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Abstract

This paper describes and explains the takeover of a regional post-secondary institution in British Columbia, Canada by one of the world's 'top forty' universities: the transnational University of British Columbia (UBC). By mapping connections between the University of British Columbia and the provincial and national political and economic elite and bourgeoisie, the authors establish the takeover of UBC Okanagan as a classic example of neoliberalism that firmly places UBC within the corporate power structure of the 'Silicone Vineyard' region of British Columbia.

> *2-4-6-8 UBC is really great! U-B U-B-C U-B-C-Oh!*
> *Clap-clap clap-clap-clap clap-clap-clap-clap*
> (UBC Okanagan cheer)

Introduction

In March 2004, the provincial Liberal government in British Columbia announced the creation of Canada's newest university, the University of British Columbia Okanagan (UBCO),[1] located in Kelowna, British Columbia.[2] The promises were many, and the speed of Okanagan University College's (OUC) transformation from a regional post-secondary institution to a research-intensive university was both frantic and chaotic. UBCO would be connected to UBC Vancouver (UBCV) through a common board of governors, modelled on that of the University of California. UBC Okanagan

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and UBC Vancouver would each have an independent senate to 'set academic priorities for their respective institutions, based on regional needs and priorities' (MacDonald, 2004), but there would be one president and one chancellor for the two institutions. The connection to UBCV would enable UBCO to take advantage of 'one of the world's greatest universities with all the enormous assets and resource capability it has to offer' (ibid.).

Our task in this paper is to examine and discuss how and why this takeover happened by placing the University of British Columbia in context within the global market of university education,[3] where UBC increasingly functions as a neoliberal transnational university. This is part of a general change in which regions are reinventing themselves in an attempt to reposition value-added economic activities in an increasingly crowded marketplace in which competition is more intense regionally, nationally and globally. Regions no longer compete primarily within national borders and against internal fractions of the elite, but in the global marketplace and against the global capitalist class. Flexible capitalism 'is not so much global as regional in its impact', and 'regionalization is not a counter-tendency to globalization but, probably, an integral element in its operationalisation' (Munck, 2002: 83). As a result of neoliberalism and the global economy, regions are redefining themselves due to global economic pressures and the need to establish a niche for competitive advantage as the bourgeoisie searches for higher returns on investment.

Thus, we argue that UBC has actively joined with the local capitalist and financial bloc in the reinvention of the Okanagan region by setting itself up as a regional 'economic driver' (Perry & Wiewel, 2005). This arrangement has strengthened UBC's corporate power and influence by establishing a regional presence, while members of the local political and economic class now have available entrepreneurial academics in the university to aid them in the regional, national and global marketplaces of a deregulated contemporary capitalist economy.

The power bloc in the Okanagan

It was no accident that UBC should come to the Okanagan Valley. Rather, it was a carefully constructed joint effort by the Okanagan power bloc (Poulantzas, 1978) to attract BC provincial and Canadian federal government support, and to impose its political will by the establishment of a UBC branch campus in the Okanagan. UBC promotes itself as a significant economic and cultural player with a

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global identity, and it has now become an economic force in the Okanagan Valley region. According to former UBC president Dr Martha Piper, the new UBCO will be a 'magnet for brainpower' and will contribute some $500 million a year to the regional economy. However, the evidence suggests that UBC moved in to take advantage of the economic possibilities in the region (Poulsen, 2004; Steeves, 2005), although the growing alliance between post-secondary education and the regional power bloc was set before UBC moved in. In 2003, regional leaders initiated the Okanagan Partnership (OP) for the purpose of charting an economic (and social) course for the Valley. The region's economic development districts, OUC, the province, the Federal Western Diversification Fund, the National Research Council and Industry Canada financially backed the partnership. 'The Okanagan Partnership: Okanagan competitive strategy' was presented to Okanagan entrepreneurs in June 2004, only a few months after BC premier Gordon Campbell announced the creation of UBCO and Okanagan College (OC).[4]

In the Okanagan Valley, industry clusters coupled with a discourse of partnership are part of a programme to reinvent the economy of the region, especially since many of its big manufacturing employers (e.g. Western Star trucks) have permanently shut down, putting more than a thousand workers out of work directly and indirectly (Aguiar, Tomic & Trumper, 2005). During this reinvention, a reshaped power bloc emerged to rule the Okanagan Valley by bringing various industry interests and the UBC together in the re-regionalisation of the Okanagan Valley.

The new regionalism literature suggests that voluntary local measures and local cooperation can be effective substitutes for centralised state control (*Harvard Law Review*, 2005). Regional governance is also preferred because it includes 'voluntary horizontal cooperation', considered 'superior to regional "government", which "entails formal institutions" that regulate vertically' (ibid: 2292). Regional business and corporate interests govern their own interests outside state influence. The coalition of business partners leading the economic reinvention of the Okanagan Valley includes business elites such as the powerful Bennett and Fitzpatrick families. Jointly, they harness their political and economic capital to create a compact of business interests with an ideological commitment to an 'entrepreneurial spirit' (Seymour, 2005).

Coleman (2004) argues that 'partnerships' are clusters of capitalist interests masquerading as the interests of all citizens. Under Fordism, it was the role of the state to manage the industrial bourgeoisie and its power bloc. However, the 'retreat' of the state

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in post-Fordism means that capital operates virtually unfettered by state interference. Coleman also argues that 'partnerships' are a ruse since they serve to strengthen the position of capital rather than balance unequal forces. In the Okanagan region, capital has ignored labour and clustered its interests around business ventures and goals under the belief that what is good for business is good for the Valley. In so doing, the power bloc has pronounced its ideology as the ideology of business and social interests in the Valley, and by doing so, asserts greater authority and discipline over the future of the region (Aguiar, Tomic & Trumper, 2006). The organisational strength of this coalition is so overwhelming that the exclusion of organised labour has not weakened the legitimacy of the power bloc's programme. In the Valley, it is really a 'despotic' hegemonic moment for the unchallenged power of the regional bourgeoisie.

The OP promotes itself as a community-led, non-profit society with a vision of a prosperous and sustainable Okanagan region. Its members claim to be 'neutral conveners of the market place [that] fosters … a culture of regional collaboration and encourages, develops, and implements and evaluates action-based strategies, particularly those based on economic clusters that enhance the Okanagan region's competitive advantage globally' (Okanagan Partnership Mandate, 2006). With support from all levels of government, the OP developed a cluster strategy for the Okanagan, as stated in its 'Okanagan Sustainable Prosperity Strategy' report (Gollub, 2004). According to the report,

> the Okanagan has much strength including world-class laboratories, talented scientists and a strong entrepreneurial culture that encourages small and medium size start-up businesses. … We face both opportunities and challenges with UBC coming into the valley. It is not sufficient to simply build 'new facilities' and hope economic development will happen. UBC is a tool, but it is not the only answer. We need to focus on what will make sense for this region, not what we think will fit into the current UBC model.' (ibid., p. 11)

The number of members of the corporate elite on almost all Canadian university boards has increased since the mid-1970s (Carroll, 2004). In the case of UBCO this certainly holds true, and in addition, those on the UBCO board are also more intricately and further connected. Many UBCO board members are themselves graduates of UBC with extensive alumni contacts in the Valley, and have established extensive business networks. For example, the same Bennett who co-founded the OP is also chair of the board of

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governors of UBC (he was chair of the OUC education council before it became UBCO). He also sits on the provincial premier's technology council, where he and twenty-two others advise BC premier Gordon Campbell on technology-related issues, and is the chair of BC Advantage Funds. In addition, he is a member of the federal 'BC Business Advisory Committee' and a board member of UBC Properties Trust. His father and grandfather were premiers of BC, and this heritage has been important for his social and economic connections and authority.

Bennett is not the only well connected individual. Senator Ross Fitzpatrick, born in Kelowna and another UBC graduate, has consistently fostered an entrepreneurial climate in the Okanagan. He attended the 2001 innovation forum in Kelowna for Brian Tobin, the then minister of industry, who was responsible for the National Research Council (NRC) at the time. Since then, Senator Fitzpatrick, with the help of his son, Gordon, has continued to foster links between government and business. The innovation forum was co-chaired by the then OUC president, Dr Katy Bindon and by Dr Arthur Carty, who was then president of the NRC. This meeting resulted in an agreement between OUC and the NRC to establish new programmes to promote innovation and economic growth in the Okanagan Region (Cassidy, 2001). Shortly thereafter, in April 2002, the OUC Foundation was born with an endowment fund of $4.7 million, with the goal of supporting students and institutional development at OUC. One of the board members of the innovation forum was, again, Brad Bennett. In 2003, Dr Bindon gave a speech that explained the future of OUC in the development of a variety of economic clusters, based on regional economic development strategies. At the time, Dr Bindon made no mention of a new university in the Okanagan nor of the impending UBC takeover (Bindon, 2003).

The new economic development strategies initiated through Ottawa were based on the development of clusters that foster collaboration between different industries. Gollub's (2004) strategy suggests that related industries are more successful if they cluster and grow in a geographic location. A high concentration of clusters will stimulate economic growth, because an environment is created that allows 'members [to] draw on their collective experience, knowledge and skills to create an environment that supports innovation, encourages constructive competition, and improves the positions of all partners in the cluster' (Okanagan Partnership Clusters, 2006). In this case, the clusters were of tourism, wine and beverage, knowledge services, value-added agriculture, aviation, life sciences and value-added wood products industries.

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Financial backing and support for cluster-related industries are plentiful in the Okanagan. There are many 'angels' waiting to be called upon to invest in entrepreneurial enterprises in the Valley. These so-called 'angels' are members of the business and corporate elite, who offer access to financial resources and also mentor new entrepreneurs and connect individuals to existing networks (Volker, 2001). Volker, an Okanagan angel himself, describes angels as 'accomplished entrepreneurs who invest their own money, ... find reasons why they should back a deal, ... are mavericks and pioneers in their own right' (ibid). Currently in BC, under the neoliberal provincial government, there are fertile grounds for angels, who regularly hold corporate and government sponsored forums (Angel Forum, 1997). According to the Okanagan Angel Network, angels remain anonymous and generally invest their own capital in the range of $25k–$100k, with expected returns measured in 'multiples' instead of in percentage points: angels like to get 10 to 100 times back on their investments (Boudreau, no date). In the Okanagan Valley, the angel network is also expanding fast with governmental and industry support, connections to the power bloc and links with UBCO and OC. Indeed, the Okanagan Science and Technology Council, in collaboration with existing networks and partnerships, wants to brand the Okanagan Region as the 'Silicon Vineyard'—a hopeful allusion to the successes of California's Silicon Valley.

A brief history of the University of British Columbia

A university was first proposed for British Columbia in 1877, six years after the province joined the Canadian confederation (UBC, 2002).[5] Vancouver College, a private university in association with Montreal's McGill University, granted arts and sciences degrees until the University Of British Columbia gained independence in 1915. However, students had to travel to established universities in the USA or eastern Canada in order to complete their degrees. In 1908, the University Act established the non-sectarian, co-educational University of British Columbia. The current Point Grey site of UBC Vancouver was chosen in 1910, governance structures were established, and personnel appointed to administer the affairs of the new institution.

By 1921, there were 1,200 students studying in arts, sciences, applied sciences (nursing), and agriculture faculties, each paying an approximately $40 annual tuition fee. The Department of University Extension (Continuing Studies) was launched in 1936 to offer non-degree opportunities throughout rural areas of the

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province. During the Second World War, 1,680 students enrolled in the Canadian Officer Training Program. The five following years saw the Faculty of Law and programmes in social work, pharmacy, home economics, physical education, graduate studies, medicine, commerce and education established, with the Faculty of Forestry following in 1951, all resulting in a total of almost 10,000 students. In 1970, 21,000 students were enrolled in on-campus programmes including in new faculties of dentistry, librarianship and rehabilitation medicine. By 1973, 66,503 students were enrolled in credit and non-credit programmes, on campus and throughout BC.

Provincial legislative changes significantly altered the landscape of post-secondary institutions during the 1960s with the creation of Simon Fraser University (Robinson, 2006) and the University of Victoria. In 1989, UBC expanded third- and fourth-year degree-granting programmes to the University College of the Cariboo in Kamloops and OUC in Kelowna.[6] UBC Robson Square in downtown Vancouver was opened in 2001, and UBC Okanagan opened in Kelowna in 2005. In 1958, to celebrate fifty years of UBC, the UBC Development Fund raised $35 million from government, private and corporate donations. Dr P. A. Woodward donated $3.5 million to help develop the Health Sciences Centre; forestry magnate H. R. MacMillan donated $3 million to expand the library collection; and Cecil Green, co-founder of Texas Instruments Inc., donated his multi-million-dollar mansion to the University. UBC President Dr David Strangway instituted the UBC Campaign, which raised $262 million in private and corporate donations between 1989 and 1993. In 1998, under President Dr Martha Piper, a new Forestry Sciences Centre was built with matching funds from UBC and the BC forest industry. Irving K. Barber, former owner and president of BC's Slocan Forest Products, donated $20 million for construction of an on-campus learning centre.

By the year 2000, entrepreneurship was thriving on campus. Through the university's Industry Liaison Office, professors were encouraged to transfer technology and commercialise research discoveries through patents, licenses and spin-off companies. There were twenty-two private companies 'translating knowledge' into commercial enterprises residing in research parks at UBC in 2000, most of them leasing campus space and thus generating income for the University. UBC was listed in a 2005 article in *The Scientist* magazine as one of North America's top ten universities for both the quantity and quality of life sciences patents issued (UBC Research), and UBC researchers attract hundreds of millions of dollars in research funding annually from government, industry and non-profit foundations.

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UBC's takeover of Okanagan University College

In 1989, provincial legislation creating five degree-granting university colleges in British Columbia was passed, and OUC was established. Ten campuses were established across Okanagan Valley communities. Within five years of the creation of OUC, the Society for Okanagan University Legislation (SOUL) began lobbying for full university status for OUC under the Universities Act (Freake, 2005). By 1999, a new group, University 2000 or U2000, was lobbying the provincial government for a full-status university. University status was approached incrementally, with professorial designations adopted in 2001 for OUC instructors. Citing fiscal responsibility and cost-effectiveness, U2000, the OUC administration, board of governors and education council jointly requested that the Ministry of Advanced Education turn OUC into a fully fledged university (*Capital News*, 2003).

In July 2001, the newly elected neoconservative Liberal government formed the BC Progress Board, an 'independent' panel of fifteen senior business and academic leaders from the province. The board monitored BC's economic and educational performance and 'provide(d) advice on ways to improve the performance of BC's economy and its social policy supports' (BC Progress Board, 2002). A concern for this group of organic intellectuals of neoliberalism was the migration of students from rural areas to established universities in the urban areas of Vancouver and Victoria. The government was presented with a choice: have OUC become a stand-alone university, or make OUC a second campus of an existing institution. The decision to 'expand access in Kelowna to meet increasing demand and nurture research-driven economic development capacity' was made by 'extending the mandate of an existing provincial University to Kelowna' (ibid.). Interestingly, Lawrence Bates, the president of Sun-Rype Products, a major food processor in Kelowna, and Dr Martha Piper, president & vice-chancellor of the University of British Columbia, were members of the BC Progress Board in 2002 (ibid.). (Piper's dual role and conflict of interest was ineffectually challenged in the provincial legislature.)

Significant economic and social benefits were promised to the Okanagan region with the creation of UBC Okanagan. Initially, these benefits included growth to 7,500 students by 2010, including five hundred Masters and Ph.D. students and a new medical faculty; a \$66m annual operating grant and a projected \$300m annual economic impact for the Okanagan Valley; research infrastructure including a university–industry 'research park' partnership; \$450m of funded capital expansion; and international

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credibility through affiliation with the University of British Columbia (MacDonald, 2004). Research at the new university would focus on tourism, the wine industry, sustainable resource development, health, software development and plant biotechnology. A portion of the UBC Faculty of Agriculture would be relocated to take advantage of existing federal government agricultural laboratories in the region.

Within months of the 17 March 2004 announcement creating UBCO, Irving K. Barber, a philanthropist and chair of BC-based Slocan Forest Products, donated $12.5m to UBCO. A $17m expansion to the Barber School of Arts and Sciences was begun, quickly followed by the construction of two new multi-million-dollar student residences, with another residence forecast for completion by January 2008. To date, four further building projects to the tune of $156m have been approved by the board of governors, and a new on-campus water reservoir and overpass entry to the university were completed in 2007. In fact, the City of Kelowna was so overwhelmed by the onslaught of development permits coming from UBCO that its council agreed to create a special zoning designation for the UBCO 'to deal with the half a billion dollars worth of development expected on and around the institution's new campuses' (*Capital News*, 2007). This financial backing is only partially self-generated by UBCO, since the university benefits from financial support from government (Macrae, 2004), public–private partnerships and generous donations,[7] as well as from infrastructure grants.[8] Early in 2007, as the expansionary building frenzy developed, UBCO had already made applications to the City of Kelowna for projects worth $150m.

UBCO was officially opened at a gala event stretching over three days in the first week of September 2005. In order to clearly establish the ties UBC nurtures internationally, university presidents from Korea, Japan, Mexico and Singapore were invited to address, in their speeches, the topic of 'global citizenship' — one of the major themes outlined in the UBCO's Academic Plan.

The reaction of academic staff

Dr Piper had promised that the creation of UBCO would substantially improve student access to a research-intensive university, advance the UBC's vision to be 'Canada's best university', relieve pressure on core UBCV arts and sciences programmes, open programme and study options in the interior of the province, and provide opportunities for new research and community partnerships

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(Piper, 2004). She went on, 'I hope you will share my sense of excitement and anticipation at the prospect of this dramatic opportunity to contribute to the growth, well-being and prosperity of a vitally-important region of British Columbia' (ibid.).

Despite this, excitement among faculty staff was muted thanks to uncertainties regarding their employment status, workloads, working conditions, pensions and increasing unpaid work, as well as the fate of the existing OUC Faculty Association (OUCFA). The takeover itself resembled a Third World *coup d'état* in that Dr Katy Bindon, the president of OUC — who a few months earlier had gathered faculty members together to inform them that, as far as she was concerned, the issue of a UBC takeover was dead — was removed suddenly and silently (Nichol, 2004). In addition, the OUC board members heard that their jobs were over the day the announcement was made.

Dr Bindon's vice-president of academic affairs was immediately installed as interim president of UBCO (Freake, 2005: 164). Subsequently, he too left for another institution. Perhaps because they were stunned by the announcement and the dizzying pace and intensity of events — not to mention, on average, a $10,000 salary increase for most middle-ranking academics as the new institution came into being — employees mounted no resistance or protest to the takeover.[9]

Faculty Association meetings turned on the definition of the appropriate bargaining unit, and on who would represent the new UBCO faculty.[10] Meetings of the Okanagan University College Faculty Association (OUCFA) were reduced to discussions on how to disperse the Associations' remaining assets among the membership. The OUCFA also made no attempt to support the establishment of a stand-alone university in the Okanagan, since not all staff supported this. Despite this early passivity, the forcible imposition of the new regime and the implementation of its ideas has emerged as a source of great tension and exasperation for many faculty members at UBCO (Despres, 2007).

Transnational universities

Some writers have recently begun to speculate on the changes and activities underway in universities, and to argue that there is an up-scaling of universities' identities and business that links them to the unfolding of globalisation (Hohendahl, 2005; Twitchell, 2004). A globalising economy requires a new skilled workforce — and unskilled workers too (Aguiar & Herod, 2006; Sassen, 1990) — with

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expertise gained locally but which is portable and transferable globally. Transnational universities such as UBC train and develop hyper-mobile intellectual resources in the form of graduating students able to feel comfortable anywhere in the world, in any workplace. The graduating student internalises and willingly does anything, anywhere for money in the deregulated neoliberal world. Global citizens can be dispatched throughout the world wherever neoliberal ideology is emerging or requires implementation—they become 'anytime, anywhere entrepreneurial citizens'. At UBC, training and developing this new workforce is a key component of the university's 'global citizenship' discourse. This is the university's most recent attempt to distinguish itself in a crowded global educational division of universities, and is manifest in the concept of a transnational university.[11]

Though he is cautious in fully endorsing the concept of the 'transnational university,' Hohendahl (2005) nonetheless provides a useful outline of its features. A most significant feature is the global market in the recruitment and employment of prominent academics. While rich universities have consistently tried to employ renowned scholars, today, due to the global reach of universities and their public-relations departments, some academics are truly viewed as global stars, moving from one elite university to another (Anderson, 1990; Twitchell, 2004). UBC aggressively recruits academic stars such as Nobel Laureate physics professor Carl E. Wieman, and widely promotes the prestige they are believed to bring to the university as it seeks to climb the global ranking scale of 'distinguished' universities (Girard, 2006).

A transnational university adopts an easily visible and recognised logo. As Klein (2000) argues in *No Logo*, corporations are significantly interested in expanding their brands and brand recognition in a world in which images seem much more valued than the substantive operations in which they engage. Twitchell (2004) describes the aggressive campaigns mounted by universities in order to promote the recognition of their logos. He points to the growing importance of a university's international development office to build, promote and protect the university's logo, since the brand plays such a crucial role in attracting and recruiting students to a globally recognised university. At UBCO, the new head of the university's development office has been charged with raising $10m by 2010, and will hire up to twenty more employees between now and then in order to try and accomplish this task (Poulsen, 2005). In addition, UBCO has established the Asia Pacific Regional Office (UBC's permanent office in Hong Kong), and built three international student and visiting academic residences. Nevertheless, Canadian university presidents

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are decrying a lack of federal investment and an overall branding of Canadian universities. Lloyd Axworthy, president of the University of Winnipeg, states, 'each university does its own thing. There's no branding ... There's no integrated strategy by all Canadian Universities. It's each university for itself and I think that hurts the larger interest' (York, 2006).

The cutting of state funding

In the 1990s, traditional spending on the Canadian welfare state regardless of the party in power underwent a 'reprioritisation', and post-secondary education funding was brutally cut (Cameron, 1995). The federal reduction in post-secondary education funding coupled with decentralising schemes to transfer a greater number of responsibilities to the provinces accelerated the cuts in government funding for universities (Cameron, 1995). Titley (2005) explains that Ottawa merged established post-secondary programme financing into overall federal health and social funds. The block transfer of funds originally destined for post-secondary education and health and social assistance now came without restrictions on how each of the provincial governments could internally allocate these funds. Provinces turned much of the money to debt servicing, thereby reducing funds available to post-secondary education (Titley, 2005: 256). Consequently, the burden of financing post-secondary access was shifted even more to students and their families in the form of tuition fees. New government strategies emphasised the use of grants and scholarships for students, as well as tax incentives to put money aside for education in the form of registered education savings plans. But these strategies are limited to those not already in the post-secondary system, and those with the socioeconomic means to save money for their children's education. As a result, the burden of debt on students has increased, and many are finding it increasingly difficult to access post-secondary education (Drakich, Grant & Stewart, 2002). This is also a problem for students in England, Australia and the USA (Robinson, 2006).

In 2006–2007, undergraduate students in Canada paid an average of $4,347 each in tuition fees. This was an increase from the previous academic year's $4,211, and almost triple the average of $1,464 in the 1990–91 academic year (*Statistics Canada*, 2006). In a recent report by the Canadian Association of Universities Teachers (CAUT), undergraduate tuition fees rose by an average of 126 per cent between the years 1990–1991 and 2000–2001 (Drakich, Grant & Stewart, 2002: 254). In BC during the 1990s, the New

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Democratic Party froze tuition fees for six years and reduced fees by 5 per cent during the final year of its administration; but under the neoconservative BC Liberal government, tuition fees rose by 25.7 per cent in 2001–2002, and by another 30.4 per cent for 2003–2004, to a total of $4,140. For the first time in the history of university education in the province of BC, tuition fees surpassed the national average of $4,025 in 2003–2004 (*Statistics Canada*, 2003). Student debt load 'also increased substantially over the [previous] decade. In Ontario, it is reported that the average debt load of a student graduating [with a Bachelor's degree] is about $25,000' (Drakich, Grant & Stewart, 2002: 254). It is not surprising, then, that by 2002, 27.9 per cent of university revenues were being collected from tuition fees, compared to 17 per cent ten years earlier (Titley, 2005: 256). Needless to say, these changes do little to remove barriers to access to university education for working-class students in particular (Drakich, Grant & Stewart, 2002: 254).

Foreign students and 'the larger interest'

According to Drakich, Grant and Stewart (2002: 256), cuts in university funding explain the increase in the 'lure of internationalization' via the pursuit of foreign students. They cite an Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (2002) study that 'reports that in 1998–99, 35,556 international post-secondary students were studying in Canada'. Universities have also been developing 'international markets for domestic programs' so that '42% of post-secondary institutions are already active in the area of international education', according to the same AUCC study (p. 256). UBC takes pride in announcing that students from more than 120 countries annually attend the university. International student enrolment increased by 50 per cent in the first year following the UBC takeover of OUC. In 2006, more than 5,600 international students were enrolled at UBCV (Schmidt & Bates Gibbs, 2006).

Foreign students are estimated to be worth approximately $4bn to the Canadian economy, with 36,747 Chinese students alone attending Canadian universities in 2004 (York, 2006). However, Canada is losing its global share of this lucrative economic market. Perhaps it is the loss of Chinese students to other countries, or perhaps it is the transferability of knowledge, skills and attitudes in the global marketplace that prompted the placement of UBCO student teachers in private schools in China. Recently, senior administrators from UBCO travelled to China to develop relationships with private schools, offering BC curricula, and to

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recruit Chinese students to UBCO. Students who successfully complete their practicum in China have a competitive advantage, and are fairly certain to gain employment in English language schools not only in China, but in many schools in South East Asia and other countries that offer English language educational services. Students who successfully complete their academic courses at UBC as well as gaining experience in practicum or cooperative programmes abroad have immediate marketability, since they have acquired the skills from a credible university in Canada and the initial experience to work anytime, anywhere (*Daily Courier*, 2005).

Neoliberal education

UBC has a concept of global citizenship that it seeks to disseminate as the new imaginary of the university in Vancouver and the Okanagan Valley. For instance, in preparation for the 2006 UBCO Academic Plan, the UBCO academic planning team defined global citizenship as being altruistic and rootless: 'Global citizens are willing to think beyond boundaries of place, identity and category, and recognize all human beings as their equals while respecting humanity's inherent diversity. Within their own sphere of influence, global citizens seek to imagine and work towards a better world' (p. 12). The ways in which UBC hopes to prepare its students are demonstrated in the aforementioned Academic Plan and in the views of UBC students (Lyakhovetska, 2004). Lyakhovetska provides an inventory of values, competencies and actions that global citizens graduating from UBC are expected to display.[12] This inventory shows a shift from an economic and political agenda of globalisation to one focused on the moral and social values of citizenship, in which students are transformed from consumers to altruistic global citizens. Global citizenship promoters at UBCO claim that graduates from the university are agents of change working for the betterment of regional, national and global communities. Global citizens become agents of change by collaborating with government and non-governmental agencies, local community organisations and business and industry (UBC Okanagan, 2006). However, some student participants within UBC's own 'focus group' are highly critical:

> [The] global citizenship concept as an ideology is being developed by some Western politicians and business tycoons to put a benign face on their dominance and interference in the political economies of so called developing countries. From my social and historical location, I see the concept and material

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> practices of globalization and its sidekick global citizenship as elaborations of the their Euro-American forerunners—conquest, expansion, colonization and Christianization of the world. (UBC student, quoted in Lyakhovetska, 2004: 14)

Marshall (1950) and Torres (2006) conceive of citizenship as entailing civil, social and political rights, but students at UBC are to be viewed as mobile intellectual resources, having acquired the neoliberal ideology of being able to work anywhere at anytime. Graduates who have acquired global citizenship skills can mirror the mobility of capital in the global economic world.[13] Students at UBC are acquiring individual knowledge, skills and attitudes that create the conditions in which they might meet the needs of a globalised economic system. This attempt to culturally create a mobile student/worker for the twenty-first century is a key component of UBC's role as a transnational university in the global educational marketplace.

Neoliberalism and education

A 'bloodless' revolution has taken place in Western societies over the last three decades (Carroll, 2004; Harvey, 2005; Peet, 2003; Winn, 2004). This has been labelled 'neoliberalism' for its trumping of 'embedded' liberalism (Harvey, 2005) in restructuring the welfare state, and is also characterised by its deferring to market mechanisms over social and political issues (George, 1999), its supplanting of collectivism with a new individualism, the privatisation of publicly owned companies, and the dissemination of discourses and practices that reorganise consent. Ideologically speaking, neoliberalism has succeeded in rehabilitating and reinforcing the idea that the bourgeoisie is the legitimate ruler of society[14] (Harvey, 2005; Herod & Aguiar, 2006).

The deregulation of the market assuages the complaints of business leaders that Fordist structures inhibited flexibility and thus profitability. But while capital's ability to more aggressively exert its market intentions is strengthened, the labour movement is less protected than it was (Aguiar, 2006). This is a result of the bourgeoisie's 'hegemonic despotism' (Burawoy, 1985), gained via a neoliberal 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey, 2005) programme that has not only rolled back and rolled out, but also rolled over many of the social and political gains won by various social and labour movements during the era of Fordism (Keil & Kipfer, 2003; Peck & Tickell, 2003). Labour, as a result, is significantly

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less of a force in the management of the capitalist economy than it was during the postwar era. In fact, Harvey (2005) shows how neoliberalism, from the outset, was a class project for the benefit of the bourgeoisie and to the detriment of the working class.

This restructuring hasn't spared the post-secondary sector, including universities, be they in the USA (Calhoun, 2006; Hacker, 2005; Twitchell, 2004; Washburn, 2005), Europe (Castree & Sparke, 2000; Grudzinski, 2005; Smith, 2000) or Canada (Carroll, 2004; Titley, 2005; *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 2002). Contemporary universities share a pattern of corporatisation that is now fully mature and installed in post-secondary educational systems across the globe (Carroll, 2004; Newson, 1998). Newson and Buchbinder (1988) argue that this process began with business elites sitting on Canadian university boards and other high-ranking committees within the universities' governing structures. Porter (1965) and later Clement (1975) marked this for special attention when they examined the 'power elite' in Canada, including its location in universities as the latter rapidly emerged in Fordist Canada. Both Porter and Clement found that the power elite was specific to distinguished universities like McGill, but that it did not constitute a significant input to the shape and direction of universities per se (Carroll, 2004). This was due to its largely symbolic and philanthropic presence (Clement, 1975; Porter, 1965) — but this changed in the era of neoliberalism and with the corresponding corporatisation of universities. In 1976, the boards of UBC, Simon Fraser University and the University of Alberta lacked any corporate representation (Carroll, 2004: 187). Twenty years later, each of these universities 'included several members of the corporate elite [on their boards], carrying ties to various corporations' (Carroll, 2004: 187).

The relationship between universities and corporate elites in Canada corresponds to emerging neoliberalism in the 1970s (Carroll, 2004; Newson, 1998). And it would be remiss to underestimate the influences of business elites in raising, from the beginning, managerial concerns about 'efficiency,' 'cost-effectiveness,' and 'productivity' (Newson, 1998) in what has come to be known as the 'new managerialism' in the government of public institutions such as public schools (Whiteley, 2006) and universities (Avis, 2002; Clarke, Gerwitz & McLaughlin, 2000). The role of corporate elites in universities intensified in the 1980s as the national state rolled out the neoliberal agenda of cuts to public education funding,[15] more aggressively promoted the expansion of private industry into universities, and restructured the academic labour process to incorporate 'road scholars' — academics forced to migrate from

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university to university for low-paid, short-term, casual employment — in 'just-in-time' teaching posts, in the process permanently assigning to them the quality of 'numerical flexibility' in the 'flexible firm' of the contemporary university (Harvey, 1989). These changes bring to the fore issues of accessibility for working-class students to universities, since under neoliberalism 'post-secondary education ... is no longer ... an investment that society makes in the next generation, [but] an investment that students make in themselves' (Jacobs, 2004: 48). While this is taking place, the employment relationship of academic faculty members to universities is tiered and 'flexible', while the large majority of instructors find themselves operating under an ethic of entrepreneurialism, irrespective of their own career aspirations. And although much is said about the value of teaching, especially at research-intensive universities like UBC, faculty and staff are aware that 'academic excellence' is code, in the case of Ph.D. students, for exceptional or highly promising publishing track records and success in the competitive field of applying for grants (Tinker, 2006: 704).

Neoliberalism has also introduced a 'new' nature of work into the university environment. Bourdieu (2000) argues that 'job insecurity is now everywhere: in the private sector but also the public sector, which has greatly increased the number of temporary, part-time or casual positions' (p. 82). This is easily seen at Canadian universities, where non-tenured academics were forced to accept more part-time and contingent or sessional academic work. Between 1990–91 and 1997–98, the number of full-time faculty staff declined by approximately 7.5 per cent, while the number of part-time faculty increased by 9.9 per cent. This significant shift suggests that universities favour the hiring of non-tenured university teachers (*Statistics Canada*, 8 May 2002). In addition, this shift suggests that academia is now also neoliberally restructured. Whereas employment in academia was once seen as secure and long-term, the figures now suggest that job security and tenure are increasingly difficult to obtain (Canadian Association of University Teachers [CAUT], 2006: 28–29). Instead, the transnational university hires 'road scholars'. Unfortunately, this increasing flexibility (Sennett, 1998) and casualisation (Bourdieu, 2000) is extremely detrimental to people, robbing them of their ability to project themselves into the future and to develop any feelings of collectivity and solidarity. As such, this forced flexibility is power in the hands of the university, which can dominate them through their implemented precariousness (Bourdieu, 2003): 'the casualization of labor cows workers into submission' (p. 29).

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Simultaneously, the ratio between teachers and students is changing, putting additional strain onto university teachers. Between 1992 and 2002, the number of full–time full, associate and assistant professors in Canada declined by a total of almost 2,000 positions, even though student enrolments continued to increase. As a matter of fact, the ratio of full-time teachers to full-time students doubled, from an average of 1 teacher to 12 students, to 1 teacher to 24 students (CAUT, 2006). To counter these conflicting trends, innovative programmes designed to lower student–teacher ratios and per-student instructional costs are being implemented. In the recent UBC Annual Report (2006–2007), UBC touts a three-year pilot programme that includes the hiring of fourteen post-doctoral teaching fellows. This programme adds approximately fifty new courses annually in the Faculty of Arts at UBCV. However, at the time of writing, the employment status of these teaching fellows is still unclear, and it is also not explicit as to how the programme is supposed to reduce the teacher–student ratio at UBCO.

Recent surveys on the changing nature of colleges and universities (Hacker, 2005; Washburn, 2005) show not only the enhanced alliances between industry and universities, evident in the interlocking directorships held between their managers and directors (Carroll, 2004; Drakich, Grant & Stewart, 2002), but also the relationship of academics' research programmes to funding sources from the private sector (Washburn, 2005); the establishment of university–industry research centres; and licensing agreements on research findings, produced for the benefit of private industry (Bok, 2004; Washburn, 2005). Such research relationships amount to private gains by public means (Polster, 2005). The proportion of income from the central state in each university's budget continues to decline due to state cuts in the funding of post-secondary education. Meanwhile, business, industry and corporate interests assume a larger role in universities by injecting significant amounts of money into them — but, of course, with various conditions attached and certain outcomes expected (Shuchman, 2005).

Thus, as state funding decreases, corporate influence and interference in academic research increases. This is an alarming practice with potentially grave consequences for the integrity of academic research and the reputation of good scholars (Shuchman, 2005; Thompson, Baird & Downie, 2001). In Canada, the federal government has been a catalyst in bringing private industry to university campuses across the country. The federal government also pursued closer ties to industry via the founding of the Canadian Foundation for Innovation (CFI) in 1997. The CFI is an independent corporation created by the Government of Canada to

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fund research infrastructure. Its mandate is to 'strengthen the capacity of Canadian universities, colleges, research hospitals, and non-profit research institutions to carry out world-class research and technology development that benefits Canadians' (Canadian Foundation for Innovation, no date). In 1998, the federal government appointed an expert panel to report on the commercialisation of university research, charged with addressing and examining the role of government funding in university research. Its report focused on strategies for developing 'coherent university intellectual property policies, adequately resourced university offices, skills development measures, a competitive business environment and increased investments in university research' (Nau & Corkery, 1999). The new tone in Ottawa was clear: universities needed to be turned into world-class centres of research innovation and progress in order to attract funding and to better the position of the Canadian economy in the global marketplace.

This striking shift turned universities from public-serving institutions into private, for-profit institutions—universities must be open for business. Today, universities are not only run like businesses: they are, in fact, businesses. As Calhoun (2006) writes, 'Running a university [is] like running a big corporation. In fact, running a university [is] running a big corporation' (p. 9). But according to Etzkowitz (2005), the entrepreneurial university need not undermine traditional roles of teaching, research and economic development. While many universities promote their abilities to do all three things proficiently, some case-study research on the changing university labour process reveal otherwise (Castree et al., 2006; Noble, 2002; Pocklington & Tupper, 2002; Readings, 1996). For instance, Tupper (2006) argues that the 'mutual enrichment' of teaching and research is a gimmick used by self-serving universities and professors in search of prestige. He reasons that there is a difficulty in developing good teaching pedagogy in research-intensive universities, since research links professors to professors while distancing them from their students. Intra-professorial links are important sources of 'disciplinary credentials and prestige' within the university's system of rewards; but 'almost by definition, the very logic of research in a modern university is to divert professorial attention from students, which is a local matter, towards research, which is a national or cosmopolitan matter, or international in many ways in today's world' (Kennepohl, 2004).

Degrees granted and the success of graduates is no longer the standard by which the university measures progress. Meeting the university's research-productivity and grant-getting objectives takes precedence. Changes in the structures of the university system are

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accompanied by a neoliberal subjectivity germane to 'normaliz[ing] ... the logics of individualism and entrepreneurialism, equating individual freedom with self-interested choices, making individuals responsible for their own well being' (Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto & Maringanti, 2007: 1–2). While many academics may be especially susceptible to this customer-oriented normalising as the result of a liberal, middle-class upbringing centred on the 'self-actualizing individual' (Castree et al., 2006: 765), they also recognise the material benefits of the neoliberal reward system (i.e. career advantage; pay raises; merit pay, etc.). The university's emphasis on academics as academic entrepreneurs (or 'entrepreneurial professors'), constantly pursuing grants to support their work, recruiting graduate students and hiring research assistants, has been internalised by many (*Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 2002; Jacobs, 2004; Newson, 1998; Polster, 2005). Entrepreneurial professors are individualistic and exemplify what the university is becoming: an amalgamation of private/individual and institutional interests. For them, the university merely provides an environment within which individual professional interests can be pursued. An attitude of disdain towards helping others emerges, and with the establishment of different classes of academics, competition between them is promoted. For those who do not conform within this new culture, work can become stressful and unfulfilling. The imposition of an entrepreneurial academic culture in the university workplace even has adverse consequences for life outside work (Despres, 2007).

Students are not immune from academic entrepreneurialism: they are being taught that if they want anything, they will have to act in their own interests. There is little sense of social responsibility, meaningful collaboration or incentive to serve others, and only an investment in self. What students seem to feel is, 'Fuck society, fuck everyone else: the university exists to serve my needs and wants'.

Conclusion

The University of British Columbia–Okanagan is not only the newest transnational Canadian university, but also a showcase for the neoliberalisation of education in Western Canada. In this paper, we have shown that the coming of UBC to the Okanagan Valley has been a carefully concerted effort on many fronts.

We have argued that, with neoliberal financial restructuring and deregulation, universities have opened themselves to corporate interests. Where universities were once centres of education, they have now also become hubs of entrepreneurial activity on many

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levels. They make expensive efforts to attract academic superstars for grants, prestige, merit and knowledge creation, whereas students are forced to compete for meagre funds with which to pay ever-increasing tuition fees. There is greater corporate influence on university boards. The bringing of UBCO to Kelowna was the work of a well-connected Okanagan power bloc whose members saw the university's development as crucial to their future economic success. Through corporate and other business links, UBCO has positioned itself as a formidable economic force in the Okanagan Valley. The projected spin-offs are worth millions of Canadian dollars, and many of the cluster industries depend on the university for research, expertise, contacts and graduates. All of these developments contribute to an entrepreneurial university climate that fosters individualism and competition but which, at UBCO, is shrouded in a fake discourse of global citizenship.

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Notes

1 UBC Vancouver took over Okanagan University College (OUC) to create UBC Okanagan: details of the takeover are presented later in this paper. OUC was a regional institution consisting of campuses in ten Okanagan communities. For a history of OUC, see Freake (2005).

2 Kelowna is located four hours' drive east of Vancouver along the shore of Okanagan Lake, which stretches along the entire Okanagan Valley. The Okanagan Valley is located on the northern tip of the Sonora Desert, and includes several communities of which Kelowna is the largest (pop. approx. 107,000). Currently, Kelowna is Canada's eleventh largest metropolitan area.

3 An example of the global market in university education is given in a 2007 *New York Times* article by Sengupta, 'India attracts universities from the U.S.', which reports on the promotion of "Brand America' in Indian education. The plans, which we refer to as neoliberal expansionism, are for prestigious US universities such as Carnegie Mellon, California State, Cornell and Rice Universities to partner with Indian universities and offer programmes and courses relatively cheaply in India. This would be followed by six months' attendance at the home university in the USA, at the end of which students would graduate with a US degree. Premium-rate tuition fees will be paid to the US university, with significantly lower salaries paid to Indian faculty and staff.

4 Okanagan College allows students to take university-level courses, but its main focus is on trades, technology, vocational, health and university transfer courses that create graduates for the local labour market. With the UBC's takeover of OUC's North Kelowna campus, the remaining regional locations of the former university college were reassembled under the name Okanagan College, which opened for business on 1 July 2005, the same day UBC Okanagan began its operations.

5 'Canadian confederation' refers to 1867, when Canada became a nation.

6 Kamloops is also located about four hours' drive from Vancouver, and about two hours north of Kelowna.

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7 There is the $6m donation by Charles Fipke, a UBCV graduate and Canadian diamond magnate, for the Charles Fipke Centre for Innovative Research, and the anonymous $2m donation to the J. Peter Meekison Student Centre, whose name honours the administrator who oversaw the transition from OUC to UBCO. See UBC 'New facilities' (2007).

8 The UBCO overpass is being financed by the province of BC to the tune of $14.5m, whereas UBCO contributes $5m. For the reservoir, UBCO contributes $1.5m.

9 In the North American academic ranking system, faculty is ranked from lecturer to assistant, to associate and then full professor.

10 The issues of representation eventually ended up in provincial labour relations hearings. Essentially, the issue was whether or not the OUC Faculty Association would continue to represent faculty at UBCO, or whether faculty would be forced to join the non-certified UBC Faculty Association. The authors of this paper consider the labour relations board's ruling, which forced OUCFA to join the UBCFA, to be 'union busting' — a tenet of neoliberal ideology.

11 For instance, the University of Victoria promotes itself (if you can believe it), as the 'anti-status quo' university in this marketplace. See ad in *Globe and Mail*, 17 September 2005, p. A6.

12 Competencies include: knowledge of local and world affairs; knowledge of local and global issues; communication skills; self-awareness; cross-cultural understanding; interpersonal skills; linguistic skills; intercultural competence; critical thinking; adaptation skills; leadership skills; organisational skills; and the ability to shift perspectives. The actions and behaviours of global citizens include: political action, civic and social activism and international involvement.

13 Sengupta (2007) reports on an Indian university student who applied to Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. In his application, the student indicated that he wanted to develop software for the 'global citizen', by which he meant 'a way to transfer money across continents using a mobile phone'.

14 In his excellent book, David Harvey (2005) locates the mainstreaming of neoliberalism in the late-1970s in the North with the elections of Thatcher and Reagan, and with the appointment of Paul Volker as head of the US Federal Reserve Bank. The idea of neoliberalism, as Harvey also makes clear, is much earlier than this and was first implemented in the right-wing, counter-revolutionary regime of post-Allende Chile.

15 This was particularly apparent under Thatcher's Britain, Reagan's USA, and other jurisdictions such as New Zealand and the Canadian provinces of Ontario (Premier Mike Harris) and Alberta (Premier Ralph Klein).

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