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ABSTRACT

This document addresses a study that aimed to better understand the historical development of British Columbia community college, university college, and institute system with special attention given to recent changes in inter-institutional collaboration in relation to provincial coordination. The study also addresses centralization and decentralization in the British Columbia system. The data was gathered through analyzing primary and secondary sources of literature as well as interviews with key informants. Therefore the methodology used was qualitative and interpretive in nature and based on the historical method and underlying assumptions of hermeneutics. The study found that throughout the decades, the B.C. system has had a history of voluntary collaboration, but the collaboration has been gradually blended over time with provincial coordination as government built a system of autonomous institutions. The study makes the following conclusions based on the data: (1) an appropriate balance may be achieved between centralization and decentralization in order to create an effective system; (2) B.C.'s history and other experiences; and (3) the Ministry and institutions should build on the history of voluntary collaborative efforts. (MZ)



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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to better understand the historical development of the British Columbia (B.C.) community college, university college and institute system with the focus on the changing nature of voluntary inter-institutional collaboration in relation to provincial coordination. The study also examined the related themes of centralization and decentralization within B.C.'s system and the development of a provincial system of autonomous institutions.

The methodology used was qualitative, and more specifically, interpretive in nature and based on the historical method and the underlying assumptions of hermeneutics. The researcher began by analyzing pertinent primary and secondary sources of literature in relation to the study's purpose. The findings from the literature analysis formed the basis for interview questions that were asked of 10 key informants to fill gaps in understanding and confirm findings.

The study found that the B.C. system began as a decentralized group of autonomous, community-oriented institutions but became more centrally coordinated by government in the late 1970s and early 1980s, largely because of increased costs and a worsening economy. The 1990s witnessed a high level of centralized decision-making with stakeholder involvement, which has been replaced by a move towards decentralization and greater institutional autonomy in the early 2000s based on the market ideology of the new government. Throughout the decades, the B.C. system has had a history of voluntary collaboration but that collaboration has been gradually blended over time with provincial coordination as government built a system of autonomous institutions.

The main conclusions of the study are that an appropriate balance may be achievable between centralization and decentralization in order to maintain a coherent system of accountable, autonomous institutions but would need systematic efforts by government and institutions and a policy framework for system governance. Such a balance may be achieved by learning from the lessons of B.C.'s rich history and from the experiences of other jurisdictions. To achieve system goals, the Ministry and institutions could build on the history of voluntary collaborative efforts, which seem particularly important among educators at the program level. The Ministry might reward such collaboration and hold institutions accountable for it.



BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Devron Gaber has worked for the last 25 years in various aspects of adult learning and post-secondary education. He is currently the CEO of the Centre for Curriculum, Transfer and Technology (C2T2) in Victoria, B.C., an organization with the mandate of facilitating collaboration and innovation among public post-secondary institutions in the province. Prior to that, Dr. Gaber worked at the director level in the Post-Secondary Education Divisions of ministries responsible for advanced education in B.C. and Manitoba. In Manitoba, he served as the province's first Provincial Literacy Director. Dr. Gaber has also taught at Keewatin Community College and Red River College in Manitoba. He has a BA from the University of Manitoba and an MA from the University of Calgary. He recently received his EdD from Oregon State University (OSU) where he studied in OSU's Community College Leadership Program. The following monograph is based on Dr. Gaber's doctoral research. The author can be reached at (250) 413-4444 or at dgaber@c2t2.ca.



FOREWORD

Notwithstanding the remarkable growth of the non-university component of post-secondary education in Canada since the 1960s, the amount of research, number of publications, and thoughtful analyses devoted to this enterprise has been extremely limited. There are various reasons for this deficiency. College administrators and instructors usually bear workloads which severely constrain the time and energy that they are able to devote to analytical thought and writing about the environment in which they work. The traditional sources of research activity, i.e. university professors, who focus their attention upon higher education in Canada, are limited in number, and even more limited are those whose primary interest is in the college and institute system. Furthermore there are very few outlets to disseminate articles which add to the body of knowledge about the post-secondary educational enterprise. With the notable exception of the *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, publications which specialize in that topic are few and far between.

The situation described above is unfortunate. Canada's colleges are exciting, vibrant and innovative institutions. They have opened the door to further education to thousands of Canadians, young and old, who had long been denied that opportunity in the past. Canada's colleges have developed programs, nationally and internationally, which have had a major impact upon the quality of life in many regions of the world. There are numerous stories deserving of publication which could document the progress of the college systems as they adapt to the challenges posed by multiculturalism, globalization and the ever-changing needs of new student populations.

It is in the light of the above that the work of Devron Gaber, as detailed in this monograph, should be welcomed by all those interested in the subject of Canada's community colleges. Dr. Gaber has exposed a dimension of college education rarely studied, that of systematic collaboration and cooperation in their efforts to provide a more effective, efficient and responsive system of colleges in British Columbia. As part of the process he has documented the insights of major actors in the evolution of the colleges. The results of his study are an important contribution to understanding how colleges succeeded, and sometimes failed, to work together in the interests of their students and society at large. His study also reveals the role of government in sustaining college level education under the pressure of competing demands from a variety of economic and societal forces.

While Dr. Gaber's study is confined to British Columbia, a similar cycle of events has occurred in each of the other nine provinces and two territories. Each of Canada's community college systems has evolved to meet the diverse sociological, educational and economic situations in every region of the country. It is to be hoped that Dr. Gaber's work will stimulate similar studies in other provinces. The reader should note that Dr. Gaber does compare the



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historical development of colleges, university-colleges and institutes in British Columbia to developments in the broader North American context.

The Association of Canadian Community Colleges is to be congratulated for publishing this monograph. This organization, which represents the interests of the college systems, is the appropriate vehicle for disseminating knowledge in all aspects of education in that arena.

Finally, it is important to note the recognition given by Dr. Gaber to the assistance of the late Paul Gallagher. Paul was the epitome of leadership in college education. As an administrator, writer, researcher and proponent of the colleges in Canada, Paul earned the admiration of all who knew him. As a colleague and friend I can testify to the unequalled contribution Paul made to education generally. He has left an enormous legacy and his wise counsel will be sadly missed.

John D. Dennison
Professor Emeritus, UBC



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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH PURPOSE

INTRODUCTION

The following monograph is based on recent doctoral research that I completed as part of the requirements for the Doctor of Education program in Community College Leadership at Oregon State University (OSU) in Corvallis, Oregon. The OSU program focuses on all aspects of providing leadership in a community college setting. Each student must work with a graduate committee of five individuals, including two advisors who are external to the university and who work in areas related to the student's topic of research. I was fortunate to have Dr. John Dennison, professor emeritus at the University of British Columbia, and Dr. Greg Lee, President of Capilano College in North Vancouver, agree to sit on my committee along with my major professor, Dr. George Copa, and two other OSU professors.

A challenge of every doctoral student is to arrive at a dissertation topic that is focused enough to be doable within the allotted time and that adds a new dimension to our developing understanding of the subject area under study. Besides meeting these two criteria, I also wanted to undertake an in-depth study of something that was of great interest to me, that related to my present position as Chief Executive Officer of a post-secondary agency in British Columbia (B.C.) with system-wide responsibilities, and that would be of practical use to others working in the field of post-secondary education in B.C. and elsewhere. It was in light of these criteria that I chose to do a historical study of the coordinated and collaborative nature of B.C's college, university college and institute system over the last 40 years. The study did not include a review of the historical development of universities per se in B.C., although the role of universities in developing the original college system and B.C.'s transfer system was well documented throughout the research. What follows is a summary of the dissertation that I wrote on this topic.

BACKGROUND

B.C.'s college, university college and institute system has been widely regarded as one of the most coordinated and integrated post-secondary systems in Canada (Schuetze & Day, 2001). The institutions collaborate on a wide range of initiatives at both the faculty and administrator level. Furthermore, B.C. has a very well-developed transfer system that facilitates the transfer of students between institutions that offer first- and second-year academic courses and those that are degree granting. The high level of coordination and cooperation on system-wide initiatives occurs among autonomous institutions, yet there has been ongoing tension between the need to work as a coherent system and the desire to maintain institutional autonomy. This tension between system coordination and institutional autonomy is also a recurrent theme in the development of multicampus systems in the United States (Gaither, 1999).



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Much has been written about the historical development of B.C.'s post-secondary system in terms of important legislation, policy development and events that have led to the coordination evident in the system (Beinder, 1986; Dennison, 1997; Gallagher, 1999; Hollick-Kenyon, 1979; Mitchell, 1986; Schuetze & Day, 2001). As well, ample research exists on the nature and success of the transfer system (Dennison, 1997; Fisher, Rubenson, & Della Mattia, 2001; Soles, 2001). However, research has not been done to document the collaborative nature of the system, the historical roots of that collaboration and the relationship between collaborative efforts and provincial coordination. Furthermore, research has not been done to study specifically the movements between decentralization and centralization of the B.C. system over the last 40 years and the related theme of autonomous institutions moving towards becoming a system. Such research is becoming increasingly important as the college, university college and institute system in B.C. has in recent years become more fragmented and coordination among institutions has become more difficult.

PURPOSE OF STUDY AND DEFINITIONS

The purpose of the study upon which this paper is based was to better understand the historical development of the British Columbia college, university college and institute system with the focus on the changing nature of voluntary inter-institutional collaboration in relation to provincial coordination. The study also examined the related themes of centralization and decentralization within B.C.'s system and the development of a provincial system of autonomous institutions. The study examined the B.C. history in light of related developments within the North American context.

For the purposes of this study, *inter-institutional collaboration* was defined as voluntary cooperation among educators and institutions designed to achieve a common purpose whereas *provincial coordination* was defined as common actions at the system level among B.C.'s colleges, university colleges and institutes brought about through the intervention of the provincial government in the form of policy, legislation and funding mechanisms. *Centralization* was defined as an attempt by government to take a more active role in managing a college, university college and institute system in order to meet provincial needs whereas *decentralization* was defined as a more laissez-faire approach by government to the development of a provincial system coupled with greater autonomy within individual institutions. The term *system* was used in a narrow sense to describe a post-secondary system or quasisystem of inter-related, publicly funded institutions within a state or province.



CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODS AND STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

RESEARCH METHODS

The methodology used in the present study was qualitative in nature based on the historical method and the underlying assumptions of hermeneutics. Hermeneutics is defined as the study of understanding and interpretation, especially as it relates to text (Palmer, 1969). The modern hermeneutics philosopher whose influence is evident in the present study is Hans-Georg Gadamer. Gadamer's (1975) hermeneutic theory of text interpretation is called dialectical hermeneutics, which treats the interpretation of text as a dialogue or fusion of horizons between the interpreter and text. For Gadamer, each interpreter enters the interpretation process with his or her own expectations, ideas and prejudices, which Gadamer refers to as one's traditions. Furthermore, one can only interpret the past from one's position in the present. Because all interpretation is related to the present and is based on each interpreter's traditions, there can be no one right interpretation but rather multiple perspectives.

The primary method that I used was historical method, which is used to search data systematically to answer questions about something that occurred in the past (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 1999). Historical research is viewed as qualitative because of the subjective nature of the interpretive framework. History involves the reconstruction of the past in a meaningful way based on the interpretation of available records and the inferences made by historians in the present (Gottschalk, 1950). From a hermeneutic stance, the interpretation by historians will vary because of the unique traditions of each historian and his or her attachment to the present.

The study incorporated historical research methods, including the review of relevant literature and the collection of oral history. I began by reviewing relevant literature on coordination/collaboration and centralization/decentralization in higher education in general across North America in order to provide a context for the B.C. study. I then reviewed important primary and secondary literature sources related to the topic of my research. I worked with a voluntary research advisor, the late Paul Gallagher, who was a respected, long-standing leader in the Canadian and B.C. college movement and who agreed to help me with identifying important literature and suggesting interviewees. Based on my interpretation of both the primary and secondary B.C. literature, I identified 15 key findings in relation to the research purpose.

The key findings from the literature were used to prepare a set of interview questions to collect oral history that would be used to confirm findings and fill in gaps in understanding from the review of the literature. Interviews were then conducted with 10 key informants who were chosen because they had a thorough knowledge of the B.C. post-secondary system, had been primary witnesses during its four decades of development, and represented as wide a variety of perspectives as possible. Interviewees included four institutional presidents, three of them retired; two former college board members; two former Ministry staff, one of



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whom was an Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM); and two past provincial faculty association presidents. The interview process involved transcribing, analyzing data and member checking after each pair of interviews. Based on my interpretation of the interview data and of the primary and secondary historical literature related to the B.C. context, I drew conclusions from the study in relation to the research purpose.

Because of the use of historical method based on a hermeneutic stance, the research is qualitative, subjective and interpretive in nature. I ensured trustworthiness of the qualitative research findings through the use of a variety of strategies first proposed by Guba (1981). The strategies are designed to address the criteria of credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability of the research and its findings. I also took steps to ensure the external criticism or authenticity of the primary sources of literature and the internal criticism or accuracy of those same sources.

STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

The remainder of this paper has been structured according to the methodology described above. Chapter 3 presents a review of the literature relevant to the research topic from across North America in order to provide the context for what follows. Chapter 4 provides a brief summary of the key findings from the literature and interviews regarding the B.C. college, university college and institute system. The final chapter presents a discussion of those findings in light of the literature on the broader North American context, presents conclusions from the study and makes recommendations for further research.

The information presented within this paper is a brief version of a longer OSU dissertation, which shares the same title as this monograph. In particular, I have provided in Chapter 4 a short summary of the findings from literature and interviews related to the B.C. context, which covered over 230 pages in the dissertation. Copies of the full dissertation can be accessed from Oregon State University Valley Library at http://osulibrary.orst.edu or through UMI Dissertation Services at http://www.umi.com.



CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 3 presents a review of pertinent literature about coordination versus competition and centralization versus decentralization in higher education in general in order to set the context for the present study on the B.C. system. The chapter begins with a description of what constitutes coordinated and multicampus systems in the U.S. and quasi-systems in Canada. The chapter then provides a review of the functions and benefits of coordinated and multicampus systems, with the focus on accountability, budgeting, coordination of programs, strategic planning and distance education. Chapter 3 continues with a review of the literature on coordination versus collaboration as it relates to the research purpose of the present study, centralization versus decentralization in higher education systems, and the trend toward greater competition in higher education, which is closely associated with the movement toward decentralization. The chapter concludes with a short summary of the relevance of the literature to the purpose of the present research study.

COORDINATED SYSTEMS, MULTICAMPUS SYSTEMS, AND QUASI-SYSTEMS

Community colleges are a relatively recent phenomenon in the U.S. although they have a much longer history than in Canada in that their roots are in the junior colleges that began at the turn of the century. The period following the Second World War saw significant expansion of community colleges as a result of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, or GI Bill, and the 1947 Truman Commission (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976; Vaughan, 1985) and also involved a major expansion in access to university education in America (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976). Canadian community colleges developed somewhat later than their American counterparts and were not predated in most cases by a substantial junior college movement as in the U.S. Most provinces in Canada began their community college system in the 1960s as a result of significantly increased demand for post-secondary level training, a belief in the democratization of education opportunity, and the view that post-secondary training should be an engine of economic growth for the nation (Dennison & Gallagher, 1986). The first community college in B.C. was established in 1965.

In the U.S., there are two types of higher education governance structures at the state level, coordinating and governing boards (Novak, 1996). Coordinating boards have varying levels of authority for making decisions and setting regulations that affect colleges and universities throughout the state, with no more than one coordinating board per state. Governing boards have responsibility for management and control of multicampus systems. Several multicampus systems can exist under one statewide coordinating structure, resulting in sometimes confusing lines of authority (Novak, 1996). Between the 1950s and early 1970s, "the bulk of governance restructuring that occurred ... moved toward a consolidation of authority



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into the hands of fewer boards and higher-level administrators" (Novak, 1996, p. 19). Coordinated and multicampus systems are still the dominant form of governance structure in the U.S. today, although there was also a trend in the 1990s toward decentralization which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Gaither (1999) states that multicampus systems are the dominant form of public higher education in the United States and calculates that "approximately 80 percent of the students currently enrolled in two- and four-year public colleges and universities attend institutions that are part of a multicampus system" (pp. xix-xx). Likewise, McGuinness (1996) states that by 1994, 65 percent of students attended schools belonging to multicampus systems. Langenberg (1994) estimates that nearly half of all college and university students attend institutions that are part of such systems, a slightly lower but still significant percentage.

Langenberg (1999) states that the preponderance today of supra-university organizations and multi-campus systems is in large part due to the rapid increase in the number of institutions offering post-secondary education after the Second World War. Langenberg states that "from the standpoint of state political and educational authorities, the prospect of that many tax-supported institutions pursuing independent paths in the time-honored tradition of academic autonomy is an invitation to chaos" (1999, p. 217). Thus multicampus and coordinated systems, as opposed to loose collections of fully autonomous institutions, have emerged as the dominant structure in American higher education. The reasons for developing and maintaining those systems and the coordination evident within them are germane to the present study.

Canada, on the other hand, does not tend to have provincially coordinated or multicampus systems. Education in Canada falls constitutionally under the jurisdiction of each province, which is not unlike the situation in the U.S. What has emerged over time in Canada is a variety of "quasi-systems" that have developed differently in each jurisdiction based on the unique historical, sociocultural and economic characteristics of each province or territory (Dennison, 1995). In Canada, community colleges tend to have a closer relationship with government than universities do, and universities have much higher levels of institutional autonomy. However, the system-like structures that have developed in each jurisdiction often include universities with community colleges and technical institutes, with the different types of institutions coordinating their activities to varying levels "either through voluntary agreements or through more formal arrangements (in which governmental authority usually plays a role)" (Dennison, 1995, p. 121). The voluntary versus formal arrangements for coordination among institutions is a main focus of the present research.

Thus, although formal systems do not exist in Canada as they do in the United States, there are varying structures in place to bring coordination to higher education at the provincial/ territorial level. Dennison (1995) provides the following reasons for an increasing focus on coordination in Canada:



The escalating demand for access to further education at all levels; a recognition of the need for greater mobility by students seeking advanced credentials; concerns about lack of recognition of previous learning; artificial barriers to transfer from one institution to another; increasing costs of maintaining a large number of institutions; and the realization in political circles that higher education is not being used to its greatest effect have all contributed to a renewed emphasis upon the need for reform. (p. 123)

FUNCTIONS AND BENEFITS OF COORDINATED AND MULTICAMPUS SYSTEMS

The review of the American literature on the functions and benefits of coordinated and multicampus systems shows that the systems are designed to address many of the same issues described by Dennison above. Boatright (1999) states that the two main purposes of multicampus systems are to be better able to compete for public resources with public schools, health care and prisons, and to inform the state of the benefits that accrue to society as a whole when the state invests in its universities. Johnstone (1999) describes fostering cooperation among campuses in a multicampus system as one of the key functions of the system. Benefits of such cooperation include more articulation agreements and improved transfer.

Healy (1997), based on the results of a two-year study for the California Higher Education Policy Centre, states that central governance structures provide bridges between colleges and between colleges and government. Healy lists five areas where central governance has a positive system-wide impact, including performance measurement, budget development, encouragement of collaboration and transfer agreements and long-term, statewide planning. Healy also writes that in states where multicampus subsystems or individual institutions are not part of strong state systems, competition rather than cooperation often results and more attention is paid to meeting institutional rather than state needs.

Novak (1996) gives the following reasons for increased consolidation and centralization of system governance in the 1960s:

They included the need to coordinate enrollment growth among institutions, to minimize institutional competition and conflict over resources and academic programs, to control a proliferation of graduate and professional programs, to improve overall coordination and cooperation among institutions, and to ensure adequate oversight of new and emerging institutions. (p. 20)

Of particular interest to the present study, Johnstone, Healy, and Novak all list the fostering of collaboration and cooperation among institutions as a central function of statewide and multicampus systems. Thus central coordinating structures are used to improve interinstitutional collaboration.



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Langenberg (1994; 1999) sees the benefits of a system versus unconnected, autonomous institutions as falling into five categories: synergy, strategy, efficiency, accountability and integrity. Synergy involves the "enormous potential for enhancing, even transforming, the performance of individual institutions through coordinated effort" (Langenberg, 1994, p. 8). According to Langenberg, the synergistic efforts of a system provide great benefits for students, in terms of coordinated programming and support services, and for states, in terms of a collective resource to meet pressing social, environmental and economic needs. Closely linked to synergy, strategy involves the ability of a system to plan strategically to assign coordinated and complementary roles across institutions. Strategies developed at the system level are particularly important in academic planning across institutions to eliminate redundancy and make the best use of limited resources.

Langenberg (1994) states that efficiency would seem to be the most evident of the benefits of a system. Yet it takes strong leadership to ensure efficiencies are gained because system efficiency is often seen as the antithesis of institutional autonomy, which is jealously guarded at the institutional level even within systems. System efficiency vis-à-vis institutional autonomy is an important concept in relation to the purpose of the present research about the interplay between inter-institutional collaboration and provincial coordination.

Langenberg (1994) acknowledges that system administrative structures may be seen as detracting from accountability, one of the most important trends in post-secondary education in the 1990s, because they add a layer between the clients and the actual deliverer of services. However, he argues that strong system leadership is required to make certain that accountability and authority are delegated to the appropriate level within the system and that institutions are accountable to the state as a whole. Finally, Langenberg describes the role of the system in maintaining the integrity of individual institutions by shielding them against unwarranted external intrusion into institutional affairs. Langenberg concludes his discussion of the value-added nature of systems by stating that "a system is only worth having if it is greater than the sum of its parts and if it provides enhanced service to its clientele" (p. 9).

Langenberg's focus on the need for strong leadership at the system level is supported by other authors in the field. Healy (1997) states that strong leadership in the central office of state coordinating agencies is necessary for ensuring the success of those agencies in finding an appropriate balance between meeting statewide needs and the needs of institutions. Novak (1996) lists strong leadership at the board and top administrative levels as the most important factor in bringing about successful restructuring of governance structures. Such leadership can improve access to and the quality of higher education while enhancing institutional autonomy.

The sections below flesh out some of the key benefits of coordination by centralized systems, as described in the literature, with a focus on accountability, budgeting and coordination of programs, strategic planning and distance education. Inherent in the arguments



made by several of the authors is the importance of coordination and cooperation in light of an increasingly competitive environment among public institutions and between private and public institutions.

Accountability

Burke (1999) conducted a study of system actions undertaken in six states as a result of budget problems in the first half of the 1990s. He was trying to determine how well the states had responded to the five categories of benefits set forth by Langenberg (1994), which Burke described as objectives for multicampus systems. Burke's conclusions were that the systems studied did not fare well in meeting many of Langenberg's objectives.

One of Burke's (1999) key findings with respect to coordination within systems and the impact on accountability in the early 1990s was the following:

Decentralization became the preferred direction in a period when the states' share of the cost of public higher education declined. Several systems groped toward a new paradigm that tried to link state accountability with campus autonomy through the market forces of campus competition and consumer choice. (p. 77)

Thus the move towards coordination was replaced by state support for the benefit of a competitive environment. The arguments for a market-based approach to education will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter. The move to a competitive paradigm has been influenced by both business practices and political conservatism. These two influences resulted in administrative downsizing and decentralized decision-making because of a disdain for centralized authority and collective planning. Furthermore, the market philosophy of competition resulted in "leaving accountability to the market discipline of consumer choices" (Burke, 1999, p. 78).

Proponents of the market approach to accountability felt that the entrepreneurial nature of campuses and the level of responsiveness to students and other clients would be greatly enhanced. Critics, however, argued that the market-driven view resulted in an essential privatization of public higher education in which institutions competed for the business of the consumer, the student. Thus higher education became viewed as "a private good for graduates rather than a public good for states" and as a "Darwinian model of campuses struggling with each other for survival" (Burke, 1999, p. 78).

Burke argues that multi-campus systems are the best hope of maintaining the distinction between private and public institutions and for making certain that institutions are accountable for meeting the public good while dealing with their own individual concerns and the needs of the students. Langenberg agrees that systems can ensure that "accountability does not stop at the campus walls" (1994, p. 9). Burke also argues that campuses tend not to make decisions of their own accord that would result in the common good of the system.



Stated differently by Langenberg, "it is about as likely that a group of autonomous institutions will spontaneously take concerted action as it is that a pile of lumber will spontaneously form a house" (1994, p. 9). Thus, both Langenberg and Burke see value in the role that a system can play in bringing about coordinated activity and accountability to the state but are less hopeful about the motivations of individual institutions to collaborate voluntarily with other institutions.

Budgeting and Coordination of Programs

Layzell and Caruthers (1999) write about the important role played by multicampus systems in budgeting and establishing budget processes. The authors raise the possibility of state systems becoming irrelevant in the budget process because of the declining portion of the institutions' overall budgets coming from the state, the same reason given by Burke (1999) for the move towards greater decentralization in the early 1990s. However, Layzell and Caruthers disagree with this possible direction. Instead, they assert that systems will play an even greater role in the years ahead as intermediary bodies in developing performance-based funding initiatives. The authors argue that appropriately designed accountability mechanisms can result in individual institutions or campuses meeting their goals for more financial autonomy within clearly established accountability guidelines, and the state achieving its goals for higher education.

Layzell and Caruthers (1999) also write about perennial and emerging budget-related policy issues faced by systems. Central to these is the role played by system-budgeting in ensuring a level of programming coordination across institutions within the system. An advantage of system-wide program planning and review is that financial resources are allocated from a system-wide rather than an institutional perspective, resulting in each institution offering "a different set of programs, thereby maximizing the system-wide program array without unnecessary duplication among institutions" (Layzell & Caruthers, 1999, p. 117). System-wide program reviews can also result in resources saved from the elimination of duplicate or redundant programs being reallocated to new programs that meet emerging labour market needs.

Another key benefit of multicampus systems with respect to program planning is the ability to develop and deliver collaborative programming in which two or more institutions pool their resources to offer academic programs (Layzell & Caruthers, 1999). Often it is difficult for one institution to mount a high cost program, but this difficulty can be overcome by sharing instructional resources, including technology and facilities, to develop and deliver the program. Layzell and Caruthers give as an example of collaborative programming the collaborative nursing education program developed by the five institutions of the University of Wisconsin System. Interestingly, a similar Collaborative Nursing Program has been developed among nine colleges and university colleges and one university in B.C.'s quasi-system and has resulted



in an unprecedented level of cooperation in curriculum development and program delivery. Thus, similar collaborative endeavours appear to be possible in both formal systems and quasi-systems of institutions. In the B.C. case, the development of the program represented a high level of voluntary collaboration among the institutions involved, but it also had approval from the Ministry along with strong financial support.

Strategic Planning

Szutz (1999) writes of the importance of strategic planning and policy-making within higher education systems, particularly in light of many of the challenges facing higher education today. He states that there are two powerful reasons why it makes sense to adopt a system approach rather than an isolated, institutional approach. The first is the role of a system in budget making where a group of unified institutions lobbying the state for funds is often far more successful than individual institutions battling each other for funds at the state level. A second related role is policy-making at the system level. It is the system's ability to successfully implement system-wide policies at the institutional level that enables the system to argue at the state level for adequate budgetary support for those institutions. Conversely, the success of the system in statewide budget deliberations results in increased support from the various institutions that make up a system for the role of system administration in budget development and policy making (Szutz, 1999).

Szutz (1999) describes a review he conducted of strategic plans and planning processes in nine major higher education systems in the United States. One of Szutz's findings was that "collaboration among system institutions and between institutions and other government and private sector entities was explicitly included in five of the nine plans" (1999, p. 93). Thus collaboration, a major focus of the present research, is generally recognized to be strategically important within many higher education systems and is planned for accordingly.

Norris (1999) writes of a new approach to strategic planning that will be required by higher education systems in the Knowledge Age. It is predicted that higher education will be profoundly affected by this new age, which is emerging as a result of the fusion between telecommunications and computer and information technology (Langenberg, 1999; Norris, 1999). Norris argues that in this new more competitive environment, strategic planning must involve thinking in the future tense and "planning from the future backward" (1999, p. 102). This involves visioning the learning requirements of the future and returning to the present to identify barriers that would prevent a system from meeting those future needs. One of the key focal points proposed by Norris for system-wide planning in the Knowledge Age is the need for strong inter-institutional collaboration and the formation of strategic alliances among not only post-secondary institutions, but also technology companies and learning enterprises.



Distance Education

An integral part of the move into the Knowledge Age is the increasing use of information technology to provide distance learning opportunities for all learners, regardless of place and time. The advent of distance learning and especially the explosion in the use of the Internet for instructional purposes is having a major impact on the expansion of learning opportunities and is forcing a reaction from higher education institutions and systems (Langenberg, 1999). Furthermore, in times of fiscal retrenchment, state governments, as the principal providers of higher education, are looking for creative means of providing access to greater numbers of students. This desire for greater access within limited resources has led many states to consider the potential of distance education (Epper, 1997).

The increased emphasis on distance learning has introduced increased market competition for educational services among institutions, both among public institutions and between public and private institutions (Layzell & Caruthers, 1999). The demand for more job-focused degrees delivered through the Internet has resulted in private providers stepping forward to meet those needs in flexible ways and has thus increased competition for students (MacTaggart, 1996). Layzell and Caruthers (1999) assert that a system can alleviate this competition by establishing financial incentives or disincentives and encouraging strategic alliances with respect to program offerings in a distance format.

Epper (1997) conducted a comparative case study in three states to "better understand forces for coordination and competition in state systems of higher education by examining state policies and structures for distance education" (p. 554). Epper's main interests were to determine how the advent of technology and distance education has changed the competitive environment in higher education and how conflicts are being resolved between increased competitiveness and the traditional notion of statewide coordination.

Epper (1997) found that "state-level coordination of distance education can enhance service to students, leverage state and institutional resources and reduce duplication" (p. 552). However, publicly funded institutions have been slow to respond to the increased demand for distance education for a number of reasons, including resistance to centralization, strong resistance from faculty, protection of campus turf and unwillingness of institutional administrators to give up existing lucrative distance education efforts for the sake of collaborative efforts. Epper concluded that distance education has increased the competitive environment in higher education and has resulted in a challenge to some of the traditional regulatory principles governing statewide coordination, including "prevention of unnecessary program duplication, maintenance of mission distinction, definition of geographic service areas, equitable distribution of resources and systemwide planning" (p. 580). These traditional principles are being replaced in some states by marketing concepts that focus on determining customer needs, developing and marketing programs according to those needs and driving enrolments through consumer choice.



Yet Epper (1997) feels that competition and coordination can coexist and that few institutions can make the necessary investments to provide quality distance education products in a highly competitive environment. Therefore, institutions must coordinate their efforts in order to be competitive. Similarly in B.C., post-secondary institutions are working together to develop a collaborative approach to online delivery through the BCcampus project. For budgetary reasons, B.C. institutions are realizing that they must cooperate to develop and deliver quality learning opportunities in an online environment rather than compete with each other. At the same time, the B.C. government has funded and fully supported this collaborative approach to online programming as a means of enhancing access and choice for students (British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education, 2002).

COLLABORATION VERSUS COORDINATION

The focus on voluntary collaboration among institutions is relevant to the distinction being made in the present research study between coordination (represented by the description of the roles of multicampus systems above) and collaboration (represented by voluntary efforts of educators and institutions to cooperate in the delivery of online learning opportunities). Coordination and collaboration are, of course, closely linked, but for the purposes of the remainder of this study it is also informative to differentiate between the two. A review of the literature found few references to the concept of inter-institutional collaboration other than occasional references to the role of coordinating systems in fostering collaboration, such as those referenced previously in this chapter (Healy, 1997; Johnstone, 1999; Novak, 1996; Szutz, 1999). This dearth of literature specifically related to the topic of collaboration adds to the significance of the present study.

Tollefson wrote a chapter about voluntary collaboration in 1981 in an edited text on competition and cooperation in American higher education. Tollefson called such collaborative efforts "consortial relationships," which he said differ from higher education systems in that participation is voluntary and is based on genuine inter-reliance among institutions.

Tollefson (1981) listed a number of benefits he felt accrued from cooperation within academic consortia. Consortial cooperation avoids unnecessary duplication and thus saves money. It also has the potential to increase the quality of instructional offerings and services through joint endeavours. Related to the previous point is an increase in the diversity and breadth of the educational experience that can be provided to students. Consortial relationships can also result in cooperative efforts to achieve federal and other grants that could not be achieved by individual institutions. Because of the above benefits, consortial relationships result in financial efficiency through the sharing of resources and services. Finally, cooperative arrangements among educators and institutions prevent competitiveness for resources and students.



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Interestingly, the benefits described by Tollefson (1981) that result from voluntary collaboration are very similar to the benefits derived from and the roles of coordinating systems. Thus the results of collaboration and coordination appear similar although the means of achieving those results differ.

Glenny (1959) writes of the advantages of voluntary coordination versus formal coordination by state agencies. Among the benefits he found, based on studying a few states that had adopted this method of coordination, were that institutional autonomy was maintained and institutions could opt in or out of a coordinated activity, as long as the expectations of the legislature were met. According to Glenny, two of the characteristics of a successful voluntary coordinating system are mutual respect and trust among participants and the honest presentation of all facts related to an institution's participation in a coordinated activity. Thus trusting relationships are seen as a key to voluntary coordination. Elsewhere, Glenny refers to the success of voluntary coordinating systems in Ohio and Indiana as resting "on the good will and mutual respect of the several presidents" (p. 30).

Glenny (1959) also describes four weaknesses of purely voluntary systems of coordination. Voluntary systems "(1) have a tendency to preserve the status quo, (2) lead to domination by the largest or oldest institutions, (3) inadequately represent the public interest in policy-making, and (4) ineffectively coordinate large systems of institutions" (pp. 248-249). In terms of preserving the status quo, Glenny states that existing institutions are reluctant to reevaluate their programs or to consider future areas of necessary development from a system perspective. Glenny (1959) states that:

Each participant in voluntary systems may act from the highest motives and in ways he believes best, but his actions are inevitably colored by the fact that his prime loyalty and responsibility lie with one institution, not with the statewide educational effort. (p. 254)

Elsewhere, Glenny states that "the primary motive of participants in voluntary systems is the welfare of individual institutions, not the system as a whole" (p. 262).

Glenny (1959) also states that "the success of voluntary coordination requires unanimity" (p. 255). This unanimity becomes more and more difficult to achieve as systems grow and become more complex and differentiated, as has been the case in B.C. over the last several decades. Glenny states that large, complex organizations cause blocs and sectors of institutions to form and make strong interpersonal relationships more difficult. The work of Glenny, despite the fact it was completed in 1959, is still very relevant to the purpose of the present study.

CENTRALIZATION VERSUS DECENTRALIZATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Although much of the evidence above describes the continuing importance of coordinated and multicampus systems in American higher education, other literature suggests a gradual



move towards more decentralization of higher education systems. Often the reasons for this decentralization are the declining level of state funding and the increasing focus on market-driven competition as a means of funding public institutions (Burke, 1999). Garrett (1993) studied the characteristics of state community college systems and their relationship to levels of centralization. Garrett found that there was a significant positive correlation between the percentage of state funding and the degree of centralization; however, there was less evidence of centralization in states with higher levels of local funding.

Novak (1996) gives several negative consequences of increased consolidation and centralization of governance structures, which have led to an increasing focus on decentralization. These consequences include a lessening of the authority of the campus president because of the important role of the central offices and the system head; an expansion of system governing boards' responsibilities, resulting in the boards being far removed from the students and institutions impacted by their decisions; and unclear lines of authority between statewide coordinating and multicampus or campus governing bodies, resulting in confusion over final fiscal and academic decision-making authority. Fisher (1995) argues that statewide boards and multicampus systems stifle campus creativity and innovation, result in unnecessary layers of bureaucracy, slow down the decision-making and program approval process, cost a lot to operate, and add costs to institutions that must hire additional staff for negotiating with and reporting to central boards.

Fisher (1995) argues that coordinating functions could be carried out through voluntary cooperation among university presidents. As an example of such a move, Fisher cites the elimination in the mid-1990s of the New Jersey Board of Higher Education and its replacement with a "council of public-college and university presidents, whose job it is to foster voluntary cooperation" (p. A48). He states that an advantage of such an approach is that no funds are required. However, Fisher does not provide any evidence of the success of such an approach or the means by which presidents would deal with inter-institutional rivalry. MacTaggart (1996) also refers to the New Jersey elimination of its Board as an example of what he calls "liberation management" (p. 10). However, he states that there is no evidence yet that this brand of management leads to improved performance of institutions. The New Jersey example is germane to the purpose of the present study in that it involves a replacement of central coordination with voluntary collaboration.

McGuinness (1996) provides some evidence of the growth of systems until 1994, but he states that between 1985 and 1995 the trend towards greater centralization seems to have been reversed in that there was also evidence of decentralization. However, McGuinness writes that "systems are likely to be more, rather than less, a feature of American higher education a decade from now" (p. 204) and states his view that the focus should be on how to improve on the balance between centralized systems and autonomous institutions rather than on whether systems should exist at all. McGuinness describes as "intractable centralizing



forces" (p. 207) the use of systems by states to ensure economic and political balance among regions, the use of systems to address legal issues and collective bargaining in a cost effective manner, the worldwide pressure to continue merging university and non-university sectors, and the desire of governments to achieve economies of scale and control expenditures.

Likewise, Novak (1996) describes the "opposite and contradictory trends" (p. 30) of centralization and decentralization in American higher education. Novak states that out of 16 governance changes, either proposed or enacted, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, nine involved a significant move toward decentralization with increased campus autonomy and local power. Yet Novak argues that governance changes towards centralized or decentralized models are becoming increasingly complex with elements of centralized control and institutional autonomy present in both models as governments struggle to find the appropriate balance of power. Novak states that after a decade of restructuring attempts in various states, the "consensus is emerging that current [centralized] structures offer the best mechanisms to address fiscal and other challenges" (p. 40). He concludes that "the vast majority of states will continue to rely on various forms of central authority" (p. 39).

THE TREND TOWARD COMPETITION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Throughout Chapter 3, references have been made to the need for coordination and cooperation in higher education as opposed to competition. Many of the factors impacting a move toward greater decentralization are also driving an increasing emphasis on competition in funding higher education. As previously stated, the increasing prevalence of distance education and the declining level of state funding for higher education have resulted in greater competition among public institutions.

Another major factor in increasing competition is the move toward reinventing government in which market-based incentives are applied to public governance of institutions (MacTaggart, 1996). Novak (1996) describes the concept of reinventing government as one that "views competition, rewards, financial incentives, and contracting out to the private sector as desirable and feasible for government agencies" (p. 29). The result is often less government with a move toward decentralization and the removal of central governance structures. The concept of reinventing government and its resulting decentralization is closely aligned with the market philosophy of competition in which consumer choice drives institutional responsiveness and accountability (Burke, 1999).

Finn (2001) writes about the advent of market-based reforms in the public K to 12 system. Finn believes that the public education system has failed to improve student achievement primarily because it has a monopoly on education. Without competition, monopolies tend not to change or improve their performance. Thus Finn believes a solution to the problems of public education is not to throw more money at the public system as it now exists. Rather, Finn suggests a market approach, based on the concepts of consumer choice



and competition among education providers and involving decentralization of authority and grassroots support in bringing about reform. Examples of market approaches include charter schools, vouchers, outsourcing, home schooling and the use of educational technology.

Finn (2001) concentrates on the concept of charter schools as a way of reinventing, not eliminating, public education. Novak (1996) also mentions the increasing interest in concepts like charter schools in higher education because of the growing disinvestment of the state in colleges and universities. Charter schools, which have grown substantially in number over the last decade, are independent public schools developed through strong local support, funded by the state or province, but free from the confines of state or provincial regulations. Charter schools must deliver within a specified time period, usually five years, on results agreed upon through a charter with government. Otherwise, the school is shut down (Finn, 2001). The success of charter schools is based on their ability to meet their stated objectives and to attract students in an environment where parents are given full choice as to where they will send their children. Finn states that such choice is good for all public schools because it forces all schools to improve their performance or risk losing their student base. In Finn's own words, "Competition works. It changes systems that were once monopolies. They hate it but they do begin to respond" (2001, p. 47). Vouchers and the growing use of educational technology are two other market approaches to education described by Finn that have particular applicability to a post-secondary setting.

The focus on consumer choice as the driving market force behind funding and accountability in higher education was described previously in this chapter in the work of Burke (1999) on accountability. Burke states that this competitive paradigm, influenced by business practices and political conservatism, became increasingly influential in the 1990s in impacting the allocation of state resources and in driving the move toward greater decentralization. However, Burke argues that centralized systems are necessary for maintaining publicly funded education as a public good rather than simply as private institutions competing for students. Epper (1997), on the other hand, concludes that public institutions could remain competitive in the distance education marketplace by adopting marketing concepts to determine and deliver to client needs.

SUMMARY

The review of literature in Chapter 3 about coordination, collaboration and competition in higher education provides solid support for the purpose of the present study and develops a good context in which to explore these concepts in the B.C. college, university college and institute system. The literature points towards the increasing and continuing importance of system-wide approaches to higher education over time, despite a trend in the late 1980s and 1990s towards greater decentralization and a more competitive funding environment. The exploration of various functions and benefits of post-secondary systems, with a focus on



accountability, budgeting, coordination of programs, strategic planning, and distance education, provides good background information for studying the elements of a coordinated and collaborative college, university college and institute system in B.C. Furthermore, the review of the underlying reasons for the development of system-wide approaches to higher education in North America provides a sound backdrop for dealing with the historical development of a system approach in B.C. The continuing importance of the concepts of coordinated and multicampus systems and quasi-systems in jurisdictions across North America provides support for studying this topic in depth in the B.C. context.

The review of the literature also shows that the benefits and goals of voluntary, interinstitutional collaboration appear almost identical to the benefits and goals of system-wide coordination (Tollefson, 1981), which is of particular interest to the exploration of the relationship between collaboration and coordination in the present study. It appears that the ends of both approaches to creating and maintaining a system are similar but the means of doing so differ. The work of Glenny (1959) on the strengths and weaknesses of voluntary coordinating systems is also instructive to the present research. Even more important to the significance of the present study is the apparent lack of literature dealing specifically with the topic of interinstitutional collaboration. The literature does make several references, though, to the role of centralized systems in ensuring collaboration among institutions.

Of importance to understanding the historical development of B.C.'s college, university-college and institute system are the recent contradictory trends of centralization and decentralization in American higher education (Novak, 1996) and the increasing emphasis on competition. It is important to trace these recent trends through the historical development of the B.C. system.

Also of great interest to the present study is the focus of some authors on the need for a greater balance between the power of systems and the autonomy of institutions so as to counter some of the perceived negative effects of centralization, which have led some jurisdictions towards decentralization. Layzell and Caruthers (1999) argue for the future role of systems as intermediary bodies that will balance the state's needs for accountability for funding with the need for adequate institutional autonomy to be able to meet those accountability requirements. Similarly, Novak (1996) notes that in order for centralized structures to continue being effective, "states must create structures that grant as much autonomy and fiscal flexibility as possible, conferring sufficient authority on leaders while clearly expecting accountability" (p. 41). McGuinness (1996) also argues that centralized systems will continue their prominence in American higher education but proposes a more balanced approach to sharing power and responsibility between the state and the institution.



CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS FROM LITERATURE AND INTERVIEWS

Chapter 4 provides a summary of the findings from the literature and interviews on the history of collaboration and coordination in the college, university college and institute system in B.C. The chapter begins with a summary of the key information gleaned from the review of a large volume of literature on the B.C. context. The chapter continues with a discussion of the relationship among the dichotomies of coordination and collaboration, centralization and decentralization, and system and institutional autonomy. Chapter 4 then presents a synthesis of 15 key findings that emerged from the review of literature, followed by a summary of the main findings from the interviews. The chapter concludes with a table that provides a listing of the key events between 1962 and 2002 that are important to the findings of this study. The reader should note that literature and events beyond March 31, 2002, the point at which data collection ended, have not been included in the present study.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE

Below is a brief summary of the major findings from the B.C. literature as they relate to the purpose of the study. The themes of coordination/collaboration, centralization/decentralization and system/institutional autonomy are woven throughout. The review of literature included important secondary sources, such as dissertations, articles and textbooks, and primary sources, such as memos, government documents, legislation, reports, letters, minutes of meetings and proceedings of conferences. For the sake of brevity, direct and indirect quotes from the literature and interviews have not been included below.

The main finding from the literature is that B.C. has developed what is considered to be one of the most coordinated post-secondary systems in Canada. This coordination has occurred because of a set of circumstances and through a set of actions unique to B.C. In the early days, college development and coordination across institutions were driven by individual institutions and their communities, but the government became more and more involved in coordinating that development, beginning in the early 1970s and continuing for the next three decades. Maintaining a sense of partnership between the Ministry and institutions has been very important to maintaining a coordinated system that respects institutional autonomy and the value of voluntary collaboration among institutions. Trends in the 1990s towards greater centralized decision-making with multiple stakeholder involvement, coupled with the fragmentation of the system brought about mostly because of the rise of university colleges as a separate sector, have resulted in the breakdown of inter-institutional collaboration and calls for higher levels of institutional autonomy. The early 2000s have witnessed a move to decentralization based on the new government's market ideology.



The Beginnings of Colleges as Autonomous Institutions

The early beginnings of colleges in B.C. were very much based on local initiative, which differs from most other jurisdictions in Canada. The key event that began the development of colleges was the Macdonald Report, an independent report produced by the President of the University of British Columbia (UBC) in 1962 to address the rapidly expanding need for post-secondary education in a province with only one university. Three key recommendations by Macdonald resulted in the formation of a differentiated system of autonomous institutions that is in many ways intact today. These recommendations were: that a number of two-year colleges be developed to provide, among other programs, academic programming at the first- and second-year level for transfer into universities; that colleges be autonomous, self-governing institutions rather than parts of a provincial system; and, that colleges be designed to meet local needs with school boards providing governance as well as local taxation covering a portion of the costs of running institutions.

The Macdonald Report and many of its recommendations were quickly acted upon by the provincial government through an amendment to the Public Schools Act in 1963. However, the impetus for establishing colleges was left entirely in the hands of local school boards and communities through local plebiscites and referenda. The 1960s became a period of rapid growth in community colleges with 10 being formed by the early 1970s. But this growth occurred in a decentralized manner without government direction or any form of provincial policy or plan for that development. The strong role of the local community in establishing colleges and in helping to fund them resulted in a high level of commitment to local responsiveness and institutional autonomy and a resistance to efforts at centralization by government.

In the absence of any form of government coordination, the B.C. School Trustees Association (BCSTA) formed the Regional and District College Association of B.C. (RDCABC) in 1966, which later became the B.C. Association of Colleges (BCAC) in 1970, representing board chairs of each institution. The Associations were formed voluntarily to begin collaborating on programming and funding issues across institutions.

At the same time, the Academic Board for Higher Education in British Columbia was formed by government as a result of one of Macdonald's recommendations. The role of the Board, which was made up mostly of university representatives, was to oversee development of the new colleges and to ensure academic standards were being met, particularly in relation to academic transfer programs. The Board viewed its role as facilitative rather than directive in nature, an approach that was important to the early development of collaborative relationships among colleges and between colleges and universities. Because of perceptions by the public that the new transfer arrangements were not working properly, the Academic Board created transfer committees in specific subject areas in 1968 as a means for colleges and universities to work cooperatively to solve transfer problems as they arose. The development of such committees was seen as a means of solving issues voluntarily to resist the intervention of



government and was the beginning of B.C.'s well-developed articulation and transfer system that has served as a major coordinating effort among institutions to this day.

Increasing Centralization and the Colleges and Provincial Institutes Act

Even as early as the late 1960s, college boards and administrators were beginning to call for some form of provincial plan for the burgeoning system and for greater involvement of the provincial government in funding colleges. One of the first major centralizing actions of government was the melding of provincial vocational institutes with local colleges in 1971. This brought together institutes that had previously operated as branches of government, with colleges that had operated under full local autonomy. It was the beginning of greater government control of college development. The next several years saw a plethora of reports being prepared for government, some commissioned by government and others not, which called for the development of a separate act for colleges and for increased funding from and planning by government. The system, with its locally driven growth over the previous 10 years, was deemed by both institutions and the government as being in need of more provincial coordination. In 1973, government began funding 100 percent of capital for colleges. In 1975, four new colleges were created by the province as a result of a recommendation of the Task Force on the Community College in British Columbia (1974). Thus, for the first time, college development was being driven by the province rather than by the local community.

By the mid-1970s, a growing provincial Ministry had become increasingly interested in taking more of a centralist approach to college development for a number of reasons, including the increasing cost to government of operating and building colleges, the rapid growth of the number of institutions, the weakening economy and the view that some form of program rationalization was necessary among the numerous new institutions. The result of these centralist tendencies, coupled with the calls from institutions for greater provincial coordination, was the introduction of the Colleges and Provincial Institutes Act in 1977. Among the most important aspects of the Act were the assumption by government of 100 percent funding for college operations and capital, which removed all local funding; the provision of corporate status for colleges, which removed colleges from school board control; and, the creation of three intermediary councils with legislated power over program and financing decisions at the colleges. Among the powers assigned to the Academic Council was authority over transfer and articulation, something that had been managed more voluntarily by the Academic Board until it was dissolved in 1974. The Act also created five provincial institutes with different provincial roles, resulting in a further differentiation among elements of the post-secondary system.

The Act was welcomed by some in that it recognized the colleges as being distinct from public schools and as having their own unique role to play in the broader educational system. However, most college representatives, including board members, administrators and faculty, were highly critical of the Act as being far too centralizing in nature and as taking



away the cherished autonomy of institutions. It was felt that the Act represented the beginnings of a provincially coordinated system as opposed to a collection of autonomous institutions. The passage of the Act had the effect of creating greater collaboration among college officials in their opposition to the government's encroachment on their autonomy and their ability to serve local needs. It also resulted in an expansion of the Council of Principals (COP) to include institute presidents, which meant continuing collaboration among a larger number of more varied institutions. A further result of the centralizing trend of the period following the Act was the creation of the College-Institute Educators' Association (CIEA) in 1980 to provide a more unified voice for faculty associations at the provincial level.

In 1983, the Ministry amended the Act to abolish the three intermediary councils and to remove all elected officials from the college Boards, replacing them with government appointees. This amendment was seen as a further centralizing move with more power being placed directly in the hands of the Minister of the day, although no one decried the abolishment of the three councils, which had been deemed to be overly centralist and bureaucratic in their operations. The early 1980s also saw the introduction of a severe government restraint program that involved the Ministry seeking greater control over regional and provincial program rationalization to ensure college and institute programs were meeting B.C.'s economic needs. Despite this move to further provincial control of the development of a more rationalized provincial system, institutional representatives at the board, president and faculty level continued to meet apart from government to determine collectively how to best operate as a system of autonomous institutions.

Growing Cooperation between the Ministry and the Institutions

The massive centralization that could have occurred, given the powers assigned to the Minister in the 1977 Act and in its 1983 Amendment, did not occur largely because of the development of a close working relationship among Ministry officials, college presidents and board chairs on system-wide initiatives. There seemed to be a mutual understanding developing that the Ministry and system had to work closely together to move forward on system issues that required inter-institutional cooperation. Thus institutional representatives and Ministry officials worked together on the development of an institutional accountability framework, five-year planning documents in 1982 and 1986 and the funding formula in 1984. Despite the deep government restraint program from 1982 to 1987, good working relationships were maintained between government and the system and among institutions. Thus provincial coordination and interinstitutional collaboration became closely intertwined.

The Ministry continued to support the need for transfer arrangements among institutions and the coordination work of the various articulation committees. As well, the development of the funding formula in 1984 created a more predictable and equitable means of funding institutions of different size and mandate. The formula, still in place in March 2002, resulted in a more cooperative rather than competitive approach to funding institutions, and thus allowed



institutions to work more cooperatively on a number of initiatives that had system-wide implications.

The Access for All Strategy

The late 1980s saw the end of the restraint period and the rapid expansion of post-secondary access through both the Access for All strategy and the recommendations of the 1988 report entitled *Access to Advanced Education and Job Training in British Columbia* (Provincial Access Committee, 1988). An important recommendation of the report was the development of three university colleges designed to expand geographical access to university degrees by delivering third and fourth year degree-level programs along with the comprehensive range of program offerings common to B.C. colleges. This resulted in an even greater differentiation of the B.C. post-secondary system and planted the seeds of what would become an increasingly fragmented system in the decade ahead. Another result of the Access Report was the creation of the B.C. Council on Admissions and Transfer (BCCAT) to take on the role of facilitating voluntary coordination among an increasing array of institutions to promote articulation and transfer. Thus the voluntary nature of transfer that had been established by the Academic Board in 1968 was maintained, although the government now funded this coordination to a greater level through the creation of BCCAT.

Constituency-based Governance in the 1990s and the Fragmentation of the System

In 1990, the Advanced Education Council of British Columbia (AECBC) was formed as an amalgamation of the B.C. Association of Colleges (BCAC) and the Council of Principals (COP). For the first time, institutional boards and presidents were represented by the same organization, which was created to have a stronger, more coordinated voice for advocacy with the government. The 1990s were dominated by the New Democratic Party (NDP), who came to power in 1991. The result was a significant move towards more stakeholder participation in governance at the institutional level and in provincial planning. The faculty unions became important players on most decision-making bodies that had previously been the purview of administrators, board members and Ministry officials.

Two important events in the 1990s were the passage of Bill 22 in 1996, which created Education Councils and allowed elected internal representatives on institutional boards, and the release of a new provincial strategic plan called *Charting a New Course* (British Columbia Ministry of Education, Skills and Training, 1996). The plan was developed through a lengthy consultation process by a provincial steering committee representing institutional presidents, board members, faculty, students and government. The strategic plan represented a greater move towards centralized coordination of a provincial system of colleges, university colleges and institutes, designed to meet the social and economic needs of B.C. learners, but the plan made little mention of the role of autonomous institutions. The development of the plan did not include universities, which from the beginning hampered its ability to direct the development



of the entire public post-secondary system. The plan also created the Centre for Education Information Standards and Services (CEISS) and the Centre for Curriculum, Transfer and Technology (C2T2) as system agencies tasked with coordinating a number of system-wide initiatives across institutions. The result of the move to greater levels of system-wide activity and the role of multi-stakeholder committees in advising or directing a host of system initiatives was a perceived lessening of the autonomous actions of institutions and the authority of their administrators. The move toward province-wide bargaining with faculty and support staff in 1995 further reduced the role of institutional boards and administrators and increased the influence of provincial unions and associations.

Frustration with the predominance of a system approach to all decision-making and stakeholder involvement in decision-making structures led the Advanced Education Council of B.C. (AECBC) in 2000 to call for a restoration of institutional autonomy, the removal of centralizing agencies and the lessening of stakeholder input at the provincial level. At the same time, the release of the Petch Report (Petch, 1998) solidified the formation of the five university colleges as a separate sector with different needs and aspirations from those held by other elements of the system. Over the next few years, lack of clear policy and legislative direction from government and increasing competition among sectors for limited resources led to the eventual dissolution of AECBC in October 2001. The presidents formed into two separate groups for the purpose of further collaboration, one representing 17 colleges, institutes and the Open Learning Agency (OLA), and the other representing five university colleges. For the first time since the inception of colleges in the mid-1960s, board chairs were without a mechanism for inter-institutional communication and cooperation. The main issue that could not be resolved by AECBC was how one organization could serve a single advocacy role for different groups of institutions with differing needs. Thus the progressive differentiation of the system that began in the mid-1970s had resulted in a fragmentation of the former system into a loosely connected network of sectors and sub-sectors. As had been the case throughout the four decades under study, universities remained a separate sector.

The gradual dissolution of AECBC happened around the same time that a Liberal government was elected in June 2001 with a massive majority. The new government began by making deep reductions in public expenditures. The government also made significant changes based on a market-driven ideology, changes that moved the post-secondary system toward greater institutional autonomy, less government intervention in institutional affairs, greater accountability and an increasing role for the private sector. At the same time, the Ministry included in its first three-year *Service Plan* in February 2002 a commitment to build a more coherent and integrated public post-secondary system (British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education, 2002).



SYNTHESIS OF KEY FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE

The next section of the chapter serves as a synthesis of the key findings from the literature. The section begins with a discussion of the relationship among the three dichotomies inherent in the purpose of the study: decentralization/centralization, autonomy/system and collaboration/coordination. This discussion is accompanied by a diagram that attempts to show this relationship visually. The section continues with a listing of 15 key findings from the review of literature in relation to the purpose of this study.

The Relationship among Dcentralization/Centralization, Autonomy/System and Collaboration/Coordination

The purpose of this study has been to better understand the historical development of the B.C. college, university-college and institute system focusing on the changing nature of voluntary inter-institutional collaboration in relation to provincial coordination. The study also examined the related themes of centralization and decentralization and the development of a provincial system of autonomous institutions.

A review of the literature has shown a clear relationship among the three dichotomies inherent in the research purpose: decentralization/centralization, autonomy/system and collaboration/coordination. In general, a move from a decentralized collection of institutions to a centralized system was accompanied by a loss of institutional autonomy and a move towards institutions being seen as part of a larger provincial system. At the same time, voluntary collaboration, which was more necessary in a decentralized system with little government intervention, was replaced by ever increasing levels of provincial coordination with government playing a senior role in that coordination.

However, over time voluntary collaboration and provincial coordination became less distinguishable as separate entities as the Ministry and institutions worked closely together to achieve system goals, often based on government policy and planning documents that encouraged, if not mandated, inter-institutional cooperation. Thus voluntary collaboration became more formalized and more closely intertwined with provincial coordination. This latter finding is expanded upon in the next subsection on key findings.

In the early 2000s, the new Liberal government began moving the system back towards decentralization based on their market-driven ideology. With increased decentralization came increased autonomy and less provincial coordination. There is no evidence in the literature yet as to whether or not more voluntary collaboration will develop because of the reduction in government involvement at the system level. The competitive nature of a deregulated post-secondary system may mitigate against inter-institutional collaboration.

In order to better understand the relationship among the three dichotomies, the following diagram (*Figure 1*) has been prepared. The bottom row of *Figure 1* denotes a two-way flow between collaboration and coordination to reflect the above finding that the two processes have become closely related over time.



Figure 1
The Relationship among Decentralization/Centralization, Autonomy/System and Collaboration/Coordination

Decentralization ?	Centralization
?	?
?	?
?	?
Autonomous Institutions ?	Provincial System
?	?
?	?
?	?
Voluntary Collaboration ? ?	Provincial Coordination

Key Findings from the Literature

Below are the major findings that emerged from the review of the literature as summarized in the previous section of Chapter 4.

- 1. Roots of institutional autonomy: The Macdonald Report and the subsequent enabling amendment to the Public Schools Act, coupled with the lack of interest on the part of government in directing college development in the early days, are at the root of the strong sense of institutional autonomy, community responsiveness and resistance to centralization that developed in B.C. and has been maintained to some extent to the present.
- 2. Centralization and decentralization: The pendulum has swung from a decentralized set of institutions to a centralized system and is now swinging back to a decentralized system. However, the reasons for decentralization have changed, with the 1960s witnessing the development of autonomous, community-based institutions based on grassroots support for the democratization of education and on a lack of government interest, and the 2000s experiencing a move to decentralization based on a market-driven ideology that favours deregulation, less intervention by government in the affairs of autonomous institutions and greater accountability for outcomes.
- 3. <u>Relationship between funding and centralization</u>: The increasing level of centralization by government of the developing college and institute system was related in large part to the increasing level of funding provided by government for both the capital and operating costs of larger numbers of institutions coupled with decreasing levels of local funding. More government funds also meant an increasing emphasis on accountability for the use of those funds.



- 4. Relationship between the economy and centralization: Whenever the provincial economy has worsened and public resources have become limited, various governments have tended to take a more centralized approach to the management of institutions and a greater interest in program rationalization to ensure that provincial funds are being used efficiently and that programs are applied in nature and meet the province's economic needs. In the economic downturn of the early 2000s, however, government is responding with a decentralist approach based on a market-driven ideology.
- 5. <u>Voluntary</u>, <u>inter-institutional collaboration</u>: Institutional representatives have always realized that a degree of inter-institutional coordination is necessary. Therefore, they have put considerable time and effort over the last four decades into voluntary collaboration so as to prevent unnecessary program duplication, ensure student transfer, lobby government and prevent government from becoming too directive in the coordination of a system.
- 6. <u>Voluntary nature of transfer</u>: The Academic Board developed a facilitative rather than directive approach to dealing with college development in the 1960s and created a voluntary approach to solving transfer and articulation issues. These voluntary collaborative efforts at improving the transfer of students have continued over the last four decades and are at the root of much of the collaboration and goodwill that have existed among institutions, including universities. Furthermore, the Ministry has recognized the importance of this voluntary approach to the success of the transfer initiative.
- 7. <u>System/Ministry cooperation</u>: While institutions have recognized the benefits of voluntary collaboration, both institutions and the Ministry have recognized the value of working closely together to plan and implement system-wide initiatives. The institutions have understood the important role that the Ministry must play in coordinating an accountable provincial system while the Ministry has understood that system-wide initiatives are more successful if the institutions have a role in their planning and implementation. The result has been the development of a positive working relationship in which both the Ministry and institutions agree to and have ownership of system-wide initiatives.
- 8. <u>Blending of collaboration and coordination</u>: Beginning with the Colleges and Provincial Institutes Act and continuing through a number of Ministry policy and planning documents over the next two decades, inter-institutional cooperation was recognized by the Ministry as a necessary element of a cohesive provincial system. Therefore, what had previously existed as voluntary collaboration among institutions without Ministry intervention became required cooperation as part of system-wide goals. As system/Ministry partnerships became more prevalent in guiding the development of system-wide initiatives, provincial coordination and inter-institutional collaboration often became blended into a single effort at developing and maintaining a coherent system, with the Ministry as a senior partner in the process.



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- 9. Impact of abolishing the intermediary councils on system/Ministry cooperation: Institutions were particularly critical of the role of the three intermediary councils in interfering with institutional autonomy and in serving as a buffer between institutions and the Ministry. The abolishment of the three councils in 1983 through an amendment to the Colleges and Provincial Institutes Act was a key factor in allowing a strong, direct working relationship to build over the years between Ministry officials and institutional representatives.
- 10. Importance of the funding formula: The funding formula, developed in 1984 by the Ministry in close cooperation with institutional representatives, has brought stability to the system by creating a predictable and an equitable means of funding institutions of different size and mandate. This predictability and equitability has lessened competition among institutions for resources and has had a major impact on the ability of institutions to cooperate for the good of the system.
- 11. <u>Institutional differentiation</u>: The history of the B.C. public post-secondary system has been one of progressive differentiation, beginning with a single university until the early 1960s and expanding to include 28 institutions made up of colleges, university colleges, institutes, agencies and different kinds of universities. This differentiation, and in particular the development of university colleges since 1990, has occurred in the absence of a provincial policy or legislative framework for the development of a coherent system and has resulted in part in the present fragmentation of the post-secondary system.
- 12. Importance of personal relationships: One of the key stabilizing influences throughout the 1980s and 1990s on the development of a coordinated college, university-college and institute system has been the personal relationships that have developed between Ministry and institutional officials and among institutional officials. These relationships have been built on trust and goodwill and were remarkably stable over the two decades. However, the change in key personnel in both the Ministry and institutions beginning in the late 1990s has had a negative impact on the maintenance of a balanced and coordinated provincial system.
- 13. <u>Impact of stakeholder involvement in provincial governance</u>: An increase in centralizing efforts by government in the 1990s, coupled with an increase in stakeholder involvement in provincial decision-making, led to greater centralization of the college, university college and institute system and weakened the historic relationship between the Ministry and institutional administrators and boards. This weakened relationship and the backlash to perceived over-centralization are in part responsible for the present fragmentation of the system.
- 14. <u>The declining role of boards</u>: The powerful role played by the institutional boards in the coordination of a system and in communicating with government on institutional and system concerns has been gradually eroded over the years. By 2001, there was no



formal mechanism remaining for boards to work with each other on inter-institutional or system concerns. At the same time, the role of institutional presidents has become increasingly important, both in terms of inter-institutional relationships and relationships with the Ministry.

15. Role of important individuals: Over the decades, and particularly in the first 25 years of college and institute development, certain individuals have played a very important role in the way in which institutions and the system have developed. These individuals held strong views on the values of institutional autonomy and/or the need for system coordination, and these views helped shape the system. Such important individuals include John Macdonald, author of the Macdonald Report; Dean Chant, Chair of the Academic Board; Frank Beinder, the first Executive Director of the B.C. Association of Colleges; Andrew Soles, the first ADM responsible for colleges and institutes; Patrick McGeer, the Minister who introduced the Colleges and Provincial Institutes Act in 1977; and Grant Fisher, the ADM for much of the 1980s.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW DATA

The interviews were conducted with 10 individuals to confirm findings and fill gaps in understanding from the literature review of historical B.C. documents, which represented the main source of data for the study. The interview data provided a high level of support for many of the findings but also provided different perspectives from those that emerged from the literature review in Chapter 4. I found strong support for Findings 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 12 and 15. This included support for Finding 5 regarding the important assertions about the long history of voluntary collaboration in B.C., although interviewees gave different time periods for the height of that collaboration and a variety of reasons for the collaboration having taken place. There was also a high level of support for at least some of the assertions in Findings 4, 6, 10, 11 and 14.

The interview responses related to Findings 7 and 8 provided mixed support for these two important findings related to the purpose of this research. For Finding 7, all interviewees agreed that there had been a positive working relationship between the Ministry and the institutions over time, but interviewees had very different opinions on the decade in which such cooperative efforts had been at their peak. Furthermore, there was little direct support for specific assertions in Finding 7, although three interviewees made statements that supported the assertion about the growing understanding among institutional and Ministry representatives that they had to work together in their respective roles to build a strong system. Similarly for Finding 8 on the eventual blending of collaborative and coordinated efforts, there was mixed support with only one interviewee providing support for the first assertion on the growing understanding by the Ministry of the value of inter-institutional cooperation. However, six interviewees made statements that supported the assertion that over time the collaborative



work among institutions and the coordinated efforts of government became merged into a coherent effort at building a system. Interviewees provided additional insights into the intricate nature of the evolving relationship between coordination and collaboration and seemed to suggest that some form of Ministry intervention was required to sustain collaborative efforts across institutions. At the same time, the Ministry could not lead system initiatives unless institutions cooperated with the Ministry and with each other willingly, and relationships among individuals were positive. Thus voluntary collaboration and provincial coordination became mutually dependent constructs.

The one finding that did not receive direct support from the interviews was Finding 13 on the impact of stakeholder involvement on perceptions of increased centralization in the 1990s. The finding from the literature focused on the negative consequences of stakeholder involvement whereas most interviewees responded that such involvement had a positive effect on provincial decision-making because collaboration in decision-making promotes ownership of the implementation of those decisions.

Thus, the varied perspectives of the 10 interviewees provided both support for the findings from the B.C. literature, and additional information that deepened my understanding in relation to the purpose of the study. From a hermeneutic stance, such variety in perspectives is to be expected and honoured as each interviewee entered the interview with his or her own memories of the past, based on different experiences, roles and times in the post-secondary system. The interviewees, as witnesses of and participants in many of the events and initiatives of the past, were able to add depth to my understanding, which had been developed based solely on the literature review prior to the interviews taking place. In addition, I had not lived in B.C. for most of the period under study and was thus able to gain valuable insights from those who had been part of the college, university college and institute system over the decades.

Any variation in interpretation of past events between interviewees and the researcher is also to be expected because I had the benefit of just having conducted a thorough review of over 100 primary and secondary literature sources over a six-month period. So while the interviewees had the advantage of actually having witnessed the events that took place, I had the advantage of recently being able to study in an in-depth way what was written about the past and to develop my own interpretations of what the authors were saying. The end result has been the building of a deeper understanding, based on my interpretation of the text and the interviews, of the coordinated and collaborative nature of the B.C. college, university college and institute system and the movement over time between decentralization and centralization.



TABLE OF KEY EVENTS

This chapter concludes with the presentation of a table (see Table 1) that provides a detailed list of the key events pertinent to this study in the development of a coordinated and collaborative college, university-college and institute system in B.C. The events are presented in five time periods, which represent the divisions that were used in the dissertation to present the data. They represent a progressive movement from 1962 to 1998 from a decentralized collection of autonomous institutions to a centralized provincial system. Over the same time period, voluntary collaboration was either replaced or melded with provincial coordination. From 1998 to 2002, the system began to fragment and the pendulum began to swing back to decentralization based on a market-driven ideology.

Table 1

Key Events in the Development of a Coordinated and Collaborative College, University College and Institute System in B.C.

1962-1969

- 1962 Release of the Macdonald Report
- 1963 Amendment to the Public Schools Act allowing school boards to establish colleges
- 1963 Creation of the Academic Board of Higher Education of B.C. through amendment to the Universities Act
- 1965 Vancouver City College becomes first autonomous community college
- 1966 Selkirk College opens in Castlegar after a successful plebiscite and referendum
- 1966 Creation of the Regional and District Colleges Association of B.C. (RDCABC)
- 1968 Development by Academic Board of first standing committees to deal with transfer problems in specific disciplines

1970-1977

- 1970 Regional and District Colleges Association of B.C. (RDCABC) changes name to the British Columbia Association of Colleges (BCAC)
- 1971 Meld of the regional colleges and the provincial vocational institutes
- 1973 Province begins funding 100 percent of college capital expenditures
- 1974 Report of the Task Force on the Community College in British Columbia
- 1974 BCAC expands its role and hires its first Executive Director, Frank Beinder
- 1974 The Academic Board is dissolved
- 1975 Four new institutions established by government in areas not yet served by colleges (Northeastern, Northwestern, East Kootenay, and North Vancouver Island) as a result of the Task Force report



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1977-1983

1977	Passage of the Colleges and Provincial Institutes Act
1977	Five new provincial institutes created as a result of the Act
1977	Three intermediary councils created as a result of the Act: the Academic Council,
	the Occupational Training Council, and the Management Advisory Council
1977	Province begins funding 100 percent of college and institute operating
	expenditures as a result of the Act
1979	Creation of the Institutional Evaluation Steering Committee with system and
	Ministry representatives
1980	College-Institute Educators' Association (CIEA) formed from the College
	Faculties Federation (CFF) of B.C.
1983	Development of 1982 to 1987 Integrated Five Year Planning document through
	system and Ministry cooperation
1983	College and Institute Amendment Act abolishes three intermediary councils
	and gives Minister authority to appoint all board members, thus removing elected
	school board representatives from the boards

1984-1991

government

1984	Implementation of the Funding Formula, developed through system and Ministry cooperation, to bring uniformity and predictability to annual funding allocations
1986	Development of 1986 to 1991 Integrated Five-Year Planning document
1988	Release of the Access for All report, resulting in significant expansion of access to post-secondary opportunities
1989	Creation of the British Columbia Council on Admissions and Transfer (BCCAT)
	as a result of the Access for All report
1990	Designation, as a result of the Access for All report, of three colleges (Okanagan,
	Cariboo, and Malaspina) as university colleges to be developed under auspices of traditional universities
1990	Formation of the Advanced Education Council of British Columbia (AECBC) by
	combining the British Columbia Association of Colleges (BCAC) and the Council of Principals (COP)
1991	Development of the 1991 document Partners for the Future: Ministry Plan
1991	Election of the New Democratic Party (NDP), replacing the Social Credit



1992-2002

1992	Release of the Human Resource Development Project report
1993	Release of the report of the Committee on Governance in Colleges and Institutes
1994	Formation of Post-Secondary Employers' Association as provincial bargaining
	agent for college employers
1996	Amendment to the College and Institute Act creating Education Councils and
	allowing elected internal representatives of faculty, support staff, and students
	on institutions' boards
1996	Extension of degree-granting authority to several institutions, including five
	university-colleges and two institutes, through the Amendment to the College
	and Institute Act
1996	Release of Charting A New Course Strategic Plan developed by Ministry and a
	committee of multiple stakeholders
1996	Formation of the Centre for Education Information Standards and Services
	(CEISS) and Centre for Curriculum, Transfer and Technology (C2T2) as a result
	of Charting A New Course
1998	Formation of the Consortium of B.C. University Colleges
2001	Dissolution of the Advanced Education Council of B.C. (AECBC)
2001	Election of the Liberal government
2002	Passage of Bill 28, the Public Education Flexibility and Choice Act
2002	Release of the Ministry of Advanced Education's Service Plan 2002/2003-2004/
	2005



CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of Chapter 5 is to bring closure to the present study by comparing and synthesizing what was learned from Chapters 3 and 4. The first section of the chapter relates the findings from Chapter 4 to the pertinent literature from Chapter 3 and from one other key literature source. In doing so, I relate the findings from the B.C. context to the broader context of coordination and collaboration and centralist versus decentralist approaches to higher education, primarily in the United States, the focus of much of the literature in Chapter 3. The second section of Chapter 5 presents a review of the relevant literature, both Canadian and American, on the design of higher education systems and on considerations that should be taken into account by jurisdictions trying to achieve an appropriate balance between centralization and decentralization of higher education. The third section of the chapter presents my conclusions, which represent a synthesis of the key insights and understandings that have emerged through the data collection and analysis for this research project. The fourth and final section of the chapter involves a review of possible areas for further research, based on the present research study.

RELATIONSHIP OF RESEARCH FINDINGS TO THE LITERATURE REVIEW IN CHAPTER 3

The following subsection reviews pertinent literature from Chapter 3 and a few additional important literature sources with regard to the findings from Chapter 4. The subsection begins with an exploration of the timing of and reasons for trends in centralization and decentralization in American jurisdictions in comparison to B.C. and continues with references in the literature to voluntary collaboration and coordination in relation to the B.C. context. The reader should be aware that the literature from the U.S. includes reference to all of higher education, including community colleges, four-year colleges and universities. The focus of the present study was on the development of the college, university college and institute system in B.C., although the histories of the American and B.C. systems do appear to be quite similar.

Centralization and Decentralization

The history of the college movement in B.C. - having begun as autonomous institutions with a decentralized approach by government, moving to a much more centralized system under government control, and then moving back to a more decentralized model based on a market-driven ideology - is similar in many ways to the history of higher education in the United States. However, the swings back and forth between decentralization and centralization have tended to occur later in B.C. because of the relative youth of the college system in Canada compared to that of the U.S.

Novak (1996) states that the period from the 1950s to the early 1970s represented a significant move in the U.S. towards the consolidation of authority and the development of



coordinated and multicampus systems. Similarly, Langenberg (1999) states that multicampus systems emerged after the Second World War in order for governments to gain some system control over the rapid growth of what would otherwise have been independent and autonomous institutions. Richardson, Bracco, Callan, and Finney (1999) refer to the period from 1950 to 1980 as "the era of growth and coordination" in which "the role of state government changed from principally that of provider of institutional resources to both provider and regulator of institutional aspirations" (p. 6). According to Richardson et al., prior to 1950 many institutions had developed with considerable autonomy, although there were the beginnings in several states of the various types of coordinating systems that later emerged across the U.S. In B.C., the emergence of autonomous institutions did not begin until the mid-1960s, and the growth of a centralizing trend did not begin until the mid- to late 1970s. Thus development of a coordinated system in B.C. occured significantly later than in U.S. jurisdictions. However, some of the reasons for increasing centralization were similar in the States and in Canada, including B.C., as will be described below.

Novak (1996) gives a number of reasons for greater consolidation of institutions into coordinated systems by the 1960s, including the coordination of enrolment growth among institutions, the reduction in institutional competition over resources and programs, the control of the proliferation of graduate and professional programs, the improvement of cooperation among institutions and the orderly development of new institutions. Richardson et al. (1999) give many of the same reasons for state systems developing and add the desire of the state to limit the lobbying of individual institutions and to reduce barriers to effective transfer and articulation. Richardson et al. also state that a key reason for increased regulation of higher education in the 1970s and early 1980s was concern over fiscal restraints. Dennison (1995) gives a number of similar reasons for an increasing focus on coordination of community colleges in Canada and emphasizes a growing concern among governments about the cost of maintaining a number of institutions and a questioning of the effectiveness of how the resources were being spent.

Evidence for the reasons for increased centralization in B.C. came both from the literature and interviews summarized in Chapter 4. The reasons were similar to many of those stated in Chapter 3. Some of the reasons for a growing interest in control of institutions by government in B.C. were the growing number of institutions and the increasing cost, especially when government assumed 100 percent of the funding in 1977; the worsening economy in the early 1980s and the need to control program growth and engage in program rationalization; the perceived need by government for greater accountability for the use of funds; the feeling that locally driven development had led to inconsistent service across the province; support from institutional representatives for a greater role by government in coordinating, but not controlling, a college system; a growing feeling of inequity in terms of how individual institutions were being treated; the need for coordination of vocational training;



and the need to direct post-secondary programming into applied areas to assist the province in its human resource development needs. Improved transfer was also deemed a reason for a more coordinated system, but the role of maintaining a transfer system in the early days of college development fell more to the collaborative efforts of individual institutions under the auspices of the Academic Board of Higher Education.

In terms of the finding that increased government funding was a reason for centralization, Garrett (1993) provides evidence that supports a significant positive correlation between the level of state funding and the degree of centralization by government and a significant negative correlation between the level of local funding and centralization. Similarly, in B.C., I found evidence in both the literature and the interviews that increasing funding from government and the elimination of funding from the local tax base resulted in increased centralization by government.

The literature in Chapter 3 also provided information on the main functions and benefits of coordinated and multicampus systems, which included working as a system on accountability, budgeting, program planning, strategic planning and the development and implementation of distance education. Although none of the major findings in Chapter 4 dealt specifically with the functions and benefits of increased coordination and centralization, much of the Chapter 4 literature review did deal with examples over time of the increasing involvement of the Ministry in the five areas listed above, as well as in other areas such as enrolment management and data collection. However, evidence from the literature and interviews in Chapter 4 showed that in B.C. most of the examples of Ministry initiatives in this area either were initiated by the Ministry but involved a collaborative effort with the institutions, such as the development and implementation of the funding formula, or grew out of voluntary collaboration, such as the work on enrolment management.

The American literature also provided evidence of a move towards greater decentralization in the last few decades, based on a growing focus on competition and accountability and a market approach to education. McGuinness (1996) states that the trend in previous decades towards centralization was reversed between 1985 and 1995 with a move towards decentralization in many jurisdictions. Novak (1996) describes a study in which 9 out of 16 states engaged in a move towards more decentralized models with increased institutional autonomy in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Likewise, Burke (1999) writes of greater decentralization in a number of jurisdictions in the early 1990s as a result of a move towards a competitive paradigm, based on business practices and political conservatism, that involved greater institutional autonomy and increased accountability following a market-based approach to education.

In a similar vein, MacTaggart (1996) and Novak (1996) describe the move towards increased competition in higher education based on the philosophy of reinventing government, which is rooted in a market-driven ideology. Richardson et al. (1999) describe the efforts of a



number of states since 1980 to decentralize higher education by "breaking up systems or providing individual institutions with greater decisional authority, albeit within the context of management information systems that assured some reasonable accountability" (p. 10). Finally, Novak writes that the move to market-driven approaches to providing public education "is fostered by the state disinvestment in colleges and universities" (p. 35), a statement that is echoed by Burke (1999) as a major reason for the move to decentralization in the 1990s. Thus ample evidence exists in the American literature about moves over the 1980s and 1990s to greater decentralization, increased institutional autonomy and increased accountability for outcomes.

Evidence from the literature and from several of the interviews showed a similar move to decentralization recently by government in B.C. for many of the same reasons. Once again, the move in B.C. has occurred at a later date than in the U.S. with the main thrust toward a more decentralist approach beginning with the election of the Liberal government in 2001. Documents from the new government showed clearly a move away from the more centralist tendencies of the 1990s to a decentralist approach based on a market-driven ideology that promotes deregulation, increased institutional autonomy and greater accountability for outcomes. Thus the experiences in the U.S. and in B.C. appear similar with regards to the move towards decentralization. Other reasons given by interviewees and in the literature in Chapter 4 for the present move to decentralization included the declining portion of institutional funds received from the provincial government; fragmentation that has resulted among colleges, university-colleges and institutes, partially as a result of increasing differentiation; a desire within institutions for increased autonomy; a negative reaction to the perceived over-centralization of the 1990s; the departure of long-standing leaders from both the Ministry and the institutions; and, the smaller size of the Ministry, leaving it incapable of its past level of intervention.

In summary, both centralization and decentralization of colleges, university colleges and institutes in B.C. have occurred for some of the same reasons that these trends have occurred in higher education in general in the U.S. However, additional reasons were provided for the present move to decentralization in B.C. Furthermore, the timing of the swings between centralization and decentralization in B.C. has occurred later than it has in the U.S., partially because of the relative youth of B.C. institutions compared to their American counterparts.

Coordination and Collaboration

This part of Chapter 5 begins with a brief comparison of the mechanisms for state coordination of higher education systems in the U.S. and in B.C. and then focuses on the scant literature on voluntary collaboration in relation to the B.C. context. Novak (1996) states that the two main types of coordinating bodies at the state level are coordinating boards, with regulating authority over colleges and universities throughout the state, and governing boards, with responsibility for managing multicampus systems. According to Gaither (1999), McGuinness



(1996), and Langenberg (1999), the main form of public higher education in the U.S. is the multicampus system. Richardson et al. (1999) write of coordinating boards in 24 states, 21 of which have regulatory authority, and consolidated governing boards in 24 states. They also mention a third type of structure called planning agencies that "have no organization with authority that extends much beyond voluntary planning and convening of higher education" (p. 3). Interestingly, only two states have this kind of structure, which relies solely on voluntary planning.

B.C., on the other hand, would be described more like a quasi-system (Dennison, 1995) in that it does not have a multicampus system but rather 27 autonomous post-secondary institutions, each with its own board. B.C. does not have a coordinating agency or board either, in the same way that many of the American states have. Most coordinating agencies and boards in the U.S. appear to be either closely tied to government or have the status of an independent agency but, in either case, serve an intermediary function between government and institutions. However, the literature in Chapter 4 showed that responsibility for postsecondary institutions in B.C. has always rested within government through a series of ministries with responsibility for advanced education. The three intermediary councils that were created in 1977 with regulatory authority were quickly abolished because of widespread dissatisfaction with them. The other agencies that have existed in B.C., such as the B.C. Council on Admissions and Transfer (BCCAT), the Centre for Education Information Standards and Services (CEISS), and the Centre for Curriculum, Transfer and Technology (C2T2), have no regulatory authority and, although they serve some of the functions of coordinating boards, they often do so based on broad policies of government and on the strength of their relationships with institutions.

Thus, unlike American states, there is no structure in B.C. with regulatory functions that would act as an intermediary between the government and the institutions. Instead, each institution deals with government directly regarding its operational and capital needs. As well, institutions lobby government through various sector organizations that have developed with part-time or full-time staff. This difference between B.C. and the U.S. in terms of the relationship of the coordinating board to government is germane to the next section of Chapter 5 on means by which jurisdictions can achieve a balance between centralization and decentralization.

In terms of voluntary collaboration, Chapter 3 showed a dearth of literature on this topic, which added to the significance of this study. As Richardson et al. (1999) found, only two out of 50 states have adopted a planning agency structure that relies on voluntary planning of the higher education system. However, several references were made throughout Chapter 3 about voluntary collaboration, and these will be discussed below in relation to the findings in this study.



Johnstone (1999), Healy (1997) and Novak (1996) all mention that a central function of statewide and multicampus systems is fostering collaboration and cooperation among institutions. Similarly, Szutz (1999) mentions the importance of collaboration among institutions and between institutions and the government in statewide strategic planning. These statements provide some support for the finding from the literature in Chapter 4 that government in B.C. recognized the value of institutional cooperation to achieving system goals and began to include such cooperation as an important element of provincial strategic plans. The statements by the above authors also provide evidence of a blending of the concepts of coordination and collaboration among institutions by coordinating and governing bodies, similar to another finding from the literature. The statement by Szutz also supports the importance of close cooperation among institutions and between institutions and the Ministry in strategic planning exercises in B.C. since 1982. Evidence from the interviews showed that it is this cooperative endeavour on inter-institutional initiatives, often driven by the Ministry but built on the history of cooperation among institutions, that has resulted in the concepts of collaboration and coordination being synthesized into a unified and sustainable approach to building and maintaining a system.

Tollefson (1981) provides further support for a potential reason for the blending of collaboration and coordination in B.C. when he describes the many benefits that accrue from the work of voluntary academic consortia. The benefits of such voluntary collaboration, as described by Tollefson, were very similar to the benefits of coordinating systems. If the benefits of both collaboration and coordination are indeed similar, this would provide support for the possibility of the two concepts merging over time, which was a finding from the literature in Chapter 4 and from some of the interviews.

Glenny (1959) provides evidence for the importance of interpersonal relationships in maintaining voluntary collaboration when he states that mutual respect, goodwill and trust among presidents were very important to the success of voluntary coordinating systems. I found similar evidence in the literature and interviews in Chapter 4 of the importance of trust and goodwill in the development of both collaborative and coordinated activities in the B.C. system over time. Glenny also describes the weaknesses of systems built on voluntary collaboration, with the most significant one being the tendency of such systems to maintain the status quo because ultimately the allegiances of individual participants lie first with their own organizations and not with the system as a whole. Burke (1999) and Langenberg (1999) also make statements about the inability of individual campuses in multicampus systems to make decisions and take concerted action on their own accord to benefit the system as a whole. These statements are very similar to statements made by some of the interviewees about the difficulty of voluntary collaboration alone achieving enduring system change because an institutional representative must put the needs of his or her institution ahead of the needs



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of the system. Hence, these interviewees said that the Ministry must play a facilitative role to allow collaboration to continue and to blend collaboration with coordination.

Finally, Glenny (1959) states that the ability of institutions to reach unanimity in a voluntary coordinating system is essential but becomes more and more difficult as systems grow and become more complex and differentiated with various sectors forming. Such differentiation impacts negatively on interpersonal relationships and the trust and goodwill so necessary for a voluntary system to work. Glenny's statements are very similar to findings from the literature and interviews in Chapter 4 that the present state of fragmentation in B.C.'s college, university-college and institute system is in large part due to increasing differentiation and the erosion of interpersonal relationships. Indeed, a stated reason for the eventual dissolution of the Advanced Education Council of B.C. (AECBC), a voluntary organization, was the inability of the organization to represent the varying needs of the evolving sectors of institutions.

Thus, the few references in the literature to voluntary collaboration in Chapter 3 do appear to corroborate the findings in Chapter 4. This concludes the section on findings from the literature and interviews and their relation to Chapter 3. The next section will delve into the literature on different ways of thinking about and organizing higher education systems in order to achieve an appropriate balance between centralization and decentralization.

DESIGNING A POST-SECONDARY SYSTEM THAT BALANCES CENTRALIST AND DECENTRALIST TENDENCIES

The second section of Chapter 5 is designed to explore system designs for higher education and to report on recent work that has been done by jurisdictions trying to seek an appropriate balance between centralization and decentralization. This information is being provided to develop for the reader a deeper understanding of ways of balancing centralist/decentralist tendencies and to set the context for some of the conclusions that follow. The section begins by presenting some of the Canadian literature on post-secondary system designs in Canada as they relate to the B.C. context. The section continues with a review of relevant American literature on developing a balanced approach to higher education coordination, with a particular emphasis on the work of Richardson et al. (1999). The section makes occasional reference to the role of voluntary coordination where relevant to do so, but the main emphasis here is on system design and coordination.

The Canadian Literature

One way of describing post-secondary systems is by reviewing the state of differentiation or stratification that exists in systems. Fisher, Rubenson and Della Mattia (2001) state that the B.C. post-secondary system, particularly in the 1990s, has moved from a binary system to a stratified system. The binary system is representative of most Canadian provinces and involves two sectors of institutions, usually colleges and universities, working together in a



complementary manner. The stratified system, on the other hand, is more complex and involves a number of sectors working together in some form of cooperative arrangement. Skolnik (2000) agrees that the post-secondary system in B.C. is the most differentiated system in Canada and states that "the predominant view in the literature on institutional differentiation ... is that the natural evolution of postsecondary institutions is toward greater differentiation" (p. 2). The evidence from the interviews supported the findings from the literature that B.C. has reached a high state of differentiation and fragmentation, which makes coordination and collaboration more difficult to achieve. The question becomes one of how to maintain the diversity of sectors and institutions and yet function as a system in which government plays its necessary role while respecting the historical autonomy of institutions.

Fisher et al. (2001) write of the work of Skolnik, Jones and Soren in 1998 on the different levels of coordination between college and university sectors in Canada. The three major approaches to coordination in Canada include the institutional level, sector level, and system level. Coordination at the institutional level involves autonomous institutions in bilateral relationships whereas system-level coordination involves planning at the system level and treating institutions as parts of a greater whole. Fisher et al. state that "coordination at sector level characterizes all Canadian provinces" (p. 5), meaning primarily college and university sectors. Unlike the experience in the U. S., Fisher et al. argue that, "no province is yet at the system level of coordination where agencies transcend institutional and sector boundaries" (p. 6). This lack of a mechanism for system coordination is also true for B.C. although B.C. is recognized as having "developed a *system* of higher education which has been articulated and coordinated to a somewhat greater extent than is the case in other Canadian provinces, with the exception of Quebec and, perhaps, Alberta" (Dennison, 1997, p. 51).

Skolnik (2000) speaks of the need for a system design, rather than a system plan, that balances the roles of governments and post-secondary institutions. Skolnik argues that such a design should acknowledge institutional autonomy by providing them with "procedural autonomy" over institutional operations while limiting "substantial autonomy such that the state through a consultative process which involves all stakeholders would determine the mission and major goals of all post-secondary institutions" (p. 3). Fisher et al. (2001) agree with Skolnik's distinction between procedural and substantial autonomy and assert that "the state can and should set the mandate and major goals for institutions" and that "institutions should have full procedural autonomy in deciding how best to achieve the substantive goals set by the state" (p. 6). Fisher et al. go on to observe that "when institutions engage in exercises to determine their mandate and major goals, it is not uncommon for them to underemphasize the goals of a whole system" (p. 6). Elsewhere, Fisher et al. state that "voluntary coordination seems to mean that if it is in the institution's [sic] interests to coordinate they will do so. When it is not, they will not" (p. 41). The authors confirm the statements of several interviewees about the drawbacks of a full reliance on voluntary collaboration because of the priority that is given to institutional needs.



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Fisher et al. (2001) provide their ideas on the important role of government in setting a system's direction and build on Skolnik's work by stating the following:

Design means articulating a vision of a system that clearly communicates the overall mission, and within this the mission for each segment of the system. Mission, in this sense, makes explicit how the segments are interrelated and the degree of their coordination. Without a guiding provincial design it is difficult to provide a strong policy direction for the system as a whole to the people who are responsible for making decision in the post-secondary sectors or institutions. (p. 6)

The work in B.C. on developing the Strategic Plan called *Charting A New Course* appears to meet some of the stipulations of Skolnik and Fisher et al. in that it involved the Ministry working in a highly consultative process with key system stakeholders to develop a strategic vision and plan for the college, university college and institute system. However, the plan did not adequately recognize the important roles played by the various sectors in the highly differentiated system that had evolved in B.C. Rather, it tended to treat the institutions as more similar to each other than as being members of distinct sectors. This homogeneous treatment of institutions by *Charting A New Course* may help to explain in part the demise of its influence in the latter part of the 1990s as the so-called system became more fragmented along sector lines. The demise of the plan's system influence may also be due to the fact that universities were excluded from the plan at the outset.

Fisher et al. (2001) refer to the important work of Richardson et al. (1999) in their analysis of a possible suitable design for B.C.'s post-secondary system, which includes universities. This work will be discussed in some depth below as part of the American literature about appropriate system designs for a balanced approach to coordination of higher education systems.

The American Literature

The history of higher education in B.C. and the rest of Canada differs somewhat from that of the U.S., and the literature referenced above shows that the approach to system-wide coordination across sectors in a differentiated system differs as well. However, recent work on trends in the U.S. with respect to the balancing of the centralization/decentralization continuum holds possible lessons for the B.C. and Canadian context and is complementary to the work described above by Skolnik (2000) and Fisher et al. (2001). Some of the American literature is described below.

In the first section of this chapter, reference was made to statements by McGuinness (1996) and Novak (1996) about the increase in decentralization in higher education in a number of states in the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s. However, both McGuinness and Novak state that systems in the future are likely to rely more rather than less on some form of



central system to achieve the goals of state governments. McGuinness states that the question is not whether some form of centralized system will exist or not but rather what is the appropriate balance in systems between centralized authority and autonomous institutions. Similarly, Novak asserts that different states are developing increasingly complex models in an attempt to find the appropriate balance between centralized control and institutional autonomy.

McGuinness (1996) describes a hypothetical system which would incorporate elements of both centralized and decentralized systems, assuring a higher education system that would meet the changing needs of the state while at the same time being based on more of a market-driven philosophy. In McGuinness's model system, strong central coordination is provided by a higher education corporation with full responsibility for the allocation of resources. the development of accountability systems and the provision of funding to promote institutional innovation. The corporation would also provide a wide array of services to institutions on a competitive basis. Institutions in McGuinness's system would have a high degree of autonomy and their own boards and would be fully accountable for meeting established performance indicators, with a portion of their future funding being determined by their success on those indicators. Institutions would also be encouraged to be more market- and consumer-driven based on incentives from the state. Such a balanced approach to system coordination may have applicability in the B.C. context, which already possesses many of the attributes of the system described by McGuinness. The approach could also satisfy the goal of the present government of having a more coherent and integrated post-secondary system within a more market-based framework.

Richardson et al. (1999) conducted a study of seven American jurisdictions to determine the influences that shape higher education performance in adopting appropriate policies and system designs. Like Novak (1996), Richardson et al. refer to the period between 1980 and the present as one of "incremental rebalancing" in which states adopted a variety of approaches that "defy simple, one-dimensional explanations" (p. 9) in order to find a balance between over-centralization and institutional autonomy. Richardson et al. state that "institutional autonomy versus state authority, or centralization versus decentralization" (p. 2), the focus of much of the present study, is the traditional approach to studying state governance of higher education. The authors state that the performance of systems should instead be judged by examining the symmetry or disconnect between the state policy environment and its system design.

According to Richardson et al. (1999), state policy involves "the role that the state government chooses in balancing the competing influences of professional values and the market" (p. 11). Professional values include institutional independence and academic freedom whereas the market includes "a broad array of interests and influences that are external to the formal structures of both state government and higher education institutions" (Richardson et al., 1999, p. 12). Included in the authors' definition of the market are a number of economic



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influences, such as competitive pressures and student demand, and non-economic influences, such as demographics and political pressure.

Richardson et al.'s model determines a state's policy role in higher education according to the use it makes of the market with respect to higher education. The four possible roles of the state are that of providing resources, regulating, consumer advocacy and steering. On the provider end of the continuum, the state does not take into consideration the market whereas in the regulating role the state "specifies the relationship between institutions and the market" (Richardson et al., 1999, p. 14). In the consumer advocate role, the state provides some resources directly to students and allows them choice in where they purchase their education. In the steering role, based on the concept of reinventing government as discussed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 3 by MacTaggart (1996) and Novak (1996), "states steer by structuring the market for higher education services to produce outcomes consistent with governmental priorities" (Richardson et al., 1999, p. 14). Examples of the steering function include the use of private institutions to meet public needs and the use of vouchers, both of which were mentioned previously as aspects of the move towards competition in higher education.

Richardson et al. (1999) assert that states have varying degrees of success in terms of how they balance the professional values of higher education with the needs of the market. The authors make the following important statement regarding potential imbalances:

Ignoring the market in favor of state-planned systems of public higher education increases costs and limits responsiveness to emerging needs and priorities. Excessive state regulation removes institutional incentives for efficiency and quality. Excessive reliance on consumer choice substitutes what people are willing to buy for longer term investment strategies. Overzealous market structuring can leave the most expensive tasks to public institutions, while stripping them of critical mass and flexibility. (pp. 15-16)

The various policy roles described by Richardson et al. and the dangers of jurisdictions taking an imbalanced approach are very apropos to the B.C. context where the literature and interviews have shown a swing over time between decentralizing and centralizing tendencies based, among other things, on the changing economy and political ideology of the day. As stated by other authors in this section of Chapter 5, finding an appropriate balance of roles appears to be very important.

The second important element for Richardson et al. (1999) in determining higher education performance at the state level is system design, which they describe as "the tools policy-makers and professional leaders have available to improve or change higher education performance" (p. 16). System design includes decisions about governance structures, work processes, mission and capacity. In terms of governance structures, the three possible structures are segmented, unified and federal. A segmented structure involves no central



agency and multiple governing boards with each institution making direct representation to government through the budget process. The only power of government is to determine annual funding allocations. A unified structure involves a single governing board for all higher education institutions, much like the governing boards for multicampus systems described in Chapter 3. A federal structure is similar to the coordinating boards described in Chapter 3. Richardson et al. describe this structure by saying "there is a state agency that is neither state government nor higher education that acts as an interface between government and institutions" (p. 172). The agency or board has full responsibility for four work processes, including information management, budgeting, program planning and articulation. In federal systems, the powers of the state agency and the individual institutions are clearly defined and institutions have their own governing boards.

The three different governance structures described by Richardson et al. (1999) do not apply completely to the B.C. context. As Fisher et al. (2001) have pointed out, no province in Canada has reached a stage of system coordination in which a central agency has authority over institutions and sectors within a provincial system. However, elements of both the segmented and federal models seem to apply to B.C. Although autonomous institutions each approach the Ministry directly to discuss funding and other institutional concerns, the Ministry does have authority for many of the other work processes held by boards or agencies in a federal system. Furthermore, B.C. has a history of voluntary collaboration, which is a means of inter-institutional cooperation in a segmented system, yet it also has a long history of provincial coordination with government playing a key role in system-wide initiatives. B.C. appears to be almost a hybrid of the segmented and federal systems, as described by Richardson et al. Interestingly, Fisher et al. (2001), in describing Richardson et al.'s work on system designs, state "no unified or federal system in the United States has ever moved back to become segmented" (p. 41), which means moving from a coordinated system back to one that relies on voluntary coordination.

Richardson et al. (1999) conclude their study by analyzing which states were best able to integrate state policy and system design to achieve state goals. Richardson et al. write that "unified or federal systems that operated in a steering or consumer advocacy environment tended to identify priorities, shape institutional responses through all four of the work processes, and use information to communicate progress" (p. 183). Richardson et al. continue by saying that "in federal systems, coordinating boards typically built consensus among institutions and segments rather than relying on their statutory or regulatory authority, which was often weak" (p. 183). The authors conclude that their data showed that institutional autonomy was less constrained within a federal system than in more segmented systems, contrary to conventional wisdom.

The work of Richardson et al. (1999) is very important within the B.C. context because it shows how some American states have managed to meet their goals for higher education



while maintaining an appropriate balance between state control and institutional autonomy. Furthermore, their work shows that those states that maintain a federal system, with an intermediary state agency that builds consensus among self-governed institutions, are better able to meet their goals within a market-based philosophy that encourages competition and consumer advocacy. The importance of consensus rather than relying on statutory authority is similar to the approach taken over the decades by the Ministry in B.C. as it has built high levels of consultation into most system-wide initiatives. Richardson et al.'s findings are similar to the hypothetical system described by McGuinness (1996), which balanced elements of centralized coordination and a market philosophy. These American examples could be informative to the B.C. government as it tries to find the right balance for a coordinated system of fully autonomous institutions.

This concludes the second section of Chapter 5 dealing with the pertinent Canadian and American literature on system designs that can be used to balance centralization and decentralization and to create a coordinated system of autonomous institutions. The chapter continues with a presentation of the conclusions from the research.

CONCLUSIONS

There are seven main conclusions in relation to the research purpose. A search for balance between the elements of the three dichotomies inherent in the research purpose is a key theme through many of the conclusions, which tend to focus on my insights into possible directions for the B.C. post-secondary system in the future based on this study of the past.

The conclusions are presented as understandings that I have developed through the analyses of literature and interview data using the historical method, which is subjective and qualitative in nature, and a hermeneutic or interpretive approach. The research methodology does not allow concrete recommendations to be made. Although transferability is not a purpose of hermeneutic research, others doing similar research can review the findings of hermeneutic research for commonalities based on the rigour of that research (Eichelberger, 1989). Thus I hope that the findings and conclusions from this research project on the historical development of collaboration and coordination in the B.C. college, university-college and institute system may be of use to others studying in this area or developing policy on the future direction of post-secondary systems, in B.C. or elsewhere in Canada and the U.S.

Finding a Balance between Centralization and Decentralization

The history of the development of the B.C. college, university college and institute system has involved a swing from decentralization to centralization and back to decentralization, based among other things on the state of the economy, political ideology and growing demands for accountability. The system that has been built over the last four decades in B.C. is considered to be among the most coordinated in Canada. However, in recent years the system has become much more fragmented, partially as a result of increased differentiation



among sectors and also as a result of the reaction of government and institutions to the perceived over-centralization of the 1990s.

Finding an appropriate balance between centralization and decentralization may be both desirable and achievable, but it might only be achieved through systematic and conscious efforts on the part of both government and the institutions. How could B.C. build on its history of collaboration and coordination to develop a responsive college, university college and institute system that meets the changing needs of the province, acknowledges the legitimate role of government and yet maintains the necessary level of institutional autonomy and accountability? What would be required to find a balance between the role of government in setting broad directions for a coherent system and for fostering inter-institutional cooperation and the role of institutions in managing their own affairs and responding to community needs while meeting the needs of the province? How could a balance between the centralist and decentralist tendencies of government be achieved over time despite changing governments and the different ideological approaches of those governments?

Developing a Policy Framework for Institutional Differentiation

The present state of fragmentation in the B.C. college, university college and institute system is greater than it has been since colleges were first developed in the 1960s, largely due to institutional drift into distinct sectors that has occurred over the last decade or so. This fragmentation seems to be jeopardizing the ability of the Ministry to work with institutions on coordinated system-wide initiatives. It also seems to have lessened the level of inter-institutional and inter-sector cooperation necessary for coordinated activities to take place while increasing competition among institutions and sectors. As well, universities continue to operate apart from the other sectors in most planning and program activities other than transfer.

What may be lacking in B.C. is a policy framework, or system design, that would set the substantial directions at the system level for a differentiated post-secondary system, thus transcending the institutional and sector levels. Evidence from the literature and from the interviews suggests that such a framework may be more successful in its implementation if a consultative process is used to develop it. Usually, government plays a lead role in bringing key players together to develop such a framework. The framework could spell out clearly the mission and goals for a post-secondary system and the roles of the various sectors, including universities, and of individual institutions in meeting those goals. The framework could allow sectors and institutions procedural autonomy to meet the goals and could hold them fully accountable for meeting system goals that they have had a role in creating. An important aspect of a provincial system design could be to determine the role and accountabilities of the Ministry in meeting the substantial directions that are set. An advantage of such a design may be that it could bring some stability to the swings between micro- and macro-management that governments are prone to make based on ideology.



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Learning from the Experiences of Other Jurisdictions

In seeking an appropriate balance between centralization and decentralization and between an integrated post-secondary system and autonomous institutions, much can be learned from the historical knowledge available on the development of the B.C. system, including the present study, to help develop a provincial policy framework. As well, I found very relevant literature about the experiences of other jurisdictions, both within Canada and elsewhere, in developing balanced systems of higher education. Of particular interest was the work of Richardson et al. (1999), which provides an interesting backdrop for studying the B.C. context to examine the symmetry or disconnect between the provincial government's policy role and the system design. In terms of the policy role, it would be interesting to explore the balance that has or has not been achieved by the province in its relationship with post-secondary education on the one hand and the market on the other.

In reviewing other jurisdictions in the U.S., it would be informative to study the various governance structures used in different states and to determine their potential applicability to the B.C. context. One of the most interesting elements of federal post-secondary systems in the U.S. is the intermediary board or agency responsible for system coordination. Would such a body be appropriate in B.C. in order to achieve a coherent system of accountable, autonomous institutions and more uniformity in the system over time, despite changing governments? What are the pros and cons of such a body as compared to the current Ministry/institution relationship? How would such a body acknowledge and deal with the important distinctions among the different sectors in the B.C. system? Would the body have a regulatory function and, if so, in what areas, or would the body operate solely on a consensus basis? What would be the relationship between a new regulatory body and the non-regulatory agencies that have developed in B.C. over the last number of years, such as BCCAT, CEISS, and C2T2? What would be the governance structure of such a body? How would this body be held accountable to the Ministry and to institutions? Answers to these and other questions could help determine if B.C. should move to a new model of system coordination or if the present model, with possible alterations, remains adequate.

<u>Maintaining a Balance between Voluntary Collaboration and Provincial</u> <u>Coordination</u>

The present research has shown a long history in B.C. of voluntary collaboration among institutions on issues of inter-institutional concern. Over time, much of this voluntary collaboration became intertwined with provincial coordination, with the Ministry and institutions working closely together on system-wide initiatives. Recently, the extent of voluntary collaboration has been eroded by the fragmentation of the college, university college and institute system and the competition for scarce resources among sectors and institutions. Evidence from the interviews and the literature also pointed towards the difficulty of maintaining sustainable collaborative efforts without the Ministry providing the framework for such



collaboration to flourish, partially because an institution's first responsibility is to meeting community needs and not the needs of the system as a whole. Conversely, it appears to be difficult for government to mount or sustain system initiatives unless there is a willingness within institutions to cooperate and there are good working relationships among institutions and between the Ministry and institutions. Thus, collaboration and coordination appear to have become blended over time and have become mutually dependent rather than mutually exclusive constructs as the Ministry and institutions have worked together on system-wide initiatives.

Encouraging institutional collaboration may well be an important element of the Ministry's goal of achieving a more coherent and integrated post-secondary system. Likewise, evidence from the literature showed that institutions have recognized for decades that their inability to cooperate may result in increased and unwanted government intervention. It may be possible and desirable to build upon the different motivations of government and institutions for a collaborative working environment and to develop a sustainable balance between voluntary collaboration and provincial coordination. This balance represents a formalization of the blending of coordination and collaboration that has occurred over the last few decades. A balanced approach could involve agreed upon objectives for necessary inter-institutional activity and accountability requirements and reward structures for meeting those objectives. In many cases, institutions could meet system objectives by working without direct Ministry intervention, as is the case with transfer in B.C., while in other cases it would be more important for the Ministry to be at the table, such as when determining funding structures and data collection systems.

Inter-institutional cooperation requires resources in order to carry out the work across institutional boundaries. Historically in B.C., much of the work that makes inter-institutional collaboration possible has been carried out by agencies that are apart from both government and institutions. A key to an agency's long-term success may be to be seen by institutions and the Ministry as providing value-added services and being integral to accomplishing necessary activities across institutions. The BCCAT model of working successfully across institutions and sectors and its governance model may be worth exploring as an appropriate model for enduring inter-institutional cooperation on system issues.

Maintaining Relationships among Institutions at the Program Level

The transfer system that has developed in B.C. over the last 35 years is a good example of enduring inter-institutional collaboration with full Ministry support but minimal involvement in terms of the actual mechanics of developing and maintaining transfer arrangements across institutions. From the outset, the transfer system has involved faculty and administrators working together across institutions, including universities, at the course and program level. It is this sort of voluntary cooperation at the faculty and administrator levels, brought about through



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the necessity of ensuring adequate student transfer, which seems to serve as the backbone of enduring inter-institutional collaboration.

A similar model to that used in the transfer system may be appropriate to build and maintain other relationships at the program level across institutions with minimal involvement of government. Such relationships over time among faculty and administrators, often based on the need to solve inter-institutional problems, can result in the building of trust and goodwill that allows cooperation and sharing across institutions to continue. Examples of areas in which institutions could be held accountable for working quite independently of the Ministry to cooperate at the program level include collaborative online development and delivery of courses and programs as well as program planning and rationalization.

Valuing the Importance of Interpersonal Relationships

The research has shown the importance of interpersonal relationships to the development and maintenance of a coordinated and collaborative college, university college and institute system. In many ways, such relationships have served as the foundation of a cooperative system. The original ADMs and some of the other senior managers in the Ministry came to government from colleges or had an educational background, and their knowledge of the reality of working within institutions and their relationships with institutional officials allowed them to build a strong collaborative relationship between the Ministry and the institutions. Evidence from the literature and interviews showed that the changes in personnel in the last few years at both the Ministry and institutional level have had an impact on the ability to maintain collaborative working relationships, both among institutions and between the Ministry and institutions.

The importance of interpersonal relationships to the development of a coordinated system raises a number of questions. What can be done at the Ministry and at institutions to maintain strong personal relationships, especially in light of the impending wave of retirements that is expected to sweep through the post-secondary system in the next few years? Are there ways of using secondment or exchange opportunities so that both Ministry and institutional personnel can develop a better understanding of the milieus in which each other works? Is there a way of hiring individuals in the Ministry who would be more successful at working with institutions because they tend to operate in a highly consultative manner?

<u>Developing a Funding Mechanism that Rewards Productivity but Maintains Cooperation</u>

The research has shown that the development of the funding formula in the early 1980s was important in terms of making transparent and more equitable the process of providing institutions with their annual budget allocations. However, over time the formula became more complex to administer and, from its inception, was seen as a centralist means by which the Ministry could be involved in making program decisions at the institutional level, thus detracting



from institutional autonomy. Interviewees were divided on whether the formula reduced or increased competition for resources among institutions. The important point here is that there appears to be a strong relationship between the way in which institutions are funded by government and the level of cooperation or competition among institutions.

The impact of the funding mechanism on institutions' desire to cooperate or compete with each other is important in that the method of funding institutions can be detrimental to the building of a coherent and integrated post-secondary system. It is understandable that government would want to use its primary lever, funding, to reward productivity and innovation within institutions. However, are there ways in which productivity targets can be achieved without pitting one institution against another in a battle for resources? Are there ways in which the funding mechanism can be fully transparent, which may cause increased competition for a known level of resources on the one hand but removes the potential for inequitable treatment of institutions on the other? How can government learn from other jurisdictions that have developed an appropriate balance between improving institutional responsiveness through the development of a market-based, competitive funding approach on the one hand, and a coordinated system on the other?

POSSIBLE AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The final section of Chapter 6 presents some ideas on possible areas of future research based on the work that has been done in the present research study. The list of ideas is by no means exhaustive but is meant to describe important areas of research that others may wish to undertake in the future, building on the understandings that have been gained through the research on collaboration and coordination, decentralization and centralization and building a system of autonomous institutions in the B.C. context.

1. The present research has traced the development of the B.C. college, university college and institute system from its inception in 1962 to the present. The researcher found swings between decentralization and centralization as the government became more involved in building a system of autonomous institutions. In 2002, a new government with a market-driven approach is moving rapidly towards a decentralized system. Yet some of the actions of government have been more centralist in nature, and one of government's stated goals is to develop a more integrated and coherent post-secondary system, which will include universities as part of that system. It would be very interesting for someone in five and/or 10 years to continue the research conducted on developments to date to determine the status of a post-secondary system in B.C. Such research could explore the state of the relationship among institutions and between institutions and the Ministry. The research could also explore the evolution of the various sectors within a differentiated post-secondary system and could determine what sort of balance has or has not been achieved between the needs of the province and the aspirations of individual sectors and institutions.



- 2. A further study could be conducted to compare the understandings that have emerged through this research about the history of coordination and collaboration in the B.C. college, university college and institute system with similar developments in other Canadian jurisdictions. The purpose of such a study would be to build a stronger Canadian base of research on the coordination of quasi-systems in Canada and about the variations in the relationships between governments and institutions across the provinces and territories. A secondary purpose of such research would be to build a better understanding of what constitutes an effective balance between centralization and decentralization and between meeting the needs of the state and those of autonomous institutions in the Canadian context.
- 3. A related piece of research would be to compare the Canadian and American experiences in selected provincial and state jurisdictions in building effective system designs for higher education. The two countries have historically had very different approaches, with the U.S. building coordinated or multicampus systems and Canada developing quasi-systems of relatively autonomous institutions. Yet the present research shows that many of the trends in centralization and decentralization in the U.S. are similar to those in B.C. as are the drivers for much of the change that has occurred in the relationship between the state and higher education systems and institutions, including the increasing demands for accountability in recent decades. It would be interesting to compare the effectiveness of more mandatory approaches to system coordination, as evidenced in many of the states, with the more voluntary nature of system cooperation in B.C. and elsewhere in Canada. It would also be interesting to compare the actual level of autonomy of institutions in federal and segmented systems versus the autonomy of institutions in Canada where formal systems do not exist. Finally, it would be important to compare the role of intermediary agencies and boards in the U.S. with the direct role of government in Canadian provinces in terms of the effectiveness in meeting state and provincial goals.
- 4. The present study has shown wide support for the finding that the transfer system in B.C. that has developed over the last 35 years has been very successful at arranging course transfers among a multitude of institutions for the good of students. It appears that the voluntary nature of the transfer system and the involvement of faculty and administrators at the program level across institutions are important factors in the success of this system, as is the continuing level of relatively hands-off support from government. Someone may wish to conduct a more in-depth study into the history of the transfer system in B.C. and the reasons for its apparent success. Such a study could include a review of the numerous publications that have been produced over the years documenting the success of transfer among institutions and could also involve interviews with important witnesses of the development of the transfer system. The knowledge gained from the more in-depth review of the success of transfer could be used to determine how to build other successful,



- enduring inter-institutional relationships around system issues with minimal involvement from government.
- 5. The present study on collaboration and coordination in B.C.'s college, university college and institute system has been conducted very much from the perspective of institutions and government, both in terms of the literature sources that were reviewed and the individuals that were interviewed. It would be very interesting to understand the perspective of students on the benefits of a coordinated system with high levels of cooperation across institutions. Such a study could make use of both qualitative and quantitative data to answer a number of questions. Are students concerned about or aware of the differences among institutions and sectors that have developed? What are the main services students expect from a coordinated system and how do those services benefit students? What are the reasons a student might choose to attend a publicly funded institution that is part of a coordinated post-secondary system versus a private institution? What are the ideal attributes of a post-secondary system from a student's perspective? The answers to these and other questions could be very useful in informing policy-makers and educators about the value of the services provided by post-secondary institutions and about directions they might want to take in developing a coherent and integrated system. A similar research study could be conducted to determine the benefits of a coordinated post-secondary system from the perspective of community leaders.

SUMMARY

In Chapter 5 I have attempted to provide closure to this monograph by synthesizing what I have learned from this historical and hermeneutic research project. I have provided a number of conclusions or understandings that have emerged from the study, with a focus on achieving balance between centralization and decentralization, coordination and collaboration, provincial policy and system design and building a coherent system and maintaining institutional, autonomy. The chapter concluded with a description of areas of further research that others might be interested in pursuing, building on the findings and conclusions in the present research.

This concludes the paper entitled *Provincial Coordination and Inter-Institutional Collaboration in British Columbia's College, University College and Institute System*, based on the dissertation of the same name. Hopefully, the research has been interesting to the reader and its results might prove useful to those who are leading colleges across Canada, are charged with developing policy in this area, or would like to engage in further research in the area.



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