POLICY WINDOWS AND CHANGING ARRANGEMENTS:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY PROCESS LEADING TO THE COLLEGES OF
APPLIED ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY ACT, 2002

by

Anne Caroline Charles

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT


Doctor of Philosophy 2011
Anne Caroline Charles
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This case study focuses on Ontario higher education policy and the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs). A sequence of policy shifts occurred during the last decade of the twentieth century and the early years of the new millennium. By 2002, the Government of Ontario had reviewed its position with regard to baccalaureate degree credentials being the exclusive domain of publicly supported universities. Governance arrangements for the CAATs had also changed. The new policy framework was set with two pieces of legislation, the Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000, and the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002. The purpose of this case study is to explain why these policy changes occurred.

To facilitate inquiry, John W. Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Model was used as a platform and lens to guide data collection and organize the findings.1 For Kingdon, policy is the outcome of a complex pre-decision process that requires the ‘coupling’ of the problem, policy, and political streams at the time of an open policy window. A qualitative approach was adopted, and primary and secondary documents covering the period 1990 to 2002 were collected. In addition, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with key policy actors and policy entrepreneurs.

The study found evidence to support the Multiple Streams Model’s contention of streams of processes. However, with respect to this study, two types of policy problems were found flowing in the problem stream: macro-structural policy problems shaped conditions and the scope of options available with respect to policy goals and policy solutions; and micro-specific policy problems were localized, actor identified, constructed, and linked to specific interests. The study also found that historical institutional structures, and intermediate institutions, had a significant impact on policy development. The policy changes occurred as the result of two open policy windows, and in both instances, policy entrepreneurs were able to couple the policy streams to effect change. In view of the findings, a Structured Dynamics Model of Policy Development is offered as an explanation of the policy changes and for consideration in future inquiry.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My journey as a doctoral student has been a long one. Balancing a busy full-time postsecondary teaching schedule and graduate studies, at times has been difficult. Many evenings, weekends, and summers for the past eight years have been devoted towards this project. I would like to thank my family for their incredible understanding.

I would like to acknowledge and thank Professor Daniel Lang of OISE/UT, and Dr. Michael Hatton of Humber CITAL, for serving on my thesis committee. They read through drafts of this thesis, and provided excellent advice and constructive feedback. I would also like to thank Professor Katharine Janzen of OISE/UT, and Professor Hans Schuetze of the University of British Columbia. A huge thank you to Robert Macaulay of George Brown College Archives for the invaluable help and assistance navigating the archival records, and to the policy actors and policy entrepreneurs who participated in the interviews.

Particular thanks to my supervisor Professor Glen A. Jones for his steady, unwavering support. I am convinced that Glen is in possession of a sixth sense; he knew just when to challenge, encourage, and reassure. Thank you for your patience, mentorship, and for being my guide.

Finally, thank you Jon Charles, my husband, for sharing this journey with me.
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<td>ACAATO</td>
<td>Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario (now Colleges Ontario)</td>
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<td>ACCC</td>
<td>Association of Canadian Community Colleges</td>
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<td>ASC</td>
<td>Administrative Service Committee (ACAATO)</td>
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<td>ATOP</td>
<td>Access to Opportunities Program</td>
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<td>CAATs</td>
<td>Colleges of Applied Arts &amp; Technology</td>
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<td>CAP</td>
<td>Canada Assistance Plan</td>
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<td>Community-based Training</td>
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<td>CCBD</td>
<td>Community College Baccalaureate Degrees</td>
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<td>CEO</td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer</td>
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<td>CHST</td>
<td>Canada Health and Social Transfer</td>
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<td>CJS</td>
<td>Canada Jobs Strategy</td>
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<td>COG</td>
<td>Council of Governors (ACAATO)</td>
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<td>COP</td>
<td>Council of Presidents/Committee of Presidents (ACAATO)</td>
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<td>COPEX</td>
<td>Executive Committee of the Council of Presidents (ACAATO)</td>
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<td>Ontario Council of Regents</td>
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<td>Council of Ontario Universities</td>
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<td>CSAC</td>
<td>College Standards and Accreditation Council</td>
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<td>CUCCC</td>
<td>College-University Consortium Council</td>
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<td>EI</td>
<td>Employment Insurance</td>
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<td>EPF</td>
<td>Established Programs Financing</td>
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<td>FTA</td>
<td>Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>GA</td>
<td>General Assembly (ACAATO)</td>
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<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<td>Governors Planning Committee (ACAATO)</td>
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<td>GST</td>
<td>Goods and Services Tax</td>
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<td>GTA</td>
<td>Greater Toronto Area</td>
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<td>HRDSC</td>
<td>Human Resources Skills Development Canada</td>
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<td>Instruction/Programs Co-ordinating Committee (ACAATO)</td>
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<td>Interim Steering Committee (ACAATO)</td>
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<td>Investing in Students Taskforce</td>
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<td>ITAL</td>
<td>Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning</td>
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<td>KPI</td>
<td>Key Performance Indicator</td>
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<td>LMMDA</td>
<td>Labour Market Development Agreement</td>
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<td>MCU</td>
<td>Ministry of College and Universities</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<td>MET</td>
<td>Ministry of Education and Training</td>
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<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<td>MPP</td>
<td>Member of Provincial Parliament</td>
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<td>MTCU</td>
<td>Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities</td>
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<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>North American Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>NDP</td>
<td>New Democratic Party</td>
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<td>NUPSI</td>
<td>Non-university Postsecondary Institutions</td>
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<td>OCAAT Act, 2002</td>
<td>Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002</td>
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<td>Ontario College Application Service</td>
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<td>OCUFA</td>
<td>Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations</td>
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<td>OFL</td>
<td>Ontario Federation of Labour</td>
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<td>OJIB</td>
<td>Ontario Jobs and Investment Board</td>
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<td>OPS</td>
<td>Ontario Public Service</td>
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<td>OPSEU</td>
<td>Ontario Public Service Employees Union</td>
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<td>OSAP</td>
<td>Ontario Student Assistance Plan</td>
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<td>OTAB</td>
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<td>O.Reg 34/03</td>
<td>Ontario Regulation 34/03</td>
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<td>OUAC</td>
<td>Ontario University Application Service</td>
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<td>OUSA</td>
<td>Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance</td>
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<td>PACs</td>
<td>Program Advisory Committees</td>
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<td>PANEL</td>
<td>Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education</td>
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<td>PEQAB</td>
<td>Postsecondary Education Quality Assessment Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>PLA</td>
<td>Prior Learning Assessment</td>
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<td>PMA</td>
<td>Partisan Mutual Adjustment (see Incrementalism)</td>
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<td>PSE</td>
<td>Postsecondary Education</td>
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<td>QAB</td>
<td>Quality Assessment Board</td>
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<td>RRSP</td>
<td>Registered Retirement Savings Plan</td>
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<td>SPC</td>
<td>Strategic Planning Committee</td>
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<td>SWF</td>
<td>Standard Workload Formula</td>
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<td>UI</td>
<td>Unemployment Insurance</td>
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<td>UOIT</td>
<td>University of Ontario Institute of Technology</td>
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## GLOSSARY

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td>Advocacy</td>
<td>Support or argument for a cause, interest(s) or policy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>Action by an individual or group with the object of advancing a position or interest.</td>
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<td>Baccalaureate</td>
<td>The first or lowest degree awarded by colleges and universities. Also known as a bachelor degree. Awarded for successful completion of an undergraduate program of study in either a theoretical or applied area.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coupling</td>
<td>The joining of policy streams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>A subject or issue in which one has a concern.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest Group</td>
<td>An organized group that engages in political activities with the purpose of advancing an interest(s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobbying</td>
<td>An activity aimed at influencing decision-makers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pluralism</td>
<td>The idea that power is dispersed in society and that individuals and interest groups compete for it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Policy Actor</td>
<td>A person playing a role in the development of a policy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Development</td>
<td>The activity of developing policy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Policy Entrepreneur</td>
<td>Persistent and politically connected policy actors who seek to connect the policy streams at opportune times to effect change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Instruments</td>
<td>The tools used by governments to achieve their objectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Policy</td>
<td>A plan, course or principle(s) of action taken by government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Window</td>
<td>An opportunity for policy change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schedule I Crown Agency</td>
<td>A non-commercial policy and planning agency of the government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schedule III Crown Agency</td>
<td>A non-commercial agency of government which is social and/or cultural in nature; funded in whole or part from the Consolidated Revenue Fund; and is subject to management principles and regulations of government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Interest</td>
<td>The pursuit of interest(s) for advantage or gain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholders</td>
<td>Persons or groups having an interest or concern.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer Payment</td>
<td>A transfer of money by government to an individual or group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer Partner</td>
<td>Service delivery agent of government.</td>
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4. The Corporatist Idea
5. The System Reform Idea
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7. The Community Governance Idea
8. The Learner Centred Idea

The Political Stream

1. Government
2. Public Mood
3. Organized Interests
   - Using the Media
   - ACAATO Organizational Structure
   - Action Planning
   - Responding to Challenges
4. Developing Priorities
   a) Advocacy and Lobbying
   b) Funding
   c) Governance

Summary


Introduction

The Common Sense Revolution

1995

   Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology
   The Council of Ontario Universities (COU)
   The Federal Government
   The College-University Consortium Council (CUCC)

1996 - Reviewing Ontario’s Postsecondary Education

The Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education (Panel)

Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario
The Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU)
The Ontario Council of Regents (COR)
Sheridan College
Humber College
Centennial College

Reforms

1. High School
2. Training and Social Security Reform

The Funding Formula

1997

The Government of Ontario
Red Tape
Review of the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario
## ACAATO Advocacy

1998

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<td>Advancing the Colleges’ Priorities: Agenda Setting</td>
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1999

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## CHAPTER 6: POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE JUNE 1999 – 2002

### Introduction

Introduction

Advocating for a New Charter

The Government of Ontario

Public Mood and Intelligence Reports

The Ontario Council of Regents

Increasing Degree Opportunities for Ontarians

Ontario’s Colleges for the 21st Century: Capacity and Charter Framework

Responding to the Ontario Council of Regents

Achieving the Goals

Moving Towards the Goal of a New Governance Model

The Investing in Students Taskforce (ISTF)

Reaching the Goal

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### Introduction

Introduction

Involvement in the Policy Development Process

Vision 2000

The Problem Stream

Funding and the Economy

Provincial Deficit Cutting

The Federal Government

The Policy Stream

Progressive Conservative Ideas

The Political Stream

The Colleges’ Relationship with the Provincial Government

Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario

The Ontario Jobs and Investment Board (OJIB)

The Changes

Applied Degrees

University Opposition

The Charter

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For my mother
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Focus of the study

This study focuses on Ontario higher education policy and the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs). A sequence of policy shifts occurred during the last decade of the twentieth century and the early years of the new millennium. By 2002, the Government of Ontario had reviewed its position with regard to baccalaureate degree credentials being the exclusive domain of publicly supported universities. Governance arrangements for the CAATs had also changed. The new policy framework was set with two pieces of legislation, the Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000, and the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002.

The Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000 was designed to increase access to degree-level study and secure quality; this in turn led to the establishment of the Postsecondary Education Quality Assessment Board (PEQAB). This arms-length advisory agency makes recommendations to the Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities of Ontario regarding applications to offer baccalaureate programming. Ministerial consent is required by all organizations (except those holding explicit Charter rights) including Ontario colleges, to offer all or part of any degree program in Ontario.

The Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 outlines the governance arrangements for the CAATs, including the specifications and composition of Boards of Governors, operating procedures, appointments and removals processes, roles and responsibilities of Board members, reporting and planning requirements, and budgetary requirements. Furthermore, the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 facilitates system differentiation, allows for increased autonomy for Boards of Governors, and enables the institutions to be more entrepreneurial and responsive to market conditions and labour market training requirements.
The mandate of the CAATs emphasises public service and economic objectives. According to the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002:

The objects of the colleges are to offer a comprehensive program of career-oriented, postsecondary education and training to assist individuals in finding and keeping employment, to meet the needs of employers and the changing work environment and to support the economic and social development of their local and diverse communities. Schedule F 2. (2)

Each CAAT has the authority to undertake a range of activities to meet these objects. These activities can include “entering into partnerships with business, industry and other educational institutions,” and applied research.

Ontario Regulation 34/03 (O.Reg 34/03) is also a part of the statutory documents regulating the CAATs, and is part of the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002. O.Reg 34/03 specifies the composition of Boards of Governors, stipulates procedures and reporting requirements, and individually names each of the colleges within the CAAT system.

Statement of the Problem

Why do governments behave in the way they do? Why did these policy changes take place? In a pluralist system there is an assumption that public policies are outputs of an open political system in which contestation of ideas and interests take place within civil society (See Figure 1.1 Systems Model).

Constitutional arrangements provide the rules of contestation and conflict resolution.

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1 Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002, Schedule F 2. (2).

2 Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002, Schedule F 3.

3 Conestoga, Humber and Sheridan are now called College Institutes of Technology and Advanced Learning (ITALs). ITALs are able to offer up to 15% of their programs at baccalaureate degree level. Seneca College, and George Brown College, chose to accept the authority to offer up to 15% of programming at baccalaureate degree level, but chose not to employ the ITAL designation. Georgian College also accepted the increased programming capacity and is differentiated by way of university partnerships.

4 The idea of politics as a system is written about by David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965).
Political scientists use theories, often described as models, to explain actions, influences, policy decisions, policy implementation, processes, and policy outcomes. Knowledge generated can help us to understand the political forces, and assist in the discussion of outcomes and consequences. The Rational Comprehensive Planning model of policy-making attributes policy change to a planned policy-making process, wherein all policy options are considered and analysed in conjunction with the policy problem(s) and policy goals. This model assumes that (a) the process is always rational and planned, (b) problem identification is an objective process, (c) policy actors have common goals and, (d) all possible policy options are considered and ranked accordingly, prior to decision-making taking place. However, this model does not account for the multiplicity of forces, actors, interests, and institutions which exist within and external to the policy environment. Sabatier suggests that competing ideas within the policy subsystem contributes to the complexity of policy development.\(^5\) Types of policy changes also differ. For example, Hall posits that different types of changes include changes in the setting of the policy, changes to the setting and the policy instrument(s), and paradigm shifts - changes in philosophy, authority and society.\(^6\)

The Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000 and the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 mark a distinct shift in Ontario higher education policy. Using Hall’s typology, the significance of this change can be noted due


to the changes in authority. Most Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology now offer some programs of study leading to the applied baccalaureate degree credential, and new governance frameworks prevail. The CAATs are affected by changed arrangements in multiple ways including and not limited to the opportunities provided by increased access to degrees, the quality assurance and approval process, and governance.

This case study focuses on the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. The policy development process during the period from 1990 (the Vision 2000 project), to 2002 (Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002) was investigated with the objectives of assessing the roles and impact of actors and institutions, and exploring their capacity to influence, inhibit or facilitate the direction, course, or outcome of higher education policy in Ontario. Prior to this study, academic analysis of the policy development process leading to these recent changes was absent. The study has two specific aims:

- To understand and explain political action and the dynamic within the policy process, and
- To produce knowledge, that may guide and inform future policy development.

The Multiple Streams Model is used as a platform and lens for the study; chosen for its potential to provide insight into a policy development process normally unseen and unexplained. According to Kingdon policy is the outcome of a complex pre-decision process that requires the ‘coupling’ of the problem, policy, and political streams which coexist within the policy environment.

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7 Applied degrees are baccalaureate degrees which focus towards a particular vocational pathway and combine theoretical knowledge with technical skills development.


Rationale for the Study

All provinces in Canada consider higher education to be an important ‘public good,’ as evidenced by public financial support. The CAATs are a product of government policy, and are both supply-side and demand-side policy instruments. The CAATs have a dual mandate, to meet labour market demands, and to serve social policy initiatives and goals. Accordingly, Ontario higher education policy relating to the CAATs overlaps with economic and social policy. Emphasis on specific elements of the CAATs’ mandate as articulated during policy development can therefore be indicative of different ideological positions, situational factors, and policy actors’ goals and interests. Knowledge of higher education policy development relating to the CAATs is therefore very significant, as the ‘public good’ emphasis can differ between policy actors, and change over time.

Within the field of higher education, studies with application to the Ontario CAATs have contributed knowledge. However, most have taken a theme-based approach, and while their contributions to educational theory, practice, and specific topics are considerable, no recent studies of the policy development process or theoretical policy analysis have been undertaken.  

This case study of the policy development process leading to the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 benefits the field of higher education in several ways: it contributes knowledge of public policy modelling to the literature on higher education, it reveals and analyses a policy development process that is most often unseen or assumed to be chaotic, it provides insight into higher education policy as a field of study, and it shows that theoretical models from other policy fields can be utilized to advance our knowledge of the policy development process relating to the CAATs. The study also adds to our knowledge of the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, and their place within Ontario’s post-secondary education system. Gaps in

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10 Maureen Callahan’s 2006 PhD. dissertation looks at the establishment of key performance indicators in Ontario’s colleges and universities, and examined the government’s motivation for implementing this accountability framework. Using Hall’s 1993 typology, this represents an example of a change of policy instrument only; no changes in authority were legislated.
the research are also highlighted, revealing the need for epistemological and methodological advancement for higher education as a policy field.

**Background to the Study**

Postsecondary education systems in Canada are diverse and complex in their organizational types and mandates. According to Cameron close attention should be paid to federal-provincial relations as this can provide insight into the future policy directions as postsecondary education policy, and federal and provincial relations are closely intertwined.\(^{11}\) Education is a provincial responsibility as outlined in the Constitution Act, 1867, Section 93. However, a complicated overlap exists between higher education and economic and industry policies, the latter being within federal jurisdiction. The development of the institutional structures of provincial postsecondary education systems reflects this complex interwoven relationship.\(^{12}\)

Canada has significant regional differences, but also a number of commonalities. First, all provinces have mass postsecondary education systems with high participation rates and some social diversity.\(^{13}\) Second, a degree of institutional diversity exists with each province having more than one institutional type. Third, in all provinces there is a near public monopoly over postsecondary education as funding is predominantly, although not exclusively, provided by governments.\(^{14}\) In addition, in all provinces, credentials from

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\(^{12}\) The term institutional is used here to refer to the structure of individual organizations, any intermediary institutions, inter-organizational arrangements and relationships.

\(^{13}\) Participation rates: Percentage of the Relative Age Group (RAE) as defined by percentage of school leavers participating in postsecondary education.

Martin Trow used the term ‘mass’ to describe higher education systems with broad patterns of accessibility.


\(^{14}\) Through a combination of grants, research funding and student loans.
postsecondary education institutions are used by the labour market for employment screening purposes.

The absence of a national system of postsecondary education complicates the symbiotic relationships and interplay between the layers of government. The link between postsecondary education institutions and the labour market also complicates public policy. Constitutional arrangements give the federal government main jurisdiction and responsibility for economic and human resource policies, yet the federal government has no direct constitutional powers and jurisdiction over the means by which their policy goals may be advanced through postsecondary education. The federal government’s role in postsecondary education is therefore less direct, but nonetheless is interwoven and complex.

Academic study of postsecondary education is encompassed under the field of higher education. The field of study is interdisciplinary, and straddles the divide of disciplinary boundaries, provincial, territorial and international boundaries, and economic and social policy. Higher education as a field of study also grapples with the philosophical questions concerning the raison d’être of higher education, as well as the broader aims and objectives of governments. There are three main functions of higher education in Canada. The custodianship of knowledge function is mainly delegated to the universities who act as caretakers to preserve knowledge for future generations. The knowledge production function gives rise to a research role that for many years, almost exclusively belonged to universities. However, the divide between public and private, and basic and applied research has now been blurred. For example, private ‘for-profit’ and private ‘not-for-profit’ institutions\textsuperscript{15} now often engage in basic research \textit{in situ}, supported by federal research and development grants with the aim of commercialization and economic development as an end product. Universities also undertake applied research under contract. Furthermore, many commercial organizations fund basic research. In addition, non-university postsecondary institutions (NUPSI) in some provinces engage in applied research. Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology are increasingly seeing

\textsuperscript{15} Includes educational and other institutions.
applied research as part of their evolving mandate, as is specified in the legislation; the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002.16

The transmission of knowledge, and skills development, are functions of both universities and NUPSI. The universities emphasize knowledge transmission through teaching, and research (publications and academic conferences). Universities also contribute ideas and knowledge through the provision of advice, often providing input into policy through what Haas refers to as epistemic communities,17 or through what Kingdon describes as the problem and policy streams.18 In contrast to the universities, NUPSI’s teaching role is more utilitarian, reflecting economic and social policy goals.

Summary

Canadian postsecondary education systems and organizational arrangements are complex. Higher education policy is intertwined with other policy areas and the political, social, and normative aspects cannot be ignored. Ontario’s postsecondary education systems are currently comprised of twenty publicly supported universities and twenty four institutions in the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology system. This study focuses on policy development pertinent to Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, and covers the period from the Vision 2000 project in 1990, to the policy changes in 2002. The Multiple Streams Model is used as a lens to provide insight into the policy development process. The Multiple Streams Model is presented in chapter two together with a review of the relevant literature.

16 Algonquin, Conestoga, George Brown, Humber, Seneca, and Sheridan Colleges are members of Polytechnics Canada.


CHAPTER 2: A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Introduction

Public policy analysis is “a process of multidisciplinary inquiry that creates, critically assesses and communicates information that is useful for understanding and improving policies.”\(^1\) Public policy analysis is multi-anchored and draws on theories, methods and knowledge from several areas of social and applied sciences. It has the potential to aid the discovery of solutions to practical problems and contribute new knowledge. In addition, public policy methodology has the ability to provide insight into the normative dimension that underpins policy. Public policy analysis aims towards objectivity, but human agency, social norms and values must be recognized, a distinction especially relevant given the complexity of policy problems and political agency.\(^2\) Policy analysis and higher education literature are both relevant to this study. This chapter examines how public policy is defined in the literature and the complexities embedded within the definition. Models of policy analysis are then considered, followed by an examination of the literature on higher education policy relevant to the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs). The chapter concludes by presenting John W. Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Model.

Public Policy

Public Policy Defined

Thomas R. Dye defines public policy as “whatever governments choose to do or not to do.”\(^3\) Dye’s definition is expanded by Jackson and Jackson who define public policy as “the broad framework within which decisions are taken and action (or inaction) is

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\(^2\) Dunn, *Public Policy Analysis*.

pursued by governments in relation to some issue or problem.”⁴ These definitions raise interesting questions with regard to agency as they define power in capacity terms, and there is an assumption that decision-making occurs within a pluralist framework. Embedded within Jackson and Jackson’s definition is the assumption that public policy is always an output of government action. Brooks supports this assumption but argues that inaction occurs only when either a problem or issue has not been defined, or, where inaction is a deliberate policy choice.⁵

Kernaghan and Siegel offer an alternative interpretation of Dye’s definition of public policy.⁶ They posit that Dye deliberately distinguishes between action and inaction with regard to agency and suggest that while not making a formal decision may be a political choice, Dye offers that there may be some circumstances where a policy output may not be of a government’s choosing, the implication being that policy outputs can be the result of pressures from other agents, the policy environment, or even structural, cultural or institutional barriers. Furthermore, Kernaghan and Siegel do not support the assumption that the capacity for power and decision-making rests solely within the legitimate institutions of the state, either acting intentionally, or by brokering other interests. They take the position that policy is usually a series of decisions, and can be either specific actions taken by a government, or the result of a series of diverse decisions. Kernaghan and Siegel also point out that even where agreement has been reached with regard to policy directions, the reasons for acceptance may differ between stakeholders and policy actors, who may foresee different policy outcomes. They conclude that Dye’s definition therefore deliberately omits mention of policy goals and objectives, not as an oversight, but due to the recognition of the fact that those involved in the policy process may not have common goals and objectives.


Policy Analysis as a Field of Study

Policy analysis is a field of study within political science. No single theory of policy analysis is used in Canada. The literature shows that a number of theories and models of policy analysis have been developed which have advanced our knowledge and understanding of public policy in many policy areas, from policy development through to policy implementation and evaluation. Conceptual frameworks and models can be used as methodological lenses, the use of which Brooks describes “as indispensable to political analysis as a map or compass is to a traveler crossing unknown terrain.”

Kernaghan and Siegel divide the models into two broad types: normative models (which attempt to explain how the policy process should happen), and descriptive models (attempts to explain practice).

Jackson and Jackson contend that models of policy analysis can also be used at the macro and micro levels. At the micro level, focusing on individual policy decisions and the choice of policy instruments can enable insight into how particular policy decisions are arrived at. Jackson and Jackson identify four major distinctions between the different models and approaches, (a) how the actors are portrayed, (b) assumptions regarding the nature of society and politics, (c) the role of government and state relations, and (d) how interests are evaluated with respect to public policy outputs. Models of public policy analysis focus on and stress these distinctions.

Policy Problems, Situations, and Arguments

Policy problems are defined by Dunn as “an unrealized value or opportunity for improvement which, however identified may be attained through public action.” The description Dunn makes is significant in that ‘however identified’ is an important factor, suggesting that problem identification is a normative and cognitive action, which can be either implicitly or explicitly recognised. Identification of a policy problem provides opportunities for human agency to pursue a course of action, or to back an idea or

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7 Brooks, Public Policy, 41.
8 Kernaghan and Siegel, Public Administration.
9 Jackson, and Jackson, Politics in Canada.
10 Dunn, Public Policy Analysis, 4.
perspective. Dunn also suggests that knowledge of which problem to solve also requires information about antecedent conditions and values, as these may affect the course of action. Values may also lead to a particular policy solution, that is, what is perceived to be the solution to the problem. Information is therefore a central component of problem identification.

There is also a distinction to be made between problems and problem situations. “Problems are representations of problem situations” and “stem from thought interacting with external environments,” whereas, problem situations can be structured in different ways, and policy actors or analysts may see data differently depending on their standpoint, or interpret the data through different lenses.\textsuperscript{11} Problem structuring governs the production, interpretation and representation of information and is the central guidance system of policy analysis according to Dunn, who sees policy arguments as the main vehicles for conducting debates about public policies. Public policies use language and are central to all stages of the policy process. There are six interrelated themes of policy argumentation. Policy relevant information is the starting point of policy arguments, followed by policy claims, which are the conclusion of the policy argument and can be normative or descriptive. Warrants answer the question why, and justify movement from information to claim. Backing also answers the why question and justifies the warrant. Qualifiers and rebuttals are also themes. Rebuttal is the reason, assumption or argument made by another stakeholder to challenge the information, warrant or backing. Dunn contends that the process of argumentation is dynamic, as all policy arguments have rebuttals, and policy-making involves bargaining, negotiation and competition.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} Dunn, \textit{Public Policy Analysis}, 6.

\textsuperscript{12} Dunn, \textit{Public Policy Analysis}. 
Because of the complexity of the policy process, competing interests of policy actors, divergent views regarding policy goals, preferences and priorities, researchers and analysts are forced to seek a means by which to simplify the process to enable insight. Theories and model assist in this regard. There is no general theory or model, and the foci and emphasis on a particular stage of the policy-making process differs between models. It must therefore be accepted that all models have methodological opportunity costs. This section will examine the Rational Comprehensive Planning model, Incrementalism, Public Choice Theory, Historical Institutionalism, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory and the Advocacy Coalition Framework, and will consider the strengths and limitations of each.

1. Rational Comprehensive Planning

Rational Comprehensive Planning (also known as the linear or stages model), originates from Lasswell, and is the most widely held view of policy-making. It is premised on the assumption that policies are analyzed before a decision is made. This model sees policy development as a rational, balanced, objective and analytical problem-solving process. There are six stages associated with the model: problem identification, review and ranking, listing of alternatives as means to goals, cost benefit estimating, comparison and finally decision making. It is assumed that the end product (policy), is the most rational, well thought out decision within a given set of circumstances, to solve the problem that was identified.

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16 Jackson and Jackson, *Politics in Canada*. 


The Rational Comprehensive Planning model has a number of positive aspects. Neilson notes that the model has contributed to understanding in regards to identifying that the policy process has different stages, this allows for the process to be broken down for systematic examination and analysis. In addition, the Rational Comprehensive Planning model, as a micro-level theory of policy analysis, provides us with an ‘ideal type’ which can be used to guide *ex ante* policy research. While it may be criticized for not representing reality due to ideological and utopian ideals, it is often aspired to be the ‘best.’ The Rational Comprehensive Planning model also reflects public perceptions with regard to rational strategic processes, and therefore may contribute to public faith and support of the political and policy-making processes.

However, the Rational Comprehensive Planning model has a number of weaknesses. Lindblom contests its claims on the grounds that it doesn’t represent what really happens. Furthermore, Lindblom critiques the model on four points: (1) the basis that it cannot be used in complex situations, (2) that it fails to explain conflict, (3) that it has a problem with values, and (4) that its analysis is limited to what administrators consider is important.

Stone, Maxwell and Keating assert that the Rational Comprehensive Planning model assumes that there is a rational meaning and a logical sequence. As research plays a central role, they contend that there is an assumption of sufficient time and resources for the process. Furthermore, they argue there is an assumption of comprehensiveness, in that the model suggests that policy-makers look at and examine many options, whereas, in

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reality “policymakers are often limited to satisfying immediate public demands, not to maximizing long-term social gains.”

Jackson and Jackson agree that most problems are complex and cannot be easily recognized and analyzed. They contend that the process of rationalizing and planning can be lengthy and difficult, thereby placing unreasonable demands on policymakers and bureaucrats. Moreover, they critique the Rational Comprehensive Planning model on the grounds that it is normative and prescriptive, as it only illustrates how people think decisions should be made, not actuality. The Rational Comprehensive Planning model also assumes that only the actors formally involved in the policy process are policy elites: external actors or forces are not considered, prompting Neilson to suggest that it is an unrealistic view of the process and one that ignores the dynamic.

Sutton also takes issue with the Rational Comprehensive Planning model, and argues that by identifying possible courses of action, this linear model of policy-making is characterized by objective analysis of options and separates policy from implementation. Sutton contends that policy and policy implementation are best understood as a “chaos of purposes and accidents.” Sutton further questions whether policy makers ever take a rational approach to issues, go through the phases in order of the rational comprehensive planning model, or even consider all the information. Sutton claims the Rational Comprehensive Planning model ignores political activity and fails to question whether such activity is explicit through organized interests, or implicit in the narratives that guide policy makers.

21 Jackson and Jackson, Politics in Canada.
22 Stephanie Neilson, “Knowledge Utilization and Public Policy Processes.”
2. Incrementalism

Incrementalism comes from the work of Charles Lindblom, who in the paper “The Science of Muddling Through” sets out two methods of policy-making, (1) the Rational Comprehensive method (Root) and (2) the method of Successive Limited Comparisons (Branch), also known as Incrementalism. Lindblom argues that because policy problems are complex and interrelated, decision-making is a process of points of departure from existing policies. Lindblom contends that decision-makers operate in a climate of uncertainty where resources are limited. Availability of resources or lack thereof constitute part of the constraints on decision-making which limit alternatives. Using agreement as a test of correctness, Lindblom argues that as means and ends are chosen simultaneously during the policy-making process, agreement on policy is always possible, decisions are incremental, and changes to existing policy are made at the margins. Incrementalism is therefore a means by which policy-making can proceed in small steps allowing for ongoing testing and correction of policy mistakes.

As a model for policy analysis, Incrementalism does not claim or aspire to analyze a policy area comprehensively; instead it guides the researcher to look either side of existing policy. The model contends that policy watchdogs ensure that a degree of comprehensiveness is achieved, and the process of partisan mutual adjustment (PMA) means that changes in policy are coordinated in line with interests. The model therefore suggests that policy-making is a process of government ‘muddling through’ and that by using this approach one can see that most policy decisions are not that different from existing policies, and that changes occur over time as the result of a series of decisions rather than one particular decision.

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Jackson and Jackson argue that Incrementalism is subjective and not empirically valid. They contend that policy decisions should not be made in this way and the model legitimizes and maintains inertia. Jackson and Jackson further argue that as decision-making is only part of public policy-making process, using this model doesn’t tell us why a policy takes a particular course. Neilson also draws attention to weaknesses in the Incremental model, and claims that Incrementalism doesn’t explain agenda-setting well, or tell us how ideas get on the agenda. Neilson also draws attention to further weaknesses of Incrementalism; in particular, that it (a) doesn’t help explain crises and policy decisions, and (b) doesn’t explain contemporary major changes. Other critics include Sutton who suggests that Incrementalism only applies to existing policies where changes are essentially remedial, and Stone, Maxwell and Keating who posit that Incrementalism gives insufficient attention to the role of research.

3. Public Choice Theory

Public Choice Theory is also called the rational actor approach, collective choice theory, rational choice theory, social choice theory and mathematical political theory. Public Choice Theory is the study of decision-making based upon the application of market principles to political science. Public Choice Theory claims to be able to explain agency dynamics in the public policy-making process. Public Choice Theory embraces the philosophical underpinnings of classical economics, and because of this link with free market economics, is often considered to be a ‘new right’ theory reinforced by libertarian and neo-conservative views of the state, which posit that modern welfare states are costly and do not deliver what they ought to; as such they constitute a burden on society and threaten individual economic liberty.

26 Jackson and Jackson, Politics in Canada.

27 Neilson, "Knowledge Utilization."


Public Choice Theory has two basic principles: (1) All actors try to maximize their own interests, and (2) all persons involved in the public sector including those at the policy-making level, use policy to advance their own interests (for example politicians seek to maximize votes and bureaucrats seek larger departmental budgets). Public Choice Theory contends that this self-interested utility maximizing principle enables the researcher or policy analyst to gain insight into the policy-making process.\textsuperscript{30} Dunleavy and O’Leary argue that public choice offers a way to develop arguments about the state in liberal democracies.\textsuperscript{31} They point to its utility functions; data can be shown on a graph, and the model can be applied to non-market areas. It must be acknowledged that Public Choice Theory offers a way for policy analysis to be predictive in that all public servants will act to influence the policy process in ways to maximize their own positions, and politicians will make decisions to benefit their chances of re-election. As a methodology it can be both normative and descriptive and offers a means to advance analysis through the application of game theory and statistical processes. Mathematical game theory using the idea of paradoxes can help to rank the various alternatives by preference, enabling the researcher to use a point system to rank preferences for each self-interested actor.\textsuperscript{32}

Green and Shapiro also support Rational Choice Theory and point to commonly held assumptions including utility maximization, structuring of preferences, ranking of preferences, decision-making under certain conditions, and the centrality of individuals.\textsuperscript{33} They contend that the theory enables new questions to be asked and provides a means by which to look at the strategic behaviour of individuals through the deductive method. According to Green and Shapiro, Rational Choice Theory has opened up new lines of inquiry because it raises questions about institutional reforms, democratic procedures and policy-making.


\textsuperscript{31} Dunleavy and O’Leary, \textit{Theories of the State}.

\textsuperscript{32} Dunleavy and B. O’Leary, \textit{Theories of the State}.

However, the model has some failings. First, the philosophical foundation of Public Choice Theory is unsupported by epistemological research. Second, it fails to account for differences in circumstances. Third, as a theory it is too general, as it argues that people maximize at all times and in all circumstances. It also assumes a view of human nature that not all agree on and ignores altruism and cooperation. Kernaghan and Siegel also extend this point, and suggest that Public Choice Theory can't measure subjective motivations of the actors or account for why many people don't act in a rational manner. Finally, as Dunleavy and O’Leary acknowledge, Public Choice’s claims to be value free is questionable, as the model trades the core values of freedom and rights, for the freedom of utility. As all parties will never get their maximum satisfaction, this results in a paradox. This raises the question of why some actors are more likely to achieve satisfaction as compared to others.

With regard to this study, while the possibility of self-maximizing can’t be ignored as a factor within the policy-making process, the limitations of Public Choice Theory lead to the questioning of this approach as a single lens and methodology on the basis of utility. Public Choice Theory concentrates on the decision-making aspects of the policy-making process and actors’ behaviour, yet ignores the role of ideas, can’t explain the effects of institutional structures, can’t differentiate between types of policy problems, and can’t explain the possibility of non-rational behaviour.

4. Historical Institutionalism

Historical Institutionalism approaches the study of public policy by placing institutions and institutional variables at the centre of analysis, “to illuminate how political struggles are mediated by the institutional setting in which (they) take place.” Institutions include

34 Kernaghan and Siegal, Public Administration.

35 Dunleavy and B. O’Leary, Theories of the State.


both formal organizations and the informal rules and procedures that structure conduct. As a model of policy analysis, Historical Institutionalism has three distinguishing features: (1) endogenous preference formation (institutions shape politics, structure power relations, and provide the context in which actors identify goals and define strategies); (2) a bounded dynamic, the setting leads to institutional influence on the shaping of goals and power relations; and (3) a bridging role for institutions which structure relations between the state and society.\(^{38}\) Thelen and Steinmo argue that Historical Institutionalism advances our knowledge by showing that institutions matter as not all policy outcomes can be explained with reference to self-interest. Furthermore they posit that Historical Institutionalism enables policy continuity to be explained, offers a way to explain variations in behaviour and outcomes over time and cross nationally, and confronts the issue of dynamism within a context of choice and constraint thereby having the potential to show the affect of power relations between groups. Thelen and Steinmo do however acknowledge that Historical Institutionalism has some limitations. They accept that (1) it is not good for macro level analysis, (2) the model is only able to offer an inductive approach to policy analysis, (3) theories to explain institutional change are underdeveloped, and (4) quantitative data analysis can be problematic (for example, institutions are the independent variable, but in times of instability they become the dependent variable). In the light of these weaknesses, they offer revisions to Historical Institutionalism, and suggest that intermediate institutions should be considered, as they influence and shape goals and power relations. Through consideration of intermediate institutions, they contend, insight may be gained into dynamic interplay.

Pontusson takes issue with both Historical Institutionalism and the revisions on the basis that primacy is assigned to institutions, and mid-level institutions, without analyzing how or when these institutions were formed and structured.\(^ {39}\) Furthermore Pontusson argues that there is a causal significance of economic structural variables, which in his opinion

\(^{38}\) Thelen and Steinmo, “Historical Institutionalism.”

should be the object of empirical analysis due to the fact that they provide the background and structure for institutions and the political arena. Pontusson contends that only by looking at economic structural variables can insight be gained into the forces which shape institutions.

The weaknesses of Historical Institutionalism identified by Pontusson can’t be ignored. While institutions need to be considered, in the Historical Institutional model it is difficult to clarify what constitutes a mid level/intermediate institution and how this may be distinguished from an interest group. There is also clearly a difference between the scope and type of influence that interest groups can yield, and as institutions change over time and have their own dynamism, the distinction is less than clear. The potential for policy actors to exercise influence therefore can’t be dismissed.

5. Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

The Punctuated Equilibrium Theory of policy-making is associated with Baumgartner and Jones and draws upon the punctuated equilibrium theory of evolutionary biology to assert that all social systems (including policy-making systems) exhibit long periods of stasis, punctuated by sudden, sharp shifts of change.40 Punctuated Equilibrium Theory contends that policy changes are largely incremental, radical policy change is rare, and occurs only when stasis is punctuated by sudden shifts such as changes in public understanding of existing problems. “Punctuated-equilibrium theory seeks to explain a simple observation: political processes are generally characterized by stability and Incrementalism, but occasionally they produce large-scale departures from the past.”41

The Punctuated Equilibrium Theory is premised on the dual foundations of political institutions and bounded rational decision-making. It emphasizes issue definition and agenda setting, and is offered as a means to extend agenda-setting theories to deal with policy stasis, incrementalism, and policy punctuations.


Punctuated Equilibrium Theory contends that in the United States as issues rise, existing policies are questioned or reinforced. Reinforcement maintains stasis, whereas questioning at fundamental levels, “creates opportunities for major reversals in policy outcomes.” At the heart of the model is the idea that institutional cultures exhibit a form of ‘stickiness’ which when coupled with vested interests and the bounded rationality of decision-makers, restricts major policy changes to incremental movements other than in situations in which changes occur in the conditions, party control of government, or public opinion. Positive and negative feedback within the policy system is therefore important as periods of stasis are punctuated by periods of disequilibrium when issues are placed on macropolitical agenda; negative feedback maintains stability, and positive feedback leads to changes.

Baumgartner and Jones contend that the U.S. political system and institutions are set up conservatively to resist change, resulting in the tendency towards punctuated equilibrium. Policy images play a critical role in expanding issues as “the separated institutions, over-lapping jurisdictions and relatively open access to mobilizations in the United States combine to create a dynamic between the politics of subsystems and the macropolitics of Congress and the presidency.” They arrive at this juncture through analysis of a number of U.S. policy-making cases over a period of time, covering various issues such as environmental and energy policy, gun control policy, and tobacco policy.

Punctuated Equilibrium Theory is offered as a useful means by which policy-making can be understood more generally. Through the focus on interaction of political institutions, interests, mobilizations and bounded rational decision-making, the dynamics of the interplay between institutions and interests are highlighted. However, the fact that Punctuated Equilibrium Theory is a top down approach which contends that it is “within the spotlight of macropolitics, [that] some issues catch fire, dominate the agenda, and

42 True, Jones and Baumgartner, “Punctuated-Equilibrium Theory,” 156.

43 Baumgartner and Jones, Agendas and Instability.

44 True, Jones and Baumgartner, “Punctuated-Equilibrium Theory,” 157.
result in changes in one or more subsystems,” means that it is possible to conclude that the theory gives more consideration to federal policy change and high profile issues.\textsuperscript{45} If Baumgartner and Jones’ contention of policy subsystems with single interests (which they refer to as policy monopolies) is correct, the punctuated equilibrium model would forecast little change for the CAATs unless pressures were built up sufficiently to lead to major interventions by previously uninvolved political actors and government institutions.\textsuperscript{46} Macropolitics is therefore, according to the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, the arena in which large scale policy changes take place.

Punctuated Equilibrium Theory was originally developed to explain changes in policy subsystems in U.S.A., but has been extended for more general application, including national budgeting in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. Relatively open democratic systems are however a prerequisite. The theory has received some attention in Canada, for example with respect to forestry policy. Another example is Pralle’s comparative study of lawn pesticide policy in Canada and the U.S.A.\textsuperscript{47} While the model when used in the setting for which it was intended, (United States federal policy) has some strengths, there are a number of drawbacks which must be considered with respect to utility of the model in a Canadian context. Certainly the main consideration here is the major structural differences in the political systems of the United States as compared to Canada. The separation of powers in the United States federal governmental institutions inhibits change and facilitates stasis. By contrast, Canada’s Westminster Model of government facilitates policy-making through its institutional structures, held in check by the concept of responsible government.

Other drawbacks to be considered include those highlighted by Schlager who posits that Punctuated Equilibrium Theory gives attention to how interests are organized, but only as

\textsuperscript{45} True, Jones and Baumgartner, “Punctuated-Equilibrium Theory,” 158.

\textsuperscript{46} Baumgartner and Jones, Agendas and Instability.

a consequence of activity. Furthermore Schlager argues that Punctuated Equilibrium Theory fails to fully consider that due to the structure of the United States governing system, major policy changes normally occur in the institutions of Congress and the President. Schlager also contends that Punctuated Equilibrium Theory is overly dependent on change being the result of positive feedback. In consideration of these drawbacks, together with the foundations of empirical methodology and comparative analysis attached to the model, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory appears to be less useful in historical systematic documentary examination of a single Canadian case example such as the Ontario CAATs, as compared with the ongoing examination of stasis or policy continuity in the macropolitical arena in the United States.

6. Advocacy Coalition Framework

The Advocacy Coalition Framework developed by Sabatier and Jenkins Smith fits within the broad category of network approaches. It attempts to explain policy change using subsystem analysis. It was originally developed using case studies of energy and environmental policies in the United States, but has since had wider application. The Advocacy Coalition Framework has four basic premises:

1. Policy must be examined over time (a decade or more) because beliefs and ideas change;
2. Policy subsystems (peopled by politicians, administrators and interest groups) should be the foci of study;
3. All levels of government in the policy subsystem need to be considered;
4. Public policies can be conceptualized like belief systems; that is, as sets of value priorities geared towards achievement of objectives.

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The importance of the role of ideas and values in the policy process is stressed. The Advocacy Coalition Framework contends that policies outcomes can be understood through the examination of the belief systems of policy participants. Shared sets of beliefs lead policy participants to form advocacy coalitions, “composed of people from various governmental and private organizations who share a set of normative and causal beliefs and who act in concert.” Three layers of belief sets exist within the framework. Fundamental beliefs form the normative deep core belief set include views about human nature and justice; these are deeply embedded and hard to change. The second layer of beliefs; policy core beliefs, are also normally shared by members of each advocacy coalition. This belief set includes views about the role and scope of government, distribution of power, and use of policy instruments in relation to policy goals. The third layer of beliefs, are less fixed. They include beliefs about secondary considerations such as budget allocations, or resources required for policy implementation. Because normative beliefs are difficult to change, the majority of policy-making occurs in policy subsystems and involves negotiations among specialists. However, changes in socio-economic conditions, changes to the governing coalition, or policy decisions from other policy subsystems can affect the behaviour of actors. The dynamic quality is assigned to changing belief sets catalyzed by events which shock the policy subsystem and trigger a response. When this occurs, advocacy coalitions compete for their ideas to be incorporated into policy. Policy change occurs when one advocacy coalition displaces another, or policy oriented learning takes place, altering beliefs in the policy subsystem.

Pal advances that one of the strengths of the Advocacy Coalition Framework is its utility. As a mapping tool it is able to show the network of actors involved in the policy process. It also recognizes the role of experts and professionals, and does not over-privilege decision-makers at the expense of influential non-decision-makers. However, Pal critiques the framework on the basis that it doesn’t adequately describe the patterns of

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relationships among coalition members, or between coalitions and policy brokers (those who mediate conflict between advocacy coalitions and seek compromise). Schlager also offers criticism on the basis that the Advocacy Coalition Framework doesn’t prove that policy actors with similar beliefs actually form goal-focused advocacy coalitions. In fact, Schlager contends that the free-rider problem is not addressed by the approach. The Advocacy Coalition Framework is also been widely criticized for its pluralist assumptions and continual revisions.

This section has defined public policy, introduced the complexities embedded within the definition and provided an overview of public policy analysis, policy problems and policy arguments. Models of public policy have also been outlined and discussed. The relevant literature on higher education and the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology will now be presented.

The Federal Perspective

The federal perspective on Canadian higher education policy is relevant to this study, as (a) the federal government is involved in some aspects of funding, (b) the federal government has jurisdiction over human resource development for unemployed and underemployed adults, (c) federal involvement in labour market training led to the creation of the CAATs.

Chronic Schizophrenia

The federal perspective has been researched by Cameron, who describes federal involvement in higher education as taking place “under conditions akin to chronic schizophrenia.” He arrives at this description through his outline of policy development set within the context of Constitutional arrangements; whereby education was assigned to provincial jurisdiction in Section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867. Cameron traces

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54 Schlager, “A Comparison of Frameworks.”

federal interest and involvement in technical and vocational training from the early initiatives to support agricultural training in 1912-1913, and notes that in this example federal involvement came via funding imperatives, thereby forming the precedent for further policy involvement via conditional grants and shared-cost programs. Subsequent federal initiatives included support of university research, initially through the National Research Council, established 1916, and later expanded through other granting agencies, and student loan assistance; currently under the umbrella of the Canada Student Loan Program.  

Provincial concerns regarding federal encroachment into provincial jurisdiction led to the delineation of responsibilities whereby the federal government assumed responsibility for training and retraining and ancillary services for the unemployed and underemployed adults. Grants for universities and colleges, (a federal/provincial policy development) have since become embedded within the transfer grant formulas and tax points, for example, the Established Programs Financing (EPF), the supposedly unconditional grant introduced in 1977 to provide financial support for both health care and higher education, replaced the 50-50 shared-cost formula in operation from the mid 1960s. These unconditional transfers removed federal leverage over higher education. The tax point aspect of the transfer grant formula has been described as a “trick” because the policy objective (to invite federal voice in policy development) developed into a means by which the federal government was able to exert control and affect system-growth with a view to prioritize their labour market policy goals. The change in the EPF formula in 1982 enabled the federal government to cap cash transfers grants to provinces for the higher education component, thereby effectively restricting expansion of provincial higher education systems. The formula was again refined in 1985, 1989 and 1990, and linked to economic growth as measured by gross national product (GNP) minus

56 Cameron, “The Federal Perspective.”

57 Cameron, “The Federal Perspective.”

percentage (GNP - x%). The Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) replaced EPF in 1995.\textsuperscript{59}

Cameron also discusses the relevant issue of labour market training, and puts forward the argument that it has directly underscored federal involvement in Ontario higher education policy. Federal financial support of training led to the development of the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. However, beyond the financing, there was provincial intent to protect jurisdictional boundaries. Federal adult education and manpower (sic) training policy also led to the development of labour market development and training agreements in some provinces, but not in Ontario.\textsuperscript{60}

The policy direction of the federal government through the department of Human Resources Development (headed by Lloyd Axworthy in 1993), with a Social Security Reform agenda, marked a different trajectory from previous federal involvement in higher education policy development. While previous policy expanded system capacity, the mid-1990s initiatives were driven by expenditure control policy goals. Grant reductions and the removal of cash payments to provinces in support of higher education was expected to result in a realignment of policy, whereby the users (students) would contribute a greater proportion of funding through increased tuition payments. It was anticipated that students would be supported by the replacement of the Canada Student Loan scheme by an income contingent loan repayment plan (ICLR). Public opposition to ICLR however was underestimated.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{59} Cameron, “The Federal Perspective.”

\textsuperscript{60} Cameron, “The Federal Perspective.”

\textsuperscript{61} Cameron, “The Federal Perspective.”
**Soft Federalism**

Fisher and Rubenson characterize higher education in Canada, as “soft federalism.”\(^{62}\)

This description arises from their examination of the development of the role Canadian postsecondary education systems from a political economy perspective. Fisher and Rubenson posit that the unique character of Canadian institutions reflects constitutional arrangements, and that the binary structures of provincial systems mirror colonial roots and the ideological divide between liberal views of education versus vocationalism. Beyond the comment element, they suggest that the force of commodification is what is responsible for the pressures on higher education systems in the 1990s to move towards vocationalism, seen in the seven overlapping changes to Canadian postsecondary education systems: (a) less regulation, (b) blurring of the binary divide, (c) increasing institutional differentiation, (d) competition, (e) declining financial support from public sources, (f) divergent labour market opportunities, and (g) widening social divisions driven by credentialism. Fisher and Rubenson further contend that commodification of higher education has changed institutional cultures, and moved provincial systems towards the market.

Fisher and Rubenson attribute political and economic trends with regard to the withdrawal of federal financial support for postsecondary education to three factors: (1) the fiscal crisis of the 1990s, (2) neo-liberal ideology, and (3) the perceived need for human resource development.\(^ {63} \)

They contend that while post-war expansion of postsecondary education was largely driven by social demands, mid-1990s higher education policy, can be attributed to an economics drive, particularly with regard to the emphasis placed upon the development of human capital, and science and technological innovation; both of which are seen to be directly linked to international economic competitiveness. They further contend that the global trend towards privatization and the

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\(^{63}\) Fisher and Rubenson, “The Changing Political Economy.”
dismantling of the apparatus of the Keynesian state has led to a shift towards the private sector and adjusted policy environments for higher education.\textsuperscript{64}

While Fisher and Rubenson raise some interesting points, they intimate policy determinism in that they assert that nation states are unable to resist global economic forces. They rightly acknowledge the powers and restructuring pressures presented by the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and while undoubtedly the existence of external trends is apparent, to render higher education policy development to external forces ignores the dynamic within civil society, and political and bureaucratic institutions. To proclaim that trade agreements prevent state intervention, ignores the capacity for micro-level policy agency. Certainly, the neo-conservative forces referred to by Fisher and Rubenson can be seen in the form of the Canadian Health and Social Transfer (CHST), the block grant which replaced Establish Programs Financing (EPF), but, Fisher and Rubenson’s bleak prediction that this would lead to the “abdication of the federal government’s responsibility to ensure that all have access to a high-quality Medicare, postsecondary education and adequate social assistance” seems to have been overplayed.\textsuperscript{65} That said, Fisher and Rubenson contribute to the literature on higher education by drawing our attention to the forces of vocationalism and how it is tied to the economic agenda. This is especially important with respect to colleges, as it helps us to understand why the federal Labour Force Development Strategy of 1989 on, resulted in a shift of federal funding of training from community colleges, to private sector providers. The fact that the role of Canada’s community colleges continues to evolve is indicative of the broader changes in higher education with respect to structural differentiation as driven by vocationalism.

\textsuperscript{64} Fisher and Rubenson, “The Changing Political Economy.”

Higher Education in Ontario

Incremental Institutional Development

Describing Ontario’s higher education system, Jones comments on the “lack of rational planning within the system,” and posits that “since this huge infrastructure developed with little that might be called system planning, it comes as no surprise that while recent events signal movement, there is no clear sense as to the direction that higher education in Ontario is going.” Jones traces the development of higher education policy structures and notes that while “provinces and territories now play a major role in terms of Canadian higher education policy,” prior to 1951, there was no single office or agency within the Ontario government responsible for higher education.

Although the roots of the university system predate Confederation, policy development of bureaucratic structures and non-university institutional arrangements are of more recent origin, and attributed by Jones to the recognition of the importance of higher education to the economic and social development of the province. He provides a timeline of the development of the higher education bureaucracy from the appointment of a part-time consultant to the Minister of Education in 1951. The main focus was on the university system, and the impetus for the development of provincial policy structures and mechanisms, is attributed to system expansion, which in the 1960s was largely supported and funded by the federal government. Prior to 1965, the non-university sector in Ontario was a “patchwork quilt of educational services,” made up predominantly by trade schools and technical institutions. The decision to create a parallel postsecondary education system comprising of Crown Agencies with a distinct mission, without a transfer mechanism to the universities, and under the banner of Colleges of Applied Arts and

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67 Jones, “Higher Education in Ontario,” x.

68 Jones, “Higher Education in Ontario.”

69 Jones, “Higher Education in Ontario,” 145.
Technology was made in 1965. By 1967, nineteen CAATs operated in Ontario, and by 1972, the CAATs had a full-time study body of 35,000.\(^70\)

**Relations and System Design**

Skolnik adds to our understanding of higher education in Ontario and traces the evolution of relations between community colleges and universities.\(^71\) He provides insight into the complex relationships and contemporary tensions regarding student transfer. As distinct from the universities the CAATs were established to serve perceived provincial needs, and as such Skolnik claims a ‘designer’ aspect is apparent within the structural arrangements. Skolnik provides a careful analysis of the debate which preceded the establishment of the CAAT system, highlighting points of discussion with respect to functionality, particularly with respect to a transfer process or lack thereof. Referencing the debate with regard to system design, Skolnik informs us that a convincing argument was made by the Committee of Presidents of Ontario Universities with regard to the sufficiency of university system capacity. As such, the CAATs were seen as institutions designed to serve an alternative student population with different career goals from the university student body. The CAATs occupation-oriented programs were hence designed to meet the requirements of secondary school graduates not seeking university, adults, and out of school youth.\(^72\)

By way of critique of the design, Skolnik suggests that “there has always been a perception that the CAATs exist primarily to prepare people for work,” but contends that the absence of the transfer mechanism was not intended to be an embedded structural barrier to student mobility.\(^73\) In fact, he reminds us that the Minister of Education in a speech in 1966 stated that students should not be prevented from transferring to a university if qualified to do so. However, despite the intent, Ontario CAATs and

\(^70\) Jones, “Higher Education in Ontario."


\(^72\) Skolnik, “Evolution of Relations.”

\(^73\) Skolnik, “Evolution of Relations,” 440.
universities have evolved as parallel institutions with few close linkages being developed. Tensions persist, and by the concluding decade of the twentieth century, concerns about career dead-ending and barriers to the occupational success of college graduates were being voiced.  

Colleges: A National Perspective

Providing a national perspective, Dennison defines a ‘true’ higher education system as “an integrated organizational unit with a single governing body, which would assign specific responsibility for aspects of education and training to each component part of the organization.” Using this definition, Dennison asserts that Canada has one of the most diversified postsecondary systems in the developed world as it has twelve plus quasi systems. Dennison also distinguishes between institutional types contending that the community colleges are distinct from universities in that they have a close relationship with governments.

Dennison asserts that the organizational structures of colleges reflect provincial differences including: history, geography, socio-cultural structures and economic diversity. Colleges have broad mandates to serve the needs and meet the demands of diverse student populations. Furthermore he argues that college systems in Canada are mainly reflective of policy 1960-1975, as during this time period there was an expansion of postsecondary education, including adult education and skills training. The institutional arrangements reflect the perceptions of the time. Contemporary analysis highlights deficiencies in design, the most notable of which at present is with respect to student mobility within and between institutions.

74 Skolnik, “Evolution of Relations.”


76 Dennison, “Organization and Function.”
Transferability between institutional types is now desired and for some considered to be essential. Providing examples from western provinces, Dennison draws attention to both Alberta and British Columbia, two provinces which have inter-institutional credit transfer mechanisms. British Columbia has college programs leading to the Associate in Arts (AA) Degree offered at both colleges and universities. British Columbia has also experimented with the University College model, the characteristics of which provide a dual institutional type under one roof. While the British Columbian initiatives are an example of policy designed to facilitate inter-institutional transfer, barriers still persist; as Andres shows, low transfer rates and low degree completion rates for transfer students are evident.

### Stages of Development

There are five common principles for colleges throughout Canada: (a) accessibility, (b) comprehensiveness, (c) student focus, (d) community orientation, and (e) adaptability to labour market demands for education and training. Dennison argues that emphasis and prioritization of common principles have changed over time, especially since the late 1980s “colleges have been encouraged to embark upon various kinds of entrepreneurial activity, designed to garner funds from the private and international community, an exercise which has produced mixed benefits.” The social mandate influenced the early development of colleges.

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77 Dennison, “Organization and Function.”


Estimated transfer rates from BC colleges to universities ranged from a low of 14% in some colleges to 51% in others. The median rate was 29%. Degree completion rates for students who transfer from colleges to universities range from a low of 8% to a high of 32%. Degree completion rates for students who start their programs in university range from a low of 29% to a high of 56%. *Source:* Data from the British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education and Job Training, in Andres, “Transfer from Community College to University” (2001): 41.


The term comprehensiveness is used to describe offering a broad range of programs.

80 Dennison, “Goals of Community Colleges.”
development of community colleges, but the economic and fiscal realities have shaped and influenced later development. The early stages of development are shown in Table 2.1. Stages of Development of Community Colleges (1955-1980s).

Table 2.1. Stages of Development of Community Colleges (1955-1980s)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>System Characteristics</th>
<th>Features</th>
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<tr>
<td>1955-1970</td>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>Opportunity</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Diversity of curriculum</td>
<td>Accessibility</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Expansion</td>
<td>Responsiveness to community needs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Generous government support $</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975-1980</td>
<td>Increased government controls</td>
<td>Restricted access to some programs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Reduction in new program development</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>Fiscal constraints</td>
<td>Reduced program opportunities</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government deficits</td>
<td>Labour unrest</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spending reductions</td>
<td>Emphasis on programs which</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Privatization of selected programs</td>
<td>contribute to economic growth</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Specified program priorities</td>
<td>Programs for personal and</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Designated funding strategies</td>
<td>individual development less well</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Legislation to impose control upon</td>
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The funding formula for the CAATs until recently rewarded institutional growth, through a grant distribution mechanism which credited individual institutions a greater allocation of the grant, relative to growth, proportionate to the system as a whole.\(^ {81}\) Jones is of the opinion that this mechanism encouraged the CAATs to respond to demands for access, to create programs, and meet enrolment targets in order to maintain or increase their share of the grant.\(^ {82}\) It must be noted however, that provincial grants were not the sole source of

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\(^{81}\) The funding formula for the CAATs changed in 2009.

\(^{82}\) Jones, “Higher Education in Ontario.”
funding for the CAATs, tuition and contract training (including via federal contracts for employment training programs) were also revenue generating. This latter was a point of contention, prompting the Ontario government to reroute these contracts via the Ministry of Skills Development.83

Tensions within the CAATs system arising from fiscal control led to calls by the 1980s (from some CAATs) for the authority to offer university transfer programs, and policy to facilitate student mobility between colleges and universities. The universities’ monopoly over degree granting had been consolidated by the Degree Granting Act, 1983. This continued until the policy was changed by the Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000. Although CAATs may now offer baccalaureate programs with the consent of the Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities, the absence of a student transfer mechanism for diploma graduates to Ontario universities remains an ongoing source of concern. Jones argues that this was not an oversight, but can be attributed to four factors pertinent at the time of initial policy development: opposition from some university presidents, the existence of universities in most urban centres of the province, federal support for colleges, and the belief that a transfer mechanism would make the CAATs second class institutions.84

More recent developments include: entrepreneurship and commercialization. In response to the challenges posed by fiscal constraints, government deficits and spending reductions, colleges in Canada have become more entrepreneurial according to Knowles who argues that the rise of entrepreneurship in Canada’s community colleges, presents both dangers and opportunities.85 Knowles attributes entrepreneurship as a direct response to funding crises. Pressures from decreasing operating grants, rising costs, outmoded funding formulas, and program constraints, Knowles contends, have compromised the ability of colleges to meet their public service mandate. She identifies a

83 Jones, “Higher Education in Ontario.”
84 Jones, “Higher Education in Ontario.”
number of driving external factors including: international competition, new technology, changing demographics, changing government commitments to support post secondary education, and labour market training pressures. But she considers that industry demands for skills training, international education, business partnerships and contract training are examples of opportunities that have arisen for community colleges.

While, Knowles’ suggests that the community colleges’ link to the labour market makes them vulnerable to change in that survival depends on their ability to respond to opportunities and diversify programming, she claims that because entrepreneurial activities generate revenue, reinvestment can support other programs and provide for technological resources. Furthermore entrepreneurship, applied transferable training, and education enables graduates to more readily enter the workforce and maintain employment. Knowles does acknowledge that in the long term the costs may include erosion of the liberal education component of colleges’ curriculum and ultimately result in reduced autonomy for colleges, as employers dictate needs and program content.86

Turk is concerned about the effects of commercialization of higher education which he defines as “the attempt to niche universities and colleges to the private sector.”87 Turk argues that commercialization compromises the public service mandate of postsecondary education institutions. Cohen and Brawer also have reservations about commercialization and point to the adoption of corporate language in relation to students.88 They argue that while corporate language may be a form of empowerment to the student-client, the change in language can change the perception in the student/teacher relationship and cause misunderstanding with respect to role expectations, the consequences of which should not be understated in a highly litigious society.

Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology

Establishment

The policy process leading to the establishment of Ontario’s Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology was investigated by Hamblin who conducted interviews and collected documentary evidence, with the intention of discovering the extent of individual contributions to policy formulation, and to increase understanding of the political reality, including the processes and forces. Hamblin identified the major factors that contributed to the policy formulation process and although his research design did not address the concept or limitations of rational comprehensive planning, his data shows that structural constraints and agency limited the capacity for rational comprehensive planning. Structural barriers and institutional arrangements which existed prior to the formation of the CAATs Hamblin asserts, were folded into the new CAAT system (for example, the Provincial Institute of Trades, the Provincial Institutes of Technology and Ontario Vocational Centres). Hamblin while noting that certain policy actors (presidents of Ontario universities), pursued their interests, exercised influence, and affected the institutional structures of the CAATs, he comments that administrators were mainly concerned with structural organization and implementation of policy. He concludes from his findings that the Minister determined the general policy strategy and played a pivotal role in influencing the establishment of the CAATs. While providing an interesting view, Hamblin’s research does not explore whether other policy actors involved in the policy development process exercised any forms of agency.

Vision 2000

The Vision 2000 project was government initiated and represented an attempt at rational comprehensive policy planning for the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. The project commenced in 1988. The object of the project was to revisit the original CAAT mandate and assess its relevance and application to the twenty-first century. There was an inclusive review process with internal and external stakeholders including: faculty,

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business, the community, high school, and university participants. The outcome of the Vision 2000 review was a final report which contained forty different recommendations for change, based upon the projected needs of individuals for personal development and citizenship, and industry requirements.

The Vision 2000 Taskforce did not conclude with recommendations for differentiation and diversification of the CAAT system, by way of applied degrees or a new charter; instead more system-wide initiatives were recommended. These system-wide initiatives included the creation of an intermediary body; the College Standards and Accreditation Council (CSAC), and coordination of quality and standards. Most of the Vision 2000 recommendations were never implemented. The non-implementation of Vision 2000 has significance for the policy development that followed. In the relatively short period of time since Vision 2000, major higher education policy change has occurred in Ontario which cannot be explained by the rational comprehensive policy planning model.

**Theme-Based Studies**

There are many gaps in the literature on the CAATs, a reflection of the fact that the primary role of these institutions and the faculty’s main focus to date, has been teaching and skills development. Research that has been conducted with application to the Ontario CAATs, has contributed to our knowledge of educational theory and practice by providing for example, knowledge of processes and organizational arrangements. Most studies however have taken a theme-based approach. Some of the most recent examples include: strategic planning, student transfer, accessibility, and accountability and performance measurement.

1. **Strategic Planning**

Sheridan provides an analysis of strategic planning practices.\(^9\) According to Sheridan, situational constraints provide the impetus for strategic planning initiatives in the 1990s. Organizational theory and strategic planning literature is used as a contextual backdrop

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for this survey and case study allowing Sheridan to look at internal factors including, organizational culture and external contingencies. Sheridan concludes that while government policy restricted the number of strategic planning options available to the colleges, variances in the outcomes suggest that “no single governance approach appears best for strategic planning” as particular organizational cultures appear to be a determining factor influencing outcomes.\(^9\)

Cooke looks at strategy in the city colleges from 1995 to 2005.\(^9\) Using a comparative case study approach and concepts from organizational theory, Cooke posits that even through turbulent times colleges behaved in remarkably similar ways to each other with regard to responses to strategic challenges. Interestingly, Cooke remarks upon his findings that strategic planning documents for individual colleges tend to focus more on goals than strategy. But, he contends that achievement or movement toward specific goals is hindered by colleges’ preoccupation with seeking a distinct form of legitimacy for their institutions within higher education. He contends that having a common mandate and the alignment in terms of relationship with government further constrains colleges’ ability to behave strategically. Cooke recommends a network model for Ontario’s Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology as a means to advance strategy.

2. Student Transfer
Smith examines the characteristics and motivations of students who transfer to Ontario universities from Colleges of Applied Arts & Technology.\(^9\) According to Smith, sector-wide planning is inhibited by a conceived paradigm, which he describes as the absence of system-wide coordination to bridge Ontario’s binary higher education divide. The


Sheridan cites shifting government priorities, a deteriorating funding structure, and increasing demand as reasons for implementing strategic planning initiatives.


absence of arrangements Smith argues, is due to the “high level of institutional autonomy, which is traditional for Canadian universities.”

Smith contends that a challenging external environment provides the context for the current need for inter-institutional transfer arrangements.

The identification of institutional barriers is an important consideration in Smith’s research, for while one can acknowledge personal impact, structural barriers and constraints also impact both the universities and the CAATs. The ad hoc nature of transfer that Smith sees as a problem and a barrier to student access is grounded in conceptual ideas of equity and fairness. However, what Smith does not examine is strategic actors’ policy goals and intentions which permit and sustain the status quo.

3. Accessibility

Ontario government policy on accessibility 1965-1995 was the theme researched by Drea. Drea defined policy using “Hofferbert’s contention that policy is something that governments actually do or implement.” Drea viewed accessibility in relation to the CAATs and concluded that the definition of accessibility changes over time, resulting in different policy outputs.

Drea’s methodology is worthy of note as the issue of policy and the CAATs are both topics. Drea examined archival documents and interviewed selected officials whom she identified as instrumental in the decision-making process. As theoretical considerations were not part of the framework of this study, Drea concentrated on revealing internal decision-makers’ conceptions of accessibility and not on questioning agency or absence of agency from external sources, structural conditions, or situational factors that could inhibit or facilitate policy-making. Drea noted that there were references in the documentary sources with regard to opinions of universities, students, and other

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stakeholders, but cited this as a limitation of the study. Drea’s research reveals that the concept of accessibility can be interpreted differently at various points in time. This shows that policy problems, goals and intentions are dynamic, not static, thereby illustrating a gap in the literature and the need for theoretical policy analysis research to supplement theme-based research.

4. Accountability and Performance Measurement
Accountability, and performance indicators was the theme of Callahan’s research. Callahan contends that the implementation of policy measurement instruments from 1998 on for Ontario’s colleges and universities was consistent with policies introduced in comparative international jurisdictions. Analysing the performance mechanism frameworks in conjunction with government policy goals, Callahan sought to establish alignment but found that some stated goals, for example student transfer, are neither measured or rewarded by performance funding.

Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario (ACAATO)
ACAATO (now Colleges Ontario) is the advocacy association for the CAATs. ACAATO’s General Assembly is comprised of the 24 college presidents and board chairs. ACAATO has a mandate “to advance a strong college system for Ontario” and has argued on many occasions that government funding constrains the CAATs’ ability to meet client demands. In May 2000 the advocacy document “Ontario’s Colleges for the Twenty First Century: Capacity and Charter Framework,” was released in which it was argued that the existing legislative framework and policy for the CAATs created inflexible institutional barriers, and inhibited the CAATs ability to respond to changing circumstances and demands. ACCATO argued that external factors had created forces for

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98 As the name change occurred post 2002, this study uses the title of the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (ACAATO) to maintain consistency with the data.

change. It also made a case for the recognition of the need to invest in human capital in a knowledge-based economy. They called for a new college charter to facilitate institutional differentiation, increased executive authority for local Boards of Governors, and applied degree credentialing authority.\(^{100}\)

ACAATO’s case for institutional differentiation was based on the premise that the province’s primary strategic public policy objective for postsecondary education is knowledge and skills for prosperity which could only be met if “the colleges are focused, flexible, timely and entrepreneurial and responsive to market demands.”\(^{101}\) Increased flexibility and autonomy would enable the CAATs to respond to the changing needs of industry brought about through the forces of globalization and technologicalization. ACAATO argued for colleges to determine their own patterns of change.

**Emerging Trends: Baccalaureate Degrees**

Executive authority for degree granting in the Province of Ontario rests with the Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities. The Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000 S.O. 2000, Chapter 36 Schedule of the Act, increased accessibility by providing the legislative framework to permit the CAATs and out of province organizations (that wish to offer degree programs within the province of Ontario) to submit degree programs for approval. The Postsecondary Education Quality Assessment Board (PEQAB) assesses all requests, publishes a qualifications framework, and makes recommendations to the Minister regarding approvals or denials. At the present time, Ontario colleges can offer degrees in applied areas of study subject to Ministerial consent.\(^{102}\)

\(^{100}\) ACAATO, “Capacity and Charter Project.”

Forces include: an aging population, high demands for skills training, a shrinking labour pool, secondary education reform, increasing diversity of learners, a rapidly changing marketplace, technological changes and shifting funding sources and strategies.


\(^{102}\) Initially the word ‘applied’ had to be included in the title of the degree. This is no longer a requirement.
Floyd, Skolnik, and Walker document the changes in Canada, together with similar changes that occurred in the United States. They raise important policy issues and highlight the need for more research. However, the issue of policy development from a political science approach has not been documented, and limited research has been done to explain the policy change, or to explore the implications. What is evident from Floyd, Skolnik and Walker’s contribution to the literature, is that the issue of debate over community colleges’ mandate has been raised. For example, do college applied degrees represent an extension of the traditional community colleges’ mission with respect to accessibility, or do they signal abandonment of traditional values, and represent academic drift? These and many other aspects are unknown at present.

The dedication of the book by Floyd, Skolnik and Walker, to the community college students who ‘benefit’ from increased access to degrees is worthy of mention, as there is an implicit assumption that the extension of authority to community colleges to grant degrees is due to ‘pathfinders’ advocacy efforts. However, whether the changes can be attributed to advocacy of stakeholders allied to the community colleges and peripheral associations, or to other forces or advocates, is not addressed, neither is the fact that policy actors may have used their capacity to influence the policy agenda or acted in ways to maximize their own self-interests. The ideological dimension of interests and normative values of the parties concerned is also not considered, besides the very use of the phrase ‘pathfinders’ suggests embedded values.

Walker argues that the development of the community college baccalaureate degree in the United States was linked to the policy goal of system expansion. This he posits was a 1990s phenomenon and a logical next step, because applied degrees are a cost effective means for system expansion while protecting core values. Walker provides details of the history and rationale of the Community College Baccalaureate Association, a non-profit


organization founded in 1999, “to promote the development and acceptance of community college baccalaureate degrees as a means of addressing the national problems of student access, demand, and cost; chronicle further progress in this arena; and to share information and facilitate networking.”

Walker offers a functional argument indicating that education and access are important, as they reflect traditional American values. Historically, according to Walker institutional provision has reflected societal needs and has evolved through the generations as necessary. In this respect, he argues, the Junior College movement is an extension of the response to needs and values, and hence increased access to postsecondary education is another part of the democratization of higher education. For Walker the development of community college baccalaureate degrees is therefore merely a functional response to societal change.

What is interesting is that Walker downplays the advocacy of his organization and argues that values have guided the response of community colleges. Yet, in spite of the earlier argument of education being a traditional American value, Walker implies by default that community colleges are the sole caretaker of this value, thus providing legitimacy for advocacy by the Community College Baccalaureate Association. He says, “The values that guided the junior colleges are relevant today even as community colleges consider offering baccalaureate degrees”.

In the event that his functional argument is insufficient to legitimize agency, Walker draws upon economics and in particular, the normative values that underpin human capital theory. Within a context of contemporary arguments for globalization, Walker argues that there is a need for community college baccalaureate degrees as barriers to work will be the net result without access. Further, while not making direct comment, a cost-benefit analysis is implied, as Walker argues that higher incomes are equated with

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greater social contributions. Walker’s point reflects not only human capital theory but, also contains strands of the values that underpin new public management practices with regard to economy, efficiency, and effectiveness. Arguing that the traditional occupations of community college graduates now require baccalaureate degrees as an entry requirement, Walker cites rising demands from employers and students as sufficient reason to extend baccalaureate access to community colleges. It makes sound economic sense according to Walker to increase access through colleges, as university education is more costly to administer and that sector is operating near to capacity.

While Walker acknowledges that the private sector may be able to fill the gap in demand for education, he argues for community colleges to be allowed to fill the gap as they have a proven track record of being able to respond while maintaining a social mandate and an open door philosophy. Utilizing the capacity and infrastructure of the community colleges Walker contends, allows the education sector to respond to workforce demands while simultaneously preventing the nation from becoming ‘at risk’ due to its inability to keep the workforce productively employed. As Walker says, “Widespread access to higher education is critical to the economic health and social welfare of any nation.”

For Walker the necessity for expansion of the range of credentials offered by community colleges is driven by economic and social realities, reflecting an assessment of the need for increasing the supply of suitably educated and skilled workers to meet the rapidly changing requirements of local economies. The continuity of institutional arrangements to provide opportunities for social mobility and to meet the needs of non-traditional learners is essentially a structural functionalist argument linked to the need to maintain equilibrium and social stability in a period of rapid social change.

While it can be argued that this is part of the natural course of development of community colleges in respect to access, others suggest these changes represent a threat. Floyd and Skolnik for example, argue that fundamental aspects of the traditional mission

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of community colleges - open access, affordable programs of study of less than four years duration, and geographic convenience are challenged by this development. One of the great contributions that they make to the literature is in documenting implementation: the variations and hybrid models confirm this. Perhaps it should not be surprising, that given the post-industrial economic challenges, diversity is the norm rather than the exception. However, implementation patterns highlight the need for theoretical policy analysis to help raise our awareness of the dynamics that underpin change.

Floyd contends that a power issue exists with regard to access to baccalaureate degrees as academic credentials reflect authority structures, and community college baccalaureate degrees represent a challenge to the status quo and the domain of the four-year colleges and universities. Floyd refers to the Community College Baccalaureate Association’s 2003 survey of presidents in which using a sample of 100 respondents, 50% reported that the community college baccalaureate degree was not fully understood by policymakers and the higher education community. This raises a significant question. If community college baccalaureate degree are poorly understood who is responsible for initiating and driving the policy?

Skolnik details a Canadian movement for baccalaureate degrees that began in the west of the country and spread to Ontario. Although the rhetoric for extending the baccalaureate was access, the extension of authority to grant degrees on these terms may also reflect perceived needs as identified by the way the policy problem was structured. In Canada, twenty five percent or more of colleges now offer baccalaureate degrees mainly in three provinces, Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario, where niche programs

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in applied studies to meet industry needs are offered. Skolnik notes that at the time of writing, five colleges in British Columbia have been changed into universities and been given revised mandates. However, in Alberta, colleges still have less institutional autonomy than provincial universities, as Ministry approval is required for college baccalaureate programs and the initiating proposal must provide evidence of industry support.

There are a number of policy issues that Floyd, Skolnik and Walker have not fully considered. The changes are described as a response to demands for access and skilled labour. There are also assumptions that community college students will ‘benefit’ from community college baccalaureate degrees, yet these benefits are not defined. There are also assumptions that community college baccalaureate degrees are a response to labour market demands and needs, but, if this is the case why are some approved applied degrees programs in Ontario still not viable due to insufficient enrolment? With regard to the CAATs, competition between colleges exists and has been driven and exacerbated until recently by a funding formula geared to growth. This gives rise to the question of whether applied degrees in the CAATs are a mode to facilitate system differentiation. Knowledge of the policy development process will assist our understanding in this regard.

Acknowledgement of the existence of political agency is also essential in all areas of public policy. Floyd, Skolnik and Walker mention advocacy but do not give sufficient consideration to the dynamics of the policy development process and the impact on policy outcomes. Milliron advances the idea that the community college baccalaureate degree is part of a third transformative wave in the community college movement. The ‘wave’ metaphor is an interesting heuristic device and the use suggests natural forces at work. Neither Milliron, nor Floyd, Skolnik, and Walker explore this, or question whether the use of the term ‘wave’ as a metaphor disguises agency. Floyd, Skolnik and Walker

111 Floyd, Skolnik, and Walker, The Community College Baccalaureate.

also do not question or mention the roles of individuals within advocacy groups and intermediary associations. In addition, although Skolnik relates the Alberta trend towards applied baccalaureate degrees as a response to the labour market, this needs to be explored further.

A policy analysis framework would raise questions with regard to whether the initiative was indeed a response. It may be that there is an economic policy objective that takes precedent, for example it may be an intention to increase diversity within the postsecondary education system as an infrastructure investment during boom times, in the belief that this may aid diversification of the economy and reduce dependency on the resource sector. The capacity to exercise power is also not considered. In Alberta there appears to have been considerable ministerial/state capacity. Did this reflect consensus within the policy community? The question of capacity to exercise power is highly relevant given the Ontario experience. The Ontario CAATs were not set up as feeder institutions and the issue of transfer and access for CAAT graduates appears to be part of the advocacy argument for change. The relationship between the CAATs and universities may also be a significant factor to consider with respect to the pattern of implementation. International trends would also merit consideration.

**Governance**

The issue of governance is relevant to this study and to policy development analysis as it reflects the formalized involvement of a number of stakeholders in the policy community. Specific research on governance arrangements for the CAATs is largely absent in the literature to date, most probably due to the fact that they have been seen to operate as a policy instrument of the provincial government. There is however, some literature for Ontario’s university sector.

The literature on Ontario’s universities points to characteristics of self-regulation, involvement of/or competition between stakeholders, rigidity in bureaucratic arrangements, and flexibility in terms of autonomy. Jones examined the various
organizational models and highlighted six groups or types: the bureaucratic type based upon Weberian ideas of hierarchy and authority within formal organizations, the Collegial Type, which posits that there is a community of scholars with decision-making based on consensus, the Political, a model based upon pluralist assumptions, the Organized Anarchy model, the Professional Bureaucracy, and Mixed models.  

Baldrige argues that academic institutions vary, but have common characteristics and elements that are significant for any analysis of power and decision-making. This is an important consideration in relation to the CAATs with regard to policy goals and conflict, because although the mission of the CAATs as instruments of public policy is not contested, there is a contest in terms of which public policy goals are prioritized, the economic or the social.

Understanding the nature of regulation and the ability to regulate is indicative of the locus of power which can be internal or external to organizations. According to Kells the “act of regulation involves both examining a condition or level of performance and the action to sustain or to change that condition or level.” Kells suggests that regulation relates to quality (quality assurance, quality assessment and quality control) and control, and can be viewed in relation to five major elements: the initial act of chartering, statutory requirements including the specifying of governance requirements and degree content, approval for programs, control of appointments, planning, and budgeting controls and monitoring. Kells contends that the purpose of regulation is to monitor and exercise control, showing a major difference between universities who self-regulate and colleges which have regulation imposed upon them, contributing to the process of bureaucratization, institutional rigidity and organizational inflexibility, thereby making

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changes difficult to achieve. Table 2.2. Evidence of Regulation in the CAATs, provides Kells’ elements of regulation in conjunction with examples of regulation in the CAATs.

### Table 2.2. Evidence of Regulation in the CAATs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Elements in the Regulation Process</th>
<th>Evidence of Regulation in the CAATs</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Reporting to the public, government and clients</td>
<td>Requirement to produce annual reports</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Assuring that internal regulatory mechanisms are in place and functioning</td>
<td>Binding Policy Directives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Assessing the achievement of results in light of stated intentions, standards or norms</td>
<td>Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Assessing the adequacy of inputs and the functioning of programs and services</td>
<td>KPIs Postsecondary Education Quality Assurance Board (PEQAB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Achieving planned and leveraged change through leadership, other internal strategies and external peer pressure</td>
<td>Strategic plans Business plans Making Boards of Governors accountable</td>
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### The University Dimension

Continuity versus change was the subject of inquiry for Royce who investigated policy à propos to Ontario’s university system.\(^{116}\) Royce sought to explain why in spite of numerous recommendations from commissions, reports, and task-forces (1945-1996); there was reluctance on the part of the Ontario government to initiate system-level coordination and planning. While Royce advances that government lacked the necessary leadership, she contends that policy continuity is explained by shared values within the

policy community. According to Royce both the government and the universities were absent of the desire for change preferring an autonomous university sector over system-level coordination and planning.

Royce adopts a historiographic approach. Through examination of primary, secondary documents, and personal interviews with key informants, she advances that the original vision was for a provincial university with affiliated colleges. She posits that while history shows that denominational institutions ceded some authority to government in order to secure financial support, the Ontario government continues to choose to adopt a pluralist role, acting as a broker between autonomous institutions. She says, “Ontario universities continue to enjoy a highly autonomous relationship with the provincial government.”

Royce makes some interesting observations with regard to policy continuity, but the study is limited in focus to the Ontario university system, and excludes the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. While Royce acknowledges this omission as a limitation to the study, she does not distinguish between the institutional types: Ontario universities are publicly supported self-governing chartered institutions, and by contrast, Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology are Crown Agencies. Royce also does not explore the impact of institutional structures on policy development and she excludes analysis of documentation from outside of Ontario, including those that offer a national perspective. This latter point is highly significant, given the absence of national higher education policy, and the impact of ideas from external policy community constituents. Although Royce looks at the role of the Council of Ontario Universities, and other intermediary institutions (relevant to the university sector) within the policy community, she does not explore the extent to which their voices or ideas flow and facilitate or impede policy development, or indeed, if they impact policy problem identification or articulation. This omission means that political agency is not fully explored.

\[117\] Royce, “University System Coordination and Planning,” 3.
Higher education policy development is also a subject of interest to Trick who looks at relations between the Ontario government and universities, 1985-2002. Similar to Royce, Trick analysed documentary data and conducted interviews. Trick’s methodology however, marks a significant departure from Royce in that he adopts an historical institutionalist approach to examine the role of ideas and institutions in shaping the relationships. Trick reviewed institutionally-based models of policy continuity and change, and blended the ideas of Hall; Baumgartner and Jones; Pierson; and Coleman, Skogstad and Atkinson, as no single model in his opinion suffices as an explanation for policy continuity and change. Trick posits that policy continuity and change in Ontario’s policy relative to the universities 1985-2002, can be explained by the existence of a dominant paradigm that places boundaries on policy options available.

According to Trick, government desired to exert a degree of authority over Ontario’s universities to further policy goals, but “in spite of the political, economic and fiscal pressures of the late 1980s and 1990s, most elements of government policy towards universities saw little change during this period.” The greatest policy changes were confined to the areas of university research, tuition, student aid and some aspects of system planning. Trick attributes policy continuity to two dominant ideas: access and equality, which he contends have become embedded within the policy space. Trick coins the phrase of an “Access and Equality Paradigm,” which he argues is premised on the two dominant embedded ideas; that all qualified students have the right of have access to a place at an Ontario university, and, that equality is defined as policy to maintain equality between Ontario universities. Trick concludes that the resilience of the dominant paradigm explains why Ontario universities were protected from broader restructuring initiatives from 1995 on, and why new policies (private universities), became layered on top of the existing paradigm.

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120 Trick, “Continuity, retrenchment and renewal,” 5.
Trick defines institutions as “the formal rules and procedures that structured the relationship between university administrators and political and bureaucratic actors.”¹²¹

These institutions include university statutes, operating grants formula, and policy networks. Trick defines policy networks as:

> The set of actors with a direct or indirect interest in university policy who attempted to influence it – dominated by a ministry which, from its inception, lacked the capacity to challenge universities on issues related to their internal governance and administration, and by an association representing university administrations whose policy capacity was bounded by its consensus-based decision-making rules.¹²²

Trick advances the position that while open policy networks have the capacity to influence the development of new policies, this policy network was closed; students, faculty, and alumni organizations were excluded. Trick argues that as so constituted, this closed policy network failed to permit alternative voice in policy development resulting in reinforcement of the dominant paradigm.

Like Royce, Trick confines the policy space for his examination to Ontario’s university system, to the exclusion of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. While noting situational factors, especially economic, within the broad policy environment, Trick does not explore how these factors may or may not contribute to demands or agency for policy continuity or change. Similarly, Trick omits discussion of problem identification, construction and/or articulation which may be significant with regards to agency. While this may be symptomatic of the closed policy network as identified, Trick’s historical institutionalist approach and blended model prevents exploration of how these voices may have been expressed elsewhere, or indeed how they may have contributed to the structuring of initiatives. Trick does advance our understanding of policy development in Ontario’s university system, but the exclusion of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology is a significant omission, as Trick’s findings with regard to policy continuity

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¹²¹ Trick, “Continuity, retrenchment and renewal,” 5.

¹²² Trick, “Continuity, retrenchment and renewal,” 5.
and change exclude consideration of policy actors (either government or CAATs policy actors) and the intent to implement policy change through CAAT sector initiatives.

Trick’s discussion of methodology is also worthy of mention. While he very briefly discusses the Multiple Streams Model, he concentrates on the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory of agenda-setting which argues that the Multiple Streams Model is “most relevant when new policy principles are under consideration and the policy-making process is volatile.” The fact that Trick looks at policy development pertinent to Ontario’s universities exclusively means that he overlooks elements of volatility pertinent to CAAT policy including new policy principles that were being discussed including advocacy, and the ramifications of Crown Agency reclassification initiatives. Trick does note however, that Ontario higher education policy has not received the same attention from political scientists as other areas of policy such as health, elementary and secondary education, and social services, making policy development research (to which this thesis contributes) all the more pressing. Questions regarding the policy development process, policy goals, and the role of strategic actors therefore need to be asked.

**The Multiple Streams Model**

Government involvement in higher education in Ontario continues to be very significant, reflective of the fact that higher education is recognized by decision-makers as a means to achieve identified policy goals. In Ontario, higher education continues to be structured into a binary system, with university and non-university postsecondary institutional types. Differentiation in both parts of the system continues to blur the divide. Ontario’s twenty publicly supported, self-governing, autonomous university institutions are recognised both by the government and the public to be important for research and innovation, the preservation and advancement of knowledge, and human capital development. The work of Royce and Trick illustrate that Ontario governments, while recognising the importance of universities, have continued to prefer a policy of financial support over more direct

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forms of involvement in either executive or operational affairs. By contrast, the Ontario government continues to have some direct involvement with the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology system.

The CAATs were formed in 1965 as Schedule III Crown Agencies of Ontario. They continue to be Crown agents but now have unclassified agency status. The CAATs do not have individual charters; the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 and O.Reg 34/03 constitute the legislated components of the governance arrangements. Final executive authority is still held by the Ontario government through the Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities. The CAATs are also subject to Minister’s Binding Directives, and Powers of Intervention have been retained by the Minister. The Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 does provide individual CAATs with more autonomy than they previously held. It specifies that each college’s board of governors is a non-share corporation, 2002, c.8, Sched. F, s.3 (2) and the CAATs may undertake property transactions, and enter into contracts with business, industry, and other educational institutions for the purposes of achieving their objects.

While higher education’s importance as a policy field is not in dispute, academic inquiry into higher education policy grounded through political theory has been limited to date. Little work has been done on the CAAT sector, and none using the Multiple Streams Model. Royce, and Trick, both make a contribution to knowledge of policy development in Ontario’s university sector. Royce by adopting a historiographic approach and focusing on values in the policy community assumes a singular historiography and a rational/linear process within a pluralist framework. Trick through the adoption of an historical institutional approach, advances analysis and explains policy continuity as the result of embedded ideas within a dominant paradigm. Trick concludes that the dominant paradigm places boundaries on policy options available. By arriving at this conclusion

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The Corporations Act, protects governors from personal liability providing they exercise due standard of care in carrying out their duties, coincident with their skills level and qualifications.
Trick assumes that a silent consensus exists within a closed policy network, the outer layer of which has become institutionalized and thus impermeable to new ideas or agency. Trick’s model is therefore unsuitable for this study, as policy development in the CAATs did result in significant policy change and departure from previous institutionalized arrangements.

The absence of inquiry into CAATs policy development from a political science approach may in part be due to an assumption that the CAAT may have a closed policy network similar to the universities. This assumption would also lead to the presumption that policy development is mainly transactional between the colleges and the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities. This requires inquiry. However, discovering the openness or extent of the policy network is secondary to the immediate requirement of providing knowledge of the policy development process and policy change to 2002. A major change to the organizational status and arrangements of the CAATs has taken place. Because the political science inquiries have been limited to date, the role of policy actors and intermediary institutions (especially ACAATO) has not been documented. Similarly, we have no knowledge of policy problems as portrayed, identified policy goals, individual agency, or political strategies.

Trick shows the potential of political science frameworks for the advancement of knowledge of policy development of universities, and while Trick’s methodology is relevant to the study of policy continuity in the university system a different methodological lens is more appropriate for CAAT policy development analysis. Six models of policy analysis were presented earlier in this chapter. Each highlight important points for consideration, but all suffer from the inability to explain why some policy changes occur at a particular point in time while others do not. The Multiple Streams Model has not been applied to Ontario higher education policy previously. It offers significant potential to advance knowledge as it shows that policy development is not just transactional but includes a multiplicity of forces and activities.
The Multiple Streams Model of agenda setting is based on the work of John W. Kingdon whose pivotal work “Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies” was first published in 1984.\textsuperscript{125} Kingdon focuses on the complex pre-decision stage of the policy-making process and offers an alternative model to advance understanding. He takes issue with the stages model of policy-making which attempts to describe policy-making as a process operating within a broad policy environment with a series of inputs, outputs and feedback mechanisms.\textsuperscript{126}

Kingdon conducted case study research of federal policy-making in the United States. He conducted a total of two hundred and forty seven in-depth interviews with key decision-makers and policy actors multiple times between 1976 and 1979. The subject of study was policy change in health and transportation policy over three decades. Kingdon adopted a conversational style of interviewing from which he weaves a narrative. The interview data were supplemented by documentary evidence.

Drawing upon the concept of organized anarchy initially proposed by Cohen, March and Olsen in 1972, Kingdon posits that the policy process is organized into three major streams: problems, policies and politics. The streams are fluid and largely operate independently from each other.\textsuperscript{127} Interest groups, pressure groups and experts play a role in the policy process by exerting influence on alternative specifications. Policy entrepreneurs are instrumental, they seek to connect the streams at opportune times continually waiting and looking for opportunities; open policy windows.

Kingdon identifies three streams of processes. The problem stream is where policy problems come to the attention of policy makers. This can be as a result of crisis or an impending problem that requires attention. The policy stream is where ideas and

\textsuperscript{125} John W. Kingdon, Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984).

\textsuperscript{126} The stages model is used by Hamblin for his study of the policy making process for the development of Ontario’s CAAT system of colleges.

proposals are found, usually generated by a policy community as a result of an accumulation of specialist knowledge or technological changes in a given policy area. Policy entrepreneurs in this stream advocate and broker for their ideas to be accepted as solutions. Proposals generated in the policy stream must be feasible and acceptable. Ideas facilitate the placement of an issue on the government’s agenda and provide viable solutions to policy problems. The political stream is where politics takes place. This can include political processes such as elections, interest group activities, public opinion and changes in administration. In the political stream the three components that influence the political agenda are public mood, organized interests and government. In the Multiple Streams Model, these three streams of processes provide impetus for change or constraint. However, according to Kingdon the key to understanding policy change is not the idea, but what makes it take hold and grow. The climate in government and the degree of receptivity may explain the prominence of the problem and policy options, but it is multiple-causation and a combination of sources that explains policy change. Because of the complexity of policy innovation, in order for policy change to occur, the ‘coupling’ of the three streams must take place at an opportune time, that is, when a ‘policy window’ is open. As Neilson says:

The main argument of the agenda-setting model is that it gives attention to the flow and timing of policy activities in terms of its focus on how subjects or issues are selected for the policy agenda (problems) and how alternatives are considered (solutions).

Policy windows are opportunities for policy initiatives. These ‘windows’ can open and close at any time, and when open they don’t stay open for long. It is also difficult to predict exactly when a ‘window’ will open. According to Kingdon they are more likely to open when changes occur in the political stream (for example when there is a change in government or a change in the public mood), and closure can occur when participants

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128 A policy window is an opportunity for change. Problems and solutions move up to the decision-making agenda. Proposals can already be in the policy stream, but are moved up as a result of coupling.

feel that the problem has been sufficiently addressed, action has failed to happen, the event prompting the opening has passed, personnel have changed, or in some cases where a solution to a policy problem is not available. Occasionally, participants may choose not to take advantage of an open window fearing the unpredictability of the outcome.

While the concepts of policy windows and coupling are clearly major descriptive contributions, they also introduce us to the role of actors. Policy entrepreneurs may be experts, leaders or decision makers. They play a crucial role in the coupling of processes. They are central to our understanding of policy change. Policy entrepreneurs are persistent, and politically connected. They link issues with possible solutions. Their role is the joining of streams either through advocacy, or brokerage and negotiation. As an analyst for an interest group told Kingdon, policy entrepreneurs are like “surfers waiting for the big wave.”  

Kingdon contends that “when researching case studies, one can nearly always pinpoint a particular person, or at most a few persons, who were central in moving a subject up on the agenda and into position for enactment.” The broad parameters of the Multiple Streams Model are shown in Figure 2.1 Multiple Streams Model.

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**Figure 2.1. Multiple Streams Model**


Does the Multiple Streams Model have any limitations? Neilson points out that the Multiple Streams Model is based on western democratic systems, and that its application to one party or non-democratic states where there are no organized interests is doubtful. It must also be noted that the crucial aspect to this model is that the problem must be recognized. Dunn identifies types of questions for policy analysis, and suggests that it is necessary to first ask about the nature of the problems for which a solution is being sought. Kingdon agrees and says,

For a condition to be a problem, people must be convinced that something should be done to change it. People in and around government make that translation by evaluating conditions in light of their values, by comparisons between people or between [other countries], and by classifying conditions into one category or another.

Using Dunn may advance our questioning in regard to the Multiple Streams Model in that the structuring of the policy argument must be considered. There is also some potential for public choice theory to be applied to help advance our understanding and knowledge of policy entrepreneurs.

Zahariadis posits that in Kingdon’s model outcomes can be unpredictable. He argues that the Multiple Streams Model has capacity but, is not zero-sum in that specialization can expand the agenda and a crisis can create a policy window. Zahariadis’ applied the Multiple Streams Model to telecommunications and privatization policy in two countries, England and France, and concluded that the model can be applied outside the United States, but his research in the United Kingdom suggests that amendments be made to assign primary importance to political parties, and that the model be broadened to include

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132 Neilson, “Knowledge Utilization.”
133 Dunn, *Public Policy Analysis*.
the entire policy formation process, as in certain countries (Britain for example) some streams have more weight and dynamic than others.

Stone works within a social constructionist framework and is interested in “how situations come to be seen as caused by human action and amenable to human intervention.” Stone claims that causal ideas are often missed in the analysis of the policy process. She posits that it is possible for actors to portray issues in certain ways. By distinguishing between intended and unintended consequences, Stone contends that it is possible to identify causality in terms or purpose or otherwise. By offering a typology which includes four dimensions of causality: mechanical cause, accidental cause, intentional cause and inadvertent cause, within a model which uses complex systems, institutionals, and historical or structural as three broad types, Stone is able to show how ideas as well as interests have causal weight, as actors build a case for themselves and attribute blame/cause. It is how arguments are packaged which determines whether issues get onto the policy agenda, argues Stone.

Stone’s contribution adds another dimension to the Multiple Streams Model and shows that how the way ideas and interests are framed can play a causal role. Kingdon’s policy entrepreneurs offer an example to illustrate Stone’s contribution, in that the policy entrepreneurs attempt to couple solutions to perceived problems. Clearly, how the solution is packaged contributes to successful movement to the decision-making agenda. Stone by offering a Weberian concept based on meaning and action rather than just an ends and means conception also advances our understanding of endogenous factors.

The Second Edition of *Agendas, Alternative, and Public Policies* was originally published in 1995. In the Second Edition, Kingdon reviews the Multiple Stream Model, and maintains that, “in the main, the picture of agenda-setting, alternative specification,

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and policy formation presented in the first edition remains accurate and useful."¹³⁷ Kingdon therefore elected to keep “the body of the book exactly the same as it was in the first edition” following the maxim that, “if it ain’t broke don’t fix it.”¹³⁸ Kingdon adds an additional chapter to the Second Edition; Chapter 10, “Some Further Reflections,” to reflect on theories and descriptions of events since the First Edition was published in 1984. In the new chapter, Kingdon adds information from three case studies each of which are major policy events of the post-Carter years. The “Reagan revolution” in the federal budget 1981, the tax reform act of 1986, and the 1993 health care initiative of the Clinton administration are identified as these major policy events. These additional cases in Kingdon’s opinion, confirm the validity of the Multiple Streams Model and its broader application. Furthermore, Kingdon claims that the case of the Tax Reform Act of 1986, illustrates that other models of policy-making analysis can’t explain the policy outcome, thereby confirming that “the concepts developed in the first edition of this book help us to understand why the agenda changed, and why reform became possible.”¹³⁹ As Kingdon says,

It turns out that the model presented in this book, which stresses the confluence of separate streams of problems, policies, and politics at critical junctures, facilitated by entrepreneurs alert to the prospects of coupling divergent forces, helps us quite a lot in understanding these events. This model also does noticeably better than several plausible alternative models.¹⁴⁰

In the Second Edition of Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies, Kingdon also discusses his original work in the light of subsequent commentaries about the Multiple Streams Model, and presents his reflections. Kingdon addresses the question of whether the processes described by the model are highly fluid, and contends that the assertion of fluidity should not be interpreted as randomness, as the model has some structure.


Kingdon argues that the processes within the policy streams are constrained by many things and to clarify his point, he offers the description of a river flowing within its banks which restrict the movement. Kingdon asserts that policy entrepreneurs work within the structures, and maintains that the Multiple Stream Model is testable, remains useful, and is descriptive.\footnote{Kingdon, \textit{Agendas}, (2003).}

With regard to the question of ‘Sudden, Sharp Change’ and whether Baumgartner and Jones’ Punctuated Equilibrium Theory offers a more plausible explanation of policy change, in the Second Edition of \textit{Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies}, Kingdon disputes Baumgartner and Jones’ contention that sudden sharp changes in policy are always reflections of punctuations in the policy equilibrium.\footnote{Baumgartner and Jones, \textit{Agendas and Instability}.} Adaptation not equilibrium according to Kingdon is the hallmark of the policy process. Furthermore, Kingdon argues that sudden policy changes may look like punctuated equilibrium but, in reality, proposals are not developed from scratch when a policy window suddenly opens; they take considerable time to develop and must be ready beforehand.

In the Second Edition of \textit{Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies}, Kingdon also discusses the independence of streams and references the Advocacy Coalition Framework. Kingdon maintains that each stream in the policy-making process has a life of its own, and disagrees that the streams are closely related. However, he does accept that there are links between streams at times, due to the fact that couplings are attempted quite often. Kingdon also accepts that institutions place important constraints on policy-making.

Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Model still has considerable relevancy today, evidenced by the reissue of the Second Edition of \textit{Agendas, Alternative, and Public Policies} as a Longmann Classic in Political Science in 2003. In considering the potential of the Multiple Streams Model, this researcher argues that the model has transferability for
policy analysis praxis and provides a lens to view and examine the policy development process 1990 to 2002 pertinent to the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology.

Summary

This chapter has (a) defined public policy and identified the complexities embedded within the definition, (b) considered six models of policy analysis and identified strengths and weaknesses of each, and (c) summarized and examined the literature on higher education policy relevant to the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs). The literature review shows that there is a gap in our knowledge of CAAT policy development and policy change, and demonstrates a need for policy development analysis. John W. Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Model has been offered as a lens to advance understanding in this regard. As a methodology, the model has the potential to guide data collection, reveal agency, and provide insight into the interplay between problems, policy ideas and politics. The Multiple Streams Model therefore provides a mechanism and framework through which CAAT policy development 1990-2002 can be charted and analysed.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

Background, Purpose, Objectives

The background and context for this study is Ontario higher education policy and the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs). The study charts the policy development process over a twelve year period, from the Vision 2000 Taskforce report in 1990, which represents an example of a rational comprehensive planning attempt, to the passing of the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002.

The Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002, changed the governance arrangements for the CAATs. As unclassified Crown Agencies, with local boards of governors constituted as non-share corporations, the CAATs have more flexibility to govern themselves, subject to Minister’s Binding Directives and statutory reporting requirements. The Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000, changed the parameters for degree granting in Ontario. This legislation ended the universities monopoly over degree granting in the province and enables the CAATs and other institutions to include baccalaureate degrees in their programming nomenclature, subject to receiving Ministerial consent. The future impact of these policy changes is presently unknown. However, there is no doubt that these policy changes set a new trajectory for Ontario’s college system. The purpose of this study is to explain why these policy changes took place.

Although public policy is a well developed field within political science, no systematic academic research using political science models has been undertaken to chart or explain the recent changes in Ontario higher education policy pertinent to the CAATs. This oversight may be due in part to underlying assumptions that the CAATs and the provincial government represent a single line relationship modeled on the politics / administration dichotomy. The absence may also be partly explained by consideration of the CAATs’ mandate, as the vocational objective has resulted in a greater emphasis on teaching and training, hence, faculty, administration and staff, are less involved in
academic research compared to their university counterparts.\textsuperscript{1} In addition, the research that has been undertaken has mainly focused on applied themes relative to praxis. Consequently, little is known about how the policy changes occurred or how policy actors and institutions affected policy development. The objective of this study is to correct this omission and to reveal the roles of policy actors and institutions, and illustrate their capacity to influence, inhibit or facilitate the direction, course, or outcomes of higher education policy in Ontario. The researcher anticipates that the knowledge gained will inform future policy-makers, and others interested in policy development.

\textbf{Assumptions}

The previous chapter examined six political science models, and concluded with the presentation of the Multiple Streams Model as a lens for this study. A commonality in all seven models is the pluralist setting in which policy development takes place. This author therefore acknowledges the assumptions that underlie this research. First, there is an assumption that a civil society exists and that the political structures of said society permit democratic involvement in the policy process either through institutional structures or through civil society itself. Second, there is an assumption that the relationship between the state and civil society is not fixed and that capacity for the exercise of power exists and is not necessarily conceptualized in zero-sum terms. Third, there is an assumption that contestation of interests occurs within a polyarchical setting but, the existence of plural interests does not imply equal opportunity for influence. Finally, there is an assumption that changes in public policies are possible.

\textbf{Research Methodology}

The choice of a research methodology is always a subjective exercise, governed to an extent by the researcher’s standpoint, but also by the scope of the project, availability of resources, and accessibility of data. The ontological aspects may be apparent through the

\footnote{Until 2002, CAAT faculty were almost not at all involved in research other than for graduate studies.}
acceptance of assumptions, but the following sections will provide further understanding of the rationale for the adoption of the methodological approach and data collection methods associated with this study.

**Time Line**
As outlined in the previous chapter, political scientists have critiqued the rational comprehensive planning model (which attributes policy change to a planned policy-making process, wherein decision-makers consider all policy options and analyse them in conjunction with the policy problem(s) and policy goals) on the basis that the model does not actually represent what happens during the policy development process. The Vision 2000 study was initiated in 1988 and represents a good example of an attempt at a rational comprehensive planning exercise for the CAAT system. As the Vision 2000 report and recommendations were presented in 1990, it provides an excellent point of commencement for this study. The twelve year period between Vision 2000 and the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 also provides an opportunity to see the time dimension in this policy development process.

**A Single Case Study**
All methodologies have opportunity costs. Case studies can provide actual examples of policy development. The comparative case study method using a small number of cases can provide a means to produce quantitative data in an area where the only alternative would be qualitative. However, the uniqueness of the CAAT sector prohibits even small N analysis – that is, comparison between a few cases (less than 15) for the purpose of generating statistical data.²

The Colleges of Applied Arts & Technology constitute a unique sector of higher education. The institutional arrangements for other college systems in Canada differ markedly from the CAATs, stemming from diversity and provincial objectives influenced by geography, religion, ethnicity, language, culture and history. The uniqueness of the

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CAAT system of colleges limits the researcher’s options; a single case study is therefore the most appropriate form of approach for this study.

A single case study should not be seen as a limitation. According to Archer, Gibbons, and Youngman “most political science research can be seen, implicitly or explicitly, as case study research” as the theoretical nature of political science is such that researchers do not merely describe their findings, but they analyse said findings within a theoretical framework.³ A case study also enables a researcher to gain a good understanding with respect to the subject of study.

While case studies have limitations, as far as it is not possible to generalize or apply the findings to another context or compare results to other studies, no claims are made in this regard. As McNeil says, “there is no claim to representativeness, and the essence of the technique is that each subject studied, whether it be an individual, a group, an event, or an institution, is treated as a unit on its own.”⁴ Shively Phillips argues that the choice of case is important, as the choice can influence the outcome.⁵ It is for this reason that this study does not confine analysis only to the immediate period during which the policy changes took place. A twelve year period 1990-2002 was chosen to provide clarity and insight into the pre-decision processes.

**Qualitative Approach**

A qualitative approach has been adopted for this study for three reasons. First, public policy has a human dimension. Human agency, social norms, and values underpin many aspects of the policy development process. This study acknowledges the normative and does not claim to be empirical. Second, the policy development process relative to the parameters of this study has previously been uncharted. Due to the absence of prior

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research, any attempt by this researcher to generate a testable hypothesis and identify an independent variable in advance of data collection would be subjective, presenting the danger of generating spurious results. Third, the historical dimension of the study precludes the necessity to future forecast as the changes in policy have already occurred. The post-ante aspect of the study is therefore more suitable to descriptive analysis. The design of the study therefore does not include a hypothesis, instead, the researcher offers the following guiding statement:

The changes in higher education policy relating to the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology during the period 1990-2002 cannot be explained simply as an output of government policy and rational comprehensive planning. The policy process is dynamic and includes ‘multiple streams’ (problems, policy ideas and politics), and multi-actions (actors, and institutions) which have the capacity to influence, inhibit or facilitate the direction, course or outcomes of higher education policy in Ontario.

Multiple Streams Model
As discussed in chapter two, due to the complexity of public policies and the processes associated with their development, political science inquiry is assisted by the utilization of theories and models, the choice and appropriateness of which may be determined by a researcher’s standpoint, the stage of the policy process under study, and the subject of study. Theories and models therefore provide the researcher with a platform from which to view the subject of study, a lens to provide focus which in so doing can guide the researcher in data collection, and a tool to organize and analyse the findings.

The previous chapter included a detailed review of models of public policy analysis. The Multiple Streams Model (outlined in the previous chapter) was first presented by Kingdon in 1984, and reviewed in 1995 where he came to the same conclusions regarding the streaming of the agenda setting / policy development stage of the policy process. The Multiple Streams Model was chosen as a methodological lens for this study because it

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represents a superior model to the alternatives including: the Rational Comprehensive Planning model, Incrementalism, Public Choice Theory, Historical Institutionalism, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, and the Advocacy Coalition framework, each of which are examined in chapter two together with their strengths and limitations. The examination of models has shown the superiority of the Multiple Streams Model to provide insight into the policy development process. This is further evidenced by the number of yearly citations in the social science index, and the reissuing of the Second Edition of “*Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*” (originally published in 1995,) in 2003, as a Longmann Classic in Political Science. However, the objective here is not to duplicate what has previously been said in chapter two about the Multiple Streams Model, but it is appropriate to reiterate the premises of the model to provide clarity for the rationale of the data collection process, and the organization of the findings of this study which follow in the subsequent chapters.

The Multiple Streams Model does not claim comprehensiveness. It is not a general model which covers all aspects of the policy process including implementation and policy evaluation. Instead it focuses on the pre-decision stage of the policy development process, which Kingdon refers to as agenda setting, the difference in terminology reflecting Kingdon’s case study research which covers federal policy making in the United States. Kingdon’s research findings led him to conclude that the policy-making process is not chaotic, but can be characterized by the flow of three streams: problems, policies (ideas), and politics. Kingdon assigns primacy to the role of policy entrepreneurs who couple the streams of processes during times of open policy windows, thereby effecting policy change.

Kingdon conducted his research over a five year period 1976-1979. He interviewed key decision-makers and policy actors in the United States multiple times, asking questions in a conversational style regarding health and transportation policy over three decades. Kingdon supplemented the interview data with documentary evidence. Kingdon

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conducted a total of 247 interviews. He generates empirical data from the narrative by coding the interviewees by position at time of the interview, and by either current or former position. Prior to the interviews Kingdon generated interview questions designed to gain insight into “hot issues,” “what’s on the front burner,” and how they came to be “hot proposals.”\textsuperscript{8} Potential agenda items were then coded by prominence and analysed statistically.

\textit{Data Collection Methods}

Kingdon’s data collection methods are not replicated \textit{as is} for this study for three major reasons:

1. Kingdon analyses cases of agenda setting/policy development at the federal level in the United States. Canada’s federal government has markedly different political institutions and practices of decision-making.\textsuperscript{9}
2. Canada is without a national higher education policy.
3. This study of the CAATs is a single case study and has no comparative groups for empirical testing.

Other factors to consider regarding the replication of methods include the provincial setting for policy development for the CAATs, the binary divide in Ontario’s higher education system, the time period under study, the absence of prior knowledge to identify independent variable(s), and the post ante, historical aspect of the twelve year period. In consideration of these differences, the methods of data collection for this study go beyond Kingdon’s, using the Multiple Streams Model as a lens to guide data collection and to organize the findings.


\textsuperscript{9} In the US system the president and political administration have a major impact on setting the agenda, but Congress is also powerful as it gets to select the alternatives. Unlike in Canada where our federal system is designed to facilitate policy making by the executive branch of government, the U.S. federal system is designed to inhibit change, hence the separation of powers between the Congress (consisting of the Senate and House of Representatives) and the presidency. In addition, the U.S. governmental system allows free votes, whereas the principle of responsible government is a significant convention in the Canadian system of government at federal and provincial/territorial levels.
Documents
The study used primary and secondary data collection methods. Secondary data methods included the collection of primary and secondary documents. Government documents, government publications, Sessional Debates of the Ontario Legislature, position papers, information from political parties, newspaper articles, published reports, advocacy materials, and position papers were collected from websites, libraries, and archives. Additional secondary data included documents and publications from the website of Colleges Ontario, previously known as the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario (ACAATO). Primary documents were principally collected from the ACAATO records housed within the George Brown College Archives at the Casa Loma Campus of George Brown College, in Toronto, Ontario. The records available in the archives include correspondence, reports and documents from other policy actors in addition to ACAATO specific documentation. The George Brown College Archives also house the historical records of George Brown College presidents and other senior college officials. These records were accessed to fill in data gaps as needed. Primary documents gathered included Meeting Agendas, Minutes, Action Items Summaries of Meetings, letters, memoranda, meeting notes, committee reports, media publications, conference materials, commissioned reports, workshop materials, presentations, position papers, and other correspondence.

The data collection commenced with the gathering of secondary documents. As little was known about how and why the policy changes occurred it was necessary to collect as much available secondary data as possible. The researcher began with gathering key historical documents including the Vision 2000 reports and historical reviews of the CAAT system including Skolnik and Gandz. These documentary reports were available

10 Colleges Ontario was previously named, the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario (ACAATO). As the name change was effective subsequent to the period covered by this study, the former title is used throughout to maintain consistency with the data.

from the Colleges Compensation and Appointments Council website. Study team reports and background papers for Vision 2000 were accessed from Conestoga College’s Learning Resource Centre, where the government documents section was also searched for reports and other documents pertinent to the subject, and time period of this study.

Documentary data collection then progressed to the publications section of the website of the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (MTCU) of the Government of Ontario. Relevant legislative documents including Statutes and Regulations, other reports, and publications, were downloaded and printed for review. As the MTCU provides a link to the ACAATO website it was a natural progression to conduct a thorough search of the same. All relevant documentation was downloaded and printed. Documents collected from the ACAATO website included media releases, backgrounders, position papers, academic research papers, Aide Memoires, some Governors’ Updates, Annual Reports and other miscellaneous documentation.

A search of the University of Toronto Libraries’ catalogue was also conducted for the purposes of identifying relevant government documents as yet uncollected, together with reports and publications on the CAATs. Information on governing political parties referent to the period 1990 – 2002 was also collected, some via the websites of Ontario political parties directly. Several more generalized searches of the worldwide web were conducted using ‘key words’ and the Google search engine. These provided links to other relevant documents from external institutions such as, the Council of Ontario Universities (COU), the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (OCUFA) and more. These were assessed for relevance to the subject of this study, the time period, and the Multiple Streams Model. Subsequent key word specific worldwide web searches were made as required to facilitate the gathering of additional secondary documents for review and to check for any gaps in the data.

A research diary was kept primarily to facilitate in the recording of the collection of documentary data from archival sources, prior to which the Multiple Streams Model was used as a lens to identify criteria within the streams from which a set of questions were developed to guide the collection of relevant documents. Table 3.1. Multiple Streams Model Guide for Collection and Analysis of Documents provides an outline of these questions.

The majority of the archival research was conducted between July 06, 2006, and April 17, 2007. The researcher spent in excess of 260 hours reviewing and photocopying documents within the George Brown College Archives, prior to more detailed thorough analysis. With the assistance of Mr. Robert Macaulay the archivist at the George Brown College Archives, the researcher was provided with hard copies of Finding Aids. Finding Aids list the contents of boxed records by source, for example, ‘ACAATO Administration and Committee Records.’ The Finding Aids include some titles of documents and dates, for example, ‘Minutes, and Papers, 24Ap1991.’ However, as the records are catalogued by source of material (e.g. Executive Director’s Files), the contents of boxed records are not comprehensively listed, making the research process complex and lengthy, requiring the surveying of many thousands of documents. An example of a Finding Aid is provided in the appendices. (See Appendix F Accession No.: 2005-38 Administration and Committee Records)

Prior to developing a process for gathering primary documentary data, some preliminary review work was necessary to enable the researcher to understand the internal organizational arrangements, and to learn how to search the archives efficiently and effectively. For example, on the July 06, 2006 visit to the archives, the researcher reviewed Accession No: 2002/06/22. The Finding Aid showed that this box contained ACAATO publications from 1980-2000(2001) and ACAATO Handbooks 1981 – on.

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12 The archive has the facility to search Finding Aids by key word via a DOS based program. However, as the Accession numbers and boxes are organized by source, it was the researcher’s experience that key word searches only would have overlooked much of the significant data found by using more lengthy review methods.
Table 3.1. Multiple Streams Model Guide for Collection and Analysis of Documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem Stream</th>
<th>Policy Stream</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What was the nature of the problem for which a solution was being sought?</td>
<td>1. What ideas and proposals existed in the policy community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How was the problem framed?</td>
<td>2. What specialist knowledge had been accumulated in the policy area?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What elements went into the definition of the problem?</td>
<td>3. What policy relevant information was drawn upon to provide the basis and support for the structuring of the problem and the policy argument, including policy claims, warrants, qualifiers and rebuttals?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How well was the problem understood?</td>
<td>4. Was the policy community confined to immediate stakeholders or was research from the external policy environment and/or epistemic communities considered?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. What research was undertaken to discover the nature of the problem?</td>
<td>5. What policy ideas and ideologies were dominant at the time of the policy change?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. What role did research play in the policy process?</td>
<td>6. Did members of the policy community share similar beliefs or was there dissent with regard to either the nature of the problem or the solution?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Who were the most important stakeholders who affected and were affected by the problem?</td>
<td>7. Who were the main advocates (policy entrepreneurs)? Were they experts, leaders or decision makers (or a combination)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. What antecedent conditions and/or values provided the background and context for the problem?</td>
<td>8. What interests were being promoted?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. What policy goals and objectives were identified?</td>
<td>9. Whose interests were being promoted?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Were the policy goals and objectives appropriate considering the problem?</td>
<td>10. Who determined whether the proposed solution was feasible and acceptable?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. What uncertain events were taken into account?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Was the problem (for which a solution was being sought) the right problem?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Stream</th>
<th>Coupling and the Policy Window</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What was the public mood at the time of the policy change?</td>
<td>1. What specific conditions existed at the time of the policy change that likely had an impact on the coupling of streams, or caused an open policy window?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How did the public mood influence the political agenda?</td>
<td>2. Was there a change in political culture prior to, or at the time of change?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How were interests organized?</td>
<td>3. Did a policy window open due to a crisis, a change in public mood, by an election, or impending election?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Who were the main advocates?</td>
<td>4. How were the streams coupled?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How did the main advocates voice their message?</td>
<td>5. Was coupling done gradually or opportunistically?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Which political party was in office?</td>
<td>6. How was the agenda advanced? By whom?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. What was the position of the government at the time of the change?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Upon reviewing the contents of the box, it was found that the ACAATO Handbooks 1981-1987 all carried the ACAATO Constitution in the first few pages. However, the 1988-89 Handbook did not include the constitution; instead, an introduction was substituted followed by the ACAATO Corporate By-Law. Further checking of the boxed records revealed that ACAATO had incorporated in 1988 and changed its purpose and objectives. While this information predated the period of this study, the information was relevant as it enabled the researcher to appreciate the dynamics of the institution whose role and objects had changed in conjunction with the evolution of the CAATs. Similarly, during this first visit, the researcher was able to review various documents including Annual Reports from 1994 and 1995, the Mini-Scan for 1995, and 1996/1997 ACAATO Handbooks. This preliminary material facilitated the familiarization of the ACAATO structure and publications.

The gathering of documents commenced with finding and photocopying the Governors’ Updates which provided information to inform governors about current affairs pertinent to the CAATs and arising concerns. Governors’ Updates were collected for the years 1994 to October 2002. From these materials (and others), the researcher was then able to identify patterns, themes and emerging issues. A primary document collection process was then developed by the researcher, this included:

- Use of the Finding Aids to identify the Accession Numbers of boxes, containing documents of relevant date, source and potential interest
- Scanning all of the materials in the identified box for relevance to the Multiple Streams Model Guide for Collection and Analysis of Documents
- Photocopying every relevant document for more thorough review (because archived documents are not boxed chronologically and contextually, the researcher wanted to ensure that documents were analysed within the fullest most exact context possible).

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13 An ACAATO publication for CAAT governors issued to October 2002.
It was found that the archives’ records also contained supplementary documents to ACAATO records. For example, Minutes of Meetings were often preceded with the distribution of the Agenda with appendices, which often included copies of government reports to be discussed at the meeting, letters, memos, papers and more. Where the same materials were readily available, for example, via websites, the information was noted and the documents were gathered separately; where unavailable elsewhere, the researcher made photocopies of the relevant pages.

ACAATO documents included records from: the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors, the Council of Governors (COG), the General Assembly of Joint Chairs and Presidents Meetings, the General Assembly, the Executive Committee of Council of Governors and Presidents, ACAATO Conferences, the Executive Director’s files, the Committee of Presidents Executive Committee (COPEX), the Council of Presidents/Committee of Presidents (COP) and other files. Where gaps in dates and materials were noted, the researcher looked for alternative sources in the Finding Aids, for example, in the archived files of George Brown College Vice-President Academic, George Brown President (DE Light), and the Dean of Health Sciences (Mulder) and more.

While the process of documentary data collection was extremely lengthy (approximately 11,469 photocopied pages of documents were taken in the archives alone) the researcher found some information that could not have been gathered by any other data collection method. In fact, during conversations between the researcher and the archivist, some boxes were described as ‘treasure chests’ due to the contents within.

As previously stated this study covers a twelve year period, from Vision 2000 in 1990 to the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002. Charting of this period enabled the researcher to gain insight into a policy development process normally unseen. As part of the methodological procedures the researcher organized the raw data and through analysis was able to provide a narrative charting the policy development process,
and offer an explanation why policy change occurred. The process of organization of the data followed the following procedures:

- Archived documents were reviewed and dates identified. (As archived data had been organized into boxes by source, data were not necessarily archived chronologically.) In addition, as some documents gathered were attachments to others, for example, Agendas of meetings, it was necessary to review said data chronologically, ascertain the context, and consider how it may have impacted policy development.

- Secondary documents and data gathered from non-archival sources were reviewed and organized chronologically.

- Primary and secondary documents were merged and sorted by date.

- Each document was again reviewed and underwent a second screening for relevance to the project using the multiple streams lens and guiding questions.

- The documents were considered within context and relationship to other documents of the same time period.

- Appropriate sections in the documents were highlighted. (In some documents, only part sections were relevant. For example, in Minutes of Meetings some standing items were information only, whereas other parts showed new issues to consider or provided information concerning ongoing items of relevance to the Multiple Streams Model and policy development.)

- Notes were taken, reports summarised etc.

- The data were drafted into a Microsoft Word document, and notes made for further review and organization into policy streams as per the Multiple Streams Model.

- A search for data gaps was conducted, checked and filled.

- The contents of the draft chronological documents were then analysed and organized by problem, policy and political streams pertinent to the Multiple Streams Model to provide a narrative of the policy development process.

- The interview data were then analysed and modeled into the problem, policy and political streams, and organized to provide a narrative via the voices of active policy actors.
Interviews

In contrast to Kingdon the interviews for this study were conducted after the collection of documents. This was done for several reasons:

1. The sequence and processes of policy-making differ between Canada and the United States, and are affected by institutional arrangements including those at the micro-level.
2. The documentary evidence enabled the researcher to identify top level and key policy actors from which to draw an interview sample.
3. Closer access to key policy entrepreneurs was facilitated by having prior knowledge of the names of persons shown by the documentary evidence to have been influential in the policy development process, and those who impacted decision-making and policy outcomes.
4. Prior knowledge (gained from the review and analysis of the documents) enabled in-depth interviewing, and respondent specific questioning.
5. Documentary evidence enabled the researcher to check the validity of the interview data, and seek clarification during the interview if and where necessary.

The purpose of the interviews was to supplement the information gathered with respect to actors and institutions involved in the policy development process and to provide primary dialogue interpretations. The interview population consisted of a sample of twelve persons. The sample size was chosen on the basis of (a) the size of the study, (b) the fact that the interviews were supplementing documentary data, and (c) the limited number of persons holding key institutional positions within the policy community attached to this study. Sample selection was on the basis of the occupancy of key roles in institutions associated with the policy development process at strategic points in time, relevant to the time period covered in this study. The interview sample was drawn from the following participant categories:

- The Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario
- Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology

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The Government of Ontario, associated ministries, and/or agencies\textsuperscript{15} 
- Ontario universities and/or associated institutions.

Participants were recruited from across the participant categories. Key persons as identified through the documentary data were approached first. The acceptance rate precluded the need to move beyond the initial sample of twelve persons. Participants were initially approached by letter, (See Appendix B - Request to Participate Letter). Participants indicated their acceptance to participate by returning the Informed Consent Letter duly signed in the stamped self-addressed return envelope provided (See Appendix C - Informed Consent Letter). There were no reimbursements, remuneration or compensation benefits associated with participation in this study.

Special issues with the interview population included officers (public officials) who may have been constrained by an Oath of Confidentiality. No participant was expected to disclose information covered by such Oaths of Confidentiality, or to otherwise disclose information that may have been subject, or time sensitive in nature. The questions were of a non-personal nature and related to institutions and/or professional roles. Participants were able to decline to answer any question(s) that they were not comfortable with, (none did) and could terminate the interview at any time (none did). Participants were also free to withdraw from the study at any time.

Eleven semi-structured interviews were conducted between January and April 2007, each being approximately 60 minutes in duration. (One interview was cancelled, just prior to the appointment, as the participant was called away on business, and was unable to reschedule.) All participants occupy (or have occupied) positions within (or associated with) institutions as specified as participant categories. The interviews were voice-recorded with the permission of the participants, and transcripts were sent to them for review within three weeks of the interview, at which point they were able to correct any

\textsuperscript{15} The Council of Regents was renamed in the OCAAT ACT, 2002, as the Colleges Compensation and Appointments Council. The former title is used throughout this study to maintain consistency with the data.
errors or omissions, and delete any comments that upon reflection they did not wish to be included in the findings of the study. Participants returned the authorized transcripts to the researcher in the stamped self-addressed envelope provided, within 14 days of receipt. (See Appendix D. Transcript Authorization) Four interviews were conducted face to face. Seven interviews were conducted via the telephone, at the individual participant’s request. The Interview Schedule with sample questions is attached as Appendix E.

The researcher is not associated with any of the participants. The researcher is currently a faculty member at Conestoga College Institute of Technology, and previously served a three year term of office (September 2005-August 2008) as an internal governor on the Board of Governors of the same institution. This relationship did not impact the research.

In accordance with the Ethics Protocol and the University of Toronto’s guidelines, the privacy and confidentiality of interview participants is protected and respected at all times. No personal information is used or disclosed in the study, or will be used in publications, or public presentations associated with this research. Participants are referred to numerically in the data to protect their identity and anonymity. Access to the raw data including voice recordings and transcripts is strictly limited to the researcher and the project supervisor, as per the Ethics Protocol.

As it is necessary to reveal how institutions were involved in the policy development process, limits to confidentiality apply to institutions and their roles and actions at specific points in time, as befits the purpose and objects of this study. The institutions (as specified in the participant categories) are public institutions, or are institutions associated with public policy development through their activities and/or by legislation. The names of individuals in the data, for example, in documents gathered from the public domain, or persons mentioned in the interviews may be unaltered. The researcher has excluded some identifying information in data presented from primary documents gathered from archival records in order to provide some confidentiality to the persons mentioned therein.
Limitations

Policy analysis is complex, and it is necessary to sift through the data and make choices. Due to limitations of time and resources, it is not possible to cover every single aspect of policy development; this is a methodological opportunity cost. The researcher aimed towards comprehensiveness in the data collection. The number of pages of documents collected from archival records was significant. Although the secondary documents are uncounted, the researcher estimates that they represent an equal number, or exceed the number of pages of archival documents. Each page required reading, review, and analysis for relevance to the study and applicability to the Multiple Streams Model used as a lens and guide. In consideration of this, it was necessary to concentrate on main themes and issues. This is accepted as a limitation. It must also be acknowledged that while this inquiry aims to be as objective and as value free as is possible, the researcher accepts that any form of inquiry into the social world can never be complete or totally value free due to embedded values.

There are a number of other limitations associated with this study. The study charts the policy development process from 1990 to 2002. This time period was selected as the Vision 2000 study provided an opportunity for policy development in response to the recommendations offered. As such, Vision 2000 is an example of a rational comprehensive policy planning exercise. While the twelve year period offers sufficient opportunity to chart the policy development process, it must be acknowledged that no matter how long a time period is covered, there will always be some aspects of the context that are not examined.

Examples of aspects not covered by this study include students’ and alumni roles, or absence thereof in the policy development process. In addition, while the federal government is considered as an actor in the context of this study consideration is limited to the impact of federal policy. Federal supply-side policy initiatives are not fully explored as this would require a separate study of similar scope and length. Similarly, while the voice of universities is recognised through position papers and analysis of other
documents, parallel policy development analysis using the Multiple Streams Model is not interwoven in this research, primarily due to the recognition that the university sector was cushioned somewhat from policy changes, and the absence of policy change is explored elsewhere.

Clearly while a major strength of this study is the comprehensiveness and analysis of the documentary data, the main source of primary documents is from the archival records. As such, it must also be acknowledged that it is possible that the perspective of the CAATs may be given more weight due to the availability of data. That said, the researcher attempted to ensure some balance in this regard through the interviews, which enabled significant voices to be heard and recorded directly.

It must also be noted that no attempt was made to analyse the internal dynamics of ACAATO or any other institutions other than as applicable through the documents. Finally, it must be noted that the study while providing multiple perspectives does not attempt to explore the internal dynamics within political parties, or examine other than through the documents collected and the interviews, partisan positioning and influence on public opinion.

**Organization of the Findings**

The purpose of this study is to explain the policy development process germane to the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology and the policy changes brought into effect by 2002. The study used John W. Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Model as a lens to guide data collection and analyse the findings. The methods of data collection for this study go beyond Kingdon’s as documentary evidence was systematically collected and analysed, and then supplemented by the interviews. This reverse data collection process enabled the researcher to identify and gain access to policy entrepreneurs who were closer to influencing decision-making than in Kingdon.16

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Kingdon used institutional position as a coding device from which to draw empirical
evidence from his raw data. This study has by contrast adopted a qualitative approach
which is one of the strengths of the study not a limitation, as this has enabled the
researcher to provide a detailed narrative of events, woven from the documentary
evidence. The findings presented in the following chapters also provide detailed
footnoting (Turabian/Chicago, Notes and Bibliography Style) to validate and source the
data, and assist future inquiry.

The researcher has chosen to present the findings in four separate chapters, due in part to
the extent of the data, but also due to the use of the Multiple Streams Model which
provides a means of organizational analysis. The reader will note that where the activities
of ACAATO or individual CAAT policy actors display an advocacy role or political
intent as evidenced in the documents, data have been organized into the political stream
with government, interest groups and organized interests, as it represents conscious
political action.

Chapter four provides the historical context for the policy structures that emerged during
the 1960s/1970s, and follows with a presentation of the findings from the primary and
secondary documents from January 1990 to June 1995, organized into the three streams
as per the Multiple Streams Model. Chapter five continues the political stream and
presents the data charting the activities between June 1995 and June 1999. Chapter six
covers the period June 1999 to 2002, and presents the findings from the post June 03,
1999 election, through to the policy changes and the approval of the OCAAT Act 2002.
This chapter illustrates policy actors’ activities and how they led to policy change.

The findings from the interviews are provided separately in chapter seven. The separation
enables the voices of key policy actors and policy entrepreneurs to be heard. The
interview data also provide a post ante perspective of events and actions, including: the
coupling of streams, reasons for policy windows opening, and policy entrepreneurship.
The conclusions for the study are presented in chapter eight, which also offers a revised
model for consideration and suggestions for further research.
CHAPTER 4: STRUCTURES, INSTITUTIONS AND STREAMS:
HISTORY – 1995

Introduction

Using the Multiple Streams Model as a lens, primary and secondary documents were collected to provide insight into the sequence of events and actions pertaining to policy development and the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs) during the period 1990-2002. Using the documentary data, this chapter presents an overview of the historical context for policy structures that emerged for the CAATs during the 1960s/1970s, and is followed by findings for the period January 1990 to June 1995, organized both chronologically and contextually into the problem, policy and political streams.

Emerging Structures

Development of a Bureaucracy
The Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology system was established in 1965 to provide postsecondary education and training opportunities for non-university bound high school graduates, adults, and out of school youth. To provide a historical context, data leading to the establishment of institutional arrangements for higher education were collected. The data indicate that the conflicting ideas and interests of a number of policy actors became embedded into the emerging structures, resulting in the formation of a non-rationally planned binary higher education system for Ontario. Higher education policy development for the CAAT system continues to be affected by these institutional policy structures.

Prior to the 1960s, specific and dedicated ministerial arrangements for Ontario higher education did not exist. System expansion in the form of enrolment growth in the universities had started immediately following World War II and continued through the 1950s and 1960s. This growth was in response to societal demands, and related to
demographic trends. Expansion led to the issue of higher education being placed onto the government’s agenda, and hence the development of ministerial arrangements.

The University Committee, appointed in 1958, was the first example of bureaucratic institutional arrangements. Comprised of senior civil servants, the University Committee’s role was to provide advice and assist the government with system planning. Specifically, the University Committee was given the undertaking to gather enrolment, faculty, and finance data and information from the universities. These data provided the basis for operating and capital grants for system expansion. By 1961, the University Committee had added external members and changed its name to the Advisory Committee on University Affairs. However, by 1964, as system expansion continued, it was deemed necessary to create a dedicated government department with direct responsibility for higher education. In May 1964, the ‘Act to Establish the Department of University Affairs’ was passed in the Legislature. The Honourable William Davis, Minister of Education, also became Minister of University Affairs. Working with university presidents through the Committee of Presidents of Universities of Ontario, (the predecessor of the Council of Ontario Universities, 1971), the Department of University Affairs supported higher education through three main programs: operating grants, capital building grants, and student loans and grants.

Creating a Binary System

Societal demands for postsecondary education and training continued to grow during the 1960s. High schools had added an additional year as an option for those seeking entrance to university. However, while Grade 13 provided a pathway for some, it became a barrier to others as “large numbers of four year graduates would not be eligible for university

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1 Fertility rates in Canada increased between 1945-1965; those born during this period are commonly referred to as ‘Baby Boomers.’


3 Government of Ontario, “A Brief History”

4 Government of Ontario, “A Brief History”
admission, but would want further vocationally-oriented education.”\(^5\) Because some school leavers would be denied access to further education and training under these system arrangements, discussion followed as to the best way “to enable each individual, through education, to develop his \((sic)\) potentialities to the fullest degree.”\(^6\) This led to the establishment of Ontario’s non-university postsecondary education sector.

In May 1965, an Amendment to the Department of Education Act was passed, enabling the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology to be established. The CAAT system was designed to provide greater accessibility and an alternative pathway for any secondary school graduate seeking postsecondary training (other than a university education), for adults, and for out of school youth.\(^7\) Initially, the province created CAATs in nineteen geographic areas to maximize accessibility, but this number was exceeded. Centennial and Lambton Colleges were the first of the CAATs to open (Fall 1966). Eighteen more colleges opened in 1968, and by 1972, twenty two CAATs were in operation.\(^8\)

Institutional arrangements for the CAATs divided executive and operational powers and responsibilities. To facilitate response to the communities they served, each college was set up with a Board of Governors. Coordination on a system level was through the Ontario Council of Regents (COR), a Schedule I policy and planning agency of the Ontario government.\(^9\) Originally under the aegis of the Applied Arts and Technology Branch of the Department of Education, the CAATs were added to the Department of University Affairs portfolio in October 1971. At the same time, the Department of University Affairs assumed responsibility for Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. Industrial


\(^7\) Government of Ontario, “A Brief History”


\(^9\) Comprised of fifteen appointed members.
training and apprenticeship were also added to the portfolio from the Ministry of Labour in April 1972.

**A New Ministry**

To reflect the expanded role and responsibilities, the Department of University Affairs was renamed in April 1972 as the Ministry of Colleges and Universities.\(^{10}\) Figure 4.1. Ontario Higher Education: The Development of a Ministry 1964-1972, shows the chronological development of the bureaucratic arrangements.

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**Figure 4.1. Ontario Higher Education: The Development of a Ministry 1964-1972**

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\(^{10}\) Government of Ontario, “A Brief History.”
Institutions

Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology

The CAATs were created as instruments of public policy specifically, “to emphasize career orientation and responsiveness to changing economic and social needs.”11 The CAAT system was intended to be a parallel system to the universities, equal in prestige but, different in focus. The policy goal was to increase access to higher education and to provide choice through the career-focused alternative education and training pathways. The legal status, institutional arrangements and the division and separation of powers and responsibilities reflected the following set of beliefs:

1. Academic institutions have a tendency to grow
2. Public sector organizations have a natural tendency to bureaucratize
3. Academic institutions are reluctant to shorten programs
4. Academic institutions are reluctant to eliminate old programs even if there is no longer a demonstrated need or demand
5. Within academic institutions there is a reluctance to introduce new learning strategies.12

Accordingly, the CAATs were formed under a single piece of legislation which gave executive authority to the provincial government. The rationale for this was twofold; first, to provide a close relationship with the government to ensure that colleges could reflect the government’s priorities and policies, and second, to offset and prevent bureaucratization and institutional rigidity. In contrast to the universities (which have their own enabling charter), each college had the legal status of a Schedule III Crown agency, with operational and executive authority separated.

As the responsibility for providing a province-wide system of postsecondary education lay with the Ministry of Colleges and Universities, the Ministry set strategic policy with

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the assistance of staff. Operational authority was vested in local Boards of Governors for individual colleges to allow for flexibility and responsiveness to geographic communities. It was anticipated that initiation of program requests from the local level would therefore reflect local labour market needs, and student demands. Furthermore, it was assumed that experimentation in new teaching and learning approaches would not be stifled by the bureaucracy. The local Boards of Governors therefore were given some flexibility to enable them to respond to the needs of the community, but were responsible for functioning within the parameters set by provincial policy.  

**The Ontario Council of Regents (COR)**

Together with the Ministry and local Boards of Governors, the COR was the third component in the original governance arrangements for the CAATs. The raison d’être was to assist the minister in the planning, establishment and coordination of programs of instruction and services. As a Schedule I Crown Agency, the COR was “designed to create a responsive climate which would contribute to the vigour and dynamism of the entire college system.” As an instrument of public policy and part of the governance structure of the CAAT system, the COR was an intermediary institution, providing a buffer between the College Boards of Governors and the Ministry. This buffer function is described by Sisco as follows:

> The Ontario Council of Regents is a major instrument in attaining the goals [of the college/CAAT system]. In the relationship between the minister and the Ministry on the one hand and the twenty-two boards of governors on the other, they create a climate of “dynamic tension” which contributes in many important ways to the vigour and responsiveness of the entire system.

As a Schedule I Crown Agency, the COR was non-partisan and was mandated to reflect what was in the best interests of students and the total CAAT system. In its advisory role to the minister, the provision of advice could be in respect of new policy, existing policy,

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14 Regents, 1985, 1.

regulations, or other areas that the COR considered should come to the minister’s attention. The advice was based upon the council members’ experience, regional knowledge, contact or observation of the CAAT system. Communication of directives (both priorities and policies) between the COR and the CAATs’ Boards of Governors was through numbered memoranda. ‘Shall Memoranda’ were directives which had to be followed, and ‘May Memoranda’ were recommendations enabling some discretion at the local level to permit innovation with respect to programming, and teaching/learning methods. 16

**Reviewing Roles**

1. **The Ontario Council of Regents**

While the rationale for the separation of executive and operational authority was planned, the dynamic tension considered as important to a flexible and responsive college system showed signs of problems as early as the mid 1980s. From the perspective of the COR, there was a lack of understanding within the CAAT system and the various constituencies with respect to its role and relationships to the Minister of Colleges and Universities, and CAAT Boards of Governors. The chairs of the Boards of Governors participated in a review of the role of the COR in January 1985. The objective was to develop a position on the role of the COR with regard to:

1. ensuring that the CAATs fulfill their mandate effectively
2. the provision of advice to the minister on policy issues that have system-wide implications
3. recommendations to the minister for action
4. board appointments
5. strategic planning.
6. operational reviews
7. setting terms and conditions of employment for administrative staff
8. collective bargaining

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Priorities identified by the COR in 1985 were to improve communications, to ensure awareness and understanding of the role of the COR in the governance structure of the CAATs, to review numbered memoranda relevant to the Boards of Governors to rationalize and clarify intentions, and to “develop a strategy to identify compliance issues.” There were three reasons why the COR identified the issue of compliance as a priority in 1985. First, it was difficult for them to defend institutional autonomy for the CAATs if they didn’t comply with ‘Shall Memoranda.’ Second, non-compliance weakened the authority of local Boards of Governors, and third, non-compliance could result in increased bureaucratization, which was contrary to the design of the governance arrangements.

2. CAAT Governance
The dynamic tension if measured on a functional basis of utility and human development was a success in growth terms. However, growth came at a price of growing internal tensions and conflict. The significant growth in the scale, diversity of programs, and clientele, which had occurred during the CAATs first twenty years, had resulted in quality issues, shortened program hours and the reduction of the liberal studies component of college programs. Following an acrimonious faculty strike in 1984, a commission was formed, headed by Michael Skolnik, to report on faculty workload issues. The report “Survival or Excellence? A Study of Instructional Distribution in the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology,” was presented in 1985.

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18 Regents, 1985, 4.


The Minister of Colleges and Universities, Gregory Sorbara appointed Walter Pitman, on December 18, 1985 to review the governance structure of the CAATs. Pitman’s, “Report of the Advisor to the Minister of Colleges and Universities on the Governance of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology” was presented on June 06, 1986. According to Pitman the CAAT system was stretched. He commented on the emphasis on market principles practiced in the CAATs under the direction of the local Boards of Governors during their first two decades, which in his opinion had resulted in institutional behaviour and a corporate hierarchy which he considered to be more usual in industrial corporations and not Crown Agencies. Pitman also remarked upon the practice of federal direct purchase vocational training from the CAATs, which he considered to be a major issue, as these direct purchases (from the federal Ministry of Skills Development) bypassed provincial jurisdiction, quality control procedures, and circumnavigated both the executive authority of Ontario’s Ministry of Colleges and Universities, and the COR. Pitman questioned the ‘for profit’ quest of CAAT managers on the basis that corporate behaviour and emphasis on the ‘bottom line’ blurred the mandate of the CAAT system, and argued that on the basis of the mandate and role of the colleges, “there must be recognition that any pattern of training provided by a college on behalf of private interest must have a recognizable human development component.”

Technology transfer, the strengthening of the Province’s industrial base, and employment, were government priorities during the time of Pitman’s review. Several reports including “Learning for Life; The Report of the National Advisory Panel on Skill Development to the Minister of Employment and Immigration,” March 05, 1984 and “Why People Count: The Report of the Automotive Industry Human Resources Task Force,” January 1985, had emphasised the importance of generic skills training, leading Pitman to argue that the CAATs required an appropriate governance structure. Pitman

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prescribed a collegial governance model, with some functions being shifted to the local level. Pitman’s recommendations included:

- Devolution of responsibility for program approval to the local boards of governors, except where major capital outlays are required, quota programs or a conflict between colleges exists,
- Creating a new Minister’s Advisory Council with responsibility for long range system planning,
- Local collective bargaining, or centralized collective bargaining with a group of college presidents,
- Forming Academic Councils at each college, reporting directly to the Board of Governors,
- Internal and external membership on Boards of Governors, including representatives from minority groups, women, alumni and universities,
- Ministers advisory committees, and
- Rerouting federal skills training purchases via the Ministry of Colleges and Universities.  

3. Labour Relations

Pitman was well aware of the considerable tensions surrounding the issue of collective bargaining. His rationale for localized collective bargaining versus centralized (via the COR) was premised on the belief that localization would help clear the lines of functional responsibility in the CAAT system. He said:

I am aware that both OPSEU and the majority of presidents and governors have expressed their reluctance to engage in local bargaining for a number of understandable reasons. However, my preference would be that each college bargain with its own employees on all matters. Workload and compensation are so intertwined in terms of trade-offs, I see little point in attempting to separate them.  

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Collective bargaining arrangements for the CAATs at this time, was outlined in legislation through the Colleges Collective Bargaining Act, 1975. As labour relations continued to be a source of tension throughout the 1980s, Jeffrey Gandz was commissioned in 1987 to review the collective bargaining system and make recommendations to the Hon. Lyn McLeod, Minister of Colleges and Universities. Gandz consulted with stakeholder groups including the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU), ACAATO’s Committee of Presidents (for the colleges), and the COR, and concluded that collective bargaining was complicated by the system’s institutional arrangements specifically, the division of executive and operational responsibilities.26

The “Report of the Colleges Collective Bargaining Commission” (Gandz Commission) was submitted to the Minister on January 27, 1988.27 Gandz recommended continuation of centralized collective bargaining but, with the proviso that local bargaining be encouraged. Gandz also proposed changes to the bargaining process, system level processing of grievances, employee relations, and the inclusion of part-time staff in the bargaining units. For the most part, Gandz recommended greater local autonomy specifically:

- That government adopt a hands off and neutral position during negotiations
- That executive responsibilities of the COR be changed to exclude them as the bargaining agent
- That responsibility for collective bargaining be transferred to a new entity – an Employers’ Association comprising of the 22 colleges as corporate entities.28

Towards A New Vision
Following the Gandz Commission’s review, a policy planning project, was initiated by the Hon. Lyn McLeod, Minister of Colleges and Universities of Ontario, to examine

26 The COR held executive responsibility for CAATs’ collective bargaining at this time.
whether Ontario’s economic and social needs for the millennium and beyond were being served by the CAATs’ mandate. Led by the chair of the COR, the Vision 2000 Taskforce revisited the mandate of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology and consulted widely with stakeholders. The project was framed on the question of whether the CAATs were correctly positioned and organized to deliver non-university education and training necessary in a changing world.

Both the Premier’s Council, and the Economic Council of Canada, contributed policy ideas to Vision 2000. These Councils posited that Ontario’s ability to respond to demands from the market would be hindered by societal factors including the age distribution ratio, and changing human migration patterns. Baby boomers’ retirements, for example, were predicted to create significant stress on the economy through skilled labour shortages from 2011 on. It was suggested that there was a need for programmatic and curricular reform, as the labour market groups traditionally served by the CAATs had changed; due to changing secondary sector labour market needs and the growth in tertiary sector jobs. Vision 2000 thus identified the following ten problems for the CAATs that needed to be tackled as part of the process for renewal and preparation for the future:

1. Lack of system-wide standards and planning
2. Insufficient general and generic education
3. Limitations on access
4. Inattention to adult part-time learners
5. Specific concerns from employers
6. Attrition
7. Missing links
8. Development of human resources, curriculum and delivery methods
9. Quality-access-funding trade offs
10. Labour-management relations.  

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The challenge for Vision 2000 was to enhance quality and opportunity in the CAAT system. To this end, the review process promoted strategic thinking and collaboration. Five study teams, comprising of thirty three persons representative of stakeholder groups, were formed. Each study team focused on a theme considered to be important to the college system, for example: the external environment, the economic role of colleges, communities and access, system issues including organizational models, access, quality, standards and curriculum, and the link between colleges and other parts of the education system (schools and universities).  

Because the CAATs were designed as a parallel and not a feeder system to Ontario’s universities, they were considered by many during the time of Vision 2000, to be less prestigious than universities. However, the CAATs were remarkably successful institutions if measured in terms of growth of enrolment and programs as the links and partnerships with local industries had facilitated colleges’ percipience, and technological innovation had precipitated increased global trade and impacted economic sector distribution. The CAATs had also met niche demands and developed a diverse range of programs, reflecting geographical factors, community needs, and labour market requirements.

This section has outlined the relevant historical background of the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology system from primary and secondary documents, and has provided a rationale for the original governance framework. The findings indicate that the institutional arrangements were not the output of rational comprehensive planning, and the dynamic tension originally intended to be a driver for flexibility within the CAAT system, became embedded into the institutional structures causing tension and conflict. The reviews of the system during the 1980s, while providing insight, did not resolve the tensions. The following section presents the policy problems and challenges identified during the period from January 1990 to June 1995. An examination of the policy stream


31 Full time postsecondary enrolment grew from 35,000 in 1972 to 95,000 by 1990. Source: Vision 2000, 12.
and the ideas prevalent during the same period follows. The chapter concludes with the findings for the political stream.

The Problem Stream

The political backdrop provided contextual factors for the period 1990 - June 1995 during which there was one federal election, and two provincial elections. In Ontario, support for political parties crisscrossed the political spectrum: the Liberal Party of Ontario ceded power to the New Democratic Party (NDP) in the 1990 election, and the June 1995 election saw a Progressive Conservative government in Ontario led by Mike Harris. At the federal level, Jean Chrétien’s Liberal Party of Canada was granted a mandate to govern in 1993. During this period eight policy problems emerged. Dunn defines a policy problem as “an unrealized value or opportunity for improvement which, however identified may be attained through public action,” and suggests that policy problems have a normative component.32 Policy goals may or may not be agreed upon, and there may in fact be several conflicting policy goals within the policy environment at any one time. Policy actors can play a significant role in problem identification, the communication process, and influence how policy problems are structured.

1. The Economic Prosperity Problem
Ontario’s economic agenda and potential impacts of a globalized economy were discussed in April 1988 in the Premier’s Council’s report, “Competing in the Global Economy.” The problem of Ontario’s continued economic prosperity was identified and in 1990, the follow up report “People and Skills in the New Global Economy,” offered a solution; human capital development. Structural factors in the economy, including trade liberalization and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (due to be implemented January 1994), were cited as driving factors that would necessitate adjustments in the labour market. It was argued that for Ontario to transition to a higher value-added economy, a market-driven human resource agenda was required. Jobs in the

new global economy would require a rebalancing and readjustment of skills.\textsuperscript{33} Education and training issues therefore needed to be addressed to ensure a flexible, educated, and skilled labour supply. As an aging workforce and declining fertility rates compounded the issues, the Premier’s Council (1990) said, “everyone will count, all skills and contributions will be important […] quality, relevance and opportunity [must] underlie every student’s educational experience.”\textsuperscript{34}

The prescription offered to achieve the policy goals of human capital development was twofold. First, an overhaul of the Ontario school curriculum, which would implement a common core curriculum that emphasized solid learning, a skills base, development of broad generic skills, and improvements in school achievement. Second, improvements to postsecondary education with respect to access, foundation courses, and transferability and continuity across the post-secondary education systems; this was considered necessary to ensure alignment of labour supply.

\textbf{2. The Quality Problem}

While the Premier’s Council saw postsecondary education as part of the policy solution to the economic prosperity problem, this gave rise to another problem; the quality of education and training provided by the CAATs. According to the Premier’s Council the CAATs had overstretched themselves, affecting their capacity to provide quality service. Vision 2000 was cited as the means by which the CAATs could “clarify the broad mandate they were given and to revitalize their flagging image.”\textsuperscript{35} The size and extent of diversity within the CAAT system were thought to be contributory factors.\textsuperscript{36} As the Premier’s Council said:

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{33} Premier’s Council, “\textit{People and Skills in the New Global Economy,}” (1990).
    \item \textsuperscript{34} Premier’s Council, “\textit{People and Skills},” 11, 15.
    \item \textsuperscript{35} CAAT enrolment numbers were 11,000 full time and 800,000 part time students.
    \item \textsuperscript{36} In particular the diversity of postsecondary programming, skills programs, apprenticeships, adult retraining, and customized contract training services to corporations.
\end{itemize}
Diversification of college activities into new areas has been a response to community needs and is quite in keeping with their original mandate. What concerns the Council, however, is that one of the colleges’ major functions – that of providing high-quality and relevant post-secondary technological education – may be threatened.\(^{37}\)

Low enrolment in technology programs was also of concern. Four causal reasons were cited: (a) lack of knowledge about college technology programs, (b) the second class status of colleges, (c) fewer high school graduates taking the necessary math, science and technology courses in high school, and (d) the high attrition rates for college programs.\(^{38}\) As the Premier’s Council said, “The high dropout rate for college programs presents many problems. Of the decreasing number of students who do enter colleges, only about half graduate from the program in which they originally enrolled.”\(^{39}\)

General dissatisfaction with the quality of college programs was also expressed, “there is a diversity of opinion on how well colleges prepare graduates for employment. In the Council’s discussions with companies, some indicated that they were very dissatisfied with the college system, while others expressed disappointment.”\(^{40}\) The prescription for this malady was increased generalization. The Premier’s Council called on the CAATs to increase the general education component of programs, develop generic skills, and teach the basics.

3. The Public Image Problem

With regard to the problem of ‘second class status’ of the CAATs, it was not just an opinion expressed by the Premier’s Council, but a view that was widely held. According to the Toronto Star, November 27, 1990:

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\(^{37}\) Premier’s Council, “People and Skills,” 58.

\(^{38}\) Premier’s Council, “People and Skills.”

\(^{39}\) Premier’s Council, “People and Skills,” 61.

\(^{40}\) Premier’s Council, “People and Skills,” 63.
The image of college is so bad that, in a recent survey of high school students, Centennial College discovered teenagers were so embarrassed to be showing an interest in college they asked the course information to be mailed to a home address. Survey after survey, turns up the same comments. Now colleges are paying more attention than ever to recruitment. They’re polishing their image with slick looking catalogues that brag about job placement. Even high school teachers admit it’s a hard sell.\footnote{Lynne Ainsworth, “Community colleges fight label of being ‘universities for losers’” \textit{Toronto Star}, (November 27, 1990).}

A report from N. M. Poch Enterprises Inc. commissioned by the Council of Ontario Universities (COU), provides some insight into the public’s perception. The report entitled “Perspectives on Ontario Universities” was shared with the CAATs, and shows that marked differences in prestige between university and college education existed in 1990. Attendance at university was correlated with middle class values and parental education, whereas colleges were perceived as institutions for those seeking trades training only. As N.M. Poch Enterprises Inc. said:

\begin{quote}
Community colleges tend to be regarded as focusing students to obtain a specific job, usually in a trade. Universities, on the other hand, tend to be regarded as providing for both career skills training as well as preparing people to take more of a leadership or high profile role in the direction of our society. Clearly, for most people, obtaining a university degree carries with it greater cachet or prestige than a certificate from a community college.\footnote{N. M. Poch Enterprises Inc. “Perspectives on Ontario Universities. A Research Report for Council of Ontario Universities.” (September 1990).}
\end{quote}

The credential ‘cachet’ became especially problematic with respect to paraprofessional occupations, as during the 1990s a number of professional and paraprofessional associations reviewed their minimum credential requirement for entry to career practice. The difficulties this presented for the CAATs cannot be understated. Christopher Trump’s (Executive Director of ACAATO) article in the Toronto Star, March 22, 1990, headlined, “It’s wrong to limit ‘social worker’ designation” argued that the proposed legislation to increase the minimum credential to practice for social workers amounted to exclusion and protectionism. According to Trump, the impact on the CAATs would be significant. Diploma programs would likely be eliminated, effectively reducing the
number of social workers available for future practice. Furthermore, according to Trump, scarcity of supply of social workers would likely increase labour costs and negatively affect service, especially in northern and rural areas. The Toronto Star Editorial August 16, 1990 “A governing body for social workers” offered some support for Trump, putting forward the view that social workers should be licensed by a professional governing body and that competencies not degrees, should be the basis of legislation.

4. The Funding Problem

The problem of funding was formally identified as a policy problem by the CAATs in 1990.43 It was framed around the objective of achieving alignment of financial support with market demands. In an attempt to have a ‘workable’ budget framework, on December 10, 1990 a subcommittee of ACAATO, comprised of ACAATO’s Executive Director, and a group of college presidents was delegated the responsibility for long range planning. Access, success, and standards were chosen as long range planning issues for a five year period.44

With the object of developing a position paper, the subcommittee met on January 14, 1991, which was prior to the meeting scheduled with the new Minister of Colleges and Universities, and Ontario’s Treasurer on February 4, 1991, the agenda of which was “long range plans for more creative use of available resources.”45 Following the January 14, 1991 subcommittee meeting, Dr. Robert (Squee) Gordon, wrote to The Hon. Richard Allen (the recently appointed Minister of Colleges and Universities and Minister of Skills Development), to articulate the financing problem as seen by the CAATs. Gordon wrote:

43 Funding was formally identified as a policy problem at this point. (It may also have been a concern previously.)


The group of CAAT presidents included, Crombie (Cambrian), Gordon (Humber), Light (George Brown), and McIntyre (Mohawk). With respect to success, p.62 of Vision 2000 cited attrition rates. This was suggested as the benchmark by which future improvement could be measured. With respect to standards, see p.49 of Vision 2000 (1990).

I do wish to alert you to an immediate problem before planning for the 1991/92 budget year moves to conclusion. Simply put, and on behalf of the Council of Presidents, I must frankly advise you that financially the colleges have their backs to the wall. 46

Gordon asked the Minister to increase funding to the colleges by 12 per cent, to cover existing growth, and projected enrolment growth for the coming academic year. In anticipation of rebuttal, Gordon informed the Minister that the CAATs were now at a stage of financial exhaustion and inelasticity, even though he claimed they had already implemented productivity measures. Gordon cited enrolment growth as a causal factor, and maintained that CAAT growth was a supply side response to market demands for skilled workers in technology areas.47

Several aspects of Gordon’s letter are worthy of highlighting. First, the letter implied potential political consequences for the government, in that, funding was a zero sum problem and enrolment would be curtailed if increased financial support was not provided, “If the increase is less than 10% it is our conclusion that the college system faces a fiscally-mandated enrolment cap.”48 Second, although the Agenda for the February 4, 1991 meeting was provided in advance and the government’s position regarding the need for efficiency improvements had been previously stated, Gordon advocated for a double digit increase in funding and predicted consequences should the request not be met. This illustrates that there was intent to pressure the government, and pursue the interests of the CAATs as identified by the CAAT presidents. This latter point must also be considered further, as Gordon’s letter was sent on ACAATO letterhead, suggesting that the CAATs’ presidents were exercising collective agency, however, the Council of Presidents was not informed in advance of Gordon’s letter, the contents of which were unknown until the January 21, and 22, 1991 meeting of the Council of Presidents.

48 September 1990 enrolment grew by 5%.
It appears that developing consensus and reaching agreement among the CAATs with regard to system-wide priorities and long range planning was not easy. At the January 21, and 22 meeting of the Council of Presidents, recommendations for system-wide projects were reviewed.\(^{49}\) Ray Olsen, Chair of the Council of Governors expressed concern regarding the transparency of the topic identification and approval process, and referred to the fact that $300,000 of ACAATO’s budget had been allocated for spending on human resource development, and $150,000 on public outreach. Olsen maintained that there should be inclusive discussions two months in advance of the ACAATO Annual Conference, and governors should be given the opportunity to provide input. Carl Hennigar, Chair of the Board of Governors of Conestoga College also objected to the existing process. In his letter to ACAATO’s Christopher Trump on January 31, 1991, Hennigar argued that fiscal constraints on the colleges meant that monies must be spent optimally. Furthermore, regarding the review process and the selection of priorities, Hennigar said:

> We are extremely concerned with the apparent lack of project definition and the paucity of information which hinders our ability to make an informed decision regarding this matter. In addition, there appears to have been an attempt to solicit projects from member colleges which is contrary to the spirit of the original intention, which was to solve crucial existing system issues.\(^{50}\)

Although the CAATs did reach agreement on long range planning, it was considered necessary to develop a position paper to articulate their position. The ACAATO position paper on long range planning outlined three issues (all linked to equity) on which to focus: access, success, and standards.\(^{51}\) The paper identified access barriers for women, disabled persons, the under-skilled, and displaced workers. Timing of classes was cited as a barrier to participation, as were credential assessment and recognition, and inter-institutional student mobility. It was further suggested that improvements in student


success could be made through the provision of remedial support, common first year
programming, school / college linkages and support services. It was argued that these
measures coupled with system-wide standards, vocational skills, generic skills, general
education courses, consistency between day and night school, and regular program
reviews could lower attrition rates.

During 1993 the ‘funding problem’ was compounded by an incongruent fiscal climate.
The CAATs, concerned about their capacity to deliver education and training services,
developed a position paper through ACAATO’s Joint Task Force of the Administrative
Services Coordinating Committee and the Instruction/Programs Coordinating Committee.
The paper, “The Ontario College Financial Crisis” of February 1, 1993, looked at the
relationship between demand, revenues and expenditures and called for “Ontario’s 23
Community Colleges to recognize the severity of the current situation facing them.”
Arguing that the self-interested competition between the colleges in previous years had
resulted in uncontrolled enrolment growth, the paper was intended as a rallying call to
recognize that a crisis situation had been reached, and that controls on enrolment growth
were needed. It was argued that the point of equilibrium had been breached. Demand was
forecast to outstrip supply; fiscal imbalance and deficits were predicted.

The Ontario College system is into a rapidly changing environment of reduced
funding levels and increasing demands for service. Demand will equally outstrip
revenues. The choices are clear: Reduce Costs; Increase Revenues; Control
Activity. Without such action the college system will be in crisis.

The paper made a number of recommendations, and provided what the authors saw as the
directions for change. In addition to recommending a change to the funding formula and
reviewing the long term impact of enrolment growth, the paper specifically made
recommendations to increase efficiency, effectiveness and economy of delivery.

54 Joint Task Force, (February 1, 1993), 5.
55 Joint Task Force, (February 1, 1993), 5.
For example, it was recommended that utilization of resources, including human resources, be maximized, program delivery be diversified through learner-centred delivery methods, and revenue be increased through program fee differentiation, and tuition fees. In addition, the paper recommended that cost reduction initiatives including program rationalization, cost efficiencies, wages/salary freezes and human resource reductions via an early retirement window, should be implemented. Also, restructuring of programs, support services and administration should take place, guided by the three principle objectives of access, quality and efficiency.

In 1993, the main source of CAATs’ revenue was from public sources, 50% of which came from operating grants, 12% from program specific provincial training grants, 11% from federal Direct Purchase Training, and 4% from capital grants. The remainder came from tuition fees (11%), ancillary operations (7%) and other (5%).

ACAATO’s paper “The Road Ahead Understanding the Finances of Ontario’s Colleges” December 03, 1993, followed the February 1993 report. “The Road Ahead” was an information booklet designed to both make a case for changing the funding formula and to explain the government’s formula for funding the CAATs. The funding formula was considered problematic for five reasons:

1. Non-alignment of operating grants with enrolment increases,
2. $40m budget cut (1993-94) for the Social Contract,
3. Increased demands for skills and information technology training due to economic restructuring,
4. Reductions in general purpose operating grants per funding unit and,
5. Increased operating costs.

Other points of concern were expressed. For example, (a) individual colleges did not have full discretion with respect to allocation of funds, as the provincial government allocated a percentage of the operating grant to specific activities/projects to meet their policy

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56 Joint Task Force, (February 1, 1993).
57 Joint Task Force, (February 1, 1993).
objectives, e.g. special needs, and (b) the remainder of the grant was then allocated based
upon each college’s share of activity, using a formula to determine full-time
students/equivalents with some additional weighting to certain programs. The formula
also took into consideration the size of colleges, location and economies of scale.
Subsequently, the complexity of this distribution formula mechanism resulted in disparity
and an enrolment paradox, because if colleges didn’t grow their share of the grant would
be reduced, but if enrolment increased, the growth resulted in a reduction of grant per full
time equivalent. 58

5. The Training Problem
The issue of federal government direct purchases of skills training emerged in 1991. The
‗Per Diem Issue‘ 59 was discussed at ACAATO’s January 21, and 22, 1991 Meeting of the
Council of Presidents. Doug Light, President of George Brown College informed the
meeting that it was due to poor competitiveness that the CAATs risked losing federal
training contracts. 60 The issue had initially been raised by a 1985 federal government
consultant’s report, which concluded that “colleges in general, across the country, were
expensive, unresponsive and inflexible.” 61

There was a political component to the Per Diem issue, particularly as it was tied to
entitled “UI belongs with the provinces,” drew attention to this connection. As Chairman
of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform, Lortie argued that “Education and
unemployment are inseparable, and the constitution should be changed so that they are

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58 From 1988 to 1992 total enrolment in the system grew by 29%. Joint Task Force (February 1,
1993).

59 Per Diem refers to the specific rates paid by the Federal government for direct purchase skills
training from the CAATs.

60 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of

61 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, Ontario Training Projects
managed by the same level of government.”62 The crux of Lortie’s argument was that unemployment insurance should not be a federal responsibility, and that powers and responsibilities for unemployment should be transferred to the provinces. However, while education is a provincial responsibility (Section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867), jurisdiction over human resource development is shared between the federal and provincial governments. Lortie argued that the global marketplace, business challenges and the need for competitiveness necessitated provincial policies, and called for the policy instruments of education and unemployment insurance to be streamlined under one layer of government as current arrangements caused coordination problems, making them counter-productive, damaging to the economy, and politically disruptive.63

Lortie’s views were brought to the attention of CAAT presidents on January 28, 1991.64 It appears that this problem for the CAATs was unlikely to be offset by any change in federal policy in the short term, so following Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney’s resignation in March 1993, ACAATO’s Tom Evans advised the CAAT presidents that the trend towards privatization of training would likely continue. He said,

> It would be unlikely that we will see a major shift in direction or away from this federal policy [privatization of training] in the short term. A different result in the next federal election, which is expected to be held this year, could alter this trend toward privatization; however, I do not think the federal government can afford to do so despite the election results.65

Advanced training (defined in Vision 2000 as, “education which combines the strong applied focus of college career-oriented programs with a strong foundation of theory and analytical skills”66) normally between college and university levels, was also a

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63 The youth dropout rate from high school (30% in 1991), Lortie argued, was exacerbated by the fact that youth could claim unemployment insurance.


component of the training problem. In December 1991, following recommendations from Vision 2000, the Task Force on Advanced Training was established. Chaired by Walter Pitman, it was charged with the responsibilities of identifying stakeholders’ needs with regard to advanced training, recommending ways to improve effectiveness, and judging the necessity for change. Background studies had revealed problems with respect to training in Ontario, the most significant of which were credential recognition, and the absence of formalized inter-institutional transfer arrangements. The Task Force on Advanced Training report was delivered in April 1993.

Pitman commented that, “Ontario did not develop a coordinated system of postsecondary institutions in the way that overseas jurisdictions had done, with the polytechnic as a link between the college and university sectors, and all with strong industry affiliations.”

Taking into consideration values, history, demographics, institutional arrangements, the economy, and economic requirements, Pitman concluded that the training problems therefore were essentially problems of system design and the institutional arrangements.

As part of the process of inquiry, Pitman surveyed graduates and determined that the desire for advanced training was driven in part by the fact that university degrees were the most recognized credential. CAAT graduates postulated that they considered their job mobility and career progression were limited by the diploma credential. The opposite was the case for university graduates. Their survey results indicated perceptions that reverse transfer patterns (university graduates taking vocational courses at colleges) would improve their employment prospects. Credit recognition barriers for university-college transfer were not identified, but college-university transfer barriers were evident. These barriers according to CAAT graduates resulted from having few formalized articulation agreements and arrangements. The few arrangements that did exist were of an ad hoc nature. Considering trends and initiatives from other domestic and international jurisdictions, Pitman put forward seven recommendations:

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1. Acknowledgement of vocational training as equal in value to academics
2. Elimination of barriers to inter-institutional transfer
3. Recognition of three learning sectors; colleges, universities and employment
4. The establishment of the Ontario Institute for Advanced Training (OAIT) as an independent agency with degree granting authority
5. Support for faculty development
6. Adjustment of funding arrangements for colleges and universities, and
7. Addressing the needs of the Francophone community.  

Another aspect of the training problem was securing membership on the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board (OTAB). Although the CAATs were delivery agents for approximately 70% of publicly-funded training and education in the Province of Ontario, in April 1993 they had failed to secure membership on OTAB. The fact that other constituency groups were represented caused discontent. Community-based training (CBT) representatives were blamed for blocking CAAT representation.

The CBT reps succeeded in discrediting Tom Evans, ACAATO based on objections from a few community-based groups over a year ago to alleged comments by Tom during the Local Board consultation panel hearings. The CBT reps indicated that their member organizations had ordered them to withdraw all support for Evans’ candidacy. Their actions effectively constituted a veto and created a poisonous atmosphere.

The CAATs were not alone in having difficulties voicing concerns regarding training. Within OTAB itself there were also problems, prompting Richard Johnston, Chair of the COR to resign from the OTAB Board. In his communication with Assistant Deputy Minister Joan Andrew on May 3, 1993 regarding his resignation, Johnston said, “the atmosphere of the group has been so poisoned, especially during the selection process,

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69 Terry Dance, “Memorandum to Barry Moore, Chair Council of Presidents confirming telephone conversation re OTAB representation” (Undated).
that I am incapable of sitting cordially with my colleagues from the community based training sector.”

6. The Problem of the Economy

Situational factors both domestic and external can impact policy development. In 1992, the economy provided many challenges and pressing influences. Ontario’s provincial government was hard-pressed to set the agenda for higher education. Canada was in recession, and the federal government had frozen transfer payments to the provinces. Richard Allen, Ontario’s Minister of Colleges and Universities delivered remarks on tuition and transfer payments on January 21, 1992 and said, “Ontario is facing very, very difficult economic times.” The fragile state of Ontario’s economy was also remarked upon both by the Minister of Finance, and the Premier. In the “Statement by Floyd Laughren, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics on The Ontario Fiscal Outlook and Major Transfer Payments,” January 21, 1992, the minister remarked on low business and consumer confidence and the state of Ontario’s economy, and described the situation as being akin to being “battered by a number of international and domestic forces.” The Minister referred to global economic restructuring, and in particular the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), high exchange rates (high Canadian dollar), and the Goods and Services Tax (GST). The Premier, Bob Rae commenting on the economic challenges said:

We’ve had a rough couple of years in Ontario, and Canada: free trade, a lot of lost jobs, the expensive dollar, GST, a tougher global market. It’s not just a recession: our economic world has changed, and it’s not going to be business as usual ever again. On the income side, and I’ll be blunt, we’re really getting hammered. When people lose their jobs, and companies go out of business, and everybody spends less, government revenues fall.  

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71 “Notes for remarks on Tuition and Transfer Payments by Richard Allen Minister of Colleges and Universities,” (January 21, 1992), 1.


73 “The Premier’s Address on Ontario’s Economy” (January 21, 1992) 3, 4.
Funding to Transfer Partners

The delivery of public services became a pressing policy problem, prompting Premier Rae to announce that,

As part of the government’s commitment to get costs under control, I am announcing that we’re limiting transfers. How our public service handle this reality is their most serious challenge in decades. How they do will affect you directly. We want people all across Ontario to see this as an opportunity to reconstruct our public services to deliver them more effectively.”

Because the provincial unemployment rate was 10%, and there was a significant provincial budget deficit, Minister Allen announced multi-year (3 year) funding to transfer partners, believing that multi-year funding would assist with planning and fiscal management. Transfer partners can be public or privately owned institutions used by government to deliver goods and services.

The 1992-93 transfer payments to transfer partners (including the CAATs) would be increased by only 1%, rising only 2% in 1993-94, and a further 2% in 1994-95. However, CAATs have counter-cyclical enrolment demand patterns, and by 1993, adverse economic conditions, advancing technologies, new forms of work organization, and other structural changes in the economy were driving demand for CAAT services contrary to the flow of fiscal resources.

As part of its efforts to respond, the Ontario’s Ministry of Skills Development formed the Strategic Planning Committee (SPC) in January 1993, to assist the Ministry, the CAAT system, and the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU). The SPC was given a four point mandate:

1. To recommend a funding mechanism to optimize resources while maximizing client service;
2. To develop guiding principles for program delivery to maximize access;
3. To develop inter-college collaboration for trades and apprenticeship program development to increase participation;

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74 Premier’s Address, (January 21, 1992) 6-8.
75 Transfer partners can be public or privately owned institutions used by government to deliver goods and services.
76 Premier’s Address, January 21, 1992, 3.
4. To provide advice on quality assurance mechanisms.\textsuperscript{77}

\textit{Restructuring}

The CAATs’ meanwhile, through the College Restructuring Steering Committee, identified six specific projects for CAAT restructuring: open learning (self-directed and technologically-mediated instruction), compressed/flexible delivery, credit transfer, inter-institutional resource sharing, equity group data and retention.\textsuperscript{78} However, the absence of system-wide standards and procedures hindered restructuring initiatives.

Although Vision 2000 had recommended creating the College Standards Accreditation Committee (CSAC) three years earlier implementation had been stalled. Some opposition to implementation was evident. The Board of Governors of Loyalist College for example, while endorsing the recommendations with respect to common standards and credentials, voiced concern over “the centralizing thrust, and what appears to be a significant diminution of local Board and Advisory Committee control of program curricula.”\textsuperscript{79}

From Loyalist’s Board’s perspective, centralization was seen as a restriction to flexibility. Furthermore, there was opposition to increasing the non-vocational component of CAAT programs on the grounds that more general education would inhibit CAATs’ ability to implement changes to current programs, would reduce the vocational component, and add stress to program hours (which were already being cut), contributing to fiscal challenges.\textsuperscript{80} However, both college coordinated restructuring and centralized initiatives


\textsuperscript{78} Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents,” (January 25 & 26, 1993).

\textsuperscript{79} The Council of Presidents meeting folder for January 25 & 26, 1993 included a copy of the letter sent from E.S. Rutter, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Loyalist College, January 5, 1993, to Christopher G. Trump ACAATO. 1.

\textsuperscript{80} Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents,” (March 8 & 9, 1993).
were planned as a response to the problem of the economy. ACAATO was asked to take a lead role on inter-institutional resource sharing. The Ministry would take the lead on centrally coordinated restructuring including program rationalization.

OPSEU (representing college faculty and support staff) was cognizant of the fiscal challenges and restructuring initiatives. In a memo to CAAT Local Presidents, February 3, 1993, OPSEU informed their members that, “Union and management recognize that there is something terribly wrong with the college system. Increasing diversity of educational demands along with unstable funding mechanism, spell disaster.” A copy of OPSEU’s memo was forwarded to ACAATO’s Council of Presidents by Bert Martin, President of St. Clair College. Martin also informed the Council of Presidents that three different types of restructuring were being discussed by the College Restructuring Steering Committee. These are shown in Table 4.1. The Three Types of Restructuring Discussed by the College Restructuring Steering Committee, 1993.

**The Social Contract**

However, restructuring was only a micro response. Restructuring the CAATs would not fix the economy. In response to the significant economic challenges and the budget deficit, the government introduced a Social Contract plan in March 1993, which proposed that, “All sectors of society should contribute to dealing with our common problem, and that those who earn the most should contribute the most.” The Social Contract was intended to be a contract between the government and Ontario public sector labour.

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84 Phil Cunnington, & Ron Golemba, OPSEU, “Memo to All CAAT Local Presidents. Subject: Quality Education in a Fiscally Responsible Manner,” (February 3, 1993).

85 Bert Martin, St. Clair College, “Memo to the Council of Presidents,” (February 22, 1993).

Table 4.1. The Three Types of Restructuring Discussed by the College Restructuring Steering Committee, 1993

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<td>Local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requirements</td>
<td>New government regulations</td>
<td>Changes to collective agreements</td>
<td>Local Agreements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provincial coordination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Mechanism</td>
<td>Provincial Restructuring Committee</td>
<td>Effectiveness Committee / Collective Bargaining</td>
<td>Colleges OPSEU Locals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The plan included cuts to government programs and ministries (estimated to save $4bn per year), tax increases, and revenue measures estimated to increase government revenue by $2bn. It was anticipated that a Social Contract with government workers would provide an additional $2bn in savings through unpaid vacation days and reduced salaries. Government reorganization was also part of the initiative. The Ministries of Education, Colleges and Universities, and Skills Development, OTAB project and jobsOntario, were integrated and realigned into a new Ministry of Education and Training to actualize a saving of $47m. In addition to financial savings, it was also anticipated that ministry amalgamation would give “credibility to the training field for the first time as training would continue to be a top priority of the government’s agenda.”

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87 Rae, June 9, 1993.


Although Premier Rae had intended the Social Contract to be consensual, unions opposed the unpaid vacation days; which were the main source of savings. Legislation was deemed to be necessary for implementation. In a Statement to the Legislative Assembly, June 9, 1993, it was announced that legislation would be introduced to cut $2 billion from the public sector through unpaid vacation days and reduced salaries. The Social Contract therefore became a policy instrument by which the government responded to the problem of the economy.

7. The Social Security Problem

Economic challenges were also a problem for the federal government. Elected in 1993 on a platform of promises to “invest in people, get Canadians back to work, and encourage new innovative and effective incentives,” the Liberal government, under the leadership of Jean Chretien placed social security reform on the agenda. It was widely perceived that the changing nature of work and social and demographic shifts had resulted in growing numbers of Canadians becoming dependent on social assistance. The federal government’s budget challenges, high debt levels and interest payments were deemed to interfere with the capacity to deliver services, hence spending reductions were considered necessary. In the discussion paper, “Agenda: Jobs and Growth Improving Social Security in Canada Discussion Paper Summary” of October 1994, Lloyd Axworthy Minister of Human Resources Development said,

All levels of government must reduce spending, including spending on social programs. The federal government will reduce the deficit in 1996-97 to no more than 3 per cent of our annual economic output. The 1994 federal Budget included

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90 12 unpaid days off per year (1 day per month) – became known as ‘Rae days.’ Workers earning less than $30,000 per annum were exempt.

91 Lloyd Axworthy, “Letter to the Executive Director, ACAATO,” (December 30, 1993).

92 It was argued: (i) Need for lifelong learning higher skilled jobs required more education and skills training. (ii) Long term unemployment was three times higher than 1976 levels. (iii) Many UI claimants were claiming several times e.g. 3 times in five years. (iv) The social security net had become a trap for many, creating and culture and cycle of poverty.

measures to reduce spending on Unemployment Insurance by at least $2.4 billion right away, and promised more as a result of social security reform. Federal transfers to provinces for social assistance and post-secondary education in 1996-97 and beyond must return to no more than the level in 1993-94.93

The social security system while intended as a safety net was also seen as a structural barrier to employment re-entry. Prolonged periods of joblessness were noted, especially among displaced workers, older workers, low income workers and single-parent families.94 The Government of Canada’s strategy for social security was announced to the House of Commons January 22, 1994 by the Hon. Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Human Resources Development.95 Following this, the Standing Committee on Human Resources was directed to review Canada’s social security system on February 8, 1994. The guiding principles for the review emphasised employment backed by a financially sustainable social assistance fund for those in need who can’t help themselves.96 “The best social security is having a job,” said Axworthy.97 The principles effectively shifted social security policy from dependence to independence. It was anticipated that the new system would have federal aspects with shared responsibilities, but, with needs determined locally.


94 Standing Committee on Human Resources Development,” A Study on the Modernization and Restructuring of Canada’s Social Security System,” Undated copy.

95 Appointed December 30, 1993.

Letter from Lloyd Axworthy. Undated. Received March 7, 1994.

96 Guiding principles: 1. Must serve people. 2. Must be available to those in need. 3. Should enhance human dignity. 4. Must reflect the fact the employment is essential to individual dignity and self-respect. 5. That the federal and provincial governments should work together. 6. Should be financially sustainable. 7. Must recognize that caring for families is a shared responsibility between state and families. 8. That restructuring should be coordinated with other social program strategies.

Francis LeBlanc, M.P. Chairman The Standing Committee on Human Resources Development

The existing social security system in 1994 had seven components: unemployment insurance, Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), Child Tax Benefit, Student Loans, Employment and Training Programs, Established Programs Financing, and Social Development Programs. Although education is a provincial responsibility, the federal government has historically played a role in postsecondary education. (Some components of the role are shown in Table 4.2. The Role of the Federal Government in Postsecondary Education 1885-1964.) The federal government’s support of postsecondary education continued, and by 1994 significant funding was being provided via transfer payments. Federal support for postsecondary education is shown in Table 4.3. Federal Funding for Postsecondary Education, 1994.

While the federal government’s commitment to continue supporting postsecondary education was evident, they were critical of the employment development services and training received from colleges and institutes. As Axworthy said, “Unfortunately, existing programs don’t do this well enough. Too many people end up in programs that have little to do with their needs, aptitudes or opportunities. Many get training for jobs that don’t exist locally.” The cost of said programs to the federal government amounted to about $450 million by 1994.

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99 Federal authority to spend on areas of provincial jurisdiction (sections 91(1A), 91 (3) and 106 of Constitution Act, 1867 = spending powers.

99 Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) was comprised of Social Assistance, Vocational Rehabilitation, and Alcohol and Drug Rehabilitation. Costs were shared 50/50 with the provinces. Growth of CAP to ‘Have’ provinces AB, ON and BC limited to 5% until 1995.

99 Education support for postsecondary education based on share of population Per capita amount had been frozen.

99 A transfer payment is a redistribution of income, and is a term used to refer to payments from one order of government to another, or to a transfer partner (an institution either public or private charged with the delivery of goods or services) or to individuals for financial support, for example, welfare payments.

100 Axworthy, “Agenda: Jobs and Growth,” 10, 11.

101 Axworthy, “Agenda: Jobs and Growth.”
### Table 4.2. The Role of the Federal Government in Postsecondary Education 1885-1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Role of the Federal Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Land Grant to establish the University of Manitoba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>National Research Council created</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945 on</td>
<td>$ to veterans to attend university and $ to universities to increase capacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Annual direct grants to universities (<em>based on population &amp; enrolment share</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Canada Council (support for research)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960 on</td>
<td>$ for training – colleges and institutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Federal cost sharing 50-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Medical Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Cost sharing changed to block funding (cash transfers and tax points)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Established Program Financing (EPF) – not linked to operating costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Canada Student Loans Program</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 4.3. Federal Funding for Postsecondary Education 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Amount $</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EPF Transfers</td>
<td>$3.5bn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash</td>
<td>$2.6bn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Student Loans</td>
<td>$500 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$1bn in loans and grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research</td>
<td>$ not specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Funding</td>
<td>$8bn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Axworthy held the opinion that “the best place to train people is on the shop floor,” and, that the unemployed would be better served by other forms of training, including, “classroom training, on-the-job training, computer-based training and distance learning.”

Overall funding for post-secondary education amounted to more than $8bn by 1994, and while the 1994 Federal Budget froze transfers at 1993-94 levels, it was estimated that by 1994-95 through the Established Programs Financing, financial transfers for post-secondary would still amount to $6.1bn (the reduction mainly being due to the decline in the cash portion of transfers each year, offset by provincial capacity to collect taxes). Federal tax points would continue to be a “permanent, growing federal endowment to help support provincial post-secondary education costs,” according to Axworthy, who also noted that the cash portion of transfers worth $2.6bn in 1994-95 would most likely disappear within a ten year period because,

Under the EPF arrangements, every year the provinces get a larger share of their federal transfer for post-secondary education through “tax room” which the federal government gave to the provinces in 1977. These “tax points” allow provinces to collect more taxes to support post-secondary education. These tax points represent a permanent federal endowment to support provincial post-secondary education costs.

The reducing cash transfers also became linked to discussion of student loans. The federal government realised that such a policy change would place upward pressure on tuition fees, but it was anticipated that personal savings through Registered Retirement Savings Plans could be used to fund lifelong learning, and people could borrow from their RRSPs without penalty, thereby encouraging mutual responsibility. Axworthy noted,

103 Axworthy, “Agenda: Jobs and Growth,” 17.
Rather than simply adopting a hands-off approach to the decline and eventual disappearance of the federal PSE cash transfer, action could be taken promptly to shift that spending from support to institutions via the provinces, to a system of expanded student loans and restructured grants to individuals. In effect, this approach would replace declining cash transfers with a secure and stable source of student assistance that, in conjunction with the growing endowment of EPF-PSE tax points, would ensure that the total resources available continue to grow over time.\textsuperscript{105}

8. The Domino Effect Problem

The election of the Harris government in Ontario June 1995 was perhaps the most significant political event of the year. Prior to the election, the federal cost-cutting agenda had been a driver of emerging issues. The complex symbiotic relationship between the federal and provincial layers of government interwoven into the fabric of Canadian constitutional arrangements creates an unusual policy effect in that federal supply-side policies can lead to demand-side policy problems for provinces. Federal policies can also affect policy development.\textsuperscript{106} Prior to the Ontario election in June 1995, the federal government had identified the budget deficit as a policy problem. Implementation of a cost-cutting agenda at the federal level had created a problem for the provinces. The Federal government’s aim was to “sustain growth and create jobs by addressing the deterioration of the financial condition of the Government of Canada,” through social security reform, redesign of labour market programs, and reform of federal transfer payments.\textsuperscript{107} Budget spending cuts amounting to $29bn were targeted over a three year period.\textsuperscript{108} The Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) was one of the main cost reduction areas, in which spending reductions of $336m were planned, some from the termination of direct

\textsuperscript{105} Axworthy, “Agenda: Jobs and Growth,” 62.

\textsuperscript{106} For example, fiscal rebalancing was a supply-side policy initiative for the federal government in 1995, but cost-cutting and the reorganization of the transfer grant formula, limited the Province of Ontario’s capacity to act, subsequently creating policy problems for transfer agencies, including the CAATs.


\textsuperscript{108} Human Resources Development, “Federal Budget 1995.”
purchase training. The federal government’s announcement that, “recognizing provincial responsibility for education and labour market training, the federal government will no longer purchase training courses, whether from the provinces, public or private institutions. It will withdraw from apprenticeship training and cooperative education programs,” had significant implications for the CAATs.

The Federal Budget of February 27, 1995, reduced Ontario’s cash transfers by $1.4bn. The news received mixed reviews. The leader of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, Michael Harris, was cited as applauding the spending cuts by Ottawa. Laurie’s article in the Toronto Star March 5, 1995, “Budget puts squeeze on Ontario,” expressed the opposite view, and was decidedly critical. Arguing that “Ottawa is squeezing cash transfers to the provinces for health, post-secondary education and welfare,” Laurie informed readers that the cuts would have a significant impact on Ontario due to changes to tax point transfers and the equalization formula. The Tax Point Transfers, represented taxes Ottawa ceded to provinces in the 1970s, which according to Laurie, “now show up in the income taxes that the provinces impose. As they see it, it’s their own money, as opposed to a federal gift.” Laurie argued that the new formula for equalization and transfer for health postsecondary education and welfare - the Canada Social Transfer “preserved the elements of discrimination against the three wealthiest provinces that the previous Conservative government introduced five years ago.” Ontario’s NDP Finance Minister Floyd Laughren agreed, and was quoted as saying, “we can document to the penny almost $10 billion in discrimination against the province of Ontario by the federal government.”

Brian Desbiens, of ACAATO’s Council of Presidents also expressed

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111 Nate Laurie, “Budget puts squeeze on Ontario.” The Toronto Star March 5, 1995.
112 Laurie, Toronto Star, March 5, 1995.
113 Laurie, Toronto Star, March 5, 1995.
114 In Laurie, Toronto Star March 5, 1995.
concern regarding the impact of federal cuts. While reporting to the COR with respect to the Canada Assistance Plan, he stated that the “CoP have grave concerns. The order of magnitude of the potential support reductions would indicate that the planning to date is inadequate and that a whole rethinking of all aspects of what constitutes the college system is required.”

This section has presented details concerning the eight policy problems that were identified as flowing within the problem stream from 1990 to June 1995. As the data show, policy development during the period was both problem driven and agency driven. The following section presents the data from the policy stream, which is where ideas and proposals to policy problems can be found.

The Policy Stream

The policy stream in the Multiple Streams Model acts as a conduit for ideas. By viewing ideas and actions one can gain insight into how ideas and political agency work in conjunction with each other. The aim of policy entrepreneurs is to couple the problem, policy and political streams to advance their agenda. As posited by the Multiple Streams Model, coupling of streams may be continually attempted throughout the course of policy development, but success is not guaranteed. If coupling can be achieved when a policy window is open, policy change can be the result. That said, viewing attempts at coupling does enable the identification of policy entrepreneurs, and provides insight into the policy agenda. This section presents a review of the key issues and ideas that emerged from the analysis of the data pertaining to the policy stream, and displays the link between problems identified and the ideas and proposals for policy solutions. It should be noted that ideas also played a significant role in the structuring of the policy problems and affected the political stream by way of influencing, providing backing for policy arguments, and agenda setting.

115 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, Desbiens, Brian “Council of Presidents Report, For the Two Hundred and Eighty Fifth Meeting of the Ontario Council of Regents for the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology,” (March 9, 1995).
1. The Business Knows Best Idea

The policy stream in 1990, included ideas generated by the Conference Board of Canada; an independent, not-for-profit applied research organization. As human capital issues were in the spotlight, the Conference Board held a national conference on business-education partnerships in Toronto, on April 17-18, 1990. The conference was titled, “Reaching for Success: Business and Education Working Together,” and the link between education and economic success was examined. “Education is the key to Prosperity,” said the Conference Board of Canada. “Better education means better workers – from the research laboratory to the shop floor.” Global competition and rising international productivity were cited as external situational factors.

The Conference Board called for improvements to all parts of Canada’s education systems. Referencing accessibility versus quality, the Conference Board said, “accessibility has its price: emphasis on universal access to higher education has been at the cost of pursuing the excellence needed to make our universities world-class.” A call for involvement from the business community was made, premised on the idea that as major stakeholders and employers of skilled labour, businesses are best placed to know what is required of education providers. The Conference Board therefore urged the business community to partner with education providers, communicate their needs, and stress the importance of basic skills and general education, student achievement, employability, lifelong learning, measurable program goals and outcomes, quality and accountability.

2. The Back to Basics Idea

Ideas in the policy stream can also be voiced through the media. For example, an article in the Globe and Mail, May 18, 1990 “Spelling out problems with literacy” argued that

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117 Conference Board, “Reaching for Success.”

118 Conference Board, “Reaching for Success.”

119 Conference Board, “Reaching for Success.”
pedagogical trends negatively impact basic literacy. The article posited that educational investment was being misdirected towards technology at the expense of basic skills. The article claimed that this view was supported by a wide audience of critics, including parents, business, and university and college educators.\(^{120}\)

3. The Funding Formula Idea

ACAATO’s annual conferences provide a means by which issues can be advanced, concerns voiced, and challenges to the CAAT system illuminated. Annual conferences can also highlight situational factors and external challenges. At the 1991 Annual Conference, the opening speech referred to two significant events which occurred in 1990, the first of which was the collapse of the Meech Lake Accord, which led to the establishment of the French language college, La Cite Collegiale. The election of a New Democratic Party (NDP) government in Ontario was cited as the second. This was considered significant for the CAAT system due to the NDP government’s commitment to Vision 2000. In 1991, both were topics of discussion. ACAATO’s Annual Conference provided an opportunity for the CAATs’ financial officers to meet. They were not united in their ideas. Discussion was lively, but not consensual. Cambrian College president Glenn Crombie briefed all CAAT presidents in a memo February 27, 1991, with respect to opposing views voiced by financial officers regarding the call for an enrolment cap as a solution to the problem of funding.\(^{121}\) The financial officers are recorded as stating, “we’re not about to sign on for funding suicide.”\(^{122}\) They expressed cynicism towards the efforts of the CAAT presidents by saying, “we give them the facts and they don’t do anything with them. We don’t need another spate of research – we have gobs of that; what we need is some political leadership from the presidents.”\(^{123}\) The financial officers


Archived document – no page number.

\(^{121}\) Cambrian College President Glenn Crombie sent a memo to college presidents on February 27, 1991 attaching the Minutes of the Meeting of College’s Financial Officers which was held during the Annual Conference (February 11, 1991).

\(^{122}\) Crombie, Memo, February 27, 1991.

\(^{123}\) Crombie, Memo, February 27, 1991.
proposed the idea of a new slip-year funding formula as a solution to enable better planning and budgeting.

4. The Corporatist Idea

The existence of the Premier’s Council on the Economy and Quality of Life, and the Premier’s Council on Health, Well-Being and Social Justice, helped point to the ideas and beliefs which guided and influenced the agenda of the NDP government. Premier Bob Rae in a speech to the Premier’s Councils, June 12, 1991, pointed to challenges: the economy, the constitutional crisis, and the provision of social programs and services, and the “very deep structural change” that was occurring.124 Rae sought to redefine the term ‘prosperity.’ Referring to the zero-sum option of either pursuing a wealth creation agenda or a wealth distribution agenda, Rae intimated that a third way was possible and proposed a variable sum agenda through building what he termed ‘common sense.’ He referred to the two solitudes of government and labour, and suggested that other models for collaboration existed, which needed to be explored. Rae suggested a form of corporatism and called for dialogue to enable working together to build ‘high trust’ to “create a new culture, a new sense of shared values.”125 As Rae said,

Management and labour have been working in two solitudes in our society. For too long, labour has been treated as if it was a kind of renegade force that had to, maybe at worst, be dealt with in some way, shape or form, but never truly accepted as a partner in the creation of wealth. [...] There has grown up an attitude sometimes expressed that labour doesn’t really have to worry too much about those management decisions. [...] My message to the two councils tonight is simply this: This government recognizes the fact that there must be a marriage and an understanding between those who are involved in the creation of wealth and those who are preoccupied with the issue of social justice. [...] Unless we manage the system effectively, other parts of the system will do less well. [The Councils] should be seen as places where we try to influence and change all our institutions. We have to see these councils as a chance to create a common set of values and ideas that will sustain the work we all do as a society.


That is the vision that I have, that we see all of what we do in light of this common purpose.  

5. The System Reform Idea

Policy actors have the capacity to influence the policy development process through the structuring of image. An example of this can be seen through the example of the president of Humber College, Dr. Robert Gordon’s, remarks on the CAATs’ image problem. In 1990, Gordon disseminated ideas via a submission paper from the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) to the Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education. Gordon argued that colleges and institutes should be included as part of the Commission’s subject of inquiry. Gordon drew reference to Vision 2000, the Premier’s Council Report “People and Skills in the New Global Economy,” and the ACCC publication entitled, “Challenging Ourselves.” Greater cooperation between colleges and the university sector was called for to strengthen the contribution of post-secondary education to Canadian society. A ‘public good’ policy argument was made and backed by reference to upward pressures on credentials in the labour market. Nationally endorsed education policies and recognition of technical studies were called for. Attention was also drawn to international postsecondary education policy initiatives, for example, the reforms to the binary higher education systems in Ireland, Australia and Germany.

6. The Representative Governance Idea

Governance arrangements for the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology were originally set out in Ontario Reg. 770 of Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act., Guidelines for Governors, Ontario Council of Regents’ (COR) Directives, and Local Board By-Laws. Governance arrangements are periodically reviewed by the Standing 

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126 Rae, “Building Common Sense,” 6, 14, 15, 16.

127 January 27, 1992 a copy of the submission paper (undated) from the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) was faxed to ACAATO. Association of Canadian Community Colleges. (Undated – Faxed, January 27, 1992) “Canadian Colleges and Institutes Submission to The Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education.”

128 Association of Canadian Community Colleges, “Canadian Colleges.”
Committee on Government Agencies. In 1991, at the end of a three year review period during which lengthy consultations were in process, the COR recommended changes to CAAT governance, specifically with regard to internal governance arrangements and the process of appointment and reappointment of governors.

The idea of representative governance was a stated provincial government policy goal. In April / May of 1991 the Minister of Colleges and Universities had directed the COR to plan for the representativeness and ensure that CAAT boards reflected the diversity of their communities, by including representation of women, native people, visible minorities, the disabled, labour, business and community leaders. The policy was communicated first, in a speech to the COR by the Minister on April 18, 1991, and second, in writing by way of a letter from the Minister to the COR on May 24, 1991. Regional meetings with college Boards, staff and students followed. Input was welcomed and by June 1992 the COR started to collect data on Board diversity.

In the autumn of 1992, the Minister indicated that Reg. 770 would be amended to make the COR accountable for ensuring compliance of representative CAAT boards. This spurred further consultation between the COR and college governors in an attempt to devise a means by which data could be recorded with respect to Board composition for accountability purposes. In April of the following year (1993) the Cabinet approved an amendment of Reg. 770 which said,

(2.1) In appointing members to a board of governors under clause (1) (a) [external members], the Council of Regents shall recognize the importance of ensuring gender balance and equitable representation of persons with disabilities and persons from the ethnic, racial and linguistic communities served by the colleges. (2.2) The Council of Regents shall report to the Minister annually on the composition of each board of governors, and in particular, on steps taken to comply with subsection (2.1).

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129 Representative governance refers to the idea that the governance structures of the CAATs should reflect the communities they serve, the social composition of society, and include traditionally underrepresented groups such as: women, visible minorities, and persons with disabilities.


As the legislated changes to Reg. 770 made the COR legally accountable for ensuring the diversity and representativeness of college boards, self identification forms for governors were implemented in April 1993. This provoked some opposition, as the CAATs saw this as a mechanism to increase centralization at the expense of individual CAAT board autonomy. Policy actors responded using the media to voice opposition. In December 1993, the COR identified ten areas of CAAT governance for review. These are shown in Table 4.4. Ontario Council of Regents’ Governance Review of College Boards for the 1990s: Review Recommendations, December 1993.

7. The Community Governance Idea

Abram G. Konrad’s “Green Paper on Board Governance of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario” was released in April 1993. Commissioned by the Council of Presidents and the Council of Governors for the purpose of inviting discussion, the “Green Paper” outlines some of the historical background of lay board governance, explores eight issues in college governance, and makes recommendations for the improvement of the governance arrangements in Ontario colleges. According to Konrad,

> College governance is a complex matter. Some of the existing governance structures and processes are inadequate for the context of the 21st Century. Often a time of confusion or uncertainty is a time of great opportunity for shaping the patterns of the future. The resolution of governance issues will play a major role in the future of college education in Ontario.\(^\text{132}\)

Following a brief outline on the background on the college system, Konrad provides a selected history of lay board governance, and argues that the separation of the Church from education in Post Reformation Medieval Europe was the decisive factor for the implementation of lay trusteeship governance in education institutions, as a means to protect the public good and offset faculty self interest.

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Table 4.4. Ontario Council of Regents’ Governance Review of College Boards for the 1990s: Review Recommendations, December 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas for Review</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1 Appointment of External Governors | Representative of population in college catchment area  
Constituency appointments from organized labour, aboriginal peoples, disabled  
Other designated seats as required  
Nominations to include evidence of candidate’s connection to the community |
| 2 Number of External Governors    | 12-14 as decided by Boards and incorporated into by-laws                                                                                     |
| 3 Election of Internal Governors  | Working group to establish uniform system-wide procedures for election and implementation                                                     |
| 4 Internal Observers              | Official observer non-voting status for local stakeholders  
Official observers eligible to serve on all standing committees                                                                          |
| 5 Roles of Internal Board Members | Executive to be elected from all members (external and internal)  
Presidents should be non-voting  
COR (in consultation with Ministry, COG and COP) to establish system-wide processes for appointment, evaluation and removal of Presidents  
Minister or COR to review President’s compensation package prior to Board signing                                                        |
| 6 College Councils               | Working group to establish system-wide criteria for mandate, membership and reporting mechanisms                                              |
| 7 Length and Number of Terms      | No change                                                                                                                                     |
| 8 Operational Matters            | Quorum = 50% of members  
COR to develop college specific conflict of interest guidelines  
Amend Regulation 770 to clarify matters for closed sessions                                                                               |
| 9 Training for Boards of Governors| COR to consult with COG to develop system-wide training on issues/policies/procedures                                                        |
| 10 Per Diems                      | Compensate governors for lost income upon written request ($125 per day)                                                                    |

Konrad quotes Zwingle as saying, “unchecked monopoly of power is a threat to the public good no matter how benign the monopoly. Education is far too important to society to rely totally for its governance on the faculty, whose self interest as with any professional group is ever present.” Konrad posits that the success of the CAAT system can be attributed to innovative leadership. He questions whether effective trusteeship is possible in a contemporary context of Ontario Colleges, where the decline of respect for authority, confusion of mission, and politicization of the campus exist. He contends that “faculty members and support staff increasingly view their participation in college matters as an inalienable right to challenge the role of trustees.” These factors, he argues, coupled with external intervention, create tensions and threaten effective governance. Konrad strongly asserts that the CAATs should maintain institutional independence, and says that “Boards must resist the encroachment of external groups, including government, while maintaining ultimate authority in the management of internal affairs.”

At the 1992 Annual Retreat for ACAATO’s Council of Presidents, eight issues for college governance had been identified: the role of governing boards, board composition, community versus constituency models of governance, board membership, the role of the president, the selection of governors, compensation, and provincial structures. With respect to the role of governing boards, Konrad identifies five traditional roles and five changed roles, the latter were revised he argues, since the inception of the college system in Ontario. The roles, functions, duties and status are outlined in Table 4.5. The Roles, Functions, Duties and Status of CAATs’ Boards of Governors.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Function and Duties</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Function and Duties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legal</strong></td>
<td>Oversight Function</td>
<td><strong>Mission</strong></td>
<td>Steering Function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Acts on behalf of government and the public</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Mission statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Accountable to government</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Priority setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employer</strong></td>
<td>Appointment and Evaluation Functions</td>
<td><strong>Long-range Planning</strong></td>
<td>Monitors and overseas institution’s long range planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Appoints the president/CEO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Evaluates president’s performance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• President accountable to the Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Policy</strong></td>
<td>Oversight Function</td>
<td><strong>Institutional Independence</strong></td>
<td>Maintains autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Oversees formulation of operational and institutional policies</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Maintains freedom to manage internal affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ensures policies meets legal requirements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financial</strong></td>
<td>Oversight Function</td>
<td><strong>Authority</strong></td>
<td>Final authority within the organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Oversees institutional finances</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Final Court of appeal for internal constituencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Performance</strong></td>
<td>Monitor Function</td>
<td><strong>External Relations</strong></td>
<td>Bridge and Buffer Function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Monitors institutional performance</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Bridge between institution and the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Interprets, justifies and communicates college operations to the external community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to board composition, Konrad accepts the inclusion of internal and external membership, but on the proviso that such membership entails trusteeship on behalf of the public as opposed to specific interests. What is interesting is that Konrad differentiates between community and constituency models of governance and argues that the former is more applicable to the CAATs. This distinction later became a significant point in the advocacy strategy of the CAATs. The differences between community and constituency models as outlined by Konrad are shown in Table 4.6. Community versus Constituency Models of Governance.

Table 4.6. Community versus Constituency Models of Governance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Model</th>
<th>Constituency Model</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representative Board</td>
<td>Politicized board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members representative of diversity in society</td>
<td>Members represent a power bloc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board acts in best interests of the institution</td>
<td>Conflicts of interest exist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board acts as one</td>
<td>Members act to advance special interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President is CEO, a member of the board and reports to Board</td>
<td>Bargaining, negotiation, and conflict undermine the executive leadership of the president</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Konrad makes a case for equal status of board members regardless of external or internal status. Internal membership he says should not be seen as negative, because,

The genius in selecting a variety of board members from within a community lies in identifying meritorious persons of genuine commitment, interest, ability, and political resources (time affiliations, occupational success), not individually on the basis of age, gender, ethnicity, creed etc., but in a manner that collectively reflects the diversity of the community.\textsuperscript{136}

Konrad holds the opinion that internal memberships can benefit governance, as they provide a means by which an internal perspective can be provided and communication with the board and from the board facilitated. Internal members can also be a resource for the board, enhancing board effectiveness by being non-confrontational allies or critics of the president on issues arising within board jurisdiction. With respect to conflict of interest, Konrad does recognize that internal members (including faculty) sometimes find themselves in conflict of interest positions. However, he argues this can be offset by ensuring appropriate mechanisms are in place.

With respect to College presidents, Konrad contends that as Chief Executive Officers they play a key role in good governance, by providing information, making recommendations and developing and executing policy. He holds the opinion that presidents should have a vote, but not be the deciding vote in situations where board decisions are divided. Konrad is also of the opinion that the selection of board members requires volunteership and appointment, not salaries and election. Due to the tendency of elections to politicize boards, the cost, and the potential to deter excellent candidates he favours an appointment process, but argues that as “the strength of a board is a reflection of its membership, every effort should be made to select the most knowledgeable, credible and representative citizens for board membership.”\textsuperscript{137}


\textsuperscript{137} Konrad, “Green Paper,” 23.
With respect to COR’s executive responsibilities Konrad is critical of Ontario’s organizational arrangements for the CAATs, particularly the appointment of governors, the COR’s role as agent for collective bargaining, and their recommendation of salaries for administrative personnel. Konrad questions these on the basis of effectiveness and says, “How effective is COR as an intermediary body? Does it function primarily as an advisory council, coordinating agency or as a system-wide governing body?” Referring to Pitman’s recommendation for replacing the COR with a new advisory council, Konrad is also critical of this on the grounds of bureaucratization, preferring instead that the COR be given an advisory role only. Konrad recommends greater autonomy and empowerment of college boards and called on the government to amend Regulation 640 because:

Although Regulation 640 delineates appropriately the board’s primary duties, the sections that undermine the ability of boards to function with integrity should be altered to give boards the authority appropriate to their mandate. Sections that specify the manner in which boards perform their duties, such as questioning the value of board nomination (3-2), setting quorums (3-7, 8), overseeing procedural details of selecting a president (6-2a, 2b), establishing guidelines for the college council (13-2) and others, diminish the authority of governing boards. The Regulation should establish the roles and parameters of boards, but not the manner of their execution.

While Konrad makes some interesting points about governance, it should be noted that his paper lacks supporting data. Konrad aims to provide an understanding of college boards and an assessment of specific issues related to effective governance in 1993, but relies heavily on briefings from members of the Council of Presidents, and governors. While drawing upon his subject knowledge, Konrad’s paper is also limited by the absence of specific research including, surprisingly, any reference to Vision 2000.

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141 A committee of ACAATO.
Although I have not engaged in a comprehensive evaluation of college governance in Ontario, my national governance studies have included Ontario colleges, and I have benefited significantly from the perspectives offered to me at recent meetings with college presidents and governors in Ontario.\textsuperscript{142}

In addition to the limited stakeholder input and absence of primary research, the issue of the commissioning of the paper, raises questions of objectivity.\textsuperscript{143} There are also points of omission, for example, Konrad traces the historical development of lay boards and postsecondary institutions, but fails to differentiate between colleges and universities, or even to acknowledge the existence of a distinction between the two institutional forms in Ontario and the implications for governance. CAATs as Crown Agencies are instruments of government policy and unlike Ontario’s universities do not have their own individual charters or the same degree of institutional autonomy. This distinction is especially relevant to CAAT governance arrangements. Also, while Konrad is explicit with respect to concerns of increased bureaucratization, he is purposeful in the selection of information in that he omits to mention that the Council of Regent’s role included policy and planning.\textsuperscript{144} These oversights coupled with the questionable objectivity of the reports should be taken into account when considering Konrad’s call for “ACAATO to adopt a primary role in research and development and be encouraged to adopt a stronger advocacy role on behalf of the colleges.”\textsuperscript{145} That said, the implications of the release of Konrad’s “Green Paper” are far reaching. ACAATO’s committee, the Council of Presidents, reached consensus that the paper would be submitted to the COR with a copy to the Minister, “stating that it was commissioned by the Councils of Governors and Presidents,” and that each CAAT retain the right to endorse the paper in whole or part as they saw fit, and to follow with individual submissions should they so desire.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{142} Konrad, “Green Paper,” 2.

\textsuperscript{143} Konrad was paid an honorarium of $11,000.

\textsuperscript{144} Vision 2000 was the first endeavour of the remodelled COR.

\textsuperscript{145} Konrad, “Green Paper,” 33.

\textsuperscript{146} Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents,” (April 19 & 20, 1993), Item 13:0.
8. The Learner Centred Idea

The Premier’s Council made a case for “the development of a lifelong learning culture in Ontario,” and a shift of the education infrastructure “into a learning highway.”

Following the release of the Premier’s Council on Economic Renewal, “Lifelong Learning and the New Technology Summary Report” in 1994, “Leadership for Change” was discussed at ACAATO’s Council of Presidents Meeting on April 20, 1995. The Premier’s Council proposed that education and training should be a lifelong process and that new approaches to learning, in particular, self-directed learner-centred education, should be implemented. The report prompted discussion at the meeting concerning what was widely believed to be environmental forces that would precipitate change from educational institutions. It was said that, “Current environmental forces indicate that the magnitude of change facing educational institutions will be extraordinary,” and that situational factors including economic restructuring, the knowledge economy and technology in the workplace had increased public demands for quality, accountability and customized learning. There was a sense that the climate required institutions to do more with less.

This stimulated discussion regarding how the CAATs could transform to meet expectations. A new vision for the CAAT system was considered necessary by the Council of Presidents. “Now is the time for colleges to collectively create a strategic plan to position Ontario’s college system to successfully achieve the colleges’ mission in the demanding decade ahead.” During the meeting, a process was decided upon which was to include a 2-day workshop to create a vision and explore strategies, and the development of a ‘vision and action’ paper.

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148 Bruce Hodgson, Chair Council of Governors and Jon Saso, Chair Council of Presidents. ACAATO “Preliminary Draft Memorandum Subject Leadership of Change,” April 20, 1995 Appendix A to Agenda for the Meeting of the Council of Presidents’ April 18, 1995.

IBM Consulting Group was engaged to facilitate the Council of Presidents’ Workshop on Leadership of Change, May 29 and 30, 1995. The session was framed around the nature, scope of change, and the processes required. IBM noted the difficulties of the context of change by drawing attention to the diversity within the CAAT system and differences between colleges. Four areas of issues facing the CAATs were identified, including, markets and competition, finances, technology, and operations. Using a circular change model, IBM structured the workshop on questions for participants, commencing with asking whether there was consensus among the presidents on the challenges and the desire to lead change. The four main challenges identified were: the change in focus from a teaching-centred to a learning-centred system, collective agreements, ability to exploit technology, and the ability of CAAT presidents to work together. The outcome of the IBM session was the agreement to develop a ‘white paper’ on learning-centred education and training that could be used to lobby a new minister after the next election.

This section has shown that a number of policy ideas circulated in the policy stream between 1990 and June 1995. In addition to acting as a conduit for ideas, the findings indicate that ideas in the policy stream can be used to provide backing for policy arguments, and influence policy development. The findings show that policy entrepreneurs actively sought to advance their interests through advocacy. The following section presents the data from the political stream.

The Political Stream

Political processes, elections, interest groups, public opinion and changes in administration are all part of the political stream in the Multiple Streams Model. Three components can influence the political agenda: public mood, organized interests and government. This section presents the findings pertinent to the political stream. The chronology shows the policy development process and reveals the dynamic within the stream. Pertaining to this case study, policy actors within government, CAATs,

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150 IBM Consulting Group. “Council of Presidents Workshop – May 29, 30 Objective Leadership of Change.”
bureaucracy, and other institutions, operated within the policy environment to advance their interests, promote their policy ideas and goals, struggled to set policy, and to effect policy change. While coupling of the policy streams was not successful between 1990 and June 1995, the actions and efforts of the policy actors and policy entrepreneurs significantly affected the course of policy development in subsequent years and impacted the agenda for change.

1. Government

The outcome of the Ontario Election of September 06, 1990 was a majority government for the New Democratic Party. This result was unexpected, and the outcome left many transfer partners, including the CAATs, speculating about the incoming government’s agenda. Some insight was provided at the ACAATO Council of Presidents’ Retreat, September 17, 1990, when Deputy Minister Brzustowski of the Ministry of Colleges and Universities delivered the Keynote address.\(^{151}\) Brzustowski outlined the new government’s position and reaffirmed its executive role. Stressing the core difference between colleges and universities and hinting at the principal/servant relationship at the core of the politics administration dichotomy, Brzustowski said,

Colleges are agents of the Crown, created to help individuals to acquire the skills to meet their personal goals and also to assist government to meet its social and economic goals. The college/government relationship is close and direct, and made explicit in the statutory responsibility of the Minister of Colleges and Universities for the overall maintenance, conduct, and governance of the colleges. This is in contrast to the arm’s length relations which exist between government and the universities which are autonomous by statute.\(^{152}\)

Brzustowski emphasized the role of the COR as an advisory body to the government, and a policy and planning agent for the colleges. With respect to the government’s directions and themes for the policy agenda, Brzustowski advanced the position that, “Vision 2000 is going to be influential in setting the tone for the process of implementing the Agenda

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\(^{151}\) The address was given from a personal perspective in view of the fact that a new minister had yet to be appointed.

\(^{152}\) T.A. Brzustowski, “Agenda for the 90’s: A Personal Perspective. Keynote Address to the Council of Presidents Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, September 17, 1990” 4, 5.
for the 90s.” Brzustowski identified six themes that the government would use to gear the agenda for the CAATs for the 1990s: greater emphasis on generic skills, accessibility, quality and system-wide standards, lifelong learning and recognition of prior learning, educational and training partnerships with business, labour, professions etc., and enhanced communication and access to information about programs, courses and availability.

Premier Elect Bob Rae expressed personal interest in flexible access to postsecondary education and was of the opinion that Vision 2000 marked the beginning of a new era whereby government could collaborate with transfer partners on policy implementation. He is quoted as saying, “Vision 2000 is the beginning of a new approach to including the community in decisions, which is necessary because of the variety and continuing needs in communities for life-long learning.” This agenda for involvement was reiterated in the Speech from the Throne, November 20, 1990. While stressing economic pressures, the government’s plan was to protect workers and respond to economic pressures. Through Keynesian economic measures, including spending on infrastructure, the government sought to advance its policy goal of fostering “a society where economic change will not mean a dramatic loss of income or self-esteem.” The government was of the opinion that relationships could be fostered across all sectors of society, and cooperation could help Ontario compete in a global market without cost to social infrastructure.

The fact that the new government thought it could manoeuvre around the market may have been admired by some, but can be criticized on the basis that a social democratic

155 ACAATO’s Dr. Ron Chopowick’s “Notes on the meeting with Premier-Elect Bob Rae’ attached to Trump, Christopher G. ACAATO, Note to Presidents September 20, 1990.”
157 Lieutenant Governor, “Speech.”
agenda ignores the reality of competing interests. The government’s stated intentions were to build consensus, but an agenda of consensus-building was being dictated. As the Lieutenant Governor said, “My government is determined to build a consensual, environmentally responsible economic strategy for the twenty-first century. Our human resources will be key to our economic future. We must become a learning society. Strong publicly funded instruments are crucial to lifelong education.”

The relationship between the CAATs and the recently elected provincial government was showing some signs of strain by December 1990, primarily due to implementation delays. A briefing memo sent to Robert (Squee) Gordon, President, Humber College and chair of ACAATO’s Committee of Presidents, on December 12, 1990 confirms that it was the government’s intent to implement some of Vision 2000’s recommendations. Trump advised Gordon that the CAATs “have to recognize that this new consultative approach has to be taken with this government and that they are adept at smelling out fakery.”

Trump’s memo indicates government consciousness of the CAATs’ capacity to inhibit implementation of Vision 2000 contrary to their agenda. Referring to the meeting held earlier that day between ACAATO’s Chris Trump and Ministry of Colleges and Universities’ Riel Miller, Gordon was informed:

At the meeting this morning Riel Miller laid it on the line - - the days of schmooze-in are over; no private lunches or dinners with ministers. Unless you come with constituency buy-in you’re wasting your time.

Whatever the colleges do must be done now and must address three criteria: Multi-year, Institutional change and Equity.

He urges us to pull together a plan with a few pointed areas of need, with concrete costing out – preferably in an envelope mode – over the next 4-5 years, and he strongly suggests that any meeting with the minister have all participants singing from the same hymn book - - that harmonies may vary, but a discordant caterwauling will fall on deaf ears. Finally, he was most emphatic on the issue of getting on with it … 18 months on Vision 2000 and now still more discussion and

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160 Trump, “Note to Squee Gordon.”
review? He said it was so much shadow boxing and we now have to take aim at a few targets.\textsuperscript{161}

The incongruent fiscal situation added stress to the relationship between the CAATs and the NDP government. In the Statement by the Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics, the Honourable Floyd Laughren on Major Transfer Payments, February 11, 1991,\textsuperscript{162} Ontarians were informed of the government’s concern about the economy, and impact from reducing federal transfer payments. Transfer partners were told that their grants for 1991 would be “considerably less” than requested and “may only be adequate to permit the maintenance of current service levels, and this may result in difficult service realignments.”\textsuperscript{163} CAAT operating grants were increased by 7.3% to $828m, after allowing for inflation and enrolment growth.\textsuperscript{164}

The implementation of Vision 2000 was a high priority for the government, and while the fiscal situation was a concern, they were of the mind to push ahead with their agenda.\textsuperscript{165} The Budget 1991 (delivered April 29, 1991), provided financial support for the establishment of the College Standards and Accreditation Council (CSAC), a Vision 2000 recommendation, for implementation of system-wide program standards for the CAATs, and credit recognition for prior learning. The government also signalled its intention to establish an ‘institute without walls’ to promote linkages between colleges and universities and to implement representative governance.\textsuperscript{166} The issue of representative governance was to prove problematic as some CAAT presidents and

\textsuperscript{161} Trump, “Note to Squee Gordon.”

\textsuperscript{162} Ministry of Treasury and Economics. Statement by the Honourable Floyd Laughren, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics, (February 11, 1991).

\textsuperscript{163} Ministry of Treasury and Economics.

\textsuperscript{164} Ministry of Treasury and Economics.

\textsuperscript{165} Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents March 4, & 5, 1991.

Boards considered representativeness contrary to effectiveness. With regard to representative governance, the Minister commented:

We have had some success in attempting to reflect the composition of college communities through the appointments of members on to the colleges’ boards of governors. However, some success is not good enough. In making their appointments, Council [of Regents] must ensure that the diversity of each community is represented. This not only includes representation of women on college boards of governors but also Native people, visible minorities, the disabled, labour, business and community leaders. I am committed to this goal and I will work with you to make college boards of governors become more representative of the community at large.

While the Ontario government’s use of fiscal policy instruments was curtailed by the economic situation, it held the view that there was an opportunity to solve the policy problems through restructuring. Minister Allen called for creative solutions, including reshaping the system. Suggested strategies for restructuring included: streamlining programs and operations, inter-institutional cooperation and resource sharing, optimization of resources, prioritization and strengthening accountability. Transitional assistance was offered on a results basis only.

While the NDP government recognised the challenges of the economic situation, it intended to continue to use higher education as a social policy instrument. As a market mechanism in higher education, user fees have functionality. Data indicates that additional funding for the system was introduced via tuition fees increases which amounted to 8% in 1991, followed by further increases for 1992 amounting to $125 for university students and $56 for college students.

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167 April 22, & 23 1991 Meeting of the Council of Presidents, the Council of Governors.
169 Allen, “Future Directions.”
170 Allen, “Future Directions.”
The government wished to restructure Ontario’s higher education systems. “By far the best way to meet the urgent needs of our postsecondary education system is to explore all our options, to adjust, reshape and restructure what we do and how we do it,” said Minister Allen. The government was also “prepared to take a more involved role vis-à-vis the postsecondary sector.” Lifelong learning became a policy goal “we could reshape and restructure our system to make it easier for students to enter and re-enter as many times as they need.” The provincial government’s commitment to restructuring as a means to alleviate the economic situation can also be seen in their proposals. Simultaneous to the transfer/ budget announcements, the Ministry of Colleges and Universities issued a memorandum and proposal to colleges and universities, indicating their intent to create limited membership task forces to consult, investigate and recommend how best to manage change. It said,

The overall objective of the consultation is a reshaping of the postsecondary system so as to be responsive to the continuous or lifelong education, training and knowledge needs of a modern economy and democratic society and to free sufficient current resources to enable the fullest possible response to the government’s equity/access agenda.

On January 22, 1992, the “COR Proposal on Developing Restructuring Options for the College System” was sent to the Minister. In the proposal, the COR argued that restructuring the college system was necessary to meet identified policy goals and to strengthen the CAAT system. A jointly chaired (COR and Ministry of Colleges and Universities) restructuring task force was proposed to identify restructuring options, develop discussion papers, be involved in system-wide consultation, and report to the Minister by December 1992. The government’s three priorities for higher education


\[174\] Ministry of Colleges and Universities. “A proposal for developing long term options to reshape the postsecondary sector in Ontario,” (January 21, 1992).

were economic renewal, social justice and fiscal responsibility.\textsuperscript{176} Moving forward with these priorities, on June 17, 1992 Minister Allen sent a Memorandum to Executive Heads, Colleges and Universities and Chairs, Governing Bodies with respect to “Restructuring the Postsecondary Sector in Ontario,”\textsuperscript{177} and announced the establishment of two steering committees, one for colleges and one for universities. The colleges’ committee would be jointly chaired by Richard Johnston representing the COR, and Ralph Benson, representing the Ministry of Colleges and Universities. Minister Allen announced:

The range of potential issues and options relating to restructuring that the Steering Committees could address is very broad. The preliminary task for each of the Steering Committees will be to identify relative priorities amongst these issues and options, and development recommendations on the restructuring agenda that will move the system in the appropriate direction. Rather than waiting for the Steering Committees to complete their work on their full agendas, I will be asking that they phase their work, forwarding recommendations on specific issues and options as their work progresses.\textsuperscript{178}

This course of action is interesting and significant for a number of reasons. First, it shows government had an agenda, which they intended to implement. Second, it illustrates that the provincial government had policy goals and was willing to accept incremental changes as long as they were directed towards the desired end. Third, it illustrates that the provincial government believed that it controlled the policy agenda.

\textit{2. Public Mood}

Conrad Black’s June 25, 1991 article in the Financial Post article provides some insight into public mood. Elements of the business community were not supportive of the NDP government’s agenda and policy direction. Black directed readers’ attention to the recession and expressed the opinion that he believed that recession in Ontario would be

\textsuperscript{176} Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents,” (September 15, 1992) 3.

\textsuperscript{177} Richard Allen, Minister, Ministry of Colleges and Universities. Government of Ontario Memorandum to Executive Heads, Colleges and Universities and Chairs, Governing Bodies. “Restructuring the Postsecondary Sector in Ontario,” (June 17, 1992).

\textsuperscript{178} Allen, “Restructuring,” 3.
deeper and longer than elsewhere due to fiscal mismanagement by the Rae administration. According to Black, Premier Rae’s NDP government had created a provincial deficit of $9.7 billion by June 1991 due in part to what Black referred to as Rae’s “implacable bias in favour of labour union bosses and against the shareholder.” Black accused Rae of being ignorant of “elemental economics” and argued that Rae’s “profound visceral antagonism toward those who own and manage capital is a mistake of the intellect (not of the heart), and is traceable to ‘rampant ideology.’”

Interestingly, Diane Francis’ column in The Financial Post of the same day (a paper owned by Black at the time), raised similar criticisms, and also cited the public mood. “Ontario’s mood is ugly and people are talking about getting out and dropping out as the NDP’s anti-business and naïve economic policies unfold for all to see.” Francis argued that the NDP polices were having a negative effect and would contribute to hardship through higher taxes, higher interest rates and higher inflation. Francis referred to a “season of discontent” and cited emerging interest groups such as, The People Against the NDP Budget, and The Taxpayers Coalition Ontario, as examples of civil society’s response.

Implicit criticism of the quality of CAAT training services was also evident through media reports. The Globe and Mail’s October 15, 1991 article on training initiatives, “Skills made to order” pointed out that a grocery chain, Zehrs Markets preferred in situ training for workers as compared to formalized training through the colleges because

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179 Conrad Black, “Rae’s polices are not a mistake of the heart,” The Financial Post (June 25, 1991).

180 Black, “Rae’s polices.”


182 Francis, “Time for a Tea Party.”

183 Francis, “Time for a Tea Party.”
“they can do in 16 weeks what they say a community college cannot do in 18 months.”

According to the author,

In 1987, disenchanted with the calibre of community college graduates in the grocery trades, Zehrs was receptive when the union made a contract proposal for a joint training program that would save its members from dead-end jobs, and allow Zehrs to train to order. Workers going through the in situ training program are skills ready in less time and more hands on. 

Judy Sted’s article in the Toronto Star, November 12, 1991, “Portrait of a minister in tough times,” raised the issue of deteriorating public support for the NDP government. Sted informed readers that Minister Richard Allen, “is under attack, not an unusual condition for New Democratic Party cabinet ministers these days.” According to Sted, in a recent private meeting between Minister Allen and a university president, Allen was informed about the growing hostility towards the NDP government and their agenda. The university president is quoted as having said, “I have to tell you minister, with great respect, there’s a growing credibility gap between your party’s promises and the government’s agenda.” The $8bn deficit from the time the NDP took office had risen to a reported $9.7bn at time the article was published. Significant job losses were also evident. Sted reported that the government’s response was to announce a $13m cut from colleges’ and universities’ budgets.

3. Organized Interests

Organized interests were active in the political stream during the period 1990 - June 1995. In 1990 the CAATs’ policy actors were learning techniques, and by June 1995 they had developed consciousness and were becoming strategic in their efforts. On September 20, 1990, a group of CAAT presidents met with Premier Elect Rae, and took the

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185 Galt, “Skills.”
opportunity to ask how they could best advance their interests. At that time Rae informed them:

Get in touch with your newly elected members of provincial parliament. Arrange tours. Develop in your representatives a greater understanding of services offered, your agenda, the issues you face, even how much money you need and why. People are not as knowledgeable as you need them to be. Tell your story, regardless of which political party is represented. There must be an honest and open debate about national and provincial training issues.¹⁸⁸

Richard Johnston former MPP for Scarborough Ellesmere was also asked for advice. His recommendations included adopting a cautious approach while keeping critics in sight, use of the formal processes, positioning, being direct and acquainting MPPs and opposition parties with the issues, and engaging in meaningful dialogue.¹⁸⁹

Using the Media

However, while being advised by politicians to use the formal channels, the problem of poor image of the colleges as outlined in Ainsworth’s Toronto Star, November 27, 1990 article “Community colleges fight label of being ‘universities for losers,”¹⁹⁰ prompted a less direct advocacy response from the CAATs. Robert Gordon, President of Humber College, used the media to rebut the accusations and to advance CAAT interests. Ainsworth attributes Gordon as saying, that the binary postsecondary system and difficulties of student mobility between institutions was the cause of the public’s poor perception of the CAATs. “Real recognition of the colleges will come only when college students are permitted to transfer into universities and get credit for some of the courses they take, said Robert Gordon, President of Humber College.”¹⁹¹ Gordon was also cited

¹⁸⁸ Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, Dr. Ron Chopowick’s “Notes on the meeting with Premier-Elect Bob Rae’ attached to Trump, Christopher G. ACAATO ,Note to Presidents,” (September 20, 1990).

¹⁸⁹ Richard Johnston, as recorded in the ACAATO Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents, October 29 & 30 1990.


¹⁹¹ Ainsworth,“Community colleges fight label.”
as saying that the CAATs provide quality education but, “have a great deal of difficulty demonstrating quality and that definitely adds to the image problem.”

Part of the CAATs’ ongoing advocacy strategy became the use of the media. The media was used to rebut criticism, as in Ainsworth’s article, and also to disseminate positive messages about the CAATs. For example, ACAATO’s Executive Director, Chris Trump employed the media for advantage. Trump responded to the Ainsworth’s November 27, 1990 article by sending a letter to the editor highlighting CAATs’ quality, by referencing the Canadian team competing for the first time in the Skills Olympics, in Tulsa, (Summer 1990). In the article of December 20, 1990, entitled “Our students compete with the best,” Trump redefined the image problem as a skills deficit, and presented the CAATs as a policy solution. Several employers were mentioned in the article complaining about work ethic and the need for sound technical skills. The government was blamed for lack of leadership and held to be partly responsible. (The article deliberately omits mentioning that the CAATs are a government training provider). Trump referred instead to Skills Canada as “a movement that could sweep us into the 21st century on a tidal wave of pride in skills,” and credits the ‘tidal wave’ to William Leslie, Dean of Technology at Georgian College in Barrie.

Through purposeful advertising, the media was used to buff the image and advance CAATs’ interests. For example, under the heading, “System-Wide Advertising in the Toronto Star – ‘Education 91,” the public was informed that a part-time Loyalist College student was recognized for outstanding achievement.

Neil Sine, part-time student at Loyalist College, recently won the 1990 Certified General Accountants’ Association of Canada President’s Gold Medal for achieving the highest average in CGA level 5 exams in Canada. This honour was

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192 Ainsworth, “Community colleges fight label.”
193 Christopher Trump, Letter to the Editor (November 27, 1990).
194 Christopher Trump, “Our students compete with the best” Financial Post (December 20, 1990).
195 Trump, “Our students compete with the best.”
recognized by Loyalist College and ACAATO with an advertisement in the special Education ’91 section of the December 4th issue of the Toronto Star.196

CAAT advocacy was also direct, and used references to international policy developments to disseminate policy ideas and make policy arguments. For example, in a letter to the Hon. Richard Allen Minister of Ministry of Colleges and Universities, May 14, 1991, the Minister’s attention was drawn to examples of international higher education reforms which had eliminated or blurred binary divides.197 An advertisement for academic appointments for Nanyang Technological University, Singapore in the Globe and Mail was used to provide information concerning institutional transformation.198 The Minister was told that this was another example of a country which had reformed higher education institutions, as had, “Ireland, Australia, Scotland, China and New Zealand, to cite but a few worldwide. (sic)”199

Nanyang Technological Institute, the Minister was informed, was due to be transformed into a comprehensive university and renamed Nanyang Technological University, in July 1991. What is evident, but not pointed out to the Minister, is that in the advertisement, there was a plethora of academic appointments covering a broad range of subject areas, suggesting that Nanyang Technological Institute did not have the academic expertise before transformation, a significant omission from the advocacy argument. What was highlighted was the drift towards technology institutions in many countries awarding degrees as a reflection of a trend towards preference of degree credentials in the labour market.


The advertisement was referred to in McIntyre’s letter, but date of the article was not specified.

This concern over credentials continued to be included in the focus of CAAT advocacy. It was argued that “CAAT diplomas are clearly second-rate in the post-secondary realm in Ontario,” and the government’s commitment to increase accessibility has “fuelled the degree credential syndrome.” Furthermore it was remarked that “with a few notable exceptions, the acceptance of college graduates into Ontario universities, with reasonable transfer credit and advanced standing is dismal by comparison to the treatment of those same college graduates by nearby reputable American universities.” It was requested that CAATs be allowed to more fully participate in postsecondary education with the universities as a “great opportunity exists to remedy the perception of the college three-year diploma being dead-ended and second rate.”

**ACAATO Organizational Structure**

ACAATO’s organizational structure was a topic of discussion at the Council of Presidents’ Annual Retreat September 15-18, 1991, where a report from ACAATO’s Interim Steering Committee (ISC) was presented. To improve the effectiveness of ACAATO, the ISC recommended the decentralization of decision-making wherever possible. Furthermore, by clustering system-wide issues into five categories: Programs, Student Services, Human Resources, Administrative Services, and Government & Community Relations, a more effective ACAATO structure would be created, which would “would free presidents up to focus on system-wide issues and increase the emphasis on issues relating to relationships with government (both senior levels) and with other external bodies.” This demonstrates that the CAATs were aware of the need to actively advance their interests. Also, the reorganization of ACAATO’s committee structure would provide space for the presidents to develop positions on issues, and free up time for CAAT presidents for strategic policy action.

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Presented at the Council of Presidents Annual Retreat. 7.
**Action Planning**

The CAATs became aware of the necessity for an Action Plan during 1991. By January 21, 1992, the Executive Committee of the Council of Presidents (COPEX) of ACAATO had produced a discussion paper, “Towards an Action Plan” summarising the work of two ACAATO committees: the Council of Presidents (COP), and the Council of Governors (COG), on system-wide issues. The paper made five assumptions:

1. Social and technological change had occurred
2. Applied knowledge is a public good
3. Demand for postsecondary education would continue
4. Government funding was limited, and,
5. Social policy legislation adds to overhead costs.

The paper also claimed that the CAATs had the capacity to deliver services but as negative perceptions existed, changes and a paradigm shift would be necessary. While it was acknowledged that the CAATs needed to adapt and diversify both in programs and delivery, it was pointed out that several important initiatives were already being undertaken including the establishment of CSAC, PLA, French Language colleges, native education strategy, and the reorganization of ACAATO committees. In the paper, CoPEX argued that a formal strategic plan was required as “there is no overall long-range plan for the Ontario college system.” Formalization of agenda setting and agency for the colleges also became evident in 1992. Continuous Improvement Services Inc. was hired to facilitate a strategic planning session at the Council of Presidents’ Retreat.

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September, 14, 1992. The information sent to the presidents in advance specified the objects of the event as, “identification and prioritization of issues and the development of goals and plan.” Strategic issues identified included:

- Governance
- Funding
- Mandate and strategic planning
- Productivity and financial management
- Training
- Linkages / partnerships
- Role and function of Council of Presidents
- Administrative issues
- Access
- Programs
- Consultation on government initiatives
- Year 2000

Clearly, governance issues were identified as a priority. The COR’s forward thrust on ensuring greater Board representativeness was worrisome to the Council of Presidents, and was identified during the Annual Retreat 1992 as having possible regulatory impact to ensure compliance. The CAATs’ response was to commission Abram Konrad to write a paper on governance. From the Council of Presidents’ perspective, governance issues could be broadly grouped into four categories:

1. System governance
2. Constituent model versus community model
3. Roles: Board, Governors, Presidents, COR, ACAATO, College Councils
4. Governors: Accountability, Selection, Recruitment

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208 Rick Funston, Continuous Improvement Services Inc. “Strategic Thinking and Planning Overview,” (September 8, 1992).


While the list is fairly comprehensive, it must be noted as significant to this study that while governance is an identified issue, a new college charter is not mentioned nor listed as a priority. Similar re linkages (applied degrees).

The models of governance attracted great attention between the CAAT presidents, as did governor’s roles. Concerns were raised during the planning deliberations including the danger of politicization (constituency model versus the community model). It was also pointed out, that under the existing governance model; governors had no real formal authority. Centralized system responses were considered to be undesirable and unnecessary because “Presidents are mostly accountable so therefore need the authority.”211 As an evaluation of the various models was being prepared by Abram Konrad, and the CAAT Steering Committee was examining the issue, no decisions were arrived at during the 1992 Council of Presidents’ Retreat. However, consciousness with intent to act was emerging.

Responding to Challenges
By 1993 the economic situation had become more problematic. Base operating grants for colleges for 1993/4 were reduced by 0.8%, and the restructuring allocation was reduced to $25m from $31m.212 The reduced grant allocations caused concern. But the CAATs response to the government’s Social Contract initiatives was not automatic. A suggestion was made that the CAATs enter into discussions with the Council of Universities regarding the possibility of advocating a combined position.213 The CAATs were of the opinion that the economic situation would not be solved with the Social Contract. The Public Service was also against the Social Contract. In the Public Service Coalition paper “A Public Service Accord” of May 1993, it was said,

The Public Service Coalition believes that what the Ontario government has offered us is not a social contract. Neither the process, nor the content of what we have been “offered” convince us that this is a social contract, either in the classic sense or as has been defined by more recent experience in European countries, Australia, New Zealand or Quebec. The type of “social contract” being offered by

the government is doomed to failure, because deficit cutting is an agenda that will make our economic problems worse, rather than better.\textsuperscript{214}

Part of the advocacy strategy for the CAATs was engaging governors with the intent of getting governance issues on to the agenda. Several actions were taken. The Governors Planning Committee (GPC) produced a discussion paper in May 1993, on “how college governors can provide leadership on key issues for the college system,” and Professor John Dennison was commissioned to provide intelligence on governance policies and practices elsewhere in Canada.\textsuperscript{215}

The GPC were not supportive of university preparation programs in the CAATs, but were in agreement with a comprehensive CAAT system with local diversity. Notably, the GPC recommended advocating for a change in the funding formula to discourage counterproductive growth, differentiation of tuition fees, and the development of alternative revenue sources.\textsuperscript{216} They also recommended an increased advocacy role for ACAATO, elimination of geographic catchment areas for each CAAT, and an updated accountability framework with province-wide criteria to provide “flexibility of action while providing both Boards and the government with the means to ensure college effectiveness and efficiency.”\textsuperscript{217} The GPC also concurred with Abram Konrad.

We concur with Abram Konrad’s recommendation #7, which deals with the respective roles of the COR and ACAATO. Dr. Konrad recommends that the Council of Regents be advisory to the Minister (i.e., without executive functions) and be working more closely with a strengthened ACAATO as well as greater activity in research and development.\textsuperscript{218}

In the “Supplementary Report to the Governors’ Planning Committee” of May 1993, Professor John D. Dennison argued that CAAT boards play an important role and are

\textsuperscript{214} Public Service Coalition, “A Public Service Accord. Executive Summary,” (May 1993).

\textsuperscript{215} Governors Planning Committee Discussion Paper, (May 1993), 1.

\textsuperscript{216} A policy idea from the Financial officers.

\textsuperscript{217} Governors Planning Committee Discussion Paper, (May 1993), 5-6.

\textsuperscript{218} Governors Planning Committee Discussion Paper, May, 1993), 5-6.
relatively autonomous. Furthermore, according to Dennison, “board members in Ontario are eager to play a major leadership role in creating management policies and determining the destiny of their institutions.”\footnote{219} Dennison advanced the view that effective governance in the CAATs is dependent on three criteria: block funding, deregulated tuition fees, and local bargaining. Block funding is necessary for Board leadership, deregulated tuition fees are necessary for Boards to meet local objectives, and local bargaining adds flexibility. Dennison also remarked on the necessity of a quality assurance mechanism for accountability purposes. Drawing on his considerable expertise, Dennison outlined the various forms of governance in community colleges in Canada. (These are shown in Table 4.7. Classification of Governing Boards in Canadian Community Colleges.)

Table 4.7. Classification of Governing Boards in Canadian Community Colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Locus of Policy-making</th>
<th>Board Role</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry Governance Model</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>NB, NS (Also MA until 1993)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Colleges extensions of government Ministry)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Governance Model</td>
<td>Operational policies at board level</td>
<td>Quasi-autonomous</td>
<td>AB, some in BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited Power Shared Governance Model</td>
<td>Shared between government and community representative Boards</td>
<td>Limited powers</td>
<td>QC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constrained Shared Governance Model</td>
<td>Shared between government and community representative Boards</td>
<td>Board autonomy constrained by government via funding and program approval requirements</td>
<td>SK, NFL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divided Power Shared Governance Model</td>
<td>Division of powers: Federal Provincial COR Boards</td>
<td>Relatively autonomous</td>
<td>ON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data adapted from John D. Dennison, “Supplementary Report to the Governors’ Planning Committee,” (May 1993).

\footnote{219} John D. Dennison, “Supplementary Report to the Governors’ Planning Committee, (May 1993)
Discussion regarding governance arrangements continued during 1993. Mobilizing governors was part of the CAATs’ strategy. Among the Council of Governors there was strong support for retention of a community model of governance together with:

2. A comprehensive system mandate with local diversity
3. Improved inter-institutional credit transfer
4. A revised funding formula
5. Increased and differentiated fee structure
6. The ability to develop alternative revenue sources
7. Strong local governance with a system perspective
8. Review of the roles of the Ministry, the Council of Regents, ACAATO and a new employers Association
9. Updated accountability mechanisms.\(^{220}\)

Other advocacy efforts from the CAATs included the development of advocacy materials. For example, a task force was established to develop an information booklet on the financial crisis in the college system entitled, “Booklet on Financial Crisis.”\(^{221}\) Significantly, as the CAATs were acutely aware of the need for these materials to be perceived as objective, Glen Milne and Associates was contracted to write the document.\(^{222}\)

The government’s agenda continued to be seen as a problem by the CAAT presidents during 1993, in particular the implementation of the Social Contract. At the ‘Ad Hoc’ meeting of the Committee of Presidents, on June 28, 1993, the situation and the conflict between the CAATs and their constituent groups was discussed. Discussion at the Social

\(^{220}\) Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents,” (May 31 & June 1, 1993).

\(^{221}\) Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of Presidents,” (May 21, 1993), Item 15:0. 7.

\(^{222}\) Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, CAAT Steering Committee, “Meeting Highlights,” (May 14, 1993).
Contract meetings had deteriorated to the extent that two ‘tables’ were necessary; OPSEU was blamed. It was agreed that a united front would be necessary, as “our problem is that we have acted individually not as a system.” It was decided that the best way to proceed would be to develop a position paper. As the Social Contract continued to be a cause for concern in August 1993, prior to the Annual Retreat, the CAAT presidents met for a Special Meeting on August 10, 1993. The Social Contract and the fail-safe program dominated the agenda and discussion at this meeting. From the Minutes and appended documents two significant points were revealed:

1. The presidents were concerned that they would likely bear the brunt of faculty and support staff frustration with government policy. “Those faculty and support staff currently frustrated with the Government and/or COR and/or OPSEU will now have a new target for their anger,”
2. As academic and support staff bargaining units had not reached an agreement regarding the Social Contract, the colleges agreed to implement Fail Safe consistently across the system which included a wages freeze and unpaid leave days. ‘Fail-Safe Program’ implementation commenced midnight, August 10, 1993.

4. Developing Priorities
The Council of Presidents’ Annual Retreat, October 4, 1993 was entitled, “1994 Where Are We Going and How Are We Going To Get There.” This retreat was designated for the purpose of identifying priority objectives for 1994. During the discussions, disparate

225 President, Keith McIntyre volunteered to undertake this task.

The Fail Safe provision in the legislation gave employers the power to impose terms in the event that agreement could not be achieved through negotiation.
viewpoints were aired. In fact, the CAAT presidents were “far apart on fundamentals and not together on basic issues.” Economic development was voiced as one priority. ACAATO’s advocacy role was another. The process was productive, the outcome being that the following eight strategic priorities were identified for 1994:

1. To form a task force to spearhead the colleges’ role in economic development;
2. To establish a joint human resource planning/development task force with OPSEU;
3. Make recommendation to the Minister of Education and Training to strengthen the colleges’ mandate to include economic development;
4. Create a lobbying strategy via ACAATO;
5. Plan joint COP/COG annual strategic planning workshops;
6. Make recommendations to revise the funding formula;
7. Develop joint ACAATO/COR/OPSEU responses to external bodies and reports;
8. Increase ACAATO/COR consultation on strategic planning and delineate the boundaries of responsibilities of both organizations.228

(a) Advocacy and Lobbying

Joan Homer replaced Chris Trump as Executive Director of ACAATO, on June 1, 1993.229 The duties of the new Executive Director included the development of a lobbying strategy, which had previously been identified as a need.230 The rationale for the lobbying strategy was premised on the belief that some key decision makers were not sufficiently aware of the capability and capacity of the colleges to meet education and

227 In notes taken during the Council of Presidents’ Annual Retreat, October 4, 1993.

228 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Strategic Priorities Identified at Council of Presidents’ Retreat,” (October 3 to 5, 1993).

229 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents,” (May 31 & June 1, 1993), Item 22.2.


ACAATO’s Executive Committee (June 18, 1993), Governors Planning Committee (September 1993), Council of Presidents (October 5, 1993).
training demands. “This inadequate knowledge threatens the colleges’ viability” it was argued. The primary purpose of the ACAATO lobby strategy was to inform, convince and build support for the CAATs’ perspective and to “sell” the message (via in–person meetings, and printed materials) that the CAATs as part of the existing nomenclature were experienced education and training providers and were capable of meeting societal demands. It was proposed that the lobbying role of ACAATO would supplement the efforts of individual CAATs. Face-to-face lobbying directed at key decision-makers was preferred because, “a controlled, clear and consistent message about the education and training infrastructure Ontario’s colleges provide can be delivered most effectively in face to face meetings.” It was decided that ACAATO would be responsible for developing printed advocacy materials, and would “engage college CEOs, and when possible, Board Chairs, to meet directly with the select audiences of government, corporate and media decision-makers.”

(b) Funding

While the agreement on the lobbying strategy suggests accord, divergent viewpoints existed. At the December 13, & 14, 1993 Meeting of the Council of Presidents, discussion about the funding formula was lively. It is evident from the records that certain presidents wished to change the funding formula even though they were aware that it was the government’s intention not to do so. It was suggested that the government needed to be convinced to change the formula. Documents record the following dialogue: “will

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231 Homer, “Lobbying Strategy (Draft).”
232 Homer, “Lobbying Strategy (Draft).”
233 Homer, “Lobbying Strategy (Draft).”
need the Ministry/govt to want to change the formula – and this is not the desire; [...] current govt believes that the corridor funding mechanism works well (sic).”

Enrolment management was suggested as a strategy, as was lobbying of opposition leaders. There was a “sense there is support to try to get serious about changing the funding formula in a serious way.”

One president recommended the formation of a committee to advise the Minister. However, another vociferously stated, “we don’t have the resources to deal with this – it is escalating out of control; we need a Royal Commission on the Colleges; Vision 2000 – “pile of crap” – we couldn’t implement in the economic climate we are in; have a credit system and fund on credits.”

One of the difficulties for the CAATs to overcome was insular thinking. It was expressed, “we think as individual colleges and not about the system.”

Although the CAAT presidents were scheduled to meet with the Minister in December 1993, he was delayed by a pressing issue and did not attend the December Meeting of the Council of Presidents. Discussion about the government and the Minister took place in his absence. A view was expressed that the “Minister has become more interventionist in the past 4 weeks.”

During the less formal part of the meeting, discussion regarding strategy and the funding formula ensued. The outcome was a decision to speak with a cohesive voice, and a strategy to advance their interests. The following sentiments were expressed during the discussion:

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236 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents,” (December 13 & 14, 1993), Item 8:0.

“Works well” is used here in context with the original source. I interpret this as meaning that the government of the day considered the formula mechanism as a suitable policy instrument to serve their interests and advance their agenda.

237 Association of Colleges, “Minutes,” (December 13 & 14, 1993), Item 8:0.


Quotes are from several different people – discussion.


241 The quotes are part of the discussion once the guests from the meeting left.
• Look like we are standing up to them
• If we want to take a stand on funding then let’s just do it
• Strong stand on academic values – and start a strong strategy re: our political awareness
• We need to take a stand on some issues.242

(c) Governance
At the ACAATO 1993 Annual Council of Presidents’ Retreat, five strategic priorities for 1994 had been identified, economic development, human resource planning and development, advocacy, consultation, and funding.243 In January 1994, as the Council of Presidents’ prepared to advance these strategic directives and meet objectives, the issue of governance became activated.244 See APPENDIX A. Figure A. The Council of Regents: Governance Review Timeline.

The COR as part of their review of CAAT governance, had generated a discussion paper in December 1993. This had been preceded by the introduction of self identification forms for governors. The government was committed to implementing representative governance, but, the policy was not willingly embraced by the CAATs, and attempts to implement the policy met with strong opposition. In keeping with the convention of promoting openness and consultation and to facilitate discussion, direct expression of views was encouraged. The COR invited stakeholders and community groups of colleges to submit their views on college governance.245 This was normal practice and part of the policy development process. What was unexpected at this time was that despite the invitation to participate in dialogue, views were expressed via the media.

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242 In notes taken during the Meeting of the Council of Presidents, (December 13 & 14, 1993).


The Toronto Star, February 19, 1994, article headlined, “Politically correct council spells trouble for colleges” by David Crane, alerted the public to the governance issue. A member of the COR’s governance committee, Joe Ng responded via a Letter to the Editor of the Toronto Star, March 1, 1994, expressing “deep regrets and disappointments [as the article] is riddled with distortions, inaccuracies and excessive rhetoric.” 246 Ng advised that, as a member of the Council of Regents’ Governance Review Committee, he was disappointed with the allegations made by the Toronto Star surrounding the rejection of a nominee to the board of Conestoga College in Kitchener, Ontario. Ng asserted that Crane had “compromised his journalistic integrity through his poison pen.” 247

Ng rejected the allegation of political expediency, and informed the editor that social justice and equity are at the heart of the appointment process policy, not political correctness or hard core activism. Ng also informed the Editor that the CAAT governance review was still in process and input from stakeholders was still being received and reviewed. The policy was still in development and was not being imposed.

A flurry of media articles followed and the issue became highly politicized. The public mood was mobilized to hamper the government’s implementation efforts. Accusations and responses were communicated via the media, circumventing the usual policy discussion processes. Interestingly, what was not communicated via the media was that it was the government’s intent to implement representative governance, and as Crown Agencies, both the CAATs and the COR are required to follow directives from the government.

The Kitchener Waterloo Record’s article “Regents oversee college board” of March 4, 1994, was cleverly executed. It disguised its true intention, which was to sway public mood away from the government’s policy of representative boards. It posed as an informational piece naming Conestoga’s Board and discussing the role of the COR. The


247 Ng. Letter to the Editor, March 1, 1994.
article drew readers’ attention to the contrast between Richard Johnston of the COR, and serving members of Conestoga’s board of governors who receive no compensation, implying that the COR was self interested and self-serving.

The editorial in the March 5, 1994 Kitchener Waterloo Record was biting. Headlined the “NDP doesn’t trust Ontario’s people,” the editor described James Turk of the COR as “an NDP Hitman.” The editorial argued that the COR was stacked with NDP ideologues. “The NDP has become a warehouse of self-righteous paternalism dressed up as progressive thinking. Its stagnant fundamentalism of the left is led by intellectual pygmies who have taken over the party since the best and the brightest departed.”

Greg Crone used the March 5, 1994 newspaper as an opportunity to provide some balance to the discussion. Crone’s article “Out of touch,” quoted Cambridge MPP Mike Farnan who spoke about dispute and said:

The real problem lies with the fact there is some discomfort on the part of the board that there is a central agency. [...] There is always a desire on the part of a board and the president of an institution to want to have control of the board. The reality of the matter is, if the president and board can appoint directly, without any monitoring or auditing of the appointments, what can develop very quickly is a cozy little club. [...] whether it is education or police service boards, [...] The fact that there is a monitoring agency that has authority to review, or endorse or reject, is something of an inconvenience for those who would like to run the world as they themselves would like it to run.

The perspective of the CAATs can be seen in the data from the Council of Presidents’ meetings. Notes taken during the Meeting of the Council of Presidents, March 7 and 8, 1994 recorded that concerns had been expressed by some college presidents’ on March 7, 1994 with respect to representative boards. During the meeting there was some discussion about the COR directive for governors’ self-identification. A number of presidents had

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248 Editorial, “NDP doesn’t trust Ontario’s people.” *Kitchener Waterloo Record* (March 5, 1994).

249 “NDP doesn’t trust Ontario’s people.” (March 5, 1994).

250 Mike Farnan, In Crone, *Kitchener Waterloo Record*, (March 5, 1994).
asked their Boards not to comply with the directive, “his board agreed not to fill out self identification form – he understands there are other boards doing the same but it hasn’t been reported as such – would like some sense if other colleges are having problems with their board appointments.”

Opposition was also voiced with regard to inclusion of labour representatives on CAAT Boards. The data shows agency and development of strategy to oppose implementation. With respect to Board Appointments, Richard Johnston, of the COR advised governors that the issue as covered in the press did not reflect the reality. Under the multiple submission rule, colleges submitted the names of Board nominees and “only two or three individuals (of approximately 100 appointments) appointed to boards this past year were not on college lists submitted to the Council of Regents.” Also Johnston informed governors, that the Council was “unaware of the appointment of any “activist” on a college board that was not submitted by that college.”

Members of the Council of Presidents had a dinner meeting with the Minister and ministry staff on March 7, 1994, prior to which there was discussion among the presidents. Notes taken during the pre meeting indicate that one president said that he/she believed that “a lot of people are upset re: governance – don’t think the Minister knows this.” It was suggested that “an invitation to the Minister to meet with our governors should be extended.” While data records are not available for the actual meeting between the Minister and the CAAT presidents, notes record dialogue from the following day at the Meeting of the Council of Presidents March 8, 1994, during which

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251 Notes from the Meeting of the Council of Presidents March 7 & 8, 1994 (no author) 2.


254 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents,” (March 7 & 8, 1994).

255 Notes, March 7 & 8, 1994.

256 Notes, March 7 & 8, 1994.
attempts to raise the issue of governance, and specifically Board representativeness, with the Minister were not very successful.\textsuperscript{257}

Strategy was discussed with regard to how to handle the issue at the next scheduled meeting with the Minister on April 11, 1994. One president suggested that a process be developed before April 11 to “orchestrate that certain presidents ask questions.”\textsuperscript{258} There were several presidents opposed to this, “we need to stay away from the issue of governance” one said.\textsuperscript{259} Another commented that, “April 11 – would be a major blunder to get into governance after last night – heard Minister say not to come and talk about governance on April 11.”\textsuperscript{260} Another pointed to mistakes made, “we should have been stronger last night – be specific i.e. how students are disenchanted; governance issue – would be a mistake to raise at the 11th meeting.”\textsuperscript{261} What is also evident from the data is that at least one president was cognizant of the need to maintain an appearance of cohesion, “we are starting to lose respect for each other; we are getting upset in centralization process […] we need to stay together as a team.”\textsuperscript{262}

The issue of representative Boards and governance issues continued. Notes taken during Meeting of the Council of Presidents April 18 and 19, 1994, recorded that again there was discussion among the Council of Presidents. Concerns were raised regarding the forthcoming report from the COR on governance, especially regarding the objectivity of the COR’s governance committee, and in particular the “issue of Turk chairing Governance Committee.”\textsuperscript{263} However, centralization of authority was the main concern. “Turk is just a red herring – he is not the issue – focus is what’s going on – […] issue at

\textsuperscript{257} Notes, March 7 & 8, 1994.

\textsuperscript{258} Notes, March 7 & 8, 1994.

\textsuperscript{259} Notes, March 7 & 8, 1994.

\textsuperscript{260} Notes, March 7 & 8, 1994.

\textsuperscript{261} Notes, March 7 & 8, 1994.

\textsuperscript{262} Notes, March 7 & 8, 1994.

\textsuperscript{263} Notes taken during the Meeting of the Council of Presidents April 18 & 19, 1994.
heart of this – board’s relationship with a central authority – issue; under what conditions are board appointments to be made in the future.”  

Concerns were also raised that CAAT presidents would not see the COR’s report in advance of its presentation to the Minister. “COR report will be sent directly to Minister – we will not see it first.”  

It was suggested that, the CAATs “must be able to discredit report and what’s behind it.” It was decided that publicly, the CAATs would say that they were, “pleased and supportive of report – but need a strategy for presentation of report – […] Need a strategy to go beyond COR.”  

In terms of strategy, it was agreed that the CAATs would continue to “deal with editorial boards to influence media and not just deal with individual writers.”  

Part of the strategy was to get the Council of Governors to respond to the Council of Regents Governance Review Recommendations. The governors’ response in April 1994 was centred on three dominant messages: no need for further regulation, opposition to movement towards centralization, and, the COR’s lack of respect for board leadership. The Council of Governors acknowledged they had received input in preparing their response, and admitted to having “been influenced by the governance views of Professor Abram Konrad, University of Alberta, and the policy governance model of Dr. John Carver.” The Council of Governors said their position,  

264 Notes, April 18 & 19, 1994, 5, 6.  
265 Notes, April 18 & 19, 1994, 5, 6.  
266 Notes, April 18 & 19, 1994, 5, 6.  
267 Notes, April 18 & 19, 1994, 5, 6.  
268 Notes, April 18 & 19, 1994, 6.  
Strongly supports the principles of diversity and representativeness that college boards have been working to achieve. The Council of Regents recommendations for further regulation do not appear to be necessary to advance the college system towards these goals. It is further agreed that several COR recommendations, if implemented, would centralize additional authority in COR to the detriment of the community-based accountability of college boards.271

With regard to the appointment of external governors, the Council of Governors “strongly rejected” any movement towards constituency-based governance.272 They supported the status quo with regard to the ex-officio status of college presidents, on the basis that this status maintains “both voice and vote.”273 They recommended guidelines for governors over uniformed procedures, and with respect to per diems for governors, the Council of Governors disagreed with the COR, preferring volunteerism and service to the province and the community. Algonquin College governors added an individual response. They said,

> It is our view that the Board's primary interest [is] the students and the community it serves. To be effective, Board members should focus on matters that affect the entire College bringing to bear their diverse perspectives to serve the interests of the College and the broader community. It is therefore important that the proposed COR guidelines not be perceived as the appointment of candidates who may represent narrow advocacy interests.274

Sault College added, “We want to register our strong concern both in opposition to constituency based governance and the expansion of the executive responsibilities of the Council of Regents.”275 However, it appears that some voices were deliberately muted. The Alliance pour les colleges franchophones de l’Ontario in a Letter from Jacques Michaud, Chair, to Bruce Hodgson Chair ACAATO. September 7, 1994 voiced


274 Algonquin College, Board of Governors. Undated memo (copy faxed to ACAATO September 15, 1994) “Appointment of External Governors.”

275 Sault College, Deluzio, Doreen, Chair Board of Governors. “Memorandum to Bruce Hodgson Re; Council of Regents Review,” (August 30, 1994).
disappointment in not being invited to provide input into the COR review. Interestingly, Michaud was supportive of the COR’s efforts and especially Richard Johnston (the Chair of the COR). He said,

Over the past two and a half years COR has made every effort to ensure that representatives of the Franco-Ontarian Community were not marginalized but were full participants in all its initiatives. […] the ACFO has publicly recognised the personal commitment of the Chair of COR, Richard Johnston, by naming him “Francophile of the Year” […] in recognition of his outstanding contribution to the advancement of the Francophone community.276

In 1994 one of the standing items at Council of Presidents meetings was a report from the Council of Governors.277 Following presentation of the report, the, “Council of Presidents engaged in lengthy discussion about the April 11th College Leadership Assembly. Feedback on the meeting showed that Board Chairs and Presidents were pleased at the opportunity to meet with the Minister.”278 The ‘lengthy discussion’ was in part due to the fact that the issue of governance had been raised at the meeting with the Minister on April 11, 1994 even though it had not been scheduled as an agenda item. Notes of the discussion recorded a range of sentiments that were expressed. It was recorded in notes that one president remarked that it was an “arrogant statement by Minister to raise governance after he told us not to raise; waste of time for governors. (sic)”279 One president felt victim to loss of face as he/she was “embarrassed in front of board chair – she asked “are we being threatened – found offensive; she is troubled; not allowed to speak in this system.”(sic)280

276 Alliance pour les colleges franchophones de l’Ontario “Letter from Jacques Michaud, Chair to Bruce Hodgson Chair ACAATO,” (September 7, 1994).
278 Committee of ACAATO – later eliminated with ACAATO reorganization.
The COR presented its final recommendations on CAAT governance in October 1994. See Table 4.8. Council of Regents Governance Recommendations, October 1994. Procedural changes were recommended to ensure Board diversity, but governance continued to be an ongoing issue.

Table 4.8. Council of Regents Governance Recommendations, October 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendation</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong> Appointment of External Governors</td>
<td>Procedural changes to achieve diversity, with increased community involvement in the search process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> Number of External Governors</td>
<td>Boards to decide between 16-18 members Minimum 12 external, Maximum 5 internal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong> Election of Internal Governors</td>
<td>Stakeholder committee to update guidelines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong> Internal Observers</td>
<td>Internal constituency groups to convey preferences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong> Roles of Internal Board Members</td>
<td>Establish guidelines for appointment, evaluation and removal of presidents. Chair elected from external members, Vice-chair – elect from external or internal members. President to be non-voting member of the board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6</strong> College Councils</td>
<td>Working group to review criteria, mandate and membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7</strong> Length and Number of Terms</td>
<td>External 2 x 3 years, Internal 2 x 3 years, Students 1 = 1 max 6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8</strong> Operational Matters</td>
<td>Quorum 50% +1 Establish conflict of interest guidelines Reg. 770 to be amended to define matters for closed sessions including property, litigation etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9</strong> Training for Boards of Governors</td>
<td>Consultation to ensure training available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10</strong> Per Diems</td>
<td>Government to review policy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1995, the CAATs continued to develop organization of their interests directly via presidents, through ACCATO, and with the Council of Governors playing an active role. Bruce Hodgson, Chair of the Council of Governors, wrote to Dave Cooke, Minister, Ministry of Education and Training, (January 20, 1995) and requested a copy of the Standing Committee on Government Agency’s Review of the Ontario Council of Regents. Mr Hodgson followed up with a letter to Minister Cooke on January 23, 1995, and responded to the COR’s final recommendations on college governance. Hodgson on behalf of the Council of Governors advised the minister that the Council of Governors agreed with the final endorsement by the COR of a community-based governance model for the colleges. However, a point of contention appears to have been the removal of the ex-officio vote from college presidents. Hodgson argued that majority opinion supported the continuance of the president’s vote. 282

Individual Boards of Governors also wrote directly to the minister supporting the Council of Governors’ position, and outlining individual points of contention. For example, on January 23, 1995, the Chair of the Board of Governors of Fanshawe College (Dunsmore), took issue with the COR’s recommendations regarding the role of internal board members. Dunsmore argued that internal members should not be permitted to serve as vice chairs of Boards as they would be placed in a conflict of interest position - the vice-chair position is typically used as a preparatory position for future chairs. Fanshawe College’s Board of Governors also took issue with the COR recommendation on College Councils, and articulated the view that if College Councils were allowed access to the Board of Governors, it would undermine the role of the college presidents and create governance instability. 283

Conestoga College’s Chair of the Board of Governors, Helen Friedman, wrote directly to Richard Johnston, Chair of the COR, March 9, 1995. Friedman took issue with the

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COR’s February 20, 1995 letter to Conestoga, which accused the Board of failing to understand the requirements to have a labour representative on the Board, which had been practice since the 1980s. In the letter Friedman argued that the practice of the COR appointing labour representatives to Boards of Governors, was not in keeping with the legislation.

The college is very concerned that there is an apparent discrepancy between the contents of your February 20, 1995 letter regarding the appointment of a “labour” representative to our Board and the actual legal process outlined in Regulation 770 and the original Guidelines for Governors.

Friedman argued that colleges’ consultation regarding appointments of labour representatives with the OFL was a “practice of courtesy” and that Jim Turk should not be the person choosing the labour representatives, as he is unfamiliar with local needs. Furthermore, Friedman advised:

Although the Council of Regents has arbitrarily revised the guidelines, it is our understanding that Regulation 770 remains unchanged. As far as we are aware, there has never been formal consultation or discussion with Boards of Governors regarding this “policy” change.

Dave Cooke, Minister of Education and Training felt it necessary to set out the government’s position on the Recommendations of the Ontario Council of Regents on College Governance, which he did by Memorandum, April 19, 1995. The Minister supported the COR on most points, “I am pleased that the COR’s recommendations generally reflect the consensus of views of college stakeholders and I appreciate the effort of all the participants in the consultation.” However, Minister Cooke disagreed with

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284 COR told Conestoga to refer to Chapter III, page 8 of the Guidelines for Governors.
the COR on several points. He advanced that: internal members should not be eligible for the vice-chair position for reasons of conflict of interest, the presidents’ ex-officio vote should continue, quorum should be a 50% plus one majority of external members, and the issue of governors’ remuneration needs to be examined further. 289

Summary

This chapter has presented the findings from the documentary data. The historical records show that the structures and institutions developed prior to 1995 were not the result of rationally planned higher education system. This chapter has provided insight into the problem, policy and political streams. Eight policy problems were identified, policy ideas flowed, and from the data relevant to the political stream, it is evident that the government’s attempts to implement their agenda including some recommendations from the Vision 2000 taskforce, met with opposition. Policy actors attempted to inhibit implementation of the government’s agenda especially regarding representative boards, and as the data show, the CAATs through ACAATO became organized and used the media to harness the public mood to their advantage. It was found that 1993 was a particularly significant year as the CAATs truly became what John W. Kingdon would describe as organized interests. This was significant in terms of policy development. The CAAT presidents by virtue of their involvement in the policy community are all policy actors, but, as the data show, some CAAT presidents developed the qualities and intentions of policy entrepreneurs, and became conscious and strategic. Advocacy also became more formalized from 1993 on, as the role of ACAATO as an advocacy organization was clarified and an Action Plan was developed.

The economic situation, a macro problem and challenge in the policy environment during 1993, acted as a catalyst and provided raison d’être for agency. This agency and strategic activity became more sophisticated in subsequent years. That said, the importance of the

foundations laid during 1993 with respect to governance, advocacy, and strategy cannot be underestimated. The policy changes that followed in the early years of the new millennium are rooted in the development of policy entrepreneurship and the metamorphosis of consciousness which occurred in 1993.

Introduction

The previous chapter presented findings from the documentary data to June 1995. Economic prosperity, quality, public image, funding, training, the economy, social security, and the domino effect were identified as policy problems. The data indicate that by 1993, significant economic challenges had catalyzed the organization of interests, and sparked policy entrepreneurship. This chapter commences with a brief overview of the Common Sense Revolution agenda of the incoming Progressive Conservative Party in June 1995, and continues with a presentation of the findings from the primary and secondary documents covering the period June 1995 to 1999. The data pertain to the political stream, and are presented chronologically to provide insight into the policy development process. Additional data on the Progressive Conservative government’s belief system and deficit-cutting agenda, obtained through the interviews, are presented in chapter seven.

The Common Sense Revolution

Several factors emerged between 1995-1999 which affected policy development; the most significant was the Ontario election in June 1995 which resulted in a majority government for the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario (82 of 130 seats). As a majority government, they received a mandate from the people of Ontario to deal with problems identified during the election campaign which were the provincial government deficit, and size of the public sector. Once elected, under the leadership of Michael Harris, the government wasted little time in implementing a neoconservative agenda of deficit-cutting through public sector reduction, and balanced budgets.¹ The Common Sense Revolution manifesto promised to “help build a better future” by cutting waste and non-priority government spending, eliminating red tape, and introducing performance

¹ See also Chapter 7 The Interviews.
standards for the public sector. It was believed that these measures would enable the government to cut personal taxes, and in so doing stimulate consumer spending and job creation. The government’s agenda was clear: “These tax cuts will be the first step in redistributing wealth and decision-making power away from the politicians and the bureaucrats, and returning it to the people themselves. That’s what The Common Sense Revolution is all about.”

This provided the context for higher education policy development June 1995 to June 1999. Specifically with respect to postsecondary institutions, the Progressive Conservative Party voiced the opinion that “universities and community colleges have suffered from government’s failure to set priorities.” The previous NDP government, as part of cost saving measures had shifted needs-based financial aid from a combination of grants and loans, to all loans, and had loosened the regulation of some tuition fees. These measures were built upon and became policy priorities for the Progressive Conservatives, who proposed that students should contribute more towards the costs of their education. The Common Sense Revolution was therefore both ideologically inspired and problem driven.

1995

Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology

Following the appointment of the Honourable John Snobelen as Ontario’s Minister of Education and Training after the June 1995 election, a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of Presidents was held on June 29, 1995 during which three starting points for discussion with the new minister were identified:

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5 Reform of the high school curriculum was also on the agenda; increasing the number of school days per year from 185 to 190 and reducing the number of years in high school from 5 to 4.
1. Success of Ontario colleges.
2. Desire of the colleges to work with the Ministry to address obstacles to success.
3. Desire of the colleges to assist the government in meeting its mandate.⁶

Part of the CAATs’ agenda was to reposition themselves from teaching to learner-centred institutions. The October 1995 ‘white paper’ on change and repositioning argued that colleges needed to undergo a learner-centred shift because, “there is not enough money to sustain traditional operations.”⁷ Part of the rationale for change was funding; made more pressing by the “Ontario government signalling to transfer payment recipients that funding reductions could be as severe as 20%, with further reductions ahead.”⁸

While teaching was acknowledged as a valuable resource, the Standard Workload Formula (SWF), the mechanism for assigning teaching to academic staff (part of the Collective Agreement), was cited as an organizational barrier to change as it limited managers’ capacity to maximize the use of academic human resources, capping teacher contact hours to a maximum of 18 hours per week, no more than six classes, and no more than four different class preparations. The SWF formula was also based on face-to-face delivery and ignored the use of technology and new modes of learning. According to the

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IPCC was comprised of representatives from the colleges’ Vice President Academics.

The IPCC paper on learning centred colleges was very lean on research. It was a brief paper, and consultation was quite limited.

Instruction/Programs, “Learner-Centered Education,” (October 1995), 1.

⁸ Instruction/Programs, “Learner-Centered Education,” (October 1995), 1.3.

The Conservative government’s cuts were not exclusive to the CAATs. They were applied to municipalities, universities, social services and hospitals (known as the M.U.S.H. sector).

The 20% referred to here by IPCC, likely includes the 15% expected provincial cut coupled with an additional 5% impact from federal changes.
white paper, diversified delivery and differentiated staffing were necessary, and programs should be redesigned and based on learning outcomes, to which the student would then demonstrate competence. It was argued that the role of college professor was outdated, and ‘facilitators of learning’ was a more appropriate description of academic staff in a learning culture.\(^9\) Transformation to a learning-centred college system, rationalization, implementation of a learner-centred philosophy, funding stability, and information technology became the identified CAAT Presidents’ Priorities for 1996.\(^10\)

As funding continued to be of concern to the CAATs, a letter was sent to Minister Snobelen on July 23, 1995 commending the government on its commitment to reduce the budget deficit, and outlining the CAATs’ record of efficient service delivery. It said, “community colleges have provided a role model of efficiency in the public sector during the past five years by providing career education and training to 33% more students with 25% less funding.”\(^11\) However, it was argued that further cuts to funding, coupled with declining federal support for training, would compromise quality. An offer was made to meet with the new Minister to discuss the issues and find ways to work together. The Minister was advised that a ‘leadership for change’ process was underway and that the CAATs’ goal “shared with your ministry, is to maintain the maximum levels of access, quality and service within a framework of fiscal accountability and deficit reduction.”\(^12\)

Prior to the anticipated adverse funding announcement, the Minister of Finance, and the Minister of Education and Training extended an invitation to the CAATs to meet, with the object of discussing, “the college system’s accomplishments to date and to highlight the tools required to move forward with the delivery of education and training service in

\(^9\) Instruction/Programs, ‘Learner-Centered Education,’ (October 1995).

\(^10\) As identified at the 1995 Council of Presidents’ Annual Retreat.


\(^12\) Association of Colleges. “Letter to Minister” (July 23, 1995).
Ontario in a time of dramatic fiscal constraint.” Meetings took place October 2, 1995 with Minister Snobelen, and October 4, 1995 where the Minister of Finance was also in attendance. These meetings were used as opportunities to advocate, and to highlight fundamental differences between colleges and universities. Following the meetings a letter was sent to Minister Snobelen stating:

The meeting[s were] helpful, allowing us to provide advice regarding the upcoming economic statement and to juxtapose our circumstances with those of the university sector. As you discovered, while the college and university sectors have aspects and perspectives which we hold in common, there are important differences in the nature of our learners and in our relationship to government which need to be recognized in the declaration of public policy….

A formal “Submission to the Ministry of Education and Training Regarding Strategies for Addressing Grant Reduction” was made October 6, 1995, in which the CAATs formally recognized the provincial government’s agenda to balance the budget, eliminate debt and reduce bureaucracy. The CAATs requested that funding reductions be phased in over a three year period, be cushioned by differentiated and increased tuition fees, that funds for voluntary early retirements and leaving plans be provided, and that the colleges be given “the LATITUDE TO MANAGE GRANT REDUCTION RESPONSIBLY” (sic.) However, the CAATs also signalled their willingness to cooperate and work with the government. They said, “We shall continue to honour our mission, with the resources available to us, and to be entrepreneurial in the generation of new partnerships and

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14 As recorded in the Minutes.


17 Association of Colleges, “Council of Presidents Submission,” (October 6, 1995).
souces of revenue.” However, by October 1995, the CAATs had become very concerned about the size of the budget cuts, likely to be over $200 million. Some CAAT presidents even recommended working with organized labour as a means to deal with the extraordinary financial situation.

Dramatic change is taking place and the parties are experiencing a growing ability to work together, both locally and centrally to accomplish it. It is essential that we find a way to maintain this cooperative approach to designing and implementing new academic strategies that will serve us well into the next century.

Cost reduction strategies were discussed. These formed the subject of a discussion paper, which was released on November 7, 1995. As the anticipated budget reduction to the CAAT system was estimated at $211.5m for 1996-97, program rationalization on a college by college basis was recommended. A modified decline in enrolment to reduce the impact of the cuts, rolling off-the-top grants into the base operating grants to enable flexibility in use, a general tuition fee increase, and differentiated fees were also recommended as short-term system-wide strategies. Longer term, rationalization of administration was deemed to be necessary.

While the motivation may have been honest, the CAATs’ intent to transform into learner-centred institutions was met with negative responses from organized labour. A memo from the Ontario Public Sector Employees Union (OPSEU) Local 354 to its members provides insight into the faculty union’s perspective. Members were urged to read the

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19 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts & Technology of Ontario, “Memorandum to C.o.P. from Bert Martin Subject: Local Discussion,” (October 27, 1995).

20 With OPSEU Locals.

21 Association of Colleges, “Memorandum to CoP from Bert Martin,” (October 27, 1995).


23 Rationalization = reductions and efficiencies.
CAATs’ document “carefully and critically.” The October 1995 white paper on learner-centred education was seen as an attempt to “jettison [quality] for financial reasons,” and introduce expensive technology coupled with “cheaper teaching resources e.g., peer tutors, other students, support staff technologists […] that would require a large group of administrators.” Local 245 representing support staff at Sheridan College, was also informed about the grant reductions, likely to be in the region of $10m at Sheridan College alone, with job losses resulting. According to OPSEU Local 245’s president Jay Jackson, “the Presidents have made a play to seize more power and control for themselves and the institutions they represent.” Restructuring initiatives were seen as a power grab. “You don’t need to be a rocket scientist to see we are back to the good old days of the 70 and 80ies. The Local has ordered a new jumbo box of OPSEU grievance forms.”

The voice of the governors was added for support. Governors met with Minister Snobelen to state their views on the Council of Regents, collective bargaining, and governance. At the meeting, governors were informed that the driving forces were not confined to the economic situation as,

The Minister observed that the impetus for change would exist even without the urgency of the current financial pressures. The Minister reflected on the changing characteristics of those needing postsecondary education. He noted that people needed more help in managing their learning and that the providers of education and training needed to be more responsive to the value people placed on time. In

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24 Peter McKeracher, President OPSEU Local 354, “Memo to Members, Local 354 Subject: Learning-Centered Education in Ontario’s Colleges,” (October 25, 1995).


26 Jay Jackson, President OPSEU Local 245, “Memo to All OPSEU Local 245 Support Staff Members Subject: Update with respect to ongoing and new matters as they impact on the college sector,” (October 30, 1995).

27 Jackson, “Memo to All OPSEU,” (October 30, 1995).

28 Jackson, “Memo to All OPSEU,” (October 30, 1995).

addition, he stated his belief that new approaches in program design and delivery are required to serve learners’ needs not satisfied through existing services.30

As the CAATs’ Boards had been invited to provide input to the Ministry by December 31, 1995, the presidents asked the governors to work closely with them to address issues of governance.31 The presidents requested that the governors include comment in their submission to government regarding the inclusion of labour and internal representatives on college boards; particularly, the boards were asked to address:

- Issues associated with the appointment of labour and internal representatives
- The role, mandate and operations of college councils
- The need to reinforce the community-based, community-focused nature of colleges
- The importance of changing the criteria used to make appointments to the COR to ensure people are knowledgeable about colleges
- The relationship between the work of the Council of Governors and the follow-up activities arising from the Council of Regents review of governance.32

The Council of Ontario Universities (COU)
The concerns of the universities with respect to funding reductions were articulated through the Ontario Council of Universities. The relationship between the universities and the Harris government had not started well. Prior to the 1995 election, the President of the Council of Ontario Universities, Peter George expressed his concerns in a letter to Mr. Michael Harris about the Progressive Conservative Party’s pre-election rhetoric. He said,

I was deeply distressed by reports of your comments on universities during your campaign stop in London yesterday. [...] You can well imagine my

30 Association of Colleges, “Minutes,” (October 19, 1995), Item 2:0.2.


32 Association of Colleges, “Minutes,” (December 11, 12, 1995) Item 4:0, 3.
disappointment at the remarks attributed to you, because I fear that they reflect a significant departure from our understanding of the evolution of your position in recent months.  

Mr. Harris had allegedly made comments about tenure practice. He is attributed to have commented that the practice of tenure in universities amounted to protectionism and self-interest regarding job security. George took the opportunity to enlighten Harris regarding the tenure process and its association with academic freedom, necessary he argued, to provide scholarly independence, and to insulate scholars from political intervention.

On October 19, 1995, a media advisory was distributed by the Council of Ontario Universities, which included a letter to MPPs outlining how the government’s financial cuts to universities would impact communities now and into the future, through the loss of spin-off businesses, regional impacts, and the loss of innovation and research. The Council of Ontario Universities informed MPPs that the return on investment for public support of university education is four times the initial investment.

On the same date, the Council of Ontario Universities’ paper entitled, “Government Grants, Tuition Fees and Student Aid” representing the universities’ response to the Common Sense Revolution, was released. This paper argued that the cuts to university budgets proposed in the Common Sense Revolution document would cause “irreversible damage.” The paper outlined the roles of the university: knowledge transfer, protection of intellectual, cultural and technological traditions, preparation of individuals for the professions, and basic and applied research. Making the case that Ontario’s universities had little flexibility with respect to rationalization of operating costs; the paper argued that relative to other national and international institutions, universities in Ontario were


already operating on very lean support from the Provincial government to the extent that an inelastic position had already been reached. Further cuts without corresponding increases in other revenue sources, the Council of Ontario Universities argued, would be at the expense of quality and access. The link to future labour market requirements was also commented upon. The paper informed readers that,

Ontario’s universities believe they will be seriously damaged by the Government’s announced $280 million cut to their funding. […] The transfer reductions come at a time when studies indicate that 60 per cent of all new jobs created by the year 2000 will require a university degree.\(^\text{37}\)

The COU proposed that in order to implement the Common Sense Revolution agenda without comprising quality and doing irreparable damage, tuition fees for the universities and the CAATs would need to be increased, and program fees deregulated. Fee differentiation and the increased revenue would then enable institutions to continue to respond to demands. To offset the impact on students and to maintain accessibility, support for an Income Contingent Repayment Plan (ICRP) for student aid was articulated, together with a proposal for a set-aside percentage of increased fees.

**The Federal Government**

In November of 1995, ACAATO’s Council of Presidents’ presented their policy position on training to the Federal Committee on Higher Education. The presentation highlighted “concerns related to government training arrangements and the new employment insurance.”\(^\text{38}\) Arguing that the federal government should play a leadership role, the Council of Presidents put forward the view that training should be part of a national strategy for job and wealth creation.\(^\text{39}\) A case was made for the CAATs to continue as delivery agents, arguing that their services represented a significant return on


\(^{38}\) Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Memorandum from Tom Evans to College Presidents, Re: Presentation to Federal Caucus Committee,” (December 3, 1995).

investment;\textsuperscript{40} this request was born out of the concern regarding the withdrawal of federal government direct purchase training monies.

The College-University Consortium Council (CUCC)

The College-University Consortium Council (CUCC) was an initiative supported by Minister Snobelen.\textsuperscript{41} As more pathways within Ontario’s binary postsecondary education system were considered to be necessary for the well-being of Ontario, a “Draft Statement of Agreement” was drawn up, in which three situational factors were highlighted: a globalized knowledge-based economy, internationalization of education, and societal demands for innovation and delivery of advanced training. The Statement of Agreement was designed to facilitate pursuit of new initiatives including student transfer. It was hoped that more joint programming and collaborative projects would follow, and that in time the binary system would evolve into a “more seamless continuum.”\textsuperscript{42} Objectives for the Consortium included the development of an annual transfer guide, and a process for determining admission and transfer of credits. However, participation was voluntary; the CUCC had no executive powers, and was a facilitative and advisory body only. The CUCC was allocated $1m to support advanced training projects, which were defined as “programs that are developed jointly by colleges and universities and that are designed to serve the mission statement of the Consortium as expressed in the Consortium Statement of Agreement.”\textsuperscript{43} The allocation of funding to the CUCC should be noted, as it indicates that there was strong government support for the initiative.

It was anticipated that advanced training programs would combine academics with applied training and “would occur at the interface of existing college and university

\textsuperscript{40} Association of Colleges, “Presentation to Committee on Higher Education,” (November 1995), 6.

\textsuperscript{41} December 22, 1995 the Minister wrote to Mary Hofstetter Chair of COP, informing her that a discussion paper on postsecondary education was to be released early 1996, and that the minister supported the establishment of a college-university consortium.


\textsuperscript{43} “Advanced Training Draft Funding Proposal Final Draft.” (October 24, 1995), 2.
programming and the private sector.” Academic drift was not a policy goal. There was also no intention at this time to give the CAATs baccalaureate degree-granting authority, or to issue a new charter. However, it was anticipated that the CUCC would eventually be able to consider the issue of credentials.

Eligible projects would include the creation of NEW diploma/degree programs related to specific disciplines for which advanced training has become a critical need for career success. […] These programs should be developed to operate within the Degree Granting Act and to respect current policy frameworks. […] An emerging issue of some potential is the accreditation for baccalaureate status of high-level study undertaken in a college. Member institutions of the Consortium undertake to explore arrangements by which a university may grant degrees to students who have satisfactorily completed an appropriate program of studies delivered by means of a college-university partnership which has been designated by the university as meeting its degree standards and requirements.

1996

Reviewing Ontario’s Postsecondary Education

The Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education (Panel)
The postsecondary education review, announced by Ontario’s Minister of Finance on November 29, 1995, dominated the agenda during 1996. The purpose of the review was to seek input from stakeholders to guide higher education policy development. The review took into consideration all parts of Ontario’s postsecondary education system: universities, CAATs, and private institutions. The government’s discussion paper, “Future Goals for Ontario Colleges and Universities,” was released in July 1996, and identified five objectives to guide policy development: Excellence, Accessibility, Diversity (of institutions and programs), Accountability, and Responsiveness. In addition to demographic challenges (increasing population and urbanization), changes in the

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45 “Advanced Training,” (October 24, 1995), 2, 3.

labour force, and changing social priorities, technological change, economic restructuring and employment instability were cited as factors affecting policy development.\(^{47}\)

The Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education (Panel) was given a mandate to make recommendations on cost-sharing, identify ways to promote and support inter-institutional co-operation, and to provide advice on system planning, in anticipation of future demands.\(^{48}\) A review of Ontario’s secondary school system was also being conducted simultaneously.

The Panel submitted their final report, “Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility: Report of the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education” to the Honourable John Snobelen, Minister of Education and Training on December 15, 1996. The Panel, chaired by David C. Smith, acknowledged serious challenges to postsecondary education from labour market trends and demographic patterns, as well as the future challenges from secondary school curriculum reform.\(^{49}\)

The Panel offered a vision of an evolving differentiated postsecondary education system with responsibilities shared between government, institutions, and the public. The Panel suggested that Ontario’s postsecondary education system should have four characteristics: differentiation between institutional types, less regulation, performance measurements and benchmarks and adequate resources. The recommended delineated responsibilities are shown in Table 5.1. Postsecondary Education: Recommended Delineation of Responsibilities.


\(^{48}\) Ontario, “Future Goals” (July 1996).

Table 5.1. Postsecondary Education: Recommended Delineation of Responsibilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Establish policy framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provide financial support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges and universities</td>
<td>Delivery of quality learning opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Efficient use of resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adapt to changing needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector</td>
<td>Support costs of higher education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Volunteer on Boards of Governors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advocate for higher education research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students and families</td>
<td>Utilize the opportunities provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Financial contribution</td>
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</table>


The Panel did not recommend a master plan or radical changes to system design. They were of the opinion that “the basic idea of a parallel system of colleges and universities is still sound, but there is an important evolution in their roles and linkages.” They also saw no reason to eliminate the binary divide as “the existing duality captures an important reality in postsecondary education.” However, the Panel did consider that geographical catchment areas were a hindrance to the efficiency of the CAATs, and suggested that their removal would facilitate market forces. They also made the following eighteen different recommendations for postsecondary education in Ontario:

1. Increased financial investment and cost sharing
2. A moratorium on scheduled financial cuts and immediate investment
3. Continuation of corridor funding for universities
4. Changing the CAAT funding formula from the existing moving 3 year average to a corridor funding system

5. Investment in research
6. Deregulation of tuition fees
7. An income contingent loan repayment plan
8. Exemption of private sector donations from capital gains
9. Promotion and support private partnership and international training initiatives
10. Abandonment of geographic catchment areas
11. Increased linkages between colleges and universities, removal of barriers to mobility and the creation of an advisory body to stimulate and monitor
12. Maintenance of the quality of the Ontario college diploma and review of standards
13. An advisory body to provide arms length analysis to government and others, to report on the strengths and weakness and monitor and report
14. Expansion of existing facilities as opposed to new CAATs or universities
15. Establishment of a fund for faculty renewal to enable universities to hire the best and brightest, and colleges to develop existing faculty
16. Governing boards should recognise excellence in teaching/research
17. Governing boards to set processes to evaluate performance in teaching and research
18. Private not-for-profit universities with degree granting authority meeting conditions and standards set by an advisory body.\(^\text{52}\)

With respect to the issue of degree granting, the Panel did not recommend extending degree granting authority directly to the CAATs. They said,

While we are sympathetic to some of the arguments offered in favour of access to degree-granting status, we think it is better at this time to focus attention on strengthening recognition of the college diploma as a distinctive credential. […] secular degrees should continue to be a responsibility of universities […]. It should be possible however, for a college to transform to polytechnic degree-granting status and from there to a university.\(^\text{53}\)


There were also some concerns with regard to the ‘private not-for-profit’ sector. The Panel recommended allowing private universities to grant degrees, but only on condition that they meet certain conditions and standards set by an advisory body, because,

It is essential to the integrity of the postsecondary enterprise that Ontario not succumb to pressure for the extension of degree-granting privileges in a way that will eventually make it a perceived haven for degree mills, a repository for programs of inferior quality and a producer of university graduates of substantial quality.\(^{54}\)

**Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario**

The review prompted the release of a number of discussion and position papers from stakeholders. ACAATO’s discussion paper entitled “Accountability in a Learning-Centred Environment” was released on January 02, 1996. Trends of performance indicators as a means to demonstrate quality were explored. ACAATO offered a position on performance / outcomes based indicators as the best means to establish accountability mechanisms, but sought clarification regarding the extent of accountability, and whether this would be at the system-wide or at the individual institutional level.\(^{55}\) Seeing the possibility of an opportunity for change, ACAATO said,

> Ontario colleges, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and Training, have just had a “window of opportunity” opened! With the results of a provincial “audit of accountability” and a MET white paper on a framework for postsecondary education soon to be released, now is the time to re-examine both our philosophy and mechanism(s) of demonstrating accountability.\(^{56}\)

Before arriving at their conclusions, the Panel considered submissions from stakeholders.\(^{57}\) The CAATs’ submissions were framed by ACAATO’s “Briefing Note

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\(^{54}\) Advisory Panel, “*Excellence,*” (December 15, 1996), 59.


\(^{56}\) Association of Colleges, “*Accountability,*” (January 2, 1996), 5.

\(^{57}\) There were a total of 185 Briefs submitted to the review committee by postsecondary education stakeholders. The section contains selected briefs relevant to this study.
Ministry of Education and Training Postsecondary Education Paper: Principles, Process and Plan,” to the Councils of Presidents and Governors which enclosed a sample plan for their submissions, together with directions.

It is the collective opinion of Presidents and Governors who have viewed early drafts that the colleges must respond to the white paper in a manner that extends far beyond the issues raised. […] The white paper is an opportunity for the colleges and our communities to develop and document a vision for the colleges. Discussion should be guided by but not confined to issues raised in the paper. New definitions and learning strategies should be articulated.  

ACAATO’s submission to the review committee of October 31, 1996, entitled, “The Future of Ontario Community Colleges’ Recommendations to Advisory Panel on Postsecondary Education” represented the collective views of both the Council of Governors, and college presidents. The submission was used as an opportunity for advocacy and self-promotion. Telling the good news, it was argued that the CAATs were an institutional success story, as they responded to demands for applied education and training, and provided an excellent return on investment to the province. It was also argued that the CAATs were progressive as they were in the process of transitioning to learner-centred institutions. The review committee was informed that while each college was unique, they share a mandate and common focus of providing education and skills training to diverse learners and communities, and a governance framework which ensures accountability to students, communities and the public.

A system vision was called for, with flexible human resource management and governance arrangements to enable CAATs to meet market demands. For students, inter-institutional transfer policies and a student loan repayment scheme were requested. The CAAT presidents also specifically requested: a new mandate, efficiency measures, enhanced accountability, flexibility over employment and program arrangements, applied degrees, quality control measures, and differentiated fee structures. The Council of

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Presidents’ Recommendations to the Advisory Panel on Postsecondary Education are shown in Table 5.2. Council of Presidents’ Recommendations to the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education. The CAATs also argued that they were effective, efficient, accessible and accountable institutions and provided evidence to support these claims. The evidence provided is shown in Table 5.3. Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology: Claims to the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education.

Other briefs to the Panel included the Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance (OUSA) whose paper, “Making Lifelong Learning a Reality in Ontario Universities,” of October 1996, highlights the perspective of Ontario students. What is of particular note is that OUSA commented at this time that the CAATs were more accessible than universities as,

Tuition is substantially lower in colleges, and the total fee burden is less as a result, and student aid is still adequate. The community college system has been more active in studying the system-wide effects of how courses are organized. […] Ontario CAATs are already very accessible to lifelong learners, as most programs are not more than two years’ duration, programs are vocationally oriented and colleges are close to most students’ home towns.59

**The Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU)**

OPSEU CAAT (Support) Division’s brief to the Panel October 3, 1996 put forward a traditional vision of the college system and was sceptical of the raison d’être for the review, on the basis that, “We believe this paper is driven by the desire to cut back significantly the level of provincial funding currently provided to community colleges.”60 They argued that quality should not be compromised further by funding reductions.

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Table 5.2. Council of Presidents’ Recommendations to the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Mandate of the Colleges**                   | • Include lifelong learning  
• Clarify institutional roles (schools, colleges and universities)                                                                                       |
| **Flexibility**                               | • Allow fee for service and alternative revenue sources  
• Provide flexibility over employment arrangements  
• Eliminate red tape for non-essential approvals and reporting  
• Permit year round learning to maximize use of resources  
• Foster inter-institutional resource sharing                                                                                                     |
| **Value for Money**                           | • Establish a technology and alternate delivery fund  
• Streamline college program requirements to allow for fast track training  
• Provide incentives for first time learners; work training programs, cooperative placements, apprenticeships and provide support for employers in retraining partnerships with colleges |
| **Accreditation and Standards**               | • Create mechanisms for recognition of college learning outcomes  
• Allow college applied degrees in specialized areas  
• Improve degree completion opportunities and recognize college credentials towards university degrees  
• Improve school exit standards  
• Ensure consistent expectation of standards for public and private postsecondary institutions                                             |
| **Accountability**                            | • Develop a performance indicator framework and rewards                                                                                                                                                   |
| **Cost Sharing and Accessibility**            | • Differentiate fees  
• Initiate an Income Contingent Repayment Plan (ICRP)                                                                                                                                                  |

Table 5.3. Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology: Claims to the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Claims</th>
<th>Supporting Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Effective and Efficient | • graduate placement rates between 80-97% since 1990  
                          • 33% increase in enrolment while experiencing 30+% decrease in operating grant since 1989                                                     |
| Accessible           | • 40% of Ontario adults have taken college program or course  
                          • wide range of programs and services colleges with learning structures repositioned around students’ needs                                           |
| Accountable          | • employer-driven program advisory committees ensure program relevance  
                          • community-based boards of governors ensure academic and financial soundness of each institution  
                          • provincial Councils of Governors and Presidents ensure collective attention to key planning issues for public good                                    |

Source: Data adapted from the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario. “Ontario College Issues, Notes for preliminary meeting with Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education,” (August 9, 1996).

They claimed that the quality of CAAT programs was already being comprised as “general education courses which should be part of all learning are now disappearing, as are services such as job placement and career counselling, clean and safe learning environments, and services for the educationally challenged.”61 Interestingly, from a policy development perspective, OPSEU CAAT Support Division raised an interesting question, “why [was] the question of future goals for the community college system […] being asked once again when we haven’t implemented all of the goals of the Vision 2000 report?”62

OPSEU CAAT (Academic) Division representing teachers, counsellors and librarians also pointed to issues of funding and quality in their brief to the Panel. They considered these to be very significant in the light of pre-election promises and political rhetoric.

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They argued that the strategy to move towards learner-centred education was driven by a cost cutting agenda at the expense of students. They also advanced the view that the Progressive Conservative government was not committed to postsecondary education, because,

The Conservatives claimed that there would be cuts to the administrative structure and to the use of consultants. Once achieving power, the new government announced cuts to the education sector, and they handed over to the administrators the job of making the cuts. [...] They entrusted the very group that they told the electorate were the problem.

The Ontario Council of Regents (COR)
The COR’s submission to the Advisory Panel emphasized that the mandate of the CAATs was to provide training and skills for job readiness. The COR offered a vision for the CAATs as “an accessible market-driven training system that delivers career and vocational training flexibly, effectively and efficiently.” The COR acknowledged CAATs’ efficiency measures to date, “Without sacrificing educational quality. [...] each institution has pursued a program of intelligent rationalization. The collective result of these individual efforts has been a 42.5% reduction in the public cost of educating a college student.” However, the COR pointed to a number of challenges for the CAATs including fiscal challenges, economic demands, and balancing local and collective needs. From their perspective one of the greatest hindrances to the CAATs was the fact that they do not operate as a system. “To date, the colleges have operated as a loosely aligned set of business franchises operating under the CAAT banner. [...] this design has allowed the colleges to exercise considerable local autonomy and growth capability within a larger framework.” The COR argued that “the mandate of the colleges needs to be simplified

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63 CAAT (A) Division of OPSEU Representing Teachers, Counsellors and Librarians, “Submission to Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Post-secondary Education,” (October 3, 1996), 1.


and clarified. As the universality of the college programs and competing factors within the colleges have blurred their original mandate of providing training for employment.”  

The COR requested that barriers to entrepreneurial activity be removed. They recommended the establishment of lead colleges in certain program areas to set curriculum standards, and an Articulation Council to set transfer standards and processes for credit transfer to other parts of the postsecondary system. They also suggested that as the CAATs had sufficient capacity to absorb enrolment growth without considerable capital expenditure, no capital building projects be undertaken, unless private sector partners provide investment capital.

The colleges’ current physical facilities have sufficient capacity to accommodate population growth and increases in participation rates until at least the year 2010. There is no need to build or acquire further space when higher demand can be met through technology or other service delivery options that are not location specific.  

**Sheridan College**

Sheridan College made an individual submission and put forward a position concerning the structure of the CAAT system. They requested policy change. They urged the review committee/panel to decentralize governance. Their vision was to be an accessible institution for qualified students. “We believe that those who live and work in our communities should have access to Ontario’s postsecondary system’s learning opportunities. We believe that all those who qualify should have the opportunity to go to college.”  

They requested that the CAATs be granted similar governance autonomy to the universities, and said,

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College governance [should] become more autonomous, similar to universities, and that provincial regulation shift to a less regulated framework. […] Currently the province overseas colleges through administrative systems and agencies that are counterproductive to the ability of the colleges to be flexible. […] We need decentralization to give us control of what we do and how we do it […] similar to the university model, which is based on public funding but with each university governed locally. 70

Sheridan’s submission pointed to a number of inconsistencies regarding key terminology. For example, “Students and faculty indicated a lack of consistency about learning-centred education: it would seem to be an area requiring further time and energy.”71 They also pointed out that different perceptions of quality existed within Sheridan’s stakeholder groups. Students for example, defined quality on the basis of funding for equipment and resources; whereas faculty thought administration and clerical work downloaded to them, negatively affected quality. In addition, Sheridan’s students argued that distance education should be a student choice, not fait accompli.

Sheridan also wanted an increased role for the College Standards Accreditation Council to set program standards, and they wanted college credentials to be renamed to Associate Degrees, and Applied Degrees, because the ‘degree’ would improve perceptions of college credentials and the value of a college education.

**Humber College**

Humber College’s brief gives an insight into the wish list of one of Ontario’s largest colleges. They suggested that, “The current size of and projected growth within Metropolitan Toronto easily justifies the creation of at least one, if not two, additional Polytechnical Institutes. […] a number of community colleges [have] reached a level of activity in certain areas that leads them to this logical next course of action [applied degrees]. […] selected colleges could [also] deliver the first or second year of common core courses at the university level, much as American Junior College or the Quebec


Accordingly to Humber, “the Ontario government needs finally to abandon the outmoded and unhelpful notion of two post-secondary systems.” Their vision was for “a single, integrated and “seamless” post-secondary system that provides the students of Ontario with an educational system that is both flexible and adaptive to student needs.” Humber urged the review committee/panel to:

Promote access and rationalization by allowing selected colleges to grant applied degrees in areas of specialization […] respond to specialization and demand needs by moving a few colleges to polytechnic status, providing a less expensive alternative while encouraging employer sector co-operation and participation in the applied degree process, address the expected two-year ‘bulge’ when grade 13 is finally phased out by encouraging students to enrol in college.

**Centennial College**

Centennial College did not want general degree granting status for the CAATs because, “It could seriously undermine the value and currency of college diploma and certificate programs. […] It may be import in the future to grant [niche] programs special recognition possibly through polytechnic or applied degrees.” Instead, Centennial wanted a new mission for the CAATs which demonstrated a commitment to provide skills training for careers and lifelong learning opportunities. Centennial also cautioned the Panel against private degree granting institutions in Ontario.

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76 Centennial College, “Draft Submission to the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education in Ontario,” i.
Reforms

1. High School
On September 20, 1996 Ontario’s Ministry of Education and Training (MET) issued a news release and backgrounder announcing the government’s intention to reform the Ontario high school curriculum. The discussion paper “Excellence in Education: High School Reform,” set the agenda and structured the consultation process. The MET argued that to increase standards and to ensure that standards were being met, high school reform was required. A four-year high school curriculum was proposed with courses relevant to students’ postsecondary goals. In addition, province-wide standards and assessment processes were introduced. The Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology and other stakeholders were invited to provide input. While expressing some concerns with respect to the communication and language aspects of the new curriculum, the CAATs were generally supportive of high school reform, especially with regard to applied learning. They were also supportive of a more demanding curriculum with higher standards, seamless education between high school and college, and greater emphasis on math and technology.

2. Training and Social Security Reform
The Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) paper, “Adapting to the New Training Marketplace: Canada’s Colleges respond to Bill C-12, An Act Respecting Employment Insurance in Canada Submission to the Standing Committee on Human Resources Development,” March 1996, expressed concerns about the changes to direct purchase training by the federal government. In the opinion of the ACCC, “Bill C-12 […] signals a radical departure in the government’s approach to the retraining of UI [Unemployment Insurance] recipients, whereby the federal government, with the consent of its provincial counterparts, will be providing skills loans and grants to insured

participants.” The federal policy decision, according to the ACCC, essentially shifted skills training from the public to the private sector. The ACCC was concerned that employment insurance recipients would be insufficiently discerning when considering training options, providing them “with little more than a debt repayable to the government or to the participating financial institution.” The ACCC proposed that the federal government, “accredit/certify/designate those institutions and providers of training from which EI-funded training can be purchased.”

To articulate ACAATO’s perspective, Tom Evans, the Director of the Ontario Training Office, presented a paper to the Education and Training Reference Group of the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, on March 01, 1996. The paper, entitled “The Future of Education and Training in Ontario,” argued that as government education and training policy was being geared by the fiscal agenda, this would likely have negative consequences in the future. Evans encouraged his training partners to act together, as the knowledge economy was changing the nature of work and demands for training needed an appropriate response. Evans’ position was that it was unlikely that the private sector would step up to fill the training void; therefore colleges needed to act together to promote opportunities for diversified delivery, and learner-centred lifelong learning. Evans also argued that training needed to refocus on competencies and not classroom hours.

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The Funding Formula

In 1996, a case was made for equitable funding. Dr. Brian Desbiens presented the CAATs’ position at the Pre-Budget Consultations of The Standing Committee of Finance and Economic Affairs on February 15, 1996. In his presentation, Desbiens argued that the CAATs had played a leadership role in building Ontario’s economy by providing education and training that was cost effective and accessible. Desbiens made a case to the Committee with respect to the financial position of the CAATs, which he argued, was suffering from a “double hit,” due to budget cuts and funding reductions from both the provincial and federal governments. Desbiens pointed out that these cuts amounted to over $200m for the CAAT system, and had been made despite the fact that colleges had transformed themselves into learner-centred institutions. Desbiens stressed that colleges were able to demonstrate accountability through performance indicators, for example, he stated that 78% of college graduates were employed six months after graduating (1992-1993). The main thrust of Desbiens’ argument was that compared to their education partners, the CAATs were under-funded.

The CAATs efforts to advocate their position on funding continued with a “Proposal to Council of Presidents to Conduct a Study of Alternative (Postsecondary) Funding Models and to Evaluate Their Applicability to the Requirements of the Ontario College System.” This was made by the Administrative Service Committee of Niagara College on April 10, 1996. The intention was to stimulate discussion, because “Although the Ministry, both at the staff and political level, have resisted changes to the funding formula, there is a sense that the political mood is changing; as well, the White Paper on Postsecondary Education will open debate on this issue.” The proposal suggested that a paper be prepared and a

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83 Dr. Desbiens was Vice-Chair of the Council of Presidents, and President of Sir Sandford Fleming College at the time.

84 He referred to the paper, “Accountability in a Learning-Centred Environment.”

case be made to implement an alternative funding formula/system. The ACAATO budget established for the project was $50,000, including $35,000 for the researcher’s contract. Edward DesRosiers and Associates (DesRosiers) was engaged. The paper “The Ontario College Funding Mechanism Suggested Future Directions” of October 10, 1996, reviewed the funding mechanism for the colleges and made recommendations for change. According to DesRosiers, the main problem with the existing funding model was that it encouraged the system to grow, “the principle weakness of the current formula is its encouragement of growth in a period when the financial resources required to sustain and nourish that growth have been and continue to be absent.” They further noted:

During much of its recent history, Ontario has been well served by a college funding mechanism which has striven to be equitable, predictable, and simple to administer, and which has promoted accessibility within a highly transparent framework. [...] However, the principles which have underpinned this purely distributive mechanism have long been disconnected from the principle which is used to determine the size of the global envelope to be distributed. [...] While the present funding mechanism promotes access, the manner in which the college global envelope is determined says nothing about whether the college system is expected to grow or contract.

Funding of postsecondary education institutions according to DesRosiers is “a reflection of the nature of the relationship that has evolved between institutions and the state.” Working within the context of the Panel’s “White Paper on Future Directions,” DesRosiers referred to the objectives of excellence, accessibility, institutional diversity, accountability and responsiveness, and in the light of these objectives concluded that policy goals and the funding formula were not balanced, as the funding formula was not geared to these objectives. DesRosiers argued that the colleges were keen for change. Arguing that the existing formula amounted to a zero sum game, the consultants recommended changing the formula mechanism into four funding envelopes:

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1. A core envelope to support the basic commitments;
2. An enrolment sensitive envelope;
3. A performance related envelope; and
4. A strategic initiatives envelope.

Additional limitations of the funding formula as outlined by DesRosiers are shown in Table 5.4. DesRosiers: Limitations of the CAAT Funding Formula.

**Table 5.4. DesRosiers: Limitations of the CAAT Funding Formula**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Limitations of the CAAT Funding Formula</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ability to address accountability</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Individual growth at the expense of other colleges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Economies of scale and other adjustment factors not based on reliable data</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Formula not responsive to the future contextual environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Discouragement of excellence</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Financial penalties attached to offering part-time studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Growth of special purpose grants without termination provisions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Data adapted from Sheridan College, Kathryn Cestnick, Chair, Administrative Services Committee. “Letter to Mr Brian Desbiens, Sir Sandford Fleming College” (November 7, 1996).

Overall the Administrative Services Committee (ASC) of ACAATO, responded favourably to the DesRosiers’ paper, but, three or four colleges expressed opposition. “There are three colleges to date (through their ASC rep) who have voiced outright opposition to moving from the current funding formula.”

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The Government of Ontario

The main components of the government’s agenda in 1997 were reducing the size of the bureaucracy, eliminating red tape, reforming delivery agents, and cutting taxes. Successful implementation was dependent on public service restructuring, and a shift from a service delivery model to a service management model. The Centre for Leadership was created to “provide public service executives with the resources they need to foster their professional growth and their understanding of the government’s directions.”

The change agenda included business models and ideas to improve efficiency, effectiveness and economy. Business planning, performance measurement, alternative service delivery, and accountability were core components. Leadership from senior executives was considered necessary to assist the government in the transformation of front line departments and agencies. The Centre for Leadership’s mandate was to provide executives with the training and resources to help them adjust to the government’s new directions.

Susan Waterfield, Associate Secretary of Cabinet, and President of the Centre for Leadership gave a presentation at the Council of Presidents’ Meeting on January 20, 1997. In the presentation, Waterfield outlined the boundaries of the relationship between the government and the Ontario Public Service (OPS), and stated that role of government was policy development, and the role of the OPS was to provide advice and to manage, administer, deliver and implement policy. Waterfield discussed the government’s

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91 Service management is not defined specifically in the presentation, but it explicitly distinguishes service management from service delivery, and implies that the private sector can deliver with directives and management by the Ontario Public Service. This could imply either a privatization agenda, or a shift to a public/private partnership model (also known as a P3 model).

92 Susan Waterfield. Associate Secretary of the Cabinet and President Centre for Leadership. “Presentation to the Council of Presidents’ Meeting,” (January 20, 1997).
direction and invited CAAT presidents to participate in programs offered at the Centre for Leadership.\textsuperscript{93}

The government’s Business Plan for 1997-98, advised Ontarians that, “education dollars must be spent wisely.”\textsuperscript{94} Incorporating business practices into the Ontario Public Service was the chosen way of making government work for people. The government’s stated a goal for postsecondary education was, “Giving students the opportunity to continue their learning in a college or university that invests in and promotes high-quality programs and excellence in research.”\textsuperscript{95} Their training goal was “a training system that meets the needs of employers and individuals and helps Ontarians find and keep jobs in an increasingly competitive global economy.”\textsuperscript{96}

As the government was committed to implementing a performance indicator system for colleges, the Ministry of Education and Training entered into discussions with colleges to incorporate performance measures in the operating funding formula.\textsuperscript{97} Part of the government’s accountability agenda, outlined in the Ministry of Education and Training Business Plan 1997-98 included a section on key performance indicators. See Table 5.5. Ministry of Education and Training: Business Plan Performance Measures for Employed Graduates of Postsecondary Education.

\textsuperscript{93} Association of Colleges of Applied Arts & Technology of Ontario, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of Presidents,” (January 20, 1997).


\textsuperscript{95} Association of Colleges, “Minutes,” (January 20, 1997).


Table 5.5. Ministry of Education and Training: Business Plan Performance Measures for Employed Graduates of Postsecondary Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performance Measure</th>
<th>Employment rate of college graduates six months after graduation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Target</strong></td>
<td>Best in Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Current level (1994-95) 62.2% of college graduates employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full-time, six months after graduation, with 47.2% employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full-time in a job related to their field of studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1997-98 Commitments</strong></td>
<td>Baseline, establishing Ontario’s ranking in Canada to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>developed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year-over-year improvements</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


By September 30 1997, the CAATs had approved in principle, Key Performance Indicators (KPIs), as a mechanism of accountability. KPIs comprised of feedback based on graduate satisfaction, employer satisfaction and post college outcomes. It was anticipated by the MET to have a broader indicator base, but the MET’s intention to implement performance-based funding using student satisfaction, and student retention, raised concerns. In November, 1997, “COP agreed that a letter should be sent the Deputy Minister expressing concern with MET implementing student retention without further research.”

On December 15, 1997, the Hon. Ernie Eves, Minister of Finance, delivered a Statement to the Legislature entitled, “1997 Ontario Economic Outlook and Fiscal Review.” In the Statement, Minister Eves informed the Legislature and the people of Ontario that the government’s fiscally prudent agenda was achieving results, but it was necessary to stay the course in order to further reduce the deficit and offset an increasing debt burden.

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98 Gary Polonsky, Doug Auld, Brian Desbiens and Robert Gordon.


Citing that debt burden was a threat to future economic prosperity, Eves, confirmed that “spending control is still a top priority.”\textsuperscript{100} The Minister reaffirmed the government’s commitment to “guaranteed access to post-secondary education for all qualified students.”\textsuperscript{101} Postsecondary education transfer partners were informed that to facilitate planning, funding announcements would be made for a two year period. The Minister also announced that tuition increases would not be mandated by the government. Individual Boards could decide tuition rates, provided that the average increases did not exceed five percent in 1998-1999, and a further five percent in 1999-2000. Furthermore, a new policy was introduced; a portion of the increases in tuition was to be set aside for student assistance, effectively sharing the responsibility for funding economically disadvantaged students with the institutions. Boards of Governors were also given the discretion (deregulation) to set tuition fees for graduate and selected professional programs (universities), and post-diploma programs (colleges).

\textit{Red Tape}

The Task Force on Agencies, Boards and Commissions, was created by the Ontario Government in November, 1995 with a mandate to review government operational agencies boards and commissions and make recommendations for rationalization to cut waste and duplication.\textsuperscript{102} The Task Force’s “Report on Operational Agencies,” was released in January 1997, and divided operational agencies into categories for review purposes. It assigned the Boards of Governors of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology to “Category 3: Review for Effectiveness, Customer Service and Accountability.”\textsuperscript{103} The outcome of the review was the Task Force recommendation that CAAT boards be retained, as the “Corporate management of Ontario’s college system

\textsuperscript{100} Deficit for 1997-98 $5.6 billion. $1bn less than was projected in 1997 budget.


\textsuperscript{101} Eves, “Statement to the Legislature”(December 15, 1997), 7.

\textsuperscript{102} Operational agencies deliver goods and services.

remains a core business of government. The boards operate efficiently; they have no dedicated staff and rely on support from the colleges themselves.”104 From the CAATs’ perspective, areas of red tape seen as negatively affecting their operations included:

- Complexity of reporting requirements for small grants
- Audits (small programs, small capital support projects, enrolment, apprenticeship)
- Absence of incentives for collaborative programming
- Requests for data
- Program approval processes
- Funding formula
- Chain of command and alignment of functions within MET
- Lack of flexibility to set up subsidiary corporations
- Operational Reviews
- Special Project Proposal requirements105

**Review of the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario**

ACAATO’s mandate is “to advance a strong college system for Ontario.”106 A review of ACAATO was initiated in June 1996.107 Glenna Carr and Alan Gordon of Carr-Gordon Limited were hired as external consultants. The review process was completed in May 1997, and ACAATO was repositioned around three core functions:108

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1. Advocacy and communications
2. Research and planning
3. Administration and operations

The new ACAATO structure no longer included a Council of Governors. Executive authority is now held by the General Assembly which is comprised of Board chairs and college presidents. The General Assembly meets three or four times per year, sets the strategic directions, and functions as the Board of Directors for the corporation of ACAATO. As part of the restructuring of ACCATO, in June 1997 the Council of Presidents was renamed as the Committee of Presidents. The Committee of Presidents continues to address strategic operational issues. Functional and issue specific work is now done at the committee level which reports to the Executive. ACAATO’s revised structure is outlined in Table 5.6. ACAATO’s Revised Organizational Structure Outcome, May 1997.

**ACAATO Advocacy**

Following David Johnson’s appointment as Minister of Education and Training in October 1997, the CAATs perceived that the change in leadership may signal an opportunity to influence the agenda, especially in the pre-budget consultation period. As advocacy and communications was a core function of ACAATO, “a one-page fact sheet identifying the key messages of the colleges to be used in a coordinated advocacy campaign during the November/December pre-budget period” was prepared.

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111 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Summary for the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents,” (November 17 and 18, 1997), Item 9:0.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee</th>
<th>Roles</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| **General Assembly**              | - Sets the strategic direction  
- Serves the function of the Board of Directors for the ACAATO corporation  
- Chaired by an elected governor from member colleges  
- Meets 3 X per year (including annual conference meeting)  
- Develops a single voice (consensus) or promotes diversity                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| **(Composition: CAAT presidents and Board Chairs)** |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| **Executive Committee**           | - Develops agenda for GA  
- Oversees work of ACAATO  
- Monitor financial soundness  
- Recommends on hire of Executive Director  
- Evaluates the Executive Director  
- Accountable to GA  
- Comprised of nine members (one from Francophone college) five external governors (chairs, vice chairs or former chairs from member colleges) elected by GA, and four presidents elected by COP                                                                                                                                 |
| **Council of Governors**          | - Disbanded May 1997                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| **Committee of Presidents**       | - Was Council of Presidents (name changed June 9, 10 1997)\(^\text{112}\)  
- Addresses strategic operational issues  
- Oversees system-wide operational units OCAS, CON*NECT and CAAT Steering Committee                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| **CAAT Steering Committee**       | - Identifies college-wide issues and recommends appropriate action                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| **Secretariat**                   | - Supports the advocacy and communications, research and planning, administrative and operational functions                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| **Funding**                       | - Annual membership fee based on college’s share of system activity                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |


\(^{112}\) Association of Colleges of Applied Arts & Technology of Ontario, “Action Summary for the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents,” (June 9 and 10, 1997).
External consultants, Burstyn Jeffrey Inc. were engaged by ACAATO to prepare a report based upon data from a public perceptions survey. One of the survey’s aims was “to identify what perceptions are held by leading business and public sector officials about the quality of a college education and the economic contribution of colleges to local and provincial economies.” The report “Perceptions of Ontario’s Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology” of September 1997 revealed mixed perceptions; these are shown in Table 5.7. Perceptions of Ontario’s Colleges.

**Table 5.7. Perceptions of Ontario’s Colleges**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceptions Held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Awareness</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• General awareness of individual colleges, but not of the CAAT system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Retained awareness of the colleges comes from personal contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Benefits</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Employability of college graduates highly rated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Colleges seen as providing both specific and life skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Colleges seen as strong contributors to economic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increasing public and business involvement with local colleges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Drawbacks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Colleges viewed as good but not excellent service providers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Quality seen as an elusive concept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Limited understanding of college issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Mixed views on colleges as degree granting institutions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Data adapted from Burstyn Jeffrey Inc. “Perceptions of Ontario’s Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology,” (September 1997).*

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ACAATO’s advocacy strategy included direct contact with business leaders to press the message of the value of the CAATs to Ontario’s economy.\(^{115}\) The issue of accountability was also used for advocacy, and because of the obligation to the respective constituent groups, performance indicators were seen as a means to demonstrate the CAATs’ contribution to the economic and social well-being of the province and its respective communities. ACAATO proposed that CAATs’ performance indicators be comprised of student satisfaction, graduate success, graduate satisfaction, employer satisfaction and quality assurance. The paper, “An Accountability Framework for Ontario’s Community Colleges’ of September 19, 1997 was “intended to support necessary distinctive strengths of individual colleges,” and be the means by which the CAATs could provide evidence and demonstrate strengths.\(^{116}\)

1998

Degree Granting

The issue of degree granting was on the CAATs’ agenda in 1998. It was decided that a task force of CAAT presidents would prepare a strategy paper, as they hoped to press their case for more autonomy and higher credentials at the Council of Presidents’ Meeting January 26, 1998, at which Minister Johnson was scheduled to attend.\(^{117}\) The Minister was advised of the CAATs’ position at the meeting, where Durham College President, Gary Polonsky, also delivered a report with regard to the CUCC and transfer agreements.\(^{118}\) The meeting records show that the Council of Presidents agreed to continue dialogue with CUCC, but they also agreed to develop a position paper on


applied degrees; and to press their case for advanced credentials. By February 1998 an applied degree granting/associate degree granting working group had been established, and by March 1998, the CAATs had developed a strategy to push for applied degrees first, and tackle the associate degree credential after. “Following a discussion, COP agreed to pursue the Associate Degree issue once the provincial government declares itself on the Applied Degree. It appears that the provincial government is open to discussion around the Applied Degree.”

Advocacy and communications was on the agenda for the Meeting of the ACCATO General Assembly, February 22, 1998. At the meeting, the members of the General Assembly roundtable groups agreed to involve the general college community in an advocacy and communications strategy, the objective of which was to voice a consistent message with regard to the importance of the CAATs. “Boards will develop key messages that will demonstrate the importance and benefits of the colleges to the local community, provincial and national social and economic benefit.” The strategy also included face-to-face meetings:

Boards will meet regularly with local MP’s, MPP’s, business and community leaders, education partners to discuss college priorities, the benefits and the value added of the colleges and the college system. In communications with government, focus on the return for investment colleges offer. Assertiveness recommended.


120 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts & Technology of Ontario, “Agenda for the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Committee of Presidents,” (February 27, 1998).


Voicing the message through third parties was also recommended. “Increase awareness of the local college and college system with media (newspapers, TV and radio).”

Governors and presidents were asked to provide features, and guest columns to press the three point CAATs’ agenda: (1) the need for strategic investment, (2) freedom from Schedule III restrictions, and (3) applied degrees. This agenda was packaged with the message of the CAATs’ contribution to social and economic development. ACAATO wanted every board member to be active, and to “Expand college influence through strategic board appointments;” the strategy was “to turn up the heat” in the 18 months prior to the next provincial election. The strategy was to be inclusive and wide-reaching because, “the support and commitment of colleges is necessary to provide success stories and to mirror key themes locally. The involvement of Board members, college community, alumni and graduates is crucial to the campaign.”

Three key messages for the campaign were agreed upon:

1. Colleges create jobs
2. Colleges provide value for investment, and
3. Colleges support communities.

By March of 1998, the new ACAATO advocacy and communications plan was in place. What is significant and worth noting is the level of confidence displayed by CAATs’ presidents in their advocacy efforts, and in voicing their interests. This difference can be seen in the meeting summaries. For example, the “Summary for the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents Meeting” of March 9, 10, 1998 recorded the following:


2:0 Meeting with Minister of Finance and Minister of Education and Training (sic)—The presidents who attended the pre-budget consultation reported on the meeting with the Ministers of Finance and Education. COP will write to the Ministers highlighting the opportunities for the colleges to contribute to economic development. Discussion followed and the presidents agreed that a one page fact sheet be prepared with key requests colleges would like included in the Budget and that the presidents use this as an advocacy strategy to meet with their local MPP’s. It was AGREED: That a fact sheet be prepared outlining the key strategies to be included in the Budget:

- Freedom from Schedule III
- Degree granting
- Capital trust fund
- Reinvestment in skill shortages
- Federal/Provincial training agreement.

As the CAATs gained confidence in their ability to push their agenda, they also developed confidence to voice their criticism of their line ministry, the Ministry of Education and Training (MET). For example, in the “Summary for the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents’ Meeting,” March 9, 10, 1998, following the report from David Trick, Assistant Deputy Minister, Ministry of Education and Training, Postsecondary Division, it was recorded:

COP expressed concern at the lack of action by MET on revising the funding formula and the serious implications the proposed guidelines for the administration of OSAP will have on the colleges. COP also urged the MET to establish a capital equipment trust fund.

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The OSAP proposal included making colleges responsible for OSAP loan default rates.
The College-University Consortium Council (CUCC)

Student transfer was an ongoing issue during 1998. On February 25, 1998, a presentation made to the CUCC suggested that reliable data was not available, either with regard to student numbers or characteristics of the student population, due in part to the secondary nature of such evidence and the incomplete recording of variables required. See Table 5.8. Student Mobility: Ontario Universities and Colleges, 1996. It was claimed that available data underestimated mobility between institutions, but high school completion rates and high levels of postsecondary education participation in Canada should not lead to terminal decisions, as career and personal goals change.\footnote{Rodger I. Cummins, “Movement Between Ontario Universities and Colleges Notes for a Presentation to the College-University Consortium Council Symposium,” (February 25, 1998).}

Table 5.8. Student Mobility: Ontario Universities and Colleges, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Mobility Trend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996 OCAS Applicants</td>
<td>154,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996 OCAS Applicants indicating having attached a university transcript to their application form</td>
<td>10,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of 1996 OCAS Applicants indicating having attached a university transcript to their application form</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996 applicants through OUAC coded “ONTARIO CAAT”</td>
<td>5,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of all 1996 applicants through OUAC coded as “ONTARIO CAAT”</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered applicants coded “Ontario CAAT” as % of total registered applicants 1996</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All applicants to Ontario universities through OUAC with CAAT backgrounds 1996 as percentage of total applicants</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top three areas of originating programs of CAAT applicants to universities</td>
<td>1. Social services, 2. Office and business administration, 3. Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most common reason cited</td>
<td>Continuation of earlier studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic: admission to university</td>
<td>More women than men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data adapted from Rodger I. Cummins, “Movement Between Ontario Universities and Colleges Notes for a Presentation to the College-University Consortium Council Symposium,” (February 25, 1998).

\footnote{Indicates having previously attended an Ontario CAAT. Data is not available for type of program, duration, or success. Data also doesn’t include applicants seeking advanced standing or part-time students.}
At the Special Meeting of the Committee of Presidents April 17, 1998, the future role of the College-University Consortium Council (CUCC) was discussed. The Summary from the meeting recorded that “Concerns were expressed that [the 15 collaborative projects funded through CUCC] to date, have not advanced cooperative relationships or articulation agreements with universities and that the colleges’ priorities were not being addressed.” It was decided that to progress this issue, a position paper would be developed to advance the colleges’ priorities, including applied degrees.

**Advancing the Colleges’ Priorities: Agenda Setting**

The confidence to push forward the CAATs’ agenda is also confirmed by the review of strategic planning initiatives. At the 1998 Annual Strategic Planning Meeting of the Committee of Presidents, October 4-6, 1998, the following four objectives for strategic planning for 1999 were identified:

1. Provide a forum for discussion on system issues
2. Dialogue with Minister of Education and Training, Council of Regent’s Chair and others
3. Develop and approve 1999 COP strategic priorities and action plan
4. Establish advocacy strategies with action plans for pre-election year.

Consciousness to act was evident. Issues and questions to frame discussion at the meeting were distributed with the Agenda, and the main thrust of the meeting was to plan strategically around the identified strategic issues. These are shown in Table 5.9. Agenda for the 1998 Annual Strategic Planning Meeting of the Committee of Presidents, October 4 to 6, 1998: Items for Discussion. At the subsequent meeting of ACAATO’s General

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Specifics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1:0 Environmental Scan | • Enrolment Counts  
• Impact of Collective Agreement  
• Political agendas |
| 2:0 Human Resource Management Model | • Suitability of the current collective bargaining process  
• What strategies are necessary to overcome the barriers to change?  
• What are the principles of a more suitable model?  
• What process would facilitate a system-wide exploration of various human resource management options? |
| 3:0 Funding Priorities | • What further work is necessary to convince government that an alternate to the enrolment driven funding model is necessary?  
• Which alternatives would be viable for the colleges and acceptable to the government?  
• What other strategic funding is necessary for the colleges?  
• How can requests for funding be positioned within the government’s “shared responsibility” framework?  
• What is the extent of the province-wide physical infrastructure requirements?  
• How can the case for support be made to the government and the private sector? |
| 4:0 Key Performance Indicators | • What are the critical issues regarding KPI implementation?  
• What are the anticipated long-term impacts on the colleges and students? |
| 5:0 Flexibility | • What changes in legislation or government policy are necessary to facilitate the establishment of these models?  
• What strategies would be effective in convincing the government to reduce its micro-management of the colleges? |
| 6:0 Degree Options | • Which colleges have achieved major credit transfer recognition with Ontario based universities or out-of-province universities?  
• Which colleges have applied for or will apply for applied degrees and/or associate degree status?  
• Does the Alberta model have application in Ontario?  
• Is there consensus on the next steps? |
| 7:0 Secondary School Reform | • What is the impact of this new curriculum upon college programs and admissions?  
• What are college roles and responsibilities in validating and preparing for new curriculum?  
• What policy issues need to be addressed?  
• What are the processes and timetables? |
| 8:0 Advocacy Strategies | • What strategies will assist the Committee of Presidents to achieve the colleges’ collective advocacy agenda? |

Assembly on October 21, 1998, pre-election communication and strategies were agreed upon. These are presented in Table 5.10. Pre-election Communication Issues and Strategies. Other points of agreement included the development a position paper on human resource management models by ACAATO’s Executive which would request a review of the collective bargaining, seek flexibility and freedom from Schedule III as “several colleges have requested the flexibility to become more “business” oriented, to be released from perceived restrictions of Schedule III Crown Agencies and to establish private enterprises,” and, seek degree granting.\(^{138}\) The issue of applied degrees for the Ontario colleges must be considered within the broader context of degree granting authority in general. Technological development and internationalization of higher education meant that consideration of external providers could not be separated from the examination of the issue. With respect to the CAATs, their argument for applied degrees centred around three main advocacy points:

1. Human resource demands to meet the needs of Ontario’s economy
2. The absence of agreement with Ontario universities regarding credit recognition for CAAT graduates
3. External trends (e.g., Alberta).\(^{139}\)

The Council of Ontario Universities’ (COU) position on degree granting by out-of-province institutions and the CAATs was articulated in their position paper, “Report of the COU Task Force on Ministerial Consents,” of October 26, 1998. The position paper was prompted by a request from the Ministry of Education and Training July 1998 for their views, as “since 1997, there has been an increase in the number and a shift in the type of applications for Ministerial Consent being submitted to the ministry.”\(^{140}\)


Table 5.10. Pre-election Communication Issues and Strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall Strategies/Tactics</th>
<th>Key Messages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Develop reference and advocacy materials</td>
<td>• Colleges create jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Public and media awareness</td>
<td>• Colleges provide value for investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Build support within government</td>
<td>• Colleges support community economic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• One page fact sheets</td>
<td>• Sustained funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lobby government and opposition politicians</td>
<td>• New Funding formula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Editorial meeting with media</td>
<td>• Infrastructure renewal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Advertisements</td>
<td>• Human resources management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Op-ed pieces</td>
<td>• Applied degrees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Use all opportunities to press colleges’ case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Many of the requests were from the CAATs, seeking approval for articulation agreements with out-of-province institutions.\(^{141}\) In the paper, the COU outlined their case regarding out-of-province institutions, quality, and CAATs articulation agreements / collaborative programs. They served a reminder that “Government’s policy regarding degree-granting in Ontario [Degree-Granting Act, 1983] was designed to protect the integrity of university standards in Ontario and prevent the operation of “degree-mills.”\(^{142}\) The COU argued that prior to ministerial consent being given for external agreements; Ontario’s universities should first be given opportunity to enter into said arrangements with the CAATs. The Council of Ontario Universities offered a procedure for consideration, and argued that similar quality requirements should apply for Ontario universities, as per current CUCC pilot projects.

Ontario’s publicly-assisted universities are interested in meeting, as much as possible, the existing and emerging societal needs for university-level education and are confident that, in many instances, they can compete with out-of-province institutions based on the quality product they deliver. However, to do so they must first be informed of the perceived need. Second, their plans for meeting that need must be given due consideration.\(^{143}\)

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\(^{141}\) Paper states that 20 applications were pending as at October 1998, twelve of which were applications from Athabasca University in AB. Other requests included applications from University of Phoenix U.S.A.


The COU also suggested that the principles for Ministerial Consent applications in Ontario should be on an open and transparent process. They argued that all not-for-profit institutions in Ontario should be eligible to apply for degree-granting authority, whether offering the program directly, or partnering with an out-of-province institution. Furthermore, the COU argued that applications should meet Ontario university quality standards, and quality assurance should be provided. “The Task Force believes that Ontario’s publicly-assisted universities should be assured they will be competing under a set of guidelines and principles that allow for fair competition.”¹⁴⁴ The COU outlined the steps they considered appropriate for Ontario institutions (including the CAATs) for Ministerial Consent of degree applications as follows:

- provide evidence of attempt to partner with an Ontario university and that no interest or agreement had been reached
- provide evidence of quality, faculty qualifications, library material and academic review process
- Ministerial Consent Review¹⁴⁵

Moving Forward

Regardless of the COU’s position, the CAATs were committed to advancing their agenda. Seneca College took the lead regarding data collection to support the colleges’ advocacy efforts, as they were of the opinion that the CAAT system should provide Applied Degree programs. Seneca College’s beliefs and justification for applied degrees centered around three main points: first, the need to bridge the gap between applied (college) and theoretical learning (university); second, international recognition of college credentials; and third, career barriers due to cultural bias in favour of degrees. Angus Reid Group was commissioned to collect data on CAAT degree-granting, the cost of which was $71,000. Following the initial meeting, Angus Reid Group wrote:


It was a pleasure to meet with yourself and Marjorie Wallens to discuss the research needs of Seneca College relating to the change underway in the relationship between colleges and universities. Our discussion gave myself and Martin Redfern a clear understanding of Seneca’s agenda for change as well as the issues to which we must be sensitive as this project moves forward.  

Angus Reid surveyed employers, students and members of the public, the rationale being that, “The Applied degree program will have higher credibility with the public if the business community has already confirmed the need for such a degree.” Interestingly, Angus Reid recommended that the data not be released publicly. They were of the opinion that sharing the results with stakeholder groups and the government would be a better option and would alleviate “criticism of bias or inappropriate methodology;” they also indicated that:

In providing data which support the College’s contention that an Applied Degree program is needed, the research will provide credibility to the suggestion and also indicate the degree to which such a program would be politically attractive to decision-makers.

1999

The “COP reviewed the report of the COU Task Force on Ministerial Consents and agreed that rather than respond to the COU paper that a working group be established to review the broader implications and draft a position paper around a new model of degree completion.” The College University Relations SubCommittee of the Academic Vice Presidents, ACAATO (SubCommittee) submitted their response entitled, “Report on

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146 Angus Reid Group, John Wright, “Letter to G. Anthony Tilly, Ph.D. Senior Vice President Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology,” (November 20, 1998).


Ministerial Consents,” January 1999. ACAATO’s College University Relations SubCommittee of the Academic Vice Presidents “Report on Ministerial Consents” January 1999, also argued for out-of-province degree completion opportunities for college graduates, on the basis that:

Employers are increasingly concerned by the lack of transition mechanism among high schools, colleges and universities. Lack of degree completions options for college graduates is of particular concern to employers. […] In a recent central region focus group meeting sponsored by the Council of Ministers of Education Canada, industry representatives from both the autoparts and telecommunications sectors were highly critical of the lack of efficient degree completion routes for college graduates. These representatives confirmed a growing need for degree-holders as a prerequisite for employment in some fields, as a critical element of career advancement in others.

The forthcoming research from Angus Reid Group was also referenced, they said, “It is expected that this trend will be further validated in an upcoming survey to be conducted by Angus Reid on behalf of the CAAT system.” Changing requirements for professional practice, for the Colleges of Nurses of Ontario (registered nurses) and Certified General Accountants (CGA) were cited as reasons for the need for out-of-province degree completion opportunities, which the SubCommittee argued, would expand access, increase program diversity, expand alternative delivery options, capitalize on new technologies, and be cost effective through reduction of duplication of studies (e.g. Athabasca’s acceptance of two year college diplomas for full credit transfer). The SubCommittee further argued that the need for out-of-province degree completion opportunities had arisen because of repeated failures to reform Ontario’s higher education binary system due to structural factors which resist change. They said, “Until these

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151 Appendix B to the Agenda for the Committee of Presidents Meeting January 25/26, 1999.
155 These structural factors included: funding systems, university bureaucracy (program approvals, attitudes, and “lack” of system-wide policies and incentives to effect change.
barriers are addressed in a substantial way, it is unlikely that major improvements will be seen in Ontario college/university collaborative efforts.”

The “Report on Ministerial Consents” also noted that nineteen applications for degree approval were pending, and criticized the COU for its recommended Ministerial Consent process. “The process for the review of Ministerial Consents outlined in the COU document (Step A and Step B) is unacceptable to the CAATs.” Because no Ontario-wide university quality standard existed, they claimed that the COU’s recommendation to measure out-of-province institutions by this benchmark was an invalid argument. Instead they recommended:

1. Non-adoption of the Council of Ontario Universities’ recommendations (Steps A and B)
2. Maintenance of existing protocols
3. MET review of pending applications on basis of current guidelines
4. Removal of the moratorium for additional applications

ACAATO’s advocacy efforts regarding degree applications included efforts directed towards the Minister. For example, Dr. Robert Gordon, in the capacity of Chair, Committee of Presidents ACAATO, wrote to Minister David Johnson, February 2, 1999 regarding the moratorium on degree completion applications, and attached a copy of the College University Relations Subcommittee of the Academic Vice Presidents, ACAATO “Report on Ministerial Consents” of January 1999. Gordon argued that it was an ACCATO priority to expand degree opportunities, and requested that the Minister give consideration to the CAATs’ position and recommendations because, “As the
marketplace becomes increasingly knowledge-based and competitive, the need for such opportunities is critical for both individual well-being and societal economic growth.”

**The Ontario Jobs and Investment Board (OJIB)**

In preparation for an anticipated provincial election in 1999, and to play a prominent role in the pre-election period, “The Ontario Jobs and Investment Board, was created to develop ideas and strategies to strengthen Ontario’s economic performance.”

David Lindsay, former Principal Secretary to the Premier, Michael Harris, was appointed to the Ontario Jobs and Investment Board (OJIB). OJIB was given a mandate to explore the key subject areas of infrastructure, people, and innovation. In early 1998, OJIB was asked to undertake consultation on jobs and economic growth and provide a vision for the Province, 5, 10, and 20 years into the future, and to develop strategies for how to get there. The “Roadmap to Prosperity” (“Roadmap”) was “intended as a guide for all Ontarians as together we chart our course into the 21st Century.”

Before arriving at the “Roadmap” a broad consultation process was undertaken. Messages received included restructuring government spending, changing public service delivery, improving educational performance, creating an attractive and competitive market for research and development, and promoting excellence in the arts.

OJIB was given an economic mission statement: “Ontario will achieve sustainable economic prosperity with the best performing economy and the highest quality of life in North America over the next 10 years,” and a mandate to lead the development of a vision and plan for Ontario’s future economic well-being. The OJIB “Roadmap” was the outcome

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of the “largest public consultation on the economy in Ontario’s history.” It identified three key components for economic success: the development of human capital, a culture of innovation, and investment in key infrastructure to support growth and competitiveness. Five strategic goals were identified: Knowledge and Skills for Prosperity, Innovation Culture, Strong global orientation, Building on Our Industry and Regional Strengths, and a Favourable Investment Climate. In addition to performance measurements and benchmarks for public sector/publicly supported organizations to assess performance and aid program evaluation, the “Roadmap” connected education to the workplace. Human capital (knowledge and skills) were seen as a vital component in economic success. To this end, it was proposed that,

Educational institutions and providers need to meet the needs and expectations of all their clients (learners, parents and employers) by striving for excellence at all times, fostering entrepreneurship and innovation, and being responsive to the needs of the economy.

While higher education enrolment growth challenges were noted (the double cohort and demographic trends), OJIB recommended: (1) implementing quality assessment to monitor institutional performance; (2) performance-based funding based on graduate employment; (3) targeted initiatives to increase capacity in programs where graduates were in high demand but shortages existed; and (4) consideration of more student-driven funding. OJIB proposed greater localized autonomy with business and community involvement, as “Ontario’s large and diverse economy precludes a “one-size-fits-all” or “cookie-cutter” approach to economic development.” With respect to higher education, OJIB recommended a new college charter to enable the CAATs to be market-driven, flexible organizations. A new charter would give increased autonomy to the colleges to facilitate,

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More private sector partnerships; increased community college/university cooperation to provide for collaborative programming, innovative partnerships, and easier movement between colleges and universities; meeting the needs of students seeking both theoretical and applied education, [and] improved credit recognition, and applied degrees.169

From a policy development perspective, it must be noted that although the “Roadmap” was an attempt at rational comprehensive planning with regard to consultation and process, as the mandate and mission for the Ontario Jobs and Investment Board was predetermined, the process, while on the surface consensual, was structured by the paradigm created, and therefore as a master plan fulfils the overriding political goals of its master; that said, the “Roadmap” prevented vagueness in policy objectives by identifying the policy goals, but in recognising multiple pathways to these goals it failed to recognize or predict implementation problems and competing agendas that may have coexisted in the political stream.

**Governance**

While the issue of governance from the CAATs’ perspective has been well documented earlier in this thesis, 1999 was a watershed year for CAAT governance issues. The Ontario Jobs and Investment Board recommended that they be given a new charter. In anticipation of the release of the OJIB “Roadmap” and to facilitate advocacy, the law firm Howell, Fleming of Peterborough, Ontario, was engaged January 05, 1999 to provide a legal opinion on the defining features of Schedule III agency status pertinent to the Colleges. Howell, Fleming identified the advantages and disadvantages of the existing Schedule III Crown Agency status of the colleges, and in particular noted that Crown Agency status provides access to provincial funding, albeit with restrictions on local budgeting arrangements. The features of Schedule III status are shown in Table 5.11. Defining Features of Schedule III Agency Status Pertinent to the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology.

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What is noticeable is that the key disadvantages identified relate to governance particularly with regard to executive authority and restrictions on local management. From the CAATs’ perspective there was perceived need to have legislation that reflected their evolved roles. As the CAATs were considering alternative organizational forms, Howell, Fleming was also asked to provide an opinion on the advantages and disadvantages of private corporate status versus Crown Corporation status. These are outlined in Table 5.12. Legal Opinion on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Alternative Organizational Forms for Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. Interestingly, private corporation status would give the CAATs the managerial and operational freedom they sought, but private corporation status alone would preclude them from funding eligibility from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

**Pre-election Advocacy Strategy**

With regard to CAATs, as ACAATO expected OJIB to recommend a new charter, they directed the CAATs to be prepared to issue a strong response to the release on the OJIB report expected for Thursday, March 25, 1999. “A strong college response will be important, as this report will likely form the platform of the Harris government re-election campaign.” Many of the issues, demands and wants of the CAATs converged during 1999. Issues on the agenda included funding formula revision, degree granting, the Ontario Jobs and Investment Boards Final Report, degree granting for college nursing programs, double cohort/postsecondary capacity, and College/university degree completion, based on the agreement signed between universities and the CAATs.

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170 Interview participant #5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities - non commercial</td>
<td>Not subject to market volatility.</td>
<td>Can’t create for profit subsidiary companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low risk of economic loss.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No competition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest authority rests with the government.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Can’t ‘opt out’ – decision to change status is a government prerogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited authority at Board level</td>
<td></td>
<td>Regulated and directed by government – reduces management flexibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Governors appointed by the Council of Regents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Statute or Provincial regulation needed to create subsidiaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lengthy bureaucratic process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subject to formal proposal and Management Board of Cabinet approval.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subsidiary companies subject to ministry directives or parameters set out in Memorandum of Understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financing via the Consolidated Revenue Fund</td>
<td>Access to provincial funding</td>
<td>Board of Governors can’t approve a deficit budget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry approval required for non budgeted expenditures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Management Restricted</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry approval required for acquisition or disposal of property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry approval required for programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry approval required for credentials awarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Administrative salaries subject to ministerial guidelines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Control: Barrier to the formation of partnerships with industry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Data adapted from Howell, Fleming of Peterborough, Ontario, (January 05, 1999).*
Table 5.12. Legal Opinion on the Alternative Organizational Forms for Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIVATE CORPORATION (Corporations Act.)</th>
<th>CROWN CORPORATIONS (Financial Administration Act.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advantages</strong></td>
<td><strong>Advantages</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Commercial</td>
<td>• Can be commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Managerial and operational freedom</td>
<td>• Eligible for funding from the Consolidated Revenue Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Autonomy to hire and set salaries</td>
<td>• Access to provincial funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Some protection from market volatility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disadvantages</strong></td>
<td><strong>Disadvantages</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Subject to market volatility</td>
<td>• Property owned by the Crown. Some restrictions on disposal. Can’t use property as loan security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Funding would not come from the Consolidated Revenue Fund</td>
<td>• Must be empowered by statute to borrow money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Would have to make ‘a case’ for funding</td>
<td>• Selection of directors may be restricted. Appointments and remuneration determined by Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Competition with other enterprises and between colleges</td>
<td>• Stringent reporting requirements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• No guarantee that colleges would receive equal treatment with respect to funding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Funding may be conditional on programming and results</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Risk of economic loss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Risk to Boards of Governors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Risks and liability may deter good candidates standing for the Board of Governors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Tuition fees could rise and accessibility could reduce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Data adapted from Howell, Fleming of Peterborough, Ontario, (January 05, 1999).*
known as the Port Hope Accord.\textsuperscript{172} With regard to CAATs’ advocacy, the Ontario Jobs and Investment Report (OJIB) released March 25, 1999 spurred continuation of grassroots advocacy of the identified priorities.\textsuperscript{173}

One of the main recommendations in the report calls for a new charter for the colleges. It was agreed that a paper be developed to include the identified college priorities. COP agreed on the need to respond to the report as quickly as possible as part of the pre-election advocacy strategy.\textsuperscript{174}

Colleges saw potential opportunity for policy change. During discussions, sentiments such as, “act quickly,” “Work together now,” “move quickly,” “Caution – keep together – don’t put anything on the table that will divide us,” “We need to get it together like university,” and “Seize the moment,” were expressed.\textsuperscript{175} Consciousness to act was apparent, as was awareness of opportunity. What is evident is that the CAATs were aware of the government’s concern regarding public opinion in an election year. “Govt now aware of Achilles heal out here & dbl cohort is one of them.”\textsuperscript{(Sic)}\textsuperscript{176} With regard to the applied degrees, some concerns were expressed. “Applied Degrees or Ministerial Consent – concern that this paper doesn’t get derailed;” “we as clg, can’t be seen to pull the plug on this [CUCC Port Hope Accord] – MET attention;” “Degree completion or Applied Degree – it’s an either or – this will be used politically to take away applied degree option – can’t walk away from this – the 2 have to go in sync (sic).”\textsuperscript{177}

\textsuperscript{172} Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Agenda for the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents Meeting,” (March 29, 30, 1999).

\textsuperscript{173} Strategic investment in physical infrastructure and learning technology, fixed share funding formula, flexibility for innovation through enterprise models, applied degrees and improved human resource management model.


\textsuperscript{174} Association of Colleges, “Summary for the Meeting,” (March 29, 30 1999), 4.

\textsuperscript{175} Handwritten notes taken during the ACAATO Meeting of the Committee of Presidents, (March 29, 30 1999).

\textsuperscript{176} Notes, (March 29, 30 1999).

\textsuperscript{177} Notes, (March 29, 30 1999).
The Advocacy and Communications committee of ACAATO played an instrumental role in pre-election advocacy strategies, which included the dissemination of key messages, (See Table 5.13. ACAATO’s Election Communications Issues/Strategies). Board Chairs and CAAT presidents were encouraged to use and distribute advocacy communication materials in their face to face advocacy efforts. They were told to “Avoid public competency confrontation with universities. Key is support for publicly funded postsecondary education. Use election as catalyst to gain long term public support.”\(^ {178}\) The use of external consultants/lobbyists was considered by ACAATO’s Advocacy and Communications Committee for the pre-election period,\(^ {179}\) but was decided against because, “no single paid lobbyist could achieve the desired outcomes. As well, the large majority of Presidents and Board Chairs prefer to speak on their own behalf to key government leaders.”\(^ {180}\)

**Table 5.13. ACAATO’s Election Communications Issues/Strategies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategies</th>
<th>Approved Key Messages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Development of reference and advocacy support materials</td>
<td>• Colleges create jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Building public and media awareness of the colleges</td>
<td>• Colleges provide value for investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Building support within government</td>
<td>• Colleges support community economic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Develop grassroots lobbying campaign on approved positions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Prior to the election in 1999, public opinion had turned against the incumbent Progressive Conservative Party. According to ACAATO’s brief to college presidents “1999 Ontario Government Throne Speech Highlights” of April 22, 1999:


\(^ {180}\) Association of Colleges, “Advocacy & Communications,” (March 30, 1999), 3.
The government currently sits in second place in public opinion polls and seems to be trying to demonstrate that it had listened to the public’s concerns that it had gone too far, too fast, in implementing provisions of the *Common Sense Revolution*.\(^{181}\)

Every opportunity was used to secure an advantage for the CAATs’ position. For example, as part of the advocacy and communications strategy, the media was used to advance the CAATs’ agenda. On April 22, 1999, the media release, “Throne speech reinforces colleges’ role in future of Ontario economy,”\(^{182}\) informed the public that the Throne Speech committed the government to following the OJIB “Roadmap” which endorsed the colleges and called for a new college charter, capital investment, interest debt relief for students, as well as recognition of college credentials for university transfer, and colleges’ applied degrees.\(^{183}\)

An election was called for June 3, 1999. As part of the CAATs’ election strategy, the General Assembly was provided with a copy of ACAATO’s election strategy questions, and members were requested to ask all political candidates the following question: “Will your government work with colleges of applied arts and technology to implement a new charter to increase their contribution to economic development? Included in this charter would be: flexible, innovative structures; applied degrees; and increased Board autonomy.”\(^{184}\) The General Assembly was also provided with a summary of the OJIB Report in which OJIB stated that, “Status quo is not an option. […] college leaders [are encouraged] to collectively and vigorously address the need for change. Otherwise


\(^{184}\) Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “ACAATO Election Strategy,” Attachment to the Agenda for the Meeting of the General Assembly of the Board of Directors of ACAATO (May 12, 1999).
change will be imposed.” Discussion took place and various sentiments were expressed including: “We need to go political – not bureaucrat. We need more than 1/3 – 2/3. Need action plan – Hammer MPPs – be aggressive – econ dvlp issue – (1) applied degrees (2) opt for youth unemployed wrkers. (Sic)” At least one participant was concerned about the universities’ opposition to changes. “Univ will go from 3 yr to 4 yr degree – going to be showdown – Senate decision – this gives us leverage.”(Sic) The OJIB “Roadmap” was seen as a signal that a policy window would open. “Univ have autonomy – not acct to Govt – tied to Govt for $ - New charter gives us freedom to col brg – OJIB opens the door – ongoing on our agd for next yr.”(Sic)

Specific to governance, ACAATO produced a fact sheet on May 12, 1999 for the General Assembly, entitled “A New Charter for Colleges.” The object of the fact sheet was to provide a platform for discussion; the output of which would then be used to develop a draft charter to be presented to the government. The fact sheet claimed that OJIB’s recommendation for a new Charter for the colleges confirmed that the government had received the message that investment in colleges and increased flexibility were urgently required. It was expected that the draft Charter would include the following identified priorities: significant reinvestment, a fixed-share funding formula, flexibility for innovation and enterprise, improved human resources management models, collaborative lifelong learning systems and student support systems.


186 Notes taken during the Meeting of ACAATO General Assembly’ (May 12, 1999).

187 Notes (May 12, 1999).

188 Notes (May 12, 1999).

With respect to the draft charter, a number of points should be noted. First, the fact that the General Assembly was directed to discuss issues and contribute to a draft charter suggests inclusiveness, but the parameters for discussions were already set. Second, the situation demonstrates that the CAATs believed that a policy window would be opening, and feeling confident in their ability to advocate, believed that they should take initiative.

Third, the approach suggests a degree of naivety and an incomplete understanding of governance. For example, while there was awareness that Charters relate to governance, the General Assembly (of ACAATO) was directed to draft a charter which included identified priorities. The identified priorities may have been considered important, but, it shows that some members of the General Assembly may not have understood exactly what a ‘charter’ is. The fact sheet specified how much money they considered should be invested ($2.5bn by 2004 to accommodate a 21% enrolment increase). Certain operational aspects were also included such as, funding formulas and income contingent loan repayment programs (ICLRP). These are not usually written into charters, because revising legislation is a difficult and cumbersome process. Operational matters are therefore normally external to the main charter documents.

Fourth, with respect to flexibility for innovation and enterprise, this relates to organizational forms and mandate - normal charter components, but, the fact sheet refers to the fact that the CAATs were set up as Schedule III Crown agencies and argues that “one size no longer fits all, as noted in the OJIB Report.” The Fact sheet did not mention whether there should be one or twenty four charters, it just asked for a new regulatory framework. Finally, with respect to human resource management models, the model would depend on who is the specified employer. Executive and operational authority of Boards of Governors would need to be considered prior to establishing this and specifying desired human resource models.

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ACAATO’s Election Update, of May 20, 1999, Number 4, provides insight into public opinion during the election campaign. Poll research following the Leaders’ Debate showed a narrow margin between the Progressive Conservative Party and the Liberal Party. Interestingly, the Leaders’ Debate highlighted topical issues, but direct reference to the CAATs was noticeably absent. While Premier Harris emphasized that his party was committed to public education, there were no specifics regarding capacity issues, college charters or funding. In addition, only the leader of the New Democratic Party, Howard Hampton offered direct reference to funding issues, and this was through criticism of the government’s sale of Highway 407, the proceeds of which were being directed to fund education infrastructure.

Although the ACAATO lobbying activity did not include the services of a single paid lobbyist, the issue of whether ACAATO constituted a lobby organization in its own right was discussed in 1999. Joan Homer Executive Director of ACAATO advised the Executive Committee April 15, 1999 of the requirements of the Lobbyist Registration Act, 1998. In a memorandum Homer wrote:

While at first glance, it appears that ACAATO may qualify as a non-profit organization that lobbies government, the nature of our advocacy work does not fit the definition of either consultant lobbyist or in-house lobbyist. Furthermore, it is the position of the Council of Ontario Universities that university (and college) representatives work collaboratively with Ministry of Education and Training staff and with elected officials regarding the implementation of government policy. […] Our representatives are doing the business of policy development and program coordination, not paid lobbying.¹⁹²

Postsecondary Education Capacity

Postsecondary education capacity to accommodate the double cohort was a concern for the government in 1999. David Trick, Assistant Deputy Minister, Ministry of Education and Training joined the Special Teleconference Meeting of the Committee of Presidents on March 18, 1999 and briefed the COP on the issues surrounding the double cohort and

restructuring of secondary education. Trick explained that capacity planning was a priority for the MET and that colleges should consider capacity estimates, staffing and employment, and innovative programming. With regard to capacity estimates, the colleges were advised to consider whether the traditional trend of 1/3 – 2/3 college – university applications would apply to the double cohort, as while 60% of college students traditionally don’t come directly from high school, the new high school curriculum introduced a college pathway. Increasing labour market requirements for postsecondary credentials and regional population growth might also skew traditional planning models. Colleges were also asked to consider potential sector shifts, for example, a 2 + 2 model (2 years at college and 2 years at university), polytechnics, and remediation and upgrading transferred to the high school system. In addition, the colleges were asked to consider innovative programming, costs, demands, and delivery, and collaborative programs.

To provide the CAATs’ perspective, the fact sheet “Double Cohort and Postsecondary Capacity Issues and Opportunities” was prepared by ACAATO, in which it was argued that investment in technology was required and open learning opportunities were needed to meet projected demands as, “Suggesting that colleges currently have idle capacity is not accurate. Premium facilities are used 24 hours, 7 days per week in several colleges.”

193 The MET projected a 19.9% increase in college enrolment for the academic year 2004-2005, and a 23.6% increase for universities, of which 46.4% of the growth projection was forecast to be within the GTA. 194 Consequently, capital needs and the implications of increased enrolment on physical plant needed to be considered within the context of the policy objectives of access for all qualified and motivated students, and quality higher education and training. The MET called for a working group on college capacity to consult with stakeholders and to offer realistic proposals to increase capacity.

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194 Moderate projection as compared to 1998-999 enrolment. Ministry of Education and Training.

within a differentiated, less regulated and accountable system. This group would provide advice to the government on the most effective and efficient ways to ensure capacity for all qualified students, how to maximize the quality of the students’ learning experience, and how colleges could contribute to economic growth.\textsuperscript{195}

“Investing in Ontario’s Economic Development” was the title of ACAATO’s April 1999 paper regarding colleges’ capacity. The paper claimed that Ontario colleges were “transforming to market-driven learning centres,” and that, in addition to investment, colleges required a new charter to provide them with flexibility.\textsuperscript{196} Referencing the “Road Map to Prosperity” (OJIB, March 1999), ACAATO argued that the OJIB report coupled with the double cohort was driving the need for change. Secondary factors continued to exist (technology, demographic changes and economy). The overriding issues for attention to increase capacity were the colleges need for investment, and a new charter for flexibility as the Schedule III Crown agency status and collective agreement models were restrictive. The paper argued that increasing capacity required additional financial support. Changes to the funding model were called for. That said, it was also posited that a new charter would provide opportunities for the colleges, including inter-institutional partnerships, public private partnerships, and for-profit subsidiaries.

\textit{Driving the Agenda}

ACAATO official documents portray the CAATs as united with regard to the advocacy efforts for applied degrees.\textsuperscript{197} However, the desire for the applied degrees was more prevalent with some colleges than others. Power Marketing International, a Kitchener, Ontario based lobby firm, emailed college presidents on May 24, 1999 advising them that, “It has been determined that it is timely to raise the issue of Community College


\textsuperscript{197} Minutes, Meeting Summaries, Papers and Reports etc.
degree granting status to a political level.” Power Marketing International attached a copy of their letter dated May 23, 1999. This seemed to be a surprise to some. Gary Polonsky, President of Durham College replied, “Maybe I missed something but did COP sanction this?” In response, ACAATO’s Joan Homer, forwarded an email which included the following dialogue, showing that one college, Conestoga was prepared to press their case individually and had engaged the lobby firm. In an email, (May 25, 1999) President of Conestoga College John W. Tibbits wrote:

Conestoga College is working with a local advocacy group to promote applied degrees for some programs in the CAATs. […] Conestoga College is actively pursuing applied degrees for the system and we would appreciate any support that you could give. The name of the group we are working with is Power Marketing International.

Cambrian College’s Frank Marsh responded:

We are working on the same issue and are raising it with all parties and their local candidates in the districts here – both as an item of merit and as part of the new CHARTER. I support any initiative to bring this matter to the forefront. A good attention getter is that Students from Alberta, BC, etc. will have this qualification and that Ontario Grads will be Disenfranchised in the JOB market. (Sic)

Interestingly, the letter from Power Marketing International to college presidents dated May 23, 1999, suggested that a policy window may be opening; “The provincial election provides a tremendous opportunity to escalate the degree granting status discussion and the reshaping of the educational system to a high profile political level.” They urged rapid action and suggested that, “Colleges can take on the responsibility of doing the

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201 Homer, “Colleges Degree Granting Status,” (May 26, 1999 9:56am).

necessary work to implement the political game plan, or the Colleges can delegate that responsibility to Power Marketing International.”\textsuperscript{203} Power Marketing International argued that a new vision should be promoted to candidates, and after the election the elected official would then be pressed to keep their word. Two options were offered: Option A, each college would have a political awareness team of two or three persons. “The function of the team is to ensure that the Tory and Liberal candidates are put in the position of having to respond in agreement to our ‘new vision’ of education” during public campaign events; and Option B, Power Marketing International would act directly for each college and email and telephone candidates.

Summary

This chapter presented the findings from the period June 1995- June 1999. It is evident from the data that challenges presented by the economy during this period were significant. However, the impact on policy development of the Progressive Conservative government’s agenda of deficit-cutting and restructuring must not be underestimated. The data provide evidence that the CAATs organized their interests through their advocacy organization, and displayed considerable confidence and consciousness to act collectively and individually. CAATs’ advocacy strategy was coherent and well focused, facilitated by the restructured ACAATO.

The review of postsecondary education in 1996, while significant, interestingly recommended the maintenance of the status quo. The data show that regardless of the Panel’s explicit recommendations, policy actors and policy entrepreneurs in the CAATs continued to advance their agenda. Discussion of degree granting was evident and different positions were noted. The OJIB report through recommending of a new charter and applied degrees provided backing for CAATs’ policy arguments. The data clearly indicate that during this period policy actors and policy entrepreneurs were mobilized. Strategic positioning was evident. Policy actors continued to be mobilized into the second

\textsuperscript{203} Homer, “Colleges Degree Granting Status,” (May 26, 1999 9:56 am).
term of office for the Progressive Conservative Party. The findings from the documentary evidence for the period following the Ontario election, from June 3, 1999 to 2002 are presented in chapter six.

Introduction

This chapter covers the period June 1999 to 2002 and presents the findings from the post June 3, 1999 election, through to the policy changes and the approval of the OCAAT Act, 2002. Analysis shows that policy development during this period reflects a complex multi-streamed pre-decision process in which dynamic actors were strategically engaged. The problem stream and policy stream have been documented earlier in this thesis. This chapter concentrates on illustrating how policy development led to policy change. The chapter considers the role of the CAATs and ACAATO in policy development, taskforce reports and position papers, and direct communications between ACAATO and the government.

Advocating for a New Charter

A new college charter was one of the CAATs’ identified priorities for 1999.¹ The Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario was successfully re-elected on June 3, 1999 winning 59 of 103 seats in the Ontario legislature. On June 17, 1999 Veronica Lacey, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Education and Training, spoke to the Ontario Council of Regents (COR). Lacey informed the COR that the government intended to follow the OJIB “Roadmap”, and was committed to providing additional resources to ensure access to postsecondary education for all qualified and willing students. Lacey noted the capacity issues arising from the high school curriculum changes (a double cohort was expected to graduate in 2003), the demographic bulge from the ‘baby-boom-echo’ generation, and economic shifts. These factors were expected to increase demands for access to postsecondary education institutions. Lacey intimated that the government’s preferred strategy to increase capacity, was through private sector partnerships. Noting

¹ Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Summary for the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents,” (June 7 and 8, 1999).
the Access to Opportunities Program (ATOP)² as an example, Lacey said it “is a good model of how government can work in partnership with the private sector and the colleges in producing much needed priority job training.”³ That said, Lacey referred to the establishment of the SuperBuild Growth Fund for capital projects to create capacity within existing institutional arrangements. Lacey also referred to the data from the KPI survey results, and acknowledged the significance of its use for accountability purposes. While noting the successes, (employer satisfaction and graduate employment) the need for improvement with regard to student and graduate satisfaction was communicated. With regard to a new college charter, Lacey indicated that the government was very interested in the CAATs’ initiative, especially with regard to the request for greater flexibility, but mentioned that the specifics of a charter required clarification, and the governing party’s policy goals were unknown at that time.⁴

One of the key recommendations that you and others in the college system have focused on since the [OJIB] Report’s release is the call for a new charter for colleges. It is very important for us to acknowledge that what specifically this means in terms of change for colleges has not been defined. We have not yet had an opportunity to learn what specifically the government, or a new minister, may have in mind.⁵

Noting the colleges’ calls for increased autonomy, flexibility to enter into partnerships with the private sector, applied degree granting authority, and, new funding and human resource models,⁶ Ms. Lacey invited input and views on a new charter and said:

Some of the items within the charter discussion – colleges’ agency status, collective bargaining structure and degree granting – are multifaceted and inter-

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² This program provided colleges and universities with funding, and required employer matching. It was geared towards creating additional capacity for engineering and high technology training.


⁴ Notes taken during the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents, June 7 and 8, 1999.

⁵ “Speaking Notes for Veronica Lacey,” (June 17, 1999), 12.

⁶ “Speaking Notes for Veronica Lacey,” (June 17, 1999), 12-13.
related issues that go to the heart of what the college system could and should be. They involve very complex issues and policy considerations. The answers to all of these questions need to be driven by the overarching question of maximizing colleges’ potential as significant contributors to the provincial economy.7

As it was originally anticipated that there would be “a separate individual Charter for each autonomous college that ensures flexibility, responsibility and accountability” like the universities, a paper discussing the key roles and priorities of the colleges was developed by the General Assembly of Board Chairs and Presidents of ACAATO in June 1999. “A New Charter for Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology” presented the rationale for a new charter and key elements for inclusion. It was argued that a new charter was necessary “to enable colleges to continue their transformation to market-driven career education and training providers.”9 Furthermore, as “colleges are achieving their original mandate in different ways from each other and from their origins,” it was posited that diversification had moved beyond the existing definitions of community and geography as defined by catchment areas.10

The paper called for ‘differentiation’ within the CAAT system of colleges, with key elements in the charter including increased authority for Boards of Governors, institutional flexibility and degree granting authority.11 The CAATs wanted the elimination of catchment areas (as recommended by the Panel in 1996), streamlined audit and reporting procedures, and the authority to develop and approve programs, determine tuition fees and student aid, buy and sell real estate, hire and review college presidents, set terms of employment and compensation, and act as management in collective

7 “Speaking Notes for Veronica Lacey,” (June 17, 1999), 13.

8 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Presidents’ Priorities 2000,” Attachment 1 to the Summary for the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents (September 27 and 28, 1999).


The CAATs also called for new enterprise models including college-college institutes, college-university institutes, polytechnics, venture capital corporations, centres of excellence and incorporated applied research centres, the rationale being that:

Less than 50% of college funding comes from government. Colleges are seeking new sources of revenue to continue to provide education quality and access. Colleges therefore need more flexibility for innovative partnerships with the private sector – local solutions to address priorities. [...] Colleges require the opportunity (beyond the Schedule III agency status) to develop various revenue-generating enterprises to support and extend their capacity as publicly-assisted institutions to serve diverse students and communities.  

Cleverly, with regard to credentials, the CAATs linked their interests to the government’s capacity problem, and argued that insufficient capacity would be created by CUCC agreements and therefore, out-of-province articulation was the way forward.

The universities do not have the resources to accept the high volumes of college graduates seeking the internationally recognized degree credential. The capacity issue will become pronounced during the 2000-2005 period. The applied degree credential provides a partial solution to these challenges. [...] In addition to implementing the applied degree option through legislation, [the government] should expand its current policy on ministerial consents to facilitate articulated arrangements with out-of-province universities.

Individual college’s positions can be viewed through responses to the Ontario Jobs and Investment Board’s “Roadmap to Prosperity.” For example, Sir Sandford Fleming College’s (Fleming) response was accompanied by a letter from the president, Brian Desbiens, in which it was argued that market forces alone cannot produce the supply of workers needed to meet regional demands. Desbiens called for capital investment to ensure supply of trained and skilled labour to meet demands. Desbiens’ response to the

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15 Aging population, baby boomers moving to smaller communities. Desbiens refers to demographic research from David Foot, University of Toronto.
OJIB report also took the opportunity to make a case to draw attention to Fleming’s role in the economy. Outlining Fleming’s profile and pertinent statistics, including student numbers, it was claimed that Fleming alone had a positive economic impact on the economy of $151 million. Desbiens formalized Fleming’s commitment to increasing enrolment capacity by 50% to accommodate the double cohort and demographic increases, but argued that although two thirds of the capital funding required had been secured from stakeholders, government investment was still needed for the balance which amounted to $35.9m.\textsuperscript{16}

Humber College’s president took the opportunity to push for greater autonomy:

I strongly endorse the strategic direction and priorities set out in the [OJIB] document and the roles of colleges in Ontario’s future economic and social development. [But,] In order for colleges to become more market driven and flexible learning solution providers, a new charter is essential. Operating solely as Schedule III Crown agencies limits our ability to respond to training opportunities with partners in new ways. A new charter must allow for more Board authority, particularly in program delivery and human resource management.\textsuperscript{17}

Durham College called for individual college charters, and like the other colleges, agreed with the central thrust of OJIB and the strategic direction, but recommended diversification and differentiation in the CAAT system. Differentiation it was argued would be facilitated by individualizing college charters, and achieved by transforming Durham College into a University College.

The Board of Governors of Durham College, together with Trent University and wide-spread community representation from within Durham Region, recommend a new model of higher education […] which converts Durham College to a university college, tentatively called the University College of Durham (UCD). A new legislative framework should be enacted which requires each college to submit a new charter for itself. Each charter would describe the structures and


\textsuperscript{17} Robert Gordon, “Letter to Mr. David Lindsay Ontario Jobs and Investment Board,” (September 9, 1999).
program priorities by which that college would make pivotal contributions to enhanced and sustained economic prosperity for its students, employers and communities. […] The essence of what we recommend is that the Government encourage and facilitate a post-secondary environment which results in greater diversity and capitalism amongst its colleges and universities.18

**The Government of Ontario**

Government objectives for postsecondary education in 1999, continued to be those identified in the Smith Report: quality, access and accountability. Organizational changes took place within the government, and a ministry with specific responsibility for higher education in Ontario was created on June 17, 1999. In October 1999, the Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities signalled their interest in exploring a new charter, and formed a joint working group (MTCU/ACAATO Executive Working Group on College Charter Issues) to examine the issue. While the CAATs’ identified priorities were to be part of the discussion, human resource management issues were to be the subject of a separate review.19

The Minister of Training Colleges and Universities, Dianne Cunningham was scheduled to meet with CAATs’ representatives at the Meeting of the General Assembly of the Board of Directors of ACAATO on November 1, 1999.20 “New Charters for Colleges” was an item on the Agenda for this meeting. The Action Summary from the Meeting, records that the issue of new charters for colleges was being aggressively pursued.21

Prior to meeting with Minister Cunningham, an informal pre-meeting on the new charter

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19 Leslie Wright, Chair ACAATO and Howard Rundle, Chair Committee of Presidents, Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Memorandum to College Board Chairs and Presidents Subject: New Charters for Ontario Colleges,” (October 27, 1999).

20 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Agenda for the Meeting of the General Assembly of the Board of Directors of ACAATO,” (November 1, 1999), Item 5:0.

took place between a few of the CAATs’ officials, with the object of formulating a position for the discussion with the Minister. Notes taken at the time recorded some interesting dialogue. For example, it was decided that as decision-making would likely be made at the government level, energy would not be spent advocating with the Ontario Council of Regents. “Decision will be made above & beyond COR – we need to formulate our position – don’t spend a lot of energy on the COR.”

Efforts were directed to those they believed to be the decision-makers. “Bob Christie and minister are only players.”

Timing was considered to be important, and human resource management and compensation was a key goal. “HRM process part of this & not separate – we only have one kick @ this incl compensation.”

It was known that the collective bargaining was a contentious issue, “DM uncomfortable @ looking @ colb [collective bargaining] – it would have to go to Cabinet/Premier.”

That said, there was consciousness and confidence in their capacity to bring about policy change, “Govt only funds 48% - we have an opport. – we are a powerful group. Our bottom line – we have an option to do things differently.”

Following the pre-meeting, Minister Cunningham was welcomed to the General Assembly Meeting held on November 1, 1999 during which as records show, candid discussions took place.

The meeting summary recorded that the Minister:

Does not favour separate university type Acts for the colleges [but] advised the Board Chairs and Presidents that the opportunity exists to move quickly on changing the legislative framework that governs the colleges and invited the colleges to work collaborative (sic) with the Ministry to explore ways to allow

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22 Notes taken during discussion prior to the Meeting of the General Assembly of the Board of Directors of ACAATO, November 1, 1999.

23 Notes, November 1, 1999.

24 Notes, November 1, 1999.

25 Notes, November 1, 1999.

26 Notes, November 1, 1999.

colleges to meet the challenge of becoming more flexible and market-driven in providing high quality programs to a rapidly growing student/client population.  

Minister Cunningham provided an update on relevant Government priorities including, the double cohort, and SuperBuild capital investments. The Minister informed her audience that the challenges to postsecondary education would include: accessibility, affordability, quality and relevance. Various members voiced issues ranging from credentials, applied degrees, Millennium scholarships to other matters. The issue of polytechnic status was also raised to which the minister was recorded as responding saying:

If you don’t figure this out then government will. […] You need to get the work done before we can look @ it – signals will come up […] House comes back after March break – before House sits we have more time to talk – for Legislative change I need notice – surely some pieces can come forward with other pieces to follow. […] We want to get it done – you’re on the right path. […] I don’t want another University Act. (sic)  

Public Mood and Intelligence Reports

The status of the provincial economy was subject of media discussion in 1999. In the National Post article entitled “Province must decide how to spend surplus” of October 19, 1999, readers were informed that Ontario’s Progressive Conservative government was being pressured by the universities to increase spending on higher education. The author, McCann said, “In what was widely regarded as a sign of what’s to come, no less that 16 university presidents converged on the Ontario Legislature this month to press for a $1-billion increase to the post-secondary education budget.” While the government had pledged to allocate any surpluses on debt reduction, the article informed readers that others held similar opinions to the universities. The polling firm Angus Reid also said, “it


29 Notes taken during the Meeting of the General Assembly of the Board of Directors of ACAATO November 1, 1999.

30 Wendy McCann, “Province must decide how to spend surplus,” National Post (October 19, 1999).
would be a mistake for the Tories to concentrate too heavily on tax cuts once a surplus is achieved.”

The possibility of college mergers was raised in the Toronto Star on November 17, 1999. This was of great concern to the colleges. ACAATO engaged the consulting firm Peter Wright and Associates to gather intelligence. The Board of Governors Committee of the Whole Meeting – Minutes, February 2, 2000 recorded,

Mr. Wright’s sense of the environment is that restructuring of post secondary education is on the government’s agenda and if the colleges don’t work toward sharing and working with the government in the next year, it will be done unilaterally. […] He believes the key reasons the government is looking at this area is for cost efficiencies and for the government to be seen as serving taxpayers. […] CAATs must consider ways to positively affect the government’s agenda. (Sic)

Peter Wright and Associates formally reported to ACCATO in March 2000. The report entitled “Mergers: Experience and Issues” provided information on merger activity in other policy areas and jurisdictions and assessed the government’s policy goals with regard to how mergers could be instrumental to meeting objectives. Wright advised ACAATO that during the government’s first term of office, restructuring, amalgamation had been on the agenda, as seen in the changes to school boards, hospitals and municipalities. Wright’s analysis of the policy activity in these sectors led him to advise ACAATO that five key lessons have been learned:

1. The government did not need a detailed plan of what it was seeking in order to put the restructuring in motion, it communicated a publicly attractive and credible set of outcomes for the sector focused on improvements for the user or client

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31 McCann, “Province must decide,” National Post (October 19, 1999).

32 Peter Wright was a former public official in the Ontario government.

2. The government used arms length bodies to implement the restructuring, usually drawn from the system itself
3. In most cases each system had opposed similar, less dramatic changes proposed by former governments
4. The government made transition funding available for each sector
5. The government was willing to act on a scale previously considered impossible.  

Policy goals, for which mergers were a policy instrument, included reducing expenditure, eliminating non-viable activity, enrolment growth at reduced cost, increase choice and competition. Peter Wright and Associates advised ACAATO that the Ontario government had similar policy objectives in other policy areas where restructuring had already taken place.  

In other policy areas, government objectives had included quality, access, affordability and less bureaucracy, with spending directed to public service and not public administration. With regard to increasing choice and competition in higher education, Wright considered this to be a radical difference not seen in other policy areas.

Wright informed ACAATO that the government’s guiding beliefs included competition and the market as drivers of efficiency. If changes to the CAAT system were implemented, Wright posited, they would likely lead to some specialization with applied degrees, some college mergers, increased access, and some new forms of institutions, including polytechnics. Wright outlined four possible reasons for restructuring: “To reduce total system expenditure, to eliminate non-viable activity, to position the system for enrolment growth at reduced cost, and, to increase choice and competition in the postsecondary education system.” Wright suggested that the reason why the government had chosen not to act to date was to give the CAATs the chance to change themselves. Further he posited that the government was aware that taking on the CAATs would mean also changing the universities. As the CAATs were already making a case

35 K-12 education and health.
regarding efficiency, and some individual colleges were already talking about change, Wright believed that the government could achieve their objectives without top down restructuring; this, it was argued, would provide the CAATs with an opportunity.  

Colleges would appear to have a window of opportunity to take ideas to the government to show they recognize the need for change and how those changes can serve students, taxpayers, the economy and government. When colleges either individually or collectively approach the government with their ideas they must focus on how these changes will meet the agenda the government has set out.

**The Ontario Council of Regents**

As a Schedule I Crown Agency, the COR’s mandate included the provision of impartial advice to the Minister. The COR was of the opinion that the CAATs, “Labour under governance constructs which neither match authority or accountability nor allow response appropriate to the unique needs of different regions or different types of programs.”  

Prompted by the release of the Ontario Jobs and Investment Board (OJIB) report in July 1999, the COR presented a paper to Minister Dianne Cunningham entitled, “Enhancing Ontario’s College System for the 21\textsuperscript{st} Century” on April 20, 2000. The paper offered a means for the CAATs to position themselves and benefit from system restructuring. The title of the paper is significant in that the COR referred to the “system” and not a “system of colleges.” The paper made a case for strong leadership to implement change in the CAAT system. Three themes were identified: leadership and structure, market responsiveness, and human resource management.

The COR introduced their paper by referring to the raison d’être of the college system and its founding values of education for the public and individual good on social and economic grounds. Education as a means toward a more equitable society was cited as a

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39 Ontario Council of Regents, “Enhancing Ontario’s College System for the 21\textsuperscript{st} Century,”(April 20, 2000), 6,7,8.
core belief in Ontario society. Education and credentials, it was argued, were fundamental in the knowledge economy, for economic advantage, job mobility and employment maintenance. The COR argued that the CAATs were wasteful and fragmented, and some changes to the governance structure was required. However, they considered that legislative change was unnecessary as O.Reg 770 could be amended to allow for some more autonomy at the individual college level.

The COR recommended the establishment of a College Board, as a new intermediary agency and governance structure for the CAATs. In addition to this new College Board having executive authority (subsuming the COR, ACAATO, and some ministry functions), the COR suggested that it should also be granted authority to explore radical organizational restructuring, including college amalgamations, with the intent to rationalize the system to gain economies of scale, eliminate program duplication and non-viable programs, and broaden access through alternative delivery technologies. This was controversial, since it favoured centralization versus the CAATs’ preferred option of decentralization and enhanced local autonomy.

If established, this College Board would have been accountable directly to the Minister, and while the benefits of system-wide credentials would perhaps have been widely accepted, and may have been the way to achieve a breakthrough in system laddering, the fact is that centralization was opposite to what the CAAT presidents wanted. Consequently, the COR’s advice to the Minister was seen as threatening and became a motivating force for CAAT advocacy against the COR.

**Increasing Degree Opportunities for Ontarians**

The Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities released the paper “Increasing Degree Opportunities for Ontarians,” in April 2000. The paper, a statement of policy intent, invited consultation regarding implementation of the government’s agenda. In the accompanying letter to the paper, Minister Cunningham confirmed the government’s commitment to the promise of ensuring postsecondary education capacity. Citing twenty
first century challenges as the catalysts and driver of restructuring, the policy goals of increased access, differentiation, and diversification of the postsecondary system were offered as the solution to the problem of increasing demands. As ensuring quality and protecting students from the risk of financial loss were seen as responsibilities of government, protection was offered to offset and pre-empt criticism.

With regard to increasing demands, while the paper offered a rationale for change, it also argued that the status quo was not an option, as “The current legislative and policy approach limits the choices available to Ontarians who are seeking degrees.” These limitations, it was argued, stemmed from the fact that degree granting authority was monopolized by Ontario’s publicly assisted universities to the exclusion of the CAATs, and the private sector. Further, it was argued that with increasing technologicalization and economic restructuring, demands from industry for new programming, and student demands for diversified delivery were not being met. From the perspective of the government it was considered that increased choice was in the public good.

The government also wished to clarify consistency of standards and accountability with regard to degree-granting. This was considered necessary because a loop-hole in the legislation had been identified. Ministerial Consent was necessary for out-of-province institutions seeking to offer degree programs in Ontario under the Degree Granting Act, but, technological advancements meant that “Out-of-province organizations offering degrees via the internet or other forms of distance education are not subject to provincial statutes or regulations, provided they do not establish a physical presence in Ontario.”

The proposed solution was to permit differentiation and diversification in Ontario’s higher education systems by allowing private (for-profit and not-for-profit) degree granting institutions to offer degree programs in Ontario, and for the CAATs to offer

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41 Ontario, “Increasing Degree Opportunities.”

42 Ontario, “Increasing Degree Opportunities,” 2.
applied degree programs (on a pilot basis), all subject to the Minister’s approval. It was proposed that a Quality Assessment Board would assess applications, review programs, and establish a set of standards prior to each request for Ministerial consent. For the CAATs, “the primary mission of colleges of applied arts and technology will continue to be to offer high-quality instruction in diploma and certificate programs of one to three years duration.” But degree program applications would be considered for approval if the proposals meet quality requirements and there is a demonstrated applied/vocational component, industry demand, and no overlap or duplication with universities’ programs.

**Ontario’s Colleges for the 21st Century: Capacity and Charter Framework**

John Matheson of Strategy Corp. reported to ACAATO’s General Assembly on May 18, 2000. Strategy Corp. had been engaged to research the government’s agenda and to gather intelligence regarding the government’s perception of colleges. Strategy Corp. reported that a positive perception of the colleges existed within the inner circle of government, and opined that ACAATO’s advocacy strategy was having an affect and should be continued and strengthened. The CAATs decided to request, “One charter with differentiation, balance between autonomy and accountability and more stable and appropriate funding.” At the ACAATO General Assembly May 18, 2000, Minister Cunningham was asked; “are the initiatives really coming from us or are you doing it to us?” The Minister is recorded to have replied, “You’ve asked for [changes and] you need to make them […] nothing’s being opposed.” With this awareness of a policy window, ACAATO prepared the paper, “Ontario’s Colleges for the 21st Century:

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43 Ontario, “Increasing Degree Opportunities,” 4.


46 Notes (May 18, 2000).

47 Notes (May 18, 2000).

Words attributed to Dianne Cunningham Minister of Training Colleges and Universities.
Capacity and Charter Framework.” The paper was presented to the ACAATO General Assembly on May 18, 2000.

The paper proposed a new mandate for the CAATs: “to provide accessible, quality career education and training to enhance social and economic development throughout Ontario and to meet local, regional and global marketplace demand.” A framework was also offered for the new charter. To assist members of the General Assembly (especially lay governors) understand the ramifications, notes regarding Schedule III Crown Status were distributed in the appendices to the meeting documents. See Table 6.1. Schedule III Crown Agencies.

Table 6.1. Schedule III Crown Agencies

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<tr>
<th>“Schedule III is for operational agencies that are non-profit, social and/or cultural in nature and that:</th>
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<tr>
<td>• are funded whole or in part out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund or out of monies collected from the public by means of levies, and are subject to financial planning and reporting processes as determined by the Ministry; or</td>
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<td>• are self-funded, non-commercial organizations;</td>
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<tr>
<td>• adhere to the general management principles of the government but can demonstrate reasons whereby full compliance with all administrative directives established by the Management Board is not appropriate;</td>
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<tr>
<td>• manage their own administrative support; do not appoint staff under the Public Services Act.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schedule III agencies must adhere to any management and administrative directives approved by the Management Board that are specifically designated as applying to such agencies. An MOU between the minister and agency head details these.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Waiver of scheduling requirements</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Management Board approval must be obtained to waive the above scheduling requirements in those cases where government does not wish to exercise direct administrative or financial control over an organization to which it appoints a majority of members.”</td>
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Based upon the argument that driving forces for change, both domestic and international, necessitated a new legislative framework for the CAATs, enhanced flexibility was requested. “The colleges are focused, flexible, timely and entrepreneurial and can become what we need to be if given the authority and flexibility to become even more responsive to market demand.”

The paper formally requested:

1. That the government of Ontario establish a new charter for colleges that:
   - declares the government’s commitment to a learning society in which qualified Ontarians have the opportunity to access postsecondary education;
   - describes the broad mandate of the colleges;
   - imbeds common system-wide elements as well as flexibility for differentiation of colleges.
2. That the new charter provide boards with increased accountability within a broad governance accountability framework, authority to: act as employers with the ability to: determine appropriate models of human resource management; hire, review, compensate the president; establish administrative salaries and terms and conditions of employment; conduct real property transactions; design the mechanism to appoint board members
3. That the government commit to progressive and adequate funding based on a new and appropriate knowledge-based economy funding model
4. That the charter permanently permits colleges to grant applied degrees. (*sic*)

The CAATs attempted to link their interests to those of the government. The government’s goal of increasing choice and capacity, while maintaining and enhancing efficiency, effectiveness and economy within an accountable framework, could be achieved it was argued, within the proposed charter framework. Referring to OJIB’s mantra that ‘one size does not fit all,’ an appeal was also made for localized executive powers and system differentiation.

The charter framework will need to accommodate the strategic direction developed by Boards particularly in permitting various institutional models such as polytechnics, college/college and college/university institutes and centres of

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excellence, stand-alone venture capital educational and applied research corporations, and other new forms of affiliation and incorporation.53

Responding to the Ontario Council of Regents

The COR’s position paper of April 20, 2000 provoked strong and emotive responses from the CAATs. At the June 5, and 6, 2000 Meeting of the Committee of Presidents, the COR’s paper, “Enhancing Ontario’s College System for the 21st Century” was discussed. It was decided that a response was necessary, as “silence may be consent.”54 It was also agreed that responses should focus on the COR’s lack of consultation and their call for centralization.55 Sheridan College responded by fundamentally opposing the COR’s prescription for change.

Sheridan believes change will come from strengthening existing Boards and promoting excellence and competition. In its recommendations, Council sees the solutions as establishing one large bureaucratic structure that will, by its very nature, replace initiatives with “rules” and competition with monopolies. […] A centralized approach to a new College charter will most certainly evolve into an unwieldy infrastructure that will be slow to respond, and operate in a way that will discourage competition and entrepreneurial zeal, the kind of creativity that inspires real change.56

James Graham, Chair of Georgian College Board of Governors, wrote to the Minister of Training Colleges and Universities, Dianne Cunningham, and advised that in the opinion of his Board, “the Council’s proposal that the province create a centralized Ontario College Board with wide-sweeping authority is an affront to the most basic principles and tenets of college governance and accountability in our current system.”57 Confederation

54 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Summary for the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents,” (June 5 and 6, 2000), 2.
57 James Graham, Chair Georgian College Board of Governors, “Letter to The Honourable Dianne Cunningham,” (June 15, 2000).
College was also against increasing bureaucracy. John A. Walker, Chair of the Board of Governors of Confederation College said in his letter to Minister Cunningham:

Our main disagreement is the change in the basic structure wherein all colleges are in danger of losing their very uniqueness with the creation of a large bureaucratic structure. [...] Confederation College believes that rather than a central Bureaucracy, (Sic) greater competition and local autonomy will provide the key to excellence and differentiation in response to student demand and market forces. A centralized approach to a new College Charter will most likely evolve into a (Sic) unwieldy infrastructure that, like most bureaucracies, will be slow to respond, kill entrepreneurial zeal with ‘policies for everything,’ and stifle real change.58

ACAAT0’s response was in the form of a letter to the Minister, Dianne Cunningham on June 29, 2000. Based on feedback from all Boards, ACAAT0 took issue with the COR’s recommendations on the previously identified two points, the lack of research and consultation, and centralization. Citing that the absence of consultation was contrary to tradition and established practice, ACCAT0 argued this had resulted in the COR’s mistaken assumption that the CAATs were devoid of leadership, and unable to innovate and voluntarily transform. ACCAT0 further argued that, “Centralization is a movement in the opposite direction to local responsiveness which has been the basis of college success for 34 years.”59 Centralization said ACAAT0, “would not only be unproductive but dysfunctional.”60

Achieving the Goals

The announcement that the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology would be permitted to seek Ministerial approval to offer applied degrees on a pilot project basis, was

58 John A. Walker, Chair Board of Governors, Confederation College, “Letter to The Honourable Dianne Cunningham,” (June 28, 2000).

59 Susan Bloomfield, Chair, ACCATO & Howard Rundle, Chair, Committee of Presidents Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Letter to The Honourable Dianne Cunningham,” (June 29, 2000), 3.

60 Bloomfield & Rundle, “Letter” (June 29, 2000), 4.
announced at Seneca College, by Minister Dianne Cunningham on April 28, 2000. The speaking notes for Minister Cunningham set the background for the government’s policy decision. The claim was made that the policy would introduce greater choice for postsecondary students. Minister Cunningham added that as public demands had increased, and there was awareness of the need for greater flexibility within a quality postsecondary education system in Ontario, diversified delivery mechanisms and collaborative programming would widen opportunities. Lifelong learning, according to Minister Cunningham was likely to be enhanced through this policy.

I am here today to announce that the Government of Ontario has decided that we will create opportunities for Ontario’s college of applied arts and technology to offer applied degrees on a pilot-project basis and will permit the establishment of private, degree-granting institutions in Ontario.

The establishment of a Quality Assessment Board (QAB) was announced simultaneously, the goal of which was to “ensure new degree programs are of the highest quality.”

Minister Cunningham also referred to initiatives already underway in the CAAT system.

We have already had many exciting proposals from our institutions that would fall under these new guidelines. For example, Conestoga College and its president John Tibbits have taken a leadership role in promoting the importance and relevance of applied degrees in terms of the potential impact on local communities. […] Humber College and Sheridan College […] want to create a new polytechnic institute that would provide high-tech applied degree programming in fields such as plastics, aerospace and telecommunications.

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64 “Speaking Notes for Dianne Cunningham,” (April 28, 2000), 2, 3.
Following the applied degree announcement, ACAATO issued a Briefing Note to inform members that,

Applied degree granting for colleges has been researched by IPCC since 1992 and been an ACAATO priority since 1997. The pilot process and rigorous application of quality control measures through the Quality Assessment Board are seen as integral to establish the validity of college degrees in the academic and public sector. [...] The public in Ontario does not understand the concept of applied degrees. The colleges will need to educate the public regarding the quality and validity of applied degrees and that fact that they are not watered down degrees.65

ACAATO also issued a Fact Sheet entitled “Applied Degrees in Ontario’s Colleges,” informing readers that legislation was to be introduced to the Legislature on October 19, 2000 for the applied degree pilot project, which would extend over a three year period. Program proposals would need to be career-focused, distinct from university degree programs, demonstrate industry demand, and be subject to approval of the Minister as recommended by the Quality Assurance Board. Programs would also be subject to ongoing review.66

The new policy on applied degrees became entangled with the private-for-profit university issue. The Globe and Mail ran an article, “Province backs private universities’” on April 28, 2000. The author, argued that by allowing private universities and CAAT applied degrees, the province was introducing competition and creating a degree-granting market in Ontario. It was claimed that most of Ontario’s public universities ‘vigorously opposed’ the government’s move. Although Premier Mike Harris was cited as being “a strong advocate of the private universities,” the change of policy was attributed as an attempt to “stir some institutions out of what is seen as their torpor” and make them more accountable for the monies received from the public purse.67

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Student groups were also less than supportive of the initiative. The Globe and Mail’s education reporter Virginia Galt covered their story. In her article, “Plan for private universities blasted,” of April 29, 2000, Galt quoted student leader Joel Harden, Ontario Chairman of the Canadian Federation of Students as saying, “It’s a disaster, a total disaster. We’re not going quietly into the night on this one.” Fears raised included the potential for diploma mills, increased students debt loads, increased access (but only for the rich), and channelling resources from public universities into the private sector.

The Toronto Star also covered the degree announcement at Seneca College. Their reporter Richard Brennan’s article “Jeers greet private university promise” of April 29, 2000, painted a picture of less than welcoming public support for the announcement. Brennan advised that Minister Cunningham’s announcement was “met with outrage yesterday from students and university professors,” who “hissed and yelled at her as she tried to speak.” Brennan informed readers that the announcement became less of a public announcement as, “a rattled Cunningham and several college presidents were forced to find another room at Seneca College, where security guards barred the way to the students.” Brennan also quoted Minister Cunningham as saying, “Ask your parents,” in response to a student’s question regarding the potential of a two-tier system and how students could afford these private institutions. Brennan also quoted Robert Gordon, President of Humber College who said,

> The world operates on degrees … if you have a diploma what does it mean? Nobody in Ontario understands what the hell the diploma means. […] I would predict that the kinds of students that are going to go to these (private) institutions are going to be rich and stupid, because when you think about it, the good student will have lots of places (to go).

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The Globe and Mail, May 1, 2000, attributed opposition to self-interested faculty and administrators. “They fear their own interest would be damaged and the quality of their institutions might suffer because of stronger competition for good students and professors.”\(^73\) The CAATs however, were less concerned about entanglement and more concerned with selling the idea of CAAT applied degrees. They were of the opinion that the business community needed to be educated.\(^74\) The government meanwhile pressed forward.

Our government is committed to finding better ways of delivering high quality postsecondary education to Ontario students. That is why we believe all existing programs must be continually reviewed to see if they can be delivered more efficiently, while still meeting objectives. […] I believe that the future prosperity of this province depends on our students having access to high quality and relevant education and training programs where and when they need them. Our government looks forward to continue working with members of your organization in achieving our common goals.\(^75\)

The University of Toronto’s response and position on applied degrees and private degree-granting institutions was less than supportive of the government’s policy decision. For example, the University of Toronto’s Principal Submission to the Regional Consultation Meeting on Private Universities and Applied Degrees, May 29, 2000, shows that there was a great degree of scepticism with regard to how the initiatives would contribute to the public good. Section A of their submission headed, “Private Universities: No subsidies, no rip-offs, full transparency” clearly illustrated concern for the taxpayer, and students, and the need to protect the public interest. They called for complete transparency and argued that the government should not subsidize private universities either directly or indirectly. With regard to applied degrees and the CAATs, in addition to requesting the

\(^{73}\) “A new kind of university,” Globe and Mail, (May 1, 2000).

\(^{74}\) Joan Homer, Executive Director Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Memorandum to Committee of Presidents Subject: Preparation for MTCU Roundtables,” (May 16, 2000).

same transparency as for private universities, they made a case that CAAT degree credentials be distinguished from a university degree by use of the word ‘applied’ and that the ‘bachelor’ not be used to avoid confusion with engineering credentials.  

**Moving Towards the Goal of a New Governance Model**

The Crown Agency Act R.S. O. 1990, C.48 defines a Crown agency as “a board, commission, railway, public utility, university, manufactory, company or agency, owned, controlled or operated by Her Majesty in right of Ontario, or by the Government of Ontario, or under the authority of the Legislature or the Lieutenant Governor in Council. R.S.O. 1990, c. C.48, s.1.”

In February 2000, a revised classification index for Ontario provincial agencies was set out in the “Agency Establishment and Accountability Directive,” approved by the Management Board of Cabinet, in February 2000. There are now seven classes of agencies. This categorization replaces the former indexing method of Schedules I-IV. Provincial agencies are defined in this index, as “provincial government organizations.” Crown Agencies may also be known as corporations, boards or commissions. Classification is currently on the basis of function of the agency, (See Table 6.2. Ontario Crown Agencies: Definitions of Classes of Agencies, 2000).

When the CAATs were created in 1965, the original legislation established the Boards of Governors of each college as Schedule III Crown Agencies. The Progressive Conservative government’s agenda to reduce red tape resulted in a reclassification exercise. Reclassification and removal of the scheduled agencies’ classifications created a vacuum and an opportunity for policy change.

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76 Robert J. Prichard, President University of Toronto, “Private Universities and Applied Degrees Regional Consultation Principal Submissions,” (May 29, 2000), 2.

The inclusion of the word ‘applied’ is no longer a requirement.


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<tr>
<th>Advisory</th>
<th>Regulatory</th>
<th>Adjudicative</th>
<th>Operational Service</th>
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<tr>
<td>Provides information and / or advice to assist in the development of policy and / or in the delivery of programs.</td>
<td>Makes independent decisions (including inspections, investigations, prosecutions, certifications, licensing, rate-setting, etc.) which limit or promote the conduct, practice, obligations, rights, responsibilities, etc of an individual, business or corporate body.</td>
<td>Makes independent quasi-judicial decisions, resolves disputes, etc on the obligations, rights, responsibilities, etc. of an individual, business or corporate body against existing policies, regulations, and statutes, and / or hears appeals against previous decisions.</td>
<td>Delivers goods or service to the public usually with no or only minimal fees.</td>
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**Operational Enterprise**

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<tr>
<td><strong>Enterprise</strong></td>
<td><strong>Crown Foundation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Trust</strong></td>
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<td>Sells goods or services to the public in a commercial manner (including, but not necessarily, in competition with the private sector).</td>
<td>Solicits, manages, and distributes donations of money and / or other assets donated for a named organization in whose interests the Foundation has been established. Includes only a foundation established under the <em>Crown Foundations Act</em> or under the <em>University Foundations Act</em>.</td>
<td>Administers funds and / or other assets for beneficiaries named under statute.</td>
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</table>

*Source:* Data adapted from the Province of Ontario Management Board Secretariat (June 2004), 4.
In order to understand the potential alternative relationship models between the government of Ontario and the CAATs, Peter Wright and Associates was once again commissioned by ACAATO to provide a report. In the December 2000 report to ACAATO, Peter Wright and Associates outlined potential new relationship models. It was of Wright’s opinion, at this time, that the CAATs would most be classified as either operational service or operational enterprise categories. However, he said that as “much of this policy is still emerging […] it is not always entirely predictable which direction the government might choose to take on a particular issue.”

Wright offered a typology of definitions and characteristics of the operational service and operational enterprise types; these are outlined in Table 6.3. Definition and Characteristics of Operational Service and Operational Enterprise Agencies. Wright also informed ACAATO that the reasons for establishing operational service and operational enterprise agencies included: financial flexibility, human resource flexibility, and administrative flexibility. As these agencies could deliver goods or services outside of the Financial Administration Act, Public Service Act, and the Management Board of Cabinet Act., Wright highlighted the pertinent features of the two types to facilitate comparison; these are shown in Table 6.4. Features of Operational Service and Operational Enterprise Agencies of Ontario.

In Wright’s opinion, an operational enterprise category would enable the CAATs to remain as an agency of government, and be part funded by the Consolidated Revenue Fund. However, while they would have more independence and control over their own actions, they would still be accountable to the government and over half of the board would be appointed by the government, with the balance, if any, being self-appointed following an approved process. With regard to accountability this would be

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79 Peter Wright and Associate, “A Report to ACAATO on Alternative Relationship Models Between the Government and the Colleges,” (December 2000).

Table 6.3. Definition and Characteristics of Operational Service and Operational Enterprise Agencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operational Service</th>
<th>Operational Enterprise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provincial government organizations</td>
<td>May be known as; agency, board, commission, or corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established by government</td>
<td>Accountable to government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not part of a ministry</td>
<td>Government appoints the majority of appointees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government assigns, delegates authority and responsibility to perform an ongoing</td>
<td>Established by a statute, regulation under an enabling statute or by an Order-in-Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public function</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government has an interest in the function or service</td>
<td>Government may provide 50% or more of operational funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government may give sole authority to the agency to engage in commercial activity</td>
<td>Government may own 50% or more of the capital assets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the case of shares; government may hold 50% or more of the voting shares</td>
<td>Government may designate the agency as an agent of Her Majesty the Queen in Right of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ontario</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data adapted from Peter Wright & Associates, “A Report to ACAATO on Alternative Relationship Models Between the Government and the Colleges,” (December 2000).

Table 6.4. Features of Operational Service and Operational Enterprise Agencies of Ontario

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operational Service</th>
<th>Operational Enterprise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hires own staff outside of the Public Service Act</td>
<td>Hires own staff outside of Public Service Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative powers subject to MBC directives</td>
<td>Administrative powers subject to MBC directives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishes human resource practices</td>
<td>Establishes human resource practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May enter into partnerships</td>
<td>May enter into partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delivers goods or service with no or minimal fees</td>
<td>Sells goods or services in a commercial manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial and operating authority</td>
<td>Financial and operating authority to function as a business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funded from Consolidated Revenue Fund</td>
<td>Funded from commercial activities and Consolidated Revenue Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees, rates, premiums set by government</td>
<td>Independently sets fees, rates, premiums (not tuition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No authority to acquire/dispose of real estate</td>
<td>Authority to acquire/dispose of real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No authority to borrow long term, make loans or issue shares</td>
<td>Authority to borrow long term, make loans or issue shares consistent with mandate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not permitted to establish subsidiaries</td>
<td>May establish subsidiaries subject to approval of Cabinet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data adapted from Peter Wright and Associates, “A Report to ACAATO on Alternative Relationship Models Between the Government and the Colleges,” (December 2000).
accomplished by way of a Memorandum of Understanding, which would specify reporting, auditing, mandate, roles and responsibilities and status. CAATs would also be required to provide an Annual Business Plan and an Annual Report.  

Peter Wright and Associates also floated another option to consider, the polytechnic model. Polytechnic status would grant the CAATs considerably more autonomy to control their own affairs, as they are outside of agency classifications, can offer more specialized programming, and can have an applied research mandate. They also have more freedom over investment, the capacity to create subsidiaries and form partnerships and joint ventures, and are free from Management Board Directives.

Under this option there would likely be the need for these institutions to submit business plans (annually or tri-annually) which would set out what they would deliver for the government in terms of trained manpower, (Sic) community services etc. [...] Government would exercise accountability based on outcomes and deliverables rather than on approvals and processes. The relationship between the government would move from a “command and control” model to an “accountable for results” model. This would require public reporting on results and achievements, and a consequence for failing to achieve them.

To assist the CAATs in identifying their objectives, Peter Wright and Associates was further commissioned to write a discussion paper on the goals for the colleges. The paper entitled “Collective Goals for Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology 2001” of January 2001 had three main purposes: “to assist colleges in advising the government on what the goals for the college sector should be,” to identify external pressures, and to offer a set of goals for discussion. In the meantime, having examined historical documents and reports on the colleges, Wright offered ten collective goals for consideration while incorporating the objectives of accessibility, quality and accountability. See Table 6.5.

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81 Peter Wright and Associates, “Report to ACAATO.”
82 Peter Wright and Associates, “Report to ACAATO.”
Collective Goals for Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. Wright was of the opinion that although the government was open with regard to how to look at the CAATs, the possibility of freedom was not guaranteed. At the General Assembly, on February 18, 2001, ACAATO was therefore advised that the Investing in Students Taskforce may make strong recommendations to the government.  

Table 6.5. Collective Goals for Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal #</th>
<th>Collective Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Accessibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Programming which meets or exceeds the best international quality standards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>World leaders in distributed learning and other alternative means of program delivery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Local management with a global perspective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Differentiation and diversification with the CAAT system in response to local needs, institutional strengths and visions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Colleges will be the most technologically advanced education sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Responsiveness to demands, making colleges the first choice for governments and employers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Student mobility and transferability by way of transfer of credits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Affordable, entrepreneurial, service oriented and accountable institutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Client sensitive services, with respect and courtesy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data adapted from Peter Wright and Associates, “Collective Goals for Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology 2001,” (January 2001), 4-5.  

85 Notes taken during the ACAATO General Assembly, (February 18, 2001).
The Investing in Students Taskforce (ISTF)

On September 18, 2000, the Government of Ontario had announced the formation of a taskforce to focus Ontario’s postsecondary resources on students; they issued a press release the following day. Under the direction of the Chair, Jalynn H. Bennett, President of Jalynn H. Bennett & Associates Ltd., strategic planning and organizational development consultants, and Glenna Carr, Executive Director, the Investing in Students Taskforce (ISTF) was mandated to look for ways to: ensure access and affordability for students, ensure increased funding goes towards students and quality improvements, look for opportunities for inter-institutional resource sharing and common and system-wide administrative functions, and identify best practices. As the government was committed to increasing operating funding for the postsecondary education system and injecting capital expansion funds, the Investing in Students Taskforce (ISTF) was charged with reporting back to the government by January 31, 2001.

ACAATO’s response to the announcement was to “develop a communication plan to ensure consistency of basic messages and keep college profile and agenda before the ISTF and other appropriate individuals.” The media was less accommodating; for example, the Globe and Mail of September 18, 2000, carried an article entitled, “Harris gives universities another test” in which it was suggested that the government’s agenda was the driver for change. “The Mike Harris government has found a new way to convince or coerce Ontario’s universities and community colleges to do business its way.” It was reported that the creation of the Investing in Students Task Force was seen as a means to these ends. The author, Ibbitsen, was critical of the ITSF and argued that

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89 John Ibbitsen, “Harris gives universities another test,” Globe and Mail, (September 18, 2000).
universities and colleges will have to demonstrate value for money as grants would likely be tied to cooperation. Furthermore he posited, that as the ISTF would likely lead to performance-based funding, smaller liberal arts universities would be losers in this policy. Ibbitson said,

The Mike Harris government sees universities as publicly funded monopolies that are answerable only to themselves and, like all Crown corporations, wastefully blind to market forces. Worst of all, in the Tories’ view, the schools devote far too many resources to unproductive programs in the humanities and social sciences that leave graduates ill-equipped for the work force and prone to voting Liberal.  

The ISTF report, “Portals and Pathways: A Review of Postsecondary Education In Ontario” was delivered in February 2001. The report identified three sets of challenges to postsecondary education in Ontario: challenges resulting from global competition, challenges resulting from changing technology, and challenges resulting from societal demands. Increasing participation rates, changing revenue mixes and aging infrastructure in colleges and universities, exacerbated the difficulties of meeting the challenges. Meeting the needs of students was one of the prime objectives of the Task Force. The ISTF acknowledged the financial burden on students, and urged both the federal and provincial levels of government to work together to ensure that information and financial counselling were available to students to ensure they understand the responsibilities of their debt loads. With regard to system design, a seamless differentiated higher education system was recommended. To facilitate responsiveness to demands, the Taskforce proposed that institutions’ mandates and missions needed to be allowed to evolve to meet challenges. The polytechnic model for example, “could foster advanced training and skills.”

Specific to the colleges, the Taskforce recommended that “Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology continue to be integral to community, economic and social

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90 Ibbitson, “Harris gives universities another test,” *Globe and Mail* (September 18, 2000).

91 Investing in Students Taskforce, “Portals and Pathways: A Review of Postsecondary Education In Ontario,” (February 2001), vi.
They offered a new vision for the CAATs of demand responsive institutions offering high quality education and training. Interestingly, they concluded that the college governance model as Crown Corporations was too restrictive and would compromise the achievement of objectives.

The Task Force drew the conclusion that the new vision could not be achieved under the current governance and administrative model. [...] colleges are currently Crown agencies and must adhere to the financial management and administrative controls set by the Ministry. [...] They require Ministry approval before entering into any partnership arrangements involving shared risk. They cannot pledge any assets as security to finance long-term debt, and must meet long-term financing needs only through current year operating grants, tuition fees and other in-year revenues.

The Taskforce recommended that the polytechnic model be established within a new charter framework, with individual CAATs as not-for-profit corporations. “A new college charter should be developed and based on the governance model and administrative practices of a not-for-profit corporation operating under a common legislative framework.” They recommended the elimination of the COR, and the streamlining of reporting mechanisms for the CAATs; they also:

Proposed a “pathway” for the successful implementation of [a] new College Charter. Colleges would continue their evolution as non-profit corporations generating revenue through new partnerships. College boards would be fully responsible and accountable for governance. This pathway sets out an action plan for transition from the status quo to the new College Charter by 2003.

The ISTF did not recommend continuing colleges as Crown Agencies; instead they envisaged that a new CAAT charter would be the first stage in a three-year transition

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92 Investing in Students, “Portals and Pathways,” (February 2001), vi.

93 Investing in Students, “Portals and Pathways,” (February 2001), 51, 54.

94 Recommendation 17.

95 Investing in Students, “Portals and Pathways,” (February 2001), 58.

96 Investing in Students, “Portals and Pathways,” (February 2001), vi.
process which would ultimately lead to CAATs’ autonomy. Accountability requirements could be met through reporting and planning mechanisms, and the ISTF envisioned a college system where each individual college would progress towards publicly defined and identified goals, with additional specific goals based on the community and/or niche.97

Good governance was considered essential. ACAATO’s role of providing system-wide training would assist in this regard. Interestingly, the ISTF recommended that the number of governors appointed by government should correspond to the percentage of funding provided to each institution, the remainder of governors being appointed directly by college boards. The ISTF also recommended strategic recruitment of governors based upon skills required. The ISTF acknowledged that responsibilities for governors under this new model would be increased, but sharing of best practices, governors’ orientation and board development would ensure appropriately functioning boards. The College Charter framework proposed by ISTF is shown in Table 6.6. College Charter Framework as outlined by ISTF. With respect to governors’ responsibilities and liability, Borden Ladner Gervais LLP, was engaged to provide ACAATO with a legal opinion on the charter issue for the Governor Orientation Program, February 18, 2001. They advised:

The director of a non-profit corporation is generally required to act honestly and in good faith with a view to the best interest of the corporation (a “fiduciary duty”) and to exercise the care, diligence and skill that may be reasonably expected of a person with the knowledge and experience of that director (the “standard of care”). [a] director must bring his or her knowledge, experience and best judgement to bear on the consideration of a particular issue. […] The establishment of a College as a corporation provides the governors, as private individuals, protection generally from the debts and obligations of the College […] on the other hand, […] in certain circumstances [the governors] may be held personally liable for the liabilities of the corporation.98

97 The Taskforce recommended the elimination of geographical catchment areas. “Community” is now broadly defined.

98 Steven N. Iczkovitz, Borden Ladner Gervais LLP, “Governor Orientation Program,” (February 18, 2001), 2, 4.
Table 6.6. College Charter Framework as outlined by ISTF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislation</th>
<th>Regulation</th>
<th>Ministry Policy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Broad mandate, powers and objects</td>
<td>Regulation to incorporate each college</td>
<td>Province-wide vision for postsecondary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Administration Agreement with government</td>
<td>Accessibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-profit corporations, without share capital</td>
<td>Grants and reporting requirements</td>
<td>Seamless system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acquisition and disposition of assets</td>
<td>Best practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not part of government or agency</td>
<td></td>
<td>Good governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry sets policy direction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principles of good governance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative agreement for relationship with government</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuition fees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Financial health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quality and service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Funding alignment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Data adapted from the Investing in Students Task Force, “A New College Charter – The Transition Plan,” in Portals and Pathways A Review of Postsecondary Education in Ontario (February 2001).*

ACAATO was further informed that responsibilities can differ between governors, but all governors must meet the standard of care requirements by attending Board meetings, and reviewing information provided. All governors in not-for-profit corporations have a fiduciary duty to act honestly, without personal profit, in the best interests of the institution, maintain confidences and avoid conflict of interest (real, potential or apparent) where possible and disclose conflicts of interest where they exist. However, ACAATO was advised that governors should also be made aware of the obligations under the Charities Accounting Act, and,

To protect oneself, a governor should ensure that he or she plays a pro-active role in the affairs of the College, including asking probing questions to ensure that the College is complying with the various statutes and regulations that may apply […] and keep written records of all inquiries made and responses received […] and insist on having a record in the minutes of a Board meeting. 99

As ACAATO supported the recommendation of the Investing in Students Taskforce with respect to the charter, they issued the fact sheet “A new Charter for Ontario Colleges” in May 2001. The Fact Sheet advocated for colleges to become non-profit corporations, with differentiated missions and structures, with the flexibility to evolve, form subsidiaries and enter into partnerships, hire and compensate presidents, conduct their own human resources management, engage in real estate transactions, and appoint governors. Accountability would be provided through reporting mechanisms and performance outcomes. A change to the funding formula/mechanism was also requested. The fact sheet provided the following reasons for a new CAAT charter:

- access to choice of program types and credentials
- capacity for the double cohort and demographic enrolment growth
- to provide a supply of skilled labour
- to maintain economic sustainability in communities
- to develop new revenue sources
- to maintain global advantage for Ontario.

As the new college charter had still not been finalised by the end of August 2001, discussions continued. However, by August 22, 2001 the CAATs’ had reached a consensus position with regard to the recommended content of a new charter. Consequently, Susan Bloomfield, Chair of ACAATO, and Dr. Timothy McTiernan Chair, Committee of Presidents jointly wrote to Minister Dianne Cunningham, on August 29, 2001, advising the Minister that Board chairs had agreed on the need to clarify the CAATs’ vision and objects, circumstances for ministerial intervention, board liabilities and disclosure requirements, revisions to the role and responsibilities of the COR.

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101 Association of Colleges, Fact Sheet (May 2001).

102 Association of Colleges, Fact Sheet (May 2001).
collective bargaining, and board appointments. They requesting that the following components be included in the new charter:

- Recognition of the unique status of colleges as crown (Sic) agencies
- Flexibility and differentiation to permit colleges to become even more responsive to local market demands for advanced education and training
- Board authority within a broad accountability framework for increased partnerships, and subsidies, as well as academic and administrative functions and transactions
- Reduction in red tape
- Additional flexibility for the composition/size of Boards of Governors
- System coordination of non-union employee wage rates.\(^{103}\)

**Reaching the Goal**

Glenna Carr of Carr-Gordon Limited, Executive Director of the Investing in Students Taskforce, addressed the ACAATO General Assembly June 5, 2001. In her address, Carr advised Board Chairs and Presidents, that the “Portals and Pathways” report offered a vision for the future for Ontario’s postsecondary education system: “one system with differentiated roles and mandates for each institution, recognizing their individual social and economic strengths and the need to evolve and grow those different strengths in the future.”\(^{104}\) Carr advised that the CAATs’ request to hire and compensate the presidents fitted within the plan. Carr also stated that there was a potential for colleges to do their own human resources in the future. Accountability could be achieved through reporting mechanisms. At the meeting of ACAATO’s General Assembly on June 5, 2001, the following key charter elements were confirmed:

\(^{103}\) Susan Bloomfield, and Dr. Timothy McTiernan, Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Letter to The Honourable Dianne Cunningham,” (August 29, 2001), 1.

• Colleges as non-profit corporations
• Institutional financial viability through public funding
• Differentiated missions and structures
• Development and approval of a broad range of vocational and specialized applied learning programs and credentials suited to the rapidly changing workplace
• Governance responsibilities such as CEO/administrative hiring and compensation, human resource management, real property transactions and regional market specialization.¹⁰⁵

Legislation for the new college charter was introduced to the Legislature on December 4, 2001. The relationship between the CAATs and the government moved from a command and control model, to an accountable for results model. The CAATs were originally governed under the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities Act., and Regulations 770, 771. The Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 and O.Reg 34/03 now set out the organizational form and governance arrangements for the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. The CAATs became unclassified Crown Agencies; they are established by the government, but are not directly a part of a Ministry.¹⁰⁶ The CAATs gained responsibility and flexibility, but, are still subject to Minister’s Binding Directives and stringent reporting requirements; furthermore, final executive authority has been retained by the Minister through powers of intervention as specified in the charter.


CHAPTER 7: THE INTERVIEWS

Introduction

During the process of reviewing and analysing the primary and secondary documents, the data revealed certain key persons who played an active and/or instrumental role in the policy development process at strategic points in time. From this population, a sample of twelve was drawn. Persons in the sample were formally approached and invited to participate in an interview. The purpose of the interviews was to supplement the documentary data, and to provide a first hand account of policy development through primary dialogue. In total eleven (11) semi-structured interviews were conducted between January and April 2007. The findings from the interviews are provided in this chapter. The data are presented through the voices of key policy actors and policy entrepreneurs woven into a narrative, which provides a post ante perspective. The interview data also provide insight into the coupling of the policy streams, reasons for the opening of the policy windows, and policy entrepreneurship.

Involvement in the Policy Development Process

Policy actors are involved in policy development in a number of ways. When participants were asked to comment on their involvement in the policy process, most responded with comments regarding their current or past roles, but responses showed that involvement can be both formal and informal. In the words of one participant:

You are both an influencer by engaging with the opportunities for formal input (that is if someone asks you in a letter what you think and you gather that information by whatever process you have at your institution) and you influence or you become a policymaker in another informal way by being asked for your advice on a more personal level by either the political or bureaucratic staff. There is a third way, you act as part of a group, whether it was ACAATO as it was at that time or COU - you participate as a group. The fourth way is when you participate as a lobbyist and try to shape things.¹

¹ Interview #10
Vision 2000

As this study commenced with the Vision 2000 review of the college system, the researcher attempted to ascertain to what extent Vision 2000’s policy recommendations guided policy development and implementation during the period 1990-2002. Participants were also asked about Vision 2000’s consultation process, the extent to which the ‘vision’ was shared, and whether there was agreement with the final recommendations. Commenting on the motivation for Vision 2000, one participant said:

Vision 2000 was a study that came partly from the grass roots, it was sort of time, the world was changing, the economy was changing and maybe we should look at things, distance education, continuing education, all these things that were starting, the use of the internet was just coming in, and so maybe it is time to have a study.2

Another suggested that the consultation process was a ‘model’ for how policy development should proceed:

The consultation process itself was excellent. I think it is a role model for how to do consultation with the different papers and the different study groups and those kinds of things. […] The recommendations were shared. Yes. The recommendations that went to government from the Vision 2000 Task Force and all the study groups were shared. As I said, it was an excellent consultation process.3

The claim of a model process was not shared by all participants. For example, a positive view of the consultation process, “I thought they did a very good job at the time, and they certainly had quite a comprehensive process,”4 was countered by criticism of the same comprehensiveness as contributing to lack of focus. “Vision 2000 which was a pie in the sky thing which promised everything, which is the problem, and we got nothing. […]

2 Interview #2
3 Interview #5
4 Interview #11
When you have these broad comprehensive studies, with I don’t know how many recommendations – in effect it is nothing.5

Comments on the policy recommendations of Vision 2000 provide insight into whether the claimed consensual final recommendations of the Vision 2000 were supported by significant policy actors. Participants’ comments suggest that there was opposition to some recommendations and that there was an unwillingness to facilitate implementation. One participant was very clear that centralization efforts to change the non-vocational content of college programs was unwelcome and unsupported; “The general education piece probably was one of the most controversial. […] If I recall, that was the most controversial piece of it.”6

Much of this concern may have stemmed from the fact that, “the colleges were much more involved in the technical […] preparing people for work.”7 But, college autonomy was being challenged by centralization efforts. Commenting on college autonomy during the 1990s, one participant advised that “every institution wanted to do its own thing. […] the individual colleges had an incredible amount of autonomy (even the presidents had a lot of autonomy – there were founding presidents etc.).”8

Vision 2000’s recommendations for system-wide standards and the creation of a Colleges Standards and Accreditation Council (CSAC), were broadly supported; “at a broad level there was probably support generally for Vision 2000. […] I think there was support for the movement around more standards and more quality assurances mechanisms.”9 However, at least one significant policy actor was very opposed to system-wide standards. In his/her own words; “we were totally against, [CSAC] every single one they

5 Interview #2
6 Interview #11
7 Interview #1
8 Interview #11
9 Interview #3
did was below what we were doing. [...] they said, [...] these were minimum standards so you can do what you want above that, but everyone has to meet the minimum.”¹⁰ The fact that there was opposition may also have contributed to the fact that no policy entrepreneur emerged willing to champion implementation.

The standards piece as well (now that I think about it) it sounded like a good idea, but my sense is that it kind of sizzled. We stuck with it for a long time, but support kind of evaporated, because it didn’t really have a champion. After the report came out and things started to get implemented, there was no leadership from ACAATO or from the ministry around it.¹¹

Participants also suggested that Vision 2000 was politically skewed. “I do think that the ideologies of the time – [must be considered]. You can’t see it in a linear fashion without thinking, who is the government in power? Who are the key players? What is their ideological bent?”¹² It was also claimed that socialist ideology was embedded into the structures of the Task force, resulting in the study itself contributing to skewed outcomes.

In 1990 the time of Vision 2000, the NDP were elected. So, while a study made some sense, it was also going to be skewed, because the kind of membership on the committee - everyone was on the Vision 2000 steering committee [...] it was loaded up with Union representatives, because it was the NDP government. These committees like the specialization on whatever the program was, would have hand-picked people who were very active in their Unions at various colleges. [...] there was really no interest in the kind of changes that Vision 2000 talked about, which were terribly democratic.¹³

The alignment of political ideas is significant, as is the opposition from some significant policy actors. To ascertain whether this opposition became a structural impediment in later years, some of the more recent policy actors were asked whether Vision 2000 guided policy development in the years in which they were involved. This did not appear to be

¹⁰ Interview #2
¹¹ Interview #11
¹² Interview #2
¹³ Interview #2
the case, as one participant said, “Someone may have been following it, but it didn’t
dictate – it wasn’t on the top of my desk at any one time.”

Another confirmed,

I knew that Vision 2000 had taken place, because people told me […] I can’t say I
ever sat down and read the Vision 2000 report, it was just one of many previous
reports I had heard about on colleges and universities. And in that respect it
wasn’t a governing document for me […] Vision 2000 was an environmental
factor rather than something that we sat around talking about every day.

Vision 2000 was an attempt at rational comprehensive policy planning for the colleges,
but it did not guide policy development in future years, and can’t explain the policy
development process which led to policy changes including the Colleges of Applied Arts
and Technology Act, 2002. This section has outlined how policy actors are involved in
policy development and has offered some perspectives on the Vision 2000 process and
the implementation challenges. It is evident that some significant policy actors did not
wish to see Vision 2000 implemented, but the fact that no policy champion emerged also
indicates how important policy entrepreneurs are to the policy change process. Vision
2000 provides an example which illustrates that the policy streams are not automatically
‘coupled.’ Policy entrepreneurs are crucial in this regard. The following sections illustrate
the dynamic within the policy streams from the standpoints of policy actors.

The Problem Stream

In the Multiple Streams Model, the policy development process is comprised of three
streams: the problem stream, the policy (ideas) stream, and the political stream. The
documentary data revealed eight policy problems flowing in the problem stream. To add
a first-hand perspective, interview participants were asked to comment on what they
considered to be the main challenges facing the CAATs during the period 1990-2002.

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14 Interview #10
15 Interview #6
Funding and the Economy

A number of participants identified funding as the primary challenge facing the CAATs during the 1990s. “Well, the # 1 one has to be funding. As you probably know in the mid-90s, until the end, it was a very rough period for the financial well-being of the colleges.” Part of the fiscal challenge was attributed to situational factors, especially the economy, for example:

Vision 2000 came out just before the 1990 election. At that time, the government had what it thought was a balanced budget, or said was a balanced budget. By the following spring, the government was announcing a deficit of 9.7 billion dollars! Unemployment was up by several points over the course of that year. […] suddenly the world changed in a space of about 6 months. The NDP lived with that for the entire time they were in office. Obviously there was the Social Contract, which was a fairly heavy burden on all the colleges, thinking about the relationships with the people who work there.

The Social Contract, (an NDP government policy initiative) exacerbated labour problems and eroded sentiment for the incumbent political party. With regard to the Social Contract, as one actor explained:

Coming out of social contract was a tremendous problem for the colleges in many ways. The administrative staff for example, from 1991 through to 1997/8, had no increase at all. The Social Contract also put constraints on labour, but coming out of Social Contract there was an agreement that the unions could have signed, whereby they could have had an increase almost immediately. The support staff union signed on, but the faculty didn’t. This caused tremendous problems at the bargaining table. […] there was a tremendous strain on the colleges and on the people too, because, many went through all that time, (between 1992 and 1998) without any increase in salary or wages.

It was claimed that funding shortfalls were compounded by the political processes including, budget deliberations and procedures. “Governments tend to be short term and

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16 Interview #3
17 Interview #6
18 Interview #1
they look at the short term for electoral victories, and they look not only at the downside of any decision they make but obviously at the upside. Will this help their chances?"¹⁹

Incongruent economic conditions added to the difficulties, and bureaucratic procedures further delayed distribution of monies and exacerbated problems. One participant posited that the funding challenge inhibited management and contributed to internal pressures.

It is always the same challenge - money. [...] Because at the end of the day, the things you are trying to achieve require resources. In a period where you have not only negative resources, but you have inflation continuing to eat away, you are always in a position under which you are mostly figuring out the things you will stop doing, or you will do cheaper, rather than getting on with the job of thinking of how to provide better education. You are always on the margins. You have collective agreements that you have a responsibility to honour. You have people’s lives and a variety of things that take up every bit of your flexibility. You are always manoeuvring around the margins. ²⁰

Demand for training typically increases during recessions and the 1990s were no exception. Enrolment growth in the colleges added to the financial burden.

We don’t get funded per student, we get a pot of money, and if you don’t put enough money into the pot to keep up with inflation and the extra students, then your funding per student drops. Colleges were victims of their own success. ²¹

During the 1990s, overall enrolment in CAATs’ programs increased, contrary to the direction of government financing. One participant commented that growth was not indicative of rational behaviour.

You often see behaviour that doesn’t seem to be particularly rational. [...] you do get your extra tuition revenue when you grow [...] But when people say that they were forced to grow, that funding formula has been in place since the early 80s – if you look at the history of that period, there have been periods of rapid growth and periods where there is no growth at all - even though the funding formula has

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¹⁹ Interview #2
²⁰ Interview #10
²¹ Interview #11
been fairly constant throughout. So I don’t really fully accept that people were forced to do something they didn’t want to do.\textsuperscript{22}

This participant considered that although growth is a self-maximizing affair, it can be counterproductive to the institution.

The question why any college is the size it is - at the end of the day, it is the college’s decision. They would clearly say that it is the funding formula that forces them to grow. If I look at it from an incentives point of view, I am not actually sure that that is true. Your funding per student is the same whether you grow or not. Your total funding is bigger if you grow. So what are you trying to maximize as an institution? Are you trying to maximize total revenues? Which I might say is irrelevant if your expenses are growing faster than your revenues. Are you trying to maximize revenues per student? Are you trying to do anything where your margin of revenue is positive? That is the third thing that micro economists would say a corporation should do, and it doesn’t seem to be the way colleges behave or universities behave either. So when presidents say, as they sometimes do, that they were forced to grow by their funding formula, there is probably more to it than that. It appears that institutions like to be bigger! I have never heard a president say, ‘I think my institution would be better if it was smaller.’\textsuperscript{23}

If growth is not rational behaviour how can it be explained? One participant advised,

You want to take a look at things like institutional pride. We have had presidents who were particularly concerned they used to be number X and now they are down to number Y, and that was a problem for them and they wanted to go back up to number X. It may not be rational behaviour but institutions don’t always behave the way they do in the economics textbooks.\textsuperscript{24}

Demands for investment in educational technologies also added to the funding challenge. For example:

\textsuperscript{22} Interview # 6

\textsuperscript{23} Interview #6

\textsuperscript{24} Interview #6
It became a business need to ensure that your institution’s technology was up to snuff because it came back to being a competitive issue for enrolment, as well as to meet student expectations. So yes, it was a driver, in my view, of institutional planning and priority setting - the pressures around technology. It also became a fiscal pressure in those years [...] hard wiring campuses to be able to deliver the technology. So there were some systems costs - a new Student Information System and new financial information systems so it actually became an additional cost pressure and it was difficult to avoid making the investment. At a time when money wasn’t plentiful, it became another pressure - and it was a pressure one had to respond to.  

Meeting stakeholders’ demands was a problem, and according to the faculty voice, was achieved at the expense of class sizes and quality. The inability to accurately forecast transfer grants also proved to be a structural barrier to management, inhibiting internal planning and contributing to secondary problems including, adversarial labour relations. As one participant described this period:

There were years and far too many of them when the colleges were six months or more into the year before they got their funding envelope. This meant for example that if the colleges didn’t get what they were expecting as a group, six months later the cost of making the changes to get back to a balanced budget would be twice what they were at the beginning of the year. So, this was a tremendous concern to the colleges. Because of this, the faculty and others felt that class sizes were getting too big, quality of education was suffering, and yet at the same time, the colleges had to meet the educational needs of their communities with the resources they had. So it was a tremendous conundrum for the colleges and it continues to this day.

**Provincial Deficit Cutting**

Fiscal issues dominated the Ontario election agenda in 1995. The platform of the Conservative Party of Ontario, (led by Mike Harris) was coined by the phrase, “The Common Sense Revolution.” The successful election of the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario, gave the new government a mandate to cut spending and reduce the size of the public sector. Although the election platform had been made clear and the mandate was democratically legitimized, the CAATs had not planned in advance for

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25 Interview #3

26 Interview #1
implementation of the government’s agenda. Many of the CAATs while having struggled previously over funding strictures, had merely responded incrementally to challenges as they presented themselves. The budget cuts of 1995 therefore placed the CAATs in a conundrum. One participant described the situation.

In 1995, you had a government elected on a platform of taking 400 million dollars of operating spending out of colleges and universities and partially deregulating tuition fees. [...] The predominant mystery for all public sector organizations was how did one manage in a period when it wasn’t so clear that the government could dig its way out of the deficit? [...] It was the kind of worst of all possible worlds for the colleges, to have less money and more students. [...] Most of the work fell on colleges themselves to do it. What were they going to spend less money on so they could afford to do the rest? [...] Those cuts took effect 1st April 1996. 27

“We lost fifteen percentage of our budget one day – on April 1st”28 said one participant. Another said, “They cut the general operating grant. They cut 15% on April 1, 1996. […] They were fairly large cuts, and if you adjust for inflation of course, in today’s dollars, they were much higher.”29 With regard to enrolment growth, one participant advised:

The Tory government came in and introduced the Common Sense Revolution and made drastic cuts to the colleges’ operating grant. It left us with the fact, that the colleges, which had grown so much during the late 80s and early 90s, (because you may recall that in 91, 92, 93 there was a recession in Ontario, and when there is a recession people tend to go back to school. They can’t get jobs so they go back to school, so that is a trend right across North America and Britain as well), so we had huge, huge growth in our enrolment, but the funding had decreased. We ended up with I think, about a 40% decrease in our operating funding, but almost a 50% increase in the number of our students! That was the situation we were in through the early 90s and into 95, 96 & 97.30

In addition to the budget cuts, other external factors including “institutional challenges around enrolment growth, new program development, campus expansion, identity, and

27 Interview #6
28 Interview #11
29 Interview #11
30 Interview #5
labour relations issues” added to the conundrum. Other political pressures also emerged, particularly, the requirement to demonstrate accountability. “There were […] important forces at play in postsecondary education and government. Like the need for accountability - the public awareness of wanting to know where those dollars were going.” System design issues, and in particular, student transfer between postsecondary institutions also became challenges. These were especially evident from 1995 on.

Another element that was going on was what you and I would call transferability, in postsecondary education. That was another external force - we were seeing that in the US, in Britain, the need for transferability - for seamlessness – that was another key word in the 90s. Ontario wasn’t making the progress that it should have been making - which resulted in some policy decisions in the 2000s. There were other factors at that time, but above all, the shadow over all of this was the funding.

The responses to the funding constraints varied. One participant said, “The Harris people, they came in and whacked us with the cuts. […] We had to buckle down to just try to balance the budget.” Another suggested enrolment growth was a tool used to offset some of the effects.

1996 was the year of the big 15% cut in transfer payments, and that led to significant ripple effects through institutions that lasted several years - including labour relations issues. So, I would say that the biggest factor in the 90s that influenced a lot of colleges […] were funding constraints and working through them, and at the same time trying to grow enrolment, which one had to do for reasons of institutional viability in the long term […] Colleges had to - they used enrolment growth to try and protect themselves.
Another suggested this was a zero-sum problem. “It is ongoing and will continue to be an ongoing constant. It is the same as healthcare, same as education whether it is postsecondary, elementary or secondary. It is an issue and it’s very difficult to deal with, and the only way that it will be dealt with is by people realizing that there’s a limited amount of money that is available.”

Interestingly, not all policy actors saw funding as the main challenge or as a zero-sum problem. One participant cited leadership (or lack thereof) as being the main challenge to colleges during the period.

Most colleges will complain that it is money, but I would argue that it is much more than that. It is political will. It is college creativity. It is college will. It is willingness to do more than less, to take chances within reason. We manage and lead institutions. We would always like more money but I can honestly say […] money has not been our biggest problem. […] it is a convenient smokescreen to hide behind, in terms of leadership, willingness to take chances, management etc. - you will hear a lot that it is always about money.

This view was shared by at least one other participant who spoke about embracing difficulties, looking for opportunities, and strategizing.

As you know various colleges responded in various ways. Some colleges laid off hundreds of people. Some refused to lay off anybody, but went deeply into debt. Some colleges dug deep strategically with a round table consortium of stakeholders and catapulted themselves to a whole new level of performance - they grew themselves to splendour. Some laid off no one, and balanced their budgets and grew - they made tough decisions because you have to. I would argue they made tougher decisions than those that took easier more dogmatic routes.

I saw no challenges, because I love challenges, I love adversity; I love crap, because it enables an organization to rise above. If everything is a piece of cake then everything is moseying along at a median common denominator, but if

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36 Interview #1
37 Interview #2
38 Interview #4
juggernaut barriers come along, then that is your chance to be pushed. […] life is messy, it is situational, and a great strategic team can turn that to its advantage.  

To counter the inverse economic demand versus supply relationship, rationalization was one option. One participant commented:

We had to ditch programs that weren’t cutting it, [programs where] graduates were not getting any better jobs than people walking into those jobs off the street. […] We cut stuff that we ought to have cut probably before then. We tightened up our processes. […] I think we did a strategic retooling.

Program hours and human resources were impacted. When asked what impact the funding challenges had on the CAATs in terms of their reaction to the cuts, one participant noted:

Well it had very serious morale implications. […] most institutions came out with early retirement plans […] the whole system - this is an interesting policy piece, how did the system do it - the whole system pretty much reduced standard program hours from twenty two to eighteen. That is not a real quality improvement, but it did save all kinds of teaching dollars, because that is an eighteen percent reduction in your teaching requirements. Colleges can say that they were innovative in finding the money, but that is just a simple cut. What was magical about twenty two hours, I have no idea. Is eighteen hours any worse? I don’t know if anyone has studied that in any way. Anyways, that was where colleges found the bulk of their savings. I don’t think anyone would argue that was necessarily a good quality move.

The Federal Government

As the policies of the Harris government in Ontario were so significant, they tend to overshadow the initiatives of federal government. However, the federal budget balancing policies of the 1990s also impacted Ontario higher education policy development with regard to the CAATs. “(People forget the Paul Martin cuts as he was trying to balance his budget). The result of those two cuts at […] College was a 22% decline in government

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39 Interview #4
40 Interview #4
41 Interview #11
revenue - a whopper - a whopper of a hit.\textsuperscript{42} One participant offered the following comment on the federal cuts:

About 1993 I think, the federal government - Paul Martin was the finance minister at the time, and Chretien was the Prime Minister - and they faced their economic challenges, so they pulled back in their funding of human resource planning and human resource development work. If I recall the numbers back in the early 90s - 1993, 1994 and 1995 - the annual economic development programming from the federal government in Ontario was in excess of 100 million dollars, (110 or 120 million dollars), after the federal government’s cutbacks and reductions because of the fiscal situation they were facing - after the cutbacks, that number dropped significantly. What the lowest number was I don’t recall - I think it was as low as 28 or 30 million at one point. It dropped by more than two thirds.\textsuperscript{43}

With respect to the impact on the colleges, one participant advised:

Much of the federal government solving its deficit problem happened by cutting transfers to the provinces, and that hurt a problem that was already bad in Ontario – having high deficits. So there is a fairly clear transmission belt between federal transfers to provinces and provincial transfers to the major transfer organizations – so the colleges got hit from that.\textsuperscript{44}

Tension between the both levels of governments was also evident; this impacted direct purchase training, specifically through the absence of intergovernmental agreements. For example:

The fact that it was a conservative government here and a [Liberal] federal government in Ottawa – they didn’t get along. We were the only province that did not have a Federal/Provincial Labour Market Agreement, which means that there was no continuation of the funding for some of the training programs through at that time, Employment Insurance, and with others to do the training. Because there were different governments, the MPs – the Federal MPs – really wanted to be seen to be in their own communities, giving out the money with the photo ops. So the Feds were not pushing for a Federal/Provincial Labour Market Agreement, because if there wasn’t one, the money was not flowing to the provincial

\textsuperscript{42} Interview #4

\textsuperscript{43} Interview #4

\textsuperscript{44} Interview #6
government, it was flowing directly to the constituencies - through the MPs! Which the MPs loved - they just loved that. So, the colleges had not only the dramatic cut in the provincial funding, they had a dramatic cut in the federal funding - all at the same time. It was devastating.45

Another participant also commented on the federal / provincial government relationship and attributed the policy to ‘ideological clashes’:

By 1995, a new government had come on board, a more conservative government, and the federal government had entered into Labour Market Development Agreements (LMDAs) with a number of provinces. New Brunswick I think was the first, and then it rolled out across the country. A combination of political chemistry between the federal government (Liberals) and provincial government (the Conservatives) – ideological clashes, and Ontario being the big wealthy province, the feds are usually - the last province they come to after they have cut all the deals with the other provinces - Ontario in my spin, gets the crumbs!46

Accountability also was a factor. Federal policies resulted in structural barriers to CAATs’ competitiveness in a market bidding process. One participant was asked whether the withdrawal of direct purchase training money was a deliberate attempt to shift policy, that is, to shift the emphasis to the point of delivery. This was not considered to be the rationale for the change, instead it was posited that fiscal challenges coupled with the need for accountability drove the agenda.

It was driven initially by the fiscal constraint agenda, so they just reduced the program, and then in rebuilding the program, the Minister - Jane Stewart at the time – ran into an auditor’s scandal of how money was being distributed through HRSDC, so all kinds of layers of constraint were put on.

As a result of the HRSDC (Human Resources Skills Development Canada) scandal and the funding scandals, they all of a sudden then started to be much more contract conscious, and set up all kinds of thresholds for the contracts, and went to the lowest bidder and had a bidding process. So what ended up happening was that a lot, a significant / higher percentage of the federal money went to private sector trainers as opposed to the publicly funded and unionized college system, because there was a lower per unit costs and it was a competitive process

45 Interview #5

46 Interview #7
so the private sector guys could usually bid lower prices to deliver bums in seats – using the vernacular. So the Resume Writing 101 and Life Skills 101 delivered in a private sector office, with one instructor, and a computer terminal and a few baffle boards to create a classroom, is significantly easier to deliver than teaching welding or capital intensive programs that the colleges would have delivered. So the colleges suffered from a double whammy - triple whammy - there were cutbacks, they didn’t have a Labour Market Development Agreement and the federal money (I don’t want to use the term handing out) they were distributing, was subject to a number of criteria and thresholds that the colleges had difficulty competing with.\textsuperscript{47}

The colleges had previously been aware of the tenuous nature of their direct relationship. “There is always a little undercurrent about Federal training dollars and where they get spent, and whether they will grow a bit next year or not. […]\textsuperscript{48} However, they were unprepared for the impact of the policy shift regarding direct purchase training and some CAATs (for example George Brown College), were impacted more than others.

The federal government essentially pulled the money and wanted an absolutely new way of doing it. I can’t remember all the details, but it was like the rug pulled under the activity. […] the system the Feds had was so not working, because it was always on and off money. It was never predictable.\textsuperscript{49}

George Brown comes to mind as one that was impacted in a very significant way. During the 1990s, the federal government was slowly and consistently withdrawing funding, or reducing activity that they were funding in the colleges, over a long period of time. […] Part of it was related to institutional and the history of relationships with local HSDR offices, and sometimes it is hard to know - historical patterns are a factor.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{47} Interview #7
\textsuperscript{48} Interview #6
\textsuperscript{49} Interview #10
\textsuperscript{50} Interview #3
The Policy Stream

In the Multiple Streams Model, ideas in the policy stream can influence the policy agenda. Interview participants were asked to reflect on the role of ideas and how they may have influenced policy development. The data from the interviews suggests that there were several ideas flowing in the policy stream, and that different ideological views existed with regard to the role of the CAATs. As one participant advised:

I think those who are from the left or more socially oriented, would have seen the colleges through the social filter. Those who were from the right or more economically focused would have seen the colleges as an economic tool for both community development and for labour market training - for jobs in the economy. Where the two come together, the confluence of the two would be in helping people who have experienced economic dislocation or layoff, to get new skills and trades for other parts of the economy. So that is where the two mandates or the two agendas start to come together. But if you asked a more conservative minded individual, a more economically focused individual, they would think of them as job training centres for the economy. A social minded, left leaning individual may see them as institutions for opportunity, for those who need help.51

Participants were asked to comment on the role of ideas as related to the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario. In particular, one participant was asked whether there was an ideological shift or mandate that the Harris government was looking towards implementing, which may have led away from Vision 2000 to a different policy trajectory.

Promises were made in the government’s Common Sense Revolution document, so they were no surprise to anyone who was following that campaign. It was not a decision that came after the election - it was quite clearly stated if you were voting for that party. So if I were looking for the ideological base, I would look in the CSR document, which was not a document about colleges and higher education, it was a document about ‘we are running a 10 billion dollar deficit and our taxes are too high so what are we going to do about that?’ Well most of the CSR was that governments should spend less money and governments should cut taxes – so that was the ideological premise – and some people would even deny that was ideological and they would say it was ‘common sense’. There wasn’t a lot of

51 Interview #7
policy basis for how the government was looking at colleges in those days, it was sort of like, the public sector’s house is on fire and we have got to do something about it.\textsuperscript{52}

This participant was asked whether the government’s ideas had changed prior to the 1999 election.

I think the government worked very hard in 1998/1999 to make it clear that they understood the double cohort was coming, and they were doing something about it. If the government had not sent out those signals, there was maybe a potential for people to become alarmed and that would have become a campaign issue. I think what the record is that their intentions were clear and it was under control as a manageable problem.\textsuperscript{53}

Participants were also asked whether the vocational / economic focus of the CAATs was more in tune with the Progressive Conservative governments of 1995 and 1999 than the previous NDP governments. One participant said:

We didn’t like that government [Harris] because it was too nasty. On the other hand, I think the colleges understand their role as being far more pragmatic, utilitarian, and looking to the private sector. I mean getting the students/graduates jobs is very important. Whereas the NDP would often talk about social justice - it is all very important, but they were not too worried about them getting their brains beaten out economically. So there is a time for us to be aggressive and there is a time to lay back and wait it out.\textsuperscript{54}

Participants were asked to comment on the social mandate of the CAATs, in particular, they were asked to provide an opinion of whether it was the social mandate or the economic mandate that guided government policy.

I would think they are both recognized. But clearly, I would think personally that the economic one is probably the real driver. Because at the end of the day – I hate that term - it is used so often – it is clear that if you don’t have a well

\textsuperscript{52} Interview #6
\textsuperscript{53} Interview #6
\textsuperscript{54} Interview #2
functioning economy, then you are going to have unemployment, and you are going to have poverty, more poverty. So it is in the interests of everyone that you have a healthy economy, and to the extent that the colleges and the universities, and the whole education spectrum for that matter, works to make sure that happens, the better off we are going to be as a country. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind about this.\textsuperscript{55}

With respect to the social mandate, some further sentiments were expressed, which suggest a significant philosophical division between some of the CAATs. For example, one participant said:

Some colleges see themselves very much as social service agencies, helping people who are having trouble picking themselves up off the floor. So they have a lot more upgrading and lower level type programming. [...] I mean the old cliché that we exist for the students is absolutely correct, but within reason. That doesn’t mean they are here to call all the shots; we can’t be all things to all people. We offer a great comprehensive set of programs and we are changing all the time, but the fact is we can’t please everyone, and they have other choices, to go to other places.\textsuperscript{56}

\textit{Progressive Conservative Ideas}

Neoconservative ideas dominated the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario during the period of this study. Participants were asked to comment on these ideas with respect to policy development, and the government’s agenda. One participant offered the following definition:

Allow more market forces. Let individuals make their own decisions. Give them choice, and freedom of opportunity to choose the type of education that is best for them and where to get that education. Those who can afford to pay should pay their fair share. Those who can’t afford to pay, offer support to them so they can become productive members of society and contribute back.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{55} Interview #1
\textsuperscript{56} Interview #2
\textsuperscript{57} Interview #7
When asked whether these beliefs were a guiding belief system which fed into all of the policy objectives throughout the two terms of the Conservative governments 1995, 1999, and whether they were consistent, it was said:

I would like to think they were consistent. There are a lot of extenuating circumstances and practicalities that cause a shift in one or other policy […] politics and practicality and policy goals all mesh together and come together or pull apart – so if I were to pound my fist on the table and say they were ideologically pure, as a party, you could quickly find a bunch of examples to disprove the point. On the whole I think they were more consistent than less.  

The Political Stream

The Progressive Conservative government of 1999-2003 made significant investments in Ontario’s postsecondary education systems primarily, through capital infrastructure investment to expand capacity. This was driven in part by restructuring of the school system during the Progressive Conservation Party’s term of office, 1995-1999. K-12 restructuring of the education system created a ‘double cohort’ – two peer groups graduating high school simultaneously, due to the elimination of Grade 13. The double cohort was expected in the graduating classes of 2003.  

The Colleges’ Relationship with the Provincial Government

Overall the relationship between the CAATs and the Progressive Conservative government appears to have been mainly cordial. However, with deeper scrutiny, tensions were apparent, mainly due to the fiscal constraints during the first term of office 1995-1999. During the second term of office 1999-2003, the values of the CAATs and the agendas of both sets of policy actors were more attuned and became aligned. The Progressive Conservative governments of both terms were guided by strong ideological convictions. They believed that market economics and consumer choice should also apply to postsecondary education, in contrast to what had been essentially public sector

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58 Interview #7
59 Interview #8
dominated for most of the twentieth century. Postsecondary education is both a public and a private good. Tuition payments represent individual investment for the private return component. The government’s agenda was guided by the “idea that individuals should have an opportunity to self actualize and be as productive members of society as possible.” 60 The tenant of a hand up, rather than a hand out, was reflected in their policy goals, particularly with respect to postsecondary education expansion. One participant advised that:

The fiscal imperative seemed to trump every other policy discussion. Finding the balance, to balance the budget - balanced budget discussions seemed to trump other policy discussions, and when the two came into competition around the cabinet table, the fiscal one seemed to win out. 61

1995 was an election year. Participants were to comment on government relations. One participant chose to stress the impact of the budget cuts on students.

It also ushered in a period of tuition fee increases that were significantly above the rate of inflation, and obviously shifted the cost burden slightly from the public – the taxpayer - to students. Now I don’t see that shift particularly negatively impacted on the institutions because the institutions continued to grow. But it certainly shifted costs to students and families. 62

Another offered the following comment on the relationships with individuals, especially the personality of the minister, and the personality and approachability of the Deputy and the Assistant Deputy Ministers:

As you know, over a decade, there would have been several changes in all three. So, there have been some ministers and deputies who generally had a very good relationship with the presidents, regardless of the policy agenda of the government because they were seen as approachable and willing to try and talk, and work through issues, and had a real interest in the colleges. And then there

60 Interview #7
61 Interview #7
62 Interview #3
would have been other individuals, in that same time, who didn’t have the same kind of rapport with the presidents.\textsuperscript{63}

With regard to the governing political party, one participant was of the opinion that the CAATs had a better working relationship with the Progressive Conservative government than the universities.

Colleges probably had a better relationship with the government than the universities, because the Harris government liked to think of itself as being for the underdog. And where the universities might have been considered to be over privileged - colleges weren’t.\textsuperscript{64}

Another participant disagreed, and commented on the nature of the CAATs’ approach in their dealings with the government.

The colleges always saw themselves as; ‘We were created by the government. We are your institutions. We are here to do what you want us to do. We don’t understand. Why are you cutting us back?’ […] It is an apologetic, ‘I don’t understand, we are good people, we do good work, just look at the eyes of our students. You know your tears would well up in your eyes if you go to one of our graduation ceremonies.’ Yeah. OK. Whereas, the universities would say: ‘If you don’t give us money, this economy is going to erode and go to hell in a hand basket, and everybody is going to leave and go to the United States. So you must give us money because we are the only path to prosperity in the future.’\textsuperscript{65}

The CAAT’ relationship was workable, but there were undercurrents of tension. As one participant said:

There is a kind of a constant undercurrent of the regulator and the regulated. And a lot of feeling that happens in so many circumstances of you know – ‘those people at Queens Park don’t understand us. If they only knew what our problems
are they wouldn’t treat us that way.’ […] it is true of almost all situations where there is a central regulator and others feel more regulated.\textsuperscript{66}

These tensions were particularly apparent in 1996 when the budget cuts took effect.

After 1995, the government had a very - I don’t want to use pejorative terms or vernacular – but a very fiscally tough Conservative agenda. Everyone had to face significant cutbacks - it wasn’t picking on any individual - everybody from the municipalities to the hospitals to the school boards, to the colleges and universities to welfare recipients. Internal ministries within government were cut more than anyone else. The Ministry of Economic Development for example went from a four hundred million dollar budget to a two hundred million dollar budget, you know cut in half in one year. So, the college and university system was cut by 20%. The Ministry of Natural Resources was cut by 35%! So it wasn’t picking on ….. Everybody thought they were being picked on … but, \textbf{everybody was being picked on!} (Voice emphasis)\textsuperscript{67}

The policy goals and objectives of the governing Progressive Conservative Party were known in advance of the 1995 election. One participant mentioned that,

The Conservatives in Ontario for the first time, had done something that hadn’t been done provincially before, they actually published their campaign document in April of 1994 and the election wasn’t until May 1995 so the commitment, if I can use inverted commas, ‘the commitment to cut the colleges, the universities, welfare mothers and all those’ was published a year in advance.\textsuperscript{68}

The overall policy goals for the first term of office 1995-1999 may have been strategic, but:

The goals for the college system were not very significantly fleshed out or clearly articulated. It was a higher order of - some would use the word ideological – but fiscally conservative agenda to reduce the size and the cost of government. Colleges were just a small piece of that big challenge. The commitment to have students pay a larger percentage of their tuition was articulated. I think that in the 90s, the students percentage contribution to their postsecondary education was

\textsuperscript{66} Interview #6

\textsuperscript{67} Interview #7

\textsuperscript{68} Interview #7
somewhere close to ten or twelve percent. I think in the 1994-1995 campaign document, we said we would bring that back to 25% - bring it back to where it had been in the 1970s. So I think those were the only two policy commitments that were made publicly; that we were going to cut transfer payments, and ask students to pay a larger percentage of the cost, i.e. tuition increases.69

The universities and CAATs’ positions on tuition fees differed. For example, according to one participant:

The university presidents would go in and say, ‘in principle we think fees should be deregulated, but if you cannot do that then at the very least they feel that fees should probably go up twenty percent next year.’ Colleges would say, ‘umm well, fees should probably go up, but we are not going to be very happy about that.’70

The different positions on tuition fees adopted during the policy development process will likely continue to have long term consequences. As one participant put it:

There is a clear contrast between how colleges handled the tuition fee issue and the universities did. The university presidents were a solid wall of people who came in and demanded higher tuition fees – deregulated tuition fees. Colleges were more conflicted on that subject. Some presidents thought they should go higher, but lots did not think they should go higher and so on. Some of the financial issues that colleges suffer from to this day might be a result of that. I cannot go back and replay the past but, if colleges had taken the same position on tuition fees as the universities, they might have ended up better funded.71

Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario

ACAATO is the advocacy agent of the CAATs. The documentary evidence indicates that ACAATO’s advocacy efforts became more organized and were accelerated during the period of this study. The role of ACAATO was described by one participant:

The members of the Association are the 24 Boards. [ACAATO] serves as the advocacy organization - the body, the voice. The CEO […] is the lead advocate,

69 Interview #7
70 Interview #6
71 Interview #6
identifying policy priorities of the members, […] and assisting the leaders of the system to develop and maintain the policy agenda and the single voice to promote it. […] Each college manages their own public relations, but collectively the colleges want to promote an image and a brand in Ontario, and that is ACAATO’s role.\(^{72}\)

During the early part of the period covered by this study, “there was a feeling that we were not getting our message across and our voices heard. The colleges had such diversity of opinion on many issues that it was very difficult to act together, as an association, as a collective.”\(^{73}\) ACAATO responded to this problem, by reorganizing, intensifying promotion, and enhancing their advocacy efforts. According to one participant the changes were made possible because:

One, more money - financial resources were put into the Association so that we could hire the experts in research and policy to help articulate the policy priorities. More money was put into promotion, and advocacy itself, and that helped raise the profile of the colleges - therefore making folks believe that it was worthwhile to belong to an association and that we could actually get somewhere. We also, thirdly had a government, particularly with the minister Diane Cunningham, who was very strongly supportive of the role of colleges. […] Lastly, I guess the thing that has helped the colleges band together in a single voice, and to realise they needed to speak collectively, and with authenticity, was the severe funding cut in 1995. There is nothing like a crisis to get people to focus - and that is what 1995 did.\(^{74}\)

“Part of the role in the Association is facilitating informed debate to a common position.”\(^{75}\) Participants were asked to comment on whether ACAATO’s committee structure, organizational arrangements, and advocacy role, contributed to the development of group consciousness among the CAATs.

\(^{72}\) Interview #5

\(^{73}\) Interview #5

\(^{74}\) Interview #5

\(^{75}\) Interview #3
I would start by saying, yes, I think that having a structure of an association that brings 24 institutions together at the board level, the presidential level, the vice presidential level, and the dean level – is, by having that structure - it is bound to create more system-wide activities and information sharing than if you don’t have that. Certainly coherence of message in terms of advocacy to governments is something that is one of the mandates of the Association, and that is critical. Within that though, when institutions are messaging to their local communities to their own students and employers, there will be significant variation based on the mission of each institution. So, you know, part of the challenge of any association is recognising that there are individual corporations that have their own mission and relationships which need to be respected. But at the same time there is also a business need when they are speaking to government to have a common voice. So yes, I would say that a common voice in terms of system advocacy work recognizing that at the local level there will be variation in messages. 76

As an advocacy organization ACAATO created a channel for voice.

Yes, that is the most organized channel for it […] you could try and give out a consistent message and have everyone hear it. […] There was always a Q and A aspect to that, so people could ask us questions. […] On some, [issues] they were quite united, and on some there were different points of views - I never minded that. If they all said they agreed on everything, I would have suspected that they didn’t, and they had cooked it up. So I was much more appreciative that they were a little more transparent than that - showing that some of them agreed and some of them didn’t. 77

It also created opportunity for dissemination of information and the development of ideas.

I think that during my period of time there was a pretty good understanding of the situation that everyone faced, and the particular situation of some that were more geographically challenged. I think there was that and there was always the envy and bitterness towards the university system - that held people together. Not everyone, but those with the loudest voices did. 78

76 Interview #3
77 Interview #6
78 Interview #10
ACAATO was also able to advance the CAATs’ agenda with regard to their policy goals and objectives.

The policy goals and objectives as the Association were the collective policy goals and objectives of our members. If we are to describe that process, again there is a dynamic – there is a dynamic involved, because the Boards went through their strategic planning processes and now as a result of the Charter you know, they have to have a strategic plan, a business plan, an annual report and all those other things. But as a result of that, presidents came to their meetings with their top policy priorities - what did they wanted their association to focus on. We then collated all of those, did the analysis, the research, and the background work, so we could present to the presidents what the priorities of the Association needed to be in order for the colleges to be advanced.\(^79\)

ACAATO functions as an advocate for the CAATs. All college presidents are members, and ACAATO advocates on positions where members have arrived at a consensus position. Some CAAT presidents are more active in their membership of ACAATO than others, and some members are more instrumental in policy development.\(^80\) For example, with respect to applied degrees, “some colleges’ strategic objectives were that they would have applied degrees. There were some colleges that still don’t have any. But, they agreed with their colleagues that [ACAATO] could advocate for that.”\(^81\)

ACAATO is the colleges. So, there is no Association outside our members, and sometimes that becomes a problem when you have got an association, they think the Association is an entity unto itself making up the directions and whatever. But, it was the collective; the Committee of Presidents, the General Assembly of Presidents and Governors, the ACAATO executive, that came together and determined what are going to be our collective policy priorities and then the Secretariat at the Association was responsible for doing the work.\(^82\)

CAAT presidents are the power behind ACAATO. They drive the policy agenda and dominate CAATs’ involvement in the policy development process; working together

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\(^{79}\) Interview #5  
\(^{80}\) Interview #5  
\(^{81}\) Interview #5  
\(^{82}\) Interview #5
when necessary to promote their interests. One participant offered to describe the Board Chairs, the CAATs’ presidents, and ‘co-opetition.’

The Board Chairs of course are the presidents’ bosses. But, the Board Chairs are amateurs, volunteers, smart and well-meaning people, but volunteers. The Presidents are typically hard driving, somewhat self confident (I don’t want to use the word arrogant), hardworking CEOs, so there you have it. […] Sometimes it does make sense for the colleges to act together as co-operators, as opposed to against each other as competitors. So thus there is this new word co-opetition, which you have probably heard. So the colleges are engaged in co-opetition - they cooperate sometimes when it is in the interests to do so, (although not always even then) but mostly they see each other as the competition. 83

The relationship between ACAAT0 and the ministry was generally described as “cordial.” 84 However, bureaucratic arrangements did affect the degree to which voice was possible. As one participant explained:

In the early 90s, the ministry for colleges, training and universities was inside the Ministry of Education for a while. There was a separate ministry for skills, but the colleges and universities were in the Ministry of Education. Well that was awful. There was - it was very difficult for them to pay us any attention whatsoever. Then they were split out again (and they say be careful of what you ask for because you get a light shine upon you – you may not want it!) but it really did facilitate better dialogue when we had our own ministry, and we had advocated for that and it suited the day. 85

ACAAT0 advocates on behalf of all twenty four CAATs.

All the colleges are members - we all pay an annual fee to support the association. Then there are different sub committees […] the Committee of Presidents is one of them. There is also a General Assembly that has presidents and Board Chairs. It has evolved and it has changed. […] A lot of their focus has shifted to advocacy and lobbying for the college system. It didn’t used to do that. Individual colleges

83 Interview #4
84 Interview #5
85 Interview #5
would go and make their case. It continues to be a problem for the college system – its diversity. [...] It is always hard for the association to speak with one voice.  

Some advocacy is also conducted on an individual basis.

Most of what colleges do with government is fairly direct - presidents meeting with deputies, assistant deputies and so on. There isn’t a lot of supporting advocacy from other groups [...] the governors of the college aren’t necessarily folks who have lunch with the minister every week – some of the other things you might imagine as ways of lobbying are not there, it is mostly done by the colleges themselves.

The researcher was informed that the level of confidence and sophistication of the messenger is important. One participant chose to comment on how advocacy messages are delivered and in particular the differences between the universities and the CAATs’ approach:

I think that the universities were much more adapt and adroit at figuring out how to take advantage of the system, how to use their powerful Board of Governors and their rolodex and their connections. The Colleges saw themselves more as creatures and instruments of the government, and thought they were doing it because the government wanted it. [...] Let’s start with the universities, the desire to show prowess ‘my endowment is bigger than your endowment. I have more Ph.D.s than you have got.’ When you meet with a university president they invite you into their office, and it is big and it is palatial, and they actually serve a meal in their office. There is a linen table napkin on their table, and they have silver and china! There is the showing off the wares - the male puffing up of the feathers.

If you meet with the college president, they are willing to come to your office and, ‘Do you mind if I have fifteen minutes of your time?’ There is tugging of the forelock, and if you go out to their institution, they ask you if you would like to go down to the cafeteria and have a coffee, and see what their students are doing. Whereas a university president invites you up to his office in the corner and it overlooks the campus. [...]
The language, the culture and the approach… The universities tend to want to talk […] about their institutions and their history and their reputations. The colleges want to talk about their students, their opportunities, and the nurturing supportive enabling culture of the colleges.88

While most advocacy efforts are self-serving, the pursuit of self-interest can be indirect via lobbying for others. Promoting non-direct issues can lead to personal credibility gains. As one participant advised:

You did not always have to serve directly [your] interests. You may have a public policy position that may be on topic A, and [your institution] may be involved, maybe tangentially involved, or perhaps not be involved at all. You may have an opinion and a strong opinion and try to advocate it. It is very unlikely that you would advocate a position that was harmful to your institution. [But,] if all you ever do is think about self interest then everyone sees you as simply advocating those things that are self interest and will dismiss you. You have to have a sense of public credibility and you have to think beyond your own doors at times in order to be able to open up your doors when you need to.89

Institutions themselves are normally self-serving, and sometimes students’ interests are paramount, but, relationships with politicians are very important. As one participant said:

You would meet them. You would invite them to the campus. You would phone them. You would try to engage with them with you and yours. You want them to understand your needs and your particular circumstances. Quite often the capital process (far more than the operating process) is one that is not as formulaic, and you have to not only provide the written case, but you have to explain and let the decision-makers see the human case of it and try to get the edge, because these are in some cases, in many cases, these are subjective decisions.90

One participant described his/her advocacy strategy:

Well we get some ideas from our staff, we write up some papers, we get our Board to say it is a good idea, and then we go Downtown and we keep pushing

88 Interview #7
89 Interview #10
90 Interview #10
until we find a way to get it through. You don’t always get it first time but you persevere. You come back two years later, the timing may be much better for that particular issue - applied degrees would be a good example of that. […] All the ministers - they have young staff – well you get to know them and make sure they are on side. They have much more time with the minister than you are going to get. Yes, all of the above. But blatant lobbying or sort of you must do this, and embarrass them […] and yes you have got to spend some time, and behind the scenes, not publicly. You never want to embarrass anyone, and almost like they have to do it because you have embarrassed them into it - no way. They have long memories. You help them with their agenda and try and make it appear to them that it is a win-win.91

When asked to clarify the role of ‘young staff” this participant expanded the example and said:

Like you get to know the lower level bureaucrats who let’s say are in charge of program development, or property, and the junior staff of the minister - very important - because they are then going to explain to the minister when we are not there, that this is a very good idea. Rather than we have one meeting with the minister and blaze away and then you’re gone. You don’t get another meeting tomorrow - you have to wait months. There are techniques - how to work the system, yes.92

Making the agendas appear to coincide was a deliberate strategy.

It doesn’t matter what the government is, you try to find the intersection of your institutional interests and the interests of the government in its public policy and what it wants to achieve - you work at trying to find a way of moving forward. […] while at the same time move the government’s agenda forward.93

Another participant gave context to this by explaining:

The Government in its first term had to balance the budget and get the results that Harris had promised. Then in the second, they had to lift the sights beyond the next three to four year and go beyond, twenty years - something obviously that the electorate could buy into. I think that lifting the eyes of the province onto the

91 Interview #2
92 Interview #2
93 Interview #10
horizon, of where Ontario needed to be, and colleges were right there saying ‘hey hey look at us, we can help to get you there’ - it was a good partnership.\textsuperscript{94}

The confidence of the CAATs as compared with universities however, may have impeded CAATs’ capabilities to advance their agenda through the policy development process. One participant was less generous in their description of the CAATs from an impact perspective, describing the CAATs as “deferential” as opposed to confident in their approach to the government/ministry.\textsuperscript{95} That said, the participant did report that the CAATs’ confidence changed during the period of this study. They realised “wait a minute we are not just employees of yours, we have to get our elbows up and we have to lobby and advocate for ourselves because we are getting left by the sidelines here.”\textsuperscript{96}

While the CAATs started to become politically conscious, one participant noted that “they have got thirty years of history and culture to overcome. I think they started to try, but I don’t think they knew how and it will take a while to evolve. They are still evolving.”\textsuperscript{97} The change is said to have started with the first term of office of the Harris administration:

\begin{quote}
I believe, (others may have a different recollection) but I think that started to change after Harris cut them back - the same as he cut everybody else back. They said, ‘Holy smokes everybody else is marching on the front lawn, everybody else is lobbying the Premier, maybe we should start to do something!’ I think that the penny started to drop at that point. And they said, ‘We are not supplicants, and look at what all the other transfer partners are doing, we have to do it too. We are in a competitive world.’\textsuperscript{98}
\end{quote}

However, more progress may be needed. For example, as one participant explained the historical culture of the government/CAATs’ relationship:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{94} Interview #5
\item \textsuperscript{95} Interview #7
\item \textsuperscript{96} Interview #7
\item \textsuperscript{97} Interview #7
\item \textsuperscript{98} Interview #7
\end{itemize}
In the 60s and early 70s when they created the college system, the first college presidents tended to be administrators from the school boards, or ex-military, so they brought a culture, and a preconceived way of doing things. So if you ever go to a college they have institution building A, and then building B and building C and surprisingly enough they called the next one building D, and they are look like Quonset huts and they are cinder block and are pretty functional and very militaristic in the old army sense of construction. If you go to a university, they are architecturally more religious, they are more iconic and they don’t build an A, B, they don’t build an extension A, B, C, D with a corridor that connects them all - they apply for four walls. As a former deputy said, ‘The universities when they come for capital dollars they apply for four walls. Colleges only apply for three walls, because they add on, and they add on, and they add on.’

The utilitarian nature of the CAATs affects the ways in which they advocate and are perceived by decision makers. They are described as incremental thinkers with respect to their policy development approaches.

Incremental, functional, utilitarian, the old military – ‘just make it work, we are not here with fancy linen napkins and stuff, we are here to do a job, and so long as you can get from building A to building B and the heating system can stretch that far let’s just do that - we don’t need a big icon.’ So that history, and that culture and the education administrators’ background - a bit of a militaristic background from the early administrators - so they brought that style. Deferential to authority, respect for hierarchy.

The Ontario Jobs and Investment Board (OJIB)
The report of the Ontario Jobs and Investment Board (OJIB), “The Roadmap to Prosperity” released in 1999, acknowledged that the CAATs could play an instrumental role in the development of Ontario’s economy. The “Roadmap” recommended that CAATs be given a new charter and be enabled to offer applied degree programs, which in so doing would help offset the economic prosperity problem and assist in meeting the province’s economic objectives. When participants were asked to comment on the OJIB report one advised, “The OJIB report was quite sympathetic to training in general, or to

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99 Interview #7

100 Interview #7
the college side of the higher education world.”101 Participants were also asked to comment on the impact of the report on policy development.

I think it did have impact. David Lindsay was the author, […] At one point he was quite political. He is not now. Not overtly anyways. He was one of the masterminds behind the Harris ‘Revolution’ I suppose. He put that in there and put an emphasis on Ontario having a skilled workforce. I think he had recommendations for bringing in a new charter for the colleges. He was aware of what was going on in the college system. He was a fan of it. Colleges submitted ideas to him and he picked some of those up. Having it come from David Lindsay made it easier for Dianne Cunningham to adopt some of those recommendations. It was kind of sequential I suppose, when you look back on it.102

Another participant said,

Well, it turned out to have marvellous impact. Let me tell you why – because the President of the Ontario Jobs and Investment Board was David Lindsay. David Lindsay ultimately came for a year and a half to be president of the Association. I was thrilled with the OJIB report, because it sowed the seeds ultimately of the Charter. It – first thing it did – it recognised the colleges, and the important role that we play in the economy of Ontario. It recognized that one size doesn’t fit all. It recognized apprenticeship and skills training, and it set out a vision, saying, if this is where Ontario wants to be in ten to twenty years, this is what is going to have to happen and colleges play a major role in that. That was so wonderful, particularly after the decimation of our hopes and dreams in 1995, to have the same government come out and say OK now where does Ontario need to be? It kind of helped to pick us up again.103

Support for the report (from the participants’ perspectives) was mainly positive. One said,

We were more attuned to that, because it was not social justice - that was about creating jobs, creating economic opportunities. We weren’t opposed to that. Although we are not opposed to social justice either, our point is that you can’t just do social justice and have a strong economy.104

101 Interview #6
102 Interview #11
103 Interview #5
104 Interview #2
But, some mixed views were evident especially with regard to policy direction.

I thought OJIB – the David Lindsay report - had some good aspects to it, and I thought it had some aspects to it aligned with particular dogma that he was representing at the time. I did not agree with those. […] There were aspects of OJIB which were centrist and made sense, appropriately so, and I supported them. I thought some were too far out in right field. I said so at the time, and I still believe that today.105

The “Roadmap for Prosperity” report said that the CAATs should have applied degrees. Participants were asked to comment on whether they thought this recommendation was merely replicating popular sentiments of the day. The researcher was informed,

My guess is that talk about applied degrees was going on, and this group endorsed applied degrees. I don’t think it was that the ministry was doing nothing until this group endorsed applied degrees. It was more likely that there was some simultaneity – which is not unusual in an advisory report.106

According to another participant, it was the “Roadmap to Prosperity” that put the CAATs onto the policy agenda. “It made us a partner and that really helped, we needed that.”107 Participants were asked whether in their opinion, the report provided a signal to the policy community that there was some willingness on behalf of the ministry to support change.

I think that was the Minister’s boss. Mr Harris had very strong views on many issues. […] the people, that he and some of the people around him every day, the staff such as David Lindsay, Guy, John Weir - those people were part of the dogma train, and they rode it, they led it, and supported the Premier obviously, and they felt that the time had come for certain postsecondary changes, and I think they worked with the Minister to obtain her support, and they went forward as a team, and there we are.108

105 Interview #4
106 Interview #6
107 Interview #5
108 Interview #4
Participants were asked to provide an opinion on who they thought was driving the agenda for change. One said:

I think that at least half a dozen of the strong presidents – by which I mean, people who dominate conversations, people who speak with particular passion, who make sure that they are particularly well connected - they wanted certain things to happen, they were much the same kind of things that the government wanted – so I would say there was a handshake there. Not all the presidents wanted this to happen. ¹⁰⁹

Another participant pointed out that,

The Jobs Investment Board was a conduit for lots of things. The idea did not spring out of the activity of the Jobs Investment Board. It was reflecting what we were hearing out there. We made a conscious effort in doing our regional consultations and in developing our work plan, to engage the colleges and the universities, to engage the business and the private sector, to engage the municipalities and various levels of government. [...] So to give credit where credit is due, it was the colleges that identified this as a policy objective they wanted to achieve - as opposed to an idea that comes from Queen’s Park and we are imposing it on the system. ¹¹⁰

Participants were asked to comment on advocacy, particularly whether it was mainly coming from the CAATs themselves. One participant suggested that the main CAAT advocates were those that subsequently were granted ITAL status. However, some advocates did not accept the ITAL designation when offered, and others were not granted a title change. “There were one or two who were disappointed who were also advocating – but for the most part the answer is yes.”¹¹¹ Not all of the CAATs supported applied degrees. When asked to provide an explanation for the opposition, one participant advised,

¹⁰⁹ Interview #4  
¹¹⁰ Interview #7  
¹¹¹ Interview #4
Presidents who loved the Bill Davis definition of colleges, people that were advocating for the Bill Davis mission said ‘we are everything right now, that you are advocating we become, except for the applied degree, and we would prefer our students to have a market respected degree.’

The reasons given for CAATs’ advocacy included the “need to do this for the benefit of our students and because the economy is changing.” But, while credentialing for the employment market was a factor, it must also be noted that market competition had become embedded within Ontario’s postsecondary education system, as such the self-interested component cannot be ignored. As one participant noted,

The colleges realised that they have some challenges in attracting students. Mom and dad and social pressure suggest that it is better to get a degree than it is to get a diploma, so that is the social motivation - the societal motivation to have degrees. But, then there was a very practical piece as things got more sophisticated, they said that teaching someone how to be an office administrator in the 60s and the 70s - you could come out of high school and be a very good receptionist and telephonist and typist stenographer and whatever - but now running an office requires more computer skills, more challenges, it is much more complicated, it is a more hurly burly world, so office management and information management is a more sophisticated skill than it was in the 50s. That was one argument. […]

Having a greater level of education, to be an office manager is a requisite in society, and therefore the accreditation and the recognition of that additional training should be seen. We should be able to move from certificates, to diplomas, to degrees, and have a graded step system, and if the universities are not going to allow us to build those pathways into a university accreditation, then you should let us do it ourselves.

The ideological leaning of the government and the implementation of postsecondary funding cuts of the preceding years played a significant role in shaping the policy development in 1999. Participants were asked to comment whether the spotlight on higher education policy was influenced by a particular person or group, political interests,
or the role of higher education in general as linked to economic development. Drawing reference to the OJIB report one participant advised,

I am not sure that the report *per se* did, but the exercise and David Lindsay who was the driving force behind the report and was a well-respected advisor to Harris and Eves. David was very skilful in mobilizing the opinion leaders in the Province.\(^{115}\)

Mr. Lindsay of OJIB was certainly seen as instrumental by one participant who said:

David Lindsay knew that he needed something to get a positive way of looking at postsecondary education and running the economy and things. Maybe that is what David was doing. He knew the strengths and weaknesses and the way the mind worked of his former mentor, and he was using this as a way to help the conservatives get out of their reactionary, populist, anti-educational kind of place that the Common Sense Revolution had started. But, I think that it was a continuum and not a shift.\(^{116}\)

Participants commented that the government’s agenda in 1999 was driven by the anticipation of a forthcoming election, and was an attempt to try to boost the economy through human capital development. One said,

The government was beginning to solve the fiscal problems by that point, and they had (in the universities sector) the double cohort on the horizon. They knew they had to solve that satisfactorily, or it would have had an effect on their electoral prospects after the end of their second term.\(^{117}\)

The Changes

The perspectives of policy actors as outlined in the preceding section, has provided supporting evidence of the existence of the problem, policy and political streams. The

\(^{115}\) Interview #9

\(^{116}\) Interview #9

\(^{117}\) Interview # 9
data also show a dynamic policy development process. This section will present information on the policy changes and the roles of policy entrepreneurs.

**Applied Degrees**

The historical context is an important factor to consider with regard to policy development. From 1999-2002 (the period in which the policy changes occurred), the Progressive Conservative government in Ontario continued to push forward with their neoconservative agenda. One of the radical changes that occurred was the passage of the Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000. This Act created the pathway for the CAATs to offer programs of study leading to the applied degree credential, and for private degree granting institutions in Ontario.

When asked about the policy change, one participant chose to comment extensively on applied degrees and private (for profit and not for profit) institutions, and referenced the 1996 review of postsecondary education in Ontario (documented in chapter five). The participant said:

They seemed to be pretty crazy changes. At least the Choice and Excellence Act was, and I don’t think that Dianne Cunningham really had her heart in that. [...] the government commissioned the so called Smith Report. I don’t think the government ever actually wanted the report. They reluctantly got into doing it. But, had they followed that blueprint, they would not have had applied degrees, and they would have been firmer on the policies with respect to private institutions. [...] Private universities other than religious ones are just not viable economically. How can they be? How can they compete with institutions which provide for two thirds of the cost? The private institutions – I guess there was essentially no market, that part hasn’t gone anywhere. [...] Phoenix University was trying to make a big noise and they were lobbying various cabinet ministers and they were keen on showing market information - a bunch of nonsense. So the grand design – the government [...] if the government had a grand design, and every government is entitled to have a grand design - spell it out, describe it. Whatever you want to do put it out there as a white paper or whatever... It didn’t. What it had was the Smith Report, which said, don’t do that. Unless the government says something that disagrees with a commission that it has just commissioned, one assumes that it doesn’t have some contrary view. So
the government never did put out anything like a green paper or a white paper, the only thing it did was to commission the Smith Report. […] And, the Smith Report didn’t give the government what it wanted to hear.118

The documentary evidence showed that during the policy development process, the CAATs strongly advocated for applied degrees. They took every opportunity to advance their message with regard to degree credentials. A number of interview participants were asked why applied degrees were necessary. One participant attributed the need to university sector intransigence, particularly as,

For years and years the colleges have been trying to work with their university counterparts to have more reasonable articulation agreements. They have been singularly unsuccessful. The Ontario colleges have had far greater success with universities outside of Ontario, in Manitoba, the United States, and Eastern Canada. For some reason we have been unable to get reasonable resolution with our own universities. I am not sure why the universities take this attitude other than to preserve their domain, I guess.119

Part of the CAATs’ message was that college students were disadvantaged because Ontario’s binary postsecondary system did not have an inter-institutional transfer mechanism. “We felt very badly that many of our students that we thought were pretty good students, were really being blocked for transfer to university, and if they did get in, they almost had to repeat things.”120 The CAATs advocated ostensibly on students’ behalf. However, the inter-institutional transfer issue was an historical point of aggravation. The need for applied degrees was attributed to these perceived defects in Ontario’s binary postsecondary education system. The absence of a mechanism for inter-institutional transfer was seen as a flaw in the system design. The “two solitudes”121 dilemma also caused duplication and inefficiencies if measured on an economic input basis, including public expenditures, and direct and indirect student costs. Credential

118 Interview #9
119 Interview #1
120 Interview #2
121 Interview #11
creep was also cited as a causal factor eroding the currency of Ontario college diplomas in the human resources market. In addition, the degree has become the minimum qualification for entrance to some professional practices.\footnote{Interview # 1 also mentioned that the HRPAO (Human Resources Professional Association of Ontario) will require degrees from 2010} As one participant informed:

Even interior design, it hasn’t been legislated yet, but where they are heading is towards a four year degree. You would have to go down all the professions. Nursing of course was the most obvious one too. It is credential creep.

It was also suggested that the universities deliberately blocked agreements. This it was argued, made CAAT advocacy regarding applied degrees necessary.

The colleges and the Council [of Regents] made countless representations to government, for the minister to step in and make this decision, in other words to take it out of the hands of the universities. But, they didn’t do that, and as an alternative we talked about applied degrees, and that is how applied degrees came about. […] But at least this way, students can get an applied degree, and then I would think that once you have an applied degree, it would be very difficult for the universities not to accept that credential because it is approved by the government.\footnote{Interview #1}

This failure to gain satisfaction with regard to articulation agreements was said to be a factor in influencing the minister to implement policy change.

The articulation agreements I was talking about. The truth is, while it was an advance, it was nowhere near what it needed to be. It was that simple. That is why in 2002 the minister took the decision she did and introduced the applied degrees in the colleges.\footnote{Interview #1}

“Applied degrees didn’t require any money; it just required some political will to break tradition.”\footnote{Interview #2} Because of this, it was suggested that the government was merely being
responsive by serving the needs of students. However, other forces were at large and there was disagreement between the CAATs regarding applied degrees. There is also evidence to suggest the pursuit of self interest, as the CAATs were aware of the impact of market forces on postsecondary education, making it necessary for them to be able to compete with universities for students. As one participant explained,

You have two forces at play in terms of documents. One is the pressures from government which may have some ideological or other reasons, that they want to make some changes, and the other one, which I believe is far more pronounced and gives bigger results, is that it is actually coming from the institutions themselves - things they want to do, and they keep pounding away until they can find a way to do it. For example, [...] we were looking for applied degrees, and we were looking for a change in status, so we could offer more than the minimum number of degrees, but we needed a change of name, so we could compete successfully with universities for high school graduates for university places, and things like that. As a result, we would put pressure on the minister and the deputy to try and convince them it was a good thing. We were successful [...] and so were other colleges - not everyone. Some colleges were totally against applied degrees or found them too expensive when they did get them or couldn’t meet the standards.126

With respect to advancing interests, participants were asked to explain why some CAATs desired to become degree granting institutions. One said,

A cynic would say it is the egos of the presidents who want to - who somehow they can’t get a job in a university - so let’s make ourselves a four year institution – that’s a bit far-fetched because there are some who probably could have got jobs in universities. But more importantly you have to have champions. You can’t expect the students to fight these battles. They are not sophisticated enough and they don’t know how.127

Another participant held the view that applied degrees were placed on the agenda because of the “persistent requests of seven or eight of the colleges’ presidents.”128 These CAATs it was argued,

126 Interview #2
127 Interview #2
128 Interview #9
Wanted to serve students at the upper end of their recruitment area and provide students with the promise that, ‘If you come to […] College you can get a degree. Start at the college and you can end up with a degree.’

It was described as “the Harvard syndrome of everyone wanting to move up the food chain and get into more prestigious lines of work and the market incentive of attracting students to your institution.” Although arguments might have been made using capacity shortage arguments in the advocacy, this participant clearly considered that CAATs’ self interest was the real driving force. Certainly, degree granting institutions have a certain cachet in Ontario, as one participant commented with regard to institutional prestige:

Clearly some saw this as a way of improving the overall prestige of their college. But, prestige is such a hard thing to measure and I am not sure I could graph it and say here is the association. […] Many of the arguments they made were student related in the sense of students being shut out of jobs, or students not being able to get a visa to work in the States, that sort of thing, because they didn’t have degrees. Having said that, clearly in higher education, prestige counts for a lot and being able to grant degrees is one form of prestige that separates you from other institutions.

Not all colleges supported CAAT system differentiation. In fact, although the official advocacy position of the CAATs as voiced through ACAATO (and individually by some colleges) was said to represent the consensus position, this appears to have not been the case. As the researcher was informed:

I wanted applied degrees to be very few. It was really recognition of a program that was every bit as good as a university program. To give the students the opportunity to be able to move to other universities especially in the United States

129 Interview #9
130 Interview #9
131 Interview #9
132 Interview #6
This participant clearly thought that applied degrees might lead to program differentiation, but had not envisaged institutional differentiation. He/she said,

The idea was that it would be a way to differentiate particular programs and if I can use the phrase ‘if not world class, national class.’ Undoubtedly where it was so good that you didn’t have to have a whole bureaucracy telling you it was good. Look at the talents of the alumni and the careers they have. I didn’t need a whole PEQAB and everything else to do it. It became a business and it became something very different.

This degree issue had another dimension especially important considering the global nature of the market economy. Credentials are a screening tool for human resource supply, and credential recognition is an important factor not just for labour market entry, but also for mobility. When asked to clarify why CAATs’ ability to grant applied degrees would serve students, one participant argued that “the baccalaureate, […] was a worldwide standard because of the global economy.” With regard to why CAATs in general wanted applied degrees, one participant said:

The argument that was made at the time was that a lot of employers use credentials as a screening device – ‘you are a great person, but you don’t have a degree.’ Therefore this was a credential that would help students to get recognition they ought to have in the labour market. The argument was you have one year certificates, two year diplomas, three year advanced diplomas, and a four year applied degree as a natural extension for the student who was seriously interested in a field, and a field that wasn’t typically taught or offered at a university.
Extending applied degrees to the CAATs also introduced competition into the postsecondary degree market. However, one participant offered the opinion that applied degrees were merely a response to market forces.

I think at the time it was seen as society was becoming more complicated, so respecting the skills that are being taught in the colleges are important inputs into a more complicated economy. […] So someone who needs to have a degree in plant management, also [needs] the practical of how to manage and run a factory; this is an applied degree.¹³⁷

Another participant commented that the diploma credential limits students’ success, and technological advancements required a degree in many vocational fields. They said,

The employers were and are, considering the degree the coin of the academic realm, if I could put it that way. Because colleges are so diverse across North America, a college diploma has such different meaning to different employers. It was very difficult to get our employers to understand that many of our diplomas are three years! So what was really the difference between a three year diploma and a three year degree? We had to talk about a common language, a common product that employers would accept on behalf of our students. […] As well, technology was asking for higher and higher levels of expertise, and they were - we thought our graduates were degree qualified, and they weren’t getting the opportunities with our universities to transfer in and within a year get that degree. So it was (1) employers asking for it (2) greater technical elements in our programming and (3) the lack of university recognition of what a college diploma stood for to make a transfer agreement available to them that pushed us to ask the minister for degrees.¹³⁸

University Opposition
Opposition to the expansion of degree choices came from the universities as well as internal CAAT system critics. One participant advised that the Council of Ontario Universities had written to the government opposing the policy initiative. “[The COU sent] a brief to the government on the expansion of degrees and degree granting, and […] were adamant, politely adamant, that degree granting should be retained as a prerogative

¹³⁷ Interview #7
¹³⁸ Interview #5
of universities.\textsuperscript{139} Some of the concerns may have stemmed from a belief in isomorphic tendencies of institutions. However, one participant suggested that isomorphism as a description ignores the competitive activities of Ontario’s higher education institutions from both sides of the binary divide. They said,

Those in the university system call it institution creep or degree creep, and why do the colleges want to become universities? My response to that is: ‘There is a hell of a lot of creep going the other way my friend.’ There are now forty four applied degrees in the entire college system out of 600 programs they offer. Have you flipped through the newspapers lately to see all the night school courses and post diploma programs the universities offer through Atkinson College, through Woodsworth College at U of T? The creep of the universities into college training initiatives is far more pervasive, driven by dollars, than the college creep into the university degree granting domain, which has been pushed back by the monopolistic position of the universities. And who has the authority and the capacity to grant degrees? ‘Well only we do!’ But who can give a diploma or certificates? ‘Ooh anybody.’\textsuperscript{140}

\textit{The Charter}

The CAATs were given a new charter in 2002 – the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002. In order to ascertain why it was deemed necessary to change the CAATs’ governance arrangements through legislation, participants were asked to comment on why they thought a new charter was necessary. Ten direct reasons were provided:

1. Needed for applied degrees
2. To enable colleges to set their own administrative salaries
3. To streamline the appointment of governors
4. To set out the role of the colleges in legislation
5. To eliminate over-regulation
6. To set out a new agreement
7. To reduce red tape
8. Colleges’ request for more autonomy

\textsuperscript{139} Interview #9
\textsuperscript{140} Interview #7
9. To provide colleges with more flexibility
10. To reflect the diversity of today’s colleges

Grouped, the main factors appeared to have been (a) to update colleges’ governance arrangements for the 21st Century, (b) to eliminate over-regulation, and (c) to enhance local autonomy. With regard to the need to update governance arrangements, some participants expressed the opinion that the existing governance arrangements were outdated and inhibited the efficient functioning of twenty first century colleges. As one participant explained:

Well the original charter as I recall went back to 1965. It was old and it didn’t reflect the diversity of the colleges, or the diverse nature that colleges reflected. It had things like real estate - colleges couldn’t sell real estate without the minister’s approval. It had a bunch of odd things in it that needed to be cleaned up. I don’t have the entire list off the top of my head. It was trying to update a very old piece of legislation that needed updating and needed to provide colleges with more flexibility.  

Another commented on the need to update the CAATs’ mandate in legislation.

I guess the easy answer is that the legislation was old. Since the system was first created there has been change and it is good to have a legislative framework that reflects those changes. I think the new legislation provides a more current description of the college system mandate than the original one - so that is valuable. And in the sense, I see it mainly as reflecting in legislation some of the realities. It eliminated the concept of college catchment areas, but that largely had been passing anyways. A little bit of what I see the charter did was to reflect in legislation a more current view or description of the college mandate and some of the rules.

One participant commented that updating the legislation would enable the CAATs to set administrative salaries at the local level.

141 Interview #11
142 Interview #3
The existing charter was in place for over 30 years by that time. Most colleges were formed in 1965-1968, so obviously the Charter needed some tinkering and fixing up to make it more in line with the 21st century. [...] Up to the time of new charter, the Council made recommendations on the level of admin salaries to the minister and the minister approved them. With the new charter this changed, so now the colleges establish their own admin salaries.\textsuperscript{143}

There was also a view that the CAATs were over-regulated, and that some executive powers and functions should be devolved to the local level. Localization would grant more autonomy to each CAAT and facilitate market flexibility. In the process, the government’s goals of red tape reduction could also be met. One participant commented on the advocacy from the CAATs with regard to perceived over-regulation:

The colleges were beating the drum about being over-regulated. [...] One or two of them - the regulations were that a college couldn’t buy or sell a piece of land without the minister’s signature. So if a college wanted to sell off a six foot wide strip to the local municipality so they could widen a road – everything came to a halt while the minister got around to signing for that. There were a number of things of that nature where the minister was busy getting approval for not a lot of value added. He would have been the first to admit that. This opened up a more general conversation about how the colleges should be regulated and why. [...] the result was the college charter legislation.\textsuperscript{144}

With respect to providing a government perspective on red tape, participants commented that the Minister, “had hundreds of letters crossing [the] desk asking [for] permission for a walkway! Not a door knob, it wasn’t that bad – but it was a walkway! [...] It was totally red tape. [...] there wasn’t a sense of ownership.”\textsuperscript{145} Also,

Everything needed to be approved. If you are going to allow people to grant degrees and applied degrees, and you are going to require them to have peer reviews and have Ph.D.s on staff and all that kind of stuff, so why does everything still have to go to the ministry bureaucrat to be signed off?\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{143} Interview #1
\textsuperscript{144} Interview #6
\textsuperscript{145} Interview #8
\textsuperscript{146} Interview #7
The CAATs strongly advocated for increased local autonomy.

The colleges were promoting their evolvement. With applied degrees and a variety of other things, they wanted more freedom. They wanted in a sense to have more autonomy from the micro management that the government through its previous charter had on the colleges. So there was a lot of, ‘if you are going to give me less, give me more freedom.’ There was a sense of trying to get […] unshackled.\textsuperscript{147}

One participant chose to comment on system differentiation and implied that facilitating differentiation can lead to enhanced quality within the system.

I believe in a differentiated system. I am against a one size fits all system. […] One size cannot, and does not fit all. There is validity for some level of independence and defining your future. A tiered system where all parts are respected is better than a system where everything is reduced to the lowest common denominator.\textsuperscript{148}

When asked whether there was a utilitarian aspect to the charter, a participant advised,

We didn’t see the charter issues as severely limiting our capacity to do what we needed to do. […] I would say is that those issues about surviving, flexibility, differentiation, and financial stability were all issues for the college, it is just that we - I don’t think we saw the issues associated with the charter were the biggest obstacles we had to deal with.\textsuperscript{149}

In terms of making the changes happen, Dianne Cunningham, Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities was said to have been willing to facilitate change.

I think the colleges, ACAATO, if I remember correctly, were pushing that we need more autonomy, like the universities had. Freedom of information came out, colleges had to be completely open but the universities didn’t have to. We said why not? Why are they any different from us? […] The autonomy came about

\textsuperscript{147} Interview #10
\textsuperscript{148} Interview #10
\textsuperscript{149} Interview #3
because Dianne Cunningham saw it as a good thing for her legacy. She has a great legacy.\footnote{Interview #2}

With regard to the policy goals, participants were asked to comment on the charter’s form.

Ultimately it was imposed from the top. But in fairness to Dianne, the minister, there were a lot of consultations, and I recall there were drafts back and forth - we didn’t like certain things, and they changed them. See there are two different types of government, those that listen and those that don’t. There are those that are so fixated on their own ideology that they don’t want your opinion and here’s what you are going to get, and others like Diane who happened to be in Harris, (but the later Harris when he was a spent force) who was open, so there was a pretty good feeling, and yes she listened.\footnote{Interview #2}

When asked what the charter gives the CAATs. One participant said,

I don’t think it gives them much. Since the legislation was passed, and I have been here, I don’t see any material changes. I may be wrong – I want to say that - I don’t see material changes in the relationship between colleges and the government, or in the powers of colleges as a result of the Charter. I think there have been - I will give you an example - I think that the amendments to the Postsecondary Choice and Excellence Act which gave colleges the right to grant applied degrees - it was a much more significant legislative change to impact the future of the colleges.\footnote{Interview #3}

When the participant was asked to clarify this view, they suggested that the charter was “housekeeping, […] it did some good clean-up.”\footnote{Interview #3} Another participant suggested that there was a practical element. “If you look at the bureaucratic approval processes and the amount of documentation that needs to be filed by each college into the Ministry of
Training, Colleges and Universities, you would be absolutely amazed.” With regard to gains for the CAATs,

The Charter enabled the colleges to have a better idea of the vision, and the objectives which were included in the Charter, actually specifically said what the role of colleges were to be, […] one of the benefits of finally actually put a role for the colleges down in legislation.\footnote{Interview #7}

The new charter did not mention the objects of the CAATs as related to awarding of degree credentials. Participants were asked why they thought the charter did not specifically enable the CAATs in this regard.

It is not in the Charter I guess, […] because they were pilots. I guess they didn’t want to necessarily enshrine the concept in legislation. I know there were people - there was a lot of resistance to the applied degrees from the universities. There continues to be. There were people, even Bill Davis didn’t agree with the concept. A lot of people didn’t understand what they were. They were controversial.\footnote{Interview #5}

With regard to future impact, one participant’s said of the charter:

The words were given recognition, but the emotive ‘why are we doing it’ was not completely understood. I go back to the thirty years of culture and history – it is hard to change, with the stroke of a pen. The fact that Dianne Cunningham strokes a pen and gives you a new charter does not change culture. So the theoretical, why do we need to do this makes sense, but has the emotional reality of why we are doing it, been embraced by everybody in the system yet? I don’t think it is quite embraced at a practical emotive level. They get it on an intellectual level but emotively, it is not there.\footnote{Interview #7}
Policy windows are opportunities for policy change. Two policy windows opened during the period covered by this case study. The first policy window resulted in the Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000. Two factors came together in 1999, which led to this open policy window:

1. The restructuring of the K-12 education system which eliminated Grade 13 and created a double cohort – two groups of students due to graduate in 2003, who would be seeking entry to postsecondary education institutions in the Fall of 2003.

The second policy window resulted in the Ontario Colleges and Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002. This window opened because a classification vacuum was created by the red tape reduction initiative, when Schedule III Crown agency status was eliminated. In both instances, the policy streams were coupled by policy entrepreneurs, hence policy changes resulted.

K-12 Restructuring and the Double Cohort

The opening of the first policy window was precipitated by the restructuring of the K-12 education system. A double cohort of students was due to graduate high school in 2003, and would be seeking entry to universities and colleges in the Fall of the same year. University entrance in Ontario has historically been grade sensitive, and there was widespread concern among students, parents, and the education community that intense pressures on the postsecondary system would result in some able students being unable to gain entry to institutions and programs of their choice. This widespread concern was voiced by one participant, who said: “I was appalled […] at the agony that the parents went through, because of what was being played up in the media.”

The government was aware of higher education system capacity. They “knew they had to do something.
about the double cohort, and they had the windfall earnings from the sale of the 407 Highway, which they effectively put into the SuperBuild Fund.”159 Data from the University and Colleges applications services also informed the government of the need for system expansion.

In Guelph, the institute kept the student applications - we analysed that, and we knew how students thought. We knew why they accepted offers and why they didn’t. And we knew what they wanted and what they didn’t get. That information helped us when we were building the new buildings, to say, OK this is what the students want, and we are going to build buildings to suit the needs of these students.160

However, whether the data were indicative of the actual expansion that ensued is disputed. For example, one participant clearly blames CAATs’ advocacy for skewing policy.

The colleges successfully portrayed the double cohort as a college/university issue. It wasn’t at all! It was totally a university issue. It was virtually, and all the enrolment numbers show this in retrospect, yet the colleges were able to get something like a third of the SuperBuild money - the SuperBuild Double Cohort money. Everyone needs more investments so we didn’t begrudge investments in colleges, but it galled university people, and rational people everywhere, to see the government and the colleges portraying this as preparing for the double cohort. It was just unreal!

You would go to meetings with parents at the double cohort parental meetings in the Fall and the Spring the year before the double cohort, and you would see in these high schools, where the parents were getting very edgy about whether their kids would be able to get in, and you would have ten presidents of universities and fifteen presidents of colleges in the local area, and it was embarrassing, because there wasn’t one question posed to the college presidents. None of parents there had any interest - they were double cohort kids – they were kids who were university bound! That is the definition of grade 13 in Ontario. They had no interest or intention in going to college. You could just see that. We didn’t make a big deal of that, but it was an understanding that this government, that government, almost all governments, are looking for ways to rationalize spending

159 Interview #9
160 Interview #8
a higher proportion of the postsecondary education pot on colleges than is warranted by demand.\textsuperscript{161}

With regard to the government’s policy goals, one participant described the government of the day as, “ideological and very arrogant”\textsuperscript{162} and when asked to clarify why these views were held, offered the following example:

Harris was quoted (and he later recanted so it is unfair to him to say that this characterises his perceptions) but he was quoted in 1995, just after being elected, of saying something like ‘Surely, Ontario has enough geographers and philosophers.’ That was a way of asking, what is the practical application of geography and philosophy? The universities were feeling pretty beleaguered at that point.\textsuperscript{163}

This example suggests that with respect to higher education, the government was more predisposed to higher education as a policy instrument to meet and serve economic policy goals.\textsuperscript{164} Overall, the Harris government approach to policy was described as, “just do it and damn the torpedoes.”\textsuperscript{165} The creation of the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities in 1999 was seen by many as a positive move for higher education. Participants commented that the creation of a dedicated ministry brought bureaucratic benefits and facilitated voice. In the previously combined ministry, the issues of higher education received less attention compared to their K-12 counterparts. A dedicated ministry also has its own bureaucracy, and provides greater access to decision makers and administration, hence providing more attention to relevant issues.\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{161} Interview #9
\textsuperscript{162} Interview #9
\textsuperscript{163} Interview #9
\textsuperscript{164} Interview #9
\textsuperscript{165} Interview #9
\textsuperscript{166} Interview #3
Having one minister in charge of the entire education system has been tried a couple of times over the last twenty years. […] I am not sure that it has been to colleges’ advantage. [In] 1999 when the ministry was taken apart again - Dianne Cunningham became minister – obviously there is a lot more room to be an advocate for colleges and universities when there is one minister involved.  

A number of participants were asked to provide a perspective whether the changes could be described simply as government reacting to the demands of the electorate. One participant advised:

> No. I would say reacting more to the presidents of the colleges who felt they needed change in the curriculum to meet the demands. Because after all they are in a training, apprenticeship environment - they were looking at jobs. I would say that the first that we heard was from ACAATO - from the presidents.

Some critics thought that private universities were just the government’s way of dealing with the capacity issues arising from the double cohort. However, the researcher was informed,

> That people who thought that, clearly have never contemplated what it takes to get a university of a certain size up and going. We were looking at tens of thousands of extra students in the double cohort. You wouldn’t remotely think that there would be private universities setting up and expanding at that rate. It was just not a plausible scenario for anyone who knew what it took to run a university.

Another saw the changes as part of a larger process exacerbated by the applications from external service providers. “[The minister had] fifty applications from universities or colleges around the world, to set up degree granting in Ontario.” The government saw the need to set up review policies for applications, and used the non-ministry Ryerson model of external adjudication, for the assessment of facilities, academic policies and

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167 Interview #6  
168 Interview #8  
169 Interview #6  
170 Interview #8
human resources of institutions as a benchmark process. To prevent the process from becoming political, the government deemed it necessary to establish some level of independence to the review agents. Because international providers of distance learning were not necessarily offering the same standards of education as Ontario providers, and “students were asked to spend ten thousand dollars in tuition, and when they got their degree from Phoenix or others, there were no qualifications or standards that would be acceptable in Ontario,” it was decided that the review agents would also be entrusted with the quality standards component. The government:

Set up two things. (1) We set up standards. (2) We set up a fee. If people wanted to become a private institution in Ontario, then they had to pay a fee. We set up a screening process within a secretariat. The secretariat is called PEQAB.

It was said that the “government was being heavily pressured.” During public consultations, the issue of the limitations of CAATs’ terminal qualifications was raised on more than one occasion. As one participant explained,

During the hearings, the question came out, why are people paying - the public paying to have – students paying to have – students going to colleges and universities, sometimes for six or seven years - coming out with an undergraduate degree and perhaps a two or maybe a three year diploma?

Part of the argument to change this and eliminate duplication was backed by references to existing internal quality mechanisms in the colleges, for example, the Program Advisory Committees (PACs). The PACs also offered industry related perspectives including comments on qualification barriers to business. For example:

Interview #8

Interview #8

Interview #8

Interview #8

Interview #8

Interview #8

Interview #8
That in their businesses they were now competing internationally and around the world, and it was very hard to be writing down that their top engineer or their top automotive person or their top person in communications technology had a college diploma! Many of them were on the verge of having a degree by virtue of the quality of their courses.\textsuperscript{177}

Both public and private sectors’ hiring practices had already turned towards using the degree credential as an entry requirement to many careers.\textsuperscript{178} Applied degrees, it was argued, were needed by industry and as “Alberta had already moved into applied degrees. [...] everyone was looking at it. The colleges were demanding it. ACAATO wanted applied degrees.”\textsuperscript{179} One participant advised that this rationale and advocacy directly influenced the government’s decision to set the criteria for applied degrees, and the CAATs could then apply for approval. Approval was subject to market demands and quality standards.\textsuperscript{180}

\textbf{The Quality Issue}

With regard to the expansion of degree opportunities, there was consensus with respect to the need to maintain quality within an expanded Ontario postsecondary education system; international competition was also of concern. These were the factors that were taken into consideration and influenced the institutional arrangements for Ontario’s Postsecondary Education Quality Assurance Board (PEQAB). PEQAB is the arms length agency responsible for reviewing submissions from non-university and out of province degree granting institutions wishing to operate in Ontario. One participant spoke in depth about the raison d’être for PEQAB. They advised,

\begin{quote}
None of us wanted to be responsible for a ‘no name university’ coming up and ripping off the students and offering a Mickey Mouse education. So there were standards that were put into the legislation and then embodied in creating of the Quality Assessment Board - very clearly designed to say that if we were going to
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{177} Interview #8
\textsuperscript{178} Interview #8
\textsuperscript{179} Interview #8
\textsuperscript{180} Interview #8
have private universities they were going to be good ones, and not be an embarrassment to people who care about higher education. […]

Now in terms of international stuff, there are American companies that were expanded, and rapidly during this period - the University of Phoenix was one that was most prominent, and we had to contemplate that was a likely source of a new university in Ontario. The statute was written in a way that they would at least be eligible to apply, and then they would go through a quality test and then be given the authority to proceed. […] At the same time people thought that this was the government’s solution to the double cohort - to allow private universities.181

With regard to the government’s commitment to expand degree opportunities by allowing private universities, the researcher was informed that although the CAATs were divided with regard to their opinions on degree granting, the government was ideologically committed to introducing market forces into higher education. The participant explained,

There were many colleges that wanted to do applied degrees more or less the way Alberta had done them, which was not the way the government ended up. So I guess where the ministry came in was in this environment where the colleges weren’t all on the same page, you take the opportunity to ask the question of “what would the government like to do about this problem?” […] The government said, “Why shouldn’t there be some competition here? […]

Ontario is one of the few jurisdictions in North America that didn’t have any private universities, and where it was considered to be a bad thing to have private universities. So, if it was ideological, it wasn’t something that was completely off the scale in terms of possible public policy issues. Mike Harris had made some comments prior to the 1995 election about why we should look at this, and he said that in a scrum a couple of years later. […] It was pretty hard to say ‘well we have private kindergartens, Private K - 12 institutions and private colleges, but we should never have private universities.’ It was hard to know why that particular policy wall was being maintained.182

The University of Ontario Institute of Technology (UOIT)
The government created one new public university during the period covered by this study. In 2001, the University of Ontario Institute of Technology (UOIT) was created. It appears that this policy initiative was unforeseen by many. A demographic explanation

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181 Interview #6
182 Interview #6
was provided by one participant who said, “The argument for creating UOIT was essentially demographic – […] [Oshawa was] a growing part of the province that didn’t have a university.” Others were less convinced and opined:

UOIT - that was a total political announcement. There was no policy behind that, that’s for sure. […] They had prepared a business case with PriceWaterhouse, and they had land from E. P. Taylor and they had a Finance Minister in the riding who had a surplus! When you think about it, to create a new university with no debate in the legislature is quite an interesting policy approach. […] After the UOIT situation there was no way anybody was going to get a university because the universities were upset and the colleges were upset. It just came out of nowhere.

When asked for reflections on the rationale for creating UOIT, the researcher was advised that this was part of the government’s long term economic vision for the province. “It was created to be an MIT, a CALPOLY, an IIT.” However, according to several participants prior discussion of a new university was not part of any policy discussions. The primary and secondary documentary data are also noticeably absent of information concerning this policy decision, until after the announcement. The policy decision caused some animosity. As one participant advised,

The majority of people in Ontario did not want UOIT to happen. No civil servant who I know wanted it to happen. No college president […] wanted it to happen. No university president wanted it to happen. No mayor outside of Oshawa / Durham wanted it to happen. No MPP wanted it to happen. It annoyed a lot of people.

When asked to expand upon the explanation of the process leading to the UOIT decision, the participant said of policy entrepreneurship:

183 Interview #6
184 Interview #11
185 Interview #4
186 Interview #4
One of the most important ways [...] is to befriend government, because in Ontario everyone is publicly funded. And so if you have a favourite capital project, it usually will only happen with government support. If you want some operational changes, especially quantum change - that will typically only happen with government support - so a major part of what we do is to befriend deputies and assistant deputies and directors. So some are better at that than others, some have elevated that to an art form and some are natural whiners and will never get it.¹⁸⁷

The Policy Entrepreneurs

The Minister
The Honourable Diane Cunningham was Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities at the time of the policy changes. A number of participants commented very positively on her leadership during the policy development process. Some of the sentiments expressed included:

Diane Cunningham was an outstanding minister who did listen, and was truly trying to make a difference.¹⁸⁸

Diane Cunningham was by far the most open and approachable Minister I have ever talked to. She had her heart in trying to make sure that the colleges and the universities were looked after, to the best of her ability, give the constraints on the province.¹⁸⁹

Diane Cunningham, [...] really had the interests of students at heart.¹⁹⁰

Some attributed the policy changes directly to her leadership.

She would talk to the stakeholders and ask, ‘What do you want in it?’ The whole purpose of that was to try to give the institutions more autonomy. Because the colleges if you go back were Crown agencies, all created on the same date in history, and had far less freedom than the universities. And so the charter was an

¹⁸⁷ Interview #4
¹⁸⁸ Interview #2
¹⁸⁹ Interview #1
¹⁹⁰ Interview #11
attempt to get more autonomy. [...] I think the autonomy that was presented by the 2002 Act, was a very good example of how a very enlightened minister, working with reasonable bureaucrats, and college pressure, could create some positive change.  

When Diane Cunningham came along, she was able to get SuperBuild through to deal with the double cohort. That was $1.2 billion (I think) for capital in colleges and universities. That was a big achievement. She was able to get the new charter through. She listened to the colleges and brought in applied degrees and brought in some differentiation. She made things happen. In the end, I think she was a strong college supporter.

Whether this constitutes evidence of rational comprehensive planning policy development is highly questionable. Certainly, Minister Cunningham was open to grass roots advocacy.

I think a lot of it was that she listened to ideas. [...] There was an openness. She would hear a good idea, and she would try and sell it. I don’t think that our ministry has ever been very good at master planning. I don’t think they do that. Politically, I don’t think they had any great vision around the college system either, but, she and her deputy ministers did listen.

With respect to ‘asking the minister’ for degrees, participants were asked why applied degrees were placed onto the policy agenda, and whether it was the CAATs’ advocacy that became fruitful. It appears however, that it was not just government responsiveness or CAATs’ advocacy.

The College Entrepreneur(s)

The data provide several examples of policy entrepreneurship. One policy entrepreneur explained that awareness of policy windows is essential. “You can’t do much if the window of opportunity is not there, and you also can’t do much if you don’t line your ducks up properly when the window is there!”

With regard to the policy changes, this

191 Interview #2
192 Interview #11
193 Interview #11
194 Interview#2
policy entrepreneur further advised that policy entrepreneurs need to be ready and waiting. He/she said,

The window of opportunity plus the ducks – see you can have your ducks lined up for a long time – you have to wait and wait and wait until the window of opportunity - the window of opportunity seemed to come up with Dianne Cunningham who was sincerely interested in the furthering the cause and improving public education - higher education. I think they were a little cheesed off (they would never admit this publicly) at the universities – because they kept saying, ‘Give us more money and leave us alone.’

They never saw this as trying to solve a public policy problem, it was all about, ‘We are in charge and we will tell the colleges what to do - give us more money.’ So part of the window coming open was because they were getting cheesed off with resistance of other groups who play in the game. The colleges tended to be more cooperative. We waited around and made our move. […]

The window of opportunity… that couldn’t have happened without the fact that we were all going to grow because of the double cohort. We couldn’t have done that because it was a great educational idea, but we are chopping out a thousand students from regular programs to make way for this. This wouldn’t have gone over very well at all. We moved into that vacuum and moved quickly.195

**The Bureaucrat**

The CAATs (unknowingly) had a ‘friend’ in a strategic position; one who orchestrated placing their policy goals on the agenda.

There were certainly a number of things that we did […] that put the colleges onto the agenda where they wouldn’t have otherwise been. […] Degree granting would be one case. We managed to put that onto the government’s agenda at an opportune time, in a way that colleges left to their own lobbying might not have been able to get there.196

When asked why the bureaucrat acted in this way, the participant explained:

The Harris government had made a commitment to have / to allow private universities, so there was definitely going to be more degree granting institutions.

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195 Interview#2

196 Interview #6
We took that as an opportunity to raise the question, ‘Is it time for colleges to have in a limited number of cases to have degree granting too?’ This happened and went through the system, and the government basically said yes.  

*The Strategist*

While the endeavours of the bureaucrat gave advantage to CAATs’ interests, the importance of less direct policy entrepreneurship must not be ignored. Perhaps the most important policy entrepreneur is this case was a behind the scenes policy actor, who was able to strategically advance an agenda by creating the conditions for change.

By the second term of the Progressive Conservative government, fiscal conditions had eased, and restructuring initiatives including K-12 education, had been achieved. It appears there were policy goals to restructure postsecondary education, and desires to do this less transparently. As implementation challenges for the double cohort were known to be forthcoming the government created the SuperBuild fund for capital infrastructure investments. As applied programs of study were more attuned with the government's economic agenda, the SuperBuild fund was used as leverage to motivate self-interested CAAT actors. The researcher was told,

> If you want to incite behaviours, put money on the table. So putting money on the table - if the college and university system come in with a joint submission, it will be looked upon favourably - and we have this special pot of money to drive that change in the system to allow - you know all the arguments better than I do - the continuation of a student, no dead ends, a pathway to all postsecondary opportunities was the theory. This was a way to try and force that behavioural change. [...] That was a deliberate strategy - to put money on the table to incite behaviour.

Reflecting on the outcomes, this policy entrepreneur pointed out what they considered to have made one mistake.

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197 Interview #6
198 Interview #7
199 Interview #7
I think the mistake that was made, - if I can speak plainly, - the mistake was made that we assumed that capital dollars would be enough to drive behaviour. But, the operating dollars, if you are getting four thousand dollars per pupil to train a university business student and you only get 1800 dollars to train a college business student, then, the incentive to have more university students is greater than it is to get more college students.200

Because of this one of the desired reforms, inciting behaviour for CAATs and universities to work together was less successful. With regard to the agreements that were reached, the researcher was told:

Capital dollars were not enough. Guelph at Humber was a success. I think the metrics of success may be different in different people’s eyes. In my opinion, Guelph wanted a window into this giant market called Toronto – the GTA, and Humber wanted the validation of a university partnership, so they both had something to gain from the relationship. So Guelph at Humber has worked out. Time will tell whether it works out from the operating dollars, but from a capital perspective, the building, the structure, seems to have worked. […] Seneca and York is just a real estate play. […] York gets its per pupil funding and Seneca gets its per pupil funding, and the college’s professors and university professors have their personal disagreements and their approaches and their attitudes. Having a building doesn’t change that.201

To gain the policy entrepreneur’s perspective on why they thought money would incite the desired behaviours and lead to system reform, the researcher asked this participant, a the policy entrepreneur, to expand his/her explanation. From the response it appears that the knowledge that institutions are essentially self-interested drove the agenda to create conducive conditions for policy change.

Institutions are driven for self preservation, and all of the reasons we as human beings act the way we do, it is the same for an institution. So whether it is a hospital or a school board or college or a university or a long term care facility they all have those same motivators. So the challenge in public policy is to figure out how to take advantage of those motivators or optimize good public policy by using those motivators as tools; carrots and sticks. And depending where you are in the cycle, and the political strength of the institution you are going after, a

200 Interview #7
201 Interview #7
carrot is sometimes easier to use than a stick. If it is a less politically plugged in and less powerful institution you can use more sticks, and if it is more politically plugged in and a powerful institution you need to use more carrots.202

This insight would suggest that the important difference between K-12 education and postsecondary institutions is the level of sophistication of the policy actors and policy entrepreneurs within each system. The researcher asked the strategist policy entrepreneur to personally reflect on his/her behaviour. When asked directly whether this person considered themselves to be a policy entrepreneur, some modesty was evident.

No I would not say that. […] By virtue of […] position you get to be part of so many things. But, success has a thousand fathers, and failure is an orphan – right? There are lots of people that contributed lots to that, and some things were good and important changes - some things were just serendipity and accidents that happened, and happened to work out.203

By clarifying the definition of a policy entrepreneur as one of the people that managed to ‘couple’ the policy streams together, the participant responded:

If that is your definition of a policy entrepreneur, I think that by virtue of the lucky position that I was in, I guess that I played that role in stimulating the best out of others - I didn’t do it. […] I just had the wonderful intellectual gymnastics of pulling this together and allowing each to think they were getting what they needed – Machiavellian!204

However, that said this policy entrepreneur did point out a very important fact in all policy development and change that cannot be overlooked, that is, ‘final say.’ “At the end of the day in the provincial government, in provincial systems, the Premier has the final yes or no. […] And to be really crass about it, that is where the buck stops!”205

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202 Interview#7
203 Interview#7
204 Interview #7
205 Interview #7
Summary

This chapter has presented the interview data, and provides insight into the policy development process. The data show that a number of policy actors were active in the policy community, and that at least four policy entrepreneurs can be identified as actively engaging in efforts to couple the policy streams. All four entrepreneurs gained something, but none to the total exclusion of the others; such was the dynamic of Ontario’s higher education policy development process pertinent to the CAATs during 1990-2002. The following chapter presents conclusions for the study and offers a new model for analysing Ontario higher education policy development focusing on the CAATs.
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs) system is comprised of twenty four locally governed institutions, constituted under the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002. Each college is an unclassified Crown Agency, and their boards of governors are non-share corporations. As Crown Agencies, the CAATs’ mandate is outlined in legislation. The CAATs offer postsecondary education and training programs, including short courses and baccalaureate degrees, in a range of subjects, specification of which is demand-driven and reflective of community needs. The governance arrangements for the CAATs were altered by the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002; within the scope of the legislation and bounded by Minister’s Binding Directives; each CAAT now has more flexibility with respect to governance.

Despite significant social change and demographic growth in the province of Ontario, the binary nature and design of Ontario’s higher education systems remained relatively impermeable, and robust until recently. The universities’ monopoly over degree granting, had been consolidated by the Degree Granting Act, 1983; the Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000 changed that. It expanded choice for Ontarians, and enabled the CAATs, private, and out-of-province institutions, to offer baccalaureate degree programs in Ontario, following a review from the Postsecondary Education Quality Assurance Board (PEQAB), and Ministerial approval. The CAATs’ programming nomenclature now includes baccalaureate programs in applied areas of study, with the consent of the Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities. The purpose of this case study is to explain why these policy changes occurred.

1 Initially the CAATs were required to include the word ‘Applied’ in the titles of their degrees. This is no longer a requirement.
Methodology

An examination of the relevant literature on higher education applicable to the CAATs revealed a gap in our knowledge of the policy changes, particularly with regard to the policy development process which preceded decision-making. It also showed that although policy analysis is a well developed field of study within political science, recent academic policy-related inquiry into higher education policy pertinent to the CAATs, is largely absent. The most recent policy analysis study was conducted in 1984 by Hamblin who looked at the policy process leading to the establishment of the CAATs.\(^2\) Newer studies related to the CAATs have been mainly theme-based, on projects relevant to praxis. Some examples of theme-based studies include Sheridan’s analysis of strategic planning practices, Cooke’s study of strategy in the city college 1995 to 2005, Smith’s work on inter-institutional student transfer, Drea’s study on accessibility, and Callahan’s analysis of accountability and performance measurement indicators.\(^3\)

Public policy is more than a series of decisions; it is a complex process. Models of policy analysis provide a means by which inquiry can be facilitated. As this study focuses on policy development, Rational Comprehensive Planning, Incrementalism, Public Choice Theory, Historical Institutionalism, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, and the Advocacy


Coalition Framework were each examined with a view to assessing their utility with regard to this study. The examination showed that while each model has some merits, the limitations preclude their use for this study. Having considered these limitations, the author was drawn towards the Multiple Streams Model, which was first proposed by Kingdon in 1984, and reviewed and maintained by Kingdon in 1995. As it represents a superior model to the alternatives, it was selected as a lens to guide the data collection, and to organize and analyse findings. This is the first time that the Multiple Streams Model has been applied to Ontario higher education policy and the CAATs.

The Multiple Streams Model focuses on the pre-decision stage of policy-making and agenda setting. Kingdon identifies three streams of processes of agenda setting and alternative specification. The problem stream is where problems come to the attention of policy makers; the policy stream is where ideas and proposals are found, and the political stream is where politics takes place. In the Multiple Streams Model, policy is the outcome of a complex pre-decision process that requires the coupling of the streams which coexist within the policy environment. Policy entrepreneurs, who may be experts, leaders or decision makers, play a pivotal role in policy change by coupling the streams of processes either through advocacy or brokerage and negotiation, when a policy window is open. Policy windows, which are opportunities for policy initiatives, can open or close at any time. Policy entrepreneurs are central to policy change; they are persistent, politically connected, and they link issues with possible solutions.

This single case study, is Ontario specific, and offers a unique focus on the CAATs, which are Ontario’s system of non-university postsecondary education institutions. The study looks at the policy development process over twelve years from 1990 to the new charter in 2002. The period was chosen for two reasons: (1) a decade or more allows for greater insight; (2) Vision 2000 provides a point of departure; it is an example of

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an attempt at rational comprehensive planning for the CAAT system, and offered a vision for the new millennium and beyond.

Kingdon adopts the interview method (conversational style) as the primary source of data collection, which is then supported with evidence from documents. The methodology for this study goes beyond Kingdon, by systematically and comprehensively collecting and reviewing documentary evidence, and then supplementing the data with data from interviews. The study adopts a qualitative approach for three reasons: (1) in recognition of the normative component of policy development; (2) the absence of prior relevant research from which reliable variables could be identified and tested; and (3) the historical aspect of the study.

The study used primary and secondary data collection methods. Details of the data collection methods and processes are provided in detail in chapter three. The Multiple Streams Model was used as a lens to generate a set of questions to guide the data collection. The documentary data are extensive; many thousands of pages of documents were collected and reviewed. This enabled the researcher to gain detailed knowledge of the policy development process and as a result identify top level, key policy actors, and policy entrepreneurs who were involved in policy development during the time period under study. Eleven key policy actors/policy entrepreneurs agreed to participate in semi-structured in-depth, interviews. These were conducted between January and April 2007.

Both the documentary and interview data provide a means to generate a detailed narrative of the policy development process germane to the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology 1990 to 2002. Chapters four, five and six present the data from the documents organized by streams as per the Multiple Streams Model. The findings from the interviews are presented in chapter seven; the separation of data types reflects the post ante aspect of the interviews and enables the voices of key policy actors/policy entrepreneurs to be heard. The interview data facilitate our understanding of the

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motivations of policy actors and policy entrepreneurs, the coupling of the policy streams, and explains why the policy windows opened.

The Findings

The Historical Context
In recognition of the knowledge that institutional arrangements can place some constraints on policy-making, primary data were also collected to provide a historical context; they are presented in chapter four together with the data pertinent to the policy streams to June 1995. The data show that bureaucratic structures for higher education in Ontario that emerged prior to the creation of the CAAT system, became embedded and intertwined with ideas and interests of some policy actors, resulting in the creation of a non-rationally planned binary higher education system. The institutional policy structures that emerged from May 1965 (when the CAATs were established through the Amendment to the Department of Education Act) impacted policy development.

The CAATs were originally established as Schedule III Ontario Crown Agencies. Under the founding governance arrangements, executive authority was held at Ministerial level, with the Ontario Council of Regents (COR), a Schedule I Crown Agency, assisting the Minister through its role as a planning and advisory body. Operational authority was localized through the Boards of Governors. As instruments of public policy, the CAATs’ original mandate emphasized vocational training and skills development. Founded as non-university postsecondary education institutions, the CAATs’ credentialing authority excluded baccalaureate degrees. Laddering and transfer mechanisms with Ontario’s university system were also not part of the original system design.

The findings show that system design and the structure of the founding institutional and governance arrangements, was premised on the intent to prevent bureaucratization and facilitate responsiveness to economic and social demands. The separation of executive and operational powers and responsibilities was deliberate, and reflective of historical time-specific policy goals. The COR, as a non-partisan Crown agency, was charged with
the responsibility of assisting the Minister in carrying out executive authority functions, the rationale being the desire to embed a non-market force into the institutional arrangements; a type of “dynamic tension,” which would offset organizational rigidity and contribute to the “vigour and responsiveness” of the CAAT system. That the COR became increasingly to be seen by the CAATs as a hindrance to flexibility and an inconvenient structure in the relationship between themselves and the Minister is perhaps ironic, as this was the antithesis of the policy goal. That said, what was intended as dynamic tension became a point of contention from as early as 1985.

The issues of governance and collective bargaining were the subject of several inquiries in the 1980s. The 1984 faculty strike led to a review of faculty workload issues by Skolnik in 1985. A review of the governance structures was undertaken by Pitman in 1986, who reported to the Minister and commented that the CAATs’ institutional behaviours were more consistent with industrial corporations than Crown agencies. Pitman stressed that the human development component of training was integral to the CAATs’ status as Crown agencies. With regard to the governance structures, Pitman recommended that the COR be disbanded in favour of an advisory council to the minister charged with responsibility for long-range system planning.

Pitman also recommended, that local boards of governors include both internal and external membership; that there should be appropriate representation from minority and other representative groups; and that academic councils be developed at each college. The issue of representativeness, while being grounded in the intent for the development of what was deemed to be an appropriate governance structure for the CAATs; developed

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into a canker, which later erupted into antagonism between the CAATs and the COR. As Pitman recommended that collective bargaining be localized, the government commissioned a review of the collective bargaining structures. Gandz noted that collective bargaining was complicated by the institutional structures, particularly the division of executive and operational authority, and recommended that responsibility for collective bargaining be transferred from the COR to a new Employers’ Association, comprised of the CAATs as corporate entities.  

Institutions are “the formal rule, compliance procedure, and standard operating practices that structure the relationship between individuals in various units of the polity and economy.” The historical data reveal the importance of institutions. Both the formal organizational arrangements, and the informal rules and procedures that structure conduct can’t be ignored as factors affecting policy development. However, institutions alone provide only a partial explanation. The institutional arrangements which emerged during the 1960s and 1970s were intended to provide a dynamic tension within the CAAT system to enable responsiveness to stakeholders’ demands and the economy. The legal status and the separation of authority is a reflection of the intent to prevent unnecessary bureaucratization. However, the tensions resulting from these arrangements can’t be underestimated as they contributed to the development of consciousness of CAAT policy actors, and the emergence of policy entrepreneurship.

The Problem Stream
The intent is not to duplicate what has already been presented in chapter four, however, to provide a summary of the problems that flowed in the problem stream, some reiteration is necessary. In the Multiple Streams Model, the problem stream is where policy problems flow and are brought to the attention of policy-makers. Dunn defines a policy problem as “an unrealized value or opportunity for improvement which, however identified may be

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Policy problems were evident from the commencement of the period covered by this study. The documentary data revealed a number of significant problems flowing within the problem stream, each affecting policy development, some more directly than others. Eight specific policy problems were identified and discussed during the period 1990 to June 1995; they were: (1) economic prosperity, (2) quality of CAATs’ programming and services, (3) the public image of the CAATs, (4) funding, (5) training, (6) the economy, (7) social security, and (8) the domino effect.

The problem of economic prosperity was originally identified in the report from the Premier’s Council, “Competing in the Global Economy” of April 1988. While this predated the period covered by this study, it is still relevant because the problem questions the ability of the provincial economy to provide for the economic needs of the people of Ontario. Being cognizant of the soon to be implemented North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, the Premier’s Council not only identified the problem but floated a potential solution (a policy idea); human capital development.

The problem of quality was identified by the Premier’s Council in 1990. Enrolment growth in the CAATs in terms of student/client base in the first two and a half decades of the CAATs’ existence had resulted in the CAATs overextending themselves in some programs, and the under-utilization of the capacity in technology programs. High attrition numbers compounded the problem as did a general dissatisfaction with the quality of programs, both of which contributed to the negative public image of the CAATs. The findings show that the view of a negative public image of the CAATs was widely shared. In fact, there was a marked difference in prestige between the CAATs and Ontario’s universities. The CAATs were aware of the negative image, and attempted to boost their profile through the media.

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The problem of funding was identified by the CAATs themselves, and was an ongoing source of concern. From their perspective, the inadequacy of funding was a problem of the provincial government’s making, and was linked to the funding formula. Essentially funding was seen as insufficient to meet enrolment demands. The study found that by 1993, the CAATs had become confident in their ability to articulate their policy problems. The papers, “The Ontario College Financial Crisis” of February, 1, 1993, and “The Road Ahead Understanding the Finances of Ontario’s Colleges” of December 3, 1993, clearly articulate the CAATs’ viewpoint, and form the basis of a platform for agency.14

The idea that the CAATs saw their problems as interlinked with the problems of government is evident by consideration of the training problem/per diem issue. The training problem was also linked to system design and institutional arrangements. The problem of the Ontario’s economy is another example of this linkage, as is the social security problem, which became a problem for the CAATs as a result of the termination of federal direct purchase training, and the reduction in federal cash transfers to the provinces. The domino effect shows how supply-side policies can lead to demand-side policy problems.

**The Policy Stream**

In the Multiple Streams Model, the policy stream acts as a conduit for the flow of ideas. This study found that between 1990 and June 1995, eight significant ideas were flowing in the policy stream. These are presented and discussed in some detail in chapter four. The ‘business knows best’ and the ‘back to basics’ ideas were fairly generic with regard to Canada’s educational institutions. The ‘business knows best idea’ was premised on the belief that the business community had a role to play with respect to the development of human capital. The ‘back to basics idea’ offered the view that the development of basic

14 Joint Task Force of the Administrative Services Coordinating Committee and the Instruction/programs Coordinating Committee, “The Ontario College Financial Crisis,” (February 1, 1993).

skills is essential and should not be overshadowed by educational institutions refocusing on technological advancement.

The ‘funding formula idea’ was more specifically focused by the CAATs, and on the CAATs. Financial officers frustrated by fiscal conditions argued that a new funding formula would alleviate the CAATs’ funding problem. By contrast, Ontario’s NDP government of 1990-1995 floated ‘corporatism’ as the answer to the economic predicament in which they found themselves. A marriage between business and labour was suggested as a means by which the joint policy objectives of maintaining wealth creation and social justice could be achieved.\(^\text{15}\) The ‘system reform idea’ pontificated on national policy and recognition of technical studies as a solution to the upward pressure on credentials arising from the labour market.

The ‘representative governance,’ ‘community governance’ and ‘learner centred’ ideas were specifically directed towards the CAATs. Representative governance was a provincial government policy goal. The view that CAAT boards should reflect the diversity of their communities was also tied into the COR’s governance review of the CAATs’ Boards of Governors of December 1993.\(^\text{16}\) With respect to governance, Abram G. Konrad’s ‘A Green Paper on Board Governance of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario,’ released in April 1993, provides an excellent example of how ideas flow within the policy stream.\(^\text{17}\) Konrad recommended changes to the governance structure of the CAATs and offered a community governance model. The ‘learner centred’ idea articulated by the Premier’s Council in 1994 also provides another example of an idea flowing in the policy stream which was embraced by policy actors and


gained momentum in policy development discussions. Each of these ideas is discussed in more detail in chapter four.

**The Political Stream**

Political processes, elections, interest groups, public opinion and changes in administration are all part of the political stream in the Multiple Streams Model. The data relating to the political stream 1990 to June 1995 are presented in chapter four alongside the details for the problem and policy streams for the same period. Unique to the political stream (as it pertains to this case study) is the development of consciousness. The growing confidence of CAAT policy actors and policy entrepreneurs, and the strategic actions from 1993 on, provide evidence of this. The Multiple Streams Model recognises that the political agenda, public mood, organized interests and government can influence policy development in the political stream. Accordingly, chapter five provides a chronology of political stream activities from the first Harris led Progressive Conservative government, June 1995 to June 1999. Chapter six covers the period June 1999, to the policy changes in 2002. The separation of the data into chronological time periods also provides insight into the complex interplay between policy actors, their strategies, and the roles of institutions and mechanisms of participation in the policy development process. A summary of results will now be provided for each time period.

**1990 - June 1995**

Between 1990 and June 1995, policy actors within the government, the CAATs, the bureaucracy, and other institutions, acted to advance their interests and promote their policy ideas and goals. They struggled to set policy and bring about policy change in line with their preferences. While coupling of the policy streams was not successful during this time, the actions and efforts of the policy actors and policy entrepreneurs cannot be underestimated; they significantly affected the course of policy development in subsequent years, and impacted the agenda for change.

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Circulated with the Agenda for the Meeting of the Council of Presidents’ May 29, 30, 1995.
Commencing with the election of the NDP government in Ontario in 1990, tense relations developed between the government and the CAATs, due in part to opposing interests but also in response to broader economic challenges. Tensions were exacerbated by the government’s policy objectives. For example, on September 17, 1990 the incoming Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Colleges and Universities advised that the government considered the CAATs (as Crown agencies) to be instruments of government policy. It was their intention to use the CAATs to assist the government in achieving their policy objectives. In 1990 these objectives included the implementation of recommendations from the Vision 2000 taskforce, specifically those which emphasized generic skills training, accessibility, quality and system-wide standards, lifelong-learning and recognition of prior learning, educational and training partnerships, and enhanced communication.

In contrast to the government’s objectives, by 1992 the CAATs’ number one identified policy goal was governance; of special concern because the implementation of the government’s representative governance policy was unwelcome. ACAATO’s Council of Presidents engaged with CAATs’ governors to get governance issues onto the policy agenda. Papers were commissioned to support the CAATs’ preferred position, and the idea of community governance was floated in the policy stream. Konrad’s paper was used as a reference point, and together with Dennison’s paper of May 1993 both were used to advocate the CAATs’ position on governance. One of the duties of ACAATO’s newly hired executive director, Joan Homer, (appointed on June 1, 1993) was the development of an advocacy and lobbying strategy. From this point on, the CAATs acted deliberately and specifically to advance their interests. Furthermore with a strategy in place, the CAATs set out to articulate their positions on funding, governance, the COR, and more.

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19 Deputy Minister Brzustowski of the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Keynote Address at ACAATO Council of Presidents’ Retreat, September 17, 1990.


21 Konrad, “Green Paper.”

In addition to collective efforts, individual CAAT presidents continued to voice their message face-to-face, and via the media; specific of course to topic and situation. The media flurry concerning representative boards provides such an example of strategic political activity.

The findings as presented in chapter four show that the Ontario government’s agenda and values were not aligned with some CAAT policy actors, or with the CAATs’ agenda in general as articulated through ACAATO. The government’s intention to implement a Social Contract also exacerbated tensions. The public mood was incongruent towards the government. That some members of the business community were also critical added to the discontent. Furthermore, the NDP government managed to drive a wedge between themselves and their traditional support group (labour), through social contract policies which forced public sector workers to take unpaid vacation days (commonly referred to as Rae Days) as part of the plan to trim the public budget.

The findings in the political stream show that during the NDP years the relationship between the government and the CAATs declined noticeably. What started out as advice-seeking endeavours in 1990, had dissolved into disdain by the twilight days of the Rae administration. The CAATs became conscious policy actors and developed plans to advance their agenda, in effect, organizing their interests. The economic situation, a challenge in the policy environment in 1993, acted as a catalyst and provided raison d’être for agency. This agency and strategic activity became more sophisticated in subsequent years. That said, the importance of the foundations, laid during 1993 with respect to governance, advocacy and strategy, credentials, and the metamorphosis of consciousness cannot be underestimated. The policy changes that followed in the early years of the millennium are rooted in the development of the policy entrepreneurship which occurred in 1993.
The election of the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario in June 1995 provided the backdrop and context for policy development between June 1995 and June 1999. The data show that the government had a set of guiding beliefs, which underpinned their policy initiatives. While formally indicating their willingness and desire to work with the new government, the CAATs continued in their endeavours to advocate and influence the policy agenda in line with their interests. They sent letters to the Minister, used meetings as opportunities to advocate, dialogued between themselves, and in short, used all possible opportunities to strategize and advance their position. The findings clearly show a political stream through which policy actors sought to advance specific interests, and policy entrepreneurs attempted to couple the policy streams to effect policy change, in line with preferences. The data as presented in chapter five provide evidence of these activities.

Ontario higher education policy development is complicated by the binary structure of system and institutional arrangements. In July 1996, the government released a discussion paper and announced its intention to review both parts of the postsecondary education system. The Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education initiated a wide consultation process and received input from multiple stakeholders. The CAATs (in the belief that a policy window was opening) chose at this time to explore performance indicators as a means to demonstrate quality, and they provided briefs via ACAATO, and individually, which moved beyond the scope of the specified objectives of the Panel. The CAATs called for a system vision, flexible human resources management and a new governance framework. They also continued to press their case for more funding, through the Panel, and elsewhere. For example, consultants, Edward DesRosiers and Associates (DesRosiers) were engaged to write a paper. DesRosiers’ paper, “The Ontario College Funding Mechanism Suggested Future Directions” of

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October 10, 1996, supported the CAATs’ call for a new funding formula and outlined the limitations of the existing formula.

The Panel chaired by David C. Smith presented its final report “Excellence, Accessibility, Responsibility: Report of the Advisory Panel on Future Directions for Postsecondary Education” to the Honourable John Snobelen, Minister of Education and Training on December 15, 1996. The Panel offered eighteen recommendations, including the establishment of private not-for-profit universities, and a change to the CAATs’ funding formula. The Panel recommended removing the geographic catchment areas attached to the CAATs, but did not recommend radical changes to system design, or the extension of degree granting authority to the CAATs.

Throughout 1997, the government of Ontario continued to aggressively pursue their neo-conservative agenda. Although Ontario’s economy had improved to some extent, debt control and accountability remained government priorities. Public sector expenditure control measures continued through red tape reduction initiatives. The Task Force on Agencies, Boards and Commissions, which was created in November 1995, released their “Report on Operational Agencies” in January 1997. The review included consideration of CAATs’ boards of governors. It was recommended they be retained on the basis of low cost, and efficiency.

The study found that 1997 was a watershed year for the CAATs’ advocacy organization, ACAATO. ACAATO had undergone an internal review process which was completed in 1997. As a result, the executive authority and functions were streamlined and formalized, and an advocacy strategy was put into place. ACAATO’s General Assembly, which is comprised of each of the twenty four CAAT presidents and twenty four board chairs, now speaks with a single voice, and is responsible for setting the strategic direction for the

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ACAATO’s new structure facilitates group consciousness and coherence of message. Evidence of the efficiency of ACAATO’s revised structure was found in the data from as early as 1998. For example, ACAATO’s advocacy and communications plan was in place by March 1998, and the formal strategy was “to turn up the heat” in the eighteen months prior to the next election. Pre-election communication issues and strategies were clearly developed and the tactics circulated among members of the General Assembly of ACAATO. Part of the advocacy campaign included the development of written materials, which called directly for degree-granting and the removal of the CAATs from the constraints of Schedule III Crown agency status. The findings show that the CAATs were confident and pushed their interests forward. They continued to advance their agenda, and advocated for applied degrees and a new charter.

Not all policy actors were happy with the messages coming from the CAATs, or the agenda of the government. For example, the COU articulated their concerns over extending degree granting authority to CAATs, and out-of-province postsecondary institutions. The “Report of the COU Task Force on Ministerial Consents” of October 26, 1998, called for an open and transparent application process for institutions seeking ministerial consent under the Degree Granting Act, 1983, and for Ontario’s universities to be given the opportunity to partner with the CAATs prior to consent being given to external institutions. This position was not welcomed by the CAATs. They were of the opinion that previous efforts at forging agreements had been unsuccessful (including the

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ACAATO has since been renamed to Colleges Ontario. ACAATO is used in this study to maintain consistency with the data.


CUCC initiatives). The CAATs therefore continued to push their message for applied degrees and out-of-province agreements, to offset what they considered to be structural resistance.

The Ontario Jobs and Investment Board (OJIB) played a prominent role in the pre-election process. OJIB “was created to develop ideas and strategies to strengthen Ontario’s economic performance.” OJIB picked up the CAATs’ advocacy and called for a new CAAT charter to facilitate their ability to meet the functional objectives of their mandate. OJIB’s call was seen by policy entrepreneurs as a signal that an opportunity (a policy window) for policy change may be coming. Responding to this signal, the CAATs’ engaged a legal opinion to explore the advantages and disadvantages on Crown agency status and alternative forms, including private corporate status.

ACAATO’s advocacy and communications committee played an instrumental role in the pre-election advocacy strategy. The findings show that the CAATs appear to have been very confident that their efforts would successfully result in policy change. During the period June 1995 to June 1999, the challenges presented by structural conditions especially the economy, were significant. Furthermore the impact of the Progressive Conservative government’s agenda of deficit-cutting and restructuring should not be underestimated. However, the CAATs acted as organized interests, through their advocacy organization, and individually, displaying considerable confidence and consciousness to act politically. Their advocacy was strategic and well-focused, and was facilitated by activities of the restructured ACAATO. The CAATs continued to advance their interests and push their agenda up to and beyond the election, arguing for a change to their Schedule III Crown agency status, more autonomy, flexibility, and applied degrees.

The data from the political stream 1999 to 2002 are presented in chapter six. In the post 1999 election period through to the policy changes, policy actors and policy entrepreneurs were active. The data show that following the successful re-election of the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario on June 3, 1999, the government signalled its intention to follow OJIB’s “Roadmap to Prosperity,” and willingness to provide resources to ensure access to postsecondary education for all qualified and willing students. 30 The SuperBuild Growth Fund was established to fund capital projects to create capacity.

A new college charter was one of the CAATs’ identified priorities for 1999. 31 The data show that the government took an interest in the CAATs’ initiative, and was not opposed to their request for greater flexibility to enter into partnerships with the private sector, applied degree granting authority, and new funding and human resource models. 32 As it was originally anticipated by the CAATs that each college would have a separate charter, a paper discussing the key roles and priorities was developed by the General Assembly of Board Chairs and Presidents of ACAATO. “A New Charter for Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology” presents a rationale for a new charter and key elements for inclusion. 33 The paper calls for differentiation within the CAAT system of colleges, increased authority for Boards of Governors, institutional flexibility, and degree granting authority. The CAATs linked their interests to postsecondary education capacity issues, and argued that their Schedule III Crown agency status restricted flexibility.

Government objectives for postsecondary education in 1999 continued to be those identified by the Panel: quality, access and accountability. To this end, the Minister, the


31 Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario, “Summary for the Meeting of the Committee of Presidents,” (June 7 and 8, 1999).


Honourable Dianne Cunningham invited the CAATs to work collaboratively to explore options. The provincial economy had improved by this time, so this was interpreted as a signal that an opportunity for policy change was coming; policy actors therefore mobilized to advance their agendas and interests. As there was some speculation as to whether the government would push for structural changes to postsecondary education, ACAATTO engaged Peter Wright and Associates to gather intelligence. Wright informed ACAATTO that the government believed in competition and the market as drivers of efficiency, and said,

Colleges would appear to have a window of opportunity to take ideas to the government to show they recognize the need for change and how those changes can serve students, taxpayers, the economy and government. When colleges either individually or collectively approach the government with their ideas they must focus on how these changes will meet the agenda the government has set out.

The Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities’ paper, “Increasing Degree Opportunities for Ontarians,” of April 2000, offered a rationale for changes to Ontario’s higher education system, and argued that the status quo was not an option. It was posited that as technological advancements enabled external degree providers to circumnavigate the existing provisions under the Degree Granting Act., provided they did not establish a physical presence, differentiation and diversification of the Ontario’s higher education system could be enhanced if existing restrictions were changed. A decision was made to allow private for-profit and private not-for-profit degree granting institutions to offer degree programs in Ontario, and for the CAATs to offer applied degree programs (on a pilot basis), subject to approval from the Minister, following an

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Peter Wright was a former public official in the Ontario government.

assessment by a quality assessment board. Minister Cunningham made the announcement on April 28, 2000, and said that a Quality Assessment Board would "ensure new degree programs are of the highest quality." 

The Crown Agency Act R.S. O. 1990, C.48 defines a Crown agency as "a board, commission, railway, public utility, university, manufactory, company or agency, owned, controlled or operated by Her Majesty in right of Ontario, or by the Government of Ontario, or under the authority of the Legislature or the Lieutenant Governor in Council. R.S.O. 1990, c. C.48, s.1." A revised classification index for Ontario provincial agencies was set out in the "Agency Establishment and Accountability Directive," approved by the Management Board of Cabinet, in February 2000. This categorization replaced the former indexing method of Schedules I-IV. Crown Agencies may also be known as corporations, boards or commissions. Classification is currently on the basis of function of the agency and can be Advisory, Regulatory, Adjudicative, Operational Service, Operational Enterprise, Crown Foundation or Trust. Removal of the scheduled agencies classification index created the opportunity for a new CAAT charter, as Schedule III agency status was eliminated. The reclassification exercise effectively created a policy window. Legislation for the new college charter was introduced to the Legislature on December 4, 2001. The relationship between the CAATs and the government had moved from a ‘command and control’ model to an ‘accountable for results’ model.

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37 Ontario, “Increasing Degree Opportunities.”

38 Speaking Notes for Dianne Cunningham Minister of Training Colleges and Universities Release of Degree-Granting Consultation Paper Seneca College, Toronto Friday (April 28, 2000), 2.


The Interviews
Human agency underpins many aspects of the policy development process. Between January and April 2007, eleven (11) semi-structured interviews were conducted with top level, key policy actors, and policy entrepreneurs; the purpose of which was to supplement the documentary data and to provide primary dialogue regarding the interpretation of policy development and events. The findings from the interviews are presented in chapter seven. The voices are woven into a narrative. They reveal examples of policy entrepreneurship, and provide insight into the policy development process. The voices also communicate specific explanations for the opening of policy windows. Furthermore, being asked to provide a post ante perspective enabled one key policy entrepreneur to reflect on the course of events and identify weaknesses in his/her strategy. As the interviews were in-depth, semi-structured and individualized, all aspects of the twelve year time period are covered and a breadth perspective is provided through the selection of interview participants on the basis of their roles and activities as identified through the review of the documentary data.

The interviews show that policy actors were involved in the Vision 2000 review of the CAATs, and provided formal input into the consultation process, which was broad based and inclusive. However, the interviews also show that policy actors can influence policy development specifically with regard to inhibiting implementation. The centralizing policy recommendations of Vision 2000 were seen by some CAATs policy actors as a threat to autonomy. No policy entrepreneur emerged to champion the implementation of Vision 2000.

Ideological differences were also apparent; in fact, the researcher was told that Vision 2000 was ideologically skewed due to the membership of the taskforce. The alignment of political ideas is significant. Opposition from significant policy actors cannot be ignored. Vision 2000 was an attempt at rational comprehensive policy planning for the colleges, but it did not guide policy development in future years, and cannot explain the policy development process which led to the policy changes. Vision 2000 provides an example
to illustrate that the policy streams are not automatically coupled, confirming the crucial role of policy entrepreneurs in this regard.

It was evident from the interviews that the policy development process is comprised of streams as per Kingdon’s claim.\textsuperscript{40} Interestingly, when asked to comment on the problem stream, specially on main challenges facing the CAATs between 1990 and 2002, participants identified the same policy problems as those found in the documents. They also stressed that the economic challenges acted as structural impediments. This would suggest that as applied to CAAT policy development, the Multiple Streams Model could be revised. For example, the funding problem as identified by the CAATs is a micro-specific problem, but is interwoven with macroeconomic challenges, specifically economic performance. Therefore, recession, inflation and external economic conditions cannot be excluded from consideration of CAAT-related policy development.

Enrolment growth during the 1990s reflected counter-cyclical trends, and was commented on by a policy actor who participated in the interviews. This participant suggested that the desire by policy actors to maximize their self-interests also cannot be ignored when considering policy development. The CAATs through their presidents exhibited non-rational behaviour by growing their institutions despite the fact that the funding formula did not reward such behaviour. The funding formula in this regard was punitive as it was based on competition for market share. This was identified and portrayed by said policy actors as being a micro-specific policy problem related to the CAATs.

The election of the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario in 1995 and the implementation of the ‘common sense revolution’ agenda were problematic. Coupled with cuts to federal government transfers to the provinces, and the direct loss of per diem federal training contracts, the CAATs effectively saw double digit budget cuts. This

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\textsuperscript{40} Kingdon, \textit{Agendas}, (1984).
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placed the CAATs in a conundrum, and exacerbated by the challenges of increased enrolment growth and other situational factors, the CAATs’ response was to rationalize and mobilize. The interview findings suggest that policy development for the period June 1995-June 1999 for the CAATs was defensive.

The re-election of the Progressive Conservative in June 1999 ushered in a period of opportunity for the CAATs with regard to policy development and advancement of interests. By 1999 structural conditions in the economy had improved and investments in infrastructure projects, including postsecondary education to accommodate the double cohort, were being discussed. Overall the CAATs relationship with the Progressive Conservative government during this second term of office was more cordial. The CAATs interestingly had a better working relationship with the government than the universities, due in part to an alignment of values of CAAT policy actors and the vocational focus of their mandate. That said, the CAATs having become conscious in 1993 in terms of awareness of their capacity to act, took every opportunity presented to advance their interests through advocacy. As such, the political stream activity as viewed via the Multiple Streams Model shows active attempts by CAAT policy actors to engage in policy entrepreneurship.

Evidence of this activity can be seen through the actions of ACAATO. ACAATO is both an intermediary association and an interest group. ACAATO was instrumental in the development of voice and articulation of the interests of the CAATs. ACAATO through its committee structure and organization arrangements brought together the twenty four CAAT institutions, and acted as a conduit through which coherent advocacy messages were channelled. ACAATO presented a united front for the CAATs, disseminated information, and provided opportunity for the development of advocacy plans, ideas and the means by which the same could be incorporated into the policy development process.

ACAATO acted to advance CAATs’ interests and their agreed upon agenda. Through ACAATO, CAAT presidents worked together when necessary, to promote their interests. CAAT policy actors were cognizant and deliberate in their intent. Fostering of
relationships was a self-serving endeavour. The alignment of interests was particularly apparent with regard to the OJIB report “Roadmap to Prosperity” which provided CAAT policy actors with the opportunity to present their position as a win-win situation as aligned with the government’s agenda. In short, policy development is a multiple-streamed dynamic process.

Policy Windows and Policy Entrepreneurs

Two policy windows opened during the period covered by this study. The first policy window resulted in the Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000. As the interview data show, two factors precipitated the opening of this policy window in 1999: (1) the restructuring of the K-12 education system, which with the elimination of Grade 13 created a double cohort; and (2) the election of June 1999. Applied degrees for the CAATs were a result of this moment of opportunity. The Ontario Colleges and Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002, was the result of a second open policy window, which resulted from the classification vacuum, created by the red tape reduction initiative which led to the elimination of Schedule III Crown agencies. Policy entrepreneurs in both situations coupled the policy streams and directly impacted the policy outcomes.

The interviews provide insight into the policy development process. The study found that a number of policy actors were engaged in policy development, and that at least four policy entrepreneurs can be identified as being actively engaged and to some extent successful in their efforts to couple the policy streams. These policy entrepreneurs were the Minister, the college entrepreneur(s), the bureaucrat, and the strategist. The study found from the documents and interviews that the Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities, Dianne Cunningham, demonstrated leadership. She was willing to listen to advocacy messages from CAAT policy entrepreneur(s) including the requests for applied degrees. The data provide several examples of policy entrepreneurship from CAAT policy actors, in fact one policy entrepreneur’s description of being ‘ready and waiting’ dovetails well with Kingdon’s description. The study also found that a bureaucrat within the government acted as a policy entrepreneur by orchestrating the placement of the

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CAATs’ policy goals on the government’s agenda at an opportune time. However, perhaps the most significant policy entrepreneur is this case study was a hidden policy actor; which the author has named as the strategist. This policy entrepreneur was able to strategically advance an agenda by creating the conditions for change. As fiscal pressures eased from 1999, and the government’s restructuring initiatives in other policy areas advanced, the strategist was able to leverage the SuperBuild fund to incite behaviours, resulting in a number of policy actors being manipulated to behave in ways that the strategist intended.

In summary, the data provide insight into the policy development process and shows that a number of policy actors were active, and that at least four policy entrepreneurs were actively engaged in efforts to couple the policy streams. All four entrepreneurs gained something, but none to the total exclusion of the others. Such was the dynamic of Ontario’s higher education policy development process pertinent to the CAATs during 1990-2002. The study found that situational factors and external problems affected the timing of the opening of policy windows. These factors included: labour-market credential escalation, demographic challenges, and restructuring of other areas of the public sector. Neo-conservative ideas, and pressures from external ‘for profit’ providers of higher education, and the public mood (especially with regard to concerns about postsecondary education system capacity) were also contributing factors as was government willingness. The data show that there were three key reasons for the charter changes: (a) the elimination of the Schedule III Crown Agency status (which was part of the government’s broader agenda to reduce the size of the public sector); (b) the government’s agenda to reduce red tape; and (c) the CAATs’ demands for more autonomy.

A New Model

The findings demonstrate the utility of the Multiple Streams Model as a lens and guide for data collection. The model has also proved its utility as a means to organize and analyse the data, and in so doing it provides insight into previously unseen and
unexplained CAAT policy development between 1990 and 2002. However, the findings of this study indicate that some amendments to the model could enhance its utility for future research. For example, the data identified the three streams of policy processes. It was found that these processes flow within a structured institutionalized setting. The role of ACAATO was found to be both that of an intermediary association, and an interest group. ACAATO was involved in the identification, structuring, and articulation of some of the problems that flowed in the problem stream. Given its central role as the advocacy agent for the CAATs, it provides both structure and process for agency. ACAATO acts to interweave constraint and dynamic action throughout the policy development process; through planning, organization, and for example via committees including: the General Assembly, and the Committee of Presidents. ACAATO facilitates this dynamic through the development of group consciousness, coherent messages, and cohesion of voice. ACAATO also contributes to the shaping of CAATs’ policy goals, and structures the medium of relations and strategy within which discussions take place.

This is particularly noticeable in the data from 1993 on, when Joan Homer became the Executive Director of ACAATO. While Homer’s role was not one of a policy actor per se, the impact of the processes implemented during her period of office should not be ignored. ACAATO provides strength for advocacy through the common voice, but also constrains the scope of individual actions and entrepreneurship, as the strategies and choices agreed upon by the ACAATO committees and General Assembly have the dual effects of harnessing some components of individual agency, whilst facilitating others. Voice is a policy force interweaving within and between the streams of processes. Figure 8.1. Institutional Structures, Intermediate Institutions and Multiple Streams, incorporates these processes into the model.
However, while it is clear that both structures and institutions cannot be ignored, these factors together with the three streams of processes cannot fully explain the extent of dynamic action as evidenced in the findings of this study. Kernaghan and Siegel posit that socioeconomic aspects are an important consideration in policy development. They suggest that policies evolve in response to the conditions which constrain individual actions. For Stone causal ideas are the social factor; actors build a case for themselves and attribute blame or cause in the construction of their policy arguments. Certainly, this study found that broad changes in socioeconomic and political context (especially changes in government) had significant implications for policy development, and actors’ goals and strategies were adjusted accordingly.

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The findings reveal that some policy problems were directly associated with socioeconomic factors. The utilization of the Multiple Streams Model led to the identification of eight key policy problems flowing within the problem stream.\textsuperscript{44} Each of these problems was identified before 1995. The Multiple Streams Model while it proves to be better than alternative models can’t distinguish between types of problems. The findings show that in relation to this study, some of the problems were macro-structural in nature, and others were more specific to the micro policy environment. This author argues that it is necessary to distinguish between the types of problems as there is a significant difference between macro-structural problems which create demand-side policy actions, and micro-specific problems which can give rise to supply-side policy actions.

Macro-structural policy problems flow within the problem stream; shape conditions and the scope of options available with respect to policy goals and policy solutions. Political activity, public mood and organized interests cannot be ignored with macro-structural policy problems, as due to their complexity, they give rise to societal demands for policy responses to alleviate the conditions. By contrast, micro-specific policy problems are more likely to be localized, actor identified and constructed, and linked to specific interests. Micro-specific policy problems do not shape the conditions and scope of options. In addition, generalized awareness of micro-specific problems is not a precondition. This in itself provides opportunity for policy entrepreneurship, as policy actors seek the means to influence, and attempt to couple the policy streams in order to advance their agenda by way of supply-side policy outputs.

\textsuperscript{44} Economic prosperity, quality, public image, funding, training, the economy, social security, and the domino effect.
From the findings, it is evident that the economy, which was in recession in the early 1990s, was an example of a macro-structural policy problem. Economic statistics including gross domestic product, employment and unemployment rates, the consumer price index and other indicators provided evidence of the prevailing challenges. Adverse economic conditions and the broader fallout as evidenced by declining government revenues and deficit budgets, created difficulties initially for the NDP government of 1990-1995, and then for the Harris Progressive Conservative government of 1995-1999. Macro-structural policy problems affect government and policy actors’ capacity to manoeuvre towards desired goals. However, these socioeconomic factors alone do not fully explain the construction of policy problems especially those of a micro-specific nature. It is therefore recommended that the distinction between policy problems be incorporated into the model.

Policy actors are engaged in dynamic action. Their behaviour is also evident in the policy stream albeit indirectly. The data from the study shows that coloured papers were used as a strategy to incorporate specific ideas into the flow of ideas in the policy stream. Kernaghan and Siegel define coloured papers as “documents prepared by government departments to communicate current government thinking on a particular issue to interested individuals or groups and to stimulate public discussion on the issue.”

Coloured papers are important to policy development because they encourage dynamism through debate. A Green Paper normally sets out the various options available to a government and outlines the pros and cons of each option; provoking discussion in the process. A White Paper is a statement of a government’s intended policy choice, and provides a rationale and defence for the chosen policy. Coloured papers are more usually a technique used by governments. However, this study found that coloured papers were used by the CAATs and ACAATO as a means by which they could float their preferred

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46 This section specifically identifies ACAATO commissioned and generated papers. However, many ‘coloured papers’ were generated by the federal and provincial governments and government agencies (including the COR) during the time covered by the study - they are detailed in preceding chapters. ACAATO commissioned and generated papers are distinguished here for the purpose of illustrating the need for inclusion in policy development modelling.
ideas into the policy stream. These were later used as support for their policy arguments and advocacy.

Konrad’s “Green Paper on Board Governance of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario,” commissioned by ACAATO provides one such example. Konrad differentiates between traditional and revised board governance roles, and questions the executive role of the COR. Konrad concludes with recommendations of a community governance model for the CAATs, and an enhanced advocacy role for ACAATO. Konrad’s paper provided both the backing for subsequent policy arguments and the means by which the CAATs opposed the implementation of the NDP government’s representative governance policy. Other examples of ACAATO’s use of coloured papers include: “The Road Ahead Understanding the Finances of Ontario’s Colleges”, of December 3, 1993 and, “Learner-Centred Education in Ontario’s Colleges” of October 1995.

Taskforces are another means by which action can be included into policy development. Taskforces fall within the broad parameters of pluralism; which is rooted in the values and concepts of democratic participation; which is a characteristic of western liberal democracies including Canada. Taskforces provide a means by which the diversity of ideas, interests and popular participation in civil society through interest groups, political parties and voluntary associations can be facilitated. Taskforces serve broad democratic ideals and are often used by governments when the policy problems are complex and difficult. In a pluralist model, the state adopts an independent broker role, and policy is the outcome of fair contestation. Taskforces normally have specific mandates, conduct

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47 Konrad, “Green paper”.


49 Kernaghan and Siegal, Public Administration.
their business within the public domain, and are temporary. However, government can structure the policy development process through specification of the operation, mandate, officers, and reporting dates of taskforces. Background research is also normally pre-specified and provided to participants. Taskforces are therefore an instrument of structure and a means by which the dynamic can be facilitated;  

There are many critics of pluralism, some of whom raise some very important points and concerns. Jackson and Jackson for example, point to the fact that power in the pluralist model is defined in very simple terms; the ability to get things done. The pluralist approach defines power solely in capacity terms, with a focus on decision-making. Jackson and Jackson also point out that pluralism does not acknowledge structural barriers and cannot account for elite actor activity, or exclusive group activity. The fact that elite actor activity cannot be ignored is considered to be problematic as some voices are not heard, agenda blocking occurs, some issues get organized in, and some get organized out. This critique is consistent with Bachrach and Baratz’s assertion that elite groups can take advantage of values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures, and prevent issues getting onto the policy agenda. Non-decision-making represents a face of power in policy development, which cannot be ignored. Interview participants when asked for an opinion on the policy process suggested that in relation to the CAATs and Ontario higher education policy development the process is not representative of democratic pluralism but, is both structural and dynamic. In the words of one informant:

I usually think about the policy process from an institutional point of view and a lobbying point of view. There are very few things about the college policy process

50 Date of final report


that you could call democratic in the sense of populist or broadly based. There is no popular constituency for the colleges with any particular influence. \(^{53}\)

This same participant suggested that with respect to the dynamic and the pursuit of interests, the process is not open to the extent that any actor can pursue their self-interests. In fact, it was suggested that those who have the most to gain in the CAAT policy development process (students, and perhaps alumni), are largely silent. This is certainly supported by the documentary findings. CAATs’ presidents, through and with ACAATO set strategic directions and draw upon the support of governors when they deem it to be necessary. The findings provide several examples where governors’ input was invited.

While taskforces allow public input, and can enhance objective policy analysis, they can also be used as a delaying tactic, a gauge to measure public mood, or a mechanism of distraction. \(^{54}\) The final report may also be used to validate a preferred policy; an example of this is the “Roadmap to Prosperity.”\(^{55}\) Oftentimes recommendations from taskforces fail to be implemented, especially if powerful groups are opposed to the findings. In relation to this study, this was seen with respect to Vision 2000’s recommendations. The findings from this study clearly provide multiple examples of the use of taskforces, and indicate that the recommendations of taskforces are not indicative of actual policy making. Taskforces are a means by which dynamic action can be facilitated or sidelined. The process is an act of myopic deflection cloaked within the veil of pluralism.

The concept of pursuit of self-interest is useful to help explain agency and the dynamic in the policy development process; that said, Public Choice Theory as a standalone model for analysis of CAAT policy development has limitations. The data provide numerous examples of actors’ strategic behaviours, and supports the inclusion of a dynamic action component into a model of policy analysis for the CAATs. From this observation, one

\(^{53}\) Interview #6

\(^{54}\) Kernaghan and Siegel, *Public Administration.*

\(^{55}\) Ontario Jobs, “Roadmap.”
should not assume that all policy actors aim to maximize their own self-interests at all times. This ignores the potential for altruism and cooperation, and cannot account for why some policy actors act in a non-rational manner. Interview data from this case study support this, and shows that the behaviour of CAAT policy actors can oscillate between self-interest and altruism. For example, as one interview participant explained,

If you are any good as a college leader you have many kicks at the can! [...] It’s very political – absolutely, and it is sometimes good, and sometimes, for the best of reasons it is not. But the bottom line is… You also have to remember that we are not political. We are expected to be public policy and public good oriented, and to do things that are not just in our own interests but really do make the institution stronger, or the students happier or whatever.56

This case study set out to explain why the policy changes occurred. Based upon the findings, it is evident that policy development pertinent to the CAATs and Ontario higher education between 1990 and 2002 is both a structured and dynamic process. The data support the Multiple Streams Model’s contention of the existence of problem, policy and political streams, policy entrepreneurship and policy windows, but also shows that for CAAT policy development analysis, the model could be revised. A Structured Dynamics Model as shown in Figure 8.2. Structured Dynamics Model of Policy Development is therefore offered for consideration.

**Implications for Ontario Higher Education Policy**

This study found that Ontario higher education policy development related to the CAATs is both a structured and dynamic process. Policy problems can be both macro-structural and micro-specific. Macro-structural problems shape conditions and policy options, whereas micro-specific problems do not. As micro-specific problems are actor identified and constructed, policy entrepreneurship is more likely, as successful coupling of the policy streams will advance their agenda. In consideration of the findings there are a number of important implications for future policy and practice.

56 Interview #2
1. Implications for Governance

Under the new organizational form, the CAATs now constitute a ‘hybrid type’ of public sector agency and are classified on the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities organizational chart under the broad heading of “Agencies, Boards and Commissions.” The CAATs are Crown Agencies, and their Boards of Governors are non-share corporations. The Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 facilitates autonomy at the local level. The increased executive authority of Boards of Governors places governors under increased pressure to maintain oversight and exercise their considerable fiduciary responsibilities. While protected from personal liability by the non-share corporation status, many volunteer board members have minimal training to prepare and support them in their duties. Currently, a manual is available from the Employers Council (previously the Colleges Compensation and Appointments Council), and orientation sessions are provided for new board members by Colleges Ontario.
(formerly ACAATO). However, attendance is not mandatory, and participation rates are unknown.

The implications of this must be considered, as it is possible that some CAATs boards may send all new governors for orientations sessions, and others may be rare users. CAAT presidents may also choose to conduct a face-to-face meeting prior to commencement of the board appointment with a view to providing institutional specific orientation. Each of these has implications for oversight. Other implications for governance include board membership, communication and information. Board members are now appointed locally and are recruited strategically; a factor which may need to be considered with respect to agenda setting and implementation issues.

2. Exposure to Risk
Board members rely on presidents and board secretaries to provide information to enable them to exercise their fiduciary responsibilities. Most often presidents and board secretaries are the sole source of information. Given the findings of this study, in addition to college specific papers, strategic plans, and business plans, board members will likely receive information generated by Colleges Ontario. This will most likely be interpreted as objective. Absence of prior knowledge and time constraints may result in some volunteer board members being solely reliant on the accuracy and completeness of this information. For decision-making purposes, implications arise from the completeness, independence and objectivity of this information. There is an assumption of rationality. However, incomplete or inaccurate information could affect decision-making, and therefore decision-making which may appear to be rational may be irrational.

This presumption of rationality may be especially important considering that local boards are now able to enter into partnerships with industry and conduct real estate transactions, both of which could result in considerable liability for the institutions, and exposure to future risk. Irrational decision-making based upon incomplete or false information

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could lead to boards granting assent to growth plans, private sector partnerships, real estate transactions, and formation of commercially-oriented subsidiary companies, without securing independently sourced data. Capital grant information and demographic data could also be used as a basis for expansion plans without consideration of sustainable operating revenue. This could be especially problematic considering the historical difficulties arising from operational grant support, and revenue from other sources. As growth could also be driven by self-interest in the form of personal prestige, significant future and ongoing financial liability could result and extend beyond an individual board member’s term of office. Exposure to risk also has broader implications arising from CAATs’ capacity to innovate. Flexibility and entrepreneurship may be desirable for market responsiveness, but implications arise with regard to exposure and risk when partnering with private institutions, as liability may well extend beyond corporate boundaries.

3. Implications for Human Resource Management
The introduction of baccalaureate programming into the CAAT system has longer term implications with respect to human resource management. In accordance with the Postsecondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000, the CAATs must submit baccalaureate degree proposals to PEQAB for review. The protocol for the review process requires the submission of detailed proposals for programs. Proposals must include program content, delivery methods, proof of economic need, student protection and institutional policies, and proof of the capacity to deliver. Implications for human resource management arise from the capacity to deliver requirement, as all faculty teaching into degree programs must have at least a masters degree, and fifty percent or more of the faculty teaching core and non core subjects, must hold a terminal academic credential in their field or a related discipline, which is normally a doctorate. PEQAB also requires the hosting institution to support faculty in ongoing professional development and scholarship activities.

Hall argues that poor financial planning, inadequate population studies, and the ego of person in power can affect planning. He uses the example of the Sydney Opera House policy fiasco to illustrate how actual project costs can grossly exceed budgeted costs; due to inaccurate forecasting, the absence of detailed plans, and the commitment to a project for political reasons.
This requirement has profound implications for future human resource management for three reasons. First, collective bargaining is conducted on a system-wide basis. OPSEU is the sole bargaining agent for academic faculty, and while the Collective Agreement currently in place (to 2012) contains some provisions for differences in faculty credentials, there is no current provision for compensation for doctorate qualifications. This may result in upward pressures on future salaries, or lead to academic employee retention challenges. Second, the Collective Agreement provides for a minimum of ten professional development days per year for each faculty member, and contains provisions for sabbaticals only after seven full years of service, with compensation starting at fifty percent of salary and rising to a maximum of seventy percent. The requirement for ongoing scholarship and/or research to maintain currency in the field of study may lead to upward pressures for more frequent sabbaticals and demands beyond the minimum ten days for professional development. Maintaining the quota of fifty percent or more of faculty holding a terminal qualification, may also be dependent on expansion of these provisions. Third, the current Collective Agreement contains no provisions to recognise differences in courses regardless of level of difficulty. The Standard Workload Formula (SWF) is used to allocate faculty workloads up to a maximum of six sections of students, and a maximum of four different course preparations. Given the complexity of preparation, delivery, and marking requirements of degree programs, heavy workload assignments may affect quality or lead to faculty burnout. In addition, the SWF does not contain a formula to recognise research. In view of these drawbacks, some experienced and highly credentialed faculty may opt to teach in diploma programs as these assignments fit more readily into the SWF formula, resulting in the under-utilization of human resources.

4. Implications for Government

This study has exposed several of the broader implications with respect to the future directions of higher education policy in Ontario and the government’s capacity to set the agenda. The monopoly of the universities with respect to degrees has ended. The new CAAT Charter facilitates entrepreneurship, and provides opportunity for flexibility and diversification between colleges. This raises questions with respect to directions and the
use of the CAATs as government policy instruments. Currently six CAATs have joined an organization called Polytechnics Canada, and some have been advocating for another change in status; to polytechnical institutes. Given the findings of this study, research is required into the advocacy arguments and the construction of micro-specific problems which underpin this agenda. Government may also wish to consider the implications of institutional drift.

Other implications include increasing pressures on credentials. Baccalaureate programming in the CAATs provides opportunities for some graduates, but may lead to potential displacement of two and three year CAAT diploma graduates from their traditional vocational fields; and create pressures in the labour market for the degree as a precursor to entry or practice. This may have profound implications for government with regard to ongoing funding, as high school graduates may increasing seek entry to postsecondary education and training programs of longer duration. Upward pressures for access could also affect demands for graduate programming.

Additionally, there are implications arising from the capacity to negotiate and set salaries for CAAT presidents and administrative employees at the local board level. During economic growth years upward pressures on salaries are more likely; arising from bargaining based upon arguments of comparability with private sector organizations with similar revenues, without regard to the consideration of profit/not-for-profit status. While board members may consider these arguments to be appropriate and award fair compensation packages on this basis, because the CAATs are mainly financed through public sector grants, this places the government in a position of liability without having the capacity to control escalating salaries. In years of limited or negative economic growth this could possibly be a source of political discontent.

Other implications for government include lobbying regulations and public disclosure rules for the use of consultants. As seen in the data, ACAATO’s use of consultants for research had a significant impact on policy outcomes. Government may wish to consider revisiting the criteria for lobbyist registration. In view of the fact that lobbying materials
have been provided and used in decision-making, government should also consider reviewing their policies for disclosure. Government may also wish to revisit the Public Service of Ontario Act, 2006, with a view to assessing the applicability and inclusion of principles regarding roles and responsibilities, ethical conduct, and political activities for employees of Crown agencies. Finally the government may wish to review their internal policies regarding the processes for dialogue given the assumption that CAAT policy actors are potential self-interested policy entrepreneurs.

Future Research

The CAATs were originally established under the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities Act., and Regulations 770, 771, with boards of governors as Schedule III Crown Corporations (May 21, 1965). By 2002, a sequence of policy shifts had occurred. The CAATs are now empowered to offer baccalaureate degrees in applied areas of study, provided they meet certain conditions and receive approval, and the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002 now sets out the organizational status of the CAATs. The CAATs continue to be Crown agents, but have gained responsibility and flexibility to buy and sell property. They continue to be subject to Minister’s Binding Directives, are subject to stringent reporting requirements, and the Minister retains powers of intervention.

This study set out to explain why these policy changes occurred. The findings confirm that policy development is complex and is composed of three streams of processes: the problem, policy and political streams. Based on the findings from the data, a structured dynamics model of policy development is offered for consideration. This model is applicable for CAAT policy development analysis, but may have broader application. It includes within the model both structure and dynamic actions, and differentiates between types of policy problems. Both types are affected by institutional structures, but while macro-structural problems are reflective of externalities, micro-specific policy problems are more dynamic, flow within and between policy streams, and are constructed, advanced and utilized by self-interested policy actors and intermediary associations.
Although the colleges are still Crown Agencies, the scope of local executive authority has increased significantly. There is a need for more policy related research, including studies on risk policy, policy implementation, and policy evaluation. This researcher recommends that a long term perspective be taken where appropriate, and that both institutional structures and dynamic factors be considered. Other areas of research to consider include: collective bargaining, demand and supply issues with regard to access and programming, organizational behaviour studies on CAAT operations, College Councils, and CAAT innovation practices and applied research. In view of the implications arising from the findings, more research on governance related to the CAATs is urgently required. The following questions are suggested for future inquiry.

- To what extent do existing training arrangements for governors meet the needs of individuals, and prepare them sufficiently for their roles and exercise of fiduciary responsibilities? Who participates in current governance training? Are some boards more likely to send governors for training than others? Why?
- Do boards regularly evaluate themselves for effectiveness? To what extent will self evaluation enhance the principles of good governance?
- How open is the strategic recruitment process for CAAT boards? What methods and policies are in place at the local level regarding the search process?
- How many governors rely on presidents and board secretaries as the sole source of information? Are some boards more dependent than others? What does this tell us about governors’ preparedness and board openness?
- Do CAAT boards of governors operate as a collective, or do some boards operate through a committee structure? How is membership of committees decided? Do committees restrict or facilitate the flow of information? Is a committee structured board built on trust? Is this a strength or weakness?
- What safeguards for risk are in place? Do colleges have a risk policy? What risk analysis practices precede decision-making? Should risk be defined on a basis of utility, or should some areas of college practice be inviolate?
- Are existing accountability arrangements and policies sufficient? Is a corporate model of governance and accountability workable within the CAATs?
• Since the new charter, how much debt (including mortgage debt) have the CAATs accumulated? What policies and safeguards exist at the local board level to protect the CAATs from default should revenues fall in response to demographic shifts or government revenue? Are the Minister’s powers of intervention sufficient to protect the public from liability arising from cost overruns or declining real estate values?


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APPENDIX A
Figure A. Ontario Council of Regents: Governance Review Timeline

- **Regional meetings with College Boards, staff and students**
- **Minister indicates intention to amend Reg. 770 and make COR accountable for ensuring Boards are representative**
- **Cabinet approves amendment to Reg. 770**
- **COR invites stakeholders’ views**
- **COR receives written submissions from stakeholders**
- **Presentation by COR with 10 Revised Recommendations (Written submission Oct ’94)**
- **Discussion Paper: 10 Recommendations**
- **Request from Minister**
- **COR Diversity Survey**
- **COR meets with College Boards to develop means to record Board composition**
- **COR introduces self-identification forms**
- **COR identifies 10 areas for review and makes 10 recommendations for change**
- **COR Outreach**

**Timeline**

- Ap-My ’91
- Fall ’91
- Jun ’92
- Fall ’92
- Nov ’92
- Dec ’92
- Apr ’93
- Summer ’93
- Fall ’93
- Dec ’93
- Ja-Ap ’94
- Aug ’94
APPENDIX B

“Sent on OISE/UT letterhead”

DATE

ADDRESSEE’S NAME & TITLE
ADDRESSEE’S ADDRESS

DEAR _________________________:

I am a graduate student in the Theory and Policy Studies in Education Department at OISE/UT and am currently planning a research project entitled, “Policy Windows and Changing Arrangements: An Analysis of the Policy Process Leading to the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts & Technology Act, 2002.” The study is being undertaken under the supervision of Dr. Glen A. Jones in the Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education, at the Ontario Institute for the Studies in Education of the University of Toronto and is part of the requirements for a doctoral degree.

As part of the research, I will be conducting twelve interviews. I am looking for a sample of individuals drawn from across the various institutions that were involved in the policy process during the period covered by this study (1990-2002). As you (held/currently hold) the position of __________ at __________, I would very much like to interview you, to gain your perspective. I would like to provide you with some information about the project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

There are two overall purposes for the study. Firstly, to understand and explain political action and the dynamic within the policy process, and secondly, to produce knowledge that may guide and inform future policy. The study will examine the policy process during the period from 1990 (the Vision 2000 project), to 2002 (the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002) to determine whether (or not) the changes are the result of a rational comprehensive planning process, and will assess the impact of the various political actors and institutions involved in the process.

I will be conducting the interviews over the next few months starting (date). The interview would last for about one hour, and would be arranged for a mutually convenient time and location. (The interview could be conducted via the telephone if that is preferred.) During the interview you will be asked questions about your professional role, your institution, and involvement in the policy process. You may decline to answer any question(s) that you are not comfortable with, and you may terminate the interview at any time.

It is intended that each interview will be voice recorded and later transcribed to paper; you have the choice of declining to have the interview recorded. A transcript of the
The information gathered from the interviews will be kept in strict confidence and stored at a secure location. All information will be reported in such a way that individual persons and their affiliation with institutions cannot be identified. All data collected will be used for the purposes of a Ph.D. thesis and perhaps for subsequent research articles. All raw data (i.e. transcripts, field notes) will be destroyed five years after completion of the study. At all times, your privacy and confidentiality will be protected and respected. No personal information will be used or disclosed in the study, in publications or public presentations associated with the research. Codes and/or pseudonyms will be used where necessary to protect your identity.

Although there are no direct benefits to you as a result of participation, a summary of the results will be provided to you upon completion of the study. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

I would like to assure you that participation in the study is entirely voluntary, and the final decision to participate is yours alone. The University of Toronto is committed to the highest standards of integrity for research, and this study has passed and received approval from the University of Toronto Ethics Review Board.

I am happy to answer any questions you may have regarding the study, and will provide any additional information that you require. You may also contact my supervisor Dr. Glen A. Jones Associate Dean, Academic OISE/UT on 416 923-6641 ext. 2236, or by email at gjones@oise.utoronto.ca should you have any comments or concerns prior to or resulting from your participation in this study.

I will call in a few days to ask if you are interested in participating and to set up an appointment for the interview. If you have any questions or concerns in the meantime, please call me at home or during office hours or via email atanne.charles@utoronto.ca.

Sincerely,

Anne C. Charles
Ph.D. Candidate, Theory and Policy Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto
Professor, Conestoga College ITAL
APPENDIX C

“Sent on OISE/UT letterhead”

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Date

To the participants in this study:

The purposes of the study entitled, “Policy Windows and Changing Arrangements: An Analysis of the Policy Process Leading to the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts & Technology Act, 2002” are, to understand and explain political action and the dynamic within the policy process, and to produce knowledge that may guide and inform future policy. The study will examine the policy process during the period from 1990 (the Vision 2000 project), to 2002 (the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002) to determine whether (or not) the policy changes are the result of a rational comprehensive planning process, and will assess the impact of the various political actors and institutions involved in the process.

The study is being undertaken under the supervision of Dr. Glen A. Jones, Associate Dean, Academic, OISE/UT and is part of the requirements for a doctoral degree. The data is being collected for the purposes of a Ph.D. thesis and perhaps for subsequent research articles.

As part of the research, twelve interviews will be conducted with a sample of individuals drawn from across the various institutions that were involved in the policy process during the period covered by the study. The interviews will last for about one hour, and will be arranged for a mutually convenient time and location. (The interview can be conducted via the telephone if that is preferred.) During the interview, participants will be asked questions about their professional role, their affiliated institution, and involvement in the policy process. Participants may decline to answer any question(s) that they are not comfortable with, and may terminate the interview at any time.

It is intended that each interview will be voice recorded and later transcribed to paper; you have the choice of declining to have the interview recorded. A transcript of the interview will be forwarded to you for review and authorization within three weeks of the interview, at which point you are free to make any deletions or corrections to your responses. Authorized transcripts should be returned to the investigator (Anne C. Charles) in the stamped self-addressed return envelope provided, within 14 days of receipt. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time simply by notifying the investigator.
The information gathered from the interviews will be kept in strict confidence and will be kept in a locked box, which will be stored in a locked file cabinet situated in the investigator’s home office. All information will be reported in such a way that individual persons and their affiliation with institutions cannot be identified. Each interview participant will be assigned a numerical reference (e.g. participant # 1, participant # 2), and the term ‘institution’ with an alphabetical addendum (e.g. institution a, institution b) will be assigned to the organization affiliated with interview participants. The use of organizational pseudonyms will ensure that the identity of participants cannot be linked to a specific organization thereby safeguarding and protecting anonymity. All raw data (i.e. transcripts, field notes) will be destroyed five years after completion of the study. At all times, your privacy and confidentiality will be protected and respected. No personal information will be used or disclosed in the study, in publications or public presentations associated with the research. Codes and pseudonyms will be used where necessary to protect your identity.

Although there are no direct benefits to you as a result of participation, a summary of the results will be provided to you upon completion of the study. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding the study, or require additional information please contact me on [REDACTED] or during office hours at 519 748 5220 ext. 3872 or by email anne.charles@utoronto.ca. You may also contact my supervisor Dr. Glen A. Jones on 416 923-6641 ext. 2236, or by email at gjones@oise.utoronto.ca should you have any comments or concerns prior to or resulting from your participation in this study.

Thank you in advance for your participation.

Anne C. Charles
Ph.D. Candidate OISE/UT
Professor, Conestoga College ITAL

By signing below, you are indicating that you are willing to participate in the study, you have received a copy of this letter, and you are fully aware of the conditions above.

Name: __________________________
Institution: ______________________
Signed: __________________________
Date: ____________________________

Please initial if you would like a summary of the findings of the study upon completion. __________

Please initial if you agree to have your interview voice recorded. __________
TRANSCRIPT AUTHORIZATION

TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEW HERE

I ________________________ have reviewed the transcript of my interview conducted by Anne C. Charles on (DATE) associated with the study entitled, Policy Windows and Changing Arrangements: An Analysis of the Policy Process Leading to the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002.

I agree that this transcript with any amendments, or deletions as noted on the document, is an accurate representation of my contribution to the study. I authorize the investigator Anne C. Charles to include this information in the data, with the understanding that my privacy and confidentiality will be respected at all times, as set out in my Consent to Participate. I am aware that I may withdraw this consent at any time by advising the researcher.

I understand that the investigator will keep the authorized transcript secure, and it will be destroyed five years from completion of the study.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT: ________________________________________

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT: ________________________________

DATE: _____________________________________________________

INVESTIGATOR: _____________________________________________

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR: _______________________________

DATE: _____________________________________________________
Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. I would like to start by explaining that this study is associated with two interrelated theoretical questions. Firstly, can changes in higher education policy be described as an output of the policy process and the net result of rational comprehensive planning? Secondly, if the rational comprehensive planning model cannot explain the complexity and dynamic of the policy process and its outputs, what can?

There are two purposes for the study (1) to understand and explain political action and the dynamic within the policy process, and (2) to produce knowledge to guide and inform future policy. The purpose of this interview is to gather information about the actors and institutions involved in the higher education policy process relating to the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology during the period 1990 – 2002.

The questions are of a non-personal nature and relate to your institution and/or your professional role. You may decline to answer any question(s) that you are not comfortable with, and you may terminate the interview at any time. This interview is being voice-recorded with your consent to ensure accuracy. A transcript of the interview will be provided to you for authorization, at which point you are free to make any deletions or corrections to your responses. Your privacy and confidentiality will be protected and respected at all times. No personal information will be used or disclosed in the study, in publications, or public presentations associated with the research. Codes and/or pseudonyms will be used in the data where necessary to protect your identity and anonymity.
Questions will be tailored to participants and will have increasing detail. The following are samples of the types of question that will be asked during the interviews.

1. In 1990 a ‘vision’ for the CAATs emerged from the Vision 2000 consultation process and taskforce. To what extent was this ‘vision’ shared? Did you/your institution and other members of the policy community agree or disagree with bureaucratic coordination through the Colleges Standards and Accreditation Council (CSAC), common standards, and an increased non-vocational component in programs? Why or why not? Were there conflicting visions? Please give details.

2. Public policy is often defined as ‘what governments choose to do or not to do’? Do you agree with this statement? Why or why not?

3. In your professional capacity were you directly involved in the policy process at any point(s) in time during the period 1990-2002? How would you describe your role? Please also describe your institution’s role and involvement in the policy process.

4. In your professional capacity/through your institution, whose best interests were being served by your involvement in the policy process?

5. Did the vision for the CAATs change during the 1990s? How? Why?

6. What were the main challenges facing the CAATs during the 1990s?

7. Please describe the relationship between the CAATs and the federal government during the 1990s. Did this relationship change? How? What implications did this have on the direction, course or outcome of higher education policy in Ontario? What was the response from your institution?

8. Please describe the relationship between your institution and the provincial government during the 1990s. Did this relationship change at any time during the period covered by this study? How did changes in the governing parties impact the relationship? Please provide details.
9. What were the policy goals and objectives of your institution? Were these goals and objectives shared with the government and other members of the policy community? Did conflicting goals or priorities exist? What were they? How did your institution respond to the differences?

10. Did the ‘problem’ change at any stage during the 1990s? Please explain.

11. Please comment on the ACAATO committee structure and arrangements, in relation to group consciousness, constancy of ideas and views throughout the 1990s, capacity to act in the policy process, and coherence of message(s).

12. What was the role of the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts & Technology of Ontario (ACAATO)? Did this role change during the period of the study? How?

13. Please describe the impact of government funding policies. How did economic and fiscal policy impact the CAATs? Was the impact expected? Were the policy outcomes as foreseen? What were the outcomes?

14. What impact did the Ontario Jobs and Investment Board and any reports from this institution have on the CAATs?

15. How would you describe the relationship between the CAATs and the Council of Regents? Were policy initiatives collaborative or imposed? What impact did the CAATs have in terms of capacity to act?

16. Please describe the relationship between the Presidents of the CAATs and the Ministry during the period of the study. Did the relationship change at any point in time? How? To what extent did the relationship inhibit or facilitate individual president’s efforts to influence the policy process?

17. To what extent (if any) did government organizational restructuring (ministries) impact the CAATs and policy directions? Please comment on the organizational arrangements.
18. Please describe the relationship between you/your institution and the ministry responsible for the CAATs. Did that relationship change at any time during the period 1990-2002? How open was the ministry (minister or senior public servants) to hearing your views on policy and to what extent were your views and position represented in the policy outcomes?

19. In what ways did the Social Contract legislation impact the CAATs? How did this provincial initiative impact CAAT policy direction? How did the CAATs respond? What were the longer term consequences?

20. To what extent did the ‘Common Sense Revolution’ have an impact on higher education and the CAATs with regard to policy? Did the ideas and policies of the Common Sense Revolution inhibit or facilitate inclusion of your views/your institution’s views and interests in the higher education policy process? How did your relationship with the ministry/other stakeholders change during this period? Were decision-makers more open to the possibility of policy change? Were there any set parameters? Who was/were the decision-maker(s)?

21. Please comment on the relationship between the CAATs, ACAATO and the former Council of Regents. Did this relationship have any bearing on the openness to voice your ideas/opinions on policy? Why was the Council of Regents abolished?

22. Please describe the advocacy efforts of your institution. Why was advocacy necessary? What were your goals and objectives? What did you hope to achieve? Where were your efforts directed? Were you successful? Please give examples.

23. How did technological change/innovation impact your institution/the CAATs in relation to the policy process?

24. Was training and technology in higher education on the policy agenda throughout the whole period of this study? What events are noteworthy? How did these impact the policy process in relation to the CAATs?

25. Why did the CAATs need a new charter?
26. When did you or your organization become aware of the problem (the reason specified for the need for a new charter)? What antecedent conditions and/or values provided the background and context for this problem?

27. Was there consensus between members of the policy community with regard to identification and definition of this problem? What different views were voiced? How did you communicate your message? How were other messages communicated?

28. Who were the main advocates for the new college charter? Please explain how advocacy was conducted?

29. Did you or your institution have the capacity to influence, inhibit or facilitate the direction, course or outcome of higher education policy in Ontario during the period of this study? How? In what ways did you or your institution exercise this capacity? What was the outcome?

30. Would you describe the policy outcomes (legislation) as a direct result of a rational comprehensive planning policy process? Why or why not? Please explain the policy process from your perspective.
APPENDIX F
Accession Data Summary

Accession No.: 2005-38
p. 1 of qq

Title: Administration, and Committee Records

Origin: ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES OF APPLIED ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY OF ONTARIO (ACAAATO)

Access: Restrictions May Apply re: Privacy Legislation
Record Status: Official

Extent: Received: 27 July 2005

Outline:
-- Preliminary Finding Aid --

References:
Provenance

Location: Completed: dddd  Time:
ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES OF APPLIED ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY
OF ONTARIO (ACAATO)
Administration, and Committee Records.

ACAATO BOARD OF DIRECTORS — EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
- MINUTES, AND PAPERS, Au1988 TO Fe1996
  [ 1990-96 Minutes indicate the Chair position rotates annually,
  between the C.O.G and C.O.P. ]
/1 - Minutes, and Papers, 15Au1988
  08Fe1989
  Do
  Minutes [only], 09Jy1991
  Minutes, and Papers, 20Se1991
  Minutes [only], 29No1991
  Minutes, and Papers, 24Ja1992
  [ 10Ap1992 Minutes were not included in this transfer. ]
  Minutes [only], 18Jn1992
  27No1992
  Do
  22Ja1993
  Minutes, and Papers
  02Ap1993
  Minutes [only]
  19Ap1993
  21My1993
  28Jn1993
  13Se1993
  09No1993
  08Mr1994 [ In-Camera meeting to conduct a
  six-month review of the Executive Director ]
  Minutes [only], 03No1994
  18Ap1995
  21Au1995 [ Special meeting ]
  06No1995
  30No1995
  Do
  09Fe1996 [ at A.G.M. ]
  Minutes -- Annual General Meeting (A.G.M.), 09Fe1996
  Minutes [only], 06Fe1996

ACAATO BOARD OF DIRECTORS — EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
- AGENDAS, MINUTES, AND PAPERS, Oc1999 TO Jn2001
- 06 Oc1999
- 16 De1999 ( Teleconference )
- 09 Fe2000 ( )
- 04 Ap2000 ( )
- 27 Jn2000 ( )
- 19 Se2000 ( )
- 10 Oc2000 ( Do )
- 05 De2000 ( )
- 10 Ap2001 [ Minutes in manuscript, only ], incl. Orientation of Governor
  Members of the ACAATO Executive Committee,
  Agendas, and Papers
- 12 Jn2001 ( Teleconferences )
- Minutes, 16Se2003 ( Teleconference )
  26 Jn2003 ( )
  [ My1997 through My2003 Minutes not incl. in this transfer ]
  21Ap1997 ( )
  11 Mr1997 ( )
  20 Ja1997 ( )
  14 Ja1997 ( )
APPENDIX G
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Office of the Vice-President, Research and Associate Provost
Ethics Review Office

PROTOCOL REFERENCE #18885

December 21, 2006

Prof. Glen Jones
Dept. of Theory and Policy Studies
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
of the University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, ON M5S 1V6

Ms. Anne Charles
Dept. of Theory and Policy Studies
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
of the University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, ON M5S 1V6

Dear Prof. Jones and Ms. Charles:


ETHICS APPROVAL

Original Approval Date: December 21, 2006
Expiry Date: December 20, 2007

We are writing to advise you that a member of the Education Research Ethics Board (REB) has granted approval to the above-named research study, for a period of one year, under the REB's expedited review process. Ongoing projects must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

The following consent documents (revised December 18, 2006) have been approved for use in this study: Request to Participate Letter and Informed Consent Letter. Participants should receive a copy of their consent form.

During the course of the research, any significant deviations from the approved protocol (that is, any deviation which would lead to an increase in risk or a decrease in benefit to participants) and/or any unanticipated developments within the research should be brought to the attention of the Ethics Review Office.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your project.

Yours sincerely,

Bridgette Murphy
Ethics Review Coordinator

xc: Prof. A. Cole (Chair, Education REB)
## APPENDIX H

### Dates of Data Collection: The George Brown College Archives

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