

The Case for Renewal in Post-Secondary Education

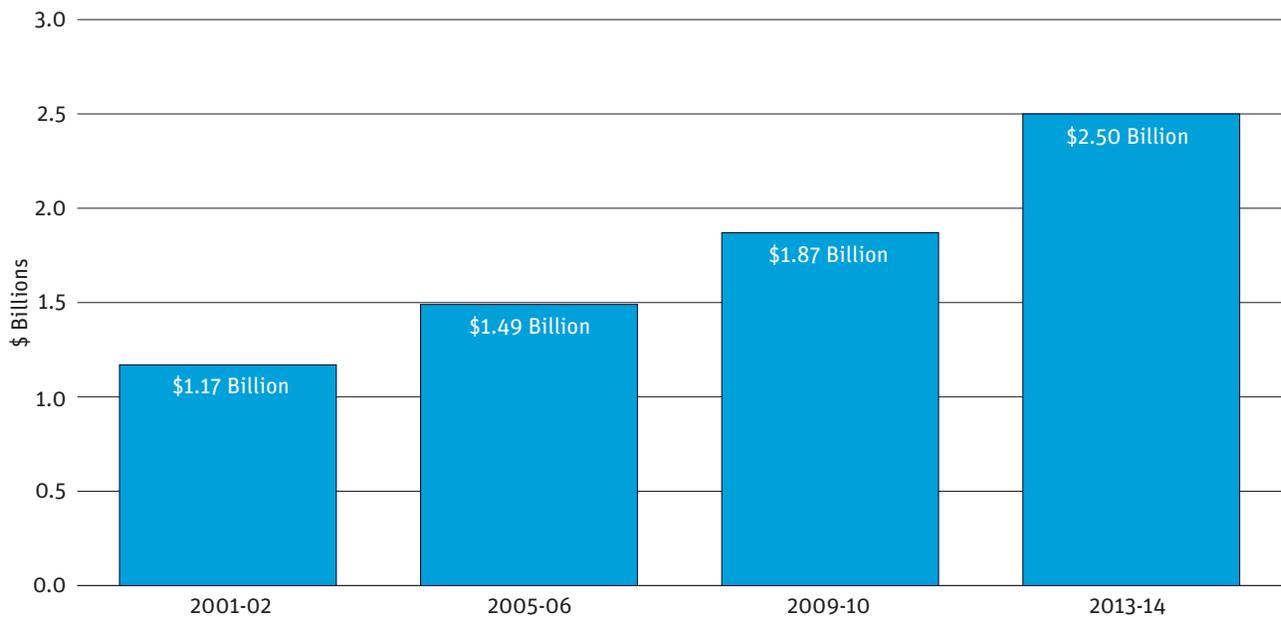
Joel Harden

CANADA TURNS 150 this year. Among the country's admirable achievements is surely the number of Canadians with post-secondary education. In 2013, 65 per cent of Canadians aged 24 to 64 had an adult education certificate, skilled trades certificate, college diploma or university degree.¹ Enrolment in post-secondary education has been steadily increasing since the late-1940s. To meet this demand, 2.5 per cent of Canada's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2012 was spent on post-secondary education, the third-highest per capita amount among industrialized economies.²

These are the arguments used to celebrate Canada's record on post-secondary education, but they conceal other worrying realities. For while many Canadians utilize this system, they do so at a tremendous cost: in the past 15 years, revenue from student tuition has tripled (see *Figure 1* and *Figure 2*), public student debt has ballooned (reaching \$28 billion by 2012, see *Figure 3*) and working conditions for campus staff have deteriorated.³ As *Figure 4* notes, these changes have also happened while public funding for colleges and universities has dropped in dramatic terms.

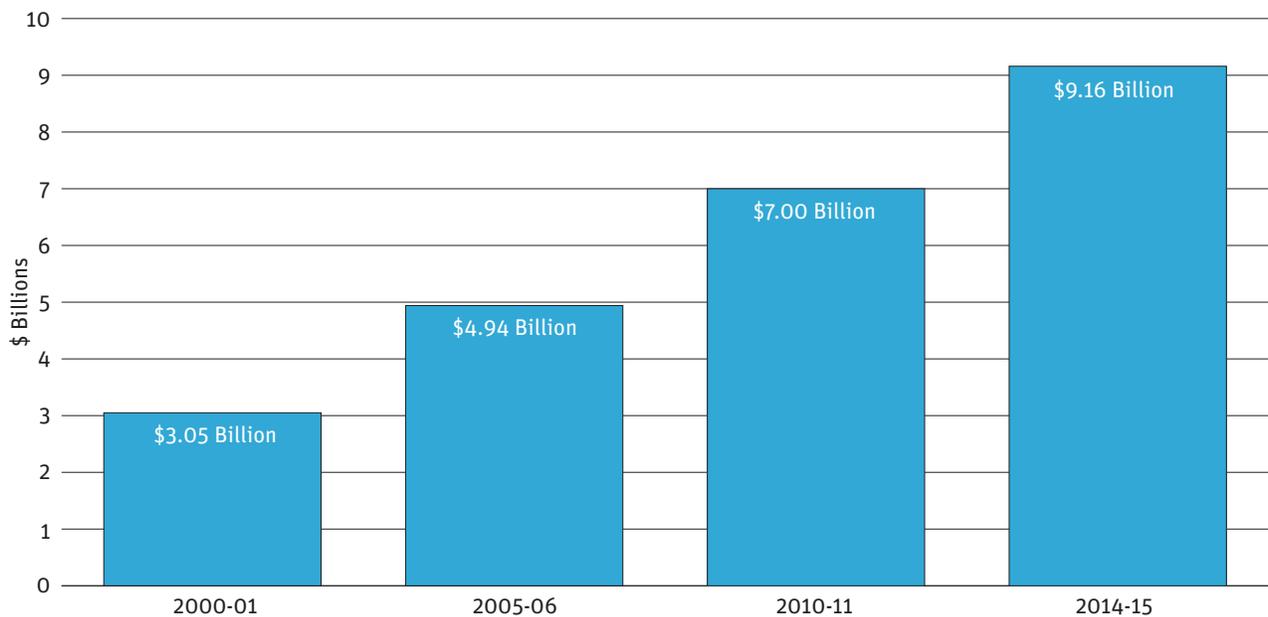


FIGURE 1 Tuition revenues at Canadian colleges (2001-02 to 2013-14)



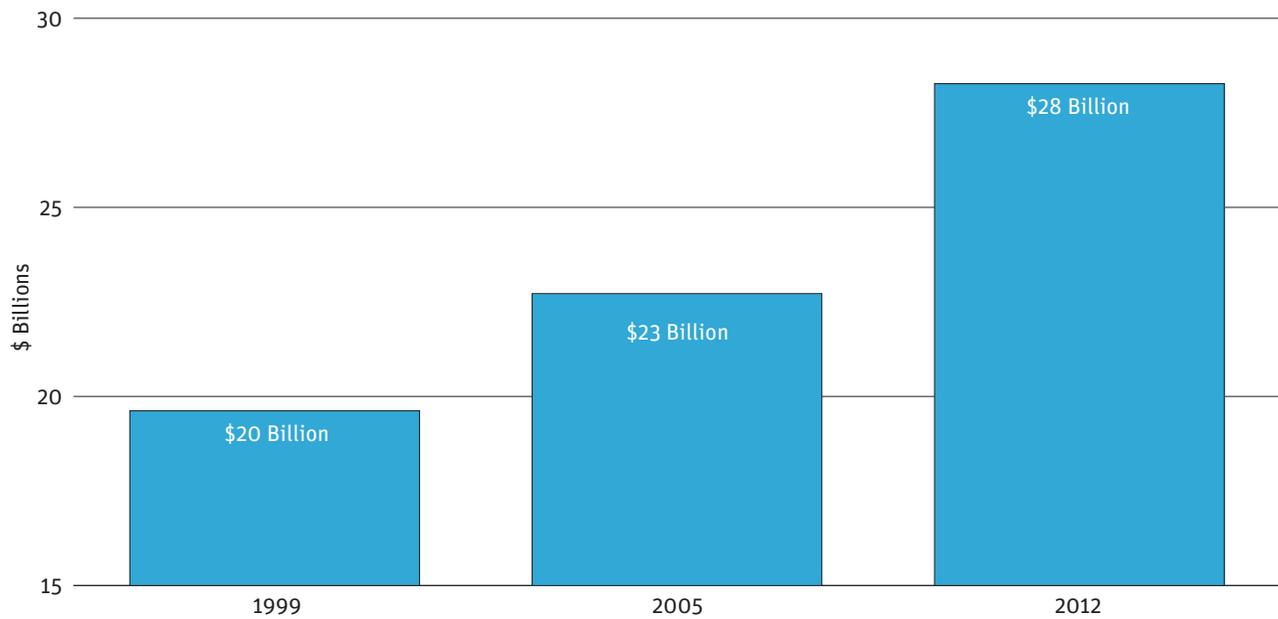
Sources CANSIM 477-0058 and 477-0060

FIGURE 2 Tuition revenues at Canadian universities (2000-01 to 2014-15)



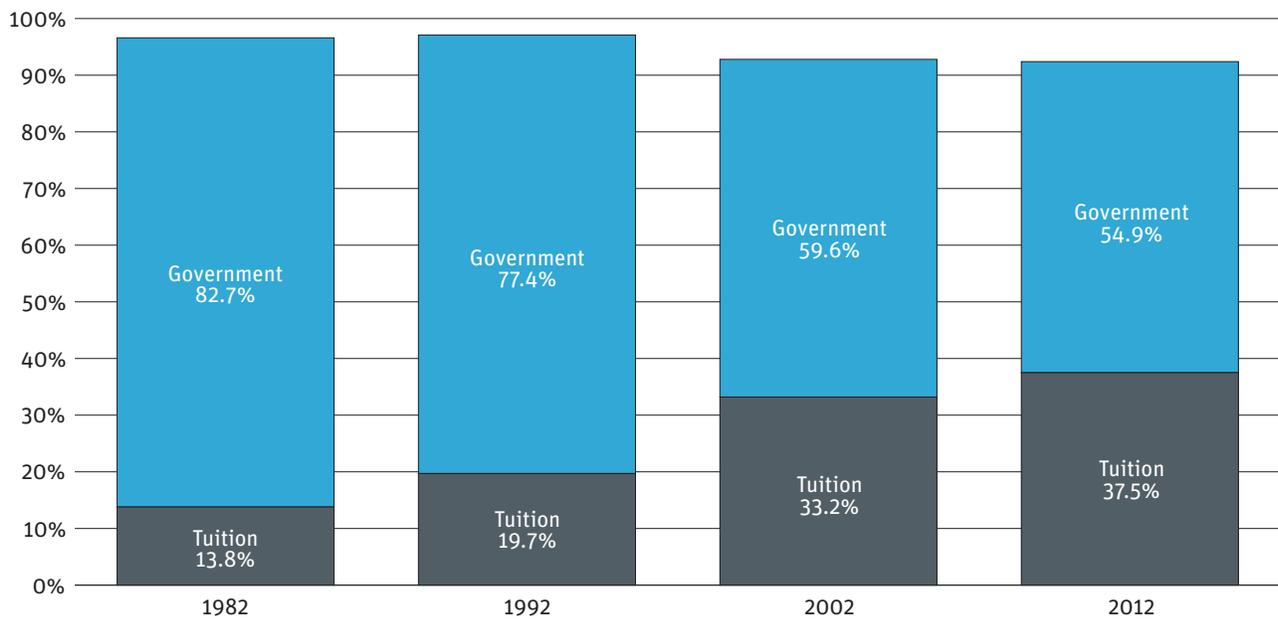
Sources CANSIM 477-0058 and 477-0060

FIGURE 3 Public student loan debt (federal and provincial)



Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Financial Security, 2014.

FIGURE 4 Government funding and tuition as a share of university operating revenue



Source: Statistics Canada and CAUBO

At particular risk in this context of austerity are students and workers from marginalized groups — Indigenous students, students with disabilities, racialized students, queer or trans students, international students, student parents, cleaners, food services workers and sessional instructors — who are more likely to earn lower incomes, and therefore face higher barriers to learning and working as user fees for post-secondary education go up.⁴

On the other hand, some people have benefited handsomely from the status quo in Canada's post-secondary education system. Recent years have seen alarming growth in compensation for institutional executives, high-salaried managers and consultants. A coddled one per cent lives a rarified existence, while austerity is imposed on everyone else. Corporations and wealthy donors are welcomed on campus as decision-makers, philanthropists or drivers of research agendas. How did we get here?

There was once a time when Canadians could get a post-secondary education without upfront costs, or with nominal fees; when Canada's treaty obligations to Indigenous education were seen as a bona fide commitment and federal policy helped skilled trades apprentices find jobs or improve literacy skills. There was a time when workers in the post-secondary education sector enjoyed decent wages and full-time employment, and campus leaders were considered equal colleagues, not unapproachable executives armed with battalions of staff.

That era ended in the 1990s when tax cuts and austerity took precedence over the delivery of quality public services like education. As elsewhere, Canadian decision-makers embraced neoliberal ideas that promoted lower taxes, greater "personal responsibility" (for education, training, etc.) and the reduced scope of social programs.⁵ Post-secondary education was often framed as an individual investment, a private service for which students must bear a far higher cost. International students were aggressively recruited as a high revenue stream for colleges and universities (through differential fees), not as valued sources of knowledge.⁶

As a result of this transition, post-secondary education in Canada has become a financial burden on students at precisely the time they need it most. Today post-secondary education training of some kind — whether continuing/adult education, a skilled trade apprenticeship, a college diploma or a university degree — is a requirement in 70 per cent of job openings. For the precariously employed, vying for the remaining 30 per cent of jobs, post-secondary education offers a pathway to a better future.⁷ That's why we must treat post-secondary education as an essential service accessible to all, regardless of one's ability to pay.

Some will say this is impossible, but that is not true. Canada is a rich country. What we lack are the right policy tools to manage society's resources. To borrow a phrase from the Occupy Wall Street movement of 2011, we must end subsidies to Canada's one per cent (on and off campus) and invest in our collective future.

With that in mind, this paper makes a case for renewal in Canada's post-secondary education system. It begins with stories that capture the history of this sector and ends with the following proposals for change:

1. Honouring Canada's treaty commitments on post-secondary education to Indigenous peoples.
2. Restoring core public funding to colleges and universities.
3. Eliminating tuition fees for all post-secondary education students in all programs.
4. Investing in apprenticeships and adult education.
5. Reforming federal student aid.
6. Increasing funding for research in the post-secondary education sector.
7. Implementing a federal Post-Secondary Education Act.

Classes of 1946, 1967, 1994 and 2017

Canada's modern post-secondary education system began in earnest 70 years ago. Second World War veterans returning from Europe after 1945 were looking for a better life. As part of Canada's Veterans Charter they were offered, among other things, free tuition for post-secondary education, subsidies for books and transportation, and living allowances.⁸

The charter changed Canada's post-secondary education system dramatically. Enrolment by veterans in vocational schools and universities soared. As a foreshadowing of things to come, a high percentage of women veterans enrolled in university training.

In 1949, half the students at the University of Toronto were veterans. Entirely new institutions — like Memorial University in Newfoundland and Labrador or Carleton University in Ottawa — were built on the mass enrolment of veterans. At the University of British Columbia (UBC) a tent city was built to house veterans from 1946 to 1949. As historians explain, veterans' modest origins changed the mood on campus and the elitist nature of the post-secondary education system.⁹

Douglas Jung was part of that first class of veterans. By 1953, he had earned a bachelor of arts and a law degree from UBC and later became the first Asian Canadian elected to Parliament. All of this happened in a context of zero tuition fees, which helped make these achievements possible.

By 1967, enrolment in post-secondary institutions had surged as others followed the veterans' example. From 1960 to 1975, enrolment increased by over 300 per cent, with a notable rise in the proportion of women in colleges or universities — from 24 per cent in 1960 to 44 per cent in 1975.¹⁰ Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne was part of that era. She has said her “modest-income family” was fortunate to have paid only \$637 in tuition fees in 1967 — up from the early postwar period, but still nominal.¹¹

The same can surely be said for Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, who paid \$1,694 in tuition fees in 1994 when he earned a bachelor of arts from McGill University. The cost differential from Premier Wynne's era is accounted for by government cuts in the 1980s. In 1994, however, it was still possible to pay for school with a decent summer job and part-time work during the school year. Drastic federal budget cuts in 1996, including an 18 per cent cut to federal post-secondary education funding, would put an end to this era, setting the course for major hikes in tuition and student debt.¹²

In response to these cuts, provincial governments started raising tuition fees, particularly for professional programs in universities. International students, who were already used as cash cows in the 1980s, suffered even larger tuition increases. From 2001 to 2016, tuition fee revenues tripled in the university sector and more than doubled at community colleges. As a result, public student loan debt was \$28 billion in 2012, up from \$19.6 billion in 1999, an alarming figure that does not account for private student loans or lines of credit issued by financial institutions.¹³

The shift to a high-tuition, high-debt model has hurt those most marginalized on campus. Learning barriers for Indigenous students, racialized students, students with disabilities, international students, queer and trans students and single parents have intensified, as these students are more likely to come from low-income families. Appeals by government officials to use registered education savings plans (RESPs) or other tax credits have not helped, since these tools are predominantly used by students from upper-income families.¹⁴

To find out how the class of 2017 is faring, after years of austerity, let's look at the story of Phyllis McKenna, a continuing education student at Ryerson University and Vice-President Equity for the Continuing Education Students of Ryerson (CESAR).

As an Ojibwe woman, Phyllis should not be paying tuition at Ryerson, given Canada's treaty obligations to the Ojibwe people.¹⁵ But she has never qualified for the Post-Secondary Student Support Program as a result of the federal government's restrictive two per cent cap on the program, which has been in place for over 20 years and has caused the level of demand, tuition fees and the cost of living to far outpace available funding.

In 2007, Phyllis enrolled at Niagara College in practical nursing, but she faced a triple-burden of being an Indigenous single mother living in an abusive relationship. She had to break off her studies several times and quickly accumulated over



Phyllis McKenna

\$17,000 in student loans. In 2011, Phyllis received constant appeals from a Canada Student Loans officer about her outstanding student debt. Because her mental health challenges did not count as a permanent disability, no part of her debt could be forgiven. The loan officer insisted Phyllis pay \$600 a month immediately to “rehabilitate” her loans.

That was a tough period for Phyllis. Before resuming her studies in 2015, she and her son had been homeless for three years, surviving in shelters after that. More recently she was fortunate to qualify for subsidized housing and the Ontario Disability Support Program, which helped put her life back on track, but only within very narrow parameters. Today Phyllis’ student debt sits at \$30,000, accruing interest of \$120 per month because she is a part-time student.

And so, like many in the class of 2017, Phyllis is stuck between a rock and a hard place: she needs post-secondary training, but can only afford one class per semester at Ryerson given the cost of servicing her student debt. At her current rate of study, Phyllis’s dream of becoming a lawyer, and an advocate for Indigenous people, is unlikely.

What might be possible for Phyllis, and others facing often impossible financial choices, in a post-secondary education system with different values? What might happen in a system without tuition fees and a supportive, enabling approach to student aid?

Phyllis is clear on this. She says a tuition-free education would let her go back to school full time. A caring approach to student aid would mean less shame for a debt she should not have accumulated in the first place. But we cannot get there without challenging the one per cent on and off campus who benefit from the status quo of high tuition and high debt.

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Challenging the one per cent in our post-secondary education system

At prime plus five per cent on fixed-term loans (prime plus 2.5 per cent for a floating rate), it is more expensive to hold student debt through the Canada Student Loans

Program (CSLP) than through most private alternative.¹⁶ These interest payments represent indefensible fees for students; most retail mortgages set by banks, and even some credit cards, do not come in at this high range. The CSLP's latest actuarial report notes the program took in \$580 million in interest on student loans in 2015-16.¹⁷

The federal government should follow the example set by Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island, which do not charge interest on student debt. Government should be in the business of helping citizens, not profiting from their financial insecurity.

There has been much discussion lately around changes to the Repayment Assistance Program (RAP) adopted into the CSLP in 1999 in response to student activism. The RAP is a debt reduction tool available to individual CSLP borrowers who earn less than \$25,000 a year before tax, and is pro-rated at slightly higher levels for borrowers with dependents. To be considered for the RAP, borrowers must apply for support every six months. The RAP absorbs interest payments on CSLP debt, and even reduces the principal once a loan holder uses RAP for 60 consecutive months, or still has debt 10 years after graduation. Fifteen years after graduation, CSLP debt is forgiven.

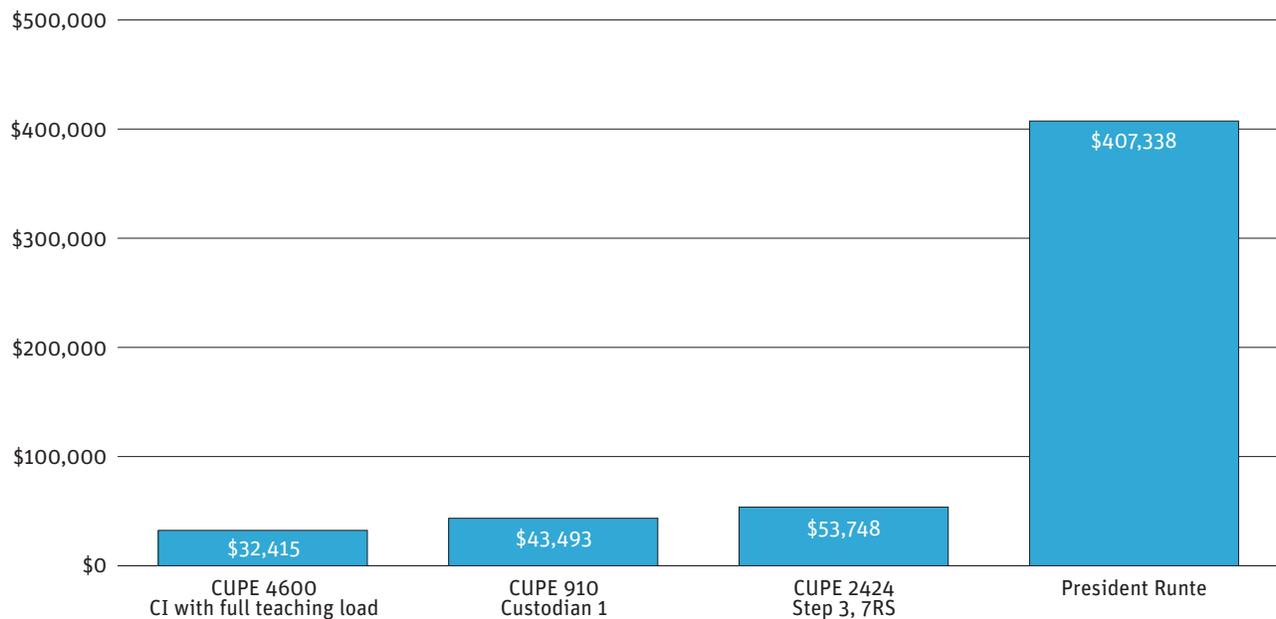
In early November 2016, as students in nationwide rallies called for free education, the federal government re-announced a commitment to increase the RAP threshold to \$25,000. The move appears to confirm the government's attitude, expressed at a Liberal party fundraiser by Finance Minister Bill Morneau, that youth must accept the "job churn" and the reality that the working opportunities and conditions enjoyed by their parents would not be available to them.¹⁸

When Prime Minister Trudeau — who chose the youth portfolio when he was sworn in — repeated the claim at a union conference in October, students in the room stood and turned their backs to him in silent protest. It was a sign that they are no longer content with empty words while their real concerns about student debt are being ignored.¹⁹

In celebrating the new RAP threshold of \$25,000, the federal government is saying it believes graduates are capable of paying back student debt the moment they earn above a poverty-level income.²⁰ It is a strange position for a government that claims to empathize with the plight of precariously employed people.

And yet, there is cause for hope. Students in Canada have won tuition freezes in British Columbia, Quebec, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Manitoba and, most recently, Alberta. In last year's U.S. presidential race, Bernie Sanders argued for free education, inspiring New York State to adopt it as state policy.²¹ Further afield, students in Chile, Germany and the Philippines have fought for free education, earning broad public support. These are examples of models of post-secondary education currently espoused in 18 countries around the world.²²

FIGURE 4 Salaries at Carleton University (Ottawa), 2015



Source Employee contracts, Carleton University (as of January 12, 2017).

Unfortunately, with each step forward students are challenged by powerful interests who benefit from the status quo of high tuition fees and student debt. Private consultants, working behind the scenes for post-secondary institutions and government, defend the existing system as being based on reliable sources of revenue. One consultant wrote, “students are guaranteed to pay tuition every year, which makes them a more dependable source of revenue than government grants.”²³ The same consultant also claims that students pay “net zero” in tuition fees,²⁴ disputes the fact that sessional professors are poorly paid,²⁵ and insists that international students are government-funded.²⁶

These arguments serve the one per cent in Canada’s post-secondary education system, but challenging consultants on the facts is not enough. We must also address the cost of executive compensation on campus and the expanding role of upper administrators more generally.

In *Figure 4* we see the juxtaposition of five salaries at Carleton University: an associate professor, full-load contract instructor (CI), caretaker, an administrative staff worker and the university president (Rosanne O’Reilly Runte). Only one of them, President Runte, enjoys a car allowance, a \$3,000-a-month housing allowance and tax-deductible status (a T2200 form) for their home office space.

TABLE 1 Compensation for university executives (2015)

Name	Job	Institution	Compensation (2016)
William Moriarty	Past-President, CEO	University of Toronto Asset Management Corporation	\$1,475,281
M. Elizabeth Cannon	President	University of Calgary	\$943,000
David H. Turpin	President	University of Alberta	\$888,000
Arvind Gupta	Past-President	University of British Columbia	\$598,942
Gary Kachanoski	President	Memorial University	\$483,276
Richard Florizone	President	Dalhousie University	\$449,929

Sources Government of Ontario, Public Salary Disclosure List, 2016; University of Calgary 2015-16 Consolidated Financial Statements (see Note 21, Salary and Employee Benefits); University of Alberta 2015-16 Consolidated Financial Statements [see Note 18: Salaries and Employee Benefits]; UBC Public Sector Executive Compensation Reporting (2015-16); Dalhousie University Public Sector Compensation Disclosure 2016, Contract (2012); Dalhousie University and Dr. Richard E.J. Florizone; Contract (2014); Memorial University and Dr. Gary Kachanoski.

President Runte's salary is actually low in comparison to other university executives (see *Table 1*). For instance, when William Moriarty retired in 2015 as president of the University of Toronto's asset management team (UTAM) his yearly salary was just under \$1.5 million. In fact, by 2015, the top four salaries in Ontario's university sector — all of them given to UTAM executives — amounted to \$3.1 million.²⁷ For the same amount of money, tuition fees could be eliminated for students at Yukon College and Aurora College in the Northwest Territories, which, consequently, would be a big help for the Indigenous students who are predominant on both campuses.²⁸

The phenomenon of administrative bloat at universities and colleges extends well beyond the president's office or the gilded suites of UTAM. Data from the Canadian Association of University Business Officers (CAUBO) show escalating costs for upper management positions (yearly salaries in excess of \$100,000) while less funding is reaching the classroom. As one observer noted, based on CAUBO data from 2008-09,

twenty cents is now spent on central administration for every dollar spent on instruction and non-sponsored research; back in 1987-88, 12 cents went to administration. At the average top 25 university, central administration (including external relations) now consumes \$18 million that previously would have flowed to instruction. (For [the largest] thirteen schools, it's \$20 million; for the top five, \$39 million.)... In short, the analysis confirms what students and faculty have long suspected: a disproportionate share of new income has been used not to maintain quality, but to expand the central bureaucracy.²⁹

Local examples confirm this trend. From 2000-2001 to 2012-2013 the University of Saskatchewan saw student enrolment increase by 10.9 per cent and faculty positions by 11.6 per cent while upper administration ballooned by 70 per cent.³⁰

In 1986 the University of Guelph had one president, two vice-presidents and four hundred trades, maintenance and service workers; in 2016 the university has one president, 11 vice-presidents, and 216 trades, maintenance and service workers.³¹ From 2011 to 2015 Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) saw a one per cent increase in students, a 4 per cent decrease in faculty and a 13 per cent increase in senior management positions.³²

Proposals for Renewal in PSE

Canada is a rich country. We have the means to create a better post-secondary education system and to be a more just society. But piecemeal change is not going to get us there. It is time for renewal in our post-secondary education sector to address decades of bad policy choices.

This paper offers seven proposals to expand access to high-quality, publicly funded post-secondary education without upfront costs. These proposals, which are also included in the 2017 Alternative Federal Budget, will address decades of neglect in the sector, and are framed around two new public policy instruments: a Post-Secondary Renewal Transfer (PSE-RT), and a new federal Post-Secondary Education Act to be modeled on the Canada Health Act.

These measures will invest \$10.5 billion annually in Canada's post-secondary education system based on conditions outlined in the Canada Post-Secondary Education Act. Part of this money will come from changes to the following tax credits and grants that are not serving students effectively:

- Eliminating the federal tuition tax credit (savings: \$1.195 billion);³³
- Cancelling the federal tax credit on registered education savings plans, the Canada Education Savings Grant, and Canada Learning Bonds (savings: \$1.1 billion);³⁴
- Cancelling job training available through the Canada Job Grant (savings: \$300 million);³⁵
- Eliminating the Student Loan Interest Tax Credit (savings: \$45 million);³⁶ and
- Reducing the Scientific Research and Experimental Development tax credit by 0.8 per cent and allocating to the Canada Graduate Scholarships (savings: \$25 million).³⁷

Following the recommendations made by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and Canadians for Tax Fairness, we also propose funding our post-secondary

education renewal by closing, capping or phasing out tax expenditures that disproportionately benefit wealthy Canadians, resulting in over \$20 billion in revenue.³⁸ To find other revenue-generating opportunities, we recommend establishing a parliamentary task force to investigate the following:

- Introducing a “decent work” standard that post-secondary education institutions must meet to qualify for PSE-RT funding; the standard will include a \$15 minimum wage and a maximum wage tied to the income of the provincial or territorial premier where the institution is based;
- Investigating the existence or extent of “unrestricted” or reserve funds and sizeable investments held by universities and colleges, and assess whether these are in compliance with the new Post-Secondary Education Act;
- Investigating the feasibility of an employer training levy based on the Quebec model, in which employers with payrolls in excess of \$1,000,000 are required to invest a minimum of one per cent of operating revenue in training for workers, or remit the same amount to a third party managed by an entity empowered by the state.

Finally, the seven proposals for federal renewal of Canada’s post-secondary education system are as follows.

1. Honouring Canada’s treaty commitments on post-secondary education to Indigenous peoples

As recommended by the Circle of First Nations, Inuit and Métis Students and the Assembly of First Nations, invest \$424.8 million over three years to address the backlog in applicants to the Post-Secondary Student Support Program, funding for which has been capped for two decades at two per cent per year. **Cost: \$424.8 million.**

Following consultation with Indigenous peoples, create a fund dedicated to preserving, promoting and honouring Indigenous languages and cultures at universities and community colleges. **Cost: \$50 million.**

2. Restoring core federal funding for post-secondary education

Restore federal transfers to provinces and territories for post-secondary education to 1996 levels to address a \$2.29-billion cut in the 1996 federal budget, and to account for enrolment/inflation growth since then.

Create a dedicated yearly federal funding mechanism — the Post-Secondary Education Renewal Transfer (PSE-RT) — that will be available for provinces, territories

TABLE 2 Contributions to 2017 PSE-RT for tuition elimination (×1,000)

Jurisdiction	College, Voc. School Tuition (1995-96)	University Tuition (1995-96)	2017 PSE-RT Contribution (includes adjustments*)
Newfoundland and Labrador	\$5.5	\$35.7	\$43.1
Prince Edward Island	\$7.9	\$10.6	\$25.1
Nova Scotia	\$13.7	\$134.4	\$166.4
New Brunswick	\$16.7	\$62.5	\$92.4
Quebec	\$75.4	\$283.5	\$374.6
Ontario	\$374.7	\$1,086.2	\$1,902.7
Manitoba	\$22.6	\$78.9	\$82.6
Saskatchewan	\$18.1	\$75.2	\$89.8
Alberta	\$181.4	\$213.9	\$317.6
British Columbia	\$105.3	\$238.1	\$491.8
Yukon	\$0.52	n/a	\$1.1
Northwest Territories	\$1.1	n/a	\$1.9
Nunavut	\$0.62	n/a	\$0.9
Government of Canada	n/a	n/a	\$3,590
Total cost	\$823.5	\$2,219	\$7,180

Sources CANSIM 477-0058, 477-0060, 477-0019, and 326-0021. Growth after 2014 is set at 1.2%.

* includes adjustments for Consumer Price Index, enrolment growth, and economic growth since 2014.

and post-secondary institutions in compliance with the proposed Post-Secondary Education Act. **Cost: \$5.48 billion.**

3. Eliminating tuition fees for all post-secondary students in all programs

Establish an ongoing transfer for provinces and territories to eliminate tuition fees, priced at 1995-1996 levels, which is the last year when tuition fees were nominal and worthy of public subsidization.

As *Table 2* notes, adjustments are made for inflation and student enrolment. Provincial and territorial investments in post-secondary education since 1995-1996 are included in order to calculate the jurisdictional share required to eliminate tuition fees. The federal government assumes a 50 per cent share of the cost; provincial or territorial authorities must commit to their share of this cost and observe the proposed Post-Secondary Education Act. **Federal cost: \$3.59 billion.**

4. Improving federal student financial aid

Eliminate interest rates on direct loans administered through the CSLP and provide Stage 2 assistance for all CSLP borrowers five years after graduation, which involves reducing the principal of a loan holder's debt. Do not require part-time students (like full-time students) to pay back CSLP debt until six months after graduation. Allow graduate students to qualify for grants available through the CSLP. **Cost: \$283 million.**

5. Increasing funding for post-secondary research and scholarships

Restore tri-council granting agencies' budgets to 2007-2008 levels and ensure that these investments are distributed equitably across all agencies. Fund an additional 1,250 students through Canada Graduate Scholarships (at a value of \$20,000 per scholarship). **Cost: \$146 million.**

6. Investing in skilled trades apprenticeships and adult education

As proposed by the Canadian Labour Congress, invest funds in improving labour market information (\$15 million), creating a federal Labour Market Partners Forum (\$50 million over 10 years), helping unemployed Canadians who do not qualify for EI access training programs (\$300 million), strengthening union-based apprenticeship training (\$125 million), and harmonizing provincial-territorial apprenticeship training and certification requirements (\$15 million).

The federal government must also establish a mandatory apprenticeship ratio for all federal infrastructure projects and maintenance contracts. Federal funding from Citizenship and Immigration Canada for EAL (English as an additional language) training will be restored and continue in perpetuity as a dedicated PSE-RT transfer for provinces and territories in compliance with the Post-Secondary Education Act. This funding will be linked to the Consumer Price Index going forward. **Cost: \$540 million.**

7. Canada Post-Secondary Education Act

Finally, along with the Canadian Federation of Students' post-secondary education sector partners, we support the introduction of a federal Post-Secondary Education Act. The act will be modelled on the Canada Health Act, ensuring that provinces and territories are in compliance with following core principles:

Universality: our society expects a full range of options for post-secondary learning, none of which should be deemed more important or deserving of funding than any

other. Our post-secondary education system must strive for a parity of esteem between all forms of post-secondary learning.

Accessibility: all components of our post-secondary education system must be available to learners without upfront cost. As such, the act recognizes that tuition fees represent a regressive “flat tax” that constitutes a barrier to learning, particularly for students from marginalized groups. Our post-secondary education system must be financed through progressive taxation, not arbitrary fees. In this context, student financial assistance must strive to eliminate all barriers to learning so that students can focus on their studies.

Comprehensiveness: our post-secondary education system must be properly funded to ensure that it has the necessary resources to offer high-quality learning in all geographic regions of our society. For that to happen, the 2017 PSE-RT “floor” for federal funding must be matched by territories and provinces. To ensure the appropriate use of this funding, provinces and territories must also observe a decent work standard that recognizes a wage floor and ceiling for all campus workers. The 2017 PSE-RT standard for decent work is a minimum wage of \$15 per hour and a maximum wage at the level of the provincial or territorial premier where any post-secondary institution is based.

Public Administration: to receive PSE-RT funding, post-secondary institutions must be operated by a public authority on a not-for-profit basis. They must also practise democratic governance that includes voices and votes for all campus stakeholders in decision-making processes.

Freedom of Expression: all post-secondary learners, researchers and campus workers are entitled to their freedom of expression, subject to reasonable limits established by human rights codes and statutes. To receive PSE-RT funding, post-secondary institutions must uphold the right to academic freedom of expression at all levels. Public research must be driven by curiosity and analytical skill, not outside interests attempting to leverage the use of public resources for private benefit.

Notes

1 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Education at a Glance 2016*, September 15, 2016.

2 Ibid.

3 CANSIM 477-0058, CANSIM 477-0060; Statistics Canada, *Survey of Financial Security (2014)*. It is worth noting that increases in enrolment do not account for the surge in tuition revenues. Tuition fees have steadily increased well beyond the rate of post-secondary education enrolment.

4 Canadian Federation of Students (CSF), “Time to Think BIG: The Case for Free Tuition,” October 2016.

5 “Neoliberalism” (a Latin term that can be directly translated as “new liberalism”) is a political philosophy that focuses on the primacy of individual choice and a minimal role for government in our society. It was first devised by conservative thinkers like Ayn Rand, Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek in the decades after the Second World War, at a time when traditional liberalism was more dominant, notably in the work of British economist John Maynard Keynes. The traditional liberalism Keynes represents was informed by the Great Depression and protest movements of the 1930s, and it laid the intellectual foundations for public health care, unemployment insurance and other income security programs. Neoliberal thinkers, in contrast, have called for removing these and related programs, believing they thwart private sector innovation and individual choice. Since the late 1970s, neoliberalism has eclipsed Keynesianism as the philosophy that informs corporate and government decision-makers, and even several progressive groups. For further information, see: Nancy Fraser, “The End of Progressive Neoliberalism”, *Dissent* (January 2, 2017); Robin Kelly, “After Trump”, *Boston Review* (November 15, 2016); David Harvey, “Neoliberalism is a Political Project”, *Jacobin* (July 23, 2016); Naomi Klein, “It Was the Democrats’ Embrace of Neoliberalism That Won it for Trump”, *The Guardian* (November 9, 2016).

6 Armine Yalnizyan, “International Students are an Asset we Need to Cultivate,” *The Toronto Star*, September 13, 2016; Louise Brown, “International Students or Cash Cows?,” *The Toronto Star*, September 11, 2014.

7 Darcy Hango and Sébastien Larochelle-Côté, *Overqualification, Skills, and Job Satisfaction*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, September 14, 2016; Association of Canadian Colleges, *Canada’s Demographic and Advanced Skills Crisis: People Without Jobs, Jobs Without People*, August 2010, p.1.

8 Veterans Affairs Canada, *The Origins and Evolution of Veterans Benefits in Canada 1914 – 2004*, Discussion Paper, March 2004.

9 D.M. Cameron, *More Than an Academic Question: Universities, Government, and Public Policy in Canada*, Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1991; H.B. Neatby, “The Historical Perspective,” in Cecily Watson, ed., *Governments and Higher Education: The Legitimacy of Intervention*, Toronto: Higher Education Group, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1987; Nigel Moses, *All That Was Left: Student Struggle for Mass Student Aid and the Abolition of Tuition Fees in the Province of Ontario 1946–1975*, PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1995.

10 Statistics Canada, *Education in Canada (Archived Tables, Descriptions)*, 1974, 1975, 1976.

11 Linda Diebel and Chris So, “Kathleen Wynne’s Not-So-Ordinary Family,” *The Toronto Star*: http://projects.thestar.com/projects/kathleen_wynne.html.

12 CFS, “Time to Think BIG,” pp. 9–10.

13 See Note 3.

14 Dean Beeby, “RESP Grants Favour Higher Income Families, Federal Study Confirms,” *CBC News*, April 28, 2016; Kevin Milligan, “The RESP Bill is Bad Tax Policy and Even Worse Education Policy,” *The Globe and Mail*, March 11, 2008; Kevin Milligan, “Tax Preferences for RESP Saving: Are RESPs Effective?,” *C.D. Howe Institute*: November 2002.

15 For more information, see Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (Government of Canada), *Treaty Guide to Treaty No. (1873)*, September 9, 2010.

16 Office of the Chief Actuary (Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions), *Actuarial Report on the Canada Student Loans Program (as at July 31, 2014)*, Ottawa: June 2015.

17 Employment and Social Development Canada, *Canada Student Loans Program, Annual Report 2013-2014 (2016)*, p. 23.

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