REIMAGINING THE UNIVERSITY IN THE ERA OF NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

by

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This thesis examines how the neoliberal globalization phenomenon has come to affect the Canadian public higher education system. It does this in two ways. First, it examines the 'shifting state' of higher education, which is argued to have evolved from the 'Platonic ideal' to a massified multiversity system. Second, this thesis provides a case-study of one Canadian university, which has seemingly struggled to survive as a multiversity operating within an increasingly competitive and globalized higher education industry. The university being studied is the author's home university, Simon Fraser University (SFU), which is located in Burnaby, British Columbia. The goal of this section is to determine whether the economics of education as a master discourse has led to a marketized internationalization and branding strategy for SFU.

**Keywords:** Neoliberalization; Globalization; Higher Education; Simon Fraser University; Internationalization; Branding; Economics of Education
DEDICATION

To my parents, Ed and Corrie. Your love, support, and most importantly your patience made this work possible. I am extremely grateful for everything that you've provided me throughout these years. Mabuhay!
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First, I wish to send my sincerest gratitude to my Senior Supervisor, Pat Howard, who I've come to see as a both a mentor and a friend over my many years at SFU. I appreciate your guidance and understanding throughout the difficult times I've endured. I have certainly learned some very valuable lessons under your tutelage, but I also know that I still have much to learn. Second, I would also like to thank my Secondary Supervisor, Andrew Feenberg. Your thought-provoking insights into my work were much appreciated and I thoroughly enjoyed discussing and debating these issues with you. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge those within the SFU community whom I've had the privilege of getting to know over the years. It's truly been an amazing experience studying and working on the hill. I will always look back at my SFU days as one of the most challenging, but fulfilling times of my life.
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INTRODUCTION - THE GLOBALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION DEBATE

Today, an important debate about public higher education is occurring within the academic community. At the heart of this controversy lies a simple, but important question: how should we, as a society, define the value, meaning and purpose of our post-secondary institutions in the era of neoliberal globalization? Neoliberal globalization can be succinctly defined as a phenomenon which promotes the idea that it is not only possible, but in fact desirable for the world to integrate economically, socially, and politically through free market policies which encourage private enterprise, consumer choice, and entrepreneurialism.¹ With regards to higher education, the rapidly expanding neoliberal globalization phenomenon has spread the idea that the nation-state must (partly or even completely) ‘marketize’ its public post-secondary system in order to prosper in the new global economic order. Clearly, a fundamental re-imagining of the university’s ‘raison d’etre’ is beginning to occur whereby the public post-secondary sector, defined as an ‘engine of economic growth’ operating within a competitive global industry, is also being used to strategically develop a nation’s human capital. The problem, however, is that many public

universities have found it difficult to reconcile their traditionally collegiate culture with the new hyper-competitive and performance-driven ethos of neoliberalization. Many attempts by university administrators to apply a strictly ‘business-like approach’ to campus operations have resulted in controversy and widespread opposition within the campus community itself. In fact, applying the neoliberal prescription for public higher education has typically had a polarizing effect amongst stakeholders because it effectively forces those affected to either support the current globalization regime or oppose it.

Generally, those who have faith in the tenets of neoliberalism have argued that free market policies are the key to economic success within a rapidly globalizing higher education system. They believe that the reason why many public universities are unable to compete in the emerging global market for higher education is because they are being run by inefficient management structures, which utilize an overpriced labour force, and generally churn out uncompetitive educational products. Therefore, neoliberals have put forth the argument that in order to succeed, universities must become more entrepreneurial institutions, which strive for

...more direct involvement in the commercialization of research activities, more proactive approach to regional economic development, more problem solving and data-driven approach to

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curriculum development and a new emphasis on applying the principles of total quality [management] to university operations.³

To put it another way, the neoliberal dogma usually espouses some sort of free-market solution to solving the inefficiency problems of the publicly funded university. Their policy prescriptions have typically sought to make higher education institutions more fiscally responsible and more entrepreneurial-minded when it comes to pursuing their various teaching and research missions. In neoliberal-speak, becoming more fiscally responsible usually translates into implementing market-driven performance measures and becoming more entrepreneurial-minded usually means establishing stronger ties with private, for-profit enterprises.

However, not everyone believes that forcing universities to behave more and more like commercial institutions will be a positive experience for the academic community. In fact, some have argued that neoliberal policy-making will only usher in a destructive form of ‘academic capitalism’ that will severely cripple the collegial nature of university life. Academic capitalism is the term used by Sheila Slaughter and Larry L. Leslie to describe “the encroachment of the profit motive into the academy,” whereby “faculty and professional staff [are increasingly driven to] expend their human capital stock... in competitive situations.”⁴ Slaughter and Leslie further describe the encroachment of the profit

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motive into the public higher education system as having been driven by the post-secondary sector's shifting political-economic position within the so-called 'knowledge economy.' According to the authors, national higher education policies in Australia, Britain, the United States and Canada since the 1980s have been built on an academic capitalist agenda that seeks to

...enhance national competitiveness by linking postsecondary education to business innovation. This linking is an effort to create national wealth by increasing global market shares through the discovery of new products and processes in order to increase the number of high paying, high technology jobs.5

Arguably, at the heart of the argument against neoliberal globalization is the belief that the imposition of free-market mechanisms only serves to undermine higher education's long-standing social contract to freely teach, research and provide a public service to the community. In other words, neoliberal values are seen as a corroding influence that threatens the moral core of the academic community for it is turning professors and students into little more than academic mercenaries, whose only incentives are career advancement, conformity, and other self-serving priorities.

5 Slaughter and Leslie, Academic Capitalism, 13.
Thesis Statement - The Master Discourse Behind the Globalization of Higher Education

From the above discussion, it should become evident that the changing political economic reality of a globalized post-secondary sector has given rise to a hotly contested academic debate centering on the question: is neoliberal globalization a positive or negative influence on public higher education? This thesis endeavours to make a contribution to the 'globalization of higher-education debate' through qualitative research and academic analysis which explores how one public university has tried to position itself as both a 'profit-oriented seller' and a 'free/public disseminator' of knowledge within the ever-expanding, international market for higher education. In particular, the author's home university, Simon Fraser University (SFU), has been used as a single-site case study to determine how the neoliberal globalization phenomenon has affected the various stakeholders of this particular public institution.

The hypothesis at the core of this investigation proposes that the neoliberal argument for the globalization of higher education has predominately been built on a Foucauldian "regime of truth," which has largely ignored the social and cultural costs of transforming public universities via the guiding hand

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6 The French Philosopher Michel Foucault put forth the concept of a 'regime of truth' to show the link between discourse, power and knowledge in society. Foucault believes that there are truth-generating apparatuses in societies which are largely invisible for they are distributed by hegemonic political and economic apparatuses. As such, a Foucauldian regime of truth does not see truth as being absolute; it is always linked to (and constructed) by politics. For more information see Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980).
of the more 'market-friendly' neoliberal ideology. This argument is based primarily on Michel Foucault's "power-knowledge critique," which other scholars have utilized to analyze the discursive structures and the political-economic history of the transformation of higher education into a globalized industry. Simon Marginson, in particular, has used the Foucauldian critique to argue that within our conventional understanding of higher education, there exists a "master discourse" that colonizes, violently reduces, and eliminates "other," non-dominant discourses. According to Marginson, the value of the Foucauldian power-knowledge critique can be found in its ability to illuminate how the master discourse at the heart of a "system of power" will usually determine the kind of human relations and social systems that are allowed by that system, the kinds of education practices that are enabled, valued and ultimately promoted by that system, and more importantly what gets excluded and relegated to the status of the non-dominant 'other' by that system.

He identifies higher education's master discourse as being the "economics of education" and explains its colonizing aspects in the following way,

When economic conceptions of education become applied in education programs, they start to produce the very behaviours that economists of education have imagined. Where university research is commercialized, researchers begin to think like entrepreneurs, and the free exchange of knowledge begins to be replaced by the legal alienation of intellectual property. When governments imagine students to be financial investors in their own

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8 Ibid., 215.
economic futures... more of those students become self-managing investors in themselves...  

In the sections to come, the validity of Marginson’s Foucauldian approach will be examined to determine whether or not the economics of education, as a master discourse, really does comprise a Foucauldian “regime of truth,” which “systematically form[s] the objects of which they speak.”  

Specifically, both the historical discussion and the case study analysis will attempt to determine whether the economics of education, as a master discourse, does influence the educational priorities, values, practices, human relations and social systems of Canada’s public higher education system.

Chapter Summaries

Research methodology will be discussed in chapter one. Here, the research traditions that form the backbone of this academic inquiry will be discussed in greater detail. This chapter will also discuss the data collection

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11 In the original proposal for this thesis, it was stated that four topics about the globalization of higher education would be examined: the commodification of knowledge and the commercialization of public post-secondary institutions, the rise of distance education and the ‘Taylorization’ (de-professionalization) of academic labour, the South-to-North brain drain phenomenon, and the regulation of the global higher education market: the market-driven approach versus the non-profit internationalization approach. However, due to space constraints, only the issue of the regulation of the global higher education market has been discussed in this thesis. For those looking to gain further information about the four issues this thesis originally proposed to cover please see Thesis Proposal: Privatizing the Public Agenda (Appendix 1).
procedures that were utilized and provide information on the ethical standards that were adhered to during data gathering. The second chapter will explore how higher education, as both a philosophical ideal and a public policy initiative, has evolved throughout the centuries. Specifically, it will examine how government policy and the phenomenon of massification have come to significantly alter our conventional understanding of what it means to be an educated citizen. The phenomenon of neoliberal globalization and the emergence of the global higher education industry will also be investigated from a political economy perspective. Finally, the influence of human capital theory in higher education policy making and the roots of the post-secondary funding crisis will also be discussed.

In the third chapter, our focus will shift to examining the Canadian public higher education system. Here, we will look at the changing face of Canada's post-secondary system by examining how the massification phenomenon, government cutbacks and neoliberal policy-making have proven to be both a blessing and a curse to many of this country's public universities and colleges. Our exploration of the Canadian system will also look at the important role that the provincial government has played in higher education policy making. Specifically, the British Columbia government's neoliberal approach to post-secondary expansion will be examined in greater detail. This chapter will conclude with an examination of the political-economic significance of B.C.'s decision to expand its higher education system vis-a-vis a 'controlled' funding strategy and the 'quasi' deregulation of the public system.
In the fourth chapter, our case study will begin. First, some important historical background about Simon Fraser University will be provided. Specifically, the university's transformation from a 'radical' and controversial place of higher learning to its current image as an innovative and corporately friendly 'multiversity' will be discussed at some length. Furthermore, this chapter will explore some of the key issues that now confront the SFU community in the era of neoliberal policy-making. In particular, the discussion will focus on three key issues: the pressures placed on professors to prioritize research over teaching, the changing attitudes that students have developed towards their higher education experience, and the difficult challenges that administrators have had to overcome in order to properly manage SFU's bureaucratic 'multiversity' structure.

Our case study will be further developed in the next two chapters as two of Simon Fraser University's most recent and arguably most controversial business ventures are discussed. First, the controversial Karo-led branding initiative will be examined in chapter six. This chapter will explore the argument that the university's new 'corporate brand' was largely developed because of increasing market pressures to recruit more students and attract more private donors. The SFUnity Communication Plan will also be discussed here as a 'participatory development communication (PDC)' alternative to Karo's corporate branding initiative. In chapter seven, the controversial SFU-IBT public-private partnership (P3) agreement will be discussed. IBT is a for-profit, private Australian corporation, which has struck a deal with Simon Fraser University to
recruit and educate 'underqualified' international students for the university. The SFU-IBT deal will be largely explored as a precedent-setting development for public higher education in Canada. The many ethical, political and economic issues that the SFU-IBT agreement has raised will be explored to determine its potential impact on the Canadian post-secondary landscape.

Finally, we will conclude this study by examining how it may be possible to resist the colonizing effects of the economics of education as a master discourse. In particular, the concept of radical incrementalism and social auditing will be examined for their potential to affect positive communicative action at Simon Fraser University. Radical incrementalism is a concept developed by Canadian political economist and environmental lawyer Michael M'Gonigle and his co-researcher, Justine Starke in their book, *Planet U: Sustaining the World, Reinventing the University*. The basic premise of the concept is that major changes can be achieved by making a series of small, 'radical' changes that build upon each other.\(^{12}\) It will then be argued that the first incrementally 'radical' change that the SFU community could pursue is a social audit. In summary, a social audit is an evaluative process which "enables an organisation (or business) to assess and demonstrate its social, community and/or environmental benefits and limitations."\(^ {13}\) It's believed that since this concept does allow for a more transformative consciousness to be developed, a social audit can help


reveal how the master discourse of economics operates as a Foucauldian "truth generating apparatus," which has come to define the university's purpose. Once this is revealed, the potential for a systemic 'reimagining' of the SFU community's future becomes possible.
CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY – A PHENOMENOLOGY AND CASE STUDY APPROACH

Research methodology for this thesis has drawn upon two of the five traditions of qualitative inquiry, which are typically found in the social sciences.\footnote{According to John Creswell, these five traditions of inquiry are biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study. For more information see John Creswell, \textit{Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions} (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998).} In particular, this thesis has been fashioned to be part case study and part phenomenological inquiry. A phenomenological inquiry has been defined by John Creswell as qualitative research which seeks to understand the significance, meaning, and impact that a specific concept or phenomenon has had on the lived experiences of a common group of individuals.\footnote{John Creswell, \textit{Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions} (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998), 51.} In this case, the researcher’s main objective is to gain a better understanding of the essential, invariant structure (or essence) of his/her subject’s lived experiences. To put it another way, phenomenology is probably best understood as a psychological approach to qualitative research. It chooses to explore the individual human experience in order to gain a better understanding of a specific concept that these individuals are experiencing (or have experienced) as a group.\footnote{Creswell, \textit{Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design}, 55.} Creswell
also notes that phenomenological data gathering relies heavily on asking individual subjects in-depth, interview questions. This approach allows the researcher to extrapolate "clusters of meanings" that may serve as expressions of the psychological and/or phenomenological concepts being investigated. To summarize, phenomenological data analysis involves the extraction of significant statements from individual subjects, which are then clustered into themes before being broken down into narrative descriptions that are used to identify the underlying structure of the subjects' shared experiences.

A case study, on the other hand, is defined by Creswell as an exploration of a "bounded-system" or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context. He also notes that the 'skeleton' of a prototypical case study is comprised of the problem, the context, the issues, and the lesson learned. Data accumulation is built on the principle of "purposeful sampling" - of selecting data sources that show different perspectives on the problem, process or event being examined. Thus, multiple sources of information are typically utilized to gain a breadth of perspective on the issue or issues being explored. Specifically, it is recommended that six types of data should be included in case study research:

17 Ibid., 55.
18 Ibid., 32.
19 Ibid., 61.
20 Ibid., 62.
documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations and physical artifacts.21

This thesis draws upon these two traditions of qualitative inquiry for several reasons. First, the thesis is clearly exploring a particular phenomenon, 'neoliberal globalization,' as it is experienced and understood by the professors, students, administrators and employees of Simon Fraser University. Therefore, a phenomenological approach proves necessary to extrapolate the shared clusters of meaning from this particular subject group. Second, this thesis is clearly an exploration of a phenomenon as manifested within a single-site. Through the case study approach, a breadth of research data was obtained through various on-site sources including the SFU Archives, personal interviews with various community members and physical observations of on-campus activities.

Data collection for this thesis took place at Simon Fraser University from November 2005 to August 2006. Generally, the research data is comprised of both academic and non-academic sources such as scholarly journals & books, student union publications, university press releases, and materials found on the university's official homepage. Data was also gathered through comments, blogs, and other postings made by various SFU community members on other Internet sites such as Facebook.com and Digg.com. Also, a limited amount of data, which mostly included university memorandums and press releases, was retrieved through a limited release agreement with SFU Archives.

21 Ibid., 62-63.
In the end, however, the largest pool of qualitative data was collected through in-person interviews with forty-six (46) SFU community members. All of the interviews took place between May 2006 to August 2006. The interview participants were recruited in several ways. First, undergraduate students were solicited for voluntary participation via an electronic mail request, which was sent to various SFU Departmental Assistants and Undergraduate Advisors on May 29, 2006. Overall, the response rate using the e-mail method proved satisfactory, yielding a random sample of students who were at various stages in their undergraduate careers and who were pursuing various academic programs.

Furthermore, interview participants were solicited through a targeted effort that concentrated on the various associations, unions, student clubs, and other on-campus groups that comprise the on-campus SFU community. Therefore, representatives from the following groups were solicited for participation through email requests as well.

- The Simon Fraser University Faculty Association (SFUFA)
- The University/Industry Liaison Office (UILO)
- The Simon Fraser Student Society (SFSS)
- The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), SFU Locals
- The Administrative and Professional Staff Association (APSA)
- Teaching Support Staff Union (TSSU)

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22 See Departmental Advisor Email (Appendix 2).

23 In total, sixteen undergraduate students participated in the interview. Although this is clearly not a representative sample of the university's undergraduate student population, it still provided a breadth of important ideas and opinions about the issues under investigation. Furthermore, determining the statistical significance of this sample would require using quantitative methodology that is clearly beyond the scope of this qualitative study. Instead, the goal of the qualitative approach is to understand the 'larger picture' through in-depth interviews with representatives from the various SFU stakeholder groups.
All of the interview participants were provided with a study information document and an informed consent form to sign.24 The SFU Ethics Board approved both documents on December 19, 2005. These forms were used to inform the participants of the goals of the project, to disclose any known risks associated with the project, and to provide the appropriate contact information for participants who might want to withdraw from the project at a later date. Each participant was also given the option to either remain an anonymous subject or allow for public disclosure of his or her involvement. For verification purposes, all of the interviews were tape recorded with permission of the participants. As required by the SFU Ethics Board, all recorded and written materials of the interviews will be kept for a period of one (1) year after the project's completion. After which, all interview materials will be destroyed via confidential recycling methods in order to ensure participant confidentiality.

24 See Study Information Document (Appendix 3) and Informed Consent Form (Appendix 4).
CHAPTER 2: THE GLOBALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION – FROM THE PLATONIC IDEAL TO MASSIFIED MULTIVERSITIES

It's believed that the concept of 'higher education' originated in 387 BC when the Greek philosopher Plato began lecturing at a public garden in the city of Athens. Eventually, Plato's public gatherings would blossom into the Academy – a formal gathering place where a community of autonomous intellectuals would come together and learn from each other. Thus, the Platonic Academy became the western world's first university. Historians tend to describe the Academy as being the “center of research and teaching both in theoretical subjects and also in more practical ones” during pre-modern times. Many of Plato's grand philosophical ideas were also born there, including his theory that men can become competent citizens through proper education. In essence, Plato believed that to become a truly purposeful human being, a person needed to develop not only the skills necessary to service one's personal needs, but also the requisite skills to service the needs of civilized society. Not surprisingly,


Plato argued that the only way to become such a purposeful citizen was through a liberal education that is comprised of "knowledge that is unmediated by conventionally controlled concepts... [and] free from the distorting influence of power or ideology."\(^{28}\) Throughout the pre-modern era, the Platonic belief that a liberal education was the key to creating proper "citizens of polity" was arguably the driving ethos behind the spread of higher education throughout the western world.\(^{29}\)

At the advent of the industrial age, however, the Platonic concept of higher education effectively came into contact with a rapidly industrializing capitalist state that began to exert new demands on universities and colleges. It was during this time that the original concept of the Platonic Academy essentially split into two variants, which could be called the Flexner-type university and the Newman-type college. Flexner-type universities are typically driven by the idea that students should seek to discover 'truth' through pure research.\(^{30}\) Derived from the ideas of the American educator, Abraham Flexner, this model of higher education sought new discoveries that could provide some benefit to society. Basically, the Flexner ideal gave birth to the 'specialist' approach to education, the concept of applied research, and the creation of both the professional and

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graduate school program.\textsuperscript{31} The Newman type college, on the other hand, tended to focus on creating a community of scholars and students who would raise the intellectual tone of society. Based on the ideas of Cardinal John Henry Newman, this model of higher education didn't seek out 'new truths' (as the Flexner ideal did), but sought to learn from old wisdom.\textsuperscript{32} Basically, Newman believed that higher learning should focus on the development of the individual first and society second; his ideas basically led to the creation what is now popularly called the liberal arts college.

However, viewing the current higher education landscape as being comprised of academic communities who either strive to seek out new truths or learn from old wisdom no longer seems valid. In fact, Clark Kerr has argued that the word 'university' itself has become an antiquated term that describes an institution which no longer exists. In simple terms, Kerr has argued that universities are no longer comprised of a single community of scholars who have a unified, common purpose. Instead, he sees today's higher education institutions as being made up of "a whole series of communities and activities [that are only] held together by a common name, a common governing board, and related purposes."\textsuperscript{33} Therefore, Kerr has decided to label today's institutions

\begin{footnotes}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Kerr, \textit{The Uses of the University}, 4.
\item Ibid., 5.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotes}
of higher learning as “multiversities” – educational institutions in which “there are many separate endeavors [operating] under a single rule of law.”

2.1 The Massification of Higher Education: Democratizing Access

The birth of the Canadian and American multiversity can be traced back to the start of the twentieth century. At this point in history, both countries were well on their way towards industrialization, which resulted in increasing demand for human capital that the already established professions couldn’t satisfy. Both nations also realized that their universities were incapable of meeting the ever-changing and ever-increasing demands of their rapidly modernizing societies. As a result, a state-sponsored ‘massification’ process swept across the North American higher education system shortly after the post-World War II era. By the latter half of the twentieth century, most Canadian and American public universities were essentially freed from the ‘medieval-centric’ edict to exclusively

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34 Ibid., 31.

35 Massification refers to the period of unprecedented growth that American and Canadian universities experienced from the 1960s to the mid 1970s. Generally, a combination of economic, social and political changes opened higher education to larger segments of the population. The civil rights and women’s rights movement, the Cold War political climate and continued economic expansion pushed the state to increase financial aid programs that allowed more women, minorities and part-time learners to access higher education programs. Expansion in enrolments also led to the creation of more higher education institutions with different educational mandates such as the polytechnic universities and university-colleges. For further information consult, Patricia Gumport et al., Trends in United States from Massification to Post Massification, (Stanford: National Centre for Postsecondary Improvement, 1997).
serve society’s privileged few. Instead, the multiversity’s philosophy shifted to a more democratic ideal based on a belief that “all qualified young people from all walks of life” should have the opportunity to pursue a college education.\textsuperscript{36}

Undoubtedly, the rise of a more widely accessible higher education system should be seen as positive because it basically opened the doors for students from a diverse range of socio-economic backgrounds to gain access to what the British poet John Masefield, once idealized as

\begin{quote}
A place where those who hate ignorance may strive to know, where those who perceive truth may strive to make others see; where seekers and learners alike, banded together in the search for knowledge, will honour thought in all its finer ways, will welcome thinkers in distress or in exile, will uphold ever the dignity of thought and learning and will exact standards in these things.\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

However, one could also argue that in reality a more utilitarian rationale is what really motivated the state to democratize access to public higher education. With continued industrial expansion, the economy needed specially trained workers such as engineers, architects, and administrative specialists who had specialized knowledge and skill-sets. These so-called “professions of real value” required education within the post-secondary system to ensure that a ready supply of skilled people would be available to support the continued growth of

\textsuperscript{36} Kerr, \textit{The Uses of the University}, 36.

\textsuperscript{37} This famous quotation by the British poet John Masefield was originally made during his address at the University of Sheffield in 1946. John Masefield’s speech is referenced in Ron Dearing’s report, “Chairman’s Foreword,” in \textit{The National Committee of the Inquiry into Higher Education: Summary Report}, (July 23, 1997) http://www.ncl.ac.uk/ncihe/sr_003.htm.
Thus, while it is generally agreed that massification was a positive, democratizing force, which made higher education a more realistic prospect for a larger segment of the general population, many critics have also argued that this increased access has come at the cost of a revamped university curriculum that is now “dominated by a utilitarian ethos, and is guided by blatantly commercial considerations.” In other words, it appears as if the massification revolution has forced a general transition of higher education’s priorities from the Platonic “citizenship function” of teaching students civic responsibilities to the more neoliberal “production function” of selecting, guiding, rating and placing students for productive occupations.

2.2 The Neoliberal Globalization Phenomenon and Higher Education’s Second Political Economic Shift

Clearly, massification increased the political-economic significance of universities. Higher education came to be seen as an important political-economic resource, which the state needed to develop if it was to meet its increasing human capital needs and support its growing economy. Massification,

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however, was only the first political-economic shift for North American higher education. A second shift would later occur because of neoliberal globalization.

According to Held and McGrew, the onset of neoliberal globalization can be attributed to three important technological, political, and economic developments. First, the development of new computer-mediated-technology enabled people from all over the world to easily communicate and interact with each other. Second, multinational corporations took on a truly global production strategy and re-aligned their manufacturing, marketing and logistical operations in accordance to the new international division of labour. Lastly, national economies were globally integrated through the signing of multilateral agreements such as the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the creation of multilateral trading organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO).41

Arguably, a fourth factor, which can be called the ethical argument for neoliberal globalization, should be added to Held and McGrew's list. Proponents of the current globalization regime have long argued that a world interconnected by free market policies will bring about a more equitable world by raising more people above the poverty line. Neoliberals have used an arsenal of facts, figures, and statistics to try to convince skeptics that “increased openness to trade and investment [has] an important facilitating role... in reducing overall

global inequality.\textsuperscript{42} They point to statistics from organizations such as the World Bank, which claim that there are now fewer people living below the poverty line than there were prior to the neoliberalization of global trade.\textsuperscript{43} However, investigating the facts from a more ‘qualitative’ perspective reveals that freer trade isn’t necessarily resulting in more equitable or fair trade for everyone. Communication professor Andrew Calabrese has argued that the continued liberalization, deregulation and integration of national economies is actually undermining some of western society’s most important democratic concepts, including political sovereignty and citizenship rights. According to Calabrese, In essence, a neoliberal agenda for an exclusively market-driven global information society, and radically weakened national priorities toward democratic social policies in the North and South, mark a regressive moment in the evolution of democratic principles and human rights… These new regimes do much to establish and protect a particular manifestation of ‘global citizenship,’ that is, citizenship [rights] for the wealthiest members of global society, particularly the corporate-legal person… [Arguably,] the championing of such rights today on a new, transnational political stage, coupled with the present lack of comparably influential efforts to recognize and guarantee human rights on a global scale, marks a backward step in social policy.\textsuperscript{44}

From Calabrese’s comments, it becomes evident that the question of whether or not neoliberal globalization can bring about a better world through


free-market economics has become a highly contentious matter. However, what has become clear from the globalization debate is the fact that a nation's higher education system has experienced a second political-economic shift, whereby it has gained even greater political-economic importance because of the hyper-competitive race for nations (and corporations) to win the 'global auction' for investment. This second shift for higher education has occurred largely because of the neoliberal state's increasing penchant to view public universities as exploitable resources that could be used to develop the two key determinants needed to win the global auction for investment – increased knowledge production and increased human capital.

Unfortunately for the neoliberal state, motivating public higher education to wholeheartedly adhere to a more market-friendly, economic agenda has proven to be a rather difficult undertaking. From a neoliberal economist's perspective, public universities have traditionally utilized a relatively 'inefficient' system of knowledge production, which relied heavily on state-support. To cure the 'disease of inefficiency,' neoliberals have prescribed that public higher education become more financially accountable and responsive to market forces. Generally, the neoliberal strategy has utilized a two-pronged approach, whereby

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45 The global auction for investment has been described by Philip Brown and Hugh Lauder as operating more like a Dutch auction, where in an environment where capital has become 'footloose,' corporate investors are able to play off nations, communities and workers to gain concessions on wage levels, rents, taxes in exchange for investment in local jobs. For more information see, Philip Brown and Hugh Lauder, "Education, Globalization and Economic Development," in Education Policy, edited by James Marshall and Michael Peters, 107 (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Pub., 1999).

the state would first reduce government subsidies for higher education and then ‘free’ (i.e. deregulate) universities to utilize more innovative ways to fund themselves.

In Australia, for example, the neoliberal solution resulted in hefty government cutbacks that significantly reduced their post-secondary sector’s total operating revenue over a twenty-year period. Thus, while government share of university funding accounted for ninety percent of total revenues in 1981, by 2001 that percentage had plummeted to only forty-four percent.47 Not surprisingly, the Australian government then introduced several ‘market-friendly’ policies which encouraged the public sector to take a more entrepreneurial approach to solving their growing financial problems. Arguably, one of the more important policy changes that came into effect was the deregulation of tuition fee policies. In essence, deregulation became the ‘invisible hand’ that pushed many Australian universities to aggressively enter the international student market. As a result, almost all of the country’s public post-secondary institutions have greatly ‘internationalized’ their student populations. In 2003, for example, 210,397 foreign students were reported to have studied in Australian universities, which is a significant jump from the 18,000 international students who came to the country in 1988.48


48 Parker, “Australian Higher Education: Crossroads or Crisis?” 32.
The Australian situation has not been an isolated phenomenon. In fact, it appears that many western nations, including the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada, have also experienced a similar 'neoliberalization' of their public post-secondary systems. Sheila Slaughter and Larry L. Leslie have described the globalized, neoliberalization of higher education in this way:

Global political economic changes prompted national higher education and R&D polices that resulted in changes in patterns of national higher education finance... Very generally, universities and colleges in all four countries [Australia, Canada, Britain, and the United States] seemed to be changing their revenue-generating patterns, moving from funding by general public means toward higher tuition and competitive grants and contracts, private gifts, and other competitive sources of moneys, which expenditure patterns changed.49

Thus, it appears that a global shift is occurring whereby an unstipulated public post-secondary funding strategy has given way to a more 'conditional' income-generating system that is driven by competitive market factors. Interestingly enough, higher education's second political-economic shift has also been identified by Clark Kerr as the "age of constrained resources," an era marked by a deterioration of available external financial resources, changing forms of academic contracting, more privatization, increased market-orientation, greater reliance on tuition fees, and increased complexity of administrative processes.50

49 Slaughter and Leslie, Academic Capitalism, 215.

50 Kerr, The Uses of the University, 165-166.
In Canada, the era of constrained resources appears to have begun in 1993 when the ruling Conservative government enacted drastic spending cuts to try to bring the country's burgeoning federal deficit under control. The majority of these cuts were enacted through the federal transfer payment program, which funded various provincial programs such as income assistance, health care, and post-secondary education.\(^5\) As a result of these cuts, Canadian universities were basically placed in the same difficult situation as their Australian counterparts. Moreover, there was "a clear expectation by federal and provincial governments that post-secondary education... will have to operate with reduced public resources and that institutions will be held more accountable."\(^6\)

Further discussion about the various challenges that the funding cuts and other policy changes have brought to the Canadian higher education system will be discussed in the next chapter. Specifically, the discussion will focus on the evolution of the Canadian post-secondary sector and discuss how public higher education has responded to the challenges posed by neoliberal globalization.

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Hans Schuetze notes that Canada has one of the most highly developed 'massified systems' of higher education in the world with more than three hundred degree-granting institutions employing 34,600 full-time university professors who are teaching 820,000 full-time students. Schuetze attributes the successful massification of the Canadian system on three major developments. First, there was the federal government's decision to adopt a more egalitarian approach and make post-secondary opportunities more accessible to larger segments of the population after World War II. Second, there was the rising influence of human capital theory and the spread of the popular idea that higher education would bring economic benefits to both the state and its citizens over the long term. Third, there was the trend to accredit more and more professions like social work, teaching, and nursing as university degree programs. Together, these three trends have combined to make Canadian higher education one of the most diverse and highly accessible post-secondary systems in the world.

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54 Schuetze, “Canadian Universities and their Changing Environment,” 82.
In the post-massification era,\textsuperscript{55} however, it appears as if the Canadian higher education landscape is experiencing another radical shift. Arguably, the changing economic circumstances brought about by neoliberal globalization have helped motivate the contemporary Canadian university to become a more 'marketized' institution, whereby the traditionally more egalitarian higher education policies of the early massification years are being replaced by the market-driven policies of the post-massification/neoliberal globalization era. According to Schuetze, there are also three major trends that are driving this phenomenon. First, there is the growing trend to pursue and fund more commercially viable research activities. Second, there is the increasing preference for universities to engage in more cost-recovery and/or for-profit internationalization activities. Third, there is the increasing demand to 'manage' higher education as if it were just like any other business.\textsuperscript{56} In other words, the current trend does indicate that Canadian higher education is being "pushed and pulled in the direction of competing in a quasi-market arena for more and more of their operating funds."\textsuperscript{57}

Many Canadian academics, however, have criticized this marketization trend as being fundamentally incompatible with the public university's long-

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\textsuperscript{55} The post-massification era is noted to have begun in the late 1980s. It is largely characterized by the individualization and the privatization of higher education. It is also an era marked by declining public funding, the rise of market forces and increasing calls for institutional accountability and operational efficiency. For further information consult, Patricia Gumport et al., \textit{Trends in United States from Massification to Post Massification}, (Stanford: National Centre for Postsecondary Improvement, 1997).

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 84.

\textsuperscript{57} Slaughter and Leslie, \textit{Academic Capitalism}, 215.
standing mandate to freely create and disseminate knowledge for the betterment of society. Most notably, David Noble, Neil Tudiver, John McMurty, and Claire Polster have all published works, which outline the significant dangers that increasing marketization brings to Canada's universities.

In his book, *Digital Diploma Mills*, David Noble describes how "the pursuit of profit in the guise and name of higher education" has driven the development of distance education technologies and the subsequent rise of the computer-mediated instruction industry. The York University professor goes on to argue that the profit-motive is seriously degrading the quality of education that professors can provide students via the commercialized distance education model. As Noble describes it,

In the wake of this transformation, teachers become commodity producers and deliverers, subject to the familiar regime of commodity production in any other industry, and students become consumers of yet more commodities. The relationship between teacher and student is thus re-established, in an alienated mode, through the medium of the market, and the buying and selling of commodities takes on the appearance of education. But it is, in reality, only a shadow of education, an assemblage of pieces without the whole.

Meanwhile, in his book *Universities for Sale: Resisting Corporate Control over Canadian Higher Education*, Neil Tudiver provides a first hand account of

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59 Noble, *Digital Diploma Mills*, 4-5.
how marketization has given his home university, the University of Manitoba, a "distinctly commercial feel," whereby free public space has been washed away by a sea of fast-food franchises. As he describes the situation,

Prominent public space has been taken up by 'donut', sandwich, pizza, and taco franchises. Pepsi logos are everywhere... Corporate culture has infiltrated the everyday language and practice of the university, now a lean and mean system paying more attention to cost and management control than to quality and independent thought.

Tudiver became even more concerned after realizing that progressive marketization is not only redefining the campus culture, but is also undermining the traditional concept of 'good professorship' at his home university. As the long-time Sociology professor describes it,

Operating universities like businesses changes their essence. Gearing to the market means redefining relevance... Corporate conversion favours professions and professors whose work may prove valuable to a corporation, industry or market... [Therefore,] support is less likely for scholars doing basic scientific research, or for social scientists, philosophers, or historians whose value to business is not so readily apparent.... The message for people in these fields is clear: either change their research and practice so it will serve corporate interests or remain on a relentless downward slope.61

Clearly, Tudiver is arguing that within the new marketized Canadian university, public space is disappearing, campus culture is shifting and the professional value of academics is increasingly being judged through the professional value of academics is increasingly being judged through the

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60 Neil Tudiver, Universities for Sale: Resisting Corporate Control over Canadian Higher Education (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1999), xi.

61 Tudiver, Universities for Sale, 168.
profitability of their research as opposed to the pedagogical value and/or social significance of their academic achievements.

If such a trend continues, the future of Canadian academia undoubtedly looks very bleak. Since the market is only capable of providing professors with the incentive to create and distribute knowledge that is protected by intellectual property rights, continued marketization may come to discourage more and more professors from producing knowledge solely for the purpose of enriching the Habermasian 'public sphere.' Consequently, critics like Tudiver clearly have become concerned that knowledge creation at Canadian universities may come to proliferate in what could be called a 'commercialized public-sphere,' whereby the flow of information will largely be determined by economic values rather than democratic ones.

Other Canadian academics, such as Sociology professor, Claire Polster from the University of Saskatchewan, have also expressed similar concern about the market's effect on knowledge production and the idea of good professorship. Polster believes that working within an academic environment that is heavily

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62 The Habermasian public sphere is a democratized realm of social life which allows for dialogue to occur outside of the realm of government and the economy. The public sphere refers, then, to a modern collectivist discourse guided by enlightenment values of reason and freedom that aims for pragmatic consensus. In the public sphere, Habermas believed that discourse becomes democratic through non-coercive, consensus building whereby participants are able to overcome their biased views in favor of rationally motivated agreements. For more information see Jurgen Habermas, Sara Lennox and Frank Lennox, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article," New German Critique, no. 3 (Autumn 1974), http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0094-033X%28197423%290%3A3A3%3C49%3ATPSAEAA%3E2.0.CO%3BZ

63 Tudiver, Universities for Sale, 155.
influenced by the edict of "the global knowledge grab"64 is negatively impacting professorial priorities and values. As Polster states,

Already, many academics' ability to access and produce freely available knowledge is being inhibited as intellectual property increases the costs of research, restricts the availability of various resources needed to produce public knowledge, and alters university reward structures so that professional benefits of public knowledge are diminished.65

In other words, Polster believes that public academics are effectively losing the ability to do the most crucial aspect of their job – their public service mission. Specifically, she notes that the continued marketization and privatization of public knowledge is endangering Canadian society's ability to create and have access to a reliable, "disinterested source of expertise to which we [as a nation] can turn to [sic] for assessments or advice on important social, economic, and political questions."66

On the other hand, the changing reward structure for Canadian academics is a phenomenon that retired Philosophy professor John McMurty sees as having not only a profound effect on how professors teach but also on how students

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64 The global knowledge grab is a term Claire Polster uses to describe the phenomenon whereby "the intellectual riches of the world, which were previously considered the common heritage of humanity" have come to be colonized (or rather owned through intellectual property rights) by a few transnational corporations. For more information, see Claire Polster, "Free Knowledge," The Forum on Privatization and the Public Domain, http://www.forumonpublicdomain.ca/node/21.


learn. In his essay, "Reclaiming the Teaching Profession: From Corporate Hierarchy to the Authority of Learning," McMurty has argued that students studying in the halls of the marketized university are being "trained to go forth into the market and be a good corporate citizen" rather than being educated to develop their critical thinking skills and achieve their maximum intellectual capacities.⁶⁷ In other words, academics like McMurty have argued that students who are supposedly being 'educated' inside the marketized university are not really being taught to become 'citizens of polity.' Instead, these students are being trained to become "actual or potential contributors to the performativity of the competition state."⁶⁸ Therefore, it can be argued that rather than fulfilling their own personal needs and the needs of their respective communities, university students are really fulfilling the needs of the market and the capitalist state.

At this juncture, it is hoped that the previous discussion has helped to identify some of the more controversial aspects of the post-massified Canadian higher education system. It is undoubted that our public universities and colleges have greatly benefited from the rapid expansion brought on by the massification phenomenon. However, in the post-massification era, the increasing marketization of Canadian higher education has clearly led to some serious problems, which have come to negatively impact those who teach and study in

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⁶⁸ Anna Yeatman, Postmodern Revisionings of the Political, (New York: Routledge, 1994), 111.
our public institutions. More importantly, it appears that the master discourse which once defined Canadian public higher education as a 'public good' that should emphasize egalitarian values and the values of active citizenship has shifted towards the neoliberal definition of education as a 'private good' and a great 'sorting machine' that is used to regulate the entrance of human capital into the labour market.\textsuperscript{69} The country's current post-secondary mission appears to be largely motivated by a strong political-economic imperative to utilize Canadian universities to develop the necessary human capital and technology that can increase the international competitiveness of Canadian enterprises.\textsuperscript{70} Arguably, it is the desirability and appropriateness of this new political-economic imperative which makes the neoliberal globalization of Canadian higher education such a controversial topic.

In next three sections, the neoliberal globalization controversy will be further explored from a provincial perspective. Specifically, an examination of British Columbia's post-secondary system will be undertaken, which will explore the province's controversial decision to eventually move from a more 'egalitarian' funding strategy, toward a more deregulated and marketized one.

\textsuperscript{69} Kerr, \textit{The Great Transformation in Higher Education}, 58.

\textsuperscript{70} Fisher and Rubenson, "The Changing Political Economy," 82.
3.1 Post-Secondary Education in British Columbia – Increasing Access at Increasing Costs

Despite being federally funded, public post-secondary education in Canada is largely considered to be a provincial responsibility. Constitutionally speaking, each province has the legal right to establish its own higher education policies and regulations. As a result, the nation’s higher education landscape has become quite a diverse scene, comprised of a total of 326 universities, university-colleges, colleges, poly-technic institutes, and open (distance education) universities, which offer a plethora of programs, certifications, and modes of participation (i.e., full-time, part-time, and distance education studies) options.71

In the case of British Columbia, historian John Dennison notes that the province’s post-secondary system has undergone several important changes since 1945. He points out that “the history of higher education in British Columbia from 1945 to 1995 has been one of phases – expansion, growth, development, diversity, consolidation, restraint, retrenchment, and coordinated planning.”72 Dennison further defines these historical phases by categorizing them into the following historical periods:

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• 1945-1975: Autonomy, Diversity and Expansion
  o Enrolment growth was largely driven by federal policies, which financially supported war veterans wishing to pursue education.
  o Public Schools Act in 1958 was amended to allow school boards to establish postsecondary district colleges in affiliation with the University of British Columbia.
  o New vocational schools under the Technical Vocational Assistance Act (1960) were established.
  o Macdonald Report (1968): further diversified the higher education landscape by creating two four-year colleges and six two-year colleges in various locations around B.C.
  o University Act (1974) established the Universities Council tasked with ensuring coordinated planning of the B.C. post-secondary system. University governing boards were also changed to include faculty, support staff, and student representatives.\(^73\)

• 1976-1981: Controlled Development and Consolidation
  o Carney Report (1977) outlined a coordinated approach to planning distance education programs within the province.
  o Discovery Parks were established to serve as 'town-gown' (academic/entrepreneurial) research centres in association with the universities and the British Columbia Institute of Technology (BCIT).
  o College and Institute Act (1977) centralized control by creating three intermediary councils to coordinate planning and funding of academic and vocational programs.
  o Several specialized provincial institutes were established: Emily Carr College of Art and Design, Pacific Vocational Institute, the Justice Institute of B.C. and the Pacific Marine Training Institute.
  o Open Learning Institute and the Knowledge Network of B.C. were also established to provide distance education and publicly supported educational television programs to isolated regions of the province.\(^74\)

• 1982-1986: Financial Restraint
  o Federal government limited transfer payments in the early eighties.
  o Universities Council was abolished.
  o Legislation was introduced to control college budgets and salary increases of public-sector employees, including university professors and college personnel.


\(^74\) Ibid., 40-43.
The three intermediary councils established by the College and Institute Act (1977) were also abolished.75

1986-1990: Concerns over Access

- Provincial Access Committee (1988) reported on the accessibility issues faced by learners in remote and rural areas of the province.
- Planning began to open a new public university called the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC), which would serve the northern regions of the province.
- Degree granting status was given to three community colleges in Kamloops, Kelowna, and Nanaimo.
- Open University developed a flexible, distance education, degree-granting alternative.
- The British Columbia Human Resource Development Project was established to develop a policy framework for future education, training in the province. Its steering committee was comprised of representatives from labour, business, public and private education providers, students, First Nations and government.76

1990-1995: Stability and Incentives

- Responsibility for B.C. post-secondary education was placed under the Minister of Skills, Training and Labour highlighting the government’s mandate to use education as an instrument of economic growth and for the preparation of a skilled workforce.
- Degree-granting authority was given to the province’s four university-colleges, BCIT and Emily Carr College of Art and Design.
- Skills Now: Real Skills for the Real World (1994) initiative was launched to provide $200 million in funding to make the province’s education system become more innovative, cost-effective and accessible.77

From the above timeline, it should become evident that B.C.’s post-secondary strategy was largely concerned with providing ‘Access for All’ during the late 1980s to mid 1990s. The drive to allow for greater accessibility essentially pushed the provincial government to make multi-year commitments to

75 Ibid., 43-44.
76 Ibid., 44-47.
77 Ibid., 47-52.
increase system-wide funding, increase university and college transfer program capacity, establish a new university called the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC), and to create new university colleges in the province’s interior regions and on Vancouver Island. Henceforth, the province’s aptly named ‘Access for All’ funding initiative basically sought to expand both the course delivery mechanisms and the enrolment capabilities of the B.C. post secondary system. It appears that by pursuing this policy the provincial government was aiming for the creation of a flexible, but highly integrated higher education system that could accommodate a diverse group of participants throughout the province.

Critics, however, have argued that the Access for All mandate was never really motivated by some altruistic desire to provide all British Columbians with the opportunity to pursue a higher education. John Dennison, in particular, has argued that this policy was largely implemented to stimulate economic growth in certain parts of the province. In his words,

The primary thrust of the proposed new [Access For All] policy framework was to reinforce the interdependence and interrelationship among various sectors of education and training. Collaborative planning and offering of programmes by business, labour and educational institutions was seen as vital if the extensive pool of human resources of the province was to access the learning opportunities so necessary in the new competitive economic environment.  

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Clearly, Access For All was an attempt by the provincial government to strategically improve the province’s human capital development capacity via a collaborative approach with private industry, labour organizations, and the public higher education sector. At it turns out, this ‘synergistic’ approach to post-secondary funding would mark the beginning of a long-term shift towards a more neoliberal approach in provincial higher education policy making. During the mid 1990s, the provincial government continued this trend via the introduction of another public-private initiative called Skills Now: Real Skills for the Real World. Skills Now basically arose from a long consultation process between business, labour, education, and various government agencies. The goal of this public-private discussion was to figure out the best way to integrate more workplace skills training opportunities within the entire B.C. education system (starting from middle-school onwards). With regards to higher education, Skills Now allocated $200 million to implement two specific initiatives. First, it sought to turn high school vocational programs into post-secondary accredited courses. Second, it advocated for increasing student spaces in certain college and university programs that were in high demand by key provincial industries. Dennison, however, notes that the most important aspect of this initiative lay in the fact that Skills Now proposed a new funding formula that was predominately market driven and a program planning approach that promoted innovation, cost-effectiveness, and accessibility.80 Both Access For All and Skills Now shared the common trait of espousing a more neoliberal approach to higher education policy.

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80 Dennison, 49.
making by attempting to transform B.C. post-secondary education into a market-oriented industry. From the 1990s onwards, neoliberal thinking has undoubtedly become an increasingly influential factor in how the province formulates many of its higher education policies.

3.2 The Move to Marketization – B.C. Post-Secondary Education from the Nineteen-Nineties Onwards

During the last decade of the twentieth century, post-secondary education in British Columbia proved to be a very hot commodity. According to a July 2001 Report commissioned by the British Columbia Council of Admissions and Transfer (BCCAT), the province’s post-secondary education system grew by forty-seven percent between 1989 to 1999. This translates to an addition of 44,000 full-time enrolment (FTE) spaces, which increased the FTE totals from 94,000 in 1989 to 138,000 in 1999. However, despite such rapid growth, BCCAT still reported that

...demand from qualified students exceeded the supply of available spaces in many degree programs for much of the last decade. The intense student competition to access available seats has naturally created challenges for most institutions and the system as a whole.\(^2\)


\(^2\) Jim Soles, *Admission of Transfer Students in British Columbia Post-Secondary*, 8.
Arguably, the most significant challenge faced by the B.C. higher education system related to funding issues. The B.C. government proved to be both incapable and unwilling to fund post-secondary expansion on its own. Instead, policy makers chose to follow a normative, neoliberal funding approach, which was comprised of a reduction of block grants and the introduction of a competitive-based funding formula. John Levin called the B.C. approach, the "industrial model of state control over production in education and training" - a post-secondary financing policy that effectively introduced a capitalist ethos into the public system through performance measures by tying funding to such things as seat creation and enrolment targets.83 As Levin notes,

In responding to a faltering economy, the provincial government applied neo-liberal approaches to funding the public sector. Some college programs as a result faced elimination or reduction; there was a provincial moratorium on facility construction; and base funding was reduced with additional funds available on a competitive basis, with criteria set by government.84

More importantly, Levin has argued that the introduction of the industrial model of state control marked the beginning of a systemic drift for the B.C. post-secondary system from a predominately publicly supported higher education enterprise to an increasingly privately funded and highly de-regulated, market-


84 Levin, "Two British Columbia University Colleges," 82.
driven service.  

Further evidence of B.C.'s drift towards deregulation and privatization can be found with the passage of the 2001 Private Career Training Institutions Act and the 2003 Degree Authorization Act. These are two important pieces of legislation which effectively ended the public higher education system's 'quasi-monopoly' to grant degrees within B.C. These two acts loosened the rules which governed what type of institutions could be legally called a 'university' and what those institutions have to do to earn 'degree-granting' status within the province. The provincial government has since justified the liberalization of its degree-granting policy out of a supposed need "to increase choice for students and to enable public institutions to remain competitive within the expanding spectrum of all available post secondary education options." 

To oversee and support these two legislative initiatives, the government also established the Degree Quality Assessment Board (DQAB) and the Private Career Training Institutions Agency (PCTIA). The DQAB was established to implement five specific policy objectives: to increase learner choice, to ensure educational program quality, to promote the integration of a coherent post-secondary system, to protect the interests of learners, and to ensure the appropriate utilization of the government funded, student financial assistance

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85 Ibid., 80.


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Meanwhile, the PCTIA was established to enforce the educational quality standards that must be met by the province's private education providers and to provide consumer protection for students who are registered in their private, degree-granting programs.

Critics, however, have argued that both the DQAB and the PCTIA are fairly 'toothless' regulatory bodies, which have failed to protect students from the fraudulent and unethical practices of private educational service providers who prioritize profit over pedagogy. Much of the criticism has come from the controversial closure of two privately run, post-secondary institutions (Kingston College and Lansbridge University), which were caught violating numerous provincial laws. Not surprisingly, the harshest criticism of the B.C.'s government's 'new era' in higher education has come from the provincial government's official opposition, the New Democratic Party (NDP), who eventually voiced their concerns via the following public statement,

In 2003, the Campbell government... replaced existing government structures [i.e., the Private Post-Secondary Education Commission] with a self-regulating board [the PCTIA] made up of industry representatives, a solution that the B.C. Liberals promised would provide consumer protection for students while reducing red tape. But since the changes were made, students have discovered that

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the new system doesn't afford them the same protections. Students misled by private colleges are no longer reimbursed for fees charged under false pretenses. And if students are defrauded, they are expected to repay all student loans and grants issued to them - leaving them tens of thousands of dollars in debt with nothing to show for it.91

Arguably, the dramatic expansion of B.C.'s private higher education sector has only been one aspect of what could be described as 'the gradual neoliberalization' of the province's post-secondary system. In February 2002, the provincial government lifted a six-year tuition freeze, choosing instead to allow B.C. public universities and colleges to set tuition rates at their individual discretion. Unfortunately for students, B.C.'s move towards tuition deregulation translated to three straight years of double-digit increases and two years of single-digit increases. In real numbers, this translated to a 2006/07 tuition rate that was approximately ninety-six percent higher than the 2001/02 rate.92 Furthermore, students in higher-demand programs, experienced even greater increases through the introduction of differential fees, which were largely justified vis-a-vis a "[blind] faith in markets and the expectation of high private returns."93 Consequently, those enrolled in professional fields such as business, law, health-


care and even hairdressing were paying anywhere from forty-one to sixty-five percent more in tuition fees than their non-professional counterparts.\textsuperscript{94}

Adding to the students' woes, neoliberal reforms also affected the province's student loan program. Of particular concern was the elimination of the $80 million B.C. Student Grant Program in February 2004. This program once provided non-repayable (i.e. free) funding to students throughout the first two years of their undergraduate studies.\textsuperscript{95} When the program was cut, analysts estimated that this added an average of $14,000 in student loan debt to the province's approximately 23,000 student grant recipients.\textsuperscript{96} Not surprisingly, the combination of increasing tuition fees and the elimination of financial assistance programs such as the B.C. student grants has led to soaring student debt loads within the province. According to statistics, B.C. students were graduating with an average of $19,917 in student loans in 2003. However, by 2006, students were graduating with an average debt load of $26,275, which roughly translates to a twenty-five percent increase.\textsuperscript{97}


The rise of the B.C. private higher education sector, tuition deregulation, and the implementation of differential fees indicates that a market-driven, 'user-fee' system has become the province's chosen route for financing the province's higher education system. Essentially, by 'individualizing' an ever-increasing share of the cost of higher education, shifting it from the public purse to individual students, the government appears to be allowing student demand (i.e. the market) to at least partly determine where funding priorities will be. Furthermore, the evidence also suggests that the economics of education will come to play an even more central role in determining provincial policy directives. Recently, the announcement of the new Campus 2020 initiative has provided some interesting insights into the government's preferred future for the B.C. post-secondary system. A cursory review of the April 2007 Access and Excellence Report clearly reveals a continued marketization trend, whereby the 'B.C. brand' would be defined and promoted; tuition rates would be set using the market-based, Higher Education Price Index; and system-wide funding would be determined using a performance-based, budgeting formula.

At this juncture, our discussion will shift to examine the 'micro-level' impact of the marketization of B.C. public higher education on Simon Fraser University,

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98 The Higher Education Price Index (HEPI) was first developed and published by Kent Halstead in 1975. It measures the changes in prices for goods and services purchased by colleges and universities from year-to-year in order to track the main cost drivers in higher education. For further information see Commonfund Institute, "About HEPI," Commonfund Homepage, http://www.commonfund.org/Commonfund/CF-Institute/CI_About_HEPI.htm

the province's second largest post-secondary institution. In chapter five, a historical discussion will be undertaken to explore SFU's development from a 'radical university' in the 1960s to a twenty-first century multiversity that's under increasing pressure to better compete in the global market for higher education.
CHAPTER 4: IDEALLY PLATONIC, RADICALLY DIFFERENT – SFU IN THE 1960S

Not long after SFU first opened in 1965, Simon Fraser University quickly gained a reputation as a being a ‘radical campus’ whose approach to education was sometimes unconventional, whose professors were often controversial, and whose students were steadfastly committed to fighting social injustice both on and off campus. As SFU historian, Hugh Johnston stated,

SFU was born with an image that was bound to attract students who were likely to become activists. This image included its promise of innovation, academic excellence and openness... The architecture, the trimester system, the emphasis on teaching, the openness to mature students, the lecture-tutorial system and the faculty appointments that SFU announced all supported an exciting image and drew students, especially in the humanities and social sciences, who were looking for the kind of academic engagement that SFU seemed to offer.\(^{100}\)

From this radical image, SFU would evolve into a very politically and socially engaged campus with frequent student demonstrations, sit-ins, and rallies. For the sake of brevity, Table 1 provides a timeline, which highlights the major crises and events that occurred during the university’s ‘radical’ years.

\(^{100}\) Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005). 120.
Table 1: Radicalism at SFU from 1966 - 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Event</th>
<th>At Issue</th>
<th>The Objection</th>
<th>The Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shell Service Station Protest, Summer 1966</td>
<td>The construction of a Shell gas station on campus.</td>
<td>Student protesters called the lack of community consultation over the construction of the station undemocratic. Some also objected to the presence of “big-oil&quot; on campus. Others opposed the station's proposed location because it would block the view of Burrard Inlet and the North Shore mountains.</td>
<td>After a few student organized protests, a compromise was reached, and it was decided that the station would be built elsewhere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The TA Affair, November 1966</td>
<td>5 SFU Teaching Assistants (TAs) were disciplined by the university for their involvement in an altercation outside an east Vancouver high school.</td>
<td>Students and faculty objected to the firing of the TAs, arguing that the five accused were denied their basic rights to free speech and that administration had no authority to discipline students for their off-campus activities.</td>
<td>Under threat of a student strike, university administration reinstated the dismissed TAs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Burstein Affair and the Tenure Crisis, Fall 1967 – May 1968</td>
<td>The nature of academic contracting at SFU.</td>
<td>The Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) objected to SFU's decision to not allow for faculty representation on its governing structures. The CAUT felt that without adequate faculty representation, academic contracting would remain an arbitrary and undemocratic privilege of university administration.</td>
<td>The CAUT censured Simon Fraser University's President, which eventually led to his dismissal. A collapse of the 'headship system' also occurred as the era of the 'all powerful' departmental head ended. Instead, democratically elected Departmental chairs were put into place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Occupation of the Administration Building (The Transfer Credit Protest), November 1968</td>
<td>The lack of a proper transfer credit system, which accurately recognized the work completed by college transfer students.</td>
<td>SFU students who transferred from college felt that they were being unfairly penalized as college transfers and that they should be entering the university with credits that recognized their work from their respective colleges.</td>
<td>A fifty-four hour occupation of the campus' administration offices by the Students for a Democratic University (SDU) ended with a controversial decision by the SFU President to call in the RCMP and remove the protestors. Eventually, a proper transfer credit system was created.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The PSA (Political Science, Sociology, and Anthropology) Strike, Fall of 1969

Eight professors from the PSA department went on strike for five weeks, refusing to teach courses. The striking professors cited the lack of departmental autonomy and the general lack of a democratic governing structure at the university as their main reason for striking. They also argued that student involvement in tenure, promotion and renewal decisions should be allowed and would help democratize the current system. Seven of the eight professors were subsequently dismissed for their actions.

The CAUT censured SFU for a second time, demanding that the seven dismissed PSA faculty members be reinstated. Eventually, the seven refused to return to the university and the CAUT censure was lifted in May 1977.


Arguably, what the above timeline clearly shows is that a healthy mix of idealism and skepticism largely defined the SFU community during the 1960s. For the most part, interviews conducted with SFU professors who have been at the university since the beginning did reveal that many of them were drawn by the allure of revolutionary possibilities that the university seemed to offer. As retired physics professor, Klaus Rieckhoff, reminisced during his interview,

The whole university used to be a very idealistic place. That's the interesting thing about it. That's what made it so attractive for... both students and faculty. Everyone came with their own ideas about education and what a university ought to be.

It can be argued that SFU's early 'radicalism' was largely driven by the Platonic ideal. Many of its community members appear to have seen the university not only as a place to explore intellectual questions, but also as a
forum where critical voices can speak out against the various ills of modern society. During the 1960s, SFU was clearly distinguished by the critical engagement of its professors, instructors and students. Forty years later, however, it appears that another radical shift has occurred. The forces of globalization and marketization are clearly impacting the entire campus community on many fronts, leading to drastic changes in attitudes towards the purpose and goals of higher education.

4.1 The Cycle of Fear and Hope - the Changing Attitudes of SFU Students

It has often been said that today’s college students have very different attitudes towards higher education in comparison to their peers in the 1960s. For this thesis, sixteen SFU undergraduate students were interviewed to determine how their university experience has come to shape their attitudes towards higher education. Overall, it appears that today’s SFU students lead complex and busy lives in which their educational endeavours are pursued alongside various other extra-curricular activities, with many also having employment commitments. The students interviewed admit to being under extreme pressure to succeed and that they feel more pressured to pursue more ‘useful’ degrees because of the pressure. As such, many seem to have come to view their higher education pursuits as being their ‘passport’ to a more financially secure future. For
example, second year Biology major, Sarah L., commented that “Like most people [I'm studying at SFU] to get a job, to further my chances to do better in society. If you have a higher degree, you’re more likely to be hired for better jobs.” Other students such as fourth year Communication major, Amanda S., made similar statements, believing that a university education will help her become both professionally and financially successful. As Amanda stated, “I think that one of the best ways to guarantee that I'll get rich in the future is to get a degree which will give [me] the skills that are required for the jobs that I want to do in the future…”

Interestingly enough, while most of the students confessed to having a more 'career-centred' perspective towards higher education, it also became evident that many also saw their university experience as something that will provide them with various personal development benefits, such as critical thinking skills and how to become a more tolerant person. Out of all the interviewees, fourth year Communication student, Lindsay H., probably best articulated this point when she stated that,

I think university is really important in exposing people to different fields of study, to different ways of thinking because every field has a particular way that they approach problems in society and develop solutions... [Since going to] university forces you to take all these different electives, you’re exposed to different points of view and different information. So, I think the purpose of university is to create well-rounded individuals, somebody that [doesn't have] just one black and white focus, but has a view of the world [that] is much more expanded.
However, the overall research findings still clearly shows that the majority of SFU undergraduates see their university experience as a highly individualized activity that will bring forth predominately individualized, economic benefits. Utilizing data from interviews with American college students, sociologists Arthur Levine and Jeanette S. Cureton offer an interesting explanation for the more individualized attitudes that today's students tend to have towards higher education. From their perspective, “rapid social changes and the shifting conditions of higher education” are the main reasons why today's typical undergraduate student goes through their university experience with “a confusing mix of hope and fear.”¹⁰¹ The two sociologists attribute this situation to the fact that the massification phenomenon has forced most universities and colleges to abandon their traditional role of insulating their students from negative outside influences. As a result, today's college students have become more susceptible to pressure from parents, media, the labour market, etc... to basically become more vocationally oriented with their educational aspirations.¹⁰² Essentially, this increasing pressure has forced students to enter into a cycle of “individual ascendancy,” in which they have become more present-oriented, less academically focused, more assertive of their individual rights, and more committed to the materialistic goals of “getting rather than giving.”¹⁰³


¹⁰³ Ibid., 254.
For the most part, the qualitative data collected at SFU does seem to validate Levine and Cureton’s hypothesis. Many of the students interviewed did indicate that they valued an education that was less academically focused and more ‘practically-oriented’ mostly for the purposes of attaining a job afterwards. Amanda S., for example, noted that she was “expecting [sic] more practical courses from Communications [her major] like event planning, public relations, public speech or even more computer related courses.” When that didn’t happen, she expressed her frustration and disappointment in the following way,

Communication is under applied science first of all. It’s not under arts, right? Shouldn’t we have ways to actually apply what we learned? But, I don’t think we actually learn much application at this school, which is kinda disappointing.

Many of the professors and administrators interviewed for this thesis have also noticed that the educational expectations of SFU students have changed over the years, and many do seem to have the ‘individual ascendancy’ traits that Levine and Cureton have described. In particular, Rummana Khan-Hemani, an Associate Director in Student Services believed that for many students today, a university education “is about the dollar at the end of the degree.” As she explains,

It used to be... going to university wasn’t always tied to your career goals. It was about getting a good education and learning life skills [like] critical thinking, writing, [and] analysis. But, I think it’s really changed now. People look at [their program choices] and [ask themselves], ‘What kind of job am I going to get with this?’
Similarly, an anonymous administrator in SFU International also echoed a similar viewpoint, arguing that this generation of SFU students is less protected from the societal and economic pressure to pursue not just a practical education, but also a more advanced education. As this administrator noted,

Students [today] want a leg up, obviously. In the 1950s if you graduated with a Bachelor's degree, you could become the CEO of MacMillan Bloedel. Now graduating with a Bachelor's degree will basically get you interviewed at McDonald's... What students want is engagement with the workforce. A Bachelor's degree is now the bottom line... for entry into the workforce, whereas before it used to be a requirement for [professional] advancement. Now, if you want [professional] advancement you do a Master's degree. Now there's more Master's degrees. There's more PhDs. We have PhDs driving taxis. So, it's not a guarantee of anything. But, the lack of a degree is going to hamper people. So, I think there's an economic and societal imperative for students to [further] engage in universities...

Arguably, it appears as if the discourse around higher education has taken quite an 'un-radical' shift towards predominantly 'production function' considerations for students studying in the age of individual ascendancy. A university degree is increasingly being redefined in predominantly economic terms, whereby student demands for more practical, skills-oriented courses are now putting increasing pressure on administrators and professors to not only provide such an education, but to also package their educational "products" to suit the needs of their education "clients."

In the next two sections, two of SFU's most recent and more controversial business ventures will be examined to determine their impact on the university's teaching, research and social service functions. Specifically, chapter five will
examine the decision to pursue a market-oriented, corporate-style 'branding' strategy with a firm called Karo Designs Limited. Meanwhile, chapter six will explore the decision to outsource a part of the university's international student recruitment activities to a private Australian firm called International Business Technology (IBT) Limited.
Perhaps one of the most visible manifestations of SFU's shift towards a more 'economic-centred' outlook is the university's recent decision to develop its own corporate 'brand.' Branding expert, Jean Noel Kapferer describes the 'brand' as a "sign... whose function is to disclose the hidden qualities of the product which are inaccessible to contact (sight, touch, hearing, smell) and possibly those which are accessible through experience but where the consumer does not want to risk trying the product."104 In simpler terms, the brand's main function is to faithfully communicate the product's core value(s) to its consumers because, as Kapferer states, the "truth of the brand [ultimately] lies within itself."105 Furthermore, a good brand is one that supposedly strives to guarantee complete customer satisfaction by consistently meeting the consumer's expectations. Brands that are able to do this basically suppress the perception of risk from the consumer's mind, which subsequently enables that particular brand to secure the buyer's loyalty.106

104 Jean-Noel Kapferer, Strategic Brand Management: Creating and Sustaining Brand Equity Long Term (Dover: Kogan Page, 1997), 28.

105 Kapferer, Strategic Brand Management, 110.

106 Ibid., 57.
Naomi Klein, however, has demystified the branding concept as nothing more than a 1980s management theory, which hypothesized that it is more effective to sell the image of the product rather than the product itself.\textsuperscript{107} Therefore, when consumers purchase a branded good, they're not really purchasing a physical commodity. Instead, what they're really doing is buying (or buying into) the concept, experience, lifestyle, or rather, (what Klein calls) the "corporate mythology" behind the product and/or service.\textsuperscript{108} Furthermore, Klein has argued that in a world full of "walking, talking, life-sized Tommy [Hilfiger] dolls, mummified in fully branded Tommy worlds," multinational corporations have ostensibly branded their "corporate souls" on almost every free space that is available.\textsuperscript{109} Thus, from Calvin Klein sticking "CK Be" perfume strips on the backs of Ticketmaster concert envelopes to ads for Batman movies being projected into the night sky, corporate logos have become an ubiquitous and predominantly accepted part of our "cultural space" and everyday world.\textsuperscript{110} In fact, Naomi Klein claims that corporate branding has become so widespread, it has even entered the last unbranded space where "young people can see genuine public life being lived" - our public universities.\textsuperscript{111} As a result, she believes that the brand has now become an integral part of the average


\textsuperscript{108} Klein, \textit{No Logo}, 22.

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 28.

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 9.

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 105.
university student's higher education experience since he/she will inevitably be
eating in franchised cafeterias, cheering on corporately sponsored athletic teams
and drinking only 'university-affiliated' soft drinks.\textsuperscript{112}

Arguably, SFU can be seen as a prime example of Klein's concept of a
branded university due to the following three reasons. First, Simon Fraser
University has signed an extensive array of contracts with various corporations,
such as Coca-Cola, Chartwell's Education Dining Services, Sodex-Ho Marriott
(janitorial services), Concorde Security, PeopleSoft Incorporated, and many
others. Second, one only needs to look at the SFU Vancouver campus to see
how corporate branding has come to invade much of the university's unbranded
space; specifically, all of the lecture halls and study rooms at this campus have
been named after (or rather bought by) corporate sponsors and private donors.
Finally, SFU has seemingly decided to create a 'corporate soul' of its own by
pursuing its very own branding strategy. Thus, a controversial new SFU brand
has recently been developed, which is a move that seems to indicate the dawn of
a new era for the university.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 98.
Simon Fraser University’s foray into the world of corporate brands first began in 2004, when SFU’s President, Michael Stevenson, established a committee to examine what many senior administrators have referred to as the university’s ‘long-standing, visual identity problem.’ After interviewing several high-ranking officials at the university, it did become evident that the university’s weak public image was a source of grave concern for many administrators. For example, an anonymous official in Student Recruitment expressed his concern over SFU’s weak visual identity and reputation, as he believed it was negatively affecting his department’s ability to recruit new students. When asked how he hoped to solve this problem, he responded by stating,

I think there’s a recognition at a senior level that we need to do more to grow the reputation of this university. We have a relatively small recruiting initiative. But, we really need to look enterprise-wide to come up with new strategies. ...There is funding attached to that and nothing happens here without those types of resources... I think the answer to it [the visual identity problem] is that we have buy-in at the senior level to support [new strategies].

Eventually, the task of coming up with a new strategy to solve SFU’s visual identity problem fell to a campus-wide committee called the Simon Fraser University Visual Identity Project (SFU-VIP). The chair for this committee was the Vice-President of University Relations, Warren Gill, who was also interviewed for this thesis. Gill described SFU-VIP as comprised of a diverse group of
concerned university members (made up of a select group of university
administrators, faculty and staff) who were working together to figure out how to
communicate SFU’s true identity to the world. Gill explained that SFU-VIP’s goal
was to find a way to fix the “university’s cluttered, confused and inconsistent
image,” which he too believed was hurting SFU’s ability to attract top-notch
students and academic talent. When asked what message he wanted SFU to
bring to the world, Gill replied that,

We want to be known. We have alumni in 135 [or so] countries. We want people in India or Botswana to recognize Simon Fraser University. …They should [be able to] recognize us as Canadian, which is a good thing to be in this world and [that] we are a serious research university that produces great grads…”

However, developing a strategy to get Warren Gill’s message to the rest of
world proved to be a very difficult endeavour. Apparently, it was too difficult for
SFU-VIP to do it alone as a ‘tendering process’ was then initiated by the group to
find visual-identity experts who could help them reach their objectives. Various
communication and marketing companies were solicited to become consultants
for SFU-VIP. At the end of this process, a Vancouver-based branding and
communication design firm, called Karo Designs, was awarded the SFU contract
in 2005. Warren Gill elaborated on SFU-VIP’s decision to hire Karo as their
project consultant in the following way,

Karo was chosen because of their depth in understanding [SFU, which showed] us that they might be able to understand what the university is about. I think [Karo] understood what we needed to do to develop not just the visual identity part, but the more thematic branding exercise part, as well.
With Karo on board, SFU-VIP started working on a new visual communication strategy, which would broadcast a more coherent SFU identity to the rest of the world. This, however, also turned out to be quite a challenging task simply because the university community has never really had to define the characteristics which make up SFU's 'master identity'. In fact, most SFU departments, faculties and administrative units seemed to have developed their own unique visual interpretation of what is SFU. As such, many had come to devise their own unique visual communication strategy, which they used to develop their own print and online materials. Essentially, this ad-hoc visual identity strategy led to the proliferation of a plethora of symbols and signs that then comprised the university's public face. Perhaps the most glaring example of this convoluted mix of very inconsistent images (and messages) is the university's homepage prior to the Karo-led re-launch in early 2007. Arguably, SFU's overall 'web-presence' didn't really have any consistently identifiable colour schemes or design structure that articulated a unified SFU master identity. Instead, Simon Fraser University's website was like a 'hodgepodge' of various individual homepages that used varying colour, design and user-interface schemes. As a result, site navigation was criticized as being somewhat confusing for users who were not expecting to see such radically different homepages being housed within the overarching SFU domain.

According to Karo's Director of Communication and SFU-VIP's chief consultant, Anson Lee, the fragmented visual strategy of the SFU community
was too chaotic to effectively communicate anything coherent. Lee believed that "SFU's own [unique] personality in the university world" could never be established unless its confused and out-of-control visual identity problem was solved. He further elaborates on this particular problem by noting that,

What has happened at SFU is that freedom has gone a little bit out of control. Just like we have the core values of interdisciplinary, internationalism, and creating [positive] student experience through experiential learning, there has to be a big picture that every faculty, [and] every communicator can feel they have a connection with, [and] yet not constrained by.

This 'out-of-control' visual identity is what Warren Gill also identified as being SFU's main visual communication problem. However, Gill also admitted that achieving visual consistency was really only one reason the university decided to pursue the SFU Visual Identity Project. As Gill explained,

Everybody is recognizing that we now have a very blurred identity visually and we can't continue that way. I think that's a motivation on it's own at one level. But then there's another motivation that says, 'Should we have a brand that we can use to promote [SFU]?' Most universities are doing that and we hadn't been doing that. Coupled with that is an increased competition thing - increased competition for the best students and increased competition for students period... So, all these things came together [which] made it even more important to do this [branding exercise].

From Gill's comments, it certainly appears as if the Karo-led branding initiative was largely undertaken to help SFU better compete in the increasingly competitive global market for higher education. This was a fact that Anson Lee also acknowledged when he admitted that the branding of SFU was partly a market-driven exercise. As Lee stated,
We all live or die by the perceptions we have in the market place and perceptions are going to change over time... I think with this administration they know that we have to do this [branding initiative] for strategic advantage.

It appears then that establishing an uncluttered and strong brand identity is primarily being done to give SFU a competitive edge over other universities, who are also under increasing pressure to attract what Eric Gould calls the "student client."\(^{113}\)

5.2 The SFU Brand: Thinking of the World

Officially launched in February 2007, the new SFU brand is said to be composed of three specific visual identity elements. First, there's the new logo comprised of a red block embedded with a stylized "SFU" in the bottom right corner. Second, the university's full name (Simon Fraser University) has been given a new word mark or font. Lastly, SFU has been given the new tagline or motto: 'Thinking of the World.'\(^ {114}\)

When asked to explain the reasoning behind branding SFU in this way, Karo's Anson Lee noted that they were trying to reposition the university within the popular public consciousness as a "node on a global [higher education]"


network," which encourages people to not only interact with the school but with the world. With regards to the new ‘Thinking of the World’ tagline, Lee further elaborated that this slogan was really referring to “the power of breadth,” which promotes the idea that SFU is a diverse and open community of scholars, students, and researchers whose “global concerns are informed by a global context.” To put it in his words,

This tagline, 'Thinking of the World' really puts the personality around the idea of the power of breadth because it refers to… Simon Fraser University as a community [whose] concerns are far-reaching. But also, I think that the real strength of this tag line is its dual meaning, it’s also very inclusive.

Consequently, President Stevenson has spoken about the new tagline with much of the same sanguinity. In particular, during his April 2007 President’s Message, he noted that,

It [the new SFU tagline] speaks to the role that the university plays in fundamental research uncovering the mysteries of the world and the applied research responding to the needs of the wider community, as well as to SFU’s distinctive commitment to active social engagement, locally and globally.115

In some ways, it appears as if Karo’s vision for the ‘brand new’ Simon Fraser University is following a ‘quasi-Erasmusian’116 archetype, which thinks of

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116 The Dutch philosopher, theologian and humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam (1465-1536) was probably the most widely known wandering scholar in western civilization. He spent most of his life searching for knowledge by travelling from one university to another. For more information see P.S. Allen, The Age of Erasmus: Lectures Delivered in the Universities of Oxford and London, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963).
the university as an open and inclusive home for those longing to participate in
the international exchange of ideas and perspectives. However, it can also be
argued that at the heart of the new SFU brand one finds more image than
substance. Similar to Bill Readings' critique of the discourse of excellence, the
new tagline of ‘Thinking of the World’ is arguably an empty slogan for it
possesses a non-referential unit of value on its own. As Readings argues,
“Excellence is not a fixed standard of judgment, but a qualifier whose meaning is
fixed in relation to something else.”117 Arguably, Thinking of the World functions
in much the same way. It does not articulate how one thinks about the world or
even why, only that one does.

Furthermore, much like how excellence functions as a unifying principle
or, rather, as an “idea around which the University centres itself and through
which it becomes comprehensible to the world,”118 the tagline can also be seen
as a truth-generating apparatus through which all of the university’s new
research, teaching and community service activities will be filtered. Thus,
Thinking of the World creates an image of the university that is supposed to say
something important about the university, but ultimately seems to say nothing
substantial about it.

117 Readings, The University in Ruins, 24.
118 Ibid., 21.
5.3 The SFU Brand Controversy – Karo Versus SFUnity

Both the decision to hire Karo and the resulting branding strategy that the company has helped implement have had an undeniably mixed reaction from the SFU community. Some have embraced the initiative, while others have been more critical of the results. Those who defend the new branding strategy argue that in the era of constrained resources and increasing competition for students, such initiatives have become absolutely necessary if the university wishes to survive. At least this is the argument that SFU’s Vice President of University Relations, Warren Gill, made when he noted that,

As a public institution people should be able to identify with us, simply and straightforwardly… We’re selling ourselves to our supporters, to citizens of British Columbia and beyond. We’re [also] selling ourselves to potential students and we’re trying to show [our] alumni symbols that make them feel connected… So we want students to come [to SFU]. We want donors to give money. We want the province to continue to support us and if they know who we are, it might help.

Others, however, have questioned whether public universities should even be engaging in such activities. For example, retired SFU senator and physics professor, Dr. Klaus Rieckhoff argued that,

Community relations are important and that aspect I have no quarrel with. I understand we need to make ourselves known to the locals, to make ourselves available to them, and bring teachers up here and do these things. These are very good things…. But, you have to ask the question, is that [branding exercise] really necessary for our key functions? …You need to stick to the important things, [to] what happens in the classroom, what happens
in the laboratory, and what happens in the library. ...[Those are] the important things and everything else is secondary.

Still others, mostly SFU students, have decided to voice their opinions about the whole matter in a more creative fashion. In particular, the new SFU Logo has received some interesting comments and criticism on various online forums and social networking sites such as Digg.com and Facebook.com.\textsuperscript{119} For example, on the Facebook.com group, "the new SFU logo makes me cringe," SFU student, Luka S., commented that

> It's simple, memorable and it stands out - I like it. No matter what you may think, those two criteria MAKE a logo. Look at the Lucky Strike, Coke, Wii logos [sic]... uncomplicated images that stick.\textsuperscript{120}

Meanwhile, other students like Rey S. Lim, have argued that

> Our logo is so sterile. Where's the connection to our history? Seriously, if they paid someone to come up with this logo, that must have been one of the biggest waste of resources ever. They could have better spent that money on say I dunno, fixing the leaks around the SFU campus... or buying us textbooks. No wonder people outside of SFU think that we don't have culture...\textsuperscript{121}


However, what has shaped up to be the most intriguing aspect of the SFU branding controversy hasn't necessarily been the results of the initiative or even the necessity of the whole exercise itself. Arguably, the most interesting aspect has been the decision to outsource the task to an outside, private company when it appears as if the job could have been done 'in-house' by using SFU's own internal resources. Research has uncovered that an alternative SFU visual identity and communication plan was actually put together and presented to senior university officials in the summer of 2005. This plan was authored by a group of communication students, who proposed to improve the university's entire communication structure by

...using resources in novel ways to capitalize on existing opportunities, implementing initiatives and programmes to develop community and cohesion, introducing promotions to increase community awareness and shape visual identity and applying methods to facilitate and enhance internal communication.\(^\text{122}\)

Calling themselves and their project, SFUnity, this alternative communication plan appears to have offered administration a more comprehensive action plan that endeavoured to promote and strengthen the university's public image using a unique 'participatory development communication approach,' which encouraged greater communal dialogue between university administration, students, staff, faculty, and the general public.

\(^{122}\) Rafael Grossling et al., *SFUnity Communication Plan* (Burnaby: Simon Fraser University, 2005), iv.
5.4 The SFUnity Alternative – A Democratic Communicative Approach to Visual Identity Building

SFUnity was the brainchild of SFU Communication sessional instructor, Silva Tenenbein. In March 2004, she recruited thirteen students to work on devising a communication plan for Simon Fraser University. This exercise in 'effective public discourse' began as a four-month course project but later stretched to a twelve-month endeavour. In April 2005, the group concluded their project by publishing their findings in a report entitled, The SFUnity Communication Plan.

Upon review, the SFUnity Communication Plan seems to focus on three key communication issues, which the group believed Simon Fraser University needed to address. First, there was the university's confused public image/visual identity problem. Similar to Karo/SFU-VIP, SFUnity basically concluded that Simon Fraser University had no "common identity or goal" that could be clearly communicated to the larger public. As SFUnity project leader and fourth year Business Administration student, Rafael Grossling explained during his interview,

> There was nothing to galvanize the [SFU] visual identity around... Nobody knew what the visual identity should be representing... What SFU was using as a visual identity [before] and how that visual identity was [being] manifested was pure fragmentation. Everybody was doing their own thing... So, those are the two issues we found in terms of visual identity. One is that nobody knew what brand SFU should be communicating, and two, it was fragmented, people were doing their own thing...

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123 Grossling et al., SFUnity Communication Plan, 21.
To overcome the university's visual identity problem, SFUnity argued for the creation of a unified public image that would be anchored by a coherent and unified common/master identity. To achieve this, the group proposed a series of "courses of action," which included strategies that are also utilized in many business-oriented branding exercises. In particular, SFUnity's plan proposed to implement the following business-oriented, visual identity solutions:

- Create a new SFU marketing department.
- Devise a proactive media strategy to promote events both within the SFU community and to the general public.
- Create a style guide with unifying themes for departments to use when producing their online and print communication materials.
- Alter the SFU clan crest and logo to make it more symbolically significant to the diverse community it represents.
- Improve the admissions process and packages for students.
- Increase the number of corporate partnerships and alumni events.\textsuperscript{124}

It appears, however, that the similarities between the Karo-led branding initiative and the SFUnity Communication Plan effectively end with the above solutions. In essence, the Karo/SFU-VIP initiative appears to have used a predominately top-down, 'corporate-style' branding strategy that sought to reposition the university as a 'globally-minded' educational service provider. The SFUnity alternative, in comparison, appears to have proposed a more, bottom-up and 'participatory-centered' approach, which clearly gave the responsibility of

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., 6, 9, 22, 30-32, 48, 58, 70-75.
solving the university's various communication problems to the university community itself. Therefore, the main difference between these two approaches is that visual identity issues were not the sole focus for the SFUnity group. Instead, the lack of campus pride and the weak sense of community were also considered major communication problems. Furthermore, SFUnity clearly understood that all these issues were interconnected and that in order to solve one, it was necessary to solve all three. Therefore, along with the more conventional visual-identity/branding solutions noted above, the SFUnity team also made several community building and participatory development communication recommendations, which argued for:

- Developing a university vision and mission statement through a collaborative process involving faculty, staff and students.
- Establishing new annual rituals that would bring the community together.
- Creating more inviting and inclusive 'communal spaces' for community members to use.
- More effectively utilizing the university’s 'intellectual capital' to minimize outsourcing of jobs and projects.
- Holding more round-table discussion to provide opportunities for underrepresented groups to gain a stronger voice within the community.
- Encouraging administrators to maintain constant communication with various community members and groups.
- Improving community outreach by actively pursuing projects in 'post-colonial' communities and underdeveloped communities.
- Pursuing more overseas projects through 'ethical and socially responsible community outreach.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., 8, 21-26, 33,66.
In other words, apart from simply recommending the creation of a SFU style guide and altering the SFU crest and logo, the group also argued that their community needed to utilize a participatory development communication (PDC) approach in order to develop a stronger culture, establish new traditions, promote greater community outreach programs, provide better services to students, and establish clear and open lines of communication between all community members.

5.5 The Participatory Development Communication (PDC) Approach

SFUnity’s decision to utilize a PDC approach is especially fascinating when one considers that it is a communication research tool that is more commonly found in ‘third-world’ development projects, rather than institution-focused communication plans. Traditionally, international development researchers and activists are the ones who use PDC strategies in order to encourage “community participation with development initiatives through a strategic utilization of various communication strategies.”126 PDC basically seeks to identify and promote the needs of its subjects/participants via the use of both a ‘bottom-up’ dialogical approach and a conscious partiality approach. Susan Wright and Nici Nelson describe the dialogical approach as a strategy that aims

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to equalize the power differential between a researcher and a participant by giving the participant a more active role in the process.\textsuperscript{127} Thus, participants become "agents of research" who are empowered to "set the agenda and define the issues to be investigated."\textsuperscript{128} In other words, they engage directly with the researcher to influence the priorities of the research activity. However, empowering participants directly through a dialogical approach is not enough to declare the process as being truly 'participatory.' Besides the dialogical approach, the researcher must also utilize "conscious partiality" in order to "create a space for critical dialogues and reflection on both sides."\textsuperscript{129} The purported benefit of using such a technique is that it "enables both research 'subjects' and 'objects' to become more aware of the power differences and dynamics involved, and of distortions of perceptions to be corrected on both sides."\textsuperscript{130}

Arguably, SFUnity utilized both a dialogical approach and a conscious partiality approach through their frequent use of the community consultation process, their preference to utilize SFU community members to run their various project proposals, and through their understanding that having open channels of


\textsuperscript{128} Wright and Nelson, "Participatory Research and Participant Observation," 51.


\textsuperscript{130} Schrijvers, "Participation and Power," 22.
communication was absolutely crucial for community empowerment. Perhaps, the PDC aspect of their communication plan becomes most evident when the group expressed their desire to create a “preferred future” in which Channels for communication across echelons of authority are open and kept clear. New ideas are valued. Consonant with the ideal of SFU as a contemporary university, individuals communicate freely across boundaries, unfettered by hierarchical differences. Members understand and embrace their roles and responsibilities and understand the roles and responsibilities of those with whom they work. People feel valued and included, and productivity is high. \(^{131}\)

SFUnity’s greatest achievement occurred on May 13, 2005 when they were given the opportunity to present their findings to a group of approximately twenty-five senior university officials. SFUnity co-leader, Rafael Grossling described their presentation as “a success” because “it generated dialogue amongst the [administrative] group and appeared to have put pressure on administration” to deal with the various issues that were outlined in their report. Grossling, however, also felt somewhat aggrieved by the fact that even though administration chose to implement some of SFUnity’s recommendation, they were never properly acknowledged for their work. As Grossling stated,

They [senior administration] had used the [SFUnity] plan to guide their thinking and also to implement certain things. But none of that will we ever get any credit for… They will never say that we did this because a bunch of students put together a report and a presentation [whereby] they told us what was wrong... They’re [just] not going to do that...

\(^{131}\) Grossling et al., *SFUnity Communication Plan*, 26.
Grossling also expressed his dissatisfaction with SFU's decision to outsource the university's branding initiative to Karo Designs as opposed to following SFUnity's recommendation to do the job 'in-house.' In his words, SFU didn't need a consultant. They have marketers who are cutting-edge, who do their own consulting in the Business department. They have people in the Communication department who are also leading-edge as far as their ability to use media... But, we don't tap our intellectual capital [here at SFU].

Therefore, instead of outsourcing projects like the SFU branding initiative to firms like Karo, the SFUnity team wanted administration to "regularly consider and use staff, sessional instructors, and students to develop and manage the university." What the decision to go with the Karo-led branding initiative seems to suggest is that the SFUnity alternative was likely seen by senior administration as being too expansive in its scope, too idealistic in its goals, too costly to implement and, more importantly, required that they give up too much control over the university's visual-identity strategy. Arguably, administrative control is really what's at the heart of this controversy. Over the years, SFU seems to have suffered a fate similar to other western universities in that the location of power has moved away from the academic core and into the administrative units. Essentially, SFUnity's PDC approach required that administration continually gather input from the SFU community. A process that would clearly change administration's current power structure, transforming it

132 Ibid., 24.

133 Kerr, The Uses of the University, 20.
from a more “top-down” managerial model to a structure that “minimizes hierarchical distinctions,” so that “underrepresented collectives [can also] have voices” in the decision-making process.\textsuperscript{134}

Ultimately, the creation of a uniform and tightly-controlled brand for SFU indicates that economics functions as the master discourse, which forms the university’s new “corporate soul.” “Thinking about the World” is undoubtedly a brand slogan because it functions to promote a certain set of values by channelling SFU’s unique identity through carefully-crafted images. In essence, what SFU administration has given the SFU community is nothing more than a marketing strategy which will be used to generate income. Similar to how Nike uses “Just Do It” to sell its sneakers to athletes, SFU has created a brand strategy, which will use “Thinking of the World” to sell an educational experience to students.

\textsuperscript{134} Grossling et al., \textit{SFUnity Communication Plan}, 26.
CHAPTER 6: THE MARKETING OF SFU'S INTERNATIONALIZATION ACTIVITIES

Arguably, "Thinking of the World," as the new university tagline connotes an 'international flavour' to the way Simon Fraser University has decided to identify itself to the world. This raises the rather intriguing question of how will SFU's new corporate branding strategy come to influence the university's internationalization mandate? In this section, we will examine this question by investigating how SFU has evolved its internationalization mandate within the context of the neoliberal globalization phenomenon.

According to SFU International, internationalization can be succinctly defined as

...a process made up of a wide range of academic and professional activities, organizational policies, procedures and strategies – which integrates an international dimension or perspective into the teaching, training, research and service functions of the university. ¹³⁶

¹³⁵ SFU International is the main administrative unit responsible for all of Simon Fraser University's international programs, such as exchanges, field schools and international co-operative education.

A more comprehensive definition, however, can be obtained from Jane Knight, who nicely summarizes this concept as higher education's proactive response to globalization.¹³⁷ Expanding on this definition, Knight also states that university internationalization activities are typically pursued through four "groups of rationalizations."¹³⁸ First, there is the academic rationalization, which is basically the traditional motivation for educational institutions to internationalize. According to Knight, universities have always been intellectually predisposed to reach out to the world in order to attain new knowledge.¹³⁹ The second rationalization is for socio-cultural reasons. In this case, universities are motivated to pursue global outreach activities out of their desire to teach students to become 'international citizens,' who are respectful of cultural diversity. Third, there is the political rationalization in which universities are motivated by the nation-state to tie the goals of their international education activities to national foreign policy initiatives. In this case, internationalization is seen less as a pedagogical tool and more as a political instrument, which can be used to both preserve and promote national culture and language abroad. Finally, there is the economic rationalization, which sees international education predominately as an...
exportable product as opposed to a cultural agreement.\textsuperscript{140} Jane Knight notes that this is the lens through which most western governments and higher education institutions now understand the value of internationalization. Many higher education institutions are said to be increasingly motivated to pursue international opportunities more for their economic rewards instead of their academic or socio-cultural benefits.\textsuperscript{141}

With regards to Canada, it has been noted that Canadian internationalization activities have traditionally been driven by academic and socio-cultural goals. Historically, Canadian international education projects have focused on international development issues that had very lofty ambitions such as “building greater understanding between cultures and nations” and “having a final goal of world peace and cooperation.”\textsuperscript{142} Perhaps, Peggy Berkowitz best articulated Canada’s traditional rationale for internationalization when she noted that,

\begin{quote}
In Canada, the real foundation for international activities at universities has been international development. For decades, Canadian professors and students have been working with colleagues in developing countries and taking part in research on issues of importance to people in those countries.\textsuperscript{143}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{140} Knight, “Issues and Trends in Internationalization,” 206.

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., 206.

\textsuperscript{142} Cudmore, “Globalization, Internationalization, and the Recruitment of International Students,” 43.

However, neoliberal globalization seems to have sparked a shift in the rationale for Canadian internationalization activities. Today, most international exchange and development opportunities are not necessarily being pursued for academic and socio-cultural reasons, but for predominately political and economic reasons. Geoffrey Cudmore notes that this shift from “aid to trade” began in the mid-1980s and was largely fuelled by decreases in government funding, which forced many Canadian post-secondary institutions to move away from “the less lucrative, and therefore less attractive CIDA funded projects, to the marketing of programs at full recovery rates to foreign elites.”¹⁴⁴ As a result, Canadian internationalization activities are now being packaged for export as if they were articles of trade or as a purchasable training service that will give students the necessary skills to enter the global labour market. Consequently, Patricia Kelly has also commented on this shift from ‘solidarity-to-competitive advantage’ by stating that,

In practice, much of the internationalization discourse is [now] based in educating for profit. This is expressed in policy meetings and documents as a combination of attracting full-fee paying overseas students; exporting ready-made courses to any country that will buy them; sending a tiny minority of wealthy or scholarship students to study abroad.¹⁴⁵

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¹⁴⁵ Patricia Kelly, “Internationalizing the Curriculum: For Profit or Planet?” in The University in Transformation: Global Perspectives on the Futures of the University, eds. Sohail Inayatullah and Jennifer Gidley, 162 (Westport: Bergin & Garvey, 2000).
More importantly, under this new internationalization regime, Canadian universities appear to have been placed in a paradoxical situation whereby they are essentially being forced to both compete and collaborate with each other. As a result, international and national partnerships are said to be increasing, but it is also being done strategically for mostly political-economic (as opposed to academic and socio-cultural) reasons.\textsuperscript{146}

Arguably, Simon Fraser University is one Canadian higher education institution, which has developed an internationally active and engaged community of scholars who have traditionally engaged the world for primarily academic and socio-cultural reasons. However, it has also become evident that increasing global market pressures have complicated the situation for many of these academics. Internationalization appears to be taking on a new mission at SFU – a development which has raised much controversy within the university community itself.

\textbf{6.1 The Quasi-Privatization of Internationalization: SFU’s Response to Global Market Pressures}

As stated in SFU International’s July 2004 to June 2006 Strategic Plan, internationalization at Simon Fraser University is comprised of the following key activities: international student recruitment, international student retention,

international mobility, international curriculum development, and international development projects.\textsuperscript{147} In the past two or three years, however, international student recruitment and retention have clearly become the two most important internationalization activities for SFU. According to one anonymous administrator working in Student Recruitment, the university's new internationalization priorities were largely a reaction to global market pressures, which have made international student recruiting both a more difficult and increasingly important task for Simon Fraser University. As this administrator noted,

\begin{quote}
I think the numbers [for new students now] are relatively static, but the competition will really grow. So, if we're going to be competing for the... type of student mix that we think is important for this university, the competition for those students is going to become fierce... SFU needs to keep pace just to maintain, let alone grow the numbers of well-qualified students.
\end{quote}

Furthermore, this official also noted that due to the fact that international students are also being recruited by an ever-increasing number of foreign and domestic universities, SFU would need to enact a more aggressive international student recruitment strategy if the university wished to increase its overall international students numbers. As it turns out, one such aggressive strategy that was the signing of the controversial SFU-IBT agreement.

SFU-IBT is basically a public-private partnership which outsourced a portion of the SFU's international student recruiting mandate to a private

\textsuperscript{147} SFU International. \textit{Strategic Plan: July 2004 to June 2006}, 2.
Australian firm known as International Business Technologies (IBT) Education Limited. This agreement proved to be quite a divisive issue that generated vigorous debate within the SFU community during the spring 2006 semester. In the next few sections, the controversial SFU-IBT agreement will be explored in order to determine what effect the signing of this precedent-setting public-private arrangement has had on the university's internationalization mandate. But first, some important background information about IBT Ltd. will be provided in the next section to give the reader a better sense of why this company has generated so much controversy at SFU.

6.2 IBT and the Australian Public-Private Partnership (P3) Controversy

International Business Technology Education Limited is a publicly-traded, for-profit business enterprise, which mainly recruits and prepares under-qualified students for direct entry into university degree programs. Relying mostly on their well-established network of recruiting agents, the company has been able to evolve itself into a truly global enterprise with operations in Australia, Britain, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Zambia and most recently Canada. In 2004, IBT Limited was estimated to be worth $617 million dollars and posted a profit of $29.1 million (AUD).¹⁴⁸

Much of IBT's success can be attributed to their core business strategy, which seeks to develop partnerships with universities that want to diversify and/or expand their student recruitment programs. Typically, IBT agreements are comprised of the following sets of obligations. First, IBT agrees to recruit a niche target of 'under-qualified' students who are looking to get another chance to enter a university degree program. Second, the company agrees to 'educate' these students via their 'pathways' (university preparation) program in order to make them admissible to their partner universities. Third, the partner university agrees to license the university name and logo to IBT for marketing purposes. Fourth, the university agrees to provide the company with on-campus facilities where a university-affiliated, but IBT-owned college will be set up. Fifth, the university agrees to offer IBT students guaranteed admissions upon successful completion of the company’s ‘pathways’ program. Finally, IBT agrees to compensate their partner university with ‘royalty payments' based upon an agreed formula that is usually tied to enrolment.\(^{149}\)

Judging from IBT's rapid expansion over the last decade or so, it can be deduced that this kind of public-private arrangement has proven to be a sound and profitable business venture for the company. However, the IBT success story has not evolved without its fair share of controversy. In Australia, for example, critics have argued that what IBT is really selling to their ‘under-qualified’ clientele is a ‘backdoor’ entry to a university education. In particular,

the company has been accused of offering students who have initially failed to attain the necessary entrance scores guaranteed admissions to an Australian post-secondary institution if they complete bridging courses costing up to $12,000 (AUD)a year.\textsuperscript{150} Clearly, Australian critics have argued that public-private partnerships, such as the ones usually brokered by IBT, are actually working to undermine the traditional, merit-based system that determines who gets a place within the country’s public higher education system. Supporters, however, have argued that these types of agreements are only offering a market-driven choice for students who want to access an Australian higher education system that requires unreasonably high entrance scores. Proponents appear to be arguing that it would actually be an injustice if full-fee paying students were not given the opportunity to financially compete for a chance to go to university. In other words, IBT-type agreements have been framed by supporters as a democratizing force, which allows more students the opportunity to access the country’s higher education system - provided, of course, that they have the financial means to do so.\textsuperscript{151}

The Australian P3 controversy helps to highlight the potential problems that may occur when a public higher education system is placed under intense financial pressure. As previously noted, Australian universities and colleges have experienced both declining public funds and increasing private sources of


\textsuperscript{151} Maiden, “Students Buy Their Way Back to HECS,” 3.
funding as a result of neoliberal policy making. Beginning in 1986, the Australian government initiated policy changes which sought to make universities more “accountable” and more competitive institutions. Two decades of increasing funding cuts and heavy deregulation have made Australian universities highly dependent on private sources of income, mainly involving international students. In 2005, it was estimated that federal government funding per student dropped so low that “universities must find more than 50 cents in the [sic] dollar from private sources.”\textsuperscript{152} As a result, universities have been forced to seek out alternative revenue streams, with most choosing to recruit foreign students and set up international colleges with private companies like IBT. In fact, Australian universities have become so dependent on international student funds that “their viability as learning and research institutions hinges entirely on that market.”\textsuperscript{153} In 2004, one out of every five students studying in an Australian university was an international student, who together generated $1.7 billion dollars (AUD) in total revenue.\textsuperscript{154}

Overall, the internationalization of Australian universities via neoliberal policy-making has led to a serious decline in the quality of education offered by their public post-secondary system. Critics have pointed out that the difficult financial environment that these universities must operate in has led to staffing


\textsuperscript{154} Jopson and Burke, “Unis Dumb Down for Foreign Cash,”
cuts, increased casualisation of academic labour, rising student-to-staff ratios, overcrowded classrooms, decreasing research activities in non-commercially viable areas, higher incidences of academic corruption, decreasing academic standards, and an overall decrease in the international academic status of Australian universities. Considering the results of Australia’s neoliberal endeavour, a rather interesting question has since been raised with regards to Canadian public higher education: Is it possible that Canada will one day mirror its Australian counterparts and develop a post-secondary system that relies so heavily on private sources of income in order to survive? Arguably, the recently enacted SFU-IBT agreement, which is the first public-partnership of its kind in Canada, should be studied carefully to evaluate the desirability and likelihood of such a transformation.

6.3 The SFU-IBT Agreement – Senior Administration’s Perspective

In August 2005, IBT Education Ltd. publicly announced that they were actively negotiating to expand their operations by opening three new colleges in the uncharted markets of the United Kingdom and Canada. The two English Universities which eventually became IBT affiliates were Brunel University in London and the University of Hertfordshire in Hatfield. Meanwhile, Simon Fraser

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University was also approached by IBT to determine their interest in a private college arrangement similar to what they had developed in Australia and other countries. According to a confidential report issued by senior administration, Simon Fraser University was the only North American university IBT was interested in and their offer was made after a visit by some of their senior executives. The company then proposed a five-year partnership which included the following agreements:

- IBT will set up a private, SFU-affiliated college called Fraser International College (FIC) on SFU's Burnaby Mountain campus.
- SFU agrees to provide the physical, on-campus space where FIC will be located.
- SFU also agrees to allow FIC to use the university name and logo for recruiting and marketing purposes.
- FIC would then be tasked with recruiting under-qualified, full-fee paying international students into an SFU-approved, but IBT-administered university preparation program.
- SFU then agrees to offer FIC graduands guaranteed entry into a Simon Fraser University undergraduate degree program.
- A joint SFU-IBT Advisory Committee would also be created to set academic policy and monitor the academic quality of FIC courses.
- Finally, FIC students are expected to be charged a tuition rate comparable to SFU's international student fees (approximately $7222.50 per semester).\(^\text{156}\) Thirty percent of FIC's tuition revenue will then be transferred to SFU. In terms of real numbers, the university expected to receive approximately $600,000 annually in

\(^{156}\) Tuition fees are derived from SFU's 2006/07 tuition fee rate for international students, which charged $481.50 per normal credit hour. This figure does not take into account additional fees such as differential course fees and activity fees. For further information, see Simon Fraser University 2006/2007 Calendar, "Undergraduate Fees," http://students.sfu.ca/calendar-archive/06.07%20calendar/U%20GenlRegs%20U%20Fees2.html#921106
the first year (assuming 120 students) and eventually $10 million a year after five years (assuming 1,000 students).¹⁵⁷

Not surprisingly, the SFU-IBT proposal appears to have been a very appealing prospect to senior university officials for it offered a potentially cost-effective way of solving (or at least alleviating) the university's three most important international student problems: recruitment, retention, and diversity. In terms of recruitment, the university had been trying to raise the university's international student numbers to at least ten percent of the total student population since March 2003. Considering that its current international student population was already hovering at 9.1% in 2005, administration believed that this target was easily achievable if the SFU-IBT partnership came into effect.¹⁵⁸

As SFU's Vice-President, Students and International, Nello Angerilli, explained during his interview for this thesis,

To achieve our ten percent [international student] target... we need assistance. There are a couple of ways to do that. You can use agents. But, even developing a network of agents takes a lot of time and is very risky. Partnering with IBT who has a very clear and solid track record is a better way to do it.


Another problem that senior administration believed that IBT would help solve was SFU's international student retention issue. According to the most recent statistics provided by SFU's Institutional Research and Planning Department, thirty-eight percent of SFU students who completed secondary education outside Canada and nineteen percent of international college transfer students drop out of the university within their first year of studies. Senior university officials have gone on record to state that they believed the SFU-IBT partnership offered a potential solution to this problem. In particular, John Waterhouse, SFU's Vice-President, Academic, explained in an interview he conducted with the SFU Peak on January 30, 2006 that IBT's pathways programs should help the university retain more of its international students. As he stated,

...we discovered that when students had finished the IBT program and transferred into a university with whom they are partners, their success rate is very good. And the reason is that they're providing 1st-year students with a lot more support. More instruction, extra tutorial instruction, etc...\(^\text{159}\)

Finally, IBT has been described by senior administration as providing a potential solution to solving the so-called 'diversity issue' at SFU. In 2005, SFU's international student population suffered a notable 'visa holder imbalance,' with 54% of students holding passports from three Pacific-rim locations: China, Korea

University officials believed that they could take advantage of IBT’s extensive, worldwide recruiting network to recruit students from under-represented regions like Africa and South America. As one anonymous administrator from SFU International explained,

The experience of the British IBT is that they wanted more African students and a good chunk of the students [recruited by] IBT are now coming from sub-Saharan Africa. We’ve already told them that we don’t want more students from China. We want students from Latin America, the Middle-East, Africa, [and] from a number of different areas because we want this [partnership] to diversify our international student population and they’ve said, ‘Okay, we’ll do that.’

6.4 The SFU-IBT Agreement – The Community’s Response

For most of the fall 2005 semester, the SFU community seemed largely unconcerned about the SFU-IBT proposal. However, it appears that this silence could be largely attributed to the fact that most faculty, staff, and students simply did not know much about the proposed agreement. It appears that university administration had been quickly and quietly trying to get the SFU-IBT agreement approved with as little publicity and community input as possible. However, by late October 2005, word began spreading through various SFU e-mail lists and discussion forums that a secret deal was being pursued with a private firm to recruit international students. From this point forward, opposition to the SFU-IBT

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*Percentages were derived from data collected through SFU’s Institutional Research and Planning Department. For more information see, SFU Institutional Research and Planning, “International Students and SFU International Experience by Country, Undergraduate,” http://www.sfu.ca/irp/Students/documents/d22.pdf.*
proposal began to pick up steam and by the start of the spring 2006 semester, the proposed SFU-IBT agreement had evolved into a highly controversial issue.

On February 6, 2006, four on-campus groups publicly expressed their concerns and/or opposition to the proposed SFU-IBT agreement via a series of open letters that were published in the university’s main student newspaper, the SFU Peak. These four groups were the Simon Fraser Student Society (SFSS), the Teaching and Support Staff Union (TSSU), the SFU Faculty Association (SFUFA), and the International Students Group (ISG). For the most part, each group decided to express their opposition to the SFU-IBT proposal from different perspectives. For the Simon Fraser Student Society, opposition to this P3 agreement seems to have been largely based on the ideological argument that the SFU-FiC agreement would lead to (or was a further example of) the privatization of their home university. The SFSS was predominantly concerned that this precedent setting public private partnership would undermine the core democratic values of a public university with a long-standing tradition of openness, fairness, and equality. In their open letter, the Student Society Executive argued that,

**SFU has a grand tradition as a democratic, inclusive institution, and has been celebrated for its radical steps in this direction throughout its 40-year history. To mark this 40th anniversary year by welcoming a private college onto campus would represent a dramatic turnaround in values. SFU as a public institution, is beholden both to internal and external democratic processes such as Senate and the provincial Ministry of Advanced Education. By privatizing education through the acceptance of the IBT proposal,**
SFU would be turning its back to these mechanisms of democratic public control, and forsaking its grand 'radical' history.\textsuperscript{161}

To their credit, the SFSS raises a very good point about the lack of democratic control over FIC. As previously noted, the private college would be governed by an Academic Advisory Committee (AAC), comprised of three members from SFU and three members from FIC. The AAC, however, would have a predominantly advisory role whereby they would guide the formulation of the college’s academic policies and oversee the academic quality of its courses. The Student Society was concerned that the Academic Advisory Committee would operate like a corporately-controlled, managerial unit that would prioritize the interests of its shareholders over the needs of its students or instructors. This was a point that then SFSS president, Shawn Hunsdale made clear during his interview for this thesis. In his opinion,

I don't believe there's going to be student, faculty, or staff representation [on the AAC] as we find... within our Board of Governors, which has a staff rep, two faculty reps, two student reps, some administrators and some provincial government appointees... IBT is being sponsored by SFU, [which] has made it a business relationship our university has engaged in. Given that this is a publicly-traded, Australian multinational... corporation, its shareholders would speak with a very strong voice in terms of the decisions it makes... Simply appointing representatives from [our] Board of Governors whose responsibilities, I suppose, is principally the fiduciary well-being of SFU, [to work] with the representatives from Fraser International College... fails to adequately represent the diversity of perspectives which do have a stake in this institution's practices on campus.

Meanwhile, the Teaching Support Staff Union expressed their opposition to the SFU-IBT proposal based on how they believed the company would treat FIC instructors. The TSSU was particularly concerned about the private college’s refusal to grant its instructors the right to form their own union. In particular, the TSSU Executive argued that,

IBT is a major step back for workers on campus. Instructors working for IBT will have no union representation and no arena to lobby for their rights as academic workers. Precedent has shown that this results in low wages, lack of job security, and lack of control over working conditions. Indeed, this agreement is a key step towards the casualisation of academic labour.\(^{162}\)

From their commentary, it becomes evident that the TSSU was concerned that FIC instructional staff would be entering short-term, academic employment contracts that would offer little protection and relatively poor compensation when compared to their SFU counterparts. In other words, the TSSU worried that Fraser International College would implement a ‘tailorized'\(^ {163}\) approach to hiring its instructors, which would effectively allow FIC managers to hire (and exploit) cheap academic labour (i.e., sessional instructors and graduate students) when the market demand for their services is high and dispose of them when the demand is low.

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\(^{163}\) Taylorization is a popular term used to refer to the labour control principles developed by Frederick W. Taylor (1865 – 1915). In his book, the *Principles of Scientific Management*, Taylor outlines how to bring workers knowledge under management’s control via a separation of the ‘brain’ from the ‘hand.’ For further information see, Frederick Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (London: Norton, 1967).
On a similar note, the SFU Faculty Association also expressed their concern that the SFU-IBT proposal could cause significant labour problems for the university. SFUFA's concerns, however, centred on workload issues and the possibility of an academic labour shortage. As SFUFA President Slava Senyshyn argued,

The risk of finding suitable instructional staff is not confined to FIC. In many areas of the university, availability of appropriate teaching assistants is an on-going problem. The increased demands created by the curriculum initiative combined with competition for instructors from Fraser International College will exacerbate this problem... [However] an even bigger concern may be the ability of faculty and librarians to continue to provide and support quality education in the face of escalating workloads.164

SFUFA also expressed concern over how the SFU-IBT agreement may affect the university's relationship with other B.C. colleges and university-colleges. The fact of the matter is that B.C. public universities such as SFU have greatly benefitted from the creation of one of the best college-to-university transfer systems in Canada. The B.C. post-secondary transfer system was first developed in 1989 in order to encourage greater student mobility between B.C. post-secondary institutions.165 College transfer students have proven to be an important demographic for Simon Fraser University which typically receives about thirty-five percent of its new undergraduate students from B.C. colleges

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and university colleges.\textsuperscript{166} Statistically, this puts B.C. colleges and university-colleges as the university's second highest category for 'basis of admission' next to B.C. high schools.

SFUFA members were worried that the SFU-IBT agreement would generate undesirable competition between the university and local colleges. In an email sent to faculty and administrators, SFU Mathematics professor and Board of Governors Faculty Representative Bob Russell articulated his concerns about this subject in this way,

We [SFU faculty members] are concerned that SFU's reputation among the public colleges will suffer when there is seen to be a direct competition with them for a shrinking pool of international students through a private college on SFU's campus which gives students an inside track for acceptance to SFU... The sensitive relations with public colleges has not arisen for other IBT partnerships since... there is no community college system operating alongside the Australian universities.\textsuperscript{167}

Clearly, SFUFA members placed great value on the collegial relationships that they have built with the province's various colleges and university colleges over the years. Many professors viewed the SFU-IBT agreement as a direct affront to that collegial spirit. SFUFA argued that university administration needed to conduct further consultations with the wider SFU community in order

\textsuperscript{166} Percentages are based on statistics between the 2001/02 and 2005/06 academic years. Statistics were derived from data collected through SFU's Institutional Research and Planning Department. For more information see, SFU Institutional Research and Planning, "Table D-11, New Undergraduate Students by Basis of Admission Category and Semester of Admission," http://www.sfu.ca/irp/Students/documents/d11.pdf.

\textsuperscript{167} Bob Russell, "IBT Proposal Analysis," Email to SFU senators, faculty, and administration group lists, February 28, 2006.
to find another solution to solve its international student recruiting problems. As SFUFA president Slava Senyshyn stated in his open letter,

Without adequate consultation, with so many potential risks, and with strong growing dissension in the ranks, the Faculty Association is convinced that the administration, Senate, and Board of Governors would be wise to resist the temptation to rush into an agreement with IBT. The interest demonstrated by the university community at the January 31 open forum demonstrates the depth of concern with the proposed arrangement with IBT Education Ltd. We urge you to insist upon a consultative process that takes advantage of the commitment and passion being expressed by so many members of the university community.\(^{168}\)

Perhaps the most surprising group to speak out in opposition to the proposed SFU-IBT agreement would have to be the SFU International Student Group (ISG). The ISG is a small, student-run club, which endeavours "to represent, advocate, organize events and... raise awareness of international students' issues" on campus.\(^{169}\) Overall, it appears as if the ISG had two main points of contention with SFU-IBT. First and foremost, there was the 'cash cow' issue. International students have long complained that their host university is guilty of unfairly financially exploiting them. As the table below illustrates, international undergraduate students have been paying significantly higher tuition rates at SFU. Furthermore, international students have also seen their tuition fees more than double over the last seven years, rising from the 2000/2001 annual tuition rate of $6,930 to the 2006/2007 rate of $14,445.


Table 2: Basic Undergraduate Tuition Fees: Domestic and International Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Domestic Tuition Rate</th>
<th>International Tuition Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000/2001</td>
<td>$2,310</td>
<td>$6,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001/2002</td>
<td>$2,195</td>
<td>$6,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002/2003</td>
<td>$2,853</td>
<td>$8,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003/2004</td>
<td>$3,711</td>
<td>$13,713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004/2005</td>
<td>$4,269</td>
<td>$14,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/2006</td>
<td>$4,356</td>
<td>$14,358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006/2007</td>
<td>$4,443</td>
<td>$14,445</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Fees listed above are for a new undergraduate student, which assumes that the student is taking 30 normal credit hours over one year. Starting in 2002/03, premium fees were introduced for 200, 300 and 400 level Business Administration, Computing Science and Engineering Science courses. Fees per credit hour are up to 33% higher in premium courses. Premium fees have not been calculated for this table. All additional fees such as student activity fees are also not included. Source: SFU Calendars, 2000/2001 – 2006/2007.

Many international students believe that being charged a differential tuition rate has actually been a detriment to their international academic experience. In particular, international graduate student and former ISG president, Clement Apaak, has argued that charging any student (domestic or otherwise) a fee that is 225 percent higher\(^{170}\) than their counterparts basically makes those students feel like a “second-class student.” As Apaak explained during his interview for this thesis,

\(^{170}\) Percentage is based on 2006/2007 domestic and international tuition rates as reported in the Table 2.
No one likes to walk around knowing that one of the principal reasons why [you] are here is because the university wants [your] money. But that is the way international students are feeling more and more. I'm sure you've heard the phrase 'cash cow' being used on occasion? Certainly international students have come to the realization that in spite of the talk about the cultural benefits and the academic benefits... the biggest reason to attract and retain them is mostly financial.

ISG members have also expressed skepticism that their various student support and retention issues are going to be solved by simply introducing a private college on campus. In fact, this group has argued for years that international students have not been getting the proper support that they should be receiving in order to succeed at this university. As the ISG's Shanti Hadioetomo argued during her interview for this thesis,

What IBT promises [to deliver] doesn't look like it's going to be true. First of all, they're saying that we're going to help international students assimilate, but they're going to be piggybacking off existing services, [which is] useless because that service isn't very well supported right now. So, you already have this burden you can't [sic] handle, but now you're taking on more. That doesn't make sense.

In the end, these various on-campus groups were able to create enough public pressure to get senior administration to allow for more debate to occur. As a result, two open forums on January 31st and February 23rd were held whereby the SFU community was given the opportunity to further discuss their concerns with senior members of university administration.
The January 31, 2006 open forum was arguably the high point of the SFU-IBT controversy. This ‘town-hall’ style meeting proved to be a well-attended, but heated affair. Three high-ranking university officials, John Waterhouse (Vice-President Academic), Nello Angerilli (Vice-President, Students and International), and John Munro (Professor Emeritus, Economics and Former Vice-President, Academic) were present at the meeting. Yet, despite senior administration’s presence, the meeting seemed to have raised more questions than answers as almost nothing new about the proposed agreement was initially revealed to the audience. Later on, however, as the crowd pushed for more answers, the three officials eventually confessed why they had been aggressively pursuing the SFU-IBT agreement.

Senior officials had originally portrayed the deal as a sort-of ‘necessary-evil’ that would allow for the ‘cultural’ and ‘intellectual’ benefits of international student exchanges to continue at the university. In this context, they began citing such things as a competitive global higher education industry, the financial benefits that more international students would bring to the university, and IBT’s proven ‘international student’ recruiting record as being primary motivating factors for supporting the proposed agreement. However, the discourse later shifted from socio-cultural and academic motivations towards the simple
economic rationalization of 'we need the money.' As one anonymous faculty member (who attended the open forum) articulated during his interview for this thesis, 

By the end of the whole IBT debate... [it became quite clear] that the primary reason for increasing the number of international students is financial... There was a message, very strong and clear... that if the IBT proposal does not go through there will be a loss to the university budget of... $10 million [dollars]. $10 million dollars would be withdrawn from the university budget over the next few years and that this would have to be made up through cuts in other areas.

In the end, despite continued opposition from the university community, the SFU-IBT proposal was still 'fast-tracked' to both chambers of governance for approval. First, it was sent to the SFU Senate where in March 2006, the SFU-IBT proposal underwent serious debate for close to two hours before a vote was finally called to decide the agreement's fate. However, just prior to holding this very crucial vote, controversy arose when SFU's President and Senate Chair, Michael Stevenson, took a point of privilege to speak on the matter. This proved be a controversial move because, as the SFU Peak's Amanda McQuaig noted,

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172 In brief, the SFU Senate is the chamber of the university governing structure that is responsible for the academic governance of the university. According to their website, Senate's mandate covers "all important matters that bear on teaching and research in the University; this includes the development of new initiatives, the formation of priorities, and the consideration and approval of policies." Its membership is composed of a democratically elected group of student and faculty representatives and senior administrators. For more information, see Simon Fraser University Senate, "Senate Rules," Simon Fraser University Senate, http://www.sfu.ca/Senate/SenateRules.pdf.
Typically, a point of privilege is a request from a non-speaking member (such as the chair) to Senate to allow them the opportunity to speak their educated voice on the topic. Senate, however, was not given the opportunity to actually vote and grant Stevenson a point of privilege.  

Furthermore, while Senate was debating the issue, Stevenson and other university administrators were reported to have used various 'scare-tactics' to try to convince Senators to vote in favour of the IBT proposal. As one student who was present during the March Senate meeting noted,

For those who attended that Senate meeting... It was a very intense debate... But, the university [administration] was able to intimidate some faculty members by threatening [them] that if IBT [did] not pass then revenue was going to be lost. So, once their employer begins to make those kinds of threats, I just can't see how IBT would have failed because the consequence to the faculty members was you either go with IBT and maintain the funding levels that you have now and possibly increase it or you go against IBT you can be sure that your budgets will be cut. ...So, as much as some [faculty members] opposed the agreement in principle, the practical reality [is that] they didn't want to see their budgets cut. I think that was really the key argument that swayed the vote.

As it turns out, the March Senate vote was the last major hurdle that the SFU-IBT agreement needed to overcome. On March 23, 2006, the university's Board of Governors approved the deal during a closed session vote, which then legally allowed Simon Fraser University to "enter into a 5-year affiliation agreement with Fraser International College (FIC), a subsidiary of IBT Education

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Limited (Australia) starting in 2006 to assist in the recruitment and retention of international students.\textsuperscript{174}

6.5 The Question of Civil Society on the SFU Campus

As previously noted, at the beginning of the Spring 2006 semester, the SFU-IBT proposal was quite the ‘hot-button’ issue on-campus. Several groups even came out to publicly express their opposition to the agreement. However, it also appears that the SFU-IBT controversy was a rather short-lived affair with most of the opposition going silent once the Board of Governors passed the agreement on March 23, 2006. In fact, it appears that public opposition to SFU-IBT from this point forward was basically reduced to a few academic departments refusing to fulfil the university’s contractual agreement to create and assess FIC courses and a small, cross-campus anti-IBT coalition that eventually called themselves the Public Education Alliance (PEA).

PEA was comprised of a small contingent of SFU professors, students, and staff members who tried to organize themselves into an effective counter-group to SFU-IBT starting in February 2006. In the beginning, this group was quite ambitious and tried to mobilize themselves into a true resistance movement. In fact, it could even be claimed that PEA was a budding example of

\textsuperscript{174} Simon Fraser University Senate, “Meeting Summaries – March 2006,” Simon Fraser University (Burnaby, B.C., March 23, 2006) \url{http://www.sfu.ca/bog/summaries/2006/march.html}. 

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a civil society group that firmly believed that it could effect positive, democratic change.

Unfortunately, the group also became mired in a self-created ‘identity crisis,’ which was severe enough to demoralize many of its members and prevent them from actually mobilizing against the SFU-IBT agreement while it was still in the approval stages. Thus, rather than actually working on the more important issues of furthering their coalition-building efforts and increasing public awareness about the negative effects of this type of P3 agreement, the group spent most of their time trying to properly name themselves, creating websites and email addresses, outlining their priorities, and coming up with a mission statement. However, in all fairness, considering the speed in which the SFU-IBT agreement was passed through both Senate and the Board of Governors, PEA did not have a lot of time to organize itself to be able to mount an effective resistance campaign. As a result, the group was only able to put together one public event, which was a SFU-IBT discussion panel on November, 22, 2006. Unfortunately, this proved to be a rather poorly attended event and, therefore, unable to raise much public consciousness about the issue.

In the end, it appears that the SFU community has more or less forgotten about the controversy surrounding the SFU-IBT agreement. Today, what little resistance is left is rather sporadic and is mostly found through a few departments who are endeavouring to serve as ‘watchdogs’ over FIC. As such, resistance has taken on a predominately ‘soft’ approach by monitoring the private college to ensure that it is not engaging in any unethical activities that would
compromise the academic standards of their course offerings and to ensure that their instructors are being treated fairly. Arguably, such an approach basically signifies the community’s acceptance of this type of P3 agreement, an agreement which many other Canadian universities and private education providers are also watching to see if it can be replicated elsewhere. Thus, it may only be a matter of time before we find out if the SFU-IBT agreement is the start of a new trend within the Canadian public higher education system.
CONCLUSION: REIMAGINING THE GLOBALIZATION OF SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

This thesis has examined the shifting character of public higher education in the era of neoliberal globalization. Specifically, it has focused on how western universities have evolved from the ancient 'Platonic ideal' to become the modern massified multiversity. The twenty-first century multiversity has been described as a 'marketized' and bureaucratic-heavy institution that is competing in a globally connected, higher education industry. As a result, public higher education today has come under extreme pressure to constantly defend its worth to policy makers, private supporters and students. However, what has become increasingly worrying to observers is how the measures of worth have become increasingly economic rather than pedagogical. Higher education professor Martin Finkelstein from Seton Hall University aptly describes the shift:

There has been a basic change in how government and the public generally have come to think about higher education and the academic profession. Their increasing focus on performance, accountability, value-added, and costs reflect a conception of the university as an enterprise and embraces a fundamental tradeoff; that is, the reduction of social benefits to achieve the immediate, short-term satisfaction of economic growth. Higher education is seen as a private rather than a public benefit, and increasingly the sovereignty of the market place is seen to apply to it. These trends have given impetus to the 'corporatization' and 'privatization' of post-secondary education."^{175}

What's important to note here is that public higher education's discursive shift from a public good to a private benefit appears to have been made possible by the increasing use of neoliberal economic rationality to reformulate the university's public education mission as a predominately economic task centered on increasing the productive capacity of a nation's human capital. Simon Marginson describes this as the master discourse that is now at the heart of the Foucauldian power-knowledge system, which comprises our popular understanding of higher education. He claims that the economics of education has become the common sense filter through which "education as investment in human capital, and education as input-output production, constitute more than a technical language of economists. They have also become popular metaphors for education." To put it another way, the 'economics filter' has come to colonize or eliminate the non-economic rationales for higher education. Therefore, the logic of the marketplace has become the dominant logic on university campuses everywhere. Students are seen as 'buyers' of a university education, professors as 'sellers' of knowledge, and administrators as managers of a global business. However, Marginson also believes utilizing the power-knowledge critique can enable people to become more consciously aware of the net effects "on the kinds of human relations and social systems that it [the master

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176 Marginson, "Subjects and Subjugation," 211.
discourse of economics] creates; on the kinds of education that it enables, values and promotes; [and] on the educational practices that it excludes or reworks."¹⁷⁷

Applying the power-knowledge critique to Simon Fraser University has yielded some controversial and unsettling results. SFU is a relatively young, medium-sized, publicly funded Canadian multiversity, which appears to be struggling to define itself and its mission within the era of constrained resources and neoliberal policy-making. Arguably, the university's struggles have become even more apparent in light of senior administration's controversial decision to engage in both a corporate-branding and a public-private internationalization exercise.

The controversy surrounding the branding of SFU seems to focus on the argument that endowing the university with a 'corporate soul' that is anchored by an image of a place that is "Thinking of the World" reduces education to a simple, saleable commodity. In other words, the 'brand new SFU' has put into question the ethical values of a university that's now aggressively trying to sell itself to students and private donors via marketing principles as opposed to academic ones. Furthermore, by choosing to not follow the recommendations of the SFUnity Communication Plan and pursue a more democratic, 'participatory development communication' approach to visual identity and community building, SFU administration has made it clear that the master discourse of economics is what is at the heart of their decision-making processes. After all, a purely symbolic branding strategy becomes the 'common sense' thing to do when

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 215.
education is defined as a commodity that has to be packaged and marketed purely for public consumption.\(^{178}\)

It appears that SFU’s internationalization activities are also being influenced by the master discourse of education economics. Arguably, the most powerful example of this is the university’s recent decision to partner with the private education firm, IBT Education Limited. As the first public-private partnership of its kind in Canada, the SFU-IBT agreement has basically outsourced a significant chunk of the university’s recruitment activities to a private corporation. What is particularly revealing is the candid admission by SFU administration that the SFU-IBT agreement was being pursued for primarily economic motives - to improve the university’s international tuition revenue stream over the next five-years. This shift in internationalization strategy clearly signifies the fact that academic and socio-cultural goals are being superseded by political and economic ones. It appears that academic and cultural exchanges are not necessarily the driving force for SFU to engage with the world, but rather the lure of economic opportunities is the motivating factor for SFU to think about and then reach out to the world.

From the above discussion, it may seem difficult to believe that anyone can stop the neoliberal juggernaut from decimating the core social values of Canada’s public higher education institutions. However, it is also important to understand that what is happening now is not an inevitable and necessary unfolding of history but rather a political and economic directed project to which

\(^{178}\) Gould, The University in a Corporate Culture, 34.
concerned citizens can still effectively resist.\textsuperscript{179} By utilizing the power-knowledge critique to reveal that the corporate-led branding and public-private internationalization efforts at Simon Fraser University are inspired and rationalized by the economics of education as a master discourse, it then becomes possible to “bring onto the agenda resistances and differences to the economics of education.”\textsuperscript{180} Neoliberal globalization should not be seen as the only blueprint upon which the future of higher education can be built. Many alternatives exist – including the creation of a more just and democratic community of scholars, students, administrators, and workers which is anchored by a strong, plural civil society.

Civil society has been traditionally defined as “the collective noun” which comprises “the vast array of independent groups, associations and institutions who come together to pursue a specific common interest or concern.”\textsuperscript{181} The groups who comprise a particular civil society are usually free and independent associations who are not under the control of the state. As such, they seek to create an independent loci of power beyond the control and reach of government.\textsuperscript{182} Within the higher education community, there are a myriad of potential civic groups ranging from student organizations, unionized and non-


\textsuperscript{180} Marginson, “Subjects and Subjugation, 215.


\textsuperscript{182} Beem, \textit{The Necessity of Politics}, 14.
unionized staff, faculty associations, and professional administrative groups, which could conceivably form the basis of a strong civil society. Beginning this dialogue will undoubtedly be difficult. But, perhaps, the following words from former University of Waterloo President, James Downey, can serve as a useful starting point,

I believe there is a need here for more searching discussion about the aims and purposes of higher education... But where to start? What road to take? There are, it is said, two ways of being lost. One is not to know where you’re going; the other is not to know where you are. There is, I would suggest, a third way of being lost: to lose sight of what you are. Which is where I propose to begin, with a reminder of what makes universities unique among human organizations...

Thinking of the Radical Incrementalism Approach and the Need for Social Audits

Having been a student, a volunteer student representative, an administrator, and a unionized staff member at SFU, I have had the tremendous opportunity to experience the many controversial changes that have occurred over the past few years from a truly unique perspective. In my view, the decisions to pursue the Karo-led corporate branding strategy and the public-private SFU-IBT agreement have made it quite evident that the ‘radical university’ of the 1960s no longer exists. SFU’s current governing regime utilizes a seemingly corporate-style, ‘top-down’ process of decision making, whereby

senior administration clearly has the lion's share of power. Although, aspects of
democratic governance do exist with the SFU Senate and the Board of
Governors, they have been ineffective in counterbalancing senior
administration's power.

In light of such revelations, I believe it now becomes necessary to ask the
question of who should have the power to run the university? Arguably, the ideal
solution would be that the entire SFU community be involved in this process so
that all stakeholders are given an equal opportunity (and equal power) to affect
the decision making process. Some would probably reject such a proposal as
impractical, unrealistic, maybe even too radical. However it can be argued that
this is actually a very realistic, albeit ambitious, objective provided that the SFU
community use an incremental radicalism approach. Incremental radicalism has
been described as a decentred strategy "where a university piles small changes
on small changes, [which are] explicitly geared to leveraging structural
innovations toward systemic sustainability." Achieving systemic sustainability
through this approach necessitates a break in bureaucratic thinking from a linear,
"top-down," decision-making structure towards a more "interactive structure" that
institutionalizes constructive, communicative dialogue between stakeholders.

This will allow stakeholders to develop a "transformative rationality" whereby
expert decision-making is allowed to evolve into empowered communication and

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184 M'Gonigle and Starke, Planet U, 158.

185 Stakeholders in this case refer to the persons and organisations (both on-campus and off-
campus) who have an interest in, or who have invested resources in the university. Thus,
stakeholders would include students, staff, faculty, administration, government officials, private
donors and all others who support and/or utilize the university in some capacity.
high-level planning gives way to collective negotiation.\textsuperscript{186} This approach calls on the larger university community to come together and engage in a "dialectical process that can continuously uncover, challenge and refashion outdated assumptions... and that can create new directions."\textsuperscript{187} Through strategies centred on cooperative negotiation and conflict resolution, participants can be given the opportunity to work with each other in order to reach decisions that takes into account their various interests and concerns.

One suggested way for SFU's stakeholders to begin engaging each other in constructive dialogues is through a social audit. The concept of a social audit can be defined as an internally-driven (but externally verified) evaluation process that "provides an assessment of the impact of an organisation's non-financial objectives through systematically and regularly monitoring its performance and the views of its stakeholders."\textsuperscript{188} The social audit's primary goal is to measure the extent to which the organization is meeting the shared academic and social objectives it has committed itself to. Achieving an accurate measure of the university's performance in these areas necessitates long-term information gathering through research methods that include social bookkeeping, surveys and case studies. The results are then reported back to stakeholders in the form of a "social book keeping" report. To help guard against institutional biases and

\textsuperscript{186} M'Gonigle and Starke, \textit{Planet U}, 198.

\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., 158.


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to verify the accuracy of the audit, external examiners are needed.\textsuperscript{189}

Considering that the social audit does endeavour to evaluate the public service functions of higher education, it makes sense that the ones given the responsibility to conduct the external audit be the same stakeholder groups that the university is supposed to aid and support. For example, representatives from both labour and business could do the external review for SFU’s Business Administration Faculty. For the School of Communication, representatives from public and private media organizations, local non-governmental organizations and communication technology corporations could all become part of their external review committee.

If the university were to engage in an inclusive and democratic social audit, it would spark further conversation and debate about the impact that the discourse of neoliberal economics is having on the wider SFU community. By engaging in research that seeks to confirm whether or not the university’s various social commitments are being filtered through the rationalization paradigm of neoliberal economics, more members of the SFU community would be able to learn the extent in which market concerns are affecting (if not defining) the university’s educational and social priorities. In other words, a social audit can work to reveal the hidden, Foucauldian truth-generating apparatuses which are a part of the hegemonic political power structure that may be operating to undermine the university’s own social objectives. Thus, by conducting a social audit, it is possible that the master discourse of higher education could re-shift

once again from using the popular metaphor of universities as ‘engines of economic growth’ to the metaphor of universities as guilds of dedicated scholars, who are pursuing a public education mission and seeking to build a public commons of knowledge. Such a shift isn’t as unrealistic as it sounds when one considers that in the 1960s, both American and Canadian colleges never used the idiom of the marketplace to try to make their college catalogues look like ads or their mission statements sound like publicity brochures. This is because many of them viewed the laws of the marketplace as being irrelevant to fulfilling the mission of higher education. Instead, a university’s mission was considered a unique community of public intellectuals who were responsible for not only educating but questioning the societies they were a part of.

Undoubtedly, the social audit is a tremendous undertaking that will require the support of the entire SFU community. This is a daunting task that some may say is too difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. However, it’s important to remember that by using a radical incrementalism approach, one does not require that the whole community support this endeavour right away in order for it to succeed. All it takes is one stakeholder group to successfully engage in a social audit as an example for other groups to follow. To be successful, strong leadership, hard work and determination is needed by those who would pioneer such an initiative. In the end, the desire to see change enacted and the resolve to follow through with one’s actions is clearly the first incrementally radical step.

that may lead this community to begin ‘reimagining’ Simon Fraser University towards a different future.
INTRODUCTION

The mid-twentieth century was a time of radical transformation for many public universities. Spurred by the growing demand for specialized labour, higher-education undertook a comprehensive, state-sponsored ‘massification’ agenda that eventually democratized the university’s “great sorting machine” function of selecting and rejecting who gains access to society’s most “productive occupations.” As such, many universities no longer found themselves ruled by a ‘medieval-centric’ decree to exclusively serve society’s privileged few. Instead, their philosophy shifted to a more democratic edict which believed that “all qualified young people from all walks of life” should have the opportunity to pursue a college education.

Without question, massification should be seen as a positive occurrence for it opened academia’s doors to students from a diverse range of socio-economic backgrounds. However, it appears that during the 1990s higher education’s priorities underwent another radical shift. This time around, the transformation involved a change in

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192 Kerr, 47.
priorities from democratizing access to more economic and commercial concerns. What caused this shift? It can be argued that these changes could be attributed to the advent of neoliberal globalization.

Neoliberal globalization theorizes that it is possible for the world to integrate economically, socially and politically through free market policies that encourage private enterprise, consumer choice and entrepreneurialism.\(^{193}\) In reality, however, many universities have found it difficult to reconcile their traditionally collegiate culture within the Darwinistic neoliberal ethos. As such, most attempts by university administrators to apply the business model to campus operations have proven to be quite controversial. More often than not, such attempts have had a polarizing tendency to split stakeholders into two camps, which pit those who support the current globalization regime versus those who oppose it.

Those who have put their faith in the neoliberal agenda tend to believe that free market policies are the key to success within a rapidly globalizing higher education market. As such, they strive to remake the university into a more economically-driven institution that strives for:

- more direct involvement in the commercialization of research activities,
- more proactive approach to regional economic development,
- more problem solving and data-driven approach to curriculum development,
- and a new emphasis on applying the principles of total quality [management] to university operations.\(^{194}\)


Those who oppose the adoption of neoliberal values believe that the ideology of the free market will suppress the ethical functions of the university leading to a dislocation of intellectual culture within society. Professor Mohammed Mujeeb Rahman, for example, believes that the intellectual literacy of students and the critical function of academics will be severely compromised within a more ‘entrepreneurial’ university culture. Rahman argues that corporate values corrode the moral core of the academic community, turning professors and students into ‘academic mercenaries’ who only care about career advancement, conformity, and other self-serving priorities.

In summary, the discussion up to this point has endeavored to introduce the reader to the debate about the globalization of higher education. At the core of this debate lies a simple, but important question: How should we, as a society, define the value, meaning and purpose of our post-secondary institutions?

THESIS STATEMENT

This Master’s project will endeavour to make an academic contribution to this debate by exploring the political economy of higher education from the perspective of one university which has made significant attempts to integrate into the ever-expanding knowledge economy as both a ‘profit-oriented seller’ and ‘free/public disseminator’ of information. Specifically, it is proposed that the author will utilize his home university, Simon Fraser University (SFU), as a case study to determine what problems, issues and concerns neoliberal globalization has brought to various stakeholders within the higher education community. SFU is a medium-sized Canadian university with a student

196 Rahman, 67
population of approximately 18,000 full-time and part-time students.\textsuperscript{197} It is an institution that prides itself as being a champion of the liberal arts and sciences, as well as being a pioneer in interdisciplinary studies and professional programs.

The thesis that will be postulated shall be as follows: the neoliberal argument for the globalization of higher education has been largely built on a Foucaultian ‘regime of truth,’\textsuperscript{198} which ignores the social and cultural costs of subjecting public universities to free market ideology.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

Taking into consideration the goals of this project and the impressive array of literature concerning globalization and higher education, it has been decided that further study will need to be conducted on the following four subject areas:

1) The commodification of knowledge and the commercialization of public post-secondary institutions.

2) The rise of distance education and the ‘Taylorization’ (de-professionalization) of academic labour.

3) The South-to-North brain drain phenomenon.

4) The regulation of the global higher education market: the market-driven approach versus the non-profit internationalization approach.

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\textsuperscript{198} The French Philosopher Michel Foucault put forth the concept of a ‘regime of truth’ to show the link between discourse, power and knowledge in society. Foucault believes that there are truth-generating apparatuses in societies which are largely invisible for they are distributed by hegemonic political and economic apparatuses. As such, a Foucaultian regime of truth does not see truth as being absolute, it is always linked to (and constructed) by politics. For more information see Michel Foucault, (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, Brighton: Harvester Press.
1. The Commodification of Knowledge and the Commercialization of the Public Post-Secondary Institution

It has often been said that we are now living in an age where information is the primary driver of economic growth. As a major source of discoveries, innovations and inventions in the past, it is undoubted that the modern university will continue to play an important role in supporting the new knowledge economy. What’s interesting to note about all this is that higher education’s changing role is leading more and more institutions to enter into research and development (R&D) partnership agreements with private industries - a move that has caused considerable debate within the academic community.

Some scholars such as Raymond Smilor, Glenn Dietrich and David V. Gibson support and even advocate this marriage between business and higher education. Smilor, Dietrich and Gibson believe that increasing the linkages between private enterprises and public universities is a ‘win-win’ situation for both parties involved. They point out that joint ventures with private corporations can provide universities with a new source for R&D funding, afford their students with valuable work-experience and generate new revenue streams through the creation of patents and licensing agreements. At the same time, they also note that public higher education institutions can provide private businesses with access to valuable resources such as academic expertise, unique research facilities, prospective employees (i.e. students), and new technologies for licensing opportunities.199

However, not everyone agrees that increasing the ties between public universities and private corporations will be as mutually beneficial as its advocates claim. Critics

199 Smilor, Dietrich and Gibson, 6.
such as James L. Turk, for example, warn that the increasing encroachment of private, for-profit interests endangers both the autonomy and integrity of the public, post-secondary institution. Turk argues that there is a danger that these private-public partnerships will reduce universities into little more than “outposts of industry” that will prioritize maximization of profit margins over fulfilling the university’s traditional mission of creating an “informed, active and socially conscious citizenry.”

At Simon Fraser University, the debate surrounding the commodification of public knowledge clearly manifests itself through the development of the University Industry Liaison Office (UILO). The UILO is the organizational structure responsible for technology transfer activities at SFU. As such, its primary mission is to cultivate links between university researchers who are looking to commercialize their findings and venture capitalists who are looking to invest in research activities with potential commercial applications.

Arguably, it will be vital for this project to investigate the culture of innovation being promoted by the UILO in order to determine what kind of impact its commercialization agenda is having on SFU community members. In particular, this project would be interested in determining how the traditionally collegial relationship that exists between university researchers has been affected by the loosening of university intellectual property rules and how research agendas and priorities are being shaped by the UILO.

201 Turk, 12.
2. The Rise of Distance Education and the 'Taylorization' of Academic Labour

It can be argued that one of the most visible manifestations of the globalization phenomenon (within the higher-education context) is the development of distance education technologies. Distance education can be defined as a system whereby the delivery and consumption of learning materials simultaneously occurs in two (or more) locations via electronic or computer mediated pedagogical media, such as video, audio, computers and/or other forms of multimedia communication.\(^{202}\) This technology allows both students and teachers to eliminate physical geography as a barrier to achieving their educational objectives. Distance education proponents tout this so-called 'open learning system' as a truly democratizing force for it provides those who face physical barriers (physical disabilities for example) with increased access to post-secondary courses.\(^{203}\) However, not everyone agrees that distance education technologies are being utilized for such purely altruistic reasons.

Critics such as David Noble point out that it is mainly political and economic motives that drive the development and deployment of this technology. Specifically, Noble argues that distance education technologies are being utilized by university administrators to gain increased control over their labor processes. Noble believes that the technology is being purposely engineered to 'Taylorize'\(^{204}\) the teaching profession in order to transform the learning process into a sort of educational assembly-line where the...
professor becomes one interchangeable part in the process; an intellectual cog in the wheel of higher education. 205

In a way, Noble’s argument is only a reiteration of what Ursula Franklin has long argued to be the biggest misconception about technology: that technology, by itself, is the problem. As Franklin notes,

What turns the promised liberation into enslavement are not the products of technology per se – the car, the computer, or the sewing machine – but the structures and infrastructures that are put into place to facilitate the use of these products and to develop dependency on them. 206

Clearly, the controversy surrounding distance education isn’t necessarily about what the technology does or doesn’t do, but in how it is applied to serve one set of political, economic, and social goals over another. Arguably, the central questions that are being asked in this debate are whose set of values should be driving this technology and what purpose should it (the technology) ultimately serve?

Distance education has developed into an integral part of the course delivery structure of Simon Fraser University. As the university attempts to respond to increasing student demand for more ‘flexible’ course delivery methods, departments have started offering several programs that are made exclusively available through the distance education format. One such program is the Graduate Diploma in Business Administration (GDBA), a program that is being promoted to provide core business skills to working professionals. As their website notes,

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The GDBA continues Simon Fraser University's long tradition of helping working people to further their education by harnessing the power of the Internet to extend our virtual classrooms to every corner of the globe. The GDBA is open for business - 24 hours a day, 7 days a week - allowing you to get the training you need at a time and place that is most convenient for you. 207

It’s clear that distance education is more often than not being promoted as if it were a product to be consumed rather than knowledge to be learned. As such, this project is interested in exploring what the experiences and expectations of both students and teachers are using this particular piece of technology as oppose to more traditional course delivery modes offered at SFU.

3. The South-to-North Brain Drain Phenomenon

The third issue concerning this project is arguably a topic that not many would think of as being contentious in any way: international student mobility. The advent of neoliberal globalization has undoubtedly provided more opportunities for people to travel abroad and study at foreign institutions. For the most part, increased international student migration should be seen as a positive trend for it keeps alive one of western academia’s most idealistic missions - to serve as a home for the Erasmusian wandering scholar, who travels from place to place in search of knowledge, experience and insights. 208 Thus, by welcoming international students to their campuses, universities are basically helping to...

208 The philosopher, theologian and humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam (1465-1536) was probably the most widely known wandering scholar in western civilization. He spent most of his life searching for knowledge by traveling from one university to another. For more information see Erasmus, (January, 12, 2005) University of Houston: College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences Homepage, http://www.hfac.uh.edu/gbrown/philosophers/leibniz/BritannicaPages/Erasmus/Erasmus.html
continue the long standing tradition of intellectual and cultural exchanges between academic communities and society in general.

However, not everyone agrees that increased international student mobility has been a purely constructive phenomenon. Critics such as Gilles Breton have argued that international student migration patterns (under the neoliberal globalization regime) have come to develop a strong South-to-North bias, which sees more students from developing countries going North to study than vice-versa. Breton notes that this trend has created a growing divide between ‘service providers’ and ‘service consumers’ in the rapidly expanding global higher education market. Thus, the great divide in international higher education places the North as the dominant supplier of globally marketed educational products and services, while the South remains the primary ‘source’ for consumers of those products.209

However, what complicates matters isn’t the fact that students from developing countries are earning degrees from the developed world, but rather that a large percentage of them don’t return home to contribute to the economic, political and/or social needs of their home states. This is due to the fact that the majority of international students who study at Northern-based institutions choose to remain in their host countries to pursue employment and/or other educational opportunities after they graduate rather than return home to their country of origin.210 Clearly, such a low rate of return of university education graduates creates a significant human resource problem for many developing nations.

Critics have labeled such a phenomenon, where a significant shift in human capital occurs from one country to another, the ‘brain-drain.’ With regards to higher education, the brain-drain is proving to be a particular problem because the migration pattern appears to be hurting mostly poorer nations whose ‘best and brightest’ are, for all intents and purposes, being exported to richer countries. As such, the current situation is putting many Southern nations in serious risk of further marginalization from a world economy that is increasingly becoming more knowledge driven.

Simon Fraser University has had a long standing commitment to the concept of internationalization and has attempted to raise its international profile through exchange programs, field schools, development projects, internationalization of curricula, international student recruitment, development cooperation projects and contract education, and other activities.

For the most part, international students at SFU have been well received by their new community. Yet, in a recent article written by one student, it appears that international students are seeing themselves more and more as victims of exploitation by an uncaring university administration. They feel that they are being treated as ‘cash cows’ while trying to battle the growing misconception amongst their peers that they are ‘rich kids’ who are driving up tuition and filling up seats that would otherwise be occupied by a Canadian student. Thus, there seems to be a growing tension within the

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211 Ibid., 165.
university about the value and purpose of having international students on campus. As such, this project seeks to explore this tension and find out what is causing it? Is it attributable to just increasing tuition? Is it a symptom of an international recruiting system that is exploiting students? What do international students perceive their role at SFU is? And where do they see themselves going afterwards?

4. The Regulation of the Global Higher Education Market: the Market-Driven Approach Versus the Non-Profit Internationalization Approach

The last issue that this project will examine asks the question: in what direction should globalization continue to take higher education? Specifically, it will look at the debate surrounding how the post-secondary sector can and should be regulated in the international political arena. So far, preliminary research has revealed that there are two schools of thought on how best to regulate the globalization of higher education: the market-driven approach and the ‘non-profit internationalization approach.’

The market-driven approach is what’s currently being promoted by the World Trade Organization (WTO) through its attempts to negotiate a multilateral, educational services trade agreement. Utilizing the General Agreement on Trades and Services (GATS) as its legal framework, the WTO is promoting the idea that the best medium for promoting international cooperation is via the creation of a neoliberal trading regime. As such, the market-driven approach seeks to maximize the mobility of post-secondary service providers to enter and compete in foreign markets.

The non-profit internationalization approach, however, doesn’t see the international mobility of service providers as its primary goal. Instead the focus is to give people the freedom to study and work wherever they desire around the world. This is the
approach that’s being utilized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in its drive to establish a series of regional conventions on transborder degree recognition. These conventions are essentially a set of legally binding agreements that requires each country to recognize the educational qualifications issued by other signatory nations.215

The non-profit internationalization approach is clearly working towards building UNESCO’s vision of the ‘globalization of intellectual life,’216 which utilizes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as its ethical foundation. As such, its goals aren’t tied to capitalist values that treat knowledge as private property. Instead knowledge is treated as a common good and is conceptualized as something to be used for the promotion of international understanding, universal values and human rights.217 So, UNESCO clearly offers the world an alternative path to the neoliberal path. The question now is whether or not the world will continue to follow the WTO’s lead or consider the UNESCO alternative.

216 John Daniel defines the globalization of intellectual life as being a healthy vision of globalization that is built on three key principles found in the UNESCO constitution: the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, and increasing the means of communication between peoples. For further information see John Daniels (2003) "Scientific Communism and the Capitalist Economy: Universities in the Era of Globalization" Universities and Globalization: Private Linkages, Public Trust, eds. Gilles Breton and Michel Lambert, Quebec: UNESCO/Universite Laval, 38.
217 Daniels, 40.
METHODOLOGY

This project will conduct a qualitative study on the impact of the globalization phenomenon on post-secondary institutions. A case-study approach will be utilized to gather data. The university chosen as the case site will be the researcher’s home university, Simon Fraser University (SFU). What makes SFU of particular interest to this project is the fact that it is a public university that is trying to fulfill its traditional mission to “engage all our communities in building a robust and ethical society” while it maintains deep corporate ties and pursue various public-private partnerships. Clearly, there is great potential for conflict within this dynamic institution. This project will dig beneath the surface to uncover what tensions lie behind SFU’s public image as an open and inclusive university.

At this juncture, it is expected that data collection for this project will utilize the following techniques: document analysis, examination of physical artifacts, and semi-standardized interviews. First, document analysis will be conducted in order to provide background information about the case site. Data-gathering will be pursued through both academic and non-academic sources such as scholarly journals, student union publications, statements on official and unofficial internet homepages, and all publicly released university memorandums and press releases. For legal purposes, all internal memorandums and communiqués not meant for public release will not be included in this project.

Second, data collection will also be pursued through examination of physical artifacts, which helps to validate and define the effects of globalization phenomenon. As such, artifacts of corporate/private industry presence on campus will be sought out and
quantified/qualified for analysis. Some examples of corporate artifacts may include objects such as: company vending machines, commercially sponsored research initiatives, and industry-sponsored courses.

Lastly, it's expected that data will be gathered through a series of semi-standardized interviews with various Simon Fraser University stakeholders. Semi-standardized interviews are believed to be the best choice for this project because it offers the flexibility to interject 'ad-hoc' questions while ensuring that a pre-determined set of questions will be explored. Currently, it is unknown how many interviews will be conducted. However, every attempt will be made to involve as many stakeholders as possible in the data gathering process. As such, it's expected that representatives from the following SFU departments will be invited to participate:

- The Simon Fraser University Faculty Association (SFU FA)
- The University/Industry Liaison Office (UILO)
- The Simon Fraser Student Society (SFSS)
- The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE)
- The Administrative and Professional Staff Association (APSA)

All potential candidates will be asked to participate in either a scheduled in-person or telephone interview. For protection of privacy purposes, each participant will be given the option to remain anonymous and those who choose to do so will not have his/her name mentioned in the publication. However, for verification purposes, it will be necessary that all interviews be tape-recorded and transcribed. Candidates will be asked for their consent to record the interview and will be informed that only the researcher and his supervisors will have access to the transcripts.
RESEARCH SCHEDULE

At this juncture this project is still in the midst of finalizing a supervisory committee. Once a committee has been struck and the project is ready to begin its data-gathering stage, it is expected that the project will take between eight – six months to complete. Since this project includes a single site case-study, it’s expected that at least four months will be devoted to gathering and analyzing qualitative data from the site. Assuming that data-gathering commences in September 2005, the projected end date will be August 2006.

CONCLUSION

This Masters project will explore how the advent of neoliberal globalization is affecting the mission of higher education. It will critically examine the purported benefits of a globally integrated post-secondary system driven by capitalist market values which treats knowledge not as a public good, but as a privately owned commodity. It will use Simon Fraser University as a case-study to explore the many facets of globalization and utilize a qualitative data gathering/analysis approach to determine how different community members are affected by this phenomenon. More importantly, however, this project will look at alternatives to neoliberal globalization in order to determine how best to create an international higher education system that is truly democratic.
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Appendix 2 – Departmental Advisor Email

Date: Mon, 29 May 2006 22:40:36 -0800
To: reg-das@sfu.ca
From: Rey Buenaventura <rbuenave@sfu.ca>
Subject: What Has Your SFU Experience Been Like?
Cc:
Bcc:
X-Attachments:
In-Reply-To:
References:

To: reg-das@sfu.ca
From: Rey Buenaventura <rbuenave@sfu.ca>
Subject: What Has Your SFU Experience Been Like?
Cc:
Bcc:
Attached:

To all DAs,

I’m a graduate student in the School of Communication doing research in the area of higher education and globalization. Specifically, I’m doing a case-study of SFU and I’m currently looking for students to participate in interviews and/or focus groups. If your undergraduate list is considered an "open" list, could you please forward this email?

Thanks,

Rey

I am currently looking to talk to students from all disciplines about your experience as an SFU student. Specifically, my research is looking into finding more about your attitudes towards higher education. I’d like to know what you think about the state of higher education is today? Why you choose to go to university? What pressures you face as a student? What is it that you hope to gain from this experience? Has everything been what you hope it would be?

If you are interested in grabbing a cup of coffee and participating in a forty-five minute interview about your student experience, please email me at rbuenave@sfu.ca or 604-716-4837. All participation will be strictly confidential.

Time: May - June 2006
Location: SFU Campus
Contact Phone: 604-716-4837
Contact Email: rbuenave@sfu.ca

***********************
Rey Buenaventura
M.A. Candidate & GIC Representative
School of Communication, SFU
Tel: 604-716-4837
Appendix 3 – Study Information Document

Study Information Document

Research study title: Globalization and Higher Education: A Case Study of Simon Fraser University

Place: Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C. Canada

Who are the participants (subjects) in this study?
Members of the SFU Community such as alumni, faculty retirees, students, faculty, staff (both unionized and non-unionized employees), administrators, and any other persons who are affiliated to SFU.

What will the participants be required to do?
Participate in interviews and focus groups.

How are the participants recruited?
Participants will be recruited through electronic mail, telephone, and in-person requests for interviews and focus group participation.

Overall Goals of Study:
To gain a better understanding of how the different stakeholders of Simon Fraser University view their institution's role in today's globalized economy.

Risks to the participant, third parties or society:
There is no known risks to individuals who agree to participate in this study. There are no known risks that would prove to be detrimental to society or any other third party not directly involved with this project.

Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge:
The goal of this study is to develop a better understanding of the important social, political and economic issues that Canadian public universities face in the era of neo-liberal globalization.

How confidentiality and anonymity will be assured?
For all participants who choose to remain anonymous, all of the data collected for this study will be kept in a secure location. Access to the research material will be restricted to the researcher and his supervisors. The data will then be destroyed via standard confidential recycling methods.

For all participants who agree to public disclosure, the researcher can assure you that your data be kept in a secure location. Access to the research material will be restricted to the researcher and his supervisors. The data will also be destroyed via standard confidential recycling methods. However, since you have agreed to public disclosure, you have given the researcher the right to publicly disclose your personal information in the final thesis (as agreed upon in the Informed Consent Form).
Approvals that may be required from agencies, communities or employers:
For SFU employees, prior approval from your employer(s) and/or supervisor(s) will not be obtained unless you request that the research do so. This is to ensure that your participation in this project is kept strictly confidential.

Persons and contact information that participants can contact to discuss concerns.
Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director of Research Ethics, SFU, hal_weinberg@sfu.ca
Rey Buenaventura, M.A. Candidate, School of Communication, SFU, rey_buenaventura@sfu.ca
Dr. Martin Laba, Director of the School of Communication, SFU, martin_laba@sfu.ca
Appendix 4 – Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain further information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at hweinber@sfu.ca or phone at 604-268-6593.

Globalization and Higher Education: A Case Study of Simon Fraser University

Researcher: Rey Buenaventura, M.A. Candidate, Department of Communication

As a participant in this study, I have read the Study Information Document which describes the procedures and benefits of this research study. The researcher has provided me with a reasonable opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study. I agree that the procedures to be used in this study are ethically sound and that there are no known direct, physical or psychological risks that may result in my participation.

I am aware that I may choose to either remain an anonymous participant in this study or to give the researcher my permission to publicly disclose my participation in the final thesis. If I agree to remain an anonymous participant, I understand that any information obtained during this study will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by the law. I also agree to have my participation audio-recorded, as long as my name is not revealed at any point in the recording. Furthermore, I understand that I will not have to provide any additional identification information other than what is being requested on this consent form.
On the other hand, if I agree to allow for public disclosure of my participation, I understand that I am giving the researcher my permission to publish my full name, my affiliation to SFU (i.e., student, alumni, employee, etc...) and any other relevant identifying markers in the final thesis. I also agree to allow the researcher to publish my identity as a research data source. As such, the researcher has my permission to link my identity to any information I provide during the focus group and/or interview via direct quotations. I also agree to have my participation audio-recorded and I understand that my name will be revealed in the recording.

Whether I agree to remain an anonymous participant or to allow for public disclosure of my participation, the researcher has agreed to keep all materials obtained during this study (including this informed consent form) in a secure location for the duration of the project. Only the researcher and his thesis supervisors, Dr. Patricia Howard and Dr. Andrew Feenberg will have access to research materials.

All materials related to this study will be destroyed using standard confidential recycling procedures no later than one month after the thesis is successfully submitted to the SFU Library.

**Additional Information for SFU employees:**

For ethical reasons, the researcher has agreed that your employer and/or supervisor will not be notified of your participation without your prior consent. Alternatively, you may also request that the researcher obtain your employer and/or supervisor's permission before you agree to participate in this study. If such is the case, the researcher will contact your direct supervisor and obtain his/her approval in writing. This signed letter will then be presented to you for review.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time prior to the submission of the published thesis to the SFU Library. I also understand that I reserve the right to register a complaint with any or all of the following individuals if I feel that the researcher has violated the terms of agreement as outlined in this document:

- Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director of Research Ethics, SFU
- Rey Buenaventura, M.A. Candidate, School of Communication, SFU
- Dr. Martin Laba, Director of the School of Communication, SFU

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting:

Rey Buenaventura  
1287 Oxford Street  
Coquitlam, B.C  
V3B 4G3  
rbuenave@sfu.ca
I have read the above statement and by signing below I give my informed consent to participate in this study. Since, I have been given the option to either remain an anonymous participant or to allow for public disclosure of my participation, I will note my choice by clicking on the appropriate box below.

☐ I agree to participate on the condition that I remain an anonymous participant and that my identity will be protected as outlined in this document.

☐ I agree to participate and allow for public disclosure within the limits set forth in this document.

_____________________________
Signature

_____________________________
Participant’s First Name, Last name

_____________________________
Participant’s Contact Information (Address, e-mail or phone number)

_____________________________
Date
REFERENCE LIST

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