuition fee cap. In summary, the cap was a policy tool that was used as a way to limit revenues available to universities to foster improved efficiencies within the university and relieve pressure on the province's finances, helping to address the budget deficit. The 5% tuition fee cap was part of the province's fiscal strategy.

Factor 2: University Autonomy. As discussed above, this factor was identified by interview participants as being well understood by government, including autonomy's more abstract elements as well as a robust practical understanding of its importance.

Furthermore, it was explicitly identified as an important consideration for the development of the 5% tuition fee cap. The role of university autonomy in the development of the 5% tuition fee cap is discussed in greater detail in Section 8.3 of this Chapter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> As outlined in Appendix B, the "Student Support" factor is distinctly different from that of Accessibility in that references to tuition and the impact on students are indirect, while in Accessibility, references are more directly related to the ability of students to attend university. It was clear from the interview transcripts that this distinction, relevant in the analysis of *Hansard* date, was not relevant to the interview participants who made no distinction between the two in their interviews. The distinction, useful in Chapter 5, was less useful in the final overall analysis of the data.

Factor 3: Accessibility/Student Support. The dissertation began with the statement that tuition fees are generally cast in the light of accessibility. The research in this dissertation has demonstrated that accessibility was an important consideration of government in terms of tuition fee policy, but was decidedly seen as a secondary consideration. Government viewed accessibility in broad terms, including affordability, but also availability of programming, the ease at which credits could be transferred, and preparation for success in higher education at the K-12 level. Access was not ignored in the development of the 5% tuition fee cap; however accessibility was not seen solely as a function of the ability of students to pay tuition fees. Tuition fee policy was not conceptualized primarily as an access issue by the government of the day.

It is clear that accessibility was not ignored as the Filmon government pursued its policies with respect to tuition fees. However, accessibility was not solely contextualized in terms of the ability for students to pay, allowing the government additional flexibility with respect to the policy's objectives. Clayton Manness noted that the driver of government's perspectives on accessibility to university education was "totally the fiscal situation." The 'Accessibility factor' was placed squarely in the context of the 'Financial/Fiscal factor' and related to the ability of the institutions to manage their own affairs.

In addition, some interview participants at the same time also placed accessibility within a political context. In terms of populist aspects of the 'Political Dimension,' it was noted that government was concerned about the influence of student voters and their families. Government was not interested in raising the ire of a significant portion of the population. Ideologically, the Filmon government was committed to smaller government,

greater accountability and to ensuring that students as the primary beneficiaries of their education contributed to the costs of that education. Mr. Manness speaking of the Filmon government's ideological differences with the NDP in the area of tuition fee policy said: "I think that's... why [the Progressive Conservatives], once they had a balanced budget... wanted to remove the cap."

**Factor 4: the Political Dimension.** This factor has been touched in the above discussion of Factor 3. There are three aspects to the Political Dimension reported by interview participants as having an impact on the 5% tuition fee policy: political dynamics in the Legislative Assembly; populist (electoral) considerations; and ideological perspectives.

The findings in Chapter 7 are particularly interesting with respect to the Political Dimension. In Chapter 7 it was learned that the Filmon government adhered to the principles of NPM, a key philosophical approach that was adopted by the Filmon government, and indeed governments of all political stripes in many different jurisdictions. It is informative that the principles of NPM are at least congruent with the principles of university autonomy.

Weighting the Factors: The dissertation did not set out to determine a precise mathematical weighting of the four factors discussed above. Rather, and principally through the interview process, the dissertation sought to identify what respondents believed to be the most important factors.

Respondents explicitly and unreservedly indicated that the fiscal situation of the province was the key driver of the 5% tuition fee policy. Less direct was their discussion of the role of autonomy; however, it was clear from interview transcripts that university

autonomy played a key role in the selection of a cap versus other mechanisms such as a freeze. Furthermore, it was clear that government rejected the idea of direct intervention in the university (through, for example, amendments to legislation) based on the fact that these institutions were self-governing entities. Universities were expected to set priorities and make decisions related to the provincial environment, including the fiscal context of the day.

Accessibility was addressed by all interview participants and was the most frequently mentioned factor in the content analysis of *Hansard*, but overall was assessed as being middling in terms of its influence. Government viewed accessibility (and other student supports) as being secondary, and broader than just the ability to pay tuition. Accessibility and support for students were not ignored when considering the 5% tuition fee cap, but neither was it the principle aim of the tuition fee policy.

Finally, the political dimension was raised by a number of participants. This factor appeared to rest beneath the surface, as it might for in any policy under consideration. Government did not ignore the perspective of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, nor did it ignore potential electoral implications associated with tuition fees. Furthermore, the 5% tuition fee cap fit into the overall political dynamics of the government of the day, including its ideological approach to governing. In this sense, it is likely that ideological considerations were not at the forefront, but represented an important touchstone in terms of the consistency of how the Filmon government approached governing in general, and the tuition fee policy specifically.

# 8.2.2.4. University Autonomy and the Design of the 5% Tuition Fee Cap

Government clearly considered university autonomy as it pursued its policy with respect to tuition fees. In particular, a cap on tuition increases that allowed some growth was selected over a freeze specifically because of the government's support for university autonomy. Mrs. McIntosh acknowledged that the 5% cap did interfere with university autonomy, and Mr. Manness expressed some distaste for the cap because government "believed more in autonomy of universities than most." University autonomy played an important role in the development of tuition fee policy in the 1990s. The specific role that university autonomy played in the development of the 5% tuition fee cap is discussed in detail in the following section of the conclusion.

## 8.3 Discussion

Above, the first part of the dissertation's central theme has been answered: the evidence shows that the 5% tuition fee cap was a tool used by government primarily to help address the fiscal situation that was faced by the province. Throughout the dissertation, questions were asked to test this hypothesis, and in particular questions were asked to determine if another plausible explanation – that of accessibility – was the basis for the tuition fee policy. Evidence from *Hansard* and interviews with individuals involved in the 5% tuition fee cap revealed that while accessibility was an important consideration, the province's fiscal situation was the key driver. The 5% tuition fee policy, combined with reduced operating grants, was primarily designed to restrict university revenues in order to foster changes in university operations to reduce the

impact of higher education on the province's budget. This in turn was theorized to have a positive impact on the provincial deficit.

The second part of the dissertation's central theme related to the role that university autonomy played in the development of the 5% tuition fee policy. In focusing on this theme, the dissertation sought to understand how university autonomy influenced government in the 1990s as it pursued its tuition fee policy.

University autonomy was conceptualized by government as having the universities set priorities and make decisions within the context of the provincial environment, and it was in part the responsibility of government to help set that environment through establishing the framework within which universities operated. Furthermore, government felt that it was justified in acting in order to manage broad social priorities, such as the deficit and debt, act to ensure the financial sustainability of universities, and ensure that university education was affordable for students and their families.

Government therefore had a clear understanding of their role and the role of the university in terms of managing in the fiscal environment of the time. University autonomy limited government through the decision-makers' own understanding of both the abstract and practical importance of university autonomy, as well as the commitment government had to its overall governing philosophy, NPM. University autonomy, and its preservation, was thus important to government.<sup>482</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> Although not discussed at length in this dissertation, the fact that since 1967 the Government of Manitoba used an arm's-length intermediary agency – first the Universities Grants Commission and then the Council on Post-Secondary Education – to manage its relationship with the university. This suggests a strong contemporary commitment to university autonomy in Manitoba.

University autonomy served to limit the options available to government to help to control spending at universities. Instead of direct action, such as legislative change, government instead chose an indirect approach composed of a combination of operating grant reductions and a cap on the revenues that could be raised through tuition fees for university students.

## 8.4 General Conclusions

In recent years government actions have displayed a greater attempt at circumscribing the notion of autonomy. Indeed, university officials and the academe are now one group among many wanting to set the university's agenda. As Kerr has indicated, higher education is "... mostly not in control of its fate." Thus, the relationship has been strained and is evolving in ... unknown pathways...

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In terms of its specific research objectives articulated in its integrating theme and research questions, the dissertation has accomplished what it set out to do. These individual findings discussed above also point to more general conclusions.

First, and as suggested by the quote by Levin and LeTourneau above, the findings of this paper suggest that the university has indeed become 'everybody's business.'

While the dissertation is not an account of the status of university autonomy today, it does suggest that, in terms of the relationship of the university to government, the definition of university autonomy is fluid and subject to change. For instance, in Manitoba, the relationship between universities and government went from one of cozy collaboration during and before the Second World War, to one of a strong partnership in the years immediately after the War, gradually increasing in tension as costs increases

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> B. Levin and L. LeTourneau, *The Challenges of Policy Making in Higher Education: The Case of the University*. A Paper Presented at the Educational Policy, Research and Development in Canada Conference, the University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta (May 8-10, 1991), 2.

and government priorities changed. University-government relations and university autonomy itself is an ongoing dialogue and negotiation between government, universities, and other higher education stakeholders such as students and faculty. It is also clear that governments understand very well the importance of university autonomy, and it will continue to limit government's options as it pursues its higher education agenda.

Second, and flowing from the above, public policy in higher education develops taking onto consideration many factors: university autonomy, the fiscal situation and budgetary position of the province, government priorities, economic and social change, political considerations and historical factors being those factors observed through this research. While certainly one of the most important players in terms of higher education policy, government does not have a free hand in setting such policy. Government must consider a host of factors that limit some of the options available to government and suggest other avenues for faction.

Understanding university autonomy as an institution also has broader implications for policy in general, beyond just higher education policy. The historical treatment of university autonomy in this dissertation suggests that while they change, institutions persevere over time. The fact that institutions themselves persevere helps to explain the perseverance of public policies despite changes in government and other social and economic changes. For instance, while over the course of decades political parties of differing ideological perspectives have been elected in Manitoba and other Canadian jurisdictions, broad policies such as public education at all levels or public health care have continued to exist, despite modifications and amendments. Such policies have come to form part of the broad policy landscape of Canadian society.

Institutions play a partial role in explaining how it is that public policy perseveres despite political and other contextual changes as well as the passage of time. The history of public policies in Canada plays a role; in terms of policies and politics, institutions matter.

## 8.4.1 Implications

University autonomy has been developing in Manitoba and Canada for more than 125 years. Its impact on public policy development in higher education has not been well articulated to date. This dissertation begins to address this gap in research and has implications for the study of public policy related to higher education.

While the study was specific to the issue of the 5% tuition fee cap of the 1990s, the conclusions of this dissertation suggest that university autonomy may influence policy development in other aspects of higher education policy as well. As suggested by government's response to the Roblin Report<sup>484</sup> and by strategic policy documents developed by the current government,<sup>485</sup> one such area where public policy development is seen as a priority is related to articulation and credit transfer within the post-secondary system. This and other policy areas may benefit from a better understanding of how university autonomy limits the options available to government. Such an understanding may facilitate agreement within the system, and help in the creation of more efficient and effective policies.

Although this dissertation has focused exclusively on universities, another interesting implication is related to the development of the community college sector of Manitoba's post-secondary education system. As stated above, *The Colleges Act* created

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<sup>484</sup> Manness, Response, 4.

Manitoba Advanced Education and Training, *Priorities for Advanced Education* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Advanced Education and Training, 2002), 2.

Manitoba's community colleges as independent, board governed agencies similar in governance as the universities. Additionally, *The Council on Post-Secondary Education Act* integrates the colleges into the external governance model for advanced education in the province. Similar governance structures may lead to similar application of the principles of university autonomy. This is important to understand in terms of the development of policy specifically for the colleges sector. Government may find that it is becoming similarly constrained as the colleges become more comfortable with their independent status.

Finally, the paper has implications for the use of neo-institutional theory in the study of public policy in general. The dissertation has made the case that university autonomy is a neo-institutional construct; autonomy creates rule systems reified by laws, beliefs and ideas that inform action. Neo-institutional theory may have applications beyond the higher education policy arena and could be constructively used to explain decisions and paths taken in other areas of public policy.

Neo-institutional theory was a useful conceptual framework with which to pursue this topic, and has been used in other research related to higher education and the study of government in general. Through synthesizing from the literature, the dissertation in Chapter 2 identified a set of criteria for institutions, contributing to the operationalization of historical neo-institutionalism as a research tool by creating a framework within which to help identify and define institutions.

## 8.4.2 Directions for Further Research

The dissertation has focused its examination on the influence of an institution – university autonomy – on a particular policy decision – the 5% tuition fee policy. Equally

interesting is the reverse – the influence of the policy decision on university autonomy. Chapter two discusses Archer's position that there is an interaction between structure and agency – structure informs decisions, and decisions can transform structure. Important and interesting work remains to be done on the impact that policy decisions such as tuition fee policy has on university autonomy. When a government moves into an area of institutional activity, even temporarily, it is part of the discussion or negotiation around autonomy, implying a change in the relationship between government and the university. Further research could explore this dynamic and help to elucidate long-term implications.

In the context of the present work, it would also be interesting to explore the role that university autonomy may play in defining the relationship between universities and other bodies aside from government. This dissertation examines the relationship between governments and universities. However, other relationships exist that have implications for universities and autonomy. For instance, does university autonomy play a role in limiting the options and considerations available to corporations as they engage with higher education and issues of research and development?

An additional area for further research is the evolution of university autonomy itself. University autonomy is a diverse concept, and includes more than just the relationship between government and universities, such as corporate sponsorship, the impact of donations, and so on. As suggested by the quote opening this section, university autonomy is evolving. Research is required that would assess university autonomy in all its dimensions to determine if and where the concept may be eroding or strengthening. If Jones is correct and the most important concept of the university is its autonomy, then research into how autonomy is evolving is vital. Of particular interest

would be research into the ongoing dialogue and negotiation that occurs among the various stakeholders surrounding university autonomy. While clearly a long-term and ongoing process, understanding how the process works would be an important contribution to the discussion.

## 8.4.3 Final Words

This dissertation has been about the role of university autonomy in the development of post-secondary policy, and examined a specific tuition fee policy in place in the Province of Manitoba. The research demonstrated that university autonomy played an important role in guiding government as it pursued policy options with respect to tuition. Conclusions suggest that institutions play an important defining role in policy development generally.

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## APPENDIX A

**Key Events Timeline: 5% Tuition Fee Policy** 

## Budget Year 1988/89

26 Apr 88: Manitoba General Election (PC minority government)

09 May 88: Hon. Len Derkatch Minister of Education

## Budget Year 1989/90

21 Apr 89: Dept of Education renamed Dept of Education and Training

## Budget Year 1990/91

11 Sept 90: Manitoba General Election (PC majority government)

01 Nov 90: 1990 Budget Address

- University grant increase of 3.2% for 1990/91

# Budget Year 1991/92

16 Apr 91: 1991 Budget Address

- University grant increase of 3.0% for 1991/92

Sept 91: Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education

(Smith Report) released

14 Jan 92: Hon. Rosemary Vodrey appointed Minister of Education and Training

11 Mar 92: 1992 Budget Address

- University grant increase of 1.7% for 1992/93

## Budget Year 1992/93

1992: University of Manitoba increases tuition fees by 16.0% for academic year

1992/93

# Budget Year 1993/94

06 Apr 93:

1993 Budget Address

- University grant decrease of -1.0% for 1993/94

- First year of 5% tuition fee cap announced with budget

10 Sept 93:

Hon. Clayton Manness appointed Minister of Education and Training

16 Dec 93:

Report of the University Education Review Commission (Roblin Report)

released

## Budget Year 1994/95

20 Apr 94:

1994 Budget Address

- University grant decrease of -2.8% for 1994/95

- Second year of 5% tuition fee cap announced with budget

June 94:

Government response to Roblin Report released

09 Mar 95:

1995 Budget Address

- University grant increase of 0.9% 486 for 1995/96

- Balanced budget announced

- Third year of 5% tuition fee cap announced with budget

# Budget Year 1995/96

25 Apr 95:

Manitoba General Election (PC majority government)

09 May 95:

Hon. Linda McIntosh appointed Minister of Education and Training

# Budget Year 1996/97

02 Apr 96:

1996 Budget Address

- Universities grants decrease of -2.0% for 1996/97
- 5% tuition fee cap lifted, and no restrictions placed on university tuition increases
- Budget balanced

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>486</sup> In the 1995/96 budget, Grants in Lieu of Taxes equalling \$17,896,063 were transferred from Manitoba Rural Development to universities grants. This \$17 million does not represent a grant increase but rather a transfer of a previous responsibility from one agency (Rural Development) to others (the universities). The Grants in Lieu of taxes is increase is not reflected in the percentage increase figure for 1995 only).

14 Mar 97: 1997 Budget Address

- University grants decrease of -1.7% for 1997/98
- Budget balanced

## Budget Year 1997/98

28 Apr 97:

Council on Post-Secondary Education established, Universities Grants

Commission wound up.

06 Mar 98:

1998 Budget Address

University grant increase of 9.3% for 1997/98

Budget balanced

# Budget Year 1998/99

01 Jul 98:

University of Winnipeg Act and Brandon University Act proclaimed.

University Establishment Act repealed

05 Feb 99:

Hon. James McCrae appointed Minister of Education and Training

# Budget Year 1999/00

29 Apr 99:

1999 Budget Address

21 Sept 99:

Manitoba General Election (NDP majority government)

# APPENDIX B

# Part 1: Coding Agenda – Hansard

Factor	Definition	Prototypical Example	Coding Rules
1. Accessibility	High subjective conviction that the focus of the statement is on increasing participation in university, or making the cost within the range of more people, which means that in the analytical unit the term tuition or synonym is used:  The term "accessibility" is used in direct relationship to tuition fees  Reference is made to tuition fees and making it easier for students to participate in PSE  Reference is made to tuition fees being low in comparison to other provinces with direct reference to making it easier for students to participate in PSE	" We have done a number of things to ensure that those students who do wish to attend university have maximum opportunity to attend. I think I just mentioned a couple of minutes ago capping the university fees to no more of an increase than 5 percent for two years now, the tax credit coming into place that will see students, or those who pay their bills for them, being able to get a tax credit and so on, measures such as those to encourage or to make it easier for students to obtain a university education."  McIntosh, Hansard, 19 June 1995	Conforms to definition and one, two, or all three descriptors present.
2. Student- Focused	High subjective conviction that the focus of the statement is on supporting students, but without direct reference to accessibility. This means that in the analytical unit the term tuition or synonym is used:  - In a discussion of the impact of tuition levels on student loans, but without reference to the impact on accessibility - Concerns expressed regarding the impact of tuition on students but without specific reference to what those impacts are (e.g. affordability, financial barriers to education, etc).	"I think that it is very important for the member to understand that we also have great concern around the issue of student tuition fees. We are in the process now of going through our budget cycle in the Department of Education as a department in government. We are making every effort to take into consideration issues related to university funding and the impact on student tuition."  Vodrey, Hansard, 07 Dec 1992	Conforms to definition and one or both descriptors are present
3. Autonomy	High subjective conviction that the statement focuses on allowing universities to make their own decisions relate to tuition fee levels. This means that in the analytical unit where the term tuition or synonym is used:  Term "autonomy," "independence," or synonym used Refers to decisions to be made by the university Refers to a desire on the part of government to not make decisions for the universities	` We have done everything we can to show the way, that we would like them to keep their costs of operation down, and we would like them to keep their tuition fee increases down. We can only go so far as long as we want to retain that autonomy within the hands of the universities themselves to govern themselves.`  Filmon, Hansard, 25 May 1994	Conforms to definition and one, two or all three descriptors are present

Factor	Definition	Prototypical Example	Coding Rules
4. Financial/	High subjective conviction that the focus of the statement is	' So I still sensing that we are keeping with the	Conforms to
Fiscal	on improving the budgetary position of the province and/or	spirit of the recommendation, and I honestly	definition and
	reducing the expenditures related to university education. This	believe that before – I have always said generally	one, two, or all
	means that in the analytical unit, the term tuition of synonym	that until institutions, whether they are health or	three descriptors
	is used:	whether indeed they are educational, before they	present.
	- in the sense that tuition fees are related to the fiscal	reach to the user in a big fashion, there still has to	
	position of the province	be some rationalization done internally, I honestly	
	- in relation to tuition fees in reference to the provincial	believe that.	
	budget		
	- in the sense that tuition fees are related to reducing	I know some universities claim they have already	
	university expenditures	gone a long way to that end. I am saying that, in	
		spite of your best efforts, there is more to do, and	
		I would think that only after the government of	
		the day senses that enough of the questions	
		around the issues we have been discussing earlier	
		tonight have been answered, and, indeed change	
		implemented at that time, would they be	
		accepting of a significant increase in tuition fees.	
5 O U	TI'l list and a control of the contr	Manness, Hansard, 25 May 1994	
5. Other	High subjective conviction that the focus of the statement and	"Madam Speaker, I do not presume to speak for	Conforms to the
	the use of the term tuition or synonym is used in a way that	the Minister of Labour, past or present. However,	definition and one
	does not fall under the other categories:	I will say that as Minister of Education and as a	or both
	- general reference is made to developing a tuition fee	former school trustee, it is well known and should	descriptions are
	policy	be well known to both sides that arbitration	present.
	- Refers to general planning (not including budgetary planning which is addressed in category 4)	boards traditionally take the position that if public	TC 1
	plaining which is addressed in category 4)	dollars are concerned, there is always an ability to	If not, code as a
		pay, unlike private companies.	different category
		The ability to pay comes from the taxpayer or	
		from the assessment of fees, and Madam Speaker,	
		the last thing in the world I want is to see student	
		fees go up because of a settlement that comes	
		about because of suggestions made by members	
		opposite who do not care if student fees rise or	
		not because of a labour dispute."	
		McIntosh, Hansard, 30 June 1995.	

Source: Format drawn from: Philipp Mayring, "Qualitative Content Analysis," Forum: Qualitative Social Research [On-line Journal] 1, no. 2 (April, 2001). www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-00/2-00mayring-e.htm, accessed May 20, 2003.

## Part 2: Categorization of Data

All ministerial uses of identified terms were identified as one of the following institutional categories:

Institutional	Definition
Category	
Colleges	Reference to a Manitoba public community college: Red River Community College (RRCC), Assiniboine Community College (ACC), Keewatin Community College (KCC)*, and École technique et professionelle (ETP).
University	Reference to a Manitoba public university: University of Manitoba (UM), University of Winnipeg (UW), Brandon University (BU), and Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface (CUSB), or to the 5% tuition fee cap (a university policy), or reference made generally to university tuition fees.
PVS	Reference to a Private Vocational School
High School	Reference to a public or independent primary or secondary school
Other	Some other reference, including (but not limited to) student aid, reference to a private college or university, Workforce 2000, ACCESS programs, or to general development of tuition policy

<sup>\*</sup> In 2004, KCC was discontinued and University College of the North was established.

Summary of "University" Category Hits: To be used in Further Analysis

Session*	Dates of Session**	Tuition		Universi	ty Fees	Studen	t Fees	Tot	Totals	
		Analytical Units	# Refs	Analytical Units	# Refs	Analytical Units	# Refs	Analytical Units	# Refs	
3 <sup>rd</sup> -35 <sup>th</sup>	Apr-Jun 92***	7	10					7	10	
4 <sup>th</sup> -35 <sup>th</sup>	Nov 92-Jul 93	16	27					17	28	
5 <sup>th</sup> -35 <sup>th</sup>	Apr-Jul 94	10	14					10	14	
6 <sup>th</sup> -35 <sup>th</sup>	Dec 94-Mar 95	3	4					3	4	
1 <sup>st</sup> -36 <sup>th</sup>	May-Nov 95	2	4	2	2	2	4	6	10	
2 <sup>nd</sup> -36 <sup>th</sup>	Dec 95***			1	1			1	1	
Total		38	59	3	3	2	4	43	66	
Percent of	Total	88.4%	89.4%	7.0%	4.5%	4.7%	6.1%	100.0%	100.0%	

<sup>\*</sup> Refers to the # Session - # Legislature. E.g.: 3<sup>rd</sup>-35<sup>th</sup> refers to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Session of the 35<sup>th</sup> Legislature

Instances of Eligible References: An eligible reference is a reference to "tuition," "university fees" or "student fees" that are related to the university institutional category. A total of 66 of the 157 instances will be used in the analysis, or 42.0% of instances made by Ministers, and 18.1% (66/370) of all instances made in the time period in question.

**Analytical Units:** To be considered an analytical unit for the analysis, the eligible reference had to be in the "university" institutional category. There are 43 of 104 analytical units that will be considered in the content analysis, or 41.7% of all eligible references.

<sup>\*\*</sup> May not reflect full fiscal years, rather reflects the beginning and ending months of the sessions

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Partial Sessions to reflect the beginning and/or end of the fiscal years in question (looking at FY 1992/93 – 1995/96)

# Part 3: Categories by Legislative Session- All Instances

3<sup>rd</sup> Session, 35<sup>th</sup> Legislature (April – June 1992 – partial session)

Analytical Unit Serial #	Inst. Category	Synonym Used	# Refs	Context	Who	Analytic Category	Comments
3-35-1	Colleges	Student Fee	1	Estimates	Vodrey		College fees at KCC
3-35-2	University	Tuition	1	Estimates	Gillesham mer	5	Discussing Family Services issues tuition as one of many costs faced by a family seeking daycare
3-35-3	University	Tuition	2	QP	Vodrey	1	Comparing tuition rates across Canada Indirect reference to accessibility (response to direct question about access by opp)
3-35-4	University	Tuition	1	QP	Vodrey	1	Comparing tuition rates across Canada Direct reference to accessibly (Minister says the term "accessibility).
3-35-5	High School	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussion of tuition at independent schools
3-35-6	PVS	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussion of PVS policies
3-35-7	PVS	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	2	Discussion of PVS & student aid
3-35-8	PVS	Tuition	2	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussion of PVS policies
3-35-9	PVS	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussion of PVS policies
3-35-10	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussing an agreement with RRCC re international education
3-35-11	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussing what costs student financial assistance covers – policy discussion
3-35-12	University	Tuition	2	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussing tuition fee policy development
3-35-13	University	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Funding of colleges & universities
3-35-14	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	1	Discussing comparisons of college fees
3-35-15	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	1	Discussing comparisons of college fees
3-35-16	University	Tuition	2	Estimates	Vodrey	1	Comparing tuition in Canada and the USA. Indirect reference to funding issues
3-35-17	University	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Comparing tuition in Canada and the USA in the context of the burden the higher costs are on the taxpayer

Analytical Unit Serial #	Inst. Category	Synonym Used	# Refs	Context	Who	Analytic Category	Comments
3-35-18	Other	Tuition	4	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Discussing the budgetary impact of student financial assistance
3-35-19	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Discussing the budgetary impact of costs student financial assistance
3-35-20	Other	Tuition	3	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Speaking about tuition fees at private religious colleges
3-35-21	Other	Tuition	3	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Discussing budgetary issues related to student financial assistance
3-35-22	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Discussing budgetary issues related to student financial assistance
3-35-23	Other	Tuition	3	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Discussing budgetary issues related to student financial assistance
3-35-24	Other	Tuition	3	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Discussing budgetary issues related to student financial assistance
3-35-25	High School	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussing a high school bursary program and adults in secondary education
3-35-26	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussing tuition fees for labour market training programs
3-35-27	Other	Tuition	2	Min Statement	Vodrey	4	Federal government action regarding the Northern Development Agreement and funding for ACCESS programs
Session Tot	al, all phras	es	43				

In this session, a total of 10/43 references and 7/27 analytical units were included in the analysis (shaded green)

4<sup>th</sup> Session, 35<sup>th</sup> Legislature (November 1992 – July 1993)

Analytical Unit Serial #	Inst. Category	Synonym Used	# Refs	Context	Who	Analytic Category	Comments
4-35-1	Colleges	Student Fees	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Talking about college fees
4-35-2	University	Tuition	4	QP	Vodrey	2	Reference to accessibility as well, and to the need to budget for university.
4-35-3	University	Tuition	1	QP	Vodrey	2	Mentions the 5% cap directly (a university policy) in the context of planning and funding the universities
4-35-4	University	Tuition	1	Min Statement	Vodrey	4	Mentions 5% cap directly (a university policy) in the context of the fiscal situation and the need to universities to develop options
4-35-5	University	Tuition	1	QP	Vodrey	2	Mentions the 5% cap directly (a university policy) in the context of assisting students with the costs of education
4-35-6	University	Tuition	1	Min Statement	Vodrey	4	Mentions the 5% cap directly (a university policy) in the context of controlling tax/user fees for Manitobans through searching "for ways to trim costs."
4-35-7	Other	Tuition	1	QP	Vodrey	5	Reference to Workforce 2000
4-35-8	University	Tuition	1	QP	Filmon	5	Referring to Visa student differential tuition
4-35-9	University	Tuition	3	Estimates	Vodrey	3	Discussing visa student differential tuition and the 5% cap. Speaks of autonomy in decision-makes WRT fees.
4-35-10	University	Tuition	4	Estimates	Vodrey	2	Mentions the 5% cap directly in the context of assisting students with planning
4-35-11	University	Tuition	2	QP	Vodrey	3	Mentions 5% cap directly, and speaks of the autonomy of universities
4-35-12	University	Tuition		Estimates	Vodrey	3	Mentions the 5% cap directly in the context of visa student tuition policy and mentions autonomy

Analytical Unit Serial #	Inst. Category	Synonym Used	# Refs	Context	Who	Analytic Category	Comments
4-35-13	University	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Mentions the 5% cap directly in the context of visa student tuition policy
4-35-14	University	Tuition	1	Estimates	Derkach	5	In the context of earning money for tuition
4-35-15	High School	Tuition	1	Budget Debate	Praznik	5	Speaking about independent school tuition
4-35-16	Other	Tuition	1	QP	Vodrey	5	Discussing budgetary issues related to student financial assistance
4-35-17	University	Tuition	2	Min Statement	Vodrey	1	Mentions 5% cap directly in the context of student accessibility
4-35-18	University	Tuition	2	Min Statement	Vodrey	4	Mentions 5% cap directly in the context of universities examining their spending and looking for cost savings
4-35-19	Colleges	Tuition	1	QP	Vodrey	4	Colleges asked to examine their spending re the fiscal situation
4-35-20	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	3	Responding to questions about federal reductions in seat purchases at colleges
4-35-21	Other	Tuition	1	QP	Vodrey	5	Speaking about benefits ACCESS students get
4-35-22	PVS	Tuition	6	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Speaking about PVS tuition policy
4-35-23	PVS	Tuition	4	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Speaking about PVS tuition policy
4-35-24	PVS	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Speaking about PVS tuition policy
4-35-25	PVS	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Speaking about PVS tuition policy
4-35-26	PVS	Tuition	3	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Speaking about PVS tuition policy
4-35-27	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussing student aid criteria
4-35-28	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Discussing student aid criteria
4-35-29	Other	Tuition	2	Estimates	Vodrey	5	ACCESS policies and benefits
4-35-30	Colleges	Tuition	4	Estimates	Vodrey	3	Establishing colleges fees
4-35-31	Colleges	Tuition	2	Estimates	Vodrey	1	Access, and establishing colleges fees
4-35-32	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Establishing colleges fees
4-35-33	Colleges	Tuition	2	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Establishing colleges fees
4-35-34	Colleges	Tuition	2	Estimates	Vodrey	3	Establishing colleges fees

Analytical	Inst.	Synonym Used	#	Context	Who	Analytic	Comments
Unit	Category		Refs			Category	
Serial #							
4-35-35	Colleges	Tuition	2	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Establishing colleges fees
4-35-36	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Market driven trg at colleges
4-35-37	Colleges	Tuition	2	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Market driven trg at colleges
4-35-38	Colleges	Tuition	3	Estimates	Vodrey	3	Market driven trg at colleges
4-35-39	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Setting college fees
4-35-40	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	5	Setting college fees
4-35-41	University	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	1	Discuss university tuition in the context of accessibility
4-35-42	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	1	Setting college fees
4-35-43	Colleges	Tuition	1	Estimates	Vodrey	4	Setting college fees
4-35-44	University	Tuition	1	Debate on Bill	Derkach	1	Asked a citizen a question about his university tuition fees in public hearings.
Session Tot	tal, all phrase	es	71				

In this session, a total of 28/71 references and 17/44 analytical units were included in the analysis (shaded green)

5<sup>th</sup> Session, 35<sup>th</sup> Legislature (April – July 1994)

Analytical Unit Serial #	Inst. Category	Synonym Used	# Refs	Context	Who	Analytic Category	Comments
5-35-1	University	Tuition	1	Budget Address	Stefanson	4	Direct mention of 5% cap.
5-35-2	University	Tuition	3	QP	Manness	2	Direct reference to 5% cap, indirect references to access and to autonomy
5-35-3	University	Tuition	1	Budget debate	Filmon	3	Direct reference to university autonomy in setting tuition fees
5-35-4	University	Tuition	1	QP	Stefanson	3	Direct reference to 5% cap, and direct reference to autonomy of universities' boards
5-35-5	University	Tuition	1 -	Estimates	Derkach	5	Reference made to why a student may want to earn money through the Green Team
5-35-6	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	Manness	5	This is a debate about ACCESS
5-35-7	University	Tuition	2	QP	Filmon	3	Direct reference made to 5% cap and to the autonomy of the universities
5-35-8	University	Tuition	1	Estimates	Manness	4	Comments made include reference to universities reorganizing internally to cut costs
5-35-9	University	Tuition	1	Estimates	Manness	5	Commenting on UW tuition
5-35-10	University	Tuition	2	QP	Stefanson	1	Reference to cost containment for students, indirect reference to autonomy of the board
5-35-11	University	Tuition	1	Estimates	Manness	5	Discussing current levels of tuition
5-35-12	Other	Tuition	1	QP	Manness	5	Discussing ACCESS program benefits
5-35-13	Other	Tuition	1	Min Statement	Manness	5	Discussing creation of a tuition fee policy
Session Tot	al, all phrase	es	17				

In this session, a total of 14/17 references and 10/13 analytical units were included in the analysis (shaded green)

6<sup>th</sup> Session, 35<sup>th</sup> Legislature (Dec 94 – Mar 95)

Analytical Unit Serial #	Inst. Category	Synonym Used	# Refs	Context	Who	Analytic Category	Comments
6-35-1	Other	Post-Secondary Fees	1	QP	Manness	5	Talking about impact of federal government action on tuition fee policy generally
6-35-2	Colleges	Tuition	1	QP	Manness	5	Talking about impact of federal government action on college tuition
6-35-3	University	Tuition	1	Budget Address	Stefanson	5	Direct reference to 5% cap
6-35-4	University	Tuition	1	QP	Filmon	4	Direct reference to 5% cap
6-35-5	University	Tuition	2	QP	Manness	1	Indirect reference to accessibility
Session Tot	al, all phrase	es	6				

In this session, a total of 4/6 references and 3/5 analytical units were included in the analysis (shaded green)

1<sup>st</sup> Session, 36<sup>th</sup> Legislature (May 95 – Nov 95)

Analytic al Unit Serial #	Inst. Category	Synonym Used	# Refs	Context	Who	Analytic Category	Comments
1-36-1	University	University Fees	1	Estimates	McIntosh	1	Reference to accessibility
1-36-2	University	University Fees	1	Estimates	McIntosh	1	Reference to a tax credit
1-36-3	University	Student Fees	2	Debate on bill 29	McIntosh	4	Direct reference to the 5% cap
1-36-4	University	Student Fees	2	QP	McIntosh	-5	Related to faculty strike
1-36-5	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	Enns	1	Referring to assistance given to vet med students
1-36-6	Colleges	Tuition	1	Min Statement	McIntosh	4	Speaking about college fee comparisons
1-36-7	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	McIntosh	5	General tuition fee policy
1-36-8	University	Tuition	3	Estimates	McIntosh	1	Direct mention of 5% cap, use of term "accessible"
1-36-9	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	McIntosh	4	General comparisons of tuition fees
1-36-10	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	McIntosh	5	Referring to assistance given to vet me students
1-36-11	Other	Tuition	1	Estimates	Ernst	5	Referring to assistance given to athletes
1-36-12	University	Tuition	1	Debate on bill 29	McIntosh	4	Direct reference to the 5% cap
Session Tot	Session Total, all phrases		16			** **	

In this session, a total of 10/16 references and 6/12 analytical units were included in the analysis (shaded green)

2<sup>nd</sup> Session, 36<sup>th</sup> Legislature (December 1995 – partial session)

Analytical Unit Serial #	Inst. Category	Synonym Used	# Refs	Context	Who	Analytic Category	Comments
2-36-1	University	University Fees	1	QP	McIntosh	5	Direct reference made to 5% cap
2-36-2	Other	Tuition	2	QP	McIntosh	5	General reference to the development of a tuition fee policy
2-36-3	Other	Tuition	1	Throne speech debate	McIntosh	5	General reference to the development of a tuition fee policy
Session Total, all phrases			4				

In this session, a total of 1/4 references and 1/3 analytical units were included in the analysis (shaded green)

#### APPENDIX C

### **Interview Questionnaire**

The questions below were approved by the University of Manitoba Education/Nursing Ethics Research Board on 27 March 2007.

## Questions for Category A/B Candidates

What were government's priorities surrounding the 5% tuition fee cap?

#### Probes:

- How were these priorities determined?
- Why was the cap put in place?
- Why a cap rather than a freeze or some other directive?

How did the fiscal situation of the province, specifically the provincial deficit, factor into post-secondary policy in the mid 1990s?

#### Probes

- How did the tuition fee cap fit in?
- How were universities expected to contribute to resolving the fiscal situation of the province?

What priority was given to accessibility to post-secondary education?

### Probes:

• Was the tuition fee cap part of an accessibility strategy?

Why was the 5% cap lifted?

#### Probes

• Was it because the deficit situation was resolved?

Is there anything else that you thought of during our conversation, or something that we discussed that you would like to expand upon?

#### **Questions for Category A Participants Only**

What was the governments' main concern with respect to universities in the 1990s?

How did university autonomy factor into the design of the tuition fee policy?

## Questions for Category B Participants Only

What was the key problem with universities in the 1990s?

### APPENDIX D

# Research Ethics Approval Certificate

27 March 2007

TO:

Dan Smith

(Advisor P. Thomas)

Principal Investigators

FROM:

Stan Straw, Chair

Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board (ENREB)

Re:

Protocol #E2007:017

"University Autonomy in Higher Education Policy Development in

Manitoba"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

## Please note:

- if you have funds pending human ethics approval, the auditor requires that you submit a copy of this Approval Certificate to Kathryn Bartmanovich, Research Grants & Contract Services (fax 261-0325), including the Sponsor name, before your account can be opened.
- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/ethics/ors\_ethics\_human\_REB\_forms\_guidelines.html) in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.